

Italy and Provence, 900-950

ATANTALIZING obscurity envelops the history of the kingdom of Provence in the first half of the tenth century. There is no native chronicle, not even later annals which might preserve older notices. Foreign chroniclers, whether accurate like Flodoard of Rheims or unprecise like Liudprand of Cremona, only make incidental reference to events in Provence, always with an eye to their own subject and with no desire to explain the merely Provençal bearing of them. There are, indeed, numerous private charters from the Provençal kingdom, but the purpose of these was the private transactions of churchmen and nobles, and, though businesslike in their way, the advantages of full and accurate dating were not yet clear to the Provençal notaries. Besides, dating was a difficult matter. They were often doubtful who reigned over them, and never sure how long he had done so. The king of Provence was the most shadowy of all the heirs of Charlemagne. Our information, therefore, while not inconsiderable as to the acquisition of lands by the church, is scanty in the extreme with regard to the ordinary framework of history. Kings, counts, and bishops, even the terrible Saracens of Frainet, flit by us in a dubious twilight. Hence a greater licence of reconstruction is allowable in their history, and the paradox becomes true that the measure of the strength of the chain of induction lies in its strongest, not its weakest, link, for the high probability of some results gives a kind of support to more hypothetical suggestions which chime in with them. In the present paper, I propose to take a series of points and to suggest solutions which are made more probable by the fact that they hang together. At best, however, the amount of assurance one obtains is not great, and I offer much of the results as suggestions only.¹

¹ The following works are constantly used in this paper:—A. Hofmeister, *Deutschland und Burgund im früheren Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1914, and *Markgrafen und Markgrafschaften im Italienischen Königreich in der Zeit von Karl dem Grossen bis auf Otto den Grossen* (*Mittheil. für Österreich. Geschichtsforsch.*, Ergänzungsband vii, 1906); R. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens*, Paris, 1901, and *Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888-1038)*, Paris, 1907; R. L. Poole, *Burgundian Notes*, ante, xxvi (1911), xxvii (1912), xxviii (1913), xxx (1915); L. Schiaparelli, *I Diplomi dei Re*

I. THE EMPRESS ANNA, SECOND WIFE OF BERENGAR I.

This lady appears in three diplomas of Berengar and one of King Hugh.² It seems she must have been married or betrothed to Berengar before his imperial coronation in December 915. She was still living in May 936. I believe there is no hint of her extraction, but her name suggests an hypothesis. Anna is hardly a characteristic name for a great Frankish lady of c. 920, but it was the name of the first wife of the Emperor Lewis III the Blind of Provence, i. e. the Greek princess Anna.³ Could not Berengar I's wife be then the daughter of Lewis the Blind and sister of Charles Constantine of Vienne? As she could hardly be born before 910,⁴ it would be a case of child-marriage, or perhaps more probably of child-betrothal, for she is not styled *regni consors* till 923. Her intervention in diplomas as a child is easily paralleled, e. g. Otto III intervenes at the age of two in 981.⁵ No child of hers is known. Her marriage or betrothal to Berengar I, if we accept it as a fact, removed the objections to Berengar's coronation as emperor in 915 while his predecessor Lewis the Blind was still living, and marked an alliance between Lewis and Berengar, both of whom tended to be overshadowed by the family of Bertha of Tuscany and her son Hugh of Provence. A further advantage Berengar would gain from the alliance is obvious. The best claim to the Italian throne was given at that time by descent from the Emperor Lothair I, to whose share of Charlemagne's empire Italy had fallen by the decree of Lewis the Pious in 817 and the partition of Verdun in 843; and Anna was Lothair I's descendant.⁶ That Anna was daughter of Lewis the Blind is of course an hypothesis founded on her name, but it would fit in admirably with other faint indications, as I hope to show below. At first sight, it is true, it seems most improbable that Lewis should marry his daughter to his ancient rival, the man who blinded him some years before. But Lewis in 915 was a broken man, and might consent to the marriage in the hope of gaining a foothold in the world for his children Charles and

d'Italia, Ricerche storico-diplomatiche, part v, *Diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario*, in *Bull. dell' Istituto storico italiano*, 34 (1914); L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, vol. iii, part ii, Gotha, 1911.

² Schiaparelli, *I Diplomi di Berengario I (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia)*, nos. cvii (915?), cxxix (920), cxxxix (923); Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital.*, iii. 57 (936). In Berengar cvii she is *dilectissima coniunx*, in cxxix *dilectae coniugi nostrae*, in cxxxix *dilectam coniugem regnique nostri consortem*. In Hugh and Lothair II's diploma she is called *olim imperatricem*.

³ See my paper, *ante*, xxix (1914), p. 703.

⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 705 f.

⁵ *Mon. Germ. Hist., Diplomata*, II. i, no. 265, p. 307.

⁶ See genealogical table below, p. 338.

Anna. Further, even if we accept the evidence (which is strong) that Lewis was blinded by Berengar's order, there is also definite evidence that Berengar in the latter part of his reign was anxious to disclaim responsibility for the barbarous action. In the flattering *Gesta Berengarii*, composed after 915, which is almost a court panegyric, it is said that the blinding was perpetrated against his order, and a half-contemptuous pity combined with a reverence for Lewis's descent is shown :⁷

Ad haec 'Animis advertite', ductor⁸
 'O proceres', inquit; 'monitus et crimina capto
 Ne conferte viro,⁹ generis quia sanguine pollet
 Et forsán facinus maturis deseret annis.
 Testetur pia iura poli, et dimissus abito.'
 Hoc satis. Hi contra celeres cum murmure gressus
 Intendunt, rabidas acuantes pectoris iras,
 Nil moti dictis; potius fera murmura rodunt,
 Non se posse malum posthac dimittere inultum.
 Talibus adveniunt urbem muroque propinquant:
 Illicet admissi penetrant miserabile templum,
 Quo Ludovicus erat, subito rapiuntque ligantque
 Et pulchros adimunt oculos. Securus in aula
 Forte sedebat enim; idcirco pia munera lucis
 Perdidit, obsessus tenebris quoque solis in ortu.

This, too, is the version which Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Lewis's brother-in-law, implies for the event. The insurgents blind Lewis; then Berengar rules.

ἐκέισε (at Verona) ἐπανάστησαν αὐτῷ (Lewis) οἱ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου, καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐτύφλωσαν. καὶ τότε ἐκράτησε Βεγγέριος.¹⁰

We may reasonably infer that Lewis and his friends accepted Berengar's self-exculpation, although it may have been in fact untrue.

II. GUIDO, LAMBERT, AND ERMINGARDE OF TUSCANY

These three were uterine brothers and sister of Hugh of Provence. Their mother was the great Bertha, daughter of Lothair II of Lorraine by his concubine or intruded wife Waldrada, over whom he entered on his well-known contest with Pope Nicholas I. Bertha played a leading part in Italian history, to which indeed the efforts of the line of the Emperor Lothair I to recover their inheritance give a consistency which has not

⁷ *Mon. Germ. Hist., Poet. Latin.*, iv. i, pp. 396-7, bk. iv, ll. 51-65.

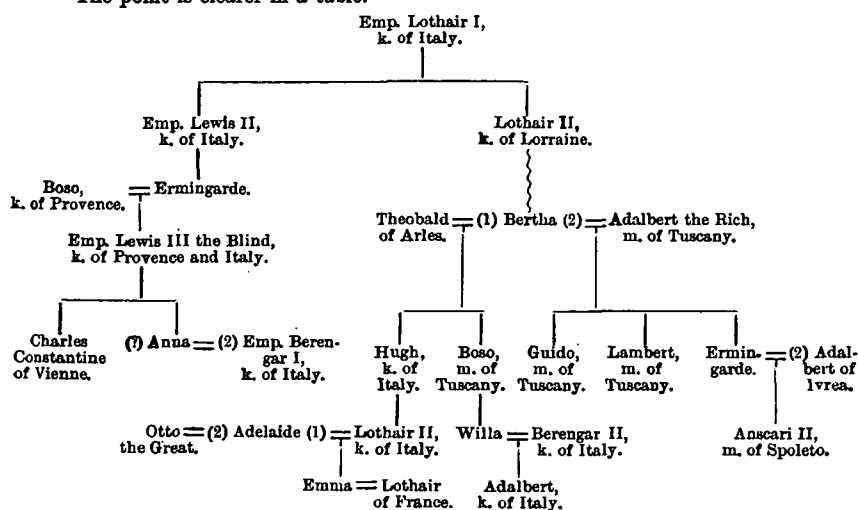
⁸ Berengar.

⁹ Lewis.

¹⁰ *Const. Porph. De admin. imp.*, c. 26 (Migne, *Patr. Graeco-Lat.*, cxiii, c. 229).

been enough noted.¹¹ Bertha had first married Count Theobald of Arles, by whom she had children, Hugh duke of Provence and later king of Italy, Boso count of Provence and later marquess of Tuscany, and Theoberga who married first Garnier count of Troyes and secondly Engelbert viscount of Vienne. Bertha, between 888 and 898,¹² married secondly Adalbert the Rich, marquess of Tuscany, and bore him likewise three children, Guido, Lambert, and Ermingarde. Approximate dates for the births of these three can be found. They were given, not family names of the Tuscan house, but names reflecting the political alliances of their parents. Thus Guido and Lambert are the names of the Spoletan emperors, Ermingarde that of the mother of Lewis the Blind. Now Guido was, in addition, godson, *filioles*, of Berengar I,¹³ the rival of the Spoletan emperors. We must therefore find a moment of reconciliation between Berengar I and the Spoletans when Berengar's godson could bear a Spoletan name. This occurred at the meeting at Pavia of Emperor Lambert and Berengar I in autumn 896. Guido then would be christened in 896,¹⁴ and Bertha probably married Adalbert in 895. About September 898 Adalbert and Bertha revolted from Emperor Lambert,¹⁵ and therefore we may place the birth of their second son Lambert before that date. Their daughter Ermingarde would be born between October 900 and June 902, during the first reign in Italy of Lewis the Blind, whose rise was largely

¹¹ The point is clearer in a table.



¹² Poupardin, *Provence*, p. 205.

¹³ Schiaparelli, *Dipl. Berengar. cviii*.

¹⁴ The only argument against this view rests on the fact that the private documents of Lucca from June 896 to April 897 do not date by Lambert (Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 137, n. 15); but the mere absence of a regnal year in these private documents does not always exclude official recognition by the marquess (cf. *ibid.*, p. 204, n. 4).

¹⁵ Hartmann, pp. 132 and 204, n. 4.

due to them. That Ermengarde's son, Anscari II of Ivrea, intervenes in a diploma of August 924¹⁶ is another instance of a child's intervention, he being at most six or seven years old at the time.

III. THE FIRST INVASION OF ITALY BY HUGH OF PROVENCE

A leading motive for the tergiversations of Adalbert the Rich of Tuscany and his wife, the great Bertha, seems to have been the restoration of the descendants of the Emperor Lothair I to the rule of Italy. For that they had taken part with Lewis the Blind, and had had, perhaps, a share in obtaining him his Byzantine bride, and, it may be, a Byzantine subsidy.¹⁷ When he was blinded and ruined they submitted to Berengar I for a time, but after Adalbert's death, which may have happened in August 915,¹⁸ Bertha, who ruled along with her son, Marquess Guido, made another attempt at revolt, this time in favour of her own son, Hugh of Provence, Hugh being the real ruler of Provence in the name of the helpless Lewis III.

The date of this first invasion by Hugh has been placed by M. Poupardin¹⁹ in 923-4, after Rodulf II of Jurane Burgundy's invasion, on the strength of the account of it given by our fullest source, Constantine Porphyrogenitus:

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο (division of the kingdom between Rodulf and Berengar) ἦλθον ἀπὸ Βεργώνια τρεῖς μαρκήσιοι πρὸς Παπῖαν τοῦ ἐκδιῶξαι τοὺς κρατοῦντας καὶ κρατῆσαι αὐτοί· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι, Οὐγὼν ὁ Ταλιαφέρνον, καὶ Βόζων, καὶ Οὐγὼν ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Βόζου, ὁ προρρηθεὶς εὐγενέστατος ῥήξ. Ἦλθε δὲ μετὰ λαοῦ ἱκανοῦ καὶ μαθὼν ὁ Βεριγγέρης, ἡτοιμάσθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς πόλεμον, καὶ παρακαθίσας ἐστενοχώρησεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ λίμου, καὶ ὥρισε τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ μὴ φονεύειν τινα, ἀλλ' ὅπου ἂν κρατήσωσί τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν, κόπτωσι τὴν ῥῖνα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δύο ὠτία, καὶ ἀπολύωσιν· ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐποίουν. Θεασάμενοι οὖν τοῦτο αἱ προρρηθεῖσαι τρεῖς κεφαλαί, ἄραντες ἀνυπόδετοι τὰ θεῖα Εὐαγγέλια εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν, ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν Βεριγγέρην, αἰτοῦμενοι συγχώρησιν, καὶ ὁμνύοντες τοῦ μηκέτι ἐλθεῖν ἐνθάδε μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τότε ἔασεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν.²⁰

Thus the army led by Hugh, his brother Boso, and a second Hugh, reached Pavia, but was surrounded and starved into

¹⁶ Schiaparelli, *Diplomi di Lodovico III e Rodolfo II*, iv (p. 104).

¹⁷ It was possibly to Lewis III or his friends that the Byzantine subsidy to the Franks, which after all never reached Italy, was sent in 904: Symeon Magister, *Ann. Leon. Basil. f.*, c. 14. But John Cameniatas, *De excidio Thessalonicae*, c. 59, says that the money was for the Byzantine army in its war with the African Moslems.

¹⁸ Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 205, n. 7.

¹⁹ *Bourgogne*, p. 47. But Gingsins La Sarraz, *Les Hugonides*, p. 48, already linked Hugh's invasion with Bertha's imprisonment.

²⁰ *De admin. imp.*, c. 26 (Migne, cxiii, col. 232). The forms of the names, e. g. Βεριγγέρης for Berengarius, show that Constantine's source was oral.

surrender by Berengar, who let the invaders retreat on terms. This account is in general credible, and agrees with the un-revengeful character of Berengar, but the date is most unlikely. In 923-4 Berengar did not rule west of the Mincio in Lombardy, and in Tuscany, where Hugh must have found his support in Bertha, Berengar was formally acknowledged at the supposed date.²¹ But Liudprand, in a vague reference, suggests an earlier date. Speaking of the invitation of the Italian magnates to Hugh in 925, he says :

Erat enim [Hugo] longo ex tempore multis argumentis et ipse periclitans, si forte regnum posset obtinere Italicum. Hic enim et Berengarii . . . tempore cum multis in Italiam venerat ; sed quia regnandi tempus ei nondum advenerat, a Berengario territus est et fugatus.²²

It seems most improbable that Hugh made his first attempt without the assistance of his mother and his Tuscan relatives, and I would associate it with another passage of Liudprand :

Hoc in tempore (c. 915) Adelbertus Tuscorum potens marchio moritur, filiusque eius Wido a Berengario rege marchio patris loco constituitur. Berta autem uxor eius cum Widone filio post mariti obitum non minoris facta est quam vir suus potentiae. Quae cum calliditate, muneribus, tum hymenei exercitio dulcis, nonnullos sibi fideles effecerat. Unde contigit, ut dum paulo post a Berengario simul cum filio caperetur et Mantue custodie teneretur, suos tamen civitates et castella omnia regi Berengario minime reddidisse, sed firmiter tenuisse, eamque postmodum de custodia simul cum filio liberasse.²³

Now, after Adalbert's death, we find Guido in favour with Berengar in December 915 ;²⁴ thereafter till 924, whenever we have dated documents, Tuscany formally acknowledged Berengar. The captivity of Bertha and Guido must fall in the gaps of the documentary evidence, either 917-18 or 290,²⁵ and may be put down to the failure of Hugh's first invasion. Hugh kept his oath not to return while Berengar lived, and Bertha remained faithful to Berengar even during Rodulf's invasion. The absurd scandal Liudprand mixes up with his story should not invalidate his main facts, which in no way depend on it.

It connects very well with Bertha's preparations for revolt, c. 916, that her daughter, Ermingarde of Tuscany, married Adalbert marquess of Ivrea, which must have happened about

²¹ Cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 206, n. 9. The dating by Berengar cannot well be consistent with revolt in 923-4, since Berengar had *then* no means of punishing disloyalty in Tuscany.

²² *Antapodosis*, iii. 12.

²³ *Ibid.*, ii. 55.

²⁴ *Dipl. Bereng. cviii.*

²⁵ There are gaps in the series of Lucchese documents between 13 September 917 and 27 September 918, and between 28 November 919 and 5 December 920. Either period would suit Bertha's revolt. See *Mem. e Doc. per servire all' istoria di Lucca*, v. iii.

that time if, as I have argued, she was born c. 901. By Adalbert she had a son, Anscari II of Ivrea. But Adalbert and she did not later follow Bertha's policy. Adalbert had Burgundian connexions, and they called in Rodulf II to Italy. After Adalbert's death, however, c. 923, Ermingarde eventually joined her Tuscan brothers in bringing in Hugh.

One other personage requires a mention. Who was Hugh ὁ Ταλιαφέρνου? I suggest he was Hugh of Provence's nephew, Count Hugh, son of Garnier of Troyes.²⁶ The title marquess may well be a slip of Constantine's, who was used to Italian marquesses; and ὁ Ταλιαφέρνου may after all not be a patronymic but a sobriquet, Tagliaferro, Taillefer, although we have no other evidence of Count Hugh's bearing it.

IV. THE SUCCESSION TO PROVENCE

The claim of the descendants of Emperor Lothair I to rule the *Regnum Italicum* was complicated by the rivalry of the two branches into which they were divided, the line of Emperor Lewis II and the line of Lothair II. This same rivalry was apparent in the neighbour kingdom of Provence. Hugh, the chief of Lothair II's line, had ruled the country after Lewis III had been blinded in 905; but, when in 926 he departed to become king of Italy, he evidently lost ground in Provence, for Lewis III could transfer the county of Vienne from him to his own son by Anna, Charles Constantine.²⁷ Hugh, however, had not given up his position in Provence. On the death of Lewis the Blind, which probably occurred 5 June 928,²⁸ he made the only visit of his to Provence that we know of before 942. Some results of this visit seem clear. Charles Constantine was not elected king of Provence, and Hugh, who nevertheless retained his lands and fiefs, was likewise not elected king, since no private charter of Provence is dated by his reign. On the other hand, he probably tried to act as though Provence were annexed to his kingdom of Italy,²⁹ for his charters to Provençals are issued in royal style from his Italian chancery, and, as we shall see, he at least attempted to confer Provençal fiefs. A statement of Flodoard, however, suggests another competitor and further complications. This is to the effect that in 928, probably about September, Raoul king of France and Herbert count of Vermandois met King Hugh in French Burgundy, and that Hugh gave to Herbert, for the latter's son Eudes, 'provinciam

²⁶ See Poole, *ante*, xxvii. 300 ff., and cf. below, p. 345.

²⁷ Charles Constantine first appears certainly as count 25 December 927. See Poupardin, *Provence*, p. 225.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-7.

²⁹ Cf. Poole, *ante*, xxviii. 111, and Hofmeister, *Deutschland und Burgund*, pp. 41 and 63.

Viennensem'. The statement is full of obscurities, but something may be made out of its wording. Flodoard seems to use *provincia* for *pagus* for these Provençal districts;³⁰ so it was Charles Constantine's county which was 'given'. It was not given to Raoul, but to Herbert direct, and as there can hardly have been a question of erecting a tiny independent state of Vienne for Eudes of Vermandois, we may infer it was to be held by Eudes in fief of Hugh. The motives of the chief actors can only be guessed at. Raoul had just been reconciled to Herbert, who had once more thrust Raoul's rival, the Carolingian Charles the Simple, into prison, and could thus be indirectly rewarded without a grant from Raoul's own domains. Hugh, besides putting in Vienne a fighting competitor of Charles Constantine, may have hoped to gain an ally in Raoul against his own enemy Rodulf II of Jurane Burgundy, whom we find in 935 to have been at war with Raoul.

However this may be, the grant of Vienne to Herbert and Eudes may never have taken effect, and in any case was soon overturned, for by the end of 930 Charles Constantine was ruling Vienne. This we learn from Flodoard, who states that at the beginning of 931 :

Rodulfus rex Viennam profectus, Karolo Constantino Ludovici Orbi filio, qui eam tenebat, subiectionem pollicitante, revertitur.

It is evident that Raoul was now intervening in the Viennois on his own account, for not only did he receive Charles Constantine's submission to himself, but Herbert of Vermandois revolted from him anew in the same year.³¹ We may thus connect Raoul's annexation of Vienne with his undoubted rule over at least a part of the Lyonnais in 932 when he held his court at Anse in the latter district,³² and the two Viennois private charters of about this time dated 'anno secundo regnante Radulfo rege Viennense' may possibly record this fleeting dominion.³³

There is, however, another possibility as to the identity of the 'Rex Radulfus' of the Viennois charters. Hugh of Italy had clearly been weakened in Provence when Raoul ventured to claim the suzerainty of the Viennois and the Lyonnais in 931. Charles Constantine, his enemy, held Vienne; his brother, Count Boson, who must have been his chief lieutenant in Provence, had migrated to Italy before October 931, and was soon endowed with the march of Tuscany; Hugh himself was occupied in

³⁰ e.g. a. 924 (ed. Lauer, p. 20) 'in Lugdunensi provincia'.

³¹ Flodoard, a. 931; cf. Lauer, *Robert I^{er} et Raoul*, p. 61.

³² Poupart, *Provence*, p. 235.

³³ Hofmeister, *Deutschland und Burgund*, p. 57: see on the opposite side, Poole, *ante*, xxviii. 109.

Italy, obtaining the election of his boy son Lothair II as co-regent in April 931, while in the following years all his efforts were bent to gaining Rome and the imperial crown. For the next act of the Provençal drama M. Poupardin has proposed, with much probability, that we may link together a tantalizing statement of Flodoard and a much-suspected statement of Liudprand.³⁴ Flodoard says :

[March (?) 933] Vienna Rodulfo regi [i. e. Raoul], tradentibus eam his qui eam tenebant, deditur.

M. Poupardin points out that this renewed cession to Raoul implies a competitor in the Viennois, probably Rodulf II of Jurane Burgundy, to whom, according to Liudprand,³⁵ Hugh of Italy made a cession about this time :

His temporibus Italienses in Burgundiam ob Rodulfum, ut adveniat, mittunt. Quod Hugo rex ut agnovit, nuntiis ad eundem directis, omnem terram quam in Gallia ante regni susceptionem tenuit Rodulfo dedit, atque ab eo iusiurandum, ne aliquando in Italiam veniret, accepit.

Following M. Poupardin's correlation of events, these two passages may yield something to further examination. The date of the cession Liudprand describes is of importance. Liudprand is not careful of an exact chronological order. In iii. 46 he narrates Hugh's expulsion from Rome by Alberic, which may be placed c. December 932 ;³⁶ but in iii. 47 he describes Hugh's arrest of his half-brother Marquess Lambert of Tuscany, whom he suspected of aiming at the Italian crown,³⁷ and the subsequent promotion of Hugh's full brother Boson to the marquessate of Tuscany. It is natural to combine this suspected treason of Lambert with the invitation of the Italians to Rodulf II in iii. 48. The invitation would immediately follow Lambert's fall. But Boson first appears as marquess 17 October 931.³⁸ So the invitation to Rodulf II should have happened a little before that date, and Hugh's cession to Rodulf at some time not long before or after. Thus Hugh's cession, if it took place in spite of the doubts which have been harboured on the subject,³⁹ would be in 931, subsequent to Raoul's alliance, early in 931, with Hugh's enemy, Charles Constantine. Flodoard's notice of 933 then assists us, for he says Vienne was given to Raoul by ' those

³⁴ Poupardin, *Provence*, p. 231.

³⁵ *Antapodosis*, iii. 48.

³⁶ Schiaparelli, *ubi supra*, *Dipl. di Ugone e di Lotario*, p. 29.

³⁷ A natural suspicion as Lambert, too, was of the line of Lothair II of Lorraine. Perhaps Lambert had opposed the election of Lothair II as king of Italy in April 931. See above. A further reason was Hugh's intended marriage with Marozia, Guido of Tuscany's widow. Hugh, therefore, pretended Guido and Lambert were supposititious children of Bertha, in order to remove the canonical bar to his marriage.

³⁸ Hofmeister, *Markgrafen*, p. 405.

³⁹ Hofmeister, *Deutschland u. Burgund*, p. 63-5.

who were holding it'. Flodoard knew of Charles Constantine, and mentions him in 931 and again in 941: so his phrase implies that Charles Constantine had been driven from Vienne by certain unnamed persons before 933. But what was the land Hugh ceded to Rodulf II? Liudprand uses *Burgundia* and *Provincia* for Provence.⁴⁰ *Gallia* he uses once before (i. 14) for the dominions of Charles the Bald, whom he confuses with Charles the Fat. It seems to refer in a general way to France, and might well be applied in iii. 48 to those parts of the *kingdom* of Provence which lay outside Provence proper, i. e. chiefly to the counties of the Lyonnais and the Viennois.⁴¹ Of the Viennois Hugh had been count before his expedition to Italy in 926; over the Lyonnais he had exercised a superior authority in 924.⁴² It seems possible, therefore, to narrow Hugh's cession to the very districts which Raoul obtained early in 931, and part of which unnamed persons were holding in 933. Could not Hugh, to bribe Rodulf II, to check Raoul, and to drive out Charles Constantine who had a claim to all the *kingdom* of Provence, have ceded his own rights and claims in the Viennois and the Lyonnais to Rodulf II? In that case the *Radulfus rex Viennensis* of the charters will after all be Rodulf II during his brief reign at Vienne 931-3. It is appropriate that no date is known beyond the second year of Radulfus, i. e. 933. The restoration of Charles Constantine to Vienne would follow Raoul's success in 933, and accordingly we find him ruling Vienne in 941.

There still remains to investigate the identity of the unnamed persons who surrendered Vienne to Raoul in 933. Rodulf II would be mentioned by Flodoard if present. They should therefore be partisans of his who were also leaders of Hugh's party in the Viennois. Now Hugh had relations in the Viennois. His sister Theoberga, we have seen, had married first Count Garnier of Troyes, and her second son, Count Hugh, whom we have met above, never settled in Italy and is found shortly after with lands in the Viennois.⁴³ Secondly, Theoberga married Engilbert, viscount of Vienne, to whom she bore Theobald, probably Theobald I, marquess of Spoleto. Now Engilbert, viscount of Vienne and his brother Sobo, archbishop of Vienne, were both of them in office 931-3.⁴⁴ These three relatives, Engilbert, Sobo, and Hugh, I think, carried on the local war with Charles Constantine, and surrendered Vienne to Raoul in 933.

Further changes are suggested by Flodoard's statement that

⁴⁰ e. g. ii. 32, iii. 12, 45, v. 18, 28, 31, vi. 2.

⁴¹ Cf. for the names of Provence, Poupardin, *Provence*, pp. 2-3 and pp. 282-5.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6, and Flodoard, *a.* 924.

⁴³ See below.

⁴⁴ Poupardin, *Provence*, p. 352. There is a doubt whether Engilbert was viscount; possibly his other brother Ratburn held the office.

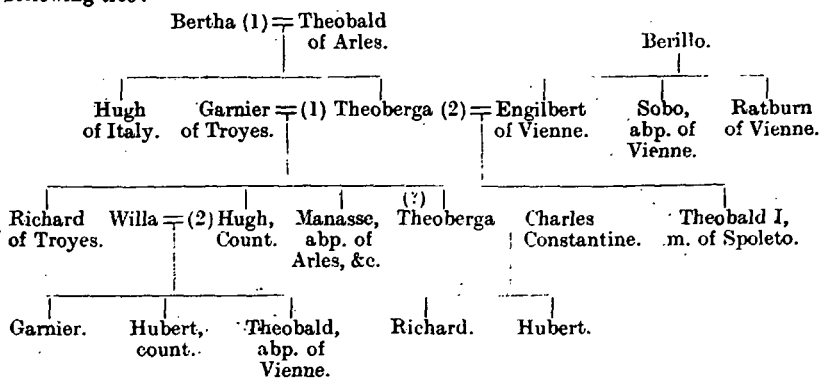
Rodulf II and Raoul became friends in June 935 ('pactaque inter ipsos amicitia');⁴⁵ and 14/15 January 936 Raoul died. There follow indications that Hugh took the opportunity of Raoul's death to intervene once more and to rearrange his relationship to the Viennois. Three circumstances can be combined for this view. (i) He gave to his nephew Count Hugh his great domain of Octavion in the Viennois on 24 June 936,⁴⁶ and thus made Count Hugh his chief representative in the neighbourhood. (ii) On 17 May 936 King Hugh makes a grant to the ex-Empress Anna, and if, as I suggest, Anna was Charles Constantine's sister, this shows a *rapprochement* with Charles Constantine. Such a reconciliation is made more probable by (iii) the third circumstance that about 960 Charles Constantine appears as married to a wife Theoberga, and as having sons Richard and Hubert.⁴⁷ Theoberga, Richard and Hubert are all names of the house of Garnier, and I suggest that about 936 Charles Constantine married Count Hugh's sister or even his daughter (Theoberga), and that his renunciation of his claims to the kingdom of Provence and of heirship to the line of Lothair I is indicated by the non-Carolingian names given to his sons. His father was Lewis, he was Charles, and King Hugh had carefully named his own son Lothair; it is singular that Charles Constantine abandons this tradition for the names of a line of nobles.

It is noticeable that King Hugh's charter of Octavion to his nephew Count Hugh, while couched in the terms of a *sovrän*,⁴⁸ yet speaks of Octavion as 'infra regnum Burgundiae', which is perhaps a trace of the cession to Rodulf II. Hugh's willingness to abide by the cession may have been soon increased by

⁴⁵ Cf. Lauer, *Robert I^{er} et Raoul*, p. 75.

⁴⁶ Cf. Manteyer, *Origines de la Maison de Savoie en Bourgogne (Mél. d'Archéol. et d'Hist. de l'École Française de Rome, xix)*, pp. 442-5, and my *Early History of the House of Savoy*, pp. 113 ff.

⁴⁷ *Early History*, pp. 104 and 119-20. The descendants of Theoberga form the following tree:



⁴⁸ Hofmeister, *Deutschland und Burgund*, p. 46, n. 1.

the death of Rodulf II, 12/13 July 937. Rodulf left behind him a widow, Bertha of Swabia, a young son, Conrad the Peaceful, who succeeded him, and a daughter Adelaide. Hugh thereupon contrived a considerable diplomatic success. He proceeded to Jurane Burgundy, and c. 12 December 937 married Bertha himself as his fourth wife, and betrothed Adelaide to his son Lothair II. He thereby became entitled to the regency, to use modern language, of Jurane Burgundy. He returned, however, to Italy, leaving Conrad in Burgundy. What provision he made for the government of the country has been conjectured with much intrinsic probability by Mr. Poole, according to whom King Hugh's representative in Jurane Burgundy was the *Hugo Cisalpinus* whom Flodoard mentions as meeting the French Carolingian Louis d'Outremer in [August] 939, and Hugo Cisalpinus was identical with Count Hugh, the son of Garnier.⁴⁹ This rôle of Count Hugh becomes the more likely, if the theory suggested above of a peace and alliance between the two Hughs and Charles Constantine be accepted, for Count Hugh was thus freed from war in the Viennois and able to transfer his attention to Jurane Burgundy.

In some way, however, Otto the Great became possessed of the person of young Conrad in 939 (?),⁵⁰ and exercised thenceforward a control over the politics of Jurane Burgundy. How did matters stand with regard to the Lyonnais and the Viennois? As to the Lyonnais, it seems clear that Louis d'Outremer, on succeeding Raoul, kept at least part of the *pagus*,⁵¹ but that a transfer of allegiance to Conrad took place c. 942-3. The case of the Viennois is more doubtful, but a series of private charters are dated in the first six years of Conrad (during the first three years the title *rex Viennensis* being mostly given),⁵² no private charters are dated by Louis d'Outremer, and the mention which Flodoard (941, 951) and Richer (951)⁵³ make of Louis's asser-

⁴⁹ *Ante*, xxvii, pp. 299-308. Count Hugh seems already to have been count palatine of Jurane Burgundy in 926. This helps to fill a gap in his biography. His wife Willa was a connexion of Rodulf II, which makes the identification probable.

⁵⁰ Flodoard, a. 940: 'quem iamdudum dolo captum sibi adductum retinebat (Otto).' Mr. Poole points out to me that *iamdudum* must be used loosely, else it would carry Conrad's capture too far back. Who kidnapped Conrad and delivered him to Otto does not appear.

⁵¹ Hofmeister, *Deutschland und Burgund*, p. 58; Poupardin, *Provence*, pp. 235-6.

⁵² Hofmeister, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-80.

⁵³ Flodoard, a. 941: 'Ludowicus rex a Karlo Constantino in Vienna recipitur.' Richer, ii. 98: 'ad interiores Burgundiae partes rex (Ludovicus) secum exercitum dirigit. Cum ergo in agro Matisionensium castra figeret, occurrit ei Karolus Constantinus, Viennae civitatis princeps, eiusque efficitur, fidem iureiurando pactus.' This is amplified from Flodoard, a. 951: 'Karlus Constantinus, Viennae princeps, et Stephanus . . . ad eum venientes sui efficiuntur.' Charles promptly obtained from Louis d'Outremer a confirmation of his own gift of Communay in the Viennois to the abbey of Cluny: Bruel, *Chartes de Cluny*, i. 748 (no. 797), and Poupardin, *Provence*, p. 241.

tion of his rights in Vienne on two occasions both imply that those rights had been disregarded before each vindication of them. I infer, therefore, that Conrad was recognized almost at once as king in the Viennois, although a formal assembly, when he was elected (*vocatus*) king, may not have happened till later. Whether King Hugh was inclined to consider himself as wholly deprived of sovran rights in the Viennois by his stepson Conrad is doubtful. Queen Bertha and he had soon quarrelled and separated.⁵⁴ At any rate on 25 January 945 he made a gift of a Viennois *curtis* of his to the church of Vienne in the usual sovran style of the Italian chancery.

There is still the fate of Provence proper to discuss. As we have seen, there is reason to suppose that the treaty of cession recorded by Liudprand only referred to the northern districts such as the Viennois and the Lyonnais. Dr. Hofmeister⁵⁵ has shown that there is no real evidence for King Conrad ruling in Provence proper until about 948. On 7 October 948, however, Archbishop Manasse of Arles dates a local charter by King Conrad's reign; and on 18 August 950 Conrad himself grants a royal charter concerning a strictly Provençal *curtis*.⁵⁶ It is remarkable that the date thus obtained for the beginning of Conrad's reign in Provence agrees with the date of King Hugh's death as recently fixed by Signor Schiaparelli.⁵⁷ Hugh's power in Italy was overthrown by Marquess Berengar of Ivrea in April 945. He continued to reign as a figure-head till April 947. Then he obtained leave to retreat to Provence with his treasure, and died there 10 April 948, bequeathing his Provençal lands to Bertha, daughter of his brother Boso and the latter's wife Willa, whose name is reminiscent of the dynasty of Jurane Burgundy.⁵⁸ Manasse of Arles was himself another son of Garnier and Theoberga, and therefore Count Hugh's brother. The probability is that King Hugh's relatives, connected as they were with Jurane Burgundy, joined in submitting to King Conrad in 948, and thus completed the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles.

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⁵⁴ Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, iv. 14.

⁵⁵ Hofmeister, *Deutschland und Burgund*, pp. 94-6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁵⁷ *Diplomi di Ugone e di Lotario*, ubi supra, pp. 138-41.

⁵⁸ She would have to be a daughter of Rodulf I and his queen Willa. But I must emphasize once more the conjectural nature of these proposed descents (in this case a very old hypothesis). But a genealogical tree of proved descents of the name Willa will show how tempting it is.

Rodulf I, k. of Burgundy = (1) Willa.

Waldrada = Boniface, m. of Spoleto.

Hubert, m. of Tuscany = Willa.

Tedald, m. of Tuscany = Willa.

Walderada = (2) Pietro Candiano,
doge of Venice.