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

by

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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
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# 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map 1:</th>
<th>Netherlands</th>
<th>229</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Map 2:</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 3:</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 4:</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>SS Acta Sanctorum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>Annales Bertiniani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbo</td>
<td>Bella Parisiaceae urbis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adrevald</td>
<td>Miracula s. Benedicti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcuin</td>
<td>Epistolae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Annales Engolismenses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF</td>
<td>Annales Fuldenses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana Boll</td>
<td>Analecta Bollandiana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>Annales Rotomagenses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARF</td>
<td>Annales regni Francorum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASC</td>
<td>Anglo-Saxon Chronicles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asser</td>
<td>De rebus gestis Aelfredi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Annales Vedastini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AX</td>
<td>Annales Xantenses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF</td>
<td>Chronicon Fontanellense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CN</td>
<td>Chronicon Namnetense</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Einhard</td>
<td>Epistolae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ermentarius</td>
<td>De translationibus et miraculis s. Filiberti libri 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ermold</td>
<td>Carmen in honorem Hludowici</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupus</td>
<td>Epistolae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii
MGH

Cap.

Dip.

Epp.

PLAC

Poet.

SS

SS rer

Mer

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 Sawyer\(^1\) 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 Pirenne\(^3\) 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.


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 Universitätbuchhandlung, 1906), passim.

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

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


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. 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.

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

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9 Sawyer, *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
costlines 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.


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

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\(^ {15}\)Hodges 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 emporia 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.

16 Hodges and Whitehouse, Mohammed, Charlemagne, pp. 91-92.
17 Hodges 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.\(^\text{18}\)

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.\(^\text{19}\) 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.\(^\text{20}\) Documentary evidence and archaeological findings 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

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\(^{20}\) W.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 Ouheidkindig 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{22} He accounts for the existence and role of the various portus and emporia as exceptions to the rule that “[m]ovable wealth no longer played any part in economic life.”\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{24} In this context, the Northmen’s invasions into western

\textsuperscript{21}Lebecq, \textit{Marchands et navigateurs}, pp. 226-229.

\textsuperscript{22}Henri Pirenne, \textit{Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe} (New York, 1937), p. 6.

\textsuperscript{23}Pirenne, \textit{Economic and Social History}, p. 7.

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

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 emporia 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

they were, in fact, traders before they became raiders. 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. 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. 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. 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

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29 Vogel, *Die Normannen*, passim.

30 Lot, *Recueil des travaux*, passim.

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.\(^\text{32}\)

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

Northmen, particularly in relation to Belgium. In his *Les invasions normandes en Belgique au IXe 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. He views the invasions of the Northmen to be central to the interpretation and understanding of the history of the ninth and tenth centuries. 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 Xe siècle." 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


metals were the Northmen themselves. 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. Despite the regular attacks on such emporia 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).

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

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. 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.

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*, Adriaan Verhulst in his *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* and *The Carolingian Economy* and Michael McCormick in

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


42 Adriaan Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Cambridge:
his Origins of the European Economy 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. 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." 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).

43 Adriaan Verhulst, The Carolingian Economy.

44 Michael McCormick, Origins of the European Economy.

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

46 Clarke and Ambrosiani, Towns in the Viking Age, p. 3.
century when there was a more widespread "re-emergence of urban culture," but that this continuity was represented by ecclesiastical and administrative institutions rather than commercial and industrial activities. 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." 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.

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

51 Clarke 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.\(^\text{52}\) 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."\(^\text{53}\) 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.\(^\text{54}\)

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.\(^\text{55}\) 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

\(^{52}\)Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, pp. 158-168.


\(^{54}\)Clarke and Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, p. 173.

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. 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.


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


that *emporia*, 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.\(^1\) 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 8\(^{th}\) century and the first quarter of the 9\(^{th}\) 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."\(^2\)

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."\(^3\) In fact, he draws together source material to show that the monasteries and other large estates varied their holdings geographically in order


\(^2\)Van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 1*, p. 223.

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.\footnote{McCormick, \textit{Origins of the European Economy}, p. 8.}

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 Cormeilles-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 trade.
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

McCorrnick 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


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

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


72 Joachim Henning, “Slavery or freedom? The causes of early medieval
Europe’s economic advancement” *Early Medieval Europe* 12, 3, (Oxford,
Loire, the Meuse and the Seine. 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. “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.”

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.”

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

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75 McCormick, *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.

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. Even tributaries of the Rhine, says McCormick, point to a lively and expanding trade between settlements in this region. McCormick locates merchants at various points around the perimeters of the Frankish territories, along the navigable rivers in emporia and wherever and whenever the court met to convene an assembly. Sawyer, too, has pointed out that the Frankish emporia, and those located in Scandinavian territory, were under royal jurisdiction which enabled rulers to exact tolls and other taxes. He states that, for the emporia 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. ... Tolls were 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.

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

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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


stone being transported both along river systems and coastlines, and also over land.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{86} McCormick mentions that the lucrative slave trade increased in Carolingian Francia with the

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\textsuperscript{84}McCormick, \textit{Origins of the European Economy}, pp. 733-758.
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\textsuperscript{86}McCormick, \textit{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.”

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. 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.”

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.

Defences

Beginning with Charlemagne, the Carolingian empire faced increasingly

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

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92ARF 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.\footnote{Sawyer, Kings and Vikings, pp. 81-83.} 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.”\footnote{Sawyer, Kings and Vikings, p. 85.} 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...
of Roman walls in place but which had deteriorated due to the practice of using the walls as quarries for building materials. 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. 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." 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.

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...
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."\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{100} Coupland, \textit{Charles the Bald}, pp. 158-165.


Toward the end of the ninth century, many of the great monastic houses were fortified for their defence against the Northmen’s attacks.\textsuperscript{103} This is echoed in the secular construction of fortifications that took place under Charles the Bald who, in June 864, issued his \textit{Edict of Pithes} which related to his governance of the realm and concerned monetary reform and the fortification of \textit{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 \textit{castra} be built in others such as St-Denis, Auvers, and Charenton.\textsuperscript{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 bridges.

\textsuperscript{103} Riché, “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\textsuperscript{e} siècle se fortifier, s’entourer de murailles pour résister à l’invasion.”

\textsuperscript{104} F. Vercauteren, “Comment s’est-on défendu, au ix\textsuperscript{e} siècle dans l’empire franc contre les invasions normandes?” XXX\textsuperscript{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, form 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 Parisiacae 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.\footnote{Michael McCormick, Les Annales du haut moyen âge, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), pp 13-16.} 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.\footnote{Janet 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].}

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
mind,” 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. 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.”

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

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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


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...
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, for medieval historians, although they clung to the old clichés, the whole purpose of history became an anti-rhetorical effort to

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 miraculi, 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


literature, epic poetry, classical histories and hagiography.\textsuperscript{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, \"texts 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.\textsuperscript{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


\textsuperscript{121}Matthew Innes, \"Introduction: using the past, interpreting the present, influencing the future,\" in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes, eds., \textit{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. Prudentius, a Spaniard who was a member of the imperial household and "remained well placed to participate in the ongoing task of annal-keeping" 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."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. 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. 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." Hincmar suffered, along with many other courtiers, periodic

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.”  

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.” 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

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Louis the Younger.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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


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.”

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].” 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

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translations of the body of St. Philibert. 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. 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.” 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

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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. 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 Ennold's *In honorem Hludowici Pii* and Abbo of St. Germain's *Bella Parisiacae 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.

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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.


gathered to oppose them. 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.

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 Parisiace 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.

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

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.”

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 turrin, juge fed/ Ingerinant bellum.”

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.' 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." 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 Pitérs where the Andelle and Eure rivers flow into the Seine, and

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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 lunii
at Les Ponts-de-Cé on the Loire river in 873 after the battle over Angers.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Rüstringen from Louis in 826.\textsuperscript{149} At this point, to cement their relationship, Louis

\begin{quote}
Kalendas cum multis operariis et carris convenire facit, et in Sequana munitiones construens, ascendendi vel descendendi navibus propter Nortmannos aditum intercludit.”
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{148}Dutton, ed., Carolingian Civilization, p. 400.

\textsuperscript{149}ARF 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
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.”

of the North, 801-865 (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in
Foreign Parts, 1921) revised in Dutton, Carolingian Civilization, pp. 407-
“Quem cum iterum ad sua remittere vellet, ut eius auxilio munitus regni sui
fines repeteret, coepit diligentius quaerere, ... iubiente rege evocatur ad
palatium: cui abbas cuncta quae acta et dicta sunt retulit et quid vocaretur
aperuit. ... Deductus itaque ad praequentiam Augusti, cum ab ipso
interrogaretur, utrum pro Dei nomine, causa in gentibus Danorum
euangelium praedicandi, comes fieri vellet Herioldi? Omnino se velle
constantem respondit.” See also J. T. Palmer, “Rimbert’s Vita Anskarii and
Scandinavian Mission in the Ninth Century,” Journal of Ecclesiastical
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 Heriald [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


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

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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 Ermentarius 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.” 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.

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

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\(^{155}\)See *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 Parisiaceae urbis in testimonium afferi.”


\(^{157}\) *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
classical texts, 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.

158 Ermentarius, De translationibus et miraculis sancti Filiberti, praefatio, in
serenissimo rege, pari consensu comites, caeterique fideles qui illic
adferunt, decreverunt quanto melius fore beati Filiberti corpus inde
transferri debere quam ibi derelinqui; quod effectum esse constat anno
incarnationis domini nostri Jhesu Christi supra scripto.”

159 Tessier, 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.\textsuperscript{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,

\begin{quote}
[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.\textsuperscript{161}
\end{quote}

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,

\textsuperscript{160} Lifshitz, “The migration of Neustrian relics,” p. 192.

but that they increased in frequency and volume during the raids of the Northmen was evident when Charles the Bald issued the Edict of Pîtres 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. "Illus 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 nesse 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 missiones 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 Pitres ... may have been a response to a situation that was only local — confined, that is, to the lower Seine valley.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{AB} records that in 864 Lothar, son of Lothar, raised 4 \textit{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

\footnotesize{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 epistillis monstrant, dissolvatur; ... Et si infantes inde nati sunt, secundum legem et antiquam consuetudinem nostram infantes matrem sequantur."}

\textsuperscript{163}Janet L. Nelson, \textit{Charles the Bald}, p. 38.
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.

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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. 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 Mame, Yonne, Oise, and Aisne rivers, 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.”


monks of the abbey fled to their ships on the Seine and again in 863.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{170} The VA also makes reference to slaves that were held in

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


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.”\textsuperscript{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 kindom 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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{173} In 891


\textsuperscript{172}AV 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521. “Karlomannus Compendium palatium petiiit; et Nortmanni Condato ad naves sunt reversi; indeque omne regnum usque Hisam ferro et igne devastant, subversis moeniis, et monasteris 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.”

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, raising 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

\(^{174}\)AF 853, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 368. "Nordmanni per Ligerem fluvium venientes, Turonum Galliae civitatem praedantur, et inter alias aedes ecclesiæ quoque sancti Martini confessoris, nemine resistente, succendunt."


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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{177}Abbo, \textit{Bella Parisiacae urbis} 1, 177-185, in Adams and Rigg, transl., "A Verse Translation of Abbo of St. Germain's \textit{Bella Parisiacae urbis}," p. 28. Abbo, \textit{Bella Parisiacae urbis} 1, 177-185, in Waquet, trans. and ed., \textit{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 cçdem tribuere manto;/ 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,

\(^{178}\)These 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 Universitätbuchhandlung, 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.\(^79\) 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

\(^79\) *ARF* 800, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 187: "Redeunte verna temperie, medio ferre Martio rex Aquisgrani digressus, litus oceani Gallici perlustravit, et in ipso mari, quod tunc peratis Nordmannicis infestum erat, classem instituit, praesidia dispositus, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{180}ARF 810, in Bernard Walter Scholz, ed., Carolingian Chronicles: Royal
Frankish Annals and Nithard’s Histories (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan

\textsuperscript{181}Einhard, \textit{Vita Karoli Magni}, \textit{MGH: SS 2} p. 452: "Molitus est et classem contra bellum Nordmannicum, aedificatis ad hoc navibus iuxta flumina,
quaes 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."

\textsuperscript{182}ARF 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 Rüstringen in Frisia as a benefice and to serve as a buffer to repel further Danish attacks. 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, 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."
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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{185} in June 834 the monks again removed themselves to the mainland.\textsuperscript{186} In 835 the \textit{AE} reports that Count

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{ARF} 828, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 217: "Quod audientes filii Godofridi, contractis subito copiis, ad marcam veniunt, et nostros in ripa Aegidoriae 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; dein de in 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."

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

\item \textit{Annales Engolismenses (AE)} 834, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 16 (Hanover: Anton Hiersemann, 1859), p. 485: "mense Iunio Herus insula a generali monachorum habitatione destituitur."
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Rainald of Herbauge engaged the Northmen on Noirmoutier, but Pippin I who ruled Aquitaine at the time, did not consider the island worth defending because of its relatively remote location. 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.

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


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

raids on Dorestad, Walcheren, and Witla on an annual basis beginning in 834.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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


reported killed.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{AB} reports that a storm arose and scuttled a fleet of Danish pirates (\textit{piratae}) that had set out from their homeland.\textsuperscript{194} The \textit{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 "\textit{incongrua}."\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{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


\textsuperscript{195}Prudentius, \textit{AB 838}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 432: "Cuius petitio, quanto imperatoris indecens sive incongrua visa est, tanto vilius spreta et pro nihilo ducta est."
valley of the Seine was left undefended.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{198} Nithard also reports

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\textsuperscript{196}Tessier, ed., \textit{Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve}, 1, 3, pp. 9-12.


\textsuperscript{198}Prudentius, \textit{AB 841}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{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," 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.

843 - 844

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


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


\(^{202}\) *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.

\(^{204}\) Prudentius, *AB 844*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 441: “*Nortmanni per Garrondam Tolosam usque profiscentes, 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

205 Prudentius, 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.”

206 Ferdinand Lot and Louis Halphen, Le Règne de Charles le Chauve,
840-877, première partie: 840-851 (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion,

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.

208 Prudentius, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{211} The remains of St Leutfred and St Agofred were also buried at the monastery of La Croix-Saint-Ouen on the Eure.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{214} Ragnar then took his host to Paris slaughtering as they went, entered the deserted city on 28 March (Easter-eve),\textsuperscript{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

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\textsuperscript{209}Translatio sancti German, 3-4, Ana Boll 2, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{210}Translatio sancti Germani, 8, 21, 22, Ana Boll 2, pp. 75, 85, 87.
\textsuperscript{211}Miracula sanctae Genovefae, 10-12, AA SS Ianuarii 1 (Antwerp, 1643), p. 149.
\textsuperscript{213}Translatio sancti Germani, 8, Ana Boll 2, p. 75.
\textsuperscript{214}Translatio sancti Germani, 13, Ana Boll 2, pp. 79-80.
\textsuperscript{215}CF 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH SS 2, p. 302. See also Translatio sancti Germani, 3-4, Ana Boll 2, p. 72.
\end{flushright}
have escaped and the Northmen proceeded to destroy the buildings, hacking off columns and roof beams.\textsuperscript{216} The AB also reports that this monastery was burned as well as sacked.\textsuperscript{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"),\textsuperscript{218} but the Franks did not prevail in the battle and fled leaving the Northmen to hang 111 captive Franks and to maraud unimpeded,\textsuperscript{219} even though they themselves were reported to have lost more than 600 men.\textsuperscript{220} Ragnar removed a beam from the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and a bar from the Paris city gate as souvenirs.\textsuperscript{221} After the calamitous battle, Charles offered the Northmen 7,000 pounds of silver\textsuperscript{222} to depart the area, an action which

\textsuperscript{216} Translatio sancti Germani, 14-15, 30, Ana Boll 2, pp. 80-81, 91-92.

\textsuperscript{217} Prudentius, AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.

\textsuperscript{218} Translatio sancti Germani, 12, Ana Boll 2, p. 78: "in testimonium afferri."

\textsuperscript{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 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.

\textsuperscript{220} AX 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 228.

\textsuperscript{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 afferi."

\textsuperscript{222} The 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, and they did by 18 April, 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. 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. 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.

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

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\(^{224}\) Charles 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 Richatii*, 1, 11, *AA SS Aprilis* 3, p. 450.

\(^{227}\) Prudentius, *AB 845*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, pp. 441-442; *AX 845*,
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.


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

monastic community at Cunault by Count Vivian since they had suffered
"certainly the most frequent and unforseen barbarous persecution of the
Northmen and the Bretons."\textsuperscript{232} The AE and the Chronicle of Tourmus 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{235}

847 - 848

Further attacks took place in 847 in Brittany where Nominoë was forced to
pay bribes for the Northmen to depart;\textsuperscript{236} in the Loire valley they burned the

\textsuperscript{232}Georges Tessier, ed., Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, 1, no. 81, p. 228: "persecutionem barbaricam scilicet Normannorum et Brittanorum frequentissimam atque improvisam."


\textsuperscript{234}Prudentius, AB 846, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 442.

\textsuperscript{235}AX 846, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 228.

\textsuperscript{236}Prudentius, 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 Meersen 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 Meersen 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


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


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

weakness in the Frankish kingdoms to plunder, burn, and ravage the countryside at will. After the meeting at Meersen, in 848, Charles the Bald moved south to Aquitaine in an attempt to quash Pippin II’s regime and, during Lent, powerfully \textit{(viriliter)} defeated the Northmen who were reputed to have been let into Bordeaux to burn it by the Jews, or so said the \textit{AB} and had had captured the city and its duke, William. Charles took nine of their ships.\textsuperscript{242} At this point the Northmen destroyed Melle in Poitou by fire.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{244} For 849, only one mention is made of the Northmen’s attacks by the \textit{AB} which reports that the Northmen sacked and burned the city of Périgueux.

\textsuperscript{242}CF 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 2, p. 302.

\textsuperscript{243}CF 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 2, p. 302; AE 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 16, p. 486; Prudentius, \textit{AB} 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{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: “Norbmanni Metullum vicum populantes, incendio tradunt” (Prudentius, \textit{AB} 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 443). See also Coupland, \textit{Charles the Bald}, pp. 30-31; Nelson, trans. and ed., \textit{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., \textit{Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} rev. ed. (Aldershot: Variorum, Gower Publishing House, 1990), pp. 78-79.

\textsuperscript{244}Nelson, \textit{Charles the Bald}, p. 155.
and then returned unscathed to their ships. 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.

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.

Meanwhile, also in 850, another band of Northmen was reported by the AB to

245 Prudentius, 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.

have attacked and plundered Mempisc and Thérouanne and other coastal areas; by whom they were led is not specified. In 851 a fleet of "252 ships" of Northmen whose leader is also not identified, went to Frisia and, after exacting as much tribute as they requested, they left. In 851, a Northman, Oskar, and his fleet entered the Seine on 9 October after leaving Bordeaux in Aquitaine. 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." 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.

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249 These 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.

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


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.
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. These raiders reached Augustudunus and Charles then called in Lothar to help him expel these raiders. But, while they were blockading Godfred and Sidroc at Jeufosse 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.

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.

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255 W. 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.


257 Prudentius, 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. In June or July 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. Locations that reportedly suffered destruction at the hands of Oskar prior to the arrival of Sidroc included the monastery at Luçon in May, the monastery of St. Florent (about 50 km upstream on the Loire from Nantes), Nantes and Tours in June. 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.” 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

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. 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. 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

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266 A. 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. 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. 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.

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. Later in the year, they returned up the Loire and burned Angers. The AB also reports that in this year other Danes laid waste to


269 Adrevald, 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 cathenis astrictos 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.


Frisia near the Saxon border.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{273} In that year a three-day long civil war broke out\textsuperscript{274} 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."\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{277} On 22 August while at Tours, Charles also confirmed the possessions and rights of the monastic community of St Martin because their


\textsuperscript{273} AF 854, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 1}, p. 369.


\textsuperscript{277} Tessier, ed., \textit{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. Charles also issued a capitulary at Attigny in June 854 protecting the rights of the population who were fleeing ahead of the Northmen.

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." 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.

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278 Tessier, 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.


281 Prudentius, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{283} The CF identifies the leader of this group as Sidroc who presumably came to the area from the Loire.\textsuperscript{284} They reached Petremamula [Pîtres] along the road between Rouen and Paris and on 19 August they were joined by Bjørn’s powerful fleet.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{286} Flodoard\textsuperscript{287} 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

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item CF 855 [recte 856], G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 2}, p. 304.
\item CF 855 [recte 856], G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 2}, p. 304.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
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. But, on 28
December 856, the piratae attacked Paris and burned it.

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. 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. 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."

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
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.


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 potentæ, 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

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).


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.

299 Ermentarius, praefatio 2, in Poupardin, ed., Monumentes 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.

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

301 Prudentius, 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 chartrain du Xle 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. 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. Charles had assembled a fleet, “a marvellous fleet and nothing similar had been seen in our kingdom,” 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. This resentful attitude about Charles’s strategy of paying off

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302 Epistola synodi Carisiacensis ad Hludovicum 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.

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

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

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. 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. Lothar II, meanwhile, retreated back to his own kingdom and Charles took his troops from the siege of Ocellus to Burgundy, allowing the Northmen free rein in the Seine valley. 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 Ocellus 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 Bladulfvilla (Bloville). 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 Ocellus, 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."


who killed them. \textsuperscript{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 June\textsuperscript{311} 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{310}Prudentius, AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 453.

\textsuperscript{311}Prudentius, 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.

\textsuperscript{312}Prudentius, AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 453.

\textsuperscript{313}Prudentius, 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 *barban*. 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.

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. This action is confirmed by the gift presented to St Denis by Charles at Compiègne on 31 August 860 which was ratified on 18 September 862.

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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.  

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.  

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. The Northmen

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{323}Prudentius, AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 454: “Dani mense januario 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. They it was also during this raid that the monastery at St Eloi was destroyed. They then disembarked on an island in the Seine just below the town of Melun. Meanwhile, Weland and his fleet of 200 ships arrived at Thérouanne 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. 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

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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. The force that accompanied Weland's son then proceeded to ravage in the forest of Brie.

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. 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

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330 Hildengarius, *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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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


against Salomon.\textsuperscript{334} It was during this upheaval in Brittany that the monks of St Philibert again repaired from Cunault to the villa of Messais,\textsuperscript{335} and the relics of St Maur were removed to Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{337} With greater security in the Seine valley, the relics of Ste Genevieve were returned to their original location.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{334}Hincmar, 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.


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

\textsuperscript{337}Hincmar, 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.

\textsuperscript{338}Miracula sancta Genovefae, 32-37, AA SS I anuarii 1, pp. 150-151.

\textsuperscript{339}Hincmar, 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 Rorik, who was allied with Charles, to withdraw and they left by the same route they had come.

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. 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. 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

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340 This 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.


Angoulême is located.\textsuperscript{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 relics\textsuperscript{345} while the monks of St Maur fled from Le-Mèle-sur-Sarthe to Burgundy; the monks of St Exuperius fled from Bayeux to castrum Palludellum near Corbeil,\textsuperscript{346} and the relics of St Chrodegang and Ste Opportune were moved from Monasteriolum (probably Montreuil-la-Motte\textsuperscript{347}) to the east, in the case of St Chrodegang to Pannecières, and of Ste Opportune to Moussy-le-Neuf.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{344}Hincmar 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.

\textsuperscript{345}Miracula sancti Germani 2, 13, 17, AA SS Maii 6, pp. 804-805.


\textsuperscript{348}Vita sancti Chrodogangii 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


352Annales 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.  

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.” 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.

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

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

Attigny at the time marched to resist them.\textsuperscript{357} Charles reached Pitres 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 \textit{infestationem Normannorum.} He assigned guards at these locations to protect the workers.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{honores} by Charles, who was at Rouy.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{357}Hincmar, \textit{AB 865}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 469.

\textsuperscript{358}Hincmar, \textit{AB 865}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 469.

\textsuperscript{359}Hincmar, \textit{AB 865}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 470.

\textsuperscript{360}Hincmar, \textit{AB 865}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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


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.\footnote{Hincmar, *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.}

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.\footnote{Tessier, ed., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, 2, no 287, p. 135.} Bishop Actard of Nantes was also enslaved at this time and taken abroad in chains.\footnote{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.} 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).\footnote{Cartulaire de Redon, De Courson, ed., nos. 49, 207, pp. 39-40, 160.}
In September,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{369}

867

Only Bourges was reported to have been looted and burned in 867.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{368}Lot in \textit{Recueil des travaux}, 2, p. 816, note 4, dates this event to 15 September 866.


\textsuperscript{371}Tessier, ed., \textit{Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve}, 2, no 319 (30 January 869 at Cosne-sur-Loire), pp. 201-203; Coupland in \textit{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. 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; 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, 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. 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.

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.

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


At the end of May, Charles ordered the civitas of Angoulême rebuilt.\textsuperscript{378} At the Council of Pitres 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.\textsuperscript{379} The Northmen then attacked Poitiers and were routed by the defenders who killed some and drove the rest away.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{381} The monks of Saint-Benoît-de-Quincay also removed the body of their saint, St Viventius, to Clermont at this time.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{383}

\section*{869}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{378}AE 868, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 16, p. 486.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{379}Hincmar, \textit{AB} 868, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 480.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{380}Hincmar, \textit{AB} 868, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 480.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{381}Arthur le Moyne de la Borderie, \textit{Histoire de Bretagne} 2 (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1898), p. 281.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{382}\textit{Vita sancti Viventii}, 44-45, \textit{AA SS Ianuarii} 1, p. 813.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{383}Odo, \textit{Miracula sancti Mauri}, preface, O. Holder-Egger, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 15, 1, p. 464.}
\end{footnotes}
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 874\(^{386}\) 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.

\(^{384}\) Hincmar, *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.


\(^{386}\) Regino 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, le tantum virum habere, qui se iactet, quod, te recedente, solus cum suis hoc in loco audeat remanere*. Si ergo tantus est quantus sibi videt, incunctanter remaneat, quia dominus meus vult eum videre, audacisque viri desiderat notitiam habere."

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

\textbf{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{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.\textsuperscript{390} On 30 October while at Champliètre (Haute-Saône), Charles granted the monks of St Philibert of Noirmoutier the abbey of Saint-Porçain in the


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

872

On 19 January 872, Charles met with the Northmen Rorik and Rodulf at
Moustier-sur-Sambre.\textsuperscript{392} His aim was probably to head-off an alliance between
them and his errant son Carloman.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{394}

The flight westwards of the monastic community of St Lomer from
Moutiers-au-Perche to \textit{Particiarius} 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

285-287.

\textsuperscript{392}Hincmar, \textit{AB 872}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 493.


\textsuperscript{394}Hincmar, \textit{AB 872}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 494.
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. 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. Later, in September or October 873 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


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

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. In June, Louis met at Aachen with Rorik who had held benefices from Lothar II and took him “into his own service.” But during this time, Rodulf, the Northman who had already attacked Charles’s kingdom “often ... with pillage and arson,” 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

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

400 Historia sancti Florentii Samurensis, Marchegay and Mabille, 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 Pitres, so ordered that another be built at Angers.

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


403 AF 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 386: “praedis et incendiis saepenumbero 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."  

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.

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. 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 \text{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 \text{AF 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 386.}

\[406 \text{Regino of Prüm, Chronicon 874, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 586.} \]
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,

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

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


they were reported to have returned to their old pagan ways. 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) and other nobles to the Northmen to negotiate a treaty with them "on whatever terms they could." 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), Charles ordered troops to be positioned to form a defensive line along the Seine.

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

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412 Hincmar, *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.


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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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


\textsuperscript{418}Hincmar, \textit{AB 877}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 1}, p. 503.


countryside in the manner of Northmen ("more Nordmannico"). 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.  

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. 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.

879

422AV 878, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 517.
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. 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 Thérouanne 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. 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. In December 879, the body of St Vaast of Vaux was taken to

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427AV 879, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 518.
its villa across the Somme by the monks fleeing the advancing Northmen.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{civitas} of Tournai and destroyed all the monasteries and countryside on the east side of the Scheldt.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Burgundy\textsuperscript{431} and Louis returned westward to engage the Northmen. But the campaign ended unsuccessfully in

\textsuperscript{428} AV 879, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 518.

\textsuperscript{429} AV 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 518.


\textsuperscript{431} Hincmar, \textit{AB} 881, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{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 horses\textsuperscript{432} the Northmen sent the monks and canons fleeing ahead of them with their relics.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{435}

881

In February 881 while Carloman was occupied with putting down Boso's revolt,\textsuperscript{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 Thérouanne, and the monasteries of St Riquier and St Valéry. They also captured the

\textsuperscript{432}ASC 881, A. Savage, trans., Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{433}AV 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 519.
\textsuperscript{434}AF 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 394.
\textsuperscript{435}AV 881, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 519.
\textsuperscript{436}AV 881, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 519.
monastery of Corbie, the *civitas* of Amiens and the monastery of Corbeil.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{438} Louis III crossed the Oise river and pitched a camp at Laviers near Abbeville at Étrun to block the advance of the Northmen and, on 3 August, he beat them at Saucourt-en-Vimieu.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{442}

\textbf{882}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{438} AV 881, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 520.
\footnote{440} *AF 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 394.
\footnote{441} *AF 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 394.
\footnote{442} *AF 881*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 394.
\end{footnotes}
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. 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. 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. 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.

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. Meanwhile, Archbishop John of Dol-en-Bretagne fled with the relics of St Turiau to Rouen, likely to escape these same

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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.

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


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

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


449 Hincmar, 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.


AF report that Charles lifted the siege either because he was afraid,\textsuperscript{452} or because he was advised by the \textit{pseudo-episcopus}, Liutward to treat with the Northmen.\textsuperscript{453} Both annals describe the agreement reached between Charles and the enemy \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{455} They closed the gates of their fortification trapping the Franks inside,\textsuperscript{456} and along with their booty, remained in a secure location “should [there] again be suitable opportunity for plundering,”\textsuperscript{457} which perhaps

\textsuperscript{452}Hincmar, \textit{AB 882}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} \textit{1}, p. 514.

\textsuperscript{453}AF \textit{882}, \textit{pars 4}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} \textit{1}, p. 396.


\textsuperscript{456}AF \textit{882}, \textit{pars 4}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} \textit{1}, p. 396.

\textsuperscript{457}AF \textit{882}, \textit{pars 4}, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} \textit{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 Thierache (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. 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.

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

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460 3-4 November 882, P. Kehr, ed., \textit{MGH: D C III}, nos. 61-64, pp. 103-108.
where they also killed a great number of its inhabitants. 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. 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.

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.
sister Gisèle, and this emboldened Hugh to challenge for his father, Lothar II's, kingdom.\textsuperscript{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 Abbeville 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{466}

\textsuperscript{464}AF 883, pars 4, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 398.

\textsuperscript{465}AV 883, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 521.

\textsuperscript{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. The Northmen fought the Frisians at Norden (in present-day Denmark, on the western coastline), and were defeated. 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. 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. 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. One group of Northmen moved their activities across the Scheldt to Louvain, destroying and burning churches, monasteries, cities and villages and slaughter the

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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.”


471 AF 884, pars 4, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 400.
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. 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.

On 12 December 884, Carloman died while hunting with some of his retainers in the forest of Basieiu 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. Charles made haste to gather forces from both Lothar's and Carloman's armies and moved against the Northmen at Louvain. 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


succeeded him in his realm."  

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, 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.

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

\[\text{\footnotesize 477Regino of Prüm, Chronicon 884, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 594:} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize "quisquis ille esset qui in regnum eius succederet."} \]

\[\text{\footnotesize 478AF 884, pars 4, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 399.} \]

\[\text{\footnotesize 479AF 885, pars 4, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 401.} \]
opportunity to spy on the Franks. 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. 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.

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, or at the monastery of St Gall where he died. Many of his co-conspirators were punished by having all their moveable possessions and their lands taken from them.

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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.

484 Regino 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. 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.” The Franks, on the other hand, did not attack the Northmen, but built fortifications on the Oise river at Pontoise under the protection of Aletramanus to keep the Northmen’s ships from passing, while Bishop Gauzlin fortified Paris.

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, Aletramanus 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.

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Chronicon 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 596.


behind.\textsuperscript{489} This bloodless victory gave the Northmen confidence and they proceeded up the Seine to Paris.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{489}AV 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, pp. 522-523.

\textsuperscript{490}AV 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 523.

returning to his camp. \(^{492}\)

With the end of negotiations, both Abbo and the AV report that the Northmen approached a military tower\(^{493}\) 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


\(^{493}\) The 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.


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


498 Abbo 1, 305-311, Waquet, trans. and ed., Abbon, pp. 36-38: "Hinc glebas specubus frondesque dabant nemorosas,/ Alte 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{500}

During the night of 6 February,\textsuperscript{501} a small bridge from the city to the left bank was inundated by a large flood and washed away. Gauzlin assigned men

\textsuperscript{499}Abbo 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.”

\textsuperscript{500}Abbo 1, 471-476, Waquet, trans. and ed., Abbon, p. 50: “Ecclesiam cujus penetrans lacerare fenestras/ Ictibus arboreis unus vitreas lanionum,/ Continuo amenti rabie confunditur atrox,/ Curribus Eumenidum piceis artatus ab almo,/ Morsque sequens miserum perdit, pietate remota,/ Hisque fatigatus causis inferna petivit.”

\textsuperscript{501}AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 523: “Octavo Idus Februarii contigit grave discrimum infra civitatem habitantibus; nam ex gravissima inundatione fluminis minor pons disruptus est.”
to garrison the tower\textsuperscript{502} 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."\textsuperscript{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 Èbles and some of his men left Paris and rode to the Northmen's camp, but Èbles did not have enough men and decided to return to the city.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{502}The 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., \textit{Abbon}, p. 53, note 1.

\textsuperscript{503}Abbo 1, 525-527, Waquet, trans. and ed., \textit{Abbon}, p. 54: "Ermemfredus, Eriveus, Erilandus, Odaucer, Ervic, Arnoldus, Solius, Gozbertus, Vuido, Ardradus, pariterque Eimardus Gozsuinusque."

\textsuperscript{504}Abbo 1, 617, Waquet, trans. and ed., \textit{Abbon}, p. 60: "Et quia militibus caruit, sic ludere cessat."
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. 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. 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. 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

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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”


at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. 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. 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 Île-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

509 AV 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.”

510 Abbo 2, 41-43, Waquet, trans. and ed., Abbon, p. 68: “Denique rex dictus denas capiens argentii/ 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.
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. 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.” 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

511 Abbo 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.”


help, he did just what he said!  

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 tower\textsuperscript{515} 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.\textsuperscript{516}

Around mid-October the AV reports that part of the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{517}


\textsuperscript{515}Abbo 2, 294-295, Waquet, trans. and ed., \textit{Abbon}, p. 86: “foribus turris submittitur altus/ Valde focus.”

\textsuperscript{516}Abbo 2, 310, Waquet, ed., \textit{Abbon}, p. 88: “Quem reveunt ad bassilicam Stephani quoque testis”.

\textsuperscript{517}AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{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 Paris 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. 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." 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. Counts Alain of Broweroch and Judicael of Rennes, because of their rivalry, were

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ornatus monasterii sancti Vedasti in thesauro et sacris vestibus et libris et kartis deperiit.”


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 lovilla 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.


521CN 21, Merlet, ed., Chronique de Nantes, p. 66.
unable to mount a joint defence of Brittany. 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.

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. 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. Meanwhile, Sigfrid made his way across the Oise to Soissons, and “laid waste and burned everything in his path,” burning the church of St Méard, the monastery, the town and royal palace, and killing and capturing the inhabitants of

523CN 21, Merlet, Chronique de Nantes, pp. 66-67.
Soissons. Sigfrid went back to the Seine in the spring and departed for Frisia where he was killed. Northmen also roamed through the Saône and Loire valleys "in their habitual way."

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 Èbles, sought them out and killed 500 of them.

On 27 November 887, Charles the Fat was deposed at Tribur, likely due to ill-health, 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. 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

\[526\] AV 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 524: "omnia ferro vastabat et igne"

\[527\] AV 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."

\[528\] AV 887, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 524: "more solito."


\[530\] According 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.

\[531\] Regino 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.

533AF 887, pars 4, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 405.


535AV 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 afficti, cenerent ex nulla parte sibi auxilium adfuturum, cum Nortmannis sibi notis agere coeperunt, ut data civitate, vivi sinerentur abire.”

536Flodoard, Historia Remenesis 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


\(^{539}\)AV 888, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 526.

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 888\textsuperscript{541} 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.\textsuperscript{542} It was then safe for Bishop Landramnus to return to Nantes and take up his diocese.\textsuperscript{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 July\textsuperscript{544} made his way to Paris and attacked the Northmen. Abbo relates how the Franks Sclademar, Ademar and Ansery killed over 600 Northmen between them.\textsuperscript{545} This battle over Paris did not last long, however,

\textsuperscript{541}de 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.

\textsuperscript{542}de la Borderie, Histoire de Bretagne, 2, p. 332.

\textsuperscript{543}CN 21, Merlet, ed., Chronique de Nantes, pp. 67-68.


\textsuperscript{545}Abbo 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{546} No mention is made in any of the sources concerning the amount of tribute Odo offered to pay the Northmen. See Joranson, \textit{Danegeld}, pp. 154-157.

\textsuperscript{547} AV 889, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{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'Auxerre that had lately been overrun by the Northmen. See Bautier, ed., \textit{Recueil des Actes d'Eudes}, nos. 11, 12, pp. 46-62.

\textsuperscript{548} AV 890, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 526: "In ipsa etiam obsidione positus Lista, praedictae civitatis episcopus, diem clausit extremum; gladio etiam nobilirioribus praedicti castri deletis, ad ultimum capta est munitio dicti castri, interfectis eius habitatoribus, ipsumque castrum funditus terrae coaequatum. Britanni vero viriliter suum defensaverunt regnum, atque afflicto 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 Seine\(^{551}\) 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

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\(^{551}\) Edouard Favre, *Eudes*, p. 133.


\(^{553}\) *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.\textsuperscript{554} They
then left Noyon and sailed down the Somme to the Channel where they sailed
north up the coast.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{556} On 18 April 891, a large band of 550 Northmen broke off from the
main group and attacked the area around Thérouanne in the fortified place called
Sitdiu near the monastery of St Ademar, and then made their way to St Bertin.\textsuperscript{557}
They remained there and attacked again on 2 May, but were unable to conquer it
and lost several of their troops in the mêlée.\textsuperscript{558}

\textsuperscript{554}AV 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 527.

\textsuperscript{555}The AV 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{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 \textit{Miracula s. Bertini} means that they probably left
Noyon before April 891 when it reports that they ravaged the region around
Thérouanne, Sithiu and St. Bertin: “Sed cum hemisperium nihil ibi
praevalentes consumarent et, nedum dicamus aliquid proferent,” \textit{Miracula
s. Bertini Sithiensium}, 6, O. Holder-Egger, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 15, 1, p. 512. The
order of events described in the \textit{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 Thérouanne.

\textsuperscript{556}AF 891, pars 5, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 407: “devastata ex
maxima parte Hlutharici regni regione.”

\textsuperscript{557}Miracula s. Bertini Sithiensium 6, O. Holder-Egger, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 15, 1,
p. 512.

\textsuperscript{558}Folcowin, \textit{Gesta abbatum s. Bertini Sithiensium}, 96, O. Holder-Egger,
ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 13, p. 623; \textit{Miracula s. Bertini Sithiensium}, 7-9, O. Holder-
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 June\(^ {560}\) 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

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\(^{559}\) AV 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 526-527.


\(^{562}\) AV 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 527.

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{564}AF 891, pars 5, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, p. 407.

\textsuperscript{565}AF 891, pars 5, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{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, \textit{The Annals of Fulda}, p.123, note 10.

\textsuperscript{566}Regino of Prüm, \textit{Chronicon} 892, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 1, pp. 603-604.

\textsuperscript{567}AV 892, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{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. 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,

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." 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.”

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.


570 Austin, “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.\textsuperscript{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 (C\textsuperscript{14}) 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, C\textsuperscript{14}, to provide a timetable for different materials, but to combine techniques such as C\textsuperscript{14}...

\textsuperscript{571}Riccardo Francovich, “Some Notes on Medieval Archaeology in Mediterranean Europe,” in Andersson and Wienberg, eds., \textit{The Study of Medieval Archaeology}, p. 52.
and stratigraphic analysis to determine the age of material objects.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{575} De Boüard contends that without a historical


\textsuperscript{575}Michel 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. 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 Archaologie des Mittelalters) of the German archaeological


576 de Boüard, "« New archaeology» et archéologie médiévale," pp. 62-64.
community to bring to light the settlement evidence from this region.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.


\textsuperscript{578}Fehring, \textit{The Archaeology of Medieval Germany}, pp. 18-21.
The Netherlands

The earliest mention of incursions of Northmen into territory controlled by the Carolingians occurs in the ARF dates from 810 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. 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.


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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{582}Van Es and Verwers, \textit{Excavations at Dorestad I}, pp. 297-303.

\textsuperscript{583}Van Es and Verwers, \textit{Excavations at Dorestad I}, p. 297.

\textsuperscript{584}Van Es and Verwers, \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.

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 Westerkleif in the area identified as the Carolingian settlement. 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 Westerkleif with its unfragmented and varied contents of primarily non-numismatic silver of mainly Scandinavian origin fits excellently with the 9th-century Northern European silver hoards. With its 1662 g of silver, the Westerkleif 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.

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

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586 Jan C. Besteman, "Viking silver on Wieringen. Viking Age Silver Hoard from Westerkleif 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.

early-1970s. It was determined from these excavations that Medemblik had been inhabited continuously from the early Middle Ages. 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. "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." As part of the diocese of Utrecht, Medemblik also flourished as an important ecclesiastical centre, as well as from royal protection under the Carolingians.

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." 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." He also discounts the theory that these burn layers occurred as a result of the burning of peat for salt extraction.


590 Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," p. 98.

591 Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," p. 98.

592 Besteman, "Carolingian Medemblik," p. 54.

593 Besteman, "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." 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

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594 Besteman, "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.

595 Besteman, "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


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, succederunt.”

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

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\(^{600}\)I. A. Schute, "Rijksweg 57," p. 15.
authorities in Frisia itself. 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. 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.

The Northmen largely targeted commercial settlements in what is now the Netherlands as there were relatively few wealthy ecclesiastical centres in the

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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 armati occurrerunt, conserto proelio, ipse Hrudolfus ceedit 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.”

603 Prudentius, 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 susceptra 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), and the merchants from Dorestad who represented ecclesiastical patrons after Dorestad was reported to have been plundered and burned repeatedly during 863. 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 emporia 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. Deventer, Tiel and

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606 At Westerkleif 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{608}

Zutphen's ring-wall was dated at around the same time as Deventer's, around the year 886.\textsuperscript{609} Similarly, the construction of the ring-walls surrounding

\textsuperscript{607} van Straten, "The Deventer Settlement," p. 214.

\textsuperscript{608} van Straten, "The Deventer Settlement," p. 215.

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. 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.  

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


have made it an attractive strategic target for the Northmen in the area. 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.

Belgium

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.

612 Groothedde, "The Vikings in Zutphen, pp. 116-117.
613 Groothedde, "The Vikings in Zutphen, pp. 125-126.
614 See 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. The AF 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. Both Regino and the AB report the occupation of


516 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.”

517 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 Camerectum, Traiectum, et pagum Haspanicum, totamque Ripuariam, praecipua etiam in eius monasteria, id est Prumiam, Indam, Stabulaus, Malmundarium, et Aquense palatium, ubi in capella regis equis suis stabulum fecerunt.”


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. While this is problematic, Regino 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. It would appear that, once again, the archaeological evidence bears out the written accounts of destruction in the area in modern-day Belgium.

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Germany

The AF reports the further destruction of Bonn and Neuss on the Rhine, Zülpich and Iüllich 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.

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).” 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

623 See 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.”


completed. 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. "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." 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." The ring-walled towns that were erected by the Carolingians in the present-day Netherlands, in Belgium,

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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 graveyard as the compulsory place of burial.  

France

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

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632 See 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 VIᵉ 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. 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. 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,


634 Simon 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

635 Stéphan Venault, “Auxerre (Yonne). Le site des Archive
Départementales,” Archéologie Médiévale 28 (Caen: Publications du

636 AV 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.”

637 AV 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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


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 “[j]es traces archéologiques de ce sinistre ont été retrouvées en grand nombre.” 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 brulée. 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.  

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{642} AR 842 \textit{recte} 841], O. Holder-Egger, ed., \textit{MGH: SS} 26, p. 494. "Translatio sancti Audoeni, quando Normanni vastaverunt Rothomagum, succederunt monasterium eius Idibus Maii."}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{643} Le Maho, "Les fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen," p. 29.}
\end{footnotes}
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] il 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 précédent une
architecture de pierre, mais plutôt une corrélation entre les deux
modes de construction qui semblent parfaitement cohabiter. Déjà
sur l'enceinte du IXe 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 Mame to the east. The

Archéologie Médiévale 23 (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 1993), pp. 417-
418.

Silvanectum perrexit, ubi dum moraretur, exspectans ut ad eum populus
conveniret, quatenus aciebus dispositis ex utrisque suis ripis singulae
aqueae, Isara scilicet, Matrona et Sequana custodirentur, ne Nortmanni in
praedam ire valerent, nuncium acceptit, quia Danorum electi de his qui in
Fossatis resedarent, cum parvis navibus Meldensium civitatem adirent.”

206
capitulary of Charles the Bald issued at Pitres 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Netilly in the vicinity of Sorigny was supervised by Sébastien Jesset and Patrice Georges, who dated its foundation to the second-half of the

\textsuperscript{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 heribello aliquis alius sine nostra iussione manere praemumat nec illud aliquis destruat.”

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 AF651 and the


The attacks in 857, however, are only mentioned in the AB. 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. But, as Noizet points out in the case of

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651 *AF 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 resistentes, succedunt.” and “Nordmanni per Ligerim fluvium inrumpentes in regnum Karoli, loca plurima vastaverunt; et Turonis venientes, etiam domum sancti Martini confessoris cremarunt incendio.”


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 re-inhabited 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 re-inhabited 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


\(^{656}\)Hincmar, 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 urbis, eversis castellis, monasteriis et ecclesiis incensis, et agris in solitudinem redactis, iam diuturno tempore residencebant.”
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


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.\textsuperscript{660} Furthermore, the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{662} While

\begin{quote}
\textit{anno praeterito Aquitaniam vastaverant, remeantes, Sanctonas invadunt, confligentes superant, quietisque sedibus immorantur.}\
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{662}Benjamin 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 Parisiaca 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


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 Parisiaca urbis 2, Waquet, trans. and ed., Abbon, pp. 90, 92. “Nomina, tunc ensem quorum perpessa fuisti,/ Nec voitare prius, pigra o Burgundia bello,/ Nustria praecluibus 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.\textsuperscript{665} Marmoutier may have been one of the settlements that the Northmen burned in 881 after the battle of Saucourt, which they lost. The \textit{AF}\textsuperscript{666} and Regino\textsuperscript{667} 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


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 blots 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.  

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

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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. After the end of the ninth century, the site reverted back to agricultural land, a fact that was uncovered with the discovery of furrows.

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. In 882, the area around Rheims and Laon was laid waste by the Northmen, as the AB, Regino and the AV all report. They also report that

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672 Hincmar, 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 Suessiones et Noviomagum pergentes, ad praefatum castellum expugnandum redire, et regnum sibi subicere.”


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.” 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. 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 petii; 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.”


that the settlement was continuously inhabited through both these periods.\textsuperscript{677} In 859, the area around Amiens was laid waste by the Northmen which is reported by the \textit{AB}.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{677}Racinet and Droin, "Boves (Somme). Complexe castral du quartier Notre-Dame," \textit{Archéologie Médiévale} 30-31, p. 286.

\textsuperscript{678}\textit{AB} 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{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 nobilibus tam cléricis quam laicis capiunt, vastataque civitate secum abducunt, atque in itinere interficiunt."

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{681}

Stéphane Sindonino also excavated a site in a stone quarry in the historical centre of Rheims. 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.\textsuperscript{682}


\textsuperscript{682}Stéphane 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. 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. 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. 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.

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Hincmar, 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.”


Hincmar, AB 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 515. “Carolomannus autem Nortmannorum supervisionem audient, cum quibus potuit eos aggressus est, et magnam partem de his qui praeadam 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 vespem 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. 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.

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. Not only was this a tactic employed by the Northmen to instill fear and panic in the

687 See Appendix 1.

688 See Appendix 2.

689 See 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. 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

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death per year.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Miraculi} and the \textit{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

\textsuperscript{691} See Appendix 2.

\textsuperscript{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.
Areas where the Northmen ranged

1. Dorestad
2. Utrecht
3. Deventer
4. Nijmegen
5. Medemblik
6. Wieringen
7. Westerklief
8. Dornburg
9. Oostburg
10. Middelburg
11. Serooskerke
12. Sint-Laurens
13. Oost-Soehburg
14. Burgh-Haamstede
15. Tiel
16. Zutphen
17. Maastricht
Areas where the Northmen ranged
MAP 3

GERMANY

1. Bonn
2. Duisburg
3. Neuss
4. Zülpich
5. Iülch
6. Cologne
7. Xanten

Areas where the Northmen 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).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destruction</th>
<th>834</th>
<th>835</th>
<th>834</th>
<th>836</th>
<th>835</th>
<th>836</th>
<th>837</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Noirmoutier</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Frisia and Dorestad</em></td>
<td><em>Dorestad</em></td>
<td><em>Frisia and Dorestad</em></td>
<td><em>Antwerp and Witta</em></td>
<td><em>Walcheren</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Frisia and Dorestad</em></td>
<td>834</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>837</td>
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<td>663AE</td>
<td>664AB</td>
<td>665AB</td>
<td>666AF</td>
<td>667AB</td>
<td>668AB</td>
<td>669AB</td>
<td>670AB</td>
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<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>Burnings</td>
<td>Plunderings</td>
<td>Raids</td>
<td>Sieges</td>
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<td>841</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>837</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>all monasteries on banks of Seine laid waste</em>&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>*Rouen [14 May], monastery of Jumièges [24 May]&lt;sup&gt;9&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Frisia</em>&lt;sup&gt;701&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*monastery of St. Ouen [15 May]&lt;sup&gt;10&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<sup>701</sup>AB 836, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS rer Mer* 5, p. 549.

<sup>9</sup>AB 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 438

<sup>10</sup>AR 842, [recte 841], O. Holder-Egger, ed., *MGH: SS 26*, p. 494; *Vita* 430-431.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction</th>
<th>Burnings</th>
<th>Plunderings</th>
<th>Raids</th>
<th>Sieges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>842</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Quentovic [May]**</td>
<td><em>Quentovic [hostages, murders]</em>*</td>
<td><em>Nantes [Bishop Gunhard, others killed]</em>*</td>
<td><em>Rouen and monstery of Jumièges, Fontanelle [tribute] [25 May]</em>*</td>
<td><em>monastery of Indre</em>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>843</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>843</td>
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**CN 843, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 302.**

**AB 842, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 439.**


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction 843</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>western parts of Aquitaine including villages and manors of Mauge, Tiffauge and Herbauges</em>¹⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>up the Garonne to Toulouse, wrecking destruction</em>¹⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction 843</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rouen</em>²⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*granary of <em>cella</em> at La Celle-Saint-Cloud²⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>downstream on Seine and coastal regions</em>²⁹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction 843</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Rouen [murders, livestock]*³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>St-Germain-des-Prés</em>³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Paris area [tribute]*³⁵</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Burnings

| 845 |

### Plunderings

| 845 |

### Raids

| 844 |
| *Brittany*²⁰ |
| 845 |
| *Paris (28 March)*³⁸ |
| *Charlevanne (nr. Bougival) [battle]*³⁸ |

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²⁰ AB 844, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.

²⁷ Trans. s. Germani, cc. 3-4; Ana Boll. 2, p. 72.

²⁸ Trans. s. Germani, c. 13; Ana Boll. 2, pp. 79-80.

²⁹ AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.

³³ Trans. s. Germani, cc. 3-4; Ana Boll. 2, p. 72.

³⁴ AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.


³⁸ Trans. s. Germani, cc. 3-4; Ana Boll. 2, p. 72; CF 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 302.

³⁹ Trans. s. Germani, c. 12; Ana Boll. 2, p. 78.
**General Destruction**

845

*Rouen monasteries, churches, villas*

*Paris*

*St-Germain-des-Prés*

*upstream on Seine*

---

**Burnings**

845

*St-Germain-des-Prés*

*Saintes [late November]*

*Hamburg and its church*

---

**Plunderings**

846

*Dorestad [tribute]*

---

**Raids**

846

*Frisia [3 battles]*

*between Bordeaux and Saintes [battle]*

---

**Sieges**

847

*Bordeaux*

---

22 Trans. s. Germani, cc.3-4: Ana Boll. 2, p. 72.


25 AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.

30 AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.


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

40 AF 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 442.

36 AE 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 486.


46 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.
General Destruction
846
*downstream Seine, coastal regions

846
*Ostracia and Westracia [Frisia]

847
*Dorestad

Burnings 846
*Noirmoutier [July]
*Dorestad and two other villages
847
*monastery of Grand-Lieu [29 March]

Plunderings 847
*coastal regions of Aquitaine
*Meginhard [Rhenen?]
*Brittany [tribute]
848
*Bordeaux [Duke William captured]

Raids 847
*coastal regions of Aquitaine
*Dorestad and island of Betuwe
*Brittany [battles]

Sieges 848
*Bordeaux

Notes:
26 AB 845, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 441.
43 AF 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 365.
47 CF 848, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 442.
48 AB 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 443.
49 AB 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 443.
51 AB 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 442.
52 AB 847, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 443.
General Destruction

850
*Frisia and island of Betuwe, other places up Rhine and Waal

851
*Frisia and around the Rhine river

852
*St. Wandrille

Burnings 852

Plunderings 853

Raids 850

Sieges 853

*Flanders (coastal areas)

*entered Seine [13 October]

*Nordmen wintered on Betia (Prairie de Biesse, island near St. Florent downstream on Loire from Tours)

---

850, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 303.


**General Destruction**
852
*Frisia and Betuwe*73
*ran amok at monastery of St. Bavo of Ghent and Beauvais*74

---

**Burning**
853
*area around Jeufosse*87
*monasteries at Lucon [May], St. Florent; Nantes [June-July] and Tours with the church of St. Martin and other neighbouring places*88

---

**Plundering**
853
*Tours*82
*neighbourhood of Redon [captured people]*90
*Redon [tribute]*94

---

**Raids**
852
*entered Seine [9 October]*82
*Brillac [battle]*93

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— AB

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MGH SS 2, p. 187.

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AB
583, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 447.

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AE

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Ex
Gestis
Convoionis
Abbatis
Rotonensis 3, 9,
L. de Heinemann,

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CF

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AE
General Destruction
853
*area around Jeufosse*85

854
*part of Frisia next door to Saxony97

Burnings
853
*around Redon89

854
*Blois98
*Angers99

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Ex

Gestis
Convoionis Abbatis
Rotonensis 3, 9,
L. de Heinemann,
ed., MGH: SS 15,
1, pp. 458-459.

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88 AB
853, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 447.

89 AB
854, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 448.

97 AB
854, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 448.

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Plunderings
856
*Orléans108
*civitates,
monasteries,
villae on both
banks of Seine109
*forests on Seine
to Perche [after
18 August]110

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86 AB
856, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 449; Adrevald,
Mir. s. Benedicti
33, O. Holder-
Egger, ed., MGH:
SS 15, 1, p. 494.

108 AB
856, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 450.

109 AB
855/6, G. H.

Raid
853
*Tours95

855
*Bordeaux and
area106
*Condom and
Vic-Fezensac101

---

Pertz, ed., MGH:
SS 2, p. 304.

106 AB
853, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 448.

100 AB
855, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 449.

101 Trans.
s. Faustae, 5: AA
SS Januarii 1, p.
1091.

---

116 AB
856, G. H. Pertz,
ed., MGH: SS 1,
p. 450.
General Destruction

856
*civitates, monasteries, villae on both banks of Seine*
*Rouen*

857
*Poitiers and other places in Aquitaine*

**Burnings**

856
*Paris [28 December]*
*church [at Paris] of SS. Peter and Genevieve and other churches*
*Rouen*

857
*Poitiers and other places in Aquitaine*
*Dorestad and Betuwe*

**Plunderings**

856
*Cathedrals St. Stephen and Germain [ransom]*

857
*Poitiers and other places in Aquitaine*
*Dorestad and Betuwe*

**Raid**

856
*near Poitiers [battle]*

857
*Orléans [tribute]*
*forests on Seine to Perche [battle]*

**Sieges**

857
*Oissel [Oscellus, island near Rouen]*

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103 AB 856, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.
104 Emmer -tarius, Mir. s. Filiberti 2, Poupardin, ed., p. 61.
107 Emmer -tarius, Mir. s. Filiberti 2, Poupardin, ed., p. 61.
120 AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>General</strong></th>
<th><strong>Burnings</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plunderings</strong></th>
<th><strong>Raids</strong></th>
<th><strong>Sieges</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Destruction</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>857</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Dorestad and Betuwe</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>858</td>
<td><em>Melun</em>&lt;sup&gt;127&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>Rouen, Paris, Beauvais, all towns around</em>&lt;sup&gt;126&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>Rouen, Paris, Beauvais, all towns around</em>&lt;sup&gt;130&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.</td>
<td><em>Rouen, Paris, Beauvais, all towns around</em>&lt;sup&gt;130&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 304.</td>
<td><em>Rouen, Paris, Beauvais, all towns around</em>&lt;sup&gt;130&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td><em>Oissel, cont'd</em>&lt;sup&gt;134&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<sup>118</sup> AB

<sup>126</sup>Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistula* 125, P.

<sup>127</sup> *Melun*.

<sup>128</sup>Ermen-
tarius, *Mir. s. Filiberti* 2,

<sup>129</sup>AB

<sup>130</sup>Ermen-
tarius, *Mir. s. Filiberti* 2,

<sup>131</sup>AB
General Destruction

859

*all the places beyond the Scheldt\textsuperscript{135}

859

*monastery of St. Valery [sur-Somme (St. Riquier)] and Amiens and other places around\textsuperscript{136}

859

*St. Riquier\textsuperscript{137}

859

*Chartres [June] [Bishop Froebald drowned]\textsuperscript{131}

859

*Tours and surrounding districts to Blois\textsuperscript{122}

859

*Beauvais\textsuperscript{145}

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\textsuperscript{135}AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 453.

\textsuperscript{136}AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 453.

\textsuperscript{131}AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 453.


\textsuperscript{121}AB 858, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 451-452.

\textsuperscript{122}AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 450.

\textsuperscript{123}AB 857, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 451.

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\textsuperscript{145}Flodoard, Historia Remensis ecclesiae 3, 18, J. Heller and G. Watz, eds., MGH: SS 13, p. 509.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction</th>
<th>Burnings</th>
<th>Plunderings</th>
<th>Raids</th>
<th>Sieges</th>
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<tr>
<td>861</td>
<td>861</td>
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<tr>
<td>*forest of Brie *Abbey of St. Eloi *Thérouanne</td>
<td>*Paris and its church of SS Vincent the Martyr and Germain the Confessor *Thérouanne</td>
<td>*Amiens and other places around *Beauvais [June] [Bishop Ermenfrid killed] *Noyon [Bishop Immo, nobles, clerics, laymen all killed]</td>
<td>*Chartres *Meaux</td>
<td>*Oissel, cont’d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

146 Hildesgaris, Vita Faronis 128, B. Krusch, ed., MGH: SS rer Mer 5, p. 201.
147 No. 364, 12 May 872, Tessier 2, p. 314.
149 AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 454.
150 AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 454.
139 AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 453.
140 AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 453.
141 AB 859, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 453.
158 AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 455.
862

*Meaux*\(^{160}\)
*great part of Louis the German's kingdom*\(^{161}\)

861

*Paris [traders captured]*\(^{153}\)

860

*Danes on Somme [tribute and hostages]*\(^{151}\)
*St. Omer and St. Bertin [booty taken]*\(^{152}\)

859

*monastery of St. Riquier, Amiens and other places*\(^{143}\)
*Corbie*\(^{144}\)

858

*St. Omer and St. Bertin*\(^{155}\)

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\(^{151}\) AB
860, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 454.

\(^{143}\) AB
859, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 453.


\(^{153}\) AB


\(^{156}\) AB
862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 458.
General

Burnings

166
863
area around Angoulême captured and set alight

163
*church of confessor St. Hilary [outside walls of Poitiers]170

154

Plunderings

861
*Oissel [tribute]

Raides

861
*island below Melun in Seine

*monastery of St-Maur-des-Fossés occupied

862
*Brittany

*Meaux

156

Sieges

156

157

154

AE

AB

154

Hildes-
garius, Vita
Faronis c. 128,
MGH SS rer Mer
5, pp 201-2;
Hincmar Epistola
23, Ad Carolum
imperatorum, PL
126, cols. 153-
154.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction</th>
<th>Burnings</th>
<th>Plunderings</th>
<th>Raids</th>
<th>Sieges</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>864</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>neighbouring areas on both banks of Rhine in both Lothar's and Louis' kingdoms</em> (^{176})</td>
<td><em>church of St. Victor [at Xanten]</em> (^{177})</td>
<td><em>Meaux [destroyed bridges, took Frankish boats]</em> (^{162})</td>
<td><em>island near fort of Neuss [April] [battle]</em> (^{173})</td>
<td><em>island near Xanten (~60 km downstream from Neuss)</em> (^{183})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>monastery of St. Faron at Meaux [saved by miracle or tribute]</em> (^{163})</td>
<td><em>Poitiers</em> (^{174})</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Brittany [tribute]</em> (^{164})</td>
<td><em>Angoulême area [4 October], [battle]</em> (^{175})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{162}\) AB 862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 456.  
\(^{163}\) Hildengarius, *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.  
\(^{174}\) AB 863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 462.  
\(^{175}\) Chronicon Aquitanicum 863, G. H. Pertz,  
\(^{176}\) AB 864, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 465.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction</th>
<th>Burnings</th>
<th>Plunderings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>866</td>
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<td>864</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Loire area</td>
<td>*Le Mans</td>
<td>*Poitiers,</td>
<td>*left island at St.</td>
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<tr>
<td>turned into</td>
<td>*Melun</td>
<td>Saintes,</td>
<td>Denis, went down</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>wasteland [St.</td>
<td>[tribute]</td>
<td>Angoulême,</td>
<td>Seine to repair</td>
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<td>Florent]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Limoges,</td>
<td>boats</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Brittany [April-</td>
<td>*Nantes</td>
<td>Clermont</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>July]196</td>
<td>[Bishop</td>
<td>*Angoumois</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Actard</td>
<td>[battle]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>captured)301</td>
<td></td>
<td>*Flanders</td>
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199 AB

200 AB

201 Consilium Tricassinum, Epistola Caroli
Calvis regis ad Nicolaum 1,
Mansi, ed., Sacrorum
Consiliorum

179 Adreve-
vald, *Mir. s.
Benedicti*, c. 33,
O. Holder-Egger,
ed., *MGH: SS 15*
1, p. 495, difficult
to verify and not
in chronological
order

160 AB

181 AB

207 AB

197 Tessier
2, no. 287, pp. 132-136.

198 Cartulaire de Redon,
no. 49, 207, De
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction</th>
<th>Plunderings</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>866</td>
<td>*Ijssel [Frisia]²⁰²</td>
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<td>867</td>
<td>*Bourges²⁰⁸</td>
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<td>868</td>
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<tr>
<td>*Orléans²⁰⁹</td>
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²⁰⁶ AB 866, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 471.


²⁰⁴ AB 866, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 471.

²⁰³ AB 866, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 471.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction</th>
<th>Burnings</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>*Orléans [ransomed]</td>
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<td>869</td>
<td></td>
<td>*Avessac in Brittany [24/5 May] [battle]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[tribute]</td>
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<td>211</td>
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<td>866</td>
<td>*Le Mans [Northmen allied with Bretons]</td>
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<td>*Brissarthe [15 September] [battle]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>July, Lothar defeated Rorik</td>
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<td>867, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 475; Epistolae ad divortium</td>
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<td>Lotharii II regis pertinentes no.</td>
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<td>866, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 473.</td>
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<td>867, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 234.</td>
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</table>
873

*land around Angers ravaged\textsuperscript{218}

873

*Ostergau [tribute]\textsuperscript{218}

877

*on Seine [7 May] [tribute]\textsuperscript{225}

\textsuperscript{218}AF

\textsuperscript{225}AB

877

*base-camp on island in Loire [battle]\textsuperscript{219}

\textsuperscript{219}AB

871

*Angers [to October]\textsuperscript{223}

874

*Northmen encamped on Betia [beyond agreed-upon departure date of Feb]\textsuperscript{702}

\textsuperscript{223}AB

\textsuperscript{702}AB 873, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 1}, p. 496.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>General Destruction</strong></th>
<th><strong>Burnings</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plunderings</strong></th>
<th><strong>Raids</strong></th>
<th><strong>Sieges</strong></th>
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<td><strong>878</strong></td>
<td><strong>873</strong></td>
<td><strong>877</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Loire area</em>&lt;sup&gt;231&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>Thérouanne and land between Meuse and Scheldt and the lands of the Brabants</em>&lt;sup&gt;232&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>Val Trécor, town of Tréguer in Brittany</em>&lt;sup&gt;226&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>Massay [in Berry]</em>&lt;sup&gt;220&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>on Seine near St. Denis [at mid-September]</em>&lt;sup&gt;230&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Burnings

880
*lands around Antwerp and churches between Scheldt and Somme\textsuperscript{703}

881
*palace at Aquisgrani and monasteries and Trèves and Cologne and palace of the king as well as villages\textsuperscript{250}

Plunderings

882
*Metz\textsuperscript{272}
*Assett [tribute]\textsuperscript{273}

882

Raid

878
*Abbey of Val Trécor, town of Tréguijer in Brittany\textsuperscript{227}

879
*Vienne river [30 November] [battle]\textsuperscript{704}
*on Scheldt [battle]\textsuperscript{706}

882
*Assett [Swalmen, upstream from Venloo on Maas]\textsuperscript{277}

Sieges

227 \textit{Vila sancti Tuduali 3, ch. 29, de la Borderie, ed., Les trois vies de s. Tudual, p. 41.}

704 \textit{AB 879, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 519.}

277 \textit{AF 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 395-396.}

\textsuperscript{250} AV 880, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 1}, p. 519.

\textsuperscript{272} AB 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 1}, p. 514.

\textsuperscript{273} AB 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 1}, p. 514.

\textsuperscript{250} AV 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 1}, pp. 514-515.

\textsuperscript{266} AB 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 1}, pp. 514-515.

\textsuperscript{267} AB 882, G. H. Pertz, ed., \textit{MGH: SS 1}, p. 515.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction</th>
<th>Burnings</th>
<th>Plunderings</th>
<th>Raids</th>
<th>Sieges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>879 <em>villa Avaux [department Ardennes]</em></td>
<td>880 <em>Thiméon [battle]</em></td>
<td>883</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;laid waste from Amiens to Seine and Oise rivers&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;up the Rhine from the places lately re-built&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Amiens&quot;</td>
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278 AB

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239 AF
880, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 393.

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279 AV

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283 AF

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240 AB

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287 AV
General Destruction

Burnings 881
*Cologne and Bonn with their churches and buildings 708

882
*Laon and all fortresses in surrounding area 707
*villa outside Rheims 271


270 AB

271 AB

Plunderings

Raids 881
*Beauvais 707
*Saucourt-en-Vimieux [3 August] 255
*St. Vaast [invasion] 256


256 AV
881, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 519.
General Destruction

886
*Northmen got into St-Germain-des-Prés and broke windows with branches. *used St-Germain-des-Prés as stable. *entire plains of Orléans, Béziers and Touraine ravaged.  

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. *Deventer [Frisian port on Ijssel river].

Plundering

886
*[mid-Feb] region between Seine and Loire. *one group of Northmen from Paris to Sens [tribute].

Raids

882

Sieges

882
*Paris; Northmen pitched camp at St-Germain-le-Rond [Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois].

886
*Louvain, cont’d.

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302 Abbo, Bella Parisiacae urbis 1, 461-503, H. Waquet, ed., pp. 50, 52.


304 Abbo, Bella Parisiacae urbis 1, 633-644,


306 Abbo, Bella Parisiacae urbis 1, 598-617, H. Waquet, ed., p. 60.


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301 Abbo, Bella Parisiacae urbis 1, 172-204, H. Waquet, ed., pp. 28, 30.

315 Regino of Prüm, Chronicon 886, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 596.
General Destruction  

882  
*whole area between Aisne [Avaux] and Oise to fire and sword, destroying fortifications and burning monasteries and churches


Plunderings  

883  
*up the Somme, crossed the Oise river*


Raidings  

883  
*tower at Paris [Grand Pont; present-day Pont de Notre Dame]*


Sieges  

883  
*Frisians and Saxons against Danes [battle]*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Destruction</th>
<th>884</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>churches, monasteries, civitates across the Scheldt</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<th>885</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>surrounding St-Germain-l'Auxerrois pillaging, burning, ravaging, killing</em></td>
</tr>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Burns</th>
<th>882</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Northmen left Loire to coastal areas between Seine and Frisia</em></td>
<td></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plunderings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>on Rhine</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Northmen left Condé-sur-l'Escaut going to maritime areas</em></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raids</th>
<th>884</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Asselt [battle]</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>La Vicogne [near Amiens] [battle]</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Dol-en-Bretagne</em></td>
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<td><em>Remich on Moselle [10 April]</em></td>
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<th>885</th>
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<tr>
<td><em>Louvain</em></td>
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262 AB

264 AF

265 AF
884, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 400.

266 AV

267 AF

267 CONT.

269 AV
General
Destruction

887

*ranging through the Saone and Loire valleys
*all places laid waste up to the Meuse and part of Burgundy

Burning
883
*monastery and church of St. Quentin and the mother church in Amiens
*monasteries and churches from Amiens to the Seine and the Oise rivers
*up the Rhine burning many places lately rebuilt

887
*Sens and along the Yonne river

Sieges
885
*Hesbaye and region
*Paris; Northmen pitched camp at St-Germain-le-Rond [Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois]

886
*Louvain, cont'd
*Sens [30 Nov]

Plundering
883

887

Raid
884

885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 401.

884, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 400.

General Destruction

Burnings 884
*churches, monasteries and civitates across the Scheldt
885
*burned Frankish camp at Pontoise
886
*attempt to burn military tower by setting their ships alight

Plunderings 891
*[in autumn] throughout lands up to the Meuse from the Cotentin, to Brabant and across the Scheldt

Raids 885
*Frisians and Saxons v. Danes[battle]
*Hesbaye [battle]
*nR Rouen [battle]
*attack on tower Paris [Grand-Pont; present-day Pont de Notre Dame]

Sieges 887
*back to Paris from Sens
*Chézy-sur-Marne [early autumn]

---

305 Abbo, Bella Parisiaca urbis 1, 413-418.

---

310 AF 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 402.
296 Anon., AF 885, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 401.
347 AV 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 527.
<table>
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<th>General Destruction</th>
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<th>Plunderings</th>
<th>Raids 886</th>
<th>Sieges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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General Destruction

Burnings

Plunderings

Raids

886

*Montmartre [24 Oct] [battle]*

887

*Paris [Sept]*

*Northmen up the Marne*

*Rheims*

Sieges

888

*Meaux [14 June]*

*Loing river*

889

*Paris [to 11 July]*

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<th>Plunderings</th>
<th>Raids</th>
<th>Sieges</th>
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<tr>
<td>888</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Châlons-sur-Marne destroyed to the foundations</em>&lt;sup&gt;330&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>887</td>
<td><em>Sens and along the Yonne river</em>&lt;sup&gt;316&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>888</td>
<td><em>Meaux</em>&lt;sup&gt;332&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>886</td>
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<td></td>
<td>*Northmen across Oise to Soissons [battle]&lt;sup&gt;314&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td><em>Le Mans</em>&lt;sup&gt;321&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>*outside Paris walls [beg-Mar] [battle]&lt;sup&gt;322&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*outside Paris walls [28 Aug] [battle]&lt;sup&gt;323&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>886, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 524.</td>
<td></td>
<td>889</td>
<td>*Saint Lö [Cotentin]&lt;sup&gt;341&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&lt;sup&gt;314&lt;/sup&gt;AV</td>
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<td>886, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 524.</td>
<td></td>
<td>890</td>
<td>*Noyon [winter camp] Oise/Seine&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>&lt;sup&gt;321&lt;/sup&gt;AV</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&lt;sup&gt;341&lt;/sup&gt;AV</td>
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<sup>319</sup>AV 887, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 524.

<sup>322</sup>Abbo, *Bella Parisiacae urbis* 2, 43-58, H. Waquet, ed., pp. 68, 70.


<sup>330</sup>Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae* 4, 9, J. Heller and G. Waetz, eds.,

<sup>332</sup>AV 888, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, pp. 525-526.
<table>
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<th>Raids</th>
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<tr>
<td>889</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>890</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Burgundy, Neustria and Aquitaine laid waste</em>(^{333})</td>
<td><em>Burgundy, Neustria and Aquitaine laid waste</em>(^{333})</td>
<td><em>Paris (autumn) [battle]</em>(^{336})</td>
<td><em>Argoeuves (right bank of Somme, west of Amiens)</em>(^{345})</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Trèves</em>(^{334})</td>
<td><em>ranging in Vermundois</em>(^{349}) <em>Louvain on the river Dyke</em>(^{349})</td>
<td><em>Noviomo (fortification near monastery of St. one group from Noviomo fortified Louvain as winter quarters [Nov]</em>(^{354})</td>
</tr>
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</table>

\(^{333}\)AV 889, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 526.


\(^{336}\)AV 889, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 526.

\(^{345}\)AV 890, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 526.

\(^{349}\)AV 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 527.

\(^{354}\)AV 891, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 407.
<table>
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<td>892</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Ardennes to Bonn, Rheims, and Cambrai</em> (^{711})</td>
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<td><em>Amiens (battle)</em> (^{712})</td>
<td><em>other group from Argooeuves set up winter camp at Amiens</em> (^{714})</td>
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<td><em>Noviomo (fortification near monastery of St Vaast, Cotentin)</em> (^{713})</td>
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</table>

\(^{712}\) 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.
Frankish Casualties

835
*not a small number of Frisians killed’

837
*slaughter of Frisians at Walcheren and Dorestad’
*many Frisian women taken captive’
*Count Eccihard killed [mid-June]’

Northmen’s Casualties

836
*envoys from the Northmen killed’

837
*Hemming, son of Halfdan and many others killed [mid-June]’

Tribute

836
*blood money demanded for Northmen’s envoys’

837
*tribute demanded from Frisians at Walcheren and Dorestad [mid-June]’

Relics Translated

834
*brothers of Noirmoutier fled’

---

4AF 837, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 361.
5AB 836, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 430.
7AB 836, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 430.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frankish Casualties</th>
<th>Northmen's Casualties</th>
<th>Tribute</th>
<th>Relics Translated</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>837</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>countless multitude of Christians killed [Walcheren] and many of the emperor's great men</em>&lt;sup&gt;10&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td><em>some [great men] were caught [afterwards returned]</em>&lt;sup&gt;11&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>841</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>monks and population of Rouen slaughtered or taken captive</em>&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<sup>10</sup> Thegan, <br> *Vita Hludowici*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 604.


<sup>12</sup> *AB* 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 437.

<sup>13</sup> *AB* 838, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, p. 431.

<sup>14</sup> *CF* 841, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 2, p. 301.

Frankish Casualties

842

*inhabitants of Quentovic captured or massacred

843

*[24 June] Bishop Gunhard of Nantes killed and many clergy and laypeople slain and taken captive

842

*buildings in Quentovic paid to be spared

843

*ten days later [-4 July] captives of Nantes ransomed and returned

Tribute

842

*buildings in Quentovic paid to be spared

843

*ten days later [-4 July] captives of Nantes ransomed and returned

Relics Translated

*monks of Iráre, island monastery in Loire, fled with treasure to Nantes
*monks fled monastery of St. Martin of Vertou (Deux-Sèvres)

---


19 CN 4, R. Merlet, ed., pp. 16-17.

20 CN 4, R. Merlet, ed., p. 15.
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

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

Tribute
845
*7000 pounds tribute
paid to spare Paris
[Easter Monday]31
*booty from St-
Germain-des-Prés32

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
Croix-Saint-Ouen on
Eure river34

22 Trans. s.
Germani, cc 3-4, Ana
Boll 2, p. 72.

23 Trans. s.
Germani, c 12, Ana
Boll 2, pp. 78-79;
Hildegarius, Vita
Faronis c 122, B.
Krusch, ed., MGH: SS
er 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.

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

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.

30 AB 845, G.
H. Pertz, ed., MGH:
SS 1, p. 364; AX 845,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 2, p.
228.

31 AB 845, G.
H. Pertz, ed., MGH:
SS 1, p. 441; AF 845,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 2, p.
228.

32 AB 845, G.
H. Pertz, ed., MGH:
SS 2, pp. 69-98.

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 Leutfridi
abbatis Madriacensis,
Frankish Casualties
845
*great number of Frisians killed

845

*Count Siguin of Bordeaux killed [late-Oct/early Nov]3
*all who could not flee perished miserably36


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


Northmen's Casualties
845
*12,000 killed by Frisians30

Tribute
846
*pirates exacted tribute in Frisia38

847
*Breton Nominoë bribed Danes to release his territory39

Relics Translated
845
*translation of relics from Hamburg throughout the countryside40

846
*monks of St. Philibert granted new monastic community at Cunault41
Frankish Casualties

845

*inhabitants of Hamburg killed or captured.

848

*Duke William of Bordeaux captured by night.

850

*slaughter of townspeople at

Northmen's Casualties

851

*many killed at Vardes.

852

*[after May] some were killed after leaving Beauvais.

*Tribute

850

*Rorik and Godefrid took booty from area around Flanders and the Waal river also Memisc and Thérouanne.

851

*tribute paid for Northmen to leave Frisia.

Relics Translated


46AB 851 [recte 852], G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 446.


49AB 852 [recte 851], G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 447.
**Frankish Casualties**

850
Limoges
*Rorik [brother of Heriold the younger] inflicted many bad things on Christians at Dorestad*

853

**Northmen's Casualties**

853
*great many of besieged Northmen [Oskar’s men]*
*16 Northmen who had entered monastery at Redon drank sacrificial wine and went mad and died*

**Tribute**

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 depart*
*Abby of Redon contributed gold paten worth 67 solidi for release of Pascweten [reimbursed to abbey on 8 July 857]*

**Relics Translated**

853
*monks of Redon fled*
*[before 8 Nov. burning of church of St. Martin] monks removed body of St. Martin to Cormery and treasures to Orléans*

---

43 Mir. s.
*Martialis 3, 6, O.
Holder-Egger, ed., MGH SS 15, 1, pp. 280-283.*

44 Ax 850, G.

50 AB 853, G.

52 Ex Gesti

53 Ex Gesti

55 Ex Gesti

56 Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, 26, De Courson, ed., pp. 21-22.

57 Ex Gesti

58 AB 853, G.
H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 368.
Northmen's Casualties
855
*army of Northmen slain en route to Poitiers on foot and only 300 escaped

856
*Northmen beaten in a great massacre between Pitres and the Perche

Frankish Casualties
853
*Count Pascweten and Bishop Courantgen both of Vannes captured

856
*Northmen slaughtered many between Pitres and the Perche

Tribute
856
*Orléans sold for gold
*cathedrals of St. Stephen and churches of St. Vincent and St. Germain and church of St. Denis ransomed to save them [28 Dec.]

858
*ransom of 686 lb gold and 6,250 lb silver for Abbot Louis of St. Denis [paid by St. Denis]

Relics Translated
858
*monks of St. Wandrille moved relics to church of St. Peter near Quentovic [11 May]

---

51 Cartulaire de Redon, 26, De Courson, ed., pp. 21-22; Cartulaire de Redon 40, De Courson, ed., p. 369.

50 CF 855/6, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 2, p. 304.

52 AB 855, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 449.


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 Noyon 69
*Heriard of St. Riquier died from a Danish arrow [28 July] 70

Northmen's Casualties

858
*Bishop Froebald of Chartres drowned in Eure river while fleeing [June] 66
*Bishop Baltfrid of Bayeux slain 61
*Abbot Louis of St. Denis and his brother Gauzlin captured 62

859
*barbarians soundly defeated and put to death at Corbie 71

Tribute

858
*ransom paid by church of Reims for Gauzlin 72
*heavy ransom referred to by Hincmar in letter to Louis the German from Synod of Quierzy 73

Relics Translated

859
*bones of St. Denis, St. Rusticus and St. Eleutherius removed to Nogent-sur-Seine [21 Sept.] 74

72 Flodoard, Historia ecclesiae Remensis 1, 3, 24, J. Heller and G. Waitz, eds., MGH: SS 13, p. 536.
73 Epistola synodi Carisianensis
**Frankish Casualties**

860
*hostages given to Danes on the Somme while tribute was being collected*  
*one brother from St. Bertin killed and three others humiliated and tortured*  

861
*traders fleeing up the Seine captured*  

---

**Northmen's Casualties**

860
*some Northmen hanged by their own leaders at guesthouse of St. Bertin for taking offering at the altar*  

---

**Tribute**

860
*tax/tribute levied by Charles: 3,000 lb silver for Northmen to leave Somme [not paid immediately]*  

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]*  

---

**Relics Translated**

861
*monks of St-Germain-des-Prés moved relics to Combs-la-Ville and then to Nogent-l'Artaud on Marne*  

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*sources*

75 AB 860, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 454.  
77 AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 454.  
79 AB 860, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 454.  
80 Hildergarten, Vita Faronis, 126, B. Krusch, ed.,  
81 Mir. s. Germani 2, 10.
Frankish Casualties

861
*tribute of 6,000 lb gold and silver for the Seine raiders joining those besieged at Oissel\(^8^1\)

862
*hostages given by Charles to Seine Northmen\(^8^3\)

Northmen's Casualties

862
*gave 10 hostages to Charles on the Marne river\(^8^4\)
*Danes in Brittany on the Loire slain by Robert\(^8^5\)
*hostages given to Robert by Seine Northmen\(^8^6\)

Tribute

862
*Robert paid Seine Northmen 6,000 lb of silver [private hire-fee]\(^8^7\)

Relics Translated

862
*relics of St. Genevieve returned\(^8^8\)
*relics of St. Maur removed to Le Mille-sur-Sarthe\(^8^9\)
*monks of St. Philibert took relics from Cunault to villa of Messais\(^9^0\)

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\(^8^1\) AB 861, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 455.
\(^8^2\) AB 862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 456.
\(^8^3\) AB 862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 456.
\(^8^4\) AB 862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 456.
\(^8^5\) AB 862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 457.
\(^8^6\) AB 862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 457.
\(^8^7\) AB 862, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 457.
\(^8^8\) Mir. s. Genovefae, 32-37, AA SS Ianuarii 1, pp. 150-151.
\(^8^9\) Miraculi et translatio sancti Mauri, 13, O. Holder-Egger, ed., MGH: SS 15, 1, p. 471.
\(^9^0\) Ermentarius, Mir. s. Filiberti 2, Praefatio, Poupardin,
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<th>Northmen's Casualties</th>
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<tr>
<td>863</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>[January] Frisian traders slain and large numbers taken captive at Doestad</em>&lt;sup&gt;91&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>Weland charged by Franks of bad faith and killed</em>&lt;sup&gt;93&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>Poitiers ransomed</em>&lt;sup&gt;95&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>relics of St. Germanus returned [July]</em>&lt;sup&gt;96&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>[12 Oct] Count Turpio of Angoulême attacked and killed</em>&lt;sup&gt;92&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>Maur [leader on Loire] killed by Turpio</em>&lt;sup&gt;94&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>relics of St. Exuperius moved from Bayeux to castrum Palludellum near Corbeil</em>&lt;sup&gt;97&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<sup>93</sup> AB 863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 462.

<sup>94</sup> AE 863, G. H. Pertz, MGH: SS 16, p. 486.

<sup>95</sup> AB 863, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 462.

<sup>96</sup> Mir. s. Germani 2, 13, 17, AA SS Maii 6, pp. 804-805.


<sup>98</sup> Vita s. Chrodogangi episcopi Sagiensitis martyris, 13-15, AA SS
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>864</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Stephen, son of</td>
<td>*Robert slew two</td>
<td>*booty carried off</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh, and some of</td>
<td>companies of</td>
<td>from St. Denis [18 Oct]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his men slain at</td>
<td>Northmen based on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clermont*</td>
<td>Loire*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Pippin II captured</td>
<td>*Robert killed 500 on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Franks and</td>
<td>Loire*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>removed from</td>
<td>*some killed, some</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>association with</td>
<td>wounded on Seine out</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northmen*</td>
<td>of 500 sent to attack</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chartres*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

September 1, pp. 770-771; Mir. s. 
*opportunae*, 6, *aa ss Aprilis* 3, p. 69.

99 *Ab 864*, G. H. Pertz, ed., 
*mgH: SS 1*, p. 462.

100 *Ab 864*, G. H. Pertz, ed., 
*mgH: SS 1*, pp. 465-466.

102 *Ab 864*, G. H. Pertz, ed., 
*mgH: SS 1*, p. 467.

103 *Ab 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., 
*mgH: SS 1*, p. 469.

104 *Ab 865*, G. H. Pertz, ed., 
*mgH: SS 1*, p. 470.
Frankish Casualties 864
* Robert lost a few
men in battle with
Northmen on Loire

866
*Bishop Actard of
Nantes enslaved and
taken away in chains
*at Brissarthe Robert
and Ranulf killed,
Harvey wounded and
others killed also

101 AB 864,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p. 467.

102 Concilium
Tricassinum, Epistola
Carolii Calvis regis ad
Nicolaum I, J.-D.
Mansi, ed., Sacrorum
conciliorum collectio
15, cols. 796-800.

109 AB 866,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, 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 AB 866,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p. 471.

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
* [Apr-July] monks
under Abbot
Conwoion left Redon
for Plélan-le-Grand

111 No. 287,
16 January 866, 2,
Tessier, ed., pp. 132-
136.

112 Cartulaires
de Redon 49, 207, De
Courson, ed., pp. 39-
40, 160.
**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 Northmen*.113

*[20 June]* Godfred and monks of Fosses granted refuge at Fleury-la-Rivière114

*[5 Sept]* villa at Voulpaix in Laonnois given to monks of St-Germain-des-Prés as refuge.115

113 No. 319, 30 January 869, 2, Tessier, ed., pp. 201-203.

114 No. 299, 20 June 867, 2, Tessier, ed., pp. 156-158.

115 No. 302, 5 September 867, 2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frankish Casualties</th>
<th>Northmen's Casualties</th>
<th>Tribute</th>
<th>Relics Translated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>868</td>
<td>*men of Poitiers killed some and put the rest to flight&lt;sup&gt;117&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>*Orléans ransomed&lt;sup&gt;118&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>867</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*[7 Dec] villa granted to monks of St. Riquier at Arleux-les-Bray on Somme as refuge&lt;sup&gt;116&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>868</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*monks of St. Maxient fled with relics of St. Maxentius&lt;sup&gt;119&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*monks of St. Benoit-de-Quincay fled to Clermont with body of St. Viventius&lt;sup&gt;120&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>116</sup> No. 306, 7 December 867, 2, Tessier, ed., pp. 177-179.

<sup>119</sup> *Chronique de Saint-Maxient*, J. Verdou, ed., p. 68.

<sup>120</sup> *Vita s.*


<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*heavy losses and many dead when Abbot Hugh and Gauzfrid launched attack on island in Loire&lt;sup&gt;122&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>869 *Abbot Hugh and Gauzfrid slew about 60 on Loire&lt;sup&gt;123&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>869 *Northmen demanded corn and great sum of silver, wine and livestock (500 cows) in Brittany [Loire area]&lt;sup&gt;124&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>868 *monks of St. Maur brought back relics from Burgundy to abbey of Fosses&lt;sup&gt;121&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>871</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>871 *[30 Oct] monks of St. Philibert granted abbey of St. Porcain in Auvergne&lt;sup&gt;123&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>121</sup> Mir. s. Mauri, præfatio 1, O. Holder-Egger, ed., MGH: SS 15, 1, p. 464.

<sup>122</sup> AB 871, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 492.

<sup>123</sup> AB 869, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 486; Regino of Prüm, Chronicon 874, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 587.

<sup>124</sup> AB 869, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 486; Regino of Prüm, Chronicon 874, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS 1, p. 587.
### Frankish Casualties

**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 departed \(^{127}\)
- *[near Dokkum]* Rudolf killed with 500 or more men in Louis' kingdom [as against AF 873] \(^{128}\)
- *hostages given to* Charles at Angers \(^{129}\)

\(^{127}\) *AF 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, pp. 386-387.

\(^{128}\) *AB 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 496.

\(^{129}\) *AB 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 496.

### Northmen's Casualties

873

* [June] Northmen Rudolf demanded tribute from Frisians in Ostergau \(^{130}\)

\(^{130}\) *AF 873*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 386.

### Tribute

873

* [June] Northman Rudolf demanded tribute from Frisians in Ostergau

### Relics Translated

872

* [15 Apr] monks of St. Lomer arrived from Moutiers-au-Perche to Patriciarius in Avanches area

<table>
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<th>Relics Translated</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanctorum ordinis s.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*monks of St.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedicti 4, 2, p. 246</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Philibert given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>abbey of St.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Valerien in</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tournus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*monks of St.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Denis given</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>villa in</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pincerais</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*Rouen cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>granted several</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>manses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>876</td>
<td>132 No. 378,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Charles sent Conrad</td>
<td></td>
<td>19 March 875, 2,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                      | to Northmen to make   |         | Tessier, ed., pp.
|                      | treaty on any terms   |         | 342-347.        |
|                      | 131 AB 876,           |         | 133 No. 379, 27|
|                      | G. H. Pertz, ed.,     |         | March 875, 2,   |
|                      |                       |         | 347-350.        |
|                      |                       | 134 No. 399,| 872-25 December |
|                      |                       |         | 875, 2,         |
|                      |                       |         |                  |
879

*Christian population killed around Ghent\(^{136}\)
*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]\(^{137}\)

---


\(^{136}\) *AV 879, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 518.

\(^{137}\) *AV 879, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 518.

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Northmen's Casualties

879

*[30 Nov] Louis III and Carloman slew many Northmen and many drowned in Vienne river\(^{138}\)

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879

\(^{138}\) *AB 879, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS I*, p. 512.

---

Tribute

877

*[7 May] tribute of 5,000 lb collected in Francia and Burgundy for the Northmen on the Seine\(^{139}\)
*tribute collected from Northmen on the Loire\(^{140}\)

---

877

\(^{139}\) *Edictum compendiense de tribuo Nordmannico (7 May 877)*, A. Boretius and V. Krause, eds., *MGH: Cap. 2*, pp. 353-354.

\(^{140}\) *AB 877, G. H. Pertz, ed., MGH: SS I*, p. 503.

---

Relics Translated

875

*Count Eccard of Macon gave three estates to abbey of Fleury\(^{135}\)

877

*[July] monks of St. Martin of Tours fled to Chablis\(^{141}\)

---

\(^{135}\) *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de St. Benoît-sur-Loire. 1*, M. Prou and A. Vidier, eds., pp. 67-78.

\(^{141}\) *Nos. 437-438, July 877, 2*, Tessier, ed., pp. 477-482.
Frankish Casualties

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
*[2 Feb] Louis the Younger lost many men [32 nobles with their men] in Saxony against the Northmen

Northmen's Casualties

880
*Louis the Younger slew many at Thiméon

881
*[3 Aug] 9,000 horsemen slain by Louis III's men at Saucourt-en-Vimieu near Amiens

Tribute

881
*[28 Dec 880-Feb] booty taken by Northmen from around Somme, monastery of St. Gauderic, Amiens, monastery of Corbeil

Relics Translated

877
*[until mid-Sept] monks of St. Denis away from home

878
*body of St. Remigius moved to Épernay
*body of St. Tudual removed from Tréguier to Château-Landon

MGH: SS I, pp. 393-512.


144 Vita s. Tuduali 3, 29, de la Borderie, ed., Les...
Frankish Casualties

881

*[28 Dec 880-Feb 881] Northmen killed all they met from Somme area through Belgium, up to Beauvais.¹⁴⁷

882

*inhabitants killed in area of Tréves and Cologne.¹⁵³

---

trois vies de s.

Tudual, p. 41.


Northmen's Casualties

882

*at Avaux 1,000 killed¹⁵⁹

*large number slain and many drowned in Aisne river at Rheims¹⁶⁰

---


Tribute

882

*Charles [the Fat] paid 2,412 lb of gold and silver to Sigifrid and Wurm at Asselt [autumn].¹⁶¹

---


Relics Translated

880

*[Oct] monks from between Scheldt and Somme fled ahead of them with relics.¹⁵¹

881

*monks and nuns fled Cologne and Bonn to Mainz taking treasures and relics with them.¹⁵²

---


Frankish Casualties

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 \(^{156}\)

Northmen’s Casualties

882
'* at Rhine many killed by Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz \(^{165}\)

883

*Tribute

882
*Northmen demanded 12,000 lb of gold and silver as tribute from Caroloman \(^{169}\)

Relics Translated

882
*Hincmar took body of Remigius and treasures from Rheims across Marne to villa of Epernay \(^{162}\)
*Archbishop John of Dol-en-Bretagne fled with relics of St. Tuiau to Rouen \(^{163}\)
Frankish Casualties

882

*[July] at Asselt
Franks killed or held
[200?] captive in fort
held by Northmen157
*at Deventer great
loss of life158

884

*Scheldt area
inhabitants killed,
both lay and clergy164

Northmen’s
Casualties

885

*Hesbaye region
Archbishop Liutbert of
Mainz and Count Henry
killed many168
*Godfred killed at
meeting on island at
Herespich at confluence
of Rhine and Waal [mid-
May]173

---

157 AF 882,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, pp. 395-396.

158 AF 882,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p. 397.

164 AV 884,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p. 521.

168 AF 885,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, p. 401;
AV 885, G. H. Pertz,
522; Regino of Prüm,
Chronicon 884, G. H.
Pertz, ed., MGH: SS
1, p. 594.

173 AF 885,
G. H. Pertz, ed.,
MGH: SS 1, pp. 401-
402.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frankish Casualties 885</th>
<th>Northmen's Casualties 885</th>
<th>Tribute</th>
<th>Relics Translated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a certain Robert with a few other Franks died at siege of Paris tower</em> 170</td>
<td><em>multitude of Northmen slaughtered by Saxons and Frisians</em> 174</td>
<td><em>lost many men at Paris besieging the tower [Pont de Notre Dame]</em> 175</td>
<td><em>[26-7 Nov] 300 Northmen perished in front of Paris tower</em> 176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


176 Abbo, *Bella Parisiacae urbis*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Frankish Casualties</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>885</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>twelve heroes:</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ermenfredus, Eriveus,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erilandus, Odaucer,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ervic, Arnoldus,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solius, Gozbertus,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuido, Ardradus,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eimardus and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gozsuinus killed*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>886</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[6 Feb] many killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the Paris tower*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Northmen’s Casualties</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>886</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1,500 dead bodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left at Chartres [16 Feb]*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Robert Portecarquois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>killed 2 Northmen*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Aleaume, nephew of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portecarquois, killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many Northmen in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>revenge*</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Tribute</strong></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>886</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Odo gave 60 lb silver to depart</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Archbishop Everard of Sens dealing with Northmen for a ransom to save the city</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Relics Translated</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>886</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>body of St.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genevieve carried to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>east side of Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>during siege of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>city*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>during siege relics of St. Stephen to the basilica [a little west of the cathedral]</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th><strong>Tribute</strong></th>
<th><strong>Relics Translated</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>886</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>886</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Robert Portecarquois of Chartres killed by Northmen roaming north of Seine</em>&lt;sup&gt;181&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Abbot Ebles and five others killed 9 Northmen in a sortie&lt;sup&gt;192&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>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</em>&lt;sup&gt;887&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>[16 Apr] Bishop Gauzelin died of illness in siege of Paris</em>&lt;sup&gt;179&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>several Northmen killed by the defenders, including leaders</em>&lt;sup&gt;193&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Abbot Hugh died</em>&lt;sup&gt;190&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>Charles' men sent ahead defeated and killed 3,000 Northmen outside Paris</em>&lt;sup&gt;194&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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<sup>190</sup> *AV 886*, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS* 1, pp. 523-524.


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<td>886</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[mid-May] Abbot Ebles lost troops (two: Segebert and Segevert, and possibly many more) in attack on city walls by Northmen[^187]</td>
<td>*one Northman who broke windows at St. Germain struck down by the saint and another fell from the turret due to intervention of St. Germain[^186]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*[28 Aug] Count Henry killed on his horse by falling into a trap that had been set by the Northmen[^188]</td>
<td>*Count Henry massacred a group of Northmen[^190]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*two kings as well as numerous other Northmen killed[^191]</td>
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<tr>
<td>886</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*Sigfrid killed and captured all the inhabitants around Soissons 185</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>887</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*remaining Paris Northmen dragged and killed 20 Christians along the Seine to the Meuse 194</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*around Sens up to the summer the inhabitants were slaughtered in the customary way 199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>887</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*at Paris 500 were slain by Abbot Ebles and his men 202</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Sigfrid killed in Frisia in autumn 203</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Frankish Casualties

888
*Count Teutbert of Meaux killed with large number of men, Bishop Sigmund imprisoned 715
*Northmen seized all inhabitants of Meaux following surrender of city 716

Northmen's Casualties

888
*[14 June] at siege of Meaux Count Teutbert's men killed innumerable quantities of Northmen 717
*[24 June] Odo killed 10,000 horsemen and 9000 footsoldiers at Monfaucon-d'Argonne 718

Tribute

888
*Sigmund treated with Northmen to give up Meaux in exchange for lifting of siege 719

Relics Translated

888
*monks of St Gildas de Ruis and of Loc-Menech [Moriacense] in Moréac fled with their treasures and relics and those of St Paternus of Vannes 721

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717 Abbo, Bella Parisiacae urbis 2, 460-466, H. Waquet, ed., p. 100.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frankish Casualties</th>
<th>Northmen’s Casualties</th>
<th>Tribute</th>
<th>Relics Translated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>889</td>
<td>*Sclademar (who fought at Robert’s side) was killed(^{722})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>890</td>
<td>*Bishop Lista of St Lô died(^{723})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Northmen’s Casualties**

890

*Northmen’s camp at St Lô levelled by Bretons and all within killed or forced to flee to Seine\(^{724}\).

*Odo inflicted damage on Northmen at Germigny\(^{725}\).

891

*Arnulf killed many thousands of Northmen at Louvain and many others drowned in the Dyle river and two kings, Sigfrid and Godfred killed also\(^{726}\).

**Tribute**

888

*Sigmund treated with Northmen to give up Meaux in exchange for lifting of siege\(^{727}\).

889

*[autumn] Odo bought off the Northmen who then went to the Cotentin\(^{728}\).


\(^{723}\) AV 890, G. H. Pertz, ed., *MGH: SS 1*, p. 526.


\(^{726}\) 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.
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