

CHANGING STATUS OF THE CAROLINGIAN RULERS: REFLECTIONS ON
TITULATURE AND LEGITIMACY, FROM EARLY PERIODS TO THE
DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE

A Master's Thesis

by

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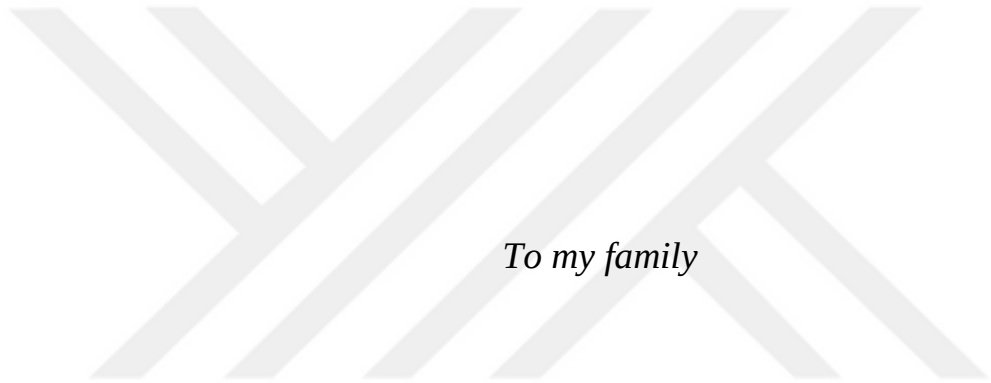
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Bilkent University 2021



To my family

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of History.

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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

of

İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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ABSTRACT

CHANGING STATUS OF THE CAROLINGIAN RULERS: REFLECTIONS ON TITULATURE AND LEGITIMACY, FROM EARLY PERIODS TO THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE

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This thesis is about the changes in the status of the Carolingian rulers from the early times to the end of the reign of Charlemagne. The gradual changes from the office of mayor of palace to king then to emperor are considered with a focus on titular reflections. The data for the titles used are taken from several sources such as diplomatic documents, coins and seals, and the data are classified both chronologically and according to the type of a particular source. The titles extracted are considered in their historical context, supported by narrative sources and secondary literature, to explain the reasons behind the changes. Relations with other political actors such as the Papacy, Byzantium or Lombardy are taken into consideration especially within the context of legitimacy for the changes in the Carolingian rulership along with the titlature.

Keywords: Carolingians, Franks, Charlemagne, Title, Coronation.

ÖZET

KAROLENJ HÜKÜMDARLARININ DEĞİŞEN STATÜSÜ: UNVANLARA YANSIMA VE MEŞRUIYET, ERKEN DÖNEMLERDEN ŞARLMAN'IN ÖLÜMÜNE

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Temmuz 2021

Bu tez, Karolenj hükümdarlarının statülerinin erken dönemlerden Şarlman'ın hükümdarlığının sonuna kadar olan dönemdeki değişimi hakkındadır. Saray nazırlığı mevkiinden önce krallığa sonra da imparatorluğa uzanan dereceli değişim, unvanlara yansması odak noktası ile birlikte ele alınıyor. Unvanlar hakkındaki veriler, diplomatik belgeler, sikkeler ve mühürler gibi çeşitli kaynaklardan toplanmıştır ve bu veriler kronolojik olarak ve kaynak türüne göre sınıflandırılmıştır. Elde edilen unvanlar, değişimlerin arkasındaki nedenleri açıklamak için, anlatıcı metinler ve ikincil literatür tarafından desteklenerek tarihi bağlamlarına yerleştirilmiştir. Papalık, Bizans veya Lombardiya gibi diğer siyasi aktörler ile olan ilişkiler de özellikle Karolenj hükümdarlığının unvanlarla birlikte yaşadığı değişikliklerin meşruiyeti bağlamında ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:Karolenjler, Franklar, Şarlman, Unvan, Taç Giyme

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on the changing status of the Carolingian rulers in Francia gradually from being mayors of palace, then kings and emperors. The period studied here covers from the era of the early Carolingians, starting from the late 7th century, to the end of the reign of Charlemagne in 814. To show the changes, titles are under consideration by indexing them one by one from different sources such as diplomatic documents, coins and seals. These transformations are put in their contexts with the help of narrative sources and secondary literature. Hence, the road to establish an empire is considered with respect to the world around the Carolingians showing how they attempted to legitimate, and succeeded or failed, the new titles and political units, and the reflections on the titles used by certain Carolingian rulers. This study puts also sources into context to examine their nature with a critical approach considering how and why there are differences in the data gathered from various sources.

1.1. A Brief Historical Background

To very briefly introduce the Carolingians and their story; the Carolingians were a Frankish dynasty who replaced the Merovingians in the rule of Francia. The family line came from mayors of palace of Austrasia descending from Pippin I of Landen and Arnulf bishop of Metz since the 7th century.¹ They were also known as the Arnulfings in the early periods. Their activity in Merovingian court increased and after military successes of Pippin II, whom the title analysis starts with in this text, and Charles Martel, after him the family started to be named as the Carolingians

¹ J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Barbarian West: 400-1000*, (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 77.

while Merovingian rulers functioned as puppets.² Relations with the Papacy were gradually strengthening from then into the 9th century. After Charles Martel, his sons Pippin III the Short and Carloman became mayors of palaces of Neustria and Austrasia. In 751, Pippin III decided to depose the last Merovingian king, Childeric III, and make himself king since he was not born royal.³ Long hair of a Merovingian king was a symbol of kingship then it was cut and with papal support Pippin III made his kingship recognised.⁴ Pippin III was succeeded by his sons Charlemagne and Carloman, who had been made patricians by the Pope.

From 771 on, Charlemagne became the sole king of the Franks. Three years after, he acquired the title of 'king of the Lombards' after a successful military campaign. He also fought against different opponents such as the Bavarians, Avars, Saxons, Danes etc. During his rule, the Frankish realm extended to a vast area. Reforms in several fields were also made during his reign in coinage, education, language; legal, administrative and religious affairs. It was also a fruitful epoch for arts and scholarly activities called 'Carolingian Renaissance'. On the Christmas day of 800, he was crowned emperor by Pope Leo III in Rome. The title *imperator*, which had been disused since Diocletian and before having become a top-level administrative title it had had religious and military connotations, was revived by this act.⁵ In the East/Byzantium, Greek titles were in use such as *basileus* and *autokrator* which had ancient connections as well. Charlemagne died in 814. His son Louis the Pious succeeded him. In 843 with the Treaty of Verdun, sons of Louis the Pious divided

² Edward James, "The Northern World in the Dark Ages: 400 – 900," in *The Oxford History of Medieval Europe*, 59 – 108, ed. George Holmes, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 90.

³ R.H.C. Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe: From Constantine to Saint Louis*, 2nd ed., (New York: Longman, 1989), 123.

⁴ Davis, *Medieval Europe*, 123, 124.

⁵ Kathryn H. Milne, "Imperator," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, edited by R.S. Bagnall, K. Brodersen, C.B. Champion, A. Erskine and S.R. Huebner, 2012.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah19092>

the Carolingian realm into three: Lothar maintained with the imperial title and his ‘middle kingdom’ kept the two ‘imperial’ centres, Rome and Aachen, while Louis the German held the royal crown of eastern Franks and Charles the Bald to be the king of the western Franks.⁶ Kingdom of Lothar disappeared and did not live as long as the others. The last Carolingian ruler who could unite the Empire of Charlemagne was Charles III the Fat and in 888 it all fell apart.

1.2. Methodology

Preparing this study, I employed different types of sources to build the methodology. Considering the titles as the core of this research, I used both textual and material sources to index and classify them. In the introduction part of every chapter, I give chapter specific methodological discussion. Firstly, diplomatic documents as textual sources provided a substantial data. Mainly, titles are taken from the initial parts of the documents, where the rulers introduce themselves. For these documents, I used edited and digitised print versions by *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. I attempted to consider different editions for clearer results since dating for some of the documents are not exactly precise and spelling vary, keeping in mind that not all edited documents were transcribed from original manuscripts but from copies as well in a long period of time. I spell in this text taking them under the umbrella of more standardised Latin spelling. I also offer corresponding English phrases for them within the text. For, other text related info with the aforementioned issues, editors’ notes and arrangements are considered along with a critical approach. Among diplomatic documents, charters are one of the important sources. Charters are characteristically more or less standardised in terms of the titles they provide compared to other sources. The titles gathered from

⁶ Davis, 151.

charters are given in tables with their quantities in common denominators as the nature of the source allows. Capitularies, which are Frankish ordinances and administrative/legislative acts, do not display uniformity as of charters. They may reflect different uses of epithets and title combinations and those titles might be declined in different cases while charters are combined with the nominative case in the use of titles. Also document types like edicts or letters in some samples are treated under capitularies classification by the editors of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and I give them in same subdivisions, with the other samples which are not classified under capitularies such as a preface, without putting them into groups as in charters considering the vague nature of the sources. These diplomatic documents are not scattered uniformly in types and in chronology. Hence, the diversity of expressions and the quantity of documents may change in different chapters dealing with different periods.

Along with the diplomatic sources, material sources play an important role to extract titles. The types of sources which are products of material culture are coins and seals in this study. Coins are the vast majority for the data used from material sources in this thesis. The main function of coins for titles is that they bear inscriptions on either or both sides representing the name or/and the title of the ruler who issued them mostly in abbreviated forms. The samples with this feature are considered by indexing the abbreviations and the message they represent, even if they are nontitular, in Latin given in tables throughout the text, and their English meaning. These abbreviations and other aspects of coins, such as iconography, size and material, show also different features with different samples and sample groups. Dating and classification of Carolingian coinage is still a challenge. Also, attribution to a certain Carolingian ruler is sometimes tricky since names like

Charles, Louis or Pippin are very common among them and not all rulers reformed their coinage to give distinct features to their issues. Hence, I attempted to follow the periods given, if any, by the editors of the different catalogues that I used in tables with the theme of particular expressions again. Moreover, I approached to this issue critically and for a better understanding and putting the sample coins into context having utilised secondary literature on Carolingian numismatics, especially when investigating the reasons and time for titular changes. I also considered iconographic changes on coins following the changes in status and titles used to follow patters and matches for a visual support for the arguments. In addition to coins, seals are other sources from material culture. However, they do not directly represent any titles; instead identical sentences in reference to the Kingdom are given in all samples which are not numerous. They have also iconographical value as well and they are treated like the other sources of titles in the text.

Furthermore, since this research project is not only about indexing titles from different sources and building databases, historical background plays an important role for understanding the changes. I preferred to give directly related events to the changes in status and titlature and attempts for the legitimisation of new situations. For these, narrative sources such as chronicles and biographies play a vital role. To illustrate, the Carolingian narrative sources like *The Royal Frankish Annals* and Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* are some of which I consulted and referred frequently beside Byzantine sources such as *The Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor for a larger view on common themes. Additionally, secondary sources written by scholars in related fields such as political, ecclesiastical, economic and diplomatic history both from Frankish/Western and Byzantine perspectives were used for structuring the text as an important pillar.

1.3. Literature Review

Carolingian history is one of the most popular subjects in the field of early medieval studies. There is a relatively large literature accumulated by researches about different aspects of the Carolingian era and geography. In this thesis, I attempt to combine outcomes from different fields of Carolingian history such as political, ecclesiastical, economic, cultural and diplomatic history with archaeological matters such as numismatics and my raw data, namely titles I collected from aforementioned sources, for a different approach. Changes of titles of Carolingian rulers, especially the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, have always been an important part of medieval political and cultural history. However, indexing one by one from different sources by building a database and putting into context, which contains interpretations and information from different focuses of interest, with both qualitative and quantitative analysis can be considered as a newer and different view of these issues.

Starting with literature based political and diplomatic history of the Carolingians, commonly biographies of Charlemagne, P. D. King's short book about Charlemagne deals with the issues Charlemagne and the world around him such as, disputes with Byzantium over Southern Italy and multilateral alliance possibilities.⁷ Based on textual evidence, he also provides papal conceptions of Charlemagne and the first possible appearance of the imperial title on documents. In a recent biographical work, Janet L. Nelson provides the environment in which Charlemagne ruled and went for particular changes with a deep textual analysis and

⁷ P. D. King, *Charlemagne (Lancaster Pamphlets)*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1988).

network of relations with several different actors.⁸ In another biography, Alessandro Barbero gives a detailed account of the reign of Charlemagne putting the chronology in themes shaped by particular events of a certain era.⁹ He considers Charlemagne as individual too, as Einhard did as well. He emphasises the changes and structures in machinery of government and intellectual life, especially within the concept of the empire and the court in Aachen together with the impacts beyond the realm and age.

Dealing with the imperial concepts in the Carolingian Empire, there are some important 'classical' works from relatively older literature. Heinrich Fichtenau assess the Carolingian state as an empire with the *persona* of Charlemagne, the imperial title, intellectual life, state and society.¹⁰ Especially, he emphasises contemporary philosophical approaches stated by political and religious writing to *imperium Christianum* and their reflections. There is also a collective work made by compiling some of the studies had been done focusing on the imperial coronation of Charlemagne with several aspects such as the assessment of contemporary descriptions of Christmas Day of 800, imperial concepts and revival, impact on and relations with the Papacy, Byzantium and the Muslim world.¹¹ To this book, some remarkable scholars such as Louis Halphen, who discusses imperial ideals in the Carolingian court mentioning intellectual sides of the coronation especially the connections having been attempted to make with the Roman Empire and the Old Testament kingship with references to Ancient Israel; and Werner Ohnsorge investigates reactions of Byzantium in terms usurpation and

⁸ Janet L. Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne*, (London: Allen Lane, 2019).

⁹ Alessandro Barbero, *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent*, trans. Allan Cameron, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2004).

¹⁰ Heinrich Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, trans. Peter Munz. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

¹¹ *The Coronation of Charlemagne: What Did It Signify*, ed. Richard E. Sullivan, (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1966).

he also puts emphasis on the reflections of the titles used within context to discuss why a certain title was used and he asserts that Charlemagne was reluctant to be a Roman emperor and he preferred to style himself as king of the Franks. In the political sphere of relations and causalities, at least one Byzantinist should be mentioned here. Judith Herrin, analyses convergences and divergences between the Franks and Byzantium in terms of several factors especially when it comes to legitimacy issues.¹²

Literature on coinage is also important, despite the fewer number of studies on medieval numismatics compared to ancient. To understand the nature of Carolingian economy, especially monetary matters when it comes to reforms and changes with the reasons behind in the chapter given for that, the book of Adriaan Verhulst which focuses a rare topic in historiography in English language.¹³ There are also classical works focusing on coinage together with related economic and historical background, especially presentation of problematic like dating and attribution, followed by rich catalogues of coins with images. One of these works solely focuses on Carolingian coinage prepared by Karl F. Morrison and Henry Grunthal.¹⁴ A more comprehensive work covering the coinage of Europe in the early medieval period with a detailed section on the Carolingians in a similar format was prepared by Philip Grierson, who has remarkable studies on Byzantine coinage as well, and Mark Blackburn.¹⁵ Simon Coupland is one of the most

¹² Judith Herrin, *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire*, (London: Penguin Books, 2008).

¹³ Adriaan Verhulst, "Money and Price Movements," chapter, in *The Carolingian Economy*, 117–125. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). doi:10.1017/CBO9780511817083.009.

¹⁴ Karl F. Morrison and Henry Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage*, (New York: American Numismatics Society, 1967).

¹⁵ Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, vol. I: The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th Centuries)*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

outstanding and productive scholars in the field of Carolingian numismatics. He takes Carolingian coinage into consideration from different aspects such as iconography, legends, reforms, circulation, mints, mines, policies and power relations to clarify issues like periodisation taking the previous researches further.¹⁶

1.4. Thesis Plan

This thesis is composed of five chapters. The first chapter is introduction with a short background of the Carolingian history and the titles mentioned through the course of the work, together with a summary of methodology and sources followed by a literature review to assess what has been done so far related to this study and how this study can contribute to this field.

The introduction is followed by three chronologically divided main chapters. The second chapter of the thesis deals with the changes from mayors of palace to kings putting the titles into context starting from Pippin II, moving through his son Charles Martel and the sons of Charles Martel, Carloman and, Pippin III (the Short) who was crowned king in 751 as the first important transformation and changing variety of sources is important here as well. Then, the chapter makes its final with the three-year joint rule of the sons of Pippin III, who are Charlemagne and Carloman and the titles that they used until 771. The subdivisions in the chapter for each ruler is introduced by historical background considering the important events and relations linked to the changes and the legitimacy of changes such as relations with the Papacy or military successes etc. The titles are given through the types of the sources they are collected with related information and tables.

¹⁶ Simon Coupland, “The Formation of a European Identity: Revisiting Charlemagne’s Coinage,” chapter, in *Writing the Early Medieval West*, ed. Elina Screen and Charles West, 213–29. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). doi:10.1017/9781108182386.015.

The third chapter deals with the period of 771 – 800 which represents the sole rule of Charlemagne until his imperial coronation. The historical background section in detail deals with the relations with the Papacy, the Lombards and Byzantium, as well as the military achievements side, considering the changes in titulature and sources of legitimacy. The most significant of those changes in this period can be the acquisition of the royal title of the Lombards. Then, the data on the titles used are given categorised by the sources in sections with historical and source based information and interpretation.

The fourth chapter is a scene for a big change. It starts with background information covering a period shortly before Christmas of 800 until the end of reign of Charlemagne by his death in 814 and shortly aftermath. Reflections of establishment of a new empire in different fields and the relations along with the problems with other important actors such as the Papacy and Byzantium in terms of legitimising such a big claim are considered, especially the problem when there were ‘two emperors’ in the East and the West. Again, for the era the titles used in the sources as in the previous chapters are taken and considered in different types, how they are reflected and when the imperial uses started to occur in different sources with interpretations for possible reasons behind. They are again given as classified by the types of sources given in tables with related information.

The fifth chapter is the conclusion, which deals with summarising the outcomes of the research considering each chapter one by one with general notes and comments. Moreover, what can be done further related to this topic and the problems here for different regions or eras with a similar conceptual approach and methodology. Also, one appendix with the images of coins to visualise the context is provided in the end.



CHAPTER II: FROM THE MAYORS OF THE PALACE TO THE KINGS: THE TRANSFORMING STATUS OF THE EARLY CAROLINGIANS

2.1 Introduction

The decline and fall of the Roman Empire caused drastic changes in several fields such as politics, economy, society, culture so on. The changes in political paradigm, shifts in power and means of political legitimacy for existent and rising actors are always worth paying attention. This chapter will evaluate a slightly later phases of this *longue durée* of evolving structures to rule. The Franks inhabited regions in relation with the Roman Empire, roughly enough Gaul or Francia after the Franks, and the Merovingians established their rule in a long process and this chapter will be interested in how a lesser nobility, not a royal one the Arnulfings or later the Carolingians, took over the power and in what ways they legitimised their rule in Francia and beyond. This chapter will assess how the Carolingian Dynasty gradually rose to kingship until the beginning of the sole rule of Charlemagne and this dynasty gradually to be associated with the ‘new Roman Empire’ having descended from mayors of the palaces. Following the changes in Frankish politics as they were reflected in the titles that the rulers styled themselves with their variations will be pivotal in these matters.

The Early Middle Ages is a challenging period, even the periodisation has been a bit vague by its nature, in terms of historiography. This study can also be considered as a part of this era. Unfortunately, the sources are not plentiful to investigate this so called ‘dark age’ compared to other periods of history, especially modern times, of Europe. However, I have attempted to employ different types of sources in the scope of this chapter. Beside the remarkable secondary source type

of works, the chronicles and a biographical work belonging the Einhard on the life of Charlemagne also giving information about his descendants, which can also be treated as a book of history in terms of his methodology for his age, were useful to build the narrative framework alongside the support for the analysis. In order to extract titles that the rulers used, official/diplomatic documents, such as charters, capitularies, a decree and a letter in this chapter, issued by them are crucial sources. However, it is important to keep in mind that those documents were issued in the name of the ruler in charge but there were scribes who wrote them. This situation makes the use of the titles slightly indirect since they are not produced or written by any particular ruler himself. There are derivations in the use of Latin, even writing words and proper names but this is not really a very big challenge especially when the texts are taken from edited versions as done here.

Sometimes the dates of issue are not clear. Dates and dating is in general not always very consistent for the period especially when comparing the narrative sources with diplomatic documents and secondary conventions but I have attempted to follow the conventions considering other sources as done for anglicising personal names. In addition to textual sources, archaeological evidence or material sources are employed to have a clearer view. In dating all kind of sources, expert classifications are highly trusted and information lacking ones are tried to be scientifically estimated. The material source used in this chapter is numismatic evidence.

Despite the existence of very rare exceptions, Carolingian coins cannot be dated to an exact year, and the ones which can be dated to a decade are not really

numerous.¹⁷ However, one advantage of this period in terms of dating coins as opposed to the Merovingian era is that Pippin III and Charlemagne brought state monopoly and minting after the Roman Empire and required uniformity in design and weight unlike the Merovingians with unorganised coinage and independent designs in a decentralised mintage environment.¹⁸ The use of coins here is that the titles are extracted from the legends of coins which are mostly in abbreviated forms and they are put in expression/phrase form. They are not also very consistent in terms of styles and, again, dating them is unlike modern coins but they are quite important and useful for supporting the textual outputs.

2.2 Road to Establish the Power in the Early Periods

The ongoing process of the establishment of Germanic kingdoms, or *regna* in all contemporary senses with different level of boundaries to the Empire and each other, took place and since the late Roman period this process also brought a kingdom led by the Franks under the Merovingian Dynasty. As it had been accustomed by the Frankish royal families, the kingdom was divided among the sons of the kings equally, although it had been usual for the portion any son to be lacking any sort of unity in geography or economy until the 7th century.¹⁹ The Frankish realm started to be continuously partitioned into three geographical units which were Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy while Aquitaine was not subject to these regulations and remained autonomous.²⁰ However, there were dissatisfying situations among both the royal family and the local nobility of the given regions about the division.²¹ Thence, in 614 the sole king Lothar II was pushed by the

¹⁷ Morrison and Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage*, 1.

¹⁸ Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage* (abb. MEC for the coin entries), 194, 195.

¹⁹ Davis, 113.

²⁰ Davis, 113.

²¹ Davis, 113.

nobility towards the organisation that Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy having their own palaces or central administrations run by mayors of the palaces or governors.²²

The appointment of local men for administrative positions, who considered their regional interests rather than of the central authority, caused rivalries and even wars between local nobilities especially of Neustria and Austrasia.²³ One of the important noble families of Austrasia was the Arnulfings who were descended from Arnulf bishop of Metz, whose son Ansegisel married Begga, the daughter of Pippin I the mayor of the palace of Austrasia.²⁴ After Charles Martel the dynasty has been called up to today as the Carolingians. Also, the rise of the mayors of the palace, until the deposition of the last Merovingian king for the sake of instalment of the Carolingians as the new royal power, diminished the power of the Merovingian kings by the end of the 7th century caused them to be referred as *rois fainéants* or ‘do-nothing kings’ boosted by the Carolingian historiography.²⁵ To illustrate, Einhard in his biography of Charlemagne mentions the ancestors of Charlemagne and starts with the Merovingians depicting them having lost their power long time with the empty royal title while the praefects of the court, namely the mayors of palace, possessed power and wealth.²⁶

2.2.1 The Age and the Titulature of Pippin II

In this context, it is worth briefly considering the factors that enabled the Arnulfings to acquire and strengthen their position. The reign of Pippin II (the

²² Davis, 113.

²³ Davis, 114.

²⁴ See the genealogical table provided in Roger Collins, *The Early Medieval Europe: 300-1000*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 247.

²⁵ Collins, *Medieval Europe*, 246.

²⁶ Eginhard, *The Life of Charlemagne*, trans. A.J. Grant, (Ontario: In Parantheses Publications, 1999)

Younger or of Herstal with the possibility of being misnamed), son of Ansegisel, has importance here. Having been able to afford to maintain more vassals due to the capacity of being richer in land, Austrasia led by Pippin II defeated the rival palaces, and their mayors, at the Battle of Tertry in 687.²⁷ In the first part of the *Annales mettenses priores* draws the heroic image of Pippin II with his military successes including Tertry and he was described as the sole ruler of the Franks even over the Merovingian king.²⁸ By the year 687 Pippin II was able to assume leadership of the eastern Franks, also known as *Osterliudos* meaning the eastern people in their language, and he performed royal actions like receiving delegations from various peoples and their kingdoms e.g. from the ‘Greeks’, leading the army, protection over the church, widows and orphans and forming assemblies and synods and took the sole leadership of the Franks in 691.²⁹

Table 1: The phrase that Pippin II used on a sample document from 714

Phrase	Document Type	Date	Quantity
<i>Ego in Dei nomine illuster vir Pippinus dux filius Ansgisili quondam</i> ³⁰	Charter	02/03/714	1
Total		02/03/714	1

These particular events that caused the strong position of the Arnulfings also were reflected in the titles used. Since he did not mint any coins and no seal by him has been accessed for this study, only one document, which is a charter, is accessed

²⁷ Davis, 121.

²⁸ Rosamond McKitterick, “Pippinids, Arnulfings and Agilolfings: the Creation of a Dynasty,” in *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*, 57–136. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 63. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511803314.003.

²⁹ Paul Fouracre, and Richard A. Gerberding, “The First Section of Annales Mettenses Priores (The Earlier Annals of Metz)” in *Late Merovingian France*, (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2013), accessed May 5, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526112781.00015>. McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 64, 65.

³⁰ English translations and analysis will be given in the main text through the course of this study, the Latin phrases will be repeated in the context as well and when there are slight differences in the expression the one chosen will take place in the table.

which bears a title, while many of them just with name and adjectives like *illuster* meaning illustrious or distinguished, Pippin II refers to himself as duke by “*Ego in Dei nomine illuster vir Pippinus dux filius Ansgisili quondam*” meaning “I, in the name of God, the illustrious (or bright) man duke (or leader) Pippin once son of Ansegisel” in March 2, 714.³¹

2.2.2 The Age and the Titulature of Charles Martel

The 8th century is one of the focal periods of this study after the aforementioned brief background. After Pippin II, the line of Charles Martel will be followed not of Drogo duke of Champagne and Grimoald mayor of the palace of Neustria through the course of this chapter.³² Charles Martel took the control of the mayorial position of the Frankish palaces in the civil war of 715 – 719.³³ Then, upon his military achievements in different battles, he gained the total authority over the puppet kings, lay aristocracy and the Church, namely bishoprics in his realm.³⁴ Especially the position of the Church is important in this case since it always played an important role in the rise of the Carolingian family³⁵ and gaining newer and stronger titles. Since the era of Charles Martel, the popes had been bestowing honorifics on and spiritually sponsoring the Carolingian family.³⁶

³¹ *Diplomata Maiorum Domus Regiae e Stirpe Arnulforum*, MGH Diplomata, ed. Ingrid Heidrich, (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2011), 16. Retrieved from https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_dd_arnulf/index.htm#page/1/mode/1up. The term *dux* is a bit problematic for the period to decide a clear translation, but a *dux* (*Herzog* in German) is highly related with the military power in the Merovingian era, see Matthias Becher, *Karl der Große*, (Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 1999).

³² See Collins, 247.

³³ Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*, (London: Penguin Books, 2010), 376.

³⁴ Wickham, *Inheritance of Rome*, 376.

³⁵ From this point on I prefer to use the ‘Carolingians’ rather than the ‘Arnulfings’.

³⁶ Matthew Innes, *Introduction to Early Medieval Europe, 300-900: The Sword, the Plough and the Book*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), 409.

Table 2: *The phrases that Charles Martel used on the sample documents, 715 –741*

Phrase	Document Type	Period	Quantity
<i>(Ego in Dei nomine) inluster vir Karolus maior domus (filius Pippini quondam)</i>	Charter	715 – 741	7
Total		715 – 741	7

The death of Merovingian king Theuderic IV in 737 caused to an interregnum period in the Frankish Kingdom and there was no attempt by the Carolingians to seize the throne and even official documents were dated according to the reign of Theuderic IV.³⁷ Charles Martel ruled the Frankish Kingdom without a king for four years until his death.³⁸ During his rule, Charles Martel used relatively standardised titles regardless of his power and authority over the Frankish Kingdom. The title samples taken from accessed documents, all charters, are styled by being a mayor of the palace not a duke like his father or not a king due to his practical rule over the Frankish Kingdom. In five of the sample documents, he is consistently called ‘illustrious man’, *vir illuster* or in some uses *inluster*, and refers to his father as the full title suggests “*Ego in Dei nomine inluster vir Karolus maior’ domus filius Pippini quondam*” meaning “I, in the name of God, the illustrious man Charles mayor of the palace, once son of Pippin”.³⁹ In two of the sample expressions taken

³⁷ Innes, *Early Medieval Europe*, 405.

³⁸ Wickham, 376.

³⁹ There is also an inconsistency with the spelling of the name in the documents deriving from *Karolus*, *Karlus* to *Carlus*. *Diplomata Maiorum Domus Regiae e Stirpe Arnulforum*, 29, 31, 33. *Diplomatum Imperii, Tomus I. MGH Diplomata*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1872), 98, 101. Retrieved from [https://www.dmggh.de/mgh_dd_merov_1872/index.htm#page/\(III\)/mode/1up](https://www.dmggh.de/mgh_dd_merov_1872/index.htm#page/(III)/mode/1up)

he simply calls himself as “*illuster vir Carlus maior domus*” meaning “illustrious man Charles mayor of the palace”.⁴⁰

It is curious that in two letters dated between 739 and 740, Pope Gregory III addresses Charles Martel as *domino excellentissimo filio, Carolo subregulo* in the dative form meaning ‘to the most excellent lord son, subking Charles’.⁴¹ The concept and post of ‘subkingship’ or ‘petty kingship’ became an important integral part of the Carolingian administration by the appointment heirs to the kingdoms under the rule of the Carolingians but these examples do not likely seem to have anything to do with that just the way of addressing is unusual. For, Pope Zachary addressed Pippin III, son of Charles Martel when Pippin was occupied with the post of the mayor of the palace on 5 January 747, as *domino excelentissimo atque Christianissimo Pippino maiori domus* in the dative describing him as ‘the most Christian mayor of the palace’ more consistent with his office.⁴²

2.2.3 The Age and the Titulature of Pepin III and Carloman as Joint Mayors of Palaces

Charles Martel died in 741 and the office of mayor was divided between his sons Carloman and Pippin III (the Short) as the Merovingians did for the kingship.⁴³ Carloman was based in Austrasia while Pippin III was based in Neustria while there was a third brother, Grifo, who was excluded and imprisoned.⁴⁴ In addition to the heartlands, Carloman possessed Alemannia and Thuringia and Pippin III received Burgundy and Provence having left Aquitaine and Bavaria autonomous

⁴⁰ *Diplomata Maiorum Domus Regiae e Stirpe Arnulforum*, 25. *Diplomatum Imperii, Tomus I*, 97.

⁴¹ *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini, Tomus I. MGH Epistolae 3*, ed. Ernest Dümmler, (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), 476, 477. Retrieved from [https://www.dmggh.de/mgh_epp_3/index.htm#page/\(III\)/mode/1up](https://www.dmggh.de/mgh_epp_3/index.htm#page/(III)/mode/1up)

⁴² *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini I*, 479.

⁴³ Wickham, 376.

⁴⁴ Innes, 405.

could be only disposed of by a Merovingian.⁴⁵ The *Royal Frankish Annals* starts with the death of Charles Martel in 741 and give the account of Grifo in high hopes of possessing the whole kingdom and declared war against his brothers and the following year Carloman and Pippin III led an army against Hunald, duke of an ‘autonomous’ region of Aquitaine.⁴⁶ The challenges for the authority of the mayors of the palaces outside of the Frankish heartlands, like the given example of Aquitaine and also the eastern part of the Rhine, required them to install a new Merovingian king, Childeric III, in order to bring the traditional political legitimacy in 743.⁴⁷ The *Royal Frankish Annals* gives further accounts of Grifo challenging Pippin III having fled to Saxony even after Carloman told Pippin III that he wanted to retire from the world in 745 and the year after he took the tonsure and became a Benedictine monk at Monte Cassino shortly after staying at a monastery that he had built in honour of St. Sylvester on Mount Soratte.⁴⁸

Table 3: *The phrases that Carloman used on the sample documents, 742 – 747*

Phrase	Document Type	Period/Date	Quantity
<i>Ego Karlmannus, dux et princeps Francorum</i>	Charter	21/04/742	1
<i>Karlemannus maior domus, filius quondam Karoli</i>	Capitulary	746 – 747	2
Total		742 – 747	3

⁴⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, *Barbarian West*, 86.

⁴⁶ *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories*, ed. and trans. Bernhard Walter Scholz, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), 37.

⁴⁷ Innes, 405.

⁴⁸ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 38, 39.

The titles used by Carloman and Pippin III during their activity as mayors of the palaces are various.⁴⁹ In a capitulary dated to 21 April 742, Carloman refers himself in a similar fashion that his grandfather, Pippin II, styled himself as a duke and, moreover, as *princeps*⁵⁰ rather than a mayor of the palace in a capitulary and the exact expression used was “*Ego Karlmannus, dux et princeps Francorum*” meaning “I, Carloman duke and *princeps* of the Franks.”⁵¹ People who bore the titles of ‘duke’ and ‘patrician’ or *princeps*, they commonly combined the titles having gone hand-in-hand, in this era established themselves as local rulers often with hereditary and military features within the Frankish kingdom.⁵² Towards the end of his rule Carloman used expressions similar to his father and also referred to him. Two charters from the year 747 show the use of “*Karlemannus maior domus, filius quondam Karoli*” commonly and as a slight difference a later one uses *illuster* while the earlier one goes with *ego*.⁵³

⁴⁹ This part will include also the titles of Pippin III used in his sole rule until he was crowned as king in 751.

⁵⁰ It can be kept as *princeps* more aligned with the Roman tradition went on in the region in that period, but ‘prince’ may not be a really very bad translation in a medieval context but still it is worth being careful.

⁵¹ *Capitularia Regum Francorum, Tomus I, MGH Leges*, ed. Alfred Boretius, (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1883), 24. Retrieved from [https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_capit_1/index.htm#page/\(I\)/mode/1up](https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_capit_1/index.htm#page/(I)/mode/1up)

⁵² Archibald R. Lewis, "The Dukes in the Regnum Francorum, A.D. 550-751," *Speculum* 51, no. 3 (1976): 406. doi:10.2307/2851704.

⁵³ *Diplomata Maiorum Domus*, 35, 38. The one on the page 35 may be from 746 the editor suggests the possibility of both years. After this point, English translations for the expressions listed in this text before will not be indicated.

Table 4: The phrases that Pippin III used on the sample documents as mayor of the palace, 741 – 751

Phrase	Document Type	Period/Date	Quantity
<i>(inluster vir) Pippinus maior domus</i>	Charter	741 – 751	9
<i>Ego Pippinus, dux et princeps Francorum</i>	Capitulary	02/03/744	1
Total		741 – 751	10

While documents available pertaining to Carloman are limited, the ones issued under the name of Pippin III are relatively numerous, even as mayor of the palace. Although he used quite standardised and considerably short expressions of his titles in the charters he issued but when he was in charge of the office of the mayor of the palace, in a capitulary dated to the fourth year of his rule, to 744, he used “*Ego Pippinus, dux et princeps Francorum*”⁵⁴ in a similar way how his brother did two years before. Also, in the same capitulary for the dating of the document the reign of Merovingian Childeric III was taken reference and he was considered as ‘king of the Franks’ in the expression “*in anno secundo Childerici regis Francorum*” meaning “in the second year of Childeric king of the Franks”. This is not actually surprising but important and interesting thinking about the legitimacy issues. As mentioned before the mayors of the palaces installed a Merovingian king to the throne to solve internal problems although they were omnipotent in the practice of politics of the Frankish Kingdom but the necessity for the Merovingian legitimacy for that time is expressed on a document sourced by the actual authority of Pippin III by the person of the king with his royal title. As mentioned before in the charters the case is more standardised use of “*inluster vir Pippinus maior domus*”

⁵⁴ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 29.

in seven charters scattered through his mayor of the palace period between 741 and 751 with slight differences in the word order and spelling.⁵⁵ Also, two of them do not reflect the feature of being ‘illustrious’ like these ones given but simply *maior domus* after either *ego* or *in nomine Dei*.⁵⁶ Then, followed certain political consequences a more extensive and prestigious title was to be adopted by Pippin III as another important breaking point.

2.3 The Carolingian Family as the New Royal Dynasty in Francia

The period of internal crisis, especially within the Carolingian family at different levels, required further legitimacy for Pippin III.⁵⁷ A very important problem was Grifo who raised an army from one of the peripheral principalities in the name of Merovingian king was shaking the authority of Pippin III, although Carloman had left for the monastic life and Pippin III took control of the regions handed over to the son of Carloman, Drogo.⁵⁸ Despite all the attempts to strengthen the legitimacy and position as the main ruler of Pippin III, the new family order could be firmly established only after the killing of Grifo by his rivals in 753.⁵⁹

Having the year 751 (or 750),⁶⁰ as an important date for the royal status of the Carolingians and considering the couple of years before and after this would be helpful to understand the changes better. According to the *Annals of Lorsch* in 749, Pippin III sent envoys, bishop Burchard of Würzburg and his chaplain and priest Fulrad, to Pope Zachary and he advised that the one who actually held the power

⁵⁵ *Diplomata Maiorum Domus*, 42, 44, 45, 47, 49, 52, 55.

⁵⁶ *Diplomata Maiorum Domus*, 40. *Diplomatum Imperii I*, 109.

⁵⁷ Innes, 405.

⁵⁸ Innes, 405, 406.

⁵⁹ Innes, 406.

⁶⁰ In narrative sources sometimes given as 750 due to differences in calendar systems.

should have been king.⁶¹ The *Royal Frankish Annals* shares the same narrative but there advice is stronger, it is an instruction and command by the apostolic authority of the Pope that Pippin III should be made a king.⁶² The tone used in the narrative is quite possibly sourced by the fact that those annals were composed in the Carolingian realms, by their nature despite having been not under direct royal control as they are known to be, but at the same time considering the relations between the Carolingian family and the Roman Church from the generation earlier, this event also likely to happen. For the next year the *Royal Frankish Annals* narrates that Pippin III was elected king according to the Frankish customs and anointed by archbishop Boniface meanwhile the last Merovingian king Childeric III was tonsured and sent to a monastery.⁶³

It is possible to say that the Papacy played an important role for the legitimisation at this stage and even further during the course of this study. The liturgical component of the royal coronation ceremony, the anointment although not mentioned in a very contemporary source but first appearance in the later the *Royal Frankish Annals*, followed the Old Testament example of Samuel who is said to have poured oil on the heads of Saul (1 Samuel 10:1) and David (1 Samuel 16:13).⁶⁴ Moreover, this ritual, which also had been observed in the Visigothic and Irish kingdoms, had importance in terms of Christian kingship which had been gaining importance during the 7th century having presented the royal office as a

⁶¹ *Annals of Lorsch: The Pope Makes the Carolingians Kings* from Oliver J. Thatcher, and Edgar Holmes McNeal, eds., *A Source Book for Medieval History*, (New York: Scribners, 1905), 37-38, in "Fordham University Medieval Sourcebook" retrieved from <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/lorsch1.asp>

⁶² *Royal Frankish Annals*, 39. Also, here the entry is given for the year 749 but there is also a scholarly convenience for 750 as the coronation given in this source as 750 but usually considered as 751 which is also supported by the titles used.

⁶³ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 39.

⁶⁴ Collins, 258.

moral one granted by God.⁶⁵ Another symbolic and visual part of this deposition by tonsure as a monastic practice caused the removal of the Merovingian royal hair replaced by the short hair and moustaches of the Carolingians.⁶⁶ The coinage, the revision of *Lex Salica* and the documents issued under his name have reflections of the notion of this model of Christian kingship.⁶⁷

In relation with the Papacy, and with Byzantium in some cases, the politics over and relations with Italy had always been crucial and sometimes decisive. The majority of Latin Christendom had been apart from the imperial control of Byzantium and the mid-8th century was the period when the Roman Church and its lands in central Italy ceased to pertain to Constantinople in relation to the opposition of Papacy to Byzantine Iconoclasm and the failure of the East to protect Rome from Lombard threats.⁶⁸ In January of 754, Pope Stephen II came to the royal villa at Ponthion, probably Byzantium had approved it, and he asked the help of Franks for the threat created by Lombard king Aistulf even over the Duchy of Rome itself.⁶⁹ For, the fall of Byzantine exarchate in Ravenna in 751 to Lombards and the constant military campaigns of Constantine V against the Bulgars, Arabs and Slavs, which indeed succeeded, made him insufficient to help Rome.⁷⁰ There were also direct and positive relations between Constantine V and Pippin III. In May 757, an organ, a secular instrument to have been played in ceremonies to glorify emperors, was sent from Constantinople to the Frankish king by the

⁶⁵ Innes, 406.

⁶⁶ Wickham, 377.

⁶⁷ Innes, 407.

⁶⁸ Paul Magdalino, "The Medieval Empire (780 – 1204)" in *Oxford History of Byzantium*, ed. Cyril Mango, 169 – 208, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 169.

⁶⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, *Barbarian West*, 93.

⁷⁰ Speros Vryonis, *Byzantium and Europe*, (Norwich: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967), 66. Herrin, *Byzantium*, 110.

Emperor.⁷¹ Developing relations with Byzantium worried the Roman Church especially at a time when the imperial theology was seen heretical.⁷² There were specialists appointed by the Papacy to the Frankish court to advise Pippin III about the Byzantine matters.⁷³ Despite these, there were marriage talks for the daughter of Pippin III, Gisela, and the son of Constantine V, Leo IV the Khazar, but negotiations on this alliance by marriage had been cut by the death of Pippin III. Then Byzantium and Italy ceased to be pivotal for the Carolingian politics.⁷⁴

According to the *Royal Frankish Annals*, Pope Stephen II came to Francia to seek aid and support for the rights of Carloman, then a monk.⁷⁵ Pippin III helped him to restore the order and the Pope supported the legitimacy of Pippin III by the document, which has been very probably a forgery, the *Donation of Constantine*.⁷⁶ Again in 754, the *Royal Frankish Annals* shares the account that Pope Stephen, again after his predecessor, confirmed Pippin III as king by anointing together with his two sons Carloman and Charles, namely Charlemagne, as kings.⁷⁷

Together with this ceremony of re-consecration they also received the title of ‘patrician’ formerly possessed by the exarch of Ravenna and the duke of Rome.⁷⁸ This title of ‘patrician’ was introduced by Constantine, despite the derivation from the possible original meaning, during the course of time it was not used for an office but a rank, the highest after emperor and consul.⁷⁹ It had also been given before to Odoacer, Theoderic, Sigismund king of Burgundy and Clovis by the

⁷¹ McCormick, Michael. “Byzantium and the West, 700–900,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick, 2:349–80, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 365. doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521362924.017.

⁷² McCormick, “Byzantium and the West”, 365.

⁷³ McCormick, 365.

⁷⁴ McCormick, 366.

⁷⁵ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 40.

⁷⁶ Wallace-Hadrill, 93.

⁷⁷ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 40.

⁷⁸ Wallace-Hadrill, 93.

⁷⁹ James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, (New York, AMS Press, 1978), 40.

emperors in Constantinople as well as later given to Bulgarian and Arab/Muslim rulers.⁸⁰ For the case of the Carolingians it was associated with the notions of being the protector of the Holy See.⁸¹ However, in the diplomatic documents issued by these three rulers the aforementioned title has not been encountered by the year 771.

Pippin III died on 24 September 768 while he was on his campaign in Aquitaine and he was buried at St. Denis where his father Charles Martel, the queen from the 6th century Arnegundis, the Merovingian kings of the previous century Dagobert I with his wife Nantechild, and Clovis II lay.⁸²

2.3.1 The Royal Titulature of Pippin III on Documents

Table 5: The phrases that Pippin III used on the sample documents as king of the Franks, 752 – 768

Phrase	Document Type	Period	Quantity
<Ordinante Dei clementia/gratia Dei> (Pippinus) rex Francorum [vir inluster]	Charter	752 – 768	30
Glorrisimus atque religiosus inluster vir, Francorum rex Pippinus	Capitulary	11/07/755	1
domni Pippini regis (genitive)	Decree	758 – 768(?)	1
Pippinus gratia Dei rex Francorum vir inluster	Letter	755 – 768	1
Total		752 – 768	33

⁸⁰ Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 40.

⁸¹ Bryce, 40.

⁸² McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 74, 75.

It would be also worthwhile considering the styles in the titles Pippin III used until his death after becoming king. Although the first royal coronation of Pippin III took place in 751, the first document accessed bearing the royal title, a charter, is dated to 1 March 752 with the expression “*Pippinus rex Francorum vir inluster*” meaning “Pippin illustrious man, king of the Franks”.⁸³ This style is quite similar to which of the Merovingian kings. It is worth considering that he refers to being king of the Franks rather than king of Francia, meaning the people, the subjects, is used in this formula rather than the land or the country and this style became a standard both for his titlature and of his sons.

It is also curious that two centuries later the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos mentions him in his famous work *De Administrando Imperio* with his title telling about Pippin’s involvement in Venice as Πιπῖνος ὁ ῥήξ, ‘*Pipinos ho hrex*’ literally Pippin the King.⁸⁴ The curious thing here is the conception the kingship of Pippin and its reflection on the language. He used a transliterated Latin term ‘*rex*’ into Greek to style the regnal status rather than using ‘*basileus*’ or any other Greek title used by Byzantine rulers. It is interesting to see this case within the framework of the future issues, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

In twenty-six more sample charters the title is used in an identical fashion in spite of the fact that there are slight deviations in word order and spelling similar to the examples given above.⁸⁵ In two different charters, both from 768 the final year of

⁸³ *Diplomatum Karolinorum, Tomus I: Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata, MGH Diplomata*, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1906), 3. Retrieved from [https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_dd_karol_i/index.htm#page/\(I\)/mode/1up](https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_dd_karol_i/index.htm#page/(I)/mode/1up)

⁸⁴ Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins, (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1993), 118.

⁸⁵ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 4- 6, 8, 9, 11- 13, 15- 19, 22, 25- 27, 29- 32, 34, 36, 37, 40, 42. At the end of some documents there is *signum* parts as signature/seal bearing expressions like “*Signum*

the reign of Pippin III, there is the expression “*Pippinus gratia Dei rex Francorum vir inluster*” adding ‘by the grace of God’⁸⁶. Getting involved in Christian notions, one title expressed the notion of Christian kingship in terms of the office having been given by God in a charter “Pippinus “*<ordinante Dei clementia> rex Francorum [vir inluster]*” meaning “Pippin <ordained by the mercy of God> king of the Franks [illustrious man]”.⁸⁷ A capitulary issued for the Council of Verno in 755 bears the expression of “*Gloriosus atque religiosus inluster vir, Francorum rex Pippinus*” meaning “The most glorious and religious illustrious man, Pippin king of the Franks”⁸⁸ having Christian elements with the religious council. Also on a decree, when the time period was given the phrase used with the title in the genitive case is “*temporibus domni Pippini regis*” meaning “in the time of lord king Pippin”⁸⁹ As the last example of written documents, a letter written by Pippin III to bishop Lullus with the phrase of “*Pippinus gratia Dei rex Francorum vir inluster*”.⁹⁰

domno nostro Pippino gloriosissimo rege” however, these titles are not taken into consideration and introductory ones are preferred instead.

⁸⁶ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 33, 39.

⁸⁷ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 21.

⁸⁸ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 33.

⁸⁹ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 40.

⁹⁰ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 42. Letters directly composed by the ruler are more preferable in terms of the authenticity on the use of a certain title.

2.3.2 The Titulature of Pippin III on Coins

Table 6: The phrases that Pippin III used on the sample coins as king of the Franks ,751 – 768

Phrase ⁹¹	Quantity
<i>Rex Pippinus</i>	52
<i>Rex Francorum</i>	20
<i>Pippinus Rex Francorum</i>	7
<i>Dominus Pippinus</i>	1
<i>Petrus Treverensis/Pippinus Rex, Milo (?)</i>	1
<i>Sancti</i>	1
Total	82

In addition to the documents as sources, material sources can be useful in this sense as well. Coins minted in the name of the ruler may bear titles abbreviated or in full form. The mayors of the palaces had close involvement over minting coins.⁹²

Nonetheless, no coin has been detected, by me, bearing any title of *maior domus* or having pertained to any predecessors of king Pippin III at any form. The coins issued by Pippin III are usually dated from the first years of his accession to the royal post until his death. Hence, it is unlikely to give precise dates to them or suggest a periodisation among different types.

⁹¹ The phrases on the coins usually are in abbreviated form and there are different styles in the coin legends even corresponding to a common particular phrase and they are given in the main text in detail and in the table their meanings are preferred.

⁹² McKitterick, 68.

Forty-four coins from the sample group of accessed coins bear on their obverses the inscription of *RP* as abbreviation of *rex Pippinus*.⁹³ There are also relatively few common types of coins reflecting *rex Pippinus*. In a similar form the type mentioned previously, there is the type of *RxP*⁹⁴ in five samples⁹⁵, in individual ones as *R Px*⁹⁶, *PIPINV R*⁹⁷ and *II R P*⁹⁸ bearing the same message on their obverses. The character ‘II’ in the inscription is shown also as ‘H’, ‘N’ or ‘n’ in different sources. Hypothetically it can be considered as *nomen Pippini regis aut monogramma eius*.⁹⁹ This means ‘either the name of king Pippin or his monogram’ literally, referring to the coin to be issued in his name.

There are *rex Francorum* legend type coins with the sample group of twenty which have the legend of *Rx F*¹⁰⁰ including one possible erased ‘F’ of *R I*¹⁰¹ on their obverses. There are also types which combine the two formula given above by simply referring to *Pippinus rex Francorum*. There are seven of them. The six samples show uniformity as bearing *IIPIPI* on their obverses while the reverses are

⁹³ R.H.M. Dolley and K.F. Morrison, *The Carolingian Coins in the British Museum*, (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1966) (abb. CCBM), plate I; coin numbers 2, 3. MEC, plate 33; coins 719, 720; p. 520-1. *Catalogue des Monnaies Françaises de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Les Monnaies Carolingiennes*, ed. M. Maurice Prou, (Paris: C. Rollin et Feuwardent, 1896) (abb. BN), plates I, I, I, VI, VIII, XII, XIV, XX, XXI, XXI, XXI coins 2, 4, 5, 227, 315, 540, 626, 922, 926, 927, 928, p. 1, 2, 2, 26, 48, 77, 89, 129, 130, 130, 130. “Mantis: A Numismatic Technologies Integration Service,” American Numismatics Society, accessed, April 10, 2021, <http://numismatics.org/search/>. (abb. ANS) Item ID 1959.106.1. “SMB-Digital: Online Collections Database,” Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), accessed November 24, 2020, <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&lang=en>. (abb. SMB) item IDs 18202481, 18202484, 18202485, 18245574, 18245575, 18245579, 18245581- 18245590, 18245600, 18245601, 18245603-18245606, 18245608, 18245609, 18245611- 18245613, 18245616. A note on dating the coins issued by Pippin III: Sample coins taken from ANS and BN are dated to 752 – 768, SMB attributes them to 754/755 – 768 while CCBM and MEC does not put emphasis for any specific date but consider his rule as a king.

⁹⁴ *Rx* and this kind of transcriptions of the coin legends are usually likely to be in ligature form.

⁹⁵ BN, plate XX, coins, 923, 924, p. 129. SMB, 18245573, 18245577, 18245602.

⁹⁶ SMB, 18245580.

⁹⁷ SMB, 18218034.

⁹⁸ BN, plate XXI, coin 925, p. 130.

⁹⁹ Grierson and Blackburn, MEC, 204.

¹⁰⁰ SMB, 18202482, 18202483, 18234580, 18234581, 18245576, 18245591- 18245599, 18245607.

¹⁰¹ SMB, 18245578.

inscribed with *Rx F*¹⁰² similar to the previous group. Moreover, there is also one type representing this expression by employing the inscription of *Rx F* on the obverse and *PIP/HAD* on its reverse and ‘*HAD*’ probably refers to the city monogram on this coin might have been minted in Zurich.¹⁰³

Differently, there are coins representing variable phrases other than the ones related to each other above. One of them has a legend which does not refer to Pippin III as *rex* but as *dominus*, meaning ‘lord’ in the form of *DOM PIP* on the obverse¹⁰⁴, abbreviation of *dominus Pippinus*.¹⁰⁵ There is also a totally different type of coin attributed to Pippin with the inscription of *SCI*, namely *sancti*, meaning ‘saints’ or ‘of the saints’ probably minted in Cologne with the possibility of being posthumous.¹⁰⁶ Having mentioned a religious connotation on a coin, the image of cross is quite common on Carolingian coins at different forms as a result of being issued by the representatives of Christian kingship. There might be a relation to the Archbishopric of Cologne considering the moneyer functions of medieval episcopal authorities in the Rhineland. In relation to this case there is a coin attributed to Milo who was once bishop of Trier, which was a mint. The coin has the legend of *PTRE/X* might both mean *Petrus Treverensis*, St. Peter of Trier referring to the patron saint of the city or simply *Pippinus rex* because the letters a

¹⁰² *CCBM*, plate I, coin 1; *BN*, plate XXII, coin 980, p. 138; *SMB*, 18202480, 18217629, 18245570 (the letter on the left side of the obverse not very clearly readable but it is most probably a ‘II’ being the same with the next sample in other elements and they were both minted in Dorestad), 18245571.

¹⁰³ *SMB*, 18245614.

¹⁰⁴ *SMB*, 18245572.

¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, although it is difficult to build a direct connection, a sample coin minted in Trier, which was also a Roman imperial mint, bears the legend *Δ N P I P I* abbreviated from *dominus noster Pippinus* in a similar fashion with the Roman imperial coins because of *Δ N*. It is given in the catalogue at the end of the aforementioned work of Morrison and Grunthal (plate I; coin 5, p. 74). This catalogue is not databased for the main course of this study due to some intersection possibilities especially with *SMB* and *BN* catalogues. In order to minimise the risk of duplication and data inflation collection catalogues are preferred.

¹⁰⁶ *SMB*, 18245610.

reversed 'P' and 'T' are in ligature form.¹⁰⁷ There is another contemporary magnate with his name appearing on coins being count Milo of Narbonne.¹⁰⁸ However, this one does not seem likely to belong to him and the attribution to the bishop of Trier is more accurate.

2.4 The Joint Rule of Carloman and Charlemagne

The *Regnum Francorum* did not end with the death of Pippin III. His sons were raised to kingship in the same year on 9 October, Charlemagne at Noyon and Carloman at Soissons.¹⁰⁹ The Merovingian practice of dividing the kingdom between the heirs was kept as an integral part of Frankish law and conducted by the Carolingians, therefore the kingdom of Pippin III was divided between his sons.¹¹⁰ Einhard also touches upon this case as he narrates that after the death of Pippin III, the Franks convoked a public assembly and elected Charlemagne and Carloman as kings on the understanding that they should divide the realm equally but Charlemagne received the lands that their father Pippin III ruled for his special administration while Carloman took the control over the lands that pertained to their uncle Carloman.¹¹¹

However, this joint kingship lasted for only three years until the death of Carloman. Upon his death, his wife together with a few Franks departed for Italy.¹¹² Einhard suggests that those Franks who fled were a group of leading nobles and she took her children as well to be placed under the protection of Lombard king

¹⁰⁷ *SMB*, 18200853.

¹⁰⁸ Simon Coupland, "Charlemagne's Coinage: Ideology and Economy" in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story, 211 – 229, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 213. A sample coin issued by him bearing his name and the name of the city Narbonne can be seen at *BN*, plate XIX, coin 834, p. 115.

¹⁰⁹ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 46.

¹¹⁰ Davis, 149.

¹¹¹ Einhard, 6.

¹¹² *Royal Frankish Annals*, 48.

Desiderius.¹¹³ This is also important for the role of politics over Italy and especially the cases of Lombardy for the changing status of the Carolingian kingship or means to rule at different stages in several generations.

2.4.1 The Titulature of Carloman on Documents

Table 7: *The phrase(s) that Carloman used on the sample documents, 768 – 771*

Phrase	Document Type	Period	Quantity
<i>Carolommanus (gratia Dei rex) Francorum vir illuster</i>	Charter	768? – 771	11
Total		768? – 771	11

From his short rule there are not so many sources to examine the use of titles by Carloman accessible. Nonetheless, among the existing and accessed ones there are some interesting features. In nine of his accessible charters the expression is “*Carolommanus gratia Dei rex Francorum vir illuster*”¹¹⁴ and in two of them the phrase *gratia Dei* is missing in the same formula.¹¹⁵ Related to the connections with Lombardy, there is also one charter bearing a title which has something to do with the Lombards. In spite of the fact that there is a possibility of this document to be not original, it has the expression adding being ‘king of the Lombards’ to the standard use as” *Carlomannus gratia Dei rex Franchorum <et Langobardorum>*”.¹¹⁶ The Lombard title was acquired by the Carolingians after the campaigns and the conquest of Lombardy by Charlemagne in 774.

¹¹³ Eginhard, 6.

¹¹⁴ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 65-68, 70-72, 74, 75. Again there are little differences in spelling and word order.

¹¹⁵ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 62, 63.

¹¹⁶ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 75. This sample is not added to the table due to originality issues.

2.4.2 The Titulature of Carloman on Coins

Table 8: *The phrases that Carloman used on the sample coins, 768 – 711*

Phrase	Quantity
<i>Carolomannus</i> (nontitular)	5
<i>Carlomannus Rex Francorum</i>	1
Total	6

There are not many samples for the coins which enable to extract titles on, either. However, nontitular ones are taken into consideration as well to show different types and this practice remained for a few decades during the rule of Charlemagne without challenging the matters for kingship. Suggested dates for the coins issued by Carloman cover the period between 768 and 771, namely his whole rule without an exact date, in the all sources the samples are taken from. The five nontitular samples bear the name of Carloman in different styles on their obverses. Two of them have bilinear styles with the legend *CARL/OM*¹¹⁷ and *CARLM*, possibly more like monograms, in the other three.¹¹⁸ He has one *rex Francorum* type of coin accessed. On the obverse of the sample coin there is a name-monogram and on the reverse ‘king of the Franks’ legend as *CARLM* and *RxF*.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ *SMB*, 18245242, 18245243. In every example with the coins in this work, the sign “/” refers to multilinearity.

¹¹⁸ *SMB*, 18245240, 18245241. *BN*, plate XVII; 762, p. 105.

¹¹⁹ *SMB*, 18202486.

2.4.3 The Titulature of Charlemagne on Documents

Table 9: The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample documents, 769 – 771

Phrase	Document Type	Period/Date	Quantity
<i>Carolus (gratia Dei) rex Francorum vir illuster</i>	Charter	769 – 771	9
<i>Karolus, gratia Dei rex regnique Francorum rector et devotus sanctae ecclesiae defensor atque adiutor in omnibus</i>	Capitulary	769	1
Total		769 – 771	10

The joint kingship period was not totally in harmony and there were parties involved in conspiracy even attempts to war according to Einhard but in the end Charlemagne was made sole king with the consent of all the Franks.¹²⁰ Most of the documents issued by Charlemagne are in a similar fashion in terms of the uses of titles according to the samples taken up to year 771 until his sole rule. The phrase “*Carolus gratia Dei rex Francorum vir illuster*” is extracted from his charters of six¹²¹ and in the half number without *gratia Dei*.¹²² Differently, presumably his first capitulary issued in 769 has the expression “*Karolus, gratia Dei rex regnique Francorum rector et devotus sanctae ecclesiae defensor atque adiutor in omnibus*” meaning “Charles, by the grace of God, king of the kingdom of the Franks and the

¹²⁰ Eginhard, 6, 7.

¹²¹ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 81, 82, 86, 88, 91, 92. Again with Charlemagne there are little differences in spelling and word order as well.

¹²² *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 83, 85, 89.

rector and devoted defender of the Holy Church and helper in everything” with a more religious attitude in a document related to the Church.¹²³

2.4.4 The Titulature of Charlemagne on Coins

Table 10: *The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample coins, 768 – 771*

Phrase	Quantity
<i>Carolus Rex Francorum</i>	4
<i>Carolus Rex</i>	1
<i>Carolus</i> (nontitular)	5
Total	10

There are also ten sample coins attributed to the first three years of the reign of Charlemagne as his brother issued in the same period. These coins represent the first phase of the coinage of Charlemagne as being pre-reform *denarii* and quite standardised.¹²⁴ The four coins bearing *Carolus Rex Francorum* expression have different style of writing on their legends on the obverses such as one samples of *CARL/Rx F*¹²⁵ and *K R F x*¹²⁶, and two *K Rx F*.¹²⁷ The one sample coin having the same expression on its obverse without referring to the ‘Franks’ has the legend of *KARx*.¹²⁸ The two nontitular coins bear the name of Charles in the same type. One of them has two samples of bilinear *CAR/LVS* on their obverses.¹²⁹ Three other only name bearing coins have a different style which is open to discussion. All of

¹²³ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 44.

¹²⁴ Coupland, “Charlemagne’s Coinage”, 212.

¹²⁵ *SMB*, 18244985.

¹²⁶ *SMB*, 18244986.

¹²⁷ *SMB*, 18245082, 18245083. The second coin is broken but probably there is a letter ‘K’ in the missing part. They might have belonged to the same emission since the possible mint is Roses fort he both and the suggested date is the same, so proposing (*K*) *Rx F* legend fort he second makes sense.

¹²⁸ *SMB*, 18244988.

¹²⁹ *ANS*, 1958.10.3; *MEC*, plate 33; 721, p. 520-1.

them bear the legend *CALRO*, which caused attributions to Carloman in the literature, in monogram form on their obverses while one of them bear the monogram of *ANDE* being probably an indication of the mint which is Angers on its reverse¹³⁰, the other two reverses bear the legend of *LEVTBRA* probably referring to Leutbrannus affiliated to the name Liutprand.¹³¹ This Liutprand might be a magnate associated with Italy related to the lineage of the Lombard kings and Beneventan dukes.¹³²

2.5 Conclusion

To sum up, the evolution of the status of the Carolingians upon their possession and ability to display power in the realm that they were actively in charge of ruling also reflected in the titles that they used. When they held the post of mayor of palace, despite the executive power they had and ability to rule they referred to themselves with the titles of *dux*, *princeps* and mainly *maior domus* usually equipped by *vir illuster*. For, they did not establish their own kingdom ruled by the Carolingian kings and the most of the time the Merovingian rulers held the royal title.

However, in 751 Pippin III deposed the last Merovingian king and the dynastic change for the *Regnum Francorum* took place. Meanwhile, it is worth considering the importance of the Merovingian legitimacy to secure and strengthen their position for the Carolingians at different instances. The tightening connections with the Roman Church may have played the most important role to expand and legitimise the Carolingian rule and power. The most direct link to this change is

¹³⁰ SMB, 18202487

¹³¹ SMB, 18202488, 18245239. Information about Carloman attribution and the case of Liutprand can be seen on the *SMB-Digital* catalogue with these reference numbers.

¹³² Coupland, 213.

related to the Papacy and it was the cooperation between the Pope and Pippin III which ended up with the installation of the family of Charles Martel, starting from his son, as the kings of the Franks and the patricians of the Romans. The foreign relations were not only with the Papacy but with many others mainly the affairs with the Byzantine Empire and with the other states of the Italian Peninsula also contributed to the changes and legitimacy matters.

It is an important outcome to define some precise political events in this process of change and observe them in the titles used, especially with the crucial *rex Francorum*, the title of *patricius Romanorum* would get frequency of use in a later period. Another curious point is the type of material to extract titles change according to the evolving status. It is especially a case for the use of numismatic evidence as a direct source because mayors of palace did not mint any coins, at least under their names. However, styles differ and in this sense it is worth keeping in mind that the levels of centralisation, standardisation and literacy were not comparable with the modern times.

Despite the difficulties about dating and getting other relevant information, especially for the coins, there is not really a substantial inconsistency between the titles taken from different kind of sources. These connections of many different factors and involvement of several actors at later stages would let bigger claims for greater legacies beyond bearing the Frankish royal title but the growing power of the Carolingians under Charlemagne expanding in several directions Europe and the reasons and consequences of it in relation to the world outside.

CHAPTER III: THE SOLE RULE OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE CHRISTMAS OF THE YEAR 800

3.1 Introduction

Approaching to the next three decades of the reign of Charlemagne, there were important events caused changes before the biggest change of the imperial coronation. In this chapter again a similar methodology with the previous chapter is used. The main difference is that this chapter focuses on only one ruler, Charlemagne and a part of his reign, unlike the previous one which consists of several rulers in a time scale of almost a century. This situation is quite related to the amount of sources and material to be assessed for the historiography of this period. Especially for the title extraction there are much more diplomatic documents, coins and, differently from the previous chapter, seals. Also narrative sources and secondary literature for this period have more to say compared to earlier periods.

However, some of the same problematic situations about the sources of the previous chapter go on here to a certain level. Dating might be the most important of them. Despite of the fact that clear dating especially for coins is not still possible but I attempted to utilise different suggested dates for creating clusters possibly belonging to the same period especially relying on types and mints. In every related part for a particular source, commentary and information are given. For example, for a document when it is necessary its type and occasion of issue is provided for discussion or for coins related numismatic information is given to put the material in context in order to obtain clearer outcomes to understand uses and changes. Before all, a historical background to outline main events and people is given emphasising what might have caused, triggered and led the changes of the titles

used, as in the previous chapter for each individual ruler but here more detailed due to the nature of the material and analysis, rather than ambitiously attempting to give everything Charlemagne did in that period which may cause deviation from the topic and points of focus.

3.2 The Background for Changes Regarding the Powers Outside

This era of the reign of Charlemagne was scene for important events and processes. Carolingian Renaissance is one of them with the revival of learning and scholarly activities and the introduction of Caroline minuscule. Developing institutions of governance and strengthening the Kingdom in relation to military success and foreign relations. Having mentioned military success, the campaigns against the Saxons which ended up with mass Christianisation, campaigns against the Avars, the subjugation of the Bavarians or the victory at the Spanish March were important events. He developed diplomatic relations with the contemporary rulers such as the Abbasid caliph Harun-al-Rashid on a positive basis. Although, all these events had impact on changes of status and titles, they are more peripheral. In this section, the more central and directly involved events and relations for the events will be mentioned to provide an essential background for analysis briefly in a loose chronology. These can be seen as the political triangle of the Papacy, Byzantium, and the matters in Italy especially the cases of the Lombards. The affairs and involvements of Charlemagne with these regions and actors were also complex because they were all interrelated.

To start with, the relations between the Carolingian Dynasty and the Papacy had roots from a few generations before. The Holy See had been a very important source for legitimisation of the Carolingian rule; especially titular changes had always something to with the Papacy, and were usually granted by the popes, as in

the examples from the previous chapter such as the coronation of Pippin III as king of the Franks having been promoted from the post of mayor of palace and granting of the title of patrician of the Romans to Charlemagne and his brother Carloman. Charlemagne retained the good relations and alliances with the Papacy during his rule. His relations in this period with Pope Hadrian I were so close that Einhard described the grief of Charlemagne when the Pope passed away, in 795, (and the later period of the relations will be assessed in the next chapter) as “Moreover, when the death of Hadrian, the Roman Pontiff, whom he reckoned as the chief of his friends, was announced to him, he wept for him as though he had lost a brother or a very dear son.”¹³³ Charlemagne had a particular respect to Pope Hadrian and also the Pope portrayed him as the ‘new Constantine’ in one of his letters later.¹³⁴ However, Charlemagne did not allow the Church to intervene the secular matters in his realm even if there were attempts for it.¹³⁵

These close links affected the relations with the third parties as well. The Roman Church having been involved in, the matters with the Lombards can be an earlier and directly effective on the use of titles one of the affairs outside. Before the death of Carloman, Charlemagne married the daughter of Lombard king Desiderius, whose name was Desiderata, as a part of political strategy to isolate his brother alone.¹³⁶ However, Desiderius having kept the widow and the sons of Carloman in his court and upon his rule over Italy and indirect impact on the Papacy made him a very strong ruler.¹³⁷ This can be seen as a shift in balances of power in the region.

¹³³ Eginhard, 18.

¹³⁴ King, *Charlemagne*, 27, 35.

¹³⁵ Özlem Genç, *Birleşik Avrupa'nın Mimarı Charlemagne ve Karolenj Rönesansı*, (Ankara: Lotus, 2013), 130.

¹³⁶ Becher, *Karl der Große*, 47.

¹³⁷ Becher, 50.

Charlemagne ended his about one-year-old marriage with the daughter of Desiderius.¹³⁸

The appeal for help from Pope Hadrian I in 773, the second year of his pontificate, was addressing Charlemagne and it was about the renewed Lombard threat against the sovereignty of Rome.¹³⁹ Having considered the changing situation and interests rather than waging a war Charlemagne opted for diplomacy and he offered 12,000 gold *solidi* to Desiderius to drawback from the places he occupied.¹⁴⁰ However, the Lombard side turned the offer down and this event led Charlemagne into a war.¹⁴¹

In the same year, Charlemagne occupied Italy with a big army and Desiderius was besieged in Pavia.¹⁴² On the Easter of 774, Charlemagne visited Rome and the Pope received him in the protocol of the exarch of Ravenna, former ‘stadtholder’, or simply governor, in the name of Byzantine emperors emphasising the function of Charlemagne as *patricius Romanorum* as the protector of Rome.¹⁴³

Then, by June 774, Desiderius surrendered himself and the city of Pavia and this was followed by the submission of the region to Charlemagne and the establishment of his lordship there.¹⁴⁴ Latest on 5 June 774, Charlemagne assumed and added the royal title of the Lombards, from then on styled as *rex Francorum et Langobardorum*.¹⁴⁵ According to Einhard, Charlemagne defeated Hrodgaud of Friuli then he brought the whole Italy under his rule and installed his son Pippin as

¹³⁸ Becher, 50.

¹³⁹ Collins, 263.

¹⁴⁰ Hywel Williams, *Emperor of the West: Charlemagne and the Carolingian Empire*, (London: Quercus, 2010), 86.

¹⁴¹ Williams, *Emperor of the West*, 86.

¹⁴² Collins, 263.

¹⁴³ Becher, 53.

¹⁴⁴ Williams, 87.

¹⁴⁵ Becher, 54.

king over the region.¹⁴⁶ The *Royal Frankish Annals*, shares the account that Charlemagne celebrated the Easter of 781 in Rome and Pippin, son of Charlemagne was baptised by Pope Hadrian and he was anointed as king of Italy while his brother Louis was given Aquitaine to rule.¹⁴⁷ This can be seen as the papal support for the legitimacy of the later rulers by tightening the boundaries between the Holy See and the Frankish court. Another son matter is that Adelchis, son of Desiderius, fled to Constantinople and sought refuge and the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes the Confessor refers him as Theodotos king of the Lombards with the given Greek name and the title.¹⁴⁸

Adelchis having moved to Constantinople, the relations with the Byzantines also took an important place for the Carolingians and the other parties in this period. To start with the changes in the papal relations of Byzantium, the names of the Byzantine emperors started to diminish appearing on papal documents and coins in this period.¹⁴⁹ Despite the official dependence to Constantinople, the Papacy sought for independence in secular matters.¹⁵⁰ Meanwhile in the East, after the death of Emperor Leo IV in 780, his widow Empress Irene reversed the iconoclastic policy which had been effective for the last forty-five years.¹⁵¹ This can be seen as an elimination of one of the major theological conflicts. She summoned a council in the name of her sixteen-year-old son and her co-ruler Constantine VI in Constantinople having invited Pope Hadrian I and three eastern patriarchs who sent

¹⁴⁶ Eginhard, 8.

¹⁴⁷ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 59.

¹⁴⁸ Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History*, ed. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 619. On the next page with the 6th the editors assert that he took a title of patrician together with a Greek name.

¹⁴⁹ Becher, 78.

¹⁵⁰ Becher, 78.

¹⁵¹ Herrin, 110.

their representatives.¹⁵² Nevertheless, the Seventh Ecumenical Council held in Nicaea, the second one in the city, in 787 played a more important role in the relations.

Most importantly this council denounced the iconoclasm as an innovative act in the ecclesiastical tradition and veneration of icons was restored.¹⁵³ Pope Hadrian I sent his representatives to the council and they signed the proceedings of the council, while nobody consulted the Franks.¹⁵⁴ Also, the Latin translation for the *acta* of the council was poorly done and reached to Charlemagne probably through Rome.¹⁵⁵

Despite the theological reconciliation, Charlemagne having been not invited to the council, summoned a counter council in Frankfurt in 794.¹⁵⁶ This council considered the image-adoration, or iconodoulism, of the Byzantines as heresy together with Adoptionism.¹⁵⁷ Also, around 792, a theological work called *Libri Carolini*, meaning ‘Caroline Books’ was completed probably by Theodulf, later bishop of Orléans, in the name of Charlemagne and the book was written against not only the Council of Nicaea in 787 but also against an iconoclast council in 754.¹⁵⁸ *The Royal Frankish Annals* also touches on these issues in the entry for the

¹⁵² Herrin, 111.

¹⁵³ Herrin, 111.

¹⁵⁴ Tia M. Kolbaba, “Latin and Greek Christians,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. by Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith, 3:213–29, Cambridge History of Christianity, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 218. doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521817752.012.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 160.

¹⁵⁶ Christian Fichtinger, *Lexikon der Heiligen und Päpste*, (Salzburg, Kiesel Verlag, 1983), 158.

¹⁵⁷ Nelson, *King and Emperor*, 306. The regarding clause, the second one, in the issued capitulary is “Allata est in medio questio de nova Grecorum synodo quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopolim fecerunt, in que scriptum habebatur, ut qui imagines sanctorum ita ut deificam trinitatem servitio aut adorationem non inpendere, anathema iudicaverunt: qui supra sanctissimi partres nostril omnimodis adorationem et servitutum rennuentes contempserunt atque consentientes condempnaverunt.” *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 73, 74.

¹⁵⁸ King, *Charlemagne*, 32.

year 794, emphasising that the council of Greeks was neither the Seventh nor ecumenical and it was null and void for all, including the popes.¹⁵⁹

There were also important events on the secular ground as well. One of the most important was a marriage proposal assumed to bring an alliance. Theophanes the Confessor dates this event to 781/782 and he narrates that Irene sent an envoy to betroth her son Constantine VI to daughter of Charlemagne, Erythro (actually Rotrud) and they came to an agreement with oaths having left the eunuch Elissaios, who was a notary, to teach her in Greek and imperial customs.¹⁶⁰ However, the relations did not go on a peaceful basis towards the end of 780s. In 788, the first challenge to the Frankish annexation of Italy by Byzantium started over the Lombard duchy of Benevento in the south of the peninsula.¹⁶¹ Charlemagne intervened into the substantial Beneventan land under duke Arichis II, there were also Byzantine interest and control regionally, after military campaigns Arichis subjugated to Francia.¹⁶² However, Arichis was negotiating with Byzantium secretly for their suzerainty in exchange of military support and the Papacy let Charlemagne know about this for the good of common interests.¹⁶³ In 787, Arichis died and his son Grimoald III, who had been a hostage in Francia, was installed as the ruler, despite the warnings of the Papacy about his unreliability.¹⁶⁴ Charlemagne indicated his overlordship on coins and charters but Grimoald did not stay loyal trying to manipulate both Byzantium and the Franks as late as 812 he agreed to pay a tribute to Charlemagne.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 73.

¹⁶⁰ Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle*, 628.

¹⁶¹ Wallace-Hadrill, 108.

¹⁶² Williams, 97.

¹⁶³ Williams, 98.

¹⁶⁴ Williams, 98.

¹⁶⁵ Williams, 99, 100.

Moreover, as a very direct Byzantine involvement built on a revenge for 774 was as Theophanes the Confessor asserts that, in 788/789, Irene sent a military officer John and Theodore, patrician and commander of Sicily, together with Adelchis¹⁶⁶ to Lombardy to take measures and to try to detach some of the supporters of Charlemagne.¹⁶⁷ However, after a battle John was taken as prisoner by the Franks then executed terribly.¹⁶⁸ Adelchis turned back with empty hands and died soon, in 788.¹⁶⁹ In this environment, Charlemagne refused to recognise the Council of Nicea and the prospective marriage alliance was broken off.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Theophanes the Confessor advocates that Irene broke her contract with the Franks and then made Constantine VI marry an Armenian girl in the same year with the military attempt to Lombardy.¹⁷¹

As the time moved on, the domestic political environment in Constantinople was turbulent in this period. In 790, Constantine VI attempted for independence from the regency of his mother and sole emperorship but in 797, Irene dethroned and blinded her own son and established herself as ‘emperor’.¹⁷² The curious point here is that she exceptionally styled herself the masculine title of *basileus* for an ‘emperor’ not *basilissa* for an ‘empress’.¹⁷³ This is an important case considering the sources of legitimacy and expressions and it will have more importance when the imperial coronation of Charlemagne will take place shortly after this period.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁶ Again, he was mentioned as Theodotos and title used in the narrative was the ‘former king of Greater Longobardia’.

¹⁶⁷ Theophanes the Confessor, 638.

¹⁶⁸ Theophanes the Confessor, 638.

¹⁶⁹ Genç, 182.

¹⁷⁰ Magdalino, “Medieval Empire,” 170.

¹⁷¹ Theophanes the Confessor, 637.

¹⁷² Averil Cameron, *The Byzantines*, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 68, 69.

¹⁷³ Oğuz Tekin, *Yapı Kredi Koleksiyonu Bizans Sikkeleri/The Yapı Kredi Collection Byzantine Coins*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 63.

¹⁷⁴ This case is going to be discussed with sample analysis in the next chapter because of its direct links with the imperial coronation process like the situation of the Papacy after 795 to be taken.

3.3 The Titulature of Charlemagne on Documents

In various types of documents Charlemagne is styled in different ways by the scribes and it is possible to trace the changes through the titles used there and, for this period, the most important change seems to be the acquisition of the royal title of the Lombards from the year 774. The frequency of styles changes from decade to decade in this epoch. Moreover, stylistic differences together with the use of different phrases and different cases of the nouns used also differ in various types of documents. The main types of documents being examined in this section are charters, with more consistent and nominative name-forms, and capitularies which are quite specific to the Carolingians and consisting of different forms and cases unlike more uniformity containing charters. The editors of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, which is the main source of extracting titles from diplomatic documents, classified some document type like letters or decrees under capitularies, they are taken here together as well.

For the capitularies section no chart is employed due to the characteristic of the data being lower in number despite the variety. In addition to that the foreword in the name of Charlemagne to *Codex Carolinus*, a compilation of papal letters to the Carolingian rulers between 739 and 791, consists of a title to be analysed. Also the dates proposed, sometimes not clear, and corrections of the editors are usually trusted after a critical process. The spelling differs as well being a feature of the period and among the samples the closest one to the standard and classical Latin is given as the phrase.

3.3.1 The Titulature of Charlemagne on Charters

Table 11: The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample charters, 771 – 801

Phrase	Period/Date	Quantity
<i>Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum vir inluster</i>	772 – 779	17
<i>Karolus rex Francorum vir illuster</i>	771/10/09 – 772/10/08	1
<i>Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum</i>	774 – 797	10
<i>Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac/atque/et patricius Romanorum</i>	774 – 801	86
<i>Karolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum nec non (et) patricius Romanorum</i>	775 – 797	4
<i>Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum vir inluster</i>	774 – 775	9
<i>Karolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Longobardorum ac/atque patricius Romanorum vir illuster</i>	774 – 775	3
Total	771 – 801	130

There are two phrases expressing the royal titulature of Charlemagne without giving any mention to the Lombards in this period of the first three decades in his sole rule as king of the Franks. The seventeen samples of the expression *Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum vir inluster* meaning ‘Charles illustrious man, by the grace of God, king of the Franks’ between the years 772 and 779.¹⁷⁵ The majority of the samples are dated to the era prior to the conquest of Lombardy in 774 and only two out of seventeen charters are after the summer of 774. One of them is dated to 24 September 774¹⁷⁶ and one of them interestingly to 17 November 779.¹⁷⁷ This can be interpreted as dating has always been an issue and it is not really certain that one can date a document by looking at the titles used within the framework of chronological knowledge. It can also be seen as the 8th century was not a time of standardisation of state matters, in spite of the fact that the

¹⁷⁵ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 93, 95, 98 – 100, 103, 105 – 108, 110 – 113, 123, 178.

¹⁷⁶ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 123.

¹⁷⁷ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 178.

Carolingian machinery of government, documentation and writing was more developed compared to many contemporary early medieval countries in Western Europe. In one charter dated between the Octobers of 771 and 772 the same title is used but just *gratia dei* is dropped as the only phrase without any reference to the ‘grace of God’ in the group of royal charters.¹⁷⁸

Another sample group represent the formula of *Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum* meaning ‘Charles, by the grace of God, king of the Franks and of the Lombards’ adding the notion of ruling the Lombards along with the Franks, again putting emphasis on the subject people rather than the land or the country as it had been traditionally. This expression is found on ten samples dated between 774 and 797.¹⁷⁹ Except one charter issued on 17 February 797¹⁸⁰, they are all concentrated in 774 and 775, the first two years of the Lombard conquest. From this evidence, the submission of the Lombard kingdom and its elites to Charlemagne as their kings and the publicly acknowledgement of this situation might have happened before 5 June 774 because the charters issued on that day extend his regality by styling him *rex Francorum et Langobardorum*.¹⁸¹ In nine more samples the traditional expression of *vir illuster* is added to this formula chronologically ranging from 744 to 775.¹⁸²

The stylisation of ‘Charles, by the grace of God, king of the Franks and of the Lombards and patrician of the Romans’ started to occur in the sample documents in the year of the Lombard conquest and the latest sample¹⁸³ pertains to the year 801 on April 3rd which means the change in the titlature is also a matter of process

¹⁷⁸ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 101.

¹⁷⁹ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 114, 134, 135, 137, 143, 144, 148, 149, 155, 242.

¹⁸⁰ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 242.

¹⁸¹ Nelson, 143, 144.

¹⁸² *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 118 – 120, 124, 129 – 131, 133, 146.

¹⁸³ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 264.

since the imperial coronation took place about four months before. The Latin phrase for this message is *Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac (atque/et) patricius Romanorum*, scribes of six of the charters preferred to use the linker *atque*,¹⁸⁴ three of them did so with *et*¹⁸⁵ and the vast majority with the quantity of seventy-seven using *ac*¹⁸⁶ to mean ‘and’. In one sample charter issued in March 795 in Aachen, the editor wrote <*serenissimus*> meaning ‘the fairest, the most serene’, which is a common feature of the use of titles on the imperial documents of Charlemagne, and there is no note about it and the original manuscript has not been seen in a digital form.¹⁸⁷

Similarly to this type the phrase *Karolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum nec non patricius Romanorum*, replacing ‘and’ with ‘and also’ (*nec non et*) has four samples.¹⁸⁸ In the same formula, the old Frankish epithet of *vir illuster* is adjacent to one *atque* type linked sample¹⁸⁹ and two *ac* versions.¹⁹⁰ They are dated in the interval of 774 and 775 again. The use of *patricius Romanorum* starts in this period might be interpreted within the framework of the politics in Italy and the relations with the Papacy. For, this title was bestowed on Charlemagne and his brother Carloman by pope upon the collaboration with their father against the Lombards and there might be a purpose of this use to legitimate his authority by referring to a major past event related to these actors involved in to strengthen Frankish connections with Italian peninsula, the city and legacy of Rome and the Papacy.

¹⁸⁴ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 116, 139, 141, 142, 170, 221.

¹⁸⁵ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 223, 227, 228.

¹⁸⁶ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 150, 153, 156, 158, 159, 161, 163 – 167, 169, 172, 173, 175 – 177, 179 – 183, 185, 186, 188 – 191, 193, 196 – 199, 201, 203 – 207, 209 – 212, 214, 216 – 220, 224 – 226, 229 – 231, 233, 237, 238, 240, 241, 244, 245, 247, 248, 250 – 252, 254 – 258, 260, 262, 264.

¹⁸⁷ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 241.

¹⁸⁸ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 147, 152, 154, 249.

¹⁸⁹ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 128.

¹⁹⁰ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 126, 138.

Other than the brief delay of the appearance of the imperial title on charters like the example of 801 given above, there are also exceptions for being ‘too early’ uses requiring critical approaches to dating and the originality of documents.¹⁹¹ Another sample document with the expression of *Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum* displays a curiosity in terms of an imperial reference. This charter was issued on 31 March 794 in Frankfurt, a couple of months prior to the Council of Frankfurt being the charter itself ecclesiastical, and there is a snippet of a sentence: *sicut per praecepta nostrorum antecessorum regum vel imperatorum* meaning that ‘just as by means of the orders of our predecessors kings or emperors’ in the part indicating he conceived the command in the charter in reference to his predecessors.¹⁹² However, it is not clear that if only the ancestors from the Carolingian line meant or previous patricians to be related to some emperors or just it was meant some emperors without any assumption of any connection to the Carolingian family.

One charter dated to 4 August 792, eight years before the imperial coronation, starts with *<Karolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanorum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex F[ranco]rum¹⁹³ atque Longobardorum>* meaning ‘Charles the fairest augustus crowned by God the great and peaceful emperor of the Romans governing the empire, and who (is) by the mercy of God king of the Franks and the Lombards’ which is quite typical to the post – 800 period but the remaining transcripts taken for this edition are from the 17th and 18th centuries, Italy and the imperial title is

¹⁹¹ The forgery documents take place in *MGH* volumes too but they are entitled as *Unecht* meaning unreal generally but it is better to take a skeptical approach to the suspicious ones.

¹⁹² *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 239.

¹⁹³ The part between the brackets was filled by the editor due to a hole in the parchment of the manuscript.

interpolated considering the document as original.¹⁹⁴ Another charter for such example is from 25 July 782 and styled as *Carolus gracia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum <imperator> Romanorum* and the word *imperator* seems to have replaced *patricius* but, again, there is a possibility of a mistake later on throughout the centuries on the manuscripts.¹⁹⁵

Many of charters of Charlemagne in this period end with *Signum (M.) Caroli glorissimi regis* meaning ‘the seal/sign of the most glorious king Charles’ but these are not indexed and used in this study as the main material and the introduction parts are taken instead. On manuscripts they usually have a monogram and a seal in addition to the words above. It is convenient to relate the terms *signum* and monogram, especially thinking about the cruciform monogram of Charlemagne¹⁹⁶ it can be the most well-known *signum* of an early medieval ruler.¹⁹⁷

3.3.2 The Titulature of Charlemagne on Capitularies and Other Related Documents

The number of capitularies and related documents are much less than charters. However, the variety of titles used in different forms is surprising. The first sample is from March 779 and the title of Charlemagne in the genitive is used to date the document referring to the ‘happy eleventh year’ of his reign as *anno feliciter undecimo domni nostri Karoli gloriossimi regis* in the Frankish version and *Karoli gloriossimi regis* in the Lombard version.¹⁹⁸ In one of the famous capitularies *Admonitio Generalis* on 23 March 789, Charlemagne is styled as *ego Karolus*,

¹⁹⁴ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 235.

¹⁹⁵ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 195.

¹⁹⁶ ‘KAROLVS monogram’ in this study refers to that.

¹⁹⁷ Ildar H. Garipzanov, “Metamorphoses of the Early Medieval Signum of a Ruler in the Carolingian World,” *Early Medieval Europe*, 14 (2006): 420. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0254.2006.00189.x>

¹⁹⁸ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 47.

gratia Dei eiusque misericordia donante rex et rector regni Francorum et devotus sanctae ecclesiae defensor humilisque adiutor meaning ‘I, Charles by the grace of God and his granting mercy, king and the rector of the kingdom of the Franks and devoted defender and humble helper of the Holy Church’ similar to the capitulary given in the previous chapter.¹⁹⁹ In one undated capitulary probably belonging to this period and issued in Italy has the expression of *placuit nobis Karolo* (in the dative/ablative) *gloriossimi regis* (in the genitive) meaning ‘pleased (by) us Charles of the most glorious king’.²⁰⁰

Another well-known capitulary called *Capitulare Missorum*, dated to 786 or 792, refers to the Frankish realm by defining it with a title of Charlemagne in the genitive case as *in regnum domni Karoli regi(s)* meaning ‘into the kingdom of the lord king Charles’ emphasising his lordship as a king in a particular region.²⁰¹ In *Capitularia Saxonicum* issued on 28 October 797 the date is given as *anno ab incarnation domini nostri Iesu Christi DCCXCVII et XXX ac XXV regnante domno Carolo praecellentissimo rege*, in the ablative case, meaning ‘in the 797th year since the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ and 30th and 25th when the most excelling lord king Charles ruled’ separately referring to his accession to the Frankish and the Lombard crowns.²⁰² Three years after that, in June, one capitulary has the title of *Capitulum domni Caroli* simply ‘capitulary of lord Charles’.²⁰³

One of the most important documents of this epoch and section is this capitulary, or an edict in a loose sense, of the Council of Frankfurt issued in June of 794. The

¹⁹⁹ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 53.

²⁰⁰ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 194.

²⁰¹ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 66. In the document with the spelling mistake in Latin it is given as *regi* when it is supposed to be *regis*.

²⁰² *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 71.

²⁰³ *Legum, Tomus I, MGH Leges in Folio*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1835), 82. Retrieved from [https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_ll_1/index.htm#page/\(II\)/mode/1up](https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_ll_1/index.htm#page/(II)/mode/1up)

expression including the title and adjectives is in the genitive case here as *iussione piissimi domni nostri Karoli regis* meaning ‘by the command of our the most pious lord king Charles’ talking about it was summoned.²⁰⁴ This document has also something to do with Byzantium. The second article is related to iconoclasm and iconodoulism after the Second Ecumenical Council of Nicea and portrays as a ruler Charlemagne against ‘heresies’ of Adoptionism and adoring icons like Theodosius and Justinian having taken charge of ‘orthodoxy’ in their eras and realms.²⁰⁵ When describing Byzantium rather than any notion referring to anything ‘Roman’, the terms *Grecorum*, ‘of the Greeks’ and *Constantinopolim* in the accusative singular for Constantinople are used.²⁰⁶ In 800, an edict addressing bishops has a more standardised and a charter-like first person phrase as *Karolus, gratia Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum*.²⁰⁷ This is almost for sure that the edict was issued before Christmas that year.

There are last two examples of capitularies for this period and they are in a kind of letter form and they use first person and share similarities with charters giving more direct outcomes about the use of titles. One of them is related to episcopal matters and dated to 787 with the common charter style *Karolus, gratia Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum*.²⁰⁸ The other one is *Epistola Generalis*, a general letter, in a similar style with a slightly different vocabulary with religious connotations *Karolus, Dei fretus auxilio rex Francorum*

²⁰⁴ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 73. Partial epithets and titles from the main one given here are repeated in some articles.

²⁰⁵ Nelson, 306.

²⁰⁶ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 73.

²⁰⁷ *Legum I*, 81.

²⁰⁸ *Legum I*, 52.

et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum meaning ‘Charles, supported by the help of God king of the Franks and the Lombards and patrician of the Romans’.²⁰⁹

The last document of this section is a bit different than the ones mentioned above. This is *Codex Carolinus* being a collection, compiled probably in 791, of pontifical letters and the preface in the name of Charlemagne includes his title and in the same preface there is the expression *de imperio* as a matter of discussions of textual analyses for different editions from different time periods and possible meanings.²¹⁰ Nonetheless, the part more directly related for this section is the use of the phrase to style Charlemagne in this prologue as *Carolus Excellentissimus et a Deo electus rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac Patricios Romanorum* meaning ‘Charles the most excellent and chosen by God king of the Franks and of the Lombards and Patrician of the Romans’ especially to be chosen by God is a bit of newer use for this period so far.²¹¹

3.4 The Titulature of Charlemagne on Coins

Coins are also one of the most direct sources to extract title as it had been done in the previous chapter for the period covering 751 – 771. As mentioned before dating is an issue for the coinage of the Carolingians unlike the modern coin and here they are tried to be put together in common denominators in different tables and parts according to suggested dates. However, it is very possible that a particular coin might belong to a different table group actually but the data obtained is interpreted in this way. Despite the difficulties in dating coins, the changes brought by the reforms can make it possible to trace and classify to some extend by its type in

²⁰⁹ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 80.

²¹⁰ Dorine van Espelo, “A testimony of Carolingian rule? The *Codex epistolaris carolinus*, its historical context, and the meaning of *imperium*,” *Early Medieval Europe*, 21 (2013): 254-282. <https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12018>

²¹¹ *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini I*, 476.

terms of weight, material or iconography etc. and upon these to suggest chronological periods. Under the light of these, the coins attributed to period after 793/794, the reform era, to the late phases of the reign of Charlemagne, even if they bear *rex* title, will be examined in the next chapter focusing on post – 800 period. Hence, titles appearing on coins may not really help about a precise dating.

The period between 768 and 793/794, Charlemagne did not really make big changes in coinage but reduced the number of mints down to forty.²¹² Even this pre-reform attempt can be seen as a continuation of the centralisation and standardisation process of the economy management by the Carolingians on their coinage. Archaeology tells us about the impact and magnitude of centralisation and the attempts to a monetary control and uniformity, together with all economic activities requiring monetary transactions in cash such as trading, covering the era of 751 – 814, by the distances that coins travelled through their circulation throughout the kingdom and beyond as the average distance between a mint of origin and find- spot for single finds for a coin struck by Pippin III is 153 km, for a pre-reform coin of Charlemagne it is 278 km and a post-reform, or monogram type, coin could reach as far as 489 km.²¹³ Those coins of monogram type, dated to post-793/794 to the last years of his reign, are also larger and heavier.²¹⁴

²¹² Verhulst, “Money and Price Movements,” 117.

²¹³ Coupland, “Revisiting Charlemagne’s Coinage,” 218, 219.

²¹⁴ Coupland, 214.

Table 12: *The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample coins, 768 – 781*

Phrase	Period	Quantity
<i>Carolus</i> (nontitular)	768 – 781 (?)	34
<i>Carolus Rex</i>	768 – 781	3
Total	768 – 781	37

The primitive type bearing the bilinear *CARO/LVS* legend on the obverses are the early versions and most probably dated sometime before c.790.²¹⁵ While the coinage of Pippin III consisted of more of a variety, Charlemagne tried to fix as many coins as possible to be fixed to use the identical observe design, which is *CARO/LVS* in two lines.²¹⁶

There are some examples of such a type among the coins taken for the first group from the beginning of his reign, and some of them have possibility to have been minted during the joint kingship period but it is not really clear, so they are considered in this chapter. There are twenty-eight samples with the legend of *CARO/LVS* on their obverses without any title and they are attributed to the period of 768 – 781.²¹⁷ Two of them had been damaged as they missing parts in the brackets as *CARO/[LV]S*²¹⁸ and *[CA]RO/[L]VS*.²¹⁹ There is another *CARO/LVS* sample attributed to the whole range of his reign but most probably it belongs to this period and group.²²⁰ There is also the type with the same phrase bearing

²¹⁵ Morrison and Grunthal, 4.

²¹⁶ Coupland, 214.

²¹⁷ *BN*, plates I, II, II, II, III, III, III, V, V, VI, VI, VII, VII, VII, XV, XV, XVI, XVI, XVI, XVI, XXI, XXI, XXI, XXI, XXI, XXI, coins 7, 56, 57, 61, 84, 87, 95, 100, 203, 214, 229, 268, 289, 290, 291, 292, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 687, 931, 932, 934, 935, 939, 940, p. 2, 9, 10, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 32, 34, 36, 42, 44 – 45, 45, 45, 96, 96, 96, 96, 96, 97, 131, 131, 131, 131, 132, 132.

²¹⁸ *BN*, plate II, coin 84, p. 13.

²¹⁹ *BN*, plate XVI, coin 683, p. 96.

²²⁰ *ANS*, 1956.168.40.

CAR/LVS bilinear script on the obverse and the sample quantity is five.²²¹ Three of them are with the feature of bearing a title in addition to the *nomen regis* as *Carolus rex* in three different abbreviated forms as the trilinear *CA/ROL/REX*²²², *KARx*²²³ similar to an early example in the previous chapter, and *CARLVS R.*²²⁴

Table 13: *The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample coins, 771 – 781*

Phrase	Period	Quantity
<i>Carolus</i> (nontitular)	771 – 781	12
<i>Carolus Rex Francorum</i>	771 (774) – 781	2
<i>Dominus Noster Carolus Rex</i>	774 – 781	1
Total	771 – 781	15

There are also samples of similar types without any possible attribution of having had been minted in the first three years of the reign of Charlemagne, which was the joint kingship period. Most commonly *CARO/LVS* nontitular type went on. In this period, after 773/774 mints in Italy minted variant types as well.²²⁵ The year 781 is a point for the periodisation not only in this sample group but also for some of the other ones notably, although, it is difficult to talk about a disruptive reform affecting the types of coins in any feature. Having established his control over Italy in 773/774, Charlemagne let the Italian mints go on issuing gold *tremisses* in his name and there had been already some gold coins struck in Francia but they were

²²¹ *BN*, plates, IV, VIII, XIV, XXI, XXI, coin 144, 316, 649, 930, 937, p. 24, 48, 92, 130 – 131, 131 – 132.

²²² *BN*, plate VI, coin 230, p. 36.

²²³ *BN*, plate XXI, coin 941, p. 132.

²²⁴ *BN*, plate XXI, coin 938, p. 132.

²²⁵ Simon Coupland, “Charlemagne and his Coinage,” in *Charlemagne: les temps, les espaces, les hommes: Construction et déconstruction d’un règne*, ed. Rolf Grosse and Michel Sot, 427 – 451, (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2018), 432. <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.HAMA-EB.5.114724>

not aimed for the general use on the contrary of Italian gold coins.²²⁶ However, in 781 with the Capitulary of Mantua those Italian gold coins were withdrawn from the circulation and replaced by silver *denarii* bearing the standard Frankish *CARO/LVS* on their obverses and *R F* on their reverses with a few distinctions from the other ones in Francia.²²⁷

In spite of the fact that it is not directly related to these issues, the year 781 has another importance for Carolingian coinage by an exception. Normally, right to mint only belonged to the kings but as the subking of Aquitaine and an infant Louis the Pious had coins in his name struck by his father Charlemagne in 781 which is the year of the coronation of Louis the Pious as king of Aquitaine.²²⁸ Nevertheless, this practice did not take long and subsequent coins minted in Aquitaine bore the name of Charlemagne.²²⁹

The general period of 771 – 781, namely the first decade of the sole rule of Charlemagne, consists of twelve nontitular coins and nine of them being in *CARO/LVS* form²³⁰ and the rest of three is bearing *CAR/LVS*.²³¹ There are title-bearing ones from this period with the expression of *Carolus rex Francorum*. The bilinear obverse *CARL/Rx F* is one form of that minted in Strasbourg.²³²

There are also Italian versions and they are dated to a period after the conquest of Lombardy which is 774 – 781. One sample minted in an Italian mint has the same expression but the inscription is *CARO/LVS* on the obverse and *Rx F* on the

²²⁶ Coupland, “Charlemagne’s Coinage”, 216.

²²⁷ Coupland, 216, 217.

²²⁸ Grierson and Blackburn, 195.

²²⁹ Grierson and Blackburn, 195.

²³⁰ *BN*, plates, XI, XII, XII, XIV, XVII, XX, XX, coin 489, 541, 542, 550, 627, 773, 774, 884, 885, p. 70, 77, 77, 79, 89, 107, 122, 122.

²³¹ *BN*, plates XI, XIV, XIX, coin 488, 628, 851, p. 70, 89, 118. The second line of the last one is a bit torn but it is not far from this assumption.

²³² *BN*, plate II, coin 42, p. 7.

reverse²³³ with some similarities with early examples of the Carolingian coinage. *Dominus Noster Carolus rex* phrase with the lordship emphasised with the inscription of *DN CARVLVS REX* and this is a gold coin, unlike the majority of Carolingian coins, and differently the legend is placed around the frontal portrait of Charlemagne on the obverse and this piece has features of the Lombard tradition being in the form of *triens*.²³⁴ However, this coin and others issued in Lucca in such style but their authenticity is questionable.²³⁵ This type was used at Byzantium then borrowed by the Beneventans and the Papacy.²³⁶ It is quite possible that Charlemagne had been influenced by the established style and tradition there. However, the argument in this matter is that Charlemagne introduced portraiture in his coinage after the imperial coronation but he modelled himself on the ancient Romans not on the contemporary Byzantines.²³⁷ Nonetheless, there are several examples, especially from Italy and it would not be so wrong to assume any influence when they were in a connected environment.

Table 14: *The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample coins, 771 – 793/794*

Phrase	Period	Quantity
<i>Carolus</i> (nontitular)	771 – 793/794	118
<i>Carolus Rex Francorum</i>	771 – 793/794	13
<i>Carolus Rex</i>	771 – 793/794	1
Total	771 – 793/794	132

²³³ *BN*, plate XX, coin 891, p. 123.

²³⁴ *SMB*, 18202710. *Triens* and *tremissis* can be use coterminously for this period.

²³⁵ Grierson and Blackburn, 200.

²³⁶ Grierson and Blackburn, 200.

²³⁷ Grierson and Blackburn, 200.

The period between the initiation of the sole rule of Charlemagne and the coinage reform era, which covers 771 – 793/794 with the dated coins, shows similar features and uniformity to a certain extent since it covers partially the aforementioned epochs as well. The nontitular *Carolus* expression is by far the most common despite being in relatively various forms. The first and the most common of them, as in the previous examples, is the bilinear legend of *CARO/LVS* observed on the obverses of ninety-seven samples.²³⁸

Among this sample group, there are some coins with curious reverses even if not titular differently in the sense that Carolingian coins usually bear the mint city name unless there is a title in the period being covered so far. First of all, the religious references reflecting the boundaries with the Church and these cases also can be considered as the ongoing impact of ecclesiastical mints through the period of centralisation. Two of them which were minted in Trier, known with its ancient mint and episcopal see, bear the legends of *S P TR*²³⁹ and *S P R*²⁴⁰ referring to *Sanctus Petrus (Treverensis)*, namely St. Peter of Trier. A similar situation was seen in the previous chapter in one of the coins issued by Pippin III. The three minted (probably) in Tours have the inscription of *SCI MARTINI* on their reverses referring to St. Martin of Tours and possibly to the basilica named after him in

²³⁸ *SMB*, 18202593, 18202645, 18202649, 18202651, 18215759, 18244989, 18244991, 18245019, 18245076, 18245084, 18244992, 18245004, 18245018, 18245056, 18245077, 18244996, 18245028, 18245029, 18245045, 18245052, 18245060, 18244998, 18244999, 18245003, 18245007, 18245033 – 18245036, 18245042, 18245053, 18245054, 18245057, 18245058, 18245079, 18244997, 18245005, 18245031, 18245044, 18245046 – 18245049, 18244987, 18244990, 18244994, 18244995, 18245000, 18245002, 18245006, 18245008 – 18245011, 18245013 – 18245017, 18245023 – 18245025, 18245030, 18245038 – 18245041, 18245043, 18245051, 18245055, 18245059, 18245068 – 18245072, 18245074, 18245075, 18245080, 18245081, 18245001; *MEC*, plate 33, coins 722 – 729, pages 520, 521. The last one is fragmented into two halves representing [...]*RO*/[...]*/S* but it is included in this series; *ANS*, 1967.58.1, 1948.115.2, 1958.10.2, 1958.79.1, 1961.129.1, 1972.73.4, 1960.164.3, 1960.165.3, *ANS* collection dates this series between 771 – 793.

²³⁹ *SMB*, 18202651.

²⁴⁰ *SMB*, 18245075.

Tours.²⁴¹ Differently two coins an unidentified mint(s) bear the name of probably the moneyer with the legend of *ODALRICVS*.²⁴²

Having the same phrase of *Carolus*, similarly the legend of *CAR/LVS* in two lines is extracted from the obverses of eleven sample coins.²⁴³ The catalogue for the Carolingian coins in the British Museum, the coins are not dated to a period unlike the other collections and catalogues but only assigned to the ruler. Hence, it might make sense to consider the *CARO/LVS* and *CAR/LVS* types in this part because of the density of these types and the width of time scale. For these *Carolus* coins, seven samples are with the legend on their obverses of *CARO/LVS*²⁴⁴ and one *CAR/LVS*.²⁴⁵

Among the *Carolus* expressing coins, a different type is employed. This type uses on the obverses only the monogram of *KAROLVS* and there are two samples from the Italian mints of Treviso²⁴⁶ and Venice probably.²⁴⁷ Similarly in a simple form there is another individual example of *KARx* for this group as well adding the royal title on the obverse.²⁴⁸

In this numerous sample group there are also coins with titles. The phrase of *Carolus rex Francorum* is expressed in some different forms. The most common coin type with this expression is the bilinear *CARO/LVS* legend on the obverse

²⁴¹ *SMB*, 18245070 – 18245072.

²⁴² *SMB*, 18245080, 18245081.

²⁴³ *SMB*, 18202592, 18245073, 18244993, 18245020, 18245032, 18245037, 18245078, 18245022, 18245026, 18245027, 18245021.

²⁴⁴ *CCBM*, plate I, coins 6 – 8, 14, 16 – 18.

²⁴⁵ *CCBM*, plate I, coin 15.

²⁴⁶ *SMB*, 18202703.

²⁴⁷ *SMB*, 18245090.

²⁴⁸ *SMB*, 18245067. This abbreviation appeared in few examples and taken as *KARx* but considering the possible ligatures there is a possibility of actually being as *KFRx* referring to the Franks as well.

referring to the name of the King and *Rx F* for the title on the reverse and there are seven samples accessed of these.²⁴⁹

With the same formula there are three more samples, however, they bear possible the inscription of *MED* on their peripheral reverses additionally and this case might be caused by the addition of the mint name, which is a common practice of Carolingian coins, considering that they were minted in Milan and the abbreviated inscription possibly means *Mediolanum* the name of the city in Latin.²⁵⁰ An independent sample from a different collection has similar features with the letter ‘E’ distinctly written, although the mint is not identified probably that coin belongs to this Milan group.²⁵¹ Similarly to these, another possible mint addition to the reverse title takes place in the legend of *cR^Ex F*, the letter ‘c’ probably referring to *Cenomonía* as a mint monogram similarly to Milan samples, one of these two samples was minted at Mantua²⁵² while the other is not identified.²⁵³ It is also curious that two Italian mints, Mantua and Milan, in this period show such a feature. Some other examples for such mints can be Bergamo, Pavia, Piacenza and maybe Cremona and Verona.²⁵⁴ However, possibly after by a later visit of Charlemagne to Italy in 787, they were replaced by even more standardised form, even if not all.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁹ *MEC*, plate 33, coins 730, 731, p. 520, 521; *SMB*, 18202489, 18245061 – 18245063; *ANS*, 1948.79.1.

²⁵⁰ *SMB*, 18202701, 18245064, 18245065.

²⁵¹ *ANS*, 1969.189.1.

²⁵² *SMB*, 18245066.

²⁵³ *ANS*, 1960.86.2.

²⁵⁴ Coupland, 217.

²⁵⁵ Coupland, 217.

Table 15: *The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample coins, 781 – 793/794*

Phrase	Period	Quantity
<i>Carolus Rex Francorum</i>	781 – 793/794	2
Total	781 – 793/794	2

There are two sample coins from Italian mints showing some above mentioned features of the post-781 regulations and they represent both *Carolus rex Francorum* phrase. One was issued in Milan and the obverse bears the common bilinear *CARO/LVS* inscription and the reverse has *Rx F.*²⁵⁶ The other sample is from Treviso and it has the same inscriptions in the same style but the catalogue gives the obverse and reverse interchangeably.²⁵⁷

Table 16: *The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample coins, 781 – 800*

Phrase	Period	Quantity
<i>Carolus</i> (nontitular)	781 – 800	1
<i>Carolus Rex Francorum</i>	781 – 800	24
<i>Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum</i>	781 – 800	1
Total	781 – 800	26

The coins which are dated between 781 and 800 have some different characteristics. As mentioned before, in 793/794 a coinage reform was made and some of the coins in the sample group are in the form of post-reform coins. Before the analysis of titles extracted from coins it might be useful to summarise what happened in 793/794.

²⁵⁶ MEC, plate 33, coin 732, p. 520, 521.

²⁵⁷ MEC, plate 33, coin 732, p. 520, 521. Also, the authors preferred to classify them as Italian series starting from 781.

There was a fall in silver prices in that era and the discussions about the reasons of it generally about the trade balance with the east in gold and silver, more recent utilisation of silver mines such as Melle and the famine of 792/793 caused the increase in grain prices.²⁵⁸ In 794, the Council of Frankfurt fixed the ceiling price of grain and bread to a new measure and the new *denarii* were introduced.²⁵⁹ Also, two years after the Council of Frankfurt, Alcuin mentions the monetary reform in a letter.²⁶⁰ Then, these more standardised coins started to be struck broader and heavier, generally bearing *CARLVVS REX FR* inscription on the obverses and the reverses again host the mint's name located around a *KAROLVS* royal monogram.²⁶¹ Despite of the lack of uniformity about which face bore which legend, the vast illiterate society could recognise them easily due to the identical look regardless of place of the mint.²⁶²

Despite the standardisation attempts there are still some differences in types and phrases a bit but it is partly due to the length of the suggested period and the conditions of the late 8th century and its state. To start with a nontitular one, the sample coin was minted in Treviso with a *KAROLVS* monogram on its obverse while the reverse only refers to the mint.²⁶³ Another sample deriving from the relatively standard use is a bit more complicated. It has the message of *Carolus gratia dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum*, which was observed and given with the documents commonly but rare for coins, and it was minted in Italy having the standard obverse of *CARLVVS REX FR* with a *KAROLVS* monogram but the reverse bears the abbreviated inscription of *ET LANG AC PAT*

²⁵⁸ Verhulst, 118.

²⁵⁹ Verhulst, 118.

²⁶⁰ Morrison and Grunthal, 4.

²⁶¹ Coupland, "Revisiting Charlemagne's Coinage", 214, 215.

²⁶² Coupland, 215.

²⁶³ *BN*, plate XX, coin, 911, p. 127. To validate the documents of Charlemagne, this type was used on coins from Treviso before 793. Grierson and Blackburn, 199.

ROM.²⁶⁴ Moreover, there is another monogram on the reverse which was interpreted as a monogram symbolising Rome, Ravenna or Pope Hadrian but it is more likely a Greek monogram for *KAROLVS*, namely *KAPOYΛOΣ*.²⁶⁵ These can be evaluated as the Byzantine impact in Italy and at the same time the expression of the royal title of the Lombards and the Roman patrician title on a coin minted in Italy local for such terms may say thinks about the establishment of Carolingian rule there.

The samples representing the phrase *Carolus rex Francorum* are more numerous.

There are more or less uniform. A general note on design for the most of these coins is that the inscriptions of titles and mints are located around the *KAROLVS* monogram and a cross on either face. One sample is just a bit deviated with the missing letters of 'X' and 'R' and the inscription on the obverse is *CARLVS RE F* around a cross, while the reverse has the mint name around the monogram.²⁶⁶

Together with one sample broken²⁶⁷ around the letter 'R', twenty-three coins bear the legend of *CARLVS REX FR*.²⁶⁸ Having been counted in this group, two coins have the cross image on their reverses as many other coins but the crosses are located on steps.²⁶⁹ This image is quite similar to the Byzantine style and there might be an iconographical influence from Constantinople, despite of the fact that the coins are from Frankish mints of Mainz and Sennes not from Italy where the Byzantine influence was more solid on coinage.

²⁶⁴ BN, plate XX, coin 896, p. 125.

²⁶⁵ Morrison and Grunthal, 122. It might have been struck in Ravenna. Grierson and Blackburn, 199.

²⁶⁶ BN, plate V, coin, 212, p. 34.

²⁶⁷ BN, plate XIX, coin 835, p. 116.

²⁶⁸ BN, plates I, I, II, II, V, VI, X, XVI, XVI, XVI, XVIII, XVIII, XVIII, XIX, XIX, XX, XX, XX, XX, XXI, coins 30, 32, 40, 41, 62, 185, 443, 688, 728, 729, 791, 800, 829, 852, 854, 897, 905, 911, 916, 942, p. 5, 6, 7, 7, 10, 30, 65, 97, 101, 101, 109, 114, 115, 118, 118, 125, 126, 127, 128, 132.

²⁶⁹ BN, plates I, II, coins 30, 40, p. 5, 7.

Table 17: *The phrases that Charlemagne and Grimoald used on the sample coins, 787 – 793*

Phrase	Period	Quantity
<i>Grimoald (et) Carolus Rex Victorius Dominus</i>	787 – 793	13
<i>Grimoald (et) Carolus Rex</i>	787 – 793	3
Total	787 – 793	16

Charlemagne issued coins with duke Grimoald III of Benevento for a limited period. They struck coins bearing Charlemagne's name or the *KAROLVS* monogram as a matter of recognition of Charlemagne as an overlord to Grimoald.²⁷⁰ The agreement of letting Charlemagne put his name on Beneventan coins and charters was a matter of accepting his suzerainty.²⁷¹ Also, the form of the monogram was a bit unusual and the reason behind that was to be more familiar to the local audience and the style was similar to the use of the Lombard rulers there.²⁷²

The legends used on the coins are a bit different than the standardised Frankish coins but still being different this style is also not the same with the early Italian series coinage of Charlemagne. They are more open to discussion and interpretation. The majority of the samples, which makes thirteen, have the inscription of *GRIMVALD* on their obverses and the reverses bear *CAR Rx VIC DOMS G R*.²⁷³ It possibly represents *Grimoald (et) Carolus rex Victorius Dominus* meaning 'Grimoald and Charles King Victorious Lord' especially when

²⁷⁰ Grierson and Blackburn, 210. The dating changes in different collections since the total period is not very long, the largest range is taken here to be safer.

²⁷¹ Garipzanov, "Signum", 438.

²⁷² Garipzanov, 438.

²⁷³ *CCBM*, plate I, coins 19A/ – 26A/; *ANS*, 1947.3.40; *SMB*, 18201574, 18201576, 18245654, 18245656.

considering the case of overlordship. Coins of this group are quite in a Byzantine fashion and it is reasonable when considering the Byzantine impact on Italian mintage. In this sense, there are frontal portraits, or a bust and possibly belonging to Grimoald, is located on the obverse while there are crosses on steps on the reverses. There is another type based on monograms. These three samples have the monogram of *GRIMOALD* on the obverses while the reverse bears the cruciform monogram styled as *CAROLVS Rx*.²⁷⁴ It is possible to see these samples looking more in early Carolingian forms than Byzantine but still they are distinct. Also, the variation in the monogram that Charlemagne used it can be interpreted as a local justification.

There are also two samples of sole coins Grimoald struck in his name. One of them has a relatively complex inscription and possible phrase that it represents. On the obverse there is simply his name takes place in the form of *GRIMVALD* but the reverse is a bit unclear but assumed *VICTORA - PRINCIP -R C-ONO-B*.²⁷⁵ It may represent the phrase of *Grimoald Victoria princeps* and *CONOB* for sure refers to Constantinople as the mint, with the *CON* part while *OB* is about gold material, as a feature of many coins issued by Byzantine Empire and its periphery under its influence at different degrees and the tradition in Italy, the coin was probably minted in Benevento though. This sample also shows the same Byzantine style iconographical features with the ones Grimoald issued with Charlemagne. The other sample is similar to Byzantine style and it is from Campagna and on its obverse there is a *GRIMOALD* monogram and on the reverse the inscription refers to Benevento as *BENE-BENTV A-ω*.²⁷⁶ The use of the Greek letters *alpha* and

²⁷⁴ *CCBM*, plate I, coin 27. *SMB*, 18201577, 18245655.

²⁷⁵ *SMB*, 18201578.

²⁷⁶ *SMB*, 18201579.

omega might be a part of Christian character of the coin, as in many of them there is a cross. This emphasis in Christian confession as God being the beginning and the end referring to the patristic tradition and to the New Testament especially clearly to Revelation 1:8 with the letter emphasised as “I am *Alpha*, I am *Omega*, the beginning of all things and their end, says the Lord God; he who is, and ever was, and is still to come, the Almighty.”²⁷⁷

Related to this geography and within the context, it would be worth looking at some sample coins issued by some of the aforementioned *personae* to see the conventions and uses. While the central powers are known with their titlature as Charlemagne deeply investigated in this section and the Byzantines generally calling the rulers as *basileus*, including Irene, the styles of the three intermediary actors might put some more light with single samples as auxiliaries. Following a chronology, the last Lombard king Desiderius issued a coin in Milan, at any time during his whole rule between 756 and 774, and this coin being in the Lombard tradition bears the legend of *D N DISIDIRIVS RX*.²⁷⁸ This abbreviated inscription refers to *Dominus Noster Desiderius rex*, meaning the same with the previous example of this use. It is curious and an epigraphic proof beside the iconography and metrology that Charlemagne utilised the Lombard, also Roman considering the geography and continuity, tradition there as indicated in an aforementioned example emphasising the use of *Dominus Noster*. It is also interesting that Desiderius does not refer to *Longobardorum* just keeping the *rex* precise.

Another example is from a relatively minor polity, the Duchy of Benevento, but it got involved in critical events. Grimoald was taken into consideration above due to

²⁷⁷ “Alpha and Omega (in Scripture),” Catholic Encyclopedia: Alpha and Omega (In Scripture), accessed May 27, 2021, <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01332a.htm>.

²⁷⁸ *SMB*, 18201564.

direct links with Charlemagne on coinage. Here, a sample coin of duke Arichis II of Benevento is under assessment. The coins was struck between 774 and 787²⁷⁹ in Campagna, same as a sample by Grimoald, on the obverse of the coin the legend is *DNS VI-CTORIA*,²⁸⁰ possibly abbreviated form of *Dominus Noster Victoria*, while the reverse is *VICTIRV - PRINPI A C-ONO-B*, attributable to *Victorius Princeps Arichis*. These can be compiled as ‘Our Lord Victory Victorious *princeps* Arichis’ in a similar fashion to other Lombard or Lombard-influenced coins mentioned before. Again, Constantinople is shown as mint within traditional practices and the relations.

Another interesting and crucial sample belongs to a very important actor of this era, Pope Hadrian I. The coin was issued in Vatican during his whole pontificate between 772 and 795. The obverse has the legend of *HADRI-ANVS P P, I-B*²⁸¹ seems to represent *Hadrianus Papa* and the reverse *VICTOR-IA DNN R-M*, *CONOB*, in a relatively similar form to other examples from Italy, possibly *Victoria Dominus Noster*. To paraphrase, ‘Pope Hadrian Victory Our Lord’ and again the mint reference is to Constantinople while *R-M* may represent Rome as well. The type of the coin also shares same Byzantine features with the others. Thus, this also shows the Byzantine impact on the Papacy despite all the dispute and challenges between them through the 8th century.

²⁷⁹ The span of the rule of Arichis II was 758 – 787. The dates suggested for the coin is interesting. It was possibly struck after the Lombard conquest of Charlemagne and the end of the given period is also when the disputes over Benevento took stage then his rule ended. This can be seen as Charlemagne’s involvement has an impact over the minting activities there as well.

²⁸⁰ *SMB*, 18201573.

²⁸¹ *SMB*, 18237817.

3.5 The Titulature of Charlemagne on Seals

Seals are different sources than diplomatic documents and coins to extract titles.

Despite the differences, they can be considered as somewhere between of these two sources because they are material type of a source such as coins but at the same time they were usually used to be added at the end of diplomatic documents so that they can be also considered as integral to the written sources. Unfortunately, the sample group for seals is not large. Seals which do not bear any inscription are not taken into consideration, and then there is only one type inscription accessed. All three samples from the early 770s, probably 774, have the inscription of *XPE PROTEGE CAROLVM REGE FRANCR* accompanied with a cross.²⁸² This abbreviation represents the Latin phrase “*Christe, protege Carolum, regem Francorum*”²⁸³ meaning “Oh Christ, protect the Charles, king of the Franks” and *Carolus rex Francorum* is in the accusative case. There is a portrait of Charlemagne from profile with beard and short curly hair in *paludamentum* on each seal and the image is attributed to Antoninus Pius or Commodus.²⁸⁴ This can be interpreted as there had been attempts to connect with the Roman legacy decades before the imperial coronation and the coronation was a result of a long process in different fields.

²⁸² “Supplément 7885,” Sigilla, retrieved from <http://www.sigilla.org/moulage/supplement-7885-29730>. The collection is Collection Supplément des Archives Nationales and this is the item number 7885; “Douet d’Arcq 15,” Sigilla. The collection is Inventaire des Sceaux des Archives de l’Empire with the item number 15; Otto Posse, *Die Siegel der Deutschen Kaiser und Könige: von 751 bis 1913*, vol. 1, (Dresden: Verlag der Wilhelm und Bertha V. Baensch Stiftung, 1913), plate I, seal 4. The collection is Nationalarchiv Paris with MR 171 (167). Dating of the samples is still an issue. Posse gives the date as 14 September 774. The individual Sigilla pages do not give dates but a kind of umbrella page for Charlemagne’s seals “Charlemagne – premier – sceau”, probably using the same image with “Douet d’Arcq 15” that is why not counted separately and for all seals the best is done to eliminate multiplications of samples and data, this page offers the date range as 772 – 774 with respect to Posse.

²⁸³ “Charlemagne – premier – sceau,” Sigilla.

²⁸⁴ “Charlemagne – premier – sceau,” Sigilla.

3.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, changes in the use of titles and their style and form are quite related to the factors of politics, especially the foreign affairs that were directly involved in sourcing legitimacy. In this sense, matters with Rome, Lombardy and Constantinople had impact on the uses of titles at different stages but the direct impact might be of Lombardy and the Papacy in this chapter. The most obvious example for this is the acquisition of the royal title of the Lombard which came up following a conquest. Another example can be the revival of *patricius Romanorum* associated with the protection of Rome in respect to involvement of Pippin III there before which was followed by grant of the title. Also, relations with the others had an effect as well especially considering the growing power and machinery of government combined with kingship ideals.

It has also been seen that the types and chronology of sources affect the style of expressions of titulature, even if the status of rule did not change. A charter style different than of a capitulary or a charter dated to 770s might be different than one issued in 790s. Similar with the coins that the reforms caused changes as well as the changes sourced by emission and locations and traditions, and influences from different places such as Byzantium, of certain mints through a period of three decades despite the standardisation acts, which can be considered as successful under the circumstances of the 8th century. However, the new century from its very beginning brought a big change and challenge not only for the Carolingians but for the many of the established orders around Francia and Rome to be traced in the use of titles.

CHAPTER IV: THE FINAL TRANSFORMATION: A NEW EMPEROR IN THE WEST

4.1. Introduction

The very beginning of the 9th century was a scene for one of the most famous events of the world history. The new century brought the imperial coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III in Rome on the Christmas Day in 800. However, this was a result of a long process which might have initiated in the era of the early Carolingians to the destination of ruling an 'empire' through a journey from the Merovingian legacy to the Roman legacy almost for an half century which is relatively a short period for such changes. Being a part of a process, this chapter will follow a similar path. A historical background to put the recently acquired titles into a context will be given and the relations with the Papacy and Byzantium will be the backbone for it in a line of events without dealing much with imperial concepts. For, similarly to the previous periods, legitimacy, common interests and conflict of interests with the Franks and Charlemagne affected changes. Then the title analyses will follow as in the previous chapters.

In terms of sources, methodology and problems, similarities with the previous chapters continue to exist. While the narrative and secondary sources do not differ much in terms of their quality and quantity, the number of sources to extract titles is in a decrease despite of increasing centralisation. There are fewer coins, seals and diplomatic documents not only by number but also by diversity of styles. However, this relative uniformity might be seen as an outcome standardisation. Similar issues with the previous chapters, such as dating, continue because of the chronology but again putting the data in a context develops critical thinking for assessment.

4.2. The Imperial Coronation: Background and Afterwards

The very end of the 8th century, with some particular events, was a bridge to the new century having brought another change again in relation with the same actors the Papacy and Byzantium. To start with, after the death of Pope Hadrian I in 795, Pope Leo III succeeded him and the new pontiff sent envoys to Charlemagne with presents such as the keys to the tomb of St. Peter and the banner of the city of Rome.²⁸⁵ This can be seen as a papal attempt to keep the alliance between the Holy See and the *Regnum Francorum* in a new epoch by a new pope. A few years later, in 798 according to the *Royal Frankish Annals*, Irene also sent an envoy for peace from the Byzantine side.²⁸⁶ Having refreshed alliances a new challenge occurred soon after. In 799, an uprising against Pope Leo III was led by nephews of Hadrian I who were the highest officials, *sacellarius* Campolo and *primicerius* Pasquale, in Rome.²⁸⁷ According to the *Royal Frankish Annals*, Pope Leo was blinded and his tongue was torn out but he escaped then the envoys of Charlemagne took him to Spoleto.²⁸⁸ However, Charlemagne did not give up his campaigns in Saxony and in the same year the patriarch of Jerusalem sent relics from the Holy Sepulchre through a monk.²⁸⁹

In the summer of 800, Charlemagne headed for Italy after a campaign against the Beneventans in Ravenna he met with Pope Leo at Mentana, twelve miles away from Rome and he was welcomed at St. Peter's Basilica in Rome on 24 November

²⁸⁵ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 74.

²⁸⁶ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 76.

²⁸⁷ Barbero, *Charlemagne*, 89.

²⁸⁸ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 77.

²⁸⁹ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 77, 78.

with a ceremony.²⁹⁰ Then on Christmas, Charlemagne was crowned by Pope Leo III and the participants hailed “To the august Charles, crowned by God, the great and peaceful emperor of the Romans, life and victory!”²⁹¹ Also, Charlemagne stopped using the title of *patricius* to be called emperor and augustus.²⁹² This ceremony was a kind of imitation of the Byzantine practice since the coronation of Emperor Leo I by Patriarch Anatolius in 457, which Christianised the Roman ritual.²⁹³ Soon after Pope Leo III and Charlemagne forgave the conspirators from the death penalty which had been sentenced to them but they were sent into exile.²⁹⁴ Despite all these processes which led way to the imperial coronation, it is not really clear if Charlemagne intended or planned these. Even Einhard put question marks to minds indicating that if Charlemagne knew the intention of Pope for the coronation he even would not have entered the church.²⁹⁵ Pope Leo might have put his interests as being a *protégé* of Charlemagne by this coronation in order not to subordinate Byzantium, even though Charlemagne might have hesitated to put the imperial title to the documents that he issued for several months and he did not style himself as *imperator Romanorum*.²⁹⁶ He might have dropped such a use in order not to provoke Constantinople since Byzantium referred itself as the Roman Empire.²⁹⁷

Having mentioned that, the situation of relations with Byzantium mattered much for this move and aftermath. In the West there was a general tendency to deny that

²⁹⁰ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 80.

²⁹¹ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 81.

²⁹² *Royal Frankish Annals*, 81.

²⁹³ Herrin, 30, 31.

²⁹⁴ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 81.

²⁹⁵ Eginhard, 23.

²⁹⁶ François Louis Ganshof, “Immediate Preliminaries to the Coronation: Affairs in Rome in December, 800,” in *The Coronation of Charlemagne: What Did It Signify*, ed. Richard E. Sullivan, 38 – 40, (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1966), 39.

²⁹⁷ Peter H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe’s History*, (London: Penguin Books, 2016), 33.

Irene could rule as an emperor but also Pope Leo knew that Irene was ruling in Byzantium where the new title of Charlemagne was not acceptable at that time.²⁹⁸ As mentioned in the previous chapter, Irene used the masculine title of *basileus*, it is worth considering some examples here to see the contrast and the ‘problem of two emperors’. In accordance with the generalisation, in a legal document dated between 797 and 802, Irene styled herself as *Εἰρήνη πιστὸς βασιλεύς* meaning ‘faithful *basileus*/emperor Irene’ in both masculine title and epithet.²⁹⁹ However, what coins say is more complicated. Commonly, the coins issued by her bear the feminine titles in the dative form of *basilissa* which is *βασιλίσση* in Greek and *augusta* while some of them bear the abbreviated inscription as *bAS*’ which can either refer to *basilissa* or *basileus*.³⁰⁰

Thus, recognition by the established imperial order in the East was important for Charlemagne as it had been before for other ‘barbarian’ rulers. To illustrate, when the Western Roman Empire fell Odoacer sent the imperial vestments to Emperor Zeno in Constantinople and an embassy emphasised the idea of ‘one emperor’ and proposed the title of *patricius* despite his conquest of Rome and he was not really interested in titles but his rule got legitimacy from the East.³⁰¹ An example from a closer case both as being a Frank and for chronological purposes can be Clovis. However, when he first acceded to power he was unacknowledged by Byzantium

²⁹⁸ Herrin, 117.

²⁹⁹ *Jus Graeco-Romanum, Pars III: Novellae Constitutiones*, ed. Karl Eduard Zachariä von Lingenthal, (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1857), 55.

³⁰⁰ Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection: Volume 3, Part 1: Leo III to Michael III, 717 – 867*, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1993), 347, 348. No individual example is given since the focus on this study is not the coinage of Irene and general outcomes are presented. For samples with images see this given source pages 349 – 351 and plate XV.

³⁰¹ Peter Crawford, *Roman Emperor Zeno: The Perils of Power Politics in Fifth-Century Constantinople*, (Barnsley: Pen and Sword History, 2019), 211, 212.

because he was pagan.³⁰² Nevertheless, after his conversion to Chalcedonian Christianity and some political and military success, Clovis was given the titles of *consul* or *augustus* by Emperor Anastasius in Tours according to the narrative of Gregory of Tours then he established the seat of his kingdom in Paris.³⁰³ Later, the Byzantine emperors even adopted some Merovingian kings as their sons and with some intellectual boundaries a ‘friendly subordination’ took place.³⁰⁴

The case of Charlemagne is different since he assumed the imperial title by papal recognition without any approval from Constantinople firstly. It was usual for the Byzantines that Germanic kings bore subordinate titles but the assumption of the title *imperator* was unthinkable.³⁰⁵ The Byzantine Empire was universal as the Roman Empire and it added Christianity and the Church in this worldview of being the sole legitimate empire on the Earth and many other independent rulers got recognised the supremacy of Byzantium.³⁰⁶ This status of Byzantium was also never questioned in the West until the imperial coronation of Charlemagne.³⁰⁷ Then, the coronation of Charlemagne affected the balance of hierarchy over the rule of Christendom and the Byzantines considered this act as the usurpation of their inherited right.³⁰⁸ The Byzantines claimed legitimacy through the unbroken line of emperors since the Roman times and unlike Charlemagne, they were only emperors but not kings at the same time.³⁰⁹ There were regency periods in the East

³⁰² Wallace-Hadrill, 69.

³⁰³ Gregory Bishop of Tours, *History of the Franks* (selections), trans. Ernest Brehaut, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1969), 47.

³⁰⁴ Fichtenau, *Carolingian Empire*, 4.

³⁰⁵ Barbero, 94.

³⁰⁶ George Ostrogorsky, "The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35, no. 84 (1956): 5, 6.

³⁰⁷ Steven Runciman, "The Place of Byzantium in the Medieval World," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV: *The Byzantine Empire, Part II: Government, Church and Civilisation*, ed. J. M. Hussey, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 354.

³⁰⁸ Ostrogorsky, "Byzantine Emperor," 6.

³⁰⁹ Wilson, *Holy Roman Empire*, 138.

as well but those interregnal periods were short unlike the West having been a scene for long eras without a crowned ruler.³¹⁰

Yet, Charlemagne was curious about relations and communication with Byzantium. According to the account of Theophanes the Confessor, Charlemagne planned a naval expedition to Sicily but he changed his mind and decided to marry Irene to unite the eastern and western parts and then, with the Pope, he sent embassies for this purpose in 801/802.³¹¹ However, the *Royal Frankish Annals* just mentions an envoy sent by Irene to ratify peace in 802.³¹² These negotiations which may have enabled both Irene and Charlemagne to use the imperial title provoked the revolt against Irene and she was deposed by her finance minister in the same year.³¹³ Meanwhile, Charlemagne was recognised as the protector of the church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid and did favours for the church unlike the contemporary Byzantine state.³¹⁴ This can be seen as the prestige of Charlemagne as a Christian patron even out of Christendom.

Coming back to issues with Byzantium, there were disputes and peace talks especially over Italy, like the incidents in Dalmatia and Venice in 809, through the decade.³¹⁵ In the end, the new emperor Nikephoros I refused to recognise Charlemagne as emperor throughout his rule until 811.³¹⁶ The year 812 reckons an important year for this case. Michael I Rhangabe became emperor and he sent an envoy with a document of treaty calling Charlemagne ‘emperor’ and ‘*basileus*’.³¹⁷

³¹⁰ Wilson, 138.

³¹¹ Theophanes the Confessor, 653, 654.

³¹² *Royal Frankish Annals*, 82.

³¹³ Herrin, 111, 117.

³¹⁴ Magdalino, 170.

³¹⁵ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 89.

³¹⁶ Joachim Whaley, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 28.

³¹⁷ *Royal Frankish Annals*, 94, 95.

Then, the imperial title of Charlemagne was recognised by a Byzantine emperor for the first time with this event. Furthermore, this recognition caused a change for the Byzantines as well. Michael I rephrased his title as *βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων* adding ‘of the Romans’ to the existing *basileus* on his coinage while the design was kept the same and this attempt aimed to distinguish the ‘Roman Empire’ he ruled from the empire ruled by Charlemagne.³¹⁸ This might be seen as a reflection of a thought of placing Michael I himself and his empire as *primus inter pares* or maybe he did not recognise his Western counterpart as equal at any point: anyway the recognition of the imperial title of Charlemagne took place and it was an important act for the cases of legitimacy and changes. Similar to the previous attempts for building good relations, this time Michael I sent a treaty of peace to Charlemagne with a marriage proposal for his son Theophylaktos and also Patriarch Nikephoros sent a synodic letter to Pope Leo.³¹⁹

To look at the case of relations closer, there is a remaining letter of Charlemagne to Michael I with an emphasis of ‘fraternity’ and it was written in 813.³²⁰ This is curious that Charlemagne styles himself a bit differently³²¹ in terms of epithets and the formula is *Karolus divina largiente gratia imperator et augustus idemque rex Francorum et Langobardorum* meaning ‘Charles, by the divine bestowing grace, emperor and augustus and he is also king of the Franks and the Lombards’. He addresses Emperor Michael as *dilecto et honorabili fratri Michaeli glorioso imperatori et augusto* meaning ‘to the beloved and honourable brother Michael, glorious emperor and augustus’. While Charlemagne has religious references and

³¹⁸ Philip Grierson, *Byzantine Coinage*, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999), 14.

³¹⁹ Theophanes the Confessor, 678.

³²⁰ *Epistolae Karolini Aevi, Tomus II, MGH Epistolae 4*, ed. Ernest Dümmler, (Berlin: Weidmann: 1895), 555, 556. Retrieved from [https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_epp_4/index.htm#page/\(I\)/mode/1up](https://www.dmgh.de/mgh_epp_4/index.htm#page/(I)/mode/1up)

³²¹ Different than the public documents given in the following pages, title analysis section.

to the people he ruled over, Michael I was styled more emotionally in a sense of brotherhood with the same imperial titles. Moreover, in the imperial title expression of the both 'emperors', it is curious that there is no reference to the Romans or anything about being a Roman emperor.

In the same year, another imperial coronation took place in Francia. Charlemagne crowned his son Louis the Pious co-emperor, like the Byzantine practice, the pope did not get involved in this event but Charlemagne received the approval of the high Frankish nobility.³²² This is interesting especially for the absence of the pope in the ceremony and it can be interpreted as a divergence between Rome and Charlemagne in terms of source of power and legitimacy. Charlemagne might have seen himself potent enough for such an act and did not search for papal authority for the legitimacy of the rule of his son and on the contrary he transferred his authority himself to his son.

Also the revival of learning and other intellectual activities at the Carolingian court reflected on some kind of onomastic outcomes from the prestige in the *imperium christianum* as in the words of Alcuin of York.³²³ For that, Charlemagne and the courtiers, in a humorous way, took 'classical' nicknames at the court so that Charlemagne took 'David', 'Solomon', 'Augustus', and 'Caesar'; Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, was called 'Antonius'; Alcuin was called 'Flaccus'; and Angilbert was nicknamed 'Homer'.³²⁴ For a few examples about the intellectual side of this *renovatio imperii* that the courtly literature consisted of many phrases from the Roman classical poets Virgil and Ovid, also Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni* was

³²² Whaley, 20.

³²³ He might have used the term *imperium* interchangeably with *regnum* in the tradition of Bede and the ideals of a Christian Empire/Kingdom were emphasised with that. See Wallace-Hadrill, 108; Fichtenau, 62 – 65.

³²⁴ C. Delisle Burns, "The Play Emperor," in *The Coronation of Charlemagne: What Did It Signify*, ed. Richard E. Sullivan, 14 – 27, (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1966), 16.

inspired by Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*.³²⁵ Also, the palace complex in Aachen aspired to be like the counterparts in Rome, Constantinople and Ravenna considering their legacies.³²⁶

Having attempted to revive the Roman Empire in the West for about 14 years in different fields and sought for its legitimacy, Charlemagne died in 814. His son Louis the Pious succeeded him as he had already been crowned the year before. However, the Carolingian Empire did not last beyond the centuries. The successors of Charlemagne use the titles *imperator augustus* or *rex* without specifying the people to proclaim authority over various realms.³²⁷ The reign of Louis the Pious was a scene for disputes among him and his sons but after his death a civil war took place and the Empire was divided into three (western, eastern and middle) after the Treaty of Verdun in 843.³²⁸ King of the middle realm, including Italy, was Lothar I and he took the imperial title as well, after this whoever Carolingian who ruled Italy held the imperial title.³²⁹ The last Carolingian king was Arnulf and he became king of Italy in 894 and emperor in 896.³³⁰ After the Carolingians had become extinct, several Roman families used the imperial title having passed among them without any real meaning, then after 924 until the imperial coronation of Otto I in 962 there was no emperor in the West.³³¹

³²⁵ Burns, "Play Emperor," 16.

³²⁶ Barbero, 87, 88.

³²⁷ Whaley, 19.

³²⁸ Whaley, 20.

³²⁹ Whaley, 20. This is a general practice but there were exceptional cases in succession and the rulers from other realms could hold the title too. E.g. Charles the Bald was the king of Western Francia but later he became emperor too.

³³⁰ His heir Louis the Child was crowned in 900 at the age of 6 but he was weak against the nobility and the bishops. Whaley, 22.

³³¹ Whaley, 20.

4.3. The Titulature of Charlemagne on Documents

This section, in terms of methodological approach, is similar to the corresponding part of the previous chapter. Firstly, charters are the source for titles. They are not only larger in number compared to other diplomatic documents but also more standardised and in the nominative case unlike the capitularies and affiliated documents to them. This can be seen as a similarity with the previous chapter. However, as a natural result of a status change the phrases changed but preserved some older uses. Given dates to the documents also show when the new imperial title was effectively in use, at least on documentation. This is also important to detect gray areas like in the examples from the previous chapter indicating some ‘imperial’ uses before 25 December 800 or, on the very contrary, styles from the ‘regnal’ period after that date. This gives us an occasion to rethink about the sharpness of chronologies and the actual outcomes to see the transitional periods and events.

Similarly, charters are given in the tables here due to uniformity and the nominative uses but the capitularies with the related documents are taken into consideration as more individual cases without distinct classification following the same method. Also, there is not a separate section for seals in this chapter since there is only one of them accessed belonging to the post-800 period and it is indicated together with capitularies and related documents.

4.3.1. The Titulature of Charlemagne on Charters

Table 18: The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample charters, 801 – 813

Phrase	Period/Date	Quantity
<i>Carolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum</i>	801/05/29 – 813/05/09	21
<i>Karolus excellentissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus et pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum</i>	808/05/26	1
Total	801 – 813	22

Charters started to be even more standardised in this period providing smaller quantities both in the total number of documents and in the phrasal diversity. There was a sample in the previous chapter having been issued on 3rd April 801 which was dated chronologically after the imperial coronation but it had the old style of a titular phrase, then the first one modelled on the imperial expression is dated about one month later, 29th May 801, and this expression is *Carolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum atque Langobardorum* meaning ‘Charles the fairest augustus crowned by God the great and peaceful emperor governing the Roman Empire, and who (is) by the mercy of God king of the Franks and the Lombards.’³³² There are twenty more samples with this style from the next year until 9th May 813.³³³

The seven of the samples in the same group in different manuscript versions emphasise *Romanorum*, ‘of the Romans’, instead of *Romanum*.³³⁴ Also, one of

³³² *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 265.

³³³ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 266, 268 – 275, 279 – 289, 291. The other samples employ *et* instead of *atque*.

³³⁴ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 268, 269, 273, 280, 282, 286, 287. They are given in the footnotes by the editor.

these seven has the alternative for *rex* as *rerum*, meaning ‘of the matters’ or a scribal mistake was made when writing *rex*.³³⁵ These show the variety of same documents copied in different times and places throughout the history. There is one sample, which does not pertain to this group, with the same phrase but it employs the word *excellentissimus*, which means ‘the most excellent’ instead of the usual *serenissimus* but there is a possibility of a reading mistake from the manuscript.³³⁶ Also differently, the edition for the same document includes the linker *et* between *magnus* and *pacificus*.

Signum is the case again here like the previous chapter. The imperial or royal *signa* are not taken as the main sources to extract titles. The general formula for the imperial *signa* usually refer to *Signum (M.) Caroli glorissimi/serenissimi ac piissimi imperatoris* in the charters, meaning ‘the seal/sign of the most glorious/the fairest and the most pious emperor Charles’. However, it is curious, like some of the previous examples, that it is possible to see an old royal style *signum* on an imperial charter dated to 12th August 810 as *Signum Caroli gloriossimi regis*.³³⁷

Again, this case shows a transitional period. Hence, the date of the imperial coronation, Christmas of 800, did not strictly appear on official documents right after it. It is not really easy to assume the reasons behind. Maybe it is due to dating issues at any time. Another option can be about the Carolingian bureaucracy of that time to employ the changes since its level of centralisation was quite far from the modern examples then the reflection of changes might have taken some time. Also, based on the background given before, the reason might be that Charlemagne was

³³⁵ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 280.

³³⁶ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 277.

³³⁷ *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, 281.

reluctant to use the imperial title for a while.³³⁸ He kept styling himself as ‘king of the Franks and the Lombards’ and he became the emperor of the city of Rome having updated the previous title of *patricius*.³³⁹ His new title added prestige in relation to the Roman military system and gave right to him the right be notified about the papal elections as the protector of Rome in terms of power relations.³⁴⁰

4.3.2. The Titulature of Charlemagne on Capitularies and Other Related Documents

Capitularies, similarly to the previous periods, show more diversity and are usually not formulated like charters in terms of the level of standardisation for the phrases and, in relation to that, it is possible to observe deviations from the use of ‘nominative’ initiating the document. The earliest sample for this period is dated to June 801 and it gives the phrase in a relatively concrete way as *Karolus, divino nutu coronatus, Romanum regens imperium, serenissimus augustus* meaning ‘Charles, crowned by the divine will, ruling the Roman empire, the fairest augustus’.³⁴¹ Similar first person uses followed in the next two years as *Carolus imperator*³⁴² and *domnus Karolus serenissimus imperator*.³⁴³

Some documents classified as capitularies have charter style phrases and some of them are in letter format. The charter-like phrase of *Carolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et/atque Langobardorum* is repeated in six samples. Four of them are letters to Bishop Garibaldus,³⁴⁴ Abbot Fulrad,³⁴⁵

³³⁸ Ganshof, “Immediate Preliminaries,” 39.

³³⁹ Burns, 24.

³⁴⁰ Burns, 24, 26.

³⁴¹ *Legum*, 83.

³⁴² *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 105.

³⁴³ *Legum*, 126.

³⁴⁴ *Legum*, 128.

³⁴⁵ *Legum*, 145.

Archbishop Odilbertus,³⁴⁶ and to his son Pippin, king of Italy, also in this letter written in 807 Charlemagne addresses his son, in the dative case naturally, as *dilectissimo filio nostro Pippino, glorioso regi* meaning ‘to our most beloved son Pippin, the glorious king’.³⁴⁷ In terms of epithets to be used to address Pippin, this can be seen a bit similar to the aforementioned letter of Charlemagne to Emperor Michael I. The other two documents are capitularies³⁴⁸ which can be considered as public documents compared to letters for individual correspondents. One of the documents has an important meaning for being *Divisio Regnorum* capitulary issued on 6th February 806 about the division of the Frankish Kingdom/Empire among the heirs of Charlemagne.³⁴⁹ Moreover, the same formula was used in shorter versions in two other samples. In one of the letter type document written to Bishop Garibaldus, the relatively shorter phrase is *Karolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus*³⁵⁰ and in a late capitulary issued in 813 the expression is *Karolus serenissimus imperator augustus, a Deo coronatus, magnus et pacificus*.³⁵¹

Moreover, there are samples with ‘irregular’ title uses in different cases as in the previous chapters’ examples. Proceeding chronologically, the first document in this group was issued on November 801 and it has in its beginning *pro vita et imperio* in the ablative and *domni imperatoris* in the genitive meaning ‘for the life and the empire of lord emperor’ emphasising his title and imperial realm that he ruled.³⁵²

There are three samples from March 802. The first sample has a relatively complex structure composed of two sentences and the related expressions are *de legatione a domno imperatore* in the ablative, meaning ‘on the legation by lord emperor’ and

³⁴⁶ Legum, 171.

³⁴⁷ Legum, 150.

³⁴⁸ One of the documents is *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 169.

³⁴⁹ The linker *atque* is used instead of *et*. *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 126.

³⁵⁰ Legum, 164.

³⁵¹ Legum, 187.

³⁵² Legum, 87.

the next sentence shows the nominative as *serenissimus igitur et christianissimus domnus imperator Karolus* which means ‘the fairest and therefore the most Christian lord emperor Charles’.³⁵³ Despite the similarities with the ‘standard’ use there is a Christian emphasis rather than Roman, Frank or Lombard. Another sample from the same month is about the *missi dominici*, the royal/imperial envoys in the easiest definition, and it starts with *item capitula Karoli imperatoris magni* in the genitive case and it means ‘also the capitularies of Charles the great emperor’.³⁵⁴ It is curious to see the epithet of ‘the Great’ somehow appeared in a document during his life time which ended up being an integral part of his name as ‘Charlemagne’ in some languages like English and French while in several other languages like Italian and German, the use of ‘Charles the Great’ goes on. At the end of the same document, Charlemagne is mentioned by referring to his parents with the expression of *domno Karolo piissimo imperatori(s), filio* (in the dative) *Pippini regis et Berthanae reginae* (in the genitive) meaning ‘to the most pious emperor lord Charles the son of king Pippin and queen Bertrada’.³⁵⁵ In the last sample capitulary from that month is *Admonitio Generalis* and it starts with *ammonitem domni Caroli imperatori* in the genitive and it means ‘reminder by lord emperor Charles’.³⁵⁶ A sample from October of the same year is kind of nontitular but mentioning the realm as *item iussa Karoli* (in the genitive) *per universam regnum* meaning ‘also by the command of Charles for the whole kingdom’.³⁵⁷

Some other samples from later years, with the possibility of any date in the post-800 period, were formulated shorter. One sample refers to both emperor and king at

³⁵³ Legum, 91.

³⁵⁴ Legum, 97.

³⁵⁵ Legum, 98. The possible error with *imperatoris*.

³⁵⁶ Legum, 101.

³⁵⁷ Legum, 106.

the same like the charter formulation and the phrase is *in primis de banno domni imperatoris et regis* in the genitive case meaning ‘in the first about the prohibition/command of emperor and king’.³⁵⁸ There are two ‘nominative’ samples as *domnus imperator*³⁵⁹ and a kind of expanded version of it as *domnus Karolus serenissimus imperator*.³⁶⁰ On a capitulary issued in the last year of the reign of Charlemagne, his name and imperial title appears with the name of his son Louis the Pious who had been crowned one year ago in the genitive case as *de capitulis domni Karoli imperatoris et Hludowici* meaning ‘on the capitularies of lord emperor Charles and Louis’.³⁶¹

As material attached to diplomatic documents, there is one sample seal for this period. The seal is dated to 7th August 807 and it bears the same inscription with the samples given in the previous chapter which is *XPE PROTEGE CAROLVM REGE FRANCR* and it has similar iconographic features.³⁶² It seems that the imperial coronation did not reflect on the seal samples taken here as material different than the case for the *signa* taking the supposed dating but with the given dates pre-800 seals showed Roman imperial iconography in the previous chapter and now there is a match between chronology and image since that style was preserved.

4.4. The Titulature of Charlemagne on Coins

Coins for this period are also not easily and exactly dated and they will be considered under groups here according to their type and chronology as the

³⁵⁸ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 146.

³⁵⁹ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 147.

³⁶⁰ *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 157.

³⁶¹ *Legum*, 194.

³⁶² BHA KS3 in “Kornbluth Carolingian Seal Imprints and Charters Archive,” Kornbluth Carolingian Seal Imprints and Charters Archive (Genevra Kornbluth, n.d.), <https://www.kornbluthphoto.com/Carolingian5.html>.

previous ones. The monogram-type coins also will be considered in this part since there is no exact dating on them and they are dated between 793/794 and 812/813. They bear royal titles but imperial titles will be observed with other features in later samples. Related to standardisation attempts, especially with the coinage reform in the last decade of the 8th century, varieties in legends expressing titles are like the documents and seals compared to the previous chapter, which gave a wide range of diversity. Centralisation process went on in the new era as well. A capitulary issued in 805 ordered that there should not be any mint other than the palace and repeated in 808 emphasising no coin should be struck anywhere else than the court.³⁶³

Table 19: *The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample coins, 793/794 – 812/813*

Phrase	Period	Quantity
<i>Carolus Rex Francorum</i>	793/794 – 812/813	102
<i>Carolus Rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac Patricius Romanorum</i>	793/794 – 812/813	3
<i>Carolus Rex</i>	793/794 – 812/813	1
Total	793/794 – 812/813	105

Post-reform coinage brought the type of inscription giving the phrase of *Carolus rex Francorum* located around either a cross or *KAROLVS* monogram which are interchangeable on the both faces of a coin. Despite the variations on the legends, there are one hundred and two coins are accessed and the message of *Carolus rex Francorum* is extracted from them. The vast majority – ninety-eight out of the one hundred and two – were issued with the inscription of *CARLVS REX FR.*³⁶⁴ The

³⁶³ Coupland, 216. *Capitularia Regum Francorum I*, 125, 140.

³⁶⁴ MEC, plates 33, 34 ; coins, 735 – 747 ; p. 521 – 523, 524 – 525. ANS, 1923.82.10, 0000.999.3124, 1959.72.1, 1986.155.1, 1957.42.1, 1958.100.1, 1958.204.1, 1961.100.1, 1961.144.1, 1972.124.1, 1960.54.1, 1960.75.1, 1960.86.1, 1960.165.2, 1960.174.1, 1958.232.3. SMB, 18202712,

derived inscriptions for the same phrase are as follows: in one sample *CARLVS RX FR*³⁶⁵, in another sample a bit further as *COLVS REX FR*³⁶⁶ and two samples bear *CARLVS REX F* inscription.³⁶⁷ Three sample coins probably issued in Rome emphasise the Lombard royal title together with the Roman patrician title, namely *Carolus rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum* similar to some charters issued subsequently after the Lombard conquest, with the inscription of *CARLVS REX FR* on the obverses and *ET LANG AC PAT ROM* on the reverses.³⁶⁸ There is also one sample without referring to the people under his rule dated to this period and phrased simply as *Carolus rex* with the legend, which has letters out of order a bit, *CARLVS REX*.³⁶⁹

Thus, the use of royal titles without any imperial notion went on being used on coins by the first years of the second decade of the 9th century unlike the diplomatic documents. The reason for the existence of imperial title bearing coins in a small quantity might be due to this short period till the end of the reign of Charlemagne assuming that the ‘old’ coinage was in use until the recognition of the imperial title acquired by Charlemagne by the Byzantines in 812.³⁷⁰ Indeed, more recent research proposes for that the new minting started after the coronation of Louis the Pious

18202714, 18202716, 18202718, 18202719, 18202739 – 18202743, 18214161, 18217630, 18245105, 18245116, 18245145, 18245981, 18245139, 18245275, 18245863, 18245091 – 18245095, 18245097, 18245103, 18245104, 18245120 – 18245122, 18245132, 18245133, 18245135 – 18245137, 18245140 – 18245142, 18245273, 18245274, 18245106 – 18245109, 18245134, 18245098, 18245101, 18245102, 18245112 – 18245114, 18245118, 18245119, 18245123, 18245125 – 18245129, 18245979, 18245980, 18202708, 18245131. *CCBM*, plate I, coins 4, 5, 9 – 13. As in the previous chapter, *CCBM* does not give any periodisation and I put these samples in this group due to the type and also the coin number 9 has a fragment and *CAR[LVS] REX FR* is the assumed transcription for the legend and the similar case is for the coin number 13 is assumed actually to be *CARLVS R[EX FR]* due to the same reasoning.

³⁶⁵ *MEC*, plate 33, coin 735, p. 521 – 523.

³⁶⁶ *SMB*, 18245096.

³⁶⁷ *SMB*, 18245099, 18245100.

³⁶⁸ *SMB*, 18202744, 18245143, 18245144.

³⁶⁹ *SMB*, 18245115.

³⁷⁰ Grierson and Blackburn, 209.

co-emperor in 813.³⁷¹ As a general type these coins usually have the Roman type laurate bust of Charlemagne together with the title on the obverses while on the reverse there are variations of images and inscriptions such as a city gate on the coins minted in Arles, Rouen and Trier; a ship from the coins from Dorestad and Quentovic; coinage and minting a related legend such as *METALL GERMAN* for Melle; and the tetrastyle temple surrounded with the inscription of *XPICTIANA RELIGIO* standing for *Christiana religio* which means ‘Christian religion’.³⁷² The temple figure may represent the palace chapel at Aachen or the ‘Christian church’ in a general sense.³⁷³ These coins with the imperial portrait might have been the least economically important ones but in terms of political representation the most important.³⁷⁴

Table 20: *The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample coins, 800 – 814*

Phrase	Period	Quantity
<i>Dominus Noster Carolus Imperator Augustus Rex Francorum et Langobardorum</i>	800 – 814	1
<i>Carolus Imperator Augustus</i>	800 (812) – 814	3 (1)
Total	800 – 814	4

There is an uncertainty about the initial date of imperial title bearing coinage but there are arguable classifications. In this group, coins were attributed to the period between the imperial coronation and the death of Charlemagne, namely from 800 to 814 by Maurice Prou. There is one sample for a comprehensive use of integrated titles as in the documents and the phrase is *Dominus Noster Carolus imperator augustus rex Francorum et Langobardorum* in the inscription of *DN KARLVS IMP*

³⁷¹ Coupland, 221.

³⁷² Grierson and Blackburn, 209.

³⁷³ Coupland, “Charlemagne’s Coinage,” 224.

³⁷⁴ Coupland, 223.

[AV]G REX F ET L.³⁷⁵ Three sample coins bear a relatively simple titulature and two of them have the inscription of *KAROLVS IMP AVG*³⁷⁶ and the other one has a letter lacking as *KARLVS IMP AVG*.³⁷⁷ In this timescale there is an individual sample coin of Charlemagne and Pope Leo as Charlemagne had issued coinage with Pope Hadrian before. The obverse of the coin bears the *CARLVS* nontitular inscription around *IMP* monogram and the reverse has the legend of *SCS PETRVS* around *LEO PA* monogram.³⁷⁸ The abbreviations can be assessed as *Carolus Imperator et Sanctus Petrus; Leo Papa* which means ‘Emperor Charles- St. Peter; Pope Leo’ as a reflection of the relations and alliance between the Roman Church and the empire of Charlemagne on a product of material culture.

Table 21: *The phrases that Charlemagne used on the sample coins, 813 – 814 and later*

Phrase	Period	Quantity
<i>Dominus Noster Carolus Imperator Augustus Rex Francorum et Langobardorum</i>	813 – 814 or later	3
<i>Carolus Imperator Augustus</i>	813 – 814 or later	7
Total	813 – 814 or later	10

As a matter of continuity, the same expressions with the identical legends went on for the coins dated after 813, probably with the coronation of Louis the Pious, and those coins also might have been struck even after the death of Charlemagne. Then, the phrase of *Dominus Noster Carolus imperator augustus rex Francorum et*

³⁷⁵ The part in the brackets is a complementary for a broken piece. *BN*, plate XXII, coin 982, p. 138. *XPICTANA RELIGIO* issues usually bear the inscriptions of *DN KARLVS IMP AVG REX F ET L* which has an Italian connection, and *KAR(O)LVS IMP AVG*. Coupland, 224.

³⁷⁶ *BN*, plate XXII, coin 981, p. 138. One of them is dated after 812 as the authors/editors suggest. *MEC*, plate 34, coin 749, p. 524, 525.

³⁷⁷ *BN*, plate XXII, coin 983, p. 138.

³⁷⁸ *SMB*, 18202745. *IMP* monogram is suggested by the editor, but it is not very clear it can be a *KAROLVS* monogram too.

Langobardorum appeared on three coins with *DN KARLVS IMP AVG REX F ET L* inscription.³⁷⁹ The shorter *Carolus Imperator Augustus* is observed a bit more frequently having been inscribed on seven coins with the legend *KAROLVS IMP AVG*.³⁸⁰

4.5 Conclusion

The first few decades of the 9th century brought a disruption, in that the Roman Empire was attempted to be revived in the West and a ruler used Roman imperial titles for the first time after the last western emperor had been deposed in 476.

Having acquired these titles, Charlemagne did not give up using his formerly obtained titles referring to the Frankish Kingdom and his subjects, including the Lombards, as he had done before by adding the Lombard title in 774. These can be seen as a continuity and flexibility of such titles being used together as long as referring to the primary authority on a certain realm unlike the case of dropping the titles, such as mayor of palace, before having ascended to kingship. The new titular expression of *imperator augustus*, together with the epithets and other phrases surrounding in different forms, implies the comeback of the Western Christian Roman Empire under his rule with attributions like ‘crowned by God’ in addition to Roman and Frankish/Lombard titles.

Within this notion of continuity the sources for legitimacy is also an important case. In previous status changes, papal approval played an important role and ended up with the imperial coronation up to this period. While one of the sources of legitimacy was the approval and recognition of popes, in the East a line had been resuming from centuries before within its own dynamics and legitimisation

³⁷⁹ *SMB*, 18202746, 18202750, 18245244.

³⁸⁰ *SMB*, 18256534, 18202748, 18202749, 18202757 (*KAROLVS I[MP] [A]VG* form with broken pieces), 18238797, 18245245, 18202759.

processes. Despite the pontifical support, Charlemagne sought for Constantinopolitan recognition for more than a decade. This shows that it was still important to be recognised, 'equal' if possible, by the established order remained by the Romans in the East in order to prevent assumptions and claims of usurpation.

The attempts for the Roman imperial legacy were reflected on visual culture, coinage, art, architecture, scholarship and other practices as well. However, considering the fact that the new 'Empire' did not last very long compared to the 'classical' Roman Empire and even compared to Byzantium. This can bring the question over institutions, practices and circumstances different from and similar to the ancient Romans and the Byzantines.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

To conclude, this thesis is about the changes in the titles used by Carolingian rulers until the end of the reign of Charlemagne from the status of mayors of palace to an emperor gradually through a regal rule. For those gradual changes, legitimacy beyond the realm was always crucial. It is seen that papal legitimisation played an important role and even for the later periods papal approval became a major legitimacy line. However, as in the case of Charlemagne, papal approval was not always enough especially if the change challenged an established office, Byzantine Empire is the case in this study since it considered itself as the Roman Empire under the rule of one emperor. Charlemagne needed to seek for it in different ways and in the end recognised without a Roman connotation. Other important outcome is that the reflections of the changes on documents, coins and other material took a time with several possible reasons such as relatively primitive bureaucracy, difficulty in dating as features of the era and possible reluctance and slow steps towards changes.

In the first chapter, those changes are put in the context to show how political events affected the changes and the importance of the sources of legitimacy and recognition. For this, I employed diplomatic documents such as charters, capitularies, decrees and letters; and material sources like coins and seals to get the titles used. Also, I used narrative sources like chronicles together with secondary sources to construct the context. In addition to the directly Carolingian related material, I utilised some Byzantine sources and works of Byzantinists to give a broader view in a connected environment. The background is not only about historical events but also about the nature of the material, such as numismatic information, to approach critically to the sources for more accurate interpretation.

Putting together the literature outputs in different fields of political, diplomatic and ecclesiastical history, as well as, economic history and numismatics from various perspectives I attempted to provide a synthesis based on changes in titlature in a related context.

In the second chapter, the rise of Arnulfing/Carolingian family as a royal dynasty from the post of mayors of palace is examined. Increasing political power of the Carolingians in the Merovingian court in a line with military success opened the road for status changes. However, the growing relations with the Papacy, especially since the era of Charles Martel, became the solid ground for legitimacy of changes. It is important to consider common interests between these two parties. Pippin III rose to be *rex Francorum* by establishing his dynasty as the new kings of the Franks from being *maior domus* for the Merovingian Franks. Nevertheless, papal line of legitimacy lifted him up upon a call by the Pope against the Lombards and his new status was introduced by the Pope while his sons were made patricians of the Romans. Moreover, the changes were a part of processes and the appearance of the newly acquired titles did not happen right after due to several reasons such as dating issues and the speed and efficiency of bureaucracy a state which was not modern. This can be seen as a step for the Roman legacy beside the upgrading status and power. This change is also important for the variety of sources since there is no sample coin issued in the name of a mayor of palace but a king and they start to be considered after Pippin III was made king. After his death, his sons Charlemagne and Carloman had a period of co-kingship and the titles did not display any significant change in relation to political and military events as well as the same type of sources.

The third chapter presents the sole rule of Charlemagne until his imperial coronation with some similar cases and issues with the reign of his father. In this period, relations with the Papacy got tightened even turned into a personal friendship between Charlemagne and Pope Hadrian I along with common political interests. Moreover, relations with Byzantium became more frequent with convergences and divergences which affected Charlemagne's titular changes. The conquest of Lombardy, in relation to the papal and Byzantine affairs, brought a new title implicating the rule of Charlemagne over the Lombards as their king after a military success. Again, changes in expressions took a bit of time but the 'traditional' forms of expressions did not change much just additions were made. This chapter also can be considered as the most prolific one in terms of the number and variety of sources. This is also due to ambiguity for dating material, especially coins, which are considered here with the high possibility of pertaining to this certain period. In addition to the aforementioned sources for the second chapter, there are some sample seals for this period. Seals bearing identical messages, charters being more or less standardised; capitularies and related documents display a variety of uses even in different cases for nouns and adjectives, the number and diversity of coins are high as well. There are nontitular and multiple bearing coins and the changes could be traced by historical events up to a point and also uses of titles and types may vary from one mint to another as it is possible with time.

The fourth chapter deals with a period brought by a substantial change in the eve of the 9th century. The imperial coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III introduced a new emperor to the West after the fall of the Western Roman Empire. Again, the patterns for legitimacy are curious. Charlemagne helped the Pope

against his enemies and common interests led to the establishment of the empire of Charlemagne and this new entity was legitimised by the papal authority. However, it did not seem enough for Charlemagne while there had been a continuous empire in Constantinople ruled by claimants of Roman emperors who saw Charlemagne as a usurper. Relations between these two states were fluctuating for decades and only after a period of twelve years, the Byzantine Emperor Michael I Rhangabe recognised the imperial title of Charlemagne. I used same types of sources with the previous chapter but they are fewer in terms of both quantity and variety and with similar features and problems. Roman titles of *imperator* and *augustus* with Christian notions such as being ‘crowned by God’ emphasising a Christian Roman Empire in the West appear in the sources in addition to the conventional titles used by him before. The appearance of new titles on the sources is again a product of processes. When there is no clear-cut dating, especially for the coins, it is debatable that when the new titles started to appear and why it took time. To illustrate, the use of the imperial titles might have been delayed due to proposed ‘reluctance’ of Charlemagne to be a ‘Roman emperor’ or the number of coins with the imperial title being fewer possibly started to struck through the end of his reign either after the recognition by the Byzantines or the coronation of Louis the Pious in 813. These also give a historical context for the reasons and circumstances of changes and the reflections of them on documentation and material culture together with other fields of the ‘Carolingian imperial culture’.

Related to this research, could be different studies done. Keeping geography and chronology nearer, the titular situation and practices of the later Carolingians, especially after the division of the Empire, can be examined with the similar sort of sources in the context considering the relations with the others, especially with the

Papacy and Byzantium. In the post-Carolingian era, the case of the coronation of Otto I as emperor in 962 could be an important point as well considering the titles used by the rulers of the former realm of Charlemagne until his coronation and again the problem of two emperors with the Byzantium after the imperial coronation of Otto I and during the reigns of his successors. Also, sources for legitimacy should be considered again such as the relations with the Papacy and Byzantium, considering the marriage between Otto II and Empress Theophanu, also attempts for attribution of the dynasty to the legacy of Charlemagne. This can be taken further with the Holy Roman Empire period and how they expressed themselves showing when and in what context exactly this term started to be used and reflected on titulature. A similar approach can be also carried to the modern times considering the cases of assumption of imperial titles and their lines of legitimacy with respect to the world around them in states like Ottoman Empire, Russian/Muscovite Tsardom and Russian Empire, Austrian Empire, German Empire, Napoleonic Empire, British Empire etc.

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APPENDIX: SAMPLE COIN IMAGES



Pippin III, Silver Denarius, *Rx P* legend. Minted in Antrain, 752 – 768. ANS, 1959.106.1



Pippin III, Denarius. *PIPI* ; *Rx F* legends. 752 – 768. Morrison and Grunthal, plate I, coin 25, page 78.



Pippin III, Denarius. *DOM/PIPI* legend. 752 – 768. Morrison and Grunthal, plate II, coin 53, page 83.



Carloman, *Rx F* legend with *CARM* monogram. Morrison and Grunthal, plate III, coin 82, page 87.



Charlemagne, Silver Denarius, *CAR/LVS* legend. Minted in Chartres, 768 – 771. ANS, 1958.10.3



Charlemagne, Denarius. *KARx* legend. Morrison and Grunthal, plate X, coin 295, page 121.



Charlemagne, *CARLVS REX FR ; ET LANG AC PAT ROM* legends with Latin and Greek *KAROLVS* monograms on both sides. Morrison and Grunthal, plate X, coin 308, page 122.



Charlemagne, Denarius. *DN KARLVS IMP AVG REX F ET L ; XPICTIANA RELIGIO* legends with bust, laureate and draped, to right and temple. Morrison and Grunthal, plate X, coin 314, page 123.



Charlemagne, Denarius. *KAROLVS IMP AVG* legend with bust, laureate and draped, to right and ship. Morrison and Grunthal, plate IV, coin 105, page 91.