

**HOW MUCH MATERIAL DAMAGE DID THE
NORTHMEN ACTUALLY DO TO NINTH-CENTURY
EUROPE?**

by

Lesley Anne Morden
B.A. (Hons), McGill University, 1982
M.A. History, McMaster University, 1985
M.L.I.S., University of Western Ontario, 1987

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the
Department of History

© Lesley Morden 2007

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Spring 2007

All rights reserved. This work may not be
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without permission of the author.

APPROVAL

Name: Lesley Anne Morden
Degree: Doctor of Philosophy
Title of Thesis: How much material damage did the Northmen actually do to
ninth-century Europe?
Examining Committee:

Chair: Joseph Taylor
Associate Professor and CRC, Department of History, SFU

Department, SFU

Paul E. Dutton
Jack and Nancy Farley Endowed University Professor, Humanities

Courtney Booker
Assistant Professor, History Department, UBC

Richard Unger
Professor, History Department, UBC

John Craig
Professor and Chair of Department of History

Emily O'Brien
Assistant Professor, Department of History

Defended/Approved:

April 5, 2007

ABSTRACT

HOW MUCH MATERIAL DAMAGE DID THE NORTHMEN ACTUALLY DO TO NINTH-CENTURY EUROPE?

Lesley Anne Morden

The aim of this dissertation is to examine the material damage the Northmen perpetrated in Northern Europe during the ninth century, and the effects of their raids on the economy of the Carolingian empire. The methodological approach which is taken involves the comparison of contemporary written accounts of the Northmen's destruction to archaeological evidence which either supports these accounts, or not. In the examination of the evidence, the destruction of buildings and settlements, and human losses are taken into account.

The first chapter deals with the current state of the question. In it, secondary sources are critiqued from the standpoint of what they have to say about the nature of the Northmen's invasions into continental Europe, the ramifications these incursions had with respect to the defences of Frankish territory, and the resulting economic effects.

Chapter two places the original written source material under scrutiny. Chapter three provides a critical narrative of the consecutive waves of attacks engaged in by the Northmen in Frankish territory between the years 835 and 892.

The final chapter sets up a comparison between the written accounts of the Northmen's destruction and what has been uncovered and published by archaeologists. Primarily because the written sources regularly mention that

there was much burning that accompanied the attacks, this chapter includes site excavations that report burn layers and/or other documented forms of material destruction.

Four maps and two appendices are featured at the end of the dissertation. The maps illustrate both the areas where the Northmen marauded and the archaeological sites mentioned in chapter four. The appendices inventory the places where the Northmen were reported to have caused destruction, the numbers of casualties on both sides, tribute paid to the Northmen, and the relics translated from their “homes” to other, safer sites.

The dissertation shows that the written sources of the ninth century were generally quite accurate when they reported on the levels of destruction at various sites and that the economy of the Frankish territories was not disrupted completely as a result of the Northmen’s incursions into continental Europe, as previous historians have claimed.

Keywords: Northmen; Vikings; Carolingians; Danes; archaeology; history

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my gratitude to Professor Paul E. Dutton for suggesting I cover this topic in my dissertation and for his patience as he waited for the finished product. Thank you also to Matt T. Rosenberg for allowing me to include the outlines of his maps from his website (<http://geography.guide@about.com>). Last, but certainly not least, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my husband Richard and my daughter Samantha for putting up with me over the past few years while I completed this dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Maps	vii
Abbreviations	viii
Chapter 1: Status Quaestionis.....	1
Chapter 2: Analysis of the Written Texts	42
Chapter 3: Chronological Account of the Material Damage Done by the Northmen in the 9th century according to the Written Sources.....	78
Chapter 4: Archaeological Evidence Relating to the Raids of the Northmen in the 9th century	175
Chapter 5: Conclusions.....	222
Appendix 1: Reports of the Material Damage done to Frankish sites.....	233
Appendix 2: Reports of Deaths and Disruptions: Human and Economic.....	268
Bibliography	300

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1:	Netherlands.....	229
Map 2:	Belgium.....	230
Map 3:	Germany.....	231
Map 4:	France.....	232

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	SS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AB		<i>Annales Bertiniani</i>
Abbo		<i>Bella Parisiacaе urbis</i>
Adrevald		<i>Miracula s. Benedicti</i>
Alcuin		<i>Epistolae</i>
AE		<i>Annales Engolismenses</i>
AF		<i>Annales Fuldenses</i>
<i>Ana Boll</i>		<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
AR		<i>Annales Rotomagenses</i>
ARF		<i>Annales regni Francorum</i>
ASC		<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicles</i>
Asser		<i>De rebus gestis Aelfredi</i>
AV		<i>Annales Vedastini</i>
AX		<i>Annales Xantenses</i>
CF		<i>Chronicon Fontanellense</i>
CN		<i>Chronicon Namnetense</i>
Einhard		<i>Epistolae</i>
Ermentarius		<i>De translationibus et miraculis s. Filiberti libri 2</i>
Ermold		<i>Carmen in honorem Hludowici</i>
Lupus		<i>Epistolae</i>

MGH	Monumenta Germaniae historica
Cap.	Capitularia regum Francorum
Dip.	Diplomata
Epp.	Epistolae
PLAC	Poetae Latini aevi Carolini
Poet.	Poetae Latini medii aevi
SS	Scriptores
SS rer Mer	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
Mir. s. Genovefae	Miracula sanctae Genovefae
Mir. s. Opportunae	Miracula sanctae Opportunae
Mir. s. Dionysii	Miracula sancti Dionysii
Mir. s. Martialis	Miracula sancti Martialis
Mir. s. Martini	Miracula sancti Martini
Mir. s. Richarii	Miracula sancti Richarii
Mir. s. Wandregisili	Miracula sancti Wandregisili
Nithard	Historiae libri 4
Notker	Gesta Karoli Magni
Tessier	Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France
Trans. s. Germani	Translatio sancti Germani Parisiensis
VA	Rimbert, Vita Anskarii
Vita s. Tuduali	Vita sancti Tuduali 3

CHAPTER 1: STATUS QUAESTIONIS

Throughout the twentieth century, opinions concerning the nature and extent of the Northmen's incursions into the Frankish empire have been hotly debated. Authors such as Peter Sawyer¹ and Richard Hodges,² who have based many of their theories of the invasions on archaeological evidence, consider that these invasions did not have as destructive an influence on the Carolingian empire as the documentary sources of the time reflect, and that the incursions were preceded by a long tradition of trading relationships between Scandinavia and both the Merovingians and Carolingians. Others, on the other hand, among whom are Pirenne³ and his successors, have viewed the Northmen's invasions as utterly destructive to the fabric of Carolingian society. Within this framework, this chapter will examine several key topics related to the ninth-century invasions of the Northmen in the Carolingian empire.

¹Peter Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1994), passim.

²Richard Hodges, "The rebirth of towns in the early Middle Ages," in Richard Hodges and Brian Hopley, eds., *The rebirth of towns in the west AD 700-1050* (London, 1988), passim. See also Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics* (London: Duckworth, 1982), passim.

³Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (London, 1939), passim. See also Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne thesis* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1939), passim. Peter Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1994), passim.

The methodology used by historians to analyse the invasions of the Northmen has changed over time. In the late-nineteenth century and in the early-twentieth century, written sources only were used and often taken at face-value. Walther Vogel⁴ and Ferdinand Lot⁵ relied exclusively on the written sources because the only archaeological evidence available at that time consisted of scattered finds of coinage, weapons and ship burials. The paucity of this evidence did not lend itself to adequate analysis by historians of the day so they were restricted to using the written sources. Medieval archaeology has intensified over the past fifty years or so. Many systematic archaeological excavations have taken place in Northern Europe and have contributed to a greater understanding of the economic and especially military history of the period under question. Sites such as gravesites, cathedral compounds, mints, townsites, houses, manors and villages and fields have all been investigated in increasing numbers which have yielded up material evidence of settlement and types of economic activity. Scholars such as Musset and others fully recognize that this systematic use of archaeological evidence will turn up a wealth of information and data either confirming or bringing into question the validity of the claims made by the documentary sources.⁶ Carolingian society was itself

⁴Walther Vogel, *Die Normannen und das frankische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie (799-911)*, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1906), passim.

⁵Ferdinand Lot, *Recueil des travaux historiques de Ferdinand Lot 2*, (Genève-Paris: Librairie Droz, 1970), passim.

⁶Lucien Musset, *The Germanic Invasions. The Making of Europe AD 400-600*, 2nd ed., Edward and Columba James, trans. (London: P. Elek,

accustomed to frequent violence that resulted in material damage within its boundaries which did not necessarily occur as a result of the activities of invading Northmen. Thus, the written sources of the period are important in determining the sequence of events and the locations where raids of the Northmen took place. To this end, the work of such scholars as Vogel and Lot serve a useful purpose. However, it is through archaeological investigation that tangible evidence will come to light concerning the actual level of destruction that was perpetrated by the Northmen on Francia. Citing the wide Braudelian use of sources to bolster an interdisciplinary approach to the study of history and archaeology in the ninth century, Richard Hodges decides that although archaeological evidence involves interpretation of material finds and has limitations of its own, Hodges clearly overstates the importance of the archaeological record to this enquiry. He states that

[a]rchaeology alone bears witness to the rhythms of time. This is not to dismiss the written sources; a minimal view would be that these are adequate to illustrate the margins of history. ... [L]ike layers in the ground, these ideologically contrived past statements must be interpreted. It seems ... that their interpretation becomes easier as we gain greater command of the interlocking rhythms of time. Then, as Marc Bloch acknowledged, our witness can be cross-examined.⁷

Historians have concentrated on three main points when examining the Northmen's invasions of the Frankish empire. They have described what they believe to have been the causes of the invasions; they have examined the economic impact of the Northmen's presence in the Carolingian empire; and they have looked at the defensive tactics taken by the Franks who sought to stem the

1975), pp. 193-194.

⁷Richard Hodges, "The rebirth of towns," p. 3.

flow of the Northmen into their territories.

The currently-accepted wisdom is that the Northmen left their own territories and invaded both the British Isles and the Continent seeking wealth, not land, as scholars earlier in the twentieth century had postulated. Sawyer maintains that the reason behind this expansion was that there was an outburst of piracy along the trading lanes of the North Sea and the English Channel and that this activity followed naturally from intelligence the Northmen gained about wealth on the Continent from Frisian traders and from engaging in trade there themselves. He also maintains that the invasions occurred not as a result of the Northmen's desires for land on which to settle, but rather as a bid for wealth and prestige.⁸ During the ninth century the Northmen's raids were not led by kings, but by exiled claimants to the Danish throne or those sponsored by the ruling king to gain booty with which to reward his followers.⁹

Economic Impact

This conclusion leads to the widely-debated question of what was the impact of the Northmen's raids on the economy of the Carolingian empire? In Henri Pirenne's *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, he maintains that with the rise of Islam in the Mediterranean, economic activity, trade, and lines of communication were largely broken off between the Mediterranean and north-western Europe where urbanization declined and self-sufficiency took hold, making nearly

⁸Peter Sawyer, "The Age of the Vikings, and Before," *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings* (Oxford, 2001), p. 3.

⁹Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, pp. 144-145.

everyone responsible for the production of consumables leaving no time to produce surpluses to fuel a trading economy. It has been widely accepted that the Carolingian economy was almost exclusively dependent on agriculture and that the Merovingians were more attuned to international commerce, especially in southern Gaul, than were the Carolingians after them.¹⁰ This is not the view held by Michael McCormick. McCormick points out that no longer are the literary sources viewed by economic historians as “direct, objective reflections of reality, to be quarried without querying the “facts” — and silences — which they contain, in light of the literary and social filters which sifted and shaped their observations.”¹¹ Instead, he points to the “the economics of the great estate, the not unrelated issue of dependent traders, and the extraordinary trading world of the North Sea ... Together, these three developments challenge the old vision of a stagnant and closed economy in northwestern Europe around 800 A. D.”¹²

When it comes to the discussion of towns in northern Europe, many historians follow Pirenne by describing the number of centres that were established for the sole purpose of trading as quite small and situated along the coastlines and the river systems. However, the roles Pirenne assigned for “cities” were restricted to defence, administration and, during the ninth century, consumption of goods from the surrounding territory. He maintains that there

¹⁰Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, pp. 194-195.

¹¹Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A. D. 300-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 4.

¹²McCormick, *Origins*, p. 6.

was virtually no international trade taking place on any scale at all. Pirenne states that

[i]t is a safe conclusion that the period which opened with the Carolingian era knew cities neither in the social sense, nor in the economic sense, nor in the legal sense of that word... Their inhabitants enjoyed neither special laws nor institutions of their own, and their manner of living did not distinguish them in any way from the rest of society.¹³

In contrast to this view, or perhaps as a modification of Pirenne's ideas, Philip Grierson cautions that

The whole approach [of Pirenne], that of accumulating evidence for the existence of trade instead of trying to form an overall picture of how and to what extent material goods changed ownership, is in itself profoundly misleading and can only result in conclusions that are far from the truth.¹⁴

Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse have utilized both archaeology and literary source materials to come to the conclusion that Pirenne's thesis on the disappearance of urban industrial and commercial towns and cities was largely correct. They state that

[t]he historical data used to suggest the continuity of town life have distorted the true state of affairs. Instead there is archaeological evidence that monasteries and royal dwellings persisted in some 'classical' centres, but in real terms these were modest affairs. Neither of these classes of settlement maintained any large manufacturing industries, nor is there evidence of any additional urban populations. Industrial production, when it existed, was primarily a rural phenomenon.¹⁵

Hodges and Whitehouse use anthropological and geographical theories to

¹³Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, trans. Frank D. Halsey (Garden City, NY, 1925), p. 52.

¹⁴Philip Grierson, "Commerce in the Dark Ages: a critique of the evidence," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 9, 1959, p. 124.

¹⁵Hodges and Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne*, p. 88.

identify the patterns of goods traded. They separate out the elites in society who, they contend, controlled the trading routes, and any artisans who may have produced manufactured goods for trade with the elites of other geographic locations. Trade in luxury goods enhanced the status of the elite in pre-modern societies. "Trade partnerships of this kind are of signal importance for developing economies for they offer a possibility of swiftly accelerating the political position of the leader. ... As the volume of trade increases between the trade partners, kings or chiefs inevitably are forced to confine the commerce to specific trading places,"¹⁶ lest their subjects who can afford these luxury goods acquire them outside the purview of the leader. "Thus in many complex pre-market societies there are administered trading settlements that might appear to be colonies because they are mostly inhabited by alien merchants, and yet in terms of jurisdiction they are urban communities belonging to the native elite."¹⁷ These settlements included the *emporium* of Dorestad and Quentovic, and the *portus* of Witla and Domburg/Walcheren which faced the North Sea and the English Channel and had been established for the purposes of trade by the Frisians.

The Frisians also established colonies on the Rhine from which they transported luxury items such as wine to Scandinavia as well as quern-stones from quarries at Niedermendig, evidence of which has turned up in centres such as Birka on Lake Mälaren in eastern Sweden and Hedeby in southern Denmark.

¹⁶Hodges and Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁷Hodges and Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne*, p. 92.

The Frisians also became, from 753, regular patrons of the fair at St. Denis where they exported wine and ceramics to Frisia and beyond from the Paris basin as well as from Alsace.¹⁸

The extent and details of trade in textiles is more difficult to ascertain from archaeological evidence, though written sources mention trade in fine cloth and clothing from England and Frisia to Scandinavia and Francia.¹⁹ The material evidence for the importation of goods from Scandinavia to the continent by the Frisians is less tangible although furs, ivory and especially slaves probably made up the bulk of this cargo. The *emporium* or trading-centre of Dorestad, located at the confluence of the Lek and Rhine rivers was a major entrepôt and settlement up until the mid-ninth century when the Rhine began to take an alternate course while silting up the harbour at Dorestad.²⁰ Documentary evidence and archaeological finds at Dorestad indicate that there was a lively export trade in timber, pottery, glass, grain and wine that originated in the hinterland as far up

¹⁸Adriaan Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 109-111.

¹⁹Stéphane Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs frisons du haut Moyen Age. Volume 1: Essai* (Lille, 1983), pp. 131-133.

²⁰W.A. Van Es and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad I: The Harbour: Hoogstraat I* (Amersfoort, 1980), p. 297. See also W.A. Van Es, "Early Medieval Settlement," *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Ouheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 23 (Amersfoort, 1973), pp. 285-287 where he details finds at Cuyk on the Meuse of a sunken hut with a deeper indentation on one side of the structure that signifies "part' of a loom erected inside the hut. The pit served to accommodate the loom-weights which were attached to the ends of the warp threads. In this way the warp could be used to better effect ... And indeed, fragments of two loom-weights were found on the floor of the pit."

the Rhine as Strasbourg and at Metz on the Moselle river.²¹

Pirenne speculated that the Carolingian Renaissance was fuelled by slow economic growth and was based on the utter disintegration of commercial enterprise and interregional trade.²² He accounts for the existence and role of the various *portus* and *emporium* as exceptions to the rule that “[m]ovable wealth no longer played any part in economic life.”²³ Sture Bolin, on the other hand, asserted that there was a swift and sudden influx of silver from Persia and Afghanistan to Carolingian Europe through the intercession of Scandinavians on the Caspian Sea. He bases his argument on numismatic evidence of the occasional discovery of Arab coins in European coin hoards. This evidence hardly constitutes the sudden appearance of wealth in silver, but he states that it is possible and indeed probable that either the Scandinavians melted and then minted their own silver coinage, or that the Carolingian mints melted the incoming silver down to create their own currency. Bolin maintains, “from the beginning of the Carolingian period, no foreign coins at all could be used within the boundaries of the Frankish empire; all foreign coins had to be reminted as Frankish coins, – that is they were melted down and the metal was used to make Frankish deniers.”²⁴ In this context, the Northmen’s invasions into western

²¹Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs*, pp. 226-229.

²²Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York, 1937), p. 6.

²³Pirenne, *Economic and Social History*, p. 7.

²⁴Sture Bolin, “Mohammed, Charlemagne and Ruric,” *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 1 (1953), p. 11.

Europe have been interpreted by Bolin as the natural outcome of circumstances where the flow of silver from the east through Scandinavia to the west was slowed considerably by 830 to 850 during which time the invasions became more regular and lengthy. In Bolin's words, "these two aspects [economic and political] cannot be isolated. The two are closely inter-connected: the Vikings who terrorized the Western world came from a country where oriental silver was common."²⁵ McCormick points out that the incidences of Arab silver coinage that have been found in hoards in northern Europe, specifically on the northern rim of Carolingian territory, are present as a result of the "northern arc," a communications route whose transmitters were the Northmen who maintained it from Ireland to the Caspian Sea. He relates that these coins,

[b]orne by raiders and traders who trekked home along the great rivers where Rus civilization was being born, ... flowed into the Baltic zone and thence, probably, into northern Poland and northeastern Germany. The coins have spilled over into the North Sea region and up the streams which prolong it into Frankland Although the chronology is not free from controversy, the flow of coins westward probably began reaching Scandinavia in the earlier ninth century, and gained speed thereafter.²⁶

The question that remains is whether the Northmen had enough silver to purchase wine and other goods from the Carolingians or whether there was such a dearth of coin in Scandinavia that they had to resort to theft in order to maintain the flow of supplies they needed. These ideas are speculative and, Karl Morrison in his attempt to discredit Bolin's thesis on this point states that

[t]he limitations on the evidence which have been mentioned [coin hoards] allow it direct value only in numismatic history and particularly in

²⁵Bolin, "Mohammed, Charlemagne and Ruric," pp.38-39.

²⁶McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 350-351.

metrology; relating that evidence to the broader context of commercial history is extremely problematic. ... Documenting the existence of a Carolingian trade route by means of coin finds is like documenting the existence of the griffon by means of gargoyles and heraldry.²⁷

Richard Hodges, however, believes that archaeology in fact backs up Bolin quite well. He outlines the trade that took place between the Carolingians, Frisian traders, and the Scandinavians that produced a "hit" of wealth in silver that originated with the mines in the Caliphate of Baghdad and was transported from the middle east through Russia and across the Baltic Sea into Scandinavian *emporium* at Haithabu and Ribe and, hence, to Dorestad and Quentovic.

That there was an interest in and awareness of the benefits of trade among the Scandinavians is evident when, in 808, King Godfred of Denmark removed the Abrodite settlement of Reric along with its merchants to Haithabu in his own territory. It is clear that he recognized the importance of collecting tolls from trading activities. These actions presented threats to the Carolingian territories of Saxony and Frisia particularly after reports surfaced that the Danes had sent a fleet of 200 ships to Frisia which ravaged all the islands and extracted 100 pounds of silver in tribute from the Frisians; Godfred also threatened to wage open warfare against Charlemagne and the Franks. Further attacks on Francia occurred early in the reign of Louis the Pious in Flanders, at the mouth of the Seine and in western Poitou and, in the words of Sawyer, "[all] these places would have been familiar ports of call to Danish traders in previous decades." Against Pirenne's hypothesis concerning the Northmen, Sawyer maintains that

²⁷Karl F. Morrison, "Numismatics and Carolingian Trade: A Critique of the Evidence," *Speculum*, 38, 3 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963), p. 432.

they were, in fact, traders before they became raiders.²⁸ But, exactly what were the consequences of the raids by the Northmen on Frankish territory?

Basing his research almost entirely on written sources, Walther Vogel maintains throughout his *Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich* that the raids of the Northmen were utterly destructive to the social and economic fabric of Carolingian Francia.²⁹ Ferdinand Lot, utilizing the same methodology, concurs with this point of view to the extent that he maintained that the attacks became more and more violent and destructive, filling the population with fear and extracting ever greater resources from the Carolingians as the Northmen became bolder over time.³⁰ Marc Bloch also characterises the invasions of the Northmen as destructive and frightening occurrences for the Franks. He supports the idea that trading preceded raiding, but that trade, in fact, continued throughout the 150 years or so of disruption perpetrated by the Northmen on the continent.³¹ Lucien Musset, on the other hand, presents a more balanced view of the Northmen's invasions of Carolingian Francia. He breaks up the invasions into three distinct periods that each saw the Northmen become closer to their Frankish adversaries. For Musset, phase one consisted of the plundering and raiding of

²⁸Peter Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), pp. 21-23. See also *Annales Regni Francorum 808*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1* (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1826), p.195.

²⁹Vogel, *Die Normannen*, passim.

³⁰Lot, *Recueil des travaux*, passim.

³¹Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, Volume 1, trans. L.A. Manyon (Chicago, London, 1961), pp. 16, 21.

Frankish settlements near the sea and on the estuaries of the north coast and the Northmen first wintering over on the Continent in fortified camps or settlements that had been abandoned. Phase two was made up of the Northmen demanding ransom, or tribute, not to gain more booty as much as to terrify the Frankish kings into paying them ever greater sums to depart. But, according to Musset the time came when the land and the people became exhausted and the wealth so depleted that the Franks were obliged to grant land to certain of the Northmen who would then be baptized and would essentially become vassals of the Carolingian king, ostensibly protecting these “buffer zones” against other Northmen. This development constituted Musset’s phase three. The dates for each of these phases tended to overlap depending upon the areas affected, but roughly correspond to the period between 820 and 879 for phase one, 880 to 892 for phase two, and 893 and beyond 911 for phase three. Musset also saw a gradual shift from utter destruction during phase one, through phase two during which he claims that there was an increase in the circulation of precious metals, and in phase three he views the effects of the Northmen in Continental Europe as being constructive in that Christianity gained new adherents and the Northmen took on Carolingian political mores which thus contributed to the establishment of the medieval state and the revivification of the economy in the North.³²

Albert d’Haenens looked extensively at the effects of the invasions of the

³²Lucien Musset, *Les invasions: le second assaut contre l’Europe chrétienne (VI^e - XI^e siècles)* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1965), pp. 127-129.

Northmen, particularly in relation to Belgium. In his *Les invasions normandes en Belgique au IX^e siècle*, he concluded that while the Northmen burned, pillaged, enslaved and killed the Frankish population, it was the psychological terror they inspired more than the physical destruction they wrought that had the greater effect on the records of the writers of the time.³³ He views the invasions of the Northmen to be central to the interpretation and understanding of the history of the ninth and tenth centuries.³⁴ Moreover, he maintains that Pirenne was not correct when he asserted that there was an abrupt cessation of trading activity that was brought on by the attacks of the Northmen. "Dans la partie occidentale de l'espace belge d'une part. Boulogne continue à fonctionner comme port de mer. Même Quentovic semblerait avoir conservé une réelle activité au début du X^e s[siècle]."³⁵ He states that Pirenne was incorrect when he theorized that the Northmen's only experience with trading came from their familiarity with piracy and only after a hiatus in the invasions were they capable of engaging in trade. D'Haenens also does not subscribe to the idea that the Northmen redistributed their plundered wealth (largely from tributes) into the continental economy, but believes that the only ones who directly benefited from the acquisition of precious

³³Albert d'Haenens, *Les invasions normandes en Belgique au IX^e siècle* (Louvain: Louvain Bureaux du Recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1967), passim.

³⁴Albert d'Haenens, "Les invasions normandes dans l'empire franc au IX^e siècle," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, 16 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1969), p. 298.

³⁵d'Haenens, *Les invasions normandes en Belgique*, pp. 157-158.

metals were the Northmen themselves.³⁶ In drawing the conclusions he does, d'Haenens uses material evidence drawn from archaeological excavations to supplement the written sources of the period.

Sawyer maintains that Frisia and Neustria were the main targets of the Northmen in Francia. Trade, according to him, was very vibrant through the eighth and ninth centuries, particularly along the Rhine and between the Meuse and the Loire rivers while the Seine enjoyed a lively traffic in wine.³⁷ Despite the regular attacks on such *emporium* as Dorestad and Quentovic which were restocked every year, they continued to function as centres of craft production and trade, both interregionally and internationally. Also, Dorestad functioned as an important port for people travelling between western Europe and Scandinavia as is attested to in the *Vita Anskarii* (VA).³⁸

One of the most useful interpretations of the Northmen's attacks on the Carolingian empire is provided by d'Haenens in *Les invasions normandes, une catastrophe?* In it he maintains that the primary victims of the raids were the local elites who consisted of both the noble and the ecclesiastical orders. They were, especially under Charles the Bald, subjected to taxation which was imposed to pay-off the Northmen to leave and/or were required to mount defensive actions in the territories they controlled. Also, their properties suffered

³⁶d'Haenens, *Les invasions normandes en Belgique*, p. 160.

³⁷Sawyer, "The Age of the Vikings and Before," p. 24.

³⁸Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, p. 70. See also Rimbart, *Vita Anskarii* 7, P.E. Dutton, trans. and ed., *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*, 2nd edition (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004), p. 409.

damage and destruction to some degree, although according to d'Haenens, not as much destruction as the annalistic sources proclaim. Moreover, the higher authorities in the different regions were not immune from using the invaders to support their breaches of contract with the central power. D'Haenens points out that the indifference shown by local authorities to the calls by the sovereign to defend the entire Frankish territory was rooted in their own self-interest and that they felt no compunction to rush to the aid of the king. He also shows that the Frankish army was ideally suited to exporting war when conquering outside territory, but that it was largely ineffectual when dealing with the guerrilla-like hit-and-run tactics of the Northmen. The fact that the Frankish population was in the habit of fleeing ahead of the Northmen allowed the Northmen to make camp in abandoned buildings and settlements, and facilitated their foraging off the land in the surrounding areas which further depleted Frankish resources. D'Haenens disparages the Frankish attempts at building fortifications. Most consisted of wooden palisades and towers on bridges that were meant to deter the Northmen from attacking, and although they were quite ineffective at constructing siege engines, the Northmen were often able to cut off supplies to the fortifications and those within. The only effective defensive measures were provided against the Northmen's siege of Paris in 885-886 since the ramparts of the city consisted of the old Roman walls that had been maintained and repaired, probably during the reign of Charles the Bald. The Northmen were vanquished by the local population only when they all joined in the battle, both high- and low-born participating, and thus by virtue of numbers were able to overwhelm and drive

out the Northmen.³⁹ D'Haenens, when he describes the suspected decline of marketplaces and towns where economic activities were undertaken, is careful to point out that the ports and *emporia*, for the most part, continued to exist and function throughout the period of the Northmen's incursions. Except for hiatuses in a few centres that lasted between 25 and 30 years such as at Valenciennes and Ghent, these centres recovered and it was "business as usual" when the intensity of the raids diminished.⁴⁰

While Pirenne maintained that commerce and the development of commercial centres, or towns, largely ceased to exist in North-West Europe during the Carolingian period, his conclusions were drawn mainly from the written sources of the period. But, he did not have the advantage of later economic historians who introduced more substantial archaeological evidence into their analyses. More recently, scholars have revisited the issue of the Carolingian economy by looking not only at the documentary sources, but also at numismatic and archaeological material sources to produce a more complete analysis of the early medieval economy in western Europe. Helen Clarke and Björn Ambrosiani in their *Towns in the Viking Age*⁴¹, Adriaan Verhulst in his *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe*⁴² and *The Carolingian Economy*⁴³ and Michael McCormick in

³⁹Albert d'Haenens, *Les invasions normandes, une catastrophe?* (Paris: Flammarion, 1970), pp. 40-71.

⁴⁰d'Haenens, *Les invasions normandes, une catastrophe?* pp. 79-82.

⁴¹Helen Clarke and Björn Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).

⁴²Adriaan Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Cambridge:

his *Origins of the European Economy*⁴⁴ all present their views on commercial growth and the development of urban commercial centres and the impact the invasions of the Northmen had on Carolingian Europe.

Clarke and Ambrosiani survey the archaeological and documentary (where applicable) evidence for urban development both in Continental Europe and in Scandinavia from 800 to 1000.⁴⁵ They maintain that what has been recovered archaeologically from urban settlements both within the Carolingian empire and in Scandinavia show that the settlements maintained a close relationship with their hinterlands during this period. Using two definitions provided by Susan Reynolds, they define a town as “[a] permanent human settlement ... in which a significant proportion of its population lives off trade, administration and other non-agricultural occupations ... It forms a social unit more or less distinct from the surrounding countryside.” And, “a town ... lives off the food of the surrounding countryside and supplies this countryside with other goods and services in return.”⁴⁶ They utilize these uncomplicated definitions to underline the nature of the archaeological evidence on which they are focussing. They also explain that there was a good deal of continuity in the towns of northern Gaul following the fall of the Roman Empire through to the seventh

Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁴³Adriaan Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*.

⁴⁴Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*.

⁴⁵Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁶Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, p. 3.

century when there was a more widespread “re-emergence of urban culture,”⁴⁷ but that this continuity was represented by ecclesiastical and administrative institutions rather than commercial and industrial activities.⁴⁸ From the seventh century on, the authors state that there were two basic types of urban settlement: one was biased towards industry and commerce, and the other type towards administration and ecclesiastical organization, even though in some cases both these types converged. They base these assumptions on numismatic evidence found in coin hoards as well as other archaeological remains in different locations; for example, at Quentovic on the Canche and Dorestad on the Rhine. During the ninth century added impetus was given to the expansion and importance of these settlements. “All these sites were strategically placed to take advantage of waterborne traffic along the rivers of France, Germany and the Low Countries, and across the Channel and the North Sea to England where equivalent sites began to grow up at the same time, to become, like their continental counterparts, more flourishing in the eighth century.”⁴⁹ This situation, assert the authors, enticed the Northmen to try their hands at raiding and plundering the undefended sites both on the coastline and up the rivers where these wealthy centres were literally “sitting ducks” since many had flourished and grown since the seventh century and many others had been established.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁷Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, p. 11.

⁴⁸Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, p. 8.

⁴⁹Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, p. 19.

⁵⁰Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, pp. 24-25.

Northmen were attracted to these settlements and took away with them booty and a more thorough conception of the potential of settlements which they employed in their own territory, but it is incorrect, they point out, to assume that it was only during the ninth-century invasions of North-West Europe that the Scandinavian settlements were founded. In fact, they show that the "accepted hypothesis now is that towns [in Scandinavia] began to develop in response to their immediate hinterlands with which they were closely integrated."⁵¹

Clarke and Ambrosiani also detail some of the types of archaeological finds in towns showing that a variety of non-rural economic enterprises existed. These finds consist of needles, needle-cases, spindle-whorls and other evidence of textile industries both in Scandinavia and at other sites on the Continent. Leather works were also prevalent in towns throughout North-West Europe, Scandinavia and Britain and can be ascertained from the remnants of tanning vats, leather working tools and waste items along with examples of leather shoes. As well, metalworking was an important industry which largely took place in urban centres and tools and materials are often found in abundance. The existence of pottery, both domestically produced as well as imported ware such as Badorf, are found in sites throughout the Baltic and North Sea settlements which indicates that these items were exported from the Rhine area, thus indicating that a thriving trade was present in this era. Wine was also an important trading commodity that was exported from France and the Rhineland to Scandinavia where barrels that had once held wine were found to have been

⁵¹Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, p. 50.

reused as lining for wells. Raw materials such as feathers, timber, furs, tar and iron must have been brought into Scandinavian trading centres to be exchanged for finished, specialized products that had been manufactured in the towns. But, assert the authors, not all the items traded in the Scandinavian towns consisted of organic materials. Slaves, silver and sword blades were also part of the long-distance trade.⁵² For example, these trade goods consisted of swords from the Franks, prisoners of war and hostages as slaves, and silver which was particularly significant in that it was hoarded and treated as bullion rather than as currency and that “[m]ost of the ninth-century hoards are composed of coins and complete jewellery.”⁵³ Furthermore, Clarke and Ambrosiani assert that using archaeology to confirm or reject current ideas on the development and economic importance of towns only brings into play a more complete picture of the situation.⁵⁴

Adriaan Verhulst wrote *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* largely in response to Clarke and Ambrosiani’s *Towns in the Viking Age* and he deals exclusively with the towns of the southern Low Countries.⁵⁵ The focus of this book is Verhulst’s look at a variety of types of evidence to show that the rise of urban settlements came about from the influence of abbeys and churches, as

⁵²Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, pp. 158-168.

⁵³Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, pp. 168-170.

⁵⁴Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, p. 173.

⁵⁵Adriaan Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. ix.

well as royal favour, rather than from any continuity from Roman times and activity. He also shows that the towns and their commercial focus were fuelled by growing regional markets and the transplantation of industrial crafts from the countryside to the urban centres which was responsible for the advent of long-distance trade, not that the towns of the Low Countries were responsible for the origination of long-distance trade all on their own as had been suggested by Pirenne and his disciples.⁵⁶ Further, Verhulst is clear when he notes the different phases of development of both ecclesiastical and secular trading centres. He gives the examples of Arras (*vicus*) and Ghent (*portus*) to illustrate his point:

This digression into urban development in Arras and Ghent on the strength of the terminological data *vicus* and *portus* has enabled us to determine what was possibly the most important stage in early medieval urban development. This consisted in the transition from a limited 'manorial' phase in trade – and perhaps, bearing in mind the hypothesis about Arras, also in industry, carried out in a small, adjoining abbey town near a large abbey and on its behalf mainly by people in the service of the abbey – to a wider and free phase conducted by independent merchants and workers who traded or practised a trade for profit. ... Clearly the Viking raids, and, in the case of Ghent, the destruction and eventual disappearance of the abbey [St Bavo's] over a longer period, accelerated the evolution from the one stage to the other.⁵⁷

He goes on then to compare the royal manors (*fisci*) of Valenciennes and Tournai which both sustained destruction by the Northmen according to the literary sources, and both of which were considered *portus*; that is, they both had jetties where goods were loaded and unloaded for transport to other areas.

⁵⁶Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, pp. vii; 42-43.

⁵⁷Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, p. 56.

Valenciennes did not recover its commercial activity after the Northmen destroyed it in 880 or 881, whereas Tournai which was also attacked by the Northmen, but because it was fortified continued to function as a commercial centre.⁵⁸

Verhulst, in *The Carolingian Economy*, cites many references that indicate the presence of a merchant group in the Carolingian Empire which was primarily made up of Jews and foreigners such as Danes and Frisians. These, he states, were mostly involved in long-distance trade due to their mobility. The others who were involved in local trade were specialist artisans who travelled to sell their wares and others who were attached to an ecclesiastical or secular manor and sold their surpluses. He also states that

There is broad evidence for money circulation in the Carolingian period: texts concerning the payment, often in cash, of high tributes to Viking bands, texts concerning price regulations, archaeologically discovered hoards, etc. prove the use of money, available in large quantities since the introduction by Pipin III in 755 of a new silver penny (*denarius*), better adapted to daily commercial operations than the golden *tremissis* of the Merovingian period.⁵⁹

Peasants paid cash to offset military service (*hostilium*) and nobles used money to buy luxury goods such as spices, jewels, silk and other rare commodities.⁶⁰

Archaeological remains have shown, however, that the raids of the Northmen did not precipitate a decline in the economic prosperity of the Carolingian empire. Hodges and Whitehouse use this form of evidence to show

⁵⁸Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, pp. 56-57.

⁵⁹Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, pp. 87-88.

⁶⁰Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, p. 88.

that *emporía*, particularly Dorestad, were on a decline before the attacks took place beginning in the 830s. Changes in the importation of Middle Eastern silver to Europe via Russia due to a collapse of the economy of the Caliphate and the rebellions of Louis the Pious's sons led to the decline of Dorestad.⁶¹ The excavation report by Van Es and Verwers presents evidence that from the “stray finds of Carolingian coins and the three coin hoards known until now, it can be concluded that in the last quarter of the 8th century and the first quarter of the 9th century a regular influx of currency from all parts of the kingdom circulated in Dorestad, and this influx, the result of thriving trade, sharply declined around 830.”⁶²

Michael McCormick's recent book, *Origins of the European Economy* utilizes both literary source material and evidence from archaeology to provide a reassessment of the Carolingian economy. This work is arguably the most important recent analysis of the economy of the Early Middle Ages. In it he surveys current research undertaken by other scholars who focused particularly on land holdings of large monasteries and fiscal lands and he states that “deeper scrutiny of how exactly these estates functioned has revealed a more complex picture, with greater implications for transportation, markets, and commerce than once appeared.”⁶³ In fact, he draws together source material to show that the monasteries and other large estates varied their holdings geographically in order

⁶¹Hodges and Whitehouse, *The Rise of Cities*, pp. 160-163.

⁶²Van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 1*, p. 223.

⁶³McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 6-7.

to diversify the products they produced for their own use and obtain access to non-agricultural products such as iron ore and salt to transport and sell at markets and fairs. All these developments led to an increase in road and water transportation and development of communications infrastructures such as the building of ports along the major river systems to facilitate trade.⁶⁴

Not only was transportation a key factor in facilitating trade at monasteries, but large monasteries such as Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Prüm, and Saint-Remi at Rheims used both carts and barges to transport their surplus goods to locations further afield. J.-P. Devroey has undertaken studies to show that there was not only an active participation in rural markets, but that the sale of goods helped to supply necessities to urban centres, and that commercial and domanial economies were closely tied, and the commercial ventures of the abbeys were clearly a part of regional and interregional trade. The surplus commodity that was traded was mainly, in the case of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, wine which was sold at the fair of St-Denis and was exempt from the toll levied at the fair. This trade also fuelled several smaller rural fairs between the Seine and Loire; for example, at Faverolles and Néron from 774, at Corneilles-en-Vexin in 862 and at Pontoise north of Paris in 864. Devroey maintains that while these smaller, rural and regional markets served local interests in that the proprietor of the domain could collect tolls and taxes from the participants, such large markets as St-Denis served the purpose in supporting both interregional and international

⁶⁴McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 8.

exchange.⁶⁵ He also shows, by utilizing the polyptychs of various large monastic centres, such as at Prüm, that commerce was conducted at regional fairs and markets and that the goods were transported equally by water and by road. Moreover, he states that the monasteries did not perceive an ideological conflict between religiosity and commercial profit. He cites the market held at Münstereifel which was the destination of many wagons carrying commercial goods where a priory was located and that it was also a place of pilgrimage for the devout. Both the existence of the market and a site of pilgrimage made Münstereifel a centre for both activities, which in the end fed off the success of each other.⁶⁶

McCormick acknowledges that the written sources of the Carolingian period rarely name traders or merchants, or depict commercial activities; however, he broadens the scope of his investigation to include different types of long-distance travel to indicate that, in fact, travellers and others moved regularly throughout the Continent and around the Mediterranean and engaged not only in travel for pilgrimages and diplomatic contacts, but also in the transport of slaves and the lively trade in saints' relics:

Commercial voyages were a subset of these broader streams of communications. Not all communications, of course, were commerce by another name, although that was sometimes so. Even the surprising patterns of communications which will emerge do not automatically prove

⁶⁵J.-P. Devroey, "Un monastère dans l'économie d'échanges," *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 39, (Paris: A. Colin, 1984), pp. 570-579.

⁶⁶J.-P. Devroey, "Les services de transport à l'abbaye de Prüm au IX^{ème} siècle," *Revue du Nord* 61 (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université de Lille III, 1979), p. 554.

commerce, although in some cases that is indubitably the implication... What the study of communications does provide is a new and incomparably richer context of shipping and travel against which to view old—and new—evidence about that smaller segment of documented communications which were commercial in nature.⁶⁷

While McCormick agrees with Pirenne's concept of declining commercial activity in northwestern Europe and foreign imports in particular in the Early Middle Ages, he situates the decline in the seventh and eighth centuries, not in the ninth. In his analysis he points out that the Carolingian estates not only supported growing agricultural but also craft production that was for proprietary use and also for local, interregional and international trading.⁶⁸ Markets, therefore, became important to later Carolingian rulers not just for marketing goods but for collecting tolls.⁶⁹

McCormick asserts that even though the pattern for transported raw materials is in clear evidence in Scandinavian settlements, goods that were manufactured in Francia are also in evidence, especially across the Jutland peninsula from Dorestad at Haithabu. Goods that were exported from the Carolingian empire included wine, quernstones, glass, Rhenish ceramics and the famed Frankish sword blades.⁷⁰ Haithabu also served as the entrepôt for goods brought by the Scandinavians to the Baltic Sea area from the Caspian and Black Sea areas through trading contacts they had established. These goods included

⁶⁷McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 18-19.

⁶⁸McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 576-577.

⁶⁹McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 580.

⁷⁰McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 609-610.

gold and silver coinage, scales, beads, and exotic textiles which the Scandinavians would acquire for furs, amber, swords and slaves.⁷¹ By utilizing archaeological sources and taking a new look at the movements of elite travellers in the ninth century, McCormick essentially puts to rest Pirenne's idea that there was a lull, or absence, in the movement of goods and people following the rise of Islam in the Mediterranean. As Joachim Henning says about McCormick's work: One of the most remarkable qualities of McCormick's analysis is the way the author combines the evidence of written sources with that of archaeology. Thus for example, the chapters about trade goods do not neglect the current analysis of relevant archaeological materials (coins, grave-goods, precious art materials, etc.).⁷²

McCormick describes the way in which the Carolingians concerned themselves with import tolls at mountain passes and at strategic points on rivers flowing into the heartland of the empire. This interest of the kings and others in levying tolls indicates, to him, that there was enough commercial traffic to warrant the sovereign's attention to the potential profit involved in toll collection. Some goods and commercial traffic were exempt from paying tolls; for example, monasteries that had their produce brought into the main manor from outlying holdings were exempt as were products delivered to the army or the court. These toll stations tended to be located on the main river systems such as on the

⁷¹McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 610-611.

⁷²Joachim Henning, "Slavery or freedom? The causes of early medieval Europe's economic advancement" *Early Medieval Europe* 12, 3, (Oxford, 2003), p. 271.

Loire, the Meuse and the Seine.⁷³ The fair at St. Denis outside of Paris is particularly noteworthy in this context, not just because it occurred regularly throughout the Carolingian period, but because it grew in length and importance and provided the monastery of St. Denis with ever-increasing wealth from tolls.⁷⁴ “New texts indicate that, by the middle of the ninth century [and despite the devastations by the Northmen in the area], the fair at St. Denis had begun to attract merchants of the broadest geographic horizons.”⁷⁵

Wine was the main staple of the St. Denis fair, but honey, tin and madder (a plant that produced red dye) joined wine as a bulk commodity that was traded. The Northmen’s attacks in the Seine valley must have disrupted the proceedings at the St. Denis fair, but “[r]ather than stifling trade, an unexpected consequence of the Viking invasion was to drive merchants, commerce, and the markets they spawned deeper into the countryside.”⁷⁶

The Rhine was also a major thoroughfare that, according to McCormick, served a lively interregional and international trading clientele. Supporting native craft works, Dorestad was the main *emporium* for trade in wine, quernstones, ceramics and glass to England and Scandinavia, which in turn traded slaves, wool, textiles and furs to the Carolingians and supported a large population of

⁷³McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 639-647.

⁷⁴McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 648.

⁷⁵McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 649. McCormick cites a Jewish text written by Natronai of the academy of Sura (Babylonia) concerning the question of whether a Jewish trader could trade at a fair where tolls were taken to support “idolatry,” p. 650.

⁷⁶McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 651-653.

merchants consisting of Frisians and other traders. McCormick ascribes the presence of an Anglo-Saxon *sceatta* of the eighth century and a multitude of Carolingian coinage as evidence that the Carolingian kings collected tolls from the trade conducted at this locale.⁷⁷ Even tributaries of the Rhine, says McCormick, point to a lively and expanding trade between settlements in this region.⁷⁸ McCormick locates merchants at various points around the perimeters of the Frankish territories, along the navigable rivers in *emporια* and wherever and whenever the court met to convene an assembly.⁷⁹ Sawyer, too, has pointed out that the Frankish *emporια*, and those located in Scandinavian territory, were under royal jurisdiction which enabled rulers to exact tolls and other taxes. He states that, for the *emporια* in England, Francia and Scandinavia,

It was the king's privilege to grant freedom from toll and other dues at such places, and royal agents are often mentioned in connection with them. ... Toll was probably the most valuable source of revenue; the fact that many religious communities took care to obtain, preserve, sometimes have confirmed, charters granting freedom from toll on one or more ships at stated ports suggests that the payment of toll was a significant burden and therefore an important source of profit to kings.⁸⁰

McCormick also recasts the role that coinage played in the Carolingian empire. He identifies the commercial importance of sites such as Dorestad and

⁷⁷McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 653-654.

⁷⁸McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 655-666.

⁷⁹McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 668-669.

⁸⁰P.H. Sawyer, "Kings and Merchants," in P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood, eds., *Early Medieval Kingship*, (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1977), pp. 152-153.

the privileges granted to these marketplaces to mint coinage. He uses several examples from both literary references and archaeological finds in places such as Dorestad and Quentovic, and Hamwic in England to show that the numismatic evidence points to both interregional and international trade.

Silver struck at Dorestad or elsewhere in Frisia also traveled in other directions [than England]: its coins have been found up and down the Rhine system at places like Biebrich, Worms, Frankfurt, at Ilanz on the road into Italy and, in small numbers, at Haithabu and in Scandinavia. It may be that some of these coins traveled for reasons other than commerce. But the overlap with Frisia's documented trading partners inside and outside the Frankish empire means that many coins surely traveled in merchant purses.⁸¹

McCormick traces the two-way movement of coinage over the Alps from the Rhine basin by examining the contents of hoards found on both sides. Here he notes that there was a substantial trade in money for goods straddling the Alps and that long-distance commercial activity was very likely facilitated by merchants who operated locally and interregionally and were linked by entrepôts situated at various "bottleneck" points where tolls could be charged. "These more distant exchanges may have proceeded from and flowed through the regional and interregional networks." He also postulates that there was a growth in the volume of goods exchanged and in the number and duration of fairs up until about 875 at the latest, after which time the growth appears to have slowed down.⁸²

Bulk wares were also traded throughout the Carolingian empire and McCormick notes several examples of grain, salt, wine, lumber, iron, textiles and

⁸¹McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 671.

⁸²McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 694-695.

stone being transported both along river systems and coastlines, and also over land.⁸³ This brings him to his examination of the movement of another bulk commodity, but one which could move itself and transport other items with it: slaves. The existence, marketing and transport of slaves is well-attested in the written sources as is the prohibition in the Frankish empire and elsewhere for the sale and purchase of Christian slaves to pagan or Jewish buyers. Here McCormick picks up Bolin's monetary theory that the coinage that would have been traded for the slaves in such locations as Venice would have been melted down into new Carolingian silver currency either in Venice or upon reaching Carolingian territory.⁸⁴ Slaves were most often taken by Carolingians as war booty or as captured Slavs. McCormick makes an interesting observation when he looks at the paucity of archaeological evidence for the slave trade. Although some iron shackles have been found in Slavic "ring fort" excavations, he posits that these "ring forts," in fact, may have been holding-pens for Slavic slaves on their way to market.⁸⁵ On a legal note, he cites some ninth-century pacts between the Carolingians and the Venetians wherein the Venetians agreed not to knowingly allow the sale of Carolingian Christians as slaves, but the profit in slavery was so large that these prohibitions were unenforceable.⁸⁶ McCormick mentions that the lucrative slave trade increased in Carolingian Francia with the

⁸³McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 698-704.

⁸⁴McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 733-758.

⁸⁵McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 741-744.

⁸⁶McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 763-768.

numbers of slaves increasing from the eighth to the ninth century. Here he notes that the economics of the Viking and Arab raids “could not have existed without a broader, developed infrastructure for the transport and sale of slaves beyond the [Frankish] frontiers.”⁸⁷ Demand in the Islamic world, he states, increased because the Caliphate suffered an outbreak of bubonic plague during the mid-eighth century which created a shortfall in labour and “[t]he slave trade fueled the expansion of commerce between Europe and the Muslim world” towards the end of the eighth century.⁸⁸ McCormick believes, and not without reason, that “the Frankish empire itself began to feed the voracious system [of slavery; war slaves] from which it had profited. In the north, it was easier for Vikings to capture Franks, Anglo-Saxons, and Irish, directly and for free, than to pay Franks or Frisians for them.”⁸⁹

Finally, McCormick states that the “rise of the European commercial economy, indeed the rise of the European economy, period, did not begin in the tenth or eleventh century. It began, decisively, in the concluding decades of the eighth century” and continued throughout the ninth.⁹⁰

Defences

Beginning with Charlemagne, the Carolingian empire faced increasingly

⁸⁷McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 772.

⁸⁸McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 776.

⁸⁹McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 776.

⁹⁰McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 791.

numerous and active forces of Northmen who descended on the Continent repeatedly throughout the ninth century. This situation caused first Charlemagne and then his successors to plan defensive strategies to prevent the Northmen from getting a toe-hold in Carolingian territories. The methods of defence they chose resulted in varying degrees of success, but as it turned out the Franks were at a disadvantage due to the tactics used by the Northmen. In 800, Charlemagne responded to the Northmen's threats by ordering the building of a fleet to keep the Channel waters safe for Carolingian shipping and the coasts from being attacked. However, in 810 Danish pirates (whom, *The Royal Frankish Annals* identify with the Danish royal house and King Godfred) attacked and plundered the Frisian islands with 200 ships and inflicted tribute on the Frisians. But, in that year, they left Frisia and Godfred was murdered at home by one of his retainers. His successor, his nephew Hemming, made peace with Charlemagne, and the emperor cancelled the campaign against the Danes.⁹¹ In 811, Charlemagne went to the *civitas* of Boulogne to inspect his fleet and restore the lighthouse, and he travelled up the Scheldt to Ghent where he inspected the shipyards.⁹² While he saw the wisdom in trying to prevent the Northmen from attacking, the measures he took were only defensive, although in the previous year (810) he had planned to punish Godfred by attacking him, but aborted this plan when Godfred died. These defensive actions continued through the reign of Louis the Pious although only coastal communities and the areas around the

⁹¹*Annales Regni Francorum 810*, G.H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1* (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1826), p. 197.

⁹²*ARF 811*, G.H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 199.

mouth of the Rhine were attacked by the Northmen. It was during the deposition of Louis by his sons that the raids once again increased in frequency and boldness. Dorestad was reportedly attacked in 834 and, after Louis recovered power in 835, the Northmen again attacked this *emporium* in the summer of that year. This gave Louis the impetus to order further coastal defences be constructed, but when the Northmen attacked Frisia in 836 at Walcheren, Louis ordered the building of several round forts on both sides of the Scheldt estuary. After this, there were no more expeditions by the Northmen until after his death. It was after Louis's death during the resulting civil wars between his sons that the great rivers leading into the heartland of the Frankish empire began to experience an upsurge in raiding activity.⁹³ The Seine, the Meuse, and the Loire were all penetrated by the Northmen in the ensuing years, but the Northmen remained persistent because "by then the Vikings had discovered how vulnerable the churches and towns of Frankia were, and that the Franks were able and willing to pay very large amounts of silver for the sake of peace."⁹⁴ Charles the Bald was instrumental during his reign in paying off the Northmen to spare buildings, give back hostages and leave Frankish territory. This worked many times, but it became impossible for him to drive out the Northmen who became accustomed to wintering in the Carolingian empire completely. Charles also, in the absence of a fleet, was obliged to build fortifications to protect the river systems (most notably the Seine and the Loire) and the towns that had remnants

⁹³Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, pp. 81-83.

⁹⁴Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, p. 85.

of Roman walls in place but which had deteriorated due to the practice of using the walls as quarries for building materials.⁹⁵ Charles the Bald's main strategy was one of containment. To this end, he besieged the Northmen's camps and blockaded the Seine and Loire with fortified bridges, trying to halt their advances along the rivers by sinking Frankish ferries that were used to transport commercial goods along the river systems.⁹⁶ While Charles reportedly deployed a fleet in 858 to besiege the Northmen on the island of Oissel in the Seine, he was not successful in achieving his aim of defeating the Northmen in this instance. In fact, this ineffective tactic resulted in the Frankish ships being taken by the Northmen and, as Coupland states, "it is hardly surprising that Charles does not appear to have tried to build a fleet against the Vikings on any future occasion."⁹⁷ Nor did the Franks have success in besieging the Northmen on land even though they had superior technology with which to conduct sieges. The Northmen most often camped on islands which rendered the Franks' siege engines ineffective.⁹⁸

Charles the Bald's main weapon in his arsenal when he failed to emerge victorious from a battle was to pay off the Northmen and to thus limit the amount of destruction they were able to perpetrate. Although this was a costly form of

⁹⁵Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, p. 88.

⁹⁶Simon Coupland, *Charles the Bald and the Defence of the west Frankish kingdom against the Viking invasions, 840-877*, (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1987), pp. 130-131.

⁹⁷Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 132-133.

⁹⁸Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, p. 135.

pre-emptive strike since it required the collection of additional money, it was quite an effective strategy even though the magnates and ecclesiastics who were made to pay for the tribute in silver complained on numerous occasions that Charles would not engage the enemy in battle or else lost the battle outright and was obliged to levy tribute on his subjects in order to preserve his territory from continued attack by the Northmen. This situation had the added impact that, for most of the ninth century, the Northmen stayed on their boats on the river systems allowing them to choose whether to engage the land-based armies of the Carolingians or not. Clearly these tactics gave the Northmen the advantage in choosing whether to fight and where, and being able to flee by boat whenever it did not suit them to engage in battle. In his thesis, Coupland seeks to rehabilitate the reputation of Charles the Bald. He states that the armies that Charles tried to muster constantly let him down either through lack of cooperation by the magnates or by the army fleeing the scene of battle before the enemy was engaged. While this may hold some truth, it does not necessarily explain the many defeats that Charles was forced to pay for with tribute money.⁹⁹

Coupland maintains that the payment of tribute by Charles the Bald to the Northmen had a positive military outcome in that it saved the lives of his magnates and soldiery. However, he also states that the payment of tribute had a direct impact on the relationship between the Frankish church and the lay aristocracy. Church officials felt that they were having to pay substantial sums to the king in order to make the Northmen go away, and that the aristocracy and the

⁹⁹Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 135-141.

king by extension were being derelict in their duty to protect the church from invaders. Economically, although the vast sums that made up the tribute that was levied by Charles to pay off the Northmen likely had an impact mostly on the lower rungs of society, the kingdom was rich enough to afford to pay "since there was neither any discernible debasement of the currency nor lasting hardship among any section of the populace. Moreover, on every occasion when the King paid tribute, the Northmen kept their word and left the kingdom soon afterward."¹⁰⁰

However, as Riché points out it was not just the monetary impact of tribute payments that had an adverse impact on the Church, but also the fact that the ecclesiastical communities were forced to flee ahead of the raids, taking the saints' relics and their treasures with them.¹⁰¹ These movements are well-attested to in the written sources which include saints' lives, capitularies and the annals. Considerably less is able to be shown about this development from archaeological evidence except when there was a permanent abandonment of a monastery such as happened at Noirmoutier when the monks of St. Philibert were forced off the island by the Northmen's invasions and went to Déas, now Saint-Philibert de Grandlieu.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 158-165.

¹⁰¹Pierre Riché, "Consequences des invasions normandes sur la culture monastique dans l'occident franc," *Instruction et vie religieuse dans le Haut Moyen Age* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), p. 712.

¹⁰²Carol Heitz, "Architecture et monuments de Neustrie," *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850 I*, ed. Hartmut Atsma (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989), pp. 198, 201, 202, 207.

Toward the end of the ninth century, many of the great monastic houses were fortified for their defence against the Northmen's attacks.¹⁰³ This is echoed in the secular construction of fortifications that took place under Charles the Bald who, in June 864, issued his *Edict of Pitres* which related to his governance of the realm and concerned monetary reform and the fortification of *civitates*. Charles decided to take control of the defence of his territory against the Northmen and ordered that several urban centres such as Tours, Le Mans, and Orléans have their walls restored, and that *castra* be built in others such as St-Denis, Auvers, and Charenton.¹⁰⁴ Each of these sites requires examination on their own to determine the extent to which they were fortified and at what point in time. Simon Coupland, in his unpublished doctoral thesis from Cambridge University, effectively surveys the archaeological evidence of the fortifications mentioned among the secondary sources. He concludes that there is some evidence of fort construction along the coast in Frisia during the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, but that the secondary sources often have misinterpreted both the literary record and the archaeological findings during the reign of Charles the Bald. He takes particular exception to the claim that Charles the Bald constructed several fortified bridges on the Seine, Loire, Marne, and Oise rivers. In fact, he can find evidence for the construction of only two fortified

¹⁰³Riché, "Consequences des invasions normandes", p. 707. Riché states: "Tous ces monastères ont été bien souvent attaqués par les Normands et durent dans la deuxième moitié du ix^e siècle se fortifier, s'entourer de murailles pour résister à l'invasion."

¹⁰⁴F. Vercauteren, "Comment s'est-on défendu, au ix^e siècle dans l'empire franc contre les invasions normandes?" *XXX^e congrès de la Fédération archéologique de Belgique*, (Brussels: La Fédération, 1936), pp. 123-128.

bridges: one at Pont-de-l'Arche on the Seine near Pîtres and another on the Loire at Ponts-de-Cé near Angers. Other construction projects that entailed the building of fortifications included the reinforcement of existing walls around towns and fortresses and were undertaken by Charles on a smaller scale. According to Coupland's analysis, Charles was more interested in excluding the Northmen from the heartland of the Frankish empire than in fortifying sites that would be useful only to local populations. Coupland attributes Charles's reticence actively to pursue fortification building to a failure to "perceive the Viking menace as being sufficiently grave to merit action on a large scale. ... It was only during this later period [post-879 with the advent of the Great Army] that the military situation in the western kingdom became uncontrollable, and it is significant that most fortification construction was undertaken at this time."¹⁰⁵

All of the recent scholars who have advanced theories on the nature of the

¹⁰⁵Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 167-186. Here Coupland cites Vercauteren who refers to the flight of the monks of St-Vaast, and the unfit state of the defences of the *civitates* of Amiens, Thérouanne, Arras, Cambrai and Tournai which endured attacks by the Northmen in 880. Vercauteren also goes on to relate the efforts of Louis III and his successors to fortify with troops Etrun-sur-Escaut and to initiate the re-fortification of Cologne and Mayence, as well as the systematic erection of "chateaux-forts" from the early 880s through to the first few years of the 890s. See also Vercauteren "Comment s'est-on défendu?" pp. 128-132, where he distinguishes between two periods of fortification, although they both corresponded to particularly devastating activities perpetrated by the Northmen: the first, from 864 to 879 which entailed the personal intercession of the monarch; the second, from 887 to the beginning of the tenth century, which was characterized by less intervention by the monarch and consisted of private fortification projects which resulted in the area between the Seine and Rhine being covered with fortresses. He concludes with the statement that this feverish construction of fortifications against the Northmen was one of the factors leading to, and confirms, the disintegration of royal power in the ninth century.

Northmen's attacks on Francia have used both contemporary written sources and the material evidence provided by archaeological excavations. The archaeology has become more important over time as new finds are discovered and materials of the period challenge longstanding ideas about the Carolingian empire and its interaction with the Northmen. A detailed examination of the archaeology can determine, to a certain extent and with restrictions, how much damage the Northmen did to the material continuity of Frankish settlements and society. However, the written accounts still retain their power in that they point to sites where archaeologists engage in their investigations, and they still provide historians with the descriptions of the psychological impact that the Northmen produced while engaged for over fifty years in their raids on the Carolingian world.

CHAPTER 2: ANALYSIS OF THE WRITTEN TEXTS

This chapter will provide an analysis of the Carolingian written sources which describe, sometimes in great detail, the invasions of the Northmen in the Carolingian empire. While focusing on these documentary sources, some of the points they raise will be analysed thematically to point out how accurately they depicted the events they described. These primary sources range in type from annals to saints' lives and poetry, all of which were written in Latin and many of which were contemporaneous with the events they describe. The annalists who wrote in the ninth century had a purpose in portraying the Northmen as they did. Although they did not at first perceive the Northmen to be the scourge of God's wrath, as the raids became more frequent, they became convinced that God had sent these raiders to punish the Carolingians for their sinfulness. In addition to this perspective the authors present evidence that the Northmen were most interested in material acquisition and in acquiring what they could, either by destroying various sites, or in the form of tribute payments.

Even though Carolingian society was itself violent, the Northmen wrought havoc for the sheer terror of it. Accounts abound that prove that they terrorized local populations, humiliated not only kings and nobles but randomly murdered and enslaved churchmen as they strove to dominate and gain an advantage through intimidation and fear over the Frankish territories they invaded. The annalists' points of view display that they had a morally superior attitude compared to the laity for they saw themselves as God's soldiers of the soul and

their primary task was to pray for the souls of the laity and others so that they could rest in God's kingdom when they died. They were not propagandists, but true believers and they pessimistically described what they thought was God's punishment, even if at times they may have exaggerated the effects of the invasions. Their accounts, however, reveal that they did not have a comprehensive understanding of all the events that were taking place. There is evidence that Carolingian kings and nobles were on speaking and negotiating terms with many Northmen at various times, but the annalists saw them as foreign, pagan, violent and a real threat to the stability of Carolingian society.

The most complete and useful sources for the ninth-century invasions of the Northmen can be found in the *Annals of St. Bertin (AB)*, the *Annals of Fulda (AF)*, the *Chronicle of Fontanelle (CF)*, the *Annals of Saint Vaast (AV)*, the *Annals of Xanten (AX)*, and Regino of Prüm's *Chronicon (RP)*. In addition to the annals, saints' lives, particularly Rimbert's accounts of miracles in the *Vita Anskarii (VA)* accounts of miracles and the translations of relics are also useful. Other minor, regionally-specific annals such as the *Annals of Angoulême (AE)*, the *Annals of Nantes (AN)* and others make up the bulk of information available on the Northmen's incursions. Also useful are works of poetry, such as Ermold's *In Honorem Hludowici Pii*, and Abbo's *Bella Parisiacaë urbis*.

As a literary genre the medieval annals combined both ancient Roman traditions of recording lists of consuls, Easter tables, and in the eighth century took on the form which has come down to us. Annals began with the year and recorded specific events which the inscriber thought were worthy of note.

Typically, they would be written by a monk who would then circulate them from monastery to monastery for dissemination and copying. Frequently these entries would be annotated and became rather unwieldy in that form, so the events were transcribed onto fresh parchment as cumulative accounts of events for a particular year became available.¹⁰⁶ Annals, as a narrative historical genre were kept at the court of Charlemagne, and at the courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, and were particularly important as they often served a didactic function, pointing out what the current ruler's forebears did in similar circumstances. Furthermore, the court became the central point of annalistic production through the efforts of the clergy — the most literate group that comprised a portion of the Carolingian elite. The clergy served as an advisory body to Carolingian rulers and so the writing of historical annals from which rulers and their heirs could obtain advice fell generally to them. Within this context, the *De Ordine Palatii* by Hincmar and history and history-writing assumed a more central place in the governmental structure.

What distinguished history's teaching function was not just its purveying of private morals and exemplary conduct, but its direct reference to politics — to public life.... History was produced and consumed as a means of critique and contestation. It was the discourse of constructive criticism.¹⁰⁷

Moreover, the writing of history and the histories themselves were not produced solely at a static court, but because the court was peripatetic and "a state of

¹⁰⁶Michael McCormick, *Les Annales du haut moyen âge*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), pp 13-16.

¹⁰⁷Janet L. Nelson, "History-writing at the courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald," in A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter, eds., *Historiographie im Früher Mittelalter*, (Wien: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 435-438 [437].

mind,¹⁰⁸ the histories delivered a framework for providing the court and especially the king with constructive criticism that had a didactic purpose and was rarely, if ever, obsequious in tone.¹⁰⁹ The general tone in the annals is echoed in Nithard's *Historia* wherein he does not directly admonish Charles the Bald, but provides examples of the way things were handled by his grandfather Charlemagne. Biased partisanship, though, is expressed by authors in many instances throughout the annals and histories showing that these authors enjoyed full membership in the court culture of their times. Carolingian historians drew upon texts such as the Old Testament, or works by Tacitus, Livy, Julius Caesar and Suetonius to name a few of the sources that were available to them, not only for precedents instructive in subject-matter, but also for stylistic imitation. This form of history-writing indicates the dominant philosophy of history's purpose at this time: that events unfold in a narrative that not only shows that the course of human history is tied to a divine plan, but that it unfolds in a way that is consistent with it, thus linking the Carolingians to a divine purpose. "It could cement the local and particular event in the universal, the unchanging, the perennial Christian time and space."¹¹⁰ As Matthew Innes and Rosamond McKitterick point out, when examining the writing of historical annals in the ninth century

it is necessary to relate this development to a wider change in the interaction of Church and society. In many ways the Carolingian era

¹⁰⁸Nelson, "History-writing," p. 439.

¹⁰⁹Nelson, "History-writing," pp. 439-440.

¹¹⁰Nelson, "History-writing," p. 201.

witnessed the triumph of the saints' cult as the fundamental preoccupation of society.... The cult of the dead and a sense of history were inextricably entwined,¹¹¹

both in form and in content. Thus saints' lives and accounts of the translations of relics served a general historical purpose; not only a didactic one, but also as an illumination of the attitudes that the Carolingians had with respect to events such as the Northmen's invasions.

Lives of saints, translations of relics, and miracle tales written in the ninth century and later, very often contain direct references to the Northmen and their activities. The accuracy in the reports from monasteries on the translations of relics and general upheaval taking place within their vicinity are very often confirmed by capitularies issued by the reigning monarchs. For example, Ermentarius, the monk of St-Philibert, writes in the *Translations and Miracles of Saint Philibert* that

[w]e also fled to a place which is call[ed] Cunauld, in the territory of Anjou, on the banks of the Loire, which the glorious King Charles had given us for the sake of refuge, because of the imminent peril, before Angers was taken. The body of the blessed Philibert still remained in the monastery which is called Deé, although the place had been burned by the Northmen.¹¹²

¹¹¹Matthew Innes and Rosamond McKitterick, "The writing of history" in Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 200.

¹¹²D. Herlihy, trans., *The History of Feudalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 8-13, in Paul Edward Dutton, ed., *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*, 2nd edition (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004), pp. 470-471. Ermentarius, *De translationibus et miraculis sancti Filiberti, Liber II: Incipit praefatio libri secundi*, ed. René Poupardin, *Monuments de l'histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1905), p. 61. "Fugimus et nos in locum qui Conaldus vocatur in territorio Andecavensi, super alveum Ligeris, quem Karolus jamdictus rex gloriosus propter imminens periculum, antequam Andecavis caperetur, nobis dederat ob

This donation of Cunauld to the monks of St-Philibert is confirmed by the capitulary issued by Charles the Bald on 27 December 845 at Saint-Martin of Tours, where he states that he would grant them refuge at Cunauld so that they could flee the depredations of the Northmen and Bretons.¹¹³

Fleury figures prominently in 853/4 when the Northmen attacked it for a second time. The *AB* mentions that

in July the Danes left the Seine and went to the Loire where they sacked the town of Nantes and the monastery of St-Florent and its neighbourhood.... On 8 November, Danish pirates from Nantes heading further inland brazenly attacked the town of Tours and burned it, along with the church of St-Martin, and other neighbouring places.¹¹⁴

Other annals confirm that the Northmen were sacking and burning settlements in the area. Adrevald of Fleury's *Miraculi s. Benedicti*¹¹⁵ and the *Annales Engolismenses (AE)*¹¹⁶ report that in 853 Fleury, Nantes and Tours all

causam refugii, corpore beati Filiberti adhuc in monasterio quod Deae dicitur relicto, quamvis a Northmannis incenso.”

¹¹³M. Georges Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, vol. 1, no. 81, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1943), pp. 227-228.

¹¹⁴Janet L. Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 76. Prudentius, *Annales Bertiniani 853*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 1* (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1826), pp. 447-448. “Dani mense Iulio, relicta Sequana, Ligenim adeuntes, Namnetim urbem et monasterium sancti Florentii ac vicina loca populantur.... Piratae Danorum a Namnetibus superiora petentes, mense Novembri, 6. videlicet Idus, urbem Turonum impune adeunt atque incendunt cum ecclesia sancti Martini et ceteris adiacentibus locis.”

¹¹⁵Adrevald of Fleury, *Miraculi s. Benedicti*, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1* (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1887), p. 494. “Et primo quidem adventu urbem Namneticam incendio cremavere,”

¹¹⁶*AE 853*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1859), p. 486. “Et mense Iunio sancti Florentii monasterium et Nametis civitas, Turonis quoque, similiter exuruntur.”

were pillaged and burned. Not only the annals and Adrevald's *Miraculi* confirm these events, but so too does Charles the Bald's capitulary that was issued at Tours on 22 August 854 for the benefit of the prior at the monastery of St-Martin whose written records of the titles to its monastic properties and other privileges were lost as a result of the fires set by the Northmen the previous year.¹¹⁷ Many other instances confirming these sorts of events that occurred throughout the ninth century can be found by comparing reports of destruction perpetrated by the Northmen and the capitulary evidence. It is, therefore, possible to verify the validity of passages in many texts by comparing them to others. While the annalists shared information by circulating their documents, it is clear that in many instances the capitularies confirm their statements to be largely factual with respect to the Northmen's activities. This may also mean that the authors had first-hand knowledge of the capitularies in question; however, it does not alter the fact that in general the accounts appear to be accurate. This assessment of accuracy does not preclude the existence of biased reporting on the part of the annalists. They were writing history for a limited public, and also for themselves.

What reasons did the annalists, historians and other clergy give for the Northmen's invasions in the ninth century? Tied to this question is the idea that,

[f]or medieval historians, although they clung to the old clichés, the whole purpose of history became an anti-rhetorical effort to

¹¹⁷ *Capitulary 167, 22 August 854—Tours*, M. Georges Tessier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1943), p. 441. "Addidit etiam jam dictus grex, id quod omnium plangit memoria, qualiter saevissimi atque crudelissimi Turonum supervenerint Normanni et lamentabili excidio concremaverint cum coeteris omnibus monasterium praefati sancti et ob hanc causam cartarum instrumenta ex rebus praefatae ecclesiae pertinentibus deperiissent."

penetrate the surface of experience, (especially human contrivance, that most volatile and uncertain surface) to the stable center of Divine purpose. Serious reality was no longer on earth at all, but only in the immaterial realm which alone gave meaning to human history, and could be traced in microcosm in the individual soul.¹¹⁸

Several authors who wrote letters and histories believed, to varying degrees, that it was as punishment for their sins that God sent the Northmen to pillage and destroy their lands. This is the prism through which many churchmen looked at and interpreted events around them. The tone of divine retribution which the clerical authors express that were levelled on the sins of the Franks is contained in more than one tract; in fact,

at the heart of Carolingian theology was a divinely determined universe, where God's sovereignty was paramount, and where he had chosen the Franks as his elect people, with all the privileges and responsibilities that this entailed. It was this world-view that led them to regard the Vikings as the rod of God's wrath, sent to punish Frankish sinfulness, but also as the people of God's wrath, pagans who should be resisted and slain without mercy.¹¹⁹

This tonal element is present in *miracula*, annals, saints' lives, and capitularies.

It is through the piecing-together of these somewhat disparate genres that a form of Carolingian historiography can be discerned. "This helps explain why a genre [history] proper with a set form never developed, but instead miscellaneous but broadly historiographical forms were used — biography, vision

¹¹⁸Nancy F. Partner, "The New Cornificius: Medieval History and the Artifice of Words," in Ernst Breisach, ed., *Classical Rhetoric & Medieval Historiography* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985), p. 48.

¹¹⁹Simon Coupland, "The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath? The Carolingian Theology of the Viking Invasions," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 42, no. 4, (1991), p. 554.

literature, epic poetry, classical histories and hagiography.”¹²⁰ Thus, the epic and panegyric poetry of the Carolingian period is also useful in discerning details on the attitudes of the elite with respect to the invasions of the Northmen.

Biographies, particularly produced during the reign of Louis the Pious are illustrative of this weaving together of a history of his reign and the reasons how and why activities and reactions took place. All of these sources had audiences, and messages that the authors wished to convey. As Matthew Innes puts it, “[t]exts are to be related to their context, and read as coherent statements designed to have an effect on a contemporary audience. Reading a text necessitates the assembly of as much data as possible about the author’s chronological, geographical, social and cultural locations as a key to unlock historical context.”¹²¹

The *AB* and the *AF* provide the most complete accounts of the incursions of the Northmen throughout the ninth century. The *AB* were written by a series of three (or, possibly more) authors. For the years before 835, several options identifying the author(s) for the *AB* have been put forward. The editor Levillan suggested that the first author was Fulco, a royal chaplain at the court of Louis the Pious, but it is Nelson’s contention that there may have been multiple authors throughout the reign of Louis due to the fact that the annals were written at the

¹²⁰M. Innes and R. McKitterick, “The writing of history,” in R. McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 203.

¹²¹Matthew Innes, “Introduction: using the past, interpreting the present, influencing the future,” in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes, eds., *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 4.

palace under the direction of Drogo, the archchaplain.¹²² Prudentius, a Spaniard who was a member of the imperial household and “remained well placed to participate in the ongoing task of annal-keeping”¹²³ kept up the annals after 835 and “[t]he focus on the palace is clearer than ever: only there could much of the information entered in the *AB* have been amassed.”¹²⁴ Prudentius appears to have continued writing the *AB* even after he left Charles the Bald's palace in 843 or 844 to take up his position as bishop of Troyes.¹²⁵ The tone of the *AB* changes after Prudentius's move from the court. He is increasingly critical of Charles and became part of the conspiracy centred in the Loire region that invited Louis the German to take over Charles's crown in the 850s. His descriptions and the subject matter he chooses to include in the *AB* become increasingly personal and, when he died in 861, Hincmar of Rheims took over the task of continuing the annals until his own death in 882.¹²⁶ Hincmar's perspective, although he was a noble “insider” in the Frankish court had similarities with Prudentius's contribution in that his focus was largely personal, “often [displaying an] idiosyncratic view, not intended for the public gaze, still less for the king's.”¹²⁷ Hincmar suffered, along with many other courtiers, periodic

¹²²Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, pp. 6-7.

¹²³Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 7.

¹²⁴Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 7.

¹²⁵Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 8.

¹²⁶Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 9.

¹²⁷Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 11.

estrangement from the court and the king. He appears to have written his portion of the *AB* for his circle at Rheims and, as an expert politician, very often contradicted himself by being less than honest in his accounts. However, Hincmar's contribution to the *AB* is valuable in that he was in close proximity to the court and to other documentation produced at the time when he was writing the annals. This situation allowed Hincmar to produce a very full account of the activities and ideas at court as well as the comings and goings of various important personages. "Yet Hincmar's evident bias should warn against taking his judgements at face value or allowing them to determine ours."¹²⁸ One example of Hincmar's strong views entering into his account can be seen when in 866 he condemns Ranulf and Robert for taking the lay-abbacies of St. Hilary and St. Martin respectively and he states that "they deserved to suffer the retribution [i.e. death] that befell them.... Hincmar strongly disapproved of lay-abbacies."¹²⁹ Bias can also be detected in the literary sources if the same events are compared to one another. Hincmar writes that in 881 the Battle of Saucourt against the Northmen was a defeat for the Franks. In several other sources this "defeat" is reported as a tremendous Frankish victory. Once more, Hincmar's personal bias is evident because in depicting Saucourt as a defeat for the Franks, he was seeking to discredit his arch-rival, Gauzlin who was an ally of

¹²⁸Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 13.

¹²⁹Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 135, and note 27. Hincmar, *AB* 866, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 473. "Et quoniam Ramnulfus et Rodbertus de praecedentium se se vindicta, qui contra suum ordinem alter abbatiam sancti Hilarii, alter abbatiam sancti Martini praesumpserat, castigari noluerunt, in se ultionem experiri meruerunt."

Louis the Younger.¹³⁰

The *AF* are also detailed and deal with events in eastern Frankish territory, though they are less straightforward than the *AB* which were a continuation of the *Royal Frankish Annals (ARF)* and where there were two clearly definable later authors. It has been suggested that there were at least three surviving and possibly up to four lost manuscripts which make up the bulk of the *AF* although “[t]he surviving manuscripts are only an echo of what must once have been a much more extensive transmission, to judge by the use made of *AF* by a number of later annalists and compilers.”¹³¹ Interestingly enough the *AF* seems to provide a more king-centred account of events and not as much space is devoted in them to ecclesiastical matters as in the *AB*. Furthermore, the *AF* expresses only fragmentary entries on the Northmen’s activities. The locales where the annals were produced made a great deal of difference in their

¹³⁰Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 222. Hincmar, *AB 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 513. “Qui vastantes [Nortmanni] omnia in suo itinere, Corbeiae monasterium et Ambianis civitatem aliaque sancta loca occupaverunt, de quibus non modicam partem occisis ceterisque fugatis, et ipse Ludovicus una cum suis retrorsum, nemine persequente, non humana sed divina virtute patratum extiterit.” See also *Annales Vedastini 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 520. : “Moxque Nortmanni fugam ineunt, adque dictam villam deveniunt: quos rex insecutus est, gloriosissimeque de iis triumphavit. Et patrata victoria ex parte, coeperunt gloriari suis hoc actum viribus, et non dederunt gloriam Deo.” And, Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 883*, G. H. Pertz ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 593. “Fuit enim vir [Hludowicus rex] virtutis maximae, regnumque sibi subditum a paganorum infestatione potenter viriliterque defendit. Inter caetera quae strenue gessit, illud praecipue proelium commendatur, quod adversum Nordmannos in loco qui vocatur Sodaltcurt summis viribus exercuit; in quo certamine, ut ferunt, plusquam octo milia adverariorum gladio prostravit.”

¹³¹Timothy Reuter, trans. and ed., *The Annals of Fulda*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 2.

convergences of accounts of the Northmen's raids. Timothy Reuter writes that "this is because the authors were writing for an audience which had far more background knowledge than we do, but it is likely also that the deficiencies of *AF* here reflect deficiencies in the authors' own knowledge."¹³² Events in the *AF*, though, can also be confirmed by the capitulary evidence and the *AF* remains a critical source for information on where and when the Northmen penetrated the east Frankish kingdom.

In examining the "lesser" annals, it is necessary to recognize that they were either compiled by monks who had access to the more substantial annalists' materials (*AF* and *AB*), or were written as a chronicle (no commentary provided, only date and occurrences) as perhaps the contributors of basic information for the compilers of the greater annals of local events and dates when these events occurred. It is most likely, though, that the former situation was the case. There are many examples of accounts of the Northmen's attacks that can be found in lesser annals; for instance, the *AE* reports that in 835, "On the 14 August Rainald fought with the Northmen on the island of [Noirmoutier]."¹³³ This entry resurfaces again about 860 when Ermentarius, the monk of St. Philibert wrote extensively about the Northmen's raids in his *De translationibus et miraculis sancti Filiberti*. In this work he describes the

¹³²Reuter, trans. and ed., *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 11.

¹³³*AE* 835, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 485: "insula Rainaldus 13. Kal. Septembris cum Normannis congregitur."

translations of the body of St. Philibert.¹³⁴ Another example of the “cross pollination” of annalistic accounts occurs when the *CF* mention that on 14 May 841 the Northman Oskar raided and burned the city of Rouen, returned a few days later and burned the monastery of Jumièges while a tribute payment was made to him for the preservation of the Abbey of Fontanelle and monks were ransomed.¹³⁵ This account is reproduced in the *AB* of the same year.

“Meanwhile Danish pirates sailed down the Channel and attacked Rouen, [raging against] the town with pillage, fire and sword, slaughtered or took captive the monks and the rest of the population, and laid waste all the monasteries and other places along the banks of the Seine, or else took large payments and left them thoroughly terrified.”¹³⁶ *The Chronicle of Nantes (CN)*, another minor work, depicts the attack on Nantes and its surrounding area in 843 by the Northmen. This occurrence is echoed in the *AE* and also in the *AB* for the same year. That these disparate sources reflect the same events, albeit with slightly different foci

¹³⁴Ermentarius, *De translationibus et miraculis sancti Filiberti, praefatio* in Poupardin, ed., *Abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, pp. 23-25.

¹³⁵*CF* 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 301. “Anno dominicae incarnationis 841, indictione 4, quarto Idus Maii venerunt Nortmanni, Oscheri quoque dux. Pridie Idus Maii incensa est ab eis urbs Rothomagensis; 17. Kal. Iunii redemptum est Fontinellense coenobium libris 6; 5. Kal. Iunii venerunt monachi de sancto Dionysio, redemeruntque captivos sexaginta octo libris viginti sex.”

¹³⁶Nelson, ed. and transl., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 50. Prudentius, *AB* 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 437. “Interea piratae Danorum ab oceano Euripo devecti, Rotumam irruentes, rapinis, ferro, ignique bacchantes, urbem, monachos, reliquumque vulgum et caedibus et captivitate pessumdederunt, et omnia monasteria seu quaecumque loca flumini Sequanae adhaerentia aut depopulati sunt, aut multis acceptis pecuniis territa relinquunt”

and embellishments, speaks to the possibility that the information could have been shared either by the circulation of annalistic writings, or from hearsay. Most likely the annals written closer to the events were obtained and used by the author of the *AB*, in this case Prudentius.¹³⁷ Many other such connections between the main and lesser annals can be found throughout the ninth century. Saints' lives and miracles also form another body of work that provides relevant information and shows the Carolingians' attitudes toward the invading Northmen. Ermentarius writes quite specifically about the Northmen's attack on Nantes when he describes the reasons for the translation of the saint's relics from Noirmoutier to the interior of the mainland.

Particularly Ermold's *In honorem Hludowici Pii* and Abbo of St. Germain's *Bella Parisiaca Urbis* show not only the accomplishments of the victorious Carolingians, but also their objectives and attitudes in their encounters with the Northmen. It must, however, be kept in mind that these poems have a tendency to exaggerate the positive characteristics of the Frankish military elite in comparison to the Northmen and that one of the purposes of the poems was to praise the Carolingian rulers.

¹³⁷*CN 843*, in René Merlet, ed., *La Chronique de Nantes* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1896), pp. 15-22. "Normannorum ferox natio, numerosa classe advecti, Ligerim Fluvium, qui inter novam Britanniam et ultimos Aquitaniae fines in occiduum mergitur Oceanum, ingrediuntur. Deinde, dato classibus zephiro, ad urbem Namneticam ... Igitur, quum isti crudelissimi Normanni Namneticam urbem et territorium ejus, vicos et castella Metallicae regionis et Theopalgiae et Herbadillicae dissipassent, oneratis navibus suis plurima multitudine captivorum atque magna congerie auri et argenti et ornamentis, per alveum Ligeris navigantes, usque Herio insulam regressi sunt." Also *AE 843*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 486, "Nametis civitas a Westfaldingis capitur."

Many of the sources contain accounts of the numbers of invading Northmen, often the numbers of their ships. While the number of passengers in them cannot be precisely confirmed, the impression that they leave in the written sources is that the Franks were clearly overwhelmed by the arrival of the Northmen in their territory. Peter Sawyer has estimated that, based on the size of the Northmen's ships, the armies of the Northmen could range anywhere from a few hundred to a "great army" of some thousands of warriors.¹³⁸

Since ships varied greatly in size, anything from ten to sixty might be an appropriate multiplier. Early medieval writers used numbers impressionistically. Round numbers are ubiquitous, and often frankly incredible, but more precise figures may have no greater authority. Taken as a whole, the evidence suggests war-bands in hundreds, with the obvious corollary that what contemporaries agreed was 'a great army' numbered thousands.¹³⁹

The annals and some of the histories report on the deaths of Franks and Northmen who were clearly identified as nobles or leaders of the Frankish armies or bands of Northmen. These casualties number in the tens and can be considered accurate since the individuals were named, but when numbers of casualties are reported in the hundreds, and in some cases the thousands, it is impossible to confirm them. Several historians have tried to estimate the size of the armies of the Northmen, but to no avail. Peter Sawyer and Albert d'Haenens are inclined to believe that the numbers of Northmen reported by the contemporary authors are exaggerated and did not surpass the Frankish troops

¹³⁸Sawyer, "The Age of the Vikings, and Before," in Sawyer, ed., *Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, pp. 38-40.

¹³⁹Nelson, "The Frankish Empire," in Sawyer, ed., *Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, p. 40.

gathered to oppose them.¹⁴⁰ Coupland, quite rightly concludes that

it appears from the very limited evidence at our disposal that many of the Carolingian armies which fought the Vikings were numbered in hundreds rather than thousands. When the king mustered the entire Frankish host, however, it is likely that several thousands, but not tens of thousands, took the field.¹⁴¹

The only advantages the Northmen had were the element of surprise and their use of their longboats which could be rowed up rivers to attack unsuspecting victims. Smaller and numerous different bands of Northmen frequently acted alone and these had fewer numbers than the "Great Army" that gathered together under separate leaders when the Northmen attacked Frankish territory from 879 to 881. The numbers of Northmen who participated in this invasion exceeded those of previous attacks and may well have numbered in the thousands. Abbo, as an eye-witness, in his *Bella Parisiacae urbis* gives the number of Northmen who besieged Paris in 885/6. In the poem he states that

Ships— seven hundred, not to mention smaller ones,
Tall ships, beyond a number that could reckon them—

.....

He [Odo] roused twice P— 200 Christians, so few—
But then "M *chile*"— forty thousand — cruel foes
Assault the tower anew in turns, together grim,
Redoubling the war.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd ed., p. 128; Albert d'Haenens, *Les Invasions normandes, une catastrophe?* (Paris: Flammarion, 1970), pp. 21-22.

¹⁴¹Simon Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, p. 104.

¹⁴²Anthony Adams and A. G. Rigg, "A Verse Translation of Abbo of St. Germain's *Bella Parisiacae urbis*," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 14, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004), pp. 22, 26. Abbo, *Bella Parisiacae urbis*, in Henri Waquet, ed. and trans., *Abbon. Le Siège de Paris par les Normands, poème du IXe siècle*, lines 28-29, 114-117, (Paris: Société d'Édition «Les Belles Lettres,» 1964), pp. 14, 24. "Septies aérias centum

What these passages indicate is that the Northmen clearly out-numbered the Franks at Paris, but the figures Abbo provides clearly cannot be confirmed.

Charles the Bald, beginning in the 850s, more frequently sought to buy-off the Northmen by paying them tribute to go away, or at least to be less aggressive while in his kingdom. This old and well-tested strategy worked especially well during the early stages of Charles's policy towards the Northmen. For the most part, the Northmen left the kingdom when they had been paid off and as Coupland remarks, "[i]t is therefore apparent that the payment of tribute was a highly effective means of permanently removing a Viking fleet from the kingdom, and a study of the annals shows that it was actually far more effective than defeating them in battle."¹⁴³ Tribute payments, however, did not make the ecclesiastical authorities very happy. This fact also ties in to the Frankish Church's criticism of the roles assumed by ecclesiastical and secular authorities. The annals, written by churchmen, invariably depict these tribute payments in a negative light. They resented the exaction of precious metals (i.e. their treasures) by secular authorities when it became expedient for the Frankish kings to pay off the Northmen instead of engaging them in battle. Many sources recall with disdain the call for assistance from the Church in paying the tributes to the Northmen. For instance, Ermentarius records that "[e]veryone gave himself over to flight; rare was the man who said: 'Stay, stay, resist, fight for the fatherland, for

praeter juniores/ Quamplures numero naves numerante carentes ... P
geminum fidos, raro quamvis, vegetabat,/ M que truces posthac chile —
seranta chile id extat —/ Hice recenter eunt vicibus turrim, jube fedii/
Ingeminant bellum."

¹⁴³Simon Coupland, "The Frankish Tribute Payments to the Vikings and their Consequences," *Francia*, 26, 1, (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1999), p. 70.

children and relatives.' Thus, losing heart and feuding among themselves, they purchased by tribute what they should have defended with arms, and the kingdom of the Christians succumbed."¹⁴⁴ In 858 a letter written by the west Frankish bishops also mentions their displeasure with the despoiling of Church property to pay tribute to the Northmen: "The kingdom, which is being ransomed, should be freed from this undeserved tribute."¹⁴⁵ The tactic of paying off the Northmen, however, was an effective one. Northmen were most interested in obtaining wealth no matter where it came from and would exchange payments for leaving churches and other buildings intact. They frequently also captured churchmen in order to obtain ransom for their release as well as tribute to depart.

During this period, Charles also began to build inland defences to arrest the movements of the Northmen up the rivers. The most notable and important defensive measures that he took were to build bridges that cut off access to the Seine at Pont-de-l'Arche in 862 and 866, about two kilometres downstream from his palace at Pîtres where the Andelle and Eure rivers flow into the Seine,¹⁴⁶ and

¹⁴⁴Dutton, ed., *Carolingian Civilization*, p. 471. Ermentarius, *De translationibus et miraculis sancti Filiberti, Praefatio II*, Poupardin, ed. *Monument de l'histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, p. 62. "[O]mnes fugam arripiunt; rarus est qui dicat: «State, state, resistite, pugnate pro patria, liberis et gente.» Sicque torpentes atque invicem dissidentes, quod defendere debuerant armis, tributis redimunt, ac Christianorum pessumdatur regnum."

¹⁴⁵*Epistola synodi Carisiaciensis ad Hludowicum regem Germaniae directa, c. 6, MGH: Capit. 2*, in Coupland, trans., "The Frankish Tribute Payments," *Francia* 26, 1, p. 72.

¹⁴⁶Hincmar, *AB 862*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 457. "Carolus, horum pater, omnes primores regni sui ad locum qui Pistis dicitur, ubi ex una parte Andella et ex altera Audura Sequanam influunt, circa Iunii

at Les Ponts-de-Cé on the Loire river in 873 after the battle over Angers.¹⁴⁷

During the 860s and 870s Charles also initiated the fortification, or re-fortification of several *civitates* in the areas where the Northmen were particularly active: on the Seine and its tributaries and in the Loire region.

Converting the Northmen in Scandinavia to Christianity was one aspect of the complex contact the Carolingians had with the Scandinavians. They made the first move in the integration of Scandinavia with the rest of Christian Europe which was promoted and sponsored first by Louis the Pious and subsequently by his heirs. One of the most thorough and interesting accounts of these missions was written in the VA by Rimbert, his successor in Bremen-Hamburg. It relates in detail the successes and failures of Anskar's attempts at converting the pagans to Christianity and paints a picture of what Anskar had to do in order to accomplish his mission.¹⁴⁸

In the VA, Rimbert relates how Anskar came to be called to his mission and credits Louis the Pious with starting the process when King Harald was at the court, was converted to Christianity and received the territory of Rūstringen from Louis in 826.¹⁴⁹ At this point, to cement their relationship, Louis

Kalendas cum multis operariis et carris convenire facit, et in Sequana munitiones construens, ascendendi vel descendendi navibus propter Nortmannos aditum intercludit."

¹⁴⁷See *The Capitulary of Quierzy*, June 877, Tessier ed., *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, pp. 456-458. "de castellis super Sequanam et super Ligerim." See also Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 183-184.

¹⁴⁸Dutton, ed., *Carolingian Civilization*, p. 400.

¹⁴⁹ARF 826, Bernhard Walter Scholz, trans., *Carolingian Chronicles*:

[a]t a public gathering of his chief men at which their priests and other good men were present, the emperor raised this matter and earnestly begged all of them to find someone who might volunteer for this difficult and honorable task. ... At the king's command Anskar was summoned to the palace and the abbot [Wala] explained to him everything that had been done and explained the reason for his being summoned. ... He was then led into the presence of the emperor, who asked him whether on God's behalf and for the sake of preaching the Gospel among the Danish peoples, he would become the companion of Harald, whereupon he replied that he was entirely willing.¹⁵⁰

Therefore, from early in the ninth century some of the Carolingians' contact with the Northmen included peaceful relations.

Carolingian rulers and nobles were not above allying themselves with the Northmen whenever it suited their own purposes and the Northmen were not above rescinding their peace agreements when it suited them, thus causing Frankish leaders to "lose face" on a regular basis. Several entries in the annals report that this was in fact the case. Prudentius records in the *AB* that in 841,

Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1972), p. 119. Einhard, *AB* 826 in G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 214. "Eodem tempore Herioldus cum uxore et magna Danorum multitudine veniens, Mogontiaci apud sanctum Albanum cum his quos secum adduxit baptizatus est, multisque muneribus ab imperatore donatus, per Frisiam, qua venerat via, reversus est. In qua provincia unus comitatus qui Hriustri vocatur, eidem datus est, ut in eum se cum rebus suis, si necessitas exigeret, recipere potuisset."

¹⁵⁰Rimbert, *Life of St. Anskar*, C. H. Robinson, trans., *Anskar, The Apostle of the North, 801-865* (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1921) revised in Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, pp. 407-408. Rimbert, *Vita s. Anskarii*, D. C. F. Dahlmann, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 694. "Quem cum iterum ad sua remittere vellet, ut eius auxilio munitus regni sui fines repeteret, coepit diligentius quaerere, ... iubente rege evocatur ad palatium: cui abbas cuncta quae acta et dicta sunt retulit et quid vocaretur aperuit. ... Deductus itaque ad praesentiam Augusti, cum ab ipso interrogaretur, utrum pro Dei nomine, causa in gentibus Danorum euangelium praedicandi, comes fieri vellet Herioldi? Omnino se velle constanter respondit." See also J. T. Palmer, "Rimbert's Vita Anskarii and Scandinavian Mission in the Ninth Century," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55, 2004, pp. 235-256.

Lothar,

to secure the services of Harald, who along with other Danish pirates had for some years been imposing many sufferings on Frisia and the other coastal regions of the Christians, to the damage of Lothar's father's interests and the furtherance of his own, now granted him Walcheren and the neighbouring regions as a benefice. This was surely an utterly detestable crime, that those who had brought evil on Christians should be given power over the lands and people of the Christians, and over the very churches of Christ; that the persecutors of the Christian faith should be sent up as lords over Christians, and Christian folk had to serve men who worshipped demons.¹⁵¹

In 850, the *AF* reports on the Northmen's treachery and the impotence of

Lothar to contain them:

Roric the Northman held the *vicus* Dorestad as a benefice with his brother Heriold [Harald] in the time of the emperor Louis. After the deaths of the emperor and his own brother he was denounced as a traitor—falsely as it is said—to Lothar, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom, and was captured and imprisoned. He escaped and became the man of Louis, king of the eastern Franks. After he had stayed there for some years, living among the Saxons, who are neighbours of the Northmen, he collected a not insubstantial force of Danes and began a career of piracy, attacking places near the northern coast of Lothar's kingdom by the North Sea. He came through the mouth of the river Rhine to Durestad, seized and held it. Because the emperor Lothar was unable to drive him out without danger to his own men, Roric was received back into fealty on the advice of his counsellors and through mediators on condition that he would faithfully handle the taxes and other matters pertaining to the royal fisc, and would resist the piratical attacks of the Danes.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ *AB 841*, Janet L. Nelson, ed. and transl., *The Annals of St-Bertin: Ninth-Century Histories, Volume I*, p. 51. Prudentius, *AB 841*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 437-438. "[Lotharius] Herioldo, qui cum ceteris Danorum maritimis incommoda tanta sui causa ad patris iniuriam invexerat, Gualacras [Walcheren] aliaque vicina loca huius meriti gratia in beneficium contulit. Dignum sane omni detestatione facinus, ut qui mala christianis intulerant, iidem christianorum terris et populis Christiane ecclesie praeferrentur, ut persecutores fidei christianae domini christianorum existerent, et daemonum cultoribus christiani populi deservirent!"

¹⁵² *AF 850*, Reuter, trans. and ed., *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 30. *AF 850*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 366. "Rorih, natione Nordmannus, qui temporibus Hludowici imperatoris cum fratre Herioldo vicum Dorestadum

The *AB* reports the same events, but with slightly different details, that

Roric, the nephew [relative] of Harald, who had recently defected from Lothar, raised whole armies of Northmen with a vast number of ships and laid waste Frisia and the island of Betuwe and other places in that neighbourhood by sailing up the Rhine and the Waal. Lothar, since he could not crush Roric, received him into his allegiance and granted him Dorestad and other counties.¹⁵³

Although these same events are reported slightly differently, they illustrate the same theme: that the Frankish leaders were compelled by circumstances, either through their own making or not, to enter into alliances with the Northmen, and that the Northmen could not be trusted. Thus, the Franks on occasion were forced to “sleep with the enemy.”

The writers of annals and other documentary sources of the period clearly represent the attacks by the Northmen as a visitation of evil upon them by an

iure beneficii tenuit, post obitum imperatoris, defuncto fratre, apud Hlotharium, qui patri successit in regno, poditionis crimine falso, ut fama est, insimulatus, tentus et in custodiam missus est. Unde fuga lapsus, in fidem Hludowici, regis orientalium Francorum, veniens, cum per annos aliquot ibi moraretur, et inter Saxones qui confines Nordmannis sunt mansitaret, collecta Danigenarum non modica manu, coepit piraticam exercere, et loca regni Hlotharii septentrionalis oceani litoribus contigua vastare: venitque per hostia Rheni fluminis Dorestadum, et occupavit eam atque possedit; et cum a Hlothario principe sine periculo suorum non posset expelli, cum consilio senatus, legatis mediantibus, in fidem receptus est, ea conditione, ut tributis caeterisque negotiis ad regis aerarium pertinentibus fideliter inserviret, et piraticis Danorum incursionibus obviando resisteret.”

¹⁵³*AB 850*, Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 69. Prudentius, *AB 850*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 445. “Roric nepos Herioldi, qui nuper a Lothario defecerat, assumptis Nortmannorum exercitibus, cum multitudine navium Fresiam et Batavum insulam aliaque vicina loca per Rhenum et Vahelem devastat. Quem Lotharius cum comprimere nequiret, in fidem recepit, eique Dorestadum et alios comitatus largitur.”

angry God. There was a purpose, chiefly theological, at the centre of the annalists' accounts. They understood the Northmen to be the "scourge of God's wrath," for they were convinced that God had sent these raiders to punish the Carolingians for their sinfulness. The authors of the documentary evidence for the Northmen's attacks had few other explanations for why these men of the North perpetrated this violence upon them despite their prayers, other than to return to the idea that they somehow deserved it either through their own individual sinfulness or through the sins of Frankish society as a whole. Both Audradus Modicus and Ementarius write that the Northmen descended on the Franks from the north in response to Jeremiah's prediction that "[f]rom the north shall an evil break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land."¹⁵⁴ Their interpretations of the Northmen's raids also suggests that they perceived that these invaders sought to challenge Christianity, and by attacking and looting churches and abbeys and kidnapping and murdering churchmen, the wrath of God was truly embodied in these heathens from the north. But, it is highly unlikely that the Northmen were on a mission to spread their pagan beliefs, which was one of the fears of the Frankish Church throughout the ninth century. The Northmen, as if underlining the Frankish Church's concern that the Northmen wished to eradicate Christianity, made a particular point of attacking Christian sites and taking Christian trophies back with them to Scandinavia. Among these items were books and items made from silver and gold, as well as church beams

¹⁵⁴Herlihy, trans. *The History of Feudalism*, in Dutton, ed., *Carolingian Civilization*, p 471.

as souvenirs.¹⁵⁵

Franks regularly are reported to have fled ahead of the invaders. Certainly this is true of the monks who gathered their treasures from their establishments and sought safer ground further inland or with brother monks in other monasteries, all of which can be confirmed by capitulary evidence. A wholesale exodus of relics from areas under frequent and sometimes constant attack from the Northmen cannot be confirmed, however. Churchmen did not consider their relics to be inanimate. They served as the protectors of their houses and their orders. As such, it was important that saints' relics be located in the places where they could be most beneficial. Felice Lifshitz points out when she writes that Neustrian relics were a hot commodity, "that the desirability of the relics of the ecclesiastical province of Rouen arose [in the tenth century] precisely because it was recognized how well those relics had protected their homelands from depredation during the ninth century."¹⁵⁶ Further evidence for relic removal being a "last resort" is attested by the fact that Charles the Bald ordered that the relics of St. Denis not be removed from their shrine during the attack by the Northmen on Paris in 845.¹⁵⁷ When Ermentarius reports on the

¹⁵⁵See *Translatio sancti Germani Parisiensis 845, Analecta Bollandiana 2*, c. 30, pp. 91-92. Here the Northman Ragnar is reported to have removed a beam from the monastery at Saint-Germain-des-Prés: "jussit ei jam dictus Ragenarius trabem ex monasterio domni Germani et seram portae Parisiacae urbis in testimonium afferi."

¹⁵⁶Felice Lifshitz, "The migration of Neustrian relics in the Viking Age: the myth of voluntary exodus, the reality of coercion and theft," *Early Medieval Europe*, 4, 2, (Harlow, England: Longman Group Limited, 1995), p. 178.

¹⁵⁷*Translatio s. Germani Parisiensis 846*: "nec non et cetera sanctorum corpora qui in hac regione multo jacuerant tempore, e propriis essent

translation of St. Philibert's relics from Noirmoutier, he illustrates that the Northmen who attacked the Loire region had begun to over-winter in the area, and in 836 the decision to remove the saint's relics from the island required that King Pepin I of Aquitaine be solicited for his agreement for the relics to be translated. Relics had political meaning, as well as ecclesiastical importance, so it was necessary to have the agreement of the ruling monarch in order for the monks to remove the relics from their base.¹⁵⁸ There are several other instances where the monarch was appealed to when the monks sought to relocate in the face of attacks from the Northmen. Charles the Bald issued several capitularies granting either temporary or permanent relocation sites to these monastic houses.¹⁵⁹ In the face of the increasing frequency and fervour of the Northmen's attacks, Charles used these capitularies as a public relations exercise as Lifshitz points out.

The foundation of Tournus as a new home for Filibertus took place in 875 at St Denis, the site of so many of the most ideologically-charged moments in Carolingian dynastic history. ... Tournus was founded

effossa sepulcris, tamen praeceptione ac jussione domni Karoli, gloriosissimi regis, ad alium inde non sunt permissa deportari locum" in *secundum primaevam narrationem, Analecta Bollandiana* 2, c. 8, p. 75.

¹⁵⁸Ermentarius, *De translationibus et miraculis sancti Filiberti, praefatio*, in Poupardin, ed., *Abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, p. 25. "Annuate quippe Pipino serenissimo rege, pari consensu comites, caeterique fideles qui illic adfuerunt, decreverunt multo melius fore beati Filiberti corpus inde transferri debere quam ibi derelinqui; quod effectum esse constat anno incarnationis domini nostri Jhesu Christi supra scripto."

¹⁵⁹Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 1: *Capitulary* 81, 27 December 845, pp. 227-229; *Capitulary* 91, 15 February 847, pp. 245-274; *Capitulary* 167, 22 August 854, pp. 438-442; Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2: *Capitulary* 287, 21 July 861, pp. 132-136; *Capitulary* 312, 18 March 868, pp. 189-190; *Capitulary* 378, 19 March 875, pp. 342-347.

specifically as a refuge for relics fleeing before Vikings, and was endowed lavishly. Charles treated the foundation as a major event ... The *narratio* of the charter describes how it is the task of the Christian emperor to provide for *servi Dei*, especially those *paganorum truculentos impetus fugientes*.¹⁶⁰

While the translation of relics and the movements of monastic communities to safer areas can be attested by confirming them through capitularies, the same can be inferred from the written sources for the general population who fled their settlements in the countryside. Even though the main targets of the Northmen were ecclesiastical establishments and towns, there are some reports in the sources that the countryside was also affected by the raids. The effects of the destruction are most notably illustrated in the *AB* which relate that in 859,

[s]ome of the common people living between the Seine and the Loire formed a sworn association amongst themselves, and fought bravely against the Danes on the Seine. But because their association had been made without due consideration, they were easily slain by our more powerful [Frankish] people.¹⁶¹

This action taken by the *vulgus* clearly flew in the face of Carolingian social order, but may indicate that the populace was less than satisfied with the efforts of the elite to combat the destruction perpetrated by the Northmen in this area.

Movements of the population from one place to another were not unusual,

¹⁶⁰Lifshitz, "The migration of Neustrian relics," p. 192.

¹⁶¹*AB* 859, Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 89. Prudentius, *AB* 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 453. "Vulgus promiscuum inter Sequanam et Ligerim inter se coniurans adversus Danos in Sequana consistentes, fortiter resistit; sed quia incaute suscepta est eorum coniuratio, a potentioribus nostris facile interficiuntur."

but that they increased in frequency and volume during the raids of the Northmen was evident when Charles the Bald issued the Edict of Pitres on 25 June 864 which stated that

those who had lately fled from the ravages of the Northmen from their own areas into other parts, should not be oppressed by the ecclesiastical or the secular authorities in whose lands they arrived, ... And if it might be necessary for them, they can keep whatever they have earned in these parts, and can stay there up until 1 April, and then return to their own native areas, and until the middle of May they should remain near their own homes; and then, if it is necessary for them they should return to hire themselves out; and from there return to their own territory for the harvest and for the rest of the time remain in the same place. However, if those from other parts married women in these parts and the women accepted them as husbands, these marriages are not legal nor legitimate, according to Leo in his decretal and as St. Gregory in his letter showed, they will be dissolved; ... And if children were born to this union, according to law and our old custom, they would follow their mothers.¹⁶²

¹⁶²*Edictum Pistense*, 25 June 864, 31, Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, eds., *MGH: Capit.* 2, 1, (Hanover: Hahn, 1890), pp. 323-324. "illos vero, qui persecutione Nortmannorum nuper de istis partibus in illas partes confugerunt, episcoporum missi cum missis rei publicae taliter de illis partibus in istas partes venire faciant, ... Et si necesse illi fuerit, ad missam sancti Martini [11 November] ad suum conductum in illas partes redeat, et usque ad Kalendas Aprilis ibidem immorandi licentiam habeat, indeque ad terram suae nativitatis et ad senioratum suum unusquisque redeat, et usque ad medium Maium propter seminationem ibidem maneat; indeque, si illi necessitas fuerit, ad suum conductum redeat; et inde ad messiones in terram suam unusquisque redeat, et de cetero ibidem permaneat. Si

Nelson remarks that

[t]he legislation makes it clear that peasant migration was no new phenomenon, only that the new bout produced by Viking activity was causing some headaches for landlords. ... There is not much sign of peasant migrants escaping seigneurial control altogether. The Edict of Pîtres ... may have been a response to a situation that was only local – confined, that is, to the lower Seine valley.¹⁶³

That the Northmen disrupted the peace and regularly made-off with Frankish treasures, tribute, people and foodstuffs is well-documented in the written sources. However, both the long-term and short-term impact of these disruptions are impossible to discern from the written sources. For example, trade and the economy in general are rarely mentioned except for the levying of taxes to pay tribute by the Carolingian monarchs. There was a ready traffic in foodstuffs and wine up and down the major rivers of the Frankish empire where surpluses were sold either directly or through merchants. The Northmen would accept food and wine, not only cash as tribute or payment for services rendered. For example, the *AB* records that in 864 Lothar, son of Lothar, raised 4 *denarii* from every manse in his whole kingdom, and handed over the sum in cash, plus a large quantity of flour and livestock and also wine and cider, to the Northman Rodulf, son of Harald, and his men, all this being termed a payment for

autem de istis partibus in illis partibus femina maritum aut maritus feminam accepit, illud coniugium, quia non est legale neque legitimum, sicut Leo in suis decretis et sanctus Gregorius in suis epistolis monstrant, dissolvatur; ... Et si infantes inde nati sunt, secundum legem et antiquam consuetudinem nostram infantes matrem sequantur.”

¹⁶³Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 38.

service.¹⁶⁴

Merchants and traders, even though they are not frequently mentioned in the historical sources, continued to ply their trades in a continuous way throughout the ninth century, despite the incursions of the piratical Northmen. Although the Carolingians furnished the Northmen with tribute and booty, there appears to have been enough agricultural surplus and precious metals both to accommodate the repeated payments to the Northmen and to sustain the Franks. Even Anskar was able to make use of merchant ships when he travelled to Sweden at the request of the Swedish king. Anskar and his contingent were in the midst of their journey [when] they fell into the hands of pirates. The merchants with whom they were traveling defended themselves vigorously and for a time successfully, but eventually they were conquered and overcome by the pirates, who took from them their ships and all that they possessed, while they themselves barely escaped on foot to land. ... With great difficulty they accomplished their long journey on foot, traversing also the intervening seas, where it was possible, by ship, and eventually arrived at the Swedish port of Birka.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴AB 864, Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 112. Hincmar, AB 864, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 462. "Lotharius, Lotharii filius, de omni regno suo quatuor denarios ex omni manso colligens, summam denariorum cum multa pensione farinae atque pecorum necnon vini ac sicerae Rodulfo Nortmanno, Herioldi filio, ac suis locarii nomine tribuit."

¹⁶⁵Rimbert, *Life of St. Anskar*, in Robinson, ed., *Anskar, The Apostle of the North, 801-865*, revised in Dutton, ed., *Carolingian Civilization*, pp. 411-412. Rimbert, *Vita s. Anskarii*, D. C. F. Dahlmann, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 697. "quod dum in medio fere essent itinere, in pyratas offenderunt. Et cum

The wealth of the Carolingians and their ecclesiastical establishments in particular can be seen in inventories of their goods. For instance, the inventory that was drawn up in 831 for St. Riquier, a wealthy monastery located near the mouth of the Somme lists an enormous quantity of precious silver and gold objects as well as many jewelled items.¹⁶⁶ It is perhaps no wonder that the Northmen targeted these institutions for their attacks. It is also consistent with the documentary sources that the Northmen regularly and repeatedly attacked towns along the river valleys, particularly in the region of the Loire, Seine, Somme, and Rhine rivers. Besides providing a strategic advantage to the side that held them, these towns must have been the site of fairs and local markets, thus providing incentives to attack and pillage them for supplies. That there was an active trade going on between different areas of the Frankish empire is attested in the capitularies. For instance, Charles the Bald issued a capitulary in 846 releasing the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés from paying tolls along the Seine and its tributaries, the Marne, Yonne, Oise, and Aisne rivers,¹⁶⁷ and Aimoin reports that when the Northmen threatened Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 845 the

negociatores, qui cum eis ibant, se viriliter defenderint, et primo quidem victoriam caeperint, in secundo tamen ab eisdem pyratis devicti ac superati sunt, ita ut naves et omnia quae habebant eis tulerint, et ipsi vix pedibus ad terram fugientes evaserint. ... Cum gravi itaque difficultate pedibus post haec per longissimam viam incedentes, et, ubi congruebat, interiacentia maria navigio transeuntes, tandem ad portum regni ipsorum, qui Birca dicitur, pervenerunt.”

¹⁶⁶Dutton, ed., *Carolingian Civilization*, pp. 250-251.

¹⁶⁷Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve* 1, pp. 238-241.

monks of the abbey fled to their ships on the Seine and again in 863.¹⁶⁸ Traffic on the major waterways was not unusual in the ninth century and many other sources point to the importance of commercial traffic especially on the Loire, Seine, and the Rhine rivers and everywhere in between. In 862 while in Senlis Charles the Bald ordered the banks of the rivers Oise, Marne, and Seine be defended so that the Northmen could be stopped from sailing up to plunder, but he was powerless to stop the Danes from attacking Meaux since the Northmen had destroyed the bridges and “the ships [were] taken over by the Northmen.”¹⁶⁹

Several literary sources from the ninth century mention that individuals and sometimes whole communities were captured by the Northmen either as slaves or for ransom. One notable example of the Northmen capturing and enslaving Franks occurs in 866 when they turn up in a negotiated settlement between Charles the Bald and the Northmen on the Seine. “Furthermore, any slaves who had been carried off by the Northmen and escaped from them after the agreement was made were either handed back or ransomed at a price set by the Northmen.”¹⁷⁰ The VA also makes reference to slaves that were held in

¹⁶⁸Aimoin, *Historia miraculorum et translationum ob irruptiones Normannicas* 2, 13, in *Acta Sanctorum, Maii* 6, pp. 798, 804. “Cum ergo ad fluvium Sequanae sua quaeque ad naves ferentes;” “fuitque eis in revertendo navalis congruus apparatus.”

¹⁶⁹AB 862, Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 98. Hincmar, AB 862, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH*, p. 456. “et quoniam, pontibus a Nortmannis destructis et navibus occupatis.”

¹⁷⁰AB 866, Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p.130. Hincmar, AB 866, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 471. “Praeterea quoque et mancipia a Nortmannis praedata, quae post pactum ab eis fugerant, aut reddita aut secundum eorum placitum redempta fuerit.”

Sweden. "There were also many Christians who were held captive among them, and who rejoiced that now at last they were able to participate in the divine mysteries."¹⁷¹

Both civilians and churchmen were subjected to capture and enslavement.

The AV records that

Carloman made for the palace at Compiègne and the Northmen made their way back to their ships and from there they subjected the whole kingdom up to the Oise to fire and sword, destroying walls and burning monasteries and churches to the ground, and put divine servants to the sword or to starvation or sold them as slaves across the sea, and destroyed the villages on the land without anyone resisting them.¹⁷²

The description of devastation, slavery, and the impotence of the population to resist the Northmen that is provided by this source is common to other sources as well. For example, the AF relates that in 853, "Northmen came up the Loire to plunder the city of Tours in Gaul and set fire to the church of St Martin the Confessor among other buildings, meeting no resistance."¹⁷³ In 891

¹⁷¹Rimbert, *The Life of St. Anskar*, in Dutton, trans. and ed., *Carolingian Chronicles*, p. 412. Rimbert, *Vita s. Anskarii*, D. C. F. Dahlmann, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 697. "Multi etiam apud eos captivi habebantur christiani, qui gaudebant iam tandem se mysteriis divinis posse participari."

¹⁷²AV 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 521. "Karlomannus Compendium palatium petiit; et Nortmanni Condato ad naves sunt reversi; indeque omne regnum usque Hisam ferro et igne devastant, subversis moeniis, et monasteriis atque ecclesiis usque ad solum dirutis, servitoribus divini cultus aut gladio aut fame peremptis, aut ultra mare venditis, et accolis terrae deletis, nemine sibi resitente."

¹⁷³AF 853 in T. Reuter, trans. and ed., *The Annals of Fulda*, pp. 34-35.

when the *AF* provides a description of the Northmen's encampment at Louvain, the annalist says that "[t]he Northmen, having laid waste a great part of Lothar's kingdom, pitched their camp, untroubled, by the River Dyle in the place which is called Louvain, and after their fashion surrounded it with a fortified ditch."¹⁷⁴ The *AB* relates the same type of attack using similar language: "The Northmen sailed up the Garonne as far as Toulouse, wreaking destruction everywhere, without meeting any opposition."¹⁷⁵ In 873, Prudentius remarks that the "Northmen, after ravaging various towns, rasing fortresses to the ground, burning churches and monasteries and turning cultivated land into a desert, had for some time now been established in Angers."¹⁷⁶ It would seem, therefore, that these general descriptions are tropes designed to attribute to the Northmen the whole range of activities for which they were known.

Abbo also takes note of the enslavement of Franks by the Northmen

AF 853, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 368. "Nordmanni per Ligerem fluvium venientes, Turonum Galliae civitatem praedantur, et inter alias aedes ecclesiam quoque sancti Martini confessoris, nemine resistente, succendunt."

¹⁷⁴*AF* 891 in Reuter, trans. and ed., *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 121. *AF* 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 407. "Nortmanni, devastata ex maxima parte Hlutharici regni regione, prope fluvio Dyla, loco qui dicitur Lovonium, sepibus more eorum munitione coepta, securi consederunt."

¹⁷⁵*AB* 844 in Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 60. Prudentius, *AB* 844, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 441. "Nortmanni per Garrondam Tolosam usque proficiscentes, praedas passim impuneque perficiunt."

¹⁷⁶*AB* 873 in Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 183. Prudentius, *AB* 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 496. "Unde non magnopere est Carolus conturbatus, sed iter coeptum peragens, cum hoste collecta civitatem Andegavis — in qua Nortmanni depopulatis quibusdam urbibus, eversis castellis, monasteriis et ecclesiis incensis, et agris in solitudinem redactis, iam diuturno tempore residebant."

during the siege of Paris in 885 when they had pitched their camp at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.

From here, on horse and foot, these bloody pirates range
Through hills and fields and woods and open plains and towns.
They slaughter children, boys, young men, and grey old age;
They murder fathers and their sons and mothers too.
Before his spouse's eyes, they put the man to death;
Before her spouse's eyes, the slaughter tastes his wife.
Before their fathers' face, the mothers' offspring die.
The slaves are freed and free men are reduced to slaves.
The servant now is lord, and lords are forced to serve.¹⁷⁷

So what does this say about the levels of destruction by the Northmen on Frankish territory? Throughout the ninth century the literary sources mention, and in some cases describe, the depredation perpetrated by the Northmen. Not only are these descriptions evidence that the Northmen targeted ecclesiastical establishments for their enormous quantities of wealth, but also that towns and the countryside were likewise laid waste. Do the written sources exaggerate

¹⁷⁷ Abbo, *Bella Parisiacaе urbis* 1, 177-185, in Adams and Rigg, transl., "A Verse Translation of Abbo of St. Germain's *Bella Parisiacaе urbis*," p. 28. Abbo, *Bella Parisiacaе urbis* 1, 177-185, in Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, pp. 28-30. "Post montes et agros, saltus, camposque patentes/ Ac villas equites peragrant peditesque cruenti;/ Infantes, pueros, juvenes, canamque senectam,/ Atque patres natosque necant necnon genetrices./ Conjugis ante oculos cedem tribuere marito;/ Conjugis ante oculos strages gustat mulierem./ Ante patrum faciem soboles necnon genetricum./ Efficitur servus liber, liber quoque servus,/ Vernaque fit dominus, contra dominus quoque verna."

these unfortunate occurrences? Whether they did or did not should be able to be confirmed through the examination of other sources besides literary ones. The capitularies of the kings of the west Frankish and the east Frankish territories confirm many, although not all of the accounts of destruction, and what the monarchs endeavoured to do about them. Where there is no confirmation from the capitularies (considered documents, rather than literary accounts) it remains to be seen if these attacks and destructive forays can be confirmed in another way.

This examination will be considered in the following chapter wherein the reports of devastation, burning, raids, plundering and sieges from the textual sources will be itemized and set in context chronologically.

CHAPTER 3: CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MATERIAL DAMAGE DONE BY THE NORTHMEN IN THE 9TH CENTURY ACCORDING TO THE WRITTEN SOURCES

The purpose of this chapter is to outline and describe the material damage that the Northmen perpetrated on ninth-century Carolingian Europe as depicted in the written sources of the period. The reason for compiling this information is to integrate accounts that can seem rather disorderly. When the reader normally encounters this material, it is often difficult to integrate the activities of the Northmen. To compound the problem, there are many different sources which overlap the same and sometimes different incidents. So the reader is left with an impression of utter confusion. My intention is to try to restore some order to material that looks chaotic.

This chapter will outline, in chronological order, the incursions of the Northmen into Frankish territory from 835 through 892. Various modern texts have been used to provide both the framework and the chronology of the Northmen's attacks.¹⁷⁸

The activities of the Northmen in northern France were at times sporadic and at other times thoroughly occupied the attention of the Frankish nobility. The most reliable and detailed accounts of the attacks made by the Northmen on northern France during the ninth century are to be found in the *AB* and the *AF*,

¹⁷⁸These texts include, but are not limited to Walther Vogel, *Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie, 799-911* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1906) which is still a valuable source; and Simon Coupland, *Charles the Bald*.

and the *AV*. The *AB*, *AF*, and *AV* will form the basic chronological and episodic framework for the analysis of the invasions and the documentation of the various sites that were targeted by the Northmen during this period. In order to understand the nature of the invasions by the Northmen on the Carolingian empire, this chapter will briefly review the raids up to 835. Prior to this date, Northmen assaulted the coastlines of the Frankish empire, though on a sporadic basis. The *ARF* reports several instances beginning in 800 when the *pyratae* attacked various sites along the coastlines of the North Sea, the Channel, and Aquitaine.¹⁷⁹ Prior to 800, the *ARF* mentions the Northmen mainly in the context of Frankish struggles with the Saxons, who from time to time sought refuge in their territory and to whom Charlemagne and later Louis the Pious arranged through emissaries for fugitives to be returned. The descriptions of the clashes between the Danes and the Franks provided in these earlier annals portray the struggle of the Carolingians to define and maintain their territorial boundaries and expand their influence at the expense of, at first, the Saxons and then the Danes. In 810 the *ARF* reports the first systematic attack on Frankish territory in which 200 ships of the Northmen landed in Frisia, attacked the islands, vanquished the defenders, and exacted 100 pounds of silver as tribute. This incensed Charlemagne who blamed Godfred, king of the Danes for this incursion, but Godfred was murdered at home and Charlemagne was unable to avenge the

¹⁷⁹*ARF 800*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 187: "Redeunte verna temperie, medio fere Martio rex Aquisgrani digressus, litus oceani Gallici perlustravit, et in ipso mari, quod tunc peratis Nordmannicis infestum erat, classem instituit, praesidia disposuit, pascha in Centulo apud sanctum Richarium celebravit."

attack in open battle as he had hoped because he was old at the time and had sustained an injury having fallen off his horse, or so says Einhard.¹⁸⁰

This attack prompted Charlemagne to initiate the construction of fortifications along the coastlines as well as to establish a fleet to counteract these acts of aggression.¹⁸¹ This containment did not stop with defensive measures, however. Charlemagne and Louis the Pious after him involved themselves in the internecine struggles of the Danish kingdom at several intervals—a policy that was to continue throughout the ninth century. A prime example of this occurred in 817 when Louis sided with Harold after King Godfred died, and the sons of Godfred sent an embassy to the Carolingian court to sue for and maintain peace on the borders. But, because their words were perceived to be “more like hypocrisy than truth ... it was dismissed as empty talk and aid was given to Heriold [sic] against them.”¹⁸²

From 818 through to 828, the Danish frontier was relatively quiet. Archbishop Ebbo of Rheims was authorized in 823 by Louis the Pious and Pope Paschal II to undertake a mission to Denmark to convert the Danes to

¹⁸⁰ARF 810, in Bernard Walter Scholz, ed., *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), pp. 91-92. See also Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2* (Hanover: Anton Heinemann, 1829), p. 452.

¹⁸¹Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, *MGH: SS 2* p. 452: “Molitus est et classem contra bellum Nordmannicum, aedificatis ad hoc navibus iuxta flumina, quae et de Gallia et de Germania septentrionalem influunt oceanum; et quia Nortmanni Gallicum litus atque Germanicum assidua infestatione vastabant, per omnes portus et hostia fluminum, qui naves recipi posse videbantur, stationibus et excubiis dispositis, ne qua hostis exire potuisset, tali munitione prohibuit.”

¹⁸²ARF 817, in Scholz, ed., *Carolingian Chronicles*, p. 102.

Christianity. Ebbo's mission was barely successful in that only King Harold and a few others were converted, and because not much more came of his efforts, he returned to Carolingian territory. Ebbo's efforts were followed by Anskar's mission later in the decade which had slightly more success, largely due to a more sustained and committed effort on the part of Louis to bring the Danes and Swedes into the Christian fold. In 826 Louis gave the baptised Harold the territory of Rürstringen in Frisia as a benefice and to serve as a buffer to repel further Danish attacks.¹⁸³ This may show the development of a more systematic and two-pronged approach by the Carolingians through both diplomatic and missionary overtures to contain Danish aggression and incorporate them into their expanding empire and sphere of influence. What this signifies, perhaps, is a change in the approach by Carolingian rulers in the way they confronted peoples on their borders. While Charlemagne sought to expand his empire by force and extend Frankish influence at the expense of the Saxons, his son sought the same ends with respect to the Danes through diplomacy and conversion.

In 828, Louis and the Danish kings arranged a meeting to ratify their peace treaty and discuss the matter of Harold. Harold, who had been exiled by the sons of Godfred once again and had sought refuge at Louis's court, became

¹⁸³ *ARF* 826, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 214: "Eodem tempore Herioldus cum uxore et magna Danorum multitudine veniens, Mogontiacy apud sanctum Albanum cum his quos secum adduxit baptizatus est, multisque muneribus ab imperatore donatus, per Frisiam, qua venerat via, reversus est. In qua provincia unus comitatus qui Hriustri vocatur, eidem datus est, ut in eum se cum rebus suis, si necessitas exigeret, recipere potuisset."

impatient and attacked the Danish troops who had assembled on the border. This incited the sons of Godfred to attack the Franks whom they defeated. Fearing that the Franks would take revenge for this, the Danes sued for peace, agreeing to provide hostages to the emperor.¹⁸⁴

Not only were the northern frontiers of the Carolingian empire under sporadic attack by the Northmen during the first third of the ninth century, so was the Aquitanian coastline. Ermentarius, a monk of the monastery of St. Philibert, reports that from 819 the incursions of the Northmen on his monastery located on an island off the coast of Aquitaine, Noirmoutier, became so frequent that the entire monastic community left their enclave for the mainland each spring, returning later in the year when the Northmen ceased their raiding activity in the area. Even though Abbot Hilbod fortified the island,¹⁸⁵ in June 834 the monks again removed themselves to the mainland.¹⁸⁶ In 835 the *AE* reports that Count

¹⁸⁴*ARF 828*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 217: "Quod audientes filii Godofridi, contractis subito copiis, ad marcam veniunt, et nostros in ripa Aegidorae fluminis sedentes ac nihil tale opinantes transito flumine adorti, castris exuunt, eisque in fugam actis cuncta diripiunt, ac se cum omnibus copiis suis in sua castra recipiunt; deinde inito consilio ut ultionem huius facti praevenirent, missa legatione ad imperatorem, quam inviti et quanta necessitate coacti id fecerint, exposuerunt, se tamen ad satisfactionem esse paratos, et hoc in imperatoris esset arbitrio, qualiter ita fieret emendatum, ut de reliquo inter partes pax firma maneret."

¹⁸⁵Ermentarius, *De translationibus et miraculis sancti Filiberti, Liber I, praefatio*, in Poupardin, ed., *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, p. 25: "veluti dictum est Nortmannorum minime cessarent occursus, praedictus pater Hilbodus, qui propter ipsam perfidam gentem in memorata insula castrum condiderat"

¹⁸⁶*Annales Engolismenses (AE) 834*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16* (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1859), p. 485: "mense Iunio Herus insula a generali monachorum habitatione destituitur."

Rainald of Herbage engaged the Northmen on Noirmoutier,¹⁸⁷ but Pippin I who ruled Aquitaine at the time, did not consider the island worth defending because of its relatively remote location.¹⁸⁸ It was not until 836, however, that the monks along with their moveable ecclesiastical possessions including their relics moved to the mainland for good, settling about 35 km away at Grand-Lieu which they had been using as their summer refuge.¹⁸⁹

834 - 840

Before 834, however, all these instances of attacks on Frankish territory can be seen as sporadic incursions. After that year, various groups of Northmen began a more systematic and regular raiding timetable. The escalation of attacks on Frankish territory around the year 834 can be attributed to a variety of factors that originated both among the Franks and also the Danes. Between 832 and 834 the Carolingian empire was wracked by revolt. Louis's preoccupation with the conflict with his sons left open the opportunity for the Northmen to attack the outer fringes of Frankish territory, particularly Frisia, where the *AB* reports

¹⁸⁷AE 835, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 16, p. 485: "Hero insula Rainaldus 13. Kal. Septembris cum Normannis congregitur."

¹⁸⁸Ermentarius, in Poupardin, ed., *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, p. 25: "una cum consilio fratrum suorum regem adiit Pippinum, suggerens eius celsus rex sui que optimates (generale siquidem regni sui placitum exitebat), istius modi rem solerti cura pertractantes, nequaquam ibi auxilium pugnandi assidue administrari posse reppererunt, scilicet quia ipsa insula, ledonibus maxime impediens, non semper accessibilis esse potest nostratibus, cum Nortmannis, cunctis temporibus quibus mare tranquillatur, inaccessibilis esse minime dinoscatur."

¹⁸⁹Ermentarius, in Poupardin, ed., *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, pp. 23-25.

raids on Dorestad, Walcheren, and Witla on an annual basis beginning in 834.¹⁹⁰ Even though King Horik did not officially sanction the raids from 834 to 836, and the Frisians seemed from time to time to be complicit in them,¹⁹¹ Louis was at pains to defend against them and the Danish king was, if not supportive of them, equally impotent in preventing them. In 837, as Louis was preparing to depart for Rome, leaving a large army to guard against further attacks by the Northmen, they again attacked the Frisian coast and plundered Dorestad and Walcheren, killing and taking captive many Frisians and demanding tribute.¹⁹² Louis postponed his planned excursion to Rome and hastened to Nijmegen, but in mid-June Count Eccihard and the Danish leader Hemming and many others were

¹⁹⁰Prudentius, *AB 834*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 428: "Interim etiam classis de Danis veniens in Frisiam, aliquam partem ex illa devastavit, et inde per Vetus-Traiectum ad emporium quod vocatur Dorestadus venientes, omnia diripuerunt; homines autem quosdam occiderunt, quosdam captivos abduxerunt, partemque eius igni cremaverunt." See also: Prudentius, *AB 835*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 429; Prudentius, *AB 836*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 430; Prudentius, *AB 837*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 430-431; *AX 834*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 226.

¹⁹¹Prudentius, *AB 837*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 431: "Qua discussione patuit, partim impossibilitate, partim quorundam inobedientia eos inimicis non potuisse resistere; unde et ad comprimendam Frisionum inobedientiam strenui abbates ac comites directi sunt, et ut deinceps illorum incursionibus facilius obsisti queat, classis quaquaversus diligentius parari iussa est." See also *AF 836*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 226.

¹⁹²Prudentius, *AB 837*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 430: "Ea tempestate Nordmanni irruptione solita Frisiam inuentes, in insula quae Walacria dicitur nostros imparatos aggressi, multos trucidaverunt, plures depraedati sunt; et aliquamdiu inibi commorantes, censu prout libuit exacto, ad Dorestadum eadem furia pervenerunt, et tributa similiter exegerunt." See also Enhard, *AF 837*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 361; *AX 837*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 226.

reported killed.¹⁹³ In 838 (or possibly in 837) Louis ordered that a navy be built to counteract the Northmen's attacks on the north coast, and the *AB* reports that a storm arose and scuttled a fleet of Danish pirates (*piratae*) that had set out from their homeland.¹⁹⁴ The *AB* also reports that in 838 King Horik sought control over Frisia and the land of the Obodrites from Louis who dismissed this request as "*incongrua*."¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, they concluded a treaty and none of the annals report any aggression on the part of the Northmen for the years 839 and 840. In 840, Louis the Pious died and his empire was divided amongst his sons, the emperor Lothar, Louis the German, and Charles. This situation precipitated more unrest in Carolingian Europe as the brothers jockeyed among themselves for power and territory.

841 - 842

In 841, the scene changed dramatically. In May, Charles was at Attigny struggling against his brothers, and as a result the heart of his kingdom in the

¹⁹³*AF* 837, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 361: "ibique Eggihardum, eiusdem loci comitem, et Hemmingum, Halbdani filium, cum aliis multis 15. Kal. Iul. occiderunt, et Dorestadum vastaverunt; acceptoque a Frisionibus tributo, reversi sunt." See also Thegan, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, *Appendix*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 604.

¹⁹⁴Prudentius, *AB* 838, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 432: "Ubi etiam missi Horich venientes, piratarum in nostros fines dudum irruentium maximos a se ob imperatoris fidelitatem captos atque interfici iussos retulerunt, petentes insuper sibi dari Frisianos atque Abodritos." See also *AF* 838, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 361.

¹⁹⁵Prudentius, *AB* 838, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 432: "Cuius petitio, quanto imperatori indecens sive incongrua visa est, tanto vilis spreta et pro nihilo ducta est."

valley of the Seine was left undefended.¹⁹⁶ On 14 May, Rouen and other Frankish settlements along the Seine valley were attacked by the Northmen under the leadership of Oskar. Along with Rouen, the monasteries of Jumièges and St Ouen were reported to have been burned, hostages were taken and tribute exacted from the monastery of St Wandrille. The remains of St Ouen were also reported to have been translated from his resting place.¹⁹⁷

That the Danish invaders were supported by the emperor Lothar in his struggles with his brothers is supported by several references. In 841, the *AB* reports that Lothar rewarded Harold the invader (not the holder of Rüstringen) with the benefice of Walcheren and the surrounding area in repayment for his harassment of the empire while he was exiled in Italy.¹⁹⁸ Nithard also reports

¹⁹⁶Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 1, 3, pp. 9-12.

¹⁹⁷Prudentius, *AB 841*, G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 1*, p. 437: "Interea piratae Danorum ab oceano Euripo devecti, Rotumam irruentes, rapinis, ferro, ignique bacchantes, urbem, monachos, reliquumque vulgum et caedibus et captivitate pessumdederunt, et omnia monasteria seu quaecumque loca flumini Sequanae adhaerentia aut depopulanti sunt, aut multis acceptis pecuniis territa reliquunt." *Fragmentum chronici Fontanellensis 841*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 301: "Anno dominicae incarnationis 841, indictione 4, quarto Idus Maii venerunt Nortmanni, Oscheri quoque dux. Pridie Idus Maii incensa est ab eis urbs Rothomagus; 17. Kal. Iunii regressi sunt a Rothomago; 9. Kal. Iunii Gemmeticum monasterium igne cremarunt; 8. Kal. Iunii redemptum est Fontinellense coenobium libris 6; 5. Kal. Iunii venerunt monachi de sancto Dionysio, redemeruntque captivos sexaginta octo libris viginti sex. Pridie Kal. Iunii pagani mare petierunt. Obviusque illis factus est Vulfardus regis homo cum populo; sed pagani minime ad pugnam se praeparaverunt." *Annales Rotomagenses 842* [recte 841], Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 26* (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1882), p. 494: "Translatio sancti Audoeni, quando Normanni vastaverunt Rothomagum, succenderunt monasterium eius Idibus Maii."

¹⁹⁸Prudentius, *AB 841*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 438: "Herioldo, qui cum ceteris Danorum maritimis incommoda tanta sui causa ad patris

that Lothar supported Danish incursions in that he allowed them to plunder Christian territory that year as well as having “put some Christians under their lordship,”¹⁹⁹ permitted them to plunder others. These references mark new territory in the sources which record that the Carolingian rulers were using Danish pirates against their own enemies at home. By granting Harold a benefice in Frisia as a reward for his loyal service, Lothar set in motion the Frankish use of the Northmen as allies and hardly a year went by after 841 when the annalists did not report incursions and destruction perpetrated by the Northmen in Frankish territory. In 842 Northmen ravaged the *emporium* of Quentovic on the Norman coast where they captured and massacred the inhabitants.²⁰⁰

843 - 844

The year 843 was a particularly destructive one for Franks on the Loire.

iniuriam invexerat, Gualacras aliaque vicina loca huius meriti gratia in beneficium contulit. Dignum sane omni detestatione facinus, ut qui mala christianis intulerant, iidem christianorum terris et populis Christianique ecclesiis praeferrentur, ut persecutores fidei christianae domini christianorum existerent, et daemonum cultoribus christiani populi deservirent!”

¹⁹⁹Nithard, *Historiae*, 4, 2, Scholz, ed., *Carolingian Chronicles*, p. 167. Nithard, *Historiae* 4, 2, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 669: “partemque christianorum illis subdiderat.”

²⁰⁰Prudentius, *AB 842*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p 439: “Ea tempestate Normannorum classis in emporio quod Quantovicus dicitur, repentino sub lucem adventu depraedationibus, captivitate et nece sexus utriusque hominum adeo debacchati sunt, ut nihil in eo praeter aedificia pretio redempta relinquerent.” See also *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 842*, Anne Savage, trans. and collator, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London: Guild Publishing, 1988), p. 88: “There was great slaughter in London, Quentavic and Rochester.”

Several annals recorded that in this year Northmen *piratae* attacked Nantes where they slew Bishop Gunhard on St. John's Day (June 24) and burned and pillaged the surrounding areas, killing and taking captive both civilians and churchmen.²⁰¹ One group of monks from Indre, an island monastery downstream from Nantes in the Loire, fled with their treasure to Nantes ahead of the invaders, but, along with the rest of the population that sought refuge in the city, were unable to withstand the attack.²⁰² Another group of monks from the monastery of Vertou (south of Nantes, on the opposite/south side of Loire river) also fled their monastery to avoid capture and/or death at the hands of the Northmen.²⁰³ The Northmen then sailed south and wintered on an island (possibly Ile-de-Ré near the mouth of the Garonne) from which they entered the Garonne in 844 and proceeded to raid all the way to Toulouse.²⁰⁴ In 844, Nominoë, the Breton leader who in his turn had been attempting to expand his

²⁰¹Prudentius, *AB 843*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 439-440: "Piratae Nordmannorum urbem Namnetum adgressi, interfectis episcopo et multis clericorum atque laicorum sexusque promiscui, depraedata civitate, inferioris Aquitaniae partes depopulari adoriuntur; ad postremum insulam quamdam ingressi, convectis a continenti domibus, hiemare velut perpetuis sedibus statuerunt." See also *AE 843*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 486; *CF 843*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 302; *CN 6*, R. Merlet, ed., *La Chronique de Nantes, 570 environ-1049* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, Libraires des Archives nationales et de la Société de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1896), pp. 16-17.

²⁰²*CN 4*, Merlet, ed., *Chronique de Nantes*, p. 15: "ad urbem, copiosum ecclesiae thesaurum secum habentes, confugerant"

²⁰³*Miracula sancti Martini* c. 9, B. Krusch, ed., *MGH: SS rer Mer 3* (Hanover, 1896), p. 574.

²⁰⁴Prudentius, *AB 844*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 441: "Nortmanni per Garrondam Tolosam usque proficiscentes, praedas passim impuneque perficiunt."

territory at the expense of the Franks and had reached Le Mans, when he heard that the Northmen had attacked his own territory was forced to return to defend it.²⁰⁵

845

The most substantial raids on Frankish territory by the Northmen up to this point took place during the year 845. Several annalistic accounts depict this incursion in detail and record the progress of the Northmen to Paris. The *Translatio sancti Germani* written between 849 and 856²⁰⁶ provides the most complete description of the attacks and, even though some of the details may be embellishments, the account is largely corroborated by other sources. In March a fleet of 120 ships of Northmen under the leadership of Ragnar²⁰⁷ made their way up the Seine laying waste to all in their path.²⁰⁸ Rouen was the first major

²⁰⁵Prudentius, *AB 844*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 440: "Cenomannos usque cuncta longe lateque populando, ignibus etiam plurima cremando, pervenit; ubi audita Nordmannorum in fines eius irruptione, redire compulsus est."

²⁰⁶Ferdinand Lot and Louis Halphen, *Le Règne de Charles le Chauve, 840-877, première partie: 840-851* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1909), p. 131, note 3.

²⁰⁷*CF 845*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 302: "Anno 845. indictione 8. Ragneri dux Nortmannorum venit cum classe sua, et usque Parisius accessit, ac in vigilia sancti paschae, id est 5. Kalend. Aprilis, eandem urbem intravit." See also: *Miracula sancti Richarii*, 1, 11, *AA SS Aprilis 3*, p. 450; *AX 845*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 228.

²⁰⁸Prudentius, *AB 845*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 441: "Nortmanni, alveo Sequanae remenso, maria repetunt, cuncta maris loca finitima diripiunt, vastant, atque incendiis concremant." See also *Translatio sancti Germani*, 3-4, *Ana Boll 2*, p. 72.

settlement to be attacked and extensive burning, looting and killing was reported to have taken place there.²⁰⁹ The brothers of Saint-Germain-des-Prés heard that the Northmen were coming and took their treasure, which had been loaded onto boats, upriver to Esmans and translated the body of St Germain to Combs-la-Ville.²¹⁰ The relics of St Genevieve were removed to Athis and then to Draveil on the right bank of the Seine about 15 km west of Combs-la-Ville.²¹¹ The remains of St Leutfred and St Agofred were also buried at the monastery of La Croix-Saint-Ouen on the Eure.²¹² But, when it came time for the monks of St. Denis to flee with the body of the saint, Charles ordered them to leave the relics in the abbey so that the saint's goodwill would protect the Franks.²¹³ The Northmen entered the *cella* of La Celle-Saint-Cloud and set fire to the granary, where the flames apparently spared the monastery buildings.²¹⁴ Ragnar then took his host to Paris slaughtering as they went, entered the deserted city on 28 March (Easter-eve),²¹⁵ and went straight to Saint-Germain-des-Prés where they found the monks celebrating the morning office. All but one monk is reported to

²⁰⁹*Translatio sancti Germani*, 3-4, *Ana Boll* 2, p. 72.

²¹⁰*Translatio sancti Germani*, 8, 21, 22, *Ana Boll* 2, pp. 75, 85, 87.

²¹¹*Miracula sanctae Genovefae*, 10-12, *AA SS Ianuarii 1* (Antwerp, 1643), p. 149.

²¹²*Translatio Leutfridi abbatis Madriacensis*, W. Levison, ed., *MGH: SS rer Mer 7* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1920), p. 18.

²¹³*Translatio sancti Germani*, 8, *Ana Boll* 2, p. 75.

²¹⁴*Translatio sancti Germani*, 13, *Ana Boll* 2, pp. 79-80.

²¹⁵CF 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH SS 2*, p. 302. See also *Translatio sancti Germani*, 3-4, *Ana Boll* 2, p. 72.

have escaped and the Northmen proceeded to destroy the buildings, hacking off columns and roof beams.²¹⁶ The *AB* also reports that this monastery was burned as well as sacked.²¹⁷ Charles called up his force and prepared to challenge the Northmen in battle. The Northmen advanced up the Seine as far as Charlevanne ("Karoli venna"),²¹⁸ but the Franks did not prevail in the battle and fled leaving the Northmen to hang 111 captive Franks and to maraud unimpeded,²¹⁹ even though they themselves were reported to have lost more than 600 men.²²⁰ Ragnar removed a beam from the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and a bar from the Paris city gate as souvenirs.²²¹ After the calamitous battle, Charles offered the Northmen 7,000 pounds of silver²²² to depart the area, an action which

²¹⁶*Translatio sancti Germani*, 14-15, 30, *Ana Boll* 2, pp. 80-81, 91-92.

²¹⁷Prudentius, *AB* 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 441.

²¹⁸*Translatio sancti Germani*, 12, *Ana Boll* 2, p. 78: "in testimonium afferri."

²¹⁹*Translatio sancti Germani*, 12, *Ana Boll* 2, pp. 78-79: "Cumque hinc inde quasi ad pugnandum infinitus staret exercitus, ipsi impiissimi ac crudelissimi Normanni, blasphematores Dei, ad opprobrium et derisionem regis principumque ejus seu omnium christianorum illic adstantium, centum et xi captivos coram eorum oculis suspenderunt." See also Hildegarius, *Vita Faronis episcopi Meldensis*, 122, B. Krusch, ed., *MGH: SS rer Mer* 5 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1910), p. 200.

²²⁰*AX* 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 228.

²²¹*Translatio sancti Germani*, 30, *Ana Boll* 2, pp. 91-92: "jussit ei jam dictus Ragenarius trabem ex monasterio domni Germani et seram portae Parisiacae urbis in testimonium afferri."

²²²The *AB* states that Charles gave the Northmen "septem milium librarum" (does not specify whether the tribute consisted of gold, gold and silver, or silver) Prudentius, *AB* 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 441; The *AX* says that the tribute consisted of "multa milia ponderum auri et

succeeded in getting them to leave,²²³ and they did by 18 April,²²⁴ but this did not stop them from devastating, plundering and burning all the coastal regions on their way back to the sea, taking with them captives and the booty they had collected from Saint-Germain-des-Prés.²²⁵ The monks of St Riquier fled with their treasure and their relics ahead of Ragnar's forces leaving only a few monks to guard the buildings (we do not know what became of them). When the Northmen left the area, the monks returned three weeks later to find their buildings intact.²²⁶ The Northmen, on putting to sea to return to their homeland, were stricken with a pestilence that killed Ragnar and several of his contingent. Horik, the Danish king, did not permit the pirates to land, fearing that the pestilence would spread and so put Ragnar's remaining men to death, he sent envoys to Charles for peace talks and, after fasting for 14 days, agreed to return all the Christian prisoners and restore the booty taken from Charles's kingdom.²²⁷

Three battles between the Northmen and the Frisians were reported to have taken place in 845. The *AF* mentions that the Northmen were defeated in

argenti" *AX 845*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 228. Needless to say, the sum was sufficient to entice the Northmen to leave the kingdom.

²²³Prudentius, *AB 845*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 441.

²²⁴Charles left the area and was at Beauvais on 18 April where he gave the villa of Hannape, near Laon as a benefice to his vassal Nithardus, in Georges Tessier, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve 1*, no. 69, pp. 197-198.

²²⁵*AX 845*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 228; Prudentius, *AB 845*, G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 1*, p. 441.

²²⁶*Miracula sancti Richani*, 1, 11, *AA SS Aprilis 3*, p. 450.

²²⁷Prudentius, *AB 845*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 441-442; *AX 845*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 228.

one battle, but were victorious in the other two and killed a great number of men and then proceeded to attack Hamburg.²²⁸ Both the *AB* and the *AV* record the attack on Hamburg, but Prudentius blames the Danish king, Horik for sending 600 ships up the Elbe to accomplish this.²²⁹ Neither the *AF* nor the *AV* apportion blame to Horik for this attack, although they acknowledge it happened, and since they were closer geographically to the events described, they can be viewed as the more accurate renderings. The *AV* relates the devastation in detail recounting how Anskar's bible and other books were burned in the fire and how the inhabitants were forced to flee with scarcely the clothes on their backs, and the monks to flee with their relics, but nowhere does it blame Horik for these actions.²³⁰ Meanwhile, in November, Northmen again ravaged the coast of Aquitaine and Count Siguin of Bordeaux was among those killed in an infantry battle while Saintes was destroyed by fire and its treasures taken away.²³¹

846

On 27 December 845, the monks of St. Philibert were granted a new

²²⁸*AF* 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 364.

²²⁹Prudentius, *AB* 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 441; Rimbart, *Vita Anskarii*, 16-17, C. F. Dahlmann, ed. *MGH: SS* 2, pp. 450-451.

²³⁰Rimbart, *Vita Anskarii*, 16-17, Dahlmann, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, pp. 700-701.

²³¹Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistolae* 31, 4, Peter K. Marshall, ed., *Servati Lupi Epistolae* (Leipzig: BSB B. G. Tuebner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1984), p. 42: "Quidam uero de Aquitania uenientes Nortmannos inter Burdegalam et Sanctones eruptionem his diebus fecisse retulerunt et nostros, hoc est Christianos, pedestri cum eis proelio congressos et miserabiliter, nisi quos fuga eripere potuit, peremptos." See also: *AE* 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 26, p. 486; Prudentius, *AB* 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 441.

monastic community at Cunault by Count Vivian since they had suffered “certainly the most frequent and unforeseen barbarous persecution of the Northmen and the Bretons.”²³² The *AE* and the *Chronicle of Tournus* both report that the Northmen burned buildings to ashes on the island of Noirmoutier in July 846 after the removal of St Philibert’s remains.²³³ The buildings that were burned were probably the monastery buildings and the fortifications that had been erected by Abbot Hilbod prior to 836. Danish *piratae* also were active in Frisia in 846 where they exacted tribute and won a battle and where they took control over almost the entire province.²³⁴ The *AX* confirms that the Northmen were aggressively pursuing their interests in this area and reports that they laid waste to the Frisian countryside and burned Dorestad and two other towns while Lothar, who was in Nijmegen, was unable to do anything about it.²³⁵

847 - 848

Further attacks took place in 847 in Brittany where Nominoë was forced to pay bribes for the Northmen to depart,²³⁶ in the Loire valley they burned the

²³²Georges Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 1, no. 81, p. 228: “persecutionem barbaricam scilicet Normannorum et Brittanorum frequentissimam atque improvisam.”

²³³*AE 846*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 486; Falco, *Chronicon Trenorchiense*, in Poupardin, ed., *Monuments de l’histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, pp. 84-85.

²³⁴Prudentius, *AB 846*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 442.

²³⁵*AX 846*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 228.

²³⁶Prudentius, *AB 847*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 442.

monastery of Grand-Lieu on 29 March;²³⁷ and along the coastal regions of Aquitaine they besieged Bordeaux for an extended period of time.²³⁸ Another group of Danes again were reported to have burned, occupied and laid waste to Dorestad and the island of Betuwe, harassing the Christian population and waging war against Counts Sigirus and Lutherius and from there they rowed nine miles past Dorestad to the town of Meginhard (Rhenen?) and having plundered there, retreated.²³⁹ These incursions prompted Lothar, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, who were meeting at Meerssen in late-February and early-March 847²⁴⁰, to send envoys to Horik, ordering him to restrain his people from attacking Christians otherwise “he should be in no doubt at all that they would make war on him.”²⁴¹ This warning did nothing, however, to halt the Northmen’s incursions into the Frankish kingdoms and underlines Horik’s inability to restrain the pirates who perpetrated these destructive missions. And, while the meeting at Meerssen was held to stabilize the brothers’ political situations, tensions between them remained high and the actions of the Northmen further emphasize that they took advantage whenever they could of any instability or perceived

²³⁷AE 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 486.

²³⁸Prudentius, *AB 847*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 443.

²³⁹Prudentius, *AB 847*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 443; *AF 847*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 365; *AX 847*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 228.

²⁴⁰*Hlotharii, Hludowici et Karoli conventus apud Marsnam primus*, 11, A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., *MGH: Capit 2*, no. 204, pp. 68-71.

²⁴¹Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p 65; Prudentius, *AB 847*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 443: “bello se impetendum nullatenus dubaret.”

weakness in the Frankish kingdoms to plunder, burn, and ravage the countryside at will. After the meeting at Meerssen, in 848, Charles the Bald moved south to Aquitaine in an attempt to quash Pippin II's regime and, during Lent, powerfully (*viriliter*) defeated the Northmen who were reputed to have been let into Bordeaux to burn it by the Jews, or so said the *AB* and had had captured the city and its duke, William. Charles took nine of their ships.²⁴² At this point the Northmen destroyed Melle in Poitou by fire.²⁴³

849

Charles's actions allowed him to be seen to be defending Aquitaine against the ravaging Northmen, whereas Pippin was more concerned with pursuing his rivalry with Charles, leaving Aquitaine open to the Northmen's attacks. In 849 Charles was referred to as "king of the Franks and Aquitanians."²⁴⁴ For 849, only one mention is made of the Northmen's attacks by the *AB* which reports that the Northmen sacked and burned the city of Périgueux

²⁴²*CF* 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 302.

²⁴³*CF* 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 302; *AE* 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 16, p. 486; Prudentius, *AB* 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 443. Melle was the site of a working silver mine with a mint attached and its proximity to Bordeaux may thus have been an irresistible attraction for the Northmen, even though there is no direct mention of pillaging of the town or the mint, only that Melle was laid waste and burned: "Nortmanni Metullum vicum populantes, incendio tradunt" (Prudentius, *AB* 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 443). See also Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 30-31; Nelson, trans. and ed., *Charles the Bald*, p. 162; and, D.M. Metcalf, "Currency in the time of Charles the Bald," in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson, eds., *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, 2nd rev. ed. (Aldershot: Variorum, Gower Publishing House, 1990), pp. 78-79.

²⁴⁴Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 155.

and then returned unscathed to their ships.²⁴⁵ While no further reference is made in the annals to any other activities of the Northmen in Aquitaine for 850, they may have burned Limoges, located on the Charente river, at this time as they remained in the area.²⁴⁶

850 - 851

The north coasts were not immune to attacks by the Northmen through the early 850s. Fleets led by Rorik and Godfred attacked starting in 850. Rorik and his brother, or other relative, Harold, had held Dorestad as a benefice under Louis the Pious, but after the deaths of both Louis and Harold, Rorik had been falsely accused as a traitor to Lothar and had become a man of Louis the German, fleeing to live among the Saxons. Having collected a force of Danes, Rorik had subsequently taken up a life of piracy, and in 850 he began to ravage Frisia, and revisited Dorestad, which he attacked and plundered. When Lothar was not able to withstand him, he received him back into his fealty on condition that he handle the taxes from the area and resist incursions by other Danes.²⁴⁷ Meanwhile, also in 850, another band of Northmen was reported by the *AB* to

²⁴⁵Prudentius, *AB* 849, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 444.

²⁴⁶*Miracula sancti Martialis*, 3, 6, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS* 15, 1, p. 282; Adrevald, *Miraculis sancti Benedicti*, 33, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS* 15, 1, p. 495. Even though this event is included in the *Miracula sancti Martialis* with events describing occurrences in the years 852 to 854, it is likely that the city was attacked while the Northmen were in the vicinity of Périgueux, and not while they were attacking Nantes and Tours in 853. See Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, p. 31.

²⁴⁷*AF* 850, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 366; Prudentius, *AB* 850, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 445.

have attacked and plundered Mempisc and Thérouanne and other coastal areas; by whom they were led is not specified.²⁴⁸ In 851 a fleet of “252 ships”²⁴⁹ of Northmen whose leader is also not identified, went to Frisia and, after exacting as much tribute as they requested, they left.²⁵⁰ In 851, a Northman, Oskar, and his fleet entered the Seine on 9 October after leaving Bordeaux in Aquitaine.²⁵¹ The *CF* records that this Oskar was the Northman who had layed waste and burned Rouen in 841 and “they occupied many areas conducting piracy for eleven years.”²⁵² First Oskar attacked St Wandrille, laying waste to it entirely and returned on 9 January 852 to burn it. In the meantime, he and his band burned the city of Beauvais as well as the monastery of St-Germer-de-Fly, following which the Franks engaged them in battle at Vardes where many Northmen were killed and others fled to their ships. After having been on the Seine for 287 days, on 5 June 852 they returned to Bordeaux with their booty.²⁵³

²⁴⁸Prudentius, *AB 850*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 445.

²⁴⁹These figures, as with many provided by the literary sources, are impossible to verify and have been frequently debated by scholars (see chapter 2). It may be sufficient to note that the number of ships would have been substantial.

²⁵⁰Prudentius, *AB 852* [recte 851], G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 447.

²⁵¹*CF 851*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 303.

²⁵²*CF 851*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p.303: “Et per annos undecim multas regiones latrocinando occuparat [*sic*].”

²⁵³*CF 851*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 303; *AE 852*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 486 mentions that Count Ramnulf of Poitou and Raino fought an army of Northmen at Brillac on 4 November 852 which tends to confirm that Oskar left the Seine and returned to Aquitaine.

852 - 853

Meanwhile, Godfred had probably gone back to Denmark where he collected a force, and by 852 he proceeded to attack Frisia and then went to the area around the Scheldt river and finally to the Seine on 9 October 852, accompanied by another leader whom the *CF* identifies as Sidroc.²⁵⁴ These raiders reached Augustudunus²⁵⁵ and Charles then called in Lothar to help him expel these raiders. But, while they were blockading Godfred and Sidroc at Jeufosse²⁵⁶ on the Seine, Charles received Godfred into his fealty and gave him and his men land to live on, after which Lothar returned to his own kingdom.²⁵⁷ The *CF* states that the Northmen stayed the winter at Jeufosse and, since Godfred made peace with Charles and Charles's troops withdrew, it can be assumed that Sidroc and his Danes settled there until March and ravaged, burned and took captives all the more furiously for having been left alone with nobody to restrain them. Then in March, Sidroc and his contingent left Jeufosse

²⁵⁴*CF* 852, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 304.

²⁵⁵W. Vogel identified Augustudunas as Pont-de-l'Arche, but this is unlikely as all other references to Pont-de-l'Arche are referred to in the annals as "Pistis." Cf. Vogel, W., *Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich*, p. 134, note 3; Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, p. 38.

²⁵⁶*CF* 852, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 304.

²⁵⁷Prudentius, *AB* 852, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 447; Rudolf, *AF* 850, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 366; land given to Godfred is also confirmed by the provisions mentioned in an assembly held by Charles at Soissons on 22-26 April 853: "Quid etiam Nortmannis per nostram commendationem sive sine nostra commendatione datum sit, quidve relictum vel quid a quoquam ibi in eleemosyna datum" in *Capitulare missorum Suessionense*, A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., *MGH: Capit. 2*, no. 259, c.1 (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1890), p. 267.

and made for the sea.²⁵⁸ In June²⁵⁹ or July²⁶⁰ 853 Sidroc reached the Loire with 105 ships and he besieged an encampment on the island of Betia (Prairie de Biesse, now part of Nantes) of other Northmen, who were presumably Oskar and his men who had already plundered and burned Nantes and the surrounding areas.²⁶¹ Locations that reportedly suffered destruction at the hands of Oskar prior to the arrival of Sidroc included the monastery at Luçon in May,²⁶² the monastery of St. Florent (about 50 km upstream on the Loire from Nantes), Nantes and Tours in June.²⁶³ Sidroc then arranged with Erispoë, the successor of Nominoë in Brittany, that they ally with each other to fight off the “enemies and pagans who had for so long been troubling the lands and provinces of the [C]hristians.”²⁶⁴ These allies then attacked Oskar on his island refuge and killed many of his men and the following day Oskar offered tribute to Sidroc to leave, which he did. After Sidroc had departed, Oskar sought revenge on the Bretons who had attacked him and, leaving the Loire entered the Vilaine river with 103

²⁵⁸Prudentius, *AB 853*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 447.

²⁵⁹*CF 852*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 304.

²⁶⁰Prudentius, *AB 853*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 447.

²⁶¹*AE 853*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 486; *Ex gestis Conwoionis abbatis Rotonensis*, 3, 9, L. De Heinemann, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, pp. 458-459.

²⁶²*AE 853*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 486.

²⁶³*AE 853*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 486.

²⁶⁴*Ex gestis Conwoionis abbatis Rotonensis*, 3, 9, in Caroline Brett, trans. and ed., *The Monks of Redon* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1989), pp. 214-215: “hostes et paganos, qui iam longo tempore irritaverant regiones et provincias christianorum.”

ships where he occupied the banks of the river about two miles from the monastery of Redon. The monks fled, but in the meantime a huge storm rose up and, according to the *Ex gestis Conwoionis abbatis Rotonensis*, the Northmen were so frightened that they vowed, should they be spared by the storm, not to destroy or desecrate the monastery. Apparently, as the *Ex gestis* reports, guards were posted to ensure nothing was taken from the monastery and candles were lit around the altars. This did not stop sixteen of the Northmen from stealing some sacramental wine and supposedly succumbing to the wrath of God. Oskar and his companions then proceeded further into the interior, burning, pillaging, and capturing and killing the inhabitants, some of whom managed to escape and find refuge in the monastery buildings at Redon.²⁶⁵ The Northmen presumably captured and held for ransom Bishop Courantgen and Count Pascweten, both of Vannes. The *Cartulary of Redon* records that the abbey of Redon contributed a gold paten worth 67 *solidi* to Pascweten's ransom and Courantgen was ransomed sometime during the reign of Erispoë (851-7) on a certain Thursday before Lent.²⁶⁶ The *AB* reports that on 8 November Danish *piratae* from Nantes, probably Oskar's group, headed further inland along the Loire and attacked and burned Tours and the church of St Martin the Confessor along with other

²⁶⁵*Ex gestis Conwoionis abbatis Rotonensis*, 3, 9, L. De Heinemann, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 459.

²⁶⁶A. de Courson, ed., *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Sauveur de Redon*, no. 26 (Paris, 1863), pp. 21-22; See Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, p. 41.

buildings.²⁶⁷ The monks of St. Martin, however, knew an attack was imminent and fled with the body of their saint to the monastery of Cormery and also took with them their treasures to Orléans.²⁶⁸ Following these attacks, Oskar's force wintered on an island near St. Florent, downstream from Tours where the fleet was less vulnerable to attack and where they could secure their hostages.²⁶⁹

854

In 854 the Danes who had stayed on the Loire sailed up the river to Blois which they burned. Apparently, according to the *AB*, they wished to advance to Orléans but met with resistance from Bishop Agius of Orléans and Bishop Burchard of Chartres who assembled men and ships which caused the Danes to retreat back down the Loire.²⁷⁰ Later in the year, they returned up the Loire and burned Angers.²⁷¹ The *AB* also reports that in this year other Danes laid waste to

²⁶⁷Prudentius, *AB* 853, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 448; *AF* 853, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 368; *AX* 854 [recte 853], G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 229.

²⁶⁸Prudentius, *AB* 853, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 448.

²⁶⁹Adrevald, *Miraculis s. Benedicti*, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS* 15, 1, p. 494. This passage: "Interea stationem navium suarum acsi asylum omnium periculorum in insula quadam coenobio Sancti Florentii subposita componentes, mappalia quoque instar exaedificavere burgi, quo captivorum greges catenis asstrictos adservarent ipsique pro tempore corpora a labore reficerent, expeditioni ilico servitura" occurs in Adrevald's text after he describes events that happened in 844 but before the end of 853; therefore it makes sense that this group of Northmen would have set up their camp in this location at this time. See Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, p. 42.

²⁷⁰Prudentius, *AB* 854, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 448.

²⁷¹Prudentius, *AB* 854, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 449.

Frisia near the Saxon border.²⁷² The year 854 was significant for the Danish kingdom because the pirates, who had been ravaging the coastal areas of Francia left and returned to their homeland.²⁷³ In that year a three-day long civil war broke out²⁷⁴ and King Horik, along with many nobles and most of his family were killed. Gudurm, Horik's nephew, was identified by the *AF* as the aggressor who had been driven out of the kingdom by Horik and "had lived a piratical existence."²⁷⁵ The *AF* reports that only one small boy from the royal family who was also named Horik survived. We hear nothing more of Gudurm, who is reported to have died in this internecine struggle.²⁷⁶ Meanwhile, on 19 January 854, Charles the Bald granted the monks of St Philibert refuge at Messay so that their needs would be attended to should they again have to flee from the Northmen.²⁷⁷ On 22 August while at Tours, Charles also confirmed the possessions and rights of the monastic community of St Martin because their

²⁷²Prudentius, *AB 854*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 448.

²⁷³*AF 854*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 369.

²⁷⁴Prudentius, *AB 854*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 448.

²⁷⁵Reuter, trans. and ed., *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 36; *AF 854*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 369: "piratico more vixit."

²⁷⁶*AF 854*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 369. Saxo Grammaticus also gives an account of Gudurm's fate in book nine of his *History of the Danes*, in P. Fisher and H.E. Davidson, trans. and eds., *Saxo Grammaticus. The History of the Danes, vol. 1: Translation* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 276-277.

²⁷⁷Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 1, no. 159, pp. 416-419.

records had been lost in the fire set by the Northmen the year before.²⁷⁸ Charles also issued a capitulary at Attigny in June 854 protecting the rights of the population who were fleeing ahead of the Northmen.²⁷⁹

855

After a short-lived hiatus in activity in Frankish territory, the Northmen began to raid in earnest again in 855. The *AB* reports that Lothar gave Frisia to his son Lothar and this incited Rorik and Godfred to return to Denmark to try and gain royal power, but they were not successful and returned to Dorestad where they “held sway over most of Frisia.”²⁸⁰ Other Northmen, presumably still under the leadership of Oskar, attacked Bordeaux and plundered the countryside at will, then sailed up the Loire and tried to reach Poitiers on foot. They were met by a Frankish contingent and were soundly beaten and only about 300 of them are reported to have managed to escape.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 1, no. 167, p. 441: “Addidit etiam jam dictus grex, id quod omnium plangit memoria, qualiter saevissimi atque crudelissimi Turonus supervenerint Normanni et lamentabili excidio concremaverint cum coeteris omnibus monasterium praefati sancti et ob hanc causam cartarum instrumenta ex rebus praefatae ecclesiae perinentibus deperiissent.”

²⁷⁹*Capitulare missorum Silvacense*, no. 260, c.9, A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., *MGH: Capit.* 2, p. 273.

²⁸⁰Nelson, trans., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 81; Prudentius, *AB 855*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 449: “parte maxima Fresiae potiuntur.”

²⁸¹Prudentius, *AB 855*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 449.

The Northmen based on the Loire sacked Orléans without opposition and received a ransom in gold from Bishop Agius to leave on 18 April 856.²⁸² Both the *AB* and *CF* report that in the summer of 856 the Northmen began another invasion up the Seine during which they ravaged and plundered towns, monasteries and villages on both banks of the river.²⁸³ The *CF* identifies the leader of this group as Sidroc who presumably came to the area from the Loire.²⁸⁴ They reached Petremamula [Pîtres] along the road between Rouen and Paris and on 19 August they were joined by Bjørn's powerful fleet.²⁸⁵ They chose to encamp "on the bank of the Seine called Jeufosse, an excellent defensive site for a base camp" and there they passed the winter quietly.²⁸⁶ Flodoard²⁸⁷ relates that during this winter, Charles and his assembly passed the time in Neaufles where he held his assembly on 1 September and kept watch on the Northmen's movements in the area. While encamped at Jeufosse, this joint

²⁸²Prudentius, *AB 856*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 449; Adrevald, *Miraculi sancti Benedicti*, 33, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 494.

²⁸³Prudentius, *AB 856*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 450; *CF 855* [recte 856], G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 304.

²⁸⁴*CF 855* [recte 856], G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 304.

²⁸⁵*CF 855* [recte 856], G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 304.

²⁸⁶Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, pp. 82-83; Prudentius, *AB 856*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 450: "locum qui dicitur Fossa-Givaldi Sequanae [Jeufosse] contiguum stationique munitissimum deligunt"

²⁸⁷Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, 3, 16, J. Heller and G. Waitz, eds., *MGH: SS 13* (Hanover: Anton Heinemann, 1881), p. 506.

army of Northmen then proceeded to slaughter the inhabitants and lay waste to the forested areas all the way to the Perche. Charles the Bald, who was in the area engaged them in battle on 10 October and defeated them.²⁸⁸ But, on 28 December 856, the *piratae* attacked Paris and burned it.²⁸⁹

857 - 858

In 857 the Northmen on the Loire continued their assaults by sacking Tours and the surrounding area up to the stronghold of Blois.²⁹⁰ Pippin II, who allied himself with these pirates against Charles the Bald and his son Charles, who had been appointed king of Aquitaine, sacked Poitiers and ravaged the countryside.²⁹¹ A second attack was made by the Northmen on Paris in the summer of 857 and again it was burned, this time along with the churches of St Peter and Ste Genevieve and all the other churches except for the cathedral of St Stephen, the churches of St Vincent and St Germain and the church of St Denis for which the Northmen were paid "a great ransom ... in cash."²⁹²

²⁸⁸*Primum missaticum ad Francos et Aquitanos directum*, no. 264, c. 3, A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., *MGH: Capit.* 2, p. 283; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 3, 16, J. Heller and G. Waitz, eds., *MGH: SS* 13, p. 506: "Haec eadem namque capitula, sicut facile reminisci potestis, ante triennium nobis in villa Rothomagensis episcopii quae Nielpha dicitur, quando in excubiis contra Nortmannorum infestationem degebamus"; *CF* 855 [recte 856], G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 304.

²⁸⁹Prudentius, *AB* 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 450.

²⁹⁰Prudentius, *AB* 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 450.

²⁹¹Prudentius, *AB* 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 450.

²⁹²Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 85; Prudentius, *AB*

Meanwhile, Sidroc and Bjørn stayed on the Seine in 857 and Bjørn is reported to have built a camp on an island identified as Oscellus (Oissel, near Rouen) while Sidroc apparently left the Seine by the end of 857 and perhaps went to England.²⁹³ Another group of pirates not identified in the sources received a tribute early in 858 to return their hostages, Abbot Louis of St Denis and his brother Gauzlin who had been seized the year before.²⁹⁴ The *AB* makes complaints about the amount: 686 lb of gold and 3,250 lb of silver²⁹⁵ given for Louis and Gauzlin that was raised from the treasury of St Denis, Charles's *potentes*, and the treasuries of other churches that "were drained dry."²⁹⁶

Dorestad and the island of Betuwe were also attacked in 857 and suffered destruction at the hands of another group of Northmen.²⁹⁷ The *AF* reports that Rorik, who had continued to hold benefices in Frankish territory under Lothar II

857, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 451: "multa solidorum summa soluta est." It is likely here that the *AB* is referring to the same attack on Paris and the surrounding areas that occurred in December 856.

²⁹³*CF* 856, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 304. Bjørn is likely to have remained here until 858, not 859 when the *CF* says he did, since he commended himself to Charles at Verberie early in 858 (*AB* 858, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 451). Sidroc reportedly left the Seine, possibly after having received a ransom. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that a certain Sidroc was killed days ahead of the battle of Ashdown in 871 (*ASC* 871, A. Savage, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 92).

²⁹⁴Prudentius, *AB* 858, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 451.

²⁹⁵Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 86, note 7; Flodoard, *Historia ecclesiae Remensis*, 1, 3, ch. 24, J. Heller and G. Waitz, eds., *MGH: SS 13*, p. 536.

²⁹⁶Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 86; Prudentius, *AB* 858, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 452: "ipso iubente exhausti sunt."

²⁹⁷Prudentius, *AB* 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 450.

and was ruling in Dorestad, went to Denmark to obtain the agreement of Horik II which he received (the young relative left in charge of the Danish kingdom following the death of Horik I who was killed in the civil war) that he and his comrades would occupy the part of the Danish kingdom between the sea and the Eider, or north Frisia.²⁹⁸

The Northmen remained on their island camp in 858 and it is likely that it was while they were camped at *Oscellus* during this year and the following few years that Rouen was burned again along with Beauvais (859); that Chartres (857) and Meaux (862) were captured; that Evreux (858) and Bayeux (858) were pillaged; and that the fortification of Melun was destroyed.²⁹⁹ Bishop Baltfrid of Bayeux was slain in the attack on that city,³⁰⁰ and Bishop Frotbald of Chartres fled the attack and drowned while trying to swim across the river Eure.³⁰¹

²⁹⁸*AF 857*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 370.

²⁹⁹Ermentarius, *praefatio 2*, in Poupardin, ed., *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, p 61. See also Lot, "La Grande invasion normande de 856-862" in *Recueil des travaux historiques*, 2, p. 721 and note 3; and Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, p. 47.

³⁰⁰Prudentius, *AB 859*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 453.

³⁰¹Prudentius, *AB 857*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 451: Frotbald's death reported in the *AB* for 857 is inaccurate since R. Merlet and l'abbé Clerval identified a local necrology that listed Frotbald and 12 other churchmen dying as a result of the Northmen's attacks on 12 June 858 (R. Merlet and l'abbé Clerval, *Un manuscrit chartreux du XIe siècle* (Chartres, 1893), p. 166). See also Lot, "La prise de Chartres par les Normands en 858," in *Recueil des travaux*, vol. 2, p. 780, who makes a plausible suggestion about the placement of the death of Frotbald at the end of 857 in the *AB*: "on doit admettre que cette mention, à la fin de 857, constitue une addition marginale, passée dans le texte dès une époque très ancienne et mal placée à la fin de 857. La prise de Chartres doit être, en effet, de 858: concordance de date d'incarnation avec un du règne dans

Early in 858, Charles the Bald received the remaining leader of the Northmen who remained on the Seine, Bjørn, possibly by providing him with a tribute payment.³⁰² In July, Charles besieged the remaining Northmen (which may have also included Bjørn) on their island camp at *Oscellus* and Lothar II came to assist his uncle during which they contained the invaders until 23 September when the siege was lifted.³⁰³ Charles had assembled a fleet, “a marvellous fleet and nothing similar had been seen in our kingdom,”³⁰⁴ but it was largely ineffective and the Northmen were left to winter on *Oscellus*.

Charles, meanwhile, was experiencing one of the worst years of his reign, and faced other pressing concerns because Louis the German had invaded his kingdom at the invitation of Abbot Adelhard of St Bertin and Count Odo of Troyes because “[t]hey declared that they could no longer bear the tyranny of Charles” and because Charles had destroyed whatever was left over after the *pagani* had plundered, enslaved, killed and sold everything and provided no resistance to them whatsoever.³⁰⁵ This resentful attitude about Charles’s strategy of paying off

l’Obituaire.”

³⁰²*Epistola synodi Carisiacensis ad Hludowicum regem Germaniae directa*, November 858, c. 6, *MGH: Cap. 2*, p. 431: “vel nunc quacumque intentione a dominatu illorum per vestram ordinationem sancta liberetur ecclesia et regnum, quod contra eos redimitur, a tributo indebito eripiatur.” Tribute may also have been paid to Sidroc to entice him to leave, although nothing in the sources makes particular mention of this.

³⁰³Prudentius, *AB 858*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 452.

³⁰⁴Hildegarius, *Vita Faronis*, 125, *MGH: SS rer Mer 5*, p. 201: “navigio mirabili ac numquam in nostris regnis simili viso.”

³⁰⁵Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 42; *AF 858*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 371: “[t]yrannidem enim Karoli se diutius ferre non posse testati

the Northmen instead of engaging them in battle and thus laying the monetary burden for their expulsion on the population, both lay and clerical, is echoed by Hincmar of Rheims.³⁰⁶ Many powerful men obviously held this view, judging from the numbers of defectors to Louis who rapidly moved from Ponthion in the east to the Loire valley near Orléans where he received defectors from Charles from Neustria, Aquitaine and Brittany.³⁰⁷ Lothar II, meanwhile, retreated back to his own kingdom and Charles took his troops from the siege of *Oscellus* to Burgundy, allowing the Northmen free rein in the Seine valley.³⁰⁸ The monks at St Wandrille would have been particularly vulnerable to attacks by the Northmen during this time, especially as the Northmen had moved from Jeufosse to *Oscellus* in 857. Therefore, the community of St Wandrille left the monastery with their relics and moved to the church of St. Peter near Quentovic via Bladulfi-villa (Bloville).³⁰⁹ At this time, Charles was clearly maintaining a policy of “containment” with respect to the Northmen since he was incapable of expelling them completely from his territory. With the departure of Charles from *Oscellus*, the Northmen were again free to range in the vicinity of their camp. This activity prompted the local people between the Seine and the Loire to form a *coniuratio* to resist the Danes; however, their association was broken up by the magnates

sunt.”

³⁰⁶*Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiches 843-859*, W. Hartmann, ed., *MGH: Conc.* 3, no. 41, 6 (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1984), p. 412.

³⁰⁷Prudentius, *AB 858*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 452.

³⁰⁸Prudentius, *AB 858*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 452.

³⁰⁹*Miracula sancti Wandregisili*, 2, 4, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15*, 1, pp. 407-408.

who killed them.³¹⁰ It seems that the powerful would not tolerate a challenge to their military authority by the common folk, regardless of their mutual interest in expelling the invaders.

859

In the summer of 859 the Northmen on the Seine launched an attack on Beauvais and killed Bishop Ermenfrid on 25 June³¹¹ and two months later, they made a night attack on Noyon taking Bishop Immo captive along with other clerical and lay nobles, removing them and killing them while on the march.³¹² In July, another group of Danes, possibly under the command of a Northman named Weland, launched new attacks in the Somme area, plundering and burning the monastery of St Valery, the town of Amiens and other places in the vicinity.³¹³

Lupus of Ferrières reports to Odo, the abbot of Corbie, in two of his letters in the autumn of 859 that a battle was fought near Corbie. He acknowledges the

³¹⁰Prudentius, *AB 859*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 453.

³¹¹Prudentius, *AB 859*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 453. Hincmar refers to the siege of Beauvais in his letter to Charles: "Item de rei militaris dispositione, pro solvenda Belvacensis urbis obsidione, in qua designare curavit, qualiter ecclesiam sibi commissam tractaret." The date of Ermenfrid's death is recorded in an obituary from Beauvais which is cited in Lot, "Grande invasion," in *Recueil des travaux*, 2, pp. 741-742, note 3. See also Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 3, 18, J. Heller and G. Waitz, eds., *MGH: SS 13*, p. 509. This passage cited the attack on Beauvais in 851; however, Lot viewed it as more likely to be referring to 859: Lot, "Grande invasion," *Recueil des travaux*, 2, p. 741, note 2.

³¹²Prudentius, *AB 859*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 453.

³¹³Prudentius, *AB 859*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 453.

dangers that Odo and his monastery faced on an ongoing basis and that there were Frankish casualties sustained in this incident as well as a defeat of the *barbari*.³¹⁴ A person named Heriard of St Riquier was also reported to have been killed as a result of being struck by a Danish arrow on 28 July.³¹⁵

The *AB* reports that the Danes ravaged the area east of the Scheldt including Betuwe, and that the bones of the martyrs Denis, Rusticus and Eleutherius were removed to Nogent [-sur-Seine] to one of the *villae* belonging to St Denis in the Morvois district and were placed in reliquaries there on 21 September.³¹⁶ This action is confirmed by the gift presented to St Denis by Charles at Compiègne on 31 August 860³¹⁷ which was ratified on 18 September 862.³¹⁸

³¹⁴Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistola* 111.4, P. K. Marshall, ed., *Servati Lupi Epistolae*, p. 107: "Ceterum utinam fallax fama uulgauerit in procinctu contra barbaros quosdam uestrorum gauiter sauciatos, in quibus admodum dilectum dolore afflictus opemque intercessionis cum fratribus meis continuans, super statu eorum cupio uestris littenis mature fieri certior." And, *Epistola* 112.5, *Servati Lupi Epistolae*, p. 108: "Verum, ut grauitatem stilus repetat, strenue profligatos barbaros et ad interneccionem caesos uestra immo dei uirtute gaudeo uosque ipsos et uestros ineffabiliter exulto discrimine liberatos, nec minus partim admonitos, partim expertos, tandem uos credere non temere fortunam nec saepe temptandam. pro G. reliquisque in defensionem patriae sauciatis non cessabimus preces fundere, quousque uestra relatio paruitatem nostram sanitate illis restituta laetificet."

³¹⁵*Carmina Centulensia*, no. 122 in L. Traude, ed., *MGH: PLAC 3* (Berlin, 1896), p. 345.

³¹⁶Prudentius, *AB* 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 453.

³¹⁷Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 1, no. 220, pp. 549-555.

³¹⁸Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 247, p.

In 860, Charles used a Danish Christian convert named Ansleicus to negotiate with the Northmen who were in the area around the Somme who agreed that if they were paid 3,000 pounds of carefully-inspected silver they would attack the group of Danes who were in the Seine valley. He ordered a special tax to be levied on the churches, nobles, and merchants in order to raise the tribute, but it took some time to raise it.³¹⁹ While the tribute was being accumulated, the Danes on the Somme left early in the year with some hostages and took themselves off to England to attack the Anglo-Saxons who defeated them.³²⁰

In June, another army of Northmen (who may or may not have consisted of a part of Weland's fleet that had left earlier in the year to go to England, or it could have been others since Weland is reported to have landed at Thérouanne with a fleet of 200 ships in 861), landed at the mouth of the Yser river and went overland to St Omer and St Bertin, arriving at St Bertin on the morning of 8 June. Here they discovered that all but four of the monks had fled.³²¹ The Northmen

65.

³¹⁹Prudentius, *AB 860*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 454; *Miracula sancti Richarii 2*, 16, *AA SS Aprilis 3*, p. 456.

³²⁰Prudentius, *AB 860*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 454; *Miracula sancti Richarii 2*, 1, *AA SS Aprilis 3*, p. 453; *ASC 860*, A. Savage, transl., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 89.

³²¹*Miracula sancti Bertini 2*, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, pp. 509-510. Coupland remarks that part of this fleet could have been comprised of some of Weland's men and ships in his *Charles the Bald*, pp.

killed one of the monks, tortured and humiliated the other three and took a large amount of booty away, but not before leaving an offering at the altar. When some of the raiders tried to remove this offering, they were hanged by their leaders at the guesthouse.³²² Here the Northmen show that they were willing to respect the authority of the Christian God who, if they were disrespectful to Him, may have caused the Northmen, they believed, to suffer dire consequences.

861

The year 861 saw an escalation of attacks by the Northmen in the Seine valley. In January, the Northmen who were wintering on the Seine continued to Paris and burned it along with the churches of St Vincent the Martyr and St Germain the Confessor and attacked traders who were fleeing up the Seine.³²³ The library of St-Germain-des-Prés was lost in the fire although the monks had time to remove their relics to Combs-la-Ville and then to Nogent-l'Artaud on the

53-54 and Vogel in *Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich*, pp. 180-181 dated this raid to 861 while Lot in *Recueil des travaux*, 2, pp. 750-753 states that it was a raid conducted by unknown Northmen which took place in 860.

³²²*Miracula sancti Bertini*, c. 2, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 509. Coupland in *Charles the Bald*, appendix 1, successfully puts forward the case that all four monks were not martyred, only one, Regenhardus, and the others were "mocked." Also, that the leaders of this particular raid punished their comrades for taking the offering at the altar also suggests that there was no particular "anti-Christian" motivation for attacks on Frankish Christian sites.

³²³Prudentius, *AB 861*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 454: "Dani mense Ianuario Lutetiam Parisiorum et ecclesiam sancti Vincentii martyris et sancti Germani confessoris incendio tradunt; negotiatores quoque per Sequanam navigio sursum versus fugientes insequuntur et capiunt. Alii quoque Danorum piratae Tarvanensem pagum adeunt et devastant."

Marne as they escaped.³²⁴ It was also during this raid that the monastery at St Eloi was destroyed.³²⁵ They then disembarked on an island in the Seine just below the town of Melun.³²⁶ Meanwhile, Weland and his fleet of 200 ships arrived at Thérrouanne from England and burned and plundered it and then sailed up the Seine in May or June to *Oscellus* and proceeded to besiege the island that housed the other group of Northmen who had been left there and whom Weland had promised Charles he would attack. Weland waited for the tribute that Charles had agreed to provide, Charles having inflated the figure to 5,000 pounds of silver and a large amount of livestock and corn to keep him from ravaging the countryside.³²⁷ Shortly after, Weland was joined by another group of Northmen who arrived with 60 ships. The Northmen who were holed up on *Oscellus* and were suffering from starvation were forced to pay them a tribute of 6,000 pounds of gold and silver to be let go. They broke up into their brotherhoods (*sodalitates*), sailed down the Seine, but due to the onset of winter, were unable to put to sea and so wintered in various ports along the Seine from

³²⁴*Vita Droctovei abbatis Parisiensis*, 2, *MGH: SS rer Mer* 3, p. 537; Aimoin, *Miracula sancti Germani*, 2, 10, *AA SS Maii* 6, pp. 803-804.

³²⁵Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 364, p. 314.

³²⁶Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistola* 125.2, in P. K. Marshall, ed., *Servati Lupi Epistolae*, p 117: "nam, cum ad quandam insulam Saequanae pagani crudelissimi pyratae applicuissent, quae sita est sub Melleduni oppido ab aliis recens exusto, et eorum uvciniam nobis, in monasterio consistere audebamus nec quo migrare possemus, depressi aerumna tantae calamitatis, inueniebamus."

³²⁷Hincmar, *AB* 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 455; Hildegarius, *Vita Faronis*, 126, *MGH: SS rer Mer* 5, p. 201.

Paris to the sea. Weland then proceeded to sail up to Melun to winter there and Weland's son along with the formerly-besieged Northmen occupied the monastery of St-Maur-des-Fossés.³²⁸ The force that accompanied Weland's son then proceeded to ravage in the forest of Brie.³²⁹

862 - 863

In late-December 861, Meaux was burned and the monastery of St Faron was reported to have been spared, either by a miracle or by a ransom.³³⁰

Charles was at Senlis awaiting troops that he wished to station along the Oise, Marne, and Seine rivers against the advancing Northmen. When he learned of the attack on Meaux, however, he quickly took the men he had with him and went to meet the Northmen. He was unable to catch up with them because the Northmen had destroyed the bridges and had captured all of Charles's ships. Charles quickly rebuilt the bridge near Trilbardou to Isles-lès-Villenoy, and assigned men to guard both banks of the Marne to cut off the advance of the Northmen. This defensive move hemmed in the Northmen and they were forced to give hostages who would be returned only on the condition that they return all the Frankish captives taken since they had entered the Marne and either

³²⁸Hincmar, *AB 861*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 455.

³²⁹Hildegarius, *Vita Faronis*, 128, *MGH: SS rer Mer 5*, p. 201.

³³⁰Hildegarius, *Vita Faronis*, 128, *MGH: SS rer Mer 5*, pp. 201-202; Hincmar, *Epistola 23*, (Ad Carolum imperatorem), *PL 126* (Paris 1852), cols. 153-154. Coupland in *Charles the Bald*, pp. 57, 66 cites a ransom as a possibility since a payment was also made to preserve St Croix in Orléans when the Northmen burned the city in 865, as reported by Adrevald.

withdraw altogether, or else join with Charles to expel all other Northmen who refused to leave. When ten hostages were given, the Northmen on the Marne were then allowed to return to their own men.³³¹ About 20 days later, Weland along with his wife and sons (who became Christian) and the men he had with him came to Charles and commended themselves to him. They then made for their ships and sailed down the Seine to Jumièges where they repaired their ships and waited for spring. At the spring equinox, they split up and sailed out to sea, some of them making for Brittany.³³² Weland was accused of treachery by two Northmen who had deserted him and came to Charles asking to become Christians. Weland denied that he was guilty of bad faith, was challenged by one of his accusers to trial by combat, and was killed in 863.³³³

Those Northmen who went to Brittany were joined by the Northmen who had earlier returned from Spain. Salomon, the Breton chief, hired 12 Danish ships for a fee to use against the Frankish commander, Count Robert. Robert captured this fleet on the Loire and killed most of the men on the ships. He then allied himself with the Northmen who had fled the Seine and paid them 6,000 pounds of silver and exchanged hostages to enter into an alliance with him

³³¹Hincmar, *AB 862*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 456.

³³²Hincmar, *AB 862*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 456. Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 99, note 10, suggests that Weland commended himself to Charles because he no longer had the widespread support of the majority of the invading Northmen.

³³³Hincmar, *AB 863*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 462.

against Salomon.³³⁴ It was during this upheaval in Brittany that the monks of St Philibert again repaired from Cunault to the villa of Messais,³³⁵ and the relics of St Maur were removed to Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe.³³⁶

Around 1 June 862, Charles called an assembly at Pîtres and gathered his leading men and a large number of workmen and carts to construct fortifications on the Seine. He initiated this construction project to prevent the Northmen from sailing up or down the river.³³⁷ With greater security in the Seine valley, the relics of Ste Genevieve were returned to their original location.³³⁸

All was not quiet in Louis the German's kingdom, though, as the Danes again burned and laid waste to a large portion of his realm.³³⁹ In late 862, the Danes sacked Dorestad and also a fairly large *villa* where the Frisians had fled, they killed several traders and took captive many people and then in January

³³⁴Hincmar, *AB 862*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 456-457; Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, pp. 98-99, note 9, believes that the fee paid to the Northmen by Robert was probably a private "hire fee," and not a royally-sponsored one.

³³⁵Ermentarius, *De translationibus et miraculis sancti Filiberti, Liber I, praefatio 2*, in Poupardin, ed., *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, p. 62; Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 1, no. 159, pp. 416-419.

³³⁶Odo, *Miracula et translatio sancti Mauri*, 13, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 471.

³³⁷Hincmar, *AB 862*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 457. The site of these fortifications has been identified as Pont-de-l'Arche, about 2km downstream from the palace at Pîtres; see also *Capitula Pistensia*, no. 272 (June 862), A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., *MGH: Capit. 2*, p. 303. See also Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 100, note 14.

³³⁸*Miracula sancta Genovefae*, 32-37, *AA SS Ianuarii 1*, pp. 150-151.

³³⁹Hincmar, *AB 862*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 458.

863, they sailed up the Rhine on their way to Cologne and, after burning the church of St Victor at Xanten, they reached an island near the fort of Neuss (about 60 km south of Xanten). Lothar attacked them there along with a contingent of Saxons who had set up camp until about the beginning of April, besieging the Northmen on the island. These Danes were advised by Ronik, who was allied with Charles,³⁴⁰ to withdraw and they left by the same route they had come.³⁴¹

In Brittany on the 12 of October, Count Turpio of Angoulême was attacked by the Northmen, and although he killed Maur, their leader, he was himself struck down by a death-blow. The Northmen then proceeded to lay waste to the entire region.³⁴² Charles received the news at the end of 863 that the Northmen had arrived at Poitiers and, though the city was ransomed, they had burned the church of St Hilary.³⁴³ While it is not clear which group of Northmen perpetrated these attacks (this is the only time that the leader Maur is mentioned in the sources) there may have been two sets of Northmen active during this time in Aquitaine: one on the Loire, and one on the Charente, the river on which

³⁴⁰This is another instance where local contingencies were necessary so that the Franks could keep the Northmen from attacking the fringes of the empire. Cf. Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, 3, 23, J. Heller and G. Waitz, eds., *MGH: SS 13*, p. 529.

³⁴¹Hincmar, *AB 863*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 459; *AX 864* [recte 863], G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 230.

³⁴²*AE 863*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 253; *Chronicum Aquitanicum 863*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 253.

³⁴³Hincmar, *AB 863*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 462.

Angoulême is located.³⁴⁴ It is unclear whether the Loire Northmen were the ones who attacked Poitiers. The Seine valley at this time was relatively peaceful, and Charles was able to proceed with the construction of his fortifications at Pont-de-l'Arche. This situation enabled the monks of St. Germain to return in July with their relics³⁴⁵ while the monks of St Maur fled from Le-Mêle-sur-Sarthe to Burgundy; the monks of St Exuperius fled from Bayeux to *castrum Palludellum* near Corbeil,³⁴⁶ and the relics of St Chrodegang and Ste Opportune were moved from *Monasteriolum* (probably Montreuil-la-Motte³⁴⁷) to the east, in the case of St Chrodegang to Pannecières, and of Ste Opportune to Moussy-le-Neuf.³⁴⁸

Charles ordered the Aquitanians to advance on the Northmen who had burned the church of St Hilary at Poitiers, but the Northmen got as far as Clermont where they killed Stephen, son of Hugh and some of his men, and then returned to their ships. Pippin II, who had reneged on his monastic habit and in the manner of an apostate joined the Northmen, was captured by a trick

³⁴⁴Hincmar distinguishes between two groups of Northmen when he discusses the attacks in Aquitaine in 865, referring to one group as "Nortmanni vero residentes in Ligeri" in *AB 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 469, and another as "Nortmannis qui in Carento...resident" in *AB 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 470.

³⁴⁵*Miracula sancti Germani* 2, 13, 17, *AA SS Maii* 6, pp. 804-805.

³⁴⁶Lair, J. "Etudes sur les origines de l'évêché de Bayeux," 2, (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes 24, 1863), p. 297.

³⁴⁷Musset, L. "L'exode des reliques du diocèse de Séez au temps des invasions normandes," in *Bulletin de la société historique et archéologique de l'Ome*, 88 (1970), p. 10.

³⁴⁸*Vita sancti Chrodogangi episcopi Sagiensis martyris*, 13-15, *AA SS Septembris 1* (Antwerp, 1746), pp. 770-771; *Miracula sanctae Opportunae*, 6, *AA SS Aprilis 3*, p. 69.

perpetrated by Ramnulf and his Aquitanians. He was condemned to death and was incarcerated in a stronghold in Senlis where he died shortly afterwards.³⁴⁹ Towards the end of the year, Count Robert of Anjou fought against two companies of Northmen who were based on the Loire. He killed nearly all the men in one company and when the other larger group attacked him from behind, he was wounded and retreated, having lost some of his men.³⁵⁰ Adrevald reports on a series of attacks in Aquitaine that can be dated to around this time, though he does not list them in chronological order. According to Adrevald, besides Poitiers, Clermont and Angoulême, the Northmen raided Périgueux, Saintes and Limoges.³⁵¹ The abbey of Solignac may also have been burned at this time, although no conclusive evidence dates its destruction specifically to 864.³⁵²

864

The area around Flanders also saw violent action from the Northmen

³⁴⁹Hincmar, *AB 864*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 465-466; *Ex Adonis archiepiscopi Viennensis chronico, continuatio prima, auctore anonymo*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 324.

³⁵⁰Hincmar, *AB 864*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 467.

³⁵¹Adrevald, *Miraculis s. Benedicti*, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 495.

³⁵²*Annales Mascienses 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 3*, p. 169; Coupland sets out quite a plausible argument for the destruction of Solignac in 864 (*Charles the Bald*, pp. 62-63). His three reasons for dating the burning of the abbey to 864 are: the *Translatio sanctae Faustae* mention the increase in raiding in the area; Solignac lays on the route from Poitiers to Clermont; and, Charles confirmed Solignac's possessions in 865 after its charters had been burned in an attack by the Northmen. See Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 283, pp. 125-127.

during 864, but the local people resisted the incursion forcing the Northmen to sail up the Rhine where they laid waste to areas on both banks of the river in both Lothar's and Louis's kingdoms.³⁵³

865

In 865 the situation in Aquitaine and in the Seine valley worsened. The Northmen stationed on the Loire and led by a certain Baretus made their way up the river where they reached the Benedictine monastery at Fleury and burned it. On their return, they burned Orléans and all the churches in the vicinity except for Ste Croix which, according to Adrevald, was saved "by the zeal of our good men."³⁵⁴ It is likely that Ste Croix was not burned because a ransom was paid to the Northmen by the monastery. After returning to their base in the Loire, the Northmen then went on foot to Poitiers and burned the *civitas*, returning to their ships unopposed. Count Robert, however, engaged this contingent of Northmen in battle and slew 500 without losing any of his own men, capturing some of the Northmen's weapons and standards.³⁵⁵

Meanwhile, another contingent of Northmen again entered the Seine and arrived with 50 ships at Rouen in the middle of July,³⁵⁶ and Charles, who was at

³⁵³Hincmar, *AB 864*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 465.

³⁵⁴Hincmar, *AB 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 467; Adrevald, *Miraculis s. Benedicti*, 33, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 494: "studio bonorum hominum."

³⁵⁵Hincmar, *AB 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 469.

³⁵⁶*Annales Rotomagensis 865*, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 26*, p. 494.

Attigny at the time marched to resist them.³⁵⁷ Charles reached Pîtres where the Northmen still were, and ordered the bridges which had previously been built on the Oise at Auvers and on the Marne at Charenton to be rebuilt since they had been allowed to decay due to the "*infestationem Normannorum*." He assigned guards at these locations to protect the workers.³⁵⁸ In mid-September, Charles repaired to Orville to hunt, but the troops he had assigned to guard the bridge-builders on the east bank of the Seine had not yet taken up their positions and so the Northmen, sensing an opportunity sent 200 of their men to Paris to get wine, but, unable to accomplish their mission, they returned without suffering any losses. The *AB* reports that the Northmen then planned to sack Chartres, but the Frankish troops who were guarding the west bank of the Seine prevented them from advancing and the Northmen were forced back to their ships after having lost some men.³⁵⁹ However, Charles learned that on 18 October, some Northmen had pillaged the monastery of St Denis where they had stayed for about 20 days without encountering any resistance. Adalard and his relatives Uto and Berengar, who had been put in charge of the Seine defences had not prevented this attack and were thus deprived of their *honores* by Charles, who was at Rouy.³⁶⁰ The Northmen who had sacked St Denis became ill with various ailments and died; and Charles who had dispatched troops to guard against them

³⁵⁷Hincmar, *AB 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 469.

³⁵⁸Hincmar, *AB 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 469.

³⁵⁹Hincmar, *AB 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 470.

³⁶⁰Hincmar, *AB 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 470.

went to Senlis for Christmas.

As the Northmen were perpetrating this destruction in the Seine valley, the Northmen on the Loire joined forces with the Bretons and attacked Le Mans, sacking it without opposition. The Aquitanians engaged the Northmen from the Charente who were led by Sigfrid and killed about 400 of the opposing Northmen, and the rest of them returned to their ships.³⁶¹ On 29 December, the Loire Northmen broke out into Neustria to plunder, but they were met by Counts Gauzfrid, Harvey and Rorgo and in the fight Rorgo was killed, but they lost many of their own men and again returned to their ships.³⁶²

866

Early in 866 the Northmen sailed up the Seine to Melun. Charles's squadrons led by Robert and Odo advanced on both banks of the river and, while the Franks had greater numbers, they fled without a fight from the Northmen who then loaded their ships with booty and returned to their base.³⁶³ This military disaster prompted Charles to pay the Northmen a tribute of 4,000 pounds of silver, plus supplies of wine. In order to do this, he had to impose a levy on every free Frank in the realm. In addition, Charles had to return any slaves who had escaped after being taken by the Northmen following the agreement, or pay a ransom for the amount that the Northmen set. He also had to compensate the

³⁶¹Hincmar, *AB 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 470.

³⁶²Hincmar, *AB 866*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 470-471.

³⁶³Hincmar, *AB 866*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 471.

Northmen for any of them who had been killed according to the price they demanded. In June, the Northmen left the island near St Denis where they had camped and sailed down the Seine to make repairs to their ships and await their payment and, in July, they reached the sea, presumably after having been paid. One group split off from the main contingent and sailed to Frisia to pillage, where they were unable to come to any arrangement with Lothar.³⁶⁴

In January 866, Charles received a letter from Abbot Haecfrid of St Florent telling him that the whole province had been reduced to a wasteland and the monks had been forced from their homes. Charles therefore granted him and his monks the *cella* of St Gondon in Berry as a refuge and a place for them to safely deposit the body of St Florentius.³⁶⁵ Bishop Actard of Nantes was also enslaved at this time and taken abroad in chains.³⁶⁶ Between April and July the Loire Northmen were active in Brittany. The monks of Redon under Abbot Conwoion also left their monastery and went to Plélan-le-Grand (directly north of Redon and east of Rennes).³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴Hincmar, *AB 866*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 471. The Northmen who decided to pillage Frisia, according to Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, pp. 131-132, and note 12, wanted to be granted land just as others before them had been.

³⁶⁵Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no 287, p. 135.

³⁶⁶*Concilium Tricassinum, Epistola Caroli Calvis regis ad Nicolaum 1*, in J.-D.Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum collectio nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 15 (Florence and Venice, 1759-1798), cols. 796-800.

³⁶⁷*Cartulaire de Redon*, De Courson, ed., nos. 49, 207, pp. 39-40, 160.

In September,³⁶⁸ about 400 Northmen allied with the Bretons attacked and sacked Le Mans. On their way back to the Loire, they got as far as Brissarthe where they encountered Counts Robert, Ranulf, Gauzfrid and Harvey and a large contingent of Franks. They fought a battle and Robert and others were killed, Ranulf was mortally wounded and Harvey was injured.³⁶⁹

867

Only Bourges was reported to have been looted and burned in 867.³⁷⁰ Charles granted the monks of St Martin of Tours refuge in Marsat in the Auvergne as they fled the Northmen from Léré in Berry, likely in 867 during the attack on Bourges.³⁷¹ Charles announced a general muster throughout the realm to meet on 1 August at Chartres from where he would advance into Brittany against the Breton chief Salomon who had allied himself with the Northmen. However, Salomon sent his son-in-law, Pasweten, to negotiate terms and Charles deferred the gathering of his troops to 25 August and then cancelled it

³⁶⁸Lot in *Recueil des travaux*, 2, p. 816, note 4, dates this event to 15 September 866.

³⁶⁹Hincmar, *AB 866*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 472-473; *AF 867*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 380.

³⁷⁰Adrevald, *Miraculis s. Benedicti*, 33, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15*, 1, p. 495; *Annales Mascienses 867*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 3*, p. 169.

³⁷¹Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no 319 (30 January 869 at Cosne-sur-Loire), pp. 201-203; Coupland in *Charles the Bald*, p. 70, states this as a likely scenario, though the threat from the Northmen in the region extended throughout the 860s.

altogether.³⁷² Throughout 867, Charles granted refuge to several monastic communities: on 20 June Charles gave the monks of Fossés land in compensation for the Northmen's attacks at Fleury-la-Rivière near Rheims;³⁷³ on 5 September while at Vaux-sur-Somme he gave the monks of St-Germain-des-Prés a *villa* at Voulpaix near Laon as a refuge and to supplement their income,³⁷⁴ and, on 7 December while at Quierzy, he gave the monks of St Riquier a *villa* at Arleux-les-Bray on the Somme near Amiens as a refuge.³⁷⁵ Meanwhile, in mid-July 867 while returning from Frankfurt, Lothar and the host he had summoned defeated Rorik, whom the Frisians had driven out of their territory.³⁷⁶

868

Early in 868, the Northmen sailed up the Loire and reached Orléans, burned it and, accepting a tribute payment, returned to their ships unscathed.³⁷⁷

³⁷²Hincmar, *AB 867*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 474.

³⁷³Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 299, pp. 156-158.

³⁷⁴Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 302, pp. 165-167.

³⁷⁵Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 306, pp. 177-179.

³⁷⁶Hincmar, *AB 867*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 475; *Epistolae ad divortium Lotharii II regis pertinentes*, no. 16, Dümmler, ed., *MGH: EE 6*, p. 234.

³⁷⁷Hincmar, *AB 868*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 477; Adrevald, *Miraculis s. Benedicti*, 36, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 497.

At the end of May, Charles ordered the *civitas* of Angoulême rebuilt.³⁷⁸ At the Council of Pîtres in mid-August, Charles met with an envoy of the Breton chief Salomon who told him that he would like his help in launching an attack on the Northmen on the Loire. Charles sent his son Carloman, but Carloman and his troops did not reach Brittany and only succeeded in laying waste to some territory on their way there and were recalled by Charles.³⁷⁹ The Northmen then attacked Poitiers and were routed by the defenders who killed some and drove the rest away.³⁸⁰ The resumption of attacks in this area very likely prompted the monks of St Maxient to flee with their relics of St Maxentius which were acquired by Salomon and installed at Plélan-le-Grand where the monks of Redon had fled.³⁸¹ The monks of Saint-Benoît-de-Quincay also removed the body of their saint, St Viventius, to Clermont at this time.³⁸² Confidence seems to have returned to the monks of the Seine valley because later in the year the monks of St Maur brought back their relics from Burgundy to the abbey of Fossés.³⁸³

869

³⁷⁸*AE 868*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 486.

³⁷⁹Hincmar, *AB 868*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 480.

³⁸⁰Hincmar, *AB 868*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 480.

³⁸¹Arthur le Moyne de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne 2* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1898), p. 281.

³⁸²*Vita sancti Viventii*, 44-45, *AA SS Ianuarii 1*, p. 813.

³⁸³Odo, *Miracula sancti Mauri*, preface, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 464.

Charles initiated more defensive construction after Easter in 869. He ordered that the monastery of St Denis be strengthened with wood and stone fortifications and that one workman for every 100 manses be engaged in constructing and guarding the fort at Pîtres which he had ordered to be built.³⁸⁴

On 25 May, 869, Salomon gathered his army together, without asking Charles for help to move against the Northmen in the district of Avessac.³⁸⁵ The outcome of the battle, if one took place, is not mentioned anywhere in the sources although Regino recounts in 874³⁸⁶ that Salomon had made peace with Hasting, the leader of the Northmen, by paying him 500 cows which allowed him and his people to harvest their grapes.³⁸⁷ Abbot Hugh and Gauzfrid and their men from between the Loire and the Seine engaged the Northmen in battle and killed about 60 of them. When the Northmen heard that Charles had ordered the fortification of Le Mans and Tours, they demanded tribute from the local inhabitants which consisted of a large quantity of silver, corn, wine and livestock

³⁸⁴Hincmar, *AB 869*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 481; Nelson, trans. and ed., in *The Annals of St-Bertin*, pp. 153-154 and note 4, believes that the *haistaldi* were young men who were accustomed to building and guarding fortifications.

³⁸⁵ De Courson, ed., *Cartulaire de Redon*, no. 242, p. 193.

³⁸⁶Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 874*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 587: "Non multo post interiecto tempore, datis quingentis vaccis, Salomon pacem cum Nordmannis fecit, et acceptis obsidibus cum redire in regnum disponeret, legatus Hastingi eum taliter alloquitur: *Nuntiatum est Domino meo, te tantum virum habere, qui se iacet, quod, te recedente, solus cum suis hoc in loco audeat remanere. Si ergo tantus est quantus sibi videtur, incunctanter remaneat, quia dominus meus vult eum videre, audacisque viri desiderat notitiam habere.*"

³⁸⁷Hincmar, *AB 869*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 486.

as the price of making peace with them.³⁸⁸ The Northmen clearly believed, and it would appear, that they held the upper-hand in this region.

870

The year 870 was marked by a distinct lack of activity on the part of the Northmen in the Frankish kingdoms. Only a meeting recorded in the *AB* between Charles and Rorik the Northman which took place at the palace of Nijmegen mentions the Northmen. At this meeting, Charles was able to conclude a treaty with Rorik.³⁸⁹ Presumably, the tribute payments that had been made both by Charles and the inhabitants in the Loire region, plus the fortifications that Charles undertook dissuaded the Northmen from actively pursuing an aggressive plan of action.

871

This peace would not last long, however. In the summer of 871, the aggressors were not the Northmen, but Abbot Hugh and Gauzfrid and their men. They launched an ill-considered attack on the island in the Loire where the Northmen had their camp, suffered many losses and barely managed to escape.³⁹⁰ On 30 October while at Champlitte (Haute-Saône), Charles granted the monks of St Philibert of Noirmoutier the abbey of Saint-Porçain in the

³⁸⁸Hincmar, *AB 869*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 486.

³⁸⁹ Hincmar, *AB 869*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 486.

³⁹⁰Hincmar, *AB 871*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 492.

Auvergne to hold permanently since their refuge on the mainland was still in danger of attack by the Northmen.³⁹¹

872

On 19 January 872, Charles met with the Northmen Rorik and Rodulf at Moustier-sur-Sambre.³⁹² His aim was probably to head-off an alliance between them and his errant son Carloman.³⁹³ The situation with Carloman proved so pressing that Charles arranged another meeting with Rorik and Rodulf in October at Maastricht. Rorik had shown Charles that he was trustworthy and Charles welcomed him warmly; Rodulf, on the other hand, had proved treacherous and demanded too much, and so Charles dismissed him empty-handed. On account of his lack of trust in Rodulf, Charles prepared his faithful men against Rodulf's potentially treacherous attacks.³⁹⁴

The flight westwards of the monastic community of St Lomer from Moutiers-au-Perche to *Particliacus* in the Avranches district (the exact site is unknown) where they arrived on 15 April 872, is perhaps indicative of the Northmen's activities in that they may have been raiding up the Sarthe river

³⁹¹Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 353, pp. 285-287.

³⁹²Hincmar, *AB 872*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 493.

³⁹³Janet L. Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 177, note 2.

³⁹⁴Hincmar, *AB 872*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 494.

towards Evreux.³⁹⁵

873

Northmen had for some time occupied Angers, burning and pillaging the countryside, and early in 873, they raided the monastery at Massay in Berry.³⁹⁶ Charles besieged Angers and surrounded the *civitas* with earthenworks while Salomon stayed on the opposite side of the Maine river waiting to assist Charles against the Northmen.³⁹⁷ Later, in September or October 873³⁹⁸ the Northmen raised the siege at Angers and their leaders commended themselves to Charles promising that they would never again return to Angers or raid anywhere in Charles's kingdom. They asked to be allowed to winter on an island in the Loire until February and hold a market. Those who either would become Christian, or promise to be baptised would be allowed to stay, and the rest would have to depart. The bodies of St Albinus and St Licinius which had been disinterred and

³⁹⁵*Historia translationis sancti Launomaris abbatis Curbionensis in oppidum Blesas*, c 1, Mabillon, ed., *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, 4, 2, p. 246; Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, p. 75.

³⁹⁶*Annales Mascienses 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 3*, p. 169; Hincmar, *AB 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 496.

³⁹⁷Hincmar, *AB 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 496; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 585-586.

³⁹⁸Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 867 (Le Mans, 12 October 873), pp. 318-320.

removed for fear of the Northmen were then re-interred.³⁹⁹ Charles also ordered a fortified bridge to be built across the Loire to prevent the Northmen from sailing back up the river.⁴⁰⁰

Meanwhile, Louis the German was also experiencing difficulties with another group of Northmen in his territory. Sigfrid, king of the Danes, met Louis at Burstadt, near Worms after Easter (25 April) to confirm his borders with the Saxons and to ensure that his merchants and Frankish merchants could carry on their trading without harassment.⁴⁰¹ In June, Louis met at Aachen with Rorik who had held benefices from Lothar II and took him "into his own service."⁴⁰² But during this time, Rodolf, the Northman who had already attacked Charles's kingdom "often ... with pillage and arson,"⁴⁰³ led a fleet into the Ostergau in Frisia (near Dokkum) and demanded tribute from the inhabitants. The inhabitants refused to give in to his demands and met the Northmen in battle. Rodulf was killed along with 800 or so of his men and the rest who were unable to flee

³⁹⁹Hincmar, *AB 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 496.

⁴⁰⁰*Historia sancti Florentii Samurensis*, Marchegay and Mabilie, eds., *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, p. 219; Lot in *Recueil des travaux*, 2, p. 535, note 3, locates the bridge at Ponts-de-Cé, near Angers which is probable, but dates it before 862; Coupland in *Charles the Bald*, pp. 183-184, contends that it was constructed while Charles was at Angers in 873, and quite reasonably states that Charles saw the effectiveness of the bridge construction at Pont-de-l'Arche near Pîtres, so ordered that another be built at Angers.

⁴⁰¹*AF 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 386.

⁴⁰² *AF 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 386; *AX 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 235: "in suum dominium."

⁴⁰³*AF 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 386: "praedis et incendiis saepenumero vastaverat."

barricaded themselves in a building. The Frisians then negotiated to have hostages given over to them in exchange for all the treasure the Northmen had stolen. When they received back the treasure, they let the rest of the Northmen go back to their boats whence they returned to their own country “with great shame and loss, and without their *dux*.”⁴⁰⁴ In August 873, Halfdan, the brother of King Sigfrid, also sent emissaries to Louis asking that he send ambassadors to the river Eider to proclaim a perpetual peace between the Danes and Saxons.⁴⁰⁵

874 - 875

Regino of Prüm reports that the Northmen did not leave the Loire as they had agreed and conducted even greater and more destructive raids in 874. He also reports that some of these Northmen were used as auxiliaries by Pascweten after the death of Salomon against his rival Wurfand, and that after the death of Pascweten in a battle near Rennes, they were holed up in the monastery of St Melaine where they waited until dark to return to their ships.⁴⁰⁶ Even though only Regino reports on this use of auxiliaries and that the Loire Northmen were particularly destructive in 874, it is not unreasonable to assume that the auxiliaries were used by Pascweten but that the report of massive levels of

⁴⁰⁴ *AF 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 387: “cum magna confusione ac sui detrimento, etiam sine duce;” Hincmar, *AB 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 496. Charles received this information while still at Angers; the *AB* reports the death of Rodulf with 500 and more of his accomplices.

⁴⁰⁵ *AF 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 386.

⁴⁰⁶ Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 874*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 586.

destruction was an embellishment.⁴⁰⁷

No incursions by the Northmen were reported in either Charles's or Louis's kingdoms during 875; however, Charles granted several bequests to monastic houses in the event of any new invasions. The monks of St Philibert were given the abbey of St Valerien in Tournus as a refuge,⁴⁰⁸ the monks of St. Denis were given the *villa* of Rueil in the Pincerais for the maintenance of lamps so that if they had to take refuge their relics could be led by a procession of these lamps,⁴⁰⁹ and the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Rouen was given sole rights to the income from an estate should the Northmen again attack the region.⁴¹⁰ In the Loire valley also, Count Eccard of Mâcon gave three estates to the abbey of Fleury as a refuge from an invasion by the Northmen.⁴¹¹

876

Charles was confirmed as emperor on Christmas day 875 in Rome, and in July 876 a group of Northmen on the Loire were baptised by Abbot Hugh and were presented to Charles, but after having received baptismal gifts from him,

⁴⁰⁷Simon Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, p. 77.

⁴⁰⁸Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 378, pp. 342-347.

⁴⁰⁹Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 379, pp. 347-350.

⁴¹⁰Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no. 399, pp. 384-390.

⁴¹¹M. Prou and A. Vidier, eds., *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de St. Benoît-sur-Loire*, 1 (Paris, 1900-37), pp. 67-78.

they were reported to have returned to their old pagan ways.⁴¹² While Charles made his way to Aachen to assert his control over Louis the German's kingdom after the latter's death, he received news that a fleet of Northmen with 100 ships had entered the Seine on 16 September. Charles, however, did not divert from his plans to challenge Louis the Younger for the eastern half of the Frankish kingdom and, after his defeat at the battle of Andernach on 8 October he sent Conrad (later Count of Paris)⁴¹³ and other nobles to the Northmen to negotiate a treaty with them "on whatever terms they could."⁴¹⁴ The Frankish nobles in charge of this treaty reported back to Charles at Samoussy on 27 November that the Northmen would accept a tribute. Gravely ill at the *villa* of Virziniacum (Verzenay near Rheims or Versigny near Laon),⁴¹⁵ Charles ordered troops to be positioned to form a defensive line along the Seine.⁴¹⁶

877

The tribute that had been negotiated with the Northmen was collected and paid in 877 under the auspices of Charles's son Louis the Stammerer and other magnates as Charles had been called to Rome by Pope John VIII to defend Italy

⁴¹²Hincmar, *AB 876*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 500-501. This was not an unusual occurrence. The Northmen were polytheistic and were willing at times to add the Christian God to their pantheon of deities.

⁴¹³Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 246-247, 255.

⁴¹⁴Hincmar, *AB 876*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 502: "quocumque modo possent."

⁴¹⁵Nelson, trans. and ed., *The Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 199, note 41.

⁴¹⁶Hincmar, *AB 876*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 502.

against the Saracens. Only Francia and Burgundy paid for this tribute that was levied on free landholders, including the Church. According to the *AB*, the total amount of tribute raised was 5,000 pounds.⁴¹⁷ Neustria, however, was exempt from this tribute collection since the bishops and lay magnates had to collect tribute to pay off the Northmen who were on the Loire.⁴¹⁸ Before Charles left for Italy, he also made arrangements to protect the river valleys of the Seine and Loire at Paris, at the royal palace of Compiègne, the abbey of St Denis and the fortified bridges at Pont-de-l'Arche and at Ponts-de-Cé.⁴¹⁹

While the advance of the Northmen on the Seine forced the monks of St Denis into exile during the month of September 877, the monastery itself was not burned. The monks viewed this as a miracle and they were able to return after the death of Charles on 16 October 877.⁴²⁰

Charles's son, Louis, inherited his kingdom at his death and was persuaded by Abbot Hugh to go west of the Seine to assist him against the Northmen and to put down a rebellion that was led by the sons of Gauzfrid who had seized the *honores* of the son of the late Count Odo, and by Irmino, brother of Bernard of Gothia, who seized Evreux and was rampaging throughout the

⁴¹⁷Hincmar, *AB 877*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 503; *Edictum compendiense de tributo Nordmannico* (7 May 877), A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., *MGH: Capit. 2*, no. 280, pp. 353-354.

⁴¹⁸Hincmar, *AB 877*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 503.

⁴¹⁹*Capitulare Carisiacense*, no. 282 (14 June 877), A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., *MGH: Capit. 2, pars 2*, pp. 361-363.

⁴²⁰*Miracula sancti Dionysii 2*, Mabillon, ed., *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, 3, 2, pp. 361, 364; *AV 877*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 517.

countryside in the manner of Northmen (*"more Nordmannico"*).⁴²¹ Unfortunately for the west Frankish kingdom, further disruption was about to take place following the death of Louis the Stammerer on 10 April 879, as he was fighting against the Northmen on the Loire.⁴²²

878

Flodoard reports that in 878 the body of St Remigius had to be moved from his monastery to Épernay on the Meuse because of the activities of the Northmen in the area.⁴²³ In Brittany, the body of St Tudual is reported to have been moved from the coastal monastery of Val-Trécor at Tréguier, inland to Château-Landon on the Maurepas river, a tributary of the Loing river (between the Loire and Seine). The translation of these relics is consistent with the presence of the Northmen in Brittany who were being used by local magnates in their struggles with one another, particularly after 877 when the then-rulers of Brittany, Alain and Judicaël, engaged in a power struggle for control of the region.⁴²⁴

879

⁴²¹Hincmar, *AB 878*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 506.

⁴²²*AV 878*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 517.

⁴²³Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae* 3, J. Heller and G. Waitz, eds., *MGH: SS 13*, p. 554.

⁴²⁴*Vita sancti Tuduali*, 3, de la Borderie, ed., *Les trois vies de S. Tudual*, p. 41; N. S. Price, *The Vikings in Brittany*, (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1989), p. 352.

Following the death of Louis, his two sons Carloman and Louis III divided the west Frankish kingdom between them and were supported by rival factions of magnates whose interests they represented. On 30 November 879 they marched against the Northmen on the Loire and defeated them, killing many and also drowning several in the Vienne river.⁴²⁵ The disruptions during the reigns of Carloman and Louis III prompted the Northmen to take further advantage of the situation, and a fleet of Northmen arrived on the north coast of the western Frankish kingdom from Britain, laid waste to Thérrouanne and, meeting no resistance, proceeded to ravage the countryside of the Brabants between the Meuse and the Scheldt rivers. They burned the monasteries of St Peter and St Bertin on 28 July, then settled down in Ghent beginning in November 879 to spend the winter.⁴²⁶ Even though Hugh, the son of King Lothar, engaged these Northmen in battle, he was unsuccessful and fled after losing many of his men, and the son of Abbot Adalard was captured along with others who did not flee or were not killed.⁴²⁷ In December 879, the body of St Vaast of Vaux was taken to

⁴²⁵Hincmar, *AB 879*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 512.

⁴²⁶Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, 61, in William Henry Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), p 48: "Eodem anno exercitus paganorum, qui in Fullonham hiemaverat, Britannicam insulam deserens, iterum ultra mare navigans, ad Orientalem Franciam perrexit, et per unum annum in loco, qui dicitur Gendi, mansit." See also: *ASC 880*, Pauli, ed., *MGH: SS 13*, p. 104; *AV 879*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 518; Flocuin, *Gesta abbatum s. bertini Sithiensium*, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 13*, p. 622.

⁴²⁷*AV 879*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 518.

its *villa* across the Somme by the monks fleeing the advancing Northmen.⁴²⁸

The year 879 marked the beginning of the activities of the "Great Army," so-called because although it was comprised of several different bands of raiders who had the capacity to join together and disband at will, it spent the next 12 years on the continent taking advantage of the internal struggles of the Franks and added its own version of havoc to an already unsettled political situation.

880

In 880, the AV report that the Northmen laid waste to the *civitas* of Tournai and destroyed all the monasteries and countryside on the east side of the Scheldt.⁴²⁹ Louis the Younger (of Germany) returned to his kingdom in February after having received Carloman and Louis III and ratified the Treaty of Ribemont wherein he acquired the western half of Lothar's kingdom. He rallied his army near St. Quentin to turn away the Northmen who were encamped on the Scheldt and who were led by Godfred. More than 5,000 of Louis the Younger's men fell in the battle among who was his illegitimate son, Hugh.⁴³⁰ Earlier, Carloman and Louis III had stationed a force at Ghent to guard against the Northmen and where Carloman stayed to rally against Count Boso of Burgundy⁴³¹ and Louis returned westward to engage the Northmen. But the campaign ended unsuccessfully in

⁴²⁸AV 879, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 518.

⁴²⁹AV 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 518.

⁴³⁰AF 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 393; AV 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 518; Hincmar, AB 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 512.

⁴³¹Hincmar, AB 881, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 513.

early October when the Northmen burned the land around Antwerp and the churches between the Scheldt and Somme rivers, and, seizing horses⁴³² the Northmen sent the monks and canons fleeing ahead of them with their relics.⁴³³ They also burned and laid waste to Birten (near Xanten), built a rampart around Nijmegen and spent the winter in the palace. Although Louis the Younger met them with a large army, he was unable to oust them.⁴³⁴

In December 880, the Northmen gained the upper hand. The AV reports that the Northmen invaded the monastery of St Vaast on 26 December which they burned along with the *civitas*, the village and all the surrounding farms, capturing a large number of men and animals in a spree that lasted until 28 December when they reached Cambrai which they burned along with the monastery of St Gaudéric.⁴³⁵

881

In February 881 while Carloman was occupied with putting down Boso's revolt,⁴³⁶ Louis III went back to his part of the kingdom to pursue the Northmen who had laid waste unopposed to everything in their path including Thérrouanne, and the monasteries of St Riquier and St Valéry. They also captured the

⁴³²ASC 881, A. Savage, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 97.

⁴³³AV 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 519.

⁴³⁴AF 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 394.

⁴³⁵AV 881, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 519.

⁴³⁶AV 881, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 519.

monastery of Corbie, the *civitas* of Amiens and the monastery of Corbeil.⁴³⁷

From February to July 881, the Northmen crossed the Somme and were reported to have destroyed everything in their path as they moved through Belgium up to the *civitas* of Beauvais.⁴³⁸ Louis III crossed the Oise river and pitched a camp at Laviers near Abbéville at Étrun to block the advance of the Northmen and, on 3 August, he beat them at Saucourt-en-Vimieu.⁴³⁹ The *AF* reports this battle as a great victory for Louis III who was said to have killed 9,000 of the Northmen's horsemen.⁴⁴⁰ Apparently though, their defeat did not stop them from renewing their army and setting out to pillage Cambrai, Utrecht, the county of Hesbaye, all of Ripuaria including the monasteries of Prüm, Cornelimünster, Stavelot, and Malmédy,⁴⁴¹ and they burned Cologne and Bonn. Those who could escaped, including many monks and nuns who fled to Mainz where they took their treasures and relics. But, because Louis the Younger was ill in Frankfurt, he sent his army to counter the Northmen without him.⁴⁴²

882

⁴³⁷ *AV 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 520; *Hincmar, AB 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 513.

⁴³⁸ *AV 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 520.

⁴³⁹ *Hincmar, AB 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 513; *AV 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 520.

⁴⁴⁰ *AF 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 394.

⁴⁴¹ *AF 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 394.

⁴⁴² *AF 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 394.

In 882, Louis III assigned troops under Count Theuderic to support Louis the Younger's army that had been sent against the Northmen without him.⁴⁴³ The Frankish troops abandoned their pursuit, following the announcement of the death of Louis the Younger on 20 January and the Northmen were left to pillage in the area around the Rhine at Koblenz.⁴⁴⁴ The Northmen fortified the walls of Mainz, then left the city and attacked Trier, burning it down and driving out or killing the inhabitants on 5 April. Bishop Wala of Metz led a small army against them near Remich on the Moselle on 10 April, but he was killed in the battle.⁴⁴⁵ Louis III meanwhile, travelled over the Seine to meet and align with the Bretons to oust the Northmen from the Loire. But, Louis only made it to Tours where he died on 5 August. His body was carried on a litter to St Denis where he was buried.⁴⁴⁶

Meanwhile, Carloman learned that the leader of the Loire Northmen, Hasting and his accomplices had left the Loire and were making for the coastal regions between Frisia and the Seine.⁴⁴⁷ Meanwhile, Archbishop John of Dol-en-Bretagne fled with the relics of St Turiau to Rouen, likely to escape these same

⁴⁴³Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 513; *AV 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 520. The *AV* adds that the chief of the Northmen on the Loire, Hasting, had given assurances to Louis III that he would leave the region, which he did.

⁴⁴⁴*AF 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 395.

⁴⁴⁵*AF 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 395; Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 514.

⁴⁴⁶Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 513.

⁴⁴⁷Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 514.

Northmen.⁴⁴⁸

While Carloman besieged Vienne on the Rhône to put down Boso's (count of Vienne and later *dux* in Italy and Provence) revolt, the magnates of the region sent messengers to him requesting that he bolster their contingent for a campaign against the Northmen. This group of Northmen burned Cologne and Trier and their adjacent monasteries, wrested control of the monasteries of St Lambert at Liège, Prüm, Inden, and the palace at Aachen, as well as the monasteries of Tongres, Arras, and Cambrai and part of the diocese of Rheims, much of which they burned including the fortress of Mouzon on the Meuse.⁴⁴⁹

Both the *AB* and *AF* detail in a disparaging way the emperor Charles the Fat's intervention against the Northmen in the western empire. Charles made his way from Italy to Worms and there received the magnates of his brother Louis the Younger in the second-half of May 882.⁴⁵⁰ After rallying Franks, Bavarians, Alemans, Thuringians and Saxons, Charles advanced against the Northmen to their fortified camp at Asselt and laid siege to it.⁴⁵¹ However, both the *AB* and the

⁴⁴⁸Continuator of Aimoin, *Historia Francorum*, 5, 41, *AA SS Iulii* 3, p. 587.

⁴⁴⁹Hincmar, *AB* 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 514. While Hincmar relates these attacks of the Northmen under the year 882, the *AF* and Regino place the burnings at Cologne, surrounding monasteries and Aachen at 881, and the burning of Trier to 5 April 882. See also Nelson, trans. and ed., *Annals of St-Bertin*, pp. 223-224, note 8.

⁴⁵⁰*AF* 882, pars 4 and pars 5, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 395; 22 May 882, P. Kehr, ed., *MGH: D C III*, 2, 58 (Berlin, 1936-7), p. 99.

⁴⁵¹*AF* 882, pars 4 and pars 5, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, pp. 395-396; Charles issued a diploma: 19 July 882, P. Kehr, ed., *MGH: D C III*, 2, 59, p. 100.

AF report that Charles lifted the siege either because he was afraid,⁴⁵² or because he was advised by the *pseudo-episcopus*, Liutward to treat with the Northmen.⁴⁵³ Both annals describe the agreement reached between Charles and the enemy *dux* Godfred. Hostages were exchanged and Godfred agreed to be baptised. Moreover, Charles gave Godfred Frisia and other regions that Roric had held. To the Northmen Sigfrid and Wurm, he gave a tribute of 2,412 pounds of gold and silver that he had raised from the treasury of St Stephen at Metz and other ecclesiastical establishments, and he also gave his permission to stay as long as they continued to lay waste to Carloman's territories. Charles also gave the see of Metz to Hugh (son of Lothar II) in exchange for Gisèle, Hugh's sister, who was to be given over to Godfred in marriage.⁴⁵⁴ The Northmen sent their ships home loaded with 200 Frankish captives (or took the captives in 200 ships) who had been taken hostage when the Northmen "reverted to their usual treacherousness."⁴⁵⁵ They closed the gates of their fortification trapping the Franks inside,⁴⁵⁶ and along with their booty, remained in a secure location "should [there] again be suitable opportunity for plundering,"⁴⁵⁷ which perhaps

⁴⁵²Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 514.

⁴⁵³*AF 882, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 396.

⁴⁵⁴*AF 882, pars 4 and pars 5*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 396-397; Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 514-515.

⁴⁵⁵Reuter, trans., *The Annals of Fulda*, p. 92; *AF 882, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 396: "ad consuetam calliditatem conversi."

⁴⁵⁶*AF 882, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 396.

⁴⁵⁷*AF 882, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 397: "iterum tempus

refers to attacks they could make in Carloman's territory.

In 882, Carloman's kingdom was being savaged by the Northmen who took Condé-sur-l'Escaut in October which they fortified and used as their base. In response, Carloman crossed the Seine to his *villa* at Barleux (dep. Somme, about seven km. south-west of Péronne), but the Northmen continued to ravage the countryside and the local people fled west across the Somme. The Northmen then proceeded on foot towards La Thiérache (ancient name for the area comprising the département of Ardennes and part of western Belgium), crossing the Oise near Laon where they confronted Carloman who was encamped at Avaux.⁴⁵⁸ Here there was a battle in which the Franks prevailed, killing 1,000 Northmen while losing none of their own men. Carloman went to the palace at Compiègne and the Northmen returned to their ships at Condé-sur-l'Escaut in October from where they subjected the whole kingdom up to the Oise to "iron and fire," destroyed walled towns and burned monasteries and churches to the ground, and killed and starved ecclesiastics or sold them into slavery overseas, without encountering any Frankish resistance.⁴⁵⁹

Charles the Fat then travelled to Worms where he held an assembly on 1 November.⁴⁶⁰ At this time, the Northmen burned the Frisian port of Deventer

oportunum praedandi opperientes"

⁴⁵⁸AV 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 520.

⁴⁵⁹AV 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 520-521: "ferro et igne devastant"

⁴⁶⁰3-4 November 882, P. Kehr, ed., *MGH: D C III*, nos. 61-64, pp. 103-108.

where they also killed a great number of its inhabitants.⁴⁶¹ Abbot Hugh, to whom Charles had granted the see of Metz, requested that Charles ensure that Carloman be given the lands that had been granted to his brother, Louis III, as a lease. Charles would not commit to this and, as a result, Carloman's forces were unable to mount an effective resistance against the Northmen's aggression. The Northmen got as far as the fortress of Laon, and burned all the fortresses in the surrounding area.⁴⁶² Hincmar, the author of the *AB*, was forced to flee Rheims with the relics and treasures of St Remigius while other monks and nuns scattered ahead of a contingent of Northmen who made their way to the gates of the city, having ravaged and burned everything they could find around Rheims in addition to a number of *villae*. The *AB* then goes on to relate that Carloman gathered as many men as he could and counterattacked the Northmen, killing a number of them while others drowned in the Aisne river. Carloman also successfully regained the plunder that had been stolen since the attack on Rheims. Following this encounter, the Northmen locked themselves in a *villa* called Avaux (dép. Ardennes) and, after night fell and the light of the moon lit their way, they escaped by the route they had come.⁴⁶³

883

Godfred made an alliance with Abbot Hugh in 883 by marrying Hugh's

⁴⁶¹*AF 882, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 397.

⁴⁶²Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 514-515.

⁴⁶³Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 515; *AV 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 521.

sister Gisèle, and this emboldened Hugh to challenge for his father, Lothar II's, kingdom.⁴⁶⁴ However, the Northmen who had attacked Rheims, continued their violence in the area by burning the monastery and church of St Quentin and its mother-church in Amiens. This prompted Carloman to renew his pursuit of them, but according to the *AF* this was ineffective. The Northmen continued towards the Channel, wreaking havoc and forcing the Flemish to flee and subjecting the surrounding countryside to iron and fire. By the end of October 883 they reached Grand-Laviers (near Abbéville on the Somme) with horses and booty, and sailed up the Somme river which forced Carloman and his army across the Oise. The Northmen then advanced up to Amiens where they wintered, laying waste to the surrounding territories. They burned the churches and monasteries in the area between the Seine and Oise rivers while Carloman did nothing to resist them. Realizing his impotence against the Northmen, Carloman sent a Christian Dane to meet with the Northmen to negotiate a tribute.⁴⁶⁵

Another group of Northmen sailed up the Rhine and burned many newly-rebuilt places and took a great deal of plunder. However, Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz with a few men attacked the Northmen and killed many of them, taking back the plunder they had stolen. The *AF* states that at this time Cologne was rebuilt except for its churches and monasteries, and its walls were reinforced with gates, bars and locks.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁴*AF 883, pars 4, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 398.*

⁴⁶⁵*AV 883, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521.*

⁴⁶⁶*AF 883, pars 4, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 398.*

Early in 884, the Northmen on the Oise continued to burn and ravage Frankish territory, and kill and take captive the Christian population.⁴⁶⁷ The Northmen fought the Frisians at Norden (in present-day Denmark, on the western coastline), and were defeated.⁴⁶⁸ The magnates of the west Frankish kingdom met at Compiègne and sent Sigfrid the Dane, who was a Christian and loyal to Carloman, back to his people to arrange for a tribute to be paid to them so that they would leave.⁴⁶⁹ The Northmen demanded a tribute of 12,000 pounds of gold and silver, and gave the Franks until October to raise it. They also agreed to maintain a cessation of hostilities until then.⁴⁷⁰ After the negotiations had taken place and the Franks began to levy the tribute on the kingdom at Easter, the Northmen agreed to leave. According to the *AF*, these Northmen did not hold to the treaty, but killed their hostages and plundered the area.⁴⁷¹ One group of Northmen moved their activities across the Scheldt to Louvain, destroying and burning churches, monasteries, cities and villages and slaughtering the

⁴⁶⁷*AV 884*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 521.

⁴⁶⁸*AF 884, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 400.

⁴⁶⁹*AV 884*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 521: the magnates met "quia rex iuvenis erat."

⁴⁷⁰*AV 884*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 521; *AF 884, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 400.

⁴⁷¹*AF 884, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 400.

inhabitants.⁴⁷² Another group from the same army went to Britain and laid siege to Rochester, but were routed by Alfred and sailed back again to Frankish territory.⁴⁷³ By October, the tribute had been collected and the western Franks assembled to resist the Northmen should they break their pledges after receiving the tribute, but the Northmen burned their own camp at Amiens and left the area.⁴⁷⁴

On 12 December 884, Carloman died while hunting with some of his retainers in the forest of Basieu near Corbeil. He was either killed by a boar or suffered a fatal injury at the hands of a youth named Berthold. The western Franks then invited the emperor, Charles the Fat, to lead them as king.⁴⁷⁵ Charles made haste to gather forces from both Lothar's and Carloman's armies and moved against the Northmen at Louvain.⁴⁷⁶ Regino reports that the Northmen, having learned of Carloman's death, would honour the treaty between them only if they were paid the same sum agreed to by Carloman "by whomever

⁴⁷²AV 884, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 521.

⁴⁷³Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi 884*, 66, in Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, pp. 49-50: "Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXXIV, nativitatis autem Aelfredi regis trigesimo sexto, praefatus exercitus in duas se tumas divisit: una etenim *turma* in Orientalem Franciam perrexit, et altera ad Britanniam veniens, Cantiam adiit, civitatemque, quae Hrofesceastre Saxonice dicitur, in orientali ripa fluminis Medwæg sitam, obsedit."

⁴⁷⁴AV 884, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 521-522.

⁴⁷⁵AV 884, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 521; *AF 884, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 400.

⁴⁷⁶AV 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 522.

succeeded him in his realm.”⁴⁷⁷

885

In 885, the Northmen invaded the Hesbaye (the region around Liège) and occupied the area, gathering crops and making plans to over-winter there. They also captured men and women to serve them in their camp. Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz and Count Henry, who had defeated forces of Northmen both on the Rhine and in Saxony the previous year,⁴⁷⁸ encountered them by accident, killed many, forced the rest to take refuge in a small fortification, and took back their supplies. The Franks besieged the Northmen for such a long time that, weakened by the siege, they were forced to flee under the cover of darkness without engaging in battle.⁴⁷⁹

Around the middle of May 885 Godfred, who had become a Christian and had promised to maintain the peace with the emperor, reneged on his commitment and gathered a force, intending to go up the Rhine and demanding the fiscal lands at Koblenz, Andernach, Sinzig and other places so that he could have adequate supplies of wine. Regino relates that he sent these demands through his followers, Gerulf and Gardulf, and that if Godfred were not granted these lands, he would have a legitimate excuse to break the agreement of 882 with Charles, or, if he were given the rights to these areas, he would have ample

⁴⁷⁷Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 884*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 594: “quisquis ille esset qui in regnum eius succederet.”

⁴⁷⁸*AF 884, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 399.

⁴⁷⁹*AF 885, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 401.

opportunity to spy on the Franks.⁴⁸⁰ Finally, Godfred was invited to a meeting with Count Henry and Archbishop Willibert of Cologne on an island at Herespich (where the Rhine and Waal rivers converge), was accused of treason, and met his end.⁴⁸¹ The rest of the Northmen who had followed Godfred then moved off to plunder Saxony, but they were slaughtered by a joint force of Saxons and Frisians who were called 'Destarbenzon' (from the area between the rivers Lek and Meuse, east of Betuwe) and all the plunder which they had taken was retrieved from their ships.⁴⁸²

The *AF*, *AV* and Regino all report that Abbot Hugh, the son of Lothar, whose sister Gisèle had been married to Godfred as part of the treaty of 882, was accused of aiding Godfred in his mission. Hugh was found guilty of treason, blinded, and shut away either in the monastery of St Boniface at Fulda,⁴⁸³ or at the monastery of St Gall⁴⁸⁴ where he died. Many of his co-conspirators were punished by having all their moveable possessions and their lands taken from them.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁰Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 885*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 594; *AF 885, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 402; *AV 885*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 522.

⁴⁸¹Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 885*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 595-596; *AF 885, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 402; *AV 885*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 522.

⁴⁸²*AF 885, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 402.

⁴⁸³*AF 885, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 402.

⁴⁸⁴Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 885*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 596.

⁴⁸⁵*AF 885, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 402; Regino of Prüm,

On 25 July the whole host of Northmen forced their way to Rouen, but they were not yet able to link up with their ships, so they crossed the Seine in boats they found there and quickly built a fortified camp. The Franks from Burgundy and Neustria joined forces and followed them. But, when they clashed in battle, Ragnold, duke of Maine, was killed along with a few others and the Franks retreated having accomplished nothing.⁴⁸⁶ Then the Northmen proceeded to ravage the countryside around Rouen “with fires, thirsting for destruction, and they killed and took captive the Christian population, they plundered churches with nobody resisting them.”⁴⁸⁷ The Franks, on the other hand, did not attack the Northmen, but built fortifications on the Oise river at Pontoise under the protection of Aletramnus to keep the Northmen’s ships from passing, while Bishop Gauzlin fortified Paris.⁴⁸⁸

In November, the Northmen entered the Oise and besieged the fortifications at Pontoise. They cut off the water supply to the castle and soon the Franks were in no position to resist and they surrendered on the condition they would be allowed to leave unharmed. After hostages had been exchanged, Aletramnus and his men fled to Beauvais with their horses and arms, and the Northmen burned the fortifications after they had taken what the Franks had left

Chronicon 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 596.

⁴⁸⁶*AV 885*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 522.

⁴⁸⁷*AV 885*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 522: “incendiis, occisionibus sitientes, populumque christianum necant, captivant, ecclesias subruunt, nullo resistente.”

⁴⁸⁸*AV 885*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 522.

behind.⁴⁸⁹ This bloodless victory gave the Northmen confidence and they proceeded up the Seine to Paris.⁴⁹⁰

Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés provides a colourful depiction of the siege of Paris by the Northmen. As he was likely present at the assault it is reasonable to conclude that his report, while exhibiting some poetic licence, is still valuable for obtaining details of the siege. Abbo relates that an immense host of Northmen descended on Paris the numbers of which were well in excess of the numbers defending the city, and this is believable. While exact numbers are difficult to verify, Abbo can be relied on to provide at least a sense of the desperation facing the vastly outnumbered defenders of Paris. Abbo states that two days after burning the Frankish camp at Pontoise, the Northmen led by Sigfrid, reached Paris on 26 November 885 with 700 ships and innumerable smaller ones called barques.⁴⁹¹ Sigfrid then offered terms to the Parisians, that if they were allowed to pass by the city unmolested, they would not attack, but Abbot Gauzlin did not trust him to keep his word and the talks ended with Sigfrid

⁴⁸⁹AV 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 522-523.

⁴⁹⁰AV 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 523.

⁴⁹¹Adams and Rigg, "A Verse Translation of Abbo," pp. 22-23; Abbo, *Bella Parisiacaе urbis* 1, 27-35, Henri Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon: Le siège de Paris par les Normands, poème du ix^e siècle* (Paris: Société d'Édition « Les Belles Lettres», 1964), pp. 14, 16: "Hec tibi nempe litaverunt libamina saevi:/ Septies aeras centum praeter juniores/ Quamplures numero naves numerante carentes/ (Extat eas moris vulgo barcas resonare)./ Quis adeo fartus Sequanę gurges fuit altus/ Usque duas modicumque super leugas fugiendo,/ Ut mirareris fluvius cui se daret antro,/ Nil parens, abies quoniam velaverat illum/ Ac quercus ulmique simul, madidę sed et alni."

returning to his camp.⁴⁹²

With the end of negotiations, both Abbo and the *AV* report that the Northmen approached a military tower⁴⁹³ which they considered to be easy to destroy since it had not yet been fortified. According to Abbo, the Northmen numbered 40,000 and the Franks only 200. The Northmen fired projectiles at the tower and the Franks killed many of them.⁴⁹⁴ At nightfall, the Northmen retired to their camp and the Franks proceeded to repair and strengthen the tower. On the morning of 27 November, the battle raged again, terrorizing the inhabitants of the city. This time Odo concocted a form of “Greek Fire” which was poured down on the attackers and killed some of them; the rest decided to return to their ships. After many sorties the Northmen set fire to the base of the tower, but the smoke engulfed them.⁴⁹⁵ During this battle, the Frankish defenders killed 300 Northmen and only a certain Robert and a few others were reported killed by the Northmen. The Franks spent the night of 27 November, again repairing the tower. The Northmen then pitched camp at Saint-Germain-le-Rond (Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois) and proceeded to ravage the surrounding countryside both on

⁴⁹²Abbo, *Bella*, 1, 60, Waquet, ed., *Abbon*, p. 18.

⁴⁹³The location of the tower is not precisely known, but Henri Waquet places it on the right bank of the Seine at the Grand Pont (present-day Pont de Notre Dame), Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, pp. 19-20, note 4.

⁴⁹⁴Adams and Rigg, “A Verse Translation of Abbo,” p. 26; Abbo, *Bella*, 1, 114-117, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 24: “P geminum fidos, raro quamvis, vegetabat, / M que truces posthac chile — seranta chile id extat — / Hice recenter eunt vicibus turrim, jube fedid / Ingeminant bellum.”

⁴⁹⁵Abbo 1, 146-148, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 26: “Fit rogos horribilis, fumusque teterrimus inde / Nubila militibus miscet, succedit et umbris / Scilicet arcs piceis, hora veluti diuturna.”

horseback and on foot, burning all they found, killing all the inhabitants they came across, and taking all the supplies they wanted with nobody able to offer any resistance.⁴⁹⁶

886

In the following weeks, the Northmen began their siege of the city in earnest. From 31 January to 2 February 886, they proceeded to assault the tower and assembled various siege engines on the bridge on the right bank of the Seine which they used to catapult lead projectiles into the city and, according to Abbo “[n]o city street remained unstained by blood of men.”⁴⁹⁷ Despite this, the Northmen also sustained casualties and were pushed back to their ships, wounded and bloodied. They then took everything and everyone outside the walls to their trenches and kept them captive and killed every other living thing.⁴⁹⁸ Then the Northmen set up their battering rams on the hills of Montmartre and Belleville, but they were ineffectively deployed and they decided to try and burn

⁴⁹⁶Adams and Rigg, “A Verse Translation of Abbo,” p. 28; Abbo 1, 172-176, Waquet, ed., *Abbon*, p. 28: “Sole suos fulvo radios fundente sub ethre/
Sorte Dionisii lustrant equidem recubantes/
Macharii Sequanę ripas, et castra beatum/
Germanum circa teretem componere vallis/
Commixto lapidum cumulo glebisque laborant.”

⁴⁹⁷Adams and Rigg, “A Verse Translation of Abbo,” p. 31; Abbo 1, 255, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 36: “sanguine nulla via urbis adest intacta virorum.”

⁴⁹⁸Abbo 1, 305-311, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, pp. 36-38: “Hinc glebas specubus frondesque dabant nemorosas,
Atque suo segetes etiam fetu viduatas,
Prata simul, virgulta quoque, et vites sine gemmis,
Hincque senes tauros pulchrosque boves vitulosque,
Postremumque necant elegos, heu!
Quos retinebant/
Captivos, sulcisque cavis hæc cuncta ferebant,
Idque die tota stantes agitant in agone.”

the bridges and the tower by setting their ships on fire and floating them towards the city. The whole area caught fire and the terrified Parisians prayed to St Germain who, according to Abbo, heard their prayers and scuttled the burning ships on a pile of rocks, thus halting their progress to the city. After this, Sigfrid mustered his troops and moved off to the east, north of the Seine. Robert Portecarquois of Chartres rode out to spy on their movements, but was killed after slaying two Northmen himself. Aleaume, in revenge for Robert's death, rode out with some men and slaughtered several Northmen before returning to the city.⁴⁹⁹ A certain Northman broke into the church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and broke the windows, but he did not last long, according to Abbo, when he went mad as St Germain struck him down. Another Northman who tried to climb up the turret, fell down and broke every bone in his body as a result of a miracle attributed by Abbo to the intervention of the saint.⁵⁰⁰

During the night of 6 February,⁵⁰¹ a small bridge from the city to the left bank was inundated by a large flood and washed away. Gauzlin assigned men

⁴⁹⁹Abbo 1, 458-460, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 50: "Normanno villam victor moriente replevis./ Nil reliqui, prohibente fuga, retulere paroni./ Haec eadem Rotbertus erat nitens operari."

⁵⁰⁰Abbo 1, 471-476, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 50: "Ecclesiam cujus penetrans lacerare fenestras/ Ictibus arboreis unus vitreas Ianionum./ Continuo amenti rabie confunditur atrox,/ Curribus Eumenidum piceis artatus ab almo,/ Morsque sequens miserum perdit, pietate remota,/ Hisque fatigatus causis inferna petivit."

⁵⁰¹AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 523: "Octavo Idus Februarii contigit grave discrimen intra civitatem habitantibus; nam ex gravissima inundatione fluminis minor pons disruptus est."

to garrison the tower⁵⁰² so that the bridge could be restored. But, before dawn broke the Northmen rushed to the tower and surrounded it which did not allow for any Frankish reinforcements to be sent from the city. The Northmen then attacked it, burning it to the ground and killing the defenders, among whom were the so-called "12 Heroes."⁵⁰³ Then the Northmen crossed the Seine and took the road towards the Loire overrunning the region between the two rivers and pillaging as they went. About the middle of February, Abbot Ébles and some of his men left Paris and rode to the Northmen's camp, but Ébles did not have enough men and decided to return to the city.⁵⁰⁴ The Northmen, meanwhile, used the palace at Saint-Germain-des-Prés as a stable and dining hall. Also, they attacked Chartres in a single day, 16 February, and left it with 1,500 dead bodies after a bloody battle against Godfred and Odo (another Odo, not the Count of Paris). This Odo is reported to have repelled the Northmen during several attacks and continually came out the victor, losing only his right hand in the *melées*. The Northmen are reported not to have enjoyed any better success at Le Mans, but did succeed in seizing other towns that resisted them, such as

⁵⁰²The location of this bridge is identified by Waquet as being situated near where the present-day Petit Pont crosses the Seine to the left bank (not as a continuation of the Pont Notre Dame); the tower mentioned here was located on the left bank of the river where the bridge joins the shore. Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 53, note 1.

⁵⁰³Abbo 1, 525-527, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 54: "Ermemfredus, Eriveus, Erilandus, Odaucer, / Ervic, Arnoldus, Solius, Gozbertus, Vuido, / Ardradus, pariterque Eimardus Gozsuinusque."

⁵⁰⁴Abbo 1, 617, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 60: "Et quia militibus caruit, sic ludere cessat."

Evreux.⁵⁰⁵

Gauzlin sent a letter to Count Herkenger and begged him to go to Germany and ask for Duke Henry of Austrasia to come to the aid of the city. At the beginning of March, Duke Henry arrived at Paris, bringing some provisions, and he also managed to take a rich booty from the Northmen. Henry attacked the Northmen's camp and slaughtered many of them. He then departed for home at the end of March, or the beginning of April.⁵⁰⁶ Then Gauzlin decided to try to treat with Sigfrid to secure the city from the siege, but while negotiations were going on, Gauzlin died from an illness on 16 April 886.⁵⁰⁷ The Northmen left their camp at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, which they preferred, and struck camp at Saint-Germain-des-Prés on the left bank of the Seine.⁵⁰⁸ Gauzlin's death left Odo the sole leader of the defence of the city and, while the Northmen continued their daily attacks, the inhabitants began to be weakened by starvation. Meanwhile Abbot Hugh, who was in the city also died and was buried

⁵⁰⁵Abbo 1, 658-660, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 64: "Nec satius quicquam sortiti apud hi Cinomannos;/ Haud equidem reliquae cesserunt suavius urbes." According to Edouard Favre, Le Mans was fortified by Charles the Bald in 869 and Evreux was pillaged in 886: Edouard Favre, *Eudes, compte de Paris et roi de France, 882-898* (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1893), p. 48.

⁵⁰⁶Abbo 2, 32-34, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 68: "« Hanc linquite sedem;/ Hic non stare diu nostrum manet, hinc sed abire.»/ Ergo, suas ut Ainricus secessit ad aulas"

⁵⁰⁷AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 523: "episcopum esse mortuum."

⁵⁰⁸Abbo 2, 35-36, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 68: "Germani teretis contemnunt litora sancti/ Aequivocique legunt, cujus factis bene vescor."

at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.⁵⁰⁹ Sigfrid, as the representative of the whole force of Northmen, negotiated with Odo, but had difficulty convincing his men to leave the area and some of them continued to attack the city, this time from two other islands in the Seine. The defenders managed to kill two of the Northmen's kings and several others. At this, Sigfrid gathered his own men and, taking a ransom of 60 pounds of silver, prepared to depart for Bayeux.⁵¹⁰ Odo then secretly left the city to seek help from the emperor around the second half of May, leaving Abbot Èbles in command of the city's defences. One morning while Odo was absent, Èbles, commanding six horsemen disguised as Northmen, left Paris, crossed the Seine, and killed six Northmen who were sleeping. Over several more days, the Franks conducted a series of raids, killing several Northmen. At one point, some 300 Northmen arrived on the Ile-de-la-Cité on which Paris is situated and attacked the city walls on the side of the river facing the left bank where apparently the walls were lower. Two defenders whom Abbo identifies as Segebert and Segevert were killed after single-handedly killing numerous

⁵⁰⁹AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 523: "His diebus idem Hugo, venerabilis abba, ex hac vita discessit, sepeliturque in monasterio sancti Germani Autisiodoro."

⁵¹⁰Abbo 2, 41-43, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 68: "Denique rex dictus denas capiens argenti/ Sex libras nitidi nobis causa redeundi,/ Normannis sese cunctis comitantibus" The sum of 60 pounds of silver seems, according to Waquet, rather meagre considering the ransom offered by the emperor Charles later in the year (700 pounds of silver). Perhaps there was not enough silver to pay off all the invaders: Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 70, note 3. See also Einar Joranson, *The Danegeld in France* (Chicago: Augustana Library Publications 10, 1923), pp. 149-152.

Northmen.⁵¹¹

At the end of June, Odo returned to Paris with three cohorts of men, among who was Aleaume, Count of Troyes. The Northmen had learned that Odo had left the city and prepared an ambush for his return, but Odo and his men managed to force their way back into the city.⁵¹² At this point, Duke Henry arrived, having been sent ahead by the emperor. On 28 August, he was quickly surrounded by the Northmen while on a reconnaissance mission and he and his horse fell into a type of “wolf-trap” set by the Northmen and he was killed. His body was recovered by Count Ragnar, and because their leader was killed, “this [move] accomplished nothing of use.”⁵¹³ At this point, Sinric, one of the Northmen’s kings, and 50 of his men tried to cross the Seine to rejoin their companions, but, not satisfied with only two ships to transport them commandeered a third which sank in the middle of the Seine. Sinric managed to get to the shore and threatened that he would pitch camp at the source of the Seine before he left the Frankish realm and, according to Abbo, “and, with God’s

⁵¹¹Abbo 2, 189-194, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 80: “Protinus ense quium bino stravere novenos,/ Vulnera deposuere quibus triginta [nec extat/ Posse datum quarti lumen spectare diei],/ Congressi nostrum gemini, qui morte fruentes/ Egregia sanctos vexere pedes super astra;/ Nam senior Segebertus erat, junior Segevertus.”

⁵¹²Abbo 2, 203-205, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 80: “Reddidit Odo tamen castellanis equitando/ Se, medios inter sevos, Ebolo reserante/ Huic portas, cunctique stupent hoc nobile factum.” See also *AV 886*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 523-524.

⁵¹³*AV 886*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 524: “ipse nil utile gessit;” Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 887*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 596; Abbo 2, 217-218, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 82: “En et Ainricus, superis crebro vocitatus,/ Obsidione volens illos vallare, necatur.”

help, he did just what he said!”⁵¹⁴

The Northmen then surrounded the walls of Paris and a fierce battle ensued. The relics of Ste Genevieve were removed to the east side of the city. At this point, Gerbold and five men led a spirited defence of the walls killing a number of Northmen, but the Northmen gained the upper-hand. Afterwards Abbo describes that St Germain had been called upon for assistance and as a result, several of the Northmen had been killed or put to flight and the defenders gained heart and succeeded in driving them back to their ships. The Northmen then installed an enormous furnace at the front doors of the tower⁵¹⁵ which they set alight and this caused all the defenders except for one to flee. The one who remained held a cross, purportedly that of Saint-Germain-des-Prés which extinguished the fire (possibly a rain shower fell) and the Northmen fled, taking their dead with them. This led the Parisians to return the relics of St Germain to the church of St Etienne which is situated a little to the west of the Cathedral.⁵¹⁶

Around mid-October the AV reports that part of the *civitas* of Beauvais was burned by the Northmen and so was the monastery of St Vaast at Arras which sustained the loss of its treasury, sacred vestments, books and charters.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁴Adams and Riggs, “A Verse Translation of Abbo,” p. 49; Abbo 2, 226, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 82: “fecit Domino tribuente quod inquit.”

⁵¹⁵Abbo 2, 294-295, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 86: “foribus turris submittitur altus/ Valde focus.”

⁵¹⁶Abbo 2, 310, Waquet, ed., *Abbon*, p. 88: “Quem reveunt ad bassilicam Stephani quoque testis”.

⁵¹⁷AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 524: “His diebus 15. Kal. Octobris Bellovagus civitas igne ex parte crematur; in quo incendio omnis

Meanwhile, Charles the Fat arrived at Paris⁵¹⁸ with his army and instead of engaging the Northmen in battle he negotiated a tribute to be paid to them so that they would make peace and leave the city. The treaty was concluded between the two parties at the beginning of November.⁵¹⁹ Charles gave the Seine Northmen 700 pounds of silver and free passage past Paris to winter in Burgundy on the condition that they leave the kingdom for good in March and return “to their accursed kingdom.”⁵²⁰ These Northmen then sailed up the Seine and entered the Yonne and began to besiege Sens on 30 November. Despite the war machines they employed against the city, they were not able to take it and Archbishop Everard quickly began to negotiate a ransom for them to go away, which they did.

The year 886 saw the renewal of raiding activity by the Northmen in Brittany. Late in the year, they overran Brittany again and captured Nantes.⁵²¹ Counts Alain of Broeroc’h and Judicæel of Rennes, because of their rivalry, were

ornatus monasterii sancti Vedasti in thesauro et sacris vestibus et libris et kartis deperit.”

⁵¹⁸Charles reached Paris no later than 24 October 886: P. Kehr, ed., *MGH: D C III*, no. 142, pp. 227-228.

⁵¹⁹Charles was still in Paris on 6 November, but from 12 November he was near Compiègne on his way back to Germany. The diplomata that were issued are: in Paris, 6 November, P. Kehr, ed., *MGH: D C III*, no. 149, pp. 240-241; at *Iovilla nova* [Janville], 12 November, P. Kehr, ed., *MGH: D C III*, no. 150, pp. 242-243; at Schlettstadt, January 887, P. Kehr, ed., *MGH: DD C III*, no. 152, no. 153, no. 155, pp. 244-251. See also Edouard Favre, *Eudes*, p. 61, note 1.

⁵²⁰Abbo 2, 338-340, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 90: “*ad impia regna.*”

⁵²¹*CN 21*, Merlet, ed., *Chronique de Nantes*, p. 66.

unable to mount a joint defence of Brittany.⁵²² Landramnus was bishop of Nantes and appealed to Charles for help. Charles gave him and his churchmen refuge at Angers where he was hosted by Bishop Rainon until he could return to his diocese.⁵²³

887

In May 887, the Northmen who had besieged Sens then returned to Paris to collect their ransom from Ansery who had been charged by Charles to collect it, and pitched their camp on the plain on the south (left) bank of the Seine.⁵²⁴ But, once they had received their tribute, they would not leave, again made their way up the Seine to the valley of the Marne, and began to ravage the countryside once more, even though they had promised to leave the area untouched.⁵²⁵ Meanwhile, Sigfrid made his way across the Oise to Soissons, and "laid waste and burned everything in his path," burning the church of St Médard, the monastery, the town and royal palace, and killing and capturing the inhabitants of

⁵²²Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 890*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 602.

⁵²³CN 21, Merlet, *Chronique de Nantes*, pp. 66-67.

⁵²⁴Abbo 2, 347-349, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 84: "Virgo Dei Genovefa caput defertur ad urbis,/ Quo statim meritis ejus nostri superarunt;/ Inde fugaverunt etiam pinnis procul illos." See also AV 887, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 524.

⁵²⁵Abbo 2, 411-415, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 96: "At vero veniam deposcunt, obsidibusque/ Jusjuranda parant aliud non tangere litus/ Ni Sequanę gressumque referre cito velut ante./ Nam nobis dederant tranquillum Matrona flumen/ Quidquid alit, solito « securum» quod vocitamus."

Soissons.⁵²⁶ Sigfrid went back to the Seine in the spring and departed for Frisia where he was killed.⁵²⁷ Northmen also roamed through the Saône and Loire valleys "in their habitual way."⁵²⁸

The Northmen on the Marne captured 20 Franks and led them along, killing them as they reached Sens. They pitched their winter camp in the autumn at Chézy-sur-Marne, east of Meaux, and the inhabitants of Paris under the leadership of Ébles, sought them out and killed 500 of them.⁵²⁹

On 27 November 887, Charles the Fat was deposed at Tribur, likely due to ill-health,⁵³⁰ and his illegitimate nephew Arnulf of Carinthia was acclaimed emperor by the east-Frankish magnates. Charles was allowed to retire to Neidingen in Alemannia where he died on 13 January 888.⁵³¹ Odo commended himself to Arnulf and, because Charles 'the Simple' was only between five and eight years old at the time and Odo had successfully fought against the

⁵²⁶AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 524: "omnia ferro vastabat et igne"

⁵²⁷AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 524: "Posthaec Sicfridus famosissimam ecclesiam beati Medardi igne cremavit, monasteria, vicos, palatia regia, interfectis et captivatis accolis terrae."

⁵²⁸AV 887, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 524: "more solito."

⁵²⁹AV 887, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 525; Abbo 2, 435, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 98.

⁵³⁰According to Simon MacLean, Regino of Prüm, in his *Chronicon 887*, provides the most balanced account of the deposition and death of Charles the Fat by Arnulf of Carinthia. Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the end of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), pp. 191-198.

⁵³¹Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 888*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 598.

Northmen in the siege of Paris, Odo assumed the kingship of the western Franks, even though he was not a Carolingian by birth.⁵³²

888

The Northmen, having learned of the deposition of Charles, laid waste to areas they had previously not assaulted and made their way to Rheims which they were unable to take because of a thick fog.⁵³³ On 14 June 888, the Northmen laid siege to Meaux and held it until November. The defender of the city, Teutbert, is reported to have killed an innumerable number of Northmen but was killed himself on one of the sorties against them.⁵³⁴ After Teutbert was killed, Bishop Sigmund of Meaux treated with the Northmen to give up the city in exchange for lifting the siege, but the Northmen took captive all of the inhabitants and then burned the city.⁵³⁵ In the summer of 888 the Northmen also destroyed Châlons-sur-Marne (now Châlons-en-Champagne).⁵³⁶ On 24 June 888, Odo

⁵³²Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 888*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 598.

⁵³³*AF 887, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 405.

⁵³⁴Abbo 2, 441, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 98: "Inde feri Meldis feriunt, urbem quoque vallant." Abbo 2, 460-461, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 100: "Perdidit innumeros, quotiens ex agmine sevo/ Exiliens, citra muros pessumdare tetros."

⁵³⁵*AV 888*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 525-526: "Cumque hi qui infra civitatem erant inclusi, obsidione pertaesi, fame attenuati, mortibus etiam suorum nimis afflicti, cernerent ex nulla parte sibi auxilium adfuturum, cum Nortmannis sibi notis agere coeperunt, ut data civitate, vivi sinerentur abire."

⁵³⁶Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 4, 9, J. Heller and G. Waitz, eds., *MGH: SS 13*, p. 574.

engaged the Northmen at Montfaucon (Montfaucon-d'Argonne, in the diocese of Rheims) with a small army and Abbo relates that he killed 10,000 horsemen and 9,000 footsoldiers.⁵³⁷ In the autumn of 888, Odo then proceeded to Paris and pitched camp near the city to receive homage as king from Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians.⁵³⁸ The Northmen set up their winter quarters on the Loing river at Moret-sur-Loing (convergence of the Seine and Loing rivers).⁵³⁹

Meanwhile, the Northmen in Brittany left the Loire and advanced west to the Blavet river where they proceeded to pillage the area. The monks from the abbey of St Gildas de Ruis and those of Loc-Menech in Moréac fled together, taking with them their treasures and the relics of their saints, including those of St Paternus of Vannes. The Northmen then sacked and destroyed the two abbeys and laid waste to all the areas around them.⁵⁴⁰ Alain of Broweroch and Judicäel of Rennes realized that the destruction of their territories by the Northmen required them to cooperate and they joined forces to ambush them in a "pincer" movement. But Judicäel was impatient to engage them, and so he hastily attacked them, fell in battle, and was killed. This left Alain alone to attack the

⁵³⁷Abbo 2, 491-493, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 102: "Expeditiamus abhinc dignos Odone triumphos./ Falconem vocitant, equitum quo milia vici/ Dena novemque dehinc, Montem, peditumque profana." Again, Abbo's numbers cannot be trusted.

⁵³⁸Abbo 2, 470-472, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, pp. 100, 102: "Francigeni appropierant alst cum fronte superbi./ Calliditate venis acieque, Aquitania, linguae,/ Consilioque fugę Burgun — adiere — diones."

⁵³⁹AV 888, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 526.

⁵⁴⁰*Vita s. Gildae*, 2, Mabillon, ed., *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti* 1, pp. 147-148.

remaining forces of the Northmen with a smaller army at Questembert (on the road to Péaule near the Vilaine river). The battle took place on 1 August 888⁵⁴¹ and Alain routed the Northmen, reputedly killing all but 400 who fled to their ships. This left Alain in charge and he was made duke of Brittany.⁵⁴² It was then safe for Bishop Landramnus to return to Nantes and take up his diocese.⁵⁴³

889

At the end of June 889, the Northmen again camped outside the walls of Paris and proceeded to burn the suburb of Auxerrois. Odo, who was at Orléans until the beginning of July⁵⁴⁴ made his way to Paris and attacked the Northmen. Abbo relates how the Franks Sclademar, Ademar and Ansery killed over 600 Northmen between them.⁵⁴⁵ This battle over Paris did not last long, however,

⁵⁴¹de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 2, p. 332, cites the *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon*, no. 239, to document the Breton victory at Questembert.

⁵⁴²de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 2, p. 332.

⁵⁴³CN 21, Merlet, ed., *Chronique de Nantes*, pp. 67-68.

⁵⁴⁴Odo issued a diploma at Orléans on 24 June 889 confirming a *villa* for the church of St Mary and St Peter: R.-H. Bautier, ed., *Recueil des Actes d'Eudes, roi de France, 888-898* (Paris, 1967), no. 5, pp. 20-29. Odo then issued a diploma in Paris on 10 July 889 renewing the privileges of the monastery of Vézelay, Bautier, ed., *Recueil des Actes d'Eudes*, no. 10, pp. 41-45.

⁵⁴⁵Abbo 2, 485-488, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, p. 102: "Praeterea quadringentis a mille remotis/ Acefalos prostravit humi peditum comitatus/ Agmine tercentum pastor, certamine acerbo/ Nobilis Anschericus, pollens ex Virginis ore."

and Odo negotiated a tribute with the Northmen which enticed them to leave.⁵⁴⁶ They went along the Seine by foot and by ship to the Cotentin peninsula where they pitched their camp outside Saint-Lô to which they laid siege.⁵⁴⁷ During this siege, Bishop Lista of Saint-Lô died, but the Bretons triumphed over the Northmen and killed several of them, burned their camp to the ground, and forced them to the Seine.⁵⁴⁸

890

Around 1 November 890, the Northmen who had fled Brittany following their defeat at Saint-Lô, went up the Seine and reached Conflans (Conflans-Sainte-Honorine where the Seine and Oise rivers meet) and proceeded to burn as they proceeded up the Oise to Noyon where they set up their winter camp around Chiry (Chiry-Ourscamps), a naturally defensible site south of the city

⁵⁴⁶No mention is made in any of the sources concerning the amount of tribute Odo offered to pay the Northmen. See Joranson, *Danegeld*, pp. 154-157.

⁵⁴⁷AV 889, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 526. The ravages of the Northmen on Paris appeared to be over by 11 July 889 as Odo issued two diplomas confirming the rights and lands of the monastery of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerrois that had lately been overrun by the Northmen. See Bautier, ed., *Recueil des Actes d'Eudes*, nos. 11, 12, pp. 46-62.

⁵⁴⁸AV 890, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 526: "In ipsa etiam obsidione positus Lista, praedictae civitatis episcopus, diem clausit extremum; gladio etiam nobilioribus praedicti castris deletis, ad ultimum capta est munitio dicti castris, interfectis eius habitatoribus, ipsumque castrum funditus terrae coaequatum. Britanni vero viriliter suum defensaverunt regnum, atque afflictos Danos Sequanam redire compulerunt."

which they were then able to capture.⁵⁴⁹ The Northmen who were led by Hasting (formerly on the Loire)⁵⁵⁰ then crossed over the Somme and set up camp at Argœuves (near Amiens on the right bank of the Somme river) because he wished to conduct raids north of the Oise. Odo, who had hurried from Germigny-des-Prés on the Loire, had set up camp at Guerbigny (southeast of Amiens on the Avre river, not far from Noyon) and blocked access to the Seine⁵⁵¹ where he stayed until at least 21 November.⁵⁵²

891

Early in 891, the Northmen made their way to the Meuse and from there they went to Brabant in Arnulf's kingdom, crossed the Scheldt and returned to Noyon. Keeping apprised of the Northmen's movements back to his kingdom, Odo advanced northward to attack them at a location across the Dendre river (in present-day Belgium, possibly at Ath).⁵⁵³ The Northmen, however, not wanting

⁵⁴⁹*Miracula s. Bertini Sithiensium* 6, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, pp. 511-512.

⁵⁵⁰*AV 891*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 526.

⁵⁵¹Edouard Favre, *Eudes*, p. 133.

⁵⁵²Léopold Delisle, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* 9 (Paris: Victor Palme, 1874), p. 455.

⁵⁵³*AV 891*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 527. Here I follow l'abbé Lebeuf who suggests Ath because it is on the Dendre and it is clearly on the route back into Odo's kingdom from Belgium. Furthermore, in the *AV*, Odo, not the Northmen, is referred to as going "super Galtheram." L'abbé Lebeuf, "Notice raisonnée des Annales Védastines, manuscrit du xe siècle," in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 24 (1756), p. 723.

to engage in a battle in a disadvantageous place, disbanded, left their booty in the forests, and returned to their camp at Noyon in smaller contingents.⁵⁵⁴ They then left Noyon and sailed down the Somme to the Channel where they sailed north up the coast.⁵⁵⁵ The main contingent of Northmen pitched their summer camp on the coast and from there “laid waste a great part of Lothar’s kingdom.”⁵⁵⁶ On 18 April 891, a large band of 550 Northmen broke off from the main group and attacked the area around Théroutanne in the fortified place called *Sitdiu* near the monastery of St Ademar, and then made their way to St Bertin.⁵⁵⁷ They remained there and attacked again on 2 May, but were unable to conquer it and lost several of their troops in the *melée*.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁴AV 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 527.

⁵⁵⁵The AV 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 527, reports that the Northmen left Noyon around autumn, but the order of their movements from Noyon as related in the *Miracula s. Bertini* means that they probably left Noyon before April 891 when it reports that they ravaged the region around Théroutanne, *Sithiu* and St. Bertin: “Sed cum hemisperium nihil ibi praevalentes consumarent et, nedum dicamus aliquid proficerent,” *Miracula s. Bertini Sithiensium*, 6, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 512. The order of events described in the *Miracula* seems more likely since the Danish fleet had been stationed at Noyon during the winter and must have sailed down the Somme to the Channel when they broke camp, enabling them to sail north to the mouth of the Aa river and from there to St. Omer and Théroutanne.

⁵⁵⁶AF 891, *pars 5*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 407: “devastata ex maxima parte Hlutharici regni regione.”

⁵⁵⁷*Miracula s. Bertini Sithiensium* 6, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 512.

⁵⁵⁸Folcwin, *Gesta abbatum s. Bertini Sithiensium*, 96, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 13*, p. 623; *Miracula s. Bertini Sithiensium*, 7-9, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, pp. 512-514.

Hasting, meanwhile, made a treacherous peace with Abbot Rudolph of St Vaast, and he moved about the countryside at will, but on 24 June 891, he appeared before the monastery (which had been fortified by Rudolph) and tried to take it by surprise. Rudolph, who feared that these Northmen would join with the rest from Noyon decided to keep the population of the monastery behind the palisades, and not join battle with them.⁵⁵⁹ Odo was at Verberie on 16 June⁵⁶⁰ and, after convening a synod at Meung-sur-Loire in July,⁵⁶¹ he collected his forces and marched through the Vermandois. Here he was surprised by the Northmen and was forced to give up Amiens after having been put to flight.⁵⁶²

Both the *AV* and the *AF* report on Arnulf's expedition west to repel the Northmen from his territory, and Regino reports that Arnulf was, however, unsuccessful in keeping them from crossing the Meuse at Liège.⁵⁶³ They then began to pillage around Aachen and achieved a bloody victory against the eastern Frankish army. The Northmen made their winter encampment on the river Dyle at Louvain, and surrounded it with a fortified ditch. King Arnulf gathered an army and arrived at Louvain, and crossing the river, hesitated to

⁵⁵⁹*AV* 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, pp. 526-527.

⁵⁶⁰Bautier, ed., *Recueil des Actes d'Eudes*, no. 25, pp. 113-119.

⁵⁶¹Bautier, ed., *Recueil des Actes d'Eudes*, nos. 26-28, pp. 19-126.

⁵⁶²*AV* 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 527.

⁵⁶³*AV* 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 527; *AF* 891, *pars* 5, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 407; Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 602.

attack the Northmen because his troops were hemmed in by a marsh on one side and the river on the other which would have made it difficult for the cavalry to attack the Northmen's position.⁵⁶⁴ On 1 November, Arnulf arranged his cavalry to protect the Franks in the rear and his troops advanced against the Northmen on foot. The Franks were victorious and forced the Northmen to flee into the river where hundreds of them drowned. The *AF* reports that in this battle two of the Northmen's kings were killed: a certain Sigfrid and Godfred.⁵⁶⁵ The surviving Northmen then made for their ships at Louvain and in February 892 proceeded to ravage the area in the Ardennes and along the left bank of the Rhine up to Bonn. From there, they made their way to Odo's kingdom and plundered and killed their way between Rheims and Cambrai.⁵⁶⁶ However, this area was undergoing a famine and, because there was not much to take, the Northmen decided to leave Frankish territory, and made their way to England where it would be easier for them to make a living.⁵⁶⁷

The point of this chapter has been to try to give the reader an ordered account, in chronological terms, of the various Northmen assaults on Continental Europe, and in part to overcome the very weakness of the annalistic and Carolingian sources that lacked, at some level, a wider or more comprehensive

⁵⁶⁴*AF* 891, pars 5, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 407.

⁵⁶⁵*AF* 891, pars 5, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 408. These were not the Sigfrid who was reported killed in 887 and the Godfred who was killed in 885. See Reuter, *The Annals of Fulda*, p.123, note 10.

⁵⁶⁶Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 892, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 603-604.

⁵⁶⁷*AV* 892, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 528.

view of the Northmen's activities. My attempt, then, was partly to integrate sources that speak about similar events, and to put them in their proper places, and to sort out, as best I could, conflicting chronologies.

The literary sources record that the Northmen perpetrated much destruction of property (both ecclesiastical and temporal), killed many, especially prominent noblemen, both lay and ecclesiastical, and caused disruption in Carolingian Europe. Appendices one and two try to lay out this material in a systematic fashion for the reader. Just how much actual damage was caused will be reviewed in the following chapter, but it should be said that the archaeological information we have does not really fall into nice, chronological categories; so of necessity, Chapter four's organization will be handled geographically.

CHAPTER 4: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE RAIDS OF THE NORTHMEN IN THE 9TH CENTURY

In this chapter I will attempt to assess the Northmen's destruction based on the work of archaeologists as published in their reports. I will, in particular, be seeking evidence in the archaeological reports of their rapacity from burn layers and other documented forms of material destruction to see if they touch on the written record.

Medieval archaeology as a separate field of study is a relatively recent phenomenon that grew out of the *Annales* movement initiated by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch in the first half of the twentieth century. This movement refocused attention on a more interdisciplinary approach to historical analysis and used archaeology and other disciplines to analyse the historical record in a more complete way. Their emphasis on the "*longue durée*" took primacy over the more traditional political and diplomatic approach of the historians who had come before them. There is, however, some dispute between medieval archaeologists and historians as to whether this field is one that should stand on its own, or somehow be subordinated to the written record.⁵⁶⁸ I would contend that, in an examination of the Northmen's incursions into continental Europe, it is essential to use an interdisciplinary approach to investigate historical questions,

⁵⁶⁸Sverre Bagge, "Recent Trends in Historical Research on the Middle Ages in Europe," in Hans Andersson and Jes Wienberg, eds., *The Study of Medieval Archaeology* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993), pp. 27-35. See also Helen Clarke, "Medieval Archaeology in Britain," in Andersson and Weinberg, *The Study of Medieval Archaeology*, pp. 37-40.

and it is necessary to combine both the archaeological and written records to achieve a balanced perspective on this aspect of the past. As David Austin asserts, “[i]f history is defined simply as the understanding of the past through the medium of the present, the interpretation of both the archaeology and the document must be seen as equal and potentially opposing elements in the dialectical process of knowledge.”⁵⁶⁹ Austin goes on to state that while the written texts are important, a society expresses itself through more than documentation, and that the material text ought to be considered an essential part of historical analysis. Thus “historical archaeology” encompasses both the written and material evidence that can be considered for a known period. “Indeed, although we would argue that a complete understanding of any event is a practical impossibility, a closer approach to completeness will come from the consideration of both written and material text.”⁵⁷⁰

The methodology I will undertake in this chapter is well-supported by many medievalists. By utilizing samples of written text to identify the locations where the Northmen’s destruction was said to have taken place, and juxtaposing them against the archaeological records of recent excavations, I will attempt to analyse the accuracy of the written records and by linking up these reports, try to determine whether the Northmen were, in fact, as destructive a force as they have been portrayed in the written sources.

⁵⁶⁹David Austin, “The ‘*proper study*’ of Medieval Archaeology,” in David Austin and Leslie Alcock, eds., *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: studies in medieval archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1990), p. 35.

⁵⁷⁰Austin, “The ‘*proper study*’ of Medieval Archaeology,” p. 50.

The aim of both the archaeologist and the historian, besides that of making objective the source of his observations, is that of contributing to the reconstruction of a society which has left various different types of testimony. Of course, it is a question of assimilating the value of a documentary 'sample', whether it be a written or material source, and comparing the different sequences of information, integrating them, explaining them and juxtaposing them.⁵⁷¹

Archaeology as a discipline has evolved over time to become more 'scientific' and accurate in the sense that science and technology have advanced to provide a more complete analysis of the material record. For example, soil samples taken from various digs can now be chemically analysed and accurately dated through carbon-dating technology and other processes to determine not only quantitative information, but qualitative as well. Dendrochronology is also of great use when analysing wooden structures and artifacts. Through this technology, scientists can determine the exact year that a tree was felled to produce a particular wooden material object, giving archaeologists the period in which a wooden structure or item was produced. Of course, there are also caveats to recognize when utilizing some of these techniques. For example, when using carbon-14 (C¹⁴) data, it is necessary to be aware that this form of dating procedure provides only for a range of dates, though the technology is improving so that the dates can be narrowed more accurately. It is common practice in archaeology to use not only one technique of dating, say, C¹⁴, to provide a timetable for different materials, but to combine techniques such as C¹⁴

⁵⁷¹Riccardo Francovich, "Some Notes on Medieval Archaeology in Mediterranean Europe," in Andersson and Wienberg, eds., *The Study of Medieval Archaeology*, p. 52.

and stratigraphic analysis to determine the age of material objects.⁵⁷² When utilizing dendrochronology in dating medieval wooden artifacts, it is also wise to remember that items were frequently re-used, such as the imported oak barrels recovered in Dorestad which were initially manufactured to hold wine and subsequently were used to line wells.⁵⁷³ “Dendrochronology instigated a revolution in precision dating for post-Roman archaeologists in the late 1970s and 1980s, not least with the provision of an independent dating framework for medieval ceramic dating.”⁵⁷⁴

Michel de Boüard writes: “En vérité, les archéologues « particularistes » contribuent d’une manière indispensable et irremplaçable à l’accroissement quantitatif et qualitatif des données de base dont le nombre et la valeur conditionnent la validité des hypothèses ou des modèles que testera le raisonnement déductif.”⁵⁷⁵ De Boüard contends that without a historical

⁵⁷²C. E. Buck, C. D. Litton and E. M. Scott, “Making the most of radiocarbon dating: some statistical considerations,” *Antiquity* 68 (Gloucester, England: Antiquity Publications, 1994), pp. 252-253, 257.

⁵⁷³W. A. Casparie and J. E. J. Swarts, “Wood from Dorestad, Hoogstraat I,” in W. A. Van Es and W. J. H. Verwers, eds., *Excavations at Dorestad I, The Harbour: Hoogstraat I* (Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, 1980), pp. 298- 299. See also W. J. H. Verwers and A. E. Botman, “Absolute Dating of Early Medieval Wells in Wijk bij Duurstede,” in H. Sarfatij, W. J. H. Verwers and P. J. Woltering, eds., “In Discussion with the Past: Archaeological studies presented to W. A. van Es,” *Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* (Zwolle: Foundation for Promoting Archaeology (SPA), 1999), pp. 243-251.

⁵⁷⁴Gustav Milne, “Review: *A Slice Through Time. Dendochronology and Precision Dating*, by M. G. L. Baillie,” *Medieval Archaeology* 40 (London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1996), p. 361.

⁵⁷⁵Michel de Boüard, “« New archaeology » et archéologie médiévale:

framework within which to place objects and other archaeological finds, that is, the historical context in which to place material evidence, it would be futile to let the archaeological evidence stand on its own. Archaeology needs history in that sense, and history can benefit from incorporating archaeological evidence as part of a more holistic methodology for reconstructing the past.⁵⁷⁶ Different sites, be they towns, fortifications, monastic communities, churches or secular buildings are excavated using virtually the same techniques, but differ only in the types of questions asked of a particular type of site. Rural sites are handled quite differently when it comes to determining both patterns of settlement and whether the sites have been continuously inhabited.

There are differences in the numbers of archaeological initiatives promoted and undertaken by various levels of government in different countries. For example, France has, under the auspices of the University of Caen, been particularly proactive in initiating urban and rural excavations in the north of the country where many digs have taken and are currently taking place. The activities of medieval archaeologists in Germany comprise a relatively recent discipline for that country. The thorough book of Günter P. Fehring, entitled *The Archaeology of Medieval Germany: an introduction*, outlines recent efforts (at least up until 1987 when the German edition of his work was published: *Einführung in die Archäologie des Mittelalters*) of the German archaeological

quelques réflexions critiques,” in Rita Lejeune and Joseph Deckers, eds., *Clio et son regard: Mélanges d'histoire, d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie offerts à Jacques Stiennon* (Liège: Pierre Mardaga, 1982), p. 60.

⁵⁷⁶de Boüard, “« New archaeology » et archéologie médiévale,” pp. 62-64.

community to bring to light the settlement evidence from this region.⁵⁷⁷ In this work, Fehring describes the extensive recent and long interest in Germany of archaeological enquiry, both in the western part of the country and in the former East Germany.⁵⁷⁸

Belgian excavations, on the other hand, have not been prioritized and in fact have been substantially cut back due to lack of funds and the nationalization and resulting organizational fragmentation of archaeological initiatives in the different regions. The Netherlands has stepped-up its recovery archaeology in both rural and urban centres over the past four decades— a trend which, it is hoped, will continue. Having said that, there is a wealth of excavation reporting available that details many sites that have relevance to the Northmen's ninth-century invasions into these territories. Due to the fact that the whole area between the Loire and Rhine rivers has not been entirely excavated, this chapter, while dealing with specific and usually urban sites, will examine these sites by region as the Northmen did not restrict their activities solely to the urban centres of the day.

The areas under examination in this chapter will be grouped into four geographical sections based on where the sites are currently located: the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and France.

⁵⁷⁷Günter P. Fehring, *The Archaeology of Medieval Germany: an introduction*, Ross Samson, trans. (London: Routledge, 1991).

⁵⁷⁸Fehring, *The Archaeology of Medieval Germany*, pp. 18-21.

The Netherlands⁵⁷⁹

The earliest mention of incursions of Northmen into territory controlled by the Carolingians occurs in the *ARF* dates from 810⁵⁸⁰ when it reported that Frisia and its islands were devastated during a raid and the victorious Danes imposed a tribute on the Frisians. Frisia, it would seem, would be the most likely place the Northmen would attack first. This is because of its geographic proximity to their own territory and the fact that Frisia was a hub of trade between western continental Europe, England and the North and Baltic Seas.⁵⁸¹ Dorestad, as the primary *entrepôt* of the area was the favoured target of the Northmen and it was reported to have been burned and sacked many times during the early ninth century.

Dorestad is located at the confluence of the Lek and Rhine (Kromme Rijn,

⁵⁷⁹See Map 1.

⁵⁸⁰*ARF 810*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 197. "Imperator vero Aquisgrani adhuc agens et contra Godofridum regem expeditionem meditans, nuntium accepit, classem ducentarum navium de Nordmannia Frisiam appulisse, totasque Frisiaco litori adiacentes insulas esse vastatas, iamque exercitum illum in continenti esse, ternaque proelia cum Frisonibus commisisse, Danosque victores tributum victis inposuisse, et vectigalis nomine centum libras argenti a Frisionibus iam esse solutas, regem vero Godofridum domi esse." In fact, Alcuin reports an attack on Aquitaine in 799 in which many of the Northmen perished on the shore. Alcuin, *Epistola* 184, Dümmler, ed., *MGH: Epp. 2*, p. 309. "Paganæ vero naves, ut audistis, multa mala fecerunt per insulas oceani partibus Aquitaniae. Pars tamen ex illis periit; et occisi sunt in litore quasi centum quinque viri ex illis praedatoribus. Castigatio est magna horum eruptio, antiquis ignota temporibus populo christiano; quia forte vota non servant famuli Dei, quae vovere solent."

⁵⁸¹Stéphane Lebecq, "Les Vikings en Frise: Chronique d'un échec relatif," Pierre Bauduin, ed., *Les fondations scandinaves en Occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie* (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2005), pp. 98-100.

or Old Rhine) rivers and served as an *emporium*, or trading town, for the entire region. It was continuously inhabited from the seventh century and its main function was as a way-station for trading goods from further up the Rhine to the North Sea. The activity in this centre made the Frisians key middlemen for international trade during the Merovingian period. Frisia also acquired strategic importance, particularly in the late-eighth and early-ninth centuries when it served as a buffer zone between the competing economic and political interests of the Carolingians and the Danes. Thus, it would seem, this area would almost inevitably have become a point of conflict between these two groups.

Only a small portion of Dorestad has been excavated, but it has yielded up a wealth of evidence that shows its rise and decline in the second-half of the ninth century. Excavations were undertaken in the Hoogstraat, the ancient port area of Dorestad, by W. A. Van Es and W. H. J. Verwers in the 1970s. Much of Dorestad remains buried under the modern town of Wijk bij Duurstede and therefore is inaccessible to archaeologists. However, the extant excavations have provided archaeologists and historians with an encapsulation of the town's importance as a centre of transportation and trade. The literary sources mention that the town was frequently burned (see chapter 3), especially during the 830s and the 850s. The excavations of the port area of Dorestad, though, have not yielded any evidence of burning and Van Es and Verwers have concluded that the town declined, not as a result of devastation perpetrated by the Northmen, but because of the silting-up of this branch of the Rhine. They also conclude that Dorestad's decline in significance as a trading centre can be proved by the

petering-out of wharf and jetty construction into the river. This, of course, does not conclusively suggest that Dorestad disappeared entirely, but does suggest its decline in importance as a trading centre.⁵⁸²

How, then, can the descriptions of the repeated burning of Dorestad in the literary sources be reconciled with the archaeological record? As noted by Van Es and Verwers,

The last Viking attack on Dorestad is recorded in the annals under the year 863. The latest C14 dating is in perfect agreement ... [T]he consideration that the C14 evidence need not bear directly upon the end of the occupation. It cannot do better than provide a date for the end of the building activities in the river-bed. ... The building activities in the river-bed were undoubtedly to some extent, possibly for the major part, a function of natural processes but they need not be exclusively so. They may also have been related to the economic situation of the settlement.⁵⁸³

Van Es and Verwers also mention that evidence of Dorestad's decline is clear in fewer Carolingian coin hoards from the first third of the ninth century and later, and that the mint in Dorestad ceased producing its own coinage around 830.⁵⁸⁴ While all this indicates that Dorestad no longer served as significant a purpose as it had done in the previous 150 years of its existence, it does not explain the apparent lack of material evidence for its destruction which the literary sources mention on several occasions. Could it be that there is evidence of burning located in areas where no excavations have taken place, or where it is impossible to excavate because of modern settlement? It seems logical to assume that the Northmen would not have had any reason to burn the port area

⁵⁸²Van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad I*, pp. 297-303.

⁵⁸³Van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad I*, p. 297.

⁵⁸⁴Van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 1*, p. 297.

as they attacked Dorestad from the water and would have needed the jetties for the purpose of loading their vessels with booty. When this arm of the Rhine silted up during the last half of the ninth century, their means of easy ingress and egress to and from Dorestad, as well as the town's importance for trade, would have dried up. The last incursion of the Northmen into Dorestad recorded in 863 in the *AB* ties in this attack with the campaign they undertook up the Rhine to Cologne and mentions only that they sacked Dorestad along the way. Thus, when Lebecq concludes that Dorestad was abandoned after the attack of 863, it would seem that he was jumping to conclusions because the archaeological record does not necessarily bear this out.⁵⁸⁵

Several of the islands off the coast of Frisia were, at one time or other, attacked and raided by the Northmen. The documentary sources frequently mention "islands" in general, but occasionally identify them by name. Walcheren and Betuwe are often mentioned as targets for the Northmen's raiding activities. In and around these islands there are places where archaeological excavations have yielded evidence of the presence of the Northmen in the area, and which are also mentioned in the literary source materials. Utrecht, Deventer, Nijmegen, Ostergau, Medemblik, Texel, the areas known as Ostracia, Westracia and Ijssel are all mentioned by annalists, and many have been excavated to varying degrees. Not only is it necessary to examine archaeological evidence from the above-named sites, but it is also essential to consult reports from areas that have been excavated in their vicinity.

⁵⁸⁵Stéphane Lebecq, "Les Vikings en Frise," p. 101.

Wieringen in north Frisia is just such a place. An important silver hoard dating from around 850 was found by means of a metal detector in a field in the hamlet of Westerklijf in the area identified as the Carolingian settlement.⁵⁸⁶ The hoard corresponds in location, according to the archaeologist Besteman, to the territory granted to Roric and Godfred, and to the list drawn up by the bishop of Utrecht in 885 (following Godfred's death) of the possessions of his church of St Martin at Utrecht prior to 860. Besteman explains that this silver hoard consists mainly of silver objects, rather than coinage and hack-silver. This, he maintains, is reason to attribute the find to Scandinavian origin and ownership, rather than Carolingian.

The silver hoard of Westerklijf with its unfragmented and varied contents of primarily non-numismatic silver of mainly Scandinavian origin fits in excellently with the 9th-century Northern European silver hoards. With its 1662 g of silver, the Westerklijf find is well above the average for the South Scandinavian hoards. It has to be interpreted as the accumulated wealth of a Scandinavian owner expressed in silver of every size and shape. It may be regarded as the first Scandinavian silver hoard in the Netherlands, the missing link we have waited for so long in view of the detailed historical evidence of relations between the Vikings and the Netherlands.⁵⁸⁷

However, hoards are problematic in that they do not usually prove, in concrete terms, the reason why they were buried in the first place and by whom.

Medemblik, a Frisian settlement located on IJsselmeer in North Holland just south of Wieringen, was excavated by Besteman during the late-1960s and

⁵⁸⁶Jan C. Besteman, "Viking silver on Wieringen. Viking Age Silver Hoard from Westerklijf on the Former Isle of Wieringen (Province of North Holland) in the Light of the Viking Relations with Frisia," in Sarfatij, Verwers, and Woltering, eds., *In Discussion with the Past*, pp. 254, 257.

⁵⁸⁷Besteman, "Viking silver on Wieringen," p. 260.

early-1970s. It was determined from these excavations that Medemblik had been inhabited continuously from the early Middle Ages.⁵⁸⁸ He discovered that there was a settlement on the creek ridge that he identified as the fen stream, the Middenleek. The community is now directly sited on the sea, but during the Carolingian period would have been situated inland with access to the sea via channels.⁵⁸⁹ "Because of her favourable situation on waterways which were directly connected with the great trade route from Dorestad to Friesland and Scandinavia via the Almere and Vlie, Medemblik benefited from this trade."⁵⁹⁰ As part of the diocese of Utrecht, Medemblik also flourished as an important ecclesiastical centre, as well as from royal protection under the Carolingians.⁵⁹¹

While Medemblik has been subjected to inundations by the sea over the centuries, Besteman's excavations found that in the layers from the Carolingian period, "there was a thin layer of clay with traces of fire, that was rich in burnt daub and Carolingian sherds."⁵⁹² Accounting for the fact that portions of this burnt layer may be the result of a hearth, Besteman clearly states that "other burnt traces penetrated right into the sand."⁵⁹³ He also discounts the theory that these burn layers occurred as a result of the burning of peat for salt extraction

⁵⁸⁸J.-C. Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 24 (Amersfoort, 1974), pp. 43-44.

⁵⁸⁹Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," pp. 44-46.

⁵⁹⁰Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," p. 98.

⁵⁹¹Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," p. 98.

⁵⁹²Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," p. 54.

⁵⁹³Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," p. 60.

since pollen analysis has ruled out the presence of saline fens during the Carolingian period. "The interpretation which identifies the burnt clay layer on the shore of Lake Wervershoof [still a fresh-water lake] with salt production from salt peat must also be rejected."⁵⁹⁴ It may well be, therefore, that some disruption occurred in Medemblik in the ninth century, accompanied by burning intense enough to have left significant traces of fire, and that may be attributed to an invasion of the area by the Northmen. Moreover, these excavations indicate that there were two phases of occupation of the site.

With the aid of *kiekklei* stratigraphy, it is possible to distinguish at least two phases in the Carolingian soil traces. One concerns traces belonging to the humic layer and older *kiekklei*. ... The other phase concerns traces in the burnt clay layer. Despite the many unsolved problems and the fact that we cannot produce any definite traces of houses, we are inclined to believe that there was a settlement there in the Carolingian period, in view of the few traces of habitation [two water wells, rubbish pits, field-oven, hearth] and the large number and varied nature of the finds.⁵⁹⁵

Deventer, located on the IJssel river in the central Netherlands, has also been excavated. Michiel Bartels and Bart Vermeulen excavated a section of the town in two campaigns during July and September 2003. They investigated a 30 metre-long parcel on the north side of Smedenstraat and found that there was a burn layer at a level that can be connected to the Northmen's invasion of the area in 882. A comparable site comprised of an embankment was also found in 1997 at Noordenbergschild, a neighbourhood of Deventer, where the remnants

⁵⁹⁴Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," p. 62. See also: J.-C. Besteman, "Frisian Salt and the Problem of Salt-Making in North Holland in the Carolingian Period," in Sarfatij, Verwers, and Woltering, eds., *In Discussion with the Past*, pp. 171-173.

⁵⁹⁵Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," p. 60.

of the settlement are found under a burn layer. The earliest phase of this embankment dates from the late ninth century, while the second phase was dated to the twelfth century.⁵⁹⁶ According to the annalists, in the ninth century the settlements on the coast were subjected to frequent attacks by the Northmen. Deventer, located further inland, benefited from this unrest and gradually grew in importance. By 882, however, the Northmen are reported to have burned Deventer.⁵⁹⁷ Following the attack, an embankment was constructed which surrounded the entire town. Vermeulen has found the remnants of this embankment in his excavations of Gibsonstraat and Smedenstraat 38. In his opinion, the embankment at Deventer seems to have been scarcely altered over time.⁵⁹⁸ From these excavations, therefore, it has been determined that the archaeological evidence of destruction in the form of fire could have been as a result of the Northmen's invasion of the area in 882.

Domburg, which is a town on the north-west coast of the island of Walcheren was said to have been attacked on several occasions by the Northmen during the ninth-century. While not always identified by its town name, Walcheren itself is often mentioned in the sources. In existing excavations of

⁵⁹⁶Michiel Bartels and Bart Vermeulen, "Deventer, Smedenstraat 38-44 (no. 236)," in *Overijssels Erfgoed* (Archeologische en Bouwhistoische Kroniek, 2003), pp.15-16.

⁵⁹⁷*AF 882, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 397. "Nordmanni portum, qui Frisiaca lingua Taventeri nominatur, ubi sanctus Liobomus requiescit, plurimis interfectis, succenderunt."

⁵⁹⁸Bart Vermeulen, "Het archeologisch onderzoek aan de Smedenstraat 475 te Deventer, een voorpublicatie," in Emile Mittendorff and Bart Vermeulen, *Rapportages Archeologie Deventer 14* (Deventer: Gemeente Deventer, 2004), pp. 55-56.

both Domburg and other sites on Walcheren, little trace of the presence of the Northmen has been found to-date. On the islands of Walcheren and perhaps Texel, however, there is extensive evidence of ring-fort construction. Previously considered to have been constructed by the Northmen, it is now thought that these structures were in fact built to defend the local populations and livestock against their incursions.⁵⁹⁹ Other late-ninth century ring-forts have been located in various coastal communities in the Netherlands which include Oostburg situated north-east of Bruges, Middelburg, Serooskerke, Sint-Laurens and Oost-Souburg on Walcheren, and Burgh-Haamstede on Schouwen-Duiveland, an island just north of Walcheren.⁶⁰⁰ The construction of these defensive structures can be interpreted as a reaction against the Northmen's raids on the towns and the surrounding countryside where there were trade-goods for them to plunder. The Northmen had been prodigiously gathering plunder which included slaves, so it might be inferred from these ring-forts that the protection they afforded to the local population was reasonably effective. Not only were these ring-forts built as defences, but they were, as far as can be ascertained, built by the local people under the auspices of the immediate secular and/or ecclesiastical

⁵⁹⁹H. A. Heidinga, *Frisia in the First Millenium* (Utrecht: Stichting Matrijs, 1996), p. 24. See also I. A. Schute, "Rijksweg 57 — Rondweg Serooskerke-Noord, Rijkswaterstaat, Directie Zeeland," *RAAP — Rapport 387* (Amsterdam: Regionaal Archeologisch Archiverings Project, 1998), p. 15: "In het laatste kwart van de 9e eeuw worden op deze getij-inversieruggen vijf ringwalburgen gebouwd, ter verdediging tegen de aanvallen door de Vikingen."

⁶⁰⁰I. A. Schute, "Rijksweg 57," p. 15.

authorities in Frisia itself.⁶⁰¹ The *AF* for instance relates an instance in 873 when Northmen were holed up in a building surrounded by local people who had done battle with them and chased the Northmen into it. Here the Frisians were obliged to defend themselves and their own territory, not having been provided with any protection by Emperor Louis II.⁶⁰² This was not the first time that the initiative against the Northmen came about as a result of localized efforts. In 859 in the west-Frankish heartland between the Seine and Loire rivers, the local peasantry took up arms to defend itself against the Northmen who continued to raid and against whom the nobles were unable to achieve victory. This *coniuratio*, or “sworn association” of peasantry was brutally crushed by the Frankish aristocracy even though they had the same aim in mind: the expulsion of the Northmen.⁶⁰³

The Northmen largely targeted commercial settlements in what is now the Netherlands as there were relatively few wealthy ecclesiastical centres in the

⁶⁰¹Kim van Straten, “The Deventer Settlement and Earthwork in the Late-Carolingian Period” in Michiel H. Bartels, “De Deventer wal tegen de Vikingen archeologisch en historisch onderzoek naar de vroegmiddeleeuwse wal en stadsmuren (850-1900) en een vergelijking met andere vroegmiddeleeuwse omwalde nederzettingen,” *Rapportages Archeologie Deventer 18* (Deventer: Gemeente Deventer, 2006), p. 215.

⁶⁰²*AF 873, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 387. “Illi autem Dominum invocantes, qui eos saepius ab hostibus liberavit, hosti infestissimo amati occurrerunt, consertoque proelio, ipse Hrudolfus cecidit primus et cum eo octingenti viri; ceteri vero cum ad naves effugere non potuissent, in quodam aedificio se tutati sunt; quod Frisiones obsidentes, conferebant ad invicem, quid de eis facere debuissent.”

⁶⁰³Prudentius, *AB 859* in G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 1*, p. 453. “Vulgus promiscuum inter Sequanam et Ligerim inter se coniurans adversus Danos in Sequana consistentes, fortiter resistit; sed quia incaute suscepta est eorum coniuratio, a potentioribus nostris facile interficiuntur.”

area, with the exception of Utrecht which was plundered and burned in the later years of the ninth century. This led to the move to Deventer by the Bishop of Utrecht (perhaps before the attacks of 882, but after 881 when the town was reportedly pillaged),⁶⁰⁴ and the merchants from Dorestad who represented ecclesiastical patrons after Dorestad was reported to have been plundered and burned repeatedly during 863.⁶⁰⁵ The primary motive of the Northmen's invasion of this region was for material gain and supplies so that by the 880s the local population felt compelled to build ring-forts to protect themselves and their livestock from the Northmen's raiding expeditions. While the literary sources indicate that Danish royalty sought to control the area for themselves, and that the Carolingian rulers were willing to allow them to settle as vassals, this area was under Carolingian control and was the hub of a vital crossroads in trade between western continental Europe, England, the North Sea, and the Baltic. Not only do the settlements on Walcheren and Texel and at such *emporium* as Dorestad indicate the importance of trade to this region, but coin hoards that contain not only Carolingian silver, but also Arabian gold dirhems testify to the area's strength for both local and international trade.⁶⁰⁶ Deventer, Tiel and

⁶⁰⁴*AF 881, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 394. "At illi [Nordmanni], instaurato exercitu et amplificato numero equitum, plurima loca in regno regis nostri vastaverunt, hoc est Cameracum, Traiectum, et pagum Haspanicum, totamque Ripuariam, praecipua etiam in eis monasteria, id est Prumiam, Indam, Stabulaus, Malmundarium, et Aquense palatium, ubi in capella regis equis suis stabulum fecerunt."

⁶⁰⁵van Straten, "The Deventer Settlement," p. 214.

⁶⁰⁶At Westerklijf within the town of Wieringen on the north-eastern tip of Noord-Holland, on the Waddenzee channel. J. C. Besteman, "Wieringen

Duisburg became the “new Dorestads” in this area in the latter half of the ninth century.

The geographical situation of the settlement [Deventer] at the point at which water and land routes could make a short crossing of the IJssel provided a catalyst for the settlement. Archaeologically, it can be determined that the trade volume in the third quarter of the ninth century rises significantly.⁶⁰⁷

The walls that were built in the ninth century to surround Deventer and Zutphen (the administrative centre on the IJssel river) were built following the Northmen's attacks in 882.

The semi-circular shaped earthwork constructed after AD 882 (Wal I) was 1160m in length, 3m to 4.5m high, and 11.6m wide, and was associated with a defensive moat over 1.8 meters in depth and of a width usually exceeding 12 meters. The earthwork might have had three passage ways. The pottery sherds recovered from the destruction layer recorded underneath the wall (representing the sacking of the settlement), and the sherds recovered from the first few layers of the earthwork itself, probably date its construction to the first five years after the attack. The construction time must have been between two and four years.⁶⁰⁸

Zutphen's ring-wall was dated at around the same time as Deventer's, around the year 886.⁶⁰⁹ Similarly, the construction of the ring-walls surrounding

Westerklief II,” *Archeologische Kroniek Noord-Holland 2001* (Haarlem: Historische Vereniging Holland, 2002), pp. 47-49.

⁶⁰⁷van Straten, “The Deventer Settlement,” p. 214.

⁶⁰⁸van Straten, “The Deventer Settlement,” p. 215.

⁶⁰⁹Bartels, “De Deventer wal tegen,” p. 180.

Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges in Belgium can also be dated to the same period in the 880s when the Northmen were particularly active in the area.⁶¹⁰ Zutphen experienced destruction by fire during this period. Excavations undertaken during the construction of the new town hall at the side of the s'Gravenhof square showed that two metres deep there was a thin layer of charcoal which contained late-ninth century ceramic fragments indicating that several houses from the Carolingian period were burned down.

Traces of buildings, the sunken huts, (waste) pits and trenches revealed the remains of charred grain, wood and daub, lost metal household effects, broken ceramics, numerous lower legs and skulls of slaughtered cattle and also human skeletons. The remains of a small number of individuals were found, and two more or less complete skeletons. These were found on the floor of the central part of two sunken huts surrounding the excavated building (house 1). They were the skeletons of a child aged about 12 and of an adult aged between 30 and 40. The adult skeleton was lying in a fairly anatomical position, with only the hands and one foot missing. The remains of a second foot lay in another corner of the hut. ...

Most discoveries from the Carolingian period are found in the top layer, apart from what was in the hut when it was destroyed and remained on the floor. ... When the hut was destroyed by fire or otherwise, the roof collapsed and the (old) soil on the roof fell into the hole which was subsequently filled in and levelled using the surrounding topsoil. This means that both skeletons were already lying on the floor of the huts when they collapsed.⁶¹¹

Moreover, the church of St Walburga was also destroyed by fire around the same time, even though none of the sources of the period mention the destruction of Zutphen at all. The settlement's location on the river IJssel would

⁶¹⁰Bartels, "De Deventer wal tegen," pp. 192-196.

⁶¹¹Michel Groothedde, "The Vikings in Zutphen (Netherlands)," in Rudolf Simek and Utricke Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine* (Vienna: Fassbaender, 2004), pp. 116-117.

have made it an attractive strategic target for the Northmen in the area.⁶¹² Using the example of Zutphen and the excavations in this settlement, archaeologists have determined that Zutphen and, by extension, the other ring-walled communities were on royal land which suggests that there was a coordinated effort to fortify royal palaces and important trading centres by the Carolingians from the time of Charlemagne on.⁶¹³

Belgium⁶¹⁴

In the 880s when the Northmen were ranging along the Meuse, the Seine and the Rhine rivers, they were reported to have attacked several settlements and *civitates* in present-day Belgium. Some of these locations have been excavated in part, again mostly as the result of efforts by archaeologists being called in to perform recovery archaeology in these centres. The Place Saint-Lambert in Liège is one case in point. Excavations of this square in Liège have taken place over a long period (from 1907 to 1990), the latest of which was the result of the formation of a team from the Service Régional des Fouilles, the University of Liège, and with substantial support from the Ministère de la Région Wallonne. The large church which was erected where St Lambert was considered to have been martyred around 706 was uncovered by archaeologists, but most of it remains under roadworks.

⁶¹²Groothedde, "The Vikings in Zutphen, pp. 116-117.

⁶¹³Groothedde, "The Vikings in Zutphen, pp. 125-126.

⁶¹⁴See Map 2.

Excavations at Liège have also turned up evidence of burn layers from the ninth century. Marcel Otte reported that he found a number of monolithic sarcophagi and nearby these on the floor were traces of a fire and repairs which he attributed to the date of the Northmen's attacks on Liège in 881 in the cathedral of Saint-Lambert where excavations took place in the early-1980s.⁶¹⁵ The *AF*⁶¹⁶ recalls that in 881 the Northmen fought and lost the battle of Saucourt, but succeeded in pillaging several communities and monasteries in the area, following the battle.⁶¹⁷ Both Regino⁶¹⁸ and the *AB*⁶¹⁹ report the occupation of

⁶¹⁵Marcel Otte, "L'Archéologie de la Place Saint-Lambert à Liège," *L'Archéologie en Région Wallonne 1980-1990* (Liège: Dossiers de la Commission Royale des Monuments, Sites et Fouilles, 1, 1993), p. 96.

⁶¹⁶*AF 881, pars 4*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 394. "Nepos vero illius cum Nordmannis dimicans, nobiliter triumphavit; nam novem milia equitum ex eis occidisse perhibetur."

⁶¹⁷*AF 881, pars 4*, *MGH: SS 1*, p.394. "At illi [Nordmanni], instaurato exercitu et amplificato numero equitum, plurima loca in regno regis nostri vastaverunt, hoc est Cameracum, Traiectum, et pagum Haspanicum, totamque Ripuariam, praecipua etiam in eis monasteria, id est Prumiam, Indam, Stabulaus, Malmundarium, et Aquense palatium, ubi in capella regis equis suis stabulum fecerunt."

⁶¹⁸Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 592. "Et primo quidem impetu finitima loca depopulantes, Leodium civitatem, Traiectum castrum, Tungrensem urbem incendio cremant; secunda incursione Ribuariorum finibus effusi, caedibus, rapinis ac incendiis cuncta devastant, Coloniam Agrippinam, Bunnam civitates cum adiacentibus castellis, scilicet Tulpiacum, Iuliacum et Niusa, igne comburunt."

⁶¹⁹Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 514. "Quoniam hostiliter ipsi praeparati erant in occursum Nortmannorum, qui civitates Coloniam et Treviris cum monasteriis sibi contiguis iam incensas haberent, et monasterium sancti Landberti in Leudico, et Promiae, et Indae, Aquis etiam palatium, omniaque monasteria parrochiarum Tungrensis videlicet, Attrebatensis, Cameracensis, et partem Remensis parrochiae suae ditioni addicta, et partim cum castello Mosomagensi incensa." [Here Hincmar

Liège and the burning of a number of locations in the region as well. The destruction perpetrated by the Northmen in this area is also evident at the monastery of Stavelot.

Stavelot was reported to be among the monasteries that were destroyed in 881. Jacqueline Bureau has excavated the site of the abbey church at Stavelot and has attributed the destruction she found to the Northmen who destroyed the abbey church in 881, though in the excavation report she does not specifically identify any tell-tale signs of exactly how she drew this conclusion.⁶²⁰ While this is problematic, Regino⁶²¹ also mentions the destruction of Stavelot during the Northmen's raids of 881, so Bureau seems to base her conclusion on Regino's report. The church at Stavelot and its buildings were hastily reconstructed upon the return of the monks, but these were on the point of ruin a mere 50 years later.⁶²² It would appear that, once again, the archaeological evidence bears out the written accounts of destruction in the area in modern-day Belgium.

conflates the events of 881 and 882].

⁶²⁰Jacqueline Bureau, "Les Fouilles de l'ancienne église abbatiale de Stavelot: Rapport des saisons 1983-1984," *Bulletin de la Société Royale le Vieux-Liège* 11 (Liège: Société Royale le Vieux-Liège, 1986), pp. 117-118.

⁶²¹Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 592. "Indam, Malmundarias et Stabulaus monasteria in favillam redigunt."

⁶²²Bureau, "Les Fouilles de l'ancienne église abbatiale de Stavelot," p. 118.

Germany⁶²³

The *AF*⁶²⁴ reports the further destruction of Bonn and Neuss on the Rhine, Zülpich and Iülich on the Rur, and Maastricht in the Netherlands which the Northmen reached either by sailing upstream, or utilizing the still-existing Roman road system, even though it was bound to be in a state of disrepair by this time.⁶²⁵

As for Cologne and the reports of its almost complete destruction by fire during the raids of the Northmen in the 880s, there is no archaeological evidence of any burning that has been found in any excavations that have been done to-date. About ten years after the reported destruction (in the mid-890s), Archbishop Hermann I wrote to Pope Stephen VI asking for relics to be sent to reconsecrate the churches of Cologne since “the churches and houses had gone up in flames in 881 (*basilice et omnis fabrice domorum coloniensis civitatis*).”⁶²⁶ The *AF* reports that in 883 Cologne was still rebuilding its churches and monasteries, but that the walls with their gates and towers had already been

⁶²³See Map 3.

⁶²⁴*AF* 883, *pars* 4, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 398. “Nordmanni per alveum Rheni fluminis ascendentes, plurima loca nuper restaurata succenderunt, praedam inde captientes non modicam.”

⁶²⁵Thomas Himstedt, “How the Vikings got to the Rhine. A historical-geographical survey over the Rhineland in the Early Middle Ages,” in Simek and Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine*, pp. 29-30.

⁶²⁶Bernd Päffgen, “Urban Settlements and Sacral Topography in the Rhineland at the Time of the Viking Raids,” in Rudolf Simek and Ulricke Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine*, pp. 86-87.

completed.⁶²⁷ These references point directly to the destruction wrought by the Northmen in the early 880s, however, without the direct evidence of burn layers, archaeology cannot confirm that the destruction was as widespread and complete as the literary reports suggest. Perhaps, as with the case of Dorestad, no traces of destruction are evident because the areas where they occurred are impossible to excavate due to existing buildings, or because of the result of the extensive damage done to the city by the bombing during the Second World War.

Destruction from 864 was also reported at Xanten in the *AX*.⁶²⁸ “The excavators were able to make a connection between the destruction of church VI and the Viking invasion after having [found] a layer with traces of a fire.”⁶²⁹ Bonn also has been excavated in recent years, and “[a]mong the finds in the Bonn minster, one ditch which contained a coin of Louis the Pious (819-40) and settlement pottery from the time around the mid-ninth century, can be dated rudimentarily to the time of the Viking attacks.”⁶³⁰ The ring-walled towns that were erected by the Carolingians in the present-day Netherlands, in Belgium,

⁶²⁷Anonymous, *AF 883*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 398. “Agripina Colonia absque aecclisiis et monasteriis reaedificata, et muri eius cum portis et vectibus et seris instaurati.”

⁶²⁸*AX 864*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2* (Hanover: Anton Heinemann, 1829), pp. 230-231. “Nimia inundatione aquarum pagani sepe iam dicti, aecclisias undique vastantes, per alveum Reni fluminis ad Sanctos usque pervenerunt, et locum opinatissimum vastaverunt. Atque, quod omnibus audientibus et videntibus nimium dolendum est, aecclisiam sancti Victoris mirifico opere constructam incenderunt igni, omnia quae intus aut foris sanctuarii repperierunt, rapuerunt.”

⁶²⁹Päffgen, “Urban Settlements and Sacral Topography,” p. 98.

⁶³⁰Päffgen, “Urban Settlements and Sacral Topography,” p. 102.

and in the Rhineland, suggest that a defensive stance against the Northmen was being laid by the local lords with royal sponsorship. These defensive fortifications were built to surround sites of importance, not only for the protection of ecclesiastical sites, but also to protect local trading activities. Bernd Päffgen remarks with respect to the effects the invasions in the areas of the Rhine-Meuse-Moselle that

[i]f older research stressed the destructive character of the Viking attacks alone, nowadays they are recognised far more as a catalyst. They set things in motion: on the one hand the death knell of urban culture of late antiquity, but on the other hand they were important for the formation of the [m]edieval town with its zone of jurisdiction (Bannbezirk), town walls, the relocation and concentration of the settlement within the walls, and the end to the Roman burial custom *extra muros*, as well as the formation of inner town parishes with the church grave yard as the compulsory place of burial.⁶³¹

France⁶³²

The destruction wrought by the Northmen in continental Europe did not stop in the aforementioned regions, but extended into the whole of the northern part of present-day France. Several Carolingian towns and cities were subjected to repeated attack and plundering, not to mention razing, by the Northmen throughout the ninth century. These attacks were reported by the annalists, poets and legislators who were either eye-witnesses or had heard from those whom they deemed to be reliable sources that these events had occurred. The

⁶³¹Päffgen, "Urban Settlements and Sacral Topography," p. 108.

⁶³²See Map 4.

areas under the most stress from the Northmen during the ninth century were located along navigable rivers: the Seine, Loire, Somme, Orne, Vilaine, Charente, Dordogne, and Garonne, and their tributaries. As mentioned above, not all urban, rural and ecclesiastical sites have been excavated, but it is known from the written sources that the Northmen not only focused their attacks on towns, cities and other settlements, but ranged more widely into the surrounding countryside in search of provisions and other types of booty, such as slaves.

Cities along the Seine, its tributaries and the coastlines were identified as being targets of the Northmen in this period. Archaeological evidence for the Northmen's destruction in many communities and churches is plentiful in France. The areas in modern-day France that were most affected by the invasions of the Northmen were along the river systems in the north. Communities along the Seine, the Loire, and their tributaries all were reported to have sustained damage as a result of these incursions. Destruction, however, was not limited to urban centres, but occurred in the countryside as well.

Paris was particularly hard-hit by the Northmen's hostile activities during the second-half of the ninth century. Excavations undertaken by Arnaud Prié at the site of 15, rue du Temple in the VI^e arrondissement, and which are reported in *Archéologie Médiévale* show that the Parisians built a number of walls just at the time the Northmen began raiding the area in earnest in the latter-half of the ninth century. These were built to protect the heart of the suburb on the right bank of the Seine and the excavation team has situated the entire fortification to the north, all along the current streets of Saint-Merri and Sainte-Croix de la

Bretonnerie. The excavation identified a large ditch which was strengthened by internal footings and its lining on the south side was covered with the detritus that typically occurs when erosion takes place. The conclusion of the archeologists was that this ditch served a defensive function from the start, and it had a long history of use because of the appearance of wear and tear. Several outlines have been proposed for the largest of these walls which encircled the rue Saint-Martin to the west and extended to the east up to the Church of Saint-Gervais.⁶³³ While this evidence does not speak directly to any destruction within the precincts of Paris itself, it does speak to the urgency felt by the Parisians as they fortified their city against a threat that was perceived as not going away. After the successful attacks on Paris by the Northmen in 845, 856, and 861, Charles the Bald is likely to have initiated the building of fortifications around the Ile-de-la-Cité in 877, and the city itself was reported to have been a place of refuge by 883.⁶³⁴ Thus, Gauzlin and Odo were able to effectively defend Paris against the Northmen's siege in 885-886.

Part of Auxerre, a town on the Yonne which is a tributary flowing into the Seine, was excavated in 1998 by Stéphane Venault. During the reconstruction of the building that houses the archives for the département which is situated in an archaeologically-sensitive area of the city in the enclosure of the Abbey of Saint-Germain, six trenches were dug. These trenches yielded up various structures,

⁶³³Arnaud Prié, "Paris (Seine). 15, rue du Temple (VI^e arrondissement)," *Archéologie Médiévale* 28 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1998), pp. 283-284.

⁶³⁴Simon Coupland, *Charles the Bald*, p. 184.

dated for the most part to the ninth and tenth centuries. From the initial trench the foundation of a wall made of stone and mortar was found along with a probable ditch that ran parallel to it. Also found were traces of a dwelling which had been destroyed and was composed of remnants of brick partitions. This destruction would have occurred at the same time as a fire which is attested to by a large bed of charcoal, thought by the excavators to have been a collapsed portion of the wooden frame of the building, and which had been covered over with tiles.⁶³⁵ While no written sources mention specifically the burning of Auxerre, in 886 the AV mentions that Odo permitted the Northmen to go to Burgundy to pillage after they had lifted the siege of Paris.⁶³⁶ These annals also report that in 887 the Northmen, after having received their tribute, went to the Gâtinais (about 100 km south of Paris) where they set up camp and proceeded to devastate the entire area up to the Meuse and into part of Burgundy "in their usual way."⁶³⁷

The site of a palisaded ditch was located in Louvres-en-Parisis in the Val-d'Oise, just north of Paris. This site was excavated by François Gentili and

⁶³⁵Stéphan Venault, "Auxerre (Yonne). Le site des Archives Départementales," *Archéologie Médiévale* 28 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1998), p. 214.

⁶³⁶AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 524. "Et factum est vere consilium miserum; nam utrumque, et civitatis redemptio illis promissa est, et data est via sine impedimento, ut Burgundiam hieme depraedarent."

⁶³⁷AV 887, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 524-525. "Datoque tributo, quia nullus erat qui eis resisteret, iterum per Sequanam Maternam fluvium ingressi, Gatiaco sibi castra statuunt. ... Nortmanni vero omnia loca usque Mosam more solito et partem Burgundiae devastant."

reported on in 2000/2001.⁶³⁸ The archaeologists report that this ditch surrounded a rural settlement that encompassed about 4,000 square metres and extended right up to the moat of the former medieval castle of the dukes of Orville. This site appears to have been settled continuously from the eighth century to the end of the eleventh. It was surrounded by the palisaded ditch which Gentili dates to the Carolingian period along with several houses and silos situated close by. He states that the ditch presents two different phases where the entrance was placed over this ditch into the settlement. The ditch also was probably constructed in a curvilinear shape. He further states that it appears to have been filled-up and abandoned at the end of the Carolingian period.⁶³⁹ Perhaps this occurred as a result of the relative peace that descended on the area following the period of the Northmen's invasions. The area around the city of Paris was frequently subjected to threat and destruction from the Northmen throughout the ninth century, and because the site at Louvres-en-Parisis appears to have been quite substantial during this period, it seems reasonable to assume that some degree of fortification was undertaken to protect the inhabitants, whether this action was initiated by the local nobility, or the settlement itself. That it is in close proximity to the old moated castle of the dukes of Orville suggests that these land-holders may have been responsible for its defence, just as the local authorities in Frisia at the time built ring-forts to protect their settlements and

⁶³⁸François Gentili, "Louvres-en-Parisis (Val-d'Oise). Le bois d'Orville," *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2000-2001), pp. 240-241.

⁶³⁹Gentili, "Louvres-en-Parisis (Val-d'Oise)," p. 241.

population from destruction and enslavement by the Northmen.

The Northmen's attacks on Rouen, which were reported to have happened on several occasions during the ninth century, are confirmed by the excavations undertaken by Jacques le Maho from 1985 to 1993. As he and his group were excavating portions of the cathedral compound in the city, they discovered evidence of a great fire that completely destroyed the churches which made up the compound, as well as their annexes. He states that "[l]es traces archéologiques de ce sinistre ont été retrouvées en grand nombre."⁶⁴⁰ Here he identifies burned sections of wooden objects amongst pieces of lead that had fallen, likely from the roof, along with other indications of rubifaction due to the strength of the fire. In the episcopal palace, there was further evidence of fire because an entire floor had been burned right down to the sandy base and many pieces of windows or glass that had been melted were found on the floor. Carbon dating confirmed that these objects were burned in the middle of the ninth century and Le Maho concludes that

[i]l est aussi probable qu'il corresponde au grand incendie qui fut provoqué par le premier raid viking sur la ville de Rouen au mois de mai 841, au cours duquel selon plusieurs sources dignes de foi, la ville entière fut brûlée. Le témoignage de ces textes est recoupé par un acte royal de 863 indiquant que lors de la première attaque viking, la cathédrale fut détruite par le feu avec toutes ses archives ainsi que le monastère suburbain de Saint-Ouen.⁶⁴¹

⁶⁴⁰ Jacques Le Maho, "Les fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen de 1985 à 1993: Esquisse d'un premier bilan," *Archéologie Médiévale* 24 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1994), p. 28.

⁶⁴¹ Le Maho, "Les fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen," pp. 28-29. See Prudentius, *AB 841*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 437. "Interea piratae Danorum ab oceano Euripo devecti, Rotumam irruentes, rapinis, ferro, ignique bacchantes, urbem, monachos, reliquumque vulgum et caedibus et

The *AR* confirms that the relics of Saint-Ouen were removed from this monastery in 841 when the Northmen laid waste to Rouen and burned the monastery itself.⁶⁴² Le Maho also points out that it is unlikely this destruction was due to the advent of the Northmen a second time in 851 which amounted only to their occupation of the city.⁶⁴³ Clearly, then, Rouen was one of the first and most affected locales that was devastated by the Northmen both as reported in the literary sources and as has been shown in the archaeological record.

The “Vieux château” site at Château-Thierry on the Marne river was excavated from 1987 to 1992 by F. Blary and V. Blary. The earlier excavations (1987 to 1991) showed that occupation of the site dated from 896. However, in 1992 at a site distant from the earlier one, the Blarys found a large number of defensive structures which were probably part of an embankment that had been constructed about 30 years prior to 896 when Herbert I had been given the territory, first by Charles the Bald in 870 which was subsequently confirmed by Louis the Stammerer in 877. The first structures seem to correspond to a wooden enclosure that had been made using large posts anchored about one metre in the soil. In four or five places, the spaces in between these posts had been systematically underpinned and repaired over a short period of time. This

*captivitate pessumdederunt, et omnia monasteria seu quaecumque loca flumini Sequanae adhaerentia aut depopulati sunt, aut multis acceptis pecuniis territa relinquunt.” See also G. Tessier, ed. *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France 1* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1963), p. 88.*

⁶⁴²*AR 842 [recte 841], O. Holder-Egger, ed., MGH: SS 26, p. 494.*
“Translatio sancti Audoeni, quando Normanni vastaverunt Rothomagum, succenderunt monasterium eius Idibus Maii.”

⁶⁴³Le Maho, “Les fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen,” p. 29.

wall was observed to extend for about 20 metres, and here and there, there was evidence of stone construction. At the end of the ninth century, this rampart was partially replaced by a large four-cornered structure with a central post-hole which the archaeologists have interpreted as a tower. This building was made up of thick walls of which only the hollows of the foundations remain, except for a part which had been preserved in one corner. It was a massive structure made with unsquared rough stones that sustained a substantial height; it was destroyed during the construction of the ramparts at the beginning of the 12th century. Connected with this tower towards the east was a small four-cornered structure made of limestone that perhaps provided the base of an access system to higher portions of the tower. As the Blarys point out,

[i]l est toutefois intéressant de constater que contrairement à ce qui est généralement dit sur les constructions de cette période, nous n'avons pas de façon claire une architecture de bois précédant une architecture de pierre, mais plutôt une corrélation entre les deux modes de construction qui semblent parfaitement cohabiter. Déjà sur l'enceinte du IX^e s., sont aménagés dans les parties basses, de murets en pierres liées avec de l'argile.⁶⁴⁴

Château-Thierry was located right on the Marne upriver from Meaux, and it was a target of the Northmen in 862⁶⁴⁵ in an area that provided relatively easy access to the Seine and Paris to the west, and the plain of the Marne to the east. The

⁶⁴⁴F. Blary and V. Blary, "Château-Thierry (Aisne). «le vieux château»," *Archéologie Médiévale* 23 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1993), pp. 417-418.

⁶⁴⁵Hincmar, *AB 862*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 456. "Indeque Silvanectum perrexit, ubi dum moraretur, exspectans ut ad eum populus conveniret, quatenus aciebus dispositis ex utrisque suis ripis singulae aquae, Isara scilicet, Matrona et Sequana custodirentur, ne Nortmanni in praedam ire valerent, nuncium accepit, quia Danorum electi de his qui in Fossatis resederant, cum parvis navibus Meldensium civitatem adirent."

capitulary of Charles the Bald issued at Pîtres in June 864 also mentions that Charles ordered fortifications to be built, both at various points along the Seine and in other areas where the Northmen were ranging.⁶⁴⁶ The fact that in the late-ninth century this site was fortified could be provided as proof of the perceived danger that the Northmen's movements caused in the area.

Rigny-Ussé, a site located on the south shore of the Indre river close to where this river and the Loire converge and down-river from Tours, was excavated in 1986 by Elisabeth Zadora-Rio and Henri Galinié. The site of Rigny was comprised of an ancient parish centre. These archaeologists have dated several buildings on the site to the period of the eighth and ninth centuries, and have concluded that some of these structures and others were partially destroyed by an intense fire that took place during the same period.⁶⁴⁷

Sorigny is also a site that has been excavated and is located in the same general area. It is only 18 km south of Tours and 1.5 km south of the Indre river. The excavation at Nétilly in the vicinity of Sorigny was supervised by Sébastien Jesset and Patrice Georges, who dated its foundation to the second-half of the

⁶⁴⁶*Capitula pistensia*, no. 272, June 862, A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., *MGH: Capit.* 2, pp. 327-328. "37. Et quoniam fideles nostri in istis, quae in Sequana fiunt, et in aliis operibus laborant et heribergum nostrum, quod praeterito anno hic fieri iussimus, homines de illa parte Sequanae in istas partes venientes et de istis partibus in illas partes euntes destruxerunt per occasionem, quia in illo contra debitam reverentiam manere coeperunt, et nunc istud heribergum non sine labore et dispendio fidelium nostrorum fieri fecimus: volumus et expresse mandamus, ut, sicut nec in nostro palatio, ita nec in isto heribergo aliquis alius sine nostra iussione manere praesumat nec illud aliquis destruat."

⁶⁴⁷Elisabeth Zadora-Rio and Henri Galinié, "Rigny-Ussé (Indre-et-Loire). Rigny," *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2000-2001), p. 227.

ninth century. This site shows about ten structures arranged in a four-sided configuration with three wells, areas with structures whose purpose appears to have been agricultural, and a residential zone. The whole settlement from the time it was founded was surrounded by a palisade 220 metres long which probably performed either a defensive role or was designed to serve as a deterrent to attack. The archaeologists also excavated a necropolis outside the palisade where they found the bodies of seven individuals. The discovery of these bodies revealed that they had suffered a brutal end which was made clear from four other bodies that were found scattered in buildings that had been used as stables. These bodies, Jesset and Georges have determined, appeared to have been left there at the same time as, or following the burning of the site which they have dated to the late-ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.⁶⁴⁸

These sites located so close to each other and close to the city of Tours are significant in that they illustrate what must have been an accurate rendering of events by the annalists who mention the destruction perpetrated by the Northmen in the area around the city of Tours. The *AB* mentions the fact that Tours and places surrounding it were burned by the Northmen in 853 and again in 857.⁶⁴⁹ These attacks were also mentioned by Regino,⁶⁵⁰ the *AF*⁶⁵¹ and the

⁶⁴⁸Sébastien Jesset and Patrice Georges, "Sorigny (Indre-et-Loire). Netilly," *Archéologie Médiévale* 34 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2004), p. 203.

⁶⁴⁹Prudentius, *AB* 853, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 448. "Piratae Danorum a Namnetibus superiora petentes, mense Novembri, 6. videlicet Idus, urbem Turonum impune adeunt atque incendunt cum ecclesia sancti Martini et ceteris adiacentibus locis."

AX.⁶⁵² The attacks in 857, however, are only mentioned in the AB.⁶⁵³ The savagery with which the annalists describe what the Northmen did to their victims appears to hold true to the facts if the dismemberment of the four bodies in the stables is an indication of the way these individuals were dispatched just as, or shortly after, the buildings were destroyed by fire.

What is curious, however, is that no evidence of burning has been found at the church of Saint Martin in Tours, despite the accounts in the annals of repeated instances of it being burned.⁶⁵⁴ But, as Noizet points out in the case of

⁶⁵⁰Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 853*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 568-569. "Nordmanni Britannicum mare navigio girantes, hostia Ligeris fluminis occupaverunt, et repentina irruptione civitatem Namnetis invadunt, omniaque caedibus, incendiis ac rapinis depopulantes, pontificem civitatis ipso die sabbato sancto paschae, cum baptismum ex more celebraret, in basilica interficiunt, clerumque trucidant; omnemque circumquaque regionem devastantes, primum Andegavensem, deinde Turonicam occupant urbem, ac velud inmanis tempestas cuncta prosternit, ita cuncta consumunt."

⁶⁵¹AF 853, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 368. Here two versions are presented: "Nordmanni per Ligerem fluvium venientes, Turonum Galliae civitatem praedantur, et inter alias aedes ecclesiam quoque sancti Martini confessoris, nemine resistente, succendunt." and "Nordmanni per Ligerim fluvium inrumpentes in regnum Karoli, loca plurima vastaverunt; et Turonis venientes, etiam domum sancti Martini confessoris cremarunt incendio."

⁶⁵²AX 854, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 2*, p. 229. "Nordmanni cum reliquis multis malis quam christianis inruerunt undique, aecclesiam sancti Martini, Turonis civitatis episcopi, ubi pausatio illius est, igni succenderunt."

⁶⁵³Prudentius, AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 450. "Hi vero qui apud inferiora Ligeris morabantur, Turones et omnia circumquaque loca usque ad Blisum castrum depraedantur."

⁶⁵⁴Hélène Noizet, "Les Chanoines de Saint-Martin de Tours et les Vikings," in Pierre Bauduin, ed., *Les fondations scandinaves en Occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie* (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2005), p. 56.

Tours,

Ceci nous confirme bien que les renseignements fournis par les sources écrites sur les dégâts provoqués par les raids vikings ne sont pas à prendre au pied de la lettre – même s’il est probable que des incendies eurent lieu à petite échelle – mais révèlent le choc produit par ces événements sur les esprits des chanoines.⁶⁵⁵

Jublains is a town situated about ten kilometres south-east of Mayenne.

The archaeologist Anne Bocquet excavated a site there, identified as “Le taillis des Boissières” which consists of a modest area that was reinhabited from the eighth century on the ruins of ancient buildings, and where glass and bronze had been manufactured during the antique period. This site was enclosed by an embankment that was made, at least in part, of stone, and was palisaded. This reinhabited settlement lasted only about 100 years, into the ninth century, before it was again abandoned. Bocquet concludes that this exodus from Jublains would have likely been as a result of a relocation of the population to more favourable locations such as Mayenne itself. In 873, the *AB* relates that the Northmen were encamped at Angers and were striking the areas around it. This may have included the settlement at Jublains which is located less than 50 kilometres north of Angers.⁶⁵⁶ If Jublains was not hit directly by the Northmen, its abandonment may have been as a result of the fears of the inhabitants that they would be attacked, and so they fled to Mayenne, the nearest fortified community

⁶⁵⁵Noizet, “Les Chanoines de Saint-Martin de Tours,” p. 56.

⁶⁵⁶Hincmar, *AB 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 496. “Unde non magnopere est Carolus conturbatus, sed iter coeptum peragens, cum hoste collecta civitatem Andegavis — in qua Nortmanni depopulatis quibusdam urbibus, eversis castellis, monasteriis et ecclesiis incensis, et agris in solitudinem redactis, iam diuturno tempore residebant.”

located directly on the Mayenne river. Mayenne itself was located in a strategic position on an outcropping in the valley of the Mayenne river and there is evidence that its "logis" had been erected as early as the sixth century and was utilized until the ninth century, after which time a stone fortress was built.⁶⁵⁷

The town of Villejoubert, located in the Forêt de Boixe close to the Charente river has undergone extensive excavation from 1971 to the present. The *castrum* that exists in this location dates from the middle of the tenth century, and was built over an ancient site of occupation with the remnants of a middle-Carolingian (i.e. ninth century) building located in the centre of the *castrum* that was constructed sometime before the walls were built. Much of the site from this period has not yet been analysed, but there are a well and post-holes indicating the layout of the building. It seems that the site was abandoned for the most part from the antique period until the mid-tenth century.⁶⁵⁸ The annals report that the area around Villejoubert was inundated with Northmen throughout the ninth century. In fact, the location of Villejoubert very close to the Charente river would have made access to it easy for the Northmen who were attacking the area and who probably were making their way up the river from Saintes. The *AB* notes that in 845 the Northmen who had attacked the region of Saintonge the year before had decided to stay in the area after attacking it again.⁶⁵⁹ The *AE* also

⁶⁵⁷[Http://www.mairie-mayenne.fr/sommaire.htm](http://www.mairie-mayenne.fr/sommaire.htm) (accessed 3 November 2006).

⁶⁵⁸Luc Bourgeois, "Villejoubert (Charente) La Garenne," *Archéologie Médiévale* 34 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2004), p. 264.

⁶⁵⁹Prudentius, *AB 845*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 442. "Dani, qui

reports that Count Siguin was captured and killed by the Northmen in 845 and that the *civitas* of Saintes was burned and its treasure taken.⁶⁶⁰ Furthermore, the *Miracula s. Benedicti* states that in 844 the Northmen did not only conduct piratical strikes on individual settlements, but traveled up every navigable river in the area and laid waste to the countryside.⁶⁶¹ At this time, Villejoubert was not fortified and would thus have been laid bare to attack. It therefore seems likely that the population which may have used the Carolingian building located in the centre of the site did not stay in this location because of the threat of the Northmen's attacks. It is not possible to draw definitive conclusions about this building because the analysis of the archaeological remains has yet to be done, but the disruption that was caused by the Northmen in Aquitaine during the ninth century should not be minimized.

The *castrum* of Tournus, located on the Saône river, was excavated by Benjamin Saint Jean Vitus and revealed that the ancient walls of the fort had been repaired during the latter years of the ninth century, and that during the same period restoration of the ramparts and trenches was undertaken.⁶⁶² While

anno praeterito Aquitaniam vastaverant, remeantes, Sanctonas invadunt, confligentes superant, quietisque sedibus immorantur.”

⁶⁶⁰AE 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 16*, p. 486. “Sigoinus comis a Normannis capitur et occiditur. Sanctonas civitas concrematur et tesauri eius exportantur obtimi.”

⁶⁶¹Adrevald, *Miracula s. Benedicti*, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15, 1*, p. 494. “Praeterea Normanni, gens aquilonalis, nostro generi plus aequo praecognita, non iam piraticam exercendo, sed libere terras, nullo resistente, pervadendo omnem oram maritimam pessumdedit atque, ut verius dicam, in vastam redegit solitudinem.”

⁶⁶²Benjamin Saint Jean Vitus, “Tournus (Saône-et-Loire) « Castrum»: 17-

Tournus is generally represented as being a fairly safe locale, and as such the ultimate destination of the monks of Saint Philibert who had fled from Noirmoutier, its location on a bend in the river made it a strategic point. It was fortified in the late antique period, but the archaeological evidence of repairs to its walls can be attributed to the late ninth century. Tournus may very well have been on the Northmen's route from the Meuse and Moselle rivers because the headwaters of the Saône fall between these two rivers. In 887, the AV reports that the Northmen made their way to the Saône river and overran the area in "their unique way."⁶⁶³ This annal also mentions that in the same year, the Northmen laid waste to the whole area up to the Meuse and part of Burgundy. Abbo also includes this occurrence in his *Bella Parisiacaе urbis*.⁶⁶⁴ Thus it may very well be that the *castrum* at Tournus was repaired before, during or after the incursion by the Northmen in 887.

Marmoutier is located about 30 kilometres north-west of Strasbourg. Richard Nilles excavated the site of the abbey church of Saint-Peter and Saint-Paul during the refitting of the Place du Général de Gaulle. Here he identifies two prior phases of construction before the Romanesque structure dating from the twelfth century was erected. The oldest phase, dating from the seventh to

19, quai du Midi," *Archéologie Médiévale* 25 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1995), p. 316.

⁶⁶³ AV 887, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 524-525. "Nortmanni vero usque Segonam et Ligerem more solito pervagati sunt. ... Nortmanni vero omnia loca usque Mosam more solito et partem Burgundiae devastant."

⁶⁶⁴ Abbo, *Bella Parisiacaе urbis* 2, Waquet, trans. and ed., *Abbon*, pp. 90, 92. "Nomina, tunc ensem quorum perpessa fuisti,/ Nec voitare prius, pigra o Burgundia bello,/ Nustria praecluibis thalamum nisi comeret altis/ Jam tibi consilio facilis; verum modo jam scis."

the ninth centuries, includes buildings that were constructed probably of wood. Several sequences of rebuilding were identified, especially after a fire that raged on the site left behind a thick layer of charcoal. This Nilles dated to prior to the tenth century.⁶⁶⁵ Marmoutier may have been one of the settlements that the Northmen burned in 881 after the battle of Saucourt, which they lost. The *AF*⁶⁶⁶ and Regino⁶⁶⁷ both mention the aggressive tactics the Northmen used against the Franks after Saucourt.

Caught up in the raiding and pillaging of the Northmen in 881 was the abbey at Wandignies-Hamage about ten kilometres north-west of Valenciennes on the Traitoire river, a tributary flowing into the Scarpe. Etienne Louis was the archaeologist in charge of the excavations at the ancient female abbey of Hamage. In his examination of the site, he discovered that a building he dated to

⁶⁶⁵Richard Nilles, "Marmoutier (Bas-Rhin). Abbatiale Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul," *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2000-2001), p. 409.

⁶⁶⁶*AF 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 394. "At illi, instaurato exercitu et amplificato numero equitum, plurima loca in regno regis nostri vastaverunt, hoc est Cameracum, Traiectum, et pagum Haspanicum, totamque Ripuariam, praecipua etiam in eis monasteria, id est Prumiam, Indam, Sabulaus, Malmundarium, et Aquense palatium, ubi in capella regis equis suis stabulum fecerunt. Praeterea Agrippinam Coloniam et Bunnam civitates cum aecclesiis et aedificiis incenderunt."

⁶⁶⁷Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 592. "Item eodem anno mense Novembrio duo reges Nordmannorum, Godefridus et Sigifridus, cum inaestimabili multitudine peditum et equitum consederunt in loco qui dicitur Ahslon, iuxta Mosam. Et primo quidem impetu finitima loca depopulantes, Leodium civitatem, Traiectum castrum, Tungrensem urbem incendio cremant; secunda incursione Ribuariorum finibus effusi, caedibus, rapinis ac incendiis cuncta devastant, Coloniam Agrippinam, Bunnam civitates cum adiacentibus castellis, scilicet Tulpiacum, Iuliacum et Niusa, igne comburunt; post haec Aquis palatium, Indam, Malmundarias et Sabulaus monasteria in favillam redigunt."

the ninth century (Level 4) showed signs of a significant fire for which the damage is difficult to measure. However, the proof of the fire consists of spots of charcoal, mixed with iron nails that he associated with fire-caused red blotches on top of embanked tombs. In 1999 carbon dating was done on these effected areas, and the presence of three fragments of glass that had melted under a tremendous heat also testified to some sinister action on the building. Louis makes the conclusion that, based on the results of the carbon dating, a date and a source can be assigned to this fire, namely the Northmen's raids of 881 to 883, as depicted in the AV.⁶⁶⁸ In 2001, a bizarre discovery was made during the ongoing excavation at this site. The second Merovingian church was demolished in the ninth century, and a new and larger church built of stone was begun. It appeared that the building program was abandoned quickly before the roof was put on since there was a necropolis of newborn children who had been buried inside the foundations of the church—an unusual practice, and that the ground had grown over with grass. This is unusual because during the Middle Ages, neonatal cemeteries were typically located on the outside of buildings. Louis concludes that there was a sudden abandonment of the structure in mid-construction and the overgrowing of vegetation of the interior space effectively hid the graves, thus when the church was rebuilt in the tenth and eleventh

⁶⁶⁸Etienne Louis, "Wandignies-Hamage (Nord). Ancienne abbaye," *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2000-2001), pp. 277-278. See also AV 882-883, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 520-521.

centuries, the graves had been forgotten.⁶⁶⁹ After the end of the ninth century, the site reverted back to agricultural land, a fact that was uncovered with the discovery of furrows.⁶⁷⁰

Sissonne is a small town on the edge of a military site and is not on any river system, but is located about sixteen kilometres east of Laon. Jean-François Martin was responsible for the excavation that took place at Jeoffrécourt in the vicinity of Sissonne. This was a Merovingian site that was abandoned in the ninth century.⁶⁷¹ In 882, the area around Rheims and Laon was laid waste by the Northmen, as the *AB*,⁶⁷² Regino⁶⁷³ and the *AV*⁶⁷⁴ all report. They also report that

⁶⁶⁹Etienne Louis, "Wandignies-Hamage (Nord). Ancienne Abbaye," *Archéologie Médiévale* 32 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2002), p. 238.

⁶⁷⁰Etienne Louis, "Wandignies-Hamage (Nord)," p. 238.

⁶⁷¹Jean-François Martin, "Sissonne (Aisne). Jeoffrécourt," *Archéologie Médiévale* 27 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1997), p. 265.

⁶⁷²Hincmar, *AB* 882, G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 514-515. "Unde nil certi obtinuit, sed absentia illius in isto regno maximum detrimentum fecit, quia Carolomannus non habuit, unde Nortmannis posset resistere, quibusdam regni primoribus ab ipsius auxilio se retrahentibus; quapropter usque circa Laudunum castellum venerunt, et quae in gyro ipsius castelli erant depraedati sunt et incenderunt, et disposuerunt Remis venire, indeque per Sussionses et Noviomagum pergentes, ad praefatum castellum expugnandum redire, et regnum sibi subicere."

⁶⁷³Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon* 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 592. "Arduennam percurrentes, Prumiam monasterium ingrediuntur ipso die epiphaniae Domini, ubi triduo commorantes, omnem in circuitu regionem depopulati sunt. In quo loco innumera multitudo peditum ex agris et villis in unum agmen conglobata, eos quasi pugnatura aggreditur. Sed Nordmanni cernentes ignobile vulgus non tantum inerme, quantum disciplina militari nudatum, super eos cum clamore irrunt, tantaque caede prosternunt, ut bruta animalia non homines mactari vederentur."

⁶⁷⁴*AV* 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 521. "Karlomannus

whole populations abandoned their homes and tried to flee ahead of the Northmen. This could well have been the fate of the inhabitants of Joffrécourt near Sissonne.

Boves is located south-east and just outside of the modern city of Amiens. It rests on the Noye river just as it converges with the Avre and then flows into the Somme. Philippe Racinet and Lionel Droin have excavated this centre which they pronounce is "l'un des meilleurs sites de défense de la région amiénoise."⁶⁷⁵ They excavated only the area in the north-west corner of the promontory on which the fortification sits. This fortification was built in the latter part of the ninth century and was followed-up with further renovations through the tenth and eleventh centuries. The ninth-century buildings were built of wood, and the posts have been dated prior to the year 900.⁶⁷⁶ The significance of this site according to the archaeologists is that it was originally fortified and seemed to be a place that served, from its inception, as an aristocratic stronghold. Two phases (2A and 2B) were identified and were so closely linked that very little change was found in the layers indicating the phases. To Racinet and Droin this indicated

Compendium palatium petiit; et Nortmanni Condato ad naves sunt reversi; indeque omne regnum usque Hisam ferro et igne devastant, subversis moeniis, et monasteriis atque ecclesiis usque ad solum dirutis, servitoribus divini cultus aut gladio aut fame peremptis, aut ultra mare venditis, et accolis terrae deletis, nemine sibi resistente."

⁶⁷⁵Philippe Racinet and Lionel Droin, "Boves (Somme). Complexe castral du quartier Notre-Dame," *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2000-2001), p. 286.

⁶⁷⁶Racinet and Droin, "Boves (Somme). Complexe castral du quartier Notre-Dame," *Archéologie Médiévale* 32 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2002), pp. 254-255.

that the settlement was continuously inhabited through both these periods.⁶⁷⁷ In 859, the area around Amiens was laid waste by the Northmen which is reported by the *AB*.⁶⁷⁸ It may, therefore, be possible to place the construction of the fortification at Boves to the years following 859 when the Northmen ravaged the area. In fact, Racinet draws the conclusion that the fortress would have been built under royal command and given to the episcopal authorities of the area to not only provide security from roving bands of Northmen, but also to serve as a stronghold in the dynastic conflict between the Carolingians and Robertians.⁶⁷⁹

In recent years, Rheims has been the site of excavations mostly as a result of recovery archaeology. Many of the reports deal with tracing the fortifications of the city by looking both at the time period of construction and reconstruction and where the walls were placed. In 1999, Agnès Balmelle and Claudine Munier excavated an area on three existing modern streets. They found a rampart that they dated from late antiquity and which was repaired in two tranches. This rampart was partially taken down in the ninth century and subsequently rebuilt in the tenth. The excavation permitted the archaeologists to

⁶⁷⁷Racinet and Droin, "Boves (Somme). Complexe castral du quartier Notre-Dame," *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31, p. 286.

⁶⁷⁸*AB* 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 453. "Dani noviter advenientes monasterium sancti Walarici et Samarobrivam, Ambianorum civitatem, aliaque circumquaque loca rapinis et incendiis vastant; alii quoque eorum insulam Rheni Patavum simili furore invadunt; hi vero qui in Sequana morantur, Noviomum civitatem noctu adgressi, Immonem episcopum cum aliis nobiles tam clericis quam laicis capiunt, vastataque civitate secum abducunt, atque in itinere interficiunt."

⁶⁷⁹Philippe Racinet, "Boves (Somme). Complexe castral du quartier Notre-Dame," *Archéologie Médiévale* 34 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2004), p. 246.

find the trench that was used for reclaiming the stone blocks from the old wall. At this point, analysis is being done to find out whether the wall constructed over the foundation of the rampart corresponds to the Carolingian wall which was reported to have been erected in 892.⁶⁸⁰

Agnès Balmelle was responsible for another excavation in the same location in 2000 where she discovered that there was a partial dismantlement of the walls extending from the late antique period over five subsequent centuries, and that the Carolingian fortifications of the ninth century were in evidence. Refuse that was found in latrines and ditches showed that the development housed a noble or ecclesiastical population of high rank.⁶⁸¹

Stéphane Sindonino also excavated a site in a stone quarry in the historical centre of Reims. He found the remnants of two luxurious ancient buildings, one on top of the other. He dated one to the first century and the other to the third century. It was discovered that these buildings were abandoned in the Carolingian period and that portions of the construction materials were reused for the walls of the city. The reuse of the stone from these houses for the walls allowed the construction of new buildings to happen next to where the ancient ones stood which have been dated to the ninth century.⁶⁸²

⁶⁸⁰Agnès Balmelle and Claudine Munier, "Reims (Marne). Médiathèque Centrale, rues Chanzy, Rockefeller, des Fuseliers," *Archéologie Médiévale* 29 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1999), p. 259.

⁶⁸¹Agnès Balmelle, "Médiathèque Cathédrale à Reims (Marne)," 2000. http://www.inrap.fr/site/fr/page.php?id=88&p=fiche-d-un-site&id_chantier=621 (accessed 5 November 2006).

⁶⁸²Stéphane Sindonino, "19, rue Eugène-Desteuque à Reims (Marne),"

In 882 the *AB* reports that the Northmen ravaged and burned everything they could find outside Rheims, but according to this account the city no longer had walls, even so, the Northmen were unable to enter it.⁶⁸³ Again, in 887, the *AF* reports that the Northmen approached Rheims and surrounded it but were unable to attack as they were not able to see the *civitas* for the fog.⁶⁸⁴ These incidents were attributed to miracles by the authors, but perhaps the routing of the Northmen actually had something to do with the fact that in 882 Carloman was on his way to challenge them and they were not at full-strength.⁶⁸⁵ There is no easy explanation for the miraculous fog of 887, other than to speculate that the walls had already been constructed and were able to defend the city.

2003. http://www.inrap.fr/site/fr/page.php?id=88&p=fiche-d-un-site&id_chantier=87 (accessed 5 November 2006).

⁶⁸³Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 515. "Scara autem de Nortmannis plenitudinem illorum praeveniens, usque ad portam Remis pervenit, qui ea quae extra civitatem invenerunt depraedati sunt, et villulas quasdam incenderunt; sed civitatem, quam nec murus nec humana manus defendit, Dei potentia et sanctorum merita, ne illam ingrederentur, defenderunt."

⁶⁸⁴*AF 887*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 405. "Ad Remensem quoque urbem venisse referuntur, sed Deus per merita sancti Remigii et monasterium extra civitatem positum, et ipsam civitatem nebula densissima per trium dierum spacia circumdedit, ita ut neutrum invenire, nec saltem videre potuissent. Unde mente consternati pariterque confusi, discesserunt."

⁶⁸⁵Hincmar, *AB 882*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 515. "Carolomannus autem Nortmannorum superventionem audiens, cum quibus potuit eos aggressus est, et magnam partem de his qui praedam ducebant occidit, et partim in Axona necati sunt; maxime autem ex illis qui Remum adierunt, volentibus ad socios suos redire, praedam excussit. Maior vero et fortior pars de Nortmannis in quadam villa quae vocatur Avallis se reclusit, ubi eos illi qui erant cum Carolomanno, sine periculo sui adire nequiverunt; unde circa vesperam pedentim retro reversi, in vicinis villis se collocaverunt."

So, what does all this evidence come down to? The conclusion that can be drawn from the support of the written reports of destruction by the Northmen in the archaeological record suggests that the reported attacks may well have been as destructive as they were depicted by the annalists and even the reports of abandonment of settlements points to the accuracy of these accounts. In answer to Wallace-Hadrill's quip, then, we can tentatively say that the Vikings were not just long-haired tourists on vacation when they visited Francia. They came, they burned, and they did damage. The nature of that damage, the degree of their destruction of material goods and people, the displacement of and enslavement of peoples, and the Carolingian response still remains to be determined.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

As its primary aim, this dissertation has sought to test the general accuracy of the literary accounts for the invasions of the Northmen in Northern France primarily, by studying contemporary reports and the archaeological evidence of destruction dated to the ninth century. It must always be remembered that the literary sources were prone to exaggeration in order to achieve a desired effect; namely, to communicate the terror felt by the Frankish population when faced with an invading pagan force and to fit these attitudes into a divine plan or message. While the Carolingians themselves were prone to violence, it was their non-Christian status that set the Northmen apart from the continental population, and so they instilled a sense of panic and desperation in the Carolingian empire. The Franks, however, were not above using the Northmen to further their own aims within their territories, especially against their rivals. They made deals with them, hired them as warriors, gave them land, and sought at various points to accommodate them. When the written evidence is supported by no archaeological evidence whatsoever, there is usually a good reason for it. It may be that the excavations undertaken in urban areas, mostly for the purposes of rescuing a site, do not yield up any relevant material evidence because the archaeologists were unable, for whatever reasons, to dig in a particular location. As more and more excavations bring to light ninth-century evidence, the accuracy of the written sources will need to be further analysed and tested.

A secondary tack taken by this dissertation concerns the amount of

disruption to the economy of the Carolingian empire that occurred, or did not, as a result of the Northmen's invasions. This is not as straightforward to answer as is the analysis of the reports of destruction where there is accessible material evidence on hand. However, one may imply that the economy of the Carolingian empire, while perhaps slowed, did not halt altogether; the Carolingian's economic well-being and success is always a matter of degree and delicate balance. The Northmen's primary purpose on the continent was to gain booty and slaves, and was the case initially. The fact that they came back to the same areas along the coastlines and rivers year after year, finally over-wintering in Frankish territory, meant they took part in internal commerce within the empire, trading back the luxuries they had stolen for provisions. This is attested to in the written sources. While merchants are not often mentioned in the literary works except when some were killed, or they had to contribute to the tribute paid to the Northmen, the written sources most frequently mention occurrences that were out of the ordinary, so one may assume that commerce and merchants were basically part of the landscape and not worthy of note in general. Archaeological finds both in Frankish territory and outside it in Scandinavia and England attest to the existence of long-distance trade. The Carolingians did not have an economic policy, so-called, but they were involved in trade with Scandinavia and England, and even the Middle East. After all, how did Charlemagne get his beloved elephant if not the the existance of long-distance communications and trade?

This conclusion flies in the face of Pirenne's thesis that long-distance trade ceased almost altogether after the Carolingians took over the rule of the

Franks from the Merovingians. While trade was no longer disproportionately centred on the Mediterranean, the interactions of the Frankish kings became more frequent with their neighbours to the north. Furthermore, the market for slaves never ceased, especially for the Northmen who frequently captured Franks and either ransomed them or sold them into slavery in the Middle East, as Michael McCormick has shown. While it is almost impossible to count the numbers of lay men and women captured and either held for ransom or enslaved, almost every community attacked by the Northmen witnessed at least a portion of its population taken captive. This would also attest to one of the reasons for the pillaging of Frankish areas: the slave trade and its lucrative outcome. Slaves, too, were a commodity at this time, and to ignore their value as such is to deny the make-up of the economy in the early Middle Ages.

In the 57-year period covered by this dissertation, 39 named ecclesiastical buildings (monasteries and churches) were reported to have been destroyed in general or by fire.⁶⁸⁶ This figure does not include the many churches and monasteries which the written sources state were ruined in given areas and which were not identified by name. The consequences that this destruction could have possibly left on the local populations was that their places of worship were defiled, they may have begun to question the efficacy of their patron saints, and they may have begun to believe that God was punishing them for their sins which further exacerbated the fear and panic already caused by the presence of the Northmen. That 53 towns, too, were destroyed may have resulted in the lack of

⁶⁸⁶ See Appendix 1.

faith by the population in the secular authority's ability to protect them from terror and potential annihilation.⁶⁸⁷ This figure also does not reflect the many towns, villages and manors that were not named and that suffered destruction either by fire, or through the Northmen's other destructive efforts. It is therefore not surprising that the local population between the Seine and Loire rivers turned to a *coniuratio* to protect themselves, and which was savagely put down by the nobles in 859. When the population could not defend themselves or be defended by the army, they often fled to other areas. There are several reported incidents of the inhabitants of various rural areas, especially, who fled ahead of the Northmen's invasion into their area.⁶⁸⁸

Material destruction perpetrated by the Northmen does not only include material objects (buildings, walls, etc.), but also people. There are many named individuals in the annals that met their ends at the hands of the Northmen. These individuals were named because they were of noble status and had significant input in the defence of the Carolingian empire. There were nine named higher ecclesiastics (seven bishops, one archbishop, and one abbot) who perished as a result of the attacks of the Northmen in the 57-year period covered by this dissertation, amounting to a murder every 6.1 years on average.⁶⁸⁹ Not only was this a tactic employed by the Northmen to instill fear and panic in the

⁶⁸⁷See Appendix 1.

⁶⁸⁸See Appendix 2.

⁶⁸⁹See Appendix 2. See also P. Fouracre "Why were so many bishops killed in Merovingian Francia?" in N. Fryde and D. Reitz, eds., *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), pp. 16-35.

population and led to the (erroneous) conclusion that the Northmen were trying to proselytize their pagan beliefs, but it managed to have an impact on the military leadership of the empire. Higher ecclesiastics who were largely drawn from the nobility had an obligation to fight, and there were adverse effects produced by these events because of the loss of these individuals. Although it does not seem like very many men, the Carolingian state and church were delicately balanced operations and the chain of promotion was unduly unbalanced by these deaths. Audradus Modicus has a very adverse reaction to Charles the Bald's promotion of Burchard to the bishopric of Chartres.⁶⁹⁰ Burchard was chosen to lead Chartres as bishop because he could defend it and the defence of the city was one of the most pressing issues faced by Charles in his selection of bishop. This was also another material effect of the Northmen's presence in Frankish territory: it altered promotions, manpower, church politics, etc.

The secular nobility was also affected by the Northmen's presence and the deaths of the 58 noblemen who were named. The effects these deaths had on Carolingian politics were much the same as those in the deaths of churchmen, but in this case, the effects were inflated because the average number of noblemen killed in the 57 years covered amounted to more than one

⁶⁹⁰Audradus Modicus, *Liber Revelationum* 12, Ludwig Traube, ed., "O Roma nobilis. Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter," in *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischer Classe der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 19 (1982), pp. 378-387, in Paul E. Dutton, trans., *Carolingian Civilization*, pp. 357-358.

death per year.⁶⁹¹ This left a vacuum in the Carolingian power structure which may have eventually contributed to the deposition of Charles the Fat by Arnulf (Charles's nephew) in 887 and the naming of Odo as king of the Franks in 888 as the Franks looked to the strongest and most effective nobles to fend off the ravages of the Northmen.

Relics of saints were frequently translated in advance of the Northmen's movement into a particular area. Forty-two instances of translations of relics from their home churches and monasteries are listed in Appendix 2. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but the average number of translations as documented for the 57 year period covered by this dissertation is a translation of relics every 1.3 years.⁶⁹² That relics were translated as a result of the Northmen's activities is not in question since this reason is cited by the written sources themselves. Capitulary evidence also backs up the narratives in the *Miraculi* and the *Vitae* as they frequently reference the Northmen as catalysts for the translations.

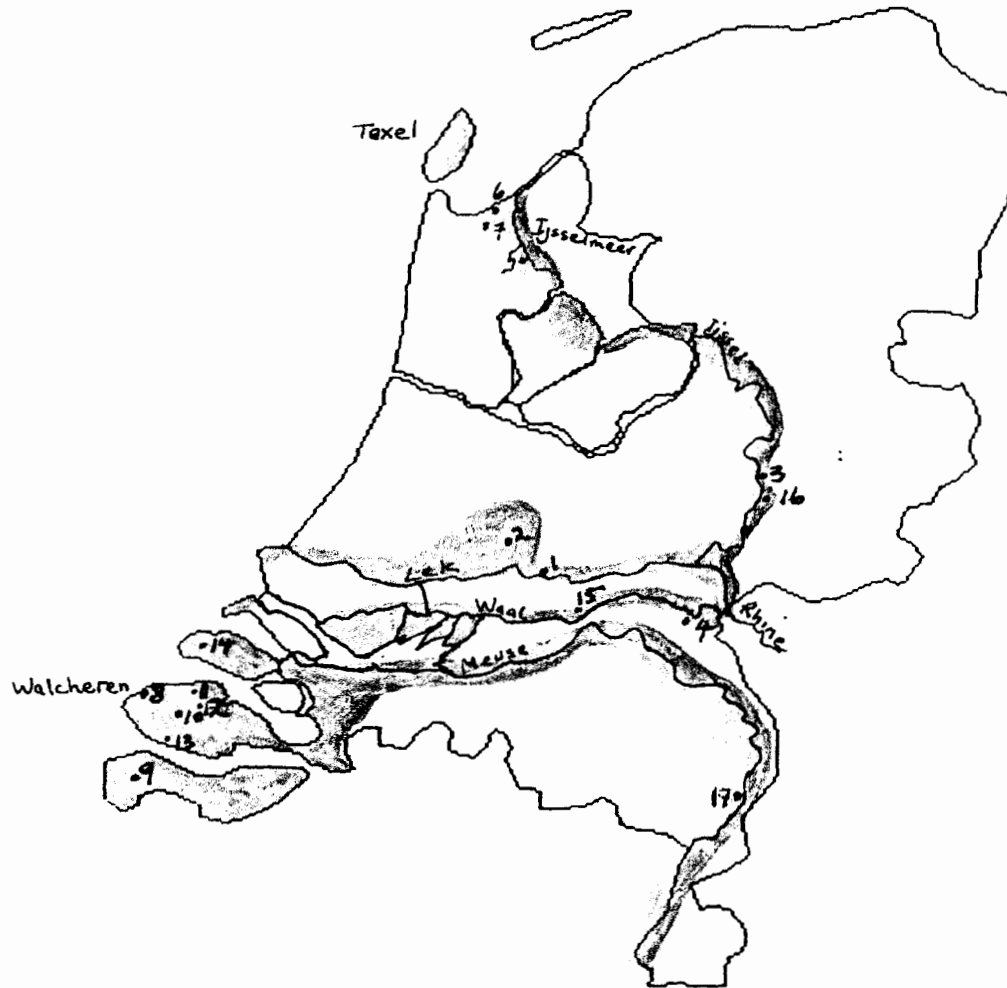
There remain many facets in the study of the Northmen's invasions into Continental Europe that did not fall within the scope of this dissertation. Some of these include studies of abandoned villages, landscape transformations, depopulations, and a systematic examination of rebuilding campaigns after sacks and other forms of destruction. These studies would require more targeted archaeological digs. Archaeologists have used the literary sources to structure

⁶⁹¹See Appendix 2.

⁶⁹² See Appendix 2.

their analyses of the material evidence. This provides structure and context to their findings, and archaeology allows another dimension to emerge when examining historical questions. Thus, while the destruction wrought by the Northmen in Northern Europe is beyond doubt, its impact on their victims was relatively short-lived until finally the Northmen were integrated into the existing societies they encountered. The Northmen soon settled down and became active participants in European society, thus becoming a part of the local landscape.

MAP 1



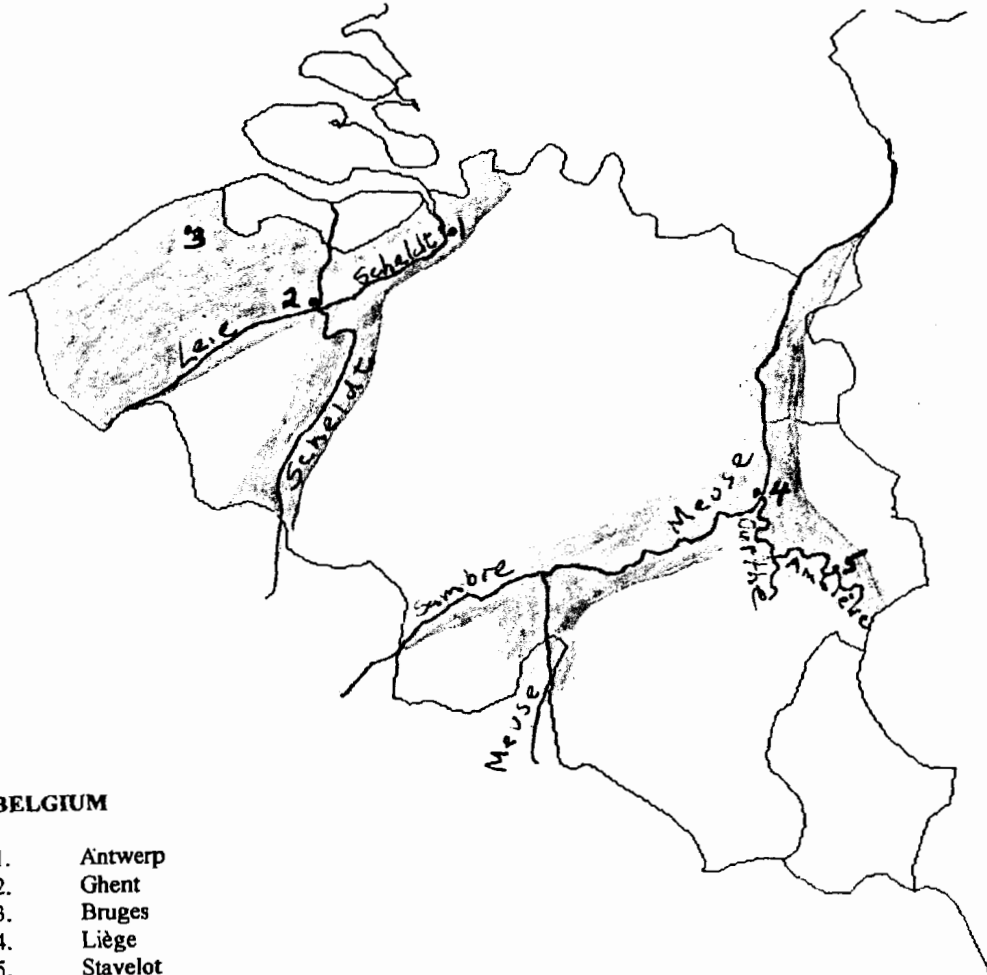
Areas where the Northmen ranged



NETHERLANDS

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|-----|-----------------|
| 1. | Dorestad | 10. | Middelburg |
| 2. | Utrecht | 11. | Serooskerke |
| 3. | Deventer | 12. | Sint-Laurens |
| 4. | Nijmegen | 13. | Oost-Souburg |
| 5. | Medemblik | 14. | Burgh-Haamstede |
| 6. | Wieringen | 15. | Tiel |
| 7. | Westerklief | 16. | Zutphen |
| 8. | Domburg | 17. | Maastricht |
| 9. | Oostburg | | |

MAP 2



Areas where the Northmen ranged

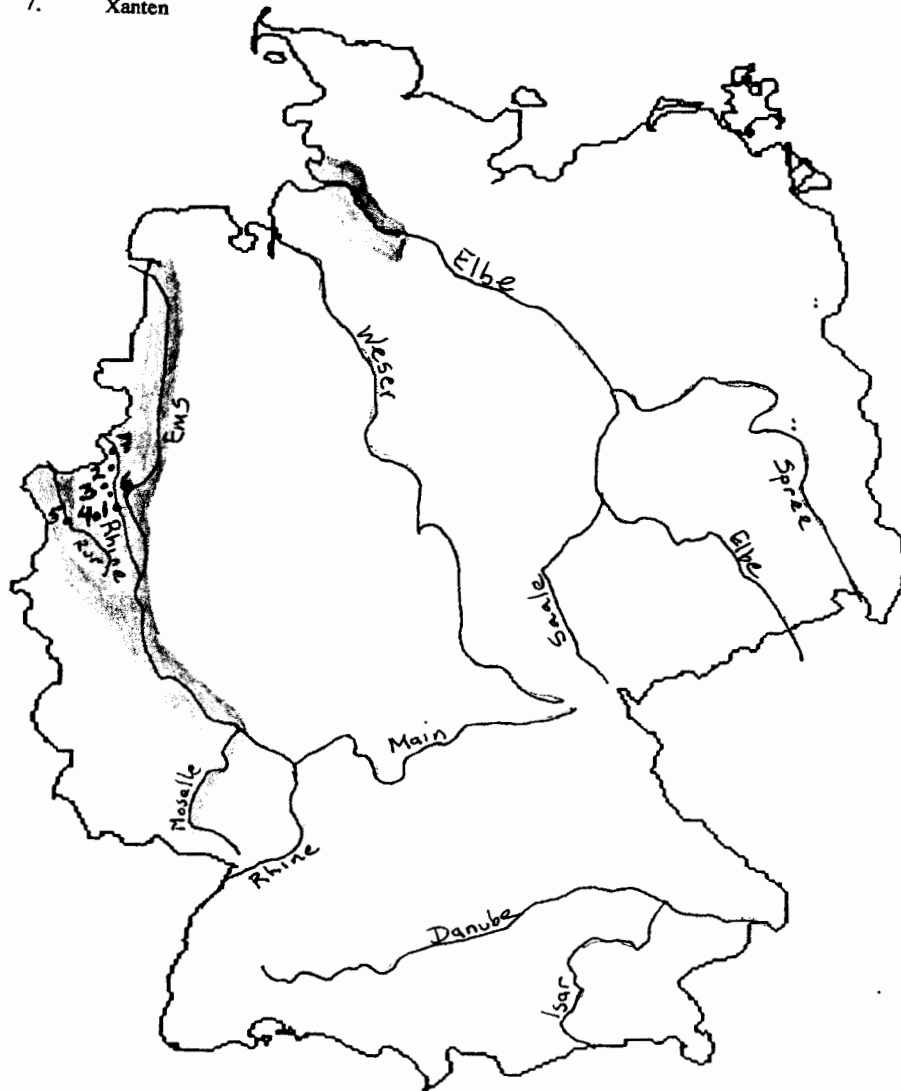


MAP 3

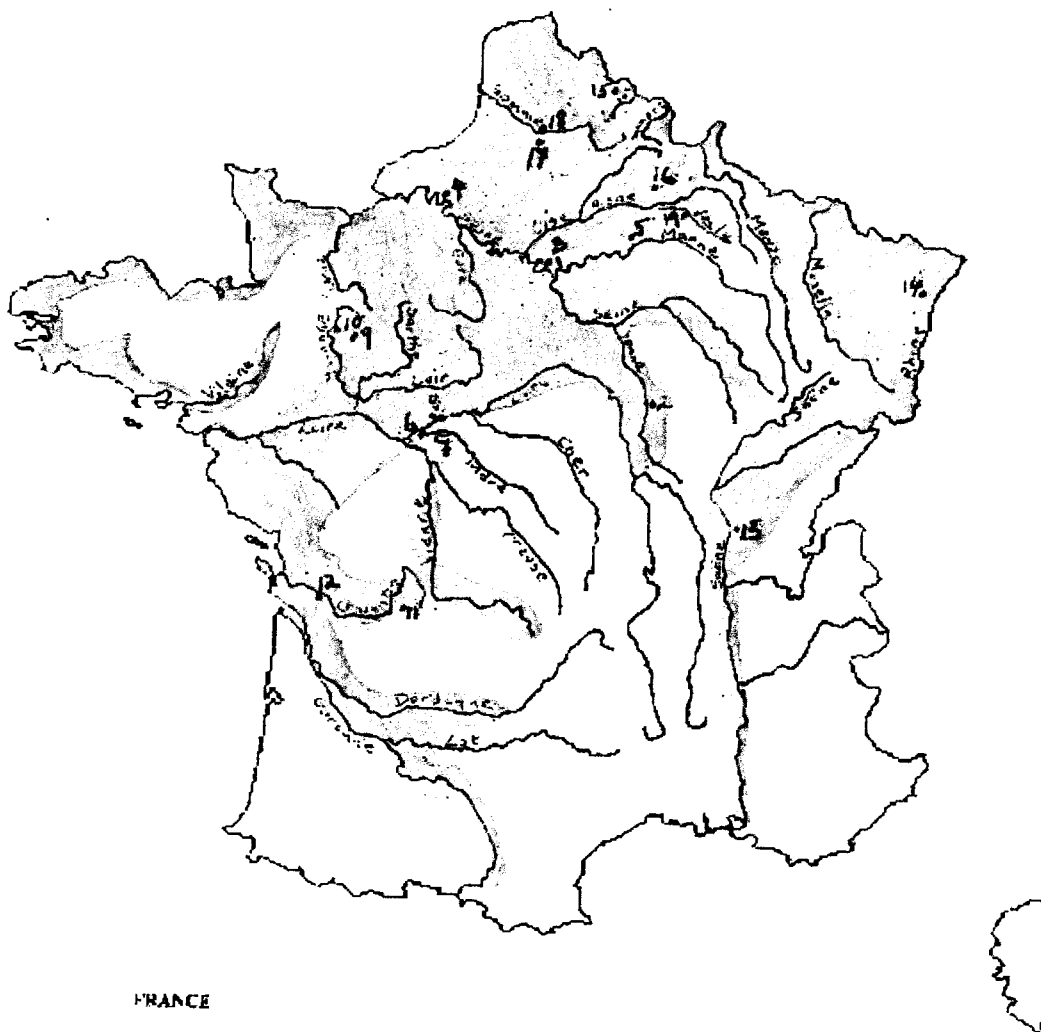
GERMANY

1. Bonn
2. Duisburg
3. Neuss
4. Zülpich
5. Itülich
6. Cologne
7. Xanten

Areas where the Northmen ranged



MAP 4



FRANCE

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Paris | 11. Villejubert |
| 2. Auxerre | 12. Sautes |
| 3. Louvres-en-Paris | 13. Tournus |
| 4. Rouen | 14. Marmontier |
| 5. Château-Thierry | 15. Wandignies-Hamay |
| 6. Rigny-Lesc | 16. Sissonne |
| 7. Sens | 17. Bevois |
| 8. Tours | 18. Amiens |
| 9. Jolains | 19. Reims |
| 10. Mayenne | |

Areas where the Normans ranged



APPENDIX 1: Reports of the Material Damage done to Frankish sites

Terms and descriptions included in the various categories of destruction in this appendix are as follows:

General Destruction: lay waste; devastate; fall on; ravage; destroy; overrun; cause harm; run amok; raze (of fortresses).

Burnings: burning; set alight.

Plunderings: looting; reports of tribute; reports of killings; reports of captured people; sacking.

Raids: does not include reports of destruction of any kind.

Attack; reports of encampments; captured (of towns, *villae*, etc.); reports of battles; invasion; get control of; range; raid; disembarkations; sail up to; occupy; take possession of; enter (rivers, towns, churches, reach (towns, churches, etc.); storm; make for; make their way to.

Sieges: blockade; winter over; set up camp; stay (in particular locations).

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
834	836	834		
*Noirmoutier ⁶⁸³	*Antwerp and Witla ⁶⁸⁶	*Frisia and Dorestad ⁶⁸⁸		
*Frisia and Dorestad ⁶⁸⁴	*Dorestad and Frisia ⁶⁸⁷	835		
835	837	*Dorestad ⁷⁰⁰	836	
*Dorestad ⁶⁸⁵	*Dorestad ⁶⁸⁸		*Antwerp and Witla ⁶	
⁶⁸³ AE	p. 429; AX 835, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 226.	ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 430-431.		
834, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 485.		⁶⁸⁹ AB	837	
⁶⁸⁴ AB	⁶⁸⁶ AF	834, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 430; AX 834, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 226.	*Walcheren ⁷	
834, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 428; AX 834, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 226.	836, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 360.			
⁶⁸⁵ AB	⁶⁸⁷ AB	835, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1; AX 835, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 226.	⁶ AF 836, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 226.	
835, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1,	836, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 430.		⁷ AB 837, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 430.	
	⁶⁸⁸ AB			
	837, G. H. Pertz,			

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
841	841	836		
*all monasteries on banks of Seine laid waste ⁸	*Rouen [14 May]. monastery of Jumièges [24 May] ⁹ *monastery of St. Ouen [15 May] ¹⁰	*Frisia ⁷⁰¹	*Walcheren [tribute] ⁵	
	⁹ AB 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 438; CF 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 301.	<i>Audoini episcopi Rotamagensis</i> , W. Levison, ed., MGH: SS rer Mer 5, p. 549.		
	¹⁰ AR 842 [recte 841], O. Holder-Egger, ed., MGH: SS 26, p. 494; Vita	⁷⁰¹ AB 836, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 430.		
⁸ AB 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 438				
				⁵ AB 837, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 430-431.

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
842		842	841	
*Quentovic [May] ¹²		*Quentovic [hostages, murders] ¹⁷	*Rouen and monastery of Jumieges, Fontanelle [tribute] [25 May] ¹¹	
843	843	843	843	843
*Nantes ¹³	*Nantes ¹⁶	*Nantes [Bishop Gunhard, others killed] ¹⁸	843	*monastery of Indre ²¹
¹² Nithard, <i>Historiae</i> 3, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 669; AB 842, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 439.		¹⁷ AB 842, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 439.	*Nantes [24 June] ¹⁹	439-440; AE 843, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 16, p. 486; CF 843, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 302; CN 843, Merlet, ed., <i>Chronique de Nantes</i> , pp. 16-17.
¹³ CF 843, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 302.	¹⁶ CN 843, Merlet, ed., <i>Chronique de Nantes</i> , p. 17.	¹⁸ AB 843, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 439-440; CF 843, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 302; CN 843, Merlet, ed., <i>Chronique de Nantes</i> , pp. 16-17.	¹¹ AB 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 437; CF 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 301.	²¹ CN 843, Merlet, ed., <i>Chronique de Nantes</i> , p. 15.
			¹⁹ AB 843, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp.	

<u>General Destruction</u> 843	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u> 844	<u>Sieges</u>
*western parts of Aquitaine including villages and manors of Mauge, Tiffauge and Herbauge ⁴ *up the Garonne to Toulouse, wrecking destruction ¹⁵	845 *Rouen ²⁷ *granary of cella at La Celle-Saint-Cloud ²⁸ *downstream on Seine and coastal regions ²⁹	845 *Rouen [murders, livestock] ³³ *St-Germain-des-Prés ³⁴ *Paris area [tribute] ³⁵	*Brittany ²⁰ 845 *Paris [28 March] ³⁶ *Charlevanne (nr. Bougival) [battie] ³⁸	
	<hr/> ²⁷ Trans. s. Germani, cc. 3-4; Ana Boll. 2, p. 72.	<hr/> ³³ Trans. s. Germani, cc. 3-4; Ana Boll. 2, p. 72.	<hr/> ²⁰ AB 844, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.	
	<hr/> ²⁸ Trans. s. Germani, c 13; Ana Boll. 2, pp. 79-80.	<hr/> ³⁴ AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.	<hr/> ³⁸ Trans. s. Germani, cc. 3-4; Ana Boll. 2, p. 72; CF 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 302.	
	<hr/> ²⁹ AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.	<hr/> ³⁵ AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441; AX 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 228.	<hr/> ³⁶ Trans. s. Germani, c. 12; Ana Boll. 2, p. 78.	
	<hr/> ¹⁴ AB 843, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 439-440; CN, Merlet, ed., <i>Chronique de Nantes</i> , p. 18.			
	<hr/> ¹⁵ AB 844, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.			

<u>General</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
<u>Destruction</u>	<u>845</u>	<u>845</u>	<u>845</u>	
*Rouen monasteries, churches, villas ²²	*St-Germain-des-Prés ³⁶	*Saintes ³⁶	*Frisia [3 battles] ⁴⁰	
*Paris ²³	*Hamburg and its church ³⁷	*Hamburg and its church ³⁷	*between Bordeaux and Saintes [battle] ⁴¹	
*St-Germain-des-Prés ²⁴				
*upstream on Seine ²⁵	<u>846</u>	<u>846</u>	<u>846</u>	<u>847</u>
	*Dorestad [tribute] ⁴⁸	*Dorestad [battle] ⁵²	*Dorestad [battle] ⁵²	*Bordeaux ⁵⁸
²² Trans.	²⁵ AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.			
s. Germani, cc.3-4: Ana Boll. 2, p. 72.	³⁰ AE 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.	³⁶ AE 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 16, p. 486.	⁴⁰ AF 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 364; AX 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., p. 228.	
²³ Trans.	³¹ AE 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 16, p. 486.	³⁷ AF 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 364.	⁴¹ Lupus of Ferrières, <i>Litterae</i> 31.4, P. K. Marshall, ed., p. 42; AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 442.	
s. Germani, cc 14-15, 30: Ana Boll. 2, pp. 80-1, 91-2.	³² AF 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 364.	⁴⁸ AB 846, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 442.	⁵² AB 846, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 442.	⁵⁸ AB 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 443.

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
845 *downstream Seine, coastal regions ²⁸	846 *Noirmoutier [July] ⁴⁴ *Dorestad and two other villages ⁴⁵	847 *coastal regions of Aquitaine ⁴⁹ *Meginhard [Rhenen?] ⁵⁰ *Brittany [tribute] ⁵	847 *coastal regions of Aquitaine ⁵³ *Dorestad and island of Betuwe ⁵⁴ *Brittany [battles] ⁵⁵	848 *Bordeaux ⁷⁰
846 *Ostracia and Westracia [Frisia] ⁴²	847 *monastery of Grand-Lieu [29 March] ⁴⁶	848 *Bordeaux [Duke William captured] ⁶⁴	848 MGH: SS 2, p. 302.	
847 *Dorestad ⁴³	⁴⁹ AF 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 365.	MGH: SS 16, p. 486.	⁵³ AB 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 443.	
²⁹ AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.	⁴⁴ AE 846, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 486.	⁴⁹ AB 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 443.	⁵⁴ AB 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 442.	
⁴² AX 846, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 228.	⁴⁵ AX 846, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 228.	⁵⁰ AX 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 228.	⁵⁵ AB 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 442.	⁷⁰ AB 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 443.
	⁴⁶ AE 847, G. H. Pertz, ed.,	⁶⁴ CF 848, G. H. Pertz, ed.,		

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
853	853 *around Redon ⁸⁹	856 *Orleans ¹⁰⁸ *civitates, monasteries, villae on both banks of Seine ¹⁰⁹ *forests on Seine to Perche [after 18 August] ¹¹⁰	853 *Tours ⁹⁵	
*area around Jeufosse ⁹⁶	854 *Blois ⁹⁸ *Angers ⁹⁹		855 *Bordeaux and area ¹⁰⁰ *Condom and Vic-Fezensac ¹⁰¹	856 *Jeufosse ¹¹⁶
854	<hr/> ⁹⁹ Ex Gestis Conwoionis Abbatis Rotonensis 3, 9, L. de Heinemann, ed., MGH: SS 15, 1, pp. 458-459.			
*part of Frisia next door to Saxony ⁹⁷	<hr/> ⁹⁸ AB 854, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 448.			
	<hr/> ⁹⁹ AB 854, G. H. Pertz, MGH: SS 1, p. 449.			
	<hr/> ⁹⁶ AB 853, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 447.			
	<hr/> ⁹⁷ AB 854, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 448.			
	<hr/> ⁹⁸ AB 856, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 448; Adrevald, Mir. s. <i>Benedicti</i> 33, O. Holder- Egger, ed., MGH: SS 15, 1, p. 494.			
	<hr/> ⁹⁹ AB 855, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 449.			
	<hr/> ¹⁰⁹ AB 856, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.			
	<hr/> ¹¹⁰ CF 855/6, G. H.			
	<hr/> ¹⁰⁰ AB 855, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 449.			
	<hr/> ¹⁰¹ Trans. s. <i>Faustae</i> , 5: AA SS <i>Ianuarii</i> 1, p. 1091.			
	<hr/> ¹¹⁶ AB 856, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.			

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
856	856	856	855	
*civitates, monasteries, villae on both banks of Seine ¹⁰³	*Paris [28 December] ¹⁰⁵ *church [at Paris] of SS. Peter and Genevieve and other churches ¹⁰⁶ *Rouen ¹⁰⁷	*Cathedrals St. Stephen and Germain [ransom] ¹¹¹	*near Poitiers [battle] ¹⁰²	
*Rouen ¹⁰⁴		857	856	
857	¹¹⁷ AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, 450.	*Poitiers and other places in Aquitaine ¹¹⁹ *Dorestad and Betuwe ¹²⁰	*Orléans [tribute] ¹¹² *forests on Seine to Perche [battle] ¹¹⁴	857
*Poitiers and other places in Aquitaine ¹¹⁷	¹⁰⁵ AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.	Poupardin, ed., p. 61.		*Cissel [Oscellus, island near Rouen] ¹²⁸
¹⁰³ AB 856, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.	¹⁰⁶ AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 451.	¹¹¹ AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 451.		
¹⁰⁴ Ermen -tarius, <i>Mir. s.</i> <i>Filiberti</i> 2, Poupardin, ed., p. 61.	¹⁰⁷ Ermen tarius, <i>Mir. s.</i> <i>Filiberti</i> 2,	¹¹⁹ AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.	112 Adre- vald, <i>Mir. s.</i> <i>Benedicti</i> 33, O. Holder-Egger, ed., MGH: SS 15, 1, p. 494.	
		¹²⁰ AB 857, G. H. Pertz,		Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 304. ¹²⁸ CF 856, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 304.

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
857 *Dorestad and Betuwe ¹¹⁸			*Paris [28 December] ¹¹⁵ *on Seine to Pîtres [18 July] ¹¹³ 857 *Paris (late-summer) ¹²³ *Poitiers and other places in Aquitaine ¹²⁴	
858	858	858		858
*Melun ¹²⁷	*Rouen, Paris, Beauvais, all towns around ¹²⁸ *Melun ¹²⁹	*Rouen, Paris, Beauvais, all towns around ¹³⁰		*Oissel, cont'd ¹³⁴
¹¹⁸ AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 451.	¹²⁸ Ermen-tarius, <i>Mir. s. Filiberti</i> 2, Poupardin, ed., pp. 61-62.	K. Marshall, ed., p. 117.	¹¹⁵ AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.	¹²⁴ AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.
¹²⁷ Ermen-tarius, <i>Mir. s. Filiberti</i> 2, Poupardin, ed., pp. 61-62.	¹³⁰ Ermen-tarius, <i>Mir. s. Poupardin</i> , ed., pp. 61-62.	¹¹³ CF 855/6, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 304.	¹²³ AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 450-451.	¹³⁴ AB 858, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 451; AF 858, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 371-372.

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
861	861	859	858	861
*forest of Brie ¹⁴⁶ *Abbey of St. Eloi ¹⁴⁷ *Th�rouanne ¹⁴⁸	*Paris and its church of SS Vincent the Martyr and Germain the Confessor ¹⁴⁹ *Th�rouanne ¹⁵⁰	*Amiens and other places around ¹³⁸ *Beauvais [June] [Bishop Ermenfrid killed] ¹³⁹ *Noyon [Bishop Immo, nobles, clerics, laymen all killed] ¹⁴⁰	*Chartres ¹³² *Meaux ¹³³	*Oissel, cont'd ¹⁵⁸
¹⁴⁶ Hilde- garius, <i>Vita</i> <i>Faronis</i> 128, B. Krusch, ed., <i>MGH: SS rer Mer</i> 5, p. 201.	¹⁴⁹ AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i> , p. 454.	¹³⁸ AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i> , p. 453.	¹³³ Ermen -tarius, <i>Mir. s.</i> <i>Filiberti</i> 2, Poupardin, ed., p. 62.	
¹⁴⁷ No. 364, 12 May 872, Tessier 2, p. 314.	¹⁴⁸ AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i> , p. 454.	¹⁴⁰ AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i> , p. 453.	¹⁴¹ AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i> , p. 453.	
¹⁴⁸ AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i> , p. 454.	¹⁵⁰ AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i> , p. 454.	¹³⁹ AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i> , pp. 61-62.	¹⁵⁸ AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i> , p. 455.	

General
Destruction

Burnings

863

*area around Angoulême captured and set alight¹⁶⁹
*church of confessor St. Hilary [outside walls of Poitiers]¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹AE

863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 16, p. 486.

¹⁷⁰AB

863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 462; AB 864, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 462.

Plunderings

861

*Oissel [tribute]¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴AB

861, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 455.

Raids

861

*island below Melun in Seine¹⁵⁶
*monastery of St-Maur-des-Fossés occupied¹⁵⁷

862

*Brittany¹⁶⁶
*Meaux¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁶Lupus

of Ferrières, *Epistola* 125, P. K. Marshall, ed., pp. 117-119.

¹⁵⁷AB

861, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 455.

¹⁶⁶AB

862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 456-457.

Sieges

¹⁶⁵Hilde-

garius, *Vita Faronis* c. 128, MGH SS rer Mer 5, pp 201-2; Hincmar *Epistola* 23, *Ad Carolum Imperatorum*, PL 126, cols. 153-154.

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
864	*neighbouring areas on both banks of Rhine in both Lothar's and Louis' kingdoms ¹⁷⁶			
	864	*Meaux [destroyed bridges, took Frankish boats] ¹⁶² *monastery of St. Faron at Meaux [saved by miracle or tribute] ¹⁶³ *Brittany [tribute] ¹⁶⁴	*island near fort of Neuss [April] [battle] ¹⁷³ *Poitiers ¹⁷⁴ *Angoulême area [4 October]. [battle] ¹⁷⁵	864 *island near Xanten (~60 km downstream from Neuss) ¹⁸³
	*church of St. Victor [at Xanten] ¹⁷⁷	¹⁶² AB 862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 456.		
		¹⁶³ Hildergarius, Vita Faronis c. 128, MGH SS rer Mer 5, pp 201-2; Hincmar, Epistola no. 23, Ad Carolum imperatorum: PL 126, cols. 153-4	¹⁷³ AB 863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 459.	
		¹⁶⁴ AB 862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 230.	¹⁷⁴ AB 863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 462.	¹⁸³ AX 864, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 230.
		¹⁷⁶ AB 864, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 465.		
		¹⁷⁷ AX 864, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 230.		
		¹⁷⁵ Chron-icum Aquitanicum 863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 253.		

**General
Destruction**

866

*Loire area
turned into
wasteland [St.
Florent]¹⁹⁷
*Brittany [April-
July]¹⁹⁸

Burnings

Plunderings

866

*Le Mans¹⁹⁹
*Melun [tribute]²⁰⁰
*Nantes [Bishop
Actard
captured]²⁰¹

Raids

864

*Poitiers, Saintes,
Angoulême,
Limoges,
Clermont¹⁷⁹
*Angoumois
[battle]¹⁸⁰
*Flanders¹⁸¹

Sieges

866

*left island at St.
Denis, went down
Seine to repair
boats²⁰⁷

¹⁹⁷ Tessier
2, no. 287, pp.
132-136.

¹⁹⁸ Cartul-
aire de Redon,
no. 49, 207, De
Courson, ed., pp.
39-40, 160.

¹⁹⁹ AB
866, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
pp. 472-473.

²⁰⁰ AB
866, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 471.

²⁰¹ Consil-
ium Tricassinum,
Epistola Caroli
Calvis regis ad
Nicolaum 1,
Mansi, ed.,
Sacrorum
Consiliorum

¹⁷⁹ Adre-
vald, *Mir. s.*
Benedicti, c. 33,
O. Holder-Egger,
ed., MGH: SS 15,
1, p. 495; difficult
to verify and not
in chronological
order

¹⁸⁰ AB
864, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 462.

¹⁸¹ AB
864, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 465.

²⁰⁷ AB
866, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 471.

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
	867	866	865	
	*Bourges ²⁰⁸	*Ijssel [Frisia] ²⁰²	*on Charente river [battle] ¹⁹⁵	
		867	*Neustria [29 Dec.] [battle] ¹⁹⁶	
		*Bourges ²¹⁰	*Ijssel [Frisia] ²⁰⁴	
		<i>Benedicti</i> , c. 36, O. Holder-Egger, ed., MGH: SS 15, 1, p. 497.	866	
	868		*Meiun ²⁰³	
	*Orléans ²⁰⁹			
			¹⁹⁵ AB	
	²⁰⁸ Adre- vald, <i>Mir. s.</i>	²⁰² AB	865, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 470.	
	<i>Benedicti</i> , ch. 33, O. Holder-Egger, ed., MGH: SS 15, 1, p. 495;	866, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 471.		
	<i>Annales</i> <i>Mascienses</i> 867, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 3, p. 169.	²¹⁰ Adre- vald, <i>Mir. s.</i> <i>Benedicti</i> , ch. 33, O. Holder-Egger, ed., MGH: SS 15, 1, p. 495; <i>Annales</i> <i>Mascienses</i> 867, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 3, p. 169.		
			¹⁹⁶ AB	
			866, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 470-471.	
			²⁰⁴ AB	
			866, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 471.	
				ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 471.
			²⁰³ AB	
			866, G. H. Pertz,	

General
Destruction

Burnings

Plunderings

Raids
866

Sieges

868

*Orléans
[ransomed]²¹¹

869

*Avessac in
Brittany [24/5
May] [battle]²¹²
[tribute]²¹³

*Le Mans

[Northmen allied
with Bretons]²⁰⁵

*Brissarthe [15

September]

[battle]²⁰⁶

July], Lothar
defeated Rorik²¹⁴

²⁰⁵ AB

866, G. H. Pertz,
ed., *MGH: SS 1*,
pp. 472-473.

²⁰⁶ AB

866, G. H. Pertz,
ed., *MGH: SS 1*,
p. 473.

²¹⁴ AB

867, G. H. Pertz,
ed., *MGH: SS 1*,
p. 475; *Epistolae
ad divortium
Lotharii II regis
pertinentes no.*

²¹¹ AB

868, G. H. Pertz,
ed., *MGH: SS 1*,
p. 477.

²¹² Cartul-
aire de Redon no.
242, De Courson,
ed., p. 193.

²¹³ AB

869, G. H. Pertz,
ed., *MGH: SS 1*,
p. 486.

16, E. Dümmler,
ed., *MGH: EE 6*,
p. 234.

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
873 *land around Angers ravaged ²¹⁶	873 *various towns, fortresses, churches and monasteries in area around Angers ²¹⁷	873 *Ostergau [tribute] ²¹⁸ 877 *on Seine [7 May] [tribute] ²²⁵	*battle in Lotharingia [mid-868 *Poitiers [battle] ²¹⁵ 871 *base-camp on island in Loire [battle] ²¹⁹	873 *Angers [to October] ²²³ 874 *Northmen encamped on Betia [beyond agreed-upon departure date of Feb] ⁷⁰²
²¹⁶ Regino of Prüm, <i>Chronicon</i> 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 585.	²¹⁷ AB 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 496.	²¹⁸ AF 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 386.	Boretius and V. Kraus, eds., <i>MGH: Cap. 2</i> , pp. 353-354.	²²³ AB 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 496; Regino of Prüm, <i>Chronicon</i> 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., pp. 585-586.
		²²⁵ AB 876, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 502; AB 877, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 503; <i>Edictum compendiose de tributo Nordmannico</i> (7 May 877), A.	²¹⁵ AB 868, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 480.	⁷⁰² AB 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 496.
			²¹⁹ AB 871, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 492.	

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
879 *Loire area ²³¹ *Thérouanne and land between Meuse and Scheidt and the lands of the Brabants ²³²	879 *Thérouanne and land between Meuse and Scheidt and the lands of the Brabants ²³⁵ *monasteries of St. Peter, St. Bertin ²³⁶	878 *Val Trécor, town of Tréguier in Brittany ²²⁸	873 *Massay [in Berry] ²²⁰ *Ostergau [Frisia near Dokkum] [battle] ²²¹ 876 *Seine estuary [on 16 Sept] ²²²	877 *on Seine near St. Denis [at mid-September] ²³⁰ 879 *monastery at Ghent ²⁴⁴
879, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 512.	879, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 518.	Holder-Egger, ed., MGH: SS 13, p. 622.	220 Annales Mascienses 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 3, p. 169.	230 Mir. s. Dionysii 2, 2, J. Mabillon, ed., Acta Sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti, vol. 3, 2, p. 361.
879, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 518.	in, Gesta abbatum s. bertini Sithiensium, O.	226 Vita s. Tuduual 3, ch. 29, de la Borderie, ed., Les trois vies de s. Tuduual, p. 41.	221 AF 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 386.	244 AV 879, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 518.

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
883 *laid waste from Amiens to Seine and Oise rivers ²⁷⁹		883 *up the Rhine from the places lately re-built ²⁸³	879 *villa Avaux [department Ardennes] ²⁷⁸	883 *Amiens ²⁸⁷
			880 *Thiméon [battle] ²³⁸ *St. Quentin [battle] ²⁴⁰	
			<hr/> ²⁷⁸ AB 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 515.	
			²³⁹ AF 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 393.	
<hr/> ²⁷⁹ AV 883, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521.	<hr/> ²⁸³ AF 883, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 398.		<hr/> ²⁴⁰ AB 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 512.	<hr/> ²⁸⁷ AV 883, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521.

General
Destruction

Burnings
881

*Cologne and
Bonn with their
churches and
buildings⁷⁰⁶

882

*Laon and all
fortresses in
surrounding
area²⁷⁰

*Villae outside
Rheims²⁷¹

⁷⁰⁶ AF 881, G.
H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1,
p. 394.

²⁷⁰ AB

882, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
pp. 514-515.

²⁷¹ AB

882, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 515.

Raids
881

*Beauvais⁷⁰⁷
*Saucourt-en-
Vimieu [3
August]²⁵⁵
*St. Vaast
[invasion]²⁵⁶

⁷⁰⁷ AV 881, G.
H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1,
p. 520.

²⁵⁵ Regino

of Prüm,
Chronicon 883,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p.
593.

²⁵⁶ AV

881, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 519.

Plunderings

Sieges

General Destruction			
886	*Northmen got into St-Germain-des-Prés and broke windows with branches ³⁰²		
	*used St-Germain-des-Prés as stable ³⁰³		
	*entire plains of Orleans, Blois and Touraine ravaged ³⁰⁴		
	³⁰² Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis 1</i> , 461-503, H. Waquet, ed., pp. 50, 52.		
	³⁰³ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis 1</i> , 633-644, H. Waquet, ed., p. 62.		
	³⁰⁴ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis 1</i> , 633-644,		
Burnings			
882	*monasteries of St. Lambert [Liège], Prüm and Inden, palace at Aachen and monasteries of Tongres, Arras and Cambrai and part of diocese of Rheims and the fortress of Mouzon ²⁸⁸		
	*Deventer [Frisian port on Ijssel river] ²⁸⁹		
	H. Waquet, ed., p. 62.		
	²⁸⁸ AB 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 513-514.		
	²⁸⁹ AF 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 395-397.		
Plunderings			
886	*[mid-Feb] region between Seine and Loire ³⁰⁸		
	*one group of Northmen from Paris to Sens [tribute] ³⁰⁹		
	³⁰⁸ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis 1</i> , 598-617, H. Waquet, ed., p. 60.		
	³⁰⁹ AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 524.		
Raids			
882	*monasteries of St. Lambert, Prüm, Inden, Tongres, Arras, Cambrai, part of diocese of Rheims, palace at Aachen ²⁸³		
	*Avaux on Aisne [battle] ²⁵⁷		
	*Dol-en-Bretagne ²⁸⁴		
	²⁸³ AB 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 514.		
	²⁵⁷ AV 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 520-521.		
	²⁸⁴ Cont. Aimoin, <i>Hist. Francorum 5</i> , 41, AA SS Julii 3, p. 587.		
Sieges			
886	*Paris; Northmen pitched camp at St-Germain-le-Rond [Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois] ³⁰¹		
	*Louvain, cont'd ³¹⁵		
	³⁰¹ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis 1</i> , 172-204, H. Waquet, ed., pp. 28, 30.		
	³¹⁵ Regino of Prüm, <i>Chronicon 886</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 596.		

**General
Destruction**

Burnings

882 *whole area between Aisne [Avaux] and Oise to fire and sword, destroying fortifications and burning monasteries and churches²⁸⁰
*down Rhine burned all that had been left intact up to Koblenz; Trier [5 April]²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ AV

882, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 520-521.

²⁸¹ AF

882, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 395.

Plunderings

Raids

883 *up the Somme, crossed the Oise river²⁸⁸
*tower at Paris [Grand Pont; present-day Pont de Notre Dame]²⁸⁵
*Frisians and Saxons against Danes[battle]³¹⁰

²⁸⁸ AV

883, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 521.

²⁸⁵ AV

885, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 522-523; Abbo, *Bella Parisiaca urbis* 1, 172-204, H. Waquet, ed., pp. 28, 30.

³¹⁰ AF

885, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 402.

<u>General Destruction</u>	<u>Burnings</u>	<u>Plunderings</u>	<u>Raids</u>	<u>Sieges</u>
884 *churches, monasteries, civitates across the Scheidt ²⁸⁸	882 *Northmen left Loire to coastal areas between Seine and Frisia ²⁸²	884 *west Francia [tribute] ²⁸²	882 *Asselt [battle] ²⁷⁴ *La Vicogne [near Amiens] [battle] ²⁷⁵ *Dol-en-Bretagne ²⁷⁶ *Remich on Moselle [10 April] ²⁵⁸	884 *Louvain ²⁸⁸
885 *surrounding St-Germain-l'Auxerrois pillaging, burning, ravaging, killing ²⁸⁸	883 *on Rhine ²⁸⁴ *Northmen left Condé-sur-l'Escaut going to maritime areas ²⁸⁵	882 , G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 395-397.	885 *Louvain, cont'd ²⁸⁸	
	H. Waquet, ed., pp. 28, 30.	882 , G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 514.		
	282 AB	275 AV		
	883 , G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 398.	882 , G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521.		
	285 AV	278 Cont. Aimoïn, Hist. Francor. 5, 41, AA SS Julii 3, p. 587.		
	883 , G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 400.	288 AV		
		884 , G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521.		
		884 , G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521.		
		885 , G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 522.		

**General
Destruction**

887

*ranging through the Saone and Loire valleys³¹⁷
*all places laid waste up to the Meuse and part of Burgundy³¹⁸

³¹⁷AV

887, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 524.

³¹⁸AV

887, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 525.

Burnings

883

*monastery and church of St. Quentin and the mother church in Amiens²⁸¹
*monasteries and churches from Amiens to the Seine and the Oise rivers²⁸²
*up the Rhine burning many places lately rebuilt²⁸⁰

²⁸¹AV

883, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521.

²⁸²AV

883, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521.

²⁸⁰AF

883, G. H. Pertz,

Plunderings

887

*Sens and along the Yonne river [slaughtering]³²⁰

³²⁰AV
ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 398.

887, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 524.

Raids

884

*Norden [Frisia] [battle]²⁹³
*army of Northmen attacked Saxons [battle]²⁹⁴

²⁹³AF

884, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 400.

²⁹⁴AF

884, G. H. Pertz, MGH: SS 1, p. 399.

Sieges

885

*Hesbaye and region³⁰⁰
*Paris; Northmen pitched camp at St-Germain-le-Rond [Saint-Germain-⁷⁰⁸Auxerrois]

³⁰⁰AF

885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 401.

⁷⁰⁸Abbo, *Bella Parisiacae*

urbis 1, 172-204, H. Waquet, ed., pp. 28, 30.

886

*Louvain, cont'd
*Sens [30 Nov]³¹⁶

**General
Destruction**

Burnings

- 884** *churches, monasteries and civitates across the Scheldt²⁸⁰
885 *burned Frankish camp at ²⁹¹Pontoise
886 *attempt to burn military tower by setting their ships alight³⁰⁵

²⁹⁰AV
884, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521.

²⁹¹AV
885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 522-523.

³⁰⁵Abbo,
Bella Parisiaca
urbis 1, 413-418,

³¹⁶Abbo,
Bella Parisiaca
urbis 2, 420-435,
H. Waquet, ed.,
pp. 96, 98.

Plunderings

- 891** *³¹⁷[in autumn] throughout lands up to the Meuse from the Cotentin, to Brabant and across the Scheldt³⁴⁷

H. Waquet, ed.,
p. 46.

³⁴⁷AV
891, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 527.

Raids

- 885** *Frisians and Saxons v. Danes[battle]³¹⁰
*Hesbaye [battle]²⁹⁶
*³¹⁷in Rouen [battle]²⁹⁷
*attack on tower Paris [Grand-Pont; present-day Pont de Notre Dame]⁷⁰⁹

³¹⁰AF
885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 402.

²⁹⁶Anon.,
AF 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 401.

²⁹⁷AV
885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 522.

Sieges

- 887** *back to Paris from Sens³²⁶
*Chézy-sur-Marne [early autumn]³²⁹

⁷⁰⁹AV 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 522-523;
Abbo, Bella Parisiaca
urbis 1, 172-204, H. Waquet, ed., pp. 28,30.

³²⁶AV
887, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 524.

³²⁹AV
887, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 524.

**General
Destruction**

**Burnings
886**

*Beauvais and all
furnishings, Oct, ves
t-ments and books
of monastery of St
Vaast burned [Oct
15]³⁰⁶
*area of Soissons,
church of St.
Medard and
monastery, town,
royal palace³⁰⁷

Plunderings

**Raids
886**

*Paris: assault on
tower [31 Jan-2
Feb]³¹¹
*attack on small
wooden bridge,
tower [6 Feb]³¹²
*Chartres [16
Feb]³¹³

Sieges

³¹¹ Abbo
Bella Parisiaca
urbis 1, 353-380,
H. Waquet, ed.,
pp. 42, 44.

³¹² AV
886, G. H. Pertz,
ed., *MGH: SS* 1,
pp. 523-524;
Abbo, *Bella
Parisiaca urbis*
1, 511-540, H.
Waquet, ed., pp.
54, 56.

³¹³ Abbo,
Bella Parisiaca
urbis 1, 648-659,

H. Waquet, ed.,
pp. 62, 64.

³⁰⁶ AV

886, G. H. Pertz,
ed., *MGH: SS* 1,
p. 524.

³⁰⁷ AV

886, G. H. Pertz,
ed., *MGH: SS* 1,
p. 524.

**General
Destruction**

Burnings

Plunderings

Raids

Sieges

886

*Montmartre [24
Oct] [battle]³²⁴

887

*Paris [Sept]³²⁵
*Northmen up the
Mame³²⁶
*Rheims³²⁷

888

*Meaux [14 June]⁷¹⁰
*Loing river³³⁸
*Paris [to 11 July]³⁴⁰

⁷¹⁰

Abbo, Bella

Parisiacae

urbis 2, 441-
459, H.

Waquet, ed.,
pp. 98, 100;

AV 888, G. H.

Pertz, ed.,

MGH: SS 1,

pp. 525-526.

³²⁴ Abbo,

Bella Parisiacae

urbis 2, 315-346,
H. Waquet, ed., pp.
88, 90.

³²⁵ Abbo,

Bella Parisiacae

urbis 2, 402-419, H.
Waquet, ed., p. 96.

³²⁶ Abbo,

Bella Parisiacae

urbis, 414-435, H.
Waquet, ed., pp.
96, 98.

³²⁷ AF

887, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1, p.
405.

³³⁸ Abbo,

Bella Parisiacae

urbis 2, 453-459,
H. Waquet, p. 100

(note 5); AV 888,

G. H. Pertz, ed.,

MGH: SS 1, p.

526.

**General
Destruction**

889
*Burgundy,
Neustria and
Aquitaine laid
waste³³¹

³³¹ AV
889, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 526.

Burnings

889
*Burgundy,
Neustria and
Aquitaine laid
waste³³³
*Trèves³³⁴

³³³ AV
889, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 526.

³³⁴ Regi-
no of Prüm,
Chronicon 889,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p.
601.

Raids

889
*Paris [autumn]
[battle]³³⁶
891
*ranging in
Vermandois³⁴⁸
*Louvain on the
river Dyle
[battle]³⁴⁹

³³⁶ AV 889, G.
H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p.
526.

³⁴⁸ AV
891, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 527.

³⁴⁹ AF
891, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 407.

Sieges

890
*Argoeuves [right
bank of Somme,
west of
Amiens]³⁴⁵
891
*Noviomo
[fortification near
monastery of St.
Noviomo] fortified
Louvain as winter
quarters [Nov]³⁵⁴

³⁴⁵ AV

890, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 526.

³⁵⁴ AV

891, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 527; AF 891,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p.
407.

**General
Destruction**

892

*Ardennes to
Bonn, Rheims
and Cambrai⁷¹¹

Burnings

Plunderings

Raids

891

*Amiens
[battle]⁷¹²
*Noviomo
[fortification near
monastery of St
Vaast,
Cotentin]⁷¹³

Sieges

891

*other group from
Argoeeves set up
winter camp at
Amiens⁷¹⁴

⁷¹¹ Regino of
Prüm,

Chronicon 892,
G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS
1, pp. 603-604.

⁷¹² AV 891, G. H.
Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p.
527.

⁷¹³ AV 891, G. H.
Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1,
pp. 526-527.

⁷¹⁴ AV 891, G. H.
Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p.
527.

Appendix 2: Reports of Deaths and Disruptions: Human and Economic

Terms and descriptions included in the various categories of disruption included in this appendix are as follows:

Frankish Casualties: troops, clergy, nobles and commoners captured and/or killed.

Northmen's Casualties: troops, leaders and armies captured and/or killed.

Tribute: ransoms; booty taken; tribute paid.

Relics Translated: relics removed and relocated; relics returned; clergy fleeing.

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
835 *not a small number of Frisians killed ¹		836 *blood money demanded for Northmen's envoys ⁷	834 *brothers of Noirmoutier fled ⁹
837 *slaughter of Frisians at Walcheren and Dorestad ² *many Frisian women taken captive ³ *Count Eccihard killed [mid-June] ⁴	836 *envoys from the Northmen killed ⁵	837 *tribute demanded from Frisians at Walcheren and Dorestad [mid-June] ⁸	
<hr/> ¹ AX 835, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 226.		<hr/> SS 1, p. 361; Thegan, <i>Vita Hludowici imperatoris appendix</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 604.	<hr/> SS 1, p. 430; AF 837, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 361; AX 837, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 226.
² AB 837, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 430-431.		⁷ AB 836, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 430	⁹ AE 834, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 16, p. 485.
³ AX 837, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 226.		⁸ AB 837, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH:	
		H. Pertz, ed., MGH:	

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
<p>837 *countless multitude of Christians killed [Walcheren] and many of the emperor's great men¹⁰ *some [great men] were caught [afterwards returned]¹¹</p> <p>841 *monks and population of Rouen slaughtered or taken captive¹²</p> <hr/> <p>¹⁰Thegan, <i>Vita Hludowici</i>, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS</i> 2, p. 604.</p> <p>¹¹Thegan, <i>Vita Hludowici</i>, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS</i> 2, p. 604.</p> <p>¹²<i>AB</i> 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS</i> 1, p. 437.</p>	<p>838 *Danish pirates drowned in storm with few survivors¹³</p>	<p>841 *[25 May] Fontanelle spared by payment of 6 [66] pounds; 68 captives returned to monks of St. Denis for 28 pounds¹⁴</p>	<p>841 *[15 May] translation of St. Audoenus [St. Ouen]¹⁵</p> <hr/> <p>¹⁵<i>Annales Rotomagenses</i> 842 [recte 841], O. Holder-Egger, ed., <i>MGH: SS</i> 26, p. 494.</p>

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
<p>842</p> <p>*inhabitants of Quentovic captured or massacred¹⁶</p>	<p>842</p> <p>*buildings in Quentovic paid to be spared¹⁸</p>	<p>842</p> <p>*monks of Indre, island monastery in Loire, fled with treasure to Nantes²⁰</p>	<p>842</p> <p>*monks fled monastery of St. Martin of Vertou [Deux-S□vres]²¹</p>
<p>843</p> <p>*[24 June] Bishop Gunhard of Nantes killed and many clergy and laypeople slain and taken captive¹⁷</p>	<p>843</p> <p>*ten days later [-4 July] captives of Nantes ransomed and returned¹⁹</p>	<p>843</p> <p>*monks of Indre, island monastery in Loire, fled with treasure to Nantes²⁰</p>	<p>843</p> <p>*monks fled monastery of St. Martin of Vertou [Deux-S□vres]²¹</p>
<p>¹⁶AB 842, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 439.</p> <p>¹⁷AB 843, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 439-440; CF 843, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 302; Ermentarius, <i>Miraculi</i></p>	<p>¹⁸AB 842, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 439.</p> <p>¹⁹CN 4, R. Merlet, ed., pp. 16-17.</p>	<p>²⁰CN 4, R. Merlet, ed., p. 15.</p> <p>²¹<i>Miraculi</i> s. Martini 9, B. Krusch, ed., MGH: SS <i>rer Mer</i> 3, p. 547.</p>	<p>²⁰CN 4, R. Merlet, ed., p. 15.</p> <p>²¹<i>Miraculi</i> s. Martini 9, B. Krusch, ed., MGH: SS <i>rer Mer</i> 3, p. 547.</p>

Frankish Casualties

845

- *murders in Rouen²²
- ◆111 captives hanged²³
- *one monk at St-Germain-des-Prés²⁴
- *captives taken from Paris returned due to the plague on the raiders²⁵

²²*Trans. s.*

Germani, cc 3-4, *Ana Boll* 2, p. 72.

²³*Trans. s.*

Germani, c 12, *Ana Boll* 2, pp. 78-79; Hildegarus, *Vita Faronis* c 122, B. Krusch, ed., *MGH: SS rer Mer* 5, p. 200.

²⁴*Trans. s.*

Germani cc 14-15, 30, *Ana Boll* 2, pp. 80-81, 91-92.

²⁵*AX* 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 228.

Northmen's

Casualties

845

- *Northmen struck down by divine judgement for pillaging St-Germain-des-Prés²⁷
- *Ragnar Lodbrok [leader of Northmen who pillaged St-Germain-des-Prés]²⁸
- *more than 600 perished attacking Gaul²⁹

²⁷*AB* 845, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 441.

²⁸*AX* 845, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 228.

²⁹*AX* 845, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 228.

Tribute

845

- *7000 pounds tribute paid to spare Paris [Easter Monday]³¹
- *booty from St-Germain-des-Prés³²

³¹*AB* 845, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 441; *AF* 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 364; *AX* 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 228.

³²*AB* 845, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 441; *Trans. s. Germani, Ana Boll* 2, pp. 69-98.

Relics Translated

845

- *monks of St-Germain-des-Prés took relics and treasure and fled [Charles told monks of St. Denis to leave the body of St. Germain in abbey]³³
- *remains of St. Leutfred and St. Agofred buried at monastery of La Crois-Saint-Ouen on Eure river³⁴

³³*Transl. s.*

Germani, c 8, *Ana Boll* 2, pp. 73-75.

³⁴*Trans. s.*

Germani c 8, *Ana Boll* 2, pp. 73-75; *Translatio Leutfredi abbatis Madriacensis*,

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
845 * great number of Frisians killed ²⁶	845 * 12,000 killed by Frisians ³⁰		845 * translation of relics from Hamburg throughout the countryside ⁴⁰
846 * Count Siguin of Bordeaux killed [late-Oct/early Nov] ³⁵ * all who could not flee perished miserably ³⁶	846 * pirates exacted tribute in Frisia ³⁸		846 * monks of St. Philibert granted new monastic community at Cunault ⁴¹
Levison, ed., <i>MGH: SS per Mer</i> 7, p. 18. ²⁶ <i>AF</i> 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS</i> 1, p. 364.	* Breton Nominœ bribed Danes to release his territory ³⁹		<hr/> ⁴⁰ Rimbert, <i>Vita Anskarii</i> , cc 16-17, Dahlmann, ed., <i>MGH: SS</i> 2, pp. 700-701.
³⁵ Lupus of Ferrières, <i>Epistola</i> 31. 4, P. K. Marshall, ed., p. 42.	<hr/> ³⁸ <i>AB</i> 846, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS</i> 1, p. 442.		⁴¹ <i>No.</i> 81, 17 December 845, <i>Saint-Martin de Tours</i> 1, Tessier, ed., p. 228.
³⁰ <i>AX</i> 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS</i> 2, p. 228.	<hr/> ³⁹ <i>AB</i> 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS</i> 1, p. 442.		

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
<p>845</p> <p>*inhabitants of Hamburg killed or captured³⁷</p> <p>848</p> <p>*Duke William of Bordeaux captured by night⁴²</p> <p>850</p> <p>*slaughter of townspeople at</p> <hr/> <p>³⁷Rimbert, <i>Vita Anskarrii</i>, c. 16, Dahlmann, ed., <i>MGH</i>: SS 2, p. 700.</p> <p>⁴²<i>CF</i> 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i>: SS 2, p. 302.</p>	<p>851</p> <p>*many killed at Vardes⁴⁵</p> <p>852</p> <p>*[after May] some were killed after leaving Beauvais⁴⁶</p> <p>*Herald the Northman killed⁴⁷</p> <hr/> <p>⁴⁵<i>CF</i> 851, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i>: SS 2, p. 303.</p> <p>⁴⁶<i>AB</i> 851 [recte 852], G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i>: SS 1, p. 446.</p>	<p>850</p> <p>*Rorik and Godefrid took booty from area around Flanders and the Waal river also Mempisc and Théroutanne⁴⁸</p> <p>851</p> <p>*tribute paid for Northmen to leave Frisia⁴⁹</p> <hr/> <p>⁴⁷<i>AF</i> 852, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i>: SS 1, p. 367.</p> <p>⁴⁸<i>CF</i> 850, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i>: SS 2, p. 303; <i>AB</i> 850, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i>: SS 1, p. 445.</p> <p>⁴⁹<i>AB</i> 852 [recte 851], G. H.</p>	<hr/> <p>Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i>: SS 1, p. 447.</p>

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
<p>850 Limoges⁴³ *Rorik [brother of Heriold the younger] inflicted many bad things on Christians at Dorestad⁴⁴</p> <p>853 *captives taken from area around Seine around JEufoisse⁵⁰</p> <hr/> <p>⁴³<i>Mir. s. Maritialis</i> 3, 6, O. Holder-Egger, ed., <i>MGH SS 15, 1</i>, pp. 280-283.</p> <p>⁴⁴<i>AX 850</i>, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 2</i>, p. 229.</p> <p>⁵⁰<i>AB 853</i>, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i>, p. 447.</p>	<p>853 *great many of besieged Northmen [Oskar's men]⁵² *16 Northmen who had entered monastery at Redon drank sacrificial wine and went mad and died⁵³</p> <hr/> <p>⁵²<i>Ex Gestis Conwoionis Abbatis Rotonensis</i> 3, 9, L. de Heinemann, ed., <i>MGH: SS 15, 1</i>, pp. 458-459.</p> <p>⁵³<i>Ex Gestis Conwoionis</i> 3, 9, L. de Heinemann, ed., <i>MGH: SS 15, 1</i>, pp. 458-459.</p>	<p>853 *Sidroc allied with Bretons were paid much gold and silver by Oskar [who had burned Nantes and was besieged on Betia, island in Loire near Nantes] to depart⁵⁵ *Abbey of Redon contributed gold, pater worth 67 <i>solidi</i> for release of Pascweten [reimbursed to abbey on 8 July 857]⁵⁶</p> <hr/> <p>⁵⁵<i>Ex Gestis Conwoionis</i> 3, 9, L. de Heinemann, ed., <i>MGH: SS 15, 1</i>, pp. 458-459.</p> <p>⁵⁶<i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon</i>, 26, De Courson, ed., pp. 21-22.</p>	<p>853 *monks of Redon fled⁵⁷ *[before 8 Nov. burning of church of St. Martin] monks removed body of St. Martin to Cormery and treasures to Orléans⁵⁸</p> <hr/> <p>⁵⁷<i>Ex Gestis Conwoionis</i> 3, 9, L. de Heinemann, ed., <i>MGH: SS 15, 1</i>, pp. 458-459.</p> <p>⁵⁸<i>AB 853</i>, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS 1</i>, p. 368.</p>

Frankish Casualties

853

*Count Pascweten and Bishop Courantgen both of Vannes captured⁵¹

856

*Northmen slaughtered many between Pîtres and the Perche⁵⁹

⁵¹*Cartulaire*

de Redon, 26, De Courson, ed., pp. 21-22; *Cartulaire de Redon 40*, De Courson, ed., p. 369.

⁵⁹*CF* 855/6, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH*: SS 2, p. 304.

Northmen's Casualties

855

*army of Northmen slain en route to Poitiers on foot and only 300 escaped⁵⁴

856

*Northmen beaten in a great massacre between Pîtres and the Perche⁶³

⁵⁴*AB* 855, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH*: SS 1, p. 449.

⁶³*CF* 855/6, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH*: SS 2, p. 304,

Tribute

856

*Orléans sold for gold⁶⁴
*cathedrals of St. Stephen and churches of St. Vincent and St. Germain and church of St. Denis ransomed to save them [28 Dec.]⁶⁵

858

*ransom of 686 lb gold and 6,250 lb silver for Abbot Louis of St. Denis [paid by St. Denis]⁶⁶

⁶⁴Adrevald,

Mir. s. Benedicti, 33, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH*: SS 15, 1, p. 494.

⁶⁵*AB* 857, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH*: SS 1, pp. 450-451.

⁶⁶*Annales Benedictini* 1, 35, 33, Werminghoff, ed.,

Relics Translated

858

*monks of St. Wandrille moved relics to church of St. Peter near Quentovic [11 May]⁶⁷

MGH: Conc. 2, pp. 308-421.

⁶⁷*Miraculi s. Wandregisili* 2, 4, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH*: SS 15, 1, pp. 407-408.

Frankish Casualties

859

- *Bishop Ermenfrid of Beauvais killed [25 June]⁶⁸
- *Bishop Immo and other nobles both clerical and lay taken captive and killed at Noyon⁶⁹
- *Heriard of St. Riquier died from a Danish arrow [28 July]⁷⁰

⁶⁸AB 859, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 453.

⁶⁹AB 859, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 453.

⁷⁰*Carmina*

Centulensia, 122, L. Traube, ed., *MGH: PLAC 3*, p. 345.

Northmen's Casualties

858

- *Bishop Frotbald of Chartres drowned in Eure river while fleeing [June]⁶⁰
- *Bishop Balfrid of Bayeux slain⁶¹
- *Abbot Louis of St. Denis and his brother Gauzlin captured⁶²
- 859
- *barbarians soundly defeated and put to death at Corbie⁷¹

⁶⁰AB 857, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 451.

⁶¹AB 859, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 453.

⁶²AB 858, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 451.

Tribute

858

- *ransom paid by church of Reims for Gauzlin⁷²
- *heavy ransom referred to by Hincmar in letter to Louis the German from Synod of Quierzy⁷³

⁷¹Lupus of

Ferrières, *Epistula* 125, P. K. Marshall, ed., p. 117.

⁷²Flodoard,

Historia ecclesiae Remensis I, 3, 24, J. Heller and G. Waitz, eds., *MGH: SS 13*, p. 536.

⁷³*Epistola*

synodi Carisiacensis

Relics Translated

859

- *bones of St. Denis, St. Rusticus and St. Eleutherius removed to Nogent-sur-Seine [21 Sept.]⁷⁴

ad Hludowicum

regem Germaniae

directa, 6, A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., *MGH: Cap. 2*, p. 431.

⁷⁴AB 859, G.

H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 453; No. 220, 31 August 860, 1, Tessier, ed., pp. 549-555; No. 247, 18

Frankish Casualties

860
*hostages given to Danes on the Somme while tribute was being collected⁷⁵
*one brother from St. Bertin killed and three others humiliated and tortured⁷⁶
861
*traders fleeing up the Seine captured⁷⁷

September 862, 2, Tessier, ed., p. 65.

⁷⁵ *AB 860*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 454.

⁷⁶ *Mir. s. Bertin*, 2, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15. 1*, pp. 509-510.

⁷⁷ *AB 861*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 454.

Northmen's Casualties

860
*some Northmen hanged by their own leaders at guesthouse of St. Bertin for taking offering at the altar⁷⁸

⁷⁸ *Mir. s. Bertini* 2, O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 15. 1*, p. 509.

Tribute

860
*tax/tribute levied by Charles: 3,000 lb silver for Northmen to leave Somme [not paid immediately]⁷⁹
861
*tribute levied: 5,000 lb of silver, large amount of livestock and corn for the Somme raiders [raised from previous-year's 3,000 lb: late payment]⁸⁰

⁷⁹ *AB 860*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 454.

⁸⁰ Hildegarius, *Vita Faronis*, 126, B. Krusch, ed.,

Relics Translated

861
*monks of St-Germain-des-Prés moved relics to Combs-la-Ville and then to Nogent-l'Artaud on Marne⁸²

MGH: SS rer Mer 5, p. 201.

⁸² Aimoin, *Mir. s. Germani 2*, 10,

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
861 *tribute of 6,000 lb gold and silver for the Seine raiders joining those besieged at Oissel ⁸¹	862 *gave 10 hostages to Charles on the Marne river ⁸⁴ *Danes in Brittany on the Loire slain by Robert ⁸⁵ *hostages given to Robert by Seine Northmen ⁸⁶	862 *Robert paid Seine Northmen 6,000 lb of silver [private hire-fee] ⁸⁷	862 *relics of St. Genevieve returned ⁸⁸ *relics of St. Maur removed to Le M ^u lle-sur-Sarthe ⁸⁹ *monks of St. Philibert took relics from Cunault to villa of Messais ⁹⁰
<hr/> AA SS <i>Marii</i> 6, pp. 803-804. 81 <i>AB 861</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i> : SS <i>I</i> , p. 455. 83 <i>AB 862</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i> : SS <i>I</i> , p. 456.	<hr/> 84 <i>AB 862</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i> : SS <i>I</i> , p. 456. 85 <i>AB 862</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i> : SS <i>I</i> , p. 457. 86 <i>AB 862</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i> : SS <i>I</i> , p. 457.	<hr/> 87 <i>AB 862</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH</i> : SS <i>I</i> , p. 457.	<hr/> 88 <i>Mir. s. Genovefae</i> , 32-37, <i>AA SS Ianuarii</i> 1, pp. 150-151. 89 <i>Miraculi et translatio sancti Mauri</i> , 13, O. Holder-Egger, ed., <i>MGH</i> : SS <i>I</i> , p. 471. 90 <i>Ermentarius, Mir. s. Filiberti</i> 2, <i>Praefatio</i> , Poupardin,

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
<p>863</p> <p>*[January] Frisian traders slain and large numbers taken captive at Dorestad⁹¹</p> <p>*[12 Oct] Count Turpio of Angoulême attacked and killed⁹²</p> <hr/> <p>ed., p 62; nos. 159, 19 January 854, 1, Tessier, ed., pp. 416-419.</p> <p>⁹¹AB 863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 459.</p> <p>⁹²AE 863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 16, p 486; <i>Chronicum Aquitanicum</i> 863, G.</p>	<p>863</p> <p>*Weland charged by Franks of bad faith and killed⁹³</p> <p>*Maur [leader on Loire] killed by Turpio⁹⁴</p> <hr/> <p>H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 253.</p> <p>⁹³AB 863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 462.</p> <p>⁹⁴AE 863, G. H. Pertz, MGH: SS 16, p. 486.</p>	<p>863</p> <p>*Poitiers ransomed⁹⁵</p> <hr/> <p>⁹⁵AB 863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 462.</p>	<p>863</p> <p>*relics of St. Germanus returned [July]⁹⁶</p> <p>*relics of St. Exuperius moved from Bayeux to castrum <i>Paltadellum</i> near Corbeil⁹⁷</p> <p>*St. Chrodegang and St. Opportune from <i>Monasterium</i>⁹⁸</p> <hr/> <p>⁹⁶<i>Mir. s. Germani</i> 2, 13, 17, AA SS <i>Maiti</i> 6, pp. 804-805.</p> <p>⁹⁷J. Lair, "Etudes sur les origines de l'évêché de Bayeux" 2, <i>Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes</i> 24 (1863), p. 297.</p> <p>⁹⁸<i>Vita s. Chrodegangi episcopi Sagiensis martyris</i>, 13-15, AA SS</p>

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
<p>864</p> <p>*Stephen, son of Hugh, and some of his men slain at Clermont⁹⁹</p> <p>*Pippin II captured by Franks and removed from association with Northmen¹⁰⁰</p> <hr/> <p><i>Septembris 1</i>, pp. 770-771; <i>Mir. s. Opportunae</i>, 6, AA SS <i>Aprilis</i> 3, p. 69.</p> <p>⁹⁹ AB 864, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 462.</p> <p>¹⁰⁰ AB 864, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 465-466.</p>	<p>864</p> <p>*Robert slew two companies of Northmen based on Loire¹⁰²</p> <p>865</p> <p>*Robert killed 500 on Loire¹⁰³</p> <p>*some killed, some wounded on Seine out of 500 sent to attack Chartres¹⁰⁴</p> <hr/> <p>¹⁰² AB 864, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 467.</p> <p>¹⁰³ AB 865, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 469.</p> <p>¹⁰⁴ AB 865, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 470.</p>	<p>865</p> <p>*booty carried off from St. Denis [18 Oct]¹⁰⁷</p> <hr/> <p>¹⁰⁷ AB 865, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 470.</p>	

Frankish Casualties

864

*Robert lost a few men in battle with Northmen on Loire.¹⁰¹

866

*Bishop Actard of Nantes enslaved and taken away in chains.¹⁰⁸
*at Brissarthe Robert and Ranulf killed, Harvey wounded and others killed also.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰¹ *AB* 864,

G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 467.

¹⁰⁸ *Concilium*

Tricassinum, Epistola Caroli Calvis regis ad Nicolauum I, J.-D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum collectio* 15, cols. 796-800.

¹⁰⁹ *AB* 866,

G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 473;

Northmen's Casualties

Tribute

866

*Charles paid to Northmen on Seine: 4,000 lb of silver and wine and slaves taken back by Franks from Northmen ransomed.¹¹⁰

Relics Translated

866

*[Jan] letter from Abbot Haecfrid of St. Florent prompted Charles to grant him *cella* of St. Gondon in Berry for St. Florentius' relics.¹¹¹
*[Apr-July] monks under Abbot Conwoion left Redon for Plélan-le-Grand.¹¹²

¹¹¹ *No.* 287,

16 *January* 866, 2, Tessier, ed., pp. 132-136.

¹¹² *Cartulaire*

de Redon 49, 207, De Courson, ed., pp. 39-40, 160.

¹¹⁰ *AB* 866,

G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 471.

AF 867, G. H. Pertz,

ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 380.

Frankish Casualties

Northmen's
Casualties

Tribute

Relics Translated

867

*Charles granted monks of St. Martin of Tours refuge in Marsat as they had fled Léré in Berry ahead of Northmen¹¹³

*[20 June] Godfred and monks of Fosses granted refuge at Fleury-la-Rivière¹¹⁴

*[5 Sept] villa at Voupaix in Laonnois given to monks of St-Germain-des-Prés as refuge¹¹⁵

¹¹³No. 319,
30 January 869, 2,
Tessier, ed., pp. 201-
203.

¹¹⁴No. 299,
20 June 867, 2,
Tessier, ed., pp. 156-
158.

¹¹⁵No. 302, 5
September 867, 2.

Frankish Casualties

Northmen's Casualties

Tribute

Relics Translated

868

*men of Poitiers killed some and put the rest to flight¹¹⁷

868

*Orléans ransomed¹¹⁸

867

*[7 Dec] villa granted to monks of St. Riquier at Arleux-les-Bray on Somme as refuge.¹¹⁶

868

*monks of St. Maxient fled with relics of St. Maxentius¹¹⁹
*monks of St. Benoît-de-Quincay fled to Clermont with body of St. Viventius¹²⁰

¹¹⁶No. 306, 7

December 867, 2, Tessier, ed., pp. 177-179.

¹¹⁹*Chronique de Saint-Maxient*, J. Verdou, ed., p. 68.

¹¹⁸*AB 868*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 477.

¹¹⁷*AB 868*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 480.

¹²⁰*Vita s. Viventii 44-45*, *AA SS Ianuarii I*, p. 813.

Frankish Casualties

871

*heavy losses and many dead when Abbot Hugh and Gauzfrid launched attack on island in Loire¹²²

¹²² *AB 871*,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 492.

Northmen's Casualties

869

*Abbot Hugh and Gauzfrid slew about 60 on Loire¹²³

¹²³ *AB 869*,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 486.

Tribute

869

*Northmen demanded corn and great sum of silver, wine and livestock (500 cows) in Brittany [Loire area]¹²⁴

¹²⁴ *AB 869*,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 486;
Regino of Prüm,
Chronicon 874, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 587.

Relics Translated

868

*monks of St. Maur brought back relics from Burgundy to abbey of Fosses¹²¹

871

*[30 Oct] monks of St. Philibert granted abbey of St. Porcain in Auvergne¹²⁵

¹²¹ *Mir. s.*
Mauri, praefatio I, O. Holder-Egger, ed.,
MGH: SS 15, I, p. 464.

¹²⁵ *No.* 353,
30 October 871, 2,
Tessier, ed., pp. 285-287.

Frankish Casualties

Northmen's Casualties

873

*refusing to pay tribute Frisians attacked Rudolf who fled with 800 men and the rest besieged and forced to give hostages which were returned when they had departed¹²⁷

*[near Dokkum] Rudolf killed with 500 or more men in Louis' kingdom [as against *AF 873*]¹²⁸

*hostages given to Charles at Angers¹²⁹

¹²⁷*AF 873*,

G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, pp. 386-387.

¹²⁸*AB 873*,

G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 496.

¹²⁹*AB 873*,

G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 496.

Tribute

873

*[June] Northman Rudolf demanded tribute from Frisians in Ostergau¹³⁰

Relics Translated
872

*[15 Apr] monks of St. Lomer arrived from Moutiers-au-Perche to Patriciacus in Avranches area¹²⁶
*[15 Apr] monks of St. Lomer arrived from Moutiers-au-Perche to Patriciacus in Avranches area¹²⁶

¹²⁶*Historia*

translationis sancti Launomaris abbatis Curbionensis in oppidum Blesas I, J. Mabillon, ed., *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti* 4, 2, p. 246.

¹²⁶*Historia*

translationis sancti Launomaris I, J. Mabillon, ed., *Acta*

¹³⁰*AF 873*,

G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 386.

Frankish Casualties

Northmen's Casualties

Tribute

Relics Translated

875

*monks of St. Philibert given abbey of St. Valerien in Tournus¹³²
*monks of St. Denis given villa in Pincerais¹³³
*Rouen cathedral granted several *manse*s¹³⁴

876

*Charles sent Conrad to Northmen to make treaty on any terms¹³¹

¹³²No. 378,
19 March 875, 2,
Tessier, ed., pp. 342-347.

¹³³No 379, 27
March 875, 2,
Tessier, ed., pp. 347-350.

¹³⁴No. 399,
March 872-25
December 875, 2,

¹³¹*AB 876*,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 502.

sanctorum ordinis s. Benedicti 4, 2, p. 246.

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
879	879	877	875
*Christian population killed around Ghent ¹³⁶	*[30 Nov] Louis III and Carloman slew many Northmen and many drowned in Vienne river ¹³⁸	*[7 May] tribute of 5,000 lb collected in Francia and Burgundy for the Northmen on the Seine ¹³⁹	*Count Eccard of Macon gave three estates to abbey of Fleury ¹³⁵
*Hugh, son of Lothar, lost a great number of his men in land of Brabants, to death and capture [an abbot, son of Adalard captured] ¹³⁷		*tribute collected from Northmen on the Loire ¹⁴⁰	*[July] monks of St. Martin of Tours fled to Chablis ¹⁴¹
Tessier, ed., pp. 384-390.		¹³⁹ <i>Edictum compendiose de tributo Nordmannico (7 May 877)</i> , A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., <i>MGH: Cap. 2</i> , pp. 353-354.	¹³⁵ <i>Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de St. Benoit-sur-Loire</i> , I, M. Prou and A. Vidier, eds., pp. 67-78.
¹³⁶ <i>AV 879</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 518.	¹³⁸ <i>AB 879</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 512.	¹⁴⁰ <i>AB 877</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 503.	¹⁴¹ <i>Nos. 437-438, July 877</i> , 2, Tessier, ed., pp. 477-482.
¹³⁷ <i>AV 879</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 518.			

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
880 *battle at Thiméon where more than 5,000 were killed among them Louis the Younger's illegitimate son Hugh by Godefrid, king of the Danes ¹⁴⁵ *[2 Feb] Louis the Younger lost many men [32 nobles with their men] in Saxony against the Northmen ¹⁴⁶	880 *Louis the Younger slew many at Thiméon ¹⁴⁸ 881 *[3 Aug] 9,000 horsemen slain by Louis III's men at Saucourt-en-Vinieue near Amiens ¹⁴⁹	881 *[28 Dec 880-Feb] booty taken by Northmen from around Somme, monastery of St. Gaudéric, Amiens, monastery of Corbeil ¹⁵⁰	877 *[until mid-Sept] monks of St. Denis away from home ¹⁴² 878 *body of St. Remigius moved to Épermay ¹⁴³ *body of St. Tuduai removed from Tréguier to Château-Landon ¹⁴⁴
 G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 393; <i>AV 880</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 518.	 <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 393; <i>AB 880</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 512. ¹⁴⁸ <i>AB 880</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 512.	 <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 394; <i>AB 881</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 513. ¹⁵⁰ <i>AV 881</i> , G. H. Pertz, ed.,	 ¹⁴³ Flooard, <i>Historia Remensis 3</i> , J. Heller and G. Waitz, eds., <i>MGH: SS 13</i> , p. 554. ¹⁴⁴ <i>Vita s. Tuduai 3, 29</i> , de la Borderie, ed., <i>Les</i>

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
881	882	882	880
*[28 Dec 880-Feb 881] Northmen killed all they met from Somme area through Belgium, up to Beauvais ¹⁴⁷	*at Avaux 1,000 killed ¹⁵⁹ *large number slain and many drowned in Aisne river at Rheims ¹⁶⁰	*Charles [the Fat] paid 2,412 lb of gold and silver to Sigifrid and Wurm at Asselt [autumn] ¹⁶¹	*[Oct] monks from between Scheldt and Somme fled ahead of them with relics ¹⁵¹
882	882	882	881
*inhabitants killed in area of Trilives and Cologne ¹⁵³			*monks and nuns fled Cologne and Bonn to Mainz taking treasures and relics with them ¹⁵²
<hr/>			
<i>trois vies de s. Tuduai</i> , p. 41.	¹⁵⁹ AV 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, pp. 520-521.	¹⁶¹ AF 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, pp. 396-397; AB 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, p. 514.	¹⁵¹ AV 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, p. 519.
¹⁴⁷ AV 881, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, pp. 519-520.	¹⁶⁰ AB 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, pp. 514-515.		¹⁵² AF 881, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, p. 394.
¹⁵³ AV 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, p. 520.			

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
882 *Oise area divine servants killed, starved or sold into slavery ¹⁵⁴ * [5 Apr] inhabitants of Trier killed ¹⁵⁵ * [10 Apr] Bishop Wala of Metz killed at Remich on the Moselle ¹⁵⁶	883 * at Rhine many killed by Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz ¹⁶⁵	884 * [early in year; until October to raise sum] Northmen demanded 12,000 lb of gold and silver as tribute from Carloman ¹⁶⁹	882 *Hincmar took body of Remigius and treasures from Rheims across Marne to <i>villa</i> of Epernay ¹⁶² * Archbishop John of Dol-en-Bretagne fled with relics of St. Tuiiau to Rouen ¹⁶³
<hr/> 154 <i>AV</i> 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , pp. 520-521. 155 <i>AF</i> 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 395. 156 <i>AF</i> 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 395; <i>AB</i> 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 514.	<hr/> 165 <i>AF</i> 883, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 398. 166 <i>AF</i> 884, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 399. 167 <i>AF</i> 884, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 400.	<hr/> 169 <i>AF</i> 884, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 400; Regino of Prüm, <i>Chronicon</i> 884, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 594; <i>AV</i> 884, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 521.	<hr/> 162 <i>AB</i> 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , p. 515. 163 Cont. Aimoin, <i>Historia Francorum</i> 5, 41, <i>AA SS Julii</i> 31, p. 587.

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
882	<p>*Hesbaye region</p> <p>*[July] at Asselt</p> <p>Franks killed or held [2000?] captive in fort held by Northmen¹⁵⁷</p> <p>*at Deventer great loss of life¹⁵⁸</p>	<p>*Godfred killed at meeting on island at Herespich at confluence of Rhine and Waal [mid-May]¹⁷³</p>	
884	<p>*Scheidt area</p> <p>inhabitants killed, both lay and clergy¹⁶⁴</p>	<p>¹⁶⁴AV 884,</p> <p>G. H. Pertz, ed.,</p> <p>MGH: SS I, p. 521.</p>	
	<p>¹⁵⁷AF 882,</p> <p>G. H. Pertz, ed.,</p> <p>MGH: SS I, pp. 395-396.</p>		
	<p>¹⁵⁸AF 882,</p> <p>G. H. Pertz, ed.,</p> <p>MGH: SS I, p. 397.</p>		
			<p>¹⁶⁸AF 885,</p> <p>G. H. Pertz, ed.,</p> <p>MGH: SS I, p. 401;</p> <p>AV 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, p. 522; Regino of Prüm, <i>Chronicon</i> 884, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, p. 594.</p>
			<p>¹⁷³AF 885,</p> <p>G. H. Pertz, ed.,</p> <p>MGH: SS I, pp. 401-402.</p>

Frankish Casualties
885

* a certain Robert with a few other Franks died at siege of Paris tower¹⁷⁰
* Northmen killed all inhabitants they could find around their camp at Saint-Germain-¹⁷¹
l' Auxerrois

Northmen's Casualties
885

* multitude of Northmen slaughtered by Saxons and Frisians¹⁷⁴
* lost many men at Paris besieging the tower [Pont de Notre Dame]¹⁷⁵
* [26-7 Nov] 300 Northmen perished in front of Paris tower¹⁷⁶

Tribute

Relics Translated

¹⁷⁰ Abbo,
Bella Parisiaca urbis I, 172-204, H.
Waquet, ed., pp. 28, 30.

¹⁷¹ Abbo,
Bella Parisiaca urbis I, 172-204, H.
Waquet, ed., pp. 28, 30.

¹⁷⁴ *AF* 885,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 402.

¹⁷⁵ *AV* 885,
Pertz, pp 522-3;
Abbo, *Bella Parisiaca urbis I*,
146-148, H. Waquet,
ed., pp. 19-20.

¹⁷⁶ Abbo,
Bella Parisiaca urbis

I, 150-170, H.
Waquet, ed., pp. 20-28.

Frankish Casualties

885

*twelve heroes:
Ermenfredus, Eriveus,
Eriandus, Odaucer,
Ervic, Arnoldus,
Solius, Gozbertus,
Vuido, Ardradus,
Eimardus and
Gozsuinus killed¹⁸²

886

*[6 Feb] many killed
on the Paris tower¹⁷²

¹⁸² Abbo,

Bella Parisiaca urbis
I, 524-527, H.

Waquet, ed., p. 54.

¹⁷² AV 886,

G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, pp. 523-

524; Abbo, *Bella*

Parisiaca urbis I,

353-380, H. Waquet,
ed., pp. 42, 44.

Northmen's

Casualties

886

*1,500 dead bodies
left at Chartres [16
Feb]¹⁸³
*Robert Portecarquois
killed 2 Northmen¹⁸⁴
*Aleaume, nephew of
Portecarquois, killed
many Northmen in
revenge¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Abbo,

Bella Parisiaca urbis
I, 645-653, H.

Waquet, ed., pp. 62,
64.

¹⁸⁴ Abbo,

Bella Parisiaca urbis
I, 441-460, H.

Waquet, ed., pp. 48,
50.

¹⁸⁵ Abbo,

Bella Parisiaca urbis
I, 452-467, H.

Tribute

886

*Odo gave Sigfried
60 lb silver to depart
Paris¹⁹⁵
*Archbishop Everard
of Sens dealing with
Northmen for a
ransom to save the
city¹⁹⁶

Waquet, ed., pp. 48,
50.

¹⁹⁵ Abbo,

Bella Parisiaca urbis
2, 41-56, H. Waquet,
ed., pp. 68, 70.

¹⁹⁶ AV 886,

G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS I, p. 524.

Relics Translated

886

*body of St.
Genevieve carried to
east side of Paris
during siege of the
city¹⁷⁷
*during siege relics of
St. Stephen to the
basilica [a little west
of the cathedral]¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Abbo,

Bella Parisiaca urbis
2, 247-248, H.

Waquet, ed., p. 84.

¹⁷⁸ Abbo,

Bella Parisiaca urbis
2, 308-314, H.

Waquet, ed., p. 88.

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
886 *Robert Portecarquois of Chartres killed by Northmen roaming north of Seine ¹⁸¹ *[16 Apr] Bishop Gauzelin died of illness in siege of Paris ¹⁷⁹ * Abbot Hugh died ¹⁸⁰	886 Abbot Ebles and five others killed 9 Northmen in a sortie ¹⁹² *several Northmen killed by the defenders, including leaders ¹⁹³ *Charles' men sent ahead defeated and killed 3,000 Northmen outside Paris ¹⁹⁴	886 *upon arriving at Paris [by 24 Oct] Charles gave 700 lb in tribute for Northmen to go to Burgundy to plunder for the winter and then go back home by March [887] ¹⁹⁷	
<hr/> ¹⁸¹ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i> I, 441-460, H. Waquet, ed., pp. 48, 50.	<hr/> ¹⁹² Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i> 2, 172-174, H. Waquet, ed., p. 78.	<hr/> 2, 315-329, H. Waquet, ed., pp. 88, 90.	
¹⁷⁹ <i>AV</i> 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , pp. 523-524.	¹⁹³ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i> 2, 282-292, H. Waquet, ed., p. 86.	¹⁹⁷ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i> 2, 330-339, H. Waquet, ed., p. 90.	
¹⁸⁰ <i>AV</i> 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i> , pp. 523-524.	¹⁹⁴ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i>		

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
<p>886</p> <p>*[mid-May] Abbot Ebles lost troops (two: Segebert and Segevert, and possibly many more) in attack on city walls by Northmen¹⁸⁷</p> <p>*[28 Aug] Count Henry killed on his horse by falling into a trap that had been set by the Northmen¹⁸⁸</p> <hr/> <p>¹⁸⁷ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i> 2, 189-194, H. Waquet, ed., p. 80.</p> <p>¹⁸⁸ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i> 2, 217-218, H. Waquet, ed., p. 82; <i>AV</i> 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., <i>MGH: SS I</i>, p. 524.</p>	<p>886</p> <p>*one Northman who broke windows at St. Germain struck down by the saint and another fell from the turret due to intervention of St. Germain¹⁸⁶</p> <p>*Count Henry massacred a group of Northmen¹⁹⁰</p> <p>*two kings as well as numerous other Northmen killed¹⁹¹</p> <hr/> <p>¹⁸⁶ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i> I, 471-477, H. Waquet, ed., p. 50.</p> <p>¹⁹⁰ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i> 2, 7-19, H. Waquet, ed., p. 66.</p>		
			<hr/> <p>¹⁹¹ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiaca urbis</i> 2, 56-58, H. Waquet, ed., p. 70.</p>

<u>Frankish Casualties</u>	<u>Northmen's Casualties</u>	<u>Tribute</u>	<u>Relics Translated</u>
<p>886</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Sigfrid killed and captured all the inhabitants around Soissons.¹⁸⁹ 	<p>886</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *at Paris 500 were slain by Abbot Ebles and his men²⁰² *Sigfrid killed in Frisia in autumn²⁰³ 		
<p>887</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *remaining Paris Northmen dragged and killed 20 Christians along the Seine to the Mame¹⁹⁸ *around Sens up to the summer the inhabitants were slaughtered in the customary way¹⁹⁹ 			
<hr/> <p>¹⁸⁹ AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, p. 524.</p>			
<p>¹⁹⁸ Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiatae urbis</i> 2, 435, H. Waquet, ed., p. 98.</p>			
<p>¹⁹⁹ AV 887, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, p. 525.</p>			
	<hr/> <p>²⁰² Abbo, <i>Bella Parisiatae urbis</i> 2, 424-430, H. Waquet, ed., p. 98.</p>		
	<p>²⁰³ AV 887, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I, p. 525.</p>		

Frankish Casualties

888

*Count Teutbert of Meaux killed with large number of men, Bishop Sigmund imprisoned⁷¹⁵
*Northmen seized all inhabitants of Meaux following surrender of city⁷¹⁶

Northmen's Casualties

888

*[14 June] at siege of Meaux Count Teutbert's men killed innumerable quantities of Northmen⁷¹⁷
*[24 June] Odo killed 10,000 horsemen and 9000 footsoldiers at Montfaucon-⁷¹⁸ d'Argonne

Tribute

888

*Sigmund treated with Northmen to give up Meaux in exchange for lifting of siege⁷¹⁹

889

*[autumn] Odo bought off the Northmen who then went to the Cotentin⁷²⁰

Relics Translated

888

*monks of St Gildas de Ruis and of Loc-Merech [Moriacense] in Moréac fled with their treasures and relics and those of St Paternus of Vannes⁷²¹

⁷¹⁵ Abbo, *Bella Parisiacae urbis* 2, 441, H. Waquet, ed., p. 98; AV 888, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 525-526.

⁷¹⁶ AV 888, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 545-526.

⁷¹⁷ Abbo, *Bella Parisiacae urbis* 2, 460-466, H. Waquet, ed., p. 100.

⁷¹⁸ Abbo, *Bella Parisiacae urbis* 2, 492-493, H. Waquet, ed., p. 102.

⁷¹⁹ AV 888, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 526.

⁷²⁰ AV 889, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 526.

⁷²¹ *Vita s. Gildae* 2, J. Mabillon, ed., *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti* 1, pp. 147-148.

Frankish Casualties

889

*Sclademar (who fought at Robert's side) was killed⁷²²

890

*Bishop Lista of St Lô died⁷²³

Northmen's Casualties

890

*Northmen's camp at St Lô levelled by Bretons and all within killed or forced to flee to Seine⁷²⁴

*Odo inflicted damage on Northmen at Germigny⁷²⁵

891

*Arnulf killed many thousands of Northmen at Louvain and many others drowned in the Dyle river and two kings, Sigfrid and Godfred killed also⁷²⁶

Tribute

888

*Sigmund treated with Northmen to give up Meaux in exchange for lifting of siege⁷²⁷

889

*[autumn] Odo bought off the Northmen who then went to the Cotentin⁷²⁸

Relics Translated

⁷²⁶ AV 891, G. H.

Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 527; *AF 891*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 408.

⁷²⁷ AV 888, G. H.

Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 526.

⁷²⁸ AV 889, G. H.

Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 526.

⁷²² Abbo, *Bella*

Parisiacae urbis 2, 477-482, H.

Waquet, ed., p. 102.

⁷²³ AV 890, G. H.

Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 526.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Literary Sources:

Abbo of St. Germain-des-Prés, *Bella Parisiacaе urbis*. Edited and translated by Henri Waquet. *Abbon: le siège de Paris par les normands*. Paris: Société d'Édition «Les Belles Lettres», 1964.

Adrevald of Fleury, *Miracula sancti Benedicti*. Edited by O. Holder-Egger. *MGH: SS 15, 1*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1887, pp. 474-497.

Aimoin of St-Germain-des-Prés, *Miracula Sancti Germani*. Edited in *AA SS, Maii 6*, pp. 796-805.

Alcuin, *Carmina*. Edited by E. Dümmler, *MGH Poet. 1*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1881, pp.160-351.

Alcuin, *Epistulae*. Edited by E. Dümmler, *MGH: Epp. 4, 2*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895, pp. 1-481.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. Translated and collated by Anne Savage. London: Guild Publishing, 1988.

Annales Bertiniani. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 1*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1826, pp.419-515.

Annales Engolismenses. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 16*. Hanover: Hahn, 1859, pp. 485-487.

Annales Fuldenses. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 1*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1826, pp. 337-415.

Annales Mascienses. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 3*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1839, pp. 169-170.

Annales regni Francorum. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 1*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1826, pp 135-218.

Annales Rotomagenses. Edited by O. Holder-Egger, *MGH: SS 26*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1882, pp. 488-517.

Annales Vedastini. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 1*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1826, pp. 516-531.

Annales Xantenses. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 2*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1829, pp. 217-235.

Translatio Sancti Germani Parisiensis. Analecta Bollandiana 2. 1883, pp. 69-98.

Ansegisus, *Capitularium Collectio*. Edited by A. Boretius, *MGH: Cap. 1*, Hanover: Hahn, 1883, pp. 382-450.

Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*. Edited and translated by William Henry Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.

Astronomer, *Vita Hludovici Pii*. Edited by G. Pertz, *MGH: SS 2*, Hanover: Hiersemann, 1829, pp. 607-648.

Audradus Modicus, *Liber Revelationum 12*. Edited by Ludwig Traube, "O Roma nobilis. Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter," in *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischer Classe der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 19 (1882), pp. 378-387. Translated by Paul E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*. 2nd ed. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004, pp. 357-358.

Capitularia regum Franciae occidentalis (Karoli II). Edited by A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH Capit. 2, 1*. Hanover: Hahn, 1897.

Carmina Centulensia. Edited by L. Traude, *MGH: PLAC 3*. Berlin: Weidmanns, 1896. pp. 265-368.

Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Sauveur de Redon. Edited by A. de Courson. Paris, 1863.

Chronicum Aquitanicum. Edited by G. Pertz, *MGH: SS 2*, Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1829, pp. 252-253.

Chronicon Fontanellense. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 2*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1829, pp. 301-304.

Chronicon Namnetense. Edited by R. Merlet, *La Chronique de Nantes*. Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1896.

Chronicon Sancti Maxentii. Edited and translated by J. Verdon, *La Chronique de Saint-Maxient, 751-1140*. Paris: Société d'Édition «Les Belles Lettres», 1979.

Consilium Tricassinum, Epistola Caroli Calvis Regis ad Nicolaum 1, Edited by J.-D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection 15*. Venice, 1771, cols. 796-800.

Continuator of Aimoin, *Historia Francorum* 5, 41, AA SS Julii 3. Antwerp 1723.

Karoli III imperatoris Diplomata. Edited by P. Kehr, MGH: Dip. 2. Berlin, 1937.

Ludowici Germanici, Karlomanni, Ludowici Iunioris, Diplomata. Edited by P. Kehr, MGH: Dip. 1. Berlin: Weidmanns, 1934.

Einhard, *Epistolae*. Edited by K. Hampe, MGH: Epp. 3. Berlin: Weidemanns, 1899, pp. 105-145.

Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*. Edited by G. H. Pertz, MGH: SS 2. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1829, pp. 426-463.

Epistola synodi Carisiacensis ad Hludowicum regem Germaniae directa, November 858. Edited by A. Boretius and V. Krause, MGH: Cap. 3. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1890, pp. 427-440.

Epistolae ad divotium Lotharii 2 regis pertinentes 16. Edited by E. Dümmler, MGH: Epp. 6, 4. Berlin: Weidman, 1925, pp. 207-240.

Ermentarius, *De translationibus et miraculis Sancti Philiberti Libri 2*. Edited by R. Poupardin, *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*. Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1905.

Ermoldus Nigellus, *In Honorem Hludowici Pii*. Edited and translated by E. Faral, *Ermold le Noir: Poème sur Louis le Pieux*. Paris: Société d'Édition «Les Belles Lettres», 1964.

Ex gestis Conwoionis abbatis Rotonensis. Edited by L. De Heinemann, MGH: SS 15, 1. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1857, pp. 455-459.

Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesia*. Edited by G. Waitz and J. Heller, MGH: SS 13. Hanover: Hahn, 1881, pp. 405-599.

Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum s. Bertini Sithiensium*. Edited by O. Holder-Egger, MGH: SS 13. Hanover: Hahn, 1881, pp. 600-673.

Fragmentum chronici Fontanellensis. Edited by G. H. Pertz, MGH: SS 2. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1829, pp. 301-304.

Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium. Edited and translated by C. Brett, *The Monks of Redon*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989.

Hildegarius of Meaux, *Vita et miracula Sancti Faronis*. Edited by B. Krusch, MGH: SS rer Mer 5. Hanover: Hahn, 1910, pp. 171-183.

Hincmar of Rheims, *Epistolae*. Edited by E. Perels, *MGH: Epp.* 8, 1. Berlin, 1939.

Historia translationis sancti Launomaris abbatis Crubionensis in oppidum Blesas. Edited by J. Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, 4, 2, 1680, pp. 246-247.

Hlotharii, Hludowici et Karoli conventus apud Marsnam primus. Edited by A. Boretius and V. Krause, *MGH: Cap.* 2, 204, Hanover, 1896, pp. 68-71.

Die Konzilien der Karolingischen Teilreiches 843-859. Edited by W. Hartmann, *MGH: Conc.* 3. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1984.

Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistulae*. Edited by P. K. Marshall, *Servati Lupi Epistulae*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1984.

Miracula et translates sancti Mauri. Edited by O. Holder-Egger, *MGH: SS* 15, 1. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1887, pp. 461-472.

Miracula sanctae Geonvefae. *AA SS, Ianuari* 1.8. Antwerp, 1643, pp. 147-151.

Miracula sanctae Opportunae. *AA SS, Aprilis* 3. Antwerp, 1675, pp. 67-70.

Miracula sancti Dionysii. Edited by J. Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti* 3, 2. Paris, 1672, pp. 343-364.

Miracula sancti Martialis. Edited by O. Holder-Egger, *MGH: SS* 15, 1. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1887, pp. 280-283.

Miracula sancti Martini. Edited by B. Krusch, *MGH: SS rer Mer* 3. Hanover, 1896, pp. 564-575.

Miracula sancti Richarii abbatis Centulensis. *AA SS, Aprilis* 3, pp. 450-456.

Miracula sancti Wandregisili. Edited by O. Holder-Egger, *MGH: SS* 15, 1. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1887, pp. 406-409.

Nithard, *Historiae Libri* 4. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS* 2. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1829, pp. 649-672.

Polyptique de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-de-Prés rédigé au temps de l'abbé Irminon. Edited by A. Longnon. Paris, 1886-95.

Receuil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France, 3 vols. Edited by G. Tessier. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1943-55.

Recueil des Actes d'Eudes, roi de France (888-898). Edited by G. Tessier and R.-H. Bautier. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1967.

Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de St-Benoît-sur-Loire 1. Edited by M. Prou and A. Vidier. Paris, 1900-1937.

Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH: SS 1*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1826, pp. 537-612.

Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*. Edited by D. C. F. Dahlmann, *MGH: SS 2*. Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1829, pp. 683-725.

Saxo Grammaticus, *The History of the Danes*. Edited and translated by P. Fisher and H.E. Davidson. Cambridge, 1979.

Thegan, *Gesta Hludovici Imperatoris*. Edited by G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS 2*. Berlin: Anton Hiersemann, 1829, pp. 585-604.

Translatio Leutfridi abbatis Madriacensis. Edited by W. Levison, *MGH: SS rer Mer 7*. Hanover: Hanover and Leipzig, 1920, p. 18.

Translatio sancti Germani Parisiensis. *Ana Boll 2*, 1883, pp. 69-98.

Vita Droctovei abbatis Parisiensis. Edited by B. Krusch, *MGH: SS rer Mer 3*. Hanover: Hahn, 1896, pp. 535-543.

Vita sancti Chrodogangi episcopi Sagiensis martyris. *AA SS Septembris 1*. Antwerp, 1746, pp. 763-773.

Vita sancti Tuduali 3. Edited by A. de la Borderie, *Les Trois vies de s. Tudual*. Paris, 1887.

Archaeological Reports:

Ambrosiani, B. "Birka and Dorestad." In H. Sarfatij, et al., eds., *In Discussion with the Past: Archaeological studies presented to W. A. van Es*, pp. 239-242. Zwolle/Amersfoort: Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, and the National Service for the Archaeological Heritage, 1999.

Balmelle, A. and C. Munier. "Reims (Marne). Médiathèque Centrale, rues Chanzy, Rockefeller, des Fuseliers." *Archéologie Médiévale 29*. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1999, pp. 259 ff.

- Balmelle, A. "Reims (Marne). Médiathèque Cathédrale à Reims (Marne). http://www.inrap.fr/site/fr/page.php?id=88&p=fiche-d-un-site&id_chantier=621 (5 November 2006).
- Barbier, J. "Quierzy (Aisne). Résidence pippinide et palais carolingien." In A. Renoux, ed., *Palais Médiévaux (France-Belgique). 25 ans d'archéologie*, pp. 85-86. Douai/Le Mans: Publications de l'Université du Maine, Société Archéologique de Douai, Conseil Général de la Sarthe, Communauté Urbaine du Mans, 1994.
- Bartels, M. "Vikingaanval en Deventer verdediging. Archeologisch onderzoek aan de Smedenstraat 38-44 te Deventer." *Archeologie in Deventer*, 5. Deventer: Gemeente Deventer, 2003.
- Bartels, M. "De Deventer wal tegen de Vikingen archeologisch en historisch onderzoek naar de vroegmiddeleeuwse wal en stadsmuren (850-1900) vroegmiddeleeuwse omwalde nederzettingen," *Rapportage Archeologie Deventer*, 18. Deventer: Gemeente Deventer, 2006.
- Bartels, M. and Bart Vermeulen. "Deventer, Smedenstraat 38-44 (nr. 236)." *Overijssels Erfgoed*. Deventer: Archeologische en Bouwhistorische Kroniek, 2003, pp. 15-16.
- Besteman, J. C. "Carolingian Medemblik." *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 24. Amersfoort: Proceedings of the State Service for Archaeological Investigations in the Netherlands, 1974, pp. 43-106.
- Besteman, J. C. "Frisian Salt and the Problem of Salt-Making in North Holland in the Carolingian Period." *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 24. Amersfoort: Proceedings of the State Service for Archaeological Investigations in the Netherlands, 1974, pp. 171-174.
- Besteman, J. C. "North Holland AD 400-1200: turning the tide or tide turned?" In J. C. Besteman, et al., eds. *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands: Studies presented to H. H. van Regteren Altena*, pp. 91-120. Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990.
- Besteman, J. C. "Viking Silver on Wieringen." In H. Sarfatij, et al., eds., *In Discussion with the Past: Archaeological studies presented to W. A. van Es*, pp. 253-266. Zwolle/Amersfoort: Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, and the National Service for the Archaeological Heritage, 1999.
- Besteman, J. C. "Wieringen Westerklijf II." *Archeologische Kroniek Noord-Holland 2001*. Haarlem: Historische Vereniging Holland, 2002, pp. 47 ff.

Besteman, J. C. "Two Viking Hoards from the former island of Wieringen (The Netherlands): Viking Relations with Frisia in an archaeological Perspective." In John Hines, Alan Lane and Mark Redknap, eds., *Land, Sea and Home: Proceedings of a Conference on Viking-period Settlement, at Cardiff, July 2001*, pp. 93-108. Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2004.

Besteman, J.C., J.M. Bos and H.A. Heidinga, eds. *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands: Studies presented to H. H. van Regteren Altena*. Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990.

Blary, F. and V. Blary. "Château-Thierry (Aisne). Le vieux château." *Archéologie Médiévale* 23. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1993, pp. 417 ff.

Bonnamour, L. *Archéologie de la Saône: 150 ans de recherches*. Chalon-sur-Saône: Editions Errance/Ville de Chalon-sur-Saône, 2000.

Boüard, M. de. "«New archaeology» et archéologie médiévale: Quelques réflexions critiques." In R. Lejeune and J. Deckers, eds. *Mélanges d'histoire, d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie offerts à Jacques Stiennon à l'occasion de ses vingt-cinq ans d'enseignement à l'Université de Liège*, pp. 57-65. Liège: Pierre Mardaga, 1982.

Bourgeois, L. "Villejoubert (Charente). La Garenne." *Archéologie Médiévale* 34. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2004, pp. 263-264.

Buck, C. E. et al. "Making the most of radiocarbon dating: some statistical considerations." *Antiquity* 68. Gloucester, England: Antiquity Publications, 1994, pp. 254-257.

Bult, E. J. and D. P. Hallewas. "Archaeological evidence for the early-medieval settlement around the Meuse and Rhine deltas up to ca AD 1000." In J. C. Besteman, et al., eds., *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands: Studies presented to H. H. van Regteren Altena*, pp. 71-90. Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990.

Bureau, J. "Les Fouilles de l'ancienne église abbatiale de Stavelot: Rapport des saisons 1983-1984." *Bulletin de la Société royale le Vieux-Liège*, 11, 232-233. Liège: Société royale le Vieux-Liège, 1986, pp.117-136.

Callebaut, D. "Het oud Kasteel te Petegem I: de Karolingische curtis en haar ontwikkeling tot de XIIde eeuw." *Archaeologia Belgica*, 237. Brussels, 1981, pp. 49-50.

Callebaut, D. "Résidences fortifiées et centres administratifs dans la vallée de l'Escaut (IXe – XIe siècle)." In Pierre Demolon et al., eds., *Archéologie des villes dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe (VIIe – XIIIe siècle)*. Douai: Société Archéologique de Douai, 1994, pp. 93-110.

Callebaut, D. "Petegem (Flandre orientale, Belgique). *Curtis* carolingienne." In A. Renoux, ed., *Palais Médiévaux (France-Belgique). 25 ans d'archéologie*, pp. 106-108. Douai/Le Mans: Publications de l'Université du Maine, Société Archéologique de Douai, Conseil Général de la Sarthe, Communauté Urbaine du Mans, 1994.

Casparie, W. A. and J. E. J. Swarts. "Wood from Dorestad, Hoogstraat I." In W. A. van Es and W. J. H. Verwers, eds., *Excavations at Dorestad I, The Harbour: Hoogstraat I*. Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, 1980, pp. 262-285.

Conseil Général du Val-d'Oise and Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de la Culture. *L'Île-de-France de Clovis à Hugues Capet du Ve siècle au Xe siècle*. Condé-sur-Noireau: Editions du Valhermeil, 1993.

Dearden, B. "Charles the Bald's fortified bridge at Pîtres (Seine): recent archaeological investigations." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 11. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1989, pp. 107-111.

Dearden, B. and A. Clark. "Pont-de-l'Arche or Pîtres? A location and archaeomagnetic dating for Charles the Bald's fortifications on the Seine." *Antiquity*, 64. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 567-571.

Demolon, P. and E. Louis. "Naissance d'une cité médiévale flamande: L'exemple de Douai." In P. Demolon, H. Galinié and F. Verhaeghe, eds., *Archéologie des villes dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe (VIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, pp. 47-60. Douai: Société Archéologique de Douai, 1994.

Dhondt, J. "Le problème de Quentovic." *Studi in onore d'Amintore Fanfani*, Milan: Giuffrè, 1962, pp. 185-248.

Dijkman, W. "Maas-Tricht, lieu de defence et centre religieux," In P. Demolon, H. Galinié and F. Verhaeghe, eds., *Archéologie des villes dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe (VIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, pp. 35-40. Douai: Société Archéologique de Douai, 1994.

Eickhoff, E. "Maritime Defence of the Carolingian Empire." In R. Simek and U. Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia*, pp. 50-64. Vienna: Fassbaender, 2004.

Es, W. A. van. "Early Medieval Settlements." *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 23. Amersfoort: Proceedings of the State Service for Archaeological Investigations in the Netherlands, 1973, pp. 281-287.

Es, W. A. van and A. D. Verlinde, eds. "Overijssel in Roman and Early-Medieval Times." *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 27. Amersfoort: Proceedings of the State Service for Archaeological Investigations in the Netherlands, 1977, pp. 7-89.

Es, W. A. van and W. J. H. Verwers, eds. *Excavations at Dorestad I: the Harbour, Hoogstraat I*. Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, 1980.

Es, W. A. van and W. J. H. Verwers, eds. "Karolingisch draaischijfaardewerk uit Deventer." *Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, Overdrukken 243. Utrecht: Proceedings of the State Service for Archaeological Investigations in the Netherlands, 1985, pp. 23-40.

Es, W. A. van. "Dorestad centred." In J. C. Besteman, et al., eds., *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands: Studies presented to H. H. van Regteren Altena*, pp. 151-182. Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990.

Galinié, H. "Fouilles Archéologiques à Tours, 1982. Rapport préliminaire." *Bulletin Trimestriel de la Société archéologique de Touraine* 40. Tours: Société archéologique de Touraine, 1982, pp. 153-199.

Galinié, H. "Fouilles Archéologiques à Tours 1978-1979. Rapport préliminaire." *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Touraine* 39. Tours: Société archéologique de Touraine, 1979, pp. 203-249.

Galinié, H. "Émergence ou ré-émergence des villes dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe VIIe-Xe siècle." In P. Demolon, H. Galinié and F. Verhaeghe, eds., *Archéologie des villes dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe (VIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, pp. 9-16. Douai: Société Archéologique de Douai, 1994.

Gentili, F. "Louvres-en-Parisis (Val-d'Oise). Le bois d'Orville." *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2000-2001.

Gilot, E. "Fouille de la place Saint-Lambert à Liège: datations par ¹⁴C dans le secteur occidental." In M. Otte, ed., *Les Fouilles de la Place Saint-Lambert à Liège 2: Le vieux marché*, pp. 215-226. Liège: Études et Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Liège, 23, 1988.

Groothedde, M. "The Vikings in Zutphen (Netherlands). Military organisation and early town development after the Viking raid in 882." In R. Simek and U. Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia*, pp. 111-132. Vienna: Fassbaender, 2004.

Guigon, P. "Locronan (Finistère). Résidence aristocratique carolingienne." In A. Renoux, ed., *Palais Médiévaux (France-Belgique). 25 ans d'archéologie*, pp. 58-59. Douai/Le Mans: Publications de l'Université du Maine, Société Archéologique de Douai, Conseil Général de la Sarthe, Communauté Urbaine du Mans, 1994.

Hansen, S. S. and K. Randsborg, eds. *Vikings in the West: Acta Archaeologica 71, Supplementa 2*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 2000.

Heeringen, R. M. van. "De resultaten van het archeologisch onderzoek van de Zeeuwse ringwalburgen." In R. M. van Heeringen, et al., eds., *Vroeg-Middleleeuwse ringwalburgen in Zeeland*, pp. 17-39. Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, 1995.

Hill, D., et al. "Quentovic Defined." *Antiquity* 64. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 51-58.

Hill, D., et al., eds. "The Definition of the Early Medieval Site of Quentovic." *Antiquity* 66. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 965-969.

Himstedt, T. "How the Vikings got to the Rhine. A historical-geographical survey over the Rhinelands in the Early Middle Ages." In R. Simek and U. Engels, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia*, pp. 23-64. Vienna: Fassbaender, 2004.

Hodges, R. "Dark Age Economics Revisited: W. A. van Es and the End of the Mercantile Model in Early Medieval Europe." In H. Sarfatij, et al., eds., *In Discussion with the Past: Archaeological studies presented to W. A. van Es*, pp. 227-232. Zwolle/Amersfoort: The Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, and the National Service for the Archaeological Heritage, 1999.

Hoffsummer, P. and C. Tilkin-Peters. "La fouille du Vieux-Marché." In M. Otte, ed., *Les Fouilles de la Place Saint-Lambert à Liège, 2: Le vieux marché*, pp. 61-71. Liège: Études et Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Liège, 23, 1988.

Jaubert, A. N. "Some Aspects of Viking Research in France." In S. S. Hansen and K. Randsborg, eds., *Vikings in the West: Acta Archaeologica 71, Supplementa 2*, pp. 159-169. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 2000.

Jeset, S. and P. Georges. "Sorigny (Indre-et-Loire). Netilly." *Archéologie Médiévale* 34. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2004, pp. 203-204.

Kars, H. "Early-medieval Dorestad, an archaeo-petrological study, 7: summary of the petrological results." *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 33. Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, 1983, pp. 83-94.

Lavedan, P. and Jeanne Huguency. *L'Urbanisme au Moyen Age: Ouvrage honoré d'une subvention du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique*. Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1974.

Lebecq, S. "Long Distance Merchants and the Forms of their Ventures at the Time of the Dorestad Heyday." In H. Sarfatij, et al., eds., *In Discussion with the Past: Archaeological studies presented to W. A. van Es*, pp. 233-238. Zwolle/Amersfoort: Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, and the National Service for the Archaeological Heritage, 1999.

LeMaho, J. "Les fragments de vitraux carolingiens de la Cathédrale de Rouen." *Bulletin des Amis des Monuments Rouennais*. Rouen, 1992-1993, pp. 39-43.

Le Maho, J. "Les fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen de 1985 à 1993: Esquisse d'un premier bilan." *Archéologie Médiévale*, 24. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1994, pp.1-49.

Louis, E. "Wandignies-Hamage (Nord). Ancienne abbaye." *Archéologie Médiévale* 26. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1996, p. 268 ff.

Louis, E. "Wandignies-Hamage (Nord). Ancienne abbaye." *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, pp. 2000-2001, pp. 218-219.

Louis, E. "Wandignies-Hamage (Nord). Ancienne abbaye." *Archéologie Médiévale* 32. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2002, pp. 237-238.

Martin, J.-F. "Sissonne (Aisne). Jeoffrécourt." *Archéologie Médiévale* 27. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, pp. 265 ff.

Milne, G. "Review. *A Slice Through Time. Dendrochronology and Precision Dating*, by M.G. L. Baillie," *Medieval Archaeology* 406. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1996, pp. 351-352.

Näsman, U. "Raids, Migrations, and Kingdoms — the Danish Case." In S. S. Hansen and K. Randsborg, eds., *Vikings in the West: Acta Archaeologica Supplementa* 2, pp. 1-7. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 2000.

Nilles, R. "Marmoutier (Bas-Rhin). Abbatiale Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul." *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2000-2001, p. 409.

Noizet, H. "Les chanoines de Saint-Martin de Tours et les Vikings." In P. Bauduin, ed., *Les fondations scandinaves en Occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie*, pp. 53-66. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2005.

Otte, M., ed. *Les Fouilles de la Place Saint-Lambert à Liège, 2: Le vieux marché*. Liège: Études et Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Liège, 23, 1988.

Otte, M. "L'Archéologie de la Place Saint-Lambert à Liège." *L'Archéologie en Région wallonne, 1980-1990*. Namur: Dossiers de la Commission Royale des Monuments, Sites et Fouilles, 1, 1993, pp. 93-97.

Päffgen, B. "Urban Settlements and Sacral Topography in the Rhineland at the Time of the Viking Raids." In R. Simek and U. Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia*, pp. 83-110. Vienna: Fassbaender, 2004.

Petitjean, M. "Compiègne (Oise). Palais mérovingien et carolingien: Zone palatiale carolingienne: l'apport des fouilles." In A. Renoux, ed., *Palais Médiévaux (France-Belgique). 25 ans d'archéologie*, pp. 37-40. Douai/Le Mans: Publications de l'Université du Maine, Société Archéologique de Douai, Conseil Général de la Sarthe, Communauté Urbaine du Mans, 1994.

Prié, A. "Paris (Seine). 15, rue du Temple (VI^e arrondissement)." *Archéologie Médiévale* 28. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1998, pp. 283-284.

Racinet, P. and L. Droin. "Boves (Somme). Complexe castral du quartier Notre-Dame." *Archéologie Médiévale* 32. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, pp. 254 ff.

Racinet, P. and L. Droin. "Boves (Somme). Complexe castral du quartier Notre-Dame." *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2000-2001, pp. 285 ff.

Racinet, P. and L. Droin. "Boves (Somme). Complexe castral du quartier Notre-Dame." *Archéologie Médiévale* 34. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2004, pp. 245 ff.

Randsborg, K. *The First Millenium AD in Europe and the Mediterranean: An Archaeological Essay*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Regteren Altena, H. H. van. "The origins and development of Dutch towns." *World Archaeology*, 2, 2. London: Taylor & Francis Ltd, 1970, pp. 128-140.

Renoux, A. ed. *Palais Médiévaux (France-Belgique). 25 ans d'archéologie*. Douai/Le Mans: Publications de l'Université du Maine, Société Archéologique de Douai, Conseil Général de la Sarthe, Communauté Urbaine du Mans, 1994.

Renoux, A. "Doué-la-Fontaine (Maine-et-Loire). Résidence et donjon des comptes d'Anjou et de Blois." In A. Renoux, ed., *Palais Médiévaux (France-Belgique). 25 ans d'archéologie*, pp. 44-45. Douai/Le Mans: Publications de l'Université du Maine, Société Archéologique de Douai, Conseil Général de la Sarthe, Communauté Urbaine du Mans, 1994.

Roesdahl, E. "The Archaeology of Medieval Artefacts." In Hans Andersson and Jes Wienberg, eds., *The Study of Medieval Archaeology: European Symposium for Teachers of Medieval Archaeology, Lund 11-15 June, 1990*, pp. 317-322. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993.

Saint Jean Vitus, B. "Tournus (Saône-et-Loire). «Castrum»: 17-19, quai du Midi." *Archéologie Médiévale* 25. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1995, pp. 315-317.

Sarfatij, H. "Digging in Dutch Towns: Twenty-Five Years of Research by the ROB in Medieval Town Centres." *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 23. Amersfoort: Proceedings of the State Service for Archaeological Investigations in the Netherlands, 1973, pp. 367-420.

Sarfatij, H., et al., eds. *In Discussion with the Past: Archaeological studies presented to W. A. van Es*. Zwolle/Amersfoort: Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, and the National Service for the Archaeological Heritage, 1999.

Sarfatij, H. "Tiel in Succession to Dorestad." In H. Sarfatij, et al., eds., *In Discussion with the Past: Archaeological studies presented to W. A. van Es*, pp. 267-278. Zwolle/Amersfoort: Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, and the National Service for the Archaeological Heritage, 1999.

Schute, I. A. *Rijksweg 57 — Rondweg Serooskerke-Noord*. Amsterdam: RAAP Archeologisch Adviesbureau, 1998.

Sindonino, S. "19, rue Eugène-Desteuque à Reims (Marne)." http://www.inrap.fr/site/fr/page.php?id=88&p=fiche-d-un-site&id_chantier=87 (5 November 2006).

Straten, K. van. "The Deventer Settlement and Earthwork in the Late-Carolingian Period." In Michiel H. Bartels, "De Deventer wal tegen de Vikingen archeologisch en historisch onderzoek naar de vroegmiddeleeuwse wal en stadsmuren (850-1900) en een vergelijking met andere vroegmiddeleeuwse omwalde nederzettingen." *Rapportages Archeologie Deventer* 18. Deventer: Gemeente Deventer, 2006, pp. 214-217.

Strydonck, M. van and J. Wouters, "Pitfalls in radiocarbon dating of archaeological bone derived from gelatine and specific gelatine fractions." In M. Lodewijckx, ed. *Belgian Archaeology in a European Setting 1, Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae* 12, pp. 131-137. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001.

Trimpe Burger, J.A. "Oost-Souburg, Province of Zeeland: a preliminary report on the excavation of the site of an ancient fortress (1969-1971)." *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 23. Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, 1973, pp. 355-366.

Varoqueaux, C. "Principaux resultants de la recherche archéologique en Haute-Normandie: Périodes historiques. 1982-1992." *Bulletin de la commission départementale des antiquités de la Seine-Maritime*, 61. Rouen: Cagniard, 1993, pp. 219-260.

Venault, S. "Auxerre (Yonne). Le site des Archives Départementales." *Archéologie Médiévale* 28. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1998, pp. 214 ff.

Vercauteren, F. "Comment s'est-on défendu, au IXe siècle dans l'empire franc contre les invasions normandes?" *Annales du XXXe congrès de la fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique*. Belgium: Federatie, 1935-1936, pp. 117-132.

Verhaeghe, F. "An Emerging Field Fighting University Incomprehension: Medieval Archaeology in Belgium and Flanders." In Hans Andersson and Jes Wienberg, eds., *The Study of Medieval Archaeology: European Symposium for Teachers of Medieval Archaeology, Lund 11-15 June, 1990*, pp. 113-129. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993.

Vermeulen, B. "Het archeologisch onderzoek aan de Smedenstraat 475 te Deventer, een voorpublicatie." *Rapportages Archeologie Deventer*, 14. Deventer: Gemeente Deventer, RMW-VHMZ, 2004, pp. 55-62.

Verwers, W. J. H. and A. E. Botman. "Absolute Dating of Early Medieval Wells in Wijk bij Duurstede." In H. Sarfatij, et al., eds., *In Discussion with the Past: Archaeological studies presented to W. A. van Es*, pp. 243-251. Zwolle/Amersfoort: Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, and the National Service for the Archaeological Heritage, 1999.

Vliet, K. van. "Traiecti muros heu! The Bishop of Utrecht during and after the Viking Invasions of Frisia (834-925)." In R. Simek and U. Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia*, pp. 133-154. Vienna: Fassbaender, 2004.

Willemsen, A. "Scattered across the Waterside: Viking Finds from the Netherlands." In R. Simek and U. Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia*, pp. 65-82. Vienna: Fassbaender, 2004.

Woltering, P. J. "Occupation History of Texel, III. The Archaeological Survey, Palaeogeography and Settlement Patterns." *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 42. Amersfoort: ROB, 1995, pp. 209-363.

Zadora-Rio, E. and H. Galinié. "Rigny-Ussé (Indre-et-Loire). Rigny." *Archéologie Médiévale* 30-31. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2000-2001.

Secondary Sources

Adams, A. and A.G. Rigg. "A Verse Translation of Abbo of St. Germain's *Bella Parisiaca urbis*." *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 14. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers n.v., 2005, pp. 1-68.

Adelson, H. L. "Early Medieval Trade Routes." *American Historical Review* 65. New York: Macmillan, 1960, pp. 271-287.

Andersson, T. and K. I. Sandred. *The Vikings: Proceedings of the Symposium of the Faculty of Arts of Uppsala University, June 6-9, 1977*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1978.

Astill, G. "Archaeology, economics and early medieval Europe." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 214-231.

Atsma, H. *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*. 2 vols. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989.

Austin, David and Leslie Alcock, eds. *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: studies in medieval archaeology*. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1990.

Austin, David. "The 'proper study' of medieval archaeology." In David Austin and Leslie Alcock, eds., *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: studies in medieval archaeology*, pp. 9-42. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1990.

Bagge, S. "Recent Trends in Historical Research on the Middle Ages in Europe." In Hans Andersson and Jes Wienberg, eds., *The Study of Medieval Archaeology: European Symposium for Teachers of Medieval Archaeology, Lund 11-15 June, 1990*, pp. 27-36. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993.

Bautier, R.-H. *Recueil des Actes de Louis le Bègue, Louis III et Carloman II rois de France, 877-884*. Paris, 1978.

- Bautier, R.-H. *Recherches sur l'histoire de la France médiévale: des Mérovingiens aux premiers Capétiens*. Hampshire: Variorum, 1991.
- Biddick, K., ed. *Archeological Approaches to medieval Europe*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1984.
- Bloch, M. *Feudal Society*. Translated by L. A. Manyon. Chicago, 1961.
- Blok, D. P. *De Franken in Nederland*. 3rd ed. Haarlem: Fibula-van Dishoeck, 1979.
- Bolin, Sture. "Mohammed, Charlemagne and Ruric." *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 1, Stockholm: The Scandinavian Society for Economic and Social History and Historical Geography, 1953, pp. 5-39.
- Bonde, S. and C. Maines. "The Archaeology of Monasticism: A Survey of Recent Work in France, 1970-1987." *Speculum* 63. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, pp. 794-825.
- Bonin, T. "L'habitat rural du haut moyen-âge en Ile-de-France: un état de la question." *Ruralia* 2. Prague: Institute of Archaeology, 1998, pp. 97-112.
- Buck, C. E., et al. "Making the most of radiocarbon dating: some statistical considerations." *Antiquity* 68. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 252-263.
- Brunterc'h, J.-P. "Le duché du Maine et la marche de Bretagne." *La Neustrie* 1. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989, pp. 29-127.
- Cabaniss, A. *Son of Charlemagne: a Contemporary Life of Louis the Pious*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1961.
- Calmette, J. *La diplomatie carolingienne*. Paris: E. Bouillon, 1901.
- Carmiggelt, A. H. and L. Hacquebord. "Historical archaeology in the Netherlands: a mature archaeological discipline." In J. C. Besteman, et al., eds., *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands: Studies presented to H. H. van Regteren Altena*, pp. 315-324. Asselt/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990.
- Champion, T. C. "Medieval archaeology and the tyranny of the historical record." In David Austin and Leslie Alcock, eds., *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: studies in medieval archaeology*, pp. 79-95. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1990.
- Chédeville, A. and H. Guillotel. *La Bretagne des Saints et des Rois: V-X siècle*. Rennes: Ouest-France, 1984.

Clarke, H. "Medieval Archaeology in Britain." In Hans Andersson and Jes Wienberg, eds., *The Study of Medieval Archaeology: European Symposium for Teachers of Medieval Archaeology, Lund 11-15 June, 1990*, pp. 37-40. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993.

Clarke, H. and Björn Ambrosiani. *Towns in the Viking Age*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.

Constable, G. "The Liber Memorialis of Remiremont." *Speculum* 48. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1972, pp. 260-277.

Coupland, S. "Charles the Bald and the defence of the West Frankish kingdom against the Viking invasions, 840-877." Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1987.

Coupland, S. "Dorestad in the ninth century: the numismatic evidence." *Jaarboek voor Munt-en Penningkunde* 75. Amsterdam: Royal Dutch Numismatic Society, 1988, pp. 5-26.

Coupland, S. "Money and coinage under Louis the Pious." *Francia* 17. München: Artemis Verlag, 1990, pp. 23-54.

Coupland, S. "The early coinage of Charles the Bald, 840-864." *Numismatic Chronicle* 151. London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1991, pp. 121-158.

Coupland, S. "The fortified bridges of Charles the Bald." *Journal of Medieval History* 17. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1991, pp. 1-12.

Coupland, S. "The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath? The Carolingian Theology of the Viking Invasions." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42, 4. London: Faber and Faber, 1991, pp. 535-554.

Coupland, S. "From Poachers to Gamekeepers: Scandinavian Warlords and Carolingian Kings." *Early Medieval Europe* 7, 1. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1998, pp. 85-114.

Coupland, S. "The Frankish Tribute Payments to the Vikings and their consequences." *Francia* 26, 1. Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1999.

Coupland, S. "Trading places: Quentovic and Dorestad reassessed." *Early Medieval Europe*, 11, 3. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2002, pp. 209-232.

Coupland, S. and J. L. Nelson. "The Vikings on the Continent." *History Today*. London, December 1988, pp. 12-19.

Demolon, P. "Villes et villages dans le nord-est de la Neustrie du VII^e au IX^e siècle." In H. Atsma, ed., *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, pp. 435-437. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989.

Dennett, D. C., Jr., "Pirenne and Muhammed." *Speculum*, 23, 2. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1948, pp. 165-190.

Devroey, J.-P. "Les services de transport à l'abbaye de Prüm au IX^e siècle." *Revue du Nord* 61. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université de Lille III, 1979, pp. 543-569.

Devroey, J.-P. "Un monastère dans l'économie d'échanges: les services de transport à l'abbaye Saint-Germain-des-Prés au IX^e siècle." *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 39. Paris: A. Colin, 1984, pp. 570-589.

Devroey, J.-P. "Réflexions sur l'économie des premiers temps carolingiens (768-877): grands domaines et action politique entre Seine et Rhin." *Francia* 13. München: Artemis Verlag, 1985, pp. 475-488.

Devroey, J.-P. and Chantal Zoller. "Villes, campagnes, croissance agraire dans le pays mosan avant l'an mil, vingt ans après ..." In J.-M. Duvosquel and Alain Dierkens, eds., *Villes et campagnes au Moyen Âge: Mélanges Georges Despy*, pp. 223-260. Liège: Éditions du Perron, 1991.

Devroey, J.-P. "Courants et réseaux d'échanges dans l'économie franque entre Loire et Rhin." *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea, 23-29 aprile 1992, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 60. Spoleto: Presso la sede del centro, 1993, pp. 327-393.

Devroey, J.-P. *Études sur le grand domaine carolingien*. Aldershot, Hampshire, UK and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1993.

D'Haenens, A. *Les invasions normandes en Belgique au IX^e siècle*. Louvain: Louvain Bureaux du Recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1967.

D'Haenens, A. "Les invasions normandes dans l'empire franc au IX^e siècle." *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo* 16, pp. 235-298. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1969.

D'Haenens, A. *Les invasions normandes, une catastrophe?* Paris: Flammarion, 1970.

Dhondt, J. *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IX^e-X^e siècles)*. Bruges: De Tempel, 1948.

Dhondt, J. "Les problèmes de Quentovic." In *Studi in onore de Amintore Fanfani 1: Antichità e alto medioevo*. Milan: Giuffrè, 1962, pp. 183-248.

Dierkens, A. *Abbayes et chapîtres entre Sambre et Meuse (VIIe-IXe siècles)*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1985.

Duby, G. *The Early Growth of the European Economy*. Translated by H. B. Clarke. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1974.

Dutton, P. E., ed. *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*. 2nd ed. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004.

Dutton, P. E., ed. and transl. *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard*. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1998.

Duvosquel, J.-M. and Alain Dierkens, eds. *Villes et campagnes au Moyen Âge: Mélanges Georges Despy*. Liège: Éditions du Perron, 1991.

Faral, E. *Ermold le Noir: Poème sur Louis le Pieux et Épitres au roi Pépin*. Paris: Société d'Édition «Les Belles Lettres», 1964.

Fasoli, G. *Le incursioni ungare in Europa nel secolo X*. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1945.

Favre, E. *Eudes: compte de Paris et roi de France*. Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1893.

Fehring, G. P. *The Archaeology of Medieval Germany: an introduction*. Translated by Ross Samson. London: Routledge, 1991.

Fleuriot, L. and P.-R. Giot. "Early Brittany." *Antiquity* 51. Cambridge: Antiquity Trust, 1977, pp. 106-116.

Foote, P.G. and D.M. Wilson. *The Viking Achievement: The society and culture of early medieval Scandinavia*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980.

France, J. "The military history of the Carolingian period." *Revue Belge d'Histoire Militaire* 26. Brussels: Société royale des amis du muse de l'armée et d'histoire militaire, 1985, pp. 81-89.

Francovich, R. "Some Notes on Medieval Archaeology in Mediterranean Europe." In Hans Andersson and Jes Wienberg, eds., *The Study of Medieval Archaeology: European Symposium for Teachers of Medieval Archaeology, Lund 11-15 June, 1990*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993.

Galinié, H. "Reflections on early medieval Tours." In R. Hodges and B. Hobley, eds., *The Rebirth of Towns in the West 700-1050*, pp. 57-62. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988.

Ganshof, F. L. *Étude sur le développement des villes entre Loire et Rhin au moyen âge*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1943.

Ganshof, F. L. *La Belgique carolingienne*. Brussels: La Renaissance du livre, 1958.

Ganshof, F. L. *Recherches sur les Capitulaires*. Paris: Sirey, 1958.

Garaud, M. "Les incursions des Normands en Poitou et leurs conséquences." *Revue Historique*, 180. Paris: Librairie G. Bailleère, 1937, pp. 241-267.

Gauthier, N. "Rouen, Paris et Trèves." In H. Atsma, ed., *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-19. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989.

Gibson, M.T. and Janet L. Nelson, eds. *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*. 2nd rev. ed. Aldershot: Variorum, 1990.

Gillmor, C. "War on the rivers: Viking numbers and mobility on the Seine and Loire, 841-886." *Viator* 19. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988, pp. 79-109.

Glenn, J. *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Godman, P. *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*. London: Duckworth, 1985.

Godman, P. *Poets and Emperors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Godman, P. and R. Collins, eds. *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Grierson, P. "Les origines de comtés d'Amiens, Valois et Vexin." *Moyen Age* 49. Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1939, pp. 81-123.

Grierson, P. "Abbot Fulco and the date of the Gesta Abbatum Fontanessensium." *English Historical Review* 55. London: Longmans, Green, 1940, pp. 275-284.

Grierson, P. "The relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Series* 23. 1940, pp. 71-112.

- Grierson, P. *Dark Age Numismatics*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1979.
- Grierson, P. and M. Blackburn. *Medieval European Coinage, volume 1: The Early Middle Ages (5th - 10th centuries)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Guenée, B. "Histoires, annals, chroniques." *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 28, 4. Paris: A. Colin, 1973, pp. 997-1016.
- Guillotet, H. "L'action de Charles le Chauve vis-à-vis de la Bretagne, 843-851." *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de la Bretagne* 53. Rennes: Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de la Bretagne, 1975, pp. 5-32.
- Halbertsma, H. "The Frisian Kingdom." *Berichten van die Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 15-16. Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, 1965-1966, pp. 69-108.
- Hamerow, H. "Review article: The archaeology of rural settlement in early medieval Europe." *Early Medieval Europe*, 3, 2. Harlow, England: Longman Group Limited, 1994, pp. 167-179.
- Hamerow, H. *Early Medieval Settlements, The Archaeology of Rural Communities in Northwest Europe, 400-900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Heidinga, H. A. *Frisia in the First Millenium*. Utrecht: Stichting Matrijs, 1997.
- Helvétius, A.-M. *Abbayes, Évêques et Laïques: Une politique du pouvoir en Hainaut au Moyen Âge (VIIe-XIe siècle)*. Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1994.
- Herlihy, D. *The History of Feudalism*. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.
- Hill, D. "Unity and diversity—a framework for the study of European towns." In R. Hodges and B. Hobley, eds., *The Rebirth of Towns in the West 700-1050*, pp. 8-15. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988.
- Himstedt, T. "How the Vikings got to the Rhine. A historical-geographical survey over the Rhineland in the Early Middle Ages." In R. Simek and U. Engel, eds., *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhineland and Scandinavia*, pp. 23-38. Vienna: Fassbaender, 2004.
- Hodges, R. *Dark Age Economics*. London: Duckworth, 1982.

Hodges, R. "North Sea Trade before the Vikings." In Kathleen Biddick, ed. *Archaeological Approaches to Medieval Europe, Studies in Medieval Culture 18*, pp. 193-201. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1984.

Hodges, R. "The rebirth of towns in the early Middle Ages." In R. Hodges and B. Hopley, eds., *The Rebirth of Towns in the West 700-1050*, pp. 1-7. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988.

Hodges, R. *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne*. London: Duckworth, 2000.

Hodges, R. and D. Whitehouse. *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Hodges, R. and B. Hopley, eds. *The Rebirth of Towns in the West 700-1050*. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988.

Innes, M. and R. McKitterick, "The writing of history." In R. McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture: emulation and innovation*, pp. 193-220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Jellema, D. "Frisian Trade in the Dark Ages." *Speculum* 30. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1955, pp. 15-36.

Joranson, E. *The Danegeld in France*. Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Library Publications, 1923.

Lauer, P. *Nithard: Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*. Paris: Société d'Éditions «Les Belles Lettres», 1964.

La Borderie, A. (Le Moyne) de. "La chronologie du cartulaire de Redon." *Annales de Bretagne* 5. 1889-90, pp. 535-630.

La Borderie, A. (Le Moyne) de. *Histoire de Bretagne*, 2. Rennes: J. Plihon & L. Hervé, 1898.

Le Goff, J. *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*. Chicago, 1980.

Lebecq, S. *Marchands et navigateurs frisons du haut moyen âge*. 2 vols. Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1983.

Lebecq, S. "Dans l'europe du nord des VIIe-IXe siècles: commerce frison ou commerce franco-frison?" *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Cultures* 41, 2. Paris: A. Colin, 1986, pp. 361-77.

Lebecq, S. "La Neustrie et la mer." In H. Atsma, ed., *La Neustrie*, pp. 405-40. Sigmariningen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989.

Lebecq, S. "On the use of the word 'Frisian' in the 6th – 10th centuries written sources: some interpretations." In Seán McGrail, ed., *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons (CBA Research Report 71)*, pp. 85-90. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1990.

Lebecq, S. "Pour une histoire parallèle de Quentovic et Dorestad." In J.-M. Duvosquel and A. Dierkens, eds., *Villes et campagnes au Moyen Âge: Mélanges Georges Despy*, pp. 415-428. Liège: Éditions du Perron, 1991.

Lebecq, S. "Les Vikings en Frise: Chronique d'un Échec relatif." In Pierre Bauduin, ed., *Les fondations scandinaves en Occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie*, pp. 97-112. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2005.

Leighton, A.C. *Transport and Communication in Early Medieval Europe*. Newton Abbot, 1972.

LeMaho, J. "Les Normands de la Seine à la fin du IXe siècle." In Pierre Bauduin, ed., *Les fondations scandinaves en Occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie*, pp. 161-179. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2005.

Leyser, K. *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*. Timothy Reuter, ed. London: The Hambledon Press, 1994.

Lifshitz, F. "The migration of Neustrian relics in the Viking Age: the myth of voluntary exodus, the reality of coercion and theft." *Early Medieval Europe*, 4, 2. Harlow, England: Longman Group Limited, 1995, pp. 175-192.

Lot, F. "Les tributes aux normands et l'église de France au IXe siècle." *BEC* 85. 1924, pp. 58-78.

Lot, F. *Recueil des travaux historiques*, 2. Genève-Paris: Librairie Droz, 1970.

Lot, F. and L. Halphen. *Le Règne de Charles le Chauve, I: 840-851*. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1909.

Lund, N. "Allies of God or man? The Viking expansion in a European perspective." *Viator* 20. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989, pp. 45-59.

MacLean, S. "Charles the Fat and the Viking Great Army." *War Studies Journal* 3. London: Department of War Studies, King's College, 1998, pp. 74-95.

- MacLean, S. *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- McCormick, M. *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300-900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- McKeon, P. R. *Hincmar of Laon and Carolingian Politics*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1978.
- McKitterick, R. *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751-987*. London, 1983.
- McKitterick, R. *The Carolingians and the Written Word*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Morimoto, Y. "Considérations nouvelles sur les «Villes et Campagnes» dans le domaine de Prüm au haut Moyen Âge." In J.-M. Duvosquel and A. Dierkens, eds., *Villes et Campagnes au Moyen Âge: Mélanges Georges Despy*, pp. 515-531. Liège: Éditions du Perron, 1991.
- Merlet, R. *La Chronique de Nantes*. Paris, 1896.
- Metcalf, D.M. "The prosperity of north-western Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries." *English Historical Review*, 2nd series 20. 1967, pp. 344-57.
- Metcalf, D.M. "Coinage and the rise of the Flemish towns." In M. J. Mayhew, ed., *Coinage in the Low Countries (880-1500)*, pp. 1-24. Oxford: BAR. 54, 1979.
- Milne, G. "Review: A Slice Through Time. Dendrochronology and Precision Dating, by M. G. L. Baillie." *Medieval Archaeology* 40. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1996, pp. 360-361.
- Morrison, K. F. "Numismatics and Carolingian Trade: A Critique of the Evidence." *Speculum*, 38. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1963, pp. 403-83.
- Musset, L. *Les Invasions: le second assaut contre l'Europe chrétienne (VIIe-XIe siècles)*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1965.
- Musset, L. *The Germanic Invasions: The Making of Europe AD 400-600*. Translated by Edward and Columba James. London: P. Elek, 1975.

Nelson, J. L. "Kingship and Empire." In R. McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, pp. 52-87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Nelson, J. L. *Ninth-Century Histories: The Annals of St-Bertin*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.

Nelson, J. L. *Charles the Bald*. London: Longman Group, 1992.

Nelson, J. L. "History-writing at the courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald." In A. Scharer and G. Scheibelreiter, eds., *Historiographie im Früher Mittelalter*, pp. 435-442. Wien: Oldenbourg, 1994.

Nelson, J. L. "England and the Continent in the ninth century: I, Ends and Beginnings." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12. London: Royal Historical Society, 2002, pp. 1-21.

Nissen-Jaubert, A. "Habitat ruraux et communautés rurales." *Ruralia*, 2. Prague: Institute of Archaeology, 1998.

Noizet, H. "Les Chanoines de Saint-Martin de Tours et les Vikings." In Pierre Bauduin, ed., *Les fondations scandinaves en Occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie*, pp. 53-66. Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2005.

Périn, P. and L. C. Feffer. *La Neustrie: les pays du nord et de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve (VIIe-IXe siècles)*. Rouen, 1985.

Pirenne, H. *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*. Translated by I. E. Clegg. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1936.

Pirenne, H. *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*. Translated by Frank D. Halsey. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956.

Pirenne, H. *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. London, 1939.

Polanyi, K. "Trade, Markets, and Money in the European Early Middle Ages." *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 11, 2. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1978, pp. 92-96.

Price, N. S. *The Vikings in Brittany*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1989.

Randsborg, K. *The Viking Age in Denmark: the Formation of the State*. London, 1980.

- Regenos, G. W., trans. and ed. *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966.
- Renaud, J. *Les Vikings et la Normandie*. Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France, 1989.
- Reuter, T. "Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 35. London, 1985, pp. 75-94.
- Reuter, T., trans. and ed. *The Annals of Fulda: Ninth-Century Histories*, 2. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.
- Reuter, T. *Communication and Power in Medieval Europe, 1: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*. London, 1994.
- Riché, P. *Instruction et vie religieuse dans le Haut Moyen Age*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1981.
- Rider, J. "Other Voices: Historicism and the Interpretation of Medieval Texts." *Exemplaria*, 1, 2. New York: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, SUNY, October 1989.
- Roesdahl, E. *Viking Age Denmark*. London, 1982.
- Roesdahl, E. "The Archaeology of Medieval Artefacts." In Hans Andersson and Jes Wienberg, eds., *The Study of Medieval Archaeology: European Symposium for Teachers of Medieval Archaeology, Lund 11-15 June 1990*, pp. 317-322. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993.
- Rouche, M. "The Vikings Versus the Towns of Northern Gaul: Challenge and Response." *Medieval Archaeology*. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1989, pp. 41-56.
- Sawyer, P.H. *The Age of the Vikings*. 2nd ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972.
- Sawyer, P. H. "Kings and Merchants." In P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood, eds. *Early Medieval Kingship*, pp. 139-58. Leeds: University of Leeds, 1977.
- Sawyer, P. H. "The Causes of the Viking Age." In R. T. Farrell, ed., *The Vikings*, pp. 1-7. London and Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1982.
- Sawyer, P. H., et al. *The Christianization of Scandinavia*. Åslingås: Viktoria Bokförlag, 1987.
- Sawyer, P. H. *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100*. New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1994.

Sawyer, P. H., ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Scholz, B., trans. and ed. *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories*. Ann Arbor, MI, 1970.

Simek, R. and U. Engel, eds. *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia*. Vienna: Fassbaender, 2004.

Smink, E. H. "Bibliography of Dutch medieval and post-medieval archaeology, 1976-1987." In J. C. Besteman, et al., eds., *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands: Studies presented to H. H. van Regteren Altena*, pp. 325-361. Asselt/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990.

Smith, J.M.H. "The 'Archbishopric' of Dol and the ecclesiastical politics of ninth-century Brittany." In S. Mews, ed., *Religion and National Identity*, pp. 59-70, *Studies in Church History* 18, 1982.

Smith, J.M.H. *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Steenstrup, J. *Les invasions normandes en France*. Translated by Gerard Walter. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1969.

Sullivan, R. E. "The Carolingian missionary and the pagan." *Speculum*, 28, 4. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1953, pp. 705-740.

Sullivan, R. E. "The Carolingian Age: Reflections on Its Place in the History of the Middle Ages." *Speculum*, 64. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1989, pp. 267-306.

Tabaczyński, S. "The Relationship between History and Archaeology: Elements of the Present Debate." *Medieval Archaeology*, 37. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1993, pp. 1-14.

TeBrake, W. "Ecology and economy in early medieval Frisia." *Viator* 9. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978, pp. 1-29.

Tessier, G. *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve*. 3 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963.

Vercauteren, F. "Comment s'est-on défendu, au IXe siècle dans l'empire franc contre les invasions normandes?" *XXXe congrès de la Fédération Archéologique de Belgique*. Brussels: La Fédération, 1936, pp. 117-132.

Vercauteren, F. "Monnaie et circulation monétaire en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France du VIe au XIe siècle." *Moneta e scambi nell'alto medioevo (Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto)* 8. Spoleto, 1961, pp. 279-311.

Verhaeghe, F. "An Emerging Field Fighting University Incomprehension: Medieval Archaeology in Belgium and in Flanders." In Hans Andersson and Jes Wienberg, eds., *The Study of Medieval Archaeology: European Symposium for Teachers of Medieval Archaeology, Lund 11-15 June 1990*, pp. 113-129. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993.

Verhulst, A. "Les origines urbaines dans le nord-ouest de l'Europe: essai de synthèse." *Francia* 16. München: Artemis Verlag, 1986, pp. 57-80.

Verhulst, A. "The origins of towns in the Low Countries and the Pirene thesis." *Past and Present* 122. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Past and Present Society, 1989, pp. 3-35.

Verhulst, A. *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Verhulst, A. *The Carolingian Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Verhulst, A. and Y. Morimoto. *L'économie rurale et l'économie urbaine au Moyen Âge*. Ghent and Fukuoka: Belgisch Centrum voor landelijke Geschiedenis, 1994.

Verwers, W. J. H. "Dorestad: a Carolingian town?" In R. Hodges and B. Hobley, eds., *The Rebirth of Towns in the West 700-1050*, pp. 52-56. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988.

Vogel, W. *Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie (799-911)*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1906.

Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. *The Vikings in Francia*. Reading: The Stenton Lecture for 1974, 1975.

Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. *Early Medieval History*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975.

Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. "A Carolingian Renaissance Prince: Charles the Bald." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 64. 1980, pp. 155-84.

Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. *The Frankish Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Waquet, H., ed. and trans. *Abbon: Le Siège de Paris par les Normands*. Paris, 1942.

Werner, K. F. "La genèse des duchés en France et en Allemagne." *Settimane* 28. 1981, pp. 175-207.

Werner, K. F. "Faire revivre le souvenir d'un pays oublié: La Neustrie." In H. Atsma, ed., *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, Vol. 1, pp. xiii-xxxi. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1989.

Wormald, C. P. "Viking Studies: Whence and Whither?" In R. T. Farrell, ed., *The Vikings*, pp. 128-153. London and Chichester: Philimore & Co. Ltd, 1982.

Wormald, C. P., ed. *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.

Yamada, M. "Le mouvement des foires en Flandre avant 1200." In J.-M. Desvosquel and A. Dierkens, eds., *Villes et Campagnes au Moyen Âge: Mélanges Georges Despy*, pp. 773-789. Liège: Éditions du Perron, 1991.

Yeandle, D.N. "The Ludwigslied: King, Church and context." In J. Flood and D.N. Yeandle, eds., *'mit regulu bituungan'*. Göppingen: Neue Arbeiten zur althochdeutschen Poesie und Sprache, 1989.