

**DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY**  
**PASADENA, CALIFORNIA 91125**

FACT AND PATTERN IN HEROIC HISTORY:  
DUDO OF ST.-QUENTIN

Eleanor Searle

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## ABSTRACT

Around the turn of the millenium, Dudo of St.-Quentin, an ecclesiastic in the service of the Norman "Duke", was commissioned to write an account of the Viking invasion by the Duke's grandfather Rollo, who captured Rouen in the late ninth or early tenth century. That account has long been puzzle and an irritant to historians, for it has been shown to be factually unreliable where it can be checked against other sources. The irritation is all the greater because of the potential importance of the work, which is the only source we have about events in the tenth century within the area that was becoming Normandy.

This paper argues that if the work is read as essentially a heroic epic, in which the pattern of events is the key to their significance and meaning, then the author is recounting a revealing story. Read as a work of art, Dudo's book concerns legitimacy: the God-bestowed legitimacy of the Rouen lineage of Viking chieftains now and forever -- and the legitimacy of those who have accepted the leadership of that lineage. These "acceptors" of Rouen, the pattern implies, are new invaders, of the mid-tenth century, who sealed their alliance with the earlier, and seriously threatened, group by a great marriage (followed by a series of marriages) that added the imperatives of kinship to the advantages of collective coordinated action. Dudo's "facts" about Rollo, the first, God-chosen leader, are, in this reading, mere embellishments to his eulogy of his own patrons' success in creating a proto-state, capable of providing safety and stability in the lands so recently conquered.

Such a reading shifts the establishment of "Normandy" from the late ninth to the late tenth century, and introduces a principle of state-formation that can be tested in the more easily understood sources of the eleventh century.

FACT AND PATTERN IN HEROIC HISTORY:

DUDO OF ST.-QUENTIN\*

Eleanor Searle

The chronicler of tenth-century Normandy, Dudo of St.-Quentin, has a small reputation, all of it evil. This reputation has been the result of subjecting his text (entitled by its last editor de Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum)<sup>1</sup> to critical examination by scholars during the last hundred years. The admiring edition of 1865 by Jules Lair was followed by attack and defense in controversies that, as Professor David Douglas has rightly said, "have in the main produced an uneasy silence."<sup>2</sup> In fact the matter has come to be settled against Dudo as an historical source for tenth-century Normandy. The culmination of the attacks may be found in over four hundred scathing pages by Henri Prentout, devoted to demonstrating the unreliability of Dudo's "facts."<sup>3</sup> To quote Professor Douglas again, "the panegyric of the Norman dukes composed in the early years of the eleventh century by Dudo, canon of St.-Quentin, has been so discredited that Norman history in its first phase must now be explored with but scant reference to the book. . . ."<sup>4</sup> Recently David Bates has put it more strongly, claiming that modern studies "have consigned Dudo's opinions to an oblivion from which they will surely never return."<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, an irritation has accompanied the discrediting of

Dudo as a writer of "objective" history: an irritation at the story -- or stories -- that he does tell, at his Latin style, his alternation of verse and prose, the very fact that the work is a panegyric. That it is an irritation felt by many who have never, or only selectively, read Dudo, is clear from the repetition of the jeer that the ridiculous toady pictures Richard the Fearless as preaching a sixteen-day, non-stop sermon to convert pagan Vikings. Which is not at all what Dudo actually said.<sup>6</sup> And so it has not been noticed that Dudo's set-pieces are often in an elegantly rhythmical Latin, that the narrative is powerful, that it contains surely the earliest written Norse saga-scenes.<sup>7</sup> Nor has it, I think, been remarked that the work is split, not only into the four books of M. Lair's edition, but into individual tales and episodes that, recited in the vernacular, would have filled an evening with absorbing excitement. Like his Icelandic contemporary Gunnlaug Ormstunga in the hall of Aethelred, Dudo was composing the tale of great chieftains of the North. Praise was expected from Gunnlaug, and so it was from Dudo by his patrons, the pagan-born lady Gunnor, and her sons, Count Richard and Archbishop Robert, presiding over a part-Norse, part-French hall at Rouen. Long ago C. E. Wright remarked regretfully that there must have been English sagas of the power of the Scandinavian, but they had remained oral and thus ephemeral.<sup>8</sup> In Dudo we have a Norse Norman saga contemporary with the manuscript of Beowulf. It remains untranslated and despised.

I should like to propose that Dudo be reevaluated as "heroic" history.<sup>9</sup> Further, I suggest that the work should be examined as

serving the interest of those who commissioned it: as being not only a writing-down of their tales for their entertainment, but as serving what might be called their historiography. I would argue that, viewed in this way, rather than as a reprehensibly unsuccessful attempt to set down facts, the pattern of Dudo's work tells us much about the Norman ruling chieftains of the late tenth century.

Dudo was a canon of St.-Quentin when he was sent, he tells us, sometime between 987 and 994, on an embassy from the count of Vermandois to Richard I of Rouen.<sup>10</sup> The two got on well, and without severing his connection with St-Quentin (of which he eventually became dean), Dudo resided frequently at Rouen from then on, serving Richard and his successor as a scribe, and receiving two benefices near Rouen. In the early 990s, the aging leader asked Dudo to write down the ways and events of the Norman land, and above all, the jura of his grandfather Rollo.<sup>11</sup> After Richard's death in 996, his two sons, Richard II and Archbishop Robert, begged Dudo to continue the work.<sup>12</sup> He had two principal informants, in addition to the Frankish chronicles he used and misused. The first was Richard I's maternal half-brother and his most loyal supporter, Count Rodulf. Dudo specifically calls Rodulf the relator of his work.<sup>13</sup> The second was Richard's widow Gunnor, who by the evidence of charter-attestations was inferior only to her two ruling sons as warrantor and protector of the Normans. The work, then, was written at Rouen for the very inner circle of the ruling house, with Rodulf and Gunnor ("she of capacious memory and filled with a treasure-house of recollections")<sup>14</sup> at the writer's elbow.

On the one side therefore, Dudo's work belongs to the "literature of house and kindred" in Karl Hauck's phrase, a genre only now coming to be studied in its own terms.<sup>15</sup> It is, in this, an aristocratic epic, a form popular among the tenth-century nobility: an epic of trials, tragedies, and of men proving themselves.<sup>16</sup> Yet this difficult work belongs to another, more northerly, literary tradition as well. Like Saxo Grammaticus later, Dudo was writing for a Norse warrior-class.<sup>17</sup> He was in fact singing their victory-song.

What Dudo's Norse patrons required of him, I would argue, was to produce a lineage-history that would be like the finest of the Norse sagas and heroic histories, a lineage-story that would be overlaid with a significant pattern. For the pattern is the real truth in the saga and the heroic tale. The pattern reveals the significance of the flowing, otherwise trivial, dance to the music of time, causing the gods, the men of the past and themselves to move in a kind of simultaneity of rhythm and destiny.<sup>18</sup> Through Northern history of the Viking "heroic age" stalks Odin, the father of just vengeance, in the person of Saxo's old warrior Starkadr, calling generation after generation of war-chiefs to the old ways. He is there already in Beowulf as "the old spearman who remembers it all."<sup>19</sup> Gudrun and Kjartan of Laxdaela Saga cast enlarged shadows that are Brynhild and Sigurdr. In the analogue is significance.

The "truth" of Northern, heroic history, then, was most deeply perceived through the significant cosmological pattern, and that pattern for both men and gods was perhaps most frequently the complex

one of vengeance, and of a permanent state of potential hostility and of competition among neighbors.<sup>20</sup> We have no reason at all to think that the Norse occupiers of Neustria in the tenth century had forgotten their heritage of saga and their demand for the significant pattern in the ephemera of their lives. Far from it. Whether one thinks of a Norman "myth," or sees Norman ducal chroniclers as telling a "history without an end," in Elizabeth van Houts' pretty phrase, the fact is that a fascination with themselves as preeminently significant was to make the Norman leaders continuing patrons of historians, jongleurs and artists.<sup>21</sup> William of Jumièges, the author of the Encomium Emmae Reginae, William of Poitiers, the cartoonist and executants of the Bayeux Tapestry, Orderic Vitalis, Robert of Torigny, Master Wace, Stephen of Rouen are but a partial list that attests to the high quality and the rich mix of chronicle-history, biography, visual arts and poetry devoted to the commemoration of the Normans as they worked out their destiny.

The moment at which Dudo stands is the moment at which the Norse in Neustria turned away from the particular patterns that had given their fathers' lives resonance. Saxo Grammaticus was in the future for the Danes, setting down the continuing "truth" of the Northern world: the truth that however honorable the men and however lovely the women of any day, the "reality" of history was the continual tension of insoluble moral dilemmas. What else in Saxo is more "true" than that feud and composition of feud as the principle of social peace and of relations with neighboring groups inevitably involves unbearable inner

conflicts of personal loyalties and loves? It is always Ingeld's fate to be called from peace-weaving to blood-vengeance.<sup>22</sup> Ingeld fascinated the North, whatever interpretation was put upon his character.<sup>23</sup> For his fate poses those problems in public action and personal morality that were indissolubly linked in the politics of the North, where peace and security were the fragile achievements of kinship, clientage and the ever-present subtleties of the feud. The spirit of Starkadr walks between the lines of Anglo-Saxon legal codes that offer, but do not demand, the alternative of compensation to the injured kindred.<sup>24</sup>

Ingeld's miscalculation was to attempt to heal enmity too soon. And Ingeld is Finn, the leader who makes the same misjudgement, and he is Hengest as well, as he was every man negotiating compensation for vengeance.<sup>25</sup> From Alcuin's day (and no doubt long before) to the copying of Beowulf, Ingeld's saga held men and women with the moving drama of its commemoration of the moral tensions that were the continuing reality of their world -- the tensions and conflicting loyalties upon which the "peace in the feud" depends.<sup>26</sup>

Ingeld had nothing to do with Christ, as Alcuin's rhetorical question pointed out. But Christ did not change Northern society's means of maintaining peace and security. Those means depended for centuries upon the willingness of a kindred or clientage-group to act as a vengeance group, and upon peace-weaving marriages that might produce a generation whose conflicting loyalties would allow the ashes of enmity to grow cold.<sup>27</sup> Such dependencies were fragile, and kept

Northern polities weak. Charity did not transform Ingeld's world. Change in authority-structures was more significant; and that meant a greater concentration of coercion, not of charity. The Beowulf-poet, copying that masterwork at just the time Dudo was writing his Norman saga was no doubt deeply Christian. But the anxieties of the feud were seldom far from his mind. They form one significant pattern in the epic. No less significant than Beowulf's death for his people is Wiglaf's denunciation of the warriors who failed him. For when it is known that they refused combat, from that moment their own fate will be sealed. All joy, all security will have passed away and they will wander homeless, their halls will burn and their women be enslaved.<sup>28</sup> It is the burden of the dirge of the Geatish woman at Beowulf's funeral.<sup>29</sup> For every group was faced by another with a cause for feud. The pattern of the North is Ingeld and the fragility of the "peace in the feud."

But Dudo's pattern is a new one. The literate Frank gave his patrons an analogue of startling aptness and power. For Dudo's pattern for Hrolfr, progenitor of Richard's agnatic line, is Aeneas.

Hrolfr, or Rollo, however is a particular kind of Aeneas, an Aeneas of the Vikings. He is no founder, but a rebuildler. He puts together what his predecessors have destroyed. Before him, youths had been forced from their homes in the North. Their fate is the repetition of a pattern: for Dudo makes the Danes descendants of Antenor, who, forced from his home after the devastation of Troy, made his way in violence to Illyricum with his war-band.<sup>30</sup> Like their ancestor Antenor,

the early Vikings were expelled, and fell ferociously in their turn, upon others. With this early hint that Vikings and Trojans are one, and that not all their stories are of equal significance, Dudo briefly takes up the early Viking settlements in Neustria. They establish themselves first along the coasts, the better to raid safely. The Franks, unable to dislodge them, cede them land in the sense that they cease actively to defend it -- that is, without conferring a legitimacy of tenure. Such raiders neither build nor rebuild. They are devastators.

This is Dudo's Book One: the book of devastation. The second returns to Denmark and the young chieftain Rollo.<sup>31</sup> Here we have one of Dudo's much-criticised "stupidities." For all other evidence points to Rollo as having a Norwegian origin.<sup>32</sup> Dudo alone makes him a Dane. We shall note this, and return to it, for I intend later to suggest that it is a deliberate misidentification. For the moment, though, we will continue with Dudo and his account.

Rollo fights in an honorable cause, but unsuccessfully, and is in his turn forced to set sail, a homeless wanderer.<sup>33</sup> Yet in his voyaging he dreams God-inspired dreams. First he is commanded to go to England to lay there the foundation of that amity that in fact Richard II was working to achieve during the years when Dudo was writing<sup>34</sup> More Aeneas-like perhaps, Rollo dreams of the peaceful polity he will found, when men of many kinds will flock to his leadership and, at his command, will live together in peace, harmony and security.<sup>35</sup> First he must leave England. Like Aeneas in Carthage, he sees that his

destination lies elsewhere, that he must leave and build further on.<sup>36</sup> He is even beset by a Virgilian tempest on his way.<sup>37</sup>

Dudo is not pedantic or slavish in his use of Aeneas as the pattern for Rollo. The classical story is an analogue. Never does Dudo explicitly connect Rollo and Aeneas, though his imitation of the language of the Aeneid in this part of his work is an implicit connection. Moreover, if we read the tale as a work of art, rather than for the gobbets of "fact" it can be made to disgorge, the conclusion, I would argue, is inescapable: the Aeneid is the organizing principle of Rollo's saga.<sup>38</sup> If this is true, then we must accept that the Aeneid was already a popular tale in the late tenth century. It was certainly known to Gunnor's daughter Emma: her own encomiast both knew it and understood what Virgil was doing in his poem -- that is, praising Augustus.<sup>39</sup> Certainly the parallel creates an emotional truth about Rollo's fate. To that emotional truth Dudo sacrificed the accuracy of the chieftain's individual skirmishes and raids. Those who blame him for not being an annalist should recall that he did not set out to be one, and that the saga of Aeneas was no cheap way to pattern for his patrons the early settlement of their line.

Rollo and his Vikings attack the Flemish coast, and finally turn the prows of their longships up the Seine. In a passage of great power, Dudo describes their progress up the river.<sup>40</sup> They wonder at the beauty of the valley: the soil looks to be rich, they say, and well-forested. The streams abound with fish, the forests with game. But it is empty of fighters. We could take the place, they think. In the meantime the

country-folk, the poor and the petty traders of the region, have flocked to Rouen in fear of these new Vikings, to seek whatever help their bishop can give.<sup>41</sup> He alone remains, a shadow of Carolingian authority. He sends a plea that these new invaders allow peace to the city and to the farmers of the district. Rollo grants this, upon satisfying himself that only peasants and poor burghers -- the inermis vulgus -- remain.<sup>42</sup> The condition of the city is deplorable. Blocks of once-worked stone lie scattered on the ground. Church structures are crumbling. The city walls have been broken through. Rollo looks at the poverty and the ruin, and he recalls his vision.<sup>43</sup> Rouen, we know, is the city he is to rebuild, and the prosperity of Rouen trade is to be the very foundation of the ascendancy of his line over other Viking lineages. We see already the symbiosis between a protecting chieftain and commercial Rouen, in the first mention of its inopes mercatores. We know, we in the thriving Rouen of a hundred years later, that the mercatores have their own destiny: to grow rich, under the protection of Rollo's successors. Dudo was writing precisely in a Rouen made commercially active during the tenth century, as modern archaeology is demonstrating.<sup>44</sup> He was writing during just the years in which Richard II offered his city as a haven for Scandinavian raiders, laden, of course, with Danegeld. In Normandy, the Rouen war-chieftain promised, Vikings would be as safe as in their own homes.<sup>45</sup> It was a brilliant policy, and it made Richard and Rouen wealthy, for the turn of the millenium was the very epoch of the huge Danegelds in England.<sup>46</sup> The policy should remind us just how Scandinavian the Normans still were.

And it surely justifies Dudo's emphasis on city and merchants as Rollo's destiny.

At Rouen then, the pattern has become clear to Dudo's audience. But Rollo's story is by no means over, for even heroes recalling visions do not necessarily, immediately, accept their destinies. And so it is not the Rollo of the wonderful first trip up the Seine, but a thoroughly beaten, tired leader and war-band who accept Frankish terms and retreat to the Rouen stretch of the Seine they are able to hold. Rouen is not only the achievement of the restorer-Viking. It is his succorer. Dudo may sacrifice much for his pattern of significance. But he is corroborated in his insistence upon the importance of Rouen, by the Frankish annalist Flodoard, who, under the year 925, speaks of Rollo as no more than chief of the Northmen in the neighborhood of Rouen.<sup>47</sup> Nothing more; yet nothing less. For Dudo's patrons, the counts of Rouen, rapidly spreading their authority westwards, the significant analogue was rightly Aeneas, and to have offered the analogue was no less than brilliant.

And was it brilliant of his patrons to accept his offering? For if heroic history and literature deals with the significant structure of human life, and enlarges individual experience by superimposing upon the ephemeral, permanencies that are cosmological and mythological, then what was Aeneas to these Norse patrons in Rouen? Why did they abandon Ragnar Lodbroc and the eternal Odin-Starkadr?<sup>48</sup> The earliest manuscript evidence does not suggest that they were commissioning a work to impress the Franks, for the manuscripts are largely confined to

eastern Normandy. Of course Dudo's patrons must have been considerably Gallicized, and Archbishop Robert must have received some classical education, to fit him for office. But one should not underestimate the cultural background -- Scandivanian, pagan and hostile to Franks -- of the brothers, of Gunnor, and of Count Rodulf.<sup>49</sup> Were they merely barbarians dazzled by the classical light?

I suggest an answer that is plausible at best. I think that the choice to abandon the analogues of their cultural inheritance was deliberate. To see what this might mean, we must look at the tale they appear, to me, to have wanted told. Interestingly enough they did not get (and therefore presumably did not want) an ancestor of heroic stature, of legendary victories. What they got (as had Augustus) was more importantly the man whose lineage had been chosen by God. Rollo's only function is, by being God's instrument, to legitimize his lineage's occupation of Upper Normandy, and whatever else it could get and keep. But, legitimize against what alternative? The manuscript tradition locates the earliest copies at Jumièges, Fécamp and St. Evroul, all abbeys of eastern Normandy.<sup>50</sup> The story, then, was for the ruling line itself, and for the Norman war-leaders of the east. Certainly the Franks were hardly likely to be moved by the Vikings' divine mission to pinch their lands.

Dudo's whole history, indeed, concentrates upon eastern Normandy. In the entire account of Rollo there is not one incident that shows him in control of any lands beyond the neighborhood of Rouen. His edict about theft is praised as bringing peace to the countryside, but the

example that demonstrates his authority is set only a few kilometers from the town, if M. Lair's identification is correct.<sup>51</sup> When the archbishop tells Rollo what churches there are in sua terra, they are the cathedrals of Rouen, Bayeux, Évreux, and the abbeys of Mont.-St.-Michel, St. Ouen and Jumièges -- all, save Évreux, on the Seine or the seacoast.<sup>52</sup> No mention is made of the inland cathedral of Lisieux, or of Avranches or Coutances in the west.<sup>53</sup> Even Bayeux appears to be "in his land," not because Rollo controls the Bessin, but because the war-leader who holds Bayeux is a close friend, possibly recognizing a subservience, but above all loyal to his interests and the fosterer of his son. Rollo and his son are pictured as raiding in Brittany, but it is not even implied that they went in any other way than in their longships. This is not the place to reconstruct in detail the picture of "Normandy" conveyed by Dudo. We are concerned with the encomiast and his audience. And so it is significant that the Frankish grant to Rollo is so vague in Dudo's account, and the exercise of the chieftainship of Rollo and William Longsword is in fact depicted as so limited.<sup>54</sup> Dudo's tale is of a chieftain-lineage of eastern Normandy beset by hostile Francia, betrayed by Franks, but managing against all odds to survive. But the lineage lends legitimacy to those who hold lands in loyalty to it.

One can make a case, further, that the legitimacy of Rollo's lineage was aimed at a particular, even identifiable, group: a new group of war-chiefs of Danish stock, whose bands (or whose fathers' bands) had effected a second taking of Upper Normandy in the mid-tenth

century. Indeed, Dudo's pattern of the rule of Rollo's grandson, Richard I, can scarcely be explained in any other way.

The construction of Richard's life-story is bizarre by any interpretation. Dudo could easily pattern Aeneas onto Rollo, and picture his successor, William Longsword, as a martyr, for he was murdered at a parlay by a Frank, and that would qualify him for any Norman martyrology. But with Richard, Dudo seems to lose his grip. For a while, he seems to have Ascanius in mind, but Richard died in his sixties, and Ascanius would therefore be a strange pattern to emphasize the significant in his life. For most of the text, this great fighter remains a child. Anticipating the father's premature death, Dudo pictures the child as accepted as his father's successor by three faithful leaders.<sup>55</sup> The Norseness of the upbringing planned for the boy is insisted upon. Because in Rouen there is more French than Danish spoken, he will be reared by his godfather, the Bayeux war-chief, for Danish predominates there, and it will be necessary for a ruler to be capable of arguing-down his Danish followers.<sup>56</sup> Dudo is not emphasizing here the "cultured" Gallicisation of Rouen. Instead, he is reminding his audience of Richard's fitness to be the war-leader of men among whom leadership required qualities and skills far removed from those of value to a Frankish noble. Yet Richard is still very young when his father dies. He is brought back to Rouen, kidnapped by the Franks, rekidnapped, and Rouen is now left both to bring up its boy, and to protect him. The city has become his father.

"Rotomage, tuus modo puer,  
Marchio jure potens tibi datus"<sup>57</sup>

Little about the twenty years that followed is at all clear in Dudo's account. The Frankish king continues to harbor his determination to reconquer the land.<sup>58</sup> This plan is frustrated only by Richard's kinsman, the Danish king "Haigrold," sent for by the Northmannorum optimates of the district in order to protect the boy. Haigrold's response is to establish himself near modern Cabourg at the mouth of the Dives in central Normandy, from which he raids, and where he is joined propter amorem Ricardi pueri by pagan Danes from the Cotentin and Bayeux.<sup>59</sup> Just how this should have been of help we are not told. At any rate a tense parlay with the Franks, and an exciting battle, ensue. The Danes are triumphant. Louis D'Outremer, the Frankish king, is actually captured, and the boy is invested with the land in a triumphant scene.<sup>60</sup> King Haigrold is poetically apostrophised as Richard's savior.<sup>61</sup> Richard's situation, one might think, is now secure. He is promised, and eventually receives as wife, a noble Frank, the small daughter of Hugh Capet. Thus, Richard is portrayed as recognized by the Franks as the legitimate chieftain of the Norse Rouennais, or Count of Rouen, just as one prefers.<sup>62</sup>

But Dudo emphasizes the continual hostility of the perfidious Franks, and in doing so, reveals the weakness of Richard's hold upon the land. In a scene set years after the investiture, Dudo puts into the mouth of Arnulf of Flanders a Norman version of a Frankish opinion: "Remember the evils and the injuries the Normans have treacherously brought upon you," Arnulf tells the king. "You will easily be able to

drive the lot of them from this land, for they are fearful and alien, and they are used to plundering upon the sea."<sup>63</sup> This is remarkably unflattering in a panygeric. But if its function is to describe the Normans of Upper Normandy before the advent of a new and victorious group, and was written for that group, its aptness is striking. For it precedes the vivid account of the attack upon Rouen and the near-taking of the town by a Saxon army under Otto I, King Louis' brother-in-law.<sup>64</sup> Some time after mid-century, Richard I's situation has indeed become desperate. The Franks retook Evreux, and could march unopposed to the left bank of the Seine near Rouen.<sup>65</sup> The inescapable picture is one in which the Norse could not control the land, and were safe only in the river-valleys, and on the rivers and the sea. And in this Dudo is borne out by the Frankish chronicler, Flodoard, as he is by the fact of a new Norse invasion.<sup>66</sup>

This new group is, I think, the key to Dudo's historiography. To fit his portrayal of Rouen leadership, they were Danes, sent for by Richard (as Danes had earlier been sent for by his guardians) to come to his aid against the Frankish threat.<sup>67</sup> But they were independent, and they established themselves upstream of Rouen, raiding from there into Frankish territory.<sup>68</sup> They appear to have been no immediate threat to Rouen itself (indeed they probably sold their plunder there), but they saved Richard more by making a Frankish reconquest impossible, and by rendering the Frankish Vexin unlivable, than by acting under his orders.<sup>69</sup> That much is clear enough in Dudo's description of the settlement of 966.

By 966 the Franks were willing once more to recognize Richard as legitimate count.<sup>70</sup> But that legitimation is nothing in Dudo's epic. The great set-piece of the work is devoted to Richard's winning-over of the Danes to Christianity and to peaceful settlement of lands that he will assign them -- that is, to their acceptance of him as leader.<sup>71</sup> As the Franks watch in stupefaction the Norse style of negotiation, Richard and the Danes -- both plebs and majores natu -- argue for many days without reaching agreement.<sup>72</sup> Richard then talks secretly at night with the majores, winning them over, by gifts and his Bayeux eloquence, to the acceptance of Christianity and to peaceful settlement under his chieftainship. Now, Richard and they argue with the crews, who wish to go on fighting and take Francia, for another nine (an epic ter tribus)<sup>73</sup> days. At last they too agree. Those who wish to settle will accept Christianity, and will accept their lands as beneficia "where they may dwell in peace" protected by Richard.<sup>74</sup> Those who will accept neither Christ nor Richard, leave with rewards and good-will.

Precisely at this point in the saga Gunnor appears. She is the daughter of "the most renowned of the Danish lineages," clever, well-bred and rich in goods. She has already been joined to Richard in a non-Christian union. The Rouennais, conscious, says Dudo, of the importance of her noble line, urge Richard now to marry her in a Christian marriage. Their son will be a particularly acceptable and robust defender, having both a Danish father and mother.<sup>75</sup>

Here we must digress for a moment, for the place of the duchess Gunnor in an understanding of Dudo's historiography is the crux of our

argument. As Dudo presents Richard's saga, his pagan union with the daughter of a pagan Danish war-leader can be interpreted in no other way than as a peace-weaving marriage meant to link the chief leaders of two groups who wish to be formally allied because they are potential competitors and enemies. Such marriages were the norm of early medieval, particularly Germanic, "high politics," and the constant theme of heroic literature. Such a marriage is the theme of the Ingeld motif that so fascinated the North. Yet while scholars of literature should quickly grasp Gunnor's role, to modern historians nothing has seemed more to discredit Dudo than his identification of Gunnor as the daughter of a noble Danish leader. For Prentout, in fact, it discredited not only Dudo, but his editor, Jules Lair, who took such nonsense seriously. "Another author, older and better informed" (than M. Lair) had long since set us straight, Prentout says, on the origins of the duchess Gunnor.<sup>76</sup> He was referring to Robert of Torigny. In the mid-twelfth century Robert of Torigny added a number of interpolations to William of Jumièges' eleventh-century continuation of Dudo's Norman saga.<sup>77</sup> Some are genealogical, tracing great Anglo-Norman families back to a common origin in the parents of Gunnor. Robert then tells of the meeting of Richard and Gunnor, a story entirely uncorroborated by earlier or contemporary chroniclers. Gunnor was, says Robert, the sister of the beautiful wife of the duke's forester. Richard, seeing the wife, gave commands that she be brought that night to his bed. She, as virtuous as beautiful, escaped by the stratagem of substituting her sister Gunnor, who so pleased the duke that ultimately he married

her.<sup>78</sup> Gunnor became the mother of Richard II, and from her siblings and nieces sprang the aristocracy of Normandy.<sup>79</sup> Prentout, no man to swallow a story naively, conjectured that Gunnor was probably herself married at the time she took the place of her sister in the ducal bed. That would explain, he thought, the Church's opposition to her marriage with the duke.<sup>80</sup> Such "opposition," nowhere hinted at in medieval sources, and not cited by Prentout, was presumably his own inference from the account in both Dudo and Robert of Torigny that the marriage by Christian custom had been preceded by a wedding not celebrated in this manner -- something hardly surprising if her father were not yet a Christian.

Robert of Torigny's romantic tale is a good one, and Prentout has been followed almost universally in preferring the account of the "better informed" twelfth-century interpolator to that of the contemporary but unreliable Dudo. The fact is that Robert's version has swept the field. Historians who mention the duchess at all have almost without exception accepted his account that she was a plebian concubine, and have been more than content to speak of the "advancement" of this low girl's low kin.

Yet if there was ever a popular Indo-European folk-tale motif, it is this one. It is the famous "bed trick," or "clever wench" motif, found in remarkably similar tales in India, in Egypt and throughout Europe.<sup>81</sup> It was popular in the early Italian novella.<sup>82</sup> Boccaccio used it twice in the Decameron.<sup>83</sup> All's Well that Ends Well turns around the "bed-trick," and it was even attached to the countess of Oxford in

Shakespeare's day.<sup>84</sup> A remarkably similar story was told by Goscelin de St. Bertin in the mid-eleventh century about the infatuated King Edgar, Saint Wulfhilde of Wilton and her equally beautiful but more accommodating cousin Wulfthryth.<sup>85</sup> It is thus older than its use by Robert of Torigny, and might have appealed to him on several grounds: it does account for Gunnor's parentage, clearly unknown in the twelfth century, and the "clever wench," who gets into the hero's bed by some trick, is invariably both wise and good. Presumably Robert's audience would have recognized that Gunnor had been meant to be a blessing in Richard's house.

There can, however, be little question that Dudo was accurate about Gunnor. She must have been the child of a pagan war-leader, probably of the Cotentin, where her brother certainly had lands, said by him to be of his hereditas. Further, those lands lie bracketing St.-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, the seat of power of the greatest line of Cotentin war-leaders, that which in the eleventh century produced Niel vicecomes. It is difficult to believe that such a chieftain would allow any but close kin to occupy lands lying so strategically with his own.<sup>86</sup> This fits well with Dudo's description of Gunnor's status, and the fact that she later herself undertook the rebuilding of the cathedral of Coutances is further evidence of her property-rights, status and interest in the Cotentin.<sup>87</sup> Her age can even be deduced with some accuracy. Her son Robert was consecrated archbishop of Rouen in the late 980s.<sup>88</sup> He can therefore hardly have been born later than 970, and he was in all probability younger than his full brother, Richard, their

father's successor. Gunnor's daughter Emma was born in the 980s -- possibly as late as 990.<sup>89</sup> Gunnor lived until at least 1031, long enough to see the future William the Conqueror out of early infancy.<sup>90</sup> All of this fits very well with the conjecture that she was the daughter of a Viking chief, settled in eastern Normandy in the mid-tenth century. She must have been born around 950 (hardly earlier) and was twelve or so when her people began their occupation. By 966, when Richard made peace with the Franks, she had been given to him more danico, and was probably already the mother of the robustissimus boy. Chroniclers much later would still speak of her two sons as Gunnoridae,<sup>91</sup> the Gunnorssons. In her son, her people and the Rouennais Norse had a ruler with loyalties to both groups. She is the embodiment of the triumph of which Dudo is writing.

With this marriage, Dudo's interest in the great Rouen war-leader, he who earned the soubriquet "the Fearless," appears to end. He skips from the auspicious union, and the number of sons and daughters it produced, almost directly to Richard's deathbed and his nomination of his heir, Gunnor's son. Richard's story turns out to be the account of the reconquest of Upper Normandy by a new, Danish-descended group who settle among the Norsemen of the Seine, and accept the Rouen chieftain as their chieftain, sealing that acceptance by taking on his religion, and by giving him a peace-weaving wife from among their chiefs. It can hardly be a coincidence that the greater Norman aristocracy even two hundred years later, claimed kinship with Richard's line and with one another through their common descent from Gunnor, her brother, sisters

and nieces. Norse war-leaders of the late tenth century, not the late ninth, had at last won a land, and had bound themselves into an alliance through a series of marriages between the older occupiers and the newcomers. At first there must have been tensions, and probably fighting, between them, as the newcomers raided and subsequently settled. Indeed the Franks, who knew little about what went on in the territory, were aware of fighting between Viking groups.<sup>92</sup> But the Frankish external threat had been enough to reconcile them to common effort, and they had sealed that reconciliation through the usual means, marriage. But in Normandy this principle of alliance through recognition of kinship had already, by Dudo's time, become something new: a principle of political unification, a recognition of leadership, of a potency unknown elsewhere in the Scandinavian world.<sup>93</sup> And these warriors had been successful. Starkadr did not stalk their halls. The old pattern did not apply.

It was for the children of these marriages -- a generation just taking their fathers' places -- that Dudo wrote. And Gunnor remained at his side as he wrote, she "of capacious memory and with a treasure-house of recollections."<sup>94</sup> And so his victory-song of the Norse Normans weaves two themes: the legitimacy of the male lineage, and its dependance upon alliance with the female lineage. No wonder Richard has no saga of his own. Gunnor was his achievement, and Gunnor and her sons, and their web of cousin-allies, needed nothing more. No wonder either that Dudo portrays Rollo as a Dane like Gunnor, instead of the Norwegian he more probably was: Richard's ancestry was remade

to suit better his position as a chieftain among Danes. No wonder Rollo and his son William Longsword are allowed only one son each. There was to be no uncertainty about the identity of Richard as God's chosen.

This then, is what I take Dudo's pattern to have been: that the chieftains of Upper Normandy are legitimate holders of their lands by virtue of their fathers' acceptance of Richard's God and Richard's chieftainship. And that Richard's legitimacy, as against other chieftains lay in the Christian God's choice of Rollo and his line. It is the nearest the writer could come to the divine kingship of the early Middle Ages. The complex of alliances within the pattern of Dudo's narrative is an ebullient affirmation of legitimacy, security, loyalty and prosperity. The Christian God, Rouen, Rouen's Viking chief, and the newcoming Danes are bound together in promises given and promises fulfilled. These Norse live in the flow of time and yet significantly, for they partake of a divinely ordained destiny, through having chosen a leader, a settler of feud. The "chosen people" quality of the Normans did not begin, as has been suggested, with Orderic Vitalis,<sup>95</sup> but at the turn of the millenium,, with the now-despised Dudo of St.-Quentin. We do not learn "facts" from Dudo. But, listened to without irritation, he tells us great truths about how the Norse in Upper Normandy saw the pattern of their present polity and of their destiny.

## FOOTNOTES

\* A version of this paper was delivered to the Medieval Academy of America at its meeting at the University of California, Berkeley, May 1983. I should like to thank the many colleagues who gave me encouragement and suggestions there, especially Professors J. C. Holt and C. Warren Hollister. Professor John F. Benton has lived with my developing ideas about Dudo's text for so long, with such patient attention and with such astute criticisms that I wish to thank him with particular warmth.

1. Jules Lair, ed., De Moribus et Actis primorum Normanniae Ducum, auctore Dudone Sancti Quintini decano (Caen, 1865).
2. D. C. Douglas, "Rollo of Normandy," English Historical Review 227 (1942):417. Reprinted in his Time and the Hour (London, 1977) p. 121. This has such a comprehensive account of the scholarship on the subject that the reader should look there for the details of Dudo's critics and defenders. The center of the debate has been Dudo's questionable reliability about the career of the first "duke", Rollo. It has, I think, been conclusively established that a large number of the incidents in that "career" are little more than a pastiche of fable and references taken from Frankish chronicles writing of other Viking leaders.
3. Henri Prentout, Etude Critique sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin et son

Histoire des premiers Ducs Normands (Paris, 1916).

4. D. C. Douglas, "The Rise of Normandy", Proceedings of the British Academy 33 (1947), p. 101. Reprinted in Time and the Hour, p. 95.
5. David Bates, Normandy before 1066 (London, New York, 1983), p. 10.  
 Dr. Bates is referring specifically here to the picture of a deserted Normandy supposedly perpetrated by Dudo. In fact, Dudo's picture is rather of a countryside deserted by its nobles and fighters. It has peasants, pauperes homines inopesque mercatores . . . sed armigeris militibusque est vacua, Dudo, pp. 152-153. See below, . After the Vikings' unsuccessful effort to take Chartres, Rollo ceopit totam terram vastare et delere atque incendio concremare. Illico omnis salus conclamatur fiduciaque vivendi non reperitur; publica res adnihilatur ecclesiasque desertae habentur, Dudo, p. 165. This is not a statement that Normandy was deserted. Later, after the Vikings have been successful in establishing themselves in the Seine valley near Rouen, Dudo pictures Rollo in his negotiations with the Franks as maintaining that they must have leave to raid, at least temporarily, in order to live: quia terra quam illi vis dare inculta est vomere . . . hominumque presentia frustrata, Dudo, p. 168. This is not a statement of "fact", but a negotiating position. Only once, in a passage of rhetoric, summing up Rollo's peaceful achievements, does Dudo speak of deserted land: Securitatem omnibus gentibus in sua terra manere cupientibus fecit. Illam terram suis fidelibus funiculo divisit, universamque diu

desertam reaedificavit, atque de suis militibus advenisque gentibus refertam restruxit. Again, this is no basis for the accusation that "it is to Dudo that we owe the notorious story of Rollo taking over a region reduced to a desert . . .," Bates, p. 10. Dudo, in point of fact, is trying to convey an impression of restoration after devastation. He clearly knew little about the actualities of the Viking settlement.

6. For the passage, see Dudo, p. 282. It is cited below, .
7. For an example, Dudo, p. 154. For all his dislike of Dudo as unreliable, Henri Prentout had, and expressed, great admiration for him as a writer. Prentout, 413.
8. C. E. Wright, The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England (Edinburgh, 1939), pp. 16-17.
9. H. M. Chadwick, in The Heroic Age (Cambridge, 1912), p. 100, calls attention to the displacement of the Scandinavian (specifically Norwegian) "heroic age" from that of the much earlier Germanic "heroic age": "it had what we might call a Heroic Age of its own -- namely the Viking Age." See also H. M. Chadwick, The Growth of Literature (Cambridge, 1932-40, reprinted 1968). Recently the idea that medieval chronicle and epic can be easily separated has been challenged in an analysis of Catalan historiography. Josep Miquel Sobre, L'Edica de la realitat: L'escriptura de Ramon Muntaner i Bernat Desclot (Barcelona, 1978).

10. Dudo, p. 295. He says that King Lothair had died and Duke Hugh (Capet) had ascended the throne. Lothair's death occurred in 986 and Hugh became king in 987. For the little that is known of Dudo's life, see Lair's introduction to Dudo, pp. 17-20.
11. Dudo, p. 119: ut mores actusque telluris Normannicae, quin etiam et proavi sui Rollonis quae posuit in regno jura describerem.
12. Ibid. Dudo's work is almost invariably, but incorrectly, ascribed to the epoch 1015-1026. The dates are fixed, it would seem, by two pieces of evidence. Dudo is described as preciosi martyris Christi Quintini canonicus in a charter of 8 September, 1015. Marie Fauroux, Receuil des Actes des Ducs de Normandie de 911 a 1066 (Caen, 1961), no. 18. Yet in the dedicatory epistle addressed to Adalbero, bishop of Laon, he refers to himself as super congregationem Sancti Quintini decanus, Dudo 115. Adalbero was bishop 977-1030. A dedicatory epistle, however, would almost certainly have been written after the work had been completed, and Dudo himself says that he had begun the work before the death, in 996, of the duke: Stylus nostrae imperitiae nedum primas partes operis attigerat, heu, pro dolor! quum . . . Ricardum . . . principem obiisse nuntiavit. Dudo 119. The duke's sons asked specifically that he write the life of their father, Dudo, pp. 119-20. It is therefore even possible that he had written the first three books before 996, though his nedum makes this very unlikely. The poem that precedes Book I addresses Richard I as if he were

alive, Dudo, p. 128.

13. Dudo, p. 125.

14. Dudo, p. 289.

15. Karl Hauck, "Haus- und sippengebundene Literatur mittelalterlicher Adelsgeschlechter von Adelssatiren des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts her erlautert," Mitteilungen des Instituts fur osterreichische Geschichtsforschung 62 (1954), pp. 121-145, translated as "The literature of house and kindred associated with medieval noble families, illustrated from eleventh- and twelfth-century satires on the nobility", ed. and transl. Timothy Reuter, The Medieval Nobility (Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, 1978), pp. 61-85.

16. See Karl Leyser, "The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the Early Twelfth Century. A Historical and Cultural Sketch," Past and Present 41 (1968), esp. 29-31. J. Campbell, "England, France, Flanders and Germany: Some Comparisons and Connections", in Ethelred the Unready, ed. David Hill, BAR British Series 59 (1978), p. 257: "Each is trying to describe the history of his people from its origins, with particular emphasis on the glories of the dynasty now ruling." A slightly different version of the genre is The Chronicle of Aethelweard, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1962), written by an Anglo-Saxon noble for his German abbess-cousin.

17. Saxo Grammaticus, The History of the Danes, transl. Peter Fisher,

- ed. Hilda Ellis Davidson (Cambridge, Eng., and Totowa, 1979).
18. See, for example, A. C. Bouman, Patterns in Old English and Old Icelandic Literature (Leiden, 1962); and "Beowulf" and its Analogues, transl. G. N. Garmonsway and J. Simpson. Pattern and analogue are striking features of Scandinavian art of the period as well. Thus, the Sigurd legend is depicted on several Manx crosses. Wright (n. 8, above) p. 20. H. R. Ellis "Sigurd in the Art of the Viking Age," Antiquity 16 (1942), pp. 216-36; J. T. Lang, "Sigurd and Weland in Pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England", Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 48 (1976), pp. 83-94. The Sigurd legend forms the carved decoration of the entrance to a twelfth-century stave church now preserved in the Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo. Baldr is recalled in the carving of the Gods' revenge upon Loki on the tenth-century Gosforth Cross from Cumberland. Knut Berg, "The Gosforth Cross", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute 21 (1958), pp. 27-43.
19. Beowulf, ll. 2041-2042.
20. See Jesse L. Byock, Feud in the Icelandic Saga (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1982), passim. Byock goes so far as to call Iceland "a society constructed around feud", p. 8. See also Theodore M. Andersson, "The Icelandic Sagas" in Felix Oinas, ed, Heroic Epic and Saga (Bloomington, Ind., 1978).

21. R. H. C. Davis, The Normans and their Myth (London, 1976).  
Elizabeth M. C. van Houts, "The Gesta Normannorum Ducum: a history without an end", Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies III, 1980, ed. R. Allen Brown (Suffolk, 1981), pp. 106-118.
22. Saxo, pp. 183-195; Beowulf 11, 2022-2066; Widsith 11, pp. 45-49.
23. The earliest reference to Ingeld's tale is in the famous letter of Alcuin to Hygebald, bishop of Lindisfarne, in 797: "When priests dine together let the words of God be read. It is fitting on such occasions to listen to a reader, not to a harpist, to the discourses of the fathers, not to the poems of the heathen. What has Ingeld to do with Christ?" The translation is that of Wright (n. 8 above). Alcuin's letter is .  
In Saxo, Ingeld is the soft, luxury-loving youth recalled to virtue by Starkadr. In Beowulf, he and Hrothgar are trying to end the blood-feud between their peoples by the projected marriage of which Beowulf is telling Hygelac. Beowulf predicts that Ingeld's love will grow cold as he sees, and the old spearman remembers, his people's weapons in the hands of the bride's retainers. In Widsith, the poet alludes to the feud merely in saying that Hrothgar and Hrothwulf killed Ingeld and his Heathobards at Heorot. Clearly there were many variations of the tragic end to Ingeld's peace-weaving, as poets and Northern audiences used it to examine the many moral possibilities in ending hostilities.

24. The kindred were indeed absolutely necessary for the operation of Anglo-Saxon legal discipline, for the courts had virtually no enforcement powers. The distinction between kin-enforcement and kin-vengeance was therefore always a difficult one to draw, and English penitentials were acutely aware of the moral tensions involved. T. P. Oakley, English Penitential Discipline and Anglo-Saxon Law in their Joint Influence (New York, 1923), pp. 149-50, 167-74.
25. Beowulf ll. 1063-1154. Edward B Irving, A Reading of Beowulf (New Haven, 1968), pp. 169-179, discusses Hengest and Ingeld and the feud.
26. Max Gluckman, "The Peace in the Feud," in Custom and Conflict (London,     ).
27. As Dorothy Whitelock pointed out in The Audience of Beowulf (Oxford, 1951), pp. 13-17, feud and vengeance were moral imperatives to Anglo-Saxons even as late as the reign of William the Conqueror in England.
28. Beowulf ll. 2846-2891, 3000-3006.
29. Beowulf ll. 3150-3155.
30. Aeneid I ll. 242-246. Dudo 130. For the Frankish version of their own descent from Antenor, see Lair's introduction to Dudo, pp. 32-34.

31. The theme of contrast is contained in a poem that stands between just before Book I. Dudo, 128:

"Actus et casus rerum, infortunia, strictim

Pandam, si potero, themate prosaico:

Quae tulit, Alstemo duce, barbaries furiosa,

Et quae Rollone denique christicola;"

The emphasis in the poem is on the rule of law brought, not by Rollo, but by Richard I. It is he who Terra ferax populi Northmanni jure quievit. Ibid.

32. See Douglas, "Rollo" (n. 2 above).
33. The cause is the defeat of Rollo and his brother, fighting for a version of lordship that is a constant theme of Dudo's: the warranting of the lands of men who had commended themselves to a leader. The plea of the threatened is: Rex autem noster vult a Dacia nos exterminare, fundisque nostris atque beneficia nos per omnia privare. Miseremini, precamur, miseremini, omni spe et salute destitutis. The brothers answer, Auxiliabimur optime vobis . . . atque res vestri proprietatis faciemus quiete tenere. It is a very early and clear expression of the bond of commendation, and its constant reassertion in the tale of the lineage of the Norman "dukes" is significant evidence of their perception of their lordship in the late tenth and early eleventh century, and its advantages to anyone who might choose to be commended to them.

34. Dudo, pp. 144-145. On pp. 147-148, the closeness of England and Normandy is emphasized in Dudo's account there of the young English warriors who joined Rollo. It is worth recalling that around the turn of the millenium, Richard II married his sister Emma to Aethelred of England, and after Aethelred's death, to his conqueror, the Danish Cnutr. See Alistair Campbell, ed., Encomium Emmae Reginae, Camden Society Third Series 72 (1949), esp. xxi. The apparent use of Dudo, and the stylistic similarities between the encomiast and the earlier panegyric, are pointed out by Campbell, who is of the opinion that Emma's encomiast was familiar with the work of her grandfather's. Encomium, pp. xxii, xxxiv-xxxv, xxxix.
35. Dudo, p. 146.
36. Dudo p. 148. Rollo says to the English king, Diutissime in regno tuo non morabor, sed celerius quam potero Franciam adibo.
37. Dudo, pp. 148-149.
38. Throughout the text, Lair has identified in the footnotes the lines in the Aeneid and other of Virgil's poems that Dudo is imitating. He also points out passages in which the later poet is using incidents from the Aeneid as analogues. Thus on p. 147, n.a. he writes, "Dudon, qui parait avoir possédé assez bien son Énéide, n'a jamais manque d'aller y prendre quelques expressions, lorsqu'il a eu a raconter des evenements plus ou moins analogues a

ceux qu'a chantés Virgile." That the very organising principle of Rollo's tale is the Aeneid he does not consider, for he is concerned to defend Dudo as a reliable chronicler of facts, as those facts were remembered by Count Rodulf or passed down in veracious tradition.

39. Encomium, pp. 6-7: "Who can deny that the Aeneid, written by Virgil, is everywhere devoted to the praises of Octavian, although practically no mention of him by name, or clearly very little, is seen to be introduced? Note, therefore, that the praise accorded to his family everywhere celebrates the glory of their fame and renown to his own honour." The question of whether the Beowulf-poet knew and used Virgil has been much debated. The evidence is not conclusive, but on balance, it seems very likely that a Virgilian influence is really in the poem. Alistair Campbell, "The Use in Beowulf of Earlier Heroic Verse", in England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock, eds. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 283-292; and Theodore M. Andersson, Early Epic Scenery: Homer, Virgil and the Medieval Legacy (Ithaca and London 1976), chapter 4, "The Virgilian Heritage in Beowulf", pp. 145-159.
40. Dudo, pp. 151-153.
41. Dudo p. 152: Audientes igitur pauperes homines inopesque mercatores Rotomo commorantes illiusque regionis habitatores

copiosam multitudinem Normannorum adesse Gimegias (i.e. Jumièges), venerunt unanimes ad Franconem, episcopum Rotomagensem, consulturi quid agerent.

42. Dudo, p. 153.

43. Ibid.: . . . coepitque animo haerere inque uno intuitu visum defigere, reminiscens visionis quam viderat ultra mare. Dudo then apostrophizes Rollo as the leader who ultimately will rebuild the city and will give it laws, for it has been "given" to Rollo by Christ.

44. Richard Hodges, "

45. Guillaume de Jumièges. Gesta Normannorum Ducum, ed. Jean Marx (Rouen, Paris 1914), p. 80: Si quis vero Danorum invalidus ac vulneratus amicorum indigeret iuvamine, apud Normannos quasi in domo propria sub securitate sanaretur. Richard's pact with Svein, says William of Jumièges, specified that what the Danes took from their enemies, the English, they would bring to the Normans to be sold. Ibid.

46. F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1947) pp. 406-407; H. R. Loyn, The Vikings in Britain (New York) pp. 86-87. Cnutr took one of the largest Danegelds after he had been accepted as king and had married Emma of Normandy. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. and transl. D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas, S. L. Tucker (Rutgers, 1969), s.a. 1018. This connection of Rouen with

the Vikings as an entrepot for their tribute and plunder has, as far as I know, not been noticed by writers about Vikings and their spoils. But if William of Jumièges was correct (and what he says would have been of great advantage to the crews), then it was through Rouen, and not via trading centers in Scandinavia that much of the plundered wealth was sold.

47. Les Annales de Flodoard, ed. Ph. Lauer (Paris, 1905), p. 31. He speaks, too, of the Nordmanni de Rodomo who are said to have broken the pact they had earlier made with the Franks (p. 29), and he speaks of partem quamdam pagi Rotomagensis qui possidebatur a Normannis (p. 30). Flodoard is trying, without great success, to distinguish among the various Norse bands raiding between the Loire and the seacoast of the pays de Caux.
48. A. P. Smyth, Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles, 850-880 (Oxford, 1977), demonstrates the extraordinary amount of plausible information that can reward a sensitive analysis of the historical myths of Scandinavian Britain. The evidence he uses is much more intractable than is Dudo, but it is the result of a comparable requirement that history be more than a chronicle of fact.
49. Throughout his account of William Longsword, Dudo emphasizes the difficulty that being the son of a Frankish woman caused William. It is specifically said to have led to a rejection of his claim to chieftainship by a coalition of Scandinavian leaders. Their

argument to win adherents is that William, having Frankish kin, has Frankish friends who will constitute a threat to themselves. Their messenger is instructed, Revertere celerius, dic Willelmo . . . ut exeat a moenibus civitatis hujus (Rouen), petatque Francos suos parentes citius. Dudo, pp. 187-189, esp. 189. Richard I's son is said to be particularly acceptable because he has Danish blood from both parents. Dudo, p. 289, and see below, n. 75.

50. See Lair's introduction to Dudo pp. 105-111. Gerda C. Huisman, "Dudo of St.-Quentin" in Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies 5 1983 ed. R. Allen Brown, forthcoming.
51. Dudo, p. 192, n.b.
52. Dudo, p. 171.
53. Indeed, the bishops of Coutances resided in Rouen until circa 1025, when Herbert II went half-way there, to St. Lô on the river Vire. Not until after 1049 did a bishop reside in Coutances. "De Statu", Gallia Christiana 11 Instrumenta, cols. 218-219.
54. The grant is said to have been the land from the Andelle, or the Epte, to "the sea of the pagan peoples" (usque ad mare paganorum gentibus), pp. 166, 168. The river Andelle flows into the Seine a few kilometers east of Rouen, and between it and the Epte, further east, lay the great forest of Lyon. Thus it would seem that a wild no-man's-land was remembered as having been left between the territories in which the Norse and the Franks could feel

themselves safe. As for the "sea of the pagan peoples", it could refer to anything from the coast of the pays de Caux to the Cotentin.

55. Dudo, pp. 202, 220-221.
56. Dudo, pp. 221-222: fruens loquacitate Dacisca, eamque discens tenaci memoria, ut queat sermocinari profusius olim contra Dacigenas. This is inserted here to prepare the audience for the great set-piece of the argument between the Vikings and Richard later on. See below, n. 72.
57. Dudo, p. 228.
58. Dudo, pp. 234-235.
59. Dudo, p. 240.
60. Dudo, p. 240. Louis D'Outremer was captured in July, 945. Flodoard, p. 98.
61. Dudo, pp. 245-246. The identity of this "Danish king" would be impossible to establish with certainty. He is unlikely to have been Harold Bluetooth, though the dates would not rule out the possibility. See H. R. Loyn (see n. 45 above), p. 70; Encomium pp. 1-1i. The most plausible identification is with a Harold portrayed by William of Jumièges as "king of the Danes at Cherbourg", Jum. (see n. 44 above), p. 53. D. C. Douglas is probably quite correct

in viewing this incursion as "strife between rival Viking bands."

Time and the Hour, p. 100.

62. Dudo, p. 250.

63. Dudo, p. 252; Memor sis malorum et injuriae quae tibi Northmanni fraudulentem intulere: facile poteris eorum multitudinem ab illa terra delere, quia sunt formidolosi et advenae, solentque latrocinia in mari exercere.

64. Dudo, pp. 253-263. Prentout (see n. 3 above), pp. 371-379, examines the sources for the historicity of this supposed seige, noting that Widukind of Corvey, the Saxon chronicler, alone among the sources outside Normandy, speaks of a Saxon army operating in the region, and marching upon Rouen. Widukind says that they were forced to withdraw, but he does not say that they fought.

Widukindi Monachi Corbeiensis Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres, 5th ed., H. E. Lohmann and P. Hirsch, SRG (Hanover, 1935),

65. Dudo, pp. 273-276. Flodoard puts this in 962. Annales, p. 153.

66. Annales, p. 88. Even Prentout accepts the historicity of this, p. 351.

67. Dudo, pp. 276-277. William of Jumièges has Richard sending once again to Heraldo Danorum regi . . . mandans ut illi ocius succurat, paganorumque multitudine Francorum rabiem solo tenuis comprimat. p. 65.

68. Dudo, p. 277, pictures Richard as sending them to Jeufosse (arrondissement Mantes) to raid eastward, and Prentout, p. 385, who plausibly suggests that there were at this time a continuing series of Viking incursions into Normandy, accepts this picture of a group taken into Richard's service. Dudo, however, soon makes it very clear that they were not subject to his command.
69. Dudo, p. 278.
70. Dudo, pp. 276-282, esp. 281.
71. Dudo, pp. 281-288.
72. Dudo, p. 282. The argument goes on for bis duobus bis diebus octo, while the Praesules . . . et optimates Franciscæ gentis stabant quotidie illi stupefacti, et intuebantur conflictum hujus pacificationis. The set piece of this great verbal conflict has been prepared for in Dudo by his account of Richard's upbringing (see n. 55 above), and by other hints, such as the warning given to Louis D'Outremer years earlier about negotiating with the Danes of the Cotentin and Bessin and "Haigrold": Alterius moris est gens hæc quam Francigena, argumentosæ calliditatis nimis plena, Dudo, p. 241.
73. Dudo, p. 286.
74. Dudo, p. 287: tribuens beneficia amplissima, quibus morarentur in pace. This is the accomplishment, at last, of the dream of Rollo.

The Franks, Dudo goes on, now leave Richard and Normandy in peace,  
p. 288.

75. Dudo, pp. 289-290. . . . ut patre et matreque Dacigena haeres  
hujus terrae nascatur, qui defensor et advocatus robustissimus  
exstet hujus.
  
76. Prentout, pp. 390-391.
  
77. William of Jumièges (see n. 44 above). Robert of Torigny's  
interpolations are on pp. 199-334 of Marx' edition.
  
78. Ibid., pp. 322-323. William of Jumièges himself follows Dudo in  
calling Gunnor ex nobilissima Danorum prosapia ortam, p. 68.
  
79. Robert of Torigny tells the story in an interpolation that is  
devoted to the principle of the shared kinship that the very  
highest Anglo-Norman nobility and the Crown claimed as linking  
them together in a uniquely close group: all are related by  
descent from the duchess Gunnor's parents. See G. H. White, "The  
Sisters and Nieces of Gunnor, Duchess of Normandy", The  
Genealogist 37 (1921), pp. 57-65, 128-132.
  
80. Prentout, p. 391.
  
81. W. W. Lawrence, Shakespeare's Problem Comedies (1931), pp. 32-54.  
For a few of its variations and its popularity, one may cite Stith  
Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature 5 (F. F. Communications

116, Helsinki, 1935); L190, L110, L113, L162 (types of lowly heroines); T320 (escape from undesired lover); N 700-721 (accidental encounters of hero and heroine); and especially K1910, K1911, K1300-1399 (substitution in bed).

82. D. P. Rotunda, Motif Index of the Italian Novella in Prose (1942) p. 98.
83. It is the ninth novel of the third day, and used in the fourth novel of the eighth.
84. See the Arden edition of All's Well that Ends Well, ed. G. K. Hunter, pp. xliv-xlv.
85. Mario Esposito, "La vie de sainte Vulfhilde par Goscelin de Cantorbery," Analecta Bollandiana 32 (1913), pp. 10-26, esp. 14-17. For Goscelin, see Frank Barlow in his edition of Vita Aedwardi Regis (Nelson's Medieval Texts, 1962) Appendix C.
86. Gunnor's brother, Herfast, became a monk at St.-Pere, Chartres, in the 1020s. The lands he brought to the monastery (res hereditatis meae) include Le Ham and a mill at Barneville-Carteret, one inland of St.-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, the other on its nearest port. Herfast also gave a third of Teurteville-Hague (arr. Cherbourg, cant. Octeville). He speaks in the grant of a nephew to whom he had given the rest. Cartulaire de St.-Pere-de-Chartres vol. 3, pp. 105-115.

87. "De Statu" (see n. above), col. 218. Fauroux (see n. above), no. 214.
88. Gallia Christiana 11, col. 989. He died in 1037.
89. Alastair Campbell, ed., Encomium Emmae Reginae, p. xli. Emma had a child as late as 1019, and therefore could hardly have been born much before 980. It is of no little interest to Queen Emma's later career as wife of Cnutr that her grandfather was in all likelihood a pagan Viking of Danish ancestry.
90. D. C. Douglas, "The Earliest Norman Counts", English Historical Review (1946):147. The duchess is therefore another example of those extraordinarily long-lived women of the period, described by Karl Leyser, Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony (Bloomington, 1979), pp. 49-62.
91. The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis 2, ed. and transl. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1969), pp. 3, 8.
92. See Prentout, pp. 352-353, 385.
93. It is this political unification and the strength of Norman leadership of course, that Dudo was prefiguring in Rollo's famous dream in which birds of divers kinds fly to him to drink of the spring he has drunk from, and to nest in peace around him at his command. The dream is interpreted to him: homines diversarum provinciarum scutulata bracchia habentes tuique effecti fideles.

Dudo, p. 146.

94. Dudo, p. 289.

95. Davis (see n. 21 above), pp. 58-59.