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FAMILY STRUCTURE AND FAMILY CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG THE ARISTOCRACY IN THE NINTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURIES*

There can be no question that the period from the ninth to eleventh centuries in western Europe was one of political upheaval and change for the aristocracy. Charlemagne's empire was invaded, fought over, divided into new kingdoms and principalities. Fief-holding, vassalage, and castles first became widespread. Even the sorts of men who wielded power changed as new lineages first of counts and then of castellans appeared and married into previously established lines[1].

This political change, it is generally agreed, was accompanied by some sort of change in the family structure of the aristocracy, but there has been a good deal of debate over exactly what this change entailed. In this paper, I shall reexamine the question of noble family structure in this period, trying first to define some of the parameters of the discussion and then making suggestions on the nature of the changes in family consciousness, suggestions quite different from the conclusions many have drawn in the last twenty-five years. I shall do so using concrete examples drawn from three different lineages or family groups. These are the Carolingians, whose power and authority was unquestioned from the eighth century on, the Bosonids, who tried with greater or lesser success to become kings and emperors in the ninth and tenth centuries, and finally the dukes of Septimania and Aquitaine, a group that is one of the few well-documented non-royal lineages that can be traced throughout the ninth and early tenth centuries and which has been taken as a stirps classicus of west Frankish society[2].

Recent studies of medieval family consciousness, usually relying on the classic work of Karl Schmid, have drawn the conclusion that in the Carolingian age family structure was quite diffuse, involving a large, horizontally-organized group of cousins, both agnates and cognates, all alive at the same time (a Sippe in German), and that only after the year 1000 did a vertically-organized, patrilineal form of family structure (Geschlecht) become common. This »Schmid-thesis« has grown beyond the rather modest suggestions of Schmid himself to become in the

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the workshop, »The Structure of the Aristocracy in Feudal Europe«, organized by Professor Patrick Geary at the University of Florida in March, 1985. I would like to thank the workshop participants, George Beech, Fredric Cheyette, John Freed, Patrick Geary, Barbara Rosenwein, Stephen Weinberger, and Stephen White, for their many comments and criticisms.

1 Constance B. BOUCHARD, The Origins of the French Nobility: A Reassessment, in: The American Historical Review 86 (1981) p. 525–530.

2 Janet L. NELSON, Public Histories and Private History in the Work of Nithard, in: Speculum 60 (1985) p. 286.

hands of other scholars a description of a radical change in consciousness[3]. German, French, and American scholars have generally taken it as an accepted model, which they have then applied to other areas and families than those Schmid studied. The English however, especially Karl Leyser and Janet Nelson, have been more cautious in accepting some of the aspects of the Schmid-thesis.

As I shall argue in this paper, while new families were coming to power in the late Carolingian age, their goal (not always achieved) was always to establish their wealth and inheritance on a patrilineal basis. As a model for such organization, they had the Carolingians, patrilineal from the time of Charlemagne. I shall attempt to demonstrate that actual family organization is not necessarily the same as family consciousness, and that a shift from a consciousness of a Sippe to an orientation toward a Geschlecht around the year 1000 is too limited a description of the complex structurings and restructurings of aristocratic families that took place between the ninth and eleventh centuries.

Part of the problem in discussing the »Schmid-thesis« has always been a shifting definition of terms (probably more diffuse than family structure itself ever was); the Sippe has been described both as a concrete entity, which can be treated as a unit by modern scholars, and as a shifting agglomeration of people, where every difficulty in determining what constituted a clan is seen as proof of its amorphous nature[4]. Several distinctions therefore need to be drawn in order not to confuse the discussion of the issues.

First, one's »family« (an imprecise modern word that does not correspond directly to any medieval term, but which is used for want of a better) was never the totality of people to whom one was related. The ruling aristocracy of the Carolingian era were all related to some degree, with men newly come to power marrying the daughters of more well-established lords as soon as they became at all established themselves[5], but neither men of the time nor modern scholars would consider the aristocracy as all one family. Brothers and sisters, parents and children were certainly always viewed as part of one's family, but people related more distantly might or might not be, and this is where the question of interpretation arises. Since medieval men did not make convenient lists of those they considered members of their families for the edification of modern scholars, one must try to gain insights into how they perceived these families through patterns of alliance, of naming, and of inheritance. In the ninth century as in twelfth, there was a large group of people to whom one might acknowledge that one was related, but one would only act in concert with, name one's children for, or designate as heirs people from a subgroup of the

3 Karl Schmid, Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel, in: Zs. für die Geschichte des Oberrheins 105 (1957) p. 15–16, 30–31. Schmid has further developed this theme in other works; see among many others K. Schmid, The Structure of the Nobility in the Earlier Middle Ages, in: Timothy Reuter, ed., The Medieval Nobility: Studies on the Ruling Classes of France and Germany from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century, Amsterdam 1978 (Europe in the Middle Ages. Selected Studies, 14) p. 39–49. For the »Schmid-thesis« and its influence, see also John B. Freed, Reflections on the Medieval German Nobility, in: The American Historical Review 91 (1986) p. 560–564. Scholars who have followed Schmid include Georges Duby, La noblesse dans la France médiévale: Une enquête à poursuivre, in: Hommes et structures du moyen âge, Paris 1973, p. 152–155; Régine Hennebicque, Structures familiales et politiques au IX^e siècle: Un group familial de l'aristocratie franque, in: Revue historique 265 (1981) p. 289–290; and Andrew W. Lewis, Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State, Cambridge, Mass. 1981, p. 3–16.

4 John B. Freed, although he accepts the Schmid thesis, makes the excellent point that many other adherents of the thesis, who have labelled Sippen with »leading names«, have committed the anachronism of treating shifting family alliances as concrete entities. J. B. Freed, The Counts of Falkenstein: Noble Self-Consciousness in Twelfth-Century Germany, Philadelphia 1984 (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 74,6) p. 2.

5 Constance B. Bouchard, Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, in: Speculum 56 (1981) p. 286–287.

total group of relatives. It is with the question of how this specific subgroup was defined that I shall be concerned.

It must also be pointed out that a »family« is only an abstraction or collective noun and could therefore have no consciousness of itself or of anything else. Only individual family members could formulate views of who or what constituted their family. This may seem too self-evident to need stressing, but it is indeed vital, as fathers and sons, brothers and sisters, wives and husbands would always have a different perspective on what seems to a modern observer as the same family. To take one example, to a husband a wife is always to some extent an outsider, someone who married into the family rather than an original member of it, whereas to that same woman's son she will always have been an integral part of his family.

Finally, it is worth stressing that, even for the same individual, membership in his family varied with the circumstances[6]. At this period then the »family« was defined operationally. For someone going to war, the family members on whom he could rely might be an extremely restricted group. The wars between the sons of Louis the Pious are well known. Similarly King Boso, after establishing himself as king of Burgundy and Provence in 879, spent the next eight years, until his death, in constant warfare with the sons of Louis the Stammerer, his sister's stepson, and with his own brother, Richard le Justicier[7]. On the other hand, once nobles became aware of, and even sometimes heeded, the ecclesiastical prohibition of marriage within »seven degrees«, they had to consider a »family« which extended to fifth cousins when arranging a marriage alliance[8]. A »family« then was an abstraction, rather than a concrete entity with practices and policies of its own, and it was also an abstraction which fluctuated depending on time and circumstances, both for the individual and for succeeding generations.

Before debating the modern theories of medieval family structure, I shall turn to one of the rare works written in the ninth or tenth centuries which directly addresses the issue of family consciousness. This treatise, the Liber manualis written by Bernard of Septimania's wife Dhuoda between 841 and 843, is an especially valuable contribution to our knowledge of how people of the time viewed their families because it was written by a woman, someone who would be acutely sensitive of family structures and obligations because she would have shifted from one family to another herself at the time of her marriage[9].

Dhuoda's husband Bernard comes in the middle of the six known generations of dukes of Septimania and Aquitaine which form the focus of this discussion (they did not actually hold these offices for their entire history, but calling them this collectively at least distinguishes them from other contemporary lineages). This lineage is one of the few to be well documented from the late eighth to the early tenth centuries. The first known member was Count Theoderic, who lived in the second half of the eighth century. His son William may have founded and certainly entered the Benedictine house of Gellone (and was called St. William by

6 Prof. Charlotte Newman also argues, using Anglo-Norman lineages, that the definition of the »family« altered with conditions. I am grateful to have been able to hear her present a paper on this topic at the 20th International Congress on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo 1985) and to discuss her ideas with her.

7 Annales Bertiniani ad an. 879, 880, 882, ed. Félix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard, and Suzanne Clémencet, Annales de Saint-Bertin, Paris 1964, p. 239, 241–243, 247. For fraternal rivalries, see also Nelson (see n. 2) p. 272–273.

8 Bouchard (see n. 5) p. 271–273.

9 Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, ed. Pierre Riché, Paris 1975. The only major study of the social and familial significance of this Manual remains that of Joachim Wollasch, Eine adlige Familie des frühen Mittelalters. Ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Wirklichkeit, in: Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 39 (1957) p. 150–188. Pierre Riché has discussed what the work may reveal about a powerful layman's literary sources in the ninth century: Id., Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laïcs carolingiens, in: Le moyen âge 69 (1963) p. 87–104. Jürgen Hannig has commented on what the Manual reveals of the role of the high aristocracy in counseling the king: Consensus fidelium, Stuttgart 1982, p. 201–205. Peter Dronke has given a sensitive appreciation of the moral aspects of the Manual: Women Writers of the Middle Ages, Cambridge 1984, p. 36–54.

later generations); his son, Bernard of Septimania, was the trusted chamberlain of Louis the Pious and one of the most powerful men of the empire, but was put to death in 844 by Louis' son Charles the Bald; Bernard's second son and eventual heir, Bernard of Aquitaine and Auvergne, began his career in rebellion against Charles the Bald but finished as one of the king's trusted counsellors; his son, William the Pious of Aquitaine, married Angilberga, daughter of King Boso (thus attaching himself to a star rising in competition with the Carolingians), and is best known for founding the abbey of Cluny in 909; and his son Boso predeceased his father, after which the duchy of Aquitaine went first to the short-lived sons of William the Pious' sister and then to the unrelated counts of Poitiers[10].

Dhuoda wrote her Manual as a work of moral instruction for her son William, who was sixteen years old and living, separate from his mother, at the court of Charles the Bald. Throughout the work there is an enormous stress laid on the boy's father and on the father's relatives, which is especially striking as Dhuoda does not mention her own relatives directly at all. The only time that she may be alluding to them is when she refers to the dead members of young William's genealogia and the living members of his stirps, giving a list of people who are known from other sources to be William's paternal grandparents, aunts, and uncles, and then adds the names Guarnarius and Rotlindis. Some scholars have speculated that these were Dhuoda's own parents[11]. But, other than this possible mention, Dhuoda gives all the attention to her husband, his relatives, and her son's adherence to them[12].

Much of the reason why Dhuoda emphasized William's paternal relatives, she makes clear, was that William's inheritance came from them. »Pray for the relatives of your father, who left him their goods by legal heredity«, she urged him. These relatives, she said with approval, left their inheritance to William's father, not to »strangers«[13]. Though Dhuoda also said that William should honor and obey the king, this was only after a long section stressing how necessary it was to be an obedient son. A rise to authority, she said, could only come from one's father, adding that William should love his father second only to God, with many biblical allusions to those who were rewarded for honoring their fathers[14].

In part of course Dhuoda surely stressed obedience to one's father over obedience to the

10 For William of Gellone, his parents, wives, and children, see Histoire générale de Languedoc, ed. Cl. Devic and J. Vaissete, vol. 2, Toulouse 1875, preuves col. 65–68, no. 16; and Ardo, Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis et Indensis, in: MGH SS XV, p. 213, n. 2. His son Bernard, marquis of Septimania, had two sons by Dhuoda, William and Bernard; Dhuoda (see n. 9) preface, p. 84. Since their younger son was taken from Dhuoda, by her husband, before he was baptized, she does not specifically name him in her Manual, but he must be identical with Bernard of Aquitaine, since Bernard of Aquitaine first appears in the Annales Bertiniani in 864, called »son of Bernard«, and, according to Hincmar, eager to avenge his father, executed by Charles the Bald; there is no one other than Bernard of Septimania his father could be. Annales Bertiniani ad an. 864 (see n. 7) p. 113–114. For Bernard of Aquitaine's marriage to Ermengard and their son William the Pious, see the genealogical discussion in the Appendix. For William the Pious' wife, son, and nephews, see Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, ed. Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, vol. 1, Paris 1876, p. 193–194, 202–203, 271–272, 282–287, 434–436, nos. 205, 214, 276, 286, 446; and Cartulaire de Sauxillanges, ed. Henry Doniol, in: Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Clermont-Ferrand 3 (1861) p. 511–515, no. 13.

11 Dhuoda (see n. 9) 10,5, p. 354. Wollasch suggests they may be her parents, though noting that it is impossible to be sure; Wollasch (see n. 9) p. 183–185. If Guarnarius were someone who had died recently, he might be identical with the Warnarius who was murdered in 814, after Louis the Pious had appointed him to clean up the scandals at court; Vita Hludowici imperatoris 21, in: MGH SS II, p. 618. For another possibility, see the Appendix.

12 See also Jane Martindale, The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal, in: Past and Present 75 (1977) p. 17–19.

13 Dhuoda (see n. 9) 8,14, p. 318–320. See also Wollasch (see n. 9) p. 163.

14 Dhuoda (see n. 9) 3,1–2, p. 134–140. See also Wollasch p. 152.

king because William was actually at the court of Charles the Bald, and she did not want her son turned against his father, Bernard of Septimania, by his new associates. Bernard, who had been considered a principal enemy by the sons of Louis the Pious when they rebelled against their father, had announced his support for Charles the Bald after Louis' death and entrusted his son to Charles, essentially as a hostage for his loyalty. That Bernard was executed at Charles' command a little over a year after Dhuoda finished her Manual indicates that she was correct in fearing that the court was watching Bernard with suspicion as a possible traitor. In such an atmosphere it would have been all too easy for a sixteen-year-old to put loyalty to his king before loyalty to his father[15]. Regardless of these political considerations, however, Dhuoda's work provides a clear picture of one sort of family consciousness. The genealogia or stirps she described to her son, the small group of relatives to whom he owed obedience, from whom he would inherit, and to whose memory he owed honor, was defined entirely in terms of Bernard of Septimania. The members of the group were Bernard's parents, his brothers and sister, and his sons, that is young William himself and his infant brother. The group included both the living and the dead. This group only extended backward in time one generation before Bernard, and thus can scarcely be considered a longlasting lineage, and yet it is certainly not a diffuse group, for the boundaries are clearly drawn. The only possible people in it who are not directly related to Bernard are Guarnarius and Rotlindis, if they are Dhuoda's own parents – which is far from certain – and, since Dhuoda herself would certainly want prayers for them, their inclusion is not surprising.

This »family«, centered on William's father, it should be noted, did not include everyone for whom Dhuoda thought that William should pray or whom he should respect. Besides the king himself, she said he should love the king's own parentes and propinqui as well as the dukes and counsellors at court, and should pray for his own faithful servants when they died. Nor was she unaware of a man's maternal relatives, for she noted that King Charles, as well as many others at court, had acquired nobility from both their mothers and their fathers[16]. The topos, »born of a progenia of great nobility on both sides«, which continued to be a commonplace throughout the Middle Ages, indicates an awareness that there were two sides to one's origins and should be seen as an attempt to distinguish between them, not to indicate a lack of differentiation between them.

The picture of a »family«, then, which emerges from Dhuoda's work, is of a small group, organized around one's father, a group of people from whom one inherits. The group did not include everyone with whom one might be a cousin, nor all the lords and servants for one whom might pray, but it was the primary group she thought one ought to honor and remember. It was not simple affection for her husband which influenced Dhuoda, for she seems in fact to have been the victim of what would now be considered mistreatment, if not abuse; her husband had left her to her own devices only a few days after their second child was born and taken the baby with him. Though Dhuoda was herself a woman, she knew it was the male line, her husband's line, which was vital for her son, and she directed the boy's attention firmly in that direction[17].

Male-line inheritance continued to be important for the descendants of Dhuoda and Bernard of Septimania. They named their sons William and Bernard, for Bernard of Septima-

15 Annales Bertiniani ad an. 830, 844 (see n. 7) p. 1–2, 45. Vita Hludowici imperatoris 63, in: MGH SS II, p. 632. Nithard, Historia 2,5, 3,2, ed. Ph. Lauer, Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux, Paris 1926, p. 50, 82–84.

16 Dhuoda (see n. 9) 3,4, 3,8, p. 148, 166.

17 For Bernard's treatment of Dhuoda, see also the comments by Dronke (see n. 9) p. 37–38, 48–50. Georges Duby is incorrect in saying that Dhuoda's Manual indicates that in the ninth century the parentes was a horizontal grouping of relatives and allies, men and women, brothers and cousins, not clearly distinguished from each other; G. Duby, Le chevalier, la femme et le prêtre: Le mariage dans la France féodale, Paris 1981, p. 100.

nia's father and for himself (since Dhuoda did not know the name of her second son, taken from her before baptism, it is clear that Bernard of Septimania and not she named him)[18]. The couple's older son, William, for whom Dhuoda wrote her manual, followed his father's footsteps to the point that he too was considered dangerous by Charles the Bald and was executed himself in 850. This happened after he had tried to reclaim the county of Barcelona, which had once been his father's. William died without heirs of his own, but his younger brother Bernard (later known as Bernard Plantapilosa), though he was only three years old when their father was killed, remembered both his father's inheritance and the injustices his father had suffered. He first appears in the Annales Bertiniani in 864, fighting the king in an attempt to avenge his father[19]. Bernard Plantapilosa however eventually became reconciled with the king to such an extent that he became a trusted counsellor, as his father had once been for Louis the Pious, and through service to the king and such expedients as killing the marquis of Toulouse in 872 and taking his honores, he established a substantial inheritance which he was able to leave to his own son William the Pious (whom he named either for his grandfather or for his brother). This careful building-up of a patrilineal dynasty, reflected in names and inheritance and carried out in the face of overwhelming political difficulties for five generations, had here reached its apex but was finally ended when William's son predeceased him. His nephews claimed the duchy of Aquitaine but soon died as well, and Aquitaine went to the counts of Poitiers.

Far from being an amorphously-organized group, the dukes of Septimania and Aquitaine represent a determinedly patrilinear line, who always attempted to define themselves by the inheritance of their fathers and the inheritance they would have liked to leave their sons[20]. They were moreover not alone in their concept of the family, for there were several other patrilineal dynasties in place by the end of the eighth century. The Carolingians, much better documented then any other family group of the time, are an instructive example here, for they served both as a model for what many other lineages of the ninth and tenth centuries would have liked to have achieved, and as the chief competition for these lineages[21]. While the Carolingians were distinguished in the first part of the ninth century – though not in the later ninth century or in the tenth – from other lineages in that they produced the only annointed kings on the western Continent, their family structure can still be seen as a reflection of the general concept of family structure among the upper aristocracy.

The Carolingians were always oriented toward their patrilineal relatives, but it would be a mistake to consider them a large agnatic clan. Rather, the people we now call Carolingians

18 It is interesting to note that, among Bernard of Septimania's brothers and sisters, some, like Witcher and Helimburgis, had names composed of elements of their parents' names, while others, like Heribert, were named for people who also had the same complete name; among Bernard of Septimania's children and descendants, however, everyone seems to have been given a complete name, not a name composed of shifting elements.

19 Annales Bertiniani ad an. 850, 864 (see n. 7) p. 58–59, 113–114.

20 Wollasch suggests that they were not a patrilineal dynasty because they never »crystallized« around one central castle or place that was routinely inherited from father to son. This seems rather unfair, as they were certainly attempting to do so, and the lack of regular inheritance was due to political events, not their intentions or strategies. Their names and inherited quarrels certainly show a consciousness that went beyond biological continuity, even in the absence of a family stronghold. Wollasch (see n. 9) p. 176–177.

21 Although the objection might be raised that a royal family is not representative of the upper nobility in general, the majority of men we refer to as Carolingians were never kings themselves, and even the kings were closely tied, by blood and marriage, to other members of the aristocracy. The Carolingians' preeminent political position should therefore not preclude studying their family consciousness in order to gain insights into other less well-documented families. Since Schmid has used the Ottonians and Lewis the Capetians to argue for a horizontal Sippe organization, it seems only appropriate to use other royal examples in arguing the opposite view.

were organized into an array of patrilineal dynasties, emanating from Charlemagne like spokes on a wheel[22]. The separate dynasties were often each other's bitterest enemies, and if a Carolingian king died without an heir, a man who was not descended directly from Charlemagne was at least as likely to be chosen to succeed him as the Carolingian head of another kingdom. This rivalry between the separate dynasties indicates that descent from a common ancestor was not enough to establish any sort of larger »family feeling« when it came to the all-important questions of inheritance or often even alliance. For these purposes, the »family« was a very small group, consisting of a man, his sons, his father, and probably his paternal grandfather. His brothers and uncles were, in many cases, not part of the group, or were so only intermittently, because brothers and paternal uncles were the chief competition for what Carolingian men considered their rightful inheritance. Brothers always disagreed on which of them was the rightful heir, the only who could legitimately consider himself the continuator of his father's family.

When Carolingian men were naming their children[23], they identified them with a slightly larger group, which did include their brothers and paternal uncles. However, one cannot speak in a general way of the Carolingians giving their children »names traditional within the family«, for they still named them for quite specific relatives within a narrow circle[24]. Once the Merovingian names Clovis and Clothair became Carolingian names, as Louis and Lothair, names that Charlemagne gave the twin sons born after he became king[25], the kings routinely named their legitimate (and most of their illegitimate) sons for themselves, their fathers and paternal grandfathers, and their brothers. With rare exceptions, they did not give their sons names held by cousins, by ancestors more distant than their own grandfathers, or by any maternal relatives. Even a man's daughters were named virtually exclusively for paternal relatives, for their father's mother, paternal (not maternal) grandmother and aunts, and his sisters[26]. A girl might be named for her own mother, but the oldest daughter was never so named; Charlemagne for example named one daughter Hildegard, for his wife, but the girl was the last child (fifth daughter) born to this woman[27].

The family group which is suggested by the names the Carolingians gave their children is

22 Lewis has suggested that the Carolingians were not patrilineally organized, but this argument confuses primogeniture with agnatic inheritance. A man could intend his inheritance for his sons, and those sons identify themselves with their father rather than other kin, without any presupposition that the oldest son should take precedence. Lewis (see n. 3) p. 4.

23 Since the Carolingian kings almost never let their sons marry or even contract long-term alliances while they were still alive themselves, it is clear that children's names were chosen for them by their parents, not their grandparents. See Silvia Konecny, Die Frauen des karolingischen Königshauses, Vienna 1976, p. 112–113, 139–142, 158–159.

24 I have relied for the most part on Karl Ferdinand Werner's reconstruction of the family tree of Charlemagne's descendants; Werner, Die Nachkommen Karls des Großen bis um das Jahr 1000 (1.–8. Generation), in: Wolfgang Braunfels, ed., Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben, 5 vol., Düsseldorf 1965–1968, vol. 4, p. 403–482.

25 Paul the Deacon, Gesta episcoporum Mettensium, in: MGH SS II, p. 265. For a discussion of the significance of these names and their transition from being considered »Merovingian« to being »Carolingian«, see also Eduard Hlawitschka, Studien zur Genealogie und Geschichte der Merowinger und der frühen Karolinger, in: Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter 43 (1979) p. 26–27; and, most recently, Jörg Jarnut, Chlodwig und Chlothar. Anmerkungen zu den Namen zweier Söhne Karl des Grossen, in: Francia 12 (1984) p. 645–651.

26 Although the Carolingian kings surely had at least some daughters who are not named in the sources, it is very unlikely that the ones who died young or were neglected by contemporary records were preferentially named for their maternal relatives; it seems most likely that their unknown daughters, like the daughters who are known over a span of five generations, were overwhelmingly named for close paternal relatives.

27 Paul the Deacon (see n. 25) p. 265.

a small one. It consisted of a man, his children, his parents, his father's parents, and his own brothers and sisters; his wife was also included, somewhat peripherally, but not any of her own relatives. The family was thus patrilineal in that a man considered his own parents and his paternal but not his maternal grandparents part of the group, and there were occasionally indications of a consciousness of a series of generations of kings, but for the most part it involved only two generations. The Carolingians now seem like a long dynasty in part because each two-generational patricentered unit was succeeded by another one, as sons grew up and consciously identified themselves, their sons, and their daughters with the siblings, parents, and grandparents who had identified themselves with the preceding one and two generations.

The patrilineal organization of the Carolingians served as a model for the other powerful men who sought to become king themselves in the later ninth and the tenth centuries. The Bosonids, the Welfs, the Ottonians, and the Capetians all had the goal, more or less achieved, of establishing a center of power that their sons could inherit in an orderly fashion. One aspect of the behavior of the founders of such lineages has however been a source of confusion for scholars. Such ascents were never immediately successful, and family members always began their rise to power not by insisting on patrilineal relatives but rather by using whatever ties with the Carolingians they could engineer. These ties included both those of service and of marriage. Rising men were willing to exploit such connections for the purpose of gaining power, but they applied much more stringent definitions of »family members« when the gains of one generation were to be passed on to the next.

The Bosonids, for example, began with the brothers Bivin and Richard, who served as ostiarius, an important household official, for Louis the Pious[28]. Bivin's son Boso in turn served Charles the Bald faithfully and attached himself to the Carolingians by marriage as well, by giving Charles his sister first as a concubine and then as a wife. In 876, he made a further marriage tie with the Carolingians by marrying Ermengard, daughter of the emperor Louis II and great-niece of Charles the Bald. Having reached such heights, the path was short from serving the Carolingians to competing with them for the throne. In 879, after the death of Charles the Bald's son Louis the Stammerer, Boso had himself crowned king of Burgundy and Provence, the first non-Carolingian king on the western Continent in over a century[29]. Even though Boso spent his eight-year reign fighting the Carolingians and his own brother, as noted above, his son Louis succeeded without difficulty to his father's kingdom of Provence in 890, three years after Boso's death. Louis quickly added to his power by making himself king of Italy and, in 901, emperor. But when he was captured and blinded in battle in 905, long before he had sons old enough to succeed him, it marked the end of the fortunes of a dynasty that had risen in three generations from men who had been household officers of the emperor to a man who was crowned emperor himself[30].

The men of this Bosonid lineage thus used connections with the Carolingians to excellent advantage, but always with the intention of establishing a lasting inheritance for their sons. Boso named his two children Louis and Angilberga, the names of his wife's imperial parents, not because he drew no distinction between agnates and cognates, but because he hoped to

28 Edmund Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio, vol. 1, Paris 1724, rpt. New York 1968, col. 97–98, 101–102. Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Gorze, ed. A. d'Herbomez, Paris 1898, p. 98–110, nos. 55–60.

29 For Boso, see the Annales Bertiniani ad an. 869, 879 (see n. 7) p. 167, 236; Regino of Prüm, Chronicon ad an. 877, 879, ed. Friedrich Kurze, Hannover 1890 (MGH Script. rer. Germ. in us. schol.) p. 113–114; and MGH Capitularia II, p. 366–369, no. 284. I am at present completing a study of the Bosonids and their relatives.

30 MGH Capitularia II, p. 376–377, no. 289. Regino of Prüm ad an. 894, 896, 905 (see n. 29) pp. 142, 144, 150. Liudprand, Antapodosis 2,41, ed. Joseph Becker, Hannover 1915 (MGH Script. rer. Germ. in us. schol.) p. 55–56.

make it clear that these were royal children, destined to rule. This seems to have been a successful bid; at Louis' election to Provence, much more was made of the fact that his maternal grandfather was emperor than that his father had tried to be king. In a case where his wife's relatives were so much more powerful than his own, Boso wanted to identify his children with those relatives, because he clearly understood the advantages, both in real authority and in an aura of power, of such an association. Once that aura had been established in the Bosonid lineage, however, he intended it to pass to his sons, not any other members of his kindred or more distant relatives, and certainly not back to their Carolingian cousins. Contemporaries too recognized the primacy of a man's sons in inheriting. In spite of Boso's difficulties in holding onto the kingdom of Provence, there was no question of anyone other than his son Louis inheriting it. When Louis was blinded without sons in a position to take up his claim to be emperor, no other collateral relative made this claim either. Both the Bosonids themselves and their contemporaries recognized inheritance in the male line, not a general exercise of authority by an ill-defined group of cousins. Thus, one might consider that the Bosonids were patrilineal in their hopes for the future, but they were willing to use every family connection, paternal or otherwise, to help them set up what they hoped would be a patrilineal dynasty.

The example of the Bosonids suggests then that, rather than there being a change around the year 1000 in family consciousness, there was always a distinction made between one's male-line ancestors and descendants and a broader kindred, and that ambitious men might take whatever they could from the broader kindred throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, but always with the intention of passing it to their male-line sons. Perhaps the year 1000 was not so much a time of changing family structure as a time when the families that were going to be powerful in the eleventh century had finished establishing themselves, and therefore did not need to reach out to a broader group of relatives as their success was already assured.

After this survey of the evidence for the family consciousness of three noble groups of relatives, I shall now turn to the broader issue of the nature of family structure in this period. Previous discussions of this topic have generally been based, implicitly or explicitly, on the virtually universal assumption that early Germanic society, including the ancestors of the west Franks, was organized into closed kindreds or clans. Such clans, often described using terms developed by anthropologists to describe African or American Indian societies, are assumed to have continued in some form until the development of the much narrower patrilineal families of the eleventh century. However, the recent very meticulous study by Alexander Callander Murray of the literary evidence for such a view (especially the romanticized views of a simpler and nobler society produced by Caesar and Tacitus) and the Germanic law codes has revealed that there is no basis for the assumption that the corporate or collective clan was ever the constituent unit of Germanic society. He argues instead that the basic Frankish kin group was a series of interlocking, bilateral relationships, with the first emphasis on one's children[31].

Ironically, though adherents of the »Schmid-thesis« have used without question the idea of a corporate clan structure in early medieval society, they have taken it for granted that such a clan involved agnates and cognates indiscriminately, whereas the traditional view of early Germanic kinship, which Murray has now cast into doubt, is that the large clan groupings were based overwhelmingly on patrilineal or patrilateral relationships. Thus, if one accepts the traditional view of Germanic society, the Schmid-thesis would have to postulate a breakdown of the agnatic principle in late antiquity, not to be reconstituted before the tenth or eleventh

31 Alexander Callander Murray, Germanic Kinship Structure: Studies in Law and Society in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Toronto 1983, passim, especially p. 39–77, 109, 137, 218. See also the review by Bryce Lyon, in: The American Historical Review 90 (1985) p. 120–121.

century[32], while Murray's views of the Frankish kin group as a very small unit would require the development of large clans between classical times and the eighth century in order to support the Schmid-thesis. It seems easier to assume that, when Germanic peoples came into contact with the Romans, they were not organized into clans which also functioned as settlement, inheritance, and war units, but rather were aware of their relationship with both maternal and paternal relatives, to a distance of perhaps second cousins, and acted with a different subset of these relatives depending on the circumstances. With its emphasis on father and children, the Germanic family already had a few elements of later patrilineal organization, which were greatly strengthened from at least the eighth century onward, if indeed the process did not begin in the documentary darkness of the sixth and seventh centuries.

When one speaks of changes in family structure or family consciousness in this period, one must do so in the context of changes in the political fortunes of individual families. The examples of the dukes of Aquitaine, the Carolingians, and the Bosonids all suggest that there was a distinction drawn in the ninth and tenth centuries between a larger group, consisting of all the people to whom one knew oneself to be in some way related, and a smaller group, one's real »family«, the group from which one inherited, after which one named one's children, and with which one was closely allied. The narrow family unit was overwhelmingly patrilineal, even though there was little consciousness of a lineage stretching backward in time, usually no more than two or three generations. It would seem then that the scholars who have argued for an amorphous Sippe before the year 1000 have confused the larger group of known relatives (which in fact usually included most of western Europe's upper aristocracy) with the narrow family unit, within which loyalty was expected and power and property were inherited[33].

Part of the confusion is doubtless due to an overreliance on libri memoriales as evidence of family consciousness[34]. The aristocracy of the ninth and tenth centuries had their names inscribed with some frequency in monastic memorials. Usually an entire group would be recorded together, and their late parents and cousins might be recorded along with them. For example, at the beginning of the tenth century, the emperor Louis the Blind was recorded in the liber memorialis of Remiremont along with his brother-in-law, William the Pious of Aquitaine; Louis' mother; his uncle Richard with his wife; and Richard's nephew Manasses with his wife. Similarly, King Henry the Fowler was inscribed in the libri memoriales of St. Gall and Reichenau about the same time along with his wife, their children, his father, and her parents, brother, and sisters. This collective inscription has been taken as an example of the diffuse family consciousness of the time[35].

32 For German scholars, the question has been further confused by an attempt to make great families into concrete expressions of the will or even self-government of the indigenous people of their regions; see Freed (see n. 3) p. 573–575. Gerd Tellenbach's pioneering work on the imperial aristocracy of the ninth century, which first convincingly demonstrated that counts appointed by the emperors, rather than »stem dukes«, constituted the government and the political foci of their time, still took it for granted that, both earlier and later, the »stem duchy«, based on a patrilineal clan, was the chief political unit, an attitude which still prevails. Tellenbach, Königtum und Stämme in der Werdezeit des deutschen Reiches, Weimar 1939, especially p. 1, 22–29, 41, 74–84.

33 Lewis, in his discussion of the early Robertians/Capetians, says that they were an amorphously organized Sippe, but his own evidence shows that they gave all their emphasis, in names, inheritance, and alliance, to their paternal relatives. Lewis (see n. 3) p. 3–16.

34 This point is made most explicitly by Karl Leyser, The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the Early Twelfth Century: A Historical and Cultural Sketch, in: Past and Present 41 (1968) p. 34–36; and Id., Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony, London 1979, p. 49–51. See also Freed (see n. 4) p. 5–7.

35 Liber memorialis von Remiremont, ed. Eduard Hlawitschka, Karl Schmid, and Gerd Tellenbach, Dublin and Zürich 1970 (MGH Libri memoriales 1) p. 4. Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis, ed. Paul Piper, Berlin 1884 (MGH Libri confraternitatum) p. 84, 277. Karl Schmid, Neue

But being interested in someone's spiritual welfare is not the same as considering them part of one's family group. Throughout the Middle Ages, nobles asked monks to pray for their lords, their servants, their vassals, and their friends as well as their families. Dhuoda, as noted above, wanted her son to pray for his servants, though they were certainly not part of his genealogia. No one expected William the Pious to take up his brother-in-law's campaigns in Italy when Louis was blinded, even though they were recorded together in Remiremont's liber memorialis. Henry the Fowler did not give any of his sons or daughters names to identify them with his wife's relatives, even though these relatives were inscribed in two memorial books with him. Nor did he share any of his power or inheritance with them. The relatives with whom Henry identified himself and his children were a discrete subgroup of all of those for whom he wanted prayers to be said.

Additionally, the evidence that men like Bernard of Septimania and Boso used Königsnähe, or closeness to the kings, to further their careers can be used as an argument against as well as for the idea of large clans in the ninth century. Adherents of the Schmid-thesis have argued that the fact that many nobles rose to power only with royal favor, in the ninth and tenth centuries, shows that male-line inheritance was of secondary importance in amorphous clans, but the evidence can also be read another way. If these men had had large kin groups on which to rely, they would not have needed the kings' support[36]. When, for political purposes, their »family« consisted of little more than their dead grandfathers and fathers, from whom they took their inheritance (or, in the case of Bernard Plantapilosa of Aquitaine, from whom they took their grievances), their sons, who they hoped would inherit from them, and their brothers, always potential if not real rivals, these men had to find other sources of support. In the royal court they could mingle with the most powerful men of the kingdom, hope for a royal bride, and build up real power of their own, but they never confused the court with their family.

It should also be noted that, given the patchy nature of the evidence on family relations in the ninth and tenth centuries, a modern scholar may often end up with several people who seem, on the basis of geography and names, to be closely related, without being able to fit them into a coherent family tree. But it would be foolish to conclude that they were all members of a large, ill-defined »clan«. Gaps in the evidence cannot be redefined as evidence for amorphous kindred groupings. As the documentation is much better for the eleventh century than for the tenth, modern scholars must beware of mistaking changes in the ability to sort out the relationships in a complex kindred for a change in that kindred. The fact that Bernard Plantapilosa of Aquitaine lived at the same time as at least two (if not more) other men named Bernard, all of whom wielded power in the Aquitaine-Auvergne-Toulouse-Gothia region, without being closely related (if at all), indicates that one cannot simply assume family relationships (the problem of the »three Bernards« is discussed more fully in the Appendix). One cannot use name similarities to construct »clans« out of the various people in the early medieval records any more than one should use these name similarities to construct agnatic family trees[37]. Although property was certainly not always inherited in a smooth manner from

Quellen zum Verständnis des Adels im 10. Jahrhundert, in: Zs. für die Geschichte des Oberrheins 108 (1960) p. 186–188. More recently, however, Karl Schmid has used the appearance together of Henry the Fowler and Robert I of France not to argue for family unity but rather as an indication of a political alliance: Unerforschte Quellen aus quellenarmer Zeit. Zur amicitia zwischen Heinrich I. und dem westfränkischen König Robert im Jahre 923, in: Francia 12 (1984) p. 119–147.

36 See also Nelson (see n. 2) p. 286–289; and Karl Brunner, Oppositionelle Gruppen im Karolingerreich, Vienna 1979, p. 23–29.

37 Hennebicque's study of ninth-century nobles in the region of Prüm comes dangerously close to doing this; Hennebicque (see n. 3) p. 294–299.

father to son in this rather anarchical period[38], one also cannot assume that lack of evidence of such smooth inheritance shows that ninth- and tenth-century fathers had no such goal in mind.

Another difficulty with the »Schmid-thesis« of family consciousness is that it presumes that such consciousness would have been reflected in family members taking the *cognomen* of the family castle or stronghold. As *cognomina* did not become common until the eleventh century, it is assumed that families had no foci on which to pin patrilineal consciousness until this point. However, the inheritance of property from father to son – even against difficult odds, as in the case of the Bosonids or the dukes of Aquitaine – long before family members were given a *cognomen* identifying them with this property, the giving of personal names which identified a boy closely with his paternal relatives (and not in a general way with a large clan), and the tendency for the *cognomen* to vary with person and circumstances, even in the eleventh century, all suggest that adoption of *cognomina* cannot be taken as a turning point in family consciousness[39]. It is possible that *cognomina*, adopted at precisely the point that the number of different personal names in use dropped sharply[40], may have been used to distinguish different men with the same personal name from each other, rather than to identify different members of the same family with each other. Personal names then rather than *cognomina* seem to provide better evidence for family consciousness in this period.

The change that some scholars have seen around the year 1000 then should not be seen as proceeding from a change in family consciousness so much as from a general subsiding of the political upheavals of the preceding two centuries. The eleventh century, with its settled castles, *cognomina*, improved records, and widespread spiritual reform, was certainly a different world from the ninth and tenth centuries, but a lower level of violence rather than the appearance of patrilineal family structure was behind these changes. The decline in wars and invasions that made the preaching of the Peace of God even thinkable at this time also made it much commoner for lineages to hold onto the same office or piece of property over the generations, thus making it easier for modern scholars (and probably their contemporaries) to »place« a family. Most of the families that were going to rise to power in the west had already done so; thus one no longer had in the eleventh century, at least among the counts and dukes, the practice of naming one's children for the more powerful lords to whom one had attached oneself as a steppingstone toward power. Some scholars have noted that, especially in Germany, the »new sort« of patrilineal consciousness developed later than Schmid had

38 Maurice Chaume, the scholar who has probably produced more fanciful family trees than any other of this century, did so in the belief that property was normally inherited »legitimately«, and that if one knew that a certain man was count of a region at the beginning of the ninth century, then the man who was count there at the end of the century must have been his grandson. It is unfortunate that this indefatigable and thorough researcher into six centuries of Burgundian history should have been led astray by this touching belief. See M. Chaume, Les origines du duché de Bourgogne, vol. 1, Dijon 1925, rpt. Aalen 1977, especially p. 505–553. Schmid's thesis has, if nothing else, been a powerful corrective to the tendency to create tidy, though imaginary, family trees from the various people who appear in early medieval records. See Bouchard (see n. 1) p. 504.

39 See the perceptive comments by Karl Leyser, in: The English Historical Review 96 (1981) p. 370–374. Reinhard Wenskus, in his study of the Saxon aristocracy, has shown a deliberate policy in the upper nobility from at least the ninth century of giving sons the names of close relatives, rather than constructing names out of name-elements taken from a broad kindred: Sächsischer Stammesadel und fränkischer Reichsadel, Göttingen 1976 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse 3,93) p. 41–65. For *cognomina* varying even for the same individual, much less for different family members, see Constance B. Bouchard, The Structure of a Twelfth-Century French Family: The Lords of Seignelay, in: Viator 10 (1979) p. 44–49; and, for an east Frankish example, Freed (see n. 4) p. 51–57.

40 George T. Beech, Les noms de personne poitevins du 9e au 12e siècle, in: Revue internationale d'onomastique 26 (1974) p. 81–100.

postulated, with families emphasizing maternal as well as paternal kin well into the twelfth century[41], but this need not mean that these areas were somewhat backward psychologically, but rather that in these areas there were still opportunities for men without powerful paternal relatives to try to rise to power. The change in how noble families were structured seems less dependent on time or mental constructs than on the fluctuations of circumstances. One cannot consider social structures in a vacuum, without taking political events into account. If indeed there was some difference in the way aristocrats perceived their families in the High Middle Ages compared to previous centuries, this different perception was not the cause of their passing an inheritance in an orderly way to their patrilineal descendants, as adherents of the Schmid-thesis have maintained, but rather the result of their ability to do so. And, as the examples of the dukes of Aquitaine, the Carolingians, and the Bosonids all indicate, the aristocracy had long been attempting to make such inheritance a reality. Therefore, I would conclude that there was no revolution in family consciousness among the upper aristocracy at the end of the tenth century, but rather a change in the aristocracy's success rate in achieving what they had been striving for over the last two hundred years.

Appendix

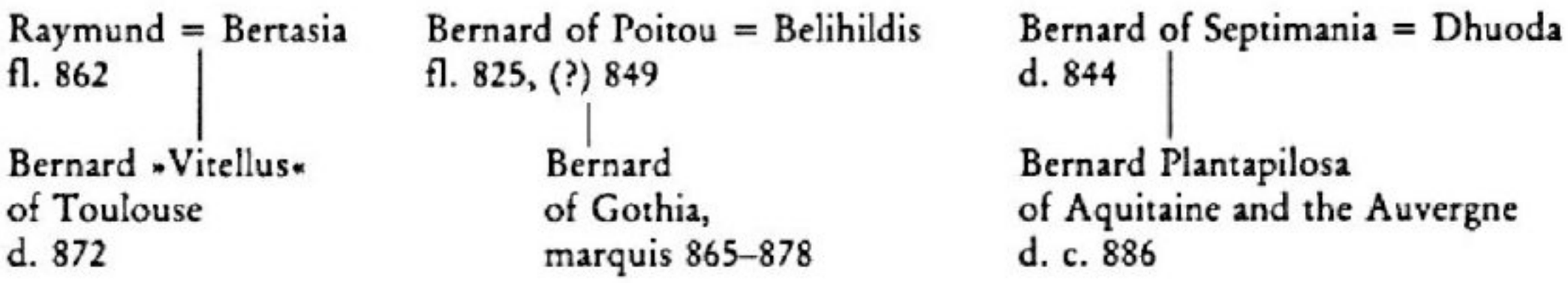
The Problem of the Three Bernards and the Dukes of Aquitaine

The discussion of the dukes of Aquitaine in the second half of the ninth century, as well as of the dukes of Gothia and Toulouse and the counts of Auvergne and Autun, has always been confused by the difficulty of sorting out the men named Bernard, who all lived at the same time and who, among them, are said to have controlled all these offices. The sources are confusing enough; the Annales Bertiniani say that there were three men named Bernard, each a marquis, alive and powerful in 868, without really distinguishing them to the satisfaction of modern scholars. But the issue has become almost hopelessly bogged down by the quarrels of scholars with each other, each constructing an even more elaborate series of identifications and family trees. With some trepidation I now enter this morass (which, after exhausting a generation of scholars, has lain fairly quietly for some thirty years). The only way to try to make sense out of the multiple Bernards is to start not with the conclusions of other scholars but with the sources, which at least have the virtue of brevity.

The starting point is Hincmar of Reims, the author of the Annales Bertiniani, from which almost all the information on the Bernards comes. I begin with the assumption that Hincmar was clear in his own mind what he was talking about, even if he did not always convey it clearly to his readers. Thus, since Hincmar stresses the existence of three Bernards, I would conclude that his various references to men named Bernard all refer to one of the three, even though there were certainly some other powerful men named Bernard alive at this time in western Europe, who are not mentioned in the Annales Bertiniani. In 868, Hincmar said, there were three Marquis Bernards, one of Toulouse and one of Gothia, though he did not say which area the third controlled. In the entry for 872, he said that, of two Marquis Bernards who acted together in that year, one was of Aquitaine, which should make it clear that the three Bernards of 868 were of Toulouse, Gothia, and Aquitaine[42].

Bernard of Toulouse is reasonably well documented in other charters of the time. He appeared in a document of Charles the Bald as the king's fidelis in 869/70, in a charter that also recalled his father Raymund. Raymund and his wife Bertasia founded the monastery of Vabre in 862. Raymund, according to the Annales Bertiniani, was driven from Toulouse in 863, by

41 Freed (see n. 4) p. 7–9, 43–44.
42 Annales Bertiniani ad an. 868, 872 (see n. 7) p. 151–152, 185–186.



The »three Bernards«

one Hunfrid of Gothia, who was driven out himself in 864, and whose honores in Gothia went to Marquis Bernard of Gothia in 865[43]. Bernard of Toulouse also probably took office in 865. He was dead however before 874, when a charter from Toulouse recalled the late Marquis Raymund and late Marquis Bernard. The conclusion seems inescapable that Bernard of Toulouse is therefore the same as the Bernard, nicknamed Vitellus, who according to the Annales Bertiniani was killed in 872[44]. Bernard »Vitellus« cannot be the marquis of Gothia, who was still alive several years later according to Hincmar, nor can he be Bernard of Aquitaine, for the person who killed Bernard »Vitellus« was, according to Hincmar, »Bernard son of Bernard«, the name he always used for Bernard of Aquitaine.

Since in his entry for 877 Hincmar referred to the two surviving Bernards as lords of Gothia and of the Auvergne, one can conclude that Bernard of Aquitaine also controlled the Auvergne at least by the 870s, if not before. (In fact, I believe he controlled it from 856; see below.) Bernard of Aquitaine must also be the same person as the Bernard »Plantapilosa« to whom Hincmar refers in 880 as receiving the county of Mâcon, since Bernard of Aquitaine's son William is known to have had this county not much later[45]. In 878, according Hincmar, the honores of Bernard of Gothia were taken from him and distributed among several other lords, including Bernard of the Auvergne [Aquitaine/Plantapilosa]. The author of the Annales Vedastini, reporting this same event at second hand, erroneously called Bernard of Gothia, »Bernard, duke of Autun«, which has further confused scholars in trying to straighten out the various Bernards, as there was no Bernard, duke of Autun. (Eccard was count of Autun until his death in 876, when he was succeeded briefly by his brother [or cousin] Theoderic, and then in 879 by Boso, the future king, who was succeeded in turn by his brother, Richard le Justicier)[46].

Assuming then that since Hincmar made it clear that there were three Bernards who mattered in the 860s and 870s, he would not have spoken of a fourth or fifth Bernard without at least explicitly distinguishing him from the three, one can draw a reasonably coherent picture of the three Bernards: one, nicknamed »Vitellus«, was marquis of Toulouse and was killed in 872; one was marquis of Gothia between 865 and 878; and one, nicknamed »Plantapilosa« and often called »Bernard son of Bernard«, was marquis of Aquitaine and count of the Auvergne.

I should point out however that my reconstruction of the three Bernards is not that of all

43 Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France, ed. Arthur Giry, Maurice Prou, and Georges Tessier, 3 vol., Paris 1943–55, vol. 2, p. 254–256, no. 339. Histoire générale de Languedoc (see n. 10) vol. 2, preuves col. 329–331, no. 160. Annales Bertiniani ad an. 863, 864, 865 (see n. 7) p. 97, 112, 117.

44 Histoire générale de Languedoc (see n. 10) vol. 2, preuves cols. 376–378, no. 186. Annales Bertiniani ad an. 872 (see n. 7) p. 188.

45 Annales Bertiniani ad an. 877, 880 (see n. 7) p. 216, 243.

46 Ibid. ad an. 878, p. 229. Annales Vedastini ad an. 878, in: MGH SS I, p. 517. For the counts of Autun, see Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, ed. Maurice Prou and Alexandre Vidier, vol. 1, Paris 1900, p. 47–49, 59–78, nos. 20, 25–27; Cartulaire de l'Église d'Autun, ed. A. de Charmasse, vol. 1, Paris and Autun 1865, p. 85–86, no. 2,1; and the Annales Bertiniani ad an. 882 (see n. 7) p. 247. See also Wollasch (see n. 9) p. 187–188.

scholars. It is quite close to the conclusions reached by Léonce Auzias[47], but other scholars have come up with different permutations. Maurice Chaume for example identified the son of Dhuoda and Bernard of Septimania not as Bernard Plantapilosa of Aquitaine but as Bernard »Vitellus«, and said he was killed in 872. Bernard of Aquitaine he made the son of a hypothetical Bernard I of the Auvergne. Léon Levillain, although making the son of Dhuoda Bernard of Aquitaine, said that Bernard of Gothia, not Bernard of Aquitaine, was nicknamed Plantapilosa, and that Bernard Vitellus was not the marquis of Toulouse but rather Bernard of Aquitaine's father-in-law, the hypothetical Bernard I of the Auvergne. J. Dhondt decided that the »three Bernards« of 868/9 were Bernard of Gothia, Bernard of Toulouse (whom he identified with Bernard Vitellus), and a Bernard, son of Childebrand, count of Autun; he identified Bernard of Aquitaine, Dhuoda's son, as Bernard Plantapilosa, but distinguished him from these three, and also added a fifth Bernard, the count of the Auvergne, Bernard Plantapilosa's father-in-law. Joseph Calmette has also concluded that there were five different Bernards: Bernard Plantapilosa of Aquitaine, son of Dhuoda; his supposed father-in-law, count of the Auvergne; Bernard Vitellus, count of Autun; Bernard of Gothia; and Bernard of Toulouse[48]. The difficulty however with all these identifications is that they assume that Hincmar, while speaking of three Bernards, actually had four or even five in mind (for a further discussion of »Bernard I of the Auvergne«, see below)[49].

Having thus distinguished the three Bernards of the 860s and 870s (at least to my own satisfaction), I shall now turn to a broader discussion of the family of the dukes of Septimania and Aquitaine, that is the family of the »third« Bernard. The line is documented from the end of the eighth century. The first major figure is William, who may have founded and certainly entered the Benedictine house of Gellone, associated with the reform of Benedict of Aniane. William had been made duke of Toulouse in 790 by Louis I, who was acting as king in Aquitaine under his father. In a charter for Gellone from 804, William recalled his parents, Theoderic and Aldana, his two wives, Cunigund and Witburgis, and his brothers, sisters, and children[50]. His father Theoderic was doubtless the same as the Count Theoderic who gave some villae to Abbot Fuldrad of St.-Denis in the 770s[51], acted as the king's envoy in Saxony in 782 and again in 791 and 793[52]; this count was called propinquus regis, but it is not clear how

47 Léonce Auzias, Bernard »Le Veau« et Bernard »Plantevelue«, comtes de Toulouse (?) (863–872–885), in: Annales du Midi 44 (1932) p. 257–295.

48 Chaume (see n. 38) p. 531, 547. Léon Levillain, De quelques personnages nommés Bernard dans les Annales d'Hincmar, in: Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat, vol. 1, Paris 1946, p. 169–202; Id., Les personnages du nom de Bernard dans la second moitié du IX^e siècle, in: Le moyen âge 53 (1947) p. 197–242; 54 (1948) p. 1–35. J. Dhondt, Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IX^e–X^e siècle), Brugge 1948, p. 293–313. Joseph Calmette, Les comtes Bernard sous Charles le Chauve: État actuel d'une énigme historique, in: Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen, Paris 1951, p. 103–109. The history of this group of relatives has been further confused by Arthur J. Zuckerman's unconvincing attempts to make the family Jewish princes of the Narbonne: Id., A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France, 768–900, New York 1972.

49 Pierre Riché came up with eleven (!) different Bernards all alive at about the same time: Les Carolingiens: Une famille qui fit l'Europe, Paris 1983, p. 191.

50 Vita Hludowici imperatoris 5, in: MGH SS II, p. 609. Histoire générale de Languedoc (see n. 10) vol. 2, preuves col. 65–68, no. 16.

51 M. Tangl, ed., Das Testament Fuldrads von Saint-Denis, in: Neues Archiv 32 (1906) p. 207–210. Theoderic was the first witness to Fuldrad's testament in 777. Fuldrad mentioned some property »that had been Heribert's« as located near what Theoderic had given him. Heribert was probably Theoderic's uncle; see below.

52 Einhard, Annales ad an. 782, 791, 793, in: MGH SS I, p. 163, 177, 179. Léon Levillain identifies the envoy Theoderic not as William of Gellone's father but as his younger brother, although his initial appearance in the records well before William's first appearance suggests he was older, not younger. Levillain, Les Nibelungen historiques et leurs alliances de famille, in: Annales du Midi 50 (1938)

they were related. The brothers and sisters whom William of Gellone named were Theodino[53], Adalelm, Albana, Bertana, and Theoderic; his children were Bernard, Witcher, Gotzelm, Helimburgis, and Adalelm. Besides these children William mentioned in his charter for Gellone, he also had a daughter named Gerberge, mentioned among the names of the dead by Dhuoda, and a son named Heribert, still alive when Dhuoda wrote her Manual. Gerberge was drowned, Heribert blinded, and their brother Gotzelm beheaded in 834, at the order of Lothair I[54], who was at that point waging war against their brother, William's oldest son, Bernard of Septimania[55].

Bernard married Dhuoda in 824. Their oldest son, William, for whom she later wrote her Manual, was born in 826, and their younger son, Bernard of Aquitaine, apparently their only other child, in 841[56]. Bernard of Septimania is said by Thegan to be de stirpe regali and godson of Charlemagne, but it is not known how he, any more than his grandfather Theoderic, might have been related[57]. The easiest explanation (the one usually adopted by modern scholars) of the relationship between the Carolingians and the dukes of Septimania is that Theoderic's wife Aldana (William of Gellone's mother) was a daughter of Charles Martel, or at least a daughter of one of his wives, and thus was Charlemagne's aunt. Propinquus could mean either a blood relative or a relative by marriage, as in this case[58]. This would explain why William of Gellone gave his oldest son the Carolingian name Bernard, as it would have been the name of his

p. 5–6. However, it is possible that the Theoderic in the Annales in 782 is the father and the Theoderic of 791 and 793 the son.

53 Theodino is surely the father of the Theoderic who left all his goods to Bernard of Septimania, who would have been his cousin, and acted as godfather for Bernard's son William. Dhuoda (see n. 9) 8,14, p. 320. Theoderic acted as count of Autun between 815 and 819 and was later referred to by Charles the Bald as »Theoderic, son of Theodino«. Recueil des actes de Charles le Chauve (see n. 43) vol. 2, p. 5–7, no. 227; Recueil des chartes de Saint-Benoît (see n. 46) p. 24–30, 36–37, nos. 10–13, 16.

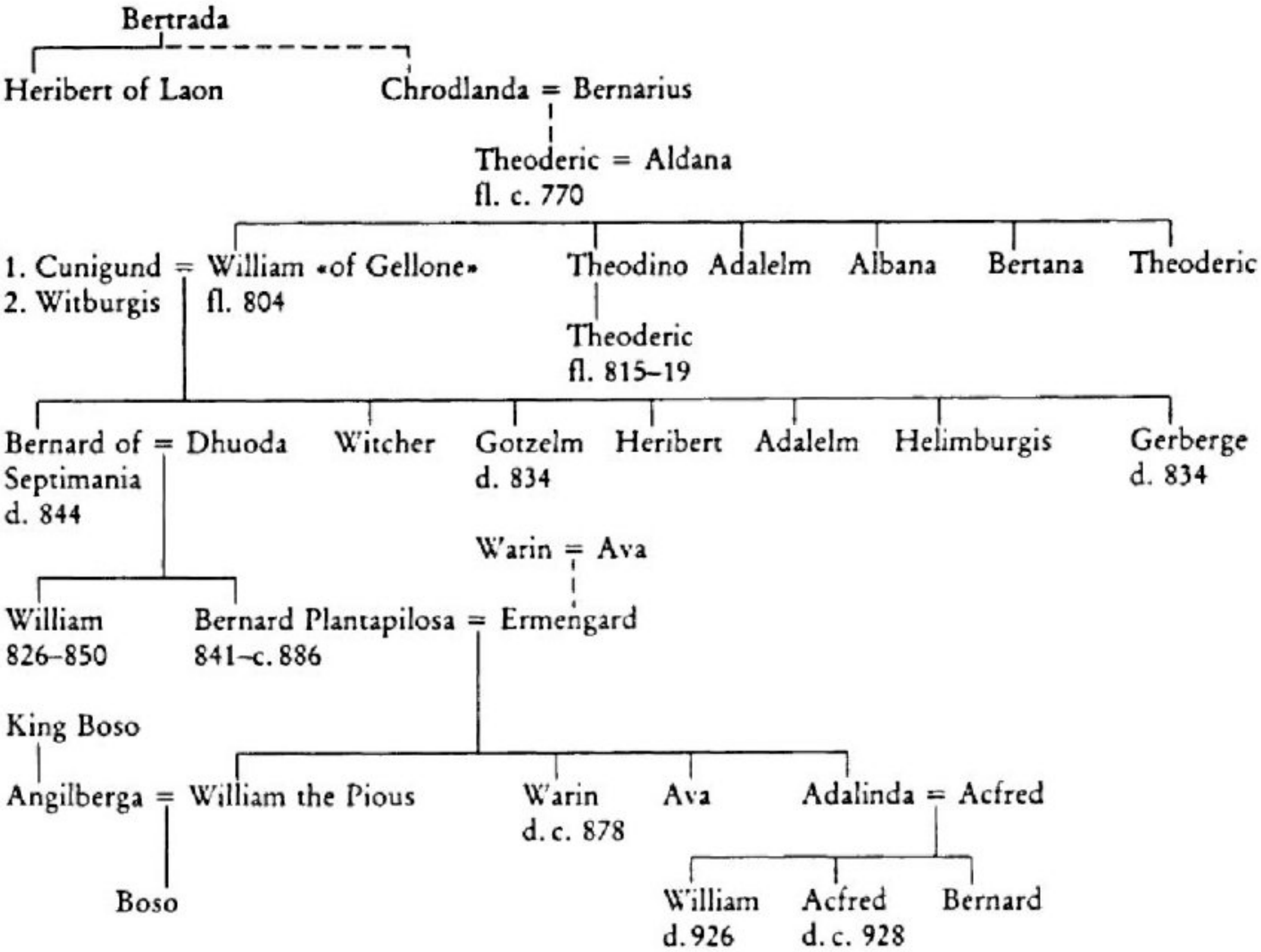
54 Dhuoda (see n. 9) 10,5, p. 354. Vita Hludowici imperatoris 45, 52, in: MGH SS II, p. 633, 639. Annales Bertiniani ad an. 830, 834 (see n. 7) p. 2, 14. Nithard (see n. 15) 1,5, p. 20–22. See also Wollasch (see n. 9) p. 20–22. Some scholars have given William another daughter, named Rotlindis, who married Wala of Corbie; see for example Lorenz Weinrich, Wala, Graf, Mönch und Rebell, Lübeck and Hamburg 1963 (Historische Studien, 386) p. 18. He takes the name from the Rotlindis in Dhuoda's list of the dead and concludes that she married Wala because Wala was said in his Vita to have married the sister of a certain tyrant referred by the pseudonym of Naso-Amisarius. Paschasius Radbertus, Epitaphium Arsenii, seu Vita Venerabilis Walae 2,7–8, in: MGH SS II, p. 551–552. However, the description of this tyrant in the highly literary and stylized Vita is much too unspecific to make him Bernard of Septimania, or for that matter anyone else, with anything like certainty.

55 William's charter for Gellone listes Bernard first, so he was presumably the oldest son. A contemporary vita of Benedict of Aniane says that William left his counties to his sons when he became a monk; an eleventh-century vita of William, based in part on the vita of Benedict of Aniane, says he left his counties to his sons Bernard and Gotzelm. Ardo (see n. 10) 30, p. 213 and n. 2.

56 Vita Hludowici imperatoris 41, in: MGH SS II, p. 630. Dhuoda (see n. 9) preface, p. 84. Levillain gave Dhuoda and Bernard a third child, a girl who married Count Vulgrin: Levillain (see n. 52) p. 7–11. This is based on Ademar of Chabanne's vague comments that Vulgrin married a sister of a certain »William of Toulouse«; Chronicon 3,20, ed. Jules Chavanon, Paris 1897, p. 138. Aside from Ademar's notorious inaccuracy and distance of a century and a half from the events, it would be very curious if Dhuoda had but did not mention a living daughter. Whomever Ademar was referring to as »William of Toulouse«, it seems unlikely to be Dhuoda's son William, who did not outlive his father long enough for a contemporary to use him as a reference point for a woman's family. For Ademar, see also John Gillingham, Ademar of Chabannes and the History of Aquitaine in the Reign of Charles the Bald, in: Margaret Gibson and Janet Nelson eds., Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom, Oxford 1981 (British Archaeological Reports. International Series 101) p. 3–14.

57 Thegan, Vita Hludowici imperatoris 36, in: MGH SS II, p. 597.

58 Isidore of Seville, De differentiis verborum 1,110, in: Migne, PL LXXXIII, col. 22. See also D. A. Bullough, Early Medieval Social Groupings: The Terminology of Kinship, in: Past and Present 45 (1969) p. 6–7.



The dukes of Septimania and Aquitaine

mother's brother, and also why Bernard was called de stirpe regali (he would have been his king's second cousin). The evidence for such a link is that Aldana was recorded in a necrology from Aquitaine with sisters named Hiltrudis and Landrada, and Charles Martel certainly had a daughter named Hiltrudis and also, according to a Vita written in the ninth or tenth century, a daughter named Landrada (mother of Bishop Chrodegang of Metz). (He is not known to have had any other daughters[59].) Eduard Hlawitschka explicitly rejects this suggestion[60]. However, his own suggestion for the relationship between Theoderic and Charlemagne, that Theoderic's paternal grandmother was sister of the paternal grandmother of Charlemagne's mother, is based on no stronger evidence, and indeed it seems a weak explanation of why Bernard of Septimania would be called »of the royal family« if he were only the king's fourth cousin.

Another possibility is that Theoderic's mother was a sister of Heribert of Laon, Charlemagne's maternal grandfather. This would make Theoderic and Charlemagne first cousins once removed and Bernard of Septimania third cousin of his king. (The evidence for this connection is essentially the same evidence Hlawitschka used for his family tree, but I have interpreted it

59 Continuationes Fredegarii 25, in MGH Script. rer. Merov. II, p. 180. Vita Chrodegangi episcopi Mettensis 6–7, in: MGH SS X, p. 556.

60 He points out that Paul the Deacon's history of the bishops of Metz, written much closer to the events, does *not* call Bishop Chrodegang's mother Landrada a daughter of Charles Martel (only saying that she was of the highest Frankish nobility), nor does Chrodegang refer in his own charters to King Pippin as his uncle, only as his lord, and that if Landrada were not Charles Martel's daughter, then there is no basis for making Aldana his daughter either. Paul the Deacon (see n. 25) p. 267. Eduard Hlawitschka, Die Vorfahren Karls des Grossen, in: Karl der Große (see n. 24) vol. 1, p. 76–78, no. 26.

somewhat differently.) The starting point is the 721 foundation of Prüm by Bertrada, mother of Heribert of Laon[61]. After Bertrada and her son Heribert signed, the other three signatures were Bernarius, Chrodlanda, and Theoderic. Since Bertrada had said she had no other living sons but Heribert, it seems most logical that these are her son-in-law, daughter, and grandson. (Hlawitschka makes Chrodlanda her sister, since Bertrada is known from other evidence to have had a sister named Rotlindis, but a foundation like this seems much more likely to have been confirmed by a daughter than a sister.) Theoderic, whom I would therefore identify as William of Gellone's father, would have been very young in 721, young enough to be the Theoderic who gave property to Fuldrad of St.-Denis in the 770s and still to be acting as the king's envoy in 782. Such a connection would explain the name Heribert among William of Gellone's children. (Hlawitschka, by making everyone a generation earlier, had to introduce a second Theoderic between the couple Bernarius and Chrodlanda and William of Gellone's father.)

This explanation also has the advantage of providing a reasonable explanation for the Guarnarius and Rotlindis in Dhuoda's list of the dead, who have puzzled many scholars. They would be William of Gellone's grandparents, Bernarius and Chrodlanda, their names slightly modified. In this case the Theoderic in Dhuoda's list, whom one would otherwise identify as the cousin of Bernard of Septimania she spoke of warmly elsewhere, is William of Gellone's father. Therefore Dhuoda's list of the dead would include the memory of four generations in the male line before her son William, going back over a century[62]. I do not want to insist on this, for fear of becoming trapped in circular reasoning (I would like to find evidence for a consciousness of the male line in the eighth and ninth centuries, therefore I treat people, not explicitly identified, as though they were male line ancestors, then take my point as proven). But it should be pointed out that, given the small number of people and the enormous number of names current in the eighth century, the likelihood of there being two different couples named Guarnarius and Rotlindis – actually three, as a couple with these names appeared together again in 751, which would have been toward the end of their lives were they William of Gellone's grandparents[63] – is actually very small. Finally, I would like to point out that it is possible that William of Gellone and his descendants were related to Charlemagne both through Aldana and through Chrodlanda, sister of Heribert of Laon, as Theoderic and Aldana would not have shared any common ancestors in spite of both being linked to the Carolingians (of all these possible connections, none susceptible to positive proof, my personal favorite is making William of Gellone's grandmother a sister of Heribert of Laon, because it seems to fit the evidence best).

To return to Bernard of Aquitaine, younger son of Bernard of Septimania, he married a woman named Ermengard and bore William the Pious, the founder of Cluny. There has been a great deal of debate about Ermengard's family. Scholars have usually made her the daughter of a hypothetical »Bernard I of Auvergne«, who is supposed to have lived until 868 or 872 or so, with the assumption that Bernard of Aquitaine only acquired the Auvergne at this time. I myself doubt the existence of Bernard I of Auvergne and believe rather that the references to a Bernard count of the Auvergne in the 860s are references to Bernard of Aquitaine himself, not to his supposed father-in-law. The only charter that seems to suggest

61 Heinrich Beyer, ed., Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der mittelrheinischen Territorien, vol. 1, Coblenz 1860, rpt. Hildesheim 1974, p. 10–11, no. 8.

62 On the basis of this reasoning, the list of the dead, William, Cunigund, Gerberge, Witburgis, Theoderic, Gotzelm, Guarnarius, and Rotlindis, represent respectively William of Gellone, his first wife, his daughter, his second wife, his father, his son, and his paternal grandfather and grandmother. All were Bernard of Septimania's direct ancestors, with the exception of Gerberge and Gotzelm, Bernard's brother and sister who had been killed by Charles the Bald, and whom Dhuoda would have wanted her son, living at Charles' court, especially to remember.

63 Cited by Riché (see n. 9) p. 90, n. 15; I have been unable to verify this reference.

the existence of this »Bernard I of Auvergne« is one from Brioude, usually dated 886 (»in the second year of King Charles of France«), which recalls two separate Counts Bernard, the second of whom married Ermengard[64]. However, I see no reason to make the first one into Bernard of Aquitaine's father-in-law, as he could just as easily be Bernard of Aquitaine's own father, Bernard of Septimania (he is not specifically called of the Auvergne). Or the first Count Bernard could be the Bernard whom scholars sometimes call »le Poitevin«, the father of Bernard of Gothia. This man is known to have acted at Poitou in 825 and to have married a woman whom the pope recalled as named Belihildis when he excommunicated her son in 878. Either he or another Count Bernard acted as abbot and rector of Brioude in 846 and 849 and was married to a woman called Lieugardis in charters from that house[65]. Whichever Bernard was count in the 840s, however, there is no reason for scholars to keep him alive for twenty years, much less to make him Bernard of Aquitaine's father-in-law.

I myself would suggest that Bernard of Aquitaine's father-in-law was someone quite different, the famous Count Warin, who exercised power in Burgundy in the first half of the ninth century. He was an old friend of Bernard of Aquitaine's family, for this is the same Warin who had accompanied Bernard of Septimania through Burgundy in 833, in service to Louis the Pious, and who barely escaped with his life in 834, when Louis the Pious' sons rebelled against him and captured and killed the brother and sister of Bernard of Septimania, their father's hated chamberlain[66]. There are two reasons for the suggestion that Warin was Bernard of Aquitaine's father-in-law, names and property inheritance. Count Warin married a woman named Ava (or Albana), and Bernard of Aquitaine named two of his children Warin and Ava (which, since Warin was more powerful than he, might be expected). Secondly, we know that Warin acquired the *villa* of Cluny, where the abbey was later founded, in 825, and yet this villa does not surface again until 893, when Bernard of Aquitaine's daughter Ava gave it to her brother, William the Pious[67]. Since the documents recording Warin's acquisition of Cluny and then William the Pious's acquisition of it nearly seventy-five years later were given to the monks by William the Pious to prove his title, it would be very odd that there were no written transaction agreements for the period between 825 and 893, unless it was simply inherited from parent to child – such inheritances were almost never recorded in writing in the ninth century, though transactions between non-relatives often were. It is suggestive that Ava had inherited Cluny, perhaps providing an additional indication that Cluny came from her mother. Since therefore it seems likely that Ermengard, wife of Bernard of Aquitaine, was daughter of Warin and Ava, there is no reason to create a Bernard I of the Auvergne to be her father.

It is however possible that Bernard of Aquitaine acquired the Auvergne from his father-in-law, even if that father-in-law was Warin. Count Warin had been called count of the Auvergne in 819, and he may have maintained some claim to it even while a Count Bernard acted as count there in the 840s. Warin was called duke of Provence in the Chronicle of Aquitaine for 841[68]. Warin died in 856, according to the »Series« of the abbots of Flavigny, where he was rector from 849 to his death. Bernard of Aquitaine first makes his appearance as head of

64 Cartulaire de Brioude, ed. Henry Dontol, Clermont 1863, p. 146–147, no. 131.
65 Recueil des actes de Pépin I et de Pépin II, rois d'Aquitaine (814–848), ed. Léon Levillain, Paris 1926, p. 16–18, no. 5. MGH Epp. VII, p. 122, no. 142. Cartulaire de Brioude (see n. 64) p. 112–113, 184–185, nos. 95, 172.
66 Vita Hludowici imperatoris 49, 52, in: MGH SS II, pp. 637–638. Nithard (see n. 15) 1,5, p. 22.
67 Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent de Mâcon, ed. M.-C. Ragut, Mâcon 1864, p. 40, 42–44, nos. 52, 55. Recueil des chartes de Cluny (see n. 10) vol. 1, p. 61–63, no. 53.
68 Vita Hludowici imperatoris 32, in: MGH SS II, p. 624. Chronicon Aquitanicum, in: MGH SS II, p. 253.

Brioude in 857, suggesting that he had just succeeded his father-in-law in the Auvergne[69]. Bernard's son Warin, said to be still a boy, became rector of Brioude in 868[70]. As Ermengard was referred to as »countess by the grace of God« in the charter of 886 from Brioude which refers to the two late Count Bernards, it seems likely that she was the heiress of the Auvergne. This charter, and another from 885/6 in which William the Pious called himself son of Bernard with the implication that Bernard was dead, suggest that Bernard of Aquitaine died in 885 or 886[71].

69 Series abbatum Flaviniacensium, in: MGH SS VIII, p. 502. Recueil des actes de Charles le Chauve (see n. 43) vol. 1, p. 310–313, no. 117. Cartulaire de Brioude (see n. 64) p. 97–99, no. 77. Scholars usually attribute this charter not to Bernard of Aquitaine but to the hypothetical Bernard I of Auvergne.

70 Cartulaire de Brioude (see n. 64) p. 77–78, 167–168, nos. 56, 152. Warin had apparently died by 878, when Frotgar, archbishop of Bourges, began acting as abbot and rector, which office he held until his death, when he was succeeded by Adalgar, bishop of Autun. After Adalgar's death in 894, William the Pious, son of Bernard of Aquitaine and young Warin's brother, became abbot and rector of Brioude. Ibid. p. 52–53, 119–120, 195–96, 313–315, nos. 29, 102, 184, 309.

71 Ibid. p. 146–147, no. 131. MGH DD reg. Germ. ex stirpe Karol. II, p. 311, no. 186. The editor calls the latter charter false, because it involves a gift to the church of Nevers, and Bernard and William were never counts of Nevers, but in fact the property given was in the diocese of Autun.