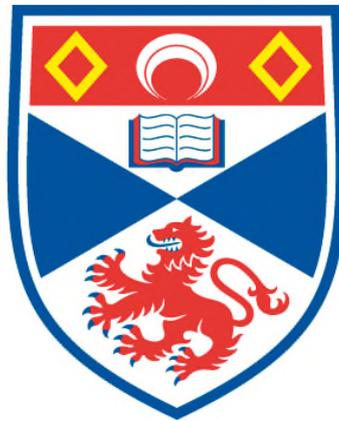


**COMMUNITY, CULT AND POLITICS: THE HISTORY OF THE
MONKS OF ST FILIBERT IN THE NINTH CENTURY**

Christian Harding

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



2010

**Full metadata for this item is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:**

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/915>

This item is protected by original copyright

Community, cult and politics: the history of the monks of St
Filibert in the ninth century.

Christian Harding
Department of Mediaeval History
University of St Andrews
June 2009

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of
St Andrews.

Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abbreviations	ii
Maps	viii
Architectural plans	xviii
<u>ONE: Introduction</u>	
I: Historiography	1
II: Texts and movements	7
III: Aims of this study	10
<u>TWO: Texts, authorship and dedications</u>	
I: Introduction	17
II: Texts	
i: Dedicatory passages and <i>De Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Filiberti</i> - Book one	18
ii: <i>De Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Filiberti</i> - Book two	23
iii: The <i>Chronicon Trenorchiense</i>	24
iv: The <i>Vita Filiberti</i>	26
v: Ermentarius' <i>Vita Filiberti</i>	36
III: Authorship	39
IV: Patrons	
i: Hilduin of Saint-Denis	43
ii: Charles the Bald	61
V: Conclusions	66

THREE: Noirmoutier to Déas

I: Introduction	68
II: Northmen, Bretons and Carolingian politics	
i: Northmen	73
ii: Brittany and the Carolingian March	89
iii: Wala and Adalhard	104
III: Filibertine trade	115
IV: Architectural developments at Déas	132
V: Popular devotion and neighbouring cults	
i: Local responses to the cult of St Filibert	136
ii: Competing cults	144
VI: Conclusions	150

FOUR: Déas to Cunault and Messais

I: Introduction	153
II: Déas to Cunault	
i: Dating and description	155
ii: Political contexts	161
iii: Trade at Cunault	182
III: Cunault to Messais	
i: Dating and description	187
ii: Viking influence on the third translation	193
iii: The political context	195
IV: Conclusions	212

<u>FIVE: Authorial intent, genre, and the community as audience</u>	
I: Introduction	215
II: The community of St Filibert as audience	216
III: Miracle accounts and the translation narrative	233
IV: Reflections on genre	243
i: Responses to the Northmen	244
ii: Textual comparisons	250
V: Conclusions	265
<u>SIX: Conclusion</u>	<u>268</u>
<u>Bibliography</u>	<u>279</u>

Acknowledgements

Although it may not always have felt like it, it has been a real privilege to have been able to spend the past few years working on this thesis. It would never have been possible for me to do so had it not been for the constant and gracious support, both financial and emotional, that I have received from my parents and all of my family. I am extremely grateful for it. My thanks also go to the University of St Andrews for the grant of the Bullough scholarship whose funding was vital. This process would never have been begun without the encouragement and guidance of Julia Smith, nor would it have been completed without the diligent efforts and support of Simon MacLean. I count myself very fortunate indeed to have had two such excellent supervisors both of whom have given me more time, help and advice than I can mention. I have been surrounded by a great number of people throughout my time in St Andrews both before and during my postgraduate studies all of whom deserve my thanks for their friendship. I cannot mention them all here, but I hope that they know who they are. I can't resist the temptation to quote Bilbo Baggins whom Tolkien had say, 'I don't know half of you half as well as I should like, and I like less than half of you half as well as you deserve.' Thanks go to everyone in the department of Mediaeval History at St Andrews for an extremely valuable experience and a lot of help, support and kindness. Those whose generous assistance has been especially important include but are not limited to Briony Aitchison, Dorothy Christie, Sally Crumplin, Sumi David, Linsey Hunter, Melanie Maddox, Jen McRobbie, Alex O'Hara, James Palmer, Jason Roche, Angus Stewart, Berta Wales, Audrey Wishart, Alex Woolf, Matthew Zimmern. To them and everyone else, I owe what sanity I have preserved.

Abbreviations

In order to preserve space all references to original source material in the footnotes have been abbreviated. Each abbreviation is listed below. A full list of sources and secondary material used is given in the bibliography.

<i>AB</i>	Felix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard and Suzanne Clémencet (eds), <i>Annales de Saint-Bertin</i> (Paris, 1964).
<u>Admonitio</u>	<u>Admonitio Generalis</u> (789), <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia regum francorum</i> , 1, ed. Alfred Boretius (Hanover, 1883), 53-62.
<u>AE</u>	<u>Annales Engolismenses</u> , <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores</i> , 16, ed. Georg H. Pertz (Hanover, 1859).
<u>AF</u>	<u>Annales Fuldenses</u> , <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi</i> , ed. Georg H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze (Hanover, 1891).
<u>AMP</u>	<u>Annales Mettenses Priores</u> , <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi</i> , ed. B.de Simson (Hanover and Leipzig, 1905).
<u>ARF</u>	<u>Annales Regni Francorum inde ab a. 741. usque ad a. 829 qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses Maiores et Einhardi</u> , <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi</i> , ed. Georg H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze (Hanover, 1895).
<u>AX</u>	<u>Annales Xantenses</u> , <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi</i> , ed. B. de Simson (Hanover and Leipzig, 1909), 1-33.
<i>Bella parisiacae</i>	<i>Viking Attacks on Paris: The Bella parisiacae urbis of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés</i> , ed. and trans. Nirmal Dass (Paris, 2007).

- Capitularia de causis Capitularia de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis, 811 in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia Regum Francorum*, 1, ed. Alfred Boretius (Hanover, 1883), 7, 163.
- Chronici Fontanellensis Fragmentum Chronici Fontanellensis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, 2, ed. Georg H. Pertz (Hanover, 1829), 301-304.
- Chronicon Falco, Chronicon Trenorchiense in René Poupardin (ed.), *Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)* (Paris, 1905), 71-106.
- Chronique de Nantes* *La Chronique de Nantes (570 environ - 1049)*, ed. René Merlet (Paris, 1896).
- Concilium Monguntiense Concilium Monguntiense, 813 in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio III, Concilia*, 3, Pars I, ed. Albert Werminghoff (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906), 36, 272.
- DEF* *Dictionnaire des églises de France*, Vol. III, *Sud-Ouest* (Bordeaux, 1967).
- De fide Carolo De fide Carolo Regi servanda, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, no. 125, cols 0961-0984.
- DOP Hincmar of Rheims, De Ordine palatii, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer (Hanover, 1980).
- Edictum Pistense Edictum Pistense, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia Regum Francorum*, 2, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause (Hanover, 1897), no.273.
- Epitaphium Paschasius Radbertus, Epitaphium Arsenii, in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, 120, cols. 1557-1650.
- Ermold* *Ermold le Noir: Poème sur Louis le Pieux et Épitres au Roi Pépin*, ed. and trans Edmond Faral (Paris, 1932).
- Frothaire* Michel Parisse (ed.), *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien: Frothaire de Toul (ca 813-847)* (Paris, 1998).

- Gesta Dagoberti Gesta Dagoberti I. regis Francorum, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 2, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1888), 396-425.
- Gesta Hludowici Thegan, Gesta Hludowici Imperatoris, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Ernst Tremp (Hanover, 1995), 167-260.
- HITAB Historia inventionis et translationis Ss Agnetis et Benigni in Acta Sanctorum, editio novissima, Jan. II, ed. Godefrid Henschenius (Brussels, 1863), 721-724.
- HSC* *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a Record of his Patrimony*, ed. Ted Johnson South (Cambridge, 2002).
- Libellus* *Symeon of Durham: Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie: Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham*, ed. and trans. David Rollason (Oxford, 2000).
- MGHEpist* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum*, 4, ed. Ernst Dümmler (Berlin, 1895).
- MMV Miracula Martini abbatis Vertaventsis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 3, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1896), 564-575.
- NCMH, I *New Cambridge Medieval History*, I, c.500-c.700, ed. Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 2005).
- NCMH, II *New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, c.700-900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995).
- Nithard Nithard, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, ed. and trans. Philippe Lauer (2nd edition Paris, 1964).
- ODS* *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* ed. David Farmer (4th edition, Oxford, 1997).
- Ordinatio Ordinatio Imperii, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capitularia*, 1, Hludowici Pii Capitularia, 814-827, no.136, 270-273.

- RAC, I Georges Tessier, *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve Roi de France*, I (840-860) (Paris, 1943).
- RAC, II Georges Tessier, *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve Roi de France*, II (861-877) (Paris, 1952).
- RAPP Léon Levillain, *Receuil des Actes de Pépin Ier et de Pépin II Rois d'Aquitaine (814-848)* (Paris, 1926).
- Reginonis Chronicon Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Friedrich Kurze (Hanover, 1890).
- RHGF *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 6, ed. Martin Bouquet (Paris, 1870).
- Schieffer Thomas Schieffer, Die Urkunden Lothars I. 822-855, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Diplomata Karolinorum, III, Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata* (Munich, 1979).
- SEECO Odilo Engels and Stefan Weinfurter (eds), *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae Occidentalis ab Initio usque ad Annum MCXCVIII, Series V, Germania, Tom. I: Archiepiscopus Coloniensis* (Stuttgart, 1982).
- Settimane *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull' Alto Medioevo*.
- Symeonis Opera* Historia translationum sancti Cuthberti in Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea, Vol. I, ed. John Hodgson Hinde (Durham, 1868), 158-201.
- TMF, I Ermentarius, De Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Filiberti, Liber I in René Poupardin (ed.), *Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)* (Paris, 1905), 19-58.
- TMF, II Ermentarius, De Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Filiberti, Liber II in René Poupardin (ed.), *Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)* (Paris, 1905), 59-70.
- TMMP Paul Edward Dutton: The translation and miracles of the blessed martyrs Marcellinus and Peter in Paul Edward Dutton, (ed. and trans.), *Charlemagne's Courtier: The*

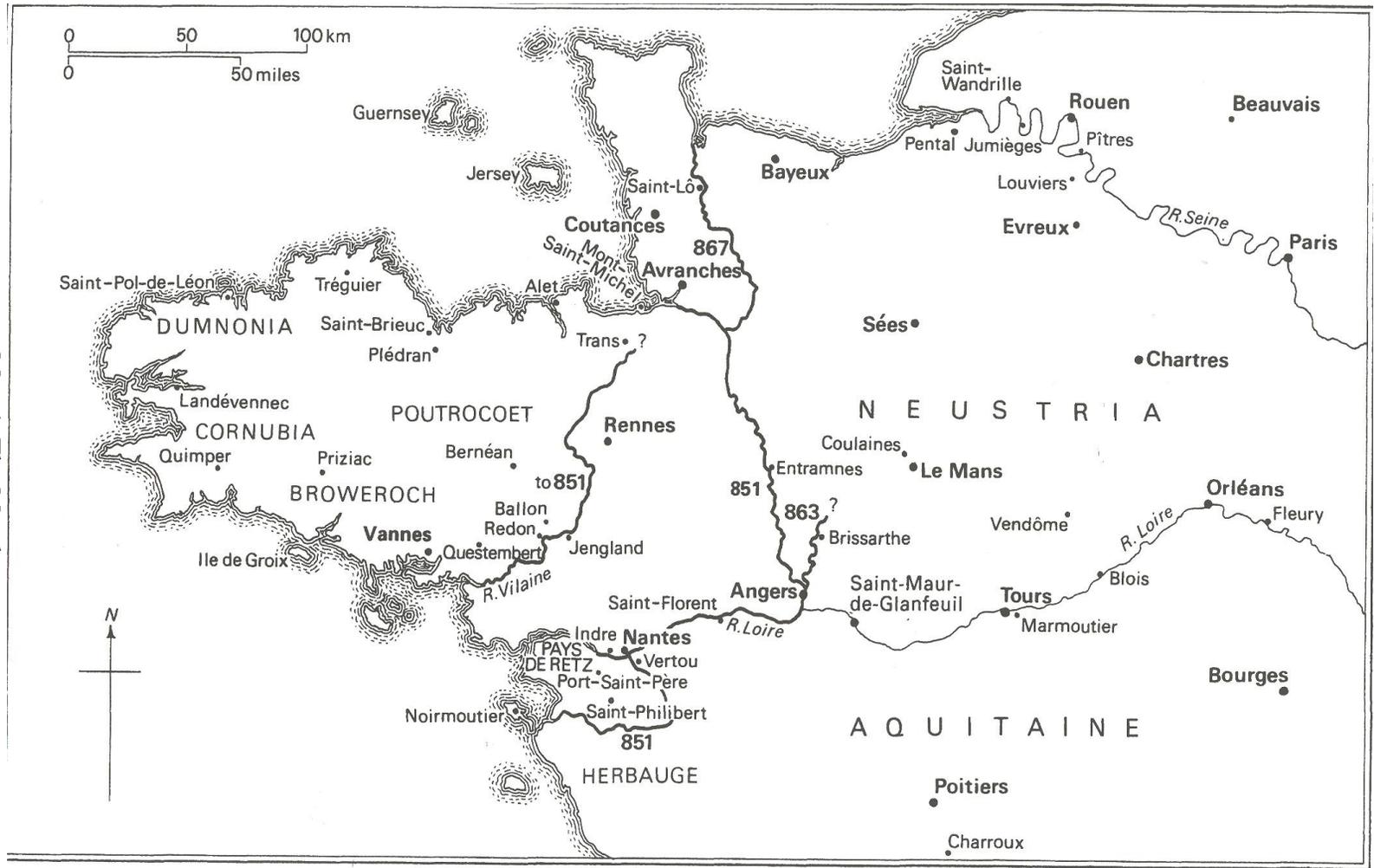
complete Einhard (Peterborough, Ontario, 2003), pp 69-130.

- TMMPE Translatio et miracula sanctorum Marcellini et Petri auctore Einhardo, ed. Georg Waitz in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, vol. 15.1 (Hanover, 1888), 239-264.
- VA Vita Austrebertae, *Acta Sanctorum*, editio novissima, Feb. II, ed. John Cornandet (Paris, 1864), 419-423.
- VAR Vita Audoini episcopi Rotomagensis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 5, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hanover and Leipzig, 1910), 536-567.
- VB Vita Sanctae Balthildis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 2, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1888), 475-508.
- VF Vita Sancti Filiberti in René Poupardin (ed.), *Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)* (Paris, 1905), 1-18.
- VK Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni, 6th edition, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum seperatim editi*, ed. Georg Waitz (Hanover, 1911).
- VFGH Vita Filiberti Abbatis Gemeticensis et Heriensis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 5, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hanover and Leipzig, 1910), 568-604.
- Vita Hludowici Astronomus, Vita Hludowici imperatoris, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Ernst Tremp (Hanover, 1995), 279-555.
- VLFL Vita Lantberti Abbatis Fontanellensis et Episcopi Lugdunensis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 5, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hanover and Leipzig, 1910), 606-612.
- VS Vita Sancti Sidonii Abbatis, ed. L'Abbé Legris in *Analecta Bollandiana*, X (Paris, 1891), 406-440.

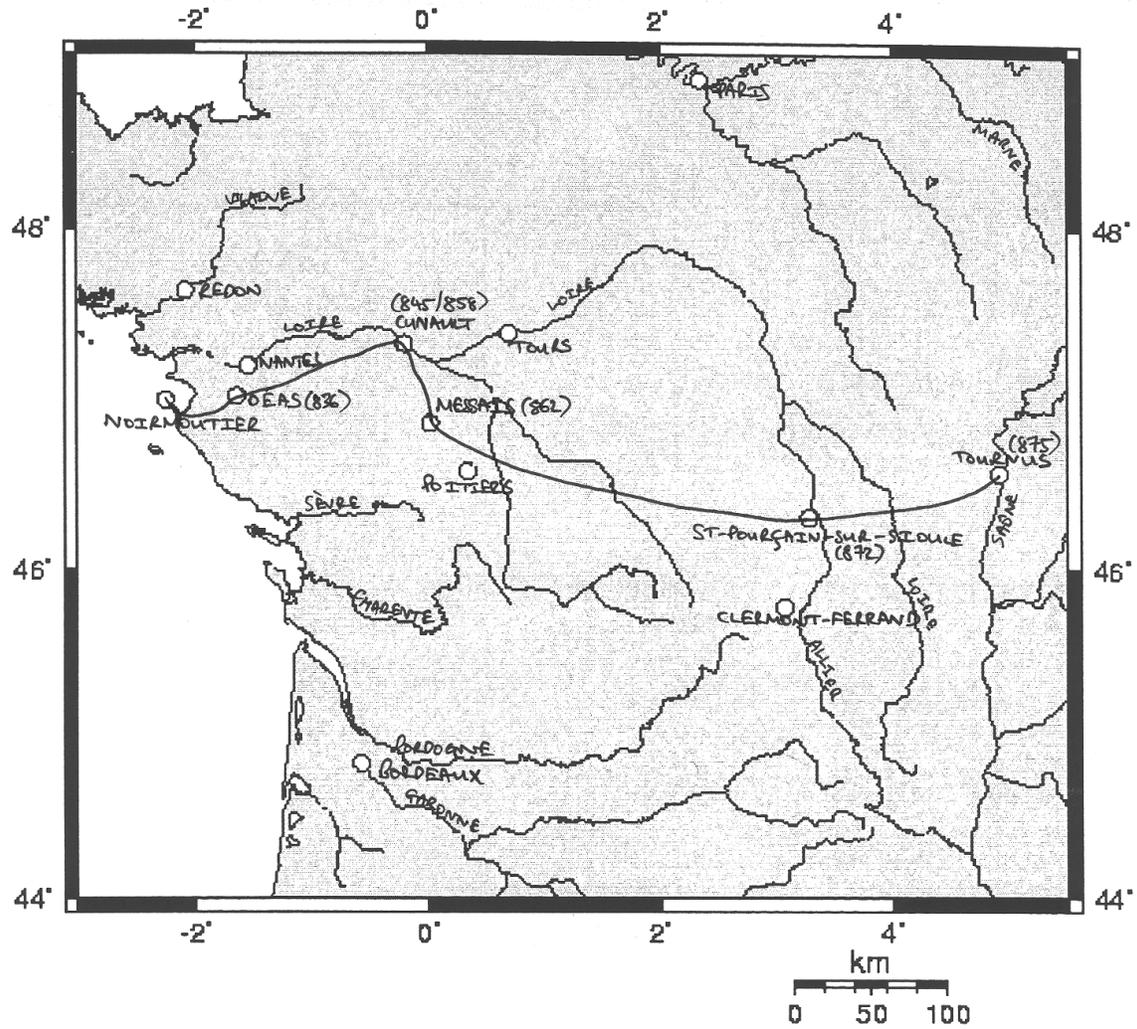
- VSA Paschasius Radbertus, Vita Sancti Adalhardi Corbeiensis Abbatis, in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, 120, cols.1507-1556.
- VSus Vita (Sancti Aichardi) Suspecta, Auctore anonymo monacho Gemeticensi, *Acta Sanctorum*, editio novissima, Sep. V, ed. John Cornandet (Paris and Rome, 1866), 85-99.

Taken from Smith (1992), xix.

Map 1: The Marcher zone.



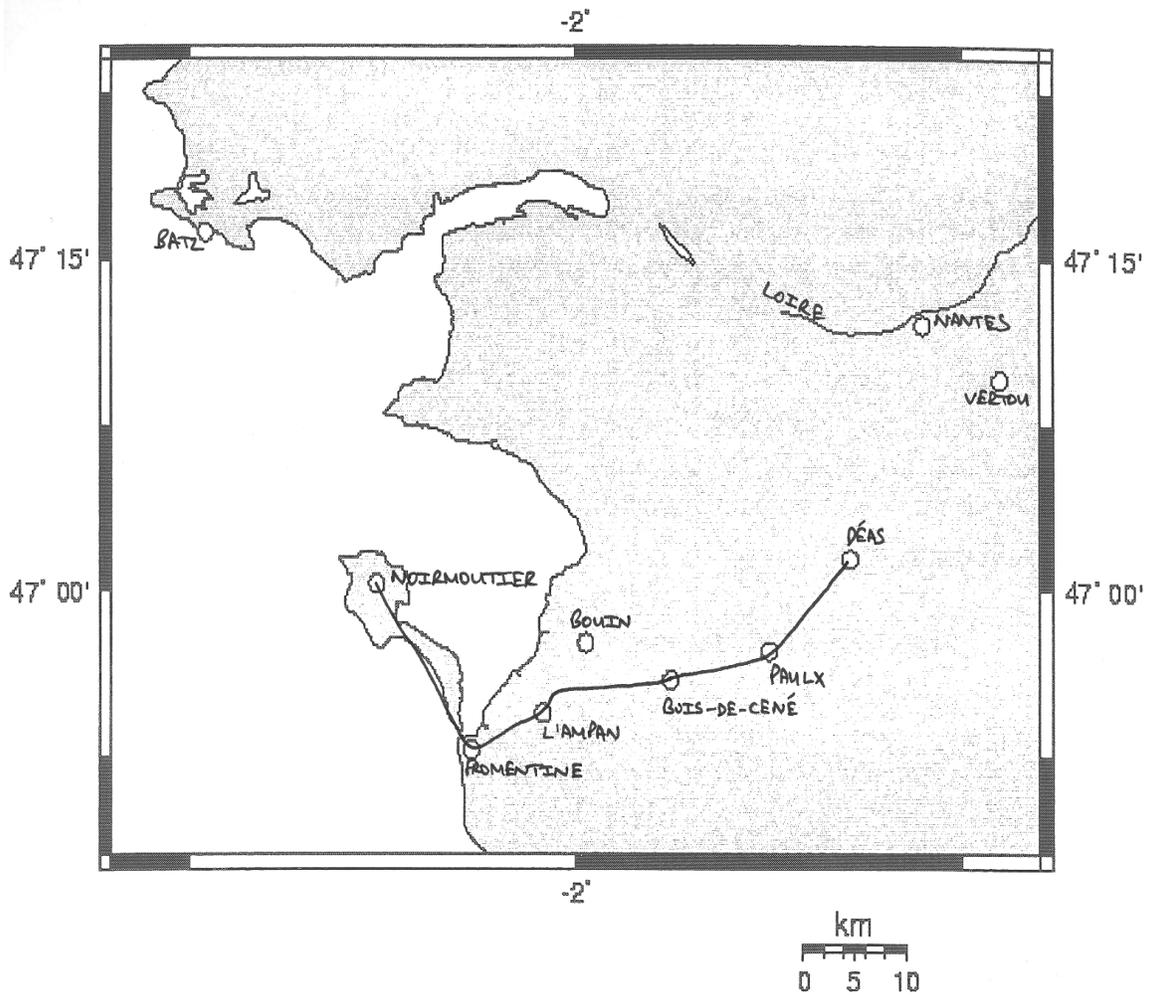
Map 1 Neustria, Brittany, and northern Aquitaine



Map 2: The route of the Filibertines through the ninth century.

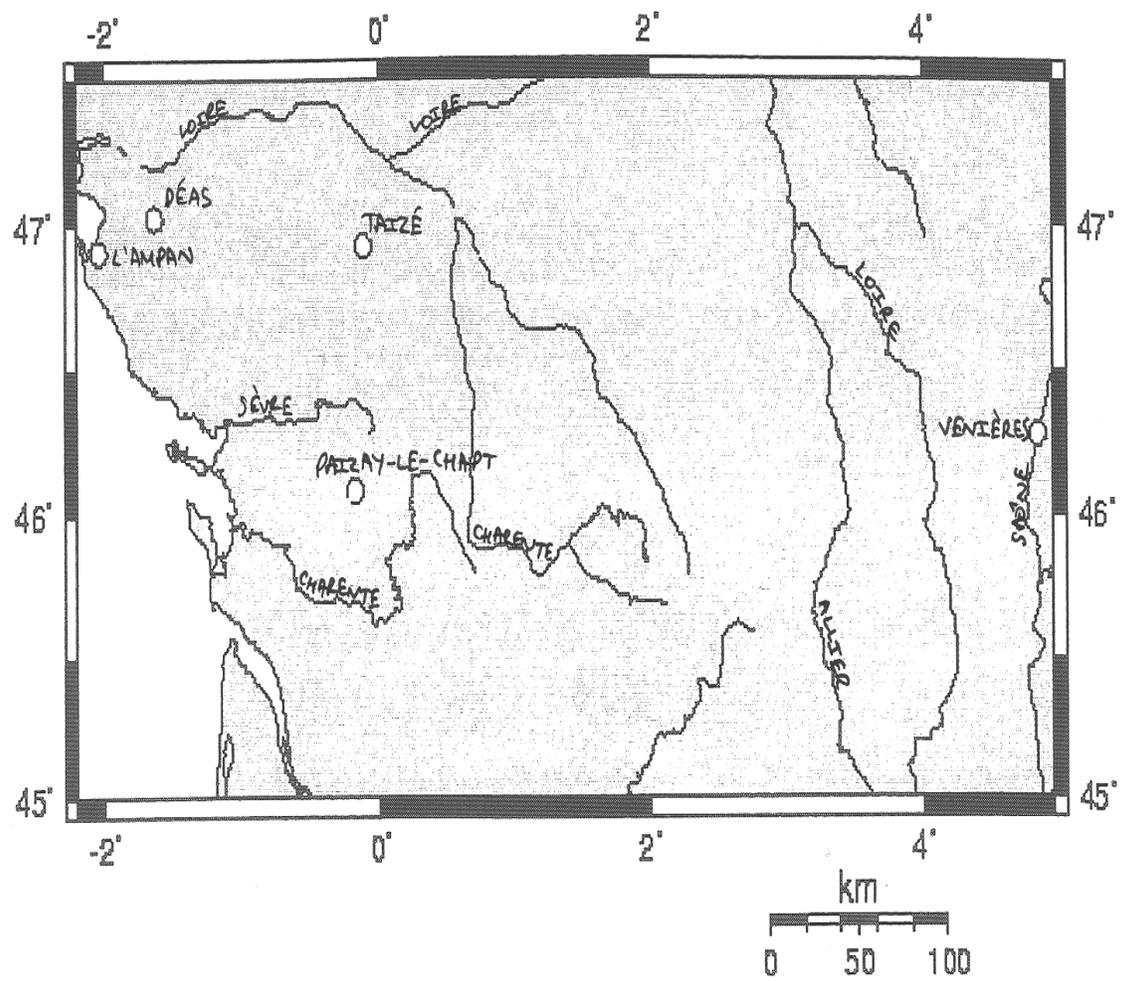
Dates of re-locations are given in parentheses.

{Created using Online Map Creation: http://www.aquarius.ifm-geomar.de/omc_intro.html}



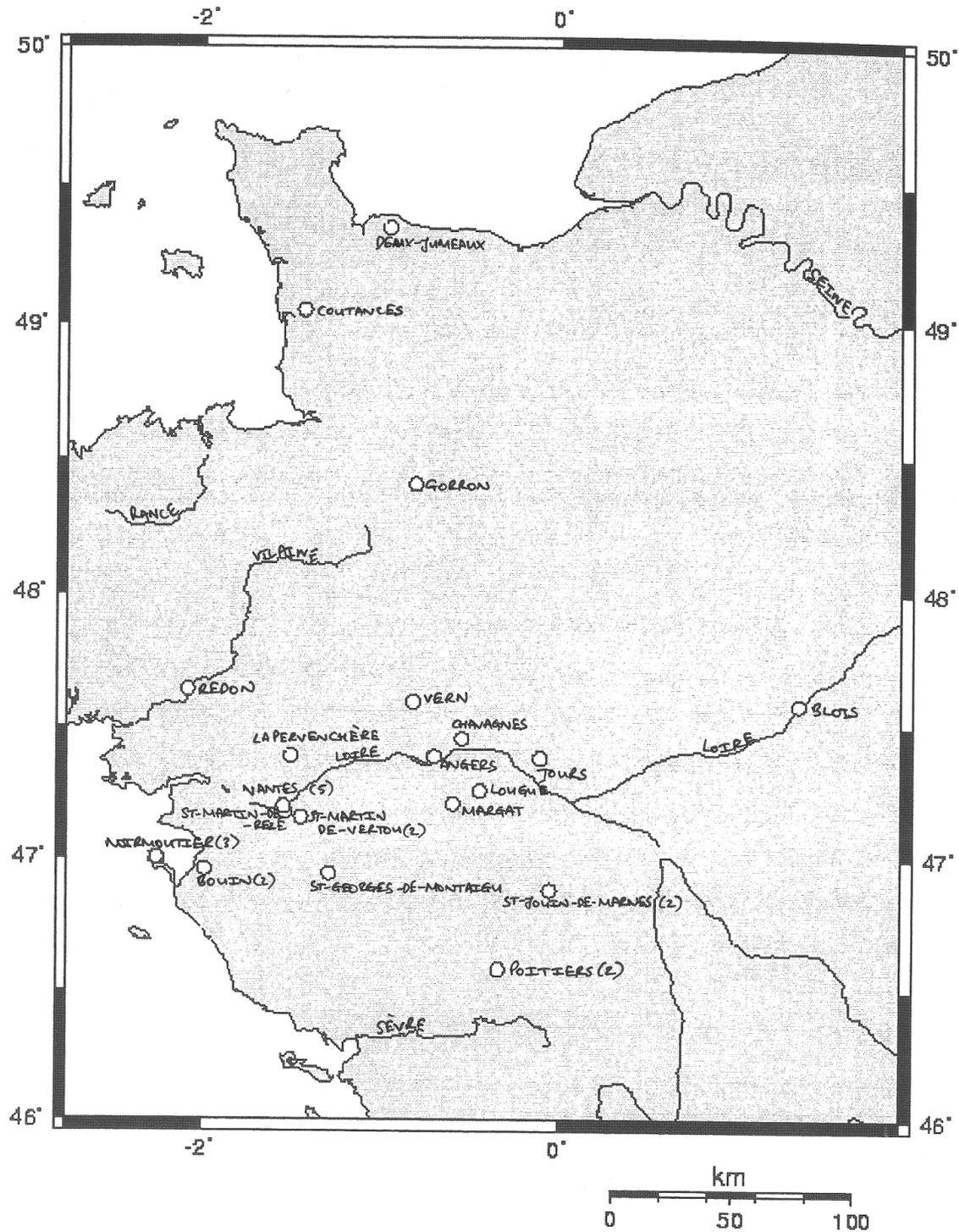
Map 3: The route from Noirmoutier to Déas.

{Created using Online Map Creation: http://www.aquarius.ifm-geomar.de/omc_intro.html}



Map 4: Possessions gained in 674.

{Created using Online Map Creation: http://www.aquarius.ifm-geomar.de/omc_intro.html}



Map 5.1: Origins of beneficiaries of miracles in *TMF*, I.

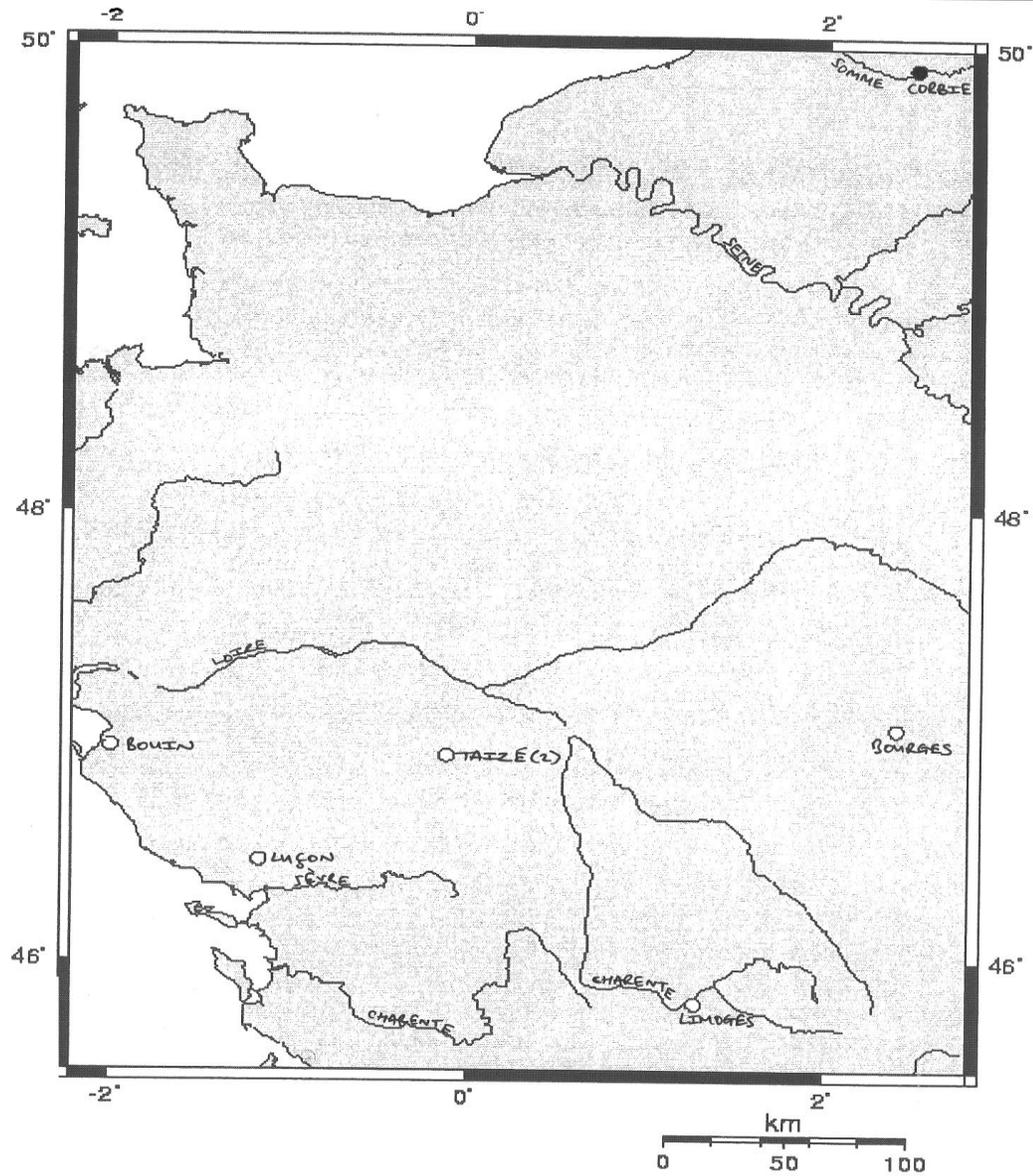
Numbers in parentheses indicate multiple beneficiaries.

Only specific locations have been plotted - Brittany occurs twice, Maine once, Pays de Retz twice.

Miracles where a location is not noted in the text have not been included.

The miracles occurred either *en route* to or at Déas.

{Created using Online Map Creation: http://www.aquarius.ifm-geomar.de/omc_intro.html}



Map 5.2: Origins of beneficiaries of miracles in *TMF*, II.

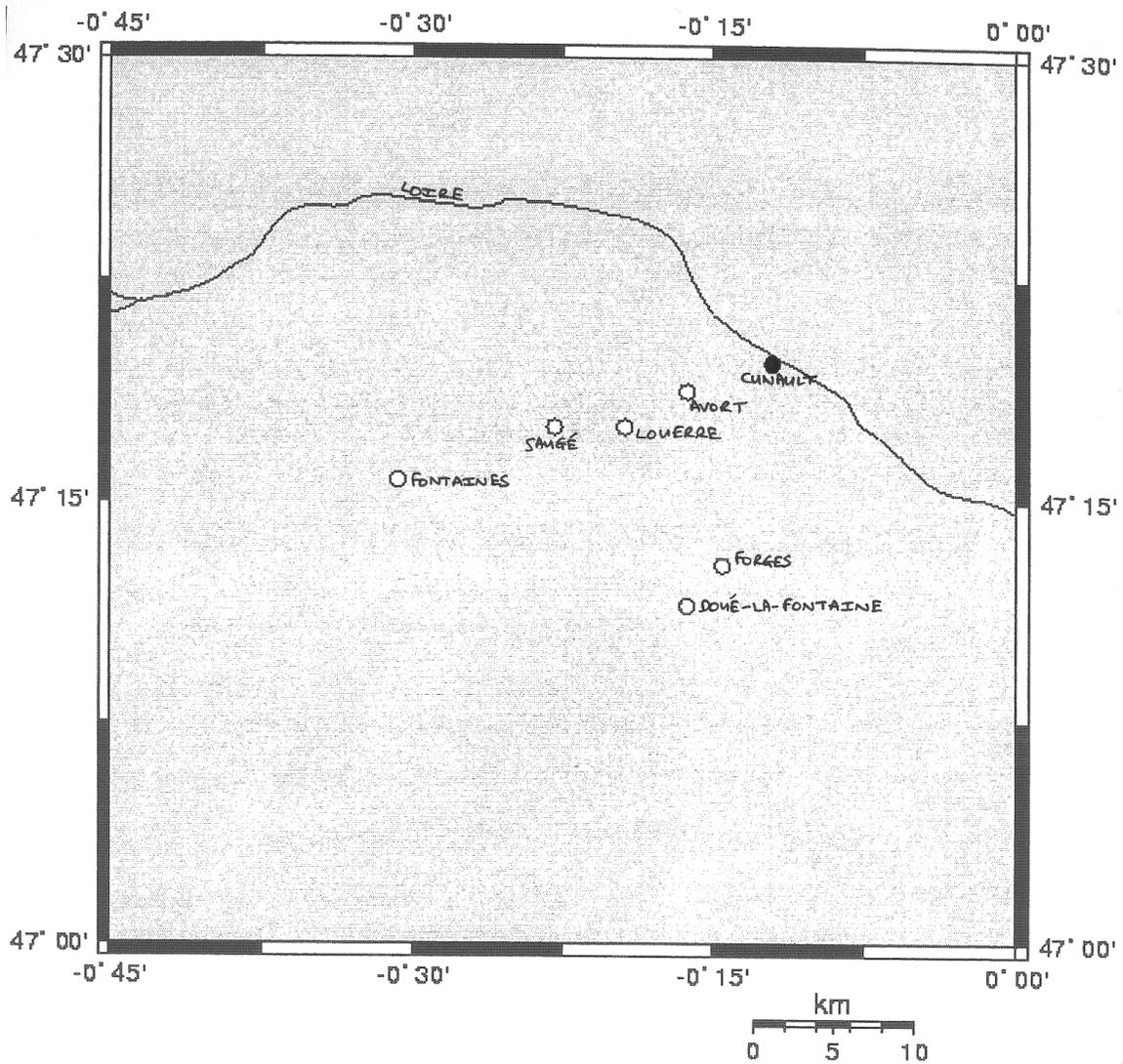
Numbers in parentheses indicate multiple beneficiaries.

Black dots indicates the location of a miracle rather than the origin of a beneficiary.

Villeneuve has not been plotted as it is not possible to identify the specific location.

A miracle occurred at Celensi - this location has not been identified and so is omitted.

{Created using Online Map Creation: http://www.aquarius.ifm-geomar.de/omc_intro.html}

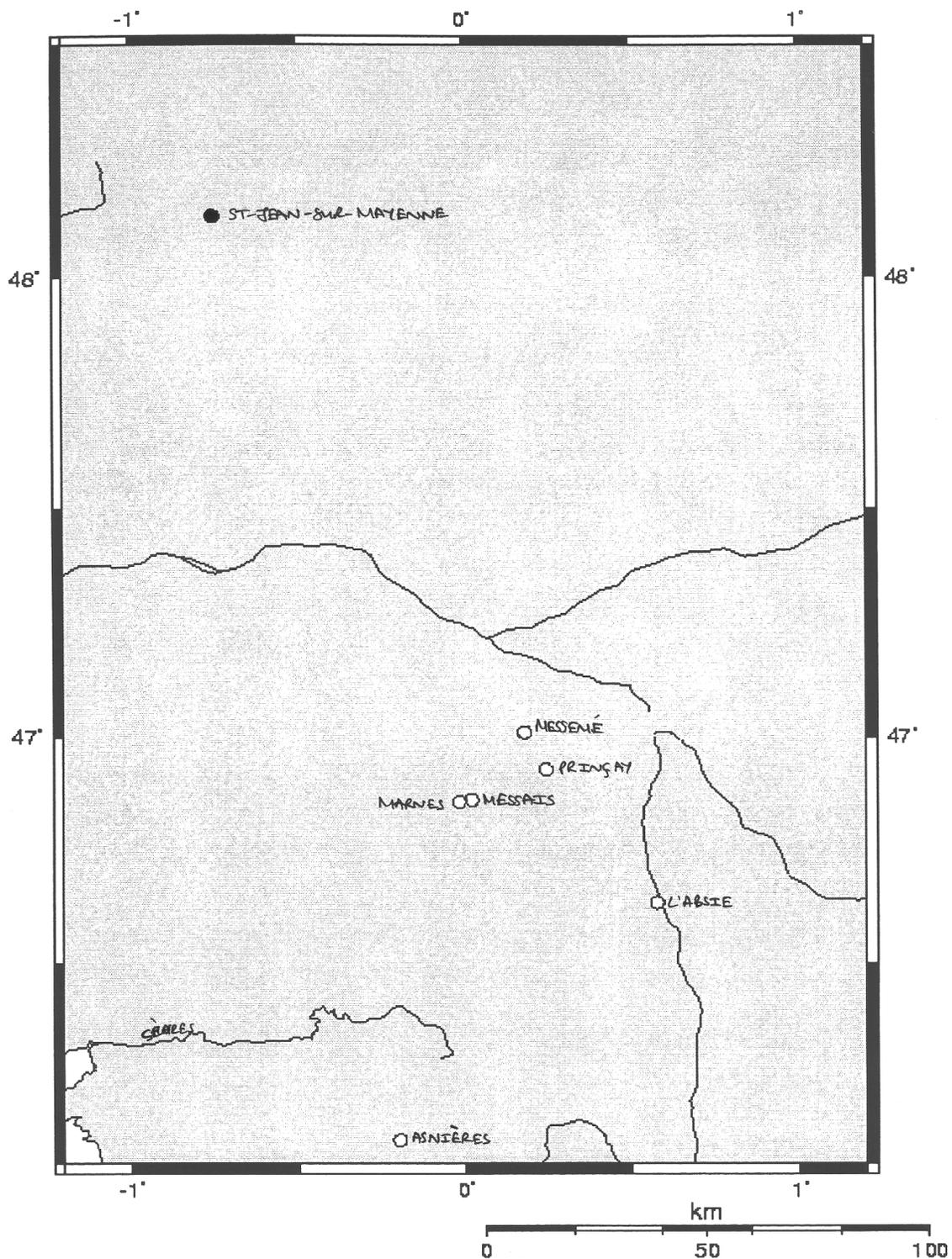


Map 6: Possessions gained in 845 and 847.

Black dots indicate possessions gained in the charter of 845.

White dots indicate possessions gained in the charter of 847.

{Created using Online Map Creation: http://www.aquarius.ifm-geomar.de/omc_intro.html}

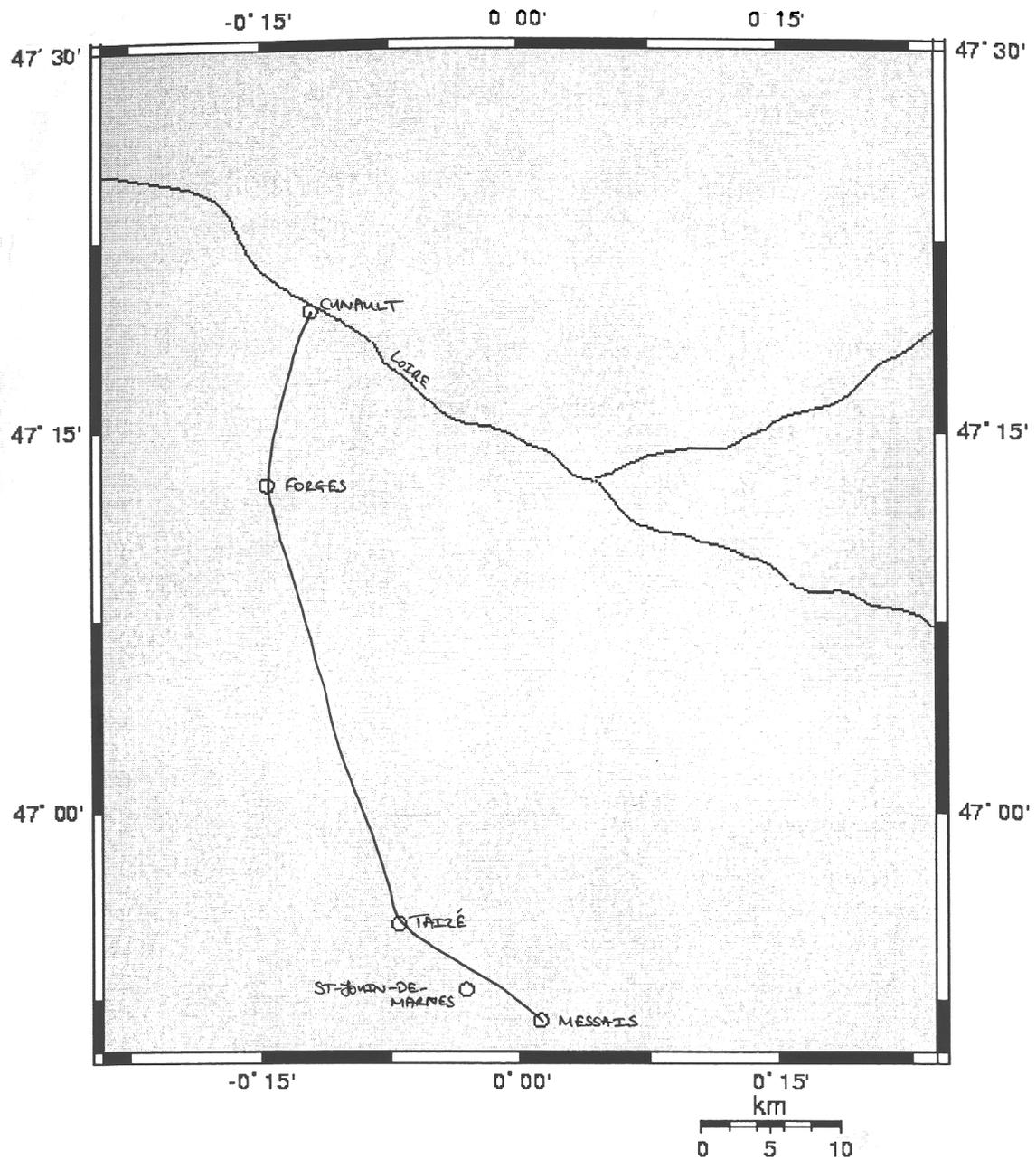


Map 7: Possessions gained in 854 and 856.

Black dots indicate possessions gained in the charter of 856.

White dots indicate possessions gained in the charter of 854.

{Created using Online Map Creation: http://www.aquarius.ifm-geomar.de/omc_intro.html}



Map 8: The route from Cunault to Messais.

{Created using Online Map Creation: http://www.aquarius.ifm-geomar.de/omc_intro.html}

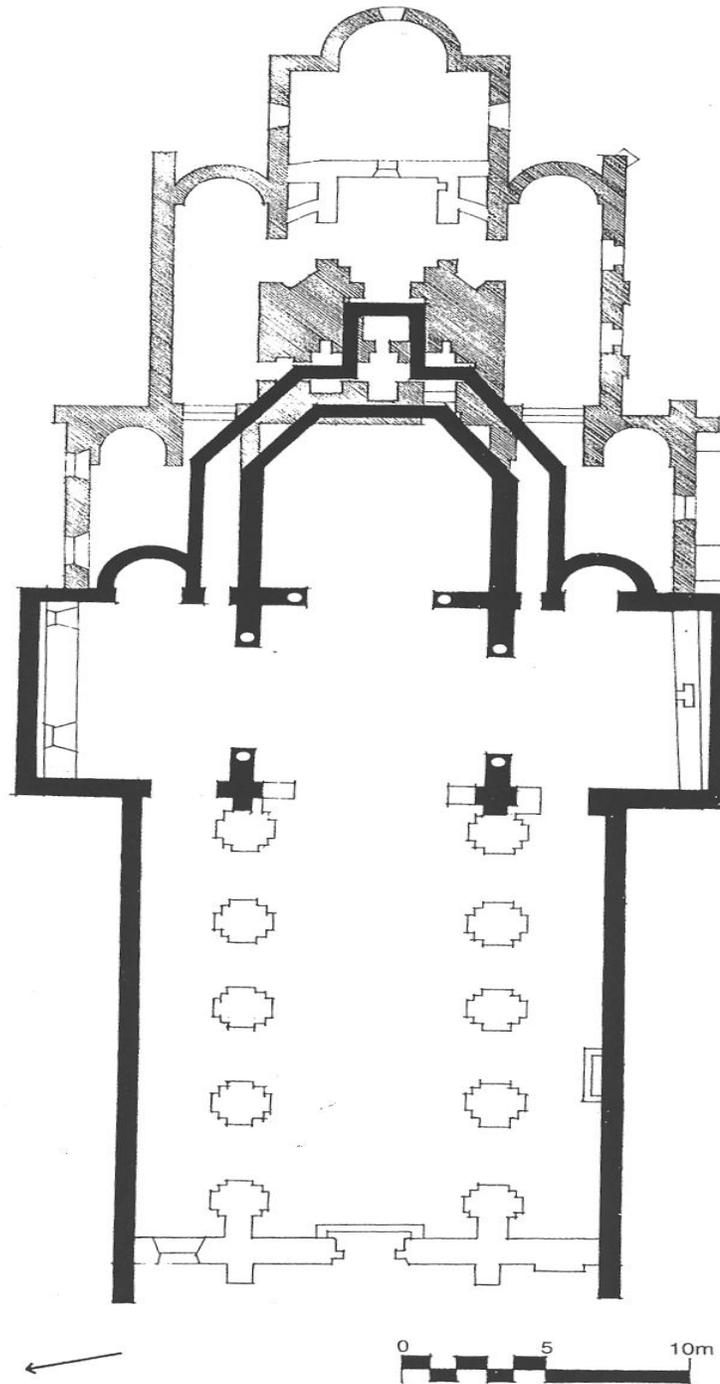
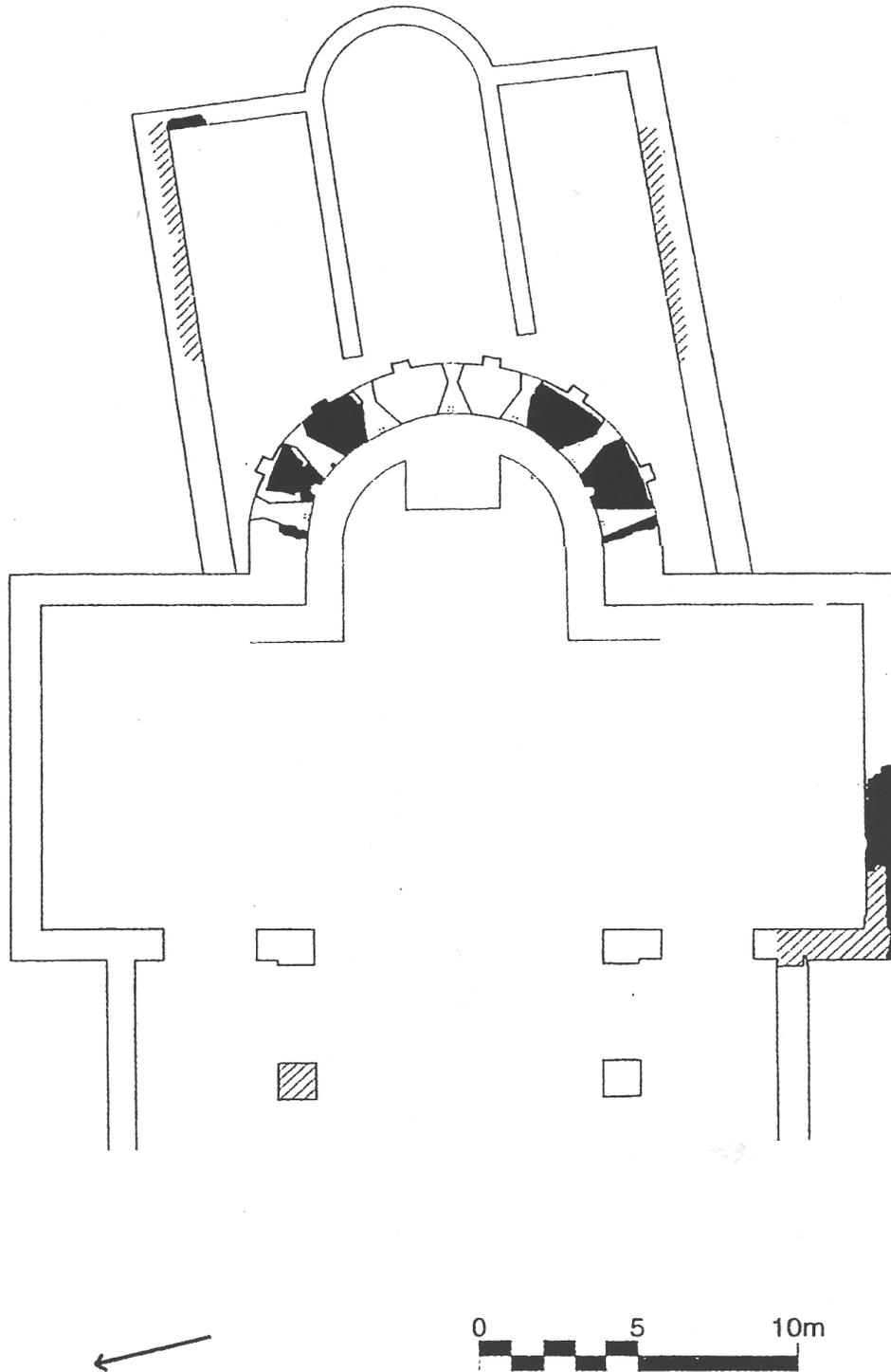


Fig. 1: Plan of Déas.

Black sections built in or before 836; hatching represents the post 836 phase; clear sections built post-ninth century.

Taken from McClendon (2005), 178.



174 Saint-Denis, plan of abbey church with Hilduin's chapel, 832.

Fig. 2: Plan of Saint-Denis.

Taken from McClendon (2005), 175.

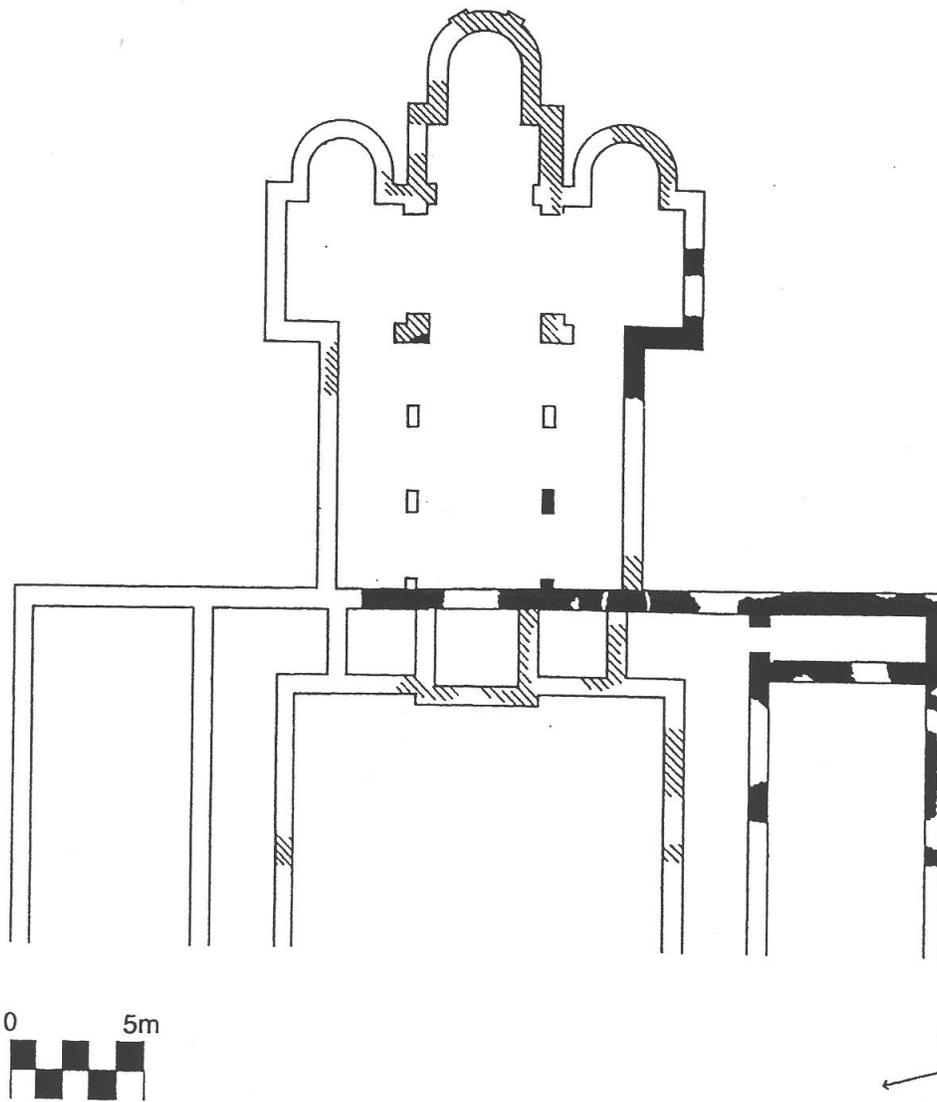


Fig. 3: Plan of Kornelimunster (Inden).

Taken from McClendon (2005), 141.

ONE

Introduction

I: Historiography

In the mid-ninth century, a member of the community of St Filibert named Ermentarius wrote detailed accounts of three of five translations that the community underwent in the period 836-875.¹ When he did so, he couched the translations in terms that suggested the agency of the Northmen. For Ermentarius, their invasions caused havoc in Francia in the mid-ninth century and were the principal cause of repeated relocations of his community. Historiographical approaches to the Filibertines have often taken this representation at face value. In the mid-twentieth century, for example, Marc Bloch spelled out what has become the dominant appraisal of the history of the community of St Filibert. The ninth-century movements of the Filibertines were to him proof of the increasing and impressive raiding power of the Northmen as the community was pushed ever southwards and ever inland on their near sixty year journey through six different monasteries.² More than this, their movements and the contemporary descriptions of those movements provided him with evidence that resistance was extremely limited; that the appearance of the Northmen uniformly induced terror.³

This is perhaps not surprising. It is exactly how René Poupardin characterised the community's history in his 1905 edition of the Filibertine texts.⁴ Furthermore it followed the information that Ermentarius himself gave. The preface to the second book of his *De*

¹ See below, pp. 18-23, for discussion of these texts.

² M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, Vol. I (2nd edition, London, 1962), p. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

⁴ See his introduction in R. Poupardin (ed.), *Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)* (Paris, 1905), particularly pp. xxx-xxxvii.

Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Filiberti (TMF) is oft quoted. In it the depredations of the Northmen are spelled out in direct terms. Monastic communities were forced to flee in the wake of the invaders; the kings (particularly Charles the Bald) responded with insufficient power and paid tributes when they should have been repulsing attacks by force of arms. Towns and monasteries fell to innumerable multitudes of Vikings.

Christians suffered in fulfilment of biblical prophecy and one of the major causes was civil war which guilty sin had brought about the Northmen as a manifestation of God's displeasure. To describe the arrival of the Northmen, Ermentarius quoted Jeremiah 1.14, 'From the north shall an evil break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land.'⁵

Nevertheless, just because this is what Ermentarius said happened we should not accept the too-literal readings of it that have dominated historiography.

Wherever an example of the destructive powers of the Northmen on Carolingian territory has been required, historians have reached for a copy of Ermentarius' works and have duly quoted his complaint without being sufficiently critical of the texts.⁶ In 1970, David Herlihy provided a partial translation of Ermentarius' works in *The History of Feudalism*.⁷ He translated only the prefaces to *TMF* and so ignored the detailed accounts of the translations that Ermentarius gave and of the miracles that Filibert performed in preference for laments on the response to Viking incursion. Herlihy wrote that the community's history 'illustrates both the havoc wrought by the Viking incursions and the

⁵ Jeremiah, 1. 14 and *TMF*, II in Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. 61. For the preface, see *TMF*, II, pp. 59-63.

⁶ See P. H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (London, 1971), p. 138; E. Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, trans. S. M. Margeson and K. Williams (2nd edition, London, 1998), pp. 198-199; F. D. Logan, *The Vikings in History* (2nd edition, London, 1991), pp. 118-119. Logan nevertheless admits that there is 'licence' in these texts.

⁷ D. Herlihy, *The History of Feudalism* (New York, 1970), pp. 8-13. His justification for leaving the miracles out follows: 'The descriptions of miracles not directly relevant to the wanderings of the community have been omitted.' Without context the prefaces are, naturally, invalidated as a source for the Northmen or the community.

instability of the population (of Francia).⁸ Paul Dutton included Herlihy's translation of the prefaces in his collection of translated Carolingian sources without any further attempts to investigate the text.⁹ Magnus Magnusson wrote the following in *The Vikings*:

‘Ermentarius was one of the monks who abandoned the monastery at Noirmoutier in the face of the first Viking assault in 835 and fled, eventually reaching Tournus in Burgundy. His great contemporary work... gives a sober and moving account of the general terror the Vikings provoked, the panic-stricken flight of the inhabitants, the paralysis of the will to resist, the craven payment of huge sums of tribute to make the invaders go away. Every major river in northern Europe, it seemed, was now swarming with Viking fleets... and nothing, it seemed, could stop them.’¹⁰

He went on to state that, in his opinion, the effects of this ‘must have been horrifying and traumatic’,¹¹ and argued against historians who have attempted to push the Northmen's trading and technological acumen to the fore concluding that ‘in a brutal and murderous age, the Vikings' behaviour in Frankia was considerably more brutal and murderous than most.’¹² In summing up the proceedings of a conference designed to commemorate the anniversary of the establishment of Capetian France, Jean Foyer went so far as to say of the Filibertines that, ‘devant le péril, les petites gens s'enfuient où ils peuvent.’¹³

⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

⁹ P. E. Dutton (ed.), *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (Peterborough, Ontario, 1999), pp. 434-437.

¹⁰ M. Magnusson, *The Vikings* (Stroud, 2003), p. 73.

¹¹ Ibid., 73.

¹² Ibid., 73.

¹³ J. Foyer, ‘Robert le Fort, héros de Brissarthe, ancêtre de la dynastie capétienne’ in O. Guillot and R. Favreau (eds), *Pays de Loire et Aquitaine de Robert le Fort aux premiers capétiens* (Poitiers, 1997), p. 257.

This sort of approach to the Filibertine texts has caused many problems. The narrative that this proposes marginalises the community and its importance to wider ninth-century concerns, and has made some scholars see incidents of Viking activity in connection with the Filibertines when evidence for the link does not exist. Some of the historians at the very forefront of the study of either the Northmen or the Carolingian kingdoms, like Peter Sawyer and Janet Nelson have fallen into this trap and the result has been a perpetuation of the paradigm. Examples of this include attribution of Noirmoutier as the location of Viking attacks or overwintering in 799 and 843 where there is actually no reference to the island.¹⁴ Some of these suggestions have arisen because of reliance on a later source, the mid-eleventh century *Chronicon Namnetense*, which gives details for the Filibertines that are not recorded elsewhere.¹⁵ Only Simon Coupland has questioned any of these issues directly and where he has, he has been able to show that conclusions like these have been predicated on a general notion of the involvement of the Northmen in Filibertine concerns.¹⁶

As well as the considerations outlined above, comparisons have been made with the community of St Cuthbert and their translations. Sawyer, for instance, placed the community side-by-side with the Filibertines when he described monastic flight in

¹⁴ See, for example, Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, p. 3 where he wrote that the Northmen wintered on Noirmoutier from ‘quite early in the ninth century.’ Nelson said that the location of an over-wintering described in the *Annales Sancti Bertiniani* for 843 was ‘probably Noirmoutier’. See J. L. Nelson (trans.), *The Annals of St-Bertin: Ninth Century Histories*, Vol. I (Manchester, 1991), p. 56, n.3. L. Auzias, *L’Aquitaine Carolingienne* (Toulouse, 1937), p. 244 also said they established themselves there.

¹⁵ *Chronique de Nantes*. For the dates see, pp. xxv-xxxii.

¹⁶ S. Coupland, ‘The Vikings on the Continent in Myth and History’ in *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 88 (2003), pp. 186-187. These issues are discussed below, pp. 73-79 and pp. 165-167.

response to the ferocity of Viking raids.¹⁷ Cuthbertine relocations in this period have often been directly associated with attacks from the Northmen. Witness Else Roesdahl, who said that they left the island of Lindisfarne in order to seek refuge inland.¹⁸ Despite this, the work of David Rollason and Sally Crumplin amongst others has focussed on the community and their period of migration to show that both the texts and the history of the community have been misrepresented.¹⁹ In their analysis of the community, cultic and legal aspects of the Cuthbertines have been emphasised and the issue of flight has been questioned in light of factors such as these.

Given the number of studies that have taken the community of St Filibert into account on the superficial level outlined above, it is astonishing that there has been no major work in English or any other language on their community, cult or texts since Poupardin's edition. There have been attempts to understand elements of the community's history. The publication of conference proceedings from Tournus in 1995 offered some wide-ranging approaches, for example.²⁰ Whilst this was very useful, it failed to consider a central problem that has always been neglected: that is to say the problem of forming a detailed analysis of the community's history in response to general statements about their ninth-century plight. Some of the articles included in this publication addressed the

¹⁷ P. H. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings* (London, 1982), p. 81.

¹⁸ Roesdahl, *Vikings*, p. 236.

¹⁹ See D. Rollason, 'The Wanderings of St Cuthbert' in idem (ed.), *Cuthbert. Saint and Patron* (Durham, 1987), pp. 45-51 for brief details of Cuthbertine movements and a response to the typical suggestion that they were brought about by Viking raids. Also S. Crumplin, *Rewriting history in the cult of St Cuthbert from the ninth to the twelfth centuries* (unpublished St Andrews PhD thesis, 2005) in which the body of Cuthbertine texts is critically assessed.

²⁰ J. Thirion (ed.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire, Archéologie, Art. Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (Tournus, 1995).

minting of coins at Tournus,²¹ the monastic observance of the community in the first three centuries of its existence,²² the *Translatio Sancti Valeriani*,²³ and art and architecture at the monastery of Cunault.²⁴ They were, then, extremely helpful investigations into Filibertine concerns, but in failing to approach the period during which the translations took place, this publication implied that there was no need to explore the accepted narrative.

Some advances have been made towards readdressing Filibertine history in recent years. Felice Lifshitz has been at the centre of attempts to reconsider the material. She has artfully shown the place that the *Vita Filiberti* occupies in relation to narratives concerning the rise of the Austrasians in eighth-century Neustria, for example.²⁵ She has also suggested that when Ermentarius wrote his texts, he intended one result to be that the community would gain in prestige and position and ‘escape the Atlantic backwater’ of Noirmoutier.²⁶ As we shall see, this only serves as an initial step on the road to a full understanding of the Filibertines, but it is a valuable step nonetheless. Adelheid Krah built on this in 2000 when she questioned whether movement onto the mainland, and therefore closer to main political and economic centres might reflect desires to grow in terms of trade and position, but her comments stopped short of a full examination.²⁷ More generally, the work of Lifshitz and Hubert Guillotel help to provide context for the

²¹ M. Bompaire, ‘Le Monnayage de Tournus’ in *Ibid.*, pp. 59-73.

²² J-P., Andrieux, ‘La règle des moines de Saint-Philibert des origines aux IXe siècle’ in *Ibid.*, pp. 75-86.

²³ D. Iogna-Prat, ‘Un texte hagiographique épique: la translatio sancti valeriani’ in *Ibid.*, pp. 27-40.

²⁴ J. Mallet and D. Prigent, ‘La place de la priorale de Cunault dans l’art locale’ in *Ibid.*, pp. 473-486.

²⁵ See F. Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 37-56.

²⁶ F. Lifshitz, ‘The Migration on Neustrian Relics in the Viking Age: The Myth of Voluntary Exodus, the Reality of Coercion and Theft’ in *Early Medieval Europe*, 4; 2 (1995), pp. 191-192, quotation at p. 191.

²⁷ A. Krah, *Die Entstehung der >>potestas regia>> im Westfrankenreich während der ersten Regierungsjahre Kaiser Karls II. (840-877)* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 244-245.

translations by investigating the way in which other communities went about moving their relics across a wide period of time, often in response to the Northmen in some way.²⁸

II: Texts and movements

It will be useful to outline the details both of the texts that form the basis of this study and the translations that are considered here before moving on to explain our aims. The community had travelled between the island of Noirmoutier and Déas in the pays d'Herbage since at least 819 but probably from 814. They spent the spring and summer months in Déas, only returning to Noirmoutier for the remainder of the year. In 836 they made the permanent move to Déas which mainland site they had owned since 674.

Having stayed there for nine years, they relocated to Cunault on the banks of the Loire c.845. This second translation led to a longer sojourn than the first, but not for the whole community as some remained at Déas with the relics of St Filibert until 858. Having been reunited, the community moved on again in 862, this time to Messais in Poitou.

Following a brief habitation of Messais, they again relocated in c.872 when they moved to Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule and they finally moved to Tournus in Burgundy in 875.²⁹

Here we shall focus our study on the first three of these translations as they are the ones that are described in the contemporary material that Ermentarius wrote up as an eye-witness. His account provides a useful set of parameters for this study in terms of the part

²⁸ Lifshitz, 'Migration' and Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, pp. 113-136; H. Guillotel, 'L'exode du clergé breton devant les invasions scandinaves' in *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, 59 (1982), pp. 269-315.

²⁹ See map 2, viii.

of the history of the Filibertines that will be considered, it also makes for a pertinent case study in terms of textual representations of ninth-century monastic concerns.

There are two main texts that we shall deal with in reference to these translations and another two that have important additional information. Our principle sources are both written by Ermentarius and collectively form one larger text. This is *De Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Filiberti*. Book one was written c.840. It contains 78 separate miracle accounts and details the translation from Noirmoutier to Déas. Its main interest is in reporting the translation as well as the miracles that were occasioned between the two locations and once the community had arrived at Déas. It gives, for example, a day-by-day account of the translation itself in a way that allows us to ascribe precise dating to the itinerary. As well as this, however, it records some information about the rebuilding that occurred at Déas after 836 and tells us of some of the tactics that the community used to attract and accommodate pilgrims.³⁰

Book two was written c.862. This book is far shorter than the first, including only 21 miracle accounts and a briefer description of the two translations from Déas to Cunault and from Cunault to Messais than was offered by the first book for the first translation. There is little specific information about the second translation, but the book records the itinerary for the third in similar detail as book one did for the translation from Noirmoutier to Déas. It is clear that Ermentarius saw book two as a continuation of the second book, but it can, nevertheless be considered a separate text.³¹ Each of the two

³⁰ TMF, I in Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. 19-58. On book one, see pp. 18-22.

³¹ TMF, II in Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. 59-70. On book two see, p. 23.

books of *TMF* has a lengthy prose preface. This is very different in textual terms from what follows in the more hagiographical sections. Each deals with some historical information on the situation in the Frankish kingdoms at around the time of the translations and each includes commentary from Ermentarius on that situation. Details in the preface to the second book are particularly important as we shall see.³²

The other texts that are considered here are a copy of the *Vita Filiberti (VF)* probably made by Ermentarius sometime in the early ninth century from an original written in the first quarter of the eighth century,³³ and the *Chronicon Trenorchense (Chronicon)*.³⁴ This latter was written at the turn of the twelfth century by a member of the community named Falco. He saw his work as a continuation of what Ermentarius had written, but whilst he reiterated some of the information about the first three translations, his main focus was on the later movements of the community that do not form a part of this study.

In c.840, once the first book of *TMF* had been completed, Ermentarius sent it along with his copy of the *VF* to Hilduin of Saint-Denis along with a verse preface that addressed Hilduin and pointed to his relationship with Charles the Bald:

‘Hilduino abbatum summo sit vita salusque,
 Sit felix vita, gloria perpes. Amen.
 Tu meritis almis fultus valeas Philiberti,
 Vitam et virtutes cujus habenda cape.

³² See pp. 216-232 and 244-250.

³³ *VF* in Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. 1-18. This is the version used in this study unless otherwise stated. See below, pp. 26-36.

³⁴ *Chronicon* in Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. 71-106. See below, pp. 24-25.

Sis memor oro sui; nostri quoque sis miserescens;

Utque tui ille memor sit, memore esto sui.

Ille preces pro te Dominum fundendo praecetur,

Ut felix vivas et jugiter vigeas.

Tu quoque posce pium regem Karolum reverenter,

Quo nobis tandem det miserendo locum.

Vive diu felix, gaudes per tempora multa.

ERMEN - enim vester - TARIUS ista cupit.³⁵

This verse preface was written after the prose preface to book one. Its aim, it seems, was to gain patronage from both of these highly important figures through the appeal to Hilduin.

III: Aims of this study

Whilst the ninth-century memory of St Filibert has important resonances for what will be discussed here, this study is not about St Filibert and his monastic foundations, it is not in the main focussed on saints lives, nor is it an analysis of monastic practices. Because historiography dealing with the community's history largely focuses on flight from Northmen, the main aim of this study is to provide a reliable examination of the community's rôle in ninth-century proceedings and of the development of the cult of St Filibert. The enquiry that follows has two central elements. The more important concern is to understand what the community of St Filibert did in the ninth century. By questioning Ermentarius' account and the others that serve as additional sources for this period, this study will throw light upon the ninth-century movements of the community.

³⁵ TME, Preface, p. 1.

A major question that shall be asked of those movements is to what extent they were affected by the Northmen. This will require that we consider the rôle that Northmen played in general terms in the Carolingian empire and later the West Frankish kingdom. By doing this we shall see how their activities might have impacted on the community at the various stages of their movements. We shall also consider what other factors had a part to play in the translations. This will include interactions with the Bretons, both on the part of the Filibertines and the Carolingians. It will, moreover, approach the methods by which successive Carolingian kings sought to control the territories that formed part of their individual kingdoms in response to external forces but also in response to threats caused by their own kin in the period after Louis the Pious' death.

When focus falls upon the strategies employed by Carolingian kings in this regard, it will be seen that the Filibertines came to form a part of policies designed to secure vulnerable areas in ways that echo past Frankish tactics wherein monastic communities were used to represent royal authority or identity. Much of the information relative to political concerns can be adduced from charter evidence for the period 819-856 which is amply supplied in editions by Georges Tessier, Martin Bouquet and Léon Levillain.³⁶ Added to this shall be a detailed discussion of the concerns in which the Filibertine community involved themselves on their own initiative such as trade and architecture. Taken together, these issues illustrate that the community was entrenched in a series of programmes that aided their development in both cultic and political spheres. The argument will proceed that rather than being wholly due to the incursions of the Northmen, the translations of the community came about because of a number of factors

³⁶ *RAC*, I; *RAC*, II; *RHGF*; *RAPP*.

that show the Filibertines to have been at the heart of ninth-century concerns and on the rise rather than in decline due to flight. Of course the Northmen have a part to play in their translations, but it is not the significant part that has so often been suggested. It is also certainly not the case that the Filibertines did not suffer any other difficulties or setbacks in this period and this study shall attempt to provide a realistic account that takes separate problems on their own merit.

Our second line of enquiry shall involve the texts themselves, particularly those written by Ermentarius. Because this study questions the narrative that he provided and suggests a more rounded approach to the history of the community that diverges from that which Ermentarius gave, it is necessary to ask why he wrote in the way that he did. The study is not primarily concerned with the miracle accounts that he included in his texts, but they will be considered, particularly in chapter five. At the heart of our approach to the texts is a comparison between its narrative and the details of ninth-century events that we can gain from external sources. This means that a number of ninth-century charters will be considered alongside the various annals from the period. In terms of Ermentarius' works, we shall consider each of the texts individually, but shall also group them together to ask whether there is a unified message that was put out by the community. The composition of the texts will be discussed with a view to understanding how they might have been perceived by their authors; to see how they thought the texts that they wrote could be of use. This will mean that there will be a desire to understand the audience for whom the texts were written and what messages they contained for each of their audiences. It shall be argued that audience is one of the most important facets of a text in any search to

understand its meaning and three separate audiences shall be considered for Ermentarius' works. These are Charles the Bald, king of the West Frankish kingdom from 840; Hilduin of Saint-Denis, archchaplain to Louis the Pious and a man at the centre of issues touching upon the ninth-century cult of the saints; and the community itself, both in the ninth century and later. With these three audiences in mind, we shall question how a text that placed the Northmen at the centre of concerns whilst diminishing the importance of other elements in the translations of the community intended people to understand the work. In other words we shall ask why the Northmen were shown to be the key instigators of relocation even when the works were designed for audiences that often knew better.

Whilst this study is, therefore, designed as an investigation into the community of St Filibert and the texts that they produced its chief focus will be on the community. In chapter two, we shall consider the texts that the community produced and which are the main sources for this study. This will involve a description of the nature, authorship and origins of the texts as well as attempts to show how the dedication of the first book of *TMF* impacted on the history of the community. Having established the textual background for the study we shall turn to the history of the community in chapter three. Here we shall consider what Ermentarius wrote happened to the community as it made the transition between the monasteries of Noirmoutier and Déas and shall question whether or not he created a reliable testament by comparing his narrative with other contemporary source material. As well as involving analysis of the various external factors that impinged on the translation, this chapter will ask how the community itself was involved in the planning and execution of the translation. It will, moreover,

investigate the relationship that movement to the mainland built with Louis the Pious and ask how that relationship affected the ways in which the community developed. Chapter three will also consider the way in which the cult of St Filibert fitted in to the established cultic landscape in the pays d'Herbauge and how the translation affected pilgrimage to the shrine of St Filibert.

Focussing on the second and third translations of the community of St Filibert, the fourth chapter will ask what forces, both internal and external, impacted on these movements. The Northmen will be considered here as they will in chapter two, but much of the analysis of external forces will look to the civil wars of the sons of Louis the Pious and will propose a model that suggests that various Carolingian kings saw monastic communities as a useful source of ideological support and sought to use them as representatives of themselves and of their authority. This will argue that this development arose from earlier Frankish practices adopted by both Merovingians and Carolingians wherein they established friendly monastic houses in border territories prior to military intervention around and beyond those borders.

Chapter five returns us to discussion of the texts. Having seen that the narrative provided by Ermentarius does not always fit the history of the community, it will ask why this was the case. It will, moreover, argue that there was a need to create a workable identity for the community because of the repeated relocations that occurred. Although this study cannot go further than the translation of the community to Messais in 862 because of restrictions of space, investigation of the way in which the community reflected on its

own past in the twelfth century will make for a useful comparison to help understand how self-promoted images developed over time and were taken up by future generations. Finally, reflections will be centred on the issue of genre and comparisons will be drawn between *TMF* and hagiographical comparatives including Einhard's *Translatio et miracula sanctorum Marcellini et Petri* and the group of texts associated with thefts of relics that Patrick Geary identified.³⁷ All of this must involve questions as to the place that the texts occupy in terms of historical writing. To understand this we shall approach some of the work that has been done on Carolingian representations of their past by Rosamond McKitterick and Matthew Innes, for example.³⁸

The overriding aim of this study is to place the history of the Filibertines into the context in which it belongs. Rather than being a community that is representative only of flight from Northmen and the chaos of the ninth century, the Filibertines deserve to act as indicators of many of the important ways in which monastic communities and saints' cults developed in this period. Through the study of this group we can learn a great deal about the way that monastic communities responded to the opportunities that were available to them in the ninth century, as well as to the difficulties that they faced. A full understanding of the place that they hold as well as of the texts that were written about them can bring them to the heart of a number of developments in the Carolingian kingdoms in cultic, architectural and political spheres. By considering the community of

³⁷ See *TMMPE* and P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (2nd edition, Princeton, NJ, 1990).

³⁸ These include M. Innes and R. McKitterick, 'The Writing of History' in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 193-220; M. Innes, 'Introduction: Using the Past, Interpreting the Present, Influencing the Future' in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 1-8; and R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004).

St Filibert in this way, this study proposes a fresh look at the overall paradigm of monastic flight from the Northmen and asks whether we might rather see texts that emphasised flight as more a part of ambitious initiative than a reflection of actual events.

TWO

Texts, authorship and dedications

I: Introduction

Sometime between August 837 and October 840 Ermentarius wrote an account of the first translation of the Filibertine community and their relics in 836 that detailed the many miracles that were worked through the saint during the relocation. This text, book one of *TMF* is the core of evidence that we shall consider. Along with the other three texts that pertain to the community and a group of relevant charters, as well as the more general Frankish annals, this will help our analysis of the first three translations of the Filibertines.

This chapter considers some of the problems thrown up by these texts and discusses the manner in which they were written and presented to Hilduin and Charles the Bald. As well as providing us with the necessary background and allowing for an exploration of authorial intent, this approach will provide us with the opportunity to discern the contextual and chronological place that these texts and their authors had in the various translations. Whilst the texts and the authors are the primary focus here, this chapter will also be concerned with Hilduin and Charles as the audiences for the first book of *TMF* which was sent by Ermentarius to Hilduin c.840. Discussion of the motives behind the dedication of this group of texts will be considered as far as it impinges on what we can know of Hilduin and Charles; as both are extremely important to our overall discussion it will also be useful to introduce them. Overall, this chapter will provide the foundations on which to build the remainder of this investigation.

II: Texts

i: Dedication and *De Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Filiberti* - Book one

As has been noted, this text was written in two parts. We shall, therefore, consider it as two texts here in order to deal with it effectively. As will become clear the fashion of its composition makes this the best approach. Despite this there is an overarching concern that needs to be borne in mind - that the texts as a whole (that is the *VF*, both books of *TMF* and the *Chronicon*) can be considered as belonging to one tradition or expression of community thought. This factor will be dealt with throughout, but for the present the first book of *TMF* and the dedicatory passages that accompanied it are at the centre of our inquiry.

We cannot be absolute about the date of Ermentarius' authorship of the first book of *TMF*. Wilhelm Levison considered that Hilbod, the abbot of the community of St Filibert from 824 or 825 to at least 856, commissioned the text in 837-838.¹ He was aware of the suggestions that Poupardin made when he took over the editing of the texts from Arthur Giry in 1905 and his argument was heavily influenced by them. Poupardin gave a range of dates for the composition of 20 August 837 to 839, though he considered it likely that Hilbod requested the text in late 837 or early 838.² The justification for his *terminus ad quem* is that the verse dedication mentions Charles (the Bald) as '*pius rex*.'³ For Poupardin this meant that Charles was king of Aquitaine by the time that the verse dedication was written.

¹ *VFGH*, p. 571.

² Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxxii-xxxiv. For the request from Hilbod in particular see *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

³ *TME*, Preface, p. 1.

It is not completely possible to reconcile ambiguities concerning dating; it may not even be possible to authoritatively designate 839 as the final date. The *terminus a quo* for the book is 20 August 837, the date of the second feast of Filibert spent at Déas and the final point at which the text narrates any new details. Because it was produced as a unified piece it cannot have been done before this point. The last possible date at which it could have been written is October 840, when Hilduin of Saint-Denis defected from Charles the Bald and joined Lothar in the Middle kingdom.

However, if we accept that Charles was king of Aquitaine as per Poupardin's argument, then it might be argued that the text was written for him by 839 in May of which year he formally received the kingdom, although not without opposition. This makes sense in terms of the region in which the Filibertines were resident, having moved south of the Loire in 836, and echoes the assistance that they had been given in the past by Pippin I whilst he was king of Aquitaine. Pippin, serving in this rôle and with the agreement of Louis the Pious as emperor granted the community the right to free use of boats on the Loire in a charter dated 826.⁴ Poupardin argues for an earlier composition of the dedication as the prose section of it mentions that Charles had been raised in the court which Poupardin takes to mean that he was not yet fifteen - the age of majority.⁵ Charles was born in 823; this would mean that the text was written by 838.⁶ There is a problem with this conclusion however as the verse preface refers to him as a king, suggesting that he occupied a throne at the time of composition. Clearly the verse preface must have been

⁴ *RAPP*, no. VI, pp. 19-21. For more on this see pp. 125-129.

⁵ See *VF*, p. 2.

⁶ Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. xxxii.

written after the prose preface, perhaps immediately before the whole package was sent to Hilduin.

As he was not emperor until 875, there is no definitive way of distinguishing whether reference to Charles as king was made concerning Aquitaine or the West Frankish kingdom which he ruled from 840 - as we have seen, the dedicatory poem simply calls him '*pius rex*'. There needs to be a compromise between Poupardin's suggestion that Charles had not yet reached the age of fifteen and the verse preface's clear indication that he was a king. An early date in the reign of Charles as king of Aquitaine is the best compromise. Moreover, as Hilduin was amongst those trusted by Louis the Pious with Charles the Bald's protection in 838 when he became fifteen,⁷ it is clear that the relationship between the two that came about around this time make this period the most likely for dedication to Hilduin through whom patronage from Charles might be secured. The dedication and subsequent presentation to Hilduin is likely to have come about after May 839, therefore, and before October 840 though it was presumably written by June 840.⁸ This is pertinent as a later text might be expected to have mentioned the death of Louis the Pious which occurred in that month.⁹

The dedication was designed both to praise Hilduin and to improve the standing of the community of St Filibert through his patronage. As such it can be used to inform us of

⁷ Nithard, I, vi, 26.

⁸ Despite this it should be noted that Janet Nelson gives c.855 as the date of composition for the first book. She seems to have derived this information from David Herlihy's partial translation of the text - it may also be based on Löwe's analysis for which see below pp. 43-60. See J. L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992), p. 273 and Herlihy, *Feudalism*, pp. 8-13.

⁹ Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

one of the reasons that Ermentarius composed the text and sent his collated works to Hilduin. Felice Lifshitz has emphasised this issue strongly. She states that the prose preface indicates that ‘Ermentarius begged Hilduin to bring Filibertus to the attention of the king and promised that if Hilduin did what Ermentarius wanted the latter would dedicate to the archchaplain more books about the saint’s anti-Viking activities.’¹⁰

It is clear that this alone provides us with the outline of authorial intent, yet the picture is much more complex; indeed Lifshitz’s assertions, though valid on this point, only provide a starting point in what is a thorny issue. As I have outlined and shall go on to argue further, there was much more to the saint than Ermentarius’ anti-Viking polemic. Much of this investigation will focus on the motives and movements of the community throughout the history that Ermentarius provides. Here, though, the emphasis should remain on authorship, its motivations, and on the patrons the community sought. By considering the texts in light of these factors and separating the significance of those issues from the history of the movements of the Filibertines throughout the ninth century, we can sharpen our focus on the internal workings of the community.

As far as book one of *TMF* is concerned these lines of enquiry are never wholly separable. The book *is* the history of Filibertine movement; at least it is the history of the first translation of the Filibertines. Its main concern is to describe in specific detail the translation from Noirmoutier to Déas and the procession through the villages and settlements in-between them that took place in June 836.¹¹ Prior to this its concern is with

¹⁰ Lifshitz, ‘Migration’, p. 192.

¹¹ See map 3, p. ix.

the activities of the Northmen on the Atlantic coast and in particular on Noirmoutier, which activities are cited as the justification for the movement. The book also explains the nature of local devotion to Filibert, the monks' endeavours in rebuilding the church at Déas in the years leading up to 836 and the miracles that the relics helped to bring about. The difficulty in separating text from history here is why our interest is aroused by the dedication.

We shall consider Charles the Bald and Hilduin separately and as distinct audiences for the texts. They each have a unique impact on our overall understanding of the cult and community of St Filibert. Although Charles was a target, Hilduin was, strictly speaking, the only dedicatee. The nature of the dedicatory passages (both the verse preface which is quoted above, and a lengthier prose preface) indicates that there was a special concern to include Hilduin in the fortunes of the Filibertines. We must ask why this was the case and what Ermentarius and Hilbod hoped to gain from this relationship. Similar questions must then be asked of Charles the Bald. Though he is also mentioned in the preface(s), it is clear that he is not Ermentarius' prime concern, yet he became integral to the movements and stability of the community.¹² In light of this it is important that we ask 'is there anything for Charles' in the text of *TMF* or of the *VF*. The community itself should be considered a third audience. This will be dealt with in the final chapter of this study where genre and authorial intent shall be the focus.¹³

¹² For Charles as audience see pp. 61-66 and 244-250.

¹³ See below, pp. 215-233.

ii: *De Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Filiberti* - Book two

For the present focus must fall upon the other texts. The second book of *TMF* seems to have been written c.862.¹⁴ As it describes the movement of the community to Messais which took place on 1 May 862, and subsequent miracles, it must have been written at the earliest a few days later in May and was presumably completed by c.872 as it did not mention any details of the translation to Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule.¹⁵ It was written by Ermentarius and describes the translations of the community from Déas to Cunault and from Cunault to Messais. The monks were granted Cunault in December 845,¹⁶ and at least some of them moved there shortly thereafter although they did not take the relics of St Filibert with them. The relics and the remainder of the community moved to Cunault in 858.¹⁷ They then moved as a unit to Messais in May 862 and the second book was written to memorialise these translations and the miracles that accompanied them in the same manner as was the first book.¹⁸ It may be that Ermentarius always had it in mind to write a second book even before other translations than that from Noirmoutier to Déas became likely; as Lifshitz stated, he promised Hilduin more literature in return for his aid in c.840 in his prose preface.¹⁹ The preface to the second book of miracles indicates that he sees it as the fulfilment of the promise made to Hilduin.²⁰

¹⁴ Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

¹⁵ *TMF*, II, 12, p. 68, Ermentarius says they left Cunault on 1 May 862. He also says that 27 years had passed since the first events in *TMF*, II, 8, p. 65. See Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

¹⁶ *RAC*, I, no.81, pp. 227-229. For discussion of this see J-P. Brunterc'h, 'Le duché du Maine et la marche de Bretagne' in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, I (Sigmaringen, 1989), p. 70.

¹⁷ See below, pp. 155-161.

¹⁸ Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. xxxv.

¹⁹ Lifshitz, 'Migration', p. 192 and see *VF*, pp. 1-2.

²⁰ *TMF*, II, Preface, p. 59.

iii: The *Chronicon Trenorchiense*

The *Chronicon* is a problematic text. In his preface, Falco relates that he wrote the deeds of the community of St Filibert at the request of his abbot, Peter, in order that they may be left to posterity.²¹ Due to this Poupardin argued for a date between 1087, when the last recorded event took place, and 1105, the date that marks the end of Peter's term of office.²² Falco clearly used Ermentarius' works and whilst he says that he decided not to include a *VF* in his account as it was already sufficiently well-known,²³ he did recap much of Ermentarius' narrative of the first three translations.²⁴ Falco writes that he searched through the jumble of books that had already been produced in order to collect his source material.²⁵ Both this and statements about the *VF* suggest that he was aware of, and had read, Ermentarius' works; indeed he refers to the book of the miracles of St Filibert in chapter seventeen of the *Chronicon*.²⁶

Moreover, it seems likely that he had seen earlier versions of the *VF*. He also used the charters that pertained to the community. In chapter twenty of the *Chronicon*, he wrote that Hilbod approached Charles (the Bald) to request estates which were to provide a refuge from those who threatened the community.²⁷ This information can only have come from the charters that were written for the Filibertines in the ninth century that we shall

²¹ *Chronicon*, 1, p. 71.

²² Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xl-xli. Poupardin strangely gave 1109 as the date of the end of Peter's abbacy in a footnote at the start of the *Chronicon* itself - see *Chronicon*, p. 71 n.2. The later date is erroneous. Jacques Henriët gives the dates for Peter's abbacy as 1066-1105 thus matching Poupardin's dates given in his introduction. See J. Henriët, 'Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire - Critique d'Authenticité - Étude Archéologique du Chevet (1009-1019)' in *Bulletin Monumental*, 148; 3 (1990), p. 231.

²³ *Chronicon*, 16, p. 82.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 18-23, pp. 82-86.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1, p. 71.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 17, p. 82.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 20, p. 84.

deal with later. Chapter 21 refers to similar events but in more detail. Here we are told that Charles gave Cunault to the monks and that count Vivian of Tours was involved in the donation.²⁸ We have charters recording that in 845, shortly after he became count of Tours, Vivian was given a small monastery (*monasteriolum*) at Cunault on the banks of the Loire by Charles the Bald.²⁹ He subsequently gave this church to the Filibertines. The way in which Falco refers to these donations together shows that he had at his disposal at least these two charters; he probably had access to a number of further charters too. Falco was writing from a number of primary sources and using them to fill in details where he did not have direct evidence of his own. However, this does not mean that we should accept his version of events without reserve. He, like Ermentarius, had an agenda in writing his text and there are certainly areas where he made errors; he gives an incorrect date for the death of Hilbod, for instance.³⁰ His text is a mixture of material that was reliably collected from good sources and important errors that throw into question its overall usefulness. The *Chronicon* is not the most important work to which we shall have recourse; it is of use in relation to the way in which we should see the whole body of texts and the message that they imparted to the community itself, but is derivative in parts and cannot be relied upon wholly. Where I have used it, it is to supplement other information gained from the charters or to add detail to events about which we have little other testimony. A full investigation of the text would be a useful endeavour, but it cannot be attempted here as its scope and focus is beyond that of this study.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 21, p. 84.

²⁹ *RAC*, I, no.77, pp. 217-219.

³⁰ *Chronicon*, 21, p. 84.

iv: The *Vita Filiberti*

The *Vita Filiberti*, of course, described the life of St Filibert. A noble from Gascony, Filibert quickly became involved in influential ecclesiastical circles thanks to the intervention of his father Filibaud who was bishop at Aire-sur-l'Adour.³¹ Filibert was born c.616, and so shortly after the death of Columbanus,³² and received education at the court of Dagobert I where he met Audoinus (Ouen).³³ Sometime after 636 he entered the monastery of Rebais, near Rouen (which Audoinus had founded) under the governance of Agilus on whose death Filibert succeeded him to abbatial office.³⁴ His career as abbot of Rebais was brief owing to internal revolts.³⁵ According to the *VF*, he embarked on a tour of monasteries in Frankish, Burgundian and Italian territories in order to see how various communities lived and to draw useful examples from each of the models of living that they represented; these included the Columbanian monasteries Luxeuil and Bobbio, but Filibert also learned from the observance of rules attributed to Macharius, Benedict and Basil.³⁶

There were a number of links between Filibertine monasticism and its Columbanian predecessor and it may be that Filibertine monks considered some Columbanian monasteries as belonging to a wide network along with their own houses - Bobbio certainly featured in the history of the Filibertines on more than one notable occasion and Filibert's visit to it during his lifetime must have been what sowed the seeds of association. It is also

³¹ *VF*, ii, pp. 3-4 and Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xvi-xvii and xvii n.2.

³² Columbanus died in November 615. See D. Bullough, 'The Career of Columbanus' in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. M. Lapidge (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 27. The article as a whole provides a useful summary of the activities of Columbanus. See also I. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400-1050* (Harlow, 2001), p. 31.

³³ *VF*, ii, pp. 3-4. Also R. Hennebicque-Le Jan, 'Prosopographica Neustrica: Les Agents du Roi en Neustrie de 639 à 840' in Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie*, no. 68, p. 245 for Audoinus in Neustria.

³⁴ *VF*, iii-v, pp. 4-5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, v, p. 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vi, pp. 5-6. Also I. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (Harlow, 1994), p. 188.

likely that Filibertine monastic observance was partly Columbanian in character before early ninth century reforms.

On Filibert's return from this tour, Dagobert's successor Clovis II and his wife Balthild gave him lands in Neustria on which he founded Jumièges and later added a female house at Pavilly.³⁷ In the late 670s he founded a monastery in Poitou at Saint-Benoit-de-Quinçay and went on to found his monastery on the island of Noirmoutier.³⁸ These latter two were each founded whilst Filibert was in exile due to his opposition to Ébroïn's controversial assumption of power in Neustria, the former in the territory of Dagobert II to whose kingdom Filibert fled following imprisonment for his refusal to become one of Ébroïn's supporters.³⁹ On the latter's death in 680, Filibert returned to Neustria where he founded another female monastery, at Montivilliers, and a monastery that he placed under the charge of Sidonius in the Varenne valley. He finally returned to Noirmoutier where he died c.685.⁴⁰

This provides important context for relations between the Filibertines and Frankish royalty.

As a member of a prominent family, Filibert was known to the royal court before his saintly career began in earnest. He was party to the education offered at Merovingian courts

³⁷ *VE*, vii, p. 6.

³⁸ Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xvii-xxii. The *Vita Suspecta* confirms that Filibert founded Noirmoutier whilst he was absent from Neustria due to Ébroïn's coup. *VSus*, iii, p. 91.

³⁹ Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxii-xxiii. *ODS*, p. 407. On Ébroïn's coup see P. Fouracre and R. A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640-720* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 20-24 and P. Fouracre, 'Merovingians, Mayors of the Palace and the Notion of a Low-Born Ebroin' in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 57; 135 (1984), pp. 1-14. A useful approach to the coup can be found in Fouracre's discussion of the *Passio Leudegarii*: P. Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography' in *Past and Present*, 127 (1990), pp. 13-20.

⁴⁰ *VE*, xxiv-xxx, pp. 14-18. Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxiii-xxiv. For a useful summary of Filibert's career see the introduction to the *Vita Sidonii*: *VS*, pp. 414-415.

and an intimate of some of the most important religious figures of the seventh century. Filibert was both an important abbot and monastic founder, and also one of Dagobert I's last great reforming abbots and missionary saints.⁴¹ Wood describes him as one of a group of individuals from aristocratic families that had close connections to the Merovingian court and as one of the second generation of 'champions of the traditions of Luxeuil,'⁴² - as, therefore, one of the successors to Columbanus. Filibert rejected Ébroïn's approaches and was imprisoned by him rather than accept what he saw as illegitimate lordship. This decision is an important one both for the history of St Filibert and for the context of his later cult as it was not just because of Ébroïn that Filibert's career was thus punctuated. Audoinus, the man who had been Filibert's mentor (to use Ian Wood's term), was instrumental in this decision too.⁴³ Wood sees Filibert's exile as indicative of his power and influence in the area; indeed that seems to have been the case.

Lifshitz plotted the situation in the context of the rise of the Austrasians in the Merovingian dominated Neustria. For her, Filibert belonged to a 'circle of saints who were active in the diocese of Rouen during the decades immediately preceding the Austrasian aggression' along with Audoinus, Ansbertus and Lantbertus.⁴⁴ Neustrian authors of the *vitae* of figures like Audoinus attempted to show that at a time when the identity of Neustrians was being threatened, 'the region had excelled in holiness.'⁴⁵ This attempt led not only to pro-

⁴¹ *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, ed. and trans. J. A. McNamara, J. E. Halborg with E. G. Whatley (Durham, 1993), p. 305.

⁴² Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 192.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 186. Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 47. R. A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (Oxford, 1987), p. 88. J. Howe, 'The Hagiography of Jumièges (Province of Haute Normandie) (SHGVII)' in M. Heinzelmann (ed.), *L'Hagiographie du Haut Moyen Âge en Gaule du Nord: Manuscrits, Textes et Centres de Production* (Stuttgart, 2001), p. 116.

⁴⁴ Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 46.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Merovingian rhetoric developing in these *vitae* but also to the intrinsic linking of these figures with Merovingian authority and identity. Although, as Paul Fouracre has pointed out, we cannot see this hagiographical material as ‘the principal expression of opposition to rising Carolingian power,’⁴⁶ some of it was brought about because the Merovingians were challenged by the attempts of the Austrasian, Carolingian hierarchy to establish their own authority in the region, thus threatening Neustrian identity. The reaction to this was to write lives of saints that showed the strength of the noble ecclesiastical system and the piety of its individuals.

For Lifshitz, Rouen, Fontenelles and Jumièges stood as the three great Neustrian institutions in opposition to Carolingian incursion.⁴⁷ Despite this, Jumièges was separated from the others by internal rivalries within this group of monasteries. The hagiography that emanated from Jumièges illustrates for Lifshitz a rivalry between that monastery and Fontenelles in particular, derived from the close support afforded to Fontenelles by both Rouen and the royal court. Jumièges was too close to both Rouen and Fontenelles to survive in the same *milieu*.⁴⁸ Because of this and Filibert’s exile, Lifshitz argues, his cult emerged in the Vendée in stark contrast to that of Audoinus. The literary representation of Audoinus remained staunchly associated with pro-Neustrian, pro-Merovingian ideology.⁴⁹ That of his pupil Filibert became associated with a new pro-Austrasian, pro-Carolingian ideology. He became an outsider through his exile and in the same breath he was held to

⁴⁶ P. Fouracre, ‘The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt to Regulate the Cult of Saints’ in J. Howard-Johnston and P. A. Hayward (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), p. 159.

⁴⁷ Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, pp. 46-56.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴⁹ For the text see VAR.

have demonstrated enmity with Audoinus and with Ébroïn. This meant that when the third abbot of Jumièges, Coschinus, called for the production of the *VF* he brought about the production of a narrative that was not favourable towards Audoinus.⁵⁰ We should see the hagiography associated with Filibert as part of a wider type of historical writing in this period.

The *VF* is pro-Austrasian propaganda and provides a way of seeing Filibert in the framework of the rise of the Carolingians.⁵¹ The Carolingians themselves were not it seems slow to realise this. Lifshitz presents the Carolingian rewriting of hagiography associated with Audoinus and the others in the same terms as Rosamond McKitterick has presented Carolingian history writing in general terms.⁵² The Carolingians wanted to present the past as an inevitable chain of events leading to their eventual superiority over the ill-equipped Merovingian *rois fainéants* and in this presentation Filibert became one of the heroes.⁵³ In the *Vita Austrebertae* the Carolingian author associated Filibert's foundations of Jumièges and Pavilly with Dagobert I rather than with Clovis II and Balthild as earlier texts did.⁵⁴ Dagobert was interred at Saint-Denis and provided the only symbolic continuity with the Merovingian past that emphasised anything admirable in Carolingian eyes.⁵⁵ To use Lifshitz's terminology, we can see in all of this the 'echoes of political struggles in

⁵⁰ Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 123.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵² A number of texts discuss this, see: R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989); McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture*; McKitterick, *History and Memory*; Hen and Innes, *Uses of the Past*.

⁵³ Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, pp. 56-99.

⁵⁴ *VA*, i, p. 420.

⁵⁵ Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, pp. 67-70. Also G. Brown, *Politics and Patronage at the Abbey of St Denis (814-98): the Rise of a Royal Patron Saint* (unpublished Oxford University Dphil thesis 1989), particularly p. 283. Also Fouracre, 'Merovingian History', p. 30.

historiographic narrative.’⁵⁶ Filibert took sides against his mentor Audoinus in supporting the Austrasian party in the mid-seventh century, and so became the pro-Carolingian antithesis of the ‘Neustrian patriot’ Audoinus when the history was rewritten.⁵⁷ Regine Le Jan said of the seventh century that ‘in this society, politics turned on the control and manipulation of the sacred.’⁵⁸ In terms of the manipulation of the holy men and women who formed the backbone of that sacred society, it seems that the Carolingians learned that politics could still turn on that same control. This has important implications for the texts of these *vitae*, and establishes authoritative connections between Filibert and the Carolingians at the earliest stage of the latter’s rise to power. This connection is important for our study for, as we shall see, the community played on such connections in order to gain further patronage and to help begin their ninth-century growth.

Filibert’s foundations and reforming works took place at some of the most important monasteries in the Merovingian and later the Carolingian kingdoms; at Jumièges, at Bobbio and at Luxeuil. Moreover, his appointment of Austreberta as abbess of the female house at Jumièges tied him more closely into noble spheres and began the career of another Merovingian saint.⁵⁹ Indeed, Filibert founded Jumièges on lands donated by Clovis II and Balthild, herself a Merovingian saint.⁶⁰ In short, Filibert was integral to seventh-century ecclesiastical and political spheres even before his involvement in the political intrigues that saw the Carolingians emerge as would-be kings. His fame would have been well

⁵⁶ Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 59.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁵⁸ R. Le Jan, ‘Convents, Violence and Competition for Power in Seventh Century Francia’ in M. de Jong and F. Theuvs (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), p. 262.

⁵⁹ *VA*, ii, pp. 421-422.

⁶⁰ Reference in both the A and the B recensions: *VB*, 8, pp. 491-493.

established in royal circles because of his achievements during his lifetime and his intimacy with Dagobert I, Clovis II and Dagobert II. The *VF* enhanced it as did mention of him in other saints' lives from this period; the *Vitae Austrebertae*, the *Vita Aichardi*,⁶¹ the *Vita Balthildis*, the *Vita Sidonii*, and the *Vita Lantbertus*⁶² and the use of him as a pawn in the Carolingian rewriting of late-Merovingian history. All of these texts are very favourable towards St Filibert. Most refer to his foundation of Jumièges to some extent. Given differing representations of the donation of Jumièges to Filibert, it is interesting that the *Vita Austrebertae* has Dagobert I as the patron, whereas the *Vita Balthildis* and the *Vita Sidonii* give agency to Balthild and Clovis II.⁶³ Despite these differences all attest to Filibert's importance as the founder and first abbot of Jumièges. The *Vita Aichardi* calls him 'worthy of God and of all the saints of Neustria, the most famous.'⁶⁴ The *Vita Sidonii* referred to the singularity of his fame.⁶⁵ He was not only associated with royal saints but also a number of founding abbots and monks of some prestige as the list of texts in which he is mentioned attests. Despite later problems he was Audoinus' disciple and abbot of his monastery at Rebais. Sidonius was in turn Filibert's disciple. He was the cellarer at Noirmoutier and became the abbot of Filibert's monastery at Varenne.⁶⁶ Aichardus became abbot of Jumièges following his death and Lantbert was his contemporary at Fontenelles. His was a well-known story and his activities during his life meant that he was a saint who was an important part of early Frankish monastic development.

⁶¹ *VSus*. This text is the life of St Aichardus, Filibert's successor as abbot of Jumièges. It is full of references to Filibert and his foundation of Jumièges. As such it serves as a useful comparison to the *VF*.

⁶² *VLFL*.

⁶³ *VA*, i, p. 420. See above n. 60 for the *VB*; *VS*, i, p. 425.

⁶⁴ '...Deo dignus et omnium sanctorum in Neustria famosissimus...' *VSus*, ii, p. 89.

⁶⁵ *VS*, i, p. 425.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

It was this type of rôle, intimacy with Frankish royalty, and no doubt also Filibert's favourable connections with the Carolingians that Hilbod wished to recall when he asked Ermentarius to compose *TMF* for Hilduin and Charles the Bald. Inclusion of Ermentarius' copy of the *VF* thereby provided a judicious reminder of lifetime associations. Coming at a time when Charles' brothers and cousin were involved in attempts to bar him from a share of the succession, reference to Filibert's actions during Ébroïn's career was timely. The more recent acceptance of Wala and Adalhard as exiles from Charles' father at the outset of Louis the Pious' imperial reign should also have been brought back to the king's mind by mention of the community at Noirmoutier. As shall be discussed more fully later, these cousins of Charlemagne were both ejected from the imperial court and served at least a part of their individual periods of exile on the island of Noirmoutier.⁶⁷ Connections to the Carolingians did not rely solely on Filibert's lifetime. They existed for a number of reasons including the exiles of Wala and Adalhard to Noirmoutier, but also including the careers of two Filibertine abbots, Arnulf and Hilbod whose abbacies spanned the period 817 to at least 856. These connections are all vitally important to the development of the community in the Carolingian period and will be discussed in what follows.

It remains to describe the genesis of the *VF*. There is some debate regarding the composition of the first version. Levison thought the text was written sometime in the late-eighteenth century.⁶⁸ However his hypothesis holds little water. Lifshitz provides the clearest explanation of what is a difficult problem in *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*. The *VF* was initially written by a monk of Jumièges at the request of the third abbot of that

⁶⁷ See below, pp. 104-115

⁶⁸ VFGH, pp. 563-572.

monastery, Coschinus.⁶⁹ He was abbot from 687-722 and is mentioned in the first chapter of the text.⁷⁰ The text has to be much earlier than Levison suggests therefore. For him, it is significant that there are sources and language to be found in the *VF* that are congruent with the Carolingian age.⁷¹ In Lifshitz's view, Levison has overcomplicated issues and she describes his attribution of the text to the late-eighth century as 'hypercritical'.⁷²

Levison proposed that there were two versions made in this period, one simpler, the other more polished, that are distinguished by differently structured prologues, but they do not survive in original form. None of the surviving manuscripts are earlier than the ninth or tenth centuries. Nevertheless, a theory that there were two derives from the prologue to the *Vita Austrebertae* where the patron of the *VF* is said to have poured scorn on the style of the text when he received it.⁷³ The second early *VF* should, therefore, be seen as a revision whose basis was a desire to produce a more sophisticated text in terms of its Latinity. That the *Vita Austrebertae* mentioned it means that the *VF* must have been in existence by 730 by which time the first *Vita Austrebertae* was completed.⁷⁴

Poupardin noted a total of 30 manuscripts of the *VF*, of which only one has a possible ninth-century provenance.⁷⁵ He noted a further six manuscripts that contained the *vita*

⁶⁹ Howe, 'Hagiography of Jumièges', pp. 116-117.

⁷⁰ *VE*, i, p. 3.

⁷¹ See his introduction to *VFGH*, pp. 568-573.

⁷² Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 46 and n.89.

⁷³ Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. ix; *VA*, Prologue, p. 419.

⁷⁴ Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 46 and n. 89. Levison thought it was still eighth century as it is cited by Carolingian authors. He must have based his view on a rewritten (eighth-century) version of the *Vita Austrebertae* and a ninth-century *Vita Aichardi* that also mentions the *VF*. See *VFGH*, pp. 568-573.

⁷⁵ Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. xlv, n.2.

alongside the other Filibertine texts.⁷⁶ In fact there are four versions of the *vita* that are extant today. These are the *Vita Coschino dedicata* (BHL 6805), the text of the *VF* that is included in Ermentarius' collection of texts that he copied in his youth, a *Vita Coschino dedicata* that has no prologue, and an abridged version of the *Vita Coschino dedicata* from the twelfth century (BN Lat.12.710).⁷⁷ This led Poupardin and Levison to speculate about possible intermediary texts. They are in agreement that the text dedicated to Coschinus was the first text of the *VF*. They also agree that Ermentarius' text was not the next version of the *vita*. They consider that there must have been a ninth-century text that was in circulation and that was the source of the manuscripts that we have today.⁷⁸ This is a point with which H. W. C. Davis agreed.⁷⁹

The sources of these manuscripts were far more likely to have been Merovingian than Carolingian. However, there was a text that was in circulation in the ninth century; the Reichenau library possessed a text in 821 or 822.⁸⁰ This may be the intermediary text from which the surviving manuscripts are derived in the thesis offered by Poupardin.⁸¹ Might we furthermore theorise that the author of the Reichenau text was Ermentarius himself? It is impossible to say, but the manuscript is evidence of interest in Filibert in the ninth century. For Poupardin and for Levison, Ermentarius' text (whether it is this 821 text or not) is based on the earliest, most simple version. We cannot be sure of this. All that is verifiable is that Ermentarius' work does not differ markedly from other versions except in terms of

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. xlv-li.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. xlv-li.

⁷⁸ Compare *VFGH*, pp. 581-583 and Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. x-xvi.

⁷⁹ H. W. C. Davis, Review Article: 'Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert' in *The English Historical Review*, 21; 83 (1906), pp. 555-556.

⁸⁰ *VFGH*, p. 571 and 577. For the library catalogue at Reichenau which was his source see G. Becker, *Catologi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), 6 (Monasterium Augiense), no. 129, p. 7.

⁸¹ See Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. xv and n. 1.

style and that he included the dedication to Coschinus. He certainly did this as a direct copying from his earlier exemplar and should not be seen as the original author of the *VF* or of the dedication to Coschinus.⁸² The date of the earliest work disallows this possibility and suggestions that Ermentarius might have been the original author must be due to his retention of the dedication in his version of the *vita*.

v: Ermentarius' *Vita Filiberti*

In the first paragraph of the prose preface to the *VF*, Ermentarius explains that the text that he included in his package of works was written when he was younger and when his style was not so polished.⁸³ Naturally there is a certain level of circumspection that must accompany a statement like this in a period when self-deprecation (sincere or not) was the norm. However, it is important that Ermentarius refers in general terms to his age in this instance as well as to his style as this information when combined with what we can tell about the *VF* itself can be used to help us to understand the community in much broader contexts. If, following this comment, we accept that Ermentarius decided to copy the work from the ninth-century version that included a dedication to Coschinus, or that he authored the ninth-century (Reichenau) version, we must ask why he did so. Although Ermentarius used his *VF* as part of the package of texts sent to Hilduin and Charles, this was not the initial reason for its composition. He copied and amended a version of the *vita* in his youth that was then available to him as a text to be added to his *TMF* in c.840. We need to separate in our minds the reasons for the initial copying and the later dedication of this text

⁸² Poupardin suggests that the dedication to Coschinus is similar to that to Hilduin and, therefore, posits that Ermentarius may have authored the dedication to Coschinus. Although similarities exist this seems beyond the limits of reason due to chronological constraints. See *Ibid.*, p. xv.

⁸³ *VE*, Preface, p. 1.

and ask why Ermentarius wrote the *VF* in the first place. The answer to this question may lie in educational practices.

Although Depreux does not mention him in his prosopography of the Louis' entourage,⁸⁴ it is possible that Ermentarius was educated at court.⁸⁵ Noble youths often spent their formative years at the Frankish court and there was a strong link between literacy and high status in both secular and ecclesiastical spheres.⁸⁶ For Ermentarius to have been a hagiographer at a monastery of such status as Noirmoutier he must surely have belonged to a high status family. This is certainly the case if he ever became abbot of the community, the possibility of which shall be discussed later, and he may well have had an education at court without necessarily becoming worthy of mention.⁸⁷ His education, affected of course by Carolingian reforms is at the centre of this issue. Clearly the men of Charlemagne's court influenced the literary and cultural production of key monasteries at the beginning of the ninth century.⁸⁸ Monasteries associated with Filibert, including Noirmoutier had a scriptorium or monastic school in the eighth century.⁸⁹ It may be that whilst at Noirmoutier, Ermentarius copied, edited or rewrote the life of the founder of the monastery as part of his education; the principal site of Filibertine monasticism probably held copies of the *VF* in its library. We can point to a definite example of the use of a comparative text for educational

⁸⁴ P. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781-840)*, (Sigmaringen, 1997).

⁸⁵ See P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: From the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, trans. J. J. Contreni (Columbia, SC, 1976), pp. 422-429 on eighth-century monastic literary production.

⁸⁶ J. M. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 40-41. P. Fouracre, 'Francia in the Seventh Century' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, I, c.500-c.700, ed. P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 371-396 establishes this practice as a Merovingian one also.

⁸⁷ Arguments concerning a period as abbot will be discussed below. See pp. 39-41.

⁸⁸ J. J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, c.700-c.900, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 710-712.

⁸⁹ Riché, *Education*, pp. 427-429; D. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen, 1990); Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance', pp. 721-746.

purposes in the shape of Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani*, where an eleventh-century manuscript which also includes Adso of Montier-en-Der's *Vita Deicolò* has clearly been used for educational copying and has interlinear synonyms derived from study in the monastic school.⁹⁰ It requires no great stretch of the imagination to see Ermentarius involved in this sort of process on the way to becoming a hagiographer in his own right.

We should also consider here the important work done on hagiographical rewriting or 'réécriture.' It will be useful to establish briefly what is meant by 'réécriture.' Examination of the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina (BHL)* reveals that most *vitae* were rewritten at some point, once or more often.⁹¹ Not many saints are mentioned in just one text. In northern Gaul, twenty-two hagiographical dossiers are represented in 56 works; in which only six dossiers are made up of only one text. The cult of St Martin of Tours is, for example, represented in 57 documents in the original 1901 version of the *BHL*.⁹² 'Réécriture' occurred mostly during reform periods or as part of a process of restoration or for various cult reasons.⁹³ This could involve amplification of the text or abridgement of it, or simply the reordering of information.⁹⁴ We cannot consider the revision of the *VF* as *réécriture* due to the established orthodoxy that is applied to this phenomenon - if we wish to consider the *VF* in these terms we must look to the earliest redactions and not

⁹⁰ This reference is to MS BLad21917. I am grateful to Alexander O'Hara for this comparison. See H. J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 224-226 and 233-246 on the *Vita Deicoli*.

⁹¹ M. Goullet, 'Vers une typologie des réécritures hagiographiques, à partir de quelques exemples du Nord-Est de la France' in M. Goullet and M. Heinzelmann (eds), *La Réécriture Hagiographique dans l'Occident Médiéval: Transformations Formelles et Idéologiques* (Paris, 2003), p. 131.

⁹² M. Goullet and M. Heinzelmann, 'Avant-propos' in *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁹³ Goullet, 'Vers une typologie', p. 131.

⁹⁴ G. Rigg, 'The Long or the Short of it? Amplification or Abbreviation?' in *The Journal of Medieval Latin: A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin*, 10 (2000), pp. 46-73.

Ermentarius' version.⁹⁵ It is in terms of the questions that those working on rewriting of hagiographies are seeking to answer that the most parallels can be drawn. They are interested in the intentions of the authors, the projects that they were undertaking and whether or not they were consciously undertaken. They ask whether the rewriting of texts can help to understand the fortunes and misfortunes of the areas from which they came and how 'réécriture' fits into a broader understanding of medieval writing.⁹⁶ All of these questions are integral to our investigation, but at that point the comparison falters.

III: Authorship

We know very little about Ermentarius; all of our information concerning him comes from his preface and from information inferred from his *TMF* for which he was very clearly an eye-witness. He was a monk of the community during the time at which the events he described took place. Unfortunately there is no way of being sure when he first became a monk of St Filibert or at what age he did so. Beyond the allusion to his age when he copied the *VF* we get no glimpse of his age at any point in the history of the community. However, it is not overly important when he became a Filibertine monk; just that he was one during the ninth century.

In fact, some confusion exists as to his position within the community. A modern marble mural in the abbey church at Tournus purports to include the names of all of the

⁹⁵ See Goulet and Heinzelmann, 'Avant-propos', pp. 12-13 and J.-C. Poulin, 'Les réécritures dans l'hagiographie bretonne (VIIIe-XIIe siècles)' in Goulet and Heinzelmann, *La Réécriture*, pp. 145-147. But see T. Head, 'The early medieval transformation of piety' in J. R. Davis and M. McCormick (eds), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 157 for potential problems with this terminology.

⁹⁶ Poulin, 'L'hagiographie bretonne', pp. 149-150.

monastery's abbots up to the nineteenth century. It should not be considered authoritative, yet it is interesting that it does not mention an abbot named Ermentarius. Poupardin considers that he was an abbot of the community using a reference in the *Chronicon* to an abbot Ermentarius as the basis for his argument.⁹⁷ There may have been an abbot Ermentarius but he needn't necessarily be associated with our author. Moreover, Falco's dating of his proposed abbatial office is flawed as in describing the elevation of this Ermentarius' predecessor (Axenius) to office, it mentions Hilbod's death in 853.⁹⁸ We know that he lived until at least 856.⁹⁹ Despite such difficulties, Poupardin proposes a sequence of events that allows for Ermentarius to have been abbot which requires him to discount Axenius from the list.¹⁰⁰ Poupardin's arguments are implausible to say the least and are predicated on a desire to see Falco's abbot Ermentarius as synonymous with the author of *TMF*.

We cannot accept Poupardin's clumsy hypothesis as part of Ermentarius' biography. It is not outwith the realms of possibility that Falco was referring to a different Ermentarius than the one who wrote *TMF*. There is no justification at all for taking Falco's statements about Ermentarius seriously and fitting them to the chronology gained from external evidence whilst discounting Falco's statements about another abbot. Moreover, given that Falco was writing at the turn of the twelfth century, we should be wary of taking his comments concerning the ninth century as entirely accurate.

⁹⁷ Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxx-xxxvii. See *Chronicon*, 22, p. 84. Falco makes no statement that necessarily links abbot Ermentarius to the author of *TMF*.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 21, p. 84.

⁹⁹ He is named in a charter issued by Erispoë as *dux* of Brittany in 856. See *RAC*, I, no. 180, pp. 478-480.

¹⁰⁰ Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii and *Chronicon*, 22, p. 84 for references to abbot Ermentarius.

All that can be gained from Poupardin's suggestions is that there was at least one man named Ermentarius in the history of the community that was known to Falco. It is likely that Falco conflated the undoubtedly important position that Ermentarius held as the hagiographer for the community during a period of intense importance for both cult and community with that of abbot. Perhaps there was an abbot named Ermentarius. However, Falco's assertions alone cannot be considered absolute proof; even if there was such an abbot, we cannot assume that it was our author. It is understandable that Poupardin wanted to reconcile the two people, but in the final analysis we do not need to follow him.

Despite the misgivings outlined above, there is no reason to doubt that Ermentarius was the author of *TMF* and the dedicatory passages that he included in his collated texts. The only positive evidence that we have for Ermentarius' authorship of the texts as a group is the inclusion of his name in the final line of the verse preface. Despite this, evidence from the way in which Falco approached his texts shows that he considered Ermentarius' copy of the *VF*, *TMF* and his own *Chronicon* to form a homogeneous text. The way Falco summarises Ermentarius' work and refers to certain details from it and from the charter evidence that he had to hand indicates, as has been argued, that the *Chronicon* was intended to act as a continuation of the earlier works. When Ermentarius put the *VF* along with book one of *TMF*, he had the same intention; to present *TMF* as the newest instalment of Filibertine history that could be considered one history. The addition of a verse and prose preface came before the *VF* but it was meant to act as a preface to the group of texts. The inclusion of his own name in the final line of the verse preface shows

that he authored that and is strong evidence that he was, therefore, the author of the texts which it prefaced.

The manuscript that Poupardin used in editing the texts came from Tournus (ms1 in Tournus town library).¹⁰¹ It is a manuscript that contains all of the texts: the *vita*, both books of *TMF* and Falco's *Chronicon* as well as a catalogue of the relics of Tournus and a *Translatio sancti Valeriani*.¹⁰² As such it is evidence of the use of the texts as a group by the community themselves. Giry saw it as an official record of the documents related to St Filibert.¹⁰³ The earliest parts of the manuscript up to the end of *TMF* are from the tenth century;¹⁰⁴ the *Chronicon* and other parts were added to it later.¹⁰⁵ The very fact that the *Chronicon* was added to this earlier work shows that it was indeed considered as belonging to the Filibertine group. It has no title of its own in the manuscript - perhaps further evidence that it was a continuation of sorts.¹⁰⁶ As Poupardin's edition does, the manuscript begins with the dedication and moves on to the *VF* and then the remainder of the texts.¹⁰⁷ The whole of the section up to and including *TMF* is testified by the same group of signatories and the dedicatory preface should, therefore be seen as belonging to all of it.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. xlvi.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. xlvi-l.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xlvii-xlix.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xlix-l.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xlix. But see R. Sharpe, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts, An Evidence Based Approach* (Turnhout, 2003) for warnings about titles.

¹⁰⁷ Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xlvii-xlviii.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xlviii.

As well as providing a good indication that the texts belong to the same tradition and form one greater text, the evidence from this manuscript helps to establish that Ermentarius was indeed the author of the first three parts of it as well as of the dedication. When the dedicatory passage was added to the texts it not only requested the patronage from Hilduin and Charles the Bald that was eventually gained, but it served as a method of designating authorship of the texts that followed it.

IV: Patrons

i: Hilduin of Saint-Denis

We have already had cause to mention the dedication of Ermentarius' works. They give us an important glimpse into the mindset of influential members of the Filibertine community at the time of the first translation, and also indicate something of the motives behind the composition of *TMF* and its collation with Ermentarius' copy of the *VF*. Here we shall concentrate on the people whose attention the community wished to gain through these texts - Hilduin of Saint-Denis and Charles the Bald. It is important for our study that various features of their lives are dealt with here in order to allow us to see how they were involved with the Filibertines and why Hilbod wished that they become induced to create strong ties with the community in the mid-ninth century. Through close examination of these factors we can see the determination of the community to enhance their position through alliance with influential members of the court. This will again call into question the narrative of flight from the Northmen by indicating additional motives for movement.

Hilduin was the primary dedicatee. His career was illustrious by any standards and although there is a need for a detailed analysis of it, this is not the place to provide it. Nonetheless, there are a number of aspects of his career that will be crucial in providing context for the aspirations of the Filibertines. We must discover why he was a man to whom Hilbod and Ermentarius wished to appeal on behalf of their community.

Before we can move on to do this there is a controversial element that needs to be broached. In 1973 Heinz Löwe suggested that not Hilduin of Saint-Denis, but rather Hilduin of Saint-Germain-des-Prés was the intended target of Ermentarius' texts.¹⁰⁹ This only makes sense if we accept that the dedication was written long after the late 830s to which it has traditionally been dated. Löwe stated that Hilduin of Saint-Denis could not have been the dedicatee as he was not senior enough in 839 or 840 to have been appealed to by a community like that of St Filibert. He argues that the texts must have been directed at Hilduin of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the successor to Ébroïn of Poitiers as archchaplain of Charles the Bald.¹¹⁰ The dedication should in his view be dated to a point between Hilduin of Saint-Germain-des-Prés's assumption of this rôle in 854 and the movement of the relics of St Filibert to Cunault in 858. These dates are seemingly adopted as Hilduin of Saint-Germain-des-Prés would not, in Löwe's eyes, have been approached without holding this position - indeed it is Löwe's view that this position is what placed him in close enough proximity to Charles the Bald to have been of use in this context - and because the first book of *TMF* does not mention the translation to

¹⁰⁹ W. Wattenbach, W. Levison and H. Löwe (eds), *Deutschlands Geschichtquellen im Mittelalter: Vorzeit und Karolinger*, V (Weimar, 1973), pp. 589-590.

¹¹⁰ See F. Lot, 'De quelques personnages du IXe siècle qui ont porté le nom de Hilduin' in *Le Moyen Âge*, 16 (1903), pp. 254-257 and F. Lot, 'Sur les Hilduins. Note rectificative' in *Le Moyen Âge*, 17 (1904), pp. 339-341.

Cunault.¹¹¹ His overall position is dominated by the feeling that the community must have appealed to someone who held the rank of archchaplain because that post indicated that the target was influential enough to help them secure their aims.

As a bald idea this is plausible but it is not convincing. Firstly, it is clear that Hilduin of Saint-Denis was of considerable importance and seniority in 839-840. He was not only in a position that could be extremely beneficial to the community, but was exactly the right type of man to whom they should appeal given his involvement in the cult of the saints at and prior to this time. It is worth mentioning that although Hilduin of Saint-Denis was never Charles the Bald's archchaplain, he was archchaplain to Louis the Pious until the emperor's death in 840 despite his involvement in rebellions against Louis in the early 830s. It makes little sense to suggest that one archchaplain was of insufficient seniority in comparison to another; even though Hilduin of Saint-Denis was not archchaplain after 840, he had been until that point. If the dedication was written in 839 or in early 840 as is likely, then Ermentarius and Hilbod would have been directing their texts to Charles the Bald as king of Aquitaine and so Hilduin of Saint-Denis would have been a judicious choice as the archchaplain of the current emperor who was the superior of Charles. The court circle of Charles the Bald was not yet established in Aquitaine and there were nevertheless many stresses on it in an arena where Pippin II was a rival from the outset.¹¹² Appeal to the archchaplain of the emperor over Charles' head was surely a much more reasoned decision. Even if the dedication was written after the death of Louis the Pious, then Hilduin of Saint-Denis remained a useful dedicatee prior to his defection

¹¹¹ Wattenbach, Levison and Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtquellen*, pp. 589-590.

¹¹² See Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, pp. 125-270 and discussion below, pp. 195-212.

to Lothar because of his experience and uncertainty as to the eventual makeup of Charles the Bald's group of supporters that would naturally have existed at this stage. Secondly, although dating the dedication to the mid-850s is attractive in that the transfer to Cunault can thereby be seen as a direct reaction to appeal for aid, *TMF* should not primarily be considered an appeal.

More importantly, Löwe's argument fails if we do not accept the proposition that the community moved in 858. As shall be argued in due course, the community of St Filibert left Déas for Cunault in two stages. The greater part of the community left shortly after 845 when they were first granted the monastery at Cunault and it was only the remainder that made the transition in 858. Ermentarius was a part of the former group and in book two described the events as they took place c.845. Moreover, as the community had been given Cunault in 845, a dedication that suggests appeal for more patronage and possibly for further lands post-854 is at best questionable. It would certainly be strange if Ermentarius wrote a text that did not describe a translation in c.845 if he had written it after 854.

The decision made by Löwe to locate the dedication in the 850s is not, therefore, justifiable. It is mostly based on the suggestion that Hilduin of Saint-Denis was not a powerful enough figure to be approached. Other than his rejection of the traditional dating of the dedication, his approach to the works by Ermentarius is superficial and imbued with the typical rhetoric of translation enforced by aggressive actions on the part of the Northmen against which I have already argued. He takes Ermentarius' expressions

concerning the Northmen literally and describes the fate of the monastery of St Filibert as characteristic of ninth-century concerns.¹¹³ None of this is helpful. It is absolutely clear that the cult of Filibert and the history of his community are tied up with some of the most important developments, both ecclesiastical and political, of the ninth century. In this way the history of the community is characteristic of ninth-century concerns, but not those to which Löwe refers.

The interest in Hilduin as a patron stems most obviously from his actions in securing charters of immunity and privilege for other communities during Louis the Pious' reign when he served as a principle advisor to the emperor and, from 819, as archchaplain.¹¹⁴ His rôle as abbot of Saint-Denis saw him secure a string of charters for that monastery.¹¹⁵ He was involved in at least eight charters that he had personally arranged and which he had mostly commanded be drawn up.¹¹⁶ His involvement in patronage was neither solely for his own nor for his monasteries' gain. In 823 he made requests to Louis for donations to Prüm, in 824 for Saint-Mihiel, in 826 for Münster and in 824 or 825 he was personally involved in an exchange involving the archbishopric of Arles at the request of the archbishop.¹¹⁷ His involvement could clearly be induced with the right kind of request and his influence with the emperor was impressive. In 821 he worked with Matfrid of Orléans on a charter for Saint-Gall, and in June of 825 he personally oversaw an exchange of lands between the bishop of Mâcon and count Warin.¹¹⁸ Moreover,

¹¹³ Wattenbach, Levison and Löwe, *Deutschlands Geschichtquellen*, pp. 589-590.

¹¹⁴ Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 157, p. 251.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 251 and n. 9.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Frotharius wrote to Hilduin between 819 and 830 and appealed for the restitution of lands that had been taken from his bishopric in Toul. Frotharius knew that Hilduin presented requests to the emperor and made the explicit choice to direct his appeal through the archchaplain rather than anyone else.¹¹⁹ As Louis the Pious' archchaplain from 819 onwards, he was central to a number of charters and grants throughout the 830s and up to the end of Louis' life as well as to the earlier ones that we have considered above. In 836, for example, he responded to a request from Warin, the abbot of Corvey, and sent him relics of St Guy.¹²⁰ In light of all of these examples which represent no more than a sample of the charters in which Hilduin was involved, the decision made by Hilbod and Ermentarius appears to be totally justified.

In discussing Hilduin's importance we should not forget Einhard's representation of him as a man whose association with Louis was considerable. In his book on the translation of Ss Marcellinus and Peter from Rome to Michelstadt, Einhard shows this intimacy on three separate occasions.¹²¹ In the first chapter of the text, Hilduin is at Aachen when Einhard's notary Ratleig visits him to arrange the details of the translation of the relics of Tiburtius for Hilduin.¹²² Later, Hilduin intervenes directly in the actions of the king when he prevents Louis visiting Einhard to see the relics of Marcellinus and Peter so that he can arrange to have the relics brought to Aachen (his aim in this, according to Einhard, is to steal a portion of the relics).¹²³ Most important in this context, however, is the third

¹¹⁹ *Frothaire*, Letter 9, pp. 104-7. See also Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 157, pp. 253-254.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 157, p. 256.

¹²¹ *TMMPE*. See also the useful edition and translation by Dutton: *TMMPE* in P. E. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier: The complete Einhard* (Peterborough, Ontario, 2003), pp. 69-130.

¹²² *TMMPE*, I, i, p. 240.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, II, vi, p. 247.

example. Here Hilduin is depicted as being privileged with the highest levels of *Königsnähe*. Einhard relates that he visited Aachen early one morning having recently arrived at his own estates at Seligenstadt with the relics. The picture is of Einhard hurrying to see the emperor, excitedly bringing news of his recent acquisitions; of the arrival of the relics of two important saints in the landscape of Louis' vision of a Christian Frankish empire. Despite his eagerness, however, he finds Hilduin 'sitting before the doors of the royal bedchamber waiting for the ruler to come out.'¹²⁴ Einhard has important news and a legitimate reason for his excitement but Hilduin is closer to Louis than him and has arrived earlier than him to deal with other business. Einhard is not alone in providing evidence of Hilduin's associations with Louis. He is also depicted at the right hand of the emperor during the baptism of the Danish king Harald in 826 that Ermoldus Nigellus described.¹²⁵ Hilduin was a man of immense importance who enjoyed close associations with the emperor.

Hilduin's interest in the cult of saints and the translation of relics adds another level of significance to his worth to the Filibertines. In 826 he organised the translation of the relics of St Sebastian from Rome.¹²⁶ He was party to the translation of the relics of Ss Marcellinus and Peter in 828 too. It is likely that this part of Hilduin's career was a further inducement to the Filibertines. It certainly establishes Hilduin as a man who was keenly interested in relics. He knew the potential effects that the arrival of relics into a new area could have for the people, the religious community, and, if managed in the

¹²⁴ '...ante fores regii cubiculi sedentem atque egressum principis.' Ibid., II, i, p. 245. Translation from *TMMP*, II, i, p. 83.

¹²⁵ *Ermold*, 2290-2295, p. 176.

¹²⁶ Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 157, p. 252. Also Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 40-41.

correct way, for the king and others like himself who were involved in the process too. If we are to subscribe completely to Einhard's version of events then we must consider that Hilduin was even willing to steal relics from others because of the benefits that their possession could provide. A more subtle reading of Einhard's work suggests that it was eminently useful for him to show Hilduin as a thief in order to justify the final destination of relics that Einhard had himself stolen from Rome after all.¹²⁷ What is clearest is that Hilduin of Saint-Denis was aware of the great rewards involved in relic transfers and that he had a strong interest in them in general.

Hilduin's political career also marks him out as a useful potential patron. Although he left Charles the Bald's side in October 840 when he disappears from the West Frankish record, Hilduin seems to have remained loyal to him until that point despite his participation in the rebellions of 831 and 833. Although Hilduin joined each of these uprisings and maintained sympathies for the protagonists eventually joining Louis' eldest son Lothar after the former's death in 840, he stayed with Charles throughout much of the period in question. We do not know if Hilduin was at Koblenz in June 823 when Charles was born although his presence there in August 823 suggests the possibility.¹²⁸ Ermoldus Nigellus bears witness to his presence at Charles' side at the ceremony for the baptism of Harald at Ingelheim in 826 when the future king was a young child.¹²⁹ Either or both of these occasions could be explained by reference to his duties as Louis' archchaplain; when allied to the fact that he deserted Louis in the early 830s, it becomes difficult to maintain that he was always loyal to Charles. Despite this, evidence of his activities after

¹²⁷ See *Ibid.*, pp. 45-49 and 118-121.

¹²⁸ Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 157, p. 252.

¹²⁹ See *Ermold*, p. 176.

840 indicates that he remained involved in West Frankish affairs even after joining Lothar.

He became archbishop of Cologne in 842 and archchancellor to Lothar in either late 843 or early 844.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, an abbot of Tours named Hilduin is attested 855-860 and it is likely that this was Hilduin of Saint-Denis. If it was, he succeeded Vivian who was lay-abbot of Tours until his death in 851 and after whose death Tours remained vacant possibly until 855.¹³¹ Hilduin left Cologne in 850 but remained Lothar's archchancellor until the latter's death on 29 September 855 in Prüm where Levillain believes that Hilduin was present and assisting Lothar in his affairs. He is mentioned in every one of Lothar's charters between 844 and 19 September 855 when the final one was promulgated.¹³² Levillain argues that Hilduin would not have returned to Charles' kingdom when Lothar died. In his view a man in his seventies (as Hilduin must have been) would have no wish to join another king having served Lothar for over a decade and would have preferred to enter the monastery of Prüm. However, as Levillain admits, this is no more than a psychological argument based on the assumption that Hilduin wished to expiate the errors of his past life.¹³³ As those past errors involved rebellion against Louis the Pious and defection from Charles the Bald, it could be said that returning to Charles in 855 might equally have expiated them. He returned to Louis in both 831 and 834 following the rebellions that were sparked by Lothar, Louis the German

¹³⁰ L. Levillain, 'Wandalbert de Prüm et la date de la mort d'Hilduin de Saint-Denis' in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 82 (1950), p. 22.

¹³¹ See below pp. 161-182 for Vivian's career. For the dates see Lot, 'De quelques personnages', pp. 259-260.

¹³² Levillain, 'Wandalbert', p. 14.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

and men like Matfrid of Orléans. In fact it was in Hilduin's church at Saint-Denis in 834 that Louis was 'solemnly rehabilitated in... an inversion of the ritual which had stripped him of his arms.'¹³⁴ There seems little reason to discount another potential *volte face*.¹³⁵

It is evident that there were a number of different Hilduins throughout the ninth century. Despite Ferdinand Lot's best efforts to clear up the associated problems there remains no consensus as to how many there were or which rôles each performed.¹³⁶ It is also evident that Hilduin of Saint-Denis disappears from Lotharingian records after 855 just as he disappeared from West Frankish records in October 840.¹³⁷ There seems no reason to suggest that he could not have returned to the west. Louis had forgiven him before - so much so that he was one of the nobles whom he trusted with Charles' protection in 838¹³⁸ - why could Charles himself not do so?

Levillain considers that Hilduin of Saint-Denis cannot have been the abbot of Tours. Beyond his belief that Hilduin died at Prüm in 855, he uses evidence from a necrology produced at Saint-Germain-des-Prés to argue that the Hilduin at Tours was not Hilduin of Saint-Denis.¹³⁹ His argument is based on differences in spelling of Hilduin in six entries in the necrology. There are two variants. 'Hilduinus' appears three times as does 'Hildwinus.' Levillain sees these as two distinct men, one from the north bearing the

¹³⁴ Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, p. 108. Also J. L. Nelson, 'The Last Years of Louis the Pious' in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 147-160 for useful comment on Louis' response to rebellion and p. 155 for the Saint-Denis ceremony.

¹³⁵ See Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 157, pp. 254-256 for details of Hilduin's actions in the 830s.

¹³⁶ Lot, 'De quelques personnages', pp. 249-282 and Lot, 'Sur les Hilduins', pp. 338-342. Also Brown, *Politics and Patronage*, pp. 36-37.

¹³⁷ Lot, 'De quelques personnages', pp. 259-260.

¹³⁸ Nithard, I, vi, p. 26.

¹³⁹ Levillain, 'Wandalbert', pp. 29-34.

Germanic ‘w’ element, the other from the south with the Romance ‘u’ element. He contends that ‘Hilduinus’ must be the abbot of Tours because of the comparatively southerly nature of the monastery. Because one entry mentions this Hilduin’s mother ‘Beletruda’ and because this woman is not mentioned in any commemorative text from Saint-Denis, Levillain argues that ‘Hilduinus’ cannot be Hilduin of Saint-Denis and that he was not, therefore at Tours. However, too much weight is placed here on one small scribal difference in six entries that are spread across the year in the necrology.¹⁴⁰ Given the fact that this text was compiled over a period of at least eleven years this cannot be considered conclusive proof. Moreover, these six entries may concern more than the two Hilduins that Levillain suggests - we have seen that Lot noted that there were many. If the necrology referred to more than two, then conclusions drawn because of reference to ‘Beletruda’ clearly lose foundation.

Hilduin of Saint-Denis’ importance and influence have already been mentioned. The list of positions that he held during his career forms a valid *curriculum vitae* for a potential abbot of Tours and the timing of Lothar’s death allows for him to have occupied that post from 855, four years after the death of Vivian. It seems incongruous that a man that rejected the world and did not return to Charles’s service would have been the subject of a commemorative mass ordered by Charles at Saint-Denis in 862 as was the case.¹⁴¹ A charter issued at Compiègne on 19 September 862 shows that Hilduin was to be remembered in a special mass at his old seat on the anniversary of his death.¹⁴² The charter also indicates that feasts were to be celebrated for some major Carolingian figures

¹⁴⁰ 15 kal feb., 16 kal maii, 5 kal junii, 6 kal julii, 10 kal dec., 13 kal dec: Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 23 and n. 2.

¹⁴² RAC, II, no. 247, pp. 56-67, specifically p. 65 lines 21-23.

and suggests that by 862 Hilduin was once again held in very high esteem in the West Frankish kingdom. Alongside his name are those of Louis the Pious, Charlemagne, and Charlemagne's queen Hildegard. Also to be celebrated are the feasts of St Peter, the Virgin Mary, the Assumption, St Hilary, St Sebastian and All Saints.¹⁴³ For a commemorative mass to be ordered for Hilduin regardless of the company in which the order placed him indicates that his honour was restored in the west. For it to have been ordered alongside these other feasts surely presents Hilduin as a person of very high status indeed. It is almost impossible that this might have come about had he entered the monastery at Prüm and died there never having regained Charles' favour and adds weight to the possibility that Hilduin went back to Charles and was abbot at Tours.¹⁴⁴ There is certainly no evidence beyond the assumption made by Levillain that Hilduin entered Prüm although Simon MacLean recently suggested the same.¹⁴⁵ Regino of Prüm never mentions (either in his entry for 855 or elsewhere) that Hilduin entered the monastery in his *Chronicon*,¹⁴⁶ neither do the *Annales Fuldenses (AF)* or the *Annales Sancti Bertiniani (AB)* when they describe Lothar's death at Prüm.¹⁴⁷

This argument is enhanced because of reference to Hilduin in the second book of *TMF*. When he wrote the text in c.862, Ermentarius mentioned Hilduin as having recently died in justifying the text itself as the outcome of his promise of writing more in response to

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 65, lines 21-29.

¹⁴⁴ For a brief description of each of these Hilduins as Lot saw them, see Lot, 'De quelques personnages' and Lot, 'Sur les Hilduins'.

¹⁴⁵ S. MacLean (ed. and trans.), *History and Politics in late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester, 2009), p. 19.

¹⁴⁶ *Reginonis Chronicon*.

¹⁴⁷ See *AF*, (855), pp. 45-46, and *AB*, (855), pp. 70-71.

aid from Hilduin.¹⁴⁸ As with the first book, this was a work that was designed as a method of appeal to the court, specifically that of Charles the Bald. Ermentarius would not have knowingly included a reference to Hilduin in this work had he remained a rebel in the mind of Charles the Bald. As Hilduin was dead, there was no reason to refer to the promise made to him in the preface to the first book of *TMF*. Ermentarius was no fool. There can be no explanation of his inclusion of Hilduin's name in this text in a commemorative manner that does not suggest that the old abbot of Saint-Denis had reconciled himself to Charles prior to his death.

This brings us into conflict with Levillain's conclusions concerning Hilduin's last years.¹⁴⁹ He argued that Hilduin died on 22 November sometime between 855 and 859 on which point Wolfgang Haubrichs and Depreux agreed.¹⁵⁰ For Odilo Engels and Stefan Weinfurter his death came sometime after 19 September 855, possibly whilst abbot of the monastery of Ss Cassius and Florentius at Bonn.¹⁵¹ Lot and Levillain each go further than this. For Levillain, the temptation to see Hilduin follow in Lothar's footsteps and renounce the world for the safety of the monastery of Prüm is too strong. He suggests that

¹⁴⁸ *TME*, II, Preface, p. 59. Ermentarius says he was writing 27 years after the monks left Noirmoutier - this places the composition of the preface to the second book in 863.

¹⁴⁹ Dates from 839-842 were commonly suggested for his death. See, for example. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'History in the Mind of Archbishop Hincmar' in R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 43-70; Brown, *Politics and Patronage*, pp. 36-37; Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. xxxi and n.1. Levillain discounted these: Levillain, 'Wandalbert', pp. 16-21.

¹⁵⁰ Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 157, p. 250; W. Haubrichs, *Die Kultur der Abtei Prüm zur Karolingerzeit: Studien zur Heimat des althochdeutschen Georgsliedes* (Bonn, 1979), p. 64.

¹⁵¹ *SEECO*, pp. 14-15.

Hilduin died there sometime after the death of Lothar in 855 and before the disappearance of the abbot Marcward from records in 859.¹⁵²

Lot, writing just under fifty years prior to Levillain, thought that Hilduin's career ended in the West Frankish kingdom at Tours after which Charles gave the monastery to his son Louis the Stammerer in either November or December 860.¹⁵³ There was an abbot of Tours named Hilduin as we have seen. Due to this and to the fact that there is a Hilduin mentioned at a council of Tusey on 7 November 860, Lot believed that he died on 22 November of that year in Tours and argued that he was buried at Saint-Médard in Soissons.¹⁵⁴ Context shows this to be the correct interpretation. Levillain's arguments make sense in broad terms, but other evidence, especially the memorial mass at Saint-Denis in 862 and Ermentarius' posthumous reference to Hilduin c.862, shows that he most likely died on 22 November 860 at Saint-Martin-de-Tours. Crucially he did so in Charles' service. As has been argued, Ermentarius' decision to memorialise Hilduin in the preface to his second book of miracles cannot be explained unless Hilduin returned to Charles' favour. Moreover, Hilduin's disappearance from records in the Middle kingdom in 855 cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of his death as the lack of attestation of Hilduin in western sources after 840 shows. We must separate assumption from proof and see Hilduin as a driven and single-minded individual who more than likely attempted to continue his career as long as he could. Suggestion that sentimentality led him to enter

¹⁵² Levillain, 'Wandalbert', p. 35. This was because he thought that Marcward added Hilduin's name to Wandalbert's martyrology at Prüm because of what he perceived as their mutual involvement in the monastery. This martyrology is our source of knowledge for Hilduin's death in this period. Not all of those listed in the martyrology were at Prüm, however, and so Marcward's involvement is not relevant here. See *Ibid.*, pp. 10-18 on this entry and Marcward.

¹⁵³ Lot, 'De quelques personnages', pp. 274-276 and see *AB*, (860), p. 84.

¹⁵⁴ Lot, 'De quelques personnages', p. 276 and n. 4.

the monastery of Prüm after the death of Lothar fails to take into account the string of hard choices that he made throughout his career and that led to him successfully maintaining a position as one of the most important administrators of the Carolingian kingdoms from 819 until 860.

It is clear that much of the information that we have considered to this point establishes a strong case for appeal to Hilduin in c.840 and to Charles with mention of Hilduin's death c.862. Nevertheless there is further evidence that is worth consideration. There is already enough to suggest that Hilduin of Saint-Denis was interested in the movements of the community of St Filibert. It remains of interest, however, that Hilduin's career saw him take posts at monasteries that were associated with the cult of St Filibert. At around the same time that he became archbishop of Cologne, Hilduin also obtained the abbey of Bobbio.¹⁵⁵ As we have seen, the tour of monasteries that Filibert made having left the abbey of Rebais brought him to Bobbio. Due partly to this, Bobbio became a part of a Filibertine monastic group. The monastery at Tours also had Filibertine connections as will become apparent. It might, therefore, be argued that any abbot of Tours with the abilities, power and prowess of Hilduin would have been aware of their involvement in the political landscape of the region even if he had not been directly involved in processes concerning the community. Moreover, Hilduin was probably abbot of Saint-Ouen in Rouen at some time in his career, again a location that had great resonances with Filibert from the seventh century given associations with Audoinus.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Levillain, 'Wandalbert', p. 22; *SEECO*, p. 14-15 says he may have been abbot of Bobbio. See also Schieffer, pp. 19-21.

¹⁵⁶ For Hilduin at Saint-Ouen see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 157, p. 251 and *SEECO*, p. 15.

A final part of Hilduin's career confirms that he was an ideal patron for the Filibertines. The first ninth-century charter involving them was granted on 16 March 819.¹⁵⁷ By then they had been preparing the site at Déas during the summer months for around five years. The charter marked the completion of construction works and granted rights to divert the small river Boulogne to provide water and new access to the monastery. Significantly the charter was promulgated from Aachen at a time when Hilduin was present at the emperor's side.¹⁵⁸ He had in fact recently become his archchaplain.¹⁵⁹ Hilduin had thereby been involved in patronage for the community by the time that the dedication was written and had been so as archchaplain - exactly the post that Löwe suggested was necessary for his involvement with the Filibertines in a later period. Not only did the monks, led by abbot Arnulf in 819 know, therefore, that Hilduin could be relied upon to intervene on behalf of potential clients as his involvement in patronage and the promulgation of charters throughout the 820s indicates, they also knew that he had already been involved in grants made to their community. Altogether the evidence outlined above shows Hilduin to have been a prime choice for a community who sought a rise in prestige and patronage throughout the middle years of the ninth century.

Patronage was important, but the decision to approach Hilduin had wider implications. Capitulary evidence shows that the Carolingians had recently been stamping their mark on the cultic landscape through legislation that denied the right to move relics around the empire. In reference to a capitulary for 811, Patrick Geary argued that a renewed desire

¹⁵⁷ *RHGF*, no. 85, pp. 516-517.

¹⁵⁸ Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 157, p. 252. For discussion of this charter see p. 78, pp. 85-87, p. 96, p. 113, pp. 129-132.

¹⁵⁹ See Brown, *Politics and Patronage*, p. 25.

for relics in the ninth century led to greater distribution; with this came exploitation and Charlemagne attempted to solve the problems by regulating new translations especially where the motive for those translations appeared to be greed and not piety.¹⁶⁰ In 813, at the synod of Mainz, he went one step further and ordered that all translations of relics be approved prior to any movement. The relevant record of the council states that bodies of saints should not be moved without licence from the '*princeps*', bishop or Holy Synod.¹⁶¹ In this climate it would have been important for the Filibertines to ensure that they had the relevant permission. Attachment to Hilduin could have been crucial. Geary correctly noted that 'for important imperial officials like... Hilduin... obtaining this permission was no problem.'¹⁶² We have seen how he came to be involved in a number of relic transfers in the 830s already. The need for licence to translate relics shows once more how important attachment to Hilduin could be and adds weight to the body of evidence that shows that the Hilduin in question was certainly Hilduin of Saint-Denis.

The choice of appeal to Hilduin of Saint-Denis as a patron was an excellent one. It does credit to Hilbod and to Ermentarius that they saw the benefits to be gained from association with a man who had such keen interest in the cult of the saints and whose personal *Königsnähe* meant that he could be trusted to intervene successfully on their part. He had already been involved in the movement of the community from Noirmoutier to Déas when appeal came for further assistance c.840, and his reputation was still strong after his death when Ermentarius mentioned him in the preface to the second book of *TMF*. His association with Charles the Bald was one that the community knew was all-

¹⁶⁰ Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 39-40. See *Capitularia de causis*, 7, p. 163.

¹⁶¹ *Concilium Monguntiense*, 36, p. 272. See Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 40 and n. 38 for discussion.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

important. Charles was already king of Aquitaine by the time that they appealed to Hilduin. The monks had experience of successful relations with Pippin I when he was king of Aquitaine and it made sense to appeal to Charles at this time through a man who had been of assistance to them in the past. Not only did this mean that he could be an effective intermediary, but it meant that he could bring his personal connections to Filibertine monasteries to bear. By the time that Ermentarius wrote book two he was aware of Filibert's involvement with Rouen and with Bobbio just as the Filibertines were aware of Hilduin's association with Charles at Ingelheim in 826 and of his oath of loyalty taken to Charles in 838. These factors along with the fame of Filibert of which the *VF* was supposed to serve as a reminder were instrumental in their well-devised policy.

Lifshitz has said that 'Ermentarius... appears to have wanted as quickly as possible to escape the Atlantic backwater in which he was living and travel in the glamorous circles of the most powerful men of the Carolingian world.'¹⁶³ It is too harsh to describe Noirmoutier as a 'backwater' as we shall see, but it is the case that Ermentarius hoped for a revival of the community's position. The dedication to Hilduin is the moment at which this process began to gather pace and it is a journey that Ermentarius took Filibert and the community on as he went. Hilduin was extremely important to this process but he was not alone. Charles the Bald was also influential.

¹⁶³ Lifshitz, 'Migration', p. 191.

ii: Charles the Bald

Charles the Bald's rôle in shaping the texts is important in the context of textual genre and audience that we shall deal with later.¹⁶⁴ It is, however, necessary to establish, as we have done for Hilduin, the reasons that Hilbod and Ermentarius saw him as a potentially useful patron c.840. We have already seen that the verse preface was designed to act as an incentive to both Hilduin and Charles to provide patronage to the community. Part of this tactic was appeal to the past; this type of appeal is also apparent in the preface to the first book of miracles. Here Ermentarius described the manner in which the activities of the Northmen began to impinge more and more on the island of Noirmoutier.¹⁶⁵ He also described the regular summer exodus made by the monks to the monastery at Déas,¹⁶⁶ and Hilbod's construction of a *castrum* on the island for the monks' protection.¹⁶⁷ He also reminded his audience that Pippin I of Aquitaine had helped the community, 'by means of consultation with his brothers he (Hilbod) approached king Pippin, and suggested to his Highness that he might be willing' to help the community to overcome their difficulties.¹⁶⁸ 'With the nod of assent the most serene king Pippin, with suitable consent from almost all of his bishops from the province of Aquitaine, and with the abbots, and counts..., decreed that they would foster the body of blessed Filibert and that he should be translated and Noirmoutier abandoned.'¹⁶⁹ Pippin was presented in this narrative as a man who was willing to provide a safe haven for the community and to accept St Filibert into

¹⁶⁴ See below, pp. 240-245.

¹⁶⁵ *TME*, I, Preface, p. 23.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁶⁸ '...una cum consilio fratrum suorum regem adiit Pippinum, suggerens ejus celsitudini quid super hoc decernere vellet.' *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁶⁹ 'Annunte quippe Pipino serenissimo rege, pari consensu omnes ferme Aquitanicae provinciae episcopi, abbates, comites, caeterique fideles qui illic adfuerunt, insuper et alii quamplures qui hoc scire potuerunt, decreverunt multo melius fore beati Filiberti corpus inde transferri debere quam ibi derelinqui...' *Ibid.*, p. 25.

the cultic landscape of Aquitaine. He not only ‘gave the nod of assent’ to the translation to Déas, which had been effectively sanctioned through the 819 charter, but he involved his leading men in the process and attempted to ensure smooth transition by gaining their approval.

For Ermentarius, Pippin’s previous involvement was a suitable reminder to Charles the Bald of Filibertine involvement in royal patronage circles. As Ermentarius was most likely writing his dedicatory passages whilst Charles was struggling for control of Aquitaine this could have great resonance.¹⁷⁰ The community moved into Aquitaine in 836 when they came to the mainland south of the Loire. References to assistance from a previous Aquitanian king when Charles had just formally taken the throne were, therefore, apt. When Charles became king of Aquitaine, Pippin I’s son, Pippin II was disinherited. Continuity was one of the methods through which Charles might have hoped to offset the difficulties that a disputed inheritance could cause. The reissuing of charters of privilege that had initially been granted by their predecessors was a common royal strategy. Granting new lands to communities who had been favoured by his predecessor could, therefore, be important for Charles and the Filibertines might have intended to play on this issue. The ability to offer continuity would have been attractive to Charles, as would patronage of a community that could help to establish his legitimacy in the area through links to successive Carolingians and to illustrious Merovingian predecessors. We shall see in chapter three how the Filibertines became tied into Carolingian methods of control which echoed past tactics;¹⁷¹ this continued under Charles as chapter four will go

¹⁷⁰ See below for this struggle, pp. 195-212

¹⁷¹ See below, pp. 92-104.

on to show and it may be that the Filibertines glimpsed an opportunity to sell themselves to Charles as a potentially stabilising force.¹⁷² It might be argued, therefore, that appeal for patronage was also self-advertisement with hopes for a relationship that could be at least partially reciprocal.¹⁷³

Ermentarius' texts offered additional reminders of the past that could be useful in this regard. The importance of the inclusion of the *VF* amongst the texts sent to Hilduin and Charles has already been highlighted. It is worth restating the links to Dagobert that the Carolingian version of the history of Filibert suggested. As with many of the instances that have been mentioned above, Filibert's lifetime associations with important Frankish royal figures is significant. Perhaps the most important of these is the fact that Filibert's foundation of Jumièges was associated with a grant of land made by Dagobert I in the Carolingian version of the *Vita Austrebertae*. Although the grant was actually made by Clovis II and Balthild, a retelling of the story with Dagobert as the patron provided a crucial link between Filibert and the Carolingian royal house. In Carolingian historiography, Dagobert was the symbol of legitimacy that the Merovingians otherwise lacked. He also symbolised continuity between the Merovingians and the Carolingians and thus helped to paper over the cracks caused by the Carolingian coup that McKitterick and others have shown was a difficult issue for the Carolingians to resolve.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² See below, pp. 161-182.

¹⁷³ See Hummer, *Politics and Power*, pp. 76-77 where ecclesiastical institutions are terms a 'crucial pillar of Carolingian power' and where reciprocal relationships between kings and monasteries are emphasised.

¹⁷⁴ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, particularly pp. 120-133.

A cult of Dagobert was established with its centre at Saint-Denis. This was a cult of which Charles the Bald was energetically supportive. Fouracre discussed the crucial involvement of Charles in a martyr cult that surrounded the name of Dagobert.¹⁷⁵ Charles translated the body of a Dagobert to a church at Stenay in the Ardennes in 872.¹⁷⁶ Dagobert's martyr status was affirmed by the end of the ninth century and as Fouracre has demonstrated, the cult was never defined as specifically devoted to any of the three kings Dagobert. In fact confusion on this matter and on which Dagobert is actually represented at various times has existed until relatively recently.¹⁷⁷ The Dagobert of the *Vita Dagoberti* was essentially Dagobert III, but took on various aspects of the characters and careers of Dagoberts I and II.¹⁷⁸ Through his involvement in the rise of the cult of Dagobert at Stenay Charles took advantage of this. 'He seems to have been... stressing the ancient and venerable nature of Frankish kingship that the name Dagobert evoked...'¹⁷⁹ For Robert Folz, Charles' rôle here made him nothing less than the creator of the cult of Dagobert: 'le culte de Dagobert dériverait ainsi de l'initiative de Charles le Chauve.'¹⁸⁰

Although this may have been the case, Giles Brown has indicated that the Carolingians were well-disposed to Dagobert much earlier than this.¹⁸¹ It may be that in 872 when the translation and inception of the new cult took place, Charles' imperial ambitions saw the

¹⁷⁵ P. Fouracre, 'Forgetting and Remembering Dagobert II: the English Connection' in P. Fouracre and D. Ganz (eds), *Frankland: the Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages, Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 70-75 and nn. 21-22.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 75 and R. Folz, 'Tradition hagiographique et culte de Saint Dagobert, Roi des Francs' in *Le Moyen Âge* (1963), pp. 17-19.

¹⁷⁷ Fouracre, 'Forgetting and Remembering', pp. 70-89.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-89 and Folz, 'Tradition hagiographique', pp. 33-35.

¹⁷⁹ Fouracre, 'Forgetting and Remembering', p. 76.

¹⁸⁰ Folz, 'Tradition hagiographique', p. 18.

¹⁸¹ Brown, *Politics and Patronage*, p. 283.

advantage of associations with a former Burgundian saint-king. Whatever the motive for Charles' actions, the name Dagobert was second in fame only to Clovis I in terms of Merovingian royalty and the rise of his cult helped to anchor him into the ideology of the Carolingian dynasty.

This anchor had been given its major grip in that ideology c.835 at which time the *Gesta Dagoberti* was written in the scriptorium at Saint-Denis.¹⁸² At this time, Hilduin was beginning to form his expert presentation of St Denis as the Areopagite and thereby to enhance the cult of St Denis and the importance of the monastery in a way that gave Denis the status of a proto-national patron saint.¹⁸³ Association between Saint-Denis and the Carolingian royal house had been building and the monastery had become the preferred site for royal burial. Although no longer Louis' archchaplain following the 830 rebellion, Hilduin remained abbot of Saint-Denis and was clearly in Louis' favour in 835.¹⁸⁴ Hilduin therefore provided further links between the monastery and the Carolingians and beyond that Dagobert was interred at Saint-Denis, a factor that enhanced the wider connections. It was probably either Hilduin or Hincmar of Reims who wrote the *Gesta Dagoberti*; whoever it was did so in a way that invoked the importance of Paris and its links to kings as well as the importance of Saint-Denis.¹⁸⁵ This was a text that was explicitly devoted to the Carolingian representation of Dagobert

I. Because of the associations between Louis and Hilduin and between Hilduin and St

¹⁸² L. Levillain, 'Études sur l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne, I: Les sources narratives' in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 82 (1921), p. 115; A. J. Stoclet, 'La Clausula de Unctione Pippini Regis, vingt ans après' in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 78 (2000), pp. 720-721 and n. 8. For the text see *Gesta Dagoberti*, pp. 396-425.

¹⁸³ Brown, *Politics and Patronage*, pp. 207-219 and Wallace-Hadrill, 'History in the Mind', p. 45.

¹⁸⁴ Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 157, pp. 255-256.

¹⁸⁵ Levillain, 'Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne', p. 115; Folz, 'Tradition hagiographique', p. 23; Wallace-Hadrill, 'History in the Mind', p. 47.

Denis, the writing of the *Gesta Dagoberti* can be seen as one of the roots of Charles the Bald's later interest in Dagobert. Moreover, the link between Jumièges, Filibert and Dagobert was extremely influential. Jumièges did not provide the only link; Filibert had been one of the ecclesiastics who enjoyed direct involvement with Dagobert and his court. He was one of Dagobert's men. In this way Charles' association with Filibert could enhance the image of continuity with Dagobert and thus with the 'good things' that the Merovingians did. The *VF* told Charles of this possibility explicitly and when it was sent c.840 along with the first book of miracles, it came at a time when the interest in Dagobert was being strongly manifested following composition of the *Gesta* at Saint-Denis. Given that a general royal interest in Dagobert is demonstrable, it is possible that Ermentarius saw the *Gesta* as a link in a chain of association that would be of benefit in attracting the influence of Charles the Bald. Although the *Gesta* did not mention the foundation of Jumièges or St Filibert, there can be no doubt that Ermentarius would have been aware of the chance to cement associations between Dagobert and Filibert and to bring it to the fore for the benefit of the Filibertines. Ermentarius was keenly aware that allied with other messages of continuity with Frankish royal figures like Pippin, this could be an effectual strategy.

V: Conclusions

Taking a holistic view Ermentarius' grouping of texts c.840 and dedication of them to Hilduin and Charles was a clever tactic. It anticipated a response from two well-chosen individuals in terms of political and ecclesiastical influence and it drew upon a wealth of information that shows that both Ermentarius and Hilbod were extraordinarily well-

informed on the history of their community and shrewd in terms of applying that history. When they approached Hilduin they did so knowing of his influence and connections as well as of his attachment to the cult of the saints both legislatively and in terms of personal interest. In turning to Charles at the same time they allowed for the importance of Filibert's lifetime activities and for Filibertine relationships with successive Frankish kings to be presented in the foreground. This meant that they could make the best of their approach to a man who could become an extremely powerful patron and improve their standing in cultic, economic and political terms. The combination made for an appeal that was heady with associations and positive arguments for an attachment to their community and in the long run it was very successful indeed. This appeal for patronage is the cornerstone in our understanding of the ambition of the Filibertines, an ambition that seriously questions the centrality of flight from Northmen to their ninth-century history.

THREE

Noirmoutier to Déas.

I: Introduction

On 7 June 836 the Filibertines set out from their monastery on the island of Noirmoutier to seek a new home further inland.¹ This was an important moment in their history and, as it involved leaving a monastery that had been founded by St Filibert in the seventh century, the decision must have followed significant debate. The traditional reading of the Filibertine translations throughout the ninth century considers them to have been driven to make continual transfers due to the pressures imposed upon them by the Northmen.² In that reading this is the first such transfer. Indeed Ermentarius lays claim to the aggressive actions of the Northmen as the prime reason for relocation of the community to Déas. Whilst the Northmen had a part to play in the translation, reliance upon this traditional viewpoint will not suffice.

This translation was one of five for the Filibertines in the ninth century. Analysis of it highlights a number of further reasons behind the move that do not hinge wholly upon outside threats and, as we shall see, the subsequent translations require a more rounded approach too. Viking impact on the Frankish coast certainly played a part in 836 as it did later. That part was not, however, uniformly important throughout the period with which we are concerned, nor was it often the overriding concern. The monks of St Filibert were by no means the only community that chose to move from one part of Aquitaine to

¹ TME, I, i, pp. 23-25. Also AE, p. 485. See below, pp. 79-84 for discussion of this text.

² See above, pp. 1-6.

another or indeed from without that region to its heart.³ There are plenty of communities in other regions, such as Brittany, who also chose to move their relics from what they represented as dangerous locations.⁴ The Filibertine story is, however, a peculiar story of continued movement and with it, of continued development of the community's position and cult. As such, investigation into the details surrounding the transfer of community and relics from Noirmoutier to Déas will enable us to understand the opportunities open to communities like theirs in this region and to gain a better grasp on the advantages that a community might hope to gain through relocation. This investigation will also yield valuable information concerning the effects of relic translations in the political, social and cultic landscape into which they moved.

In the preface and first chapter of the first book of miracles, Ermentarius records the reasons behind the translation. He writes that the monks were surprised by the arrival of the Northmen whom he describes as 'an excessively savage people' (*gens*),⁵ who fiercely and repeatedly laid waste the island.⁶ The monks, we are told, were repeatedly forced to leave because of these intrusions, fleeing the island for the summer, which time they devoted to construction work at Déas, and returning to spend the winter on Noirmoutier.⁷ These self-imposed exiles were not, therefore, wholly concerned with preservation and

³ See J.-C. Poulin, *L'idéal de sainteté dans l'Aquitaine carolingienne, d'après les sources hagiographiques, 750-950* (Québec, 1975).

⁴ On Breton saints see J. M. H. Smith, 'Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles and Relics in Brittany, c.850-1250' in *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 65 (1990), pp. 309-343. Also Guillotel, 'L'exode du clergé', pp. 269-315. For a good summary of reasons for the dispersal of Breton relics including Viking incursion see J.-L. Deuffic, 'L'exode des corps saints hors de Bretagne (VIIe-XIIe s.): des reliques au culte liturgique', in J.-L. Deuffic (ed.), *Reliques et Sainteté dans l'espace médiéval* (Saint-Denis, 2006), pp. 355-423.

⁵ 'Gens admodum effera...', *TME*, I, i, p. 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, i, p. 23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, i, p. 23.

we might already question Ermentarius' message. We shall come to that. For now the focus should remain on what Ermentarius does tell us. According to him the monks suffered continual financial losses and harassments prior to their final relocation to Déas in 836.⁸ They were worried, if we accept Ermentarius' account, that the Northmen would follow the example that the monks heard they had set in Brittany, where the ashes of saints were cast around, or worse, into the sea.⁹ He also said abbot Hilbod¹⁰ built a *castrum* on the island to protect the community,¹¹ but in 836 their pleas for help reached the emperor and his sons. Pippin I of Aquitaine, the second son of Louis the Pious, determined that the seafaring skills of the Northmen and the problems of access to Noirmoutier at high tide put the Northmen at an advantage over the monks when trying to get to and from the island.¹² Due to this, and with the consent of most of his bishops and nobles, Pippin granted them permission to abandon Noirmoutier for Déas.¹³

Ermentarius' narrative continues by recounting the details of the journey from Noirmoutier to Déas. The monks left the island on 7 June and made their way to an unidentified port close to the modern town of Fromentine.¹⁴ From there they spent two-and-a-half days travelling via l'Ampan, Bois-de-Céné and Paulx to Déas during which

⁸ Ibid., I, i, p. 24.

⁹ Ibid., I, i, p. 24.

¹⁰ His predecessor, Arnulf, resigned as abbot c. 824: Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 36, pp. 111-112. For the date 825 see, *AE*, (825), p. 485 and also Poupardin, *Monuments*, n. 2. For more on Arnulf see below, pp. 219-221. The date that Hilbod relinquished his position is less easily definable.

¹¹ *TMF*, I, i, p. 25. The *castrum* was authorised by a charter from Louis the Pious in 830: *RHGF*, no. 156, pp. 563-565.

¹² *TMF*, I, i, p. 25.

¹³ Ibid., I, i, p. 25.

¹⁴ Ibid., I, ii, p. 26. On the lack of identification for this location 'Furcae' see Ibid., I, ii, p. 26, n. 2.

people from the whole region flocked to see them with their valuable relics.¹⁵ St Filibert cured numerous people at each stop that the party made and once his relics were interred in the monastery church at Déas, his following was so great that people travelled from the entire region to venerate him and to seek his miraculous aid.¹⁶

There are various points within this narrative that elicit questions. We shall deal with four in particular. Firstly, we shall consider the external forces that impacted on the community. This will take into account Viking activity and the contemporary political situation in Brittany, consideration of which is necessary due to its geographical proximity to Noirmoutier. The rebellions of Louis the Pious' sons in the 830s also have relevance here and so shall be outlined shortly. This will involve investigation of the rôles played by the rebels Wala and Adalhard who were both exiled to Noirmoutier early in the ninth century, as well as enquiry into the involvement of some of the nobles in the regions bordering the Loire in the same period. All of these things are integrated with one another in many ways. Secondly, we shall look at the self-imposed exiles and the importance of the *castrum* that Poupardin believes to have served as a refuge for the lay inhabitants of the island whilst the monks were absent.¹⁷ This will take into account Ermentarius' evidence alongside external evidence concerning Northmen. Thirdly, we shall review the charter evidence that relates to this period to ascertain how donations to the Filibertine community impact on the situation. The fourth focus shall be on the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, iii-xxiii, pp. 26-33. I discuss some aspects of this procession elsewhere: C. Harding, 'Translation accounts and representations of popular belief in the hagiography of the community of St Filibert' in *Quest*, 8 (2009): <<http://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/QUEST/JournalIssues/Issue8ProceedingsoftheMARSCONference>> [20/04/09], pp. 19-33. See map 3, p. ix for the itinerary.

¹⁶ *TMF*, I, xxiii-xxviii, pp. 33-36.

¹⁷ Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

description of the translation itself and the accompanying miracles. This will attempt to analyse potential reasons behind the transfer of St Filibert's relics to Déas and posit suggestions based upon the evidence that Ermentarius provides concerning St Filibert's popularity. This last item will take into account the section of the first book of miracles that deals with the move to Déas as it is through recourse to Ermentarius' miracle accounts that we can see the impact of the arrival of St Filibert on the mainland. These four issues cannot only be considered individually but form a homogeneous group.

There are two additional factors we shall consider. These will form part of our overall discussion but also merit specific mention. The first of these will involve a review of the impact that the reconstruction of Déas had on the community's cultic aspirations. This will show how the monks were engaged in the aggrandisement of their cult from at least the early ninth century and as such will highlight how the translation was beneficial to the community, enabling us to question the narrative of flight from danger once more. The second of these factors concerns trade. The Filibertine community was involved in at least some trading activity, principally involving salt, on Noirmoutier and this trade was something that they were able to continue once they moved onto the mainland.¹⁸ Trade is one of the greatest indicators of growth and of positive consequences of translation and as such provides a window onto the wide range of reasons for relocation. Before considering that, however, we shall, as Ermentarius does, turn to the activities of the Northmen.

¹⁸ For trade in the Loire basin see O. Bruand, *Voyageurs et marchandises aux temps carolingiens: Les réseaux de communication entre Loire et Meuse aux VIIIe et IXe siècles* (Brussels, 2002).

II: Northmen, Bretons and Carolingian politics

i: Northmen

The severity of the Scandinavian assault on the countries bordering the north-Atlantic from the late-eighth century onwards is well-known.¹⁹ There is no doubting that the raids had a significant impact on the Frankish kingdoms from 799 throughout the ninth century and beyond. The Northmen had such an effect that Charles the Bald felt compelled to include in his 864 *Edict of Pistres* a clause dedicated to preventing people from selling weapons and arms to them on pain of death.²⁰ Earlier, in response to the first recorded attack by the Northmen on Continental European territory in 799, Charlemagne reacted by ordering a defence of the Aquitanian coast.²¹ In 808, Charlemagne's son constructed a bridge over the Elbe as a defensive measure too.²² Here we can clearly see that tactical and legislative measures were taken against the Northmen throughout the period in question.²³

The first mention of Northmen in Frankish territory comes from 799. Peter Sawyer assigns this a rôle in the turbulent history of the Filibertines by suggesting that it was

¹⁹ The scale of the attacks can be appreciated through a reading of L. Musset, *Les invasions: le second assaut contre l'Europe chretienne* (Paris, 1965), W. Vogel, *Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie (799-911)*, *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte*, 14 (Aalen, 1973), or P. H. Sawyer, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings* (Oxford, 1997), each of which details a chronology of the attacks.

²⁰ *Edictum Pistense*, c.25, p. 321.

²¹ See N. Price, 'The Vikings in Brittany', *Saga Book of the Viking Society*, Vol. 22 (1989), p. 340. Also Smith (1992) 198-201 for Viking impacts on Brittany and W. Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London, 1988), pp. 22-24. The *Annales Regni Francorum* (ARF) report that Charlemagne 'scrutinised the coast of the Gallic ocean and built a fleet on the same sea, which was then infested with Northman pirates' in 800. '...litus oceani Gallici perlustravit et in ipso mari, quod tunc piratis Nordmannicis infestum erat, classem instituit.' *ARF*, (800), p. 111.

²² *ARF*, (808), p. 125.

²³ For discussion of Carolingian responses to the Northmen see S. Coupland, 'The Carolingian army and the struggle against the Vikings', in *Viator: medieval and renaissance studies*, 35 (2004), pp. 49-70 and S. Coupland, 'The fortified bridges of Charles the Bald', in *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), pp. 1-12.

directed against their monastery on Noirmoutier.²⁴ It may be the case that the Northmen were interested in the island community even at this early stage, but the evidence does not allow us to be certain. The reference to this first contact comes from a letter penned by Alcuin, the abbot of Saint-Martin-de-Tours and the one-time master of the school at York.²⁵ He states that he had heard of a group of around 115 Northmen who arrived at a beach on an undetermined island off Aquitaine and that the Northmen were killed in an attack made upon them.²⁶ Jean Renaud joined with Sawyer in suggesting the probability of Noirmoutier as the location of this conflict.²⁷ Although there are some valid reasons to suggest that Noirmoutier may have been the focus of this attack, Alcuin should have been able to be specific about the location as abbot of the nearby monastery of Tours in which town's diocese Noirmoutier lay. That he was not suggests that we should reconsider association of this event with Noirmoutier. There are a number of islands off the coast of Aquitaine stretching the length of the west coast of the Frankish kingdom. Indeed there are more than a handful of islands in the vicinity of the Loire basin; should we feel the need to place the event in geographical proximity to Tours there are still a number from which to choose.²⁸

In a brief mention of the incident, Donald Bullough only referred to the 'Northmen's raids on the Atlantic coast' and by doing so stuck closely to the report given in the

²⁴ Sawyer, *Illustrated History of the Vikings*, p. 273. This represents a common claim and can be found in many texts on the Northmen. See also Roesdahl, *Vikings*, p. 196.

²⁵ For the letter see *MGHEpist*, no.184, pp. 308-310. For Alcuin at York see Riché, *Education*, 382-383 and D. A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation, Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 304-308.

²⁶ *MGHEpist*, no. 184, p. 309.

²⁷ J. Renaud, *Les Vikings en France* (Rennes, 2000), p. 13.

²⁸ See map 9, p. xvi.

letter.²⁹ In fact Renaud revised his opinion of the location of this attack in his work on the Viking impact on Aquitaine published in 2002 admitting the possibility of Viking landfall on other islands.³⁰ In making this qualification, Renaud stepped back from what had been an assumption based on the knowledge that the Filibertines, and Noirmoutier, were linked to the Northmen in some way in the ninth century, an assumption that has also coloured the historical view of a report in the *AB* for 843 that describes the Northmen wintering on an island in the Atlantic.³¹ Regardless, given the obvious Viking interest in areas associated with trade and with monasteries that is evident from the sources,³² Noirmoutier does fit the bill. Whatever the actual location of this incident, Alcuin's letter is evidence that Vikings had become an issue for the Franks by the close of the eighth century and that their activities were, at least in a general sense, focussed on the Atlantic coast at this time. Attacks made by the Northmen became much more frequent as time went on and were particularly acute around 836 when Noirmoutier was abandoned.³³ However, the source material does not suggest that the Viking attacks were centred on the west coast immediately after the turn of the ninth century.

In 834 the Northmen are reported as having 'thrown themselves upon the well-known town (*vicus*) of Dorestad and cruelly laid it waste.'³⁴ Meanwhile the *AB* record that in

²⁹ Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 50.

³⁰ J. Renaud, *Les Vikings de la Charente à l'Assaut de l'Aquitaine* (Pau, 2002), p. 19.

³¹ Nelson suggests this in the footnotes to her translation. See later discussion, pp. 165-166 and 165, n. 36.

³² Discussion of Viking involvement with trading centres can be found throughout the literature. See, for example, S. Coupland, 'The Vikings in Francia and Anglo-Saxon England to 911' in *NCMH*, II, p. 192. Also Roesdahl, *Vikings*, pp. 196-198 and Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, pp. 80-81. On Dorestad and Quentovic as trade centres and on their relative ninth-century fortunes, see S. Coupland, 'Trading Places: Quentovic and Dorestad reassessed' in *Early Medieval Europe*, 11; 3 (2002), pp. 209-232.

³³ Price, 'Vikings', pp. 340-341.

³⁴ '...inruerunt pagani in vicum nominatissimum Dorestatum eumque inmani crudelitate vastaverunt.' *AX*, (834), p. 9. Also *AB* (834), p. 14.

835, while Louis the Pious was presiding over a general assembly, the Northmen raided Dorestad once more and that they burned and pillaged as they went.³⁵ In 836 Dorestad and the wider territories of Frisia were despoiled,³⁶ and in 837 the Northmen exacted a tribute from Dorestad.³⁷ Louis' reaction to the 835 attack was one born of frustration: 'the emperor, greatly angered, reached Aachen and appointed guards over all of the coasts.'³⁸

That this record refers to all of the coasts is telling. Ermentarius wrote that the Filibertines were always surprised by the attacks of the Northmen,³⁹ and the inhabitants of Frisia seem to have been similarly troubled in 837.⁴⁰ Although the *AB* state that the Frisians had become accustomed to the arrival of the Northmen, they also detail that they were unprepared. If Louis had sought to effectively secure the coasts, as the *AB* say he did in 835, then it has to be concluded that he failed to do so. For the Frisians, even knowing of the likelihood of future attack was no protection against it despite 837 being the fourth successive year that they had suffered. Given the size of the Carolingian empire it is perhaps no surprise that Louis was unable to deal properly with coastal defences, but the continued presence of the Northmen and the inability of the Frisians to respond despite Louis' direct intervention in 835 indicate the size of the problem.⁴¹

³⁵ *AB* (835), p. 17.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, (836), p. 19.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, (837), p. 21.

³⁸ 'Imperator autem grauiter ferens, Aquis perueniens, disposita omni maritima custodia.' *Ibid.*, (835), pp. 17-18.

³⁹ *TMF*, I, i, p. 23.

⁴⁰ *AB*, (837), p. 21.

⁴¹ Nevertheless see K.-F. Werner, 'Missus-Marchio-Comes: Entre l'administration centrale et l'administration locale de l'Empire carolingien' in *Histoire comparée de l'administration (IVe-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. W. Paravicini and K.-F. Werner (Munich, 1980), pp. 191-239 for the sophistication of government in this period.

Einhard described some of the Carolingian defences that were designed to counter the Northmen in his *Vita Karoli* (*VK*). He wrote that Charlemagne built a fleet against the Northmen who had come into the parts of Gaul and Germany that touched the North Sea. He also wrote that Charlemagne stationed guards at all of the ports, on the coasts and on all navigable rivers. Because of these measures the Carolingians were, according to Einhard, able to prevent the attacks from recurring.⁴²

Coupland has shown that coastal guards may have been a permanent feature since c.800 and that the guards were supplemented by all males living near coasts in times of acute peril.⁴³ Perhaps the reason that the Northmen whose appearance Alcuin reported in 799 were killed was the existence of a coast guard by this time. Whatever the case, Coupland highlights one particular success story for such guards when in 820 a Danish fleet was repelled by guards in Flanders and then again by others on the Seine.⁴⁴ Despite this particular success we must be careful. Those Northmen, as Coupland pointed out, made their way around the coast of Brittany and achieved landfall at Bouin in the Vendée,⁴⁵ where the *ARF* tell us they ‘thoroughly plundered’ the village and ‘returned home with immense booty.’⁴⁶ All of this can help us to understand the position in which the monks of Noirmoutier found themselves in the mid-830s. Although the *AB* state that defence of all of the coasts was attempted in 835, logic would suggest that the bulk of the efforts

⁴² *VK*, Cap.17, p. 26.

⁴³ Coupland, ‘The Carolingian army’, p. 51. Coastal defences ‘are also discussed in E. Eickhoff, ‘Maritime Defence of the Carolingian Empire’ in R. Simek and U. Engels (eds), *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia* (Vienna, 2004), pp. 50-64.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52. See map 3, p. ix.

⁴⁶ ‘Tandem in Aquitanico litore prosperis usae successibus vico quodam, qui vocatur Buyn, ad integrum depopulato cum ingenti praeda ad propria reversae sunt.’ *ARE*, (820), p. 154. Translation taken from *Royal Frankish Annals*, trans. B. W. Scholz with B. Rogers, *Carolingian Chronicles*, (Michigan, 1972), (820), p. 108.

would have been centred on Dorestad and its environs both because of that region's proximity to Denmark and because of the *emporium*'s central rôle in North Sea trade.⁴⁷

Noirmoutier is distant from Dorestad and would not have been afforded the same level of protection as was Frisia, partly due to the importance of the latter for international trade.

Aquitanian defences were certainly weaker than North Sea defences in 820 when the Danes who had failed in Flanders and on the Seine achieved success in the immediate proximity of Noirmoutier.⁴⁸ According to the *ARF* those Danes were dealt a severe blow on the Seine.⁴⁹ Despite this they were able to land south of the Loire and make a successful raid on Bouin. Other Northmen enjoyed success in the period preceding 819. Price states that they may have used Noirmoutier or another island in the mouth of the Loire as a base in 819.⁵⁰ His statement derives from a similar one made by Wendy Davies in 1988.⁵¹ Neither provides evidence, though it is likely that their contentions are based on the charter that Louis the Pious promulgated for the Filibertines from Aachen in 819 that mentions Vikings on Noirmoutier.⁵² Although this charter mentions that the Filibertines left Noirmoutier because of the Northmen, there is no reference to them using the island as a base. Regardless it does mention them having an influence on the community at some point in or prior to 819.

⁴⁷ The Danish king Godfred was conducting diplomatic negotiations with Charlemagne from the early-ninth century and cross-border contacts consequently increased. Details for 804-829 are charted in: *ARE*, pp. 118-178. On the importance of Dorestad and the other North Sea trading posts see A. Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 44-47. Also Coupland, 'Trading Places'. For Merovingian trade networks see I. N. Wood, *The Merovingian North Sea* (Alingsås, 1983) and Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 293-303.

⁴⁸ Map 3, p. ix.

⁴⁹ *ARE*, (820), p. 154.

⁵⁰ Price, 'Vikings in Brittany', p. 340.

⁵¹ Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 22.

⁵² *RHGF*, no. 85, pp. 516-517.

Although connections to Noirmoutier have been over-emphasised, we gain an overall impression from this material that Viking activity was on the rise in the Frankish empire by the mid-830s. Moreover, the Filibertines were clearly somewhat affected by Northmen. This does not mean, however, that 836 represented a judicious time for the Filibertines to relocate on the basis of the activities of the Northmen. We have seen that Northmen attacked Bouin in 820. Bouin is only 29km to the west of Déas and so habitation of the site c.819 even on a temporary basis would clearly have been little safer than habitation of Noirmoutier, especially if we consider the relative distances between Bouin and Déas and Bouin and Noirmoutier.⁵³ Bouin is certainly close enough to Déas to feature in *TMF* as the home of a woman who travelled to the shrine of St Filibert on an ass due to problems with her legs and returned home by foot having been cured.⁵⁴ This clearly demonstrates that it was not beyond the reach of the Northmen; if an injured woman could reach Déas and then walk home having been cured, then the Northmen could surely have managed the distance. Despite reservations as to the safety of Déas relative to Noirmoutier, however, the *Annales Engolismenses (AE)* contain a reference to the Northmen that we must consider in this context. In these brief annals that record only minor details from only certain years, the years 834, 835 and 836 refer to events on Noirmoutier. The entry for 834 states that in June of that year, the monks abandoned their monastery.⁵⁵ This runs counter to the version of events that we get from Ermentarius who tells us that the monks did not leave the island until 836, and in fact the *AE* also mentions

⁵³ See map 3, p. ix.

⁵⁴ *TMF*, I, xxxvii, p. 38.

⁵⁵ *AE*, (834), p. 485.

that St Filibert was exhumed and transferred from the island in 836.⁵⁶ It seems that the *AE* refers to removal from the monastery itself in 834 but not from the island. If so this is the sole reference to this event.

The *AE* are also unique in their description of Rainald's involvement in a battle on the island. Rainald was a Marcher lord on the Breton border and count of Nantes from 838, and reportedly battled the Northmen on Noirmoutier in 835.⁵⁷ Janet Nelson has made something of this in her translation of the *AB*. She views it as a genuine event and in considering it alongside a later battle in 843 that is also mentioned in the *AE*, views it in the wider context of Carolingian authority in the north-west of the empire in the face of Breton, Viking and local opposition suggested by the involvement of Rainald in both.⁵⁸ In this last regard she is undoubtedly correct. The *AE* are not, however, completely reliable.

John Gillingham argued that the version of the *AE* that we possess is not contemporary and that the first part of the document, up to 870, may well represent 'a late ninth-century reworking of a contemporary text.'⁵⁹ He partly bases his case on the fact that the *AE* mention Charles the Bald's expeditions into Brittany in 843, 845, 850 and 851 as 'prima vice', 'secunda vice' and so on, taking this to mean that the author knew of all of these

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, (836), p. 485.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, (835), p. 485. For his assumption of comital duty in 838 see Hennebicque-Le Jan, 'Prosopographica Neustrica', no. 242, p. 262.

⁵⁸ Nelson, *Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 55, n. 1. *AE*, (843), p. 483, though here the report is only that 'Reinaldus... occiditur.'

⁵⁹ J. Gillingham, 'Ademar of Chabannes and the History of Aquitaine in the Reign of Charles the Bald' in M. T. Gibson and J. L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1990), pp. 50-51.

endeavours before he recorded any of them.⁶⁰ There is, according to Pertz, a tenth-century manuscript of the first part of the annals that document the years 815-870,⁶¹ but Gillingham has questioned the veracity of the description of the manuscripts in the *MGH* edition.⁶² Furthermore, there is no indication that the author necessarily recorded details on an annual basis. Gillingham referred to the early sections of the *AE* as ‘genuine sources’ and, as we have seen, posited that the version that we have derives from a contemporary text but with alterations made later, sometime after the final entry. Given that he sees the entries for 843, 845, 850 and 851 as later additions (or as having been reworked) although I am not sure that this necessarily follows, it seems that he must regard the earlier parts of the text as those that are genuine. We need to think again. The author of the *AE* may have been using the works of Ermentarius to compose the sections that deal with the Filibertines as certain parts of it correlate with Ermentarius’ report. The *AE* agrees with *TMF* that the relics left the island on 7 June 836, for example.⁶³ So far this does not give cause to dispute Gillingham’s suggestions. Crucially, however, the *AE* seems to have gained its information about the battle on Noirmoutier from the second book of *TMF*. This part of Ermentarius’ work was not composed until c.862. As such it is far closer to the last records from the first part of the *AE* than it is to the earlier events described therein and so suggests that the text was not composed on a year by year basis and that even the earliest parts of it were not written contemporaneously with the events that they describe. In chapter eleven of Ermentarius’ second book he records a battle against the Northmen that is framed as a victory for the miraculous powers of St

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶¹ *AE*, p. 485.

⁶² Gillingham, ‘Ademar’, p. 50, n. 56.

⁶³ See above, nn. 1 and 55.

Filibert.⁶⁴ Ermentarius stated that the battle took place on the feast of St Filibert (20 August) two years prior to the translation of the community and relics to Déas.⁶⁵ This would date the event to 834, one year prior to the date given by the *AE*. The two accounts do agree that the battle took place on 20 August and although Ermentarius does not mention the involvement of Rainald or of any other Carolingian agent in the affair, this is the only other account that refers to such a battle at all.⁶⁶

Despite some differences, this is a striking coincidence. Correlation between these two texts in relation to the battle and in relation to 836 suggests that the author of the *AE* had access to a copy of *TMF* in the latter part of the ninth century. Moreover, the *AE* are concerned with the accession of Hilbod (who was appointed by Louis the Pious) to abbatial office in 825,⁶⁷ and the later death of his predecessor Arnulf in 839.⁶⁸ These are both surely incidental occurrences for anyone not especially interested in Filibertine affairs. That seven of the fourteen entries in the *AE* 815-847 refer to the Filibertines is equally telling. Many of those that do not concern the Filibertines are issues of extremely wide interest such as the death of Charlemagne and the accession of Louis the Pious on the fifth kalends of February 815 (28 January) which is the only entry prior to 825.⁶⁹ They are also the only source other than *TMF* or the *Chronicon* for the destruction of the monastery at Déas by fire at the hands of the Northmen in 847 and the burning of

⁶⁴ *TMF*, II, xi, pp. 66-67.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, ix, p. 66.

⁶⁶ Poupardin discusses the dates and the correlation between the two reports of this event settling on 20 August 835. Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. 66-67, n. 2. It may be due to the correlation of the dates in the two accounts that Martin Bouquet associated the battle with Ermentarius' description when editing a brief extract of *TMF: RHGF*, p. 308.

⁶⁷ *AE*, (825), p. 485.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, (839), p. 485.

⁶⁹ *AE*, (815), p. 485. This should be 814: Dating to January 815 is further evidence that the author was not writing a year-by-year account.

Noirmoutier in 846,⁷⁰ and the sole source for the removal of the community from the monastery in 834. The most plausible conclusion to these problems is that the *AE* were written by someone who both used *TMF* as a source at some point after c.862 and had further access to information about the community. The author may perhaps have been a member of that community, possibly even Ermentarius himself though this suggestion must remain conjecture. The manuscript evidence does not allow us to be conclusive; there are no manuscripts of *TMF* known from Aquitaine (though the original text was clearly written there).⁷¹ Clearly there was a Filibertine connection, but the author must also have had other sources for the information that does not appear in *TMF*.

Reference to Rainald on Noirmoutier in 835 is one example which suggests alternative sources. We must still deal specifically with this entry. If there was indeed a battle on the island of Noirmoutier in which Rainald took part in that year, then it could be considered a potent impetus behind the evacuation of the island the following year. We cannot, however, simply accept the *AE*'s version of events, as it is not corroborated by any of the contemporary annals which restrict reports of Viking attacks to the North Sea coast. Similarity with the report in *TMF* is not enough to confirm that the battle took place particularly if the *AE* were derived from Ermentarius' work. We cannot get much closer to the truth through an examination of the career of Rainald either. Rainald was count of Nantes from 838 but played an important rôle in the region prior to this, assisting Charles the Bald in the late 830s to gain control of Aquitaine in opposition to Pippin II.⁷² His

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, (846 and 847), p. 486. For the reference by Falco see *Chronicon*, 21, p. 84. For Ermentarius' reference see *TME*, II, Preface, p. 61.

⁷¹ For extant manuscripts of *TME* see Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xlv-li.

⁷² Nelson, *Annals of St-Bertin*, p. 55, n. 1.

appointment as count may be a reward for this assistance and could also be due in part to involvement against the Northmen in 835 if indeed that encounter took place, but these few details cannot help us in drawing any conclusions on that matter. At this stage all that we can say is that Rainald was an important member of Charles the Bald's camp both prior to and following the death of Louis in 840, that he was active in the region around the mouth of the Loire, and that he seems to have died in Charles' service.

The foregoing is helpful but we can better appreciate Viking impact on the community of St Filibert through a further reference to them in a charter from 830. On 2 August 830, Louis the Pious, along with his son Lothar, issued a charter that allowed the Filibertines to construct a *castrum* for their protection.⁷³ Smith saw this as a method by which Louis hoped to demonstrate 'his authority and to strengthen coastal defences against the Vikings.'⁷⁴ Both of these concerns are certainly apparent. The charter also illuminates a number of other issues in the context of the present discussion. Issued from Servais it had three general applications. Firstly, it renewed the privileges of the Filibertines and their royal protection (*tuitio*) and granted them exemptions from certain payments to the royal fisc in an attempt to provide some respite from their difficulties. Secondly, it granted them the rights to free abbatial elections; and thirdly, it granted the right to defend their monastery by use of the *castrum* that I have already mentioned.⁷⁵

Within the document there are a number of interesting phrases. Perhaps the most important refers to the Northmen. The charter states that the repeated incursions of these

⁷³ *RHGF*, no. 156, pp. 563-565.

⁷⁴ J. M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 79.

⁷⁵ *RHGF*, no. 156, p. 564.

pirates had made the monastery unsafe, and that the monks constantly suffered because of the Northmen, forcing them to desert the monastery from the beginning of spring each year until the end of autumn. During the annual exodus that this report suggests the monks are said to have spent time on building their monastery anew. In the same charter it is stated that because monastic observance was hindered by the disturbances, Louis allowed them to encircle the monastery with a *castrum* so that it might be protected.⁷⁶ The Northmen were obviously of some concern to the community whilst they were at Noirmoutier, and we should not, therefore, rule out their impact on the translation.

The Filibertines did not only build defences at Noirmoutier though. Indeed the community clearly saw the need to construct some sort of fortification at Déas and gained permission to dig a defensive ditch from Louis in the charter of 819.⁷⁷ This does not mean, of course that a *castrum* was necessarily built there, but it shows a desire for protection that may have shared its impetus with the desire to build larger fortifications at Noirmoutier. A sixteenth-century notice drew the attention of Léon Maître. It stated that the monastery at Déas was built near a ‘ditch full of water and... strong walls.’⁷⁸ We cannot be absolutely sure, but this suggests some sort of heavy fortification that may be a later version of the *castrum* at Noirmoutier. Why did the monks build fortifications at both sites? Two conclusions can be made. Firstly, protection of the site at Déas in or even shortly after 819 shows that the translation cannot be made to marry with the typical

⁷⁶ Ibid., no. 156, p. 564.

⁷⁷ L. Maître, ‘Rapport sur l’établissement de Déas sur la Translation des Reliques de Saint Filibert et sur l’âge de l’église de Saint-Philbert-de-Grandlieu’, *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Nantes et du Département de la Loire-Inférieure*, 35 (1896), pp. 64-66. See *RHGF*, no. 156, p. 564.

⁷⁸ Maître, ‘Rapport’, p. 67. Citation from Ms Latin 17092, ff. 99-103 (Bibliothèque Nationale) (see Maître, ‘Rapport’, p. 67, n. 1.)

narrative of flight from the Northmen. We have already seen that Bouin was attacked in 820 and thus that the area was probably as vulnerable as Noirmoutier itself. Because the monks had been building Déas since c.814, we should conclude that they expected to move sooner than they were ultimately able. Moreover, we should consider that they knew they were moving to another area where the Northmen could be problematic and prepared accordingly. Although the Northmen were no doubt one of the reasons that the Filibertines left Noirmoutier, therefore, evidence like this shows that they were not the overriding issue. Other factors were at play and the community was clearly prepared to move to areas in which they knew the Northmen were operating albeit after making sufficient arrangements for their defence. Our second conclusion relates to the use of the sites for trading purposes. The construction of a *castrum* at Noirmoutier after the building at Déas was renovated suggests that the monks endeavoured to retain links with their island home after relocation and this was probably connected with the valuable trading potential on the island that we shall discuss in due course.⁷⁹

For the present, the construction of fortifications at Déas brings connections to that monastery into focus. The monks were in possession of the site since 674 when bishop Ansoald of Poitiers granted it to Filibert along with lands on Noirmoutier.⁸⁰ Whilst we cannot be sure that the land at Déas was used in a monastic context prior to the ninth century, it remains possible that there was a useful building there when the monks arrived

⁷⁹ See below, pp. 115-132.

⁸⁰ A charter identified by Maître in 1898 after discovery of it in the Cunault archives refers back to 674. Reference to Déas is as follows: ‘...alia villa quae vocatur Deas posita super amnem Vedoniam, quem vir rite venerabilis Magnobodus, diaconus, partibus ecclesiae istius Pictavensis, dedit cum omnibus rebus vel beneficiis in se habentibus et ad se aspicientibus...’ L. Maître, ‘Cunault, son prieuré et ses archives’, *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes*, 59 (1898), pp. 233-261, quotation at p. 241.

in the mid-810s. As we shall go on to discuss more fully, architectural evidence shows that the monastery at Déas was modified rather than constructed from the ground up for its use by the Filibertines.⁸¹ Once they had rebuilt it to suit its new purpose, they no doubt wanted to relocate as soon as possible. In fact as the 819 charter refers to the completion of the building project as Maître suggests we might consider it the moment at which permission to move was finally granted and the moment at which the translation was originally intended to take place.⁸² Obviously the monks would have been acutely interested in making it habitable in time for the relocation and the twin building projects at Déas and Noirmoutier were probably designed to ensure that conditions and prospects remained as high as possible.

Taken as a whole this charter evidence alongside that from the various annals corroborates much of the information that we already have from the pen of Ermentarius though with certain important variations. The community of St Filibert had been preparing a new site for their eventual translation there since around 814. They had, it seems, done much of this preparation during the spring, summer and autumn months and had abandoned their island monastery for the majority of the year for some time, apparently on an annual basis. Both Ermentarius and the charter from 830 stated that this was due to the involvement of the Northmen on Noirmoutier. There is no evidence to suggest that this is necessarily a construction for these sources, but there is equally no corroborative evidence despite the acceptance of this paradigm by a number of historians who have seen fit to associate general references to the Northmen off the Aquitanian

⁸¹ See below, pp. 132-136.

⁸² The charter mentions that the new monastery had been improved ‘...novum monasterium aedificasse.’ *RHGF*, no. 85, p. 516.

coast with Noirmoutier. We should not completely discount Viking agency in the translation, but it is clear that to attribute the move wholly to their activities on the Aquitanian coast does not fit the picture either. They were one of a number of factors that caused the translation and were clearly a force with whom the Filibertines thought they could cope at Déas even after the events of 820, but a number of positive concerns also played on the relocation.

All of these conclusions are derived from examination of factors that concern the Northmen to a greater or lesser degree. Their impact on the Frankish empire should not be gainsaid. They clearly had a great interest in coastal areas and the annals show that places concerned with trade were often the target of attacks. For both of these reasons, Noirmoutier seems an obvious target and we should not discount the possibility of involvement with the community of St Filibert because of these factors. We have seen that defence was often problematic particularly during the 830s, and both Ermentarius and the *AE* refer to specific concerns on Noirmoutier in 835. We should, nonetheless, be aware of the dearth of annalistic record associated with Vikings around the west coast of Francia in the first third of the ninth century except in the case of Bouin and in the somewhat dubious *Annales Engolismenses*, and we should be particularly careful assigning sole agency to the Northmen in light of evidence concerning the construction of fortifications at Déas.

ii: Brittany and the Carolingian March

Because of Viking impact in the 820s and 830s, the resources of the empire were stretched. Ongoing tensions between Franks and Bretons compounded this and the difficulties were most acute in the areas that we have already considered. In this section, analysis shall be focussed on the Breton March conceived in broad terms as the area between the Loire in the south and the Vilaine in the north-west, and on Brittany itself.⁸³ Analysis of this area will show how the Bretons, and Carolingian attempts to subjugate Brittany, impacted on the Filibertines.⁸⁴ It will highlight concerns in terms of interactions with the community by each party and in terms of the rôle that the Filibertines came to play in processes that arose from this situation, but will also consider the history of the relations between those parties in a more general sense. Although an attempt will be made to summarise the necessary elements, a full analysis of Breton relations with the Carolingians cannot be achieved here.

As with the above investigation of the Northmen, the year 799 is our starting point. The *ARF* records a notable Carolingian victory over the Bretons in that year:

⁸³ For a good overall discussion of the Breton March see A. Chédeville and H. Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve-Xe siècle* (Rennes, 1984), pp. 202-210. Also J.-P. Brunterc'h, 'Le duché du Maine et la marche de Bretagne' in Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie*, pp. 42-63 and J. M. H. Smith, 'Confronting Identities: The Rhetoric and Reality of a Carolingian Frontier' in W. Pohl and M. Diesenberger (eds), *Integration und Herrschaft: Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 3 (Vienna, 2002), pp. 169-170. On border zones generally see J. M. H. Smith, 'Fines Imperii' in *NCMH*, II, pp. 169-189. The section on definitions of frontier, pp. 176-179 is particularly useful. For discussion of Breton settlement in the region and shifting borders, see Smith, *Province*, p. 35 and pp. 43-44; For analysis of place names and its bearing on settlement issues, see Davies, *Small Worlds*, pp. 14-17.

⁸⁴ On Frankish attempts to subjugate the Bretons through 'gross fictions of power' see Smith, 'Confronting Identities', pp. 176-180.

‘Wido comes, qui in marcam Britanniae praesidebat, una cum sociis comitibus
 Britanniam ingressus totamque perlustrans in deditionem accepti; et regi de Saxonia
 reverso arma ducum, qui se dederant, inscriptis singulorum nominibus
 praesentavit. Nam his se et terram et populum unusquisque illorum tradidit, et tota
 Brittaniorum provincia, quod numquam antea, a Francis subiugata est.’⁸⁵

Despite this, Brittany was a difficult region over which to maintain control. Einhard saw the region as having been subjugated in 786 and the *Annales Mettenses Priores* recorded that the Bretons gave oaths of submission following the 799 campaign.⁸⁶ However, none of these reports were quite correct. The region required a permanent presence of Marcher lords since c.778,⁸⁷ and military activity was a frequent necessity after 800, with campaigns taking place in 811,⁸⁸ 818,⁸⁹ 822,⁹⁰ and 824.⁹¹ On the last of these occasions, Louis the Pious led an army himself, apportioning two other parts of it to his sons.⁹² The Bretons were clearly keen to maintain their independence in the face of Carolingian attempts at hegemony, and the March, and those who commanded it, were thereby extremely important parts of Carolingian policy.⁹³

⁸⁵ ARF, (799), p. 108. For Wido see Hennebicque-Le Jan, *Prosopographica Neustrica*, no. 297, p. 267.

⁸⁶ VK, Cap.10, p. 13; AMP, (800), p. 102. On the reliability of the AMP in relation to comments made about Brittany see Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 160; for origin, audience and purpose, see Y. Hen, ‘The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past’ in Hen and Innes, *Uses of the Past*, pp. 175-190.

⁸⁷ Roland was made *praefectus* by 778 indicating a need for control at that point. On various types of Marcher lord and on Carolingian comital and Marcher authority throughout the empire see Werner, ‘Missus-Marchio-Comes’, pp. 191-239. See Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, p. 203 for what they term ‘une analyse hyper-critique’ that questions Roland’s position as Marcher lord.

⁸⁸ ARF, (811), p. 135.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, (818), p. 148; The Breton leader against whose rebellion Louis reacted in 818 was Morman. On Morman see H. Pettiau, ‘A prosopography of Breton rulership’, *The Journal of Celtic Studies*, 4 (2004), p. 178.

⁹⁰ ARF, (822), p. 159. See Pettiau, ‘Prosopography’, p. 185 for the Breton leader, Wihomarc.

⁹¹ ARF, (824), p. 165.

⁹² *Ibid.*, (824), p. 165. Thegan seemed incensed by the need for this campaign. He declared Louis successful in his report of the 818 campaign and reporting on 824 noted, ‘...imperator perrexit alia vice in Britanniam, et omnem terram illam plaga magna vastavit propter infidelitatem eorum.’ Gesta Hludowici, cap.25, p. 214 and 31, p. 218. Quotation at p. 218.

⁹³ See map 1, p. vii for the Marcher lands.

Julia Smith coherently explained the politics of the region. Western Neustria was integral to Carolingian interests in Brittany and Breton reaction to the Carolingians helped in the transformation of Breton identity.⁹⁴ Whilst the area between Seine and Loire was central to Merovingian kingship in the sixth and parts of the seventh century, Carolingian focus on the Rhineland diminished this area's importance to the Franks.⁹⁵ Dagobert I instituted a duchy of Neustria centred on Le Mans at some point in the seventh century,⁹⁶ but in 799, western Neustria remained an area without 'any long tradition of support for the Carolingians or... any lengthy experience of Carolingian rule.'⁹⁷

Allied to the lack of a coherent Carolingian presence, either material or symbolic, in the region, the impact of the Northmen made control of the Seine and the Loire crucial,⁹⁸ as we have seen in respect of the attack on Bouin in 820. Disputes between Frankish magnates in the area caused further problems as we shall see. Both the family of which Wido was a member and the Rorgonids held important positions in the March in the ninth century. Wido's son Lambert was made count of Nantes by 818 following his assistance of Louis in the reordering of affairs at Aachen in 814 in which he was aided by other nobles including Charlemagne's cousin Wala.⁹⁹ Rorigo, who was related to Rainald, is

⁹⁴ Smith, *Province*, p. 34.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44-45.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49 and pp. 52-53. On Lambert see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 184, pp. 288-291. For a discussion of Wido, Lambert and their kin-group with genealogical table see Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 203-205. For Wala and Lambert at Aachen see p. 209. Also see K.-F. Werner, 'Les premiers Robertiens et les premiers Anjou (IXe siècle-début Xe siècle)' in Guillot and Favreau, *Pays de Loire*, pp. 9-20 for comments.

the first Rorgonid we need consider.¹⁰⁰ He was also made a Marcher count in 818 in a territory west of Rennes and north of Vannes.¹⁰¹ The ambitions of each of these families caused tensions at times that were integral to this period.

Smith provided a thesis in which Frankish attempts to bring the Bretons under control caused disenfranchisement but led to the rise of men like Rorigo and Wido. Alongside her suggestions that harsh Carolingian retaliations helped to galvanise a sense of Bretonness,¹⁰² it explains the nature of relations between Bretons and Franks in this period very well and also helps to illuminate the rebellions against Louis that would partially originate in this region in later years as we shall see.¹⁰³

What does all of this mean for the Filibertines? The Franks obviously found Brittany difficult to control. They devised a number of strategies by which to facilitate their dominance over the region including political and military measures. It was, however, in the field of ecclesiastical organisation that they had their greatest successes and it is in this light that we should consider Filibertine involvement. Chédeville and Guillotel made a case for the involvement of monasticism in the vanguard of ninth-century Carolingian influence in the region as well as for earlier Frankish participation in Breton politics.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ See Hennebicque-Le Jan, *Prosopographica Neustrica*, no. 253, p. 263.

¹⁰¹ Smith, *Province*, pp. 53-54. On the Rorgonids see D. C. Jackman, 'Rorgonid Right - Two Scenarios', in *Francia: Forschungen zu westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 26:1 (2000), pp. 129-153.

¹⁰² Smith, *Province*, pp. 73-74.

¹⁰³ Davies sees 818-825 as a period of Carolingian consolidation in Brittany: Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 18. Smith shows that the picture is far more complex, however.

¹⁰⁴ Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 201-202. Also Hummer, *Politics and Power*, p. 34 and pp. 38-46 for Pippinid and Etichonid use of monasteries in this regard.

Military interventions were uncharacteristic of Louis the Pious' reign as Smith showed.¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, they were preceded by 'une pénétration pacifique menée par de grands sanctuaires comme les abbayes de Saint-Serge d'Angers ou de Saint Jouin de Marnes' which were 'implanted' into the regions around Rennes and Nantes.¹⁰⁶

Brittany was Christianised. Although it lay within the archdiocese of Tours, an element of Breton independence predominated as with political concerns.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the Breton church remained 'open to Carolingian influence.'¹⁰⁸ A shared religious identity was perhaps the best possible foundation on which to build. It is well known that Charlemagne saw Christianisation as an integral part of his expansionist policy; even that he enforced it where necessary as with the Saxons.¹⁰⁹ Common ground on religion could be beneficial for relations between two communities and could help to forge a unified identity. It seems that Louis the Pious pursued religious reform in Brittany in a manner that was much more characteristic of the man than were his military exploits. He used religious foundations to lay the groundwork for a peaceful integration of the Bretons into the empire. Louis only intervened militarily in a reactionary way; a lack of 'first-strike' campaigns should dissuade us from thinking in terms of conquest. Use of the army should be seen as a periodically necessary tactic rather than as the key to Louis' policy. Significantly, monastic "expansionism" came first.

¹⁰⁵ Smith, *Province*, p. 63. For military activity under Louis the Pious, see T. Reuter, 'The end of Carolingian military expansion' in Godman and Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir*, pp. 391-405.

¹⁰⁶ Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, p. 201. See Hummer, *Politics and Power*, pp. 56-57 for a similar policy in Alsace.

¹⁰⁷ Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 24 and Smith, *Province*, p. 151.

¹⁰⁸ Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁹ Witness, for example, Einhard's comments: 'Eaque conditione a rege proposita est ab illis suscepta tractum per tot annos bellum constat esse finitum, ut, abiecto daemonum culta et relictis partiis caerimoniis, Christianae fidei atque religionis sacramenta susciperent et Francis adunati unas cum eis populus efficerentur.' *VK*, Cap. 7, p. 10.

Until the ninth century, contact between Frankish and Breton churches was limited.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, one example of Breton monastic connections with the Carolingians stands out as worthy of attention. Towards the end of Charlemagne's reign, the monastery of Saint-Méen in the north-east of Brittany was sacked and despoiled by Franks during a revolt against the Carolingians. In response the monastery appealed to Charlemagne for confirmation of possession of the lands that they held because the documents that stated their claims had been destroyed.¹¹¹ For Smith, this 'implied a claim to recognition of Carolingian overlordship' but was 'the equivalent of planting the flag in an area under only tenuous Carolingian influence.'¹¹² However, the example demonstrates an ecclesiastical link between Franks and Bretons that was better established than most political links. Even if the monks only saw the Franks as guilty of harming them and therefore sought repayment, this appeal indicates acceptance of some form of Frankish domination. It perhaps shows that monastic and ecclesiastic influence might have been the most likely method of pressing Frankish claims into the area and recalls Chédeville and Guillotel's ideas of peaceful penetration.

When Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane began their monastic reforms in 816, Saint-Méen was one of the early monasteries to which immunity was granted and on which observance of the Benedictine Rule was pressed.¹¹³ Landévennec followed in 818;

¹¹⁰ See Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 24 and Smith, *Province*, pp. 152-153 and pp. 162-164. On the dearth of evidence from Brittany, see Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 160.

¹¹¹ Smith, *Province*, p. 70.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-2.

in fact the monks there solicited Louis' help in moving to Benedictine observance.¹¹⁴ Moreover, Carolingian monastic landholding patterns reveal that some influential houses were vital to plans to incorporate Brittany or at least to subdue its inhabitants. Saint-Denis was one of those involved; its presence along with that of others helped to 'drive royal power to intervene directly in Brittany.'¹¹⁵ In the late-seventh century, the bishop of Le Mans restored a number of domains to Saint-Denis in Maine, Anjou and around Rennes as well as in Orne. Chédeville and Guillotel saw these westernmost possessions of the monastery as integral to Carolingian fortunes in terms of their rise to power.¹¹⁶ The monastery of Prüm held lands in the pays de Retz, around Angers and east of the Vilaine from the mid-eighth century and as such was instrumental in early Carolingian attempts to gain hegemony in Brittany.¹¹⁷ Pippin the Short renewed the privileges of Prüm in 752 shortly before leading an army into Brittany in 753. 'The Carolingians had located their authority in their service to God and it was logical to join their military actions with the activities of the church.'¹¹⁸ As we shall see, this unification of military and ecclesiastical policies has relevance for the Filibertine translations.

Louis' reform programme was not wholly successful in Brittany becoming a bone of contention along with attempted Carolingian political involvement.¹¹⁹ There is no need to review the history of Breton ecclesiastical institutions here or that of the relationships

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 72 and Smith, 'Oral and Written', p. 317. On Landévennec see M. Simon, *L'abbaye de Landévennec de S. Guérolé à nos jours* (Landévennec, 1984).

¹¹⁵ Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, p. 201.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 202.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 202 and see the map of Prüm's ninth-century possessions in Haubrichs, *Die Kultur der Abtei Prüm*, p. 201.

¹¹⁸ Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, p. 202.

¹¹⁹ Smith, *Province*, p. 151 sees the clash between 'local culture' and 'centralising force' as most clearly revealed in Brittany.

between Carolingian and Breton churches.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, monastic and general religious ingress into the region is important. As we have seen, the monasteries of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes and Saint-Serge-d'Angers were important to the Carolingians in the March. They were not alone; Saint-Denis and Prüm were closely linked to Carolingian policy in the area across a wide span of time. Prüm was granted lands in Anjou and the region around Rennes by Charlemagne in 807 thus adding to its earlier involvement.¹²¹ Saint-Médard was given a monastery near Nantes sometime prior to 800.¹²² Furthermore, Saint-Wandrille and Reims held a number of estates in the March. They were all closely associated with Frankish royalty and in ideological terms could stand for Carolingian ecclesiastical and political authority.¹²³ 'The Carolingians were relying upon these trusted churches to thrust Frankish influence into the border region and to represent royal authority there.'¹²⁴

This world of reciprocal reliance – of Carolingian grants to favoured monasteries in expectation of a greater regional presence – was what the Filibertines were introduced to in 830. Even in the 819 charter we might see the outline of Louis the Pious' intentions to marry Christian mission with the affairs of imperial government – to form what Smith has called a 'profoundly Christian empire.'¹²⁵ The 830 charter had much wider importance than first glances suggest. Following the first major rebellion of Louis' sons,

¹²⁰ Ibid., pp. 147-186. Also see *The Monks of Redon: Gesta sanctorum Rotonensium and Vita Conuuoionis*, ed. and trans. C. Brett (Woodbridge, 1989).

¹²¹ Smith, *Province*, p. 57.

¹²² Ibid., p. 57.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 57.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 57.

¹²⁵ Smith, *Province*, p. 61.

it was important for him in terms of reasserting his authority in the region.¹²⁶ By uniting himself with an established monastic community who had been favoured by previous Frankish kings and who had already gained a cultic foothold in the region, Louis hoped to ensure his own stability. Past kings used monasteries to lead the way for further political and military presence in a region. Here Louis responded to rebellion in like fashion. That rebellion connects a number of the aforementioned issues. It was sparked by factors including ambitions that were threatened by *Ordinatio Imperii*, Louis' plan for the succession to his kingdoms that was made in 817.¹²⁷ Louis' eldest son, Lothar, seems to have been aggrieved by grants made to his half-brother, Charles the Bald, in a revision to *Ordinatio* that was made in 829.¹²⁸ Factionalism reared its head and Lothar built a strong support base.

Numbered amongst his allies were Wala, the cousin of Charlemagne who we have already met and on whom more later,¹²⁹ Hilduin of Saint-Denis and Jonas, bishop of Orléans. Some of the counts in the March such as Lambert, Hugh of Tours and Matfrid of Orléans stood with them.¹³⁰ Together they pursued a revolutionary policy. Hugh had cause for complaint as the father-in-law of Lothar and thus as a protector of his inheritance.¹³¹ Principally, however, he became involved in rebellion against Louis after his Neustrian *honores* were taken away following accusations of ineptitude after a

¹²⁶ See *Ibid.*, p. 79 where Smith highlights a desire to restore authority in northern Poitou in particular.

¹²⁷ *Ordinatio*, pp. 270-273. For details and discussion, see P. Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family who Forged Europe*, trans. M. I. Allen (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 147. Also J. L. Nelson, 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 814-898: the West' in *NCMH*, II, pp. 112-113 and Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 73.

¹²⁸ Reactions to the 829 plan have much to do with *Ordinatio*'s insistence on divine will. For details of the 829 plan see Nelson, 'The Frankish Kingdoms', p. 117.

¹²⁹ See below, pp. 103-115.

¹³⁰ Riché, *The Carolingians*, pp. 150-151. For Hugh see Hennebicque-Le Jan, *Prosopographica Neustrica*, no. 179, p. 256.

¹³¹ Smith, *Province*, p. 78.

bungled campaign into Aquitaine and the Spanish March in 827-8.¹³² Matfrid was ejected from office for the same reason.¹³³ Lambert may have joined them because of links to Pippin of Aquitaine whose son's succession was in question.¹³⁴

Bernard of Septimania and his family replaced Hugh and Matfrid, Bernard becoming chamberlain in 829 and his cousin Odo becoming count of Orléans instead of Matfrid.¹³⁵ Consequently Lambert, Hugh and Matfrid became steadfastly hostile to Bernard. Two principal events followed Louis' shuffling of the decks. The *AB* deemed that Bernard suggested that Louis call up all of his armies in order to make a decisive show of force in Brittany.¹³⁶ Unlike previous campaigns this was not a reactionary measure and it was resented by the other nobles.¹³⁷ Smith suggested that Bernard hoped to persuade Louis 'to make a show of strength in the neighbourhood of the Marcher lands of Lambert of Nantes and his relative Wido of Vannes.'¹³⁸ If this was the case it was ill-advised and an abject failure presenting a *causis belli* to Louis and Bernard's enemies.

Meanwhile a campaign was launched to discredit Judith, the second wife of Louis and the mother of Charles. It accused her of committing adultery with Bernard of Septimania.¹³⁹

¹³² Ibid., p. 78. *ARF*, (828), pp. 174-175. *Vita Hludowici*, 41-42, pp. 436-440. Discussion of the Spanish campaign is provided in Nelson, 'The Frankish Kingdoms', p. 116; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 80-81 and J. Fried, 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 817-911: the East and Middle Kingdoms' in *NCMH*, II, p. 143.

¹³³ Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 81. The *ARF* gives details of Bernard's assumption of office in response to the campaign: *ARF*, (829), p. 177.

¹³⁴ Smith, *Province*, p. 78.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 78.

¹³⁶ *AB*, (830), p. 1.

¹³⁷ See Smith, *Province*, p. 78. The *AB* says that opposition was due to the difficulties it posed: *AB*, (830), p. 1.

¹³⁸ Smith, *Province*, p. 78.

¹³⁹ Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 88-89. See also Fried, 'The Frankish Kingdoms', p. 143. For differing representations of Judith in contemporary sources and justifications for painting her as an adulteress see E. Ward, 'Agobard of Lyons and Paschasius Radbertus as Critics of the Empress Judith' in *Studies in Church*

Innes suggests that people were often accused of adultery in times of crisis because they were guilty. He argues that high-ranking women had a morally ambivalent bond with youthful male courtiers in their guise as mistresses of the royal household. Adultery of this sort may, therefore, have been commonplace and could emerge as scandal when it became useful to discredit certain parties.¹⁴⁰ This may be the case. Accusation against these two figures was certainly effective. Shortly after the accusation was made Louis was challenged by his son Louis the German, by Hugh, Matfrid and his other sons. Judith was imprisoned at Poitiers and Louis at Saint-Denis.¹⁴¹ Lothar then rescinded the alterations made to *Ordinatio* in 829 and attempted to rule on his own.¹⁴²

Lothar's coup was short-lived. 'By the late summer of 830 Louis was back in control.'¹⁴³ He wasted no time in reasserting his position.¹⁴⁴ He immediately acted to restore his authority in northern Poitou, for example.¹⁴⁵ As with Carolingian expansionist designs on Brittany, one of the first tactics that he employed was to use trusted monasteries with royal connections to help him secure his presence in difficult areas. This was no longer an effort to expand but was a sort of internal expansionism through which he sought to extend his authority. The first extant charter that was promulgated following his return

History, 27 (1990), pp. 15-26.. Her discussion of biblical associations made with Judith and Bernard in Radbertus' defence of Wala's part in rebellions is especially important. Compare the picture of representations of Wala as argued in D. Ganz, 'The *Epitathium Arsenii* and Opposition to Louis the Pious' in Godman and Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir*, pp. 537-550.

¹⁴⁰ M. Innes, 'A Place of Discipline': Carolingian Courts and Aristocratic Youth' in C. Cubitt (ed.), *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 67-68. Ward presents an oppositional thesis of the reasons for emphasising Judith's adultery. Ward, 'Agobard', pp. 16-17.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 88; Smith, *Province*, pp. 78-79.

¹⁴² Riché, *The Carolingians*, pp. 152-154.

¹⁴³ Smith, *Province*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁴ Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 88-90.

¹⁴⁵ Smith, *Province*, p. 79.

was for the Filibertines.¹⁴⁶ By granting them the right to free abbatial elections and by confirming their immunity, Louis tied them closer to him. This enhanced a relationship that had already been tightened when Hilbod was chosen as abbot by Louis in 824 or 825.¹⁴⁷ In making reference to the disturbances that caused the monks difficulties, the charter paved the way for the relocation of the community to the mainland that would take place six years later. Because of the problems that Louis faced and in light of the ways in which the Franks used monasteries in the past, the translation of the community of St Filibert to Déas was potentially of benefit to Louis the Pious as well as to the Filibertines themselves.

For Louis, Filibertine involvement could yield numerous benefits. Following the rebellion, Louis' attempts to establish Carolingian authority in Neustria took a step backwards. It is likely that the campaign into Brittany in 830 caused him problems within those lands too. Following his restoration in 830, he attempted to secure a number of territories including Neustria, Brittany and Aquitaine against new opponents. Filibertine involvement in these proceedings was an integral part of a programme that mirrored tried and trusted Carolingian methods. 'Western Neustria was the epicentre of resistance to Louis,'¹⁴⁸ and the establishment of trusted communities into this area would be crucial to his attempts to reassert himself there.

¹⁴⁶ A monastery at Charroux received two grants in the August of that year also, *RHGF*, nos. 158-159, pp. 566-567.

¹⁴⁷ Maître, 'Cunauld', p. 248.

¹⁴⁸ Smith, 'Confronting Identities', p. 180.

Redon's incorporation into Carolingian policies was based on similar principles. Caroline Brett saw the foundation of Redon in 832 as part of a policy of devolution of power that followed the 830 campaign into Brittany and the ensuing political turmoil.¹⁴⁹ In 831 Louis made Nominoë *dux* of Brittany with powers over the whole province.¹⁵⁰ In autumn 832 monks from Redon petitioned Louis for his support for the new monastery. In Smith's view, political circumstances meant this 'was not a good time to importune him.'¹⁵¹ In her reading, opportunities for monastic communities to gain Louis' support had passed for the time being because of the 830 rebellion. Because of Redon's position on the Breton border, and because of the upheaval, Louis could not afford to grant their requests.¹⁵² This may not be as clear cut as that. The Filibertine grant of 830 appears to contradict a view that portrays Louis as impotent in this period. Indeed, following his restoration in 830, he maintained control until the rebellion of 833. There must have been other issues concerning Redon, perhaps to do with its potential to become a bulwark for whoever held influence over it and the novelty of Nominoë's position in 832. Nevertheless, he probably viewed monastic support near the Vilaine as useful in light of previous Frankish practice.

Eventually, in 834, after Louis had more fully regained control, Nominoë persuaded him to grant imperial support to Redon.¹⁵³ This occurred only three months after Louis was safely brought back to power,¹⁵⁴ and the timing of the grant to Redon shows not only that

¹⁴⁹ Brett, *Monks of Redon*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1 and Smith, *Province*, pp. 80-81. For Nominoë, see Pettiau, 'Prosopography', pp. 179-180.

¹⁵¹ Smith, 'Confronting Identities', p. 169.

¹⁵² Smith, *Province*, p. 80.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

he needed Nominoë's support and with it that of the Bretons, but also that he knew the potential importance of monastic allies. Smith suggested that Louis accepted Redon's request because of Nominoë's loyalty: 'Louis could hardly refuse to recognise a monastery that was a bastion of spiritual support close to a region where he was in desperate need of securing his rule.'¹⁵⁵ She denied that Redon was specifically Breton, arguing instead that it provided spiritual, not strategic support as it was a holy place and 'needed no other identity.'¹⁵⁶ This echoes Brett's point that as the monastery was 'on the border between Franks and Bretons, patronised by the leaders of both, it not only reflected but actively promoted the mingling of two cultures...'¹⁵⁷ Crucially Nominoë had stood by Louis in 833 and thereby proved his loyalty. Redon therefore became a centre of support in 834 and the Filibertines were a part of the same policy at the southern edge of Neustria having been granted charters by Louis in 819 and 830 that helped to ensure their longevity but pushed them into areas in which he needed support.¹⁵⁸

In our discussion of the Northmen and the Bretons we considered the correlation between reports in the *AE* and *TMF*. We saw that Rainald's involvement in a battle on Noirmoutier in 835 may be reflective of Carolingian attempts to assert authority in the region in the face of Breton and Viking threats.¹⁵⁹ Another account from Ermentarius allows for further speculation. In chapter nine of the second book of *TMF*, he described a Breton attack on Noirmoutier.¹⁶⁰ He recalled a time when Breton boats arrived at a port

¹⁵⁵ Smith, 'Confronting Identities', p. 180.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-182, quotation at p. 181.

¹⁵⁷ Brett, *Monks of Redon*, p. ix.

¹⁵⁸ See map 1, p. vii.

¹⁵⁹ See above, pp. 80-83.

¹⁶⁰ *TME*, II, ix, p. 66.

named 'Conca' intent on plunder. They apparently leapt from their ships fully armed, but were defeated through the pity of Christ and the powers of the saint and none of them left the island alive.¹⁶¹ This is both a passage that looks to Noirmoutier as a reflection of a glorious past, and one that is concerned with the repulsion of threats by the community. It is likely that this chapter described Breton reaction to Filibertine involvement in the establishment of Carolingian ecclesiastical authority in the March. If so we might consider that the community was already seen as influential by Carolingians and Bretons prior to the translation in 836 and that its rôle was not wholly dissimilar to that played by the other monastic communities in earlier periods. This adds to our appreciation of the 830 charter, and reveals possible Breton attempts to assert their independence.

The situation in Neustria and the Breton March was complex and involved a multiplicity of concerns. Not only was the rebellion of 830 heavily influenced by tensions here, but the region served as an important testing ground for Carolingian expansionist initiatives in terms of ecclesiastical and religious coherence that were later co-opted by Charles the Bald. The Filibertines became part of Louis' plans after he regained his position in 830, but may have been useful to him and the Carolingians generally already having been tied to them through various grants and through the appointment of Hilbod at Louis' bequest. We should, therefore, see that there were various factors at play in the build up to the first translation of the community and that they did not all hinge on the motives that Ermentarius outlined.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., II, ix, p. 66.

After 819, relocation to Déas was put on hold, but the initiative was renewed by Louis the Pious at precisely the time that he most needed symbols of his authority in regions like the pays d'Herbauge. The grant to Redon in 834 echoes the grant to the Filibertines in 830. Taken together, they show very clearly that Louis incorporated the Frankish policy of a unified political and ecclesiastical strategy that could emphasise his control across various spheres of influence. When the Filibertines moved in 836, they entered a landscape in which Louis' control was better than it had been in the dark days of 830. It was so partially due to their rôle in his policies in this region.

iii: Wala and Adalhard

Grandsons of Charles Martel, the half-brothers Wala and Adalhard each forged impressive careers for themselves.¹⁶² Both, however, found themselves in exile shortly after the accession of Louis the Pious in 814, and both spent some part of their exiles at Noirmoutier. Their links to both the Filibertines and the Carolingians mean that they are involved in two of the strands that are most important here. They exemplify Filibertine links to the royal house and their individual careers illuminate the community's movements. It will, therefore, be necessary to consider each of their careers here. By doing so we will be able to see further layers of contact between the Filibertines and the Carolingians whilst gaining a greater understanding of the way in which the early translations of the community fit into wider political concerns.

¹⁶² Both in Depreux, *Prosopographie*. Adalhard is no. 8, pp. 76-79; Wala is no. 269, pp. 390-393.

Wala and Adalhard were the subject of biographical works written by Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie from sometime prior to 846 until c.852.¹⁶³ The texts that he wrote about them, the *Vita Adalardi* and the *Epitaphium Arsenii* were apologetic in nature,¹⁶⁴ seeking to exonerate the two of charges related to their exiles, and cannot be considered wholly objective. Nonetheless, there are elements of their careers that can be safely adduced, and they are so important to this study that they must be investigated.

Adalhard was probably born c.752 and educated alongside Charlemagne.¹⁶⁵ He and Wala were the sons of Bernard (himself a son of Charles Martel) who was one of Charlemagne's favoured military leaders.¹⁶⁶ Wala was significantly the younger brother. Born in c.773,¹⁶⁷ he was educated later and his career followed a similar path to that of Adalhard. Although there was around twenty years between them they lived remarkably similar lives, though each became embroiled in different court disputes.

The reason for Adalhard's exile has its roots in Lombard politics. It is thought that he disagreed with Charlemagne's repudiation of the daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius in 772 that was linked to Charlemagne's ambitions following the death of his brother and co-king Carloman in late 771.¹⁶⁸ Adalhard left for Corbie c.772.¹⁶⁹ It is

¹⁶³ A. Cabaniss (trans.), *Charlemagne's cousins: Contemporary Lives of Adalard and Wala* (Syracuse, 1967), p. 2. The translation here is not at all ideal and commentary is far too ready to accept Radbertus' testimony to be of genuine merit.

¹⁶⁴ *Epitaphium* (book one written c.836; book two in the early 850s); *VSA* (written late-820s).

¹⁶⁵ L. Weinrich, *Wala: Graf, Mönch und Rebell: Die Biographie eines Karolingers* (Lübeck and Hamburg, 1963), pp. 12-15; Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's cousins*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶⁶ Weinrich, *Wala*, p. 11.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14, suggests that Wala was born 772-780, but prefers 773 based on the probable ages of his siblings.

¹⁶⁸ See J. L. Nelson, 'Making a Difference in Eighth-Century Politics: The Daughters of Desiderius' in A. C. Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History, Essays Presented to*

possible that following the death of Carloman, Charlemagne was keen to remove any potential rivals from court so as to leave the way clear for his full assumption of power and so that Adalhard was forced out. This was not a permanent move, however.

When Charlemagne died, Adalhard was in Italy acting as regent to the young king Bernard who had succeeded to Italy in 810;¹⁷⁰ when he heard of Charlemagne's death he rushed back to Corbie rather than Aachen. Allen Cabaniss thought this was a significant decision.¹⁷¹ Adalhard may have sensed the way the wind was blowing as Louis the Pious became emperor. The change of ruler in 814 ushered in a fraught time for Adalhard who may have found himself in trouble due to his conservative views on political procedure.¹⁷² He was not alone; Wala too was removed from court in a purge that was instituted almost as soon as Louis came to Aachen that saw a third brother, Bernard exiled to Lérins, and which famously involved the removal of Charlemagne's daughters.¹⁷³ For Nelson this was Louis' attempt to 'clear himself some political space.'¹⁷⁴ Cabaniss wrote that 'the death of Charles brought about a temporary eclipse to the fortunes of this illustrious family (the descendants of Bernard). For some unknown reason, the grim, unsmiling Louis... distrusted his kinsmen and sought as quickly as

Walter Goffart (Toronto, 1998), pp. 171-190 for details. Some have erroneously assumed that the woman in question was named Desideria; Nelson (p. 183) suggests that she was called Gerperga. For Adalhard's concerns see V. Postel, 'Communiter inito consilio: Herrschaft als Beratung' in M. Kaufhold (ed.), *Political Thought in the Age of Scholasticism: Essays in Honour of Jürgen Miethke* (Leiden, 2004), p. 9; Weinrich, *Wala*, pp. 11-12; Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's cousins*, p. 4. Compare Abbé H. Peltier, *Adalhard: Abbé de Corbie* (Amiens, 1969), pp. 30-31 who argues that Adalhard objected to Charlemagne's sole rule.

¹⁶⁹ Postel, 'Communiter inito consilio', p. 9.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 11; Peltier, *Adalhard*, pp. 44-45.

¹⁷¹ Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's cousins*, p. 7.

¹⁷² B. Kasten, *Adalhard von Corbie: Die Biographie eines Karolingischen Politikers und Kloostervorstehers* (Dusseldorf, 1985), p. 85.

¹⁷³ Einhard revealed his concerns about them in: VK, 19, pp. 24-25.

¹⁷⁴ Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 72.

possible to remove them from proximity to the palace.’¹⁷⁵ There may be a case to be made here. We have no document that describes from Louis’ point of view exactly why he exiled Wala and Adalhard, but the issue is hardly a mystery. As may have been the case for Adalhard in 772, their exile in 814 was connected to their close blood ties to the royal house and their prior importance in the kingdom. Simply put, they were possible dangers to Louis’s ambitions. The Astronomer, in his biography of Louis, clearly sees this when he suggests that Wala was a candidate for the throne in 814. According to him the period immediately after Charlemagne’s death was full of incident:

‘...post quintum diem ad eodem loco pedem movit, et cum quanto passa est angustia temporis populo iter arripuit. Timebatur enim qaummaxime Wala, summi apud Karolum imperatorem habitus loci, ne forte aliquid sinistri contra imperatorem moliretur.’¹⁷⁶

And why not? Wala, like Louis, was a descendant of Charles Martel through the male line and had held important offices in the kingdom. However, as things turned out, Wala was prepared to submit to Louis’ authority and to do him homage.¹⁷⁷ The depth of Louis’ concern is clear from the Astronomer’s report that it was not until Wala accepted Louis as emperor that the other nobles followed suit.¹⁷⁸ They were waiting for him to make his move before they made their own positions clear.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Cabaniss, *Charlemagne’s cousins*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷⁶ *Vita Hludowici*, II, 21, p. 346.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

¹⁷⁹ As also noted by Cabaniss, *Charlemagne’s cousins*, p. 7.

Why was Wala in this position? He had a lot going for him; like his brother, Wala was an important member of Charlemagne's entourage but his career was not uncontroversial. He briefly lost his position in 787 on the death of his father, but was slowly reintegrated into the court thereafter.¹⁸⁰ In 792 he was banished following his involvement in an uprising by Pippin the Hunchback who sought a share of power that had so far been denied him.¹⁸¹ However, Wala was able to reintegrate himself with the court. He was the first secular noble to sign Charlemagne's will,¹⁸² a moment that surely signals his importance and may have been significant in any ambitions on the throne. Moreover, he accompanied Adalhard to Italy in 812 as we have seen and may have had a function in the regency government.¹⁸³

He was clearly well-respected and influential. His involvement in the rebellion of 792 suggests that Pippin the Hunchback at least thought him important. He presumably hoped that Wala's involvement would have brought supporters to his cause. Wala's acceptance of Louis in 814 clearly helped smooth the way for his accession. As soon as Wala made his profession of homage to Louis, he was co-opted by the new emperor to help him ensure that no other difficulties might arise.¹⁸⁴ He should, therefore, be considered extremely influential. Not only was he a danger to Louis but he could be a powerful ally if loyal. Adalhard was probably seen as a threat too, but also seems to have been a part of the processes involved in the transition of power.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ Weinrich, *Wala*, p. 15.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁸² See Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 269, p. 390. The will is produced at the end of Einhard's *Vita Karoli: VK*, p. 41.

¹⁸³ Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's cousins*, p. 5.

¹⁸⁴ See *Vita Hludowici*, II, 21, p. 346 where Wala is chosen to investigate Louis' potential opponents.

¹⁸⁵ Kasten, *Adalhard*, p. 85.

Whether this means that Louis trusted the brothers despite past indiscretions is an interesting question. Perhaps he simply considered their involvement in 814 in a pragmatic sense. We cannot be sure, but we know that neither of them remained at court to see in 815. Wala was sent to Corbie; Adalhard to Noirmoutier. Lorenz Weinrich was unsure whether Louis thought that sending Wala to Corbie would have removed him from political influence.¹⁸⁶ For Peltier, the fact that the three brothers, Adalhard, Wala and Bernard, were sent to Noirmoutier, Corbie and Lérins respectively highlighted Louis' desire to ensure that there could be no possible collusion between them.¹⁸⁷ In this reading of events, Louis saw the three as a dynastic threat and sought to remove them from the centres of power and to separate them. Kasten also thought that Noirmoutier was the destination of Adalhard because its location in 'the extreme west' would 'withdraw him from any possibility of influencing political control.'¹⁸⁸

Corbie and Noirmoutier were not, however, overtly distant from centres of power. Abbot Arnulf of Noirmoutier would become an important part of Benedict of Aniane's reform programme in 816-817 whilst the community was still on the island,¹⁸⁹ and in the 770s Corbie was close enough to court for Adalhard to remain in touch with affairs.¹⁹⁰ Radbertus even cited frequent visits from his peers as the reason for Adalhard's retreat to Monte Cassino where he hoped for a contemplative life.¹⁹¹ Moreover, Mayke de Jong's

¹⁸⁶ Weinrich, *Wala*, p. 33.

¹⁸⁷ Peltier, *Adalhard*, pp. 88-89.

¹⁸⁸ Kasten, *Adalhard*, p. 85.

¹⁸⁹ Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 36, p. 111.

¹⁹⁰ Peltier, *Adalhard*, p. 32.

¹⁹¹ *VSA*, col. 1514.

discussion of monastic exile calls into question the suggestion that exiles were political prisoners forced to remain within monastic confines.¹⁹² They may have chosen to be at certain monasteries and certainly had access to some of their former contacts whilst there. The involvement of Arnulf alongside Benedict of Aniane may reflect enduring contacts between Adalhard and the Filibertines arising in 814 and as such emphasises the freedom that an exile such as Adalhard may have enjoyed. He was seemingly not treated as a political prisoner at Noirmoutier.¹⁹³

It is in precisely this context that we need to consider the two half-brothers and their connections to Noirmoutier. Although Wala went to Corbie in 814 he also later spent time in Noirmoutier. Both Wala and Adalhard were recalled to court in 821-822 where they once more became the most influential ecclesiastical counsellors.¹⁹⁴ Adalhard died in 826, and so did not live to see the major rebellions of which Wala was a part. We have already considered his involvement in those rebellions above. In 831 he was sentenced to death, but this was commuted to exile at a monastery above lake Geneva, probably Saint-Maurice d' Agaune.¹⁹⁵ Wala was, however, soon moved to Noirmoutier, perhaps because of the proximity of Saint-Maurice to Lothar. Weinrich suggests that this was done in the autumn of 831 because by that time the community of St Filibert were already used to summering at Déas.¹⁹⁶ He did not stay there long, being moved east of the Rhine in early 832 (possibly at the time that the Filibertines left for Déas again) because of the

¹⁹² See generally M. de Jong, 'Monastic Prisoners or Opting Out? Political Coercion and Honour in the Frankish Kingdoms' in de Jong and Theuvs with van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power*, pp. 291-328.

¹⁹³ Peltier, *Adalhard*, p. 90. However, some, like Pippin II, were certainly confined to monasteries and we should avoid black and white distinctions.

¹⁹⁴ Kasten, *Adalhard*, p. 90.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

proximity of Noirmoutier to Pippin.¹⁹⁷ The resultant impression is that contrary to a well-established paradigm, the locations of monastic exile were not chosen because of their distance from the centre. In fact, two of the three places in which Wala found himself in 831-832 were too close to political influence for comfort. Louis must have known that Noirmoutier was in proximity to the areas in which Pippin had a presence. He must, therefore, have chosen Noirmoutier, possibly knowing that it could only be for a short time, because of his connections to abbot Hilbod who had taken office in c.825 and because of other relations with the community. Although Wala could only be under the watchful eye of Hilbod between autumn and spring, the circumstances were difficult enough, and the trust of Hilbod deep enough for it to be worth sending Wala there despite Pippin's presence in the area.

Noirmoutier and the community of St Filibert do not seem to have suffered by association with him or Adalhard. Indeed it seems that Filibertine relationships with these two only aided their overall attachment to the Frankish kings. Wala's exile proves once more that the Filibertines were well-connected. Consequently issues like the pressure exerted by Northmen need to be considered in context and as one of a number of factors that contributed to the translations. Clearly they were in royal favour and this had a large impact on their history.

Returning to Adalhard can help us to understand how Filibertine associations with him and Wala helped the community's ambitions. One of the reasons that he lost favour may have been his lack of enthusiasm for the blanket imposition of the Benedictine rule that

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 77-78.

Louis and Benedict of Aniane were set on.¹⁹⁸ As abbot of Corbie, Adalhard led a community that was devoted to a mixed rule and was particularly at odds with Benedict over the length of time that an initiate should remain a novice. Postel argued that the timing of the pardon offered to both Adalhard and Wala reflected this. They were allowed to return to court just after Benedict's death thus leaving room for a reestablishment of the old guard.¹⁹⁹ Despite this, Arnulf was alongside Benedict of Aniane at Aachen in 816-817 for the inauguration of his policy of uniform observance of the Benedictine rule. This was during Adalhard's exile to Noirmoutier and so shows that Arnulf and the community were not only close enough to the court to be entrusted with Adalhard as Hilbod and the community were later entrusted with Wala, but Arnulf was also able to enhance his and his community's position by following the course that Adalhard had refused. Prior to this point Noirmoutier had followed a mixed rule too and its early adoption of Benedictine observance must have helped its standing.

Radbertus wrote that Adalhard was beloved by the Noirmoutier community and that they mourned his departure.²⁰⁰ Reading his account it is difficult to imagine that he and Wala were not highly influential during their time on the island. It is equally hard to imagine that such illustrious men as Adalhard and Wala would not have occupied positions of authority in the community. They must have been of some influence but the growing importance of abbots Arnulf and Hilbod and paradoxically the very fact of the community's involvement in housing Adalhard and Wala shows that the Filibertines had

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 91-93.

¹⁹⁹ Postel, '*Communiter inito consilio*', p. 15.

²⁰⁰ See VSA, col. 1533.

a strong influence of their own. That influence was certainly strong enough to maintain their independence even when involved with royal exiles.

The involvement of Wala and Adalhard with the Filibertines should be seen in the same light as the other developments that we have described above. It provides further evidence of the growing position of the community and indicates the importance of the rôle that the Filibertines came to play in the affairs of both Louis and Charles the Bald. In 834, Louis attempted to reorder the Breton frontier following appeals for attachment from the newly established community at Redon. The Filibertines were used in a similar context in 830 to the southern end of the west of Neustria: ‘the epicentre of resistance to Louis.’²⁰¹ From 814-836 they were involved in Louis’ plans whether this was as guardians of potentially dangerous opponents, as agents of reform, or as his representatives in the tradition of Frankish use of monastic houses. Louis was always keen to involve monastic houses in his policies. In 816 he gave the newly restored monastery of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés outside Paris a charter of immunity and protection thus tying it into his close network. It was definitively made a royal monastery in 819. Benedict of Aniane was involved at Saint-Maur-des-Fossés and Arnulf may have been at his side at the time.²⁰² In 819 when Saint-Maur was securely tied to Louis, the Filibertines completed their building works at Déas and received a charter that tied them to Louis too. The establishment of Déas should, therefore, be seen as a partner in Louis’ policy alongside Saint-Maur. It might be that the charter of 819 was initially intended to grant permission to move the Filibertines to the mainland as it included permission to

²⁰¹ Smith, ‘Confronting Identities’, p. 180.

²⁰² Kasten, *Adalhard*, pp. 88-90.

create viable access to Déas over the Boulogne. Intermediate affairs delayed this move until 836 but the community remained firmly in Louis' plans.

A final issue involving Wala illuminates all of these concerns. Following the rebellion of 833, Wala became abbot of Bobbio. Bobbio was part of a Filibertine network and this may indicate that he remained attached to the community following his brief stay with them in 831-832.²⁰³ He remained involved with Lothar, and was sent as his emissary to a council that was held at Thionville in c.835 where reconciliation between the different factions was effected.²⁰⁴ As well as serving this important rôle, Thionville became a major staging post on the road to securing renewed royal approval for the Filibertines to move to Déas. When describing the council at which approval was given for the community to relocate, Ermentarius wrote, 'with the nod of assent the most serene king Pippin, with suitable consent from almost all of his bishops from the province of Aquitaine, and with the abbots, and counts' a consensus was reached.²⁰⁵

As Thionville marked the point at which the different factions became reconciled it is fitting that it may have seen Pippin make this grant to a community that had remained loyal to Louis throughout his difficulties in his capacity as king of Aquitaine. The probability that this occurred at Thionville is suggested by comparison of this comment from Ermentarius with a description of Thionville in the *AB*. It is intriguing that the two employ very similar language. The *AB* explains, 'Around the time of the Feast of the

²⁰³ Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's cousins*, p. 14.

²⁰⁴ Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 269, p. 393.

²⁰⁵ 'Annuente quippe Pipino serenissimo rege, pari consensu omnes ferme Aquitanicae provinciae episcopi, abbates, comites, caeterisque fideles qui illuc adfuerunt.' *TME*, I, i, p. 25.

Purification of the Holy Mary he (Louis the Pious) convened there (at Thionville) a general assembly of nearly all the bishops and abbots, both canonical and regular of the whole empire.’²⁰⁶ Could it be that it was at this council, one year prior to the translation of the monks to Déas that consent to move was given to the community?

It is possible and the presence of Wala at these proceedings provides a further layer of interest given his prior association with the Filibertines and his rôle at Bobbio. This suggests further connections between the rebellions, their aftermath and the community of St Filibert and reemphasises the strength of links between community and court as well as suggesting plausible reasons for the delay in gaining permission to move. Louis was, it seems keen to allow the translation in 819, but intervening events caused a delay during which time the community was put to valuable use in other ways. Overall the involvement of Wala and Adalhard shows the complexity that is apparent in Filibertine concerns surrounding the first translation of the community. They were connected to the court in a variety of ways and there were clearly a number of issues beyond flight from the Northmen that were involved in this relocation as there were in later movements.

III: Filibertine trade

The foregoing analysis has suggested that the relocation in 836 came about for a number of reasons that are not necessarily concerned with Northmen. By building up a profile of the community’s ambitions, we have been able to see this first translation in its proper context. We have had reason to refer to the presence of trading activity in areas like

²⁰⁶ ‘In quo etiam circa sanctae Mariae purificationem conuentum generalem habuit omnium paene totius imperii sui episcoporum et abbatum tam canonicorum quam regularium.’ *AB*, (835), p. 15.

Dorestad which are typically associated with Vikings. Whilst Dorestad and Quentovic were important centres for trade, the Frisians did not have a monopoly on commercial business. Frisian activity in Neustria is only documented once, in a charter for the Saint-Denis fair from 753,²⁰⁷ indicating that other groups, like monastic communities in the west, might be highly profitable themselves. Focus on Filibertine trade will show that economic aspirations were another part of the community's ninth-century strategy. Consideration of material associated with trade will also allow us to see the translation in perhaps its clearest light; as something that had many impetuses but that was not totally divorced from the traditional narrative of concern at Viking activity. For this reason, trade is an especially important area of concern. Moreover, because it is a highly positive factor in the fortunes of the community, trade and Filibertine growth in relation to economics throughout the period of migration brings to the fore the centrality of the community's own initiative. This is particularly the case for the first translation but there were none in which the Filibertines did not play their own hand to at least some extent.

To begin we should return to the charter of 674. Stéphane Lebecq argued that the seventh century provides the starting point for an understanding of monasteries from an economic point of view.²⁰⁸ It was in this period that monasteries became involved as players in networks of exchange. The Filibertine story fits this model. The 674 charter granted the Filibertines Déas, was linked to the establishment of Noirmoutier and granted four other domains in the wide stretch of territory under Poitevin episcopal authority to Filibert as

²⁰⁷ S. Lebecq, *Marchands et Navigateurs Frisons du Haut Moyen Âge, Vol. I. Essai* (Arras, 1983), pp. 25-26.

²⁰⁸ S. Lebecq, 'The role of the monasteries in the systems of production and exchange of the Frankish world between the seventh and the beginning of the ninth centuries' in I. L. Hansen and C. Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century* (Leiden, 2000), p. 123.

well.²⁰⁹ These were l'Ampan in the pays de Retz, Taizé above the river Thouet which enters the Loire near Saumur, Paizay-le-Chapt in Deux-Sèvres and Venières in the Saône valley near to Mâcon.²¹⁰ The indication is that the Filibertines were afforded considerable privileges from their earliest inception.

At l'Ampan the *villa* came with vines, agricultural lands, salt-pans and slaves of both sexes amongst other things.²¹¹ At Taizé the possessions again included vines, slaves and agricultural lands but also sheep.²¹² At Paizay-le-Chapt, the *villa* came with its slaves and fields,²¹³ whereas at Venières the *villa* had agricultural lands, slaves, cattle, buildings and tenants.²¹⁴ In broad terms these possessions would certainly have allowed for the survival of the community at Noirmoutier. As all of the possessions are included in the one charter from 674 it is of course likely that they were intended as a package that could be used to ensure the foundation at Noirmoutier that took place c.679.

How does this impact on trade? We know that Vikings often targeted trade centres.²¹⁵

When they attacked Noirmoutier, whether this was in 799 or not, trade may have attracted them. Although Noirmoutier was not as important economically as Dorestad, it had a definite rôle to play. Salt was the main product of Noirmoutier and the island benefited from a southerly shift in its seventh-century production as trade in salt

²⁰⁹ Maître, 'Cunauld', pp. 239-243.

²¹⁰ See map 4, p. x.

²¹¹ Maître, 'Cunauld', pp. 239-240.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 241.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242.

²¹⁵ See for instance Logan, *Vikings in History*, p. 116. Most surveys of the Vikings deal at least superficially with this.

increased.²¹⁶ It was certainly a major commodity in the north-east where salt, fish and livestock were amongst the main products.²¹⁷ Samuel Adshead suggested that Filibert introduced the solar evaporation method at Noirmoutier presumably basing his assertions on the fact that the island became occupied at the time of St Filibert's foundation of the monastery at Noirmoutier.²¹⁸ This is speculative but Lebecq argued that the lands donated to Filibert on Noirmoutier were probably *saltus* (woodland) and therefore required large-scale cultivation in order to be productive.²¹⁹ If this was the case then we might consider St Filibert's personal involvement in the development of forms of salt production more likely. He had to undergo major alterations to the productivity of the island in the late-seventh century and was probably keen to enhance the production of his most profitable asset. Noirmoutier was certainly transformed into a centre for the trade of salt by the time that the Filibertines left for Déas and probably had been by at least the turn of the ninth century. The 674 charter indicates that the community had access to salt on the mainland at l'Ampan as well as on the island.²²⁰ They used the salt to preserve food but undoubtedly traded in it as well and production rates rose as time went on.²²¹

Salt was 'indispensable but rare,'²²² 'basic to life, and to Carolingian commerce.'²²³

Control of salt-pans to the extent enjoyed by the Filibertines was a coup of some

²¹⁶ S. A. M. Adshead, *Salt and Civilization* (London, 1992), pp. 62-64; Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 187.

²¹⁷ Lebecq, *Marchands et Navigateurs*, pp. 126-131.

²¹⁸ Adshead, *Salt*, pp. 65-67.

²¹⁹ Lebecq, 'The role of the monasteries', p. 126.

²²⁰ Bruand shows the probable location of salt-pans on Noirmoutier and all down the coast opposite the island, in areas owned by the community. See Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, fig. 7, p. 188.

²²¹ Food preserved in salt is mentioned in *TME*, I, lxxxix, p. 54. The same chapter indicates widespread trade.

²²² Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 185.

importance.²²⁴ The donation of lands on the Atlantic coast in a region that was (and still is) famous for salt production may indicate the high regard in which St Filibert was held during his lifetime.²²⁵ Demand was great here.²²⁶ Whilst other centres of salt production ‘had to be contented with a regional role’,²²⁷ Atlantic salt was always a supra-regional commodity. Britain, Ireland and the inhabitants of the coasts of the Channel looked to the Loire for salt.²²⁸ The monks were in a profitable position and we must consider this as potential evidence for a disinclination to leave the island until it was necessary. Further discussion will highlight that the monks were to gain in economic terms from their removal to Déas, however.

Richard Hodges considered the monks of Noirmoutier to have accumulated ‘untold wealth... from their working of the extensive salt pans’ by the mid-ninth century.²²⁹ There is much in his thesis that is questionable, not least his adherence to the narrative of decline and fall in relation to the Carolingian empire.²³⁰ Although his premise that the ‘brave resistance’ of the monks to the invasions of the Northmen ‘matched only by the persistence of the Vikings in holding the island during the central years of the ninth century’ indicates the sources of wealth that must have been there is based on general

²²³ M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 698.

²²⁴ Ganshof showed the importance of salt to monastic trade through analysis of the late-ninth century *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*. He highlighted the continual trade focussed on the Loire in which monasteries were heavily involved. See D. Ganshof, ‘A propos du tonlieu a l’époque carolingienne’ in *Settimane*, VI (1959), pp. 485-490.

²²⁵ Lebecq shows that the donations made to Filibert at Jumièges allowed him to become involved in international trading. Lebecq, ‘The role of the monasteries’, p. 129.

²²⁶ Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, pp. 186-187.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

²²⁹ R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade, A.D. 600-1000* (London, 1982), p. 128.

²³⁰ For this in particular see *Ibid.*, p. 3.

assumptions about the community's history, he is right that salt production could lead to considerable gains.²³¹ Despite this, Hodges distinguishes between monasteries and *emporia* such as Dorestad.²³² This is important. Monks, including the Filibertines, were not primarily engaged in trade, certainly in this period. *Emporia* were typically inhabited and run by merchants whose main occupation was the exchange of commodities and coin.²³³ Whilst monastic communities made money through the sale of surplus produce and may have produced items that were specifically destined for sale,²³⁴ they were not substantially motivated by the pursuit of profit. Development of a monastic site into a trading centre was usually related to production of a surplus whose sale could bring about finance that might be reinvested in the community. Regardless of their original intentions some communities surely went further than others in their eventual pursuit of wealth, but monastic centres of trade still retained a different character than the secular dominated *emporia*. Rather than pursuing profit as an end in itself it is likely that the Filibertines invested their gains into architectural developments at Déas amongst other things.

Because trade is such an important indicator of community growth in the ninth century, it is worth considering the various commodities to which they had access. Salt aside, the monks enjoyed the use of important fisheries on the island of Noirmoutier. Lebecq thought that both Noirmoutier and Jumièges were embarkation points for the hunting of

²³¹ Ibid., p. 128.

²³² R. Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne* (London, 2000), pp. 84-89.

²³³ There are a number of important studies on exchange and trade that are useful to an understanding of the *emporia*. See, for example, C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 681-688; McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 639-669; Verhulst, *Rise of Cities*.

²³⁴ Lebecq, 'The role of the monasteries', p. 147.

marine animals for blubber, bones and meat.²³⁵ Chapters eight and nine of the *VF* are clear about the use of the Seine as a source of fish for the community at Jumièges.²³⁶ Commenting on the same text, Bruand argued that the Filibertines sold fish from Noirmoutier to customers in an area that was around 100km in diameter.²³⁷ Whatever the precise details of their fishing activities, they were involved in the exchange of some surplus beyond their immediate vicinity. Wine was clearly a useful commodity too and was another Filibertine commodity. They owned vines at l'Ampan and Taizé since 674 and presumably produced wine for at least their own use since then.²³⁸ As far as the Filibertines were concerned viticulture was an important part of their everyday existence. They also sold the excess product. Unlike some who could only produce what they themselves consumed, the Filibertines supplied themselves with both wine and salt and created a surplus which they traded

As well as this they had access to lead as an incident described by Ermentarius in which British ships stole a cargo of lead from a port (*portus*) at Noirmoutier indicates.²³⁹ A lead mine would have been a sure method of maintaining a regular income for the monks,²⁴⁰ but there is no evidence that shows they possessed such a facility. Regardless, the theft of lead from Noirmoutier is significant. The lead belonged to the community but may not

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131; S. Lebecq, 'La Neustrie et la Mer' in Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie*, p. 411. See also S. Lebecq, 'Scènes de chasse aux mammifères marins (mers du Nord, VIe-XIIe siècles)' in E. Mornet and F. Morenzoni (eds), *Milieux naturels, espaces sociaux. Études offert à Robert Delort* (Paris, 1997), pp. 241-254.

²³⁶ *VF*, viii-ix, pp. 6-8.

²³⁷ Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 249.

²³⁸ Maître, 'Cunauld', pp. 239-243. Wine was an important commodity. See Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 209 and p. 215.

²³⁹ *TME*, I, lxxxix, p. 54.

²⁴⁰ Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 121.

have been a tradeable commodity.²⁴¹ The account is not clear on this, but given the lack of testimony relating to the mining or processing of lead by the community it seems likely to have been for their own use in roofing for example. Lead was used for the roofing of some churches in the empire. In reporting the consequences of an earthquake at Aachen in 829, for example, the *ARF* related that the chapel lost much of its lead tiled roof.²⁴² Moreover, the movement of lead through a port on Noirmoutier is a strong indicator of trade. The presence of boats from Britain at Noirmoutier shows that the island was a port of call on international trade routes as well and its rôle as such may explain Viking interest in the island. The mouth of the Loire was definitely one of the points on which the international wine trade was focussed.²⁴³

The above-mentioned chapter of *TMF* in which the theft of lead is described is highly instructive. As well as indicating the use of the ports of Furcae and Conca by international traders,²⁴⁴ the theft of items from the community tells us that they had highly desirable possessions that required protection. In this instance protection is afforded by St Filibert and a terrible retribution is wrought on the perpetrators of the theft,²⁴⁵ but the account more realistically reveals concerns that a significant amount of trade might lead to difficulties for which the community was not otherwise prepared. This must mean that trade was well-advanced whilst the community was still at Noirmoutier. Filibertine trade and prosperity attracted thieves and might also have attracted Northmen.

²⁴¹ It is ‘...ex plumbo beati confessoris...’ *TMF*, I, lxxxi, p. 54.

²⁴² *ARF*, (829), pp. 176-177.

²⁴³ Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 229. Lebecq, ‘La Neustrie’, pp. 430-1 discusses connections between Noirmoutier and Ireland in this regard.

²⁴⁴ The chapter shows that the Britons had come to the port specifically to trade.

²⁴⁵ Some are attacked by mysterious knights brandishing three-pronged javelins during a maelstrom. See *TME*, I, lxxxi, p. 55.

Reference to a *portus* in the preface to the first book of *TMF* is also important. Adriaan Verhulst showed that a *portus* often indicated trade in his investigation of cities in the north-west of Europe.²⁴⁶ The contextual information that we have considered above shows that our *portus* was certainly indicative of Filibertine trade. It was also at the *portus* that the Northmen are said to have landed in Ermentarius' preface.²⁴⁷ This clearly makes sense in terms of the attraction of trading centres to the Northmen. As we have just seen the theft of lead occurred at a *portus* too. It is also important that the Filibertines moved to the *portus* of Furcae on the mainland opposite the island when they began the translation to Déas.²⁴⁸ Not only does this show that the community had clear connections that could be used for trading purposes across the narrow strait between Noirmoutier and the mainland south of the Loire, but it shows that the monks had a *portus* on the Atlantic coast that could be used once they had moved to Déas without necessitating a journey to the island. All of this means that they were profitable on Noirmoutier and also that they could expect to maintain and enhance profitability after moving to Déas. Translation meant that new opportunities were added to established trading activities thus highlighting the positive aspects of the 836 relocation.

The chapter of *TMF* that relates to the theft of lead also indicates a specific contact that the Filibertines had with other local trade centres. Here Ermentarius describes the thieves' enforced landing at an island named Bafus.²⁴⁹ Bafus is identified as Bourg-de-

²⁴⁶ Verhulst, *Rise of Cities*, p. 52.

²⁴⁷ *TME*, I, i, p. 23.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, ii, p. 26.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, lxxxi, pp. 54-56.

Batz by Poupardin and is almost certainly Batz in the region of St-Nazaire which, judging by Bruand's calculations²⁵⁰ would have been on an island in the ninth century.²⁵¹ The thieves are eventually persuaded to return the lead to the Filibertines whilst on this island and the contact that the Filibertines have with this place as well as the use of it as a port by the Britons suggests that it may well have served as another Atlantic coast trading centre and that as such the monks of St Filibert may have been accustomed to dealing with Batz in other circumstances. In fact Batz was home to an important source of salt that was owned by the monks of Redon who may also have traded from there.²⁵² The possibility of a monastic trade network involving Redon and Déas is just one indicator of positive developments for the Filibertines in this period.

Exploration of Filibertine trade requires that we return to the issue of the *castrum*. For Verhulst, a *castrum* may have indicated an urban element.²⁵³ Urban settlement involved, attracted and supported trade. It may even have been a necessary precursor to trade; certainly in the case of the *emporia* the two went hand in hand later in the ninth century. Does the presence of the *castrum* at Noirmoutier therefore suggest urbanisation linked to trade as well as organised defence? Does the construction of fortifications at Déas have similar implications? Both seem likely in light of contemporary developments associated with Filibertine trade. Hilbod was instrumental in this too. As we have seen he was appointed abbot in 824 or 825 by Louis the Pious.²⁵⁴ The regard in which Hilbod and the

²⁵⁰ See Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, fig. 7, p. 188.

²⁵¹ For Poupardin's identification as such see *TMF*, I, lxxxii, p. 54, n. 3. See map 9, p. xvi.

²⁵² Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, pp. 186-187.

²⁵³ Verhulst, *Rise of Cities*, p. 48. Also A. Verhulst, 'Roman Cities, Emporia and New Towns (Sixth-Ninth Centuries)' in Hansen and Wickham (eds), *Eighth Century*, pp. 105-120 for urban settlements more generally.

²⁵⁴ See above, p. 82.

community of St Filibert were held by this time is clearly evinced by the charter of 830 that allowed for the construction of the *castrum*.²⁵⁵ As well as authorising this, the charter indicated that the community would have free abbatial elections and confirmed their immunities. Given Louis' appointment of Hilbod it is no surprise that the Filibertines benefited so greatly at the emperor's instruction in 830.

The royal appointment of Hilbod might also help to explain a charter that was promulgated in favour of the community in 826.²⁵⁶ In this charter, Pippin I, as king of Aquitaine under the authority of Louis the Pious authorised the monks to use six boats on the Loire, the Allier, the Cher, the Dordogne, the Garonne and all other waterways in the kingdom free of a list of taxes at the request of Hilbod.²⁵⁷ This was immensely important. It meant that the Filibertines might immediately become more powerful traders, and paved the way for a successful move to Déas where trade could be continued and enhanced.

The construction of the *castrum* may well have been a natural extension of this process. The community held valuable salt-pans since the seventh century and may even have been involved in the development of new forms of salt extraction in the same period. They were involved in international trade that was sufficient to draw the interest of the Northmen and of the British and supplied fish and other marine commodities to a fairly wide regional market. In 826 their areas of influence were extended by royal decree.

²⁵⁵ *RHGF*, no. 156, p. 564.

²⁵⁶ *RAPP*, no. 6, pp. 19-21.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 6, pp. 20-21. On exemption charters see G. Tessier, *Diplomatique Royale Française* (Paris, 1962), p. 66. Such exemptions were always granted for the use of boats on waterways.

There were important fisheries in the Loire itself that could be exploited. Access to the Loire allowed them simple routes to the salt markets at Nantes and facilitated the use of their vineyards on the mainland as well.²⁵⁸

In terms of comparison, the 826 grant of exemption made them significant players in networks of exchange in Aquitaine and Neustria. Only 30 boats in total were exempted from taxation on the movement of salt in this region and not all of them were owned by monastic communities; there was no ecclesiastical monopoly on exemption.²⁵⁹ Whilst not exceptional, exemption was strictly controlled and the possession of a grant of exemption indicates royal favour.²⁶⁰ That the Filibertines had a fifth of the total boats that were exempted from such taxation is surely significant. Knowledge of the other monastic communities who were granted exemption in this region will, therefore, be useful to gain an understanding of potential rivals to the Filibertines. The monastery of Saint-Paul-de-Cormery and the church of Nevers were able to use two boats each; Angers, Charroux and Saint-Mesmin-de-Micy enjoyed the use of three each; Fleury and Saint-Germain could use four, whilst Saint-Aignan d'Orléans could use six boats as could the Filibertines. Only the monastery of Saint-Martin-de-Tours had greater privileges holding rights to use twelve boats all exempt from taxation on the Loire.²⁶¹ As well as these the monastery of Saint-Martin-de-Vertou had the right to use six boats on the Loire, though the *Miracula Martini abbatis Vertavensis (MMV)* only shows that they were used for

²⁵⁸ For markets at Nantes see Ganshof, 'A propos du tonlieu', pp. 489-490.

²⁵⁹ Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 201.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁶¹ Ganshof, 'A propos du tonlieu', pp. 499-500 and p. 500 n. 36.

flight from the Northmen.²⁶² The reality of this claim would surely bear investigation along similar lines to what has been attempted here for the Filibertines; we must in fact expect that the community also used these boats for trade. If we include Saint-Martin-de-Vertou, then ten communities or churches other than St Filibert's are attested as having some sort of exemption from taxation in the region at this time. A number of them appear in Ermentarius' miracle accounts in a way that shows the patron saint of those communities to have been ineffectual in comparison to St Filibert which highlights the rivalries involved.²⁶³ The 826 charter shows that the Filibertines were granted entry to a select group of specially favoured communities and that only Saint-Martin-de-Tours was in a better position than them as regards exemptions.²⁶⁴

Coming when the community had already been given permission to alter the course of the river Boulogne at Déas, the 826 grant must be considered a further development of the community's position. It was part of the overall plan that envisaged their eventual translation to the mainland and it took account of their economic requirements as well as the practicalities of movement. As it followed the effective grant of permission to relocate in 819, but came before the eventual translation, the 826 charter was a major factor in developing Filibertine standing. It meant that trade could be carried out simultaneously from Noirmoutier and Déas taking advantage of the resources that were in proximity to each location and meant that networks of exchange could be firmly established from the base at Déas in the period immediately preceding 836. As with the

²⁶² See Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 103 for a brief discussion of this. See *MMV*, 8, p. 573.

²⁶³ See later discussion of competing cults, pp. 140-146.

²⁶⁴ These exemptions are discussed briefly in Brunterc'h, 'Le duché du Maine', p. 64.

development of the architecture at Déas that is dealt with below,²⁶⁵ this shows that the monks stood to gain from the translation and that a number of individual issues were at the root of the decision to relocate.

The community was specifically exempted from at least eight types of taxation from 826.²⁶⁶ These included harbour dues (*portaticum*),²⁶⁷ the dues exacted from traders by public authority (*salutaticum*),²⁶⁸ a tax on the damages created by traffic (*cespaticum*),²⁶⁹ and a sort of toll (*tranaticum*).²⁷⁰ The charter stipulates that its intention was that there would be no hindrance to the buying and selling of goods.²⁷¹ This obviously indicates that the charter was aimed at making trade for the community as free from difficulty as possible. Given the practice that Louis the Pious followed of using trusted monastic houses to advance his personal and political standing in troubled regions we should not be surprised that the emperor sought to raise the profile of the community of St Filibert. To help them was to help himself. Because of all of this we are left in no doubt whatever as to the relatively high-scale involvement of the community in trade. Nor is there any doubt that the Filibertines enjoyed a significant rise in fortunes in terms of trade as the translation to Déas drew nearer.

Rather than having an adverse effect on the community, the relocation enabled them to gain access to a wide variety of resources and their economic interests flourished.

²⁶⁵ See pp. 140-146.

²⁶⁶ See *RAPP*, no. 6, p. 21.

²⁶⁷ J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus: Abbreviationes et Index Fontium* (Leiden, 1993), p. 815.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 934.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1034.

²⁷¹ *RAPP*, no. 6, p. 21.

Although Noirmoutier was richly endowed with natural resources such as salt and fish, the community had sufficient resources of wine and salt on the mainland to enhance their position. The grant of 826 certainly helped in this. As we have seen it allowed for free use of a number of key waterways that enabled travel to markets and distribution of their produce. We have also seen that it provided access to new fishing grounds on the Loire itself. It is also important that we acknowledge the continued possession of Noirmoutier by the community. Although they left for Déas in 836, they never relinquished control of the lands that they had held on the island, nor does any extant charter suggest that it was granted to any other community or individual in this period. The valuable salt-pans on Noirmoutier may, therefore, have been equally productive and equally profitable as they had been prior to 836.

Two further issues are important in establishing the economically positive nature of the translation. These are the diversion of the river Boulogne that necessitated the construction of a bridge over that river in 819 and the presence of a market at Déas itself. Although in some ways a superficial element of the preparation of the monastery at Déas, the construction of the bridge over the Boulogne provides another clue to the involvement of the community in networks of exchange. Not only did this bridge allow for the pilgrims to reach the monastic church but, for Bruand, it marked the specific limit of the monastic burgh.²⁷² It served a dual rôle as the point beyond which women could not normally pass, and as the location for the market that was held at Déas.²⁷³ This market again indicates Carolingian royal involvement. The ability to establish a market

²⁷² Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 147.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 147. Also Maître, 'Rapport', p. 80.

was restricted by royal monopoly.²⁷⁴ At Déas wine was sold by retail as evidenced by chapter 71 of *TMF*.²⁷⁵ Not only was it sold in this way but there was a tavern (*taberna*) that had been set up at the limits of the monastic burgh.²⁷⁶ For this to have been the case the monks must have had a significant surplus. We should consequently consider that viticultural production was quite considerable. Not only could they supply themselves, and probably provide wine for purposes other than divine services, they could afford to raise additional revenue through its sale.²⁷⁷ It was even the case that the community were taxed by the bishop of Nantes on commercial activity that was undergone at the tavern.²⁷⁸ The monks were wealthy enough to draw interest from this quarter and were clearly involved in some way with trade at Nantes.

Trade had more than one advantage. It could be used as a source of income attracting merchants and aiding the sale of all of the surplus materials owned by a community, but it could also attract people who might otherwise not have attended the monastery. This meant that there was at least a two-fold pull exerted by the monastery at Déas on the populace. They might come to buy and to sell produce and they might come to venerate the relics of St Filibert. When a member of the populace did one he might equally become involved in the other thus making the site at Déas useful for the standing of the

²⁷⁴ Lebecq, 'The role of the monasteries', p. 140.

²⁷⁵ *TME*, I, lxxi, pp. 49-50.

²⁷⁶ Maître discussed the nature of the *locus* of Déas at the moment that the Filibertines arrived in 836. It may be that there was already a market there and that Déas was a burgh at this point, though there is no absolute proof. The suggestion does not derive from the terminology used to describe Déas, but from the discovery of a gold coin inscribed with the legend *Deas vico*. For Maître this may not necessarily be reflective of economic activity at the Déas with which we are concerned, but the possibility stands nevertheless. If it is our Déas, then the existence of coinage specific to the location shows how important an urban centre it became. See Maître, 'Rapport', pp. 74-75.

²⁷⁷ See Lebecq, 'The role of the monasteries', p. 139 for the common monastic trend of trade in surpluses.

²⁷⁸ Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 133 and n. 57.

cult and the community. The market was annual and mostly regional in character,²⁷⁹ but as the relics did, trade could attract people from relatively large distances. The miracle accounts attest that one man travelled around 100 kilometres to reach the shrine,²⁸⁰ another having lost his cow came 70 kilometres.²⁸¹

Allied to the ability to use the *portus* at Furcae and the resources and contacts that the community had on Noirmoutier at least for some part of the year, the relocation of the community to Déas and the charters of 819, 826 and 830 all had a significant bearing on the financial fortunes of the community. The Filibertines were clearly far from inconvenienced by the translation of 836. We have seen that this translation hinged on a number of concerns that included but were not restricted to the activities of the Northmen. We have also seen that the community became steadily integrated into *Königsnähe* with more than one Carolingian monarch. As the preparations to move to Déas continued, associations with Frankish kings led to a series of grants that allowed the community, with its influential abbots, to improve their standing in a number of important ways. Exchange was always a factor in the history of Noirmoutier since the foundation of the monastery c.679 and it developed alongside the cult and community. The monks were involved in sophisticated plans to enhance their position throughout this period. Trade was central to this as was the policy of attracting pilgrims to their cult. The position of the newly acquired monastery at Déas was a great help in terms of attracting people. The site lay on a number of important routes to the south and the south-west which allowed for pilgrims, merchants and other visitors to gain easy access relative to

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 147.

²⁸⁰ *TME*, I, vi, p. 27.

²⁸¹ Ibid., I, lxxvi, p. 52.

that afforded by the previous location on Noirmoutier.²⁸² Along with the architectural developments made at Déas, this factor was highly significant in terms of the overall fortunes of the community. It indicates that the community was involved in a process of growth and expansion that could be furthered by relocation by allowing the community better access to their portfolio of tradeable commodities that lay throughout their landed possessions.

IV: Architectural development at Déas

The monastery at Déas was not an entirely new construction purpose-built for the Filibertines.²⁸³ There was probably some sort of monastic structure there related to St Martin of Vertou's evangelisation of the region in the sixth century.²⁸⁴ The monks of St Filibert were active in the area from around 814. The 819 charter shows that there was some sort of remodelling under way by that point. As Charles McClendon indicated, the use of the term '*aedificasse*' in that charter suggests that it had been built by then.²⁸⁵ This building may have been constructed by Arnulf.²⁸⁶ One of the major reasons for the community's activity at Déas in this period was the reorganisation of the church to better facilitate pilgrim access. The monks initially constructed a cruciform church on the site with three aisles.²⁸⁷ This used 'hammer-dressed masonry... (and) a timber roof.'²⁸⁸

²⁸² See Maître, 'Rapport', pp. 67-68 and map on p. 64.

²⁸³ A brief summary of alterations pre-819 including the impact of the diversion of the Boulogne as a result of Louis the Pious' grant of 819 can be found in: L'Abbé G. Brunellière, *Histoire de Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu: Ville - Paroisse - Commune* (Le-Poire-sur-Vie, 1993), pp. 38-40.

²⁸⁴ Maître, 'Rapport', p. 75.

²⁸⁵ C. B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600-900* (London, 2005), p. 177.

²⁸⁶ Maître, 'Rapport', p. 78.

²⁸⁷ McClendon, *Origins*, p. 177. Also R. G. Calkins, *Medieval Architecture in Western Europe: From A.D. 300-1500* (Oxford, 1998), p. 79; C. Heitz, *L'Architecture religieuse Carolingienne: Les formes et leurs*

Architectural consensus is that this church was completed by 819 and the work probably began in 814. The original crypt was stylistically reminiscent of seventh-century Roman churches in terms of the solutions that they found for the display of relics.²⁸⁹ It had a narrow angular passageway that led to a small rectangular oratory beneath an elevated semicircular apse which housed the relics.²⁹⁰ Most architectural studies agree that further alterations were made to the church once the Filibertines had permanently relocated there in 836. John Crook has noted a desire on the part of Hilbod to adapt a building that he ‘considered unsuitable for the reception of a saintly body.’²⁹¹

There is some controversy regarding the nature of the remodelling that took place at Déas, but it has been largely resolved.²⁹² It is now generally agreed that the remodelling process took place in two stages.²⁹³ In the first stage, which was undertaken sometime 836-840,²⁹⁴ the monks created a polygonal apse which they surrounded with a narrow corridor that led to a small rectangular sanctuary bay. This bay housed the relics and extended towards the east end of the church.²⁹⁵ Because the rectangular bay was at

fonctions (Paris, 1980), p. 161 and J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c.300-1200* (Oxford, 2000), p. 138.

²⁸⁸ Calkins, *Medieval Architecture*, p. 79.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79 and McClendon, *Origins*, pp. 175-176.

²⁹⁰ Calkins, *Medieval Architecture*, p. 79.

²⁹¹ Crook, *Architectural Setting*, p. 138. For similar ideas see Heitz, *L'Architecture*, pp. 161-162.

²⁹² For Ermentarius' description of the changes see *TME*, I, xxviii, pp. 34-35. For a discussion of the debate to 1905 see Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. 35, n. 1. Also Maître, 'Cunauld', pp. 82-86. For discussion of some of the nineteenth-century controversies, see Heitz, *L'Architecture*, p. 161. For current disputes see Crook, *Architectural Setting*, pp. 138-141. His opinions are outwith the general consensus.

²⁹³ McClendon, *Origins*, p. 177.

²⁹⁴ There is no absolute agreement on the dating of renovations although all agree that they took place once the translation had been effected. Calkins, *Medieval Architecture*, p. 79 has sometime between 840-847; McClendon, *Origins*, p. 177 has 836 as the starting point; Crook, *Architectural Setting*, pp. 138-141 somewhat spuriously suggests that no major work was conducted until the monks returned to Déas after the Vikings had burned the monastery in 846-7. This contention is not acceptable for a number of reasons. The principal objection is that Ermentarius' description was written by 840.

²⁹⁵ McClendon, *Origins*, p. 177, Calkins, *Medieval Architecture*, p. 79 and K. J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200* (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 64-66.

ground level, the monks raised the floor of the church facilitating pilgrim access to the relics via either a narrow corridor or through a door that was housed beneath the main altar.²⁹⁶ The second stage of the remodelling, completed by 840,²⁹⁷ saw the polygonal apse replaced by a square choir and a new semicircular apse below which the relics were housed.²⁹⁸ In expanding the church, five narrow parallel chapels were created at the east end that could be accessed by use of another passageway that connected to the apse.²⁹⁹

This design was innovative and McClendon suggested the influence of Hilduin of Saint-Denis due to the dedication of the first book of *TMF* to him and to similarities with architecture at Saint-Denis.³⁰⁰ ‘The first documented example of the extension of a crypt beyond the confines of an apse is at Saint-Denis, where in 832 Hilduin dedicated a new chapel attached to the apex of the east end of the abbey church.’³⁰¹ This description corresponds exactly to the renovations at Déas. Links to Hilduin and the Carolingian court and their resultant impact on the church at Déas are likely. We should also remember Arnulf’s association with Benedict of Aniane.³⁰² Déas is comparable to Benedict’s ‘model church’ at Kornelimünster and it may be that Arnulf appropriated some of the design elements that he learned from his associations at court.³⁰³ Whether or not Hilduin or Benedict had an influence, the solutions at Déas for the reception of Filibert’s relics were at the forefront of religious architecture. They allowed pilgrims to

²⁹⁶ On the levels of the floors see *Ibid.*, pp. 64-66. For the question of access see McClendon, *Origins*, p. 177.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

²⁹⁹ Calkins, *Medieval Architecture*, p. 79. See fig. 1, p. xvii for a plan of Déas.

³⁰⁰ McClendon, *Origins*, pp. 177-178.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 174. Compare Déas with the plan of Saint-Denis in fig. 2, p. xviii.

³⁰² Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 36, pp. 111-112.

³⁰³ See McClendon, *Origins*, p. 177. See fig. 3, p. xix for Kornelimünster.

visit the relics in a manner that avoided interruption of liturgical practices by masking their movement from the body of the church through the creation of corridors,³⁰⁴ and allowed access for more pilgrims at once than had previously been possible.³⁰⁵ For Maître, the structure was no ordinary church, but a ‘monument fait pour contenir une population nombreuse.’³⁰⁶ In his view, no architect would have designed such a large space unless it was expected to house a community or to receive a large number of pilgrims.³⁰⁷ The building that had been erected by 840 was expected to do both of these things and was probably meant for those purposes from the outset. Far from being a rushed affair caused by violent attacks on Noirmoutier, the 836 translation was well-planned and efficacious in terms of enhancing Filibertine standing.

The ninth-century alterations reveal a distinct understanding of the attributes necessary to attract and maintain the greatest possible density of pilgrim traffic and show that in making preparations for translation to Déas, the community anticipated growth in cultic terms that could be compared to their economic growth. The community made their initial alterations 814-819 and clearly had a long-term view of the potential of the site at Déas. Once they arrived at Déas, the monks immediately set about improving their surroundings perhaps spurred on by the interest their procession from Noirmoutier garnered or as they began to suspect their own potential following association with

³⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 177-178.

³⁰⁵ See Bat-Sheva Albert, *Le Pèlerinage à l'Époque Carolingienne* (Brussels, 1999), pp. 256-7 for summary of alterations made to Déas and the opinion that the main alterations made after the translation of the community took place 836-839 (note, however, the incorrect attribution of the removal of the relics to Déas by the monks of Marmoutier rather than Noirmoutier).

³⁰⁶ Maître, ‘Rapport’, p. 87.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

Hilduin.³⁰⁸ The first steps towards the rebuilding of the church are evidence that the translation involved far more than flight from Northmen. Shrewd decision making characterised the history of the community in this period and we can chart a great deal of planning and forethought through the various stages of the translation. The architectural evidence stands alone as witness to the ingenuity and vision of the Filibertines in the early-ninth century during both Arnulf and Hilbod's terms of abbatial office. When we consider it alongside the rest of the evidence related to this translation the image is markedly amplified to the extent that it becomes apparent that the community was involved in a wholesale programme of aggrandisement. In isolation, the preparation of the site at Déas does not necessarily imply that the community planned to move, but taken alongside the other factors that we have considered, it shows that growth was a key aspect in the ninth century policy and this growth could best be achieved through relocation. Consideration of cultic aspects of the translation will help to define this issue.

V: Popular devotion and neighbouring cults

i: Local responses to the cult of St Filibert

Whilst politics, trade and architectural concerns show that the translation to Déas was caused by and influenced a variety of factors that, considered alongside Viking impacts, give a rounded picture of the relocation, the community's involvement in initiatives to attract pilgrims is equally important. Pilgrims were the lifeblood of a monastic community like that of St Filibert for whom relics were central to their position. The way that the Filibertines went about attracting pilgrims and the way that they reacted to established cults in the area around Déas both reveal more about their planning for and

³⁰⁸ See pp. 136-150 for pilgrim interest and pp. 43-60 for further discussion of Hilduin.

response to relocation. This concern needs to be added to the tapestry of considerations already presented in this study.

McKitterick and Innes declared that the cult of the saints was the most important influence on Carolingian society.³⁰⁹ Whilst it must have been an extremely important facet of cultural and social life, Bat-Sheva Albert was probably correct to be slightly more hesitant, acknowledging the cult's importance but not its overall dominance.³¹⁰ Despite this, the redolence of the source material in regard to popular interest definitely allows for extremes of opinion. Geary cautioned against relying too readily on translation accounts,³¹¹ whilst František Graus established that these texts enabled us to study social values. He indicated that we could understand some of the impacts that saints and texts about the saints had on people by considering what the authors of hagiographies believed that their audiences would find compelling.³¹² As Geary argued we need to be aware of the prisms through which these accounts project their information,³¹³ but we can certainly approach the reports of popular reception of relics with optimism. Exaggeration in reports such as that written by Ermentarius is a problem but as long as they are approached sensibly they can be very revealing. Hippolyte Delehaye enshrined the methods necessary for a historical approach to these texts in *Les Légends hagiographiques* in 1905.³¹⁴ It is,

³⁰⁹ Innes and McKitterick, 'The Writing of History', p. 200.

³¹⁰ Albert, *Le Pèlerinage*, p. 102. See pp. 101-113 for discussion of the draw of the cults of saints on the populace.

³¹¹ P. J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, New York, 1994), pp. 11-13. For analysis of the position of Filibertine hagiography in textual tradition, see below pp. 250-265.

³¹² F. Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger* (Prague, 1965), especially his section on the legends of the saints and people, pp. 197-300.

³¹³ Geary, *Living with the Dead*, p. 12.

³¹⁴ See the modern edition in translation: H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. D. Attwater (Dublin, 1998).

in fact, through appreciation of their agenda and of their intended audiences rather than in spite of them that we can come closest to an understanding of these texts.³¹⁵

As with many of the other elements of the translation, the Filibertines built foundations in terms of their cultic aspirations prior to 836; both the monks and the miracles brought about by St Filibert had already marked Filibert's name on the devotional map. His remains were taken across to the mainland by boat on 7 June 836 and were kept in the marble sarcophagus that had been brought from Noirmoutier.³¹⁶ When the relics arrived at l'Ampan, the reaction was impressive:

'Interim fit populi concursus non modicus, gaudent omnes vel scalam qua vehebatur
seu etiam linteum quo tegebatur se posse contingere. Credunt namque a qualibet
infirmirate vexatos hujus sancti meritis posse salvari.'³¹⁷

This brief extract reveals a great deal about the community's intentions. Firstly, it is clear that there was already some level of devotion to St Filibert on the mainland prior to the translation. The inference to be drawn from Ermentarius' statement about the beliefs of the local populace is that they were accustomed to look to Filibert for miracles. L'Ampan is less than sixteen kilometres from Noirmoutier and as such is within a plausible distance for travel to and from the shrine. Importantly the small estate (*villa*) was already amongst the possessions of the Filibertines. As we have seen, it had been conferred on them by the

³¹⁵ For audiences, see pp. 43-60, pp. 60-65 and pp. 215-232. Also Harding, 'Translation accounts' for more on this and on popular belief in relation to the Filibertines.

³¹⁶ See *TME*, I, ii, p. 26.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, ii, p. 26.

charter of 674.³¹⁸ Whether by means of that association or because the monks were able to advertise their relocation during the period 814-836, the people in l'Ampan were ready for it and used the opportunity that they were given to show their devotion to the saint.³¹⁹ The Filibertines were able to exploit the interest that they knew was already in existence and to widen it by carrying the sarcophagus on a bier and therefore in full view.

The popular appeal of such displays of relics is well-attested in contemporary accounts from this period and beyond. Einhard described great interest in the arrival in Mulinheim of relics of the Ss Marcellinus and Peter that he had acquired from Rome in a translation account that he wrote about them in late 830.³²⁰ Similar devotion is also famously associated with the elaborate reliquary that was built to house the relics of St Faith as described by Bernard of Angers in the twelfth century, and the tradition spanned the period. St Faith was associated with the Peace of God movement that began towards the close of the tenth century and interest in her relics is reflective of a wider interest in the saints that is apparent in texts written in Aquitaine at about that time.³²¹ The procession of the relics of St Filibert contained within a marble sarcophagus and carried in full view of an expectant populace must have been an extremely effective display for the cult. Allied to the established presence that the cult had in the area, the procession no doubt created a great deal of interest in the activities of the community. Moreover, it shows once more

³¹⁸ Maître, 'Cunauld', pp. 239-240.

³¹⁹ Harding, 'Translation accounts', pp. 25-27.

³²⁰ TMMPE. For the dating of this text to 830 see M. Heinzelmann, 'Einhard's *Translatio Marcellini et Petri*: Eine hagiographische Reformschrift von 830' in H. Schefers (ed.), *Einhard: Studien zu Leben und Werk* (Darmstadt, 1997), p. 278. For the same as well as for a broader discussion of textual usage see J. M. H. Smith, 'Emending Evil Ways and Praising God's Omnipotence': Einhard and the uses of the Roman Martyrs' in K. Mills and A. Grafton (eds), *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 193.

³²¹ Wide-ranging approaches to this phenomenon can be found in T. Head and R. Landes, *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, New York, 1998).

that the Filibertines were extremely adept at gaining the most from opportunities like those that presented themselves in relation to this translation and calls into question the picture of a rushed and enforced flight from Viking attack.

Ermentarius' description of Filibertine strategies to allow women access to the relics enhances our impression of the interest that Filibert provoked. Writing on the ways in which women got around the difficulties posed by the denial of access to the relic shrines that were most often housed in monastic settings, Smith highlighted the excitement surrounding occasions on which relics were displayed in the open.³²² Because women were not normally allowed to enter a male monastery, processions of relics like that offered by the Filibertines on their way from Noirmoutier to Déas that deliberately used a route through some of their other possessions, were of immense appeal. This was a rare moment for women to get close to the relics of their patron. There were other choices, however; relic cults did not ignore female devotees.³²³ Different cult centres went about solving the problem of female access in different ways. The solution adopted at Déas was, as Ermentarius relates, to allow women entry to the monastery during a fixed period. This ran from the feast of St Filibert (20 August) 836 until the corresponding date the following year.³²⁴ The community did not only think in terms of providing access for women when they tried to broaden their appeal. Ermentarius wrote of the interest shown by people of 'all sexes, all positions and all ages.'³²⁵ Tactics developed to allow women

³²² J. M. H. Smith, 'Women at the tomb: Access to Relic Shrines in the Early Middle Ages' in K. Mitchell and I. Wood (eds), *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 170-180.

³²³ For the manifold ways in which women might become involved in the cult of saints see the brief description in Albert, *Le Pèlerinage*, pp. 243-246 and pp. 281-283.

³²⁴ *TME*, I, xxix, p. 35.

³²⁵ '...omni sexu, omni gradu omnique aetate.' *Ibid.*, I, xxix, p. 35.

greater access to the shrine greatly assist our understanding of the importance of popular reaction to the cult of St Filibert. The community was keenly aware that providing women with unusual freedom of movement within the confines of the monastic space was a crucial part of their approach. Once more we are given a glimpse of the levels of planning and forethought that went into this translation.

The planning is perhaps most evident in the description of the procession that the monks undertook with their relics. Filibertine hagiography alongside other examples, like that written by Einhard, shows that a procession through the countryside was an excellent way to attract devoted attention to a cult. As Smith argued, planning was a key element in translations and was certainly not something that a community could afford to neglect. The rewards for a cult who successfully managed to publicise their relocation could be great; the failure to attract pilgrims could be devastating. It was, therefore, crucial that a translation had an audience who could be the focus for miracles and the witnesses to them.³²⁶ Smith showed that Einhard was aware of this and described the way in which his account of the translation of Marcellinus and Peter reflected a high level of preparation on the part of Einhard himself.³²⁷ In *TMF*, the Filibertine community is revealed to have been equally aware of the cultic potential that could be sparked by clever preparation too. The movement from Noirmoutier to Déas was highly stage-managed and well-planned. It built on cultic foundations on the mainland that were established whilst the community was on Noirmoutier, and the Filibertines made certain to travel through territories that they were given in 674 in order to make the best use of the adherents that the cult of

³²⁶ Smith, 'Emending Evil Ways', p. 201.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-203.

Filibert already had.³²⁸ The result was an astonishing outpouring of popular devotion that shows both the success of the translation in 836 and the earlier preparation for it.

Because there was an established cult of some sort on the mainland prior to the translation the monks had an element of interest on which to build. The presence of their own lands in the region allowed them to plan for the procession to go through those lands to make the most of existing associations. They could publicise the event through the people who lived in that region as well as through those who were already accustomed to ask for Filibert's intercession in their prayers, and they could do so themselves during more than twenty years of regular habitation of the site at Déas. All of these things combined to achieve the requirements for success that Smith outlined.³²⁹ By advertising their relics in an efficient and consistent manner they gave themselves the greatest possible chance of success. The fact that they did so shows that they were aware of the impending translation well before it occurred.

One example will suffice to indicate that the community had planned for the translation and that they had publicised it effectively. Baldradus, a man who had been blind for twenty years, travelled around 160km to meet the procession.³³⁰ He arrived whilst it was at the Filibertine territory in l'Ampan where the community rested for two days, probably in order to receive pilgrims and to make sure that their presence had the best possible impact. The precision in the timing of his arrival and the distance that he had travelled

³²⁸ For the itinerary see *TMF*, I, i-lxxx, pp. 23-58. See Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. xxix for discussion of the dates involved. See map 3, p. ix for the itinerary.

³²⁹ Smith, 'Emending Evil Ways', p. 201.

³³⁰ He came from the district of Gorrion in Mayenne. See map 5.1, p. xi for Gorrion and the origins of other pilgrims in *TMF*, I.

both indicate that this event had been widely publicised. Once he had prostrated himself before the relics and declared his belief in the power of God and that of St Filibert, he was rewarded with the restoration of his sight.³³¹ In travelling so far, Baldradus made a physical demonstration of his faith in the healing power of St Filibert which he then backed up with a spoken declaration of the same faith. His belief was immediately rewarded and the story provided a clear message that incorporated these factors.³³² The fact that Baldradus travelled so far also indicates that he eschewed other choices in favour of visiting the relics of St Filibert, and the success of his endeavour after twenty years of blindness emphasised the results of belief in Filibert.³³³

In his detailed description of the translation, Ermentarius separated the miracles performed day-by-day. On the first day alone three people approached the saint seeking his aid. Filibert was called upon to cure a man of a quartan fever,³³⁴ a crippled girl,³³⁵ and a small child who could neither sit nor walk.³³⁶ The publicity surrounding the translation began to bear fruit almost immediately. Chapter six of Ermentarius' account begins, '*Sequenti vero die curritur illuc undique ad omnibus, coacervatur utriusque sexus vulgus innumerum...*'³³⁷ Other than the healing of Baldradus, St Filibert cured a further twenty four people *en route* to Déas and in three different locations.³³⁸ At every stage the text reveals that this was an extremely well-planned event that was undertaken by a very knowledgeable community. Planning like this is very significant as it indicates that the

³³¹ *TME*, I, vi, p. 27.

³³² See *Ibid.*, I, vi, p. 27.

³³³ See Harding, 'Translation accounts', pp. 28-29.

³³⁴ *TME*, I, iii, p. 26.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, I, iv, pp. 26-27.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, I, v, p. 27.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, vi, p. 27.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, iii-xxiii, pp. 26-32.

move was not wholly caused by a need to flee from Northmen. Northmen had an impact, of course, but if flight were the main or sole consideration, then we could not expect to see any strong evidence of planning whether in cultic, architectural, or economic concerns. The people were pre-disposed to be receptive to the cult; some were already devotees. There were significant benefits for them in the relationship that evolved between monastic community and neighbouring population. The community took advantage of this and other factors in 836 and planning was a major aspect here. We should also consider the account itself as an important part of the process of publicising the cult. It is certainly the case that the decision to begin the task of writing an account of the translation and the miracles that accompanied it within a few years of the arrival at Déas suggests a definite knowledge of the impact that this could have.

ii: Competing cults

Despite all of the positive aspects of the translation, we should be careful to avoid viewing the events through rose-tinted spectacles. There were dangers involved such as Viking presence and there was certainly a speculative element in the process. No matter how careful the planning of this translation was, the community was embarking on a move into territory where other relic cults were active. Although Noirmoutier was isolated in some regards it was an exclusive centre for the cult of St Filibert. People might prefer to visit other cults on the mainland rather than to travel to the island monastery, but there was no other cult on the island. Just as with other aspects, as far as the fortunes of the community in a cultic sense are concerned our approach needs to be balanced. Movement to the mainland certainly opened up new avenues for the attraction

of pilgrims; we have seen something of the effects that this had and we have seen how carefully the community of St Filibert planned to make the most of the translation itself and of their new setting at Déas. However, it also meant that the community was now in direct competition with other cults in the vicinity. In moving, they came closer to potential clients but also to potential rivals.

As we have seen Noirmoutier was a destination for pilgrims, but one might suggest that the location of the monastery was better suited to the lives of relative seclusion that the monks led rather than to attracting widespread popularity for the cult. In close proximity to Noirmoutier, but on the mainland and near to or in urban centres often with easy access provided by rivers such as the Loire and the Seine, lay many other pilgrim destinations. The influential monastery of Saint-Martin-de-Tours was one of these, as were the monasteries of Redon,³³⁹ Saint-Hilaire at Poitiers and the monastery of Saint-Martin-de-Vertou. There were, therefore, many shrines to which those seeking cures could travel far more easily than they could to Noirmoutier. Translation to Déas was necessary for the propagation of the cult of St Filibert, but it was a gamble. The novelty of Filibert's arrival on the mainland caused a certain degree of fervour helped by some careful orchestration and made Filibert a saint that was in every way *en vogue* but success would be measured in the end by the long-term reactions of people who had other, better established choices.

³³⁹ On Redon's attempts to impose themselves on the region in a cultic sense see J. M. H. Smith, 'Aedificatio sancti loci: The Making of a Ninth-Century Holy Place' in de Jong and Theuws with van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power*, p. 388. The monastery at Redon did not gain relics until 848/849 and as such must have been a rival of the Filibertines in relation to its associations with Louis the Pious from 834 onwards. See *Ibid.*, pp. 385-386.

We have briefly encountered some of the rivals that the Filibertines had in economic concerns. *TMF* furnishes us with additional illuminating evidence for rivalry but this time in a cultic sense. Towards the end of his first book, Ermentarius signposts various incidents wherein people from other cult centres benefited from the thaumaturgical powers of Filibert. In many of these accounts there are comments that suggest either a certain level of animosity towards these cults or efforts on the part of our author to discredit their efficacy and to publicise that of St Filibert. Ermentarius is reflecting competition for fame and for numbers of pilgrims resulting from the Filibertine monks' move to the mainland through his accounts. *TMF* gives him the opportunity to advertise the positive merits of seeking aid from Filibert and likewise to show the futility of seeking other saintly healers.

The first instance where such tactics are employed comes in chapter 40 of the first book of miracles.³⁴⁰ Following the arrival at Déas and the housing of the relics in the renovated church, a woman described as 'of St Martin',³⁴¹ came to the church seeking a cure. She was close to death and was offered a piece of the bier used by the monks to carry Filibert to his new home as a conduit through which the saint's powers could be directed. In her contempt for St Filibert she mocked this offering and threw it into the fire. As punishment for her lack of vision concerning the merits of Filibert the flames leapt from the fire and melted away her right eye.³⁴²

³⁴⁰ Also see Harding, 'Translation accounts', pp. 29-30 for discussion of this miracle.

³⁴¹ '...quaedam sancti Martini femina' *TMF*, I, xl, p. 38.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, I, xl, pp. 38-39. See M. Goodich, 'Liturgy and the Foundation of Cults in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries' in Y. Hen (ed.), *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder* (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 153-154 for discussion of some reasons for vengeance in *translationes*.

Not only is this narrative an admonition against those who refuse to have faith in St Filibert, but it serves as a warning shot across the bows of a powerful rival cult.

Ermentarius is able to show the woman as lacking faith, but more importantly this account strongly implies that St Martin had been unable to provide a cure that St Filibert eventually does provide. Although the cult of St Martin at Tours was prominent, it was the cult of St Martin of Vertou to which Ermentarius referred. The fate and arrogance of this woman makes it clear that this is a condemnatory account and this type of anecdote indicates that rivalry was a real issue when Ermentarius was writing.

Another account furthers the message. The pilgrim in this chapter is described as belonging to the household of St Hilary. She is not blinded by Filibert for similar lack of faith but instead arrives at the shrine suffering from blindness. Here the conceit is the same. She has failed to receive a permanent cure from St Hilary on four occasions but despite only temporary respite continued to show her spiritual blindness by returning to the same saint. Eventually she is persuaded to approach the tomb of St Filibert but does so with no real conviction and so is again cured only temporarily. When asked to have the faith that Filibert's abilities deserve she scorns him and ridicules his miracle working powers. For this insult she is struck dumb and dies near to the monastery three days later.³⁴³ The reader is left in little doubt that had the woman in question believed sufficiently in Filibert, she would have received her sight as a symbol of her eyes being opened to the truth.

³⁴³ TME, I, xlii, p. 40.

The parallels are striking and the message is abundantly clear. These sorts of written attacks are widened in their scope and increased in their ferocity later in the same book. Just as Ermentarius cleverly used the image of physical blindness to represent spiritual blindness on these two occasions, outlining in very clear terms the penalties imposed for this and promoting the powers of his patron over those of rivals, he next increased the invective by detailing accounts of demoniacs and lunatics from rival cult centres to present their followers as mentally unsound. Chapter 48 provides us with a list of names and localities of those suffering from these problems which could equally serve as a list of competing cults.³⁴⁴ The first three all come from other monasteries and can therefore be taken as a direct challenge to the worth of their patron saints. These are Saint-Jouin-de-Marne which is only five kilometres from Messais, Saint-Martin-de-Vertou, nineteen kilometres north east of Déas and the monastery of Vern, 48km north-west of Anjou. The first of these is particularly interesting given its involvement in Carolingian royal initiative in the region around Brittany that Chédeville and Guillotel discussed.³⁴⁵ This community may indeed have been a threat to the Filibertines in cultic and political terms as the community of St Filibert began to move more securely in royal circles once more. The other two examples are more likely to be the types of cultic rivals that we might expect given their proximity to Déas and in the case of Saint-Martin-de-Vertou the fact of their saint's historical rôle as an evangeliser of the region was probably significant. An attack on his cult, as on the others, reflects that Ermentarius viewed local rivals seriously and that he realised the power for advertisement that his text had. Two more pilgrims complete the sample. These come from Nantes and Chavagnes. All are described as being

³⁴⁴ Ibid., I, xlvi, p. 42.

³⁴⁵ Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 201-202.

mad and wild and all are cured by St Filibert after a period of fasting by the pilgrims.³⁴⁶ Although these instances do not explicitly mention any attempts by the demoniacs or their sponsors to gain cures from their home monasteries we are left to infer such attempts. This echoes a similar implication given in the case of the woman who lost her right eye in punishment for disbelief in the powers of Filibert.

The sort of implication that Ermentarius hints at above is repeated elsewhere. In chapter 50 of book one, he reports perhaps the most intriguing of all these types of account. Here the demoniac is not only from an area in which a monastic competitor is to be found, this time Poitiers, but he is named Martin. Besides, not only is this the case but we are given his name both in the title to the chapter; ‘Of Martin, a demoniac,’³⁴⁷ and in the body of the text. Whilst this is not especially unusual, it serves as a method of ensuring that we are aware of the intentions of our author. Ermentarius is openly criticising the monasteries of Saint-Hilaire-de-Poitiers and Saint-Martin-de-Vertou. These are both houses that he directed his criticism at in above examples, and were amongst the greatest competitors that the Filibertines had for both prestige and pilgrims. Publicising the failures of other monasteries whilst informing us of the success of the powers of St Filibert presents a powerful argument in a text that is already a powerful element in the promotion of a saint’s cult. The extra layer of imagery that is contained within this component of *TMF* shows Ermentarius’ sophistication. Like Hilbod, he must be seen as a shrewd and accomplished member of a growing cult and as one of the driving forces behind that growth.

³⁴⁶ *TME*, I, xlviiii, p. 42.

³⁴⁷ ‘De Martino demoniaco.’ *Ibid.* I, 1, p. 43.

Chapters 53-56 and chapter 58 each describe people coming from competing shrines. The first is again from Poitiers,³⁴⁸ the second from an unnamed ‘neighbouring monastery’,³⁴⁹ the third and fourth from Angers and Nantes respectively,³⁵⁰ and the fifth is yet another pilgrim who is described as having been ‘of St Martin.’³⁵¹ The richness of this type of accounting can leave us in no doubt whatsoever as to the intentions of Ermentarius. The grouping of these accounts in such close proximity textually serves only to further the already strong evidence that this represents a concerted effort to discredit competing cults in the knowledge that pilgrim interest could be extraordinarily beneficial. It is important that we consider this here as it indicates the balancing act that the monks had to succeed at if the first translation of the community was to have positive results. There were many advantages to relocation as we have seen, but these were tinged with very real dangers too.

VI: Conclusions

The history of the first translation of the community of St Filibert is highly intricate. Rather than being explained by the traditional narrative of flight from the activities of the Northmen on the Atlantic coast of the Frankish kingdoms, it must be considered in light of many interlocking contexts that cut to the very heart of ninth-century Carolingian politics. We have seen that Northmen did play an important rôle in Carolingian politics and in the history of the community. However, we have also seen that even when

³⁴⁸ Ibid., I, liii, p. 44.

³⁴⁹ ‘...in vicino commanens monasterii...’ Ibid., I, liv, p. 44.’

³⁵⁰ Ibid., I, lv-lvi, p. 44.

³⁵¹ ‘...femina quaedam sancti Martini...’ Ibid., I, lviii, p. 45.

removal from the island of Noirmoutier during the campaigning season was necessary, the community of St Filibert was able to use their time in a productive sense and to further the opportunities for their cult. The self-imposed exiles allowed for the community to carefully plan their move from Noirmoutier to Déas over a period of 22 years. During this time they laid the foundations on which they would build once approval for the final translation was gained. Architectural developments at Déas gave them the greatest chance of accepting the numerous pilgrims that they hoped to attract; use of established contacts on the mainland and of support from pilgrims within and around their own holdings in the pays d'Herbauges enabled them to widely publicise their translation by the time that it came. The Filibertines had possessions on the mainland since 674 and they enjoyed the use of resources such as salt and wine as well. They traded throughout the period in which they moved from one monastery to another and through royal assistance they were able to ensure that their trading activity would be enhanced once they moved.

Their two abbots in this period, Arnulf and Hilbod were extraordinarily influential in ways that belie the view of the Filibertines as a harassed community desperately seeking refuge. They were in fact closely tied to the Carolingian royal house. Filibert himself was an associate of Merovingian kings and the Filibertines played host to exiled Carolingians. They were steadfast supporters of Louis the Pious and were used by him in a policy that was linked to a strong tradition of Frankish use of monastic houses to bolster and anchor their royal influence in contested areas. They should be seen alongside monasteries like Redon and Saint-Méen as part of a favoured group that was rewarded with high-level

patronage in part because of their involvement in this policy. For some of the monasteries this was done in border regions, specifically in these cases in and around Brittany where Carolingian expansion faltered, but for the Filibertines the concerns had much more to do with spiritual support and loyal representation in areas where dynastic disputes caused significant difficulties.

Both the Filibertines and Louis the Pious were involved in planning the translation in ways that undermine suggestions it was a rushed affair in the wake of violent Viking attacks. Through careful orchestration of events, both parties, but mostly the community themselves, were able to achieve advantages early in the ninth century even when monastic rivalry and genuine Viking activity caused them problems. Political concerns at the centre of Carolingian government provided a backdrop to the course that the Filibertines negotiated. Not only were the rebellions of Louis sons in the 830s significant, but Carolingian efforts in Brittany meant that the community became more important between Loire and Vilaine. When Hilbod was finally able to move his community to Déas, it was to a well-designed building in an area that had been prepared as well as possible for the arrival of a saint's cult. Royal patronage allowed for much of this and the reward for loyalty was significant.

FOUR

Déas to Cunault and Messais

I: Introduction

Although the translation to Déas was a successful one, the community did not remain there for long. In 845 they were allocated new lands and a monastery at Cunault on the banks of the Loire. The second book of *TMF* described the translation of the community that followed this donation in terms that again emphasised the enforced nature of the move and the involvement of the Northmen. Ermentarius wrote, ‘*Fugimus et nos in locum qui Conaldus vocatur in territorio Andecavensi, super alveum Ligeris, quem Karolus jamdictus rex gloriosus propter imminens periculum, antequam Andecavis caperetur, nobis dederat ob causam refugii...*’¹ As he related these events, Ermentarius painted a bleak picture of the Frankish kingdoms in the mid-ninth century. The translation was set against a backdrop of disarray; the details that Ermentarius gave concerning the Northmen were far more extreme than was the case in the first book of *TMF*. In this chapter we will consider both this translation and the following movement to Messais which took place in 862. As with the above investigation of the first translation, this will involve analysis of Ermentarius’ text and will contrast and contextualise this with details that can be brought together from other source material.

We will also be concerned with the political implications of each of these translations. The relocation of the community of St Filibert to Cunault can be seen in the context of networks of power and control just as the move to Déas should be seen in light of Louis

¹ *TME*, II, Preface, p. 61.

the Pious' political tactics in the 830s. Here the patron of the community was chiefly Charles the Bald and we begin to glimpse the fruits of the appeal to him that was made through Hilduin of Saint-Denis c.840. Ermentarius has not left as complete a record for the third translation as for the first. However, it can be fairly discerned that it was not as favourable as the preceding movements. In discussing it, there will be a need to bring the Northmen back into the centre in order to ask whether this translation provides evidence that fits the paradigm of flight from Vikings more than elsewhere. It also has great implications for the way in which the kings of respective Frankish polities pursued their aim of securing their territories and brings to light more information on the monastic rivalries that emerged in the course of the history of the Filibertines.

As much of the evidence for this chapter derives from charters related to the community it is most pertinent at this juncture to ask whether there was anything special about the community of St Filibert that can be seen through looking at the charter evidence that pertains to them. By doing this we get to grips with the politics of the localities once more and we must therefore broach the subject of ninth-century regional power.

Filibertine history in these two translations can help to more clearly define the impact of the Northmen on the Frankish landscape; this approach enables us to paint a clearer picture of the manner in which religious communities could be of use in the maintenance of both royal and comital power along similar lines as was attempted above.

II: Déas to Cunault

i: Dating and description

There is no external annal record for the translation from Déas to Cunault. The details of the transfer must be put together from Ermentarius' testimony and the charters that grant Cunault and further lands to the community. Because of this, establishing a precise date for the movement is problematic. Ermentarius does not give such exact dates as he supplied for the first translation. In fact we do not know in exactly which year the move to Cunault took place. The translation could not have taken place until at least 845, for the lands at Cunault were not given to the community by Charles the Bald until 27 December of that year.² Unlike the destination for the first translation, Cunault was not a property that the community already owned. They did own at least five domains in Poitou that had been granted to them by Ansoald in 674,³ but they had no scope for the preparation of a site at Cunault until 845. Ermentarius places the translation in the context of the Viking activity that followed the *Bruderkriege*. In the preface to the second book of *TMF*, he mentions that, '*...Nortmannorum naves sexaginta septem repentino Ligeris ingrediuntur alveum cursu, Namnetum capiunt civitatem...*'⁴ This correlates with the *AB*'s report of an attack made on Nantes in 843.⁵ In her edition of this, Nelson suggests the link between the two descriptions and a third account in the *AE*.⁶ All that we can discern is that the community left Déas after 845 and that they saw the Northmen as a cause of the translation.

² *RAC*, I, no. 81, pp. 227-229. Maître erroneously stated that Vivian gave the monastery to the Filibertines in 843: Maître, 'Cunault', p. 233.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 236-237.

⁴ *TMF*, II, Preface, pp. 57-58.

⁵ *AB*, (843), p. 44.

⁶ Nelson, *Annals of St-Bertin*, (843) pp. 55-56, n. 2. In this footnote, Nelson states that the text was written c.860. Given that it describes events that did not take place until at least 862, this date requires revision. The *AE* account reads: 'Nametis civitas a Westfaldingis capitur' *AE*, (843), p. 486.

Poupardin argued that the translation took place shortly after the donation of Cunault to the community.⁷ He must be correct on this. As we shall see in due course the political context was such that it was necessary for the community to move to Cunault sooner rather than later. However, Poupardin's analysis lacks an important level of nuance. Though he states, following Ermentarius' account, that the monks of St Filibert did not retrieve Filibert's relics until 858,⁸ he does not question the meaning of this statement. Given the importance of the relics of their patron, it is almost inconceivable that the community would have totally abandoned them, especially during a period of dislocation in which elements that could help to provide cohesion to their identity and thereby their community were invaluable. Maître argued that the community took many of their valuable objects with them when they moved to Cunault, including their manuscripts amongst which were the act of foundation at Noirmoutier and a number of imperial donations.⁹ If they could take these, then surely they could and would have taken the relics of St Filibert as well. We must read the fact that they did not as evidence that some of the community moved to Cunault in 845 whilst others remained at Déas with the relics. This point is only enhanced if we consider the likelihood that the Northmen posed at least some threat to the community - the community would not have abandoned the relics to such a threat. According to Ermentarius, the Northmen did burn Déas at some undefined point prior to the translation to Cunault.¹⁰ Moreover, we must give credence to

⁷ Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxxv. See *TMF*, II, Preface, p. 62 for this date.

⁹ Maître, 'Cunault', p. 233.

¹⁰ *TMF*, II, Preface, p. 61.

the general sense of difficulty that Ermentarius creates. His preface to the second book of *TMF* is perhaps the most famous part of his overall work. He writes:

‘fit primo inter suprascriptos discordia fratres, tunc demum inter regni primores. Deinde insurgunt fratres juniores Hludovicus et Karolus in Hlotharius seniore[m] fratrem. Conglobantur orribilia bella veluti intestina, cedit victoria lugubris atque miserabilis junioribus fratribus; illorum discordia addit vires extraneis; relinquitur fas, pergitur per nefas, deseritur custodia litorum maris Oceani; cessant navium, crescit innumerabilis multitudine Nortmannorum; fiunt passim Christianorum strages, depredationes, vastationes, incensiones, sicuti quandiu seculum stabit manifestis patebit indiciis. Capiuntur quascumque adeunt civitates, nemine resistente; capitur Burdegalsium, Petrocorium, Sanctonum, Lemovicensium, Engolisma atque Tolosa civitas; Andecavensium, Turonensium perinde et Aurelianensium civitates pessumdantur. Transportantur sanctorum cineres quamplurium fit poene illud quod per prophetam Dominus minatur: ab Aquilone pandetur malum super omnes habitatores terrae.’¹¹

This section of the text will be discussed more generally throughout chapter five. In so far as it adds to the details surrounding the translation to Cunault, it is useful as it shows that Ermentarius was greatly concerned. Whilst it is clearly hyperbolic to say the least, the impression could not have been created unless there was some difficulty. In fact many of the attacks that Ermentarius mentions in this extract can be corroborated by reference to annal records.¹² Most of these cities were subject to the advances of the Northmen at various points 843-861. Indeed the general impression of Viking activity is that there was

¹¹ *TMF*, II, Preface, pp. 60-61. The biblical quotation within this extract is Jeremiah, 1:14.

¹² Poupardin provides a very good summary of relevant annal records in his notes to the preface. See *TMF*, II, Preface, p. 60, n. 6, p. 61, nn. 1-6 and nn. 10-14, p. 62, nn. 1-3.

a marked increase in their involvement in Francia after 840. We must take this into account. It shows that the community is unlikely, as I have argued, to have left their relics unattended, and indicates that, as with the first translation, the search for refuge may have been one part of the overall agenda.

In describing the translation to Cunault, Ermentarius stated that the monks fled there ‘...antequam Andecavis caperetur.’¹³ A survey of the main annals from the Frankish kingdoms suggests that this means only that the event had taken place prior to 854. According to *AB* for 854, ‘*Pyratae Nordmannorum Ligeri insistentes denuo ciuitatem Andegauorum incendio concremant.*’¹⁴ This is the only reference to a Viking presence at Angers prior to the 870s, though Regino mistakenly gives the date as 853.¹⁵ The significance for our enquiry is that the translation must have happened by 854. Further charter evidence can help us to pin it down more securely.

On 15 February 847, Charles the Bald issued a second charter to the community of St Filibert, this time from Corbeny.¹⁶ This charter is important as it shows that the monks were already active at Cunault and that they had probably taken up residence there by this time. It stated that because of continued Viking presence, the monks couldn’t remain at Déas and that Charles wished to provide them with the things necessary for architectural improvements at Cunault. To this end he gave them a number of lands in Anjou that had

¹³ *TMF*, II, Preface, p. 61.

¹⁴ *AB*, (854), p. 70.

¹⁵ *Reginonis Chronicon*, (853), p. 76.

¹⁶ *RAC*, I, no. 91, pp. 245-247.

been benefices of a vassal named Aimery.¹⁷ Reference to the need to leave Déas because of the Vikings should be taken as confirmation that the monks had moved to Cunault by 847. It seems, nonetheless that the community undertook some restructuring at Cunault just as they had at Déas. This shows that they were still aware of the benefits to be gained through a programme of architectural improvement,¹⁸ and that the community may have not been in full residence at Cunault by 847. They may, however, have been preparing for their permanent translation at this point.

Whilst the community must have moved relatively soon after December 845, they did not do so as a complete unit. It may be the case that movement to Déas had already caused difficulty and perhaps factionalism within the community. We must expect that once on the mainland the community grew in numbers as it developed and so increased their importance. The integration of members from a new region into their party might have created more problems for the unity of the whole, particularly if they came from families whose members supported different sides in the continuous struggles between the sons of Louis the Pious. As MacLean put it ‘monastery walls were porous and bonds of family and friendship were not cut off abruptly at the edges of the precinct.’¹⁹ New members from new regions might have been enough to destabilise the community and would have introduced new elements to the group that affected their outlook and their mentality.²⁰

Although reference to the movement of the relics in 858, thirteen years after some of the

¹⁷ Ibid., no. 91, pp. 246-247. I have been unable to find any evidence concerning Aimery or his position.

¹⁸ For a map of the lands that the community received in this charter see map 6, p. xiii.

¹⁹ MacLean, *Regino*, p. 33.

²⁰ Child oblates often maintained links with their parents outside of the monastery and were sometimes even taken out of the monastic system to satisfy a new set of needs of those parents. The amount of legislation drawn up by the Carolingians to deal with the phenomenon of child oblation is just one way of understanding how close ties might have been through ‘porous’ monastic walls. See M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996). See later, pp. 224-226.

community left Déas, must indicate that those who stayed behind in 845 wanted to remain with the relics (perhaps because Déas retained a link with Filibert's career), we should look to other reasons for the split that occurred there. The growing importance of Déas as a cultic and trading centre has already been outlined. Evidence for further problems at the time of the relocation to the monastery at Cunault can be found in Falco's *Chronicon*.

When Falco described the translation, partly through recourse to *TMF*, he provided information that suggests that a split was indeed apparent. This is an extremely important issue. As we shall see in chapter five, splits within the community make the texts more important in terms of their use within Filibertine circles. In chapter 22 of the *Chronicon*, Falco described the succession of abbots following Hilbod.²¹ When he mentioned the abbacy of Berno, who was abbot from c.868, he indicated that there was some dispute amongst the monks as to whether or not Noirmoutier should be abandoned. This was not a reference to difficulties c.836, but referred to community feeling in the 860s. Falco wrote that there was a significant group that harboured desires to return to Noirmoutier and restore the monastery.²² He even mentioned an abbatial election in which more than one party was elected at the same time suggesting that differing opinions on whether or not to return to Noirmoutier caused serious factionalism.²³ Berno was only the second abbot to succeed Hilbod. It is probably not surprising that Berno was unable (or unwilling) to solve any factionalism given the importance and influence of predecessors such as Hilbod. Remnants of factionalism even after the translation to Messais are strong

²¹ *Chronicon*, 22, pp. 84-85.

²² *Ibid.*, 22, pp. 84-85.

²³ *Ibid.*, 22, p. 85.

indicators that the split was evident prior to 858 when the relics were finally translated to Cunault.

In this context it is not difficult to envisage a portion of the monks remaining at Déas in the 840s and 850s with the relics. Both its proximity to Noirmoutier and the growth in importance of the place as a home for the community after 836 meant that Déas was a centre of immense significance. It afforded the monks a chance to remain in the vicinity of Noirmoutier and so fuelled desires to return there. When after nine years at Déas, the prospect of further relocation was raised; some part of the group saw it as a step too far. The decision to leave Noirmoutier was a significant wrench in terms of the community's historical associations despite the great advantages that in reality it offered. Although what was probably a majority party considered growth and political influence amongst the greatest aims for the community, others preferred to remain in touch with their past and possibly preferred to withdraw themselves from a community whose membership may have been changing swiftly as well. Investigation of the way in which Charles the Bald incorporated the community into his plans in Neustria shows how far the aims of Ermentarius and Hilbod could take them. This is not, however, all that this shows. It additionally indicates how far communities like that of St Filibert could be of use in local political structures.

ii: Political contexts

As we have seen, dating the movement from Déas to Cunault is not as simple as the same task was for the first translation; it may be that for Ermentarius the relation of events had

become secondary to his wider intentions by that point. We shall come to that; first the translation must be placed in the context of Charles the Bald's programme of charter promulgation in the early years of his reign as king of West Francia. In January 845 he designated Vivian as count of Tours and gave him the lucrative post of lay-abbot of the monastery of Saint-Martin-de-Tours shortly thereafter.²⁴ This moment marks the beginning of a policy designed to impose Charles' control over this region and to maintain it through the agency of trusted *fideles*. Vivian was certainly one of these. He was Charles' chamberlain in 843 and 845, and most likely for the intervening period also.²⁵ These were important years in the immediate aftermath of the tentative peace that was agreed in 843 between Charles and his two half-brothers, Lothar and Louis the German, following the *Bruderkriege*. Vivian stayed by Charles' side throughout whilst others defected to one or other of the competing parties, and he acquired his position in Tours after the defection of the previous incumbent, Adalhard, to Lothar's camp in 843. Despite his defection, Adalhard remained in office as both count and lay-abbot until 845.²⁶ As chamberlain, Vivian was one of the highest palace officials. *De Ordine Palatii* ranked the chamberlain below only the king, the archchaplain and the archchancellor.²⁷ Loyalty and position thereby made Vivian a good choice for the vacant comital seat at Tours. As soon as he became count of Tours he embarked on a programme of patronage in order to secure his and Charles' authority in this region involving the Filibertines from

²⁴ Vivian was certainly count of Tours by 5 Jan 845 when he began to issue charters in that capacity: *RAC*, I, no. 63, pp. 180-184. In 1992, Kessler argued that Vivian became lay abbot of Tours in late 843. See H. L. Kessler, 'A Lay Abbot as Patron: Count Vivian and the First Bible of Charles the Bald' in *Settimane*, XXXIX (1992), p. 648. This opinion was revised and the date changed to a time after January 845 in P. E. Dutton and H. L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Michigan, 1997), pp. 24-25.

²⁵ For full discussion of Vivian's rôle within Charles' entourage, see *Ibid.*, pp. 21-44.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁷ *DOP*, 16, pp. 62-64.

the beginning. The initial focus was on the monastery of Saint-Martin-de-Tours but the new count cast a much wider net even in the early stages of his programme. It will be argued here that we might see this as a sort of blueprint for regional control that was eventually applied by Robert the Strong.

On 19 October 845 Charles granted Cunault to Vivian.²⁸ Just over ten months into his comital career, this donation provides evidence for Charles rewarding a loyal man who eagerly set about the task of securing the region over which he was placed. As well as this, the donation of Cunault and its estates were an effort on Charles' part to supply his count with some of the means necessary to establish his personal, comital authority in the heart of his area of administration. Located directly on the south bank of the Loire, Cunault occupied a valuable defensible position against the factions that threatened this part of Charles' kingdom in the 840s and 850s. It is clear from one of the miracle accounts in the first book of *TMF* that the community and St Filibert controlled a river crossing in the vicinity of their monastery at Déas. Chapter 77 described the punishment meted out to a boatman who refused to give passage to a penniless man suffering from a quartan fever. Eventually, seeing that Filibert had punished him, the boatman relented and ferried the pilgrim across the Loire at no cost.²⁹ This was clearly an important way in which the Loire could be negotiated. It might be expected that once the monks relocated to Cunault directly on the banks of the Loire, they could control crossings more tightly. The charter of 19 October 845 thus stands as an example of the manner in which the king could make grants that benefited both him and his count in different ways and was

²⁸ *RAC*, I, no. 77, pp. 217-219.

²⁹ *TMF*, I, 77, pp. 52-53.

therefore the perfect method of continuing the cycle of patronage that worked as the cement in his network of loyalties.

The charter holds greater significance in the long-term. Two days after Charles celebrated Christmas at Tours with Vivian, he granted the monks of St Filibert the lands and church at Cunault on the suggestion of Vivian himself. The charter states in summary that Vivian requested that Charles give the monastery to the Filibertines as a refuge from Viking and Breton attacks.³⁰ It was one of a pair of charters issued at Tours on 27 December (the other was an immunity for the monastery of Saint-Martin) and the occasion was intimately connected with local policy making.³¹ Whilst Tours was the heart of the county in both political and ecclesiastical terms, other monasteries could of course be influential in spreading Carolingian ideology and in acting as representatives of authority. Cunault was one of those monasteries that Charles and Vivian used in what might be seen as a wide March between Loire and Vilaine.³² The charter's direct relevance is more important. At this time the monks were residing at Déas in the pays d'Herbauge, an area in which the Northmen were often active after their attack on Bouin in 820. However, as we have already seen, the monks were there on a permanent basis from 836 and worked on the development of the monastery and its lands since 814.³³ Given the climate, it cannot be accepted that the monks were suddenly forced to quit their home in 845 to repair to another monastery.

³⁰ *RAC*, I, no. 81, pp. 227-229.

³¹ *Ibid.*, no. 80, pp. 223-226.

³² See map 1, p. vii.

³³ See above, particularly the section on architecture at Déas, pp. 132-136.

The *AB*, whose authors are famous for descriptions of frequent activities by the Northmen, do record significant Viking activity in 844 and 845.³⁴ However, although Northmen attacked Nantes in 843, neither Déas nor any other specific neighbouring location was mentioned by the *AB*'s report of this event and in the other reports it is Brittany, Britain and Aquitaine that are the most affected regions (other than Paris) at this specific time. The *AB* do state that in 843 the Northmen '*ad postremum insulam quamdam ingressi, conuectis a continent domibus, hiemare uelet perpetuis sedibus statuerunt.*'³⁵ Nelson thought this was 'probably Noirmoutier' although there is no contemporary evidence to confirm this.³⁶ As with the assumptions made about the appearance of the Northmen on an island in the Atlantic that was described by Alcuin in 799, this statement must be derived from an over-readiness to accept the picture of the Filibertines that Ermentarius created. Once more, as with the earlier case, Ermentarius did not even mention this event himself despite its seeming centrality to his overall narrative.

Coupland has sensibly poured water on this association.³⁷ His argument that we cannot locate this Viking camp on Noirmoutier is based on the fact that the *AB* refer to the Northmen having attacked '*inferiores Aquitaniae partes*' after their involvement at Nantes and so suggests a more southerly island.³⁸ In fact we cannot know exactly which it was, but we can be fairly sure that it was not Noirmoutier. It is important as the monks must have retained some contact with Noirmoutier whilst at Déas, most likely for trade

³⁴ *AB*, (844), pp. 45-48 and (845), pp. 48-51.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, (843), p. 44.

³⁶ Nelson, *Annals of St-Bertin*, (843), p. 56, n. 3. The *Chronicon Namnetense* reports that Noirmoutier was the location of the base, but this eleventh-century text cannot be considered reliable. Not only is it late, but we neither have a single original manuscript nor a full copy. See *Chronique de Nantes*, vii, pp. 18-19. Renaud, *Les Vikings de la Charente*, p. 24 says it was Noirmoutier too.

³⁷ See Coupland, 'Myth and History', pp. 186-187.

³⁸ See *AB*, (843), p. 44 for the quotation.

purposes. Regardless, the fact remains that an attack on Nantes followed by forays into southerly parts of Aquitaine does not necessarily imply that a direct threat to Déas was posed in either 843 or 845. Moreover, it is clear from the location of Cunault that it would have afforded scant protection from the advances of the Northmen, standing, as it did, on one of the key routes for their inland forays.³⁹ The Northmen used the Loire to penetrate as far inland as Nantes in 843. Translation from Déas to Cunault for reasons of security does not tally with these details. Such a translation seems counter-productive. As we shall see, Déas was intended as something of an ecclesiastical foil to the comital centre at Nantes in Louis the Pious' Neustrian policy.⁴⁰ Tying monasteries to comital authority was a common practice of which successive Frankish kings made use.⁴¹ When the Filibertines moved to Déas in 836 this was a factor and it is, therefore, unlikely that they would have been permitted to move just when their presence may have been most useful. With this in mind we must search for an alternative explanation and Vivian's Turonian policy that began in January 845 provides us with the answer.

5 January 845 was a busy day at Saint-Martin-de-Tours. Three royal charters are recorded by Tessier as having been issued that day. The first two are confirmations of usage and possessions of *villae* given to the community of St Martin by Louis the Pious.⁴² The third is another confirmation charter, but this one is specifically stated to have been issued at the request of 'our venerable and faithful count Vivian' and as such is the first extant

³⁹ For Northmen on the Loire see *AB*, (854-857), pp. 68-75.

⁴⁰ See below, pp. 178-179.

⁴¹ See for example Hummer, *Politics and Power*, p. 34, p. 76 and p. 207.

⁴² *RAC*, I, nos. 61-62, pp. 173-180.

mention that we have of Vivian as count.⁴³ The fact that all of them were issued on the same day at Saint-Martin-de-Tours should not be overlooked. Charles spent the Christmas of 844 at the monastery and deliberately remained in Tours in order to invest Vivian with his new titles and then to oversee the beginning of a new policy designed to control the area.

The precise chronology of this appointment illustrates exactly how important it was because of the rise in incidents of Viking incursion in the west of Charles' kingdom at this time along with other problematic issues concerning the young king. According to Nithard, the Breton leader Nominoë who was allied to Charles' main dynastic rival, Lothar, agreed to join Charles in 841; '*Karolo munera mittit ac sacramento fidem deinceps servandam illi firmavit.*'⁴⁴ Nithard presents this as an important coup for Charles, whose authority was particularly shaky at this time in numerous parts of his kingdoms as Lothar in particular attempted to wrest control of much of his territory, citing *Ordinatio Imperii* as his justification. In this instance the submission of Nominoë came at the same time as that of the aristocracy of Maine, including Lambert.⁴⁵ Indeed, control of the Bretons was never a simple proposition, even for Charlemagne, and, given past activities in the region, it can have come as little surprise that Nominoë defected in 843.⁴⁶

⁴³ '...venerabilis fidelis noster Vivianus comes...' Ibid., no. 63, pp. 180-184, quotation at p. 183. See also, Dutton and Kessler, *First Bible*, pp. 22-24.

⁴⁴ Nithard, II, 5, pp. 52-53.

⁴⁵ Ibid., II, 5, pp. 50-54.

⁴⁶ For Charles and his relationship with Nominoë in these years see Smith, *Province*, pp. 89-100.

The *AB* indicate that whilst Charles was in Aquitaine that year, Nominoë joined with the disaffected Marcher lord Lambert to foment trouble.⁴⁷ The fact that both these men had sworn faith to Charles only two years previously shows how crucial it was that he develop an effective policy to control the region. In fact the seeds of this problem were sown during Charlemagne's reign. He brought Lambert's ancestors into Neustria and Louis the Pious made his father, another Lambert, count of Nantes in 818. The elder Lambert rebelled against Louis in the latter part of his reign when Lothar reacted against the plan for inheritance that involved Charles the Bald, and was exiled for his involvement in that rebellion.⁴⁸ His son followed suit. He was part of Lothar's party but joined Charles in the same year as Nominoë, probably following the battle of Fontenoy, and was made lord of the Breton March, only to leave Charles' side in 843.

The decision for both Lambert and Nominoë was very much to do with power in the north-west corner of the Carolingian kingdoms and also with power in a more general sense. Nelson convincingly suggests that Lambert's defection was tied up with Vivian's appointment as chamberlain in 843.⁴⁹ Vivian was related to Rainald, the new count of Nantes whom we have considered above.⁵⁰ Familial ties were almost certainly the motive for Lambert, who may have felt that he should have been given the county that his father held, and probably saw the success of Lothar's cause as the best way of securing it. Although comital titles were not hereditary, positions of such importance were often retained by the same family for years. As has been noted, Vivian's own appointment as

⁴⁷ *AB*, (843), p. 44.

⁴⁸ See Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 136-139.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 128 and pp. 136-137.

⁵⁰ See above, pp. 79-83.

chamberlain and then count of Tours may have been due to his relation to Rainald. Examples of familial retention of top honours are to be found everywhere. Just one further example is provided by the counts of Paris who controlled the region between 750 and 840 and often held the abbey of Saint-Denis concurrently.⁵¹

For Nelson, Nominoë's 'co-operation with Lambert... illustrated once again the interconnectedness of local concerns with high-level Carolingian politics. Both Nominoë and Lambert stood to lose out in western Neustria if Rainald's local clout was backed by Vivian's at court.'⁵² Consequently they attacked and killed Rainald in the same year that Vivian became chamberlain, taking a number of men prisoner at the same time.⁵³ This created a power vacuum that allowed the Northmen to attack Nantes.⁵⁴ Moreover, it gave Lambert and Nominoë the chance they wanted to wipe out yet more comital opposition to their ambitions in the area between the Vilaine and the Loire. In 844 they intercepted a number of Charles' border counts on a bridge over the Maine and annihilated them.⁵⁵ Having disposed of Rainald and imprisoned some of their other opponents already this incident was a forceful blow. With the remaining comital authority disposed of, Nominoë ravaged the lands to the immediate south of the Breton border in the same year, penetrating as far as Le Mans.⁵⁶ With Pippin II, the disinherited son of Pippin I of Aquitaine, also actively pursuing his interests in Charles' southern territories throughout

⁵¹ Brown, *Politics and Patronage*, pp. i-ii and pp. vii-viii.

⁵² Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 137.

⁵³ *AB*, (843), p. 44.

⁵⁴ See Krah, *Kaiser Karls II*, pp. 242-243.

⁵⁵ *AB*, (844), p. 46. Also see *Æ*, (844), p. 486 for the names of two of murdered men. Although the *Æ* only has 'Bernardus et Herveus occiduntur,' Nelson identifies this record with the attack at the river Maine: Nelson, *Annals of St-Bertin*, (844), p. 58, n. 7. Herveus was the son of Rainald, so the account makes sense in the context of the attack mentioned in the *AB*. By destroying more of Rainald's family, Lambert must have hoped to make the return of comital authority to that family less likely.

⁵⁶ *AB*, (844), pp. 47-48.

the early 840s, it can be no surprise that Charles sought methods of securing all parts of his kingdoms. For Nelson, ‘the situation invited royal intervention’,⁵⁷ and it is in this context that the Filibertines became involved.

The area between the Loire and the Breton March was particularly important as it bordered on all of the contested areas. Not only was it adjacent to the quasi-independent duchy of Brittany, but it bordered Aquitaine to the south and was also one of the most difficult areas in terms of incursions from Northmen.⁵⁸ Moreover, Adelheid Krah suggests that Lothar was acutely interested in Neustria as an area that he might make a centre of crisis at the outset of Charles’ reign.⁵⁹ The Breton March in general was already a weak point for him.⁶⁰ We should consider Charles’ attempts made to secure this region in the face of problems like these as a continuation and evolution of the policies that Louis the Pious adopted and that had their antecedents in earlier Carolingian and Merovingian practices. It is clear that ecclesiastical authority allied with political authority in the March as an important facet of Charles’ response to the problems he encountered there.⁶¹

For Charles, Lambert and Nominoë were as much a problem as was Pippin II. When the sons of Louis the Pious met at Thionville in 844, one consequence of their accord was that they sent joint messages to these three men asking them to make peace with Charles.

According to the *AB*:

⁵⁷ Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 137.

⁵⁸ See map 1, p. vii.

⁵⁹ Krah, *Kaiser Karls II*, p. 241.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁶¹ See *Ibid.*, pp. 240-249 for discussion of this and other policies around Nantes.

‘Omnes quoque discordiarum satores cautos sollicitus exsecratosque... Unde et ad Pippinum, Landbertum atque Nomenogium pacis gratia missos pariter destinant ut fratri Karoli obedientes fideles de cetero permansuri occurrere non differant; sin alias, eis tempore oportuno uiriliter conglobati, eorum infidelitatibus ulciscendis se interminando profecturos pronunciant.’⁶²

There can be no doubt that this was a serious matter. We have seen how dangerous the circumstances threatened to be for Charles the Bald. Here we have evidence that the troubles posed by Lambert and Nominoë were only matched by those posed by Pippin II. Charles was beset on all sides by such difficulties and their nature meant that the threat was applicable to all of the sons of Louis the Pious. If comital authority could be attacked so readily then rebels could diminish the overall power of the kings themselves. This required concerted and unified action and the response of the three kings can help us to understand just how crucial the devolution of power in the localities was to Frankish kingship.

With all of this in mind it is clear that the appointment of Vivian as count of Tours was strategically important. Vivian remained loyal throughout these difficult early years, and as the relation of the murdered count of Nantes and so part of the local power structure, his candidacy made absolute sense. It should be noted that these problems were not the only reasons that Tours was important to Charles. Tours has long been considered significant to the Franks; indeed, because of the above issues, it proved extremely important in various ways to the history of the cult of St Filibert, as well as to Charles the

⁶² *AB*, (844), pp. 48-49.

Bald. In general the manner in which the two relate to one another; that is Tours to the Filibertines and vice versa, can be seen as a prime example of the way that Charles pulled associations tightly together in the localities in order to cement his control of that area. As such it shows how power began to devolve onto local lords in this period, not as an indicator of the decline of royal authority but as a method of reaffirming and securing that authority through trusted agents. In particular it shows that this applies directly to the border zone to the north of Aquitaine and the south of Brittany. And it can go further than this to show how local power could, as it did in Gaul in late-antique times, devolve on to monasteries as well as on to counts, Marcher lords and lay abbots.⁶³

The initial importance of Tours is, of course, particularly associated with the cult of St Martin.⁶⁴ For Charles the Bald the importance came from a source that was much closer to home. He refers to St Martin as ‘my special patron’ in charters dealing with the monastery of Saint-Martin, and his links to the cult were in part highly personal.⁶⁵ His mother, Judith, was interred at the monastery following her death in 843 and it is very clear that Charles was attached to his mother. When his daughter was born in around 844 emotional attachments to the recently deceased Judith may have influenced Charles to name his first born after her.⁶⁶ Given the Carolingian practice of naming offspring after illustrious members of royal lineage, which is evident from any glimpse of genealogical tables, Judith was a significant choice. The *AB* point to further connections between

⁶³ See, however, A. S. McKinley, ‘The First Two Centuries of Saint Martin of Tours’ in *Early Medieval Europe*, 14: 2 (2006). He argues that the cult of St Martin had modest origins and was initially a localised cult.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-200.

⁶⁵ For example, ‘...peculiaris patroni nostri...’ *RAC*, I, no. 114, pp. 303-305.

⁶⁶ See genealogical tables in Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 310-311.

Charles and his mother in relating the events of 839 and 840. The entries for those years inform us that Charles was with Judith at Poitiers whilst Louis the Pious was campaigning to ensure that Charles could inherit Aquitaine and, importantly, at the moment that he died in pursuit of his son Louis the German, who was attempting to seize control of the middle Rhine.⁶⁷ This information, though arguably circumstantial, shows that the two were still associated into Charles' adulthood.

Although it is key to an understanding of Charles' sympathies for his mother, this evidence is all ancillary to the proof provided in the manner in which Charles dealt with Bernard of Septimania. Bernard was responsible for a major intrigue in the court politics of Louis the Pious when he was accused of adultery with Judith. The stain remains on her reputation today due to the writings of the Astronomer and Thegan.⁶⁸ Charles executed Bernard in 844; and although this was brought about by his rebellion and attachment at that time to Pippin II of Aquitaine, there may have been remnants of feeling that gave added impetus to Charles' swift intervention.

Whilst links to Judith were personal, links to Tours were political and had great implications on the borders between Aquitaine, Neustria, Brittany and the Middle Kingdom. The policy of tying political and ecclesiastical power together as at Tours was not one that was limited to this wide March, however. Comparisons between the way in which Tours was dealt with from 845 onwards and the way in which Charles the Bald sited the abbey of Saint-Denis in Parisian comital power structures are instructive in this

⁶⁷ *AB*, (839-840), pp. 26-36.

⁶⁸ *Vita Hludowici*, pp. 279-555; *Gesta Hludowici*, pp. 167-260.

regard. We have seen that Paris might offer a useful example of the retention of regional power by members of one family. It also provides an example of the way in which ecclesiastical and comital power worked in tandem to provide greater royal authority in key regions.

Brown describes the interest of the counts of Paris in Saint-Denis as ‘ominous’ for Carolingian hegemony.⁶⁹ Rather than being a way in which the local nobility wrested power from above, however, the control of Saint-Denis by the counts of Paris was a method of securing the region in a process that encompassed the authority of both ecclesiastical and political hierarchies and that used local power to bolster royal power. As with St Martin, St Denis was often described by Charles and other Carolingian and Merovingian kings as ‘*peculiaris patronus*.’⁷⁰ This did not just reflect a pious bearing. Carolingian kings were expert in incorporating a variety of elements that could reinforce their power and suggesting especial links between those elements and their dynasty. They did so with images of ‘pious Neustria’ and Dagobert I and would continue to do so with high-status cult sites. In becoming so closely linked with the abbey of Saint-Denis, Charles the Bald claimed association with this exceptionally important image of Frankish authority. Because the counts of Paris also had a claim to associations with Saint-Denis, the same connection meant that the counts and the king became closely tied together. Dagobert was said to have been the founder of the monastery in Carolingian tradition and Pippin III had been crowned there.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Brown, *Politics and Patronage*, p. ii.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. ii.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 284 for close connections between Carolingians and Saint-Denis.

Through Hilduin's agency Dionysius received a new literary representation that raised his profile and at the same time those of the kings and the counts.⁷² Charles the Bald became closer to Saint-Denis than any other Carolingian and this was a closeness that was engineered because of the great benefits that association could provide for him. Patronage of Saint-Denis became a 'vital qualification for the man who would be king.'⁷³ The monastery thereby provided the vital image of kingship and authority in this region. The power and importance of Tours and St Martin led Charles to attempt to use the monastery of Saint-Martin in a similar way in a region that needed more stable foundations in power. As well as the similarity in method there was a similarity in representations of the monasteries and their links to the king. Each saint was a '*peculiaris patronus*.' As well as this, each monastery gained through the relationship. Brown described the relationship between Charles and Saint-Denis as 'symbiotic' and argued that 'the monks profited greatly from the king's close interest in their affairs.'⁷⁴ They did so because Charles needed them. The same was true at Tours where Saint-Martin became the centre of the power structure and the benefits extended to smaller monasteries who became part of the wider scheme like that of St Filibert at Cunault.

Although this is important to understand the nature of Charles' decision to centre his territorial authority on Tours, we should look to tie the contextual information back to charters concerning the Filibertines. Again this is best achieved through reference to Vivian and the political nuances of 845. The charter of 19 October 845 that we began with holds the key. This was drawn up whilst Charles was at Rennes. It was the second of

⁷² Ibid., pp. 207-218.

⁷³ Ibid., p. ix.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 413.

only two occasions in the first twenty years of Charles' reign that he issued a charter from Brittany; on the earlier occasion, 13 November 843, the charter had been issued from a camp just outside of the Breton town.⁷⁵ The rarity of these visits is not to be taken lightly. Brittany, as we have seen, could be an extremely difficult area to control and had been so for successive Carolingian kings. For Charles, the situation was worsened by the frequent interventions of his half-brother Lothar, who exploited the enmity of the Bretons for Carolingian overlordship and prompted them to make raids into Neustria the like of which Nominoë perpetrated in 844 when he reached as far south as Le Mans. Not only is this the reason that Charles was encamped outside of Rennes in 843 it is also certainly the cause of his presence there in 845. He had to react to what he saw as Nominoë's treachery, especially in the light of the murder of Rainald and he had to do so decisively. His response was to make a punitive raid into Breton territory in October and November of 845 and although we do not know whether Charles had Vivian at his side throughout this campaign it is likely. It is clear that Vivian was there in October when he received the charter from his king. Charles went on to fight the Bretons at Ballon on 22 November, but was defeated and humiliated. His return to his own territories was inevitable shortly thereafter but the fact that he rode to Tours, and so to Vivian's comital seat, indicates how important the relationship had already become between Charles, the wide March and Vivian. This importance is illuminated by the fact that Charles spent every Christmas at Tours from 843-845.⁷⁶ Doubtless this also shows that these were the years in which his attention was most closely focussed on the establishment of proper networks of control in this region. The establishment of a strong county at Tours that could serve the wide

⁷⁵ *RAC*, I, no. 28, p. 71.

⁷⁶ See the location of the production of charters at Christmas throughout this period in *RAC*, I, nos. 30, 31; 60-63; 80, 81.

March was uppermost in Charles' mind at this time. Following quickly on the heels of the agreement made between the three sons of Louis the Pious and taking place amidst the complicated dealings with the Bretons, Charles' endeavours in this regard show that he considered the region as the keystone to his entire kingdom. Involvement of the Filibertines in plans to secure it is highly instructive therefore, and this issue once more undermines suggestions of a community in continual flight. As well as this, we might consider that a personal relationship between Charles and Vivian was emerging with its foundations in Charles' attachment to the monastery of Saint-Martin and Vivian's faithfulness since 843 as well as the central importance of Tours.

Dutton and Kessler don't present Vivian as the overseer of the March (in its wider sense) and royal representative in the region that I believe he was, though they do style him as a warrior – a rôle he undoubtedly fulfilled in the region alongside other, administrative duties.⁷⁷ Their concern, however, lies away from the duties of the count of Tours with the circumstances surrounding the production of the First Bible of Charles the Bald, and with Vivian's appointment as lay-abbot of the monastery of Saint-Martin.⁷⁸ In fact all of these issues are bound together alongside other regional concerns, each of which has connections to the community of St Filibert through their involvement in the local political landscape. To understand how important Vivian's comital position was to the overall security of Charles' kingdom we need to look back to the career of Rainald, count

⁷⁷ Dutton and Kessler, *First Bible*, pp. 33-34.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-44.

of Nantes and forward to that of Robert the Strong whilst bearing in mind the personal and strategic importance of Tours.⁷⁹

We have already discussed the Breton March and its significance here, but reference to Déas' place in the wide March will be useful here. When the Filibertines moved to Déas in 836 they were involved in Louis the Pious' plans as an ecclesiastical representative of his authority as we have seen, but they were also integral to political movements. The March in general terms was an area in which a number of counts operated, usually with one senior figure controlling the whole.⁸⁰ In the 830s Nantes developed as the centre of an administrative area between Seine and Loire that Nithard described in reference to events in 834,⁸¹ and that Werner considered the first glimpse of a duchy of Neustria.⁸² We should avoid seeing the developments as leading to an eventual and inevitable end whether that is as a duchy of Neustria or a Capetian France. Nevertheless, Carolingian attempts to secure the region certainly led to a level of cohesion in Neustrian military administration that was unknown before this period. Rainald as count of Herbauge played an extremely important rôle in the development of Nantes as the centre of this, and was appointed the comital title at Nantes in 841 as the overall leader of the March.⁸³ This is one of the many reasons that we should see his career and death as reflective of the political struggles in the region. We should also see him as a sort of forerunner to Vivian and therefore Robert the Strong and should see the movement of the monks of St Filibert

⁷⁹ The importance of the career of Robert the Strong cannot be understood without recourse to the excellent work by Werner. See in particular, K.-F. Werner, 'Les Robertiens' in M. Parisse and X. Barral I Altet (eds), *Le Roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an mil* (Paris, 1992), pp. 15-26 and Werner, 'Missus-Marchio-Comes', pp. 191-239.

⁸⁰ Werner, 'Les premiers Robertiens', p. 27.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27 and n. 104. See Nithard, I, 5, p. 20.

⁸² Werner, 'Les premiers Robertiens', p. 28.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

to Déas in 836 as part of the programme surrounding Nantes. When Rainald became count of Nantes and when the political centre emerged there, the ecclesiastical foils to it included the new Carolingian representatives at Déas. Because they moved into problematic territories at a crucial time in Louis the Pious' reign, the Filibertines could be identified with Carolingian imperial authority and their influence thereby might extend beyond the ecclesiastical sphere, at least in ideological terms. Certainly by the time that Vivian took control of the March from the new centre at Tours, attachment to monasteries was a highly significant part of comital policy which echoed past Frankish tactics and the Filibertines rôle at Déas highlighted their potential usefulness at this new stage. For Werner, counties were no longer enough to satisfy the fiscal needs of military chiefs and Charles the Bald was moved to grant them the considerable means of the great abbeys.⁸⁴ Associations were not entirely oriented to finance, however. As we have repeatedly seen, Frankish practice involved ecclesiastical and religious representatives for centuries; when this policy was instituted on the March it was reflective of this as well as of financial necessity.⁸⁵

Robert became count of Angers in 851 and lay abbot of Marmoutier, following the death of Vivian at Jengland, to which we shall return later. He was brought slowly into the affairs of this area of Neustria since 843 when he moved from the Rhineland with Odo who became the count of Troyes and later of Mâcon.⁸⁶ He was clearly being groomed for office throughout these eight years and had the advantage of watching Charles and

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

⁸⁵ See Krah, *Kaiser Karls II*, p. 247 where both Vivian and Rainald are discussed in relation to ecclesiastical holdings as Marcher counts.

⁸⁶ Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 131.

Vivian fashion the embryo of a system that he would adopt and make flourish.⁸⁷ ‘There was no doubt that Charles was relying on Robert to guard the lower Loire’⁸⁸ just as Vivian had and the recruitment of the Filibertines as representatives of Carolingian authority was a very important aspect of this strategy. However, Robert briefly attempted to co-opt his county for his own purposes and allied with Charles’ enemies just as Nominoë and Lambert had.⁸⁹

Without entering into a discussion and comparison of the individual careers of these three men, it remains important to note that they were individuals working in unique circumstances – their usefulness to our investigation lies in the fact that they each occupied a rôle that was envisaged as both administrative and protective by their king and did so in similar geographical areas with similar external forces with which to contend. Later in the ninth century and into the tenth, Robert of Neustria was in control of most of the important counties between Seine and Loire as well as the lay abbacies of Saint-Martin and Marmoutier.⁹⁰ This naturally gave him a great deal of influence and control but it did so because the area was still seen as extremely influential. We should be wary of seeing the earlier developments in light of what was to come, but should, nevertheless, consider that in assigning the county and lay abbacy of Tours to Vivian, Charles set out on the road that would lead through Robert the Strong to Robert of Neustria.

⁸⁷ Werner argues that the county that Robert made his own originated in the period in which Vivian was at the helm and prior to that. Alliances between secular and ecclesiastical centres were crucial to this process. Werner, ‘Les Robertiens’, pp. 15-19.

⁸⁸ Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 167.

⁸⁹ See for example, *AB*, (859), p. 81.

⁹⁰ See G. Koziol, ‘Charles the Simple, Robert of Neustria, and the *vexilla* of Saint-Denis’ in *Early Medieval Europe*, 14: 4 (2006), pp. 355-390. Also see MacLean, *Regino*, p. 136, n. 2.

In Robert the Strong's case it is of particular interest that he became lay-abbot of Marmoutier. As this followed the death of Vivian who had been lay-abbot of Tours until 851, the appointment shows that control of important monasteries went hand-in-hand with the responsibilities incumbent on Charles' counts.⁹¹ Great abbeys were often associated with important counties and most monasteries had some sort of link with the local power structures. The monasteries of Saint-Denis and Saint-Germain-des-Prés were at the centre of the county of Paris and the monastery of Saint-Hilaire was at the centre of the comital group in the Poitou.⁹² When they enhanced their position in the period that led to them assuming the French throne, the Robertians remained loyal to this policy as they recognised its great efficacy.⁹³ We have seen how the Filibertine monastery at Déas may have been intended to operate as a religious, figurative and symbolic centre of Carolingian power in the wide Breton March while Nantes was the political centre. Here Tours was clearly operating as both the political and the religious centre but it made use of a great many other monasteries at the same time. Cunault had a similar significance. It is clear that whilst Vivian was count of Tours, the monastery functioned in some way as a symbol of Carolingian, and specifically Caroline, authority on the border with Aquitaine which was still a disputed territory with Pippin II active and styling himself king. Charles the Bald had thereby chosen to make the use of the same tried and tested method of 'pénétration pacifique' that attracted Louis the Pious in the Breton March and made the monastery of Saint-Martin an important foil to Tours in the same way as Saint-Denis was to Paris. In light of this, the choice of the community of St Filibert as the agent of this

⁹¹ See discussion of the relation of lay-abbacy and comital power in Werner, 'Les premiers Robertiens', pp. 21-23 and pp. 29-30.

⁹² Werner, 'Les Robertiens', pp. 18-19.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 23.

peaceful penetration was considered. Just as the monasteries of Saint-Denis and Prüm operated on this level in the early years of Carolingian expansion and during the reign of Louis the Pious in the same Breton border territories,⁹⁴ so the monastery of St Filibert could be used in this way having proven its worth and having demonstrated its attachment to the royal house. When Vivian asked Charles the Bald that he might grant the monastery at Cunault to the Filibertines, he was making an explicit choice about which communities should hold the abbeys that fell under his purview. They were to become one part of the network of loyalties that he needed to control the wide March. They acted as a figure of Charles' authority in difficult areas just as monasteries like Saint-Denis and Prüm had acted as representatives of Frankish authority in the Breton March in the past. They did not specifically control territory, but their presence was an aid towards Charles' political dominance of the region. As we shall see, the specific grant of Cunault to the Filibertines can be firmly located in the political history of the struggle between Charles and Pippin II over Aquitaine too,⁹⁵ but it certainly played an important rôle in affairs in the Turonian landscape.

iii: Trade at Cunault

When the community moved to Cunault, it seems that trade remained an important part of their behaviour. Here we shall briefly consider the advances that the Filibertines achieved in this regard in the 840s. As before, this will help to show that the community was always involved in attempts to improve their standing throughout the period of translations. We can see, for example, that viticulture and Ligerian access were concerns

⁹⁴ In fact Prüm continued to have this rôle in Brittany, Anjou, Maine and Tours. See *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁹⁵ See below, pp. 195-212.

that were apparent throughout the ninth century. Whether or not the translation in 845 was one that occurred more due to necessity than was the case with the first, it certainly had consequences that impacted on the way in which the community could behave both as a cultic centre and as a trading entity.

We have seen that the monks of St Filibert gained free access to the Loire and other rivers in the kingdom in 826. In discussing the charter that provided that free usage, reference was made to the improvements that this would have meant for the community's trading endeavours.⁹⁶ This charter should be borne in mind when we consider the position of the community in this regard after the relocation to Cunault. Whilst at Déas, the community was able to access the Loire, of that there can be little doubt, but it is equally free from doubt that the Filibertines enjoyed greater access to the river after 845 as a consequence of the location of Cunault. Whilst this was a factor that had a bearing on the proximity of the community to the activities of the Northmen as shall be discussed shortly, it was also an important factor economically.

Scholarly interest has been aroused by the repeated attacks on the same locations that the annals attribute to the Northmen. Interpretations of the reasons behind this phenomenon and the consequences of it have become mostly settled. This is certainly the case as far as the implications that repeated attacks have for the survival of a location of this sort.

Trading centres and monasteries were not, it is argued, completely devastated as the sources often suggest, but were left with the wherewithal to re-emerge perhaps in order (from a Viking point of view) that Northmen might be able to take advantage of the same

⁹⁶ See above, pp. 125-129.

site's renewed wealth.⁹⁷ Although Nantes was attacked in 843 and 853, we should consider that its market was still able to function. There was a maritime port at Nantes that served the western half of the Carolingian empire,⁹⁸ and at which the Filibertines almost certainly traded some of their commodities. It was an important centre that minted its own coins. The locations at which they have been discovered indicate wide networks of exchange.⁹⁹ As such, the new proximity to the Loire that relocation to Cunault afforded the Filibertines allied with the earlier grant of free access to the river meant that trade had the potential to be even more lucrative for the community than hitherto, particularly if they were able to maintain their links with the agricultural produce at Noirmoutier and Déas. If the community had access to vines, to salt and to the Loire then they could traffic more goods than before. From Cunault they could reach Nantes and the opportunities that were available there but they could also reach the inland market at Angers with ease too. Although they were involved in supra-regional and international trade in the past, relocation to Cunault gave them opportunities to expand their horizons.

What do donations made to the community reveal about the locations and the produce of the lands that they held? By 845 they were already in possession of considerable holdings. Since 674 the monks controlled Noirmoutier, l'Ampan, Taizé, Paizay-le-Chapt, Venières and Déas and all of the possessions that came with them including vines, salt-pans and agricultural lands. The exemption charter allowing free access to the Loire and a

⁹⁷ See, for example, Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, pp. 138-141.

⁹⁸ Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 121.

⁹⁹ See *Ibid.*, pp. 173-184. On coinage in this period see S. Coupland, 'Money and Coinage under Louis the Pious' in *Francia: Forschungen zur Westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 26: 1 (1990), pp. 23-54 and S. Coupland, 'The Early Coinage of Charles the Bald, 840-864' in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 151 (1991), pp. 121-158.

number of other important waterways came in 826. In 830 further exemptions from taxation were provided in the same charter that granted the monks the right to construct their *castrum* which itself had important trading implications. When Vivian granted the Filibertines the *monasteriolum* at Cunault on 27 December 845, they gained possessions which might have included more agricultural lands and perhaps a mill.¹⁰⁰ The charter is formulaic and so conclusions must be speculative, but the community certainly gained some territory by this charter and it is likely that vines at least were part of the estates involved. This meant that the translation to Cunault allowed the monks to remain active in the production of wine even if they had lost the ability to use former viticultural production sites.¹⁰¹

Moreover, the grant of further lands in 847 gave them more *villae* and importantly provided them with more productive land. Not all of the places mentioned in the charter were authoritatively located by Tessier, nor can they be precisely identified today but the majority can. Where identification is more difficult, Tessier gave approximations that make sense. Charles made Hilbod a donation of Doué-la-Fontaine, the *villa* at Louerre, another at Avort and a third at Fontaines. Each of the lands identified here are in Maine-et-Loire. Two other locations were named in the grant. These are Virtiniacum and Terrenciacum.¹⁰² Tessier suggested that the former was to be identified as Forges which lies around three kilometres north of Doué-la-Fontaine and that the latter was Saugé.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ See the charter: *RAC*, I, no. 77, p. 218.

¹⁰¹ The charter mentions a flour mill at Cunault. If they gained a mill, the monks might have expanded their trade portfolio in a new direction. On mills and their importance see Bruand, *Voyageurs et Marchandises*, p. 33, p. 40 and p. 164; Lebecq, 'The role of the monasteries', pp. 129-130 and particularly A. Lucas, *Wind, Water, Work: Ancient and Medieval Milling Technology* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 177-198.

¹⁰² *RAC*, I, no. 91, p. 246.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, no. 91, p. 245. Saugé may be Saugé l'Hopital (Maine-et-Loire).

They are within a broad range of up to 50km from Cunault and show both a wide spread of land that could be influential in a cultic sense as well as a group of territories close to Cunault that could be useful to the community whilst they were resident there.¹⁰⁴ As we have seen with earlier donations, the likelihood is that these grants were made so as to better support the community in their new environs. Here they had new churches as well as slaves, buildings, vines, meadows, woods, pasture, water and waterways.¹⁰⁵

Only two years after the monks were granted licence to move to Cunault, their position was improved in important and significant fashion. Although the community had possession of a number of important locations from the seventh century, the donations made in 845 and 847 represented the first major accumulations since then. This is significant. The community was, as we have seen, involved in Ludovican policy in the early-ninth century but were now specifically brought into the patronage of Charles the Bald following the appeal of c.840. Involvement in Charles' political initiatives meant that rewards would follow and this process can have done no harm to Filibertine trading activity. Overall the translation to Cunault represents another step in the development of the community, particularly in terms of attachment to the royal house. Benefits continued to be accrued by the Filibertines and, as will be demonstrated in what follows, planning was always an important factor.

¹⁰⁴ See map 6, p. xiii.

¹⁰⁵ *RAC*, I, no. 91, p. 246.

III: Cunault to Messais

i: Dating and description

Ermentarius' description of the translation from Cunault to Messais is more detailed than was the case for the translation from Déas to Cunault. In chapter twelve of book two, he set out the events. According to Ermentarius the translation to Messais in May of 862 came about as a consequence of an increase in the presence of Northmen on the Loire.¹⁰⁶ He wrote, '*Nortmannorum siquidem quattuor continuis annis in Ligere fluvio hiemantium subitaneos non valentes sustinere occursus...*'¹⁰⁷ In writing in this way he echoed the sentiments that he had outlined in the preface to the second book where a lack of resistance to the Northmen was bemoaned. In that part of the text the complaint was clear:

'...rarus est qui dicat: "State, state, resistite, pugnante pro patria, liberis et gente."
Sicque torpentes atque invicem dissidentes, quod defendere debuerant armis, tributis redimunt, ac Christianorum pessumdatum regnum.'¹⁰⁸

Poupardin wrote that the community took the relics of St Filibert with them to Messais on 1 May 862 'sans pompe.'¹⁰⁹ In his reading, the monks were forced to relocate that year because, having observed a hiatus in terms of the frequency of invasions up the Loire, the monks began to become concerned again in exactly 862 when the *AB* report a new instance of Viking activity.¹¹⁰ For Poupardin, Cunault was not able to give the

¹⁰⁶ *TMF*, II, Preface, p. 62 for this date; chapter twelve gives the kalends of May as the date the community left Cunault: see II, 12, p. 68.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 12, pp. 67-68.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, II, Preface, p. 62.

¹⁰⁹ *AB*, (862), pp. 88-93. See Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. xxxv.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxxv and n. 4.

community the safe shelter that they sought and so they were forced to leave quickly and with little preparation.¹¹¹ This is only half correct. Whilst it does seem that enforced relocation was much more of a reality for this translation than for others, there is evidence that the community went to some trouble to plan the move.

When they left the monastery of Cunault, the community followed a precise itinerary which Ermentarius described. His description of the first part of the journey is as follows:

‘Hac igitur necessitate urgente, ipso kalendarum maiarum die de Conaldo egredientes, cum sacro pignore et laudibus ac populi plurima multitudine venimus ad Fabricas, ipsius sancti villam, in qua vigilis ac debitis obsequiis cum nox decursa esset, solisque ortus advenisset, cum immensis laudibus exitur inde atque Taisacum tenditur.’¹¹²

Parallels with the description of the first translation are immediately clear. Although Ermentarius does not give as much space as he did for that translation to his description of the move to Messais, it is striking that the community must have made good preparations for it. A large crowd of people accompanied the community and the relics on the first stage of the journey, offering prayers as they left the town of Cunault. Clearly they were prepared for the imminent departure of the saint and wished to be involved in the process, offering the liturgical accompaniments due to such an important event. Not only was this the case but, again as with the first translation, the community made a point of travelling through areas that were already a part of their portfolio of possessions. In

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. xxxv.

¹¹² TME, II, 12, p. 68.

this instance Ermentarius even mentions that Forges was ‘the saint’s own *villa*.’ Forges was probably a place that the community gained from Charles the Bald in the grant of 847.¹¹³ As such it must have been home to a number of people who were aware of and devoted to Filibert and one where the potential to gain further adherents was doubtless a factor. The community was well aware of the importance of involving their potential clients and followers in the process of relocation, and realised what rewards this type of involvement could provide. Whether or not the translation from Cunault to Messais was more rushed than other translations, a degree of planning was undergone to ensure that it was as successful as possible.

When they reached Forges, the community rested there for a night and offered further prayers for the success of their endeavour. The account says people joined the procession from Forges and accompanied Filibert to the next stop at Taizé where tents had, as at Paulx in 836, been erected for their use.¹¹⁴ It is worth reminding ourselves of the great importance that translations of relics could have. Planning was an essential part of any translation and was an element that should not be overlooked regardless of the tenor of the translation account. Whilst there may have been genuine threats to the security of the community, references to danger and flight should be considered in light of the need for a text to justify a translation and to describe it in a way that conformed to the developing hagiographical genre.¹¹⁵ We saw that the Filibertines made a concerted effort to ensure that their translation in 836 was well-publicised. They certainly did so in 862 as well, and although we don’t have the description of it, it is likely that this process was undertaken

¹¹³ See above, p. 185.

¹¹⁴ *TME*, II, 12, pp. 68-69.

¹¹⁵ See Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 108-128 and below, pp. 250-265.

in c.845 also. The cultic future of the monks could be won or lost due to the amount of planning that a community was able to effect. The Filibertines had detailed knowledge of what was required from their own past and they made sure that they used this knowledge in the implementation of this translation too.

It seems to have had the desired effect in at least one arena. Eleven of the miracle accounts in the second book of *TMF* refer to events before the community left Déas. Of the remaining ten miracles, at least four occurred *en route* from Cunault to Messais or immediately after arriving at the latter.¹¹⁶ This is evidence that the removal of relics from their normal monastic setting and their display in the open presented an opportunity that few could pass up. This was a momentous occurrence and it proved to be a great draw to a significant number of people. We have seen that such circumstances might be amongst the few times that a woman could approach the relics of a saint.¹¹⁷ On this occasion a woman suffering from crippling disorder in her legs came to meet the procession as it came to the end of the river Thouaret,¹¹⁸ and at Taizé, two boys with similar problems were cured by the saint.¹¹⁹

Ermentarius claimed that 10,000 people arrived at Messais to greet the saint.¹²⁰ This is an astonishing claim and should surely be discounted. Nevertheless, it remains likely that a large number of people travelled to Messais in May 862 to witness Filibert's arrival. We

¹¹⁶ Some of the other miracles may also have taken place in this context. I have chosen to include only those which are explicitly connected to the translation in my reckoning. For the locations see map 5.2, p. xii.

¹¹⁷ See above, pp. 140-141.

¹¹⁸ *TME*, II, 12, pp. 68-69.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 13-14, p. 69.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 15, p. 69.

should consider Ermentarius' numbers to be exaggerated rather than wholly fabricated. The following chapter provides the overall impression that is central to an understanding of the effect of the translation. This effect should be taken as evidence that the community engaged in a good level of planning prior to the relocation. Allied with the knowledge that the procession of the relics was advertised and was directed through territories in which the saint's presence might have the most influence, we must conclude that this information is crucial to our understanding. Moreover, it shows once more that the message of oppression that Ermentarius provides can often be undermined by a closer examination of less overt statements within his narrative. Chapter sixteen is here quoted in full:

‘Cum vero tanti viri has in partes adventus ac miraculorum longe lateque rumor personuisset, diversorum accolas locorum ad hujus sancti limina properare compellit, scilicet ut et pro se ejus gloriosa merita flagitent vel, si quos habent corporis incommoditate gravatos, incolomitate restitui ejus intercessione mereantur.’¹²¹

In this chapter we have confirmation of the planning and advertisement of the community in regard of the translation from Cunault to Messais, and a statement on the efficacy of that planning and advertisement. The monks were able to take advantage of the situation that they found themselves in. Rather than being carried out ‘sans pompe’, the third translation of the community incorporated a number of factors that had helped to lead to success in 836. There was a liturgical procession accompanied by crowds of people and

¹²¹ Ibid., II, 16, p. 69.

by miracles at each stage of the journey, and there was clearly an element of optimism amidst the community and, perhaps more importantly, amidst the populace.

The cult of St Filibert still held considerable currency. Those who travelled came from Limoges,¹²² Bourges,¹²³ Bouin,¹²⁴ and Villeneuve.¹²⁵ Bouin is the only one of these locations from which pilgrims had come to any Filibertine sites in the past. The third translation of the community of St Filibert can be read as a success in another regard then, in that it attracted pilgrims from regions as yet untouched by the cult of St Filibert. Many of these instances also indicate that people were willing to travel significant distances to reach the shrine. Whilst there are too many places named Villeneuve for us to be sure where the individual travelled from in that instance,¹²⁶ we can give details for the others. Bouin was now c.180km away, Limoges is 165km from Messais and travel from Bourges required a journey of 220km.¹²⁷ As with the description of Baldradus's journey during the first translation,¹²⁸ this shows that translations could cause unusually high levels of effort to be undertaken. This is important for our overall understanding of the Filibertines. It ties in with what we have learned of the other two translations and shows that there was a complexity in the relocations that Ermentarius often underplays and which has been neglected in most historical discussions of the community. It remains important that we consider both the political context of this third translation and the likely Scandinavian influences on it in order to complete our understanding.

¹²² Ibid., II, 18, p. 69.

¹²³ Ibid., II, 20, p. 70.

¹²⁴ Ibid., II, 21, p. 70.

¹²⁵ Ibid., II, 22, p. 70.

¹²⁶ See Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. 70, n. 1.

¹²⁷ See map 5.2, p. xii.

¹²⁸ Gorrion is around 160km from Déas. See pp. 142-143 and p. 142 n. 330.

ii: Viking influence on the third translation

We have seen that Ermentarius described the third translation in terms that were particularly redolent with images of pagan destruction. Although the details of the actual translation show that this was not the only factor, details from the annals suggest that he had reason to be concerned about the safety of the Loire but not necessarily in 862. The *Annales Xantenses* (AX) for 861 state, ‘*Iam enim dissensio regum nostrorum et desolatio paganorum per regna nostra fastidiosum est enarrare.*’¹²⁹ The AB in 862 has a long description of the efforts made by Robert the Strong against the Northmen in various fields including on the Loire,¹³⁰ and the same annals read as a catalogue of Viking atrocities across the Frankish kingdoms every year back to 841.¹³¹ Despite this the only other specific mention of Viking involvement on the Loire in the four years leading up to 862 comes from the AF for 858.¹³² Moreover, examination of the AB, AF, AX, AV, AE and of Nithard shows that the only period in which there are consistent references to Vikings on the Loire in a suitable timeframe is 853-858. Maybe Ermentarius was referring to events that were not described in the larger annals of the Frankish kingdoms. However, as many of them were diligent reporters of Viking activity, this is something with which it is difficult to come to terms. It is not judicious to suggest that Ermentarius provided the wrong dates for the translation. It is, after all, reasonably certain that he wrote the second book of *TMF* c.862 and there is no good reason for him to have fabricated this specific information.

¹²⁹ The description is given under the year 862, but in fact relates to 861. *AX*, (862), p. 20.

¹³⁰ *AB*, (862), pp. 87-95.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, (841-862), pp. 35-95

¹³² *AF*, (858), pp. 50-51.

Perhaps his reference to four consecutive years of interference at the hands of the Northmen was not meant to coincide precisely with the translation of the community, but was a more general statement that would provide the reader with the impression that Ermentarius desired to make. It is interesting that the most focussed period of Scandinavian activity came just before the reunification of the community in 858. Regardless, it seems that in the case of the third translation, pressure felt was a significant contributory factor. As ever, the Northmen were not the only agents behind the 862 translation but they may have been one of the principal ones in this instance.

In 854, Hilbod approached Charles the Bald with a request for lands. The charter that granted those lands spoke more than previous ones had of the intolerable suffering of the community and of the hope that they might achieve the security they had desired over the years after facing the many cruelties of the Northmen.¹³³ It is a charter that is unusual in comparison with the others the community received. In each example there is reference to flight from the Northmen but it is not central: we have seen that although the 847 charter mentioned the Northmen it did not mention elements like the supposed burning of Déas; the 845 charter briefly stated that the cause of the grant was Viking and Breton incursions; even the 830 charter did not labour the relationship between the grant and the violence perpetrated by the Northmen. The charter from 854 requires that we reassess the level of influence that the Vikings had at this point because of the way in which they are brought on to the centre stage.

¹³³ See *RAC*, I, no. 159, pp. 417-419.

The likelihood is that it was the combination of the rise in Viking activity in the years after 840 and the position of the monastery at Cunault that brought about more difficulties for the Filibertines. Perhaps the charter of 854 refers to the Filibertines in terms that emphasise their plight because the community had become synonymous with such circumstances by then. The evidence for the way in which the Northmen impacted on the political situation that Charles crafted post-840 suggests that their involvement with the community was greater than before for reasons of local security, however. Investigation of the political context of the translation will bear this out.

iii: The political context

In 853 Vikings attacked Tours. The *AF* reported the following, ‘*Nordmanni per Ligurem fluvium venientes Turonum Galliae civitatem praedantur et inter alias aedes ecclesiam quoque sancti Martini confessoris nemine resistente succendunt.*’¹³⁴ This came about in a period when Vivian’s recent demise had perhaps led to uncertainty in Turonian affairs and it gave the lie to the security of the region that Vivian and the new county centred on Tours represented. Its location on the river Loire of course meant that Tours was always vulnerable to some extent, as were Cunault and other Ligerian towns. In 843 whilst Nantes was serving as a comital centre in this border region, the Vikings attacked that town: ‘*Pyrate Nordomandorum urbem Namnetum adgressi, interfectis episcopo et multis clericorum atque laicorum sexusque promiscui, depraedata civitate...*’¹³⁵ The attack in 853 was a second strike at the heart of the political and ecclesiastical comital centre. It was problematic and the community of St Filibert may well have seen this as a good time

¹³⁴ *AF* (853), p. 43.

¹³⁵ *AB*, (843), p. 44.

to move further away. As symbols of Carolingian (and specifically Caroline) authority in the region around Tours and as a community that was recruited by Vivian, they may have considered themselves at too great a risk to remain once Tours was destabilised. Certainly if one considers that the request for lands to which they moved in 862 came in the year after the attack on Tours, it seems that there must have been some connection. Vivian's death naturally meant that reordering the counties might alter the nature of the group of associated monasteries too and after his death, Tours had no abbot until c.855.

We need, therefore, to consider the possibility that Viking attacks on Nantes in 843 and on Tours in 853 had something to do with their respective positions of authority. Breton incursions south and east of the Vilaine were occasionally directed at parts of the comital power structure as in 844 when Nominoë attacked Le Mans. This attack came one year after Nantes was attacked and bishop Guntbard and count Rainald were killed.¹³⁶ Whilst they did not always perpetrate co-ordinated attacks, the various opponents of Charles knew that striking at powerful centres during times of disruption was an effective strategy. As the Filibertines were attached to the power structures at Déas and at Cunault, attacks like that of Nominoë on Le Mans in 844, of the Northmen on Nantes in 843, and on Tours in 853 can not only be seen as evidence of parties taking advantage of problems, but must have upset the regional power balance and may have been one of the many impetuses behind their relocations. Although it would have been counter-productive to flee because of an attack on a centre of power, a community like that of St Filibert that was so closely attached to local power structures may have found themselves

¹³⁶ The *Annals of Fontanelles* report these two events alongside one another. See *Chronici Fontanellensis*, (843), p. 302.

relocating as reorganisation from above was instituted. Although Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald worked for a long period of time to secure the region between Vilaine and Loire with a succession of men like Vivian and Robert taking office, the centre of power often shifted with new political leaders attaching themselves to different monasteries and centring themselves on different towns. The relocations of the community might be seen in the context of those shifts.

Although this is the case there were more pressures on Charles in the period surrounding the third translation than just these. Ever since he was first disinherited following the death of his father in December 838,¹³⁷ Pippin II of Aquitaine fought to regain his patrimony. For Charles he was a constant threat though of varying degrees. It is important to avoid temptations to cast Pippin as the villain of the piece for he saw himself as the rightful inheritor in Aquitaine (indeed he was proclaimed king in May 839),¹³⁸ and rather than acting as a renegade in the region he styled himself king and consistently issued charters as such between December 838 and March 848.¹³⁹ The history of the struggle between Pippin and Charles and occasionally Louis the Younger is one that indicates that what the Aquitanians most desired was a return to the long-established Frankish policy of sub-kingship in the region.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ See *Ibid.*, (838), p. 26.

¹³⁸ See *RAPP*, pp. clix-clx.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. xlix-lxi, pp. 185-268.

¹⁴⁰ For relations between Charles the Bald, Pippin II and Louis the Younger see Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, particularly pp. 105-189. Also E. J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Ithaca, New York, 2006), particularly from p. 86.

If one reads the details of the struggle in the *AB*, one sees that events didn't follow one simple pattern. Allegiances changed almost with the wind depending on the presence or lack thereof of any of the three men or their representatives in Aquitaine itself. In the early years of the struggle, Rainald had been an important ally of Charles,¹⁴¹ thus indicating the interlocking nature of all of the political concerns that we have so far considered. However, the prevailing wind blew, perhaps not surprisingly, in Pippin's favour until 848. Although his father made Charles king in Aquitaine in 839, leading military expeditions to subdue supporters of Pippin,¹⁴² the reality was that Charles could not gain hegemony over the region by any means at this time. According to the *AX*, when Charles brought an army against Pippin at Toulouse in 844, it was 'vigorously thrown down.'¹⁴³ It is significant that the *AX* also called Pippin '*rex Aquitaniae*.'¹⁴⁴ The defeat of Charles in 844 prompted the three brothers to send a unified message to Pippin asking him to submit, but when he came to Charles it was to receive the lordship (though not kingship) of most of Aquitaine except for Poitou, Saintonge and Aunis.¹⁴⁵ Consensus was still the main weapon that any of the claimants could wield and Pippin seems to have won much support.

848 and 849 were the years when Charles was first able to defeat Pippin, although there would be a postscript. The *AB* strangely report that it was idleness and inertia on the part of Pippin that led to the Aquitanians turning to Charles in 848,¹⁴⁶ but the *Chronici*

¹⁴¹ See Nelson, *Annals of St-Bertin*, (843), p. 55 and particularly n. 1.

¹⁴² See *AB* (839), pp. 34-35.

¹⁴³ 'Et Pippinus, rex Aquitaniae, filius Pippini, una cum filio Bernardi hostem Karoli valde prostravit.'
AX, (844), p. 13.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, (844), p. 13.

¹⁴⁵ *AB*, (845), p. 50.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, (848), p. 55.

Fontanellensis have Charles entering Aquitaine to prevent Pippin from taking power as a tyrant.¹⁴⁷ Whatever the reason for this shift in policy, it was brief. Vivian managed to bring Pippin's brother Charles into Charles the Bald's custody in 849,¹⁴⁸ but the Aquitanians reverted to their support of Pippin until he was captured in 852.¹⁴⁹ Things rumbled on after this, with the Aquitanians turning to Louis the Younger at times and also to Pippin some of whose captors sprung him free in 853.¹⁵⁰

Charles the Bald attempted at times to win the support of the Aquitanians by giving them their own king in the shape of his son, Charles the Young in 855, but when he was horribly wounded whilst joking around in an accident that the *AB* associated with the devil in 864,¹⁵¹ any real chances of him ruling were over. It looks like the Aquitanians never warmed to the idea of having a candidate imposed on them anyway. Between 855 and 860, many Aquitanian nobles turned back to Louis the German and Neustrians and Bretons joined their cause with men as crucial as Robert the Strong taking Louis' side.¹⁵² Eventually it was only the refusal of the bishops, particularly Hincmar of Reims, to join this party that enabled Charles to retain control.¹⁵³ The afterword was not written until 864 when Pippin joined forces with Northmen in what turned out to be a final gambit. He

¹⁴⁷ *Chronici Fontanellensis*, (848), p. 302.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, (849), p. 302.

¹⁴⁹ *AB*, (852), pp. 64-65; *AE*, (852), p. 486.

¹⁵⁰ *AB*, (853), pp. 66-67. Or see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 242 and Nelson, *Annals of St-Bertin*, (854), p. 79, n. 8. Each considers that Charles may have allowed Pippin to leave in order to counter a threat posed by Louis the German through his son. For the involvement of Louis the German and Louis the Younger throughout the 850s see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 234-238. Pippin's reappearance in 853 effectively ended Louis the Younger's chances in Aquitaine.

¹⁵¹ *AB*, (864), p. 105.

¹⁵² Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 250-254.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-260.

was captured again and kept more securely this time, being sentenced to death at Pîtres in the same year.¹⁵⁴

The difficulties in this region are worth considering in light of the translation to Messais, particularly with the political associations of Déas and Cunault in mind. Although he managed to continue his fight for what he perceived to be his birth right after 848, the fact that Pippin ceased issuing charters in this year suggests that it was the beginning of the end.¹⁵⁵ This is certainly true if the Aquitanians were indeed fed up with his indolence. Nevertheless, the charters that he issued show that the struggle between Charles and Pippin was fought out on more than one type of battlefield. As before, Charles used the Frankish method of attempting control through the apportioning of lands to favoured monastic houses. Pippin was not ignorant of the process and used it himself. The charters from each of them are very interesting in this context and provide a good insight to the policy in action, but crucially do so in opposition to a similar policy in similar regions.

The first charter that Pippin issued was an act that was drawn up by his father but was not promulgated before his death.¹⁵⁶ After that he issued twelve more charters. The most important for our purposes was issued to the monks of St Martin de Vertou. Levillain was unable to identify a precise time for its promulgation, but he narrowed it down to sometime between June 843 and December 847.¹⁵⁷ This was a very important time in

¹⁵⁴ *AB*, (864), pp. 113-114.

¹⁵⁵ Nelson stated that the lack of further charters after 848 indicated the collapse of Pippin's position. Nelson, *Annals of St-Bertin*, (848), p. 66, n. 4.

¹⁵⁶ *RAPP*, no. xlix, pp. 185-198.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, no. lv, pp. 217-221. The *MMV* says that the translation to Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes took place in 843, thereby suggesting that the monks received the monastery that year. See *MMV*, 8, p. 573.

Charles' reign when his attentions were directed to Brittany in the north as well as to Tours. Whilst Charles' back was turned on Aquitanian affairs, Pippin was taking advantage in order to ensure that he had the sort of crucial support in Aquitaine that Vivian and the Filibertines provided for Charles further to the north. He gave the monks of St Martin de Vertou the monastery of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, just two kilometres to the west of Messais, through the involvement of the count of Poitiers. The comparisons with the donation of Cunault to the Filibertines require little emphasis. Here it was the count of Poitiers who was involved in the donation rather than a count of Tours and indeed the charter was a restitution rather than a grant, but it is clear that Pippin could gain authority through this method just as Charles and Vivian attempted to do in the 840s.

The monks of Saint-Martin-de-Vertou featured throughout the history of the Filibertines. Dedicated to the evangelist of the west of France, they were always associated with the Filibertines as with the other monasteries of the region. Crucially this also meant that they were better established than the Filibertines. Their proximity to Déas in the 830s as well as their involvement in the border region around Brittany as one of the communities that effected Chédeville and Guillotel's 'pénétration pacifique' prior to Frankish expansionism beyond the Vilaine, meant that they shared common ground with the Filibertines in more than one way. The Martinians had prior links to Frankish power structures as a group whose patron was very important and as a group whose associated house at Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes was instrumental in Carolingian efforts in Brittany. As well as this they were involved in trade in the region around the Loire and may have a similar ninth-century history to the Filibertines as we have already noted. They therefore

represented a good choice for Pippin in terms of helping him to carry his authority south of the Loire. Of course he had other supporters amongst the nobility and this was doubtless his main source of power, but political power always allied with ecclesiastical power and, for Pippin, the monks of Saint-Martin-de-Vertou belonged to his circle of patronage.

In the long run the Filibertines were unable to support their own endeavours in such close proximity to the Martinian monastery at Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes. The community of St Martin de Vertou was established in the sixth century and resided near the lac de Grandlieu in the pays d'Herbauge until this relocation in 843. Their cult was enduring; the legend remains popular in the region today.¹⁵⁸ More important, however, is the contrast between the two monasteries of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes and Messais. Messais was a small monastery, smaller than that at Cunault or Déas, and little of it survives today. There is nothing that suggests prosperity about it or the village in which it stands and there is no indication from the history of the Filibertines that Messais was an important ninth-century location for them. Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, however, tells a different story. The monastery which Pippin II restored to the community in the 840s thrived and enjoyed almost twenty years of uninterrupted occupation to establish itself prior to Filibertine arrival in the area. Patronage from Pippin proved to be extremely effective for the Martinians and it seems sure that the Filibertines were unable to compete with them.¹⁵⁹ Textual references to the community of Saint-Martin-de-Vertou and the abbey of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes indicate that there was an important cultic rivalry

¹⁵⁸ See, for example, the description of it in Brunellière, *Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁵⁹ This may have been to do with extra-monastic affiliations. See below, pp. 224-226.

between the two communities as we have seen.¹⁶⁰ This was something that existed since the late-seventh century, but when the Filibertines moved into Poitou in 862 it intensified and created a similar intensification in terms of the representations of the Martinians in Filibertine hagiography.

For now we shall focus on the charters of 847 and 854. These indicate that there was an attempt by Charles the Bald to use the Filibertines in contrast to the symbols of Pippinid power at crucial times in his attempt to gain control of Aquitaine. As the charter of 847 granted the Filibertines lands that were exclusively south of the Loire, it meant that it enhanced their position in north-Aquitaine and may, therefore, have been intended to reinforce the image of power that Charles projected onto the region. Of course it also gave them a stronger base in their group of territories around Cunault to which they had recently moved. It came before Charles' first victory over Pippin II and two years after Charles ceded him lordship of most of Aquitaine. We have already investigated the importance of the donation of Cunault to the Filibertines in 845 as far as Tours was concerned, but it is instructive to note that this donation came in the year after the defeat of Charles' army at Toulouse and in the same year that Charles was forced to recognise Pippin's lordship in Aquitaine. Because it too was on the south of the Loire, Cunault and the charter of 845 needs to be incorporated into the same narrative as the charter of 847. It was a donation which could serve on two fronts, especially when it was reinforced by the charter of 847. Although it was on the south of the Loire, as Déas was, Cunault and the associated lands were all within areas that Charles retained for himself in 844, but

¹⁶⁰ See above, pp. 144-150.

these were areas in which Pippin clearly had some influence as the involvement of the count of Poitiers in his grant to the monks of St Martin de Vertou indicates.

It was in 854 that monastic rivalries between the Filibertines and the Martinians intensified. The charter issued by Charles that year which granted Messais to the Filibertines came in response to a direct request from Hilbod. We have seen that it was a charter that played up the involvement of the Vikings more than most. In terms of political concerns it is equally interesting. As Vivian was killed in 851, the fact that it was a direct grant between Charles and Hilbod cannot help us to understand the relationship between these three parties, though it is likely that it shows closeness between community and king. Although it was more strongly influenced by the Northmen than other translations, Charles remained able to incorporate elements of political initiative. The community was, in other words, still of significant use as a valued associate. Having moved to the mainland in 836 the monks gradually moved closer to the geographical centre of the West Frankish kingdom and became incorporated into its power structures. As time went on they were led deeper into the border territories between Aquitaine and Neustria and were thereby placed at the heart of the conflict with Pippin. The move to Messais took them further into this context than before and there is a touch of irony in the fact that what was probably a genuine need to escape from the Northmen meant that they were moved straight into another disputed region. The charter granted Messais with its chapel and seven manses to the monks. Also granted were Azay with two churches and eleven and three quarter manses; various parts of the *villa* of Messemé; the *villa* at

Asnières and half of the *villa* of Prinçay.¹⁶¹ All of these lands were in Poitou, Herbauges or Thouarsais. Messais itself was situated thirty miles north of Poitiers, and as such was well within the areas in which Pippin had influence.¹⁶²

Although Charles retained control of the north-east of Aquitaine after 845, support for his régime south of the Loire seems to have been limited throughout this period. The grant to the Filibertines was made in the year following that in which Pippin had managed to engineer his departure from the monastery of Saint-Médard.¹⁶³ In 854 Pippin and Louis the Younger each entered Aquitaine separately in order to attempt to gain control of the region.¹⁶⁴ These were undoubtedly worrying times for Charles the Bald. Any extra influence that he might be able to assert would have been valuable and this, as much as the need for the monks to relocate, may have been the reason behind the donation. It is important to remember that there were always two parties in these transactions and that each had their own agenda. As was the case with the county of Paris and the monastery of Saint-Denis, this was a symbiotic relationship and benefits came to each party. Whilst the monks gained new holdings and a potential refuge, the king gained a chance to bolster his authority and he made the grant to Hilbod in the year before he made his son Charles the king of Aquitaine.

In order to fully locate these events and the charter of 854 in their proper contexts we need to review some of the details of the years from 849 onwards. In 850, Nominoë

¹⁶¹ *RAC*, I, no. 159, p. 418.

¹⁶² See map 7, p. xiv for the locations of these possessions.

¹⁶³ *AB* (854), pp. 68-70.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, (854), pp. 68-70; *AX*, (855), p. 18.

audaciously captured Rennes and Nantes following a campaign that led Charles into Brittany in the summer. Prior to the campaign, Charles was ordering affairs in the county of Tours once more, from 21-25 June 849 he was issuing charters at Auzanville near to Chartres,¹⁶⁵ and then from 24-27 May 850 he did the same at Verberie.¹⁶⁶ He again returned to Tours, as we have seen that he often did after military campaigns in the region and in the aftermath of the 830 expedition. In February 851 he made another donation to the monastery of Saint-Martin-de-Tours whilst staying at the monastery.¹⁶⁷ Nelson suggests that he was intending to launch a retaliatory attack on Nominoë from the comital seat, but the necessity to do so was removed by the death of the Breton duke in March of 851.¹⁶⁸ From that point onwards issues involving the Bretons, the Northmen and Pippin II dominated the political climate in the region. Erispoë, the son of Nominoë, succeeded his father as the leader of the Bretons in the second half of 851 and inflicted a defeat on Charles at Jengland on 22 August when his forces killed Vivian.¹⁶⁹

Vivian was not the only one to fall in this battle - Gauzbert the Younger, the count of Maine, also died, leaving a power vacuum akin to that which existed in 843. This time it was Erispoë who gained from the lack of authority in the wide March. A policy of expansion followed the battle and he eventually took control of an area that included all of the Breton lands previously held by Nominoë as well as land to the east stretching as far as Dol and to the south as far as Rennes. Charles made him his vassal in the wake of these events in a piece of *realpolitik* that surely indicates an understanding of his inability

¹⁶⁵ *RAC*, I, nos. 114-117, pp. 303-313.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 126-131, pp. 333-351.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 136, pp. 359-361.

¹⁶⁸ Nelson, *Annals of St-Bertin*, (851), p. 69, n. 1.

¹⁶⁹ Smith, *Province*, pp. 99-100.

to counter such power when his attention was required on so many fronts. In the agreement that they struck, Erispoë gained Nantes, land to the east up to Angers and as far south as to include Déas.¹⁷⁰ Smith argued that a relationship between the two men had been galvanised as early as 851 when Charles became the godfather to a son of Erispoë's.¹⁷¹ This is perhaps no surprise given the defeat that year and the death of the count of Tours. In 856 the men became more strongly tied together when they met at Louviers where Erispoë's daughter was betrothed to Louis the Stammerer.¹⁷²

It can be seen that much of the 850s was as difficult a period for Charles as had been the 840s. There was an almost constant string of problems for him to face in a number of different arenas. Often when one problem was resolved another rose in its place. The consequence is a bewildering sequence of events that rarely lack some sort of association with one another. New régimes on both sides of the Loire and in Brittany made it more difficult for Charles than it had hitherto been, especially during the years in which Vivian's comital authority was a political and martial boon for him. This was particularly true because of the involvement of figures like Pippin II and Louis the German in the 850s. This period of danger and constantly shifting allegiances and lines of demarcation is what we must see as the backdrop to the history of the Filibertines and their various translations. It is fitting in that regard that a final charter was issued to them in 856 as a part of the negotiations between Charles and Erispoë.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 110-111; Chédeville and Guillotel, *La Bretagne*, pp. 278-318.

¹⁷¹ Smith, *Province*, p. 110.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁷³ For detailed discussion of this article in context see O. Guillot, 'Le diplôme de Charles le Chauve attribuant au monastère de Saint Philibert la *cella* de Bussogilum (10 Février 856)' in Thirion, *Saint-Philibert*, pp. 41-58.

The charter in question reinforces the picture of an interconnected series of issues in the West Frankish kingdom. Moreover, it indicates that Louis the Pious, Vivian, Robert the Strong, Pippin and Charles pursued a policy of involving religious communities in their regional policies, as did Erispoë. That Erispoë did so as an agent of royal authority is also telling particularly in the context of local politics. On 10 February at Louviers, Erispoë was involved in two charters that together indicate a similarity between initiatives involving him and Charles and those involving Charles and Vivian. It is significant that this took place at the same location as the betrothal of Erispoë's daughter to Louis the Stammerer as this indicates that the Filibertines were a serious part of early considerations for the Breton leader in the context of his connections to the Carolingian royal house. The first of these charters was a donation to the community of St Filibert.¹⁷⁴ It granted them a *cella* at Saint-Jean-sur-Mayenne in Maine. Characteristically it couched the grant in phraseology that emphasised flight from Northmen. Perhaps more importantly it was a grant (the first of its kind to survive) that came from Charles at the request of Erispoë and it referred to the latter as '*fidelis et compatriis*.'¹⁷⁵ The charter also mentions the Filibertines as a community who still inhabited Déas,¹⁷⁶ and it is in relation to their habitation of that site that the charter is linked to the next. The second charter issued that day from Louviers concedes the county of Nantes to Erispoë and provides restitution to the bishop of Nantes for damage recently caused to his church.¹⁷⁷ As count of Nantes, Erispoë took some of the control that Vivian had held in Neustria until his

¹⁷⁴ *RAC*, I, no. 180, pp. 478-480.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 180, p. 480. On the relationship of 'compaternity' between Erispoë and Charles, see Smith, *Province*, pp. 110-111.

¹⁷⁶ *RAC*, I, no. 180, p. 480.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 181, pp. 481-483.

death in 851. Doubtless necessity was a major factor for Charles in giving the county to Erispoë, but it seems that he was already involved in the area as a major political force, and besides this Robert the Strong was another man whom Charles brought into these areas when he made him the count of Angers and the lay-abbot of Marmoutier.¹⁷⁸ We saw the close correlation between the creation of Vivian as count of Tours and his series of grants to Saint-Martin-de-Tours and to the Filibertines that immediately followed it. This was evidently an important part of the exercise of comital authority and this pair of charters from 856 provides us with the final piece of evidence that shows both that this was the case and that the Filibertines were a community who were integral to power structures in various places after 819.

Whether it was as a part of the Turonian policy of Vivian and Charles in the region between Vilaine and Loire, or as part of the Aquitanian policy of Charles in opposition to Pippin II, or even as part of a new policy associated with Erispoë, the community of St Filibert found itself in the cycle of patronage throughout the mid-ninth century. Charles' concerns were varied in this period and the important locations at the heart of the concerns therefore varied, but when the Filibertines moved from one place to another or were granted further lands and possessions, those grants can be placed firmly within political contexts. Politics was only one of the factors that concerned the Filibertines. For them there were genuine threats from the Northmen, particularly from 843 until 858; there were also cultic considerations, however. It is necessary to remember that they were first and foremost a community of monks who were devoted to St Filibert and their personal agendas might not always have married with those of Charles or any other

¹⁷⁸ Smith, *Province*, p. 111. Also Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 165-168.

patron. The crux of the matter is that Charles and the counts mentioned above were patrons and that the community needed their support for various reasons. The two charters from 856 neatly tie together many of the key concerns here. They show that Charles continued a policy that meant dealing with various issues that concerned a particular region at one time and in one place as we saw him do at Tours in 845. Beyond this they show that the Filibertines remained part of local policies in the period after the death of Vivian despite all of their changes in terms of location and success.

There remains one further difficulty with the charter of 856. As it refers to the community in relation to Déas and as it provides further land for refuge to a group who had received a similar grant from Charles the Bald in the donation of Messais in 854, it throws what we know of the progression of the community (from Noirmoutier to Déas, from Déas to Cunault and from Cunault to Messais) into the air. Can we accept that Ermentarius' representation of events is as clear cut as it seems? Or, did the community move elsewhere in 856? We have already broached this general question. When the community left Déas for Cunault in 845, they left a portion of the community behind along with the relics of St Filibert. This portion of the community maintained their connections with the relics of St Filibert and with the areas that had historical associations with Filibert himself. They returned to rejoin the rest of the community in 858, as we have also seen, and did so at Cunault. It appears, therefore, that the grant made by Erispoë was one that never caused a relocation of the community. Rather than being granted to the whole of this community, it may be that it was given to the party that remained at Déas. As it was granted to Hilbod, however, it probably reflects an ongoing connection between the two

groups. In terms of the consequences of the charter's promulgation, it seems clear that the group of lands became a part of the community's portfolio but did not become a residence. Moreover, even if it was granted to only a portion of the community, then it might be concluded that, in the end, the group which had deliberately stayed at Déas rather than move to Cunault in 845, preferred reunification with their former brothers to a relocation of their own when they realised that habitation of Déas was no longer a long-term possibility. As we have seen one of the most important reasons that a split was occasioned was the desire to remain at Déas. Once the viability of doing so was eroded, the reason for remaining aloof from the remainder of the group was also diminished and the Filibertines were reunited at Cunault in 858, leaving Saint-Jean-sur-Mayenne only a peripheral rôle for the monks.

Although they reunited prior to moving to Messais, the Filibertines were eventually forced to cede victory to the Martinians in terms of the presence that they might have in the region near to Messais, moving to Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule in around 872.¹⁷⁹ There were important contextual reasons for this, and the Filibertine community eventually found themselves in a very powerful position at the monastery of Tournus in the heart of Burgundy,¹⁸⁰ but it was the Martinians who found success in Poitou. For the monks of St Martin de Vertou, the past associations with Frankish royalty and the importance of their founder were no doubt significant factors. So too must have been their ability to connect with Pippin II at such a crucial time in his struggle for Aquitaine and to maintain the

¹⁷⁹ Charles the Bald granted the community the monastery at Saint-Pourçain on 30 October 871. See *RAC*, II, no. 353, pp. 285-287. For the location of Saint-Pourçain, see map 2, p. viii.

¹⁸⁰ For the location of Tournus, see map 2, p. viii.

economic ventures that were as much a part of their ninth-century history as they were for the Filibertines.

IV: Conclusions

The ninth-century history of the Filibertines encompasses a number of important concerns. We have seen how they became entrenched as members of the political network of Charles the Bald in more than one arena at Cunault and at Messais. The charters that Charles promulgated in their favour are central to an understanding of Filibertine activity in this period. What most clearly emerges from the charters is that Charles used them to benefit himself just as he did to benefit the monks of St Filibert. Patronage benefited everyone, and whilst it more obviously favoured the community who were the recipients of four grants between 845 and 856, it often involved more parties than just the beneficiary and the benefactor. Charles needed to use trusted communities like that of St Filibert in order to advance or improve his influence in regions that were disputed or that needed stronger representations of authority. When he did this he walked a path that Frankish kings had followed for years, but he walked it in a way that indicates a nuanced appreciation of the policy.

Whilst previous rulers had placed their trusted monastic communities on the margins of empire or kingdom in order to advance Carolingianness beyond Frankish borders, Charles co-opted this policy to use it in a form of internal expansionism that dominated politics after the death of Louis the Pious. In viewing the way in which the Filibertine community interacted with that of St Martin de Vertou, we have seen that Charles was

not the only king who saw the potential of this changed policy. Pippin II was a great threat to Caroline authority in Aquitaine and he helped to maintain that threat by adopting the same practice.

For Charles, the stability of his régime was briefly but seriously undermined after the death of Vivian at Jengland in 851. The community of St Filibert was a group that helped to make things stable in the 840s when pressures mounted against the king, and they were brought into new spheres as disputes manifested themselves in different regions.

Throughout most of the period that has been considered in this chapter, the community was much more subject to the political reshaping that was going on than they were to ravages of the Northmen and yet, at a time when the incursions of these men increased dramatically, they found themselves situated on one of the main arteries for invasion whilst at Cunault. For the first time then, the narrative that Ermentarius provided came closest to explaining the actual events that impinged on the Filibertines. When he emphasised fratricidal conflicts and an innumerable multitude of Northmen springing forth to destroy the Christian kingdom, he spelled out the things that would put the wheels of further translations for the monks in motion. As before, however, the way in which he did this was exaggerated and polemical. The paradigm of monastic flight from Vikings though closer to the truth here than before, still cannot wholly be accepted as so many other factors were of such immense importance. It remains for us to assess the composition of these texts from a textual perspective that brings the focus of our study onto the author and the messages that he wished to convey. Having seen the reality of the history of the community of St Filibert in the ninth century, we are in a position to

discuss the reasons behind a narrative that seriously overplayed one element whilst it marginalised and concealed others.

FIVE

Authorial intent, genre and the community as audience

I: Introduction

In the first chapter of this study we considered the authors and the texts in the context of appeal to Hilduin of Saint-Denis. At the same time, an argument was proposed that sought to explain the texts in light of connections that the community and St Filibert had to Frankish royals. These are extremely important aspects of the history of the community. They are more particularly important influences on the historiography that the community produced. They are not, however, the only influences. In this final chapter, we shall consider additional influences and ask to what extent they impacted on the creation of a history that, as has been consistently argued, is open to exaggeration and the concealment of significant parts of what would be a genuine narrative of ninth-century events.

We have already considered Hilduin and Charles as audiences for the texts. Here we shall begin with an examination of the third audience for Ermentarius' works. This is the community itself. Questions that will be asked of the texts in light of their rôle as an audience will consider the narrative of flight from Northmen in a new way that asks how such a narrative allied with other contemporary Filibertine concerns might be of use to a group whose identity was threatened by repeated migrations. Although Falco's *Chronicon* largely focuses on later developments of the cult and community that, due to limitations of space, are not covered here, some analysis of his representation of the community to provide comparative information about the long-term development of

community identity will be attempted. After doing this we shall consider additional authorial intentions. Here we shall approach the texts in a way that complements the issues described above and will ask what the more traditional messages that Ermentarius included in his narrative were. The final part of our analysis in this chapter will involve investigation of some contemporary hagiography in order to locate *TMF* in its proper genre. The question that will be asked here will essentially be to what extent we can locate *TMF* in the genres that have already been delineated, and how far Ermentarius' work was a development of old genres that stood out from them and created a new way of writing in response to new circumstances. Overall this discussion will return us from consideration of the actual translations of the community to the texts themselves; our aim will be to understand them in their rightful setting and to enable us to see the ninth-century history of the community as both history and literature.

II: The community of St Filibert as audience

Perhaps the most important issue concerning the nature of Ermentarius' text has been peripheral to our study to this point. One of the main audiences for him was without doubt the community of St Filibert itself. When he wrote his texts, he did so in ways that spoke to the Filibertines of their origins, history and nature and this has a profound impact on the perceptions that we gain from a reading of them. In this section, the emphasis will be on what there was within these texts that was designed to appeal to the community of which Ermentarius was a part. This will involve a close reading of certain aspects of the texts alongside a wide approach that considers their overall messages. Here we come closest to

understanding Ermentarius' mentality as he moved through the Frankish kingdoms with the Filibertines.

We saw in chapter two that Lifshitz viewed Ermentarius' work in the context of appeal for patronage and as a text that, when sent to Hilduin and Charles, might serve as a stepping stone to success.¹ There is much to credit in this analysis but Lifshitz does not draw a fully satisfactory conclusion in that, although correct, it fails to appreciate many of the other nuances that are apparent in Ermentarius' work. Although the community was aware of the texts' potential in this regard, this was not the main context for them either. Their interest was aroused far more by the reference to Viking persecution than it was by other issues. For them, Viking activity was a real concern as they were no doubt aware of the problems that Vikings caused during the ninth century. However, even in this regard the texts were somewhat strange, for the community was surely also aware of the other factors that impacted on their translations. One of the main concerns here is, therefore, to understand what the texts meant to them and why the authors obfuscated some things whilst overplaying others.

For a community whose ninth-century history involved five translations, identity must have been an issue. With that in mind, we shall examine the extent to which the community could understand, maintain and even create a sense of unified identity in the context of itineration. We will set the texts against a backdrop of almost constant movement in a period when the community suffered from internal divisions and periodic concerns over stability. In the process of doing so we shall have reason to appeal to a good deal of the

¹ See above, p. 20 and pp. 58-60.

information about the reality of the movements that we have already observed. Through this method we will ask whether Ermentarius' descriptions of a persecuted group of monks fleeing for their own safety, which description is often echoed in charter records, defined the community in the same way as they have dominated historians' understanding of it. Another important underlying factor will be the way that Ermentarius chose to refer to the Northmen in general terms throughout his work. This, it will be argued, allowed the community to see the Scandinavians as a group with limited personal and humanising attributes and which posed a particular threat to Christianity. Representations of them were general so that they could become better examples of wrong-doing and danger in a way that parallels the descriptions of them in the prefaces to *TMF*.²

Our first point of reference shall be the period 814-836 in which the community moved from Noirmoutier to Déas during the summer months. Of the six monasteries that the Filibertines occupied in the ninth century, Noirmoutier was the only one at which Filibert lived for a prolonged period. Although Déas was granted to him during his lifetime, the land and buildings there were not put to full use until the ninth century. Noirmoutier was founded by Filibert during a period of exile from Neustria in the late 670s.³ He lived at the monastery immediately after its foundation until he could return to Neustria in 680, and again from the end of 683 or the beginning of 684.⁴ Filibert died at the island monastery in either 684 or 685. His relics remained there, guarded and venerated by a prosperous community whose salt trading raised their profile until they were translated to Déas over 150 years later. These were powerful resonances. Not only could Noirmoutier claim direct

² See below, pp. 244-250.

³ See above, p. 27.

⁴ Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. xxiii.

associations with Filibert, but it could locate those associations in a period in his career when he was remembered as having been acting according to his beliefs and in the face of considerable danger. Moreover, his personal attachment to Noirmoutier could be proven by his desire to return there for the final years of his life. When we consider the repeated summer migrations to Déas in light of this the image is furthered. As there was already a building at Déas that the monks reconstructed during the summer months, it is interesting that they chose to return to Noirmoutier in the winter. This practice, of wintering on Noirmoutier, may be evidence of an attachment to their original home that led them to spend as much time as they felt they could there. This remains the case whether the reason for summer sojourns off the island was Viking threat, or, as is more likely, preparation for a planned relocation. With the benefit of hindsight and with knowledge of Ermentarius' narrative, the *Chronicon* explained that the monks only left Noirmoutier after sixteen years of hardship which was endured because Noirmoutier was where they wished to stay.⁵ We should consider this emotional attachment alongside other reasons to move between the two monasteries in this period such as the economic concerns that we have already dealt with. Because of these strong connections to Noirmoutier and because of the strong textual references to that location, the movements needed to be explained, not only to Hilduin and Charles, but to the monks who were moved further from the home with which they identified as time went on.

Not only did the community of St Filibert endure the loss of Noirmoutier as a home and thereby also associations with their patron, they also lost their abbot in the period during which they were moving between Noirmoutier and Déas. In 824 or perhaps 825, Arnulf

⁵ *Chronicon*, 22, pp. 84-85.

resigned his position as abbot of the community. We have had reason to consider Arnulf's abbacy in part before now, but it will be worth reviewing the significant factors here.

Depreux considered him one of the members of Louis the Pious' entourage. In 817 he was sent as a *missus* to monasteries within the empire to apply the reforms that were decided on at Aachen councils in 816/817 and he was with Benedict of Aniane at Saint-Denis in 817. For Mayke de Jong, he was Benedict's 'fellow reform abbot.'⁶ In 819 he secured a charter from Hilduin of Saint-Denis and Pippin I of Aquitaine allowing for the diversion of the river Boulogne at the site at Déas and he clearly had an important rôle in the orchestration of the building project there, even incorporating some elements of the building project that he witnessed at Saint-Denis.⁷ When he left the community, he went on to serve as abbot at other monasteries such as Rebais, but he never returned to the Filibertines and died in 839 leaving the community bereft of any influential figure within the court circle.⁸

The use of the texts as a method of gaining entry to Carolingian patronage circles has been emphasised above; it should be considered with the absence of Arnulf from the community in mind. When the texts were sent to Hilduin in c.840, not only had Arnulf been away from the community for fifteen years, but he had recently died. The community may well have seen the texts as they existed at that time as a method by which they could introduce a new régime to similar circles as those in which Arnulf moved. Moreover, as Pippin I of Aquitaine had recently died too, the onus was on the Filibertines to attempt to acquire *Königsnähe* with Charles the Bald in his new position south of the Loire. In the end, Hilbod became a more than capable successor to Arnulf, but the loss of the latter as a leader added

⁶ M. de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer' in *NCMH*, II, p. 632.

⁷ For architecture at Déas see above, pp. 132-136. Compare fig. 1 and fig. 2, pp. xvii-xviii.

⁸ For these details see Depreux, *Prosopographie*, no. 36, pp. 111-112.

considerably to Filibertine concerns in the 820s. When they moved to Déas in 836, Hilbod had had time to redress some of these issues, but they remained a community in a new location with a relatively new abbot and in a region that had a new king who was made to struggle for supremacy over Pippin II. As this region was not as rich as Noirmoutier had been in associations with Filibert either during his lifetime or posthumously, the community needed a new way of understanding their position and the texts must be seen in this light in order that we might fully understand them. Some specific examples will help to further illustrate this use of them.

We have seen that the community suffered a split when some went to Cunault in 845 and others preferred to remain at Déas.⁹ When one part of the community went to Cunault leaving behind the relics of St Filibert with the remainder, each party must have endured a degree of uncertainty and their group identities must have been damaged. As with the previous issues, therefore, this is one that greatly impacts on the need for the texts to make identity a central concern. Let us return to Ermentarius' description of the relocation. In the preface to book two of *TMF*, he wrote,

‘Fugimus et nos in locum qui Conaldus vocatur in territorio Andecavensi, super alveum Ligeris, quem Karolus jamdictus rex gloriosus propter imminens periculum, antequam Andevais caperetur, nobis dederat ob causum refugii, corpore beati Filiberti adhuc in monasterio quod Deae dicitur relicto, quamvis a Nortmannis incenso. Non enim adhuc Herbidilica tellus a tanto expoliari paciebatur patrono, quamdiu pars aliqua ibi commorari poterat monachorum.’¹⁰

⁹ See above, p. 156 and pp. 158-160.

¹⁰ *TMF*, II, Preface, p. 61.

Here we can see the history of the community being presented in the context of Viking attack and can also see that Ermentarius remains wedded to the use of generic terminology to describe the Northmen. The community and St Filibert are redefined by this reference. Where they had been a group with strong associations in the past to royalty and to monastic foundations, they underwent a change here. Although the relics remained in the pays d'Herbage because of the split in the community that lasted 845-858, Ermentarius made Filibert into a protector of the region and implied that such a rôle was the reason for leaving the relics behind. The community was now one that was understood as a persecuted group and the saint was a champion of the faithful who remained in areas where the Northmen had an influence, and who was able to help others in those areas. We should consider this a very important step forwards in terms of the cult of St Filibert. In this representation, Ermentarius used the reason that he continually provided for Filibertine translations as a new identifying feature. Northmen provide the means by which to set the Filibertines in an understandable context in a text which was written after three relocations had already taken place.

In the 82 miracles in Ermentarius' first book, none was concerned with protection from the Northmen despite the overriding appeal for aid in reference to them. In the second book, miracles of protection from the Northmen begin to appear. This must be seen partially as a response to the promise that Ermentarius made in the first book, that he would dedicate stories of Filibert's prowess in the face of Northmen to Hilduin.¹¹ However, its complexity goes beyond this simple explanation. Ermentarius recounted a miracle in his second book

¹¹ This point was emphasised in Lifshitz, 'Migration', pp. 191-192. Also *TME*, I, 1, pp. 24-25.

in which Filibert protected Noirmoutier from an attack by the Northmen.¹² This was an event, if it took place, that surely could have been incorporated into the first book and yet it was not. The miracle story did not fit with the narrative that Ermentarius favoured c.840, but it did fit with the c.862 view of the community and so it is likely that he invented it for this reason.

Changing views of the community are also reflected through the representation of Déas in the second book of *TMF*. In this book's descriptions of Déas, Ermentarius shifted the nostalgic feelings of the community from Noirmoutier to Déas. He opened it, for example, with an account of the movement to Déas in which he described a flood of people of both sexes eager to see the relics and receive cures.¹³ He then devoted the next six chapters to miracles at Déas,¹⁴ and boasted of the widespread renown that Filibert earned whilst at Déas.¹⁵ It is important to remember that he was writing after another two translations had taken place and that he was writing of a monastery that was collectively built by the community. These are just some of the reasons that the translation to Déas was described in glowing terms at the outset of the preface to book two. An aura of nostalgia was created around this moment in the community's history through association with peace in the time of Louis the Pious and its contrast with the turbulent years that followed his death.¹⁶ Accounts of the celebrations that accompanied the translation in 836 in book two make the movement seem wholly positive in contrast to the original portrayal of events in which the need to leave Noirmoutier was lamented. In book two Déas was written into Filibertine

¹² Ibid., II, 11, pp. 66-67.

¹³ Ibid., II, 1, p. 63.

¹⁴ Ibid., II, 2-7, pp. 63-65.

¹⁵ Ibid., II, 6, p. 65.

¹⁶ For example, '...paxque Hludogvico imperante aliquantula arrideret...' Ibid., II, Preface, p. 58.

history as the new and rightful centre of the cult of St Filibert in a way that meant that textual memories of Noirmoutier were no longer central to the community.

One of the reasons for this representation of Déas must be the split that was caused by the translation to Cunault in 845. Reasons for that split have been explored above; it should be added that dispute about the correct response to the growing threat of the Northmen may have been one of them as might the recent resignation of Arnulf. Nevertheless, the split is certainly a contributory factor in the need to establish an effective identity for the majority of the community that did not stay at Déas until 858. Not only were they divorced from their spiritual home, and from proximity to Noirmoutier, but they no longer possessed the relics of the founder. With such obstacles in their way, identity would have been of paramount concern.

Moreover, although there must have been a certain degree of continuity in terms of the membership of the community of St Filibert epitomised by the presence of Ermentarius at at least three of the post-Noirmoutier centres for the cult, some members would have been in need of a history that could explain to them the nature of the community as they joined it at various stages in the process of relocation. In two instances *TMF* speaks of additions to the community. In chapter twelve of book one, Peter, a seven-year-old boy, was brought by his father to meet the community *en route* between l'Ampan and Bois-de-Cené. He was mute and was cured by the saint on touching the cloth that covered the sarcophagus.¹⁷ Importantly the text referred to him as '*oblatus*.' The impression is that he was offered by his father to the community as a child oblate and that he would, therefore, have been

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, xii, p. 30.

trained in the community thereafter. Similarly in chapter thirteen of book two, a twelve-year-old boy named Madalbertus was offered to the community as they passed between Forges and Taizé.¹⁸ These are just isolated incidents, but provide proof that the community did evolve; any estimate must expect that it did so throughout the period in question and beyond.¹⁹ Peter's father was '*quidam rusticus*',²⁰ yet there must also have been high-status recruits to the community. We have already seen the importance that this may have had for rivalries between communities and in the context of the use of monasteries as representatives of the initiatives of rival kings like Charles the Bald and Pippin II in Aquitaine.²¹

Not only might monastic rivalries, or indeed association with rival kings, lead to disputes between noble families outwith the monastic confines, but more importantly external rivalries between these families might very well become an internal issue. The split that the community of St Filibert suffered in 845 and which was not repaired until 858 must have been associated with this factor. The community had relatively recently moved to Déas when this occurred and so must have incorporated into its membership certain people from local aristocratic families. They may have upset the delicate balance within the established community most of whom must have travelled to Déas from Noirmoutier, and would certainly have added to any tensions that arose later. Indeed Falco claims that members of the community were left behind at some points in the translations in chapter nineteen of the *Chronicon* writing that the old, weak and infirm were left behind at Noirmoutier much to

¹⁸ Ibid., II, xiii, p. 69.

¹⁹ On monastic recruitment see de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism', pp. 640-644 and more generally de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*.

²⁰ *TMF*, I, xii, p. 30.

²¹ See above, pp. 195-212.

the dismay of the whole group.²² This is not surprising and we should expect that it was not only the weak that were left at such times. Nonetheless, it certainly adds to an overall impression that translations caused great upheaval and necessitated a renewal in the community. If new members at Déas were linked to land-holders in the region around the pays d'Herbauge, their familial associations may have offered just one reason to remain at Déas whilst the remainder of the community went to Cunault. The power of these new members derived from their extra-monastic associations may also explain why the relics stayed at Déas if they did so themselves.

The attempts of our authors to establish a sense of identity for the monks in the wake of problems like these is best seen in the wider framework of Frankish historical writing. Fouracre showed that although Merovingian *vitae* allow us to reconstruct (at least partially) the history of the period, they each have their own individual agendas and interests that cannot be divorced from a study of them.²³ Lifshitz, as we have seen, has shown that late-seventh and early-eighth century lives of Neustrian saints could be made to reflect the needs of the Merovingians to create a sense of a region that 'excelled in holiness.'²⁴ The same study has indicated that the Carolingians sometimes altered the narratives provided by the original Merovingian hagiographers to their own ends, and we have examined the ways in which the *VF* fits into this scheme through varying references to the donor of lands to Filibert at Jumièges in different *vitae* from the same period.²⁵ When the Carolingians altered texts like these, their aim was to erase the strengths of the Neustrians and the

²² *Chronicon*, 19, p. 83.

²³ See for example, Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France* and Fouracre, 'Merovingian History'.

²⁴ Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, pp. 191-192.

²⁵ See above, pp. 28-31.

symbols of their identity from history and to replace them with images of weakness and decrepitude. Identity was a weapon that could be used to jostle for overall authority, both textual and actual. McKitterick's exploration of Carolingian history writing makes a strong case for the efforts that Carolingian authors went to at every stage to make sure that their version of events was that which survived.²⁶ For Ermentarius, identity was something that needed to be controlled and asserted to ensure the continuity of their community in the face of their various challenges. For him there were no textual attacks (as there were in the case of the Neustrian Merovingians for instance) as it was he who were able to write his own history, but there were plenty of other concerns that threatened his stability such as external pressure, régime change within the community and without, relocations, and internal disagreements partially caused by a fluid membership of the community.

The reference that Falco made to an unfortunate election in which more than one abbot was chosen reinforces the point.²⁷ This came at a time when the community had once more relocated, this time to Messais. As we have seen, the monks were on much less secure ground at this point than they had been before both in terms of their cult and their political standing. In terms of geography, connections to either Noirmoutier or to Déas were at best strained by now and although the translation came after reunion with those members of the community who had stayed behind at Déas in 845, it occurred during the abbacy of Berno. Hilbod, the man who had successfully followed Arnulf was dead and his successor, Axenius, seems to have remained in office for only a very brief period of time.²⁸ Berno had

²⁶ See McKitterick, *History and Memory*.

²⁷ See above, p. 160.

²⁸ See Poupardin, *Monuments*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii, where the length of his abbacy is so short as to cause Poupardin to question the veracity of it. See above, pp. 39-41.

to recapture the command of the community and remnants of attachment to Noirmoutier were clearly a hindrance to this. Beyond all of this, Falco was writing a text well after the event and after a further two relocations (which led the community to Tournus) had taken place. By this time there was no remaining link at all with the geographical origins of the community and its cult. Tensions followed the Filibertines throughout their history and when Falco turned to write up this history, he did so in a way that emphasised problems because this was something that could help to maintain the group mentality of the community of which he was a part. Shared hardship could provide a strong sense of cohesion and it was an element that each of our authors used well. Falco's text provides a useful comparison to *TMF* although it is a later composition, and although it mostly describes post-ninth-century Filibertine history, we can see that Falco used similar tactics as Ermentarius in order to present his sense of identity.

When Falco wrote the *Chronicon* at the turn of the twelfth century he made good use of the things that he had learned from Ermentarius about the history of the community and its interactions with the Northmen. As we have seen, he repeated some of what Ermentarius wrote in contracted form. He, for instance, described the coming of the Northmen to Déas, their burning of the monastery and the subsequent translation of the community to Cunault in chapter 21 of his work.²⁹ In the following chapter he described the burning of Noirmoutier at the hands of the Northmen too.³⁰ However, although persecution was a major theme in his history, he seems to have been more concerned to have a persecuting force to display than with their actual identity. To be sure he used the same general epithet

²⁹ *Chronicon*, 21, p. 84.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 22, pp. 84-85.

of Northman as had Ermentarius, but in chapter seventeen he called the invaders *Marchomannicaum* rather than *Nortmanni*, saying that the *Marchomannicaum gentem* ravaged the lands around the north-west of the Frankish kingdoms and caused the monks a number of difficulties on the island.³¹ Because he had the record of Ermentarius that made clear that it was the Northmen that caused these difficulties, this use of an archaic Roman term for a Germanic tribe is interesting particularly as he refers to the Northmen in other parts of the text.³²

In relation to the use of the terms barbarian and Roman in the antique period, Ian Wood sensibly pointed out that when such binary opposites are used by writers there is inevitably a specific function in mind. Often in this case, as with the use of Vikings or Northmen versus Frank with all of the correlative ideas that are presented by each term, this means that the one (here the Roman and the Frank) is represented as the decent, just and respectable element in contradistinction to the indecent, barbarous and disruptive element (the barbarian and the Northman). Wood also stated that these opposites did not always function in exactly this way and that they were changeable depending on the political, social or indeed textual circumstances.³³ Ermentarius and Falco both understood the possibilities inherent in using terminology like this in presenting the Northmen as a binary opposite to the Franks (or more specifically to the Filibertines) and used those

³¹ Ibid., 17, p. 82.

³² It is possible that this refers to the Magyars thus reflecting troubles that sources reveal the Filibertines to have suffered in the 930s back to the ninth-century history of the community. If Falco did this deliberately it is further evidence that he might have wanted to link his community with the earlier Filibertines by reference to dangers and external threats.

³³ I. Wood, 'Conclusion: Strategies of Distinction' in W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 297-303.

possibilities to their advantage to mould identities regardless, perhaps, of the actual identities that they perceived.³⁴

It may be that Falco hoped to emphasise threats to the Filibertines long after the events that he described in order to link the twelfth-century community to that of the ninth in ideological terms. If Falco's community had written accounts that emphasised upheaval and danger then they might be able to consider themselves as belonging to the same group with the same identity. Lifshitz designated Falco's text as the consequence of a time when the cult of St Filibert was beginning to be 'publicised energetically from Tournus' and Filibert was being portrayed as a 'victim of Viking ravages.' For her, Filibert was 'transformed into a monument of the depredations of the Viking Normans.'³⁵ Lifshitz' context, as we have seen, is the relation of the cult and community of St Filibert to royal activities. For this current argument though, it is important to see these statements in the context of the third audience of the texts. From this point of view portrayal of Filibert as a victim of Viking ravages allowed the community to see their patron and themselves in a new light that made sense of the many ninth-century translations. It also allowed them to understand the splits in the community and to see themselves, those that had made it to Tournus, as the inheritors of a multilayered past that included the references to Noirmoutier and to Déas as important ideological centres, but that also defined who they, the community were.

³⁴ See M. Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne' in Hen and Innes, *Uses of the Past*, p. 125 for similar statements concerning the images of Carolingians and Lombards.

³⁵ Lifshitz, 'Migration', pp. 191-192.

When Anna Trumbore Jones investigated textual reactions to monastic communities from Aquitaine which had a historical link to the Northmen, she highlighted an important element. The communities that she studied (Saint-Hilaire-de-Poitiers, Saint-Maixent in Poitou, and Saint-Cybard in Angoulême) produced accounts from the tenth century onwards that emphasised the destruction of their monasteries by the Northmen in the ninth. In the case of her communities, the authors of these texts did so at times when the community wished to emphasise the achievements involved in the restoration of the monastery, or to emphasise reforms within the community.³⁶ The works that Trumbore Jones studied, have a common thread: ‘the dramatic language of the chronicles and restoration charters often served to glorify the activity of a restorer or serve other purposes, rather than reflect accurately the more mundane reality of relatively quick recovery.’³⁷ These texts, like Ermentarius’ and Falco’s, did not always trouble themselves with concerns about accurate reportage because this was not what they intended to achieve. In relation to the monastery of Saint-Hilaire-de-Poitiers, for example, Trumbore Jones has convincingly illustrated that whilst the Northmen exerted a destructive influence, this has been over-emphasised (in this case by Adhemar of Chabannes) so that the restoration of the community by bishop Ebles of Limoges 60 years after the Viking attack could be made to seem more impressive than it was.³⁸ Exaggeration in the scale of the invasions and the effects of attacks on communities were the norm because that was the method by which the image that the community wanted could be most easily projected. In some cases certain individuals were lauded; in ours a community was defined. The ability for a saint or relic to

³⁶ A. Trumbore Jones, ‘Pitying the desolation of such a place: rebuilding religious houses and constructing memory in Aquitaine in the wake of the Viking incursions’ in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 37 (2006), pp. 85-102.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

provide the means for a community to form an identity was noted by Geary. He saw that in the absence of a firm sense of national identity, it was such things as saints to which a community might look.³⁹ In the case of the Filibertines, the saint was something that was incorporated into a sense of community identity and a shared experience that involved attacks from the Northmen was moulded around that identity to enhance and preserve it across three centuries and through five translations.⁴⁰

Falco wrote a text that focussed on dislocation and external threat in order to help define his community. He could do so because of the foundations laid by Ermentarius, particularly in the second book of *TMF*. Innes wrote, ‘if early medieval historical writings were representations of the past made for present purposes, then we clearly need to understand the parameters within which they were shaped.’⁴¹ Our discussion has attempted to go some way towards doing that for the texts associated with the community of St Filibert. Audience is crucial to understanding the purposes of a text and therefore precisely what that text is, not just here but for every text that we deal with. We have seen at the outset of this study how literal understandings of a piece of historical writing can limit our appreciation of their importance, so much we already know, but we have also seen that locating the text not just in its historical context but in the context of its audience can lead to a much better understanding of its worth. When it comes to Ermentarius’ texts, which are after all the principal source for this study, the miracle accounts and the details of the translations can tell us a lot about the audience at whom he pitched his work.

³⁹ Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 19.

⁴⁰ The creation of identity is, of course, a major aspect of recent historiography concerned with the Franks. See, for example, Innes, ‘Introduction’ and McKitterick, *History and Memory*.

⁴¹ Innes, ‘Introduction’, p. 1.

III: Miracle accounts and the translation narrative

Fostering community identity was an important motivation for both Ermentarius and Falco when they wrote their texts but although it shaped what they created, it was not the only concern. Because of the relocations of community and relics, it was important that Ermentarius' texts also establish the thaumaturgical efficacy of St Filibert and the legitimacy of each of the new locations for cult and community, for example. We have seen that publicising the translations was an important tactic for a community especially due to the element of chance that existed in any movement of a cult where neighbouring communities and their relics posed a threat to their future stability.⁴² When a hagiographer wrote a text about his saint, he knew that the text was the best medium through which he might provide proof of the possession of relics and of the benefits that they offered to a new lay audience. Geary highlighted some of these concerns by drawing attention to the use of *translationes* as a method of overcoming scepticism associated with relics that had been moved from their original setting.⁴³ Due either to the presence of other, better established, cults in the landscape to which they moved, or to uncertainty regarding the authenticity of translated relics, they risked a less-emphatic reception than they sought. Because of this we will consider the way in which Ermentarius presented details about the translations and the miracles of St Filibert in this section and ask what he hoped to say through the information he related.

⁴² See above, p. 141-142.

⁴³ Geary, *Living with the Dead*, p. 172.

Discussion of Ermentarius' narration of the translations can tell us a lot about the intentions of the community and Ermentarius. We have already seen that the monks took the relics of St Filibert from Noirmoutier via Furcae, l'Ampan, Bois-de-Cené and Paulx to Déas and have also seen that miracles occurred throughout the journey. We shall consider the first translation here before moving on to compare some of its elements with the third translation. In chapter two of book one Ermentarius addressed many of the main issues that he was concerned to present. This chapter described the removal of the sarcophagus from Noirmoutier to Furcae and its subsequent movement to the Filibertine territory of l'Ampan. We have dealt with some of it before but its importance deserves a second look. The chapter is here quoted in full:

‘Suffuso igitur septimo die junii mensis sepulturae loco, cum ipso venerabili tumulo elevatur cum laudibus sanctissimum corpus, ponitur in navi, cicio flante, cursu citissimo fertur ad portum Furcae vocatur. Inde vero sacerdotum, levitarum simul ac monachorum humeris elatum ad Ampennum suam defertur villam, atque in ecclesia collocatur. Interim fit populi concursus non modicus, gaudent omnes vel scalam qua vehebatur seu etiam linteum quo tegebatur se posse contingere. Credunt namque a qualibet infirmitate vexatos hujus sancti meritis posse salvari. Quos tamen expletio operis postea demonstravit spe sua non fuisse fradatos. Rarus siquidem ad hujus sancti suffragia plenus fide venit, et opem ex corde petivit qui non sanus redierit.’⁴⁴

As can be seen, the raising of the sarcophagus was accompanied by chants of praise from the onlookers. From the very outset then the relics of St Filibert were accompanied by adherents to his cult and it was they who ensured that the momentous occasion received

⁴⁴ TMF, I, ii, p. 26.

just attention. The relics were lifted onto a bier when they arrived on the mainland and were then carried in processional fashion in full view of a large audience who flocked to touch the tomb itself or the cloth that covered it in order to receive the cures which they sought. In lifting the sarcophagus in this manner, the monks of St Filibert made certain that those who had turned out to witness the arrival of the relics onto the mainland were able to be fully integrated into the events. Due to the importance of this moment for the cultic position of the Filibertines they had to give themselves the best possible chance of attracting an audience. Carrying the relics at a height was clearly a manner in which this could be done. According to Ermentarius it had the desired effect. Moreover, the clear desire of the audience to approach the tomb could be seen as evidence that the relics were indeed present and effective.

Testimony like this could show that the relics were genuine as was the translation, both of which issues were clearly central to a narrative such as this. It provided further evidence of the preparedness of the community for the translation, showing as it did the route of the community through their own lands. Moreover, the fact of a number of followers being present at each of the places here described suggests that they were aware of the impending event, no doubt partly due to the route's going through l'Ampan. By referring to chants of praise as the sarcophagus was raised, this record hints that liturgical accompaniments were a part of this stage-managed procession.⁴⁵ Beyond this we can see

⁴⁵ On Carolingian liturgy under Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald see Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul: To the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London, 2001), pp. 96-154. On the preparation necessary for liturgical celebrations see *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116. Also Goodich, 'Liturgy', pp. 145-6 for (later) examples of the rôle of liturgy in establishing 'the necessary context through which the power of the saint's relics' was made public. The specific context here is the foundation of a saint's cult but the pressures bearing on such events are comparable with translation to new monastic settings.

that the people who looked to Filibert for cures saw the sarcophagus and the cloths that covered it as legitimate relics through which Filibert's and God's power could be made manifest thus echoing the practice of using secondary relics throughout the medieval West.⁴⁶ Those people were also said to have been ardent believers in the efficacy of the saint and the account highlighted the great importance of belief in what we might see as an exchange system in which cures were offered in response to belief.⁴⁷ This point was emphatically made at the close of this chapter where Ermentarius wrote that it was rare for a believer to want for a cure if he implored Filibert with confidence and all of his heart.

In this chapter then we are given a great deal of information that cuts to the heart of the nature of Filibert's cult and indicates some of the hagiographic *topoi* that Ermentarius employed in detailing his account. This is a factor that is evident throughout the works. On the community's arrival at Paulx on 10 June they were awaited by a large body of pilgrims,⁴⁸ and the expected miracles filled the next seven chapters of *TMF*.⁴⁹ Miracles occurred at each stage of each journey and were occasioned in response to the extraordinary piety of the pilgrims. Chapter sixteen that deals with the arrival at Paulx also highlights the liturgical aspects of the translation once more. According to Ermentarius the journey from Bois-de-Cené to Paulx was marked by the community

⁴⁶ Secondary relics were often used because of reticence on the part of successive popes to allow bodily transfers of relics from Rome. This changed in the mid-eighth century in the pontificate of Paul I, but transfers stopped again in c.779 until 826 when Hilduin brought the relics of St Sebastian to Soissons. See J. M. H. Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia', in J. M. H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 318-324 and Geary, *Living with the Dead*, pp. 179-180 and pp. 186-187.

⁴⁷ See Harding, 'Translation accounts' on this.

⁴⁸ *TMF*, I, xvi, p. 31. For the date see Poupardin, *Monuments*, p. xxix.

⁴⁹ *TMF*, I, xvi-xxiii, pp. 31-33.

being preceded by choirs singing psalms.⁵⁰ This echoed the chants of triumph that occurred on 7 June at the outset of the journey;⁵¹ psalms were again sung when the group moved from l'Ampan to Bois-de-Cené.⁵² That Ermentarius included this type of information in his account is important as it shows some of the ways in which this work fits into the broad genre of hagiography. It also indicates some of the probable norms that were associated with the 'ritual' of translation.

In much of our discussion to this point we have been concerned with putting together reliable details of the first three translations of the community. In this case preparations and the ability to incorporate elements such as planned rests at various locations and liturgical accompaniments emphasise once more the evidence against hasty flight. This is very important but it should not be allowed to relegate completely the typical elements of hagiography that are present to the shadows. Of course a major *topos* was to be seen in the miracles themselves. Given the proportion of the texts that was dedicated to miracle accounts it is clear that they were the most important aspect. Almost all of the chapters of both books of *TMF* outwith the prefaces detail miracles of some kind.

One more example from book one indicates the close connections between miracle accounts and liturgical aspects of the translation. As they left l'Ampan for Bois-de-Cené the community chanted hymns. Tents had been erected for the use of the monks at their destination, but because they did not arrive by noon they laid the sarcophagus on the ground in-between l'Ampan and Bois-de-Cené in order to chant the noontime offices. At

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, xvi, p. 31.

⁵¹ See above, p. 234 and *TMF*, I, ii, p. 26.

⁵² *Ibid.*, I, x, p. 29.

this point a man brought with him a five-year-old child who had been mute since birth. The party that accompanied the relics became involved in the moment: Ermentarius recorded their faith in God and Filibert and the boy was asked by Hilbod whether he knew who was in the tomb. His reply affirmed the boy's own faith and also the fact that he had been cured as he was able to say that he indeed knew who was in the tomb. Following this, the boy prayed aloud with (and presumably for) his new-found ability. Procession amidst the chanting of hymns was followed by the correct observance of liturgy at noon which in turn, along with faith, led to the curing of this boy whose immediate response was a liturgical one too.⁵³

There is a great deal here that is useful to us in understanding the way in which this text worked. It responded to expectation of what might be in a text like this and it created a narrative that celebrated the saint, the behaviour of his community, the belief of the adherents who accompanied the translation and the miracles that could be brought about by a combination of some of these factors. Ermentarius was desirous of advertising the miracles that Filibert brought about, whether these were beneficial or punitive (as we saw in the case of the woman who was blinded for lack of faith).⁵⁴ He no doubt knew that this would add a further layer of credence to claims to possess Filibert's remains on top of the fundamental evidence that it provided of the efficacy of praying through Filibert. Claims to possess the relics were of course important. Not only could they help to avoid the general sense of scepticism that Geary highlighted, but they had especial resonance because of the split that had occurred within the community 845-858.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, I, xvi, p. 31.

⁵⁴ See above, pp. 146-147.

We have seen that during this period the relics were kept by the portion of the community who remained at Déas. When Ermentarius wrote book two of *TMF* in c.862, he must have hoped to remove any doubt as to where the relics were. They had after all only been brought back into the possession of the principal body of the community in 858 when the whole group was reunited. Due to the length of time that the main body of the community had been without the relics and to the fact that the whole community relocated only four years after the reunification, there must have been a keen sense of the necessity to make the right sounds. In a sense this meant that the 862 translation served as a way of proposing a fresh start - this was a relatively recently renewed community that now had its patron back at its heart and procession to a new location enabled the relics to be advertised to as wide an audience as was possible - they could literally see and touch the shrine within which the relics were kept. Moreover, the procession enabled the community to travel through lands in which it held possessions and so had an established audience whilst no doubt also adding to its stock of adherents. We shall consider a few factors associated with this translation here before drawing some more general conclusions on these parts of Ermentarius' narrative.

When they moved from Cunault to Messais, the community again made use of established territory through which they directed their route knowing that this would enable them to successfully negotiate the difficult period of translation. They went through Forges and Taizé having left Cunault on 1 May 862 before they reached

Messais.⁵⁵ At each stop pilgrims approached them and were cured, and as with those who gathered to meet St Filibert and his monks on the first translation, many must have been adherents already due to their habitation of established Filibertine territories like Forges and Taizé which the community had owned since 674 and 847 respectively.⁵⁶ Moreover, the rest at Forges saw the community perform a vigil through the night and prayers were offered prior to their departure for Taizé.⁵⁷ The account also speaks of the crowds accompanying the group on their journey as it had for the first translation. At Messais the importance of liturgical aspects of the translations was revealed again when Ermentarius wrote of four solemn masses having been held in celebration of the arrival of the relics of St Filibert.⁵⁸ Just as liturgical celebrations might be used by Carolingian kings, particularly from Louis the Pious onwards to emphasise the great importance of an occasion or to create an aura of magnificence around an event like his issuing of *Ordinatio Imperii* in 817,⁵⁹ they might be used by a community of monks at a great moment like the translation of their saint to attach prestige and significance to that event and the record of it.

Clearly aspects such as the details of the processions involved in the two translations share a number of elements in each case. They therefore highlight the importance of these elements both in the translations themselves and in the textual representations of those translations. We cannot attempt a comprehensive study of the miracles or of the hagiographical *topoi* in this text here as our focus has been directed much more towards

⁵⁵ *TMF*, II, xii, pp. 67-69.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, xii-xv, pp. 67-69.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, xii, p. 68.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, xv, p. 69.

⁵⁹ See Hen, *Royal Patronage*, pp. 108-120 for Louis' use of liturgy.

the ninth-century history of the community. Nevertheless the text is an important aspect that drove as well as described this ninth-century history and the elements that we have considered here are important clues to deeper concerns.

Because of the close relationship between the timing of the translations from Noirmoutier to Déas (836) and from Cunault to Messais (862) with the production of books one and two of *TMF* (c.838 and c.862), we might see them as intimately linked. Each book of *TMF* seems to have been written up almost immediately after the last detail that it recorded and was finalised in time to serve as a permanent record of the translation, the miracles that it engendered, and the devotion of the local populace. As such this aspect of the texts is associated with ideas about identity that we have already explored, but in this context it has specific resonance for the outward image that the community reflected. Text provided context for a cult and community that was in flux and in a period of ongoing development. Whatever the cited reason for the relocation, the fact of the translation, accompanying liturgical procession and welcome for the saint in its new *locus* made up for the dislocation that saint and community felt with their own past when it was recorded in written form. Miracles confirmed the sanctity of the relics and the success of the endeavour. They ‘advertised the virtues and importance of the saints and this increased the number of pilgrims to their shrines.’⁶⁰ They meant that the saint approved of the relocation and, by indicating the interest of the local populace, records of them showed that the new adherents to the cult also approved.

⁶⁰ Geary, *Living with the Dead*, p. 171.

When Julia Smith discussed the removal of Roman relics to Frankish lands she referred to the textual authentication and validation of the relics in their new location.⁶¹ In that context it was authentication and validation of a new foundation as well as of the relic transfer, but the terms clearly apply here too. This was a commonplace of textual representations of translations as it was of other forms of hagiography and it shows the foundations that Filibertine hagiography had in such commonplaces. All hagiography was in some ways a recitation of chosen elements from a traditional list of *topoi*. New texts sometimes extended the boundaries but in doing so they often created new *topoi* that might be followed by later texts. For some, this no doubt creates problems relegating the information derived from the texts to the level of questionable *clichés*, but this need not be the case.⁶² All of these texts were designed to appeal to various different audiences. In the case of *TMF* and the other Filibertine texts considered here we have examined many of those audiences. For the texts to have been effective in any of these *milieux* they had to portray events in ways that were believable if not wholly accurate. Appeal to *topoi* was one way in which a text might ensure its successful reception, but so too was relevant and reasonable reportage. No text that exaggerated beyond accepted bounds could expect to gain its desired results. One measure of the efficacy of these texts is popular belief.⁶³ Hagiography in general is a strong indicator of this. From the everyday travel to and from shrines indicated in any group of miracle accounts to the long distance travel that

⁶¹ Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults', p. 330.

⁶² S. Wilson, 'Introduction' in S. Wilson (ed.), *Saints and their cults: Studies in religious sociology, folklore and history* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 1 indicated the scepticism of Ferdinand Lot and his school for example quoting Lot's statement that most Breton saints' lives were 'entirely devoid of historical value.' See F. Lot, *Melanges d'histoire bretonne (VI-Xie siècles)* (Paris, 1907), p. 97.

⁶³ See generally Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger*; Geary, *Living with the Dead*, pp. 177-193; and for this in relation to the Filibertines: Harding, 'Translation accounts'.

Baldradus made from Gorrion to l'Ampan in book one of *TMF*,⁶⁴ pilgrimage to a cult site is the most obvious example of popular belief and miraculous cures the most obvious reward for belief. Given the relationship between *TMF* and other hagiographical texts, in this sense as well as in others, the place that Ermentarius' work has in terms of genre deserves some reflections.

IV: Reflections on genre

In the course of this chapter, and indeed throughout this study, we have seen that texts produced by the Filibertines were varied in terms of their *foci* and the messages they related. It has been argued that *TMF* and the *Chronicon* can be considered as a unified text as the authors seem, at each stage of composition, to have viewed their text as an addition to what went before, but because of our focus on ninth-century events, they must also be viewed individually. Ermentarius' work has been at the centre of what has been considered here because of the author's proximity to many of the ninth-century concerns of the community and because of the events that he narrated. Many of the issues that have been broached in relation to his work bring the question of genre to the fore. In this final section, therefore, we shall reflect on the place that *TMF* has in the wider genre of translation accounts and historical writing in general. This analysis will propose that we need to consider *TMF* as a new type of text that has its origins in translation accounts and that has its links to the *Furta Sacra* subgenre that was identified by Geary but, despite this, that it was largely innovative. Moreover, it will suggest that this text derived from the very pressures that the author focussed most concertededly on when he described the external context of the Filibertine translations; namely the Northmen.

⁶⁴ *TMF*, I, vi, p. 27.

This cannot be the place to discuss texts about and from the cult of the saints in a wide sense, nor can it be the place to set out the details concerning the emergence and nature of translation accounts as a genre. In both of these regards, much that is of great use has already been done;⁶⁵ all that will be necessary here, is to provide summary details of the origins of Frankish translation accounts in order to give the proper foundations to Ermentarius' work. In doing this we shall have cause to make comparisons with some other hagiographical texts from a roughly contemporary period or whose communities have similar histories to the Filibertines. These will, of necessity, be brief, but what will emerge from these comparisons will be useful in terms of determining the place that our text has in a general sense. Whilst this will naturally illuminate the text itself, it will also provide a valuable yardstick by which we might consider that other texts may be measured.

i: Responses to the Northmen

When Ermentarius wrote the prefaces to each book of *TMF* he created texts that included statements about the manner in which responses to the incursions of the Northmen were handled. Although Charles the Bald was not a dedicatee for his texts, it seems likely that much of what Ermentarius wrote in these passages was meant to be seen by the king; the preface was a call for further patronage. We must be precise here as this does not mean that the work was overtly political, nor does it mean that Ermentarius' primary aim was in evidence when he lamented the apparent ease with which the Northmen troubled the Frankish kingdoms. Ermentarius did not write a 'mirror for princes.' Nor did he compose

⁶⁵ See for instance Delehay, *Legends and Graus, Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger*. For translation accounts more specifically see M. Heinzlmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* (Turnhout, 1979).

an outright critique of the king. This was hagiography first and foremost; elements that have a relevance for Charles the Bald chiefly come from the preface to the second book of miracles that differs from the rest of the text in that it is largely composed of a general narrative of the Frankish kingdoms. It is because of the differing nature of the preface that it will be considered here for it has contrasting aims to the rest of the text. The preface cannot be described as a definitively historical text. It is a piece of work that provides the viewpoint of an author on a specific theme - the involvement of the Northmen in Frankish affairs - and does not set itself any strict parameters of time or space. It is important that these caveats are borne in mind as our discussion progresses, but this is not all that needs to be considered. The prefaces should largely, however, be seen as including a type of rhetoric that is associated with a number of authors who had links to the court. In that sense what Ermentarius said in them was generic, but because they have interesting impacts on our consideration of *TMF* in terms of genre we shall discuss some elements of them.

We have considered Ermentarius' lament of the invasions of the Northmen already. Hyperbolic statements about the Northmen may have been partially inspired by the shock of the growth in their impact. Here it is Ermentarius' opinion of the causes of the attacks and the response to them that is important. For Ermentarius the Northmen were able to attack because of the *Bruderkriege*.⁶⁶ The scene is set by describing the peaceful reign of Louis the Pious and by describing the attack made on Nantes in 843 immediately after Louis' death in Ermentarius' narrative.⁶⁷ The implication is clear: Louis provided peace

⁶⁶ *TMF*, II, Preface, p. 60.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, II, Preface, p. 60.

and stability and this was shattered once his sons inherited. Narrow-mindedness allowed the brothers to leave defence to one side and to strive instead for supremacy over one another.⁶⁸ ‘...*illorum discordia addit vires extraneis; relinquitur fas, pergitur per nefas, deseritur custodia litorum maris Oceani...*’⁶⁹ There is no ambiguity here. The fact of internal rivalry and eagerness for power meant that Lothar, Louis the German, Pippin II and Charles the Bald took their eyes off the defences that Charlemagne and Louis the Pious had instituted, and the Northmen were able to take advantage. Moreover, the message incorporated an element of divine punishment for the sin of war against fellow Christians. The blame was laid clearly at the feet of all of the kings, and emphasises lapses in management brought on by greed, but more importantly lapses in correct Christian behaviour caused by sin.

When it comes to responses to the invasions, Ermentarius had further comment to make. By implication the kings should have seen to external defences prior to the attacks. That they did not do so effectively is clearly Ermentarius’ opinion, but worse still they did not respond as they should have done. We have already considered the most relevant passage. No-one stood firm in the face of the attacks and resisted the Northmen. Everyone preferred flight instead: ‘...*quod defendere debuerant armis, tributis redimunt, ac Christianorum pessum datur regnum.*’⁷⁰ The kings failed to provide the necessary military response. The impression is that they did not have the means by which to defend the Christian people. Instead of doing so, Charles the Bald and the other kings paid tributes in the hope that the invaders would not cause further difficulty, with what

⁶⁸ Ibid., II, Preface, p. 60.

⁶⁹ Ibid., II, Preface, p. 60.

⁷⁰ Ibid., II, Preface, pp. 61-62.

Ermentarius considered disastrous results. Overall, Ermentarius' statements suggest that un-Christian behaviour, greed and a failure to act as kings should caused all of the difficulties that occurred at the hands of the Northmen.⁷¹ Nevertheless, Ermentarius did not express thoughts that were unique to him in relation to this issue, nor did he aim to attack Charles directly: he was after all his main patron.⁷²

There was some criticism for Charles, but Ermentarius was simply doing what Carolingian ecclesiastical authors did in presenting the civil war, the Northmen, and the effects of their invasions in this way.⁷³ In discussing the events of 842, for example, Nithard made it very clear that Northmen were able to become directly involved in Frankish affairs because of the *Bruderkriege* when he pointed out that Lothar allied with some Northmen and allowed them to plunder Christians. This led Louis the German to fear for the security of Christianity in the east of the Frankish kingdoms.⁷⁴ Representing the Northmen as one of the unfortunate consequences of this most un-Christian activity of civil war was a commonplace of ninth-century responses to something that had never been seen by Carolingians. Moreover, allying with Northmen was, like the payment of tribute, a method that caused severe disenfranchisement and in the case of the *AB*'s description of Pippin II as an apostate in 864,⁷⁵ it could allow for a text that was hostile to an individual to label

⁷¹ The classic approach to this is offered in S. Coupland, 'The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath? The Carolingian Theology of the Viking Invasions' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42: 4 (1991), pp. 535-554.

⁷² See S. Coupland, 'The Frankish Tribute Payments to the Vikings and their Consequences' in *Francia: Forschungen zur Westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 26:1 (1999), pp. 23-54 for discussion of Frankish commentators on tribute payments to the Northmen and J. L. Nelson, 'Bad Kingship in the Earlier Middle Ages' in *The Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History*, 8 (1996), p. 18 for potential reasons for ecclesiastical disapproval of payments.

⁷³ See Coupland, 'Frankish Tribute Payments', pp. 59-69.

⁷⁴ Nithard, II, 2, pp. 120-124.

⁷⁵ *AB*, (864), p. 105.

him in ways that were particularly evocative of wrong-doing. However, even when statements seemed critical, these texts were not entirely unfriendly, nor were they incapable of mixing praise with censure. Ermentarius mentioned that Charles came to the rescue of the Filibertines by leading them to Cunault in this same preface after all, saying that this event was the king's answer to the continual advance of Northmen up the Loire.⁷⁶

One further element concerning Ermentarius' representation of the Northmen needs to be considered here although its applicability is not limited to Charles the Bald. We must consider the ethnic identity that Ermentarius chose to ascribe to (or, more precisely, that he chose to withhold from) the Northmen.⁷⁷ Recent scholarship has indicated that at least some of the Franks were aware of the socio-political divisions within the group collectively referred to in the primary material (as well as here) as Northmen.⁷⁸ In 843 the *AE* recorded that the *Westfaldingi* (men from the Vestfold) attacked Nantes for instance,⁷⁹ and other sources make distinctions between Danes and other ethnic groups from within the Scandinavian region in the ninth-century record.⁸⁰ Given knowledge of specific terms that could be used to identify a particular group, it is probable that Ermentarius had made a

⁷⁶ *TMF*, II, Preface, p. 61. See L. Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia, 1991) and Nelson, 'Bad Kingship' for methods of critique and the possibility of mixing criticism with praise within a positive relationship.

⁷⁷ The comments made below should be considered in light of Reuter's warnings about difficulties in understanding representations of ethnic identity. See T. Reuter, 'Whose race, whose ethnicity? Recent medievalists' discussions of identity' in T. Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities* ed. J. L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 100-108. See also the wide-ranging discussion of ethnic identification in W. Pohl, 'Telling the Difference: Signs of ethnic identity' in Pohl and Reimitz, *Strategies of Distinction*, pp. 17-69.

⁷⁸ See in particular S. Brink, 'People and *land* in early Scandinavia' in I. H. Garipzanov, P. J. Geary and P. Urbańczyk (eds), *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 87-112 and I. H. Garipzanov, 'Frontier Identities: Carolingian Frontier and the *Gens Danorum*' in *Ibid.*, pp. 113-142 and particularly pp. 113-135.

⁷⁹ *AE*, (843), p. 486. See Garipzanov, 'Frontier Identities', pp. 134-5.

⁸⁰ For instance, Einhard was aware of the distinction between the general appellation of Northmen being a catch-all term and the *gens* specific references that were suitable for Danes and Swedes: *VK*, 12, p. 15. See Garipzanov, 'Frontier Identities', p. 116.

conscious choice to use the catch-all term ‘Northmen’ in a way that could help to remove any sympathetic tone from his account that may have been present had he mentioned their particular origins or their individual membership of a specific *gens*. By selecting the non-specific terminology associated with the general geographical orientation of his arch-villains, Ermentarius may have intended to present an account that clearly marked them out as ‘others’ and emphasised their invasive categorisation. This categorisation was of use in the way in which he wrote his texts for the community of which he was a part, but in highlighting the extreme nature of the attacks perpetrated by this unidentified but ferocious group, his message to Charles the Bald gained more clarity too. Our response to Ermentarius’ choice might require us to question the overall reliability of his representation of Vikings. If he determined to use a term that denied the people he described a humanising identifier, was he ever concerned to provide a dispassionate and equitable portrayal? The balance of evidence throughout his work strongly suggests that he was not.

Ermentarius expressed his displeasure at the effects the Northmen had in Francia in the preface to book two. He blamed the problems on the *Bruderkriege* and linked them to un-Christian behaviour and to biblical prophecy, but created a narrative that was by no means wholly critical.⁸¹ Moreover, he followed a pattern of response to the invasions that was already established by texts like Nithard’s. Although what Ermentarius did in this context was by no means unique it indicates that *TMF* was a text of some complexity. This picture is only enhanced by reference to the discussion that has already been offered here in relation to the obfuscation of elements of the history of the community and the highlighting of others, like the impact of Northmen. Moreover, it helps us to understand the nature of

⁸¹ See Nees, *Tainted Mantle*.

TMF as a text that shared many elements with typical hagiographies but that incorporated other concerns too.

ii: Textual comparisons

Our point of departure here will be to return to a text that we have already considered as an example of representations of reactions to the translations of relics. Einhard's *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* was written in late 830. It is useful as it was the first translation account to be written in the Frankish kingdoms.⁸² For Geary, it 'provided the model for the subsequent development of furtive *translationes*.'⁸³ It was imitated and developed over more than two centuries by communities who wished to describe similar translations or to couch the circumstances surrounding their possession of relics in similar terms. Initially this emerging genre spoke of translations from Rome, but it soon spread to incorporate stories about stolen relics from other regions in Europe too.⁸⁴ Geary was correct to note the origins of texts about furtive translations in Einhard's text, and he expertly gathered the links together in describing the way that these texts related to one another as well as the way that they sought to justify the thefts that they described. However, Einhard's text has greater significance than this. It seems highly likely that it was the progenitor of all translation texts whether they belonged to Geary's *Furta Sacra* group or not. Dutton described it thus: 'so inimitable was its subject and style, the translation story would

⁸² Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 118-121.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

effectively shape and guide the creation of a sub-genre of hagiography...⁸⁵ Clearly this is important, but how exactly does it relate to Ermentarius' texts?

Should we see *TMF* as a narrative that was written in the way that it was because it used the forms that Einhard provided; in other words because it attempted to fit itself into the new genre of *translationes*, or is there another explanation for the text? The conclusion needs to be nuanced. Ermentarius was writing around eight years after Einhard. The genre that Einhard proposed was not established, therefore, and Ermentarius should not be thought of as attempting to ape it. The details that we have so far discussed concerning *TMF* assert that he was responding to a unique set of circumstances in ways that produced a text that was at the same time representative of actual events and of constructed narrative. We have seen that, for Ermentarius, agendas were numerous. He was particularly concerned to involve Northmen at the heart of his text for the reasons that have been discussed throughout this study but clearly the typically hagiographical elements such as the *miracula* are what this text was really about. Although, as we have seen, there are points at which we can see shared elements in Einhard's and Ermentarius' work, there is little room for further assertion that Ermentarius desired to fit his text into a genre; indeed thoughts of genre were unlikely to have been uppermost in his mind at a time when the genre in question cannot really be said to have existed. Amongst a list of 55 *translationes* provided by Geary, only four (other than Einhard's) were definitely written in the ninth

⁸⁵ Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, p. xxx. See also Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*, p. 123 and M. Heinzelmann, 'Une source de base de la littérature hagiographique latine: Le recueil de miracles' in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés IVe-XIIIe siècles: Actes du colloque organisée à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 Mai 1979)*, *Études Augustiniennes* (1981), pp. 244-245.

century, and one of these in the 830s.⁸⁶ Smith's comparable list shows that six such texts were written about translations from Rome that took place between 827 and 840.⁸⁷

The genre was at best in its infancy in 840, and whilst it does seem that Ermentarius co-opted some of the elements that he probably knew Einhard had used, he certainly did not write a text that mimicked that of the earlier author. Similarities could just as easily be argued to have derived from the natural similarities involved in the process of translation and veneration of relics as from the adoption of textual forms. Nevertheless it is worth considering some of the factors that these two texts had in common. Of course each attributed a number of miracles to their respective saints. As we have seen was the case with *TMF*, many of these occurred during the movement of the relics from one location to the next or shortly after they arrived at a new destination. Popular fervour elicited a favourable response from the saint as belief was manifested in the large crowds that the translations drew. The fifth chapter of Einhard's second book provides an interesting example to compare with what we have discussed in relation to *TMF*. Einhard describes a flow of people who came to see the relics of St Marcellinus having heard that they had recently arrived in his chapel writing:

‘Adducebantur undique debiles, et variis adjecti languoribus circa oratorii parietes a propinquis suis atque amicis collocantur. Videres ibi pene omnia infirmitatem genera per virtutem Christi domini et per meritum beatissimi martyris in omni sexu et aetate curari. Caecis visus, claudis incessus, surdis auditus, mutis sermo redditur; paralitici

⁸⁶ See Geary, *Furta Sacra*, Appendix B, pp. 149-156.

⁸⁷ Smith, ‘Old Saints, New Cults’, Appendix, pp. 335-339.

etiam et qui totius corporis viribus destituti alienis manibus adportati sunt, sanitate recepta, propriis pedibus ad sua revertebantur.⁸⁸

This neatly echoes the statements that Ermentarius made about the arrival of pilgrims to visit the shrine of St Filibert in his work. Not only does the presence of relics cause word to be spread and interest to be aroused, but a variety of people is cured and the numbers attracted are great. Chapter 27 of book one of *TMF* related the following:

‘...sparsim se ac longe lateque talis fama diffundit, et multorum incolas locorum ad sancti Filiberti suffragia expetenda sollicitat. Quibus nec sufficit ut sani tantummodo pro animarum commissis intercessionem hujus sancti flagitent, sed quicumque corporis infirmitate aliquem praegravatum habet, illuc studet quolibet perducere ingenio. Videres namque quosdam uno pede, duobus in alis fustibus apposis, illo tendere, quosdam scamella manibus tenentes, quibusdam saltibus festinare, aliquos carrucis, corbeculis, sellis gestatoriis atque scalis advehi, equos variisque oppressos langoribus simul concurrere; qui tamen fideliter expetentes sospitatem caeleriter sanabatur, sicuti cum ad eroum ordinem ventum fuerit narratum ire curabimus.’⁸⁹

The comparisons are clear in terms of the relation of details about pilgrims with differing illnesses and about the receipt of cures for those illnesses. Moreover, it is clear from each account that the author wished to portray some of the pilgrims as having travelled far to reach the shrine. It remains difficult, however, to make concrete assertions as to the relationship between these texts and, as has been noted, it seems highly unlikely that

⁸⁸ *TMMPE*, II, 5, p. 247.

⁸⁹ *TMF*, I, xxvii, p. 34.

Ermentarius' text could have evolved specifically due to the emergence of Einhard's new genre in the amount of time that there was between the composition of each text.

The likelihood remains that the texts are similar because they related similar events and because they each shared a much longer and better-established tradition than could be said to have existed in terms of *translationes*. References to *adventus*-like ceremonies in the accounts help us to see this in a clearer light. There is no need to repeat details about the welcome that Filibert' relics often received at staging-posts during journeys between eventual sites of Filibertine habitation like Noirmoutier and Déas. When people flocked to these sites and involved themselves in liturgical responses to the arrival of relics in these locations, or perhaps when authors represented them as doing so, they were doing something that was strongly reminiscent of the ritual welcomes that awaited Roman emperors, for example, on their return to imperial cities.⁹⁰ So, when Ermentarius described this type of phenomenon he highlighted what Heinzelmann saw as the link between the cults of saints and pre-Christian tradition.⁹¹ One example from Einhard's *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* will show that this was another area where Ermentarius and Einhard shared common themes. When describing part of the translation Einhard wrote the following:

‘Hic illa turba, quae nobiscum de palatio fuerat egressa, adoratis atque osculatis sacris reliquiis, cum multis lacrimis, quas prae nimio gaudio continere non poterat, domum revertitur; alia multitudo quae ibi nobis obviavit, nos comitante atque kyrieleison sine

⁹⁰ See Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*, pp. 66-77 and P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 98-101.

⁹¹ Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*, p. 122.

intermissione contante usque ad eum locum in quo simili modo ab aliis occurrentibus excipiebamur. Quae tunc similiter ut prior, supplicatione facta, ad sua reversa est. Hoc modo per singulos dies a prima luce usque ad vesperam comitantibus ac domino Christo laudem dicentibus populorum turbis, ab Aquense palatio usque ad memoratum Mulinheimum vicum, Domino iter nostrum prosperante, pervenimus...'⁹²

Clearly both authors were appealing to the same sort of tradition when they wrote these parts of their texts. They no doubt did so for good reasons that may be linked to the advertisement of their individual cults and also to the long traditions involved in hagiographical writing, but they probably were not doing so because it was a tradition that they had recently enacted, nor because Ermentarius wished to deliberately mimic Einhard's style. Rather they did so because they were appealing to older textual forms. As with references to liturgical responses to the translations, the roots go far deeper than the composition of Einhard's *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* in 830.

So where do we need to look if not to Einhard? Given the history that Ermentarius presented, comparisons with Cuthbertine hagiography seem pertinent. Cuthbert's relics were removed from their original home on a tidal island at Lindisfarne in the ninth century and relocated via a rambling route, to a final home in Durham at the end of the tenth century.⁹³ The texts that were produced by the community have often given agency to the Northmen, just as Ermentarius did. As they did for Ermentarius, the Northmen provided a means by which the Cuthbertines could present themselves as persecuted and their translations as enforced, but unlike Filibertine hagiography, it seems that Cuthbertine

⁹² *TMMPE*, II, 9, p. 247.

⁹³ For a brief *précis* see Rollason, 'St Cuthbert', pp. 45-46.

material was much more concerned with staking claims to various lands that the community held and through which they processed on their way to Durham.⁹⁴ Moreover, much of the Cuthbertine material is much later than ours, thereby disallowing direct comparison.⁹⁵ It may be that by the time that Cuthbert's translations were being described (from the eleventh century onwards), the *topos* of Viking attack had developed to such an extent that it had engendered a sub-genre of *translationes* that is comparable to Geary's *Furta Sacra* group, but even if that were the case, this body of texts cannot be considered as belonging to a group that has more than superficial links with Filibertine hagiography. The possibility of the emergence of a general genre of *translationes* that deal with Northmen would nevertheless bear detailed examination but this cannot be achieved here.

Despite this, closer comparisons exist elsewhere. We have already mentioned the seeming similarities between Filibertine ninth-century history and that of the community of St Martin de Vertou. In terms of textuality there are similarities too. Whilst it should more properly be considered a miracle account, the ninth-century *MMV* contains material that relates to the translation of the community to Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes in 843.⁹⁶ The author described this translation in chapters eight and nine of his work. He opened with a description of the piratical activity of the Northmen. According to the account, the

⁹⁴ This argument is presented in many texts. See, for example, *Ibid.*, pp. 45-58.

⁹⁵ *HSC* is a mid- to late-eleventh century text. Although it reveals high-level patronage links to the Cuthbertines, it is principally concerned with claims to possession - chapters 3-11, 13, 21-24, 26 and 29-31 all deal with possessions. See *HSC*, pp. 42-53 and pp. 58-69. This is an issue that is at best a minor consideration for Ermentarius. *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie*, an early-twelfth-century text, locates the whole history of the Cuthbertines in the context of the Viking involvement in England and claims that the monks were forced to leave Lindisfarne by the Northmen. It is, however, much more complex - see Crumplin, *Rewriting history*, p. 131. There is a Cuthbertine text whose title suggests close comparisons with *TMF: De miraculis et translationibus sancti Cuthberti (Symeonis Opera)*. Its compositional history is difficult and its impact debated. Compare *Symeonis Opera*, pp. xxxix-xl with *Libellus*, pp. lxxv-lxxvi on this. For discussion of the text see Crumplin, *Rewriting history*, pp. 125-150.

⁹⁶ Krusch shows that it was written sometime after 878 but before the tenth century. *MMV*, p. 565.

Northmen ravaged the coasts of Brittany and sailed up the Loire to Nantes, where they entered the church, killed the bishop and attacked the people, sparing no one. They then devastated the town and burned the church.⁹⁷ The description of flight follows the details of the destruction of Nantes. The monks managed to get away by boarding six boats that they owned and travelling down river until they finally reached Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes.⁹⁸ As Ermentarius' description of events at Nantes does, this account marries with the descriptions offered by the *AB*. Moreover, the relation of the flight of the monks of Vertou to these events ties them in to the same circumstances as we discussed in relation to the attack on the comital centre at Nantes in 843.⁹⁹

Textually, we should consider these two works as offering us our best examples of interrelation. Because the *MMV* is not a text that can be considered a true translation account, direct comparisons in terms of genre fail here, but both texts clearly used very similar methods of expression when it came to justifying their respective translations. We might consider that it is in terms of justification for movement that the best chances exist for grouping texts under an umbrella that relates accounts dealing with the Northmen together. For the present, it is worthwhile comparing these particular texts as they show that some elements of narrative were shared and also that those elements could be shared across the lines of demarcation that we typically draw between genres. This is a common trait in the comparisons that are made here with *TMF*. Whilst some of these texts belong to the genre of *translationes*, none are fully comparable and many that are outwith this genre share messages or stylistic elements with our text.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 8, p. 573.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 8-9, pp. 573-574.

⁹⁹ See above, pp. 169-182.

One comparable text that does belong to the genre of *translationes* is the *Historia inventionis et translationis Ss Agnetis et Benigni*. It described a translation that took place in 864.¹⁰⁰ This text began with a description of Viking cruelty and of their use of the Loire as a route by which they might attack Gaul.¹⁰¹ Later it told of the decision made by the monks to excavate the relics of their saint and hide them so that they might not be subject to outrages at the time of a ‘pagan onslaught.’¹⁰² Laments on the involvement of the Northmen in Frankish affairs are highly redolent of the images that Ermentarius created of course, and the suggestion that relics were dug up and then hidden reflects Ermentarius’ fears that the relics of St Filibert might be excavated and dispersed or thrown into the sea. The fact that this text makes similar claims as did Ermentarius when he said that the relics of St Filibert were concealed when the monks left Déas in 845 is also very interesting in terms of a search for corollaries. Despite all of this, the indication is very much that aside from isolated issues such as these, the pattern of the narrative provided by Ermentarius is not repeated elsewhere.

When hagiographers wrote about the movement of a community of monks or of the relics of their saint, they often did so with the biblical exodus of the Israelites in mind. One of the miracles that the Cuthbertine *corpus* mentions provides strong evidence that the link was considered important. Chapter fifteen of the *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie* is an abbreviated version of a miracle account originally found

¹⁰⁰ See *HITAB*.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 1, 1, p. 721.

¹⁰² ‘...ingruentes pagani...’, *Ibid.*, 1, 2, p. 722.

in *De miraculis et translationibus Sancti Cuthberti*.¹⁰³ It describes the flight of bishop Æthelwine from Durham back to Lindisfarne with the relics of St Cuthbert. On reaching the tidal passageway between the mainland and Lindisfarne, Æthelwine finds his path blocked, but on praying for assistance he is astonished to see the waters part in order that he might pass in a manner that directly reflects the parting of the Red Sea in Exodus.¹⁰⁴ This was clearly a deliberate reference by the hagiographer and it is only one isolated example of a widespread practice; when Ermentarius wrote about the advances of the Northmen, he referred to the prophecy of Jeremiah as we have seen. Hagiographers always looked to biblical precedent or to patristic texts, and this factor must occupy an important place in our discussion of textual genre. Nevertheless, although Ermentarius certainly made use of the Bible as a source, he does not seem to have cited the exodus story in any way.

Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Près' *Bella parisiacae urbis* (*Bella*) in which the Viking siege of Paris in 885-886 is described offers us some comparatives, but again the similarities are limited to a few instances.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, in considering the links between these two texts we return in the main to the prefaces to *TMF* rather than to the more strictly hagiographical passages. Abbo's work was constructed sometime 888-896 and perhaps in stages.¹⁰⁶ It has often been suggested that this text should be read as both evidence for and criticism of Charles the Fat's tribute payments to the Northmen.¹⁰⁷ If this were a correct reading of the text then clear echoes would be apparent with the complaint that Ermentarius makes about

¹⁰³ See *Libellus*, p. lxxv.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, 15, pp. 184-187.

¹⁰⁵ The Latin text is reproduced in a new edition with a (liberal) facing translation in *Bella parisiacae*.

¹⁰⁶ A. Adams and A. G. Rigg, 'A Verse Translation of Abbo of St Germain's *Bella parisiacae urbis*' in *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 14 (2004), p. 14.

¹⁰⁷ Dass follows this interpretation, arguing that the practice was a factor in the eventual demise of Carolingian hegemony: N. Dass, (ed. and trans.), *Viking Attacks on Paris: The Bella parisiacae urbis of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Près* (Paris, 2007), pp. 6-9.

Charles the Bald's similar practice. However, in 2003, MacLean definitively dispelled this myth, showing that when the text referred to Charles the Fat it did so in glowing terms; that tribute payment was displayed as effective, and mentioned without complaint.¹⁰⁸ Despite this, the *Bella* is comparable with *TMF* in the representations that they offer of the Northmen as a punishment from God for the sins of the Frankish people. The whole of book three of the *Bella* bears examination as a text designed to show the correct way for clerics to live in order that similar problems should not arise again. Moreover, there is the same depiction of the Northmen as a destructive force as we have frequently seen. Abbo writes: '*Terram vastant, populosque trucidant, / Circumeunt urbes pedibus, regnantis et aedes, / Ruricolos prendunt, nexant et trans mare mittunt.*'¹⁰⁹ Although Charles the Fat is not criticised, Odo who became king of the West Frankish kingdom in 888, is attacked for his lack of response to the Northmen in 896. The poem accuses him of neglecting his duty to protect the Christian people in ways that reflect Ermentarius' suggestion that Louis the Pious' sons abandoned Christians during the *Bruderkriege*.¹¹⁰ Indeed Odo's wars of 892-895 in which he fought to assert his position against his rivals are the immediate prelude to the above statements.¹¹¹ These factors offer us perhaps our greatest link between texts. That they illustrate links with a text that has its origins in epic poetry rather than hagiography is telling.

¹⁰⁸ S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the late ninth century: Charles the Fat and the end of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 55-64. Remarkably, Dass consulted MacLean's text, citing it in relation to the ineffectual nature of Charles the Fat's kingship. See Dass, *Viking Attacks*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰⁹ *Bella parisiaca*, 2, lines 584-586, p. 96.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, line 590, p. 96.

¹¹¹ See *Ibid.*, 2, lines 532-582, pp. 92-96.

Nevertheless, Abbo does show that there were comparisons in hagiographical terms too. When he described the reaction of the people of Paris to the threat of the Northmen he described a procession that resonates with those we have considered above. In the second book of the *Bella*, Abbo relates that the relics of St Germanus were carried around the walls of Paris. Liturgical elements are apparent as the poet reveals that everyone present gave praise to God, and miracles occurred in response: on this occasion a man named Gosbert was hit by a projectile thrown by one of the besiegers, yet it was the Viking and not Gosbert who was consequently killed.¹¹² Similarly in the final entry of the *AB*, for 882, Hincmar of Reims described a Viking attack on Reims itself saying that he was forced to retreat with the relics of St Remigius.¹¹³ Despite leaving the church, however, Remigius protected Reims and everything in it from the Northmen who were unable to penetrate the walls. This is a much plainer account, but it reveals the same guiding principle - that relics of saints could be turned to as effective bulwarks against attacks like those perpetrated by the Northmen and that relics were therefore an extremely important commodity.

Although St Germanus is often presented in the *Bella* as a saviour of the people of Paris, protecting his land and those under his care during the siege,¹¹⁴ the principal links to *TMF* go no further than the more historical preface to Ermentarius' book two. However, because *TMF*, the *Bella* and the *AB* each occupy different genres and each report the rôle that relics played in response to Viking attacks, it becomes clear that various texts could share elements and, moreover, that *TMF* can be associated in different ways with a number of

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 2, lines 146-153, pp. 70-73.

¹¹³ *AB*, (882), p. 250.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, *Bella parisiacae*, 2, lines 98-104, p. 68 where Germanus kills a Northman in the church of Saint-Germain.

genres. How do we explain this? The answer lies in the fact that Ermentarius wrote a multilayered text for numerous audiences. He was not creating a simple text that could exactly mirror texts from a similar genre that had gone before. He needed to achieve a number of things and so he mixed the hagiographical genres of *translationes* with *miracula* as well as providing innovative messages about the Northmen. When he did this last, he most closely matched narrative texts like Abbo's and approached the methods adopted by those who wrote critiques of kings. Although he did all of these things, and although his work seems, to some extent to have informed later ones, he did not match any of them exactly, nor did he create a model that could be precisely copied.

We must conclude that whilst it is perhaps necessary, and certainly useful, to think in terms of groups of texts, what emerges from analysis of *TMF* is that Ermentarius was using and adapting established forms in reference to the precise circumstances that he experienced as a member of the community that he described. Because he was doing this, he created a text that was different from others yet comparable to some. In one sense we might determine that Ermentarius created a new way of writing that was followed by others and that was subtly (but in important ways) different from the predecessors whose forms inspired his work, but we might equally prefer to tie some of the sub-genres with which we work more closely together than do current fashions, particularly in terms of proposing a group of texts that is principally concerned with Viking attack. However, even when we consider all of the circumstances surrounding the composition of texts and attempt to locate them in reference to one another, it remains the case that links are never complete. Ermentarius was writing a new text in response to new circumstances and so, it seems were each of the

examples that we have considered in this brief survey even where comparisons seem close. Whether the authors were aware of the concepts of hagiographical genre and sub-genre that have been tentatively forwarded here, it is clear that the genres took time to develop and that the literary forms were never the only, or even the main, influence on an author throughout a long period. We should consider genre as a useful tool; as an aid to categorisation and comparison but not as an overarching set of confines.

In a paper published in *Viator* in 1994, Lifshitz argued that the separation of history and hagiography into separate genres by nineteenth-century historians is both anachronistic and unhelpful.¹¹⁵ For her, the demarcation serves largely to relegate the information in hagiography to the realm of the fantastical and to deny it any relevance for the study of history. She correctly points out that hagiography is often a medium that contains numerous elements of historical value and so that the lines are blurred. Moreover, she contends that we need to be aware of the mentalities of different authors working in different periods with different social, political, cultural and religious considerations telling upon them, but the wholesale denial of the specifications of genre is not, it seems a valid suggestion. In Lifshitz's view 'at a certain point, constant "cross-over" (between the genres of historiography and hagiography) must be taken as an indication that the categories themselves are hopelessly inadequate.'¹¹⁶ Here she goes too far. Whilst, as has been argued here, the lines between the various sub-genres that have been identified within hagiography are blurred and need to be seen as shifting rather than fixed; as capable of continual innovation and revision, designation of a text as belonging to one

¹¹⁵ F. Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative' in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Texts*, 25 (1994), pp. 95-113.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

genre or another is necessary to provide a general overview that makes our investigation of these texts possible. There is always a need to delve deep within any text in order to understand the intent of the author and the context of the work, but such close focus on a text without accepting the validity of a ‘view from the boundary’ denies us the possibility to appreciate the wider view, which is equally necessary for our overall understanding.¹¹⁷

Whilst there is a lot more to be done with Ermentarius’ texts and their wider relationships, particularly in terms of the development of a probable sub-genre of *translationes* informed by Viking incursion, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, whilst some texts that were written relatively soon after *TMF* share a few individual concerns, such as a narrative of flight from Northmen, any possibility of the conscious emergence of a sub-genre comparable to the *Furta Sacra* group took a very long time to be developed and may have been something on which authors drew well into the twelfth century. Naturally it must be acknowledged that a number of ninth-century communities do seem to have had a genuine need to flee from Northmen. Secondly, whilst Einhard produced what might be seen as the progenitor for *translationes* and particularly for *translationes* that dealt with theft, Ermentarius did not conform sufficiently to the standards that Einhard set out for us to conclude that conformity was his chief aim. He was producing texts that bore significant resemblance to previous forms; hagiography as a wide genre drew on biblical traditions and *TMF* incorporated important liturgical issues too. It did so as these things could inform the author as to the methods that were best adapted to a general purpose, but because his purpose was unique

¹¹⁷ The phrase is derived from Brian Johnstone’s Test Match Special lunchtime interviews on BBC Radio 4 long-wave. See P. Baxter (ed.), *Views from the Boundary* (London, 1990).

he created a text that was both similar to others and markedly different from them at the same time. Ermentarius was a skilled hagiographer who selected the pieces that he wanted to use from the texts that he knew about, and wrote in new ways that may have provided others with useful examples to follow.

V: Conclusions

This aspect of our study has led us back to the texts. We are able to focus so many of our arguments on one text in particular because of its richness. As we have seen here, *TMF* was a text that had multiple audiences. When it appealed to the community itself it did so in ways that suggested that there was a need for the text to solve some of the problems that continued relocations had caused in terms of identity. The ways in which it did this led Ermentarius to write a text that echoed some of the methods that had recently been introduced by Einhard when he created the Frankish translation account in 830, but he had to do far more than this. Because his text also appealed to Hilduin and Charles, and because it wrote about the incursions of the Northmen in ways that were intended to show his distaste at their involvement in Francia, he had to weave various concerns together in his narrative. The result is a piece of hagiographic writing that is subtly different from many others when taken as a whole but which, in parts, has a number of similarities too. It is significant that it can also be compared with non-hagiographical texts. Ermentarius had to write in this way because he needed to achieve the various aims that we have discussed throughout this study. When Falco took up his pen two-and-a-half centuries later, the community of St Filibert still needed the sense of identity that Ermentarius created and Falco reacted by incorporating themes of persecution into his

narrative that provided links to the past. By the time that he did this, the difficulties posed by constant relocation were over, but the lack of tangible connection to the early history of the community of St Filibert meant that textual reference could serve as the method by which a group that had been in Burgundy for over 200 years might gain association with the group that had been at Noirmoutier, at Déas and that had been linked to Charles the Bald.

Falco's text, however, is not that which is most important here. Ermentarius' *TMF*, whilst prone to exaggeration of Viking threats is an extremely useful text that, if read in context with other sources, can be a valuable source with which to construct the actual history of the Filibertine translations. As we have seen in this chapter, it has further important uses and we can draw a number of key conclusions from close study of it. One of the issues that is of greatest interest is the question of its place in terms of genre. Whilst it is clearly hagiographical in almost all areas, it cannot easily be placed in less general terms. A number of translation accounts do what Einhard's did in that they detail the movement of relics from an external source (in this case Rome) to either a newly built monastery or simply a different home setting, but *TMF* is slightly different because it describes the movement of an entire community along with their relics. Because of this, *TMF* is also not entirely the same as the texts which describe the removal of relics due to fears over their safety or in order to process with them to ward off threat as we saw was the case in the *Bella* and in the *AB*. They, unlike *TMF*, see the relics return to their original location once the threat has diminished. Moreover, as the Cuthbertine material is designed to achieve very different aims from *TMF* despite the comparisons in terms of the issue of

repeated relocation, and as that material is much later and therefore retrospective, we cannot say that this offers precise comparison either. *TMF* occupies an area in between all of these texts and types of text. As we have seen this is because of the uniqueness of both its aims and its narrative and it very clearly indicates the flexibility of the genre of hagiography and the skill of Ermentarius.

SIX

Conclusion

In testing the paradigm of flight from the Northmen, this study has been able to achieve two principal aims. Firstly, the ninth-century activities of the community of St Filibert have been brought into sharp focus so that the events that they took part in can be compared with Ermentarius' message. This has enabled us to piece together the actual history of the Filibertines and to remove ourselves from the fixed narrative of peregrination that has almost always been applied. Secondly, we have approached the texts themselves in order to understand how and why they were put together in the ways that they were. Questioning the paradigm of flight naturally calls into question the validity of the texts that have proposed that paradigm. Our consideration has fallen upon two texts in particular: books one and two of Ermentarius' *De Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Filiberti*, but has also considered Falco's *Chronicon Trenorchiense*. A fourth text, the *Vita Filiberti* holds important clues to the overall presentation that the community wished to foster for themselves. Examination of these has revealed that the reality of the community's history does not always marry with textual representations and we have, therefore, been interested to discover what the intentions of the authors of our texts were and where the texts fit in relation to other texts from a similar period.

In order to realise both of the aims described above, investigation has been focussed at all times on the texts produced by the community, in particular the two books on the translations and miracles of St Filibert. Despite this, the actions of the community c.814-c.862 are what are at the heart of this study. The texts provide us with the background

that is necessary to analyse the details of the ninth-century translations in context. We have seen that the dates of composition of these texts has important bearing on the ways that we understand them; as Ermentarius' works were written contemporaneously with the events that they described, and at two different moments, they reveal something of how the outlook of the community changed as the ninth century progressed. They indicate the changing position of the community and the alteration of its aspirations. It has been argued that they need to be considered as two separate texts because of the differing circumstances of their composition, but it has also been central to our understanding that the texts as a group are considered as one overall expression of community thought. It has been useful to be able to consider the message related by Falco, who used Ermentarius' work as a source for his own and who related some of the same events from a position from which over 250 years of Filibertine history could be surveyed at once. The ability to understand the way that he attempted to make his text fit with the earlier ones is important to us in gaining a perspective on what made the Filibertines who they were (both to him and, through the prism of Ermentarius' texts, to the mid-ninth century community). The *Vita Filiberti* has helped us to see the way that the community wanted its own past to be seen by the 830s and to understand the ways in which hagiographers learned their trade. Discussion of the place that the *VF* occupies in discourses about the writing of history has been instrumental in widening our approach to all of the texts to see how they relate to roughly contemporary examples from various genres.

Because the texts were written by members of the community, they not only describe the translations but have an important part to play in them. The dedicatory passages that accompanied the group of texts that was sent to Hilduin of Saint-Denis and Charles the Bald c.840 have much to say about the community, but also mean that the texts and the messages they contain shaped the immediate future of the community after they received the patronage that they sought. When subsequent texts were written, they naturally provided a narrative of the events that had come about because of the prior texts and their influence and they were written in the knowledge of the power that appeal to patrons could have. Appeal to the past through the *VF* in particular, but also through the preface to book one of *TMF*, was a very important part of gaining patronage from Charles the Bald. Because Filibert enjoyed close association with Merovingian kings and saints, he stood as an image of the importance of the community and its connections to Frankish royalty. Past connections invited new ones.

This was not, however, the case with the dedication of the texts to Hilduin of Saint-Denis. There was a special desire to gain his patronage for a number of reasons that we have discussed. He had a clear interest in the cult of the saints; he enjoyed the legislative powers that could help the community to achieve the things that they wanted; most importantly he had strong influence with Charles the Bald which could be (and was) brought to bear on the behalf of the monks; he was already a patron of theirs from 819 when they appealed to him c.840. It has been necessary to state the case for appeal having been made in around 840 and to Hilduin of Saint-Denis rather than to Hilduin of Saint-Germain-des-Prés later in the century. The good reasons for choosing Hilduin of Saint-

Denis form the basis of the argument that shows our contentions to be correct.

Attachment to Hilduin demonstrates his importance as the reasons for appeal to him indicate, but it crucially also demonstrates the ambition and the acuity of the community once more. Just as the texts impact on the history of the community and on subsequent texts, the dedications impact on both Filibertine history and Filibertine historiography.

Another of Ermentarius' concerns was to reflect upon the activities of the Northmen. We have, therefore, placed the texts alongside contemporary Frankish annals and other comparative texts in order to fairly judge the accuracy of his portrayal. *TMF* always referred to the Northmen by general appellations. Ermentarius' aim in this was to dehumanise his arch-villains in order to achieve as strong a message as he could. His thoughts on the Northmen were directed at the community themselves but also at Charles the Bald. Suggestions of discontent at the way in which Charles reacted to Viking incursions are apparent in the preface to the second book of miracles and the fact that this part of the texts is different from most of the rest of it raises interesting questions about what the text as a whole was. Perhaps a more important reason for this representation of the Northmen, however, was to forge an identity for the community in the wake of their numerous relocations. As well as relocation, changes in leadership and other elements caused splits within the community. We have considered the importance of two of the abbots here, Arnulf and Hilbod, but have also shown the way in which messages about identity, which centred on representations of the Northmen, helped to solve the problems that were caused by dislocation and splits. Filibertine messages about identity allowed the community to make sense of a turbulent ninth-century past (both for the community at

various stages in the ninth century and for the community of which Falco was a part) and led historians to incorrectly categorise them as constantly in flight.

Different parts of the texts did different things. The dedications were, of course, principally agents of appeal for patronage; the *VF* emphasised past royal connections as we have seen; the prefaces to the two books of *TMF* were concerned with negative representations of the Northmen and with statements about the effects that they had on the community particularly and the empire generally. The remainder of *TMF* was deeply complex, but can be reasonably summarised as having presented the details of the translations and the miracles that accompanied them. In doing so it served as a means of promoting the cult and community of St Filibert and related details that were designed to be absorbed by the community.

Partly because of the different intentions of each text, genre issues have been in the background to the study throughout and we have, consequently, attempted to make preliminary suggestions about the place that *TMF* has in the wider genre of hagiography. Ermentarius wrote texts that developed established forms and that presented new ways of writing in response to unique circumstances. The community should be considered innovative in textual terms. Whilst Einhard's translation account brought about a new sub-genre within hagiography, it is perhaps more important because it reflects the flexibility of texts about the saints. His text was new because it responded to very recent changes in legislation regarding the movement of relics that came from Rome and from the Carolingians at the same time. He had to write in a new way because he wrote about

things that had not been possible previously. One consequence of the change in legislation was that other ecclesiastical authors wrote about translations in ways that clearly drew on Einhard's work. It was because a new text that reflected new events was written and because those events continued to occur throughout Francia and beyond that the sub-genre was able to develop. Ermentarius' text shows that he too was equally adept as was Einhard at exploiting the flexibility of hagiography as a genre. He chose to write a text about the things that had happened to his community and that he wanted his community to remember for, and because he did so soon after the events that he described, he had to innovate. We have seen that his text is not directly comparable to Einhard's or to others that we have considered here. This is because in c.840 there was no precise textual model that Ermentarius could turn to and so he wrote a unique text. It may be that we need to consider *TMF* in light of the possible emergence of a sub-genre of hagiography that can be compared to Patrick Geary's *Furta Sacra* group, but that centred on flight from Northmen. There are no examples of precise correlatives, but it seems likely that hagiographers would have used Ermentarius' text as the basis for explorations of the general theme of flight from Northmen. This is just one avenue of further research that is highlighted by this study.

Ermentarius' desires to improve the fortunes of the community have been discussed in relation to his intentions in writing the dedicatory passages and in grouping his texts together to send to Hilduin and Charles. Textual investigations show that this desire led to very interesting stylistic development, but they also show that he formed a text whose representations were deliberately inexact and partially fabricated. In order to understand

the actual history of the community we have, therefore, had to consider the impact of a number of different forces on the community through reference to Filibertine texts, but also charters and contemporary annal records. The main external impact in Ermentarius' narrative was, of course, the Northmen. Whilst they were important to the movements of the community at certain points, their impact was never uniform, nor was it often the overriding concern. Much more important to the development of the community was the political use to which they were put in the context of the *Bruderkriege* and Charles the Bald's attempts to secure hegemony over Aquitaine and the region between Loire, Vilaine and Seine. The Bretons and their relations with the Carolingian kings were an important influence on the community, particularly when they were at Noirmoutier and Déas. The most important issue was the organisation of a central area whose aim was to secure the territories that surrounded it. When the Filibertines were used in this context it was as an ecclesiastical foil to comital power structures centred at places like Nantes and Tours. Because both Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald needed to construct a centre of power in Neustria, they involved successive counts such as Rainald, Vivian and Robert the Strong who in turn involved well-connected monastic communities. This echoed the ways in which Merovingian and Carolingian kings used monastic communities in order to provide symbols of Frankish authority in regions around borders where they wished to expand their empire. Brittany is the prime example of this and investigation of this factor on the border combines with the ninth-century links with Brittany to show that the policy remained useful even where expansion was no longer a concern. As with the textual form that Ermentarius created, it may be that focussed research on monastic involvement in internal Frankish disputes will reveal that this was a policy that was widely applied.

The political difficulties that characterised the first part of the 830s and the period following Louis the Pious' death in 840 were also important to the development of the community. Exile of high-profile figures like Wala and Adalhard to Noirmoutier prior to this showed the rise in fortunes of the Filibertines and created new links between the community and the Carolingians. The biggest effect was the tension caused to the region around the Loire where Lothar, Louis the German and Pippin II threatened Charles the Bald's power and where the Filibertines became part of methods to secure it. We have seen that a number of the translations of the community can be precisely dated and that they often responded to specific problems for either Louis the Pious or Charles the Bald, such as when the Filibertines were granted rights to construct their *castrum* in 830 in the immediate aftermath of the first rebellion of Louis's sons.

All of these things indicate that the community was engaged in processes that saw them grow and develop rather than decline and flee in the face of advances by the Northmen. Details concerning the architectural developments of the community and particularly their involvement in trade highlight this growth most. They had established trade networks on Noirmoutier where Filibert may have been innovative in terms of methods to extract salt and evidently built up their economic position. Trade was probably why they encountered the Northmen as their activities often centred on areas of economic significance like Dorestad. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that the Filibertines became very powerful traders, not the least of which was the grant of exemption from tolls on the Loire and other rivers that Pippin I gave them in 826 and

which meant that they held one fifth of the total of exemptions on the Loire in this period. When they moved to Cunault, the community became much closer to the Loire and so to routes to markets like that at Nantes. Successive grants of land with the means to grow grapes and become involved in further trade show that they were continually developing in this regard. Such development is central to the argument that the community was in a period of growth in the ninth century rather than in decline and subject to pressures that threatened to overwhelm them. This picture is confirmed by the community's architectural developments. In this regard the community was often at the forefront of design in order to receive pilgrims and house relics and they developed forms at Déas that reflected new styles at Saint-Denis and Kornelimünster that showed once more their close connections to high status individuals at court.

The development of architecture shows that the community were keen to attract pilgrims. Allowing for greater access was important in this and was a factor at Déas and doubtless at Cunault too. The texts written by Ermentarius tell us that the monks prepared well for at least the translations to Déas and to Messais and probably for that to Cunault too. As they did this we need to be even more sceptical when it comes to the paradigm of flight from the Northmen. The evidence too often shows that forethought was central and indeed the translations often took place years after initial grants of land. It is important that we remember that the community was a monastic entity and that despite growth and political involvement, the cult of St Filibert was the most important consideration for them. The texts reveal a great amount of rivalry which existed after the community relocated to the mainland and are part of the response to that rivalry. Translation always

involved gamble. At some points the Filibertines certainly played a strong hand such as in the translation to Déas, but when they moved to Messais the gamble seems to have failed in comparison to other translations and did so because of monastic rivalry.

There are, of course, limitations to this study. It has not been possible to consider the translations to Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule and to Tournus that took place c.872 and 875 for instance. Whilst this period of Filibertine history was linked to the translations that we have considered, the textual descriptions of it come from a much later period and from the pen of Falco rather than that of Ermentarius. Part of the reason for our inability to consider these movements is, then, due to the lack of space to do justice to them, but the way in which the texts about and by the community were produced also means that the move to Messais forms a natural end point here. Consideration of Ermentarius' texts and the history of the Filibertines that corresponds to the period about which he wrote allows us to see the community in a particular light and at the moment of their greatest steps on the route to success. Through a study of the period c.814-c.862 we have been able to consider some major developments in Filibertine monastic history and whilst study of the later period on similar lines to what has been attempted here would doubtless be a worthwhile endeavour it is not necessary to achieve our aims.

Generally this study questions the narrative of repeated flight from Vikings. It proposes a more rounded approach to the history of the Filibertines and attempts to portray the ninth-century history of the community in a way that reflects the actual events and the community's widespread involvement in cultic, economic and political spheres. We have,

in the course of the study, had reason to look at some of the controversies that superficial consideration of the Northmen has caused and have questioned the methods that have sometimes been applied to the study of them. It has been important to make the best possible use of the texts. By critically assessing them we have been able to see both why they say what they do and what they fail to say. The way in which the Filibertine history has been approached here suggests methods that may be applicable to the study of other cult sites like that of St Martin de Vertou. Moreover, in asking what the texts intended to do by obfuscating some of the reality from the narrative, we have suggested new ways to consider the hagiography that involved Northmen in a general sense.

Far from being a community whose history was dominated by flight from outside forces, the Filibertines were progressive and innovative in a number of ways. They were an economically viable entity whose trade activities enhanced their standing; they were architectural innovators who reacted to the needs of the expanding cult of St Filibert and who adopted forms that were used at influential monastic churches; Ermentarius was textually innovative and created an account that helped to drive Filibertine history. The monks of St Filibert were involved at the centre of Carolingian responses to Northmen, Bretons and other political forces in ways that show them to have been extremely important to successive kings. The texts enabled this and described it at the same time and show that development and ambition were the key concerns during the period that saw them move from Noirmoutier to Déas, from Déas to Cunault and from Cunault to Messais.

Bibliography:

Primary works:

Abbo of St-Germain-des-Près, *Viking Attacks on Paris: The Bella parisiacae urbis of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Près*, ed. and trans. Nirmal Dass (Paris, 2007).

Admonitio Generalis (789), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia regum francorum*, 1, ed. Alfred Boretius (Hanover, 1883), 53-62.

Annales Bertiniani: Felix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard and Suzanne Clémencet (eds), *Annales de Saint-Bertin* (Paris, 1964); translated as Janet L. Nelson, (trans.), *The Annals of St-Bertin: Ninth Century Histories, Volume I*, (Manchester, 1991).

Annales Engolismenses, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum*, 16, ed. Georg H. Pertz (Hanover, 1859).

Annales Fuldenses, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Georg H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze (Hanover, 1891).

Annales Mettenses Priores, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. B.de Simson (Hanover and Leipzig, 1905).

Annales Regni Francorum inde ab a. 741. usque ad a. 829 qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses Maiores et Einhardi, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Georg H. Pertz and Friedrich Kurze (Hanover, 1895); translated as Royal Frankish Annals, trans. Bernard W. Scholz with Barbara Rogers, *Carolingian Chronicles*, (Michigan, 1972).

Annales Xantenses, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. B. de Simson (Hanover and Leipzig, 1909), 1-33.

Astronomus, Vita Hludowici imperatoris, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Ernst Tremp (Hanover, 1995), 279-555.

Capitularia de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis, 811 in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia Regum Francorum*, 1, ed. Alfred Boretius (Hanover, 1883), 7, 163.

La Chronique de Nantes (570 environ - 1049), ed. René Merlet (Paris, 1896).

Concilium Monguntiense, 813 in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio III, Concilia*, 3, Pars I, ed. Albert Werminghoff (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906), 36, 272.

De fide Carolo Regi servanda, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, no. 125, cols 961-984.

Ernst Dümmler (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum*, 4 (Berlin, 1895).

Edictum Pistense, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia Regum Francorum*, 2, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause (Hanover, 1897), no.273, c.25, 321.

Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, 6th edition, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Georg Waitz (Hanover, 1911).

Einhard, Translatio et miracula sanctorum Marcellini et Petri auctore Einhardo, ed. Georg Waitz in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, vol. 15.1 (Hanover, 1888), 239-264; translated as Einhard, The translation and miracles of the blessed martyrs Marcellinus and Peter in Paul Edward Dutton, (ed. and trans.), *Charlemagne's Courtier: The complete Einhard* (Peterborough, Ontario, 2003), pp 69-130.

Ermentarius, De Translationibus et Miraculis Sancti Filiberti, in René Poupardin (ed.), *Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)* (Paris, 1905), 19-70.

Ermold the Black, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et Épitres au Roi Pépin*, ed. and trans Edmond Faral (Paris, 1932).

Falco, Chronicon Trenorchiense in René Poupardin (ed.), *Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)* (Paris, 1905), 71-106.

The First Book of Sainte Foy's Miracles, The Book Of Sainte Foy, trans. P. Sheingorn, (Philadelphia, 1995).

Fragmentum Chronici Fontanellensis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, 2, ed. Georg H. Pertz (Hanover, 1829), 301-304.

Frotharius, Epistolae, 17 in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum*, 5, *Karolini aevi III*, ed. Karl Hampe (Berlin, 1899), 287-288.

Gesta Dagoberti I. regis Francorum, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 2, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1888), 396-425.

Gregory of Tours, Libri Historiarum X, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 1.1, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hanover, 1951); translated as Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, trans. L. Thorpe, (London, 1974).

Hincmar of Rheims, De Ordine palatii, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer (Hanover, 1980).

Historia inventionis et translationis Ss Agnetis et Benigni in *Acta Sanctorum*, new edition, Jan. II, ed. Godefrid Henschenius (Brussels, 1863), 721-724.

Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a Record of his Patrimony, ed. Ted Johnson South (Cambridge, 2002).

Historia translationum sancti Cuthberti in *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, Vol. I, ed. John Hodgson Hinde (Durham, 1868), 158-201.

Léon Levillain (ed.), *Receuil des Actes de Pépin Ier et de Pépin II Rois d'Aquitaine (814-848)* (Paris, 1926).

J. D. Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 13 (Florence, 1767).

Miracula Martini abbatis Vertavensis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 3, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1896), 564-575.

Nithard, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, ed. and trans. Philippe Lauer (2nd edition Paris, 1964).

Ordinatio Imperii, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capitularia*, I, Hludowici Pii Capitularia, 814-827, no.136, 270-273.

Michel Parisse (ed.), *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien: Frothaire de Toul (ca 813-847)* (Paris, 1998).

Paschasius Radbertus, Epitaphium Arsenii, in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, 120, cols. 1557-1650.

Paschasius Radbertus, Vita Sancti Adalhardi Corbeiensis Abbatis, in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, 120, cols.1507-1556.

Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, 6, ed. Martin Bouquet (Paris, 1870).

Regino of Prüm, Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Friedrich Kurze (Hanover, 1890).

Thomas Schieffer (ed.), Die Urkunden Lothars I. 822-855, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Diplomata Karolinorum, III, Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata* (Munich, 1979).

Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie: Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham*, ed. and trans. David Rollason (Oxford, 2000).

Georges Tessier (ed.), *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve Roi de France*, I (840-860) (Paris, 1943).

Georges Tessier (ed.), *Recueil des Actes de Charles II le Chauve Roi de France*, II (861-877) (Paris, 1952).

Thegan, Gesta Hludowici Imperatoris, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi*, ed. Ernst Tremp (Hanover, 1995), 167-260.

Vita Audoini episcopi Rotomagensis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 5, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hanover and Leipzig, 1910), 536-567.

Vita Austrebertae, *Acta Sanctorum*, editio novissima, Feb. II, ed. John Cornandet (Paris, 1864), 419-424; translated in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, ed. and trans. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg with E. Gordon Whatley (Durham, 1993).

Vita Filiberti Abbatis Gemeticensis et Heriensis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 5, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hanover and Leipzig, 1910), 568-604.

Vita Lantberti Abbatis Fontanellensis et Episcopi Lugdunensis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 5, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison (Hanover and Leipzig, 1910), 606-612.

Vita (Sancti Aichardi) Suspecta, Auctore anonymo monacho Gemeticensi, *Acta Sanctorum*, editio novissima, Sep. V, ed. John Cornandet (Paris and Rome, 1866), 85-99.

Vita Sanctae Balthildis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, 2, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1888), 475-508.

Vita Sancti Filiberti in René Poupardin (ed.), *Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus)* (Paris, 1905), 1-18.

Vita Sancti Sidonii Abbatis, ed. L'Abbé Legris in *Analecta Bollandiana*, X (Paris, 1891), 406-440.

Reference works:

Gustav Becker, *Catologi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885).

Dictionnaire des eglises de France, Vol. III, *Sud-Ouest* (Bordeaux, 1967), D, 166-168.

J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus: Abbreviationes et Index Fontium* (Leiden, 1993).

Oxford Dictionary of Saints ed. David Farmer (4th edition, Oxford, 1997).

Secondary literature:

Anthony Adams and A. G. Rigg 'A Verse Translation of Abbo of St Germain's *Bella parisiacae urbis*' in *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 14 (2004), 1-68.

Samuel A. M. Adshead, *Salt and Civilization* (London, 1992).

Stuart Airlie, 'The Aristocracy' in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, *c.700-c.900* (Cambridge, 1995), 431-450.

Stuart Airlie, 'The aristocracy in the service of the state in the Carolingian period' in Stuart Airlie, Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (eds), *Staat im frühen Mittelalter: Forschungen zur geschichte des mittelalters*, 11 (Vienna, 2006), 93-111.

Stuart Airlie, 'Bonds of Power and Bonds of Association in the Court Circle of Louis the Pious' in Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), 191-204.

Stuart Airlie, *The Political Behaviour of Secular Magnates in Francia, 829-879* (unpublished Oxford University DPhil thesis, 1985).

Stuart Airlie, 'Towards a Carolingian Aristocracy' in *Der Dynastiewechsel von 751: Vorgeschichte, Legitimationsstrategien und Erinnerung*, ed. Matthias Becher and Jörg Jarnut (Münster, 2004), 109-127.

Bat-Sheva Albert, *Le Pèlerinage à l'Époque Carolingienne* (Brussels, 1999).

Jean-Paul Andrieux, 'La règle des moines de Saint-Philibert des origines au IXe siècle' in Jacques Thirion (ed.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire, Archéologie, Art. Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (Tournus, 1995), 75-86.

Léonce Auzias, *L'Aquitaine Carolingienne* (Toulouse, 1937).

Bernard S. Bachrach, 'Charlemagne and the Carolingian General Staff', *The Journal of Military History*, 60; 2 (2002), 313-355.

Pierre Bauduin, *La Première Normandie (Xe-XIe siècles): Sur les Frontières de la Haute Normandie: Identité et Construction d'une Principauté* (Caen, 2004).

Views From the Boundary, ed. Peter Baxter (London, 1990).

March Bloch, *Feudal Society*, Vol. I (2nd edition, London, 1962.).

Paul Bois (ed.), *Histoire de Nantes* (Toulouse, 1977).

Marc Bompaire, 'Le Monnayage de Tournus' in Jacques Thirion (ed.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire, Archéologie, Art. Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (Tournus, 1995), 59-73.

Pierre Bouet, 'Les chroniques Francs et Normands face aux invasions Vikings,' in Élisabeth Ridet (ed.), *L'Heritage maritime des Vikings en Europe de l'Ouest* (Caen, 2002), 57-74.

The Monks of Redon: Gesta sanctorum Rotonensium and Vita Conuuoionis, ed. and trans. Caroline Brett (Woodbridge, 1989).

Stefan Brink, 'People and land in Early Scandinavia' in Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary and Przemysław Urbańczyk (eds), *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2008) 87-112.

Giles Brown, *Politics and Patronage at the Abbey of St Denis (814-98): the Rise of a Royal Patron Saint*, (unpublished Oxford University DPhil thesis 1989).

Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981).

Peter Brown, 'Enjoying the saints in late antiquity' in *Early Medieval Europe*, 9;1 (2000), 1-24.

Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Adversity, A.D. 200-1000* (2nd ed. Oxford, 2003).

Olivier Bruand, *Voyageurs et marchandises aux temps carolingiens: Les reseaux de communication entre Loire et Meuse aux VIIIe et IXe siècles* (Brussels, 2002).

L'Abbé G. Brunellière, *Histoire de Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu: Ville – Paroisse – Commune* (Le Poiré-sur-Vie, 1993).

Jean-Pierre Brunterc'h, 'Le duché du Maine et la marche de Bretagne' in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loir de 650 à 850*, I (Sigmaringen, 1989), 29-127.

Donald A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation, Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980* (Leiden, 2004).

Donald A. Bullough, 'The Career of Columbanus' in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Woodbrige, 1997), 1-28.

Donald A. Bullough, 'Imagines Regum and their significance in the early medieval West' in Giles Robertson and George Henderson (eds), *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh, 1975), 223-276.

Donald A. Bullough with Alice Harting-Correâ, 'Texts, chant and the chapel of Louis the Pious' in Donald A. Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991), 241-271.

Allen Cabaniss (trans.), *Charlemagne's cousins: Contemporary lives of Adalard and Wala* (Syracuse, 1967).

Robert G. Calkins, *Medieval Architecture in Western Europe: From A. D. 300-1500* (Oxford, 1998).

André Chédeville and Hubert Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve-Xe siècle* (Rennes, 1984).

Roger Collins, 'Pippin I and the Kingdom of Aquitaine' in Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), 363-390.

Kenneth J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800-1200* (Harmondsworth, 1966.)

John J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, c.700-c.900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), 710-712.

Michael D. Costen and Catherine Oakes, *Romanesque Churches of the Loire and Western France* (Stroud, 2000).

- Simon Coupland, 'The Carolingian army and the struggle against the Vikings', *Viator: medieval and renaissance studies*, 35 (2004), 49-70.
- Simon Coupland, 'The early coinage of Charles the Bald, 840-864' in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 151 (1991), 121-158.
- Simon Coupland, 'The fortified bridges of Charles the Bald', *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), 1-12.
- Simon Coupland, 'The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath? The Carolingian Theology of the Viking Invasions' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42;4 (1991), 535-554.
- Simon Coupland, 'The Frankish Tribute Payments to the Vikings and their Consequences' in *Francia: Forschungen zur Westeuropäischen Geschichte* 26:1 (1999), 57-76.
- Simon Coupland, 'Money and Coinage under Louis the Pious' in *Francia: Forschungen zur Westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 17;1 (1990), 23-54.
- Simon Coupland, 'Trading Places: Quentovic and Dorestad reassessed' in *Early Medieval Europe*, 11; 3 (2002), 209-232.
- Simon Coupland, 'The Vikings in Francia and Anglo-Saxon England to 911' in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, c.700-c.900, (Cambridge, 1995), 190-201.
- Simon Coupland, 'The Vikings on the Continent in Myth and History' in *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 88 (2003), 186-203.
- John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West c.300-1200* (Oxford, 2000).
- Sally Crumplin, *Rewriting history in the cult of St Cuthbert from the ninth to the twelfth centuries* (unpublished St Andrews PhD thesis, 2005).
- Wendy Davies, 'On the Distribution of Political Power in Brittany in the Mid-Ninth Century' in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Oxford, 1990), 98-114.
- Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London, 1988).
- H. W. C. Davis, Review Article: 'Monuments de l'Histoire des Abbayes de Saint-Philibert' in *The English Historical Review*, 21; 83 (1906), 555-556.

- Phillipe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781-840)* (Sigmaringen, 1997).
- Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. Donald Attwater (Dublin, 1998).
- Jean-Luc Deuffic, 'L'exode des corps saints hors de Bretagne (VIIe-XIIe s.): des reliques au culte liturgique', in Jean-Luc Deuffic (ed.), *Reliques et Sainteté dans l'espace médiéval* (Saint-Denis, 2006), 355-423.
- Jean Devisse, *Hincmar: Archevêque de Reims, 845-882, II* (Geneva, 1976).
- Olga Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaïa, *Histoire de l'atelier graphique de Corbie de 651 à 830, reflétée dans les Corbeïenses Leninpolitani* (Leningrad, 1934).
- Marilyn Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2003).
- Paul Edward Dutton (ed.), *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (Peterborough, Ontario, 1999).
- Paul Edward Dutton, (ed. and trans.), *Charlemagne's Courtier: The complete Einhard* (Peterborough, Ontario, 2003).
- Paul Edward Dutton and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Poetry and Paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald* (Michigan, 1997).
- Odilo Engels and Stefan Weinfurter (eds), *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae Occidentalis ab Initio usque ad Annum MCXCVIII, Series V, Germania, Tom. I: Archiepiscopatus Coloniensis* (Stuttgart, 1982).
- Bonnie Effros, 'Monuments and Memory: Repossessing Ancient Remains in Early Medieval Gaul' in Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws with Carine van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), 93-118.
- Ekkehard Eickhoff, 'Maritime Defence of the Carolingian Empire' in Rudolf Simek and Ulrike Engel (eds), *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia* (Vienna, 2004), 50-64.
- Traute Endemann, *Markturbunde und Markt in Frankreich und Burgund vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz, 1964).
- Robert Folz, 'Tradition Hagiographique et Culte du Saint Dagobert, Roi des Francs' in *Le Moyen Âge* (1963), 17-35.

Paul Fouracre, 'Forgetting and Remembering Dagobert II: the English Connection' in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds), *Frankland: the Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages, Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008), 70-89.

Paul Fouracre, 'Francia in the Seventh Century' in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, I, c.500-c.700 ed. Paul Fouracre (2005), 371-396.

Paul Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography, in *Past and Present*, 127 (1990), 3-38.

Paul Fouracre, 'Merovingians, Mayors of the Palace and the Notion of a Low-Born Ebroin' in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 57; 135 (1984), 1-14.

Paul Fouracre, 'The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt to Regulate the Cult of Saints' in James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), 143-165.

Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640-720* (Manchester, 1996).

Jean Foyer, 'Robert le Fort, héros de Brissarthe, ancêtre de la dynastie capétienne' in Olivier Guillot and Robert Favreau (eds), *Pays de Loire et Aquitaine de Robert le Fort aux premiers capétiens* (Poitiers, 1997), 253-266.

Johannes Fried, 'The Frankish kingdoms, 817-911: the East and Middle kingdoms' in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, c. 700-c. 900 (Cambridge, 1995), 142-168.

Michèle Gaillard, 'Frothaire, évêque de Toul' in Michel Parisse (ed.), *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien: Frothaire de Toul (ca 813-847)* (Paris, 1998), 11-26.

François-Louis Ganshof, 'A propos du tonlieu a l'époque carolingienne', *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo*, VI, *La Città Nell'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1959), 485-508.

François-Louis Ganshof, 'On the Genesis and Significance of the Treaty of Verdun (843)' in François-Louis Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy* (Aberdeen, 1971).

David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen, 1990).

David Ganz, 'The Debate on Predestination' in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, BAR International Series 101 (2nd ed. Oxford, 1981), 353-373.

David Ganz, 'The *Epitathium Arsenii* and Opposition to Louis the Pious' in Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), 537-550.

Ildar H. Garipzanov, 'Frontier Identities: Carolingian Frontier and the *Gens Danorum*' in Ildar H. Garipzanov, Patrick J. Geary and Przemysław Urbańczyk (eds), *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2008), 113-142.

Mary Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne' in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 114-161.

Nancy Gautier, 'Rouen pendant le Haut Moyen-Âge (650-850)' in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850, Colloque historique international*, 2 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 1-20.

Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (2nd ed. Princeton, 1990).

Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, New York, 1994).

Richard A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (Oxford, 1987).

John Gillingham, 'Ademar of Chabannes and the History of Aquitaine in the Reign of Charles the Bald' in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1990), 41-51.

Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Ithaca, 2006).

Michael Goodich, 'Liturgy and the Foundation of Cults in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries' in Yitzhak Hen (ed.), *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder* (Turnhout, 2001), 145-157.

Monique Goullet, 'Vers une typologie des réécritures hagiographiques, à partir de quelques exemples du Nord-Est de la France' in Monique Goullet and Martin Heinzelmänn (eds), *La Réécriture Hagiographique dans l'Occident Médiéval: Transformations Formelles et Idéologiques* (Paris, 2003), 109-144.

Monique Gouillet and Martin Heinzelmänn, 'Avant-propos' in Monique Gouillet and Martin Heinzelmänn (eds), *La Réécriture Hagiographique dans l'Occident Médiéval: Transformations Formelles et Idéologiques* (Paris, 2003), 7-14.

František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger* (Prague, 1965).

Phillip Grierson, 'The *Gratia Dei Rex* Coinage of Charles the Bald' in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, BAR International Series 101 (2nd ed. Oxford, 1981), 39-51.

Olivier Guillot, 'Le diplôme de Charles le Chauve attribuant au monastère de Saint Philibert la *cella* de Bussogilum (10 Février 856)' in Jacques Thirion (ed.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire, Archéologie, Art. Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (Tournus, 1995), 41-58.

Hubert Guillotel, 'L'exode du clergé breton devant les invasions scandinaves,' *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, 59 (1982), 269-315.

Albert d'Haenens, 'Les incursions Hongroises dans l'Éspace Belge (954/955): Histoire ou Historiographie?' in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale Xe-XIIIe Siècles*, IV (1961), 423-440.

Albert d'Haenens, 'Les invasions Normandes dans l'Empire Franc au IXe siècle', *Settimane di Studio*, 16 (1976), 233-298.

Cynthia Hahn, 'Seeing and Believing: The construction of sanctity in early-medieval saints' shrines', *Speculum*, 72 (1997). pp. 1079-1106.

Christian Harding, 'Translation accounts and representations of popular belief in the hagiography of the community of St Filibert' in *Quest*, 8 (2009), 19-33:
<<http://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/QUEST/JournalIssues/Issue8ProceedingsoftheMARSCoference>> [20/04/09]

Wolfgang Haubrichs, *Die Kultur der Abtei Prüm zur Karolingerzeit: Studein zur Heimat des althochdeutschen Georgsliedes* (Bonn, 1979).

Thomas Head, 'The early medieval transformation of piety' in Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (eds), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Aldershot, 2008), 155-160.

Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints in the Diocese of Orléans* (Cambridge, 1990).

Thomas Head and Richard Landes (eds), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, New York, 1998).

Martin Heinzelmann, 'Une source de base de la littérature hagiographique latine: Le recueil de miracles' in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés, IVe-XIIe siècles: Actes du colloque organisée à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 Mai 1979)*, *Études Augustiniennes* (1981), 235-259.

Martin Heinzelmann, 'Einhard's *Translatio Marcellini et Petri*: Eine hagiographische Reformschrift von 830' in *Einhard: Studien zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Herman Schefers (Darmstadt, 1997), 269-298.

Martin Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* (Turnout, 1979).

Carol Heitz, 'Architecture et Monuments de Neustrie' in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850, Colloque historique international*, 2 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 187-208.

Carol Heitz, *L'Architecture religieuse Carolingienne: Les formes et leurs fonctions* (Paris, 1980).

Yitzhak Hen, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past' in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000).

Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul: To the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London, 2001).

Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000).

Jacques Henriot, 'Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire - Critique d'Authenticité - Étude Archéologique du Chevet (1009-1019)' in *Bulletin Monumental*, 148; 3 (1990), 229-316.

David Herlihy, *The History of Feudalism* (New York, 1970).

Régine Hennebicque-Le Jan, 'Prosopographica Neustrica: Les Agents du Roi en Neustrie de 639 à 840' in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, I (Sigmaringen, 1989), 231-270.

Jean Heuclin, *Aux origines monastiques de la Gaule du nord : ermites et reclus du Ve au XIe siècle* (Lille, 1988).

Jean Heuclin, 'Les Abbés des Monastères Neustriens, 650-850' in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, I (Sigmaringen, 1989), 320-340.

Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade, A.D. 600-1000* (London, 1982).

Richard Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne* (London, 2000).

John Howe, 'The Hagiography of Jumièges (Province of Haute-Normandie) (SHGVII)' in Martin Heinzelmann (ed.), *L'Hagiographie du Haut Moyen Âge en Gaule du Nord: Manuscrits, Textes et Centres de Production* (Stuttgart, 2001), 91-126.

Hans J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge, 2005).

Matthew Innes, '“A Place of Discipline”: Carolingian Courts and Aristocratic Youth' in Catherine Cubitt (ed.), *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference* (Turhout, 2003), 59-76.

Matthew Innes, 'Introduction: Using the Past, Interpreting the Present, Influencing the Future,' in Hen and Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 1-8.

Matthew Innes, 'Kings, Monks and Patrons: Political Identities and the Abbey of Lorsch' in Regine Le Jan (ed.), *La Royauté et les Élités dans l'Europe Carolingienne (début IXe siècle aux environs de 920)* (Lille, 1998), 301-324.

Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000).

Matthew Innes, 'Teutons or Trojans? The Carolingians and the Germanic Past' in Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), 227-249.

Matthew Innes and Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Writing of History' Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture, Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), 193-220.

Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'Un texte hagiographique épineux: la translatio sancti valeriani' in Jacques Thirion (ed.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire, Archéologie, Art. Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (Tournus, 1995), 27-40.

Werner Jacobsen, 'Saints' Tombs in French Church Architecture', *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 1107-1143.

Donald C. Jackman, 'Rorgonid Right – Two Scenarios' in *Francia: Forschungen zu westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 26:1 (2000), 129-153.

Edward James, *The Origins of France: From Clovis to the Capetians 500-1000* (London, 1982).

Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (London, 1969).

Mayke de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer' in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, c.700-c.900 (Cambridge, 1995), 622-653.

Mayke de Jong, 'Monastic Prisoners or Opting Out? Political Coercion and Honour in the Frankish Kingdoms' in Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuvs with Carine van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), 291-328.

Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996).

Reinhold Kaiser, 'Royauté et Pouvoir Épiscopal au Nord de la Gaule (VIIe- IXe siècles)' in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, I (Sigmaringen, 1989), 143-161.

Brigitte Kasten, *Adalhard von Corbie: Die Biographie eines Karolingischen Politikers und Kloostervorstehers* (Dusseldorf, 1985).

Herbert L. Kessler, 'A Lay Abbot as Patron: Count Vivian and the First Bible of Charles the Bald' in *Settimane di studio del centro Italiano di studi sull'Alto medioevo*, xxxix: *Commitenti e Produzione Artistico - Letteraria Nell'Alto medioevo occidentale*, II (Spoleto, 1992), 647-677.

Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favour: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (London, 1992).

Geoffrey Koziol, 'Charles the Simple, Robert of Neustria, and the *vexilla* of Saint-Denis' in *Early Medieval Europe* 14; 4 (2006), 355-390.

Geoffrey Koziol, 'Is Robert I in Hell?: The Diploma for Saint-Denis and the Mind of a Rebel King (Jan. 25, 923)' in *Early Medieval Europe* 14; 3 (2006), 233-263.

Adelheid Krahn, *Die Entstehung der »potestas regia« im Westfrankenreich während der ersten Regierungsjahre Kaiser Karls II. (840-877)* (Berlin, 2000).

Arthur Lapôte, 'L'Europe et le saint-siège à l'époque carolingienne' in idem. *Études sur la papauté au IXe siècle*, II (Turin, 1978), 1-369.

Stéphane Lebecq, *Marchands et Navigateurs Frisons du Haut Moyen Âge*, Vol. I, *Essai* (Arras, 1983).

Stéphane Lebecq, 'La Neustrie et la Mer' in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850* (Sigmaringen, 1989), 405-440.

Stéphane Lebecq, 'The role of the monasteries in the systems of production and exchange of the Frankish world between the seventh and the beginning of the ninth centuries' in Inge L. Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century* (Leiden, 2000), 121-148.

Stéphane Lebecq, 'Scènes de chasse aux mammifères marins (mers du Nord, VIe-XII siècles)' in Elisabeth Mornet and Franco Morenzoni (eds), *Milieus naturels, espaces sociaux. Études offertes à Robert Delort* (Paris, 1997), 241-254.

Regine Le Jan, 'Convents, Violence and Competition for Power in Seventh Century Francia' in M. de Jong and F. Theuws (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), 243-269.

Regine Le Jan, *Famille et Pouvoir dans le Monde Franc (VIIe- Xe siècle)* (Paris, 1995).

Léon Levillain, 'Études sur l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque merovingienne, I: Les sources narratives' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 82 (1921), 5-116.

Léon Levillain, 'Wandalbert de Prüm et la Date de la Mort d'Hilduin de Saint-Denis' in *Bibliothèque de l'école de Chartes*, 108 (1950), 5-35.

Felice Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative' in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 25 (1994), 95-113.

Felice Lifshitz, 'The Migration of Neustrian relics in the Viking Age: The Myth of Voluntary Exodus, the Reality of Coercion and Theft' in *Early Medieval Europe*, 4; 2 (1995), 175-192.

Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria* (Toronto, 1995).

F. Donald Logan, *The Vikings in History* (2nd edition, London, 1991).

Erik Lönnroth, 'Communications, vie économique et modèles politiques des Vikings en scandinavie' in *Settimane di Studio del centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo XVI: I normanni e la loro espansione in europa nell'alto medioevo* (1968), 101-115.

Ferdinand Lot, *Melanges d'histoire bretonne (VI-XIe siècles)* (Paris, 1907).

- Ferdinand Lot, 'De quelques personnages du IX siècle qui ont porté le nom de Hilduin' in *Le Moyen Âge*, 16 (1903), 249-282.
- Ferdinand Lot, 'Sur les Hilduins. Note rectificative' in *Le Moyen Âge*, 17 (1904), 338-342.
- Ferdinand Lot and François-Louis Ganshof, *Histoire du moyen age: Les destinées de l'Empire en Occident de 768 à 888*, I, IIe partie (Paris, 1941).
- Adam Lucas, *Wind, Water, Work: Ancient and Medieval Milling Technology* (Leiden, 2006).
- Angus Mackay with David Ditchburn (eds), *Atlas of Medieval Europe* (London, 1997).
- Simon MacLean, 'The Carolingian response to the revolt of Boso, 879-887' in *Early Medieval Europe*, 10; 1 (2001), 21-48.
- History and Politics in late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg*, ed. and trans. Simon MacLean (Manchester, 2009).
- Simon MacLean, 'Insinuation, Censorship and the Struggle for Late Carolingian Lotharingia in Regino of Prüm's Chronicle' in *English Historical Review*, 124; 506 (2009), 2-28.
- Simon MacLean, *Kingship and politics in the late ninth century: Charles the Fat and the end of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Magnus Magnusson, *The Vikings* (Stroud, 2003).
- Léon Maître, 'Cunault, son prieuré et ses archives', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 59 (1898), 233-61.
- Léon Maître, 'Rapport sur l'établissement de Déas sur la Translation des Reliques de Saint Filibert et sur l'âge de l'église de Saint-Philbert-de-Grandlieu', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Nantes et du Département de la Loire-Inférieure*, 35 (1896), 63-173.
- Jacques Mallet and Daniel Prigent, 'La place de la priorale de Cunault dans l'art locale' in Jacques Thirion (ed.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire, Archéologie, Art. Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (Tournus, 1995), 473-486.
- Jane Martindale, 'Charles the Bald and the Governance of Aquitaine' in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, BAR

International Series 101 (2nd ed. Oxford, 1981), 109-135.

Jane Martindale, 'The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal' in idem, (ed.), *Status, Authority and Regional Power* (Aldershot, 1997), 5-45.

Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Two abbots in politics: Wala of Corbie and Bernard of Clairvaux', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 40 (1990), 217-237.

Charles B. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600-900* (London, 2005).

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

Allan Scott McKinley, 'The First Two Centuries of Saint Martin of Tours' in *Early Medieval Europe* 14; 2 (2006), 173-200.

Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989).

Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994).

Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751-987* (London, 1983).

Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004).

Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Palace School of Charles the Bald' in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, BAR International Series 101 (2nd ed. Oxford, 1981), 385-400.

Bernard Merdrignac, 'Bretons et Irlandais en France du Nord – VIe-VIIIe siècles' in Jean-Michel Picard (ed.), *Ireland and Northern France, A.D. 600-850* (Dublin, 1991), 119-142.

Bernard Moinier, 'L'importance du sel dans l'histoire', Jean-Claude Hocquet ed. *Le roi, le marchand et le sel* (Lille, 1987), 11-26.

Hervé Mouillebouche, 'Les Hongrois en Bourgogne: le Succès d'un Mythe Historiographique' in *Annales de Bourgogne*, 78 (2006), 127-168.

Lucien Musset, *Les invasions: le second assaut contre l'Europe chretienne* (Paris, 1965).

Lucien Musset, *Les Peuples Scandinaves au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1951).

Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia, 1991).

Janet L. Nelson, 'Aachen as a Place of Power' in Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws with Carine van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), 217-242.

Janet L. Nelson, (trans.), *The Annals of St-Bertin: Ninth Century Histories, Volume I*, (Manchester, 1991).

Janet L. Nelson, 'The Annals of St-Bertin' in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, BAR International Series 101 (2nd ed. Oxford, 1981), 15-36.

Janet L. Nelson, 'Bad Kingship in the Earlier Middle Ages' in *The Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History*, Vol. 8 (1996), 1-26.

Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992).

Janet L. Nelson, 'Dispute Settlement in Carolingian West Francia' in Janet L. Nelson, *The Frankish World, 750-900* (London, 1996), 51-74.

Janet L. Nelson, 'The Frankish kingdoms, 814-898: the West' in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, II, c.700-c.900* (Cambridge, 1995), 110-141.

Janet L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Royal Government' in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History, II, c.700-c.900*, (Cambridge, 1995), 383-430.

Janet L. Nelson, 'The Last Years of Louis the Pious' in Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), 147-160.

Janet L. Nelson, 'The Lord's Anointed and the People's Choice: Carolingian Royal Ritual' in Janet L. Nelson (ed.), *The Frankish World, 750-900* (London, 1996), 99-131.

Janet L. Nelson, 'Making a Difference in Eighth-Century Politics: The Daughters of Desiderius' in Alexander Callender Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History, Essays Presented to Walter Goffart* (Toronto, 1998), 171-190.

Janet L. Nelson, 'Peers in the Middle Ages' in Pauline Stafford, Janet L. Nelson and Jane Martindale (eds), *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds* (Manchester, 2001), 27-46.

Janet L. Nelson, 'The Reign of Charles the Bald: A Survey' in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Oxford, 1990), 1-22.

Thomas F. X. Noble, 'Louis the Pious and the Frontiers of the Frankish Realm' in Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), 333-48.

Marcel Pacaut, 'Une communauté monastique originale, la congrégation de Tournus (IXe-XIIe siècles)' in Jacques Thirion (ed.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire, Archéologie, Art. Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (Tournus, 1995), 105-119.

Abbé Henri Peltier, *Adalhard: Abbé de Corbie* (Amiens, 1969).

Hérolf Pettiau, 'A prosopography of Breton rulership' *The Journal of Celtic Studies*, 4 (2004), 171-191.

Walter Pohl, 'Telling the difference: Signs of ethnic identity' in Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (eds), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800* (Leiden, 1998), 17-69.

Christina Pössel, 'The magic of early medieval ritual' in *Early Medieval Europe*, 17; 2 (2009), 111-125.

Verena Postel, 'Communiter inito consilio: Herrschaft als Beratung' in Martin Kaufhold (ed.), *Political Thought in the Age of Scholasticism: Essays in Honour of Jürgen Miethke* (Leiden, 2004), 1-25.

Joseph-Claude Poulin, 'Les réécritures dans l'hagiographie bretonne (VIIIe-XIIe siècles)' in Monique Goulet and Martin Heinzelmann (eds), *La Réécriture Hagiographique dans l'Occident Médiéval: Transformations Formelles et Idéologiques* (Paris, 2003), 145-194.

Joseph-Claude Poulin, *L'idéal de sainteté dans l'Aquitaine carolingienne, d'après les sources hagiographiques, 750-950* (Québec, 1975).

René Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888-1038): Étude sur les Origines du Royaume d'Arles* (Paris, 1907).

Anne Prache, 'Le prieuré de Saint-Pourçain' in Jacques Thirion (ed.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire, Archéologie, Art. Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (Tournus, 1995), 497-505.

Neil Price, 'The Vikings in Brittany', *Saga Book of the Viking Society*, Vol. 22 (1989), 319-440.

Janneke Raaijmakers, 'Memory and Identity: the Annales necrologici of Fulda' in Richard Corradini, Rob Meens, Christina Pössel and P. Shaw (eds), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages: Forschungen zur geschichte des Mittelalters*, 12 (Vienna, 2006), 303-321.

Jean Renaud, *Les Vikings de la Charente a l'Assaut de l'Aquitaine* (Pau, 2002).

Jean Renaud, *Les Vikings en France* (Rennes, 2000).

Jean Renaud, *Les Vikings et la Normandie* (Rouen, 1989).

Timothy Reuter, 'The end of Carolingian Military Expansion' in Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), 391-405.

Timothy Reuter, 'Nobles and others: the social and cultural expression of power relations in the Middle Ages' in Timothy Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities* ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 111-126.

Timothy Reuter, 'Plunder and tribute in the Carolingian empire' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 35 (1985), 75-94.

Timothy Reuter, 'Whose race, whose ethnicity? Recent medievalists' discussions of identity' in Timothy Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities* ed. Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 100-108.

Pierre Riché, 'Centers of Culture in Frankish Gaul between the 6th and the 9th centuries' in *Early Medieval Society*, ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp (New York, 1967), 221-236.

Pierre Riché, 'Consequences des invasions Normandes sur la culture monastique dans l'Occident Franc', *Settimane di Studio*, 16: *I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto Medioevo* (1968), 705-721.

Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: From the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, trans. John J. Contreni (Columbia, South Carolina, 1976).

Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe*, trans. Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia, 1993).

Pierre Riché, 'Les centres de culture en Neustrie de 650 à 850' in Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, 2 (Sigmaringen, 1989), 297-305.

Pierre Riché, 'Les moines bénédictins, maîtres d'école VIIIe-XIe siècles' in *Benedictine Culture, 750-1050*, ed. Willem Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst (Leuven, 1983), 96-113.

Pierre Riché, 'Les monastères hiberno-francs en Gaule du Nord – VIIe-VIIIe siècles' in Jean-Michel Picard (ed.), *Ireland and Northern France, A.D. 600-850* (Dublin, 1991), 21-26.

Pierre Riché, 'Translations de reliques à l'époque carolingienne: Histoire des reliques de Saint Malo', *Le Moyen Âge*, 82 (4th series, 31) (1976), 201-218.

Pierre Riché, 'Valérien et Philibert, une cohabitation de deux saints' in Jacques Thirion (ed.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire, Archéologie, Art. Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (Tournus, 1995), 21-26.

Michael Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages: The Abiding Legacy of Columbanus* (Dublin, 2008).

G. Rigg, 'The Long or the Short of it? Amplification or Abbreviation?' in *The Journal of Medieval Latin: A Publication of the North American Association of Medieval Latin*, 10 (2000), 46-73.

Else Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, trans. Susan M. Margeson and Kirsten Williams (2nd ed. London, 1998).

David W. Rollason, 'The Wanderings of St Cuthbert' in idem ed. *Cuthbert. Saint and Patron* (Durham, 1987), 45-61.

Barbara H. Rosenwien, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny' Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, 1989).

Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester, 1999).

Peter H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (London, 1971).

Peter H. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings* (London, 1982).

Peter H. Sawyer, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings* (Oxford, 1997).

- Richard Sharpe, *Titulus: Identifying Medieval Latin Texts, An Evidence Based Approach* (Turnhout, 2003).
- Marc Simon, *L'abbaye de Landévennec de S. Guénolé à nos jours* (Landévennec, 1984).
- Julia M. H. Smith, 'Aedificatio sancti loci: The Making of a Ninth-Century Holy Place' in Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws with Carine van Rhijn (eds), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), 361-396.
- Julia M. H. Smith, 'The 'Archbishopric' of Dol and the Ecclesiastical Politics of Ninth Century Brittany' in *Studies in Church History*, 18 (1982), 59-70.
- Julia M. H. Smith, 'Celtic Asceticism and Carolingian Authority in Early Medieval Brittany' in *Studies in Church History*, 21 (1984), 53-63.
- Julia M. H. Smith, 'Confronting Identities: The Rhetoric and Reality of a Carolingian Frontier' in Walter Pohl and Max Diesenberger (eds), *Integration und Herrschaft: Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 3 (Vienna, 2002), 169-182.
- Julia M. H. Smith, "Emending Evil Ways and Praising God's Omnipotence": Einhard and the uses of the Roman Martyrs' in Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (eds), *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing* (Woodbridge, 2003), 189-223.
- Julia M. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000* (Oxford, 2005).
- Julia M. H. Smith, 'Fines Imperii' in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, c.700-c.900 (Cambridge, 1995), 169-189.
- Julia M. H. Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia' in Julia M. H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden, 2000), 317-339.
- Julia M. H. Smith, 'Oral and Written: Saints, Miracles and Relics in Brittany, c.850-1250', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 65 (1990), 309-343.
- Julia M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Julia M. H. Smith, 'Women at the tomb: Access to Relic Shrines in the Early Middle Ages', Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds), *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2002), 163-180.

Pauline Stafford, 'Charles the Bald, Judith and England' in Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (eds), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, BAR International Series 101 (2nd ed. Oxford, 1981), 137-151.

Alain J. Stoclet, 'La Clausula de Unctione Pippini Regis, vingt ans après' in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 78 (2000), 719-771.

Georges Tessier, *Diplomatique Royale Française* (Paris, 1962).

Jacques Thirion (ed.), *Saint-Philibert de Tournus: Histoire, Archéologie, Art. Actes du Colloque du Centre International d'Études Romanes* (Tournus, 1995).

Noël-Yves Tonnerre, 'L'aristocratie du Royaume Breton' in Regine Le Jan (ed.), *La Royauté et les Élités dans l'Europe Carolingienne (début IXe siècle aux environs de 920)* (Lille, 1998), 487-504.

Anna Trumbore Jones, 'Pitying the desolation of such a place: rebuilding religious houses and constructing memory in Aquitaine in the wake of the Viking incursions' in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 37 (2006), 85-102.

Adriaan Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Cambridge, 1999).

Adriaan Verhulst, 'Roman Cities, Emporia and New Towns (Sixth-Ninth Centuries)' in Inge L. Hansen and Chris Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century* (Leiden, 2000), 105-120.

Walther Vogel, *Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie (799-911)*, *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte*, 14 (Aalen, 1973).

J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'A Carolingian Renaissance Prince: The Emperor Charles the Bald', *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1978), 155-185.

J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'History in the Mind of Archbishop Hincmar' in R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern* (Oxford, 1981), 43-70.

J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Vikings in Francia', idem. ed. *Early Medieval History* (Reading, 1975).

Elizabeth Ward, 'Agobard of Lyons and Paschasius Radbertus as Critics of the Empress Judith' in *Studies in Church History*, 27 (1990), 15-26.

Elizabeth Ward, 'Caesar's Wife: The Career of the Empress Judith, 819-829', Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), 205-230.

Wilhelm Wattenbach, Wilhelm Levison and Heinz Löwe (eds), *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Vorzeit und Karolinger*, V. (Weimar, 1973), 589-590.

Lorenz Weinrich, *Wala: Graf, Mönch und Rebell, Die Biographie eines Karolingers* (Lübeck and Hamburg, 1963).

Karl-Ferdinand Werner, 'Missus – Marchio – Comes: Entre l'administration centrale et l'administration locale de l'Empire carolingien' in *Histoire Comparée de l'Administration (IVe-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. Werner Paravicini and Karl-Ferdinand Werner, Beihefte der Francia 9, (Munich, 1980), 191-239.

Karl-Ferdinand Werner, *Les Origines (avant l'an mil)* (Évreux, 1984).

Karl-Ferdinand Werner, 'Les premiers Robertiens et les premiers Anjou (IXe siècle-début Xe siècle)' in Olivier Guillot and Robert Favreau (eds), *Pays de Loire et Aquitaine de Robert le Fort aux premiers capétiens* (Poitiers, 1997), 9-67.

Karl-Ferdinand Werner, 'Les Robertiens' in Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral I Altet (eds), *Le Roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an mil* (Paris, 1992), 15-26.

Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2006).

Stephen Wilson (ed.), *Saints and their cults: Studies in religious sociology, folklore and history* (Cambridge, 1983).

Philippe Wolff, *Regards sur le Midi médiéval* (Toulouse, 1978).

Ian Wood, 'Conclusion: Strategies of Distinction' in Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (eds), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800* (Leiden, 1998), 297-303.

Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (Harlow, 1994).

Ian N. Wood, *The Merovingian North Sea* (Alingsås, 1983).

Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400-1050* (Harlow, 2001).

Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006).