

## *Notes and Documents*

### *Burgundian Notes*

#### I. THE ALPINE SON-IN-LAW OF EDWARD THE ELDER<sup>1</sup>

THE continental marriages of the daughters of Edward the Elder present difficulties which have not yet been satisfactorily explained. The earliest author who mentions more than one is Ethelwerd, who wrote in the last quarter of the tenth century and who claimed to be descended from the West Saxon royal line. The preface to his Chronicle is addressed to a certain Matilda, to whom he writes as his kinswoman. She cannot, therefore, be the abbess of Quedlinburg to whom Widukind dedicated his Saxon history, for she was the daughter of Otto the Great by his second marriage with Adelaide the Burgundian. The lady addressed was probably Matilda, abbess of Essen, daughter of Liudolf, Otto's son by his first marriage with Edith.<sup>2</sup> Ethelwerd brings together a string of facts relating to the foreign alliances of various members of the English reigning house. He begins with the marriage of Alfred's daughter Ælfthrythe to Baldwin of Flanders. Then he mentions the daughters of Edward the Elder: first, Eadgyfu married to Charles the Simple; secondly, Eadhild, wife to Hugh, son of Robert, the great duke. Next he says,

Alias vero duas Aedestanus rex tali ratione misit ad Oddonem, ut quae ab eis placuisset, sibi in matrimonium elegisset; cui visa est melior Eadgyde, ex qua tu principium tenes nativitatis; alteram vero subiunxit cuidam regi iuxta Iupitereoos montes, de cuius prole nulla nobis notitia extet, tam pro

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to my friend the Rev. W. A. B. Coolidge for advice and for references; but he must not be taken as in any way responsible for my conclusions. The abundant stores of his library at Grindelwald have enabled me to consult works which would not otherwise have been at my disposal, but even with these advantages it is probable that I have overlooked some publications which have appeared since the paper was originally written several years ago.

<sup>2</sup> Dümmler, *Otto der Grosse*, p. 9, n. 2; p. 290, n. 2.

extenso spatio, quam per obruptionem quodam modo temporum : sed vestrum hoc opus est innotescere auribus nostris.<sup>3</sup>

This account agrees with that of Hrotsvit, the nun of Gandersheim, who in her heroic *Gesta Ottonis*, finished in 967, tells us how Henry the Saxon desired to provide a wife for his firstborn son.

Trans mare legatos sed transmisit bene cautos  
Gentis ad Anglorum terram sat deliciosam,  
Demandans ut continuo cum munere misso  
Aedwardi regis natam peterent Eaditham.<sup>4</sup>

The English king thereupon sent his sister :

Necnon germanam secum transmisit Adivam,  
Quae fuit aetatis meriti pariterque minoris ;  
Quo sic maiorem prorsus conferret honorem  
Oddoni, nato famosi regis amando,  
Egregiae binas stirpis mittendo puellas,  
Ut sibi quam vellet sponsam licito sociaret.<sup>5</sup>

Otto chose Eadith veneranda<sup>6</sup>, but what became of her sister is not stated. All we have learned from Hrotsvit is that she was known to Germans, or at least to Germans who wrote Latin verses, as Adiva.

For a full account of the alliances of the nine daughters of Edward the Elder we have to pass on to the twelfth century and the *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury. William plainly made use of the account given by Ethelwerd, but he seems also in dealing with the reign of Athelstan to have incorporated a good deal of what he found *in quodam volumine vetusto*.<sup>6</sup> Bishop Stubbs takes this to be ' a poetical life or panegyric ' on Athelstan, of which no trace has since been discovered.<sup>7</sup> Whatever be his authority, William's statements are unusually precise, although it is manifest that he was ill-informed as to the names and relationships of some of the continental princes whom he mentions. There are three passages in the *Gesta Regum* which bear on the subject. Of these the first is introduced incidentally in an account of the contemporary foreign history ; the second contains the genealogy of Edward's family by his second and third wives ; and the third forms part of the narrative of the reign of Athelstan. I place the three accounts in parallel columns.

<sup>3</sup> *Monum. hist. Brit.*, pp. 499 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Ottonis*, 74-7, ed. P. von Winterfeld, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 112-7.

<sup>6</sup> *Gesta Regum*, § 132.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. pref., p. lxi.

## § 112

Huic [Conrado] successit filius Henricus, qui misit ad Athelstanum regem Anglorum pro duabus sororibus suis Aldgitha et Edgitha; quarum posteriorem filio suo Othoni collocavit, alteram cuidam duci iuxta Alpes nuptum dedit.

## § 126

Tulit [Edwardus] ex illa [Elfreda] sex filias, Edfedam, Edgivam, Ethelhildam, Ethildam, Edgitham, Elf-givam. . . . Edgifam dedit pater Carolo regi. . . ; Ethildam frater Ethelstanus Hugoni, Edgitham et Elf-givam idem germanus misit Henrico Alamannorum imperatori, quarum secundam Othoni filio ille locavit, alteram cuidam duci iuxta Alpes. Suscepit etiam ex tertia uxore, Edgiva vocabulo, . . . filias duas, Edburgam et Edgivam. . . . Edgivam . . . coniunxit frater Ethelstanus Lodowico Aquitanorum principi.

## § 135

[Edelstanus] penso consilio, quod quatuor sorores haberet, in quibus praeter aetatis discrimen nihil de formae gratia dissideret, duas postulanti Caesari misit . . . Tertiam legitima copula sortitus est comparem Lodovicus Aquitanorum princeps, de genere Caroli magni superstes. Quartam . . . Hugo rex Francorum per nuntios a germano expetiit.

It is important to notice that, in § 126, William of Malmesbury expressly assigns the marriage of the wife of Charles the Simple to the reign of Edward the Elder, and those of the four younger sisters to that of Athelstan, who came to the throne in 925. The correctness of the former statement is confirmed by the fact that Charles the Simple's first wife, Frederuna, died early in 916 or 917, and that Lewis IV (d'Outremer), his son by Edgiva, was born in 920 or 921. That the marriage took place before 919 may be inferred from the silence of Flodoard, whose Annals begin in that year.<sup>8</sup> In like manner, the accuracy of William's date for the marriage of Edith with Otto the Great is certain, and we may not unreasonably accept his evidence on this point in regard to the other three marriages.<sup>9</sup> It is plain, however, that in § 126 William

\* See A. Eckel, *Charles le Simple*, p. 104 (1899).

<sup>9</sup> Similarly the facts that William assigns the younger Edgiva to Edward's third marriage, and states that it was by Athelstan, that is, not before 925, that she was wedded to Lewis, prince of the Aquitanians, *de genere Caroli magni superstes*, hardly permit us to identify this prince with the deposed emperor Lewis III, who died in 928, as Bishop Stubbs did (pref. to William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii, pp. lii, liii). But it is surely impossible to maintain that 'the king near the mountains of Jupiter' of Ethelwerd is a different person from 'the duke near the Alps' of William whom Dr. Stubbs accepted as Alberic. Nor does 'Lewis, prince of the Aquitanians' appear a likely designation for the emperor Lewis, though the reference to Charles the Great may point to a confusion in William's mind of two distinct persons; in other words, he may have found authority for a marriage with a certain Lewis of Aquitaine, and have wrongly identified him with his namesake the ex-emperor. According to the *Art de vérifier les dates*, pt. 2, x. 93 (ed. 1818), Ebles Manzer, count of Poitou, married as his third wife Adèle or Alaine, daughter of Edward the Elder.

has inadvertently transposed *Edgitham et Elfgivam*: there is no doubt about the name of Otto the Great's queen. In § 112, however, where her name is given correctly, her sister appears as *Aldgitha*. It must be left uncertain whether Hrotsvit's form *Adiva* represents Elfgiva or Aldgitha, or whether William became confused among the numerous similar names of the sisters, Elfreda, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Edgitha, Elfgiva, Edburga, and Edgiva.

*Adiva*, if we may adopt this name for convenience, was sent with Edith to Germany in 928. Edith at once married Otto and bore him her only son in the following year. *Adiva*, the younger sister (as Hrotsvit expressly and Ethelwerd by implication describe her), may have been no older than thirteen or fourteen. Ethelwerd's language makes it clear that he never heard of her returning to England, and the presumption is that she stayed on at the German court until she found a husband. She was married, Ethelwerd says, *cuidam regi iuxta Iupitereos montes*, in other words, to a king whose dominions lay near the *mons Iovis*, or the Great St. Bernard. He appears as 'a duke near the Alps' twice over in William of Malmesbury. Who was this husband?

1. The English editor of Ethelwerd, following the *Art de vérifier les dates*,<sup>10</sup> made him the deposed emperor Lewis III, the Blind,<sup>11</sup> and supposed Charles 'Constantinus' to be the issue of this marriage. Charles, however, was of an age to take part in legal business in 923,<sup>12</sup> and his father died in the summer of 928.<sup>13</sup> Waitz prudently rejected this identification, though he was unable to propose another with confidence.<sup>14</sup>

2. Dümmler believed that he had discovered the husband in a certain Burgundian Duke Alberic,<sup>15</sup> whom Bishop Stubbs thought to be a very obscure person.<sup>16</sup> His pedigree has since been worked out by M. Poupardin.<sup>17</sup> He was a son of Majolus, viscount of Narbonne, and married Etola<sup>18</sup> the daughter of Raculf, count of

There is a discrepancy in the account given by Ademar of Chabannes. In one place he says that Eblus married *Adelam, filiam Rosi Rotomagensis*, that is, the daughter of Rollo or Rolf the Norman (*Chron.*, pp. 143 f., ed. J. Chabanon. 1897); but in the earlier recension of his Chronicle, preserved only in a fragment, he makes Eblus's father. Ranulf II. marry Adelina, daughter of Ruinus, by whom he means Rollo (p. 198).

<sup>10</sup> Pt. 2, x. 379. where the wife is called *Edgive*.

<sup>11</sup> Bishop Stubbs inclined to this identification of Ethelwerd's 'king near the mountains of Jupiter': pref. to William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii, p. liv. n. 2. But see above, n. 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Chartes de Cluny*, 242, vol. i, 233 f. (1876).

<sup>13</sup> R. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Provence*, p. 226 (1901).

<sup>14</sup> *Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte unter Heinrich I*, p. 135. n. 4. (ed. 3. 1885).

<sup>15</sup> *Otto der Grosse*, p. 9, n. 3.

<sup>16</sup> W. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii, pref., p. lii.

<sup>17</sup> *Le Royaume de Bourgogne*, pp. 213 ff. (1907).

<sup>18</sup> The name appears in various forms: see Poupardin, *ibid.*, p. 213 n. One is Tholosana, found in a Cluny document of 935 (*Chartes de Cluny*, 432, vol. i. 420 f.). The charter was wrongly assigned by Guichenon, *Bibl. Sebus.*, p. 168, to 899: see the *Art de vérifier les dates*, pt. 2, xi. 13. A pedigree is given by H. Bresslau, *Konrad II.* ii. 36, n. 5 (1884).

Mâcon, whom he succeeded in that office. The document on which Dümmler relied was printed 'from the original' by Mabillon<sup>19</sup> and is dated in 958. According to it *Burchardus miles, filius Alberici ducis*, gave to the monastery of Brai the body of St. Pavatius the Confessor, which *ex Anglia attulit cum aliquibus religiosis quos avunculus eius rex Aedredus ei dederat de coenobio de Persora*. Unfortunately the charter must be rejected as a forgery.<sup>20</sup> In the final clauses there is no separation of act and date; and the day of the month is given in the modern way and not in accordance with the Roman calendar. It would be interesting if we could trace the origin of this Pershore legend. C. von Kalckstein wrote confidently in support of the identification involved in it, but he had no authority beyond the charter itself, and he took the name *Adiva* which he assigned to Burchard's mother simply from Hrotsvit, who does not mention the marriage at all.<sup>21</sup>

3. But even if we were to admit the genuineness of the charter, the fact that Alberic held lands in the country of Besançon<sup>22</sup> would not make him a duke near the Alps, far less a king near the mountains of Jupiter. The only person who satisfies this description is Conrad the Peaceable, king of Burgundy; and he was actually resident at Otto the Great's court from about 937 to 942. He must have been some years younger than Adiva, since he is called *filius parvus* by Flodoard in 937.<sup>23</sup> He cannot have been born earlier than 922, and was probably not born until some six years or more later,<sup>24</sup> while Adiva may have been more than twenty-two or twenty-three years old in 937. Of few sovereigns whose reigns cover a large number of years is the personal history so obscure as that of Conrad of Burgundy, and he was king for fifty-six years. According to the *Art de vérifier les dates*<sup>25</sup> he was twice married, first to Adelana or Adela, whose origin is unknown, and secondly to Matilda, daughter of Lewis IV of France. Now, since Matilda cannot have been born before 940, and was possibly not born until 948,<sup>26</sup> and since Conrad's daughter Gisela, who married Henry the Wrangler, duke of Bavaria, had herself a son in 973, it is evident that Matilda was not Gisela's mother.<sup>27</sup> The earlier marriage is attested by a charter for the monastery of Cluny, dated 23 March

<sup>19</sup> *Acta Sanctorum O. S. B.*, saec. v. 245; Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens*, ix. 622.

<sup>20</sup> So too F. Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens*, p. 59, n. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Gesch. des französischen Königthums unter den ersten Capetingern*, i. 256, 298, 321 (1877).

<sup>22</sup> Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne*, pp. 214 f.

<sup>23</sup> *Annales*, p. 68, ed. P. Lauer, 1906.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne*, p. 66 and n. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Pt. 2, x. 386.

<sup>26</sup> Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne*, p. 384, n. 1, p. 386, n. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Siegfried Hirsch rightly saw that a previous marriage must be assumed, but thought there was no evidence of the fact or of the first wife's name: *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich II*, p. 87, n. 3 (1862).

963,<sup>28</sup> whereby Conrad grants lands to the abbey *pro remedio anime nostrae Adelane videlicet reginae et infantum nostrorum*.<sup>29</sup> Matilda must therefore have married him after this date and before 966, when she is definitely mentioned as his wife.<sup>30</sup> Hence it seems to follow that Gisela, the mother of the emperor Henry II, and mother-in-law of King Stephen of Hungary, was Conrad's daughter by this Adelana.<sup>31</sup> Her name is known only through this single charter,<sup>32</sup> preserved in a relatively late copy; so that little stress can be laid on its precise form. But putting it side by side with the daughter of Edward the Elder who married the king near the mountains of Jupiter—the Elfgiva, or Aldgitha, who married the duke near the Alps—we can hardly be rash in venturing upon an identification; though of course the fact that Adelana is only known to us, as it were by chance, through a single incidental reference, leaves it possible that Conrad had yet an earlier wife, who died before his marriage with Adelana.

4. An alternative suggestion, which at first seemed tempting, I have been compelled after careful consideration to reject. There is evidence that Conrad had at one time a mistress, concerning whom there has been a good deal of discussion. For a long time it was maintained that she was Adelana herself, whom he subsequently married. But this has been shown to be impossible, because she afterwards entered lawful wedlock while Conrad was alive and married. It can be proved from a series of charters, first that she had a son by Conrad, Burchard, who became archbishop of Lyons, and secondly that she had several children by her husband Anselm, who was apparently count of Nyon.

*a.* Hugh of Flavigny, a writer of the beginning of the twelfth century, records the appointment to the archbishopric of Lyons of Burchard, *Rodulfi regis frater, Conradi ex concubina filius*, and adds that he obtained the see *in infantia*.<sup>33</sup> The date will be 978 or 979, since a document of 984, in the twelfth indiction, is in the archbishop's sixth year.<sup>34</sup> That Burchard was brother to Rodulf III is attested by several documents. One will suffice. On 28 July 1011, in a grant to the church of St. Maurice at Vienne, the king speaks of *Burchardo Lugdunensi archiepiscopo fratre nostro dilecto*.<sup>35</sup>

*b.* A document of 1005, preserved in a contemporary copy, contains a deed of exchange between Burchard, archbishop of

<sup>28</sup> The twenty-sixth year of Conrad's reign.

<sup>29</sup> *Chartes de Cluny*, 1152, vol. ii. 242 (1880).

<sup>30</sup> *Historiae Patriae Monumenta*, Chart. i. 210.

<sup>31</sup> Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne*, p. 385, n. 2; cf. p. 384, n. 2.

<sup>32</sup> The *Art de vérifier*, ubi supra, also refers to Cluny charters of 937 and 944, but I have sought them in vain.

<sup>33</sup> *Chron. Virdun.*, *Monum. Germ. hist.*, viii. 367.

<sup>34</sup> *Gall. Christ.* iv, instr. p. 6 (ed. 1876).

<sup>35</sup> *Curtul. de l'Abb. de Saint-André-le-Bas*, ed. U. Chevalier (Lyons, 1869), p. 251, app., no. 41\*.

Lyons, and Anselm, bishop of Aosta, wherein the latter grants to Burchard certain land at *Oponlongis infra comitatum Ottingin vocatum, hoc est quicquid inibi habere visus est ex parte matris sue Aldiud, quod rex Chuonradus ei prebuit*.<sup>36</sup> Another document was confirmed in 1002 at a *placitum* attended among others by *Anselmus pater Anselmi episcopi* and by *Anselmus episcopus Augustiniensis*; <sup>37</sup> and a second document of 1002 bears the *signum donni archipresulis Burcardi et fratris sui Anselmi episcopi*.<sup>38</sup> Since, then, Burchard son of Conrad, and Anselm son of Anselm, were brothers, it follows that Aldiud was mother to both of them; and the deed of 1005 shows that she received property from Conrad. Now Bishop Anselm had also a brother, likewise named Burchard, who became archbishop of Vienne. There exists a grant by this Burchard and his brother Udolric, to the church of St. Peter without the Walls at Vienne, of certain vineyards in the territory of Geneva, *pro remedio animarum nostrarum vel pro genitore nostro Anselmo sive pro genitrice nostra Aaldui*.<sup>39</sup> The date is 19 August 1017.<sup>40</sup> From a combination of the evidence here given it results that Alduid or Aaldui was the mother by Conrad of Burchard of Lyons, and by Anselm of Burchard of Vienne, Ulric, and Anselm bishop of Aosta.<sup>41</sup> Her name has been modernized as Aldein by Carutti,<sup>42</sup> and as Aldvige by Gerbaix Sonnaz; <sup>43</sup> but neither of these forms is authorized by the documents from which our sole information is derived. Aldiud should probably be corrected into Alduid.<sup>44</sup> It is very tempting to see in Alduid or Aaldui a corruption of an Anglo-Saxon name, and to identify the bearer of it with the daughter of Edward the Elder. But chronological reasons forbid it. Burchard of Lyons lived on to 1031, his half-brother of Vienne to 1029, and Anselm to 1034. They cannot be supposed the children of a lady whose birth took place about 915, unless their longevity was, for the Middle Ages, quite unexampled; and if the elder Burchard was made archbishop *in infantia* in 978 the dates of birth of the whole family will hardly be reconcilable with the age of the presumed Anglo-Saxon mother. One regrets to

<sup>36</sup> *Hist. Patr. Monum.*, Chart. ii. 91 (1853).

<sup>37</sup> L. Cibrario and D. C. Promis, *Documenti, Sigilli. e. Monete* (Turin. 1833), p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> *Hist. Patr. Monum.*, Chart. ii. 84.

<sup>39</sup> *Cartul. de Saint-André-le-Bas*, p. 256, app. no. 47\*. In the document of 1011 cited above, n. 35, King Rodulf speaks of both Burchards as archbishops and as his brothers. Odolric also appears as brother of Burchard of Lyons in an undated charter printed in the *Hist. Patr. Monum.*, Chart. ii. 73.

<sup>40</sup> The twenty-fifth year of Rodulf.

<sup>41</sup> So Cibrario, *Storia della Monarchia di Savoia*, i. (Turin, 1840), p. 11, n. 2; G. de Manteyer, *Les Origines de la Maison de Savoie en Bourgogne (École Française de Rome, Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, xix. 465-484. 1899).

<sup>42</sup> *Il Conte Umberto I e il Re Ardoino* (ed. Turin, 1888), p. 301: *Regesta Comitum Sabaudorum* (Turin, 1889), p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> *Studi storici sul Contado di Savoia* (Turin, 1883). i. 113 n.

<sup>44</sup> G. de Manteyer, p. 540.

abandon the identification, because, if correct, it would have led to an interesting genealogical consequence; for Ancilia, the daughter of Anselm and Aldiud, married Humbert aux Blanchés-Mains, and was by him the ancestress of the house of Savoy, which would thus be descended in a left-handed manner from our Anglo-Saxon kings.

REGINALD L. POOLE.

### *Mary, Abbess of Shaftesbury*

EVIDENCE has been produced in a former note<sup>1</sup> to identify Mary, abbess of Shaftesbury in the time of Henry II, Richard I, and John, with Marie de France, the Anglo-Norman poetess who has been described as one of the most interesting figures in the literary history of the middle ages, and also one of the most mysterious. On the hypothesis that Marie and the abbess are the same person, any facts relating to the abbess must be of interest, and amongst the records in which her name is preserved, the Shaftesbury register (Harleian MS. 61) is the chief. Of the 125 charters contained in the register, extending over five centuries from King Alfred downwards, twenty-one belong to the time of the abbess Mary, and there are other indications that she occupied a prominent place amongst the abbesses of Shaftesbury. The charters are not arranged in strict chronological order, and most of those in which the abbess Mary is named are undated. Hutchins, in his *History of Dorsetshire*,<sup>2</sup> followed by the editors of Dugdale's *Monasticon*,<sup>3</sup> came to the conclusion that in addition to our abbess there was a second of the same name about the year 1247, but Hutchins cites no authority and gives dates which seem to disprove his own statement. He says that the abbey was vacant in 1246, and that Agnes de Ferrers occurs in that year and also in 1250 and 1251.<sup>4</sup> But the charters in the register in which

<sup>1</sup> *Marie de France*, *ante*, vol. xxv. 303 (April 1910). Another piece of evidence, not previously referred to, may help to connect Marie with the abbey of Shaftesbury. This is a fragment of the *Purgatory of St. Patrick* in Anglo-Norman verse written on the cover of a psalter of the twelfth century, which formerly belonged to Shaftesbury. Sir G. F. Warner has described this psalter (Lansdowne MS. 383) in his *Illuminated MSS. in the British Museum*, 3rd series (1901). Part of the fragment is transcribed in H. L. D. Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, vol. ii, at pp. 474, 475, and the rest in Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, vol. i, at pp. 71, 72, 75, 76. The eighty-three lines of the fragment answer to the sixty-eight lines of Marie's *Purgatory* beginning with line 887 (Mr. T. A. Jenkins's edition, Philadelphia, 1894, pp. 87-90). Sir G. F. Warner says that the psalter was executed in England in the latter part of the twelfth century and that the fragment belongs to the thirteenth century. Though the version of the fragment is not Marie's, it serves to connect Shaftesbury abbey with a work which she turned into verse. It seems not unlikely that the kneeling female figure whose sleeves are trimmed with a broad band of gold, at fo. 14 v<sup>o</sup>. of the psalter, represents the abbess Mary herself.

<sup>2</sup> Third edition, iii. 27.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 473, ed. 1846.

<sup>4</sup> The records show that on 9 October 1243 the royal assent was given to the election