

SAINT WILLIAM, KING DAVID, AND MAKHIR:
A CONTROVERSIAL MEDIEVAL DESCENT

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In 1965 Dr. Arthur J. Zuckerman published an article on the bizarre custom of a ritual injury (a blow to the throat) inflicted annually on a representative of the Jews by Christian authorities in the city of Toulouse in the ninth century.¹ A remarkable feature of this article was his proposition that the leader of the Jewish communities in the area in 868 (the year to which he dates a somewhat ambiguous fragmentary letter dealing with the custom) was none other than the local Frankish count, or marquis, Bernard; by extension, Zuckerman stated that the known aristocratic Frankish lineage of that count Bernard was identical to a dynasty of Jewish leaders in the city of Narbonne. The implications of this postulated alias did not attract much attention among historians until it was showcased in a book-length study published in 1972: *A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France, 768-900*.² *Princedom* was widely reviewed in historical journals, and the thesis met with unanimous skepticism, if not outright rejection.³ Notwithstanding that the thesis has

I would like to thank Charles M. Hansen, FASG, for his comments on a draft of this article, and especially David H. Kelley, FASG, and Don Charles Stone, for our ongoing dialogue on the subject. This article was inspired by discussions carried on, in part, over the Internet, in the Usenet newsgroup *soc.genealogy.medieval*.

¹ "The Nasi of Frankland in the Ninth Century and the Colaphus Judaeorum in Toulouse," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 33 (1965), 51-82, based on one part of his Ph.D. dissertation: "The Jewish Patriarchate in Western Europe During the Carolingian Age," (Columbia University, 1963).

² *A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France, 768-900* (New York, 1972).

³ Brief reviews include: *American Historical Review* 78 (1973), 1440-41; *English historical review* 89 (1974), 415-16; *Jewish Quarterly Review* 65 (1974-5), 196-99; *Jewish Social Studies* 35 (1973), 163-65; *Catholic Historical Review* 59 (1973-4), 317-19; *Medium aevum* 42 (1973), 189-92; *Historisches Jahrbuch* 93 (1973), 138-39; *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 29 (1973), 284-85; and *Historische Zeitschrift* 217 (1973), 664-67. The four most significant critiques are two pieces by Aryeh Grabois, "La dynastie des 'rois juifs' de Narbonne (IXe-XIVe siècles)," in *Narbonne: archéologie et histoire. Colloque ... tenue à Narbonne les 14, 15 et 16 avril 1972*, 3 vols.

generally been dismissed by historians as unconvincing or (at best) overstated, it soon spread into genealogical circles, where it has since been widely circulated among those who have recognized the proposal as implying a traceable descent from King David to modern Western Europeans and others with ancestry among the medieval French nobility.⁴

NARBONNE, GOTHIA AND THE ZUCKERMAN THESIS

In the eighth century Charlemagne's dynasty subjected vast territories to a centralized régime, uniting widely disparate ethnic groups and political structures in a large but ultimately impermanent empire. One important group was the Visigoths, who had lost their own Iberian kingdom to Muslims in 712,

(Montpellier, 1973), 2:49-54 (which was written before Zuckerman's book came out, though he dismisses Zuckerman's identification of the Jewish and Christian families from the 1965 article at 51 n. 12); and "Une principauté juive dans la France du Midi à l'époque carolingienne?" *Annales du Midi* 85 (1973), 191-202; also, Jeremy Cohen, "The Nasi of Narbonne: A Problem in Medieval Historiography," *AJS Review* 2 (1977), 45-76; and finally Bernard Bachrach, "On the role of the Jews in the establishment of the Spanish March (768-814)," in *Hispanica Judaica: Studies in the History, Language and Literature of the Jews in the Hispanic World*, ed. J. M. Sola-Solé et al. (Barcelona, 1980), 11-19, reprinted in Bachrach's *Armies and Politics in the Early Medieval West* (Aldershot, 1993). The works of Graboïs, Cohen, and Bachrach are the most important for critiquing the historical elements of Zuckerman's thesis; this article builds upon them (particularly upon Graboïs and Cohen) but cannot hope to recapitulate all their important observations.

⁴ Sir Anthony R. Wagner thanked David H. Kelley for bringing it to his attention in a special postscript to his article "Bridges to Antiquity" in *Pedigree and progress: essays in the genealogical interpretation of history* (London, 1975), 76-77. Kelley wrote on it in "Who Descends from King David?" *Toledot: the Journal of Jewish Genealogy* 1.3 (1977-8), 3-5, and again in a review of Michael Baigent, Richard Leigh and Henry Lincoln's *Holy Blood, Holy Grail* (London, 1982) in *The Genealogist* 3 (1982), 249-263. Sir Iain Moncreiffe mentioned it in the introduction to *Royal Highness: Ancestry of the Royal Child* (London, 1982), 8. It has been included in the charts published by the Augustan Society, *Descents from Antiquity*, comp. Rodney Hartwell et al. (Torrance, CA, 1986), and from there included in Roderick Stuart's *Royalty for Commoners*, 2d ed. (Baltimore, 1992), 234, which was reviewed in turn by Kelley, "A Mediaeval Miscellany: Commentaries on Roderick W. Stuart's *Royalty for Commoners*," *The American Genealogist* 69 (1994), 110-118. It has also been outlined in Don Charles Stone's compilation, *Some Ancient and Medieval Descents* (Philadelphia, 1996-), chart 72. A recent contribution to the *Augustan* discusses some aspects of the thesis at length: Charles Bryant-Abraham, "De Domo et Familia David: Davidic Descents to the House of Plantagenet," *Augustan* 25.3 (1996), 16-23; *Journal of Royal & Noble Genealogy* 1.2 (1996), 14-19; *Augustan* 25.4 (1997), 2-6 (further parts are promised).

but who remained numerous in the area of Southwestern France now known as 'Languedoc' but then known as 'Gothia' or 'Septimania'. The Muslims appeared North of the Pyrenees in 720, and though defeated in pitched battle by Charlemagne's grandfather Charles Martel at Poitiers in 732, they were able to control Gothia for four decades. In 759 Narbonne, the region's capital and archdiocesan seat, was liberated from Muslim control by Pippin, Charlemagne's father, after a seven-year siege.⁵ Further efforts pushed the Carolingian frontier across the Eastern Pyrenees as far as Barcelona, conquered in 801 or 803.⁶ Here, as elsewhere in the empire, territory was organized into counties ruled by royally-appointed counts, with some counts given the title 'marquis' or 'duke' in regions of strategic importance. When the power of the West Frankish monarchy declined in the ninth and tenth centuries, these posts became increasingly autonomous and ultimately hereditary.⁷

Dr. Zuckerman offered a startling twist to this customary pattern of Carolingian conquest and provincial rule with his emphasis on another important sub-population in this part of the Empire. According to him, as a

⁵ The best short account of the southwestern region of the reign of Charlemagne remains Philippe Wolff, "L'Aquitaine et ses marges," in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1965-1968), 1:269-306. The dearth of narrative sources from this region and period is explored by Thomas N. Bisson, "Unheroed Past: History and Commemoration in South Frankland before the Albigensian Crusades," *Speculum* 65 (1990), 281-308.

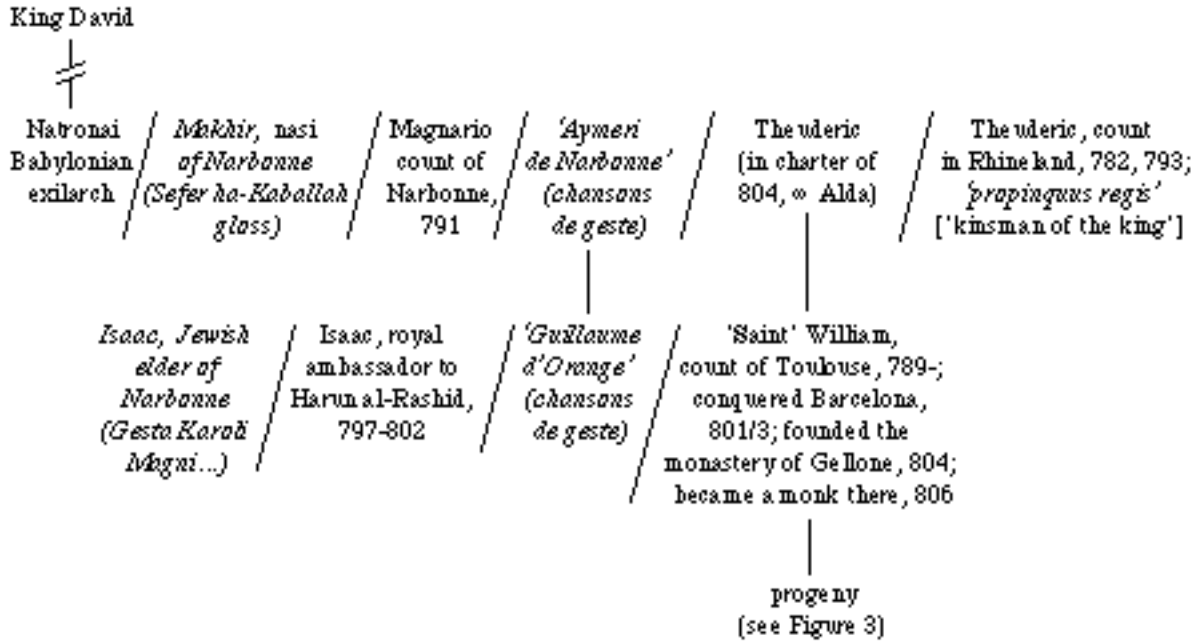
⁶ The very date of this conquest is in dispute: see Philippe Wolff, "Les événements de Catalogne de 798-812 et la chronologie de l'Astronome," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 2 (1965), 451-458. 803 was preferred by Zuckerman and also by Bernard Bachrach ("Military Organization in Aquitaine Under the Early Carolingians," *Speculum* 49 [1974], 1-33, esp. 24 and n. 119), but most scholars accept the date as 801.

⁷ The classic study on the devolution of Carolingian royal power and the rise of the semi-autonomous feudal principalities in France is Jan Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France, IXe-Xe siècles* (Bruges, 1948). In English, a readable synthesis which follows the same pattern is Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843-1180* (Oxford, 1985). A denser work, and the best general survey of the Carolingian empire in English, is Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians, 751-987* (London, 1983), now supplemented for the turbulent ninth century by Janet Nelson's excellent study of the fifty-year career of *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992).

reward for Jewish cooperation in the capitulation of the city in 759, a dynasty of Jewish leaders was installed in Narbonne by, or with the allowance of, King Pippin, and endowed with certain lands, privileges, and immunities. Zuckerman further believed that many references to Goths in the extant sources actually concern these Jews, the texts having been systematically bowdlerized to expunge the memory of Jewish deeds in a more prejudiced later age. The first Jewish leader (or *nasi*--plural, *nesiim*), installed after the fall of Narbonne, was said to be one Makhir, a recognized scion of the lineage of king David imported from Babylon (where he had been known by the name Natronai). Furthermore, this dynasty of Jewish leaders had a dual identity: they assumed Christian names and Carolingian imperial titles of count and marquis, ruling not only the Jewry but all Carolingian subjects in the area. Zuckerman identified these Jewish rulers with an important known aristocratic lineage, called the 'Guilhemides' (Guilhem being the Occitan form of William), after their founder, 'Saint' William, count of Toulouse from 789 to circa 806.⁸ *Figure 1* schematizes the interlocking chain of identities proposed by Zuckerman, and may serve as a reference for the ensuing discussion:

⁸ Though not a real saint by modern Catholic admission, William began to be venerated as one in the late eleventh century. See below.

Figure 1: Identities proposed by Arthur Zuckerman
Italics indicate persons appearing only in fictionalized sources



THE JEWISH DYNASTY

The genealogical component of Dr. Zuckerman's complex thesis can be isolated to a sufficient degree to allow examination on its own merits; furthermore, it can be separated into two parallel elements. The first is the postulation of a dynasty of Jewish leaders, of real or imagined Davidic descent, in Narbonne from its capture by the Franks in 759 to the expulsion of the Jews from the city (and all other major French cities) by order of King Philip IV in 1306. The second--and much more troublesome--postulate is the identification of this dynasty (and other diverse individuals whom Zuckerman adds to the pot) with the Guilhemides.

The most important textual source for the lineage of Jewish *nesiim* in Narbonne is a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century copy of a Hebrew chronicle, purporting to be of the thirteenth century, preserved as a gloss to one manuscript of the *Sefer ha-Kaballah* of Abraham ibn Daud. The chronicle contains a legend of the foundation of the line by Makhir, a descendant of

King David, in the reign of Charlemagne; it also allows one to reconstruct a pedigree of the Jewish leaders in Narbonne (purportedly Makhir's descendants) beginning with one Todros in the later eleventh century, and extending through the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁹ Whatever the date and place of origin of the text, it may be reasonably assumed to reflect a local Jewish belief in this foundation legend by the thirteenth century or later, and there is no reason to doubt the succession of *nesim* in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries as encapsulated in it.¹⁰ The belief or pretense of Davidic descent is corroborated by the use of the Lion of Judah as an heraldic device on an extant wax seal of one *nasí*, Kalonymos ben Todros, in the later thirteenth century.¹¹ That the same tradition was also known in the local Christian community is proven by a Latin prose epic of similar vintage, the *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam* ('Deeds of Charlemagne at Carcassonne and Narbonne'), which, in recounting the story of the conquest of Narbonne in epic style, tells of the Jews of Narbonne requesting (through their interlocutor, one Isaac) that Charlemagne confirm the status of their existing leader, a king of the house of David (it says nothing of him being imported at the time).¹² The Jewish episode is only a sidelight in this Christian text, which was obviously written to showcase the foundation by Charlemagne of the important monastery of La Grasse, near Narbonne.

Unfortunately no sources fill the gap between the legendary eighth-century foundation (or affirmation) of Narbonne's royal Jewish dynasty and the

⁹ Graboïs, "La dynastie des 'rois juifs'," presents a stemma, p. 52.

¹⁰ While Graboïs, "La dynastie des 'rois juifs'," 50-52, accepts Zuckerman's dating of the narrative gloss as late twelfth-century, Cohen, "The Nasi of Narbonne," 53-56, suggests that it was forged when the extant copy was made in Provence in the fifteenth century.

¹¹ Graboïs, "La dynastie des 'rois juifs'," p. 52 n. 23; Zuckerman, *Princedom*, 170-71.

¹² Cohen, "The Nasi of Narbonne," 50; *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*, ed. Friedrich Edward Schneegans (Halle, 1898), 176-80.

later eleventh century, when the *Sefer ha-Kaballah* text supports a continuous pedigree. The legend of the Charlemagne's installation of the dynasty, and of associated grants of exemptions, property or privileges, follows a literary pattern which was extremely common in this area in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. To embellish and mythologize the past, and particularly to invent connections to Charlemagne, was a frequent subterfuge of the area's monastic communities (like La Grasse), but it appears also to have been true of other social groups--including the Jews.¹³ We cannot now determine the validity of the Davidic origins of the Jewish dynasty of Narbonne--or even its continuity, or the names of the individual *nesiim*--before the eleventh century. Nevertheless the existence of the legend places this Jewish community in company with others whose traditions include assertions of Davidic links. David Kelley has reviewed equivalent traditions of Davidic descent among widely scattered Jewish families, and has noted in passing that there are some Jewish families extant today which may descend from this Narbonnais dynasty.¹⁴

For our purpose, the literal truth of the *Sefer ha-Kaballah* gloss, that Charlemagne (or his father) imported a true Davidic exilarch to found the Jewish dynasty in Narbonne, is irrelevant, partly because it is unverifiable.¹⁵ In the Christian European context in which it has been

¹³ Aryeh Graboïs, "Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans les textes hébraïques médiévaux," *Le Moyen Age* 72 (1966), 5-41. A parallel 'foundation legend' for the Jews in Narbonne is embedded in the *Milhemet Mitsvah* of Meir ben Simeon, composed around 1245, according to Zuckerman (*Princedom*, 65-67): after saving an unhorsed Charlemagne during the siege of Narbonne, a Jew is granted considerable estates amounting to one-third control of the town. For the Carolingian legendary tradition in local (Christian) monasteries, see Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering kings past: monastic foundation legends in medieval southern France* (Ithaca, 1995).

¹⁴ David H. Kelley, "Who Descends from King David?" *Toledot: the Journal of Jewish Genealogy* 1.3 (1977-8), 3-5, at p. 5.

¹⁵ The known text referring to the Babylonian Natronai, who did leave Babylon circa 770 (but later returned), fits ill with Zuckerman's identity and chronology (Cohen, "The Nasi of Narbonne," 62). Of course, some other Davidic scion may perfectly well have come to Narbonne at that time.

circulated, the genealogical portion of the Zuckerman thesis first must stand or fall on the identification of Jews in Narbonne with the family of Saint William, regardless of the Jews' real or pretended ancestry.

MAKHIR AND MAGNARIO

As a foundation of the Jewish/Christian identity Dr. Zuckerman began with the figure of the *nasi* Makhir himself, who only appears in the thirteenth-century Hebrew narrative, the *Sefer ha-Kaballah* gloss. To corroborate it Zuckerman brought forward another document, "the only non-Hebrew source which explicitly names Makhir of Narbonne" (in fact no other source in any language names Makhir at all).¹⁶ It is a Latin charter of 5 December 791, in which one Magnario, count of Narbonne, presides over a formal judicial hearing of testimony in a property dispute. Zuckerman claims the name in the document is actually *Magharío*, "a Romanized form of Makhir," and that this proves that the legendary *nasi*, Makhir, was simultaneously count of the city and a representative of the imperial government. However, Zuckerman's interpretation is based both on faulty paleography (the study of ancient handwriting) and on faulty onomastics (the study of names).

¹⁶ Zuckerman, *Princedom*, 179-80.

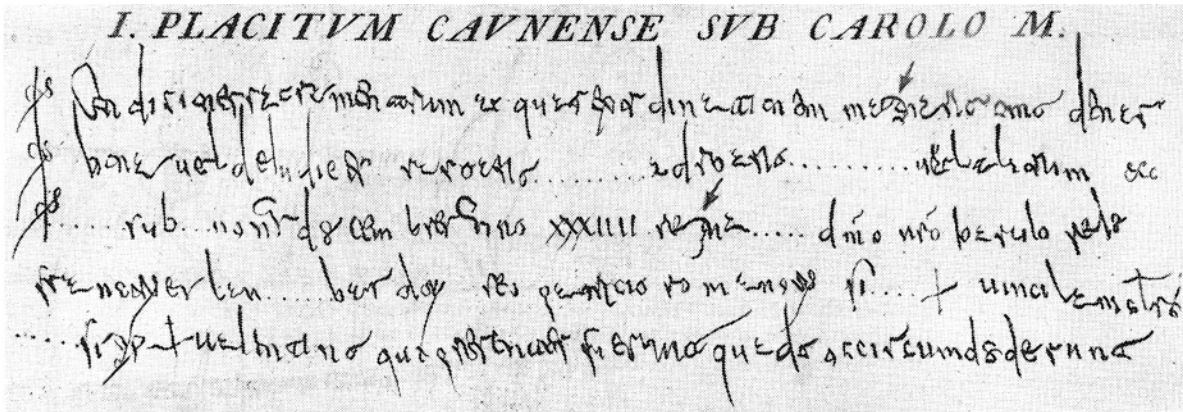


Figure 2: The 'Magnario' charter of 791

From Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica* (Paris, 1681), p. 397.
By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Unfortunately, the original manuscript of this charter is now lost. An engraved facsimile of a few extracts from what appears to have been the original was printed in Jean Mabillon's seventeenth-century classic *De re diplomatica* (reproduced here as Figure 2; also reproduced in *Princedom*, p. 180).¹⁷ In the engraving the ligature 'gn' appears twice: once in the proper name 'Magnario' in the first line, and again in the partial word 'regna...' (for 'regnante') in line 3. But while Zuckerman, on looking at the two ligatures, saw a "clearly discernible difference" between them, on close analysis it is much easier to conclude that the two ligatures are intended to represent the same letters, namely 'gn'. In both ligatures the 'g' has an exaggerated horizontal overstroke which curves downward on the right to become

¹⁷ Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica libri sex* (Paris, 1681), 397, with transcription on 396 (in which Mabillon renders the name as 'Magnario'). A complete copy of the charter is preserved in a late seventeenth-century manuscript collection, called the *Monasticon Benedictinum*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS Lat. 12664, fo. 238r), from which it was printed in Claude Devic & Jean J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 3d, revised ed., ed. Molinier et al., 16 vols. (Toulouse, 1872-1904), vol. 2, preuves, chartes, no. 10 (herinafter *HGL*), which also reads 'Magnario'. This manuscript presents other spelling variants, particularly in the proper names, and thus represents either a different earlier source or a different paleographical interpretation of the same source. In either case it supports the reading 'Magnario'.

the first minim of the following 'n'. In 'Magnario' the 'g' overstroke begins fresh in the middle of the preceding 'a', but in 'regna...' the same stroke follows unbroken from heart of the 'e'. While the overstroke in 'Magnario' begins slightly higher than it does in 'regna...', this can be much more readily ascribed to the different preceding letters rather than the intention to represent different *following* letters. The letter 'h' is uncommon in Latin of the period, and is almost never found in ligature forms. There is no appearance of the letter 'h' in this excerpt, but other 'h's in similar eighth- and ninth-century scripts bear an invariably vertical high downstroke.¹⁸ As there is no external evidence to change the reading from 'Magnario' to 'Magharior', the hypothesis that the document represents the Hebrew Makhir cannot be supported on paleographical grounds.

Onomastic evidence also suggests that the reading 'Magnario' is correct. 'Magnario' is a respectable Latinization of a known Frankish name--the compound, *Megin-hari*, of two common Germanic name roots. In one contemporary Frankish *Liber memorialis* (book of commemorative lists of names of the faithful departed) from the monastery of Reichenau on Lake Constance, this name is found in twenty-six entries spelled eleven different ways.¹⁹ It is apparent that count Magnario of Narbonne was a Frank. Though he only appears in Narbonne in this document of 791, he is probably the same man as the 'wise and active' *Meginarius*, named as a counselor to Louis the Pious in Aquitaine

¹⁸ Cf. those presented by Bernard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography* (Cambridge, 1990), 85, 98, 105, 113, etc. This is also borne out by examination of ninth-century manuscript facsimiles from Languedoc and Catalonia in various text editions available to me.

¹⁹ *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. Johanne Autenrieth, Dieter Geuenich and Karl Schmid (MGH, Libri memoriales et necrologia, n. ser., 1, Hannover, 1979), entry M33 (*Megin-hari*) in the 'lemmatisiertes Personennamenregister'.

around 794 in the Astronomer's biography of Louis.²⁰ Furthermore, while Magnario was a Frank, the scribe who created this 791 charter was neither a Frank nor a Jew. He must have been a Visigoth, because this document revives precise judicial language used by Visigothic notaries in legal formularies in sixth-century Spain and not found in Frankish texts.²¹

COUNTS AND CONQUERORS OF NARBONNE

If count Magnario was not a Jewish leader, neither were the others who are known to have held the title of count in Narbonne. Those for whom there is evidence in the eighth and ninth centuries are:²² Milo (782);²³ Magnario (791); Sturmio (some time between 778 and 814);²⁴ and Ademar (possibly 801/3, 812).²⁵ Later there is no evidence of persons holding the title of 'count of Narbonne', and it is assumed that the office was subsumed in the larger ambit

²⁰ The Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. Ernst Tremp (MGH SRG, n. ser. 64, Hannover, 1995), cap. 7, p. 306 and n. 109; see also Wolff, "L'Aquitaine et ses marges," 293. Tremp suggests he be identified with the count Meginherius, possibly also count of Sens, who is named as father of count palatine Reginherius, cap. 29, p. 284 and n. 399.

²¹ This contradicts Zuckerman's assertion that, the Goths having been wiped out, references to Goths in contemporary narratives must be coded references to Jews. I have written separately on these documents in an historical context: "Testamentary Publication and the Afterlife of Ancient Probate Procedure in Carolingian Septimania," forthcoming in the *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Syracuse, 1996*, ed. Kenneth J. Pennington.

²² *HGL*, 2:314-315. Wolff, "L'Aquitaine et ses marges," 290-91.

²³ Named in a charter of 3 June 782 (*HGL*, 2, preuves, chartes, no. 6) and again in the past tense on 20 July 794 (*ibid.*, no. 11).

²⁴ Mentioned in the past tense, as having been count during the time Louis the Pious was 'only king' (i.e. 778-814), in a charter of 11 September 834 (*ibid.*, no. 85); and again on 5 June 844 (*ibid.*, no. 112). A Sturmio or Sturbio was count of Bourges around 792.

²⁵ Named with other counts in a charter of 2 April 812, though not specifically to Narbonne (*ibid.*, no. 20); in the charter of 5 June 844 (above) it is implied that he was a successor to Sturmio. Possibly he was the 'Hadhemar' who, according to the Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* (ed. Tremp, p. 316 and n. 150), accompanied Saint William on the conquest of Barcelona in 801 or 803, with a substantial host. Tremp argued (*op. cit.*, introd., pp. 69-75) that this count Ademar is the same as the monk Ademar whose lost writing on Louis the Pious was a source text for the Astronomer. Perhaps it would not be coincidental that the theme of a warrior-turned-monk also matches his companion in arms, Saint William.

of the marquis of Septimania (Gothia) around 817 with a reorganization of imperial rule in the region. A succession of viscounts of Narbonne was then established to rule the city itself. These viscounts are sparsely attested in the ninth century, but in the tenth century they seem to have coalesced into a traceable lineage which controlled the viscountcy and the archbishopric for roughly ten generations.²⁶ An important feature of this dynasty of viscounts and archbishops is that in the tenth through twelfth centuries they repeatedly bore the name 'Aymericus' or 'Aymeri', which was also borne by one of the prominent literary heroes of the thirteenth century, 'Aymeri de Narbonne', legendary conqueror and first count of Narbonne.²⁷

Was there a real Aymeri who conquered Narbonne? Two thirteenth-century epics--the French *chanson de geste* *Aymeri de Narbonne* and the Latin *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*--both feature Aymeri as the conquering hero, though no Aymeri is named in Narbonne in authentic eighth-century sources.²⁸ Therefore historians have attempted to meld the epics with historical data by identifying the hero Aymeri with a real Carolingian of

²⁶ There is no detailed modern study of this family, but stemmata are to be found in the *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 4:52, and the *Gran enciclopedia catalana*, s.v. 'Narbona, vescomtat'. W. H. Turton, *Plantagenet Ancestry* (London, 1928), 52, 34, shows a descent from them to Isabella, wife of Edmund of Langley, which is probably valid (though the Narbonne/Macon connection on p. 6 is not; the descents through Anduze and Milhaud to Jacquetta de Luxembourg, mother-in-law of King Edward IV, also appear sound).

²⁷ In arguing for the historicity of the fictional 'Aymeri de Narbonne', Zuckerman proposed that the name 'Aymeri' be a corruption of 'Al-Makhiri', a possible (but incorrect) Arabic version of the Hebrew name 'Makhir' (*Princedom*, 114, 131-2). This is demonstrably wrong: the name 'Aymeri' is a derivative of the Germanic compound *Heim-ric*, a name which appears connected to soldiers and counts in Charlemagne's day, one of whose deeds might well have provided the kernel for the chansons. See Rita Lejeune, "La question de l'historicité du héros épique Aimeri de Narbonne," in *Économies et sociétés au Moyen Age; mélanges offerts à Edouard Perroy*, (Paris, 1973), 50-62.

²⁸ The extant (but late and possibly corrupt) chronicles of Aniane and Uzès name one Ansemond, a Gothic warlord who began the siege of Narbonne for King Pepin in 752, but who died in 753, six years before the city fell. *HGL*, vol. 2, preuves, chroniques, nos. 1 (Aniane) and 7 (Uzès).

another name, Theuderic, father of Saint William.²⁹ While some are willing to identify William's father Theuderic with a count Theuderic of the same name, the count is only attested in a remote part of the Empire, and there is absolutely no evidence to place him or anyone named Theuderic in or near Narbonne in the eighth century.³⁰ One must conclude that the historical count Theuderic is irrelevant to the history of Narbonne, if not to the later family of Saint William; efforts to construct an identity between him and Makhir, via the intermediary of the epic hero 'Aymeri de Narbonne', are groundless.

SAINT WILLIAM

With the postulated identities of the first generation sundered, the burden shifts to the next generation--that is, to Saint William, himself one of the most enigmatic historical figures of the Carolingian period. William first appears in the historical record when appointed by Charlemagne as count of Toulouse in 789, replacing the ineffective count Chorso, who had allowed himself to be taken hostage by conniving Gascons; he was able to quickly stabilize the situation.³¹ William is subsequently known for two impressive

²⁹ Based on the postulated identity of Guillaume d'Orange, son of Aymeri in the epics, with the historical Saint William (on which see below), the conclusion has been that their fathers must also be identical. Zuckerman pointlessly notes (*Princedom*, 114-5, n. 5) a long-discredited argument that the names Aymeri and Theuderic were linguistically equivalent. On the historical Theuderic, see the Appendix, below.

³⁰ Dr. Zuckerman chose to rest on the assumption that Theuderic was at one time count of Narbonne, casually stating "... Theuderic yielded his office as count of Narbonne to Milo in return for a more important post in Saxony...", a sentence rife with misinterpretation (*Princedom*, 130). For this Zuckerman cites Georges Amardel, who, in a series of related pieces ("Le comte de Narbonne Gilbert," *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne* 2d ser., 6 [1900-01], 304-11; "La première monnaie de Milon," *ibid.*, 381-90; "Les derniers chefs des Goths de la Septimanie," *ibid.*, 572-83; and "Le comte Milon," *ibid.*, 2d ser., 7 [1902], 1-30), reviewed the chronology of the rulers of Narbonne between 752/9 and 791, and suggested (with no evidence) that Theuderic conquered Narbonne in 759, but ceded control of the city to Milo *at that time*, which is of course inconsistent with Zuckerman's idea that Theuderic was a Jewish prince who arrived from the Middle East in 768! Amardel, "Les derniers chefs," 579-82; "Le comte Milon," 16-19.

³¹ Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. Tremp, p. 298.

military exploits. The first is his engagement in a pitched battle, on Septimanian soil (at the river Orbieu or Orbiel--no one is sure which) in 793 with a Muslim invading force that had ravaged the area and threatened Narbonne itself.³² While he did not defeat the Muslim host, William survived the battle and the Muslims subsequently withdrew south of the Pyrenees--for the final time, as it turns out. His other known engagement was leading the force that besieged and took the city of Barcelona in 801 or 803.³³ The skilled warrior William was also pious, as it seems he founded and endowed two Benedictine monasteries: one at Casanova, in the diocese of Uzès, and the other at Gellone, in the diocese of Lodève, both of which may have been originally subject to the monastery of Aniane, founded by the renowned monastic reformer Saint Benedict of Aniane.³⁴ If later sources are to be believed, William then laid aside his earthly position (as Saint Benedict had also done) and became a monk--first at Aniane, then at Gellone. Such, at least, is the tradition of the monastery, which survives in a pious Latin biography from the early twelfth century, the *Vita Sancti Willelmi*, and of the famous twelfth-century *Pilgrim's guide to Santiago de Compostella*, which recommends that pilgrims visit William's tomb at Gellone.³⁵ Probably dead by

³² Pierre Tisset, *L'abbaye de Gellone au diocèse de Lodève des origines au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1933), 11-12; the event is clearly cited in various of the Carolingian annals under the year 793. See also *Princedom*, 183 n. 17.

³³ Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, ed. Tremp, 312-320. Much more detailed is the version of Ermold Nigellus, written in the 820s, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux*, ed. Edmond Faral (Paris, 1932), 12-47 (Latin with French translation). The event is also cited in many of the Carolingian annals. For modern analysis see principally Wolff, "Les événements de Catalogne de 798-812," (cit. above, n. 6); also Tisset, 14-20.

³⁴ Tisset, *Abbaye de Gellone*, 21.

³⁵ The Life of Saint William is printed in the *Acta sanctorum* (Antwerp et al., 1643-), May, 6:811-820. The *Pilgrim's guide* is now available in English (trans. William Melczer, New York, 1993). All the sources for William's monastic involvement--charters, chronicle entries, and the *Vita sancti Willelmi*--all exist in manuscripts dating from the twelfth century (or later), and may certainly have been tampered with or forged to conform to popular legend or to enhance the position of one or more parties to a monastic dispute, such as was bitterly waged between the monasteries of Aniane and

815,³⁶ count William began to be venerated as a saint in the late eleventh century,³⁷ partly as a result of the burgeoning pilgrim traffic that passed by his monastery and tomb en route to that great pilgrimage destination, Santiago de Compostella in Spain.³⁸

The pious afterlife of Saint William developed in parallel with the epic cycle of French *chansons de geste* which detail the life, exploits and family of 'Guillaume d'Orange', son of 'Aymeri de Narbonne'. That this Guillaume is to be identified with Saint William has long been suggested, but the identification is not without competitors. Joseph Bédier, writing in 1908, compiled a census of *sixteen* real Williams on whom the epic Guillaume could have been based.³⁹ While not all of them merit faith, the fact that so many have been proposed and defended shows how seductive any theory of identification between the epic heroes and historical individuals can be.

Unfortunately, Guillaume, Aymeri and other epic heroes are relied on by Zuckerman as go-betweens in attempts to identify William and his relatives

Gellone in the twelfth century. See Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, 276-84; Tisset, *L'abbaye de Gellone*, chap. 2, 'La querelle d'Aniane et Gellone', 39-90.

³⁶ Two forged charters for Casanova, dated 21 May 815 and 20 March 822, mention 'the late count William' (*HGL* 2, preuves, chartes, nos. 36, 61).

³⁷ On William as a saint see Victor Saxer, "Le culte et la légende hagiographique de saint Guillaume de Gellone," in *Mélanges René Louis*, 2 vols. (Saint-Pere-sous-Vezelay, 1982), 2:565-89; also the *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 13 vols. (Rome, 1961-70), 7:467-70.

³⁸ Joseph Bédier's classic argument for the importance of the pilgrimage route for the cult of Saint William and the chansons of Guillaume d'Orange is put forth in the chapter 'La via tolosana' in his *Les légendes épiques*, 3d ed., 4 vols. (Paris, 1926-9), 1:364-429.

³⁹ Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*, 1:195-223, 'Les seize Guillaume'. A brief notice of all chansons of the *Guillaume* cycle can be found in the introduction to *Guillaume d'Orange: four Twelfth-century Epics*, trans. Joan M. Ferrante (New York, 1974), pp. 8-12, with a genealogical table representing the relationships of the main characters in the cycle on p. 11. This is based on the more detailed discussion and chart in Joseph Bédier's *Les légendes épiques*, 3d ed., 4 vols. (Paris, 1926-9), volume one of which is entirely devoted to the *Guillaume* cycle. Bédier's work remains fundamental, but see also Ferdinand Lot, *Études sur les légendes épiques françaises* (Paris, 1958), chap 5, "Le cycle de Guillaume d'Orange," and Jeanne Wathélet-Willem, *Récherches sur la chanson de Guillaume*, vol. 1, études (Paris, 1975).

with Jewish *nesiim* of Narbonne.⁴⁰ In William's case, there is no obvious Jewish *nasi* to hold up as his *alter ego*: the *Sefer ha-Kaballah* gloss names no specific *nesiim* between Makhir in the eighth century and his putative descendants in the eleventh. Zuckerman suggested appointing as Makhir's son and heir the Jew Isaac, mentioned in the *Gesta Karoli Magni ad Carcassonam et Narbonam*--which makes no sense because Isaac (an archetypal name in Christian fiction for a Jew, as in Scott's *Ivanhoe*) appears there as an elder spokesman during the siege of Narbonne in 759, decades before William's rise to power. Zuckerman further identified this Isaac with another Isaac, sole survivor of a five-year embassy from Charlemagne to Harun al-Rashid, Caliph of Baghdad, from 797 to 802. In the Summer of 802 Isaac returned with a gift from the Caliph: the famous elephant, Abu'l Abbas, who graced Charlemagne's court until his death in 810.⁴¹ While for Zuckerman this explains the historical record's silence on Saint William's activities between the battle of the Orbieu in 793 and the siege of Barcelona 'in 803', it must be remembered that most historians believe Saint William's siege of Barcelona took place in 801--that is, before Isaac's delivery of the elephant to Aachen!

Most evidence of Saint William's Jewish identity based on later epic sources is not compelling.⁴² The most interesting comes from Ermold Nigellus' *Poem in Honor of Louis the Pious*, which embeds a lengthy account of the siege of Barcelona, written only twenty years after the event.⁴³ Zuckerman discussed how Ermold's poem seems to suggest that the fighting in the siege

⁴⁰ Zuckerman's defense of the historicity of the *chansons* is well beyond the scholarly norm on the subject (*Princedom*, 113-16).

⁴¹ *Princedom*, 186-90, 245. On the elephant see the *Royal Frankish Annals* for 801-802, 810 (translated by Bernard W. Scholz in *Carolingian Chronicles* [Ann Arbor, 1972]).

⁴² For example, insinuation that the epic hero Guillaume's nickname, 'au corb nez' ('hook-nose'), is a translation of the Latin nickname 'Naso', itself a corruption of the Hebrew title 'Nasi', is not credible (*Princedom*, 263).

⁴³ Ed. Edmond Faral (Paris, 1932); see above, n. 33.

was carefully arranged to avoid the holidays of Rosh Hashanah and Succot, when fighting is prohibited, concluding that count William "conducted the action with strict observance of Jewish sabbaths and holy days."⁴⁴ He also believed that Ermold's account seems, for stylistic reasons, to have been based on a Hebrew source. Of course, these observations may imply nothing more than that William had Jewish soldiers and chroniclers among his host, and that Ermold made use of Jewish informants or texts in compiling his Latin account.⁴⁵ At the very least, it demonstrates in Saint William a canny and considerate leader of a multi-ethnic military force.

WILLIAM'S AND MAKHIR'S DESCENDANTS

To critique all direct and indirect evidence offered by Dr. Zuckerman for the identity of William's dynasty with the Jewish *nesiim* of Narbonne would exceed the limits of this article. Briefly stated, in subsequent generations we hear no other promising arguments for identities of Jewish and Christian individuals. Most importantly, there is no concrete evidence brought forward to name or identify any of the alleged successor *nesiim*, let alone to equate them with Frankish counts.⁴⁶ The final generations of William's known male

⁴⁴ *Princedom*, 193-97; quoted at 197.

⁴⁵ This is precisely the conclusion of Bernard Bachrach, "On the role of the Jews in the establishment of the Spanish March (768-814)" (above, n. 3), based on a review of other evidence.

⁴⁶ One Hebrew manuscript of Italian provenance and uncertain (but late) date contains a pedigree in which appears one 'Makhir ben Solomon of the county of Arvern', who Zuckerman identifies with Bernard, count of Auvergne, (translated and reproduced, *Princedom*, 306-308; see Cohen, "The Nasi of Narbonne," 68ff.). However, it is now concluded by genealogists that this Bernard of Auvergne was none other than the son of Bernard of Septimania and grandson of Saint William. There *was* a count named Solomon in the ninth century, who appears to have died around 868--however, this Solomon was not count of Auvergne, nor can any of his familial connections be traced, though other sources suggest this Solomon was a Frank, not a Jew. Zuckerman's conclusion that Bernard, count of Auvergne, was his son, and was identical to a *nasi* Makhir son of Solomon, is inconsistent with *all* hypotheses about the relationships of the known Bernards in this period, and no connection of the Hebrew colophon either to genuine *nesiim* or to Frankish counts is likely.

posterity, through William the Pious, duke of Aquitaine (d. 918) and his nephews, are treated summarily in Zuckerman's book: the Jewish principate is forced to dwindle, it seems, for lack of evidence as much as for burgeoning intolerance.⁴⁷ The conclusion cannot be avoided that Zuckerman's complex roster of dual (or treble, or quadruple) identities is simply not supported by the evidence. In dismissing them it is hoped that the disappointment among genealogists will not be too great. Through a close analysis of this pretended genealogical link to King David, it has at least been possible to become better acquainted with a flesh-and-blood count and hero of the Carolingian era, Saint William, who may yet find his own place in the medieval family tree shared by countless modern individuals of European descent.

⁴⁷ *Princedom*, 362-71.

APPENDIX: THE FAMILY AND DESCENDANTS OF SAINT WILLIAM

The family of Saint William has been reconstructed many times in print, with much quibbling over William's parents' exact relationship to the Carolingians or the notorious confusion of the 'three Bernards' in the reign of Charles the Bald. The chart given here, Figure 3, derives in part from a succinct and conservative stemma published in 1986 by Constance Bouchard in the European journal *Francia*.⁴⁸ As many of these individuals are quite famous in their own right and have a great deal written about them, I here focus on bibliographical orientation to analyses of their genealogical relationships rather than proof of those relationships or discussion of their individual accomplishments. Among the latter it is perhaps sufficient to single out the enigmatic and tragic figure of Dhuoda, wife of Bernard of Septimania, whose lengthy *Liber manualis*, written for her absent son William, is an absolutely unique monument of aristocratic lay piety and family sentiment from the early ninth century.⁴⁹ Her ancestry and connections are the subject of a recent article in *The Genealogist*.⁵⁰

The main lines of the genealogy are not too difficult to reconstruct. Saint William himself apparently informs us directly about some of his family (i.e. his parents, Theuderic and Alda, and those of his siblings and children who were already dead) in a charter of donation to the monastery of Gellone,

⁴⁸ Constance Bouchard, "Family structure and family consciousness among the aristocracy in the ninth to eleventh century," *Francia* 14 (1986), 639-658, especially the appendix, 'The Problem of the Three Bernards and the Dukes of Aquitaine', with a chart on p. 655 and discussion on 654-58. See also the chart published in Detlev Schwennicke's *Europäische Stammtafeln* (hereafter *ES*), new series, 16 vols. in 19 parts (Marburg, 1980-), 3:731.

⁴⁹ Available in an English translation as well as a critical Latin edition with facing-page French translation: Dhuoda, *Handbook for William: a Carolingian Woman's Counsel for her Son*, trans. and int. Carol Neel (Lincoln, Nebr., 1991); *Manuel pour mon fils*, ed. Pierre Riché, 2. ed. (Sources chrétiennes, 225 bis, Paris, 1991).

⁵⁰ Ronald F. Malan, "The ancestry of Dhuoda, duchess of Septimania," *The Genealogist* 11 (1997), 116-126.

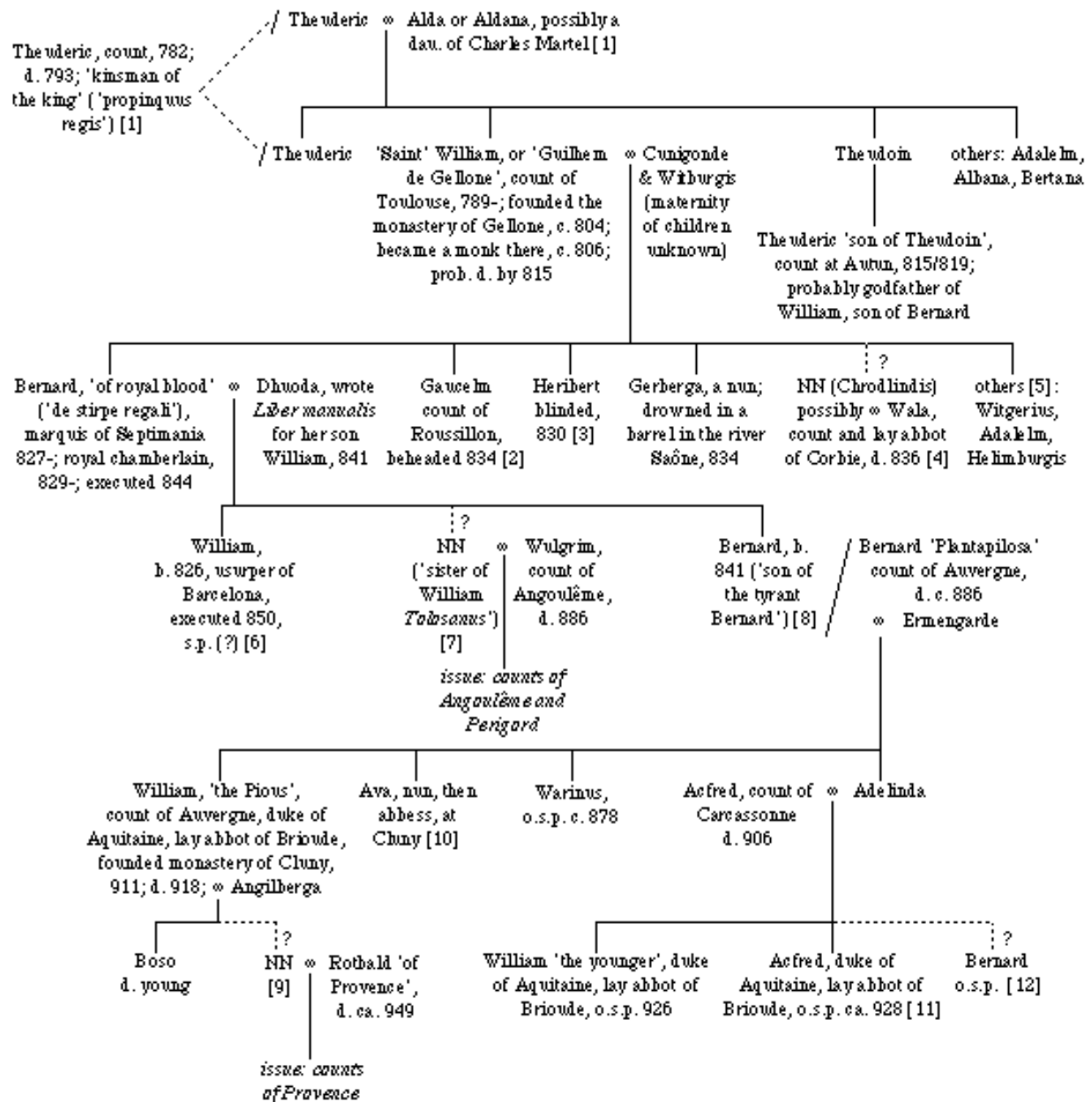
which survives in two corrupt versions in twelfth-century cartularies.⁵¹ For the third generation, we have explicit testimony from Dhuoda about her husband and their two sons, William and Bernard (though not the possible daughter), and the caustic comments in the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* detailing their careers. Finally, the successors of Bernard 'Plantapilosa' are attested in the charters of the monastery of Saint-Julien de Brioude, where the counts of Auvergne served titularly as abbots and are cited in the documents. While this main stem is easily traced, the possible diffuse branches of this line are more troublesome: in fact there is no known descent from Saint William which is not itself the subject of controversy.⁵² Of the various routes for further progeny signaled here, those which deserve the most scrutiny are noted below at numbers 3, 6, 7 and 9. Of these, the Angoulême descent (no. 7), which is supported both by eleventh-century testimony and by onomastic continuity, comes the closest to offering sure modern descents from Saint William, though I do not think of it as proven.

⁵¹ The charter(s) of 14/15 December 804 are printed together in the *HGL*, 2, preuves, chartes, no. 16. As others have concluded, it seems wise to accept as authentic only those names which appear in both versions.

⁵² One should note here the expectation within the next year or so of Christian Settipani's *L'aristocratie mérovingienne et carolingienne*, vol. 1.2 of the magisterial *Nouvelle histoire généalogique de l'auguste maison de France*, which, if it is anything like its companion volume, *La préhistoire des Capétiens* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1993), promises to be the most exhaustive exploration and comprehensive reference for this and other Carolingian families ever published.

Figure 3: Posterity of Saint William, count of Toulouse

Numbers in brackets refer to associated notes



NOTES (KEYED TO NUMBERS IN BRACKETS IN FIGURE 3)

1. Alda and Theuderic. All the ink spilled over Alda and Theuderic and their potential relationships to the Carolingians are summarized well, with slightly differing results, by Constance Bouchard⁵³ and Christian Settapani.⁵⁴ While many historians, including Bouchard, identify William's father, Theuderic, with the Theuderic named in the *Royal Frankish Annals*, a powerful count and general in 782, 791 and 793 (when he was killed),⁵⁵ Settapani suggests, sensibly, that the Theuderic whom William named as his deceased brother in his charter of 804 might be identified as the count instead.⁵⁶

2. Gaucelm. Gaucelm, son of Saint William, has been suggested by Claudie Duharnel-Amado as the possible source of many lines of hitherto untraced descendants in diffused local lineages over the next two centuries.⁵⁷

3. Heribert. Heribert, blinded in 830 but still alive when Dhuoda wrote her manual in the 840s, is considered by Settapani as possible father of Cunigonde, wife of Bernard, king of Italy, thus bringing the name 'Heribert' into the Carolingian/Vermandois family. Furthermore, Settapani suggests that a granddaughter of this marriage, a sister of Heribert I of Vermandois, may have married Wido, count of Senlis, and transmitted the name 'William' to the dukes of Normandy and kings of England via their possible daughter Poppa, wife of Rollo and mother of the duke William Longsword.⁵⁸ However, the onomastic argument in favor of this series of links is tentative at best.

4. Wala. Settapani supports the identification of Wala's wife as a sister of Bernard of Septimania;⁵⁹ Bouchard, however, does not.⁶⁰ In either case, no extended descent can be traced from Wala.

⁵³ Bouchard, "Family structure," 654-56.

⁵⁴ Settapani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, 173-76.

⁵⁵ *Royal Frankish Annals*, revised text. In 782 he was called 'propinquus regis', or kinsman (by blood or marriage) of Charlemagne, in an era when *Königsnahe*, or nearness to the king, measured in this way, was the most important determinant of success (*Carolingian Chronicles*, ed. Scholz, p. 60).

⁵⁶ Settapani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, 176 n. 187.

⁵⁷ Claudie Duharnel-Amado, "Pouvoirs et noblesse dans la Gothie: formation du réseau aristocratique biterrois au Xe siècle," in *Catalunya i França a l'entorn de l'any mil. Actes del col·loqui internacional Hug Capet, Barcelona, 2-5 juliol 1987* (Barcelona, 1991), 160-173, at 167; and "Poids de l'aristocratie d'origine wisigothique et gènese de la noblesse septimaniennne," in *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique: Colloque international du C.N.R.S., tenu a la Fondation Singer-Polignac (Paris, 14-16 mai 1990)*, ed. Jacques Fontaine et Christine Pellistrandi (Madrid, 1992), 81-100, especially 85-88 and n. 31. She cites her unpublished dissertation, which I have not seen, "Du groupe aristocratique au lignage: parenté, familles et patrimoines dans les vicomtés de Béziers et d'Agde, Xe-milieu XIIe siècle," purporting to show that, in addition to the viscounts of Lodève and the lords of Montpellier, nine other local castellan lineages in this period can be traced to Saint William.

⁵⁸ Settapani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, 213-14; 217-20 & stemma, p. 221. This latter suggestion is inconsistent with the persuasive discussion of Poppa's identity by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, elsewhere in this issue of *TAG*.

⁵⁹ Settapani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, 357-58.

⁶⁰ Bouchard, "Family structure", 654 n. 54.

5. Others. Another pretended son of Saint William is count Bera of Barcelona, who, in a forged charter for the monastery of Alet, dated ca. 813 (but probably forged in the early twelfth century),⁶¹ mentions 'my father count William'.⁶² Bera did found a family that can be traced for several generations, but unfortunately not beyond the early tenth century.⁶³ The Astronomer's *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*⁶⁴ and Ermold's *Poème*⁶⁵ both state that Bera was a Goth, not a Frank, which makes it unlikely that he was a son of Saint William.

6. William, son of Bernard of Septimania. Based on subsequent repetition of the family names Bernard and William, it has been proposed, in a table published by Szabolcs de Vajay, that Guillerma, countess of Melgueil, who wrote a will in 899, is a descendant of William--possibly a daughter of William, son of Bernard of Septimania, who was killed in 850.⁶⁶ Through intermarriage with the lords of Montpellier this line descends to King Jaime I of Aragón and to the later Plantagenets.⁶⁷

7. NN (*not* 'Rigilindis') and Wolgrim. According to Ademar of Chabannes (writing in the 1020s), Wolgrim, count of Angoulême, married an unnamed sister of William 'Tolosanus', who brought him the city of Agen as dowry (though there is no documentary evidence that Wolgrim or his descendants held Agen).⁶⁸ From Wolgrim there is male-line descent to Isabella, wife of King John of England, and distaff descent to her mother-in-law Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of King Henry II of England. Onomastic evidence supports Ademar's claim: Wolgrim had a son named William and grandsons named William and Bernard. Ademar's genealogical integrity and this claimed descent (which Ademar himself shared as a descendant of Wolgrim) was defended in an article by Léon

⁶¹ On the Alet forgery, see Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, 171.

⁶² *HGL* 2, preuves, chartes, no. 23.

⁶³ Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "La institució comtal carolingià en la pre-Catalunya del segle IX," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 1 (1964), 29-75, reprinted in *Dels Visigots als Catalans*, 3d ed., 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1986), 1:181-226.

⁶⁴ Ed. Tremp, pp. 320 & 398.

⁶⁵ Ed. Faral, p. 32.

⁶⁶ Szabolcs de Vajay, 'La politique d'alliance des ducs de Gascogne entre Aquitaine, Septimanie, Navarre et Aragon', table 8 *hors texte* in "Structures de pouvoir et réseaux de familles du VIIIe au XIIe siècles," in *Genealogica et Heraldica: Actas do 17o Congresso Internacional das Ciências Genealógica e Heráldica, Lisboa, 1986* (Lisbon, 1989), 275-315.

⁶⁷ See also Claudie Duharnel-Amado's belief in the descent of the lords of Montpellier from Saint William through other lines, in the note to William's son Gaucelm, above.

⁶⁸ Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. Jules Chavanon (Paris, 1897), 3.20, p. 138. Wolgrim's wife's name is *not* known. The name 'Rigilindis' is found in one charter of their son William, count of Périgord (*Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Cybard*, ed. Paul Lefrancq [Angoulême, 1930], no. 211), but despite the incorrect Latin syntax of the charter, which led its editor (or his indexing assistant) to misunderstand it, the name belongs to William's own wife and not that of his father (in the index to the cartulary she is listed as Wolgrim's wife, though in the précis of the act itself she is named, correctly, as his son William's wife). This error is now widespread in genealogies of this family (for example *Europäische Stammtafeln*, 3:817; in Malan, "The Ancestry of Dhuoda, Duchess of Septimania," Mussot-Goulard's caution about the name is echoed on p. 116 but not on p. 126). See the caustic review of the cartulary edition by Georges Tessier in *Le Moyen Age* 43 (1933), 51-54.

Levillain,⁶⁹ though disparaged by Bouchard.⁷⁰ A further diffusion of this line has recently been suggested through Amuna, wife of Garcia Sancho, duke of Gascony, proposed by Renée Mussot-Goulard to have been the heiress of Agen and therefore a daughter of Wulgrim. It seems to have been accepted by Szabolcs de Vajay in a recent publication, but the evidence for this Gascon link is not, to my mind, conclusive.⁷¹

8. Bernard 'Plantapilosa'. The *Annals of Saint-Bertin* (which indeed encapsulate most of the surviving data on the various Bernards) repeatedly name a 'Bernard, son of the tyrant Bernard'; 'the tyrant' is obviously the executed intriguer Bernard of Septimania.⁷² The identity of the 'son of the tyrant' with Bernard 'Plantapilosa', count of Auvergne and father of William the Pious, has been much debated. It remains conjectural but now represents the consensus among historians and genealogists.⁷³

9. William the Pious and Rotbald of Provence. In addition to the son Boso, an unknown and unnamed daughter of William the Pious has been theorized to have married Rotbald, count of Provence.⁷⁴ Like the Angoulême marriage (above, no. 7), this is supported by the use of name 'William' in subsequent generations of that family, but unlike the Angoulême marriage there is no medieval narrative or documentary testimony to the identity of Rotbald's wife.⁷⁵

10. Ava. Ava, sister of William the Pious, is identified as a nun and abbess in early charters in the collection of Cluny, her brother's monastic foundation. Christian Lauranson-Rosaz identified her with Ava, wife of a count Gauzfred at Nevers; in turn he identified this count Gauzfred with count Geoffrey of the Gâtinais, father of Gerberga, wife of Fulk the Good of Anjou and ancestress of the Plantagenets.⁷⁶ The identity of the two Avas is unlikely both chronologically and because William's sister was a professed nun

⁶⁹ Léon Levillain, "Adémar de Chabannes, généalogiste," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 3d ser., 10 (1934-35), 237-63.

⁷⁰ Bouchard, "Family structure," p. 654 n. 56.

⁷¹ Renée Mussot-Goulard, *Les princes de Gascogne* (Marsolan, 1982), 111-115. The charter cited (Paris, BN MS Lat 5652, the cartulary of Condom, f. 24v) to prove Amuna's possession of Agen merely shows her ownership of some allodial land in a rural location--not even completely identifiable to Mussot-Goulard--probably somewhere in the Agenais, but not in Agen itself. Vajay, 'La politique d'alliance des ducs de Gascogne entre Aquitaine, Septimanie, Navarre et Aragon', cit. above, n. 66.

⁷² *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, ed. Janet Nelson (Manchester, 1991), 221 n. 9, etc. Janet Nelson's notes to her translation are a useful complement to Bouchard's remarks ("Family structure," 651-55); she, too, agrees that 'Plantapilosa' was son of Bernard of Septimania.

⁷³ See, for example, McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians*, genealogical table at 363.

⁷⁴ ES 2:187 and 3:731, based on Jacques Salliot, *Le sang de Charlemagne* (pub'd in fascs., Angers, 1980-), 114.

⁷⁵ Tellingly, this possible link is ignored by careful historian Jean-Pierre Poly in his monograph *La Provence et la société féodale, 879-1166* (Paris, 1976), in his discussion of the early counts of Provence, pp. 31-39.

⁷⁶ Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses marges du VIIIe au XIe siècle: la fin du monde antique?* (Le Puy, 1987), charts at pp. 60, 93, with no explanation in text.

long before the Nevers Ava would have borne children, though K. S. B. Keats-Rohan supports the identity of Geoffrey of Nevers-Gâtinais.⁷⁷

11. Acfred of Aquitaine. One table in Schwennicke's *Europäische Stammtafeln* erroneously shows this Acfred as having a daughter Arsenda, mother of Roger the Old, count of Carcassonne. However (as another table in *Europäische Stammtafeln* confirms), Arsenda seems actually to have been daughter of this Acfred's cousin, Acfred II of Carcassonne, nephew of the Acfred who was William the Pious' brother-in-law.⁷⁸

12. A third brother of William the Younger and Acfred, Bernard, is often named by genealogists, sometimes with a career and family.⁷⁹ However, he (or at least any family and comital title he may have had) is based on forged charters added to the cartulary of Saint-Julien de Brioude, in which he was made the progenitor of the much later family of the castellans of La Tour d'Auvergne. The Brioude forgeries, made by Jean-François de Bar in the late seventeenth century, were sponsored by a descendant of that family, Emmanuel Theodosius de la Tour d'Auvergne, Cardinal de Bouillon (1644-1715), younger brother of the duc de Bouillon.⁸⁰ The audacious La Tour d'Auvergne forgeries, if accepted, would have proven a male-line descent from Saint William lasting into the eighteenth century--and possibly down to the present. How might it have struck the old Cardinal, for all his wicked obsession with genealogical imposture, to be fingered as a senior male-line descendant of King David?

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⁷⁷ See K. S. B. Keats-Rohan's review of Bernard Bachrach's *Fulk Nerra: Neo-Roman Consul*, *English Historical Review* 111 (1996), 668-9.

⁷⁸ Contrast ES 3:731 with ES 2:68. The latter version (volume 2) is that which is found in other stemmas and works, including the well-researched Charles Higounet, *Le comté de Comminges, de ses origines à son annexion à la couronne*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1949). Acfred of Aquitaine's testament, which survives, shows that he expected to die without heirs: *Grand cartulaire du chapitre Saint-Julien de Brioude: Essai de restitution*, ed. Anne Marcel Baudot and Marcel Baudot (Mémoires de l'académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Clermont-Ferrand, 35, Clermont-Ferrand, 1935), nos. 420, 433 (11 October 927/8).

⁷⁹ For example, ES 3:731.

⁸⁰ See the introduction to the *Grand cartulaire du chapitre Saint-Julien de Brioude*, cited above.