
Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte

Herausgegeben vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris

(Institut historique allemand)

Band 26/1 (1999)

DOI: 10.11588/fr.1999.1.47297

Rechtshinweis

Bitte beachten Sie, dass das Digitalisat urheberrechtlich geschützt ist. Erlaubt ist aber das Lesen, das Ausdrucken des Textes, das Herunterladen, das Speichern der Daten auf einem eigenen Datenträger soweit die vorgenannten Handlungen ausschließlich zu privaten und nicht-kommerziellen Zwecken erfolgen. Eine darüber hinausgehende unerlaubte Verwendung, Reproduktion oder Weitergabe einzelner Inhalte oder Bilder können sowohl zivil- als auch strafrechtlich verfolgt werden.

Miszellen

DONALD C. JACKMAN

RORGONID RIGHT – TWO SCENARIOS

Recent interest in the ninth-century Neustrian family or clan, the ›Rorgonids‹, is somewhat fortuitous. Historians have approached the subject from thoroughly diverse directions: Otto Gerhard Oexle from the prosopographical standpoint; Hubert Guillotel in a description of the rise of the Breton kings; Jean-Pierre Brunterc'h in a constitutional study of the Cenomannian duchy; and Julia Smith as part of a synthesis of Breton history in the Carolingian age¹. If I add a further study of a general nature, I imagine my purpose no less exclusive and no less necessary to an assessment of the Rorgonid role in history. I wish to concentrate firstly on a peculiar aspect of the Rorgonid existence: the repeated disputes over supremacy in the county of Maine and the larger Neustrian region, for which I shall offer an interpretation emphasizing inherited right to public office. At sight my second concern may appear almost unrelated. Yet details of aristocratic name-giving suggest to me that the ninth-century Viking princes who invaded Neustria were Rorgonid-related. This raises the questions of whether, how, and why, a pattern of violence should spill out of the Cenomannian microcosm into the broadest sphere.

I

In existence as early as the mid-sixth century, the duchy of Maine was originally created as a line of defense against the Bretons. Based on the Roman *limes* organization, its military character is evident from various cultural holdovers in subsequent centuries, as Brunterc'h has shown². In the early eighth century it was a region bounded by the Seine and the Loire comprising perhaps twelve counties³, which cannot be identified in every case,

1 Otto Gerhard OEXLE, *Bischof Ebroin von Poitiers und seine Verwandten*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 3 (1969) p. 138–210; Hubert GUILLOTEL, *Les temps des rois, VIII^e–X^e siècle*, in: André CHÉDEVILLE, Hubert GUILLOTEL, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois V^e–X^e siècles*, Rennes 1984, p. 191–404; Jean-Pierre BRUNTERC'H, *Le duché du Maine et la marche de Bretagne*, in: Hartmut ATSMÄ (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850. Colloque historique international*, 2 vols., Sigmaringen 1989 (*Beihefte der Francia*, 16), 1: p. 29–127; Julia M. H. SMITH, *Province and empire. Brittany and the Carolingians*, Cambridge 1992 (*Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought*, ser. 4, 18). I wish to express my indebtedness to Katharine Keats-Rohan for reading a primitive draft of this paper and providing salutary input, and to Martin Heinzelmänn for helpful commentary on the final version.

2 BRUNTERC'H, *Duché* (as n. 1) p. 30–40.

3 *Annales regni Francorum inde ab A. 741 usque ad A. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. Friedrich KURZE, Hanover 1895, 9, indicate that when Grifo received the duchy and twelve counties of Maine from Pepin in 748, this transpired according to ducal custom.

but apparently included *pagi* on the Breton peninsular and *pagi* as far east as Vendôme and Chartres.

In consultation with the religious and other great men of the duchy, the bishop of Le Mans exercised the right of installing the duke and the counts. Presumably he and his associates also named the other bishops of the region. Very little can be determined with precision regarding the regional episcopal successions, but we know of two cases where *pagi* were governed by a single count without the assistance of bishops. It seems that the bishop of Le Mans did not always take care that a deceased bishop was supplied with a successor⁴. Likewise, the counties were not always ruled individually. Described thus, the system was suitable to the domination of a large region by one aristocratic family, which would naturally supply both the duke of Maine and the bishop of Le Mans, and which would usually distribute subordinate offices by inherited right, or by more direct means, among ducal and episcopal relatives.

The system, if that word is appropriate, remained for several decades. Few changes occurred as a result of either the battle of Tertry (687) or the death of Pepin of Herstal (714) and the struggle for power that ensued between Charles Martel and Ragenfred, mayors of the palace in Austrasia and Neustria. The latter conflict ended in 719, with Ragenfred obliged to take refuge at Angers, where he was permitted to remain as count⁵. This last detail should carefully be noted, because it suggests that the dukes of Maine were well in control of their province both before and after the civil war. Their loyalty was not questioned by Charles Martel⁶.

Fundamental changes did not occur, therefore, until 748, when the so-called *ducatu*s *Cenomannicus* was granted by Pepin the Short to his half-brother Grifo. From that time the duchy would be held by Carolingians, usually as part of a kingdom or sub-kingdom. The former episcopal and ducal family receded into historical anonymity.

Concomitantly the Breton mark was distinguished from the duchy (or now *regnum*) and given over to a margrave⁷. The first margrave known to us is Roland, the legendary hero of Roncevalles († 778), described as Breton margrave in the *Vita* of Charlemagne by Einhard⁸.

4 The counties and dioceses of Nantes and Rennes were held around 695 by an Agatheus; see *Vita Ermenlandi abbatis Antrensis auctore Donato*, c. 13 (MGH, SS rer. Merov. V, 699). BRUNTERC'H, Duché (as n. 1), p. 41, considers that he may have been functioning in the manner of a margrave. A more complex situation is that alluded to in *Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, ed. G. BUSSON and A. LEDRU, Le Mans, 1901 (Archives historiques du Maine, 2), p. 244–245, where the see of Le Mans itself lay vacant.

5 Josef SEMMLER, *Zur pippinidisch-karolingischen Sukzessionskrise 714–723*, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 33 (1977) p. 1–36; BRUNTERC'H, Duché (as n. 1) p. 42.

6 It also suggests that Ragenfred was a close relative of the bishops and dukes, who were able to ensure that he was treated leniently. This inference can be supported by the presence of names with *Ragen-* component among descendants of the dukes. Remarkably, Ragenfred's death in 731 is noted in the annals; see Horst EBLING, *Prosopographie der Amtsträger des Merowingerreiches von Chlothar II. (613) bis Karl Martell (741)*, Munich 1974 (Beihefte der Francia, 2), p. 206–208.

7 On the rise of margraves under the Carolingians see Karl Ferdinand WERNER, *Missus – Marchio – Comes. Entre l'administration centrale et l'administration locale de l'Empire carolingien*, in: Werner PARAVICINI, Karl Ferdinand WERNER (ed.), *Histoire comparée de l'administration (IV^e–XVIII^e siècles)*. Actes du XIV^e colloque historique franco-allemand, Munich 1980 (Beihefte der Francia, 9), p. 191–239, reprint: ID., *Vom Frankenreich zur Entfaltung Deutschlands und Frankreichs. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Sigmaringen 1984, p. 108–156.

8 *Einhardi vita Karoli magni*, ed. O. HOLDER-EGGER, 6th ed., Hanover 1911, p. 12: *et Hruodlandus Brittanici limitis praefectus* (c. 9). The reference to Roland does not occur in the earliest recension; see André DE MANDACH, *Le problème de la présence de Roland à la défaite pyrénéenne de 778. Pour une nouvelle édition critique de la Vita Karoli*, in: *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien. Mélanges René Louis*, 2 vols., Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay 1982, 1: p. 363–378.

In 799 the margrave was Wido, and early in the ninth century his son Lambert I succeeded, dying in exile, however, in 837⁹. Lambert II, very probably a son of Lambert I, held the mark intermittently until his death in 852¹⁰.

Wido and his successors were of an Austrasian family sometimes designated as the Lambertiner (alternatively Widonen), the origins of which can be reconstructed. The Austrasian background can be seen from the family's association with the monastery of Hornbach in the Vosges, founded around 742 by a certain Wernher, whose sons were Nanther, Herluin and Rothar¹¹. Rothar is the equivalent of *Chrodegarius*, or Roger, the name of an early Cenomannian duke; and the *Herl-* component of Herluin is found in two Bishops Herlemund of Le Mans. It is thus conceivable that either Wernher of Hornbach or his father married a woman of Duke Roger's family.

The Breton margraves Wido and Lambert I were benefactors and part owners of Hornbach, which, together with an inheritance of the name Wernher by a brother of Wido, reveals the closest ties with the founder of Hornbach. In the monastery's written traditions Wido is said to be *unus de stirpe Wernharii*¹²: this should actually refer to an agnatic relationship. The precise affiliation is not altogether clear. It has been suggested that Wido's father, another Lambert, was son of a certain Adalhard, who is thought to be Wernher's brother¹³; yet the chronology of the generations is not so well established as to rule out Wido's descent from Wernher himself.

The *germanus* Adalhard may in any event be a brother-in-law rather than a brother, because in medieval Latin terms of specific relationship were capable of extending their meanings¹⁴. To cite a plausible example, at the end of the eighth century we can clearly see that Margrave Wido's sister was married to a Warin, said to be Wido's *germanus*, even though by strict definition ›germanus‹ should denote a brother by the same parents. The relationship between Wido and Warin can be established in reference to a royal diploma of 782, where only Wido's genuine brothers, Hrodold and Wernher, are named¹⁵. When Wido

9 *Annales regni Francorum* (as n. 3) p. 108–109; Ermold le Noir, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux, et épîtres au roi Pepin*, ed. and trans. Edmond FARAL, Paris 1964 (*Classiques des historiens de France au moyen âge*, 14), p. 98 (lines 1262–1267); Léon LEVILLAIN, *La Marche de Bretagne. Ses marquis et ses comtes*, in: *Annales de Bretagne* 58 (1951) p. 89–117; Jean-Christophe CASSARD, *La résistible ascension des Lamberts de Nantes*, in: *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 63 (1986) p. 299–321; BRUNTERC'H, *Duché* (as n. 1) p. 45–49.

10 On Lambert II's affiliation see Eduard HLAWITSCHKA, *Waren die Kaiser Wido und Lambert Nachkommen Karls des Großen?*, in: *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 49 (1969) p. 366–385, at 374–377, reprint: *Id.*, *Stirps Regia. Forschungen zu Königtum und Führungsschichten im früheren Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Frankfurt-Bern 1988, p. 227–246; and generally SMITH, *Province and empire* (as n. 1) p. 49–55.

11 The Hornbach foundation charter is newly edited by Anton DOLL, *Das Pirminkloster Hornbach. Gründung und Verfassungsentwicklung bis Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Archiv für mittelherrnische Kirchengeschichte* 5 (1953) p. 108–142, at 141–142. It is a forgery, but the names of the founders are very likely accurate, as indicated by Wolfgang METZ, *Miszellen zur Geschichte der Widonen und Salier, vornehmlich in Deutschland*, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 85 (1965) p. 1–27, at p. 3–4.

12 *Vita Sancti Pirminii*, c. 9 (MGH, SS XV/1, 30).

13 METZ, *Miszellen* (as n. 11) p. 18. Adalhard attests the Hornbach charter; DOLL, *Pirminkloster* (as n. 11) p. 142.

14 See Donald C. JACKMAN, *The Konradiner. A study in genealogical methodology*, Frankfurt 1990 (*Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte*, 47), p. 135–136, admitted as a working principle. It should be stressed that the terminological property of extension is not merely a matter of interpretation, but goes to the medieval language.

15 MGH, D Karol. 148: *sed Wido atque germani sui Hrodoldus et Warnerus contradixerunt, ut eorum fuisset vestitura, quia genitor eorum Lambertus in legitima alode eos vestitos dimisisset.*

commemorates his *germanus* Warin in 796¹⁶, at this point documentation abruptly ceases for Count Warin of Ladengau (on the lower Neckar), son of a Count Wegelenzo. Subsequently the name Wernher passes to the counts of Ladengau, so that the identifications and relationships cannot really be doubted¹⁷.

The Lambertiner were closely related with – or descended from – the archbishops of Trier. In the diploma of 782 they are said to lay claim to the monastery of Mettlach, which was founded early in the eighth century by Archbishop Leoduin of Trier. Refuting this claim, the diploma nevertheless implies that they descend from Leoduin's son, whose name was Wido¹⁸. In the 740s there was a Wido, abbot of Fontanelle and relative of Charles Martel, thus presumably an Austrasian¹⁹. Considering his Neustrian position this abbot might be Margrave Wido's unknown paternal grandfather; chronologically he is suitable for an identification with Archbishop Leoduin's son.

It is not unlikely that Archbishop Leoduin was also the father of the Hornbach founder Wernher²⁰ – whence the *-win* component of the name Herluin in the Hornbach founder's son. It may be added that Margrave Wido's brother Hrodold bore a name incorporating the *Hrot-* component of Rothar or Roger. Archbishop Leoduin's wife might thus be a sister of Duke Roger of Maine. That is undoubtedly the simplest onomastic explanation, and it also seems to be fairly coherent.

The conclusion to be drawn is that Margrave Roland (*Hrot-land*), who died at Roncesvalles in 778 and whose name apparently derives from *Hrot-gar* and *Lant-bert*²¹, was installed on the Breton mark in recognition of his descent from the family of Duke Roger of Maine, and that his Lambertiner successors were closely related with him. In composite derivation the names could form in a variety of ways and thus do not always argue in the most forceful way. One may nevertheless cite the name of Wernher's son Nanther: so far as can be seen, the *Nant-* and *Lant-* radicals were, like the *-heri* and *-gar* radicals, true analogs of each other²². A consistent pattern of onomastic mutation suffices to account for Roland's name,

16 G. C. CROLLIUS, *Probationes Hornbacenses aliaque ad origines Salicas*, in: *Academia Electoralis Theodoro-Palatina, Historia et commentationes* 6 (1789) p. 240–284, at p. 240–242 (no. 1).

17 The first Wernher in Ladengau would be a grandson of Warin; moreover, it is probably he who would later hold lay abbacy for Hornbach; cf. *Regesten des ehemaligen Benediktiner-Klosters Hornbach*, ed. Andreas NEUBAUER, Speyer 1904 (*Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins der Pfalz*, 27), no. 19 (from 865). On the counts of Ladengau see Michael GOCKEL, *Karolingische Königshöfe am Mittelrhein*, Göttingen 1970 (*Veröffent. des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte*, 31), p. 302–305; and Hans K. SCHULZE, *Die Grafschaftsverfassung der Karolingerzeit in den Gebieten östlich des Rheins*, Berlin 1973 (*Schriften zur Verfassungsgeschichte*, 19), p. 193–196.

18 MGH, D Karol. 148: *Leodonius quondam episcopus genitor Miloni et Widoni* — the mention of Wido is otherwise unjustifiable, as inferred by T. WÜSTENFELD, *Über die Herzoge von Spoleto aus dem Hause der Guidonen*, in: *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 3 (1863) p. 383–432, at p. 391. On Bishop Leoduin and his milieu see Eugen EWIG, *Trier im Merowingerreich. Civitas, Stadt, Bistum*, Trier 1954 (*Trierer Zeitschrift*, 21), p. 133–143.

19 *Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis coenobii (Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium)*, ed. F. LOHIER and J. LAPORTE, Rouen-Paris 1936, 56–7 (VII, 1).

20 The document of 796 (as n. 16) states that Hornbach was founded by Wido's *progenitores*.

21 The name Lambert appears in a well-connected seventh-century saint of Neustria; see *Vita Lantberti abbatis Fontanellensis et episcopi Lugdunensis* (MGH, SS rer. Merov. V, p. 606–612). Its passage from that saint to the Lambertiner must be construed in some manner as being direct, and the path was most probably via Duke Roger's family.

22 In the consanguinity of Liudolfinger ancestors there is a Nandolf (790–806) son of a Theodolf (I), and a Landolf (779) father of a Theodolf (II); *Codex Laureshamensis*, ed. Karl GLÖCKNER, 3 vols., Darmstadt 1929–36, nos. 558, 584, 590, 836, 2112; see Reinhard WENSKUS, *Sächsischer Stammesadel und fränkischer Reichsadel*, Göttingen 1976 (*Abhandlungen der Akad. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, ser. 3*, 93), p. 92–111. In all likelihood Landolf is identical to a Nandolf document

even though direct inheritance of whole names eventually dominates under the Breton margraves. We can assume that Roland's name, which passes immediately out of currency, was avoided thereafter in tribute to its bearer.

In the margraval succession Roland might have been followed by an Audulf who led a campaign against the Bretons in 786²³. Presumably this same individual is later sighted as margrave in Bavaria; for Wido's son Wernher also held a Bavarian margravate²⁴, perhaps in a sort of hereditary succession. Audulf could have been Roland's son — or better, since there is no onomastic connection, son-in-law. Given Roland's heroism and the internal peace of Charlemagne's rule, it goes virtually without saying that Roland's offices passed to his adult relatives.

The Breton mark appears thus to represent ancient claims to the Cenomannian duchy, where rights of installment were vested with the bishop of Le Mans. These episcopal rights present an especially interesting and detailed case of the late seventh-century trend towards episcopal secularization, to which Eugen Ewig drew attention²⁵. Developments in Maine begin with Bishop Berchar I (*Berarius*), who around 660 received the right to name *dux* and *comes* in collaboration with the other nobles and religious men of the region²⁶. This privilege was later renewed²⁷. The duchy of Maine was unique in being peripheral and in need of

ed in 773 as proprietor at Maudach; Codex Laureshamensis, no. 2052. In Maudach a proprietor Amanold had a son Landolf; no. 2049 (from 772). Equivalence of *-heri* and *-gar* is well recognized.

23 Annales regni Francorum (as n. 3) p. 72–73.

24 Audulf succeeded at the death of Charlemagne's brother-in-law Gerold in 799. A Count Wernher is documented in his company in 802 and 805; see Hermann SCHREIBMÜLLER, Audulf, der frühest belegte Graf im Tauberggau, in: Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kunst 3 (1951) p. 53–69; Michael MITTERAUER, Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten. Fränkische Reichsaris-tokratie und bayerische Stammesadel im österreichischen Raum, Vienna 1963 (Archiv für österrei-chische Geschichte, 123), p. 2–7. Wernher became margrave in eastern Bavaria. He must have relin-quished this position and returned north, where he died in 814, for his Bavarian successor already emerges in 808. But MITTERAUER suggests that the margrave may not have been Wido's brother but a Lambertiner cousin (ibid. p. 69).

25 Eugen EWIG, Milo et eiusmodi similes, in: Sankt Bonifatius. Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag, 2nd ed., Fulda 1954, p. 412–440, at p. 430–436, reprint: ID., Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien. Gesammelte Schriften, 2 vols., Munich 1976–9 (Beihefte der Francia, 3), 2: p. 189–219. The radical transformation and secular character of episcopal lordship in this time is stressed by Patrick J. GEARY, Before France and Germany. The creation and transformation of the Merovingian world, New York-Oxford 1988, p. 210–212. Relevant literature includes Martin HEINZELMANN, L'aristo-cratie et les évêchés entre Loire et Rhin jusqu'à la fin du VII^e siècle, in: Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France 62 (1976) p. 75–90; Friedrich PRINZ, Der fränkische Episkopat zwischen Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit, in: Nascita dell'Europa ed Europa carolingia: un'equazione da verificare, 2 vols., Spoleto 1981 (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 27), 1: p. 101–133; Reinhold KAISER, Royauté et pouvoir épiscopal au nord de la Gaule (VII^e–IX^e siècles), in: La Neustrie (as n. 1) 1: 143–60, with German edition ID., Königtum und Bischofsherrschaft im frühmittelalterlichen Neustrien, in: Friedrich PRINZ (ed.), Herrschaft und Kirche. Beiträge zur Entstehung und Wirkungsweise episkopaler und monastischer Organisationsformen, Stuttgart 1988 (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 33), p. 83–108.

26 For much of the following see Margarete WEIDEMANN, Bischofsherrschaft und Königtum in Neustrien vom 7. bis zum 9. Jahrhundert am Beispiel des Bistums Le Mans, in: La Neustrie (as n. 1) 1: p. 161–193, whose interpretation of the political history, however, needs revision in some instances.

27 MGH, D Merov. Spur. 81: *ut in pago Cenomannico nullus quislibet ullo quoque tempore in actione ducati nec comitati ingredi debet, nisi tantum per electionem memorati pontificis aut successorum suorum, seu abbatum ac sacerdotum atque pagensium Cenomannensium, ibidem per voluntatem Dei consistentium, et ibidem per iussionem ipsorum principum ac succedentium regum vel ad agendum introire debet.* This diploma is preserved among the Actus pontificum Cenomannis (as n. 4) p. 235–236, which constitute the central text among the forgeries compiled at Le Mans in the

ducal defense against the Bretons, but still relatively central with respect to the larger Neustrian kingdom.

Shortly after the privilege was given, a Radebert was functioning as duke²⁸. Then at the beginning of the eighth century power in the *ducatus* and *comitatus* of Maine resided with Roger²⁹. In episcopal succession there is every reason to suppose that a hereditary principle was operative already in the second half of the seventh century: the names of Berchar and his second successor Herlemund both recur in eighth-century bishops³⁰.

Evidence from the first half of the eighth century is more tangible, if also more problematical. A pair of royal diplomas allegedly given 2 and 5 March 722/3 shows that the church of Le Mans was under the governance (*in regimine*) of Roger's son Hervé (*Charivius*) and Bishop Berchar II. The former is termed *vir illuster*, the latter *apostolicus vir*³¹. Then around 730 Hervé's brother Joscelin (*Gauziolenus*) was consecrated bishop of Le Mans by the archbishop of Rouen, in contravention of the canons³². The various dates may not be correct, but in all likelihood the governmental nomenclature has been preserved accurately.

Hervé is customarily seen as an usurper³³. It is quite unnecessary to assume, however, that he intended to take the place of the bishop formally, even though the diocese fell under his 'regime'. The designation *vir illuster* leaves no doubt of his secular status, and one can only suppose that Hervé was carrying out the secular functions pertaining to the diocesan government. In other words, Hervé was the duke and count of Maine, and lawfully installed as such by the bishop.

Thus he followed his father Roger in direct hereditary succession. Conversely, the designation *apostolicus vir* shows that Berchar II was bishop at this time. Because his name was born by the bishop of Le Mans who originally acquired the right to install duke and count some sixty or more years before, one should infer that public succession in the see of Le Mans and the duchy and county of Maine was controlled throughout by one family or extended family.

The testament of Berchar II, not datable with accuracy, affirms this impression. In willing his property to his religious foundation at Chalon, Berchar stipulates that Duke Roger's

ninth century; the documents therein are well recognized as having a highly authentic core. The item is unobjectionable to Walter GOFFART, *The Le Mans forgeries*. A chapter from the history of church property in the ninth century, Cambridge (Mass.) 1966 (Harvard Historical Studies, 76), p. 272, who here cites EWIG, *Milo et eiusmodi similes* (as n. 25) p. 434, p. 438–439, where further instances of a county being placed within a bishop's grant are discussed.

28 *Passio Ragneberti martyris Bebronensis*, c. 2: *Sanctus igitur Ragnebertus, ex praeclaro Francorum genere ortus, Radeberti ducis filius extitit, qui inter amnis Sequanae atque Ligeris confinium telluris provincias rexit temporibus multis* (MGH, SS rer. Merov V, 209). Note the *Ragen-* component which appears later in the Rorgonid context.

29 Cf. *Actus pontificum Cenomannis* (as n. 4) p. 244–245.

30 Herlemund I succeeded an Aiglibert at the beginning of the ninth century and evidently died shortly after his last 'bona fide' documentation, allegedly from 721; *Actus pontificum Cenomannis* (as n. 4) p. 240–242.

31 MGH, D Merov. Spur. 87, 89; *Actus pontificum Cenomannis* (as n. 4) p. 186–189, 242–244. Some documents are clearly provided with false dates by the *Actus*, and it is uncertain how extensively this problem intrudes. The item of 5 March 722/3 names Herlemund I as bishop – *apostolicus vir* – yet Berchar II's document appears three days earlier. The precise details of episcopal chronology have comparatively little bearing on the general institutional issues, but cf. GOFFART, *Forgeries* (as n. 27) p. 162, 273.

32 *Actus pontificum Cenomannis* (as n. 4) p. 245–246. The archbishop of Rouen who consecrated Joscelin was probably a certain Radebert, whose name implies a connection with the Cennomanian family.

33 Cf. GOFFART, *Forgeries* (as n. 27) p. 273.

daughter Gotilde will become abbess of Chalon after the incumbent abbess, and that after his own death Chalon will be administered by the bishop of Le Mans³⁴. Thus Berchar II must also be regarded as a member of Duke Roger's family, in all likelihood Roger's brother. This sufficiently establishes the paradigm: the highly born nurtured inherited right to public office, including the episcopacy.

In Le Mans the episcopate of Bishop Joscelyn lasted until 771, but Pepin the Short's ecclesiastical reforms had broken the family's power by then. Joscelyn not having been consecrated in proper form, in 744 Pepin installed a canonical bishop under mysterious circumstances. The new bishop, Herlemund II, eventually withdrew to a monastery and Joscelyn was returned to office, with severe restraints placed on his power³⁵. The change in circumstances cannot be overemphasized: Joscelyn had been exposed. As a result the legitimacy of his ducal appointee was also in question, and we can perceive herewith a legal means by which Pepin could depose Hervé and establish his own half-brother Grifo as duke. It is abundantly clear that the ecclesiastical reforms entailed the abeyance of episcopal rights in ducal and comital succession.

It is often asserted that Joscelyn and Hervé ran afoul of Pepin in the affair of Grifo³⁶. Hardly had Grifo been installed as duke than he rebelled, and in 753 he was killed in Aquitaine. During this period, shortly after ascending the throne in 751, Pepin was denied entry into Le Mans by Joscelyn and Hervé³⁷. Whether or not they acted in collaboration with Grifo, a hearty disenchantment with Carolingian policy is understood. Subsequently nothing is heard of Hervé, and after Joscelyn's death the diocese began to receive bishops from the royal chapel³⁸. The advent of Roland and the Lambertiner on the Breton march coincides with this new course of politics, and we are probably looking at a forfeiture and resultant inversion of the hereditary principle, whereby the most rightful holders of power were repressed, the vestiges of their power being given to Austrasian relatives in order to emphasize the fall from grace.

This scenario continues to develop. The first count of Maine who emerges in the subsequent documentation is Rorico, or Rorgo³⁹. In 840 it appears that he was driven from Le Mans by the party of King Lothar I, which in this instance was being represented by persons of the race of Hervé and Wido, usurpers before them⁴⁰. Lambert II, grandson of Wido, was clearly involved, and it is not unlikely that the descendant of Hervé was a certain

34 Julien HAVET, Questions mérovingiennes VII, Les Actes des évêques du Mans. Appendice, in: Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes 55 (1894) p. 306–336, at p. 331–334; Actus pontificum Cenomannis (as n. 4) p. 225–228; GOFFART, Forgeries (as n. 27) p. 264. It is assumed that this document, allegedly dating to 710, belongs to the later bishop Berchar II of Le Mans, although the point is moot, since it belongs to a Bishop Berchar domiciled in the Cenomannian region.

35 Actus pontificum Cenomannis (as n. 4) p. 256–258.

36 Karl Ferdinand WERNER, Qu'est-ce que la Neustrie? in: Patrick PÉRIN, Laure-Charlotte FEFFER (ed.), La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve (VII^e–IX^e siècles), Créteil 1985, p. 29–38, at p. 37; BRUNTERC'H, Duché (as n. 1) p. 43.

37 Aldrici episcopi Cenomannici memoriale (MGH, Concilia II/2, p. 836).

38 WEIDEMANN, Bischofsherrschaft (as n. 26) p. 184–185.

39 Actus pontificum Cenomannis (as n. 4) p. 299–300: *comite ejusdem parrochie Morigone* (read *Rorigone*) – in reference to the year 832. Louis the Pious revived the duchy of Maine for his youngest son Charles in 838 and in this was evidently supported by Rorico; see SMITH, Province and empire (as n. 1) p. 84.

40 De eieccione Aldrici Cenomannicae urbis episcopi (MGH, SS XV/1, p. 327). Hervé and Wido appear to belong to one and the same consanguinity: *Prescripti ergo tyranni de genere Herivei et Widonis superiorum tyrannorum remanserunt*. The reference to Wido is unlikely to concern the Breton margrave, whom Alcuin regarded as *vir perfectus et iudex incorruptus*; MGH, Epistolae IV, p. 402. It must concern Count Wido of Maine, killed in 834 and considered below at n. 46.

Eric whom Nithard mentions as a defector to Lothar: the name Eric is closely related to Hervé⁴¹.

The animosity inferable between these individuals and Count Rorico would at first suggest that they were not related with each other⁴². Yet Rorico must surely have been related⁴³. His name is clearly a hypocorism of a *Rot-* name, most probably Roger, and his father and son in fact were named Joscelin⁴⁴. Furthermore, two sons of Rorico were close political allies of a Hervé (*Heriveus*) whom Jacques Boussard treats variously as their brother or cousin⁴⁵. One must conclude that in 840 animosity sprang from competitive claims based on mutual descent from the Merovingian dukes of Maine. Rival claims made enemies of relatives.

The family of Count Rorico of Maine is customarily referred to as the Rorgonids, and that name can also apply to the family of Bishop Joscelin as well as some later families. During the earlier ninth century, Rorgonid relatives and persons with Rorgonid names were locked in a deadly struggle with the Lambertiner. In 834 in the wars among the Carolingians, a Count Wido of Maine fell in battle; he was evidently a Lambertiner at some point installed as rival to Rorico⁴⁶. And in 840 Lambert II and Eric briefly ousted Rorico. Shortly thereafter, the lines are drawn with sharpest clarity. Reginald, son of a Hervé, was in charge of the Breton mark in 841⁴⁷. In 843 he was killed by Lambert in a battle precipitated by per-

41 Nithardi Historiarum libri IIII, ed. Ernst MÜLLER, Hanover 1907, p. 16, 18 (II, 3, 5); BRUNTERC'H, Duché (as n. 1) p. 67. On the onomastic of Hervé see n. 59 below. Karl Ferdinand WERNER, Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums (9.–10. Jahrhundert) (V–VI), in: Die Welt als Geschichte 20 (1960) p. 87–119, at p. 104–105, considers Eric to be a Nibelung.

42 WEIDEMANN, Bischofsherrschaft (as n. 26) p. 188–189 nn. 100–101.

43 The passage cited above (n. 40) does not imply that Rorico was of a different consanguinity: the word ›genus‹ can refer to type as well as to lineage.

44 Karl Ferdinand WERNER, Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls des Großen, in: Helmut BEUMANN (ed.), Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben I, Persönlichkeit und Geschichte, Düsseldorf 1965, p. 83–142, at p. 137–142, reprint: ID., Vom Frankenreich (as n. 7), devotes an appendix to the Rorgonids; see also OEXLE, Bischof Ebroin (as n. 1) p. 145–149. Rorico's parents were Joscelin and Adeltrud; a brother Gauzbert had two sons, one of whom was named Joscelin. WERNER rightly maintains that Rorico was related in some manner to Bishop Joscelin of Le Mans. The view of Jacques BOUSSARD, Les destinées de la Neustrie du IX^e au XI^e siècle, in: Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 11 (1968) p. 15–28, at p. 19, that the bishop was an uncle of Rorico's father Joscelin, is perhaps a little too daring.

45 Ibid.; Jacques BOUSSARD, L'origine des familles seigneuriales dans la région de la Loire moyenne, in: Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 5 (1962) p. 303–322, at p. 311. See Annales de Saint-Bertin, ed. Felix GRAT, Jeanne VIEILLARD, Suzanne CLEMENCET, Léon LEVILLAIN, Paris 1964, p. 118 (ad 863).

46 Wido's status as count of Maine is mentioned in Les Miracles de Saint-Benoît, ed. E. DE CERTAIN, Paris 1858, p. 50–51 (Adrevald, c. 21). OEXLE, Ebroin von Poitiers (as n. 1) p. 187, rightly notes that Rorico could not have become Lambert I's partisan. It is necessary to conclude either that Wido's place among the fallen loyalists is misleading, or that he was not actually count of Maine at the time of his death. Wido, otherwise count of Vannes, was doubtless a Lambertiner, and he may even have been Lambert I's brother; thus SMITH, Province and empire (as n. 1) p. 81 n. 87. As such his status in Maine could scarcely have been achieved through lawful replacement of Rorico. Hubert GUILLOTTEL, L'action de Charles le Chauve vis à vis de la Bretagne de 843 à 851, in: Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne 53 (1975–6) p. 5–32, at p. 6, indicates that in 831 Louis the Pious gave Vannes to the Breton prince Nomenoë together with primacy on the Breton mark: in these circumstances Wido would have been Lothar's count of Maine. He must already have rejoined the ranks of the loyalists by late 832, when he delivered a report commissioned to him concerning the rights to several priories in Le Mans; the relevant diploma (MIGNE PL 104, 1217–18) contains no implication that the fidelis Wido was count or *missus dominicus*. Presumably Adrevald calls him count of Maine because his death alongside the loyalists was extraordinary.

47 The twelfth- or thirteenth-century Chronicle of Nantes suggests that Lambert petitioned Charles the Bald (without success) for the mark after the death of Richwin, allegedly margrave, at the battle

sonal rivalry⁴⁸. Reginald's relationship with Rorico is unknown; but one might suspect that their fathers were brothers. In the following year Margrave Hervé, Reginald's son, was ambushed and slain on a bridge at the Maine river together with Rorico's son-in-law Bernard – again by Lambert and the Bretons⁴⁹.

Ultimately in 852 Lambert staged his final rebellion, with the consequence that he was treacherously killed by Count Gauzbert of Maine, apparently Rorico's grandson, who captured Lambert's brother Wernher and delivered him to the king to be executed. When in the next year the king also executed Gauzbert – ostensibly for Lambert's assassination – his Rorgonid relatives rose in rebellion⁵⁰. The Rorgonids' feud with the Lambertiner was ferocious. Yet apparently all were of one consanguinity.

The Rorgonids of the ninth century present a fairly well-defined comital dynasty by comparison with many poorly documented comital successions of this period. Rorico had the sons Gauzbert, Geoffroy (*Gauzfrid*), Rorico (II) and Joscelin (*Gauzlin*) – this is a noteworthy instance of onomastic maintenance of the first radical (*Gauz-*) among sons. Gauzbert had succeeded Rorico as count of Maine⁵¹, and there is no reason to doubt that Geoffroy also came to hold the county. It would help greatly if more were known about the status of Geoffroy. It is significant that an entry for 885 in the annals of Saint-Vaast should mention a Reginald with the title *dux Cinomannicus*⁵². This Reginald might be Geoffroy's eldest son. We saw that another Reginald acted as Breton margrave in the early 840s, and that his father and son both bore the Rorgonid name Hervé.

of Fontenay in 841; *La Chronique de Nantes* (570–environ 1049), ed. René MERLET, Paris 1896, p. 8–9 (c. 4). These data are often accepted; but there is in fact no basis for Richwin's margravian office. The same text alleges that Reginald received the county of Poitiers: Reginald is thus confused with Count Ramnulf (I) of Poitiers, whose name (*Raban-*) is definitely not equivalent to Reginald (*Ragen-*). See further Richard M. HOGAN, *The Rainaldi of Angers: 'new men' or descendants of Carolingian nobiles?*, in: *Medieval Prosopography* 2/1 (1981) p. 35–62; GUILLOTTEL, *Bretagne* (as n. 1) 251–259.

- 48 *Miracula s. Benedicti* (as n. 46) p. 70: *Ac primum, marchisis Britannici limitis inter se gravi perduellione dissidentibus, bellum ortitur utrique lugubre parti* (Adrevald, c. 33); in general see SMITH, *Province and empire* (as n. 1) p. 92–95.
- 49 *Annales Engolismenses* ad 844 (MGH, SS XVI, p. 486); *Chronicon Aquitanicum* ad 844 (MGH, SS II, p. 252). In *Annales Bertiniani* (as n. 45) p. 46 (ad 844) those killed on the Maine are described as margraves; Hervé's position as his father's successor is assumed, and Bernard's margravian status is confirmed by a Pfäfers memorial-book excerpt (MGH, Lib. confr., p. 274) studied by OEXLE, *Ebroin von Poitiers* (as n. 1) p. 168–174. The location of Bernard's command is uncertain; see Jan DHONDT, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IX^e-X^e siècle)*, Bruges 1948 (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Faculteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, Werken, 102), p. 87–88; GUILLOTTEL, *Bretagne* (as n. 1) p. 262–263.
- 50 Cf. Janet L. NELSON (trans.), *The Annals of St-Bertin. Ninth-Century Histories I*, Manchester-New York 1991, p. 78 n. 3. The connections between these events are uncertain, as are the relative dates. *Chronicon Fontanellense* ad 850–851 (MGH, SS II, p. 303–304) complicates matters by providing foundation for three separate Gauzberts.
- 51 OEXLE, *Ebroin von Poitiers* (as n. 1) p. 171–172, questions whether Rorico had a son Gauzbert, yet there is no doubt as to the succession of a Gauzbert as count of Maine; *Chronicon Aquitanicum* ad 852 (MGH, SS II, p. 253). GUILLOTTEL, *Action* (as n. 46) p. 7, considers that Rorico's son Gauzbert died in 851 in battle: the Gauzbert executed in 853 would be Rorico's grandson.
- 52 *Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini*, ed. B. VON SIMSON, Hanover/Leipzig 1909, p. 57. These annals have a sometimes fanciful approach to the ducal title: Bernard of Gothia is described as 'duke of Autun' after he was outlawed in 878 (*ibid.* p. 43), and Count Ramnulf (II) of Poitiers is said to be 'duke of the better part of Aquitaine' in 889 (*ibid.* p. 67). To be handled with similar reserve is the Cenomannian ducal title applied to one of the Gauzberts by the chronicle of Saint-Maixent; *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, ed. Paul MARCHEGAY, Émile MABILLE, Paris 1869, p. 366.

Towards the end of the century the Breton margrave Berengar is mentioned as count of Maine⁵³. Shortly thereafter the county was seized by a Roger, who was then supplanted by a Joseclin. Roger was able to retrieve the county⁵⁴, and he founded a dynasty of counts that held Maine in direct lineal succession for the next century and a half. None of these claimants to Maine is documented with an affiliation⁵⁵. While in Berengar's case it may be difficult to achieve an incisive inference, it is not unlikely that Joscelin descended from Geoffroy, and Roger from one of Geoffroy's siblings. Geoffroy certainly had sons⁵⁶. Joscelin would be one, or perhaps a grandson. His rival Roger was probably a cognatic descendant, since the source asserts that he 'came from afar'. Both clearly represented a Rorgonid tradition, and it is by no means certain that one of them should have sought to continue the ancient rivalry of the Lambertiner. Their confrontation is nevertheless indicative of what by now had become an endemic problem.

In the Cenomannian disputes, therefore, inherited right was invariably applied to public succession. The protagonists had opposing political orientations, but it is no less true that political behavior draws on every available legal advantage. When replacing one count with another, the monarch would naturally desire that his nominee should assert a right to the county. In the case of the Rorgonids and Lambertiner we are sure that this course was followed, because we are secure in the conviction that each individual involved in the disputes was related with a predecessor.

Our assurance derives from several considerations:

1. The enmity between the Lambertiner and the Rorgonids was ongoing and involved both Breton mark and county of Maine.

2. The names Roger (with the diminutive Rorico), Hervé (with the related Eric), and Joscelin (with related Gauzbert and Geoffroy) are evidently inherited and persevere hardily.

3. Armed strife interrupts periods of continuity in the successions.

Despite our inability to reconstruct exact affiliations between the early, middle and late Rorgonids – and despite our ignorance of whether an affiliation might be agnatic or cognatic or how claims were compared with each other – it is clear that participants in the Cenomannian successions descended from previous office holders. The protagonists asserted claims against each other.

53 See Édouard FAVRE, *Eudes, comte de Paris et roi de France (882–898)*, Paris 1893 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 99), p. 242–243 (Pièces justificatives, no. 5); discussion by F.-L. GANSHOF, *Depuis quand a-t-on pu, en France, être vassal de plusieurs seigneurs?*, in: *Mélanges Paul Fournier*, Paris 1929, p. 261–270, at p. 267–269.

54 *Actus pontificum Cenomannis* (as n. 4) p. 341–347; K. S. B. KEATS-ROHAN, *Two studies in north French prosopography*, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994) p. 3–37, at p. 6–9.

55 Roger is apparently the nepos of Count Hugh of Bourges; see Abbon, *Le siège de Paris par les Normands*, ed. and trans. H. WAQUET, Paris 1942 (*Classiques des historiens de France au moyen âge*, 20), p. 108–109.

56 The sons of Geoffroy are mentioned in *Annales Bertiniani* (as n. 45) p. 260; Geoffroy was still alive in this year (878). They are mentioned again in 893 in a letter of Archbishop Fulk of Reims; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* IV, 5 (MGH, SS XIII, 564). Neither source gives their names, which might suggest that there were at least three sons: or are Fulk's *filiū Goffridi* actually grandsons? From them seem to descend the viscounts of Châteaudun, who bore the name Geoffroy throughout the tenth century; BOUSSARD, *Familles seigneuriales* (as n. 45) p. 312. Tenth-century Geoffroys will shortly receive a new study: Christian SETTIPANI, *Les comtes d'Anjou et leurs alliances aux X^e et XI^e siècles*.

II

In the prosecution of ninth-century Cenomannian disputes, the Vikings were an almost constant presence behind the scene. The settlers adapted to French society by following its customs wherever advantageous. As elucidated by Eleanor Searle, their idea of inherited right was unique. The dukes of Normandy formed the habit of manipulating rich inheritances in a style verging on armed robbery⁵⁷. The adaptation involved an underlying acceptance of the Frankish perception of inherited right; yet the motivations are difficult to appreciate. Perhaps this issue can be clarified to an extent by considering one of the earliest Viking chiefs to take up residence on Frankish shores. His name was Rorik, and the striking similarity of this name with Rorico need not be fortuitous⁵⁸.

Rorik († 873) was the nephew of Harald (*Heriold* in Frankish sources) – a some time king of Denmark, but more frequently client of Louis the Pious in Frisia. Harald had two sons, Godefrid (II) and Rodulf, with whom Rorik periodically collaborated⁵⁹. These names are all Frankish in character, and each resembles or can be constructed from the names of the Rorgonids. Thus Harald (*Heri-wald*) suggests the name Hervé⁶⁰; and Rodulf not only has the *Hrot*- radical of Roger or Rothar, it is an analog of the name Hrodold in the Breton margrave Wido's brother. Godefrid equates with the Rorgonid name *Gauz-frid* or Geoffroy: one may accept this, although equivalence is also possible with *Gunt-frid*, a name born by at least two Neustrian aristocrats who had close Rorgonid ties⁶¹.

57 Eleanor SEARLE, *Predatory kinship and the creation of Norman power, 840–1066*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1988, p. 159–177.

58 Latin sources tend to distinguish the approximate forms *Rorgo*, *-onis* – the Frankish name – and *Roric(us)*, *-i* – the Danish name. Construction of the latter from *Hrot-rich* is conceivable. However, the form *Roric(us)*, *-i*, was equally valid for the Frankish name; cf. *Annales Bertiniani* (as n. 45) p. 118.

59 Ferdinand LOT, *Roric. Ses incursions en Frise, en Flandre, en Angleterre, à Rouen (850–851)*, in: *Recueil des travaux historiques de Ferdinand Lot*, 3 vols., Geneva-Paris 1968–1973, 2: p. 678–685, assigns Harald a third son named Harald. On the other hand, Rorik and Harald are named as brothers in *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. Friedrich KURZE, Hanover 1891, p. 39 (ad 850), where it is said that they received Durstede in the time of Louis the Pious. Conceivably this is a conflation, which would permit us to infer perhaps that Rorik's father was also named Rorik. In Inge SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN, Aksel E. CHRISTENSEN, Helge PALUDAN, *Danmarks historie I, Tiden indtil 1340*, Copenhagen 1977, p. 149, the third Harald is assigned as Rorik's brother, which only goes to show that the affiliations are difficult to establish. The same table fails to provide Rodulf as Godefrid (II)'s brother, although the indications in *Annales Bertiniani* (as n. 45) p. 128 (ad 864), point firmly in that direction. Some departures that may eventually lead to a more substantial genealogical reconstruction are shown by Omeljan PRITSAK, *The origin of Rus' I, Old Scandinavian sources other than the sagas*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1981.

60 Marie-Thérèse MORLET, *Les noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, 2 vols., Paris 1968–1972, 1: p. 127, views Hervé as an analog of *Heri-wig*, but the attestations are not entirely clear; see further Ferdinand LOT, *Hervi évêque de Nantes*, in: *Annales de Bretagne* 13 (1897–1898) p. 45–47, reprint: ID., *Recueil* (as n. 59) 3: p. 39–41. Josef SEMMLER, *Pippin III. und die fränkischen Klöster*, in: *Francia* 3 (1975) p. 88–146, at p. 123 n. 376, wishes to identify Duke Hervé with a certain Count Herigar. One can entertain the further possibility that Hervé was a hypocorism of *Heri-wald* or Harald. Eric (*Heri-rich*), a name later ubiquitous in Scandinavia, is found in the Neustrian aristocracy and corresponds to the name Horik born by Godefrid (I)'s eldest son; cf. Peter FISHER (trans.), Hilda ELLIS DAVIDSON (ed.), *Saxo Grammaticus, The History of the Danes*, 2 vols., Cambridge-Totowa 1979–80, 2: p. 161–162.

61 See BRUNTERC'H, *Duché* (as n. 1) p. 78. A *Gunt*-derivation (i.e. transformation) is suggested by the name Godurm (Guthrum) in King Horik (I)'s nephew. It is very probably the same name as Gormr, as in the founder of the tenth-century Danish dynasty, and it is most easily equated with the Burgundian royal name Guntram; but PRITSAK, *Origin of Rus'* (as n. 59) p. 178, considers Gormr not a name but a title.

It seems likely that this family of Norman invaders had a sizeable drop of Rorgonid blood. One need not assume that a Rorgonid woman was abducted by a Danish king. Danish and Frankish societies met on the common ground of Saxony, where the inferred relationship could have been formed; or perhaps one must think in terms of a North Sea littoral alliance. In either event, Frankish aristocratic blood can account for the readiness of Frankish rulers to enter into relations with the Normans, to baptize them, and in one instance to arrange marriage, as we shall see, with a Carolingian princess. It will also help to explain the interest of the Normans in Frankish honors, their determination to settle despite constant peril and, ultimately, their success at thwarting Frankish opposition.

Certain of the names in which we are interested appear in Scandinavian legends representing the history of a much earlier period. While there is no reason to doubt that such legendary persons as Hrolf Kraki and Harald Wartooth existed⁶², they need not have borne such names. The author of *Beowulf*, who versified no earlier than the first half of the eighth century, might have considered Frankish examples (here perhaps the kings named Chlothar) when he chose the name Hrotgar for Beowulf's Danish king. In at least one case this process can be demonstrated: the Finn Episode, interpolated into *Beowulf*, and the related *Fight at Finnsburg*, draw on the names of some contemporary Alemannian aristocrats whose connection with events on the North Sea is exceedingly doubtful⁶³. The possibility that ancient names have a significant bearing on the ninth-century Danish onomastic cannot be dismissed, yet the impressive connections among established sets must command attention.

In 882 King Lothar II's daughter Gisela was given in marriage to the Danish ›king‹ Godefrid (III), who was involved in Frankish politics, sought land in the heart of Austrasia, and was treacherously murdered in 885⁶⁴. Gisela was a child of Lothar II's notorious ›illegitimate‹ marriage; but her dynastic significance is reflected by her sister Bertha, who transmitted royal claims to several Italian rulers⁶⁵.

Godefrid (III) surely belonged to the Danish royal line that had long been supported and promoted by Lothar II's family. Thus in 819 King Harald did homage to Louis the Pious, and he later accepted baptism. From Lothar I he received the Frisian island of Walchern in 841. Godefrid (II) was baptized by Emperor Lothar and remained loyal to him until 852. His brother Rodulf received massive tribute from Lothar II in 864. Their cousin Rorik defected from Emperor Lothar and apostatized, but in 850 returned to the fold and obliged the emperor to grant him Durstede, an emporium in the Rhine delta⁶⁶. It is no accident that Godefrid (III) married a daughter of Lothar II, if he represented the next generation.

62 Cf. Gwyn JONES, *A history of the Vikings*, Oxford 1968, p. 46–54.

63 The relevant identities are discussed by Hans JÄNICHEN, *Die alemannischen Fürsten Nebi und Berthold und ihre Beziehungen zu den Klöstern St. Gallen und Reichenau*, in: *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 112 (1976) p. 30–40. On the basis of the legend PRITSAK, *Origin of Rus'* (as n. 59) p. 183–187, ascribes the procurator's office at Quentovic to the Alemannian count Nebi, but concedes that almost all of the extant names are mythic or topical. The problem is that the Finn Episode involved two rival but closely related families; and according to the names, both families were of the high Alemannian aristocracy. Pritsak is unaware of this complicating aspect. It is virtually impossible that the rivalry was played out on the northern seacoast; hence the Finn Episode is to be construed as an amalgam, with Alemannian names superimposed on contemporary or earlier events for reasons difficult to discern.

64 Cf. Viggo STARCKE, *Denmark in world history*, Philadelphia 1962, p. 151, 190–192.

65 See Gunther WOLF, *Über die Hintergründe der Erhebung Liudolfs von Schwaben*, in: Harald ZIMMERMANN (ed.), *Otto der Große*, Darmstadt 1976 (*Wege der Forschung*, 450), p. 56–69.

66 Extensive reports on these Viking leaders and their relations with the Franks and the Danish kingdom are found in three contemporary Frankish chronicles: the *Annales regni Francorum*, the *Annales Bertiniani*, and the *Annales Fuldenses*. The chronicle material is presented and elucidated in a concise paper by K. L. MAUND, ›A turmoil of warring princes‹: political leadership in ninth-century Denmark, in: *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994) p. 29–47.

Presuming that a Danish-Rorgonid connection was established shortly before the Rorgonid onomastic appears in the Viking context, we need to consider the situation in Denmark during Charlemagne's epoch. King Godefrid (I) was ruling a united Danish kingdom when in 810 he was murdered. The kingdom soon fractured with internecine strife. War was waged chiefly between his sons and the nephews of an earlier King Harald, who had perhaps been Godefrid's predecessor or at some point co-ruler; the nephews included the Harald who became significant in Frankish affairs.

The names carried in these rival families of Danish kings definitely suggest that they were of one and the same lineage. Both families used the names Godefrid and Hemming. Names with a *Ragen-* component are found in Godefrid (I)'s nephew Reginald and in Harald's brother Reginfred⁶⁷. Remarkably, these are the forms in which *Ragen-* names appear in the Rorgonid context⁶⁸. Close relationship between the rival Danish families is also clear from the agreements they occasionally made with each other: at one point Harald established with two of Godefrid (I)'s sons a royal *consortium* where the Danish kingdom was ruled by three together⁶⁹.

Family politics appear to be intertwined with religious politics. When Charlemagne heard that Godefrid (I) was assassinated by his own retinue, he is said to have regretted that he did not slay the Dane personally 'with his Christian hand'⁷⁰. Evidently religious differences were paramount for Charlemagne, and it was not long before the Franks made a serious effort to convert the heathen Danish royalty through the mission of St. Ansgar. These efforts were fostered by Harald, who saw them as a means of securing imperial support for his pretensions in Denmark. Among Ansgar's fellow missionaries the most prominent was Gauzbert. If he was Rorgonid-related as his name suggests, it would seem that the Franks pursued a policy of sending Scandinavian royalty its own relatives in order to ease the process of conversion and to ensure the safety of the mission. Within the aristocratic context of the mission⁷¹, facility with the language might also suggest the family background of the missionaries.

In Harald's son Rodulf we encounter a name that would have greater significance when it reappeared. In the early tenth century a leader who appears among the Vikings of the Seine is variously named Rollo and Rolf⁷². His name essentially is Rodulf – in a hypocoristic or elided form – and he founds the ducal house of Normandy.

67 Reginald was a brother's son of King Godefrid (I), whom he predeceased; *Annales regni Francorum* (as n. 3) p. 125 (ad 808). Godefrid was succeeded by Hemming, another son of a brother; *ibid.* p. 133 (ad 810). An Anulo was the nepos of both Godefrid and Harald (I), and his brothers were Harald and Reginfred. They competed for Hemming's succession with Sigifrid, a nepos of Godefrid, and later petitioned the emperor for the return of their brother, another Hemming; *ibid.* p. 136 (ad 812).

68 The name Ragenfred was born by the Neustrian mayor of the palace who died as count of Angers in 731, whose Rorgonid tie is inferred at n. 6 above.

69 *Annales regni Francorum* (as n. 3) p. 156–157, 173 (ad 821, 827); Erich HOFFMANN, *Königserhebung und Thronfolgeordnung in Dänemark bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Berlin/New York 1976 (*Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters*, 5), p. 17–18.

70 Notkeri Balbuli *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. Hans F. HAEFELE, Berlin 1962 (*MGH, SS rer. Germ.*, ser. 2, 12), p. 76 (II, 13).

71 Cf. Birgit SAWYER, Peter SAWYER, Ian WOOD (ed.), *The Christianization of Scandinavia. Report of a symposium held at Kungälv, Sweden, 4–9 August 1985*, Alingsås 1987, p. 58–59.

72 See Jean ADIGARD DES GAUTRIES, *Les noms de personnes scandinaves en Normandie de 911 à 1066*, Lund 1954 (*Nomina Germanica*, 11), p. 111–114, 310–311. David C. DOUGLAS, Rollo of Normandy, in: *English Historical Review* 57 (1942) p. 417–436, reprint: *Time and the hour. Some collected papers of David C. DOUGLAS*, London 1977, p. 122–125, accepts the saga tradition that Rollo was a son of the Norwegian jarl Rognvald. We again see here the *Ragen-* component (indeed the name Reginald) of the Rorgonid circle and the Danish kings. It is well within the realm of possibility that after Godefrid (III)'s assassination an infant Rollo was taken into the house of a close relative Rognvald in Norway and that the Norwegian tradition sprang from that circumstance. Eleanor SEARLE,

If it were not sufficiently clear from his onomastically related predecessors that Rollo somehow descended from Frankish aristocrats, all doubt of a fundamental relationship tends to evaporate when the marriages of his children are observed. His son married a daughter of Count Heribert of Vermandois⁷³, and his daughter married William Towhead, duke or count of Aquitaine⁷⁴: these alliances affected the larger French kingdom, not merely the regions in which the Vikings were interested. The son, William Longsword, bore a Frankish name suggestive of relationship with such powerful and prestigious families as the Guilhemids and the Konradiner.

There are reasons for believing, furthermore, that Rollo was a son of Godefrid (III) and his Carolingian bride. In Dudo of Saint-Quentin's semi-legendary account of the rise of Normandy, it is Rollo himself who acquires the hand of the king's daughter. Granted this is not how things actually occurred, yet the notion of a marriage between a Norman prince and a Carolingian princess may still have been preserved as a legend concerning Rollo's family⁷⁵. In this connection one can consider Rollo's granddaughter Adelaide of Aquitaine, who is described as a descendant of Charlemagne⁷⁶. It cannot be demonstrated that her

Fact and pattern in heroic history: Dudo of Saint-Quentin, in: *Viator* 15 (1984) p. 119–137, at p. 125, 136, considers the Danish identity of Rollo given in Dudo of Saint-Quentin's history, which Douglas rejects, as a deliberate attempt to flatter Gunnor, the Danish mother of Duke Richard II of Normandy. Be that as it may, Dudo remains the closest source to the facts — Dudo, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. Jules LAIR, Caen 1865 (*Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie*, ser. 3, 3/2), p. 130, *passim*.

73 The *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni, 2 vols., ed. and trans. Elisabeth M. C. VAN HOUTS, Oxford/New York 1992–1995, 1: p. 80 (III, 3). William Longsword's widow Leudgard (*Leyarda*) is found with daughter Emma; *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, ed. Marie FAUROUX, Caen 1961 (*Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie*, ser. 4, 6), no. 14 bis. Heribert (II) of Vermandois had a daughter Leudgard; she later married the count of Blois. See Christian SETTIPANI, Paul VAN KERREBROUCK, *La préhistoire des Capétiens 481–987 I, Mérovingiens, Carolingiens et Robertiens*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 1993 (*Nouvelle histoire généalogique de l'auguste maison de France*, 1/1), p. 228–229. The names Leudgard and Emma point to the house of Vermandois.

74 In William of Jumièges' chronicle this daughter, Adela, was originally named Gerloc; *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (as n. 73), 1: p. 80–81 (III, 3).

75 Dudo, *De moribus* (as n. 72) p. 169 (II, 28); cf. Eleanor SEARLE, Frankish rivalries and Norse warriors, in: *Anglo-Norman Studies* 8 (1985) p. 198–213, at p. 204. Charles the Simple's daughter Gisela could not have married Rollo, because the marriage following Dudo would have taken place in 912, when Gisela cannot have been more than five years old, if even born; see SETTIPANI, VAN KERREBROUCK, *Préhistoire* (as n. 73) p. 218.

76 René MERLET, *Les origines du monastère de Saint-Magloire de Paris*, in: *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 56 (1895) p. 237–273, at p. 247: *de progenie Karoli Magni imperatoris* (*Auctarium Maglorianum*, c. 5). Ferdinand LOT, *Les derniers Carolingiens. Lothaire – Louis V – Charles de Lorraine (954–991)*, Paris 1891 (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, 87), p. 358–361, objects to this information, but adheres to Adelaide's affiliation as William Towhead's daughter, citing the ›nepos‹ relationship between her son King Robert II and Duke William V of Aquitaine given in Richer, *Histoire de France (888–995)*, ed. and trans. Robert LATOUCHE, 2 vols., Paris 1930–1937 (*Classiques des historiens de France au moyen âge*, 12, 17), 2: p. 330 (IV, 108). Constance B. BOUCHARD, *Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, in: *Speculum* 56 (1981) p. 268–287, at p. 274 n. 17, then questions Adelaide's affiliation with Towhead on the grounds that Hugh Capet's great-granddaughter Hildegard of Burgundy married Duke William VIII (Guy-Geoffroy) of Aquitaine in what computes to a 4:3 degree, which in theory rules out Adelaide's Aquitainian affiliation. It is doubtful that the French church stamped out consanguineous marriage so vigorously, however: for foundations in customary law and the contemporary situation in Germany see Donald C. JACKMAN, *Das Eherecht und der frühdeutsche Adel*, in: *Zs. der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germ. Abt.* 112 (1995) p. 158–201.

paternal grandparents were not of Carolingian descent. Yet the name Adelaide was born by a sister of Emperor Lothar's wife⁷⁷: it might thus have descended via Lothar II's daughter through the Norman ducal family.

In aspects of the Frankish background to which the chronicler Dudo alludes, there should lie much more than a grain of truth. Dudo's assertion that Rollo married (*more danico*) a daughter of the *princeps* Berengar, who bore him William, is believable⁷⁸. The objection has been raised that whereas Count Bernard of Senlis was, according to Dudo, William's maternal uncle (*avunculus*), this Bernard certainly cannot be Berengar's son⁷⁹. Yet circumstances can be foreseen in which Bernard could be described as *avunculus*, though related to William primarily by marriage⁸⁰. Dudo's acquaintance with the Frankish relationships of early Norman dukes is abundantly clear, and he believed them significant.

In her study of politics and power in early Normandy, Searle has provided a realistic model of Norman succession practices and of Norman-Frankish political relations. In order to develop this model she assumes, however, that the Norman leaders thought little of their Frankish wives, whom they married to facilitate advantageous treaties and tossed aside at the earliest convenience⁸¹. This assumption finds no serious documentation, and the genealogical information on which Searle relies is for the most part late and therefore suspect. Names, however cautiously they must be handled, provide the contemporary data in this instance. They require not only consideration, but credence if warranted.

From the names one has the impression that the mother of William Longsword's son, Duke Richard I, was the Frankish Leudgard of Vermandois, in spite of the assertion of an eleventh-century chronicler that his mother was the concubine Sprota⁸². For in William Longsword's grandchildren are found the names Robert and Emma deriving from the family of Leudgard's Capetian mother⁸³. No less significantly, when Dudo wrote at the end of the tenth century for the mother of those grandchildren – Richard I's second wife, the pagan-born, pagan-wed Gunnor – she apparently persuaded him to ascribe children from Richard's first marriage to herself⁸⁴. Her alleged daughters Hawise (Hadewig) and Mahaut (Mathilde) bear names that unmistakably arrive via Emma's mother, Hadewig, a daughter of King Henry of Germany and his wife Mathilde⁸⁵.

77 FRANZ VOLLMER, *Die Etichonen*, in: Gerd TELLENBACH (ed.), *Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des großfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adels*, Freiburg 1957 (*Forschungen zur ober-rheinischen Landesgeschichte*, 4), p. 168–169.

78 Dudo, *De moribus* (as n. 72) p. 157 (II, 16). For the positive assessment and favorable considerations see GUILLOTTE, *Bretagne* (as n. 1) p. 393–395.

79 Dudo, *De moribus* (as n. 72) p. 189 (II, 45). See J. DEPOIN, *Les compagnes de Rollon*, in: *La Société historique du Vexin et le Millénaire normand*, Pontoise 1911, p. 17–48, at p. 43–45 – here also an attempt to lend credence to Dudo's assertion that Rollo married Charles the Simple's daughter Gisela (at p. 28–31).

80 See Appendix 1.

81 According to SEARLE, *Predatory kinship* (as n. 57) p. 55, William Longsword's alliance with Leudgard of Vermandois 'was shortly terminated'; her daughter Emma was 'politically sterile' and with 'no marriage to match her status' (*ibid.* p. 94); and Richard I's wife, the Capetian Emma, was 'sloughed off' (*ibid.* p. 64).

82 See Appendix 2.

83 For the Norman affiliations see Thierry STASSER, 'Mathilde, fille du Comte Richard': *essai d'identification*, in: *Annales de Normandie* 40 (1990) p. 49–64; and for the Capetian see SETTIPANI, VAN KERREBROUCK, *Préhistoire* (as n. 73) p. 228, 408. For a daughter of Leudgard named Emma see n. 73 above.

84 Dudo, *De moribus* (as n. 72) p. 288–290 (II, 125).

85 Winfrid GLOCKER, *Die Verwandten der Ottonen und ihre Bedeutung in der Politik. Studien zur Familienpolitik und zur Genealogie des sächsischen Kaiserhauses*, Cologne/Vienna 1989 (*Dissertationen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte*, 5), p. 264, 274, 289.

Frankish wives and their children were probably of large value to the Norman dukes, as Dudo strongly implies. Searle is nevertheless justified in concluding that the dukes' understanding of inherited right differed on significant points from the understanding prevalent among the Frankish neighbors. Perhaps we can discern in their predatory practices a philosophy similar to that which once brought their forebears to the Frankish lands: the sense, or more accurately the quasi-legal interpretation, that extraordinary birth was a justification for extorting lands and honors.

The greatest achievement of Norman conquest was in Russia, where ninth-century Vikings first brought large political organization to the Slavic inhabitants. The earliest Russian prince was Riurik. It is conceivable that he is the same person who menaced the Franks in the mid-ninth century⁸⁶, for the power established by his progeny rested on their princely birth. In the words of Nestor's chronicle, »Oleg said to Askold and Dir, »You are not princes nor even of princely stock, but I am of princely birth.« The comparison is stark. Oleg is »rodu kniazha«: Askold and Dir are not »rodu kniazha«⁸⁷; and this is the constitutional criterion on which the vast empire of the Rurikids was founded. *Kniaz'*, from Germanic **kuningaz*, means simply »king«, and since for a time there were still many petty »kingdoms« in Russia, the chronicle is referring to a royal stock that distinguished itself above all others, a stock represented by Oleg as guardian of Riurik's son. This is especially true if, as Omeljan Pritsak believes, Askold and Dir did actually descend from obscure Scandinavian rulers⁸⁸.

The descendants of Riurik proceeded to found the most extensive agnatic dynasty in medieval Europe, the Rurikids, bringing also into being the patrimonial state as the most exalted form of inherited right known to Europe⁸⁹. A Danish-Rorgonid tie, if it existed, might have made a vital contribution to the original perception of the Rurikids as being of particularly high birth. In this event the Rorgonids themselves would have descended from the Merovingian kings. As mentioned, in 752 the newly-crowned King Pepin was refused entry

86 See in particular N. T. BELAIEV, Rorik of Jutland and Rurik of the Russian chronicles, in: *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 10 (1919–1927) p. 267–297; George VERNADSKY, *The origins of Russia*, Oxford 1959, p. 207–210; PRITSAK, *Origin of Rus'* (as n. 59) p. 155 n. 9. G. LOVMIANSKII, *Rorik frislandskii i Riurik novgorodskii*, in: *Skandinavskii sbornik* 7 (1963) p. 221–250, rejects the identity on chronological grounds, but the standards that he imposes on the Russian Primary Chronicle in terms of genealogical and chronological precision are perhaps unreasonably high. In our context the identity is moot. The name speaks for descent from Danish kings. Regarding the arrival of Riurik in Russia see Omeljan PRITSAK, *The invitation to the Varangians*, in: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1 (1977) p. 7–22; tangential aspects in Gottfried SCHRAMM, *Sechs warägische Probleme*, in: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas* 34 (1986) p. 363–373.

87 *Povest' vremennykh let*, ed. A. A. SHAKHMATOV, Petrograd 1916, p. 23; Samuel Hazzard CROSS, Olgerd P. SHERBOWITZ-WETZOR (trans.), *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian text*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1953 (Medieval Academy of America Publications, 60), p. 61. On the derivation and meaning of *kniaz'* see R. EKBLÖM, *Germ. *kuningaz »König«*, in: *Studia Neophilologica* 17 (1944–1945) p. 1–24, at p. 11–14; A. V. SOLOVIEV, »Reges« et »Regnum Russiae« au moyen âge, in: *Byzantion* 36 (1966) p. 144–173. There are many possible meanings for *rod*, among which »race«, »kind«, »birth«, »ancestry«; Franz VON MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, Vienna 1862–1865, p. 801–802. Ultimately »clan« can be foreseen, but probably not »agnatic lineage« in any explicit way, in view of the misconception that results.

88 PRITSAK, *Origin of Rus'* (as n. 59) p. 174–182, brings them into conjunction with a son and a grandson of Ragnar lothbrók. This semi-legendary Viking was a »sea-king«, and there is no reason to believe that he shared significantly in Harald's bloodline; cf. Alfred P. SMYTH, *Scandinavian kings in the British Isles 850–880*, Oxford 1977, p. 1–35. WENSKUS, *Sächsischer Stammesadel* (as n. 22) p. 477–529, uses Ragnar's name as the springboard to hypotheses regarding the ancient Germanic aristocracies.

89 Cf. S. V. UTECHIN, *Russian political thought. A concise history*, New York-London 1963, p. 4–5; Richard PIPES, *Russia under the old regime*, New York 1974.

into Le Mans by Hervé and his brother Joscelin. The possibility can now be admitted that they regarded Pepin as usurper, on the grounds that their relationship to the Merovingians was closer than his. From this standpoint the Vikings might have invaded France partly in fulfillment of the considerable inherited right of Danish royalty in Neustria and more generally.

Soon after the Danish kingdom emerges in historical sources, the royal family is discovered practising division of the kingdom. All members of the agnatic *stirps regia* were entitled to at least a fragment of the royal power, if they were strong enough to assert their claims. This was not customary among Germanic peoples. The ancient Germanic royal office invariably passed from one member of the *stirps regia* to another without any customary diminution. In fact the only genuine precedent for the Danish kings' behavior seems to be the Merovingian monarchy, which shortly after the Gallic conquest began the practice of dividing the kingdom between sons⁹⁰. A fraternal division of the Thuringian kingdom in the early sixth century was probably an imitation of the Merovingian division of 511. That it was contrary to normal practice is clear from the words given by Gregory of Tours to Amalaberg, wife of one of two brothers: »A king who is deprived of half his kingdom deserves to find half his table bare«⁹¹.

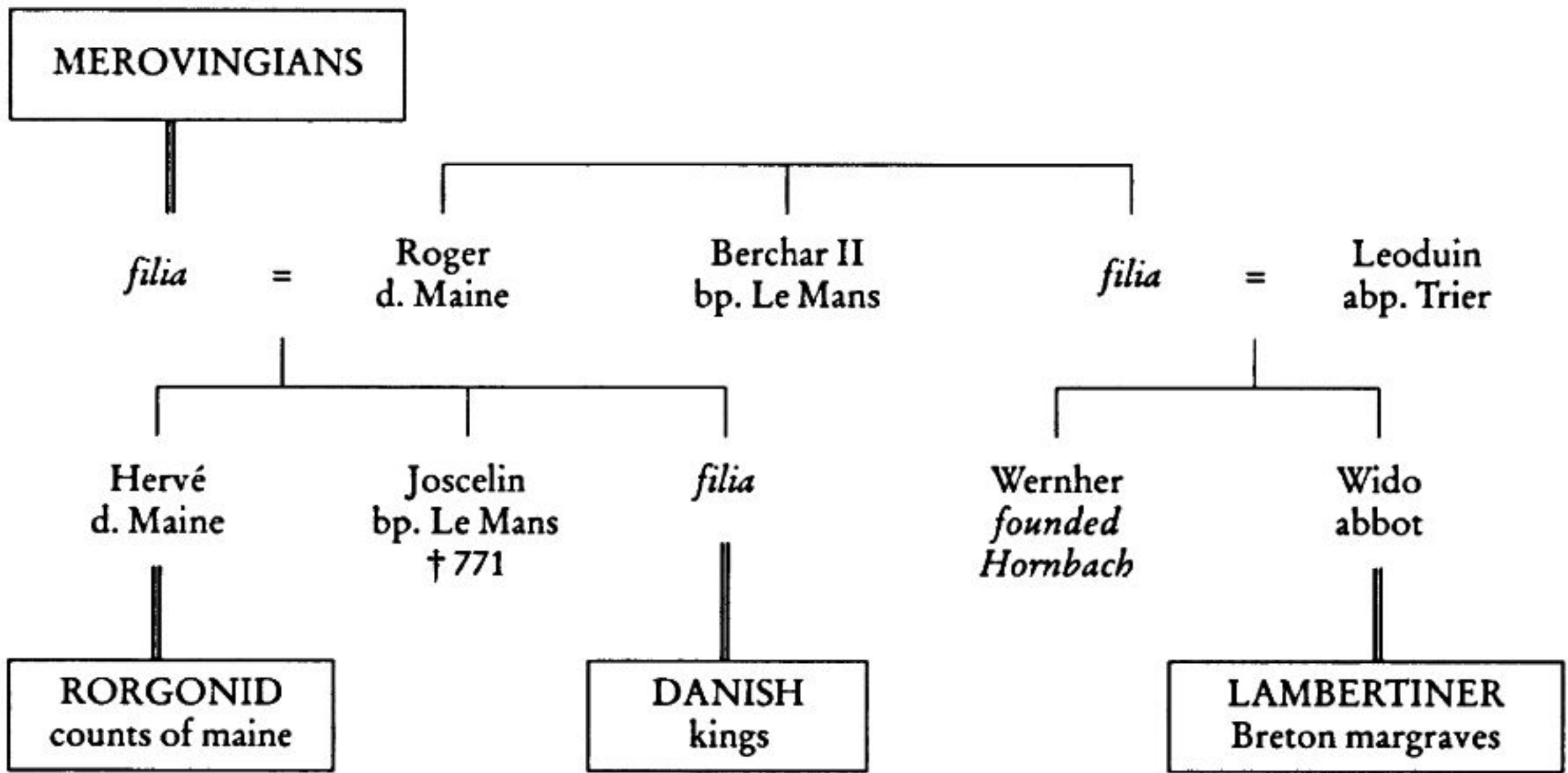
Remarkably, this form of royal inheritance found a thorough application in Russia, where the Rurikids repeatedly fragmented their empire to provide for sons. In Denmark, however, the anomalous custom disappears in short order. There is no trace of it in the mythical lineages set down by the twelfth-century Saxo Grammaticus⁹². Thus the anomalous principle of division amongst the agnatic *stirps regia* suggests a continuity linking the Merovingians with the ninth-century Danish kings and the Rurikids of Russia. This conclusion is reasonably drawn even without the aid of name inheritances. But then, as was said, the commonality of names is probably no accident.

For the political history of the duchy of Maine some simplistic conclusions can be drawn. After the constitution was restructured in the mid-eighth century, the principal beneficiaries were the Lambertiner. Their position was based on Rorgonid right, but this right was fundamentally different from that of the Rorgonids themselves, who apparently nurtured royal Merovingian claims. The decisive Merovingian connection might have formed through the marriage of Duke Roger, while the Lambertiner descended from Roger's sister. This need not be the only rational explanation.

90 No custom of territorial division can be discovered among Germanic peoples other than the Merovingian Franks; see Ian WOOD, *Kings, Kingdoms and Consent*, in: P. H. SAWYER, I. N. WOOD (ed.), *Early medieval kingship*, Leeds 1977, p. 6–29, at p. 18–20. Reinhard SCHNEIDER, *Königswahl und Königserhebung im Frühmittelalter. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftsnachfolge bei den Langobarden und Merowingern*, Stuttgart 1972 (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 3), p. 250, points to a division between sons of the Lombard king Aripert († 661), assuming that this division could not have been influenced by the Frankish custom; but WOOD (at p. 19) considers it an instance of disputed rather than divided succession. Some limited evidence of division exists for the Anglo-Saxons; yet a striking contrast can be drawn between the political segmentation often practised by Irish dynasties and the united kingships usually maintained by the English; see Thomas CHARLES-EDWARDS, *Early medieval kingships in the British Isles*, in: Steven BASSETT (ed.), *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms*, London/New York 1989, p. 28–39.

91 Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, trans. Lewis THORPE, Harmondsworth 1974, p. 164 (III, 4).

92 That Saxo Grammaticus actually sought to obscure the divided kingship is noted by SMYTH, *Scandinavian kings* (as n. 88) p. 5–7.



The Rorgonid resistance to the Carolingians then predicated itself on Merovingian inherited right, which promptly led to the eclipse of the Rorgonids. The exalted nature of the claim survived as long as the family persevered, so that the unremitting feuds of the ninth century appear to be spurred by an aristocratic outlook peculiar to this region. After a late eighth-century drought, Rorgonid data become consistently available, even though the genealogy often remains elusive. The Rorgonids could not entirely be suppressed, if tradition and justice supported them. Indeed, Charlemagne showed conspicuous favor to Count Rorico by giving him his daughter in *Friedelebe*⁹³. By this time, one infers, the claim was evanescent, its vitality diminished through chronological distance. The circle of claimants continued to expand, further diluting the claim.

That Rorgonid-related Viking princes could flourish in such an environment calls for little elaboration, but the scenario does not much assist in the dissection of times and places. The most that can be discerned is a glimmering of motivations in an anarchy that the Vikings did more to promote than any other party involved. Much rests on our interpretation of the circumstances at Le Mans when Pepin was denied entry by Hervé and Joscelin. Since this debacle has recently been dated to a time before Pepin's royal accession, a re-assessment of the event may be entertained.

In his deposition before Louis the Pious in 838, Bishop Aldric of Le Mans indicated that Pepin had taken the abbey of Saint-Calais under his protection after being denied entry into Le Mans by Hervé and Joscelin⁹⁴. Pepin's diploma for Saint-Calais is dated 25 April

93 See WERNER, *Bedeutende Adelsfamilien* (as n. 44) p. 137. The child of this marriage, Louis, bore a Merovingian name (i.e. Chlodewig) only very newly introduced into the Carolingian onomastic. The name is indicative of Rorico's firmly pro-Carolingian stance, but it must also have represented for him the ancient Rorgonid heritage. Technically illegitimate, this son was destined for the church. Later Rorgonids stem from a different union.

94 Aldrici episcopi memoriale (as n. 37) p. 836–837: *quando fuit Pipinus Cenomannica in patria et de quadam persecutione inimicorum suorum reversus per Cenomannicam patriam transibat, tunc eum praefatus Gauziolenus et suus frater Harivius non receperunt, sed infra Cenomannicam urbem cum omnibus, quos secum conducere potuerunt, se recluserunt et domnum Pipinum regem illuc introire non permiserunt, sed dampnum ei de suis hominibus facere nitebantur et suum pincernam coram eo stantem, dum sua castra in vinea sancti Petri iuxta urbem Cenomannicam posita erant, interfecerunt*

752⁹⁵, which is three (or about) months after Pepin's coronation⁹⁶. Smith nevertheless wishes to date the confrontation to around 750, partly on the grounds that the diploma does not contain characteristic introductory formulae and therefore would have been drafted before Pepin became king⁹⁷.

This interpretation is valuable as an effort to probe the obscurities of the period, but it remains difficult to defend. The Le Mans affair fits easily into post-coronation politics, and Aldric's superbly detailed deposition refers to Pepin explicitly as king. The diploma for Saint-Calais was given after the royal coronation, and it reflects bad relations which existed with the Rorgonids at this time. If their trouble with Pepin concerned rights to the throne, it is understandable that Pepin should not employ the customary royal formulae in the diploma. One must consider whether a coronation should have proceeded, had the duchy of Maine been seething with rebellion in 751. Even supposing the diploma to have been drafted earlier, significance would not necessarily be lacking. I only wish to infer that this rebellion and these documented bad relations were a special consequence of the coronation – that the diploma is relevant to the political situation according to the date it was issued.

Appendix 1

William Longsword's avunculus

Dudo of Saint-Quentin asserts on the one hand that the Norman leader Rollo married a daughter of Margrave Berengar who bore him the son William, and on the other that Count Bernard of Senlis was William's *avunculus*. Although it is greatly to be doubted that Bernard was a son of Berengar, these data need not be incompatible. Sometimes the ›avunculus‹ term was able to represent a relationship by marriage. In the present case its use could have been indicated, through an extension of meaning, by a marriage existing between Bernard and William's *aunt*, paternal or maternal. The ›avunculus‹ term carries implications of blood relationship, a condition that would be met if Bernard were also a *cousin* of William's parent. This is quite conceivable, and there are many possibilities for determining the manner of relationship⁹⁸.

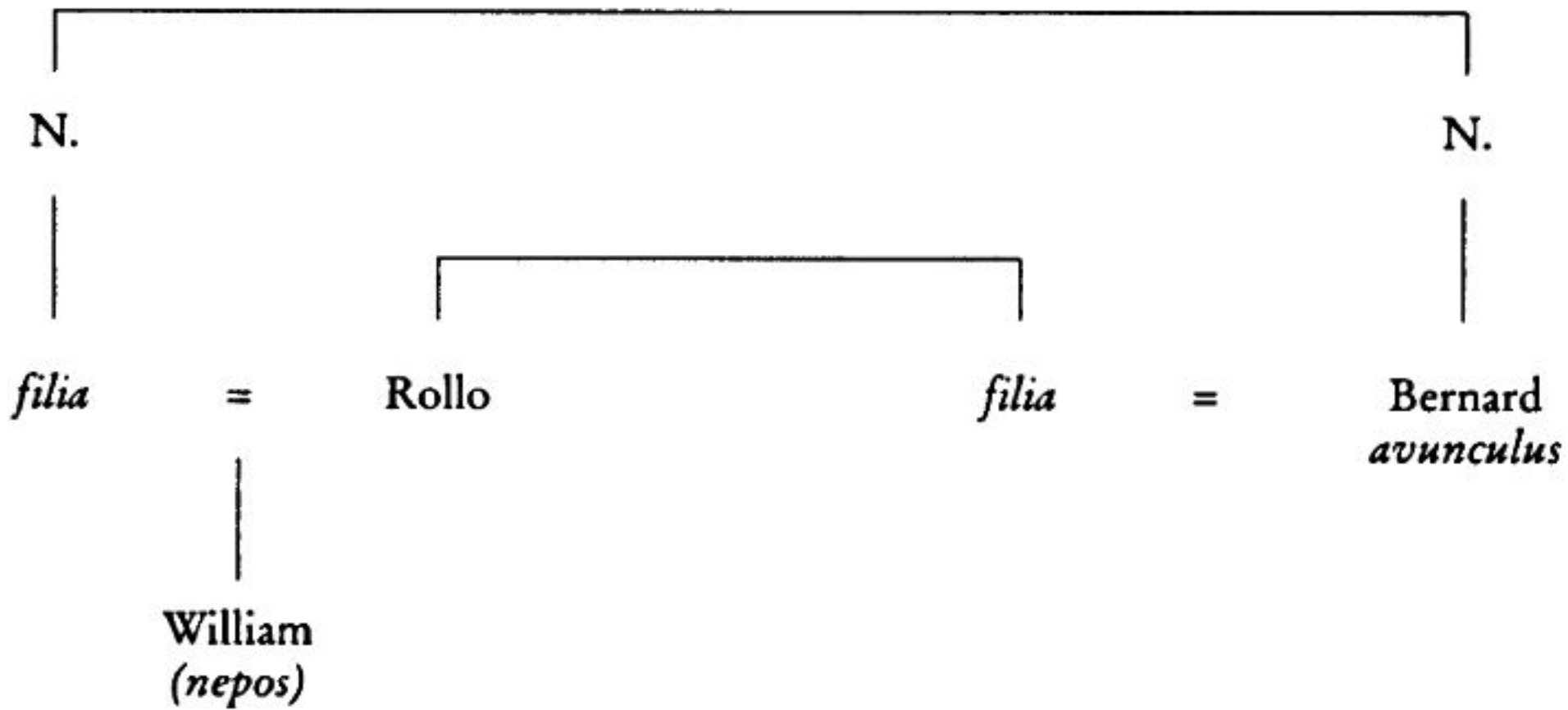
et alios homines vulneraverunt. Videns autem dominus Pipinus, quod ibi proficere non potuit, vastans totam illam regionem pergere cepit ad Franciam. Tunc in ipso itinere venit ad praedictum monasterium Anisolam et precepit illis monachis, ut nullam obedientiam facerent iam dicto Gauzolino, eo quod ei rebellis esset; sed sub suo mundeburdo vel sub sua tantummodo tuitione vel dominatione permanerent.

95 MGH, D Karol. 2.

96 Pepin's royal consecration took place on Christmas Day 751 or shortly either before or after; see Jörg JARNUT, *Wer hat Pippin 751 zum König gesalbt?*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 16 (1982) p. 45–57.

97 Julia M. H. SMITH, *The sack of Vannes by Pippin III*, in: *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 11 (1986) p. 17–27, esp. p. 24.

98 The accompanying table represents one of the two basic solutions. A parent of Bernard belonged to the house of Vermandois; see SETTIPANI, VAN KERREBROUCK, *Préhistoire* (as n. 73) p. 217–220. Further texts, which conflict in some degree with my interpretation, are cited *ibid.* and probably can be dismissed as conflation: see n. 126 below for a representative instance of such historiographical processes.



For this interpretation of the terminology some parallel citations can be offered. In the mid-ninth century the Westphalian duke Cobbo is given as the *avunculus* of Amelung, who is said in turn to be Cobbo's *nepos*. At face value, these terms describe an uncle-nephew relationship. Yet there is reason to believe that Amelung's widow, a certain Hadewig, who became a nun⁹⁹, is identical to the later Abbess Hadewig of Herford, a known niece of Cobbo¹⁰⁰. One must therefore assume that Amelung was Cobbo's *nepos* in a slightly more distant degree. At least one of Amelung's parents would have been Cobbo's first cousin.

Cobbo could be cited as Amelung's *avunculus* because this was a convenient way of describing the complexities of intimate relationship. Without any attempt at further confirmation, it can be observed that for a relationship so simple as uncle-nephew, the document in question contains a superfluity of relationship terms. I submit that the case of Cobbo and Amelung is similar to that of Bernard and William.

The ability of the ›avunculus‹ term to extend its meaning is readily demonstrated by descriptions of the relationship between Charlemagne and his paternal uncle, a Count Bernard. In the original version of the Royal Frankish Annals, Bernard is said to be Charlemagne's *avunculus*, yet in Einhard's revised version the wording is emended to ›patruus‹¹⁰¹. Charlemagne's father, King Pepin, was a son of Charles Martel by the wife Chrotrud; Bernard was a son by the wife Chrothais¹⁰². Extension of the ›avunculus‹ term to cover the meaning of ›patruus‹ is nonsensical. The maternal uncle cannot be at once a paternal uncle. Hence the ›avunculus‹ term was used in an extended manner. Here one must imagine that its use was indicated by a close relationship between the mothers of Charlemagne and Bernard.

Returning to Bernard of Senlis, it is possible to discover some plausible confirmation for the ›avunculus‹ extension. In the colloquium, ›Onomastique et Parenté II‹, held at the German Historical Institute, Paris, in November 1996, I presented a case that in medieval Latin

99 Traditiones Corbeienses A § 149, in: Karl August ECKHARDT, *Studia Corbeiensia I*, Aalen 1970 (Bibliotheca rerum Historicarum, Studia, 1), p. 247. Hadewig donates to the abbey of Corvey, ›mente devotissima‹, in memory of Amelung.

100 *Translatio s. Pusinnae*, c. 2–3 (MGH, SS II, p. 681–682); see Sabine KRÜGER, *Studien zur sächsischen Grafschaftsverfassung im 9. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1950 (Studien und Vorarbeiten zum Historischen Atlas Niedersachsens, 19), p. 72. For identifications based on rigid interpretation of the terminology see Eduard HLAWITSCHKA, *Zur Herkunft der Liudolfinger und zu einigen Corveyer Geschichtsquellen*, in: *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 38 (1974) p. 92–165, at p. 148–149 n. 236, reprint: ID., *Stirps regia* (as n. 10).

101 *Annales regni Francorum* (as n. 3) p. 36–37.

102 SETTIPANI, VAN KERREBROUCK, *Préhistoire* (as n. 73) p. 171–176.

the term ›nepos‹ was restricted in its extensions to such relationships where at least one party was the grandchild (›nepos‹) of a common ancestor, except in cases where the monarch was ›extending the extension‹ to include his more distant relatives¹⁰³. It is important therefore to observe that Dudo applies the ›nepos‹ term to Duke Richard I's relationship with Bernard of Senlis¹⁰⁴. This could be an application of ›nepos‹ to a great-nephew on the grounds that the relationship fell within the two-generation scope of the normal extension. A ›royal‹ extension is also possible in theory, except that again Dudo refers to Bernhard of Senlis as Richard's *avunculus*¹⁰⁵.

A vital detail is supplied by a later chronicle, that of William of Jumièges, where in two redactions ›nepos‹ is changed to ›pronepos‹¹⁰⁶. This alteration recognizes that for some reason the relationship was not thoroughly described with the ›nepos‹ term. Hence William of Jumièges must have known that Bernard was Duke William's *avunculus* only by marriage with William's aunt. The blood relationship lay within the normal extension of ›nepos‹, but Richard was already four generations distant from the common ancestor, sufficiently remote that from his standpoint the term tended to create a misleading impression of intimacy.

Appendix 2

The Breton concubine

As a basis for his report that Duke Richard I was William Longsword's son by a concubine named Sprota¹⁰⁷, William of Jumièges could read in Flodoard's annals that William Longsword was succeeded by his son of ›a Breton concubine‹¹⁰⁸; but it is not immediately clear what must be understood from Flodoard¹⁰⁹, for Dudo, a well-informed writer, does not record the marital status of Richard's mother¹¹⁰. The possibility of her elopement prior to a marriage with William merits consideration. It can help to explain a passage in William of Jumièges where King Louis IV rails at the young Richard, calling him ›the son of a whore

103 A volume of conference proceedings, in preparation, will include my investigation into the Cobbo-Amelung relationship.

104 Dudo, *De moribus* (as n. 72) p. 232–233 (II, p. 76–77).

105 *Ibid.* p. 231 (II, 75).

106 *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (as n. 73) 1: p. 104, 108 (IV, 4, 6). The alteration occurs in the two positions where the ›nepos‹ relationship is given, and of the three redactions representing William of Jumièges' original version, two receive the alteration. VAN HOUTS regards the version that retains the term ›nepos‹ as more likely to be oldest of the three (Introduction, cxxii), but suggests that the author may personally have made alterations in successive manuscripts. The two redactions containing ›pronepos‹ are essentially independent of each other. A systematic extension of ›pronepos‹ (normally ›great-grandson‹) is difficult to make precise, because the usage is rare and vague.

107 *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (as n. 73) 1: p. 78: *ex quadam nobilissima puella sibi Danico more iuncta, nomine Sprota, filium esse natum* (III, 2).

108 Flodoard, *Annales*, ed. P. LAUER, Paris 1905, p. 86: *Rex Ludowicus filio ipsius Willelmi nato de concubina Britana terram Nortmannorum dedit, et quidam principes se regi committunt, quidam vero Hugoni duci* (ad 943). It is doubtful whether William of Jumièges had access to Richer of Reims, who says explicitly that Duke Richard I was the son of a Breton concubine: Richer, *Histoire* (as n. 76) 1: p. 180 (II, 34). Richer, whose earlier passages are mostly suspect, may nevertheless have influenced Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon ad 943* (MGH, SS VIII, p. 360), where Richard is represented as William Longsword's immediate successor.

109 One possibility is that Duke Richard's mother was abducted during a highly successful Breton raid mentioned by Flodoard, *Annales ad 939* (as n. 108) p. 74. In this situation she might have become a Breton's concubine.

110 Dudo, *De moribus* (as n. 72) p. 185–186 (II, 42).

who had seduced another woman's husband, threatening to brand him at the knees as a sign of bastardy¹¹¹. In fact, as will be shown, this passage cannot be juxtaposed with Flodoard's report of the Breton concubine; yet it may be fully accurate. From such an elopement might have sprung Count Rodulf of Ivry, Richard's ›frater uterinus‹¹¹², whose son received the name Hugh born by a brother of Leudgard of Vermandois¹¹³. The name Rodulf could arrive along the same path as Hugh, thus from Welf ancestors, and in this it would have been suggested by an occurrence in the husband of Leudgard's maternal aunt, that is the French king Rodulf, a Welf descendant¹¹⁴.

In his report about the Breton concubine Flodoard notes that William Longsword's son lost some tenants-in-chief to the king and the duke of Francia directly upon his succession. Perhaps he was merely underage: Searle finds that Richard could not have been more than ten at this time¹¹⁵, and he might have been much younger. However, it is far more conceivable that the illegitimate successor in 943 was not actually Richard, but rather a *bastard by a Breton concubine* – in other words an anonymous duke who soon vanishes without trace. This solution better accounts for the ducal installment, which in so turbulent a period is not especially likely to have involved a minor – much less an illegitimate minor of Breton background – and for the defection of Frankish vassals, who would have felt their allegiance terminated by the installment of a duke who lacked the juristic essentials.

The improbable name Sprota is assigned to the concubine by William of Jumièges and in the genealogical interpolations of Robert de Torigny, and the overall accuracy of the latter has been eloquently defended by Elisabeth van Houts¹¹⁶. What van Houts has not fully considered is that the earliest genealogical data are more likely to be false than the later. The author of such information may have had some sort of program, as is often the case with genealogical fictions¹¹⁷. Searle too has accepted the early genealogical data as factual and has relied on them for her thesis regarding the growth of Norman ducal power through kinship ties. In my review I expanded on her thesis by noting that in many cases the French settlement of Norman nobles probably resulted from consanguinities already extant. In Torigny's simplifications or falsifications, therefore, we are looking, not at the forming, but at the strengthening of such consanguinities. On this basis there is no reason to credit Torigny with a precise account of the earliest relationships, and every reason to suspect him of simplifying in some instances, despite his accuracy with later generations¹¹⁸.

111 Cf. *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (as n. 73) 1: p. 102–103: *meretricis filium ultro uirum alienum rapiens eum uocauit et, nisi a talibus resipisceret, cauteriatis genibus, omni illum honore priuari minatus est* (IV, 3).

112 *Ibid.*, 1: p. 134 (IV, 20). In Robert of Torigny's additions it is said that after William Longsword's death Sprota became the concubine of a wealthy man named Esperleng and bore Rodulf and numerous daughters (all curiously unidentifiable); *ibid.*, 2: p. 175 (VII, 17). This text must be characterized as the final stage in the mythicizing of Sprota.

113 Cf. SEARLE, *Predatory kinship* (as n. 57) Table 4; and for the house of Vermandois, SETTIPANI, VAN KERREBROUCK, *Préhistoire* (as n. 73) p. 227.

114 Cf. *ibid.* p. 408.

115 SEARLE, *Predatory kinship* (as n. 57) p. 79.

116 Elisabeth M. C. VAN HOUTS, Robert of Torigni as Genealogist, in: Christopher HARPER-BILL, Christopher J. HOLDSWORTH, Janet L. NELSON (ed.), *Studies in medieval history presented to R. Allen Brown*, Woodbridge/Wolfeboro 1989, p. 215–233.

117 Cf. Gerd ALTHOFF, Genealogische und andere Fiktionen in mittelalterlicher Historiographie, in: Horst FUHRMANN (ed.), *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, München, 16.–19. September 1986, 5 vols., Hanover 1988 (Schriften der MGH, 33), 1: p. 417–441, at p. 433.

118 Donald C. JACKMAN, in: *Ius Commune* 18 (1991) p. 374–377.

As for William of Jumièges, he is not always the most reliable chronicler, and in the present case he could have imposed contemporary ideas on past history¹¹⁹. In the same review I suggested that the *fact* of William the Conqueror's illegitimate birth should be considered when assessing the *fiction* of the report about Sprota. It was politic for William of Jumièges to build upon Flodoard's testimony regarding a concubine by giving her a suitable name and certifying her as William the Conqueror's ancestor. In this manner the Conqueror's succession in the Norman duchy appeared more lawful.

The Norman duchy poses the perennial problem of explaining how Duke Robert II could manage to ensure the succession of his illegitimate son¹²⁰. If it is unreasonable to regard Richard I as the son of a concubine, then there was little precedent to justify William the Conqueror's ducal succession. Agnatic lineage was undoubtedly of the utmost importance. It is also clear that Richard II, the Conqueror's grandfather, was born out of Christian wedlock, although his parents eventually married¹²¹.

For a genuine precedent we must probably turn to the son of William Longsword's Breton concubine. His omission from Dudo is of little consequence; it is only necessary to decide whether any serious argument can confirm his identification as Duke Richard I. Onomastic, chronological, and constitutional arguments, these all weigh against. In 943 it was in all likelihood determined that Richard was too young to be an acceptable ducal nominee. The choice would naturally have devolved on a half-brother if no better course remained. Though illegitimate, this half-brother at least had some benefit of the Frankish ties forged by preceding dukes. One may credit in particular a descent from King Lothar II via Rollo's mother (as reflected inaccurately in the legend preserved by Dudo), and a descent from the Breton margrave Berengar via William's mother.

Since he cannot be identified in other sources, this son may have been killed within a short time of his taking office. Towards the end of the report for 943, Flodoard mentions that William Longsword's son was being persuaded into idolatry by the Norman leader Turmod. Joining forces with a Danish king, they met King Louis in battle, and Turmod was killed¹²². Regardless whether the duke also died in this engagement, his identification with Richard stands in direct conflict with what both Dudo and William of Jumièges have to say about the succession: that young Richard fell into the king's hands immediately

119 On such historiographical processes in particular reference to Normandy see Olivier GUILLOT, *La conversion des Normands peu après 911. Des reflets contemporains à l'historiographie ultérieure (X^e-XI^e siècles)*, in: *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 24 (1981) p. 101-116, 181-219.

120 On the Conqueror's parentage see Elisabeth M. C. VAN HOUTS, *The origins of Herleva, mother of William the Conqueror*, in: *English Historical Review* 101 (1986) p. 399-404, who debunks the myth of the tanner's daughter; further comments in David BATES, Véronique GAZEAU, *L'abbaye de Grestain et la famille d'Herluin de Conteville*, in: *Annales de Normandie* 40 (1990) p. 5-30, at p. 22.

121 Significantly, Felice LIFSHITZ, *Dudo's historical narrative and the Norman succession of 996*, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994) p. 101-120, is able to show that Dudo's underlying purpose in writing his Norman chronicle was to smooth Richard II's succession. Concerning the marital status of Richard II's mother Gunnor, I have had recourse to the Master's thesis by Mademoiselle Frédérique LEFEBVRE, *Les mariages des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066* (typescript 1991), a copy of which was kindly presented to me by Christian Settiani, whom I would like to thank. In LEFEBVRE's opinion, Richard I's relationship with Gunnor was solemnized for the express purpose of enabling their son Robert to accede to the archbishopric of Rouen.

122 Flodoard, *Annales* (as n. 108) p. 88: *Ludowicus Rodomum repetens Turmodum Nordmannum qui, ad idolatriam gentilemque ritum reversus, ad haec etiam filium Willelmi aliosque cogebat regique insidiabatur, simul cum Setrico rege pagano congressus cum eis interimit, et Erluino Rodomum committens, revertitur ad Compendium*. There is a florid account in Richer, *Histoire* (as n. 76) p. 180-184 (II, 35). The installment at Rouen (seat of the Norman principality) of Count Herluin of Montreuil might signify that the son of William had fled the scene together with his Danish ally.

after Duke William's assassination, and left Normandy with him¹²³. As the termination of what was essentially a failed constitutional experiment, the minor Richard was perhaps able to succeed formally under Louis' tutelage, though even this is in doubt. He is first mentioned by Flodoard in connection with his marriage to Duke Hugh of Francia's daughter in 960¹²⁴.

Whereas Flodoard handles an unnamed son by an unnamed concubine of Breton background, William of Jumièges says nothing of the nationality of Richard I's mother: he does not propagate a Breton myth. In addition to the form of union (*more Danico*) he supplies a name, Sprota, and indicates that she was *nobilissima*, of the highest birth¹²⁵. While the name might be a nickname, because it is possibly fictitious one may wish to dismiss the rest as embellishment. The highest birth nevertheless accords with her identity as Leudgard of Vermandois, as do the names of Richard I's uterine brother and his son. The form of union can be accurate even though William of Jumièges wishes his reader to believe that Sprota was not the Vermandois daughter, whom he alleges to be William's canonical wife¹²⁶.

The date of William Longsword's marriage with Leudgard is estimated between 8 June 935, when Heribert (II) of Vermandois was reconciled with the royal faction that included the Norman duke, and 940, when William abandoned his Vermandois ally in favor of the king¹²⁷. But if the union was *more Danico*, as William of Jumièges suggests in connection with Sprota, it would not have been a product of good relations with Vermandois, but the cause of a rupture in those relations. William may eventually have celebrated a Christian marriage with Leudgard, for according to William of Jumièges he was so attuned to Frankish custom that in 941 he stood godfather to the king's first-born son¹²⁸. The name of this son, received formally from William at baptism, was Lothar, which is suggestive of William's descent from Emperor Lothar¹²⁹.

123 Dudo, *De moribus* (as n. 72) p. 224–227 (II, 70–72); *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (as n. 73) 1: p. 100–102 (IV, 2–3).

124 Flodoard, *Annales* (as n. 108) p. 148: *Richardus filius Willelmi Nordmannorum princeps*.

125 As n. 107.

126 This is likely to be the reason behind the doubling of Richard I's identity in a derivative ducal history of the early twelfth century, the *Quedam exceptiones de historia Normannorum et Anglorum*, c. 3–4, ed. Diana GREENWAY, Elisabeth VAN HOUTS, in: *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (as n. 73) 2: p. 294–295. Here William Longsword is predeceased by a son Richard, born of a daughter of Count Heribert of Maine, and succeeded by another son Richard, born of Sprota, daughter of a prefect of Fécamp (not of a Breton, it may be noted). These and other inaccuracies suggest that the author was dissatisfied with William of Jumièges' account and desired to restore a certain perspective, without being in a position to set himself up as a competing authority.

127 See SETTIPANI, VAN KERREBROUCK, *Préhistoire* (as n. 73) p. 228 n. 270.

128 *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (as n. 73) 1: p. 85 (III, 6).

129 The name Lothar was doubly peculiar in that the French Carolingians had not hitherto drawn on it, no doubt due to the rivalry between Charles the Bald and Emperor Lothar: the sole exception was a younger son of Charles, born lame and designated for the cloister; see SETTIPANI, VAN KERREBROUCK, *Préhistoire* (as n. 73) p. 310. Interestingly enough, however, King Louis IV's stepchildren were descendants of Emperor Lothar; cf. Karl Ferdinand WERNER, *Die Nachkommen Karls des Grossen bis um das Jahr 1000* (1.–8. Generation), in: Wolfgang BRAUNFELS, Percy E. SCHRAMM (ed.), *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben IV, Das Nachleben*, Düsseldorf 1967, p. 403–482, folding table. King Louis' choice of the name Lothar reflects a certain magnanimity towards Emperor Lothar's descendants, undoubtedly politically motivated, but also occasioned by the circumstance that in 939 he had consolidated his royal claim – in the empire generally and in France in particular – by marrying Gerberge, a possible future heiress of the German kingdom and in all likelihood a descendant, like Louis, of Charles the Bald's sister (see for the time being SETTIPANI, VAN KERREBROUCK, *Préhistoire*, p. 329–330, 417–418).

For Flodoard, the nationality of the concubine is more important than the name of the duke, apparently because William Longsword was succeeded not by his highly born son Richard, but by a lesser and largely foreign person who soon departed the historical stage. In William of Jumièges, the stress lies on the illegitimacy of Richard's birth, despite the nobility of his mother and, as conceivable, her eventual marriage to William Longsword. This is apparently for the benefit of William the Conqueror, whose situation differed in that his mother was of middling background and had certainly never married the father.