

## ***The Ancestors of Charlemagne : Addenda (1990)***

Last December [1989] our book on Charlemagne's ancestors appeared. Our purpose was to present what is almost certain or merely hypothetical regarding the ancestry of the first Germanic emperor. However, it seems worthwhile to present some complementary information, corrections and indispensable details. Contrary to certain successful theories, knowledge in this field progresses rather quickly, so the bibliography and some hypotheses require constant revision. Moreover, the limits that were chosen at the time (the tenth generation) prevented us from fully exploring the details of certain filiations. Finally, many imperfections in the printed text will be corrected .<sup>1</sup>

### **I) FUNDAMENTAL CORRECTIONS**

As I indicated in my work, there are very few filiations of the period which are proved for many generations. We are reduced to using guesses based on surviving indications. The most convincing of these guesses are founded on onomastics, although it is necessary to exercise caution. In medieval times, the name was inherited exclusively by kinship patterns and nobody could claim a name which was not previously carried by one of his ancestors. The imprecision which can arise from the absence of fixed rules of transmission is immediately evident, so it is necessary to constantly reevaluate this kind of theory.

#### **A) Rotrude, wife of Charles Martel**

Regarding our book, the most important correction concerns the ancestry of Rotrude, wife of Charles Martel. Let us briefly recall the details of this problem:

We can be assured from the agreement of several lines of evidence that the first wife of Charles Martel was named Rotrude, but with that name our certainty ends. The name itself, which would become frequent in the offspring of the Carolingians, was rather rare at this time, so it can serve as an initial clue concerning the previous history of its owner. Among the great families of the time, there were only a few who used the radical "Rot" of Rotrude. We have the Agilolfings, then encountered in Bavaria or in Lombardy (Rodoald), also a duke of Le Mans named Roger of whom the exact antecedents are not known, but especially there was the powerful family of the Robert who originated in Burgundy and then settled in Belgian Hesbaye. On simple onomastic grounds, one must agree with R. Gerberding that Rotrude's name links her with the family of Roger or, better, with that of Robert.<sup>2</sup> We have to clarify a little. We can set aside for the moment the family of Roger (which can be identified thanks to his children's names). In fact, the

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<sup>1</sup> In this text, the references are given in an abbreviated form, and refer to the bibliography of our original work. New references are given *in extenso* at the end of this article.

<sup>2</sup> In the book I did not mention the hypothesis of K.A. ECKHARDT, 1975, p.75-84, which makes Rotrude a Mérovingian, daughter of King Clotaire IV. This insufficiently supported hypothesis was justly criticized by E. HLAWITSCHKA, 1979, p.7-31.

name of Landrada, daughter of Charles Martel and Rotrude,<sup>3</sup> allows certain links with Robert's family which also used this name: Robert, duke of Hesbaye towards 740 was the paternal nephew of a Landrada<sup>4</sup>. So, Rotrude was likely connected in a rather close way with the clan of Robert / Lambert. Nevertheless, most genealogists give her as a daughter of St. Lievin, bishop of Trier, which R. Gerberding judged to be an "unfortunate conjecture". This theory is founded on the text of the *Gesta* of the abbots of Fontenelle, which certifies that the abbot Guy, known to be a son of St. Lievin, was the "close kin" of Charles Martel. The Latin term (*propinquus*) is vague and can indicate a cousin as well as a relation by marriage (brother-in-law). In 1915, the young German historian A. Halbedel, who would shortly fall in battle, suggested that the relationship could be explained if Rotrude was the sister of Guy. The hypothesis gained widespread acceptance in Germany and in France, where it was accepted by J. Depoin and M. Chaume. While recognizing the extreme fragility of the only positive testimony, one can not help but to also reject the main objection of R. Gerberding: that the exclusively local political influence of Charles Martel before 716 would make alliance with an Austrasian family improbable. The agnatic origin of Charles, from Metz, makes this doubt peremptory and not very probable.

In fact, it is almost certain that the family of Guy (Widonides) had become allied with that of Robert / Lambert. In two acts (two forgeries, but with authentic *signa*) of Arnulf and Hugues, nephews of Charles Martel, for the years 706 and 715, we have the *signa* of "Milon, Guy, Guerimbert, Lambert and Garnier ". Now, Milon was the brother of Guy, Grimbert possibly an uncle or a cousin<sup>5</sup>, and Garnier a son or a likely nephew of Guy. Lambert is thus certainly a close relative of this group. Moreover Metlach's convent, founded by St. Lievin, had among its first four abbots one Lambert and one Robert. Lambert's name would become, along with Guy and Garnier, one of three main names of the Widonides. And the root "Rot" also is encountered in the Widonid family with Roger or Rodoald in the 8th century.

So, the idea of a relationship between Rotrude and the Widonides through a common alliance with the family of Lambert / Robert seems reasonable. But this link does not allow the establishment of a precise filiation.

For that, let us examine the other various meanings of the word *propinquus* which describes the relationship between Charles and Guy. There are no Widonid names in Charles Martel's ancestry. In the same way, no relative of Guy carries a name that one can find in the ancestry of Charles. Sure, our documentation is so defective (particularly for the mother of Charles and that of Guy) that it makes any conclusion rash, but the great number of names known on both sides, for direct ancestors as well as collateral

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<sup>3</sup> In fact, one simply knows that Aude, mother of Saint Guillaume de Gellone had sisters Hiltrude and Landrade. As the father of Saint Guillaume is given as a close relative of the Carolingiens, it is deduced that Hiltrude, sister of Aude is identical to Hiltrude, daughter of Charles Martel who then would equally be father of Aude and Landrade. This solution, accepted by most authors, was severely criticised in 1965 by E. HLAWITSCHKA, but we hope to show elsewhere than his criticism is not valid.

<sup>4</sup> Count Cancor, son of Robert and grandson of Lambert, Founder of the abbey of Lorsch was cousin of the first abbot of the monastery, son of a Landrade.

<sup>5</sup> If however one identifies Grimbert with Guérimbert, that links him to Guerin, father of S. Liévin. In so doing, we don't follow M. CHAUME (1925, p.534) who identified Gunzie, mother of a Guérimbert, with the homonymous mother of St. Liévin. The first is undoubtedly the granddaughter of the second. She appears as dead in 770, in the cartulary of Lorsch, along with her son Dodon, himself father of a Guérimbert. The name alone thus makes it possible to attach the Guérimbert of 706-715 to our family.

kin, points out the unlikelihood of an alliance between the families of Charles Martel and Guy in the generations before theirs. In light of this, the possible solutions are reduced:

- Guy or one of his brothers married a sister of Charles Martel.
- Guy or one of his brothers married a sister-in-law of Charles, a sister of Rotrude.
- Charles married a sister or a cousin of Guy.

If the wife of Charles or Guy was a relative more remote than a sister of the other (niece or cousin), the Latin term *propinquus* would not be employed in a correct (attested) sense. This lack of such attested use for *propinquus* argues also against the second solution. Against the first solution is the lack of Pippinid onomastics in the posterity of Guy (which would become successively count of Nantes, dukes of Spoleto, and emperors, succeeding as the Salian imperial dynasty). The same argument is less applicable to the third case, because the Pippinids were much more illustrious than the Widonids. This is the reasoning we used in our work. But, on second thought, we do not believe it as clear as formerly: the argument is too uncertain.

Finally, it is necessary to remember a major problem with this reconstruction: nothing proves that the relationship between Charles and Guy involved Rotrude. Indeed, Charles had at least three wives or partners: Rotrude, Swanechilde and Rothaide. By the last one he probably had a son named Bernard, father of Corbie's abbot Adalard. Now, Adalard is the name of a brother of Garnier I of Hornbach, likely nephew of Guy. One can thus believe that it is Rothaide who establishes the link between Guy and Charles. But, even in this case, one can conclude that Rothaide is certainly a relative of Rotrude, of whom her name is only a variant. Moreover, Pippin of Herstal, son of Rotrude, nevertheless named one of his daughters Rothaide.<sup>6</sup>

The only conclusion of this discussion is that Rotrude was certainly a kinswoman of the Robert / Lambert family, perhaps directly, or perhaps through the family of St. Lievin. In any case, we have to correct what we wrote about the links between St. Lievin and Robert. For the study of these families, we followed H. Lemmel. This was an error, for the study of H. Lemmel is of poor quality. A fresh look at the documentation shows the existence of two distinct groups, certainly akin : one is that of the Agilolfings and Lambert, and the other one is that of the Widonids and Lambert. The distinction between the two is really important because we must then identify the wife of Lievin, Wisigarde, as a woman of the Agilolfing clan.<sup>7</sup> This genealogy is thus preferable :

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<sup>6</sup> On the relationship between Rotrude and Rothaide, cf K.A. ECKHARDT, 1975, n.104 p.83-85, which further suggests that Rothaide is not the name of a companion of Charles but that of one of his daughters by Rotrude. While his argument is flawed (the other women mentioned are all queens, and one does not find Hiltrude, unquestionably daughter of Rotrude) it is right at least in correcting E HLAWITSCHKA on the fact that Rothaide cannot be the third wife of Charles. She was in fact his second partner. Cf E HLAWITSCHKA, 1979, p.23-4.

<sup>7</sup> There was a Lambert (mid 8th century) father of Odon, Theodebald, Agilolf (Agilolfing names), Lambert, Hilduin and Lievin.



mother, the mother-in-law, the sister, even the cousin, of Irmina, mother of another Ragentrude. Caution is necessary.

## **II) GENEALOGICAL ADDENDA**

For the reason that they exceeded the limits fixed by us, certain filiations were excluded from our book that it would nevertheless have been interesting to show. Two such filiations particularly deserve our attention: the genealogy of queen Hildegarde, wife of Charlemagne and ancestor of his offspring, and also the origin of the first frankish kings with whom we shall begin.

### **A) The first Frankish king<sup>9</sup>**

Concerning Clovis' genealogy, our first source is Gregory of Tours who says the following:

" Many people do not even know the name of the first King of the Franks. The Historia of Sulpicius Alexander gives many details about them, while Valentinus does not name their first king but says that they were ruled by dukes. Sulpicius Alexander says ... 'At that time, the Franks invaded the Roman province of Germania under their dukes Genobaud, Marcomer and Sunno ".

" Franks originally came from Pannonia and first colonized the banks of the Rhine. Then, they crossed the river, marched through Thuringia, and set up in each country district and each city long-haired kings chosen from the foremost and most noble family of their race ... We read in the consular lists that Theudemer, King of the Franks, son of Richomer, and his mother Ascyla, were executed with the sword. They also say that Clodio, a man of high birth and marked ability among his people, was king of the Franks and that he lived in the castle of Duisburg in Thuringian territory... Some say that Merovech, the father of Childeric, was descended from Clodio ".

" Childeric then set out for Thuringia and took refuge with King Bisinus and his wife Basina. ...Now that Bisinus and Childeric were both kings, Queen Basina, about whom I have told you, deserted her husband and joined Childeric ... This pleased Childeric very much and he married her. She become pregnant and bore a son whom she called Clovis"

Here is all that we really know on the question and still it is necessary to add that Gregory (whose work is already romanticized) wrote only about 584, nearly 150 years after Clodio.<sup>10</sup>

One can summarize in a single sentence: Clovis is the son of Childeric and Basina, the former queen of Thuringia. Moreover Childeric is the son of Merovech, doubtless son of Clodio.

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<sup>9</sup> An earlier (appreciably different) version of this section appeared in *Heraldique et Généalogie*, 102 (1987), p. 35-36.

<sup>10</sup> Gregory of Tours, II.9, 12 (trans. Lewis Thorpe, Penguin Classics, 120, 125, 128-9, respectively).

Before Gregory of Tours, other historians unknown to him left us the names of several Frankish kings, but no king of the Salians is named before Clodio, and we can only cite the prince Nebiogast among the *Chamavi*. For the Ripuarians, we know :

- Genebaud I, mentioned in 287/8.<sup>11</sup>
- Asacoric and Merogais, kings of the Ripuarians who invaded Gallia and were thrown to lions in 306.
- Mallobaud count of the domestics, opposed the Frank Malaric. Elected king of Franks in 378.
- Genebaud II, Marcomer and Sunnon, dukes of Franks in 388.
- Theodemer, son of Richomer, *magister militum* 383, 388-393, consul 384, and son of Ascyla. Theodemer was executed with his mother, doubtless in 413. Cousin of Arbogast, *magister militum* 388-394, who is said to be son of Bauton, consul in 385, father-in-law of the emperor Arcadius (suspect testimony), and nephew of Richomer. Arbogast is the ancestor of the count of Trier Arbogast (+ 470 ), son of Arigius.

If one gives faith to the various Merovingian genealogies, it would be advisable also to place here Faramond and Chlodebaud and perhaps a Childebert (c. 400??).<sup>12</sup>

The absence of any genealogical indication forbids an interesting use of these data for our analysis.<sup>13</sup>

After Gregory, there are only three sources (not too late) which are concerned with the subject. All three are of the 7th-8th centuries, which is too recent and too contaminated by legendary deformations to add useful information for the historian. They are:

- A genealogy of the Frankish kings, written c. 629/639.<sup>14</sup>  
" Chlodio is the first king of Franks. Chlodio begot Chlodebaud. Chlodebaud begot Merovech. Merovech begot Chilperic. Chilperic begot Genniod. Genniod begot Childeric. Childeric begot Clovis ".
- A chapter of the *Chronicle* of pseudo-Fredegar (c. 660).<sup>15</sup>  
" Franks had Priam for king first. When Troy was taken by Ulysses' trick, they had departed. Later, they had had Frigas as king ... and from Francio [successor of Frigas] these others were called Franks. Afterwards, with dukes, they always refused foreign rulers ...

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<sup>11</sup> It has generally been considered that this prince and several of the following were of the tribe of Bructeri. J-P. Poly, in an article (forthcoming) on the *lex salica*, prefers to see him as a chief of one of the Salian tribes.

<sup>12</sup> See, most recently, J-P. Poly and E. Bournazel, 1980, p. 323, n. 2: the principal source is a twelfth-century work, the *stemma Aridii*; the other reference given by these authors being erroneous. As to king Childebert of the *Vita Goaris*, who J. Depoin (1909) gives as a 'pre-Merovingian', it has since been shown (E. Ewig, 1954b, p. 88 et seq.) that he is simply Childebert I.

<sup>13</sup> On these questions we refer, as for the others, to the excellent little book of Erich Zöllner, 1970, which gives, p. 106-7, a complete list of the Frankish princes, with ancient references (pp. 12-48). This must be completed with two syntheses appearing in 1988, respectively by Ewig and by F. James. I would add to these the more general work of E. Demougeot, 1969-70, with the recent update of P. Riché, 1989. Finally, one should also consult the prosopographical works : *PLRE*, I, 1971 and II, 1980 ; and M. Heinzelmann, 1982.

<sup>14</sup> *MGH*, SS, II, p. 307 (Pertz). Cf. on this text G. Kurth, 1893, p. 517-8.

<sup>15</sup> Fredegar, *Chronicle*, III, 2-9, ed. *MGH*, SS, II, p. 93 [Krusch] (French trans. R. Latouche, 1965, p. 216-7).

Then, dukes having disappeared, the Franks again created kings that they took in the family of those that existed previously ... The Franks, diligently seeking a long-haired king from themselves as they had before, from the line of Priam, Frigus and Francio, created Theudemir king, the son of Richimer, who was killed by the Romans in that battle which I mentioned above. His son Clodio, the most suitable man in his tribe, took his place in the kingdom ".

A chapter of *Liber Historiae Francorum* (written 727).<sup>16</sup>

" [After the fall of Troy and their flight under the rule of the princes Priam and Antenor], Franks therefore left Sicambria and came to the farthest reaches of the river Rhine in the strongholds of the Germanies. And here, they settled with their leaders Marchomir, Priam's son, and Sunno, the son of Antenor, and they lived for many years. When Sunno died, they decided to establish one king for themselves just as other people had. Marchomir gave them this plan and they chose his son, Faramund, and raised him over them as their long-haired king ... When Faramond died, it was Clodio, his long-haired son, that they raised to reign over the realm of his father ".

Nowadays, it is pointless, I hope, to say anything about the legend of the Trojan origins denounced by good scholars since the 14th century as an absurd fable and which is only a late literary creation.<sup>17</sup>

For the rest, one can indeed make some hypotheses, more or less well supported, about information supplied by these documents, but they will remain only hypotheses in every case.

Gregory's ambiguous sentence giving Merovech as "of the race of Clodio, according to some" has been much discussed. Many admit today that this formulation finds its explanation in a legend reported by Fredegar : Merovech would not be the son of Clodio but of a maritime monster that had relations with his mother, Clodio's wife. In this case, one can obviously accept the filiation between Merovech and Clodio.<sup>18</sup>

The *genealogia* is somewhat surprising in the names it inserts between Clodio and Merovech, and between Merovech and Childeric. The explanation of this escapes us. We would suggest, e. g., to explain it by supposing that the author had access to a text (or oral tradition, epic song?) that lists Clodio, Chlodebald, Merovech, Chilperic, Genniod [-Genebaud?] Childeric, Clovis, without family relationships (as later litanies do) and that he arbitrarily compensated for this absence. Indeed Chlodebald is given in another sources as the son of Clodio and brother of Merovech. Chilperic and Genniod could be, for example, brothers or relatives and contemporary with Merovech, introduced by mistake into the genealogy. Other explanations are nevertheless possible. It doesn't much matter.

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<sup>16</sup> *Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed. MGH, SS, II, p. 93 [Krusch] (French trans. R. Latouche, *op. cit.*, p. 217-8 ; and R. Gerberding, 1987, p. 174). English trans. : ed. B. Bachrach, Lawrence, Kansas, 1973.

<sup>17</sup> The pioneering study on this theme is the work of G. Kurth, *Histoire poétique*, 1893, especially Appendice I, p. 505-516. Most recently, see Bruno Luiselli, « Il mito dell'origine troiana dei Galli, dei Franchi e degli Scandinavie », *Aegyptus*, 1979, p. 89-121; R. Gerberding, 1987, 1987, ch. 1, « The origins of Franks », p. 11-30. See also, for the historiography, C. Beaune, 1985, p. 1-54 ; and A. Demurger, 1986.

<sup>18</sup> See the review of the question by Godefroy Kurth, *Clovis*, 1893, p. 173-4.

More difficult is resolving the question of Clodio's genealogy. Fredegar makes him the son of Theodemer. But the *Liber* gives him as son of Faramond. Certainly, neither of these traditions necessarily represents the truth. Today nobody trusts Faramond's glorious figure, author of the race of the kings of France, but his name, found throughout the Merovingian aristocracy, seems nevertheless to represent a historic individual. So, some historians think that he really could be the father of Clodio<sup>19</sup>, since Fredegar's version can be dismissed as an interpolation of Gregory, who, by speaking of Theodemer just before Clodio, does not quote any link among them. Furthermore, Theodemer was a king of Ripuarian Franks, while Clodio ruled over the Salian Franks.

We don't think these objections are decisive. Faramond's name is not seen in the Merovingian dynasty, whereas names derived from Theodemer and Richomer abound. The later history of the dynasty proves that a king of the Salians can father a king of the Ripuarians.<sup>20</sup> It is self-evident that Fredegar has interpolated Gregory at this place, but he could have done so with good evidence or according to the oral tradition.

So, if we had absolutely to choose between Fredegar's and the *Liber's* versions, we would prefer that of Fredegar<sup>21</sup>.

### **B) The ancestors of the queen Hildegarde, wife of Charlemagne**

Our first source for the queen's genealogy is Thégan's biography of Louis the Pious. He writes that " in his youth, the emperor Charles married a girl of the very noble race of Suevians, Hildegarde by name. She was issued from Godefred, duke of Alamans. Duke Godefred had for son Huoching, of whom was born Nebi and from Nebi, Emma who gave birth to Hildegarde "<sup>22</sup> .

A genealogy of this length, especially through women, is rather remarkable for this time. This provides a measure of the glory of duke Godefred (687-708/9) and the glory which the queen Hildegarde derived as his issue. What is still more interesting is that other sources conveniently complete this genealogy. Emma, mother of Hildegarde is well known as the wife of the count Gerold. Among her children, we know Gerold, prefect of Bavaria, Megingoz, Odalric, Odon, and Hadrian (maternal grandfather of Robert the Strong)<sup>23</sup>. The husband of Emma, Gerold, carries a characteristic name of the ducal dynasty of Bavaria, the Agilolfings, founded in the 6th century by the Frankish duke Garibald (Gerold - Gerald - Gerbald - Garibald). M. Göckel showed that it is possible to identify our Gerold with a homonym named as son of Agilolf. So we can recognize the paternal family of Hildegarde as cadets of the Bavarian Agilolfings. Agilolf, father of Gerold, could be the great-grandson of one of the sons of duke Theodo II (+ 716). The marriage of queen Hildegarde's parents thus constitutes a union between two branches

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<sup>19</sup> See the initial discussion in G. Kurth, *Histoire poétique ...*, 1893, p. 134-7. The question is far from resolved; most recently, see M. Heinzlmann, 1982, p. 606.

<sup>20</sup> On this concept of the distribution of extremely diverse lordships among members of a single dynasty, see, for example, K. F. Werner, 1984, p. 318-320.

<sup>21</sup> This was already the conclusion of C. Jullian, 1928, p. 265-6.

<sup>22</sup> Thégan, *Vie de Louis le Pieux*, c. 2 (in the French translation of Guizot, Paris, 1824, p. 277-8).

<sup>23</sup> On the family of Gerold, see the works of J. Siegwart (1958) ; M. Mitterauer (1963) ; M. Göckel (1970) ; M. Borgolte (1986).

of sovereign dynasties of principalities of the Merovingian realm. It was not moreover the first union between dukes of Alemaniam and those of Bavaria. In 735 the duchy of Bavaria was in the hands of Odilon, who was, as showed E. Zollner, the son of Godofred, duke of Alemaniam. As K.A. Eckhardt has well noted, this inheritance shows that Odilon's mother was a Bavarian princess. Indeed, one of the brothers of Odilon carries the name of a son of Theodo II and a son of Odilon has the Agilolfing dynastic name Tassilon. Last, one of the sons of Godofred, duke Liutfrid, is specifically called an Agilolfing. The most natural conclusion is that Godofred married a close relative (sister?) of Theodo II.<sup>24</sup>

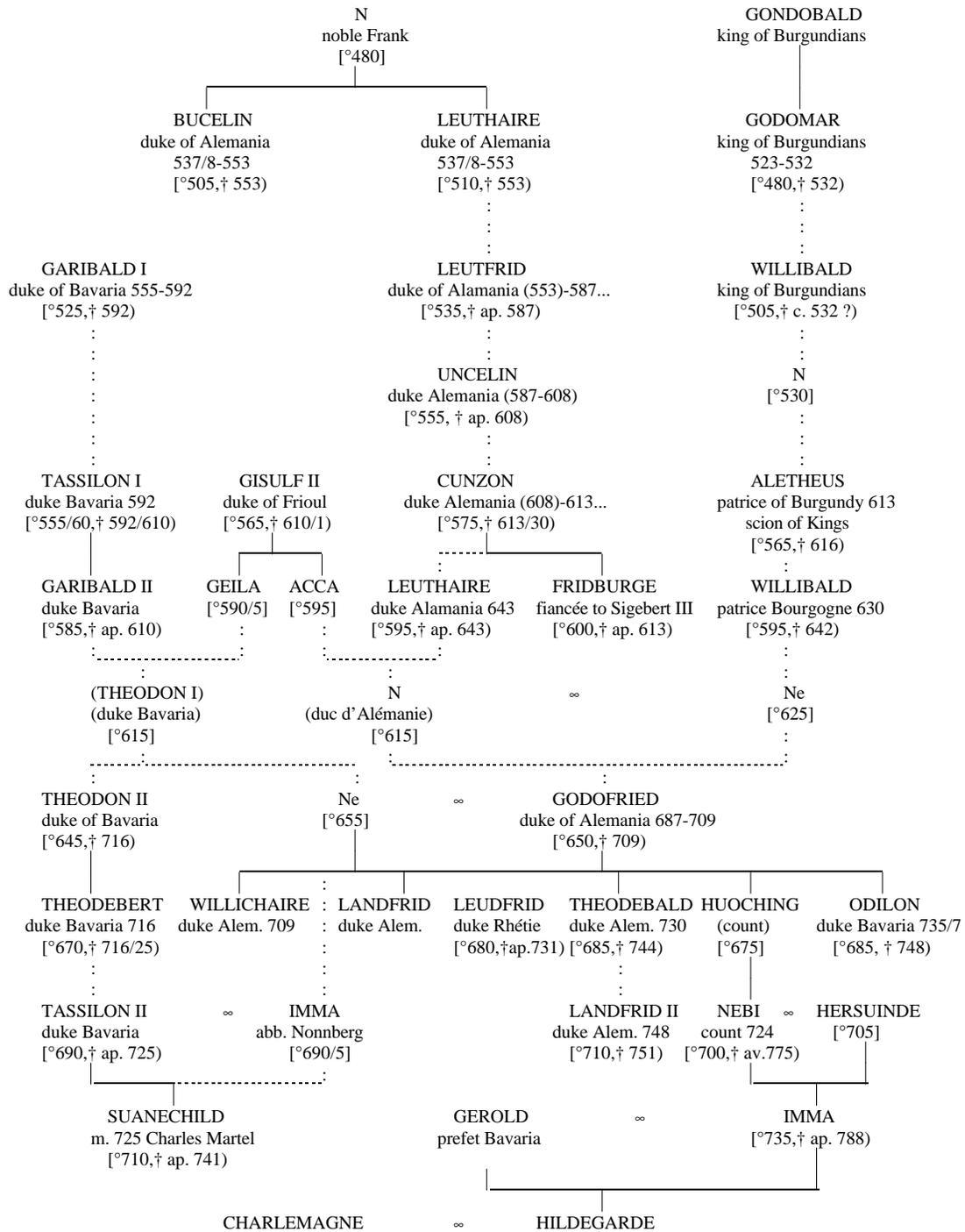
The ancestors of Theodo were examined among Charlemagne's ancestry and so it remains only to say a word regarding those of duke Godofred. His mother could indeed be (according to K.A. Eckhardt's conjecture, taken up and developed by R. Wenskus<sup>25</sup>) a daughter of Willibald, *patricius* of Burgundy. This Willibald came from the former kings of this nation, but Godofred's father remain unknown. However it is not in doubt that Godofred belonged to a race of princes who governed Alemaniam in a almost-autonomous way from the middle of the 6th century. The constant use of the same names proves this beyond doubt. The paternal grandfather of Godofred could be the duke Leuthar (+ 643), doubtless the anonymous duke who married towards 610 Appa, daughter of duke Gisulf II of Friuli. Leuthar would be the brother of the princess Fridburge, fiancée of the Merovingian king Sigebert III and daughter of duke Cunzon. Beyond, one finds Uncelin (587-608), Leutfrid I (c. 553-587) and Leuthar I (537/8-553), brother of Bucelin (537/8-553)<sup>26</sup> (see table below).

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<sup>24</sup> See on all this K.-A. Eckhardt, 1965, p. 60-80, who makes of this Godofred the son-in-law and not brother-in-law of Theodon. Chronologically, the two theses are possible, but the questions of consanguinity between the descendants of Godofred and those of Theodon make us prefer the second solution. The idea proposed by L. Levillain (1938, p. 42) or E. Klebel (1958, p. 214), which made Godofred's wife a Merovingian princess, can be rapidly discarded.

<sup>25</sup> K. A. Eckhardt, 1965, I, p. 77 ; R. Wenskus, 1976, p. 423.

<sup>26</sup> See the cited work of K.A. Eckhardt. It must be corrected, however, in differentiating Uncelin and Gunzon, as signaled in the most recent works.



### C) Various addenda

It is also possible to add very briefly some remarks concerning particular points:

N°2: As indicated by R. Gerberding<sup>27</sup>, Pippin the Short was doubtless born in 715 and not in 714.

<sup>27</sup> R. GERBERDING, 1987, p.135.

N°6: We tacitly adopted the traditional opinion (following C. Wampach and E. Hlawitschka) which rectifies the text of the donation of Berta of Prüm, reading the name of her son as " Caribert, also called Hardrad ". The text, which is corrupted, would read more naturally " Caribert and Hardrad " and therefor mention two sons of Berta. This is W. Bornheim's opinion. In fact, textual restoration favors the second reading, but one wonders about the absence of reference to Hardrad in Berta's second act of the same year. The solution of this problem being without importance here, we shall not say any more, just limit ourselves to pointing out the difficulty. The same for Caribert of Laon's identification with the person quoted in Fulrad's will who one could also identify with his nephew or great-nephew.

N°7: The Bavarian Kysalni, abbess of Kochel, is identified by some with Gailswinde, Kochel's first abbess, who was the wife, according to R. Wenskus, of a Nanthar and who could not then be made wife of Caribert.<sup>28</sup> However, the identification of Kysalni and Gailswinde remains debatable.

N°8: The first evidence for Plectrude as wife of Pippin of Herstall is from 685 and not 691.<sup>29</sup>

N°10: Contrary to the opinion which we expressed, according to N. Gauthier it can not be excluded that Lievin really governed the churches of Reims and Laon, as indeed admitted E. Ewig and R. Gerberding.<sup>30</sup>

N°11 etc.: Hornbach's foundation does not date from 734 as M. Chaume said, but from c.741 as showed A. Doll, who is now followed (cf. W. Metz 1965).

N°21: We carelessly followed J. Depoin and M. Chaume by identifying our Gunzie with the mother of Guerimbert quoted in a Reichenau litany. In fact, these persons are mentioned in various documents of Lorsch, which place them at the end of 8th century.<sup>31</sup> A link with our family remains evident however, and the second Gunzie is doubtless the granddaughter of the first. We would add that we now view more affirmatively the relation of Gunzie and her brother Basin with the former kings of Thuringia.

N°24: We failed to indicate here possible links between the seneschal Hugobert and the family of Robert / Lambert:

- Hugobert is the homonym (and so the close relative) of Hugobert, bishop of Liège who had for successor his son Florbert. Before Hugobert, the seat of Liège (Maestricht) was in the hands of Lambert and before him of Theodard, close relative (father?) of the wife of seneschal Hugobert.
- A daughter (?) of Hugobert is called Rolanda, a name similar to that of Robert, characteristic of the family Robert / Lambert.

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<sup>28</sup> F. PRINZ, 1965, p.367 ; R. WENSKUS, 1976, p.518.

<sup>29</sup> Cf R. GERBERDING, 1987, p.124 n.47.

<sup>30</sup> E. EWIG, 1954a, p.417 (= II, 1976, p.194-5) ; R. GERBERDING, 1987, p.137 n.27.

<sup>31</sup> See the tree in R. WENSKUS, 1976,p.292.

N°27: the queen Dode died on June 3, 4 years after her husband (3 June 694) and not on 5 June 692 (that is the date of the last mention of the queen Clotilde). We now believe today that it is preferable to distinguish queens Dode and Clotilde.

N°34: We preferred at the time to keep the « traditional » dates for the Pippinids and austrasian kings of the 7th century until new theories of R. Gerberding received fresh approval.

N°46: According to I. Heidrich<sup>32</sup>, Chrodbert would be in fact a mayor of the palace of Neustria in 654.

N°47: About Theoda, the wife of duke Robert, we can suspect a relationship with the family of the queen Nanthilde, Dagobert's wife. Indeed, E. Ewig notes that Nanthilde had a niece Ragnoberta, wife of the noble Neustrian Flaochad, mayor of the palace of Burgundy in 642 while Theoda is the mother of Ragnobert, a powerful Neustrian executed in 677/8. So Theoda could be a close relative (sister?) of Ragnoberta, herself doubtless daughter of Landegisel, Nanthilde's brother. This man gave a part of his possessions to Theotrude or Theodila (daughter of Brodulf and niece of queens Sichilde and Gomatrude, respective wives of Clotaire II and Dagobert I). Landegisel could moreover be identified with (or related to) a Frankish noble named Boso Landegisel, duke of Amiens in 614.<sup>33</sup>

N°92: According to R. Wenskus<sup>34</sup>, Erlebert is the brother-in-law, not the brother of the first Robert, but we don't believe this was really the case.

### **III) BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ADDENDA**

Since the delivery of our work to the printer last summer, many works were published or we became aware of them, so we have henceforth to mention them.

For the Carolingian time generally, R. Sullivan (1989) had just published a long paper that S. de Vajay kindly brought to our attention. This paper contains very complete bibliographical sources on all the aspects of this period, notably on great families. One can quote also in a general way the textbook published by E. Ewig in 1980 on the early history of the Rhineland, where one will find a very good account of the current state of questions. Also let us indicate the synthesis on the Middle Ages just published in the collection "Points Historiques", of which the two first volumes (S. Lebecq and L. Theis, 1990) contain useful information on our periods. Finally, the collective work directed by P. Riche under the title *Histoire des Saints* (1986) supplies good bibliographical data on the saints of the Carolingian and Merovingian eras, some of whom figure in Charlemagne's ancestry (e.g., Arnulf, Lievin, Leger, Itte, etc. ...). For Leger as a private individual, it is necessary to revise what we wrote about the relative value of his biographers in the light of J.-C. Poulin's paper (1977), while J.-P. Laporte gave a communication (to appear) on the life of Bathilde.

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<sup>32</sup> I. HEIDRICH, 1989, p.220-1.

<sup>33</sup> Cf H. EBLING, 1974, n°XCI p.91-2 & CCXXI p.178-9.

<sup>34</sup> R. WENSKUS, 1976, p.174.

On the Pippinid women, we now have the I. Heidrich's paper (1988) which studies the main feminine figures in the previous history of the Carolingian dynasty. Also, B. Merta (1988) gave an extract of her thesis in an article on the representation of the women of the Merovingian dynasty. For Widonids and family of Lambert of Nantes, we should have also quoted the works of W. Metz (1965) and E. Hlawitschka (1969 & 1983).

Two works of Gregory of Tours have just been translated into English with a substantial comment by R. Van Dam (1988a and 1998b). Gregory himself was studied by J. Verdon (1989). Concerning the sources, W. Goffart wrote an important book on the main authors of Merovingian era (1988), and at the same time his principal papers have been republished with addenda and indices (1989). Another new edition is that of the masterful book of F. Prinz which appeared in 1965 with a big addendum (1988). For the history of the Germanic peoples, Goths in particular, we now have available the English translation of the classic book of H. Wolfram (1988), corrected and completed.

For Antiquity, we had previously neglected François Jacques's (1986) very important paper which studies all the great Roman families of 3th century AD, proving the continuity of many of them from the very distant past through the Late Empire. It would have been also necessary to cite L. Schumacher (1973) about the family and ancestors of C. Iulius Severus. Our own work on the 'DFA' question, whose title is now 'Nos ancêtres de l'Antiquité' will appear this first half of 1990. As for our paper on Ruricius, it will appear in the volume 17 (1989) of *Francia*.

#### **IV) CORRECTIONS [SECTION REMAINS IN FRENCH]**

Due to time constraints and unfavorable circumstances, we were unable to revise our manuscript. While asking the reader to forgive these many imperfections, we take advantage of this occasion to indicate some of the main faults :

##### a) Tableaux

p.27		supprimer le tableau (imprimé correctement page 28).
p.58		supprimer la répétition en bas de "héritière de Theodard..."
p.70		placer BAUDOIN (= BODILON) comme fils de Salaberge.
p.123		faire de Richomer d'Orléans un fils probable de Magnachaire.
p.132		supprimer FIRMIN en haut de la page (issu du tab. précédent).
p.133		rajouter PROBACE évq Uzés comme frère d'Industrie et Firmin.

##### b) Textes

p.4	1.7	lire :	décrypter
p.4	1.14	lire :	entre propriétaires.
p.5	av.dern.l.	lire :	défectueuse
p.12	dern.l.	lire :	il ne put
p.20	dern.l.	lire :	fantoché
p.29	8 l. avt la fin	lire :	commun. Saint Guillaume
p.34	5 l. avt la fin	lire :	erronés. Saint Arnulf.
p.37	11 l. avt la fin	lire :	aussi aurait été comte

p.37	9 l. avt la fin	lire :	Lambert <b>sur</b> le siège
p.39	1.25	lire :	deux personnages
p.45	1.19	lire :	préoccupations
p.45	1.20	lire :	adoptée
p.45	1.22	lire :	<b>3</b> catégories
p.46	1.6	lire :	Dode
p.49	n°35 l.3	lire :	religion. Saint Amand
p.49	dern. l.	lire :	les Carolingiens
p.51	1.9		supprimer la référence à WENSKUS
p.53	1.3	lire :	<b>b</b> avaroises
p.55	1.2	lire :	mettre à <b>profit</b>
p.56	5 l. avt la fin	lire :	tout-à-fait. Saint Léger.
p.57	1.3	lire :	lui avait cédée
p.57	1.7	lire :	Echternach, <b>leg</b> complété
p.61	1.4	lire :	<b>à</b> la mort
p.66	1.7	lire :	mancelle. Saint Bertrand
p.66	1.12	lire :	faisaient
p.66	1.15	lire :	suffisamment proches
p.67	bibliog. n°68	lire :	LEVILLAIN, 1938, <b>p.341</b> .
p.67	1.10	lire :	tardive,
p.67	4 l. avt la fin	lire :	VI <sup>e</sup> siècle. Vraisemblablement
p.73	1.3	lire :	arrêt
p.78	1.8	lire :	<b>e</b> spagnole
p.78	4 l. avt la fin	lire :	Landegisel possédait
p.79	4 l. avt la fin	lire :	importance variable
p.80	1.18	lire :	<b>B</b> ertrand
p.80	1.27	lire :	<b>t</b> ouchant
p.81	1.3	lire :	effectuée
p.83	1.7	lire :	apprenaient
p.84	1.14 du n°138	lire :	exclut
p.84	1.17 du n°138	lire :	ascendance <b>p</b> aternelle
p.85	1.10 du n°139	lire :	supposée
p.87	1.12	lire :	personnages
p.88	1.5	lire :	<b>p</b> ersécuté (pour exécuté).
p.92	1.1	lire :	forcé
p.95	7 l. avt la fin	lire :	inacceptable
p.99	1.19	lire :	les évêques
p.107	1.17	lire :	réussit
p.113	début	lire :	<b>518 Badéric</b> , co-roi de Thuringe († c.529). <u>Sources</u> : GT, III,4,7 ; <u>Bibliographie</u> : E. DEMOUGEOT, II,2, 1979, p.752-3.
p.113	fin	lire :	Or, ce qui est intéressant lorsqu'on regarde ce tableau, c'est que Bertrand du Mans, frère d'un Ermenulf et d'un Bertulf, avait pour neveu et petit-neveu deux Thuring. Le nom est pour le moins significatif, puisqu'il veut dire "le thuringien" et n'est porté à
p.117	4 l. avt la fin	lire :	<b>r</b> eprochant
p.123	avt dern. l.	lire :	postérieurs
p.124	1.1	lire :	la sœur <b>des</b> évêques (supprimer "de")
p.128	1.6	lire :	de <b>l'</b> ascendance

p.132	1.9	lire :	<b>comtes</b> d'Auvergne (pour "évêques").
p.136	1.11	lire :	et force est de constater (supprimer : <b>il</b> )
p.138	1.11	lire :	de ce nom comme comte (supprimer : <b>nommé</b> )
p.139	1.4	lire :	<b>appartenait</b>
p.139	1.9	lire :	<b>put</b>
p.145	1.24 & 25	lire :	siècle. (ajouter le point).
p.147	n.3 l.3	lire :	<b>donna</b>
p.162 & 165			manque la référence à HERMANN et NOLTE (cf Biblio)
p.164 & 165			manque les réf. à LEVISON, NELSON & PINOTEAU

## V) ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

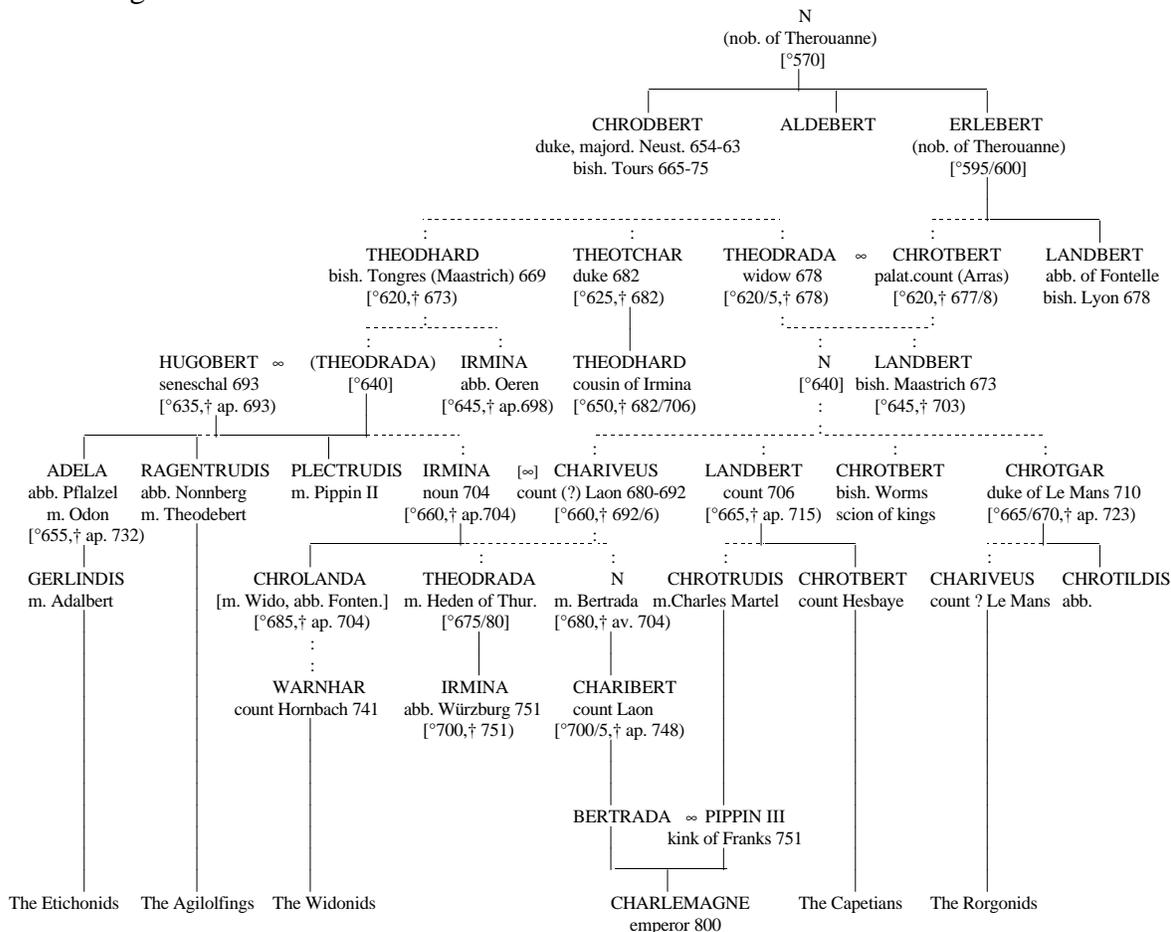
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## The Ancestors of Charlemagne: Addendum to Addenda (January 31, 2000)

By again quickly reading these Addenda, I became aware that they, too, are largely out of date. The new bibliography is really important and too many things need to be corrected. It would be necessary to rewrite everything. Having spoken about it this week with Francis Christian, we decided that it was time indeed to publish a second and corrected edition. This Summer probably. So, now I only give the genealogy that I retain at present for Widonides, and those who directly concern the close ancestors of Charlemagne:



I have long since abandoned the idea that Irmina could be, in any way, connected to Dagobert. So, one can delete everything about it.

As for Arnulf's origins, they will be treated in the next volume of 'The Préhistoire'. In the meantime, a paper on this question will soon appear in the volume 'Onomastique et Parenté'.

For the first Frankish kings, I have since published a paper titled « Clovis. Un roi sans ancêtre ? », *Ge-Magazine*, 153 (sept.-oct. 1996), p. 24-32. At the same time the paper of my friend J.-P. Poly appeared, « le dernier des Mérovinges ou la parenté du premier roi de France », *Rev. Hist. du Droit*, 74, 3 (juil. - sept. 1996), p. 353-396, where he considers that one can reconstitute more certainly their lineage with the help of Scandinavian texts. Extremely interesting work even though I do not agree with some identifications. Since

this time a large number of works were published on the Germanic peoples and their lineages, particularly on the Franks and on the 'Merovech' question (I think especially of the work of S. Krautschick in 1989, in the collective volumes on Clovis published by M. Rouche; and A. Murray's recent paper), works which it would be too long to cite here.

Last, for the Roman appendix, it will obviously be necessary to correct it with my book on the continuity of the Roman senatorial families. A new edition of 'Nos Ancêtres de l'Antiquité' will appear this Summer.

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