

affirmatively for years by using exogenous archeologic material (related to models of the culture of Chernjakhov-Sîntana de Mureş, found in Western burials) as an ethnic marker. To take this path, on one hand, solves the problem of the barbarians' 'invisibility' in the western record. On the other hand, this adds the problem of having to assign the weight of ethnic identity onto a material that, a priori, has no ethnic marks. Critical approaches to this 'ethnification' of the archaeological register, especially by English-speaking archaeologists (G. Halsall), provide the same caveat that we could apply to the conclusions of this volume's contributions. Some of them contain relativist social-identitarian approaches to the matter (M. Pozo's view on the *Vascones* and their adoption of Frankish features is fascinating). Others argue, not misguidedly, that an explanation has to be given to the arrival of archaeological furniture in the fifth century with evident parallel features with that of Danubian regions, even if this explanation includes less drastic theories of imitation and social acculturation (Y. Gourgoury, J.-P. Cazes, J. Jřić *et al.*, pp. 415–45). Indeed, a feature for which criticism of Kazanski and Périn's model has no answer is the discovery of individuals buried with intentional cranial deformation (in Blanzac, p. 131, or Collegno, p. 374, for example). This practice is usual in the Danubian steppe but completely alien in the west, and I believe that it deserves greater consideration by Kazanski and Périn's critics.

In summary, this is a book worthy of attention, with contributions both from acknowledged specialists and experienced archaeologists in the field. Specialized scholars will find both an up-to-date view on Visigothic archaeology in France and Spain, and some archaeological interpretations that will surely add elements to the debate around barbarian archaeology and its relationship with the transformations of the post-Roman world.

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Lyon dans l'Europe Carolingienne: Autour d'Agobard (816–840).

Edited by François Bougard, Alexis Charansonnet and Marie-Céline Isäia. Collection Haut Moyen Âge 36. Turnhout: Brepols. 2019. 382 pp., 21 b/w ill. + 28 colour ill. €80. ISBN 978 2 503 58235 1.

The contributions in this book all revolve around the question of whether the city of Lyon made Agobard's reputation, or whether the infamous archbishop put the city on the map of Carolingian Europe. Thus, as the title implies, the twenty-three meticulously argued and

illustrated chapters focus not just on the person, but also on the city around him – its archives, its people, its place in the economic and social networks at the time, etc. The result is a double portrait of a man and a city, who created each other as much as they were both created by subsequent historians trying to make sense of this relationship.

It starts with an overview of the current state of archaeological research on the development of the city during the Carolingian era. Jean-François Reynaud describes a city with deep (Roman) roots that was a military stronghold, a trading hub and a busy ecclesiastical centre. Reynaud's article pairs nicely with David Ganz's overview of the city's oldest manuscripts and how these were used. Ganz, too, emphasizes the role of antique traditions in Lyon, while showing how these manuscripts indicate that this was a community in motion.

Claire Tigolet, Cullen Chandler and Fernand Peloux follow this opening with a trio of articles showing the challenges facing Lyon as it became an important hub in a network linking the Frankish world to the Iberian peninsula. Tigolet reassesses the interdependence between Iberian migrants and Frankish rulers, and shows how these *Hispani* could develop their position thanks to the groundwork laid by the Carolingians, who in turn used them to expand their influence further south. Chandler shows that this came at a price: the Spanish Adoptionist heresy remained a danger against which the Carolingian *ecclesia* – with Agobard as its defender – needed to remain vigilant. Peloux, finally, also looks at Iberian influences on Lyon, and uses the hagiographical corpus produced there to explain its role as a melting pot of Frankish and Iberian ideas.

The next grouping of articles further zoom in on intellectual life in ninth-century Lyon, by highlighting the use, audience and reception of individual manuscripts. Both Pierre Chambert-Protat and Louis Holtz present detailed manuscript analyses, the former focusing on the specific modes of *computus* developed in the school around Agobard, the latter on the relation between the archbishop and his student, Florus. They add weight to the presentation by Claire Dantin of a newly discovered manuscript: her study invites further research into how this manuscript fits into the context created by this book. Caroline Chevalier-Royet's discussion of 'Agobard's (Alcuinian!) Bible', for instance, characterizes this intellectual community as a burgeoning school which started under Agobard's predecessor Leidrad, but which was able to develop in earnest because of Agobard's involvement with the court. The last article is by Paul Mattei: an in-depth analysis of Agobard's citations of Greek authors, doubling as a critical review of Van Acker's treatment of these citations and an honest re-assessment of the choices made in the CCCM. These latter two chapters show how

texts produced by or around Agobard continue to be dynamic entities even now.

While these articles took us to the heart of the scriptorium, the next set presents a more traditional view of Agobard's place among the Carolingian crowd. It is here that we see most clearly how city and people interact, in history as in modern scholarship. The chapters by Charlotte Gaillard and Olivia Puel, with their archaeological descriptions of the monasteries of Île-Barbe and Saint-Martin de Savigny, respectively, seem to fit more organically directly after Reynaud's chapter, but their position reminds the reader of the extent to which monasteries were carriers and receptacles of the ecclesiastical changes described in the six other chapters, which all highlight Agobard's place within the turbulent Carolingian church. Warren Pézé and Kristina Mitalaité present us with an in-depth view of Agobard's role in theological debates at the time. Pézé shows how the conviction of Amalarius of Metz was not a last-minute decision based on Agobard's intervention at the 838 Council of Quierzy, but the result of an episcopal *Realpolitik*, as the bishops seized the critiques from Lyon to get rid of a controversial figure in an attempt to stabilize the realm. Pézé shows us Agobard and Florus as pragmatic politicians, but Mitalaité illustrates how the archbishop was not averse to taking an extreme position to combat perceived wrongs within the church – such as the veneration of images – in a calculated move to stir up controversy so as to eventually resolve the debate. Between them, they show Agobard's persona and his aptitude for writing very ad hoc pieces that were controversial but – he thought – necessary. This is emphasized in Philippe Depreux's chapter, in which he argues that Agobard's positions are fuelled by his conviction that debate was a precondition for consensus. Thus, Depreux's article also contextualizes the arguments by Michel Jean-Louis Perrin and Jean-Paul Bouhot, on Agobard's interactions with his contemporary Hrabanus Maurus and his successor Amolo, respectively, as well as the chapter by Susan Rankin on his 'corrections to the Antiphoner'. Between them, these authors highlight aspects of Agobard's persona as an uncompromising teacher, and the impact he had on the individuals and congregations around him. As their analyses of text, context and intertext show, his efforts turned Lyon into a mirror for Carolingian intellectuals operating in the same discourse community – even if both Perrin and Bouhot emphasize that, while Agobard's intellect was appreciated, his rigidity was not always followed by his contemporaries.

The final three chapters in this volume show how Agobard and (Carolingian) Lyon were shaped by post-Reformation historiography.

Marie-Céline Isaiïa's analysis of how Agobard was read by the generations after him demonstrates that his immediate audience was more concerned with Agobard's scholarly commentaries than with his politics – an interesting observation, as modern scholarship portrays him predominantly as a political animal. As the next two articles imply, this has everything to do with the six-hundred-year gap in his reception. Jean-Benoît Krumenacker shows it took until the late fifteenth century until the humanist Pierre Rostaing took Agobard seriously. Rostaing's edition project failed, but the question is raised if Agobard would have been received differently if he had 'gone public' before the Reformation. After all, Jean-Louis Quentin shows that the eventual publication of Agobard by Jean Papire Masson in the early seventeenth century ended up fuelling ongoing debates about image veneration, and even caused the staunch conservative archbishop to, paradoxically, be grouped among Protestants. It may well be that his role in a seventeenth-century debate has led subsequent researchers to over-estimate Agobard's position as a polemicist among the Carolingians. That simplified Agobard was a creation of historiography: François Bougard explains in his epilogue how the historical Agobard was the archbishop of a complex city in full development, a major player in a dissonant religious discourse, and, most importantly, a self-aware author who saw that the written word was just as polyvalent as the lived experience of the people writing (or reading) it.

As it reaches the end, the book drifts away from Lyon and closer to Agobard – which has the unfortunate consequence of turning the carefully constructed complexities of the first articles into an almost invisible backdrop, again highlighting the individual over the community; some of the chapters could stand to be a bit more analytical with regards to the dynamics between archbishop and archbishopric. Although the many different viewpoints offered provide a realistic (i.e. complex) impression of 'Lyon in Carolingian Europe', this multifocal approach might prove quite a challenge to readers for whom this book is a first introduction to Agobard. Nevertheless, the *ad fontes* approach taken by the authors is almost surprisingly deconstructive, and the parallel viewpoints presented do show the options available to modern historians ready to sink their teeth into the available material. This collection of chapters is a great starting point for anyone keen to brush up their knowledge of Carolingian Lyon without being constrained by a singular narrative framework.

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