

## THE VIKING HASTING IN FRANCO-SCANDINAVIAN LEGEND

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"Une histoire de Hasting à travers les chroniques serait fort instructive," Lucien Musset has said, very truly.<sup>1</sup> Not that such a history has not been already attempted: sixty years back Henri Prentout devoted a chapter to this Viking in his critical study of Dudo of St.-Quentin as a historian.<sup>2</sup> Anyone who wishes to evaluate the continental Latin sources of Hasting's biography must begin with the discussion of them in this chapter, which supplements and corrects the standard history of the founding of Normandy by Walther Vogel.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, however, for all his critical acumen with the continental Latin sources, Prentout was, like most scholars of his day, innocently trusting of the historicity of the Icelandic sagas, and felt quite free to make arbitrary and erroneous identifications of Hasting and Bier costae ferrae (=Björn járnsíða) with the Icelandic pair Hallsteinn Þórólfsson and Björn Ketilsson in the Landnámabók and Eyrbyggjasaga.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, whenever a vernacular OF source underlay a Latin text, Prentout inclined with his colleagues in Romance philology to posit an ad-hoc chanson de geste for any especially vivid or "epic" details in the text.<sup>5</sup> But here perhaps scholarly research on the OF epic since the Second World War<sup>6</sup> might come to his rescue with clearer ideas of the conventional nature of popular poetry and the recitative techniques of oral-formulaic composition.

Despite these failings in the areas of ON and OF literature, Prentout had nonetheless an accurate picture of Dudo's literary milieu: "La Normandie encore scandinave du X<sup>e</sup> et du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle est un pays de légendes."<sup>7</sup> It will be substantially our business in the following investigation of Hasting to chart this "pays de légendes," whose soil was indeed early medieval Normandy and neighboring Neustria, but from which grew up around this most famous of the first Viking invaders an exotic undergrowth of Common Scandinavian, Old French, and pseudo-Classical fables concerning his remote origins in Dacia and his ubiquitous appearances anywhere from the coasts and rivers of France and England in the north down to the Mediterranean littoral in the south.

Difficult as it may be to reconstruct rightly the vernacular subliterature of stories and poems behind the Latin texts of the monastic chronicles, it is not hard to see where it impinges on them, particularly on the De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum of Dudo of St.-Quentin. At points where the chronicler was heavily dependent on local traditions for his information, his view of the Vikings will perforce have been strongly colored by his sources; and the source materials at his disposal will probably have been more conducive to literary creation than to annalistic chronicling.

The source problem of Franco-Norman historiography from the end of the tenth century on becomes unusually problematic in Dudo's historical work for two reasons -- firstly because through his ducal informants he could draw on "foreign" -- i.e., Common Scandinavian -- sources for the history of their house, and secondly because his narrative presentation of persons and events is so dramatized and rhetoricized as to obfuscate his professional ties with his fellow chroniclers and his indebtedness to his Latin sources in their works. He seems not to be an historian at all, but a very eccentric observer of manners and morals in Norman society. Still, one may hold this opinion which many have of him without thereby lessening his importance as the official clerical spokesman of the first Norman dukes and the propagator of the mythologized ideology of their rule. For us, in this investigation, he is indispensably the main source of the Hasting legend, a synthesis of learned and popular fantasies about this Viking which have some elements of truth in them.

The very name of Hasting can be misleading today. The form Alstignus in De Moribus et Actis I-II suggested a Norse-Icelandic name Hallsteinn to Prentout, which led him, erringly, to one of that name in the Landnámabók.<sup>8</sup> A commoner Latin form Hastingus previously had yielded the Norse name Hásteinn to the mid-nineteenth century Norwegian historian, Peter Andreas Munch,<sup>9</sup> and this has generally been taken to be the correct derivation, assuming that the final dentalized nasal of the Norse name would be velarized in Frankish Latin sources -- i.e., [-dn] [-ŋ].<sup>10</sup> Against this derivation, however, is the fact that the initial vocalism in ON Hásteinn, or OF Haustuin, will not harmonize with the short low front vowel [-æ-] in the OE form of the name, Hæsten, in The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>11</sup>

Another combination of names, suggested by Gustav Storm,<sup>12</sup> is phonetically to be recommended: Hastingus is

cognate with Hadingus, the name of Saxo Grammaticus' hero in Gesta Danorum I, v-viii. Nevertheless, any affinity between Hastings and Hadingus has been vigorously, though not altogether effectively, contested by Georges Dumézil in his monograph on the saga of Hadingus.<sup>13</sup> Granted that Saxo's Hadingus was not the same person as the historical Hastings, there should be no question that, as Dumézil himself has established,<sup>14</sup> they are the bearers of two alternate forms of one Germanic (Vandal) name -- \*hazd -> hast-~ hadd- -- which late antique sources cite as ἄστουγγος (Dio Cassius, Epitome LXXII, 11), or (H)asdingi, in (H)asdingorum stirps (Jordanes, Getica XXII, 113, and Cassiodorus, Variae IX, 1). This old Germanic name is unrelated to the historic English place-name Hāstings,<sup>15</sup> principally because its initial vocalism is short in almost every variant, but by the same token it will harmonize with the OE form of Hasting's name (Hæsten).

We are left with a long-diphthongal OF form of his name out of line, Haustuin, which is confusingly attested in a twelfth century tale, purely fictitious, of the prowess of Geoffroi Grisegonelle in battle with a Dane, Hethelwulfus (sic), "quem francisca lingua Haustuinum vocant."<sup>16</sup> Very likely our Hasting is designated in this text, but the medieval French derivation is not morphologically probative compared to the OE in The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>17</sup> On the whole, I think the ON name Haddingr or Haddingi, in the best-attested forms of Lat. Hastings and OE Hæsten, denominates him more exactly than the ON Hásteinn which is found in the poorly attested form of OF Haustuin. Not to pre-empt a favored ON form of his Latinized name, I shall continue to refer to him as Hasting.

Geographical and literary evidence also exists in favor of Haddingr, Haddingi. Northwest of Oslo lay a Haddingjadalr, but since Haddingjar is a pluralized name for Viking sea-kings (a saekonungaheiti), it means "the land of the Haddings" and in Guðrúnarkviða II st. 22 it was, in poetic language, the sea<sup>18</sup> -- the royal domain of Hasting. If the early medieval Franco-Norman chroniclers knew anything, however, of the whereabouts of Hasting's people on land or sea, they would rather have located them in the opposite corner of Europe -- in the southeast land region of Dacia, where an older branch of the (H)asdingorum stirps had resettled itself in the third quarter of the second century, A.D., and joined forces with Marcus Aurelius in his campaign against the Marcomanni. For in that region the ancestral Haddings were reported to dwell by the late antique sources

of the chroniclers of West Frankish history. The Swabian name of the Marcomanni was transferred thence to the Northmen of the Danish March in the ninth century.<sup>19</sup> Why, then, should Dudo of St.-Quentin not have associated, more justifiably, a Latinized form of the ON name of the Hadding, Hasting, with the stem-name of the "most warlike race" of the (H)asdingi,<sup>20</sup> who had migrated to Dacia centuries before?

In fact, book I of De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum,<sup>21</sup> with its opening tableau of the migrations of the North Germanic peoples to Dacia (after Jordanes' Getica IV-V) and its pseudo-Classical genealogy of the Danes' descent from the followers of Antenor (the Danai) in Illyria (cf. Aeneid I, l. 242 ff.), demonstrates how appropriate such an association of names would be in the geographical perspective of the Barbarian Völkerwanderung, provided that Hasting did bear a name cognate with the ancient one of the Dacian branch of the Vandals. It would seem quite pointless otherwise for Dudo to have made so much of his "Dacian" background, or to have placed him in it as the eponymous forerunner of the Norman dukes, unless an authoritative Barbarian pedigree were already his in name. On this onomastic premise, the mythical genealogy of ultimate descent from the fugitives of Troy which the Franks had arrogated to themselves in the early Middle Ages,<sup>22</sup> could be neatly linked up by the etymological chain, Dani=Daci=Danai, with the (H)asdingorum stirps of Dacia as a special compliment from Dudo to the dukes of Normandy.

To sum up our findings so far, we do not and may never know just who Haddingr/Hastings was biographically, but we can be pretty certain from the Frankish Latin and OE forms of his name that he was the bearer of an ancient Vandal stem-name, which in ON form was a saekonungaheiti, an appellation for Norse "sea-kings." There was in the Oslo area a Haddingjadalr which may have been his proper homeland. More we cannot extract from his name other than its etymological meaning of "long-haired warrior" or the like.<sup>23</sup> Pace Dumézil, we need not, by denominating him Haddingr, mistake the legend of Hastings for the separate myth of Hadingus in Saxo's Gesta Danorum. At any rate, ON Haddingr seems closer in form to Lat. Hastings than ON Hásteinn or Hallsteinn, the last of which only approximates the peculiar scribal spelling of Hasting's name, Alstignus, in the De Moribus et Actis.

Under the banner, unfurled, of his Barbarian and pseudo-Classical ancestry we may now watch Hasting advance

from southeastern Europe into Norman history. Over-population and an immemorial custom of expelling superfluous younger sons from Dacia were the two quasi-historical causes which launched the ships of Hasting and those of Rollo on their destructive expeditions to France and England, according to Dudo's account of the Viking invasions.<sup>24</sup> In this context we should not pass over an amusing footnote on the "expulsion" of Hasting which was written by Dudo's younger contemporary in Burgundy, the monk Raoul Glaber. Raoul, having heard merely that Hasting was a "bad lot" from the pays de Troyes, imagined that he was a champenois peasant's son who went wrong, and "overcome by love of ambition, chose to become an outlaw."<sup>25</sup> Could a Barbarian descendant of the Trojans sink any lower?

For his part Dudo is at pains in the first two books of his work to contrast the naked savagery and animal cunning of Hasting, for which he was everywhere reputed, with the Christianized mission of Rollo, the founder of the Norman state, whose wanderings are guided towards France by dream-visions from Heaven and a miracle at sea. Eventually, by an irony of fate, the two Viking leaders meet in a climactic scene as enemies (De Moribus, II, 13 f.), Hasting negotiating for the French king and Rollo carrying the attack on Paris: the loyal renegade vs. the divinely inspired marauder. The battle, at Damps (885), after their parley may have been real enough, but the paradoxical role of Hasting in the preliminary negotiations is literary, like Ganelon's in the Chanson de Roland, or Isembart's in the OF poem Gormont et Isembart.<sup>26</sup> The renegade or "outlaw," Hasting, thus will simultaneously redeem himself and damn himself in the end -- an ambiguous outcome which is well signified by the old warrior fleeing that battle in defeat, and laughing.<sup>27</sup>

Yet, in his book of the De Moribus (I), Hasting is unequivocally the Viking once he has arrived in the West Frankish kingdom from Dacia. Saint-Quentin, Dudo's monastery, the churches of St.-Médard and St.-Éloi at Noyon, Saint-Denis, the abbey of the French kings, and finally Ste.-Geneviève of Paris are the holy places enumerated by Dudo (I, 4) as having been burnt at his hands. These acts of incendiarism were more likely to have been committed by Björn járnsíða and his band who penetrated up the Seine and the Oise rivers in 857-9. Björn, a semi-legendary figure like Hasting, was to be paired up with the latter in William of Jumièges' Gesta Normannorum Ducum (I, i and iv) on Hasting's next great adventure -- the expedition around Spain

to Luna, Italy. On a conservative estimate, Hasting did not historically begin his harrying of the West Frankish kingdom until 866 when, with a mixed crew of Bretons and Vikings, he boated on the Sarthe river up to Brissarthe in Anjou.<sup>28</sup> An earlier chronicler, Regino of Prüm, gives a detailed account of this raid,<sup>29</sup> which was sparked by the joint hostility of the Bretons and Vikings to the Franks. Hasting and his men were penned into a stone church at Brissarthe by the forces of Robert of Anjou and Ramnulf of Aquitaine but managed to kill the Frankish commanders and drive back their forces, so that they could escape to their ships on the Sarthe.

Dudo, uninformed perhaps on Hasting's base of operations in the Loire valley, imputes to him acts of incendiarism committed by the Seine Vikings in the late fifties of the ninth century, and having briefly enumerated these, proceeds directly to the narration of the expedition to Luna in 860, which occupies most of Book I of the De Moribus et Actis, from ch. 5 on. History, again, will not verify that Hasting himself captured Luna by his cunning or that, as William of Jumièges asserts, Björn járnsíða accompanied him on the expedition as his protégé. On the contrary, the ruse -- of playing dead -- by which Hasting won the Italian town was employed likewise by Robert Guiscard, Harald harðráði, and the emperor Frederick II in similar sieges of towns in Italy and Sicily.<sup>30</sup> It must have been a wide-spread exemplum of Viking and Norman astutia by the High Middle Ages, since it was retold twice of the mythical Danish king, Frotho, by Saxo Grammaticus.<sup>31</sup>

As for Björn járnsíða, son of Ragnar loðbrók, he might have sailed from the Seine on the Luna expedition, but not together with the later Loire Viking, Hasting. William of Jumièges' particular notion of Hasting's relationship to Björn as the evil counsellor or tutor ("pedagogus") of a young prince who was banished from his father's kingdom (in the British Isles) is a historical fiction which belonged with Hasting's "expulsion" to Franco-Scandinavian legend of the eleventh century.<sup>32</sup> Of such stuff were Viking sagas -- fornaldarsögur -- made, e.g., Ragnarssaga loðbrókar.<sup>33</sup>

In Dudo's narrative (I, 5), it is a point of honor with Hasting, befitting the bearer of a former Vandal name, to subject Rome to his rule as he has subjected France, and thus rival the fame of the Barbarian conquerors of the Roman Empire; but in his ignorance of the geography of Italy he steers a course for Luna on the northwest Italian coast instead of for the more southerly Rome. The town is too

heavily guarded to be taken by direct assault, and so he has to resort to a Viking ruse, feigning sickness and approaching death, to gain access to it. By messenger he persuades the bishop of Luna in a pompous speech to baptize and bury him in his hour of death; then, at the burial service in the town church, he leaps from his bier and he and his men put the Christian congregation to the sword. His triumph is somewhat spoiled by the discovery that Luna is not Rome, but like a true Barbarian he wreaks vengeance for his disappointment on the surrounding province before setting off for France again.

The return of the conqueror (De Moribus, I, 8) terrifies the Franks, whose king (the unnamed Louis III) is moved to make permanent peace with him -- for a price. (Their peace-treaty is to be dated, historically, 882, twenty years after the expedition to Luna.<sup>34</sup>) The book of Hasting thereupon concludes with the pious sentiment that this national humiliation befell the Franks "not for their destruction, but for their chastisement, on account of the mountainousness of their sins."<sup>35</sup>

What price peace with Hasting? Dudo's unnamed king of the Franks has him paid off with large but indefinite sums of tribute money, and William of Jumièges records that he received the county of Chartres in fee on his return from Luna;<sup>36</sup> but the enfeoffment is contradicted by the date of the battle of Chartres -- 858 -- which precedes the departure date of the Luna expedition (860).<sup>37</sup> Whatever the inducement was supposed to be, in local Norman tradition he entered the service of the Frankish kings. In reality, of course, Hasting never desisted from his plundering and burning of ecclesiastical property, even after the historical treaty with Louis III in 882. The reliable Annales Vedastini have an entry on him nine years later, sub ann. 891, describing his movements around St.-Vaast, which, "per dolum pacem" sworn to its abbot, he intended to encompass stealthily, in concert with the Vikings of Noyon.<sup>38</sup> Fortunately, the Franks had become used to his deceitful ways, and outmaneuvering him, beat him in battle at Argoeuvres-sur-Sommes, near Amiens. Famine in the land finally forced him out of the country in 892, and he crossed the Channel to England with "se micla here." There, having suffered further reverses at the mouth of the Thames, he disappeared from history, if not from legend, in 894.<sup>39</sup>

There is one more notice of him in De Moribus et Actis (II, 13 f.), which I have adverted to above, and it is

the necessary sequel to the tale in book I. Playing a double double role, he steps forth on the river bank of a tributary of the Seine to negotiate as the agent of Charles the Simple with the invading host of Rollo. The confrontation is in the best saga style:

Qui venientes [Hasting and two of the king's officers] super ripam fluminis, steterunt dicentes: "Regiae potestatis comites mandant vobis, ut dicatis qui estis, et unde estis, et quid quaeritis." Ipsi [Rollo's men] vero responderunt: "Dani sumus, Dacia advecti huc. Franciam expugnara venimus." Illi autem: "Quo nomine vester senior fungitur?" Responderunt: "Nullo, quia aequalis potestatis sumus." Tunc Alstignus scire volens quid de se dicerent, dixit: "Cuius fama huc advecti advenistis? Si unquam de quodam Alstigno vestrae patriae nato, huc cum plurimo milite adnavigato, aliquid audistis?" Responderunt: "Audivimus. Ille enim bono omine auspicatus est, bonoque initio cepit; sed malum finem exitumque sortitus est."<sup>40</sup>

(Coming up over the bank of the river, they [Hasting and two of the king's officers] stopped to speak: "The king's officers command you to tell who you are, where you are from, and what you seek." The same [Rollo's men] answered truly: "We are Danes, brought hither from Dacia [= Denmark]. We come to conquer France." Those then [on the bank]: "Under what title does your leader go?" They replied: "By none, since we are of equal authority together." Thereupon Hasting, wishing to know what they would say about him, spoke up: "At report of whom were you brought here? Did you ever hear anything of a certain Hasting who was born in your country [and] sailed hither with a large host?" They answered: "We heard tell. A good fortune has been foretold of him, and he began well; but a bad outcome in the end is his lot.)

Though Dudo's own date for this dramatic episode in Rollo's invasion of Neustria may be much too early (876),<sup>41</sup> and the scene itself is what one would term a genre scene in North Germanic epic literature,<sup>42</sup> one cannot deny it a certain



historicity as a representation of a Viking host giving battle in ninth century France.

The military egalitarianism of the Vikings, formulated in the memorable phrase, "Nullo, quia aequalis potestatis sumus," was also expressed in a line of Abbo's poem on the siege of Paris in 885: "Solo rex verbo, sociis tamen imperitabat."<sup>43</sup> But individually the fame of each warrior was, as it were, a magnet which attracted others to fight him, or measure themselves against him by more peaceful means. Hence the once famous Hasting is anxious to learn in the passage whether he still has this "drawing power" among his countrymen.<sup>44</sup>

The prophecy of the Danish invaders to him -- "... sed malum finem exitumque sortitus est" -- is presently fulfilled during the battle at Damps which terminates his negotiations with them. When the Frankish standard-bearer--Roland (Rotlandus) by name -- is killed, the general of the Franks and their negotiator -- Ragnold, duke of Maine, and Hasting -- take to their heels merrily. The sudden spectacle of these running, rejoicing figures in De Moribus II, 14, is certainly rather startling, but not, as I think, wholly ridiculous. Perhaps from Dudo's point of view Hasting has the last laugh on the Franks, whom he may have fatally tricked into battle in a council of war with Ragnold and Roland (II, 13); or perhaps there is rejoicing simply because the survivors are glad to have escaped death from the Danes. If so, Ragnold's joy is short-lived since he is soon ignominiously slain by a Seine fisherman who is a partisan of Rollo's (II, 15). What happens to Hasting, then, we are not told -- he is gone from the story.

Damps with its familiar landmarks, e.g., the earthwork erected by Rollo's forces "quod apparet ad tempus usque istius diei,"<sup>45</sup> seems to have dissolved before our eyes in the cold mists of legend and faded into an imaginary world of the early Old French epic. In the Franks' council of war, as Rita Lejeune has pointed out,<sup>46</sup> the impulsive Roland who impatiently rejects the cautions of Hasting on the superior strength of the Danes behaves not unlike the hero of the Chanson de Roland (as in laisse cxxx). Is Rotlandus in II, 13, of De Moribus et Actis the celebrated margrave of Brittany? Considering the interest that the ducal house of Normandy took in the composition of the Chanson,<sup>47</sup> his inclusion in an official history of that house would be perfectly plausible.

Hasting's role in the sequence of events is literarily

comparable to Ganelon's, as I have said before, but it has a broader scope, functionally, corresponding to his typical character as the trickster, which all the sources of West Frankish history make him out to be. Trickery, which was a prized trait in a Norman prince,<sup>48</sup> has always had in myth and legend a mediating property of arbitration as well as double-dealing.<sup>49</sup> Hasting accordingly was ideally cast in his role of renegade either to negotiate with the enemy or to betray his new-found friends. The ambivalence of his position is manifest in his wavering words to Ragnold and Roland before battle: having magnified "with poisonous and vulpine artfulness" the danger of attacking the stronger forces of the Danes, and been rebuked for his cautious advice by Roland, he exclaims in a huff: "Amodo a me bellum non blasphemabitur."<sup>50</sup> However reprehensible of him to talk thus and run away later from the battlefield, his shady conduct effectively mediates the historical transition from the Barbarian-Viking phase of the Scandinavian invasions of France to the Christian-Norman phase which is spearheaded by Rollo and his Danish host. Thanks to the diplomatic offices of Hasting, Vikings and Franks can henceforth unite in a new political order, the foundation of the Norman state. This done, Hasting has served his usefulness, and is dropped from the narrative.

His legend lingered on a while longer in the countryside of northern and western France. I have already mentioned the amusing anecdote in Raoul Glaber's Histories of the "bad seed" that sprang from champenois peasant stock in Troyes. Another pleasant, and a nobler, tale concerns that restoration of St.-Florent-le-Vieil, above Nantes, a monastery which he or his immediate predecessors on the Loire had plundered in the mid-ninth century.<sup>51</sup> In the last quarter of the eleventh century, the story went that a monk of the monastery, one Guallo, was delegated to go and repossess its ruins at the withdrawal of the Northmen, lest anyone else should take them over illegally. On the old site of St.-Florent he cleared away the vegetation from the overgrown crypts, but judged it prudent to pay a visit next to Hasting, then in Nantes, and confirm the title of his monastic community to the place with gifts. With a rare gesture of hospitality and generosity the dread sea-king welcomed him with a Christian kiss of peace and gave him in turn, by way of confirmation, a horn of ivory called the "thunderer," which he assured him would be obeyed by his men if the monk blew a blast on it to warn them off from the monastery.<sup>52</sup>

In this incident a martial instrument from the chansons

de geste changes hands -- the olifant -- whose ivory and thunderous sound are reminiscent of the long-winded horn of Roland (cf. his Chanson, l. 1789).<sup>53</sup> A third tale, from Marmoutiers by Tours, ca. 1125, has the same epic quality of the chansons, but on a grander scale. It names Hasting very confusingly Huasten in Latin, or Haustuin in Old French < Hethelwulfus (sic), and under the derivate OF name pits him in single combat against the Angevin count, Geoffroi Grisegonelle.<sup>54</sup> I have excluded the OF derivation from the re-constitution of his ON name. The onomastic and historical confusions of persons and events are so great in the redacted twelfth century text that one cannot even be sure just who fights Geoffrey among his Danish adversaries.

On the military setting of the duel -- the 885 siege of Paris by the Northmen -- are superimposed events of seventy-five or more years after, such as Geoffrey's championing of the cause of King Lothair of France against Richard I, Sans Peur of Normandy and his Scandinavian allies, who ravaged the borders of Brittany and the county of Chartres from 962 to 965. The single combat between the Angevin count and the Dane is merely a literary replica of one between a Frank and a German which, according to the monk Richer,<sup>55</sup> was fought outside of Paris while the capital was being besieged, not by the Northmen, but by the German army of Otto II in 978. To make matters worse, the commander of the Danish host in this montage of events goes under the name of Huasten -- which is Hasting's -- whereas Geoffrey's opponent has the Old English name of Hethelwulfus (=Ethelwulf), from which misnomer some redactor has inexplicably derived the OF form of Hasting's name (Haustuin). Of course, the OF form can only properly be derived from the name for the Danish commander. It looks as if a second Hasting had been arbitrarily created from the name alone of an Anglo-Saxon king, Ethelwulf of Wessex, who married a daughter of Charles the Bald in 856.<sup>56</sup> This king was generally known to the Frankish chroniclers, but he was no more than a foreign name to the redactors of our chronicle text, which liberties could be taken with.

Since we can hardly guess which of the two Danes -- the commander of the host or Geoffrey's opponent -- is meant to be Hasting, we view him in double focus at the scene of combat, both duelling with Geoffrey and besieging Paris with a host. The Anglo-Danish Hethelwulfus/ Haustuin is portrayed biblically as another Goliath, daily challenging the Franks to fight him below the walls of Paris. The count Geoffrey is conformably another David who modestly contrives to slay this giant incognito, disguised in a grey cloak --

the grise gonelle. With the help of a miller -- the usual assistant in these clandestine adventures on the Seine<sup>57</sup> -- he has himself, his squire, and his horse ferried across the river to the Danish encampment (around Montmartre). As soon as he lands on the opposite bank he leaps on his horse, runs the giant through with one well-aimed thrust of the lance, and then dismounts and decapitates him groaning at his feet. Later, he receives recognition for this deed at the Frankish court where the miller uncovers the victor in the grey cloak.

Now, these last few scenes from the Norman and Frankish chronicles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries -- viz., the battle of Damps (De Moribus, II, 13 f.), the outlawry of Hasting in Troyes (Raoul Glaber's anecdote), the repossession of St.-Florent-le-Vieil by the monk Guallo (from the Historia eversionis of that monastery), and the single combat of Geoffrey of Anjou with Haustuin outside Paris (the chronicle of the gesta of the Angevin counts, as above) -- will pinpoint for us on the map of northwestern France the main French extensions of the Franco-Scandinavian Hasting legend. All but one of these scenes (the outlawry of the champenois Hasting) have what we would call, loosely, epic quality -- which is to say that the legend in the council-of-war interlude at Damps verges on the incipient Chanson de Roland, and in other scenes evokes images of objects, persons, or actions from the general sphere of the chansons de geste.<sup>58</sup> It is unnecessary to multiply hypotheses about which episode in which chanson de geste supplied which epic detail in the legend. Apart from Roland and his olifant, most of the details are generic of rather than specific to OF epic poetry. Suffice it to know that the legend synthesized in the High Middle Ages with portions of the subject-matter of the chansons in the chaotic history of the West Frankish kingdom.

There remains, on the other hand, a solid Scandinavian core to the legend and a pseudo-Classical trimming which were peculiar to it in the works of Dudo and William of Jumièges and their Norman French epigones in verse. The Vergilian fable in De Moribus I, 3, of the Illyrian descent of Hasting and the Danes kept its appeal for the Norman dukes as a genealogical compliment to their house, despite the "bad" ending of Hasting's Viking career at Damps in the book of Rollo. Let us not forget that in the end Hasting mediated diplomatically a transfer of political power to the founder of the Norman state.

The trimming around the legend Classicized it

superficially, but its core, consisting of the Luna expedition and the Viking ruse of playing dead, was solidly Norman Scandinavian in the book of Hasting (De Moribus, I, 5-7), to which William of Jumièges added a couple of chapters in the saga of Björn járnsíða and his father, Ragnar loðbrók (Gesta Normannorum Ducorum I, i and iv). Nor was Scandinavian influence operative solely on the content of the legend in Dudo's work. It is inferable from such passages of his writing as the riverside dialogue quoted above, from many satirical speeches of his historical actors, and from the overall dramatization of his narrative that it affected the Latin stylization of the legend too.<sup>59</sup> So high an incidence of direct discourse in the dialogue and oratory of De Moribus et Actis is unprecedented in either Classical or medieval Latin historiography, but it was regularly attained in Germanic heroic poetry and in the story-telling of the Norse sagamen. Of Common Scandinavian literature presumably the oral saga or frásaga of the fornaldarsaga type would have been the most accessible to Dudo (translated) through his ducal informants, who by education and family tradition were thoroughly conversant with the language and the history of their forebears, the Rúðujarlar (jarls of Rouen).<sup>60</sup>

That a man of Dudo's Latinate literary habits and clerical formation should have been able to absorb any of the flavor of the oral style of his Norman Scandinavian sources is quite remarkable, but his stylistic sensitivity to them was increased by his deference to his ducal informants, and by the total impression upon him of the polyglot social ambience of Rouen, to which he alludes in a verse.<sup>61</sup> It is not too much to say, in conclusion, that we have in the De Moribus et Actis, I-II, a Latinized saga of Hasting in prosimetrum form. Although the poems of Dudo are subjective outbursts of pedantry and praise unbounded by this formal framework, the dramatic patches of prose in the narrative and even the pseudo-Classical trimming of the Danes' descent from the Trojans are fair indications that what we are reading in the book of Hasting and its sequel is a cleric's conception of a fornaldarsaga, as communicated to him by Rudolph of Ivry, of the ducal house in Rouen. Learned and spurious genealogies were not incompatible with a popular vein of story-telling in this genre of saga.<sup>62</sup> The sequel to book I in II, 13 f., has been slightly contaminated with a reminiscence of the Chanson de Roland, but the theme of Hasting's trickery integrates throughout his biography the Common Scandinavian and Old French source materials of Dudo.

## NOTES

- 1 Lucien Musset, Les Invasions: Le Second Assaut contre l'Europe Chrétiénne (Paris, 1956), II, p. 186.
- 2 Henri Prentout, Étude Critique sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin (Paris, 1916), pp. 47-110.
- 3 Walther Vogel, Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie (Heidelberg, 1906), on which see the opinion of A. d'Haenens, Les Invasions Normandes en Belgique au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle (Louvain, 1967), p. 2.
- 4 Prentout, Étude critique, pp. 82 ff.; similarly M. Chibnall in her edition of Orderic Vitalis' Historia Ecclesiastica III (Oxford, 1969), II, p. 6, fn. 3. On turn-of-the-century scholarly beliefs in the historicity of the sagas, see Th. M. Andersson, The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origins (New Haven, 1964), pp. 41 ff.
- 5 See e.g. Prentout, Étude critique, pp. 315 ff. But for the raillery of J. Bédier, Prentout would have identified William Longsword with the king-maker of the same name in the Coronement de Loois.
- 6 Beginning with the well-known books of Jean Rychner, La Chanson de Geste; Essai sur l'Art Epique des Jongleurs (Geneva, 1955) and R. Ménendez Pidal, La Chanson de Roland et le Tradition Epique, trans. I.-M. Cluzel, 2d ed. (Paris, 1960).
- 7 Prentout, Étude critique, p. 325; cf. in this train of thought, pp. 427 ff. and 429 ff.
- 8 Ibid., pp. 82 ff.
- 9 Andreas Munch, Det Norske Folks Historie (Christiana, 1885), I, pp. 217, fn. 1, and 429, fn. 4.
- 10 So J. Adigard des Gautries, Les Noms de Personnes Scandinaves en Normandie in Nomina Germanica XI (Lund, 1954), sub voce Hásteinn, pp. 105-6 and 249.
- 11 See Two of the Saxon Chronicles, ed. C. Plummer, I (Oxford, 1892), p. 84, and II (Oxford, 1899), pp. 107 f.

- 12 In Gustav Storm, Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie (Christiana, 1878), p. 63 ff., with which, cf. J. de Vries, "Die Wikingersaga," Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift XV (1927), p. 89 ff.
- 13 La Saga de Hadingus, ed. Georges Dumézil (Paris, 1953), ch. 1.
- 14 Ibid., ch. 8.
- 15 See E. Ekwall's etymology in The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names (Oxford, 1960), sub voce Hastingleigh.
- 16 Chronica de Gestis Consulium Andegavorum, eds. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin in Collection de Textes pour Servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire XLVIII (Paris, 1913), p. 38.
- 17 Cf. with Haustuin the short-vowelled OF form Hastenc in Benoît de Ste.-Maure's Chronique des ducs de Normandie, passim.
- 18 See De Vries, "Die Wikingersaga," p. 91 ff., and Björn Sigfússon, "The Names of Sea Kings," Modern Philology XXII (Nov., 1934), p. 131.
- 19 See the Vita S. Amantii, ch. 13, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH), auct. antiq. IV, 2, ed. B. Krusch (Berlin, 1885), p. 63.
- 20 Jordanes' characterization, Getica XXII, 113, in MGH, auct. antiq. V, 1, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1882), p. 87. The mot of Musset, Les Invasions II, p. 224, is apropos of Dudo's handling of his source materials in late Antiquity: "recouvrir les Vikings de la défroque de tous les Barbares de bibliothèques." Cf. the eleventh century Liber de Diversis Casibus Dervensis Coenobii, ed. J. Mabillon in Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti II, 2 (Matiscone, 1938), p. 846, which styles Hasting "dux Wisigotis."
- 21 All references to the De Moribus et Actis (hereafter cited as De Moribus) will be to the edition of M.J. Lair (Caen, 1865), in four books. B. Vopelius is preparing a much-needed new edition of the work; I have been unable meanwhile to see her Göttingen dissertation, Studien zu Dudo von Saint-Quentin, dem

- ersten Geschichtsschreiber der Normandie (1967).
- 22 See H. Wuttke's preface to his edition of the pseudonymous Cosmographia (Leipzig, 1853), p. lv, on the elaboration of this genealogy.
- 23 See H.F. Grimm's Teutonic Mythology, trans. J.S. Stallybrass, 4th ed. (New York, 1966), I, p. 342: Haddingr < ON haddr, "(female) hair," an etymology which Dumézil adopts in ch. 8 of La Saga de Hadingus.
- 24 De Moribus I, 3, p. 130, and II, 1-2, p. 141 ff.; cf. on these "causes," Jordanes, Getica IV, 24, p. 60; Paul Diaconus, Historia Langobardorum I, i-ii, eds. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz in MGH, script. rerum Langobard. et Italic. (Hannover, 1878), p. 47 ff.; and Ynglinga saga, ch. xlii, in Heimskringla I, ed. B. Aðalbjarnason, Íslensk fornrit XXVI (Reykjavík, 1941), pp. 74-5.
- 25 Historiarum Libri V, ed. M. Prou in Collection de Textes pour Servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire I (Paris, 1886), p. 18. See Prentout's appendix 2 in Étude Critique, pp. 442-5. He has a final reservation on the Classical connotation of the place-name, Troyes, but the outlawry of Hasting sounds like a distant echo of his "expulsion" in De Moribus I, 3.
- 26 See further, p. 274 below, on his renegade role. In the minds of the medievals he resembled the Sarracen prince, Gormant, rather than the renegades Isembart and Ganelon: "verum iste Alstagnus vulgo Gurmundus solet nominari," remarks the twelfth century writer, Hugh of Fleury, Libellus de Modernis Francorum Regibus, in MGH, script. IX, ed. G. Waitz (Hannover, 1851), p. 378. The resemblance to Isembart, at least, ends there. On the Gormant and Isembart poem cf. F. Lot's article, "Gormond et Isembard," in Romania XXVII (1898), pp. 1-54.
- 27 De Moribus, I, 14, p. 156: "Ragnoldus et Alstignus, caeterique comites illic cunctos mortuos considerantes, terga vertentes, fugam expetiverunt hilares." Cf. Prentout's adverse judgement on this passage, Étude Critique, p. 173 f., fn. 3.



- 28 On the commencement of Hasting's raiding activity, see W. Vogel, Die Normannen, p. 218 ff., against Prentout, Étude Critique, pp. 67 ff. and 105. Prentout's chronology is rather weakened than strengthened by his synchronization of the irrelevant biography of Hallsteinn Þórólfsson with the events of West Frankish history.
- 29 Re-edited by R. Rau for Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters: Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte III (Darmstadt, 1966), pp. 214-16.
- 30 See J. de Vries, "Normannisches Lehngut in den isländischen Königssagas," Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi XLVII (1931), p. 67 ff.
- 31 Gesta Danorum II, 7, and III, 8, eds. J. Olrik and H. Raeder (Copenhagen, 1931), pp. 38 and 46. Cf. the version in the eleventh century charter of the abbey of St.-Peter of Chartres, ed. M. Guérard, Collection des Cartulaires de France (Paris, 1840), I, p. 6, where the ruse illustrates the "dolositas" of Hasting. If De Moribus I, 5 was Saro's source of the exemplum, he may have mixed up the names of the two towns, Luna (=ON Lunaborg) and London (=ON Lundunaborg) which were the related objects of Viking astutia in his narrative and Dudo's; so J.C.H.R. Steenstrup conjectured in Normannerne: Inledning (Copenhagen, 1876), p. 26 ff.
- 32 See William of Jumièges, Gesta Normannorum Ducum I, iv, in J. Marx's edition (Rouen and Paris, 1914), p. 8 ff. In this chapter of Gesta I, there is a faint reflection of the Scandinavian Norman practice of educating the younger nobility under the supervision of an older court official who acted as a foster-father; cf. Dudo, De Moribus III, 37, p. 181, and IV, 68, p. 221 ff.; further, Ragnarssaga loðbrókar, ch. 11, on Sigurðr Ragnarsson's fosterage.
- 33 See, on the sources of Ragnarssaga loðbrókar, De Vries, "Normannisches Lehngut," p. 72 ff., and his conclusion, p. 74: "Die Haddings- und die Ragnarssaga sind ganz ähnlich zu würdigen wie den historischen Sagas von Haraldr harðráði und Sigurðr Jórsalafari; nur hat in den beiden letzten Fällen die Entwicklung... zur immer historisch-sachlicherer Darstellung geführt, während

die Figuren von Hasting und Ragnarr loðbrók immer mehr zum Reiche der Fabel gerechnet wurden." In chapters 13-14 of Ragnarssaga are the literary residues of the longest Scandinavian and Norman fabling about Ragnar and his sons.

- 34 Cf. Annales Vedastini in Les Annales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Vaast, ed. C. Dehaisnes (Paris, 1871), p. 313, and the excerpt from the anonymous Sermo in Tumulatione S. Quintini in MGH, script. XV, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1888), p. 272.
- 35 De Moribus, I, 8, p. 137: "Ne quis lector abhorreat monemus, ob adversorum ignominiam casuum, qui non ad interitum, sed ad correctionem, propter exaggerationem scelerum, Francigenis acciderunt."
- 36 Gesta Normannorum Ducorum, I, x, p. 17.
- 37 See Prentout, Étude Critique, p. 63, fn. 1. The charter of Chartres, loc. cit. (in fn. 31 above), inverts the order of events as Gesta Normannorum Ducorum I, x, does, in testifying to Hasting's participation in this battle.
- 38 Annales Vedastini, pp. 337 ff.
- 39 The likelihood of his recrossing the Channel to the Seine in 895, which a twelfth century continuator of Asser's annals of King Alfred's reign affirms, in De Vita et Rebus Gestis Alfredi, ed. W.H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904), p. 142, is discounted by Prentout with good reason, Étude Critique, p. 80 ff. The leader of the Seine flotilla of the mid-nineties was Huncdeus (so called in Ann. Ved., p. 353), not Hasting. But the demonic Hasting of West Frankish legend did not die until 931, fighting against Raoul of Burgundy -- see De Translatione Reliquiarum S. Aigulfi in Acta Sanct. Ord. S. Ben., ed. Mabillon, II, 2, p. 666.
- 40 De Moribus, II, 13, p. 154.
- 41 Ibid., II, 11, p. 151; on the date see Prentout, Étude Critique, p. 167 ff.
- 42 See A. Nitschke, "Beobachtungen zur normannischen Erziehung im 11. Jahrhundert," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte XLIII, 3 (1961), p. 275 ff.

- 43 Bella Parisiaca Urbis I, l. 38, ed. H. Waquet (Paris, 1964), p. 16.
- 44 In the Chronica of Regino of Prüm, sub ann. 874, Quellen zur karol. Reichsgesch. III, p. 244, he is equally desirous to see and talk with the foolhardy Breton warrior, Vurfandus, who had boasted that he would remain alone within range of the Vikings for three days. Vurfandus made good his boast, and they departed, it is said, in silent admiration.
- 45 De Moribus, II, 14, p. 155.
- 46 Rita Lejeune, "La naissance du couple littéraire 'Roland et Olivier'," in Mélanges Henri Grégoire II, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves X (1950), p. 393 ff. She was not the first, as she claims, to draw parallels between Roland and Dudo's Rotlandus; cf. Prentout, Étude Critique, p. 173, fn. 1.
- 47 See R.R. Bezzola, Les Origines et la Formation de la Littérature Courtoise en Occident II, ii (Paris, 1960), p. 402, and L. Boehm, "Nomen Gentis Normannorum. Der Aufstieg der Normannen im Spiegel der normannischen Historiographie," Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo XVI (Spoleto, 1969), p. 630, with reference to R. Fawtier, La Chanson de Roland (Paris, 1933), ch. III.
- 48 L. Boehm, p. 676: "An der Spitze aller Tugenden aber stand die calliditas..."
- 49 See the now classic essay of Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," in Structural Anthropology (I), trans. C. Jacobson and B.G. Schoepf (New York, 1963), p. 224 ff., on the mediatory function of the trickster.
- 50 De Moribus, II, 13, p. 155.
- 51 On the unhappy history of this monastery see the brief comments of H. Löwe in Wattenbach/ Levison, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, Heft V (Weimar, 1973), p. 600 ff. The restoration of 860 was temporary. The old St.-Florent was destroyed forever in the Breton-Viking foray to Brissarthe in 866 (cf. above, p. 269-270).

- 52 Text in P. Marchegay's and E. Mabille's edition of the Chroniques des Eglises d'Anjou (Paris, 1869), pp. 234-35. As part of the Historia Eversionis Monasterii St. Florentii Veteris, it dates to 1072.
- 53 Cf. on the olifant A. Schultz, Das höfische Leben (Leipzig, 1889), I, p. 558 ff. In Middle High German courtly literature it was representatively Roland's horn.
- 54 Text in Halphen's and Poupardin's edition, as above (fn. 16), p. 38 ff.; cf. on this tale, F. Lot, "Geoffroi Grisegonelle dans l'Épopée," Romania XIX (1890), pp. 377-89, and Bezzola, Les Origines, II, ii, p. 342 ff.
- 55 Historia Franciae III, 76, ed. R. Latouche (Paris, 1964), II, pp. 92-4.
- 56 So Lot, "Geoffroi Grisegonelle," p. 388, fn. 2; cf. for a similar onomastic confusion possibly involving Ethelwulf's name, W. Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century (Oxford, 1946), p. 114. The conjecture of R. Dion, in Paris dans les Récits Historiques et Legendaires du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Tours, 1949), p. 37 ff. that the OF derivation, Haustuin < Hethelwulfus, was based on primitive survivals of Anglo-Saxon around Boulogne and Calais is extremely far-fetched. If not already inscribed in West Frankish history, AS names infiltrated the Franco-Norman chronicles from across the Channel, in the wake of the Viking invasions. Thus, the baptismal name, Æthelstan, of the Anglo-Dane Guðormr = Alstemus in De Moribus II, 7. (Alternatively, Alstemus may be the Latinized name of the English king of Wessex, as Prentout will have it in Étude Critique, pp. 161-3 and 180-3.)
- 57 Cf. Richer again, Hist. Franc. II, 57, ed. Latouche, I, pp. 218-22.
- 58 In the scholarly mode of his time, Lot, "Geoffroi Grisegonelle," p. 386 ff., compared the combat scene in the Marmoutiers chronicle of the Angevin counts to a similar episode in the Moniage Guillaume, and posited unprovably a special chanson for Geoffrey.

- 59 On this stylistic influence see A. Nitschke, "Beobachtungen," pp. 273-9, 282-4, and L. Boehm, "Nomen Gentis Normannorum," pp. 634-6, recapitulating Nitschke, and p. 631: "Die Vermutung liegt nahe dass nicht allein die historischen Persönlichkeiten als solche zur stilisierten Überhöhung anregten, sondern dass die Erzählweise der frühen normannischen Geschichtsschreibung, die teils selbst noch der nordischen Heldenüberlieferung verpflichtet war, ein fruchtbarer Nährboden für die Sagenbildung wurde." The clerical and Classical stylization of Dudo's poetry, unlike his prose rhetoric, owes little or nothing to North Germanic poetics. Boehm, p. 635, and Prentout, Étude Critique, p. 430, fancy that panegyric skaldic verse recited at court was his poetic model, but Steenstrup, Normannerne: Inled., p. 33, has properly differentiated the stylistic features of his poetry: "Muligt har til Grund for nogle af Dekanens Vers ligget Sange paa dansk Tunge eller paa fransk, men had lader næsten aldrig de handlende Personer tale Vers, og ingen Digter figurere eller Digte fremsiges [not quite true--cf. the vates in the apostrophes, De Moribus, "Thalia," p. 211, and "ad urbem," p. 273]. Hans Sange ere omtrent alle Tiltaler (Apostropher) til ham selv, til hans Bog, til Hertugerne, til Muserne, til abstrakte Themaer, etc." On this learned poetic style of his see now L. Musset, "Le Satiriste Garnier de Rouen et son Milieu," Revue du Moyen Âge Latin X, 4 (1954), pp. 240 ff., 247-9. If the prosimetrum of Dudo is too learned in some respects to be saga-like, it is also too idiosyncratic to be classified as an imitation of Boethius' Consolatio.
- 60 Richard I Sans Peur, was the instigator of Dudo's history, and Rudolph of Ivry, half brother of Richard, was his chief informant (De Moribus, "epist. pan.," p. 119, and "versus ad com. Rod.," p. 125 ff. On the linguistic and literary education of the first Norman dukes, see my "Note" in the forthcoming Festschrift for Madison Beeler, American Indian and Indo-European Studies (The Hague). The most recent scholarly opinions on the linguistic situation in Normandy have been noncommittal or self-contradictory; cf. A. Karker, "The Disintegration of the Danish Tongue," in Sjötíu ritgerðir (Reykjavík, 1977), II, p. 473, and L.W. Breese, "The Persistence of Scandinavian Connections in Normandy in the 10th and early 11th Centuries," Viator (1977), p. 54 ff.

- 61 "Versus ad Rodbertum Archiepiscopum, 'praesul amande,'" l. 75 ff., p. 127: "...Rex, proceresque,/ Graecus et Indus,/ Frisso, Britoque,/ Dacus et Anglus,/ Scotus, Hibernus,/ Clerus [=himself?], herili/ Sorte dicatus..." L. Musset, in the above-cited article (fn. 59), observes, p. 248, "Dudo, écrivain l'histoire des premiers ducs, cherche à y vanter tout ce qui n'est point français, mais scandinave."
- 62 On the fornaldarsaga, see M. Schlauch, Romance in Iceland (Princeton and New York, 1934), p. 47 ff., and the present Habilitationsschrift of Peter Buchholz, Vorzeitkunde. Mündliches Erzählen und Überliefern im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien nach dem Zeugnis von Fornaldarsaga und eddischer Dichtung (Kiel, 1977), ch. III: "Untersuchungen zur Technik altnordischen mündliches Erzählens." As an oral composition, the fornaldarsaga was indeed a "saga of olden times."