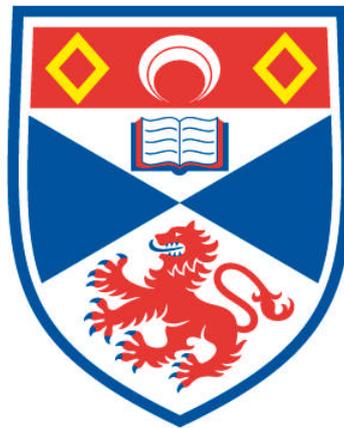


**THE EMERGENCE OF REGIONAL POLITIES IN
BURGUNDY AND ALEMANNIA, C. 888-940:
A COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT**

Steven Robbie

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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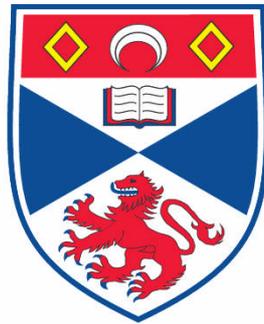
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**The emergence of regional polities in
Burgundy and Alemannia c. 888-940:
a comparative assessment**

Steven Robbie



This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

27 June 2011

Abstract

This study uses the 'duchies' of Burgundy and Alemannia as case studies for an examination of the nature and causes of political change in the five decades after the death in 888 of the Emperor Charles the Fat ended the Carolingian monopoly on kingship in the Frankish realms.

Existing narratives of this period posit discontinuity between the pre- and post-888 political worlds and define the status of dukes in opposition to royal power as the manifestation of either regional communal identity or self-centred aristocratic greed. Close examination of Burgundy and Alemannia indicates that such approaches are invalid, and that the fundamentals of the Carolingian system persisted in the ideology and practice of politics after 888: a desire for the control over land and religious establishments, juxtaposed with a deep-seated belief in the centrality of the kingship to the political order. Dukedoms emerged in both regions not as a result of deep-rooted social forces but as short-term responses by magnates to crises at the centre. The perception that the dukedom was an essential form of political organization failed to take root in either territory prior to 940. Although the status of the dukedoms ultimately developed in different ways in the two kingdoms, it is suggested that the root causes of this are best sought in high politics itself.

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I, Steven Robbie, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2006 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 2007; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2006 and 2011.

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I dedicate this work to my father David Robbie, who died six months before this project began and so was sadly unable to see an eccentric move from accounting to academia turn into a full-time obsession with the history of medieval Europe.

Abbreviations

AA (M)	<i>Annales Alamannici</i> , Monza codex
AA (Z)	<i>Annales Alamannici</i> , Zürich codex
AB	<i>Annales Bertiniani</i>
AF (B)	<i>Annales Fuldenses</i> , Bavarian continuation
AF (M)	<i>Annales Fuldenses</i> , Mainz continuation
AV	<i>Annales Vedastini</i>
C. Autun	<i>Cartulaire de l'Église d'Autun</i> . References are to vol. 1 unless stated.
Cont. Reg.	Adalbert of Magdeburg, 'Continuatio Reginonis'
D.	Diplomata of:
Arn	Arnulf of Carinthia: <i>MGH Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum III: Arnolfi diplomata</i>
Burg.	Kings of Burgundy: <i>MGH Regum Burgundiae e stirpe Rudolfina diplomata et acta</i>
CI	Conrad I: <i>MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae I: Conradi I., Heinrici I. et Ottonis I. diplomata</i>
CIII	Charles III the Fat: <i>MGH Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum II: Karoli III. diplomata</i>
CB	Charles the Bald: <i>Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France</i>
CS	Charles the Simple: <i>Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France (893-923)</i>
HI	Henry I: <i>MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae I: Conradi I., Heinrici I. et Ottonis I. diplomata</i>
LCh	Louis the Child: <i>MGH Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum IV: Zwentiboldi et Ludovici Infantis diplomata</i>
LG	Louis the German: <i>MGH Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum I: Ludowici Germanici, Karlomanni, Ludowici Iunioris diplomata</i>
LIV	Louis IV d'Outremer: <i>Recueil des actes de Louis IV, roi de France (937-954)</i>
LLC	Louis the Stammerer, Louis III, and Carloman II: <i>Recueil des actes de Louis II le Bègue, Louis III et Carloman II, rois de France (877-884)</i>
Odo	Odo: <i>Recueil des actes d'Eudes, roi de France (888-898)</i>
OI	Otto I: <i>MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae I: Conradi I., Heinrici I. et Ottonis I. diplomata</i>
Prov.	Kings of Provence: <i>Recueil des actes des rois de Provence</i>
RR	Robert I and Raoul: <i>Recueil des actes de Robert I^{er} et de Raoul, rois de France (922-926)</i>
DA	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
FMS_t	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
GPA	<i>Gesta Pontificum Autissiodorensium</i>
Lib. conf. Reichenau	<i>MGH Libri memoriales nova series I: Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau</i>
Lib. conf. St Gallen	K. Schmid, 'Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der St. Galler Verbrüderungsbücher des 9. Jahrhunderts'
Lib. mem. Brescia	<i>MGH Libri memoriales nova series IV: Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore / Santa Giulia in Brescia</i>
Lib. mem. Rem.	<i>MGH Libri memoriales I: Liber memorialis Romaricensis</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
MGH SRG	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum separatim editi</i>
NCMH II	R. McKitterick (ed.), <i>New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , vol. II, c.700-900
NCMH III	T. Reuter (ed.), <i>New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , vol. III, c. 900-c.1024
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
R. Cluny	<i>Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny</i> . References are to vol. 1 unless stated.
UBSG	<i>Urkundenbuch der Abtei St. Gallen</i> . Charters up to no. 382 are in vol. 1, up to 778 in vol. 2, references otherwise are to vol. 3.
UBZ	<i>Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich</i> , vol. 1.

Chapter 1

Narratives of transition after 888

In September 918, a crowd gathered at Autun to see Bishop Walo restore the *villa* of Tillenay to the cathedral church of St-Nazaire. The transaction was duly noted in a charter in which Walo states that the church had been deprived of the *villa*, on the banks of the Saône in the Oscheret in northern Burgundy, by Walo's brother Count Manasses.¹ A third brother, Ragenar, may well be the *Ragenarius* named near the top of the witness list. It was their uncle Richard, however, who dominated the text and probably presided over the occasion itself. Tillenay was restored, the charter says, at the behest and with the aid of the *excellentissimus dux*, lord Richard, under whose defence and protection St-Nazaire had been placed by God; the newly recovered estate was likewise entrusted into Richard's care, and the first witness to the charter was Richard's son Raoul, who made his mark 'with his own hand, by order of his aforementioned father, in his presence and in his stead'.² The restoration of Tillenay was a family affair, but it was not only that. Some sort of legal process appears to have taken place beforehand – at least, this is the impression given by the large number of royal charters, confirming the church's rights to the estate, that appear to have been forged or falsified for the occasion.³ The witnesses – there were twenty-two in total in addition to Walo and Raoul - also included Bishop Ardradus of Chalon, another area subject to Richard's dominance, as well as eight others who had also subscribed a judgement given by Richard two years earlier and who may have counted amongst his faithful men.⁴ Moreover, the charter's extensive prayer clauses contain what appears to be a wider political message. The canons of Autun were to pray for the souls of the Emperor Charles the Bald and his first queen Irmintrud, the late King Odo, and Odo's brother, the *marchio* Robert of Neustria. They were also to pray for Richard and his wife, their sons, and all of their faithful men. But the reigning king – Charles the Simple – was left out. This was surely no accident, and it may well have signalled, indeed it was probably

1 *D. RR* 51.

2 *Ibid.* '... adhibito etiam hortamento et auxilio domni Richardi, excellentissimi ducis, cujus defensione per Dei administrationem haec ipsa consistit ecclesia'; 'Sign. Rodulfi, illustris comitis qui per jussionem prenominati patris sui in conspectu illius sua et ejus vice firmavit et manu propria subscripsit'.

3 R.-H. Bautier, 'Introduction' to *Recueil des actes d'Eudes, roi de France (888-898)*, ed. Bautier (Paris, 1967), pp. CXLI-CLIII.

4 *D. RR* 50. The witnesses to these charters are discussed further in ch. 4.

meant to signal, the breakdown of the relationship between Richard and the king. One thing it clearly shows, however, is that Richard ‘the Justiciar’, as he is known to posterity, had taken the place of the royals as patron and commander of Autun.

In April 924, another crowd gathered some 200 miles further east at Zürich, where another charter records that Burchard, ‘by the grace of God *dux* of the Alemannians’, confirmed the rights of the nuns of Zürich to certain tithes, of which they claimed to have been deprived.⁵ The witnesses to this charter include the bishops of Constance and Chur, both areas which Burchard appeared to control, as well as fifteen others, several of them identifiable as local notables, representing ‘the counts and others of our faithful men’ who the charter says were present at the occasion. Zürich, like Autun, was a place with ninth-century royal connections - Louis the Pious had granted the nunnery its foundation charter in 853 and installed his daughter as abbess - and Burchard’s parchment makes reference to the charters granted in the nuns’ favour by the emperor Louis the Pious and his sons.⁶ Unlike the Autun charter, Burchard’s charter states plainly that it was granted ‘with the licence of’ (*cum licencia*) the reigning king of east Francia, Henry I. But it is doubtful that Burchard had felt constrained to seek royal approval in order to carry out this specific act. Burchard and his allies had defeated the previous king in battle several years earlier, and complaints about his misdeeds from the formerly royal monasteries of St Gallen and Reichenau indicate that Henry kept his distance from Burchard’s turf.⁷ At Zürich, it fell to Burchard, not Henry, to uphold the nuns’ rights; all the charter’s invocations of royal authority serve to convey the message that the *dux* had displaced it.

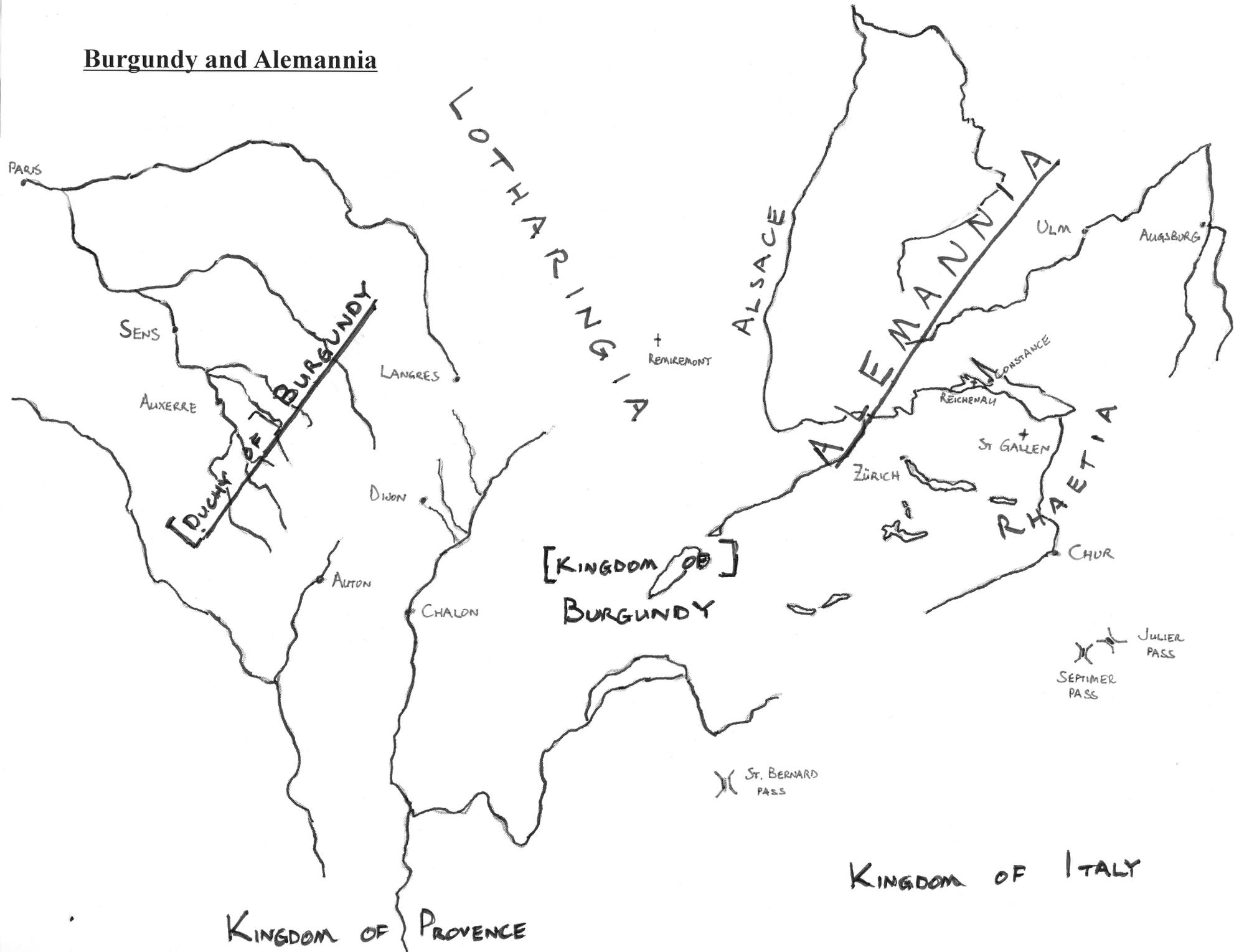
Richard and Burchard were a generation apart, and probably never met. Nevertheless, their territories are near neighbours and they themselves are exemplars of a common phenomenon: the autonomous, non-royal, regional ‘dukes’ or ‘princes’ who emerged in both the western and eastern Frankish kingdoms in the thirty or so years after the death of Charles the Fat in 888. The present study will examine the emergence of Richard’s duchy of Burgundy and Burchard’s duchy of Alemannia with a view to demonstrating that the political developments in both territories, and by implication in both kingdoms, were driven by similar patterns of underlying circumstances. This is necessary not least because the standard narrative varies considerably between

5 *UBZ* vol. 1, no. 188. ‘Purchardus divina annuente gratia dux Alamannorum’.

6 *D. LG* 67; E.J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German 817-876* (Ithaca, 2006), pp. 238-9.

7 Discussed further in chapter 7, below.

Burgundy and Alemannia



historians whose work focuses on one kingdom or the other. As Michel Zimmermann observes in the *New Cambridge Medieval History*, ‘French historians stress the geographical and institutional aspects and speak of “territorial principalities”, whereas their German counterparts see them as “tribal” duchies’ - the latter label referring to the habit of germanophone scholars to see communal identity and fellow-feeling as the primary determinants of political change.⁸ The aim of this study is not to side with one or the other of these perspectives, but rather to suggest that the underlying presumptions of both are out of line with what we now think about institutions and communities within the Carolingian world. Despite their differences of emphasis, the typical ‘French’ and ‘German’ narratives of duchy formation share a tendency to locate the origins of the duchies in a conscious opposition to royal power, whether on the part of magnates seeking to enhance their own status or of regional communities striving for autonomy from Frankish rule. In so doing they make an implicit judgement about the natural fit of smaller political entities with the fundamental structures of Carolingian society and perpetuate a belief that political actors in the post-888 period, whatever their personal or ethnic loyalties, stood ready ‘to jump into the breach for an overtaxed, failing kingship’ whose deep-seated decrepitude had finally been exposed by the deposition of the sickly and incapable Charles the Fat.⁹ Recent scholarship on the Carolingian period, however, increasingly challenges the underlying presumption that Carolingian rule ‘failed’ and emphasizes the extent to which the legitimacy of Carolingian kingship was a central factor in the structures of ninth-century society. Although there was indubitably a political crisis at the end of Charles’s reign, ‘the roots of this crisis were not deep’, lying in the sudden failure of the dynastic succession rather than either weak governance or systemic instability.¹⁰ This reassessment makes it necessary to rethink narratives of political change which represent the political arrangements of the tenth century as rising up from the rubble of a failed Carolingian system, especially when it comes to considering the position of men who, for all their autonomy, nevertheless underpinned their own status with considered appeals to the traditional authority of kingship. The aim of this study is therefore to re-evaluate the

8 M. Zimmermann, ‘Western Francia: the southern principalities’, *NCMH III*, pp. 420-455, at p. 427.

9 J. Fried, *Der Weg in die Geschichte: Deutschland bis 1024* (Berlin, 1995), p. 444: ‘Dort entstanden die großen “Principautés” aus der Notwendigkeit, für das überforderte, versagende Königtum in die Bresche zu springen.’ This refers to west Francia, but Fried regards east Frankish developments as essentially similar.

10 Quotation from S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 232.

political processes that brought Richard the Justiciar and Burchard of Alemannia to positions of prominence in a way that gives due credit to the way in which kings and kingship remained central to political system.

Decline and fall: the 'end' of the Carolingian empire as seen in older scholarship

To account for the emergence of Richard and Burchard's regional polities, one must first address a fundamental question about the preceding period: why did Charles the Fat's reunited Carolingian empire fail to endure? Twentieth-century narratives of Charles's reign traditionally drew an unflattering portrait of a sickly and incapable ruler whilst pointing simultaneously to systematic weaknesses in the Carolingian system of rule, so that the 'collapse' that resulted from his deposition in 887 was both a sign of personal failure and the inevitable outcome of a protracted dwindling of the quality of royal governance. Verdicts on Charles and his predecessors have often been predicated on value judgements about their lack of moral courage and their inability to provide the kind of 'strong' leadership that befitted their station and commanded the proper respect of the high aristocracy. Strong kingship is a slippery concept: founded on successful leadership in war, but not reducible to it, it ultimately resided not so much in practical effectiveness as in a form of charismatic authority whose precise content eludes description. It was the supposed misfortune of the Frankish empire established by Charlemagne to be beset by a succession of kings who lacked it: these hopeless characters, having no purchase on the loyalty of their subjects, were forced to buy support with gifts of land and offices, permanently alienating the resources of the crown in exchange for temporary promises of support from their greedy and contemptuous subjects.¹¹ Charles the Fat was seen as the last and worst of this sorry line; his and the empire's ultimate failure at the end of 887 was thus precipitated by a long and shameful decline, in which the Carolingians dissipated not only their material resources but also their moral authority.

Such verdicts implied that a succession of Charlemagnes would have made a better job of preserving his legacy. Beneath this character assessment, however, lay a vision of politics as a permanent contest for a finite pool of physical resources. This was rooted in assumptions about the nature of early medieval society: that the secular

¹¹ The classic exposition is J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IX^e-X^e siècle)* (Bruges, 1948).

high aristocracy was driven by self-interest, that it identified this self-interest wholly or primarily with the acquisition of unrestricted power over landed resources, that social prestige could be reduced to the exercise of such material power. Royalty, notwithstanding the special sacral aura that attached to the office of kingship, had no means of creating an affective bond with its subjects strong enough to overcome this tendency on a permanent basis. Kings therefore relied for good or ill on their personal qualities of strength of purpose and tactical astuteness to maintain their place at the apex of the political system, but even under the strongest rulers, the empire remained inherently unstable because it lacked the the essential ingredient of a communal sense of belonging.

This picture of a self-serving and aggressive warrior class was routinely set off by a more harmonious picture of ‘natural’ ethnic communities which persisted at a regional level for a century or more beneath the rickety superstructure of Frankish rule. The contrast was most obvious in the traditional standard narrative of the origins of the Ottonian *Reich*, according to which the fall of the Carolingians re-exposed the long-suppressed identities of traditional migration-era ‘tribes’ (*Stämme*) - the Alemannians, Saxons, Bavarians and the Franks themselves – who then built a new ‘German’ empire as a common enterprise on the stronger foundation of their ethnic/national solidarity.¹² This surprisingly durable national origin myth represented the emergence of the tenth-century *duces* in terms of the outcome of a communal striving for self-determination. Its historiographical roots lie chiefly in a hyper-literal reading of tenth-century narrative accounts of the election of kings and *duces* by popular acclaim. It should not be forgotten, however, that a naïve belief in the primordial nature of ethnic communities was equally orthodox in France: Maurice Chaume, for example, waxed lyrical about Richard the Justiciar as a ‘national hero’ of the Burgundians, whose identity as a solid ethnic group could be taken for granted.¹³ Jan Dhondt’s classic exposition of the decline-and-fall thesis of the Carolingian system subsequently effected a marriage between self-interested Frankish aristocrats and the substratum of solid ethnic identities he located under the surface of the west Frankish kingdom. Dhondt argued that the Frankish aristocrats whom Charlemagne implanted in the regions as a new ruling class

12 For a good contemporary example see W. Schlesinger, ‘Kaiser Arnulf und die Entstehung des deutschen Staates und Volkes’, repr. in H. Kämpf, *Die Entstehung des deutschen Reiches. Deutschland um 900* (Sigmaringen, 1955), pp. 94-109. The alternative translation of *Stamm* as ‘stem’ obscures the meaning.

13 M. Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne* (5 vols, Dijon, 1925, repr. Aalen, 1977), vol. 1, p. 388 and again on p. 414.

bolstered their own local power by attaching themselves to these powerful local sentiments, drawing the conclusion that conquest was futile because the conquered would fight with ‘instinctive defiance’ to ‘shake off the yoke’ of the imperial power. Although this was a calculated anti-German message in a book written in occupied wartime Belgium, Dhondt essentially shared his German counterparts’ vision of an unmanageable Carolingian superstructure crumbling away to reveal a natural order of affective regional communities.¹⁴

Much of this has now been substantially modified or rejected. Despite this, accounts of the evolution of the tenth-century duchies mostly rely on a set of basic presumptions about the nature of ducal power that would have been familiar to Dhondt. These are that:

- there existed within the Frankish kingdoms certain clearly bounded regions whose inhabitants had a shared understanding of their region’s limits;
- within each region, a coherent community either behaved monolithically or, if divided, nevertheless perceived itself as one group which ought to live under common rule;
- the primary ambition of the dukes was to unite and rule precisely this community;
- once created, each duchy promptly became a fixed and unchangeable feature of political society.

At the point when the Carolingian mould was broken, therefore, a new mould had already been set. This basic pattern is common to francophone and germanophone scholarship, notwithstanding the superficial differences noted by Zimmermann.

Administrative determinism: post-war perspectives on the west Frankish principalities

The essential role played by ‘nations’ in the work of Chaume and Dhondt finds no echo in subsequent francophone scholarship, which has mostly sought to accommodate the development of the tenth-century’s patchwork of kingdoms and duchies within a structuralist framework whose outline could be found in the organization of ninth-century Carolingian rule. To some degree this reflects long-standing French interests in the cultural legacy of Rome: French scholars looking for signs of regional cultural distinctness have typically found them in historical memory or patterns of social organization, such as the shared vestigial *romanitas* of the

¹⁴ Dhondt, *Naissance*, p. 235.

Aquitainians, rather than a sense of tribal fellow-feeling existing in the here and now.¹⁵ Disregard for the ethnic factor was such that Walther Kienast's 1971 study of what he saw as west Frankish *Stämme* was framed in terms of applying an expressly German model to French circumstances and regarded as eccentric for the same reason.¹⁶

More importantly, the increasing concentration of post-war French scholarship on the continuity of Carolingian administrative and justice systems gave rise to the influential *mutation féodale* thesis, according to which abstract principles of law and justice persisted in the Frankish world until the decades around 1000, when an extreme localization of political power effaced the distinction between law and physical force.¹⁷ The transition from unitary empire to patchwork of kingdoms and principalities was in the meantime re-presented against the revised backdrop of a still-robust constitutional framework, an explanatory strategy which evolved in tandem with the *mutationiste* view of the tenth-century principality as 'a transitory form between the collapse of the Carolingian empire and the feudal crisis of the year 1000'.¹⁸ The clearest attempt to systematize this theory was set out in a series of influential articles by K.F. Werner in the late 1970s.¹⁹ Werner's core claim was that the physical shape of tenth-century polities reflected ninth-century *regna*, meaning not 'kingdoms' but the 'realms' into which Carolingian administration divided the Frankish world. Arguing that royal governance was devolved amongst these units, he maintained that Carolingian rule had

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- 15 M. Rouche, 'Peut-on parler d'un ethnogénèse des Aquitains?', in H. Wolfram and W. Pohl (eds), *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern* (Vienna, 1990), pp. 45-52; C. Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Être auvergnat dans l'Aquitaine carolingienne ... L'identité auvergnate durant le haut Moyen Âge (VIII^e-XI^e siècle)', in M. Banniard (ed.), *Langages et peuples d'Europe. Cristallisation des identités romanes et germaniques (VII^e-XI^e siècle)* (Toulouse, 2002), pp. 157-77.
- 16 W. Kienast, *Der Herzogstitel in Frankreich und Deutschland (9. bis 12. Jahrhundert)* (Munich, 1968); for its reception see F.-L. Ganshof, 'À propos de ducs et de duchés', *Journal des Savants* (1972), pp. 13-24.
- 17 See esp. G. Duby, *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953); J.-P. Poly and E. Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation 900-1200*, trans. C. Higgitt (New York, 1991). In anglophone writing see also T.N. Bisson, 'The "Feudal Revolution"', *Past and Present* 142 (1994), pp. 6-42 and the responses, all under the same title, by D. Barthélemy, *Past and Present* 152 (1996), pp. 196-205; S.D. White, *Past and Present* 152 (1996), pp. 205-23; T. Reuter, *Past and Present* 155 (1997), pp. 177-95; C. Wickham, *Past and Present* 155 (1997), pp. 196-208, and Bisson himself: T.N. Bisson, 'Reply: The "Feudal Revolution"', *Past and Present* 155 (1997), pp. 208-225.
- 18 Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal Transformation*, p. 238.
- 19 K.F. Werner, 'Les duchés nationaux d'Allemagne au IX^e et au X^e siècle', in *Les Principautés au moyen âge. Actes du congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public, Bordeaux, 1973*. (Bordeaux, 1979), pp. 29-46; *idem*, 'Missus – Marchio – Comes. Entre l'administration centrale et l'administration locale de l'Empire carolingien', in W. Paravicini and K.F. Werner (eds), *Histoire comparée de l'administration (IV^e-XVIII^e siècles)* (Munich, 1980), pp. 191-239; *idem*, 'La genèse des duchés en France et Allemagne', *Nascità dell'Europa ed Europa carolingia: un'equazione da verificare*, *Settimane di Studio* 27 (1981), pp. 175-207. All three are reprinted with original page numbers in K.F. Werner, *Vom Frankenreich zur Entfaltung Deutschlands und Frankreichs. Ursprünge – Strukturen – Beziehungen. Ausgewählte Beiträge* (Sigmaringen, 1984).

a deeper transformative effect on its subject regions than earlier studies had allowed. Magnates themselves were the products of this system: *duces*, according to Werner, were descendants of men who had been appointed to positions of regional authority by Carolingian kings.²⁰

Thus regarded, the disappearance of the Carolingian monopoly of kingship was not so much a cataclysm as a natural process of evolution within an unexpectedly stable Carolingian infrastructure.²¹ Thus for Olivier Guillot, Richard the Justiciar's role in the chaotic civil wars of the early 890s represents 'the *systematic* action of the prince aiming to subordinate the major cities of his *regnum*': the nature and indeed the physical bounds of Richard's ambition can be taken for granted, because they were moulded and contained by the very forms of governance he sought to overthrow.²² Princely power itself has been consequently conceptualized in terms of the exercise of juridical authority, made manifest in the holding of courts, minting of coins, legal authority over the fisc, etc..²³ Royalty kept its place at the centre of the system by formally delegating these rights to ambitious magnates, who thereby acquired a legally circumscribed 'viceregal' position within the existing system. This can have the side-effect of making the undeniable diminution of royal power in the 890s look like intentional royal policy.

One weakness of this determinist narrative is its inability to deal with hard cases where the principality fails to correspond to any pre-existing *regnum* – it will be argued in chapter 3 that Richard's Burgundy is such a case. Another, however, is its failure to provide an account of motivation on the part of individual actors: it neither posits an affective loyalty towards existing forms nor otherwise explains how institutional arrangements defined the limits of aristocratic ambition. A possible response is therefore to reject the determinist attachment to *regnum* limits and structures entirely and argue that the principalities were, in Jean Dunbabin's phrase, the 'brilliant improvisations' of the men who created them.²⁴ This is helpful, but does little to explain why political power was reconfigured at a regional level rather than collapsing directly into atomized localism. It also entails regarding magnates' lust for power as self-

20 Werner, 'Les duchés', pp. 35-9.

21 For example O. Guillot, 'Formes, fondements et limites de l'organisation politique en France au X^e siècle', in *Il secolo di ferro: mito e realtà del secolo X*, *Settimane di Studio* 38 (1997), pp. 57-124; J.-P. Brunterc'h, 'Naissance et affirmation des principautés au temps du roi Eudes: l'exemple de l'Aquitaine', in O. Guillot and R. Favreau (eds), *Pays de Loire et Aquitaine de Robert le Fort aux premiers capétiens* (Poitiers, 1997), pp. 69-116; Zimmermann, 'West Francia'.

22 Guillot, 'Formes', p. 77. My emphasis.

23 A good example is Zimmermann, 'West Francia', pp. 432-4.

24 J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843-1180* (2nd ed., Oxford, 2000), p. 92.

explanatory and independent of broader social forces.

Another weakness of the Wernerian institutionalist model is that it too relies on an unchanged basic presumption that Carolingian-era aristocrats were violent, self-centred, and intrinsically hostile to central authority. Its argument is simply that in the 890s the institutional structure was solid enough to keep these forces in check, thus playing down their disruptive effect to fit in with the mutationists' relocation of the real crisis point to the end of the tenth century. It is therefore vulnerable to those critiques of *mutationisme* which challenge its starting presumptions by emphasizing the interaction of Carolingian justice and law with other forms of social discourse²⁵. It is also undermined by recent reappraisals of Carolingian social and political structures which question the belief in an inevitable centrifugal flow of power from royal centre to aristocratic periphery, as will be discussed below.

Duchy formation and ethnic identity: the view from east Francia

The orthodox narrative of the German tenth century remains one of collapse and renewal in which gentile identity is the driving force of political change. The introduction to a recent textbook on the Ottonian empire explains that the east Frankish coup against Charles the Fat in 887 reflects a tendency towards 'separatism' and 'presupposes a consciousness of common belonging and a willingness to work together within the configuration of the east Frankish kingdom'.²⁶ In the early 900s, Louis the Child's regency was supported by the leading aristocratic clans 'of the east Frankish *Stämme*', whilst the choice of Conrad I a decade later reflected demonstrated that 'the *Stämme* of the Saxons, eastern Franks, Bavarians and Alemanni, or better, their leading classes, had developed a consciousness of common belonging over and above gentile (i.e. *Stamm*-based) identity.'²⁷

Gerd Althoff's above account thus locates the origins of one of the most obvious characteristics of the Ottonian period, namely a kingship which surmounted regionally

25 S.D. White, 'Tenth-century courts at Mâcon and the perils of structuralist history: re-reading Burgundian judicial institutions' in W.C. Brown and P. Górecki (eds), *Conflict in Medieval Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 37-68; M. Costambeys, 'Disputes and courts in Lombard and Carolingian central Italy', *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), pp. 265-89; M. Innes 'Practices of property in the Carolingian empire', in J.R. Davis and M. McCormick (eds), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 247-66.

26 G. Althoff, *Die Ottonen. Königsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart, 2000), p. 14.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

constituted dukedoms in Francia, Saxony, Bavaria, Alemannia and Lotharingia, in a pre-existing division of the east Frankish realms into distinct and politically significant tribal identities. Althoff nonetheless expounds a more modern understanding of such identities than that found in older expositions of the same viewpoint. The tribal groups, far from being untarnished migration-era peoples, are ‘casualties of the Frankish drive for conquest’²⁸ whose members were heavily Frankicized both in terms of elite social integration (intermarriage) and incorporation into Frankish structures of control (counties, bishoprics). This made them to a large extent the products of Frankish governance and thereby takes account of Werner’s ideas about the deep penetration of Frankish administrative structure as well as following the general trend of scholarship on the workings of Carolingian government.

However, whereas Werner assesses ethnicity as chiefly just a consequential output of political change, Althoff’s approach preserves a traditional emphasis on its importance as an essential motivating force.²⁹ More than a habitual conservatism, one sees here the influence of the ‘ethnogenesis’ theories emanating from scholarship of Late Antiquity – these have endeavoured sensibly to reclassify ethnicity from an objective empirical category to a socially constructed phenomenon, while continuing to insist on its fundamental social importance in the Late Antique and early medieval periods.³⁰ A revamped concept of flexible and contingent ethnicity thus slots neatly together with an institutionally focused account by allowing the Carolingian empire to function as the crucible in which old identities were transformed and new ones created.

This is unsatisfactory for two reasons. One is the problem of evidence. Whilst the twin status of ethnicity as mutable construct and motivational force is not logically contradictory, the evidence base for early tenth-century Europe makes it virtually impossible to demonstrate that ethnicity ‘mattered’ in the relevant sense of making things happen. The most consistent attempt to apply ethnogenesis models to this period,

28 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

29 Werner, ‘La genèse’, p. 206, summarizes his view: ‘Si nous combattons la notions des “Stämme”, ce n’est donc pas parce que nous serions assez insensés de vouloir nier le facteur ethnique. Nous refusons seulement ... que ces populations elles-mêmes auraient créé les nouveaux pouvoirs et les nouvelles institutions. Ceux-ci et celles-ci sont au contraire sortis partout d’une administration carolingienne soucieuse d’encadrer les populations diverses de l’Empire...’. Some historians have accepted Werner’s model for some regions and rejected it for others, e.g. ‘Franconia and Lotharingia were former royal provinces, whose political organization stemmed from the Carolingians; Suabia, Bavaria and Saxony were ethnically defined regions.’ (E. Müller-Mertens, ‘The Ottonians as kings and emperors’, *NCMH III*, pp. 233-266, at pp. 237-8.)

30 A useful summary is P.J. Geary, ‘Ethnicity as a Situational Construct in the Early Middle Ages’, *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113 (1983), pp. 15-26. Also W. Pohl, ‘Aux origines d’une Europe ethnique. Transformations d’identités entre Antiquité et Moyen Âge’, *Annales HSS* 60 (2005), pp. 183-208.

Matthias Becher's 1996 study of Saxony, concludes that the identity of the Saxon *gens* fused so thoroughly with Frankish structures of rule in the ninth century that Saxon-ness had no political content at all in the immediate post-888 world.³¹ The Saxons' coalescence as a politically relevant group was, per Becher, a by-product of the reign of the first Saxon king, Henry I, and, especially, the reign of his son Otto I from the late 930s onwards. This study will argue at various points that historical memories of 'dukes' and 'duchies' in evidence from the mid-to-late tenth century do not accurately reflect early tenth-century circumstances, and chapter 5 will argue that a recent attempt to prove the existence of an Alemannian identity *qua* driving force of change does not succeed.

The second problem with the 'ethnic' narrative is that, like its west Frankish institutional counterpart, it is committed to a centrifugal view of Carolingian political power according to which Frankish governance was undermined by the desire of regional actors to cast off the burden of imperial rule, only with the tribal/regnal group rather than the aristocrats *per se* as the locus of self-interest. As a result, events of the post-888 period are still very often understood in terms of a gentile push for autonomy, and the actions of individual aristocrats seen through a gentile prism as 'attempts to create a duchy', much as Guillot read the actions of Richard the Justiciar as systematic attempts to seize an apparently well-defined Burgundian *regnum*. The underlying presumption of the power of regional ethnic identity to shape individuals' political ambitions is susceptible to criticism in hard cases where the facts fail to conform. In fact, most of the tribal duchies now appear to be hard cases. The existence of a *ducatus* in Saxony prior to the Ottonians' attainment of the east Frankish kingship has now been outed as the product of transformative remembrance in later Ottonian sources, whilst the supposed quasi-regal status of the Bavarian *Stammeshertzege* Liutpold and Arnulf has been called into question, at least up until the late 920s.³² Part of the business of chapters 5 to 7 will be to make a similar case for Alemannia.

The power of the collapse-and-renewal template, however, seems to override criticism of individual cases. As Althoff puts it, even if the modern observer cannot

31 M. Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des sächsischen Herzogtums im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Husum, 1996).

32 R. Deutinger, "'Königswahl" und Herzogserhebung Arnulfs von Bayern. Das Zeugnis der älteren Salzburger Annalen zum Jahr 920', *DA* 58 (2000), pp. 17-68, esp. pp. 55-7; *ibid.*, *Königsherrschaft im ostfränkischen Reich. Eine pragmatische Verfassungsgeschichte der späten Karolingerzeit* (Ostfildern, 2006), pp. 198-200; S. Airlie, 'The Nearly Men: Boso of Vienne and Arnulf of Bavaria', in A. Duggan (ed.), *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 25-41.

easily ascertain what tenth-century aristocrats understood ducal rule to be, ‘it is not to be doubted ... that this status of duke was a greatly desired position amongst the individual *Stämme*’.³³ As with west Francia, however, criticism of the determinist aspects of this theory essentially falls back on conceiving magnate activities in terms of a spontaneous will to power, without adequately explaining their motivation or the basis of their social position.³⁴

The social centrality of kingship

Odo of Cluny’s *Vita* of Gerald of Aurillac insists on Gerald’s friendship with William the Pious of Aquitaine, but approves of the saint’s reluctance to swear fidelity to William rather than the king.³⁵ The *Vita*, a view from the late 930s, provides a fitting reminder that the rise of the regional magnates coexisted with an enduring allegiance to the principle of royal rule. Local communities did not automatically coalesce around the figure of the duke – they retained a sense that kings, not magnates, were the proper objects of loyalty.

In recent years advances in our understanding of the Carolingian era have gone hand in hand with an increased appreciation of the extent to which political power is embedded in structures of governance which were not just instruments of rule but essential constitutive elements of aristocratic social identity.³⁶ The nature and function of royalty has undergone a substantial reassessment. Royal grants of rights and fiscal property, once seen as the capitulation of feckless rulers in the face of aristocratic greed, are now increasingly understood as evidence for strategic alliance-building which enhanced rather than diminished the status of the donor. Vague concepts of ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ rule have been largely overhauled by ideas of consensus-building and the

33 Althoff, *Ottonen*, p. 26.

34 H.-W. Goetz, ‘*Dux*’ und ‘*Ducatus*’. *Begriffs- und verfassungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des sogenannten „jüngeren“ Stammesherzogtums an der Wende vom neunten zum zehnten Jahrhundert* (Bochum, 1977); *idem*, ‘Typus einer Adels Herrschaft im späteren 9. Jahrhundert: Der Linzgaugraf Udalrich’, *St. Galler Kultur und Geschichte* 11 (1981), pp. 1-43.

35 Odo of Cluny, ‘*Vita sancti Geraldi Auriliacensis comitis*’, *PL* vol. 133, cols. 639-708, at bk. I, ch. 32, cols. 660-1.

36 R. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VII^e-X^e siècle). Essai d’anthropologie sociale* (Paris, 1995); B.H. Rosenwein, ‘The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888-924)’, *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 247-89; M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000); S. Airlie, ‘The Aristocracy in Service of the State in the Carolingian Period’, in S. Airlie, W. Pohl, H. Reimitz (eds), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna, 2006), pp. 39-58; MacLean, *Kingship*; *idem*, ‘“After his death a great tribulation came to Italy...”: Dynastic politics and aristocratic factions after the death of Louis II, c.870-c.890’, *Millennium: Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.* 4 (2007), pp. 239-60. The list is not exhaustive.

construction of complex networks of support as the building blocks of successful rule³⁷ This has led to a fundamental reappraisal of traditionally ‘weak’ kings, not least Charles the Fat whom Simon MacLean has demonstrated to have been a much more resourceful and well-regarded figure than previously thought.³⁸ Where older scholarship saw the Carolingians in terms of a long story of decline, recent scholarship notes their success in maintaining their place at the centre of the political system; the Carolingian dynasty insinuated itself into pre-existing social relationships so that the centrality of the royal family became threaded into the fabric of local society.³⁹ Royal participation in assemblies and the royal confirmation of appointments to countships, bishoprics and abbeys consequently cemented the position not just of royalty but of Carolingian royalty at the top of the social hierarchy. Palaces and royal churches functioned as symbolic reminders of royal legitimacy even in the absence of the kings themselves.⁴⁰ The pan-Carolingian alliance against Boso of Vienne is a sign that the Carolingians themselves implicitly understood the importance of maintaining their unchallenged supremacy in the natural order of things.⁴¹

The message here is that Carolingian royal leadership was deeply embedded in the fabric of life. In such an environment, the prestige afforded by the much-coveted *Königsnähe* was also an end in itself, over and above the more easily definable prizes of land, offices and control over the business of politics. It follows that narratives of political transition after 888 cannot function if their essential structure attributes to the aristocracy a deep-seated impulse to seek independence from royal power. The very fact that men such as Richard and Burchard invoked memories of royal rule as support in documents that underlined their own status indicates the futility of such approaches. This is not to say that there was no crisis in 887-8 – contemporaries certainly perceived

37 See previous note. On ideas of consensus also S. Patzold, ‘Konsens und Konkurrenz. Überlegungen zu einer aktuellen Forschungskonzept der Mediävistik’, *FMSI* 41 (2007), pp. 75-103; R. Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft im ostfränkischen Reich. Eine pragmatische Verfassungsgeschichte der späten Karolingerzeit* (Ostfildern, 2006).

38 MacLean, *Kingship*, passim.

39 S. Airlie, ‘*Semper fideles?* Loyauté envers les carolingiens comme constituant de l’identité aristocratique’, in R. Le Jan (ed.), *La royauté et les élites dans l’Europe carolingienne (du début du IX^e siècle aux environs de 920)* (Lille, 1998), pp. 129-43; Innes, *State and Society*, esp. pp. 188-222; *idem*, ‘People, places and power in Carolingian society’, in M. de Jong, F. Theuws, C. van Rijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 397-437.

40 S. Airlie, ‘Palace of Memory: the Carolingian Court as Political Centre’, in S. Rees Jones, R. Marks, A.J. Minnis (eds), *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 1-20; cf. J.L. Nelson, ‘Aachen as a place of power’, in M. de Jong, F. Theuws, C. van Rijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 217-37.

41 S. MacLean, ‘The Carolingian Response to the Revolt of Boso, 879-887’, *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001), pp. 21-48.

it as such and the turbulence of the subsequent decade is proof enough.⁴² But Charles the Fat's deposition was a crisis at the top level originating in the specific political problems of the moment. Not the least of these was Charles's failure to produce a legitimate male heir. Despite over half a century of infighting between Charlemagne's descendants, Carolingian dynastic rule had remained the *sine qua non* of Frankish politics for over a century. The sudden absence of a legitimate and capable Carolingian ruler meant that the mystique of royalty was suddenly up for grabs, and in this window of opportunity several new dynasties set themselves up as kings. As importantly, the collapse of the Carolingian monopoly meant that alternative legitimizing arguments for kingship could now be raised, such as ecclesiastical sanction of the coronation ritual and above all military leadership.⁴³ The dynastic principle had not been abandoned – it was invoked when Charles the Simple hit puberty five years later – but it had ceased to be the ace of trumps.⁴⁴

Changes in the discourse of kingship may have ushered in a new conception of it, as Régine Le Jan has suggested, as an institution for the common good.⁴⁵ Broadening the range of arguments that could be used to justify a claim to the throne also meant that the top prize in the political game was potentially open to all comers, undermining the automatic centrality of an incumbent king and creating an environment in which kings themselves could now worry about the rightness of their own kingship.⁴⁶ The same set of circumstances promoted the autonomy of non-royal actors in general. Men who had previously occupied positions of regional power under the kings now saw that they could compensate for a lack of *Königsnähe* by recreating a system of patronage at a

42 S. Airlie, 'Les élites en 888 et après, ou comment pense-t-on la crise carolingienne?', in F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan (eds), *Les élites au haut moyen âge: Crises et renouvellements* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 425-37.

43 R. Le Jan, 'Le royaume franc vers 900: un pouvoir en mutation?', in P. Bauduin (ed.), *Les fondations scandinaves en Occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie* (Caen, 2005), pp. 83-95; Airlie, 'Les élites'; M. Sot, 'Hérédité royale et pouvoir sacré avant 987', *Annales ESC* 43 (1988), pp. 705-33; *idem*, 'Les élévations royales de 888 à 987 dans l'historiographie du X^e siècle', in D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard (eds), *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil. Royaume capétien et Lotharingie* (Paris, 1990), pp. 145-50. Also S. Bobrycki, 'The royal consecration *ordines* of the Pontifical of Sens from a new perspective', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 13 (2009), for a possible example from the late 880s.

44 See also Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum Libri Tres*, ed. P. Hirsch, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1935), II.1, where royal descent appears as one of a multiplicity of arguments justifying Otto I's accession to the east Frankish throne, none of which takes precedence over the others. S. Patzold, 'Königserhebungen zwischen Erbrecht und Wahlrecht? Thronfolge um das Jahr 1000', *DA* 58 (2002), pp. 467-508, discusses a similar case of cumulative arguments on the basis of the *Vita* of Henry II.

45 Le Jan, 'Le royaume franc', p. 96; Patzold, 'Konsens', traces a gradual shift from a personalized to an abstract conception of the kingship as the focus of politics from the ninth to the twelfth century.

46 G. Koziol, 'Is Robert I in hell? The diploma for Saint-Denis and the mind of a rebel king (Jan 25, 923)', *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006), pp. 233-67.

local level under their own leadership. It is crucial, however, that this is not understood as unleashing an ever-present rapacity amongst the aristocracy: magnates such as Richard and Burchard did not strive to throw off the royal yoke as such, but rose to a position of autonomous power at specific moments when royal authority was contested. Their subsequent behaviour, and that of their followers, does not suggest hostility to the fundamental principle of royal rule.

Objectives and approach

The first *duces* of Burgundy and Alemannia were opportunists, not the products or representatives of long-standing trends towards regional autonomy. This study will argue that although communities may have existed within regions, their members did not define themselves in terms of regional social togetherness. Adhesion to an *ethnos* consequently had minimal effect on political behaviour. Likewise the influence of regnal divisions within the Carolingian empire was not ideological: people who assembled and associated within a particular region were not conditioned by habit to oppose the redrawing of regional boundaries or to reject social relationships that transcended them. By contrast, churches and the royal courts remained the focal points of social identity, and belief in and adherence to royal authority in particular was a mainstay of politics throughout the early tenth century. Even as the nature of royal authority was undergoing transformation, the magnates of the Frankish realms continued for several decades to jockey for land, influence and social prestige within a system where kingship and access to it remained fundamental to their self-identification and their picture of the world.

One thing that will not be explored at length is the evolution of the terms *dux* or *ducatus*. Goetz demonstrated in the 1970s that these words were fluid in meaning in the ninth and early tenth centuries, and the increasing adoption of *dux* in charters issued by magnates in the post-888 period tells us little about contemporary conceptions of political order.⁴⁷ Whilst it is evident that the concept of the *dux* hardened over the tenth century to become primarily an exclusive term for the leading magnate in a given region, this is surely the result of habituation, as the novel habits of one generation became the standard practices of the next. The word did not express a defined category in a pre-existing hierarchy of constitutional positions, but evolved in meaning alongside

⁴⁷ Goetz, 'Dux' und 'Ducatus', *passim*.

a changing political situation.

The approach that will be taken instead requires close scrutiny of evidence for the construction of political relationships through social interaction. Of course, it has long been recognized that social connections were not merely expressed but reinforced through institutions such as assemblies, synods and the royal court. Althoff's work on ritual interaction is of particular importance in this respect. Althoff, however, has tended to posit 'ritual' as a distinct category of performance and has seen it as essentially a tenth-century phenomenon contrasting with a Carolingian period in which social relations were dominated by adherence to abstract norms of legal behaviour.⁴⁸ By contrast, this study follows the approach of many of the authors cited above in seeing it as a pervasive aspect of all forms of organized social contact. As will become clear at various points, this approach relies heavily on the reading of charters as embedded in social context and reflective of actual political gatherings. Charters are not only essential for deducing patterns of landholding and patronage, but also for pinpointing the date and location of assemblies as well as the identity of those present. They can also be vital indicators of changes in the political mood, and it will be argued at various points that a charter is not only a record of a transaction but also of a public display. Indeed the transactions themselves – the transfer of a single *mansus* or the alienation of property already lost to the donor – are often insignificant, and can only be understood as relics of the symbolic enactment of wider political agreements.

Another important aspect of this study will be an emphasis on the control over ecclesiastical resources as fundamental to the acquisition of territorial dominance. Several recent studies have emphasized the importance of abbeys as social centres and nexuses of communal relationships, as well as indicating the extent to which the prestige, fortunes, prosperity and self-understanding of aristocrats was often bound with their patronage of important ecclesiastical foundations.⁴⁹ Jean-Pierre Brunterc'h has also commented on the symbolic significance of the abbey of St-Brioude to the establishment of the dukedom of William the Pious of Aquitaine, although to my mind his representation of King Odo's perceived concession of the abbacy as a quasi-legal conveyance of a basket of prerogatives disguises the extent to which control over an

48 G. Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997); *idem*, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003); comments on Carolingian period in *idem*, *Ottonen*, pp. 230-3.

49 Innes, *State*; H. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm c.600-1000* (Cambridge, 2006); J. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c.850-1000* (Oxford, 2001).

abbey or episcopal church was a substantial prize in its own right.⁵⁰ The acquisition of an important lay abbacy, even for a regional outsider, could be a ticket to the territorial domination of a wider area: a shining example is St-Maurice d'Agaune, which became the centre of a substantial informal province in the mid-ninth century and whose lay abbot Rudolf had himself crowned king there in the weeks after Charles's deposition.⁵¹ The stereotypical early duke, however, is a great man leading a cohort of armed troops, and arguments about tenth-century politics can overlook the extent to which these territorial régimes relied on the control over ecclesiastical resources. It will be argued here that the power of Richard the Justiciar was closely linked to his dominant relationship with wealthy and powerful episcopal churches, whilst Burchard of Alemannia's status depended heavily on wresting, to the monks' dismay, physical control of the abbeys of St Gallen and Reichenau from the east Frankish royal court.

The following chapters are arranged in two parallel sections, on Burgundy and Alemannia respectively. Differences in the timescale and specific circumstances of their political development would make it unprofitable, not to say misleading, to discuss the two case studies under common headings, notwithstanding the existence of common themes. Indeed one purpose of the study as a whole is to show that common themes emerge from the consideration of disparate evidence, rather than adopt a structure which presupposes this.

Burgundy is covered in chapters 2 to 4. Chapter 2 discusses later historical memories of Richard the Justiciar and considers the relationship between the post-Carolingian duchy and previous incarnations of Burgundy and the Burgundians, in order to demonstrate that the former owed little to the latter beyond its name. Chapter 3 considers the formation of a western Burgundian polity under Richard's control, arguing that Richard's actions and motives were shaped within the broader context of Carolingian high politics as a whole, before, during and after the establishment of 'ducal' power in the 890s. Chapter 4 examines the careers of Richard's sons and the successors of other former members of his clientèle in the two decades after his death, demonstrating that the traditional objectives of land, family prestige and kingship continued to shape political activity in the region into the 930s, whereas the importance of the ducal polity *per se* remained minimal.

Chapters 5 to 7 discuss Alemannia. Chapter 5 mirrors chapter 2 and deals with

50 Brunterc'h, 'Naissance', p. 81.

51 G. Sergi, 'Genesi di un regno effemero: la Borgogna di Rodolfo I', *Bolletino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 87 (1989), pp. 5-44.

the relationship between early tenth-century Alemannia, the ninth-century Carolingian *Teilreich* and the pre-Carolingian ‘tribe’ of the Alamanni, in order to suggest that there is no compelling evidence that either of the latter factors had a formative effect on the new duchy. Chapter 6 discusses Alemannia from the fall of Charles the Fat to c. 920. It argues that the dominant feature of Alemannian politics was not the ‘struggle to create an Alemannian dukedom’ but a bitter contest for *Königsnähe* acted out on a stage formed by the court, the palace of Bodman and the key royal monasteries of St Gallen and Reichenau. Victory was handed to Burchard II by a combination of chance and military success, but only after a very large faction of the secular aristocracy had been definitively alienated from the royal court. Chapter 7 considers Alemannia under the dukedom of Burchard II and the next *dux Alamannorum*, Hermann. It questions the standard presumption of communal and institutional continuity between the former and the latter, arguing that after Burchard’s death in 926 direct links were reforged between the local clergy and the royal court with the result that the dukedom ceased to exist as a unit of government. The widespread belief that Hermann acquired absolute control over Alemannia by dint of being appointed Burchard’s successor is highly problematic; it is argued that his later position of strength in the region is attributable instead to the conscious reconfiguration of the centre-periphery relationship under Otto I.

Chapter 2

Remembering the first duke of Burgundy

Some years after Richard the Justiciar died in 921, an anonymous poet at the abbey of Ste-Colombe in Sens composed the following poem in his honour:

*Ecclesiae clyppeus patrie defensio nostrae
Magnus Richardus hoc iacet in tumulo
Belli potens ductor clarus virtute fideque
Iustitia atque armis publica iura regens
Mille animam voluit per vulnera dedere morti
Quo possent populi perpet(u)e pace frui
Orbita septembrem produxerat annua mensem
Multorum lacrimis carne solutus obiit
Presulis ergo Lupi meritis sancteque Columbe
Semper propitium possit habere Deum
[Possit habere Deum]¹*

The poem was written onto a blank page in a manuscript of Visigothic laws and published when the manuscript was edited in the nineteenth century, where it lay unnoticed until Karl Ferdinand Werner rediscovered it in the 1980s. The poet's praise, portraying Richard as a shield of the church, is expressed in conventional language, but also points specifically to Richard's reputation for justice and therefore suggests that the byname 'Justiciar', which first surfaces in the twelfth-century Chronicle of Bèze, had contemporary roots.² The reference to his prowess in war may also have a specific origin in the defence of the church against the Northmen, for which Richard is renowned in other sources, and the poem refers obliquely to the precise date of his death: the Bishop Lupus invoked in the penultimate line was identified by Werner as a

1 'Shield of the church, defence of our homeland // The great Richard lies in this tomb // A mighty leader, shining in virtue and faith // Ruling the public courts with justice and arms // By a thousand wounds he wished his soul to yield to death // That the people might enjoy perpetual peace // The year's cycle had brought forth the month of September // When to the tears of many, released from this earthly flesh, he passed on // By the merits of Bishop Lupus and St Columba // May he always have God's favour.' K.F. Werner, 'Un poème contemporain consacré à la mémoire de Richard le Justicier', *Annales de Bourgogne* 58 (1986), pp. 75-77. Werner places the final line in brackets on the grounds that the repetition may be a scribal error.

2 *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne, suivie de la chronique de Saint-Pierre de Bèze*, ed. E. Bougaud and J. Garnier (Dijon, 1875), p. 280 (St-Pierre de Bèze): 'Verumtamen cum nemo repertus sit, qui eis [Normannis] posset vel auderet resistere, fuit isdem temporibus quidam Dux nostrarum partium, Richardus nomine, qui a iusticiae studio dictus est, et ipse *justificator*. Hic pro libertate patriae partim zelo succensus, plurimum vero pro Ecclesiis Dei defendendis, Deum habens adiutorem, expugnare illos aggressus est.' Cf. also p. 123 (St-Bénigne): 'Et hoc post mortem Richardi Ducis, qui ab executione iustitiae cognomen accepit'.

seventh-century bishop of Sens who, like Richard, died on the first of September.³

Richard's memory was certainly well preserved in the regions that he had controlled. In 936, his son Hugh the Black underlined a claim to authority in Autun by granting a charter on the anniversary of his father's death, and the author(s) of entries to the *Gesta Pontificum* of Auxerre lauded Richard as *magnus et florentissimus princeps*, *cluentissimus dux*, and *precellentissimus dominus Richardus princeps* in the lives of Bishops Gerannus, Betto, and Waldric respectively.⁴ The date of his death found notice in the necrology at Auxerre as well as in eleventh-century narrative sources at both Sens and Dijon, and the fact that two eleventh-century authors both make specific mention of the date may indicate that the anniversary was still commemorated in those places.⁵

In the brief notice which accompanied its republication, Werner equated the poet's *patria* with Burgundy, not Sens, and commented that the poem as a whole could be seen as 'one of the first documents to express the love and pride of the "Burgundians"'; it therefore allowed us 'to understand better the sentiments in Burgundy at the moment of its political birth'.⁶ He added that by describing Richard as 'shield of the church', the poet was also addressing a wider context than his immediate local environment: it reflected 'not only the gifts he made to the abbeys of which he was lay abbot, but also ... the relations with his country's bishops'. Here, however, Werner's reading of the source conflates the intentions of its author with the modern historian's view of the context: there is no reference in the poem to Burgundy, and the invocation of Bishop Lupus and the abbey's patron saint situates the hero in the abbey's own local tradition of remembrance.

This is not to say that Burgundians could not be understood as a group. When, in the 890s, the Frankish monk Abbo looked back on the Northmen's assault on Paris in 886, he derided the *Burgundiones* for their cowardice.⁷ The tenth-century author of the

3 Werner, 'Un poème'.

4 *Recueil des actes du prieuré de Saint-Symphorien d'Autun de 896 à 1100*, ed. A. Deléage (Autun, 1936), no. 7; *GPA*, pp. 201, 205 (where Richard is additionally called *magnus princeps*) and 209. For dating see *GPA*, Introduction pp. VIII-X; XXIV-XXV. The editors cast doubt on P. Janin's theory that these entries were composed by a single author, and suggest that the entire text was revised in the eleventh century, but leave open the question of the underlying original composition(s). In this regard, attention should be drawn to the final sentence of Waldric's entry, which begins '*A beato Palladio usque ad XII annum et II menses episcopatus domni Widonis*'. Inserted prior to Wido's own entry, this passage hints at composition twelve years into Wido's episcopate, i.e. in 945 or 946 (*ibid.* p. 221).

5 *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, vol. 3, ed. A. Vidier, L. Mirot (Paris, 1909), p. 240; 'Historia Francorum Senonensis', ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 9 (Hanover, 1861), pp. 364-9, at p. 366; 'Annales Sancti Benigni Divionensis', ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 5 (Hanover, 1844), pp. 37-50, s.a. 921. The latter dates his death to 31 August.

6 Werner, 'Un poème', pp. 76, 77.

7 Abbo of St-Germain, 'Bella Parisaciae Urbis', ed. P. von Winterfeld, *MGH Poetae* 4.1 (Hanover,

Auxerre *Gesta*, for his part, exhibits what looks like a flash of regional pride when he celebrates Bishop Betto of Auxerre as *natione huius nostre Burgundia, Senonice urbis indigena, patre Alberico eque Burgundione editus*.⁸ This is a one-off instance, however, and by noting his subject's origins, the author was merely following a convention established by his ninth-century predecessors. Moreover, he did not use the same formula for Betto's successor, Waldric, who, although a native of the *pagus* of Auxerre itself, was celebrated for his good breeding rather than his ethnic belonging.⁹ Perhaps there is a glimpse here all the same that to some individuals, 'Burgundy' or 'Burgundian' occasionally meant more than a mere geographical label. But if so, it falls some way short of proving the existence of an imagined community of Burgundian nationals; more importantly for our purposes, there is nothing in it to suggest that such communal sentiments had any influence on the course of political events in the early tenth century. Sens, whose archbishop had crowned the Neustrian magnate Odo king at Compiègne in 888, fell back under the control of Odo's equally Neustrian nephew Hugh the Great in the mid-930s; we do not know whether the anonymous poet wrote before or after this development.

The divisions of Carolingian Burgundy

Whatever 'Burgundy' meant to people in the ninth and tenth centuries had only a tenuous connection to the migration-era Burgundians from whom the name derived. A Burgundian origin legend survived in Carolingian-era writing, but the authors were often Frankish, and one, the hagiographer of Faro/Burgundofaro, was moved to recite it simply because of his subject's name.¹⁰ Ninth-century writers in Burgundy itself operated within a frame of reference that was essentially Frankish, rather than Burgundian. Writing in the 870s, Heiric of Auxerre dedicated his *Miracula Sancti*

1899), pp. 72-122, here bk. I, ll. 470-2: 'Francigeni appropereant alta cum fronte superbi // Calliditate venis acieque, Aquitania, linguae // Consilioque fuge Burgun – adiere – diones' (The haughty Franks, their heads held high, ride up in haste // You, Aquitaine, come too, with sharp and cunning tongue // And those of Burgundy came there (and counselled flight!)). Translation: A. Adams and A.G. Rigg, 'A verse translation of Abbo of St-Germain's *Bella Parisaciae Urbis*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 14 (2004), pp. 1-68, at p. 59.

8 *GPA*, p. 201: His father's ethnic status may have mattered in determining his own: of two ostensibly Bavarian bishops in the previous century, at least one, Heribald, had a local mother and was probably locally born. (*GPA*, p. 148; cf. Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal Transformation*, p. 219).

9 *GPA*, p. 209: 'Gualdricus episcopus, Autissiodorensis pagi indigena, alta prosapie ortum stirpe trahens...' Further uncertainty arises when one considers that the entire text may have been reworked by its eleventh-century copyist: *GPA*, Introduction, p. XXIV.

10 I. Wood, 'Misremembering the Burgundians', in W. Pohl (ed.), *Die Suche nach den Ursprungen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters* (Vienna, 2004), pp. 139-48, at p. 147.

Germani to Charles the Bald and used his text to promote St Germanus as a principal saint of the empire. The first recension of the Auxerre *Gesta Pontificum*, written at approximately the same time, was comparatively lukewarm about the Carolingians, preferring to dwell on the patronage of their Merovingian predecessors, but it shared with the *Miracula* a preoccupation with the position of Auxerre and its churches within the Frankish kingdoms.¹¹

This is hardly surprising: the Franks had conquered and absorbed the Burgundian kingdom in Merovingian times, and by the ninth century the territorial integrity of the old *Burgundia* had ceased to be of importance. Old Burgundy was split in two by the *Divisio Imperii* of 817 and the division was confirmed by the treaty of Verdun in 843. Although the line of division was never set in stone – the treaty of Meersen in 870 rearranged the borders once again - events after 888 did not effect a reunification of the two sections: the eastern section developed into the kingdom of Burgundy, the western section into the duchy of Burgundy of which Richard the Justiciar became *dux*. Each polity eventually claimed the word Burgundy for itself, but there is not much sign that they shared a sense of communal belonging, or, conversely, coveted one another's territory.

Smaller divisions mattered too: when Count Eccard of Autun died without an heir in 876, Charles the Bald dispersed his bloc of countships between his brother-in-law Boso of Provence (the elder brother of Richard the Justiciar) and Bernard of Gothia.¹² Boso got Autun and Chalon, Bernard got Mâcon, which subsequently remained severed from the rest of Burgundy for some 50 years. The larger point here, however, is that during the ninth-century west Frankish Burgundy was not perceived, and did not function, as a distinct administrative or cultural region. Men like Boso and Bernard were supra-regional magnates whose territorial and political interests were enmeshed with those of the Frankish kingdoms as a whole.¹³ Control of the church was similarly dispersed: ninth-century bishops such as Wala of Auxerre or Isaac of Langres answered directly to the king. Wala was a Frank; the next three bishops in Auxerre

11 The first recension of the *GPA* comprises the lives of bishops up to Christian (d. 872) and was composed in 872-5: *GPA*, pp. 1-156; P. Janin, 'Heiric d'Auxerre et les *Gesta Pontificum Autissiodorensium*', *Francia* 4 (1976), pp. 89-105. On both sources see also C.B. Bouchard, 'Episcopal *Gesta* and the creation of a useful past in ninth-century Auxerre', *Speculum* 84 (2009), pp. 1-35.

12 J.L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (Harlow, 1992), p. 233.

13 S. Airlie, 'The Aristocracy', *NCMH II*, pp. 431-50; *idem*, 'The political behaviour of the secular magnates in Francia, 829-879', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (1985), pp. 195-256.

hailed from Cambrai, Chartres and Soissons respectively.¹⁴ Abbacies, too, were not necessarily held by local men: St-Germain of Auxerre was held in the 870s and 880s by the Neustrian-based Hugh ‘the Abbot’. It follows that although the term *regnum Burgundiae*, as Werner has noted, was occasionally applied to the west Frankish sections of Burgundy, we should be wary of regarding this as proof that the political significance of the term ‘Burgundy’ extended much beyond the purely geographical.¹⁵

Burgundy after 888 – sources and approach

As set out in the introduction, Chapters 3 and 4 trace the development of the duchy of Burgundy in the context of Frankish high politics.

Early tenth-century Burgundy is beset, like much of post-888 Europe, by a dearth of narrative and a sharp reduction in the number of surviving charters. Our major narrative sources, the Annals of St-Vaast and the chronicle of Flodoard of Reims, both originate further west, in Flanders and west Francia respectively; this creates obvious problems of perspective, and reading Flodoard in particular often creates the impression of watching blurred shapes disappear over a distant horizon. Moreover, there is a substantial period (900-919) when there is no significant narrative source at all. This lack is not compensated by local narrative sources, which are largely confined to the *Gesta Pontificum Autissiodorensium*, or by the information available from hagiographical accounts, minor annals and other sources. This is not to say that there are no sources, only that lacunae are large and inevitable. A particular problem is the well-known absence of narrative evidence from Upper Burgundy and the kingdom of Provence, the result of which is that our information is inevitably skewed towards the west Frankish kingdom.

Charter evidence presents some similar problems: the surviving local charters from the period 888-940 are overwhelmed by the royal charters from the three surrounding kingdoms, and even these are not as extensive as one might hope. Charter records maintained by the various west Burgundian churches tend to dry up, more or less, towards the end of the ninth century. An exception here is the remarkable record of land transactions kept by the monks of Cluny, but it should be noted that Cluny, in Mâcon, does not enter the Burgundian sphere of influence until the mid-920s. It is

¹⁴ *GPA* pp. 157, 163, 167, 185.

¹⁵ Werner, ‘La genèse’, pp. 197-8.

particularly difficult as a result to identify the local notables who would have composed the entourage of men such as Richard the Justiciar – most of the 24 subscribers to Bishop Walo’s charter with which we began chapter 1, for example, cannot be identified precisely. We therefore know little about the attitudes and behaviour of local groups amongst whom a strictly local sense of identity, in whatever form, might have taken root.

It is nevertheless clear that the political lives of people in the area that was to form the duchy of Burgundy were interconnected with the surrounding regions in a host of ways. High politics inevitably affects the experiences and attitudes of those further down, through war, attendance at court, or a host of other ways. Those who witnessed Odo’s coronation at Sens, or, as in the case of Heiric’s *Miracula Sancti Germani*, wrote under the patronage of Charles the Bald in the school at Auxerre, involved themselves by doing so in the kingdom’s politics. Landholding, especially clerical landholding, stretched across boundaries: a certain Ebbo granted land in Berry to the church of Autun in 895, whilst landholders in the Autunois included the archiepiscopal church of Lyon and the monastery of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire.¹⁶ Outside Burgundy, such landholdings often ranged much further afield: Prüm, in Lotharingia, for instance, held land in Brittany, the abbey of Lorsch had interests in the Rhaetian Alps.¹⁷ The family interests of minor aristocrats likewise ranged across the borders of what we might regard as regional divisions. There were no significant cultural and linguistic divisions between Burgundy and its neighbours. Inasmuch as the west Burgundian community had a sense of itself as such, therefore, it cannot have been an tremendously insular one.

16 *C. Autun* 1; *D. CIII* 123 (June 885), reconfirmed by *D. Prov.* 29 (892); O. Bruand, ‘Les villa ligériennes de l’Autunois, centres de pouvoir et d’encadrement (VII^e-début du XI^e siècle)’, in D. Barthélemy and O. Bruand (eds), *Les pouvoirs locaux dans la France du centre et de l’ouest (VIII^e-XI^e siècles): Implantation et moyens d’action* (Rennes, 2004), pp. 111-136.

17 S. MacLean, ‘Introduction’ to S. MacLean (ed.), *History and Politics in the Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg*, (Manchester, 2009), p. 35, with refs. Lorsch’s disposal of Riom in Rhaetia is discussed below, pp. 133-4.

Chapter 3

Local power and regnal politics: the dukedom of Richard the Justiciar

Autun, Langres, Dijon, Auxerre, Sens: these were the principal locations where the authority of the *dux* Richard the Justiciar held sway at the time of his death in 921. This large bloc of territory was not a natural geographical unit. The north and northwest merged into Neustria; to the east, the Jura massif separated the new duchy from what was now the Rudolfian kingdom of Upper Burgundy, but Besançon, northwest of the Jura, fell under the control of King Rudolf II, not of Duke Richard. Neither was there an obvious natural boundary between these two territories and Lotharingia further north. Insofar as the terrain was important, the dividing line was the watershed that ran across the middle of Richard's dukedom: Sens, Dijon, Langres, Auxerre and their surrounding territories formed part of the upper reaches the Seine and Marne river system, and had consequently been exposed, like Neustria, to the depredations of the Northmen ensconced at the Seine's mouth. By contrast, Autun, on an upper tributary of the Loire, and Chalon, on the southward-flowing Saône, were mostly spared the ordeal of the Viking raids.

It is to politics, rather than geography, that we should turn for an explanation of the duchy's shape. Lying right in the middle of the Carolingian realms, the western Burgundian lands had an abundance of neighbours, all of whom Richard had had to deal with in the course of his emergence as an autonomous political leader: Neustria, the centre of the west Frankish kingdom, the kingdoms of Burgundy to the east and Provence to the south, Lotharingia in the north-east, and Aquitaine to the west and, due to the Aquitanian possession of the county of Mâcon, the immediate south. Richard himself, moreover, had personal, family and landed interests in most of these areas.

An examination of western Burgundy in Richard's time must inevitably focus on the figure of Richard himself. This chapter looks in turn at Richard's background, his political rise in the period from the end of the 880s to the mid-890s, on the political basis of his power as the *dux* of Burgundy, and on his relationship to the west Frankish court. In doing this we must not assume that Richard was the predominant power in western Burgundy from day one. To do so skims over the scarcity of his appearances in our early evidence, and overlooks the point that Burgundy was home to some very prominent churchmen. Serious consideration must be given instead to the possibility

that his prestige and status grew only gradually over the 880s and 890s as he slowly exploited his prominent connections to build up a position as regional magnate.

The emergence of a magnate: Richard's Bosonid heritage

Richard did not come from nothing: he was a scion of one of the most influential families in ninth-century Francia.¹ His father, Bivin, and uncle Richard had been visible at the court of Louis the Pious, and although his mother is unknown, her siblings included Theutberga, the wife of Lothar II, and Hubert, lay abbot of the monastery of St-Maurice d'Agaune and a close advisor of Lothar I. Both sets of relatives were propertied in the middle kingdom carved out at the treaty of Verdun, and whilst both suffered a reversal of fortune as a result of the younger Lothar's controversial attempt to divorce Theutberga in the 860s, the family as a whole ultimately retained its initial standing. Bivin lost the important lay abbacy of Gorze but the properties he held in the surrounding area of southern Lotharingia, including those he held from the abbey, passed into the next generation.² Hugh was meanwhile stripped of St-Maurice and then killed as he fought vainly to keep hold of it. Theutberga herself was compelled to seek refuge at the court of Charles the Bald,³ but this setback was to prove, by the end of the decade, to be a glittering opportunity for her niece and nephew, Bivin's elder children Richildis and Boso. In 869, Charles took Richildis as his concubine, and promptly reassigned St-Maurice, although it lay outside his physical control, to Boso as a token of good faith.⁴ Within a year, Richildis had become Charles's second queen;⁵ during the course of the 870s her brother then rose to become one of the king's most trusted men, holding a succession of royal offices in Aquitaine, Provence and Italy under Charles's command. Boso's spectacular career has been closely examined elsewhere and will not be rehearsed here; suffice it to say in 879 he had declared himself a king in Provence, over which territory, despite the ultimate failure of his revolt against Charles's successors, he retained control until his death in 887.⁶ In the meantime, his sister Queen

1 On the family's background see C.B. Bouchard, *Those of My Blood': Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 74-97; Airlie, 'Political behaviour', pp. 195-205; on Bivin also Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 30-8.

2 Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, p. 31.

3 *AB* s.a. 864; 'Annales Xantenses', ed. B. von Simson, *Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini*, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1909), pp. 1-39, s.a. 864.

4 *AB* s.a. 869.

5 *AB* s.a. 870. On Richildis see J. Hyam, 'Ermentrude and Richildis', in M.T Gibson and J.L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Aldershot, 1990), pp. 153-68.

6 See S.N. Thompson, 'The Kingdom of Provence and its rulers, c. 870-c. 950', Ph.D. thesis, University

Richildis had retired to a conventual but active widowhood in Lotharingia, where both she and another sibling, Bivin II, sustained close links as both tenants and benefactors with the abbey of Gorze.⁷

Richard himself does not appear in the historical record until the late 870s, from which one may surmise that he was not born until around 860 and was therefore substantially younger than Richildis and Boso. As the cadet son of a prominent line, he was not necessarily predestined to take the role of a ‘supermagnate’; he failed to acquire property in his father’s heartland of Lotharingia and appears instead to have inherited a less visible series of estates across a narrow strip of northern Burgundy from the Auxois to Beaune and Dijon, possibly extending eastwards towards Besançon. It is therefore conceivable that he had been expected to lead a life of prosperous obscurity similar to that of Bivin II, had circumstances not intervened. At the same time, growing up as the brother of the queen and of the king’s favourite meant that he was deeply embedded in a complex web of relationships that ranged northwards into Lotharingia, southwards into Provence, and inevitably to the west Frankish royal court; this network of interests was extended further by his marriage to Adelaide, the sister of king Rudolf I of Upper Burgundy, whose dowry lay inside her brother’s kingdom. None of this was a guarantee of future greatness, but it afforded him a series of potential claims to property, offices and status which reached far beyond the Burgundian territories he was later to control and which could be made good if circumstances permitted. We should take care, therefore, not to regard him as a man whose horizons were confined to his landed base, or indeed to Burgundy as a whole. This remained true throughout his career and also, as will be discussed in the next chapter, the careers of his sons.

Richard as count of Autun, c. 880 – 890

Richard began his political life under his elder brother’s wing. The appearance of a *Ricardus comes* next to Boso’s name in an 876 capitulary celebrating Charles the Bald’s imperial coronation in Rome may mark his entrance onto the historical stage,

of Cambridge (2001), pp. 48-117; Airlie, ‘Political behaviour’, pp. 205-304; *idem*, ‘The Nearly Men’; MacLean, ‘Carolingian Response’; R.-H. Bautier, ‘Aux origines du royaume de Provence. De la sédition avortée de Boso à la royauté légitime de Louis’, *Provence Historique* 23 (1973), pp. 41-68; Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, pp. 257-304.

⁷ These relationships are closely studied by Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, pp. 39-50. Bivin II’s parentage is nowhere directly attested but is readily inferred from his name and location. In addition to Richildis, Boso, Bivin and Richard, there was also a fifth sibling, otherwise unknown, who was the mother of Richard’s nephews Manasses, Walo, Ragenar and Manno. See Family Tree 1.

although this is not certain.⁸ More certain is his appearance in 879 in a charter granted by Boso in 879, by which time Boso was in rebellion against the Carolingian kings.⁹ By 880, however, Richard was count of Autun and a follower of King Carloman, and he soon demonstrated his loyalty to his new Carolingian master by capturing Vienne in 881 and carrying off Boso's wife and daughter.¹⁰

Whilst it is not clear whether it was Boso or his Carolingian opponent who initially conferred the countship on Autun on Richard, his status as Boso's brother clearly had something to do it. Boso undoubtedly regarded Burgundy as part of his desired sphere of influence: his coronation at Mantaille had been attended by the bishops Adalgar of Autun and Geilo of Langres, whilst a charter documenting a land sale in 881 referred to him as *rege de Borgundia*. Geilo, moreover, had previously been abbot of St-Philibert at Tournus, on behalf of which Boso had intervened with Charles the Bald in 875, and probably owed both his abbacy and bishopric to Boso's support.¹¹ Within Geilo's diocese, Boso also enjoyed a link to the abbey of St-Bénigne at Dijon, on whose behalf he had intervened with Charles in 877 in a charter which restored the *villa* of Longvic to the monks' possession.¹²

A decade or so later, it was Richard who acted as a patron of St-Bénigne, in whose vicinity he appears to have had allodial property – the abbey's chronicle indicates that Richard convened an assembly at Longvic in approximately 890 at which he donated a *mansus* to the monks, and Richard gave another *mansus*, probably around 900, at Rouvres, between Longvic and Dijon, to the abbey's dependent church at Fixey; his nephew Manasses donated a *mansus indomnicatus* at Longvic itself at approximately the same time.¹³ More importantly, Richard eventually acquired most of Boso's other connections to western Burgundy for himself, dominating the churches of Autun and Langres, and asserting patronage over Tournus. It is therefore tempting to draw a

8 *MGH Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause (2 vols, Hanover 1883-1897), vol. 2, no. 220; Richard's name also appears in no. 221, Charles's coronation as king of Italy at Pavia. E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774-962)*. *Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien* (Freiburg, 1960), pp. 252-3, has suggested, however, that this Richard was an unrelated count of Piacenza.

9 *D. Prov.* 16.

10 *D. LLC* 49; *AB* s.a. 881: 'Dum autem in eodem procinctu degeret, mense Septembrio nunciatum est illi certo nuntio, quia, capta Vienna, uxorem Bosonis et filiam eius Richardus, frater ipsius Bosonis, ad comitatum suum Augustudunensum adductam habebat.'

11 R.-H. Bautier, 'Les diplômes royaux carolingiens pour l'église de Langres et l'origine des droits comtaux de l'évêque', repr. in R.-H. Bautier, *Chartes, sceaux et chancelleries: Études de diplomatique et de sigillographie médiévales* (2 vols, Paris, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 209-42, at p. 218.

12 *D. CB* 419.

13 *Chronique de Saint-Bénigne*, pp. 118-9. The disputed villa of Tillenay, the object of Walo's charter, *D. RR* 51, also lay in this area.

straight line from Boso in his pomp to Richard's Burgundian dukedom. In the early 880s, however, Richard was merely a younger son of an influential line and it is not obvious that he would have outranked senior churchmen such as Adalgar or Geilo. Geilo especially is a shining example of a prominent Carolingian cleric powerful enough to deal directly with kings on his own account.¹⁴ Despite continuing to support Boso after Richard's defections, he later reintegrated himself with the Carolingian camp and acted more than once as king-maker as the 880s progressed, a role he successfully exploited to the material advantage of his church. After Carloman died, Geilo was probably instrumental in persuading the aristocracy of western Francia to support Charles the Fat, in exchange for which Charles granted several charters for his episcopal church and its abbeys at Dijon. In 887 he appears to have acted as go-between in diplomatic exchanges between Charles and Boso's widow, Irmingard; a side-effect of Charles's accommodation with Irmingard and her young son was the issue of several further charters in favour of Langres and Tournus.¹⁵ When Charles died in turn, it was Geilo who, at Langres, crowned Wido of Spoleto as his putative successor, and it is not surprising to see confirmations for Tournus and Langres issued by King Odo in 889 not long after Wido's short-lived bid for power in western Francia had failed.¹⁶ In the sources for this period the bishop greatly overshadows the little-known counts of Langres, many of whose rights the episcopacy appears to have taken over, and all of this also appears to have taken place quite independently of any involvement on the part of Count Richard.

Adalgar's career is slightly less easy to trace, but there are good reasons to think that in Autun too the balance of power between bishop and count was weighted in the bishop's favour. Ninth-century kings had supported the episcopate as a counterweight to the power of the local counts;¹⁷ perhaps more importantly, the landed possessions of the episcopate of Autun were very large, especially when combined with the dependent monastery of Flavigny, over which Adalgar had acquired the abbacy.¹⁸ We should not, therefore, imagine that Adalgar and Richard were automatically on good terms, or that Richard was the dominant party in their relationship.¹⁹ The bishop's role in the events

14 On Geilo see Bautier, 'Les diplômes', pp. 216-23; MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 110-5.

15 See below, p. 37.

16 *AV* s.a. 888; *D. Odo* 13, 15.

17 R. Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstenmacht. Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 377-8.

18 See map on p. 55.

19 Cf. Brunterc'h, 'Naissance', p. 82, who says, 'Étant évêque d'Autun, il est évidemment l'un des

of 879-80 provides an illustration of his freedom of action as a political player. In early 879, Louis the Stammerer despatched his son Carloman, together with Boso, Hugh the Abbot and Count Bernard of the Auvergne, on a campaign to extract Autun from Bernard of Gothia, its rebellious count. Louis had already awarded the countship to a certain Theoderic, known as 'the Chamberlain'. Bishop Adalgar had extracted a price for the imposition of a new count: we see Theoderic at Louis the Stammerer's court entreating the king to restore the *villa* of Bligny to the episcopal church of St-Nazaire, which in the words of the charter, 'our wicked predecessors' had taken away and joined to the *comitatus*.²⁰

According to Hincmar of Reims, however, Boso and Theoderic held 'negotiations' whose outcome was that Boso claimed the countship for himself.²¹ Later the same year Boso proclaimed himself king in Mantaille, with Adalgar amongst those in attendance. At this point both Adalgar and Richard appear to have numbered amongst Boso's supporters.

Adalgar then formally restored Bligny to his church in a charter acknowledging Theoderic as count and Louis, 'who succeeded [his father Charles] by the royal custom of heredity', as king, and offering prayers for the count and king but also for the *dux* Boso.²² Bautier has dated this charter to October or November 879; if this is correct, it postdates the ceremony at Mantaille and so seems to display a degree of ambivalence to Boso's new royal title.²³ Carloman's charter the following year then mirrors the grant made by his father Louis: the new count - this time it is Richard - petitions the king to restore another *villa*, Teigny, which had apparently been taken from the church and given to the count. There is perhaps a degree to which this was conventional - these were neither the first nor the last occasions on which rights were restored to the bishopric which had previously been held by the counts - but the transactions appear to be real (Bligny at least was still claimed by the bishopric in the eleventh century)²⁴ and is not unreasonable to see Teigny's restoration as a further concession extracted by the

proches du comte Richard le Justicier'; E. Hlawitschka, *Lotharingien und das Reich an der Schwelle der deutschen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1968), p. 97 describes Adalgar as 'Richard's friend' in 890, but in 890 Richard attended the coronation of Louis of Provence while Adalgar elected to attend a synod convoked by King Odo.

20 *D. LLC* 29: 'villam Beliniacum quae olim a pravis antecessoribus nostris ab episcopatu sublata fuerat et comitatus sociata.'

21 *AB* s.a. 879

22 *C. Autun* 2

23 *C. Autun* vol. 2, no. 1: 'dominus Ludovicus gloriosus rex qui ex more regio hæreditati successit'; dating per Bautier, 'Introduction', p. CXLV.

24 *C. Autun* 40.

bishop in exchange for political support, making it more likely that Adalgar was instrumental in securing Richard's readmission to the Carolingian court than vice versa.²⁵ When Adalgar subsequently requested Carloman to confirm his gift of Bligny, as well as his church's disputed possession of the abbey of Flavigny and two other *villae* to which it apparently laid claim, the intercessors in Carloman's charter were two other counts, not Richard.²⁶ This suggests that Adalgar's relationship with the king was not conducted in partnership with the count of Autun.

Nothing in the remaining sources suggests that Richard enjoyed a position of especial seniority over the course of the 880s. In fact there is no sign of him from 881 to 890, save for a single charter from 885 indicating that he was lay abbot of St-Symphorien in Autun.²⁷ Hence we do not know whether he led, or was in, the army from 'Neustria and Burgundy' that Charles the Fat sent to fight the Normans in 885.²⁸ Various contacts are meanwhile attested between other members of the western Burgundian elite and Charles the Fat's court. Charles granted a confirmation for the abbot of St-Martin in Autun in 886, and gave diplomata for Geilo of Langres in 885, 886 and 887.²⁹ The defensive forces at the long siege of Paris in 885-6 also included a sizeable contingent of Burgundians, as the charters Charles issued for St-Germain in Auxerre and other Burgundian churches when the siege was lifted in October 886 make clear.³⁰

The lifting of the siege was the result of a peace agreement by which the Norse invaders were permitted free passage up the Seine to ravage Burgundy. This infamous agreement is sometimes thought to have been, at least in part, a tactical strike directed against Richard.³¹ There is, however, no evidence either way to suggest whether Richard did or did not take part in Paris's defence – neither the charters nor the annalists single him out, whilst Abbo's poem of the siege, which jeers at the cowardly Burgundians and insinuates that they got what they deserved, does not name names.³² Guillot, and more recently Koziol, take Abbo to mean that some Burgundians took part

25 Bautier, 'Aux origines', p. 57; likewise Brunterc'h, 'Naissance' p. 82.

26 *D. LLC* 68.

27 *Recueil des actes de Saint-Symphorien*, no. 3: 'Richardus comes uel abbas praeesse videtur'.

28 *AV* s.a. 885.

29 *DD. CIII* 122, 147, 155-8.

30 *DD. CIII* 137, 140, 144, 145 (St-Germain), 147; MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 60-1.

31 G. Koziol, 'Charles the Simple, Robert of Neustria and the *vexilla* of Saint-Denis', *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006), pp. 355-90, at p. 365, n. 25; O. Guillot, 'Les étapes de l'accession d'Eudes au pouvoir royal', in *Media in Francia: Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65^e anniversaire par ses amis et collègues français* (Maulévrier, 1989), pp. 199-233.

32 Abbo, 'Bella' bk. II, l. 344, 'pigra o Burgundia bello'.

in the defence, but others did not, and that Abbo's scorn was directed at the latter. But Abbo draws no such distinction, and one may just as well read his comments as chiding the Burgundians who *were* at Paris, rather than attacking a group of absentees. After all, the deal with the Northmen exposed *all* of north-west Burgundy to the Viking onslaught, including many of the areas – Sens, Auxerre, Langres – from which the identifiable defenders came. It is worth noting that even though Burgundy bore the brunt of the depredations, there is no sign that any of the places mentioned teamed up with Richard or defected from Charles in the immediate aftermath. When Hugh ‘the Abbot’, lay abbot *inter alia* of St-Germain in Auxerre, died in 886, he was buried at St-Germain and control of the abbacy apparently remained in Neustria, passing to Bishop Askericus of Paris.³³ The abbacy of St-Germain was still in Askericus' hands in 889 when Count Odo of Paris, now king, issued confirmations of its rights and properties.³⁴

After Charles the Fat's demise, Bishop Adalgar pursued an independent political course that set him at loggerheads with Richard, so it is perhaps not surprising that the bishop met a sticky end when Richard's star began to rise in the early 890s, and that his replacement was one of Richard's nephews. However, it should not be presumed that he was already the leading magnate in western Burgundy during the preceding decade, when Adalgar and Geilo are much more prominent in the sources.

Western Burgundy and West Francia after 888

The powerful bishops of Autun, Auxerre and Sens all remained in King Odo's political orbit into the early 890s. Walter, archbishop of Sens and Odo's kinsman, crowned Odo in early 888; Walter, his suffragan Herfred of Auxerre, and Adalgar of Autun were all present at the large synod called by Odo three years later at Meung-sur-Loire.³⁵ Adalgar later served as Odo's chancellor, as attested by two surviving charters, one of which suggests that Odo held an assembly at Chalon-sur-Saône in the summer of 893.³⁶

33 *AV* s.a. 886.

34 *DD. Odo* 11, 12.

35 *AV* s.a. 888; Quantin, M., *Cartulaire générale de l'Yonne* (2 vols, Auxerre 1854-60), vol. 1, no. 64. Support for Odo is further signalled by the formation during his reign of a prayer association linking monasteries in Autun, Auxerre, Dijon, Chalon, and the Auvergne. See *The Cartulary of Flavigny, 717-1113*, ed. C.B. Bouchard (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991), p. 132, n. 3, citing J.-G. Bulliot, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de St-Martin d'Autun*, (Autun, 1849), vol. 2, pp. 22-4. The *villa* of Meung was an outlying possession of the diocese of Auxerre: *GPA*, p. 82.

36 *DD. Odo* 33-4. The former was issued at Chalon, but shows Odo's brother Robert of Neustria intervening in a grant to Bishop Ivo of Cormery in the Poitou, suggesting that locals were not the only

Odo's confirmation of the possessions of the church of Langres suggests that by 889 his authority was recognized there too.³⁷ Although Bishop Geilo had crowned Odo's rival Wido of Spoleto early in 888, Wido had retreated back across the Alps, and Archbishop Fulk of Reims, a relative of Wido and probably his leading west Frankish supporter, reluctantly accepted Odo as king instead.³⁸ Geilo himself died soon after, and the ensuing contest over the vacancy resulted in the elevation of two rival bishops, Theobald and Argrim.³⁹ The former appears to have been the local choice, but Argrim, imposed on the see by its archbishop, Aurelian of Lyon, appeared before Odo in December 889 bearing copies of previous royal grants, from which it can be inferred that he not only recognized Odo as king but also had access to the cathedral treasury and hence control of the town.⁴⁰ A charter granted locally in 891 was dated by Odo's regnal years.⁴¹

A factor in Burgundian support for Odo was doubtless the continuing incursions of the Northmen into the west Frankish river systems. There were raids into Burgundy in both 887 and 889, with the former including a fourteen-day occupation of the abbey of Flavigny.⁴² A flavour of the fear inspired by the Vikings can be had from the lament of the monks of St-Germain, incorporated into a charter issued before a large royal assembly at Paris in July 889, that:

‘no one can enjoy the peace he deserves, nor do suitable service to the rule or to observance, on account of the frenzied infestation and unheard-of offences against the servants of God, the invaders not only seizing their possessions but also plundering their food and drink with the rapacity of wolves.’⁴³

ones in attendance.

37 *D. Odo* 15.

38 *AV* s.a. 888: ‘Pauci vero ex Burgundia Widonem Lingonis civitate per Geilonem eiusdem civitatis episcopum regem sibi creaverunt’; *ibid.*, ‘Wido rex factus, audiens Odonem in Francia creatum rege, cum his qui se sequi deliberaverant rediit Italiam’. The coronation was at the start of the year: E. Hlawitschka, ‘Kaiser Wido und das Westfrankenreich’, in G. Althoff, D. Geuenich, O.G. Oexle, J. Wollasch (eds), *Personen und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter. Karl Schmid zum fünfundsiebzehnten Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1988), pp. 189-98.

39 Geilo died on 28 June, either in 888 or 889: Bautier, ‘Les diplômes’, p. 166, n. 73. On the rivalry of Theobald and Argrim, see R. Pokorny, ‘Ein unerkanntes Brieffragment Argrims von Lyon-Langres aus den Jahren 894/95 und zwei umstrittene Bischofsweihe in der Kirchenprovinz Lyon. Mit Textedition und Exkurs’, *Francia* 13 (1985), pp. 602-22.

40 *D. Odo* 15.

41 A. Roserot (ed.), ‘Chartes inédites des IX^e et X^e siècles appartenant aux archives de la Haute-Marne (851-973)’, *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de l’Yonne* 51 (1897), pp. 161-209, no. 6.

42 *AV* s.a. 887, 889; Hugh of Flavigny, ‘Chronicon’, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores* 8, pp. 288-502, entry for 887, p. 356: ‘Anno inc. verbi 887 Normanni pagani Flaviniacum castrum seu coenobium ingressi, occiderunt monachos cum famulis 8 numero, et manserunt dies 14, a 3. Idus Ianuarii usque 8. Kal. Februarii.’

43 *D. Odo* 12: ‘conquesti sunt nequaquam se digna frui quiete, sed nec regularibus congrue inservire

King Odo, at the petition of Bishop Askericus, then comforted them by confirming their possession of a very long list of landholdings. The expressive vocabulary of this passage led Bautier as editor to express reservations about its authenticity, but the reference in the same sentence to the fact that Odo had come to Paris *regni ... defensorem* is hard to see as a later interpolation and is consonant with the report in the Annals of St-Vaast that Odo engaged the Northmen at Paris ‘towards autumn’ that year.⁴⁴ Concern about the invaders is also apparent in the references to defensive *castella* in Odo’s grants to the Burgundian abbots of Tournus and Vézelay during the same week.⁴⁵ A charter from 912 also refers to the construction at Dijon of *habitaculis* as places of refuge from the Northmen.⁴⁶ All of those present at Paris in the summer of 889 were presumably involved in fighting the Vikings, and the poet Abbo leaves us in no doubt that this was indeed the case, even if the unnamed *Burgundiones* who turned up for the battle ‘counselled flight’.⁴⁷

Despite his later celebrity as a scourge of the Northmen, the role of Count Richard in these earlier conflicts is not easily discerned. His part in the defence effort is perhaps visible in an eleventh-century hagiography of St Prudentius, which credits him with bringing the saint’s relics to safety at the *castrum* of Dijon.⁴⁸ The west Frankish sources, however, do not know him at this point. Abbo’s hesitant Burgundians have no named leader, suggesting that they were under Odo’s command, whilst the annalist of St-Vaast makes no mention of Richard prior to 893. There is no evidence that the Burgundians were organized as a territorial force under a local general.

Politically, Richard appears to have been moving in different directions to the west Burgundian clerics: the positive evidence for his dealings points not towards Odo but towards the exploration of alliances to the east and south in Upper Burgundy and Provence, and although he appears to have had some success in bringing a cohort of supporters with him, these activities were not necessarily consonant with the

posse cultibus ob quorundam rabidissimam infestationem et seculis inauditam in servos Dei debacacionem, non modo ipsorum invadentes possessiones quin potius lupina rapacitate in ipsa cibi potiusque crassantes direpcione.’

44 *AV* s.a 888: ‘circa autumn’.

45 *D. Odo* 13: ‘castellum causa persecutionis Nortmannorum, quod ab eo firmatum est’; *D. Odo* 10: ‘castellum quoque, quod propter persecutionem paganorum inibi constructum est.’

46 *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, p. 121.

47 Abbo, ‘Bella Parisaciae Urbis’, bk. I, ll. 470-2, quoted above, p. 22, n. 7.

48 ‘Miracula Sancti Prudentii’, *Acta Sanctorum* (68 vols. Antwerp/Brussels, 1643-) Oct. III, pp. 348-78, at p. 361: ‘Proinde multa Sanctorum corpora Divioni sunt invecta, utpote quod munitissimum et inexpugnabile præ cæteris videretur, et egregii ducis Burgundiæ, Richardi nomine, ibidem commanentis metuenda longe lateque celebraretur potentia: tunc etiam beatissimi corpus Prudentii eo illatum est.’

preferences of major players such as Adalgar or Argrim; indeed, as we shall see in a moment, Richard initially championed Argrim's rival Theobald in the contest over the episcopate of Langres.

First, Provence. Richard's brother Boso had died in 887, leaving a young son, Louis.⁴⁹ Negotiations over the boy's status were immediately opened between Charles the Fat and the boy's mother and grandmother, i.e. Boso's widow Irmingard and his formidable mother-in-law, the empress Angilberga; a side-effect was Charles's sudden patronage of Geilo of Langres, apparently the go-between for the two parties.⁵⁰ Louis and his guardians were received at Kirchen in Alemannia in June; the most likely outcome of these talks is that Charles acknowledged Louis's status as a potential ruler in Provence, rather than adopting him as heir to the entire empire.⁵¹ Nevertheless, dating clauses in local charters point to a prolonged period of uncertainty as to who should rule in Boso's former kingdom.⁵² Only after considerable hesitation was Louis crowned king at Valence in 890, in the wake of further negotiations between his mother, together with other supporters, and King Arnulf of east Francia.⁵³ A renewal of ties between Richard and his late brother's family then becomes clearly visible in Louis's coronation charter, which places Richard - *maxime inclytissimi Richardi ducis eximiique principis* – in a central role seemingly as the boy's guardian.⁵⁴

The point in time at which Richard was reconciled to his sister-in-law and her son eludes precise determination. He is unseen in Irmingard's company, however, until his name appears as the foremost secular witness in a charter recording a *placitum* held by Irmingard at Varennes, near Chalon, some time in 890 before the coronation.⁵⁵ It need not be the case that the Richard's abduction of Irmingard from Vienne nine years before had soured their relationship in the first place, and therefore it is conceivable that

49 Exactly how young is debatable, although he was clearly a child in 890 and clearly an adult in 900. Hlawitschka, *Lothringen*, p. 245, cautiously raises the suggestion that Louis was born during his mother's captivity with Richard in Autun. Thompson, 'Provence', pp. 110-1, suggests that he had already been born but was not taken by Richard.

50 MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 110-5.

51 *Ibid.*, in opposition to earlier literature picturing a now-desperate emperor flailing around in search of a viable heir.

52 Bautier, 'Aux origines', p. 66.

53 Recent accounts of Louis's elevation are Thompson, 'Provence', pp. 134-51; T. Offergeld, *Reges pueri. Das Königtum Minderjähriger im frühen Mittelalter* (Hanover, 2001), pp. 492-505. Arnulf's representatives at the coronation were the Alemanni Count Bertold and Bishop Diotolf of Chur.

54 *MGH Capitularia* vol. II, no. 289. Much later, Hugh of Flavigny implied that Richard was indeed Louis's guardian: 'cui [=Boso] successit Ludovicus filius eius 891, adhuc iuvenis, auctoritate papae Stephani sub tutoribus Richardo duce et regina.' (Hugh of Flavigny, 'Chronicon', p. 342). However, the ultimate source for this part of Hugh's information could be the capitulary itself, which also mentions Pope Stephen's approval.

55 *D. Prov.* 26.

he assisted with, or even participated in, her journeys to the courts of Charles the Fat and Arnulf of Carinthia, albeit in a role which escaped the notice of the annalists. It is no less possible, however, that Richard committed himself no earlier than in 890, and given the connections to St-Bénigne at Dijon mentioned earlier in this chapter and other family interests in the adjoining areas of southern Lotharingia, one can also entertain the possibility that he was one the ‘few from Burgundy’ who acclaimed Wido of Spoleto as king at Langres in January 888.⁵⁶

At around this time – the late 880s and early 890s – there are some indications that Richard was beginning to construct a network of followers in the northern part of Burgundy. When the chronicler of St-Bénigne recorded Richard’s gift of a *mansus* to the abbey he appears to have transcribed the details from a charter, and his inclusion of the witness list points to an assembly of local notables.⁵⁷ First on the witness list was the disputed Bishop Theobald of Langres, Argrim’s rival. Three little-known counts – *Girbaldus, Wido ac Radulfus comites* – also witnessed Richard’s gift. Count Wido is probably the same man whom Theobald vested with 19 of the abbey’s *mansi* at around this time. He may well be identical with the Wido who migrated to Italy in the wake of his more famous namesake from Spoleto, which would explain why a few years later the *mansi* were given back. Given that Theobald is understood, unlike Argrim, to have been the local choice for the bishopric, the assembly also offers circumstantial evidence for Richard’s personal connections in the see of Langres and thus for the suspicion raised above that Richard supported Wido of Spoleto’s claim to the throne.⁵⁸ Girbald and Rudolf, meanwhile, are obscure: Rudolf is entirely unknown, and whilst Girbald’s name matches that of a count of Auxerre in the 870s, the identification is problematic because the chronicler recorded a further *Girbaldus comes* witnessing another gift in 902, by which time Richard himself was count in Auxerre.⁵⁹ A fifth witness, *Madelgaudus Oscarensium vicecomes*, was a local man.⁶⁰ It is conceivable that these men played a role in ousting Argrim from the see of Langres in 891, although it is not

56 *AV* s.a. 888: ‘Pauci vero ex Burgundia ...’. Apart from Geilo of Langres, who crowned him, it is not known who attended the ceremony. *MGH Capitularia* vol. II, no. 222 proclaims Wido’s coronation but names no participants.

57 *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, p. 113.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 118: ‘Reddidit [Argrimus] insuper mansa XVIII in diversis locis que tempore Teutbaldi Episcopi antecessoris eius ablata fuerant, et in beneficium data cuidam Wido.’ Wido is sometimes called Wido ‘of the Oscheret’ on account of this benefice.

59 Y. Sassier, *Recherches sur le pouvoir comtal en Auxerrois du X^e au début du XIII^e siècle* (Auxerre, 1980), p. 9, identifies Girfred with Girfred of Auxerre. The Girfred from 902: *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, p. 119. Richard as count in Auxerre: *DD. CS* 31, 38.

60 See below, p. 52.

certain whether the meeting at Longvic took place before or Argrim was expelled.⁶¹ However, the location of the assembly at Longvic, where, as noted above, Richard's nephew Manasses held property, and in respect of which his brother Boso had previously intervened at the royal court, suggests strongly that Richard presided over the gathering. This appears to be a small-scale local network of support, albeit one whose military and political clout should perhaps not be exaggerated.

How much of this network joined Richard in supporting Irmingard and Louis? There are indications that some Burgundian counts accompanied Richard to the *placitum* at Varennes. This gives rise, particularly in the older literature, to the impression that Louis's kingdom was intended to reach northwards beyond Provence into Burgundy, but it is advisable to be cautious when estimating the extent of Richard's influence over the Burgundian aristocracy.⁶² Hlawitschka's maximalist reading of the witness list at Varennes identifies five men - counts *Wido*, *Ugo*, *Adelelmus*, *Raterius*, and *Ragenardus* - as nobles from northwestern Burgundy. One of these identifications is clearly implausible: Adelelm, in whom Hlawitschka saw the count of Troyes, is much more likely to be the Provençal Count Adelelm who was active in Valence.⁶³ *Ugo*, possessor of a particularly common name, is identified by Hlawitschka with a count 'of Langres' purportedly active in 890, but this is speculative in the extreme: the only discernible source for this individual is a charter of 906 recording a gift to Langres's cathedral church by a Count Gotselm; the Hugh named in the text may have been Gotselm's father and hence possibly a count of Langres, but he is not expressly identified as either.⁶⁴ *Raterius* is usually matched with the Rather of Nevers whom a late source, the family history of the unrelated eleventh-century counts of Nevers, shows fighting alongside Richard at some point in the early 890s.⁶⁵ The source is not

61 Pokorny, 'Brieffragment', pp. 613-20, dates Argrim's ouster to 891, and floats the suggestion that it involved a Widonid faction from Italy headed by Ansgar of Ivrea. A Count Wido is mentioned in the *Gesta Berengarii* as following his brother Ansgar from Burgundy to Italy in Wido of Spoleto's footsteps.

62 See R. Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence sous les carolingiens (855-933?)* (Paris, 1901), pp. 152-3; Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, pp. 368-9; Dhondt, *Naissance*, pp. 160-1; Hlawitschka, *Lothringen*, pp. 95-6. Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, p. 499 also gives a detailed account of the audience at Varennes, but relies exclusively on earlier work. His identifications, with one exception, follow Hlawitschka's.

63 Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, pp. 368-9, also Thompson, 'Provence', p. 175, *contra* Hlawitschka, *Lothringen*, p. 96.

64 Roserot, 'Chartes inédites', no. 9; Hlawitschka, *Lothringen*, pp. 95-6. Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, p. 368, discounts Hugh of Arles (too young) but suggests two further possibilities in addition to Gotselm's relative and rightly leaves the matter open.

65 'Brève histoire des premiers comtes de Nevers', ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Monumenta Vizeliacensia: Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Vézelay*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 42 (Turnhout, 1976), pp. 235-9. Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, p. 367, matches the two Rathers; others follow suit.

unreliable, as will be discussed below, but it is worth bearing in mind that Rather is otherwise unattested.⁶⁶ *Ragenardus* and *Wido*, however, are quite plausibly friends of Richard: *Wido* shares a name with the count we have just encountered at Longvic, and *Ragenar* with Richard's nephew, the later viscount of Auxerre. There are at any rate no alternative candidates, and although *Ragenar* is not heard of again for another 20 years and then only as viscount, his brother *Manasses* was already an adult at this time. *Manasses*, soon to be Richard's right-hand man, was clearly involved in *Irmingard*'s project: his name and that of his wife appear an entry in the book of confraternity at the nunnery of Remiremont which serves as an emblem of the renewal of contact between Richard and his relatives in the south. The list of names reads: *Ludvuiicus, Irmingarde, Hugo, Uuilelmus, Ricardus, Adelat, Manases, Irmingarde, Wiiricus*; to the left of them, albeit in a different hand, is *Arnulfus rex*, i.e. Arnulf of Carinthia.⁶⁷ The entry shows, in addition to the boy and his mother, Richard and Adelaide, William the Pious of Aquitaine, *Manasses*, and *Manasses*' wife.⁶⁸ Hlawitschka has demonstrated that this records a political bond which fits most comfortably in the late 880s or early 890s; given the proximity of their names to Arnulf's, it may be the case that the occasion was Louis and *Irmingard*'s journey to meet Arnulf at Forchheim.⁶⁹

It is therefore plausible, if hard to prove beyond doubt, that Richard brought a few key associates with him into *Irmingard*'s camp – not so much the Burgundian nobility *en bloc*, however, as a more local group from the area around Dijon, namely *Manasses*, *Ragenar*, and Count *Wido*. The limits of his influence at this time are evident from the non-appearance at Varennes and Valence of Burgundy's bishops. A clear line of division exists between the churchmen visible in the company of Odo from 889 to 891 and those who followed Richard to Provence. Only the southernmost Burgundian clerics – *Ardradus* of Chalon, and *Gerald* of Mâcon – appeared alongside their archbishop, *Aurelian* of Lyon, at Varennes. *Aurelian*'s northernmost suffragan, *Argrim* of Langres, whom we have seen at Odo's court in Paris, stayed away; so did his rival *Theobald*, and so did Abbot *Blitgar* of Tournus. By contrast, a full complement of

66 He was probably dead by 894, when *D. Odo* 37 named a certain Franco as count of Nevers.

67 *Lib. mem. Rem.*, fol. 3v.

68 *Hugo* and *Wiiricus* cannot be clearly identified.

69 See Hlawitschka, *Lothringen*, pp. 243-9, who presumes that the people recorded must have visited Remiremont in person, and consequently infers that all nine travelled together via Remiremont to Forchheim in the summer of 890. Disregarding this supposition leaves the precise dating dependent on the absence of positive indications for this alliance in subsequent years. Hence 890 is still highly plausible, but not certain, and the possibility that the entry was made *before* 890 cannot be excluded.

bishops had attended an archdiocesan synod at Chalon in May 887.⁷⁰ The other notable absentee from Varennes was Adalgar of Autun; he too had been at Chalon, but in 890, the bishop of Autun declined to join his count at the court of the boy king. This brings us back to the synod convoked by Odo at Meung-sur-Loire in 891. Archbishop Fulk of Reims, who had supported the elevation of Louis to the kingship, stayed away from Meung along with his suffragans. Adalgar of Autun, along with Herfred of Auxerre and Herfred's archbishop Walter of Sens, stood by Odo and turned up.⁷¹

Fulk of Reims must have regarded the Bosonids in Provence as potential allies against Odo, Fulk's enemy.⁷² Arnulf's involvement meanwhile suggests that from his perspective at least, crowning Louis was part of a strategy of containment directed against Rudolf of Burgundy.⁷³ Whether Irmingard or Richard shared these perspectives is not certain; indeed it is likely that neither Louis's mother nor his uncle had any intention of confronting either Rudolf or Odo directly. The case heard at the *placitum* at Varennes concerned a certain Bernard, whom the judgement compelled to restore property at *Balma cella* (Baume-les-Messieurs) to the abbot and monastery of Gigny.⁷⁴ This was done before a large assembly of bishops and secular notables, all of whom symbolically rejected Bernard's claim to the property. Gigny and Baume were on the eastern fringes of what later proved to be Richard's sphere of influence, so Richard's subscription to the judgement implies that in 890 he supported the extension of Irmingard's, and by extension King Louis's, authority into this area.⁷⁵ Hlawitschka has further interpreted the *placitum* as evidence that Irmingard and Richard nursed an ambition to establish a 'greater Burgundy', straddling the Jura, under Louis's rule.⁷⁶ Yet the Varennes parchment is not hostile but conciliatory towards Rudolf I: Bernard, identified as a vassal of Irmingard, was forced to quit property which the monks of Gigny claimed because they had been given it 'by order of King Rudolf'.⁷⁷ The charter is thus placatory towards Rudolf at the same time as it encroaches on his sphere of

70 Roserot, 'Chartes inédites', no. 19; this was probably related to Irmingard and Geilo's negotiations with Charles the Fat.

71 Quantin, *Cartulaire générale de l'Yonne*, no. 64, as above, p. 34, n. 35.

72 The evidence for Fulk's support of Louis is the 'Visio Karoli', ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 10, p. 458. Hlawitschka's argument for dating this to c. 890 is now generally accepted. Hlawitschka, *Lothringen*, pp. 98-106; also Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, pp. 500-5; MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 104-6, each with further refs.

73 *AF (B)* s.a. 888; 894-5; cf. Regino, *Chronicon*, under the same years.

74 *D. Prov.* 28.

75 *D. CS 79*, granted in 914 when Richard was allied to Charles the Simple, is a grant to Richard's son Hugh by Charles of land at nearby Poligny.

76 Hlawitschka, *Lothringen* p. 95.

77 *D. Prov.* 28: 'quae olim a Rodulfo rege per preceptem adquisierant'.

influence. This looks like an agreement to keep the peace.

This is consistent with the fact that Richard's wife Adelaide was the sister of Rudolf I. The marriage was recent: Adelaide had received the abbey of Romainmôtier from her brother, King Rudolf I of Upper Burgundy, at some point in 888; the abbey, which she granted to Cluny some years after Richard's death, presumably formed part of her dowry.⁷⁸ At the beginning of 888, Rudolf had reacted to Charles the Fat's demise by calling an assembly at St-Maurice d'Agaune where he had (thus Regino of Prüm) 'placed a crown on his own head'; according to Regino he then sent messengers through the whole of the *regnum Lotharii* to persuade the nobility and clergy to accept him as their king.⁷⁹ The annalist of St-Vaast suggests that he went northwards in person and was consecrated king at Toul in Lotharingia by the city's bishop; this has been taken to imply that the ceremony at St-Maurice was legally incomplete due to a lack of anointing, but it is more likely that Rudolf, like Odo, was simply crowned twice before different audiences.⁸⁰ Landed interests in southern Lotharingia and neighbouring areas

78 *D. Burg.* 3; *R. Cluny* 379. The presumption that Romainmôtier belonged to Adelaide's dowry is contradicted by a Provençal charter of 900, surviving in the original, in which *quondam inclitus comes, nomine Hugo, filius Richardi* petitions Louis the Blind to grant land in the Mâconnais to the count's *fidelis* Aimo (*D. Prov.* 37). This Hugh must be Richard and Adelaide's son Hugh 'the Black'. There is no possibility that Hugh was Richard's son from a previous marriage, since he is identified as Adelaide's son in *R. Cluny* 379 and elsewhere. The Provençal charter therefore implies that Richard and Adelaide married some years prior to 888, and further support is lent by the Chronicle of St-Bénigne, in which a gift of land witnessed by their son Raoul, and apparently his brothers Hugh and Boso, is placed immediately prior to events dated in 902 (*Chronique de St-Bénigne*, p. 119). In fact a marriage between Richard and Adelaide would have made strategic sense in the early 880s, when Richard had deserted his brother Boso and joined the Carolingian legitimist cause, which Rudolf's prominent family supported. (On Rudolf and the 'Welf' kin-group: B. Schneidmüller, *Die Welfen: Herrschaft und Erinnerung (819-1252)* (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 58-71; MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 67-80). Against this, however, is the absence of any indication in Rudolf's grant that his sister was already married; indeed it would have been peculiar for a grant to be made *in proprietam* to a married woman. Also, none of Richard's children is attested again until Boso reappears in 913/4 (Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, p. 40). This leads one to presume that Provençal charter of 900 either was misdated, or referred to another count whose identity is unknown. There is, however, no obvious candidate. Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, pp. 416-7, attempts unsuccessfully to solve the problem by identifying the Hugh in *D. Prov.* 37 with a supposed 'Count Hugh, son of Richard, brother of Gibuin' in a Burgundian royal *placitum* of 926 (*D. Burg.* 22), surmising that this individual came from a cadet line of Bosonids, but as Schieffer's MGH edition makes clear, the Hugh in question is actually Hugh the Black, who is frequently attested in Upper Burgundy after 920, and the phrase *et germanus suus Giboimus* does not refer to his brother, but to the brother of the plaintiff.

It follows that the possibility cannot be entirely eliminated that in 888 Richard and Adelaide had already been married for several years. Nevertheless, the fact that Rudolf made a grant to Adelaide, even if it was not intended to publicize the forthcoming marriage, must surely have been intended to cement his relationship with Richard.

79 Regino of Prüm, *Reginonis Abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum Continuatione Treverensis*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1890), s.a. 888: '... apud sanctum Mauritium adscitis secum quibusdam primoribus et nonnullis sacerdotis coronam sibi imposuit regemque se appellari iussit. Post haec mittit legatos per universum regnum Lotharii et suasionibus pollicitationibusque episcoporum ac nobilium virorum mentes in sui favorem demulcet.'

80 *Annales Vedastini* s.a. 888. The annalist makes no mention of the ceremony at St-Maurice. On Odo's two coronations: W. Fałkowski, 'Le second couronnement du roi Eudes. L'ordo de Reims', in G.

may have formed part of the rationale behind Adelaide and Richard's marriage, and may also have influenced the choice of the location at which Rudolf gave Romainmôtier to his sister, assuming that Hlawitschka's identification of *Vabrevilla* with a now-vanished location in the Woëvre, northwest of Toul, is correct.⁸¹ This would imply that the marriage was contracted some time after January 888, and communicated to a Lotharingian public shortly afterwards. Whilst its precise political rationale is impossible to determine, and there is no evidence that Richard supported his brother-in-law militarily, it is difficult to see how he would have felt secure in an alliance that was directed specifically against the Burgundian king.

In fact, neither Irmingard nor Richard made any subsequent attempt to confront Rudolf. Notwithstanding Regino's later remark that 'Arnulf and his son Zwentibald pursued Rudolf for all the days of their lives', it is also evident that Arnulf and Rudolf reached a *détente* in 888, when Rudolf submitted to Arnulf at Regensburg, which persisted without interruption until hostilities were resumed in 894.⁸² Only at this later point did Arnulf try to turn Irmingard against Rudolf, receiving her and Louis at Lorsch and promising them some of Rudolf's towns in exchange for support – a dead letter, as it proved, because Louis's faction failed to capture the cities offered and there is no record of whether they even tried to.⁸³ There is no further evidence of discord between Louis and Rudolf; indeed, Louis may later have married one of the Burgundian king's daughters, thereby establishing what Maurice Chaume romanticized as an *entente cordiale* between Provence and the two Burgundies.⁸⁴ Later evidence also points to wholly cordial relations between Rudolf's and Richard's respective sons.⁸⁵

Constable and M. Rouche (eds), *Auctoritas. Mélanges offertes au professeur Olivier Guillot* (Paris, 2006), pp. 281-90.

81 Hlawitschka, *Lothringen*, p. 79, n. 49, rejecting the alternative identification of *Vabrevilla* with Walperswil near the Bielersee as etymologically unconvincing. Sergi, 'Genesi', p. 15, revives the suggestion of Orbe, without discussing alternatives. This is still less convincing: Orbe is *Urba* in classical Latin and in *AB* s.a. 856 ('apud Urbam conveniunt') and a mutation of *Urba* into *Uabra* is highly unlikely. Despite Sergi's claim to the contrary, the grant need not have been enacted close to Romainmôtier itself.

82 Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 888: 'omnibus diebus vitae suae eundem Ruodulfum persecuti sunt'. *AF (B)* s.a. 890 states that Arnulf declined a papal invitation to Rome 'because of many problems arising in his own kingdom'. Hlawitschka, *Lothringen*, pp. 88-9 takes this to mean trouble with Rudolf, but it surely refers to the large revolt in Alemannia which the annalist carefully glossed over. See chapter 6, below.

83 Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 894.

84 Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, p. 385. Louis married an Adelaide who is usually reckoned to be Rudolf's daughter, although there is no evidence for that beyond her name. She may not have been his first wife. E. Hlawitschka, 'Die verwandtschaftlichen Verbindungen zwischen dem hochburgundischen und dem niederburgundischen Königshaus. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Burgunds in der 1. Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts', in W. Schlögl and P. Herde (eds), *Grundwissenschaften und Geschichte. Festschrift für Peter Acht* (Munich, 1976), pp. 28-57.

85 See pp. 75-6 below.

Count Richard of Autun's movements over the period from 888 to the early 890s thus point to a possible involvement with Wido of Spoleto, clear signs of involvement with Rudolf of Upper Burgundy, and a close interest in the kingship of Louis of Provence. By contrast, Bishop Adalgar of Autun is visible only in the company of King Odo, and the same is true for most other bishops of western Burgundy, including the two rival bishops of Langres who, like Adalgar, were suffragans of Lyon. Over this period, the sole hint of Richard's involvement with Odo is a falsified royal charter dated 891, in which he is regarded as lay abbot of Ste-Colombe at Sens; the intervention of the falsifier leaves it uncertain whether Richard's name was present in the original text or added anachronistically later on.⁸⁶ Whether or not Richard was in contact with Odo, however, it is evident that he was not yet the decisive power in western Burgundy, and his manoeuvres do not attest to a consistent attempt to form a polity within the boundaries of 'Burgundy' as ninth-century Carolingians might have seen them. Western Burgundy in the aftermath of 888 was caught between the competing claims of several potential kings, none of whom had an unchallengeable claim to legitimate kingship. Within this unstable environment, the picture that emerges of Richard is of a well-connected aristocrat exploiting his connections in various directions with a view to making his own position more secure.

893-5: the violent birth of ducal Burgundy

Richard's sudden emergence as an autonomous force is defined by three acts of aggressive intervention in episcopal seats. The first victim was Bishop Adalgar, who was poisoned in late 893 or early 894 and replaced by Richard's nephew, Walo; the second was Theobald of Langres, blinded by Walo's brother Manasses, later in 894; the third was Archbishop Walter of Sens, imprisoned when Richard and Manasses seized his city in August 895. It was probably around this time, too, that Richard laid his hands on Auxerre, where a third nephew, Ragenar, later surfaces as viscount, with Richard himself apparently being recognized as count.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ *D. Odo* 25.

⁸⁷ Richard's dominant position in Auxerre is first attested through his intervention on the bishop's behalf in *D. CS* 31 (900). He was also lay abbot of St-Germain by 901 (*D. CS* 38). Remigius, a leading light of Auxerre's scriptorium, departed for Reims at some point prior to 900: Flodoard of Reims, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, ed. M. Stratmann, MGH Scriptorum 36 (Hanover, 1998), book IV, ch. 9. The pattern of other events means that Richard's conquest of Auxerre and Remigius' departure are both assumed to have occurred in 893-5, e.g. Sassier, *Recherches*, p. 10; M. Sot, *Un historien et son église au X^e siècle: Flodoard de Reims* (Paris, 1993), pp. 39-40. There is no independent evidence for either

This series of outrages took place in a general climate of violence that erupted in 893 between King Odo and the opposition party which rallied around the young Charles the Simple. Charles, *adhuc puerulum*, was made king by Fulk of Reims in early 893 while Odo was absent in the Auvergne.⁸⁸ The young anti-king was evacuated to east Francia when Odo's troops returned north, but returned in the summer with a large army. Our understanding of Richard's position in the conflict turns on the interpretation of the following passage in the Annals of St-Vaast:

*Post Pascha Domini Fulcho archiepiscopus et Heribertus comes assumentes Karolum regem cum omni exercitu disponunt **contra** Odonem regem, veneruntque **contra** eos Richardus, Willelmus et Hadamarus, habueruntque exercitum copiosum. **Contra** quos rex Odo venire non distulit. Misitque ad eos qui cum Karolo erant mandans ut quicquid in eis deliquissent per suum eis vadium emendarent et memores essent sacramenti quae sibi iuraverant.*⁸⁹

(After Easter Archbishop Fulk and Count Heribert took King Charles and set out with their entire army *to meet* King Odo. Richard, William and Ademar came *to meet* them. Odo did not tarry to come *to meet* them. He sent messengers to those who were with Charles, ordering that by his guarantee they should make amends for whatever wrong they had done them and remember the oaths they had sworn to him)

The first of these four sentences states clearly that Charles's minders raised an army 'to meet' Odo in battle. It is also apparent in the fourth sentence that when Odo ordered 'those who were with Charles' to make amends for wrongs they had done 'to them', he was instructing Fulk and Heribert to compensate Richard, William and Ademar.⁹⁰ But in the second and third sentences, the annalist's ambiguous use of *contra* makes it uncertain who opposed whom: it is not clear whether the people concerned aimed to meet in battle or simply meet up. Brunterc'h has argued that Odo's instruction to his enemies to give compensation implies that Richard, William and Ademar were Odo's supporters all along, and that when these three came *contra* Fulk and Heribert, they must have intended to meet them in battle. In other words:

- Fulk & co. moved to meet Odo in battle
- Richard & co. came to meet Fulk & co. in battle (as supporters of Odo)
- Odo hastened to meet up with Richard & co. (because they were his supporters).
- Odo sent messengers to demand that Fulk's party compensate his supporters for

dating.

88 *AV* s.a. 893; Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 892.

89 *AV* s.a. 893.

90 Brunterc'h, 'Naissance', p. 81, n. 121.

the wrongs they had done them.

Brunterc'h holds that this is consistent with other events not least because he believes that Bishop Adalgar of Autun and Count Richard were allies. The basis for this belief, however, appears to be the dubious supposition that the Burgundians were by nature a coherent political bloc: he comments, for example, that Adalgar's promotion to archchancellor means that 'Burgundians and Aquitainians' had declared for Odo.⁹¹ Yet their respective behaviour over previous years suggests that Adalgar and Richard were more likely at loggerheads than natural collaborators. The following alternative interpretation of the passage is therefore equally plausible:

- Fulk & co. moved to meet Odo in battle
- Richard & co. came to meet up with Fulk & co. (as potential allies of Fulk's party)
- Odo hastened to meet Richard & co. (and dissuaded them from supporting Fulk).
- Odo sent messengers to demand that Fulk's party compensate his new friends for supposed wrongs.

This is consistent with the pattern of events three years earlier, when Fulk lent support to the creation of the kingdom of Louis of Provence, with which both Richard and William were connected.⁹² It is also consistent with the pattern of subsequent events, which suggest that Richard flirted with both sides in the conflict without wholeheartedly supporting either.

The events of the next two years can be summarized as follows.⁹³ Even without Richard and William's support, the rising of 893 drove Odo out of west Francia into Aquitaine. Odo and his brother Robert also appeared in Burgundy, where he is seen issuing a charter at Chalon-sur-Saône on 29 May.⁹⁴ The content of the charter, which grants land in the Poitou to an Aquitanian recipient at the behest of the king's brother Robert and which marks the appearance of Adalgar of Autun as archchancellor, gives a flavour of the king's support base at that precise moment, without, however, indicating whether Richard was part of the alliance. Some months later, at harvest time, Odo fell upon Francia and temporarily expelled Charles's party, before the latter returned in force in September. A truce was concluded until Easter 894. Upon its expiry Odo

91 *Ibid.*, p. 80, n. 106.

92 As evidenced by the 'Visio Karoli'. (See n. 72 above).

93 The main source is *AV* s.a. 893-5, but see also Regino, *Chronicon* and *AF (B)* under the same years. The latter was notably unimpressed by Charles, 'Karolus puer indole iuventutis'.

94 *D. Odo* 33.

immediately besieged Reims. The opposing party again fled to east Francia and procured reinforcements from Arnulf, but these proved ineffective as their leaders were friendly to Odo and refused to fight. Charles ‘betook himself to Richard’.⁹⁵ Odo pursued Charles without joining battle. ‘At the same time,’ wrote the annalist of St-Vaast, ‘Bishop Theobald of Langres was blinded by Richard’s favourite, Manasses’.⁹⁶ Charles’s contingent remained in Burgundy, ‘staying wherever they could’.⁹⁷ In early 895, Charles’s men devastated Burgundy.⁹⁸ Arnulf now ostensibly called a conference between the warring parties; Odo turned up first, and received Arnulf’s blessing. This did not yield an immediate peace, since Charles’s party persuaded Arnulf’s son Zwentibald, now king in Lotharingia, to attack Odo in exchange for part of west Francia. Zwentibald’s invasion failed and the level of violence declined, although hostilities continued to simmer until Odo’s death three years later.⁹⁹

What should we make of these events from a Burgundian perspective? In the first place, the principal source, the annalist of St-Vaast, identifies Richard for the first time as a regional magnate and presents him as a figure whose personal support was important to Charles’s faction and to Odo. Odo initially persuaded Richard to abstain from the conflict; however, Richard is not visible when Odo appeared with Robert and Adalgar at Chalon in May 893 and we therefore cannot take it for granted that he was on Odo’s side. By 894, Richard appears to have favoured Charles, who sought refuge with him. An entry in the *liber memorialis* at Remiremont, probably made in 894 or 895, includes the name of Richard’s collaborators *Rampo* and *Manases* (but not Richard himself) in a list of names attesting to the formation of a grand alliance of the enemies of Arnulf of Carinthia: Charles, Lambert of Spoleto, Rudolf of Upper Burgundy, and Charles’s protector, Archbishop Fulk.¹⁰⁰ Charles’s depredations in Burgundy in 895 suggest that Richard had by then turned against the Carolingian and his backers; at the same time, however, Richard’s attack on Odo’s ally Walter of Sens implies that his support for Odo was lukewarm at best.

These repeated twists and turns suggest that Richard was a loose cannon in the

95 *AV* s.a. 894: ‘Karolus vero contulit se ad Richardum.’

96 *Ibid.*: ‘Per idem tempus Teutboldus Lingonicae urbis episcopus excecatus est a Manasse Richardi dilecto.’

97 *Ibid.*: ‘Karolus vero cum suis in Burgundiam quo poterant morabantur’.

98 *AV* s.a. 895.

99 *Ibid.*; also Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 895.

100 *Lib. mem. Rem.* fol. 11v: ‘KAROLUS rex iuuenis, LANbertus imperator, RODULFUS rex, RAMPO, Vuitbertus, Rotrudis, Adeldrudis, Siifridus, Gotdofridus, Manases, Eldigarius ep., Folco ep., Uuilerius, Lehutaldus’. Lambert is named alone, suggesting that the entry postdates the death of his father Wido of Spoleto on 12 Dec. 894.

battle for the Frankish kingship. It is noticeable that Fulk of Reims, who in 895 wrote to Pope Formosus in denunciation of Richard, Manasses and Rampo, was no less angry about their treatment of his opponent Walter of Sens than he was about the blinding of Bishop Theobald, who was Fulk's kinsman and possibly the agent via whom Richard had been recruited to the anti-Odonian cause.¹⁰¹ The motives for both of these acts are obscure, although it has been speculated that Theobald's mistake was to object to the as-yet-unconsecrated Bishop Walo of Autun at the trial of his predecessor's alleged murderer.¹⁰² The offence of Archbishop Walter is unknown, but the lack of a direct connection to the continuing hostilities between Odo and Charles may explain why the invasion of Sens went unnoticed in the Annals of St-Vaast and Regino of Prüm's chronicle, both of which focused on the bigger political picture. Walter's nine-month incarceration at the hands of Richard and Manasses, and his release after talks between Odo and Richard, are known only from a later, local source.¹⁰³ The Sénonais provided hostages to the invaders in exchange for the archbishop's release, and Richard appears to have won, or retained, control over the abbey of Ste-Colombe, which, as his memorialization attests, he kept until his death.¹⁰⁴

The cases of Walter and Theobald thus highlight the limitations of employing the civil wars as a template for interpreting events at the local level. The better-documented fate of Bishop Adalgar meanwhile illustrates the extent to which affairs at the 'national' level intersected with small-scale local disputes. Adalgar was poisoned at some point between late 893 and 1 May 895, the date on which the alleged killer, a monk of Flavigny named Girfred, conveniently purged himself on oath and was set free.¹⁰⁵ The crime therefore disposed of one of Odo's key supporters at a time when Richard was as likely as not engaged with the anti-Odo party. Walo, as Adalgar's successor, arranged for Girfred's trial to be held before a panel of bishops from the archdiocese of Lyon under the presiding gaze of Archbishop Aurelian, and in so doing implicitly broke the close ties to Odo's court cultivated by his predecessor. But kingdom-wide conflicts

101 Fulk had written to Theobald shortly after Charles's coronation in 893 and asked for news of Richard. Flodoard, *Historia*, IV:6.

102 Pokorny, 'Brieffragment'.

103 'Clarius' of Sens, *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*, ed. R.-H. Bautier and M. Gilles (Paris, 1979), p. 68: 'Igitur Walterius presul, nono anno ordinationis sue, VI. idus junii, captus est a Richardo, duce Burgundionum, et positus in custodia novem mensibus. Propter quasdam conventiones quas inter se habebant, vivente adhuc Odone rege, post novem autem menses reversus est de custodia Senones cum pace, VIII kalendas martii, datis obsidibus Richardo duci sub titulo sacramenti.'

104 Depending on the dating of the falsified *D. Odo* 25, which claims, implausibly, that Richard was abbot of Ste-Colombe in 891. For memories of Richard at Sens see ch. 2, above.

105 *Cartulary of Flavigny* no. 25.

often provided a framework of justification for the settlement of rivalries at the local level, such as that between Adalgar and Richard.¹⁰⁶ Flavigny was a significant institution – like the cathedral church itself, the abbey possessed a very substantial endowment of land.¹⁰⁷ Control over the abbey, as well as its estates, had been officially transferred from the counts to the bishops of Autun only after Adalgar’s accession to the episcopal office in the 870s, and episcopal control remained a matter of violent dispute into the next decade: the monastic community preserved the story that Richard, Walo ‘and the rest’ had previously received the papal ban for invading the abbey’s church, before Walo acquired the abbacy through succeeding to the office of bishop.¹⁰⁸ The author who wrote this also had no doubt that Girfred, who became prior of Flavigny under Walo’s pontificate, was guilty of Adalgar’s murder.¹⁰⁹

By disposing of Adalgar and installing his nephew as a tame replacement, Richard thus eradicated a long-term antagonist, effectively reversed the balance of power in Autun, and gained control over a very substantial complex of landed resources. We should therefore see Richard’s (in any case impermanent) support for Charles against Odo as merely providing the opportunity for the violent coup against Adalgar, the root causes of which lay closer to home. One can even question the extent to which Odo’s kingship was locally in dispute: the dating of an 894 prayer agreement between Flavigny and the abbey of St-Martin in Autun by the ‘first and seventh year’ of Odo’s reign, seems rather to acknowledge Charles’s uprising only by obliquely declaring its failure.¹¹⁰

Viewing these events from Richard’s side suggests that they had primarily local causes, but does little to support Guillot’s claim that they represented the *systematic* creation of a polity within the pre-existing contours of Carolingian Burgundy. Richard’s track record of striking up short-lived political bargains and frequently switching allegiances makes him an opportunist, not the leader of an independence movement. It should be underlined that is not merely a matter of perspective: there is absolutely no evidence for a process of spontaneous Wilsonianism amongst the aristocrats of western

106 A point underlined by MacLean, ‘After his death ...’.

107 *Cartulary of Flavigny* no. 23 confirms Adalgar’s right to fifteen *villae* belonging to Flavigny.

108 *Ibid.*; ‘Series abbatum Flaviniacensium’, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores* 8 (Hanover, 1848), pp. 502-3. *Cartulary of Flavigny* no. 55 shows Girfred as prior at some point in 894.

109 ‘Series abbatum Flaviniacensium’, p. 503: ‘Girfredus de morte Adalgarii culpatus, sed iudicio episcoporum purgatus, praelationem obtinuit.’ *Cartulary of Flavigny* no. 55, from 894, also shows Girfred as prior.

110 *Cartulary of Flavigny*, no. 55: ‘Anno uerbi incarnati DCCCXCIII eodemque serenissimi Odonis regnantis primo et septimo.’

Burgundy, whilst the cross-cutting influences of archdiocesan boundaries, family relationships and other political ties give the lie to the notion that post-Carolingian politics collapsed neatly into discrete and uncomplicated regional units. From this point of view, Richard's *ad hoc* polity is the classic example of the 'brilliant improvisations' that Jean Dunbabin saw as emerging from the chaotic noise of post-888 instability. But even if Richard was merely a thug with an armed following whose response to the civil wars was to trust nobody and look after number one, it would be misleading to characterize the end of the ninth century as a political vacuum in which the structures of power could be created entirely anew. Although the early 890s created a special climate in which clever operators such as Richard could exploit the interstices between competing claimants to the throne, the essential prize in the great game of Carolingian society remained the kingship, and kingship remained the ideological norm through which material power over landed resources had to be legitimated. The autonomy of magnates within their regional power bases was not ideologically self-sustaining. The remainder of this chapter will therefore discuss the nature of Richard's power within Burgundy and its interconnection with the institution of the west Frankish throne.

The basis of 'ducal' power: secular clients and church estates

There was no monolithic community of Burgundians, and Richard's constituency of support was necessarily composed of various secular and clerical components whose interests did not inevitably coincide. Towards the end of his life, the principal partners in Richard's rule were his wife and sons; the three sons Raoul, Hugh and Boso, however, only make their first appearance in the historical record after the turn of the tenth century, and all of them are primarily visible in the sources through their activities outside western Burgundy, as will be discussed in the next chapter. For most of his career, Richard relied first and foremost on a different group of relatives, namely the three brothers Manasses, Walo and Ragenar, children of a sister of Richard's whose identity, along with that of her husband, is not known.¹¹¹ Their importance

111 'Sed Richardus dux et Ingelbertus Vualonem fratrem Manasserii comitis, genitos [sic] ex sorore Richardi ducem successorem jusserunt ordinari'. This sentence had become illegible by the 19th century and is missing from the MGH edition, but is reprinted in Hlawitschka, *Lothringen*, p. 242, n. 4, and Bouchard, *Those of My Blood*, pp. 192-3 on the basis of a 17th century transcription by André Duchesne. Duchesne read the ungrammatical 'genitos' as a mistake for 'generi' / 'qui gener erat', i.e. 'son-in-law'; this is accepted by Hlawitschka, but Bouchard's reading of 'genitos ex sorore Richardi' as 'born from a sister of Richard' is preferable.

appears to be due entirely to Richard's sponsorship.

Walo obtained his position as bishop of Autun by co-operating with his uncle's extermination of Adalgar. Viscount Ragenar of Auxerre, unfondly remembered in the *Gesta* of the city's bishops as 'boiling with the vapours of greed' and an 'obstinate slanderer of Christ', was according to the same source vastly rich and second only to Manasses at Richard's court.¹¹² He was probably installed in the *pagus* of Auxerre at Richard's behest, although he is not mentioned there until the pontificate of Gerannus (910-14). Meanwhile, Manasses' unquestionable position as Richard's protégé and lieutenant is attested in a wide variety of sources.¹¹³ In the words of the *Gesta pontificum* of Auxerre, 'the most powerful Manasses [was] at that time richer than the richest man in Gaul and the shrewdest observer of his fellow worldly counsellors, for which he was renowned amongst kings and great men to the ends of the earth.' This was a sarcastic remark – the source of Manasses' wealth was allegedly the usurpation of church land – but one which may also have reflected a contemporary reputation for bad manners, since the annalist of St-Vaast blamed a major falling-out between Richard, Charles the Simple and Robert of Neustria on Manasses' insolence to the latter.¹¹⁴ Manasses' activity was centred on the county of Langres, in which he appears, like Richard himself, to have had landed interests, and where a fourth brother, Manno, is attested once in Manasses' company.¹¹⁵ *Manasses comes noster amicus* was remembered in the necrology of St-Bénigne at Dijon, as was Manasses' son of the same name.¹¹⁶ Father and son are both commonly regarded as counts in or of Dijon; however, since the elder Manasses was a donor both to the abbey and to the church of Langres, it is probable that he functioned as Richard's agent in the traditional county of Langres as a whole.¹¹⁷

The brothers, of course, did not act alone. Men like Manasses and Ragenar were 'thronged by a battalion of fighting men,'¹¹⁸ but such people generally remain invisible to the historian, and amongst Richard's initial supporters – the men visible at Longvic

112 *GPA* p. 189, 'auaricie uaporibus estuans', *ibid.* p. 197, 'eius [=Christi] pertinax calumniator', *ibid.* p. 189.

113 *GPA*, p. 189; *AV* s.a. 894; Flodoard, *Historia*, IV:6; 'Series abbatum Flaviniacensium'; *Lib. mem. Rem.* fol. 3v; *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, pp. 116; 118-9; *D. CS* 43.

114 *AV* s.a. 900; Koziol, 'Vexilla', p. 365, n. 25.

115 Roserot, 'Chartes inédites', no. 12.

116 B. Schamper, *S. Bénigne de Dijon. Untersuchungen zum Necrolog der Handschrift Bibl. Mun. de Dijon, ms. 634* (Munich, 1989). pp. 235-6.

117 *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, p. 118, granting land at Longvic; Roserot, 'Chartes inédites', no. 12.

118 *Ibid.*, p. 189: 'militum cuneis stipatus'. One gets a flavour of such people from the rough-mannered entourage of St Gerald of Aurillac: Odo, *Vita Geraldi*, book 1, ch. 22.

and Varennes in the early 890s – even the titled men are mostly fleeting figures. A partial exception is Viscount Madelgaudus of the Oscheret, visible in the assembly at Longvic, who may well be identical to the Madelgaudus who, along with his brother Arnold, was beneficed with several properties by Bishop Argrim of Langres in 909.¹¹⁹ An *Arnoldus* and *Madelgaudus* are also listed next to each other as witnesses to a gift to St-Bénigne in 878/9; these must be either the same individuals or close relatives a generation apart.¹²⁰ Argrim's charter grants them properties in several parts of the see of Langres, suggesting that this was a fairly well-endowed family.

Another insight is offered by the case of Landric and Bodo, landholders in the *pagus* of Autun who appear amongst the witnesses to one of Richard's two surviving 'ducal' charters - the record of a *placitum* held in 916 whose details we will examine later on – as well as the witnesses to the charter given by Bishop Walo at Autun in 918 which was discussed briefly at the beginning of chapter one.¹²¹ The eleventh-century family history of the counts of Nevers relates how the comital line descended from a certain Landric, who after participating in Richard the Justiciar's victorious siege of the *castellum* of Metz-le-Comte, supposedly a den of thieves, was granted the *castellum* as a reward. This Landric begot a son named Bodo, named after his godfather Bodo *de Montibus*. The younger Bodo received a gift of land from his godfather at Monceaux-le-Comte, close to Metz in the northwest of the Autunois, on which he erected a further *castellum*. Young Bodo had a son named Landric, and so on (see Family Tree 6).¹²² Parts of the account are clearly confused: Richard, for instance, is portrayed as the guardian of a young *rex Francorum*, suggesting that the author had read about the coronation of Louis of Provence, but mistaken the boy for a king of west Francia. However, Christian Settipani has shown that its genealogy is accurate, noting *inter alia* that a Landric, probably the same man as the one seen fighting alongside Richard, donated land in the Autunois to Cluny between 910 and 927, and gave land to the cathedral church of Limoges in 922.¹²³ A later charter from Cluny also shows a Bodo, perhaps the son of the first Landric, donating land in the Mâconnais to the abbey in 950,

119 Roserot, *Chartes inédites*, no. 9.

120 *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, prieurés et dépendances, des origines à 1300*, vol. 1, ed. G. Chevrier and M. Chaume (repr. Dijon, 1986), no. 108.

121 *DD. RR 50, 51*. These form part of a series of charters from Autun and Chalon which will be discussed further in chapter 4.

122 'Briève histoire des premiers comtes de Nevers', ed. Huygens.

123 C. Settipani, 'Les origines des comtes de Nevers: nouveaux documents' in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan and C. Settipani (eds), *Onomastique et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 85-112; *R. Cluny* 134.

with another Landric as witness.¹²⁴

The charter evidence thus suggests that this family was of some significance and possessed land spread across several *pagi*. Settipani also demonstrates the plausibility of the author's claim that the Landric seen with Richard was a kinsman of Bishop Adalgar of Autun and further points to their family origins in the Limousin and Poitou. Landric's patronage of the episcopal church of Limoges, and of Cluny in its early years when the Mâconnais was in the hands of William the Pious and William the Younger of Aquitaine, likewise hints at an Aquitainian orientation which is superficially at odds with the author's claim that Landric was a client of Richard the Justiciar. But the Landric and Bodo seen with Richard in 916 and 918 are in all likelihood these are the same man and the neighbouring minor nobleman who was godfather to his son. If one presumes that minor aristocrats must have fallen exclusively under the sway of one magnate or another, one might presume that these proto-castellans were part of Richard's 'Burgundian' entourage. But their connections beyond the Autunois signal that even minor players had interests which could cut across their support for any one leader, and thus offer an indication of why the reinforcement of authority, precisely on such demonstrative public occasions as the *placitum* of 916 and the assembly at Autun, was so important.

The second cornerstone to Richard's power was the accumulation of lay abbacies and friendly bishops. Three things together provide the clue to the importance of ecclesiastical land. Firstly, Bosonid allodial holdings, although apparently plentiful in the environs of Dijon and further north in Lotharingia, are invisible throughout the rest of Richard's duchy. Secondly, as we have seen, Richard's rise to prominence dates to his attacks on the major bishoprics of Autun, Langres and Sens, in the 890s, plus his acquisition of control in Auxerre in probably the same period. Thirdly, despite the violence of these incursions, ecclesiastical memories of Richard are uniformly positive, depicting him as a defender of the church and meter-out of justice. Even the author of the Auxerre *Gesta*, in the midst of his scathing comments about Ragenar and Manasses, holds the *magnus et florentissimus dux* apart from the villainy of his secular followers and elsewhere praises him for his good works.¹²⁵

The importance of lay abbacies for the politically ambitious in west Francia is well known. Richard was already lay abbot of St-Symphorien in Autun in the mid-

124 *R. Cluny* 748.

125 *GPA*, p. 189.

880s, and he and Walo appear to have dominated Flavigny prior to Walo's accession to the bishopric.¹²⁶ St-Martin in Autun also came under Richard's sway: in 900, he intervened with Charles the Simple in a diploma on behalf of its abbot, who had petitioned Charles the Fat without an intercessor fifteen years before.¹²⁷ Flavigny and St-Martin had formally agreed a bond of confraternity in the crucial year of 894.¹²⁸ During the 890s Richard also became lay abbot of St-Germain in Auxerre and of Ste-Colombe in Sens. These important relationships are attested by his intervention with Charles the Simple for the restoration of twenty *mansi*, formerly granted out in benefice, to St-Germain, and by his patronage of the construction of Ste-Colombe's defensive walls.¹²⁹ His donation to St-Bénigne at Dijon in c. 890 was supplemented by another gift later on.¹³⁰

Abbasies meant access to land: Odo's confirmation of the possessions of St-Germain identifies property at over 70 locations of which the monks appear to be sole owners of some 40.¹³¹ Enormous influence was likewise to be had from patronage of the episcopal churches: entries in the episcopal *Gesta* of Auxerre up to the end of the pontificate of Bishop Betto (d. 918) reveal some 82 different locations in which the episcopal church held land, not counting the possessions of dependent churches or monasteries. Autun, where Richard began his career, is a similarly outstanding case, as the map opposite illustrates; here the bishops' traditional holdings had been augmented by the transfer to episcopal control of 15 *villae* belonging to the monastery of Flavigny after Adalgar had procured the abbacy.¹³² Langres, where in the 880s Bishop Geilo had striven to expand his secular authority at the expense of the city's counts, was also a significant prize: a royal charter of 889 provides evidence of the extent of the bishopric's holdings, and, as Bautier observes, also acknowledges the church as possessor of the diocese's fortresses, including the *castrum* of Dijon.¹³³ Arguably the imposition on the see of Theobald, and certainly the reimposition of Argrim after him, vested all this in a bishop who owed his position to Richard, whose continued patronage of the city is exemplified by the enactment there of the second of his 'ducal' charters in

126 See above, p. 49.

127 *D. CS* 32; Walo also attended this assembly (*D. CS* 33). *D. CIII* 122.

128 *Cartulary of Flavigny*, no. 55.

129 *D. CS* 38; *GPA*, p. 205.

130 *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, pp. 118-9. This was another family affair: as with his later charters, his wife and three sons are named witnesses.

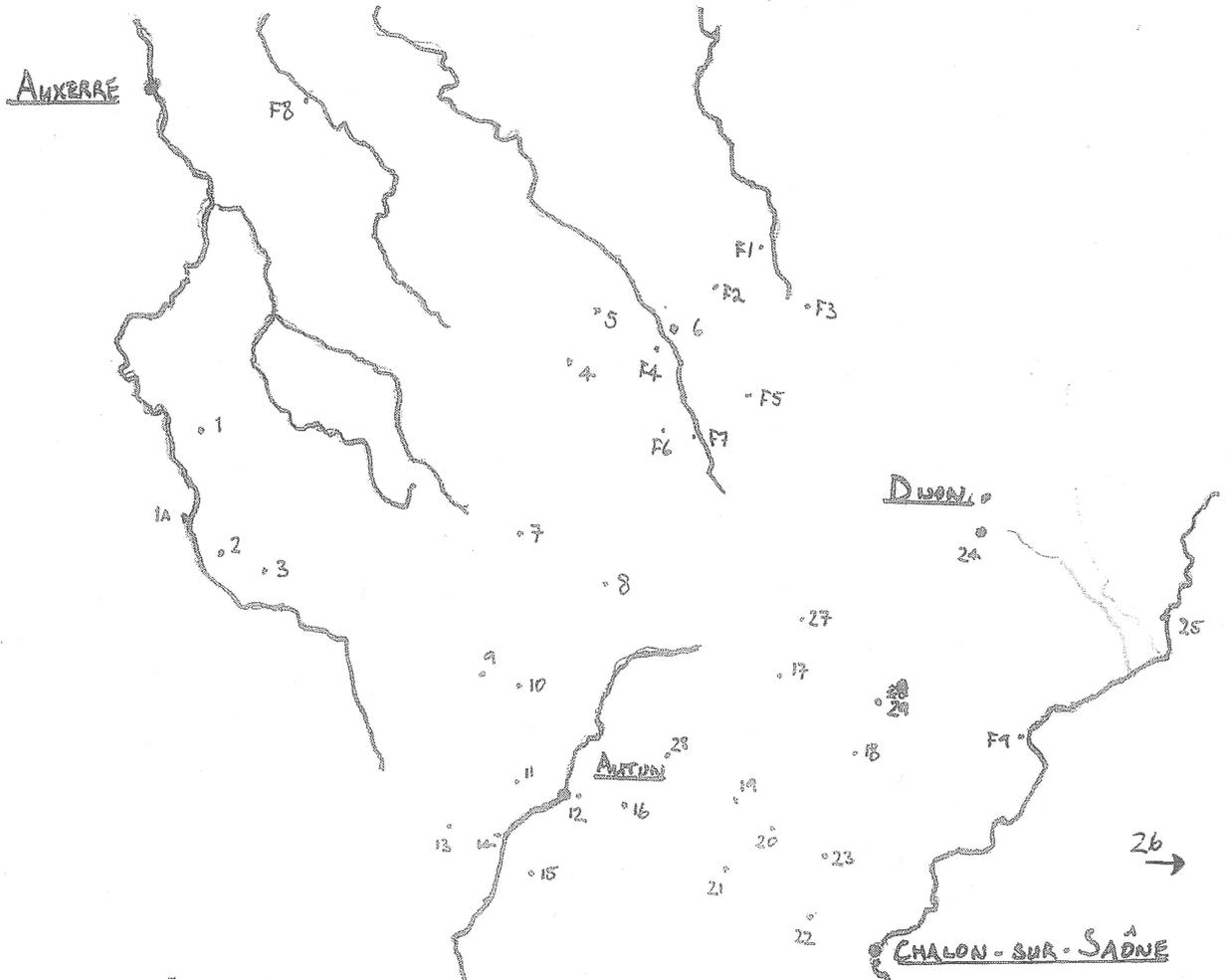
131 *D. Odo* 11.

132 *Cartulary of Flavigny*, no. 23.

133 *D. Odo* 15; Bautier, 'Les diplômes', pp. 167-9.

Properties appertaining to the cathedral church of Autun

The map represents identifiable properties of the cathedral church mentioned in charters prior to 936, as preserved in the church's cartulary, *Cartulaire de l'Église d'Autun*, ed. A. de Charmasse (Paris, 1865), plus nine identifiable *villae* (out of 15) confirmed as having been transferred to Bishop Adalgar in the papal confirmation of 877 preserved in the cartulary of Flavigny, *Cartulary of Flavigny 717-1113*, ed. C.B. Bouchard (Cambridge MA, 1991). I have followed the respective editors' identification of the place names.



- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | Teigny (<i>villa</i>) | 15. | Mesvres (dependent abbey) |
| 1A. | Marigny-sur-Yonne (<i>villa</i>) | 16. | La Porcheresse (<i>mansi</i>) |
| 2. | Corbigny (dependent abbey) | 17. | Bligny-sur-Ouche (<i>villa</i>) |
| 3. | Cervon (dependent abbey) | 18. | Volnay (<i>villa</i>) |
| 4. | Semur-en-Auxois (<i>montem...cum ecclesia et duobus molinis</i>) | 19. | Marcheseuil (<i>villa</i>) |
| 5. | Lantilly (<i>villa</i>) | 20. | Sampigny (<i>villa</i>) |
| 6. | Flavigny (dependent abbey). | 21. | Couches (dependent abbey) |
| 7. | Saulieu (dependent abbey) | 22. | St-Jean-de-Vaux (church) |
| 8. | Sussey (<i>villa</i>) | 23. | Rully (<i>villa</i>) |
| 9. | Cussy-en-Morvan (<i>villa</i>)* | 24. | Ouges / Chenôve |
| 10. | Lucenay (<i>villa</i>): | 25. | Tillenay (<i>villa</i>) |
| 11. | Monthelon (church) | 26. | Poligny (<i>villa</i>) |
| 12. | Couhard / Breuil (<i>mansi</i>) | 27. | Thorey-sur-Ouche (<i>villa</i>) |
| 13. | St-Léger-sous-Bouvray (church) | 28. | Sully (<i>villa</i>) |
| 14. | Laizy (<i>villa</i>) | 29. | Savigny-lès-Beaune (<i>villa</i>) |

Villae in Cartulary of Flavigny, no. 23:

- | | |
|-----|-------------------|
| F1. | Poiseul-la-Ville |
| F2. | Darcey |
| F3. | Chanceux |
| F4. | Pont-le-Preugny |
| F5. | Villy-en-Auxois |
| F6. | Maison aux Moines |
| F7. | Vesvres |
| F8. | Chichée |
| F9. | Glanon |

* Charmasse identifies *Cociacum* with Cussy-en-Morvan, but Cussy-la-Colonne, by Savigny-lès-Beaune, is also possible. *Cociacum* features in the *pancarta* of 936 (*C. Autun* 11 = *D. LIV* 1), in which Savigny and nearby Thorey and Bligny are all mentioned.

In addition to the above, *C. Autun* 11/*D. LIV* 1 mentions the *villae* of *Commissiacum* and *Luziacum*, *C. Autun* 21 refers in passing to *Aulaciaco villa*, and *C. Autun*, pt. 2, Appendix, no. 2 refers to numerous property rights in five surrounding *villae* which appear to be dependencies of Tillenay.

918.¹³⁴ Good relations between Argrim, Richard and Manasses are meanwhile illustrated by the fact that all three were active donors to St-Bénigne, whither Argrim retired in 910.¹³⁵

A lack of sources means that Richard's role over Autun is not consistently apparent, but he intervened on Walo's behalf in a royal charter of 900, the provisions of which included the restoration of the city's coinage from comital to episcopal control.¹³⁶ Richard himself, who had been count for 20 years, was here petitioning for the diminution of his own power. This is an illustration of the importance of the bishopric itself, the bishop's role in the charter of 918 with which we began chapter 1 is a good sign that he remained a loyal supporter of the man he called his *dux* and *dominus*. Auxerre meanwhile provides a useful indication of how the patronage of a powerful bishopric could function. Richard's acquisition of the city appears to have been peaceful – there is no sign of a conflict in the *Gesta* and Bishop Herfred remained *in situ*, unlike his less fortunate fellows in Autun and Langres – but the Justiciar intervened in royal charters for both the episcopal church and the abbey of St-Germain in 900 and 901 and installed the hated Ragenar as viscount.¹³⁷ The biographies of the three bishops after Herfred make plain that each one owed his appointment to Richard's influence. Herfred's successor, the pious but feeble Gerannus, remained securely under Ragenar's thumb, but the viscount took care to ply Richard with gifts to obtain his approval before lording it over the election proceedings.¹³⁸ Gerannus' successor Betto (914-18) was abbot of Ste-Colombe before acceding to the bishopric and the man whom Richard helped fortify the abbey, whilst Waldric (918-33) was elected with Richard's express approval.¹³⁹

Richard's failure to prevent Ragenar's usurpations in Auxerre has been seen as a sign of weakness.¹⁴⁰ Yet even though the text declines to implicate Richard in the crimes of his henchmen, nothing in the text suggests that he opposed them and it is

134 Roserot, 'Chartes inédites', no. 13.

135 Argrim's donations: *D. RR* 11; *Chronique de St-Bénigne* pp. 117, 120. Argrim also donated to the church of St Vincent at Dijon (Roserot, 'Chartes inédites', no. 8).

136 *D. CS* 33: 'addens insuper ut monetam ejusdem urbis, dudum ab eadem ecclesia pravitate quorundam indebite alienatam, nostra innovatione ei reintegraremus'.

137 *DD. CS* 31, 38. As noted above, pp. 38-9, a Count Girbald of Auxerre may have been allied to Richard in c. 890.

138 *GPA* pp. 189-95. Ragenar 'strove to subject him [Gerannus] to his orders to such a degree that the prelate could do nothing without his advice and will'. (Ille ... Ragenardus suis eum preceptionibus adeo concludere nitentur, ut extra consultum ac voluntatem eius nihil agere temptaret.)

139 *Ibid.*, p. 209.

140 Y. Sassier, 'Autour des *Gesta pontificum autissiodorensium*', in Constable and Rouche (eds), *Auctoritas*, pp. 437-51, at p. 443.

probably better to see him as balancing the interests of secular and ecclesiastical clients whose interests did not always coincide. The churchmen, no less than the secular nobility, had interests of their own which did not imply automatic loyalty to the man who had seized control of their churches in the early 890s. In addition, various sources convey the impression that Richard had, at least by the second decade of the tenth century, begun to arbitrate conflicts between his secular henchmen and the churches in the latter's favour. The *Gesta*'s positive attitude to the *dux* suggests that its author, like the anonymous poet at Sens who called him *ecclesiae clyppeus*, regarded him as a defender of church interests; one also notes that while Richard features in the lives of Gerannus' successors, there is no further mention of Ragenar, a sign, perhaps, that the duke intervened to protect the church from the viscount.¹⁴¹ Meanwhile, a series of charters from the final years of Richard's life, including the Autun charter of 918, appear to be directed against Manasses, as we shall see in a moment.

One should in any case take care not to distinguish too sharply between the attitudes of clergymen and secular aristocrats to leaders such as Richard. Attempts to diminish the status of men such as Manasses and Ragenar did not necessarily alienate other minor noblemen who, as the case of Landric illustrates, attached importance to their own independent status as patrons of important churches. Such individuals were not automatically inclined to seek out a strong secular patron. It follows that the leader himself cannot have relied on force alone in order to maintain his position: no less than the manifestation of armed power, the maintenance of rulership required the construction of an image of legitimate rulership and it is to this that we should now turn.

The construction of 'ducal' authority within Burgundy

Richard's Upper Burgundian connections slide from view after the early 890s, and there is no further evidence for his promotion of the kingship of Louis of Provence.¹⁴² His subsequent career is confined to his activities in western Burgundy itself and his status defined by his relationship with the west Frankish throne. Geoffrey Koziol has recently characterized the balance of power between the west Frankish kings

141 Ragenar remained in Auxerre until at least 924: Flodoard of Reims, *Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1906), s.a. 924.

142 There is no evidence for further contact between Richard and Irmingard or Louis. In 891, one of Louis's charters from 891 uniquely confirmed landholdings in the Autunois, and proclaimed him, a little too loudly perhaps, king *in Burgundia seu Proventia*. Perhaps Richard had by this time ceased to take an interest in his nephew's kingship.

and their regional magnates as follows:

‘Both as the tradeoff for being recognized as king by his peers and in order to regularize a dependable structure of regional authority, Odo subsequently accepted the vice-regal power of certain magnates within their territories by allowing ducal and margraval titles and prerogatives for Boso’s brother Richard in Burgundy and Bernard’s son William in the Auvergne. Such quasi-regalian powers enabled these dukes and margraves to stand as a ‘screen’ between the king and their territories. [...] Within these territories ... the king did not intervene directly; so far as he ruled at all, he ruled through the great territorial magnates’¹⁴³

This is Odo’s side of the story. But what use was a king to men whose power was as good as a king’s? Defining Richard’s position as ‘vice-regal’ gives the impression that his power consisted in a concatenation of rights and offices conferred by royal donation and that his authority depended on the continuance of royal favour. This is a curious way to characterize the régime of a man such as Richard who had seized his territory by acts of force, some of them directed against Odo himself. But Koziol is right when he says that Odo’s acknowledgement of Richard’s (and William’s) position of strength was a trade: Odo accepted a *fait accompli* in exchange for formal acquiescence to his position as king.

Odo got to remain king, but what the magnates gained by acknowledging his kingship is a more complicated question. Whether Richard in the 890s imagined himself as a regional potentate is not known, but his conception of his own position is manifested in three charters granted in the second decade of the tenth century which project an image of unchallenged dominance within the territories he had acquired. One of them is Walo’s restoration of Tillenay to the church of Autun in 918, which issued from an assembly over which Richard undoubtedly presided.¹⁴⁴ The others are the record of a *placitum* in 916, in which Richard deprived a certain Cadilo of land that he and his heirs had unjustly taken from the same church of Autun, and a charter confirming the restoration of certain lands to the church of Langres in 918.¹⁴⁵ All three of them serve to proclaim and reinforce a political order that concentrated power in the hands of Richard and his immediate family.

Each of the three is a restoration of land, but the charters tell us little about the mechanics of judicial processes. Walo’s charter and the charter at Langres both confirm

143 Koziol, ‘Charles the Simple’, p. 359.

144 *D. RR* 51; cf. above, p. 1.

145 *D. RR* 50; Roserot, ‘Chartes inédites’ no. 13.

judgements already given. The latter, which notes how the canons of Langres had appeared before Richard as plaintiffs (*proclamatores*), explicitly acknowledges a legal case but obscures its details. The judgement against Cadilo, which concerned Cadilo's occupation of an appurtenance of the *villa* of Tillenay at nearby Chenôve, invokes a standard legal procedure in which the advocate of the bishop of Autun challenges the defendant to appear at a set time and date before an audience of *scabini* at which both parties apparently intended to produce witnesses to prove their case; but there was no trial, because the defendant, 'on the advice of his friends', conceded before the case was tried. One presumes he was leant on. The charter, written in the first person from Cadilo's perspective, depicts not so much the settlement of a dispute as the performance of his submission. Like the canons of Langres, the bishop of Autun had his claims vindicated in full and there is no hint of compensation for the losers.

If the charters tell us little about legal process, they do tell us something about the imposition of Richard's dominance and the importance to it of the episcopal churches. All three, moreover, appear to uphold ecclesiastical rights to land against the claims his one-time right-hand man, Manasses. It may have been good politics that Richard's restoration of property at Lucey to the canons of Langres omits to specify how they had lost it: the claim was confirmed expressly on Manasses' advice and there is every possibility that Manasses had appropriated the *villa* in the first place. The lands usurped by Cadilo lay at Chenôve, probably the one on the outskirts of modern Dijon; they thus lay outside the main run of Autun's estates, but close to the area where Walo and Manasses appear to have originated. Finally, Bishop Walo's restoration of Tillenay reinvested the church of Autun with an estate that the by then deceased Manasses had usurped.¹⁴⁶ Tillenay, on the Saône southeast of Dijon, was a substantial estate, and the Autun clerics had previously forged several royal charters in support of their claim to it.¹⁴⁷ Its restoration to the church seems to have occasioned a falling-out between Richard and Manasses' widow and sons, as will be discussed in the following chapter. However, it also a clear illustration of the importance of ecclesiastical clients to the

146 Manasses probably died on 1 June 918. The necrology at Dijon records his death on 1 June; Roserot, 'Chartes inédites', no. 13 implies he was alive in May 918; *D. RR* 51, issued some time after 1 Sep. 918, implies he was dead. Cf. Schamper, *S. Bénigne*, pp. 235-6.

147 *C. Autun* vol. 2, appendix, no. 2, gives a partial indication of its size and shows that it had property at five surrounding *villae*. On the forgeries, see Bautier, 'Introduction', pp. CXXI-CLIII. It is uncertain whether these were prepared in order to obtain the royal confirmation *D. Odo* 35, or whether this itself is a forgery and was designed along with the others for the purposes of this hearing. Despite Richard's approval and the abundance of fake documentation, the canons of Autun remained insecure about Tillenay. In 936, when Louis IV d'Outremer granted them a *pancarta* confirming landholdings whose charters they told him had been destroyed, Tillenay was on the list (*D. LIV* 1).

dux's secular power, and a sign that Richard earned his reputation as a man of justice by upholding church rights even in the face of his leading secular followers.

All three charters use exalted language to describe Richard and his immediate family. In Cadilo's charter, Richard appears as *nobilissimus marchio*, his three sons are *clarissimi* and *elegantissimae prolis comites*. Walo's charter calls Richard *excellentissimus dux*, *piissimus dux*, and *princeps*, while his wife Adelaide is *nobilissima* and his three sons *clarissimi*. The Langres charter is more restrained, but it nevertheless qualifies Richard as *comes et dux Burgundiae*. There are echoes here of the extravagant epithet applied to Richard in the coronation charter of Louis of Provence (*maxime inclytissimi Richardi ducis eximique principis*), an appellation which itself echoed the title of *dux Italiae* applied to Boso by Charles the Bald.¹⁴⁸ It is also noticeable that the word *dux* was employed under Richard's authority by different scribes in different locations – the texts of the Autun charters betray no sign of common authorship with that from Langres. This is a suggestion, perhaps, that Richard himself sponsored its use and understood the term personally to imply a particularly elevated status. Its use was not universal, however: Cadilo's charter omits *dux* and uses the epithet *marchio*, favoured by the royal court, to identical effect, from which one may infer that the word *dux* is a flattering description of Richard's status rather than a precise definition of it. We should understand such terminology as constituting a general vocabulary of praise, not as embodying a well-ordered conception of regional authority.

No doubt the family appreciated hearing itself described in this effusive language. Raoul, Richard's son, signed both Cadilo's and Walo's charter 'by order of his father, in his presence and on his behalf, by his own hand', implying literacy.¹⁴⁹ Richard's charter for Langres also has space for Adelaide and all three of their sons (but not Richard himself) to sign *propria manu*, although the copy that survives is unsigned. We are justified, however, in seeing the main function of these charters in their integral role in the assemblies that went with them: these were first and foremost proclamations made before a general audience of supporters. This is most clearly evident in Cadilo's case. Cadilo performs his restitution of the properties he had renounced by first returning to Richard, and then placed by him 'in the hands' of the bishop and his advocate. These very visual descriptions emphasize the centrality of the *princeps* and

148 *MGH Capitularia II*, nos. 289, 221.

149 *D. RR 50*: 'Signum Rodulphi comitis filii praedicti principis, qui per jussionem praenominati patris sui in conspectu illius et ejus vice firmavit et manu propria signavit.' *D. RR 51* has virtually identical language. Presumably illiteracy or physical injury rendered Richard himself incapable of making a mark.

the other parties' dependence on him, and their evident physicality suggests strongly that the handover was acted out physically.¹⁵⁰ The subscription clause, in which Richard's eldest son subscribed on his father's behalf under Richard's watchful eye, underlines the role of the charter itself in the proceedings. The superlatives applied to Richard and his sons, each of whom Cadilo's text names individually, are designed to convey the family's physical domination of the proceedings. The fact that the family, including Adelaide, likewise showed up in numbers at both Langres and Autun underscores the impression of a self-consciously dominant family clique.

In 916 there was nothing new about magnates holding assemblies on their own account: we have already seen Richard doing just that at Longvic in the early 890s. The extravagance and pomp of these charters nevertheless suggests a magnate who was secure and confident in his position as the acknowledged leader of western Burgundy. Why he did he not simply declare himself king in the 890s, and so dispense with the need for self-abasement before Odo and his successor Charles the Simple? Perhaps he was put off by the unhappy example of his elder brother. There was also a practical obstacle: claiming royal status in the 890s would not have meant a commitment to remain within a pre-set, self-proclaimed, boundary; a King Richard might have appeared as a threat to his neighbours, and given waverers amongst his own clients a ready excuse to defect. But he was also simply too late. Although Charles the Fat's death had unexpectedly thrown royalty open to all comers, *all* of the new kingdoms of the tenth century were established within three years of his demise, after which the window of opportunity for upstarts abruptly shut. The ideological specialness of kingship survived the crisis that the absence of a clear successor to Charles brought about, and indeed the persistence of multiple narratives of kingship throughout the tenth century is a sign that royal status required particular justification and could not be claimed arbitrarily by those who were merely powerful. Simply building a power base, as Richard had done in the 890s, did not confer any of the narratives of legitimacy that kings still needed to justify their position.¹⁵¹ Some years later, when Raoul, Richard's son, obtained the west Frankish kingship for himself, what he stepped into was an unexpected vacancy for an established throne. Richard's position demanded a less aggressive stance.

Indeed there was a general lack of a legitimizing narrative for regional

150 B.-M. Tock, 'La mise en scène des actes en France au Haut Moyen Âge', *FMSI* 38 (2004), pp. 287-96, is a useful discussion of descriptions of physical performances in charters.

151 See chapter 1.

supremos, and it makes sense to view the elaborate praise of the personal qualities of the *dux* and his family not only as declarations of authority but as attempts to bolster it and compensate for the lack of a traditional source of authority.¹⁵² Even as they accepted Richard's power, the inhabitants of western Burgundy continued to look towards the west Frankish royal court for legitimizing authority, and Richard continued throughout his life to accept the construction of his own authority in terms of a ruler-subordinate relationship with the kings of west Francia. This meant appearing at the royal court in the guise of a supplicant, and paying respect to public authority in his own public acts – this can be seen clearly in the dating clause of the Langres 'ducal' charter, which acknowledges Charles's twentieth regnal year, and this is by no means the only case where royalty figures in an act that was carried out on Richard's authority alone. The Auxerre episcopal *Gesta*, which describes in no uncertain terms how viscount Ragenar sought Richard's approval, not the king's, for his imposition of the weak-willed Bishop Gerannus on the see, also preserved the recollection that Gerannus' election had been confirmed by the distant King Charles.¹⁵³ Perceptions of the right order of things remained focused on the king to a sufficient degree that the bishop's authority was bolstered by obtaining the seal of approval from a king who had no practical influence over his city.

Kingship and the legitimate order

The reign of Charles the Simple, who acceded to the throne as Odo's successor on the latter's death in January 898, has been characterized by Yves Sassier as 'a new form of government based on mutual understanding' – although this is perhaps misleading insofar as it implies that earlier Carolingian government was more absolutist than consensual, it is accurate insofar as Charles, like Odo, was forced to reckon with the power of the regional magnates, and, like Berengar I in Italy, utilized the office of kingship and its associated rituals to keep himself at the apex of the political system.¹⁵⁴ Something similar was going on in east Francia following the accession of Louis the

152 G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1992), p. 39.

153 *GPA* p. 191.

154 Y. Sassier, *Hugues Capet: naissance d'une dynastie* ([Paris], 1987), p. 75. On Berengar, see Rosenwein, 'Family Politics'; *eadem*, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 137-55.

Child, orchestrated there by the key churchmen who functioned as Louis's guardians.¹⁵⁵ In Charles's case, exploiting the social power inherent in simply being king went some way to counteract the comparative weakness of his landed resources and raise him above the status of men who were his equal in terms of physical power – Robert probably excluded him entirely from Neustria, i.e. the land between Seine and Loire, and he is only seen in Richard's Burgundy at times when Richard's approval is either visible or readily inferred. Over the course of his reign he made great efforts to resuscitate the belief in Carolingian greatness that had underpinned the dynasty's success in the ninth century.¹⁵⁶

The partial success of this strategy, however, does not mean that everybody got on, and there are good grounds for believing that Charles and Robert never got on at all.¹⁵⁷ The king's accession, notwithstanding his status as a legitimate Carolingian, was not necessarily smooth. The Annals of St-Vaast, our main source for Odo's final years, show how Charles's accession was born of a negotiated settlement between the two rivals but their account belies the notion that it was readily accepted by Odo's friends and supporters, who by this time included Richard of Burgundy.¹⁵⁸ Few of the major west Frankish magnates rushed to show him support: Baldwin of Flanders stayed away, and Robert, Richard and William the Pious of Aquitaine only chose to do homage after a heavy Viking raid wrought havoc, probably at Charles's instigation, on Aquitaine and Neustria in the spring of 898.¹⁵⁹ Richard perhaps required additional persuading: according to the annalist, an attack on Paris later that year was thwarted when Charles put the raiders to flight, but instead of returning to their habitual bases at the mouth of the Seine, they went upriver and elected to overwinter in Burgundy, probably with Charles's connivance again. They remained there until Richard routed them on 28 December and drove them back downstream.¹⁶⁰

If the magnates did not wholly subscribe to Charles's bid to reclaim the rights

155 Offergeld, 'Reges pueri', pp. 528-86, albeit with greater emphasis than I would place on the perceived weakness of the central power.

156 B. Schneidmüller, *Karolingische Tradition und frühes französisches Königtum. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftslegitimation der westfränkisch-französischen Monarchie im 10. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 121-47.

157 Koziol, 'Charles the Simple'.

158 *AV* s.a. 897-8; *D. Odo* 42 (21 Nov. 897) acknowledges Richard's status in Burgundy by accepting the grant in perpetuity of fiscal land at Richard's supplication to a certain Giselbert, who subsequently appears alongside Richard, his family, and Manasses at an assembly by Dijon. (*Chronique de St-Bénigne*, pp. 119). The name may suggest a Lotharingian connection, and/or a connection to Manasses, who later had a son named Giselbert.

159 *AV* s.a. 898. Charles habitually engaged the Vikings as short-term allies. Koziol. 'Charles the Simple' p. 364 with refs.

160 *AV* s.a. 898; 'Annales Sanctae Columbae Senonensis', ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores* 1 (Hanover,

and status of his illustrious forebears, they nevertheless travelled to the king's court, not vice versa, and appeared at royal assemblies such as that in 900 which saw Charles, Richard, Robert and Heribert of Vermandois gather to 'discuss what to do about the Northmen'.¹⁶¹ A royal assembly was probably the reason for Richard's presence in Reims at around the same time, when his jewelled scabbard was stolen from him in the midst of a crowd.¹⁶² Magnates also permitted their relationships with the king to be expressed formally in terms of the traditional division between king and subject, allowing the king to make grants for recipients in their own zones of influence. These were exercises in mutual recognition, but also reminders the king's higher social standing.

Nine of the eleven surviving charters issued by Charles for Burgundian recipients feature Richard as a petitioner.¹⁶³ By thus interposing him between the beneficiary and the king, such interventions publicized Richard's status as the recipient's champion, and they include a sequence of three early grants, issued as Richard accompanied Charles from Compiègne to Verberie in June 900, which point specifically to Charles's acceptance of Richard's dominion over the churches of Auxerre and Autun.¹⁶⁴ At the same time, however, Richard as petitioner basked in the reflected glory that came from closeness to the king. His adoption of the pose of a supplicant strengthened traditional conceptions of the special status of royalty and, moreover, communicated them downwards to the beneficiaries, something that could be further reinforced if the king visited the magnates' territory in person: Charles, perhaps surprisingly, visited Autun in 902 and granted a charter directly to Bishop Walo without Richard's intervention. The motive for this manoeuvre, which seems to bypass Richard's authority by establishing a direct connection between king and bishop is unfortunately not recorded. It presumably had Richard's approval, however: whilst

1826), pp. 102-9; cf. also 'Historia Francorum Senonensis', ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 9 (Hanover, 1861), pp. 364-9; 'Clarius', *Chronicon*, p. 70. The St-Vaast account gives the date and locates the battle at Argenteuil, whereas the Sens annalist gives no date and locates it 40 kilometres downstream at St-Florentin. Some older historiography infers a second battle from the reference in the *Historia Francorum Senonensis* to a battle at St-Florentin in June 899. However, the sources refer consistently to one battle only, and even the chronicle of 'Clarius' of Sens, which used the *Historia* as a source for this event, gave the date as *V nonas januarii*. It is now recognized that only one engagement took place, in December 898 or January 899; the reference to June in the surviving text of the *Historia* must be a mistake.

161 *AV* s.a. 900: 'Rex vero cum Rothberto et Richardo atque Heriberto coepit sermocinari de Nortmannis, quid agerent'.

162 Flodoard, *Historia*, IV:12.

163 *DD. CS* 31-3; 38; 42; 55, 59, 79, 82, plus a lost charter referred to in the *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, p. 116 (= *D. CS* 8)

164 *DD. CS* 31-3.

Richard's presence at Autun is not attested, he was visible again in Charles's company barely three weeks later.¹⁶⁵

It is evident from the charters themselves that Charles did not retain dispositive power over the fiscal or other lands in Richard's zone of control, either in practice or in the legal understanding of participants in the transactions. The king's 907 grant to Otbert, cathedral prior of Langres, is a case in point.¹⁶⁶ In it, Charles confirms the grant to Otbert, originally made by Charles the Fat, of a *mansus* at Fixin in the Oscheret.¹⁶⁷ The petitioners were Argrim, bishop of Langres, the *comes venerandus* Richard, and Manasses *fidelis noster*. None of those present can have imagined that Fixin was subject to Charles's control. For one thing, his cousin had already granted it away. More importantly, Fixin lay at the heart of an area where Richard himself was propertied: it adjoins Fixey, whose local church Richard patronized, and is barely a mile from Gevrey, where he donated a *mansus* to St-Bénigne.¹⁶⁸ It is also evident from the contrast between the size of the property concerned (a single *mansus*) and the bevy of high-ranking petitioners that Otbert's security of tenure was not the primary concern of this procedure.

Surviving charter evidence tells us that Richard's close association with Charles was not a constant feature of Charles's reign. Seven of Charles's eleven charters for Burgundian recipients were issued between 900 and 902, during which period Richard appears to have been Charles's major ally, in opposition to Robert of Neustria, who stormed off from Charles's court in 900 after apparently being insulted by Manasses.¹⁶⁹ When Robert returned to Charles's court in 903, Richard disappeared, suggesting that the system of alliances had been reconfigured to Richard's disadvantage. Richard and Charles do not appear together again until Otbert received his charter at Compiègne on 4 April 907. The location and date – 4 April was the day before Easter – show that this was an important occasion, and so conceivably the occasion on which a soured relationship between king and magnate was ceremoniously reconstituted. Otbert himself was a subordinate figure, but also a man with connections who had enjoyed a long career as second-in-command to a succession of bishops.¹⁷⁰ This was not the first

165 *DD. CS* 37, 38.

166 *D. CS* 55.

167 *D. CIII* 155.

168 *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, pp. 113, 116.

169 *AV* s.a. 900; Koziol, 'Charles the Simple', pp. 361-2, 380-5.

170 Quantin, *Cartulaire générale de l'Yonne*, no. 60, places him as first witness in a charter issued by Bishop Theobald; Roserot, 'Chartes inédites', nos. 8 and 11 have him as first witness after Argrim; *ibid.*, no. 7, issued at a synod, lists him as first witness after the bishops; *ibid.* no. 1 shows him

time a royal diploma had been issued in his favour whose true significance lay in the wider political scene. Charles the Fat had confirmed an exchange of lands between him and Wido of Spoleto in 882, and granted him his mansus at Fixin amongst a raft of charters honouring Bishop Geilo at Séléstat in 887 in the context of Irmingard and Louis's state visit.¹⁷¹ Renewing Otbert's grant in 907 thus would have had been a sign of good royal relations with the church of Langres, but also the opportunity for Richard and Charles to publicize a newly rediscovered friendship, which then endured until at least 908 and possibly as far as the ordination of Gerannus in 910.

This, to be clear, was very much a mutual acknowledgement of status of the kind German historians refer to as a bond of *amicitia*. Whilst the Burgundians journeyed to Charles's principal palace, and petitioned for the grant of a charter which pointedly invoked the memory of Charles's imperial grandfather, their role as Otbert's intercessors in a public confirmation of the territorial *status quo* in an area that was clearly not subject to Charles's dominion can only be construed as a token of royal recognition of their status in the county of Langres, and probably of Richard's status in western Burgundy generally. A similar case of mutual recognition, between King Henry I and Burchard of Alemannia, will be discussed in chapter 7 below. Such occasions raised the king above the common run of magnates and granted him a presence in the regions that he otherwise lacked, through the assertion of rights and claims which he might later be able to turn to his profit. However, they also ensured that the magnates and regions were inextricably woven into the royal system, and ensured that the kingship remained a higher prize even for men such as Richard who were able in practice to function as autonomous rulers.

The lack of narrative evidence makes it hard to discern the relationship between Charles and Richard over the course of the next decade. Charles restored land in the *pagus* of Nevers to the church of Autun at Richard's request in 908, after which they do not appear again together until 914. In the meantime, Richard co-operated with Robert of Neustria in the defence against the ongoing menace of the Northmen. Viking raids into Burgundy, if they had ceased at all after 900, had evidently recommenced by 910, since the biography of Bishop Gerannus of Auxerre (910-14) refers repeatedly to the Northmen's incursions, and the abbey of Ste-Colombe was fortified at around the same

issuing a charter for the cathedral church on his own authority, apparently during the vacancy after Argrim's death in 909. Roserot dates the latter to the reign of Charles the Bald, but this is clearly wrong since ten of the eleven legible witnesses also appear in no. 11.

171 *DD. CIII* 61, 155.

time to keep the pagans out.¹⁷² Richard and Robert campaigned jointly, perhaps in 911, to relieve a Viking siege of Chartres, thereby achieving a famous victory which appears to have brought about a more-or-less permanent concession of land at the mouth of the Seine to the Northmen, and, more importantly for the magnates, a more-or-less permanent cessation of raids.¹⁷³

The closeness of the two magnates' collaboration is open to question, since some later recollections intriguingly attribute the victory to one or the other, but not to both. Flodoard, in west Francia, made Robert the sole hero and forgot Richard. Ralph Glaber's Burgundian account, by contrast, forgot Robert and credited 'Duke Richard' with the confrontation and definitive rout of the Vikings.¹⁷⁴ There may be some truth, therefore, in Dudo of St-Quentin's Norman retelling, which grants both magnates a role but contrives never to place them on stage at the same time.¹⁷⁵ Dudo, however, also imagined Robert and Charles the Simple to be friends and close allies, but although Charles is generally credited with negotiating the ensuing peace it is by no means certain that he did so with Robert's full support.¹⁷⁶ However, it is evident that Richard and Robert shared a common interest in facing down the Viking threat.

Richard reappears in royal company in 914, when the king made a substantial grant of 40 *mansi* at Poligny in the western Jura to Richard's son Hugh – like Fixin, a location over which it is hard to imagine Charles exercising influence in practice.¹⁷⁷ The grant foreshadows Hugh's subsequent role as minder of the family's interests in Upper Burgundy. Richard's last sojourn with the king was in 915, when both he and Robert turned up at Gondreville in Lotharingia to petition for a grant in favour of the abbey of

172 *GPA* pp. 193-7; 205.

173 'Annales Sanctae Columbae Senonensis', s.a. 911: 'Hoc anno 13. Kal. Aug. in sabbato cum obsideret Nortmanni Carnotiam urbem, et iam penitus esset capienda, superveniendo Richardus et Rothebertus comites, omnipotentes Dei auxilio et beatae Mariae patrocinio roborati, decerunt stragem maximam paganorum, a paucis qui remanserent obsides capientes.' Later Sénonais sources follow this account, viz. 'Historia Francorum Senonensis', p. 365 (adding that '6800 pagans were killed') and 'Clarius', *Chronicon*, p. 70.

174 Flodoard, *Historia*, IV:14: 'De Nordmannorum quoque mitigatione atque conversione valde laboravit, donec post bellum, quod Rotbertus comes contra eos Carnotenus gessit, fidem Christi suscipere ceperunt concessis sibi maritimis quibusdam pagis cum Rotomagensi, quam pene deleverant, urbe et isdem subiectis'; Rodolfus Glaber, *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, ed. and trans. J. France (Oxford, 1989), I:20: 'Sed cum interea predictę gentis exercitus more solito ad Gallias procedere decreuisset, occurrit illis iam longius a solo proprio remotis uenerabilis Burgundiae dux Richardus, pater scilicet regis Rodulfi, ut supra commemorauimus, initoque cum eis prelio tanta cede eosdem prostravit ut perpauci ex eis fuga lapsi ad propria uix remeaerent.'

175 Dudo of St-Quentin, 'De moribus et actibus primorum normanniae ducum libri tres', *PL* vol. 141, cols 607-758.

176 Koziol, 'Charles the Simple' pp. 364-6.

177 *DD. CS* 59, 79. Cf. *C. Autun* 10, in which Adelaide grants the *villa* of Poligny, its church and these 40 *mansi* to the episcopal church. (Below, pp. 77-8)

Tournus.¹⁷⁸ Both men had connections to Tournus – Robert had acted as its petitioner before Odo in 893, whilst Richard’s brother Boso had patronized it in the time of Charles the Bald – so their joint participation may, as Koziol has suggested, signal good relations between the two magnates.¹⁷⁹ In reality, however, it is impossible to know with certainty what was going on.

To understand the significance of the kingship to the magnates we must return a final time to the assembly at Autun in 918, and to the restoration of Tillenay to the church. The distinctive prayer clauses of Walo’s charter make it plain that the occasion of Tillenay’s restoration was orchestrated by the *dux*, not by the bishop. The beneficiaries are Richard and his wife, but also the souls of the emperor Charles the Bald and Queen Irmintrud, the late King Odo, and Odo’s brother, the *marchio* Robert of Neustria. This, as Stuart Airlie has pointed out, forms part of the general evidence for the way in which the Robertian clan insinuated itself into the remembrance patterns of the west Frankish realm.¹⁸⁰ It is strikingly odd, however, and clearly no accident, that the reigning king - Charles the Simple - was left out.

Prayer requirements were important social prizes actively striven for by major aristocrats, and the recording of names for the purposes of prayer could be used to cement the formation of alliances of friendship between important political actors.¹⁸¹ Although there are no monastic remembrance books from western Francia, entries in the *liber memorialis* at Remiremont demonstrate that the practice of recording alliances in commemorative prayer bonds extended west of the Alps and that Richard, Robert of Neustria and Charles the Simple all participated in it. We have already encountered two from the 890s: one recording a triple alliance between Charles the Simple, the emperor Lambert of Spoleto, and Rudolf I of Upper Burgundy, another placing Richard, Manasses and their wives alongside Louis of Provence and his mother Irmingard.¹⁸² A third lists Richard’s widow Adelaide and her three sons, again apparently acting in concert, in a group recording another three-way alliance between Rudolf, Henry I of east Francia, and Robert of Neustria.¹⁸³

178 *D. CS* 82.

179 *D. Odo* 33.

180 Airlie, ‘Les élites’, p. 433.

181 The key study is Althoff, *Amicitiae*. Althoff’s book can give the inadvertent impression that such practices peaked in 920s east Francia; U. Ludwig, ‘Krise des Karolingerreiches und Gebetsgedenken. Anmerkungen zum Problem der “Großen Personengruppen” in den frühmittelalterlichen *libri vitae*’, in F. Bougard *et al.*, (eds), *Les élites au haut moyen âge*, pp. 439- 456, shows that the practice was more widespread in space and time.

182 *Lib. mem. Rem.* fol. 3v, 11v.

183 *Ibid.*, fol. 6v.

The second decade of the tenth century is a murky time in west Frankish history, but at the end of it, in the words of the annalist of Ste-Colombe at Sens, ‘no small quarrel erupted between the king and the rest of the governors of the kingdom, and on that pretext many slaughters of Christian people were carried out.’¹⁸⁴ In 918, therefore, it seems likely that the uneasy relationship between Charles and the magnates was about to explode into full-blown war. Neither Robert nor his dead brother King Odo had been benefactors of the church of Autun, and so the impetus to pray for them in Bishop Walo’s charter is unlikely to have come from the clergy. Thus whilst the charter and the assembly celebrated at one level the just restoration of church property, they also served to proclaim a new political alliance between Richard and Robert and cement it into the consciousness of all those present. The prayer clauses traced a line of legitimate rule from the halcyon days of Charles the Bald, via the deceased King Odo, to a new régime which aligned Richard with Robert, and the pointed exclusion of Charles the Simple, the reigning king, made sure everyone knew where they stood. The importance of the monarchy to the magnates cannot be made more clear.

Did the political changes that followed the death of Charles the Fat represent the continuation or the overthrow of Carolingian politics in west Francia? It is evident that the sudden evaporation of Carolingian legitimacy transformed the political climate, unleashed a great deal of violence, and provided an opportunity for astute men such as Richard of Autun to carve out an autonomous sphere of influence. It would be a mistake, however, to see the emergence of Richard’s duchy of Burgundy as the consequence of a local sense of identity, or of a predetermined conception of a discrete political space.

Richard’s Burgundy did not explode spontaneously from a political vacuum. Despite the revolution at the top, political power continued to be founded on the assembly of a clientele and the control over land, in particular the very large estates controlled by the major churches, and local disputes intersected with wider regnal conflicts. To this extent the upheavals of the 890s did not differ significantly from previous decades. Furthermore, although prising churches from the monarchy’s direct control lay at the heart of Richard’s autonomy, he did not turn his territorial power into a self-contained political unit. Loyalty of the duke’s followers to his leadership is often

184 ‘Annales Sanctae Columbae Senonensis’, s.a. 919: ‘Sequenti anno non minima inter regem et reliquos regni satrapas exordia est dissensio.’

taken for granted as a natural consequence of strong leadership or of the natural tendency of a regional aristocracy to cleave together. Yet the intricate connections between the dukedom and the kingdom not only remained alive but, as the charter evidence shows, remained fundamental to political thinking. The grandiose contemporary praise of the *excellentissimus dux* reflects a deficit in traditional sources of legitimacy. Richard's willingness to submit publicly to royal authority indicates how important it was - not so much for the king, but for Richard himself and those he wanted to follow him - to consolidate his position within the traditional order. This had important effects on the conception of the Ricardian 'duchy', which did not become established as a community or a unit of territory, and both the *dux*'s own family interests, and the interests of others in his orbit continued to extend beyond its bounds. Moreover, as the population continued to view the kingship as the fount of legitimate rule, magnates continued to construe the kingship as the ultimate prize, as is clear from Walo's charter and still more so from the accession of Raoul, Richard's son, to the west Frankish throne in 923. The next chapter will show how monarchy and family land continued to be of primary significance, over and above the preservation of the newly established 'duchy' as an independent political space.

Chapter 4

Burgundy under Raoul

In a simplified view of tenth-century west Francia, the ‘vice-regal’ territorial principalities, once created, swiftly became entrenched political realities, forming a fixed point in the mental landscape of the ruling class. Thus arises the common impression that after Richard the Justiciar died in September 921, his ‘duchy’ of Burgundy remained a key organizing principle for the political activity of the subsequent generation, even after his son Raoul took the crown of the west Frankish kingdom in 923. Raoul’s flimsy grip on royal west Francia is often set in contrast against an inherited ducal realm which provided a bedrock of loyal support, and a variety of candidates have been proposed as likely regional governors of western Burgundy during Raoul’s reign; in addition to Raoul himself, these include Raoul’s brother, Hugh ‘the Black’, Count Manasses II (son of Richard’s nephew Manasses), and, surprisingly, Raoul’s wife Queen Emma, the sister of Robert of Neustria.¹

The very multiplicity of these suggestions betrays an underlying problem: contemporary sources offer no references to a *dux* or *marchio* in Burgundy between 918 and 936, when Raoul had died and Hugh the Black, *humilis comes et marchio*, abruptly surfaced in Autun on the anniversary of their father’s death. The survival of the dukedom as office or territorial unit over the intervening period is therefore a matter of pure conjecture, based on a presumption of institutional continuity. Moreover, the complex of interests in west Burgundy that Hugh inherited, or laid claim to, in 936 differed substantially from that bequeathed by Richard the Justiciar. Hugh’s position was augmented by his interests in the Upper Burgundian kingdom, in Provence and in Mâcon; by contrast Auxerre and Sens, the latter both Richard’s and Raoul’s place of burial, had fallen into west Frankish, Robertian hands. Sources for the period up to 936 in fact demonstrate that the political behaviour of the generation of Richard’s sons was determined, as Richard’s had been, by the pursuit of family interests, control over land and church resources, and a belief in the central role of the kingship. So little was it concerned with the preservation of the duchy of Burgundy as such that one may

1 Hugh: Sassier, *Hugues Capet*, p. 90; K.F. Werner, ‘Westfranken-Frankreich unter den Spätkarolingern und frühen Kapetingern (888-1060)’, in T. Schieder (ed.), *Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte*, vol.1 (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 731-83, repr. with original page nos. in Werner, *Vom Frankenreich*, at p. 742. Manasses II: Bouchard, *Those of My Blood*, p. 146. Emma is the odd suggestion of R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751-987* (Harlow, 1983), p. 310.

question whether they thought of it as a ‘duchy’ at all.

The Rémois perspective on Burgundy

Flodoard’s annals, written more or less contemporaneously at Reims from the early 920s onwards, are the only major narrative source for this period, and it is therefore vital to understand the limitations of their Rémois perspective.² The annals differentiated *Francia* from *Burgundia*, as well as from other areas of Gaul (*Aquitania*, *Gothia*, the *regnum Lothariense*); as regards Burgundy at least, this marks a structural boundary in Flodoard’s writing between the area he knows well and an area about which he is ill-informed. Raoul is repeatedly seen ‘coming into Francia’ and ‘returning to Burgundy’, where his itinerary is usually a mystery to the annalist.³ Flodoard thus makes it abundantly clear that Burgundy was vital to Raoul’s kingship whilst being frustratingly uninformative about the details. Little is disclosed about the identity of Raoul’s Burgundian followers, and only a handful of events from Burgundian locations are reported, so that it is evident that the annalist had either no news source or no interest there.

It is difficult to tell to what extent Flodoard’s impressions reflect a deeper administrative division between Burgundy and Francia proper, since evidence from charters and local narratives is in short supply, notwithstanding the large numbers of charters detailing land transactions which survive in the cartularies of St-Vincent in Mâcon and, especially, Cluny in the Mâconnais.⁴ Inevitably, modern historiography tends to concentrate its attention where the source material is most abundant: hence there is a sub-genre of Cluny studies which is only incidentally concerned with Cluny’s position in Burgundian politics, whilst many accounts of Raoul’s time tend to mimic Flodoard’s viewpoint, acknowledging Burgundy’s centrality to Raoul’s power at the

2 On the annals see now S. Lecouteux, ‘Le contexte de rédaction des *Annales* de Flodoard de Reims (919-966)’, *Le Moyen Âge* 116 (2010), pp. 51-121. I have not yet been able to read the recently published second instalment. On Flodoard’s life and other works: M. Sot, *Un historien et son église au X^e siècle: Flodoard de Reims* (Paris, 1993); P.C. Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims. Sein Leben und seine Dichtung ‘De triumphis Christi’* (Leiden, 1978).

3 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 924: ‘indeque regreditur in Burgundiam’; s.a. 925: ‘in Burgundiam cum quibusdam ex Francia militibus ... proficiscitur’; *ibid.*: ‘Rodulfus interea de Burgundia revertitur in Franciam’; s.a. 928: ‘Rodulfus de Burgundia cum hostili Burgundionum manu venit in Franciam’; *ibid.*: ‘Quo facto, Rodulfus in Burgundiam revertitur’; *ibid.*: ‘Regina uxor Rodulfi Laudunum relinquit et in Burgundiam redit’; s.a. 930: ‘Rodulfus rex in Franciam veniens’; *ibid.*: ‘Rodulfo rege in Burgundiam regresso...’; s.a. 931: ‘Rodulfus rex in Franciam revertitur’; s.a. 932: ‘Anno DCCCCXXII rex Rodulfus in Burgundiam reversus’; *ibid.*: ‘Rodulfus rex, Giselberto recepto, a Burgundia revertitur in Franciam.’

4 *Cartulaire de St-Vincent de Mâcon*, ed. M.-C. Ragut (Mâcon, 1864).

same time as relegating it to the periphery of the narrative. Such accounts are also liable to be brief, and even Chaume's discussion of the period is dominated by Flodoard.⁵ The result is that Burgundy can appear as an oasis of unity and calm next to turbulent Francia. Philippe Lauer's description of a rebellion by Count Giselbert of Autun as 'de petites difficultés d'ordre intérieur, presque domestiques' finds echoes in more recent work, in which the underlying presumption is that the Justiciar bequeathed his duchy intact to his eldest son.⁶ According to Jean Dunbabin's summary for the *New Cambridge Medieval History*, 'Radulf [i.e. Raoul] kept the Autunois, Senonais, Auxerrois and Dijonnais for himself ... and gave the rest of his lands and offices to Hugh. [...]. Had Radulf's son (by his wife Emma, daughter of Robert I) not predeceased his father, west Francia might have become a realm centred on Dijon rather than Rheims, Laon, Orléans or Paris.'⁷ Her implied belief that the dukedom was a solid support base under Raoul's unchallenged command reflects a wider consensus.

Surviving sources unfortunately tell us little about the nature of Raoul's Burgundian possessions, but the reality is almost certainly less straightforward. As discussed in the previous chapter, Richard the Justiciar's authority in the region appears to have relied heavily on his dominant relationship with the region's major churches. Under this régime, certain church lands fell into the hands of Richard's men: Viscount Ragenar's occupation of lands belonging to the cathedral church of Auxerre and Manasses' occupation of Autun's property at Tillenay probably had his approval. In 936 the clerics of Autun also claimed that Raoul had 'restored' a number of *villae* which had been previously been taken away from them. These included Tillenay and at least two in Beaune, close to some of Richard's allodial land.⁸ However, whilst it is not impossible that Richard used his influence to obtain grants of benefice for his own

5 P. Lauer, *Robert I^{er} et Raoul de Bourgogne, rois de France (923-936)* (Paris, 1910) offers a book-length history of Raoul's reign, which is otherwise discussed in the context of longer-term narratives of the kingdom of France: Werner, 'Westfranken-Frankreich', pp. 741-4; Sassier, *Hugues Capet*, pp. 89-102; F.J. Felten, 'Robert I. und Rudolf I.', in J. Ehlers, H. Müller, B. Schneidmüller (eds), *Die französische Könige des Mittelalters von Odo bis Karl VIII., 888-1498* (Munich, 1996), pp. 36-45; also Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, pp. 391-414.

6 Lauer, *Robert et Raoul*, p. 61. The belief that Raoul was the eldest son is itself a presumption, since he is in fact the last of Richard's sons to appear in the historical record. Boso's first datable appearance is in 913/14, Hugh's in 900 or 914, Raoul's in 916. (Nightingale, *Monasteries*, p. 40; *D. Prov.* 37 or *D. CS* 79; *D. RR* 50). Cf. chapter 3, n. 75.

7 J. Dunbabin, 'West Francia: the kingdom', *NCMH III*, pp. 372-97, at p. 379.

8 *D. LIV* 1: 'villis abstractis, quas predecessores nostri, Rodulfus videlicet et ceteri reddiderunt, hoc est Tortorium, et Suliacum, et Lasiacum quam sanctus Siagrius eidem ecclesie contulit, Saviniacum, Commisiacum, Cociniacum, Luziacum, Tiliniacum et abbatiolam sancti Pancratii, et silvas de Montibus, cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus'. Thorey and Savigny are in the Beaunois; *Cociniacum* is identified by Charmasse as Cussy-en-Morvan, northwest of Autun, but is possibly Cussy-la-Colonne, approximately 15 km. west of Savigny.

immediate family, as his son Boso did in Lotharingia, nothing in the sources demonstrates that this was actually the case. As we have seen, Richard's own reputation as the church's friend appears to derive partly from posing as the protector of its landholdings: he gave them back Tillynay in 918, whilst the lands grabbed by Ragenar were subsequently recovered under Bishop Betto. It is possible, therefore, that rather than ransacking ecclesiastical possessions, Richard himself preferred to sustain his power through good personal relationships with the men he made bishops: Walo in Autun, Argrim in Langres, the successors of Herfred in Auxerre. Without a clear landed base in Burgundy, Raoul's success in Burgundy would have depended on maintaining these relationships. At the same time it would have depended heavily on managing a tricky relationship with the large family of his father's right-hand man, Manasses, a group whose own interests across the same region were not necessarily in sympathy with Raoul's. None of this, however, happened in isolation from the politics of the surrounding regions.

Ricardian family interests and the world at large

Reliance on Flodoard of Reims may constrict our view of Burgundy *per se*, but the blow-by-blow narrative of Flodoard's annals reminds us how much politics was a matter of constantly shifting alliances dictated by circumstance and local grievances. The cast of major characters in the 920s and 930s includes Raoul, Robert of Neustria, Robert's son Hugh 'the Great', his daughter, Raoul's queen Emma, his other son-in-law Heribert of Vermandois, William II of Aquitaine, Giselbert of Lotharingia, the east Frankish king Henry I, Rudolf II of Upper Burgundy, and Hugh of Arles, who obtained the throne of Italy in 926, not to mention the hapless Charles the Simple, nominally king of west Francia but Heribert's prisoner and puppet after 923. Nearly all of them met and dealt directly with nearly all of the others as friends, allies or enemies at some point in their careers. If all of them had a territorial heartland where they enjoyed resources and support, none of them confined his interests or ambitions to it. An illustration of this is the huge assembly held by Raoul on the Loire in April 924. This was the occasion on which the king procured the performance of a rite of submission by William II, whose forces had assembled on the opposite bank of the river to the king's. Flodoard, who was there, tells us that it was attended not only by Raoul, William and their men, but also by Hugh the Great, Heribert, Archbishop Seulf of Reims and Hugh

‘of Vienne’, i.e. Hugh of Arles.⁹ There is no better indication that the playing field of magnate politics ranged across the whole of Gaul, and beyond.

King Raoul, who acceded to the throne somewhat unexpectedly after entering the west Frankish wars as an ally of Robert of Neustria, is himself a shining example of how the interests of the aristocracy transcended their ‘home’ regions. His brothers Hugh and Boso also made careers for themselves outside Ricardian Burgundy. Boso was settled permanently in Lotharingia, where he prosecuted a claim to the estates of the dowager empress Richildis, his paternal aunt.¹⁰ Besides her foundation at Juvigny, Richildis possessed a large amount both of allodial land and estates held in precaria from the abbey of Gorze. Boso acquired these estates after her death in 913/14, and also pursued claims to the allodial estates of her daughter Rothildis.¹¹ His substantial position in Lotharingia was strengthened through the acquisition of lay abbasies at Moyennoutier, Montier-en-Der, and Remiremont.¹² Further to this he also obtained control over the family’s holdings in the Frankish Perthois, and although the extent of his holdings was eventually reduced following his inevitable involvement in the multifaceted disputes over Francia and Lotharingia that defined his brother’s reign as king, he remained at his death in 935 a substantial landholder. Like his two brothers, however, he left no known issue.

Hugh the Black – we have Flodoard to thank for his byname¹³ – is thought by some historians to have served as his brother’s deputy in western Burgundy, Raoul having supposedly inherited the position of *dux Burgondionum* but renounced it upon accession to the throne and fisc.¹⁴ The path of Hugh’s career suggests otherwise. As Chaume observed, Hugh was destined from an early age to be guardian of the family’s interests in Upper Burgundy, which was his mother’s territory and the area to which she probably retired after 921.¹⁵ The concession to him, in 914, of 40 *mansi* at Poligny, in the Varais near Besançon, suggests as much, and numerous other documents link him to

9 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 924. His report of Raoul’s subsequent movements is in the first person plural.

10 On Boso’s career: Nightingale, *Monasteries*, pp. 39-50; E. Hlawitschka, ‘Herzog Giselerbert und das Kloster Remiremont’, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins* 108 (1961), pp. 422-65, esp. pp. 432-3.

11 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 929. As Nightingale, *Monasteries*, p. 49, remarks, the dispute over Rothildis’s land may have commenced some time before Flodoard brings it to our attention.

12 See refs. at note 10.

13 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 941 distinguishes *Hugo Niger* from *Hugo Albus*, the son of Robert I later known as Hugh the Great.

14 Sassier, *Hugues Capet*, p. 90; K.F. Werner, ‘Westfranken-Frankreich’, p. 742.

15 Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, pp. 390, 415-23; on Hugh and his followers also J. Nospickel, ‘Graf Leotald von Mâcon als Förderer des Klosters Cluny’, in F. Neiske, D. Poeck, M. Sandmann (eds), *Vinculum Societatis. Joachim Wollasch zum 60. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 157-74.

the court of his cousin Rudolf II: he is the first-named secular witness to Rudolph's confirmation, in 927, of the election of Bishop Libo of Lausanne, and a royal diploma from the previous year refers to land granted by Hugh in the *pagus Equestricum* around modern-day Nyon on Lake Geneva.¹⁶ In 929, Hugh was also chief petitioner and witness to his mother's grant to Cluny of the abbey of Romainmôtier, and five years later an *Ugo comes* appears amongst the subscribers to the grant to Cluny of a church in the Varais.¹⁷ Bearing in mind the extreme scarcity of documentation from Upper Burgundy, this represents a substantial body of evidence to suggest that Adelaide held major possessions in the Jura and that Hugh was their custodian. He intervenes in his brother's royal charters only once, on behalf of the abbey of Cluny in the Mâconnais, which appears to have formed part of his, rather than Raoul's territory after it came into their possession in the mid-920s.¹⁸ By contrast, there is no evidence to link him with Richard's territory in western Burgundy between 924 and his brother's death. When Hugh reappeared at Autun in 936, he came with a cohort of men drawn in part from this power base – like Boso in Lotharingia, he was a prominent interloper chasing a family legacy.

Raoul's adventures outside Burgundy were therefore the norm even within his own family. Flodoard's annals, despite their opaque knowledge of the region, nevertheless leave no doubt that Burgundy was central to his kingship, and it appears to be the case that Raoul inherited Richard's Burgundian interests. The recipients of his charters include abbeys and churches in Autun and Auxerre, and the abbey of Tournus. In the 880s, the newly crowned Odo is said to have given up his privately held abbacies and landholdings in favour of his brother Robert.¹⁹ If this was the tradition – here we should bear in mind that most of Robert's lay abbacies, except St-Martin of Tours, are not attested until after Odo's death²⁰ - Raoul did not uphold it. Raoul's two charters for St-Symphorien in Autun, one of which has the peculiar form of a 'private' rather than a royal charter, suggest that he was its lay abbot on his own account – Hugh claimed St-Symphorien in 936, but he is not mentioned here.²¹ Raoul's burial at Ste-Colombe in Sens suggests that he held this, too, for himself.²²

16 *D. CS* 79; *DD. Burg* 23, 22.

17 *R. Cluny* 379, 419.

18 *D. RR* 19.

19 Sassier, *Hugues Capet*, p. 73; Werner, 'Westfranken-Frankreich', p. 736.

20 Koziol, 'Charles the Simple', pp. 376-7.

21 *D. RR* 8; *Recueil des actes du prieuré de Saint-Symphorien d'Autun*, no. 7.

22 'Annales Sanctae Columbae Senonensis', s.a. 936.

Autun after 918 – no easy succession

In April 922, a few months after Richard's death, his widow and sons assembled as a group to reassert the family's position in Autun. A large assembly was held with Adelaide at its head: she granted the *villa* of Poligny together with its church, plus 40 *mansi* 'and more' (*et eo amplius*) to the episcopal church of St-Nazaire.²³ Her sons Hugh, Raoul and Boso headed the list of subscriptions, while the first-named of the twelve other witnesses was Walo, son of the recently deceased Count Manasses. Another of the witnesses, Giselbert, may be Walo's brother.

From this it might be inferred that Richard's heirs stepped neatly into his position of primacy in Autun. Closer inspection, however, reveals a more complex reality. Firstly, the charter shows that the title *dux* was not yet understood as a heritable noble rank: Adelaide is styled *comitissa* and her three sons are merely *comes*. Secondly, the names of the other witnesses are a surprise: apart from Adelaide's sons, none of the witnesses to this charter had witnessed Bishop Walo's charter just four years earlier, even though this was an assembly held by the same clan in the same place.²⁴ Thirdly, the dating clause of the new charter refers in one breath to the twenty-fifth year since Odo's death, and to the reign of the glorious King Charles.²⁵ Whilst the commemoration of Odo appears to have been an ingrained local habit, the recognition of Charles is unexpected and striking.²⁶ As discussed in chapter 3, Walo's charter of 918 had pointedly overlooked the fact of Charles's kingship, and by 922, when Robert of Neustria's dissatisfaction with the Carolingian boiled over again, Raoul and Hugh both led armies into west Francia to join the fray on Robert's side.²⁷ In these circumstances, putting Charles's name next to Odo's emits a puzzling whiff of compromise.

To understand this one needs to look at another close-knit family group. Manasses, Richard's nephew and ally, died in June 918, but was survived, like Richard, by a widow, Irmingard and a bevy of adult children: in Manasses' case a daughter, also called Irmingard, and four sons, Giselbert, Walo, Manasses (II) and Heriveus. The daughter at some point married the future Count Leutald of Mâcon.²⁸ The sons

23 *C. Autun* 10. These were the 40 *mansi* that Charles the Simple granted Hugh in 914 (*D. CS* 79).

24 *D. RR* 51.

25 *C. Autun* 10: 'Anno XXV post obitum Odonis, regnante Karolo glorioso rege.'

26 *D. RR* 51 offers prayers for Odo, but is dated solely by the year of the incarnation. All other surviving episcopal charters from Autun from 900 to 920 count the years since Odo's death: *C. Autun* 47 (May 906), 43 (Apr. 920), 26 (Oct. 920), 39 (Dec. 921).

27 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 922.

28 *R. Cluny* 432. For the date of Manasses' death see p. 59, n. 146.

meanwhile slotted into various positions of prominence. Giselbert, Walo and Manasses were all styled *comes* in charters issued over the course of the next decade, while Heriveus acquired the bishopric of Autun from his uncle, who died in 919 or 920.²⁹ One might conclude that Richard sponsored Heriveus' ordination, having determined on a secular career for all three of his own surviving sons. However, it was not unusual for a bishop to groom a nephew as his successor on his own account.³⁰ Moreover, Heriveus and his brothers first come to our attention in a series of acts which hint at opposition to Richard's authority.

In April 920, Heriveus gave a charter before a synod at Autun in which he donated various parcels of land in the *pagi* of Nevers, Autun and Avallon to his church.³¹ This was done at the request of his mother, *veneranda genitrice donna Yrmengardi illustri comitissa*, and the list of subscribers began with Heriveus, Irmingard and her other son Giselbert. These three took precedence over the bishops of Chalon, Le Puy and Mâcon, who were listed after Giselbert. In October 920 Heriveus granted another series of properties to the church of Autun, again at the request of his mother, at Chalon-sur-Sâone. The subscribers here included Irmingard and all three of Heriveus' brothers. They had an impressive audience: the October charter was enacted before another synod, and this time the bishops present in April were joined by their metropolitan Remigius of Lyon on the list of witnesses.

None of this is expressly hostile to Richard: the October charter gave due acknowledgement to the 'pious *dux* lord Richard' who had restored the bishopric's coinage rights, whilst in April Giselbert was styled *vicecomes*, implying deference to Richard as Autun's count. But just as Richard's judgements had been witnessed by all three of his sons, we here see a kin-group asserting its status by gathering in numbers and acting in concert. The charters show us that the family controlled substantial landholdings over an area of western Burgundy, and that they enjoyed a considerable degree of local power in Autun. Both charters also made no bones about being issued in the reign of the glorious King Charles.

The witness lists to Heriveus' charters, moreover, indicate that the new bishop commanded the loyalty of much of Autun's secular nobility. The charter of April 920

29 Bishop Walo is last seen alive in *D. RR* 51 (after 1 September 918). Heriveus succeeded him no later than 23 April 920 (*C. Autun* 43), but no earlier than November 919 (*C. Autun* 26, issued *in ipso nostræ primo ordinationis anno* on 31 October 920).

30 For instance, Salomon III of Constance, discussed in chapter 6, succeeded his maternal uncle Salomon II, who in turn was the nephew of Salomon I.

31 *C. Autun* 43

has nine secular witnesses in addition to the bishop's own family. Six out of the nine, including the proto-castellans Landric and Bodo, had taken part in the assembly in 918. Six of the same nine, again including Landric and Bodo, accompanied Heriveus to Chalon six months later, where they again turn up as witnesses.³² The local power vested in the person of the bishop is evident here. Whereas Bouchard takes the appointment of Giselbert as viscount, and later count, in Autun to be a sign of Richard's ability to nominate an heir of his choice, the suggestion should be entertained that Giselbert owed his position not to the *dux*, but to his brother.³³

Serious consideration must therefore be given to the idea that an ailing Justiciar let Autun slip from his grasp, so that by 922 his widow and sons needed to reassert their local influence through a spot of competitive patronage. This was the context in which Adelaide and the *comites* Raoul, Hugh and Boso descended on Autun in 922. Lacking local clients, they arrived with an entourage of outsiders, for protection and to ensure their ostentatious gift was acclaimed by a fitting number of onlookers. This was impressive or unnerving enough to ensure that Heriveus' brothers Walo and Giselbert showed up to keep him company, but their normal local supporters all kept away. Even so, this show of force was not enough to knock the Manassids from their perch, as the half-hearted dating clause suggests.

If this served to mark a truce between the two groups, it did not succeed. In October 922, while Raoul and Hugh were joining Robert of Neustria's rebellion, Irmingard and Giselbert appeared together with a certain Warulf at the court of Charles the Simple, petitioning the king for the concession of various properties in the *pagi* of Autun and Berry and the northern Auvergne to a Count Ademar, probably the Auvergnat count visible in the *Vita Geraldi*.³⁴ Warulf was a substantial landholder in the Mâconnais with close connections to William II of Aquitaine.³⁵ Long-standing

32 See table on next page.

33 Bouchard, *Those of My Blood*, p. 146. Bouchard imagines a line of transmission from Richard to Manasses I and thence to Giselbert, which overlooks the fact that Richard outlived Manasses.

34 *D. CS* 126; Odo, 'Vita Geraldi', bk. 1, chs 35-9.

35 Warulf's name occurs as a witness to *R. Cluny* 89-bis (in volume 5 of the collection), a grant issued by Count William the Pious and his sister Ava in 905. In 924, Warulf had petitioned Irmingard and Giselbert for property belonging to St-Marcel-lès-Chalon: *The Cartulary of St.-Marcel-lès-Chalon 779-1126*, ed. C.B. Bouchard (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1998), no. 18. He also appears in *R. Cluny* 214 and 271, the latter of which relates to property in Chalon and defines him as *vassalus comiti Gisleberti*. However, his son Leutbald (not to be confused with Leutald of Mâcon, Irmingard's son-in-law) referred to himself as *vassalus Wilelmi comitis* in his confirmation of the same transaction (*R. Cluny* no. 272). Warulf died before April 927, when Leutbald gave Cluny four churches and three *villae* 'which my father Warulf divided with [Count] William, [and] which division William accepted' (*R. Cluny* no. 283). This charter requested prayers *inter alia* for Count William; the request was added in a second hand, possibly to commemorate William the Younger, who had just died: B.H. Rosenwein,

Witnesses to charters at Autun and Chalon 916-921

	<i>D. RR 50</i>	<i>D. RR 51</i>	<i>C. Autun 43</i>	<i>C. Autun 26</i>	<i>C. Autun 10</i>
	<i>Placitum at Pouilly-en-Auxois.</i>	<i>Walo restores Tillenay to cathedral church of Autun, post 1 Sep. 918. Done at Autun.</i>	<i>Heriveus donates properties to cathedral church of Autun, 23 Apr. 920. Done at Autun.</i>	<i>Heriveus restores properties to cathedral church of Autun. Done at Chalon.</i>	<i>Adelaide donates Poligny to cathedral church of Autun. Done at Autun.</i>
	<i>Judgement against Cadilo and his brothers.</i>				
	5 Sep. 916	After 1 Sep. 918	23 Apr. 920	31 Oct. 920	24 Apr. 922
<i>Family of Richard the Justiciar</i>					
Adelaide					✓ 1
Raoul	✓ 1	✓ 2			✓ 3
Hugh	*	*			✓ 2
Boso	*	*			✓ 4
<i>Family of Manasses</i>					
Bishop Walo (brother)	*	✓ 1			
Ragenar (brother)	✓ 5 (?)	✓ 7 (?)			
Irmingard (widow)			✓ 2	✓ 10	
Bishop Heriveus (son)			✓ 1	✓ 1	
Walo (son)				✓ 11	✓ 5
Giselbert (son)			✓ 3	✓ 12	✓ 7 (?)
Manasses (son)				✓ 13	
<i>Other clergy</i>					
Remigius (Arbp of Lyon)				✓ 2	
Ardradus (Bishop of Chalon)		✓ 3	✓ 4	✓ 3	
Adalard (Bishop of Le Puy)			✓ 5	✓ 4	
Gerard (Bish. of Mâcon)			✓ 6	✓ 5	
<i>Fulco archidiaconus</i>		✓ 5		✓ 6	
<i>Durannus praepositus</i>		✓ 4	✓ 8	✓ 7	
<i>Aimo abbas</i>			✓ 7	✓ 8	
<i>Letricus monachus et abbas</i>			✓ 8	✓ 9	
			(9 other clerics)		
<i>Other witnesses</i>					
<i>Oduinus</i>	✓ 8	✓ 8			
<i>Berlannus</i>	✓ 10	✓ 11			
<i>Ebbo / Abbo</i>	✓ 11 **	✓ 14			
<i>Arlegius</i>	✓ 12	✓ 12	✓ 22	✓ 16	
<i>Bodo</i>	✓ 14	✓ 13	✓ 18	✓ 14	
<i>Adroldus / Eldradus / Aldradus</i>	✓ 15	✓ 8	✓ 21	✓ 15	
<i>Landricus</i>	✓ 17	✓ 17	✓ 25	✓ 19	
<i>Arnulfus</i>	✓ 18	✓ 18			
<i>Radulfus</i>		✓ 21	✓ 20		
<i>Walicardus</i>		✓ 9	✓ 26		
<i>Theodoricus</i>			✓ 22	✓ 17	
	(13 others inc. Cadilo)	(9 others)	(No others)	(2 others)	

(Ten secular witnesses showing no commonality with previous charters, except possibly one *Rodolphus*)

Numbers indicate the position on the witness list.

Notes: * Named in text ** Probably the advocate of bishop Walo named in the text.

The table refers to five highly political charters issued at or pertaining to Autun from 916 to 921. The large number of secular names common to two or more of these charters indicates that a segment of the local minor aristocracy routinely attended assemblies in the area. Not all of these men can be identified, but Bodo and Landricus are landowners in the area northwest of Autun – see pp. 52-3 above. The fact that none of these people witnessed to the substantial donation made by Adelaide at Autun in 922 suggests that Adelaide and her sons did not command their loyalty or respect, and imply that it was the bishop of Autun (Heriveus, in succession to Walo) who was the centre of their network, not the family of the former *dux* and count of Autun Richard the Justiciar.

connections between the church of Autun and the neighbouring Auvergne were here being reactivated in circumstances that provide clear evidence of a rift between the Manassids and Richard's sons, and of a search for a new alliance with a Carolingian and Aquitanian flavour. The charter provides the first recorded reference to Giselbert as *comes* rather than viscount, and it is fair to assume that Charles recognized him as such in view of his position in Autun.

In 918, Richard may have upset Manasses by depriving him of Tilly, and the increased prominence of Richard's three sons in western Burgundy would in any case have undermined the position of his old ally and threatened the future of his own large family. Powerful signs of antagonism between the two sets of heirs in the early 920s therefore come as no surprise, and it is not surprising either that this antagonism took on a wider dimension that connected it to the broader struggle for the west Frankish throne. When one bears in mind the important local position of the Manassids in Autun and Chalon, in Dijon and/or Langres (where Manasses II appears to have been count), and Auxerre (where their uncle Ragenar still held sway), it is evident that successful handling of the relationship was crucial to Raoul's success as magnate and king. This gives an added dimension to some of his actions as king, as we shall see later on.

Raoul, Robert, Emma and Heribert

It is hard to see what exactly went on in west Francia between 918 and Richard's death on 1 September 921.³⁶ Richard himself vanishes from the sources; it is possible he was no longer in robust health, although the sources are too meagre to justify the inference. In the meantime Raoul had married Robert's daughter Emma, and it seems that the two men joined forces to deprive William II, who was the leading magnate of Aquitaine following the death of his father William the Pious, of the *urbs* of Bourges, possibly in 919.³⁷ During this period Robert enjoyed an uncomfortable but not

To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property 900-1049 (Ithaca, 1989), p. 174. Leutbald's later donation *R. Cluny* 387 also remembered William and Ava. Leutbald's grandson, also called Leutbald, was Bishop of Mâcon at the end of the tenth century (Rosenwein, *Neighbor*, pp. 117-8); other descendants included the eleventh-century lords of Brancion: C.B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca, 1987), pp. 295-299. Warulf's widow also donated property in the *pagus* of Mâcon to Cluny in 928. She was evidently Leutbald's stepmother. (*R. Cluny* 359, cf. *R. Cluny* 214 and 283).

36 The sources for Richard's death are noted in chapter 2, pp. 21-2.

37 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 922, notes that Raoul was Robert's son-in-law, *ibid.*, s.a. 924: 'Rex illi [=William] Bituricensem pagum restituit quem illi nuper, auxilio fretus Rotberti, necdum tamen regis, vi demperat cum civitate Biturigis'. Cf. 'Annales Masciacenses', ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores* 3, pp. 169-70, s.a. 919: 'Hoc anno urbs Biturix a Guilelmo nepote fraude intercepta, a suis potenter

uniformly hostile relationship with King Charles: he appears as a petitioner in Charles's charters in 918, 919, 920 and 921, but when Flodoard's narrative kicks in properly in 920, the first thing it mentions is that 'almost all the counts of Francia' had come together at Soissons in rebellion against Charles, allegedly because Charles had shown undue favour towards his low-born Lotharingian counsellor Hagano.³⁸ Hagano's low birth is doubtful; less doubtful is that Charles had somehow slighted Robert and thereby triggered a row. The attitude of Raoul and Richard to this revolt is unknown. A Count Raoul appears in two of Charles's charters in 920 and 921, but this is more likely in both cases to be the count of Cambrai than Richard's son.³⁹

When the conflict flared up again in 922, both Raoul and his brother Hugh the Black appeared in Francia on Robert's side. Flodoard says the *Franci* chose Robert as their king; it is impossible to know whether this included the *Burgundiones*, or whether Raoul or Hugh attended his coronation at Reims.⁴⁰ However, they certainly endorsed it: the *amicitia* treaty recorded between Robert and Henry I at 923 gave rise, via the intervention of Rudolf II of Upper Burgundy, to a large group entry to the *liber memorialis* at Remiremont which included the names of Adelaide, Raoul, Hugh and Boson amongst the supporters of the three kings.⁴¹ Robert reigned for a year, before being killed in battle against Charles at Soissons, days after the anniversary of his usurpation. Nevertheless, Robert's faction won the battle and Charles was put to flight. Again according to Flodoard, Charles sent messengers proposing peace to Heribert of Vermandois, but his overtures were rejected and Raoul was chosen as king instead.⁴² At this point in the narrative, it becomes clear that the dominant figure in west Francia is Heribert, who in the meantime had captured and imprisoned the unfortunate Charles.

Raoul's claim to the kingship was doubtless based on suitability rather than descent, although being the nephew of two kings and cousin of a third probably

recipitur concivibus'.

38 *DD. CS* 92 (Mar. 918), 94 (May 918), 98 (Dec. 918), 101 (Jun. 919), 105 (Jan. 920), 110 (Jun. 921); Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 920: 'Anno dominicae incarnationis DCCCC^{mo} XX^{mo}, pene omnes Franciae comites regem suum, Karolum, apud urbem Suessonicam, quia Haganonem consiliarum suum, quem de mediocribus potentem fecerat, dimittere nolebat, reliquerunt.' The initial entry for 919 describes only a few events in vague terms; 920 is when the annals really get going.

39 *DD. CS* 106 (Sep. 920); 112 (Sep. 921). The other petitioners to *D. CS* 112 include the bishop of Cambrai and the count of Ponthieu; it is therefore much more likely that *Rodulfus* is the count of Cambrai than Raoul of Burgundy, despite the editor's identification with the latter.

40 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 922.

41 *Lib. mem. Rem.* fol. 6v; K. Schmid, 'Unerforschte Quellen aus quellenarmer Zeit [I]: Zur *amicitia* zwischen Heinrich I und dem westfränkischen König Robert im Jahre 923', *Francia* 12 (1984), pp. 119-49.

42 *Ibid.*, s.a. 923.

contributed to his standing.⁴³ His status as Robert's son-in-law probably mattered more, even if it did not distinguish him from Heribert, who was also married to one of Robert's daughters.⁴⁴ Robert's son Hugh 'the Great' had a better hereditary claim than either of them, and it is a mark of the conceptual fluidity of kingship in this period that he was passed over. For later commentators, the fact that the Robertians reacquired the kingship in the next-but-one generation left the failure of Robert I's heir to inherit his throne as a puzzle requiring an explanation, of which several were duly furnished. The eleventh-century account of Aimoin of Fleury suggested that Hugh failed to succeed Robert because he was 'of childish age', and that Raoul became king because the other magnates despised Heribert.⁴⁵ Chroniclers at Sens believed instead that Heribert himself made Raoul king with Hugh the Great's agreement, whilst Ralph Glaber claimed that the decision was between Raoul and Hugh, and that it was taken by Queen Emma.⁴⁶ These contradictory accounts indicate how snippets of information accurately remembered from the time – Hugh's young age, Heribert's notoriety as the king's jailer, the importance of Emma to Raoul's position in Francia – were rearranged into new narratives that fitted the early Capetian world view. Modern commentators have meanwhile accepted that Hugh was rejected as a candidate for the kingship and took it on the chin, or even rejected it himself so as not to have to alienate the honours and abbacies passed down to him by his father.⁴⁷ A better assessment, however, is that Hugh did not come into the running: although he was not too young in principle, having led two armies in 922,⁴⁸ Flodoard's version of the story makes it clear that he was not party to the deliberations over the throne.

43 Schneidmüller, *Karolingische Tradition*, pp. 142-3.

44 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 923. The name of Heribert's wife is not recorded.

45 Aimoin of Fleury, 'Miracula Sancti Benedicti', ed. E. de Certain, *Les Miracles de Saint Benoît* (Paris, 1858), pp. 90-125, at p. 99: 'Hugoni, Rotberti filio ... puerilis obsisteret ætas quominus regias assumeret infulas, et Heriberti cunctos haberet odium præcipue, eos quos humanitatis respectu ad misericordiam ærumna commovebat principis; tandem Rodulfus quidam, Burgundia oriundus, regendæ præficitur Francorum patriæ.'; *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, p. 123, copies Aimoin but replaces *Rodulfus quidam* with *Rodulfus ... Richardi Ducis filius*.

46 'Historia Francorum Senonensis', p. 366: 'Illic itaque positus Karolus, Rodulfum, nobilem filium Richardi, Burgundionum ducem, quem de sacro fonte susceperat, una cum consilio Hugonis Magni, filii supradicti Roberti, et procerum Francorum sublimavit.' The syntax is confusing: Charles stood as godfather to Raoul, but he cannot be subject of *sublimavit*, nor can it be Robert, the subject of the sentence before. Only Heribert, the subject of the sentence before that, makes sense. Odorannus' version is clearer: 'Karolo vero a cede belli victore revertente, occurrit illi Heribertus, infidelium nequissime, et sub fictæ pacis simulatione in castro quod Parrona dicitur, ut hospitandi gratia divertiret, compulsi et sic eum dolo captum retinuit. Illic positus Karolus, anno .D.CCCC.XXIII, Rodulfum, nobilem filium Richardi principis Burgundionum, una cum consilio Hugonis Magni, Francorum ducis, et procerum Francorum, in regno sublimavit.'; Odorannus of Sens, *Opera omnia*, ed. R.-H. Bautier and M. Gilles (Paris, 1972), p. 94. Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum Libri Quinque* I:6.

47 E.g. Sassier, *Hugues Capet*, p. 89.

48 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 922.

In Flodoard's account, Raoul's coronation was the outcome of a bargain between Raoul, Heribert and Archbishop Seulf of Reims from which Hugh the Great was initially left out. Charles sent messengers to Heribert, Seulf, *ceterosque regni primates*, in the aftermath of the battle of Soissons, but not, apparently, to Hugh. Heribert and Seulf rejected Charles and sent for Raoul instead. Immediately after Raoul's coronation, Flodoard reports Heribert's entrapment and incarceration of Charles the Simple; having accomplished this, Heribert confers with Raoul in Burgundy – a rare journey which Heribert only once repeated, in 928 when he clearly had the upper hand over the king. Subsequently Raoul is called into Francia by Hugh. However, when he hears of further attacks by Charles's Norman allies, Raoul moves against them in the company of Seulf and Heribert *aliisque quibusdam et electis viris fortibus*, a party which again appears to exclude Hugh, even though Hugh is afterwards appointed alongside Heribert to defend the frontier. Raoul then departs to Lotharingia, so once further attacks have been repelled, the Northmen make peace with Heribert and Seulf *ceterisque Francis qui cum ipsis contra Nordmannos sedebant*.⁴⁹ Hugh is not involved in these negotiations. Hugh the Great's marginal status is thus apparent: although he appears to support Raoul, he is consistently excluded from the inner circle of Raoul, Heribert and Seulf.

Emma probably played a considerable role in the proceedings – Glaber was right about this, although her assistance was probably more significant in dealing with Heribert and Seulf rather than her brother. A few months after being crowned king at Soissons, Raoul was away seeking support in Lotharingia. In his absence, Emma was crowned queen at Reims in a move that must have been designed to ensure that Raoul's, or perhaps her own, senior position was communicated directly in what had previously been a central place of Carolingian authority.⁵⁰ The kingmaker at the time, however, was Heribert, with whom Charles sought to negotiate, and who cleared the path for Raoul's enthronement by imprisoning his rival, whilst the explanation as to why Raoul, not Heribert, emerged with the crown is a consequence of political factors of which we have only an incomplete view. Perhaps it was true, as the Sénonais author believed, that Heribert was an unpopular, divisive figure; or perhaps Raoul in 923 simply had more military clout. In any case, it is self-evident that Raoul himself viewed the kingship as a prize worth pursuing.

49 This and preceding quotations from Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 923.

50 *Ibid.*

The beginnings of Raoul's reign: Francia and Burgundy intertwined

The new king acquired the complex of rights and interests of his predecessors. In practice this meant taking possession of Charles's lands in northern Francia, principally Laon and the palaces of Attigny and Compiègne, as well as assuming his interests in Lotharingia and taking on a leading role in fighting the Northmen, whom Charles had encouraged to invade. He also exercised royal tax-raising powers to pay off the Northmen in exchange for truces in 924 and 926.⁵¹ Above all he took on the special status that royalty conferred, something he strove to maintain by adopting self-conscious Carolingian styles in his charters and baptizing his son with the royal name Louis, a name which neither his nor Emma's family could claim as their inheritance.⁵² Kingly status meant something: Raoul, like Charles, could demand that treaties of friendship be expressed in acts of formal submission, as William II's case makes plain. It also mattered to an observer such as Flodoard, who automatically named Raoul first, Heribert second when referring to their campaigns against the Northmen.⁵³

His reign began with a campaign for acceptance which enjoyed a fair degree of success. Having secured a truce with the Northmen in the west, his position in Lotharingia was strong enough to deter an east Frankish invasion and allow him to nominate his own candidate to the bishopric of Verdun.⁵⁴ By 925, he had received the submission of Gisibert and Otto, the most significant Lotharingian magnates to reject him hitherto.⁵⁵ The most significant occasion of his early reign, however, came early in 924 in the form of the assembly by the Loire that brought Raoul face-to-face with William II.⁵⁶ Our eyewitness Flodoard, the unique source for this event, initially presents the occasion as a confrontation between Raoul and William, who came rushing to meet the king after hearing that he was advancing on Aquitaine with an army in tow. But it soon becomes clear this was a much more substantial occasion, at which territorial deals were made involving Hugh the Great, Heribert of Vermandois,

51 *Ibid.*, s.a. 924, 926.

52 Schneidmüller, *Karolingische Tradition*, pp. 142-7. Raoul's son is known from an isolated reference in the *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, p. 126. He predeceased his father.

53 *Ibid.*, s.a. 924: 'Rodulfus autem rex cum Hugone et Burgundionibus in pago Belvancensi sedebat'; s.a. 925: 'Annus DCCCXXVI incipiebat, et Rodulfus rex cum Heriberto comite et quibusdam maritimis Francis Nordmannos ... obsidebat.', *ibid.*: 'Hinc exercitus ex Francia Burgundiaque cum Rodulfo rege et Heriberto comite proficiscitur super Ligerim ...', until 926 when '... inter Rodulfum regem et Heribertum comite ... simultas exoritur.'

54 *Ibid.*, s.a. 923.

55 *Ibid.*, s.a. 925.

56 *Ibid.*, s.a. 924.

Archbishop Seulf and Hugh of Arles. Raoul's deployment of the host against William, it follows, cannot have been the only reason the gathering came about; the fact that an assembly of this magnitude could be called together at all is perhaps a mark of the ongoing prestige of the royal title.

Flodoard's view of the assembly's significance is only partially accurate. In the annalist's telling the main event of the assembly was William's submission to the king. After messengers had shuttled back and forth across the river over the course of a day, William himself crossed over, dismount and approached on foot while the king remained on his horse, whereupon the king kissed him. They parted, but William returned at dawn to agree an eight-day truce. The fact that Raoul could command this gesture as the price of the truce is another mark of the ongoing centrality of royalty in the political game, although it should be noted that peace was not properly achieved until eight days later, when William committed himself to the king. How this was enacted goes unrecorded, because what mattered to Flodoard was land. At first sight, it looks as if Raoul secured recognition of his kingship at the cost of enforced magnanimity: Raoul yielded Bourges and the *pagus* of Berry, which he and Robert of Neustria had captured prior to 922, back to William. It is clear, however, that this was not a unilateral concession; despite his presence at the scene and the 'minute-taker's precision' of his account, however, Flodoard did not report the full story.⁵⁷ The location of the assembly at the Loire, the traditional northern boundary of Aquitaine, had a double symbolism. Historians have remarked that Raoul clove to the right bank, thus leaving William's left bank inviolate.⁵⁸ By the same token, however, Raoul reasserted his authority in the *pagus* of Autun, where the meeting took place and where the Manassid family had struck up a dangerous relationship with William and Charles the Simple. If Raoul was to keep to his side of the Loire, so was William.

This had a crucial impact on the shape of western Burgundy, and allows us to see the political dimension to Raoul's subsequent trajectory through Autun and Chalon-sur-Saône. Charles the Simple's incarceration had deprived Irmingard and her sons of an ally against Raoul; making peace with William deprived them of another and constrained them to accept his leadership. From the assembly at the Loire Raoul marched on the *castellum* of Mont St-Jean in the Auxois, which Irmingard's brother-in-

57 Quotation from Jacobsen, *Flodoard*, p. 19.

58 C. Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses marges (Velay, Gévaudan) du VIII^e aux XI^e siècle* (Le Puy-en-Velay, 1987), p. 96; Koziol, *Begging Pardon*, p. 111; J.L. Nelson, 'Rulers and government' *NCMH III*, pp. 95-129, here p. 111.

law Viscount Ragenar had occupied. Raoul and Ragenar were induced to declare a truce through the mediation of Hugh the Black and Ragenar's three nephews Walo, Giselbert and Manasses, and Ragenar was persuaded, 'reluctantly' (*invito*) according to Flodoard, to relinquish the stronghold later in the year.⁵⁹ On 29 February Raoul entered Autun and granted a charter in favour of the abbey of St-Symphorien restoring its authority over a church of the same name in Auxey, of which they had been unjustly deprived, and which had 'often been restored [to them] by lawful judgement of the dukes (*ducum*), on account of which there has been repeated disagreement in our time between them and the *milites* who held the benefice of the aforementioned *villa*.'⁶⁰ Who exactly the *duces* were is far from clear – we cannot be certain that this is a reference to Raoul's father – but the proximity of Auxey to Mont St-Jean means that this was unquestionably a rebuke to Ragenar and an explicit reassertion of Raoul's claim to be the area's overlord.

Auxerre appears to have fallen under Raoul's permanent control hereafter. Neither Viscount Ragenar nor his son, whom Raoul took hostage under the terms of their truce, is heard of again after 924; the next item of datable news portrays Queen Emma as being responsible for the appointment of a new bishop there in 933.⁶¹

A few weeks later in April 924, we see Raoul publicizing the arrangements made at the Loire in three charters issued before an assembly at Chalon-sur-Saône. Chalon, like Autun, was a place of power for the Manassids, who as we have seen had presided over a synod and assembly there in 920. Raoul's very appearance there marked a reassertion of his authority. He reinforced the point by choosing monasteries in the *pagi* of Autun (St-Martin) and Chalon (St-Philbert at Tournus) as two of the beneficiaries of royal munificence.⁶² The third beneficiary was the bishop of Le Puy in the Auvergne, who obtained from Raoul, *consentiente fideli nostro Guillelmo comite*, the comital rights in his city.⁶³ Even though Raoul stayed out of William's territory, Raoul's diplomatic position was now evidently strong enough to call the bishop out of the Auvergne to him: this conveyed the message to the local nobility that striking out westward for allies against him was no longer a viable strategy. The Manassids were

59 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 924.

60 *D. RR* 6: '... fuerat olim injuste substracta, et legali ducum iudicio saepe reddita, pro quo nostris diebus inter eos et milites, qui praenominatae villae beneficium tenebant, crebra habebatur dissensio.' The date of issue varies in the surviving copies – some have 30 April, rather than 29 February.

61 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 924; *GPA*, p. 221.

62 *D. RR* 3, 5.

63 *D. RR* 4.

not expelled from the area – Giselbert still exercised the lay abbacy of St-Marcel-lès-Chalon in June 924 – but they were surely cowed.⁶⁴

Still more was at stake at the grand conference by the Loire than the boundary between Raoul's sphere of influence and William's. Flodoard notes that Raoul made concessions not only to William the Younger, but also to Heribert of Vermandois and Hugh the Great: Heribert received Péronne, Hugh Le Mans. Again this reads initially as if Raoul bought acceptance of his royal title by striking bad bargains over large amounts of territory, but we are justified in seeing these grants, like the agreements made with William, as tokens of a general agreement about the balance of power. The concession of Le Mans marked Raoul's symbolic acknowledgement of Hugh's dominant status in western Neustria – it did not materially alter the situation in the Maine itself, whose counts had exercised their authority independently prior to 924 and continued to do so afterwards.⁶⁵

The presence of Hugh of Arles meanwhile indicates that these agreements extended beyond the kingdom that Charles the Simple had governed and into the kingdom of Provence. What Flodoard noted about Hugh was that his intervention allowed the archdiocese of Reims to recover land in the Lyonnais which Seulf's predecessor 'had had nothing of', but subsequent events point to a broader treaty. Raoul's charters for the abbeys of St-Martin and Tournus confirmed their possession of large numbers of landholdings, many of them in the Mâconnais, the Lyonnais, and further south, whereby it becomes plain that Raoul had somehow struck a deal with Hugh of Arles by which his own authority was extended into the former kingdom of Provence. By the time Hugh of Arles invaded Italy in 926, charters issued in the Lyonnais and Viennois were being dated by Raoul's regnal years.⁶⁶ The agreement appears, whether intentionally or not, to have covered Hugh's back as he prepared to invade the kingdom of Italy; there is a possibility (although this is far from certain) that Hugh the Black accompanied him on the expedition in 926.⁶⁷

Finally, it is highly likely that the deal agreed between Raoul, William, Hugh and the others at the Loire included the agreement that Raoul and/or Hugh the Black should

64 *Cartulary of St-Marcel*, no. 18.

65 R.E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 29-30.

66 *R. Cluny* 258, 266. Both are land sales between secular persons.

67 According to Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De administrando imperio*, ed. G. Moravcsik, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington D.C., 1967), ch. 26. Hugh of Arles was accompanied by his brother and an otherwise unknown 'Hugh Tagliaferro'. This is possibly Hugh the Black; against this, however, it should be noted that siding with Hugh of Arles would have pitted Hugh the Black against Rudolf II of Upper Burgundy, with whom he otherwise appears to have been friendly.

succeed to the countship of Mâcon after William's death. Although William and Raoul went to war again in the interim, charters from the Mâconnais, which in June 924 were still dated by the regnal years of Charles the Simple, consistently dated them by Raoul's reign thereafter.⁶⁸ After William died in 926, control over the county appears to have passed without a fight to Raoul and Hugh, and Raoul moved swiftly to consolidate the gain, holding court at the *villa* of Arciat, across the Saône from Mâcon, in May 927.⁶⁹ At approximately the same time, the abbot of Cluny procured a papal letter supporting his claim in a land dispute, in which the pope commended the abbey to King Raoul, the bishops of Chalon and Mâcon, and the counts Hugh (the Black) and Giselbert (of Autun).⁷⁰ Raoul then confirmed the decision, along with other recent grants to the abbey, in September; the Cluniac scribe styled the king flatteringly as *pacificus augustus et invictus rex*.⁷¹ The new ruling family was keen to establish itself as a benefactor of Cluny, as witness Adelaide's gift of Romainmôtier and two charters enacted by Raoul in June and July 932, in which the names of the petitioners – Queen Emma in the first, Emma and Hugh the Black in the second – attest to the favour in which the abbey was held.⁷² The second of these, granting the Mâconnaise *villa* of Solutré to the monks, was issued at the *villa* of Boyer, by Tournus, where Adelaide's donation had also been enacted. It is Hugh's sole intervention in one of his brother's surviving charters and thus suggests that Hugh had influence over Mâcon in a way that he did not have elsewhere in Raoul's realm. A charter given around 932 by Bishop Berno of Mâcon, referring back to the grant of Solutré, noted that the king had made the gift *consentiente ... fratre suo Hugone, pacifico principe et Alberico, inclito comite*, thus acknowledging Hugh's status.⁷³ Alberic, count of Mâcon from c. 930, was to prove a loyal ally of Hugh's after Raoul's death.⁷⁴

In sum, the meeting at the Loire yielded three important concessions in Raoul's favour beyond the formal acceptance of his position as king. Firstly, he was given a free

68 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 926. *R. Cluny* 243 (Jun. 924) dates by Charles's reign, *R. Cluny* 250 (Apr. 925) dates by Raoul's, as does *R. Cluny* 244 (Nov. 924), which relates to Collanges in the Charolais. None of these transactions involves the monastery.

69 *D. RR* 11.

70 *Papsturkunden 896-1046*, ed. H. Zimmermann (3 vols, Vienna, 1984), vol. 1, no. 58.

71 *D. RR* 12. I have ignored the rogue comma that the edition places after *pacificus*.

72 *R. Cluny* no. 379; *D. RR* 18 and 19. Adelaide's gift was also confirmed by Pope John XI in the early 930s (*Papsturkunden*, vol. 1, no. 64, on which see Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 163-8). It is also worth noting that Hugh of Arles, as king of Italy in the 930s, also patronized the monastery: *R. Cluny*, 417, from 934.

73 *D. RR* Appendix III, no. 4A, pp. 214-218, superseding *R. Cluny* 408, whose primary version of the text is a partial forgery.

74 On Alberic and his son Leotald see Nospickel, 'Graf Leotald'.

hand in western Burgundy, where Manasses' relatives seriously threatened his position as overlord. Secondly, he appears to have obtained an agreement that he and/or his brother Hugh should succeed to William's countship in the Mâconnais after William's death. Thirdly, he struck a deal with Hugh of Arles by which he extended his own authority in some way into the former kingdom of Provence. This is a demonstration of the extent to which the local politics of western Burgundy were intertwined with events on a much broader playing field.

Raoul returned to Autun the following summer in order to make a further show of power, issuing another charter in favour of St-Symphorien by which he restored certain properties that his *fidelis* Ado had previously held in benefice and regranted them to a certain Alberic (possibly, but also possibly not, the later count of Mâcon).⁷⁵ This document was not written by a royal scribe in the customary form – unusually, it describes Raoul confirming the return of the benefices by placing a knife on the altar of the abbey church, and is also furnished with a list of witnesses, allowing us a glimpse into the state of local politics at this precise moment. The return of Ado's properties was enacted *pro anima patris nostri Ricardi et pro memoria et clarissimae coniugis Immae*; the invocation of Richard's memory is unique amongst Raoul's royal charters and suggests that the king, like Richard, was the monastery's lay abbot, an impression strengthened by the intervention of his mother and an unknown *vassalus* on behalf of Alberic. The witness list, however, indicates the presence of *Gislebertus comes* in addition to *Ragenar* and *Manasses* who are probably Giselbert's uncle and brother: it seems that Raoul had resigned himself to accepting Giselbert's promotion from viscount to count.

Scarcity of evidence makes the precise nature of the relationships between the king and his other Manassid relatives difficult to fathom. Count Walo of Chalon disappears from view after helping to broker his uncle Reginar's submission to Raoul in 924, but elsewhere in western Burgundy Raoul's regal authority remained contingent on their unreliable support. The count in Dijon and/or Langres was Manasses II, in succession to his father. He appears as *comes* in 925, where Flodoard shows him fighting the Northmen alongside the count of Troyes and the bishops of Troyes and Langres, and he interceded alongside the bishop of Langres in 927 in a royal confirmation of gifts to the abbey of St-Bénigne, in whose necrology he was later

75 *D. RR* 8.

remembered.⁷⁶ Raoul augmented the gifts he confirmed with a gift of eight nearby *mansi* of his own – perhaps another example of the competitive gift-giving that was visible at Autun in 922.

Hostility flared up in 931, when Queen Emma moved against the interests of Giselbert of Autun in northern Burgundy.⁷⁷ This has been viewed as the renewal of an old grudge between Emma’s family and Giselbert’s, dating back to Manasses I’s insult to Robert at the court of Charles the Simple in 900.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the fact that Flodoard’s text attributes the seizure of Giselbert’s *castrum* at Avallon to Emma alone does not entitle us to infer that Raoul opposed it, or to assume that Avallon was returned to Giselbert once Raoul quelled his rebellion.⁷⁹

No matter how secure or insecure Raoul’s precise position in western Burgundy was in the 920s, it was clearly stronger than his position in west Francia. It is also clear, however, that Raoul’s survival as king in the 930s depended not so much on a solid foundation of Burgundian support as on alliance with his brother-in-law Hugh the Great, who grew to be the major political force in the kingdom. This too was to affect the shape of the Burgundian polity, since the westernmost territories of Auxerre and Sens gravitated into Robertian control over the course of the decade. The sons of Manasses, meanwhile, appear to have forged a bond with Raoul’s brother Hugh the Black, who also sponsored the career of their brother-in-law, Leutbald, the son of Hugh’s count in Mâcon. Personal connections of this kind - Raoul’s with his Robertian in-laws, Hugh’s with the counts of western Burgundy and with the kings of Upper Burgundy – played the fundamental role in determining the shape of the Burgundian territories that Hugh later acquired.

Burgundy and Raoul’s kingship

The prestige of kingship supplied Raoul with little in the way of practical authority in the Carolingian royal heartlands, and the ongoing centrality of Burgundy to Raoul’s reign is highlighted by his failure to consolidate his grip on west Francia. In the

76 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 925; *D. RR* 11; Schamper, *S. Bénigne*, p. 236.

77 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 931.

78 *AV* s.a. 900 (above, p. 51); Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, p. 410; S. MacLean, ‘Making a difference in tenth-century politics: King Athelstan’s sisters and Frankish queenship’, in P. Fouracre and D. Ganz (eds), *Frankland: the Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Festschrift for Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 167-91, at p. 189.

79 Giselbert was reconciled to Raoul in 932 (Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 932)

920s, the king's position in west Francia appears to have depended heavily on the authority of Queen Emma, who took charge of Laon as well as being separately crowned at Reims. Emma was better connected in west Francia than her husband, and may also have exploited a tradition associating Laon with royal women.⁸⁰ This alone was not enough to maintain control, however. To press their claims in Francia, the royal couple relied on the goodwill of the deposed king's jailer, Heribert of Vermandois. Later events show that Heribert never allowed them to command substantial resources there on their own account.

Cracks appeared in the settlement brokered at the Loire assembly within a year. Heribert and Archbishop Seulf made peace with the Northmen alongside Hugh the Great but in the absence of the king, who Flodoard says was ill at Reims. Hugh then turned against Raoul, probably because Raoul had supplemented the peace agreement by granting land in Maine to the Northmen that he had granted to Hugh a few months earlier.⁸¹ Hugh and William the Younger then made a treaty with the Northmen which appears, like earlier agreements of its kind, to have secured peace locally in exchange for allowing Viking marauders free movement up the Seine into Burgundy, which was duly ravaged at the beginning of the following year.⁸²

The rest of 925 saw the Northmen repelled, but on Archbishop Seulf's death, Heribert of Vermandois captured the royal city of Reims and imposed his five-year-old son as Seulf's successor, a move which highlights both Heribert's position of strength relative to the king and the significance of major bishoprics as centres of power for secular magnates. Raoul swallowed this humiliation and campaigned alongside Heribert against the Northmen and then against William. Barely a year later, however, Heribert and Raoul's alliance broke down entirely when Heribert demanded that another of his sons be given the countship of Laon. Raoul refused, and Heribert promptly defected, joining forces with Hugh the Great and Henry I of east Francia, an alliance which caused all manner of problems both for Raoul and his brother Boso. During 928 Laon was surrendered to Heribert, despite Queen Emma's valiant attempt to defend it in defiance of her husband's instructions, and at the end of the same year Raoul compelled

80 MacLean, 'Making a difference', pp. 181-7.

81 Perhaps a dead letter, as Barton, *Lordship*, p. 29, suggests. But even so, it cannot have failed to have caused offence.

82 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 924: 'Willelmus et Hugo, filius Rotberti, cum Ragenoldo de sua terra securitatem paciscuntur; et Ragenoldus cum suis Nordmannis in Burgundiam proficiscitur.'; *ibid.*, s.a. 925: 'Anno DCCCXXV redintegrante, Ragenoldus cum suis Nordmannis Burgundiam depopulabatur.'; Sassier, *Hugues Capet*, p. 96.

to yield Attigny to Heribert and his newly-freed puppet, Charles the Simple.⁸³ In the meantime, Heribert had frogmarched Raoul into Burgundy for a meeting with Hugh of Arles, who was strongarmed into conceding the county of Vienne to Heribert. Boso, meanwhile, found his lands invaded and confiscated by Henry I; he swore peace with Henry but only received some of them back. Boso's attempt to compensate himself by grabbing the Lotharingian lands of his deceased cousin Rothildis brought further humiliation when Hugh, Heribert and Henry united against him. Heribert seized Boso's Frankish *castellum* at Vitry-en-Perthois, thereby expelling the Bosonids from Francia entirely.⁸⁴

The beleaguered king retreated into Burgundy, and his enforced reliance on this territory is made clear by his complete disappearance from Flodoard's annals for the whole of 929. The evidence of the royal charters – there aren't any from 928 to 930 – reinforces our sense of Raoul's embattled position. The tide began to turn when peace broke out in 930 – Flodoard, who habitually places Raoul centre stage, says Raoul brokered it at a series of *placita*. Perhaps the decisive factor was the diminution of Heribert's influence after Charles the Simple died; crucially, Hugh the Great was persuaded to switch sides, and it was through mounting campaigns with Hugh (and Boso) at his side that Raoul subsequently recovered Laon, Attigny and Reims in 931. As a consequence, Raoul appears to have aligned his interests decisively with the Robertians. A sign of this is the fact that control over Sens, where Raoul chose to be buried, passed to Hugh after his death.⁸⁵ It is most obvious, however, in Auxerre: Bishop Wido was elected in 933 at Queen Emma's request, and when Wido restored the *villa* of Cravant to the canons, he duly stipulated, presumably on royal instructions, that they should hold a commemorative meal not only on the anniversary of the king's death but also on the anniversary of the queen's.⁸⁶

After Raoul's death took the throne outside his family, Auxerre was an early port of call for his successor Louis IV. It was Louis's protector, Hugh the Great, who now appeared as lay abbot of St-Germain, and he exploited his influence over the city to add three of Auxerre's minor abbeys to his portfolio.⁸⁷ Louis's succession was perhaps itself

83 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 928.

84 *Ibid.*, s.a. 929.

85 *Ibid.*, s.a. 941, notes that Hugh appointed a viscount, Frotmund, who drove the archbishop from the city after the latter had shown support, not for a Burgundian party, but for Heribert II of Vermandois.

86 *GPA* p. 223. Wido restored Cravant after receiving a grant (no longer extant) from Raoul. *D. CS 31* confirmed the church's possession of Cravant in 901, but contained no prayer clause.

87 St-Julien, St-Amâtre and Ste-Marie - *GPA* p. 231 says Louis later returned them to the bishop.

part of the deal between Raoul and Hugh: Louis was a compromise candidate, next to Hugh himself, but he was Hugh's man, and Hugh, who had married one of the English King Athelstan's sisters, welcomed him ashore when he returned from his long exile in England.⁸⁸ Louis's assembly at Auxerre also illustrated an intent either on his part or Hugh's to assert royal control over the see of Autun. The first charter Louis issued at Auxerre – indeed, the first surviving charter from his reign, was a confirmation for the new bishop of Autun, Rotmund, of a large number of the episcopal church's holdings whose charters had apparently been lost or destroyed.⁸⁹ The petitioners - Hugh the Great, followed by Count Bernard of Beauvais – were neither locals nor Burgundians. The absence of Count Giselbert of Autun from this charter suggests that it was now the Manassids who were losing their grip on the bishopric.

These were the circumstances in which Hugh the Black returned to western Burgundy. Hugh arrived in Autun in late summer 936 and asserted his familial claim to the abbey of St-Symphorien, symbolically making a donation to it on the anniversary of Richard the Justiciar's death.⁹⁰ Giselbert was first named amongst the witnesses, making it plausible that he had called on Hugh specifically to counter the threat posed by Hugh the Great in the areas where the Manassids had previously enjoyed influence. Hugh's intervention was successful: the next time Louis appeared in Autun, thirteen years later, the charter he issued approved the appointment of the reformist abbot Humbert to the abbey of St-Martin, once held by Richard the Justiciar. Hugh was the first named petitioner, Giselbert was second, and the memory of Hugh's father was explicitly recalled.⁹¹ Hugh had already been referred to in the meantime as *dux Burgundionum* in three of Louis's royal charters, granted in July 946.⁹² It is important, however, not to think of this in terms of accession to an administrative role within the bounds of the west Frankish kingdom. Hugh the Black's power base straddled the boundaries of the west Frankish and Upper Burgundian kingdoms, and the central places of his power differed from those where his father had been based, thanks to his interests in Upper Burgundy and the Mâconnais. The land he donated to St-Symphorien

88 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 936.

89 *D. LIV* 1. The clerics were not telling the whole truth: one of the properties Louis was asked to confirm was Tillenay, for which charters real and forged existed in abundance.

90 *Recueil des actes de Saint-Symphorien*, no. 7.

91 *D. LIV* 33 (10 Nov. 949) 'cum Hugo precelsus marchio filius Richardi, fidelis noster, et Gilbertus comes, necnon proceres regni Burgundie in Edua civitate convenirent de consulto sancte Dei ecclesie atque utilitate regni tractaturi, inter cetera Hildeboldus Cabillonensis episcopus, et monachi Cluniensis cenobii querimoniam fecerunt pro destitutione religionis monasterii sancti Martini ...'

92 *D. LIV* 27-9.

in 936 was drawn from his landholdings in the Varais; the men he brought to witness the gift were his supporters from Mâcon, Count Alberic and Alberic's son Leotald. When Hugh and Gisibert petitioned Louis on behalf of abbot Humbert of St-Martin, their co-petitioners included *proceres regni Burgundie* and the monks of Cluny, the former evidently being men from outside Louis's kingdom. It was a scribe from Cluny, which had never been part of Richard's dukedom, who wrote out the royal charters that described Hugh as duke of the Burgundians, and Hugh's career shows that he remained Cluny's active patron and local lord – he appeared not only at Louis's court but also at the court of Conrad I of Upper Burgundy to petition on the abbey's behalf.⁹³

The pattern of these charters suggests that the only thing that survived of Richard's duchy of Burgundy was the title of the *dux*. What really mattered to the political actors of the day was not Burgundy, or Richard's part of it, but the more traditional pursuit of control over land and resources. The careers of men such as Raoul and Hugh the Black exemplify this, but it is also true at a lower level. Local sources did not regret the passing of Auxerre and Sens to Robertian control, and neither did they apparently regard it as a turning point in their history. The contingent nature of Burgundy as a political unit is also apparent in the careers of other aristocrats. Gisibert's alliance with Hugh the Black after 936 should be seen in the same terms as his visit to the court of Charles the Simple fourteen years earlier, as an attempt to defend his own family's interests and prestige in the face of an encroaching threat. Another instance is Alberic, count of Mâcon. Alberic, who first appears as count in 930, seems to have arrived in Mâcon thanks to an Aquitainian marriage alliance – he originated in Narbonne and an eleventh-century notice of the comital line claims he married the daughter of William the Younger's viscount Raculf.⁹⁴ It would seem, however, that he aligned himself swiftly with Raoul and Hugh once Mâcon fell into Burgundian hands. He is attested alongside Hugh the Black in 932 and he and his son Leotald appear repeatedly in Hugh's entourage from 936 onwards. Leotald's marriage to the sister of Gisibert and Manasses II entrenched this northward-looking alliance. Locally, he was an active patron of the abbey of St-Vincent, whilst at the same time making occasional grants to Cluny at the same time as Raoul and Hugh began to patronize that monastery. He seems never to have looked back towards Aquitaine.

Writing 85 years ago, Maurice Chaume praised Richard the Justiciar as a

93 *D. Burg.* 27-9, 53.

94 *Cartulaire de St-Vincent*, nos. 7, 8.

‘national hero and unifier of the land of Burgundy’, who ‘only intervened in outside politics insofar as was necessary to ensure his independence and pre-eminence in Burgundy’.⁹⁵ He went on to upbraid Raoul for the folly of his ambition, and adjudged the end of Raoul’s reign to be the failure of a national project. What emerges from this study, however, is that the idea did not pertain that ‘Burgundy’ was an essential unit of social or political organization. Neither territorial integrity nor gentile cohesion commanded loyalty over and above the level of the *Personenverband* between its upper nobility. Transfers in and out of *Burgundia*, especially on the physical margins of the territory where this was more easily accomplished, were a regular feature. The tiny number of indications, addressed at the start of chapter 2, of a local consciousness of a Burgundian identity are attributable respectively to nostalgic reminiscences of deliverance from the Northmen, and a localized hostility to the Francia of Hugh the Great. It is fitting that they each come from areas which had ceased to be Burgundian scarcely a decade later.

95 Chaume, *Duché*, vol. 1, p. 414.

Chapter 5

Remembering the first dukes of Alemannia

Like Richard the Justiciar, Burchard II, *dux* in Alemannia, took an interest in the management and control of major abbeys in his region. Unlike Richard, his interventions were remembered with conspicuous distaste. ‘Many people, recoiling from his harshness, hated him and opposed his will in every way’, wrote the Reichenau author of the *Miracula Sanctae Verenae*, whose narrative opened with an extended complaint about Burchard’s misrule.¹ At St Gallen, the hagiographer of Wiborada, a tenth-century saint in the Thurgau, allowed an angry vision of St Gallus to appear before his subject to denounce ‘that tyrant Burchard, not a *dux* but a predator and desolator of this country’.² The holy apparition charges him with the theft of relics and land; in the next chapter, Abbot Engilbert of St Gallen flees the abbey on hearing of Burchard’s approach. These are not the only signs that the duke and the monks were not on the best of terms.

Yet the same abbeys remembered him in their prayers. A necrology at Reichenau reports the death of *Purhardus dux* under 28 April; the same hand also recorded *Purhardus dux* under 11 May, perhaps the date of his burial.³ There is no such entry in the necrology at St Gallen, but the monks there made a commitment to pray for him, which found its way into an early eleventh-century codex:

*Anno ab incarnatione Domini nongentesimo XXVI. Indict. XIII. III. Kal. Mai. Purhardus fortissimus dux Alamannorum Italia dolose occiditur. Cuius commemorationem, sicut pro unoquoque nostro in vigiliis et psalmodis et missarum oblationibus agi solet, ita etiam pro illo et posteris nostros deinceps ex integro acturos fore omnis generositas fratrum uno sensu decrevimus hocque in nostra regula placuit nobis conscribi, ut nulla umquam vel oblivione vel neglegentia valeat pretermitti.*⁴

- 1 ‘*Miracula Sanctae Verenae*’, ed. A. Reinle, *Die Heilige Verena von Zurzach. Legende – Kult – Denkmäler* (Basel, 1948), pp. 49-61, ch. 1: ‘. . . austeritatem eius multi aversantes, exosum eum habuerunt et ipsius voluntati per omnia contradixerunt’.
- 2 ‘*Vita Sanctae Wiboradae* [Ekkehardi]’, ed. & trans. W. Berschin, *Vitae Sanctae Wiboradae: Die ältesten Lebensbeschreibungen der heiligen Wiborada* (St Gallen, 1983), pp. 32-107, at ch. 25: ‘At ille tyrannus ait [Gallus] burchardus non dux set praedator et desolator istius provincie tanta in me commissit scelera.’
- 3 R. Rappmann and A. Zettler, *Die Reichenauer Mönchsgemeinschaft und ihre Totengedanken im frühen Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1998), pp. 442-3.
- 4 *MGH Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis*, ed. P. Piper (Berlin, 1884), p. 136: ‘In the year 926 from the incarnation of the Lord, in the 14th indiction, on the 29th of April, Burchard the most mighty *dux* of the Alemanni was deceitfully killed. We have unanimously resolved that, just as each of us commemorates him in our vigils, psalms and offerings at mass, so these things shall

The narrative evidence is not strictly contemporary, but neither are these more positive recollections. The St Gallen prayer commitment does not survive in its original form, whilst the entries in the Reichenau necrology were written in the mid-950s.⁵ It is possible that the Reichenau scribe was transferring entries from an older document, but whoever set him to his task must have wanted to ensure that the anniversary of Burchard's death was remembered. Sponsorship by Burchard's descendants is probably the best explanation as to why: Burchard's son Burchard III was the leading aristocrat in Alemannia at this time.⁶ The monks had different ideas when writing on their own initiative, for it was also in the 950s that a monk at Reichenau committed the earliest surviving hostile memory of Burchard to parchment: an account of the abbey's acquisition of a relic of the holy blood described how Burchard attacked a fortress belonging to the relic's previous owners, Swanahild and Walter, only to be repulsed thanks to its miraculous powers.⁷

The long history of discord between the Burchardine family and the abbeys makes the monks' unflattering portraits of his rule entirely plausible. One thing the sources all agree on, however, is that Burchard was *dux*, the title attributed to him during his lifetime in two charters issued in 920 and 924.⁸ Later Alemannian sources intriguingly projected that title onto other, earlier members of his family. The chronicler Hermann of Reichenau declared that Count Erchanger 'invaded the duchy' after the previous 'Duke Burchard', father of Burchard II, had been killed in 911.⁹ This was in the eleventh century, but in the middle of the tenth, an entry was written into the necrology at St Gallen under 8 January in commemoration of *Adalberti ducis Alamannorum*.¹⁰ This Adalbert is Burchard II's grandfather, count in the Thurgau in the late ninth century.¹¹ The title is the invention of the scribe, or of whoever instructed him to write it in. Whilst Adalbert was no doubt friendlier with the monks than his

be done on his behalf by our successors fully and with the devotion of all the brothers; and we desire that this be written down in our rule, so that nothing shall be omitted, whether by forgetfulness or neglect.'

5 Rappmann/Zettler, *Mönchsgemeinschaft*, pp. 284-8, 443.

6 See Family Tree 2.

7 'De pretioso sanguine domini nostri', ed. & trans. T. Klüppel, in W. Berschin and T. Klüppel, *Die Reichenauer Heiligblut-Reliquie*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 25-59, here ch. 22.

8 *UBSG* 779; *UBZ* 188.

9 Hermann of Reichenau, 'Chronicon', ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores* 5 (Hanover, 1844), pp. 67-133, s.a. 911: 'Burchardus dux Alamanniae in conventu suo ortu tumultu occisus est; pro quo Erchanger ducatum invasit.'

10 *MGH Necrologia Germaniae I*, ed. F.L. Baumann (Berlin, 1888), pp. 462-87; Rappmann/Zettler, *Mönchsgemeinschaft*, p. 483.

11 M. Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit. Eine Prosopographie* (Sigmaringen, 1986), pp. 21-8.

grandson, in reality neither he nor Burchard I could ever have exerted the kind of overall leadership that the title *dux Alamannorum* implied.

The ancestry of the Burchardines, it seems, was subjected to a process of transformative memory, whereby knowledge of history was assimilated to a world view in which Alemannia, along with other parts of the east Frankish realm, was understood as a unitary region whose head man went by the title *dux*. By the middle of the tenth century, this idea was already becoming entrenched in the mentality of the east Frankish court and the society around it, as exemplified by Widukind of Corvey's anachronistic declaration that the *dux* Burchard, along with his Bavarian counterpart Arnulf, had submitted to King Henry at the beginning of the latter's reign and thereby committed not only himself but his province to the king's rule.¹² 'Duke' Adalbert's commemoration at St Gallen suggests that Widukind's contemporaries in Alemannia were beginning to think in the same terms. These are not contemporary perspectives, but signs of a tendency to project the political certainties of a later generation onto a time when these arrangements were still in flux.

Carolingian Alemannia and the Swabian ethnos

There were *duces* in Alemannia before the Carolingian conquest in the early eighth century; there are also signs that a memory of this survived in the following century. The seventh-century *dux* Cunzo plays a role in the hagiography of St Gallus, whose story was written anew by Walahfrid Strabo in the 830s and features in Ratpert's *Casus Sancti Galli*, compiled around 890.¹³ The monks of St Gallen also possessed the record of a gift of land enacted by the *dux* Gotafrid in around 700; some ninth-century royal charters also used the formula *in ducatu Alamanniae*.¹⁴

Less certain is whether the words *dux* and *ducatus* articulated a specific conception of Alemannian political unity. An entry in the book of confraternity at

12 Widukind, *Res Gestae*, I:17.

13 Ratpert, *Casus Sancti Galli*, ed. and trans, H. Steiner, MGH SRG 75 (Hanover, 2002), pp. 142-8.

14 *UBSG* 1.

Reichenau records the following names next to a list, in the same hand, of the bishop of Constance and his canons:

Tagabertus rex
Pippinus rex
Karolus rex
Hudouuicus rex
*Cotafridus rex*¹⁵

There follow the names of a deceased bishop and eleven dead clerics. Alfons Zettler has suggested plausibly that the three Carolingians Pippin, Charles and Louis are not, as one might think, Pippin the Short, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, but rather three kings who reigned over Alemannia itself in the ninth century: Pippin of Italy, Charles the Bald and Louis the German. Dagobert, the first named, was thought of as founder of the diocese of Constance. The entry, written during the reign of Charles the Fat, thus evinces a certain consciousness of Alemannia as a region whose leader was a king, not a *dux*.¹⁶ It would follow from this that the scribe, understanding that Gotafrid once ruled Alemannia, promoted him from *dux* to *rex* accordingly, much as the tenth-century scribe later promoted Adalbert from *comes* to *dux*.

Zettler regards the list of kings as part of a small body of ninth-century evidence for the emergence of an Alemannian communal identity. He points out that Notker the Stammerer hailed Charles the Fat as *rex Alamanniae* in the 880s. In the 830s, several charters from St Gallen refer to Louis the German as *rex Alamannorum*, indicating thereby that he had displaced Charles the Bald from the region.¹⁷ A few years before, Walahfrid Strabo included an elaborate description of Alemannia's putative origins in his *vita* of St Gallus in a passage written, as Thomas Zotz has suggested, to give a sense of history to the *Teilreich* that Charles the Bald had been awarded at Worms in 829.¹⁸ These items of evidence, although scattered across several decades, give some grounds to suggest that people in Alemannia had an awareness of the region as a *regnum*. The question therefore arises as to whether this awareness played a role in shaping the region's history in the decades after Charles the Fat's death. Zettler believes it did, claiming that the evidence shows that 'a separate provincial consciousness, an Alemannian/Swabian identity' developed amongst the nobility and high clergy, that 'one can scarcely underestimate the significance' that this 'sense of common belonging in the

15 *Lib. conf. Reichenau*, pag. 83.

16 Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 70-2.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 67-74, cf. Zotz, 'Ethnogenese', pp. 58-9.

18 Zotz, 'Ethnogenese', pp. 48-55.

context of a, so to speak, “Swabian” identity’ had for the events of the subsequent decades.¹⁹ This permits him to frame the development of the Burchardian *ducatus* in terms of a ‘conflict over the dukedom’, in which the major aristocratic families of the region were ‘rivals in the struggle for the duchy’ - a highly traditional framework that would have been familiar to historians writing fifty or even a hundred years before.²⁰

There are a number of problems with this approach. One is that the ninth-century sources are few and far between. Another is that Zettler’s sense of Swabian common belonging has a quasi-ethnic character despite having formed within a Carolingian *regnum* which also included Alsace and, more problematically, Rhaetia. Insofar as ninth-century people were conscious of an ethnic distinction, however, it was between the Alemannians and the Latin-speaking Rhaetians.²¹ This habit persisted into the tenth century and beyond: one of Burchard II’s ‘ducal’ charters cleaves between *Romani* and *Alamanni* and notes that the *dux* ordered the case in hand to be judged by the laws of the former.²² Despite the dominance of Alemannians over the see of Chur, the Rhaetians also appear to have conserved a distinct charter-writing tradition, whereas charters from Alemannia proper share scriptorial habits with neighbouring regions of the east Frankish kingdom.²³ Language, however, remained the most obvious marker of difference. Ekkehard IV of St Gallen, writing in the eleventh century, made great sport of recounting the laughter that echoed round Otto I’s court on hearing a Rhaetian monk’s eccentric pronunciation of German.²⁴

A bigger difficulty is that Zettler’s evidence is not contemporary with the events it is supposed to explain: the thesis that this sense of identity developed within a Carolingian subkingdom depends on the notion that identity is mutable, but if that is the case, it is unsafe to apply evidence from the 880s or before to the activities of a

19 Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 73, 76.

20 *Ibid.*, subheadings on p. 78: ‘Vorrunde im Ringen um den schwäbischen Dukat’, and p. 74: ‘Magnaten im spätkarolingischen Schwaben – Rivalen im Kampf um das Herzogtum’.

21 P. Erhart, ‘*Contentiones inter monachos* – Ethnische und politische Identität in monastischen Gemeinschaften des Frühmittelalters’, in R. Corradini, R. Meens, C. Pössel, P. Shaw (eds), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna, 2006), pp. 373-87. Zotz, ‘Ethnogenese’ argues that the sense of *Alemannia* oscillated between a reference to the *regnum* and a more exclusive sense in contradistinction to Alsace and Rhaetia; this may be so, but it is the political *regnum* which is treated as the vessel of identity formation.

22 *UBSG 779* (8 March 920): ‘Et perlecto precepto mandavit dux Burchardus, ut secundum legem Romana iudicarent, qui de hac causa facere debuissent. Iudicaverunt omnes Romani et Alamanni ...’

23 P. Erhart, ‘Die rätischen Urkunden – Erratische Blöcke am Alpennordrand?’, in P. Erhart, K. Heidecker, B. Zeller (eds), *Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit* (Zurich, 2009), pp. 161-71; K. Heidecker, ‘Urkunden schreiben im alemannischen Umfeld des Klosters St. Gallen’, in the same volume at pp. 183-91.

24 Ekkehard (IV) of St Gallen, *Casus Sancti Galli*, ed. H.F. Haefele (Darmstadt, 1980), ch. 72.

subsequent generation twenty or thirty years later. Implicit in Zettler's thinking is the supposition that mutability came to an end after 888, when the fully-formed group identity emerged from its Carolingian chrysalis and began to direct the course of events.²⁵ The problem is compounded by the fact that the sources are ecclesiastical, whereas the major churches of Alemannia – Reichenau and St Gallen – were staunch opponents of the man who became the first tenth-century *dux* and their memories of him were partly defined by it, as we have seen. Zettler's own account follows the classic narrative of the Alemannian duchy in seeing the royalist church as an obstacle to a ducal polity formed implicitly from the popular will of secular society.

Perhaps the most serious problem, however, is that the consciousness of living in a *kingdom* is not identical with a consciousness of Alemannia as a political community or as a defined political space. Observers of ninth-century east Francia have commented on the development of distinct political communities in the various *regna* of ninth-century east Francia. It is generally believed the corresponding tenth-century dukedoms were an inevitable consequence of this development. As the above suggests, however, there is essentially no evidence for a sense of separateness or a specific desire for self-determination in Alemannia. There is, however, a great deal of evidence to suggest that ideas of kingdom and kingship played a fundamental role in conditioning the political thinking of aristocrats both clerical and lay throughout that period from 888 to 940. The next two chapters will emphasize the ways in which the political game remained centred on the long-established goals of achieving closeness to the kingship and control over crucial material resources, and that the emergence of a regional polity under *dux* Burchard II in the years close to 920 was, like the emergence of Richard the Justiciar's Burgundy in the 890s, a product of circumstance rather than the realization of a dream of independence.

Alemannia from 888 to 940: sources and approach

As in Burgundy, the source base for Alemannia in our period has its limitations. There is a shortage of narrative evidence for the east Frankish kingdom as a whole. The Bavarian continuation of the annals of Fulda gives out in 900, and there is nothing more

25 As Timothy Reuter observed in 1999, ethnogenesis approaches in practice have often led to '... flux followed by fixation: there is a period of ethnogenesis, but then we have the people'. T. Reuter, 'Whose race, whose ethnicity? Recent medievalists' discussions of identity', in Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 100-110, at p. 103.

until the historiographers of the Ottonian period look back from the changed perspective of the 950s and 960s. The latter are mostly uninformative about Alemannia, and in the important case of Widukind, liable to mislead, as will be argued in the course of chapter 7. Additional information in local contemporary annals is largely confined to the *Annales Alamannici*, which exist in two distinct versions named for the locations in which the manuscripts survived. The Zürich codex was most likely written by monks at St Gallen, whereas the Monza codex, slightly more expansive until it gives out in 912, was written by an unknown scribe who was evidently hostile to the Emperor Arnulf and St Gallen's abbot, Salomon III.²⁶

Charter evidence includes the unique archive of St Gallen. Although the St Gallen charters diminish sharply in number after c. 910, they offer an invaluable insight into local politics and society.²⁷ Local charters also survive from the abbeys of Zürich and Reichenau, in addition to royal charters of the various east Frankish kings and a handful of other local survivals.²⁸ Various later narrative sources also survive from the abbeys of St Gallen and Reichenau, including hagiography, the anecdotal histories of Ekkehard IV, and the later annals of Hermann of Reichenau. Finally, the major abbeys also provide a substantial body of evidence in the form of necrologies, and especially the books of confraternity which survive from Reichenau, St Gallen and the Rhaetian abbey of Pfäfers. Despite intense study, however, the kinships and political relationships hinted at in these sources often remain tantalizingly elusive: entries often demonstrate that groups of individuals are relatives or associates without revealing exactly how, or why they wished to be commemorated by the monks.

As the above outline indicates, the evidence base is biased towards the south of Alemannia, and towards St Gallen and Reichenau in particular. The material can therefore create the impression that Alemannia in our period was an isolated community; this was not the case and it should be borne in mind that a large body of material from Augsburg or Ulm would present an entirely different picture of connections between Alemannian aristocrats and the neighbouring regions of Bavaria

26 The versions are referred to here as *AA (Z)* and *AA (M)*. A continuation of the *Annales Laubacenses* from 887 to 912 survives in the same codex as *AA (M)*; it was copied by the same hand from the same source but nevertheless differs slightly in the details. All three are edited side by side in W. Lendi, *Untersuchungen zur frühalemannischen Annalistik. Die Murbacher Annalen – mit Edition* (Fribourg, 1971), pp. 146-92, with commentary on authorship and transmission at pp. 132-43.

27 *UBSG*.

28 *UBZ* includes the Zürich and Reichenau charters. The other Alemannian charters cited in this study are mostly edited in the *Bündner Urkundenbuch*, vol. I (390-1199), ed. E. Meyer-Marthaler and F. Perret (Chur, 1955).

and Franconia. Part of chapter 6 will argue that connections into Bavaria were of central importance to at least part of the Alemannian nobility in precisely the period when a distinctly Alemannian political community is commonly believed to have formed. It is also well recognized in the literature that the Alemannian nobility had interests and landholdings across the Alps in northern Italy, even if these interests become more difficult to discern in the period under review here.²⁹ There are also signs that relationships persisted across the frontiers with Upper Burgundy. The *Miracula Sanctae Verenae*, compiled at Reichenau in the early eleventh century, is a good example of the interpenetration of regional consciousnesses. St Verena's cult was observed at Zurzach, on the Rhine downstream from Constance. The saint's special ability was to intercede with God on behalf of prospective parents, and the early sections of the *Miracula* recount in short succession the pilgrimages to Zurzach by the king and queen of Upper Burgundy, by the Alemannian *dux* Hermann and his wife, and by a noblewoman from Alsace, this last being an opportunity to trumpet Verena's superiority over her Alsatian rival St Odile, who had a similar gift but, unlike Verena, was unable to guarantee the baby's sex.³⁰ In the tenth chapter, a very rich but childless count from Francia mocks Verena and spurns exhortations to pray to her; he is left without a male heir and his equally sceptical wife is struck dead by lightning.³¹ Nothing in these stories claims Verena as an Alemannian saint, or even confines her to the east Frankish kingdom. Rather, the geographical range of the text makes plain that Zurzach was a liminal point between Alemannia, Alsace and Burgundy, and that her cult transcended the boundaries of both regions and kingdoms. As this suggests, Alemannia had no more isolated culturally or politically in the eleventh century from the rest of the Frankish kingdoms than it had been in the ninth.

The early tenth century was no different. The next two chapters will examine the persistence of wide-ranging political connections and emphasize the extent to which politics in Alemannia was inextricably connected with the survival and the maintenance of the royal system established by the Carolingians. Chapter 6 will discuss the period

29 A. Zettler, 'Der Zusammenhang des Raumes beidseits der Alpen in karolingischer Zeit. Amtsträger, Klöster und die Herrschaft Karls III.', in H. Maurer, H. Schwarzmaier, T. Zotz (eds), *Schwaben und Italien im Hochmittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 2001), pp. 25-42; U. Ludwig, *Transalpinische Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Liber vitae von San Salvatore in Brescia und des Evangelii von Cividale* (Hanover, 1999); note that none of the entries in the Brescia confraternity book relating to Alemannians are reliably datable to beyond the end of the ninth century.

30 'Miracula Sanctae Verenae', chs 4-6.

31 *Ibid.*, ch. 10.

from 888 to 920, when it is quite clear that Alemannia remained a royal province under the east Frankish king. The rule of Arnulf of Carinthia and his successors met with considerable and enduring hostility, but not from all Alemannians and not at all times. Not only did royal control persist over the major abbeys and bishoprics of the region, but belief in the royal system was strong enough that aristocratic political bonds continued to be articulated in terms of service to and favour from the king even after Arnulf was succeeded by his six-year-old son Louis in 900. Alemannia became autonomous by accident in the reign of Conrad I, when a combination of circumstances united the major local aristocrats against a clerical establishment, most visible in the person of Salomon III, bishop of Constance and abbot of St Gallen, whose bulwark of royal support had lost a good deal of its strength. Even then, however, there was no sign of a local community's inherent desire to go it alone. One thing that emerges clearly from the sources, notwithstanding their geographical bias, is that the abbeys of St Gallen and Reichenau, together with the diocese of Constance and the royal palace of Bodman, formed a central node of political power. It was this central point, and the huge complex of landed resources it controlled, that was the obvious bone of contention in Alemannian political conflict, and the 'dukedom' emerged when control over it passed from royal to aristocratic hands.

Chapter 7 will discuss how the duchy of Alemannia, once formed, failed to endure. As with Richard's duchy of Burgundy, preservation of the duchy as political unit mattered little. Contrary to the common view, the polity created by Burchard II died with him, and was broken up by the settlement agreed at Worms in 926. Although Burchard's putative successor, Hermann of Franconia, was to use the title *dux Alamannorum*, the evidence from the late 920s is indicative both of territorial division and of the way in which various secular and ecclesiastical factions strove to re-establish direct connections with the monarchy. To regard Alemannia in isolation, therefore, is to misrepresent the motives, interests and political consciousness of the early tenth-century aristocracy. The early history of the Alemannian dukedom should not be located in a search for local autonomy, but, like that of western Burgundy, in the context of the high politics of the Frankish kingdoms.

Chapter 6

Alemannia and the royal court 888-920

Burchard II was the first individual to exercise demonstrable hegemony over Alemannia's aristocracy, but the period of Burchard's ascendancy only began a good thirty years after Arnulf of Carinthia deposed the Emperor Charles; it will be dealt with in chapter 7. This chapter deals with the intervening period, in which the dominant figure in Alemannia was not a duke but an abbot: Salomon III, imposed on the abbey of St Gallen by Arnulf in 890, promoted further to the bishopric of Constance in 890 or 891, and the most visible agent of royal rule in the region for the majority of the next three decades. Close analysis of Alemannia in this period will show that the circumstances leading up to Burchard II's emergence must be seen, like Richard's seizure of power in Burgundy, in terms of an unexpected moment of opportunity in an environment where royalty and access to it continued to define the parameters of the political game.

Treatments of this period in modern historiography have been hampered by terms of enquiry that presuppose a long march to regional autonomy. One matter for debate is whether anyone prior to Burchard II ought to be regarded as the first duke – the younger Burchard's father, Burchard I, or the Count Erchanger whom the author of the Monza codex of the *Annales Alamannici* says was proclaimed *dux* in 915.¹ A broader concern has been to establish why Alemannia was a late bloomer amongst the east Frankish dukedoms: whether one plumps for Burchard II, Erchanger or Burchard I, there was quite clearly no duke prior to 911 or so at the earliest and this circumstance has been seen as demanding explanation.² Such debates are unfortunate for two reasons. One is that they proceed from the assumption that the unity of Alemannia, whether *qua* province or ethnic group, mattered in a politically relevant sense to the senior members of the local aristocracy, even if in practice they were at loggerheads. Aristocratic behaviour is then construed in terms of a contest between noblemen on the make, vying aggressively for 'ducal' or 'duke-like' power in opposition to the king, the

1 H. Maurer, *Der Herzog von Schwaben. Grundlagen, Wirkungen und Wesen seiner Herrschaft in ottonischer, salischer und staufischer Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1978), pp. 36-41; Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 82-5.

2 E.g. T. Zotz, 'König Konrad I. und die Genese des Herzogtums Schwaben', in H.W. Goetz (ed.), *Konrad I. - Auf dem Weg zum deutschen Reich?* (Bochum, 2006), pp. 185-98. Cf. Fried, *Weg*, p. 445: 'In Alemannien zeigte sich – mit einer gewissen Verzögerung – dieselben Ansätze.' [i.e. the same incipient processes as in Saxony and Bavaria].

church and each other. The second problem is the consequent establishment of a rhetoric of opposition pitting secular aristocrats against the dominant senior clergy, such that the latter is perceived as a retarding influence on the natural tendency of other Alemanni to break loose. As a result, the Alemannian nobility is routinely depicted in terms of ‘competing families’ striving to ‘create a duchy’, whilst powerful clergymen, first and foremost Salomon III, endeavoured to thwart them in the name of the king.³ In this story, the first twenty years of Salomon’s ascendancy, from 890 to 910, are liable to be presented as an inconsequential dead end; occasionally this period is smudged out altogether.⁴ Such constructions additionally perpetuate the collapse-and-renewal thesis which sees new peoples and polities rising from the embers of the dying Carolingian empire,⁵ and allows it to seep into writing which may otherwise have no particular interest in the notions of ‘ethnic’ political communities, whether in traditional or modernized form.

A better perspective on the political development of Alemannia can be had by concentrating on the continuities between the late ninth century and the early tenth. This is not to say that circumstances did not change, or that Salomon III was not a divisive figure. Under him, an important and unhappy segment of the secular nobility was excluded from access to royal power. But we shall see in this chapter that their exclusion did not promote or encourage a movement to expel royal rule from the region. Rather, the victims sought to re-establish access to the centre, and in so doing reconstitute the tripartite bond between the aristocracy, the church and the royal court they had known during the reign of Charles the Fat.

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- 3 See citations from Zettler, *Geschichte*, in chapter 5 (Above, p. 113, n. 20). Likewise e.g. Zotz, ‘Genese des Herzogtums’, p. 190: ‘In diesem ... Raum konkurrierten mehrere hochkarätige Adelsfamilien miteinander’; Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, p. 628: ‘Insgesamt hat offensichtlich die politisch heterogene Struktur Alemanniens die Etablierung einer regionalen Führungsmacht verzögert; im gleichen Sinne wirkte auch die von Arnolf angebahnte starke Stellung der Geistlichkeit als Wahrerin der Reichsinteressen’; Müller-Mertens, ‘Ottonians’, p. 238: ‘In Suabia the Hunfriding Burchard of Raetia sought supremacy; he was opposed by Solomon III of Constance and by the Alaholfings Erchanger and Bertold until his murder in 911. In Bavaria and Saxony the development of ethnically based dukedoms ... took place without such rivalries’; G. Bühner-Thierry, *Évêques et pouvoir dans le royaume de Germanie : les églises de Bavière et de Souabe 876-973* (Paris, 1997): ‘Salomon faisait office en Souabe de représentant du roi contre les prétensions des grand laïques’; T. Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages c. 800 – 1056* (Harlow, 1991), p. 131: ‘In Suabia there were two noble kin-groups claiming a pre-eminent position.’
- 4 Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 74-6, briefly describes the region’s major families c. 900, but only to set the scene for a good fifteen pages on the decade from 910 to 920. Events from 890 to 910 are mostly ignored.
- 5 Cf. Maurer, *Herzog*, p. 129: ‘Denken wir daran: Das Ringen um die Erlangung der Herzogswürde in und über Schwaben war ein Vorgang gewesen, der sich zu Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts im Gefolge der Auflösung des karolingischen Reiches und der allmählichen Bildung eines Deutschen Reiches vollzogen hatte.’

The thirty years after 888 can be divided into three main phases, corresponding broadly to the reigns in east Francia of Arnulf, Louis the Child and Conrad I. In the first phase, after successfully crushing a revolt which sought to replace him with Charles's illegitimate son Bernard. Arnulf governed the region through his clerical allies, whose régime was resented, but unassailable. In the second, alienated members of the lay aristocracy, notably the father and uncle of Burchard II, were brought back into the fold, a process which was conducted through royal *placita* and expressed through participation in the formal celebration of royal power, despite the presence of a child on the throne. Throughout the first and second phases, the monarchy remained paramount and the ambitions of local actors were constituted with reference to participation in the royal system. The third phase began when Salomon assembled an alternative coterie of lay aristocrats with Count Erchanger at its head, and used it to re-suppress the Burchardine faction. This alliance too was founded upon the ideological structures of royal rule; connections to Bavaria suggest that it was also less strictly 'Alemannian' than sometimes imagined. In the middle of the third phase, however, the alliance foundered. Only at this point did the system unravel, as alienated secular nobles united in opposition to the central power and seized control over the major abbeys – St Gallen and Reichenau are the region's most visible major landholders – much as Richard and his clients seized control of the Burgundian bishoprics.

The defining feature of the political landscape throughout this period was not Alemannian separateness but rather the persistence of the Carolingian royal system as the framework of regional politics. Alemannia up to 920 is essentially the story of an attempt to contain a changed political environment within existing social and political structures. We should therefore begin by considering the structure of Alemannian politics under Charles the Fat.

Royal Alemannia under Charles the Fat

In Charles the Fat's Alemannia, royal authority was intense, personal and without serious challenge.⁶ Crucial to the maintenance of his prestige were the abbeys of Reichenau and St Gallen, objects of royal patronage for Charles as they had been for his father and grandfather.⁷ As king and emperor, Charles made multiple donations to

⁶ For the following, see esp. MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 83-91.

⁷ T. Zotz, 'Grundlagen und Zentren der Königsherrschaft im deutschen Südwesten in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit', in H.U. Nuber, K. Schmid, H. Steuer, T. Zotz (eds), *Archäologie und Geschichte des*

St Gallen, granted charters in favour of Reichenau, and appeared in person at both places.⁸ St Gallen, where Ekkehard says Charles participated in the anniversary feast of St Otmar, was the site at which Notker the Stammerer's *Deeds of Charlemagne* was composed, probably on the king's commission. The monks at Reichenau, which Charles chose as his final resting place, also saw the king visit their abbey in person, and they, like their fellow monks in Fulda and the canons of Langres, were commanded to hold an annual feast in Charles's honour; the feast was inaugurated by the Alemannian Bishop Chadolt of Novara (the brother of Charles's chancellor Liutward), and the estate of Erchingen was provided to Chadolt for the purpose.⁹ Such activities, as Simon MacLean has emphasized, reinforced the ideological centrality of the kingship in the churchmen's view of the world.¹⁰ Both St Gallen and Reichenau were breeding grounds for prominent chaplains, and a sharp rise has been noted in the number of monks entering St Gallen following the appointment of Abbot Bernard in the midst of Charles's imperial reign.¹¹

This did not make the abbeys into remote islands of royal power. A great achievement of the Carolingian dynasty was its creation of a vital role for itself in existing social networks that revolved around major abbeys and episcopal sees without eroding the horizontal connections that bound the churches to local lay society.¹² Nowhere was this more true than in Alemannia, where royal patronage was deeply embedded into such local relationships. Charter evidence from St Gallen highlights the frequent presence of secular aristocrats at assemblies at which donations were made to the monastery. Thus in 886 for example, the counts Arnulf, Udalrich and Hiltibold all gathered at Buchhorn (modern Friedrichshafen) to witness an exchange of property between abbot Bernard and a man called Eccho.¹³ The following year, Bernard's exchange of two unfree dependants with a certain Tisi was witnessed by four *legati imperatoris*, namely Hiltibold, Count Gozpert, Abbot Ruadho of Reichenau and Bishop

ersten Jahrtausends in Südwestdeutschland (Sigmaringen, 1990), pp. 275-93.

8 Charles's charters for St Gallen: *DD. CIII* 5, 11, 13, 14, 60, 68, 91, 92a, 98, 136, 159, 174; five of them (*DD. CIII* 11, 13, 60, 92, 136) are direct gifts of land. Charters for Reichenau: *DD. CIII* 6, 10, 99 and possibly the original behind the falsified *D. CIII* 172.

9 *D. CIII* 99.

10 MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 88-9; 144-7.

11 J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 193-4. R. Schaab, *Mönch in Sankt Gallen. Zur inneren Geschichte eines frühmittelalterlichen Klosters* (Ostfildern, 2003), pp. 149-50, documents a sudden three-year blip in new professions from 884.

12 Innes, *State and Society*, esp. pp. 188-222; on Alemannia also G. Althoff, 'Episkopat und Adel Alemanniens im früheren Mittelalter', in Nuber *et al.* (eds), *Archäologie und Geschichte*, pp. 257-73.

13 *UBSG* 649.

Salomon II of Constance, as well as by another count, Adalbert.¹⁴ The legates doubtless had some other purpose, but it was considered worth recording both their presence and the fact that they were present in their capacity as imperial officers. Two years before, in 885, Adalbert and Udalrich had together witnessed a grant to St Gallen; four years before that, Adalbert, Udalrich and Hiltibold had gathered at the palace of Bodman and borne witness to a transaction involving the previous abbot Hartmut, with Hiltibold acting as the abbot's advocate.¹⁵ These relationships went back further: in 875, Louis the German confirmed two exchanges of land between the same Adalbert and Abbot Hartmut, one of which names Hiltibold as Hartmut's advocate.¹⁶

These frequent contacts are a good illustration of how an abbey could be fundamental to the self-understanding of the local aristocracy. Yet at the same time, the monastery was not the only bond that connected these people to each other. Adalbert and Udalrich appear together in several *liber vitae* entries.¹⁷ Adalbert and Gozpert were cousins.¹⁸ Udalrich undertook to travel into Alsace along with Salomon II.¹⁹ And so on. It is likely that the other major churches in Charles's home kingdom had similar relationships with the secular aristocracy: the spiritual associations of Gozpert and his brother Wolfinus, for example, centred on their family's foundation at Rheinau, of which Gozpert was lay abbot, a post to which he wished Charles the Fat to succeed after his death.²⁰ Accidents of survival, unfortunately, mean our knowledge of them is sketchier – we have little idea which aristocrats patronized the abbey of Reichenau, still less the episcopal church of Augsburg.

If there is evidence for the existence of a local community in Alemannia, this is it. But it deserves to be underlined that royalty was an indispensable component of the system, not only in the minds of churchmen, but to the secular aristocracy as well. The charter that recorded the transaction at Bodman notes expressly that it was enacted *in palatio regio, ex permissio quoque ipsius domni regis Karoli*.²¹ Charles, of course, also

14 *UBSG* 656: 'Actum in Wintartura publice, in praesentia legatorum imperatoris ...'; Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft*, p. 173.

15 *UBSG* 643; *UBSG* vol. 3, Anhang, no. 8; A. Borst, 'Die Pfalz Bodman', in H. Berner (ed.), *Bodman – Dorf, Kaiserpfalz, Adel* (Sigmaringen, 1977), pp. 169-230, at pp. 199-200.

16 *DD. LG* 159-60.

17 *Lib. mem. Brescia* fol. 34v; *Lib. mem. Rem.* fol. 4r; Borgolte, *Grafen*, p. 27; Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 278-81; Ludwig, *Transalpinische Beziehungen*, pp. 60-1.

18 *UBZ* 156.

19 MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 89.

20 *D. CIII* 1. On Gozpert's family see K. Schmid, 'Königtum, Adel und Kloster zwischen Bodensee und Schwarzwald', in G. Tellenbach (ed.), *Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des großfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adels* (Freiburg, 1957), pp. 225-334.

21 *UBSG* vol. 3, Anhang, no. 8; MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 89; Airlie, 'Palace of memory', pp. 10-12.

impressed himself on the local nobility through his frequent physical presence. Although most of the direct evidence for this predates the rapid expansion of his kingdom after 880, his itinerary thereafter was punctuated by assemblies held at his home estates. There was no shortage of these: his charters place him variously at Kirchen, Sasbach and Waiblingen on the Oberrhein, at Bodman at the western end of Lake Constance, at Lustenau at the lake's eastern end, at Rottweil, at Ulm, and he kept close personal control of the estate at Neudingen to which he retired after his deposition.²² Such actively maintained connections to his Alemannian kingdom meant that the royal estates served as physical reminders of royal authority, even in his absence.²³ This was not a social system which encouraged the laity to see itself as independent and self-contained, but one which encouraged it to define itself in terms of its closeness to the king and his church. It is no surprise, therefore, that when this community rose in revolt against the régime of King Arnulf, its figurehead was Bernard, the young illegitimate son whom Charles the Fat had attempted unsuccessfully to have adopted as his legitimate heir during his imperial reign. Rather than choose a leader from amongst themselves, the Alemannian aristocracy rallied in time-honoured fashion behind a rival Carolingian king.

Bishop Salomon III

Salomon III was a product of this system: he and his brother Waldo were educated at St Gallen from an early age, becoming pupils and confidants of Notker the Stammerer; they prospered under his tutelage and progressed in the 880s into Charles's royal chapel.²⁴ At the time of Arnulf's coup, Waldo had already been made bishop of Freising in Arnulf's Bavarian homeland, and this perhaps goes some way to explaining why Salomon stayed loyal to the new king in the rebellion that coalesced around the young Bernard. Arnulf made Salomon bishop of Constance in 889, and gave him the abbacy of St Gallen in mid-890.

Despite an abundance of prominent clerical relations – his brother, uncle, great-

22 Kirchen: *DD. CIII* 159-62. Sasbach: *D. CIII* 136. Waiblingen: *DD. CIII* 127, 158, 170. Bodman: *D. CIII* 43. Lustenau: *DD. CIII* 164-9. Rottweil: *D. CIII* 156. Ulm: *DD. CIII* 70-1. Neudingen: Hermann, 'Chronicon', s.a. 887; cf. MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 87, M. Borgolte, 'Karl III. und Neudingen. Zum Problem der Nachfolgeregelung Ludwigs des Deutschen', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 125 (1977), pp. 21-55.

23 The point is underlined especially by Airlie, 'Palace of Memory.'

24 U. Zeller, *Bischof Salomo III. von Konstanz, Abt von St. Gallen* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1910), remains useful for Salomon's background.

uncle and nephew were all bishops – Salomon’s family origins are surprisingly obscure.²⁵ A list of names entered towards the end of the ninth century in the *liber vitae* at Reichenau is perhaps the closest thing we have to an indication of his immediate kinsfolk. It reads as follows:

*Cuzzo, Kisilhilt, Uuerinhere, Cuzzo, Salomon, Reginbold, Uualto, Uueldrud, Chrimilt, Reginsind, Fridurun, Kisilhilt, Peier, Meginfrid, Lantolt, Perthere, Sigebret, Heribert, Reginolt, Amalunc, Magno.*²⁶

Mixed-sex name lists frequently list a man followed by his wife, their close relatives, followed by more distant kin or associates; it follows that this entry may suggest that Salomon and Waldo of Freising were the children of a Cuzzo and Kisilhilt, and had a brother named Reginbold.²⁷ A third brother, from whom Salomon and Waldo were possibly estranged, is known to have inherited the family’s land, while a Count Reginbold appears in various Alemannian sources at around 900, including an entry in the Reichenau book beginning with *Reginbold comes* and listing several of the same names, but not the two bishops.²⁸ Ultimately, however, this is a guessing game: the pattern of confraternity book entries was not fixed, and the names Cuzzo and Kisilhilt leave us none the wiser anyway. Various other speculative connections can be drawn between the later names on the list and witnesses named in St Gallen charters, but without advancing our understanding, and entries in other *libri vitae* for Salomon and Waldo similarly fail to yield concrete information about their family background.²⁹

Understanding their ancestry is complicated further by the fact that the ‘Salomonids’ are not a typical patrilinear kin-group: Salomon III bore the name of his mother’s cousin, Salomon II of Constance, whilst his and Waldo’s nephew, Bishop Waldo of Chur, was their sister’s son.³⁰ Had the bishops taken the names of paternal ancestors, they might prove to be more closely linked to the major Alemannian laity than is normally thought. Even if they were estranged from their brother, Salomon and Waldo, as scholars at St Gallen, had also grown up at a nodal point of contact between the church, the aristocracy and the kings. The degree of social apartness between

25 Zeller, *Salomo III.*, pp. 11-27; Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 318-24; cf. Family Tree 6.

26 *Lib. conf. Reichenau*, pag. 122; dating per Althoff, *Amicitiae* pp. 319-20.

27 For example, an entry on *Lib. conf. Reichenau* pag. 41 begins *Purchart, Reginlind, Liutcart, Kisila, Perehta*: these people are Burchard II followed by his wife, a woman who may have been his sister-in-law, his mother-in-law and his daughter. (Althoff, *Amicitiae*, p. 276). Cf. also the various entries relating to the Ottonian royal family which begin with Henry I, Matilda and the names of their three sons, as discussed by Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 108-23.

28 Zeller, *Salomo III.*, pp. 25-6. *Lib. conf. Reichenau* pag. 69: ‘Reginbold comes, Uuieldrud, Peiere...’

29 Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 318-24; Ludwig, *Transalpinische Beziehungen*, pp. 40-7.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 14; *UBSG* 761: ‘Waldo filius sororis meae’.

Salomon and the region's major secular families should therefore not be exaggerated.

Our impressions of what Salomon was like are inevitably coloured by the lively account of a much later monk of St Gallen, Ekkehard 'IV'. Written at the end of the eleventh century, Ekkehard's *Casus Sancti Galli* offers in its early sections a lively account of Salomon's career as abbot and bishop in the time when Swabia 'had not yet been made into a duchy, but was subject specifically to the royal fisc'.³¹ The Salomon of the *Casus* is loquacious and worldly: the high-born and wealthy cleric is praised as a great benefactor of St Gallen and Constance, a great orator and preacher, and a jolly table companion, rather than as a pious observer of the rule.³² He is also cunning – so cunning, in fact, as to outwit the notoriously sly Archbishop Hatto of Mainz, whose well-worn reputation for trickery Ekkehard rehearses early on so that he can then gleefully recount how Salomon duped him out of his church's treasure.³³

The *Casus* telescopes the period from 890 to 920 into a highly personalized conflict between this wily anti-hero and the so-called *camerę nuntii* Erchanger and Bertold, at the heart of which lies a great falling-out over the use of property from the estates of Bodman and in particular Stammheim, on which the 'chamber messengers' erected a fortress even though Stammheim, as Ekkehard correctly implies, had been granted to the abbey by Charles the Fat.³⁴ Salomon's attempts to reassert the abbey's rights result in his kidnapping; the brothers leave him in the custody of Erchanger's wife Bertha, and barricade themselves in the fortress at the Hohentwiel, a steep hill in the vicinity of Bodman. The bishop is freed after the Hohentwiel is captured by a force of his 'relatives and men-at-arms', mustered by his cousin Siegfried. The brothers are taken in chains to the king, who has them condemned to death at an assembly and general synod and thereupon appoints Burchard II as the first *dux* of the Alemannians.³⁵

This is a rose-tinted picture of Burchard, whom Ekkehard will soon be calling a tyrant and who is unlikely to have been formally installed in his dukedom by an east Frankish king 'with the assent of the leading men'. Also, the real Counts Erchanger and

31 Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 11: 'Nondum adhuc illuc tempore Suevia in ducatum erat redacta, sed fisco regio peculiariter parebat, sicut hodie et Francia.'

32 Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 28.

33 Hatto's cleverness was noted by the contemporary *AF (B)* s.a. 891, which calls him '*homo subtilis ingenii*', whilst his notorious deception of Count Adalbert of Babenberg features in Liutprand, 'Antapodosis', II.6 and Widukind, *Res Gestae Saxonicae*, I.22. Ekkehard elsewhere shows signs of having read Widukind. *Casus*, ch. 11 notes that Hatto's deception of Adalbert was 'talked and sung about all over' (*vulgo concinnatur et canitur*), setting the scene for *Casus*, chs. 22-3, in which the trickster is tricked himself by the *artifex acutus* Salomon. Initially furious, Hatto is reconciled to his friend when he realizes he has been outfoxed, but not lied to.

34 *Ibid.*, chs 11-21.

35 *Ibid.*, ch. 20: '... Suevię principum assensu statuitur Alemannis dux primus Purchardus'.

Bertold only become clearly visible in contemporary sources from around 909: Ekkehard simply has nothing to relate about the preceding twenty years. However, whilst his picture of the bumptious bishop and his resentful antagonists doubtless contains elements of distortion or embellishment, many of the underlying facts of the story, from the visit of King Conrad I to Constance and St Gallen, via the kidnappings, the condemnation of the rebels at the synod of Hohenaltheim at 916, to the battle at Wahlwies by the Hohentwiel, are broadly recognizable in the meagre account furnished by the *Annales Alamannici* and other contemporary sources.³⁶

The clear message of the *Casus*' early sections is that the most important men in Alemannia at the turn of the tenth century were the abbot-bishops Salomon and Hatto. Hatto, 'the king's heart' (*cor regis*), supposedly held twelve abbeys and was second to the monarch in the kingdom.³⁷ Salomon is positioned squarely as a steadfast agent of royal power, acceding to his twin posts of abbot and bishop by Arnulf's royal prerogative, hosting the visit of Conrad I, and passing his entire career, as Ekkehard concludes, 'in the good grace of five kings,' accurately identified as Louis, Charles, Arnulf, Louis and Conrad.³⁸ Erchanger and Bertold are greatly overshadowed by the clerics: 'many things were taken away from their command by the king's munificence to the two bishops', we are told, and indeed we find land being taken on royal orders from the estate at Bodman, supposedly under the aristocrats' jurisdiction, to be given to Salomon, who also boasts to the two prefects about the riches he has obtained from the kings.³⁹ When a violent dispute erupts between Salomon and the nobles over the estate of Stammheim, King Conrad naturally supports the former, and the fortress which the noblemen had unlawfully built there is handed over to St Otmar, the eighth-century abbot who, as Ekkehard has already reminded his brothers, was a symbol of heroic resistance to lay aristocratic bullying.⁴⁰ Making Conrad a patron of Otmar, furthermore, aligned him with a tradition established by Charles the Fat, who had given Stammheim to the monks in 879: Ekkehard says Charles provided for the saint's annual feast from

36 See pp. 147-51.

37 Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 11.

38 Ekkehard, *Casus* ch. 29: 'Claruebat autem Salomon sub quinque regibus eque sibi amicis: Ludowico, Karolo, Arnolfo, item Ludowico, Chuonrado.'

39 *Ibid.*, ch. 11: 'Quorum utrorumque multa dicioni subtracta sunt per munificentias regias in utrosque episcopos'; *ibid.* ch. 12: 'Huic, sicut diximus, cum aliquae Potamum, camerę nuntiorum iuris oppidum, pertinentia a regibus darentur, sicut Werinhere et Ruodhart domnum Otmarum, sic ipsi insequi conati sunt et ipsum (= Salomon)'; *ibid.* ch. 13: 'episcopus laudis quidem quiddam, ut diximus, avidior, quedam inter ceteras divitias, quas a regibus haberet, extollens.'

40 *Ibid.*, ch. 21; cf. chs 12, 16.

Stammheim's estates and took part in it personally as the monks' cupbearer.⁴¹

Ekkehard's view of the right order of things thus envisaged a very close and direct bond between the abbey and its king.

Contemporary sources suggest that this is a surprisingly accurate outline of royal and ecclesiastical politics around the turn of the tenth century, confirming that Salomon and Hatto played the central role in Alemannia from Arnulf's reign onwards. It is also clear that Salomon consciously used his position to undermine an important contingent of laymen, principal amongst whom were the counts in the Thurgau – the uncle and grandfather of Burchard II - where the abbey of St Gallen was located. Thus we see here, in contrast to Autun where the count gained control over his own bishop and then several others, a situation where the church top brass kept the upper hand over the counts for a considerable period of time. This mattered, and indeed was possible, because the ecclesiastical establishment controlled huge amounts of land and men. The vast range of St Gallen's landholding is clearly visible in the map prepared by Michael Borgolte and colleagues in the 1980s, and Reichenau, which housed a similar-sized community of around 100-120 monks, probably commanded estates of similar size.⁴² Arnulf also made grants to the abbeys from the royal fisc at Bodman, although Reichenau, to which he granted the palace's fiscal income as well as rights of jurisdiction in the surrounding *pagus Untarse* ('lower lake') was the most visible beneficiary, not St Gallen.⁴³

The abbeys also continued to command the military loyalty of segments of the local populace, even as much of its aristocracy finally turned against royal rule towards 920. When Count Erchanger, with his allies Bertold and Burchard, defeated a pro-royal force at Wahlwies in 915, the annalist who wrote that he was proclaimed *dux* also described his defeated opponents as his 'countrymen' (*patriotis suis*).⁴⁴ Abbeys, therefore, were not just a nexus of social contact. St Gallen and Reichenau, together

41 *Ibid.*, ch 21; *D. C III* 13; MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 87-8.

42 M. Borgolte, D. Geuenich, K. Schmid, *Subsidia Sangallensia* (St Gallen, 1986), loose-leaf insert. The 99 clerical witnesses to *UBSG* 697 are commonly reckoned to represent the entire community at St Gallen in 895; cf. the analysis of the profession records by Schaab, *Mönch in Sankt Gallen*, pp. 147-50 with an estimated average of 112 for the ninth century. For Reichenau, Rappmann/Zettler, *Mönchsgemeinschaft*, pp. 210-1, estimate c. 100 for the early ninth century and approximately 112-33 mid-century, and reckon on three or four new monks entering the abbey each year. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-83 identifies an entry in the *liber vitae* at Pfäfers as a list of 64 Reichenau professions beginning c. 878 and entered into the profession book at c. 900. This implies a similar number of annual recruits and therefore suggests stability of numbers. Both communities are believed to have declined in the tenth century.

43 *D. Arn* 96.

44 *AA (Z)* s.a. 915.

with Bodman and Salomon's see of Constance, made up a powerful complex of material resources which lay at the heart of Alemannian politics throughout the period.

The Alemannian lay nobility at the end of the ninth century

Charles the Fat's dominant position in Alemannia probably explains why no 'supermagnate' emerged in the region on a par with Odo of Paris or Rudolf of Upper Burgundy. The most prominent secular figures in Alemannia were lesser figures, the counts Adalbert and Udalrich encountered above. These men, like others in the region, bore names which hint at descent from well-established local lineages, but are no less typical in that their exact line of descent defies demonstration. It should generally be borne in mind, however, that this was not a large community and many of its senior members were probably blood relations to some degree. This means, as we have seen in the case of the Bosonid line, that landed interests could change from one generation to the next and that descent is an unreliable indicator of political affiliation. In the Alemannian case, indications of possible kinship are as plentiful as attempts to nail down the nature of the relationship are futile. The name stock of the family of the tenth-century St Ulrich of Augsburg, for instance, overlaps considerably with the family of Count Adalbert, and Ulrich's hagiographer claimed Burchard II as the saint's *nepos*, but several of the same names also occur in *liber vitae* entries associated with Bishops Salomon and Waldo.⁴⁵ This is one of many clues that the upper echelon of society was closely knit, but provides no further indication of shared interests or political proclivities.

Although their names link them to two distinct early ninth-century lines known as the Hunfridinger (or Burchardines) and Udalrichinger, Adalbert and Udalrich were probably related too. Both had rights over land at Gurtweil in the Hegau, while the names *Adelbertus comes* and *Odelricus* appear next to one another in an entry made around 880 to the confraternity book at Brescia which includes several of Adalbert's relatives.⁴⁶

Count Adalbert 'the Illustrious' (the epithet appears in two contemporary sources) first appears in 854; charter evidence over the next forty years shows him to have been count in the Thurgau, in the Hegau to the west of Lake Constance, and also in

⁴⁵ Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 114-5; Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 295-306.

⁴⁶ UBZ 121; UBSG 691; *Lib. mem. Brescia* fol. 34v; Ludwig, *Transalpinische Beziehungen*, pp. 47-70.

the Baar region in northern Alemannia.⁴⁷ Adalbert's allodial property is less clearly evident; the only references to it are transactions with the abbey of Rheinau involving Gurtweil and land in northern Italy. It is not altogether safe, therefore, to assume that comital offices and private landed interests coincided. He last appears identifiably in the charter evidence in 894, and is known to have died on 8 January, some time between 895 and c.900. His death thus came a good forty years after he had first appeared as a count, and by this time his sons Adalbert (II) and Burchard (I) had already begun to exercise comital functions, Adalbert in the Thurgau, Burchard in the Baar.

The Count Udalrich seen alongside Adalbert in the 880s is usually identified as the man who appears as count from at least 860 onwards in the Argengau and Linzgau, and who was referred to as *nepos* by both Louis the German and Charles the Fat.⁴⁸ Borgolte has argued on the basis of a charter recorded in formulaic form that this man was still alive in 894.⁴⁹ By the late 880s, however, the elder Udalrich had been supplanted in the evidence by a younger count of the same name, and it is therefore possible that some of the evidence relating to the reign of Charles the Fat in fact relates to the younger Udalrich rather than the older one. By 888 or 889, the younger Udalrich was clearly the more important of the two, significant enough for Arnulf to grant him the royal palace of Lustenau in 888 or 889; the fact that by 890 he was count in the Linzgau permits the speculation that he was the elder Udalrich's son.⁵⁰ He also, however, possessed large amounts of land in the Thurgau around Aadorf, where a small abbey was presided over by his daughters, and through his wife Berchtheid he also had landed interests in Alsace.

Relatively little is known of these men's followers at a lower level. Adalbert's followers included men such as Alberic, based in the Thurgau and named as Adalbert's vassal in an early charter from Arnulf's reign.⁵¹ In 912, an Alberic donated property in the Thurgau to St Gallen *pro remedio anime senioris mei Adalberti*; the name Alberic also appeared close to Adalbert's and Udalrich's in the *liber memorialis* at Brescia amidst several members of Adalbert's family.⁵² Goetz has identified several men

47 For the following see Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 29-38. The scribal habit of referring to the name of the local count in land transactions means that countships are more readily identifiable in late ninth-century Alemannia than in Burgundy.

48 *D. LG* 124; *D. CIII* 57.

49 Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 255-66.

50 *D. Arn* 81; *UBSG* 680; Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 264-5, demonstrates that the holder of Lustenau and Aadorf was the younger Udalrich, not the elder; on him see also Goetz, 'Typus einer Adels Herrschaft'.

51 *D. Arn* 51.

52 *UBSG* 768 – the reference here is probably to the younger Adalbert, who was killed in 911; *Lib. mem. Brescia* fol. 34v; Ludwig, *Transalpinische Beziehungen* pp. 47-74; cf. Althoff, 'Amicitiae', pp. 279-

appearing as witnesses to Udalrich's charters as local landholders in the Thurgau, but the lack of any significant overlap between the witness lists as a whole to the various charters suggests that client relations between men of high and low status may often be perhaps better conceptualized as a fluid network of contacts than as a solidly constituted gang.⁵³ Lesser individuals doubtless enjoyed independent connections to the churches, as we have seen in the case of Landric of Metz-le-Comte. In addition they probably had kinsfolk in the abbeys and cathedral churches. Hatto of Reichenau/Mainz, believed on the one hand to be a relative of Liutbert, his predecessor-but-one in Mainz, has also been claimed for the kin-group of the ninth-century founders of the small abbey of Schienen, incorporated into Reichenau during Hatto's abbacy.⁵⁴ Although, as we have seen in the case of Salomon III, relationships between laymen and clergy can be frustratingly hard to pinpoint, it is beyond doubt that they existed and were replicated at a lower social level.

An outsider to the St Gallen-based network outlined above was Rudolf, *dux* in Rhaetia, for whom there is no evidence of connections to counts Adalbert or Udalrich, or to Charles the Fat. Rudolf, who also appears as count in Zürich in documents from the 870s, was a scion of the 'Welf' lineage and a cousin once removed of Rudolf I of Upper Burgundy, although there is no evidence that the latter relationship led to active contact.⁵⁵ The style *dux*, which appears both in charter and *liber vitae* evidence and was adopted for Burchard II in 909 and 920, appears to be a local peculiarity.⁵⁶

The family connection to the Zürichgau may perhaps have figured in the invasion of Zürich by Rudolf II in c. 914, but the primary context for the attack is undoubtedly the general rivalry over the northern Jura between the kings of Upper Burgundy and the nobility of Lotharingia and Alsace. There is some evidence to suggest that Zürich was embedded into an Alsatian network of influence during Charles the Fat's reign. Charles granted the royal nunnery of St Felix and Regula, as well as the smaller establishments at Säkingen and Zurzach to his Alsatian queen, Richgard.⁵⁷ In 889, the abbey of St Felix and Regula appears to be in the possession of a Count

81.

53 Goetz, 'Typus einer Adels Herrschaft', pp. 153-61 but see especially the table at p. 167. *UBSG* 655 (886), for example, has 12 secular witnesses in addition to Udalrich's family, but only two of them recur amongst the 24 such witnesses to *UBSG* 691 (894) and not more than five appear with him again at all.

54 Schmid, 'Königtum, Adel und Kloster', pp. 303-4.

55 Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 226-8 for Rudolf; Schneidmüller, *Welfen*, pp. 40-71, with family tree at p. 41, sets out the relationships.

56 *UBSG* 681; *Lib. conf. Reichenau* pag. 59; *UBSG* 779.

57 *D. CIII* 7; *D. CIII* 43. Säkingen and Zurzach lie on the Hochrhein between Basel and Constance.

Eberhard, probably a member of the Etichonid line of Alsace and count in the Aargau.⁵⁸ Four years later an Abbess Cunigund is attested, who may be the Countess Cunigund who headed two entries in the Brescia and Reichenau *libri vitae* in which an Eberhard also appeared.⁵⁹ Nevertheless we should not regard Zürich, or Rhaetia, as being partitioned from Alemannia, any more than Alemannia as a whole was wholly separate from its neighbouring regions.

Rebellion and repression: Salomon III as agent of royal power

Having claimed the throne, Arnulf of Carinthia initially worked hard to maintain networks of patronage that kept nobles and clerics alike loyal to the centre.⁶⁰ Alemanni appeared at his court in 888 to recognize his kingship,⁶¹ and the rash of grants and confirmations issued by Arnulf in the first two years of his reign demonstrates *inter alia* a willingness to interact with some of Alemannia's principal lords.⁶² Lustenau, where Charles the Fat had spent much of 887, was granted *in proprietam* to Udalrich, whilst at Forchheim in June 889, the new king granted six *hobae* to Alberic, Adalbert's vassal, in Adalbert's county of the Thurgau; a fortnight earlier, he had granted several properties at Donaueschingen to Reichenau that Adalbert had previously held in benefice, presumably with the count's consent.⁶³ Although this earlier charter does not expressly indicate Adalbert's presence, it is conceivable that he was at court for the entire fortnight. Two of the three other charters surviving from June 889 are for Kempten in the eastern Augstgau and Ebersheim in Alsace and it is thus possible that an assembly of Alemannian and Alsatian nobles took place at this time.⁶⁴

No less effort went into claiming Charles's position atop the church hierarchy. Barely a fortnight after his deposed predecessor's death in January 888, the new king made a point of confirming the grant Charles had made to the priest Robert of the chapel at Klengen, only ten miles from Neudingen where Charles had died; two of Charles's

58 *UBZ* 153: Issued 'sub dominatione Eberharti comitis', but with an advocate intervening on Eberhard's behalf, suggesting that he was lay abbot. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 98-9, suggests that he obtained the abbacy after Charles repudiated Richgard in 887.

59 Ludwig, *Transalpinische Beziehungen*, pp. 38-40.

60 Not the clerics alone: see W. Hartmann, 'Kaiser Arnolf und die Kirche', in F. Fuchs and P. Schmid (eds), *Kaiser Arnolf. Das ostfränkische Reich am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts. Regensburger Kolloquium 9-11.12.1999* (Munich, 2002), pp. 221-52.

61 *AF (B)* s.a. 888.

62 Out of 176 charters surviving from the thirteen years of Arnulf's reign, 72 were issued before the end of 889.

63 *DD. Arn.* 48, 51.

64 *DD. Arn.* 49, 50.

bishops, including the Alemannian Waldo of Freising, were on hand to intervene on Robert's behalf.⁶⁵ Robert, the *custos* of the emperor's chapel, had enjoyed a special status directly linked to stewardship of the Neudingen estate, and Arnulf was clearly trying to jump into Charles's shoes as Robert's patron.⁶⁶ A fortnight later Arnulf confirmed a grant to another chaplain, Liutbrand, in which he took care to recall 'the tireless and faithful service which he [Liutbrand] has devoutly provided with tireless and unstinting faith to our most blessed grandfather Louis, to his most glorious sons, our predecessors as kings, and to ourselves'. The wording pushes Arnulf's claim to be regarded as the legitimate heir, and further ensures that this is to be kept in mind in the future, via the proviso that the *monasteriolum* and chapel in question should pass to St Gallen or Reichenau on the recipient's death 'in alms and for the remedy of the souls of our most pious grandparents Louis and Emma and their sons and daughters at peace with Christ, as well as for their and our eternal reward'.⁶⁷ In total, Arnulf made at least four grants to confirm or augment previous royal grants of possessions in Alemannia to members of the royal chapel.⁶⁸ In the summer of 888, he also made a point of confirming Chadolt of Novara's possession of the *villa* of Erchingen, thereby signalling Arnulf's endorsement of Charles's commemorative feast.⁶⁹ When Chadolt died in 889, Arnulf did not hesitate to confirm the transfer of Erchingen to Reichenau, where Charles had been buried.⁷⁰ We should see these gestures as bestowing Arnulf's blessing on the preservation of Charles's memory, and thus as attempts to cement his own position as the rightful successor to the Carolingian throne. The abbey of St Gallen, meanwhile, was not forgotten: in May 888, Arnulf granted property to Abbot Bernard.⁷¹

Arnulf's tactics were only a partial success. He was able to despatch an Alemannian army to fight Rudolf of Upper Burgundy in 888, but rather than engage Rudolf in battle, the Alemannians negotiated a truce whereby Rudolf betook himself to

65 *D. Arn.* 11.

66 For Robert's position vis-à-vis Neudingen see MacLean, *Kingship*, p. 87 with refs. Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft*, p. 174, views Robert's status in terms of a 'general deputization for the emperor' in a jurisdictional sense, but it is more convincing to see it as connected to Neudingen in particular.

67 *D. Arn.* 15: '... ob assiduum et fidele servitium suum, quod beatissimo avo nostro Hludowico filiis illius gloriosissimus regibus antecessoribus nostris et nobis assidue indefessa fide devoto peregit'; '... in elemosina vel remedio animarum piissimi avi nostri Hludowici et Hemmae filiorumque vel filiarum ipsorum in Christo quiescentium necnon et pro nostra suaque aeterna remuneratione ...'.

68 *DD. Arn.* 11, 15, 37, 39.

69 *D. Arn.* 35. Mark Mersiowsky observes that the document was probably prepared by an Italian scribe working for Chadolt, but this does not impair the reading: Arnulf evidently approved of the text. M. Mersiowsky, '*Carta edita, causa finita?* Zur Diplomatie Kaiser Arnulfs', in Fuchs and Schmid (eds), *Kaiser Arnulf*, pp. 271-374, at pp. 310, 314-15.

70 *D. Arn.* 48.

71 *D. Arn.* 25.

Regensburg to obtain the king's blessing.⁷² This resulted, perhaps to Arnulf's chagrin, in a *détente* which seems to have lasted for several years.⁷³ Arnulf himself seems to have been reluctant to venture into southern Alemannia in 888 and 889. Returning from Alsace to Bavaria in 888, he went northwards 'via Francia' rather than visit Bodman or Constance, and although the Bavarian annalist has him journey 'slowly through Alemannia' a year later, in reality he kept to its northern fringe, travelling from Frankfurt first to Wiesloch, east of the Rhine near Speyer, and from there directly to Ulm and Augsburg.⁷⁴ At Ulm he granted a *curtes* in the Thurgau to the unknown *fidelis* Deothelm, indicating that his route did not take him any further south.⁷⁵ None of Arnulf's charters from 887 to 889 were issued south of Ulm.

Whilst this itinerary in itself does not constitute proof that Arnulf consciously avoided Alemannia's southern section, the brief but substantial revolt that erupted in 890 makes it clear that the area was a hotbed of discontent. Arnulf's charter-giving activities abruptly stopped in mid-890 as he journeyed into Alemannia on what the Bavarian annalist coyly described as a visit 'for the sake of prayer' to Reichenau and Constance. The stern purpose of this pilgrimage was soon revealed as Arnulf deposed the abbot of St Gallen and replaced him with the loyalist Salomon III; in the meantime Charles the Fat's young son Bernard, the pretender around whom the rebels had rallied, was put to flight and, in the words of the Monza codex of the *Annales Alamannici* 'barely escaped from Rhaetia' amidst 'an exceedingly great death of men'.⁷⁶ Arnulf appears to have spent a good six months in Alemannia making his presence felt. The Bavarian annalist knows nothing of his movements until he returned to Regensburg to celebrate

72 *AF (B)* s.a. 888: 'Rex contra Rodulfum Elisaciam progreditur; inde ad eum misso Alamannico exercitu ipse per Franciam Baiowariam reversus est. Rodulfus enim inito consilio cum primoribus Alamannorum sponte sua ad regem urbem Radasbonam usque pervenit multaque inter illos convenienter adunata ipse a rege cum pace permissus, sicuti venit, ad sua remeavit.'

73 See p. 43.

74 *Ibid.* s.a. 889: '... inde per Alamanniam paulatim transgrediens Baiowariam urbe Regino honorifice natale Domini celebravit.' *DD. Arn.* 68-72 show him in Frankfurt, Wiesloch, Ulm and Augsburg respectively on 21 Nov., 27 Nov., 4 Dec. and 8 Dec.

75 *D. Arn.* 71.

76 *AA (M)* s.a. 890: 'berenhart filius karoli vix de retia evasit. nimia mortalitas hominum.' Salomon was in place by 29 August, which is the latest possible date of *UBSG* 679. *D. LCh* 20 gives the reason for Abbot Bernard's deposition.

Christmas, at which point the granting of charters resumed.⁷⁷ The following year, the hapless pretender was put to death ‘by Rudolf’, probably the Rhaetian *dux*.⁷⁸

Installed as the replacement for the rebellious Abbot Bernard, Salomon lost no time in hauling another rebel, Count Udalrich, before a public court where the count was condemned on a dubious-looking charge of infringing the abbey’s rights in the Rheingau.⁷⁹ Udalrich, it was claimed, had even stolen (*vi abstulit*) the tiles from their church roof to use on his own residence at Lustenau. The count was required to watch as fifty-three men of the Thurgau, Linzgau and Rhaetia were called to witness the judgement against him, and his submission was duly noted in a charter dated by the reign of ‘our most glorious King Arnulf’. At around the same time as this public humiliation, Lustenau was confiscated by the angry monarch, along with the rest of Udalrich’s possessions.

Goetz has argued that Udalrich’s humbling was punishment for having used the king’s gift of Lustenau as the basis for a strike at full-scale territorial domination of the locality, possibly with Abbot Bernard’s connivance.⁸⁰ This forms part of his general argument that Udalrich was a prototype of Burchard II and others like him and serves to illustrate Goetz’s earlier arguments against the ethnic basis of the ‘*Stammesherzogtum*’. But if Udalrich and the abbot were, as seems likely, on friendly terms, it is hard to imagine the count wilfully violating the abbey’s rights, whilst the abbot would surely not have permitted Udalrich to exploit abbatial lands if he thought this would undermine his community’s own interests. Such a depiction relies, however, on a traditionally conceived view of the inherently rapacious nobleman whose activities and mindset were fundamentally inconsistent with stable royal rule. A more compelling picture is that the abbot and the nobility worked together in a bid to substitute an alternative royal authority for one of questionable legitimacy with which they were unhappy.

In this regard it is noticeable that the Bavarian continuator of the Annals of Fulda chose to avert his gaze from the revolt, disguising the purpose of Arnulf’s journey into Alemannia and ignoring the king until he returned home half a year later.⁸¹ This is odd,

77 *D. Arn.* 79, shows Arnulf to have been at Ulm on 26 June 890; *AF (B)* s.a. 890 (quoted below at n. 81) says he went *causa orationis* to Reichenau and Constance and returned to Regensburg at Christmas.

In stark contrast to the preceding two years, no royal charters survive for the period July-December 890 except *D. Arn* 80 (15 July 890 for the abbey of Fulda, surviving only in falsified form) and *D. Arn* 81 (issued at Regensburg, probably at Christmas).

78 *AA (M)* s.a. 891: ‘... perenhart filius karoli a ruodulfo occisus.’

79 *UBSG* 680.

80 Goetz, ‘Typus einer Adelsherrschaft’, pp. 146-9.

81 *AF (B)* s.a. 890: ‘Rex ibi [=Forchheim] rebus dispositis, prout placuit, causa orationis in Alamannia Augeam Constantiamque pervenit; inde regrediens urbe Radasbona natale Christi celebravit.’

not because the annals necessarily offer a day-by-day account of royal movements in other years, but because successful demonstrations of force against opponents are often golden opportunities to glorify a successful ruler.⁸² The annalist, possibly the chaplain Aspert who became bishop of Regensburg in 891, was sufficiently informed about events in Alemannia to report the death of Bishop Salomon II of Constance, and to note that Salomon III ('the third of that name to hold the bishopric') succeeded him.⁸³ He is therefore unlikely to have been ignorant of Arnulf's real objectives. The most likely explanation for his discreet cover-up is the question of Arnulf's legitimacy as king. For all his attempts to cultivate acceptance of his Carolingian legitimacy in his predecessor's heartland, Arnulf was a royal bastard whose claim to the throne was no better, and perhaps worse, than the boy Bernard's. By promoting Bernard as an alternative king, therefore, the rebels struck Arnulf's claim to the throne at its weakest point, making his suppression of their revolt a matter to be treated with delicacy. Arnulf later struck back by sending the monks of St Gallen a message in the form of Hugh of Lotharingia, another failed royal pretender, whose internment at the abbey gave the brothers a helpful daily reminder of the right political path.⁸⁴

Arnulf's reign after 890: the politics of exclusion

Who were the rebels? The most obvious are Abbot Bernard, who was deposed, and Count Udalrich, who was reconciled to Arnulf at Regensburg at Christmas 890. Suspicion also falls on Adalbert the Illustrious, count of the Thurgau, who likewise arrived at Arnulf's court during the Christmas festivities.⁸⁵ The rebellion thus involved three men at the heart of the community around St Gallen and Bodman that was visible in the reign of Charles the Fat. Adalbert's sons Burchard (I) and Adalbert (II) are also prominent in two charters granted by Louis the Child which publicly buried the hatchet

82 A case in point is Adalbert of Magdeburg's continuation of Regino's chronicle. With the exception of the entries for the 960s, when Adalbert wrote, by far the longest entries in the *Continuatio Reginonis* are those dealing with the revolts of 939 (50 lines in the *MGH* edition) and 953 (48 lines). None of the other entries from 907 to 960 exceeds 25 lines.

83 *AF (B)* s.a. 890. For authorship see Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 552-61, who suggests Aspert as likely author from 882 to 891. Salomon II died in late 890, and Salomon III became bishop in early 891. These events are sometimes dated to 889 and 890 respectively, but *AA (Z)* s.a. 890-1, probably written at St Gallen, is quite clear that Salomon III became abbot first, then bishop, and that the latter happened in the same year that Regensburg was burnt to ashes. *AF (B)* s.a. 891 reports definitively that the fire happened on 10 August 891.

84 *AF (M)* s.a. 885 says Hugh was interned at Fulda after his trial in 886, but Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 885, says he was at St Gallen before being moved finally to Prüm during the reign of Zwentibald (895-900), where Regino himself tonsured him. Cf. MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 149-52.

85 *DD. Arn* 81, 82.

between disgruntled members of the Alemannian nobility and the senior bishops, mostly of Alemannian extraction, who served as the boy king's minders.⁸⁶

Superficially, Arnulf's Christmas reconciliation brought Udalrich and Adalbert back into royal grace. Udalrich and his wife got back their lands, which Arnulf had confiscated and entrusted to Abbot Hatto of Reichenau; Hatto was on hand to intervene on their behalf in the charter.⁸⁷ Adalbert's appearance in fact gives no immediate sign that he had fallen out with the king in the first place: he simply intervened on 6 January 891 in a charter confirming his vassal Anno in the possession of a church at Kaiseraugst, at the confluence of the Aare and Rhine.⁸⁸ Under the surface of these amicable transactions, however, lurk signs of the new order that Arnulf was imposing on the region. The restitution of Udalrich's property explicitly included the *villa* of Lustenau, which Arnulf had granted him on coming to the throne, but specifically excluded *Tiuffen*, a property near Bodman undoubtedly chosen because of its proximity to this other royal estate.⁸⁹ A point was being made here about the control of fiscal land. The narrative of the charter was written in a St Gallen hand, hinting perhaps that Salomon III was the architect of this deal.

Anno's charter was granted on Epiphany, a date with imperial connotations which Charles the Fat, who chose this date for the commemoration of his own anointing, had purposely attached to the cult of his personal rule.⁹⁰ By supplicating Arnulf on this very day, Adalbert thus not only acknowledged Arnulf's kingship but indirectly submitted to his claim to be Charles's legitimate successor. What Anno received in return was a mere confirmation of the status quo, not a gift, and it contained a clause enjoining him to do nothing that would injure the rights of 'God's church and the bishop'.⁹¹ The bishop in question is probably Salomon III, with whom Anno was soon induced to exchange his property for land further north when Arnulf began to use Salomon to put pressure on Rudolf of Upper Burgundy.⁹²

86 *DD. LCh* 20, 33.

87 *D. Arn* 81: the precise date is missing but Arnulf was mostly absent from Regensburg until Christmas.

88 *D. Arn* 82.

89 K. Schmid, "'Eberhardus comes de Potamo': Erwägungen über das Zueinander von Pfalzort, Kirche und Adels Herrschaft", in Berner (ed.), *Bodman – Dorf, Kaiserpfalz, Adel*, pp. 317-344, at pp. 327-8, identifying *Tiuffen* with the *Tiuffenbach* granted to St Gallen in *D. LCh* 17.

90 MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 144-60.

91 *D. Arn* 82: 'ut dei ecclesiae et episcopo de sua iustitia nihil inde minatur aut subtrahatur.'

92 *D. Arn* 129; see M. Borgolte, 'Die Geschichte der Grafengewalt im Elsaß von Dagobert I. bis Otto dem Großen', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 131 (1983), pp. 3-54, at pp. 43-4. Borgolte argues that the bishop was Iring of Basel, in whose diocese Anno's property technically lay, but Iring was, at least by 892, siding with Rudolf I and the generally peaceable relations between Rudolf and Arnulf from 889 to 894 make it likely that this had already happened by early 891. According to Ekkehard, Arnulf also granted the *villa* of Köllikon in the Aargau to Salomon III.

Arnulf promoted Abbot Hatto to the archbishopric of Mainz in 891. The following year, full rights over justice and tithes in the *pagus Untarse* were granted to Reichenau, a gesture which underscores the importance of the abbot-bishops to the new régime.⁹³ It may also have diminished, or withdrawn, some traditional rights of stewardship from the local counts, as Ekkehard's stories in the *Casus* appear to imply. Although one should not overstress the point - such comital rights as may have existed are hard to pin down, and previous kings had already granted land in the Untersee to both Reichenau and St Gallen - the reiteration of such a gesture here fits the general pattern of Arnulf's reliance on clerics as his place men in the region.⁹⁴ Other sources meanwhile render it indisputable that Arnulf governed Alemannia via a priestocracy which excluded the rebel faction from their traditional social contacts with the major abbeys and left resentment to simmer for over a decade, well beyond his own death.

The ascendancy of Salomon and Hatto was accompanied by a decline of friendly contact between the abbeys and the local nobility. Contact did not reduce to zero: Adalbert and Udalrich both died in the 890s and were recorded in the necrology at Reichenau between 896 and 900.⁹⁵ (Interestingly, their deaths were also recorded at Remiremont in Burgundy).⁹⁶ However, as Arnulf entrusted power to clerical hands, the palace of Bodman ceased to function as a meeting point: there are no further assemblies here until the reign of Louis the Child. The St Gallen charters for the decade include only one sign of a local assembly of the character seen in the 880s, namely a charter from 892 which records that the *comes palatii* Bertold gathered along with 'Bishop Salomon', a Count Arnulf and eighteen others to bear witness to an exchange of unfree dependants.⁹⁷ Moreover, this is a peculiar instance in which a transaction apparently carried out before 890 was reconfirmed for an unknown reason some years later.⁹⁸

Salomon later granted it to Saints Gallus and Otmar. (Ekkehard, *Casus*, chs 25, 27).

93 *AF (B)* s.a. 891; *D. Arn* 96.

94 Borst, 'Pfalz', pp. 186-204; *Regesta Badensia*, ed. C.G. Dümge (Karlsruhe, 1836), no. 3; *D. LG* 105; *D. CIII* 172. The latter is a mid-C10 forgery but may have been based on a genuine less extensive grant.

95 Rappmann/Zettler, *Mönchsgemeinschaft*, pp. 456-8; 485-6;

96 *Lib. mem. Rem.* fol. 4r; Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 278-9.

97 *UBSG* 684.

98 Wartmann gives the eschatocol as follows: 'Acta et levata in pago Munterishuntare in villa Dietherskiriha, firmata et perpetrata in pago Eritgeuve, in loco qui dicitur Pusso, in atrio sancti Laudegarii puplice. Signum Chadalonis, qui hanc cartam fieri rogavit. Sig. Perehto(l)di palacii comes. Sig. episcopi Solomonis. [18 other witnesses]. Regnante Arnolfo rege anno v [*sic*], XVI kal. april., luna XIII, in die veneris. Ego Uoto rogitus notavi diem et annum.' 'Anno v' is Wartmann's emendation: the original is dated by the second year of Arnulf's reign, implying March 889, but the remainder of the dating clause points consistently to 17 March 892. Yet this is at odds with the charter's declaration that Bernard was the abbot of St Gallen, and with the inclusion on the witness list of 'Bishop Salomon', presumably Salomon II of Constance (d. Dec. 889). The exchange, which the

Meanwhile, as Bodman was entrusted to the abbey of Reichenau, rights of jurisdiction were also proclaimed for St Gallen: another royal charter, probably issued in 893, gave a stern admonition to *Adalberto, Perehtolto, Purgharto, Vuodalrico* - their comital titles ungraciously omitted - *et cunctis regni istius primatis*, ordering that anyone bidden to attend the court of the abbot of St Gallen should do so ‘promptly and without contradiction, obstruction or neglect ... if he shall wish to have our favour’.⁹⁹ This was to apply ‘in all counties’ (*in singulis comitatibus*) and contumacy attracted the royal ban. The document, written by a St Gallen scribe and sealed but undated, is associated by Wartmann and Paul Kehr with the confirmation of the abbey’s privileges issued by Arnulf in January 893, by analogy with a proclamation issued by Louis the German shortly after a similar confirmation in 872; although this is probably correct there is a sharp difference in tone between Louis’s proclamation, written in the language of polite authority, and the terse, angry voice of Arnulf’s.¹⁰⁰

Bertold’s inclusion in the royal admonition suggests that the *comes palatii* was amongst those expected to accept Salomon’s senior status. Adalbert and Burchard are the sons of Adalbert ‘the Illustrious’ of the Thurgau, who himself receded into the background and is known to have died on 6 January 894.¹⁰¹ His son Adalbert succeeded him in the Thurgau, and was possibly also count in the Rheingau.¹⁰² At some point during the decade his other son Burchard obtained control of Rhaetia, since he is honoured as *marchio Curiensis Raetiae* in 902.¹⁰³ Neither of the two brothers is clearly attested north of Lake Constance after their father’s death; this may mean that they lost control of their father’s lands in the Baar region of northern Alemannia, although a general dearth of documentation makes it hard to be certain.¹⁰⁴ The family may have

text says was enacted first in one place, then signed and executed in another, is thought to have taken place before the revolt and been reconfirmed in 892 - M. Borgolte, ‘Die Alaholfingerurkunden. Zeugnisse vom Selbstverständnis einer adligen Verwandtengemeinschaft des frühen Mittelalters’, in Borgolte *et al.*, *Subsidia Sangallensia*, pp. 287-322. This raises as many questions as it answers; the alternative explanation, namely that the entire transaction took place in 889 and was badly misdated, should perhaps not be entirely ruled out.

99 *D. Arn* 111: ‘... statim sine contradictionis obstaculo vel neglectu ... si gratiam nostram habere voluerit.’

100 *D. LG* 71.

101 For his death see *Lib. mem. Rem.* fol. 4r (‘VI id. ian. obitus Adalberti’), and *UBSG* 692 (27 Jan. 894), which has *sub comite Hadalberto iuniore* in its text, and cf. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 21-8.

102 Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 29-30, summarizes the abundant references in *UBSG* to Adalbert as count of the Thurgau; by contrast only *UBSG* vol. 3, Anhang, no. 9 places him in the Rheingau.

103 *D. LCh* 20.

104 Burchard presided over a *placitum* in the Baar in 889 (*UBSG* 673) but is invisible in the region thereafter. See Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 25-6 for the ample evidence placing Adalbert the Illustrious in the Baar; *ibid.* p. 30, discusses the unreliable evidence for Adalbert’s having held additional countships nearer the northern shore of the lake.

pursued connections in northern Italy: although these are generally hard to identify after 888, Zettler has sought to identify the parents of Burchard II's wife Reginlind with Waltfrid, count of Verona and his wife Gisela, the latter a relation of Berengar I of Italy; if correct this is a sign that the family also maintained connections across the Alps in the early tenth century.¹⁰⁵

Perhaps the most telling sign of the changed political environment was the progressive eclipse of Count Udalrich over the course of the 890s, the result of a prolonged campaign against him by Salomon III. We see the beginnings of this in the judgement of August 890, and another sign in the St Gallen hand visible on the charter restoring his land. Three years later, in January 894, we find Udalrich making a large and comprehensive gift to the family foundation at Aadorf. This transaction offers an insight into the position of a major landholder vis-à-vis a family abbey: Udalrich gave the abbey his property (probably an entire villa) at Bichelsee, plus 'two *hobae*, Hucbald's property, the property of the free men, the church endowment and the vineyard at Wittelshausen', two arpents at three other locations, 'all of my tithes (*omnem decimam meam*)' in the Thurgau 'whether from vines, grain, or the redemption of graves', and everything that belonged to the altar there except the gold, silver and silk cloths and vestments.¹⁰⁶ Aadorf also received ten *hobae* at four different locations to the west of Constance, including Gurtweil where Udalrich also donated two mills and a wood. The lands were pledged to St Gallen after Udalrich's death, but this should not be taken as implying that Udalrich gave away his possessions willingly, or looked favourably on Salomon: the grant included the proviso that certain lands should revert to the donor's family if anyone, 'even an abbot', should try to remove them from the monks' possession.¹⁰⁷

105 Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 110-3. Burchard II and Reginlind must have married in the early years of the tenth century, since Reginlind was old enough to be mother of a daughter who married in 921, but young enough to bear another daughter by her second husband in the late 920s. For evidence of transalpine connections in this period see also C.I. Hammer, 'Crowding the king: Rebellion and political violence in late-Carolingian Bavaria and Italy', *Studi Medievali* 48 (2007), pp. 493-541.

106 *UBSG* 691: 'In Deo Nomine. Ego Uodalricus comis ... trado ad monasterium, quod est in Ahadorf, quicquid proprietatis hodierna die visus sum habere in loco, qui dicitur Pichelense, tam domibus, quam ceteris edificiiis, agris, pratis, silvis, pascuis, aquis aquarumque decursibus .. [etc.]. Trado etiam duas hobas in Witherreshusa necnon et proprietatem Hugibaldi: similiter et proprietatem liberorum hominum et dotem ipsius ecclesie et ipsam vineam, que ibi plantata est, et duas arpennas in Berenwanc, Puolini et Chnectelini, et omnem decimam meam quam ego in Durgauge visus sum habere, tam de vineis, quam de grano, sive redemptionem sepulture et quicquid ad illud altare pertinet, excepto auro et argento et sericis palliis et alia vestimenta serica, que ad altaria pertinent.

107 *Ibid.*: '... ea videlicet ratione, ut si aliqua persona, aut abbas, quod absit, aut aliquis quislibet ipsas res, quas tradidi fratribus, qui sunt in Ahadorf, inde auferre voluerit aut alicui in beneficium dare voluerit, res superius nominatas, que sunt in Curtwila et in aliis locis, que ad ipsam villam pertinent, ad propinquos meos, qui mihi promixiores esse videntur, revertantur'

This donation was large enough to receive special mention in the *Casus Sancti Galli*. Ekkehard's narrative attributed Udalrich's gift to special circumstances: during Hartmut's abbacy, he wrote, a relation of Hartmut's, Bishop Landaloh of Treviso, had wished to give his *villa* at Lolingen to St Gallus, but met with opposition from his family. Landaloh circumvented their hostility by giving his possessions to Count Udalrich, in exchange for which the count pledged them together with Aadorf to St Gallen.¹⁰⁸ A less complex and more plausible explanation is that Udalrich was pressurized by Salomon and had no male heir: the transaction was witnessed by his daughter, but no son, and his line cannot be traced after his own death some time before 900.

Salomon's glee is apparent from his formal confirmation of the gift in a charter whose notable feature was deliberate overkill.¹⁰⁹ In March 895, Udalrich was brought into the church at St Gallen, where the entire community of monks assembled to see the ceremony. No doubt this reflected the size of the donation, as did the fact that important charters pertaining to Udalrich's holdings found their way into the abbey's archive.¹¹⁰ The elaborate wording meanwhile pays tribute to the *serenissimus comes*, and the conditions of his gifts to Aadorf are upheld. The monks, however, did more than look on: as the vast list of subscribers shows, every single one of them bore formal witness to it by laying their hands on the parchment in turn.¹¹¹ As in Salomon's judgement against him in August 890, Udalrich himself was present but conspicuously failed to testify, while the long line of 99 monks numerically overwhelmed the meagre cohort of seven secular subscribers. All this creates an inescapable impression of stage-managed crowing, as a recent enemy yielded up his possessions to Salomon's control.¹¹²

108 Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 9.

109 *UBSG* 697; M. Mersiowsky, 'Die Urkunde Abtbischof Salomons für Graf Udalrich vom 30. März 895 – Ein Spitzenstück karolingischer Urkundenkunst', in P. Erhart (ed.), *Schatzkammer Stiftsarchiv St. Gallen. Miscellanea Lorenz Hollenstein* (Zürich, 2009), pp. 38-42, with reproductions of the two original copies.

110 *UBSG* 691, which, unlike *UBSG* 697 gives the specifics of the donation; also *UBSG* 655, and probably *D. Arn* 81.

111 *UBSG* 697: 'Idcirco cum omnium fratrum communi consilio manuque decrevimus atque confirmavimus'; for the practice of touching the document to confirm it cf. Tock, 'Mise en scène', pp. 292-5.

112 The clerical witnesses include 41 priests, 24 deacons, 15 subdeacons and one *Bernardus monachus*, in whom it is tempting to see the deposed ex-abbot, not least because Bernard's own predecessor, the long-retired Hartmut, was first on the list after Salomon. (Ratpert, *Casus*, ch. 3; Rappmann/Zettler, *Mönchsgemeinschaft*, p. 299). After Bernard come 19 more clerics with no attribution of rank. Last named are the advocate Gozpert and six other laymen: *Othere*, *Horscolf*, *Thiotpret*, *Adalo*, *Wito*, *Reginger*.

It is surely no coincidence that nine out of fourteen surviving St Gallen land transactions from the following five years relate to land within 10 kilometres of Aadorf, a proportion well in excess of that for the preceding or following decade.¹¹³ Amongst these was a very large exchange between Salomon and an associate of Udalrich named Othere, whereby St Gallen acquired a total of six small estates (*curtilia*) and 397 *juchos* of arable land and pasture at three locations in exchange for a large parcel of land at Jonschwil.¹¹⁴ An oddity of this exchange is that Salomon secured royal confirmation of the bargain, apparently before it was made.¹¹⁵ In addition, the text of the exchange remarked on the utility of writing things down ‘to forestall future arguments’; this is not routine and its appearance in the context of an apparently equal exchange is curious, especially as Othere appears to have been proprietor of Jonschwil’s church.¹¹⁶ A similar comment, in slightly more flowery language, in Salomon’s confirmation of Udalrich’s gift; perhaps, therefore, Othere’s trade was more contentious than it appears.¹¹⁷ At any rate, the sheer number of transactions in this small locality suggests a concerted attempt to extend and publicize the abbey’s presence in Udalrich’s territory. The success of this manoeuvre is reflected by the fact that a grant to St Gallen was enacted at Aadorf itself in 912.¹¹⁸

All régimes have their loyalists. Some Alemannian aristocrats remained faithful to Arnulf: these included Hiltibold, whom the king sent as *missus* to Zürich in 893, perhaps also the counts Chadolt and Arnulf mentioned in a royal charter for St Gallen at around the same time.¹¹⁹ Gifts to St Gallen from local donors continued throughout the decade, and monks themselves were drawn from the local community and must have retained contact with it. Walter and Swanahild, friends of Reichenau and military enemies of Burchard II in the early 920s, undoubtedly had their counterparts in the 890s.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, it is evident that a rift existed between the church and the most visible section of the aristocracy: those with landed bases close to St Gallen, who had

113 *UBSG* 699, 701-3, 710-3, 719.

114 *UBSG* 712. Othere is the first named witness, apart from members of Udalrich’s family, to *UBSG* 655 and 691, and the first lay witness, apart from Salomon’s advocate, to *UBSG* 697. Cf. Goetz, ‘Typus einer Adelsherrschaft’ pp. 157-8.

115 *D. Arn* 151.

116 *UBSG* 227: ‘ubi venerabilis laicus Otherius præesse dinoscitur’, dated to 12 Nov 904 as per Borgolte et al, *Subsidia Sangallensia*, p. 371.

117 *UBSG* 712: ‘necessarium est propter futuras dissensiones præcavendas conscriptionis firmitate posteriorum auribus desginare’; cf. *UBSG* 697: ‘eadem ob dissensiones futuras undique præcavendas necesse est conscriptionis vinculo firmiter præmunire’.

118 *UBSG* 770.

119 *UBZ* 159; *D. Arn* 129.

120 See above, chapter 5.

been associated with the revolt of 890. These men were shut out from their traditional contacts to the abbey and the king. However, this should not be assumed to have spurred them on to seek independence from the royal system: in the subsequent decade, their successors welcomed the opportunity to re-enter it.

Louis the Child: reconciliation and reincorporation

Under the year 899, the author of the Monza codex of the *Annales Alamannici* wrote that the Emperor Arnulf died and his son Louis was made king, ‘under whom everything that was good for peace fell apart’.¹²¹ Subsequent annalistic evidence tells us little about Louis’s reign: neither the Monza codex nor the Zürich codex has much to say about Alemannia itself, although both note the repeated Hungarian raids on Italy and Bavaria during the next few years. The Annals of Fulda give out in 901 after telling us that the new king travelled through Alemannia in 901 ‘dealing with matters there’ on his way to spend Easter in Francia.¹²² Regino of Prüm seems to have regarded the boy king as an irrelevance: after noting his coronation, he doesn’t mention him again for another six years. Preoccupied with the feuding of the Frankish nobility, he too offers no information about Alemannian affairs. It is the evidence of the charters and confraternity books which gives us a basis on which to reconstruct the history of Alemannia during Louis’s reign.¹²³

Louis’s accession might be seen as a triumph of the dynastic principle, but the power of dynasty drew much of its validity from the presumption that the son would be as suitable for the kingship as the father, and was consequently impaired when the heir was only six years old. That Louis’s candidature was viable reflects a willingness to compromise in the absence of a clear alternative in the east Frankish realm, whilst much of his reign can be viewed as an attempt – not invariably successful – to create consensus around the institution of the kingship, as opposed to the personality of a ‘strong’ leader.¹²⁴ The six-year-old ruler’s minders, foremost amongst them the Alemannian episcopal troika of Hatto, Salomon and the royal *nutritor* Adalbero of

121 *AA (M)* s.a. 899: ‘arnolfus imperator obiit et hludouuicus filius eius sub quo omnia bona pace disiuncta sunt in regnum elevatur’; *AA (Z)* s.a. 900: ‘arnolfus imperator obiit. hludouuicus filius eius in regnum elevatus’; cf. ‘Annales Laubacenses’, s.a. 899: ‘arnolfus imperator obiit. filius eius hludouuicus regnum suscepit <sub> quo multa malitia orta et aucta est’.

122 *AF (B)* s.a. 901: ‘Rex vero per Alamanniam, causas ibi disponendo, pascha Domini celebrandum Franciam petiit.’

123 On Louis’s reign, Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, pp. 518-641. More succinct: Reuter, *Germany*, pp. 126-7.

124 Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, pp. 532-5.

Augsburg¹²⁵ spent the first year of his reign parading the boy at a series of important royal palaces, a progress which encompassed Forchheim, Aachen, Frankfurt, Trebur and Regensburg and included a midwinter visit to southern Alemannia, where Louis celebrated Christmas, probably at Constance, and issued a charter at Bodman 1 January 901.¹²⁶ The charter settled a dispute over tithes between Salomon III's twin churches of Constance and St Gallen, giving us a hint that the king's host dominated proceedings whilst leaving us with no record of who else, apart from the scribe and the archchaplain Theotmar, shared in the festivities.

Come 903, however, the royal court was intent on building bridges. In June 903 Louis confirmed the rights of the abbey of St Gallen in a charter which was enacted, according to its text,

*in generali placito nostro Foracheim habito per suggestionem fidelium nostrorum, primatum videlicet, qui de diversis regni nostri finibus illic collecti affuerunt, quorum nomina haec sunt: Hatho, Vualto, Adalpero, Erchanpold, Theotolf, Tuto et Einhard venerabiles episcopi, comites vero Chönrat, Kebehart dux regni quod a multis Hlotharii dicitur, Purchart marchio Thuringorum, Adalpreht, Purchart marchio Curiensis Raetiae, Liutpold dux Boemanorum, Pabo, Ödalrich, Arnolf, Chönrat, Hug, Reginpold, Adalgoz, Ruochere, Purchart filius Vualahonis, Liutfrid, Cotedanc, Ernst et Erlolf.*¹²⁷

Issued at the height of the Babenberger feud, the Forchheim charter was part of a large team-building exercise whose purpose was to unite the men 'from the lands of our various kingdoms' behind the king's cause. The gesture was repeated the next week, when the royal party marched *en bloc* into Bavaria and Louis enacted another charter at the request of a similarly expansive band of petitioners to record the confiscation of Babenberger property 'by the judgement of the Franks, Alemannians, Bavarians, Thuringians and Saxons' and its reassignment to the bishop of Würzburg.¹²⁸ These were rallying cries which created and reinforced unity, rather than merely reflecting it. Eight

125 *D. LCh* 4: 'Adalbero, noster admodum fidelis nutritor'; *D. LCh* 9: 'Adalberonis quoque reverendi antistitis ac studiosissimi nutritoris nostri'. Adalbero appears in five of the nine charters surviving from Louis's first year on the throne. The king's mother, by contrast, is almost invisible during his reign (Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, pp. 566-9).

126 *D. LCh* 8. The king is thought to have spent Christmas at Constance rather than Bodman, which is believed to have lacked heating: Borst, 'Pfalz', p. 206.

127 *D. LCh* 20.

128 *D. LCh* 23: 'quia Ruodolfus venerabilis ac dilectus episcopus noster per supplicationem fidelium nostrorum, Hathonis videlicet, Uualtonis, Erchanpoldi, Adalperonis, Salomonis et Tutonis venerabilium episcoporum, comitum vero Chonrati, Kebeharti, Adalperti, Purcharti, Ödalrici, Arnolfi, Liutfredi, Purcharti et Eranfredi petiit clementiam nostram, ut quasdam res nostri, quae Adalharti et Heinrici fuerunt et ob nequitate eorum magnitudinem iudicio Franchorum, Alamannorum, Bauuoariorum, Thuringionum seu Saxonum legaliter in nostrum ius publicatae sunt'. For context: Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, pp. 598-606; Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens*, pp. 174-5.

of the nineteen counts included in the Forchheim petitioners are Alemannians; most of the rest are Bavarians and it is not surprising to see Arnulf's Bavarian support base being broadened to include men from the area where most of his episcopal protectors had originated.

The role of the Forchheim charter in this process is made apparent when the text dwells on the status of Salomon, who, it says, was elected after Bernard was deprived of the abbacy for seeking to depose the king.¹²⁹ In other words, the intercessors – all twenty-six of them, including the Alemannian counts – jointly and publicly adopted a text which declared Bernard a traitor and formally acknowledged Salomon as his lawful replacement. Thirteen years after the fact, Abbot Bernard's ill-treatment obviously still rankled with somebody, and the grudge needed to be laid to rest in public to consolidate the new alliance.

The matter was not yet fully resolved. The following year at Ingelheim, Louis ceremonially restored land to a priest, Isanrich, which had been confiscated because of Isanrich's support for the revolt of 890.¹³⁰ In this case, only Hatto of Mainz interceded with the king. We know, however, that it was issued in the context of an assembly attended by the Alemannian nobility, since Louis made a grant to St Gallen the same day, whilst the day before an exchange of land took place between the monastery of Lorsch, of which Hatto was abbot, and a certain Robert, whereby Robert gave the monks land at Riom in Rhaetia in exchange for other land near Kirchheim unter Teck in northern Alemannia.¹³¹ For the purposes of the Riom transaction, Count Burchard, undoubtedly the son of Adalbert the Illustrious who had been honoured as *marchio Curiensis Raetiae* at Forchheim, acted as the abbey's advocate. The first of the four counts named as witnesses was his brother Adalbert, whilst the second was the Count Arnulf who along with Salomon III jointly petitioned King Louis for the aforementioned grant to St Gallen. All of these men were among the twenty-six intercessors in the Forchheim charter of 903.

Burchard served as Hatto's advocate because Riom was a way station on the road to the Julier and Septimer passes, but we should avoid the blanket supposition that

129 *D. LCh* 20: 'Salomon venerabilis episcopus et abba coenobii sancti Galli, qui in vicem Pernharti abbatis – cui suis culpis exigentibus, quia Pernharto regiae maiestati resistenti et regni alieni invasori favit, abbatia sua ablata est – a regia potestate primo subrogatus est ac deinde omnium fratrum ibidem domino famulantium communi deliberatione, quia eos divinitus et humanitus bene procurare studuit, secundum regulam sancti Benedicti electus est'

130 *D. LCh* 34.

131 *D. LCh* 33; *Bündner Urkundenbuch*, no. 86.

the count ‘was the abbey’s advocate’ in respect of all its Rhaetian possessions.¹³² Advocates were typically modest figures,¹³³ and the assumption of the role by a senior nobleman arouses the suspicion that the exchange had a wider significance pertinent to the assembly as a whole. Hatto, of course, was the archbishop of Mainz and arguably the most senior of Louis’s unofficial regents; one might add that Salomon III, recently returned from an audience in Pavia with King Berengar of Italy, had probably passed only days before along the very road where Riom was located.¹³⁴ The man giving away Riom may have been Burchard’s vassal.¹³⁵ The transaction, meanwhile, was carried out *coram Ludouuico rege*, and witnessed by at least four counts *et alii multi*.¹³⁶ Some importance must therefore have been attached to making a public show of co-operation between the royal monastery of Lorsch and the counts of Alemannia, first and foremost Burchard and Adalbert. The likelihood is that this transaction was enacted in this way to integrate these two into the royal system of patronage and concession.

The inference that Burchard and Adalbert were the main beneficiaries of this process of reconciliation is reinforced by the elevated status granted to them in the Forchheim charter. The list of the twenty-six men who underwrote Salomon’s abbacy in 903 begins with Hatto of Mainz, Bishop Waldo of Freising (Salomon’s brother), and Adalbero of Augsburg; Theotolf, the fifth-named, is the bishop of Chur. The secular names are headed by the Conradine Franks Conrad and Gebhart, whilst the remainder are Bavarians and Alemannians. They are not divided into regnal groups: *Adalpreht* and *Purchart marchio Curiensis Raetiae* are separated from the remaining Alemannians *Ödalrich, Arnolf, Chönrat, Hug, Reginpold, Adalgoz* by the Bavarian magnate Liutpold and his follower Count Pabo. Instead there appears to be a qualitative distinction between the first six counts up to and including Liutpold, four of whom are distinguished as either *dux* or *marchio*, and the less important men who follow. It therefore appears that Adalbert and Burchard were being acknowledged as magnates of the highest rank, whereas the other Alemannians were not.

132 This is a standard reading, e.g. Borgolte, *Grafen*, p. 86; Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, p. 561; T. Zotz, *Der Breisgau und das alemannische Herzogtum. Zur Verfassungs- und Besitzgeschichte im 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1974), p. 75.

133 C. West, ‘The significance of the Carolingian advocate’, *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009), pp. 186-206, at p. 193.

134 UBSG 734.

135 See esp. *Lib. mem. Brescia* 34v, which places a Robert next to Adalbert the Illustrious and another between his two sons: ... *Uto, Ropertus, Adalbertus comes, Odelricus, Manegoldus, Adalbertus, Ropertus, Albericus, Burchardus, Adelinda, Rodlinda* ... Zotz, *Breisgau*, pp. 75-9 discusses the possibility of a relationship.

136 This may be an abbreviation: it does not survive in the original.

From 903 onwards, good relations between Salomon, Adalbert and Burchard were publicly reasserted on multiple occasions, most of them involving the young king. In December 903, Salomon, Adalbert, Burchard and Count Reginbold assembled at Reichlingen in the Thurgau and subscribed a large donation to the abbey of St Gallen, the first local assembly for a decade and a half to bring the abbot of St Gallen and the count of the Thurgau together.¹³⁷ It was not so much the resumption of these local meetings, however, as the court of the young king which served as the vessel in which the alliance was forged. Burchard was again honoured as *illustrius marchio* in a charter granted at Regensburg in 905.¹³⁸ Both brothers were granted the honour of accompanying the king on royal progresses into Alemannia, and in 905 and 909 they appeared alongside him at the palace of Bodman, such that the king's – and hence his guardians' – power over this focal point of royal authority was publicly proclaimed, in their presence and with their implicit consent.¹³⁹ As a *quid pro quo*, Salomon was allowed to expand his interests in Rhaetia: Louis granted Salomon, with Burchard's consent, the abbey of Pfäfers and then Feldkirch near the mouth of the Vorderrhein.¹⁴⁰

All the evidence indicates a conscious effort to rebuild the triangular relationship between royalty, clergy and lay aristocracy that the participants would have remembered from the era of Charles the Fat. There is, to be sure, a difference in the nature of the evidence: Reichlingen apart, there are no indications of common assemblies outside an immediate royal context. But this should not wholly surprise us. As a child, Louis was powerless except as a symbol. This precluded a personal working relationship with his senior aristocrats and made it especially important that *Königsnähe* was carefully staged and publicly acted out. Aristocrats whose closeness to him was openly paraded were proclaiming or being reassured about their relationship to the guardians who controlled his movements. But by participating in this game, clerics and nobles alike upheld a shared commitment to the ideological centrality of the kingship. In this way stability was maintained. Nothing in our evidence suggests that there was a flight from the royal

137 *UBSG* 729. This was a fairly large gift: the widow Amata promised an entire *villa* to the abbey in exchange for an annual service of remembrance and a life interest in the property for herself and her second husband. It was revocable at the cost of one *solidus*. Amata's background is unclear; however, she and her husband Winehart are named in an entry to the Reichenau confraternity book on the same page as entries headed by Liutpold of Bavaria and by several of the Alemannian counts named at Forchheim, but not including Burchard and Adalbert. One may tentatively infer that they were closer to the clerical elite and/or the anti-Burchardine group of aristocrats discussed below, than to the Burchardines themselves; but the reality, of course, may have been more complex. *Lib. Conf. Reichenau*, pag. 3; Althoff, 'Episkopat', pp. 266-8.

138 *D. LCh* 38.

139 *D. LCh* 35-7, 44-5.

140 *D. LCh* 38, 65.

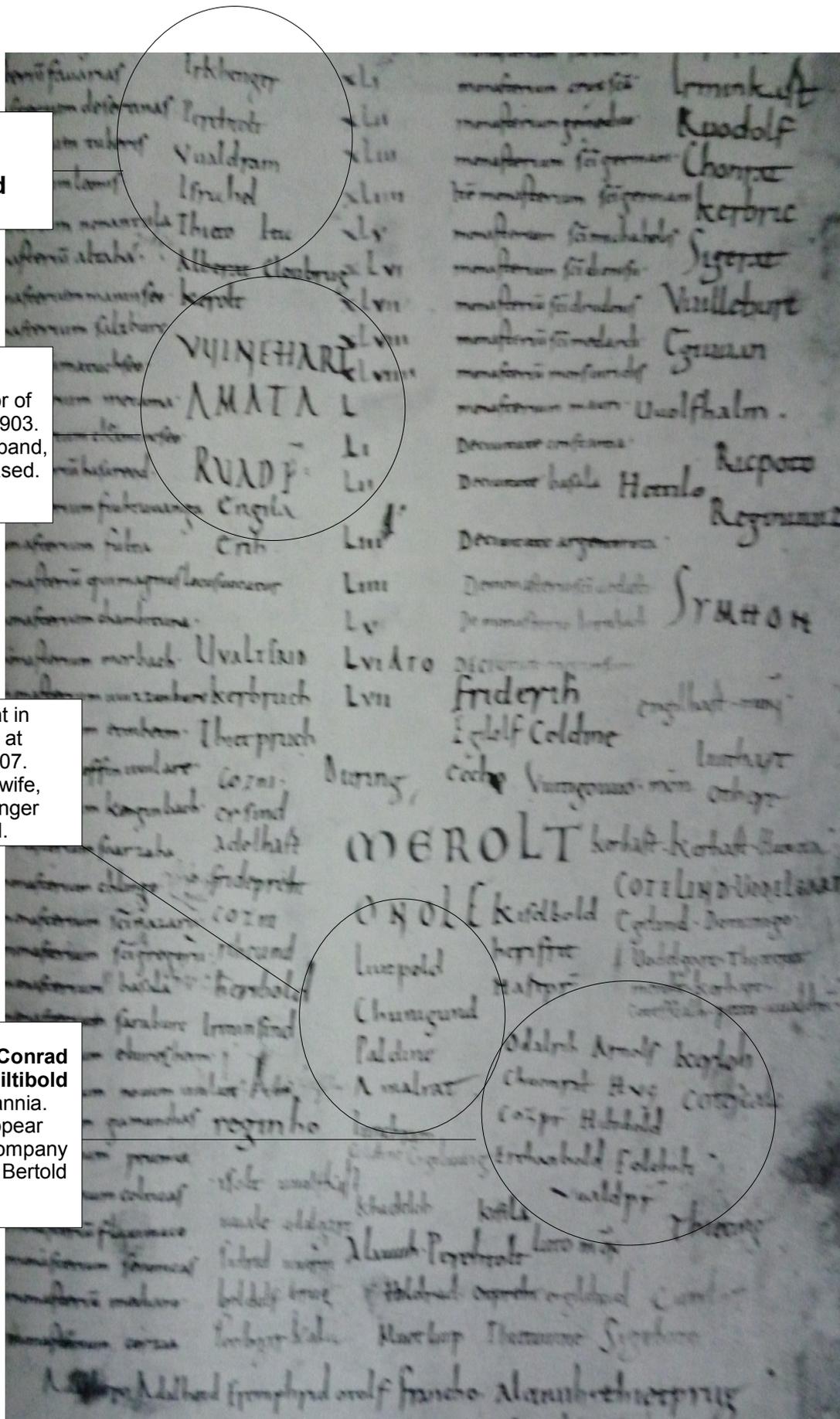
Erchanger, Bertold and associates on page 3 of the Reichenau book of confraternity

**Erchanger
and Bertold**

Amata is the donor of
UBSG 729 in Dec 903.
Winehart, her husband,
was by then deceased.

Liutpold, count in
Bavaria, killed at
Pressburg in 907.
Cunigund: his wife,
sister of Erchanger
and Bertold.

**Udalrich, Arnulf, Conrad
Hugh, Gozpert, Hiltibold**
counts in Alemannia.
The first four appear
frequently in the company
of Erchanger and Bertold
after 909.



Source: *MGH Libri memoriales Nova series I : Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. J. Autenrieth, D. Geuenich, K. Schmid (Hanover, 1979).

idea during this time; if anything, the opposite is true and the fact that an Alemannian local reconciliation was worked out in terms of joint submission to an external royal power demonstrates that the court was still regarded as the centre of political gravity.

What the evidence does not suggest is that the region's aristocracy functioned as a united community. Two distinct groups can be identified amongst the lay nobility in Alemannia in the early 900s. As noted above, eight Alemannian counts featured amongst the secular petitioners at Forchheim in 903; apart from Burchard and Adalbert, these were Udalrich, Arnulf, Conrad, Hugh, Reginbold and Adalgoz. A similar gathering of counts took place at Ingelheim in 904, on the occasion of the transaction involving Riom. Out of the other six, however, only Reginbold appears again with Burchard or Adalbert between 903 and 909 – at the assembly in December 903 referred to above. Reginbold, who may have been a kinsman of Salomon, was more certainly related to Count Adalgoz, usually identified as the count of Zürich, and this, together with the location of the 903 assembly at Reichlingen, suggests landed interests to the south of Lake Constance.¹⁴¹ *Liber vitae* entries for the Burchardine family meanwhile fail to throw up any connections to the other Alemannians named at the royal gatherings in Francia.

This is significant because several items of evidence connects the other Swabians named at Forchheim – Udalrich, Arnulf, Conrad and Hugh – to each other, to the Bavarian magnate Liutpold, and to the 'chamber messengers' Erchanger and Bertold, who were soon to replace the Burchardines in the king's and Salomon's good offices. These are as follows:

- *Odalrih, Arnolf, Chuonrat, Hug* appear, in that order, at the head of an entry to the Reichenau *liber memorialis* in a tenth-century hand.¹⁴² On the same page are another entry headed by Erchanger and Bertold, and a third list headed by the Bavarian Liutpold and his wife Cunigund, Erchanger and Bertold's sister [see illustration]. *Terminus ante quem* is 907, the year of Liutpold's death. Althoff suggests, in my view rightly, that the entries were probably made around 903-4 through the mediation of Reichenau's abbot, Hatto of Mainz.¹⁴³
- A fourth entry on the same page comprises the names Winehart, Amata, Robert. Amata was the donor at Reichlingen in December 903, Winehart her husband. The purpose of Amata's gift was apparently to ensure that she and Winehart could enjoy the possession of land she had held during her previous husband's lifetime. It therefore seems likely that in late 903, Amata and Winehart had only

141 UBSG 729. Ludwig, *Transalpinische Beziehungen* pp. 70-4 explores possible relationships between Reginbold, Adalgoz and the Burchardines.

142 *Lib. conf. Reichenau*, pag. 3.

143 Althoff, 'Episkopat'; *idem, Amicitiae*, pp. 329-38.

recently married, suggesting that their entry in the confraternity book is unlikely to be much earlier than 903. Amata had Bavarian connections: the unusual names *Linco* (her previous husband) and *Amata* appear in second and third place in an entry elsewhere in the Reichenau book headed by Bishop Erchanbald of Eichstätt.¹⁴⁴

- *Uodalrich comes, Chuonrat, Hug* headed the witness list to an exchange of land between St Gallen and a man named Folcherat in 905. From this Udalrich is identifiable as count in the Argengau.¹⁴⁵
- At Christmas 909, Salomon granted the abbey of Pfäfers, which Louis had given to him personally, to St Gallen with a lifetime usufruct for himself and his nephew Waldo. The transaction may have served to mark Waldo's installation as heir presumptive to the see of Chur. The subscribers were:
Signum episcopi Salomonis e advocati ejus Domnici Curiensis, sig. Waldonis et advocati illius Erchangeri comitis Thracholf episcopus. Hilitine episcopus. Uodalrich comes. Chuonrat comes. Peretholt comes. Huc comes. Adalbert comes.
- The same group then features in several grants of Conrad I issued in 912 and 913, which will be discussed further below. These are:
D. CI 2 (January 912), given at Bodman and enacted *interventu et admonitione fidelissimi nobis Salomonis episcopi, comitum quoque Erchangarii et Chuonradi, Ōdalrici, Hugonis.*
D. CI 3 (March 912), confirming grants to the Bavarian see of Eichstätt, issued at Velden in Bavaria, but recounting that Conrad was bidden to grant it at a *placitum* at Ulm attended by faithful men 'gathered from various parts of the world': *Salomonis videlicet, Dracholfi atque Meginperti venerabilium episcoporum, comitum vero Sigihardi, Arnolfi, Erchangarii, Odalrici, Perchtoldi, Chuonradi, Herimanni, Luitfredi atque Iringi...*
D. CI 11 (September 912), granted at Bodman for Bishop Theotolf of Chur, on the counsel of: *Salomonis scilicet venerabilis episcopi, Erchangarii comitis palatii, Perahtoldi, Chuonradi, Heinrici ceterorumque nobilium vi[r]orum nobis assistentium necnon primorum Curiensium ...*
D. CI 17 (March 913), granted at Strasbourg at the petition of *fidelium nostrorum Hathonis videlicet, Salomonis, Thiodolfi, Hildini, Einhardi, Erchengarii, Chuonradi, Hugonis, Ottonis, Heinrici, Bopponis, Udalrici, Eberhardi ...*

A pattern is in evidence here, even though men named Conrad, Hugh, Udalrich are not identifiable with certainty as Alemannians in every instance. One also observes that:

- the Reichenau entry for Udalrich and co. also includes, directly after the four counts named at Forchheim, a Gozpert and a Hiltibold whose names coincide with those of Alemannian counts we have already encountered. It is noticeable that the Hiltibold who was active in the 880s appears to have remained loyal to Arnulf in the 890s, while Gozpert's son was entrusted to the monks of St Gallen in the early 900s.

¹⁴⁴ *Lib. conf. Reichenau*, pag. 37; Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 376-7.
¹⁴⁵ *UBSG* 744.

- the St Gallen confraternity book contains an entry headed by *Liutpold, Erchanger, Peractolt* which also includes the names *Ruodun, Ruodolf*. The latter are the names of the parents of Rudolf of Rhaetia (or *Ruodolf* is Rudolf of Rhaetia himself), hinting at a family connection.¹⁴⁶

The family origins of these people can be guessed at, not identified clearly. Bertold's name suggests kinship with the Bertold *comes palatii* named in 892; the most likely guess is that he and Erchanger were this man's sons.¹⁴⁷ The St Gallen name list indicates that the name Bertold was borne by previous generations of the same family.

Count Udalrich of the Argengau is hard to identify. Apart from his name, nothing links him clearly to the Count Udalrich prominent in our discussion of the 890s. A complication is that Burchard I had a son named Udalrich, sent into exile in 911 along with his brother Burchard II – again, this is probably not the same man. A further complication is that a Count Udalrich appears in the Zürichgau in the early 900s, and was apparently still there when the area was taken by Rudolf II of Upper Burgundy in c. 914. There is no way to tell whether this man is identical with Udalrich of the Argengau, Burchard I's son, or neither.¹⁴⁸

Genealogical guessing games are in any case of limited practical help: it is tempting, but misleading, to assign aristocrats the political interests of their putative fathers and interpret their activities accordingly. In this study the mutability of territorial and political interests from one generation to the next is already evident from the family of Richard the Justiciar; less directly also from the family of Salomon III, which like Richard's exhibits numerous instances of boys named for relatives on the mother's side. The evidence for the early tenth century is therefore best taken on its own. Even so, it is fairly apparent that a fairly cohesive bloc of lay aristocrats existed whose interests lay north of Lake Constance and had some clear links across the Bavarian frontier. Udalrich was visible in the Argengau. Arnulf, on the evidence of the royal diploma at Ingelheim, was a count in the (Alaholfs-)Baar and other charters link him to other places in northern Alemannia.¹⁴⁹ The marriage of Erchanger and Bertold's sister to the Bavarian Liutpold, coupled with her later donation of property at Giengen, north of Ulm, to the abbey of Lorsch, suggest a landed base around and possibly transcending the frontiers of Alemannia and Bavaria, which would also explain their

146 *Lib. conf. St Gallen*, p. 230 [B fol. 37v]; Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 332-5.

147 *UBSG* 684; cf. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 81-2.

148 Yet another Count Udalrich appears in Ekkehard's *Casus*. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 267-70 discusses the evidence.

149 *D. LCh* 33; *UBSG* 684; *D. Arn* 129; *Bündner Urkundenbuch* no. 86.

lack of visibility in the St Gallen charter material. The listing of their names in the St Gallen confraternity book suggests, however, that links to St Gallen were cultivated in the first decade of the century. Part of the estate of Stammheim may also have been granted to Erchanger in benefice at around the same time, in line with Ekkehard's claim that Erchanger and Bertold built a fortress there.¹⁵⁰ In general, however, this group forms a contrast with the Burchardines, whose interests primarily lay south of the lake and who had historic connections to Italy.

Nothing in the evidence for this northern Alemannian/Bavarian group points clearly towards a connection to Burchard and Adalbert, the men in power to the south of Lake Constance. The closest we come is the presence of the two Burchardines at Amata's gift to St Gallen in 903. There is no further sign of interaction between the royal assembly of 904 and 909. This matters because from 909 onwards, Salomon consciously ditched the Burchardines in favour of an alliance with the northerners.

The eradication of the Burchardines

In 911 Burchard I and Adalbert were killed. Their elimination, and their displacement in royal favour by Erchanger and Bertold, lie at the heart of the supposition of noble families in Alemannia 'competing' for the as-yet-non-existent honour of the dukedom. It is still remarkably common for the events of 911 to be envisaged as the outcome of a failed power grab, in which Burchard attempted 'to seize ducal power in Alemannia for himself', or alternatively, 'he sought to exploit the listless final phase of [Louis the Child's] régime for a strike at duke-like power, but was hindered by a combination of regional opposition and a royal government intent on maintaining the balance of power'.¹⁵¹ A variant reading places the brothers' fall in the context of a vicious factional struggle over the administration of the royal fisc occasioned by the death of the *comes palatii* Gozpert in 910.¹⁵² Both interpretations deserve careful scrutiny.

150 O.P. Clavadetscher, 'Wolfinus Cozperti palatini comitis filius. Eine neuentdeckte Quelle zur Geschichte des beginnenden 10. Jahrhunderts', in O.P. Clavadetscher, H. Maurer, S. Sonderegger (eds), *Florilegium Sangallense. Festschrift für Johannes Duft zum 65. Geburtstag* (St Gallen/Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 149-63, at p. 150; Ekkehard, *Casus*, chs 12-20.

151 Quotations from Ludwig, *Transalpinische Beziehungen*, p. 62; Offergeld, *Reges pueri*, pp. 562-3.

152 *AA (M)* s.a. 910: 'ungari in alamanniam bello insperato multos occiderunt et gozpertus comes occisus ...'. Clavadetscher, 'Wolfinus'; Zotz, 'Genese des Herzogtums', pp. 191-3; Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 78-82.

Burchard's supposed coup is the perspective of Hermann of Reichenau, who wrote up the two counts' demise in a single line: *Burchardus dux Alamanniae in conventu suo ortu tumultu occisus est; pro quo Erchanger ducatum invasit*.¹⁵³ Hermann's eleventh-century understanding of events is not shared by our only contemporary source, the Monza codex of the *Annales Alamannici*, whose account does not portray the elimination of one leader, but angrily denounces a thoroughgoing campaign against an entire family group. In the annalist's version, the *comes et princeps alamannorum* Burchard was falsely judged and killed, his widow and two sons expropriated and banished, his brother Adalbert murdered, and then after these events, Gisela, the mother-in-law of his son Burchard II, was condemned at a public court held at the palace of Bodman.¹⁵⁴ Burchard's alleged crime, the identity of his judges and the mysterious Anselm identified as his killer are unknown.¹⁵⁵ There was no doubt as to the author of Adalbert's demise: the annalist blames 'Bishop Salomon and certain others' for ordering his death.

Unlike Hermann, the unknown annalist does not regard Burchard as a 'duke': he calls Burchard *comes et princeps*, but describes *adalbertus nobilissimus atque iustissimus comes* in equally flattering terms, making it irrational to read *princeps* as meaning *the* foremost Alemannian. Moreover, the presumption that the killing of the brothers was a response to an attempt on their part to seize regional power finds no support in the contemporary source, which suggests that they were the victims of a conspiracy instigated by others. The Monza codex names only Salomon, while the choice of Bodman as the venue for Gisela's trial meanwhile strongly suggests an ostensive appeal to royal authority for the proceedings and deepens the suspicion that Salomon was the ringleader of the campaign.

This is consistent with the impression given by the charter evidence, which shows that the eradication of the Burchardines happened at the same time as a close

153 Hermann, 'Chronicon', s.a. 911.

154 *AA (M)*, s.a. 911, p. 188: 'purghart comes et princeps alamannorum iniusto iudicio ab anshelmo censura inequitatis occisus omnibus viduę illius addemptis filiisque ipsius purchardo et vodalricho extra patriam eiectis prediumque atque beneficium eius inter illos distribuerant. frater vero ipsius adalbertus nobilissimus atque iustissimus comes nutu episcopi salomonis et quorundam aliorum interemptus est. gislę nempe socrui purchardi iunioris limina beati petri principis apostolorum irrepanti ibique veniam facinorum suorum consolori sancto petro suorum nutibus dispertierunt. Insuper illa repedante falsis testimoniis pravissimas eorum machinationes in palacio potamico confirmantes ream publice dominacionis mentiti sunt. hlothariorum principes a hludouuico rege divisi.' *UBSG* 768 shows Adalbert's vassal Alberic granting land to St Gallen *pro remedio anime senioris mei Adalberti* – an intriguing transaction if the abbot of St Gallen was Adalbert's executioner.

155 Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 111-4, suggests Count Anselm of Friuli for the latter role, but the evidence is inconclusive.

political relationship was established between Salomon and the loose bloc of north Swabian counts outlined above. A possible hint of this stratagem comes in January 909, when Louis's grant of Feldkirch to St Gallen was witnessed by a Count Udalrich alongside the two Burchardines.¹⁵⁶ It becomes apparent at Christmas 909, when some 40 individuals gathered in the abbey church of St Gallen to watch Salomon make a transaction involving the Rhaetian abbey of Pfäfers, which he had received from Louis four years before.¹⁵⁷ The charter promises Pfäfers to St Gallen, but on condition of a life interest in it and in the *curtes* of Busnang for Salomon and for his nephew Waldo, the future bishop of Chur. Establishing Waldo as the beneficiary of Salomon's patronage is the primary object of the proceedings: the conditions of the grant are elaborated at some length, the prospect that Waldo, to whom Salomon has already granted Pfäfers, should become a bishop is explicitly contemplated, Waldo's consent is recorded even though he is still a boy (*puer*), and his *signum* is the first to appear after those of Salomon and his advocate. Six counts appear in the charter: Erchanger acts as Waldo's advocate, and the first four of the secular witnesses are also members of the north Swabian group: Udalrich, Conrad, Bertold and Hugh. Adalbert appears too, but is conspicuously relegated to last place amongst the titled witnesses, and it is also noticeable that although 'Burchard, the *dux* of those parts' has ostensibly consented to the transaction, Burchard himself is absent.¹⁵⁸ Hindsight makes it obvious that the writing was on the wall for the two Burchardines.

The prevalent explanations are complex but unsatisfying. Older literature depicts the conflict in terms of rivalry between Erchanger and the Burchardines, in which Salomon merely intervened. Maurer, for instance, takes the legalist view that Bodman, as a royal palace, cannot legally have been subject to ecclesiastical control and is prompted by the very mention of it in the *Annales Alamannici* to conclude that Erchanger was not only Salomon's accomplice in the dirty deeds of 911 but was actually their primary instigator.¹⁵⁹ More recently, a modified legalist narrative has evolved which frames the struggle as a conflict between the two factions of counts over the position of *comes palatii*. In 1980 Otto Clavadetscher rediscovered a charter in which *Wolfinus Cozperti palatini comitis filius* donated several properties west of Constance to St Gallen at some point between 900 and 910.¹⁶⁰ This permits scholars to identify a

¹⁵⁶ *D. LCh* 65. It may, of course, be another Udalrich.

¹⁵⁷ *UBSG* 761; *D. LCh* 38.

¹⁵⁸ *UBSG* 761: 'Burchardo earundem parcium duce consentiente et astipulante'.

¹⁵⁹ Maurer, *Herzog*, p. 38.

¹⁶⁰ Clavadetscher, 'Wolfinus', with edition.

chain of counts palatine in Alemannia from Bertold (seen above in 892) via Gozpert to Erchanger, honoured as *comes palatii* by Conrad I at Bodman in 913, and infer that the office fell vacant when Gozpert died fighting the Hungarians in 910.¹⁶¹ Wolvene's charter interestingly includes references both to his *consobrinus* Adalbert II of the Thurgau, who acts as his advocate, and to an 'Enkarat', presumed to be a manuscript corruption of Erchanger, whose benefices were excluded from Wolvene's gifts. The location lends credence to Ekkehard's report that Erchanger and his brother held nearby Stammheim and thus had a territorial presence in the eastern Hochrhein. Wolvene was a scholar at St Gallen, and Clavadetscher, argued that his donation was engineered by Salomon III and that by surrendering land, probably in exchange for the promise of a high-flying church career under Salomon's wing, he was thereby excluded from the succession to his father's office of count palatine. Gozpert's death in 910 consequently sparked a quarrel between other claimants to the office, namely his relatives the Burchardines on the one hand, and Erchanger and Bertold, the (probable) sons of the ninth-century count palatine Bertold. Salomon then used his influence to determine the outcome in Erchanger's favour and eradicate his long-term local rivals in the Thurgau and Rhaetia.

This complicated scenario rests on the orthodox presumption that the *comes palatii* was an important office in late-Carolingian Alemannia – it is typically seen as involving the administration either of Bodman specifically or of fiscal land throughout Alemannia, or alternatively, as Deutinger has recently suggested, the exercise of a jurisdictional function in the manner of a permanent royal emissary.¹⁶² Clavadetscher, Zotz and Zettler have all argued that the count palatine was a prestigious and powerful figure by virtue of his office, and that it was rivalry for the office (rather than, say, Gozpert's landholdings) that was the bone of contention.¹⁶³ Zettler pursues this line further by making the unsupported claim that Conrad I later deprived Erchanger of the palatinate, installed his henchman Salomon III as caretaker, and *thereby* deprived him of access to fiscal land.¹⁶⁴ This requires us to make maximalist assumptions about Carolingian-era office-holding, such that violent disputes over land can be reinterpreted

161 Citations per note 152 above.

162 Maurer, *Herzog*, p. 38: 'Erchanger ... war königlicher Pfalzgraf, und zwar offensichtlich ein einzig und allein auf diese Pfalz fixierter Pfalzgraf.'; similarly Borst, 'Pfalz', pp. 213-4; cf. Zettler, *Geschichte*, 'Der für Alemannien zuständige Pfalzgraf Gozpert'; M. Borgolte, *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 206-7, weighs up both possibilities. Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft*, pp. 180-7.

163 References per note 156 above.

164 Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 84-5.

as disputes over rights in property attached to clearly articulated positions within a stable government structure and encased within a well-defined framework of abstract law.

Yet the actual evidence for *comites palatii* is sparse. None of the three counts Bertold, Gozpert and Erchanger is referred to consistently by the title: Gozpert is count palatine only in Wolvene's charter, Erchanger uniquely in one charter given at Bodman.¹⁶⁵ The elder Bertold is *comes palatii* in two charters, namely the St Gallen charter from northern Swabia discussed above a royal charter given in an Italian context in the early 880s.¹⁶⁶ He may have been a respected figure but nothing links him directly to an Alemannian fiscal estate. The case for Gozpert's significance is further undermined by his invisibility in the relatively abundant evidence for contact between the king and the Alemannian hierarchy in the decade or so over which he is assumed to have held office. Office-holding counts palatine are not in evidence elsewhere in east Francia, and in the case of Bodman it should also be borne in mind that estates pertaining to the palace were, as noted above, placed primarily under clerical control.¹⁶⁷ Nothing justifies the imputation of specific institutional content to what may have amounted to no more than an honorific.¹⁶⁸ Whilst it cannot be ruled out that a squabble over Gozpert's legacy was amongst the causes of Burchard and Adalbert's downfall, it is misleading to present it in terms of a contest for high office in which the position of count palatine serves as an institutional precursor to the *ducatus*. Although the Burchardines and the group surrounding Erchanger constituted distinct social groups, there is after all no direct evidence for rivalry between them prior to 911, and it is not unreasonable to see Salomon, rather than the nobility, as the protagonist.

An alternative explanation for Salomon's alliance with the northern counts can be found in the wider political environment. The rout of a Bavarian army at Pressburg (Bratislava) in 907 exposed Alemannia to the Hungarians, whose raids ravaged the region in 909, 910 and 911. Salomon had envisaged the possibility of his own death in battle when making provisions for his nephew Waldo.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, Pressburg

165 I.e. in *D. CI* 11 but not in *D. CI* 2 (issued at Bodman) or *DD. CI* 5, 9, 10 or 17.

166 *UBSG* 684; *D. CIII* 16.

167 Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft*, has only one other example of this specific titulature in East Francia, from 830, and derives his argument for the count palatine's role from an analogy to the functions of royal *missi*.

168 Cf. *R. Chuny* vol. 5, 89-bis, in which William the Pious of Aquitaine describes himself as *Ego Vuilelmus comes, conspalatius et marchio*.

169 *UBSG* 761: 'si de acie non remearem'; *AA (Z)* s.a. 909-11; *AA (M)* s.a. 909-10; 'Annales Laubacenses' s.a. 911.

exterminated a large section of the Bavarian aristocracy and led to a reorientation of top-level royal politics through which the surviving Bavarian nobles were shut out from access to the king.¹⁷⁰ Given the links between between the Bavarian and northern Alemannian aristocracy, this development directly threatened the stability of the royal/clerical establishment in Alemannia and also threatened its defensive security. Salomon's overtures to the northern Alemannian bloc therefore make sense as an attempt to organize a coherent defence while compensating this group for its loss of *Königsnähe*. The attraction for the counts was the access to royal favour that one of the king's principal counsellors was able to provide. Both parties to this alliance meanwhile found common ground in the eradication of the Burchardines: one cannot know precisely whether this was because of Gozpert's legacy, because the Burchardines were an obstacle to Salomon's ambitions for Waldo in Rhaetia, or simply because of ongoing bad blood dating back to 890, but the promise of influence in the southern *pagi* evidently constituted an important bonus prize.

Immediate, visible beneficiaries of the coup against the Burchardines were Count Udalrich, who acquired Adalbert's county of the Thurgau, and Bishop Theotolf of Chur, to whom Conrad I awarded jurisdictional rights in Rhaetia in a charter whose reference to the 'many acts of heedlessness and violence' in the diocese looks like an oblique condemnation of Count Burchard.¹⁷¹ This redistribution of the spoils took place amidst the manifestation of a broader political alliance with Salomon at its centre, constructed once again around the key principle of access to royal power. The Frankish count Conrad, chosen king in 911 after Louis the Child went to an early grave, had no land or immediate kinship in Alemannia but made several early appearances in the region with the north Swabian counts newly prominent in the evidence. Like Louis, Conrad spent his first Christmas as king in southern Alemannia, visiting Constance and St Gallen. Ekkehard's *Casus* gives the wholly believable impression that Salomon controlled his itinerary, and Verena Postel has suggested persuasively that the portrayal in the *Casus* of Conrad's friendly visit to Salomon's turf contains the recollection of an *amicitia*-type negotiation between near-equal partners, in stark contrast with the more imperious manner in which Otto I later descended on the monastery.¹⁷² The

170 R. Hiestand, 'Preßburg 907: Eine Wende in der Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches?', *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 57 (1994), pp. 1-20.

171 *D. CI* 11: 'reclamans se quod multae neglegentiae ac violentiae in suo episcopatu fierent quae sine regali adiutorio corrigere nequisset.'

172 V. Postel, "'Nobiscum partiri': Konrad I und seine politischen Berater', in Goetz (ed.), *Konrad I.*, pp. 129-149. Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 14 remembers the occasion, which is associated with Christmas

contemporary evidence does not contradict this and also indicates the efforts that were made to incorporate the north Alemannian counts into the arrangement. Many of Conrad's royal charters, like his predecessor's, frequently contain extended lists of petitioners which seem designed as public performances of *Königsnähe*. When Conrad moved on to Bodman in early January, he held an assembly which yielded a grant in favour of St Gallen in which Salomon and the counts Erchanger, Conrad, Udalrich and Hugh all jointly supplicated the new king on the abbey's behalf. Written in a St Gallen hand, the charter appears to engineer a three-way bond between court, church and aristocracy of the kind with which we are now familiar.¹⁷³

This entire group then cemented its bond with the king by accompanying him to Ulm, where they met up with the Bavarian nobility and intervened, along with the Bavarians, in a grant to the bishop of Eichstätt. When Conrad I returned to Alemannia in September, successive charters from Frankfurt, Trebur and Bodman single out Erchanger amongst his followers, thereby publicly declaring his *Königsnähe* and placing him in the role as the king's companion that Burchard and Adalbert had adopted a few years before.¹⁷⁴ The last of these three charters was meanwhile that which confirmed the bishop of Chur in his rights of jurisdiction, a move probably aimed at establishing Theotolf as Rhaetia's dominant power: here we should bear in mind the likelihood that Salomon's nephew Waldo might already have been earmarked as Theotolf's successor. At the same time, the goal was to reconfirm the wider balance of power: as in January, the named petitioners are Salomon, Erchanger and a series of mostly Alemannian counts. Certain *primores Curiensium* were also called to Bodman to participate in the occasion and likewise intervened in the charter, but none of them was important enough to be mentioned by name; their presence mattered, but only insofar as they were being woven into a political arrangement centred on Conrad, Salomon, and Erchanger.

Erchanger was distinguished here, as he had not been in January, with the title of *comes palatii*; this should be seen, like his formal accompanying of the king into Alemannia from outside, more as an affirmation of status than a job description. As in Louis's reign, the spectacle of royalty was being managed in order to ensure that everyone's position was acknowledged. This suggests that consensus was fragile enough to require a degree of active management. At the same time, however, the

911 on the basis of *D. CI 2*.

173 *D. CI 2* (quoted above, p. 138).

174 *D. CI 3* (quoted above, p. 138); *D. CI 9-11*.

participants in such performances signalled their willingness to maintain the royal system and the principle of kingship that underpinned it.

The collapse of the system, 914-920

Contemporary evidence for what happened next depicts a period of violent turmoil. No royal diploma after March 913 included either Salomon or the Alemannian lay nobility, and the king is unseen in Alemannia for the rest of his reign. Discord erupted between Erchanger and the king but was calmed temporarily the same year when Conrad married Cunigund, ‘as a hostage for the peace, as it were’, as the Zürich codex drily remarked; the alliance promptly collapsed again, as if to prove the point that dynastic marriage was never a surefire remedy for a serious grudge.¹⁷⁵ The source of the disagreement, however, is not obvious. In the meantime, Alemannia enjoyed a temporary respite from the Hungarians after a combined Alemannian and Bavarian force defeated them to in 913 by the River Inn.¹⁷⁶ At around this time, Swabia and Alsace also felt the expansionary ambitions of the Upper Burgundians, who mounted an unsuccessful invasion of Basel in 913 but succeeded in capturing Zürich.¹⁷⁷ For the next three years, the internal politics of Alemannia were conducted chiefly by the sword. The Zürich codex of the *Annales Alamannici*, probably written at St Gallen, is our main

175 *AA (Z)*, s.a. 913: ‘discordia cepta est inter regem et erchangerum. ... ipso anno erchanger cum rege pacificatus est cuius sororem liupoldi relictam rex quasi pacis obsidem in matrimonium accepit.’ The intervening sentence covers the repulsion of a Hungarian invasion of Alemannia by Erchanger, Bertold, Udalrich and Liutpold’s son Arnulf.

176 *AA (Z)* s.a. 913: ‘ungri in alemanniam quibus per bauariam redeuntibus arnolfus filius liupoldi et erchangerus cum perahtoldo et oadalrico cum eis pugnauerunt et eos superauerunt.’; ‘Annales Augienses’ s.a. 913: ‘Ungri partes Alamanniae vastauerunt et iuxta In fluvium a Bawariis et Alamannis occisi sunt’; ‘Annales Sancti Galli Maiores’ s.a. 913: ‘Agareni Alamanniam intraverunt. Erchanger et Perehtolt frater eius, et Udalricus comes, auxiliante illis nepote eorum Arnolfo optimo duce Baioariorum, totum exercitum eorum iuxta Ine fluvium penitus occiderunt nisi 30 viros.’ They returned in 915: ‘Annales Augienses’ s.a. 915: ‘Ungari totam Alamanniam igne et gladio vastauerunt’, cf. *Cont. Reg.* s.a. 915: ‘Ungarii totam Alamanniam igne et gladio vastauerunt, sed totam Turingiam et Saxoniam pervaserunt et usque ad Fuldam monasterium pervenerunt.’; Hermann, *Chronicon*, s.a. 916: ‘Ungarii item egressi inter alia mala totam pene Alamanniam igne et gladio miserabiliter vastant. Ipse anno apud Altheim coram misso apostolico sinodus habita.’

177 *AA (M)* s.a. 913; *UBZ* 185; Maurer, *Herzog*, pp. 57-8.

contemporary witness, and a succinct account of events can be provided by reproducing its brief entries in full:

914: Conrad came again to Alemannia. Erchanger fell violently upon Bishop Salomon and captured him that year. Erchanger in turn was captured by the king at the castle of Oferdingen and sent into exile. Soon the younger Burchard began to rebel against the king and lay waste to his own country.

915: Conrad besieged the castle at [Hohen-]Twiel and Henry, dux of the Saxons returned to invade Francia. Erchanger returned from exile, fought with Burchard and Bertold against the rest of his countrymen and defeated them at Wahlwies and was made their dux.

916: Erchanger, Bertold and Liutfred were killed through cunning and Burchard rebelled again.¹⁷⁸

The annalist's use of the word *dux*, applied to both Henry and Erchanger in 915, has been the basis of much speculation. Maurer construed Erchanger's 'being made *dux*' as a battlefield ceremony of acclamation with wide-ranging constitutional consequences; more recently, Becher has viewed the annalist as ascribing specifically territorial control to the two *duces*. Goetz, however, was correct when he concluded in 1977 that it is impossible for the modern reader to discern any clear meaning at all in the text.¹⁷⁹ A number of tempting assumptions can be made from the account of the battle at Wahlwies: Bodman was a place of demonstrative royal power, the annalist talks about 'countrymen' (*patriotis*) and reports mysteriously that Erchanger was made *dux* in consequence of his victory, from which one might easily infer that the victor's acclamation as 'leader' symbolized at once unification of the ethnic group, the symbolic capture of a defined Alemannian territory and the expulsion from it of the royal idea. None of these readings has a clear textual basis and all are to be treated with caution.

The aims of Erchanger's rebellion are unclear beyond the fact that Salomon had become his enemy and the area around Bodman, where Wahlwies and Hohentwiel are located, was a central bone of contention – this probably has as much to do with the practical importance of Bodman as the centre of a large tract of clerically controlled

178 *AA (Z)* s.a. 914-6: 'iterum chuonradus venit in alemanniam. erchanger hostili manu super episcopum salomonem venit et eum comprehendit ipso anno. idem erchangerus apud castellum onfridinga a rege comprehensus et in exilium missus est. mox etiam purchardus iunior contra regem cepit rebelare et propriam suam patriam devastare. 915 chuonradus castellum twiel obsedit et einricho saxonum duce franciam invadente regreditur. erchanger de exilio reversus cum purchardo et perahtoldo cum ceteris patriotis suis pugnavit et eos apud uualauuis vicit et dux eorum effectus est. 916 erchanger perahtolt et liutfred occiduntur dolose et iterum purchardus rebellavit.' Salomon's imprisonment is also reported in the canons of the synod of Hohenaltheim: *MGH Concilia VI. Concilia aevi Saxonici DCCCXVI-MI, pars I: DCCCXVI-DCCCCLX*, ed. E.-D. Hehl (Hanover, 1987).

179 Maurer, *Herzog*, pp. 45-6; Goetz, 'Dux' und 'Ducatus', pp. 307-8; Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens*, pp. 77-8.

landholdings and supporters as with its symbolic value, and it was not the only location of conflict, as the encounter at Oferdingen on the Neckar indicates.¹⁸⁰ In any case Erchanger's supremacy was short-lived.

Other sources add a few details to the account provided by the annalist at St Gallen. The brief Reichenau annals report that Erchanger and Bertold were beheaded, and Hermann of Reichenau's chronicle claims that Erchanger and his brother came to the king in the hope of submitting to him and making peace but the king ordered them killed; the fact that Hermann, uniquely, names both the place and the date of their execution lends a degree of authenticity to his account.¹⁸¹

Prior to their execution, Erchanger and Bertold, along with their cousin Arnulf (the son of Liutpold of Bavaria) and Burchard II, had been condemned in their absence by a council of east Frankish bishops at Hohenaltheim on Alemannia's northeastern fringe.¹⁸² No record survives of those in attendance, although Salomon's presence can probably be inferred safely from the synodal decrees, in which Erchanger *et sociis suis* are condemned primarily for their offences against the *christus domini* Salomon in language that appears to rank such offences as being of equal gravity to offences against the king.¹⁸³ Ekkehard IV later claimed that the synod was called at the king's command, but Conrad's presence is not referred to and the bishops sentenced the miscreants to the strictly canonical punishment of entry into a monastery.¹⁸⁴

What the limited source material describes is an environment in which normal royal politics had abruptly broken down. The standard tripartite relationship between king, church and secular nobility had become unsustainable because Conrad had alienated so much of the high aristocracy. In Alemannia, the bulk of the nobility now

180 In later decades, Reichenau fought hard to preserve its rights in the Untersee, forging a long and detailed charter from Charles the Fat as part of its effort to persuade Otto I to confirm them. (*D. OI* 82; cf. *D. CIII* 172)

181 Hermann, *Chronicon*, s.a. 917: 'Erchanger, qui ducatum Alamanniae invaserat, cum fratre Berhtoldo regi Counrado rebellantes eique tandem ad deditionem spe pactionis venientes, ipso iubente apud villam Aldingam decollantur 12. Kal. Febr.'. Zotz, 'Genese des Herzogtums', p. 195, observes that Hermann knows about this in detail over 150 years after the event, even though Erchanger is not recorded in necrology at Reichenau.

182 *MGH Concilia VI*, pp. 1-40, paras 21, 33.

183 *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9: 'De Erchangario et sociis suis. Erchangario et eius complicitibus et sociis, quia peccaverunt et in christum domini, regem et dominum suum, manus mittere pertemptaverunt, insuper et episcopum suum venerabilem Salomonem dolo comprehenderunt sacrilegiumque in ecclesiasticis rebus perpetraverunt, hanc penitentiam iniunximus, ut seculum relinquunt, arma deponant, in monasterium eant, ibi iugiter peniteant omnibus diebus vitae suae.' See Bühner-Thierry, *Évêques*, pp. 96-102, demonstrating *inter alia* that *christus Domini* is an epithet for Salomon.

184 Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 20.

seems to have been united in uproar against the king; in contrast to previous periods, the angry excluded faction now commanded the greater military force.

These are the circumstances in which Burchard II rose to power. Seizing the initiative in the wake of Erchanger and Bertold's demise, he brought the armed force that won the day at Wahlwies under his own command and consolidated the victory by defeating Rudolf II of Upper Burgundy at Winterthur in 919, as a result of which the Burgundians appear to have relinquished Zürich.¹⁸⁵ At around the same time, the once-dominant figure of Salomon III died. The nervousness of churchmen in the face of Burchard's expansion is illustrated by the forgery in 919 of a papal privilege for the abbey of St Gallen, in the probable hope of persuading the new, distant King Henry I to bestow his protection on the monastery.¹⁸⁶

In the words of the Monza codex of the *Annales Alamannici*, Conrad I had been chosen king 'by the Franks, the Saxons, the Alemannians and the Bavarians'.¹⁸⁷ The classic interpretation of this report treats it as a demonstration that these groups, already united in themselves, came together and refounded the east Frankish kingdom on the basis of mutual solidarity, thus overcoming the extinction of the Carolingian line.¹⁸⁸ If anything, the opposite is true: the people to whom these labels attached, having consciously striven to remain more or less together over the previous twenty years, soon became less united than ever. The annalist's account in fact seems only to invoke harmony in order to emphasize discord: what he says is that the four named peoples followed Conrad, but the 'Lotharians' (*hlodarii*) chose Charles the Simple instead, and this seems to be his point. Conrad's kingship, like Louis's before it, was the outcome of a negotiated settlement and it was not necessarily a happy one. Over the course of his reign antagonism between him and the kingdom's nobility led to the conflicts that, in Alemannia, ultimately produced Burchard II. It is important here that the Carolingian component of royal ideology had vanished; not, however, because the kingdom could be rebuilt on a surer constitutional footing, but because Erchanger and Burchard II could not reach for a Carolingian to legitimize their revolt. However, the idea that their revolt was the product of aristocratic ambition for domination over a defined community is

185 'Annales Sancti Galli Maiores', s.a. 919: 'Salomon episcopus obiit in vigilia epiphanie. Ruodolfus rex et Purchardus Alamannorum punnaverunt ad Wintertura, et rex superatus est.'

186 *Papsturkunden*, ed. Zimmermann, vol. 1, no. 44.

187 *AA (M)* s.a. 912: 'chonradus filius chonradi comitis a francis et saxonibus seu alamannis ac bauguariis rex electus et hlodarii karolum regem gallië super se fecerunt.'

188 See ch. 1.

misplaced. There is no sign that the revolt followed any ideology at all apart from anger at Conrad and Salomon.

Burchard's eventual triumph provokes the question of whether the basis of the royal idea was now fundamentally damaged. Did hostility to the king mean hostility to the royal principle? It is hard to see how, because the sources for the period offer no basis for the assertion that an alternative ideology of regional or ethnic solidarity had formed or was forming. Unlike the *Hlodarii*, the Alemannian nobles saw no viable means to vent their disaffection by defecting to a rival king, but this does not prove the opposite thesis of a reversion to regional identity. Like Richard's *ducatus* in Burgundy, Burchard's nascent dukedom was the *ad hoc* product of initiative and luck which emerged at a moment when the basis of loyalty to the king was temporarily weakened. As we will see in the next chapter, kingship remained the perceived natural centre of politics; as in Burgundy, the idea of the dukedom *per se* did not command the loyalty of the region's political players.

Chapter 7

Discontinuous dukedom: Alemannia 920-940

The period of Burchard's ascendancy was short. Around 918, he had emerged from the carnage of the preceding few years as the foremost of Alemannia's leading men; in 919 he consolidated his position by driving Rudolf II of Upper Burgundy out of Zürich; in 924 at Zürich, he claimed for himself the title of *dux Alamannorum* in a charter issued before an assembly of bishops and secular notables. By April 926 he was dead, and the title of *dux* did not pass to his son. Instead, Alemannia's fate was decided at a grand assembly at Worms in November 926, at which Alemannians, Burgundians, Franks and others congregated under the presiding gaze of King Henry I. The next known *dux Alamannorum* was Hermann, a Frankish scion of the Conradines who married Burchard's widow Reginlind. Hermann was hailed as *dux* in a charter issued at Zürich in 929, and at first sight it can appear as if the new *dux* stepped directly into his predecessor's shoes, inheriting Burchard's power base and clientèle as well as his wife and his ducal authority.¹ Certainly by the end of his career, Hermann was a central figure in the region: during the 940s he intervened repeatedly in royal charters on behalf of the abbey of St Gallen, the bishopric of Chur and his and Reginlind's own foundation at Einsiedeln, and he was buried at Reichenau after his death in 949. He was also a central figure at the court of king Otto I, whose son Liudolf married Hermann and Reginlind's daughter Ida in 948, and who acquired the dukedom in turn.

It is tempting to see a neat and straightforward transition from Burchard to Hermann to Liudolf: the classic interpretation sees it in terms of a gradual reintegration of the autogenous dukedom into the formal structures of royal rule.² Viewed from this perspective, the assembly at Worms marks a crucial moment at which the drive towards autonomy was reversed as the Alemannians, faced with a succession problem, felt the countervailing emotional pull of the kingdom and permitted Henry to appoint a duke of his own choosing. His reign as duke thus features as a stepping stone from locally rooted communal leadership to the full reintegration of the dukedom into the east Frankish kingdom in its revamped Ottonian form. This incorporation of a separately existing community into the wider community of the kingdom is central to those long-

1 *UBZ* 192

2 See esp. H. Keller, 'Reichsstruktur und Herrschaftsauffassung in ottonisch-frühsalischer Zeit', *FMSSt* 16 (1982), pp. 74-128.

term narratives which locate a key difference between Ottonian governance and its Carolingian forerunners in a decline of state structures and their substitution by negotiated agreements based on displays of affective loyalty.

Narratives of this kind require us to believe that by 926 Alemannia was recognized both by its inhabitants and outsiders as a unitary polity whose ruler was a duke, and also to accept further suppositions about the disintegration of the Carolingian royal system (facilitating a process of regional devolution) and the recreation of an east Frankish or Ottonian substitute (based on the free association of peoples with a common sense of belonging, unburdened by the weight of the Carolingian administrative state). As we have seen, however, events from 888 to 920 offer no grounds for inferring a gradual awakening of regionally-based community sentiment, and the dominant theme of the region's politics for much of that period was a desire to establish a consensus in which access to the east Frankish king played a fundamental role, driven by an ongoing commitment to the system inherited from the ninth century. This leaves less than a decade of Burchard's rule – too short a time for the idea of the duchy to become entrenched *qua* political or social unit. This chapter will analyse Burchard's short-lived period of rule and argue that interpretation of the Worms assembly is best seen as a wide-ranging territorial compromise in which the preservation of the integrity 'Alemannia' as such was of interest to no one. It will further suggest that Duke Hermann, notwithstanding his claim to be *dux Alamannorum*, initially had little influence in most of the areas that had served as Burchard's political heartland. The consolidation of the duke's status as the locus of regional political authority was an innovation of Otto I's reign, the initiative for which proceeded from the royal court.

Widukind of Corvey as a source for Alemannian history

The narrative-starved historian of the German 920s is tempted to rely on the account of Henry I's reign in the *Res Gestae Saxonicae* of Widukind of Corvey. Writing in the 960s, Widukind had a very clear notion of a kingdom subdivided into distinct regional dukedoms. This influences his picture of Henry I's reign, which in turn often reinforces the modern belief that Burchard II presided over a fully formed, neatly bounded ducal polity. It is therefore appropriate to discuss briefly why his testimony is unhelpful in this regard.

According to Widukind, Henry began his reign with an armed expedition to

confront Burchard, the duke of the Alemannians. Recognizing that resistance would be futile, Burchard surrendered to Henry's command.³ Later on, Widukind places Duke Hermann at the coronation banquet of Otto I, and describes how he performed an act of ritual servitude to the newly crowned Otto alongside his fellow dukes of Bavaria, Franconia and Lotharingia.⁴ Hermann is subsequently identified as one of Otto's leading allies in the civil wars that followed his accession, although Alemannia itself does not feature again until Hermann dies and leaves 'all of his possessions along with his *ducatus*' to his son-in-law, Otto's son Liudolf.⁵ Widukind's narrative thus sketches out a constitutional framework in which Alemannia is firmly under the control of a succession of dukes in clear subjection to Saxon royal rule – although Alemannia scarcely matters to him otherwise.

On the basis of Widukind's evidence, Henry's putative campaign to subdue Burchard is still sometimes dated to the latter half of 919, i.e. it is thought to predate their meeting at Seelheim, recorded in a charter from November 920.⁶ Rather than accept this chronology, however, we should give due consideration to the artful construction of the narrative.⁷ Widukind's storytelling was probably based on an underlying factual core of accepted historical knowledge, but transmuted many of the uncomfortable facts about events on the fringes of living memory into uplifting episodes that cast his protagonists, the kings Henry I and Otto I, in a positive light. For example, the famous staged ritual in which Widukind's Henry I is proclaimed king, but then declines to be crowned and anointed, probably has at its core a generally held belief that the king was never properly invested. The ritual itself, however, is best seen

3 Widukind, *Res Gestae*, I:17: 'Eo ordine rex factus Heinricus perrexit cum omni comitatu suo ad pugnandum contra Burchardum ducem Alamannorum. Hic cum esset bellator intolerabilis, sentiebat tamen, quia valde prudens erat, congressionem regis sustinere non posse, tradidit semet ipsum ei cum universus urbibus et populo suo.'

4 *Ibid.*, II.1.

5 *Ibid.*, III.6: 'Videns autem rex filium suum Liudulfum virum factum dedit ei coniugem divitiis ac nobilitate claram, ducis Herimanni filiam nomine Idam. Quam cum accepisset, in brevi post haec socer moritur, cum ducatu omni ei possessione relictur.'

6 Most recently W. Giese, *Heinrich I.: Begründer der ottonischen Herrschaft* (Darmstadt, 2008), p. 70.

7 The literature on Widukind is extensive, not least because the *Res Gestae Saxonicae* has served as a test case in German scholarship for arguments about the truth-content of early medieval narrative. See G. Althoff, 'Widukind von Corvey: Kronzeuge und Herausforderung', *FMSSt* 27 (1993), pp. 253-72; J. Fried, 'Die Königserhebung Heinrichs I.: Erinnerung, Mündlichkeit und Traditionsbildung im 10. Jahrhundert', in M. Borgolte (ed.), *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende 1989*, Historische Zeitschrift: Beiheft 20 (Munich, 1995), pp. 267-318; H. Keller, 'Widukinds Bericht über die Aachener Wahl und Kronung Ottos I.', *FMSSt* 29 (1995), pp. 395-453. The best approach, although not focused on Widukind, is offered by P. Buc, 'Noch einmal 918-919: of the ritualized demise of kings and of political rituals in general', in G. Althoff (ed.), *Rituale, Zeichen, Worte* (Münster, 2004), pp. 151-78. In addition, J.C. Lake, 'Truth, plausibility and the virtues of narrative at the millennium', *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009), pp. 221-38, offers an illuminating study of high medieval authors' understanding of veracity.

as an entertaining *tour de force* for the reader or listener which skilfully turned this embarrassing deficit into a virtuous display of royal modesty.⁸ Moreover, looking back from the distant viewpoint of the 960s, Widukind wrought a highly constructed narrative in which the events of Henry's reign consistently prefigure the reign of Otto I, the objective being to show Otto matching and exceeding the deeds of his illustrious father step for step.⁹ This is particularly apparent at the beginnings of their reigns, as a brief examination of the text will show.

The *Res Gestae Saxonicae*, in common with Liutprand's *Antapodosis* and the *Continuatio Reginonis*, claims that the dying Conrad I nominated the Saxon duke Henry as his successor on his deathbed.¹⁰ In Widukind's version of the story, he then committed the royal insignia – the holy lance, golden bracelets, mantle, together with the sword and the crown of the old kings – to his brother Eberhard, who duly surrendered himself along with all the treasures (*seque cum omnibus thesauris illi tradidit*) to the Saxon, whereupon the latter was acclaimed king by the assembled Franks and Saxons.¹¹ Widukind then describes an implausible ritual in which the archbishop of Mainz offers to crown and anoint the new king according to the proper procedure, but is rebuffed when Henry declares himself unworthy of the honour.¹² After this, the king promptly makes for Alemannia to subjugate Burchard, who surrenders himself along with all of his fortresses and his people (*tradidit semet ipsum ei cum universis urbibus et populo suo*).¹³ Then Henry marches on Regensburg against the Bavarian duke Arnulf, who likewise recognizes the futility of resistance and surrenders himself along with his entire realm (*tradidit semet ipsum cum omni regno suo*).¹⁴ The most senior men in Franconia, Alemannia and Bavaria thus make personal acts of submission to the Saxon king. After he had thus 'brought together, pacified and united' the kingdom of his predecessors, Henry then moved against Gaul and Lotharingia; some paragraphs later he wins the latter and commits it to his son-in-law Giselbert.¹⁵

Otto's reign begins in the *Res Gestae* in a strikingly similar way, except that

8 Widukind, *Res Gestae*, I.26. Cf. Buc, 'Noch einmal', points to similar transmutations in the *Gesta Berengarii*.

9 I will expand on this topic in S. Robbie, 'Can silence speak volumes? Widukind's *Res Gestae Saxonicae* and the coronation of Otto I reconsidered', *Early Medieval Europe* (forthcoming).

10 Widukind, *Res Gestae*, I.25; *Cont. Reg.* s.a. 919; Liutprand, 'Antapodosis', II.20.

11 *Ibid.*, I.26.

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*, I.27.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*: 'Cumque regnum sub antecessoribus suis ex omni parte confusum civilibus atque externis bellis colligeret, pacificaret et adunaret, signa movit contra Galliam et Lotharii regnum.'

Otto's accession is seen to outdo Henry's in various respects. As the dying Conrad nominated Henry, so the dying Henry nominates his son Otto,¹⁶ and following Henry's death Otto is acclaimed king by the assembled Franks and Saxons, before being formally invested in a ceremony at Aachen in which great stress is laid on the symbolic presentation of the royal insignia.¹⁷ These are purposely named in the same order as when they were handed to Eberhard.¹⁸ The Aachen ceremony is far more sumptuously described than Henry's accession, but equally important is the fact that it is properly completed, since when the archbishop of Mainz offers Otto the crown and holy oil, Otto, unlike his father, does not decline it. The narrative then proceeds to the celebratory banquet, at which the the four dukes of Lotharingia, Franconia, Alemannia and Bavaria perform their ritual acts of servitude. Widukind did not grant Henry an equivalent feast, but the rites performed by the dukes serve as parallels to the three acts of submission performed by Eberhard, Burchard and Arnulf before Henry. Thus, whereas Henry had to subdue the dukes of Alemannia and Bavaria, plus Lotharingia, by force of arms, Otto is seen as receiving their submission as of right. In this respect, too, therefore, the beginning of Otto's reign simultaneously reflects and outshines the beginning of his father's.

Hence there are clear intra-textual reasons why Henry's captures of Alemannia, Bavaria, and Lotharingia are located in the immediate wake of his accession, so that the possibility of distortion prevents us from using Widukind as a guide to the exact chronology of Henry's early reign. He can also mislead us as to its character. The *Res Gestae* implies that Henry first brought Burchard and Arnulf of Bavaria literally to their knees, before he 'moved against' Gaul and Lotharingia. In reality Henry's dealings with Gaul and Lotharingia began with a peace agreement agreed on a boat in the middle of the Rhine, a location which implies that he effectively ceded Lotharingia to Charles the Simple.¹⁹ His invasion of Bavaria, which Widukind portrays as an untrammelled victory, was seen differently in Bavaria itself, and resulted in an accommodation by which Arnulf remained in practice independent of the kingdom.²⁰

16 *Ibid.* I.41.

17 *Ibid.* II.1.

18 With the exception of the holy lance, which does not reappear until the battle of Birten.

19 *MGH Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum I*, ed. L. Weiland (Hanover, 1893), no. 1.

20 'Fragmentum de Arnulfo duce Bavariae', ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores* 17 (Hanover, 1961), p. 570: 'Tunc vero idem Saxo Heinricus, ut multi testantur, eiusdem episcopi hortatu et consilio hostiliter regnum Baioarie intravit et ideo credimus, quod Dei nutu primo ingressu ab incolis unius civitatis est superatus, et de sua parte multis victus abscessit'; Deutinger, 'Königswahl', pp. 61-7.

Despite being unreliable as to the facts, the vocabulary of the *Res Gestae* is frequently interrogated by scholars in search of information about precise constitutional arrangements. This approach has yielded attempts to discriminate between Arnulf's submission 'with all his *regnum*' and Burchard's submission 'with all his fortresses and people' such that the latter is taken to imply a weaker status vis-à-vis the king.²¹ The crucial linguistic element here, however, is Widukind's threefold repetition of the verb phrase *se tradidit cum / traditit semet ipsum cum*, a literary device which connects Burchard's submission to Arnulf's and links both to Eberhard's preceding submission 'with all his treasures'. The variation of the complements places the pattern in contradistinction; it is a matter of style and no guide to substance. Widukind elsewhere evinces a general proclivity for creating patterns by reiterating set phrases, and his fascination with stylizations of this kind ought to discourage attempts to tease constitutional niceties from his choice of words.²² Traditionalist claims that Burchard's *traditio*, as Giese puts it, 'designates the legal form that was found for Burchard's subjection to Henry's kingdom, namely the acceptance of a vassalitic relationship' should therefore be treated with caution.²³

Widukind's detailed description of Otto's accession is similarly not reportage. It does not correspond to contemporary coronation *ordines*, and has often been regarded as a result as a subtle polemic against Otto's later imperial coronation in Rome.²⁴ His picture of the Aachen coronation ceremony and the subsequent feast has additionally been seen by Keller as a projection of the coronation ceremony of Otto II that Widukind may have witnessed in 961.²⁵ Keller, however, does not treat this as debunking Widukind's account, but rather adduces the fact that the four individuals Widukind names as dukes were indeed *duces* in 936 in order to suggest that it is an attempt to

21 Zettler, *Geschichte*, p. 95.

22 Cf. the threefold repetition of *socii / societas* and *amici / amicitia* in I.13-15. Widukind also uses reiteration frequently to draw parallels between Henry and Otto: e.g. I.27 vs II.35 (*Rex autem de die in diem proficiens*); I.30 vs II.39 (*autem rex audiens / dolere / fortuna*); I.39 vs III.49 (*pater patriae / imperatorque ab exercitu appellatus*); I.40-41 vs III.61 (*Rebus rite compositis / circumquaque gentes / Romam statuens proficisci*).

23 Giese, *Heinrich I.*, pp. 70-1, according to whom 'scholarship is united' on this point.

24 See esp. Keller, 'Widukinds Bericht', recently also G. Isabella, 'Modelli di regalità a confronto. L'ordo coronationis regio di Magonza e l'incoronazione regia di Ottone I in Widukindo di Corvey', *DPM Quaderni*, dottorato 6 (2006), pp. 39-56. Rightly sceptical as regards over-interpretation: L. Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade. Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin, 2001), pp. 76-88. My own view is that Widukind describes the Aachen coronation in sumptuous detail in order to show that every possible claim to rightful kingship was manifest in Otto – a reflection of the extent to which the dynastic principle had ceased to be the trump card.

25 Keller, 'Widukinds Bericht', pp. 410-21.

reconstruct a ceremony that did in fact occur, albeit one whose precise details were unknown to the author. This does not convince. Widukind's idealized picture of a kingdom divided into distinct territories, each under the absolute command of a duke who personally and publicly acknowledged the superior status of the king, reflects the politics of the later period, in which the various regions of the east Frankish kingdom had been brought under much firmer royal control, not least as a consequence of Otto I's success. In the absence of a contemporary record of the purported ceremony in 936, we cannot be certain that a celebratory banquet took place, or that a Duke Hermann of Alemannia performed an orchestrated rite of submission. Still less can it be asserted that he did so in his capacity as a *dux* of the Alemannians, since Widukind simply calls him 'Hermann the Frank' and fails to associate him with Alemannia directly.

In the *Res Gestae Saxonicae*, Duke Burchard II accepts unequivocal subordination to Henry I, apparently immediately after the latter's elevation to the kingship. Later, Hermann 'the Frank' makes a similarly unequivocal gesture of submission to Otto I. Both of these gestures are themselves unequivocally subordinate to the narrative framework fashioned by the monk of Corvey in the 960s.

Burchard, Alemannia and the king: the meeting at Seelheim (November 920)

Knowledge of Burchard's actual dealings with Henry I in the early 920s is confined to a charter recording the king's concession, on 30 November 920, of Singen to Burchard's vassal Babo. In it, it is stated that Babo had held Singen as a benefice from the king up to that point; Henry now gave it to him *improprium* on the counsel of his *fideles*, the *comites* Burchard, Eberhard, Conrad, Henry and Uto.²⁶ The charter is well known to scholars, all of whom would probably concur with Maurer's assessment of it as an 'eminently political transaction', and has been examined in detail in a short study by Karl Schmid.²⁷

Written in the standard language of royal largesse, Babo's charter gives the superficial impression of a neatly structured hierarchical arrangement, whereby the

26 *D. HI 2*: 'Noverit omnium fidelium nostrorum praesentium scilicet et futurorum industria, quia nos rogatu et consultu fidelium nostrorum, Burchardi videlicet, Ebarhardi, Chuonradi, Heinrici atque Vtonis venerabilium comitum, Bâboni eiusdem comitis Burchardi vassallo in pago Hegouue in eodem comitatu quicquid in loco Singinga appellato hactenus beneficii tenuit ... perpetualiter improprium donavimus.'

27 Maurer, *Herzog*, p. 48; K. Schmid, 'Die Urkunde König Heinrichs I. für Babo aus dem Jahre 920', in H. Berner (ed.), *Singen. Dorf und Herrschaft* (Sigmaringen, 1990), pp. 30-42.

king's legal rights over fiscal properties in Alemannia were duly acknowledged and his sovereignty reconfirmed. This is reinforced by the location, since Burchard journeyed into Henry's territory to meet the king.

The situation on the ground was rather different. Singen was close to the Hohentwiel stronghold; it probably belonged in theory to the palace estate of Bodman, but by 920, victory at Wahlwies had eliminated pro-royal military forces in south Alemannia, and given *de facto* control over Bodman to Burchard. Henry, a native of distant Saxony who never entered Alemannia as king, had little hope of exerting any physical control over the palace or its landholdings, which in fact never reverted to royal possession. Over the course of the tenth century the palace fell into disuse, initially supplanted by the more defensible hilltop fortress on the Hohentwiel, until this was converted to a monastery in the 960s and eventually abandoned in turn by the monks in favour of a more accessible site.²⁸

Given that there is no reliable evidence of a prior meeting between Burchard and Henry, it is likely that the encounter at Seelheim was the occasion on which the two men formally made peace, but Burchard's petitioning of Henry cannot have had much in common with the gesture of self-abasement imagined by Widukind. The *narratio* of the charter implies that the proceedings did not demean Burchard but served to integrate him into the close circle of Henry's advisors, with whom he jointly made his supplication. In this it reflects the pattern of diplomacy evident in Henry's dealings with Arnulf of Bavaria and Charles the Simple, and we should concur with Schmid in seeing the Seelheim encounter as the conclusion of an *amicitia* or pact of friendship.²⁹

News of the treaty was communicated back to Alemannia not least in the form of the charter itself: the parchment was presumably retained by the recipient, since it ended up some decades later in the archives of the diocese of Chur, a subsequent owner of the land.³⁰ This is an indication, of course, that the charter, as well as fulfilling a diplomatic function, also served as evidence of title. Schmid argued that the enactment of the transaction at an important royal assembly reflected the importance of Babo himself, whom he assigned to a class of 'vassals of supra-regional importance'; on top of this, he saw Henry's ability to grant Singen away as a demonstration of the king's ongoing dispositive power over fiscal property in Alemannia.³¹ A similar note is struck by David

28 See Borst, 'Pfalz Bodman.'

29 Schmid, 'Urkunde', p. 33.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 32. Likewise Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 86-7: 'Babo war also zweifellos ein herausragender Vasall des späteren Herzogs, vielleicht sogar dessen Schwertträger.'

Bachrach's recent claim that the charter 'makes it clear that the Alemannian duke wished to regularize and obtain royal sanction for his subgranting of fiscal property in *beneficium* [because] he was required by law to seek royal permission on behalf of Babo' for the conversion of the benefice into an allod.³² Schmid and Bachrach thus imply that the primary function of the grant of Singen was to deal with Singen itself; more generally, that sound adherence to the principles of land law was a matter of fundamental importance to aristocratic society in general.

Neither of these ideas is correct. Burchard had, as noted, obtained possession of Singen in the course of violent opposition to the king's predecessor; this rendered the Bodman estates essentially unavailable to the king and under these circumstances it is difficult to picture either Burchard or his henchman as deeply concerned at that particular moment about the legality of their status as tenants, no matter that the parchment was retained for precisely that reason. Burchard's assignation of Singen to Babo is also consistent with a wider tendency to usurp land for redistribution to his cronies for which he was reviled by later monastic authors; Richard the Justiciar's indulgence of Viscount Ragenar, and Ragenar's vilification in the *Gesta pontificum* of Auxerre, show that such behaviour was not unique to Alemannia.

We have already seen cases where a charter's function as an instrument of diplomacy overwhelmed whatever function it had in law: good examples are the intervention of fully twenty-six notables in Louis the Child's confirmation of the rights of the abbey of St Gallen in 903, followed by the subsequent restoration to the priest Isanpreht of land confiscated in the rebellion of 890.³³ We can also see in Babo's charter an echo of Charles the Simple's grant, at the petition of Richard the Justiciar, of one *mansus* to the *praepositus* Otbert at Easter 907.³⁴ This parcel of land lay in territory that was clearly subject to Richard's, not Charles's, domination, and its trivial size runs counter to the idea that the land itself was the main object of the proceedings. In all likelihood, the purpose of the Easter assembly was to make peace between the king and a magnate with whom he had been at loggerheads for several years: an *amicitia* arrangement much as Burchard's meeting with Henry appears to have been. The granting of Otbert's *mansus* was not merely an opportunity to perform a peace-making rite, but was in all likelihood engineered specifically for that purpose. We should

32 D. Bachrach, 'The written word in Carolingian-style fiscal administration under King Henry I, 919-936', *German History* 28 (2010), pp. 399-423, at p. 411.

33 Above, pp. 132-3.

34 Above, pp. 65-6.

therefore allow the possibility that the grant of Babo's charter not only accompanied the peace agreement between Burchard and Henry, but that it *was* the formal means by which the peace was established. Allowing Babo unfettered possession of land he had already been given by Burchard was a token of Henry's acknowledgement of Burchard's practical control over the former royal estate, and probably over an indefinite swathe of Alemannia in general. Burchard, by way of return, was formally incorporated into the king's inner circle.

This is a reminder that the enactment of diplomacy through symbolic ritual performances was not an invention of later Ottonian reigns but a fundamental part of social practice inherited from the ninth century. Burchard's status under Henry has been represented, like Richard's under Charles, in terms of a kind of formal representative office as the king's deputy. This raises the question of why we do not possess treaty documents in which such concessions are formally recorded. The answer is surely to be found in documents such as the Seelheim charter, in which the relationships between the king and his magnates are obliquely implied through hints of stage-managed ceremonial performance. Rather than being spelt out as legal agreements, arrangements between the king and his magnates were acted out in context-dependent symbolic gestures such as that recorded in the charter at Seelheim. Such sources are an indication that the essential nature of such 'constitutional' arrangements was interpersonal; the respective positions of king and duke were not perceived in terms of the delegation of bundles of rights and prerogatives from sovereign to magnate.

Although this diplomatic deal was in practice a meeting of equals, the manner in which it was constituted reflected the ongoing consciousness of east Frankish kingship: Burchard adopted a subordinate posture, and was ranked alongside the king's favourites, not as his equal. Society in the post-Carolingian world at large revolved around an essentially conservative construction of kingship that excluded the possibility creating new kingdoms at will – again as we have seen in the case of Richard of Burgundy. The political game in Alemannia over most of the preceding thirty years had continued to revolve around access to the royal centre. Burchard's appearance at Seelheim would therefore have helped to legitimize his irregular status as regional leader – not, however, in terms of the formal conveyance of what we might call viceregal powers, but in terms of proximity to royal grace and the cascading downwards of royal legitimacy. This was neither a loss of face nor a practical constraint; rather it would have satisfied ideological expectations on the part of his followers for the maintenance of the right order of things

– the same expectations to which Burchard himself appealed by making ostensive reference to royal authority in the charter he himself granted at Zürich four years later. Although it ensured that Alemannia remained bound, however loosely, to the east Frankish court, and thereby established a latent royal claim to overlordship, Alemannia in the meantime remained Burchard's turf.

The Alemannia of Burchard II: secular clients and clerical enemies

Despite limitations in the sources, including a complete absence of contemporary narrative, there is enough evidence to demonstrate various similarities between Burchard's Alemannia and the Burgundy of Richard the Justiciar. Like Richard, his rise to power was connected with the seizure of important ecclesiastical assets; he also relied for support on an unruly secular following whose interests were not always consonant with those of the church. As with Richard, he negotiated an accommodation with the traditional royal centre whereby he won acknowledgement of his status in exchange for accepting a nominally subservient position within the kingdom's hierarchy – a relationship we should characterize, as the analysis of the meeting at Seelheim suggests, in terms of the interplay of ideology, social status and the balance of force, rather than as an allocation of rights, duties and procedures. Burchard also explored alliances in other directions, as Richard had done with Louis of Provence and Rudolf I of Upper Burgundy. In Burchard's case this involved the marriage of his daughter, Berta, to his recent opponent Rudolf II of Upper Burgundy in 921, a move which appears to have founded a solid military accord, since Burchard met his death five years later fighting in Italy in service of Rudolf's cause.³⁵

Burchard planted himself firmly in what had been family territory prior to 911, taking over his uncle's former countship in the Thurgau and assuming his father's position of primacy in Rhaetia, where the record of a *placitum* shows him holding a public court at Rankweil in March 920.³⁶ The judgement upheld a claim by Bishop Waldo of Chur against the monks of St Gallen concerning ownership of the abbey of Pfäfers, and records that Waldo and Burchard jointly presided over the occasion, although the latter alone gave the verdict. Here, as at Seelheim, evidence of Burchard's local power coexists with a clear recognition of royal authority: the charter is dated,

35 'Annales Sancti Galli Maiores' s.a. 922: 'Ruodolfus rex filiam Purchardi ducis accepit.'; Liutprand, 'Antapodosis', II.60 gives her name.

36 *UBSG* 779 (Rankweil); 780-2 (St Gallen).

within the *narratio*, to the first year of Henry's reign and purports to uphold a judgement previously given by Conrad I.³⁷

The joint appearance of Waldo and Burchard points to a new balance of power within Rhaetia, made plain by describing the latter as *dux* in reference to the traditional title attributed to Burchard I and to the ninth-century Count Rudolf. Pfäfers had been granted to Waldo by his uncle, Bishop Salomon of Constance, in 909, and Waldo had evidently succeeded to the bishopric of Chur in line with his uncle's plans.³⁸ At some point, however, there must have been a rift: Conrad's judgement was granted, surprisingly, against Salomon. By 920, Waldo had clearly thrown in his lot with Salomon's former enemy in order to prise Pfäfers from the hands of the St Gallen monks, who were leaderless after Salomon's recent death, and the fact that he did so in open opposition to his deceased uncle's former abbey was a sign of the changing times. So too was his willingness to share judicial authority: eight years earlier his predecessor had gratefully received a royal grant of judicial rights that castigated Burchard's father.³⁹ So too, perhaps, was the holding of the judicial assembly in the lower valley of the Vorderrhein: the rights of St Gallen were being publicly repudiated a stone's throw from Feldkirch, which Louis the Child had granted to St Gallen in 909, and not far from the spot where Salomon had symbolically asserted them in August 890. Some of those present may well have remembered the earlier occasion: six of the seven Rhaetian names who featured as witnesses in 890 coincide with the names of *judices* at Rankweil.⁴⁰

One should leave open the question of how much judicial debate the fifty-nine judges actually engaged in. Part of the purpose of assembling a large number of local people was to involve them in the generation and publicizing of consensus, but this is not the same as saying that the bishop, as plaintiff, had to convince a sceptical court of the rightness of his case.⁴¹ The charter, whose text claims it was written and read out at the *placitum* itself, was part of the process by which Burchard's and Waldo's authority

37 *UBSG* 779: 'Et hec ipsa paccio et tua forcia venit ante regem Chunradum loco Honfridinga, et iudicatum fuit ab omni populo, qui tunc aderant, te malo ordine injustam tradicionem facere ...' (Waldo is quoted directly, addressing the monk Cozolt); *ibid.*: 'anno primo regis Heinrici' - note that this is nine months before the meeting at Seelheim.

38 *UBSG* 761; see p. 142 above.

39 *D. CI* 11.

40 *UBSG* 680; see p. 123 above; *D. LCh* 65. The Rhaetian witnesses to *UBSG* 680 were *Merold*, *Andreas*, *item Merold*, *Ursicinius*, *Wanzo*, *Dominicus*, *Vigilius*. All of these names bar Dominic featured amongst the witnesses at Rankweil. The Ursicinius in 920 was Pfäfers' advocate.

41 Cf. K. Heidecker, 'Communication by written texts in court cases: some charter evidence (ca. 800 – ca. 1100)', in M. Mostert (ed.), *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 101-26, who describes Waldo as giving a performance to win over public sentiment.

was expressed and acknowledged.⁴² Those present knew in advance which verdict they were expected to reach, because they knew where the power lay: it is possible to imagine the scribe writing out the charter at the hearing itself, but harder to imagine him doing so if the court had the option of rejecting his employer's case.

Burchard's assertion of local primacy is most visible in the Zürich charter at 924, mentioned briefly at the beginning of this study, in which he upholds a complaint brought before him by the nuns, namely that they were not in receipt of certain tithes 'which the Emperor Louis and his sons granted and decreed to them'. The charter, the only known document issued by Burchard himself, contains strong echoes of the language of royalty: after beginning with an invocation of the Holy Trinity, Burchard 'by the grace of God *dux Alamannorum*' refers to himself in the first person plural and underlines his own status by noting that Almighty God had subjected 'all of the places existing in these places' (*omnes in istis loca consistentia loca*) and all of his enemies to his power. Next to the loud appeals to divine right comes the claim that Burchard ordered the charter to be written 'with the licence of King Henry' and the charter, like the Rankweil judgement, is dated by Henry's reign.⁴³ Lines of communication existed between Alemannia and Henry's court – in 921 Noting of Constance had been one of Henry's witnesses to the Treaty of Bonn⁴⁴ – so it is possible that Henry's licence was obtained, as is sometimes argued, in respect of this particular judgement and did not merely exist in general. It is somewhat harder to imagine that the charter could not have been written if the king's approval had been withheld. Ultimately, the rhetoric of the ducal charter is a telling picture of the king's position in Alemannian society: far away, but not excisable from the political firmament.

Alfons Zettler juxtaposes an examination of this charter with a map of Alemannia extending northwards as far as Augsburg and the Mittelrhein, and construes the phrase *omnes ... loca* accordingly as 'all places in the territory of the Alemannians'.⁴⁵ This is tendentious: the 'places' may well be those referred to in the

42 *Ibid.*, 'Hec noticia publice scripta et coram omni populo lecta.'

43 *UBZ* 188: 'In nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis. Purchardus divina annuente gratia dux Alamannorum omnibus manifestum esse populis volumus, quod ab eo vero die, sicut deus omnipotens super nos suam magnam ostendit misericordiam et omnia in istis locis consistencia loca omnesque nostros inimicos in nostram subiecit potestatem ...'; *ibid.*: 'Tunc cuncta illa congregatio in nostram venientes presentiam reclamat se talem ordinem annonę non habere, sicut regula illarum denunciat et sicut Ludowicus imperator et filii eius illis concedebant et constituebant'; *ibid.*, 'Nos vero hanc epistolam predictorum locorum firmationis cum licencia Heinrichi regis scribere iussimus...' Maurer, *Herzog*, p. 317, has a facsimile.

44 *MGH Constitutiones I*, pp. 1-2. Noting was present at Bonn but not at the synod of east Frankish bishops held at Koblenz a few weeks afterwards.

45 Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 96-7.

charter itself in the vicinity of recently reconquered Zürich, whilst the witness list, which Zettler scrutinizes in detail, reveals an assembly whose northernmost participant was Bishop Noting of Constance. Noting (the successor of Salomon III) was accompanied by Waldo of Chur and fifteen laymen including Count Liuto of Zürich, and three other men, Udalrich, Adalhard and Berengar, who share their names with men identified as counts in charters from subsequent years.⁴⁶ Udalrich, who is the first named secular witness and who became count in the *pagus Curiense* after Burchard's death, may be the duke's brother. Two other men, Kerhart and Adalperen, act as advocates for the abbey in subsequent charters and it is likely that the six men named after them are also local figures, although only one (Thiedolt) appears again in a charter from Zürich.⁴⁷

Burchard's influence in areas further north is less well attested. He and Reginlind are generally regarded as having sponsored the foundation of the abbey of St Margaret in Waldkirch in the Breisgau. Burchard's involvement is attested only in a later falsified document, however. Waldkirch appears primarily to have been Reginlind's foundation: later tradition regarded her as its abbess and it may have therefore have been intended for her widowhood.⁴⁸ Burchard's presence in the north-east of Alemannia is attested by a passage in Gerhard's *vita* of St Ulrich, according to which the saint, then a monk at St Gallen, was appointed to the vacant see of Augsburg thanks to the manoeuvrings of his *nepos* Burchard and closer members of his family.⁴⁹ Gerhard claims that Ulrich was presented to King Henry and that the king appointed him in response to Burchard's entreaties; Giese has recently reiterated the claim that this shows how 'Henry could intervene at any time in the Burchard's activities and decisions if it seemed advisable to do so [and] that clear boundaries were set to the Alemannian duke's autonomy.'⁵⁰ Against this it should be borne in mind that Gerhard, writing at a later date, may have been overly generous in his interpretation of Henry's

46 Udalrich: *D. HI* 11 (Churwalden/Rhaetia, 926). Adalhard: *UBSG* 785 (Thurgau, 926). Berengar: *UBSG* 795 (Possibly Thurgau, 942).

47 See *UBZ* 189-94.

48 Zotz, *Breisgau*, pp. 81-91. Reginlind actually retired to the islet of Ufenau in Lake Zürich; she is said to have had leprosy (cf. Maurer, *Herzog*, pp. 73-5).

49 Gerhard of Augsburg, 'Vita sancti Oudalrici episcopi', ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores* 4 (Hanover, 1840), pp. 377-419, ch. 1, p. 387: 'Post quindecim vero annos defuncto Hiltine episcopo, machinatione nepotis sui Burchardi ducis et aliorum propinquorum suorum, Heinrico regi praesentatus, eiusque sublimitati nota facta est decessio episcopi, supplicatumque est, ut praefato domino Oudalrico episcopalis potestas a eo concederetur. Rex vero intuens herilitatem staturae illius ... petioni eorum assensum praebens, regio more in manus eum accepit munereque pontificatus honoravit.'

50 Giese, *Heinrich I.*, pp. 71-2.

role. More importantly, maximalist claims of this kind presuppose that royal authority operated as a day-to-day restriction on Burchard's governance, largely because the loyalty of his military clientele to his person was undercut by their greater loyalty to a legal order in which the king's will was paramount: in other words, if Burchard refused to do the king's bidding, his own supporters would desert.

The display of strength at Zürich suggests otherwise: even as Burchard claimed to act under 'licence' from Henry, he claimed an authority that stemmed primarily from God. Burchard's apparent supplication of Henry in Ulrich's case also needs to be set against evidence for his physical domination over the abbeys of St Gallen and Reichenau. It is no surprise that the *placitum* of 920 removed land from St Gallen's grasp: other sources consistently suggest that Burchard extracted retribution from a clerical establishment which had fiercely opposed him over the previous decade. As noted at the beginning of chapter 5, monastic sources from both St Gallen and Reichenau treat him with disdain as a tyrant who stole relics, terrorized the clergy and usurped their land. The *Miracula Sanctae Verenae* complains that he gave away church lands in benefice, and in particular St Verena's church at Zurzach, which he handed over to his *satellitus* Thietpold – Babo's implantation onto usurped fiscal land at Singen thus fits into a wider pattern of behaviour.⁵¹ Ekkehard IV, who had Abbot Engilbert run away on hearing of Burchard's approach, offered a further oblique testament to Burchard's dominance over St Gallen by characterizing Engilbert's predecessor Abbot Hartmann (d. 925) as a weak administrator who failed to keep control of the abbey's lands, whilst at Reichenau Burchard interfered directly in monastic affairs, deposing the abbot in 922 and banishing many of the monks.⁵² Against this backdrop, Burchard's intervention in the election of the bishop of Augsburg can be interpreted rather differently. Ulrich, though a monk of St Gallen, was also Burchard's kinsman, and possibly the brother of the same Thietpold whom the *dux* had installed at Zurzach.⁵³ Augsburg, 'at the border of the Swabians, Bavarians and eastern Franks', may have been a more debatable land than the area around Lake Constance, but whether one sees Henry as granting a humble petition or being strong-armed into a concession is

51 'Miracula Sanctae Verenae', ch. 1: '... austeritatem eius multi aversantes, exosum eum habuerunt et ipsius voluntati per omnia contradixerunt. Quos ut debellaret, copiosam multitudinem militum sibi sociavit, quibus non solum suas, verum etiam ecclesiasticas possessiones, non considerate id pertractans, in beneficia donavit. Inter quae etiam locum Zurziaca nuncupatum ...'.

52 Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 48; Hermann, 'Chronicon', s.a. 922: 'Liuthardus a Burghardo duce, oppresso Heriberto, Augiae praepositus, et fratres in exilium missi sunt.'; Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 48.

53 Gerhard, 'Vita Oudalrici', ch. 12, p. 402, notes that Ulrich had a brother named Thietpold; cf. Zettler, *Geschichte*, p. 115.

ultimately a matter of taste.

Burchard's dominance is also evidenced by charters from St Gallen and Zürich in which the novel formula *sub duce Burchardo* is inserted between the customary references to the king and count.⁵⁴ These too, of course, invoke the authority of the king, but overall a picture emerges in which the nature and basis of Burchard's rule in Alemannia closely resembles Richard the Justiciar's western Burgundy. Burchard presided over a network of secular supporters who doubtless included the various counts appearing at Zürich in 924, as well as men such as Babo and Thietpold whose support was rewarded with land, not all of it acquired through the smooth operation of law. The limited evidence suggests that he cultivated good relations with Bishop Waldo of Chur, and probably with Noting of Constance; in Ulrich of Augsburg we may have an equivalent to Richard's nephew Walo of Autun, a collateral relative imposed on a vacant see to be the duke's place man. At the same time, however, Burchard loomed over Reichenau and St Gallen as an unwanted quasi-lay-abbot: this, together with the palace lands at Bodman, allowed him to dominate large tracts of landed resources and the people who occupied them. This dominance, of course, was sustained partly by force, but drew ideological sustenance from its appeals to royalty. It is important that the pervasive regal presence in the culture of charter-writing is read not as a constraint on the dukes but as a means of integrating the novel and ungrounded position of the *dux* into established political and social custom. But it is equally important that Burchard's rule was not legitimized from below. No more than in Burgundy does the evidence in Alemannia suggest that the brief period of ducal rule sufficed to established the idea of the dukedom as an ineradicable feature of political life.

The assembly at Worms and the partition of Alemannia

Burchard died in Italy, on the outskirts of Novara, on 28 April 926.⁵⁵ Stitching together the information of various sources produces the following story: he set off for Italy *cum magno comitatu* (*Vita Wiboradae*), and crossed the Alps with his son-in-law Rudolf of Burgundy (Flodoard of Reims, Liutprand of Cremona) via the St Bernard pass to Ivrea (Liutprand). Ambushed outside Novara (Liutprand), he tried to flee but died

54 *UBSG* 785: 'annum Einrici regis III, Purchardum ducem, Adalhardum comitem'; *UBZ* 191: 'anno X (*sic*) regnante gloriosissimo rege Heimrico, sub duce Burchardo et comite Liutone.'

55 Date: *AA (Z)*, s.a. 926: 'purchardus in italia fugiens langobardos de equo lapsus brevi momento vitam finivit. quarto post hec die id est VI. non. mai. feria II. ungarium monasterium sancti galli omni humano solatio destitutum invadunt.' Location: Liutprand, 'Antapodosis', III.15.

after falling from his horse (*Annales Alamannici*), which threw him into a ditch (*Vita Wiboradae*), or the dry moat around the city walls (Liutprand), possibly as a result of a ‘trick’ (*Annales Sancti Galli Maiores*).⁵⁶ Liutprand, employing the stock figures of the incautious hothead and the sharp-eared bilingual, says that Burchard rashly attempted to reconnoitre the city of Milan under the pretext of a peaceful embassy, but betrayed himself by boasting about his real intentions in the *lingua teutonica*, which were duly overheard and relayed to the city’s archbishop.⁵⁷ Flodoard, more soberly, blamed Burchard’s death on the ‘sons of Berta’: i.e. the Provençaux Hugh of Arles and Boso, and their half-brothers Wido and Lambert of Tuscany, who together formed a large segment of the opposing side.

The duke’s demise had important consequences, in that it prompted Rudolf to abandon his attempt to seize the Italian crown and allowed Hugh of Arles to proclaim himself king. Flodoard and Liutprand both make this clear, and are interested in it for this reason. North of the Alps, it was no less significant. This is partly because it exposed Alemannia to the force of the Hungarian raiders, but more importantly, because it afforded Henry I an opportunity to influence Alemannian affairs, in which he had hitherto played no practical role. Six months after Burchard’s death, in November 926, Rudolf appeared with Henry and a host of east Frankish, Alemannian and other magnates in a grand assembly at Worms. Althoff has argued that part of the business of this assembly was to agree the outline of a general alliance against the Hungarians.⁵⁸ Its more obvious concern, however, was to dispose of matters relating to Alemannia. An important outcome was the marriage of Reginlind, Burchard’s widow, to the Frankish aristocrat Hermann. Although he is only attested later as *dux Alamannorum*, both Adalbert of Magdeburg and Hermann of Reichenau later indicated that Henry granted the vacant dukedom of Alemannia to Hermann at the Worms gathering.

The insertion of Hermann into Alemannia was a diplomatic success for Henry and represents a clear shift in the balance of power in favour of the king. Hermann, the

56 ‘Vita Wiboradae’, ch. 27: ‘Dux itaque sicut mente conceperat magno comitatu italiam ingressus dum total sibi terram subiecere et multos decipere cogitat. ipse dolositate illius gentis praeuentus dum studet euadere subito lapso infrenis equi in foueam ueluti casi illius praeeparatam cecidit. hocque insperato obitu miserabiliter uitam finit.’ Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 926: ‘Hugo, filius Bertae, rex Romae super Italiam constituitur, expluso Rodulfo Cisalpiniae Galliae rege ... occiso quoque a filiis Bertae Burchardo, Alamannorum principe, ipsius Rodulfi socero, qui Alpes cum ipso transmearat Italiae regni recuperandi gratia genero’; *AA (Z)*, s.a. 926 as per previous note; Liutprand, ‘Antapodosis’, III.13-5; *ASGM* s.a. 925: ‘Purchardus dux in Italia dolo occiditur.’

57 Liutprand, ‘Antapodosis’, III.14. For another quick-witted bilingual, see Widukind, *Res Gestae*, II.17, where a Germanic-speaker overhears and so thwarts an order to charge given in *gallica lingua*. For a hothead riding into a pitfall, see Regino, *Chronicon*, s.a. 884.

58 Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 70-5; *ibid.*, *Ottonen*, pp. 53-4.

cousin of Conrad I, came from a family of royal supporters: the four counts who interceded alongside Burchard at Seelheim included his brother, Uto, and his cousins Conrad and Eberhard. None of this family had any landed interests in Alemannia; Hermann's own lands were concentrated in the Rheintal in the area around Koblenz. *Adhuc puer* in 910, he was probably still a rising star in 926; certainly he was some years younger than Reginlind, who was already a mother no later than 907.⁵⁹ These are, however, signs of relative weakness on Hermann's part and belie the general supposition that he stepped straight into Burchard's role as regional top dog. Nevertheless modern scholarship generally adopts the perspective of the later chroniclers, relying on the doubtful presumption that those present at the Worms assembly were agreed that Alemannia was a unitary polity and that their business was to appoint a new duke. Althoff's recent treatment is a good example of how this is made to fit within the longer-term narrative. After a succinct account of the assembly itself, Althoff summarizes its outcome concerning Alemannia via three remarks.⁶⁰ Firstly, he says that the outcome was based on consensus, balancing the claims of several interest groups and establishing bonds to the royal court. This is consistent with Keller's seminal analysis which notes the compromises made by Henry to take account of the interests of the Bavarians and his Conradine supporters, and ties in with concepts of medieval consensual rule which Althoff himself has done much to promote.⁶¹ He goes on to say, second, that the king *appointed* Hermann as duke, disposing of the dukedom as an office in the royal gift. Thirdly he says that Hermann's marriage to Reginlind was contrived in order to ensure local acceptance of him. This takes us away from the landscape of diplomacy into a quite different narrative about legitimacy. Because Hermann was an 'ethnic outsider' (*Stammesfremder*), it was essential to ensure his integration into the existing ethnic community, and the marriage to Reginlind was the vehicle by which this could be accomplished.⁶² Although Althoff would not deny that the marriage also gave Hermann a landed base in the region, he chooses to discuss it strictly in the context of hearts and minds.

The third claim is the most doubtful. At the heart of it is the idea of the *Stamm*,

59 *Cont. Reg.* s.a. 910. Reginlind's daughter Berta married in 921, so is unlikely to have been born later than 907.

60 Althoff, *Ottonen*, pp. 52-3.

61 Keller, 'Reichsstruktur', pp. 106-7.

62 Althoff, *Ottonen*, p. 52; similar perspectives in Giese, *Heinrich I.*, pp. 120-1. Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 119-29, curiously makes no comment about ethnicity or community in his discussion of Worms, despite insisting on its importance in earlier chapters.

the community of Alemannians, which Althoff, although he avoids specifying its content, treats as the foundation stone of Ottonian political structure.⁶³ The negotiations at Worms are depicted as a debate between competing ideologies of royal legitimacy and communal self-determination, conducted not so much in terms of practical politics as within the minds of the Alemannians, whose strong sense of their own identity was subverted by an equally powerful loyalty to the concept of royal rule. We have seen throughout this study that models of identity politics require assumptions about the motivations of political actors which cannot be grounded in the source material, and that the sources we possess point more-or-less consistently to the ongoing importance of kingship as an ideological fulcrum. To this one should add that the dichotomy of *Stamm*-loyalty and kingdom-loyalty is unhelpful as a mechanism of explanation, since in the absence of first-person attestations to motivation the circumstances which made one or the other prevail at any given moment remain essentially ungraspable. A preferable reading is that Hermann's arrival simply reveals the irrelevance of tribal identity to mid-920s politics.⁶⁴

The claim that Hermann was appointed *dux* by the king is meanwhile predicated on the idea that the dukedom was an unalterable political reality whose territorial and administrative arrangements were a given. The object of the negotiations at Worms was therefore to find a successor to Burchard to fill the vacant constitutional position of duke; in the absence of a local candidate (Burchard had no adult son), the Alemannians as a body accepted that the decision should be taken under the supervision of the king. Henry's success in designating Hermann duke, it follows, demonstrated that the dukedom was essentially an office in the king's gift. This overestimates the institutional stability of the *ducatus* both before and after the assembly, and requires the presumption that a distinct Alemannian political consciousness had evolved whereby the Alemannians were unanimously understood as a people ruled by a duke. It is hard to see how such beliefs became entrenched during the short and divisive period of Burchard's rule. As we have seen in Burgundy, no special worth was attached to the position of *dux* in the aftermath of the death of Richard the Justiciar.

This leaves us with Althoff's first and indisputable claim that the Worms

63 Althoff, *Ottonen.*, esp. pp. 9-16, 25-6. For example, on p. 15: 'Die Stämme der Sachsen, Ostfranken, Bayern und Alemannen, oder besser ihre Führungsschichten, hatten ein Bewußtsein der Zusammengehörigkeit oberhalb der gentilen Identität entwickelt'. Here Althoff implies that regnal consciousness supervened on a persistent tribal core; the reader, who encountered these groups six pages earlier in pre-Carolingian form, is invited to see long-term continuity. See also ch. 1.

64 As remarked by Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens*, p. 220.

conference involved a search for compromise. Burchard's death without a clear male heir left a series of individuals with competing claims over his legacy. On the one hand, his widow had her own interests to protect, as well as those of her underage son, also named Burchard.⁶⁵ The Udalrich who appears as count in Rhaetia at Worms may well have been the duke's brother. No less important is Burchard's ally Rudolf II, whose marriage to Burchard and Reginlind's daughter Berta probably gave him an interest in Alemannia by dint of Berta's (unidentified) dowry and a general interest in the region at large which may or may not have been welcome locally. In the meantime, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in particular the major abbeys who had suffered under the oppressiveness of Burchard's rule, would have had its own interests to protect. Examining the sources suggests that, far from cementing the *ducatus* as an essential political form, the Worms assembly represented a compromise between the various factions, none of which had an overriding interest in preserving the institutional form of the polity that Burchard had created. Every party bar Rudolf also had a practical incentive to seek Henry's aid, but this does not demonstrate an affective attachment to the kingdom as a focus of identity; rather, appealing to Henry to arbitrate their various claims simply marks a reversion to the long-standing perception of the royal court as the natural forum for political decision-making.

Our picture of the Worms assembly is reconstructed from a variety of sources, which are as follows:

i) *D. HI 11 and 12*

Henry granted two royal charters at Worms, on 3 and 4 November 926, for Waldo of Chur and the abbey of St Gallen respectively. In *D. HI 11* the king grants Bishop Waldo Almens *in pago Curiense in comitatu Vdalrici*, with the proviso that on Waldo's death it should be divided between the Rhaetian nunneries of Cazis and Mistail.⁶⁶ The gift is made 'at the request of Archbishop Heriger [of Mainz], Bishop Adalward [of Verden] and Bishop Richwin [of Strasbourg] and our other faithful men'.⁶⁷ The eschatocol adds that the transaction took place 'in the presence of the lord King

65 Burchard III's precise age is unknown; the generally held belief that he was a minor in 926 stems from his invisibility. He first appears in the historical record in *UBZ 192* where he is mentioned after his stepfather and mother, and is not seen again until the 950s.

66 On the nunneries see R. Kaiser, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter* (Basel, 1998), pp. 128-34.

67 *D. HI 11*: 'ob amorem Dei et sanctae Mariae et petitione fidelium nostrorum, videlicet Herigeri archiepiscopi, Adaluuardi episcopi et Riuuini episcopi et aliorum fidelium nostrorum'

Rudolf.⁶⁸

In *D. HI* 12 the king confirms the rights of the abbey of St Gallen, at the request of abbot Engilbert. The confirmation is granted ‘by the intervention of the honourable father, Archbishop Heriger, and the rest of the most senior men of our realm.’⁶⁹

The description of the petitioners illustrates that this was a very large gathering, attended not only by senior Alemannian clerics but also by King Rudolf, by the most senior Frankish clergy and no doubt by a substantial number of secular magnates too. Both scribes⁷⁰ employed formulae which imply the approbation of all present. It mattered that this was recorded, and it mattered to somebody that King Rudolf’s presence amongst the eyewitnesses to Waldo’s grant was also a matter of record. Beyond their specific legal content, the two royal concessions thus had a public, demonstrative role within the wider context of the assembly. Each constructed a relationship between the beneficiary and the royal court, most specifically via the medium of senior clerics from Henry’s realms; each appears, therefore, to communicate the reintegration of the beneficiary into the structures of the east Frankish church and realm by general consensus.

By contrast, Hermann goes unmentioned: neither charter interposes the figure of the duke between king and recipient. For the monks of St Gallen, this is consistent with their general hostility to Burchard II: the monks had a more obvious incentive to reinstate their direct link to the royal court than to see a new Burchard imposed as their protector. It is also consistent with Ekkehard’s claim that Abbot Engilbert (elected in 925) had already tried to resurrect this relationship after his election: in the *Casus Sancti Galli*, the abbot sought out the royal court and ‘received’ his abbacy from the king in person, much to Burchard’s annoyance.⁷¹ Given that Ekkehard regarded it as normal for a new abbot to travel immediately to the royal court⁷² and is far from reliable on matters of chronology at this point, it is also possible that the ultimate source of this story is in fact the gathering at Worms.

The king’s relationship with Rhaetia was perhaps different. Waldo, who on the evidence of the *placitum* of 920 and the Zürich charter of 924 had made peace with

68 *Ibid.*, ‘actum in civitate Vuormatia, praesente domno rege Ruodolfo’

69 *D. HI* 12: ‘quod venerabilis monasterii sancti Galli abba Engilbertus per interventum honorandi patris et archiepiscopi Herigeri caeterorumque regni nostri primariorum’

70 According to Sickel, the editor of the MGH volume, *D. HI* 12 survives as an original and is in a St Gallen hand. *D. HI* 11 is a copy, but Sickel attributes it to the chancellery author he calls ‘SD’ on the basis of the wording.

71 Ekkehard, *Casus*, chs 49, 51.

72 *Ibid.*, chs 63, 69, 86, 122, 128.

Duke Burchard, need not have been a natural royal ally. The Udalrich who is acknowledged in the charter as count in the ‘*pagus* of Chur’ shares his name with Burchard’s brother and with another of the leading witness to the charter of 924. The presence of a Count Adalbert in the same *pagus* in 960 also hints at continuity of a Burchardine presence in Rhaetia.⁷³ As with Singen in 920, it is unlikely that Henry had *de facto* possession of the land he was giving away, and it is reasonable to regard the gift of Almens as serving principally to acknowledge the status of these individuals in and around Chur. The stipulation that the land should be divided between small local abbeys after Waldo’s death reinforces this.

Eastern areas of Rhaetia appear meanwhile to have fallen under Bavarian control. Rudolf II was not the only outsider to take an interest in Burchardine territory in the wake of Burchard’s death, and the appearance of Arnulf of Bavaria’s brother Bertold in the Engadine and Vintschgau in 930 and 931 is conceivably an additional consequence of the settlement made at Worms.⁷⁴ Lack of evidence makes the subsequent fate of these areas impossible to determine until the twelfth century, when the Vintschgau was in the hands of the counts of Tyrol.⁷⁵

ii) *Liutprand of Cremona*

Book IV, chapter 25 of Liutprand’s *Antapodosis* describes how Rudolf II of Upper Burgundy gave Henry I the holy lance, a relic of the cross which Rudolf had acquired in Italy. Much ink has been spilt on the matter of the relic’s significance. Liutprand ascribed the lance, which he says confers victory against enemies both visible and invisible, a role in Otto I’s success at the battle of Birten (939); it has also been seen as assisting in victory over pagan enemies, and as a symbol of Rudolf’s claim to Italy and/or the imperial honour. The symbolism attached to the lance is, however, known only from later sources; Rudolf’s gift of it to Henry is probably best read as more cautiously as a gesture made in the context of securing an entente.⁷⁶

The anecdote gives no indication of the date or place of the meeting, and is out

73 *D. OI* 208. The monk Burchard who obtained the abbacy of St Gallen in 958 was also the son of an Udalrich (Ekkehard IV, *Casus*, ch. 85). However, this Udalrich was associated with Buchhorn north of Lake Constance and it is ultimately impossible to prove whether the various men of this name visible in the evidence are the same individual. (Cf. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 267-70 (‘Udalrich VI’); Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 325-8.)

74 *DD. HI* 22, 28; cf. Bertold’s comital charter re the latter, edited in K. Reindel, *Die bayerischen Luitpoldingen 893-989. Sammlung und Erläuterung der Quellen* (Munich, 1953), no. 82b; Keller, ‘Reichsstruktur’, p. 106.

75 Kaiser, *Churrätien*, p. 67.

76 Cf. Schneidmüller, *Welfen*, p. 86.

of chronological sequence in the text. Rudolf and Henry are known to have met on at least one other occasion, in 935.⁷⁷ Liutprand claims, however, that Henry rewarded Rudolf ‘not only with gold and silver, but also . . . no small part of the country of the Swabians’; this, together with the fact that 926 marked the end of Rudolf’s campaigns in Italy, provides good circumstantial evidence for believing that the exchange was made at the assembly in Worms.⁷⁸

Rudolf had a number of reasons for being interested in Alemannia at this time. Although Burchard’s demise forced him out of Italy, it also opened up the possibility of reclaiming Zürich, which he had lost to Burchard in 919. He had a specific interest in protecting his wife’s dowry, some of which appears to have lain further north in the Breisgau, where Conrad the Pacific, Rudolf and Berta’s son, can be seen disposing of land in the 950s, while Henry’s concession is sometimes associated with Rudolf’s reclamation of land along the Hochrhein up to and including Basel.⁷⁹ However, Burchard’s death without an adult male heir also gave Rudolf and Berta a general claim over her father’s landed estates, and the reference in a St Gallen charter of 928 to a *Hludowicum comitem* in the Thurgau provides a much more concrete indication of a concession in favour of Rudolf precisely at the heart of Burchard’s family interests.⁸⁰ One may readily assume that Count Louis is Rudolf II’s brother: the Carolingian dynastic name Louis had few bearers, and the other three who were alive c. 926 (the sons of Charles the Simple, Raoul of west Francia and Arnulf of Bavaria) were all infants. This makes it almost certain that the territorial settlement made at Worms involved the acquisition of the countship of the Thurgau by the Burgundians. This is a clear indication of the inconsequentiality of ethnic belonging to the Worms negotiations, and a reminder that regnal or ducal boundaries, as in the regions further west, were not an obstacle to claims over land.

iii) *St Maximin, Trier*

A charter from late 926 reports the exchange that the abbey of St Maximin in Trier acquired a ‘mountain and cliff suitable for fortification’ (*montem et rupem quandam munitioni faciende aptam*) through an exchange arranged at Worms *in publico*

77 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 935.

78 Liutprand, ‘Antapodosis’, IV.25: ‘Quanto autem amore rex Heinricus praefatum inestimabile donum acceperit, cum in nonnullis rebus tum in hoc praesertim claruit, quod non solum eo dantem se auri argentique muneribus, verum etiam Suevorum provinciae parte non minima honoravit.’

79 Zotz, *Breisgau*, pp. 64-5.

80 *UBSG* 787.

mallo before King Henry.⁸¹ This is a sign that Worms was a very large gathering, at which business pertaining to other parts of the realm was transacted.

iv) *The Continuatio Reginonis*

Adalbert of Magdeburg, writing in the 960s, wrote under the year 926 that ‘the dukedom of Alemannia was entrusted to Hermann, who took Burchard’s widow as his wife.’⁸² Adalbert does not directly mention Worms, but he implies that Hermann was a royal appointee and the dating of the marriage clearly implies that it was arranged in order to facilitate his installation as duke. The dating of the marriage is highly plausible, not least because Adalbert drew in part on sources from Reichenau.⁸³ However, his continuation of Regino’s chronicle aimed to provide a resolution to Regino’s narrative of the collapse of the Carolingian dynasty, by showing the kingdom’s reunification under the new dynasty of the Ottonians.⁸⁴ Like his earlier claim that Henry I was chosen king ‘by the consent of the Franks, Alemannians, Bavarians, Thuringians and Saxons’, his suggestion that Hermann was made duke of Alemannia by royal decree needs to be read as part of a centralizing agenda that promotes a clear-cut vision of the kingdom’s peoples united under royal leadership.

v) *Hermann of Reichenau*

Hermann of Reichenau wrote that Henry held ‘a great assembly’ at Worms in 926, a statement which is flanked in the text by Burchard’s death and the report that ‘Hermann was promoted to duke of Alemannia’, and which thus implies that the succession was arranged here.⁸⁵ The chronicler, however, has a tendency to regard the *ducatus Alamanniae* as an eternal presence and to reinterpret his sources as far back as Burchard I accordingly. Like the *Continuatio Reginonis*, Hermann’s chronicle was written from the vantage point of a later era and its reference to Duke Hermann’s appointment needs to be read against the background of misleadingly definitive

81 Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 72-3, citing *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der mittelhheinischen Territorien*, ed. H. Beyer, vol. 1, no. 167. Althoff associates this with the so-called *Burgenbauordnung* in Widukind of Corvey.

82 *Cont. Reg.* s.a. 926: ‘Herimanno ducatus Alamanniae committitur, qui viduam Burchardi duxit uxorem.’

83 *UBZ* 192 from 929 implies that they were married by then.

84 B. Zeller, ‘Liudolfinger als fränkische Könige? Überlegungen zur sogenannten *Continuatio Reginonis*’, in Corradini *et al.*, *Texts and Identities*, pp. 137-51; S. Airlie, ‘“Sad stories of the death of kings”: Narrative patterns and structures of authority in Regino of Prüm’s *Chronicle*’, in E.M. Tyler and R. Balzaretto (eds), *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 105-131.

85 Hermann, ‘*Chronicon*’, s.a. 930: ‘Burghardus dux occiditur. Henricus rex magnum conventum Wormatiae habuit. Herimannus Alamanniae dux promovetur.’

statements about earlier 'dukes'.

vi) *The 'ducal' charter of April 929 (UBZ 192)*

On 25 May 929, Hermann confirmed various exchanges of female dependants belonging to the church and the nunnery of Zürich, and to Reginlind. In it, Hermann is referred to once as *dux Herimannus* and again later as *dux Alamannorum*.⁸⁶ Hermann and Reginlind are also honoured as *dominus* and *domina* respectively. This is the first contemporary reference to Hermann's role in Alemannia, since he is not mentioned in either of the surviving royal charters issued at Worms.

Like Burchard's charter of 924, it gives indications of the nuns' property holdings. The two charters, however, differ in character. Burchard's had an evident political programme: it began with an imitation of royal form, appealed to the authority of the emperor Louis and the current king, and had a witness list which included two bishops and various laymen whose names suggested that they were probably figures of some importance. Hermann's is a different kind of document, less obviously proclamatory and given before a strictly local audience. The witness list begins with *domina Reginlinda* and *Burchart comes*, i.e. his wife, who is a party to the agreement, and her son by Burchard II. Only the advocate Kerhart appears both here and with Burchard II in 924. The rest, insofar as they can be identified, appear directly connected to the other parties to the transaction: they include the abbess and her household (*preposita Cotisthiu cum suis familiis*), a Landolt together with the duke's household (*Landolt et familia ducis*) and the Zürich canons together with their household (*Hartpert cum fratribus et familis fratrum*).⁸⁷

Hermann's use of the *dux* title obviously represents a claim to have succeeded Burchard, but in what sense was this claim real? The charter is solid evidence that Hermann had implanted himself successfully in Zürich, but it does not constitute evidence of authority over Alemannia as a whole or even those parts of it where Burchard's dominance is demonstrable. The widespread presumption of institutional continuity from Burchard to Hermann is undermined by a closer examination of the areas of Hermann's sphere of interest in the first decade or so after 926.

Positive evidence over this period locates Hermann and Reginlind in the Zürichgau and in areas further north, but not in Burchard's main areas of influence in

⁸⁶ UBZ 192.

⁸⁷ Two Landolts also witnessed a local charter in Zürich in 931, and another Landolt was a witness in 946 (UBZ 194, 197).

the Thurgau or Rhaetia. In the early 930s, Hermann and Reginlind sponsored the foundation of the monastery of Einsiedeln, in the *pagus* of Zürich, which was furnished with relics of Saints Felix and Regula from Zürich itself.⁸⁸ The abbey was located on the site of a hermitage formerly occupied by Benno, a Strasbourg cleric who was plucked from isolation to become bishop of Metz in 927, before being blinded and driven out.⁸⁹ The abbey *per se* was founded by Benno's fellow Strasbourg cleric Eberhard, whose name suggests a connection to the Etichonid Count Eberhard visible at Zürich in the early 890s.⁹⁰ Zürich's connection to Alsace was therefore reiterated here. The ducal couple are also said to have made a pilgrimage to Zurzach in the Aargau, whose patron St Verena interceded on behalf of couples seeking a child: the outcome was the birth of their daughter Ida.⁹¹ A charter granted by Otto I in 937 also identifies Hermann as count in the 'Pfullichgau' in the upper reaches of the Neckar.⁹²

A charter given in 929 identifies a Liuto as count in the neighbouring Alpgau.⁹³ This is possibly identical with the Count Liuto of the Zürichgau who appeared at Burchard's assembly in 924 and may thus imply a man who owed allegiance to Hermann post-Worms, although no Liuto was named in Hermann's ducal charter.⁹⁴

Further east, Hermann's presence is less in evidence. The sole surviving charter from the Thurgau from 927 to 940 is the aforementioned St Gallen document from 928 naming Louis as count; unlike the charters from earlier in the 920s, it has no *sub duce* formula. There is also a surprising absence of any reference to Hermann in the St Gallen narrative sources that cover this period, that is, the *Vita Wiboradae* and Ekkehard's *Casus Sancti Galli*, which uses the *Vita* as a source. The *Vita* is silent about Reginlind's remarriage, and only mentions Reginlind herself to claim that she dishonoured a promise made by Burchard to return a valuable chalice that he had stolen from St Gallen and substituted a cheaper one instead – perhaps the report derives from resentment of her patronage of Einsiedeln.⁹⁵ He was also not taken up in the various

88 *MGH Necrologia Germaniae I*, ed. F.L. Baumann (Berlin, 1888), p. 549, under 14 Mar.: 'Memoria de costis duabus reliquiarum sanctorum martyrium Felicis et Regulae, quas Hartpertus iussime ducis Herimanni Heremitis misit et sibimet duos dentes tulit, his verbis: si vita monachorum ibidem destruat, a nullo eorum ultra transferantur, sed a fratribus eiusdem aeclesiae Turicinae potestative reducantur et in scrinium, unde tollantur, reponantur.' Cf. *DD. OI* 94, 108.

89 H. Keller, *Kloster Einsiedeln im ottonischen Schwaben* (Freiburg, 1964), pp. 9-26.

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16; see also above, p. 120.

91 'Miracula Sanctae Verenae', ch. 2.

92 *D. OI* 8.

93 *UBSG* 788.

94 A further document from 946 was transacted at Zürich *sub duce Herimanno et comite Liutone*, but this may not be the same man, since an otherwise unknown *Huc comes* appears in a charter from 931: *UBZ* 197, 194.

95 'Vita Wiboradae', ch. 28. Keller, *Einsiedeln*, notes that there is evidence that relics and manuscripts at

entries to the *libri memoriales* made over this period; by contrast an entry was made at Reichenau at some point prior to 921 for the family of Burchard II, despite his apparently less-than-cordial relationship with the abbey.⁹⁶ Such absences are not proof that Hermann had no impact on the life of the monastery, but they do nothing to suggest otherwise.

Contacts to Rhaetia are attested only indirectly, in a charter of 930 in which Henry I confirmed Hartpert, a priest, in his possession of two churches at Sent and Ramosch in the Engadine.⁹⁷ Hartpert had family connections to Rhaetia, the church at Ramosch having previously belonged to his kinsman Reginward, but he was also a prominent canon of Zürich with good connections to Hermann and Reginlind.⁹⁸ He later became bishop of Chur and generally appears to owe his career success to a close working relationship with the *dux* Hermann. It is therefore likely that Hartpert's obtaining of a royal grant was dependent in some way on Hermann's influence, but this only goes to suggest that Hartpert was under Hermann's control, not Rhaetia. In the charter it is Arnulf of Bavaria who intervenes on Hartpert's behalf and Arnulf's brother Bertold is named as count in the Engadine.

Serious consideration therefore needs to be given to the hypothesis that the Worms assembly was a territorial carve-up which divided up Burchard's sphere of influence between the various groups with interests in Alemannia. The Burgundians got the Thurgau, Bishop Waldo and (Burchard's brother?) Count Udalrich were confirmed as the leading men in western Rhaetia, whilst the remainder of Rhaetia was permitted to fall under the control of the Bavarians. Reginlind's interests in the Zürichgau were protected by her marriage to Hermann. Henry I served as guarantor in this process, in particular for Reginlind whose marriage to Henry's ally effectively integrated her into the king's network of military supporters. At the same time, the charters issued for the abbey of St Gallen on the one hand and Bishop Waldo of Chur on the other illustrate the importance of establishing and publicizing direct contacts to the royal court for the success of the negotiations as a whole. The recording of entries made under royal

Einsiedeln may have originated at St Gallen.

96 Burchard and Reginlind's entry is at *Lib. conf. Reichenau*, pag. 41; dating per Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 276-8, on the grounds that their son-in-law Rudolf II is not mentioned. For other entries dated c. 926-33 see Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 82-7. Hermann's name appears at Reichenau twice, but in Conradine family entries made before 926 (Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 253-7).

97 *D. HI 22*. On Hartpert: V. Muraro, *Bischof Hartpert von Chur und die Einbindung Rätens in das ottonische Reich* (Chur, 2009).

98 Hartpert appears in *UBZ 192* ('Hartpert cum fratribus et familiis fratrum') and was tasked with taking relics from Zürich to the foundation at Einsiedeln (see note 88 above). For his kinship to Reginward see Muraro, *Hartpert*, pp. 48-52; Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 283-94.

influence in the confraternity books of St Gallen and Reichenau demonstrates that such contacts were actively sustained.

It is misleading to characterize Hermann's role in this procedure as the appointment to an office, because at this time there was no general acknowledgement that Alemannia constituted a region subject to a single local governor. His marriage to Reginlind was an end in itself, not a tactic to pacify local demand for a locally-rooted overlord. By dint of it, Hermann acquired a major position of influence in the region. By assuming his predecessor's self-given title of *dux Alamannorum* he could also stake a rhetorical claim to a wider role, but there is no evidence that he actually played this role – initially, his sphere of interest was probably confined to Zürich and the areas extending directly northwards towards Francia. Later evidence suggests that Hermann was afforded a position as the king's effective viceroy in Alemannia from 940 onwards, not as Burchard's direct successor, but as a matter of regal policy during the reign of Otto I.

Alemannia and the Hungarians

Burchard's misadventures in Italy coincided with a devastating Hungarian raid which swept across Alemannia and beyond in an attack which began, as the unknown St Gallen author of the final entry in the *Annales Alamannici* pointedly remarked, just four days after Burchard's death.⁹⁹ This is not to say that in the long term the monks held Burchard responsible for the failure to mount a defence; at any rate, the *Vita Wiboradae*, whose heroine had predicted the onslaught a year in advance, closes off the story of Burchard's death before mentioning the prophecy and thereby passes up the opportunity to lay the blame at his door.¹⁰⁰ In the hagiographer's account, Wiborada resisted the entreaties of Abbot Engilbert and others to leave her walled-up cell for the safety of the castle which Engilbert had sensibly had fortified and to which the monks retreated while the invaders ransacked the abbey.¹⁰¹ Martyrdom ensued.¹⁰² Ekkehard IV later added details about the monks' reaction to the invasion, noting *inter alia* that the monks also prepared boats laden with provisions with a view to fleeing the boatless marauders by retreating onto the lake.¹⁰³ The monks emerged from their refuge eight days later

99 *AA (M)* s.a. 926. Quoted above, n. 55.

100 'Vita Wiboradae', ch. 29.

101 *Ibid.*, ch. 31.

102 *Ibid.*, ch. 33.

103 Ekkehart, *Casus* chs 51, 63.

(according to the *Vita*) as the Hungarians moved on first to Constance, where they failed to breach the walls, and then into Alsace, where (according to Ekkehard) they met resistance from a Count Liutfrid.¹⁰⁴ Although the modern reader of Ekkehard's text notes the absence of any Alemannian attempts to repel the invaders, Ekkehard focuses squarely on the monks themselves and does not raise the question himself.

This was the first recorded Hungarian invasion in Alemannia for several years.¹⁰⁵ It was also the last recorded invasion of the Frankish kingdoms for several years, perhaps because Henry I secured a peace agreement with them in the course of 926 – the famous 'nine-year peace' referred to by Widukind, which, he says, entailed making tribute payments to the enemy and which Henry agreed to after he too had holed up in a fort when a similar raid swept through Saxony.¹⁰⁶ There were to be no further confrontations with the Hungarians until 933, at which Henry's forces won a substantial victory that, barring a single raid into Saxony five years later, deterred the Hungarians from crossing the frontier entirely until they were routed again by Otto I in the battle of the Lechfeld in 955.

The narrative gap between 926 and 933 is generally plugged with Widukind's vague and confusing account of the preparations for war that he claims Henry undertook under cover of the truce, but caution is advisable here. Widukind's grasp of military matters appears limited and the meaning of his frustratingly imprecise language is a potentially inexhaustible source of debate; moreover, the possibility should not be discounted that nothing took place at all in a form resembling the paragraph in the *Res Gestae Saxonicae*.¹⁰⁷ As his account of Henry I's non-coronation makes clear, Widukind was adept at giving a positive twist to uncomfortable truths, and it is feasible the long-term strategic preparations are no more than a narrative device to repaint a (real but) humiliating concession of tribute to the raiders as a skilfully seized opportunity.

Althoff has nevertheless argued that there is a broad array of circumstantial

104 'Vita Wiboradae', ch. 35; Ekkehard, *Casus*, chs 63-4.

105 The two raids reported by Hermann of Reichenau in 925 and 926 are in fact the same raid. The entry for 926 is sourced from the *Annales Augiensis*; that for 925 appears to reflect the *Annales Sancti Galli Maiores*.

106 Widukind, *Res Gestae*, I.35.

107 M. Springer, 'Agrarii milites', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 66 (1994), pp. 129-66, gives good reasons not to over-interpret Widukind's terminology, although most historians favour a more positive approach. The most detailed recent discussion is now Bowlus, *Battle*, pp. 45-71 (the *agrarii milites* specifically on pp. 52-5); but see also Giese, *Heinrich I.*, pp. 100-8; B.S. Bachrach and D. Bachrach, 'Saxon military revolution 912-973? Myth and reality', *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), pp. 186-222; J. Laudage, *Otto der Große. Eine Biographie* (Regensburg, 2001), pp. 86-90; K.J. Leyser, 'Henry I and the beginnings of the Saxon empire', repr. in K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 950-1250* (London, 1982), pp. 11-42.

evidence to suggest that an all-out confrontation had been anticipated at least a year in advance.¹⁰⁸ Whilst Althoff's argument relies to some extent on a questionable faith in Widukind's truthfulness, he has nevertheless identified a striking number of number of group entries for laymen in the *libri vitae* of Reichenau, St Gallen and to a lesser extent Pfäfers and Remiremont during the late 920s and the 930s, many of which can be dated more or less precisely to the period from 930 to 933.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the canons of the synod of Erfurt, which in 932 brought together thirteen of the kingdom's senior bishops, included clauses which can be read as demanding the intensification of prayer for memorial purposes.¹¹⁰ Henry I convoked the synod and intervened directly in the canons.¹¹¹ In the same year at Dingolfing, Arnulf of Bavaria presided over a similar synod of Bavarian bishops whose canons were modelled on those for Erfurt.¹¹² Henry and Arnulf, who intercedes in several of Henry's charters between 926 and 930,¹¹³ had campaigned jointly against the Bohemians, and the synods appear to suggest that further concerted action was planned.¹¹⁴

Both the synods and the flurry of entries in *libri vitae* are conceivably, as Althoff suggests, consequences of the perceived importance of prayer to military action and may point towards the making of spiritual preparations for a large-scale campaign. The implication is that by the early 930s, the Saxon kingdom and the Bavarians expected a major confrontation with a common enemy. If this is the case, then the question arises as to what the Alemannians' role in it was, and here we have no sure ground on which to tread. Ulrich of Augsburg and Noting of Constance were amongst the participants in the synod at Erfurt, but the entries in the Alemannian *libri memoriales* that can be dated to this period include Saxons, Franks and Bavarians but no identifiable Alemannian nobles.¹¹⁵ This does not mean that the abbeys had no relationship with the surrounding aristocracy – the *libri* are by no means a universal directory of the nobility – but it does mean that while the *libri* demonstrate the re-establishment of close connections between Reichenau, St Gallen and the elites of the east Frankish kingdom at large, and to their continued importance as major sites of worship within it, they are silent about the

108 Much of the next paragraph follows Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 69-87.

109 *Ibid.*, pp. 82-7. *Idem*, 'Kronzeuge', sets out his view of Widukind's reliability.

110 Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 75-81.

111 *MGH Concilia VI* no. 8, pp. 97-114; Bühner-Thierry, *Évêques*, pp. 82-3.

112 *MGH Concilia VI* no. 9, pp. 115-124; Bühner-Thierry, *Évêques*, p. 82.

113 *DD. HI* 10, 14, 15, 19, 22.

114 Althoff, *Amicitiae*, p. 86.

115 *MGH Concilia VI* no. 8. Waldo of Chur, however, was not present at Erfurt. (He was not at Dingolfing either, so had not defected to the Bavarians.)

constitution of Alemannian society in general. There are, unfortunately, no references to Alemannian contingents at the battle of Riade.

Hermann of Alemannia and Otto I: Birten and Quedlinburg

Hermann of Reichenau had nothing to say about his ducal namesake's life but nevertheless gave him a glowing epitaph, and noted proudly that the duke had been buried at Reichenau in St Kilian's chapel.¹¹⁶ In the final three years of his life, Hermann had repeatedly intervened with Otto on behalf of Alemannian beneficiaries, including the abbey of St Gallen and his own foundation of Einsiedeln, as well as his protégé Hartpert, who became bishop of Chur in 949.¹¹⁷ The Reichenau monks had also benefited from King Otto's largesse, having received in 946 a charter that confirmed their possession of numerous landholdings, including Wahlwies and Tettingen in the neighbourhood of the *pagus* Untersee.¹¹⁸ These charters are testament to an upswing in royal interest in the region at the end of the 940s which in turn probably reflects the king's plan to secure the ducal succession for his son, Liudolf, who was married to Hermann and Reginlind's only child, Ida, in 948.¹¹⁹ Liudolf's local profile was raised by his intervention alongside Hermann in a royal grant to Einsiedeln in January 949,¹²⁰ and it was underlined on 1 January 950, within a month of Hermann's death, when Otto confirmed (or regranted, depending on one's reading of the text) a gift of land in the Baar to Reichenau by Liudolf and Ida 'in memory of Duke Hermann'. Otto thereby both indicated that the abbey remained in favour and communicated the fact that Liudolf, Otto's eldest son, was henceforth to be regarded as the duke's successor.¹²¹ The charters are also an indication of that the extent of Hermann's influence in Alemannia had expanded by the late 940s. He had acquired the countship in Rhaetia, his intercessions demonstrate that he had the king's ear, Hartpert's promotion to the see of Chur is a sign that this translated into practical influence, and Hermann's subsequent burial at Reichenau implies that his importance was respected and understood. By 949, Alemannia appears to have had no visible point of access to the king other than Duke

116 Hermann, *Chronicon*, s.a. 948 (=949): 'Herimannus dux Alamanniae, qui provinciae sibi creditus cultum, habitum, mores et instituta multum, ut fertur, honestaverit, defunctus, Augiaque in capella sancti Chilianii sepultus est.'

117 *Cont. Reg.* s.a. 949; *D. OI* 99.

118 *D. OI* 83.

119 *Cont. Reg.* s.a. 948; Hermann, 'Chronicon,' s.a. 947.

120 *D. OI* 108: 'admonitione ac suggestione filii nostri Liutolfi ac Herimanni ducis'.

121 *D. OI* 116.

Hermann, nor any alternative source of local authority.

The new order first becomes evident in two charters issued by Otto I at Quedlinburg shortly after Easter 940 which together form a striking contrast to the charters granted at Worms in 926. On 7 April, Otto confirmed the rights of the abbey of St Gallen at the request of its abbot, Thieto.¹²² This is not in itself unusual and the text of the charter is essentially copied verbatim from the earlier document. The following day, however, Otto also granted two Rhaetian churches to Bishop Waldo of Chur.¹²³ Unlike at Worms, where senior clerics, along with unnamed others, had petitioned on behalf of the recipients, Duke Hermann intercedes in both documents. The charters thus communicate a relationship between the recipients and the king in which access to royal goodwill was channelled through Hermann – a transmutation of the relationship established at Worms.

The question is whether this reflects an already existing state of affairs or announces of a new one. Otto's deliberate reproduction of *both* transactions from the Worms assembly strongly suggests that the kingdom's political arrangements were being consciously reconfigured by the king. In 940, Otto had emerged from the civil wars that had dogged the early part of his reign into a position of considerable military power, having defeated his numerous opponents in Lotharingia and Franconia and seriously weakened the position of their ally, his younger brother Henry.¹²⁴ Quedlinburg, meanwhile, was the site of the nunnery which Otto's mother Matilda had founded and retired to after her husband's death, but it was also the site of Henry I's tomb and his successor was intent on making it one of the central locations of Saxon kingship. Celebrating Easter at the recently founded abbey would have served to impress visitors with the grandeur of the new buildings (or at least, as Charlemagne had done in 793, with the size of the ongoing construction works).¹²⁵ Otto had also unmasked a Saxon-led plot to assassinate him, and part of his business at Quedlinburg was to make a public show of condemning the plotters to death.¹²⁶ Widukind, who may or may not be embellishing the story, claims that the plot was specifically to kill Otto

122 *D. OI* 25. Easter 940 fell on 29 March; Otto remained at Quedlinburg thereafter.

123 *D. OI* 26.

124 See Laudage, *Otto*, pp. 110-26; Althoff, *Ottonen*, pp. 69-88; Reuter, *Germany*, pp. 148-54.

125 Cf. J.L. Nelson, 'How Carolingians created consensus', in W. Falkowski and Y. Sassier (eds), *Le monde carolingien: Bilan, perspectives, champs de recherches* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 67-81, at p. 72.

126 *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, ed. M. Giese, MGH SRG (Hanover, 2004), s.a. 941: 'Otto rex de insidiis coniuratorum contra se liberatus statim pascha in Quedelingensi civitate quosdam, quorum nomina sunt Erik, Reinward, Varin, Ascheric, Bacco, Hermon, occidi, quosdam vero exilio relegari iussit'. Cf. Widukind, *Res Gestae*, II:31; *Cont. Reg.* s.a. 941.

during his Easter feast and replace him with Henry there and then. The abbey was also a sensitive location because Matilda is believed to have sympathized with her younger son over his elder brother. The king's reclamation of Saxony had already been reinforced by the grant of a confirmation for the Westphalian nunnery of Herford, in which Queen Edith and Bishop Tuto of Paderborn had intervened.¹²⁷

The visitors from distant Alemannia would therefore have been confronted by an elaborate display of royal power, of which the deliberate mimicry of the transactions carried out at the Worms settlement formed part. This does not suggest a devolved Alemannian polity but rather one in which the royal centre continued to play an absolutely central role. The mere fact that the Alemannians obeyed the call to go there is itself a sign of the importance of the royal court to the aristocracy: Quedlinburg, in the heart of Saxony, was, unlike Worms, scarcely liminal territory from an Alemannian viewpoint.

Otto meanwhile had good reason to reward Hermann, who had become one of his closest advisors. Otto's decision to execute the Saxon conspirators was taken (per Widukind) after taking counsel from Hermann, his brother Uto and their cousin Conrad the Red, and Widukind thus concurs with Liutprand of Cremona in naming these three specifically as Otto's most loyal lieutenants.¹²⁸ Their loyalty during the difficult early phase of his reign should not be underestimated, given the magnitude of the opposition – the king's foes included, besides his brother Henry, his half-brother Thankmar, his brother-in-law Gisibert of Lotharingia, the archbishop of Mainz and Hermann's uncle Eberhard of Franconia. Hermann, moreover, had commanded the victorious royal army at Andernach in October 939.¹²⁹ Andernach, at which Gisibert and Eberhard both died, was arguably the turning point in the conflict and the moment at which Otto began to consolidate his hold over the kingdom.

In these circumstances, the designation of Hermann as *dux Alamannorum* can be seen as announcing a royal policy to expand Hermann's role in the region. This is in keeping with a general pattern observable in Otto's behaviour of placing individual magnates in positions of regional supremacy and acknowledging it through the

127 *D. OI* 24. Otto granted another charter at Quedlinburg on 20 April (*D. OI* 28).

128 Widukind, *Res Gestae*, II.31: 'Post diem vero sollempnem consilio maxime Francorum, qui eo tempore sibi adstabant, Herimanni scilicet, Udonis atque Cuonradi qui dictus est Rufus, secreta proditos iubet comprehendi vel certe occidi.' Liutprand, 'Antapodosis', IV.29: 'Habuerat plane rex nonnullas fortissimas copias, Herimannum scilicet Suevorum ducem fratremque eius Hutonem, atque Cuonradum cognomine Sapientum.'

129 According to Widukind, *Res Gestae*, II.26. Liutprand, 'Antapodosis', IV.29, implies that Uto and Conrad the Red led the troops.

attribution of the title *dux*. The use in royal charters of the title *dux* to designate a high-ranking aristocrat was not a novelty of Otto's chancellery. It was, however, a far more consistent practice in Otto's charters than in those of his predecessors, and there is an observable connection between the title and aristocratic leadership within a specific region. The charters reflect the succession of *duces* in Lotharingia from Gisibert to Otto of Verdun to Conrad in the late 930s and early 940s; the latter, who became duke in 943, appears consistently as *comes* in charters up to that date, but is almost invariably *dux* thereafter.¹³⁰ Hermann, who had only been *comes* to Otto's chancellery in 937, was *dux* at Easter 940: a new title and a role commensurate with his status as the king's right-hand man. Otto, pursuing a policy of establishing centres of royal patronage within Saxony itself, had relatively little interest in sustaining a close royal connection with the abbey of St Gallen; subsequent events suggest that Reichenau also moved into the duke's orbit. The recording of major entries in the Alemannian confraternity books appears to have ceased at this time.¹³¹ Meanwhile transalpine raiding by the Saracens, whose depredations are lamented in Waldo's charter, perhaps provided the opportunity for Hermann to extend his influence into Rhaetia, where his favourite Hartpert eventually succeeded to the bishopric in 949.¹³²

The general path of Hermann's career is substantially more visible in Lotharingia and Franconia than in Alemannia: after Andernach, his military importance is visible again in 944, when Otto trusted him to lead another army into Lotharingia, and he was active again in Lotharingia in 946, in the context of Otto's invasion of west Francia. In the late 940s he is attested as lay abbot in Echternach.¹³³ During the last three years of his life, Hermann appeared as intercessor in eight royal charters, of which four were for Alemannian and three for Lotharingian recipients. This indicates his continuing interests in Lotharingia, but also shows, given that these eight charters were issued on eight separate occasions, that Hermann spent a great deal of his time outside Alemannia in the immediate company of the king. He also maintained his interests in the Rheintal, where his associate Hartpert was responsible for implanting the Rhaetian cult of St Florian at Koblenz.¹³⁴ Proximity to the king and the wide spread of his

130 *D. OI* 6: 'Kisilberti ducis Lothariorum' (936); *D. OI* 52: 'Ottonis ducis' (942). Conrad appears as count in *DD. OI* 23, 31, 51, 60, 83 85, as *dux* in *DD. OI* 70, 71, 80, 87, 100, 110, 111, 115, 122, 129, 131, 134, 140, 151, 154, 156, 169, 179.

131 Althoff, *Amicitiae*, pp. 88-91.

132 *D. OI* 26: 'conquerens nobis suum episcopium continua depredatione Saracenorum valde esse desolatum.'

133 Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 944, 946.

134 Muraro, *Hartpert*, pp. 77-87, with edition and facsimile of the late medieval source at pp. 200-4.

landholdings made him a man of exceptional importance: the *vir ditissimus* who, in Liutprand's *Antapodosis*, describes himself as 'extremely rich in my breadth of land and immensity of money'.¹³⁵ All that Hermann lacked, said Liutprand, was a son to whom he could bequeath it all – in this way, he explains the marriage of Ida to Liudolf, whom Hermann adopts as his own successor. Liudolf's subsequent acquisition of Hermann's dukedom was perhaps not a foregone conclusion – his and Ida's grant to Reichenau indicates that it had to be negotiated and communicated according to proper form, but by the time of Hermann's death, Alemannia had been established as a clearly defined territory with one magnate at its head. This territory, now in the hands of the heir to the throne, was much more closely integrated with the kingdom than the polity that had existed under Burchard II, but this integration was not the natural reflection of events within Alemannia itself. Indeed, Alemannians played no visible role in the development of the duchy that Hermann the Frank controlled. Although Hermann and Liudolf acquired a title that had first been claimed by Burchard, the polity they controlled was essentially the product of the intrusion of royal politics into Alemannia in the changed climate of Otto I's reign.

¹³⁵ Liutprand, 'Antapodosis', V.1: 'Non clam domino meo est, cum praediorum latitudine tum pecuniarum immensitate praedivitem me absque liberis esse.'

Chapter 8

Concluding remarks

Two central aims of this study have been, firstly to draw attention to the broad degree of similarity between ‘French’ and ‘German’ regions of the Frankish empire in the generations after 888, as a counterweight to the long-standing habit of finding essential differences, and secondly to find fundamental similarities in both to the basic structures of the ninth-century Carolingian world. The two case studies have indicated that the basis of political activity remained very similar across the east/west divide and that the older Carolingian settlement continued to define the political norm. Political power depended heavily, as it had done in the ninth century, on the twin poles of access to the kingship and control over land and men, the latter in particular being closely associated with influence over the abbeys and cathedral churches. Kings were perceived as natural founts of authority, and as vital elements of stability, much as they had been before the sudden shattering of imperial unity in 887.

The flurry of new kingdoms that followed Charles the Fat’s death was not so much a sign of total systemic failure as an attempt by the mechanism to correct itself after its dynastic component broke down. Crisis did not mean collapse: the abrupt and permanent end to this process after 890 shows that stability had been restored. This does not mean that violence ceased – when did it ever? - but that the ideology that placed king and court at the centre of the political world held firm. Hereafter new dynasties were only created in conflicts over existing thrones.

The ongoing centrality of kingship gives us a clue why men such as Richard the Justiciar and Burchard II did not reject their kings, but elected to construct their own authority with references to royal authority, acknowledgements of royal regnal years, and supplications to the royal court on behalf of their followers. We do not know to what extent this was voluntary, but it was undoubtedly good politics for men whose positions of regional dominance had no ideological sanction. Royal confirmation of the elections of Bishops Gerannus of Auxerre and Ulrich of Augsburg has been seen as undermining the power of the emergent dukes, but it is more likely to have bolstered it by underpinning the legitimacy of the appointment in the eyes of those compelled to accept it.

There was no countervailing tendency to cast off the royal yoke. Richard and

Burchard were not shaped from the template of the implacably greedy, insubordinate aristocrat - both men were successful opportunists, but their opportunities arose at specific moments when the kingship was contested or hostile. More importantly, the tenth-century duchies were not pre-defined ethnic or administrative spaces waiting for local leaders to come and fill them – the early *duces* had no natural constituency of followers. Rather, the game at the regional level was played in the same way as it had been before 888. Both case studies have highlighted the extent to which regional power depended on obtaining dominant positions over major church establishments. Nobles unquestionably knew that wealth was to be had there; crucially, however, rich bishoprics and abbeys were not merely repositories of treasure and land, but vital centres of social contact involving not only the highest magnates but lesser individuals too. How churches functioned as centres of association, organization and identity is most clearly evident at St Gallen, but the case of Landric and Bodo – followers of Richard the Justiciar whose primary loyalty in Burgundy may not have been to the *dux* but to the cathedral church of Autun – is evidence that similar relationships pertained in western Francia too. The sense of identity constructed in such relationships had no link to regionalism or ‘ethnic’ fellow-feeling, but continued to involve royalty as it had done in the ninth century: Landric and Bodo are examples of the type of lesser landowners to whom Richard’s supplications of Charles the Simple, or the royal confirmations of episcopal elections at Auxerre and Augsburg, may have been ideologically important. The absence of a sense of regional identity meant that ducal rule had no independent ideological foundation and explains why the *ducatus* did not persist as an autonomous political unit after the first *duces* died in either of the two regions surveyed.

None of this serves to argue that the two case studies were identical: there were differences, most obviously in the timescale of the emergence of the first *dux*, but also in the nature of their legacy. Richard left three adult sons with a host of interests to pursue outside their father’s principal zone of influence. By contrast, Burchard left no adult son, so that outsiders – Rudolf II, Henry I and Henry’s ally Hermann – chased opportunities in Alemannia, whilst lesser players shored up their own interests by reaching out to the east Frankish royal court.

Such contingent circumstances mattered. A third theme of this study has been to question the mode of explanation which regards shifts at the highest level of politics as the culmination of long-term processes of social change. Just as the collapse of Charles the Fat’s régime has in the past been associated with the systemic failures of Carolingian

modes of rule, the emergence of the duchies has been seen to have deep underlying causes in the self-centred values of aristocratic culture, or in the gradual formation of communities in the regions, and/or to reflect deep structural factors such as the regnal borders of the Carolingian realms. But the evidence for these is poor, and the evidence for their putative effects on political development poorer still. Richard the Justiciar was not pre-programmed to seek regional power, nor were the limits of his region pre-defined by a century of Carolingian administration. The rise of Burchard II was likewise not the consequence of the slow growth of an Alemannian yearning for ethnic autonomy, but more likely the result of the failure of Conrad I's régime to retain supporters. The emergence of Hermann's dukedom in Alemannia is often seen in terms of a long process of reconciliation between regional and pan-regnal senses of identity, and its apparent stability, relative to west Frankish territories such as ducal Burgundy, as a consequence of fundamental differences between east and west. But the evidence of the sources suggest the causes are better sought in the innovative redefinition of royal/magnate relations at the court of Otto I, carried out as a result of events outside Alemannia itself, and made possible by the outcomes of the civil wars of Otto's early reign. What the emergence of the tenth-century duchies suggests is that the causes of change in high politics lay primarily in the structure of high politics itself.

Nevertheless, it is clear that by 940 some things had changed. By this time, a generation was in power which had grown up amidst the post-888 settlement; to these people, it would have been familiar rather than novel for a regional to come under a single magnate's rule, and they would have come to understand the word *dux* as a standard expression for the leading magnate in a region in a way that made it possible for Otto to accommodate it within his reforms. Revolution at the top was not the consequence of deep structural change, but was itself the cause of gradual changes in deeper structures.

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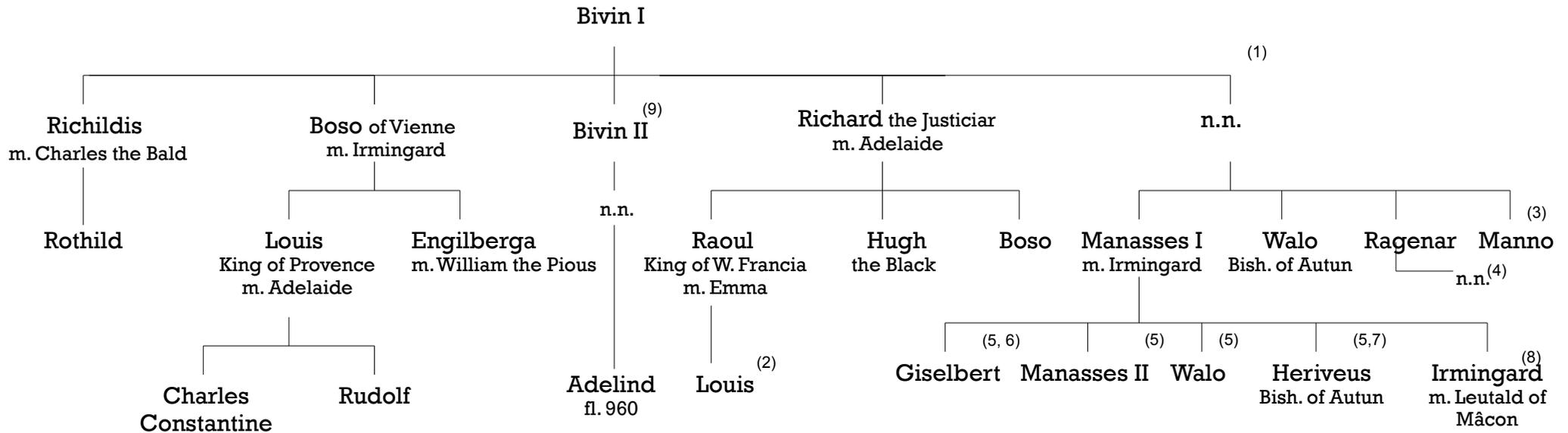
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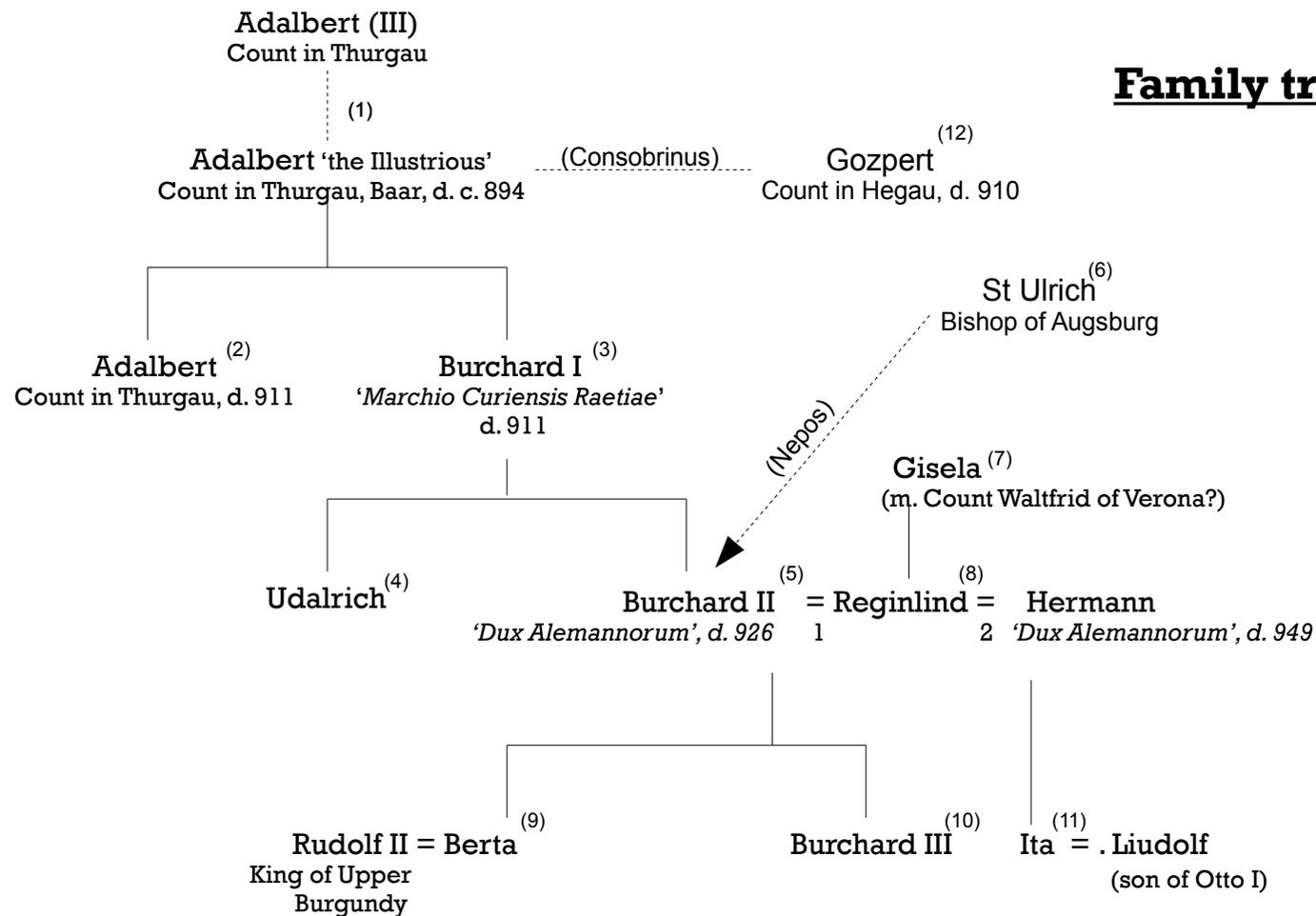
Family tree 1: The descendants of Bivin



Sources attesting to relationships:

- (1) Manasses I and his brothers are sons of an unknown sister of Richard the Justiciar: 'Series abbatum Flaviniacensium', following the interpretation of Bouchard, *Those of My Blood*, pp. 192-3. (See chapter 2, n. 129, above).
- (2) Son of Raoul: *Chronique de St-Bénigne*, p. 126. Predeceased father. The reference is unique and so the possibility that the eleventh-century chronicler is mistaken cannot be excluded. In *R. Cluny* 379, Adelaide, widow of Richard the Justiciar, refers to *Ludowico nepote*; this, however, is more likely to be Louis, count of the Thurgau, i.e. the son of her brother Rudolf I of Upper Burgundy.
- (3) Brother of Manasses I: Roserot, 'Chartes inédites', no. 12.
- (4) Unnamed son sent to Raoul as hostage: Flodoard, *Annales*, s.a. 924.
- (5) Sons of Irmingard; nephews of Bishop Walo: *C. Autun* 26.
- (6) Also son of Irmingard per *D. CS* 126; *Cartulaire de St-Marcel* no. 28.
- (7) Also son of Irmingard per *C. Autun* 43.
- (8) Daughter of Manasses and Irmingard; wife of Leutald: *R. Cluny* 432. This additionally demonstrates that Manasses I, and not another of Bishop Walo's brothers, was the elder Irmingard's husband.
- (9) Parentage not directly attested; presumed with reasonable certainty to be a son of Bivin I due to name and landed interests.

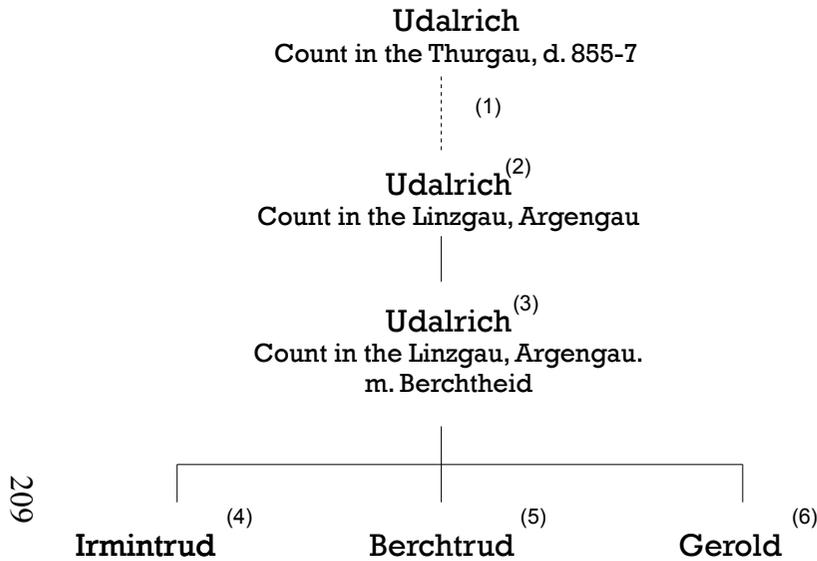
Family tree 2: The Burchardines



Sources attesting to relationships:

- (1) Relationship presumed but not provable, cf. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 255-60.
- (2) Son of Adalbert 'the Illustrious': *UBSG* 692 (*sub comite Hadalb[er]to iuniore*; cf. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 29-30.
- (3) Son of Adalbert 'the Illustrious': *UBSG* 673. Brother of Adalbert count of Thurgau per *AA (M)* s.a. 911
- (4) Son of Burchard I and brother of Burchard II per *AA(M)* s.a. 911.
- (5) Relationships to father, brother and mother-in-law Gisela per *AA (M)* s.a. 911.
- (6) Burchard II is St Ulrich's *nepos* per 'Vita Oudalrici' ch. 1.
- (7) Relationship to Burchard per *AA (M)* s.a. 911. Her relationship to Waltfrid of Verona is the hypothesis of Zettler, *Geschichte*, pp. 112-3; cf. *Lib. conf. St Gallen*, pag. 85, entry beginning *Uualtfrid, Kysala, Reginlind*.
- (8) Marriage to Burchard: 'Vita Wiboradae', chs 27-8; cf. *Lib. conf. Reichenau* pag. 41, entry beginning *Purchart, Reginlind, Liutcart, Kisila, Perehta*. Marriage to Hermann: *UBZ 192*; 'Miraculæ Sanctæ Verenæ', ch. 5.
- (9) Daughter of Burchard & husband of Rudolf: 'Annales Sancti Galli Maiores', s.a. 922; Liutprand, 'Antapodosis', 5:1.
- (10) *Burchart comes* appears with Reginlind in Hermann's charter *UBZ 192* and is reckoned on that basis to be her son from her marriage to Burchard II. He is identified with the Burchard who succeeded Liudolf as *dux Alemannorum* after the latter's death.
- (11) Daughter of Hermann & husband of Liudolf per *Cont. Reg.* s.a. 948; Liutprand, 'Antapodosis', V.1. Cf. also *DD. OI* 108, 116.
- (12) Gozpert is Adalbert's *consobrinus*: *UBZ* 156.

Family tree 3: Udalrich of Aadorf

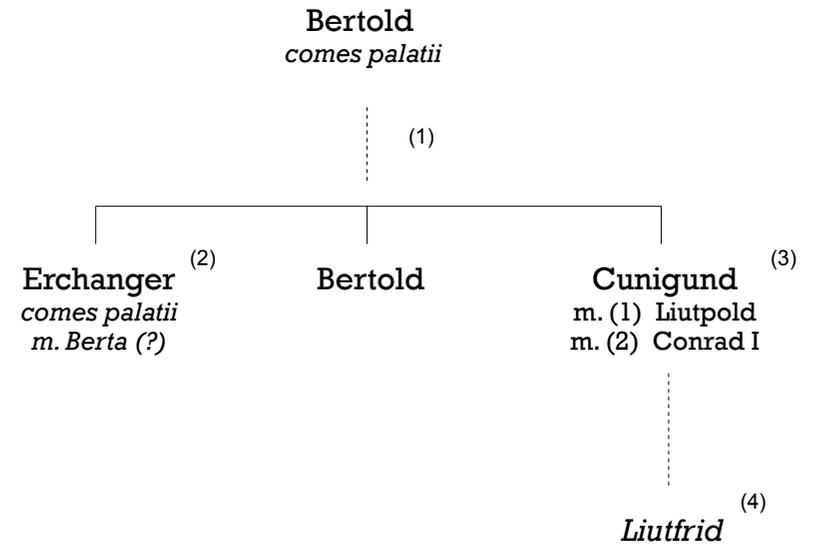


Sources attesting to relationships:

- (1) Relationship not provable, cf. Borgolte, *Grafen*, pp. 256-8. The three Udalrichs in this table are Borgolte's Udalrich III, IV and V respectively.
- (2) Udalrich, first attested c. 854-60 (Borgolte, *Grafen*, p. 259), apparently retired in favour of his son c. 885. (UBSG 645), but according to Borgolte, *Grafen*, -. 256 still living c. 894 on the basis of a charter partially copied into the St Gallen formula book.
- (3) Son of Udalrich: Implied by commonality of countships, *UBSG 645* (Vadalrichus iunior), and the memorialization of both *Vodalrich* and *Vodalrich iunior* in the same entry in *Lib. mem. Rem.* pag. 4
Marriage: *UBSG 655, D. Arn 81*
- (4) Daughter of Udalrich and Berchtheid: *UBSG 655, 691*
- (5) Daughter of Udalrich and Berchtheid: *UBSG 655*
- (6) Son of Udalrich and Berchtheid: *UBSG 655*.

UBSG 655 (July 886) identifies Udalrich, Berchtheid and their three children. Irmintrud and Berchtrud are abbesses of the monastery of Aadorf. The charter is a grant in *precaria* to Engilberg, who is Gerold's wife. In *UBSG 691* (Jan. 894), Udalrich grants all of his land in the Thurgau and properties elsewhere to Aadorf. This charter, unusually, is witnessed by Irmintrud, but Udalrich's other children and his wife are absent. It is likely that they had died.

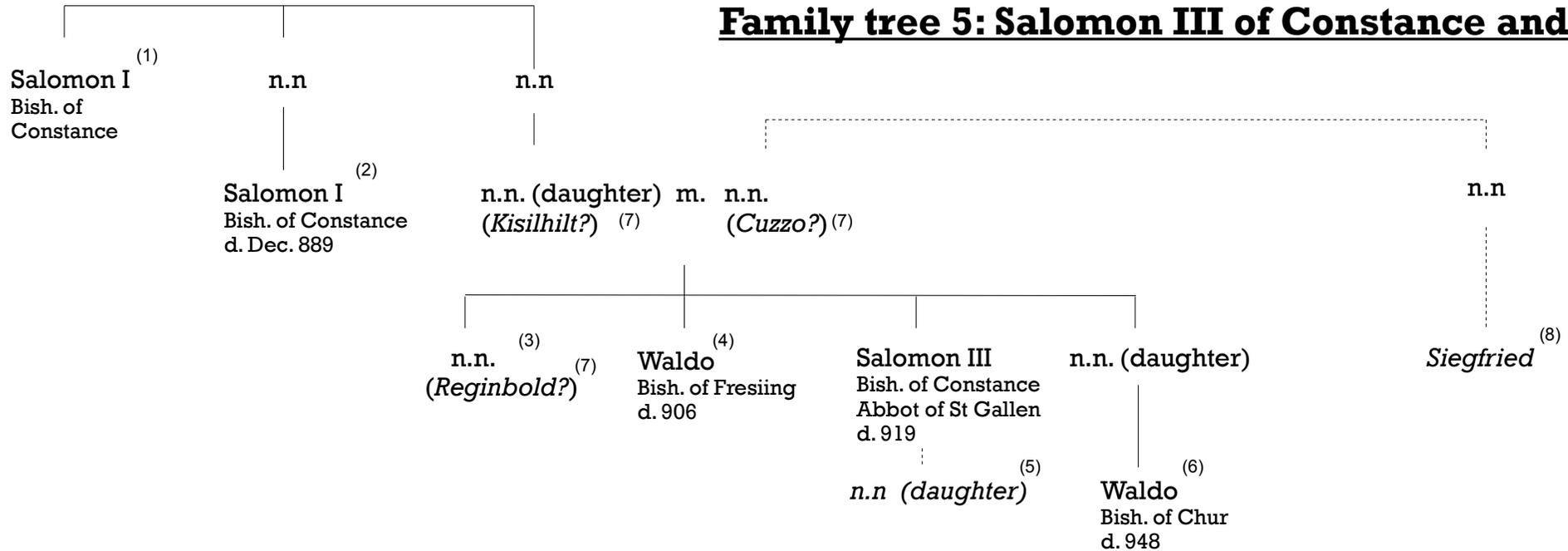
Family tree 4: Erchanger, Bertold, Cunigund



Sources attesting to relationships:

- (1) A count Bertold is referred to as *comes palatii* in *D. CIII 16* in an Italian context and again in *UBSG 684* (892) in a northern Alemannian context. *D. Arn 156* (897) refers to a count Bertold, former holder of properties in the Augsgau in NE Alemannia. He is nowhere attested as father of Erchanger, Bertold or Cunigund. However, Cunigund's first marriage to a leading Bavarian aristocrat, and her possession of land at Giengen in NE Alemannia, help to make the relationship plausible.
- (2) Brother of Bertold: *Annales Sancti Galli Maiores* s.a. 913 and Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 11, are the only sources to state expressly that they are brothers. Sister of Cunigund: *AA (Z)* s.a. 913. Married to Berta (otherwise unknown) per Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 18.
- (3) Widow of Liutpold: *AA (Z)* s.a. 913. Marriage to Conrad: *AA (Z)* s.a. 913; *D. CI 23, 25*.
- (4) Nephew (*sororis ... filius*) of Erchanger and Bertold according to Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch 17. Ekkehard does not identify his mother.

Family tree 5: Salomon III of Constance and his kin



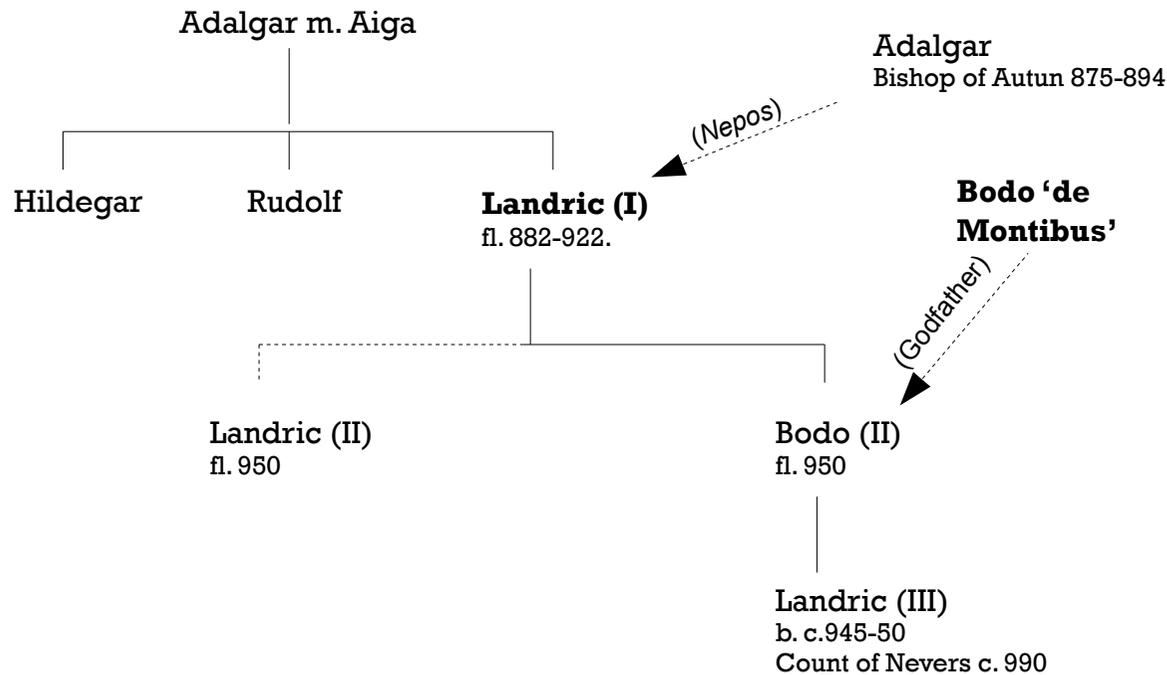
Based on U. Zeller, *Bischof Salomo III. von Konstanz, Abt von St. Gallen* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1910), p. 15.

Cf. also G. Althoff, *Amicitiae und Pacta. Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsgedenken im beginnenden 10. Jahrhundert* (Hanover, 1992), pp. 318-24.

Sources attesting to relationships:

- (1) Great-uncle of Salomon III: 'Collectio Sangallensis', ed. K. Zeumer, *MGH Formulae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, no. 43, pp. 425-7, is an anonymized letter but clearly to Salomon III and Waldo: 'consobrino matris vestrae, successore maioris avunculi vestri Salomonis, pontifice Salomone'
- (2) Maternal uncle of Salomon III and Waldo as above.
- (3) Brother of Salomon III and Waldo: 'Collectio Sangallensis, no. 43, as above - 'ad domum patris quondam et nunc fratris vestri nequaquam declinetis'; 'Quod si brachia uxoris fratris vestri vos complexa fuerint'
- (4) Brother of Salomon III: 'Annales Weingartenses', ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores* 1 (Hanover, 1826), pp. 65-7, s.a 885: 'Waldo episcopus effectus. Et Salomon frater eius diaconus.'
- (5) Illegitimate daughter: Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 29 claims that Salomon fathered a daughter. The girl's mother entered and later became abbess of the monastery of Zürich. The girl was raised at the abbey as a nun but was later permitted to marry a man named Notker *de prosapia Waltrammi et Notkeri*.
- (6) Son of Salomon's sister per *UBSG* 761: 'Waldo filius sororis meae.'
- (7) *Lib. conf. Reichenau* pag. 122 has an entry which begins *Cuzzo, Kizilhilt, Uuerinhere, Cuzzo, Salomon, Reginbold, Uualto, Uueldrud*. As discussed on p. [126], this may indicate (but certainly does not prove) that Salomon and Waldo were the children of a Cuzzo and Kisilhilt and the brothers of a Reginbold.
- (8) Cousin of Salomon III: Ekkehard, *Casus*, ch. 19, refers to a *Sigefrido, episcopi patris filio*, who secures Salomon's release from captivity at the hands of Counts Erchanger and Bertold.

Family tree 6: The ancestors of Count Landric of Nevers



Based on C. Settiani, 'Les origines des comtes de Nevers: nouveaux documents' in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan and C. Settiani (eds), *Onomastique et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 85-112, at pp. 94 & 96.

The names **Landric** and **Bodo** appear amongst the witnesses to four charters issued at Autun and Chalon in 916-921. (See pp. 63-5, 87-90). These men were probably Landric (I) and Bodo 'de Montibus', minor noblemen in the country northwest of Autun. They are known from the eleventh-century family history of the counts of Nevers.⁽¹⁾

According to the family history of the counts of Nevers:

- **Landric (I)** was granted the *castellum* of Metz-le-Comte by Richard the Justiciar.
- Landric was the *nepos* of Bishop *Hildegarius* (Adalgar) of Autun
- Richard gave Landric the *castellum* during Adalgar's lifetime, i.e. before 893/4.
- Landric had a son named Bodo (II), who held the nearby *castellum* of Monceaux. (approximately 8 kilometres from Metz-le-Comte).
- **Bodo de Montibus** was godfather to Landric (I)'s son Bodo (II).
- Landric I's son **Bodo (II)** was the father of another Landric (III), who became count of Nevers.

Settipani has identified *inter alia* the following evidence in support of the genealogy suggested by the above:

- The names Landric and Adalgar/Hildegar occur in a late ninth-century kin-group with connections to Count Ranulf of Poitiers. A blood relationship between Bishop Adalgar and the castellan Landric is therefore highly plausible – Settiani argues that the bishop is most likely either Landric's cousin or his great-uncle.
- In 882 a *Rodulfus* donated land to the abbey of Beaulieu. The charter identifies his brothers Hildegar and Landric as well as their parents Adalgar and Aiga.
- In *R. Cluny* 134 (c.910-927), a Landric and his wife Ada donate land in the Autunois to Cluny. In 922 a Landric, husband of Ildia, also donated land to the church of St-Étienne in Limoges; the witnesses included viscount *Eldegarius* (of Limoges).
- In *R. Cluny* 783 (Nov. 950), a Bodo donates a *mansus* to Cluny 'for the remission of my sins and for the receipt (*receptione*) of my son'. The three witnesses include a Landric, possibly his brother.

(1) 'Brève histoire des premiers comtes de Nevers', ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Monumena Vizeliacensia: Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Vézelay*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 42 (Turnhout, 1976), pp. 235-9.