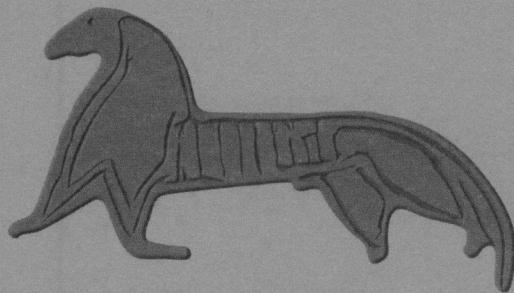


# Toogtredivte tværfaglige VIKINGESYMPORIUM

Syddansk Universitet 2013



Forlaget Wormianum



# **Beretning fra toogtredive tværfaglige vikingesymposium**

Redigeret af

Lars Bisgaard  
Mette Bruus  
Peder Gammeltoft

Forlaget Wormianum, Højbjerg

2013

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Redigeret af Lars Bisgaard, Mette Bruus & Peder Gammeltoft  
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biolog

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Förde

x

Wiesen & Geißel

in einem sehr schönen, kleinen Dorf  
sich auf die Straße zu begeben.

V.

Sally W. Vande

am 10. Februar 1890 nach Berlin, um  
zuerst eine Reise durch den Westen des  
Landes zu unternehmen und dann nach  
Potsdam und Berlin zurückzukehren.

23

bis nach Potsdam zurück.

Die Reise ist sehr interessant.  
Viele Orte, die wir besucht haben,  
haben wir nie zuvor gesehen.

24

aus Potsdam zurück.

Heute Nachmittag sind wir zurückgekehrt.

# Forord

Fredag den 31. maj 2013 var Center for Middelalderstudier ved Syddansk Universitet vært for det 32. tværfaglige vikingesymposium. 57 havde tilmeldt sig på forhånd, og flere kom til på selve dagen. Programmet var helliget normannernes historieskrivning og det heri udtrykte syn på deres skandinaviske oprindelse. Seks foredragsholdere var inviteret, heriblandt den store kender på området Thomas Foerster. Dagen sluttede med en præsentation af de store fund, som er gjort øst for Odense af en hidtil ukendt, men omfattende bebyggelse fra tiden før og under Vikingetiden.

Atter i år har vi arbejdet intenst med at få oplæggene trykt så hurtigt som muligt, og det er en stor glæde at kunne præsentere fire af dem i dette hæfte og se dem blive udgivet i samme kalenderår. Omkostningen har været, at det er et udvalg, der bringes, da det siger sig selv, at ikke alle forfattere kan lægge alt andet til side og alene prioritere denne opgave.

Redaktionen vil gerne rette en tak til forfatterne for deres anstrengelser og for at have arbejdet særdeles hurtigt. Ligeledes vil vi gerne takke *Institut for Historie* og grundforskningscentret *Centre for Medieval Literature* (CML), begge Syddansk Universitet, for økonomisk støtte til såvel afholdelse af seminar som trykning af beretning.

Mette Bruus, Syddansk Universitetsbibliotek  
Lars Bisgaard, Institut for Historie

The "rebirth" of the field of environmental communication has been driven by a variety of factors. One is the recognition that environmental communication is a discipline in its own right, and that it must be distinguished from other fields such as marketing, public relations, and advertising. Another factor is the increasing interest in environmental issues among the general public, which has led to a greater demand for environmental communication. A third factor is the recognition that environmental communication can be used to promote sustainable development and to combat climate change.

Given the importance of environmental communication in today's world, it is encouraging to see that there are now many books and articles available on the topic. However, one area that has received relatively little attention is the role of environmental communication in the promotion of sustainable development. This book aims to address this gap by providing a comprehensive overview of the role of environmental communication in promoting sustainable development. It covers a range of topics, including the role of environmental communication in promoting sustainable development through education, media, and marketing, as well as the challenges and opportunities for environmental communication in the future. I hope that this book will be useful to students, practitioners, and researchers interested in environmental communication and its role in promoting sustainable development.

Finally, I would like to thank the authors for their excellent work, and I hope that this book will be a valuable resource for anyone interested in environmental communication and its role in promoting sustainable development.

# The Courtly Viking: Education and mores in Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Chronicle

*Michael H. Gelting*

Dudo of Saint-Quentin's monumental history of the first three Norman dukes<sup>1</sup> has engendered endless scholarly debates on almost every aspect of the work, and no small amount of scholarly exasperation. It is frustrating indeed that the principal narrative source for the history of Normandy in the tenth century is demonstrably fanciful in the extreme in its account of the events which Dudo chose to include in his text.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Dudo left out huge chunks of the history that he purported to treat, not least almost everything that occurred during the last thirty years of the rule of

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1 *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniæ ducum auctore Dudone Sancti Quintini decani*, ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865-72) [hereafter Dudo, ed. Lair]. English translations: Dudo of St Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998) [hereafter Dudo, trans. Christiansen]; *Viking Normandy: Dudo of St. Quentin's Gesta Normannorum*, trans. F. Lifshitz (internet publication, 1996; web address: [http://www.the-orb.net/orb\\_done/dudo/dudindex.html](http://www.the-orb.net/orb_done/dudo/dudindex.html)) [hereafter Dudo, trans. Lifshitz]. I have relied mainly upon Christiansen's translation, checking with Lifshitz's in case of doubt. – I wish to thank Dr Benjamin Pohl (Bamberg) and an anonymous peer reviewer for important references that have enabled me to improve the article considerably.

2 Against the arguments for Dudo's trustworthiness in Dudo, ed. Lair, pp. 26-103, 315-20, see E. Dümmeler, 'Zur Kritik Dudos von St. Quentin', *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 6 (1866), pp. 357-89, with 'Nachträge', *ibid.* 9 (1869), p. 651; G. Waitz, 'Ueber die Quellen zur Geschichte der Begründung der Normannischen Herrschaft in Frankreich', *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 6 (1866), pp. 69-96, with 'Nachtrag', *ibid.* 6 (1866), p. 390; H.H. Howorth, 'A Criticism of the Life of Rollo, as told by Dudo de St. Quentin', *Archaeologia* 45 (1880), pp. 235-50, and especially H. Prentout, *Étude critique sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin et son histoire des premiers ducs normands* (Paris, 1916).

his principal hero, Duke Richard I. The narrative jumps from events in the mid-960s to Richard's founding of the abbey of Fécamp around 990 and thence to his death in 996. The end of Dudo's detailed narrative coincides with the end of his principal written source, Flodoard of Reims's Annals, and no other chronicle or annalistic text was available to him to compensate for the loss of this essential source of information.<sup>3</sup> Despite this partial explanation, both the fancifulness of Dudo's work and its large gaps have left scholars wondering about its purpose and intended audience. These questions are made even more puzzling by the style of the text. Dudo wrote a prosimetrum, a prose text interspersed with a copious array of verse, much of it in difficult and comparatively rare metre; and even the prose requires quite a high degree of Latinity of its readers.<sup>4</sup> Presumably the commissioners of the work, Dukes Richard I and Richard II of Normandy, would have been utterly incapable of appreciating Dudo's art,<sup>5</sup> although, as we shall see, the validity of this judgment may be less self-evident than usually assumed.

What Dudo tells about the origin of the work does not bring

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3 Prentout, *Étude critique*, especially pp. 389-90, 396-99.

4 B. Pabst, *Prosimetrum: Tradition und Wandel einer Literaturform zwischen Spätantike und Spätmittelalter*, Ordo: Studien zur Literatur und Gesellschaft des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit 4 (Cologne etc., 1994), vol. 2, pp. 816-18, cf. also the table after p. 1086; cf. B. Pabst, 'Dudo und die prosimetrische Tradition', in *Dudone di San Quintino*, ed. P. Gatti and A. Degl'Innocenti, Labirinti: Collana del Dipartimento di Scienze Filologiche e Storiche 16 (Trento, 1995), pp. 103-30; L. Boje Mortensen, 'Stylistic Choice in a Reborn Genre: The National Histories of Widukind of Corvey and Dudo of St. Quentin', in *Dudone di San Quintino*, ed. Gatti and Degl'Innocenti, pp. 77-102, at pp. 100-1.

5 L. Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington DC, 1997), p. 184; E. Albu, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 40. Eric Christiansen suggests that Richard I's son Archbishop Robert of Rouen may have been a more important patron than the dukes; Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. xxvi.

us much further. He claims to have begun writing at the insistent entreaties of Duke Richard I shortly before the latter's death in 996,<sup>6</sup> and to have continued it at the behest of the old duke's son and successor Richard II and Richard I's half-brother Count Rodulf.<sup>7</sup> Probably, however, Dudo did not finish the text until after his return to his original house of Saint-Quentin to become its dean, in or shortly after 1015;<sup>8</sup> and he dedicated the work not to its commissioner, Duke Richard II, but to Bishop Adalbero of Laon,<sup>9</sup> who appears to have had no particular connection to Normandy.<sup>10</sup> Serious arguments have been put forward for Adalbero having been Dudo's teacher;<sup>11</sup> in that case Dudo, having left Normandy, chose to dedicate his work to his former master.

Discussions have mostly focussed upon the benefits that the dukes of Normandy might have hoped to derive from this learned work when presumably they were unable to appreciate it for themselves. This involves the question of Dudo's message, and on this point opinions have been remarkably divided. Whereas David Bates thinks that Dudo was 'concerned to belittle the memory of the Scandinavian past', Emily Albu argues that even though Dudo

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6 This is the date generally admitted by historians, following Pren-tout, *Étude critique*, p. 413. However, as pointed out by Felice Lifshitz, the earliest extant manuscripts of Dudo's work give the date as 1002; F. Lifshitz, *Viking Normandy: Dudo of St. Quen-tin's Gesta Normannorum. Introduction*, at [http://www.the-orb.net/orb\\_done/dudo/dudintro.html](http://www.the-orb.net/orb_done/dudo/dudintro.html) (text following note 1). In this article, I stick to the traditional date of 996; the question is not of major importance to my argument.

7 Dudo, ed. Lair, pp. 119-20.

8 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, pp. ix, xii. Felice Lifshitz's arguments for the possible completion of Dudo's work before 1015 are based on questionable assumptions about the use of titles in char-ters of the period and do not carry conviction; Lifshitz, *Intro-duction*, at notes 5-6.

9 Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 115.

10 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, pp. xxvii-xxix.

11 S. Lecouteux, 'Une reconstitution hypothétique du cheminement des Annales de Flodoard, depuis Reims jusqu'à Fécamp', *Tabu-laria «Etudes»* 4, 2004, pp. 1-38, at p. 32.

ostensibly showed the Normans to be fully integrated within Frankish and Latin culture, he included a more covert message, namely that the wolf-like ferocity of the Vikings was still just under the surface, ready to be activated at any attempt of aggression upon Normandy. Leah Shopkow sees a major purpose for the dukes in the simple fact of being patrons of such a learned work, thereby demonstrating their Christianity, their high level of culture, and their princely status, while the contents bolstered their legitimacy and displayed their political and military might. Most recently, Laurence Mathey-Maille has emphasized the hagiographical nature of Dudo's account of William Longsword and Richard I.<sup>12</sup>

Bewilderingly diverse as they may appear, none of these interpretations are necessarily mutually exclusive. A learned text such as Dudo's is open to multiple readings. Nevertheless, all of these explanations seem to skirt the major question of Dudo's intended audience. The most recent, detailed argument addressing that question seems to be Lars Boje Mortensen's in his assessment of Dudo's stylistic choices. Buttressed not only by stylistic analysis, but also by explicit quotations from Dudo, his hypothesis is that:

Many of the extraordinary features of Dudo's style are best explained if we put them in a school context. ... The work was an encyclopædia, a reference book of synonyms, of prosody, metres, rhetorical devices, geography, and even theology – a comprehensive school-book which one did not need to read from A to Z, but which might give one a good grounding in basic subjects and at the same time convince of the legitimacy of one's present rulers.<sup>13</sup>

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12 D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), p. xvi; Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, pp. 41-6; Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 185-7, cf. B. Pohl, 'Translatio imperii Constantini ad Normannos: Constantine the Great as a possible model for the depiction of Rollo in Dudo of St. Quentin's *Historia Normanorum*', *Millennium Yearbook on the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.* 9 (2012), pp. 297-339, at p. 306; L. Mathey-Maille, *Écritures du passé: Histoires des ducs de Normandie* (Paris, 2007), pp. 126-41.

13 Boje Mortensen, 'Stylistic Choice', pp. 94-102 (quotation at p.

Summarizing the findings of the unpublished dissertation of Barbara Vopelius-Holtzendorff, Eric Christiansen similarly interprets Dudo's chronicle as having been 'evidently intended for a learned, or learning, audience'.<sup>14</sup>

In the present article, I wish to follow up on these well-argued and convincing hypotheses by looking at some important and, to my knowledge, hitherto neglected ideological aspects of Dudo's descriptions of the dukes and their family. Even more clearly than Dudo's stylistic choices, these elements in his idealized pictures of the Norman rulers connect him to the new, humanistic and 'proto-courtly' learned milieus that arose around the German and Lotharingian schools – in particular the cathedral schools – from the mid-tenth century onwards.<sup>15</sup>

In the present article, being concerned with Dudo's ideological message, I will not address the question of his factual veracity in general. There is one exception, however. Since I adhere to the view that Dudo's writing should be understood in the context of a late-tenth and early-eleventh-century attempt to create a learned school milieu in Rouen, it is of some interest to assess his account of the state of schools in Normandy in the tenth century and

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100).

14 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, xxiii, cf. pp. xi-xii, referring to B. Vopelius-Holtzendorff, 'Dudo von Saint-Quentin: Der erste Geschichtsschreiber der Normandie 987-1015', unpublished dissertation, University of Göttingen (1967). I have not had the opportunity to use Vopelius-Holtzendorff's dissertation myself.

15 C.S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia, PA, 1985); C.S. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, PA, 1994); cf. M. Münster-Swendsen, 'Masters and Paragons: Learning, Power, and the Formation of a European Academic Culture c. 900-1230', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Copenhagen (2004); also M. Münster-Swendsen, 'The Model of Scholastic Mastery in Northern Europe c. 970-1200', in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200*, ed. S.N. Vaughn and J. Rubenstein, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 8 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 318-356.

especially of the education of William Longsword and Richard I, the two dukes who were brought up in Normandy. This question seems not to have attracted much attention in previous research.<sup>16</sup>

## Norman Schools

Tucked in the middle of the fourth and longest book of the work, there is a poem in which Dudo addresses the reader directly. The opening lines of this poem, no. 78, *Profusis precibus, lector, supplex tibi dico*, run like this:

Reader, with prayers profuse I supplicate thee,  
Skilled in the sevenfold arts, and competent.<sup>17</sup>

The reference to ‘the sevenfold arts’ shows that the reader Dudo had in mind was not just anybody capable of reading Latin, but someone who had followed, or was following, the full curriculum of the seven liberal arts; not only the *trivium* – grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics – but also the *quadrivium* – music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. This reference places Dudo’s work firmly within a scholastic setting.<sup>18</sup> The question is whether he was thinking of the schools of Rouen.

Another of Dudo’s poems does indeed suggest so. It is one of the poems which he addressed to the city of Rouen, no. 80, *O civitas fecundior quampluribus*. Here, the author laments that tenth-century Normandy lacked the learned men who could have written about the deeds of its dukes, but urges Rouen to produce them now, so that they may write about the achievements of the present duke and his successors:

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16 Even Henri Prentout, otherwise so detailed in his analysis of Dudo, treats this question in a rather off-hand way; Prentout, *Étude critique*, pp. 280, 332-3, 347-8.

17 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 144; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 269.

18 Boje Mortensen, ‘Stylistic Choice’, p. 101.

But as in days past I was not of your sojourners,  
I cannot rightly recount what he [i.e. Duke Richard I] endeavoured to do.  
If only you had possessed some warbling poets (*poetas*)  
By whom the good he pursued would have been matter for study!  
The *vates* (*vatibus*) are to blame, that you lack rhetoricians;  
Educate now in the arts boys innumerable  
That what the great father's posterity achieves  
They may know how to contrive into verse polymetric.<sup>19</sup>

Dudo's exhortation thus includes a negative characterization of the state of learning in Rouen before his own time. In order to assess the implications of that characterization, it is necessary to discuss a problem of interpretation which I have marked by leaving the Latin word *vates* untranslated here. The straightforward translation that suggests itself is 'poets'. However, it seems incongruous that Dudo should first bemoan the absence of poets and immediately afterwards blame the poets for the lack of rhetoricians. It is true that precisely these lines are heavily dependent on Heiric of Auxerre's *Vita Sancti Germani*,<sup>20</sup> but as I will argue below, Dudo used his intertextual references in a highly conscious way,<sup>21</sup> and the

19 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 147, with modification as argued below. Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 273: Sed, quod colonus non fui quoniam tuus, / Nescio digerere quæ studuit facere, / Utinam poetas possideres garrulos, / Quis bona quæ studuit elucubrata forent! / Quod vatibus culpa est, cares rhetoribus. / Instrue nunc pueros artibus inumeros, / Successio quidquid peraget magni patris, / Carmine multicano elucubrare sciant. While otherwise following Christiansen's translation of this poem, I think Lifshitz's rendering of *pueros* ... *inumeros* (Dudo, trans. Lifshitz, ch. 52) is more plausible than Christiansen's 'boys unacquainted with metre'; cf. the translation in J.M. Ziolkowski, *Jezebel: A Norman Latin poem of the early eleventh century*, Humana Civilitas: Studies and Sources relating to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance 10 (New York etc., 1989), p. 45: 'countless boys'. Although Christiansen's translation is defensible, it seems to be an unnecessary lectio difficilior. Conceivably, however, the ambiguity of the word may have been intentional on Dudo's part.

20 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 220 n. 415.

21 Cf. P. Stotz, 'Beobachtungen zur Intertextualität an den Gedichteinlagen in der Normannengeschichte Dudos von St-Quentin', in *Dudone di San Quintino*, ed. Gatti and Degl'Inno-

poem should not be translated so as to appear self-contradictory. Various solutions to this problem have been proposed.

Eric Christiansen attempts to get around the difficulty by translating *vates* by 'teachers', which would imply that schools were actually functioning in tenth-century Rouen.<sup>22</sup> However, the rare occurrences of the Latin word in this particular meaning appear to refer to persons having achieved the highest degree of mastery in their field;<sup>23</sup> hence it would seem a contradiction in terms to use it when blaming the teachers for their failings. Felice Lifshitz seeks to eliminate the incongruity by a different construction of the grammar of the sentence, seeing the *vates* (*vatibus*) as being parallel to the rhetoricians (*rhetoribus*): 'But it is a defect, you lack masters, bards'.<sup>24</sup> This solution is not particularly convincing, since it imposes a rather contrived reading upon a sentence that makes perfect sense in itself if read straightforwardly. In contrast, Jan Ziolkowski sticks to an uncomplicated reading of the line, assuming that Dudo was now blaming 'poets' in general and not specifically the (non-existing) Norman poets: 'And, a fact which is a reproach to poets, you lack orators'.<sup>25</sup>

Ziolkowski's choice illuminates the root of the problem perceived by all three translators, viz. that they assume that *vates* refers to the same kind of Latin poets as the preceding *poetae*. Possibly the solution to the problem might be that this was not the case. While *poeta* was a neutral term for 'poet', *vates* carried overtones of prophecy, soothsaying and pagan cult in general.<sup>26</sup> This

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centi, pp. 161-207, and Pabst, 'Dudo und die prosimetrische Tradition', discussed in more detail below, at notes 58-59.

22 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 147.

23 C.T. Lewis & C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*: Founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary (Oxford, 1879), s.v.

24 Dudo, trans. Lifshitz, ch. 52. Presumably 'bards' is the translation for *vatibus*, while *rhetoribus* is translated 'masters'.

25 Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 45.

26 Cf. in particular Cicero's denouncing of the 'superstitious' belief in *vates* and other soothsayers, quoted in Lewis & Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *vates*.

opens the possibility that Dudo's *vates* might refer to poets composing and performing within the Norse tradition, i.e. skalds. In Dudo's mind, such performers would certainly have been connected to pagan culture, and in the tenth century many of the Norse skalds still adhered to the old gods. If this was the meaning of *vates* in Dudo's poem, there would be no contradiction between its two statements about poets: 'If only you had possessed some warbling poets / By whom the good he pursued would have been matter for study! / The skalds are to blame, that you lack rhetoricians'. Indeed, the lack of both Latin poets and rhetoricians could be attributed to an abiding interest in the Norse oral tradition at the court of Rouen.

This can be no more than a suggestion. We do not have any direct evidence of skaldic performances at the Norman court in the tenth century. Snorri Sturluson's *Skáldatal* does not mention any of the Norman rulers among the patrons of skaldic poetry,<sup>27</sup> and the performance of the Icelandic skald Sigvatr Þórðarson at the court of Rouen c.1025, which has been haunting scholarly literature for a century,<sup>28</sup> is no more than a piece of wishful thinking on the part of modern historians.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, Rollo must have been familiar with skaldic poetry from his Norse homeland, and William Longsword may be assumed to have been so too. Richard I was originally sent for education to Bayeux in order to learn the Danish tongue, which was the predominant language there; thus he might have acquired the linguistic and cultural skills necessary for appreciating the art of skalds, and this is even more likely in the case

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27 Edited in *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar / Edda Snorronis Sturlaei*, ed. Jón Sigurðsson et al., vol. 3 pt. 2 (Copenhagen, 1887; reprint Osnabrück, 1966), pp. 251-286. See also the online edition at <http://www.heimskringla.no/original/snorre/skaldatal.php>.

28 It is mentioned, e.g., by Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, p. 43, with references to Adigard des Gautries (1954) and Prentout (1916).

29 As shown by J. Jesch, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age: The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 85-6.

of his wife Gunver with her more purely Norse background.

At least this discussion of Dudo's poem *O civitas fecundior quampluribus* shows that it is insufficient evidence for assuming the existence of Latin schools at any high level in tenth-century Rouen. Yet it seems unlikely that no training in Latin whatsoever had been available there in the tenth century. Alone among the Norman sees, the archbishopric of Rouen was able to boast a continuous series of incumbents throughout the century,<sup>30</sup> and these prelates must have had some means of educating their clergy. However, any such school is likely to have been operating at a very elementary level.<sup>31</sup> What is clear from Dudo's poem is that at the time of his writing, Rouen had recently acquired schools providing the full range of the seven liberal arts according to the curriculum that was spreading then, not least from the cathedral schools of the Ottonian empire, but also from those at Reims and Laon. As mentioned, it seems likely that Laon was the school where Dudo himself received his education.<sup>32</sup>

There is independent evidence to support such a conclusion. In her unpublished thesis, Barbara Vopelius-Holtzendorff argued that Dudo's work should be seen in the context of the establishing of one or more schools in Rouen in the first years of the eleventh century, and that Dudo himself may have played an important role

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30 L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, vol. 2, *L'Aquitaine et les Lyonnaises*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris, 1910), pp. 200-11; cf. J. Dubois, 'Les listes épiscopales témoins de l'organisation ecclésiastique et de la transmission des traditions', *Revue de l'histoire de l'église de France* 62 (1976), pp. 9-23, at pp. 12-13.

31 Cf. B. Leblond, *L'accésion des Normands de Neustrie à la culture occidentale (X<sup>ème</sup> - XI<sup>ème</sup> Siècles)* (Paris, 1966), p. 26.

32 Lecouteux, 'Une reconstitution hypothétique', p. 32. This hypothesis seems preferable to the more speculative arguments for Dudo's education at Liège advanced by L. Shopkow, 'The Carolingian world of Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989), pp. 19-37, at pp. 24-8; cf. Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. xi.

as a teacher there.<sup>33</sup> It appears from three of the few surviving ducal charters of the early eleventh century that not only Dudo, but also a physician named Desiderius and a grammarian called Albert had received land grants from Duke Richard II.<sup>34</sup> The duke's patronage of these intellectuals seems to indicate that he was actively working to create a learned milieu in Rouen. The existence of such a milieu is confirmed by the satirical works of Warner (or Garnier) of Rouen, which are approximately contemporary to Dudo's text, and of which the most well-known is the *Moriuht*.<sup>35</sup> This is a satire on Warner's fellow teacher Moriuht, an Irishman by birth, who is depicted as utterly incompetent and ridiculous, as he is enmeshed in a long series of scabrous episodes. While extremely gross, the *Moriuht* is also excellent Latin, and it shows that there was an intellectual milieu with some internal competition in Rouen in Dudo's time.<sup>36</sup> The evidence seems to support the conclusion that, whether he himself was literate or not, Duke Richard II was striving to create a learned school milieu in Rouen on the pattern of the

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33 Vopelius-Holtzendorff, 'Dudo', summarized in Dudo, trans. Christiansen, pp. xi-xii.

34 M. Fauroux, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 36 (Caen, 1961), n° 18, pp. 100-2, 8 September 1015 (in favour of Dudo, confirming an earlier grant by Duke Richard I); n° 42, pp. 146-8, c.1015 × 1026, and n° 53, pp. 168-73, c.1025 × 1026 (land formerly held by *Desiderius medicus*); n° 42 also mentions land held by *Albertus Gramaticus*.

35 Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht: A Norman Latin Poem from the Early Eleventh Century*, ed. and trans. C.J. McDonough, Studies and Texts 121 (Toronto, 1995); on Warner and Moriuht as evidence of a learned milieu in Rouen, see pp. 5-15, 40-5. Also L. Musset, 'Le satiriste Garnier de Rouen et son milieu (Début du XIe siècle)', *Revue du Moyen Age latin* 10 (1954), pp. 237-66, with edition of Warner's other satire at pp. 259-66. Cf. J.-M. Bouvris, 'L'Ecole capitulaire de Rouen au XIe siècle', *Etudes normandes* 35:3 (1986), pp. 89-103, at pp. 90-2.

36 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, pp. xi-xii, xxvi; K. Bate, 'Les Normands et la littérature latine au début du nouveau millénaire', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 43 (2000), pp. 233-41.

cathedral schools of Lotharingia and the German Empire.<sup>37</sup>

Such an initiative would indeed have been necessary if the duke wanted to have at his disposal an educated elite capable of meeting their opposite numbers in other principalities on an equal footing, as well as providing the duchy itself with a sophisticated governing class.<sup>38</sup> In such a setting, Dudo's work would be ideally suited to imbue the schoolboys with loyalty to the exalted lineage of their virtuous dukes.<sup>39</sup>

### The Education of the Dukes: Richard I

When discussing the virtues of the dukes as they are described by Dudo, previous scholarship has emphasized the quasi-hagiographical nature of his portraits of the dukes. This feature is indeed prominent in his account of William Longsword,<sup>40</sup> and Dudo's unusual characterization of Richard I in terms of the Beatitudes of Scripture is another strong indication in that direction.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless there seems to be more to the ducal virtues than a pious, religious ideal. It is already remarkable that Dudo chose to introduce his fourth book, on Richard I, with a lengthy series of

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37 Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*, pp. 39-42, draws together the extant scraps of evidence to sketch a picture of a lively intellectual milieu in Rouen under Duke Richard II and his brother Archbishop Robert. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 58, for some of the texts which seem to have been available there at the time. Cf. also the evidence for hagiographical and historical writing in Normandy around the year 1000 presented in M. Arnoux, 'Before the *Gesta Normannorum* and beyond Dudo: Some evidence on early Norman historiography', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 22, 1999 (2000), pp. 29-48.

38 Cf. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness*, esp. chapter 1, 'The Courtier Bishop', pp. 19-48; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, chapter 2, 'Court and School in Ottonian Times', pp. 36-52.

39 Cf. Boje Mortensen, 'Stylistic Choice', p. 100, quoted above, at note 13.

40 Mathey-Maille, *Écritures du passé*, pp. 132-3.

41 Dudo, ed. Lair, pp. 293-5; cf. Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 226 n. 477; Mathey-Maille, *Écritures du passé*, pp. 138-40.

versified eulogies to the duke by the nine muses.<sup>42</sup> To be sure, the muses exalt Richard essentially in religious terms, seven of the muses each attributing to him the virtues of one of the seven categories of saints.<sup>43</sup> However, the pattern of having the main protagonist praised by each of the muses individually, culminating in a collective hymn of praise by all nine muses in unison, was copied from the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, where the praise of the muses is directed at Philologia.<sup>44</sup> Martianus Capella's encyclopedic prosimetrum had been standard reading in the schools since the mid-ninth century,<sup>45</sup> and Dudo certainly expected his readers to recognise the allusion. If this was intended to suggest a harmonious marriage between the liberal arts and the Christian faith, with the former being placed in the latter's service, such an ideal would be perfectly consonant with the kind of education that was given at the leading cathedral schools from the mid-tenth century onwards.

However, in those schools the curriculum was aiming not just at learning and piety, but also very much at shaping the character of the disciples into dignified, self-conscious, morally upright, public-minded, wise, eloquent, and moderate persons, able to convince and sway the minds of others: the courtly ideal that has been so well described by C. Stephen Jaeger.<sup>46</sup> It is interesting to read Dudo's characterizations of the dukes in this light. The education of Richard I is a case in point. The speech which Dudo attributes to King Louis IV when he talked the chiefs of the Normans into entrusting the boy-duke to the king's keeping sketches the kind of

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42 Dudo, ed. Lair, pp. 210-14.

43 P. Stotz, *Sonderformen der sapphischen Dichtung: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der sapphischen Dichtung des lateinischen Mittelalters*. Medium Aevum – Philologische Studien 37 (Munich, 1982), pp. 144-51.

44 In addition to Stotz, cited in the previous note, see Pabst, 'Dudo und die prosimetrische Tradition', pp. 107-8.

45 Pabst, *Prosimetrum*, vol. 1, pp. 212-22; cf. Pabst, 'Dudo und die prosimetrische Tradition', p. 105.

46 See n. 15 above.

education that the king promised: ‘Allow your lord to stay with me so that having been taught by intercourse with the riches of eloquence, he may learn to apply with accuracy words of complicated sense. In my palace he will gain a better knowledge of many things than by staying in his own home.’<sup>47</sup> Admittedly, the king spoke ‘in bad faith’ (*fraudulenter*), but what follows shows that he did not lie as to the quality of the education that would be offered to Richard:

Richard, meanwhile, the boy of such grace, famed for his ancestry and for his honourable conduct, was during his captivity being fully instructed in all the branches of knowledge. He passed the whole of that part of his life growing stronger and stronger, and he was apt and successful in all things, as if he were grown to maturity. Whatever was unlawful, he rejected with the firmness of age. Whatever tempted the soul, he dismissed as worthless. He armed his tongue richly with a lively wit, and distinguished it with a copious eloquence. The things he did not know, he explored by study, and reflected on; nor were the things which are obscure hidden from him. He consecrated the tender years of boyhood to Jesus Christ, and although he was still of tender age, he consigned himself wholly to the commands of God. And so it came about by divine assent that the boy of noble form exceeding others in brilliance should be brought up nowhere else than in the king’s palace. They willingly taught him many varieties of speech and they instructed him in the honeyed delights of courtly language.<sup>48</sup>

It seems likely that this passage gives us a picture of Dudo’s own educational ideal: a harmonious merging of deep piety with learning and, especially, eloquence – ‘the honeyed delights of courtly language (*mellifluo palatinae sermocinationis dulcamine*)’. Here we see the particular stress which Dudo placed upon rhetoric and eloquence among the numerous qualities of the dukes. We will encounter this theme again.

The ideal ruler who was the goal of such an education is described in Dudo’s portrayal of Richard I as a grown man:

He demonstrated his intelligence by deeds, by study, by examples, and by proofs continuously. He was fair of face, and he had become fairer to all by

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47 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 102; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 227.

48 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 105; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 230.

his every action; he shone with pleasing eloquence, and was the more acceptable to all by his manner and gait. Refined in mellifluous utterance, he was always calm, with a most merry heart. For he was fervent in faith, hope, and charity, with a dual love, for God and for his neighbour. He radiated prudent simplicity, and with simple prudence he shone; strenuously he calmed tumults, lawsuits and feuds, and ruled the people amicably as a father to his sons. He was profuse in helpful good deeds; he taught many by examples of honesty. In his house were truth and glory indeed; equity and justice were resplendent in this man's works.<sup>49</sup>

Dudo's portrait of Richard ends with a lengthy enumeration of everything that the duke was: 'For he was the honeyed sweetener of the strong, the strength of the weak, the defender of orphans, the consoler of the wretched, ...' and so on, down to '... light of all men, exemplar of holiness, dear chief of consuls, helper of kings, protector of all peoples.'<sup>50</sup> This elaborate list of forty-three composite epithets in all is echoed in Dudo's poem no. 84, *Rusticus inscitiae quamquam nostrae stylus ornet*, where it is finally summed up by one of the catchwords of the courtly educational ideals: 'thus made all things to all / None did he harm, but strove to profit all.'<sup>51</sup> 'Made all things to all' is a quote from St Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians that recurs frequently in contemporary texts which deploy the courtly ideal.<sup>52</sup>

Richard I is the first of the Norman rulers whose education was described by Dudo in such terms. Despite its adulatory tone it is likely that there was a kernel of truth in his account of Richard's education. The training of a young prince at the royal court of the last Carolingians would hardly have been complete without some instruction in letters. Admittedly, little is known about the state of letters and learning at the courts of the West Frankish kings in the

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49 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 136; Dudo, ed. Lair, pp. 261-2. The last sentence paraphrases Psalm 3:3; it echoes Dudo's use of the same words to characterize William Longsword (below, note 70); Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 199 n. 233.

50 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 137; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 262.

51 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 155; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 281.

52 I Cor 9:22; Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, p. 87.

tenth century. Louis IV himself is said to have been taunted for his illiteracy by Fulk of Anjou;<sup>53</sup> nevertheless, he had been educated at the court of King Athelstan of Wessex, and his illegitimate half-brother Bishop Rorico (Rorgon) of Laon was a learned man. Fulk's alleged taunt may have been no more than a chronicler's slur upon the king. The ideal of the courtly ruler included a certain degree of literacy, and on this point Dudo contrasts Richard fairly explicitly with his predecessors. The common assumption that Richard I was illiterate is based more upon preconceived notions of Norman 'barbary' than upon evidence;<sup>54</sup> and if Richard I was literate, it is likely that he took care to provide a similar education for his son. Perhaps Richard II was able to appreciate Dudo's art, at least to some extent.

Short as it is, Dudo's portrait of Richard I's wife Gunver<sup>55</sup> depicts her as a worthy companion indeed for a prince of such courtly virtues. Dudo did not mention her name,<sup>56</sup> but he character-

53 P. Riché, *Les Carolingiens: Une famille qui fit l'Europe* (Paris, 1983), p. 333.

54 E.g. Leblond's dismissal of Dudo's description of Richard I's education at the royal court; Leblond, *L'accésion des Normands*, pp. 154-5.

55 Usually called Gonnor, which appears to have been the French pronunciation of her name already in her own lifetime, as shown by the following original charters: Fauroux, *Recueil*, n° 14 bis, p. 92, 1012 without date (*Gunnor*); n° 15, p. 96, 21 September 1014 (*Gonnoridis*; perhaps a near-contemporary *copie figurée*); n° 16, p. 97, c.1015 (*Gonnor[is]*; original destroyed in 1944); n° 19, p. 103, 1006 × 1017 (*Gonnoridis*); n° 32, p. 122, 1021 × 1025 (*Gonnoridis*); n° 43, p. 150, 1015 × 1026 (*Gonnoridis*). The original charter n° 21, p. 106, 1015 × 1017, has the Danish (or Norse) form of her name: *Gunwere*. According to J. Adigard des Gautries, *Les noms de personnes scandinaves en Normandie de 911 à 1066*. *Nomina Germanica* 11 (Lund, 1954), p. 102, n. 64, the latter form was due to an assimilation of her name to the Frankish name *Gundwara*. However, influence from the original Norse form of the name seems more likely.

56 Despite Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 289, the mention of Gonnor's name in a few of the manuscripts was probably a later interpolation in Dudo's text; F. Lifshitz, 'Dudo's Historical Narrative and the

ized her, in part, by words which Martianus Capella had used for Lady Rhetoric:

The loveliest of all young Norman women, the wisest in the changes and chances of civil and forensic affairs, schooled in the capacity for womanly artifice, gently persuasive "with a copious store of eloquence", abundantly enriched "by a hoard of capacious memory and recollection", and well-furnished with a supply of all kinds of goods.<sup>57</sup>

Eleventh-century authors did not choose their stylistic models or topoi at random,<sup>58</sup> and Martianus Capella was standard reading in the schools; again, it is hardly doubtful that Dudo intended his educated readers to recognise the allusion. Bernhard Pabst has pointed out that Dudo essentially drew upon Martianus Capella and Boethius for his poetic prologues and epilogues and for the poems in which he prays to God for strength to complete his work; the rest of the poetry in his chronicle hardly contains any intertextual references to those authors, and Dudo used them only occasionally in his prose.<sup>59</sup> This observation lends added significance to his implicit reference to Martianus Capella's Lady Rhetoric for his praise of Gunver. Symbolically, Richard's marriage to this Gunver

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Norman Succession of 996', *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994), pp. 101-20, at p. 117, n. 54; cf. Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 163 with n. 460 p. 224.

57 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, pp. 163-4 with n. 460 p. 224; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 289: omniumque speciosissimæ Northmannicarum virginum, permutantibusque civilium forensiumque rerum eventibus cautissimæ, femineique artificii edoctæ ingenio, "facundæque ubertatis eloquio" modeste pollenti, "capacisque memoriæ et recordationis thesauro" profusius locupletatæ, atque omnium bonorum præmunitæ affluentia se connexuit. The quotation marks within the quotation identify the passages derived from Martianus Capella.

58 Cf. Stotz, 'Beobachtungen zur Intertextualität', and Pabst, 'Dudo und die prosimetrische Tradition'. Even though neither author seems entirely free from modern prejudice against extensive textual borrowing, what they do show is that Dudo frequently demonstrated great versatility and inventiveness in modifying his models for his intertextual purposes.

59 Pabst, 'Dudo und die prosimetrische Tradition', p. 116.

represented his wedding to the liberal arts, with particular emphasis on rhetoric and eloquence. What likeness Dudo's idealized Gunver might have had to the real one cannot be ascertained, but since the old duchess was still alive at the time of Dudo's writing, his picture of her is unlikely to have been completely at variance with reality. Gunver may have had a reputation as a capable orator, as a patron of learning, or both.

In Dudo's eyes, it seems to have been Richard I's courtly training that shaped his innate disposition into a paragon of all virtues. Nevertheless, if we look at Dudo's description of Richard's ancestors, it becomes clear that such a virtuous disposition was hereditary in his family.

### The Education of the Dukes: William Longsword

When describing the education of Richard's father William Longsword, Dudo's emphasis is all on its religious aspects and on the piety and holiness of the young prince. Only one short passage might possibly be understood as a passing allusion to the seven liberal arts: William was 'enriched to abundance with the wisdom of the sevenfold gift'.<sup>60</sup> Given the purely religious context, the 'sevenfold gift' is likely to be the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit;<sup>61</sup> nevertheless, there may be an intentional ambiguity here, since Alcuin in his *Disputatio de vera philosophia* had established an explicit parallel between the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the seven liberal arts.<sup>62</sup>

Probably Dudo knew little about William's upbringing. In

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60 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 57; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 179.

61 The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit were derived from Isaiah 11:2-3. For other occurrences of this concept in Dudo's poems, cf. Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 217 n. 387.

62 PL 101, cols. 853-4. Cf. F. Brunhölzl, 'Der Bildungsauftrag der Hofschule', in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. W. Braunfels et al., vol. 2, *Das Geistige Leben*, ed. B. Bischoff (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 28-41, at pp. 34-5.

Richard's case, he must have had some factual basis for his claims about the future duke's education: he had known him personally during the last years of his life, and Dudo is also likely to have had at least some general notion of the kind of education that was available at the court of the last Carolingian kings. As far as William was concerned, Dudo may not have known much more than that the boy was entrusted to 'a very affluent count called Botho' for his education.<sup>63</sup> Count Botho, who was later to fulfill the same function for William's son Richard until the latter's capture by King Louis,<sup>64</sup> is otherwise described by Dudo as a 'most hardy warrior' and as the commander of William's father, Duke Rollo's troops.<sup>65</sup> Accordingly, when the ageing Rollo recommended his men to take William as his successor, the speech which Dudo placed in the duke's mouth only mentioned the young prince's military education: 'a son of mine, ... whom Botho, the commander-in-chief of our troops, has brought up as his son, and has adequately schooled in the ways and means of warfare.'<sup>66</sup> On the evidence of his name, it has sometimes been assumed that Botho was of Frankish stock;<sup>67</sup> however, when the future Duke Richard I

63 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 57; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 179: *Quem genitor ... Bothoni cuidam ditissimo comiti sacro baptismate perfusum ad educandum commendavit, eumque ad erudiendum ut decebat tradidit.* It seems inconsistent that Christiansen translates Botho's title of *comes* by 'officer' upon his first appearance in Dudo's text, in connection with the Norman conquest of Bayeux (Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 157: *Bothonem præcipuum Northmannorum comitem*; Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 38: 'Botho, an important officer among the Northmen'), but by 'count' later on in the text. Whatever the realities of Norman society were in the early tenth century, Dudo, writing a century later, certainly meant 'count'; cf. Dudo, trans. Lifshitz, ch. 11, at n. 10: 'Botho, that extraordinary Norman count'.

64 Dudo, ed. Lair, pp. 221-2.

65 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, pp. 38, 59-60; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 157: *Bothonem, asperrium militem*; p. 181: (speech by Rollo) *Botho, princeps militiae nostræ*; p. 182: *Bothoni, militiae principi*.

66 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 59; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 181.

67 Prentout, *Étude critique*, pp. 176, 280. Adigard des Gautries, *Les*

was entrusted to his care, it was explicitly in order that he might learn the Danish language thoroughly.<sup>68</sup> Botho was undoubtedly a Norman warrior chief. There is no hint in Dudo that he might have been suitable for supervising the education of either William or Richard in Latin letters.

Nevertheless, in drawing his saintly portrait of William Longsword, Dudo was at pains to insist upon the religious content of his upbringing. Hence, according to him, 'the lovely boy' was living in Botho's household 'alongside good orthodox men highly honourable in their lives',<sup>69</sup> by which Dudo probably meant priests or monks. If, in the chronicler's eyes, an education among such men ought to have included some training in letters, that might explain the ambiguity of his remark on William having been 'enriched to abundance with the wisdom of the sevenfold gift'. However, a hard and fast interpretation of this passage as referring to the liberal arts would be at variance with Dudo's own later denunciation of the insufficiency of the Norman schools before his own time. William may have acquired some rudimentary Latin sufficient for saying his prayers and following the mass, but in the rest of Dudo's account of his education there is nothing to substantiate his isolated, veiled hint that the seven liberal arts might have had a place in Longsword's education.

A little further on in the text, when describing William at the time of his accession to the duchy, Dudo concludes his depiction of him with these words:

He excelled all men in his good qualities of mind and body; he outdid everyone in his skill at forensic matters. He used to educate all men by his own example of good will; he would sway them all by his teaching of

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*noms de personnes scandinaves*, does not mention Botho in his lists of indisputably or possibly Scandinavian names in Normandy. Conceivably it might be Dudo's Latinization of either the Scandinavian male name Bo (*Bói*) or a short form of one of the numerous Scandinavian names with Bot- (*Bót-*) as first element.

68 Dudo, ed. Lair, pp. 221-2.

69 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 57; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 179.

patience and wisdom. In adversity he was an unflinching protector, and a most prudent ally in prosperity. Truth and glory were in his house, equity and justice were in his works. He would persuade backsliders by words of truth;<sup>70</sup> sluggards he would berate with the most severe reproach.

Thus, although not equipped with learning, William Longsword was not just pious, but also eloquent, and like his son later on, he was a teacher by example – another of the qualities that were expected of those who followed the courtly ideal.<sup>71</sup>

That ideal comes out even more clearly in Dudo's description of Richard I's mother Sprotta, whom he does not name any more than he named Gunver; yet he adorns her with an impressive array of courtly virtues:

A certain most noble young girl of the most attractive appearance, extremely well qualified to offer advice, abundantly shrewd in the conduct of public business, highly compatible with him [i.e. William Longsword] in the suitability of her converse, most prudent and eloquent in her speech, in womanly ways most decoratively and artfully skilled.<sup>72</sup>

In this portrait, the worldly qualities of the courtly ideal entirely dominate, although of course adapted to Sprotta's gender – and once more with an emphasis on eloquence; the religious aspect is confined to the ensuing poem celebrating her marriage to William.<sup>73</sup>

## The Courtly Viking: Rollo and his Offspring

Perhaps more surprisingly, the courtly ideal emerges already in Dudo's picture of the Viking chief Rollo, even before his conversion. Dudo placed this description in the mouth of the Franks as they were counselling King Charles:

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70 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 61; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 183. Cf. note 49 above.

71 Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, pp. 76-83.

72 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 63; Dudo, ed. Lair, pp. 185-6.

73 Poem no. 19, *Innocuis flagrans rebus, martyr Clionee*; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 186.

Rollo is born of the proud blood of kings and of chiefs; he is very fair of body, a ready fighter, far-sighted in counsel, seemly in appearance, amenable to us, a faithful friend to those to whom he gives his word, a ferocious enemy to those whom he opposes, a sharp-witted vassal, constant and amenable in all things, as the circumstance demands. He is well-versed in speech, teachable in affairs, kindly in his deeds, honourable in his eloquence, full of manly courage, humble in his manners, most prudent in public matters, just in judgement, most careful in the keeping of secrets, very rich in gold and silver, strictly attended by a most numerous throng of warriors – nay, he is fully endowed with all kinds of good qualities.<sup>74</sup>

In this case, Rollo's courtliness is paired with a good portion of Viking ferocity, but it is nevertheless unmistakeable. Of course

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74 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 46, with modifications as argued below; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 166: *Rollo, superbo regum ducumque sanguine natus, corpore pulcherrimus, armis fervidus, consilio providus, aspectu decorus, contra nos mansuetus, cui promittit fidus amicus, cui adversatur atrox inimicus, sagaci mente vasallus constans et lenis, ut res exposcat, in omnibus, sermone instructus, docilis in rebus, actibus benevolus, eloquio honestus, virtute virili repletus, humilis conversationibus, rebusque forensibus prudentissimus, in judicio justus, in secretis cautissimus, auro argentoque ditissimus, creberrima militum frequentia assidue constipatus, quin etiam omni bonitate est exaggeratus.* I have slightly modified Christiansen's translation of the passage *sagaci mente vasallus constans et lenis, ut res exposcat, in omnibus* (Christiansen: 'a constant and amenable vassal in all things, with a shrewd mind, such as we need'), which inverts the order of Dudo's epithets without apparent reason; moreover, I have preferred Lifshitz's literal translation of *ut res exposcat* ('as the circumstance demands') to Christiansen's approximation 'such as we need'. On the other hand, I have retained Christiansen's translation of *vasallus* by 'vassal'. Lifshitz, systematically avoiding all 'feudal' terminology in her translation, renders *vasallus* by 'servant'; Dudo, trans. Lifshitz, ch. 12, at n. 4. It seems preferable to retain Dudo's terminology while being aware that in this case it is uncertain exactly what he meant by the term; cf. Dudo, trans. Christiansen, pp. 194-5, n. 197. Lifshitz translates *rebusque forensibus prudentissimus* by 'most discreet in public affairs', which in the present context might be more plausible than the specifically legal meaning attributed to the word *forensis* by Christiansen's translation 'most prudent in forensic matters'. I have chosen a compromise between these two versions.

the memory of the havoc and mayhem wrought by the Viking inroads was still too fresh for this picture of Rollo as the courtly Viking to be credible if standing on its own. Hence Dudo had to provide a backdrop confirming his readers' concept of the godless and cruel marauders, against which the singularity of Rollo's virtues could stand out more clearly. This he did in his short first book, where he amalgamated all the information he could find about the most spectacular Viking raids on Western Francia and the Mediterranean during the ninth and early tenth centuries into his portrait of the terrible Danish chieftain Hasting.<sup>75</sup> For his accounts of both Hasting and Rollo, anti-hero and hero, Dudo drew heavily upon the Aeneid. In doing so, he split the ambiguous figure of Aeneas from classical literature into the guilty criminal – Hasting – and the founding hero – Rollo.<sup>76</sup>

Thus there seems to be a progression in the courtly qualities of the ducal dynasty: still mingled with the barbarian wildness of the Vikings in Rollo, dominated by Christian piety in William, and unfolded into a harmonious whole by a proper education in Richard I.<sup>77</sup> As argued above, it is this crowning synthesis of Christian faith and the culture of the schools that Dudo seems to

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75 Prentout, *Étude critique*, pp. 47-110.

76 R. Meyer, 'The Unhero Aeneas', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 27 (1968), pp. 195-207; F. Mora-Lebrun, *L'"Enéide" médiévale et la naissance du roman* (Paris, 1994), pp. 30-40; E. Searle, 'Fact and Pattern in Heroic History: Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *Viator* 15 (1984), pp. 119-37, at pp. 125-7; Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 150; E. Albu Hanawalt, 'Dudo of Saint-Quentin: The Heroic Past Imagined', *The Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History* 6 (1994), pp. 111-18, at p. 114 n. 12. Cf. also P. Bouet, 'Dudon de Saint-Quentin et Virgile: L'"Enéide" au service de la cause normande', in *Recueil d'études en hommage à Lucien Musset*, *Cahiers des Annales de Normandie* 23 (Caen, 1990), pp. 215-36, at pp. 226-7.

77 Cf. the similar interpretation, although with exclusive focus upon the religious aspect, in V.B. Jordan, 'The Role of Kingship in Tenth-Century Normandy: Hagiography of Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *The Haskins Society Journal* 3 (1991), pp. 53-62.

announce by having the muses sing the praise of Richard's religious virtues. The same message to his literate audience may be concealed in a curious stylistic feature of Dudo's chronicle: in the first three books, all of the poems that are embedded within the narrative are written in hexameters, the metre of epic poetry. In the fourth book, Dudo's biography of Richard I, he employed a wide range of metres for the interspersed poems.<sup>78</sup> It seems likely that this stylistic change was meant to enhance the message that with Richard's accession, the Norman dynasty went from its pristine heroic age to the full flowering of civilization. Considering Dudo's uniformly elevated and elaborate style, this interpretation seems much more plausible than Bernhard Pabst's somewhat condescending hypothesis that it was not until he began writing the fourth book that Dudo learned how to master other metres than the hexameter.<sup>79</sup>

Yet Dudo's tale was not just one of a dynasty of barbarians acceding to Christianity and civilized culture step by step, generation by generation. As has been pointed out, it was also the tale of a naturally virtuous pagan warrior coming out of far-off and semi-mythical Dacia in order to find his true, Christian self and, like another Aeneas, found a new realm;<sup>80</sup> and it was a tale of how this inborn virtue was to enable Rollo and his offspring to raise up the Franks to their former glory, which had been sullied and lost through their own failings.<sup>81</sup>

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78 Stotz, 'Beobachtungen zur Intertextualität', p. 165; Stotz, *Sonderformen*, pp. 138, 144; Pabst, *Prosimetrum*, vol. 2, p. 815.

79 Pabst, *Prosimetrum*, vol. 2, p. 815, cf. Stotz, 'Beobachtungen zur Intertextualität', p. 165.

80 F. Mora, 'Dudon de Saint-Quentin et ses deux traducteurs français, Wace et Benoît', in *Dudone di San Quintino*, ed. Gatti and Degl'Innocenti, pp. 49-75, at p. 50. Searle, 'Fact and Pattern', pp. 126-8; Mora-Lebrun, *L'"Enéide" médiévale*, pp. 35-8; Albu Hanawalt, 'Dudo of Saint-Quentin'.

81 Particularly explicit in Dudo's poem no. 11, *Francia, tot gentes superans jam marte superbas*, Dudo, ed. Lair, pp. 135-6. See Bouet, 'Dudon de Saint-Quentin et Virgile', p. 229; Mora, 'Du-

## Dudo's Didactic Purpose

All of this would have made Dudo's text ideally suited for teaching at liberal arts schools in Rouen where religious training was wedded to education in classical learning according to the principles of the German and Lotharingian cathedral schools, so that the purpose of education was not only the learning of outward skills, but also, and essentially, the shaping of character by the teaching of a particular brand of courtly manners. This hypothesis would also explain the curious gaps in the narrative that have exasperated generations of historians in search of hard facts. This was a text for moral education as well as for teaching elegant Latin, and for those purposes no complete history of the Norman dukes was needed. In fact, the delivery of its moral message might have been made more difficult if Dudo had written a detailed narrative of the last thirty years of Richard I's reign, when the duke as often as not fought on the side of the enemies of the last Carolingian kings. The chronicler may have found the breaking off in the mid-960s of Flodoard's annals to be a convenient excuse for leaving out the more recent history of Normandy.<sup>82</sup> Evidently the text had to contain a sufficient amount of dramatic matter to catch the imagination and atten-

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don de Saint-Quentin et ses deux traducteurs français', pp. 51-2; G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca/London, 1992), pp. 150-9; E. Johnson, 'Origin myths and the construction of medieval identities: Norman chronicles 1000-1100', in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R. Corradini, R. Meens, C. Pössel & P. Shaw. *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 12 (Vienna, 2006), pp. 154-64, at pp. 159-60. Cf. Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, pp. 24-6, arguing that this was Dudo's ostensible message, but that his manipulation of his references to the *Aeneid* indicates a hidden, more ironical meaning.

82 L. Shopkow, 'The Man from Vermandois: Dudo of St-Quentin and His Patrons', in *Religion, Text, and Society in Medieval Spain and Northern Europe: Essays in honor of J.N. Hillgarth*, ed. T.E. Burman, M.D. Meyerson & L. Shopkow (Toronto, 2002), pp. 302-18, esp. at pp. 309-10. Cf. Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, p. 21.

tion of the students, but for that purpose some highlights were enough. So they were, too, for demonstrating the possibilities of stylistic and poetic embellishment of various themes.

However, it looks as if Dudo himself, when finishing his work, had doubts as to whether it would ever be used for the purpose for which it was written. In his first poem, the introductory address to the book itself, *Themate pertenui quoniam digestus haberis*, he expresses these doubts. He asks the book: 'Should you now proceed at full speed to the Norman academies / Or still remain in confinement to our Frankish schools ...'<sup>83</sup> The reasons for Dudo's final departure from Rouen are unknown. It has been suggested that the growing influence of Cluniac monasticism in Normandy in the first decades of the eleventh century spelled the end for the kind of learned clerical culture of which he was an exponent.<sup>84</sup> This would mean that Duke Richard I's school initiative was short-lived. Orderic Vitalis claimed that there were no schools in Normandy teaching the liberal arts when Lanfranc arrived there sometime before 1040.<sup>85</sup> If true, this would support the hypothesis that the learned milieu in Rouen disappeared quickly.<sup>86</sup> However, two persons carrying the scholarly title of *grammaticus* were active in Rouen around the middle of the eleventh century, apparently successively: the archdeacon Hugh the Grammarian, mentioned from 1029/35 until his death in 1057, and Tetbald the Grammarian or Tetbald of Vernon, canon of

83 Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. 7; Dudo, ed. Lair, p. 120: *Aut pergas Northmannica nunc gymnasia præpes, / Aut scholis clausus Franciscis jam moruleris.* Christiansen translates *scholis...* *Franciscis* by 'Frankish high-schools'; I have preferred Lifshitz's simpler 'Frankish schools' (Dudo, trans. Lifshitz, ch. 1), since the modern connotations of 'high-schools' might be slightly misleading.

84 B. Vopelius-Holtzendorff as summarized by Christiansen; Dudo, ed. Christiansen, p. xii and (more critically) p. xxviii-xxix.

85 *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1969), p. 250.

86 Cf. Musset, 'Le satiriste Garnier de Rouen', p. 258.

Rouen, who was active around 1060.<sup>87</sup> This might suggest that Orderic's claim was slightly exaggerated, even if nothing suggests that the cathedral school of Rouen had any great influence outside the milieu of the cathedral chapter.<sup>88</sup> If a cathedral school continued to function in Rouen throughout the eleventh century, however modest it may have been, it cannot be excluded that Dudo left Normandy simply because he was called to the more prestigious position as dean of the collegiate church of Saint-Quentin. The confirmation in 1015 of Duke Richard I's land grant to Dudo does not suggest that he had fallen out of favour.<sup>89</sup>

In any case, Dudo's dedication of his work to Adalbero of Laon should probably be seen as an attempt to diffuse it among the Frankish schools.<sup>90</sup> Despite these circumstances, the extant manuscripts of Dudo's work show that it was, after all, among the Normans that it found favour. In so far as their origin can be determined, most of the manuscripts are of Norman or post-Conquest English provenance.<sup>91</sup> Whether they were used for teaching is more doubtful. Only three, evidently closely related, manuscripts show some evidence hinting at such use: they all carry essentially identical marginal glosses defining the metre of most of Dudo's poems and explaining the identity of the nine muses: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 276, written at St Augustine's Canterbury towards the end of the eleventh century; London, British Library, Royal 13.B.xiv, of uncertain provenance, but written in England, probably in the twelfth century; and Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus 17.2, also of uncertain provenance, but written in the twelfth cen-

87 Bouvis, 'L'Ecole capitulaire de Rouen', pp. 94-7; Leblond, *L'accession des Normands*, p. 144.

88 Bouvis, 'L'Ecole capitulaire de Rouen', p. 99; cf. Moriuht, ed. McDonough, p. 7.

89 Fauroux, *Recueil*, no. 18, pp. 100-2.

90 Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 187-8; Johnson, 'Origin myths', p. 155.

91 G.C. Huisman, 'Notes on the Manuscript Tradition of Dudo of St Quentin's *Gesta Normannorum*', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1983-4), pp. 122-35, at pp. 126-7.

tury, probably in England. Directly or indirectly, the Canterbury manuscript CCC 276 was probably the exemplar of the two twelfth-century copies.<sup>92</sup> Otherwise, the manuscripts generally lack the glosses that usually indicate the use of a manuscript for educational purposes.<sup>93</sup>

The likelihood that Dudo was being copied and read for historical information rather than for teaching purposes is strengthened by the fact that about half of the extant manuscripts leave out practically all of Dudo's poems, thereby effectively transforming the text from a prosimetrum to ordinary prose. This omission occurred already in the first half of the eleventh century, the date of the earliest known manuscript, Berne, Burgerbibliothek Bongars 390, of uncertain provenance, but possibly written in Normandy. However, this manuscript carries 'signs which look like paragraph marks' at most places in the text where a poem was left out.<sup>94</sup> It is thus likely to have been copied from an exemplar including the poems, and this seems to speak against Gerda Huisman's suggestion that Dudo originally composed his chronicle as a prose text and only added the poems later.<sup>95</sup> If correct, Huisman's hypothesis would seriously weaken the case for Dudo's intention of writing a didactic text. However, it has since been invalidated by Bernhard Pabst and Leah Shopkow on weighty stylistic and substantial grounds, and Benjamin Pohl has argued forcefully for the importance of the poems as keys to understanding Dudo's text. Notably, Pabst observed that the four poems which were retained in the manuscripts that otherwise omit the poetry, are precisely the only

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92 Huisman, 'Notes on the Manuscript Tradition', pp. 130-1. It cannot be determined whether the Antwerp manuscript contained the explanation of the names of the muses, since the last part of the codex, containing the whole of Dudo's book IV, is missing; *ibid.*, p. 124.

93 Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 244-5.

94 Huisman, 'Notes on the Manuscript Tradition', pp. 125-6.

95 Huisman, 'Notes on the Manuscript Tradition', p. 135. Cf. the similar criticism in Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. xxxv n. 81.

ones which advance the action of the text.<sup>96</sup> Thus it seems clear that the notoriously difficult poems were omitted because they were considered irrelevant to Dudo's historical narrative.

Nevertheless, even if Dudo did not succeed in creating a standard textbook for his 'Norman academies', that does not preclude that such was his purpose. It was in many ways well suited for teaching advanced students in Normandy Latin eloquence, piety, loyalty to their duke – and manners. In that respect, Dudo's first editor Duchesne was right in coining the inauthentic title for the work: *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* – 'Of the manners and deeds of the first dukes of Normandy'.<sup>97</sup> If the connection between Dudo's educational ideals and the new "humanistic", courtly culture of the German and Lotharingian schools has not been fully recognized in previous research, one reason might be that Dudo clothed his message in a language that was more epic and less Ciceronian than theirs, as well as being more pious and Biblical, and less secular. Also, the prominence which Dudo gave to eloquence in his portraits of the dukes may have been seen too readily as a reflection of their Scandinavian cultural tradition; eloquence was one of the crucial skills in the courtly, clerical ideal of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and Dudo's particular emphasis upon it should be seen in that light. On the other hand, if the Scandinavian background of the dukes had

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96 Pabst, *Prosimetrum*, vol. 2, pp. 818-19; Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 184 n. 29; Pohl, 'Translatio imperii Constantini', pp. 304-5. See also Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. xxxv n. 81.

97 Cf. Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, p. 9. In keeping with the thesis of the present article, I prefer to translate *mores* by 'manners' rather than Albu's 'customs'; Albu's alternative translation, 'character', is closer to the mark. Christiansen's rendering, 'ways', is too vague; Dudo, trans. Christiansen, p. xiii. On the difficulty of rendering the meaning of *mores* in modern English, see Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, p. 9. – For a suggestion that Duchesne and Lair might have derived their title for Dudo's work from the now lost manuscript from Saint-Evroult, see Lecouteux, 'Une reconstitution hypothétique', p. 7 n. 24.

predisposed them to set great store by acquiring a high level of eloquence in their new languages – French and Latin – such a circumstance might have inspired Dudo to the most original turn that he gave to the courtly ideal: his linking of that ideal to a notion of unspoiled natural nobility of mind and manners in the person of Rollo.

It is important to stress that this interpretation of Dudo's chronicle as an exponent of the courtly ideals of the late tenth- and early eleventh-century cathedral schools does not in any way pretend to exhaust Dudo's intentions. Eleventh-century scholars were trained in reading, and writing, on several levels of interpretation, typified by the four levels of interpretation of Scripture: literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical.<sup>98</sup> Each new interpretation of Dudo may reveal a new aspect of his complex writing.<sup>99</sup> My reading of him has emphasized the 'courtly' aspects of the text rather than its religious content. To Dudo, the latter was undoubtedly the most important message; yet there was no contradiction between that message and his courtly ideal. The courtly Viking destined to rejuvenate Frankish virtue was also, necessarily, a pious Viking.

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98 See e.g. H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols., Théologie 41-2, 59 (Paris, 1959-64).

99 See e.g. Pohl, 'Translatio imperii Constantini', for intriguing similarities between Dudo's account of Rollo and the stories about the conversion of Constantine the Great that were current in Dudo's time.

# **“They all still lived in the manner of the old Danes...”<sup>1</sup> Perceptions of Danishness Remaining in Normandy in the Literature of the Abbey of Bec, 1030-1080**

*Sally N. Vaughn*

The Dano-Frankish knight Herluin founded the abbey of Bec in Normandy around 1034-1037 within a very distinctive milieu. Normandy had begun as a Viking colony that the Carolingian king Charles the Simple had granted to the Norse-Danish Hrólfr the Ganger, or as he was known in France, Rollo, in 911. According to Gilbert Crispin, the Bec monk who authored *Vita Herluini*, the life of Bec’s founder, the Normans all “still lived in the manner of the old Danes” as Herluin founded Bec in a process of his conversion beginning about 1030. Although this statement has been a matter of much dispute, there is some evidence to substantiate Crispin’s statement, and to reconstruct that Franco-Danish life, found largely in *Vita Herluini* itself, and other related Bec texts.

Often historians have viewed Normandy as forming somewhat in isolation. The former Neustrian province is often seen as somewhat depopulated by the Viking invasions, but the newcomers are also seen as intermarrying (mostly Viking men to French women) with the native population. It is this intermarriage, plus a certain practicality in adapting to the local customs, that has made

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<sup>1</sup> *Vita Herluini*, in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin*, ed. by Anna Sapir Abulafia and G. R. Evans (London: The Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 185-212; *veterum ritu Danorum universi adhuc uiuebant.*”, p. 187 for quote. Translated in S. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1981), pp. 67-86; p. 69 for quote.

historians such as David Bates see the Viking settlers as assimilating well within the first hundred years, and becoming very French.<sup>2</sup> Eleanor Searle, on the other hand, saw Viking customs evolving through the necessity of the cruel hardships they suffered into something new, through predatory kinship. Norman customs developed to meet the circumstances. Searle points especially to new infusions of Viking culture such as Duke Richard I's marriage to the Scandinavian girl who became the powerful Duchess Gunnor, through whom, in the marriages of her relatives, the Norman aristocracy was created and shaped.<sup>3</sup> Recently Michael Gelting has amended this theory to say that such "predatory kinship" prevailed throughout Europe and not just in Normandy.<sup>4</sup> So in what ways were the Normans distinctive? And in what ways did they remain Danish?

Clearly while the Danes adopted some French customs, they altered them to suit their own circumstances. Moreover, Scandinavian kinship customs of what appear to be analogous to lordship and vassalage – the bonds between Viking leaders and their followers – paralleled the customs of French lordship and vassalage rather closely. The crucial transformation was not adopting lordship and vassalage, closely related to kinship patterns, but rather castles and cavalry tactics of warfare. Following a pattern throughout Europe, the Scandinavians approached their new settlements with extreme practicality, taking what seemed valuable from the local culture and making it their own. By Herluin's time they were fighting on horseback and training as knights. Yet, in the eyes of the contemporary monks of Bec, they still remained rooted in the life of the old Danes – a non-Christian, secular life.

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2 David Bates, *Normandy Before 1066* (Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex, Longman, 1982), pp. 12-14

3 Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

4 Michael H. Gelting, "Predatory Kinship Revisited," in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXV* (2003), pp. 107-119.

Dudo of St. Quentin, the first “official” chronicler of and spokesman for the Norman settlement, seems to epitomize the Norman circumstance in a dream he attributes to Hrólfr/Rollo: Hrólfr/Rollo saw a huge flock of birds of many different kinds converging on his orchard, and a Christian in his following interpreted this dream as the new political entity that Hrólfr/Rollo would create, a land of many and varied races of people united under one hegemony.<sup>5</sup> This might be called the official vision of the Normans, presented at the courts of Dukes Richard I and Richard II, and the Duchess Gunnor, around the year 1000. But according to the later Bec source, *Vita Herluini*, the Normans still lived according to the customs of the Old Danes as late as the 1030s, suggesting that even that late Normandy was not yet thoroughly Frenchified and Christianized. Bec prior Lanfranc’s experience extends this period of Danishness to the 1040s, and Bec’s second prior and second abbot Anselm’s experience extends it even to the 1070s and 1080s. But *Vita Herluini* also shows the Norman secular realm as living according to a feudal French framework, with lords and vassals swearing fealty and homage to each other and serving in feudal French armies on horseback, suggesting that the Normans were living according to secular customs considerably more French than Norse. Nevertheless, the Bec sources insist that they retained their essential Danishness – and by this they seem to mean their essential secularity. Unlike the French, they were not yet Christianized. The Bec sources make this statement even though Normandy was famously visited in 1004 by the famous reformer William of Volpiano, who became abbot of Fécamp despite his reluctance to reform Normandy because of the barbarity of the people. However, William did not stay long in Fécamp, for he was abbot of over forty monasteries throughout Europe. He did not linger in Fécamp. He left it to a Norman protégé – Thierry, member of the Norman

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<sup>5</sup> Dudo of St. Quentin, *History of the Normans*, transl. by Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), pp. 29 and 50.

family of Montgomery – to do the reforming. Thierry then became Fécamp's prior, abbot of Jumièges and Mont-St.-Michel, and *custos* of the abbey of Bernay. While William of Volpiano was trained at Cluny, Thierry was a native Norman.<sup>6</sup> It is against this background of reform that the Bec sources must be measured.

Let us look carefully at several quotes from *Vita Herluini*: “It was rare in Normandy at that time to find anyone who could point out or blaze the right path. Priests and great bishops married freely and carried arms, just like laymen. They all still lived in the manner of the old Danes.”<sup>7</sup> To live like a Dane was to marry freely and to bear arms, even though a priest or a bishop. The greatest churchman in Normandy at that time, Archbishop Robert of Rouen, brother of Duke Richard II, was married with three children.<sup>8</sup> Herluin at that time was still living at such a secular court, among the courtiers. He had reached the pinnacle of achievement for the life he was born to of a Danish father and a French mother: a renowned knight at court, skilled in all the knightly virtues. But he intuited that there was more to life than that achievement, and he attended court with more and more reluctance. Finally he renounced knighthood altogether – an act unheard of for a healthy knight at that time. “Dressed in a cheap cloak, with beard and hair unshorn, for a long time he served among the courtiers with the intention I spoke of.” That is, his mind began “to burn for God and to cool gradually each day to freeze from love of the world...It was his deepest wish to abandon the practice of knighthood and all other worldly things. Indeed he did not know where he ought to go

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6 Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, 36, 191, 193-195.

7 Rarus in Normannia tunc recti tramitis index aut preuius erat.; sacerdotes ac summi pontifices libere coniugati et arma portantes ut laici erant; veterum ritu Danorum universi adhuc uiuebant.” *Vita Herluini*, Abulafia p. 187; Vaughn translation 69.

8 Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, 1990), 30, 118, 140.

or what kind of life to adopt.”<sup>9</sup> The implication is that there were no Christian models available to him in Normandy. Nevertheless, it is clear from the text that the boisterous life at court was the norm for the Normans as they lived in the manner of the old Danes, bragging and excelling in knightly deeds, eating rich food and drink, celebrating their victories at arms, in a scenario reminiscent of warriors in Valhalla.

In this perplexed state of mind, Herluin began to develop a new style of life, largely through his own intuition. “He was like a Hebrew about to go out from Egypt – that is, hastening over those things that are transitory, and reaching out with all his efforts for the eternal, he tried to take from those who remained behind whatever precious things he could, borrowing them for the work of God.” He rode an ass instead of a horse, humbled on God’s behalf. And God was not ashamed of him, although he was laughed at and thought demented by all. He broke the rope of his homage by which he was held under the service of an earthly lord. “Renouncing his embassy totally, he went away from the court.”<sup>10</sup> The life of the old Danes required homage and fealty to an earthly lord, and fighting in his service in almost continual battles between various Norman factions, and continuous presence at court. What was lacking was any sense of spirituality or service to God.

Relying totally on his intuition for what was required of him in service to God, Herluin had refused a mission to the ducal court on behalf of his lord Count Gilbert of Brionne. When Gilbert found out that his message had not been delivered, enraged at Herluin, he seized the property Herluin held as his vassal. Now commenced a scene at court in which Herluin was tried and found guilty and lost all his fiefs. He did not care, but had compassion for his innocent

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9 *Vita Herluini*, 187: *Angebatur mens et in plura cogitationum deliberatione distrahebatur. Militie ac cetere secularis rei usum relinquere summa erat uoti. Verum quo se conferret, quod vivendi genus assumeret, ignorabat.* Translation p. 69.

10 *Vita Herluini* 188-189; translation 70.

peasants who suffered from the loss of their lands. "The whole court was summoned to congress, and he was harshly brought in to trial. The accusations were put forward. With humble but satisfactory logic Herluin refuted and dismissed them." God spoke through him with the voice of reason as he pled the case of the innocent poor peasants, begging that they be allowed to keep their lands. "The lord, who was much possessed by pride in his earthly loftiness, was moved to mercy."<sup>11</sup> Here we have a vignette of the workings of a typical Franco-Danish court. Herluin continued to plead his case, with a very different outcome. "In loving the world and being obedient to you, I have neglected God and myself exceedingly until now. In caring totally for the cultivation of my body, I accepted no instruction for my soul. Therefore I pray, if I ever deserved well of you, that you allow me to spend the rest of my life in a monastery, with your love for me intact. Give to God, with me, what I owned." Moved to tears by love of Herluin, Count Gilbert granted his wish, adding to Herluin's lands the lands of his brothers also,<sup>12</sup> suggesting a somewhat arbitrary and imperfect French feudalism.

Herluin began to build what seems to have been a hermitage in the village of Bonneville, doing all the heavy labor of building by himself, digging ditches, building walls, and subsisting on one meal a day. He learned the alphabet at the age of forty, and was "justly considered a wonder, even by men who were exceedingly learned," for his ability to explain grammatical points and understand the meaning of divine scripture.<sup>13</sup> Only then did he try to research other monasteries in Normandy to see if he could find a model for emulation. He was doomed to disappointment. "He went to a certain monastery in order to enquire about the life of the monks. ....He was very eager to know what the condition of the monks was, their custom, and the religious life of the cloister. He

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11 *Vita Herluini*, 189, translation 70.

12 *Vita Herluini*, 189, translation 70-71.

13 *Vita Herluini* 190, translation 71.

saw that they all behaved far differently from that seriousness of character which the monastic order demands. The guardian of the monastery, seeing him lingering inside, took him for a thief, striking him on the neck with his fist. He thrust Herluin outside by his hair as far as the door. Returning from there with the consolation that he had received instruction,”<sup>14</sup> – a very bad example indeed – the next Christmas day Herluin visited another monastery of greater reputation with the same purpose. There he watched the brothers go forth in a festive procession. Everywhere he saw the monks laughing at the laymen in unfitting condescension, delighting in their ornate trappings, flaunting them to the others, and he saw them disputing and jostling to get to the entrance. Not only this, but one monk punched another monk to discourage him from following too closely on his heels. His jaw was knocked back and he was thrown to the ground. “As was mentioned before, all the Normans still acted totally like barbarians.”<sup>15</sup> But the hand of God came to Herluin’s aid the following night when he witnessed one monk in the oratory devoutly praying with tears, so that Herluin’s “good beginning should not be damaged through” the monks’ “arrogant conduct when he surveyed such shallow behavior and such wicked morals in those men.” Even the monks in Normandy’s abbeys still lived in the manner of the old Danes. But this one man’s fervent prayers fully restored Herluin. At this point Gilbert Crispin, the author, admits that he is recounting miracles.

What could be more glorious than the vanquishing Enemy succumbing to Herluin everywhere under a conquering God? Up to this point the devil tried to shatter his steadfast strength with hard blows of adversity, but all his efforts were cheated. Now he laboured to undermine Herluin with the bad example of depraved men...whether by daily attack or nightly cunning the devil were to approach him to put forward some scheme, he found him keeping watch on the ramparts. In his hand Herluin carried his sword, which

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14 *Vita Herluini* 191, Hoc de illo edificationis referens solatium..., translation 72.

15 *Vita Herluini* 191, Adhuc enim, ut dictum est, omnes omnium per Normanniam mores barbari erant. translation 72.

aimed at all the joints and marrows of the enemy, discerning and then exterminating whatever thoughts and designs he prompted.<sup>16</sup>

Altogether, Gilbert Crispin paints a portrait of a thoroughly barbarous, secular land of Normandy still in the grips of Danish culture, with only a bare patina of French and Christian culture overlaid on its pagan Danish foundation.

Other Bec texts mirror *Vita Herluini's* portrayal of Normandy as a barbarian land, such as the three wildly differing stories of Lanfranc's conversion and entry into Bec. The *Vita Herluini* account simply says that Lanfranc underwent a conversion, deciding that it was vain to capture the ears of mortals, and turned instead to God.<sup>17</sup> According to another version in *Vita Lanfranci*, Lanfranc had come to Avranches to teach, humbly seeking a place where all were unlettered, so that his great and eminent learning would not be celebrated among the learned. On a journey from Avranches to Rouen, he was set upon by robbers in the forest and left alone in the forest to die. He fervently prayed to God, vowing that if he were rescued, he would enter the meanest, most miserable abbey in Normandy and become a humble monk there. His prayers were answered, his shouts were heard by travelers who saved him; he inquired of them about the poorest, most humble of Norman abbeys, and settled upon nearby Bec, which all agreed was Normandy's most abject and poverty-stricken.<sup>18</sup>

Yet a third version appears in both the *Chronicle of Bec* and the *Life of St Nicholas*, written by a Bec monk at its priory of Conflans. This version, written some twenty or thirty years after *Vita Herluini*, reconciles somewhat the first two versions, adding some additional information. Here, Lanfranc, knowing "by a certain re-

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16 *Vita Herluini* 192, translation 71-72.

17 *Vita Herluini*, 195; Vaughn 75; Margaret Gibson accepted this version: see Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, p. 10.

18 *Vita Lanfranci*, PL 150 cols 30-31; Vaughn translation 88; J. A. MacDonald accepted this version: see Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, p. 10.

lation” that the study of literature was much collapsed in barbarian Normandy, inspired by God, set out for Normandy to acquire greater glory and “very many advantages.” He was set upon by robbers on his journey, and remembered a story in Gregory the Great’s vita in which a certain Libertinus, likewise set upon by robbers, saved himself by giving all he had to them. Then, miraculously the robbers were prevented from crossing a river, and, repenting of their sin, returned all his goods to Libertinus. Recalling this story, Lanfranc tried to do likewise. But instead the Norman robbers stripped him naked and tied him to a tree, leaving him to die. Lanfranc, reflecting that Libertinus had acted out of Christian love, while he himself had acted from motives of greed and self-interest, “with guile and cunning,” now facing death, reflected on how transitory are the things of this world. At this point, he vowed he would become a monk if God would deign to save him. Immediately his bonds were miraculously dissolved, and he went straight to Bec, where Herluin regarded the arrival of this learned scholar as a miracle.<sup>19</sup> All three versions agree on the barbarism of unlettered Normandy at that time. Whether by chance or by choice, Lanfranc entered Bec’s abbey, and transformed it dramatically, from an insignificant, poverty-stricken and small abbey to the foremost monastery of Normandy. He himself, as Bec’s prior and later as abbot of St. Etienne, Caen, came in time to oversee all Norman churches, as we shall see.

Lanfranc had arrived at Bec in the early 1040s, perhaps 1042, after Herluin had devoted his best efforts to establishing a monastery almost completely on his own, and, according to *Vita Herluini*, with little help from other established monastic foundations in Normandy, which were as barbarous as its secular culture. Nor did Herluin have any other guidance beyond his own innate reason. He had had no models himself, as Crispin portrays him,

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19 *Chronicle of Bec*, PL 150, cols 642-3; Miracles of St. Nicholas, printed in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, ed. Socii Bolandiani (Brussels, 1898-9), 6208 cap 7. p. 409.

finding the right way almost by intuition, often aided by God, and through intense self-examination. He did have access to some kind of a monastic rule, according to the manner of the earlier Fathers,<sup>20</sup> but it appears from its severity that it may well not have been the Benedictine *Rule*. Crispin also tells us that Herluin locked up his monks in the cloister and they were so discontented and desperate that they were escaping through the privy, hinting at some other Rule than the Benedictine. These conditions were not exactly the pinnacle of achievement Crispin had described; but this pinnacle seems to have been related more to Herluin's business and legal acumen, and his ability to raise money for Bec's sustenance,<sup>21</sup> than to his abilities to oversee the discipline of the monks. Bec's success was due to some Franco-Danish skills Herluin had learned.

Herluin was skilled in dissolving controversies to do with secular cases, prudent in those things that related to the world outside; in building and in procuring all their necessities he could not have been cleverer or more effective.... With what justice, with what serenity he ruled those under him! Well-versed in the law of his fatherland, he was a protector for his men against wicked judges. And if any difference arose among them, he settled it immediately with great fairness.<sup>22</sup>

*Vita Herluini* describes Lanfranc as a gift from God who would assure the abbey's success – and so it did, as three years later Lanfranc as prior brought the abbey into “perfect order” – perhaps with the Benedictine Rule – and opened Bec's school and again notably increased Bec's prosperity. Crispin tells us that “clerics came running, the sons of *ducum* – military leaders” to study under the “most renowned master of Latin Christendom” at Lanfranc's school.<sup>23</sup> Normandy, previously described as illiterate, now had a school to which its clerics and laymen flocked. Orderic Vitalis corroborates this account: “It was from this master [Lanfranc] that the

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20 *Vita Herluini* 192, translation 73.

21 *Vita Herluini* 196, translation 75.

22 *Vita Herluini* 196, translation 75.

23 *Vita Herluini*, p. 197: *Accurrunt clericci, ducum filii, nominatissimi scholarum Latinitatis magistri;...*

Normans first learned the Liberal Arts, so that scholars well versed in both sacred and secular learning emerged from the school of Bec. For at an earlier period under the six dukes of Normandy scarcely any Norman spent his time in liberal studies, and no man of learning was to be found there until all-provident God sent Lanfranc to the borders of Normandy.”<sup>24</sup>

We have a little vignette, reported by William of Malmesbury, of Bec’s school under Lanfranc. In 1053, when the school of Bec had been in existence for some seven years, there was a certain clerk at the court of Duke William, Herfast, “a man of little intelligence though with some education in the classics … indeed, people thought highly of his knowledge until Lanfranc came to Normandy and became a monk of Bec.” Herfast travelled to “this famous center of learning” with a great retinue of companions and horses. At Bec all the students were diligently spouting dialectic. At Herfast’s first words, Lanfranc “could see that the man’s knowledge was practically nil.” So, in a move that must have made the Bec students roar with laughter, Lanfranc had the ABCs set up before him. Herfast was furious, and persuaded Duke William to remove Lanfranc not only from Bec but from Normandy as well,<sup>25</sup> attesting to even the duke’s Danishness in rejecting such a famous scholar from his land. Later he would restore Lanfranc and put him in charge of all Normandy’s churches.<sup>26</sup>

Individual Normans retained something of their Danish character. *Vita Herluini* recounts a close neighbor to Bec named Ralph Pinelle, “a man much addicted to desire for things of this world. When he was warned a number of times by Abbot Herluin himself to live decently, he spurned and jeered at him,” saying that after he

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24 Orderic Vitalis, 2:251.

25 William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (RS, London, 1870); *The Deeds of the Bishops of England*, translated by David Preest (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002), 98.

26 *Vita Herluini*, 197, translation 76.

had grown weary of arms and was satiated with worldly pleasure, he would become a monk. He mocked Herluin's request and returned home laughing, only to die the same night. Abbot Herluin heard his screams as his soul was carried off by demons.<sup>27</sup> Ralph was meant to represent the character of typical Normans in their Danishness.

The court at Chartres, where Fulbert taught so famously, may have some testimony to Normandy's Danishness. For Fulbert was writing to Archbishop Robert of Rouen, brother of Duke Richard II – recall that he was married and had three sons<sup>28</sup> – advising him on handling the difficult Norman duke. Indeed, as early as 1014-22, Fulbert wrote to Roger bishop of Lisieux in Normandy regarding a property of Chartres there, rebuking Roger for prohibiting the canons of Chartres from exercising their offices because they had not paid Bishop Roger the synodal dues for these Chartres churches. Fulbert states that the Chartres "provost – *prepositus* – was also Roger's servant – *seruus*, and that he did not understand the law correctly. Indeed, Fulbert says gently, "we are not ignorant that [these dues] are resolved to you by law – *iure soluendum esse*". But, he continues, these dues were remitted to these churches by my predecessors out of their generosity and devotion. But, he says, Roger has the choice of collecting them or not, and he expresses the hope that Roger will defray them "if it pleases you in your charity to follow the example of my holy predecessors and to remit them" or to let the brothers keep them to defray their expenses.<sup>29</sup> Fulbert clearly was dealing with a bishop who did not understand clerical law, and who in any case seems to have been intent on ignoring it in order to collect the taxes he thought were due.

Later Fulbert wrote to Archbishop Robert of Rouen in 1027,

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27 *Vita Herluini* 194-195, translation 74.

28 Orderic Vitalis, 2: 30, 118, 140.

29 Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. by Frederick Behrends (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1976), Ep. 39, pp. 68-71.

sympathizing with him because Duke Robert I (the Magnificent), who succeeded his brother Richard III, had attacked his uncle Archbishop Robert, who went into exile and then placed Normandy under interdict. This letter suggests that it was Fulbert who had suggested such a remedy to Robert, for Fulbert says to Robert in this letter, "you have the charity by which you may recall one who goes astray, the reins of canonical restrictions by which you may restrain one who is headstrong, the rod with which you may strike him. Use these competently until he will promise absolution and is glad to say to you: 'thy rod and thy staff, they have comforted me.'"<sup>30</sup> This letter seems to indicate that it was Fulbert who informed Archbishop Robert of his options under canon law to place Normandy under interdict, and it is not impossible that Robert sought exile in France or even in Chartres itself. What is clear from these letters is that comprehension of proper church function was lacking in Normandy, and Fulbert was supplying needed advice. Normandy was still Danish in the sense that its most prominent bishop, the archbishop of Rouen, was still ignorant of his own ecclesiastical powers and responsibilities.

There is still some evidence that Normandy retained an element of its Danishness right up to the time of Anselm's prioracy of Bec and beyond. For in the 1070s Anselm wrote a series of tracts delineating the basic beliefs of Christianity, starting with his two logical proofs of God through reason alone, the *Monologion* and the *Proslogion*. Anselm began with the statement that "The fool has said in his heart there is no God." This tract, like those that followed, were addressed to non-believers, "to answer, on behalf of our faith, those who, while unwilling themselves to believe what

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30 Fulbert of Chartres, Ep. 126. pp. 226-229: *Habes enim ex Dei gratia caritatem qua ipsum errantem reuoces, frenum canonicae distinctionis quo detrectantem coherceas, uirgam qua ferias. His utere competenter, donec absolucionem promeritus dicere tibi gaudeat: 'Virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt.'*

they do not understand, deride others who do believe.”<sup>31</sup> In other words, these two tracts were addressed to pagans, unbelievers in the Norman world, who, by definition, still lived in the manner of the old Danes. *Monologion* met with such widespread excitement and popularity that it was copied everywhere, suggesting a wide audience for this tract and its successor *Proslogion*. Both were aimed at non-believers in need of conversion – missionary documents in line with the missionary zeal of the abbey of Bec. Anselm went on in the 1080s to write a series of related texts, taking his pagan readers step by step through the process of conversion: *De veritate*, On Truth; *De Libertate arbitrii*, On Free Will; and *De casu diaboli*, On the Fall of the Devil. Each of these tracts dealt with essential Christian issues. In *De veritate*, for example, he argued for the eternal nature of truth, which is the essence of all things and identical with God’s essence, a continuation of *Monologion* and *Proslogion*. *De libertate arbitrii* is a more complicated argument that free will is inherent in all humans, but a type of free will that is the power to choose rightly is only available through the gift of God. *De casu diaboli* continues this argument by stating that God gave free will to Satan and Adam, who of their own accord misused it by setting their own wills against God’s will. Thus God is not blamable for the origin of moral evil. These three tracts together take their readers step by step through Christian theology, each explicitly stating in their prefaces that they were directed at unbelievers. They were met by widespread unauthorized copying before they were even finished attesting to the great eagerness with which those still living like the old Danes received them.<sup>32</sup> It is perhaps at this point that the monks

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31 Jasper Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm* (Minneapolis MN, University of Minneapolis Press, 1972), 38; 90-91 and 90 n. 1 for quotation.

32 For a more detailed discussion of Anselm’s early writings as missionary texts for unbelievers, see Sally N. Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm: Bec Missionary, Canterbury Primate, and Patriarch of Another World*. (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 41-43.

of Bec were satisfied that the Normans were about to stop living in the manner of the old Danes.

Thus Normandy, at the time of Bec's foundation in the 1030s, was still in the process of blending its Danish and Norse heritage with French customs; it had clearly adopted the French language, and was in the process of adopting French feudalism – a set of relationships between lords and followers that in some respects mirrored Danish aspects of such relationships. The dukes of Normandy and their men mirrored the composition of French cavalry in their military institutions and feudal bonds to each other. Yet in the eyes of the monks of Bec, the Normans were still living in the manner of the old Danes. The churches were only beginning to coalesce into Christian practices, and had mastered them imperfectly. The evidence from *Vita Herluini* and related Bec sources points to a Bec perception of a significant survival of Danish culture within Normandy as late as Bec's foundation in 1034-7, and even as late as the 1040s on Lanfranc's arrival and afterward, during Lanfranc's priorate of Bec, and even as late as the 1080s when Anselm wrote his series of missionary tracts to convert the still numerous unbelievers – still living like the old Danes – among the Normans. It is only with the fervent reception of Anselm's tracts that we can perhaps say that at last the Normans were ready to stop living a Danish life and accept fully the Christian culture of Europe – and to become fully Norman.

# Vikingernes mønter i Normandiet: identitetsbærere og praktisk betalingsmiddel

Jens Christian Moesgaard<sup>1</sup>

Formålet med denne artikel er at undersøge, hvorvidt udmøntningen i vikingekolonien Normandiet kan sige noget om vikingernes bevidste eller ubevidste identitetsfølelse. Artiklen starter med nogle korte generelle betragtninger om valg af møntmotiv. Dernæst følger en række eksempler fra høj- og senmiddelalderen samt nyere tid. Disse sene eksempler er valgt, fordi de langt tydeligere end vikingetidseksempler viser forskellige bevæggrunde for valget af en mønttype, og hvordan identitetsaspektet kan være mere eller mindre fremherskende. Mønternes rolle som praktisk betalingsmiddel spiller også ind i motivvalget. Eksemplerne giver således en klarere analytisk ramme for at undersøge den ikke helt så entydige situation i vikingetiden. Artiklen sidste og vigtigste del er en diskussion af, hvilke identitetsmæssige og andre grunde, der kan have ligget bag valget af møntmotiv i vikingekolonien Normandiet.

## Møntmotiver

Motivvalget til en ny mønttype afhænger meget af, hvad møntherren ønsker at opnå med sin udmøntning. Hvis formålet er at sikre møntbrugernes accept og facilitere den nye udmøntnings udbredelse, kan det være en god idé at benytte et gammelkendt og tillidsvækkende design. Hvis man derimod vil benytte sig af møntens motiv til at få et politisk eller religiøst budskab ud, bør man lave en

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<sup>1</sup> Jeg ønsker at takke organisatorerne af symposiet for indbydelsen og dækningen af rejseudgifterne. Jeg takker min arbejdsgiver Nationalmuseet for lov til at deltage.

markant ny type. Disse to hensyn er af indlysende grunde i de fleste tilfælde i strid med hinanden.

Den konkrete baggrund for ønsket om at indføre en ny mønttype spiller ligeledes ind på motivvalget. Og der kan være mange grunde til dette ønske. En grund kan være, at man er en ny møntherre. Men også allerede etablerede møntherrer ønskede ofte at skifte type. En typisk situation med behov for et helt nyt motiv er, når man af den ene eller anden grund lavede en møntreform, der indebar inddragelse af de hidtidige mønter (eller sedler), der herefter blev ugyldige. Så skulle man jo helst kunne se forskel på den gamle og den nye mønttype. Behovet for reform kunne være, at der var for mange falske mønter i omløb, og man ønskede at sanere mønttomløbet. Denne begrundelse nævntes ofte eksplisit i forbindelse med nye mønttyper, eksempelvis i Karolingerriget. En længere periode med møntforringelse kunne også føre til et behov for en ny og stabil mønt. Det kan ligeledes være et ønske om at få sorte penge frem i lyset. Således blev der gennemført en pengeombytning i Danmark i 1945, hvor man ville ramme dem, der på lysky vis havde tjent store penge under besættelsen.

Man nævner ofte regentskifte som baggrund for indførelse af en ny type. Imidlertid er det ikke altid tilfældet. Ofte fortsatte en type bare uændret, selvom en ny konge kom på tronen. Og selv om typen nogle gange skiftes ud, får den gamle konges mønter oftest lov til at forblive i omløb. Derimod kan der ved regimeskifte eller revolution være et ønske om at indføre en ny markant type. Et godt eksempel herpå er de mange politiske omvæltninger i Frankrig i slutningen af 1700-tallet og i løbet af 1800-tallet.

## Eksempler på valg af mønttyper

Bestemte mønttyper havde ry for stabilitet. Det gjaldt for eksempel den 12-penning eller gros tournois i godt sølv, som den franske konge Ludvig den Hellige indførte i 1266, og som med afbrydelser fortsattes af hans efterfølgere. I 1337 startede imidlertid en periode

med meget store møntforringelser, der konkret gav sig udslag i kraftigt faldende lødighed og synkende vægt på mønerne. Når man kom for langt ned, indførte man en ny forbedret type med nyt design, som så snart efter selv blev utsat for forringelser. Da Johan den Gode i 1361 endelig genindførte en ny stabil mønt, gjorde han det ved at genbruge designet på ”kong Ludvigs gode mønt”, der jo i folks bevidsthed repræsenterede soliditet. Blot var et lille kors erstattet med en lille krone, ellers var typen helt identisk, ud over kongens navn. I parentes bemærket ser vi her et typisk træk i valget af mønttype: i et stabilt møntvæsen forbliver mønttype – alt andet lige – uændret i meget lang tid, mens den i inflationsperioder ofte skiftes ud.

Flere hundrede år senere gentog scenariet sig. Den franske francs værdi var i mellem- og efterkrigstiden blevet helt udhulet af inflationen, og i 1958 strøg man to nulser og indførte ”le nouveau franc”, der gjaldt 100 ”anciens francs”. Med andre ord blev ”L’ancien franc” til en centime. De nye franc-stykker blev sat i omløb 1. januar 1960, og som motiv valgte man ”la semeuse”,<sup>2</sup> der faktisk var genbrug ned til mindste detalje af mønttypen fra 1897-1920. Den var fra før ”verden gik af lave” og repræsenterede psykologisk den pengemæssige stabilitet, der var gået tabt i 1. verdenskrigs ragnarok.

Også endnu tættere på os kan vi se eksempler på, hvorledes motivvalget skal symbolisere stabilitet og kontinuitet. Lad os tage et eksempel fra sedlernes verden. Euro-sedlerne blev sat i omløb 1. januar 2002. Der er nok ikke mange europæere, der i dag ikke ville kunne genkende en euro-seddel uden den mindste tøven. Den er blevet et brand i sig selv. Men den bliver også forfalsket, og for at undgå det, må man hele tiden forbedre sikkerhedsgrafikken. I den forbindelse er det ønskeligt at ændre sedlens design med jævne mellemrum. Og her 2. maj 2013 kom der så en ny 5-euro-seddel. I

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2 Semeusen var stadigt i brug helt op til indførelsen af euroen. Hun pryder stadigt i dag i moderniseret form de franske 10-, 20- og 50-eurocents.

stedet for at indføre et helt nyt design, har man valgt at genbruge de gamle motivelementer, men blot flytte lidt rundt på dem. Formålet er helt klart at symbolisere stabilitet og kontinuitet. Nu har folk vænnet sig til sedlernes motiv, og derfor bør det beholdes, især i en stor kompleks sammenhæng som euro-samarbejdet. Det ville ganske givet have været en alt for besværlig og forvirrende proces at få folk til at acceptere et helt nyt design.

Når et møntmotiv er blevet kendt og anerkendt, kan andre lukrere på det ved at efterligne det. Greven af Evreux, Karl den Onde (1343-1378) efterlignede således motivet på den franske konge Johan den Godes (1350-1364) mønter. Efterligningerne var meget tætte på forbilledet. Således skrev Karl for eksempel sin navn med bevidst stavefejl dobbelt-L i KAROLLVS i stedet for det korrekte KAROLVS. Bagtanken var at skabe visuel lighed med dobbelt-N'et i kongens IOHANNES. Formålet var ikke i første omgang at forsyne Karls eget lille grevskab med mønt. Nej, det var, at Karls mønt skulle glide ubemærket ind i møntomløbet i hele Frankrig. På den måde kunne Karl – uberettiget – få del i de indtægter, der var forbundet med udstedelse i og med, at mønter kunne udsendes til en overkurs i forhold til det værdien af det ædelmetal, de indeholdt. Og møntfundene viser, at Karl – og andre feudalherrer, der lavede samme nummer – rent faktisk lykkedes i deres forehavende (Moesgaard 1999).

I det meste af den franske konge Karl VI's regeringstid (1380-1422) var guénar'en (10-penning) den almindeligste mønttype. Da den engelske konge Henrik V i 1417 invaderede Frankrig for at understøtte sit krav på den franske trone, lod han i Caen præge en guénar, der ud over navnet på kongen var helt identisk med Karls. Det var under 100-års krigen. Formålet var tydeligvis først og fremmest, at den skulle accepteres i omløbet. Kun hvis folk møjsommeligt stavede sig igennem indskriften, ville de opdage, at det var en anden konge, end det plejede.

Således var det derimod bestemt ikke, da Henriks søn, Henrik VI (eller rettere formynderregeringen, for Henrik var kun 1 år),

i november 1422 lod præge den såkaldte blanc aux écus (10-penning). Her gik man helt ud over konventionen med, at kongens navn skal stå i omskriften – nej, det stod helt skrevet ud på tværs af møntmotivet, oven i købet både på forsiden og på bagsiden. Samtidig optrådte det franske og det engelske våbenskjold side om side på forsiden, mens den franske lilje og den engelske leopard ses på bagsiden. Her var formålet helt klart at blive lagt mærke til. Mønttypen var klar propaganda for det engelske partis tronkrav: der blev tydeligt og klart gjort opmærksom på, at de to lande nu var under samme konge, og at han hed Henrik (Moesgaard 1998b). Det tog endnu en generations krig, før Hundredårskrigen var slut, og englænderne om ikke formelt, så dog reelt måtte give afkald på Frankrig.

### Møntmotiver i vikingetiden

Situationen i vikingetiden er ikke helt så tydelig som de eksempler, vi lige har set på. Men at der også i vikingetiden har ligget både identitet og praktiske overvejelser bag typevalget, kan der ikke herske tvivl om. Således har man i England i 800-tallet mønter fra Mercia med et stort M som motiv, mens mønter fra East Anglia bar et A. Her har man villet gøre opmærksom på sin identitet. Modsat kan man se, at møntstedet Hedeby i 150 år (ca. 825-ca. 850 og igen ca. 900-ca. 975) holdt fast i samme velkendte mønttype (efterligning af Karl den Stores penning fra Dorestad). Den må have været indbegrebet af begrebet ”mønt” for de lokale købmænd, til hvis brug mønterne prægedes. Når først motivet var indarbejdet, skulle man endelig ikke ændre på det!

Mange af fortolkningerne af bevæggrundene for valg af denne eller hin type kan ikke bevises, men må forblive en hypotese. Således tolkes skibet på mønter fra Hedeby ca. 825-850 som et anti-kristent nordisk symbol af Bjørn Varenius, mens Brita Malmer tolker fisken under skibet som Kristus. Tilsvarende mener Malmer, at hjorten på de samtidige mønter fra Ribe er Kristus,

mens slangen er det onde. Varenius ser motivet som rent nordisk og anti-kristent (Malmer 2004; Varenius 1994).

Intet valg af mønttype foregår i et tomrum. Der er altid nogle traditioner og konventioner, som man må forholde sig til. I Frankerriget blev der i vikingetiden kun præget to mønttyper. Den vigtigste var penningen. Det var en sølv mønt på noget over et gram næsten rent sølv, der var præget på en tynd blanket på omkring 20 mm. Den anden, som ikke altid blev præget og da kun i mindre mængder, var obolen, der var en halv penning til halv vægt på en ligeledes tynd blanket på omkring 16 mm i diameter. Mønterne havde som regel en omskrift med kongens navn eller titel på den ene side og møntstedets navn på den anden. På midten var der et motiv: en sjælden gang imellem en stiliseret buste, ellers et monogram af kongens navn eller en bygning. Der var næsten altid et kors på den ene side. Nogle gange var indskriften på den ene side i stedet disponeret i en eller flere linjer på tværs af mønten.

Under Karl den Store (768-814) og Ludvig den Fromme (814-840) havde møntvæsenet været styret stramt fra centralt hold. Således blev der i alle rigets møntsteder præget samme mønttype. Efter Ludvigs død blev riget delt mellem hans tre sønner, og den møntmæssige enhed forsvandt. Efter en tøvende start fik Karl den Skaldede dog efterhånden skik på møntvæsenet i sin arvelod, nemlig Det vestfranske Rige. Efter hans død i 877 gik enheden imidlertid i opløsning. I nogle af rigets mange møntsmedjer fortsatte man i hans navn også efter hans død. I andre møntsmedjer satte hans efterfølgere Ludvig III (879-882), Carloman (879-884) og Otto (Eudes) (887-898) deres navn på mønterne.

Lidt efter lidt svandt den centrale styring over udømtningen således ind, og kontrollen gik de facto over til den lokale greve. Greverne havde oprindeligt blot været kongelige embedsmænd på lokalt plan, men de blev nu de egentlige herskere rundt om i det opsplittede rige. Oftest fortsatte man udømtningen i en afdød konges navn, men det kunne være Karl det ene sted, Otto det andet og Carloman det tredje, så enhedsmøntvæsenet forsvandt fuldstænd-

digt. Men greverne satte ikke deres egne navne i stedet for kongens på mønsterne. Det er svært at sige, om det var af veneration, om der var et tabu mod det, eller om det bare var en praktisk foranstaltning for at få folk til at acceptere mønten ved, at den forblev uændret.

Der gik lang tid, før der skete en udvikling på det punkt, og den kom kun langsomt. Abbeden af klostret Corbie i det nordfranske Picardiet satte diskret sit forbogstav på mønten. Hertugen af Burgund lod i Auxerre præge mønter uden kongenavn – men også uden sit eget, han lod simpelt hen indskriftsbåndet på mønten stå tomt. Først et par årtier ind i 900-tallet vovede grev Vilhelm af Auvergne at sætte sit eget navn fuldt udskrevet på en mønt (Dumas 1973).

### Vikingernes udmøntning i Normandiet i 900-tallet

Det var rammen for møntpægning, da vikingehøvdingen Rolf mod at lade sig døbe og forsøre området mod andre vikinger i 911/912 fik tildelt den nedre del af Seine-dalen og dens bagland af kong Karl den Enfoldige. Vi kender ingen mønter med Rolfs (911/912-927/932) navn, men derfor tyder meget alligevel på, at han – eller nogle af hans mænd – lod slå mønter. Der findes nemlig en serie af sene efterligninger af Ludvig den Frommes mønttype med templet, der kun kendes fra to fund i Normandiet: skattefundene fra Coudres fra 920'erne og fra Saint-Taurin-kirken i Evreux, nedlagt 943/945. Begge disse fundsteder ligger i det sydlige bagland til Seine-dalen, der med stor sikkerhed var en del af den oprindelige tildeling af land til Rolf. Tid og sted sandsynliggør, at det var vingerne (der i mellemtíden var forvandlet til normannere), der stod bag udmøntningen (Moesgaard 2007).

På de sene mønter i serien, med andre ord på dem fra Saint-Taurin-skatten, begynder forsidens mere eller mindre korrumperede gengivelse af den oprindelige indskrift med et umotiveret V eller W. Det kan være en diskret hentydning til Rolfs søn og efterfølger Vilhelm Langsværd (927/932-942). Hvis det er den korrekte

tolkning af det mystiske bogstav, er udømningens sidste fase ikke en anonym efterligning, men en signeret møntserie.

Valget af forbillede til efterligningen er imidlertid meget bemærkelsesværdigt. Ludvig den Frommes tempeltype blev præget fra ca. 822/823 til 840. Den forblev i omløb i Det vestfrisiske Rige indtil 864 og i Lotharingia indtil 870'erne. Da efterligningerne blev præget i 920'erne, havde typen altså været ude af omløbet i et halvt århundrede. På det tidspunkt benyttede man i Det vestfrisiske Rige typen med kongens monogram. Den gamle tempeltype var derimod kendt og skattet i vikingernes hjemlande i Skandinavien. Den er den alleralmindeligste blandt de – indrømmet, forholdsvis få – karolingiske mønster, der blev bragt til Skandinavien i første halvdel af 800-tallet. Skattefund i Danmark viser, at nogle eksemplarer overlevede til ind i 900-tallet, altså længe efter mønttypen var forsvundet i sit hjemland. Valget af netop denne mønttype til de møntsmykker, der blev lagt i kvindegravene i Birka i Mellemverige, indikerer, at den havde en høj symbolsk statusværdi (Ambrosiani 2006; Audy 2011). Kunne det være denne kulturelle ballast hjemmefra, der fik vikingerne til at vælge netop denne mønttype til deres udømning i 920'erne (Moesgaard 2006a)? Denne hypotese kan nok ikke bevises, men som vi skal se nedenfor skulle det efterfølgende forløb vise, at tempeltypen havde en lysende fremtid for sig i Normandiet.

En smule senere, måske i 940'erne, producerede møntsmedjen i Bayeux i det mellemste Normandiet den gængse type med kongemonogram. Det drejer sig om en fuldstændigt uændret fortsættelse af den hidtidige mønttype med kongens monogram som hovedmotiv og hans titel i indskriften på forsiden. Området var kommet under normannernes herredømme i 924, og det er sandsynligvis dem, der var mørtherren. Dette er altså den klassiske situation, hvor en ny mørtherre fortsætter den eksisterende udømning af en kendt og anerkendt type (Dumas 1971).

I mellemtiden var der sket en markant udvikling østpå i den nedre Seine-dal. Vilhelm Langsværd indførte en mønttype med et

markant anderledes motiv – et kors på begge sider – og med Vilhelms eget navn skrevet fuldt ud – WILELMVS – på den ene side. På den anden side står der mere konventionelt møntstedet (eller grevskabets) navn: ROTOMAGVS (flere varianter): Rouen. Som antydet ovenfor udgør en så tydelig markering af den lokale møntherres navn et markant brud med tingenes normale tilstand. Vilhelm var sammen med sin navnebroder i Auvergne med i første linje i den nye trend. En generation senere ville det have været helt normalt, men i 930'erne var det næsten helt nyt. Det må Vilhelm have været klar over, og han må have gjort det (selv)bevidst for at fremme kendskabet til sit navn (Moesgaard 2007).

Der kendes en anden mønttype med Vilhelms navn. Man ved ikke meget om den, og den er kun registreret i et eneste eksemplar, der er fundet på Mont-Saint-Michel i det sydvestligste hjørne af Normandiet, på grænsen til Bretagne. Det er en efterligning af en samtidig engelsk mønttype, og Vilhelms navn efterfølges meget bemærkelsesværdigt af titlen bretonernes hertug. Vilhelm blev imidlertid aldrig hertug i nabo-regionen, så der må være en anden forklaring. Det kan være den udvidelse af Normandiet mod vest, der fandt sted i 933, da kongen overdrog Cotentin og Avranchin til Vilhelm. Disse to egne havde siden 867 været under bretonsk kontrol. Vilhelm havde også mere generelt en ambition om ekspansion sydvest på og han udførte adskillige hærtogter langt ind i Bretagne (Dolley & Yvon 1972).

I 942 blev Vilhelm myrdet, og kong Ludvig IV (936-954) overtog magten i Normandiet som formynder for Vilhelms mindreårige søn Rikard. Det første, Ludvig gjorde, var at præge en ny mønttype med sit eget navn og et nyt motiv: kors på den ene side og de sidste bogstaver af omskriften som motiv på den anden side. Mønterne bar også kongetitel. Det er tydeligt, at det var vigtigt for kongen at få sit navn frem og få gjort opmærksom på, at der var kommet en ny herre. Her var mønterne et godt middel til at få budskabet ud til samfundets fjerneste kroge (Moesgaard 2003).

Ludvig var af den gamle karolingiske kongeslægt, men han

gjorde intet forsøg på at genindføre sine forfædres strenge centrale kontrol med og ensretning af møntvæsenet. Hans Rouen-mønter er typologisk helt forskellige fra de mønter, han lod præge andetsteds i riget. Mest markant skiller mønterne fra Chinon i Loire-dalen sig ud med en flot kongebuste. Heller ikke hvad angår møntomløbet, gjorde kongen noget forsøg på at gennemvinge en landsdækkende ensretning. Skattefundet ved Saint-Taurin kirken i Evreux viser, at han havde god succes med at få gjort sin nye mønttype til den dominerende i omløbet i Normandiet. Et par spredte enkeltfund viser det samme. Derimod findes der ingen normanniske fund af Ludvigs mønter præget uden for Normandiet. Tilsvarende optræder hans Rouen-mønt slet ikke i andre regioner. Møntomløbet var ikke længere nationalt, men regionalt.

Der er dog en lille mærkelig detalje på kong Ludvigs Rouen-mønter: i forsidsens indskrift ses bogstavet V før kongens eget navn og titel. Det samme mystiske bogstav optrådte på de sene efterlinger af tempeltypen, som vi så ovenfor. Er det en henvisning til Vilhelms navn? Har kong Ludvig villet give en lille indrømmelse til de lokale kræfter, der savnede den myrdede hertug?<sup>3</sup> Eller har han ved denne, om end ikke særligt markante, detalje ønsket at signalere typologisk kontinuitet for at fremme accepten af sin nye mønt? Det kan ikke afgøres med sikkerhed. Men lige meget hvilken af forklaringerne, der er den rigtige, svække denne detalje kongens andet formål med mønten, nemlig at udbrede kendskabet til, at der nu var en ny hersker på kommandobroen.

Der var stor modstand i Normandiet mod det nye styre, og det endte med, at kongen blev taget til fange, og den unge Rikard kom tilbage til magten i 945. Han skyndte sig også at indføre en ny type med sit eget navn. Mønternes propagandamæssige betydning var nu en fastslået kendsgerning.

Rikard skulle nu vælge en type, der helst motivmæssigt skul-

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3 Man bruger pr. konvention titlen hertug for vikingeherskerne i Normandiet, skønt kilderne viser, at de i den første tid hovedsageligt benyttede titlen Greve af Rouen.

le markere et brud med kong Ludvigs udmøntning. Meget tyder imidlertid på, at der på dette tidspunkt også var en anden afgørende faktor på spil. Der findes ekstremt mange forskellige mønttyper fra Rikard og hans efterfølgere, men i de – desværre ret få – velregistrerede skattekunder, som vi kender, er der altid kun en, til nød to typer, der fuldstændigt dominerer skattens sammensætning. Det tyder meget kraftigt på, at der var blevet indført et system med regelmæssige, tvungne møntombytninger, det såkaldte *renovatio monetæ*-system. Det indebar, at man med jævne mellemrum – eksempelvis hvert tredje eller hvert fjerde år – indførte en ny mønttype og gjorde den gamle type ugyldig. Folk skulle herefter omveksle deres gamle mønter til nye til en ugunstig vekselkurs. Det gav indtægt til mørtherren, hvilket også var hele formålet med systemet. Man kan sige, at det var en slags formue- eller omsætningsskat. Rent praktisk medførte systemet et behov for hyppige skift af mønttype, og det var derfor med at have nye motiver på lager (Dumas 1971; Moesgaard 1998a, 2011).

Helt konkret kunne Rikard vælge mellem en del typer. Han kunne gå tilbage til sin fars type med kors på begge sider og lave variation over den. Han kunne også tage den klassiske type med herskerens navn i monogram på den ene side. Det var jo faktisk den type, der var blevet præget i Bayeux med bibeholdelse af den karolingiske konges navn og titel, og i Rouen var der også i 920'erne eller 930'erne en udmøntning med dette motiv, men med helgennavnet Saint-Ouen i omskriften i stedet for kongens titel. Faktisk valgte Rikard i starten af sin regeringstid at lade præge en mønt med en variation over monogram-motivet. Men der findes blandt alle de mange normanniske mønttyper fra de næste par hundrede år kun et par stykker, der nedstammer fra den, så den fik ikke noget langt efterliv. Det gjorde derimod tempeltypen, der jo, som vi så ovenfor, allerede havde været brugt i Normandiet i de foregående årtier. Den blev grundtypen for alle de motivvariationer, man lavede ved hvert typeskift i resten af Rikards lange regeringstid (942/945-996), og faktisk også for hovedparten af typerne i de

efterfølgende halvandet århundrede. Man startede med variationer over korssiden, men snart måtte tempelsiden holde for: bogstaver på søjlernes plads, flere gavltrekanter ved siden af hinanden eller placeret som trekantre eller firkanter, fantasifulde geometriske figurer osv. (Dumas 1979).

Årsagen til valget af tempeltypen frem for monogramtypen kan man kun gisne om. Et godt bud kunne være, at tempeltypen var kommet til at inkarnere normannisk identitet, hvorimod monogram-typen symboliserede den karolingiske kongemagt, som man var i opposition til. Monogrammet på den oprindelige version af typen var jo netop CAROLVS = Karl, der havde givet kongedynastiet sit navn, og som mange af dets medlemmet bar. Dette kan kun blive en hypotese, men med fare for ringslutning styrker den idéen om at valget af tempeltypen en generation tidligere (se ovenfor) rent faktisk var identitetsrelateret (Moesgaard 2006a).

## Religiøse indskrifter

Under forudsætning af at hypotesen om, at *renovatio monetæ*-systemet praktiseredes i Normandiet, er korrekt, har vi altså herefter en serie udmøntninger, der afløser hinanden med tre eller fire års mellemrum. Typerne skifter ved hver ny udmøntning, dog som regel som variationer over samme grundmotiv. Mønternes indskrifter indeholder i begyndelsen navnet på møntherren Rikard i forsidsens indskrift, mens bagsiden angiver møntstedet (eller grevskabet) Rouen.

Et stykke inde i Rikards regeringsperiode begyndte der imidlertid at optræde helgen-navne i omskrifterne. Nogle gange erstatte de Rikards navn, og nogle gange står de sammen med det. Det er ikke første gang, det sker. Allerede i 920'erne eller 930'erne blev der som nævnt ovenfor præget en type med helgennavnet Saint-Ouen, men her fra 970'erne og frem er det Saint-Romain. Begge disse helgener levede i 600-tallet og havde været biskopper i Rouen. De blev begge dyrket lokalt. I forskningen har det hidtil

været antaget, at helgennavnet på mønten afspejlede, at hertugen havde tilstået møntreret til kirkelige institutioner. For Saint-Ouen skulle det dreje sig om klostret, hvor helgenen lå begravet. Saint-Romain havde ikke sit eget kloster, og her har budene på den møntudstedende instans varieret en del. Meget tyder imidlertid på, at hertugen selv stod bag disse udmøntninger, og at de kirkelige institutioners direkte involvering i dem var minimal (Moesgaard 2011). Det drejede sandsynligvis om hertugens ønske om at fremstå som en god kristen hersker, der hædrede den lokale helgen. I denne sammenhæng kan en parallel til vikingernes mønter med helgennavne i England være instruktiv. Især er eksemplet med mønter med Sankt Edmund godt. Edmund var konge af østanglerne, og han blev slået ihjel af vikingerne i 869. En generation senere, omkring 895, lod de selvsamme vikinger, der i mellemtidens var blevet kristne, præge mønter til ære for Edmund, der nu blev anset for en helgen.

Hvis vi accepterer hypotesen om, at hertugen var hovedansvarlig for udmøntningen, bliver hans valg af helgen, der skulle hædres på mønterne, interessant. Saint-Ouen-klostret var stort og magtfuldt og definerende for byen Rouens identitet. Abbedembedet tilfaldt traditionelt Rouens ærkebisp, der havde et tæt samarbejde med den verdslige magt. Det var derfor naturligt, at valget faldt på Saint-Ouen i 930/940'erne. Omkring 960 skete det imidlertid et brud, da klostret fik sin egen abbed, Hildevert, der ikke var tæt knyttet til domkirken. Herefter begyndte domkirken at söge at fremme dyrkelsen af Saint-Romain i konkurrence med Saint-Ouen-kulten. Set i dette lys forstår man bedre, hvorfor det nu pludseligt var Saint-Romain, der skulle nævnes på mønterne. På længere sigt blev det Saint-Romain, der vandt konkurrencen om at blive Rouens skytshelgen (Le Maho 2000).

Om helgennavnene afspejler, at hertugen har givet de kirkelige institutioner del i møntindtægterne, kan vi ikke sige noget sikert om. Men det er meget usandsynligt, at de skulle have fået den fulde møntreret. Den beholdt hertugen. Valget af helgen er derfor

sikkert hans, og det afspejler, at han gerne ville fremstå som en god kristen hersker. Som vi så, følger valget af hvilken konkret helgen, der skulle optræde på mønsterne, den aktuelle magtpolitiske konstellation i det kirkelige miljø i Rouen.

### Vikingernes hurtige tilpasning til lokale forhold

Til slut er det i nærværende sammenhæng vigtigt at slå fast, at de normanniske mønster er præget i lokal frankisk tradition, både hvad angår motivvalg, prægeteknik og fysiske karakteristika såsom størrelse, vægt og lødighed. Traditionen er ikke nordisk. På dette tidspunkt blev der kun præget mønster ét sted i Norden, og det var i Hedeby, men mønsterne her var tyndere og lettere og lå i en hel anden ikonografisk tradition. Derudover benyttede man i Norden udenlandske mønster, især islamiske sølvdirhem fra Centralasien. De blev brugt efter vægt og blev derfor klippet i små stykker og lødighedstestet med knivhak og bøjning. Der findes kun ét fund fra Normandiet med mønster behandlet på denne måde. Det er skatten fra Saint-Pierre-des-Fleurs, men den er nedlagt allerede i 890'erne, en god halv snes år før Rolfs officielle etablering i området (Cardon m.fl. 2008). Denne måde at bruge mønster på er således så godt som ikke-eksisterende i Normandiet, hvilket står i skarp modsætning til situationen i vikingernes kolonier i Holland, de britiske øer og Nordatlanten.

I vikingekolonierne i England lod vikingerne desuden præge egne mønster, men heller ikke herfra var det meget indflydelse. Den tidligere fremsatte idé om engelsk påvirkning af Vilhelm Langsverds mønttype holder ikke: de påståede forbilleder er sjeldne typer, der slet ikke var i brug længere på Vilhelms tid (Moesgaard 2007). Kun den yderst sjeldne type, hvor Vilhelm hævder at være bretonernes hertug er tydeligvis en efterligning af en samtidig engelsk type – men forbilledet er angel-saksisk og netop ikke fra vikingernes engelske kolonier (Dolley & Yvon 1972).

Der er heller ikke den store udveksling af mønster mellem de

forskellige vikinggeområder. Ingen nordiske mønter og kun ganske få engelske vikingemønter er fundne i Normandiet (Moesgaard 2006b; Cardon m.fl. 2008). Normanniske mønter fandt også kun yderst sjældent vej til Skandinavien (Moesgaard 2005, 2008). En enkelt karolingisk mønt fundet i det sydlige Normandiet kan have været turen over Skandinavien og tilbage igen – den er nemlig gennemboret på vikinge-manér for at danne den om til smykke (Coupland 2007).

## Konklusion

Den gennemgang af møntmotiver i Normandiet i 900-tallet, som er fremlagt ovenfor, mere end antyder en stærk grad af bevidsthed om vigtigheden i motivvalget til mønterne. Mønterne bruges meget konkret til at fremme kendskabet til nye herskeres navne. Men der er tilsyneladende også mere subtile niveauer i sagen, hvor dette eller hint motivs symbolske og identitetsmæssige ladning tages med i betragtning, ligesom hentydninger til helgener også bruges aktivt til at fremstille mørtherren som en god kristen. Mønterne holdes i den frankiske tradition. Vikingerne har ikke følt behov for at sætte sig ud over den. De har derimod habilt udfyldt rammerne til det yderste for at fremme deres egen sag på en måde, der ville kunne blive forstået i den verden, de opererede i.

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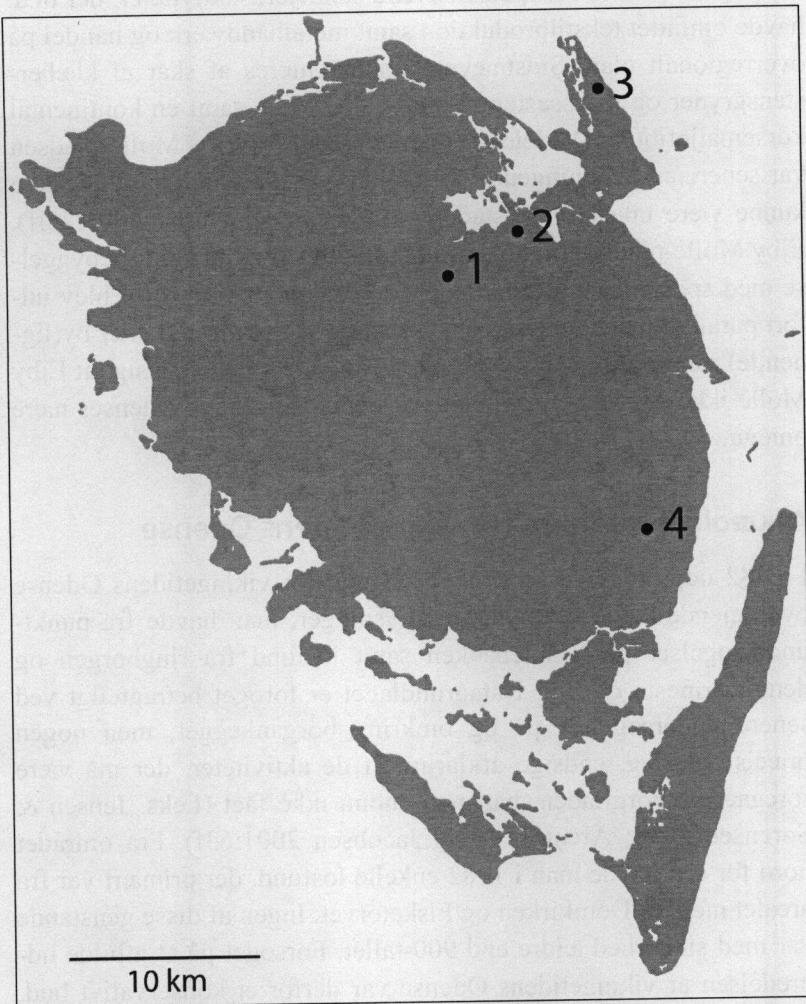
# Odenses forgænger - eller: én af mange?

Mogens Bo Henriksen

I 1982 udkom det første bind i 12-bindsværket *Odense Bys Historie*, der skulle markere købstadens 1000-årsjubilæum i 1988. Som det ofte er tilfældet i byhistorier, valgte man at starte fra de tidligste tider, men fortællingen om Odense i oldtiden blev i virkeligheden til fortællingen om et ret vidstrakt oplands historie fra istid til sen vikingetid. Man kan betragte det som et udtryk for, at det var den storkommunens historie, man ville fortælle – men i realiteten var det også et udtryk for, at det kildemateriale, der skulle fortælle om Odense i tiden før de ældste skriftlige kilder, var noget nær fraværende. Således måtte byens allertidligste historie sammenstykkedes af meget få og spredte arkæologiske fund, en tilfældig notits i et brev fra 18. marts 988, uddrag af mere eller mindre pålidelige skriftlige kilder, vidtløftige rekonstruktioner af senvikingetidens landskab og referencer til arkæologiske vidnesbyrd fra andre middelalderbyer.

Billedet, som 1982-byhistorien tegner af vikingetidens *Othenesuuig*, kan nærmest karakteriseres som beskrivelsen af en ø i et hav: ”Det samfund, der omgav byerne, og som leverede indbyggerne, byggematerialerne og varerne til dem, var et bondesamfund” (Thrane *et al.* 1982:108). Man mente således, at vikingetidsbyen adskilte sig markant fra det omgivende agrarsamfund, der sørgede for leverancen af byens basisforbrug af råvarer. Denne ret forenklede center-periferimodel var utvivlsomt præget af synet på de senere middelalderkøbstæders rolle i samfundet generelt og i bebyggelsesstrukturen specifikt. I dag må man konstatere, at modellen i lige så høj grad var et udtryk for mangel på arkæologisk kildemateriale.

Det var derfor lidt af en overraskelse, da man i selve jubilæumsåret fandt en værksts- og måske handelsplads ved



Figur 1. Fyn med oversigt over de vigtigste lokaliteter, der er nævnt i teksten: 1: Odense. 2: Vester Kærby. 3: Hindholm. 4: Gudme. Kystlinjeforløbet er som i slutningen af 18. årh. Tegning: Kristine Stub Precht.

Ejby Mølle mindre end 2 km østnordøst for domkirken. Bopladsen, der lå, hvor Odenses rensningsanlæg i dag er placeret, brød med opfattelsen af bebyggelsesbilledet i bysamfundets opland. De arkæologiske fund fra kulturlag og grubehuse viste med al tydelig-

hed, at her var udøvet specialiserede håndværksaktiviteter, der bl.a. havde omfattet tekstilproduktion samt metalhåndværk og handel på overregionalt plan. Sidstnævnte dokumenteres af skår af klæberstensgryder og hvæssten af skifer fra Norge samt en kontinental korsemaljefibula. Da dele af fundmaterialet fra Ejby Mølle-pladsen var senere end slutningen af 900-tallet, var det tydeligt, at der ikke kunne være tale om købstadens forgænger (Jacobsen 2001:76ff). Ejby Mølle-pladsen måtte derimod opfattes som en agrar bebyggelse med specialiserede funktioner, der i hvert fald i en tid blev udført parallelt med, at der havde eksisteret et bysamfund eller by(ligende) samfund meget tæt herpå. Det skulle siden vise sig, at Ejby Mølle ikke var den eneste plads af denne karakter i Odenses nære omegn.

### **Arkæologiske fakta fra vikingetidens Odense**

I 1982 udgjordes de arkæologiske fund fra vikingetidens Odense overvejende af de sparsomme oplysninger, man havde fra punktundersøgelser på Nonnebakken samt løsfund fra ringborgen og dens nærmeste omegn. Datagrundlaget er forøget betragteligt ved senere undersøgelser på og omkring borganlægget, men nogen præcis datering, endsige afklaring af de aktiviteter, der må være foregået på borgfladen, har man endnu ikke fået (f.eks. Jensen & Sørensen 1990; Arentoft 1993; Jacobsen 2001:63f). Fra området nord for åen havde man i 1982 enkelte løsfund, der primært var fra arealet mellem Domkirken og Fisketorvet. Ingen af disse genstande var med sikkerhed ældre end 900-tallet. Forsøget på at afbilde udbredelsen af vikingetidens Odense var derfor et konservativt bud, der kun omfattede det flade plateau umiddelbart nord for domkirken (Thrane *et al.* 1982:117).

Det var først med en mindre arkæologisk undersøgelse i 1984 ved SuperBrugsen i Vestergade 70-74 og dermed ca. 450 m vestsydvest for domkirken, at det blev klart, at vikingebobyggelsen kunne have haft en større udbredelse end hidtil antaget. Her fandtes

grubehuse og spor af værkstedsaktiviteter i form af tekstilhåndtering og bronzestøbning, og fundene dateres til 900-tallet (Jacobsen 2001:72f). I 1998 blev der gravet en smal fjernvarmegrøft på hjørnet mellem Mageløs og Klaregade – og dermed nærmest midt mellem Domkirken og værkstedsområdet i Vesterås 70-74. I det snævre undersøgelsesområde fandtes flere grubehuse med spor efter tekstilhåndtering og smedearbejde eller anden form for metalhåndtering (Jacobsen 2001:102f). Grubehusene indeholdt også skår af halvkuglekar, der kan dateres til vikingetid – eller måske endda til yngre germansk jernalder. Disse fund er således de første sikre vidnesbyrd på egentlig bebyggelse på plateauet nord for åen i tiden før Odenses ”dåbsattest”. I denne forbindelse er det særligt interessant, at fundene viser, at bebyggelsen fra 700-900-årene må have omfattet et område med specialiserede funktioner – bl.a. metalhåndtering.

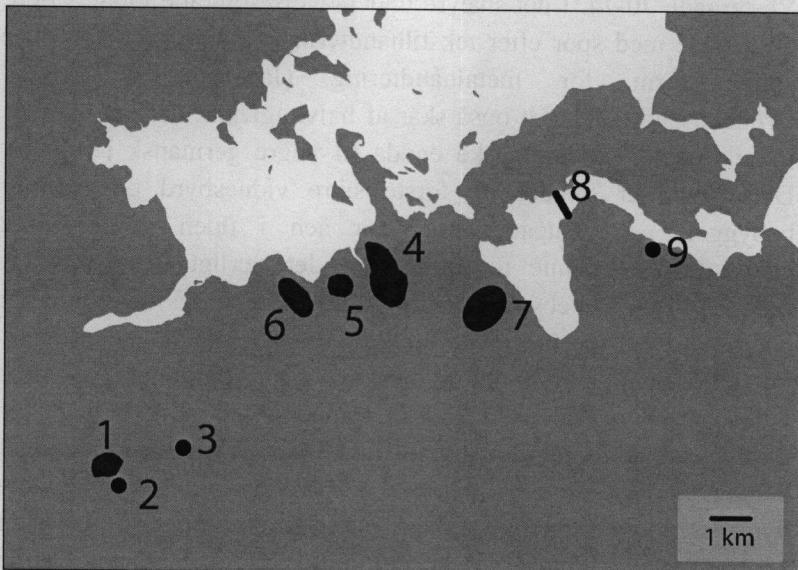
25 år efter 1000-års-jubilæet må man konkludere, at vores viden om vikingetidens Odense er mangedoblet, og ikke mindst er arealet med aktivitetsspor og løsfund fra 900-1000-årene forøget betydeligt i den forløbne periode. Vores viden om vikingetidsbebyggelsens overordnede struktur, herunder den præcise placering af 1000-tallets kongsgård, er imidlertid stadig sparsom. Denne videnslakune skyldes ikke mindst, at bygge- og anlægsaktiviteter i middelalderen og i særdeleshed senere har forstyrret betydelig arealer i købstadens centrale dele, hvor man også må forvente, at den ældste bebyggelse findes.

## Ny teknologi giver ny viden

Mens vores viden om vikingeborgen Odense kun øges langsomt, er mængden af data om byens opland i sen jernalder og vikingetid nærmest eksploderet i de senere år. Det skyldes, at der er foretaget omfattende arkæologiske undersøgelser i forbindelse med anlægsarbejder – og ikke mindst at aktive amatørarkæologer har afsøgt betydelige arealer i jagten på metalfund. Især den sidste aktivitet

har resulteret i mange genstandsfund, der kan belyse eller perspektivere fremvæksten af et bysamfund i vikingetiden.

I 2011 begyndte de to amatørarkæologer Brian Bechmann og Benny Pennerup at afsøge markområderne mellem Kertemindevejen og Odense Fjord i kommunens nordøstligste del. De startede



Figur 2. Den nordøstlige del af Fyn med lokaliteter, der er nævnt i teksten. 1: Odense. 2: Nonnebakken. 3: Ejby Mølle. 4: V. Kærby. 5: Agedrup. 6: Bullerup. 7: Østergård. 8: Pælespærring. 9: Ladby-skibet. Kystlinjeforløbet er som i slutningen af 18. årh. Tegning: Kristine Stub Precht.

ved Ejbygade i vest og arbejdede sig systematisk mod øst, og i den østligste del af Seden sogn kom de første fund fra sen jernalder. Ved den fortsatte afsøgning gennem den nordlige del af Agedrup sogn og videre til Dræby Fed i Munkebo sogn viste det sig, at der kunne findes metalgenstande fra yngre jernalder, vikingetid og tidlig middelalder over store dele af strækningen. Størst var fundmængden dog omkring og især nordvest for landsbyen Vester Kærby i Agedrup sogn. Fundkomplekset strækker sig over mindst 2,6x1,5 km, og hvis man fraregner områdets mange, men i dag for

størstedelens vedkommende opdyrkede vådområder, giver det en samlet udbredelse på ca. 3 km<sup>2</sup>.

Det er ikke muligt her at gå i detaljer med de enkelte fundområder, endsige med de enkelte genstandsfund, som efter to års intensivt arbejde har rundet 1500 stykker. Denne artikel skal derfor betragtes som en kort præsentation af et fundkompleks, som rummer et betydeligt forskningspotentiale, når fremvæksten af vikingetidsbyen Odense skal perspektiveres.

## **Den landskabelige ramme**

Fundkomplekset ligger knap 9 km nordøst for Odenses middelalderlige centrum på den centrale og vestlige side af den ca. 3 km brede landtange mellem Odense Fjord i vest og Kertinge Nor i øst. Landskabet her præges af langstrakte og få meter høje bakkedrag, der er orienteret sydøst-nordvest. Bakkerne flankeres af engdrag, hvori bække og åer har deres løb ud mod fjorden. De middelalderlige landsbyer er placeret på det højeste parti af disse bakker; det er således også tilfældet med Vester Kærby, hvis navn antyder en oprindelse i vikingetiden. Det største fundområde med en udstrækning på ca. 1 km<sup>2</sup> er mod sydøst afgrænset af landsbyen, mod nordvest af engområderne ned til fjorden og engområderne ved Geels Å og Krags Å mod nordøst og sydvest. Med næsten identiske landskabelige placeringer er der påvist lignende, men noget mindre og især knap så fundrige områder nordvest for landsbyerne Bullerup og Agedrup.

## **Vester Kærby-pladsen**

Indtil nu er det kun fundområdet ved Vester Kærby, der har været helt systematisk afsøgt med detektor i flere omgange. Ved overflyvning med et modelfly med påmonteret kamera har det vist sig, at muldlaget på bakken er kulsort, hvilket bekræftes af markafsøgninger: Muldlaget er fyldt af ildskørnede sten, dyrekrogler og ler-

karskår, og dette materiale stammer utvivlsomt fra kulturlag, der er under hastig nedbrydning som følge af intensiv landbrugssdrift. Denne aktivitet er også baggrunden for, at betydelige mængder af metalgenstande er bragt op i de øverste jordlag, hvor metaldetektorerne kan lokalisere dem.

Hidtil har afsøgningerne resulteret i metalfund fra slutningen af stenalderen og frem til nutiden, men langt størstedelen af de daterbare stykker kan placeres i tidsrummet mellem begyndelsen af yngre germansk jernalder (ca. 550 e.Kr.) og højmiddelalder.

### **Metalhåndværk**

Genstandsaterialet består først og fremmest af et stort antal smykker og beslag af bronze samt fragmenter af sådanne. Selv om nogle af stykkerne tydeligvis har været funktionsduelige, da de endte i jorden, må det antages, at de var på vej til omsmelting og at de således ikke er et udtryk for tilfældige tab. På en del stykker ses kraftigt slid, spor af itubrydning eller reparation, der også kan omfatte en omarbejdning fra én funktion til en anden. Enkelte stykker er ligefrem halvsmeltede, måske som følge af, at de har været en tur i diglen. At der er foregået metalhåndtering i stor stil på området bekræftes af fund af bronzebarrer, men især af talrige smelteklumper og støbetappe. Desværre kan disse genstande ikke datere sig selv, så de er vanskelige at knytte til en bestemt del af det lange tidsrum, hvor der var håndværksaktiviteter på stedet.

Ved detektorafsøgningerne bliver jern som regel diskrimineret fra, så derfor er vores indtryk af aktiviteternes karakter i bedste fald ensidigt. Enkelte jernknive og jernslagger indikerer dog ikke overraskende, at grovsmeden også har arbejdet på stedet.

### **Handel**

En mængde vægtlodder af bly og bronze kan måske også have været anvendt af metalhåndværkerne til afvejning af råmaterialerne, men det kan dog ikke afvises, at de også kan stamme fra han-

deltransaktioner. Der foreligger således en lang række mønter, der dokumenterer, at handel også må have været en væsentlig aktivitet i området. Ældst er en romersk denar fra 2. årh. og to romerske Antoninianere fra 3. årh. Fra 7.-10. årh. stammer flere sassanidiske drachmer, arabiske dirhems og karolingiske denarer, og fra 11. årh. er der enkelte vesteuropæiske mønter, herunder en runemønt, der er slæt for Svend Estridsen i Lund. En mængde borgerkrigsmønter og senmiddelalderlige mønter er også fundet spredt over området, og de dokumenterer, at handel også spillede en rolle i området på dette tidspunkt. Uover en del af mønterne er det kun enkelte karolingisk-ottonske korsemaljefibler, der giver sikre vidnesbyrd om overregional handel.

### **Skatte?**

To steder inden for fundområdet er mønter og ædelmetaller fundet i koncentrationer, der kan repræsentere oppløjede skatte. Den ene koncentration består af en sammenirret tut af syv-otte mønter og nogle stykker sølvklip, der er fundet med få meters afstand, og disse sager kan have udgjort dele af en samlet nedlægning, antagelig fra sen vikingetid. Den anden ”koncentration” er mere problematisk – i hvert fald set ud fra et numismatisk perspektiv. Over et areal på ca. 135x30 m er der fundet 14 mønter, fordelt på to romerske Antoninianere fra midten af 3. årh., fire sassanidiske drachmer fra 7. årh., samt otte dirhems fra 8.-10. årh. Hertil kommer en endnu ubestemt dirhem, der fandtes et stykke borte fra denne klynge og som derfor kun med forbehold kan knyttes til de øvrige mønter. Halvdelen af mønterne har gennemboring eller spor af øsker, og de har således været anvendt som hængesmykker/amuleetter. En udgravnning på arealet i 2012 under forfatterens ledelse viste, at mønterne har været deponeret ned mod kanten af det engområde, hvori Geels Å forløber. Det var tydeligvis i periferien af bopladsområdet, hvor der var et kulturlag under pløjelaget, men kun med ringe indhold af ildskørende sten og metalgenstande. Selv om mønterne har en kronologisk spredning og en sammensæt-

ning, der er helt usædvanlig for vikingetidens møntskatte, kan det ikke udelukkes, at de har udgjort en samlet nedlægning, der siden er spredt af ploven. I så fald må skatten være kommet i jorden tidligst i midten af 10. årh.<sup>1</sup>

### Rytteri og våben

En del af fundområdets mange beslag stammer fra rideudstyr. Stykkerne dateres fra tiden mellem ca. 700 og 1000, og de udgøres af pyntebeslag til stigbøjler og til hovedtøjet, bl.a. fra bidsler. Hvorvidt disse fund udtrykker, at man har repareret rideudstyr på stedet, er uklart. Tilsvarende usikkert er det, om flere våbenbeslag fra tiden omkring 700 afspejler våbenreparation eller ligefrem våbenfremstilling på området. Våbenbeslagene udgøres dels af pyntenitter til lancespidser og af sværdfæsteknapper (Henriksen 2012 fig. 14).

### Vester Kærby mellem fjord og nor

Da udforskningen af Vester Kærby-pladsen og de tilstødende fundområder er i sin vorden, er det vanskeligt at drage nogle entydige konklusioner om kompleksets overordnede betydning. Det er dog helt sikkert, at vi indtil nu kun har registreret en del af fundkomplekset, ligesom vi kun har fat i den del, der kan lokaliseres med en metaldetektor. Den egentlige bebyggelse, hvor beboelseshusene må antages at ligge, viser sig jo ikke nødvendigvis ved fund af metalgenstande; her er det nødvendigt at tage andre metoder i brug, f.eks. luftfotografering og prøvegravning. Det må antages at være en oplagt mulighed, at beboelseshuse og stalde mv. befinner sig lidt inde i baglandet – f.eks. under eller bag den eller de nuværende landsby(er).

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1 Museumsinspektør Helle W. Horsnæs, Den Kgl. Mønt- og Medaillesamling, Nationalmuseet, og museumsassistent René Laursen, Bornholms Museum, takkes for bestemmelse af mønsterne.

Fundområdet ved Vester Kærby har så stor en udstrækning, og det har allerede nu afgivet så mange genstandsfund, at pladsen må betragtes i et større perspektiv, hvis dens funktion skal klarlægges. Man skal blot ca. 2 km mod øst til hovedgården Øster-gård for at finde det næste fundområde, og dermed er man tæt på Kertinge Nor. Også her er der spor af værkstseds- og evt. handelsaktiviteter i sen jernalder, vikingetid og tidlig middelalder, men udstrækningen og omfanget er endnu dårlig belyst. Således er det endnu ikke helt klart, om fundområderne Vester Kærby og Øster-gård simpelthen udgør et sammenhængende kompleks, der – kun adskilt af Geels Å – har strakt sig hele vejen over landtangen fra Odense Fjord til Kertinge Nor.

Aktivitetssporene følger i hvert fald i et vist omfang toppen og den øverste del af siderne på de langstrakte og lave bakker, der karakteriserer landskabet mellem fjorden og noret. Det er da også nærliggende at tro, at der har været tæt kontakt mellem disse to vigtige vådområder – ”porten” til baglandet omkring Odense i den ene retning og udgangen til den vigtige sejlroute på Storebælt i den anden. F.eks. er det oplagt, at man – hvis det var belejligt – trak skibe og både fra det ene farvand til det andet for at spare en lang sejltur uden om Hindsholm. Omkring Vester Kærby er afstanden mellem de to farvande omkring 3,9 km. Landtangen er ganske vist ikke smallest netop her, *men* til gengæld er der ikke – som det er tilfældet længere mod nord – store bakker, som man ikke kunne forcere. Landsbynavnet Dræby tæt nord for Vester Kærby betyder byen på eller ved draget – og det er vel ikke helt umuligt, at den har taget navn efter et ”slæbested” (Henriksen 2012:68f)?

Både Odense Fjord og Kertinge Nor har flere beskyttede vige, der kan have fungeret som naturhavne, når handelsfartøjer skulle læsse og losse. Især noret er meget vel beskyttet mod vinde fra alle retninger, og det er derfor fristende at se dette farvand som en naturskabt ramme som ”vinterhavn” for en ledingsflåde. At noret og evt. dets bagland har rummet noget, man har ønsket at værne om, dokumenteres af den pælespærring, der i 900-tallet blev

etableret ved overgangen fra Kertinge Nor til Kerteminde Fjord – og siden vedligeholdt frem til starten af 1200-tallet (Jørgensen, A.N. 2002:130f; 149f). Måske var det en flåde mere end bebyggelser og handelspladser, man beskyttede med afspærringen, der antagelig havde en smal gennemsejling, som kun lokalkendte kunne passere med større fartøjer. Det må antages, at spærringen eksisterede, da Ladby-skibsgraven blev anlagt i 900-tallet knap 4 km mod øst og dermed uden for spærringen. Her lå gravhøjen som en tydelig markering, når man kom sejlende ind i Kerteminde Fjord fra øst (Sørensen 2001).

Naturhavne som Kertinge Nor finder man også ved Fyns Hoved og i Helnæs Bugten, og i begge tilfælde er der påvist kystbundne og specialiserede værkstedspladser fra vikingetid (Henriksen 1994; 1997). Det er derfor et spørgsmål, om værkstedspladsen ved Østergård tæt på bredden af Kertinge Nor har betjent og vedligeholdt en sådan flåde. Vester Kærby-komplekset kan evt. have haft en lignende funktion i forbindelse med flådestyrker, der havde base i den ligeledes beskyttede sydøstlige del af Odense Fjord. På samme tid lå bopladsområdet strategisk vigtigt i forhold til at kontrollere landfærdslen fra den centrale del af Fyn til Hindsholm. På den sydlige del af halvøen er der flere stednavne, der indikerer bebyggelser med centrale funktioner (Viby, Salby og Måle; Holmberg 1996:71ff), og en række væsentlige fund fra sen jernalder og vikingetid dokumenterer, at den langstrakte halvø fik central betydning i vikingetiden (f.eks. Sørensen 2001:190ff).

## Fra få til mange

Gennem de sidste årtier er det blevet klart, at de første bebyggelser med stærkt specialiserede funktioner voksede frem i løbet af romersk jernalder – og særligt i 2. årh. Disse pladser karakteriseres af spor af handel og håndværksaktiviteter, men i nogle tilfælde tillige af genstande, der peger på, at de var centre for kultiske handlinger. Gennem resten af jernalderen og hele vejen gennem vi-

kingetiden var værksteds- og handelspladserne en fast del af bebyggelsesbilledet, men de var ikke statiske størrelser, hverken i strukturen eller udbredelsen. Det man under ét kan betegne som specialiserede pladser har Lars Jørgensen således inddelt i to generationer (Jørgensen, L. 2003:176f; 2009:337ff).

Første generations værkstedspladser dateres til romersk og ældre germansk jernalder – 2.-5./6. årh. Fra Fyn kendes der kun en håndfuld af disse pladser, og de ligger alle på den østlige og centrale del af øen med Gudme som langt den største og mest markante i sit udtryk. Mindre pladser, der tolkes som satellitpladser til Gudme, er bl.a. fundet ved Åsum og Seden få km sydvest for Vester Kærby (f.eks. Henriksen 2009:340ff med henvisninger). Anden generations værkstedspladser etableredes tidligt i yngre germansk jernalder, altså i midten af 6. årh., og de fortsatte ofte til sen vikingetid eller endog til et stykke ind i ældre middelalder. Disse pladser har langt større geografisk udbredelse, og de kan også have langt større udstrækning end første generations værkstedspladser, ligesom aktiviteterne i nogle tilfælde kan ses at være meget ensidigt specialiserede. På Fyn er der lokaliseret ganske mange pladser fra denne gruppe, og de er fordelt over store dele af øen samt på den østlige del af Ærø (f.eks. Henriksen *passim*; Grøn *et al.* 2009). Værkstedspladserne i Vester Kærby-komplekset såvel som en række mindre pladser ved Ejby Mølle, Rynkeby, Birkende, Salby, Viby, Sanderumgård, Over Kærby og Ladby på Nordøstfyn hører alle til denne gruppe. Udviklingen fra generation 1 til generation 2-pladserne synes at afspejle et brud mere end kontinuitet, og det er nærliggende, at dette har grundlæggende ændringer i samfundsstrukturen som årsag.

## **Odense som center**

Den geografiske spredning af romerske luksusvarer i grav- og bopladsfund fra yngre romersk jernalder (2.-4. årh.) antyder, at området omkring Odense havde central betydning allerede på dette

tidspunkt (Henriksen 2009:346f). En række markante guldfund dokumenterer områdets fortsatte betydning i 5.-6. årh., altså ældre germansk jernalder (Henriksen 2010), og nogle har set netop disse fund i sammenhæng med den Odins-helligdom, som senere gav navn til byen (Thrane & Porsmose 1996:175f). Hvis der har været en ”fysisk” helligdom i Odense-området, kendes dens placering ikke, og det er først med anlæggelsen af Nonnebakken sidst i 900-tallet og etableringen af et bispesæde på samme tid, at der kan iagttages udtryk for centralitet i tilknytning til det område, der blev det middelalderlige Odense. Det er imidlertid et meget væsentligt spørgsmål, om borgen og byen skal betragtes som nyanlæggelser på ”bar mark”, eller om det er fænomener, der hhv. blev etableret ved og udviklede sig fra eksisterende bebyggelser af med specialiserede funktioner (f.eks. håndværk og handel) eller med særlig status (f.eks. kultplads).

Efter at detektorafsøgninger omkring Aggersborg i Nordjylland og Trelleborg på Vestsjælland har dokumenteret, at i hvert fald disse anlæg er opført i tilknytning til generation 2-værkstedspladser med rødder i 6. årh., har diskussionen om årsagen til ringborgenes anlæggelse og betydning fået tilført nye aspekter. Om også Nonnebakken er anlagt ved en tilsvarende plads, er vanskeligt at afklare, idet oplandet både nord og syd for åen for længst er dækket af byens huse og gader. Det må dog betragtes som en mulighed, eftersom det allerede er nævnt, at de ældste spor af bebyggelse med specialiserede aktiviteter nord for åen faktisk kunne dateres til tiden forud for ringborgens anlæggelse. Afstanden mellem borgen og værkstedsområdet ved Mageløs er knap 400 m, så det må i hvert fald betragtes som en mulighed. Desuden kan det heller ikke kan udelukkes, at der kan have været tilsvarende aktiviteter på sydsiden af åen.

Det må således være en hypotese, at Nonnebakken blev anlagt på sydsiden af Odense Å, men nær en passage, der førte over til en bebyggelse, der bl.a. omfattede et værkstedsområde. Da borgen blev opført i slutningen af 900-tallet, kan bebyggelsen alle-

rede have eksisteret i århundreder. Måske udviklede bebyggelsen sig gradvist til en bymæssig bebyggelse – og denne udvikling kan være eskaleret i forbindelse med eller være et direkte produkt af etableringen af kirke og bispesæde i 900-tallet.

### **- fra mange til én**

1982-udlægningen af Odense som en ø i et hav holder ikke længere! Den specialiserede bebyggelse under købstaden må antages at have rødder i det mindste tilbage til tiden omkring 900, og sandsynligvis før. På det tidspunkt har der med sikkerhed eksisteret flere tilsvarende og for nogle vedkommende langt større værkstedspladser inden for en afstand af mindre end 10 km. Skal disse pladser – f.eks. Vester Kærby-komplekset – betragtes som Odenses forgængere? Det er næppe tilfældet; snarere er der tale om en række af ”konkurrerende” bebyggelser med specialiserede og i et vist omfang identiske funktioner. I løbet af vikingetiden har en af disse har taget føringen og har udviklet sig til en by, hvor centralmagten monopoliserede håndværks- og handelsaktiviteter; man fristes til at betegne den tidlige middelalderby som en tredje generations værkstedsplads.

Det er nærliggende at tro, at denne udvikling er et resultat af kongens og kirkens investeringer i det, der blev Odense. Det helt åbne spørgsmål er imidlertid, hvad der var årsagen til, at centralmagtens interesse blev fokuseret netop hér. Måske havde Odense en bedre placering i forhold til de overordnede kommunikationslinjer på øen, eller måske var der virkelig tale om, at man ønskede fuld kontrol over et center for Odinkulten med rødder langt tilbage i jernalderen? Forhåbentligt kan de storstilede udgravnninger, der i disse år pågår i Odenses centrum i forbindelse med omlægningen af Thomas B. Thrigesgade, give nye muligheder for at besvare disse spørgsmål. En ting er dog helt sikker. Med etableringen af et egentligt bysamfund blev oplandets værkstedspladser delvis funktionstømt. De fortsatte dog op til nutiden som landsbyer, hvis

eksistens overvejende var baseret på landbrug. Af deres svundne storhedstid er der kun sort jord tilbage – og masser af detektorfund!

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immediately available to him and his wife. In 1900, J. L. was aged 30 years, and his wife was 28. They had no children at that time. They were living in a house which they had recently purchased from Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Clegg, who had been their neighbors for some time. The house was located on the corner of Main Street and Elm Street, in the town of New Haven. It was a two-story frame building, with a front porch and a back porch. The front door was on the left side of the entrance. The house was surrounded by trees and shrubs. The front door was made of wood and had a glass pane in it. The door was open, and a person could see inside the house. The interior of the house was visible through the open door. The room inside was large and airy, with high ceilings and large windows. There was a fireplace in the center of the room, and a piano in the corner. There were several pieces of furniture in the room, including a sofa, a chair, and a table. The room was well-lit, with sunlight streaming in through the windows. The overall atmosphere of the house was comfortable and inviting.



# Toogtredivte tværfaglige vikingesymposium

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med bidrag af

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