INTRODUCTION

Flodoard of Rheims and His World

Shortly after 919, a young canon at the cathedral church of Rheims in the West Frankish kingdom began recording events taking place around him. This writer, Flodoard, continued his chronicle for more than forty years, during which time he composed two other historical works, one of his church of Rheims, the other an epic poem narrating the deeds of martyrs, saints and popes. Remarkably, these are the only surviving and substantial works of historiography written in West Francia in the first two-thirds of the tenth century. Flodoard's testimony is thus vital for interpreting a period that is increasingly being understood as a critical phase in the transformation of the Carolingian world and the rise of the Latin West, the 'old European order' of the later Middle Ages. Although Flodoard never attained high office, he was far from a humble cleric: he was a mainstay of successive archiepiscopal ministries, engaging with kings, popes and elites on an international stage. He also occasionally clashed with his superiors at Rheims, a keenly contested political hub in this period. Yet Flodoard's histories have seldom been considered in the context of his personal life and political career. These writings, moreover, stand at a pivotal juncture between Frankish historiographical tradition and the emergence of new impulses for historical writing in the eleventh century, but Flodoard remains one of the least understood and most objectified authors of the early Middle Ages. This book examines the historian and his works afresh in order to reassess the relationship between historical writing, political contest and authorial individuality in late Carolingian and early Ottonian Europe. It also seeks to challenge traditional paradigms of tenth-century history by questioning the outwardly even-handed and passive tone of Flodoard's writing, a style which has been taken largely as a boon rather than something demanding interrogation. Far from being an unassuming or 'objective' writer, Flodoard was in fact a highly creative and careful shaper of his material,

whose personal experiences and deep understanding of the past fomented a discerning but sombre assessment of contemporary society.

THE NEED FOR THIS STUDY

The tenth century has classically been considered the nadir of the history of continental western Europe: an 'age of iron and lead', in the formulation of the humanist Lorenzo Valla, later immortalised by Cardinal Baronius in the early seventeenth century. Caught between the heady days of the great Carolingian empire and the triumph of the 'reformed church' and intellectual renewal of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the era was routinely depicted as a gloomy period of political disintegration, religious decadence and cultural failure, typified in part by an apparent scarcity of written sources. The fate of the West Frankish kingdom played a central role in this narrative, for it was there that historians found evidence of a dramatic collapse of royal authority and public order, giving rise to a 'feudal revolution' and a proliferation of 'private' lordly power and violence around the year 1000. This impression of the tenth century reigned until quite recently. Over the last few decades, opinions of the period have become rather less pessimistic: 'post-Carolingian' Europe is now being recast as an era of formalisation and innovation, and its reputation as a source-poor time is being reconceptualised. Yet within this revisionist strain there have been surprisingly few sustained attempts to comprehend some of the key authors whose works exercise a profound sway over our understanding of the period's basic contours. Indeed, the lack of such studies doubtless contributes to a lingering sense that the tenth century, particularly the first half, was intellectually barren and generally 'darker' than the ninth or eleventh. Nowhere is this clearer than in the case of Flodoard, whose works constitute a treasure-trove for the political and cultural history of tenth-century Europe, but who has scarcely been analysed as an individual and actor on his own terms.

There is an acute need for such an examination of Flodoard. He was arguably the most prolific and versatile historian writing anywhere in Europe in his day. He was also exceptional: his *Annals* interrupt a two-decade narrative silence in the West Frankish kingdom when they begin in 919, and they usher in another pause of more than a decade when they cease in 966. This deficiency is in fact characteristic of much of the tenth-century West: the British Isles and the Iberian and Italian peninsulas likewise suffer from a dearth of narrative histories. In Lotharingia and the East Frankish kingdom there was no major historiographical production between Regino of Prüm's *Chronicle* (c. 908) and the Ottonian

'court histories' of writers such as Liudprand of Cremona, Widukind of Corvey and Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim (from the late 950s). Modern historians attach great significance to the historiographical record, so the near-total absence of narratives for so many regions of Europe in this period has been a key factor in the construction of the era's low reputation. Flodoard, whose historical works are not simply restricted to West Frankish affairs, is thus a precious source for the history of all western Europe in this period.

Owing to this exalted position, Flodoard has attracted some scholarly attention, though not nearly as much as might be expected. Most notably, Peter Christian Jacobsen (1978) and Michel Sot (1993) have written valuable books on him.[1] One might reasonably ask what warrants another monograph. The present work builds on the important findings of these studies but departs from them in several key respects. For one, the aforementioned books both focus on just one of Flodoard's three major texts. This book treats his entire corpus, including hitherto neglected minor works, such as the 'Visions of Flothilde' and a lost account of miracles in the cathedral of Rheims. I also offer the first sustained investigation of the *Annals*, a rich but perplexing account of contemporary events. Relating these works to one another allows for a fuller and more nuanced evaluation of the author's conceptions of history and authorship, of his own time and its relationship with the past. Indeed, Flodoard presents a unique opportunity to explore one historian's mentality as it was distilled in three discrete works. My approach supposes that the historian's entire output must be interrogated and assimilated to have the best chance of recovering this mentality, and that this is a fundamental step towards unlocking authorial intention and motivation. In addition, the present study brings the various circumstances that steered Flodoard's career to the fore in order to understand the historian as an agent in his own right. I seek to demonstrate just how acutely Flodoard's participation in and awareness of the complex politics of the West Frankish kingdom shaped his historical works; indeed, I argue that Flodoard's texts cannot be understood without reference to the vicissitudes of contemporary conflict and debate. Moreover, my reconsideration has consequences for the broader canvas of tenth-century political history, the narrative skeleton of which has been largely derived from Flodoard. Analysis of Flodoard's texts has tended to be preceded by accounts of West Frankish history which are themselves drawn from

[1] P. C. Jacobsen, *Flodoard von Reims: sein Leben und seine Dichtung 'De triumphis Christi'* (Leiden, 1978); M. Sot, *Un historien et son Église au X^e siècle: Flodoard de Reims* (Paris, 1993).

Flodoard.[2] This is not simply a product of Flodoard's singularity; his peculiarly reticent prose inspires confidence and is therefore often deployed indiscriminately.

The present examination benefits from and responds to significant developments in the study of medieval historiography over the last few decades. One strand of scholarship has sought to highlight the political dimensions of history-writing and to show how ostensibly objective chronicles could in fact be produced for ideological or legitimising purposes. A related sub-field has emerged from the study of social and cultural memory to explore how early medieval writers habitually projected contemporary ambitions onto their presentations of the past. In the wake of the linguistic turn, which brought the techniques of literary criticism to the widespread attention of medievalists in the later twentieth century, scholars are increasingly mindful of the inconclusiveness, contradictions and 'constructedness' of our sources. Today, traditional source-critical approaches are supplemented with appreciations of textuality, fictionality and the essentially literary character of texts. Recent work has also been characterised by vigorous interrogation of individual manuscript witnesses and codicology in order to establish how audience and reception shaped the form and content of historiography. Harnessing these analytical devices, this book sets out to reconsider Flodoard, his histories and his world. What prompted him to write at a time when so few others did? What did he wish to say about both the past and the present? For whom did he write? How can we use Flodoard to comprehend a world he alone purports to describe? In the light of new possibilities for historiographical enquiry and mounting interest in the political, cultural and intellectual history of tenth-century Europe, a reappraisal of the meaning of Flodoard's witness is well overdue.

THE CAREER OF FLODOARD

Before further reviewing scholarship on Flodoard's world and the writing of history in the Middle Ages, it will be beneficial to sketch the author's life and introduce his works.[3] Not unusually for an early medieval writer, almost everything known about Flodoard comes from what he himself chose to tell us. He was born in 893 or 894 in the environs of Rheims, perhaps at Épernay, and probably in the dependency of the church of

[2] For a similarly unavoidable circularity in approaches to Gregory of Tours and the sixth century, see W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*, 2nd edn (Notre Dame, IN, 2005), p. 114.

[3] For fuller biographical surveys, see Jacobsen, *Flodoard*, pp. 1–87; Sot, *Un historien*, pp. 43–55.

Rheims.[4] Flodoard was evidently not of high birth. His mother's uncle, Flavard, was a patron of the local monastery of Saint-Basle at Verzy, where two of his sons were monks, while a third son was a priest, probably at the cathedral of Rheims.[5] Concerning his early life, Flodoard mentions only that as a boy his clerical *nutritor* ('foster father') was a certain Gundacer.[6] He probably entered the cathedral school around the age of nine or ten. This makes it doubtful that he was taught by the scholars Remigius of Auxerre or Hucbald of Saint-Amand, both drafted in by Archbishop Fulk (883–900) when he restored the Rheims schools following the Viking raids of the late ninth century. Remigius and Hucbald left Rheims in the wake of Fulk's assassination in 900.[7] Under Archbishop Heriveus (900–22), Flodoard seems to have won favour, later recalling his receipt of numerous benefices (*multa bona*) from the prelate.[8] He also earned a place working in the cathedral scriptorium, for it was around the end of Heriveus's tenure that he began keeping annals, a routine he would continue until his death.

The *Annals* (a modern designation; the work was untitled) are in many ways written in a Carolingian style, in that each entry normally begins at Christmas and chronologically records the year's major political events, military campaigns and ecclesiastical appointments, along with other noteworthy items such as portents or miracles.[9] Flodoard seems to have recorded events shortly after they occurred; he probably added to the chronicle at several points during each year, though it is difficult to be sure. There is virtually no evidence that he revised the text. The *Annals* commence in 919, but the initial entries seem to have been composed

[4] In *Annales*, s.a. 963, pp. 154–5, he stated that this year was his seventieth. A local tradition holds that his birthplace was Épernay, but this is not documented before the sixteenth century: Sot, *Un historien*, p. 44. A late ninth-century section of the polyptych of Saint-Remi records a tenant named 'Flodoardus' in Nanteuil-la-Forêt, which lies between Rheims and Épernay; this individual could well be a relative. See J.-P. Devroey (ed.), *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens de l'abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims (IX^e–XI^e siècles)* (Rheims, 1984), p. 74.

[5] *HRE*, II.3, p. 139.

[6] *HRE*, II.19, p. 176. On clerical *nutritio*, see J. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800–c. 1200* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 158–69.

[7] *HRE*, IV.9, pp. 401–2; and for Fulk's murder, IV.10, pp. 402–3. On the Rheims schools, see Sot, *Un historien*, pp. 57–67; J. Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 54–69; on education more generally in this period, see P. Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement dans l'Occident chrétien de la fin du V^e siècle au milieu du XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1979), pp. 162–220; Barrow, *Clergy*, pp. 170–207.

[8] *HRE*, IV.13, p. 406.

[9] See Lauer's introduction in *Annales*; Jacobsen, *Flodoard*, pp. 13–15; Sot, *Un historien*, pp. 86–7. See also the English translation by S. Fanning and B. S. Bachrach, *The Annals of Flodoard of Reims, 919–966* (Peterborough, ON, 2004). While I have benefitted from consulting this useful volume, unless otherwise noted all translations from Flodoard's works are my own.

retrospectively in 922.[10] Flodoard probably intended the work as a continuation of sorts to the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* written by the great Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (845–82), but he made no attempt to fill in the gap between the conclusion of those annals (which ended with their author's death) and the beginning of his own.[11] Flodoard's *Annals* have tended to confound modern scholars because, in contrast with most late Carolingian and early Ottonian historical works, they are exceedingly paratactic. Flodoard declined to offer much at all in the way of narrative causation or individual motivation. Often his chronicle appears to amount to little more than tersely recounted occurrences strung together without any overarching principles. In view of Flodoard's other works, in which he proves himself a more than capable narrator, the *Annals* have frequently been considered an unusually honest and therefore highly reliable account. The following chapters explore the text in close detail in order to ascertain whether this is in fact the case, or whether this peculiarly laconic prose was rather the product of authorial choice.

The *Annals* contain several invaluable autobiographical comments. Flodoard occasionally signals his presence at events he described via the use of first-person plural verbs. Thus, for instance, he reveals that he accompanied Archbishop Seulf (922–5), King Raoul (r. 923–36) and other magnates on a diplomatic expedition to Aquitaine in 924.[12] In 925, Flodoard's fortunes changed dramatically. Following Seulf's death, the powerful magnate Count Heribert II of Vermandois imposed his four-year-old son Hugh as archbishop. Flodoard and a number of other canons refused to participate in Hugh's election, and Heribert stripped them of their benefices.[13] With his administrative functions apparently reduced, Flodoard began working on a verse history known today as *The Triumphs of Christ* (*De triumphis Christi*), which he completed around 937–9.[14] This monumental work, stretching to almost 20,000 lines, charts the glorious rise of Christianity in three parts, from its inception in Palestine (*De triumphis Christi sanctorumque Palaestinae*), to its outgrowth in Antioch (*De triumphis Christi Antiochiae gestis*), and finally to its

[10] Glenn, *Politics*, p. 172, n. 5; S. Lecouteux, 'Le contexte de rédaction des *Annales* de Flodoard de Reims (919–966). Partie 1: une relecture critique du début des *Annales* à la lumière de travaux récents', *Le Moyen Age*, 116 (2010), 51–121, and 'Partie 2: présentation des résultats de la relecture critique du début des *Annales*', *Le Moyen Age*, 116 (2010), 283–318.

[11] S. Lecouteux, 'Les *Annales* de Flodoard (919–966): une œuvre complete ou lacunaire?', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, n.s., 2 (2007), 181–209; on Hincmar's annals, see J. L. Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin: Ninth-Century Histories*, vol. I (Manchester, 1991).

[12] *Annales*, s.a. 924, pp. 19–21.

[13] *Annales*, s.a. 925, pp. 32–3; *HRE*, IV.20, p. 412.

[14] *De triumphis*. See above all Jacobsen, *Flodoard*; with Sot, *Un historien*, pp. 87–101.

prosperity in the Italian peninsula (*De triumphis Christi apud Italiam*). For this work, Flodoard drew on an astonishing range of prose historiographical and hagiographical sources, recasting them in the heroic metre of the epic tradition. The *Triumphs* has been almost entirely ignored by modern scholarship, partly because it has relatively little to say about contemporary affairs, and partly because it has been dismissed as 'poetry'. It is an essential but largely untapped resource for understanding Flodoard's conception of history, his approach to his sources and tenth-century intellectual life more broadly.

In 931, Count Heribert and Archbishop Hugh were ejected from Rheims by Raoul and Hugh the Great (count of Paris and Tours, and son of King Robert I [r. 922–3]), who oversaw the election of a new archbishop, Artold, a monk from the archiepiscopal monastery of Saint-Remi in Rheims. Flodoard appears to have recovered his former charges in the 930s, and in 936–7 he travelled to Rome, where he had an audience with Pope Leo VII and used the occasion to gather sources for the completion of the *Triumphs*.[15] The motivation for his journey and the nature of his papal meeting are unknown; he may have been sent as part of a diplomatic embassy following Artold's consecration of the new king Louis IV (r. 936–54), or perhaps it was simply a personal pilgrimage. Further upheaval at Rheims soon followed, however. In 940, Heribert recaptured Rheims, deposed Artold and reinstated his son Hugh. That October, Flodoard attempted to leave Rheims – by his account, in order to pray at the tomb of St Martin in Tours – but he was apprehended by Heribert, who confiscated his benefices once again and detained him under house arrest for five months.[16] Around this time, Flodoard began recording the otherworldly visions of a young girl from a village near Rheims, interviewing her over the course of more than a year. This short text, known as the 'Visions of Flothilde', has recently begun to receive long overdue attention for the light it casts on the dramatic politics of the early 940s and on Flodoard's acute interest in visions and the supernatural.[17]

Count Heribert died in 943, but the conflict over Rheims raged on between Hugh the Great, Louis IV and Heribert's sons. In 946, Louis besieged and retook the city with the aid of his brother-in-law, the East Frankish ruler Otto I (r. 936–73). Hugh of Vermandois was deposed once more, and Artold was restored to the see. Four synods were convened in 947–8 to settle the archiepiscopal schism. The most important of these

[15] *De triumphis*, *Ita.* XII.7, col. 832. [16] *Annales*, s.a. 940, p. 78; *HRE*, IV.28, p. 420.
[17] Edited by Lauer in *Annales*, pp. 168–76; see now M.-C. Isaïa, *Remi de Reims. Mémoire d'un saint, histoire d'une Église* (Paris, 2010), pp. 640–4; and G. Koziol, 'Flothilde's visions and Flodoard's histories: a tenth-century mutation?', *EME*, 24 (2016), 160–84.

was held at Otto's palace of Ingelheim in June 948, where Hugh was excommunicated and Artold's claim was vindicated. Flodoard attended this council, and soon after began composing his *History of the Church of Rheims* (*Historia Remensis ecclesiae*), completing it in or shortly after 952.[18] This lengthy text recounts the history of the city in four books from its legendary foundation up to 948 through the careers of the bishops and saints of Rheims. The *History* is highly regarded by modern historians because Flodoard summarised or quoted documentary sources from an episcopal archive which has been almost totally lost. Prized among these are digests of more than 450 letters sent by Archbishop Hincmar, which make the text one of the most important sources for the illustrious prelate's career. The *History* is relatively well known thanks to the work of Sot, who argued that the text represents the pinnacle of early medieval *gesta*, a genre in which the history of an institution is narrated through the lives of its bishops or abbots. For Sot, Flodoard mapped out a sacred topography connected by the city's bishops, saints, miracles, translations, altars and churches, providing a powerful identity and collective memory for his contemporaries at Rheims.[19] Much, however, remains to be said about the *History*, especially in regard to the various conditions of its production. I argue that the work needs to be read in relation to the settlement of the bitter dispute between Hugh and Artold, as well as in view of its author's participation in that conflict. Furthermore, in keeping with his reputation for trustworthiness, Flodoard is assumed to have been an empirical, conscientious preserver of documents. In view of this archival enterprise, historians have often seen in him a kindred spirit. Yet Flodoard's use of his sources is not nearly so uncomplicated. He was no unassuming archivist, and this carries implications not only for understanding the *History*, but also for the earlier Frankish history that he has so often been invoked to illuminate.

Flodoard's later years appear to have been significantly quieter. During Easter 951, he was at Otto's court in Aachen, where he represented Rheims in a dispute over some of its lands in the East Frankish kingdom. Artold died in 961 and was succeeded by Odalric (962–9). In Flodoard's annal for 963, he stated that he resigned his canonical office (*ministerium praelaturae*) on account of his age and infirmity, and that his nephew, also named Flodoard, was elected as his successor.[20] It is unclear precisely

[18] See Stratmann's introduction in *HRE*; and Sot, *Un historien*.
[19] Sot, *Un historien*; and more generally, M. Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 37 (Turnhout, 1981).
[20] *Annales*, s.a. 963, pp. 154–5. It was not unusual for nephews to be named for clerical uncles: see Barrow, *Clergy*, pp. 122–6.

what this *praelatura* was, though most likely he had been provost (*praepositus*), the head of the college of canons. Little is certain regarding Flodoard's official roles. In the *History*, he indicated that he celebrated the divine service in the cathedral archive, where he evidently worked at least during the composition of that work.[21] He was described as a priest (*presbiter*) both in an addition to his annal for 966 noting his death on 28 March and by the Rheims historian Richer, who wrote in the 990s.[22] Later traditions assert that he was a monk, but there is no contemporary evidence for this. A spurious letter of the seventeenth century claims that Flodoard had been elected to the bishopric of Noyon-Tournai in 951 but was prevented from taking up the appointment due to political pressure. It is usually supposed that he headed the cathedral school and scriptorium, but nowhere is this explicit.[23] What is clear, however, is that the canon was a key figure in successive episcopal ministries at Rheims who was held in high regard by his contemporaries: as this study explores, he could count among his contacts intellectual luminaries and leading Ottonian courtiers. The taciturn chronicler was no isolated cleric.

LATE CAROLINGIAN WEST FRANCIA

As the preceding overview indicates, Flodoard's career was framed to a large degree by a long-running conflict over control of the city and archbishopric of Rheims. Since Rheims was a key royal and episcopal centre, these disturbances were intrinsically linked to wider power struggles that unfolded in West Francia in the wake of the demise of the Carolingian empire at the end of the ninth century.[24] The convoluted political dynamics of the period must therefore be set out in more detail. What follows is not an exhaustive review of the history and historiography of the kingdom, but an outline of the major high-political events and the scholarly interpretations of these developments which

[21] *HRE*, II.19, pp. 175–6. On the provost at Rheims, see P. Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale. Les archevêques de Reims et leur église aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Langres, 2005), pp. 67–9; Barrow, *Clergy*, p. 84.

[22] *Annales, continuatio*, s.a. 966, p. 160; Richer of Saint-Remi, *Historiae*, ed. H. Hoffmann, *MGH SS*, XXXVIII (Hanover, 2000), prologue, p. 35.

[23] On the evidence and later traditions for these purported offices, see Jacobsen, *Flodoard*, pp. 63–73, 80–3; Sot, *Un historien*, pp. 50–3.

[24] For a useful introductory survey of tenth-century Rheims, see R. McKitterick, 'The Carolingian kings and the see of Rheims, 882–987', in P. Wormald, D. A. Bullough and R. Collins (eds.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 228–49. On the history of the cathedral church, see Demouy, *Genèse*, pp. 13–176.

bear on the present book. The precise role that Flodoard's testimony has hitherto played in these debates must also be established.

The origins of the polity we call the West Frankish kingdom lie in the Treaty of Verdun, agreed in 843 by the warring sons of Emperor Louis the Pious, as a result of which Charles the Bald (r. 840–77) received the western third of the Frankish realm.[25] A remarkable sequence of royal deaths in the late 870s and 880s left Charles's nephew Charles the Fat (emperor 881–8, king of West Francia 884–8) as the sole legitimate adult male Carolingian and thus ruler of the whole empire. This reunification proved ephemeral, however, and when Charles died without legitimate heir in 888, kings from outside the Carolingian family were chosen to rule the empire's constituent *regna*.[26] The elites of the West Frankish kingdom, beset by the serious problem of Viking incursions, passed over the preadolescent Charles the Simple, a grandson of Charles the Bald, and instead elected the powerful Count Odo (r. 888–98), who came from a noble family with a Neustrian power base (between the Loire and the Seine) known as the Robertians.[27] A faction opposed to Odo (led by Archbishop Fulk of Rheims) raised Charles the Simple to the kingship once he came of age in 893, and although the uprising failed to oust Odo, he designated Charles his successor. Charles thus became king outright upon Odo's death in 898, ruling until 923.[28] In 922, however, Charles himself faced a major rebellion from Odo's brother, Robert, who was crowned king in opposition to Charles. Robert was killed at the Battle of Soissons on 23 June 923, but Charles was defeated. The West Frankish

[25] For introductions to the region in the ninth and tenth centuries, respectively, see J. L. Nelson, 'The Frankish kingdoms, 814–898: the West', in *NCMH II*, pp. 110–41; J. Dunbabin, 'West Francia: the kingdom', in *NCMH III*, pp. 372–97; and on West Frankish politics more broadly, see J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843–1180*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2000); G. Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)* (Turnhout, 2012). On Charles the Bald, see the classic study of J. L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992); and on the Carolingian empire more generally, see M. Costambeys, M. Innes and S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011).

[26] See chiefly S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003); as well as many of the essays collected in S. Airlie, *Power and Its Problems in Carolingian Europe* (Farnham, 2012); and C. West, '"*Fratres, omni die videtis cum vadit istud regnum in perdicionem*": Abbo of Saint-Germain and the crisis of 888', *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 17 (2016), 1–17.

[27] See R. Schneider, 'Odo, 888–898', in J. Ehlers, H. Müller and B. Schneidmüller (eds.), *Die französischen Könige des Mittelalters. Von Odo bis Karl VIII., 888–1498* (Munich, 1996), pp. 12–20; O. Guillot, 'Formes, fondements et limites de l'organisation politique en France au X^{e} siècle', *Settimane*, 38 (1991), 57–124, at 64–87; H. Noizet, 'L'ascension du lignage robertien: du val de Loire à la Francie', *Annuaire Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de France*, 117 (2004), 19–35; and on Odo and Charles the Fat, MacLean, *Kingship*, pp. 48–80.

[28] On Charles, see in the first place Koziol, *Politics*, pp. 459–533. For earlier work, see A. Eckel, *Charles le Simple* (Paris, 1899); and B. Schneidmüller, 'Karl III. ("Der Einfältige"), 893/898–923/929', in Ehlers et al. (eds.), *Die französischen Könige*, pp. 21–32.