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The Carolingian world of Dudo of Saint-Quentin

Leah Shopkow

Dudo of Saint-Quentin's De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum has presented difficulties for scholars, both because it is inaccurate history and because it could not be assigned to any literary-historical tradition, apart from the Aeneid. However, previously unnoted models, particularly the Vita sancti Lamberti of Stephen of Liège and the Vita sancti Germani of Heiric of Auxerre, open a new perspective on Dudo's work. His use of these texts, his style and his use of standard Merovingian and Carolingian poetic conventions, suggest that he was educated at a traditional Carolingian centre, probably Liège. The De moribus tells of the conversion of the dukes and their gradual extirpation of paganism. Because the Carolingians believed rulers to have both secular and ecclesiastical responsibilities, the use of hagiography and a predominantly ecclesiastical form, serial biography, makes sense. This shaping of the material would have suited the purposes of the Norman dukes, who, although they could not read Latin, wanted to imitate late Carolingian practices. This meant both a serious desire to regulate the Church and a wish to leave behind a literary monument attesting to their level of culture.

When H. Prentout at the beginning of this century published his monograph on Dudo of Saint-Quentin (1916), it confirmed what other historians suspected as soon as the printed edition became available, that Dudo's history, the *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* (Lair 1865), was, in large part, a fabrication. It was not clear whether the errors were of Dudo's confection or stemmed from information coming from Norman sources, but the strong suspicion was that Dudo was the culprit. Once the falsehood of much of the information contained in the *De moribus* had been conclusively demonstrated (and Prentout's evidence was damning), interest in the work as a source for Norman history died, since in the early twentieth century the work of medieval historians was primarily of interest as a source for factual material. There was no desire to explore why historians wrote untruthful history; it was sufficient to note the falsehoods in a text and declare a reason for them. In the case of the *De moribus* it was clear that the author wished to praise the Norman dukes and to exaggerate their power and cultivation. But the *De moribus* was not simply a tissue of random prevarications. What scholars failed to note was that Dudo's inventions were purposeful and consistent. The *De moribus* is a highly organized and coherent work, and an extremely artfully constructed text.

In the last few years, this attitude toward medieval histories has begun to be challenged. Historiographers have ceased merely to pronounce on what is true and false in the work of medieval historians and begun to consider works in a manner that respects their integrity. Scholars have once again become interested in the *De moribus*,

this time not to deplore its lack of truth, but to establish the context and tradition from which it sprang. Such explorations have concluded that the traditions that gave narrative coherence to the *De moribus* were oral rather than written, Scandinavian rather than Latin, particularly since so little of what Dudo says has an identifiable Latin source. Although Dudo's use of the *Aeneid* as a structuring device for the text has been explored by E. Searle (1984), she sees the use of the myth as the adaptation of a Latin text to meet the needs of a court still strongly Scandinavian (which it may well have been), rather than a choice influenced by Latin scholarly thinking about history. E. van Houts too has attempted to account for the contents of the work by reference to the surviving Scandinavian traditions of the Normans commemorated in Dudo's text (van Houts 1984).

The tendency to search for Scandinavian traits in the *De moribus* is partly the result of the failure to identify Latin influences and analogues other than the *Aeneid*, apart from a few minor historical works.¹ Since other models have been elusive, historians have assumed that the Normans themselves must have supplied Dudo with his information, and, since that information does not conform to historical reality as we know it, it must reflect a Scandinavian bias. But Latin influences there clearly were. I have identified three important sources: the *Vita sancti Lamberti* of Stephen of Liège, the *Vita sancti Germani* of Heiric of Auxerre, and the *Carmen de sancto Cassiano*.² These sources shed important light on the *De moribus*, because Dudo presented his dukes in an explicitly Christian, if also heroic, context that arises directly from these sources and the view-

point they represent. Dudo did not simply laud the Norman dukes, make them seem more heroic than they were in real life, or imply they had control over more of Normandy than they did (although he did all of these things); he also insisted that the dukes of the Normans were unusually holy, even saintly. For example, near the end of his account of the life of Duke Richard, Dudo included a description of how Richard embodied the Beatitudes, in which he used highly hagiographic language (Lair 1865:293).

By rights, therefore, and justly and plausibly we say that Richard the duke of Normandy, whose works we have briefly related here, was blessed and holy; to him all the gifts associated with the evangelic Beatitudes have accrued. Of which the first is, "Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Viewed in a clear light, this appears to have been true of this confessor, who holding the rule of Normandy, not for the sake of all too fleeting honor, but lest the state of the sacrosanct Church be endangered by pagan attacks, took to himself the imitable poverty of Christ with all the efforts of his heart and all the inclination of his mind.

This treatment of the dukes has seemed to modern historians to be so embarrassingly inappropriate that scholars have persistently ignored the strongly hagiographic element in Dudo's work. When a hagiographic aura was attributed to a ruler, as in the cases of Robert the Pious and Edward the Confessor, a little exaggeration might be suspected, but when such a treatment was applied by Dudo to recently converted Vikings, it seemed both untrue and purposeless. Untrue it may have been, but purposeless it was not; Dudo was structuring the past in a way that made sense to him, and which did not offend his Norman patrons, but which has not made sense to us.

What was this purpose and why were the dukes interested in being portrayed in the way they are in this history? For the dukes must have been aware, in at least a general way, of what kind of work Dudo produced and been pleased with it and him. They rewarded him for his work as their chaplain and chancellor, perhaps as the founder of a school (see Vopelius-Holtzmann 1967: 355ff.), as well as their historian, with two benefices, which he was permitted to keep when he left Normandy.³ I shall start with the first problem, why Dudo composed the kind of work he did, and then turn to the question of what the dukes saw in it.

Medieval historians seldom invented the form or substance of their histories entirely; generally, they based their work on traditions that were familiar to them. Some works, like the *Ecclesiastical history* of Bede or the annals of Eusebius as translated and continued by Jerome, deeply influenced the work of many later historians. But medieval historians were scholars as much as they were historians. Of this truism, Bede is a helpful example, for Bede not only wrote history, but also biblical exegesis; the two exercises were intimately connected in his mind, for history was merely another way in which human beings could understand God's purpose (Jones 1947:80-93). Medieval historians, therefore, brought to their work as part of their tradition not only the history they had read (although in the work of most historians historical models were most important) but everything they read. In Dudo's case, this "everything" turns out to be fairly crucial. We cannot understand him without understanding his tradition at its fullest. The best way to determine that tradition is through his educa-

tion.

Our lack of knowledge of Dudo's family background and early career has hampered historians in determining where he might have been educated. It has been generally assumed that he was from the minor nobility (for the quality of his learning suggests that special care was taken with his education), and from the Vermandois (or else he would not have ended up at Saint-Quentin or been sent as an envoy by Count Albert of Vermandois to Richard of Normandy). It has also been assumed that since Vermandois was in the diocese of Reims, that Dudo must have been sent there for the part of his education which Saint-Quentin would not have been able to provide. If so, Dudo would probably have been at Reims when Gerbert of Aurillac was teaching there (Vopelius-Holtzmann 1967:250-82).

Gerbert was the founder of the tradition called the "new studies", which rejected the Carolingian educational curriculum. In the older tradition, students were taught using a few basic texts: the grammar of Donatus; Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* (the preferred textbook on the seven liberal arts); Boethius's *Consolation of philosophy*; the Bible, biblical commentaries, hagiographies and the works of the Fathers (*lectio divina*); Merovingian and Carolingian poetry; and glosses and commentaries on works whose contents were considered important. The old curriculum was overwhelmingly Christian in its emphasis, religious material composing a large portion of the reading. Not surprisingly, classical texts did not form a major part of the Carolingian curriculum. A few were read—the *Aeneid* of Virgil was *de rigueur*—but most of the student's acquaintance with the

classical past was through *florilegia*. A few monasteries showed great interest in certain classical texts; Fulda, for instance, had manuscripts of Livy,⁴ and Einhard, who was educated there, knew his Suetonius well.⁵ But for the most part, the old curriculum did not encourage an interest in classical style. Many Carolingian readers preferred commentaries on late antique works to the originals themselves, so that knowledge of the subject matter of a classical or late antique text is no guarantee that the text itself had ever been read (Riché 1976:469–77).

Gerbert's teaching, on the other hand, stressed the study of classical texts and thought. Gerbert himself was a polymath who had come to Reims because of the promise of study with an expert logician. He soon eclipsed the man he had come to study with and became the master of the cathedral school at Reims, where he instituted the "new studies". His curriculum was intended to revive classical learning, particularly classical rhetoric. In addition to traditional grammatical texts, his students studied the *logica vetus*: Boethius' translations of Aristotle, the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and the Boethian commentaries on Aristotle. Then they studied classical writers. After this course of classical writing and logic, Gerbert had his students finished by a sophist. In addition to being devoted to rhetoric, Gerbert was also deeply interested in the quadrivium, and he invented some astronomical instruments and instructed his students in the use of the abacus (Latouche 1937:50–80).

The impact of the "new studies" in the eleventh century was dramatic. Among the students at Reims was the historian Richer,

who cultivated a neo-Sallustian style (Latouche 1929:289–305) and to whom we owe our knowledge of Gerbert's curriculum. Another was Adalberon of Laon, nephew to Adalberon of Reims, writer and politician, to whom the *De moribus* was dedicated. Clearly influenced by the curriculum at Reims, if not actually a student there, was Fulbert of Chartres,⁶ who founded a school which propagated the "new studies" and contributed to the foundations of the twelfth-century renaissance. His students took the new studies and methods to Poitiers, Angers, Liège and Tours (Behrends 1976:xxxv–xxxvi). By mid-century, the new studies had bitten deep. One of Dudo's successors as historian to the Normans, William of Poitiers, a Norman so named because he was educated in that city, wrote a biography of William the Conqueror in a style heavily influenced by classical writers (Foreville 1952:xxxviii–xliii; for the schools of Poitiers, see also Garaud 1946–8). So, were Dudo to have been educated at Reims, he would have been exposed, not simply to classical literature, but to classical history as well.

What evidence is there that Dudo might have studied at Reims? Dudo's most thorough biographer, B. Vopelius-Holtzmann believes that Dudo was educated there and points to the dedicatory preface of the *De moribus*, which is filled with mathematical and musical lore ultimately derived from Boethius; this, she argues, was a major part of the curriculum at Reims, but of few other places.⁷ Further, she suggests that Dudo's work shows knowledge of the Boethian logical material in which Gerbert specialized (1967:49–50). Finally, she points to snippets of classical quor

tations in the *De moribus*, which suggest the acquaintance with classical works that we might expect of someone trained in the new studies.

These assumptions are logical, but, I think, incorrect. That Dudo was familiar with some Boethian musical and mathematical theory, either directly or through an intermediate source,⁸ is certain, given the contents of the preface of the *De moribus*. But the school at Reims was only particularly noted for its use of the logical treatises, which tended to be neglected at more traditional centres. The traditional centres had always taught the *De musica* and *De arithmetica* (Southern 1953:174). Further, the mere mention of dialectic does not mean that Dudo studied it in any greater depth than might be provided for by his knowledge of the *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*.

If Dudo had actually read in their entirety all the classical works he quotes, this would, as Vopelius-Holtzmann suggests, tend to imply that he was educated at Reims; he quotes Juvenal, Horace, Prudentius, Sedulius, Fortunatus, Virgil, and Boethius (Manitius 1923:257-65). But in most cases, Dudo's quotations from classical sources are buried in quotations from later works; in other words, in borrowing material from a Merovingian or Carolingian text, Dudo included material from older sources. For example, a line from the *De moribus* which echoes a line of Horace, *Gingiber, aut nardi modicum costumque piperque, lignavis si quidque feres cartis amicitus* is actually a part of a quotation from the *Vita sancti Germani* of Heiric of Auxerre (Lair 1865:120; Horace, Epistles 2.1.269; Heiric:437.51-3). Even in the case of the one classical source that was a nearly infallible part of the

Carolingian curriculum, the *Aeneid*, and one which Dudo assuredly read, not all of the quotations are directly from the source. In the second book of the *De moribus*, when Dudo describes a storm stirred up by the devil to prevent Rollo from landing in France, his language echoes the *Aeneid*, but apes more closely the language of Heiric describing a similarly demonically inspired storm (compare Lair 1865:149; Heiric:420.377ff.; *Aeneid* 1.87-211). It is Heiric who alludes to the *Aeneid*, while Dudo is content to follow his lead. There is, in short, little evidence that Dudo was well-read in the classics or particularly interested in classical Latin.

Not only is there not much evidence to show that Dudo was educated at Reims, there is good reason to believe that he was not. His style is the most obvious indication. Of the students educated at Reims under Gerbert, some developed quite impressive styles. Richer, as I mentioned above, imitated Sallust, while Fulbert of Chartres (if he was educated there) wrote letters that were widely circulated as much for their clear style as for their content (Behrends 1976:xl). Dudo's style, in comparison, is almost barbaric, although splendidly so. His prose is rhymed and rhythmic, not at all classical, larded with the neologisms so characteristic of those trained by insular scholars at Carolingian centers (Riché 1976:469-70). It is not a style that Gerbert would have permitted him to persist in. It is neither like the simple, straightforward style in use at Reims earlier in the tenth century (for example, the style of Flodoard), nor is it like the simpler rhyming and rhythmic prose that became popular at Reims and elsewhere (for example, the

prose of Orderic Vitalis) in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries (Pohlheim 1963:415ff.).

To the matter of writing style, we should add historical style as well. Reims had a strong historical tradition going back to the ninth century. Archbishop Hincmar (845–882) continued the annals of Prudentius of Troyes, who was himself continuing the work of an earlier annalist (Grat 1964:vii). Hincmar's annals became the base text upon which the annals of Saint-Vaast were composed, as well as the basis for the annals of Flodoard, also composed at Reims around the middle of the tenth century (Grat 1964:xxxviii). In addition to annalistic history, there was an interest in narrative forms; Richer's history of France is the prime example of this. Ecclesiastical history was not neglected either, for Hincmar wrote a life of the patron of Reims, St Remy, while Flodoard wrote a history of the diocese of Reims and a poetic hagiology of the saints of Palestine. The program of historical writing continued at Reims throughout the eleventh century; Orderic Vitalis's teacher, who came from Reims to Saint-Evroul in Normandy, perhaps about 1100, was trained in this tradition (Chibnall 1980:xvii), and we might surmise that Orderic's attractive history was an indirect product of the Reims interest in history.

Nowhere in any of the histories produced at Reims, however, do we find the sort of fantastic shaping of events that we find in the *De moribus*, except in the frankly hagiographical tradition. Those writing secular history at Reims were not averse to bending the truth, when the authors felt it necessary—Richer is highly partisan, although Flodoard is a model of sobriety and care

which makes him a modern favorite—but wholesale fabrication was not part of their tradition. Nor was the mixture of sacred and secular history, poetry and prose. Hincmar and Flodoard wrote both types of history and wrote verse and prose, but they were careful to keep their different endeavours separate. Whatever models Dudo used to write history, they were not the models used by Reims historians.

If Dudo were not educated at Reims, where was he educated? We can use the sources of the *De moribus* to identify the sort of educational center at which he must have studied. He was not nurtured on classical Latin; what he read were the 'greats' of the Carolingian age. In poetry, Fortunatus was one guide. Dudo read verse hagiography as well; two of the three hagiographies he quoted at length, the *Vita sancti Germani* and the *Carmen de sancto Cassiano*, are poetic, while the third, the *Vita sancti Lamberti* is prosimetrical.

These poetic traditions left their mark on the *De moribus*. Dudo's use of apostrophes, poetic commentaries on the action in his history, comes from the verse saints' lives he read, which relied on epic conventions, and from the *Aeneid*. His apostrophic poems also reveal their debt to the Merovingian and Carolingian occasional poem, which might be written for any reason, but which was nearly always panegyric. Dudo's apostrophes praise the dukes and curse their enemies, felicitate Rouen on her good fortune in having such fine rulers, and praise the waters of the Seine. Examples of all of these types of poetry can be found in the Carolingian and Merovingian corpus. It must also be said that Dudo's apostrophes resemble some of the earlier works in the

lack of genuine inspiration or poetic feeling in the poems; heaps of adjectives fill out the metre and there is interminable elaboration. They are skillful, but often not likeable. This is not surprising, since such poems were demonstrations of a poet's mastery of metre and not, with few exceptions, the products of spontaneous composition.

A variety of expressions that Dudo uses also appear in these occasional poems. *Pontificalis apex* appears in one of Dudo's poems; Alcuin uses it four times (Lair 1865:126; *Carmina*, 245, 254, 262, 325). The opening of the prayer *O deus omnipotens* is drawn from the *Vita sancti Lamberti*, but Alcuin, Radbod and the Irish Exile use it also (Lair 1865:149; Alcuin, *Carmina*, 351; Radbode, *Carmina*, 124; Irish Exile, *Carmina*, 395). *Regia progenies* appears in poems by Fortunatus and Alcuin, as well as in Dudo's poetry (Fortunatus, *Carmina*, 280; Alcuin, *Carmina*, 246; Lair 1865:238). While these echoes of earlier poems do not imply that Dudo was familiar with all of the works of all of these poets, it does show that Carolingian and Merovingian writers shared a body of commonplaces that Dudo also knew and used freely. Equally freely did he use the variety of metres that were a part of the legacy of Carolingian education, many of which came from the *Consolation of philosophy*, although poets continued to invent their own.⁹

As befitted a man educated at a traditional center, Dudo was trained in philosophy and the liberal arts in the limited way the curriculum provided for. He read Boethius's *Consolation* (Manitius 1923:280, n. 3) and he read either the *De arithmetica* and *De musica* or some treatise on these subjects (Vopelius-Holtzmann

1967:47ff.). The indications are that his education in this latter regard was superficial; the passages in which he echoes the musical and mathematical material are so confusing and the presentation is so uncharacteristic of Dudo's normal style, that he either did not understand the material well or was copying. He was acquainted with some of the thought of Eriugena, for one of Dudo's poems contains a paraphrase of Eriugena's discussion of the Trinity (Vopelius-Holtzmann 1967:47ff.), but Dudo's knowledge comes from the *Vita sancti Germani* (compare Lair 1865:215f.; Heiric, *Vita sancti Germani*: 432).

These are the sources we know Dudo read. To these it would be safe to add some of the works of the great poets of the Carolingian period as well, Strabo, Theodulf, Lupus and their contemporaries, although he does not quote them directly, the Bible and the writings of the Fathers, and a few *florilegia*, but not much more. Dudo's education does not seem to have included any overly exotic studies. He probably knew little Greek, no more than the smattering acquired by most modern medievalists, for the Greek terms which appear in the *De moribus* also are found without exception in the *Vita sancti Germani*.¹⁰

All of this is not to say that Dudo was not a well-educated man for his day. Few late Carolingian centres could offer the level of education to which his text attests, and Dudo mastered it reasonably well. Where might he have received this old-fashioned, but thorough education? There are several reasons to suggest that Dudo was a student at Liège, which was in its day a significant educational centre, but one with a determinedly conservative slant (Dereine

1952:35). Although Reims was somewhat closer to Saint-Quentin than Liège, scholars could and did travel great distances for their education. Gerbert, for example, studied in Spain and Rome, before coming to Reims (Latouche 1937:50-4), and Fulbert's students came from Germany, Brittany and Northern France, as well as the area around Chartres (Behrends 1976:xxxvi).

Further, the education that Liège had to offer at the end of the tenth century was more than adequate. Under the auspices of Bishop Eraclius (959-72) who had himself been trained at Cologne and Verona, both the cathedral and public schools were revived. Under his successor, Notker (972-1002), the schools were expanded. Notker recruited students from other dioceses that were less capable of educating the boys, perhaps because there was no place for them in the local cathedral school. Might Dudo have been one of them? Many of the students went on to become bishops, so the education they received was well worth acquiring.¹¹ In short, Liège offered a variety of opportunities for boys like Dudo.

Dudo's style and the form of his work both suggest that he was educated at Liège. First, the style of writing that was taught at Liège in the tenth century was a form of rhymed and rhythmic prose of considerable complexity.¹² Second, Dudo chose to write in *prosimetrum*, alternating passages of prose and poetry, a form that was in use there in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Of course, *prosimetrum* was not only known at Liège. The two outstanding examples of the genre, the *Consolation of philosophy* and the *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* were so widely read in the early middle ages that we could hardly be surprised at a pro-

simetrical work composed anywhere in Europe at almost any time. We know Dudo read both Boethius and Martianus.

Despite the examples of the *Consolation* and the *Marriage*, however, few authors before the Carolingian period attempted to write in *prosimetrum*, perhaps because the form demanded unusual mastery of a variety of poetic metres and during the Merovingian period few knew classical metrics well enough to essay this style of composition. In the Carolingian period, however, writers again began to explore the possibilities of the genre. One reason was, no doubt, the influence of English and Irish scholars on continental education. A tradition had grown up in English circles of composing two versions of a text, a prose version and a verse text, not always by the same authors;¹³ it is only a step from writing both a prose and a poetic text to the unification of the prose and poetry in *prosimetrum*. Another reason was the general improvement under Charlemagne in the quality of Latin education. In the revival of learning in France under the tutelage of Alcuin and other insular scholars, new emphasis was put on the mastery of metrics and even the invention of new metres. The emphasis on the control of form is evident in genres like the acrostic and *carmina figurata*, both of which were rediscovered and imitated by the Anglo-Saxon writers (Riché 1976:376). Both the employment of a variety of metres and the use of the acrostic demonstrate that Carolingian poets had large and flexible vocabularies, made possible in part by the use of glossaries (Riché 1976:470), as well as a certain amount of determined pigheadedness.

Some centres of Carolingian study felt the

influence of insular scholars more than others; Liège was particularly blessed. One of its Irish scholars, Sedulius Scotus (fl. 847–59), wrote one of the first examples of the rebirth of *prosimetrum*, the *De rectoribus christianis*, a discussion of the duties of the Christian ruler. Sedulius's work shows a tendency already apparent in Boethius and Martianus, the reservation of *prosimetrum* for serious subjects, for it provided a way not only to present material (in the prose), but to reflect upon that material (in the poetry).

At the beginning of the tenth century, Bishop Stephen of Liège (901–20) borrowed the form to write his *Vita sancti Lamberti*. Stephen's motivation for doing so is not clear. He seems to have used a poetic life of St Lambert, written at Liège and dedicated to him, as a source for some of the poetry in his own version (Manitius 1911:705), and he also seems to have mined other poetic hagiographies for nuggets of verse (Stephen of Liège *Excerpta*: 142). Stephen used poetry quite differently from Sedulius; his poems can be very short, sometimes only a single line. That Stephen chose to write in *prosimetrum* is important, for he provided Dudo with an example of the use of *prosimetrum* to write history.¹⁴ That Dudo knew Stephen's work, the life of a locally venerated saint, also implies the Liège connection, although to be sure, it is not proof of this in itself.

The *Vita sancti Lamberti* clearly influenced Dudo not only in structure, *prosimetrum*, and style, rhymed and rhythmic prose, but also in content. Dudo used events from the life of the saint to shape the lives of the dukes. The early promise of the saint is used to describe young duke William, while William's assassination is based on, and contains extensive quotations from, Stephen's

passage describing the slaughter of the saint (compare Lair 1865:179 and Stephen of Liège *Vita sancti Lamberti*: 645; Lair 1865:283 and Stephen of Liège *Vita sancti Lamberti*: 659). Lambert's farewell sermon to his monks finds its way into the mouth of Duke Richard (Lair 1865:283; Stephen of Liège *Vita sancti Lamberti*: 655). Details from the account of the saint's funeral are also reproduced in the funeral of William (Lair, 1865: 208; Stephen of Liège *Vita sancti Lamberti*: 659).

Thus, there is a variety of indirect evidence that points to Liège as the place where Dudo was educated. He must have been educated at a major school, where at least a few of the arts were well taught, where the standard Carolingian poetic material and methods were covered, where he would have encountered prosimetrical texts and been encouraged to use the form, where he would have learned to write in rhythmic, rhymed prose, and where he would have read the life of St Lambert. Of the Carolingian centres we are familiar with, Liège is nearest and most nearly fills the bill.

This overview of Dudo's education, should alter our traditional readings of the *De moribus*, for Dudo structured his work to express a peculiarly Carolingian viewpoint and made stylistic and formal choices that are most comprehensible as features of that point of view. Dudo was aware of ordinary historical writing, for he did use some more standard historical sources, perhaps the *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, an annal or maybe even the annals of Flodoard, but he preferred to borrow one of the major forms of ecclesiastical history, the serial biography. Beginning with Paul the Deacon, who wrote a history of the bishops of Metz,

writers at many episcopal sees and some monasteries wrote biographies of their bishops and abbots. Often enough these works were begun at a time when the bishops faced opposition or the monasteries were under attack, or when a bishop was particularly proud of what he had accomplished. The *Gesta* of the bishops of Liège was contemporary with Dudo;¹⁵ he might have been familiar with it.

Although there had been a classical, secular tradition of serial biography, for example, the *Lives of the Caesars* of Suetonius and its continuation, the *Historia augusta*, as well as works in the *De viris illustribus* tradition, serial biography had fallen out of favour for secular history by the middle ages, because it was an inconvenient way of dealing with political history. Historians might use the reigns of kings as an organizing principle, as did Richer, but they did not bother to begin with their births and childish deeds. Nonetheless, Dudo did choose this genre for his history of the dukes, even though it provides for awkward transitions between books. He might have deemed the form particularly appropriate, because he had chosen a religious theme, the salvation of the Normans, to hold his biographies together. For the same reason, he doubtless felt free to borrow details from hagiographies.

The *De moribus* tells the story of the conversion of the Normans beginning with their first, persistently pagan leader, Hasting. Hasting pretends to convert to Christianity, a diabolic parody of the true conversion of Rollo that is to come, but it is clear that Hasting's story is merely prologue. In Dudo's mind Hasting is a scourge of God, chosen to chasten the French for their sins. Later Norman leaders will convert sincerely

and bring prosperity to France.¹⁶

The second Norman ruler, Rollo, is convinced by a vision to seek both Normandy and conversion. In his vision, Rollo has leprosy, which he cures by bathing in a fountain. Now cured, he looks around and spies birds with red left wings, bathing in the fountain, building nests and eating. It is easy to interpret Rollo's vision as referring primarily to his baptism, but clearly something more is intended. The Christian who interprets Rollo's vision is quite explicit on this point (Lair 1865:146):

By the birds of many kinds, whose left wings are red, whose farthest extent you cannot see, you may understand men of many provinces with shields on their arms whose innumerable multitude you will see gathered together when they have become your followers; by the birds immersed in the fountain, and washed in it in turn, and eating a common meal, [you may understand] the people polluted with the contagion of the old evil, who are to be washed in a figurative sense by baptism, nourished with the sustenance of the sacrosanct body and blood of Christ.

The echoes in the story of the Donation of Constantine, particularly in the metaphor of leprosy for contamination by original sin and the cure of that disease by baptism, imply that the story that is to follow concerns not only the ruler but his yet-to-be converted people.¹⁷

Rollo's conversion is, of necessity, only the beginning of the story, for although from this point the dukes were Christian, many of their followers were not. Rollo's son William is dogged by the persistence of paganism, when his probably pagan follower Riulf rises against him; Dudo explicitly acknowledges the persistence of paganism during William's reign.¹⁸ William's son Richard is forced by the attacks of his enemies to seek pagan allies, whom

he must later convert to Christianity. Only when these last pagans have been converted or expelled can there be reconciliation between Richard and his French enemies. After this, Dudo tells of the foundation of Fécamp, the last event recorded in Richard's biography. (It is significant that Dudo chooses to write nothing about the nearly thirty years intervening between these two events.) The founding of the monastery fulfills Rollo's vision; only then can the story end for only then is Normandy free of paganism. Indeed, Richard is said to embody the Beatitude, "Blessed are those who suffer for the sake of justice" because he converted pagans to Christianity and tolerated them in order to protect France from them (Lair 1865:295). This reference occurs at the end of a series of similar statements; in the first of these, Dudo also mentions paganism (Lair 1865:293). Thus, Dudo has placed some reference to paganism in the two points of greatest emphasis in the passage.

In comparison to contemporary histories, like Richer's history of the kings of France, this religious theme seems almost bizarre. If Dudo wanted to talk about the salvation of the Normans, why would he have chosen to write about the dukes? And if he wished to write about the dukes, why would he have chosen a religious theme which might seem, as William of Jumièges found it, "almost totally adulatory" (Marx 1914:2)? The obvious reason is that Dudo wished to argue not simply for divine election of Norman dukes to rule over Neustria, but a specifically Christian purpose for that rule. It is the proto-Christian Virgil that Dudo is following here, the man who celebrated Augustus's Rome because from it Christianity

arose, the Virgil of the fourth 'prophetic' eclogue. The primary model for this sort of history is not so much the *translatio imperii* as the *Ecclesiastical history* of Bede, in which the pagan Anglo-Saxons are permitted to conquer the Christian Britons, afterwards becoming a new people dedicated to God in their turn. But although the occasional hero of the *Ecclesiastical history* is royal, the most prominent figures are those of saintly monks and bishops. So we have to ask why Dudo chose to portray his dukes as the most important figures in the conversion of the Normans, rather than bishops or monks.

This may be a rare case in which Dudo has bowed to historical realities. The Norman church was deeply disrupted by the Viking invasions and only completely recovered in the reign of William the Conqueror. Apart from Rouen, no see was continually occupied (Douglas 1957:101-2). Monasteries were also badly affected, the monks fleeing to safe havens. The monks of Jumièges ended up in Flanders and were unable to bring their books back when the monastery was re-established. There was no organized Church to rebuild the shattered faith. But this was probably not the only reason that Dudo chose to attribute the conversion to the dukes.

Here it is particularly useful to know about Dudo's Carolingian viewpoint. In Carolingian thinking, the ruler functioned in two spheres—he was the defender of the state and the defender of the Church. To defend the Church, the ruler had to facilitate its operation, to punish sins, to see that suitable men were chosen to direct it, to make sure that the regular clergy conformed to the demands of the Rule, to extirpate

heresy, to encourage conversion, to defend the property of the Church, to beat off the attacks of pagans, and to give an example of piety and good works. This was the justification for the primary role that Carolingian monarchs played in monastic reform and theological deliberation.¹⁹

Because of the king's responsibility for ecclesiastical affairs, and because kings were anointed, kings shared some of the qualities of bishops, and good kings, some of the virtues of saints. The similarity is clear in Carolingian panegyrics, for the praise heaped on kings and counts is really no different from that addressed to bishops. Naturally lesser rulers imitated the greater, and so the Norman dukes shared in responsibility for the Church and received the same sort of praise. But Dudo was writing toward the end of the period when secular control of the religious sphere was considered the natural order of things. Two generations later, Leo IX would gather round him a body of reformers who would attack the assumption of religious responsibilities by secular rulers. Had Dudo lived fifty years later, he would have had to write quite a different history.

Dudo, in short, wrote in a thoroughly Carolingian tradition. His training affected the shape he gave his plot, his choice of structure and genre, the style, and the arrangement of the text. If Dudo chose to show his dukes as saints, it was in part because the models he had for historical writing were hagiographies and episcopal biographies, and in part because he lived before the separation between the functions of clerical and lay rulers was institutionalized. If he was careless of the facts, it was because the grandeur of his plot was more important

than mere facts. God had had a plan for the Normans and they had converted to Christianity; in Dudo's mind, this could not have happened without the dukes. If true events could not provide material for this most edifying theme, how God promised reward and withheld it until paganism had disappeared, and how the dukes proved indomitable fighters in the Lord's army, Dudo would use his imagination. The lessons were true, even if the anecdotes that illustrated them were not, and it was the higher truth that counted most. Bede did no less, although he did it considerably more subtly.

But, of course, no less important than Dudo's inclinations were the inclinations of his patrons, for the *De moribus* was commissioned by them. What did the dukes have in mind? About this, beyond speaking of the commissioning of the work,²⁰ Dudo tells us nearly nothing, but we can make some guesses.

William of Jumièges, writing two generations after Dudo, and clearly formed by a different tradition, disturbed by the falsehoods he found in the *De moribus*, accounted for its oddities by stressing the debt of the history to Raoul d'Ivry, Richard I's half-brother (Marx 1916:2), which was another way of saying that the ducal family controlled the contents of the history. But although the dukes might have given Dudo some of his information, they cannot have exerted much control over the form of the work.

The reason is that they had no direct access to the scholarly Carolingian traditions that, as I have indicated, are so important in the work. It seems improbable that any member of the Norman court recognized the literary traditions underlying the work,

for example, that the caerulean waters of the Seine in Dudo's poem flowed from the springs of Fortunatus's Moselle (Lair 1865:276; Fortunatus, *Carmina*, 654). The general level of Latinity at the court cannot have been high.²¹ Latin was probably only used as an ecclesiastical and diplomatic language; when it was necessary to use Latin, the dukes would have people (like Dudo) to speak and write Latin for them. The elegance of the rhymed prose and the variety of the verse (as well as its not infrequent tedium) were for the Latin reader only.

This complex work, therefore, cannot have been intended primarily for the edification or amusement of Normans, although parts of it could well have served that purpose in vernacular renditions, as Searle (1984:120 and elsewhere) implies, for not all the tales in the *De moribus* are directly related to the theme of conversion and many would have been enjoyable in their own right.²² However, if the purpose was not purely entertainment, what was it?

The most likely answer is that although Richard himself was unable to appreciate the extent of Dudo's attainments (and in this he was not alone among French princes of the late tenth century), he was certainly able to appreciate that Dudo was cultured. In commissioning his history, Richard wished to show that he was cultivated enough himself to play the role of patron; he wanted his Normans to be commemorated in a form that would be a recognized sign of achievement inside or outside of Normandy. This does not mean that the Normans themselves had been totally assimilated into the western Latin tradition by 994, when Dudo says he received his

commission. Historians are still battling over how fully the Normans had converted to Christianity, what proportion of the Scandinavian population the dukes controlled, and how widely Scandinavian languages were still spoken at that time. However, there is some evidence, regardless of the problem of how assimilated the Normans were as a people, that the dukes wanted to conform to late Carolingian practices.²³

Not only did Normandy still have the configurations of the Carolingian units with only minor deviations (Bates 1982:25-6), but it was ruled, as far as can be gathered from the surviving evidence, in a largely Carolingian way. While there is some argument about how disrupted life was during the invasions (see Searle 1986:200), all would concede that the restoration, however complete it needed to be, was along Carolingian lines. Inasmuch as they were able, the dukes imitated Carolingians. The coins William I minted, the palace he began at Fécamp, and the provisions for his marriage, all followed Frankish models (Bates 1982:12). Although the dukes were perfectly willing to ignore the authority of the Carolingians when it suited them, Richard I did bother to obtain their confirmation for his re-establishment of Mont Saint-Michel (Bates 1982:23). We need not accept the testimony of Adémar of Chabannes that William abandoned the use of his "gentile" tongue for Latin (Chavanon 1897:148) to see that a certain measure of conscious assimilation was involved.

In similar fashion, the dukes consciously picked up the unravelled threads of the past when it came to religious policies. When William and the Richards came around to

founding monasteries, they did not build new foundations, they rebuilt old ones. Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Ouen, Mont Saint-Michel, Saint-Taurin, and Fécamp, the foundations of these three dukes, were all Carolingian or Merovingian in origin. All originally enjoyed royal patronage, so that as the new patrons, the dukes picked up a mantle that had dropped from royal shoulders. This pattern of re-establishing institutions with a lengthy tradition continued under Robert the Magnificent, whose two foundations, Cerisy and Montivilliers, were also recreations of vanished houses. Only Bernay, established by Countess Judith from her dower lands (see Fauroux 1961:131-5, where Richard II makes note of this foundation), was an exception to this general trend and Richard II took the opportunity of attaching it to Fécamp after her death.

To be sure this policy also profited the dukes. When as patrons they claimed the right to watch over their monasteries, they kept the power those monasteries represented in their own hands, as they did when they exercised their right to appoint bishops to Norman sees. But their decisions were not purely political. The charter evidence shows that when the dukes re-established a monastery, they made an effort to return to the revitalized institution the land that had belonged to it before the invasions (Bates 1982:32).

And they were quite serious about the quality of religion in their lands. Richard I tried twice to bring in foreign ecclesiastical figures to resuscitate the Norman church, but neither Gerard of Brogne or Odilo of Cluny was able or willing to do this. Normandy was still too wild a place.

Richard II, however, was more successful in his reforming efforts. He brought William of Volpiano to Normandy just after his father's death, a move which brought Normandy thoroughly up to date as far as monastic reform was concerned. Richard I was also a friend of the reformer, St Richard of Saint-Vannes, whose pilgrimage to Jerusalem the duke helped finance (Hugh of Flavigny, *Vita sancti Ricardi*, 469).

In big and little ways, then, the dukes tried to conform to Carolingian models, and wished to be seen to conform. In this light, their need for Dudo is clear. Dudo's skills were probably what encouraged Albert of Vermandois (who was the lay abbot of Saint-Quentin) to choose him as his envoy to Richard I, even though Dudo was still fairly young.²⁴ It seems equally clear that Richard I chose to keep Dudo in Normandy because he recognized that Dudo was a useful intermediary between the Normans and the still somewhat alien culture Richard was trying to emulate. He used Dudo as his chaplain and chancellor (for so he is named in one of the charters); who better than one of the finer products of the Latin education of the time to make Norman practice conform better to learned standards, particularly since Richard's efforts to attract reformers met with failure? His commissioning of a Norman history was a similar attempt to demonstrate Norman cultural attainment, for every newcomer to the Latin Christian West had its own Latin history—the Lombards, the Anglo-Saxons, the Saxons, the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths had all been commemorated.

Even if the dukes could not appreciate what Dudo's skill had produced in all its gaudy perfection, there is no reason to be-

lieve that had Dudo taken his history in a direction they did not approve of, they would have tolerated it. Although Richard I might have had few alternatives if he discarded Dudo, by Richard II's time, Normandy had several centres of learning.²⁵ Since the *De moribus* was not yet complete when Richard I died, Richard II could have assigned the task to someone else, but Dudo tells us that it was only because the new duke urged him to that he completed his project (Lair 1865:119). Had Richard II been unhappy about the light in which the dukes were shown, he could certainly have found someone else to write the history.²⁶

In fact, he was probably happy with the way the dukes were represented, as politically decisive and religiously responsible rulers, and with the way the Normans were depicted, as a people with a colorful past, now firmly converted to Christianity while maintaining their proud Norman independence. If identification with French and Christian interests was not entirely the order of the day, and we should not forget that in the summer of 1014, the year before this work was probably completed, soon-to-be St Olaf visited Rouen on his way to raid England,²⁷ it was the way Richard I had wanted and Richard II wanted to be seen.

It is in the context of the dukes' desire to imitate French ways and to be seen to imitate them that we might view the dedication of the *De moribus* to Adalberon rather than to one of the dukes. Adalberon was the adviser and faithful agent of the Capetian kings, as well as a formidable scholar. Since the Normans were Capetian allies, Dudo (and perhaps Richard II himself) may have hoped to re-enforce the alliance and force a

reassessment of the Normans in French circles.

Whether because of Dudo's work or not, there is some evidence that French views of the Normans had begun to change by the third decade of the eleventh century. Adémar of Chabannes, writing in 1028, a mere decade after Dudo, still has much to say that might be embarrassing to the Normans about Rollo, namely that upon his death Rollo both donated to the Church and gave human sacrifices to his old gods. Yet Adémar did realize that Norman society had changed since 911. He was respectful of William Longsword, and he has nothing but praise for Richard II (Chavanon 1897:139, 148, 155). Adémar may not have learned about the dukes from Dudo, but the *De moribus* did find an audience in the areas contiguous to Normandy and in Normandy. It was copied and read²⁸ and few worried about whether it was truthful or not. It is not unusual even today to pick up an old history textbook and find in it Dudo's most famous falsehood, about how Rollo refused to kiss the king's foot in homage but instead delegated a follower to do this, and how the follower, disgusted, lifted the foot to his mouth and tipped the king over backward. And why not? It seems to us that it ought to have happened, just as it seemed to Dudo that God ought to have predestined the Norman dukes to lead their people to salvation and glory, and just as the dukes must have felt that they ought to be depicted as wise and saintly Carolingian rulers.

Notes

¹ As far as historical sources are concerned, it seems possible that Dudo had read the *Historia Francorum Senonensis*. There was a copy of the work in Normandy in the twelfth century (Chibnall 1973:xvi, 343–50). Dudo and this Norman version both say that William Longsword was instrumental in the return of Louis d'Outremer to France (the standard version assigns that role to William of Amiens), but the Norman version of the *Historia* may have been 'corrected' from Dudo's text. Dudo may also have had access to the annals of Flodoard, since there was a copy in Normandy from 1001 on (Lauer 1905:xlix). He may also have known the Saint-Bertin annals (Lair 1865:26; Prentout 1916:27). He also seems to have known the *Getica*, Orosius's history and the *Cosmographia Aethica* (Prentout 1916:34; Lair 1865:129.) For the previously identified literary sources, see Manitius (1923:257–65).

² See Shopkow 1984:592–615. It also seems likely that Dudo knew Bede's *Ecclesiastical history*, because Dudo makes a pun on *Anglos* and *Angelos*, much like the one Bede attributes to St Gregory (Lair 1865:144–5; Colgrave and Mynors 1969:132–4). However, Bede's history was only a general model for ecclesiastical history; it does not seem likely that Dudo took source material from it.

³ Dudo was rewarded, either for his service as ducal chaplain and chancellor (see Fauroux 1961:89, 102) or for writing his history; his two benefices were later donated to Saint-Quentin, presumably at the end of his service to the dukes (Fauroux 1961:100–2). There was not an organized chancery in Dudo's time, and would not be until about 1066. Most charters were written by the monasteries which were to benefit (Bates 1982:154). Dudo's scribal activities must have been a sometime thing, the occasional document written for the dukes when necessary. One of the charters copied by Dudo concerns his own benefices, so his activities fit the pattern described above.

⁴ Thompson 1939:670–2. There is no extant catalogue for Fulda before the sixteenth century, but many of the manuscripts listed in the later catalogue came from the Carolingian period.

⁵ Thorpe 1969:19. Even Suetonius was not that widely available. Servatus Lupus had to write to Fulda to find a copy (Thompson 1939:70).

⁶ Behrends 1976:xvii; xxv–xxvi. Several chronicles say that Fulbert studied at Reims, although Behrends points out that imposing figures in the literary world were routinely said to have been educated

at the major centres of their day. Ivo of Chartres was similarly believed to have been educated at Bec.

⁷ Vopelius-Holtzmann bases her argument for Reims on Dudo's knowledge of Boethian materials. Dudo clearly knew the *De musica* and the *De arithmetica*. Vopelius-Holtzmann attempts to trace the knowledge of these texts (1967:279ff.), which she believes not to have been widely available before 1000. She argues that his knowledge of the *De musica* could only have come from Reims (281). However, the *De musica* was available at Liège, for Egbert of Liège quotes from it in his *Fecunda ratis* (c. 1026) (Voigt 1889:206, l. 3 and n). It would be unwise to take too seriously the statements of medieval scholars, in this case Richer, about what kind of education was available at different schools. Musical study was already planted at Liège in the reign of Bishop Stephen (902–920), who was a friend of Hucbald of Saint-Amand, author of four treatises on music: *De harmonica institutione*, *Musica enchiridis*, *Scholia enchiridis de arte musica*, and *Commemoratio brevis ex tonis et psalmis modulandis*. Hucbald sent a copy of one of his treatises to Stephen.

⁸ Much of Dudo's knowledge seems to have been second-hand. His acquaintance with the philosophy of Eriugena clearly comes from Heiric of Auxerre's *Vita sancti Germani*, as do many classical citations. Even material ultimately deriving from Virgil, whom Dudo must have read, comes from Heiric's work. Other citations would seem to come from *florilegia*. The final conclusion must be that Dudo was not as widely read as his quotations might lead the unwary to believe.

⁹ For example, Heiric invented a metre of mixed adonics, archilochians, ferecratians, and glyconics (Heiric *Vita sancti Germani*: 474), which Dudo also used (Lair 1865:178).

¹⁰ Heiric's text was sometimes glossed in the manuscripts to explain the Greek terms for non-Greek readers, so Dudo would have understood them (see Dutton 1980:452). It is possible that Dudo knew some Greek; however, he uses words only in the same cases as Heiric, and the passages which contain Greek tend to be the most slavishly quoted, so it seems more likely that Dudo's command of Greek extended as far as the alphabet and not much further. Prentout does argue that it was possible for someone in Northern France to learn some Greek at the time (1916:439ff.), but I am not convinced that Dudo did.

¹¹ Lesne 1940:349–59. Another possibility was that Dudo was sent to Liège because of the communities of canons regular there; there were more than a dozen by Bishop Notker's time (Dereine 1952:36–7). Since Liège was in the orbit of the Empire

in this period, rather than France, if Dudo were educated there, it might account for the generally favorable opinion of the emperors; when they are involved in nefarious deeds, it is invariably because the French kings (or queens) have tricked them into it.

¹² For an example of the style, compare to the *Vita sancti Lamberti*. I have arranged the passage to show the rhyme scheme; it is prose (Stephen of Liège *Vita sancti Lamberti*: 646).

Tum sane columba Christi sine felle
amaritudinis, /Lantbertus, videlicet alumnus
laudabilis, /solerte adhaerens magisterio praefati
antistitis, /coepit illum venerari sicut dominum, /diligere
quemadmodum patrem charissimum, /Et in
cunctis actibus obsequi, /juxta edictum apostoli, /cui
decebat servum Domini.

Dudo's rhymes are usually richer than Stephen's.

¹³ For example, the *De virginibus* of Aldhelm, which was written in a prose and poetic version, or the *Life of St Cuthbert*, originally composed in prose by an anonymous author; Bede supplied both a poetic and a new prose version.

¹⁴ Dudo probably did not know the *Antapodosis* of Liutprand of Cremona, which was also a prosimetrical historical work. However, although modern historians have not tended to see saints' lives as history, liturgists have known well that saints' lives within the liturgy were called *historiae*, and saints' lives, along with the Bible and other religious materials were routinely considered history in the middle ages.

¹⁵ Heriger of Lobbes was working on his *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium* under Bishop Notker (Manitius 1923:221).

¹⁶ Lair 1865:136. In the poem in which Dudo promises this, he echoes the 'prophetic' eclogue (the fourth) of Virgil (Lair 1865: 136; *Eclogues*, 4:7.)

¹⁷ Not only does Dudo echo the story of the Donation here and when he has Rollo give gifts to St Denis, who, he discovers is the most important saint in France (Constantine gives his gift to St Peter for the same reason), but he also echoes Bede's story of the conversion of the English. In an earlier vision, Rollo dreams he is told to go *ad Angelos*. A conveniently nearby Christian interprets the dream to mean that Rollo is being urged to convert, after which he will go *ad Angelos*, that is, to heaven (Lair 1865:144f). In the best tradition of the middle ages the message is polysemous; Rollo will fulfil it on both the figurative and the literal level.

¹⁸ Riulf is not explicitly said to be pagan, but Dudo employs biblical imagery. The army which beats him is said to be like the army of Gideon strik-

ing the Midianites and the Amalekites; God had made Gideon take a small army lest the Israelites attribute their success to their own efforts (Lair 1865:191; Judges 7:2-23). The sin of these nearby people was, of course, their gentility. Dudo later says about William that, "He led pagans and unbelievers with gifts and words to the cult of the true faith, urging believers to praise Christ" (Lair 1865:193).

¹⁹ For royal reforms of the Church, see McKitterick 1977; for discussion of the Carolingian view of kingship, see also Morrison 1964, Ullmann 1969, particularly 43-70, and McKitterick 1983:187-96. These notions were conveyed to Carolingian rulers in many forms, including advice in letters, but the clearest statement of the duties of the ruler appear in the "mirrors of princes", treatises offering advice to the ruler. The three most prominent are Sedulius Scotus's *De rectoribus christianis* (Hellman 1908); Jonas of Orleans's *De institutione regia* (Reviron 1930); and Smaragdus's *Via regia*. Dudo insists in several places that the dukes fulfilled all the responsibilities of the good ruler and includes long catalogues of their virtues (Lair 1865:183, 193, 248, 261, 268, and 293ff.).

²⁰ As Dudo tells us, "Two years before his [duke Richard's] death, I was, as was my common custom, with the most excellent duke Richard, the son of the marquis William, wishing to render him the duties of my office, because of the many benefits which he deigned to enrich me with, completely in the absence of merit on my part. Coming to me one day, he began to embrace me with the arms of pious love, and to tug at me with sweet words and to urge me with pleasant prayers and even to insist and swear and to urge that if I could by any means, I should fulfil the long desired wishes of his heart: namely, that I should write down the customs and deeds of Normandy, and especially of his forefather Rollo, in pleasing words, and the customs that he instituted in his realm" (Lair 1865: 119). Dudo then goes on to explain that he had already commenced the work when Richard I died, whereupon he stopped until Richard II and his uncle Raoul d'Ivry persuaded him to continue.

²¹ Although Richard I spoke some Scandinavian tongue (Lair: 221-2), it is unclear whether he spoke Latin. Dudo says that while a hostage at the court of Louis IV he learned the "mellifluous sweetness of palace discourse" (Lair 1865:230), which may simply mean that he learned the finer points of court French. Had Richard known Latin, it seems likely that Dudo would have mentioned the fact, as it was sufficiently unusual in his contemporary, Robert the Pious, for his biographer, Helgaud of Fleury, and others to note. Richard II's interest in ecclesiastical affairs is better

documented than his father's, but this did not mean that he knew Latin. As for other members of the court, with the (possible) exception of Archbishop Robert, knowledge of Latin cannot have been widespread.

²² For example, some of the stories seem intended to illustrate the soubriquets by which the dukes were known. One of the stories tells how William's troops, insulted by negative comments about their leader by Saxon soldiers, began a riot. William sent a messenger to tell them to stop, but they would not until William gave the messenger his sword. Upon seeing the sword, the troops immediately returned to their tents (Lair 1865:197). This seems to illustrate the nickname 'Longsword' by which William was known. Similarly, an anecdote in which Richard calmly eats breakfast while his enemies advance on him seems intended to illustrate his nickname, 'the Fearless'. Dudo actually describes him in those terms, "Richard, the fearless duke ..." (Lair 1865:271). Such stories clearly expressed Norman pride.

²³ Even critics like Eleanor Searle, who sees the Normans as assimilating less easily than has been generally assumed, agrees that the dukes did attempt to take their place among the Carolingian nobility (see Searle 1986:212-13).

²⁴ Dudo tells us that he is fifty in his final poem (Lair 1865:301, l. 43), which was probably written around 1015; we can assume that he means he is about fifty. If he were sent to Normandy in 988 or 989, he would have been approximately twenty-five.

²⁵ Sometime after the turn of the eleventh century, a satirist named Warner of Rouen wrote a poem in which he mocked a monk who had come to Rouen to study music (Mussat 1954). When Fécamp and Jumièges were reformed by William of Volpiano in the early eleventh century, standard programs of Cluniac study were instituted (Lesne 1940:115).

²⁶ Vopelius-Holtzmann suggests that Dudo left Normandy because of a disagreement with Richard II over the conversion of communities of canons to monasteries under the supervision of William of Volpiano. She suggests that because of this quarrel the work ended prematurely with the life of Richard I (Vopelius-Holtzmann 1967:482ff.). While this is possible, a more likely reason for Dudo's departure was that he was elderly by the standards of the day and eager to go home. Dudo did not need to go beyond the life of Richard I, because his work was complete. He had shown the full process of the conversion of the Normans and the fulfilment of Rollo's dream and mission (see also Shopkow 1984:77-104, particularly 99-104).

²⁷ This dating is conjectural. In 1015 Dudo donated the benefices that Richard I had given to him to Saint-Quentin and sometime about that time he became Dean of the congregation (Fauroux 1961:100-2; *Gallia christiana*, 9:1045). It seems reasonable to believe that Dudo left Normandy at that time, and that the *De moribus* was then complete. We know about Olaf's visit from William of Jumièges, among others. He erroneously reports that Olaf was called in by Canute to assist in the conquest of England. But he goes on to explain how Olaf spent some time in Normandy, during which he helped Richard II deal with Odo of Dol. This would seem to be about 1014 (Marx 1916:86-7 & n. 1).

²⁸ Unfortunately, we do not know as much about where the *De moribus* was read as we might like. In her recent survey of the manuscripts, Dudo's new editor, G. Huisman (1984) was unable to determine the provenance of some of the manuscripts. Of those whose origins were determined, Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 800, came from Anchin in Flanders (1984:126), while Cambridge, MS. Corpus Christi College 276, was from Canterbury (1984:130). This suggests a primarily Norman/Flemish/English interest in the work. It certainly never travelled as far as Bede's work did. But the work survived in fifteen manuscripts, making it moderately successful (see Guenée 1980:255). Huisman's argument that it was really never superseded by the work of later historians (1984:135) is persuasive.

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