

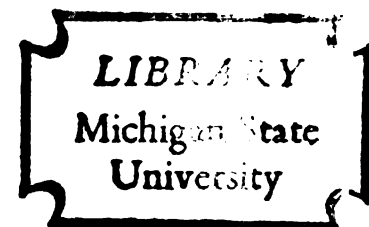
THE CHURCH AND FEUDAL SOCIETY IN
TENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

William Christopher Morgan, III

1966



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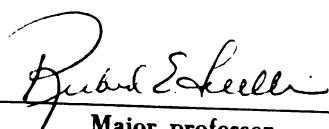
THE CHURCH AND FEUDAL SOCIETY
IN TENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

presented by

William Christopher Morgan, III

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Ph.D. degree in History


Major professor

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THE CHURCH AND FEUDAL SOCIETY
IN TENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

BY

William Christopher Morgan, III

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Submitted to

Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

THE CHURCH AND FEUDAL SOCIETY IN TENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

by

William Christopher Morgan, III

The breakup of the Carolingian Empire between 843 and 887 reduced the western Frankish kingdom to political and social anarchy. This condition continued during the tenth century (887-987), a period that witnessed the major dynastic struggle between the Carolingian and Robertian families. During this period the mission of the Church was seriously impeded and the morality of the clergy suffered badly under the depredations of the barbarian invaders and the feudal warriors. The Church sank to the nadir of corruption in France between 887 and 987. Immersed in the political chaos, the Church simultaneously attempted to reform itself from within. Gradually, the Church emerged as a self-interested third party caught between the warring political factions of tenth-century France. As it struggled to achieve its own salvation through reform, the Church exerted a reforming influence upon feudal society. The progress of the reform movement created a climate of opinion that influenced political affairs. To maintain that the Revolution of 987 was a conscious attempt to apply the ideals of ecclesiastical reform to a vexing political problem would be misleading. The evidence will not support this conclusion. It would appear, however, that the Revolution of 987 was to some degree a natural re-

sult, although perhaps not inspired by a deliberate policy of this reform spirit. Moreover, the reform spirit was the motivating force behind the peace movement, which instituted the Peace of God and the Truce of God in an effort to curb political anarchy. The peace movement originated in France toward the end of the tenth century. The solution to the political disorder in tenth-century France, and particularly to the long dynastic struggle between the Carolingians and the Robertians, become meaningful when seen in their relationship to the Church reform movement.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thanks go out to Professor Richard E. Sullivan for having helped and tutored me in countless ways over several years. His ideas concerning the research and writing of this dissertation have been of enormous help. I have found that my course in medieval history is essentially what he taught me. This man's inspired teaching, superior scholarship, and warm friendship are, indeed, a rare combination of virtues to be found in a single human being. He well deserves the devotion of his graduate students. Vassi Richardi multi et firmatati sunt.

Professor Arnold Williams of the Department of English at Michigan State University guided my research on a paper that I wrote in his seminar entitled, "An Example of Cultural Achievement in the Tenth Century: Benedictine Reform and Liturgical Drama". A part of that paper has found its way back into CHAPTER FOUR of this dissertation. I wish to acknowledge Professor Williams' help and to offer my thanks and appreciation.

My wife, Barbara, deserves more credit than anyone else for the completion of this dissertation. She has endured much. My accomplishments are hers.

Toledo, Ohio

W.C.M.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes of this dissertation to cite major printed collections of primary sources:

- AASS Acta Sanctorum. Joannes Bollandus,
et al. (ed.) 60 volumes.
Paris: 1863-67.
- HF Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et
de la France. Martin Bouquet,
et al. (ed.) 24 volumes.
Paris: 1738-1904.
- Mansi Sacrorum Conciliorum et Decretorum
Nova et Amplissima Collectio.
Joannes Dominicus Mansi. (ed.)
53 volumes. Paris: 1901-27.
- MGH, SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scrip-
tores. Georg Heinrich Pertz,
et al. (ed.) 32 volumes in
34. Hanover: 1826-1933.
- PL Patrologiae cursus completus. Series
Latina. J. P. Migne. (ed.)
221 volumes. Paris: 1844-64.

INTRODUCTION

The traditional view of feudal society during the tenth century was established by a nineteenth-century French historian named Henri Martin. Martin, in a famous phrase, referred to that time as ". . . the era of fraud and of lies. . . ." ¹ Before and after Martin a number of Clie's pupils have come forward periodically to render their judgments. Admittedly, the task of studying the age and drawing a conclusion about it has proved a tempting, if not always fruitful, task. For the evidence is very often contradictory as well as being scarce. Nevertheless, this first feudal age continues to be reinterpreted by each succeeding generation of scholars. Over the years the dicta of some famous historians have created a body of opinion of which some notice ought to be taken at the outset of this dissertation. It is instructive to note how the attitudes of past historians have changed. Parenthetically, one will perhaps observe from this that although men may aspire in theory to a scientific method of history writing, they seldom achieve this noble aim in fact. And so the views concerning the tenth century, like those of other times, have undergone gradual revision. The tenth century has not suffered either with the further passage of time since Martin's day. That is not to say that the present generation, or those in between our own time and Martin's, have viewed feudal society in tenth-century France as an age of golden days. Far from it. It was, no doubt, a century of incredible hardships.

¹Henri Martin, Histoire de France, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789 (17 volumes; Paris: 1855-60), II, 526: ". . . l'ère de la fraude et du mensonge. . . ."

One of the famous nineteenth-century writers of French history was Jules Michelet. Michelet was a romantic, whose sympathetic curiosity and feelings for the past inspired a majestic Histoire de France in sixteen volumes. The work is as much literature as history. It was Michelet who popularized the idea that the Christian populace of Western Europe was terrorized at the approach of the year 1000.² It was thought, according to Michelet, that the world would end in an apocalyptic reign of terror under the Antichrist. This eschatological vision coincided neatly with the Christian teleological view of history: the end of the world would come, the Antichrist would be overthrown, and at the Last Judgment God would make a grim reckoning of the deeds of His Christian people. Michelet was following the testimony of Raoul Glaber (the Bald-Pate), a mystical Burgundian monk, who may well have been the first French historian with that peculiar talent for understanding the popular mentality. As far as the tenth century is concerned, it was assumed by Michelet and later historians that only a century of terror, darkness, and violence could have produced such widespread popular fear. But these, in fact, were not the causes of the "Terrors of the year 1000". Michelet, like Raoul Glaber, probably sacrificed accuracy for artistry, at least from a "modern, scientific" point of view. However, both portrayals of that society, like two impressionists' works of art, contain elements of truth dimly seen across the centuries. The monk Raoul was, after all, a contemporary.

The view of Henri Martin, quoted above, was elaborated upon in the brilliant and highly readable history of the French nation by Victor Duruy. Duruy wrote "wet" history, a term used here to emphasize a distinction from

²Jules Michelet, Histoire de France (Édition Définitive, Revue et Corrigée; 16 volumes; Paris: 1893-99), II, 102-07.

that other variety. For Duruy the tenth century was a period of despair, chaos, and confusion, unrelieved even in the eleventh century: "Outside (the monasteries) black darkness reigned; appalling misery, physical and moral, pestilence, and famine; it seemed that physical death was to take possession of the world, that intellectual death had almost conquered it; it believed itself about to perish."³

Duruy's sentiments were echoed by Jacques Bainville, who decided that the ". . . tenth century is probably the most atrocious in French history. It was worse than anything that had been seen in the time of the fall of Rome or during the dying years of the Merovingians."⁴ Frantz Funck-Brentano reached a similar conclusion.⁵ Francis Guizot viewed the ninth and tenth centuries with the bias of a nationalist historian who saw no unifying elements in the early feudal age.⁶ Even Ferdinand Lot thought that the tenth century in France was a period void of political ideas. Events seemed to fall upon one another only by chance. The result was confusion: a chaotic mass which Lot's incisive investigations cut through, probed, examined fact by fact, and then restored to order with all of the consummate skill of an historical scholar in his role as

³Victor Duruy, A Short History of France (2 volumes; Everyman's Library; London: 1918), I, 200-01.

⁴Jacques Bainville, History of France, Translated by Alice Gauss and Christian Gauss (New York: 1926), p. 27.

⁵Frantz Funck-Brentano, The Middle Ages (The National History of France, II), Translated from the French by Elizabeth O'Neill (New York: 1925), pp. 1-3.

⁶Francis Guizot, A Popular History of France from the Earliest Times, Translated by Robert Black (6 volumes; Boston: n.d.), I, 287-88.

a surgeon of the past.⁷

More recently Professor Régine Pernoud has seen the tenth century in a somewhat different light: probably one of the most surprising and most fertile, as she says, in all the history of France.⁸ René Sédillot continued the theme of revival toward the end of the tenth century, but reflects the older emphasis on political history as somehow lying at the cause: "In the night of the barbarians at its densest it had fallen to the house of Capet to bring the sun into the sky."⁹ Here we have the traditional implication of a hundred years when the sun failed to shine. Sédillot's words are reminiscent of that worn-out, tired point of view which has for so long afflicted the popular imagination as it looks at the Middle Ages: the "long Gothic night", the "dark ages", "a thousand years without a bath", et cetera ad nauseam. In the modern patois when someone or something is bad or antiquated, it is "medieval". Albert Guerard reflected the continuing change in tenth-century historiography when he wrote: "In the first decades of the tenth century the Dark Ages were at their darkest By the middle of the eleventh century Europe appears in a new light"¹⁰ Still another verdict comes from the pen of Georges Duby, a student of Marc Bloch, and a leading sociologist-historian in France

⁷Ferdinand Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens. Lothaire, Louis V, Charles de Lorraine, 954-991 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 87; Paris: 1891), pp. 168-69. Hereafter this work will be cited as Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens.

⁸Histoire du Peuple Français, publiée sous la direction de L.-H. Parias, Tome I: Des Origines au Moyen Âge (1^{er} siècle avant J.-C. - 1380) par Régine Pernoud (4 volumes; Paris: 1951-53), I, 139-40.

⁹René Sédillot, An Outline of French History, Translated from the French by Gerard Hopkins (New York: 1953), p. 104.

¹⁰Albert Guerard, France, A Modern History (The University of Michigan History of the Modern World), ed. Allan Nevins and Howard M. Ehrmann (Ann Arbor: 1959), p. 57.

today. For Duby the tenth century witnessed the end of the "Dark Ages", and is the best starting point for "French Civilization".¹¹

In addition to the views concerning tenth-century France of those historians cited above, one ought to note particularly the conclusions of several others who may be regarded as specialists in that period. In the late nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century a group of French scholars published a series of monographs in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Taken together these works provide a carefully documented record of the political history covered in the present study. They were indispensable for the research and writing of this dissertation.

Auguste Eckel's contribution was a history entitled Charles le Simple. Eckel was struck by the treacherous character of the feudal baronage in the tenth century, not only in France, but in Germany and Italy as well.¹² He wondered if the difficulties between France and Germany over Lorraine couldn't be traced to the loss of that region by Charles the Simple.¹³

Philippe Lauer wrote two monographs which form a part of this series. The first, Robert I et Raoul de Bourgogne, rois de France (923-936), deals with the two reigns immediately following that of Charles the Simple. Like Eckel, Lauer saw in the character and activities of the feudal warrior class the source for much of the turmoil of the time. Specifically, he held the French feudality, on account of their perpetual intrigues, responsible before

¹¹Georges Duby and Robert Mandrou, A History of French Civilization, Translated by James Blakely Atkinson (New York: 1964), pp. 3-4.

¹²Auguste Eckel, Charles le Simple (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 124; Paris: 1899), p. 137. Hereafter this work will be cited as Eckel, Charles le Simple.

¹³Ibid.

the tribunal of History for having made it impossible to secure a lasting French domination over Lorraine and Provence. According to Lauer, Herbert II, count of Vermandois, was the villain in the piece. By implication only, for Lauer does not state it in so many words, he seems to believe that Herbert was responsible originally for the troubles of the French nation later on. He describes Herbert as the evil genius who instigated much of the trouble.¹⁴ Herbert thus becomes something of an historical scapegoat. One can scarcely fail to agree with Lauer's conclusions concerning the character of Herbert of Vermandois. Whether that tenth-century baron can be held accountable for France's difficulties with Germany in the nineteenth century is a thesis which no sane historian would care to defend.

Lauer's other work, Le Règne de Louis IV d'Outre-Mer, covers the next reign. Again, the author's nationalist bias is seen as it appeared in the work on Robert and Raoul, and in Eckel's Charles le Simple. The two main objectives of Louis d'Outre-Mer were to recover Lorraine and to gain a firm hold on Normandy.¹⁵ The author repudiates the idea that Germanic influence was a measure of the success of the Carolingian restoration between 936 and 987. Rather, Lauer affirmed, that success rested squarely upon the personal ability of Louis IV.¹⁶ One is inclined to the opinion that Lauer's confidence in Louis IV

¹⁴Philippe Lauer, Robert I et Raoul de Bourgogne, rois de France (923-936) (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 188; Paris: 1910), p. 85. Hereafter this work will be cited as Lauer, Robert et Raoul.

¹⁵Philippe Lauer, Le Règne de Louis IV d'Outre-Mer (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 127; Paris: 1900), p. 237. Hereafter this work will be cited as Lauer, Louis IV.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 243-45.

is well-founded, for that king was indeed a scrapper. Be that as it may, perhaps German influence counted for something.

Ferdinand Lot was the most famous of this group of historians. His book, Les Derniers Carolingiens. Lothaire, Louis V, Charles de Lorraine, 954-991, is a masterpiece of historical scholarship. Lot's overall view concerning tenth-century France has been stated above. There seemed to him little logic in the political events of the age, which seemed to tumble upon one another without revealing any dominant pattern. In his Introduction he referred to the period between 954 and 991 as ". . . the most obscure of the obscure tenth century. . . ." ¹⁷

Christian Pfister, whose study, Études sur le Règne de Robert le Pieux (996-1031), constitutes another part to this series, was most concerned with events after the year 1000. His attitude reflects the traditional point of view toward the tenth century by implication concerning what he says about the beginning of the eleventh century: "The beginning of the eleventh century is a decisive period in history. Everywhere, men displayed a new activity." ¹⁸

In sum, these historians agree on one or two points. Almost all of them wrote from the point of view of French nationalism. They belonged to a generation in which the force of nationalism was the dominant factor in European political life. The generation of scholars writing between 1870 and 1914 could scarcely fail to focus upon the theme of France-German, not to say France-

¹⁷Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. xiii: "Cette époque passe pour la plus obscure de l'obscur X^e siècle. . . ."

¹⁸Christian Pfister, Études sur le Règne de Robert le Pieux (996-1031) (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Études, fasc. 64; Paris: 1885), p. 387: "Le commencement du XI^e siècle est une époque décisive dans l'histoire. En tous lieux, les hommes font preuve d'une nouvelle activité." Hereafter this work will be cited as Pfister, Robert le Pieux.

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Prussian, antagonism. They were concerned with the origins of their nation state, which they concluded was born in the moribund Carolingian empire. For these men the political activities of the tenth-century feudal warriors were of crucial significance. The event of 987 was momentous. They also continued to see tenth-century France as an "obscure" setting, to use Lot's term, if not to say a dark or evil age. From this point of view the tenth century was benighted to the extent that in it could be found the original causes for the trials of the French nation after 1870. It may be conjectured as a concluding thought that this generation of historians faced what amounted to a paradoxical dilemma: namely, that the French nation and the Question of Lorraine were both part of the same historical development which emerged out of the chaos of tenth-century France. Here were laid the foundations of both the glory and the shame of the French people.

The elder generation of political historians saw unity in the one hundred years which passed between 887 and 987. This periodization has been generally adopted by scholars as a convenient and meaningful chronology for the history of tenth-century France. In 887 the Carolingian empire came to an end with the deposition of Charles of Swabia. Thereafter, until 987 ensued a long and bitter war between the successive generations of two families, the Carolingians and the Robertians. The issue was settled in 987 by the substitution of the Robertian candidate for the Carolingian heir on the throne of France.¹⁹

¹⁹The term "France", as it is used in this dissertation, like the term "tenth century", needs to be explained. By "France" is meant the whole of the western Frankish kingdom as it was possessed in the ninth century under Charles the Bald. That would also include those parts south of the Loire River in the Midi, which owed their allegiance to the Carolingian rulers at Laon. Generally speaking it is intended to designate the western half of the old Carolingian empire. In the tenth century the expression "France" would have indicated at most the region around Paris, known at the time as "Francia". But in order to avoid what would otherwise result in some rather awkward phrases and expressions, I have chosen this easy way out. Elsewhere I have attempted to refer to places

It is this epic struggle that provides the background for the history of this period. Consequently, historians of an earlier generation have concentrated their attention on the political drama, but have neglected the really crucial role which was taken by the Church in these events. Nor is this surprising either, for the Church was largely in the grip of laymen, and was thus nearly indistinguishable from lay society. Some, therefore, might have assumed that the Church was incapable of performing any serious role at this period in history. Others may simply have passed over the influence of the Church. Whatever their reasons, earlier historians concerned with this problem have neglected the vital influence of the Church.

The development that ultimately shaped the course of future events was not political in nature, but religious. The key to a proper understanding of the history of feudal society in tenth-century France is not political at all. The emergence of a clergy interested in reform, and the subsequent restoration of the Benedictine abbeys, proved to be the impetus for a great religious revival which eventually extended to all of feudal society. It was the Church, and the work of dedicated clergymen, which shaped the mental attitudes of all classes of feudal society, especially from the middle of the century on. The religious and spiritual revival generated by the reform of the monasteries was the necessary pre-condition for the great achievements of eleventh and twelfth-century Europe. The monastic reform, far more than the political struggle, is the dramatic development which should engage the scholar's attention. It was

by region, e.g. Brittany, Vermandois, Anjou. "Burgundy" refers to ducal Burgundy. The kingdom of Burgundy is always identified as such, or as "Trans-Jurane Burgundy". As noted above, the term "tenth century" frequently is intended to mean the one hundred years between 887 and 987, although I must reserve my normal right to sometimes include in that expression the years between 987 and 1000, also.

the great reform movement emanating from Cluny and Lorraine which emerged finally as the arbiter of dynastic political fortunes.

This dissertation will attempt to show the major contribution made by the Church toward reconstructing civilized life in the feudal society of tenth-century France. The Church appears here in its traditional role as the agency for the civilization of men's thoughts and actions in this life and as the guardian and protector of their souls for the next life. The task was great, indeed. Throughout the tenth century continuing efforts were made, not always marked by success in this ennobling venture. However, gradually, progress was achieved. At the beginning of the century the Church, which is to say both the material and spiritual institution as well as the clergy, was caught up in the chaos of a society cruelly tortured by barbarian invasions and perpetual feudal warfare.

In the midst of this nightmare the Church assumed the responsibility of leadership in an effort to bring about a higher degree of civilized life. Certain prominent members among the clergy labored strenuously to awaken men to the need for reform. They made themselves the conscience of an outraged society. The reform movement thus generated centered in the Benedictine abbeys, long the showpieces used by the Church during the early Middle Ages to demonstrate how the life of Christian perfection ought to be lived. It was a tragedy that these same monasteries had suffered so from the assaults of the barbarians and the feudal warriors. Now, from early in the tenth century, the monasteries came gradually to be reformed. As the reform movement gained momentum in the third-quarter of the tenth century, the religious zeal flowed beyond the confines of the cloisters and inspired lay society to a vision of political stability and peace. Ultimately the reform spirit and the desire

for order found a practical application as the solution to the vexing problem of the long dynastic war between the Robertian and Carolingian families. The solution was the Revolution of 987 which removed the Carolingian family from the throne of the western Frankish kingdom and replaced it by the Robertian family in the person of Hugh Capet.

In the minds of the leading clergymen of the age a new political order had been created with the firm reestablishment of the Roman empire in the West by Otto the Great in 962. It is to the quarter-century between that event and 987 that one must look for the decisive developments that created Hugh Capet king of France. This was the same quarter-century during which the tenth-century monastic reform flowered. Carolingian imperialism was discredited because it threatened by openly attacking the new empire of the Ottos. On the other hand, the interests of the Robertians were purely "French". Without Otto the Great Hugh Capet would have been inconceivable.

The pages that follow will show how the monastic reform movement was born and under what circumstances it flourished. It will be argued that the reform movement exerted a powerful stimulus upon the minds of the men who shaped the political destinies of Western Europe in the tenth century. The Revolution of 987 was one of the natural results of the reform spirit that began in the monasteries and swept across Western Europe. The peace movement, culminating in the institutions of the Peace of God and the Truce of God, would form a logical final chapter to the great work of monastic reform. Lack of time, however, prohibited the inclusion of a chapter on the peace movement in this dissertation.

PART I

THE CHURCH TERRORIZED: THE NIGHTMARE OF HORROR AND DESTRUCTION

The forty-four year period between the Treaty of Verdun and the deposition of Charles of Swabia witnessed the sundering of the Carolingian empire. The attempts made by various rulers after 887 to shore up the remains of the Christian empire met with no success. A number of pretenders came forward presenting their claims as the legitimate heirs in the Carolingian line of succession, and a few even succeeded in taking the imperial title and wearing the crown. But the actions of these later Carolingians in no way erased the reality that the former empire had split into several kingdoms. Nor did the splintering of authority end there. Within each of the new kingdoms, the process of decentralization penetrated deeply into the fabric of society. Nowhere was the disintegration of central authority more apparent and real than in the kingdom of the western Franks, and particularly in the region between the Loire and Rhine rivers. There, during the course of the tenth century, the actual power of the monarchy was practically eclipsed by the political anarchy of the age.

What was the fate of the Church in this milieu of disorder? The answer must be sought by concentrating our attention upon two new forces: the barbarian raiders and the feudal warriors. Taken together, these two groups caused terrible depredations against the Church, and kept society in a state of almost constant turmoil in tenth-century France. Such were their ravages that one may properly speak of a Church terrorized by the nightmare of horror and destruction into which it had been plunged.

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CHAPTER I

THE BARBARIAN BLITZKRIEG

The invasions of the Northmen continued unabated in France during the last years of the ninth century. Very soon afterward new marauders appeared in the West and subjected the badly weakened western Frankish kingdom to their lightning-like raids. These new attackers were the Hungarians, or Magyars. While the North and West of France received the brunt of the Viking attacks, and the East absorbed the impact of Hungarian incursions, the Midi, especially the regions of Provence and Burgundy, was periodically disrupted by small bands of Saracen adventurers. These three peoples--the Vikings, the Magyars, and the Saracens--subjected the churches and monasteries of western Francia to nothing less than lightning-war, or what we of the twentieth century would be apt to think of as a barbarian blitzkrieg.

One must ask several questions in order to understand the total impact made upon the Church by the barbarians. First of all, what were the causes of the invasions in their places of origin? Secondly, what were the targets of their raids, and whom did they attack? Finally, what strategies and tactics were employed by these foreign assailants? The answers to some of these questions may be found in the writings of contemporaries who, in many cases, were eye-witnesses of the destructive fury unleashed by the barbarians.

The backgrounds of the barbarian people who suddenly burst upon Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries were different in each case. In the three widely separated areas from which they came, certain internal pressures

seem to lie back of their incursions against the West. The weakness of the Carolingian imperium in the ninth century, when the invasions began in force, does not satisfactorily explain the instigation of the attacks. In the initial stages, the invaders were not drawn into the West by the deterioration of imperial authority. Rather they were impelled, or otherwise moved outward, from their homes by circumstances in their places of origin. This fact is important to keep in mind, for from the early tenth century on a growing resistance to the barbarian inroads is discernable in the West. The monastic writers of the time echo one another with the seemingly never-ending formula: "Nullo resistente".¹ To those religious forced to flee their monasteries bearing the bones of their patron saints or fleeing with their psalters or manuscripts, it must indeed have seemed that there was "no one opposing". But, in fact, this was not true. Some historians still perpetuate the myth that the later Carolingians were either fools or cowards. No judgment on these men is further in error, with the possible exception, perhaps, of the performance of Charles of Swabia confronted at Paris by the great Danish army. Actually, the rulers were faced with the incredibly frustrating task of trying to fight fast-striking guerrilla forces. Poor communications, time-consuming methods of assembling a counterattack force, and regional or local loyalties made the rulers' job well-nigh impossible.

Who were these invaders, then, who compounded the difficulties of the strife-torn West? The Vikings, or Northmen, caused the greatest destruction. They came in larger numbers and over a longer period of time than either the Hungarians or the Saracens. From Scotland to Spain, from the Baltic to the

¹See, for example, Annales Vedastini, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 205: "Dani vero more suo Burgundiam, Niustriam atque partem Aquitaniae, nullo resistente, igne et ferro devastant."

Atlantic and beyond, these daring people rode their sea-steeds in search of plunder and new lands. For over 250 years, from the end of the eighth to the middle of the eleventh century, the hearty men of the North were in the vanguard of European internal colonization. At the beginning of the Viking Age, they were pagan barbarians, capable of little more than bloodthirsty pillage and destruction. By the middle of the eleventh century, they were the greatest fief-builders and governmental administrators of Western Europe.

Historians have long been puzzled in their search for an explanation of the tremendous burst of activity which began the Viking Age. Inevitably, the answer to this problem must be found by observing certain developments in Scandinavian society. Some scholars have suggested that over-population was a cause for Viking expansion.² It has also been shown that internal consolidation by the Scandinavian kings caused a broadly-based middle class to seek new lands overseas. Jealous of their traditional political independence, the yeoman farmers and craftsmen emigrated in large numbers.³ Whatever the cause, whether over-population or the consolidation of larger territories under a monarchical administration and jurisdiction, the search for new places of settlement seems to have been an important factor in the invasions. Most recently, the work of one scholar has shown that in the West, the Vikings were interested in accumulating treasure for the purpose of buying land.⁴

The Danes were the Scandinavian people who attacked the western

²Johannes C.H.R. Steenstrup, Normannerne (4 volumes; Copenhagen: 1876-82), I, 231-32.

³T. D. Kendrick, A History of the Vikings (New York: 1930), pp. 20-21.

⁴P. H. Sawyer, The Age of the Vikings (New York: 1962), p. 202.

Frankish kingdom. Their invasions fall into several stages.⁵ Their earliest raids began in Frisia about 800 and continued sporadically to harass the northern littoral of continental Europe until about the mid-830's. During this time the Vikings acquainted themselves with the wealth of the monastic houses in the regions they explored and familiarized themselves with the chaotic political situation in western Francia.⁶ In the second third of the ninth century they descended upon the West with a new boldness and fury. The Christians learned for the first time the terror of suddenly seeing a fleet of longboats round a bend in the Loire or Seine, the wild men of the North scramble ashore with their torches, axes, and ladders in hand, and a town or monastery overrun and consumed in flames. From early spring to late fall, the Danes navigated the inland rivers and roamed the countryside, crisscrossing northern France with death and destruction, fire and sword. Then, with the approach of winter, the barbarians would retire to their hastily constructed winter-quarter compounds.⁷ In the spring the Vikings would begin the cycle anew, "more solito": "in their usual manner", as the chroniclers report.⁸ Having learned to establish winter bases for themselves, the Danes were changing from savage interlopers to permanent residents. The last third of the century brought some respite for the Franks. Between 866 and 896, the Danes concentrated their main force at first in northern and eastern England,

⁵Kendrick, op. cit., pp. 6-9.

⁶Ibid., p. 6.

⁷The Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 205, has several references to winter quarters in the entries for the years 890 and 891. In the latter year they wintered at Noyon, where they built a camp outside the walls of the city. See Ex Miraculis S. Bertini, in HF, IX, 118.

⁸Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 203.

and after 870, in a long and futile struggle against Wessex. The Danish effort in England during these decades strongly suggests their desire to wrest a territory from the Anglo-Saxons, within which they might settle permanently. Their defeat by Alfred the Great drove some of them back across the channel to northern France, and it was there in the early tenth century that Rollo succeeded in extorting a home from Charles the Simple at the price of peace.⁹ Thus, in the course of the ninth century the Danish Vikings had progressed from free-booting buccaneers to a more numerous people apparently intent upon seeking a new home in the West.

Just how savage were these Danes, these Vikings of the later sagas, who loved the clang of iron on buckler, rode their keel-birds on the swan's-way, and heard the scalds sing their praises in the ale hall? As W. P. Ker put it, the Viking was, like Thor, ". . . the typical Northman of the old sort--bluff, homely, reckless, and fearless--not specially intellectual, sometimes outwitted by the cunning of his adversaries, but good at hard work, and instinctively (one may say) on the side of Reason."¹⁰ This is a favorable appreciation. Less so were the words which came from monastic quills. Undoubtedly the monks were prejudiced against the wild blond-bearded pagans who ransacked their monasteries, and spilled the blood of innocent Christians like wine from broken casks. A recent effort has been made to minimize the atro-

⁹Albany F. Major, Early Wars of Wessex (Cambridge, England: 1913), p. 127. Sir Frank M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (Second Edition; Oxford: 1950), p. 266, says that Mercia and Wessex were still on the defensive at the time of Alfred's death.

¹⁰W. P. Ker, The Dark Ages (New York: 1958), p. 39.

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cities committed by the Northmen.¹¹ But can we doubt the nightmare of violence left in the wake of their longboats? Listen to the words of the monk Abbo, who witnessed from the ramparts of Paris the siege of that city by the Danes in the winter of 885-86:

These dogs killed everyone: babies, children, young men, old men, fathers, sons, and mothers. They murdered the husband before the eyes of his wife; they raped the wife before the eyes of her husband. And children were slaughtered in the presence of their parents They cast down, they despoil, they murder, they burn, they ravage, cruel cohort, wicked phalanx, cruel multitude.¹²

These are the words of a man bitter, almost at the point of tears, over the crimes that he has seen committed. The Viking was one thing to his fellows; he was something else to his victims.

No less bloodthirsty, and even further removed from civilization than the barbarous Nortmanni, were the savage little men from the plains of the middle Danube. The Hungarians, or Magyars, as they called themselves, were reminiscent of the fifth-century Huns to the tenth-century Franks. The European victims of the Magyars expressed horror at the sight of these squat,

¹¹Sawyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-11. The author believes the numbers of the Vikings and, therefore, the total destructiveness of the raids, have been greatly exaggerated. The book is both scholarly and readable.

¹²Abbo, Le Siège de Paris par les Normands, poème du IX^e siècle, édité et traduit par Henri Waquet (Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Âge) (Paris: 1942), p. 30:

"Infantes, pueros, juvenes, canamque senectam,
Atque patres natosque necant necnon genetrices.
Conjugis ante oculos cedem tribuere marito;
Conjugis ante oculos strages gustat mulierem,
Ante patrum faciem soboles necnon genetricum
Prosternunt, spoliunt, perimunt, urunt, populantur,
Dira cohors, funesta falanx, cetusque severus."

Hereafter, this work will be cited as Abbo, Le Siège de Paris par les Normands.

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sallow, bow-legged horsemen. The fear which contemporary Christians felt toward these people was no doubt compounded by the sudden devastation of the Magyar attacks and the military skill of the raiders. A ninth-century supplication to God reveals the mental state of Christians tormented by Magyars: ". . . against the arrows of the Hungarians, be Thou our protector."¹³

Occasionally one reads amusing comments or stories connected with their raids. Flodoard, for example, rejoiced when he heard that one of their hordes perished of dysentery after a severe raid through Gothia in 924.¹⁴ Two years later, a monk at Saint-Gall had a splendid time in the wine cellar with his Magyar guests.¹⁵ The majority of Christians, however, were not so fortunate.

The early history of the Magyars is confused. Byzantine, Islamic, and Latin sources all mention the Hungarians, but the reports are brief and contradictory.¹⁶ The most accurate research on Magyar pre-history has succeeded on the basis of linguistic evidence in establishing their place of origin in central Asia. Apparently they lived at an early date on the western side of the Ural mountains, and belonged to the Ugric division of the Finno-Ugric

¹³Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, Translated by L. A. Manyon (2 volumes; Chicago: 1964), I, 41.

¹⁴Flodoard, Annales, in PL, CXXXV, a. 924: "Hungari qui Gothiam vastabant, pestem quandam perpassi, caput inflatione ac dissinteria pene cuncti, paucis evadentibus, nuntiantur esse consumpti." Hereafter, this work will be cited simply as Flodoard, Annales, a , with the year-entry supplied in place of the ellipses.

¹⁵Ekkehard IV, B. Casuum S. Galli continuatio I, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 105-07, and 109.

¹⁶Denis Sinor, History of Hungary (London: 1959), p. 16; A.W.A. Leeper, A History of Medieval Austria, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson and C.A. McCartney (London: 1941), pp. 131-33; C. A. McCartney, The Magyars in the Ninth Century (Cambridge, England: 1930), p. 1.

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branch of the Ural-Altaic language family.¹⁷ By the early ninth century, the Magyars had come under the overlordship of the Bulgars, who in turn were subordinated to Khazar rule. As the Khazars began to push west about this time, the Magyars were in turn forced to seize new territories for themselves. This process of westward movement continued until the Petcheneg Turks toward the end of the ninth century impelled the Magyars into the region of the middle Danube. It was there that they were to make their home.¹⁸

The Magyars had some acquaintance with civilized life through their contacts with the Bulgars, who were a more advanced people. They learned something of the domestic ways of the Bulgars, and engaged in trade with Greek merchants in the ports of the Crimea. Most of their trade was in furs and slaves. Agricultural opportunities were also afforded them by their occupation of the rich Danube basin, but the Magyars were slow to give up their nomadic way of life. They preferred horse raising to farming.¹⁹ Another civilizing influence came their way in the form of Christian missionaries, but it was to no avail. About the year 860, Saint Methodius tried to convert them, but the effort was a failure.²⁰

In the last quarter of the ninth century, the Hungarians were drawn into the orbit of central European politics. The Germans and the Moravian Slavs had contacts with them, the former employing them on occasion as mercenaries. In 899 or 900, the Magyars burst upon Europe for the first time,

¹⁷Leeper, op. cit., p. 132.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 133-35.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 135; Sinor, op. cit., p. 20. C. A. McCartney, Hungary: A Short History (Chicago: 1962), p. 7.

²⁰Augustin Fliche, L'Europe occidentale de 888 à 1125 (Histoire du Moyen Age, II, in Histoire Générale, éd. G. Glotz) (Paris: 1941), p. 17.

and so began a half-century of raids. Lombardy and Venetia were the areas which they struck first. Later, with the defeat of both the Moravians and Bavarians in 906, the Magyars extended their predatory activities to Saxony, Thuringia, and Swabia. An avenue of approach to western Europe now lay open to them.²¹

It is generally agreed among historians that the Hungarians were motivated to attack the West and elsewhere by the desire to enrich themselves with booty. Like the Vikings, the Magyars left their original home because pressures there forced them into movement. Only later, and gradually, did they discover the rich opportunities for plunder which awaited them. As the Vikings before them had done, the Magyars were quick to seize the initiative. Between 898 and 955, they conducted at least thirty-three major expeditions in search of plunder.²² There were very likely other lesser raids besides those enumerated by historians, which resulted in robbery, misery, and loss of life for those whom they victimized. These have gone unnoticed because they were unrecorded. Concerning the free-booting activities of the Hungarians, one historian has observed:

Most of these raids were simple, profit-making expeditions, in which cities and churches were ransacked and gold and treasure carried off, with captives for domestic use, re-export or re-sale in return for ransom. Alternately Danegeld was exacted.²³

The third group of barbarians to attack the disintegrating Frankish empire during the ninth and tenth centuries were Saracen pirates from the

²¹Leeper, op. cit., pp. 136-38.

²²C. A. McCartney, Hungary: A Short History, p. 10.

²³Ibid.

Emirate of Kairouan in North Africa. The ninth century brought a steady advance of these Tunisian corsairs into the western Mediterranean. Sicily was invaded and Palermo captured in 831. From there the Saracens raided southern Italy, the western coast of the peninsula, and fanned out to the islands of the western Mediterranean. In the last decade of the ninth century, a small band of them succeeded in occupying a natural fortress in a mountainous wooded area on the coast at Fraxinetum. Before long the pirates had spread inland to the North, raiding as far away as Burgundy; to the east they infested the Alpine passes.²⁴

The Saracens, like the Vikings, were able to secure themselves in strongholds from which they harrassed adjacent regions for many miles around. Unlike the Vikings, however, their numbers were comparatively few. We hear of no "magnus exercitus sarracenorum". One reason may be that the Moslem world was suffering from divided loyalties by the early tenth century. The Fatimites had taken over the caliphate in Africa, and the Aghlabite Saracens from Kairouan found themselves isolated rebels. The rebel Moslems in Europe were not, however, deprived of some reinforcements, yet it was only a matter

²⁴René Poupardin, Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens (855-933?) (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Études, fasc. 131; Paris: 1901), p. 250. This work will be cited hereafter as Poupardin, Provence. The author says that the year 889 is generally given as the date of the establishment of the Saracens at Fraxinetum. A council held at Valence the following year speaks of "the Saracens, who ravaged Provence and reduced the country to a desert." See Sacrorum Conciliorum et Decretorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, ed. J. D. Mansi, XVIII A, 95: "... Saraceni provinciam depopulantes terram in solitudinem redigebant." Hereafter this collection will be cited simply as Mansi. Liutprand of Cremona, Historia Gestorum Regum et Imperatorum sive Antapodosis, in PL, CXXXVI, 792, says that about twenty Saracens from Spain were tossed up on the coast of Provence by a storm. They wasted no time getting started on their career of violence and crime: "Qui pirate noctu egressi, villamque clam ingressi, christicolae, pro dolor! jugulant" The dissensions among the warring Christians of the neighborhood made it easy for the Saracens to strengthen their position, and secure reinforcements from Spain.

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of time before they would be rooted out of their mountain fortresses by the Christians.²⁵

The aim of the Saracens was not only to acquire wealth by robbing travelers and plundering monasteries. They did these things, of course, and much that was worse. They ransomed Christian prisoners whenever they could. Indeed, it was the capture of Saint Maieul, abbot of Cluny, which awakened the conscience of Europe and resulted in the expulsion of one group from the Alps, and the destruction of the den at Fraxinetum.²⁶ In the treatment meted out to Christians by the Aghlabite Moslems, one may discern the pursuit of Holy War. The waging of the Jihad probably figured prominently in the motivations of the Saracen raids in the Midi, and elsewhere in the West. Thus, the Saracens were also influenced by forces active within their own civilization, and were not led to an offensive against the West simply by the divisions within Europe.

The barbarian blitzkrieg was not directed specifically against the Church and the clergy. All of society came under attack. Scarcely a year went by between 887 and 972 when some part of Gaul was not assaulted by either the Vikings, the Hungarians, or the Saracens. Towns, monasteries, open fields, and those luckless individuals who were suddenly caught without refuge: these were the targets of opportunity which fell prey to the invaders. How can one measure the chaos that resulted from the incursions? The evidence, fortunately for the historian, is plentiful. The sources provide some precise details with respect to the towns which were besieged and the churches and monasteries which

²⁵The Fatimite successors of the Aghlabites at Kairouan in the tenth century continued the policy of raiding the southern coasts of western Europe, according to Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs (Sixth Edition; London: 1958), pp. 617-20.

²⁶Syrus, Vita Sancti Maioli, in PL, CXXXVII, 763-65.

were devastated. We note also the flight of the religious, the monks bearing the remains of their patron saints and other moveables to places of security. Lastly, contemporary writers were not always so specific about the ravages, but what they wrote is useful in assessing the sum of destruction caused by the barbarians.

The towns of Gaul were favorite targets of the Norsemen. The author of the Miracula S. Prudentii, a monk named Theobald from the monastery at Bèze in Burgundy, had heard stories of Viking activities in other parts of France. This is what he wrote:

In the year 887 from the Incarnation of the Lord, the last of Charles, a boy, who was the son of the Emperor Louis, was reigning in France. Eudes, the son of Count Robert of Anjou was, however, the tutor of the royalty. The savage race of Northmen came into Francia with an immense army of assembled troops. Presently the city of Paris was captured and ravaged, after a siege of seven years. Rouen, Evreux, Bayeux, and other cities of Neustria were barbarously pillaged. Afterwards Beauvais, Chartres, Meaux, and Melun were demolished to their foundations. They roamed over the entirety of Gaul, the length and the breadth, destroying everything by plundering, with fire, and by sword, with absolutely nobody standing in their way. And so, now Neustria, now Francia, was exhausted by hostile hands, but there was no trust in concerted countermeasures; neither in Burgundy, which also experienced the sword of their fierce cruelty.²⁷

²⁷Acta, translationes et miracula S. Prudentii martyris, auctore Teobaldo, Besuensi monacho, Libri IV, in AASS, Octobris, III, 361: "Anno vero ab Incarnatione Domini octingentesimo octogesimo septimo, ultimo Karolo, puero, filio Ludovici imperatoris, regnante in Francia: Odone autem, filio Roberti Andegavorum comitis, tutore regni, Normannorum gens efferat, immensis exercituum collectis copiis, Franciam ingrediuntur. Jam enim prius Parisiacam urbem, post septem annorum obsidionem captam et vastatam, Rothomagum, Ebroas, Bajocas et caeteras Neustriae civitates atrociter depopulati fuerant. Tunc vero Belvacum, Carnotum, Meldis, Milidunum solo tenus evertentes, totas longe lateque, nullo penitus obsistentes, pervagantur Gallias, rapinis, incendiis ferroque cuncta pessumdantes. Jam itaque Neustriam, jam Franciam hostica manus exhausserat, sed nihil omnino actum credidit, nisi etiam Burgundia suae crudelitatis feroces experiretur gladios." Charles the Fat was deposed as emperor in 887, and died the following year. The Emperor Louis referred to above was Louis the Stammerer, who never took the imperial crown, but reigned briefly as king of France (877-79). His son, Charles III the Simple, was next in line to rule in

The towns located on or near rivers undoubtedly suffered more frequently than those situated inland, for they were more accessible to marauding fleets. The dreaded longboats were a familiar sight to the lookouts on the bridge-towers at Paris. Between 845 and 911 Paris alone was besieged seven times.²⁸ Abbo, the monk of Saint-Germain-des-Près who was an eyewitness to the great siege of 885-86, has left us an epic account of the bravery with which the inhabitants of the Cité defended their walls. We read of those twelve stalwart heroes, who so tenaciously defended the south tower of the Petit-Pont, only to succumb in the end to Norman treachery. All Paris watched anxiously as the twelve struggled, isolated, against the repeated efforts of the Vikings to dislodge them.²⁹

In 887 the Norse pirates resumed their depredations and it was this period of their activities to which Theobald, the monk of Bèze referred. They decided to steer clear of Paris, contrary to Theobald's story, for they had learned that Eudes was encamped nearby with an army prepared to defend the town.³⁰ Instead of trying the Frankish defenses, ". . . after a few days had expired they remounted the Seine with their ships, and entering the Marne river,

the western Frankish kingdom, but was too young. Eudes, the son of Robert the Strong, was elected by the magnates instead of the boy, Charles the Simple. After Eudes' reign (888-98), Charles the Simple came to the throne (898-923). Theobald is wrong when he states that Paris was besieged for seven years. Paris did not fall to the Normans either, as the monk of Bèze would have us believe.

²⁸Paris was besieged seven times between 845 and 911: in 845, which was the first occasion, and again in 856, 861, 865, 866, 885-86, and 889.

²⁹Abbo, Le Siège de Paris par les Normands, pp. 52-60.

³⁰Edouard Favre, Eudes, comte de Paris et roi de France (882-98) (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 99; Paris: 1893), p. 106. This work will be cited hereafter as Favre, Eudes.

burned the town of Troyes."³¹ From Troyes they invaded Burgundy in the spring of 888, sacking the country as they went. Leaving Burgundy, the Viking army appeared in the Remois, where they threatened the great episcopal see of Reims. The entire region around Verdun and Toul fell victim to their destructive fury.³²

A few months later the Northmen suddenly appeared in their ships before the walls of Meaux. This was probably the occasion which the monk Theobald had heard about. We have a better source than Theobald, however, for what the Vikings did at Meaux. The fate of Meaux and its inhabitants gives us a clear picture of what happened to a town when resistance to the invaders failed. The account comes to us from the annalist in the monastery of Saint-Vaast at Arras:

Again the Northmen entrenched the city of Meaux with a siege, constructed siege-engines, and built a causeway to give them access to the walls of the town. Count Teutbert resisted courageously until he was killed along with nearly all of his men. The count being dead, Bishop Sigemund, who was overcome with terror, ordered the town gates to be strengthened by reinforcing them with stones. But an element of those who were closed up within the town grew weary of the siege, weakened as they were by hunger, and discouraged by the deaths in their ranks. Seeing that no help was at hand from any side, they began to treat with the Northmen through an exchange of notes, on such terms that by giving up the town, they would be allowed to depart with their lives. Why say more? The proposal was brought back to the crowd, and with the expectation of peace they gave hostages. The gates were opened, and a way made for the Christians so that they were able to come out. The inhabitants of the town were led out by the hostages, whom they had selected. When they had gone across the Marne river, and had proceeded some distance from the town, the Northmen followed them all and seized the bishop

³¹Regino, *Chronicon*, ed. Pertz, in *MGH*, *SS*, I, 601: "Transactis paucis diebus iterum Sequanam cum classe ascendunt, et Matronam fluvium ingredientes Trekas civitatem incendio cremant." Regino assigns these events to 889.

³²*Ibid.*: ". . . et usque Virdunensem ac Tullensem urbes cuncta circumquaque depopulantur." Favre, *Eudes*, p. 106.

with all the people; thereupon they returned, set fire to the town, and tore down as much of the walls as satisfied them; moreover they lingered in that place until the following November.³³

The following spring the Danes approached Auxerre and burned its faubourgs.³⁴ This was the second time within two years that they had visited this town.³⁵ The summer of 889 saw a repetition in Brittany of what had earlier occurred at Meaux. In the region of Coutances they placed a siege before Saint-Lo. Led by their bishop, the inhabitants fought hard, but the attackers found the source of water-supply for the town and cut it off. After a while the besieged town was forced to capitulate, and the Northmen agreed to spare the lives of the citizens. When the defenders opened the gates and came out, the Vikings fell upon the Christians and butchered them. Then they leveled the fortress.³⁶

³³Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 204: "Iterim Nortmanni Meldis civitatem obsidione vallant, machinas instruunt, aggerem conportant ad capiendam urbem. Quibus viriliter resistit Teutbertus comes, donec interiiit cum omnibus prope bellatoribus. Mortuo itaque comite, episcopus Sigemundus, timore perculsus, iussit lapidibus obfirmari portas civitatis. Cumque hii qui infra civitatem erant inclusi, obsidione pertaesi, fame attenuati, mortibus etiam suorum afflicti, cernerent ex nulla parte sibi auxilium adfuturum, cum Nortmannis sibi notis agere coeperunt, ut, data civitate, vivi sinerentur abire. Quid plura? refertur ad multitudinem, et sub spetie, pacis obsides dant. Reserantur portae, fit via christianis ut egrediantur, delegatis his, qui eos quo vellent ducerent. Cumque annem Maternam transissent, et longius a civitate processissent, Nortmanni eos omnes insecuti, comprehenderunt ipsum episcopum cum omni populo; indeque reversi, civitatem igne combusserunt, murosque, quantum placuit, destruxerunt; atque ibi morati sunt usque mensem prope Novembrem." What happened to the captured citizens of Meaux is not clear.

³⁴Annales Lemovicenses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 251: "Anno incarnationis Domini 889 Nortmanni iterato Autissiodorum repetentes, suburbana eius incenderunt."

³⁵Ibid.: "Anno incarnationis Domini 887 monasterium Sancti Germani a Nortmannis incensum est." This abbey of Saint-Germain is located at Auxerre.

³⁶Regino, Chronicon, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, I, 601-02; Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 205. See, also, Arthur Le Moyne De la Borderie, Histoire de Bretagne (6 volumes; Rennes: 1905-14), II, 333.

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Dijon was threatened in 898 during a Danish tour of destruction through Burgundy. The chronicler of Bèze seems to suggest that within Dijon itself there was a feeling of security because of the strength of the town's fortifications.³⁷ Moreover, the duke of Burgundy, Richard the Justiciar, was nearby prepared to bring aid. Indeed, it was shortly after this that Richard inflicted a bloody defeat upon the Northmen at Argenteuil, near Tonnerre, and forced the survivors to flee.³⁸

Tours and its suburbs suffered a terrible devastation in late June, 903, when a Viking army surprised the town. Its count, a certain Robert, was with Charles the Simple in Alsace at the time, as we learn from a royal charter of the same week. Did the Northmen attack the town, knowing that it was helpless? It is not unlikely.³⁹

Charles, eight years later, was more fortunate. The Viking leader Rollo moved his army south from Neustria, where it had been ravaging, and placed a siege before the city of Chartres. Fortunately, however, the bishop of Chartres, a man named Josselin, had been forewarned of their coming by

³⁷Ex Chronico Besuensi, in HF, IX, 20: ". . . ad Divionem tamen eos aspirare, nec loci firmitas, nec Ducis nominatissimi permisit metuenda bellicositas."

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Eckel, Charles le Simple, pp. 67, n. 3, and 68. Eckel has reproduced a note from a manuscript dating from the tenth century, which may be seen in the Bibliothèque de Tours. At the bottom of the first page of the manuscript, entitled Expositio Rabani presbiteri super Matheum, is inscribed the following message: "Anno incarnationis dominicae DCCC^o III^o, II^o Kalendas Julii, missa videlicet sancti Pauli apostoli, regnante Karolo filio Hludovici Balbi, post obitum domni Odonis regis in anno VI^o et Rotberti abbatis anno XV^o, iterum succensa est venerabilis basilica Sancti Martini Turonis cum XXVIII aliis ecclesiis ab Heric et Baret Nortmannis, cum toto castello et burgis." The charter granted by Charles the Simple to the church of Saint-Martin at Tours is in HF, IX, 496-99, no. XXX. Such wanton destruction as this is what caused monastic writers to adopt the attitude they did toward the Normans. One can scarcely blame them.

divine revelation, and had had time to prepare the defense of the town. A fierce struggle followed on the 20th of July. The siege was broken up and the Danes were driven off with severe losses, thanks to the timely aid of Duke Richard of Burgundy, Count Robert of Paris, and Ebles, count of Poitiers.⁴⁰

The cession of Normandy to Rollo by Charles the Simple helped to lessen the frequency of the raids after 911, but they did not end altogether. From about 923 to 926 the Normans, now only partially Christianized, returned to their old ways. In 925 Amiens and Arras were burned. At Noyon the Normans seized and burned part of the faubourgs, but were driven off by a sortie of the town militia and the inhabitants of the suburbs.⁴¹

The Northmen were not the only uninvited guests at the towns of Gaul. Others left their calling cards in the forms of butchery and pillaging and then departed as swiftly as they had come. Both the Magyars and the Saracens were attracted to the urban centers, but to a considerably lesser degree. It appears that the Magyars were at least as savage as the Vikings. Moreover, their tactics seem to have been well-suited to rapid moving operations. The Magyar hordes struck with the fury of a tornado. The great French medievalist, Marc Bloch, with his customary discernment succeeded in capturing the spirit and character of their attacks:

⁴⁰Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres, éd. Benjamin Guérard (Collection des Documents Inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France) (2 volumes; Paris: 1840), I, 46-47: "Verumenimvero praefatus praesul [Gaucelinus], venturam obsidionem divino relatu praenoscens, Pictavensem comitem venire sibi in auxilia mandat ducemque Burgundiae atque duos potentissimos Franciae comites" The Chronicon S. Maxentii Pictavensis, in HF, IX, 8, contains the following brief entry, which supplies some other particulars about this fight: "Apud Carnotum anno DCCCCXI praeliatum est die Sabbati contra Paganos per Richardum et Robertum Duces, et perempti sunt fortissimi Paganorum sexies mille et septingenti."

⁴¹Flodoard, Annales, a. 925.

. . . they preferred as a rule to glide rapidly across country: true savages, whom their chiefs drove to battle with blows of the whip, but redoubtable soldiers, skillful in flank attacks, relentless in pursuit and resourceful in extricating themselves from the most difficult situations Artful as savages, provided when necessary with intelligence by the ambassadors whom they sent on ahead, less to parley than to spy, they had very quickly penetrated the rather clumsy artifices of Western policy. They kept themselves informed about interregna, which were particularly favourable to their incursions⁴²

If the Christian population were fortunate enough to live near a walled town or a strongly fortified chateau, the chances were good that they might escape the arrows of the Hungarians. The great Magyar raid of 937 spared the larger towns. Flodoard tells us that villages and fields were laid waste, but mentions nothing of sieges.⁴³ There seems to have been only a single exception to the fact that the cities escaped their ravages. The author of the Historia Translationis SS. Saviniani, Potentiani, et cetera in Senonense S. Petri Coenobium states that the city of Sens was besieged because the inhabitants had provoked the barbarians in some way.⁴⁴ At some date during the second-quarter of the tenth century the Saracens succeeded in destroying the episcopal town of Fréjus in Provence. A charter of Count William of Provence and his wife, Adelaide, in favor of Bishop Riculf of Fréjus, mentions

⁴²Bloch, Feudal Society, Translated by L. A. Manyon, I, 10.

⁴³Flodoard, Annales, a. 937: ". . . villae et agri depopulati"

⁴⁴Ex Historia Translationis SS. Saviniani, Potentiani, et cetera in Senonense S. Petri Coenobium, in HF, IX, 134-35. The author, a certain Odoran, who was a monk at Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in the eleventh century, states that Sens was besieged because the inhabitants of the town had provoked the barbarians in some way. The raiders managed to destroy some churches. Clarius, a twelfth-century monk and the author of the Chronicon S. Petri Vivi Senonensis, in HF, IX, 34, seems to suggest that the Magyars extended their ravages right up to the walls of Sens, but did not conduct a full-scale siege: "Pervenientes autem Senones civitatem, incenderunt Coenobium S. Petri, vastantes omnem provinciam."

the Saracen devastation of that town.⁴⁵ The Saracens, like the Hungarians, seem not to have caused so much damage to the larger towns. But the smaller places, villages and hamlets without the security provided by an encircling wall, seldom escaped their fury.

If the walled towns sometimes escaped the barbarian blitzkrieg, the churches, and the monasteries especially, enjoyed no such immunity. The monasteries were favorite targets of all three invading tribes because they frequently stood isolated in the countryside with little or no protection. Those located in the suburbs of larger towns were also vulnerable to attack. The annals, chronicles, and charters of the late ninth and tenth centuries clearly indicate the destruction which the barbarians brought to the religious houses. There is a mass of evidence which testifies to the wholesale devastation of these places. The evidence shows, moreover, the anxiety felt by the religious for the raids. The monks lived in a perpetual state of fear that their house would be next. Their terror was multiplied by the knowledge, sometimes learned from repeated experiences, of the suddenness and severity with which the pagans struck.

The city of Apt in Provence was visited by barbarians, either Normans or Saracens, sometime before 896. We have a charter granted by King Louis of Provence (ca. 885-928?) which made a gift to a church located there in compensation for losses which it received at a place called Monasteriolum.⁴⁶ In the same region the abbey of Saint-César of Aliscamps received a charter

⁴⁵Gallia Christiana, ed. Denis de Sainte-Marthe, et al. (16 volumes; Paris: 1715-1865), I, Instrumenta, 82-83. This collection will be cited hereafter as Gallia Christiana.

⁴⁶The charter has been reproduced in HF, IX, 676-77.

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in 897 from Archbishop Rostain of Arles. Some of the lands of the abbey had been deserted because of the depredations of the Saracens.⁴⁷

In the fall of 887 the Danes were operating in Burgundy. They ravaged the monastery of Bèze, north of Dijon, for three days. The monks had heard that they were coming, and some of them, fearing punishment and death, hid themselves in the abbey. Others fled to safer monasteries.⁴⁸ "No wonder," says the author of the Chronicon Besuensi, "since those who remained here were killed by the sword, of whom these are the names: the monk Ayrman, the monk Genesus, the monk Beraldus, the monk Sifardus, the monk Rodco, the priest Ansuinus, and Adalricus, a little boy. All of these were murdered for devotion to Christ; their reward was in returning to God. This sacrifice to God was made in the year 887 from the Incarnation of the Lord."⁴⁹ Another passage in this chronicle, which refers to the incident just cited, or perhaps even to another attack on the abbey, reveals the resignation, weariness, and disgust felt by the writer:

Coming through Francia into Burgundy, the Normans caused the complete desolation of the monastery of Bèze. And although we have found that place violated and demolished by faithless Christians or by pagans on seven occasions, this

⁴⁷See Poupardin, Provence, p. 251, n. 1, who cites the periodical in which this charter has been printed. He has extracted the following pertinent section of the text: "Oppresione tamen paganorum seiviente, ipsius loci unde Deo sacrate sustentabantur, deserte facte sunt sicut et multe alie."

⁴⁸Chronicon Besuensi, in HF, IX, 20: "Audientes hi, qui hic erant Monachi, Nortmannorum adventum, quidam timore poenae ac mortis se occulta-verunt: quidam ad alia Monasteria demigraverunt." The Annales Besuenses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 248, places these events in 888.

⁴⁹Ibid.: "Nec mirum; quoniam qui hic remanserunt, gladio interfecti sunt, quorum nomina haec sunt, Ayrmannus Monachus, Genesus Monachus, Beraldus Monachus, Sifardus Monachus, Rodco Monachus, Ansuinus Presbyter, Adalricus puerulus. Hi omnes pro Christo pie jugulati, talionem Deo reddentes, sacrificium Deo effecti sunt anno ab Incarn. Domini DCCCLXXXVIII."

last destruction is emphatically not undeserving to be called by us 'the desolation of desolations'.⁵⁰

Shortly after the Danes had descended upon Bèze, they left Burgundy and moved north toward Reims. They were in the vicinity of the archiepiscopal city for three days, but did not attack the monastery of Saint-Remi, which lay outside the walls of the town. The abbey escaped because a fog concealed it from their view.⁵¹ A year later, in the spring of 889, the Vikings were back in Burgundy, where they fell upon Auxerre a second time and burned its faubourgs.⁵² The first time they had visited Auxerre, which was two years earlier, they had celebrated their arrival by putting the torch to the monastery of Saint-Germain.⁵³

Rumors had spread of the Viking activities, and at least three monasteries took the trouble to erect fortifications as a measure of defense. Thus, we see a charter granted by King Eudes to the abbey of Vézelay given at Paris on 10 July, 889.⁵⁴ The next day he granted immunity to the abbey of Saint-

⁵⁰Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, suivie de la chronique de Saint-Pierre de Bèze, éd. Bougaud et Garnier (Analecta Divionensia, IX) (Dijon: 1876), p. 278: "Venientibus per Franciam in Burgundia Normannis, monasterium istud Besuense penitus contigit desolatum iri. Et cum septies inveniamus locum istum a perfidis christianis seu a paganis violatum atque destructum, haec ultima destructio non immerito emphatice a nobis dicitur desolatio desolationum."

⁵¹Favre, Eudes, p. 106.

⁵²Annales Lemovicenses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 251. See note 34, supra, for text.

⁵³Ibid., II, 251. See note 35, supra, for text.

⁵⁴Favre, Eudes, pp. 127, n. 4 and 128. This charter is in A. M. Bandini, (ed.), Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae (5 volumes; Florence: 1774-78), I, 138. Favre has included the charter in his "Pièces justificatives", II, pp. 236-38. The pertinent section of the charter is as follows: "Castellum quoque quod propter persecutionem paganorum inibi constructum est" (p. 237).

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Germain of Auxerre, which had been burned in 887, for a castle constructed on its property. The abbot of Saint-Germain and the bishop of Paris were the same man: a certain Anskerick, whom Eudes referred to as "our very beloved". Although the Vikings had destroyed his abbey by fire, Anskerick was perhaps more concerned with certain Frankish noblemen who would not respect the privileges of Saint-Germain.⁵⁵ Eudes was still in Paris on 16 July, when he issued still another charter in favor of the monastery of Tournus, which had also constructed a chateau-fort in order to protect the abbey from the Northmen.⁵⁶

Toward the end of the year 890 a band of Vikings attempted to seize the monastery of Saint-Vaast by a trick. The war-leader of this group was Hasting, a barbarian well-known to the Franks of the time.⁵⁷ As Hasting began his activities not far from Amiens, he soon came up against the forces of Abbot Raoul of Saint-Vaast and Saint-Bertin.⁵⁸ Raoul had taken the precautions of fortifying Saint-Vaast and of keeping his garrison on alert against the possibility of a Norman attack. Hasting was aware of Raoul's precautions, and he therefore made peace with the abbot, in order to have a free hand for

⁵⁵Odonis Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 447-48: ". . . nobis valde dilectissimi" Favre, Eudes, pp. 128-29.

⁵⁶Odonis Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 448. Favre, Eudes, p. 129.

⁵⁷Regino, Chronicon, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, I, 578: "Erat autem in eadem villa basilica pergrandis ex lapide constructa, in qua maxima pars Nortmannorum introivit cum duce eorum nomine Hastingo Ruothbertus . . . interfectus est in introitu ipsius ecclesiae" Thus it was Hasting who led the Normans in the attack from the great stone church at Brissarthe. Robert the Strong, the duke of Neustria, was killed in this famous fight, which occurred in 866. Regino places these events in 867.

⁵⁸Both abbacies became vacant on the death of Raoul (5 January 892). Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 205; Annales Elnonenses Maiores, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, V, 12. Folcuin, Chartularium Sithiense, in Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin, éd. Benjamin Guérard (Collection des Documents Inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France) (Paris: 1840), p. 133.

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the conduct of his predatory activities in the neighborhood. The Viking was laying a trap. On the feast day of Saint John the Evangelist (27 December, 890), Hasting and his band suddenly appeared before the walls of the monastery. Raoul and his monks were ready, but the abbot was afraid that a larger Viking army in winter quarters at Noyon was coming to join Hasting. Indeed, Hasting may even have circulated this rumor as part of his plan to take the monastery. Raoul was also suspicious of a trap, says the annalist of Saint-Vaast, simply because Hasting was in command. He decided that it would be safer to remain on the defensive, so he kept his men inside the stockade of the monastery. But some time after Hasting had departed, Raoul learned the truth of the matter; namely, that the Vikings under Hasting had in fact been unsupported by the Noyon army. Raoul was so furious at Hasting for his trick that he set out after him, and struck his band with a series of harassing raids. After that Hasting and his followers kept their distance.⁵⁹ The entire episode illustrates the cunning of the barbarians in conducting their guerrilla warfare, and how difficult it must have been for the monasteries, which remained so vulnerable to surprise attacks. In the case of Saint-Vaast, the inmates of the abbey were fortunate in having so resourceful an abbot. Not all of the monks were as lucky.

⁵⁹Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 205: "Alstingus vero per dolum pacem fecit cum Rodulfo abbate, ut libere posset ire quo vellet. Praedictus vero Alstingus die sollempnitatis sancti Iohannis evangelistae venit adversus castrum sive monasterium sancti Vedasti. Roldulfus vero abba, timens ne multitudo qui Noviomus erat cum eius adveniret, et insidias timens--quod etiam Alstingus mandaverat--populum retinuit: sed cognita veritate, multum post eorum discessum doluit. Frequentibus vero incursionibus exterruit eos, nec ausi sunt postea ita adversus praedictum venire castrum." The Chronicon Sithiense S. Bertini, in HF, IX, 72, reports a surprise attack on the abbey of Saint-Bertin in April, 891. The Normans were hunted down and suffered great losses. This raid seems to have been by the same group as that reported in the Annales Vedastini.

About this same time precautions were being taken elsewhere. The abbey of Saint-Loup of Troyes, formerly located outside the walls of the city, was transferred about 890 or 891 into the interior of the town by its abbot, Adelerin. This action was taken because of the Viking threat.⁶⁰ In 893 King Eudes granted a charter to the monastery of Saint-Medard of Soissons confirming a request for the fortification of this house. A fortress with a wall was to be built, in addition to a wall going around the monastery proper. Moreover, the monastery was to be garrisoned.⁶¹ The same charter ordered repairs to be made on the fortress called Vico, located on the Aisne river. This place belonged to the abbey of Saint-Medard from a date earlier than Eudes' charter, and had been constructed by order of Charlemagne.⁶²

In 898 the Normans had again returned to Burgundy, this time under the leadership of Hasting. The anonymous author of the Vita S. Viventii tells us that the savagery of the Normans drove off the population of the region, and before the predators had finished most of the province was in flames, including the recently founded monastery of Saint-Viventius.⁶³ The Normans were still a

⁶⁰Guitheri Abbatis S. Lupi Trecensis Memorialis Libellus, in HF, XIV, 491. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne depuis le VI^e siècle jusqu'a la fin du XI^e (2 volumes; Paris and Troyes: 1859-60), I, 67. Hereafter this work will be cited as D'Arbois de Jubainville, Champagne.

⁶¹Odonis Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 460: "Munitionem quoque muratum et muro cinctam in circuitu ipsius Monasterii fieri decrevimus propter insurgentium Danorum insolentiam, et infidelium inimicorum Christi insidias, ut absque excusatione Christi milites Deo semper in praefato Monasterio valeant militare."

⁶²Ibid., IX, 460-61. Chronicon S. Medardi Suessionensis, in HF, IX, 56. The obituary for Eudes (anno 898) praises him for the things he did for the monastery: "Fecit etiam praedictus Rex Odo Castrum de Vico et de S. Medardo firmare propter insurgentium Danorum insolentiam; et multa alia bona"

⁶³Vita S. Viventii, in AASS, Januarii, II, 95: "Contigit etenim post aliquot annorum curricula, repullulante paganorum saevitia, atque invadente Astingo Normannorum Principe cum suis Burgundionum fines, ut praedicta B. Viventii nuper data possessio cum tota pene provincia ab eisdem Normannis de populata incendio cremaretur."

cause of concern in the Remois also. Hervé, the newly elected archbishop of Reims (6 July, 900) immediately upon his consecration began to build up the walls of certain strong places and to reconstruct churches which had been burned by the Danes.⁶⁴ Toward the end of June, 903, a Norman fleet commanded by two Viking chieftains, named Heric and Baret, sailed down the Loire and fell upon the city of Tours. In all, twenty-nine churches were burned, together with all the places of refuge. Nothing escaped the Viking torches. The abbey of Saint-Martin, built in the fifth century by Saint Perpetuus, was left a charred ruin.⁶⁵ In 910 the Vikings were in Berry pillaging in the area around the monastery of Saint-Genou.⁶⁶ Five years later the monastery of Saint-Columbe of Sens was fortified by its abbot, Betto, with the support in this undertaking of Richard, duke of Burgundy. This was done in order to protect the house against the Normans.⁶⁷ Finally, about 925 the Normans succeeded in taking over the monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire for a brief period of time.⁶⁸

The Scandinavians seem to have done more damage than the Saracens and Magyars. The quantity of evidence relating to their acts of brigandage seems to assure for them this distinction. Be that as it may, the other two barbarian races contributed substantially to the terror of the Church and society.

⁶⁴Flodoard, Historiae Ecclesiae Remensis Libri Quatuor, in PL, CXXXIV, 292. Flodoard's History of the Church of Reims will be cited hereafter as Flodoard, HER.

⁶⁵See Eckel, Charles le Simple, pp. 67, n. 3, and 68. The evidence cited by Eckel is a note inscribed in a tenth-century hand on a manuscript entitled Expositio Rabani presbiteri super Matheum. See note 39 *supra*. A charter of Charles the Simple confirming certain possessions and immunities to the church of Saint-Martin of Tours testifies to this devastation at the hands of the pagans. See Caroli Simplicis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 496-99.

⁶⁶Miracula S. Genulphi Episcopi, in AASS, Januarii, II, 466.

⁶⁷Poupardin, Provence, p. 337, n. 6.

⁶⁸Aimoin, De Miraculis S. Benedicti, in PL, CXXXIX, 806-07.

The Saracens were especially active in Provence. At some undetermined date early in the tenth century these people ventured forth from their lair at Fraxinetum on the coast of Provence, and devastated the abbey of Saint-Jean of Esparnon in the county of Fréjus.⁶⁹ Somewhat later, probably in the second-quarter of the tenth century, they destroyed the monastery of Saint-Victor at Marseilles.⁷⁰ A charter issued by Count Hugh of Provence, probably before 926, provided for the restoration of the abbey of Saint-Pierre at Vienne. When the Saracens sacked the Viennois, this house was destroyed.⁷¹ Finally, there exists from 940 a letter from Rudolph of Saint-Maurice at Agaune to Louis IV of France, in which the abbot appealed to the king for aid. The Saracens had been in the Rhone valley shortly before this letter was written, and it was their visit, which made Rudolph's appeal necessary. The letter states that the monastery church and all of its buildings were reduced to ashes through the hands of the barbarians.⁷²

The Magyar raids of 935 and 937, especially, were very destructive of

⁶⁹Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille, éd. Benjamin Guérard (Collection des Documents Inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France) (2 volumes; Paris: 1857), I, 291, no. 269. The pirates of Fraxinetum spread out to the east as well. In the Alps they destroyed the abbey of Novalaise sometime before 906. It had been evacuated by its monks, led by their abbot, a certain Donniver. They fled to Turin in Italy, where they found a refuge in the abbey of Saint Andrew-Outside-the-Walls. The monks took their treasure and their library, some 6000 volumes. Only two monks were left behind to guard the monastery. When the Saracens arrived, these two religious were put to death, the monastery pillaged, and the buildings were burned. See Poupardin, Provence, pp. 262-63.

⁷⁰Gallia Christiana, I, 643. Poupardin, Provence, p. 260, n. 5.

⁷¹Hugonis Comitum Provinciae et Regis Italiae Diplomata, in HF, IX, 689-90, no. I.

⁷²Flodoard, Annales, a. 940. Gallia Christiana, XII, 793: ". . . ecclesia nostra quae forte tumulus sanctorum Martyrum est, cum universis aedificiis ad eam pertinentibus per manus barbarorum ita in cineres redacta est, ut etiam muri ex magna parte corruerint."

the monasteries in France. In 935 the Hungarians burned the abbey of Savigny, making the place uninhabitable.⁷³ The abbey of Ainay was also burned about this time.⁷⁴ The raid of 937 was far more disastrous. The invaders first struck Champagne, where they extended their ravages throughout the province of Reims. One of their depredations failed: the barbarians were unable to burn the church of Saint-Macre. They tried by placing two haystacks against the walls and igniting them.⁷⁵ The inmates of the monastery of Saint-Basle fled to Reims with the relics of their patron. When the barbarians arrived, they found the monastery empty, and used it as their camp from which to pillage the area. Several rumors were current which said the Magyars were punished for their greed. One of the warriors had climbed a bell tower and fell when he tried to seize the brilliant metal bell. Flodoard says that ". . . he perished of his broken limbs."⁷⁶ Another time a barbarian was attempting

⁷³Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Savigny, suivi du petit cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Ainay, éd. Aug. Bernard (Collection des Documents Inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France) (2 volumes; Paris: 1853), I, LXXVII-LXXX; 35-38. A charter issued by Burchard I, archbishop of Lyons, to Abbot Badinus, confirmed certain privileges to the abbey of Savigny, which had been granted by Burchard's predecessor, Guy. The date of this charter (no. 38) was 15 August, 949. It was granted at the city of Anse, which was at that moment the scene of a provincial council. We read the following interesting words, which indicate that Savigny was not only plagued by the torches of the Magyars, but also by the invasions of laymen: ". . . Badinus, numero narrans desolationem ipsius coenobii, qualiter videlicet et a tyrannis pervasum, et a regula desistens, et ab Ungris succensum" And further on: ". . . absque alicujus contradictione vel successorum nostrorum subtractione ac diminutione, vel iniquorum hominum invasione"

⁷⁴Gallia Christiana, IV, 74-76 and 235. Ainay was restored by Archbishop Amblard of Lyons (956?-978?).

⁷⁵Flodoard, Annales, a. 937: ". . . aecclesiam sanctae Macrae duabus etiam segetum metis, quae parietibus pene ipsius adhaerebant, exustis, accendere nequiverunt."

⁷⁶Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 100-101: ". . . membrisque confractis interiit."

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to climb over the altar of a church dedicated to Saint Martin. When he placed his hand in the carving of the altar, it stuck in the marble, and he was unable to remove it. His companions did not wish to leave him, so they took a double-edged axe and broke off the altar the piece of marble that encircled his hand. In this way, says Flodoard, they freed their energetic helper.⁷⁷

The monastery of Saint-Thierry was committed to the flames by the Hungarians, and all the villages round about were destroyed. This disaster had been predicted by a certain Otbert, who was a monk in that place.⁷⁸ The Chronicon S. Columbae Senonensis states that the Magyars were there on the twenty-fourth of March, 937. No details of their presence were recorded except that ". . . these savage barbarians, with their inborn ferocity, began to massacre by the sword and to destroy by fire."⁷⁹ On the same day the monastery of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, near Sens, was burned.⁸⁰ The oft-ravaged abbey of Saint-Pierre of Bèze probably went up in flames. We recall that the author of the Chronicon Besuense wrote that the monastery of Bèze was burned on seven separate occasions.⁸¹ Each time the faithful monks returned to rebuild their

⁷⁷Ibid., in PL, CXXXV, 101. The same story is told by Flodoard in his Annales, a. 937.

⁷⁸Ibid., in PL, CXXXV, 93-94.

⁷⁹Chronicon S. Columbae Senonensis, in Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne, éd. L. M. Duru (2 volumes; Auxerre and Paris: 1850-63), I, 205, which is quoted by Lauer, Louis IV, p. 22: ". . . ces sauvages Barbares, avec leur ferocité innée, commencèrent à massacrer par le fer et à détruire par le feu." See, also, the Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed. Georg Waitz, in MGH, SS, IX, 366.

⁸⁰Clarius, Chronicon S. Petri Vivi Senonensis, in HF, IX, 34.

⁸¹The Annales Besuenses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 249, do not say that the abbey was burned in 937; however, the Magyars were in the region of the monastery of Beze, and one may recall that the author of the Chronicon Besuense referred to seven different destructions of that place. See note 50 supra.

religious home--fitting acts to the steadfastness of their faith. The Magyars also burned the abbey of Lure, which had been abandoned by its inhabitants, before the terrible wave of destruction. Only two of its oratories were left untouched. One of these had contained the tomb of Saint Deicolus, and the barbarians had not dared to go too near it. At first they had attempted to ignite it with a flaming torch, but were suddenly stricken with terror and fled.⁸²

Imagine the scene of a peaceful Benedictine abbey quietly resting amid the gently rolling countryside of Burgundy. The monks are all busy, occupied with their diurnal tasks. Some are bending at their plows in the adjacent fields; others can be seen strolling at a meditating pace in the cloister. From the basilica can be heard the rising and falling voices of the choir intoning a Gregorian anthem. What we see is a microcosm of society composed of men attempting to live the life of Christian perfection. Suddenly, from the watchtower, excited shouts are heard: "Nortmanni! Nortmanni!" The sails of the dreaded longboats can be seen up the river in the distance. At once the calm order of work and prayer is broken. In the basilica the anthem for the office ends abruptly, as the chanters stream from the south door of the transept. Some are clutching their psalters; others, reverently but with haste, are carrying the reliquary housing the mortal remains of their patron saint. Still others frantically dash back inside to secure the crucifix, chalices, and patens. The cloister is a scurry of activity; the scriptorium, empty. From the nearby fields excited calls and anxious faces confirm the fearful rumor. The flight of the religious has begun.

How many times this scene, or something very similar, must have been

⁸²Vita S. Deicoli Abbate Lutrensi, in AASS, Januarii, II, 570.

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reenacted in Burgundy and elsewhere in France during the late ninth and early tenth centuries. A great deal of our information from the sources suggests that this sort of interruption occurred frequently enough. In the confusion and turmoil which resulted from the barbarian raids, the civilizing work of the clergy was disrupted. Both the regular and secular clergy were affected. Compelled to abandon their monasteries and churches, they set out in search of refuge. The religious and the poor were truly the displaced persons of the invasion period. The monks of the abbey of Montier-en-Der near Troyes were forced to flee from the Northmen about the year 895. Carrying the body of their patron, Saint Berchaire, they journeyed into Provence, where Louis the Blind and his wife, Queen Ermengarde, found a home for them.⁸³ About the same time some other refugees from the Normans arrived at Arles and were welcomed by Louis and Ermengarde. These were monks from the abbey of Tournus.⁸⁴ John of Salerno, the biographer of Saint Odo of Cluny, tells us in the abbot's Vita about two monks from Cluny who were mistreated after having fallen into the hands of the Normans.⁸⁵ We read elsewhere of monks fleeing with the treasures of their abbey.⁸⁶

In 908 the monks of the abbey of Charroux brought back to their monastery the wood of the True Cross and other precious ornaments belonging to their church. These articles had been removed to Angoulême at the end of the ninth

⁸³Ludovici Regis Provinciae seu Burgundiae, et Imperatoris Diplomata, in HF, IX, 679, no. VI. Poupardin, Provence, p. 161.

⁸⁴Ludovici Regis Provinciae seu Burgundiae, et Imperatoris Diplomata, in HF, IX, 679, no. VI. Poupardin, Provence, p. 161.

⁸⁵John of Salerno, Vita Sancti Odonis, in PL, CXXXIII, 67-68.

⁸⁶De Vita Sancti Geraldi Auriliacensis Comitis, in PL, CXXXIII, 665-66. The author of this Life of Saint Gerald, Count of Aurillac was Saint Odo of Cluny mentioned above.

century, so that they would not fall into the hands of the Loire Vikings.⁸⁷ Three years later the monks of Saint-Maixent wanted to bring back from Brittany the body of their patron saint, but when their procession reached the Loire they learned that the Normans were ravaging Poitou. Thus, the last leg of their journey home was blocked. Brittany, from which they had just come, was also threatened. The monks decided to move on, and wandering from one place to another, eventually reached the county of Auxerre in Burgundy, where Duke Richard received them.⁸⁸ Such curious processions must have become a familiar sight by the beginning of the tenth century. At Marseilles in 923 the canons of the cathedral abandoned their residence due to attacks by the Saracens. From a charter of Archbishop Manasses of Arles, dated 13 June, 923, we learn that these canons received the monastery of Saint-Gervais at Fos in compensation for their losses and as a place of refuge.⁸⁹

Norman defeats in 925 brought a temporary respite from their pillaging in Francia, and the monks of Montier-en-Der and of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés returned with their treasures to their abandoned monasteries.⁹⁰ The following year, however, witnessed a savage incursion by the Hungarians. In the province of Reims the inmates of Saint-Remi hastened to safety within the walls of the archepiscopal see.⁹¹ Again, in 930, the Normans were severely defeated by

⁸⁷Alfred Richard, Histoire des Comtes de Poitou, 778-1204 (2 volumes; Paris: 1903), I, 56-57. Hereafter this work will be cited as Richard, Poitou.

⁸⁸Richard, Poitou, I, 57.

⁸⁹Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille, éd. Guérard, I, 3, no. 1.

⁹⁰Lauer, Robert et Raoul, p. 40.

⁹¹Flodoard, Annales, a. 926.

King Raoul in the Limousin at a place called Ad Destrícios. The monks of Charroux were thus enabled to return to their abbey. The regular clergy of the monasteries at Estrées and Fleury-sur-Loire also returned to their houses, bearing the relics of their patrons, Saints Genou and Benedict.⁹²

The Hungarian invasion of 937 caused a mass exodus of the regular clergy. The monks of Saint-Basle fled to Reims with the relics of their patron.⁹³ When the barbarians reached Sens, the inhabitants of the abbey of Rebais escaped to the border of Normandy near Evreux.⁹⁴ From Saint-Pierre-le-Vif Abbot Samson and his flock carried the relics of Saints Savinianus, Potentianus, Altius, and Eodaldus to a church in Sens which belonged to their deserted monastery. They left behind the remains of Saint Sevotimus, which were safely buried in a crypt behind the altar.⁹⁵ The inmates of Saint-Genou found refuge at Loches when the Magyars crossed the Loire into Aquitaine.⁹⁶ In Burgundy the abbey of Lure was deserted and probably, also, Saint-Pierre of Beze.⁹⁷ The latter place was burned so many times that it is difficult to imagine the monks lingering there for long.

The secular clergy were also displaced by the invasions. In 892 Bishop

⁹²Adhemar of Chabannes, Historiarum Libri Tres, in PL, CXLI, 37. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, p. 59.

⁹³Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 100.

⁹⁴Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, in MGH, SS, XXIII, 762.

⁹⁵Ex Historia Translationis SS. Saviniani, Potentiani, et cetera in Senonense S. Petri Coenobium, in HF, IX, 135.

⁹⁶Miracula S. Gemulphi Episcopi, in AASS, Januarii, II, 467.

⁹⁷Vita S. Deicoli Abbate Lutrensi, in AASS, Januarii, II, 570. Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, suivie de la Chronique de Saint-Pierre de Beze, ed. Bougaud et Garnier (Analecta Divionensia, IX), p. 278.

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Heriland of Thérouanne fled to Reims for asylum from the Northmen, who had pillaged his diocese and bishopric. The fugitive prelate was taken in by Archbishop Fulk and was later appointed to another see.⁹⁸ The devastation of the province of Narbonne by the Magyars in 924 was so great that scarcely any member of the secular clergy could be found for the service of the Church.⁹⁹ Four years later Bishop Odalric of Aix-en-Provence was chased from his bishopric by the Saracens.¹⁰⁰ When these marauders laid waste the region of Embrun, Archbishop Saint Liberal fled to the Limousin with the relics of Saint Marcellinus.¹⁰¹ A charter of King Lothaire, not dated but probably issued sometime between 959 and 968, bears witness to the flight of a bishop and an abbot from Brittany to Paris. These two prelates, carrying with them the relics of Saints Samson and Magloire, sought refuge and found it at the court of Hugh Capet.¹⁰²

The peregrinations of the clergy gave rise to many legendary stories. For example, in 937 during the great Magyar raid, a priest named Adalgar from Bouvancourt was led away in chains into the neighborhood of Bourges. According to Flodoard, a vision appeared to this priest one night, telling him to

⁹⁸Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 270.

⁹⁹Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissète, Histoire Générale de Languedoc (16 volumes; Toulouse: 1872-1904), III, 100. This multi-volume work will be cited hereafter as Devic and Vaissète, Languedoc.

¹⁰⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 928; HER, in PL, CXXXV, 296.

¹⁰¹Poupardin, Provence, pp. 264-65. Shortly before Saint Liberal's flight the threat of a Saracen raid had caused the translation of the body of a Saint Marius or Saint Mary from the monastery of Valbodon to the castle of Forcalquier. One suspects that the arrival of a party of monks, bearing the body of their patron saint, must have caused a considerable degree of excitement among the family and other lay occupants of the chateau.

¹⁰²Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 644-45, no. XXXIV. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 352.

escape from the jail where he was being kept. The apparition had loosened his shackles. Fearing to escape because the Magyars frequently had threatened to kill him, he decided to secure the chains and bolt the door of his jail. The next night the apparition reappeared, and once more he restrained himself from flight. At last the vision ordered him to flee. For some days this reluctant priest concealed himself from the barbarians in a disguise, until at length he returned to his own land.¹⁰³

During his captivity, Adalgar experienced another unusual occurrence.¹⁰⁴ A monk named Hucbald, of the abbey of Orbais, had been captured and taken away by the Hungarians. They wanted to kill Hucbald, but the arrows they shot at him would not cut through his flesh. Adalgar had seen this invulnerable monk standing nude in the midst of the Magyars. The barbarians loosed their arrows at him from every side, but to no avail. His skin showed not the slightest sign of a wound. They even tried to cut through his flesh with their swords, but this also failed. After that the barbarians gave up persecuting Hucbald. They began saying that he was God, and held him in great awe. Later a bishop ransomed him, and the barbarians allowed him to depart.¹⁰⁵

A survey of the destruction left by the barbarian invasions shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that the western Frankish Church and society suffered terribly from the raids. The towns, monasteries, and churches were besieged, pillaged, and destroyed with a frequency which excited horror in the

¹⁰³Flodoard, Annales, a. 937.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., a. 937. Flodoard, says that Adalgar is important to us for what he saw concerning Hucbald, as if Adalgar's own experience were not miraculous enough: "Is nobis retulit quod viderit in hac captivitate . . . Hucbaldum"

¹⁰⁵Ibid., a. 937; HER, in PL, CXXXV, 113.

contemporary mentality. Furthermore, the clergy and the poor, defenseless Christians were made homeless by these depredations. But, in addition to the specific instances of vandalism which have been cited above, there was even more suffering which has gone unrecorded in its particulars. For lack of a better expression, one might call the misery inferred from this evidence the sum of destruction. For what is indicated here is the total effect, the impression or impact, which the barbarian blitzkrieg had upon tenth-century France.

The fury of the blitzkrieg struck practically every region of France as the barbarians roamed almost at will over the land. The annalist of Saint-Vaast informs us that in the winter and spring of 889 the Danes pillaged parts of Burgundy, Neustria, and Aquitaine in their usual manner. No one opposed them as they swept through the country with fire and sword.¹⁰⁶ Again, in the spring of 898, the Northmen returned to their ships and ravaged part of Aquitaine and Neustria by destroying a great many strong places and killing the inhabitants whom they came across.¹⁰⁷ The same year they ravaged the Auvergne as far as Clermont, invaded the region of Sens, and laid waste the neighborhood of Étampes.¹⁰⁸ Between 923 and 926 the Normans, now settled and nominally Christianized, took advantage of the struggles among the magnates to satisfy

¹⁰⁶Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 205: "Dani vero more suo Burgundiam, Niustriam atque partem Aquitaniae, nullo resistente, igne et ferro devastant."

¹⁰⁷Ibid., II, 209: "Nortmanni vero verno tempore rediere ad naves, vastata Aquitaniae parte atque Neustria, insuper plurimis eversis castris, interfectisque habitatoribus."

¹⁰⁸Dudo of Saint-Quentin, De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum Libri Tres, in PL, CXLII, 644. Eckel, Charles le Simple, pp. 66-67.

their appetite for raiding. They returned to their old ways by pillaging Burgundy, Artois, and Porcien.¹⁰⁹ In 926 the Magyars struck so hard and so fast in Burgundy and Champagne, that there was no time to assemble a force to resist them.¹¹⁰ Again, in 954, they conducted one of their whirlwind raids. Striking first in the Laonnais and the Remois, they slashed through Vermandois, and on to Châlons in Burgundy.¹¹¹

Neustria was the center of the Viking operations in the late ninth century. The entry for 892 in the Annales Vedastini records a famine for that year.¹¹² It is possible that this disaster was made more serious by the Viking devastation of the fields. The marauders left for England in that year, but were back again in 896 and 897 ravaging the borders of the Seine, with no one resisting.¹¹³

Even Normandy, which from 911 became the new home of the Scandinavian adventurers, was hard hit by devastation. We hear of an abortive peasant uprising which occurred sometime between 903 and 911. The rustics were put down by Duke Rollo, but the protest, nevertheless, probably signified widespread discontent over the land.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 923, 924, 925, and 926. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, texte reproduit d'après l'édition originale donnée par G. H. Pertz; avec traduction française, notice et commentaire, par J. Guadet (Société de l'Histoire de France, no. 40-43) (2 volumes in 1; Paris: 1845), lib. I, cap. 48-51. Hereafter this work will be cited as Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor. Citations refer to the book and chapter of the original Latin source.

¹¹⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 926. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, p. 44.

¹¹¹Flodoard, Annales, a. 954.

¹¹²Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 206.

¹¹³Ibid., II, 208.

¹¹⁴Dudo of Saint-Quentin, De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum Libri Tres, in PL, CXLI, 644-45.

An instance concerning the inconvenience caused to a bishop will serve to illustrate the activities of the Vikings in Champagne. In February or March, 892, the Normans were pillaging the countryside between Reims and Cambrai. Their predatory activities prevented Dodilo, the bishop of Cambrai, from going to a provincial synod that had been convoked at Reims by Archbishop Fulk. The meeting had been called in order to decide upon the action to be taken against Baldwin, the count of Flanders, who was conducting terroristic operations against the Church. In a letter to Fulk, Dodilo wrote that he was unable to attend because the Northmen had cut off his route to Reims.¹¹⁵

Another region repeatedly devastated was Burgundy. Toward the end of the year 887, to cite a single instance, the Northmen followed the Marne into Burgundy, pillaging all the places along the way in their accustomed manner.¹¹⁶ The record of the Vikings in this duchy has been summed up well by a notable historian of that region:

For Frankish Burgundy, the period of Norman invasions, extended, to speak properly, from the treaty of Paris (beginning of November, 886) to the battle of St. Florentine (December, 898). These twelve years numbered among the most terrible of our provincial history, to such a point that the Burgundian chroniclers of following ages, when

¹¹⁵Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 281-82: "Item cum caeteris coepiscopis, Didone scilicet Laudunensi, Hetilone Noviomense, Riculfo Suessorum, Herilando Marinensi, scribens: huic praesuli Dodiloni significat, nos praemissos in urbem Remensem convenisse praesules, ad tractandum de pervasione Balduini, de quo scripserat eidem Dodillo, admonere illum, ut resipisceret a pravo temeritatis suae fastu. Sed quoniam idem praesul rescripserat, occurrere eisdem praesulibus se nequivisse, quia suum iter Nortmannorum praeripuit gladius, ceu de communi compatitur exitio."

¹¹⁶Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 203: "Nortmanni vero omnia loca usque Mosam more solito et partem Burgundiae devastant."

they wished to depict the horror of it, thought of nothing better than to compare it to the sinister times of the Vandals and the Saracens.¹¹⁷

Brittany was also a target of the Northmen in the ninth and tenth centuries. There exists a charter of Duke Alan the Great (888-907), issued about 897, granting the monastery of Saint Andrew and a church of the same name to Bishop Foucher of Nantes, in which Alan testifies to the hardships caused in that diocese by the fury of the Northmen:

The venerable bishop Foucher presented himself before us; he has exposed to us, by deploring them, the losses suffered by his church, the ruin of the country and of nearly all his diocese as a result of the ravages of the Normans, to the point that he is not able to find sufficient resources either to restore the churches or to sustain his clergy. He has beseeched us with tears to come to his aid¹¹⁸

The charter informs us that Bishop Foucher went on to request the monastery, and Alan, moved by his tears and pleas, granted the request.¹¹⁹ For twenty years (919-39) the Breton people found themselves engaged in a

¹¹⁷Maurice Chaume, Les origines du duché de Bourgogne (2 volumes; Dijon: 1925), I, 329. This work will be cited hereafter as Chaume, Bourgogne. The Abbe Chaume's judgment follows: "Pour la Bourgogne franque, la période des invasions normandes s'étend, à proprement parler, du traité de Paris (début de novembre 886) à la bataille de Saint-Florentin (décembre 898). Ces douze années comptent parmi les plus terribles de notre histoire provinciale, à tel point que les chroniqueurs bourguignons des âges suivants, lorsqu'ils veulent en peindre l'horreur, ne croient pouvoir mieux faire que de les comparer aux temps sinistres des Vandales et des Sarrasins"

¹¹⁸De la Borderie, Histoire de Bretagne, II, 335: "Le vénérable évêque Foucher s'est présenté devant nous; il nous a exposé, en les déplorant, les pertes subies par son église, la ruine du pays et de presque tout son diocèse par suite des ravages des Normands, au point qu'il n'y peut trouver de ressources suffisantes pour restaurer les églises ni même pour sustener son clergé. Il nous a supplié avec larmes de lui venir en aide" M. de la Borderie has used as his source the Chronicle of Nantes, which apparently contains this charter.

¹¹⁹Ibid., II, 335-36. The revenues from the monastic and church properties enabled Foucher to assume the expenses necessarily involved in reconstructing his diocese.

life and death struggle with the Normans. They finally defeated the Northmen at the battle of Trans (1 August 939) under their great duke, Alan Twist-Beard, but this long war had brought misery to Brittany and had caused large numbers of Bretons to desert their province, seeking asylum in England.¹²⁰

Aquitaine also suffered repeated invasions. In 910, for example, the Danes were there. Among their other atrocities, they killed Archbishop Madalbert of Bourges.¹²¹ We hear of them again in 930, when King Raoul defeated them at the place called Ad Destrictos.¹²² The Magyars also cut through Aquitaine. In 937, and again in 951, they crossed the Loire and devastated Berry.¹²³

Provence was the center of the Saracen raids, but the Hungarians also visited this province.¹²⁴ About 906 the Moslems attacked the region of Valence and the Viennois. At Valence the inhabitants of the environment found safety with their bishop.¹²⁵ The Alps dividing Provence from Italy were a favorite hideout for the Saracens. Ensconced in the high places above the

¹²⁰Ibid., II, 355-98, passim. See the very numerous quotations in these pages on the ravages of the Normans in Brittany during this period. The Breton chroniclers wasted no love on the Normans: "Tunc ipsi Normanni, viri diabolici, crudelissimique et perversi homines . . . totam Britanniam devastarunt . . ." (p. 356, n. 1).

¹²¹Annales Masciacenses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, III, 169: "Anno Dominicae Incarnationis 910. Madalbertus, Bituricensis episcopus, a paganis occiditur."

¹²²Adhemar of Chabannes, Historiarum Libri Tres, in PL, CXLII, 37.

¹²³Flodoard, Annales, a. 937 and 951. Miracula S. Genulphi Episcopi, in AASS, Januarii, II, 467.

¹²⁴Flodoard, Annales, a. 924. The Chronicon Nemausense, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, III, 219, carries this brief statement dated a year later: "Anno 925. Ungari vastaverunt terram istam." Devic et Vaissète, Languedoc, III, 99-100, give an account of the Magyars' defeat at the hands of Raymond-Pons III, count of Toulouse. According to Flodoard, their ranks had been decimated by a plague of dysentery.

¹²⁵Poupardin, Provence, p. 261.

passes, they preyed on Christian pilgrims crossing the mountains on their way to Rome. Either at the end of 920 or the beginning of 921 a group of English pilgrims were killed by rocks thrown down upon them by the Saracens.¹²⁶ Two years later (923) a number of English pilgrims were cruelly slaughtered by these Alpine bandits.¹²⁷ By 929 Christians were still hopeful that they might reach Rome in safety despite the known dangers which lurked in the passes. Flodoard tells us that a group of pilgrims set out on the journey, but were forced to abandon their trip and return home when they found their path through the Alps blocked by the Saracens.¹²⁸ From the same source we learn that in 931 Archbishop Robert of Tours was murdered in the Alps by "brigands".¹²⁹ Still more pilgrims met their deaths there at the hands of the Saracens in 936 and 939.¹³⁰ By 951 the Moslems had taken to ransoming travelers whom they caught in the Alps.¹³¹ This seems to have become their favorite tactic against the Christians in the third-quarter of the century. The most famous instance of a Christian ransomed by the Saracens was, of course, the captivity of Saint Maieul of Cluny in 972.

¹²⁶Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 921: "Anglorum Roman proficiscentium plurimi inter angustias Alpium lapidibus a Sarracenis sunt obruti." Flodoard's words seem to suggest that the Saracens buried these people under an avalanche.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, a. 923: "Multitudo Anglorum limina sancti Petri orationis gratia petentium inter Alpes a Sarracenis trucidatur."

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, a. 929: "Viae Alpium a Sarracenis obsessae, a quibus multi Roman proficisci volentes, impediti revertuntur."

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, a. 931: "Rotbertus, archiepiscopus Turonensis aecclesiae Roma remeans, sub Alpibus noctu infra tentoria cum comitantibus secum interimitur a latronibus." It appears to have been impossible even to get through the passes under cover of darkness, and with an armed escort.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, a. 936 and 939.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, a. 951: "Sarraceni meatum Alpium obsidentes, a viatoribus Roman petentibus tributum accipiunt, et sic eos transire permittunt."

What, then, was the total aspect of the barbarian invasions upon the Church and society in France? It must be admitted that not only the Church and clergy but laymen as well, rich and poor alike, the towns, the fields, all things that stood in the path of the invaders were eagerly regarded by their war-bands as likely targets for robbery, murder, or destruction.

A climate of fear pervaded Christian society. A single illustration--the Magyar raid of 937--will suffice to make the point. The Magyars first struck Franconia in Germany. Other hordes invaded Swabia and Saxony. Otto the Great pursued them as far as Metz, driving them pell-mell toward the West. From Lorraine they moved into Champagne, where they devastated the Remois. Thence to Sens, and crossing the Loire, they invaded Berry. Driven out of Aquitaine at Orleans, they went into Burgundy, and eventually to Italy, and finally home again.¹³² Thus did these savages swoop down upon the West, riding and pillaging in a great circular swath around the Alps. Laden with booty and captive slaves, surfeited with the blood of innocent men, women, and children, they had caused untold miseries to Christian society.¹³³ Monasteries and

¹³²Lauer, Louis IV, pp. 19-26, has traced the path of destruction left by the Magyars from the moment when they appeared in Lorraine to their ultimate egress from Burgundy into Italy. I am indebted to his valuable monograph.

¹³³Flodoard, Annales, a. 937: ". . . qua villae et agri depopulati, domus basilicaeque conflagratae, captivorum abducta multitudo." Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 7: "Qua etiam mox prosequitur et Hungarorum per Gallias repentina persecutio. Qui nimium saevientes, municipia aliquot, villasque et agros depopulati sunt; basilicas quoque quamplures combusserunt; ac indempnes redire ob principum dissidentiam permissi sunt, cum magna captivorum multitudine. Rex enim copias non habens, ignominiam pertulit, et utpote a suis desertus, sevientibus cessit." From Richer we learn that the Magyars went unopposed and unpunished because of disagreements among the magnates. The king (Louis IV) was helpless, for he had no troops at his disposal. Richer says he was deserted by his vassals. The internal feuds among the great warriors and the king are frequently cited by contemporaries as the primary reason for the success of the barbarian raids. No doubt this was a great factor; however, in many cases the barbarians were pursued. But the counterattacks were generally too late. The damage had been done, and the barbarians had already gone.

churches smouldered in charred ruins, crops lay broken or burned in the fields through which the ferocious pack had ridden. Everywhere the aftermath of their rage was visible. Like a tornado the horde had swept through France, and after it was gone whole regions lay prostrate in silent desolation. The collective mentality of the people, who lived in the regions which had suffered, experienced a profound shock. Flodoard wrote that the sky had foretold their coming: the heavens were seen to burn with a fiery light.¹³⁴ At Sens on the morning of 24 February blood-stained armies appeared in the sky.¹³⁵ The psychological state of the people was one of fear. The grisly spectre of Death lay across the land, and visions, apparitions, and miracles were common. The Hungarians, like the horsemen of the Apocalypse, had left in their wake a nightmare of violence and destruction, suffering and despair.

The loss of life and property, but, above all, the feelings of anxiety and uncertainty that arose from never knowing when or where the barbarians might strike next, had the effect of loosening the moral fiber of society. Monastic life was profoundly disturbed. The religious congregations were forced to seek refuge far off, and in the process of their journeys and exile lost some of the discipline and exclusiveness of their manner of living.

The Saracens produced chaos in Provence. Fréjus was ". . . destroyed

¹³⁴Flodoard, Annales, a. 937: "Caeli pars ardere visa, et Hungarorum persecutio ab eadem parte per Franciam insecuta est" Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 7, follows Flodoard's account: "Et nocte diei succedente, caeli pars prodigiose flammis erumpentibus in septentione ardere visa est."

¹³⁵Chronicon S. Columbae Senonensis, in Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne, éd. L. M. Duru, I, 205, cited by Lauer, Louis IV, p. 21, n. 7. The Chronicon Turonensi, in HF, IX, 52, composed at a later date carries the same legend: "Et eodem anno, XVI Kalendas Martii, a gallorum cantu usque ad lucem diei sanguineae acies per totam coeli faciem apparuerunt. Non multo post Hungari Austrasiam, Alemanniam, Burgundiam, Franciam et Aquitaniam vastaverunt."

by the cruelty of the Saracens and reduced to the state of a desert, its inhabitants massacred or forced by terror to flee far away."¹³⁶ One reads that for parts of Provence ". . . everything has been devastated, the churches and monasteries destroyed, the most fertile places transformed into desert . . .," and ". . . the country which had begun by being a habitation for men had become one of savage beasts" ¹³⁷ As this land was repossessed, it was done so by laymen, who, through their initiative in acting against the Saracens, became the chief members of the feudality in the region.¹³⁸ The same was true in Francia proper, in the region between the Loire and the Meuse rivers. The Viking attacks had been especially severe in this area, and contributed substantially to the necessity for local defense on the part of the Christian population. Thus, the feudal system, with its disadvantages as well as its good points, was strengthened immeasurably by the barbarian blitzkrieg.

¹³⁶René Poupardin, Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888-1038), Étude sur les origines du royaume d'Arles (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 163; Paris: 1907), p. 104: ". . . détruite par la cruauté des Sarrasins et réduite à l'état de désert, ses habitants massacrés ou forcés par la terreur de fuir au loin." Hereafter this work will be cited as Poupardin, Bourgogne.

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 105. Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille, éd. Benjamin Guérard, I, 19, no. 15: ". . . et omnipotens Deus flagellare vellet populum christianum per seviciam paganorum, gens barbarica in regno Provincie irruens, circumquaque diffusa, vehementer invaluit, ac munitissima queque loca optinens et inhabitans cuncta vastavit, ecclesias ac monasteria plurima destruxit; et loca que prius desiderabilia videbantur, in solitudine redacta sunt, et que dudum habitatio fuerat hominum, habitatio postmodum cepit esse ferarum." This charter reflects a view which must have been widespread at the time; namely, that the barbarian raids were God's means of punishing the sinful Christian people.

¹³⁸Poupardin, Bourgogne, pp. 108-10.

CHAPTER II

THE VIOLENT FEUDAL WARRIORS

The trials of the Church and the clergy were not ended with the disappearance of the barbarian menace. An even greater danger threatened the Church than mere destruction of life and property by the barbarians. The penetration and dominance of the Church by the violent feudal warriors spread like a cancer through the institution. The explanation for this phenomenon is at once clear. Political disintegration within the old Carolingian empire and the pressure of attacks from without reduced governmental authority and military power into the hands of local strongmen. By the beginning of the tenth century these men were already attempting to increase or consolidate the power that they had seized. The period is characterized by incessant warfare among the feudal warriors. Everywhere the turbulent laymen sought to extend their jurisdiction, one against the other. They did this in large part by appropriating Church property and allowing the functions of the clergy, whom they displaced, to lapse. In the process the Church became enmeshed in the fabric of feudal society.

Before examining the attitude and behavior of the feudal warrior toward the Church and clergy, let us see how he conducted himself toward his fellows. In dealing with others like himself the feudal warrior was completely unencumbered by either the pangs of conscience or the strictures of the religious.

His relationship with other men of his own class was governed by the bonds of blood and kinship and the formal tie of vassalage. In the case of

kinship loyalty took precedence over all other considerations, including criminal acts. For instance, in 894 a certain Rampo, who was guilty of having put out the eyes of one bishop and having deposed another, found a ready intercessor between himself and the Church in his kinsman Archbishop Fulk of Reims.¹ Another incident similar to this, involving a bishop defending his nephew caught violating the rights of a monastery, occurred fully a century later during the reign of Hugh Capet. The nephew had succeeded in extorting from the abbey of Fleury thirty hogsheads of wine at the time of the grape-harvest. His excuse was that the monastery owed him this by reason of certain feudal rights which he claimed. When the abbot complained to the king, the latter responded by sending a force which leveled the castle belonging to the guilty party. Later the king ordered the abbot of Fleury to pay the wine in exchange for the nobleman's protection. It seems that just at that moment King Hugh needed the help of the knight's uncle in a war against the count of Chartres, and the good bishop exacted as payment for his aid the guarantee of his nephew's right against the monastery.² Both of these are cases in which a feudal warrior, clearly guilty of criminal action, found his support and defense in the bond of

¹Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 207, does not mention Rampo, but gives the names of his partners in crime: Manasses and Richard. For Rampo's kinship to Fulk, see Flodoard, HER, IV, 5. The complicity of the three is mentioned in HER, IV, 3. Rampo was declared innocent by Fulk. The latter's efforts in behalf of Rampo's friends withered before the blast from a papal anathema. See Favre, Eudes, p. 171.

²Ferdinand Lot, Études sur le Règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du Xe siècle (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 147; Paris: 1903), pp. 233-34. Hereafter this work will be cited as Lot, Hugues Capet. The uncle was Arnulf, bishop of Orleans. The abbot of Fleury was Abbo, a monk noted at the time for his learning. Both men were central figures in the running dispute between the regular and secular clergy in France in the early eleventh century. For a good discussion of issues dividing them, see Achille Luchaire, Les Premiers Capétiens (987-1137) (Histoire de France illustrée depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution, éd. Ernest Lavisse, Tome II, Deuxième Partie) (Paris: 1901), pp. 117-23. Hereafter this work will be cited as Luchaire, Les Premiers Capétiens (987-1137).

blood and kinship. It is perhaps coincidental, but not particularly surprising, that in both cases their misdeeds were directed against the Church, and that their kinsmen were important ecclesiastical figures. The crimes of Rampe and the extortion of wine from Fleury by the bishop's nephew are merely random illustrations of what happened to the Church and the clergy when it became enmeshed in feudal society.

Lordship and vassalage also regulated the lives of the feudal barons, although in tenth-century France the feudal contract was as often honored in the breach as in the promise. Numerous examples of this state of affairs may be found in the records of the period. The bad blood between Hugh the Great, duke of France, and his lord, King Louis IV d'Outre-Mer, is a case in point. In 945 Louis had fallen into the hands of his Norman enemies, and afterwards was turned over to his erstwhile vassal and benefactor, Hugh, who kept him in captivity for almost a year. The historian Richer, writing toward the end of the century, portrays Hugh delivering a lecture to Louis on the responsibilities of a lord to his vassal. Richer's words were a product manufactured in his own fertile imagination, not an exact report of what Hugh said; nevertheless, it is a reasonable assumption that in a year's time the haughty duke said as much to his prisoner, and probably a whole lot more. Be that as it may, the words do reveal the contemporary attitude toward the matter of loyalty involved in the institution of lordship and vassalage:

Some time ago, O King, when you were small, the pursuit of your enemies drove you into lands across the sea. After that it was indeed by my ability and prudence that you were recalled and restored to the throne. Afterwards, as long as you made use of my advice, good fortune prospered according to your wishes. Never, except for your mad stubbornness, have I abandoned you. Making use of the arrangements of timorous and ignorant men, you have blundered away from the suggestions of the most sensible. Whence, unusual misfortunes have befittingly resulted. How, for instance, do you expect to become indispensable and famous unless it be with me? In

this way, I say, you have been greatly diminished. Remember you are now a man. Consider also what is suitable in your judgment. As the bond has been restored, so good-will has been renewed between us; you to command, and me to fight, and to bring back the others to your service. And although you were created king by me, you have bestowed nothing on me. At least grant Laon to the man who is generously about to perform knight's service for you. Furthermore, it will be the condition of keeping faith.³

Shortly after this speech Hugh and some of the other magnates commended themselves to the king and swore faith in what must have been a humiliating ceremony for the Carolingian.⁴ A similar fate had befallen Louis' father, Charles the Simple, but with less happy results. In 923 Charles had agreed to meet his vassal and kinsman, Count Herbert of Vermandois. When Charles arrived at Chateau-Thierry, a fortress belonging to Herbert and the place fixed for the parley, he was treacherously seized by Herbert's men and cast into a dungeon. The following year when a fire destroyed Chateau-Thierry, Herbert had him shut up in the dungeon (ergastulo clausus) of Peronne, where he was either killed or died in 929.⁵ Such was

³Flodoard, Annales, a. 946. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 51: "Parvum te, o rex, adversariorum insectatio in partes transmarinas olim compulit. Meo vero ingenio et consilio inde revocatus, regnis restitutus es. Post, dum meis usus fuisti consiliis, rerum secundarum prosperis floruisti. Numquam nisi tui furoris pertinatia a te defeci. Infimorum ac imprudentium hominum dispositione usus, a sapientium consiliis plurimum oberrasti. Unde et rerum calamitas digne consecuta est. Quomodo enim praeter me necessaria tibi ac gloriosa provenire arbitrare? Multum, inquam, tibi in hoc derogatum est. Jam memineris te virum esse. Consideres quoque quid tuae rationi commodum sit; sicque virtus redeat, ut in benivolentiam nos revocet, te imperantem et me militantem, per me etiam reliquos militatum tibi reducat. Et quia rex a me creatus nihil mihi largitus es, laudum saltem militaturo liberaliter accomoda. Quod etiam causa erit fidei servandae."

⁴Flodoard, Annales, a. 946.

⁵Flodoard, Annales, a. 923, 924, and 929. Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, suivie de la chronique de Saint-Pierre de Bèze, éd. Bougaud et Garnier (Analecta Divionensia, IX), p. 126: "Et Carolus, ergastulo clausus, animam non corpus custodia exemit"

the manner in which lord and vassal kept their sworn word during this period.

What manner of men were those hardened knights, who found it so difficult to live in peace with one another? The record of their deeds suggests that they possessed few endearing personal traits or qualities. That they were quarrelsome and bellicose there can be no question. Most were probably religious men, if they did not always show it. As the tenth century wore on an undercurrent of pious acts is discernable, which helped to civilize the feudal warrior. Still and again, the swelling religious fervor did not touch everyone.

We read, for example, about the year 958 of a certain knight, Burchard by name, who lived with his wife Ildegarde in a little fortress called Braiacus. Burchard had erected a religious house there and had carried the bodies of two saints to the monastery to serve as relics and patrons. It was not long after this holy act of Burchard's that another knight, named Boso, began to disturb the neighborhood. Boso, our source informs us, was a great robber and by a stratagem managed to invade Burchard's tower. Having succeeded in overwhelming the fortress, Boso set himself up as master and began living with Ildegarde. The place became his headquarters from which he ravaged the entire region. What became of Burchard is not clear. Usually in such cases the victim was clapped into chains and thrown into a dungeon. As it turned out, Boso was himself besieged and captured midst the smoke and flames of the very tower he had usurped. Petty tyrants like Boso nearly always outreached themselves, and were usually brought to justice by an angry local count. That is possibly what happened to Boso.⁶

If the feudal warrior was bellicose and quarrelsome, he was above all

⁶Clarius, Chronicon S. Petri Vivi Senonensis, in HF, IX, 35.

else treacherous. Those who underestimated their enemies or dropped their guard, even for a moment, were apt to suffer fatal consequences. The assassination of the Norman duke, William Long-Sword, in 942 is a good illustration. He and Count Arnulf of Flanders were bitter enemies when the latter invited him to meet for a parley on a small island in the Somme. Apparently all went well during the interview. When it was over, William set out for the left bank of the river. Then, suddenly, excited shouts from Arnulf's men beckoned him to return. Scarcely had he again set foot on the island, when all at once four of Arnulf's henchmen fell upon the small Norman party, killing the duke with their swords.⁷

Sometimes those who gambled with treachery were repaid in kind. One shadowy figure emerges just briefly enough to inform us of his fate. This obscure person, known to us only as the son of a certain Count Odelric, and a vassal of King Lothaire, was part of a garrison holding the royal fortress of Dijon. When the garrison was besieged by Count Robert of Troyes, this man freed the town to the enemy. Somewhat later he was turned over by Count Robert to the king as a hostage and his fate was sealed. As soon as Lothaire recognized him he had the man's head struck off for his faithlessness.⁸ Another man, better known, and apparently more successful, was the Count of Blois and of Chartres. This was Thibaud the Trickster, jailor of King Louis IV and enemy of the historian Flodeard. As his epithet indicates,

⁷Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, II, 32 and 33. The chronicler says that Hugh the Great was also behind the plot to kill the Norman prince. Lauer, *Louis IV*, p. 88, n. 2, gives the names of the four thugs who committed the murder. They were Henry, Bauce, Robert, and Rioul.

⁸Flodeard, *Annales*, a. 960. Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 11 and 12. Count Odelric looked on while the king's sentence was carried out, according to Richer (III, 12): "Qui mox prolata ab rege sententia, ante oppidi portam coram patre decolatur."

Thibaud became recognized as the personification of treachery.⁹

Perhaps even more crafty than Thibaud was Herbert II, count of Vermandois. Like Thibaud, Herbert drew together in his person all of the characteristics and personality traits of the tenth-century baron. He is the feudal warrior par excellence. Most of his life he was the sworn enemy of the Carolingian royalty. Precisely for the reason that he himself was descended from Charlemagne, much of his energy seems to have been directed toward securing the throne of the western Frankish kingdom for himself.¹⁰ Throughout his life Herbert's conduct was shaped by the stark setting of tenth-century France. He was treacherous and cruel in most of his undertakings.¹¹ He appears to us as a man who was tough, practical, and skilled in achieving his aims.¹² He repaid in full those who crossed him.¹³ He was

⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 945 and 947. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 48. Raoul Glaber, Historiarum Libri V, ed. Georg Waitz, in MGH, SS, VII, 65, refers to Thibaud ". . . cui cognomen Tricator fuit."

¹⁰For Herbert's ancestry, see Lauer, Louis IV, p. 8, n. 2.

¹¹See, for example, Flodoard, HER, IV, 29; Annales, a. 942. Herbert made short work of the bishops who threatened to defect from his side in the face of a papal excommunication. The traitors were hunted down and put to death (a. 942): "Proditores quidam Remis reperti et interfecti sunt . . ."

¹²Flodoard, Annales, a. 940. The affair of Reims shows the tenacious drive of Herbert.

¹³Flodoard, Annales, a. 937. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 7. The case in point is that of the unfortunate Walo, of Chateau-Thierry. Walo had charge of the royal garrison at Chateau-Thierry. Herbert persuaded him to betray the place by opening the gates of the fortress. This he did at the appointed time, and Herbert moved in with his troops. When he had got possession of the castle, Herbert repaid treachery with treachery. Staring at the deserter, Walo, Herbert sneered: "Did you think this fortress was being reserved for your care?" "Putasne, inquit, tuae curae oppidum hoc reservandum?" (Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 7). Then he ordered his men to seize Walo and throw him into prison.

ambitious for himself and his family alike.¹⁴ The details of his life demonstrate clearly enough that Herbert was a person of enormous pride and grasping nature.¹⁵ He was a stubborn man, easily aroused. As a fighter, he was relentless, frequently cunning, but always revengeful. Even in death, if we may believe Richer, Herbert struggled violently.¹⁶

¹⁴Lauer, Louis IV, p. 95, n. 2, says: "Il combattit Raoul afin d'obtenir le comté de Laon pour son fils Eudes. Il obtint pour ce même Eudes le comté de Vienne. Il lutta contre Louis et Artaud pour prendre Reims et y installer son fils Hugues."

¹⁵Lauer, Louis IV, p. 8, nn. 1 and 2; p. 94, n. 3. Herbert, a direct descendant of Charlemagne, had aspired to the throne during the reign of King Raoul. Herbert once reprimanded one of his sons for not bowing low enough before Charles the Simple.

¹⁶Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 37, says that Herbert was seated among his friends, dressed in his finery, and was relating to them a plot by means of which he would cause some mischief. As he stretched out his arm to emphasize a point, he was struck by apoplexy. Richer describes the awful scene as though he had been there: the count's fingers shut tight, his nerves contracted [*sic*], and his mouth twisted in distortion toward his ear. He died on the spot. Those gathered about him were aghast at the sight, and filled with fear. He was buried by his family at Saint-Quentin. "His ita sese habentibus, cum Heribertus quaeque pernitiosa pertractaret ac de quorundam calamitate multa disponderet, cum inter suos in veste praeciosa sederet atque apud illos extensa manu concionaretur, majoria apoplexia ob superfluitatem humorum captus, in ipsa rerum ordinatione, constrictis manibus nervisque contractis, ore etiam in aurem distorto, cum multo horrore et horripilatione coram suis inconsultus exspiravit, susceptusque a suis, apud sanctum Quintinum sepultus est." Flodoard, Annales, a. 943, gives only a brief mention of his death, with none of Richer's lurid details: "Heribertus comes obiit, quem sepelierunt apud sanctum Quintinum filii sui" See also Lauer, Louis IV, p. 94, n. 1; p. 95, n. 4; pp. 292-99. Herbert was over fifty years of age when he died. The legends which grew up after the death of William Long-Sword (ob. 942) and Herbert of Vermandois (ob. 943) stand in sharp contrast. The assassination of the duke of Normandy became a symbol of treachery. The stories circulated after Herbert's death depicted him hung as a common criminal. There existed formerly, in the chapel of Notre-Dame la Bon at Saint-Quentin, a tomb stone on which Herbert was portrayed with a rope around his neck. Unfortunately, the chapel was destroyed in 1760.

Thibaud the Trickster and Herbert II of Vermandois were two of a kind. But there were others, no less treacherous and no less arrogant. When Hugh the Great held his superior in captivity, he received a threatening embassy from King Edmund of England demanding that the duke release Louis at once, or suffer the consequences of an invasion. Hugh boasted to the ambassadors that he would be ready for the English, and that the Anglo-Saxons would soon discover how the French would fight. Then he threw them out.¹⁷ A short time later Hugh traded insults with Otto the Great. Otto also ordered Hugh to release his royal captive, and like Edmund of England threatened to invade France if the duke failed to comply. The duke sent word to Otto that he would raise an army such as the latter had never seen. Otto returned the sneer, saying that he would show Hugh more blond heads (Saxon soldiers) than either Hugh or his father, Robert, had ever seen.¹⁸ Perhaps the best illustration of the feudal warrior's arrogance comes from a famous story told by Adhemar of Chabannes, a monk who wrote toward the beginning of the eleventh century. Hugh Capet was not immediately recognized as king by all the barons of Aquitaine. During a campaign Hugh and his son, Robert, confronted one of these rebellious noblemen, Aldebert of Perigord, with the question: "Who made you a count?" Aldebert snapped back: "Who made you kings?"¹⁹

On rare occasions the feudal warrior made a show of bravado by challenging his enemy to single combat. Louis IV offered to settle his

¹⁷Flodoard, Annales, a. 946, Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 49-50.

¹⁸Lauer, Louis IV, pp. 145-47.

¹⁹Ex Chronico Ademari Cabanensis, in HF, X, 146: "Qui cum eam obsideret, nequaquam Rex Francorum ausus est eum provocare ad certamen; sed hoc ei mandavit: 'Quis te Comitem constituit?' Et Aldebertus remandavit ei: 'Quis te Regem constituit?'"

differences with Hugh the Great in this fashion during the Council of Ingelheim in 948. Louis, in effect, was offering to submit to judicial duel.²⁰ The animosity which the king felt toward his most powerful vassal was exceedingly strong at just this moment and there seems little reason to doubt that Louis would not have been disappointed had Hugh accepted this challenge.

The chronicler of the Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium wrote that during the invasion of France by Otto II in 978, the emperor offered to join battle against the Franks under Lothaire. To the victor would go the empire, Otto taunted. During the negotiations, which were conducted by means of messengers sent back and forth across the Aisne river, Geoffrey Grisegonella, the count of Anjou, suggested that the two kings decide the fate of the empire by single combat. The suggestion was indignantly refused by one of the German barons. The entire incident has a legendary quality about it, perhaps drawn from a chanson de geste. Whether the issue to be settled, namely the fate of the empire, was to be decided by the two armies or the two kings, it still involved the concept of judicial duel. The story may be a fabrication based on an incident which actually occurred shortly before, when Otto's army was besieging Paris. One of the emperor's knights had ridden up to the fortified bridge-tower leading to the Ile de la Cité and had begun to hurl insults at the sentries, challenging anyone who dared to single combat. The man kept up his abuse for some time until, finally, Hugh Capet permitted one of his vassals to take up the challenge. Richer's account describes a dramatic fight to the death, with Hugh's man killing the German and stripping

²⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 948.

him of his armor.²¹

The personal qualities of the feudal warrior naturally influenced the way he behaved, and vice versa. Arrogant, quarrelsome, and treacherous, the knights spent a good part of their time engaged in petty warfare with their neighbors and conducting predatory activities in every direction.

The feudal warrior fought sometimes in large groups, and on other occasions with only a handful of men. Otto the Great led an army into France in the late summer of 946 which may have numbered anywhere from 30,000 to 60,000 men. By the time this force was augmented by the troops of King Conrad the Peaceful of Trans-Jurane Burgundy, the levies of two German archbishops, those of the abbot of Corvey, and the vassals of King Louis IV of France, Count Arnulf of Flanders, and the men of the church of Reims, it must have been a rather considerable force.²² These troops col-

²¹Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Ludwig Conrad Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 441. Cf. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 104-06. Professor Lot believes the testimony of the author of the Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium is compromised by its inclusion of legendary elements borrowed from a chanson de geste. The incident took place in 978. The cleric who wrote the Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium composed his history between 1041 and 1043. For the fight beneath the gates of Paris, see Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 76. Geoffrey Grisegonella (Grey-Mantle) was Lothaire's standard-bearer.

²²Flodoard, Annales, a. 946. Lauer, Louis IV, pp. 145-46. Estimates on the size of armies in the tenth century are extremely hazardous, based, as they are, on contemporary usage of classical Roman military terms. For instance, Richer in his Historiarum Libri Quatuor uses the term "legion" five times (I, 28; I, 29; I, 45; I, 57; IV, 82), the term "cohort" twelve times (I, 17; I, 28; I, 57; II, 7; II, 8; II, 12; II, 38; II, 62; II, 83; II, 89; II, 90; III, 9), and the term "century" once (III, 74). Richer was extremely interested in military affairs. His father was a vassal of Louis IV, and apparently a skillful soldier. It may be that his interest in war and fighting stemmed from a certain filial pride. In any case, the frequency with which he employs classical Roman military terms suggests that he had in mind definite uses for each. Thus, it may be that Richer considered a force of 5,000-6,000 men, a legion; 500-600 men, a cohort; and 100 men, a century.

lectively forced the capitulation of the usurper archbishop of Reims and caused Hugh the Great to flee Paris, but were unable to breach the old Roman walls of Senlis.²³ No attempt was made on Laon during this campaign. Apparently this town was considered impregnable.²⁴

In contrast to the large army was the small band of pillagers. Not infrequently a handful of household vassals led by some petty lord would suddenly emerge from their tower dungeon and harry the surrounding countryside. One such band operated for a brief period in 947 from the castle of Chatillon. They were finally lured from their stronghold and defeated in a bloody battle. The body of the robber baron, a certain Hervé, was carried back to Reims as a trophy.²⁵ In another instance two brothers, Angelbert and Gozbert, constructed a chateau-fort at Brieuve, which they made as their headquarters for conducting raids in the neighborhood. Travellers returning from Burgundy reported their activities to the king, who sent a force to starve them into submission. Their chateau was destroyed.²⁶

Much of the fighting involved sieges, whether against a simply constructed wooden tower, or a well-fortified town. The former were easily overcome; but the towns, places like Senlis, and Laon, were always difficult to capture. Senlis was protected by its thick Roman walls; the town of Laon is

²³Flodoard, Annales, a. 946. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 54-56.

²⁴Flodoard, Annales, a. 946. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 54.

²⁵Flodoard, Annales, a. 947 and 951. Flodoard, HER, IV, 33. In 951 a German warrior named Frederick came into France with a group of his followers, erected a stronghold at Fanis, and proceeded to prey upon the surrounding countryside.

²⁶Flodoard, Annales, a. 951. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 100, reports that the lives of the two robbers were spared due to the intervention of Letold, count of Burgundy and Macon.

situated on top of a high hill.²⁷ Faced with obstacles of this nature, the military class invented some ingenious techniques, both strategic and tactical, in the field of siege-craft. This method of warfare became a finely developed art. The historian Richer describes in detail the construction and use of a siege engine.²⁸ A variety of means were employed in besieging a castle. Renaud, count of Roucy, seized the fortified place of Chatillensur-Marne by leading a scaling party over its walls at night.²⁹ Raoul, the father of Richer, hit upon a scheme to gain the city of Laon. Since this place was impregnable to assault, he thought it might be taken by surprise. He sent out some spies to observe the town, and to report back to him how

²⁷Flodoard, Annales, a. 946. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 54.

²⁸Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 10, describes the type of siege engine which was used by Louis IV when he captured Laon in 938. See also Flodoard, Annales, a. 938. Many such machines were necessary before the attackers succeeded in mining the walls. In 947 Hugh the Great placed a siege before the city of Reims. After he had accomplished nothing in eight days the duke gave up and departed (Annales, a. 947). Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 62, provides even more information about the art of warfare in tenth-century France. He says that the town was besieged on all sides, and that Hugh sent foraging parties out to get corn for the army. He goes on to say that the town was attacked as much as once or twice a day. In the same breath we learn that the citizens in the town defended themselves just as vigorously. One has the feeling after reading Richer that this number of assaults on a fortified place is unusual. The chronicler seems to imply that in a siege one or more days might go by without an attack. Also of interest is the fact that Hugh apparently erected an offensive camp, which was surrounded by ditches and a wooden palisade: ". . . castra fossis muniunt cratibusque circumdant."

²⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 949: Ragenaldus comes castrum quondam Herivei, videlicet Castellionem, consensu noctu muro capit." This place was the old repair of Hervé and his band of robbers. Just how Renaud managed to take this place is not known, other than the fact that he led a raiding party that scaled the walls at night. Flodoard uses a formula here similar to his entry (a. 949) on the capture of Laon by Louis IV and Raoul, Richer's father: ". . . et noctu muro latenter a suis ascenso" Richer, who is usually eloquent on such military matters, is silent on Renaud's success.

best it might be seized. When the spies returned they told Raoul that each night it was customary for about fifty or sixty men to leave the town for a short time. They took horses with them, and when they returned, the horses were carrying bundles of hay. Hearing this, Raoul selected about sixty young men who were to disguise themselves to look like provisioners. At the appropriate time the imposters appeared before the town gate and were permitted to enter. A sharp fight with the town garrison followed after the identity of Raoul's men was discovered, but they succeeded in taking the town with the aid of a reserve force.³⁰

Arnulf of Flanders used treachery to capture the fortified town of Montreuil, which belonged to Count Herluin. By means of a bribe, several of Arnulf's men succeeded in persuading a guard to open the gates at night. The guard, in Richer's well-chosen expression, was "seduced by avarice."³¹ His reward? According to the agreement which was fixed under sworn oaths, the guard's betrayal of Herluin raised him from a simple castle guard to the status of a petty baron. By becoming Arnulf's vassal, he received money, land, and knights.³² One man's fortune was another's misfortune; Montreuil was captured with all of Herluin's treasure; his wife and children were exiled as hostages to the court of King Athelstan of England. Herluin himself escaped in a disguise.³³

³⁰Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 87-89. Flodoard, Annales, a. 949, does not mention Richer's father.

³¹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 11: "Ille cupiditate ductus"

³²Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 11.

³³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 12.

Besides the siege, the ambush was a highly effective tactic. Louis IV escaped one such trap in the forest of Porcien in 941. Four years later he barely avoided being captured in a snare laid by the Norman chief Hagrold. To his great misfortune he was immediately afterwards betrayed while in flight and this led to his captivity. Bernard of Senlis and Thibaud the Trickster, both vassals of Hugh the Great, ambushed a royal hunting party and captured a quantity of spears, horses, and other accoutrements.³⁴

In an age about which so little is presumed to be known, this characteristic quality among the contemporary fighting class literally shouts at the reader from the pages of the sources. For the tenth-century warrior treachery was a way of life. It was his trump card, which he frequently had to play if he expected to remain in the game. It appeared in many forms. Sometimes it erupted in the blood vendetta.³⁵ Or perhaps it would encompass the murder of another man on his sick-bed.³⁶ It might even involve the

³⁴Flodoard, Annales, a. 941 and 945; Flodoard, HER, IV, 29, mention the ambushes prepared against Louis IV. Accounts of the trap set by Bernard of Senlis and Thibaud the Trickster are in Flodoard, Annales, a. 945, and Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 43.

³⁵Regino, Chronicon, in MGH, SS, I, 543, in his entry for the year 818 mentions the ancestors of Herbert I, count of Vermandois, and then adds the following: ". . . Heribertus Rodulfum comitem filium Balduini interfecit nostris temporibus et non multum post occisus est a Balduino, satellite Balduini fratris Rodulfi" In effect, Herbert I, count of Vermandois murdered Count Raoul, the son of Baldwin I Iron-Arm, count of Flanders (862-79). Not long afterwards, Baldwin II the Bald, who was the brother of the slain Raoul, sent one of his henchmen, a vassal also named Baldwin, to kill Herbert I. He succeeded in doing so probably in 902. Regino does not give the date for this blood-feud, but says only that it occurred ". . . in our time" Herbert II of Vermandois succeeded his father in 902, which may indicate that is when these events took place.

³⁶Flodoard, Annales, a. 923: "Boso filius Richardi Ricuinum in lecto languentem occidit." This Boso was the brother of King Raoul. He killed Count Ricuin in order to seize Verdun. See Robert Parisot, Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens (Paris: 1899), pp. 663 and 667.

opposite sex.³⁷ One may conclude that not only success, but simple survival, depended upon how well a man lived by his wits. There was no place for the naive in the feudal society. Cunning, treachery, suspicion, agility, ingenuity, and force: these were the traits and ingredients necessary to stay alive.

Such were the men against whom the Church struggled to defend her properties: the lands, buildings, and other forms of wealth which constituted her material endowment. The noblemen, on the other hand, treacherous and violent by the circumstances of the age, regarded the Church as a thing to be pillaged. The feudal class were not noted for their lack of avarice. The actual wealth of the Church, and particularly of the monasteries, shone forth like a jewel in a society surrounded by material poverty. In brief, the wealth and power, both actual and political, represented in the holdings of the Church excited the greed of the laymen, and they succumbed to the temptation to rob and pillage her.

The feudal warriors, like the barbarians, attacked the monasteries. The principal difference was this: where the barbarians came to steal, slay, and destroy, the Christian feudatories fought only to appropriate the wealth of the religious houses for their own use. The potential value of the monasteries, in the eyes of the nobles, lay in their continuing existence as profitable income-producing fiefs. Hence, they did not consciously wish to destroy the material structures of the monasteries. Where the Vikings or Magyars remained momentarily, the Christians of the West expected to live out their days.

³⁷Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 21, 24, and 329-30, cites the case of a nobleman, Count Robert of Dijon, who in 958 seized his lord's wife, ran off with her, and forced her into a second and illegal marriage. He hoped in this way to extort a large fief as her dowry from her father, who was the duke of Burgundy.

Certain abbots had taken the precaution to fortify their monasteries against the barbarian raids. This practice was either continued, or began about the same time, in order to defend the abbeys against the encroachments of the nobility. In 920 a certain Stephen was elected abbot of the monastery of Saint-Martial at Limoges. There Stephen caused to be built two towers for the purpose of defending the monastery specifically against William, duke of Aquitaine. This was done by the command of the Carolingian monarch, Charles the Simple.³⁸

Most monasteries, it would seem, were not protected by fortifications. Otherwise, their defenses were inadequate and not effective. There are numerous cases of outright seizures of monasteries and monastic properties by laymen. The duke of Lorraine, Renier the Long-Necked, usurped five different abbeys between 900 and 912.³⁹ In a series of charters granted by Charles the Simple, Renier is mentioned in possession of two of these religious houses.⁴⁰ As we have just observed, Charles the Simple later ordered Abbot Stephen of Saint-Martial in Limoges to fortify his monastery in order to prevent the duke of Aquitaine from doing precisely what the duke of Lorraine had done. In point of fact this apparently paradoxical action of Charles the Simple clearly illustrates the readiness of the laymen to use

³⁸Adhemar of Chabannes, Commemoratio abbatum Lemovicensium basilicae S. Martialis apostoli, in PL, CXL, 81.

³⁹Eckel, Charles le Simple, pp. 56, 93, and 99.

⁴⁰Recueil des Actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France (893-923), publié sous la direction de M. Ferdinand Lot par M. Philippe Lauer (2 volumes; Paris: 1940-49), II, 154-57; 170-72; 229-31; 243-45. These are the abbeys of Saint-Maximin of Trèves, Saint-Willibrord of Echternach, and Saint-Servais of Maastricht. The other two were monasteries located at Stavelot and Malmedy. They are not mentioned in the charters of Charles the Simple. See, instead, Eckel, Charles le Simple, p. 56, n. 1.

the properties of the Church to suit their immediate aims. In 928 Boso, the brother of King Raoul of France (923-36), laid hold of some abbatial and episcopal lands, and obstinately refused to return them.⁴¹ Four years later Raoul followed Boso's example and removed the abbey of Saint-Medard of Soissons from the control of his enemy, the count of Vermandois.⁴² The abbey of Saint-Thierry at Reims was invaded by a certain Count Roger prior to 972. The religious life in that house deteriorated rapidly, and it was necessary to institute a reform.⁴³

Baldwin II the Bald, count of Flanders (878-918) was a notorious invader of the monasteries. In this respect, he contrasts sharply with his son, Arnulf I the Good (918-65), who supported the monastic reform movement toward the middle of the century. When Abbot Rudolph of Saint-Bertin and Saint-Vaast died in 892, Count Baldwin immediately asserted his claim as lay abbot of Saint-Bertin. When the monks recognized Archbishop Fulk of Reims as their freely elected abbot, Baldwin seized the other house of Saint-Vaast

⁴¹Flodoard, Annales, a. 928. A perennial trouble-maker, Boso is the same man who killed Count Ricouin on the latter's sick-bed. Boso finally consented to return the lands he had usurped, but not until Henry the Fowler had crossed the Rhine and laid a siege before his castle.

⁴²Flodoard, Annales, a. 932.

⁴³Ex Libro MS. Miraculorum S. Theoderici Abbatis, in HF, IX, 129. Lothaire had granted this abbey an immunity in December, 962. The reform was accomplished in 973 by the new archbishop of Reims, Adalbero. Roger apparently gained control of the place sometime within this ten year period. See Lothaire's charter (962) in HF, IX, 627, no. XV. The restoration was confirmed by another charter of Lothaire's given at Compiègne on 26 May 974 (HF, IX, 634-35, no. XXIV). The Annales Masciacenses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, III, 170, inform us of a group of Frankish warriors who secretly at night broke into the monastery of Massai.

and openly fomented a rebellion against King Eudes and Fulk.⁴⁴ A civil war followed, and in spite of the excommunications of Fulk and the hostility of the Flemish clergy, Baldwin was able for a time to make stick his possession of Saint-Vaast.⁴⁵

When a nobleman got control of a monastery, he frequently made himself or one of his vassals the lay abbot of the house, just as Baldwin did in the case of Saint-Vaast. The lay abbot well-deserved his reputation for villainy in feudal society.⁴⁶ Of the five abbeys taken over by Renier the Long-Necked between 900 and 912, all had the duke as their lay abbot.⁴⁷

⁴⁴Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 204. Eudes took Saint-Vaast in 895, but returned it to Baldwin's men almost immediately.

⁴⁵Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 205. In 899 Charles the Simple besieged the castle which defended the abbey of Saint-Vaast. Baldwin's vassals inside, laboring under an excommunication and threatened by the royal army, sent word to the count of Flanders. Meanwhile they gave the king hostages until the affair could be settled. Shortly afterwards Baldwin appeared at a royal assembly where he made peace with Charles, and agreed to have his men vacate the chateau-fort of the abbey. Baldwin soon had his revenge, however, on the man who had caused him so much trouble, namely, Archbishop Fulk of Reims. He sent off a certain Winemar, along with some other vassals, to get Fulk. They soon found the archbishop and assassinated him on 16 June, 900.

⁴⁶There were exceptions. Ecclesiastical holdings which had been appropriated by the lay nobility were sometimes used for the welfare of the poor and suffering. In 944 a violent storm destroyed the vineyards and some buildings in Montmartre. The following year an epidemic broke out in Paris, and Hugh the Great turned the church of Notre-Dame into a hospital and nursed the sick to health. See Flodoard, Annales, a. 944 and 945; Lauer, Louis IV, p. 152, n. 4.

⁴⁷Eckel, Charles le Simple, pp. 93 and 99. The charter of Charles the Simple, dated 13 June 919, in favor of the monastery of Saint-Servais at Maestricht does not speak kindly of Renier's tenure as lay abbot: ". . . sed violentia Raginheri Comititis et filii ejus Gisilberti a praedicta Treverensi Ecclesia jam olim esset injuste ablata." Arnulf of Germany had ordered that Saint-Servais be given to the church of Trèves. Somewhat later Renier and his son, Giselbert, forcibly removed it from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Trèves. The charter is in HF, IX, 541-42, no. LXXVI.

The counts of Vermandois, Herbert I (?-902) and Herbert II (902-43) were both in turn the lay abbot of the monastery of Saint-Medard of Soissons.⁴⁸ A charter of the Carolingian Louis IV d'Outre-Mer, dated 20 August 937, confirming certain privileges in favor of the monks of Saint-Amand, reveals the king's distrust of the lay abbot of that house.⁴⁹ In some cases the monks appealed in vain to the rulers for aid against an avaricious lay abbot. Such was the case ca. 974-75 when the inmates of Fleury-sur-Loire called upon both King Lothaire and Duke Hugh Capet for help against Herbert, lord of Sully, who steadfastly refused to return certain possessions which he had wrongfully appropriated.⁵⁰ Two Lotharingian counts named Gerhard and Matfrid were guilty of seizing the monastery of Prum, and causing its abbot, the chronicler Regino, to be deposed. They then installed their brother, Richar, as the abbot.⁵¹

The low standards of discipline which obtained in many monasteries in tenth-century France is partially explained by the collusive activities of laymen and ecclesiastics. For instance, Herbert II of Vermandois was the lay abbot of Saint-Crispin of Soissons. A monk named Bernoin from this monastery was made bishop of Senlis early in 937 after the old bishop, Alleaume, had died. It is strongly possible that Bernoin received his episcopal office due to the influence of Count Herbert.⁵² Toward the end of the cen-

⁴⁸Gallia Christiana, IX, 413A.

⁴⁹Recueil des Actes de Louis IV, roi de France (936-54), publié sous la direction de Maurice Prœu par M. Philippe Lauer (Paris: 1914), pp. 15-17, no. VI. Lauer, Louis IV, p. 29, n. 4.

⁵⁰Aimoin, De Miraculis S. Benedicti, in PL, CXXXIX, 812-13.

⁵¹Regino, Chronicon, in MGH, SS, I, 603.

⁵²Gallia Christiana, IX, 396. Flodoard, Annales, a. 936 and 937. Lauer, Louis IV, p. 19, n. 7.

tury, during the reign of Hugh Capet, a petty baron named Arnulf of Yèvre laid his hands on certain properties belonging to the monastery of Fleury. He was saved from excommunication by his kinsman, who happened to be the bishop of Orleans.⁵³ The corrupting hand of the feudal warrior, meddling in monastic and episcopal affairs, could not fail to have a demoralizing effect upon the religious whom it touched.

The invasion of the monasteries was only one way in which the Church in tenth-century France was weakened by the feudal warriors. The seizure of the bishoprics by the laymen presented an even more threatening spectre of decay. In the early part of the century, before the Cluniac reform had had time to generate a revival, or to establish many daughter houses, the episcopal influence remained strong in the monasteries. Thus, if the episcopate were feudalized it almost inevitably followed that the monasteries within an infected diocese would be touched by the illnesses of a feudalized secular clergy. Unfortunately, the French episcopate of this time was very much enmeshed in the feudal system. At the same time it seems clear from the sources that certain important prelates were crucially aware of the dangers which threatened the Church from a lay-dominated episcopate. The corruption was obvious everywhere. The seizure of the bishoprics continued to bring in its wake a full stream of abuses.

The sources frequently mention the seizure of episcopal properties. This evil was widespread and refers to the illegal acquisition by the turbulent knights of land and moveable possessions belonging to a bishopric.⁵⁴ Lay investiture and the attempts of laymen to place candidates in episcopal

⁵³Lot, Hugues Capet, pp. 233-34.

⁵⁴Fleboard, HER, IV, 3; Fleboard, Annales, a. 922, 924, 953. The examples could be multiplied indefinitely.

offices frequently had tragic outcomes. We have, for example, a case where a nobleman, Count Adelhelm of Artois, connived with a cleric to place the latter on the episcopal throne in the city of Noyen. The see had become vacant shortly before (932) through the death of its bishop. King Raoul put forth Abbot Gaulbert of Corbie as his candidate, but Adelhelm and his clerical accomplice plotted to seize the town at night. The count's men succeeded in entering the city and drove its citizens into the suburbs. There the townsmen armed themselves, consolidated their ranks, and counterattacked. Adelhelm and his men were hard pressed in the ensuing fight, and the count and his pawn, the unnamed cleric who aspired to the bishopric, refuted themselves in the cathedral church. The townsmen burst in upon them and murdered Adelhelm and the cleric, along with some others at the foot of the altar. Afterwards, Gualbert was installed as the bishop.⁵⁵

A classic case of lay investiture was King Robert's appointment of Seulf to the archbishopric of Reims. Seulf was elected ". . . by order and consent of Robert . . . ", according to Flodoard, who probably witnessed and may have taken part in the ceremony.⁵⁶ This was a fortunate choice, for Seulf was ". . . a man as sufficiently learned in secular disciplines, as he was in ecclesiastical studies; he had dedicated himself to the study of the liberal arts at the feet of Master Remy of Auxerre."⁵⁷

⁵⁵Flodoard, Annales, a. 932. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 63.

⁵⁶Flodoard, HER, IV, 18: "Que [Seulfus] per consensum et jussionem Roberti regis" Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 41.

⁵⁷Flodoard, HER, IV, 18: ". . . vir tam ecclesiasticis, quam saecularibus disciplinis sufficienter instructus: quique apud Remigium Antissiodorensem [sic] magistrum in liberalibus studium dederat artibus."

At the time of the struggle between Eudes (888-98) and Charles the Simple (898-923) the endemic warfare among the factious nobility of Burgundy had a disastrous effect upon episcopal affairs in that region. There in the year 894 two petty counts, Manasses of Vergy and a certain Rampe, put out the eyes of Bishop Tetbald of Langres. Tetbald had denounced to Rome their candidate for the vacant see of Autun, and had declared his nomination illegal.⁵⁸ The following year Manasses continued to prey upon the episcopate. With the support of Abbot Richard of Saint-Columbe of Sens, he captured Sens by treachery, and deposed and imprisoned Archbishop Walter. The archbishop had made a mistake similar to that committed by Tetbald of Langres: namely, he had opposed the count's own plans for the vacant see of Troyes by appointing a man unknown to Manasses.⁵⁹ The troubles in Burgundy continued as we learn from the decision reached by a council of the Church held at Rome in August, 900. Benedict IV, immediately upon ascending the papal throne, ordered Bishop Argrin of Langres to be reinstalled in his see, since he had been unlawfully and unjustly deposed.⁶⁰

Occasionally a noble might interfere with a bishop by physically preventing him from occupying his episcopal city. Thibaud the Trickster did this to Rorico, bastard brother of Louis IV, who had been appointed bishop of Laon. Thibaud was in possession of the Carolingian capital at the time

⁵⁸Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 207; Flodoard, HER, IV, 3 and 5; Gallia Christiana, IV, 540.

⁵⁹Flodoard, HER, IV, 3. Ex Chronico Senonensi Sanctae Columbae, in HF, IX, 40.

⁶⁰Mansi, XVIII A, 209-10.

(949), and he simply closed the gates of the city.⁶¹ In 986 the inhabitants of the city of Verdun refused to permit the newly appointed bishop of that see to enter upon his official duties until he recognized the sovereignty of the Emperor Otto III.⁶²

Taken together these various individual examples illustrate what the Church was up against in its struggle to prevent the warrior class from completely submerging the episcopal office in the anarchy of the time. We are fortunate in having an account of what happened when a group of noblemen ganged up on an episcopal see in order to use it to further their own ambitions. The affair of the archbishopric of Reims was a contest between the Church and a group of unscrupulous noblemen to dominate the most important see in France.

The origin of the troubles began during the time when Seulf was archbishop (922-25). This prelate, desiring to eliminate the influence of his predecessor's kinsmen in the affairs of the archdiocese, sought the aid of Count Herbert II of Vermandois. Herbert was only too willing to interfere, and quickly promised his support.⁶³ He used the archbishop's appeal as a wedge to gain control of Reims. After Seulf and Herbert had finished with

⁶¹Flodoard, Annales, a. 949. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 82. Thibaud was an enemy of the Carolingian house, and a vassal of Hugh the Great. This explains his attitude toward Rorico. Thibaud was thrown out of Laon in 949, at which time Rorico entered his episcopal see. Before, Rorico had carried out his duties in absentia at the castle of Pierrepont.

⁶²The Letters of Gerbert with his Papal Privileges as Sylvester II, Translated with an Introduction by Harriet Pratt Lattin (Records of Civilization. Sources and Studies, No. LX) (New York: 1961), p. 123, no. 86. Hereafter this work will be cited as Lattin, Letters of Gerbert.

⁶³The entire affair of Reims is discussed at length in a letter which Archbishop Artaud read to the council of Ingelheim in June, 948. For the text of this letter, see Flodoard, HR, IV, 35.

the kinsmen of Hervé (who had held the see before Seulf), the count's ascendancy was assured. Seulf had made a fatal miscalculation in trusting to the good offices of the notorious count of Vermandois. After little more than three years as archbishop, Seulf died suddenly and mysteriously, probably a victim of a poison concocted by Herbert's henchmen. Although this alleged cause of Seulf's death was only a rumor, Herbert's later actions strongly suggest his complicity in a plot to remove the archbishop.⁶⁴ Before long Herbert is seen persuading King Raoul to entrust to him the affairs of the archdiocese until a successor to Seulf could be found. The successor turned out to be Herbert's infant son, who was elected in 925 scarcely five years of age.⁶⁵ For more than six years Herbert occupied the episcopal palace in Reims, arranging the affairs of the see to suit himself.⁶⁶ The situation

⁶⁴Flodoard, HER, IV, 35: "Tertio demum sui episcopatus anno, Seulfus episcopatus (ut plures asserunt) ab Heriberti familiaribus veneno potatus defungitur. Mox itaque comes Heribertus urbem Remensem adiit"

⁶⁵Flodoard, Annales, a. 925. "Episcopatus Remensis Heriberto comiti commissus est sub obtentu filii sui Hugonis, admodum parvuli, necdum, ceu ferebatur, quinquennis."

⁶⁶Flodoard, HER, IV, 35. Artaud's description of a feudal warrior administering an archdiocese is truly memorable: "The count, having returned to the same city [Reims], distributed among his friends the properties of the bishopric, according to his own liking. He took away from some the properties which belonged to them, and, without regard for any law or rule, robbed or banished all those whom he wished. Finally, receiving Bishop Odalric of Aix in Reims, he ordered him to fill the episcopal office there. Thus, for more than six years, he asserted his mastery over the bishopric, managing it for his own pleasure and residing in the episcopal palace with his wife." The text reads as follows: "Qui comes ad eandem urbem regressus, res episcopii (prout sibi placuit) fautoribus suis divisit, caeteris abstulit, et absque ullo iudicio vel lege quos voluit rebus exspoliavit, vel ab urbe propulit. Odalricum denique Aquensem episcopum in eadem urbe suscipiens episcopale inibi ministerium celebrare praecepit. Sicque per annos sex, et eo amplius idem episcopium suo dominio vindicavit, pro libitu proprio illud tractans et in sede praesulis residens, tam ipse quam cojux sua"

eventually became so scandalous that the episcopal militia and the inhabitants of the city appealed to Raoul to consent to the election of a new archbishop.

The man elected was Artaud. With his installation in 931 began a struggle for possession of the see which was to last off and on for eighteen years.⁶⁷ Artaud exercised his functions without interference for nine years. Then, in 940, the storm broke when Artaud refused to join a coalition against King Louis IV, composed of the duke of France, the count of Vermandois, and the Norman prince. Reims was captured by the rebel barons and Artaud was deposed. In his place the son of Herbert, Hugh, was installed as archbishop.⁶⁸ Hugh of Vermandois had by this time reached the age of twenty. Artaud continued for the next six years to suffer as a party to the declining Carolingian fortunes. From his own testimony we learn in detail of his wanderings and the apparent hopelessness of his fate.⁶⁹ The entire episode, however, was soon to have a happy outcome. In 946 Otto the Great interfered in the dynastic war in France, and the unfaithful vassals of the Carolingian were scattered, their ambitions dashed.⁷⁰ Artaud was finally reinstated, although

⁶⁷Flodoard, Annales, a. 931 and 949. Hugh of Vermandois was still causing trouble in the diocese of Reims in 949.

⁶⁸Flodoard, Annales, a. 940 and 941. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 22 and 25. Hugh of Vermandois was elected archbishop in 941. The synod that chose him was held in the church of Saints Crispin and Crispinian at Soissons. This council was called together by Hugh the Great and Herbert II, both of whom dominated the proceedings through their vassals. Herbert of Vermandois was the lay abbot of the monastery of Saint-Crispin of Soissons. See Gallia Christiana, IX, 396.

⁶⁹Flodoard, HER, IV, 35.

⁷⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 946 and 953. After Otto's invasion of 946, the German king held the balance of power between the duke of France and the king of France. Hugh continued to make trouble for Louis until 953, but the Carolingian was in scant danger as long as Otto appeared ready to influence affairs in France. Hugh and Louis made a lasting peace in 953.

Hugh of Vermandois continued to make trouble in the archdiocese and persisted in his claims to the see of Reims. In a series of Church councils held at Mouzen (948), Ingelheim (948), Trèves (948), and Rome (949), the enemies of the king and the Church were severely denounced and excommunicated. The second canon of the council of Ingelheim declared Hugh of Vermandois a usurper and struck him with the sword of anathema.⁷¹ Hugh the Great was declared an enemy of King Louis, an invader and ravager of the kingdom, and was excommunicated for his wicked acts against the Church.⁷²

This long feudal war severely tried the strength of the Church and the Carolingian monarchy. It lasted through the better part of two reigns, those of Raoul (923-36) and Louis IV (936-54). In the end both the Church and the Carolingian won a great victory, but not before the usurpers had felt the blast of anathema from beyond the Alps, across the Rhine, and within Northern France itself. While the affair of Reims sheds much light on the struggle between the Robertian and Carolingian families, its real importance lies elsewhere. For the historian it is a case study in the syndrome of evils brought about through lay control of the Church. All the misdeeds of the nobility are present: seizure of ecclesiastical property,⁷³ deposition

⁷¹Mansi, XVIII A, 417-18; 421; 429-30; 431-32: "Hugo autem, qui ejus sedem contra fas sibi usurpat, anathematis est mucrone mulctatus" (421).

⁷²Mansi, XVIII A, 421 and 430. ". . . Hugonem regis Ludovici regni invasorem et raptorem excommunicationis gladio feriendum" (421). ". . . excommunicatur Hugo comes, inimicus Ludovici regis, pro supra memoratis malis ab ipso perpetratis" (430).

⁷³Fledecard, HER, IV, 35: ". . . res episcopi (prout sibi placuit) fautoribus suis divisit"

and murder of legally constituted bishops,⁷⁴ invasio and usurpatio,⁷⁵ and the systematized persecution of the clergy through the use of threats and intimidation.⁷⁶

The affair of Reims is more important for another reason. Artaud had identified his fortune with the cause of the Carolingian house in its struggle against the great vassals. When the long war between the duke of France, the house of Vermandois, and the king ended in a victory for the Carolingian, the religious crisis of Reims was also solved. Out of the chaos of this feudal insurrection the idea was crystallized in the minds of the more perceptive French clergy that the Church would find peace only when the political anarchy of feudal society was eliminated. This concept became even more clearly recognized as the tenth century wore on. It became the fundamental assumption of the reform clergy, both regular and secular, and especially of those men who made the dynastic revolution of 987. It would inspire the Church to lead society to salvation through the whole complex movement for peace, and it would vindicate the Church, after a long period of corruption, as the true architect of stability, order, and civilized life in medieval society.

The seizures of monastic and episcopal properties were usually attended by some form of persecution directed against the clergy. As we have

⁷⁴Flodoard, Annales, a. 942; Flodoard, HER, IV, 29.

⁷⁵The words invasio and usurpatio represent the clerical attitude toward the confiscation of Church property by laymen. See Emile Amann and Auguste Dumas, L'Eglise au pouvoir des laïques (888-1057) (Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, publiée sous la direction de Augustin Fliche et Victor Martin, 7) (21 volumes; Paris: 1934-), p. 311. Hereafter this work will be cited as Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057).

⁷⁶Flodoard, HER, IV, 35.

seen, all kinds of excesses resulted from the lay occupation of Church offices. These excesses either temporarily limited the effectiveness of the clergy in the pursuit of its civilizing work, or prevented and in some cases destroyed this work altogether. Essentially, lay control hindered the operations of the Church as an institution. Far more serious were the crimes, at times amounting to atrocities, committed against the human element of the Church.

The persecution of the clergy by the feudal warriors ranged from general mistreatment to murder. Archbishop Artaud informs us of the treatment meted out to the clergy in the province of Reims by the wily count of Vermandois: "During that time, the clerics of our diocese, and even some laymen were mistreated by Herbert; some clerics were thrown in irons, their possessions were taken away from them or were given up to pillage: brigandage was authorized in every town."⁷⁷ At the town of Cambrai in 976 Bishop Theudo was virtually the laughing-stock of the region. His lay vassals made a regular game of insulting and deceiving him. Theudo was apparently naive to begin with, but he was not helped in his relations with his overbearing neighbors by his peculiar circumstances. A vassal of the Emperor Otto II, his bishopric was far from the source of imperial aid. Cambrai is located on what was then the border between Flanders, Vermandois, and Lower Lorraine. Theudo particularly feared the possibility of an attack by King Lothaire of France, who maintained an aggressive policy toward the emperor. Two bullies named Gautier and Heriward, who inhabited chateaux near Cambrai, preyed on Theudo's fear falsely reporting to him threatened attacks on all sides, and

⁷⁷Flodoard, HER, IV, 35: "Interim clerici nostri loci sed et laici quidam pessime ab Heriberto tractantur, et quidam clericorum in custodiis retruduntur, res eorum auferuntur atque diripiuntur, rapinae per totam urbem licite perpetrantur."

extorting money from him as protection.⁷⁸

Another form of persecution associated with the seizure of bishoprics was the deposition and exile of the clergy. Bishop Ansegis of Troyes opposed the local count, a man named Robert, in 959, and was driven from his see.⁷⁹ Artaud's description of an incident in his exile from Reims betrays the haunting fears of a bishop in exile:

For myself, staying with the king, I have shared with him all the difficulties which he had had to endure; when Hugh and Herbert made war on him, I was with him, and just barely managed to escape death. Thanks to the aid and to the protection of God, I was drawn out of the midst of my enemies; wandering and fleeing, I have gone through forests, inaccessible places, without daring to dwell anywhere.⁸⁰

Sometimes the deposition and exile of a prelate were not sufficient to advance the schemes of the predatory nobles. Threats of violence were resorted to for the purpose of extracting further compliance. This is what Artaud discovered when he fell into the clutches of his enemies after having once escaped:

⁷⁸Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, in MGH, SS, VII, 438-39; 441-42. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 85, n. 2. The diocese of Cambrai had to contend with fullscale brigandage. A note written on a gospel of the church at Cambrai states: "Haec sunt nomina malefactorum qui ecclesias . . . re cum comite Rainero succenderunt: Albertus comes," Including Count Albert there were 43 other men who assisted Renier in the ravages against the churches in the Cambresis. The gospel note dates from the tenth or eleventh century.

⁷⁹Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, IX, 367.

⁸⁰Flodoard, HER, IV, 35: "Ego vero cum rege manens, quas illi scitur angustias pertulisse secum pertuli; et quando eum bello aggressi sunt Hugo et Heribertus, cum ipso eram, et vix mortis evasi periculum. Prolapsus itaque auxilio et protectione Dei de medio inimicorum, profugus et vagabundus loca invia quaeque silvasque perlustro, non ausus certo consistere loco."

As soon as they saw me in their power, they demanded of me to cede them the pallium, which has been conferred on me by the Holy See of Rome, and to abdicate entirely the sacerdotal offices. I protested that I would never do it and that even the danger of death was not able to make me. By means of severity and bad treatment, they compelled me to renounce all the possessions of the bishopric.⁸¹

The nobility frequently kept deposed clergymen in captivity. Artaud was put away in the abbey of Saint-Basle for safe-keeping.⁸² The great scholar Gerbert referred to Eudes I, count of Chartres, as a "ferocious beast" for his treatment of the clergy of Melun. Eudes had seized this town in 991, and he treated the ". . . very reverend priests of God, as if they were vile slaves"⁸³ The historian Flodoard was persecuted because he silently protested the magnates' seizure of the archbishopric of Reims. He was dispossessed of the land which he held in benefice from the Church, and was thrown into captivity for five months.⁸⁴ In 947 Hugh of Vermandois and Thibaud the Trickster rounded up a gang of their vassals and began to practice their thuggery in the diocese of Reims. They ran off with the wine-harvest and captured some men of the Church. The latter were made to suffer torments designed to force them to ransom themselves.⁸⁵

⁸¹Flodoard, HER, IV, 35: "Qui postquam me in potestate sua conspiciunt, quaerere coeperunt ut eis pallium a sede Romana mihi collatum traderem, et sacerdotali me ministerio penitus abjurarem quod nullatenus me facturum neque pro amore hujus vitae praesentis attestor. Districtus igitur et coangustatus ab eis, episcopi tandem rebus abrenuntiare compellor"

⁸²Flodoard, HER, IV, 35.

⁸³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 104: ". . . ille feralis bestia Odo" ". . . ut reverendissimos sacerdotes Dei, quasi vilia mancipia caperet"

⁸⁴Flodoard, HER, IV, 28.

⁸⁵Flodoard, Annales, a. 947; Flodoard, HER, IV, 35.

Far more serious than deposition and captivity were the crimes of mutilation and assassination committed by laymen against churchmen. We learn of a certain Count Sinuarius who was excommunicated, along with his family and friends, for having put out the eyes of Bishop Hincmar of Laon.⁸⁶ The same cruel act was committed by Manasses of Vergy against the bishop of Langres.⁸⁷ Count Baldwin the Bald of Flanders caused his henchman, a villain named Winemar, to assassinate Archbishop Fulk of Reims in the year 900.⁸⁸ In 933 Hugh the Great was involved in a war with Herbert II of Vermandois. When the latter was away from Saint-Quentin, Hugh attacked the town and mutilated a number of people. Among those seized was a noble cleric named Treduin, a friend of Count Herbert's, who was cruelly hung until dead.⁸⁹ Like Baldwin and Hugh, Herbert also had the blood of the clergy on his hands. He may have been behind the death of Archbishop Seulf of Reims in 925.⁹⁰ He permitted his henchmen to murder two clerics in the cloister of the canons at Reims.⁹¹ When Herbert and Hugh the Great had usurped the see of Reims in 940, a number of diocesan bishops were intimidated by these two noblemen, and forced to recognize the seizure as legal.⁹² Two years later Pope Ste-

⁸⁶Mansi, XVIII A, 264; Gallia Christiana, IX, 516.

⁸⁷Gallia Christiana, IV, 540.

⁸⁸Regino, Chronicon, in MGH, SS, I, 610; Flodoard, HER, IV, 10; Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 17; Annales Elnonenses Maiores, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, V, 12; Annales Blandinienses, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, V, 24; Annales Laubienses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, IV, 16.

⁸⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 933.

⁹⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 925; Flodoard, HER, IV, 19 and 35.

⁹¹Flodoard, HER, IV, 20 and 35.

⁹²Flodoard, Annales, a. 940 and 941.

phen VIII (939-42) threatened the rebels with excommunication.⁹³ The bishops then began to hedge under the seriousness of the papal threat. They urged Herbert to persuade the duke of France to make peace with the king and the deposed prelate, Artaud. Herbert responded in his new familiar fashion: he ferreted out the ringleaders among the defecting bishops and had them put to death. Those bishops suspected of complicity in the peace movement were chased from the town.⁹⁴

The political anarchy in France during the tenth century forced the clergy to take sides in the feudal struggles in order to survive. But there were many ill effects which resulted from doing so. The personal risks for the clergy were great. By participating in political affairs the bishops and abbots tended to sink to the level of the lay nobility, thus compromising their effectiveness as spiritual leaders. The clergy were also physically endangered. Cruel punishments were meted out by the warring feudatories without the slightest regard for the religious calling. The traditional ideal of immunity for the clergy was ignored, if not scorned. Similarly the properties of the Church were devastated. The feudal warrior, except in moments of extreme contrition, saw only the material side of the Church. Ecclesiastical properties were a source of wealth, just as was any land not pertaining to the Church. Consequently, Church property was looked upon by the laymen as a resource. It made no difference to an aggressive baron if such properties were held in fief by a clergyman, or by another layman. The value attached to land remained the sole consideration. If possible, Church pre-

⁹³Flodeard, Annales, a. 942.

⁹⁴Flodeard, Annales, a. 942; Flodeard, HER, IV, 29; Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 27.

perties were to be seized and exploited; otherwise, they should be pillaged so as to have no value for a political enemy. The feudal warrior was concerned first, last, and always with his own self-interest.

The destruction of Church properties was a fact of life in tenth-century France. The writers of the time filled their annals with accounts of the predatory activities of the feudality. Scarcely a year went by when Flodoard, who is our best narrative source for the period, did not enter a brief notation concerning the devastation of Church properties by laymen.⁹⁵ The chroniclers were not always specific about the particular kind of destruction which they recorded. Devastation, rapine, wasting, and pillaging all appear, and they all meant about the same thing to those who suffered. Peasant huts, churches, and monasteries were broken into and looted.⁹⁶ Fields were burned by marauding knights, thus destroying the crops upon which life depended.⁹⁷ We even hear of a group of "malefactors" who ran off

⁹⁵See, for examples, in Flodoard's *Annales*, a. 924, 939, 943, 947, 949, 963, and 966. Flodoard died in 966. The last thing he wrote in the *Annales* is eloquent testimony of the rapaciousness of the feudal warriors: "Et ipse comes loca quaedam ejusdem episcopi cum suis pervadens, rapinis incendiisque devastat."

⁹⁶Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 940, 944, and 945. In 944 the monastery of Saint-Crispin of Soissons was sacked by some members of the house of Vermandois. A certain Renaud got revenge by pillaging the abbey of Saint-Medard of Soissons. To make matters worse, the knights of the church of Reims had started this feudal war by pillaging the diocese. These soldiers of the Church were loyal to the Carolingian king and were seeking to make trouble for Hugh of Vermandois, who had usurped the archbishopric (a. 944). The following year (a. 945) King Louis IV took an army of Normans across the county of Vermandois. His troops pillaged and burned in every direction, destroying crops, and breaking into and looting churches. Cf. Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, II, 44, who discreetly ignores the vandalism done by the king's army.

⁹⁷Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, II, 58.

with the wine-harvest.⁹⁸ Church and monastic buildings were apt to suffer badly from the ravages of private warfare. The canons of the church of Saint-Pierre in Soissons were made homeless by a fire which destroyed their dormitory and cloister in 933. Eudes of Vermandois was responsible for this misfortune.⁹⁹ Ten years later Count Raoul of Cambrai destroyed the abbey of Origny by fire.¹⁰⁰ The Church in Soissons suffered again in 948. This time Hugh the Great was at war with the local bishop. Hugh besieged the town and set fire to the cathedral, the cloister, and a good part of the adjacent buildings.¹⁰¹ In 955 Renaud, count of Roucy, surprised and captured the

⁹⁸Flodoard, Annales, a. 947: ". . . Tetbaldum de Lauduno cum aliis nonnullis malefactoribus" It is none other than Thibaud the Trickster and his friends to whom Flodoard is referring. The place robbed was Cormicy, a benefice which the chronicler held from the church of Reims. See also Flodoard, HER, IV, 28.

⁹⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 933. A charter granted by King Raoul at Chateau-Thierry on 5 March, 934, provided for the restoration of the cloister. See Rodulfi Regis Diplomata, HF, IX, 579-80, no. XIX.

¹⁰⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 943: "Heribertus comes obiit, quem sepelierunt apud sanctum Quintinum filii sui: et audientes Rodulfum, filium Rodulfi de Gaugliaco, quasi ad invadendam terram patris eorum advenisse, aggressi eundem interemerunt." When Herbert II of Vermandois died, his territory was divided among his four surviving sons. The land was soon invaded by a certain Raoul, son of Raoul de Gouy. This Raoul is probably the historical figure of the chanson de geste, Raoul de Cambrai. There had been a long bitter struggle between the houses of Vermandois and Cambresis. Raoul's encroachment upon the territory of Vermandois may be viewed as a continuation of this feudal war. M. Longnon says that in this instance Raoul invaded because King Louis had granted him the lands of the deceased count of Vermandois. It may be that the abbey of Origny was burned at this time. The sons of Herbert II engaged Raoul in battle soon afterwards, and the latter was killed. See Lauer, Louis IV, pp. 95-97 and notes; Raoul de Cambrai, chanson de geste, ed. MM. P. Meyer et A. Longnon (Société des Anciens Textes Français) (Paris: 1882), Introduction, pp. I-LV, passim.

¹⁰¹Flodoard, Annales, a. 948. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 85.

monastery of Sainte-Radegunde, and then put it to the torch.¹⁰² The count of Anjou, Fulk Nerra, burned the monastery of Saint-Lomer to the ground.¹⁰³ All of these burnings occurred in the course of private wars among the nobility.

The Bosos, Rampes, Eudes, and Renauds of the time were real criminals. Constantly involved in wars among themselves, they wrought havoc upon the Church when it stood in their way. Vicious in their dealings with one another, they played the role of petty tyrants toward the Church. If their powers amounted to those possessed by the count of Vermandois, they went beyond being a mere nuisance to the Church. No single individual was powerful enough to overwhelm the Church, but collectively the warrior class did much to limit its effectiveness. The invasion of the monasteries, the seizure of episcopal functions and lands, the persecution of the clergy, and the destruction of ecclesiastical properties together sum up the abuses suffered by a lay-dominated Church. Terrified by the spectre of the feudal warrior in bishop's robes, the Church awakened to the need for reform.

¹⁰²Flodoard, Annales, a. 955.

¹⁰³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 79. Fulk Nerra (the Black) was capable on occasion of performing the most notorious acts of criminal brigandage. At other times he seems to have been a model of Christian behavior.

PART II

THE CHURCH GALVANIZED: THE REVIVAL AND OFFENSIVE THROUGH REFORM

The failure of the Carolingian empire in the ninth century plunged Western European civilization into an abyss which society had not known since the chaotic misrule of the Merovingians. Historians have referred with justification to the century from 850 to 950 as the Second Dark Age. The area most affected by the breakdown of the old bonds of society was the western Frankish kingdom: Neustria, Flanders, Vermandois, the Remeis and Lotharingia, Burgundy, Provence, and Aquitaine. One should also include Brittany, a region separate and jealous of its independence, but terribly devastated to the point of near depopulation by the Normans in the third decade of the tenth century. The Church in France was, as we have seen, terrorized by the savagery of outside invaders and the new military class.

Threatened with near extinction, or, at the very least, by a perversion of its historic civilizing mission, the Church was able through its own resources to begin the process of extricating itself from the grip of feudal society. This was neither easily nor quickly accomplished. The work of liberating the Church - the enactment of the great Medieval Revolution - would extend through a series of reforms down to the end of the Middle Ages in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. But what was eventually accomplished began as a result of the near total submersion of the Church in the first feudal age of tenth-century France.

The wretched state of society in the West was obvious to all civilized men by the beginning of the tenth century. What might be done to repair the material and spiritual conditions of life was not so immediately apparent. A few churchmen - far too few it would seem - possessed the courage to cry out against the evil practices that afflicted society. In the main these men were monks: holy men of God, as their biographers were accustomed to speak of them, sainted individuals in some cases, who understood that before society could be restored, the Church itself must undergo a purification, which would equip it to point the way to order and peace. The reform prelates - men like Saint Odo, abbot of Cluny (926-42) - led the way to a widespread reform of the monasteries. The impact of monastic reform created a climate of piety permeating all of society by the end of the century. In truth these holy men of God richly merit their place as heroes of the Church, for they were the conscience of an outraged society.

The men who began the great revolution started by galvanizing the Church to action. Within a relatively few decades, according to all indications, the Church awakened, having found a new source of strength. The revival that followed quickly became an offensive toward reestablishing a civilized Christian community in the West. It is not surprising that France, the land most devastated and abused, was the birthplace of the reform movement.

CHAPTER III

THE CONSCIENCE OF AN OUTRAGED SOCIETY

One cannot understand the historical significance of the tenth century in Western Europe without giving a central place in his perspective to the Benedictine monastic reform. The movement spread rapidly once the ruling classes of society had awakened to the pressing need for reform. The task of instructing society was assumed primarily by certain highly placed members among the regular clergy, although clearly many of the bishops in the western Frankish kingdom also took an active part in the reform movement. When we speak of the tenth-century reform, we have in mind more than the re-ordering of life in the monasteries, although this was the first objective of the reformers and the heart of the movement narrowly considered. The monastic reform, however, was actually the spearhead or vanguard of a much larger development which had the implicit aim of a general reform of society. Toward the end of the century one may see more clearly evidence of a restless demand for order. The zeitgeist is one of a striving for peace and piety, a result of the forces generated in the reform of the abbeys.

The ravages of the invasions, the abuses to which the Church was subjected by the feudal warriors, and the consequent demoralization of the clergy by both of these factors prompted the reform movement by provoking the conscience of an outraged society. From the early decades of the century the voice of protest was raised within the Church as the reformers lashed out at the abuses which they saw everywhere about them.

What were the practices which demanded remedies? One hesitates to cite lay investiture, for in the tenth century it was not generally regarded by the Church as an evil. That it was widespread in France, as elsewhere throughout Western Europe, there can be no doubt. Indeed, it was such a common practice that the historian is scarcely conscious of it. So completely had it become an acceptable usage. This is the judgment of one of the most brilliant medievalists of our time, Marc Bloch:

Confirmed by Carolingian practice, the idea that it was for the kings to "designate" the bishops ended by becoming a recognized principle. In the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh, popes and prelates unanimously concurred in it.¹

Flodoard, who is always frank about the malpractices of laymen toward the Church, shows not the slightest hint of indignation as he reports two cases which clearly involved the appointment of bishops by laymen. Under the year 928, he gives passing mention to the appointment of Odalric to the see of Reims by Count Herbert of Vermandois. This prelate, formerly bishop of Aix-en-Provence, had been driven from his see by the Saracens. He was appointed to administer the diocese in place of Herbert's son, who was still a boy.² Four years later Flodoard mentions with similar detachment that a certain Bevo received the bishopric of Châlons through the joint decision of King Raoul and Duke Hugh the Great.³

There were countless disputes over the right to occupy episcopal sees, but the disputes were generally between rival clergymen. An example was the

¹Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, Translated by L. A. Manyon, II, 349.

²Flodoard, Annales, a. 928. Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 296. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 55. Gallia Christiana, I, 303.

³Flodoard, Annales, a. 932.

cause célèbre of Reims. In 941 after the council of Soissons had confirmed the nomination of his rival Hugh of Vermandois, Artaud, the deposed prelate, became violently aroused toward the suffragans who had made the decision. When they stuck by their decision, he excommunicated them. Whatever the subsequent events may have been, the point is that both Artaud and Hugh of Vermandois had been installed by force and at the hands of laymen. Thus the controversy revolved around the simple right to possession of the see, not over the question of on whose authority the selection was made.⁴ Lay investiture was not really an issue until the eleventh century.

Lay investiture was an accepted usage, but the actual selection of a prelate was generally made with an eye to the formalities of canonical procedure. In the case of bishops and abbots the ". . . sole procedure conformable to the canonical rule was unquestionably election: by the clergy and people of the city, in the case of the former; by the monks, in the case of the latter."⁵ This type of arrangement involved cooperation between the formal electors and the lay figure who influenced the election. A case may

⁴Ibid., a. 931 and 941. Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXIV, 297, 306, and 307. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 59-61: According to Richer, Herbert of Vermandois forced the citizens of Reims to accept his child, Hugh, as archbishop. On the other hand, Richer portrays King Raoul as persuading the citizens to elect Artaud. In either case the electors had little choice. Richer's interpretation of these events simply reflects his bias. Artaud's famous speech at Ingelheim in 948 contains some very interesting words with respect to lay investiture. This prelate thought there was nothing unusual when a layman appointed an ecclesiastic to a bishopric. What Artaud did object to, however, was the use made of the episcopal property by the laymen. On this subject he devoted several blistering remarks concerning the behavior of the count of Vermandois.

⁵Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, Translated by L. A. Manyon, II, 348-49. Abbots of houses that were not immediately associated with the crown were often chosen by the founder of the abbey or by his descendants. The local lord determined who would fill the offices of parish priest in his villages.

be cited to illustrate the point. When the death of Adalbero left the archbishopric of Reims vacant in 989, Hugh Capet demanded that the citizens swear their faith to him. In return he permitted them to go ahead with the election. But the electors were, nevertheless, bound not to betray Hugh by formally selecting anyone other than his candidate.⁶ Thus, at the end of the tenth century lay investiture was still an accepted practice, working within its own peculiar conventions. Laymen could still secure the election of their candidates, but they found it expedient to adhere to the formality of canonical procedure. This in itself was a precedent of incalculable importance for the whole success of the Gregorian movement in the eleventh century.

Another abuse was simony. This practice also had evil consequences for the Church, for the very clergymen who obtained their places by means of simony compromised themselves ipso facto as leaders of the Christian community. At least this was true in theory, and probably so in a large number of actual cases. Simony, defined as the buying of Church offices, or the selling of ecclesiastical services, such as the sacraments for a fee, was a sin far more venal intrinsically than the practice of lay investiture. In the case of the latter, the Church was threatened with the danger of control from without; in the former, with the introduction of a sinister form of corruption which condemned the diverting of ". . . holy things to profane ends."⁷ Not infrequently simony was linked with lay investiture, as when a cleric would pay a certain sum of money in order to be invested with an office at the disposal of some lay figure. In fact, the practice of lay investiture seems to have encouraged simony:

⁶Amann and Dumas, L'Église (888-1057), p. 207.

⁷Ibid., p. 473: ". . . ils comprenaient sous le nom de simonie divers abus qui détournaient les choses saintes à des fins profanes."

In regions where, as in France--especially in the South and Centre--many bishoprics fell under the control of the great barons and even of those of middle rank, the worst abuses found their favorite soil: from the hereditary succession of the father by the son to the open sale of the episcopal office.⁸

The sources reveal some rather interesting proofs of this traffic in ecclesiastical properties and honors. A certain cleric named Herchembold, one writer informs us, sold in 948 the bodies of Saint Valery and Saint Riquier to Arnulf the Rich, count of Flanders.⁹ The date is significant, for it was about this time that Arnulf became very active in the monastic reform movement, as we shall see when dealing with that topic. No doubt his purchase of the saintly remains was prompted by religious zeal, and it may well be that Herchembold rationalized his part in the bargain on the same grounds. Another case of simony is a bit more surprising, coming as it does from an unexpected quarter. In July, 968, we find Bishop Ratherius of Verona purchasing the abbey of Saint-Amand from King Lothaire.¹⁰ Ratherius, who had a checkered career, was himself a reformer, and one of the outstanding thinkers of the tenth century. Therefore, it is with some amazement that we catch him in this awkward moment. One is inclined in the absence of further evidence to give Ratherius the benefit of the doubt by recalling an earlier incident elsewhere, oblique in its similarity: the English monk, Oswald, as a young man bought

⁸Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, Translated by L. A. Manyon, II, 350.

⁹Ex Historia relationis corporis S. Walarici abbatis in monasterium leucenaense, auctore anonymo, saeculo XI, in HF, IX, 147-49. Ex Historia relationis S. Richarii abbatis ex Sithiensi monasterio in Centulense, auctore Ingelramno Abbate Centulensi, teste oculato, in HF, IX, 146.

¹⁰Folcuin, Gesta abbatum Lobiensium, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, IV, 69. See É. de Moreau, La Formation de l'Eglise médiévale (Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique) (6 volumes; Brussels: 1945-52), II, 257, for a scholarly appraisal of Ratherius' character and personality.

the abbey of Winchester, was made a canon there, and later on a dean.¹¹ But all this occurred before he became a noted reformer. It seems that men of good intention were sometimes a party to simony. The two cases are actually quite dissimilar, and one is left puzzled over the action of Ratherius. Less opaque was the motive behind the blunt attempt of a certain Robert to bribe his way into the bishopric of Cambrai. This man was the prior at the abbey of Solême near Cambrai. He had obtained a number of relics of great value. He had the temerity to offer these items to the electors in return for their support in securing his election as bishop. His naked bid for power was exposed and blocked.¹²

Still another disease infected the body of the Church. This was nicelaitism: marriage or sexual incontinence on the part of the clergy. The canonical tradition of the western Church was explicit in regard to clerical marriage: it was forbidden.¹³ What were the causes of this abuse? The disorders of the ninth and tenth centuries had the effect of weakening the moral fibre of society. Consequently there was a general deterioration in the strict obedience to canon law in this matter.

No part of the West was immune. Married prelates with children and the widespread practice of concubinage among the clergy meant that the Church in time would be in danger of falling even more completely under the control

¹¹Historians of the Church of York, ed. James Raine, in Rolls Series, no. 71, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls (244 volumes; London: 1858-96), I, 410, et seq.: ". . . adjuvandoque munera perplurima concessit, cum quibus sibi monasterium quod est in Wintonia positum acquisivit, donando digne pretio." Hereafter this work will be cited as Historians of the Church of York.

¹²Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 438.

¹³Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057), p. 476.

of laymen. It would appear that the Italian clergy were especially prone to the sin of nicolaitism. Even as late as the eleventh century Peter Damian railed against the "thirsty tigresses" and "poisonous snakes" who enslaved with their charms the priests of God.¹⁴ But elsewhere the problem was also serious. Measures had to be taken by church councils in England, Germany, and France in the tenth century.

Confining our attention to France, let us see how these various usages affected the moral state of the clergy. Two general developments may be distinguished as results of lay investiture, simony, and nicolaitism. First, there was a departure in clerical ranks from the chosen work of God. To put it another way, a conflict emerged between the secular behavior of the clergy and their religious commitment. And, secondly, a decline in the standard of personal behavior resulted. Various forms and shades of moral degradation and debauchery became a serious problem.

Worldly behavior was directly opposed to the ideals of both the secular and regular clergy. And yet it was a recurring problem for both branches of the clergy. The monastery of Corbie was torn by a revolt of the monks against their abbot, a man named Franco. The cause of this rising is not clear. One historian has hypothesized as a cause the involvement of the abbot in a feudal war which was raging in the region.¹⁵ Whatever the cause, the

¹⁴Ibid., p. 477: ". . . telle aussi cette foule de prêtres esclaves de 'tigresses assoiffées' et de 'vipères venimeuses'."

¹⁵Favre, Eudes, p. 180, speculates that Franco could have followed the lead of his brother, Count Hermenfrei of Amiens, who had sided with Charles the Simple against Eudes in the civil war then raging. This might have brought the abbot into conflict with his monks, but, as Favre admits, there is no reason to believe that the members of the congregation supported Eudes. It seems more likely that some internal difficulty caused the rupture, as was not infrequently the case in similar disputes.

monks' behavior was scarcely in accordance with the Rule. They seized Franco, deposed him, dragged him outside the monastery and closed him up in a very vile place. Franco was gravely ill at the time, and the monks, apparently believing him near death, declared him to be unworthy of a burial place.¹⁶ Franco did not die, however, for we hear of him again in a diploma issued at his request in 901 by Charles the Simple in favor of the abbey of Corbie.¹⁷

Nowhere can one obtain a better idea of the state of the clergy in early tenth-century France, than from the fifteen capitula published by the members of the council of Trosly. This famous council was convened by Archbishop Hervé of Reims on 26 June, 909, in the diocese of Soissons. The bishops present had been called together to consider what might be done to cure the ills of Church and clergy. Their suggestions were drawn up in the capitula, and they tell us precisely what the major problems were. For example, we read that some of the monasteries had been burned or destroyed; others had been plundered of their properties, and reduced to nothing.¹⁸ In many monasteries

¹⁶Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 287.

¹⁷Caroli Simplicis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 493-95, no. XXVII. The date of this charter is 901. At the time of the rebellion, or shortly afterward, Archbishop Fulk of Reims wrote to the monks of Corbie. Fulk was assassinated in 900. Therefore, the rebellion occurred prior to 900, which proves that Franco recovered from his grave illness, for the charter testifies to his presence before the king: ". . . venerabilis Abbas Franco, petivit cum omni humilitate"

¹⁸Mansi, XVIII A, 263-308. Charles Joseph Hefele, Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux, nouvelle traduction française faite sur la deuxième édition allemande, corrigée et augmentée de notes critiques et bibliographiques, par Dom H. Leclercq (11 volumes; Paris: 1907-52), Tome IV, Deuxième Partie, 722-25. Hereafter this work will be cited as Hefele-Leclercq, Histoire des Conciles. It is a useful guide and shortcut to locating material in the source collections. It is also the standard history of the church councils. The state of the monasteries and of the regular clergy is bewailed at some length in the third capitula (Mansi, XVIII A, 270-72).

there were laymen ruling as abbots, having moved in with their wives, their sons, their daughters, their soldiers, and their dogs. And what had resulted from all this? The monks had become corrupted by association. They no longer kept their vow of stability: some had fled to the world, and had taken up secular activities.¹⁹ Sacrileges had been committed against the Church to the detriment of both the institution and the men in it.²⁰ Some depraved men had shown themselves disrespectful toward the priests of God, forgetting that the priests were like columns upon which the edifice of the Church rested. If they should fall, the Church would fall, and with it all of Christian society, bringing ruin to all men including the depraved.²¹ The clergy had been oppressed by laymen, who had demanded from them payments of various kinds.²² Some of the clergy had neglected their religious duties, and by this sin of omission might have caused other men to lose their souls.²³ Finally, clerics, as well as laymen, had fallen into the sin of usury.²⁴

Elsewhere, the author of the Vita Sancti Odonis tells of two men who travelled far and wide through France looking for a monastic house where they might follow the Rule of Saint Benedict. Nowhere could they find what they

¹⁹Mansi, XVIII A, 271: "Nunc autem in monasteriis Deo dicatis monachorum, canonicorum, et sanctimonialium, abbates laici, cum suis uxoribus, filiis, et filiabus, cum militibus morantur et canibus." For the flight of the religious to the world, and the forsaking of their vows, see ibid., XVIII A, 270.

²⁰Ibid., XVIII A, 272-75.

²¹Ibid., XVIII, A, 275.

²²Ibid., XVIII A, 279-80.

²³Ibid., XVIII A, 305.

²⁴Ibid., XVIII A, 306.

were seeking.²⁵ Saint Odo was confronted by monks who lied about the harsh treatment meted out to them by their abbot.²⁶ When their abbot died, some of the monks lost no time in throwing off their habits and returning to the world.²⁷ Saint Odo himself spoke of some abbots, who ". . . sought ways to make themselves rich with material things and to please men."²⁸ And of the very bishop, Turpio of Limoges, who ordained Odo a priest, the saint used to say ". . . that no dog would risk eating food that had been blessed by him; and if by accident it so happened, the dog soon died, just as if it had taken some poison for food."²⁹ John of Salerno, the author of Odo's Vita, once asked the saint if the monastic life had declined in other parts of Europe, as well as in Italy. If so, how, to what extent, and when this had happened.³⁰ Odo answered him by describing the condition of the abbey of Saint Martin at Tours, since he had seen the situation there at first hand some years earlier. The monks, he said, began to order their lives and profession to suit themselves. They threw off their religious dress and began to wear ". . . colored and flowing cowls and tunics, and to adorn themselves with a cloak. The shoes which they wore were so colored and glittering, that they seemed to take on

²⁵John of Salerno, Vita Sancti Odonis, in PL, CXXXIII, 53.

²⁶Ibid., CXXXIII, 55-56.

²⁷Ibid., CXXXIII, 58.

²⁸Ibid., CXXXIII, 59: "Nam caeteri abbates hoc student, qualiter rebus possint abundare, et hominibus placere."

²⁹Ibid., CXXXIII, 60: "De quo videlicet episcopo narrare solet pater Odo, quia benedictum ab eo cibum nullus canis audebat comedere; quod si casu contigisset, mox canis moriebatur, veluti pro cibo aliquid gustasset venenosum." On Turpio, see the notes to the Collationum of Saint Odo, in PL, CXXXIII, 517-18.

³⁰Ibid., CXXXIII, 75.

the brilliancy of glass. They arose in the light of day so as not to scuff their shoes going to the night Office. In these and many similar ways they broke their Rule."³¹ When Odo set out to reform the monastery of Fleury, about the year 931, some of the monks barricaded the door at his approach, and drawing arms--swords, shields, and stones--they positioned themselves on the roof of the abbey, prepared to defend their wayward discipline by armed combat.³² A few days later Odo was recognized by some of the inmates who were his friends, and he was permitted to enter. About the same time Pope John XI (931-35) authorized Odo, as abbot of Cluny, to receive in his monastery monks who wished to get away from those houses where the Rule was not being observed. The pope knew well enough the condition of the monastic communities, for he wrote that ". . . nearly all the monasteries have been falsely diverted from their purpose. . . ." At the same time he was anxious to provide for those who wished to migrate to houses adhering to the Rule of Saint Benedict.³³ Sometime before this the papacy had intervened in favor of monastic life in France, and of Cluny in particular. A predecessor of John XI, John X (914-28), sent a letter to King Raoul requesting him to see that certain properties were restored to Cluny, which had been usurped by a certain Guy, who was abbot at the monastery of Guigny.³⁴

³¹Ibid.: "Relinquentes namque nativa et assueta vestimenta, coeperunt fucatas, atque fluxas pallioque ornatas circumferre cucullas et tunicas. Calceamenta itaque quibus utebantur adeo erant colorata ac nitida, ut vitreum colorem viderentur assumere. Ad laudes namque nocturnas ne aliquis pede offenderent, cum luce diei surgebant. Ista et harum similia multa contra regulae jura faciebant."

³²Ibid., CXXXIII, 80-81.

³³Johannaes Papae XI. Epistolae et Privelegia, in PL, CXXXIII, 1057: ". . . jam pene cuncta monasterio a suo proposito praevaricantur. . . ."

³⁴Johannis Papae X Epistolae, in HF, IX, 217, no. V.

The secular clergy found themselves perhaps even more torn between the secular life and their calling to do the work of the Church. At one time or another during their careers, many bishops must have found themselves in awkward positions, similar to that which once confronted Archbishop Seulf of Reims. Between 924 and 925 this good and learned prelate was busy fortifying the monastery of Saint-Remi, and at the same time was supervising the decoration of his cathedral church.³⁵ This situation is symbolic of the personal and spiritual crisis that faced a good many of the Frankish prelates during the tenth century. The priest was forced to become a warrior in spite of any wishes that he might have held to the contrary. Of course, for some bishops such concerns were not so agonizing; perhaps this was even the case with the majority. In 932 one Milo, an unsuccessful candidate for the see of Châlons, shattered the peace of the diocese by starting a private war because his rival, Bovo, was made bishop.³⁶ Milo was subsequently excommunicated by a provincial synod. It is fair to assume, on the basis of his conduct, that Milo would not have made an ideal bishop.

We know of others, who did manage to obtain the episcopal dignity, but who were not noticeably improved in their persons as a result of their good fortune. For example, in the second half of the tenth century Mainard of Mans was a secular type and stupid to boot. The chronicler of the Acta Pontificum Cenomannis refers to him as an "idiot". He was also the father of several children.³⁷ His successor, Segenfrid, had an "episcopissa". A

³⁵Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 294.

³⁶Flodoard, Annales, a. 931 and 932.

³⁷Ex Actibus Pontificum Cenomannis, in HF, X, 384, note b: "Mainardus . . . filios et filias multas habuit; et tam idiota ab omnibus aestimabatur, ut non Clericus, sed laicus putaretur."

bishop and his "bishopress"! In addition to his sin of nicloaitism, Segenfrid dispossessed an abbey in order to endow his sons.³⁸ He in turn was followed by a man named Avesgaud, who cut a similar figure: he broke his nose while out hunting one day.³⁹ Archbishop Robert of Rouen was married, and so was Gumbald, bishop of Agen. Both men held their sees in the second half of the tenth century.⁴⁰ The bastard son of Hugh the Great and a concubine named Raingarde, Herbert, was consecrated bishop of Auxerre in 971. He was the bosom friend of Counts Eudes of Chartres and Herbert of Troyes, both notorious thugs. As a bishop Herbert was more interested in hunting and building castles than in the performance of his religious duties. He wasted some of the properties of the church of Auxerre and granted others in fief to Eudes and his namesake of Troyes.⁴¹

These examples of clergymen, living more in the fashion of laymen-- hunting, warring, carousing -- reveal an almost animal-like ignorance, on the part of certainly not a few ecclesiastics, of the Church's historic mission to bring about peace and civilization in order to facilitate the salvation of

³⁸Ibid., X, 384-85. Segenfrid was a ". . . vir infelicia vitae et per omnia vituperabilis." Whatever Mainard had created, Segenfrid destroyed: "..... et quidquid Mainardus antecessor suus aedificavit, hic e contrario per omnia destruxit." The height of his folly was his association with Hildeburga, who became the mother of his children. The chronicler does not mention marriage; rather he implies that Segenfrid and Hildeburga simply began to live together. Our author is properly shocked by all this: ". . . proh dolor! ad cumulum damnationis suae accepit mulierem, nomine Hildeburgam, in senectute, quae, ingresso illo ad se, concepit et peperit filias." Accounts of the bishop's simoniacal activities, his pillaging of a church, sleeping with his bishopress, and finally, his death, complete the sordid tableau of the life of Bishop Segenfrid.

³⁹Ibid., X, 385.

⁴⁰Gallia Christiana, II, 901; XI, 27.

⁴¹Ex Historia episcoporum Autissiodorensium, in HF, X, 170.

souls. Vagueness, confusion, lack of comprehension, and open defiance were all degrees of the same characteristic mentality of the time, which failed to understand the Church, but rather assumed that it was a thing to be exploited.

The conflict between secular behavior and religious commitment stemmed from ignorance and recalcitrance. There was a second problem, equally serious, that confronted the clergy. Moral degradation and debauchery of various kinds were rampant. Here, again, the causes may be found in the chaos of the period:

No doubt that the principal cause of this shamelessness had been the anarchy of the times, which provoked in every environment a profound social decomposition. It was not with impunity that the feudality disorganized religious and civil society: the clerics, as the laymen, had lost the respect for authority and the sense of discipline; on all sides, individuals intended to live without bothering themselves about rules of morality or of law.⁴²

Only a cataclysmic shock, such as a terrible war, an economic disaster, or a ravaging pestilence carrying off tens of thousands is capable of shattering the morality of society in the manner quoted above. But society had been shocked repeatedly in the century between 850 and 950. The clergy was sinking into a foul pit. The assembled bishops at Trosly (909) spoke of ". . . evil priests rotted in the dunghill of luxury and by their conduct harmed the reputation of those who remained chaste, because laymen were only too ready to say: 'Such are all the priests of the Church'."⁴³ The capitula of this synod strip

⁴²Amann and Dumas, L'Église (888-1057), p. 476: "Nul doute que la cause principale de ce dévergondage ait été l'anarchie du temps qui provoqua dans tous les milieux une profonde décomposition sociale. Ce n'est pas impunément que la féodalité désorganisait la société civile et religieuse: les clercs, comme les laïques, avaient perdu le respect de l'autorité et le sens de la discipline; de tous côtés, les individus prétendaient vivre leur vie, sans se soucier des règles de la morale ou du droit."

⁴³Mansi, XVIII A, 288: ". . . sacerdotes, qui ab aliis debuerant huius putredinem morbi resecare, computrescant in stercore luxuriae: nec sua solum ignominiosa contenti perditione, bonorum etiam sacerdotum vitam sua laedant infami opinione, dum a saecularibus dicitur, tales sunt sacerdotes ecclesiae"

the guilty churchmen to the repulsive nakedness of their sins. Some are scarcely recognizable as religious, for they have adopted totally the ways of laymen by becoming ugly with greed, drunkenness, impiety, and caught up in a round of high living.⁴⁴ One notes the necessity which the synod found for citing punishments for the crime of rape committed by the clergy.⁴⁵ The practice of clerical cohabitation with women had become a problem serious enough to draw censure.⁴⁶ Indeed, it would appear that the cleric, as well as the layman, exposed himself to criticism for a whole list of sins, ranging from major crimes to peccadillos. Murder, hatred, lying, false oaths, gluttony, drunkenness, detraction, hostility, and violence were some of the evils which afflicted churchmen during the tenth century.⁴⁷

Saint Odo's biographer tells of two greedy monks who demanded that meat be roasted for their dinner after having refused the fish that had already been prepared for them. One might guess what happened: unable to spit out the meat, they both strangled to death.⁴⁸ Such miraculous stories were buttressed by morals from the Scriptures, and were frankly didactic in tone. It is difficult to separate fact from fancy, but one is left with the certain conviction that necessity was, indeed, the mother of invention for the pious hagiographers of the tenth century.

The nature of the evidence - for example, a Church council such as the one held at Trosly in 909, which dealt exclusively with the moral conduct of

⁴⁴Ibid., XVIII A, 272.

⁴⁵Ibid., XVIII A, 286.

⁴⁶Ibid., XVIII A, 288.

⁴⁷Ibid., XVIII A, 306-07.

⁴⁸John of Salerno, Vita Sancti Odonis, in PL, CXXXIII, 78.

the clergy - surely suggests that a fairly sizeable proportion of the clergy were guilty of this or that crime. Collectively they reduced the general level of their calling. On the other hand, one supposes that the number of real arch-villains within the Frankish Church was few. The evidence will simply not support any other conclusion. Suffice it to say, nevertheless, as the council of Tresly warned, that only a few were necessary to impune the entire clergy.

One of these was the notorious Archembold, truly a wolf within the fold. Archembold was consecrated archbishop of Sens in 958 on the advice of Count Renaud, brother-in-law of King Lothaire. His election was achieved not without resort to simony.⁴⁹ In the course of his maladministration, which went on for some nine years, Archembold seized the monastery of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif.⁵⁰ The properties pertaining to the abbey he either sold or granted in fief to his friends. He stripped the abbey of its religious ornaments, and alienated them from the Church through gifts. Those revenue producing properties which he did not give away, he kept for his own use. The fifteen monks who inhabited the monastery got nothing for their livelihood. Worse was to follow. Relinquishing the episcopal palace - one wonders whether he had made it uninhabitable through his crimes - he set himself up in the abbey, turning the refectory into his bedchamber, and populating his new establishment with prostitutes. When the monks protested, he poisoned them, twelve dying in one night. The remain-

⁴⁹D'Arbois de Jubainville, Champagne, I, 146. I have leaned heavily on M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's sketch of Archbishop Archembold. This prelate was the son of Count Robert of Troyes, who was in turn the friend and god-father of another notorious bishop, Herbert of Auxerre (supra, note 41).

⁵⁰Clarius, Ex Chronice S. Petri Vivi Senonensis, in HF, IX, 35. The dates of Archembold's pontificate are discussed in Gallia Christiana, XII, 30-31, and Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 335-36.

ing three of the original fifteen survived that night of horror, but were dead before the year was out.⁵¹ Thus did this false shepherd devour his flock.

Incredible as it may seem, Archembold's crimes did not end there. He continued his ludicrous charade as bishop. We find him presiding over the synod of Meaux in 962, convoked to determine whether Hugh of Vermandois was qualified to be reinstated as archbishop. One supposes that there was a certain amount of poetic justice in the outcome of that meeting: a decision could not be reached.⁵² Undoubtedly Hugh was chagrined. Beyond that there is something grotesquely amusing, almost obscene about Archembold of Sens sitting in judgment on Hugh of Vermandois. The incident shows the depth of absurdity reached by a society in which the lawless and immoral were the most powerful.

Archembold was also a hunter and a warrior. He transformed the cloister of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif into a poultry yard, where he kept his dogs and hawks.⁵³ On one occasion he and Count Renaud inflicted a defeat on a Saxon force that had been pillaging in the neighborhood of Sens.⁵⁴

The unfortunate Christians who witnessed the wicked career of their archbishop could do nothing against him. Instead they endured his acts with groans and prayed that God would punish him in the hereafter. According to legend, miracles began to occur which revealed the anger of God and the saints toward Archembold. The legends, it ought to be remarked, are important because they tell us something of the popular attitude toward this man. One of the current beliefs circulated that soon after Archembold had installed his dogs

⁵¹Gallia Christiana, XII, 30-31. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Champagne, I, 146.

⁵²Gallia Christiana, XII, 30. Fledeard, Annales, a. 962.

⁵³D'Arbois de Jubainville, Champagne, I, 146.

⁵⁴Histeria Francorum Senonensis, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, IX, 367.

and hawks in the cloister, God's vengeance struck the animals dead. Archembold's own death was violent, or so people thought. In the popular mentality he was punished by a kind of holy retribution: Saint Savinianus, the first archbishop of Sens, appeared before Archembold on two successive occasions and warned him to change his ways. Each time he replied to the saint by committing even greater crimes. When the saint came the third time, he spoke to Archembold, saying: "We shall not suffer a place consecrated to the memory of our martyrdom to be profaned any longer." With these words Saint Savinianus struck Archembold an invisible blow. Some of the bishop's servants, having heard the voice, were astonished; they came running to see what had happened, and they found Archembold stretched on the ground, dead and stripped of his vestments.⁵⁵

The day would come when the Archembolds and the Segenfrids would be forced to reform. Already in the late tenth century the indignation of the reform clergy and the growing surge of popular piety would demand better conduct from the warrior prelates. The miracle attributed to Saint Savinianus is one manifestation of the new religious zeal which becomes discernable in the third-quarter of the century. How did this happen? We shall probe this question fully in our discussion of the impact of monastic reform. For the moment, let us be content to observe the reaction of the Church to the rampant abuses threatening to submerge Christian society. Even in the darkest moments of the late ninth and early tenth centuries there were a few courageous spirits who raised their voices in protest against an outraged society. More than that, certain individuals were responsible for initiating action to repress the enemies of peace and civilization. It is noteworthy that the work of the reform

⁵⁵D'Arbeis de Jubainville, Champagne, I, 146-47: "Nous ne souffrirons pas qu'un lieu consacré à la mémoire de notre martyr soit plus longtemps profané."

clergy was positive and constructive. Using the weapons at their disposal - exhortations, the anathema, and even armed punitive expeditions - a small, but influential segment of the clergy struck right at the heart of the two principal sources of trouble: the barbarian invaders and the violent feudal warriors. All the while the Church sought to curb and restrict, even to punish the offenders, it did not neglect the teaching of Christian perfection. The work of the councils and of inspired saints served to instruct men in their obligations to Christ and to one another.

The words of Archbishop Hervé of Reims, spoken at the council of Trosly in 909, are enormously significant, for they revealed to the clergy present, and for the benefit of their successors, the diseases which ravaged the Christian social body. This is part of what he said:

The cities are depopulated, the monasteries ruined and burned, the land is reduced to a solitude. As the first men lived without law or restraint, abandoned to their passions, so now every man does what pleases him, despising the laws of God and man and the ordinances of the Church. The powerful oppress the weak, the land is full of violence against the poor and the plunder of the goods of the Church. Men devour one another like the fishes in the sea. In the case of the monasteries some have been destroyed by the heathen, others have been deprived of their property and reduced to nothing. In those that remain there is no longer any observance of the rule. They no longer have legitimate superiors, owing to the abuse of submitting to secular domination. We see in the monasteries lay abbots with their wives and their children, their soldiers and their dogs.⁵⁶

Hervé did, in fact, pronounce the keynote address for tenth-century France, by stating the problems which would demand all of the Church's resources to solve. From the time of his address to the prelates assembled at Trosly, another seventeen years would pass before Herbert of Vermandois moved into the

⁵⁶The English translation is Christopher Dawson's in his Religion and the Rise of Western Culture (New York: 1950), pp. 143-44. The Latin text is printed in Mansi, XVIII A, 265-71.

episcopal palace at Reims; another fifty before that rascal Archembeld would dress himself up in the robes of an archbishop.

The barbarian blitzkrieg was the most pressing problem confronting Frankish society at the beginning of the century. The Christian response to this menace illustrates how the Church was able to offer her own leadership and to inspire the magnates of the western Frankish kingdom to renewed efforts of resistance. This was the first great achievement of the Church in helping to rid feudal society of anarchy.

The Christian response was at first weak or non-existent. One may cite evidence from well into the first half of the tenth century to prove this point. The Vikings had learned early to exploit divisions among the Frankish rulers.⁵⁷ For example, in 900 Charles the Simple was disturbed at the prospect of the Vikings establishing themselves in northern France, so he called together some of his vassals. Dukes Robert of Neustria, Richard of Burgundy, and Counts Herbert I of Vermandois and Manasses of Dijon appeared to proffer their advice. But before any course of action could be decided upon, a dispute broke out between Robert and Manasses with the result that the conference broke up and everyone went home.⁵⁸ Such a state of affairs inevitably favored the aggressive operations of the invaders. An interregnum offered opportunities to the barbarians, because of the temporary lack of leadership.⁵⁹ On some occasions,

⁵⁷Annales Fuldenses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, I, 405.

⁵⁸Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 209.

⁵⁹In February, 888, just after the death of Charles the Fat, the Normans threatened to begin their annual spring raids earlier than usual in order to take advantage of the absence of leadership. The Frankish magnates lost no time in electing Eudes to the throne, since he had already heroically demonstrated his fighting ability against the Normans during the great siege of Paris. Charles the Simple, the last remaining legitimate Carolingian heir of direct descent, was set aside because he was still a child -- only eight years old. Floedad, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 273: ". . . hic Karolus adhuc admodum corpore simul et scientia parvulus existebat, nec regni gubernaculis idoneus erat, et instante immanissima Nortmannorum persecutione, periculosum erat tunc eum eligere."

particularly during the last years of the ninth century, when the Franks were able to enter the field, the fighting was inconclusive and resort was had to negotiations and tribute payment (Danegeld).⁶⁰ At other times the Vikings were completely unopposed.⁶¹

Gradually, however, resistance consolidated in the western Frankish realm. This was due in large measure to the support of a few active and far-sighted members of the French clergy. The archbishopric of Reims, especially, was blessed by a succession of able vicars throughout the century. Reims, the greatest and most influential see in Western Europe, save only the bishopric of Rome, provided the necessary leadership in the night of crisis. By counseling, exhortations, and armed combat against the barbarians, the metropolitans of Reims stand out as exponents of resistance. As early as 886 Archbishop Fulk wrote to Charles the Fat, protesting the wretched state of Neustria and strongly implying that something should be done about it: Between Paris and Reims ". . . no place is safe, unless it is the habitation of perverse Christians, accomplices of the barbarians. The number is great of those who have abandoned the Christian religion in order to associate with the pagans and to place them-

⁶⁰Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 205. Ex Chronico de Gestis Normannorum in Francia, in HF, VIII, 97 B. Abbo, Le Siège de Paris par les Normands, poème du IX^e siècle, édité et traduit par Henri Waquet, pp. 100-03, presents some interesting details on the defense of Paris in 889, but is silent on the subject of the Danegeld paid by Eudes shortly afterward. In 921 Duke Robert of Neustria followed the precedent established by Charles the Simple's cession of Normandy (911), and turned over the pagus of Nantes to the Danes. See Flodoard, Annales, a. 921.

⁶¹See Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 208, for the years 896 and 897. When the Magyars struck in 937, Hugh the Great, Hugh the Black, duke of Burgundy, and King Louis IV made no resistance. The lands pertaining to all three were severely devastated. See Lauer, Louis IV, p. 27.

selves under their protection."⁶²

In September, 893, Fulk was again searching for a solution to the ever-present Norman threat. This time he pressed for a truce to postpone the struggle then raging between Eudes and Charles the Simple. He was concerned that the weakening effect of civil war on the kingdom would permit the Vikings to resume their ravages unchecked. Statesman and peacemaker, despite the fact that he himself was interested in the outcome of the struggle, Fulk exhibited that farsighted and greater quality of intellect which seems to have been the exclusive characteristic of the responsible clergy at this time.⁶³ It will be readily admitted that the laymen also were willing to oppose the barbarians, but the churchmen appear to have understood more profoundly the danger threatening Christian society from that quarter. Four years later, in 897, Fulk replied in devastating fashion to a novel scheme of Charles the Simple. The latter had proposed to secure the aid of Huncdeus, the Viking chief, against Eudes. Fulk had been and would continue to be firm in his support of Charles against Eudes. Nevertheless, he dashed off a scathing letter to Charles in which he threatened him with the anathema if the Carolingian attempted to go through with his plan.⁶⁴ There can be no question that the heathen Northmen were the real enemies. The Church was quite aware of the advantage of dealing with Christians, even though they may not have been very good ones. On the other hand, the Vikings were impossible for the Church to handle as long as

⁶²Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 273: ". . . nihil tutum remanserit: nulla nisi perversorum Christianorum barbarisque consentientium segura sit habitatio, quorum multi, Christianam deserentes religionem, paganorum se societati conjunxerant, ac tuitioni subdiderant."

⁶³Ibid., CXXXV, 270.

⁶⁴Ibid., CXXXV, 276-77.

they remained pagan, for as heathens they owed not even a theoretical obedience to the Church.

Fulk's successor, Hervé, understood this fact, and sometime about the year 900 attempted to convert the Vikings. Again, it was the clear-sighted and constructive intelligence emanating from Reims which sought a means to end the chaos resulting from the Viking raids.⁶⁵ Somewhat later, and in a different quarter the leadership against barbarism came from the same metropolitan see. From 917 to 919 the savage Hungarians struck through Lotharingia, Alsace, and Burgundy. Charles the Simple appealed to the magnates for aid, but was met with a flat refusal. They were angry at the king for the favoritism which he had unwisely showered upon an upstart Lotharingian named Hagano, and they used this as an excuse for withholding their support against the invaders. Only Archbishop Hervé of Reims answered the cry for help by marching in pursuit of the Magyars with 1500 men under his command.⁶⁶ In 935 the Normans had invaded the region of the Loire, but were stopped by the inhabitants of Berry and Touraine. Artaud of Reims lost no time in convening a synod consisting of seven bishops. The council, which met in the church of Saint-Macre at Fismes, took

⁶⁵Ibid., CXXXIV, 292-93. Johannis IX Papae Epistolae, in HF, IX, 209-10, no. III. John's letter to Hervé is full of praise for the latter's plans for the Normans. Bishop Guy of Rouen also seems to have had a part in the projected conversion of the Vikings. The details of the plan are a subject for further investigation. For earlier correspondence between Archbishop Fulk and Pope Formosus on this question, see Flodoard, HER, IX, 1-7.

⁶⁶Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXIV, 293: "Hungarus quoque regnum Lothariense depraedantibus, dum Karolus preces Francorum in auxilium sibi contra gentem ipsam convocaret, solus hic praesul [Heriveus] ex omnibus regni hujus primatibus, cum suis tantum in defensionem Ecclesiae Dei regi occurrit, habens armatos secum (ceu fertur) mille quingentos."

up the question of how to put an end, once and for all, to their predatory raids.⁶⁷

The church of Reims was instrumental in galvanizing the western Frankish kingdom against the raids of the invaders. One may perhaps be indulged at using the expression "anti-barbarian" to describe the policy of the leading see of France. Be that as it may, as the evidence indicates, elsewhere the Church heightened the defense against foreign attackers. The determined resistance of Abbot Raoul of Saint-Vaast against the troops of Hasting has been set forth in some detail in the first chapter.⁶⁸ Shortly after that episode, the inhabitants of the abbey of Saint-Bertin nearly annihilated a force of some three hundred Vikings who had attempted to seize their monastery.⁶⁹ At Auxerre in 910 the Normans were defeated by the townsmen under the leadership of their bishop, Gerannus. The anonymous author of the Vita Beati Geranni Episcopi tells us proudly that three Viking standards were captured, along with two of the enemy chiefs. One of the latter was pitched headlong to his death from

⁶⁷Ibid., CXXXV, 298; Flodoard, Annales, a. 935. Mansi, XVIII A, 373-74. Mansi's sources are Flodoard, Annales, a. 935, and HER, IV, 26 (in Migne, PL, CXXXV, 298). Flodoard says that the predators were called upon to answer for their activities: "Synodus septem episcoporum apud sanctam Macram, domno Artolde archiepiscopo praesidente, celebratur, in qua praedones et ecclesiasticarum rerum pervasores ad correctionem venire vocantur." (a. 935). "Anno post istum secuto [i.e. 935] synodus septem episcoporum apud sanctam Macram, Artolde episcopo vocante convenit: in qua praedones et ecclesiasticarum rerum pervasores ad satisfactionem venire vocantur." (HER, IV, 26). It must be remembered that by 935 the Normans were Christians, at least in theory. The summons of the council appears to have been a sanguinary attempt at best. No further details are available. The Normans probably ignored the summons, since Flodoard is silent on the outcome.

⁶⁸Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 205.

⁶⁹Ex Miraculis S. Bertini, in HF, IX, 118-19. Ex Chronico Sithiensi S. Bertini, in HF, IX, 72.

the walls of the town by the angry citizens.⁷⁰ Even the legends, those miraculous tales which are so informative of the popular mentality, attest to the active part taken by the reform clergy in eradicating barbarism from the land. In the Vita Sancti Bobonis we learn that the Saracen leader of Fraxinetum committed the sinful folly of seducing his gate-keeper's wife. The enraged gate-keeper thereupon took his revenge by opening the gates to Saint Bebe. The Christians, whom the infidels had persecuted for decades, poured into the stronghold, put the garrison to the sword, and forced the vile seducer to undergo the cleansing sacrament of Christian baptism.⁷¹ This instructive tale purports to recount the fall of the Saracen citadel which occurred in the third-quarter of the tenth century. Unfortunately, it is a fictional explanation of the event it relates, composed at a much later date.⁷²

During the first three decades of the tenth century there occurred a noticeable acceleration of resistance to the barbarians by laymen. The Christian counter-attack was mounted more frequently as the tide of invasions receded. Thanks to the efforts of the Church laymen were given a heightened awareness of their duty to defend against the raiders. The magnates of the kingdom had never been completely without success in carrying victories against the barbarians. As early as 888 King Eudes had won a stunning victory over an

⁷⁰Vita Beati Geranni Episcopi, in AASS, Julii, VI, 598: "At ille [Gerannus] cum suis tantum urbe egressus, speculatores praemittit, hostesque invenit: initur bellum; potitur victoria; et opitulante divina gratia, profligatis adversariis, tria illorum revehuntur labara. Duo illic hostium nobiles capti sunt: quorum unus de mure civitatis praecipitatis perit"

⁷¹Vita Sancti Bobonis, in AASS, Maii, V, 187-88.

⁷²Peupardin, Prevence, p. 248, n. 1.

entire Viking army at a place called Montfaucon in the Argonne.⁷³ At Paris, he took active measures for defense.⁷⁴ Ten years later Charles the Simple surprised and defeated a small band of Normans, who were returning from a raid laden with booty.⁷⁵ The same year, 898, a great battle was fought between the duke of Burgundy, Richard the Justiciar, and the Normans at Argenteuil. The Normans were badly defeated.⁷⁶ In Brittany 14,000 Vikings were slaughtered.⁷⁷

An "operations dispatch" of the year 911 provides some information on

⁷³Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 204. Abbe, Le Siège de Paris par les Normands, poème du IX^e siècle, édité et traduit par Henri Waquet, pp. 102-07. Favre, Eudes, pp. 106-08. Eckel, Charles le Simple, p. 61.

⁷⁴Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 204: "Circa autumni vero tempora Odo rex, adunato exercitu, Parisius venit; ibique castra metatus est prope civitatem, ne iterum ipsa obsideretur." The Normans had been at Meaux during this time. In November they left that place, which was in ruins, and came down the Marne into the Seine. They would have attacked Paris, probably, but for Eudes' preparations. Instead they sailed back up the Seine and split their force into two divisions. One group proceeded by land, and the other on the long-boats, along the Loing River. They set up their winter-quarters on the banks of this river: "Nortmanni vero per Maternam in Sequanam regressi, indeque navigantes, et iter per terram facientes Luviam fluvium ingressi, circa eius litora sedem sibi firmant." See also, Ex Chronico de Gestis Normannorum in Francia, in HF, VIII, 97. The Parker Chronicle (832-900), edited by A. H. Smith (Methuens Old English Library series, ed. A. H. Smith and F. Norman, Second Edition) (London: 1939), pp. 37-38, states in the entry for the year 887 that the Danish army wintered on the banks of the Yonne. The testimony of the Annales Vedastini is preferable, for the author may have heard of these events from Eudes himself, who spent Christmas at the monastery of Saint-Vaast: "Odo rex nativitatem Domini in monasterio sancti Vedasti celebrem egit." (Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 204.).

⁷⁵Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 209.

⁷⁶Ibid. The news of this victory must have made a lively impression upon contemporaries, for several chronicles report it. They are cited in Eckel, Charles le Simple, p. 66, n. 1.

⁷⁷The version of the Annales Vedastini printed in the MGH, SS, II, 208-09, does not mention the fight in Brittany. Cf. the version of the same source quoted by Eckel, Charles le Simple, p. 65, n. 2.

the way the great feudal lords proceeded against the Normans. The following letter from Counts Robert of Paris and Manasses of Dijon requests the aid of Richard of Burgundy: "Count Robert and Manasses to Duke Richard, greetings. Know that we had marched against the Normans, but not having found them returned to Paris; we are sending word to you, inquiring whether or not you will come to us."⁷⁸

By the second-quarter of the century one senses a new confidence on the part of the Christians in their ability to deal with the raids. In 924 the count of Toulouse scattered and mopped up on the remainder of a band of Hungarians who had ravaged Gothia.⁷⁹ The next year a large number of the lay nobility came together to conduct a punitive expedition against the Normans. King Raoul captured the town of Eu, and killed a large number of its inhabitants.⁸⁰ Five years later Raoul again defeated the Normans in Aquitaine.⁸¹ It was on this last occasion that the count of Angoulême, William Taillefer, earned his nickname "Iron-Cutter" for his treatment of the Norman leader, Stem. In single combat Count William struck the Norman so hard in the chest with a

⁷⁸Chaume, Bourgogne, I, 355-56, has reproduced the source. It takes the form of a note, copied down about this time (911) from the original letter or message sent to Duke Richard. The note, which appears in the margin of a manuscript at the cathedral of Chartres, was written by a tenth-century hand. The text is as follows: "Rotbertus comes et dux Manasse Richardo salutem. Scitote quoniam fuimus perrecti contra Normannos, sed non invenientes regressi sumus Parisius, mittentes ad vos, et requirimus utrum vos necne venietis ad nos." The same source is quoted by René Merlet, Les Comtes de Chartres, de Chateaudun, et de Blois aux IX^e et X^e siècles (Chartres: 1900), p. 80, n. 1.

⁷⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 924. Chronicon Nemausense, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 219. Devic et Vaissète, Languedoc, III, 99-100.

⁸⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 925. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 50. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, pp. 38-39.

⁸¹Adhemar of Chabannes, Historiarum Libri Tres, in PL, CXLI, 37. Flodoard, Annales, a. 930. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 57.

short sword that the weapon cut through his adversary's breast-plate.⁸²

Another episode, perhaps embellished in certain details, comes from the quill of Richer. It concerns the lay response to a renewed outburst of paganism in Normandy in 943. A relapsed Christian named Turmod succeeded in getting a large number of Normans to renounce their religion.⁸³ His influence was so great that he had begun to work on the young duke, Richard of Normandy.⁸⁴ At this point, because the situation was desperate, King Louis was summoned to Rouen by those who had sworn faith to him at the time of Richard's investiture. Turmod feared the king's intervention, and combined his forces with those of a Viking sea-king named Setric. Together they tried unsuccessfully to ambush the royal force. In the battle that followed, Turmod and Setric were both killed.⁸⁵ Richer's version of the encounter is surely an exaggeration.⁸⁶ According to him, Setric came up the Seine with a large fleet, and Louis went against him with some eight hundred horsemen. The Vikings were put to flight, and Setric managed to hide himself in some bushes, but was soon

⁸²Ex Chronico Ademari Cabanensis, in HF, VIII, 235. Dom Bouquet's edition of Adhemar's Chronicon places William Iron-Cutter's death in 954. He earned his nickname in the following manner: "Willelmus quoque Sector-ferri (qui hoc cognomen indeptus est, quod commisso praelio cum Nortmannis, et neutra parte cedente, postera die pacti causa cum Rege eorum Storim singulari conflictu deluctans, ense curto, nomine Durissimo, quem Walander faber cuserat, per media pectoris secuit simul cum thorace una percussione) post clausit diem"

⁸³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 35. Flodoard, Annales, a. 943.

⁸⁴Flodoard, Annales, a. 943.

⁸⁵Ibid. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 35.

⁸⁶Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 35, says that Louis had 800 men. Louis' men must have fought like demons, for Richer's tally fixes the number of dead pagans at 9,000!

discovered and killed. During the combat Turmod struck King Louis from behind with his lance. The wound was serious, says Richer, but Louis turned around and cut off Turmod's head and left shoulder with an oblique swipe of his sword.⁸⁷

The stories about Louis and Turmod, Saint Bobo, and William "Iron-Cutter" and the Norman, Storm, have a kind of grisly humor about them, which seems to suggest that the barbarians were at last getting paid back in full measure for all their crimes. The accounts and anecdotes of Christian victories were composed by ecclesiastical writers. Their relish and enthusiasm for their work is scarcely concealed. Their pens reveal the unmistakable signs of a longing for revenge. They take a delicious glee in relating such bloodthirsty accounts. In the tenth century violence shaped the temperament of the best of men.

The angry attitude of the churchmen toward the barbarians is clearly manifested in the sources. The Church also lashed out at the abuses perpetrated by bad Christians. It made not the slightest difference whether a wrongdoer was a layman or an ecclesiastic: either one might feel the pain of excommunication, or the deadly sword of anathema. For the punishment of lesser crimes the Church would content itself with an exhortation addressed to the offender, or the assignment of some minor penance, in the hope that such as these would inspire a feeling of contrition for lawless acts. The effectiveness of the moral sanctions of the Church ought not to be underestimated as

⁸⁷Ibid. It was necessary, however, for Louis to pause for a moment before despatching the unfortunate Turmod: "Rex, multa cede ab eo impetu paulisper dimotus, sauciantem respicit; ictuque in dextram obliquo, provocantis caput cum humero sinistro obtruncat." For the possibly legendary embellishments in Richer's account, and, in particular, its similarity with the tale of Isembart and Gormont, see Lauer, Louis IV, Appendix II, pp. 272-75.

they applied to men in tenth-century France. The fear of death without the sacraments, the loss of intercession for having angered the saints, and even the concern, entirely worldly, of defections by one's vassals caused by excommunication--all of these made the strictures of the Church a potent deterrent. They helped to curb the savage acts of society's more brutal and violent members.

As the prelates of Reims became the heart and inspiration of resistance to the barbarians, so they also served as the leaders in striking down the Christian violators of the Church and society. Each of the great archbishops of Reims during this period struggled against the efforts of the feudal warriors to swallow up the Church.⁸⁸ Archbishop Fulk (883-900) threatened Count Baldwin II of Flanders with the anathema on more than one occasion for the latter's seizure of certain Church properties and for having flogged a priest.⁸⁹ The count took a grim revenge: his hatred for Fulk was climaxed by the dispatch of assassins to murder the archbishop. It was Fulk's successor, Hervé (900-22), who anathematized the killers.⁹⁰ One may recall that it was this same Hervé who convened the synod of Trosly in 909, which enunciated the worst

⁸⁸Hugh of Vermandois was a usurper, and a bad clergyman besides. He most certainly cannot be called a "great" archbishop. Indeed, his claim to the title of metropolitan of Reims was invalid. According to Flodoard, who had good reason to know, Hugh was a "malefactor". On the archbishops of Reims, see Auguste Dumas, "L'Eglise de Reims au temps des luttes entre Carolingiens et Robertiens (888-1027)", in *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France*, XXX, 5-38, *passim*.

⁸⁹Flodoard, *HER*, in *PL*, CXXXV, 286.

⁹⁰Mansi, XVIII A, 181-84. The assassins were separated from the bosom of the Church and anathematized by a perpetual curse: ". . . ipsos sanctae matris ecclesiae gremio segregamus, ac perpetuae maledictionis anathemate eos condemnamus." The anathema was eternal damnation, more serious than excommunication, pronounced against those guilty of mortal sin, and who, in spite of repeated warnings from the Church, persisted in their crimes. See Pfister, *Robert le Pieux*, pp. 56-57.

abuses of the age, and published fifteen chapters suggesting ways to restore the Church.⁹¹ We hear of a Count Erlebald, whose excommunication was removed by Hervé only after the count had died. Erlebald had constructed a castle during his life-time, and had used this place as a stronghold from which he made frequent attacks upon properties belonging to the church of Reims.⁹² Seulf, who was metropolitan of Reims from 922 to 925, presided over a provincial synod that imposed a series of penances on the peacebreakers who had taken part in the battle of Soissons (15 June, 923).⁹³ Seulf also convened a synod at Tresly in October, 924. It was there that Count Isaac of Cambrai was ordered to amend his ways and to make a public penance for his lawless acts toward the episcopal see of Cambrai.⁹⁴

After Seulf, the next legitimately constituted vicar of Reims was Artaud (931-40; 946-61). This prelate had a stormy career, for it was during his pontificate at Reims that the great struggle occurred between the Carolingian Louis IV and his rebellious vassals. Artaud's right to the see was one of the main issues in this war. Thus, he was one of the figures around whom plots, depositions, murders, restorations, anathemas, and vicissitudes of every sort whirled during the entire second-quarter of the tenth century. Artaud's lengthy career as archbishop of Reims testifies to his support of reform and his opposition to criminals. Before he became archbishop, Artaud was a monk

⁹¹Mansi, XVIII A, 263-308.

⁹²Ibid., 343-44. Flodoard, Annales, a. 921. Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 293.

⁹³Mansi, XVIII A, 345-46, says the location is not known. Cf. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, pp. 12-13, who places the meeting at Reims after the 27th of August, 923. The death of Robert on the field of battle was thought by some to have signified God's judgment on a usurper.

⁹⁴Mansi, XVIII A, 345-48. Flodoard, Annales, a. 924.

at the abbey of Saint-Remi in Reims. He was a zealous--indeed, intransigent--defender of the rights of the Church. The long letter which he read as a speech before the council of Ingelheim may be cited as sufficient proof. It is a tirade against his enemies, the invaders of the Church and the persecutors of the clergy.⁹⁵

Artaud's successor was Odalric (962-69), formerly a canon of Metz, who received the archbishopric from Lothaire on the advice of the reformer, Bruno of Cologne.⁹⁶ Richer tells us that Odalric was ideally suited for the position because of his background of wealth, nobility, and learning.⁹⁷ During his brief pontificate Odalric proved to be a worthy successor in the distinguished tradition at Reims. When the Vermandois brothers and Thibaud the Trickster began to harry the lands of the Church, Odalric responded by hurling the anathema at them, and they were forced to submit.⁹⁸ In 966 that old troublemaker Renaud of Roucy began new acts of brigandage. Odalric excommunicated him, but it did

⁹⁵The letter may be read in Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 304-09. It also appears in Mansi, XVIII A, 423-27. Lauer, Louis IV, pp. 176-82, has translated it into French. For additional details on the council of Ingelheim (948), see Hefele - Leclercq, Histoire des Conciles, IV-2, 761-73. The letter is an extremely important document, for it sets forth in great detail the whole affair of Reims as seen through the eyes of one of the chief protagonists. The events described cover much of Artaud's career.

⁹⁶Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 18-19.

⁹⁷Ibid., III, 18.

⁹⁸Flodoard, Annales, a. 963. Gallia Christiana, IX, 55-56. On Odalric's relations with the Vermandois faction and Count Thibaud, see Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 44-46.

no good. Renaud's answer was to continue his atrocities against the Church.⁹⁹

Ecclesiastical sanctions did not always bring to bear pressure sufficient to coerce men like Renaud to stop their crimes. On other occasions, however, such measures were very effective.¹⁰⁰ Be that as it may, it is important

⁹⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 966. We find Renaud guilty of earlier depredations against the Church. In 953 he was summoned before a synod by Artaud. He began to squirm under the threat of excommunication, and appealed to the king to intercede in his behalf (ibid., a. 953). Two years later Renaud seized and burned a monastery (ibid., a. 955). In 958 he advised Lethaire to appoint Archenbold as metropolitan of Sens (Ex Chron. S. Petri Vivi Senon., in HF, IX, 35). Archenbold of Sens, it may be recalled, was a treacherous homicide. In spite of all the harm he did the Church, Renaud was, according to his epitaph, "Adored by the peasants, a virtuous nobleman, a lover of piety . . .": "Plebis amor, Procerumque decus, pietatis amator" (Epitaphia Ragenoldi, in HF, IX, 104). This posthumous attempt to touch up Renaud's character for the benefit of posterity is not able to fool anyone. Renaud's actions during his lifetime reveal his true colors.

¹⁰⁰For example, Hugh the Great found that his vassals began to desert him after he had been excommunicated by several councils in 948 and 949. He was guilty of having allowed his troops to pillage and murder in the diocese of Reims. (Flodoard, Annales, a. 948). Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 85, says that more than 560 persons were burned to death in the churches of the diocese by Hugh's men. As a result of the anathema pronounced on the duke of France, a certain Bernard, one of Hugh's men who held the castle of Chauny, swore homage to Albert of Vermandois: "Bernardus quidam partium Hugonis, habens castellum super Isaram fluvium nomine Colnacum, se cum ipso castello committit Adalberto comite." (Flodoard, Annales, a. 949). Lauer, Louis IV, p. 205, n. 5, identifies Colnacum with Chauny in the département of the Oise, arrondissement of Laon, the county seat of the canton. M. Lauer would like to identify this Bernard with Bernard of Senlis, an important vassal of Hugh's, but as he suggests there is insufficient evidence. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 96, says that after the synod of Rome the bishops of Gaul took advantage of the excommunication of Hugh the Great to lecture him on the woes of the anathema and eternal damnation. They also pointed out that the Church fathers and the holy canons both had decreed that all men ought to obey those set over them, including kings. Moreover, one should never plot against his lord. Thus, we have from the writings of Richer tenth-century political theory in action. According to him, the Gallic bishops went to see the duke of France: ". . . apud ducem colliguntur" One is tempted to see these bishops remonstrating with Hugh in the presence of his vassals at court, a scene that could easily have provoked a series of defections. To the tenth-century warrior "face" was extremely important. Getting told off by a group of bishops did not enhance a man's charismatic qualities, which were so necessary for maintaining the loyalty of his vassals. See, also, Flodoard, Annales, a. 949, who says that the inhabitants of Amiens betrayed their Bishop Tetbald, whom the anathematized Hugh of Vermandois had set over them, by giving up the city to Count Arnulf of Flanders.

that the leading episcopal see in France never failed to protest against the outrages committed against society. The metropolitans of Reims, as the leaders of the French episcopate, set a good example for others to follow. One does not have to search long to find numerous cases in which provincial synods dealt severely with peace-breakers and criminal noblemen.¹⁰¹

Excommunication, and its more severe form, the anathema, were potent weapons in the hands of the clergy.¹⁰² But individual churchmen, as well as the clergy seated collectively in synods, attempted to restrain the lawless, and to instill the teachings of Christian perfection. At times condemning, at times exhorting, a few of the clergy kept always before men's eyes the vision of a peaceful and orderly society.

One of these heroes of Christ was Saint Odo of Cluny. Without exaggeration this man was the conscience of the church of France during the second-quarter of the tenth century. His great work was the Collationum, a moral tract which lays bare all of the sins rampant among the clergy and laymen of the day. Odo minced no words when he spoke of a corrupted clergy:

The ministers of the Church are satiated with the flesh;
they are puffed up with pride, withered with avarice, made
weak through pleasure, tormented by wickedness, inflamed

¹⁰¹See Flodeard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 290, and Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 18, for the action taken by the bishops of France against the assassins of Fulk of Reims. See Mansi, XVIII A, 347-48, for a provincial synod held at the abbey of Charlieu, near Lyons, in 926. This council concerned itself with the question of how to deal with some depraved individuals, who were pillaging the churches and holy places in the area. It was decided that certain restitutions would be demanded. Other synods were held at Verdun in 947 and Meuzon in 948 (Mansi, XVIII A, 417-18), Ingelheim and Laon in 948 (Mansi, XVIII A, 419-28), Trèves in 948 (Mansi, XVIII A, 429-30), and many others throughout the remainder of the century. See Mansi, XIX.

¹⁰²Pfister, Robert le Pieux, p. 56, explains the distinction between excommunication and the anathema.

with anger, divided by strife, made thirsty with desire,
slain by lewdness.¹⁰³

His worst tongue-lashings were saved especially for these rich and worldly men, who abused their power by making life miserable for the poor:

How then are these robbers Christians, or what do they deserve who slay their brothers for whom they are commanded to lay down their lives? You have only to study the books of antiquity to see that the most powerful are always the worst. Worldly nobility is due not to nature but to pride and ambition. If we judged by realities we should give honour not to the rich for the fine clothes they wear, but to the poor who are the makers of such things--for the banquets of the powerful are cooked in the sweat of the poor.¹⁰⁴

The good abbot practiced what he preached. He always gave away to the poor whatever personal possessions he received.¹⁰⁵ Once he was rebuked for being too generous to the poor.¹⁰⁶ When he came across an old or feeble man plodding along the wayside, Odo would dismount from his horse and walk in order that the poor man might ride.¹⁰⁷ At one moment he was distributing alms; at the next, shedding his coat to clothe a half-naked pauper, whom he encountered high in the snowy Alps.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³Sancti Odonis abbatis Cluniacensis II Collationum Libri Tres, in PL, CXXXIII, 553: "Quae omnia nunc implentur, cum ad imitationem carnalium ministri Ecclesiae devolvuntur; cum similiter eos superbia erigit, avaritia tabefacit, voluptas dilatat, malitia angustat, ira inflammat, discordia separat, invidia exulcerat, luxuria inquinans necat."

¹⁰⁴Christopher Dawson, Religion and the Rise of Western Culture, p. 147, translated these passages from the Collationum, III, 26-30.

¹⁰⁵John of Salerno, Vita Sancti Odonis, in PL, CXXXIII, 53.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., CXXXIII, 62.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., CXXXIII, 63.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., CXXXIII, 65.

Saint Odo was not fighting alone. Occasionally, one reads of some simple act of human kindness, all too rare in this period. For example, a certain advocate (advocatus) or lay protector of the abbey of Saint-Bénigne in Burgundy refused to permit a local count to remove the children of some serfs, who worked the lands of the monastery.¹⁰⁹ In 980 the abbot and monks of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif came before Archbishop Sevinus at Sens, beseeching his help in providing the necessities of food and clothing. The prelate at once approved the request by assigning four altars (altare) to the monastery.¹¹⁰ These good works are the signs of a society struggling to overcome the effects of barbarism and violence.

Other indications of a desire for change may be seen in the instructions and warnings of the Church councils. It was in these proceedings that these members of the clergy with a bent toward reform attempted to point the way to the ideal of Christian behavior. The council of Coblenz (922), summoned jointly by Charles the Simple and Henry the Fowler, dealt with problems common to both the eastern and western halves of the old Carolingian empire. The first and seventh chapters, respectively, of this council condemned incestuous marriages and qualified as being in the same class of men as homicides, those who stooped to selling Christians as slaves.¹¹¹ In 927 another council was held at Trosly, which enjoined an ecclesiastical penance upon Count Herluin

¹⁰⁹Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 325.

¹¹⁰Mansi, XIX, 75-76. The monks apparently received the money which was presented at these altars. Three of the altars were located in different towns. The other altar was located near the crypt of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif.

¹¹¹Ibid., XVIII A, 343-46.

of Montreuil for having committed bigamy.¹¹² The eighth canon of the council of Ingelheim (948) states that laymen have no right to help themselves to the offerings of the faithful presented at the altar.¹¹³ Twenty important canons were drawn up in a provincial synod held in Normandy about the year 949 or 950. The ecclesiastical legislation of this council was intended for both laymen and clergy. The subjects with which the canons treat, very elementary in their nature, reveal the effects of the periodic outcropping of paganism in that region during the first half of the century.¹¹⁴ Finally, a Burgundian council whose exact location is uncertain, but which was held in 955, threatened a certain ". . . Isuardus and his friends" with the anathema for having destroyed some fields pertaining to a church dedicated to Saint Sympherien. Unless the criminals made restitution for their wicked acts, they would be cut off from the society of Christians.¹¹⁵ In this case the Church sought to protect the innocent Christians of the region from contamination, as it were, by association with these rascals.

The deplorable state of a large segment of the Frankish clergy in the important matters of religious commitment and moral behavior evoked an outraged cry of protest from an enlightened element within the Church. The first faltering steps were being taken in the direction of reform. Even as the Frankish Church still smarted from the whip-like blows of the barbarian incursions and

¹¹²Ibid., XVIII A, 349-50.

¹¹³Ibid., XVIII A, 421: "Ut oblationes fidelium, quatenus altari deferantur, nihil omnino ad laicalem pertineant potestatem, dicente scriptura: Qui altario deserviunt, de altario participentur."

¹¹⁴Ibid., XVIII A, 431-36.

¹¹⁵Ibid., XVIII A, 445-48: ". . . Isuardus et secii ejus"

the treacherous acts of the feudal warriors, a few courageous leaders lashed back against the abuses of feudal society. Pre-eminent among these reformers in the first half of the tenth century were Saint Odo of Cluny and a succession of intelligent and forceful archbishops of Reims. These men, fighting against enormous odds, were charismatic figures. They rallied the critics of the prevailing chaos, and galvanized the Church into action. Using every legitimate weapon at their disposal, the reformers set out to rescue the clergy from the abyss. To prevent the warring elements from devouring the Church, society, and even their own savage kind, was the aim, however vaguely defined at first, of the responsible members of the clergy.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF MONASTIC REFORM

The first step taken by the reformers toward rallying the Church to save itself, and with it Christian society, was to recognize its own degraded state. Everywhere the ministerial descendants of Saint Peter had fallen into the mire of social disorder. Some, indeed, had ceased entirely to struggle. They no longer fought the good fight for Christ, but abandoned their vows, and returned to the world. The clergy was in a state of crisis. The great danger was that without the guidance and leadership which the Church traditionally had provided, society would go under. Empires and kingdoms might come and go; the Church alone was capable of uniting men in a common spiritual bond. In place of the political solidity provided by secular rule, the Church had substituted a higher loyalty to God. This was the fundamental assumption in early medieval political thought. It had proved to be the foundation of civilized life in the Latin West.

Fortunately there were men who saw clearly the desperate condition of society, and they worked unceasingly to improve the situation. It was to the monasteries that these reformers first looked. By tradition western monasticism had come to mean far more than simply a haven or refuge from the world; it was unique in its intention to demonstrate to laymen how the perfect Christian life ought to be followed. Each Benedictine house existed as a sort of model community for the benefit and edification of lay society. Each house also provided a convenient and suitable place for the monks to save their souls. None were more conscious of this tradition than the reform

clergy of the period. Consequently, none knew better the value for society of restoring the monasteries. It was with increasing concern in the early decades of the tenth century that the reformers viewed the life of the monastic clergy. Everywhere they turned the Benedictine Rule was being challenged, in many cases by the very monks who had sworn to observe it. In some places the regular life had completely disappeared.

The Benedictine monastic reform was a development of central importance in most of Western Europe in the tenth century. It is the key to understanding much of the history of the period. The turmoil of invasion and warfare, which created the need for reform, was followed, as a consequence of the movement, by the emergence of a new piety and religious zeal. To put it another way: the history of Western Europe, and particularly France, descends from the destruction of the Carolingian empire until the middle decades and third-quarter of the tenth century. Then occurs the great period of reform within the religious houses, thus providing a reconstructed spiritual foundation for the events in the later decades of the century. The decades of the 960's, 970's, and 980's are intensely interesting, for a change was at work--very noticeable in France--as difficult to define as it was profound and all-pervading. One aspect of this change was the subtle, almost unconscious influence, which the revived interest in religion had upon politics. At every level of society there were indications of a quickening religious emotionalism. Excitement was beginning to grip men of all classes. A religious fervor that was once thought by historians to have been a universal anxiety for the terrors of the year 1000, was, in fact, the first shock waves of piety coming from the impact of monastic reform.

Early in the century the desire to bring about a reform in the monasteries began to be manifested. A noted historian of the Church, M. Auguste

Dumas, suggests that already by 910, the date of the foundation of Cluny, men began to feel the first gentle breezes of that movement which was to revive and inspire European society:

A desire for reform was in the air: it was only a matter of resuming the work of Saint Benedict of Aniane, whose success had been upset by unfavorable circumstances. Between 910 and 930, these aspirations were made explicit. As often happens in the course of history, a few superior beings were enough to arouse an outburst which immediately stirred the entire West. These were saints who had the gift of involving souls: setting the example by a complete self-denial and endowed with uncommon energy, they made sure to accustom their followers to practice rigorously the Benedictine Rule. But the most zealous monks were able to do nothing without the co-operation of the great secular lords: for the successful outcome of their efforts, the reformers found among the laity some pious men, who favored their undertakings and even at times supported them.¹

The causes of monastic decadence have been discussed at some length in earlier chapters. Numerous examples have been cited of the destructive fury of the barbarians, or the misuse of monastic property by the Christian warrior class. One abuse, not yet mentioned, was the practice in the abbeys of replacing monks with canons. A canon was a cleric attached to a cathedral church, whose primary function it was to chant the divine office at prescribed intervals throughout the day and night. The canons of a cathedral collectively formed the choir of the bishop's church. The number of canons depended upon

¹Amann and Dumas, *L'Église (888-1057)*, pp. 319-20: "Un désir de réforme était dans l'air: il ne s'agissait que de reprendre l'oeuvre de saint Benoît d'Aniane, dont le succès avait été troublé par des circonstances défavorables. Entre 910 et 930, ces aspirations se précisèrent. Comme il arrive souvent au cours de l'histoire, quelques hommes d'élite suffirent à provoquer un élan qui remua bientôt tout l'Occident. C'étaient des saints qui avaient le don d'entraîner les âmes: montrant l'exemple d'un complet renoncement et doués d'une énergie peu commune, ils surent habituer leurs disciples à pratiquer rigoureusement la règle bénédictine. Mais les plus zélés des moines n'auraient rien pu faire sans le concours des grands du siècle: pour l'heureux succès de leurs efforts, les réformateurs trouvèrent parmi les laïques des hommes pieux qui favorisèrent leurs entreprises et parfois même les suscitérent."

the resources of the church. For example, in the eleventh century Chartres had seventy-two, while Auxerre had fifty, and both Nîmes and Carcassonne, less wealthy sees, each had about a score.² Because of the nature of their responsibilities, it was convenient to have the canons live as a group according to a rule. It was easier to have them going to and from the church as a body to perform the canonical hours.

The canons also formed the chapter of the cathedral. The term chapter originally applied to them collectively only when they gathered to perform the hours. Gradually, however, prior to the tenth century the canons had become involved to some extent in various other functions about the cathedral, some in teaching the scholae cantorum, others in charge of the episcopal chancery. In time they became the core of the episcopal schools. The important point to note is that their functions were closely bound up with the affairs of the bishop. Located in cathedral towns, owing a loyalty to the canonical rule, less rigorous than that under which the Benedictine monks lived, the canons were essentially members of the secular clergy. Increasingly their duties, traditions, and environment made them unsuitable for monastic life.³

During the ninth and tenth centuries there was a tendency on the part of both bishops and laymen, when they took over a monastery, to replace the monks with canons. The canons, living on their stipends, presented no drain upon the resources of the monastery. The monks, on the other hand, were completely dependent upon their abbot for all expenses by reason of the vow of poverty, which they had sworn to observe. In many cases a lay abbot or bishop,

²Ibid., p. 251.

³Ibid., pp. 253-54.

after having gained control of a monastery, sought to save himself income by introducing canons and thereby relieving himself of the necessity of providing for monks. At the same time, discipline faltered as the monastic rule disappeared and the lax-living canons took up residence in a monastery. A considerable proportion of the reforming energies were expended in an effort to correct this abuse. In many abbeys the canons were expelled, and the Benedictine Rule of the monks was re-established.⁴

The tenth-century monastic reform was a ubiquitous phenomenon in Western Europe. Certain regions became centers of reforming activity. A few religious houses or episcopal towns became famous --or at least well-known-- for their work in restoring Benedictine monasticism. Individual leaders also appeared, providing the inspiration for reform. Paradoxically, the feudal warriors, who in France had done so much to harm the Church, began to come forward with occasional endowments, founding new houses here and there, or otherwise helping the monks to re-establish the regular life where it had been disrupted. The real inspiration and leadership, however, came from the reform clergy: the same men who had condemned the criminal ravages of the heathen barbarians and the Christian knights. Moreover, within a few decades the

⁴Ibid., p. 318. See, also, De la Borderie, Histoire de Bretagne, III, 156-57. The regular life broke down in Brittany toward the end of the tenth century. During the Norman occupation in the first-third of the century the monks fled the monasteries. Later on secular canons came to take their places, and it was this type of clergy over whom the bishops came to rule after the Bretons had driven out the Normans. In the last years of the tenth century and on into the eleventh the canons were expelled from the monasteries, and took up their residence near the bishop. Thus, in Brittany as elsewhere, only somewhat later, the episcopal-canonical association centering in the cities formed the nucleus for the cathedral chapter and school. The monastic reform reiterated the distinction between monks and canons --between the regular and secular clergy. The distinction was underlined still further by the assertion of independence from the bishop by the monastic communities in the eleventh century.

the reform movement had sprung up everywhere. When it appeared simultaneously in several regions it was because conditions were similarly bad in those areas about to be reformed. The evidence of monastic decadence was apparent in most of Western Europe at the beginning of the century.

But the movement also spread from place to place until by the end of the century the spirit of reform and revival had reinvigorated most of the Benedictine houses. Where were the centers of reform? Who were the leaders and what were their accomplishments? How did the Benedictine reform spread from one region to another? The answers to these questions may reveal something of the reform movement seen as a constructive and vital force in the middle of the tenth century.

Burgundy, Lorraine, Flanders, England, and Italy --all of these were regions which experienced enthusiastic reform. Each had its nucleus, whether it were a monastery, a bishopric, or a single, saintly individual, who pointed the way toward a more perfect Christian life.

The monastery of Cluny was the greatest center of reform. We may properly speak of the tenth and eleventh centuries as Cluniac centuries, so strong was the influence of this house. Cluny was founded in 910 in the Maconnais region of Burgundy by William the Pious, count of Auvergne and duke of Aquitaine. The immense success of Cluny was due to several factors. First of all, its foundation charter freed it from the jurisdiction of both layman and bishop. A second factor in Cluny's rapid growth in prestige and effectiveness was the excellence of the men who served as abbots of the house. Saints Odo (926-42) and Maieul (954-94) in the tenth century, and Odilo (994-1048) and Hugh (1048-1109) in the eleventh, were men of consummate ability as reformers and peacemakers. Finally, the Cluniac concern for spirituality and

the outward manifestations of religious practice--devotional acts, a rich liturgy, and the Romanesque architecture--were perhaps most important for Cluny's success. Cluny became the tenth century's symbol for piety and religious zeal. Although the Cluniac reform was restricted materially to the regular clergy, its influence created an atmosphere of religiosity, which extended to the secular clergy as well as to lay society. Already by the third-quarter of the tenth century a climate of opinion zealous for reform had been created. This was in large measure due to the work of the Cluniacs.

Another important center of reform was Lorraine. At Brogne near Namur in the year 914 a vassal of Count Berenger of Lomme built a monastery and filled it with canons.⁵ This knight was Gérard, who would later become the abbot of Brogne. According to the story, Gérard had been sent by his lord to Paris on a mission to Count Robert of that town. During his sojourn in Paris, Gérard was struck by the holy life led by the monks at Saint-Denis, and immediately decided to take holy orders himself. The abbey of Brogne adopted the rule of Saint Benedict, and the canons whom Gérard had installed became monks. Gérard's reputation for sanctity became well-known, and before his death in 959 the reform had spread from Namur to Hainault and Flanders.⁶

In Upper Lorraine the monastic reform was begun by Adalbero I, bishop of Metz (929-64). Like many of his episcopal and abbatical colleagues, Adalbero was intelligent, energetic, and ". . . a curious mixture of religious

⁵E. de Moreau, La Formation de l'Eglise médiévale (Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique), II, 142-45, et seqq.

⁶Augustin Fliche, L'Europe occidentale de 888 à 1125 (Histoire du Moyen Age, II) (Histoire Générale, ed. G. Glotz), p. 129. Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057), pp. 332-33.

sentiments and political preoccupations."⁷ In Lorraine the secular and regular clergy worked hand in hand to bring about monastic reform. Neither Gérard of Bregne nor John of Gorze, the other great Lotharingian reformer, had envisaged widespread reform. It was due mainly to the Lotharingian episcopate: men like Adalbero of Metz, Gozlin of Toul, and Richer of Liège, who popularized the saintliness of the monks at Gorze. It was in this way that the movement spread from the abbey at Gorze near Metz to other houses in the dioceses of Trèves, Toul, and Verdun.⁸

The work of the reform episcopate in Upper Lorraine in the tenth century was enormously significant not simply for its beneficial effect upon monastic life. For it was Upper Lorraine which gave to France in the third-

⁷Robert Pariset, Histoire de Lorraine (Duché de Lorraine, duché de Bar, Trois-Evêchés) (2 volumes; Paris: 1919-22), I, 283-84: "... un curieux mélange de sentiments religieux et de préoccupations politiques." (p. 284). Hereafter this work will be cited as Pariset, Histoire de Lorraine. Adalbero's predecessor was Berne, a saintly monk who was elected archbishop of Metz in 927. Shortly after his election, Berne had his eyes gouged out by a pack of scoundrels. Berne was the second founder of the hermitage of Our Lady at Einsiedeln in the Swiss Alps. In 928 a council held at Duisberg excommunicated the vicious men who mutilated Berne, and substituted Adalbero in his place. The incident is mentioned in Flodoard, Annales, a. 928, and in the Life of John of Gorze (De Vita Joannis Abbatis Gorziensis), in PL, CXXXVII, 262). There can be little doubt that such atrocities were a spur to those interested in peace and reform. See, also, Mansi, XVIII A, 349-50.

⁸Pariset, Histoire de Lorraine, I, 284. For a good brief discussion of the reform movement in Upper Lorraine in the tenth century, see Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057), pp. 333-36. It is significant that the same people who were interested in the reform of the Church and clergy were also anxious to bring peace to Christian society. John of Gorze was sent on a peace mission to Spain in 953 in an effort to arrange a lasting peace between the Christians of Burgundy and the Saracens of Fraxinetum. Otto the Great had asked Adalbero of Metz to find someone who stood some chance of success in dealing with the Moslems. John attempted to persuade the caliph of Cordova, Abd-er-Rahman III, to use his influence to call off the Saracens who were ravaging Burgundy, and to cause the evacuation of the fortress at Fraxinetum. The mission seems to have been a complete failure. For further details, and concerning Otto's appointment of a Lotharingian for this task, see Peupardin, Bourgeoisie, pp. 93-97.

quarter of the century the great archbishop of Reims, Adalbero, the agent of the Revolution of 987. Thus, the reform spirit, nurtured in Lorraine early in the century, was an important ingredient which went into the cauldron of French politics in the 980's. The new spirit of piety and a comingling of two reform traditions: the Cluniac concern for the outward, manifest act of religious zeal and the Lotharingian reformers' obsession with statecraft, together unconsciously exerted enormous pressure on French political affairs as they developed at the time of the Carolingian - Capetian dynastic revolution. The events of 987 became the focal point for all the reforming energies and traditions broadly conceived.

While Burgundy and Lorraine were the principal centers of monastic reform on the continent, Flanders, Normandy, Italy and other regions were also effected to a greater or lesser degree.⁹ Across the channel the Anglo-Saxon religious houses underwent a major reform.¹⁰ Most of these regional reforms were connected directly with neighboring movements, at least to some extent.

A number of men stand out in the tenth century as leaders of the monastic reform movement. Their accomplishments were prodigious, often carried out under hazardous conditions. Among the greatest reformers of the century

⁹Cambridge Medieval History, ed. J. R. Tanner, et al. (8 volumes; New York and Cambridge, England: 1929-36), III, 372-75; V, 1-3 and 661-64. Hereafter this work will be cited as CMH.

¹⁰Dom David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, A History of Its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216 (Second Edition; Cambridge: 1963), pp. 31-56, passim. Hereafter this work will be cited as Knowles, The Monastic Order in England. Dom Knowles' chapter is the best brief discussion of the tenth-century monastic reform movement in England from a narrative point of view. But also excellent are Chapters IV and VI (pp. 37-65 and 75-103, respectively) of Margaret Deanesly's Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church (London: 1962). Professor Deanesly has provided her readers with an interesting and informative treatment of the cultural achievements of the reform movement.

were the abbots of Cluny. Berno (910-26) was the first abbot of Cluny. As early as 917 when Ebbo, lord of Déols in Berry, called Berno in to take charge of the recently founded abbey of Déols, the precedent was established that Cluniacs would spread their rule to new and struggling congregations or to older houses in need of reform.¹¹ Berno had succeeded in popularizing the new Cluniac congregation in the region south of the Loire. Pious donations began to come in to the monastery from laymen in both Burgundy and Aquitaine. Undoubtedly the strict observance of the rule at Cluny made the house attractive to its patrons.¹² But it was Berno's successor at Cluny, Saint Odo (926-42), who put Cluny on the map of Western Europe. Odo, it will be recalled, was the outspoken opponent of any enemy of the Church, regardless of whom it might be. As abbot, Saint Odo was a man of action as well as of words. He began the practice followed by most of his successors of continually moving about, journeying to this count or that duke in the interests of peace, reform, and--Cluny. The first four or five abbots were, in effect, boosters of the whole reform movement. Often they encountered dangers in their travels. Odo's biographer informs us: "When his ardent zeal for peace between kings and princes, and for the reform of monasteries, caused him to travel much about the country, robbers often lay in ambush for him."¹³ At the request of bishops

¹¹Amann and Dumas, *L'Eglise (888-1057)*, p. 321.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³John of Salerno, *Vita Sancti Odonis*, in *PL*, CXXXIII, 71: "Revera cum pro pace regum et principum, necnon et correctione monasteriorum impatienti amore arderet, et ob hoc huc illucque discurreret, saepe ei latrones insidias paravere." Here we find in the words of a contemporary the ideas of peace and reform associated very closely. The men of the time assumed, without always having expressed the idea, that an obvious relationship existed between peace and reform, and conversely, war and degradation. We shall see, in the following chapter, how these twin goals inspired the reform clergy to seek a practical solution to the political chaos. In time their ideas would be universally acknowledged. By the end of the century the ideals of reform found their greatest popular expression in the peace movement.

and laymen Saint Odo introduced the Cluniac reform into a whole series of houses that were crumbling in decay: Romainmôtier in Burgundy, Saint-Martin at Tulle, Aurillac, Sarlat, Lezat, Saint-Martial of Limoges, Saint-Jean of Angely, Saint-Allyre of Clermont, Saint-Chaffre du Monastier, and Saint-Julien of Tours.¹⁴ Besides these Burgundian and Aquitanian abbeys, to the north of the Loire Odo undertook to restore Saint-Pierre-le-Vif at Sens and Fleury.¹⁵ He was called to Fleury by King Raoul, who had been petitioned by a certain Count Elisiardus to have something done about the deplorable state of affairs in the monastery.¹⁶ And we read that Saint Odo succeeded in reforming Fleury, but not without some initial armed opposition by certain recalcitrant brothers.¹⁷

There is yet another side to this many-faceted man. Lest we be fooled by the harsh rebukes he levelled against the clergy in the Collationum, it ought to be stated that Odo was no holy dervish. He was a learned man, certainly mighty in his religious convictions, but with none of those qualities dominant that characterized the wild and hairy hermits. Odo got his education in the liberal arts at Tours where he received the tonsure at the age of eighteen. Sometime during his twenties he journeyed to Paris to study dialectic

¹⁴Dom Philibert Schmitz, Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît, Deuxième Edition, Revue et Augmentée (7 volumes; Maredsous, Belgium: 1948-56), I, 143-44.

¹⁵Ibid., I, 144. In Italy this holy man caused Saint Paul's at Rome, Subiaco, and Farfa to be reformed.

¹⁶John of Salerno, Vita Sancti Odonis, in PL, CXXXIII, 80-81. See, also, Rodulfi Regis Diplomata in HF, IX, 578, no. XVII. It was after Odo had succeeded in introducing the reform at Fleury that King Raoul called upon his skills to be applied to the situation at Saint-Martin at Tulle.

¹⁷John of Salerno, Vita Sancti Odonis, in PL, CXXXIII, 80-81.

and music at the feet of the great Remigius of Auxerre.¹⁸ His knowledge of music was useful in one phase of the monastic reform for which Cluny, especially, was noted: namely, the development of an enriched liturgy. Odo composed four hymns and twelve antiphons to enhance the liturgy of the Rule, besides a lengthy treatise on music.¹⁹ In addition to these writings, he wrote a biography of Saint Gerald, count of Aurillac, an epitome of Gregory the Great's Morals on Job, and five sermons.²⁰ In sum, Odo was one of the great men of the first half of the tenth century. Although he was, in fact, the second abbot of Cluny, Odo deserves for his singular leadership to be ranked with his predecessor, Berno, as the co-founder of the abbey.²¹

If Saint Odo dominated the Frankish Church in the second-quarter of the century, Saint Maieul, the fourth abbot of Cluny (954-94), became a figure of European stature in the second half of the century. Maieul's rule as abbot raised Cluny to new heights of prestige. His predecessor, Aymard (942-54), was unable to continue on account of ill-health, but during his brief tenure as abbot he succeeded in putting Cluny in a firm financial position.²² Still and again, a number of priories were established and other

¹⁸Ibid., in PL, CXXXIII, 45 and 54.

¹⁹See Opuscula de Musica, in PL, CXXXIII, 751-814. The hymns and antiphons are in the same volume of Migne, columns 513-16.

²⁰All are in Migne, PL, CXXXIII, 105 et seqq., 639 et seqq., and 709 et seqq.

²¹This is the judgment of Watkin Williams, Monastic Studies (Historical Series, No. LXXVI, in the Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CCLXII) (Manchester: 1938), p. 25. Hereafter this work will be cited as Williams, Monastic Studies.

²²Gustave Schnürer, L'Eglise et la Civilisation au Moyen Age, Traduction Française de G. Castella (3 volumes; Paris: 1935), II, 268-69.

houses reformed by Cluniac monks under Aymard's direction.²³

Maieul was a man who at once commanded respect and was well-liked by his colleagues and contemporaries. Count William of Provence had an especial attachment to him, and, as a consequence, showered Cluny with donations.²⁴ Both Hugh Capet and Bouchard de Vendome, Hugh's favorite vassal and companion, felt exactly the same way toward Maieul, and they took pains to seek him out.²⁵ Maieul's relations with others of the great men of his time were cordial. He was, as we should say, a man with important connections. Maieul was an adviser to Saint Adelaide, the sister of Conrad the Pacific, king of Transjuran Burgundy (937-93). Adelaide was also the wife of the Emperor Otto I the Great (936-73), and Maieul played the role of her confidant and trusted friend. In this capacity he was in intimate contact with the imperial court.²⁶ Both Otto II and his mother earnestly sought to persuade Maieul to accept the papal tiara on the death of Benedict VI (ob. 974).²⁷ Six years later he acted as intermediary between the two empresses, Adelaide and Theophano, who were at odds. Maieul was also close to the reforming duke of Burgundy, Henry, brother of Hugh Capet.²⁸ In like manner with all of the abbots of Cluny, Maieul

²³Schmitz, Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît, I, 144.

²⁴Poupardin, Bourgogne, p. 338, nn. 9-11.

²⁵Odilo, De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis Libellus, in PL, CXLII, 957-58. Études de Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, Vita Domini Burchardi Venerabilis Comitis, in HF, X, 351-52 and 356.

²⁶Chaume, Bourgogne, I, 462.

²⁷Syrus, Vita Sancti Maioli, in PL, CXXXVII, 769-70. Cf. Horace K. Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages, Second Edition (17 volumes; London: 1925-32), IV, 315-16.

²⁸Chaume, Bourgogne, I, 462. For Maieul's many friends among the powerful people of his time, see his biography by Saint Odilo, De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis Libellus, in PL, CXLII, 956.

actively sought to encourage among the lay princes an attitude favorable toward reform, for with their support much good could be done for the Church. Indeed, Maieul and his predecessors were right, and by the last quarter of the tenth century their labors were bearing rich fruit.

Because Saint Maieul was so much sought after, the influence of Cluny increased as a reforming house during his governance. Maieul was responsible for several notable reforms. The old abbey of Saint-Marcel-lès-Chalon, which had been occupied by secular canons since the middle of the eighth century was made a Cluniac priory about the year 960.²⁹ Among the French abbeys reformed by Maieul, one may cite La Charité-sur-Loire, Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, Marmoutier, Flavigny, and Cormery.³⁰ With the aid of the lay magnates in the kingdom of Burgundy, Maieul either founded or reformed the abbeys of Payerne, Fellines, Saint-Amand, Trois-Châteaux, Saint-Honorat, and Arluc.³¹ In 972 Duke Henry of Burgundy called upon Maieul to reform the monastery of Saint-Germain of Auxerre.³² Years later the saint had finally agreed to the entreaties of Hugh Capet to come to Saint-Denis at Paris, and was on his way there to introduce the reform, when death overtook him at Souvigny (11 May 994).³³

Elsewhere, beyond the walls of Cluny, the Benedictine reform movement was inspiring others--laymen, and secular and regular clergy, alike--to

²⁹Gallia Christiana, IV, 958. Williams, Monastic Studies, p. 108.

³⁰Schmitz, Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît, I, 144. In Italy Maieul reformed the abbeys of the Holy Redeemer in Pavia and Saint Apollinaris-in-Classa at Ravenna.

³¹Poupardin, Bourgogne, p. 338. Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057), p. 325.

³²Ex Historia episcoporum Autissiodorensium, in HF, X, 170.

³³Odilo, De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis Libellus, in PL, CXLII, 958.

actions worthy of Christian men. In 952 Archbishop Artaud of Reims, who had only just emerged victorious over the scandalous activities of the Vermandois faction, instituted a thorough-going reform in the monastery of Saint-Basle.³⁴ This abbey had been Artaud's prison for a brief period in 940, and doubtless the prelate had made a vow to reform the way of life which obtained there. The secular canons who were living there were driven out and replaced by Benedictine monks. Two abbots, Hincmar and Rotmar, were then put in charge of the monastery.³⁵ Another prelate who proved himself worthy of his profession was Archbishop Amblard of Lyons (961-78). This pious man exerted a great moral influence in the Auvergne. An incident occurred during his pontificate which clearly indicates how the general spirit of reform was making itself felt. A certain nobleman named Guillaume had brutishly seized one of his neighbors and extorted some property from this unfortunate by threatening to murder him if he did not comply. In time, however, the protests of Amblard convinced the villain of his wickedness, and that he ought to give up the property which he had seized. Stricken with remorse Guillaume turned the land over to Amblard, who, adding some other properties to it, founded a monastery there and made a gift of it to Cluny. Between 961 and 967 Amblard also succeeded in restoring the abbey of Ainay and rebuilding its church, which had been destroyed earlier by the barbarians.³⁶

The same year that Amblard was made archbishop of Lyons, Bishop Rorico

³⁴Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 952.

³⁵*Ibid.*, a. 940 and 952. "Artoldus archiepiscopus in monasterio sancti Basoli monachos mittit, expulsis clericis qui serviebant ibi, committens illud Hincmaro et Rotmaro abbatibus." (a. 952).

³⁶André Steyert, *Nouvelle Histoire de Lyon* (4 volumes; Lyon: 1895-1939), II, 217.

of Laon accomplished the reform of the abbey of Saint-Vincent in his episcopal town. Rorico chased out the canons, replacing them with twelve monks from Fleury, and appointed the Irish reformer Mac-Allan as the new abbot.³⁷ In 966 Geoffrey Greymantle, count of Anjou, sought the approval of King Lothaire for the reform of Saint-Aubin of Angers. Again, the secular canons were driven out and the abbey was filled with monks. This reform was undertaken for the health of the souls of Hugh Capet and Geoffrey's parents, Fulk the Good and Gerberge.³⁸ About the same time Duke Richard I of Normandy caused the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel to be reformed.³⁹ From 977 until well into the next century the see of Autun was occupied by Bishop Walter, a learned man, and one who deserves to be numbered among the ranks of the reform clergy.⁴⁰

In Burgundy the influence was, of course, felt particularly strongly among responsible lay and ecclesiastical magnates. Thus, we find Bishop Widric of Langres occupied in the year 980 with the reform of the monastery of Saint-Michel of Tonnerre. Associated with the bishop in this pious work were Milo, count of Tonnerre, and Duke Henry.⁴¹ Shortly afterwards Widric was dead. He was succeeded in the bishopric of Langres by Bruno of Roucy,

³⁷Charta Roriconis Laudunensis Episcopi pro restitutione Monachorum in Abbatia S. Vincentii, in HF, IX, 730.

³⁸Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 58 and 172.

³⁹Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 629, no. XVIII.

⁴⁰Gallia Christiana, IV, 376-79.

⁴¹Gallia Christiana, IV, Instrumenta, 137-38, no. XIII. Concerning the reform activities of Duke Henry of Burgundy, see, also, Chaums, Bourgogne, I, 455-57. Ex Historia episcoporum Autissiodorensium, in HF, X, 170. Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 637, no. XXVI.

one of the ablest reformers of the century, and an ideal churchman.⁴²

Almost everywhere by the third-quarter of the tenth century the monastic reform movement was a vital force. In some areas, such as Brittany, it was a longer time before the movement began to be felt significantly. There, for example, the ravages of the Northmen had depopulated the country, and it took decades to repair the destruction. Surprisingly it was a churchman, Abbot John of Landevenec, who was largely responsible for the return of the exiled Breton duke, Alan Twist-Beard, and for the ultimate triumph of the Bretons over the Normans. Abbot John was a truly heroic figure in Breton history. Almost single-handedly he conceived and carried through the plan to drive the Normans from Brittany and to restore Alan Twist-Beard as ruler of his people.⁴³

In other areas the reform was gradually penetrating deep into the fabric of society, and was having a striking effect upon the popular mentality. The success of the movement was due in large measure to the great work of men like Odo, Maieul, and Bruno of Langres, and the dedicated support given by less well-known reformers--bishops like Amblard of Lyons and Walter of Autun, and laymen like Duke Henry of Burgundy.

The nature of the reform movement was such that it spread in every direction: the monks of one monastery were called upon to introduce reform practices in another. Thus, within the space of a few decades from the founding of Cluny, Brogne, and Gorze, the number of restored houses had multiplied

⁴²Gallia Christiana, IV, 547-52. On Bruno of Langres, see, also, Williams, Monastic Studies, pp. 99-120, passim. These pages deal with William of Dijon, but are especially valuable for Bruno's work in assisting the spread of monastic reform. A good appraisal of Bruno's life and work may be found in Chaume, Bourgogne, I, 466-68.

⁴³De la Borderie, Histoire de Bretagne, II, 385-87; III, 157.

rapidly. Contacts were made between Cluny and Fleury, Fleury and England, Lorraine and Flanders, and Flanders and England. The movement of monks in every direction from these centers, and back and forth between the leading houses themselves, created a network of reform alive with the activity of revitalized Benedictine practice.

It is interesting to follow the spread of reform. Lay princes did much to encourage the movement. For example, we find in the charters of Louis IV d'Outre-Mer provision for the reform of Saint-Jean d'Angely. A clerk named Martin of the monastery of Saint-Hilaire was appointed by the king to carry out the task. This act is dated 7 January, 942, at Poitiers, and was granted at the request of Ebles, abbot of Saint-Hilaire and brother of William Tow-Head, count of Poitiers.⁴⁴ Almost all of the fifty-three extant charters of this reign concern grants of land, immunities, or privileges to ecclesiastical houses. It is significant of the need for reform that in several charters Louis IV sought to protect the monks from their own abbots and bishops, and from the pretensions of other monasteries.⁴⁵ The abbot of Saint-Martin of Autun, Humbert, was charged by Louis IV to reform his monas-

⁴⁴Recueil des Actes de Louis IV, roi de France (936-54), éd. Philippe Lauer, pp. 47-49, no. XIX; cf. pp. 76-77, no. XXXII, dated 1 October, 949, at the abbey of Saint-Remi near Reims. This act concerns the little monastery of Homblières located in the heart of Vermandois. The wayward inmates were to be replaced by some who would follow the rule established in that place.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 15-17, no. VI; pp. 55-57, no. XXIII; pp. 72-74, no. XXX; and p. 104, no. L.

tery.⁴⁶ Count Arnulf of Flanders requested that Louis confirm certain of his donations to the monks of Saint-Pierre of Ghent. The monastery had been reformed by its abbot, Gérard of Brogne. The request was granted on condition that the monks would live according to the rule of Saint Benedict, and would pray for the king and the realm.⁴⁷ Here, then, we find a connection between Flanders and Lorraine on the one hand, and Flanders and the reform movement circulating in France, emanating from Cluny, on the other.

Both the Cluniac reform and the movement in Lorraine exerted a powerful influence on the monastic revival in England in the third-quarter of the century. One of the monasteries in France which contributed to the English reform was Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, or Fleury-sur-Loire. Fleury itself had been reformed, we recall, about the year 930 by Saint Odo of Cluny. Although Fleury did not stay under the tutelage of Cluny, it remained faithful to the reform on into the eleventh century. Its customs came from the usages of Cluny, but its own fame rested upon the excellence of its schools and the strict Benedictine rule observed there. The greatest man produced by Fleury in the tenth century was Abbo, who was made abbot in 988. Abbo was given as

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 78-79, no. XXXIII. This charter was given at Autun on 10 November, 949, on the requests of Heudebaud, bishop of Châlons, the monks of Cluny, and Queen Gerberge. For the character of Gerberge, see Lauer, Louis IV, passim. Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (2 volumes; Oxford: 1933), II, 370-71, cites Adso's letter to Gerberge, the Libellus de Antichristo. Histoire Littéraire de la France, éd. Paulin Paris (16 volumes; Paris: 1865-92), VI, 477-81. See, also, Sir Francis Oppenheimer, The Legend of the Ste. Ampoule (London: 1953), pp. 246-47. Gerberge was the sister of Otto the Great. Her career as the wife of Louis IV was distinguished by her diplomatic ability in dealing with the feudality. The evidence tends to indicate that Gerberge had a more than passing interest in the Church.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 82-86, no. XXXVI. The charter was dated at Reims 20 August, 950. Cf. F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 447, who believes that the ". . . one feature which distinguishes the Regularis Concordia from all continental customs is the emphasis which it lays on the duty of praying for the king and his family." It would appear that this statement ought to be modified somewhat in the light of the charter cited above.

a child to be raised at Fleury, and it was there that he received his first literary and scientific education. He later studied at Paris, Reims, and Orleans.⁴⁸ As abbot of Fleury Abbo became particularly influential in the continuing reform movement through his close friendship with the Capetian kings, Hugh Capet and Robert the Pious. Abbo was one of that select group of churchmen who composed the reform circle, and which supported the Capetian in the turbulent events of 987.

The English reform movement really begins with Aelfeah the Bald, who was made bishop of Winchester about 934.⁴⁹ Aelfeah's kinsman was Dunstan, and both men were related to the royal house. It was by Aelfeah that Dunstan received the tonsure, probably about the year 935. Somewhat later, after being disgraced and subsequently restored to the royal favor by King Eadmund (940-46), Dunstan was made abbot of Glastonbury where he remained until 955. His work at Glastonbury was the first revival of monastic life that had been witnessed in England in two generations.⁵⁰

The connection between Fleury representing monastic reform on the continent, and the same movement across the Channel probably dates from the arch-episcopacy of Oda of Canterbury (940-58). Sometime during his career, Oda, who was himself a Dane, had visited Fleury and entered the order of Saint Benedict. The difficulty is that we do not know exactly when; therefore, we cannot with precision date the early influence of Fleury upon the English movement.

⁴⁸Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057), p. 329.

⁴⁹Eric John, "The King and the Monks in the Tenth-Century Reformation", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, (Manchester, England: 1959-60) XLII, 63.

⁵⁰F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 439 et seq. Cf. J. A. Robinson, The Times of Saint Dunstan (Oxford: 1923), p. 82 et seq.

The distinguished student of Anglo-Saxon England, Sir Frank Stenton, believes that the English and continental reformers had little effect upon each other before 956.⁵¹ One notes, however, that in the reign of King Aethelstan (924-39) there was a considerable amount of traffic back and forth across the Channel. Within the circle of the court alone four of Aethelstan's sisters found husbands on the continent.⁵² It should be noted that Aelfeah and Dunstan were at Aethelstan's court, and very probably knew several important political figures, who sought refuge from their enemies on the continent. Louis d'Outre-Mer and his mother, Ethgiva, Aethelstan's sister, were present at court in Dunstan's time.⁵³ Alan Twist-Beard, duke of Brittany, was also there.⁵⁴ In 939 after a treacherous attack on Montreuil by Arnulf of Flanders, the wife and children of the dispossessed Count Herluin were sent to Aethelstan's court as Arnulf's hostages. For three generations the houses of England and Flanders had been linked by marriage, and Arnulf, who was count from 918

⁵¹F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 442.

⁵²Sir James H. Ramsay, The Foundations of England (B.C. 55-A.D. 1154) (London: 1898), I, 279 et seq. Ethgiva (Eadgifu I) married Charles III the Simple in 919. After the imprisonment (923) of her husband and his subsequent death, Ethgiva married (951) Count Herbert of Troyes. This man was the son of Herbert II of Vermandois, the captor of Ethgiva's first husband. Her flight from the court of Louis IV, her son, at Laon in 951, appears to have been either the cause or the result of some scandal. The whole affair is shrouded in mystery. See Lauer, Louis IV, p. 220, nn. 1-4. Of Aethelstan's other sisters, Eadhild married Hugh the Great (926); Eadgyth, Otto I the Great (930); and another Ethgiva (Eadgifu II) to Louis the Blind (before 923).

⁵³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 2, assigns to Louis an importance which he did not possess: "Adelstanus rex in urbem quae dicitur Burvich, regnorum negotia cum nepote Ludovico apud suos disponebat."

⁵⁴Lauer, Louis IV, p. 80.

to 965 was well-known for his interest in monastic reform.⁵⁵ All of this points to what is at least a plausible assumption, that the monastic reformers on the continent and in England were already influencing one another to some extent by the middle of the century.

The movement in Flanders, moreover, was connected with the Lotharingian reform. As early as 937 Arnulf had restored the monastery of Ghent. This was done at the request of Transmar, bishop of Noyon.⁵⁶ We know that by July, 942, the count of Flanders had been recently cured of an illness by Gérard of Brogne, a fact which points to his association with the famous Lotharingian reformer at a reasonably early date.⁵⁷ About 944 Arnulf caused the monastery of Saint-Bertin to be reformed. Its former abbot, a certain Guy, had been guilty of misconduct and was replaced by Abbot Womar. Guy was then enclosed in the monastery of Saint-Bavon of Ghent.⁵⁸ An incident which

⁵⁵Flodoard, Annales, a. 939. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 11 and 12. Richer relates the ruse employed by Arnulf to seize Montreuil (11). Afterwards (12) Arnulf exiled Herluin's family: "Arnulfus . . . Erluini uxorem cum natis Aedelstano regi Anglorum servandos trans mare deportat" See, also, Eleanor Shipley Duckett, Saint Dunstan of Canterbury, A Study of Monastic Reform in the Tenth Century (New York: 1955), p. 71.

⁵⁶Annales S. Bavonis Gandensis, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 187. Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 615-16, no. I.

⁵⁷Folcuin, Gesta Abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium, ed. Holder-Egger, in MGH, SS, XIII, 628.

⁵⁸Lauer, Louis IV, p. 159, n. 3. J. A. Robinson, The Times of Saint Dunstan, p. 139. F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 441, maintains that the continental reform had little influence in England before mid-century. In 944 refugees from Ghent, who had opposed the reforms of Gérard of Brogne, were given the abbey of Bath by King Edmund. According to Professor Stenton, the Anglo-Saxon lay nobility had little sympathy for the European monastic revival.

occurred at the Council of Trèves in September, 948, further suggests that the reform movement in Flanders was progressing apace. Bishop Transmar was unable to attend the synod because he was ill. He sent from Noyon a priest named Sylvester to ask the indulgence of the assembled prelates. When the question was raised the French bishops supported Transmar's request to be excused. Transmar's good reputation apparently was based on his earlier contribution to the Flemish reform movement.⁵⁹ Two years after the council of Trèves, Louis IV in 950 granted the charter mentioned above at the request of Arnulf for the reform of Saint-Pierre of Ghent.⁶⁰ This evidence shows that the monastic revival in Flanders already had begun by 950. It appears to have received its first impulse from Gérard of Brogne and the reform movement in Lorraine. The revival was definitely encouraged by Count Arnulf of Flanders. When one recalls the association between Flanders and England, it seems likely that the news of the continental movement must have reached England via Flanders. The work in Flanders was probably well-known to Dunstan, and when he sailed for Ghent in 955, he was undoubtedly seeking out the most accessible center of religious reform.

Turning again to the connection between Fleury and England, we shall see that the former became most influential after the middle of the tenth century. It was through Fleury that the English religious houses indirectly benefited from the Cluniac reform. The two Anglo-Saxon monks who nurtured the Fleury influence to fruition were Oswald and Aethelwold. Archbishop Oda, the Dane who had risen to the see of Canterbury, found a zealous pupil in his

⁵⁹Flodoard, *Annales*, s. 937 and 950. Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, II, 82. Lauer, *Louis IV*, pp. 192-93.

⁶⁰*Recueil des Actes de Louis IV*, éd. Lauer, pp. 82-86, no. XXXVI.

nephew, Oswald. In his youth Oswald showed an eagerness for learning, doubtless inspired by his uncle's tutelage.⁶¹ While still a young man Oswald was able to buy the monastery of Winchester.⁶² For a while he lived there as a canon, and then was made dean. The indulgent life at Winchester was incompatible with Oswald's temperament, and he requested Oda to send him to Fleury, so that he might learn a stricter discipline. One can only guess how Oswald had heard of Fleury, but it seems reasonable that Oda must have told him of the good work being done there. The archbishop had taken the cowl there some years before. He was delighted at his nephew's request, and quickly approved it.

At Fleury Oswald applied himself eagerly to the holy and ascetic life. In time he was made a deacon and ordained a priest. In addition to his reputation for holiness, Oswald was known for his fine singing voice. Before long his fame reached England, and Oda ordered him to come home. Upon returning, he learned that his uncle had died (958). Not knowing where to turn next, he sought out another kinsman, Oscetel, who was then the bishop of Dorchester. About this time Oscetel was consecrated archbishop of York, and when he set out for Rome to receive the pallium, he took Oswald with him. On their return Oswald revisited Fleury. There he left another Anglo-Saxon companion, a certain Germanus, who entered the monastery and became a monk. Oswald rejoined Oscetel and they went back to England. It was through Oscetel that Oswald

⁶¹Historians of the Church of York (Rolls Series), edited by James Raine, I, 410; II, 5 and 64. Oswald's schoolmaster was a man named Frithegode.

⁶²Ibid., I, 410 et seq.: ". . . adjuvandoque munera perplurima concessit, cum quibus sibi monasterium quod est in Wintonia positum acquisivit, donando digno pretio."

eventually met Dunstan, who had become the archbishop of Canterbury. Dunstan liked Oswald and persuaded King Eadgar (959-75) to appoint him to the vacant see of Worcester.⁶³

The bond with Fleury was made stronger after Oswald was consecrated. He called upon Germanus to leave Fleury in order to help him with the reform in England. Germanus returned with several other monks and was made abbot of Westbury, which Oswald had founded. About the year 970 Oswald built and endowed the monastery of Ramsey. Winchelcombe was founded after Ramsey, and Germanus was installed as abbot there.⁶⁴ Oswald also founded houses at Pershore and Worcester, the see of his bishopric. Deerhurst may have been founded by him. He is credited with having installed monks at Ripon. At Ely, Saint Albans, and Benfleet Oswald replaced the secular clergy with monks. Ramsey always remained closest to his heart, perhaps because it served as the model for his later foundations.⁶⁵

Aethelwold was the other member of the Anglo-Saxon triumvirate, which included Dunstan and Oswald. He had been ordained on the same day as Dunstan by Aelfeah, and later joined Dunstan at Glastonbury, where he received the tonsure. After a period of time had elapsed he arranged to go abroad to instruct himself in holy books and monastic discipline. It is probably correct to assume that Fleury would have been his destination, although the hypothesis has not been proved. He was prevented from doing so by the old queen, Eadgifu, mother of King Eadred, and was instead made abbot of the monastery of Abingdon.

⁶³Ibid., I, 420 et seqq; II, 7 et seq., 14 et seqq., and 70 et seqq.

⁶⁴Ibid., I, 423 et seq.; II, 16 et seq., and 73-77. Germanus apparently was well-suited for establishing the new discipline in restored or newly-founded monasteries. Abbo remained at Ramsey for two years.

⁶⁵Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, p. 51 et seq.

Eadgifu thought it inadvisable to allow such a worthy man to depart the kingdom.⁶⁶ Later Aethelwold sent a certain Osgar on a mission to Fleury to study the customs, so that he might bring them back to Abingdon. In 963 Aethelwold became bishop of Winchester, and in the following year drove the secular canons from the cathedral of Winchester. King Eadgar was devoted to the reform movement, and he shares the responsibility with Aethelwold for the expulsion of the clerics.⁶⁷ The Old and New Minsters at Winchester were cleansed of the secular clergy in 965, and the monasteries of Chertsey and Milton Abbas were filled with monks. The great surge of reform produced by Abingdon did not take place until Aethelwold became bishop of Winchester. The foundations of Peterborough, Ely, and Thorney are all credited to the work of Aethelwold.⁶⁸

The English monastic revival received its greatest stimulus from the continent during the quarter-century between 950 and 975. Dunstan, Oswald, and Aethelwold all borrowed heavily upon the reform practices which were being observed in Flanders, Lorraine, at Fleury, and indirectly through the latter, at Cluny. Ultimately the leaders of the English reform sought to preserve their labors by formulating a uniform rule. At either one or the other of two

⁶⁶Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon, I and II, edited by Joseph Stevenson, (Rolls Series, no. 2, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls) (244 volumes; 1858-69), II, 257: ". . . sed praevenit venerabilis regina Eadgiuu, mater regis Eadredi, ejus coamina, dans consilium regi ne talem virum sineret egredi de regno suo."

⁶⁷It is interesting to note that Lothaire's reign in France (954-86) overlapped Eadgar's in England (959-75) on both ends. Their reigns coincide with the tremendous burst of reform in the third-quarter of the tenth century, which characterized both England and the continent. Yet Lothaire, while scarcely an enemy of the Frankish Church, was certainly not noted for his piety, as was Eadgar. Indeed, Lothaire contrasts sharply in this respect with his own most powerful vassal, Hugh Capet, duke of the Franks.

⁶⁸Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, p. 50 et seq.

councils held at Winchester in 969 and 975, the Concordia Regularis was written, probably by Aethelwold, for the purpose of providing a uniform and systematic Benedictine observance.⁶⁹

The broad outlines, then, of the monastic reform movement in the tenth century are clear. Not only did the chief regions--Burgundy, Lorraine, Flanders, and England--develop reform programs independently of one another to deal with conditions locally, but as the general reform movement progressed these areas tended to borrow from and assist each other in the accomplishment of this great work.

What were the effects, so important, of the great tenth-century reform? The question is the key to a proper understanding of much of the history of France during the last decades of the century. The effects were many. An outstanding authority on the history of the Church during the tenth and eleventh centuries, Professor Augustin Fliche, would attribute a great deal of the artistic and intellectual activity of the eleventh century to the religious awakening which occurred as a direct result of the monastic reform in the tenth century.⁷⁰ The literary renaissance, by contrast, according to Professor Fliche, was a flowering inspired by, and to some extent associated with, the resurrection of the imperial title in 962 by Otto the Great.⁷¹ Only insofar as the monastic reform tended to reestablish order in the monasteries, and

⁶⁹Mansi, XIX, 16 and 61-64. Frederick Tupper, Jr., "History and Texts of the Benedictine Reform of the Tenth Century", Modern Language Notes, VIII (1893), 336-67. The evidence, internal and external, as presented by Frederick Tupper seems to leave little doubt that the Concordia Regularis was the work of Aethelwold.

⁷⁰Augustin Fliche, L'Europe occidentale de 888 à 1125 (Histoire du Moyen Age, II, in the series Histoire Générale, éd. G. Glotz), p. 614.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 641-50, passim.

thus to create a quiet atmosphere harmonious to scholarship did the movement noticeably affect literary production.⁷² On the other hand, the emergence of the pre-Romanesque art, already making its début in the Midi of France toward the end of the tenth century, was a visual expression of the new religious spirit encouraged by the Cluniacs.⁷³

In education, the schools in France rank among the finest in the Christian West at the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. Here, again, the strength of the reformers was felt. Fleury and Reims could boast two of the finest minds of the age with their respective masters, Abbo and Gerbert. Dom Schmitz calls them ". . . the two great masters of the Liberal Arts at the time of Capetian-Ottonian Renaissance."⁷⁴ In the early decades of the eleventh century Bishop Fulbert of Chartres was unquestionably one of the ablest men of his time.⁷⁵ It was Fulbert who referred to Abbo of Fleury as "the most famous teacher in all of France".⁷⁶

Another example of the cultural reawakening produced by the Benedictine monastic reform was the development of the liturgical drama. One may trace the revival of the abbeys and the simultaneous evolution of liturgical

⁷²Gustave Schnürer, L'Église et la Civilisation au Moyen Age, Traduction Française de G. Castella, II, 298.

⁷³Ibid., II, 298-303.

⁷⁴Schmitz, Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît, II, 119: ". . . les deux grands maîtres des arts libéraux lors de la renaissance capétienne - ottonienne."

⁷⁵Schnürer, L'Église et la Civilisation au Moyen Age, II, 320-21.

⁷⁶Schmitz, Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît, II, 119: ". . . magister famosissimus totius Franciae."

drama throughout the tenth century.⁷⁷ Both movements had received some impetus under the early Carolingians.⁷⁸ It was not, however, until the third-quarter of the tenth century that the two phenomena, paralleling each other in time, united in the Easter Quem quaeritis play of the Winchester Concordia Regularis.⁷⁹ The liturgical movement was a handmaiden to the reform movement. The former was a natural means of enriching the emotional experience of Christian worshippers. Here, again, we see the influence of Cluny, just as we did in the appearance of the pre-Romanesque art in southern France. Moreover, with respect to the Benedictine liturgical movement, the dramatization of events taken from the Old Testament and the life of Christ was a convenient vehicle

⁷⁷Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York: 1940), pp. 194-95. E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (2 volumes; London: 1903), II, 13-15. The earliest dramatization of the Easter Quem quaeritis trope appears in the Concordia Regularis. It is part of the third nocturn for the Easter Matins. In the Concordia Aethelwold mentions that some of the customs of Fleury and Ghent were borrowed for English use. One recalls that both Fleury and Ghent were reformed houses. See Monasticum Anglicanum, originally published by Sir William Dugdale, New Edition by John Caley, Henry Ellis, and the Reverend Bulkeley Bandinel (6 volumes in 8; London: 1846), I, xxvii.

⁷⁸H. Anglès, "Gregorian Chant", Early Medieval Music up to 1300, edited by Dom Anselm Hughes (The New Oxford History of Music, edited by J. A. Westrup, et al., II) (London: 1954), p. 99 et seq. A. Kleinclausz, Le Christianisme, Les Barbares, Mérovingiens et Carolingiens (Histoire de France, éd. E. Lavisse, T. II, Pt. 1) (Paris: 1911), p. 355. Margaret Deanesly, A History of Early Medieval Europe, 476-911 (London: 1956), pp. 291 and 542 et seq. J. M. Clark, The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art (Cambridge: 1926), p. 165.

⁷⁹Arnold Williams, The Drama of Medieval England (East Lansing, Michigan: 1961), p. 10 et seqq., has a good discussion of the problems involved in determining the chronology of medieval drama. Professor Williams points out that a number of scholars, of whom the most recent (1933) notable example was Karl Young, depended heavily upon the too facile assumption that the simplest examples of medieval drama are, therefore, the earliest in composition; that the more complex were logically of a later date. The speciousness of this assumption is at once apparent. Simply because something is more complex, neither indicates that it is of later origin nor, necessarily, of better quality.

for instructing the faithful and for promoting religious zeal and piety.

Finally, for the future of the Church itself the effect of the monastic reform was incalculable. The reform of the monasteries excited a spirit of independence within the religious houses.⁸⁰ The end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh is marked by a number of lively contests between the regular and secular clergy.⁸¹ The monks, cleansed by reform and desiring the purity of a life of Christian perfection, looked with growing indignation upon their governance by a diocesan bishop.⁸² The first murmurs of serious criticism directed against the secular clergy were heard within the walls of the reformed abbeys in the later tenth century. What good to reform the monasteries if they still remained under the corrupting hand of a feudalized episcopate! That was the real issue between the regular and secular clergy, although the differences actually revolved around the question of monastic privileges and immunities.⁸³ The new condition of the monasteries, infused with the reform spirit, provided a startling contrast between the regular and secular clergy. Attitudes and ideas were changing as to what rightfully constituted an acceptable clergyman. The time was ripening for a general reform of the Church. The tenth-century monastic reform paved the way for the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century.

More immediately the impact of the monastic reform began to affect the

⁸⁰Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057), p. 359.

⁸¹Achille Luchaire, Les Premiers Capetiens (987-1137) (Histoire de France, éd. E. Lavissee, T. II, Pt. 2) (Paris: 1911), pp. 120-22.

⁸²Ibid., T. II, Pt. 2. p. 117.

⁸³Ibid., T. II, Pt. 2, p. 118. See, also, Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057), pp. 356-64, passim.

laymen. Almost at once, in the third-quarter of the century, there was an intensifying of religious experience. In ever increasing numbers the lay nobility manifested a new concern for the Church. A new feeling of piety and a spirit of religious purpose becomes apparent at this time. All levels of the nobility become conscious of the monastic reform and the ideal which it represents. The foundation of a religious house, or a donation of one sort or another, had always been a popular way for the wealthier laymen to express their religiosity. Now with the encouragement of the nobility by the Cluniac monks the offering of gifts, which had once been only a trickle, became a torrent, pouring out the emotional contrition of the warrior class for a century's worth of war, violence, and hate. The gifts to the Church were for the nobility a way of expiating their sins against God and society at large.⁸⁴ The extent of a man's newly found piety was often the measure of his former guilt.

⁸⁴For the increase in the number of donations during the course of the tenth century, see, for example, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Savigny, suivi du petit cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Ainay, éd. A. Bernard (Collection de Documents Inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France), II, 707-33; 752-57. The page numbers refer to the Index Chronologicus Chartarum. One notes the following interesting statistical data, showing the number of grants made by the nobility to the two houses, at ten-year increments, first for Savigny, then for Ainay. (1) Savigny: A.D. 900, donations 0; 910, 0; 920, 1; 930, 2; 940, 0; 950, 16; 960, 34; 970, 67; 980, 68; 990, 1; 1000, 144. (2) Ainay: A.D. 900, donations 0; 910, 0; 920, 0; 930, 0; 940, 0; 950, 0; 960, 0; 970, 1; 980, 4; 990, 7; 1000, 12. Some of the dates in the Index are approximate, i.e. indicated with the Latin circa, or with a question mark. These have been included as representing donations for the years so indicated. For an example of a donation by a family which had been involved in violence, see Gallia Christiana, X, Instrumenta, 16-17, no. XII. In this case the abbey of Saint-Arnulf of Metz was given the village of Laye in the pagus of Chaumont by the Countess Eva, for the repose of the soul of her husband, Hugh, and her son, Arnulf, who had been murdered. We do not know how or why he was killed---only that he was cut down by enemies of the Church while he was still young: ". . . filiique nostri dulcissimi aequae strenui comitis Arnulfi, ab impiis et inimicis sanctae ecclesiae a primaevo juventutis suae flore pro justitia Dei, quam exequebatur, impie trucidati" Eva was the mother of Archbishop Odalric of Reims (962-69). Arnulf and Odalric were thus brothers.

In addition to the gifts of the laymen, one sees other manifestations of this same heightened religious awareness. The relics of saints and the miraculous occurrence associated with their shrines had always been sufficient to cause the early medieval Christian--be he peasant or nobleman--to gape in open-mouthed wonder at such mysteries. Perhaps it was no different in the second half of the tenth century, except that now the popular imagination could scarcely help but be excited by the new currents of reform and the accelerating tempo of religious experience.⁸⁵

The third-quarter of the century also witnessed the cessation of Norman and Magyar raids. No longer were they a threat to pilgrims, who plodded with dusty foot along the roads of France, seeking out the holy places. With greater safety, the number of pilgrims grew, until in the early eleventh century, one may properly speak of crowds journeying to the shrines of saints. The last piece of Saracen treachery in Provence was the capture and ransoming of Saint Maieul in 972. The news of this outrage spurred a number of warriors to retaliate, notably Count William of Provence, a layman devoted to Maieul. The result was the complete extermination of the Saracen lair at Fraxinetum. The concept of holy war was implicit in this crusade-in-miniature. Thanks to Count William and his friends it would not be long before the Christian people would begin to pour onto the pilgrim roads, rediscovering an old outlet for their religious emotions.

⁸⁵Folcuin, *Gesta Abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium*, ed. Holder-Egger, in *MGH, SS, XIII*, 631. Folcuin tells us that in 959 the sign of the cross suddenly appeared on the clothing of certain men. People of the area around the abbey of Saint-Bertin feared a divine punishment for having neglected to visit the churches where the relics of Saint Omer and Saint Bertin were kept. The bishop of Thérouanne, Wicfrid, in order to remedy the slight organized a general celebration which included fasting, prayers, and the translation of the saints' relics from one place to another, so that the inhabitants of the district might show their veneration for the saints.

The nobleman's new preoccupation with piety sometimes led to amusing situations. Count Fulk II of Anjou (942-60) was once unexpectedly visited by a royal cavalcade, which found him in church dressed in cleric's robes, and chanting the office. The king and his friends began to make wise-cracks about Fulk's singing, to which he retorted with a stinging allusion to the impoverished state of the royal learning: "Know, Sire, that an illiterate king is a crowned ass."⁸⁶ We do not know whether the king in question was Louis IV or his son, Lothaire.⁸⁷ The former seems to have favored monastic reform, as the charters of his reign testify. Louis had a good influence working upon him in the person of his wife, Gerberge. Gerberge belonged to a Lotharingian family, and was probably raised with an awareness of the reform going on in that region. At any rate she appears to have been a woman of high intelligence, good sense, and no mean ability.⁸⁸ She made numerous donations to the Church.⁸⁹ Lothaire was also generally favorable to the Church, but he in no way distinguished himself as a paragon of religious zeal.⁹⁰ One rather suspects, without

⁸⁶Gesta Consulum Andegavorum, éd. Paul Marchegay and André Salmon, in Chroniques d'Anjou (Société de l'Histoire de France, no. 84) (Paris: 1856) p. 71: "Noveritis, domine, quia illitteratus rex est asinus coronatus."

⁸⁷Lauer, Louis IV, p. 235, n. 4. Fulk's rule as count of Anjou (942-960) fell during the period when both Louis and Lothaire reigned. Lothaire succeeded his father in 954.

⁸⁸See footnote 46, supra.

⁸⁹Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 62, nn. 3 and 4.

⁹⁰Lothaire may also be contrasted in this respect with King Raoul (923-936), who seems to have been extremely generous to the Church. Before he died, Raoul instructed in his will that a treasure, consisting of a gold crown encrusted with precious stones, as well as some other ornaments and manuscripts, be left to the monastery of Saint-Columbe of Sens. This crown was taken along on the Second Crusade by Abbot Thibaud. Sad to say Thibaud died in Outre-mer and the crown was lost. In general, Raoul seems to have got on well with the Church. The clergy tended to like him partly because he was literate. See Lauer, Robert et Raoul, pp. 79, n. 2, and 81, n. 2.

any proof, that Fulk's remark was intended as an admonition for the young Lothaire. Nevertheless, in 958 we find Lothaire cooperating with the very pious King Conrad the Peaceful of Transjurane Burgundy by granting to the abbey of Cluny the monastery of Saint-Amand in Tricastin.⁹¹

Both Conrad and his wife, Matilda, were well-known in their own day for their pious acts toward the Church. The king showered the church of Lyon with benefices. In one of his charters he encouraged the monks to perform works of mercy, such as giving ". . . alms to the poor and needy, and to passers-by and pilgrims."⁹² And when he took pains to provide for the inviolability of his benefactions, he did so in words which bear the imprint of an almost saintly conviction and determination: "I swear in the name of God and of His saints, and in the certain dread of the Last Judgment . . ." that neither lay magnate nor ecclesiastical prince dare to seize or misappropriate these benefices. The charter goes on in the most explicit terms of prohibition against any potential invaders of Church property.⁹³ When Conrad died in 994, his wife Matilda retired to the cloister of Saint-Maurice and there passed her few remaining days. She, also, was lavish in her gifts to the cloister church. They included a censer of gold, a cross of solid gold, and a silver crown or ring from which depended several lamps before the altar of the sepulchre.⁹⁴

⁹¹Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 623, no. X. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 25, n. 1.

⁹²P. Clerjon, Histoire de Lyon, (Lyon: 1829), II, 380-81: ". . . des aumônes à l'égard des pauvres et des nécessiteux, des passans et des pèlerins." (p. 381).

⁹³Ibid., II, 381-82: "Je jure au nom de Dieu et de ses saints, par la crainte redoutable du jugement dernier . . ." (p. 381).

⁹⁴Ibid., II, 388.

Generosity may also be found among the lesser nobility. For example, Ybert de Ribemont, a vassal of Count Albert of Vermandois, and his wife, Hersent, together founded six different religious houses.⁹⁵ This is all the more startling considering Ybert's tie of vassalage with the house of Vermandois--unless, of course, we refrain from prejudging Ybert guilty through association. The family of the viscounts of Dijon, similarly a turbulent lot, were nevertheless not unwilling to treat the Church decently on occasion. Thus, we find in 958 two members of this family--a certain Robert, and his wife Ingeltrude--coming forward with a gift to the abbey of Fleury of some properties in the Autunois.⁹⁶ One of the sons of Viscount Robert was named Lambert. As count of Châlon-sur-Saône and bishop of Auxerre, Lambert was the second most powerful figure in Burgundy after the duke. And like Duke Henry, Lambert was also a pious nobleman.⁹⁷ In 973 he founded the abbey of Paray-le-Monial.⁹⁸ Another of Robert's sons was Raoul, nicknamed "the White", who followed his father in possession of the fief in 958.⁹⁹ Raoul's early career had been a stormy one: bitterly jealous, apparently, over his younger brother Lambert's success, Raoul had concocted a daring plot to gain his own portion. He seized the town of Beaune, and with it Leudegarde, the wife of Duke Otto of Burgundy. Raoul then

⁹⁵Raoul de Cambrai, chanson de geste, éd. MM. P. Meyer et A. Longnon (Société des Anciens Textes Français) (Paris: 1882), p. xxvii. Cf. Ferdinand Lot, Études sur les légendes épiques françaises (Paris: n.d.), pp. 54-59.

⁹⁶Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 622, note e.

⁹⁷Odilo, De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis Libellus, in PL, CXLII, 956. Ex Historia episcoporum Autissiodorensium, in HF, X, 171.

⁹⁸Ex Historia episcoporum Autissiodorensium, in HF, X, 171. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 328.

⁹⁹Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 24 and 329-30.

forced Leudegarde to marry him in the vain hope that her father would shift her dowry from Otto to himself. It was a desperate scheme which ended in failure.¹⁰⁰ After this unpromising start, Raoul completely reversed himself at the end of his career.¹⁰¹ At an advanced age he retired to the monastery of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, whence he was tonsured. There he worked closely with William of Volpiano, the great Cluniac reformer, who was made abbot there by Bishop Bruno of Langres in 990. Raoul soon earned a reputation as an efficient and respected administrator in his capacity of Grand Prior of Saint-Pierre of Bèze.¹⁰²

Typical of the French nobility generally in the second half of the tenth century were the counts of Poitiers, who were also dukes of Aquitaine. The increase in this family's piety is noticeable as the century advances, thus illustrating once again how the new religious spirit followed in the wake of the monastic reform movement. We may perhaps point to the beginning of this family's really significant support of the Church by citing an event that occurred in 962. In that year Countess Adèle founded the abbey of Sainte-Trinité at Poitiers.¹⁰³ She was the widow of Ebles Manzer, dead nearly thirty

¹⁰⁰Annales Nivernenses, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, XIII, 88-89. Ex Chronico Odoranni Monachi S. Petri Vivi Senonensis, in HF, VIII, 237.

¹⁰¹We know nothing of his middle years. See Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 330.

¹⁰²Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, suivie de la chronique de Saint-Pierre de Bèze, éd. Bougaud et Garnier (Analecta Divionensia, IX), pp. 149 and 288.

¹⁰³Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 626-27, no. XIV. See, also, Richard, Poitou, I, 84-85. Countess Adèle was a pagan at the beginning of her life, but later became a zealous convert to Christianity. She exerted a strong religious influence over both her husband and her brother, William Long-Sword, prince of the Normans. She was partly responsible for the reconstruction of the abbey of Jumièges by William Long-Sword, as well as its reform in the year 940 by Abbot Martin of Saint-Cyprien of Poitiers. This monk, Martin, seems to have been close to the comital house of Poitou. He had a reputation for great learning and piety. Between 936 and 940 Martin reformed a number of monasteries, among them Saint-Augustin of Limoges. Cf. footnote 104, infra.

years.¹⁰⁴ The year of Adèle's foundation of Sainte-Trinité, her son, William Tow-Head, retired to the monastery of Saint-Maixent, where he became a monk. The following year (963) he died in the abbey of Saint-Cyprien of Poitiers.¹⁰⁵

The next count of Poitiers and duke of Aquitaine was Tow-Head's son, William Iron-Arm (963-93). Between 967 and 975 one finds donations and bequests of various sorts distributed almost annually to religious houses. Many of these gifts were made to the churches thanks to the good offices of Iron-Arm's uncle and advisor, Ebles, a man noted for his piety and wisdom.¹⁰⁶

William Iron-Arm was not a clean-living man himself, even though he acted generously in behalf of the Church. Indeed, his private life with his wife, the Countess Emma, was replete with all of the stock characters and action of a comic opera. Iron-Arm was foolish enough to enter into adulterous relations with a beautiful daughter of the viscount of Thouars. He then had the gaucherie not only to fail to conceal his liaisons from Emma, but to shrug

¹⁰⁴Léonce Auzias, *L'Aquitaine Carolingienne (778-987)* (Toulouse and Paris: 1937), Appendice IV, pp. 548-50, and notes. Ebles Manzer was count between 893 and 902, and again, between 928 and 934. Professor Richard, *Poitou*, I, 84-85, makes the Adèle referred to in the text the wife, not the mother of Count William Tow-Head. This is an error according to Auzias, although it is understandable. Admittedly the geneology of this family is confusing. For three generations the counts of Poitiers were married to Adèles; the fourth generation count had a sister named Adèle, who married Hugh Capet about the year 970. The Adèle who founded the abbey of Sainte-Trinité, according to Auzias, is marked with an asterisk below; according to Richard, with a cross. Cf. footnote 103, *supra*.

Ramnulf II m. Adèle

Ebles Manzer m. Adèle*

Rollo

William Tow-Head m. Adèle+

William Long-Sword

William Iron-Arm m. Emma

Adèle m. Hugh Capet

¹⁰⁵Ex Chronico S. Maxentii Pictavensis, in HF, IX, 9.

¹⁰⁶Richard, Poitou, I, 107-09.

it off as a matter of no concern. As he should have known, but soon discovered, Emma turned out to be a spirited and formidable marriage-partner.¹⁰⁷ Insanely jealous, her reaction was at once swift and depraved. One evening while out riding the countess and her escorts encountered the young lady of Thouars. At once Emma spurred her horse forward, charging her rival and bowling her over, horse and all. She then permitted the men of her entourage to satisfy themselves throughout the night at the expense of the miserable young vicountess.¹⁰⁸ This enchanting scene was followed by Emma's flight to distant parts for fear of her husband's rage. For some ten years these two remained separated, during which time Iron-Arm did his best to disinherit his wife.¹⁰⁹ Then, suddenly from 987, amidst the protests of husbandly ardor, the couple were reunited until 990. After that they broke up for good, apparently incapable of standing each other's presence. During this brief period of conjugal unity, Emma

¹⁰⁷Auzias, *L'Aquitaine Carolingienne (778-987)*, p. 509, n. 20. Emma was the daughter of none other than Thibaud the Trickster, count of Chartres, of Blois, and of Tours. Iron-Arm wed her about the year 968. The marriage appears to have been motivated by purely political considerations: evidently, it was no love-match. Thibaud the Trickster was Hugh Capet's most powerful vassal. An alliance between the house of Blois, Chartres, and Tours and the count of Poitou presented a threat to the duke of the Franks. This undoubtedly explains the marriage between Hugh Capet and Adèle of Poitou, which took place about two years later.

¹⁰⁸Richard, *Poitou*, I, 113-14. Emma's chance meeting with the viscountess of Thouars looks suspiciously made-to-order. From Emma's point of view, catching her rival at such a disadvantage seems too coincidental. One rather suspects--and this hypothesis rests only on a guess at Emma's character--that the violent moonlight revenge was the outcome of a woman scorned. What appears to have been a fortuitous encounter may actually have been a deliberately and carefully laid scheme by a ruthless and dangerous woman--a kind of tenth-century Fredegunda. The incident, in any case, is a good example of the vendetta or blood-feud--female style.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, I, 123.

was responsible for a number of benefactions to churches.¹¹⁰

Elsewhere we find less violent spirits actively at work nourishing churches and monastic communities in the newly emerging tradition of the aristocracy. It is clear that one of the effects of the Cluniac movement was to make piety and good works fashionable among the nobility. For example, the abbey of Saint-Michel of Cuxa, located in the Pyrenees, was founded by Count Sunifred of Barcelona, who assisted in its dedication (953). Four years later the same count distributed numerous of his domains to the monastery of Ripoll. When Sunifred died in 967 his will, which he had drawn up the previous year, provided for the remainder of his properties to be left to churches, since he had no children.¹¹¹

Another aspect of the impact which the monastic reform had upon society was the intensification of popular piety. One may say generally that the heightening of religious zeal worked for the good. From the point of view of the Church, however, the new spirit also presented problems. Superstition probably became more deeply imbedded in the popular imagination. This, in turn, could produce quasi-emotional aberrations in religious thought and expression which bordered on heresy. At the end of the tenth century there was an outcropping of Manichaeism, first appearing in the diocese of Châlons in Champagne. The old theological dualism associating matter with evil and spirit with good began to plague the Church. This particular heresy, one suspects, nearly always made a reappearance immediately following a great popular renewal of religious fervor.¹¹² Heresy and saintliness were sometimes sepa-

¹¹⁰Ibid., I, 127-31.

¹¹¹Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 61-62.

¹¹²Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057), p. 459.

rated from each other by a fine line of distinction. Both were manifestations of acute religiosity, expressions of religious fanaticism.

The importance attached by everyone at this time to saints' relics and miraculous occurrences is also very much in evidence. This, in fact, was nothing new. The relics of saints had always been, and would continue to be, venerated by men of the Middle Ages. The power of intercession was the peculiar prerogative of the saints. In an age when men feared deeply for their eternal salvation the bond between the individual sinner and a popular holy figure might be the former's only link with--or chance for--salvation. In the same spirit, miracles associated with the relics of saints were proof of celestial concern for the affairs of men. One may cite a few particular instances, which will suggest the spirit of the prevailing religious sentiment. Since miracles were a matter of popular belief, they inevitably tell us something of currently held popular attitudes. These, in turn, are of especial interest when they concern known historical figures.

A good example of the popular attitude toward such a powerful figure as Hugh the Great is reflected in certain miraculous occurrences associated with his career. In the late summer of 955 Hugh was besieging the city of Poitiers. In the course of these operations the monastery of Sainte-Radegonde had been seized and burned by some of Hugh's troops. Shortly after this a whirlwind came up, tore down Hugh's tent, and destroyed much of his camp. His soldiers were stricken with the fear of having angered Hilary, the patron saint of Poitiers.¹¹³ Nor was this the first time that the activities of the duke of France had caused hardship and suffering. In a single campaign in

¹¹³Flodoard, *Annales*, s. 955. Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 3. *Ex Chronico Senonensi Sanctae Columbae*, in *HF*, IX, 40-41. *Ex Chronico Hugonis Floriacensis Monachi*, in *HF*, VIII, 323.

948 Hugh had led an army of Normans pillaging, robbing, and murdering through the diocese of Reims. The historian Richer tells us that more than five hundred and sixty peasants were burned to death in the churches.¹¹⁴ When Hugh finally died in 956--less than a year after the incident at Poitiers--his memory was fixed for all time by the judgment of the common people: the rumor ran that a headless dragon had been seen in the sky.¹¹⁵ One does not require an augur or a seer to know from this miraculous sign what the poor people thought of Hugh the Great. They looked upon him as a fearful beast, who was at last safely dead.

Significantly, Hugh's son, Hugh Capet, had a reputation just the opposite of his father's. In the popular imagination Hugh Capet was a friend of the Church. The Miracula S. Genulphi Episcopi contain an incident from about the year 960 which illustrates the point. At the time Hugh was campaigning to the south of the Loire. Some of his troops began to pillage lands belonging to the abbey of Saint-Genou d'Estreées. In addition some peasants were treated harshly and dispossessed of a part of their moveable properties. When Hugh was informed of his troops' behavior, he at once put a stop to it and took the monastery under his special protection.¹¹⁶ The contrast between the campaign of 955 under Hugh the Great, and the one in 960 led by Hugh Capet, reveals a great deal about the two men in their attitude toward the Church. Though only a generation separated them in years, father and son were decades apart in their Weltanschauung. That difference was a measure of the impact of the monastic reform movement.

¹¹⁴Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 85.

¹¹⁵Annales Floriacenses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 255.

¹¹⁶Miracula S. Genulphi Episcopi, in AASS, Januarii, II, 468-69. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 32, n. 1.

This same period saw the monks of Luxeuil dispossessed of two villages in Burgundy, both valuable for their rich vineyards. The culprits responsible were Robert, viscount of Dijon, his nephew Bérard, and another knight named Hubald. By seizing these properties the robbers only succeeded in inciting the anger of Saint Waldebert. But this was sufficient to bring about the restoration of the property to the monastery.¹¹⁷ In the year 978 a holy man in Germany predicted that all those who participated in the invasion of France by Otto II would be dead in seven years.¹¹⁸ The disastrous defeat and death of the emperor in Italy in 983 only served to strengthen and lend credence to such popular convictions.¹¹⁹ Again, the point is clear that increasingly in the latter half of the tenth century the popular attitude suggests that war and brigandage were intolerable and would be punished. Those members of society who persisted in causing trouble and breaking the peace ran the risk, incalculable in its consequences, of angering the saints and incurring the wrath of God. Only divine retribution awaited the evil-doers. The popular belief in the inevitable certainty of God's justice was still another manifestation of the growing religious zeal. It is no coincidence that the Last Judgment was about to become the dominant theme in the new Romanesque sculpture.

The emotional fervor of the people caught up in the new wave of piety produced a tendency toward eschatological thought and expression, however confused or inarticulate either might have been. In the year 970 popular piety took the form of an outburst of superstitious credulity. In Lorraine the rumor circulated that the world would be swallowed up. It so happened

¹¹⁷Adso, Vita S. Waldeberti, in AASS, Maii, I, 286.

¹¹⁸Alpertus, De Episcopis Mettensibus Libellus, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, IV, 697.

¹¹⁹Ibid., in MGH, SS, IV, 698.

that Good Friday fell on the same day as the Feast of the Annunciation in that year; the poor and ignorant were suddenly confused and panic-stricken by the frightening thought of Christ's conception and death on the same day.¹²⁰ The periodic fear of the end of the world, just as in 970, was caused by temporary calamities or coincidences, usually wrongly interpreted by ignorant men.¹²¹ The religious climate of the period, created by the monastic reform movement, proved to be an invigorating atmosphere, which stimulated the growth and spread of such popular notions. But the terrors of the year 1000 were still not so universally feared as was once thought.¹²²

The monastic reform movement generated a lively interest among intellectual circles in hagiography. The new abbeys, founded as a consequence of the spreading spirit of piety among the nobility, needed manuscripts of the lives of their patron saints, so that a tradition might be built up. The translation of relics further focused attention on the legends of the saints, and did much to spread the reputation of a saint from one region to another. Similarly, old houses, which had fallen into decay and had lost their discipline, customs, and the remembrance of their traditions, also needed reeducating once they had submitted to reform.

The greatest of hagiographers of the second half of the tenth century was Adso of Montier-en-Der. Adso began his career as an oblate of Luxeuil, but was later called to Toul by Bishop Saint Gauzlin (922-62), one of the Lotharingian reform prelates. By 968 Adso had become abbot of Montier-en-Der,

¹²⁰Abbo of Fleury, Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum Reges Francorum, in PL, CXXXIX, 471-72.

¹²¹Bloch, Feudal Society, Translated by L. A. Manyon, I, 85.

¹²²Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057), pp. 457-59.

which he had helped to reform. Gauzlin's successor at Toul, Saint Gérard (963-94) requested Adso to write the Life of Saint Mansuy. This was the beginning of a very productive career in hagiography for the scholarly abbot. In all he wrote four saints' lives, which are the best examples of his day of this type of literature.¹²³ Adso was also the author of the Miracula Sancti Basoli and the Miracula Sancti Waldeberti, as well as a short didactic treatise called the Libellus de Antichristo. The latter was written in the form of a letter and dedicated to queen Gerberge of France, who had requested it for her own edification. In it Adso discusses the legend of Antichrist and the Christian eschatology of the last days.¹²⁴

While Adso was abbot of Montier-en-Der he became involved in events which reveal the religious quickening at this time. Sometime around the year 977 Count Herbert II of Troyes (968-93) was stricken by a fever, and every cure attempted on him failed. In desperation the count was brought to all the important shrines--Paris, Metz, Troyes, Saint-Remi at Reims, Saint-Menge at Châlons-sur-Marne--but his pilgrimages and prayers, anxiously recited over the relics of the saints whose tombs he visited, were useless. Persevering, he had his friends take him to the shrine at Vitry-en-Perthois. Here was contained a reliquary which housed a nail from the True Cross. Again his efforts were futile. Then, learning of the relics of Saint-Berchaire kept at Montier-en-Der, he sent a plea to the abbot, who was Adso, to have the monks pray for his recovery. Herbert explained that he was too ill to make the journey. Adso understood that Herbert's message was in the nature of a dying man's last

¹²³Ibid., pp. 517-18.

¹²⁴Adso's writings may be found in Migne, PL, CI, and CXXXVII. See, also, Histoire Littéraire de la France, éd. Paulin Paris, VI, 471-92.

request. He ordered the monks to pray through the night and that the first mass in the morning would be said for Herbert's recovery. This done, Adso took from the monastery's treasure a chain reputed to have belonged to Saint Peter, as well as some of the relics of Saint Berchaire. Over these he poured water into a vase, which he sent to Herbert, commanding him to drink it. Herbert did so, and afterwards fell fast asleep. When he awoke much later the fever had broken and his health was restored.¹²⁵

Then Herbert of Troyes did a strange thing, an act which indicated the profound depth of his gratitude and faith. He gave to the abbey some property in a nearby village, and going there with a monk of Montier-en-Der, a certain Albuin, he had the latter drive him physically from the land in full view of all who wished to observe. This was the nobleman's way of saying, in effect:

Look here! I want everyone to know that I, Herbert, a simple warrior and a sinner, have been guilty of many iniquities. As a result, God and the saints inflicted me with an incurable fever. But after much suffering and true contrition, just when I was on the point of giving up hope, the miraculous waters of Saint Peter and Saint Berchaire cooled my fever, and made me whole again. The least that I can do in repayment is to take a few raps from this good monk, and to turn over a new leaf by giving some land to the monastery, instead of taking it away!¹²⁶

Count Herbert's son and successor, Stephen I (993-1019) was so moved by a miracle connected with the relics of Saint Aigulf, that he gave a large share of the revenue from the fair of Provins to a monastery that had been built over the remains of the saint's tomb. Saint Aigulf's bones had been

¹²⁵D'Arbois de Jubainville, Champagne, I, 155-56.

¹²⁶Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 641-42, no. XXXII. The charter is dated in the year 980. See Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 114, n. 3. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Champagne, I, 156. This speech of Herbert's is not historic. It is my invention for the purpose of illustrating how the feudal warriors, and this man in particular, changed in their behavior toward the Church. As justification for this departure from the canons of historical scholarship, I would cite the precedents of some famous historians of the past, e.g. Thucydides, Sallust, and Titus Livy.

lost at the time of the Viking invasions in the ninth century. When they were rediscovered in 996 a ceremony was held to transfer the remains from a temporary stone reliquary to one made of silver. No sooner had this been accomplished than a man, paralyzed in his legs, stood and was made whole. This was a local free man named Stephen Roundell. In gratitude Stephen Roundell renounced his liberty and made himself a serf to the monastery.¹²⁷

Pilgrimages to the shrines of local saints and to the holy places in distant lands had always been a popular form of religious expression.¹²⁸ Until the middle of the tenth century the movement of pilgrims was severely restricted because the roads were unsafe for travel. Many pilgrims were martyred crossing the Alps.¹²⁹ Indeed, conditions were such that a man might not even be allowed to go from Reims to Tours to visit the shrine of Saint Martin. This is what happened to Flodoard in 940. But his disappointment was not due to Saracen-infested roads. In 940 Flodoard had hoped to relieve his troubled conscience by performing a pious act of pilgrimage. At the same time he planned to absent himself from participation in the forced election of Hugh of Vermandois as archbishop of Reims. He in no wise wished to become an accessory to such a fraudulent usurpation of power. Some detractors of Flodoard thwarted his good intentions, however, by reporting his plans to the suspicious Herbert

¹²⁷Miracula S. Aigulphi, auctore anonymo, in AASS, Septembris, I, 758. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Champagne, I, 181-83.

¹²⁸Flodoard, Annales, a. 924 and 931. For example, King Raoul is seen on two separate occasions making pilgrimages to pray at the tomb of a saint. In 924 he journeyed to the shrine of Saint-Remi at Reims; in 931 we find him at Tours seeking the aid of Saint Martin. See, also, Rodulfi Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 573-75, no. XIII. The charter confirms a grant of immunity made to the canons of Saint-Martin of Tours.

¹²⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 921, 923, 929, 931, 936, 939, and 951.

of Vermandois, who kept him under his thumb for five months.¹³⁰

The effect of the monastic reform movement was to bring a change in the attitude of noblemen like the count of Vermandois. Caught up in the new wave of piety, a few at first, then gradually more and more of them began to take upon themselves the role of humble and penitent pilgrims. A certain Hélie, count of Périgieux, went on a pilgrimage to Rome seeking expiation for a sin that he had committed in 976. In that year he had cut out the eyes of a chorepiscopus in the diocese of Limoges, a man named Benedict. Hélie now wished to rid himself of his feelings of remorse, and he hoped also to receive a papal pardon. He died enroute.¹³¹ A few years later in 980 or 981, Count Haimo of Corbeil, who was a vassal of Hugh Capet, died on a pilgrimage to Rome.¹³² Such was the case also with Raymond III, count of Rouergue, who died on the way to the Holy Land about the year 1000.¹³³ In many cases the pilgrimage was intended to be one's last pious act. Many French knights who died about this time were understandably concerned about the future state of their souls, and the pilgrimage came to be regarded as a kind of celestial insurance.

¹³⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 940. Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXIV, 299-300. Lauer, Louis IV, p. 63.

¹³¹Richard, Poitou, I, 110-11. A Catholic Dictionary, edited by William E. Addis and Thomas Arnold, Sixteenth Edition (Revised) (London: 1957), pp. 154-55. The term chorepiscopus generally implied a "rural" or "country" bishop, subordinate to the regular diocesan bishop. It is a question whether the chorepiscopus was really a bishop, or simply a priest invested with special authority.

¹³²Eudes of Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, Vita Domini Burchardi Venerabilis Comit, in HF, X, 350.

¹³³Prister, Robert le Pieux, p. 345, n. 7. Godfrey, count of Verdun, also made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the year 997. See Gesta Episcoporum Virdunensium, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, IV, 49.

There were some who probably did not need this saving grace. Borel, count of Barcelona, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Gerald at the monastery of Aurillac about 967-68. He was accompanied by Bishop Hatto of Vich. In 970 both men went to Rome, again on pilgrimage, and it was on this occasion that they took the young scholar, Gerbert, with them.¹³⁴ In 971 Saint Armulf of Lorraine, a poor man and a pilgrim, was attacked by brigands in a forest and wounded. He crawled to a nearby village where he was given help, but died soon after. Miracles began to occur on the spot after his death, and his relics were the object of much veneration by the people of the surrounding area.¹³⁵ The countess of Toulouse, Arsinde, made a pilgrimage about 975 to the abbey of Conques in the Rouergue to pray before the relics of Saint Foy. Arsinde and her husband, William Iron-Cutter, had been unable to conceive a child. With supplications and prayers to God and the martyred virgin, Saint Foy, the countess offered some richly carved bracelets of gold, encrusted with precious stones. Somewhat later she presented her husband with two boys in successive pregnancies.¹³⁶

The clergy were also drawn by the lure of the holy places. In 972 the

¹³⁴Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 43 and 44. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 76-77. Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 87-89, no. 47. In November of 984 Count Guy of Soissons was on his way to Rome, perhaps on pilgrimage, for he would have been there in time for Christmas. On 15 November, 984, Gerbert wrote from Reims to Stephen, a deacon of the Roman Church, that the latter was to return the manuscripts of Suetonius and Symmachus through the same Count Guy.

¹³⁵Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 66-67.

¹³⁶Bernardus Scholasticus, De Miraculis Sanctae Fidis Liber, in PL, CXLI, 139-40. Devic and Vaissète, Histoire de Languedoc, III, 174-75. Robert Latouche, Le film de l'Histoire médiévale en France, 843-1328 (1959), pp. 149-58.

abbot of Aurillac went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹³⁷ Abbot Gunterius of Saint-Aubin of Angers thought to go on a pilgrimage either to Rome, or better yet, to Jerusalem, because the latter was further away and a more arduous journey.¹³⁸ To this end he secured the consent of the brothers in the monastery, and that of Count Fulk as well, and set out in the year 988. Gunterius had been made abbot by Count Geoffrey Greymantle, dead in 987, and wished to make the pilgrimage to demonstrate his fidelity to the Lord and for the remedy of his soul.¹³⁹ Adso, abbot of Montier-en-Der died in 992 while on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He was accompanied by a certain Count Hilduin of Arcy, in Champagne. This Hilduin had been enjoined by Adso to suffer the long and difficult trip as part of his penance for various crimes that he had committed

¹³⁷Pfister, Robert le Pieux, p. 345.

¹³⁸Ibid. At the end of the tenth century one got to Jerusalem by sea. Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegavensis in unum Congestae, éd. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille, in Chroniques des Églises d'Anjou (Société de l'Histoire de France, no. 146) (Paris: 1869), p. 21, n. 3. Note 3 gives an extract from a charter of Saint-Aubin of Angers. The source cited is the Cartulaire de S. Aubin, Chapter IV, charte 3.

¹³⁹Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegavensis in unum Congestae, éd. Marchegay and Mabille, p. 21, n. 3. This same edition of the Chronicle of Saint-Aubin of Angers states under the year 966 (p. 20) that some canons were let into the monastery: "DCCCCLXVI. --De monasterio Sancti Albini praecepto Lotharii regis Francorum a Gaufrido comite Grisagonella canonici sunt intro-missi, XIII^o Kalendas julii." This is unquestionably an error, for we know that the abbey was reformed in 966 by Geoffrey Greymantle. For the charter testifying to this reform, see Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 58, nn. 4 and 5. Cf. Ex Chronico Sancti Albini Andegavensis, in HF, IX, 95 C: "De Monasterio S. Albini Canonici sunt ejecti praecepto Lotharii Regis Francorum a Gaufrido Comite cognomento Grisa-gonella: et Monachi sunt intro-missi XIII Kal. Julii." This variation conforms more closely to what actually happened. The Chronicle of Mont-Saint-Michel states that the reform was carried out by Count Fulk the Good and Countess Adèle. This is also incorrect. (Ex Chronico S. Michaelis in Periculo maris, in HF, IX, 95C). It does, however, have the clerks thrown out and the monks replacing them.

as a war lord.¹⁴⁰

The men and women of all classes, who had been alive in France during the early decades of the tenth century, who could remember such scenes as burning monasteries, or perhaps recalled first hearing such tales of treachery as the seizure of King Charles at Saint-Quentin, now in the 960's 970's, and 980's could see everywhere about them the evidence of a change in both the appearance of the land and the behavior of men. Many of the monasteries had been rebuilt, and the new ones had risen elsewhere to dot the countryside like little gems of learning and civilization. This was a new age of church building. In only a few years that impressionable fellow, Raoul the Bald-Pate, would observe this striking phenomenon from his cell at the great Burgundian house of Cluny:

Thus a little before the year 1003, now almost upon us, it happened that everywhere throughout the world, but especially in Italy and Gaul, Church basilicas were restored, even though the most beautiful places may have had the least need of it. Nevertheless, every one of the races of Christian people rivaled the others in having the more beautiful: It was, indeed, as though the world, shaking itself, had cast off its old tatters, and had everywhere robed itself in a white mantle of churches. Briefly, nearly all the cathedral churches, a great number of monastic churches, and even the village oratories were now restored by the faithful.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰Gallia Christiana, IX, 915. Histoire Littéraire de la France, éd. Paulin Paris, VI, 475.

¹⁴¹Raoul Glaber, Historiarum Libri Quinque, in HF, X, 29: "Igitur infra supradictum millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno, contigit in universo pene terrarum Orbe, praecipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari Ecclesiarum Basilicas, licet pleraeque decenter locatae minime indiguissent. Aemulabatur tamen quaeque gens Christicolarum adversus alteram decentiore frui: erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, rejecta vetustate, passim candidam Ecclesiarum vestem indueret. Tunc denique Episcopaliū Sedium Ecclesias pene universas, ac cetera quaeque diversorum Sanctorum Monasteria, seu minora villarum Oratoria, in meliora quique permutavere fideles."

Perceptive individuals would have seen a change in the behavior and attitudes of men. There were fewer men now of the old type, like Herbert of Vermandois, who never really grasped anything beyond that which contributed to their own security. The older generation had, indeed, had it rough. They took what they could get and tried to stay alive, and that was that. Had they been able to read, the fathers of the men who formed the aristocracy in the 970's would have guffawed at the ranting Odo in his Collationum. Collectively, their sons were as different from themselves as Hugh Capet was from his father, the powerful Hugh the Great, duke of France. The next generation were still rugged barons, but when they murdered innocents or burned churches in their private wars, they were afterwards filled with remorse. They might even go on pilgrimage, like Hélie of Perigueaux, Hilduin of Arcy, and Fulk Nerra of Anjou all did.

What was it that had caused this transformation in men's ideas and their environment in the latter part of the century? There were a few men in France at the time who knew. Most of them were bishops and abbots, but certainly there were some laymen who also understood what was happening. They all had one thing in common, however, and that was that by the 980's they had all been connected with monastic reform in one way or another. Some of the laymen had endowed new houses, or had put up the funds to restore old ones. The bishops and abbots, on their part, had actually supervised the introduction into the abbeys of reform practices. But there was something else which began to unite the leaders of Frankish society in the 970's and 980's. Increasingly they began to think to themselves and speak or write to one another in terms of stability, order, and peace. Along with the great wave of religious zeal and popular piety which followed the monastic reform, another event

had taken place at just about the same time. The revival of the Western Empire by Otto the Great of Germany in 962 was a decisive moment in the history of Western Europe. This event and the monastic reform were of enormous significance as their combined effects began to play upon French political affairs in the decade of the 980's.

PART III

THE CHURCH INSPIRED: THE VISION OF STABILITY AND PEACE

The appearance of the land in the early decades of the tenth century revealed the grim strokes of war. Desolate fields, sacked and lifeless hamlets: these were the tragic scenes which served to keep fresh the memory of terror and unrestrained violence. Where the barbarians had come only the aftermath of destruction testified to their brief presence. In the midst of chaos and disorder men of all classes and conditions, both lay and ecclesiastical, were made grotesque through their own actions and the agonies which they caused others to suffer. The ties between men were weak. Law, the ancient bond of society, was practically non-existent. Such law as did prevail was the law of the fist. Because trust between men was elusive and tenuous, security was often a matter of chance.

Under these conditions life must have seemed to many an apocalyptic experience, a nightmare of unreality. In the popular mentality the invasions were a sign of divine chastisement. The frequency of natural portents and celestial visions demonstrates the unsettled state of the popular consciousness. Yet from the midst of this feudal society, pulverized and frightened, arose a Church galvanized against those who tormented and flailed the Christian people. A few vigorous spirits within the Church braved abuse and ridicule by assuming the role of society's outraged spokesmen. Bitterly denouncing the corruption they saw everywhere about them, they struck back in righteous anger at its sources. The reformers quickly rallied about the cause of renewing the abbeys,

determined to begin the work of restoring the Church at its very soul. For the reformers clearly understood that the great hope for Christian society lay in the Benedictine monasteries, the source of inspiration for the living ideal of Christian perfection.

By the second half of the tenth century the reformers were beginning to perceive even more clearly an opportunity to promote a stable and peaceful society. Everywhere in the West by the middle of the century the Church had set in motion certain forces, which served to lessen the violence by awakening the conscience of feudal society. The Church began to make enormous strides during the seventh, eighth, and ninth decades of the century in carrying out the work of Benedictine monastic reform. The 960's, 970's, and 980's saw a renewed burst of popular piety and religious zeal sweep through Western Europe. Nowhere was this more evident than in France.

It was in the course of these decades that a new political situation began to emerge in the West, pregnant with implications for the reform circle within the Church. This new situation was created, developed, and would reach a crisis in an atmosphere charged with reform. It is against the background of reform and within the context of popular piety and religious zeal that we must see the connection between the events of 962 and 987. Within the space of this twenty-five year period a new empire was born, an old one was laid to rest, and the future histories of both France and Germany were to some extent determined. The reform spirit, within which these momentous events were accomplished, was the catalyst--one may say, the Muse--which inspired the revolutionaries of 987.

What was the background of the Revolution of 987? What connection was there between the restoration of the Western Empire in Germany and Italy by Otto the Great in 962, and the accession of Hugh Capet in France in 987?

What was the intent of the Church reformers, who carried out the Revolution of 987? These are the main questions to be considered. For the moment, let us simply note a few general observations.

The establishment of the new Ottonian empire occurred in 962. By 987 this new political orientation required that the old Carolingian claimants be removed from the throne in the western Frankish kingdom. The last Carolingians appeared determined in their policy to bring trouble to the new order in Germany, even if they were unable to wreck it altogether. It was within this quarter-century that the reform circle withdrew its support from the Carolingian family. The result was the Revolution of 987, a movement long in preparation, inevitably the outcome of the combination of religious and political reform that produced it. Whether or not a conscious policy in the minds of the reformers of 987, the political revolution was a natural result--the denouement--to the great drama of horror and destruction, outrage and reform, which marked successively the stage of tenth-century France.

Beyond the effort to answer a vexing dynastic question and to remedy the political chaos, the reform circle of laymen and prelates advanced a solution for the larger problem of establishing general order throughout all of Christian society. The great movement for peace, which characterized the eleventh century, had its origins in the last quarter of the tenth. It was the final act of the tenth-century Church: galvanized in the great work of monastic reform it became inspired through its own regenerated zeal to a vision of stability and peace.

CHAPTER V

THE SOLUTION TO THE POLITICAL CHAOS

Two developments of major significance occurred during the decade of the 960's. First, the initial surge of religious zeal was just beginning to rush forth from the cloisters of the reformed abbeys, spilling in every direction, and spreading in a great wave of piety through all the regions of the feudalized West. The work of the reformers was everywhere in evidence. Dozens of new houses had been founded; donations and gifts to churches and abbeys from pious laymen testified by the score to the extent of the reform spirit. Everywhere men were caught up in the new religious enthusiasm. Secondly, in the year 962 Otto of Germany journeyed to Italy and received the imperial title and crown from the hands of Pope John XII, thus reviving the old empire of the West. Significantly, not only the Western Empire was revived. So also were the hopes and aspirations of a clergy accustomed by the tradition of the Church to conceive of stability and peace within the purview of a single, hierarchical and universal political order. In the minds of the clergy who collectively made up the reform circle within the Church, the association of the reform spirit with their desperate longing for peace and order was about to become apparent. These two elements within their thought, only dimly seen and rarely articulated, began to play subtly upon their subconscious, influencing the way they sought answers to the problems of statecraft.

The political issues which were suddenly raised in the mid-980's were complicated by a century of conflict over the crown of the western Frankish kingdom. Anarchy, lawlessness, and endemic feudal warfare--in short, political

chaos in its most virulent forms--were encouraged and drawn out by the long and indecisive dynastic war between the Robertian and Carolingian families. In the 970's and 980's, that is to say, at that moment when the desires for religious reform, on the one hand, and an ending of political chaos, on the other, began to be associated together in the minds of the reform clergy, the Carolingian kings of France were beginning to show a hostile spirit toward the Ottonian empire. The potential threat to the imperial, Church-supported edifice of the Ottos shifted the support of the clergy away from the Carolingian family. By the same token the aggressive policy of the last Carolingians kept affairs at home in turmoil. Thus, when the opportunity presented itself in 987, the reform clergy took care to cause the election of one who seemed best to promise the fulfillment of their ideals of religious reform and political stability.

Behind the Revolution of 987 lay a century of feudal conflict kept alive by the bitter rivalry for leadership in France between two families. The descendants of Charlemagne and those of Robert the Strong--the Carolingians and the Robertians--fanned the flames of anarchy in what appears to have been a desperate struggle for power. This dynastic struggle is only the most prominent example of hundreds of similar rivalries, which collectively constitute the political history of tenth-century France. Between 887 and 987 most of the Frankish warrior class at one time or another were caught up in such wars. Much of the violence and anarchy of this period was caused by the various factions and alliances at war with each other in that greater struggle and in lesser rivalries. One ought not to attribute all of the political chaos to the Robertian-Carolingian feud. Dozens of lesser feudal wars raged at the same time, making the picture incredibly complex. It would not be difficult to cite a number of cases in which two individuals--for example, William Long-

Sword and Arnulf of Flanders--bore unquenchable hatred for each other. The great men of the kingdom, as well as the petty robber-knights, were quite capable of treachery, murder, and the blood-feud.¹ What has given prominence to the Carolingian-Robertian struggle is the drama of a kingdom at stake.

The contest between these two families had its origin in a time of crisis, war, and want of leadership. Early in the year 888 the magnates of the western Frankish kingdom met to elect a successor to the Carolingian emperor, Charles the Fat. Charles, dead the 13th of January, had been deposed the previous November for his inaction in the face of the Viking army before Paris in September of 886.² The choice of a new king fell upon Eudes, marquis of Neustria and the hero of Paris in the great siege of 885-86.³ Eudes was the son of Robert the Strong, and was not a Carolingian. His selection as king was dictated by necessity. The Norman threat was still great, and the next legitimate candidate after Charles the Fat was an eight-year old boy.⁴ As strong as the principle of legitimacy remained, in moments of extreme crisis the greats of the realm would exercise the Frankish right of election. Just as Eudes was raised to the throne by a crisis, so it would be with his grand-nephew, Hugh Capet, exactly a century later.

¹For an excellent discussion of the problem of hatred between individuals and families, and the vendetta to which it gave rise, see Marc Bloch's Feudal Society, Translated by L. A. Manyon, I, 125-30.

²Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 203. Charles was unable to do anything against the Vikings after the death of his field commander, Duke Henry of Austrasia: ". . . sed quia dux periit, ipse nil utile gessit." For the details of Charles' deposition and death, see Ernst Dümmler, Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reichs, III, 287-89.

³Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 203. Favre, Eudes, pp. 78-80.

⁴Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXIV, 273. Favre, Eudes, p. 78, n. 4. Charles was born on 17 September 879.

At the start of his reign (888-98) Eudes gave promise of ruling effectively. He scored an immediate success in carrying an overwhelming victory against a sizeable Norman army at the battle of Montfaucon in June, 888. His popularity was triumphant momentarily, but it was not long before he was beset with serious problems. For the remainder of his reign he was forced to continue his struggle against the Normans, and in these campaigns he was only partially successful.⁵

His only partial success against the Normans encouraged a series of revolts. Count Baldwin of Flanders broke with the king over the right of succession as abbot of the monastery of Saint-Bertin. Eudes favored the request of the monks for a free election, which subsequently made Archbishop Fulk of Reims the abbot. Thereupon, Baldwin openly raised the standard of revolt.⁶ At the same time (892) the kinsmen of the count of Poitiers, who was a minor, revolted because they were afraid Eudes was about to support a rival candidate for the fief. When Eudes did interfere, he alienated all parties by backing his brother, Robert. This only made matters worse by putting Aquitaine in a state of civil war.⁷

By this time Archbishop Fulk, who had favored Carolingian legitimacy

⁵Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 204. Favre, Eudes, pp. 106-08, has pieced together from a variety of sources a clear picture of the fight at Montfaucon. For Eudes' subsequent campaigns against the Normans, see Ann. Vedast., in MGH, SS, II, 204-06 and 208. These pages cover the years 888-92 and 896-97.

⁶Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 205-06. Ex Chronico Sithiensi, in HF, IX, 73.

⁷Adhemar of Chabannes, Historiarum Libri Tres, in PL, CXLI, 37-38. Ex Chronico Richardi Pictavensis, in HF, IX, 21-22. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 12, pretends that Eudes settled affairs in Aquitaine "with the greatest equity": ". . . nobilium causas quae litibus agitabantur ibi aequissime ordinat. . . ." Favre, Eudes, pp. 146-49.

from the beginning, began to rally all of the dissident factions to the support of the young Charles. Charles was the legitimate pretender to the throne, who had been only a child in 888. Not only could Charles count on aid in France, but through the skillful diplomacy of Fulk, Pope Formosus and Arnulf of Germany were persuaded to recognize his coronation, which occurred on 28 January, 893.⁸ There were at this point two kings in the realm. The remainder of Eudes' reign crackled in the flames of civil war between the supporters of the Robertian and those of the Carolingian. In 897 the latter was forced to capitulate, having in four brief years lost all of his support. Nevertheless, Eudes recognized Charles as his successor and even gave him a part of his kingdom before he died (1 January, 898).⁹

The first Robertian experiment with the kingship was not a notable success. Eudes' auspicious beginning collapsed under a variety of pressures, not entirely of his own making. Upon the death of Eudes, the magnates of the realm honored the late king's wish to have the young Charles succeed to the throne of the western Franks.¹⁰ The accession of Charles III, called the Simple, marked the first Carolingian restoration. Charles' reign (898-923) accomplished two things of major import, one of which may be regarded as having

⁸Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 207. Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 267-69. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 12. Favre, Eudes, pp. 155, 157, and 158.

⁹Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 206-08. Regino, Chronicon, in PL, CXXXII, 139-43. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 12-13. Favre, Eudes, p. 193.

¹⁰Annales Vedastini, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, II, 208. Regino, Chronicon, in PL, CXXXII, 143. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 14, tells us that Charles had a natural goodness and simplicity about him. He was generous, good-natured, and learned, but cared little for the arts of war. His two greatest faults were that he enjoyed too much the excesses of pleasure and that he was neglectful in administering justice.

been a wise move; the other, a grave mistake. The former was the final peaceful solution of the Norman question. The latter was the inauguration of the Lotharingian policy of the last Carolingians.

The settlement of the Norman problem was one which was very much on the minds of Charles and his contemporaries. Both laymen and ecclesiastics in France were seeking a variety of means to contain and civilize the Vikings.¹¹ By the end of the first decade of the tenth century it was clear that the Normans were not benefiting from their raids as they once had.¹² There was evidence apparent even to their contemporary Christian enemies that they were seeking a place to settle.¹³ Taking advantage of a bloody defeat suffered by the Normans before Chartres in 911, Charles entered into negotiations with their chief, Rollo, and signed the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte. According to the essential provisions of this treaty, the Normans were ceded the territory in northern France which came to be called Normandy. They were also permitted to work off their excess energy in raids upon Brittany. In addition, Rollo was to be baptized and allowed to marry Gisele, the daughter of Charles the Simple.¹⁴ Thus, it would seem that the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte was

¹¹For example, besides fighting the Vikings, the French clergy made plans for converting them. See Flodoard's account of Archbishop Herve's plans to baptize the Northmen (HER, in PL, CXXXV, 292-93). The plans received the blessing of the pope (Johannis IX Papae Epistolae, in HF, IX, 209-10, no. III).

¹²Eckel, Charles le Simple, p. 71.

¹³Ibid., p. 72-73. The Vikings were becoming increasingly involved in negotiations with the Christian princes during the first decade of the century.

¹⁴Dudo of Saint-Quentin, De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum Libri Tres, in PL, CXLI, 650-51, is the principal source. Augustin Fliche, L'Europe occidentale de 888 à 1125 (Histoire du Moyen Age, II, in the series Histoire Générale, éd. G. Glotz), pp. 72-73. Professor Fliche points out that Dudo's account of the events leading up to and including the treaty is so shot full of errors and inconsistencies that it may be misleading even to an expert on the subject. He gives the main clauses of the treaty, which are generally agreed upon among scholars (p. 73). Cf. Eckel, Charles le Simple, pp. 75-76.

a brilliant diplomatic stroke on the part of Charles. He gained more than he lost. One ought not to criticize him for having granted several counties in fief to the barbarian newcomers, when actually he merely confirmed legally a de facto situation. More important, he secured the peaceful settlement of the Northmen. This was a far cry from simply bribing the Vikings into raiding somewhere else. They could now reasonably be expected to adapt themselves more nearly to the ways of the native western European Christians.

If Charles' Norman policy was particularly farsighted, his design on Lorraine was fraught with disastrous consequences. Charles, his son, his grandson, and his great-grandson all clutched desperately to Lorraine as the final source of their power. This was natural, for from the earliest times the race of Arnulf and Pepin had found their strength in the region between the Meuse and the Rhine. The Carolingians were well-liked there and generally could count on support from the Lotharingian nobility. But as the century wore on Lorraine became more of a dream, which held out an almost hypnotic fascination for the last Carolingians.

It was in 911 that the Lotharingian nobility called Charles in and recognized his suzerainty as king.¹⁵ Thereafter, the king spent a good deal of his time there. His charters testify to his presence at the old Carolingian residences of Thionville, Gondreville, Heristal, Aix-la-Chapelle, and

¹⁵Recueil des Actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France, publié sous la direction de M. Ferdinand Lot, par M. Philippe Lauer, Tome Premier (Texte), pp. 150-54, nos. LXVII and LXVIII. These two charters were both given at Cruztiaco on 20 December, 911. The first grants certain privileges and immunity to the bishop of Cambrai; the second confirms the rights of the canons of the cathedral at Cambrai to properties which had been destroyed when the town was burned. The charters testify to the fact that Charles was recognized as king at this date by the Lotharingian nobility. M. Lauer refers to Cruztiaco as "Cruzy - le - Chatel", département of the Yonne, arrondissement of Auxerre. See, also, Eckel, Charles le Simple, p. 94.

Metz.¹⁶ Charles ruled well in Lorraine: twice he repelled attempts on the country by the Franconian King, Conrad of Germany. Conrad's successor, Henry the Fowler, recognized Charles' annexation of Lorraine.¹⁷ His real difficulty came from the nobility of Neustria. Led by Robert, the brother and successor of Eudes, these nobles resented the favor shown to the Lotharingians by Charles. Robert particularly despised a lowborn favorite of Charles, a certain Hagano, who became the king's bosom counsellor.¹⁸ Hagano was a true king's man, and was handsomely repaid by Charles for his loyalty with titles and gifts.¹⁹

Had Charles wished to concern himself, he might have taken notice of the grumbling dissension coming out of Neustria. The attitude of the barons toward Hagano was one of undisguised contempt.²⁰ During the Hungarian raids of 917 and 919 the magnates of France had refused to aid Charles. Only Arch-

¹⁶Eckel, Charles le Simple, p. 104, believes that the twenty-some charters issued from royal residences in Lorraine after 911 are evidence of Charles' attachment to that region. One notes that a substantial number were given in France, also. Be that as it may, Charles does seem to have had a decided preference for Lorraine as the events subsequent to 911 indicate.

¹⁷Annales Alamannici, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, I, 55-56. Flodoard, Annales, a. 921. On the recognition of Charles' right to Lorraine by Henry the Fowler, see the arguments of Eckel, Charles le Simple, pp. 113-14.

¹⁸Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 15.

¹⁹Caroli Simplicis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 538-40, no. LXXII. This charter, dated 26 May, 918, identifies Hagano as a count (p. 539). Flodoard, Annales, a. 922. Hagano received the abbey of Chelles from Charles in 922.

²⁰Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXIV, 293. Flodoard, Annales, a. 920. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 16. At the beginning of the year 920 Charles held an assembly at the city of Soissons. It was there that the Neustrian magnates began to defect in numbers. Duke Robert, the brother of Eudes who reserved a special loathing for Hagano, was so incensed at the behavior of Charles and his favorite that he found it necessary to leave the court early in order to avoid an open and violent break with the king. Charles had alienated him and the rest of his French vassals by refusing to abandon the upstart Lotharingian; indeed, the king informed them all that he preferred Hagano to them.

bishop Hervé of Reims brought aid to his king.²¹ Finally, when Charles removed the abbey of Chelles in benefice to one of the Robertian women, and bestowed it upon Hagano, a revolt broke out.²² On 30 June, 922, Robert of Neustria was crowned king of France by Archbishop Walter of Sens. Two days later Hervé of Reims died. He had been Charles' sole support among the nobility of the western kingdom.²³

The rest was tragedy for the Carolingians. Within a year of Robert's revolt, Charles the Simple had raised an army of faithful Lotharingian vassals and had marched into France. At Soissons on 15 June, 923, a great battle was fought: Robert was killed, and Charles seemed on the point of victory, when the tide of battle suddenly was reversed. The son of the dead Robert, Hugh, and Count Herbert II of Vermandois rallied the Neustrian force and completed the rout of the Lotharingians.²⁴ The slain usurper's son-in-law, Duke Raoul of Burgundy, was selected as the Robertian successor and was crowned on 13 July, 923, by that willing tool of the Neustrian faction, Walter of Sens.²⁵

²¹Ex Chronico S. Medardi Suessionensis, in HF, IX, 56. Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 293. Flodoard, Annales, a. 919.

²²Flodoard, Annales, a. 922. ". . . praedictum Haganonem, cui rex abbatiam Rothildis, amitae suae, socrus autem Hugonis, dederat, nomine Golan" Rothilda was thus the aunt of Charles, his father's sister, as well as the mother-in-law of Hugh, the son of Duke Robert. This Hugh is, of course, the same person as Hugh the Great.

²³Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 293-94. Flodoard, Annales, a. 922. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 41. Ex Chronico S. Petri Vivi Senonensis, in HF, IX, 34.

²⁴Flodoard, Annales, a. 923. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 45-46. Ex Chronico Sithiensi S. Bertini, in HF, IX, 77.

²⁵Flodoard, Annales, a. 923. Ex Chronico Senonensi Sanctae Columbae, in HF, IX, 40. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 47. Archbishop Walter of Sens crowned Eudes in 888, Robert in 922, and Raoul in 923. See Favre, Eudes, p. 90, and Lauer, Robert et Raoul, pp. 9 and 12. M. Lauer refers to him as a "king-maker": "'faiseur de rois'" (p. 12).

In less than thirteen months two pretenders had come forward on separate occasions to be anointed as kings of the West Franks.²⁶ If the election of Eudes in 888 had seemed a wise thing at the time, it had undoubtedly established a precedent dangerous for the kingdom. Though Charles could still find support in the form of lip-service, few men were ready to offer themselves for his cause. Charles had tried to gain aid from the German king by sending him some precious relics, but Henry's only reaction was to utter a few baleful remarks about the mutability of human affairs.²⁷ It is therefore not surprising that when Herbert of Vermandois sent messengers to Charles protesting his loyalty, Charles was eager to join the count for the parley proposed by the latter. We know what happened: Herbert seized his king and kept him locked in a dungeon for the next six years, only bringing him out on occasion to use him as a pawn in his wild scramble for power.²⁸

The reign of Raoul of Burgundy (923-36) was reminiscent of Eudes' reign in some ways. The new king belonged to the Robertian family by marriage only, and joined the rebel Neustrian faction after the battle of Soissons had been fought.²⁹ He appears to have been a compromise candidate, since the magnates wished to elect neither Hugh, Robert's son, nor the count of Vermandois.

²⁶Raoul was not actually a Robertian. He was the son of Duke Richard the Justiciar of Burgundy. Cf. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, p. 2, which shows a genealogical chart. Raoul's connection with the Robertian faction was purely political.

²⁷Widukind, Res Gestae Saxonicae, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, III, 430-31. "Heinricus autem rex audiens casum Karoli, dolebat, humanaeque mutabilitatis communem admiratus est fortunam. . . ." (p. 430). Eckel, Charles le Simple, p. 126.

²⁸Flodoard, Annales, a. 923. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 47, 53, and 56. Eckel, Charles le Simple, pp. 127-34, passim.

²⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 923. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 47. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, pp. 2 and 11. Raoul married Emma, the daughter of the late King Robert, and the sister of Hugh the Great.

Like Eudes, Raoul was beset with troubles almost at once. Between 924 and 926 he was faced with a new outbreak of Norman raids, and was forced to cede new territories to them.³⁰ In 926 the Hungarians spread their familiar terror through Lorraine and into Champagne.³¹ Raoul also had trouble at home. As in the reign of Eudes, the election of Raoul was the signal for revolt in the South. The Midi refused to recognize him, and the duke of Aquitaine marched against Burgundy, Raoul's own duchy.³² In 925 Raoul lost the duchy of Lorraine to Henry of Germany when the Lotharingian nobility shifted their loyalty to the East.³³ Finally, Herbert of Vermandois took advantage of Raoul's troubles to aggrandize his family. First he seized Reims for his son, Hugh (925). Then he attempted to make another son, Eudes, the count of Laon (927). When Raoul protested, Herbert brought Charles the Simple out of the dungeon of Peronne, and installed him at Saint-Quentin, inviting Rollo and the Normans to do homage and swear their fealty to the Carolingian instead of to Raoul.³⁴

When Charles died in 929, Herbert's days as a manipulator of kings were over. About the same time Raoul's fortunes also changed. His victory over the Normans at the place called Ad Destrucios won him great popularity in

³⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 924, 925, and 926. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 48, 49, 50, and 51.

³¹Flodoard, Annales, a. 926.

³²Flodoard, Annales, a. 924 and 926. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, pp. 27, 28, and 44.

³³Flodoard, Annales, a. 925: "Heinrico cuncti se Lotharienses committunt. . . ."

³⁴On Herbert's seizure of Reims, see Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 295. Flodoard, Annales, a. 925. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 54 and 55. For his attempt on Laon, as well as his deceitful restoration of Charles the Simple, see Flodoard, Annales, a. 927. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, pp. 49-50.

the Midi, and the Aquitanians now began to recognize him as the only legitimate ruler.³⁵ By 933 the Norman and Hungarian problems were no longer immediately pressing. Between 931 and 935 Raoul gradually reduced the power of Count Herbert with the help of Hugh the Great. A peace was arranged between the king and his rebellious vassal in June of 935.³⁶ The following January Raoul died at Auxerre after an illness contracted during the previous autumn.³⁷

After Charles the Simple had fallen into the hands of Herbert in 923, his wife and infant son, Louis, had fled to England to the court of King Aethelstan. Now, in 936, the magnates of France again returned to the principle of legitimacy by sending an embassy to Aethelstan recalling Louis d'Outre-Mer back from overseas. Louis IV at once exhibited the qualities of a king. He was not slow to perceive the deceit in Hugh the Great's pose as a benevolent royal counsellor. He threw off the duke's tutelage and turned instinctively to Lorraine to bolster his position.³⁸

³⁵Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 64. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, p. 59.

³⁶Flodoard, Annales, a. 931, 932, 933, 934, and 935. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, pp. 58-76, passim.

³⁷Flodoard, Annales, a. 935 and 936. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, I, 65. Lauer, Robert et Raoul, p. 78.

³⁸Flodoard, Annales, a. 923 and 936. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 1, 4, 5, and 6. Lauer, Louis IV, pp. 11-16. Louis was well received when he crossed the channel. The Frankish nobles commended themselves to him, and bonds of loyalty were firmly fixed between them. Richer says that Louis won the hearts of the feudal warriors by an incident that occurred during his reception: Hugh the Great led forward a horse adorned with royal insignia. Just as the young prince was about to mount, the horse whinnied and shyed away. Quickly, Louis sprang to the saddle, not bothering to use the stirrups. The action delighted the gathering and brought forth shouts of approval. One is tempted to believe that this was a test designed by Hugh the Great to embarrass Louis with the eyes of all the military aristocracy upon him. It cannot be proved, however. "Dux inde accelerans, equum insignibus regis adornatum adducit. Quem cum ascensui aptare vellet, et ille impatiens in diversa sese tolleret, Ludovicus agili exilitione prosiliens, equo strepenti neglecta stapha repentinus insedit. Quod etiam fuit omnibus gratum, ac multae gratulationis provocatio." (Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 4).

A revolt had broken out there against the German king, Otto, a situation which led the Lotharingian duke, Gislebert, into an alliance with Louis. The arrangement was mutually advantageous for a term. But when, in 939, Gislebert was ambushed by a force of Saxons, and drowned in the Rhine while trying to escape, the fortunes of war immediately turned against Louis.³⁹ Otto of Germany was free to crush the revolt, and invaded France after having burned and plundered his way through Lorraine. An alliance which had been sworn to between Hugh the Great and Otto of Germany now made Louis' position critical. Moreover, he was faced with new enemies: Herbert of Vermandois, the Norman prince William Long-Sword, and even Arnulf of Flanders joined Hugh's rebellion against the king.⁴⁰

Louis' position vis-à-vis his great vassals slowly began to improve. He was able to make peace with Otto in 942, since the latter wished to follow a policy of playing off Louis and Hugh, one against the other.⁴¹ The formidable coalition which had been stacked against him began to break up. Arnulf of Flanders encompassed the assassination of William Long-Sword late in

³⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 939. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 17, 18, and 19. Lauer, Louis IV, pp. 40-48, passim.

⁴⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 939: "Otho rex, Rheno transmisso, regnum Lothariense perlustrat, et incendiis praedisque plura loca devastat Otho rex colloquium habuit cum Hugone et Heriberto, Arnulfo et Willelmo Nortmannorum principe; et acceptis ab eis pacti sacramentis, trans Rhenum regreditur."

⁴¹Flodoard, Annales, a. 942. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 29. Family considerations made Otto's mediating policy all the easier to justify. Hugh the Great had married Hathuide, a younger sister of Otto, as early as 937. See Lauer, Louis IV, p. 27, n. 4. Louis IV married the widow of Gislebert of Lorraine soon after the latter's death: "Ludovicus rex in regnum Lothariense regressus, relictam Gitsleberti Gerbergam duxit uxorem, Othonis scilicet regis sororem." Marrying Gerberge was one of the smartest moves Louis d'Outre-Mer ever made. She was an extremely able woman.

942.⁴² Thereafter Louis could generally count upon Arnulf's friendship by favoring a weakened Normandy. Then early in 943 Herbert of Vermandois dropped dead in the midst of his family, thus removing one of the most treacherous figures of the entire century.⁴³ By the end of 942 Louis also had had evidence of support from the dukes of Burgundy, Aquitaine, and Brittany. Moreover, Pope Stephen VIII had firmly sided with Louis d'Outre-Mer in the struggle over the archbishopric of Reims.⁴⁴

Hugh the Great and Louis IV continued to vacillate in their relations with one another; they were never long at peace. In 945 the king was ambushed by the Normans, managed to escape for a few hours, but then was betrayed to them, and eventually wound up a prisoner in the clutches of his arch-enemy, Hugh. This was undoubtedly Hugh's greatest moment, as well as being the rock-bottom of Louis' fortunes.⁴⁵ Their interests were always sharply reversed, diametrically opposed. The careers of Hugh the Great and Louis d'Outre-Mer show better than any others in this struggle the essentially antagonistic character of the rivalry between the Robertian and Carolingian families. The

⁴²Flodoard, Annales, a. 943: "Arnulfus comes Willelmu, Nortmannorum principem, ad colloquium evocatum, dolo perimi fecit." Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 33. Lauer, Louis IV, pp. 87-88, has established the correct date of the murder as 17 December, 942.

⁴³Flodoard, Annales, a. 943. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 37, provides us, under the guise of his medical learning, with a complete picture of what must have been a shocking scene for those who witnessed Herbert's death.

⁴⁴Flodoard, Annales, a. 941 and 942. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 26, 27, and 28. In the late summer or early fall of 942 Louis was at Rouen, where he received homage and fealty from William Long-Sword of Normandy, William Tow-Head of Poitou, and Alan Twist-Beard of Brittany. Hugh the Black of Burgundy generally remained loyal to Louis d'Outre-Mer.

⁴⁵Flodoard, Annales, a. 945. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 47 and 48.

relations between Eudes and Charles the Simple, and Lothaire and Hugh Capet do not reveal the same visceral, smouldering animosity. Hugh the Great and Louis d'Outre-Mer hated each other passionately.

The pressure from across the Rhine and, perhaps, from his own vassals ultimately forced Hugh to release his prisoner.⁴⁶ From this point on in 946, through the great council of Ingelheim in 948, and for the remainder of the reign, Louis was able to hold his own against Hugh and even to achieve the duke's submission.⁴⁷ The support of Otto the Great and the Church in regaining Louis his freedom, and causing him to triumph in the affair of Reims, were important factors in the success of the Carolingian restoration. Louis' reign was the climax of the struggle. The dynastic problem would remain in the background for another thirty years, but by 954 the Carolingians were strong enough and sufficiently popular to compel adherence to the principle of legitimacy.

Louis' reign--indeed, his entire life--followed a fortuitous pattern of tragic defeats and brilliant successes. Exiled, he was restored. Ambushed, he escaped. Abandoned, he found new supporters. Captured, he was set in

⁴⁶Flodoard, HER, in PL, CXXXV, 302. Flodoard, Annales, a. 946. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 49. Both historians mention the embassy sent by King Edmund of England. The threats of the Anglo-Saxons do not seem to have made as much of an impression on Hugh as did those from Otto of Germany.

⁴⁷Flodoard, Annales, a. 953. It was Hugh who finally sued for peace: "Anno DCCCCLIII incipiente, Hugo princeps legatos mittit ad regem Ludovicum pro pace ac concordia inter ipsos firmanda, petens ut regina Gerberga suum petat colloquium; quod et fecit, muneribusque ab eodem honorata Remos rediit; obtinuitque Hugo a rege, ut munitio, quae contra Victuriacum castrum constructa fuerat, solveretur. Placitum ergo concordiae ac pacis rex et Hugo mediante quadragesima iniere Suessionis." Thus the duke despatched legates to the king, requesting that Queen Gerberge be sent to discuss the terms of peace. Louis granted his wish, and Gerberge journeyed toward Hugh, where she was received by him with gifts and honor. Probably as a result of Gerberge's negotiations with Hugh, Louis decided to destroy the stronghold that he had built next to Vitry. On Sunday, 13 March, 953, Louis and Hugh met at Soissons and swore to keep the peace. Cf. Lauer, Louis IV, pp. 223-24.

liberty. Again and again defeated, Louis d'Outre-Mer held on with grit and determination for eighteen years against the most formidable odds and treacherous enemies, proving beyond question the tenacious die-hard strength of the Carolingian line. By defeating all his enemies, Louis IV saved the throne for the descendants of Charlemagne.

What Louis had won was lost forever for the Carolingian family by his son, Lothaire. Louis' death in September, 954, was the result of an accident: he had fallen from his horse while in pursuit of a wolf.⁴⁸ Lothaire was only thirteen years old at the time, but everyone agreed that he was entitled to the throne. He was duly anointed and crowned at Reims by Archbishop Artaud on 12 November, 954.⁴⁹ What were the major developments of Lothaire's reign? How were his later policies shaped by the tradition of his family and the experience of his minority? We shall see that the regencies of his early years made Lothaire eager to assert his independence as he reached his majority.

⁴⁸Flodoard, Annales, a. 954: "Ludowicus rex regressus Lauduno, Remensem, velut ibi moraturus, repetit urbem. Antequam vero ad Axonam fluvium perveniret, apparuit ei quasi lupus praecedens; quem admisso insecutus equo, prolabitur, graviterque attritus Remos defertur, et protracto langore decubans, elephantiasi peste perfunditur. Quo morbo confectus, diem clausit extremum, sepultusque est apud sanctum Remigium." Louis was on his way back to Reims from Laon, where he had just finished attending the funeral ceremonies of his son, Louis, when the fatal accident occurred. Enroute, before crossing the Aisne, he thought he saw a wolf dart across his path. He spurred his horse in pursuit, but the mount stumbled spilling the rider. Seriously injured, he was carried on to Reims by the other members of his party. Unfortunately it was too late. The journey along the road aggravated his condition, and the king developed a fever. A general puffiness set in, and after lying in pain for some days, Louis died. He was buried in the basilica of Saint-Remi at Reims. See, also, Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, II, 103, who gives a detailed medical report of Louis' condition before death. The "elephantiasi peste" to which both Flodoard and Richer refer was not what we think of as elephantiasis. It was probably a severe swelling caused by broken bones and fever.

⁴⁹Flodoard, Annales, a. 954. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 1 and 2. Cf. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 10, who shows, contrary to the testimony of Richer, that Lothaire was thirteen years of age.

He tried to do this by adopting the old Carolingian policy of seizing Lorraine. His actions had fatal consequences.

For the first two years of Lothaire's minority the figure of Hugh the Great cast its shadow over the royal household. Having failed to dominate the father, Hugh had no intention of losing control over the son. He quickly got the boy to agree to his claims to Burgundy and Aquitaine.⁵⁰ He never took his eyes off Lothaire for long. Acting out the part of the solicitous elder adviser and trusted friend, Hugh the Great took what advantage he could by accompanying the king in royal progresses, and by similar devious arrangements causing Lothaire to accept his tutelage.⁵¹ Hugh had succeeded completely in bringing Lothaire under his authority, when death removed his sinister presence (16 or 17 June, 956). The duke had made a profound impression upon his contemporaries during his life-time. Certainly his many intrigues had brought on wars and caused untold suffering. His death must have made some men breathe a prayer of relief. Others, we know, interpreted a celestial vision of a headless dragon as a prediction of the passing of great evil.⁵² A dead monster was the sign of God's angry judgment.

⁵⁰Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 954: "Burgundia quoque et Aquitania Hugoni dantur ab ipso." Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 1 and 2. *Ex Chronico Senonensi Sanctae Columbae*, in *HF*, IX, 41. *Ex Chronico Sithiensi S. Bertini*, in *HF*, IX, 80, states that Lothaire made the count of Paris, Hugh the Great, duke of Anjou as well. "Tunc Rex Lotharius Hugonem Magnum Parisiensem Comitem Ducem fecit Andegavensem."

⁵¹Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 2 and 3.

⁵²The brevity of Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 956, strikes one as indicative of that historian's feelings for the man who caused the Church, and particularly Reims, so much trouble: "Hugo princeps obiit." Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 5, who is usually given to oratorical eulogies when he records the death of a good man, is also significantly brief. Apparently what was not said was more important than what was said. Cf. *Annales Floriacenses*, ed. Pertz, in *MGH*, SS, II, 255: "Anno Incarnationis Domini 956. hoc anno 4. Nonas Septembris luna versa est in sanguinem. Eodem quoque anno mense Iunio signum mirabile in

Lothaire, still only fifteen at Hugh's death, now began to be governed by his uncle, Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, duke of Lorraine. Bruno was the brother of Gerberge and Hathuide, who were, respectively, the widows of Louis IV and Hugh the Great, and the mothers of Lothaire and Hugh Capet. Moreover, Bruno was an intelligent, active, and well-educated man entirely devoted to the cause of monastic reform and the ideal of peace. All in all, he seems to have been perfectly suited as the one person to insure stable relations between the Robertian, Carolingian, and Ottonian houses.⁵³

One may wonder how it happened that Archbishop-Duke Bruno, who was a sort of viceroy in Lorraine for his brother, Otto the Great, came to hold such a commanding influence in the affairs of France. The answer is readily explained: from the start his willingness--indeed, desire--to intervene as mediator and controller of French politics was gratified by the requests of both the Robertian and Carolingian factions, each of which sought the advantages of his support. In these circumstances Bruno was able to pursue a policy designed to serve the interests of Germany by arbitrating the differences between the two families. On the one hand, he favored the ambitions of the young Hugh Capet on Aquitaine, and arranged for Lothaire to invest Hugh with the county of Poitiers. Besides, Bruno saw to it that Hugh's brother, Otto,

caelo apparuit, draco magnus scilicet, et sine capite. Secuta est statim mors HUGONIS magni principis Francorum, Burgundionum, Brittonum, atque Nortmannorum. Eclipsis solis factus est II. Kal. Ianuar. et stellae apparuerunt a prima hora usque terciam." A year of strange and sinister portents, according to the annalist of Fleury: streaks of blood on the moon, a headless dragon, an eclipse of the sun, and an unusual appearance of the stars--all of them grim and fearful omens surrounding, and apparently connected with, the death of Hugh the Great.

⁵³Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 18-21.

received the duchy of Burgundy.⁵⁴ However, he also lent his support to Lothaire by opposing the Robertian attempt to regain the see of Reims for its old pretender, Hugh of Vermandois.⁵⁵

In fact, Bruno took steps to see that Reims was placed securely in the hands of the Lotharingian reform party. When Archbishop Artaud's death left the see vacant in 961, Bruno arranged for the election of a certain Odalric as Artaud's successor. The new archbishop had been a canon at Metz, and was well-acquainted with the Lotharingian reform.⁵⁶ The church of Reims was far too important in the affairs of France, and after 962 in those of the empire as well, for Bruno to have permitted the see to go willy-nilly to whichever faction, Robertian or Carolingian, might have been able to seize it. As it turned out, the Lotharingian reform prelates who served Reims after 962, Odalric and Adalbero, both continued to support Carolingian legitimacy and rule until this policy no longer served the interests of either Church or State.

The years between the deaths of Bruno in 965 and Otto the Great in 973 make up a relatively obscure and quiet period in the reign of Lothaire.⁵⁷ The German influence continued during this time due to the policies of the archbishops of Reims, Odalric (962-69), and Adalbero (969-89) especially. But internally, within the royal court, it was a time of development and transformation for the Carolingian king. In his physique, his mentality, his policies,

⁵⁴Flodoard, Annales, a. 960.

⁵⁵Flodoard, Annales, a. 962. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 15, 16, and 17. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 38-40.

⁵⁶Flodoard, Annales, a. 961 and 962. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 18 and 19.

⁵⁷Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 54.

Lothaire was filling out, growing up. In 965 Lothaire was twenty-four years old; by 973, he was thirty-two.⁵⁸ During those eight years he matured, and in the process so did his conception of his place within his kingdom. At the time of Bruno's death, Lothaire was just beginning to emerge into full manhood. Until that time he could only remember his own reign as little more than a regency, first under his uncle, the duke of the Franks, and then under his other uncle, the archbishop of Cologne. With the passing of Bruno Lothaire began to act more independently. At times it must have made him feel a little chagrined to have accomplished so little. Surely he would have known that by the time his father had died at the age of thirty-three in 954, he had already fought for his crown through eighteen troubled years. If Lothaire thought in these terms, it must have galled him to have found it necessary to bide his time. For he knew that as long as Otto the Great was alive it would be useless to attempt to raise the standard of revolt in Lorraine.

For the time being he could only hope to strengthen his position in France, and wait for the day when Otto would be no more. In the meantime, his efforts in France were meeting with success. By pursuing his goals with force and determination, he achieved good results. During Bruno's regency Lothaire had supported Thibaud the Trickster successfully in a quarrel between the count and Duke Richard of Normandy.⁵⁹ He pressed vigorously his right to the

⁵⁸Lothaire was born in 941. See Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 941. Cf. Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 2, who says Lothaire was twelve at the time of his succession to the throne on 12 November, 954. If he was born after 12 November, 941, he would not quite have reached his thirteenth birthday when he was anointed and crowned. Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens*, p. 10, n. 1, thinks that Richer has given Lothaire's age at the coronation dating from the latter's baptism in 942. See Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum Libri Tres*, in *PL*, CXLII, 673-74.

⁵⁹Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens*, pp. 33-35; Appendice VIII, pp. 346-57.

county of Flanders upon the death of Arnulf I in 965.⁶⁰ From 966 his relations with the Robertians were good. In 968 his suzerainty was recognized by Thierry, count of Ghent and Holland, as well as by the nobility of the Spanish March.⁶¹ The upshot of all this is that between 965, when the last regency ended, and 973, when the Lotharingian policy began to reemerge at Laon after Otto's death, Lothaire had learned what it took to be a king who ruled, as well as one who merely reigned. That he pursued a disastrous policy after 973 in no wise makes of him a "do-nothing" weakling, a roi fainéant. Indeed, it was his very power and effectiveness, the threat that he might well succeed, that turned old friends into enemies and brought treason and defeat into his camp.

Two individuals who may have encouraged Lothaire in his designs on Lorraine were Renier and Lambert, sons of the Lotharingian count of Hainalt, Renier III the Long-Necked. Way back in 957 the father of these two had revolted against Bruno. Renier III was forced to submit, and as punishment was exiled to the Slavic country of Bohemia, where he died soon after his arrival. The two sons at the same time were packed off to the Carolingian court where they were then brought up.⁶² Thus from 957 or 958 until 973, not less than

⁶⁰Flodoard, Annales, a. 965. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 21. Lothaire's invasion and occupation of Flanders, and the submission of the nobility occurred several months before the death of Bruno.

⁶¹Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 56-58. Two charters from 968 testify to Lothaire's suzerainty in Holland and along the Spanish March. See Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 632, nos. XXI and XXII.

⁶²Flodoard, Annales, a. 957. Sigebert, Chronographia, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VI, 350. Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 439-40. Thietmar, Chronicon, ed. Lappenberg, in MGH, SS, III, 851.

fifteen years, these two would have grown up nourished upon this old wound, sympathizing instinctively with Lothaire's ambitions, and anxious for the day when they might return to work their revenge against the family of Otto.

They got their chance when Otto I died in May of 973. In no time Renier and Lambert were back in Hainalt harrying the countryside from one end to another. They kept up their depredations for a season until they were again driven from their homeland, this time by Otto II, who permitted them to return to France.⁶³ Returned to the court of Lothaire, who doubtless encouraged and abetted their schemes, Renier and Lambert next sought new allies at Saint-Quentin among the family of Vermandois. This house was the ancient enemy of the men of Cambrai, whose bishop was now a Lotharingian vassal of Otto II. Together with the lords of Vermandois, Renier and Lambert launched a new attack on Hainalt and Cambrai in the spring of 976.⁶⁴ Lorraine was seriously threatened by this new coalition, but Otto's duchy was saved by the gradual disintegration of the alliance. Renier and Lambert were given back the properties which their father had once held from Otto I.⁶⁵ In France Lothaire had expelled his younger brother, Charles, from the kingdom for having spread the rumor that Queen Emma had committed adultery with Bishop

⁶³Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 439-40. Sigebert, Chronographia, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VI, 351-52.

⁶⁴Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 440. Sigebert, Chronographia, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VI, 352.

⁶⁵Sigebert, Chronographia, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VI, 352.

Adalbero of Laon.⁶⁶ Charles fled in haste toward Otto II to whom he subsequently performed homage and swore faith in return for the duchy of Lower Lorraine.⁶⁷ In effect, these circumstances dissolved the Frankish-Lotharingian alliance upon which Lothaire had begun to entertain some sanguine expectations.

Lothaire now decided to take matters into his own hands. He called

⁶⁶Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 66: "Eodem tempore Emma regina et Adalbero Laudunensis episcopus infames stupri criminabantur; id tamen latenter intendebatur, nullius manifesto intentionis teste." Charles admitted he was driven from the kingdom by Lothaire: "'Licet enim a fratre de regno pulsus sim. . . .'" (Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, IV, 9). See, also, Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, IV, 16. Lattin, *Letters of Gerbert*, pp. 76-78, no. 39. The letter cited here is from Bishop Dietrich of Metz to Charles of Lorraine, written probably at Metz on 27 May, 984. In it, Dietrich tells Charles exactly what he thinks of him, qualifying him as a "fickle deserter" and "the most shameless violator of fidelity." The passages relevant to Lothaire, Emma, and Adalbero of Laon have been translated as follows:

"What wonder if you pour forth the disease of your utterly wicked heart against your kinsman since, with bloody hand always very ready for all crime, with a gang of robbers and a band of thieves, you would steal the city of Laon from your brother, the noble king [Lothair] of the French--his city, I repeat, his, never under any circumstances yours; since you would deprive him of his kingdom; since you would bring the imperial sister, sharer of his kingdom, into ill repute and would defile her with your lies? Have you ever had any scruples?

"Swell up, grow stout, wax fat, you who, not following the footsteps of your fathers, have wholly forsaken God your Maker. Remember how often my finger restrained your impudent mouth while you were spreading abroad shameful things about the archbishop of Reims, and more shameful insinuations against the queen by simulating a serpent's hiss. What you did against the bishop of Laon, you yourself know well."

Some allusions here are made to events which occurred after Charles' exile by Lothaire. It is evident that Charles was detested by the reform clergy of Lorraine. Charles' response to Dietrich (Letter no. 40, pp. 79-81) is so filled with slanderous insinuations against the bishop of Metz that Gerbert, to whom the letter was dictated by Charles, took it upon himself to write another letter apologizing for having had anything to do with the correspondence (Letter no. 41, p. 82).

⁶⁷*Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Bethmann, in *MGH*, *SS*, VII, 443. Sigebert, *Chronographia*, ed. Bethmann, in *MGH*, *SS*, VI, 352.

together his great vassals at an assembly which was held at Laon in 978. There he announced his plans for an invasion of Lorraine. His proposal won the approval of everyone.⁶⁸ Before long the expedition got under way. According to Richer, the whole operation was conducted with the utmost secrecy and discipline. The object was to surprise the emperor who was sojourning at the imperial villa at Aachen. Lothaire's campaign worked surprisingly well, but it fell short of its crucial objective. Probably Lothaire intended to lay hands on Otto and his wife, and extort the title to Lorraine from him as the price of their release.⁶⁹ Aachen was seized, but the French army failed to capture the emperor. It came within a trice: Otto at first refused to believe that Lothaire was upon him, dismissing the first reports as nonsense. One can picture the scene with the wild-eyed messengers seeking frantically to convince him, the moment of truth, and then the mad scramble from the palace and the race for Cologne, leaving behind booty of all kinds, including the imperial insignia. Lothaire permitted his troops three days of pillage, and then the army retreated into France.⁷⁰

Otto, on his side, made immediate preparations for revenge. Issuing a call for troops throughout the entire empire, he succeeded in collecting an immense force which invaded France on 1 October, 978.⁷¹ The campaign that

⁶⁸Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 67, 68, and 69.

⁶⁹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 69 and 70. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 93-95.

⁷⁰Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 70 and 71. Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 440. Annales Altahenses Maiores, ed. Giesebrecht and Gefele, in MGH, SS, XX, 788. Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, IX, 367.

⁷¹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 72 and 73. Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 440.

followed probably accomplished all that Otto intended: namely, the punishment of Lothaire for his audacious attempt on Lorraine. The German army proceeded to ravage France as far as the Seine. After seizing Laon, where he placed Charles of Lorraine on the throne, Otto moved his army through the Soissonais, the Remois, and up to the gates of Paris. Behind him, he left a desert. Only the monasteries and churches were spared. Unable to take Paris by siege, Otto decided to return his army to Germany because of the approach of winter.⁷² Lothaire, who had meanwhile raised a force to hurry the Germans on their way, struck Otto's rear-guard as it was crossing the Aisne and cut the detachment to ribbons. The emperor's withdrawal had been facilitated with the aid of guides sent by Archbishop Adalbero of Reims. The latter action is significant. It is the first positive evidence of a break between the Carolingians and the church of Reims. Later on Adalbero would be obliged to explain his treason. Christmas found Otto in Frankfort; the fighting had been concluded.⁷³ Negotiations for a peace began in 979, and the following year in July, Lothaire and Otto were reconciled in an interview held at Margut on the banks of the Chiers.⁷⁴

⁷²Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 74, 75, 76, and 77. Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 440-41.

⁷³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 77; IV, 2. Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 441. Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, IX, 367. Annales Altahenses Maiores, ed. Giesebrecht and Oefele, in MGH, SS, XI, 788. Othlo, Vita S. Wolfkangi episcopi, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, IV, 539. Bishop Wolfgang of Ratisbon was one of Otto's advisers, who insisted upon getting the imperial army across the flooding Aisne before dark. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 106.

⁷⁴Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 78, 79, 80, and 81. "Et quia circa fluvium Mosam regna amborum conlimitabant, in locum qui Margolius dicitur, eis sibi occurrere placuit." (Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 80). Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, IX, 367. This chronicle gives Reims as the place where the peace was made. M. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 118, suggests on the basis of this evidence that Archbishop Adalbero helped to arrange the peace.

By the terms of the agreement of Margut-sur-Chiers Lothaire relinquished all of his claims to Lorraine.⁷⁵ For the time being he could concern himself with problems of a domestic nature. First of all, Lothaire was worried about the ambitions of his younger brother, Charles of Lorraine. During the recent war Charles had sided with Otto II and seems to have been proclaimed king. At least he may have received a promise of Otto's backing, if Lothaire were to have been dethroned. In either case, his posture vis-à-vis Lothaire and young Louis in 978-79 appeared threatening.⁷⁶ As a consequence Lothaire had arranged for his son, Louis, to be associated with himself on the throne. The boy was crowned at Compiègne on 8 June 979 by the archbishop of Reims.⁷⁷

A second problem confronting Lothaire was the growing importance of his cousin, Hugh. Although at the time of young Louis' anointing, Hugh had loudly and repeatedly protested his loyalty, he was distrusted by Lothaire. At Compiègne in June, 979, Hugh had gone so far as to suggest that now that there were two kings one kingdom was not enough. Another ought to be won.⁷⁸ Perhaps Lothaire's suspicions now arose over the duke's very eagerness for the good fortune of the Carolingian family. Hugh had been a strong supporter of

⁷⁵Sigebert, Chronographia, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VI, 352: "Otto imperator et Lotharius rex convenientes, super Karum fluvium pacificantur, datis invicem sacramentis, et rex Lotharius Lotharingiam abjurat." The Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, IX, 367, gives an altogether different interpretation to what happened; namely, that Lothaire gave Lorraine to Otto in benefice: "Dedit autem Hlotarius rex Ottoni in beneficio Hlotarium regnum. . . ."

⁷⁶See Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 99, n. 1.

⁷⁷Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 91. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 108-09.

⁷⁸Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 91: "Id etiam meditabatur, ut in diversis regnis positi, regiam dominationem exercerent, ne unius regni angustia, duorum regum majestati nimium derogaret."

the plan to capture Otto at Aachen.⁷⁹ His zeal and well-wishing now may have seemed to Lothaire somewhat overplayed, as though he were pushing the king in to the dangerous game of attacking the empire. In light of Otto's devastating retaliation, the Lotharingian policy had been anything but successful. After the coronation of young Louis, Lothaire went ahead with his negotiations to bring about peace with Otto. He secretly sent an embassy to the imperial court, since he wished to bind himself to Otto's friendship through a treaty of peace. The agreement of Margut, which followed these negotiations, in effect isolated the duke of the Franks. Hugh did not want Lothaire to make peace with the emperor; most certainly not a separate peace. The relations between King Lothaire and Duke Hugh Capet were steadily worsening.⁸⁰

Hugh was also offended by Lothaire's démarche for another reason. During Otto's campaign in France in the autumn of 978, it was Hugh Capet who had held the imperial army at Paris and blocked its passage of the Seine.⁸¹

⁷⁹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 69. Richer always portrays the duke of the Franks as preeminent among the nobility. One has the distinct impression from this chronicle that nothing is supposed to happen without the knowledge, and apparently the approval also, of this powerful figure.

⁸⁰Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 78. See, also, Historia Francorum Senonensis, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, IX, 367, which states that the peace of Margut was arranged against the wishes of Duke Hugh, the latter's brother, Duke Henry of Burgundy, and even of the army. Moreover, Lothaire's surrender of Lorraine to Otto, "in benefice" or otherwise, was not pleasing to the duke of the Franks. It would seem that Lothaire's diplomatic moves toward peace with Otto II were a slap in the face to Hugh Capet. The duke had openly and forcefully urged the kings at Compiègne to continue the war against Otto. It now appeared that Lothaire chose to ignore his advice, as much as to say that he could do without the duke. Hugh Capet did not like this attitude: "In ipso anno pacificatus est Hlotharius rex cum Ottone rege Remis civitate contra voluntatem Hugonis et Heinrici fratris sui [contraque voluntatem exercitus sui]. Dedit autem Hlotharius rex Ottoni regi in beneficio Hlotharium regnum; quae causa magis contristavit corda principum Francorum."

⁸¹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 74, 75, 76, and 77.

Why, then, should Lothaire exclude Hugh from the peace settlement? By what breach of feudal custom was a lord permitted to proceed in war and peace without calling upon the greatest of his vassals for advice? Hugh, after all, was the instrument of Lothaire's and of the French salvation. So runs the argument, at least, which Richer puts in the mouth of the duke.⁸² The vassals of the duke, to whom these questions were put, were as aggrieved as their lord. They replied by suggesting that Hugh journey to Rome, where Otto was then staying, and seek to ally himself with the emperor.⁸³ Hugh needed little persuading: in March of 981 he arrived in Rome, and in an interview with Otto, secured the friendship and alliance of the emperor.⁸⁴ The result of the increasing rivalry between Hugh and Lothaire was that the combat between the Robertian and Carolingian factions was reopened. Once again for a short duration the horrors of civil war were experienced in the North.⁸⁵

There now appeared for Lothaire a brilliant opportunity: a chance to solve at one crack both of the problems confronting him. His son's position as well as his own might be greatly strengthened, thus thwarting any ambitions

⁸²Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 82.

⁸³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 83.

⁸⁴Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 84 and 85.

⁸⁵Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 86, 87, 88, 89, and 90. These chapters detail the events between the departure of Hugh for Rome (March, 981) and the marriage of Louis V to Adelaide (probably the spring, or later, of 982). During this period Lothaire and Emma tried to rally the support of King Conrad of Trans-Jurane Burgundy and the imperial court in Germany against Hugh Capet. Hugh, on his part, successfully evaded the snares which they had laid for him, and upon returning to his own regions broke out in open revolt against the Carolingian. After much damage had been done to the countryside and the land had again suffered the atrocities of feudal warfare, the hostilities were brought to an end and Hugh and Lothaire were reconciled. See Let, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 122-28.

which Charles of Lorraine was harboring. More important still, Lothaire was presently to be in a position not only to isolate Hugh Capet by diplomacy, but to surround him territorially. The situation presented itself when certain ambitious individuals made their way to the royal court, seeking out Queen Emma. They had come at the instigation of Geoffrey Greymantle, count of Anjou, who was looking to his own interests by inspiring this affair.⁸⁶ These emissaries explained to Emma that tremendous advantages would accrue to the royal family, if Louis were to be married to Adelaide, the widow of Count Stephen of Gévaudan. Stephen, recently dead, had been the richest lord in central Aquitaine.⁸⁷ It was pointed out that Louis would be able to submit all of Aquitaine and Gothia to his authority once he had acquired the strong places which Adelaide's dower would bring. Finally--and here we detect the self-interest of the count of Anjou--by this match Lothaire and Louis would have surrounded the territory of the duke of France, as well as certain others of their enemies.⁸⁸ Needless to say, Lothaire was delighted at the prospect; it must have seemed all too good to be true.

⁸⁶Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 92 and 93. Cf. Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens*, p. 126, n. 3, who argues convincingly that Richer's "Gozfredum comitem" is Geoffrey of Anjou, and not Guifred, duke of Roussillon.

⁸⁷Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 92, says that Adelaide was the widow of Raymond, duke of the Goths. This is a reference to Raymond I, count of Rouergue and duke of Gothia, who died in 961. Cf. Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens*, pp. 127, n. 1, 367, and 368.

⁸⁸Richer, *Historiarum Libri Quatuor*, III, 92: "Enimvero possibile fieri, totam Aquitaniam simulque et Gothiam suo imperio asstringi posse, postquam ex jure ductae uxoris oppida munitissima ad suum jus retorqueret. Magnum etiam quiddam in hac re, et utile comparari, si patre hinc posito, et illinc filio, dux ceterique hostes in medio conclusi, perpetuo urgeantur." It should be noted that the power of the counts of Anjou increased in the tenth century in direct proportion to the restrictions placed upon the power of the dukes of France.

It was. The young Louis was about to exhibit the fecklessness of youth. Lothaire arranged for the marriage without consulting Hugh Capet, who soon learned of it anyway. Nevertheless, Hugh did not attempt to oppose it.⁸⁹ Amidst great preparations the royal family set out for Aquitaine early in 982. At a place called Vieux-Brioude in the Auvergne the groom met his bride for the first time. Neither party was smitten with the other. Louis was an adolescent; Adelaide was an old woman. So says Richer, who was not averse to exaggeration in order to make a story better. In either case, there was a considerable difference in their ages. The marriage took place despite this incongruity, and Adelaide was crowned Queen of Aquitaine and associated with Louis on the throne of France.⁹⁰

The marriage was a hopeless mésalliance. The newly-weds did not love each other. If their ages had not separated them, the manners to which each was accustomed would have. Adelaide was an Aquitanian; Louis, a Frank. They refused to sleep in the same bed, nor even under the same roof. When they had to converse with each other, they did so in the open air, and then they had little to say. After two years of this, the marriage disintegrated.⁹¹

Lothaire had no choice but to leave Louis on his own in Aquitaine. He could scarcely have been expected to stay on himself, for matters were always pressing in the North. Besides, the plan was to have the father and the son situated on opposite sides of the Robertian lands. It would have been far better had Lothaire provided his son with an older, wiser member of the royal

⁸⁹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 93.

⁹⁰Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 93 and 94. Aquitaine was still regarded as a kingdom at this time. See Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 127 and 128, n. 1.

⁹¹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 94.

court, but he did not. Louis was thus left without the benefit of a responsible adult to guide him. Now all the skitterishness of a green adolescent began to show up in his behavior. Louis had come into Aquitaine, Richer tells us, with a splendid reputation as a great and powerful king. In his father's entourage he was one thing, but left to his own devices, the boy was soon discovered to be something quite different. He frittered away his time by aping the manners of the Aquitanians, and soon revealed himself too young, inexperienced, and lacking in constancy to rule effectively. He was incompetent. He squandered his resources to the point that he reduced his own establishment to penury, and could no longer afford to pay his soldiers.⁹²

The situation was so bad that within two years Lothaire had to go down and bail Louis out. Setting out, the king arrived at Vieux-Brioude, where he found his prodigal son. It is not difficult to imagine a great scene between father and son, with Louis blaming everything on his marriage to Adelaide. Nor was this far from the truth. In sum, Lothaire had sent a boy to do a man's job. The boy failed, and together father and son sadly took the long road back to Laon--without Adelaide. It must have been a most unhappy time for the Carolingian family.

The deserted queen was given short shrift. Still smarting from the treatment that she had received, she set out to get herself a new husband in the person of Count William I of Arles. Richer moralizes that the divorce now became a public adultery.⁹³ The whole affair, in fact, had become a fiasco. It had gone from bad to worse, until finally an impossible situation had been

⁹²Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 95.

⁹³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 95: "Et sic ex divortio, adulterium publicum operatum est."

created. The Carolingians began their adventure in Aquitaine with high enthusiasm, with the expectation that they were at last about to put a term to Robertian ambitions. They had found a counterpoise to Hugh's alliance with the emperor. The marriage to Adelaide was to have been a diplomatic manoeuvre brilliant in conception, unparalleled for its finesse. It turned out to be a ridiculous blunder which badly discredited the Carolingian house.

While the marriage farce in the Midi was going into its final act, in Italy the Emperor Otto II was about to pass from the stage. His death on 7 December, 983, ended the alliance with Hugh Capet, just as the Carolingian-Aquitanian union reached its tragi-comic finale. The Robertian and the Carolingian once again faced each other without a strong advantage in prospect for either.⁹⁴ Now conditions in Germany were about to create a situation that would bring to a climax the power struggle in France. The successor to Otto II was Otto III, aged three years.⁹⁵ He had been crowned on Christmas Day, 983, at Aachen. The ceremony had actually taken place after his father's death, but before the news of the emperor had reached Germany. Before Otto had departed for Italy he had arranged for just such a contingency.⁹⁶ When

⁹⁴Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 96, provides us with a clinical report of Otto's fatal sickness. It is habitual with Richer to do so when he describes the death of an important person. Richer had read the Aphorisms of Hippocrates and the work entitled On the Agreement of Hippocrates, Galen, and Suramus (Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 50). One must assume that Richer is reporting, not as an eye-witness, but as one who heard second or third-hand, or even further removed, of the death-bed scenes he describes. His enthusiasm for the science of medicine renders his testimony just a little suspect. He seems anxious to display his skill at diagnosing illnesses. On the other hand, it is equally foolish to label him an outright liar and falsifier. See Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 130.

⁹⁵Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 130. Cf. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 97, who gives the age of Otto III as five years. The new emperor was born in 980, and was thus three years old when his father died.

⁹⁶Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 130.

the German barons learned of the emperor's death, some came out openly against the child's succession, while others were reluctant to have the boy's mother, Empress Theophanu, as a regent. She was a Greek princess with little sympathy for Germany.⁹⁷ The ring-leader of the baronial opposition to young Otto III was the duke of Bavaria, Henry or Hezilo. Duke Hezilo was a resourceful man, who knew how to rally powerful support to his cause.⁹⁸ Those who opposed him were also men to be reckoned with. Two of the latter were Adalbero of Reims and his secretary, the famous scholar, Gerbert. Adalbero was able to convince Lothaire of Hezilo's designs on Lorraine. This was sufficient to cause Lothaire to accept the guardianship of Otto III.⁹⁹ This policy worked temporarily, but the submission of Hezilo at the Peace of Worms (October, 984), left both the Bavarian duke and Lothaire dissatisfied with the gains of the imperial party.¹⁰⁰

By the end of 984 Lothaire had concluded a new alliance with Hezilo, and was ready to resume his old Lotharingian policy. According to their agreement Lothaire would support Hezilo's claims to the imperial throne, and would receive Lorraine in return. At the beginning of February, 985, Lothaire invaded Alsace where he was to be met by the duke of Bavaria.¹⁰¹ When

⁹⁷Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 130-31.

⁹⁸Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 97. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 131, nn. 4 and 5, and 132. Hezilo was the diminutive form for Henry. The Hezilo mentioned here was the son of Duke Henry the Quarrelsome of Bavaria, the brother of Otto I. Hezilo was born in 955 and died in 995.

⁹⁹Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 132-34.

¹⁰⁰Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 140-42.

¹⁰¹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 97 and 98. Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 444-45. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 142 and 144.

Hezilo failed to appear, Lothaire had to lead his own army back across the Vosges mountains in the dead of winter. Along the way his column was harassed by the native montagnards. That the French army was able to extricate itself from a very difficult position was due to the toughness of its troops and to Lothaire's ability as a tactician.¹⁰² His success, in spite of Hezilo's treachery and the bitter Vosges campaign, encouraged Lothaire to proceed with his assault on Lorraine.¹⁰³ He decided to move against Verdun because of that town's strategic importance.¹⁰⁴ In a series of see-saw actions the French besieged the city, captured it, were driven out, and then recaptured it again (March, 985).¹⁰⁵

The second siege of Verdun seemed to justify Lothaire's efforts. It appeared that the aggressive Lotharingian policy of the Carolingians might, after all, prove rewarding. Such was not the case. From this point on the reform clergy, centering about Adalbero and Gerbert at Reims, and their friends in Lorraine, would conspire against the Carolingian house and eventually encompass its fall in the Revolution of 987. The brief lapse of time between Lothaire's recapture of Verdun in 985 and the election of Hugh Capet in 987 saw events move forward at an alarming pace. The last year of Lothaire's reign and the single year of Louis V's belong to that momentous period.

¹⁰²Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 98.

¹⁰³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 99.

¹⁰⁴Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 100. Lothaire was able to secure the powerful support of his vassals, Eudes I, count of Chartres, and Herbert III the Young, count of Troyes. On these two warriors, see Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 370-77.

¹⁰⁵Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 101-08, devotes several chapters to the struggle for Verdun. Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 445. Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium, ed. Waitz, in MGH, SS, IV, 46. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 145-48.

One sees in this period the last desperate struggles of the Carolingians as they continue their wild gamble for the control of Lorraine. One watches with apprehension the rising prestige of the duke of the Franks. Finally, the Carolingian princes attempt to crush the conspiracy within the Church, which is betraying them to the empire. These dramatic developments need only an accident to link them together to form the Revolution of 987.

One can scarcely fail to conclude that the Carolingian dynasty in France retained great vitality during the last century of its power. None of those debilitating habits that sapped the strength of their Merovingian predecessors were present among these men. The last Carolingians were fighters. Charles the Simple, Louis d'Outre-Mer, and Lothaire spent the greater parts of their reigns struggling to maintain themselves. Louis V was little more than a stripling when he died at the age of twenty. His accidental death, cutting him off after only a single year of rule, did not permit him full development of his powers as a man.¹⁰⁶

Unlike the later Merovingians, who destroyed themselves in family quarrels, while the mayors subverted their power, the Carolingians were able to fight openly against their greatest rivals. The climax to this struggle was reached when Louis IV survived the last attempts of Hugh the Great to destroy him. This gave the Carolingians the victory against the ambitious schemes of the Robertians. If the descendants of Robert the Strong had been anxious to seize the crown, and did in fact do so during the early years of

¹⁰⁶For an assessment of Louis V's character and achievements during his brief time as king, see Marius Sepet, "Gerbert et le changement de dynastie", Revue des questions historiques, VII (1869), 519, n. 1. M. Sepet believes that this king ought to be called "Louis le Turbulent", not "Louis le Fainéant". See, also, Iattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 136-39, nos. 102 and 103.

the century, later on they had to recognize the principle of legitimacy. The later Carolingians were no mere puppets who could be jumped this way and that simply by pulling strings. Their power was generally greater than has sometimes been admitted. For the last fifty years of the struggle, that is to say, between 936 and 986, none but a Carolingian wore the crown and held the royal sceptre. For the thirty years after the death of Hugh the Great there was little chance that the descendants of Charlemagne could be forcibly overthrown while living. Lothaire's power was not inconsiderable: he could number among his loyal vassals the counts of Vermandois, Roucy, Blois, and Chartres.¹⁰⁷ A fact frequently overlooked by historians is that the Robertians, while easily the most powerful lords in France during the tenth century, were more and more beset by separatist tendencies among their own vassals. We catch a hint of this in 982 when Geoffrey Grey mantle plotted with the Carolingians against Hugh Capet by suggesting the marriage of Adelaide and Louis. The point is that the Carolingians were strong enough to win the struggle against the Robertians. Paradoxically, they were succeeded by the Robertian family. How did this happen? It is the subject of what follows.

The Carolingian family broke itself against the alliance between the Church and the empire, not against the Robertians, whom they had always managed to stave off. Although Hugh Capet was a constant threat to Lothaire, it was the latter's adherence to the old Lotharingian policy which proved fatal for his line. All of the later Carolingians were hypnotized by the spell of Lorraine. To possess this region became for them a dream, a kind of psychological fixation which they were unable to escape. On this single policy their thinking became rigid, obstinate, adamant in its refusal to accept the im-

¹⁰⁷Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 185.

possible reality that Lorraine had become a fief of the empire. The failure to admit this fact destroyed them by bringing on the Revolution of 987.

The men who carried through the Revolution of 987 were religious reformers, and the center of their activity was Reims. Chief among the reform clergy at Reims were Adalbero the archbishop, and Gerbert the scholar and ideologist. Both were imbued with the new religious spirit emanating from the centers of monastic reform. At bottom their policy rested upon the assumption that the solution to the political chaos of feudal society could be found only through the support and direction which the Church, inspired by reform could give to the empire and the subordinate kingdoms in the West. The empire of the West, now restored by the Ottos since 962, was the sovereign political authority in Latin Christendom. To attack the empire, they reasoned, was to attack the Church--the heart, the mind, and the soul of the Christian body-politic. Moreover, it followed that to make war on the Church was to break the peace of Christ, destroy the agent of civilization, and endanger the salvation of Christian souls. The greatest upholder and practitioner of this political theory had been Charlemagne. His descendants now no longer acted in accordance with it. Indeed, the later Carolingians gave every evidence of wishing to destroy the new order through their policy of aggression against the empire. In effect, the theory remained the same, but the facts of political life had changed. Lothaire and Louis V were becoming the enemies of the Church. For Gerbert, the theorist of the revolution, Otto III was "Caesar", the new Charlemagne.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸This line of reasoning is implicit in and runs through almost all of Gerbert's letters which date from the 980's. See Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 35-144, nos. 1-109, passim. These letters deal with all of those events in the period through the coronation of Hugh Capet (3 July, 987).

The supporters of this theory were reformers, intellectual men who had yet not neglected the practical application of their ideals. Adalbero was the son of a Lotharingian nobleman. He was connected by ties of blood and kinship to some of the best known reformers among the clergy in Lorraine. His friends were the friends of the emperor; he was devoted to the imperial cause.¹⁰⁹ Raised at the monastery of Gorze, he was serving as a canon in the cathedral chapter at Metz when he was chosen as archbishop of Reims in 969.¹¹⁰ In contrast to the brilliant Gerbert, Adalbero was a man of action. As soon as he was consecrated he began his constructive work, repairing the Church materially and spiritually. At Reims he built a cloister for his canons and made them submit to a rule.¹¹¹ He defended the church of Reims against a certain Count Eudes, who threatened war against its possessions.¹¹² He reformed the little house of Thin-le-Moutier, a place repeatedly exposed in the past to the assaults of a local warrior. The inmates were moved to Mouzon, and installed at the abbey there.¹¹³ At Mouzon the canons were made to reform or get out. They had ruined the abbey and it was necessary to rebuild it in order to make it habitable for the monks from Thin.¹¹⁴ In 971 he journeyed

¹⁰⁹Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 63-64.

¹¹⁰Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 22. Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 443. Ex Libro MS. Miraculorum S. Theoderici Abbatis, in HF, IX, 129.

¹¹¹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 24 and 25, gives some interesting details on the reform of the cathedral chapter.

¹¹²Historia monasterii Mosomensis, ed. Wattenbach, in MGH, SS, XIV, 612.

¹¹³Annales Mosomagenses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, III, 160. Historia monasterii Mosomensis, ed. Wattenbach, in MGH, SS, XIV, 609-13.

¹¹⁴Historia monasterii Mosomensis, ed. Wattenbach, in MGH, SS, XIV, 610. Annales Mosomagenses, ed. Pertz, in MGH, SS, III, 161, gives the names of properties with which Adalbero endowed the abbey of Mouzon. The text of Adalbero's decree for the reform of Mouzon is in Mansi, XIX, 33-34.

to Rome to discuss his reforming activities with Pope John XIII. The pope was delighted with his projects. John gave his approval for the plans at Mouzon, and confirmed certain privileges which Adalbero had hoped to secure for the monks of Saint-Remi at Reims.¹¹⁵ Upon his return to France in 972, the archbishop convoked a provincial synod at Mont-Notre-Dame. There he addressed the bishops on the need for reforming the Benedictine life.¹¹⁶ Somewhat later Adalbero saw to the reform of the abbey of Saint-Thierry, located in Reims.¹¹⁷ Three years later, in 975, Adalbero and the papal legate, Stephen, sent a letter to Bishop Theobald of Amiens. In this letter the two reformers raked Theobald over the coals for his various crimes against the Church.¹¹⁸ Finally, we find this indefatigable shepherd causing improvements of an artistic and structural nature to be undertaken on his cathedral church, as well as ordering the construction of the church of Saint-Denis adjacent to his own cathedral.¹¹⁹ Adalbero of Reims was clearly a zealous reformer.

Always at the archbishop's right hand moved the figure of Gerbert, his brilliant scholar-secretary. Gerbert was Adalbero's alter ego: both men thought along similar lines, always with the same end in mind. Adalbero's

¹¹⁵Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 25-29. Mansi, XVIII, 485-86; XIX, 31-32.

¹¹⁶Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 30-42, devotes a considerable amount of space to the subject of monastic reform as it was dealt with in this one synod.

¹¹⁷Ex Libro MS. Miraculorum S. Theoderici Abbatis, in HF, IX, 129. Historia monasterii Mosomensis, ed. Wattenbach, in MGH, SS, XIV, 616.

¹¹⁸Mansi, XIX, 59-62. The letter has been translated by Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 35-36, no. 1: "O Thibaud, aged in days and in evil doing . . . you despiser of divine and human laws . . .", et cetera, et cetera.

¹¹⁹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 22 and 23. Historia monasterii Mosomensis, ed. Wattenbach, in MGH, SS, XIV, 616.

trust in Gerbert was well-placed. The archbishop sought the scholar's advice as one seeks answers from a book, and Gerbert, for his part, was devoted to Adalbero. Together, with infinite finesse, they achieved in fact the main goals of their political theory.

Gerbert was born about 940, probably of a poor and humble family in the Auvergne. He studied first at the abbey of Saint-Gerald at Aurillac, and later in Catalonia, where he acquired an extensive knowledge of mathematics. From there he journeyed to Rome, where he was introduced to the pope and to Otto the Great. He then proceeded to Reims in 973 and shortly became master of the episcopal school. Adalbero had already been consecrated when Gerbert arrived, and it was not long before the scholar became the archbishop's secretary. For a brief time between 980 and 983 Gerbert was closely associated with Otto II, and served as the abbot of Saint Columban of Bobbio. Upon the emperor's death (983) Gerbert was forced to flee first to Pavia, thence to Reims, where he became Adalbero's genius in shaping the great political affairs over the next six years. After Adalbero's death in 989 Gerbert continued his own dramatic career, climaxing it as Pope Sylvester II (999-1003).¹²⁰

Gerbert was no doubt one of the most brilliant men of the entire early Middle Ages. He was secretary to the most powerful prelate in the western Church at the end of the tenth century, save only the bishop of Rome. One

¹²⁰These details of Gerbert's career can be found in a number of works. See, for example, Cambridge Medieval History, III, 535-36. A. Lagarde, The Latin Church in the Middle Ages, translated by Archibald Alexander, pp. 567-68. See, also, Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise (888-1057), pp. 68-69; 526-27. G. Schnürer, L'Eglise et la Civilisation au Moyen Age, Traduction Francaise de G. Castella, II, 237. Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 43-65, devotes a large section to the man under whom he studied at Reims. The best biography of Gerbert is Jean Leflon's, Gerbert, Humanism et Chrétienté au X^e siècle, of which pp. 1-203, passim, have been utilized as background reading for this dissertation. Hereafter this work will be cited as Leflon, Gerbert.

ought to reflect for a moment on the significance of this combination: it was to have a profound effect upon the good fortune of Hugh Capet, to whom both of these reformers increasingly looked as the answer to the vexing problems of Church and State.

The second siege of Verdun was the point of no return for Adalbero. When Lothaire took the city, he captured several of Adalbero's own family.¹²¹ The bonds of blood and kinship were stronger in this case than that which bound the vassal archbishop to the lord king. Adalbero now, more than ever, viewed Lothaire as a tyrant. His opposition to the king had begun much earlier over the question of policy; but now he had become personally involved because of the danger threatening his family from Lothaire's ambitious schemes.¹²²

The faithful Gerbert at once set out to obtain an interview with the prisoners. Eudes of Chartres and Herbert of Troyes, whom Lothaire had assigned to guard Adalbero's kinsmen, made the incredible mistake of consenting to Gerbert's request to see them.¹²³ Consequently he was able to pass on the

¹²¹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 104-08. The names of the principal Lotharingian nobles, some of whom were captured by Lothaire are given in an earlier chapter (III, 103). Cf. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 148-52.

¹²²Adalbero had taken the imperial side at least as early as 978, when Otto II invaded France. It was partly due to Adalbero's help that the German army was able to withdraw as easily as it did. The archbishop furnished the emperor with some spies, who acted as guides for the army. See Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 2.

¹²³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 108. Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 97-98, no. 58. The decision to allow Gerbert to visit the Lotharingian prisoners may have hurt Lothaire, but it probably benefited Eudes and Herbert. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 160, thinks that Gerbert probably bribed his way into the prison-castle. Canon Leflon, Gerbert, pp. 152-53, suggests that the slippery Gerbert had no trouble pulling the wool over the eyes of a couple of heavies like Eudes and Herbert. In his opinion, which is at least plausible, Eudes and Herbert were probably much better at physical things, such as storming castles, than they were up to the mental task of matching wits with the scholar of Reims. Even so, one must remember that if the feudal warriors were not drawing-room diplomats, neither were they fools. One discovers, moreover, that Herbert of Troyes had in fact a certain skill and understanding

messages that the prisoners had for their friends who remained in liberty. The imperial party in Lorraine, disadvantaged by the loss of Verdun and the capture of some of its own leaders, was nevertheless able to close its ranks against the king of the French. To the sons of the imprisoned Count Godfrey, Adalbero's brother, Gerbert wrote advising them of conditions in France:

We are completing this secret and anonymous letter in a few words: Lothaire is king of France in name only; Hugh not in name, it is true, but in deed and fact. If with us you had sought his friendship, and had allied his son [Robert] with the son [Otto III] of Caesar, you would not just now feel the kings of the French to be enemies.¹²⁴

In a flurry of anxious activity which covered three days--5, 6, and 7 April, 985--Gerbert dashed off seven letters urging the friends of the imperial cause to hold fast in their opposition to Lothaire.¹²⁵ Lothaire had probably suspected Adalbero's friendship for some time, but after Gerbert's trip it was no longer a question in his mind. From the king's point of view Adalbero and Gerbert were up to their necks in treason. Indeed, there was reason to believe that their very lives were in danger, according to Gerbert.¹²⁶ The king summoned the archbishop to appear at an assembly to be held on 11 May,

of tenth-century diplomacy, that is to say, that we find him in 990 bribing Pope John XV with the gift of a beautiful white horse. See Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 263, n. 2, and 264.

¹²⁴Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 95-96, no. 55.

¹²⁵Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 94-101, nos. 54-60, passim.

¹²⁶Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 98-99, no. 59. This letter is dated 6 April, 985, at Reims, from Gerbert to the Empress Lady Theophanu: "Matters have reached this point, that it is no longer a question of his [Adalbero's] expulsion, which would be an endurable evil, but they are contending about his life and blood. The same is true of myself, as if I were arousing him against the policies of the kings."

985, at the royal villa at Compiègne.¹²⁷ This meeting was broken up when it was learned that Hugh Capet had gathered six hundred knights.¹²⁸ For the time being the charges against Adalbero were dropped.¹²⁹ The archbishop of Reims owed his office, perhaps his life, to the timely intervention of the duke of France. Clearly an understanding had already been reached between these two men.

On 18 June a reconciliation took place between Hugh and Lothaire.

Ten days later Gerbert wrote to Beatrice of Lorraine:

I am not unmindful of those persons faithful to Caesar. A plot either has been formed or is being formed against the son of Caesar and against you not only by the princes, among whom Duke Charles now openly appears, but also by such knights as it is possible to entice by hope or fear. Through the adroitness of certain persons Duke Hugh was finally reconciled with the king and queen on June 18th in order to create the impression that such a great man's name is promoting the plot--a very unlikely thing, and at this time we think he will not do so.¹³⁰

¹²⁷Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 104-07, nos. 64 and 65. Letter no. 64 is actually not a letter, but a statement of charges brought against Adalbero by King Lothaire, and the archbishop's defense. The document is dated 8 May 985, at Reims. It is followed by Letter no. 65, dated 17 May, 985, at Reims, and addressed to the bishop of Metz, Adalbero II, a cousin of Adalbero of Reims, from Gerbert (see Genealogical Table, Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 482-83). In this letter the meeting of 11 May at Compiègne is mentioned. One assumes, therefore, that it was at this meeting that Adalbero of Reims was to have been tried.

¹²⁸Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 106-07, no. 65.

¹²⁹Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 158.

¹³⁰Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 108-09, no. 67. Beatrice, widow of Frederick, duke of Lorraine (ob. 17 June, 983), was Adalbero's aunt by marriage. Frederick was the brother of Adalbero's father. Beatrice was also the sister of Hugh Capet (Flodoard, Annales, a. 951 and 954). See the genealogical chart on pp. 482-83 of Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens. Frederick, like so many members of this family, was greatly interested in monastic reform (Parisot, Lorraine, pp. 284-85). Hugh Capet was united to the imperial cause through the influence of his sister, Beatrice, as well as by his growing attachment to the Church-State political theories of the Lotharingian reform clergy. For the role of Beatrice in a projected conference of noblewomen for the purpose of bringing about peace between the French kingdom and the empire, see Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 110-11, nos. 69 and 70.

This meant that Lothaire was about to resume his aggression against Lorraine. He may have thought that he had the support of Hugh Capet, but this aid did not materialize.¹³¹ Gerbert had been correct in his estimate of the situation. During the fall and winter of 985 and 986 Lothaire went ahead with his preparations to besiege Liège and Cambrai, the two most important towns in Lower Lorraine.¹³² Toward the end of February he contracted an illness, which becoming extremely severe, settled in his intestines. He died on 2 March, 986, after much horrible suffering.¹³³

The reign of Lothaire's son and successor, Louis V, lasted only a little over one year (2 March 986 to 21 or 22 May 987). It was filled with intrigue, hatred, and violence. The new king was nineteen at the time of his father's death.¹³⁴ We recall that only a few years before, from 982 to 984, his first assignment as his father's associate had ended in failure.¹³⁵ This is not to say that he was a weakling or do-nothing after his father's death. No doubt Louis was young and inexperienced: he seems to have possessed the

¹³¹Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 162.

¹³²Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 108, alludes to Lothaire's new preparations just before the king's death. He gives no details. Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. Bethmann, in MGH, SS, VII, 445. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 162-63.

¹³³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 109, supplies the usual details of the final illness. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 164, n. 1.

¹³⁴Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 108, n. 2.

¹³⁵Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 92-95. This was the affair of Louis' marriage to Adelaide of Aquitaine.

tendency of youth to act rashly from a feeling of frustration.¹³⁶

Upon his succession he was immediately besieged by advisers.¹³⁷ But it was his own violent hatred of Adalbero of Reims that came to determine his policy. One suspects that this boy had been able to observe how his father had been plagued by the endless intrigues that came out of Reims. His own mother, Queen Emma, had been corrupted, openly favoring a rapprochement with the empire.¹³⁸ In his own mind it must have seemed to him that he was surrounded by traitors. The attitude of the queen and the sinister influence of the archbishop combined against him, seeking to persuade him to follow a policy both treacherous and dishonorable to the memory of his father and his father's name. His uncle, Charles of Lorraine, probably played upon these fears, feeding the impressionable Louis with the old rumors of Emma's infidelity with the bishop of Laon.¹³⁹

¹³⁶Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 138-39, no. 103: "In what full measure the wrath and fury of the king [Louis V] have burst forth against us is evidenced by his sudden and unexpected attack. . . ." These were the words which Gerbert wrote in the name of Adalbero to the Empress Theophanu and her son, Otto III. The date of the letter is 15 February, 987, and was written at Reims.

¹³⁷Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 1.

¹³⁸Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 118-19, no. 80; 119-20, no. 81; and 135, no. 100.

¹³⁹Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 135, no. 100. This letter was written by Gerbert for Queen Emma, and was sent to Emma's mother, the Empress Adelaide. It is dated 2 January, 987, at Reims. Portions of it read as follows: "When I lost my husband there was hope for me in my son. He has become my enemy. . . . They have fabricated the wickedest things against the bishop of Laon, to my disgrace and that of my whole family. . . . Would that I might be permitted to love her son [Otto III] since I look upon mine as an enemy. Join the princes of your kingdom to me; my alliance will profit them. . . . prepare attacks against the French from an unexpected direction in order to blunt their menacing attack against us. Meanwhile, indicate either by letter or by a very trustworthy messenger what we should do." Emma, quite obviously from this letter, was deeply involved in betraying her own son to the imperial court.

In this atmosphere of suspicion, anxiety, and frustration Louis V reacted rashly. He turned suddenly upon Adalbero and led the royal army before Reims, investing the city by siege. Hugh Capet, whom the king had hoped would come forward to his aid, now openly appeared in the royal camp. What followed, however, demonstrated that Hugh had no intention of abandoning Adalbero to the king.¹⁴⁰ The specific charge which Louis brought against Adalbero was treason. Scarcely had the siege begun when Adalbero offered to appear in his own defense. Louis then raised the siege of the city on the advice of his vassals, chief among them, Hugh Capet.¹⁴¹

The date of Adalbero's trial was set for 27 March, 987, and the place was the royal villa of Compiègne. But negotiations for peace between Louis and the imperial court brought a postponement of the meeting until 18 May.¹⁴² The assembly was convened at the rescheduled time, but during the first days of the proceedings Louis' accidental death completely overturned the course of events.¹⁴³ His death saved the archbishop. Twice Adalbero of Reims had escaped charges of treason: first in May of 985, when Lothaire had summoned him to answer for treachery, and again under Louis V, two years later, for the identical crime.

After the king had been laid to rest, Hugh Capet assumed the leadership

¹⁴⁰Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 3. Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 138-39, no. 103. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 192.

¹⁴¹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 3, 4, and 5. Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 138-39, no. 103. Proof of Hugh's presence in the king's army, and of his advice to Louis, is seen in the fact that after the latter raised the siege of Reims, he retired to Senlis, a town within the territory of the duke of France. See Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 192, n. 2.

¹⁴²Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 138-39, no. 103; 141-43, no. 107.

¹⁴³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 5.

among the great men in the assembly at Compiègne, and invited any accusers to come forward who wished to proceed against Adalbero on the charge of treason. But he warned them at the same time of the dangers of perjury. Naturally none came forward, and the case was dismissed. Hugh then spoke in favor of the archbishop, countering, as it were, any detracting effects which the trial might have had upon the character of Adalbero. Finally, Hugh urged the assembly to accept Adalbero as the presiding officer for the remainder of the meeting. After this suggestion had been agreed to, there remained the single question which was on everyone's mind. Who would be selected as king to succeed the dead Carolingian?¹⁴⁴

The man upon whom all eyes now fell was Hugh Capet. As Gerbert had observed a few years before, Hugh was king of France in fact, if not in name. And yet, paradoxically it would seem, for all of Hugh's power he appears to us as one of the most shadowy figures in a century filled with faceless men. Phantomlike the duke of the Franks glides across the stage of late tenth-century France. He takes his part in the great events of his time, but seldom emerges from the dim past long enough to allow us a clear view of him as a man. His personality and character are hazy: he is an enigma.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 6-8.

¹⁴⁵Lot, Études sur le Règne de Hugues Capet et la Fin du X^e Siècle (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 147) (Paris: 1903), p. 185. Hereafter this work will be cited as Lot, Hugues Capet. According to Professor Lot, who is the great authority on Hugh Capet, there is very little that can be said with assurance about the personality of this powerful figure. Robert Fawtier, The Capetian Kings of France, Monarchy and Nation (987-1328), translated into English by Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (London and New York: 1960), pp. 13-15, follows Lot's opinion. This work will be cited hereafter as Fawtier, Capetian Kings. Hugh's charters do not reveal much either. There were only a dozen authentic acts for the ten years of his reign (Lot, Hugues Capet, p. 235).

Only one side of Hugh can be seen with anything approaching clarity. He was a man much concerned with the welfare of the Church.¹⁴⁶ Whether he was sincerely more religious or more pious than others among his contemporaries is difficult to say. Richer tells us that after the duke's coronation, Hugh consciously affected a cloak of piety because he recognized that his election had been due to the friendship of the church of Reims.¹⁴⁷ Other evidence, however, suggests that Hugh had already shown himself much earlier to have been a good and reliable friend of the Church. In either case the duke does not seem to have been ignorant of the importance of staying on good terms with the Church, and particularly, the reform clergy.¹⁴⁸ If Hugh Capet did not deli-

¹⁴⁶This opinion has been held by a number of historians, not just as it concerns Hugh Capet but of the entire Capetian line of direct descent. Cf. Favtier, Capetian Kings, p. 67: "The Capetians were favorites of the Church, more especially of the Church in France. In ecclesiastical eyes the kings of France, if not quite tonsured clerics, had something closely approaching a sacerdotal character."

¹⁴⁷Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 12: ". . . felici successu omnia ordinans atque distribuens; et ut beatitudini suae responderet, multo successu rerum secundarum levatus, ad multam pietatem intendit." Richer's words do not seem to indicate that Hugh's piety was a fraud put on with a cynical intent.

¹⁴⁸See Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, p. 107, no. 66. The letter was written by Gerbert to Adalbero of Reims, urging the latter to cultivate Hugh's friendship. It was written at Reims, and is dated 28 May, 985. Hugh, for his part, was also trying to establish some kind of understanding with Adalbero and Gerbert. Only a few days before (11 May) Hugh had interfered directly with Lothaire's plans to try Adalbero for treason. He had gathered some six hundred knights and this threat had been sufficient to scatter the French nobles who had been brought together for the assembly at Compiègne. Gerbert informed Adalbero, also, that Hugh was now seeking Ayrard, abbot of Saint-Thierry near Reims to come with others to Paris. This was undoubtedly requested with the intention that Abbot Ayrard and several of his monks would reform the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Près. Hugh could scarcely have failed to realize that such an undertaking would be most pleasing to the reformer-archbishop of Reims! Hugh had already, in 979, given up his title as lay abbot to Saint-Germain-des-Près. At that time he had put a certain Gualo over the house as abbot. Now Gualo and the bishop of Paris, Elisiardus, had fallen into disagreement, and Hugh, "finding an opportunity", to quote Gerbert, proceeded with a reform that was probably long overdue. On Elisiardus and Gualo, see Gallia Christiana, VII, 41-42 and 432-33, respectively.

berately wrap himself in a cloak of piety, there is, nevertheless, an aura of religious mystique about this man whom the reformers now put forward to solve the political chaos--chaos which for a century had threatened to destroy the Church.

Hugh's concern for the Church put him in almost the same category as the reformers, save only that he was not a member of the clergy. Nevertheless, his numerous benefactions and pious acts reveal a layman dedicated to the Church, and thoroughly caught up in the religious fervor stemming from the reform movement. We have already noted an early example of Hugh's loyalty to the Church. In 959 while campaigning in Aquitaine, he assumed the protection of the abbey of Saint-Genou d'Estreées, after his own troops had pillaged certain of its properties and maltreated some peasants.¹⁴⁹ Some years later, from the 970's on, Hugh became active as a donor to and a reformer of the Church. In 975 he returned the abbey of Saint-Jean to the church of Orleans. The house had previously been granted in fief to one of the duke's vassals, a man also named Hugh.¹⁵⁰ Four years later he caused the abbey of Saint-Magloire at Paris to be reformed. At the same time he made several generous donations to this abbey.¹⁵¹ The same year, 979, Hugh had the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés reformed.¹⁵² In 980 Saint-Valery-sur-Somme and Saint-Riquier both

¹⁴⁹Miracula S. Genulphi, in AASS, Januarii, II, 468-69. Cf. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 32, no. 1, who believes the date 959 is correct.

¹⁵⁰Charta Hugonis Ducis Francorum, in HF, IX, 733.

¹⁵¹Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 644-45, no. XXXIV. See, also, Michel Béziers, Mémoires pour servir à l'état historique et géographique du diocèse de Bayeux (Société de l'histoire de Normandie), I, 50-51.

¹⁵²Gallia Christiana, VII, 433. See footnote no. 148, supra.

were reformed. At Saint-Valery the canons were replaced by monks, and the abbey was endowed with rich gifts by the duke of the Franks.¹⁵³

As the zeal for reform grew with the advancing years of the century, Hugh Capet became increasingly interested in the great work of the Cluniacs. Both he and his son, Robert the Pious, were devoted to the great Burgundian abbey. In 988 we again find Hugh seeking to restore religious life, this time in the abbey of Saint-Denis at Paris. The abbot of the monastery, a certain Robert, had allowed the rule to slip, and it became necessary to reform the monks. This was accomplished thanks to Hugh's intervention by Saints Maieul and Odilo, abbots of Cluny.¹⁵⁴ Odilo, who was the biographer of Saint Maieul, describes the deferential treatment which the Capetian accorded Odilo's predecessor at Cluny: "Hugh, king of the Franks, as often as he saw him [Maieul], received him with humble devotion, and treated him with great honor."¹⁵⁵

Hugh's religious fervor manifested itself in other ways. In 981 he took advantage of his sojourn in Rome to have an interview with Pope Benedict VII (974-83). The pope confirmed Hugh's monastic reforms by issuing a papal

¹⁵³Ex Chronico Centulensi sive S. Richarii, in HF, VIII, 274-75. Ingelram, Ex Historia relationis S. Richarii abbatis ex Sithiensi monasterio in Centulense, in HF, IX, 146. Ex Historia relationis corporis S. Walarici abbatis in monasterium Leuconense, auctore anonymo, saeculo XI, in HF, IX, 147-49. Eudes of Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, Vita Domini Burchardi venerabilis comitis, in HF, X, 356-57.

¹⁵⁴Gallia Christiana, VII, 361-62. Chronicon Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis, ed. Paul Marchegay and Emile Mabille, in Chroniques des Eglises d'Anjou (Société de l'histoire de France, no. 146), p. 384. Odilo, De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis Libellus, in PL, CXLII, 957-58. Ex duobus Libris Miraculorum ejusdem S. Maioli, in HF, X, 362-63. Roberti Regis Diplomata, in HF, X, 581-82, no. IX. Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, pp. 181-82, no. 153.

¹⁵⁵Odilo, De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis Libellus, in PL, CXLII, 957-58: "Hugo, rex Francorum, quoties illum vidit, humili devotione suscepit et cum magno honore tractavit."

bull.¹⁵⁶ In the summer of 996 Hugh made another pilgrimage, this time to the tomb of Saint Maieul (ob. 994) at Souvigny. He was accompanied on this pious trek by his loyal vassal and friend Bouchard, count of Vendome and of Corbeil, and the count's son, Bishop Renaud of Paris.¹⁵⁷ Besides the reforms and pilgrimages that Hugh accomplished, he seems also to have clearly understood the political aims of the reform clergy. He could not have failed to grasp the idea that the Church expected much of kingship, and that the elimination of feudal warfare had a directly and immediately beneficial effect upon the Church. This idea is implicit in a letter that Adalbero of Reims received from Hugh in December of 988.¹⁵⁸

The spirit of piety and the commitment to reform were already a part of Hugh Capet's mental outlook by the time he succeeded to the throne in 987. Richer's remark, while supported by Hugh's behavior after his election, does not satisfactorily account for much of his earlier work as a protector and benefactor of the Church. The religious mystique which began to surround the Capetian was probably cultivated by Hugh once he realized how useful it might become to him. Indeed, Richer is probably correct in attributing some ambitious motives to Hugh's piety. One suspects, in fact, that Hugh was aware of the advantages to be gained from a religious pose well before the events of 987. His reputation as a protector of churchmen was known from an early date. Sometime between 959 and 968 we hear of two Breton clergymen, one a bishop,

¹⁵⁶Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, III, 83-85. Benedicti VII Papae Epistolae, in HF, IX, 248-49, no. V.

¹⁵⁷Ex duobus Libris Miraculorum ejusdem S. Maioli, in HF, X, 362-63. Odilo, De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis Libellus, in PL, CXLII, 958-59.

¹⁵⁸Lattin, Letters of Gerbert, p. 181, no. 152.

the other an abbot, fleeing to Paris from the Danes. They sought and obtained asylum at Hugh's court.¹⁵⁹

Somewhat later, in 980, after Hugh's reputation already had had time to become well-known, an incident occurred which took on the aspect of a staged performance. When one also considers that by 980 Hugh's political ambition and power were agonizingly apparent to Lothaire, and that the Carolingian family was fast losing support, this event shows Hugh to have been a prince whom Machiavelli would have understood well enough. The incident was the reform of the monasteries of Saint-Valery-sur-Somme and Saint-Riquier, and involved the translation of the relics of Saint Valery and Saint Riquier. The occasion was attended by great crowds of peasants and common folk who flocked to see the ceremonies. The religious fervor and excitement quickly produced a rumor that the people believed, and it later became a legend. As the procession bearing the relics approached the banks of the Somme near its mouth, the tide rose. In order to assure themselves that they truly bore the remains of Saint Valery, the party carrying the reliquary rode fearlessly into the river. According to the legend, the waves parted and the procession passed safely to the other side. The following day Hugh himself walked barefoot for more than a league, stooping under the chest which housed the bones of Saint Riquier. He deposited them at the foot of the altar of the abbey church of Centule, which he then caused to be reformed. Afterwards he presented rich gifts to the abbey of Saint Valery, and drove out the canons, installing monks in their place. The story circulated among the monks that Hugh had caused the abbey to be reformed only after Saint Valery had appeared to him in a dream. The saint promised Hugh that if he did this pious work, his descendants would

¹⁵⁹Lotharii Regis Diplomata, in HF, IX, 644-45, no. XXXIV.

be kings unto the seventh generation.¹⁶⁰

The religious mystique that began to cloak about the name and person of Hugh Capet enormously enhanced his reputation as a good lord and a pious man. If Hugh became known as a king zealous for reform and interested in the welfare of the Church, it was in large measure due to his activities while he was still only the duke of France. Whatever his motives, he was strongly influenced by the religious currents of his generation. By 987 his reputation as a loyal son of the Church had long been established. His very power tended to make of him an aloof and mysterious figure. How easily he became in the popular mentality a greater man than he actually was! Powerful, imbued with a religious charisma, Hugh Capet had become in the eyes of the reform clergy, as well, the logical candidate to replace the discredited Carolingian rulers.

Richer, whose Historiarum Libri Quatuor is our best narrative source for the Revolution of 987, leaves no doubt that the election of Hugh Capet was primarily the work of Archbishop Adalbero of Reims. After the duke had turned over the assembly to the archbishop, the latter dissolved it by calling upon the members to reconvene at Senlis a few days later.¹⁶¹ The purpose of the delay apparently was to marshal whatever support was necessary to secure Hugh's election, and to overcome any resistance among certain magnates who remained loyal to the principle of legitimacy, to the Carolingian family, or

¹⁶⁰Ex Chronico Centulense sive S. Richarii, in HF, VIII, 274-75. Ingelram, Ex Historia relationis S. Richarii abbatis ex Sithiensi monasterio in Centulense, in HF, IX, 146. Ex Historia relationis corporis S. Walarici abbatis in monasterium Leuconense, auctore anonymo, saeculo XI, in HF, IX, 147-49. Eudes of Saint-Maur-les-Fosses, Vita Domini Burchardi venerabilis comitis, in HF, I, 356-57.

¹⁶¹Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 7, 8, and 10.

to both.¹⁶² The assembly gathered at Senlis toward the end of May, and moved to Noyon, where on 1 June, 987, Hugh Capet was unanimously proclaimed king. He was accepted as king by all the regions of Gaul. The coronation was held at Reims on 3 July. Adalbero, assisted by some other bishops, performed the ceremony of anointing the new king.¹⁶³ Thus the alliance between Hugh Capet and Adalbero of Reims was brought to its natural conclusion.

What was involved in this revolution was something more than the mere elimination of Carolingian ambitions on Lorraine. Undoubtedly the safety of the Ottonian line and the integrity of the empire were foremost in Adalbero's mind. Perhaps, though, there was an even more fundamental purpose underlying the agreement between Hugh and Adalbero. The election of Hugh Capet strongly suggests a design on the part of the reform clergy to bring to power a known and trusted friend of the Church--one who would preserve order among the magnates, and work for the good of the Church and Christian society as a whole. Hugh Capet appears to have been raised to the throne by a group of reform prelates, who saw in him the one individual ideally suited by means of both his military power and religious zeal to solve the political chaos, which for a century had threatened to destroy the Church, and with it the hope of civilization, peace, and Christian salvation.

¹⁶²Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 201-02. Charles duke of Lower Lorraine, the younger brother of Lothaire, was the only remaining Carolingian candidate. He was a man whom the French nobles detested. Moreover, he was considered by the reform clergy as a threat to the Church and the empire of Otto III. As king of France, he would probably have revived the old Carolingian-Lotharingian policy. This was, of course, abhorrent to the clergy of the imperial party. Still more important, he was an enemy of the Church. In 979 Charles showed how much he cared for the Church by permitting his army to pillage the properties of the bishopric of Cambrai. In addition to that crime, he himself dissipated the treasure of the Church, sold prebends right and left, and trafficked in other ecclesiastical dignities. See, Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, p. 112-13.

¹⁶³Richer, Historiarum Libri Quatuor, IV, 10-12. Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens, pp. 211-12, n. 1.

CONCLUSION

The tenth century opened in crisis: most of Western Europe was torn by strife. In the train of political collapse came a failure of law. The Pax Carolingiana, insofar as it had existed in the time of the great Emperor Charles, was now a shred. In place of law and order, there was only the memory of an earlier time. At every level of society men were forced to look only to their own survival. Among the warrior class, this meant a fierce struggle for power. The petty war lords, as well as the great magnates, attempted to consolidate their own particular pieces of real estate. "Men devour one another like fishes in the sea", bemoaned Hervé of Reims in the year 909. In the chronic warfare, something of civilization was lost. Once the Carolingian family had sought to assist the Church in promoting the welfare of society and the salvation of the Christian people. Now in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, desperate men came forward whose interests were fundamentally antagonistic to those of the Church. In consequence, the Church was swept into the new secular order and corrupted through its domination by an ignorant and barbarous feudality.

The tenth century closed with a solution to the crisis of the earlier decades. Where disintegration of the bonds of society had characterized the break-up of the Carolingian Empire, reconstruction now began to occur. Toward the end of the century, order was replacing the anarchy caused by barbarian invasion and feudal warfare. And now, too, reforming elements were eliminating many of the worst abuses to be found in the Church and the World. To the crisis of collapse, anarchy, corruption, and war, a solution had been found

in reconstruction, order, reform, and peace.

What is the explanation for this brilliant achievement? How had society been enabled to overcome the staggering problems which had confronted it? Faced with crisis, society found its solution through the inspired leadership of the Church. The Church was terrified at the beginning of the century by the nightmare of horror and destruction caused by the barbarian blitzkrieg and the violent feudal warriors. Awakening to its responsibility as the leader of Christian society, the Church galvanized itself to the gigantic task of revival through a reforming offensive. Leaders appeared among the clergy, who assumed their proper role as the moral conscience of an outraged society. The necessity for the Church to set its own house in order was realized with a new urgency. And the logical place to begin was the Benedictine monasteries, for centuries the nuclei for the spread of civilization and salvation.

The Burgundian monastery of Cluny had the most profound impact in the reforming movement. Not only was Cluny responsible for the attraction to herself of many daughter houses, but she created new centers of reform out of venerable establishments, like Fleury-sur-Loire, which, in turn, spread the movement elsewhere. Even more significant was the influence of both Cluny and the reform clergy of Lorraine on the direction of political affairs. Cluny's contribution was to popularize piety among all classes, and especially among the nobility, to make fashionable the performance of an outward act of religious zeal. The Lotharingian reformers, on the other hand, were imbued with political ideas which strongly urged adherence to a new European unity based on a recreation of Charlemagne's Imperium Christianum.

The quarter-century between 962, when Otto the Great of Germany took the title of emperor, and 987, when Hugh Capet was crowned king of France,

coincided precisely with the first rush of the renewed religious zeal sparked by the Benedictine monastic reform. The success engendered by the reform movement inspired the Church to a greater vision of stability and ultimately the universal establishment of peace. This dream as an actual program came to be predicated upon the solution to the political chaos between the Robertians and the Carolingians, and which had devoured the kingdom of the western Franks for a century. What was needed, specifically, was a king of France who had given sufficient proof of his love and loyalty to the Church, and who, furthermore, posed no threat to the new imperial order that had been created in Germany. The events of 987 in France did, indeed, constitute a revolution --a revolution conceived in the spirit of reform, stability, and peace by the clergy of Lorraine. The agent and right hand of that revolution was Archbishop Adalbero of Reims, a noted reformer. The instigator and mastermind of that revolution was the ubiquitous Gerbert, scholar and intellect, himself strongly influenced by Cluny, but at heart a politique firmly attached to the imperial doctrines current at the German court. Thus, the reform movement, the Imperial Coronation of 962 and the Revolution of 987 all became part of the same drama. To put it another way by borrowing a famous formula: without Otto the Great, Hugh Capet would have been inconceivable.

For the rest, as epilogue, one may point to the final achievement of a reformed and inspired Church. This was the great movement for peace. Begun in the second half of the tenth century in southern France, it coincided with the ideals that were being spread by Cluny to renew all of society with a heightened sense of spiritual expression. The Peace of God, first proclaimed in a series of Church councils in the Midi, was the supreme manifestation of the Church's attempt to inspire feudal society in tenth-century France with a renewed commitment to civilization and Christian salvation.

THE SOURCES

There are several excellent bibliographical guides for the history of the Middle Ages. The Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen age in three volumes by Ulysse Chevalier follows a bio-bibliographic and a topobibliographic format. Dahlmann-Waitz, Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte is the exhaustive German bibliography covering political, legal, religious, social, economic, and cultural history. Volume I is useful for the Carolingian period. An older bibliography, but extremely valuable, for the history of medieval France is Alfred Franklin's Les Sources de l'histoire de France. It describes the large collections available for the use of the scholar, and gives a short historical sketch of the development of each, along with their contents and organization. The best brief guide for a student beginning work in medieval history is Louis Halphen's Initiation aux Études d'Histoire du Moyen Age. It contains a short résumé of all the major collections and lists of the important secondary works. The book also gives useful information on the national archives and libraries of Europe. Volumes 1, 2, 3, and 6 (Index) of Auguste Molinier's Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, six volumes, were helpful. They contain only information relating to primary sources. Similarly August Potthast, Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi, deals with primary sources only. There are brief descriptions of the sources and information on where each can be found in the great printed collections. It is an older bibliography, but very helpful for locating particular sources.

The discussion of primary sources that follows, it is hoped, will give the reader some indication of the variety of materials used, as well as

a partial understanding of some of the complexities involved in dealing with a relatively obscure period in history. The first group of sources below fall into no general category, other than being special collections or relating to specific events.

The indispensable tool for working in medieval French ecclesiastical history is the Gallia Christiana, edited by Denis de Saint-Marthe, and others, between 1715 and 1865. Essentially, it is a history of the Church in Gaul from the earliest times. It is arranged by provinces and dioceses, and a brief history of every archbishop, bishop and abbot is given, chronologically, insofar as scholars have been able to establish their identities. For the councils of the Church the great collection is the Sacrorum Conciliorum et Decretorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, edited by J. D. Mansi, in fifty-three folio volumes. The collection, generally referred to simply as Mansi, is the authority for oecumenical, provincial, and diocesan councils, East and West, over the entire medieval period. Sir William Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum was useful for this essay because it contains the Concordia Regularis, a document important as it relates to both the monastic reform and the development of the liturgical drama. The epic poem Raoul de Cambrai, edited by MM. P. Meyer and A. Longnon, forms a part of the cycle of Charlemagne. It would seem indisputable that this chanson de geste was inspired originally from France during the reign of Louis IV d'Outre-Mer. It is a classic tale of feudal warfare. The Introduction to the volume has some interesting material relating to the monastic reform movement. Another brief source, not readily classified elsewhere, is the Epitaphia Ragenoldi. This was a commemorative verse to Renaud, count of Roucy, caused to be written down presumably by members of his family after his death. As an historical source concerning the life of a brigand nobleman, it suffers from family bias.

The Collationum Libri Tres by Saint Odo, the second abbot of Cluny, is a violent satire on the Church in the tenth century before the monastic reform had had time to produce its salutary results. What purports to be a recitation on the life of an ideal monk, is in reality a description of the worst sort of sins and vices. Odo's other works, including the Opuscula de Musica, were cited as an illustration of the saint's education and cultural accomplishments. Finally, in this group, one ought to mention Abbo of Fleury's Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum Reges Francorum, a treatise written for the edification of Hugh Capet and Robert the Pious against the machinations of Bishop Arnulf of Orleans. Toward the end of it Abbo classifies as nonsense the idea that the end of the world was imminent about the year 1000.

The second group of sources are the annals. They are numerous and of widely varying importance. Some are quite brief, others are extremely valuable. By far the most important are the Annales of Flodoard, who was a priest of the church at Reims. This source is easily the best narrative account for the Robertian-Carolingian struggle, and generally for the history of northern France between 919 and 966. Flodoard's continuator carried the Annales from 976 to 978. Its great value lies in the fact that Flodoard was close to many of the important people and events that occurred at this time. Moreover, the Annales may be characterized as clear, factual, and accurate. Flodoard's purpose was to record the important events as they happened, and to reserve judgment and interpretation for a later generation. Only in a few instances did Flodoard permit himself the risky luxury of passing judgment on contemporary events and persons. Flodoard's breadth of vision is significant, distinguishing his annals from some of those composed in monastic scriptoria. Events which occurred as far afield as Lorraine, Germany, and Italy drew his attention. There is little concerning Burgundy and Aquitaine.

Another excellent source is the Annales Vedastini, composed at the abbey of Saint-Vaast near Arras by an unknown monk. It contains much factual detail, is reliable for its chronology, and is especially useful in connection with the Viking raids during the reign of Eudes. Two other works for the region of Flanders and Brabant are the Annales S. Bavonis Gandensis, covering the years 611 to 1350, and the Annales Laubienses, which goes from 418 to 1054. The Annales Blandinienses was of limited use. The detail is scant and dry, and there are faults in the chronology. The same author wrote the first part until 1060, the whole being a history from the birth of Christ until the year 1292. The Annales Elnonenses Maiores were probably taken, in part at least, from the Annales Blandinienses. They also are brief, but extend from 542 until 1224. They record events from the Cambrai, Arras, Tournai region.

For Champagne the Annales Mosomagenses are good, especially for the reforms of Adalbero of Reims at the abbey of Mouzon. They begin in 969, the year of Adalbero's appointment to the see of Reims. It would seem that part of Adalbero's reform at Mouzon included the keeping of a history in the form of the annals in question. For Burgundy the Annales Besuenses from A.D. 1 to 1174 give an eye-witness's account of the Viking and Magyar raids at the monastery of Bèze. Another work was composed at the cathedral of Nevers, which provides some exact information connected with the reigns of Louis IV d'Outre-Mer and Lothaire. The Annales Floriacenses, for the region around Orleans, are brief and of local interest, as are the Annales Masciacenses of Massay in the diocese of Bourges. For Périgord, the Limousin, and La Marche one consults a source composed at Saint-Martial of Limoges. These are the Annales Lemovicenses covering the period from 687 until 1060. The source is of local interest, but was derived from some chronicles written at Sens, a center for the writing of history.

The Annales Fuldenses is the best ninth century source for Carolingian history in Germany. It was cited in this essay for some light which it cast upon the tactics employed by the Viking raiders. Another source for events in Germany between 703 and 926 is the Annales Alamannici. It was put together at Saint-Gall as a collection drawn from the scriptoria at Murbach, Reichenau, and Saint-Gall. The Annales Altahenses Maiores also contains some interesting material dealing with Lothaire's relations with the empire in the 970's and 980's. It was written by a certain Wolfherius of Hildesheim, who died about 1033.

Besides the annals, a variety of other narrative sources revealed many precious details concerning the history of this time. These sources are the numerous chronicles, histories, deeds, acts, which appear in a variety of titles. Several of this group may be classed together as being of fundamental importance. Again, one must look first to the historian Flodoard and his Historiae Ecclesiae Remensis Libri Quatuor. The fourth book covers the years from 882 to 948. It was dedicated on this latter date to Archbishop Robert of Trèves, who had only months before presided over the reforming councils of Verdun (947) and Mouzon (948) and who had also taken a leading role in the great general council at Ingelheim (948). Flodoard's friendship with Robert is significant, for it shows that the reforming influences of the Lotharingian clergy were already mingling with those emanating from the church at Reims. In any case, Flodoard's Four Books of History of the Church of Reims relates in much detail the vicissitudes which that metropolitan see was forced to endure. Flodoard was an eye-witness, though perhaps not personally involved, in many of the great events at this time. His testimony is highly reliable.

Richer, whose Historiarum Libri Quatuor is also in four books, was a monk of Saint-Remi of Reims from about 969. His work is original in part from

970 but especially so from 978. The four books cover the years 888-995. For the history of his times before 972, Richer borrowed heavily from Flodoard's Annales and from oral traditions or stories told to him by his father, who was a vassal of Louis d'Outre-Mer, and also from tales related by other people of his acquaintance. He had access to the archives at Reims, which contained the writings and documents of Gerbert. Moreover, he seems to have had a familiarity with the legends which composed the Carolingian epic cycle in the ninth and tenth centuries. Richer is a delight to read, although as an historical source he must be used with caution.

Educated as a pupil of Gerbert, Richer appears to have been an eager learner, having mastered in time the classical philosophers Aristotle, Cicero, and Porphyry, as well as the Roman poets and historians Virgil, Terence, Juvenal, Horace, Lucan, and Sallust. Modern historians have established beyond the shadow of a doubt that Richer was enamored with the style of Sallust and Livy, and imitated the former especially. His enthusiasm for medicine and military tactics reveals a decidedly didactic quality in his personality. The positivist historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century have been a bit humorless and carping about Richer, emphasizing his faults as an historian, and tending to forget the value of his achievement. It should be noted that Richer is the historian of the Revolution of 987. He is important also because he conveys the mood of the intelligentsia of his day. The love of the classics, and the ability to demonstrate one's familiarity with them is a distinguishing trait of the learned classes in the late tenth century. It is a hallmark of the Ottonian court, infused with and caught up in the spirit of things Roman after 962. Gerbert, who appears to have developed something of a fetish in this respect, liberally sprinkled his letters with classical illusions. This fashion for things classical in Richer is charming

for its enthusiasm; in Gerbert, who is personally less attractive, it comes out as traditional academic arrogance, always in bad taste.

Flodoard and Richer were the two most important authors consulted for this essay. Others, however, deserve mention. Regino, abbot of Prum in 892 was a reformer and a man educated in canon law and music. His Chronicon was written in two books, the second extending from 741 to 906. The style is simple, and he used a variety of good sources. Regino was contemporary to events from 892 until 906. His work is sometimes faulty in the matter of chronology. His continuator, who carries the work from 907 until 967, is favorable to the Saxon dynasty, and is thought to have been Adalbert, the archbishop of Magdeburg and the Apostle of Russia. Another monk, Folcuin, wrote two works, the Gesta Abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium, composed about 961 or 962, and the Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium, written about 980. Folcuin was an inmate of Saint-Bertin before becoming abbot of Lobbes (965-90). Both histories were based on the archives of their respective abbeys, and both are important for the history of northern France and Lorraine.

The Historiarum Libri Quinque of Raoul Glaber is a work of major importance. Raoul, whose epithet means "the Hairless" was born in 985 in the country of Auxerre. He died sometime about the years 1045-47. He became a monk at Cluny and knew Saint Odilo and William of Volpiano. Raoul spent some time at several other monasteries, namely Saint-Germain of Auxerre, Bèze, and Moutiers-en-Puisaye. He seems to have been an undisciplined sort of man, filled with a mystical spirit that shows up strongly in his Five Books of History. The work was intended as a history of Europe, but is reliable chiefly for events in Burgundy and France. Raoul was much concerned with Christian eschatology and millenarianism. He is especially good for reflecting the popular religious spirit of his day.

One notes besides the foregoing major works a host of others. Three of twelfth and thirteenth-century composition that were of limited use were, first the Chronica of Alberic, a monk of Trois-Fontaines, a Cistercian abbey in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne. It was written between 1227 and 1251, and devotes a good deal of space to the history of Champagne. The Chronicon of Hugh, a monk of Fleury-sur-Loire, was composed in the early years of the twelfth century. The third was the Chronicon of Richard the Poitevin, or Richard of Cluny, put together sometime during the third-quarter of the twelfth century.

Still other chronicles may be classified because of their importance as sources for local history. For Champagne one may cite the Chronicon S. Columbae Senonensis. This work goes from 459 until 1193, but was begun in the ninth century, and is original from the year 804. The Chronicon S. Petri Vivi Senonensis, written by a certain monk, Odoran (985-1046), contains some interesting material connected with the death of Hugh the Great, and the succession of his sons. Odoran, who was a noted artist and literary figure besides, wrote his Chronicle between 1032 and 1045. Another work with the same title was written by the monk Clarius, who was first at Fleury, and later in residence at Saint-Pierre-le-Vif. Clarius wrote his work at Sens in 1108 and 1109. He used for sources the Annales Senonensis, the writings of Hugh of Fleury, and the charters of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif. The work covers the period A.D. 1 to 1124, and after 1109 has various continuators. The Historia Francorum Senonensis, from A.D. 688 to 1015, was copied at Sens between 1015 and 1034. It may be criticized for mistakes in chronology, for the author was not contemporary with the tenth century. The Chronicon S. Medardi SueSSIONENSIS extends from 497 until 1260. The fragment from 877 to 986 has very brief entries, but mentions the Hungarian invasions and

certain beneficia of King Eudes to the monastery. We have, in addition to those above for the history of Champagne, a Book of Memorials by Guitherius, an abbot of Saint-Loup of Troyes. This is a short history of the abbey based on its charters. The work is cited as Guitheri Abbatis S. Lupi Trecentis Memorialis Libellus.

An excellent source for the history of Burgundy is the Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, composed in the mid-eleventh century. There is, also, the Chronicon Besuense of John, a librarian at the abbey of Bèze in 1119. The work provides us with some details concerning the Norman invasions in Burgundy.

The Midi is represented by the work of Adhemar of Chabannes. Born into a noble family of Aquitaine in 988, Adhemar died in Jerusalem in 1034. He was a monk at Saint-Cybard in Angoulême and studied at Saint-Martial of Limoges. Much of his literary effort went into establishing proofs that Saint Martial of Limoges was a direct disciple of Christ. His Historiarum Libri Tres traces the history of the Franks from their origins until 1028. The divisions of his work are interesting, for they reflect the recognition of the greatness of Charlemagne. Book I, based upon the Gesta regum Francorum and the continuators of Fredegar, goes from the origins until 768, the date of Charlemagne's succession. Book II covers the great emperor's reign, and is derived from the Annales Laurissenses. Book III, from 814 until 1028, is also based upon the Annals of Lorsch until 829. After that, Adhemar uses a variety of sources, including the Annals of Aquitaine, oral traditions, and other lost written sources. His method was to correct the sources he employed, wherever they were found to be in error, to modify their style, and to add details when he had further information at his disposal. The Three Books of History is an excellent source for events in Aquitaine in the

tenth and eleventh centuries. Saint-Martial of Limoges, it ought to be noted, was a pilgrim stop. Consequently, Adhemar had access to much hearsay information. The chronology of the work is bad, and Adhemar had a particular relish for anecdotes and colorful stories. Adhemar also wrote a work entitled Commemorato abbatum Lemovicensium basilicae S. Martialis apostoli, which concerns the deeds of the abbots of Saint-Martial. From the twelfth century we have a compilation drawn from a variety of local Aquitanian annals. This work is called the Chronicon Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis.

English history enters into this paper chiefly in connection with the movement for the reform of the abbeys. Two compilations show the connection between the English reform and that on the continent. They are the Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon and the Historians of the Church of York.

Similarly, Lotharingian and German histories are of interest to us here only as they relate to developments in France. In this respect the Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium is of great value for the light which it focuses upon the activities of certain feudal warriors, whose principal source of leisure time enjoyment was derived from terrorizing the bishops of Cambrai. This work was written by a canon of the cathedral of Cambrai, an individual who was a close friend and associate of Bishop Gérard I (1012-48) of that see. For Germany the work of the Saxon monk, Widukind of Corvey (ob. c. 980), is an important contemporary account for the reign of Otto the Great. It was given the title Res Gestae Saxonicae, and was written down in the year 967 largely on the basis of oral traditions. Another work, the Chronicon of Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg (1009-18), was composed in bad Latin between 1012 and 1015. About the same time a certain Albertus, who was a monk at Saint-Symphorien of Metz, wrote his De Episcopis Mettensibus Libellus. Only a fragment remains dealing with the episcopacy of Bishop Deodericus (978-84).

Two other chronicles valuable for information concerning Lothaire's aggressions on Lorraine, are the Chronographia of Sigebert and the Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium, both written with an imperial bias.

Evidence for the barbarian blitzkrieg may be found, of course, in many of the sources described above. The following, however, are especially revealing in one way or another. Le Siège de Paris par les Normands, poème du IX^e siècle is a modern verse translation, with notes, by Henri Waquet, of an eye-witness account by the monk Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Près. Abbo (ob. 921) wrote this exciting poem about the year 897, eleven years after the fact. To some extent the source reflects this hiatus by confusing the chronology in certain places. The original Latin verse was dedicated to Aimoin of Saint-Germain-des-Près, who was the master of Abbo. The poem recounts the stirring drama of the Great Siege of Paris in the winter of 885-86. The poem is magnificent because Abbo had the ability to convey for all time the terror, the courage, the spirit of résistance, which gripped the beleaguered citizens of Paris in that dark and difficult moment of their history. We hear also of the depredations of the Vikings in their excursions through Francia during the last years of the ninth century, when the land was torn by civil war between the Robertian, Eudes, and the Carolingian, Charles the Simple. Abbo wrote his poem in three books, or Songs, the third having been added out of deference to the Trinity. The third Song is frankly didactic in nature and was written for the moral edification of the clergy, further evidence supporting the thesis that the clergy had indeed sunk to a low state at this time in history.

Another source for the Vikings at this time was written by Dudo, the dean of the church at Saint-Quentin in the Vermandois. Dudo (c. 960-65 to 1043) was sent by the count of Vermandois to Duke Richard I of Normandy about

the years 986-87. The history, which is entitled De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducem Libri Tres, was composed between 1015 and 1026 at the request of Duke Richard. It is highly laudatory in tone, much of it having been based on oral traditions that were retold to Dudo by Count Raoul of Ivry, who was the bastard brother of Richard I. Dudo embroidered the tradition adding legends then current in the popular mentality, and even creating some out of his own fecund imagination. Thus, the source is useful, but fraught with perils for the modern historian attempting to reconstruct with any degree of accuracy a clear picture of what the Norman chieftains Hasting, Rollo, William Long-Sword, and Richard did, or did not, do.

Three other histories may be mentioned in connection with the Normans. The Chronicon de Gestis Normannorum in Francia covers the years 833 to 911. It was written sometime after the latter date at the monastery of Saint-Bertin, and is drawn from the Annales Bertiniani and the Annales Vedastini. The Chronicon Sithiensi Sancti Bertini contains an epic account of the defense of that abbey against a Viking assault in the winter of 890-91. Finally, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was consulted for information concerning the movements of the Northmen between England and northern France.

For the lightning-like raids of the Magyars the Chronicon Turonensi has some interesting details, as does the B. Casuum S. Galli continuatio by Ekkehard IV, a monk of Saint-Gall. The Historia Gestorum Regum et Imperatorum, sive Antapodosis by Liutprand of Cremona (ob. c. 972) provides an explanation for the manner in which the Saracens established themselves at Fraxinetum. It was written between 958 and 962, and contains errors in chronology. Liutprand was a man with wide diplomatic experience; one, it would seem, who was extremely able and learned, and who, at the same time, could allow a natural wit to give vent to a crude and sarcastic ridicule. The Chronicon Nemausense

contains a single brief entry testifying to a sudden barbarian raid that passed through that region of Languedoc near the city of Nîmes. It does not identify the raiders.

Certain chronicles were useful for extracting evidence relating in one way or another to the state of the clergy, the monastic reform, or the new religious spirit. The Acta Pontificum Cenomannis reveals a great deal about a succession of unworthy bishops, who occupied the episcopal throne at Le Mans in the course of the tenth century. The Historia monasterii Mosomensis testifies to the reforms carried into that abbey by Adalbero of Reims in 970 and 971. The anonymous author of the Historia episcoporum Autissiodorensium mentions several lay and ecclesiastical figures involved in the reform of certain monasteries, and clearly indicates his favor toward their efforts. Elsewhere we see evidence of the same reform movement, as in the Chronicon S. Michaelis in Periculo maris, the Gesta Consulum Andegavorum, and in the Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegavensis in unum Congestae. Some legendary material, revealing the intensity of the new spiritual fervor, comes to us through the pens of two monks from the abbey of Saint-Riquier. Hariulf is generally accepted as the author of the Chronicon Centulensi sive S. Richarii, but he states that he is merely the continuator of a certain Saxovalus (fl. 1067-68), who began the chronicle. Hariulf was born in Ponthieu about 1060, and became a student at the abbey of Saint-Riquier. In 1105 he was made abbot of Oudenbourg near Bruges. His work is divided into four books, the last ending in 1088, but it was reviewed and completed later on about the year 1104. Hariulf used a great variety of sources, including saints' lives, miracles, general histories, charters of the monastery, letters, and lists of abbots. He also took account of popular legends about saints and chansons de gestes.

Saints' lives in the early Middle Ages remained one of the most popular

forms of literature for all classes of society. This type of literature had the virtue of being at once an adventure story, and a vehicle for religious instruction and moral edification. The lives of saints enjoyed a resurgence of popularity toward the end of the tenth century, when hagiography was emphasized as a part of the program for restoring the monasteries. The lives of the saints reveal a great deal about popular religious conceptions, and the attitudes and prejudices of society as a whole. Thus, they have been an important source in the writing of this dissertation. From the Miraculis S. Bertini by an anonymous tenth-century author, we learn, for example, of how an attack on the monastery of Saint-Bertin by a group of Vikings was repulsed by the monks who resided there. The barbarian raids receive a substantial amount of attention in the saints' lives. Two examples one may cite from the tenth century are the Vita S. Viventii and the Vita S. Deicoli Abbate Lutrensi. A twelfth-century source, the Acta, Translationes et Miracula S. Prudentii martyris, Libri IV, by Theobald of Beze contains miracles reputed to have occurred in the tenth century. From the Vita Beati Geranni Episcopi we read of another Christian victory over the Vikings in the early tenth century. The Miracula S. Genulphi Episcopi contains evidence of barbarian incursions in the region of Berry. Finally, the Vita Sancti Bobonis contains a legendary account of the Christian storming of the Saracen stronghold at Fraxinetum.

The biographies of certain holy men, who lived in the tenth century, also tell us something about the monastic reform. One has only to recall a few of the more important individuals whose lives and works are recorded in such writings as the De Vita Joannis Abbatis Gorziensis, John of Salerno's Vita Sancti Odonis, the Vita Sancti Maioli by the monk Syrus, as well as the later De Vita Beati Maioli Abbatis Libellus. The latter was composed by Saint Odilo himself about the year 1033. And it was Odilo who also directed an anonymous

monk of Souvigny to write a work entitled Duobus Libris Miraculorum ejusdem S. Maioli. Details concerning Adalbero of Reims appear in the Liber MS. Miraculorum S. Theoderici Abbatis. Sometimes laymen had biographies written about them. Examples are the Vita Domini Burchardi Venerabilis Comitum by Eudes, a monk of Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, composed in 1058, and Saint Odo's book De Vita Sancti Geraldii Auriliacensis Comitum. These two counts, needless to say, had led exemplary Christian lives.

Several sources deal solely with the translation of a saints' relics from one place to another, thus revealing something about the care and devotion with which tenth-century Christians lavished upon their patron intercessors. One may consult for evidence of this phenomenon the following sources: Ingelram's Historia relationis S. Richarii abbatis ex Sithiensi monasterio in Centulense; Odoran's Historia Translationis SS. Saviniani, Potentiani, et cetera in Senonense S. Petri Coenobium; and the Historia relationis corporis S. Walarici abbatis in monasterio Leuconaeense by an anonymous eleventh-century author.

The wave of piety that swept across Western Europe in the second half of the tenth century was a manifestation of the great religious revival which began with the reform of the Benedictine abbeys. The heightened religiosity of the age made a profound impression upon the Christian mentality, and found expression in a renewed popular interest in miraculous events. In this connection we may note the De Miraculis Sanctae Fidis Liber by a certain Bernard, who was a scholar from Angers and a student of Fulbert of Chartres. His Book Concerning the Miracles of Saint Faith was written between 1007 and 1020, and is extremely valuable for what it tells us about the manners and customs of people in the Midi. Bernard was very devoted to Saint Faith, who was a virgin and martyr, dead at Agen in A.D. 303. Her relics were brought to Conques a little

before 883, and miracles began to occur at her shrine shortly thereafter. Conques became important as a pilgrimage site, Bernard having visited there on three different occasions. This source is divided into four parts, the first two of which were written by Bernard. Parts Three and Four were composed later on in the eleventh century by a monk from Conques, who was an eye-witness to the events which he describes.

Another work written about the same time as Bernard's Liber was the De Miraculis S. Benedicti by Aimoin, a monk at Fleury. An anonymous author, who lived and wrote about the middle of the eleventh century, describes certain miracles that occurred at Provins toward the end of the tenth century in a book entitled the Miracula S. Aigulphi. Saint Ayoul was an abbot at Lerins, who died about 680. Finally, one may cite two more saints' lives, which proved useful in this study. They are Adso's Vita S. Waldeberti and the Vita S. Wolfkangi episcopi by a certain Othlo.

Letters of certain important men were also used in attempting to gain insights into their thoughts and actions. The Letters of Gerbert with his Papal Privileges as Sylvester II, Translated with an Introduction by Harriet Pratt Lattin, were essential as a source for that part of this essay that deals with the Revolution of 987 and the events which led up to it. The Letters of Popes John IX, John X, and John XI, as well as those of Benedict VII, were also consulted in connection with either the problems of converting the pagan Vikings, or reforming the abbeys.

The last important group of primary sources were the charters or diplomas of privileges and immunities granted by certain powerful magnates. In almost every case these grants were made by a layman, usually by a king, to a monastery for the purpose of erecting fortifications against pagan or Christian invaders (in some cases, against both), or instituting a religious reform. At

times charters were referred to as a convenient method for establishing proof of the location of one or more persons on a certain date. Two monastic cartularies, those of Savigny and Ainay, were cited as examples for the purpose of demonstrating by quantitative proof the sharp increase in grants of land and other beneficia by the nobility in the course of the second half of the tenth century. The point here, of course, was to give graphic illustration of proof of the increase in piety among the ranks of the nobility, as a consequence of the impact of the monastic reform movement.

Books and periodicals written, translated, or edited by modern scholars were of tremendous value in conducting the research for this dissertation. Among the reference works, A Catholic Dictionary, edited by William E. Addis and Thomas Arnold, was helpful for checking precise definitions of unfamiliar ecclesiastical terms. The Cambridge Medieval History, edited by J. R. Tanner, et al., provided additional background material when needed.

A number of books about the early Middle Ages and medieval France were used. One may cite G. Bayet, C. Pfister, and A. Kleinclausz, Le Christianisme Les Barbares, Merovingiens et Carolingiens (Histoire de France, éd. E. Lavissee, Tome II, Première Partie). In the same series Achille Luchaire's Les Premiers Capetiens (987-1137) (Tome II, Deuxième Partie) was equally helpful for the change of dynasty in 987. Robert Fawtier's The Capetian Kings of France, Monarchy and Nation (987-1328), Translated into English by Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam, has a careful assessment of the character and personality of Hugh Capet.

A History of Early Medieval Europe, 476-911 by Margaret Deanesly has some interesting chapters on the Church and cultural achievements. Especially good for a clear, detailed exposition of the major political developments in tenth-century France is Augustin Fliche, L'Europe occidentale de 888 à 1125.

Marc Bloch's Feudal Society, Translated by L. A. Manyon, is the most comprehensive book on the subject. Le film de l'Histoire médiévale en France, 843-1328 by Robert Latouche uses reproductions of manuscript illuminations and drawings, of objets d'art, and source quotations to recreate a picture of the times.

German history is expounded by Ernst Dümmler, Geschichte des Ostfränkischen Reiches. For England the best work, highly useful, is Sir Frank M. Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England. Sir James H. Ramsay, The Foundations of England (B.C. 55-A.D. 1154) and Albany F. Major, Early Wars of Wessex were also consulted for particular points.

There are several important books on the barbarian peoples who struck Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. The standard work on the Vikings is Johannes C. H. R. Steenstrup, Normannerne. T. D. Kendrick's A History of the Vikings is useful for the discussion of the causes in Scandinavia of the Viking expansion. P. H. Sawyer's excellent book, The Age of the Vikings, gives a more favorable appreciation of the Viking people, and minimizes the destruction which the raiders caused. For the Magyars Denis Sinor's History of Hungary was used, as well as A. W. A. Leepers' A History of Medieval Austria, edited by R. W. Seton-Watson and C. A. Macartney. Professor Macartney's The Magyars in the Ninth Century is particularly good for its use of linguistic evidence in determining the early history of those wild nomadic people. The best book in English on the Arabs is Philip K. Hitti's History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present. Professor Hitti places in clear perspective the activities of the Saracen pirates in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Secondary works specializing in the history of particular regions were of enormous help in conducting the research for this dissertation. The works that follow are the standard monographs for each geographical area. Robert

Parisot's Histoire de Lorraine, and Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens by the same author, are both comprehensive studies. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne depuis le VI^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du XI^e, published this two-volume study in 1859 and 1860, but it is still an excellent guide. For Burgundy Maurice Chaume's Les origines du duché de Bourgogne is a scholarly study filled with detail pertinent to this essay. René Merlet's Les Comtes de Chartres, de Chateaudun, et de Blois aux IX^e et X^e siècles focuses on fief-building in that region. A much larger study is Arthur Le Moyne De la Borderie's Histoire de Bretagne. It is a massive six-volume work based on primary sources. Volumes II and III proved useful. Rounding out the region north of the Loire, one may cite Michel Béziers' Mémoires pour servir à l'état historique et géographique du diocèse de Bayeux, I (Société de l'histoire de Normandie).

For the Midi the standard work is the Histoire Générale de Languedoc by Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissète, 16 volumes, quarto. L'Aquitaine Carolingienne (778-987) by Léonce Auzias is the best secondary work dealing with the turbulent political activities of the feudality in that locale. Alfred Richard's Histoire des Comtes de Poitou, 778-1204 is excellent for biographical as well as political data. Two works by René Poupardin are definitive studies: Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888-1038) and Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens (855-937). Finally two other works proved helpful in connection with the new religious spirit in the second half of the tenth century. They were P. Clerjon's Histoire de Lyon and André Steyert's Nouvelle Histoire de Lyon. The latter publication superseded the study by Clerjon.

The role of Christianity as a civilizing agent in the early Middle Ages is discussed by Christopher Dawson in his Religion and the Rise of Western Culture. The same general point of view, particularly the work of the Church

in creating a cultural community, is presented by Gustave Schnürer, L'Église et la Civilisation au Moyen Age, Traduction Française de G. Castella. André Lagarde's book The Latin Church in the Middle Ages, translated by Archibald Alexander, is a good one-volume survey of medieval ecclesiastical history.

More specialized studies concerning the Church proved to be even more valuable for the purposes of this essay. É. de Moreau, La Formation de l'Église médiévale (Histoire de l'Église en Belgique, II), contains a substantial quantity of material relating to the Lotharingian reformers and the good work that they accomplished. Also excellent is Emile Amann and August Dumas, L'Église au pouvoir des laïques (888-1057). Professor Dumas has a superior article entitled "L'Église de Reims au temps des luttes entre Carolingiens et Robertiens (888-1027)", in Revue d'histoire de l'église de France, XXX (1944). It outlines the main political events during this important period, and discusses the part played by the Church at Reims in the feudal struggles. Another article of importance is by Marius Sepet "Gerbert et le changement de dynastie", in Revue des questions historiques, VII (1869), and VIII (1870). The Hefele-Leclercq edition of the Histoire des Conciles was indispensable for gauging the reaction of the Church to the various problems that it faced in the tenth century.

The following books were a tremendous aid in connection with the movement for the reform of the Benedictine abbeys. Watkin Williams Monastic Studies (Historical Series, No. LXXVI, in the Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CCLXII, was used for biographical material. All aspects of the reform are covered by Dom Philibert Schmitz, Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît, Volume I. Dom David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, is a leading scholar in the field of monastic studies. Also, Margaret Deanesly's Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church is particularly good for its cultural

orientation. J. A. Robinson's The Times of Saint Dunstan was consulted for certain details on the career of that reformer. Two articles cast further light on special aspects of the reform movement. Eric John's "The King and the Monks in the Tenth-Century Reformation", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 42, No. 1 (1959-60), was helpful. The other, "History and Texts of the Benedictine Reform of the Tenth Century", appeared in Modern Language Notes, VIII (1893).

Biographical data was obtained from Horace K. Mann's The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages, Volume IV. Eleanor Shipley Duckett's Saint Dunstan of Canterbury, A Study of Monastic Reform in the Tenth Century is both scholarly and entertaining. The best biography of Gerbert is by Jean Leflon, entitled Gerbert, Humanism, et Chrétienté au X^e siècle.

The definitive monographs published under the auspices of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études cover the political history of tenth-century France in exhaustive detail. They represent the finest scholarship by a distinguished group of French medievalists, who studied in the seminars of Gabriel Monod and Arthur Giry toward the end of the nineteenth century. This dissertation owes much to the following historians and their work: Édouard Favre, Études, comte de Paris et roi de France (882-898); Auguste Eckel, Charles le Simple; Philippe Lauer, Robert I^{er} et Raoul de Bourgogne, rois de France (923-936), and Le Règne de Louis IV d'Outre-Mer; Ferdinand Lot, Les Derniers Carolingiens. Lothaire, Louis V, Charles de Lorraine, 954-991, and Études sur le Règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du X^e siècle; and, the last of this group, Christian Pfister, Études sur le Règne de Robert le Pieux (996-1031).

Finally, several volumes may be classified for their value to those aspects of this study that dealt with cultural achievements in the tenth century.

One may cite Sir Francis Oppenheimer's The Legend of the Ste. Ampoule in this category. The Histoire Littéraire de la France, éd. Paulin Paris, has been published in sixteen volumes. Volume VI is devoted exclusively to the tenth century. It is a massive study of the chief writers in France in each century, and contains much valuable information derived from primary sources. The volumes are quarto, and each runs to many pages. Originally, the work was undertaken in 1733 by Dom Antoine Rivet de la Grange (1683-1749), who published nine volumes covering the history to the middle of the twelfth century. The work was continued after Dom Rivet's death by his fellow monks in the Benedictine Congregation of Saint-Maur. In 1814 the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres took over the job of editing the collection.

The little book entitled The Dark Ages by W. P. Ker contains some biographical information on medieval writers. The author's description of the Viking mentality, and character was informative. Ferdinand Lot's Études sur les légendes épiques françaises served to establish one individual's tie of vassalage to a tenth-century lord of Vermandois.

Such cultural achievement as was produced during the tenth century came in part, at least, as a result of the monastic reform. In this connection several books contributed evidence. J. M. Clark's The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art was useful, as was Gustave Reese's book Music in the Middle Ages. Certain technical details were extracted from the article by H. Anglès entitled "Gregorian Chant", in the volume Early Medieval Music up to 1300, edited by Dom Anselm Hughes (The New Oxford History of Music, edited by J. A. Westrup, et al., II). Medieval drama grew out of the Church's practice of celebrating the Easter and Christmas services by permitting members of the choir to act out parts drawn from scripture, while the liturgy was being

sung. In this way the liturgical drama was born. The Medieval Stage by Karl Young, and The Drama of Medieval England by Arnold Williams both contributed significantly to the part of this study which deals with that historic cultural achievement.

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