

medieval people had of space (organized, hierarchized, ritualized, bounded, personified; as land, and as territory), of the agency of such conceptualizations, and of the configurations (patrimony, *patria*, village, county, kingdom) in which space was meaningful for them. The significance of these factors obviously varied over time, and perhaps there was no ranking since these categories are not mutually exclusive. Categorizations depended, then as now, upon perceptions of space's capacity to encompass human lives and upon specific social practices. In considering membership within a group, there may well have come a point at which individuals lost sight of the spatial/territorial elements underlying their situation. It is within the modalities of these elements' differentiated use, in their roles as referents to human behavior, that the meaning and agency of space can best be perceived. This is why the region cannot be approached as a static area, but must be seen dynamically, as defined and shaped by the interaction between extensive and intensive scales of spatial use. The region, as a constellation of communities, substantiates the viewpoint derived from their interaction with the larger unit. Medieval people perceived differences and thought in comparative terms, although their opportunities for comparisons remain still to be assessed carefully. Much of their awareness of distinctiveness was experienced and implemented through their locus, and difference thus appeared to them, as it does to modern historians, local-specific. They thereby reduced to particularism exogenous elements that had a broader circulation. It was precisely this ability to process particularization and its resulting synthesis of and adaptation to external agendas that enabled the region, even while eluding strict definition, to function as a crucible of human experience and reflection and to act in the symbolic construction of medieval social identity.

The *Regnum Francie* of Suger of Saint-Denis: An Expansive Ile-de-France

Jeremy duQuesnay Adams

Louis the Fat's triumphant standoff of the German Emperor Henry V at Reims in August of 1124—a bloodless victory thanks to the astonishing response to Louis' call to arms by distant princely vassals such as the Dukes of Aquitaine and Brittany and the Count of Anjou—inspired in Louis' biographer, Suger of Saint-Denis, an eloquent rhetorical display. It concludes ecstatically with these ringing words:

Neither in our modern era nor for many centuries past has France [*Francia*] achieved a more famous feat, nor made more evident her capacity for military glory, than when, uniting the forces of all her component parts, she triumphed at one and the same moment over the Roman Emperor and the English King although deploying her main forces elsewhere. Thereafter the pride of her enemies was extinguished, "the earth fell silent at her sight,"

--as the Scripture declares the earth did at the sight of Alexander the Great. And, he continued,

Almost every one of the enemies within her reach returned to a state of favorable relations, extending their right hands in friendship. For

'Whoever denies the just claim of one in arms
Finally yields him everything'

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-- the righteous justification for civil war that Lucan put in the mouth of Julius Caesar.¹

The above passage is deservedly the *locus classicus* it has become in the perennial discussion concerning the transformation of the Capetian royal domain into the kingdom of France by the time of Philip the Fair. The expansive evolution of the name *France* (*Francia* in scribal Latin) from the Ile-de-France, that fluvial *presqu'île* defined by the Marne, Seine, and Oise, ultimately led to the France not only of Philip IV, but of Jeanne D'Arc, Louis XIV and Charles de Gaulle. The broad outlines and much of the significant detail of that process were established over thirty years ago by Margret Lugge,² but the issue is far from closed. Seven years after the publication of Lugge's book, Charles T. Wood called attention to some of the complexities involved in his "*Regnum Francie: A Problem in Capetian Administrative Usage*."³ In that model analysis of administrative documents, Wood showed that *gens du roi* from the reign of Philip Augustus into that of Philip the Fair tended to consider the *regnum Francie* a surprisingly restricted zone of jurisdiction, sometimes (for example) including important counts while excluding their counties. Wood argues that the *regnum Francie* was for those royal agents the zone of juridical first instance and first appeal, the orbit of judicial action within the *garda specialis* (rather than the *garda generalis*) of the Crown. On special occasions that zone could expand geographically as far as Anagni, but even as late as 1303 the territory regularly claimed for the *regnum Francie* by agents of the *Curia Regis* (even by the colleagues of Flotte, Marigny, and Nogaret) could be quite modest.

Appropriately enough, Wood began his study of largely thirteenth-century scribal and legalistic usage with a sustained look at the language of Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis and a prime minister of Louis VI and

Louis VII from 1122 until his death in 1151. That well-chosen *point de départ* deserved investigation for several reasons, not least of them Suger's close and durable relationship with the precedent-setting Louis VI, the Capetian monarch who seems to have decided that Paris should become the capital of his *regnum*.⁴

What follows is an attempt to come to grips with the *regnum Francorum*, to which Suger dedicated much of his energy, and the *Francia* of which he was a native son. Both those political entities present themselves vividly to the reader of Suger's surviving works, an *opus* in several literary genres composed during the later years of his extraordinarily active life.⁵ This essay, however, is not a study in legal or administrative usage. It is instead an exploration of something more elusive -- the emotional charge of the words Suger used for the homeland that came to be associated with an ambitious royal destiny. What was the affective content of those terms? Most present day Frenchmen can explain at some length and with considerable feeling what *France* means to them. But how can we, children of the twentieth century, garner some sense of how Suger and his generation felt about *Francia*, their *patrie*? For them what were its territorial boundaries? Within those frontiers, what sort of entity was it? How did it tend to behave?

In an effort to answer these questions I have undertaken a study of the words *regnum*, *patria*, *Francia*, and *Franci* in four of Suger's works.⁶ I take these words to be semantic keys to Suger's thoughts and feelings, perhaps even to the collective *mentalité* of the world in which he acted. Suger was indeed one of the more effective players in the serial drama of Capetian France. He was especially successful at sensing and shaping consensus among the decision-makers of his world, those men and

1. Suger: *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. and trans. Henri Waquet 2nd ed., (Paris, 1964), ch. 28, p. 230. All translations are mine. Cf. the edition by Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *Oeuvres complètes de Suger* (Paris, 1867), p. 121. Hereafter this paper will cite both editions of the *Vita Ludovici Grassi* as W and LM respectively. The quotation from Lucan is from *Pharsalia* I, 348-349. On Suger's use of Lucan, see my "The Influence of Lucan on the Political Attitudes of Suger of Saint-Denis," *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Conference of the Western Society for French History* (1984/1985), 1-11, esp. pp. 9-10. The Scriptural citation, from I Macchabees 1:3, is one of Suger's favorite tags, and gives a clear sense of his pride in France's capacity for imperial conquest.

2. See her "*Gallia*" und "*Francia*" im Mittelalter. *Untersuchungen über den Zusammenhang zwischen geographisch-historischer Terminologie und politischem Denken vom 6.-15. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1960). Hereafter, this work will be cited as Lugge.

3. *Traditio* 23 (1967), 117-147: hereafter, Wood.

4. Robert-Henri Bautier, "Paris au temps d'Abélard," *Abélard en son temps. Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 9e centenaire de la naissance de Pierre Abélard (14-19 mai 1979)* (Paris, 1981), pp. 21-78.

5. On the major stages and characteristics of Suger's life and writings, cf. the articles by John F. Benton, Robert W. Hanning, and Philippe Verdier in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis*, Paula Lieber Gerson, ed., (New York, 1986), pp. 3-16, 145-150, 159-162.

6. *Vita Ludovici Grassi*, usually assigned to the years between 1138 and 1145 (at the latest); *De rebus in administratione sua gestis*, dated by Erwin Panofsky between late June of 1144 and early 1149; *De consecratione ecclesiae Sancti Dionysii*, written between late 1144 and 1146-1147, according to Panofsky; Suger's collected *Epistolae*, a selection of 26 composed between 1145 and 1151. Panofsky's suggested dates can be found in his *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, 2nd ed. by Gerda Panofsky-Soergel (Princeton, 1979), p. 142.

women whose pragmatic sense of affairs necessarily constitute a strategic sector of any such *mentalité*.

To assist this study I have devised a technique of semantic quantification, some of the results of which are indicated by charts and graphs. I have determined that when Suger made use in his prose works of the nouns *regnum*, *patria*, and *Francia/Franci*, he did so in reference to one or more of eight possible entities, each represented by a column in charts A, B, and C and their accompanying graphs. He also used these nouns to perform any one of nine possible syntactical functions; those nine functions are registered in the right-hand set of columns in the accompanying charts and graphs.

As specific illustrations of the columns of referents,⁷ let me offer the following instances concerning the usage of *regnum*:

(1) Suger occasionally uses the word in the abstract sense denoting royal dignity, as in his remarks concerning the succession of Henry I to William Rufus in chapter 1 of the *Vita Ludovici Grassi*. The same usage is evident in his narration of Louis VI's coronation at Orléans in 1108 (ch. 14) and of Louis' success in providing a fit successor to the royal dignity before his death in 1137 (ch. 33). He employs *regnum* in this fashion 19 times altogether, 10 in the *Vita*, the work I have found most revealing for this inquiry; another three times I infer this meaning as implicit although another usage seems more explicit in the given context.

(2) Four times in the *Vita* and three times in the *Letters* composed while he was Regent during the absence of Louis VII on crusade (for a total of 7 appearances out of 126), Suger uses *regnum* in a concrete though general sense. On his deathbed (ch. 33) Louis exclaims, "Woe to this wretched condition of human life, which never or hardly ever permits knowledge and capacity to function together. If as a youth I had known, or indeed as an old man were able, I would so easily have conquered many kingdoms!"⁸ --surely one of the earliest recorded appearances of a maxim dearly beloved by modern mature Frenchmen.

(3) Far more frequent is Suger's use of *regnum* to refer to the French kingdom as a whole, the territory stretching from the mouth of the Scheldt to that of the Ebro, from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean by way of the curious boundary first negotiated at Verdun in 843 and

7. That is, columns designating the entities to which the registered nouns refer.

8. "Heu! inquit, misere condicioni, que scire et posse insimul aut vix aut nunquam admittit! Si enim juvenis scissem aut modo senex possem, efficacissime multa regna perdomassem." - W 270; LM 141.

rearranged at Mersen in 870.⁹ By my count Suger uses the word in this fashion 42 times in the *Vita*, 35 of those in the work's second half; I see that usage implied in another 7 instances for a total of 49--well over half of the 83 appearances of *regnum* in that work.¹⁰

(4-5) Next in importance is Suger's use of *regnum* for that part of the kingdom apparently identifiable as the royal domain as defined by William Newman¹¹ or for a larger territory definitely excluding only Aquitaine and Normandy. The distinction between these two usages of *regnum* is so uncertain that a fifth category became inevitable: semantic precision requires such distinctions despite their capacity to complicate the issue. In 11 cases in the *Vita* I could not distinguish firmly between the broad and the narrow notions of the *regna*. Suger uses *regnum* explicitly in this narrower reference only 5 times in the *Vita*; twice that often I infer an implicit reference. Altogether the 58 explicit appearances of *regnum*₃, *regnum*₄, and *regnum*₅ account for 70% of the total profile of this key noun in Suger's first and most patriotic literary project.

(6) Column 6 exists to register any use of *regnum* for a territory within the boundaries of the French kingdom other than the royal domain, such as the *regnum* regularly used for Normandy by contemporary Norman scribes and such propagandists as Dudo of Saint-Quentin. No such usage appears in the works of Suger I have thus far investigated. I have retained that column in these graphs nevertheless, because this usage is frequently a significant referent of *regnum* for other twelfth-century writers of history whose works I intend to analyze shortly in a comparative study.

(7) Column 7 registers the appearance of foreign *regna*. I found 14 such references (from a total of 126), 11 of which appeared in the *Vita*: 6 were to Germany (or at any rate the realm of Emperor Henry V), 3 to

9. By the time the Capetians had achieved their monopoly of the royal dignity, the boundary line followed the Scheldt with some exceptions (opposite Valenciennes and Cambrai, for instance) to the Vermandois, then cut east along the Ardennes foothills to the Meuse near its confluence with the Semois; then the line went southeast to the headwaters of the Aisne (east of Reims), the Marne, and (once again) the Meuse. It cut back and forth across the Saône until, between Mâcon and Lyons, it swung sharply westward to the upper Loire near Semur, excluding the Forez but including the Velay. South of Viviers, the line ran along the Rhône until Orange, where it looped westward of the river twice above Arles, and finally reached the Mediterranean in the western Camargue. The frontier of the kingdom included Catalonia from the mouth of the Ebro to the Pyrenees, then ran westward along the crest of the Pyrenees to the Atlantic.

10. I have registered 69 of the 126 *regna* in all four works as *regnum*₃, either explicitly or implicitly.

11. William M. Newman, *Le Domaine royal sous les premiers Capétiens* (Paris, 1937).

England, 1 was to 'Lotharingia', and 1 was unspecified (Louis prays for the aid of Saint Denis in ch. 28 "should any other kingdom dare to invade the *regnum Francorum*.").¹²

(8) Column 8 registers the Kingdom of Heaven, which appears only once, in a letter of 1149 to the cathedral chapter of Chartres.

(9) Column 9 stands for its contrary, the Kingdom of the Devil, an Augustinian category which has not yet surfaced in my reading of Suger's work. Anything but a millennialist, Suger does not seem terribly interested in that transcendent, cosmic domain. Once again, I have decided to retain that column in these graphs because of that referent's significance to other writers in Suger's and subsequent generations.

A comparable register of nine referents was prepared for *patria*, with disappointing results. *Patria* appears 3 times in the *Vita*, not at all in the other three works. It appears once with a very general reference (column 2), which may qualify implicitly for entry in column 6 as well: at the end of an expedition into Auvergne, Louis and some loyal vassals from outside the royal domain (Brittany, Anjou, Nevers, and Aquitaine) "restored peace to the *patria* and the churches"¹³ -- the king's basic public service in his biographer's eyes. Does Suger mean here that Louis' direct intervention restored law and order specifically in Auvergne (column 6), or that this was the general effect of his reign, especially when the major vassals cooperated? If the latter case, then column 3 should show at least an implied reference. This happens in chapter 28 immediately following the bloodless triumph of Reims. When *patria* first appears in chapter 24, the context makes eminently clear that *patria* refers only to the northern part of the royal domain, the *pagi* of Amiens, Laon, and Reims which have been suffering the depredations of the nefarious Thomas de Marle.¹⁴ In the concluding chapter of the royal *Vita*, Louis is "solemnly and most devoutly recognized" by the brethren of Saint-Denis and "almost the whole *patria* as the most pious father and noble defender of the Church" (not, interestingly enough, as

pater patriae;¹⁵) here *patria* must refer to the kingdom as a whole (hence column 3).

In that movement from the narrow royal domain (ch. 24) to the entire kingdom (ch. 34) by way of an ambiguous reference either to Auvergne or to a wider sense of the realm (ch. 29), the noun *patria* may serve as a semantic key to the maturation of Suger's thought--at least a clue to his reflexive feelings--on that score. It would be convenient to make that claim, but I hesitate to do so on the basis of such a limited sample of data. Three appearances in 149 pages of classic *Société de l'Histoire de France* text¹⁶ surely cannot qualify for statistical significance, especially by contrast to the 83 appearances of *regnum* in the same text.¹⁷

Francia and its folk, the *Franci*, appear 70 times in the *Vita* and thus constitute a statistically respectable sample of semantic data. I was accordingly tempted to revise the title of this paper to "The *Regnum Francorum* of Suger of Saint-Denis," since the people appear more than 3 times as frequently as the place; however, the formula *regnum Francorum* appears only 5 times in the *Vita*, and the rhetorical potency of the *Francia* personified in the peroration of chapter 28 and quite vivid in its 14 other appearances persuaded me to keep the original title. If judiciously controlled, mere statistics have their use even in the highly subjective realm of rhetorical strategy.

15. "Qui a fratribus et pene tota patria tanquam piissimus ecclesie pater et nobilis defensor solempniter et devotissime susceptus,..." - W 280; LM 145.

16. The Waquet edition occupies 143 pp. of Latin text, with roughly comparable space for apparatus.

17. Suger uses the verb *repatriare* with similar infrequency. In ch. 11, the young Count Thibaut, "malens primus quam extremus in fuga, ne caperetur, repperiri, relicto exercitu, repatriare contendit." (W 76; LM 44). In ch. 26, a Flemish unit of the royal host wreaks exemplary vengeance for the murder of Charles the Good "cum repatriassent" (W200; LM 106). The contingent of *Franci* at Reims in ch. 28 are *repatriati* after the standoff of 1124 (W 226; LM 120: see n. 22 *infra*). In ch. 32, Innocent II takes an "opportunitatem repatriandi" offered by his Capetian allies to return to Rome (W 268; LM 139).

Perhaps this study should have registered the phonemic construct *patria* whether appearing *tout court* as a noun, or whether more elaborated in derivative verbal form (interestingly enough, Suger likes to use that verb in quite sophisticated syntactical constructions). Doing so would only have doubled this sign's low statistical presence, however. Comparably registering *regnare* would merely have strengthened the statistical preponderance of *regnum*; registering *imperium/imperare*, while interesting, would not have decisively affected this study's conclusions. No doubt there is a certain artificiality in subdividing studies of this sort according to traditional categories such as nouns and verbs; those were, however, the categories of our author's grammatical tradition.

12. "...si regnum aliud regnum Francorum invadere audeat..." - W 220; LM 116.

13. "...pacem patrie et ecclesiis restituit..." - W 240; LM (a slightly variant reading) 126.

14. W 178; LM 93. The *pagus Parisiensis* is simply another *pays* within the royal domain. In ch. 7 of the *Vita* it is sharply delimited from the *pays* of Laon; in ch. 8, from that of Orléans; in ch. 19, from that of Etampes (W 30, 38, 148; LM 21, 25, 79).

What else can we learn from the statistics of verbal frequency? It seems to me that several clues to Suger's mindset present themselves. One cannot help noticing the exceptional number of *regna*--9 of them--in the first chapter of the *Vita*, a chapter of no more than average length (five pages in the standard 1867 edition).¹⁸ That density is matched, and in fact surpassed, only in Letter XII, which Suger wrote to his fellow-regent, Archbishop Samson of Reims, in 1149. The 11 appearances of *regnum* in the two pages of that letter give the word the densest usage in this study. Two of the 9 *regna* in the *Vita*'s opening chapter refer to the larger notion of the kingdom, 1 refers to the royal domain, and 2 could be either (I read them as closer to the narrow reference). But Suger's usage in this chapter is untypically broad: once (maybe twice) *regnum* is abstract (column 1), twice concrete but general (column 2), once explicitly the Lotharingian kingdom, and once it implicitly suggests the kingdom of England (column 7 for these last two).

In Letter XII, Suger's usage is somewhat more restricted and even more abstract. Five of those 11 *regna* (perhaps a sixth as well) are the larger kingdom, none the royal domain. Twice Suger refers to royal rule in the abstract and 3 times to kingdoms in general; in 1 case each I sense these two meanings implied. *Regnum* appears last in that letter as the kingdom divided against itself, a reference drawn from the Gospel of Luke (11:7): it is one of the very few *regna* in Suger's writings to be the subject of a verb (albeit the passive *desolabitur*). That dynamic privilege is shared by the sixth *regnum* of the *Vita*'s opening chapter ("Deo autem...regna et regnorum jura subjiciuntur"). These two account for half of the *regna* enjoying the status of the nominative case: 4 out of 126 in the four works studied.

That noteworthy syntactical similarity between these two compositional units of maximum density in this sample emphasizes the significant difference in referent usage between them. *Regna* explode semantically in the *Vita*'s opening chapter, which may have been written in 1138, perhaps from notes of years before;¹⁹ 3 of its 5 references to the realm of France seem to me references to the royal domain, only 2 to the larger kingdom. In 1149, after a dozen years of reflection and experience, Suger's French *regna* all refer to the kingdom as a whole.

18. LM 9-14.

19. Throughout his biographical study, *Suger, Abbé de Saint-Denis, Régent de France* (Paris, 1991), Michel Bur adheres to the notion of Suger's later redaction of roughly contemporary notes.

This seems to me as close as one can come to *proof* of the progress of one's thought.

I think we can track that same movement of Suger's thought by observing the rhythm of frequency with which *regnum*₄ (the narrow *regnum*) appears in the early chapters of the *Vita*, closely accompanied by *regnum*₅ (the ambiguous *regnum*), and gradually gives way to *regnum*₃ (the broad *regnum*) as the *Vita* progresses. After chapter 18 the narrow sense of *regnum* practically disappears, except for 1 explicit reappearance and 3 *loci* in which I see it implicitly suggested. Chapter 19 is the *Vita*'s longest chapter, a detailed narrative of Louis'--and Suger's--struggle against the wicked Hugh du Puiset, disloyally assisted by Thibaut of Champagne-Blois-Chartres. In his recent biography of Suger, Michel Bur calls that serial episode the *Iliade beauceronne* of Suger's youth, a cluster of events he remembered as decisive in his life. Bur suggests that Suger's memory of that heroic interlude may well have been assisted by notes transcribed as early as 1111.²⁰ If so, even more striking is *regnum*'s sole appearance in that lengthy narrative as unquestionably the kingdom as a whole; it becomes the dominant usage from then on, accounting in the remaining fifteen chapters of the *Vita* for 34 of the 42 explicit appearances of *regnum*₃ in that work. Only once thereafter, in the report of Thomas de Marle's final taming, does the referent of *regnum* become once more the royal domain.

To me the remarkable dominance of this pattern suggests either that Suger thought the zone of Louis' effective power grew with time, or that his own semiconscious sense of Louis' realm expanded as the work progressed. Both of those processes may well have interacted. This suggestion is reinforced by a look at the *regnum* referents in columns other than 3. In the latter half of the *Vita* Suger uses the noun in the abstract sense 6 times, twice as the German Kingdom, and once to describe any kingdom that might attack France. Suger is thinking in broader terms about these political units than when he began this literary work.

This pattern was maintained as Suger the author matured. In his treatise on his administration as abbot, he referred to the broad *regnum*₃ 4 times, possibly 6, used the noun twice in the abstract sense and once in an ambiguous reference; no other referents appear. In the ten relevant letters he wrote as regent, the broad French *regnum*₃ appears 14 times, perhaps 18, from a total of 33 appearances. I registered 7 *regna* securely in the abstract column 1, 2 in the concrete but general column 2, and 2 in column 7 (the English kingdom in both cases). I could not decide

20. *Ibid.*, ch. 5, pp. 79-91.

between columns 3 and 4 (though I favored 3) in one case; in another instance Suger mentions "the eternal kingdom," curiously enough, a most unusual referent for this prince of the monastic Church whom Michel Bur places firmly in the camp of Gregorian reform and Gelasian theory.²¹ Not once in these letters written between 1148 and 1151 does the narrow *regnum*₄ clearly appear. The consistency of the last feature of this pattern should not surprise us, since Suger was never more closely identified with the kingdom's expansive integrity than during the years he served it as regent. In his earliest political memories he appears to have thought more frequently and instinctively of the realm as the Ile-de-France or a somewhat broader extension thereof; by his late sixties the realm had come to assume far grander proportions in his conscious and reflexive mind.

It is important to recognize, however, that even in his most expansive moods, Suger may not have felt that the *regnum Francorum* included Normandy and Aquitaine. This suspicion is reinforced by a look at his usage of *Franci* and *Francia*. Even when he was regent he made an explicit distinction between *Francia* and *Normannia*: in Letter 15 he reminds Geoffrey of Anjou and Matilda Empress that in her revered father's time the properties of churches and abbeys were respected, no matter on which side of the border they were situated. This narrow sense of *Francia* may surprise us, given the expansive figure cut by *Francia* in the rousing conclusion to the *Vita*'s chapter 28 (with which this paper opened); we must note, however, that shortly after the composition of that chapter Suger used *Francia* in quite a narrow formulaic reference: at the conclusions of chapters 30 and 32, Louis "in Franciam victor remeavit" -- first from Auvergne, then from Flanders.

In no less than 7 of its 15 appearances in the *Vita*, *Francia* is the royal domain or a temporary extension of it; *Francia*₄ may be the referent in 3 other cases as well. The first of these 3 occurs in chapter 5, which deals with the uncrowned Louis' youthful expedition into the Rémois against Ebles de Roucy. The second occurs in chapter 26, which details Louis' Norman campaigns against Henry I between 1116 and 1118. The third is a reference in chapter 28 to the notorious *animositas* of a *Francia* aroused by the audacity of Henry V's invasion plans. This last instance prepares the reader for the grandly inflated *Francia* of that chapter's conclusion. If in this key chapter we can discern a broadening of Suger's patriotic vision akin to that of his sense of *regnum* in the same and other

works, we must note nevertheless that *Francia*₃ appears clearly only 3 times in the *Vita*.²²

The *Franci* who enliven the pages of the royal *Vita* are more frequently the people of a narrow than of the broad realm: 26 (perhaps 31) times they land in column 4, 15 (perhaps 24) times in column 3, and 11 times in the ambiguous column 5. Four other times they are the ancestral Franks, subjects first and last of Charlemagne (in chapters 10 and 34), of Clovis (ch. 14), and of the royal Frankish legal tradition in general -- this last in chapter 28, where the contemporary Germans fail to recognize that they should be subject to the legitimate Capetian heir of those ancestral monarchs.

Though Suger's *Franci* are less consistently restricted to the royal domain than is the name of their country (*Francia*), they still display a narrower sense of identification than does their *regnum*. How to resolve the conflict between these two semantic patterns? One approach is to examine Suger's later works in chronological sequence. *Franci* appear only 5 times in *De Administratione* and 3 times in *De Consecratione*. In 7 of those 8 appearances they are clearly the people of a widespread kingdom. Twice they are the ancestral Franks, and twice they seem as much their ancestors as their present selves--i.e., a continuous historic people with a grand destiny. That pattern holds steady in the *Letters*, providing a startling context for the sharply delimited *Francia* of the letter to Geoffrey and Matilda, a *Francia* not to be confused with Normandy nor taken to include it.

Suger's narrow sense of *Francia* is emphasized by his general tendency to use *Gallia* when he wants to include such units as Normandy within the larger royal territory. He does so quite forcefully in chapter 23 of the *Vita*, which deals with the eventual reconciliation of his two heroes, Louis VI ("rex Gallie") and Henry I ("rex Anglie"). In chapter 16 he had already stated that Normandy "is a part of Gaul." Well-traveled visitors such as Bohemund of Antioch (ch. 9) and Pope Innocent II (ch. 32) arrive in *partes Galliarum* or *Gallorum* rather than in *Francia*, even though they spend important time in the heart of the royal domain.²³ This usage survives in the two treatises on the abbey of

21. For one instance, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 126-128.

22. In slightly later treatises on the administration of Suger's abbey and the consecration of its church, *Francia* appears only once, as a reference to the venerable realm of the Franks in distant centuries--and even then, *Francia* was in Suger's mind only the highest-ranking member of an imperial tetrarchy whose other units were *Lotharingia*, *Italia*, and *Aquitania*. Such a linkage represents a curious sense of historical geography and merits further investigation.

23. E.g., W 102, 170; LM 56, 92. Cf. Luge, 195-197.

Saint-Denis. It seems to me that until perhaps the very end of his life Suger's native *Francia* remained essentially more shy than the *regnum* which had its permanent seat in that favored region.

Yet that modesty in no way inhibited justifiable and necessary action, as was shown at Reims in 1124; nor would it present an obstacle to imperious destiny. Why not? The reason becomes abundantly clear once we turn to the right-hand columns of charts A and B and of the graphs, which make possible another approach to resolving such problems as the apparent inconsistency between the semantic patterns of Suger's *regnum* and its *Franci*.

I would call attention to the columns registering syntactical functions. Here the character of Latin grammar helps the investigator achieve a degree of objectivity beyond the reach of the classifier of referents. Columns 1 to 3 are for nouns in the nominative case. Column 1 registers the subjects of active verbs, such as the *Franci* of chapter 11 who "attack and slaughter the men of Brie" softened by too much peace. Column 2 is for nouns involved with the verbs *esse* and *videri*: interestingly enough, none of these four nouns finds a place there. Column 3 is for the subjects of passive verbs, like that elite corps of knights sent to attack the English King "across a shaky bridge which threatened from its very age to hurl each and every one of them into" the Epte, the only natural feature of the frontier between Normandy and *Francia*.²⁴

Columns 4 and 5 register decreasing modes of syntactic activity. Column 4 (entirely empty) is for the ablative of agency. Column 5 is for a congeries of inflected forms: the ablative absolute, the accusative with the infinitive, any noun entangled in any case with a participial or gerundive construction. One such instance is the *Franci* who go back home ("Francis repatriantibus")²⁵ after the bloodless victory at Reims; another is the *regnum* which Suger the Regent tells the Archbishop of Reims he sees as being deeply disturbed by "the tergiversations and provocations of the perverse" owing to the King's protracted absence on crusade.²⁶

With column 6 we move to several modes of passivity distinguished by the grammatical tradition. Column 6 is for the direct objects of transitive verbs, like the *Francia* which in chapter 17 a particularly devious band of renegade Normans had "defiled," or the *regnum* which in chapter 10 Louis and his father King Philip put at the service of Pope

Paschal II. Column 7 registers objects of prepositions: in chapter 23 several barons whose lands impinge on the Franco-Norman frontier²⁷ and had "conspired *contra regnum*" get their just rewards. Column 8 is for nouns in genitive constructions, possessive, partitive, or whatever; this is by far the most densely populated column for *regnum* and *Franci*, and it shares *ex aequo* first-place honors for *Francia* and *patria*. Column 9 is reserved for nouns in the dative case and for most types of the ablative; it is the second densest column, although far behind its genitive neighbor.

The overwhelming predominance of the genitive case -- 124 of the grand total of 208 appearances of these four nouns in these four works, i.e., 59.9% of the total -- shows that the nouns studied here seemed in Suger's mind to be part of something else or to belong to some other entity in a fashion yet more subordinate. When we tally the totals of columns 6 through 9 and find that 90% of these nouns (187 of 208) play a passive role in Suger's political grammar, what general conclusions should we reach?

Were Suger's Frenchmen weaklings, and their kingdom, including its feudal homeland, feeble? Not necessarily. First of all, the other *regna* of Suger's thought-world were just as inactive. The rule-proving exception is the *regnum Anglie* of the interesting letter to Geoffrey and Matilda: "Should that kingdom and its ancient treasures come to reinforce your peace and prosperity," the cost of protracted warfare could dissipate even that windfall.²⁸ Although this English translation requires a transitive construction, the original *succederet* is strictly intransitive, calling for a dative complement. More importantly, J. H. Hexter's pioneering study in subjective quantification demonstrated conclusively that the *stato* of Machiavelli's *Prince*, surely one of the most desirably sovereign political structures ever conceived, was usually the passive object of a verb not only active and transitive but aggressively acquisitive.²⁹ I have registered the genitive construction one column further along the scale of passivity than the direct object; perhaps the honor of Suger's beloved realm may consider itself vindicated

24. Ch. 16: W 106; LM 58.

25. W 226; LM 120: cf. n. 15 supra.

26. Ep. 12, LM 261.

27. W 170; LM 92.

28. "Si enim regnum Angliae et gazarum antiquarum copia paci et prosperitati succederet, ..." - Ep. 15, LM 265.

29. Jack H. Hexter, "Il principe and lo stato," *Studies in the Renaissance*, 4, M.A. Shaaber, ed. (New York, 1947), pp. 113-138; and "The Loom of Language and the Fabric of Imperatives: The Case of *Il Principe* and *Utopia*," *American Historical Review* 69 (1964), 945-968.

nonetheless by this close comparison with one of its Renaissance successors.

But what about Suger's fellow Frenchmen? Perhaps one of the most striking consequences of the statistical predominance of syntactic passivity in this sample is the vital contrast it sets up as a backdrop to the activity of *Francia* and the *Franci* in the 11 cases in which those two nouns do take action. The assault of the *Franci* on the soft men of Brie has already been mentioned; they also smash defensive barriers at a river crossing in the Limousin,³⁰ rally around their king in border warfare with the Normans,³¹ "race to arms" when those Normans resume the attack,³² and "engage in the fray with wondrous daring."³³ Later, still in conflict with the Normans, they take their positions firmly;³⁴ if at times they give way before a better disciplined array of Norman soldiery,³⁵ they can cunningly divide the forces of naive Auvergnats³⁶ and are "barely able to contain themselves" in the face of Teutonic arrogance.³⁷

Which brings us back to *Francia* transcending herself and her proud legacy in the peculiarly Christian victory at Reims (not a bad site for such a metamorphosis). Suger displays that *Francia* to his readers as a persona grander both in numbers and in its new sense of destiny. Less than a fortnight before, on the third of August at Saint-Denis, Louis had taken the oriflamme and prayed that *tota Francia* might follow.³⁸ She

30. "Verum Franci, marte continuo exercitati, Brienses longa pace solutos aggressi cedunt, lanceis et gladiis precipitant, victorie insistent, nec eos impugnare viriliter tam militari quam pedestri manu desistant, donec terga vertentes fuge presidium arripuerunt." - ch. 11, W 76; LM 44. "Quod Franci videntes, mirabiliter animati, repagula rumpunt, rivum transiliunt hostesque multa cede persequentes, ad castrum usque coactos repellunt." - ch. 12, W 80; LM 46.

31. W 106; LM 59.

32. "...currunt ad arma, ..." - W 110; LM 60.

33. "...irruentes, miro fastu, mira concertant audacia,..." - W 110; LM 61.

34. Ch. 21, W 162; LM 87-88.

35. Ch. 26, W 196; LM 104-05.

36. Ch. 29, W 234; LM 123.

37. "...vix se continere valebant." - Ch. 28, W 226; LM 120.

38. "Rex autem, vexillum ab altari suscipiens, quod de comitatu Vilcassini, quo ad ecclesiam feodatus est, spectat, votive tanquam a domino suo suscipiens, pauca manu contra hostes, ut sibi provideat, evolat, ut eum tota Francia sequatur potenter invitat." - W 220; LM 116. Lügge's reading of this crucial passage (p. 173, n. 552) exposes one difficulty with her widely accepted method. This becomes one in a string of citations drawn from authors as diverse in time, space, and perspective as Sigebert of Gembloux,

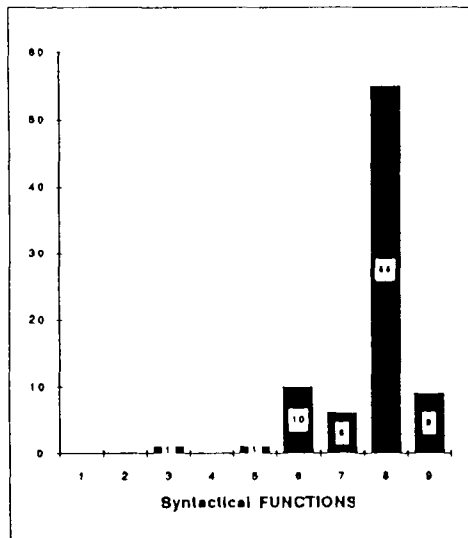
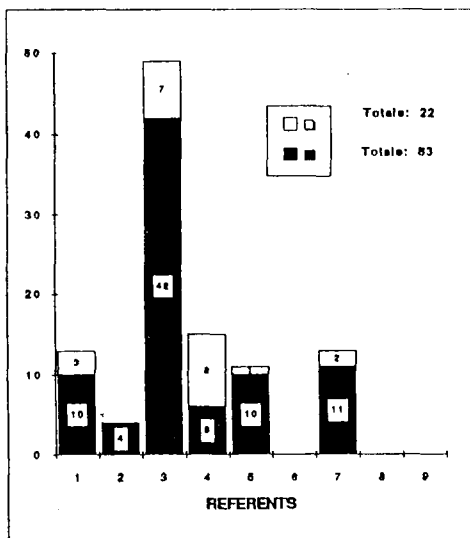
had, expanding beyond anyone's expectations in the process; the rest is history.

How to summarize these results? As I read Suger's text, I see his fellow *Franci* strongly attached to their homeland, *Francia* (which he hardly ever calls their *patria*). These *Franci* are however entirely willing to venture forth from that homeland, against their immediate western neighbors the Normans (admittedly with indifferent results); further, they act quite successfully against their neighbors to north and south in rebellious Auvergne, the Limousin, Flanders, the Brie, and most triumphantly against the invading Teutons from the east. On some of these expeditions to wider horizons the *Franci* are liable to grander conceptions of themselves and the *regnum* they possess, of which they are at least the pre-eminent subjects. At times, especially early in the reign of Louis the Fat, Suger and his *Franci* still think of that *regnum* as roughly coterminous with *Francia*₄--i.e., more than the Ile-de-France but still less than *Francia* had been in the days of Dagobert and Charlemagne. As time goes on and they probe their frontiers, the *Franci* gain a larger sense of the realm with which they identify and whose effective boundaries have great expansive potential. How extensive did that potential seem? I fear that Suger was too prudent a statesman to let us know.

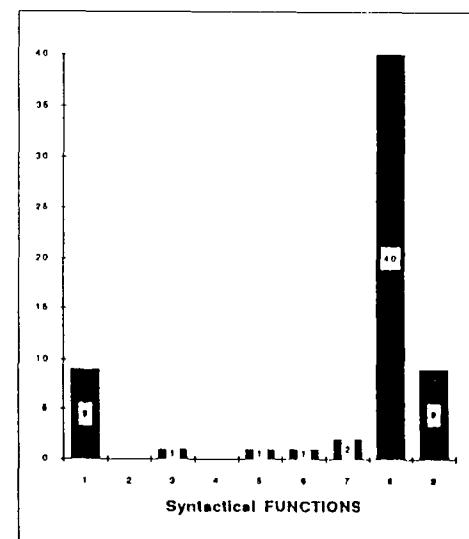
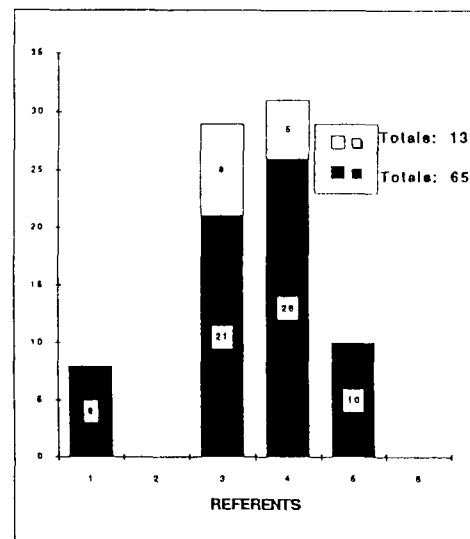
Udalschalk of Augsburg, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, and Gervase of Canterbury who concurred, she asserts, in her sense that "'Francia tota' konnte demnach alles zum Einflussbereich des französischen Königs gehörigen Land meinen, nicht nur seinen Kronbesitz." It may well have seemed so to those English, Lotharingian, and German authors, but is it absolutely clear from a close reading that *tota Francia* meant the same to Suger, a native of the region in question, whose language here focusses on just one sub-region (the county and/or *pays* of the Vexin) of that *Kronbesitz*? I regret that I cannot unreservedly concur.

This is an example, albeit a subtle one, of the problem with semantic generalizations derived from scattered citations: the classic method of dictionary compilers. Wood relies on such authority in his excellent article on *regnum Francie* (v. supra), but given the generic consistency of his materials and his own punctilious precision in reading them, his conclusions suffer no ill effects. Broader syntheses based on such premisses must be viewed with the appropriate caution, however.

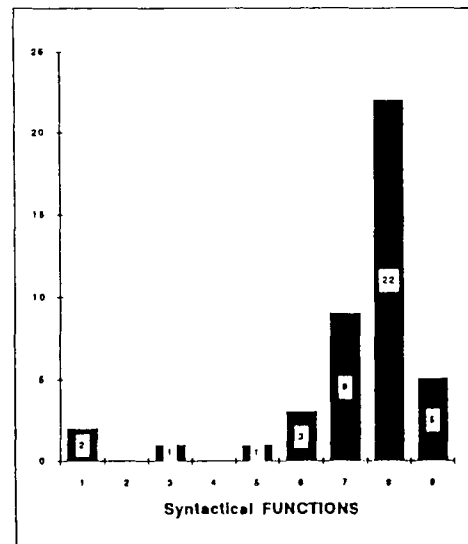
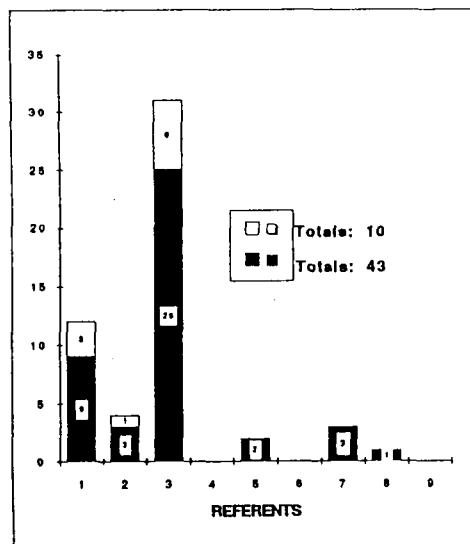
REGNUM In Vita Ludovici Grassi



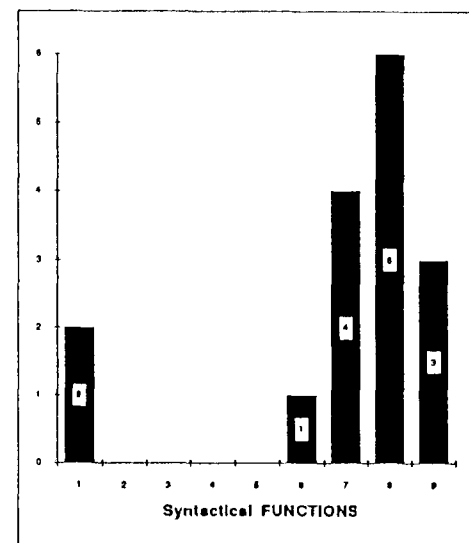
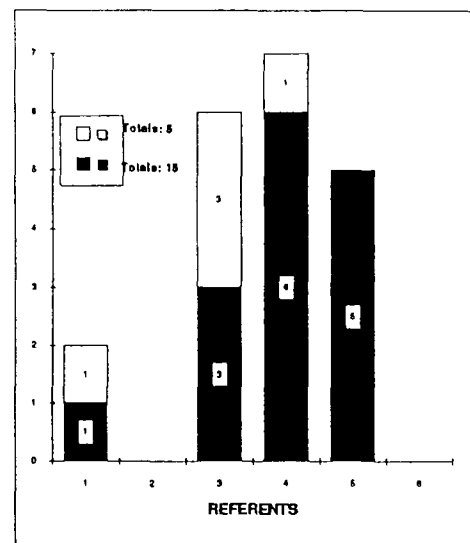
FRANCI In Vita Ludovici Grassi, two treatises



REGNUM In De Administratione,
De Consecratione,
Epistolae

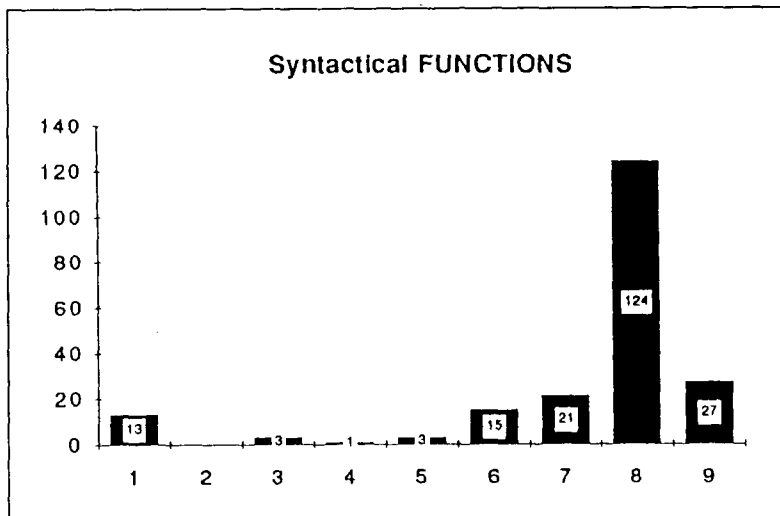
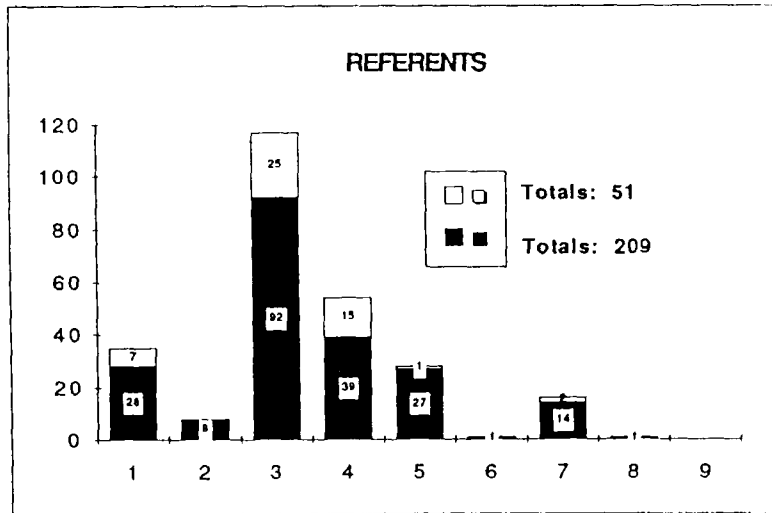


FRANCIA In Vita Ludovici Grassi, two treatises



REGNUM, FRANCI, FRANCIA, PATRIA in VLG, De Adm., De Con., and Epistulae

		REFERENTS											Syntactical FUNCTIONS								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Totals:	209	28	8	92	39	27	0	14	1	0	207	13	0	3	1	3	15	21	124	27	
	51	7	0	25	15	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	



Artois in the Late

Thirteenth Century:

A Region Discovering Its Identity?

Carola Small

Region is an elusive concept. R.E. Dickinson in his *Regions of Germany* defined it as "a geographical unit of economic and social activity and organization...It is an entity of human space relationships which are effected through the medium of the route pattern and the urban centres...This conception does not involve the idea of a water-tight compartment nor does such integration mean that the linear boundaries can be defined in reality. It does maintain that such a region has a core and that it is normally centered on the principal cities."¹ For Dickinson, then, a region should have at least one city. For Vidal de la Blache, probably the chief instigator of regional historical studies, it was an area defined by social customs including building patterns, dialect, and eating habits.² Then there are political regions. Modern legislators setting up "regional divisions" whether in Scotland, France or Italy tend to take into account historical developments, patterns of communication, economic similarities and social integration, but in the long run a regional boundary is an arbitrary thing. Given the multiplicity of ways in which a region can be approached, it seems easier to identify a region than to define in what that identity consists. I suggest, however, that

1. Robert E. Dickinson, *The Regions of Germany* (New York, 1945), p. 23, quoted in Josiah C. Russell, *Medieval Regions and Their Cities* (Bloomington, IN, 1972), p. 15.

2. Paul Vidal de la Blache, *Tableau de la géographie de la France* (vol. 1 of Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France Paris*, 1903), p. 15.

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