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WITHDRAWN

CAROLINGIAN
CHRONICLES

Royal Frankish Annals
and
Nithard's Histories

Translated by
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with
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Ann Arbor
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

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SBN 472-08790-8

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 77-83456

Published in the United States of America by

*The University of Michigan Press and simultaneously
in Don Mills, Canada, by Longmans Canada Limited*

Manufactured in the United States of America

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ROYAL FRANKISH ANNALS

(741-829)

741

Charles, mayor of the palace, died.

- R He left three sons as heirs, Carloman, Pepin, and Grifo. Grifo, the youngest of them, had a mother named Swanahilde, a niece of Odilo, duke of the Bavarians.¹ By her malicious counsel she aroused in him such high hopes of possessing the whole kingdom² that he at once occupied the city of Laon and declared war on his brothers. Carloman and Pepin quickly gathered an army, besieged Laon, and captured Grifo. And from then on they applied themselves to restoring order in the kingdom and to recovering the provinces³ which had fallen away from the Franks after their father's death. To make sure everything was safe at home while they were abroad, Carloman took Grifo and held him at Neufchâteau in the Ardennes Mountains, where Grifo is said to have remained in custody until Carloman left for Rome.⁴

742

Carloman and Pepin, mayors of the palace, then led an army against Hunald, duke of the Aquitanians, and took the castle of Loches. On this campaign they divided the kingdom of the Franks among themselves at Vieux Poitiers.¹ Carloman laid waste Alamannia that year, too.²

743

Carloman and Pepin then started a war against Odilo,¹ duke of the Bavarians.² That year Carloman advanced alone into Saxony. By treaty, he got possession of the castle called Hohenseeburg and made Theodoric the Saxon submit.³

744

Again Carloman and Pepin invaded Saxony, and Theodoric the Saxon was captured a second time.¹

745

Carloman then confessed to his brother Pepin that he wished to retire from the world. They undertook no campaign that year, but both made preparations, Carloman for his journey and Pepin for his brother's departure with gifts and honors.¹

746

Carloman proceeded to Rome, took the tonsure, and built a monastery in honor of St. Sylvester on Mount Soratte.¹ There he remained for a while and then moved to St. Benedict's at Monte Cassino, where he became a monk.²

R Carloman departed for Rome. He gave up the glory of this world, changed his garb, and on Mount Soratte built a monastery in honor of St. Sylvester. Here, as they say, St. Sylvester once lived in secret at the time of the persecution under Emperor Constantine. Carloman stayed for a while but then wisely decided to leave this place. To serve his God he passed on to the monastery of St. Benedict near the castle of Cassino in the province of Samnium. And there he received the monastic habit.

747

Grifo fled to Saxony,¹ and Pepin entered Saxony through Thuringia, going as far as the River Meissau near Schöningen. Grifo joined the Saxons on the River Oker near Ohrum.²

R Grifo, Carloman's and Pepin's brother, did not want to be under the thumb of his brother Pepin, although he held an honorable place. He gathered a handful of men and fled to Saxony. In

Saxony he raised an army of natives and positioned himself on the River Oker near Ohrum. But Pepin marched through Thuringia with the Frankish host, entered Saxony in spite of his brother's machinations, and positioned himself on the River Meissau near Schöningen. Nevertheless, there was no battle between them; instead, they separated after making a treaty.

748

Fleeing from Saxony Grifo came to Bavaria, subdued the duchy, and captured Hiltrude and Tassilo. Suidger came to Grifo's aid. When Pepin heard this, he hurried with his army to Bavaria, overcame all those mentioned above, took Grifo and Lanfrid away with him, and by his grace installed Tassilo as duke of the Bavarians. He sent Grifo to Neustria and gave him twelve counties.¹ From Neustria Grifo fled again into Gascony and went to Waifar, duke of the Aquitanians.²

749

Bishop Burchard of Würzburg and the chaplain Fulrad were sent to Pope Zacharias to inquire whether it was good or not that the kings of the Franks should wield no royal power, as was the case at that time. Pope Zacharias instructed Pepin that it was better to call him king who had the royal power than the one who did not. To avoid turning the country upside down, he commanded by virtue of his apostolic authority that Pepin should be made king.¹

750

Pepin was elected king according to the custom of the Franks, anointed by the hand of Archbishop Boniface of saintly memory, and raised to the kingship by the Franks in the city of Soissons. But Childerich, who was falsely called king, was tonsured and sent into a monastery.¹

753

Pepin marched into Saxony, and Bishop Hildegard was killed¹ by the Saxons in the castle called Iburg.² In spite of this Pepin had the victory and came as far as Rehme.³ On his return from his campaign

he was informed that his brother Grifo, who had fled into Gascony, had been killed.⁴

That year Pope Stephen came to Francia, seeking aid and support for the rights of St. Peter. Carloman, monk and brother of King Pepin, came to Francia also, under orders from his abbot, hoping to interfere with the granting of the pope's request.

R That year Pope Stephen came to King Pepin at the villa called Quierzy advising the king that he defend the pope and the Roman Church against the aggression of the Lombards. Carloman, brother of the king and already a monk, also came on the order of his abbot to oppose the requests the Roman pontiff was making of his brother. But it is believed that he did this unwillingly and only because he dared not slight the orders of his abbot; nor did the abbot dare to defy the command of the Lombard king who had ordered him to do this.⁵

754

Pope Stephen confirmed Pepin as king by holy anointing and with him he anointed as kings his two sons, the Lords Charles and Carloman.¹ The Lord Archbishop Boniface, who was spreading the word of God in Frisia, became a martyr of Christ while preaching.²

755

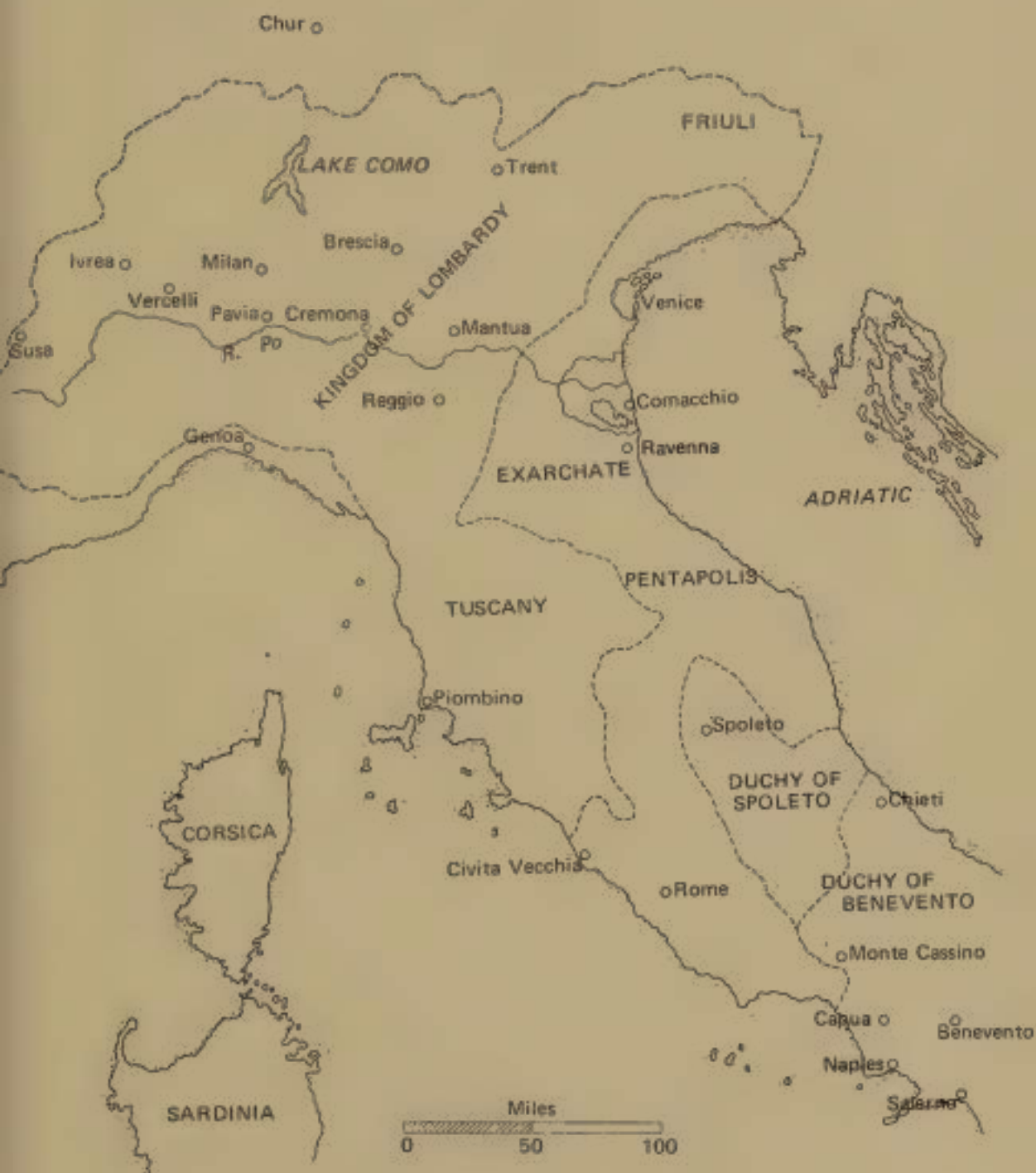
King Pepin, on papal invitation, embarked on a campaign into Italy to seek justice for the blessed apostle Peter. Aistulf, the king of the Lombards, who refused this justice, moved into the Lombard Cluses¹ and marched against King Pepin and the Franks. They began the war. By God's help and the intercession of the blessed apostle Peter, Pepin with his Franks had the victory.²

In the same year Pope Stephen was taken back to the Holy See by the emissaries of the Lord King Pepin, Fulrad and his companions.³ When King Aistulf was surrounded in the city of Pavia, he promised to respect the rights of St. Peter. Then King Pepin, after obtaining forty hostages and confirming the treaty by oaths, returned to Francia.

The monk Carloman, however, remained sick at Vienne with Queen Bertrada; he languished for many days and died in peace.

R On the order of the king his body was taken to the monastery of St. Benedict, where Carloman had received the monastic habit.⁴

Royal Frankish Annals



Italy on the Eve of Carolingian Intervention

756

When King Pepin saw that Aistulf, king of the Lombards, was not true to his word, which he had previously given regarding the rights of St. Peter, he made another expedition into Italy, besieged Pavia, surrounded Aistulf, and made even more sure that the rights of St. Peter would be preserved, as Aistulf had promised before. In addition, he conquered Ravenna with the Pentapolis and the whole exarchate and handed it over to St. Peter.¹ When King Pepin returned, the villainous king Aistulf wanted to go back on what he had promised before, desert his hostages, and break his oaths. But one day, when he went hunting, he was smitten by the judgment of God and ended his days.

R He fell from his horse while hunting. And the ailment which he contracted from this accident² brought an end to his life within a few days.³

Why and how King Desiderius was raised to the kingship we shall report later.⁴

757

Emperor Constantine sent King Pepin among other presents an organ which was taken to Francia. King Pepin held his assembly with the Franks at Compiègne.¹ Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, came there, commended himself into vassalage with his hands, and swore innumerable oaths. Touching the relics of the saints, he promised fealty to King Pepin and his sons Charles and Carloman, behaving honestly and faithfully, in accordance with the law and as a vassal should to his lords. Tassilo thus swore on the bodies of St. Dionysius, Rusticus, Eleutherius, St. Germanus, and St. Martin' that he would remain faithful all his life, as he had promised by oaths. His magnates swore this with him also, as was said above and elsewhere.

758

King Pepin went into Saxony and took the strongholds of the Saxons at Sythen by storm. And he inflicted bloody defeats on the Saxon people. They then promised Pepin to obey all his orders and to present as gifts at his assembly up to three hundred horses every year. And the date changed to

759

A son was born to King Pepin, to whom the king gave his own name, so that he was called Pepin like his father. He lived for two years and died in his third.¹

In this year he celebrated Christmas at Longlier and Easter at Jupille,² and the date changed to

760

When King Pepin saw that Waifar, duke of the Aquitanians, in his lands did not grant even the least of their rights to the churches in Francia, he decided with the Franks to conduct a campaign in order to obtain these rights in Aquitaine.

R Waifar, duke of Aquitaine, wanted to retain power over the properties of churches that were in the hands of King Pepin and was unwilling to return it to the pastors of these venerable places. He disdained to hear the king himself in these matters when the king warned him through his envoys. By his defiance Waifar goaded the king into making war on him.

He advanced as far as the place called Tedoad.¹ When Waifar saw that, he sent his emissaries Otbert and Dadin and handed over to King Pepin the hostages Adalgar and Either as assurance that he would return everything the king demanded in ecclesiastical disputes.

R By these acts he appeased the king, who had been furious with him, so that Pepin stopped the war at once. When he had received hostages, as assurance that the promises would be kept, the king broke off his campaign and went home.

Pepin celebrated Christmas at Quierzy and Easter. And the date changed to

761

Waifar, duke of the Aquitanians, showed little regard for his hostages and his oaths, and in order to revenge himself sent an army against King Pepin, which marched as far as the city of Chalon. While the king held his assembly at the villa called Düren, he was informed that Waifar had lied in everything. Again King Pepin, together with his first-born son Charles,¹ set out on a campaign into that region and captured many castles, the names of which are Bour-

bon, Chantelle, and Clermont. These he took in battle, and in Auvergne he obtained by treaty many other castles, which submitted to his authority. He went as far as Limoges, devastating this province because of Duke Waifar's slights.

R On this campaign the king was accompanied by his first-born son Charles, who was given supreme rule over the whole empire after his father's death.

He celebrated Christmas at the villa of Quierzy and also Easter. And the date changed to

762

For a third time King Pepin launched a campaign into Aquitaine and he took the city of Bourges and the castle of Thouars.¹ He celebrated Christmas at the villa of Gentilly² and Easter, too. And the date changed to

763

King Pepin held his assembly at Nevers and conducted a fourth campaign against Aquitaine. There Tassilo brushed aside his oaths and all his promises and sneaked away on a wicked pretext, disregarding all the good things which King Pepin, his uncle, had done for him. Taking himself off, with lying excuses, he went to Bavaria and never again wanted to see the king face to face.¹ On his further campaign through Aquitaine King Pepin went as far as Cahors. After laying waste Aquitaine he returned by Limoges to Francia.

The winter was hard, and King Pepin celebrated Christmas at the villa of Longlier and Easter, too. And the date changed to

764

King Pepin then held his assembly at Worms and launched no further campaign but remained in Francia and occupied himself with the matter of Waifar and Tassilo.¹ He celebrated Christmas at his villa of Quierzy and also Easter. And the date changed to

765

King Pepin then held his assembly at Attigny and launched no further campaign.¹ He celebrated Christmas at the villa of Aachen and also Easter.² And the date changed to



Aquitaine

766

King Pepin made a campaign into Aquitaine and held his assembly at Orléans. He restored the castle of Argenton,¹ which Waifar had previously destroyed. When he had rebuilt this castle, King Pepin installed Franks there to hold Aquitaine and also garrisoned a Frankish detachment at Bourges.

He celebrated Christmas at Samoussy and Easter at Gentilly.² And the date changed to

767

The Lord King Pepin then held a great council at Gentilly with Romans and Greeks about the Holy Trinity and the images of the saints.¹ Afterward, he continued his march through Aquitaine into Narbonne and conquered Toulouse as well as Albi and Gevaudan.² Returning home safely, he celebrated Easter at the city of Vienne.

In August of the same year he marched for the second time into Aquitaine and came as far as Bourges. There he held an assembly in camp with all the Franks as was the custom. Continuing his march from here, he proceeded as far as the Garonne, captured many rocks and caves, and the castles of Ally, Turenne, and Peyrusse, and returned to Bourges.³ There the death of Pope Paul was announced to him, and there he celebrated Christmas. And the date changed to

768

The Lord King Pepin launched a campaign and captured Remistagnus. He came as far as the city of Saintes, and taking Waifar's mother, sister, and nieces prisoner, he pushed on to the Garonne. From there he continued to Mons, where Herwig came with the duke's other sister. Having returned safely from Mons, he celebrated Easter in the castle of Sels.¹ Setting off again on his campaign, he arrived with the Lady Queen Bertrada at the city of Saintes. Here he left the queen with her retinue and entered Perigord. When Waifar had been killed,² Pepin returned in triumph to Saintes.

While delaying there for a few days he fell sick. He passed through Tours on his way home, prayed at St. Martin's, and reached St.-Denis. There he died on September 24.³

The Lords Charles and Carloman were raised to the kingship; the Lord Charles on October 9 at Noyon and Carloman at Soissons.

The glorious Lord King Charles¹ celebrated Christmas at the villa of Aachen and Easter at Rouen. And the date changed to

769

The glorious Lord King Charles went campaigning in Aquitaine because Hunald wished to make the whole of Gascony and Aquitaine renew the war.¹ By the help of God Hunald's hostile designs were thwarted with the support of only a few Franks. On this same campaign the great king joined his brother at Duasdives.² From there Carloman suddenly set out to return to Francia. The most gracious Lord King Charles went to the city of Angoulême, where he commandeered a number of Franks with tools and equipment. He took them with him to the River Dordogne and there built the castle of Fronsac.³ From there he sent his messengers to Lupo the Gascon in search of Hunald and his wife.

R These two brothers had succeeded their father and divided the kingdom between themselves. The province of Aquitaine, which had been allotted to the older brother, King Charles, had been up in arms ever since the hostilities of the past war.⁴ A certain Hunald who wanted to be king incited the people of the province to new ventures. Against this man King Charles, to whom the province had been allotted,⁵ marched with his army. But since he received no assistance from his brother, who was kept from giving it by the crooked counsel of his magnates, Charles only had a talk with him at Duasdives. While his brother returned to his kingdom, Charles marched to the city of Angoulême in Aquitaine and from there, with troops gathered from all sides, pursued Hunald on his flight and almost caught him. But Hunald went free because he knew the places where he could hide from the king's army. He slipped out of Aquitaine and made his way into Gascony, where he thought he would be safe.⁶ At that time Lupus was duke of the Gascons, and Hunald did not hesitate to put himself under his wing. To Lupus the king sent envoys, commanding him to hand over the fugitive and letting him know, if he did not listen to orders, that he would make war on Gascony and not leave before he had made an end to his defiance. Lupus was frightened by the king's threats and promptly

surrendered Hunald and his wife, promising to do everything that he was told to do.⁹

While he was staying at Fronsac with his Franks, Hunald was delivered with his wife. When Hunald had been handed over and the castle constructed, Charles returned to Francia.

He celebrated Christmas at the villa of Düren and Easter in the royal town of Liège. And the date changed to

770

The Lord King Charles held an assembly at the city of Worms, and Carloman and Queen Bertrada met at Seltz. In the same year the Lady Queen Bertrada traveled through Bavaria to Italy.

R But Bertrada, the mother of the kings, after a talk with her younger son Carloman at Seltz, traveled to Italy in the interest of peace. She settled the business for which she went there, and after prayers at the threshold of the holy apostles in Rome, returned to her sons in Gaul.¹

The Lord King Charles celebrated Christmas at the city of Mainz and Easter at Herstal.² And the date changed to

771

The Lord King Charles held an assembly at Valenciennes. In the same year King Carloman died at the villa of Samoussy on December 4. The Lord King Charles came to the villa of Corbény, as did Archbishop Wilchar¹ and Fulrad, the chaplain, with the other bishops and priests, Counts Warin and Adalhard and the other magnates who had been Carloman's men. But Carloman's wife with a few Franks departed for Italy.

R The king, however, bore patiently with their departure for Italy, although it was needless.

The noble and glorious King Charles celebrated Christmas at the villa of Attigny and Easter at the villa of Herstal. And the date changed to

772

The most gracious Lord King Charles then held an assembly at Worms.¹ From Worms he marched first into Saxony. Capturing the castle of Eresburg,² he proceeded as far as the Irminsul, destroyed

this idol and carried away the gold and silver which he found. A great drought occurred so that there was no water in the place where the Irminsul stood. The glorious king wished to remain there two or three days in order to destroy the temple completely, but they had no water. Suddenly at noon, through the grace of God, while the army rested and nobody knew what was happening, so much water poured forth in a stream that the whole army had enough. Then the great king came to the River Weser. Here he held a parley with the Saxons, obtained twelve hostages, and returned to Francia.

He celebrated Christmas at Herstal and Easter, too. And the date changed to

773

The Lord King Charles then went to the villa of Thionville to spend the winter there. To Thionville came an emissary of the Lord Pope Hadrian by the name of Peter, who had traveled by sea to Marseilles and from there by land to the Lord King Charles. He came to invite the glorious king and his Franks, to help the Church against King Desiderius and the Lombards for the sake of God's service and the rights of St. Peter.

R Hadrian could no longer bear the insolence of King Desiderius and the oppression of the Lombards. He resolved to send an embassy to Charles, king of the Franks, and ask him to render aid to him and the Romans against the Lombards.

The pope's emissary came by sea because the Lombards had closed the roads to the Romans. Then the noble Lord King Charles deliberated with the Franks what he should do. After it had been decided that all should be done as the pope's emissary had requested, through the word of the Lord Pope Hadrian, the glorious king held a general assembly with the Franks at the city of Geneva.¹ There the Lord King divided his army. He himself went on by way of Mont Cenis and sent his uncle Bernard² with his other vassals through the Great St. Bernard Pass. When the two armies united at the Cluses, Desiderius on his part moved to confront the Lord King Charles. Then the Lord King Charles with his Franks laid out his camp in this mountain valley and sent a detachment of his men through the mountains. When Desiderius realized what was going on, he withdrew from the Cluses. The Lord King Charles and his Franks entered Italy by the help of the

Lord and the intercession of St. Peter, the blessed apostle, bringing his entire army through the valley without loss or disorder. He came as far as the city of Pavia, surrounded Desiderius, and besieged the city.³

The Lord Charles celebrated Christmas there in his camp, and he celebrated Easter in Rome.⁴ While he went to Rome during this year to defend God's Holy Roman Church at the invitation of the supreme pontiff, the borderland against the Saxons was exposed and not secured by any treaty. The Saxons, however, fell upon the neighboring Frankish lands with a large army and advanced as far as the castle of Büraburg. The inhabitants of the borderland were terrified when they saw this and retreated into the castle. When the Saxons in their savagery began to burn the houses outside, they came upon a church at Fritzlar which Boniface of saintly memory, the most recent martyr, had consecrated and which he had said prophetically would never be burnt by fire. The Saxons began to attack this church with great determination, trying one way or another to burn it. While this was going on, there appeared to some Christians in the castle and also to some heathens in the army two young men on white horses who protected the church from fire. Because of them the pagans could not set the church on fire or damage it, either inside or outside. Terror-stricken by the intervention of divine might they turned to flight, although nobody pursued them. Afterward one of these Saxons was found dead beside the church. He was squatting on the ground and holding tinder and wood in his hands as if he had meant to blow on his fuel and set the church on fire.⁵ And the date changed to

774 ^

On his return from Rome the Lord King Charles came again to Pavia and captured the city and Desiderius, with his wife and daughter and the whole treasure of his palace besides. All the Lombards came from every city of Italy and submitted to the rule of the glorious Lord King Charles and of the Franks. Adalgis, the son of King Desiderius, fled, put to sea, and escaped to Constantinople.¹ After subduing Italy and setting it to rights, the glorious Lord King Charles left a Frankish garrison in the city of Pavia and by God's help returned triumphantly to Francia with his wife and the rest of the Franks.² When he arrived at Ingelheim, he sent four detachments to Saxony.³ Three of them

fought the Saxons and with God's help had the victory; the fourth did not see battle but returned home with much booty and no losses. The glorious king celebrated Christmas at the villa of Quierzy and Easter, too. And the date changed to

775

R While the king spent the winter at the villa of Quierzy, he decided to attack the treacherous and treaty-breaking tribe of the Saxons and to persist in this war until they were either defeated and forced to accept the Christian religion or entirely exterminated.

The pious and noble Lord King Charles held an assembly at the villa of Düren. From here he launched a campaign into Saxony and captured¹ the castle of Syburg,² restored the castle of Eresburg, and came as far as the Weser at Braunsberg.³ There the Saxons prepared for battle since they wished to defend the bank of the Weser. With the help of God and by their own vigorous efforts, the Franks put the Saxons to flight; the Franks occupied both banks of the river, and many Saxons were slain there.

Then the Lord King Charles divided his army, and taking along as many as he wanted, he proceeded to the River Oker. There all the Saxon Austreleudi under Hassi came before him, gave as many hostages as he desired, and swore oaths of fealty to the Lord King Charles.⁴ When the most gracious king returned from there, the Angrarii⁵ came to the Bückegau⁶ with Bruno and the rest of their magnates and gave hostages⁷ as the Austrasians had done. On his return the king joined with another part of his army which by his order held the bank of the River Weser. The Saxons took them on at Lübbecke;⁸ the Franks by the will of God had the victory and many Saxons of this group were slain.

R In the meantime the part of the army which he had sent to the Weser pitched camp at the place called Lübbecke. But the men acted carelessly, and were tricked by Saxon guile. When the Frankish foragers returned to the camp about the ninth hour of the day, Saxons mixed with them as if they belonged to them and thus entered the camp of the Franks. They attacked the sleeping or half-awake soldiers⁹ and are said to have caused quite a slaughter among the multitude who were off guard. But they



Inset refers to the map: "Sites of Saxon Campaigns"

Saxony

were repulsed by the valor of those who were awake and resisted bravely. They left the Frankish camp after agreeing to the best terms they could get in their distress.¹⁰

Hearing this the Lord King Charles once more fell upon the Saxons with his army, inflicted on them an equally grave defeat, and carried away considerable booty from the Westphalians. They gave hostages as the other Saxons had done. When he had obtained the hostages, taken much booty, and three times caused much slaughter among the Saxons, the Lord King Charles with God's help returned home to Francia.

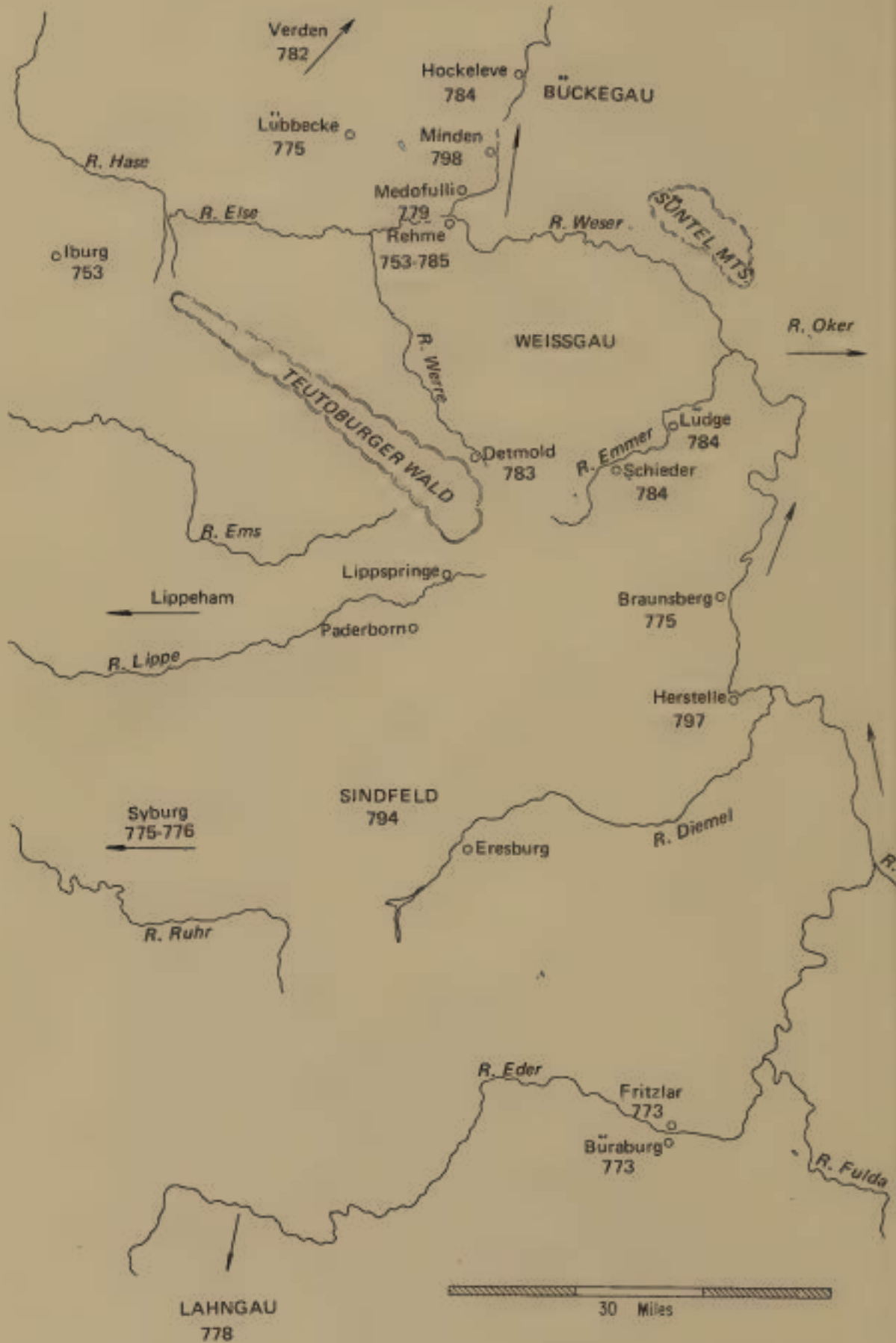
When he heard that the Lombard Hrodgaud was not keeping faith but breaking all oaths and planning to incite Italy to rebellion,¹¹ the Lord King Charles marched into Italy with a Frankish host.

He celebrated Christmas at the villa of Schlettstadt.¹² And the date changed to

776

The Lord King Charles entered Italy through Friuli. Hrodgaud was killed and the Lord King Charles celebrated Easter at the city of Treviso. He placed the cities he had captured under the command of Franks, that is, Cividale, Treviso, and the other places which had revolted, and returned again to Francia, successful and victorious.

Then a messenger came with the news that the Saxons had rebelled, deserted all their hostages, broken their oaths, and by tricks and false treaties prevailed on the Franks to give up the castle of Eresburg. With Eresburg thus deserted by the Franks, the Saxons demolished the buildings and walls. Passing on from Eresburg they wished to do the same thing to the castle of Syburg but made no headway since the Franks with the help of God put up a manly resistance. When they failed to talk the guards into surrender, as they had those in the other castle, they began to set up war machines to storm the castle. Since God willed it, the catapults which they had prepared did more damage to them than to those inside. When the Saxons saw that their constructions were useless to them, they prepared faggots to capture the fortress in one charge. But God's power, as is only just, overcame theirs. One day, while they prepared for battle against the Christians in the castle, God's glory was made manifest over the castle church in the sight of a great number outside as well as



Sites of Saxon Campaigns

inside, many of whom are still with us. They reportedly saw the likeness of two shields red with flame wheeling over the church. When the heathens outside saw this miracle, they were at once thrown into confusion and started fleeing to their camp in terror. Since all of them were panic-stricken, one man stampeded the next and was killed in return, because those who looked back out of fear impaled themselves on the lances carried on the shoulders of those who fled before them. Some dealt each other aimless blows and thus suffered divine retribution. How much the power of God worked against them for the salvation of the Christians, nobody can tell. But the more the Saxons were stricken by fear, the more the Christians were comforted and praised the almighty God who deigned to reveal his power over his servants. When the Saxons took to flight, the Franks followed on their heels as far as the River Lippe slaughtering them. Once the castle was safe, the Franks returned home victorious.¹

When the Lord King Charles came to Worms and heard what had happened he called an assembly there. He held his general assembly, and after deliberation suddenly broke through the fortifications of the Saxons with God's help. In great terror all the Saxons came to the source of the River Lippe; converging there from every point they surrendered their land to the Franks, put up security, promised to become Christians, and submitted to the rule of the Lord King Charles and the Franks.²

The Lord King Charles with the Franks rebuilt the castle of Eresburg and another castle on the River Lippe. The Saxons came there with wives and children, a countless number, and were baptized and gave as many hostages as the Lord King demanded. When the above castles had been completed and Frankish garrisons installed to guard them,³ the Lord King Charles returned to Francia.

He celebrated Christmas at Herstal and Easter at the villa of Nijmegen. And the date changed to

777

The Lord King Charles for the first time held a general assembly at Paderborn. All the Franks gathered there and from every part of Saxony came the Saxons,¹ with the exception of Widukind, who was in revolt along with a few others. He fled with his companions into Nordmannia.² Saracens from Spain also came to this assembly, ibn

al-Arabi and his son Deiuzefi—in Latin, Joseph—as well as his son-in-law.³ Many Saxons were baptized and according to their custom pledged to the king their whole freedom and property if they should change their minds again in that detestable manner of theirs and not keep the Christian faith and their fealty to the Lord King Charles, his sons, and the Franks.

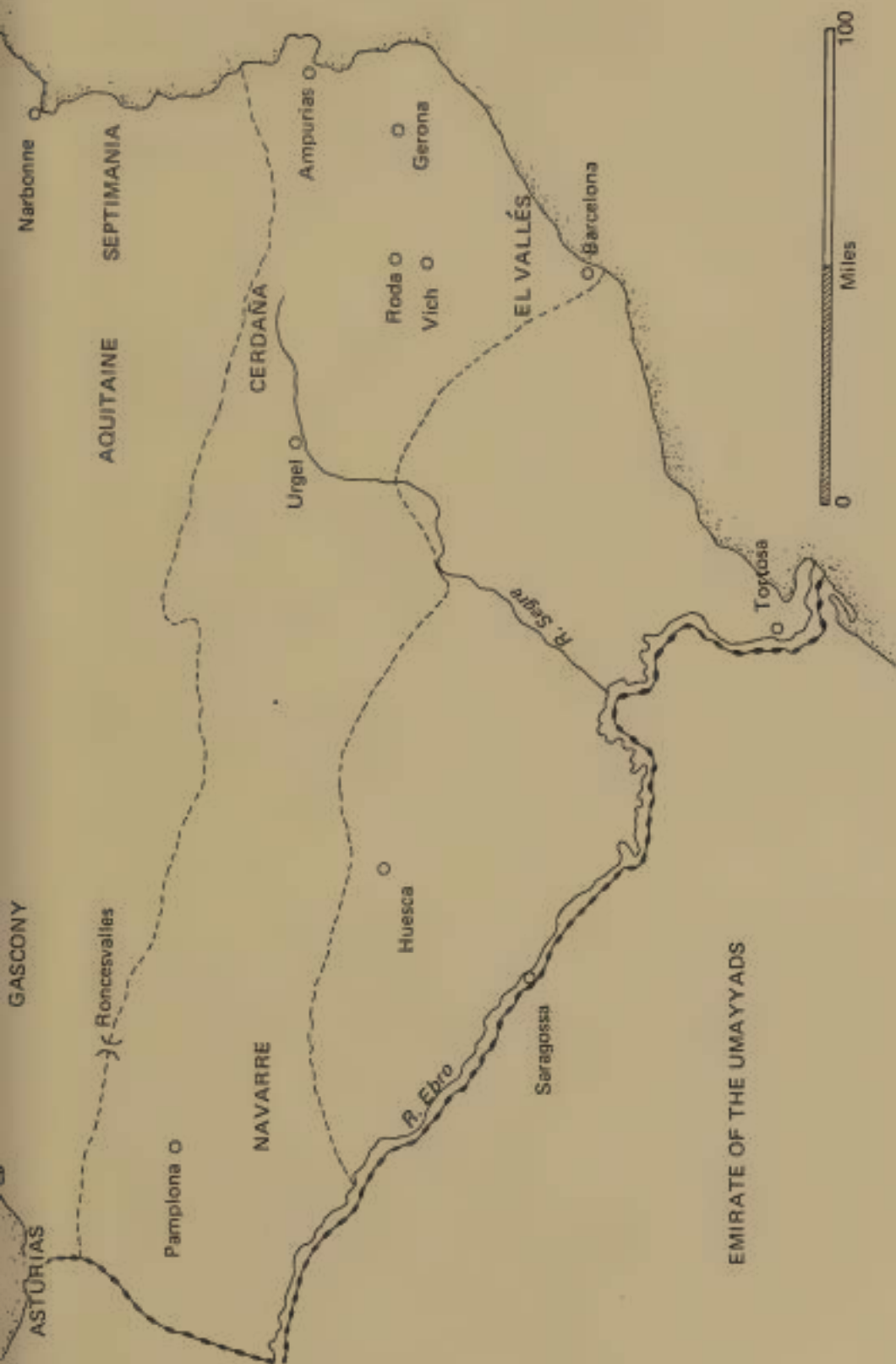
He celebrated Christmas at the villa of Douzy and Easter at the villa of Chasseneuil in Aquitaine.⁴ And the date changed to

778

The Lord King Charles marched to Spain by two different routes.¹ One was by Pamplona, which the great king himself took as far as Saragossa. To Saragossa came his men from Burgundy, Austrasia, Bavaria, as well as Provence and Septimania, and a part of the Lombards. Arriving from two sides the armies united at Saragossa. The king received hostages from ibn al-Arabi and Abu Taher and many Saracens, destroyed Pamplona, and subjugated the Spanish Basques and the people of Navarre. Then he returned to Francia.

R On the heights of the Pyrenees the Basques prepared an ambush, attacked the rearguard, and threw the whole army into confusion. Although the Franks were obviously their betters in arms and valor, they nevertheless suffered a defeat due to the unfavorable terrain and the unequal method of fighting.² In this engagement a great many officers of the palace, whom the king had given positions of command, were killed; the baggage was plundered, and the enemy was able to vanish in all directions because he knew the lay of the land. To have suffered this wound shadowed the king's view of his success in Spain.³

When the Saxons heard that the Lord King Charles and the Franks were so far away in Spain, they followed their detestable custom and again revolted, spurred on by Widukind and his companions. The Lord King Charles was informed of this revolt at the city of Auxerre. Then the Lord King sent a Frankish host rushing to the defense against the Saxons. But these rebels advanced as far as the Rhine at Deutz, plundered along the river, and committed many atrocities, such as burning the churches of God in the monasteries and other acts too loathsome to enumerate.⁴ When they suddenly heard of the return of the Lord King Charles and of the troops he had sent against them,



The Spanish March

the Saxons forsook the Rhine and returned to Saxony by way of the Lahngau. The Frankish detachments did not encounter them but found their trail and followed them as far as the River Eder near Leisa. There a battle started and was successfully completed. With the help of God the Franks had the victory. A great number of Saxons were slain, and those who escaped returned to Saxony in utter disgrace.

The most gracious king celebrated Christmas at the villa of Herstal and Easter, too. And the date changed to

779

The Lord King Charles marched into Neustria and arrived at the villa of Compiègne. On the king's return to Austrasia, Duke Hildebrand of Spoleto¹ put in an appearance with many presents before the great king at the villa of Verzenay.²

The assembly took place at the villa of Düren and a campaign was launched into Saxony. The Rhine was crossed at Lippeham,³ and the Saxons wanted to put up resistance at Bocholt.⁴ With the help of God they did not prevail but fled, abandoning every one of their bulwarks. The way was open for the Franks, and they marched into the land of the Westphalians and conquered them all. The rest who lived on the other side of the River Weser gave hostages and swore oaths when the Lord King Charles came upon them at Medofulli.⁵ The glorious king then returned to Francia. He celebrated Christmas at Worms and Easter, too. And the date changed to

780

The Lord King Charles, on his way to straighten out the affairs of Saxony, advanced as far as the castle of Eresburg, and from Eresburg to the source of the River Lippe, where he held the assembly. From there he continued to the Elbe, and on this campaign all the people in the Bardengau and many of the Nordliudi were baptized at Ohrum¹ on the other side of the River Oker.² He reached the place where the Ohre flows into the Elbe. There the noble king settled all matters pertaining to Saxons and Slavs and then returned to Francia.

He then decided to go to Rome with his wife, the Lady Queen Hildegard,³ in order to pray there. He celebrated Christmas in the city of Pavia, and the date changed to

After resuming this journey he celebrated Easter at Rome. There the Lord Pepin,¹ the son of the great Lord King Charles, was baptized by Pope Hadrian, who was also his sponsor. Two sons of the Lord King Charles were anointed kings by the same pontiff: the Lords Pepin and Louis,² the Lord Pepin to be king of Italy and the Lord Louis to be king of Aquitaine. On his return journey the Lord King Charles came to the city of Milan, and there his daughter, the Lady Gisela,³ was baptized by Archbishop Thomas, who was also her sponsor. From Milan he returned to Francia. About this time Pope Hadrian sent two emissaries, Bishops Formosus and Damasus, to Duke Tassilo, along with Riculf, a deacon, and Eberhard, the master of the cup-bearers, the emissaries of the Lord King Charles.⁴ They were to warn and to beseech Tassilo to remember his former oaths and not to go back on his long-standing pledge to the Lord King Pepin, the great Lord King Charles, and the Franks. Then Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, agreed to give hostages to the Lord King Charles and to appear before him. The Lord King agreed to this. The duke put in his appearance before the most pious king at the city of Worms. There he renewed his oaths and gave twelve selected hostages as pledge that he would do all that he had sworn to the Lord King Pepin regarding the Lord King Charles and his vassals. These hostages were received from the hand of Bishop Sinbert at the villa of Quierzy.⁵ But Duke Tassilo did not long keep the promises he had made.

The glorious Lord King celebrated Christmas as well as Easter at the villa of Quierzy. And the date changed to

The Lord King Charles¹ embarked on a campaign and crossed the Rhine at Cologne. He held an assembly at the source of the River Lippe. All the Saxons came there except the rebel Widukind. Norse emissaries of King Sigifrid, Halptani with his companions, also appeared at this assembly, and so did Avars sent by the khagan and jugur.² When the assembly was over, the Lord King Charles returned to Francia.

As soon as he returned, the Saxons, persuaded by Widukind, promptly rebelled as usual. Before the Lord King Charles knew about this, he sent his emissaries Adalgis, Gailo, and Worad to lead an army

of Franks and Saxons against a few defiant Slavs.³ When the emissaries heard en route that the Saxons had revolted, they hurled themselves on the Saxon host as soon as they caught up with it, and from then on did not carry out their commission from the Lord King Charles. They made war on the Saxons and fought valiantly. The Franks slew many of the Saxons and had the victory. But two of the emissaries, Adalgis and Gailo, died in battle in the Süntel Mountains.

R Forsaking the campaign against the Slavs, they rushed with the East Frankish host to the place where they had heard the Saxons were assembling. In Saxony proper they were met by Count Theodoric, the king's kinsman, who had with him as many troops as he could hastily gather in Ripuar⁴ after he had heard of the Saxon revolt. He advised them through special messengers first to find out by patrols as fast as possible where the Saxons were⁵ and what they were doing, and then, if the terrain permitted it, to attack them at the same time. This counsel was found laudable, and they advanced with the count as far as the Süntel Mountains, on whose north side the Saxon camp had been set up.⁶ After Theodoric had pitched camp in this locality, the East Franks, as they had planned with the count, crossed the river, so as to be able to pass more easily around the mountains, and pitched camp on the river bank. When they discussed matters among themselves, they feared that the honor of victory might be Theodoric's alone if they should fight at his side. Therefore, they decided to engage the Saxons without him. They took up their arms and, as if he were chasing runaways and going after booty instead of facing an enemy lined up for battle, everybody dashed as fast as his horse would carry him for the place outside of the Saxon camp, where the Saxons were standing in battle array. The battle was as bad as the approach. As soon as the fighting began, they were surrounded by the Saxons and slain almost to a man. Those who were able to get away did not flee to their own camp but to Theodoric's on the other side of the mountain. The losses of the Franks were greater than the number might reveal since two of the envoys, Adalgis and Gailo, four counts, and up to twenty other distinguished nobles had been killed,⁷ not counting those who had followed them, preferring to perish at their side rather than survive them.

When he heard of this,⁸ the Lord King Charles rushed to the place with all the Franks that he could gather on short notice and advanced to where the Aller flows into the Weser. Then all the Saxons came together again, submitted to the authority of the Lord King, and surrendered the evildoers who were chiefly responsible for this revolt to be put to death—four thousand five hundred of them. This sentence was carried out.⁹ Widukind was not among them since he had fled into Nordmannia.¹⁰ When he had finished this business, the Lord King returned to Francia.

He celebrated Christmas at the villa of Thionville and Easter, too. And the date changed to

783

The worthy Lady Queen Hildegard died on April 30, which fell that year on the eve of the Ascension of the Lord. Since the Saxons had revolted again, the Lord King Charles conducted a campaign into Saxony and with only a few Franks advanced to Detmold. There the Saxons prepared for battle in a plain, but the Lord King Charles and the Franks assailed them vigorously as usual and the Saxons fled. With the help of God the Franks had the victory. An immense number of Saxons were slain at this place so that only a few escaped by flight. From Detmold the glorious king arrived in triumph at Paderborn and there assembled his army. He advanced as far as the River Hase,¹ where the Saxons had gathered again. There another battle was fought, and the number of Saxons killed was no less than before. With the help of God the Franks had the victory. Continuing his campaign the king crossed the Weser and went as far as the Elbe. From the Elbe he returned to Francia.

In the same year the Lady Queen Bertrada of good memory died on July 12. When the Lord King Charles came to Worms, he took the Lady Queen Fastrada as his wife.² He celebrated Christmas at the villa of Herstal and also Easter. And the date changed to

784

The Saxons rebelled again as usual and some Frisians along with them. Then the Lord King Charles set out on a campaign and crossed the Rhine at Lippeham. He entered Saxony and went here and there devastating the countryside until he reached Hockeleve.¹ Because of

severe floods he decided to enter the land of the Eastphalians from the east by way of Thuringia and to send his son, the Lord Charles,² with a detachment against the Westphalians. This maneuver was carried out. The Lord King Charles marched through Thuringia as far as the Elbe and from there to Steinfurt and on to Schöningen.³ After Charles and his son met there, the glorious king returned to Francia.

But the Westphalians wanted to gather at the River Lippe. When the Lord King Charles's son heard this, he marched against them with the host that had been sent with him, and they began the war in the Dreingau. With the help of God, the Lord Charles, son of the great King Charles, and the Franks had the victory, and many Saxons were killed. Since God willed it, he returned unharmed to his father at Worms. There it was decided with the Franks that the Lord King should march once more during wintertime into Saxony, which he did. He celebrated Christmas near Schieder in the Weissgau on the River Emmer at the villa of Lügde.⁴ And the date changed to

785

The Lord King Charles continued the march into Saxony as far as Rehme on the Weser at the mouth of the River Werre. And because of the severe flood he returned from Rehme to the castle of Eresburg and had his wife, the Lady Queen Fastrada, and his sons and his daughters come to join him. There he remained for the whole winter and there the most excellent king celebrated Easter. While he was staying at Eresburg, he sent out many detachments and also went campaigning himself. He routed the Saxons who had rebelled, captured their castles, broke through their fortifications, and held the roads open until the right hour struck. Then he held a general assembly at Paderborn and from there he marched through all of Saxony wherever he wished, on open roads and with nobody putting up any resistance. He came into the Bardengau¹ and there he sent for Widukind and Abbi and had both brought before him.² He warned them that they could not escape unless they came to him in Francia. They asked for assurances that they would remain unharmed and these were given. Then the Lord King Charles returned to Francia and sent hostages to Widukind and Abbi by his emissary Amalwin. After receiving the hostages, the emissaries took Widukind and Abbi along and joined the Lord King Charles at the villa of Attigny. There

Widukind and Abbi were baptized with their companions. The whole of Saxony was then subjugated. In the same villa the often-mentioned glorious king celebrated Christmas and also Easter.

R The stubborn treachery of the Saxons quieted down for a few years, mainly because they could not find convenient opportunities for revolt. In the same year an ambitious conspiracy against the king arose across the Rhine among the East Franks, whose ringleader, as is certain, was Count Hardrad. But its discovery was quickly reported to the king, and by his effort this great conspiracy folded up quickly before it became a serious threat. Its authors were punished in part by being deprived of their eyes and in part by being sent into exile.³

And the date changed to

786

The Lord King Charles sent his army into Brittany under his emissary Audulf, the seneschal.

R After the island of Britain had been invaded by Angles and Saxons, a large part of its inhabitants crossed the sea and occupied the areas of Vannes and Corseult at the extreme end of Gaul. This people had been subjugated by the kings of the Franks and made tributary and it used to pay the imposed tax, although unwillingly. But since it refused to obey at this time, the king's seneschal Audulf was sent there. He broke down the arrogance of this treacherous tribe with marvelous speed.

There they conquered many Bretons with their castles and fortifications in swamps and in forests. As was said before, the Franks proved they could overcome many fortifications of the Bretons. By God's will they returned home victorious and presented the leaders of the Bretons to the Lord King at the assembly in Worms. Then the Lord King Charles, seeing that by the gift of God he enjoyed peace everywhere, decided to go to Italy in order to pray at the threshold of the blessed apostles, to settle the affairs of Italy, and to confer with the emperor's emissaries about a settlement, all of which he did.

R He considered it proper that he should take over the rest of the kingdom since he already had control of its ruler, the captive King Desiderius, and all of Lombardy. He did not delay long

but promptly gathered the troops of the Franks and entered Italy in the cold of the winter season.

Then the Lord King celebrated Christmas at the city of Florence.¹ And the date changed to

787

On his expedition into Italy the Lord King Charles arrived in Rome and was received with great honors by the Lord Pope Hadrian. He spent some days with the Lord Pope. Arighis, duke of Benevento, because of the king's coming, sent his son Romuald with rich presents to demand of the Lord King that he should stay out of Benevento, and to let him know that he wished to do whatever the king said.¹ But neither the pope nor the Frankish magnates believed a word of this and decided with the Lord King Charles to enter Benevento to settle matters one way or the other, which they did. When they came to Capua, Duke Arighis forsook the city of Benevento and blockaded himself in Salerno. He was afraid and did not dare to see the Lord King Charles face to face. Instead, he sent emissaries and offered his two sons as hostages, that is, Romuald, whom the Lord King Charles had with him, and Grimoald, who was still with Arighis. He offered many presents as well, and more hostages to further his petition. Then the glorious Lord King Charles decided with the priests and the other magnates not to destroy this land and ruin its bishoprics and monasteries. He selected twelve hostages and as the thirteenth hostage he chose the son of the duke called Grimoald. After receiving presents all the Beneventans took oaths, including the duke and Romuald.

R Upon this the king conversed with the ambassadors of Emperor Constantine, who had been sent to him to ask for the hand of his daughter.²

The oft-named most pious king returned and celebrated Easter with the Lord Pope in Rome.

Emissaries of Duke Tassilo, that is, Bishop Arno and Abbot Hunric,³ came to Rome and asked the pope to make peace between the Lord King Charles and Duke Tassilo. The Lord Pope, therefore, stepped in firmly and pleaded with the Lord King. The Lord King answered the pope that he had wished for peace and sought it for a long time but had not been able to obtain it by any means. He proposed to make peace at once. The Lord King wanted to settle with

these emissaries in the presence of the Lord Pope, but the emissaries refused since they were afraid to make any commitments on their own. Recognizing their inconstancy and deceit the pope at once threatened to excommunicate the duke and his supporters unless they fulfilled the oaths which they had sworn to the Lord King Pepin and also to the Lord King Charles. The pope besought these emissaries to make sure Tassilo realized that he would carry out his threat unless the duke obeyed in everything the Lord King Charles, his sons, and the Frankish people, so that no bloodshed or violation of his territory should occur. If the duke in his stubbornness intended to disobey the words of the pope entirely, then the Lord King Charles and his army would be absolved from any peril of sin, and the guilt of whatever burning, murder, and other atrocities might occur in his country should then fall upon Tassilo and his supporters, and the Lord King Charles and the Franks would remain innocent.⁴ When all this had been said, Tassilo's emissaries were dismissed. Then the Lord Pope and the glorious Lord King Charles took leave of one another. After receiving the papal blessings and completing his prayer the oft-mentioned excellent king returned to Francia.

The same most gracious king reached his wife, the Lady Fastrada, in the city of Worms. There they rejoiced over each other and were happy together and praised God's mercy. The Lord King convoked an assembly in the same city and reported to the clergy and the rest of his magnates on the upshot of his journey. After he had explained the affair with Tassilo, the king decided to send emissaries and ordered Tassilo to do everything according to the pope's instruction and the demands of justice, since he had promised under oath to be obedient and loyal in everything to the Lord King Charles, his sons, and the Franks, and to appear before him. But Tassilo rejected this and refused to come. Then the Lord King Charles with the Franks took steps to protect his rights, set out on a campaign into Bavaria with his army, and came in person to the Lechfeld above the city of Augsburg. He ordered another army to be raised consisting of East Franks, Thuringians, and Saxons, which was to assemble on the Danube at Pförring.⁵ He ordered a third army to be raised in Italy. He also commanded King Pepin to advance with this army as far as Trent, to remain there himself, and to send his army ahead in full strength as far as Bolzano. Then Tassilo realized that he was surrounded on three

sides and that all Bavarians, acknowledging the right of the Lord King and preferring to concede it to him rather than oppose him, were more loyal to the Lord King Charles than to him. Hedged in on every side, the duke came in person and putting his hands into the hands of the Lord King Charles he commended himself into vassalage. He returned the duchy which had been committed to him by the Lord King Pepin and admitted that he had sinned and acted unlawfully in every way. Then he renewed again his oaths and gave twelve selected hostages, adding as a thirteenth his son Theodo. After receiving hostages and oaths the glorious king returned to Francia.⁶

He celebrated Christmas at the villa of Ingelheim and also Easter. And the date changed to

788

The Lord King Charles convoked an assembly at the villa of Ingelheim. Tassilo came there as well as his other vassals on the order of the Lord King. Loyal Bavarians began to say that Tassilo, egged on by his wife,¹ was breaking his fealty and showing himself as downright treacherous, after he had surrendered his son with the other hostages and taken oaths. Tassilo could not deny it, but confessed later that he had made overtures to the Avars, had ordered the vassals of the Lord King to come to him, and had made an attempt on their lives. When his people took oaths, he told them to make mental reservations and swear falsely. What is worse, he confessed to having said that even if he had ten sons, he would rather have them all perish than keep the agreements and stand by what he had sworn. He also said that he would rather be dead than live like this. After all this had been proved against him, Franks, Bavarians, Lombards, and Saxons, and whoever else had come from every province to this assembly, condemned him to death, since they remembered his previous evil deeds and his desertion of the Lord King Pepin on a campaign, which is called *barisliz* in German. While all called out with one voice that he should impose the death sentence, the most pious Lord King Charles was moved by mercy. For the love of God and since the duke was his kinsman he prevailed upon these men, who were faithful to God and to him, that Tassilo should not die. Tassilo was asked by the most gracious Lord King what he wished to do. The duke requested permission to take the tonsure, enter a monastery, and do

penance for so many sins in order to save his soul. His son Theodo was judged similarly, was tonsured, and sent to a monastery; a few Bavarians who chose to persist in their hostility against the Lord King Charles were sent into exile.²

In the same year a war was fought between Greeks and Lombards, that is, by Duke Hildebrand of Spoleto and Duke Grimoald, whom the Lord King Charles had made duke of the Beneventans. Winigis was sent there with a few Franks to oversee what they were doing.³ With the help of God a victory was won by the Franks and the Lombards. A battle also took place at . . . between the Avars and the Franks who were stationed in Italy. With the help of the Lord the Franks won; the Avars fled and returned home disgraced and defeated.⁴ A third battle was fought between Bavarians and Avars on the Ybbsfeld, and the emissaries of the Lord King Charles, Grahamannus and Otgar, were present with a number of Franks. With God's help victory went to Franks and Bavarians. All this Duke Tassilo and his rancorous wife, Liutberga, a woman hateful to God, had treacherously counseled. A fourth battle was started by the Avars, who wished to take revenge on the Bavarians. In this battle the emissaries of the Lord King Charles also took part, and since they were protected by the Lord the Christians won the victory. The Avars took to flight and in a great carnage many were struck down; others lost their lives by drowning in the Danube.⁵

R The Huns, as they had promised Tassilo, prepared two armies and attacked the March of Friuli with one and Bavaria with the other; but it was in vain. In both places they were defeated and put to flight and withdrew to their homes with great injury after losing many of their men. Planning to avenge this defeat, they again came to Bavaria with larger forces but were repulsed by the Bavarians in the first engagement, and an uncountable number of them were slain. In addition, many who attempted to flee and wanted to swim across the Danube were sucked down by the whirlpools of the river.⁶

In the meantime Emperor Constantine, enraged because he had been denied the king's daughter, instructed the patrician Theodore, governor of Sicily, with his other commanders to lay waste the territory of the Beneventans. When they carried out their orders, Grimoald and Hildebrand met them in Calabria

with the troops they had been able to assemble. The king had installed Grimoald that year, after his father's death, as duke over the Beneventans; Hildebrand was duke of the people of Spoleto. With Grimoald and Hildebrand was the king's envoy Winigis, who afterwards succeeded Hildebrand in the duchy of Spoleto. In the ensuing battle they killed an immense number of the enemy; they won a victory without cost in equipment and men and brought back to their camp numerous prisoners and plenty of booty.

After all this the Lord King Charles came himself to Regensburg and arranged the borders and marches of the Bavarians so that with the protection of the Lord they could be held against the Avars. Then he returned and celebrated Christmas and Easter, too, at the palace of Aachen. And the date changed to

789

From Aachen a campaign was launched with the help of God into the land of the Slavs who are called Wilzi.¹

R The Wilzi have always been hostile to the Franks and used to hate and harass their neighbors who were either subject to the Franks or allied with them and provoke them into war. Thinking he should not bear their arrogance any longer, the king decided to make war on them.

On the advice of Franks and Saxons he crossed the Rhine at Cologne, advanced through Saxony, reached the River Elbe, and had two bridges constructed, on one of which he built fortifications of wood and earth at both ends. From there he advanced further and by the gift of God subjected the Slavs to his authority. Both Franks and Saxons were with him in this army. In addition, the Frisians joined him by ship, on the River Havel, along with some Franks. He also had with him the Slavs called Sorbs and the Obodrites, whose chieftain was Witzan.²

R Entering the country of the Wilzi he ordered everything to be laid waste with fire and sword. But that tribe, although warlike and confident in its numbers, was not able to withstand the attack of the royal army for very long.³ Therefore, as soon as he came to the city of Dragawit, who stands above the other kinglets of the Wilzi in age and lineage, Dragawit at once with all his people came forth from the city, gave the hostages he was

ordered to provide, and promised by oath to keep faith with the king and the Franks. The other magnates and chieftains of the Slavs followed suit and submitted to the authority of the king.

After receiving hostages and numerous oaths he returned, guided by the Lord, to Francia. He celebrated Christmas and Easter, too, at Worms. And the date changed to

790

In the following year he did not undertake a campaign but again celebrated Christmas and also Easter in the city of Worms.

R He rested at Worms, received the envoys of the Huns, and on his part sent envoys to their princes. The point at issue between them was where the borders of their kingdoms should be. This festering dispute was the seedbed which nursed the subsequent war against the Huns. So it would not seem that he had grown idle and soft with leisure,¹ the king sailed up the River Main to his palace of Salz, which he had constructed on the River Saale in Germany.² From Salz he returned again downstream on the same river to Worms. While he was spending the winter there, the palace in which he lived was accidentally burned at night.³

And the date changed to

791

From Worms he set out for Bavaria and came to Regensburg where he assembled his army. After deliberating with Franks, Saxons, and Frisians they decided on a campaign because of the excessive and intolerable outrage committed by the Avars against the Holy Church and the Christian people, for which satisfaction could not be obtained through emissaries. With the help of the Lord they entered the land of the Avars. Heading for the River Enns¹ they decided there to hold processions and celebrate masses for three days. They implored God's help for the welfare of the army, for the assistance of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for victory over the Avars and revenge on them. The king marched on the south bank of the Danube, the Saxons with some Franks and most of the Frisians² on the north bank, until they came to an area where the Avars had prepared fortifications: on the south bank of the Danube by Cumeoberg,³ on the north bank at a place called Kamp after the river which flows into the Danube here. When

the Avars saw the army approach on both sides and the ships in the middle of the river, the Lord struck them with fear. They deserted their fortified positions, abandoning the elaborate defenses they had built, and took to flight. Christ guided his people and led both armies without harm into the Avar strongholds. Continuing its march the army advanced as far as the River Raab, and from there both armies returned along the two banks of the river to their own land, praising God for such a victory.⁴

R This campaign was accomplished without any misfortune, except that in the army under the king's command such a pestilence broke out among the horses that of so many thousands of them hardly the tenth part is said to have survived.

The Lord King Charles celebrated Christmas at Regensburg and also Easter. And the date changed to

792

Christmas and Easter at Regensburg again. The heresy of Felix was condemned there for the first time. Angilbert took him before Pope Hadrian, and having made a confession, Felix for the second time recanted his heresy. No military campaign was undertaken this year.

R Urgel is a city located on the heights of the Pyrenees. Its bishop, a Spaniard named Felix, was asked in a letter from Elipand, bishop of Toledo, what one should believe about the human nature of the Savior God, our Lord Jesus Christ, that is, whether in regard to His manhood He should be believed and proclaimed the real or the adopted Son of God.¹ Reckless and rash and contrary to the ancient doctrine of the Catholic Church he had not only pronounced Christ the adopted son but made stubborn efforts in books addressed to the above bishop to defend his perverse belief. He was taken to the king's palace in this matter—for the king rested at that time in the Bavarian city of Regensburg where he had spent the winter—was heard by the bishops assembled in council, and convicted of error. Sent to Rome before Hadrian, the Roman pontiff, he denounced and foreswore his heresy in the basilica of the blessed apostle Peter. When this had been done, he returned to his city.

While the king was spending the summer at Regensburg, a

conspiracy was made against him by his oldest son Pepin and some Franks,² who claimed that they were unable to bear the cruelty of Queen Fastrada and therefore conspired against the king's life.³ When the conspiracy was revealed by the Lombard Fardulf, he was presented with the monastery of St.-Denis as a reward, because he had kept faith. Of the authors of the conspiracy some were executed by the sword for high treason and the others hanged on gallows, being punished with such deaths because of the crime they had planned.

A bridge of pontoons was built, connected by anchors and ropes so that it could be put together and taken apart. At Regensburg the king celebrated Christmas and Easter. And the date changed to

793

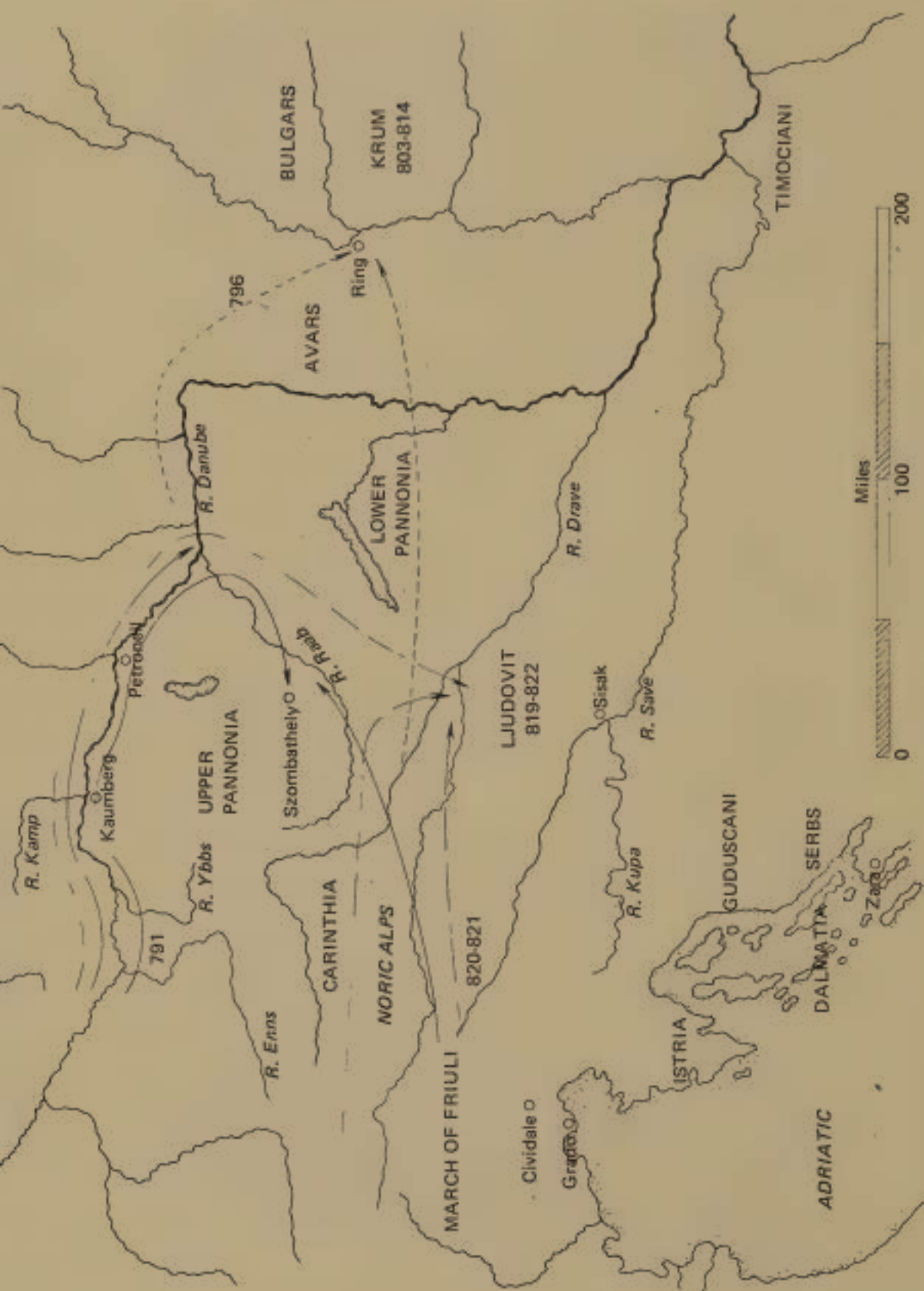
In the fall the king came by ship from Regensburg to the great trench between Altmühl and Rednitz, and there emissaries of the pope appeared with large presents. At that point a messenger brought the news that the Saxons had again broken faith.

R While the king wished to finish the war which he had begun and decided to march again into Pannonia, he was informed that the troops which Count Theodoric was leading through Frisia had been intercepted and destroyed by the Saxons in the county of Rüstringen on the Weser. When he received this information, he discontinued the march into Pannonia but concealed the magnitude of the loss.

The king was persuaded by self-styled experts that one could travel most conveniently from the Danube into the Rhine if a navigable canal was built between the Rivers Rednitz and Altmühl, since one of these rivers flows into the Danube and the other into the Main. So he went at once with his entire following to the place, gathered a large number of people, and spent the whole fall on this project. A ditch was dug between these two rivers, two thousand paces long and three hundred feet wide. But it was in vain; for due to continuous rain and because the swampy ground as such contained too much water, the work that was done did not hold. Whatever the diggers dug out during the day would sink back into its former place during the night.¹

While he was occupied with this project, two very unpleas-

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ant reports were brought to him from different parts of the country. One was about the general revolt of the Saxons; the other was that the Saracens had entered Septimania, fought a battle against the guards and counts of this border, and had returned home victorious after slaying many Franks.²

From there the king went by ship on the River Rednitz into the River Main and celebrated Christmas at St. Kilian's in Würzburg. And the date changed to

794

Easter was celebrated at Frankfurt,¹ and there a great council of Gallic, German, and Italian bishops met before the king and the emissaries of the Lord Pope Hadrian, two bishops named Theophylact and Stephen. There the heresy of Felix was condemned for the third time. This condemnation by the authority of the holy fathers was written into a book, and all priests signed this book with their own hands.² Queen Fastrada died there and was buried with honors at St. Alban's.³ The Greeks held a spurious council, which they falsely called the Seventh, concerning the worship of images. It was rejected by the popes.

R The synod which had been held a few years earlier in Constantinople under Irene and her son Constantine and which they called not only the Seventh but a general council was found and declared to be neither the Seventh nor universal and rejected as entirely invalid by all.⁴

From Frankfurt the army set out in two detachments for Saxony. The most glorious Lord King Charles was with one; he sent his most noble son, the Lord Charles, to the other, by way of Cologne. The Saxons gathered in the plain called Sindfeld⁵ and prepared for battle. But when they heard that they were surrounded on both sides, God frustrated their intentions, and they promised, with no such thing in mind, to become Christians and be loyal to the Lord King. The king returned to his palace of Aachen and there celebrated Christmas and Easter.⁶ And the date changed to

795

R The Saxons gave hostages in the preceding summer and swore oaths, as they were ordered to, but the king did not forget their treachery.

In this year the king came to Kostheim, a suburb of the city of Mainz, and there he held his assembly. When he heard that the Saxons had, as usual, broken their promise to accept Christianity and keep faith with the king, he entered Saxony with an army and reached the Elbe at Lüne.¹ At that time, Witzin, the king of the Obodrites, was slain there by the Saxons.²

R This event further persuaded the king to beat down the Saxons promptly and made him hate the treacherous people even more. To Saxony also came emissaries of the tudun, who possessed much power among the people and in the kingdom of the Avars. They declared that this tudun wished, with his land and people, to submit to the king and on his instruction accept the Christian faith. Once the Saxons had been soundly beaten, their country laid waste, and their hostages received, the king returned to Gaul and celebrated Christmas and Easter at the palace of Aachen.³ And the date changed to

796

Pope Hadrian died, and as soon as Leo had succeeded to his place he sent envoys with presents to the king. He also delivered to him the keys to the tomb of St. Peter and the banner of the city of Rome.¹

R Leo asked the king to send one of his magnates to Rome who would receive the submission of the Roman people and their oath of fealty.

Duke Eric of Friuli dispatched his men under the command of the Slav Wonimir into Pannonia and had them plunder the ring of the Avars, which had not been entered for ages. At that time the princes of the Avars were exhausted by internecine conflict; the khagan and the jugur had fought each other in a civil war and had been killed by their own people. The duke sent the treasure of the ancient kings, which had been piled up over many centuries, to the Lord King Charles at the palace of Aachen.² After receiving it and thanking God, the Giver of all good things, this most wise and generous man, the Lord's steward, sent Angilbert, his beloved abbot, with a large part of it to Rome, to the threshold of the apostles. The rest he distributed among his magnates, ecclesiastic as well as lay, and his other vassals.

In the same year the tudun in accordance with his promise came to the king with most of the Avars and submitted to him, with his

people and land. He and his people were baptized and after receiving honorable gifts returned home.

R But the tudun was not willing to keep long the fealty he had pledged and not much later received the penalty of his treachery. Having mustered his armies the king entered Saxony while sending his son Pepin, the king of Italy, with an army into Pannonia. Pepin's embassies reached the king in Saxony. They first informed him that the khagan, whom the Avars themselves had appointed after the murder of his predecessors, had come with the rest of his magnates and met Pepin. The second told the king that Pepin was occupying the ring with his army. The Lord King marched through Saxony with his entire host and then returned to Gaul. In the palace at Aachen he was happy to see his son Pepin return from Pannonia bringing along the rest of the treasure. There he celebrated Christmas and Easter. And the date changed to

797

The city of Barcelona in Spain which had previously revolted against us was returned to us by its governor Zaton. He came to the palace in person and submitted with his city to the Lord King.¹ A campaign was launched into Saxony² and pursued beyond swamps and pathless places as far as the ocean. After the return from Hadeln—this is the name of the place where Saxony borders on the sea—the king accepted the submission of the whole Saxon people by receiving hostages and returned across the Rhine to Gaul.

In the palace at Aachen he received the Saracen Abdallah, the son of Emir ibn Muawijah. He had been deposed by his brother, was living in exile in Mauretania, and commended himself now to the Lord King.³ Also an envoy of Nicetas, governor of Sicily, by the name of Theoctistos arrived with a letter from the emperor. The king received him with ceremony and dismissed him after a few days.

About the middle of November he entered Saxony with his army to take up winter quarters and having pitched camp at the River Weser ordered the site of the camp to be called *Herstelle*.⁴ To this place envoys of the Avars came with rich presents.⁵ From *Herstelle* he allowed the Saracen Abdallah to return to Spain with the king's son Louis; his son Pepin the king sent into Italy. In order to settle

the affairs of Saxony he spent the whole winter in that country and celebrated Christmas and Easter there. And the date changed to

798

An envoy of King Alfonso of Galicia and Asturias by the name of Froia came to the king in Saxony and presented a most beautiful tent. But at the very time of Easter the Nordliudi who live beyond the Elbe rose in rebellion and took prisoner the royal envoys who had gone to obtain satisfaction from them. They executed some of the Franks on the spot and held the others for ransom. Some of these escaped; the rest were ransomed.

R They spared only a few in order to obtain ransom for them.¹ With the others they also put to death Godescal, the king's envoy, whom the king a few days before had sent to Sigifrid, king of the Danes. On his return about this time, he was intercepted by the instigators of this revolt and executed. When this was reported, the king was savagely aroused.

The king summoned an army and marched from Herstelle to Minden. After taking counsel he took up arms against the rebels, traversed the land, and laid waste the whole of Saxony between the Elbe and the Weser.

R But the Saxons from the far side of the Elbe were carried away with their own insolence because they had been able to kill the king's envoys with impunity. They took up arms and set out against the Obodrites. The Obodrites have always aided the Franks, ever since the Franks accepted them as their allies.

The Nordliudi were defeated in battle when they engaged Thrasco,² duke of the Obodrites, and our envoy Eburis.³ Four thousand of them were slain on the battlefield; the rest fled, escaped, and entered into peace negotiations; but many of them also perished. The king received hostages, including those whom the Saxon nobles singled out as the most treacherous, and then returned to Francia.

When he arrived at the palace of Aachen, he received an embassy of the Greeks sent to him from Constantinople. The envoys were Michael, formerly governor of Phrygia, and the priest Theophilus. They carried a letter from Empress Irene, since her son, Emperor Constantine, had been arrested and blinded by his people the year before.⁴ But this embassy was only concerned with peace. When he

sent them back, he permitted Sisinnius, brother of Bishop Tarasius of Constantinople, to go along with them. Sisinnius had long before been taken as a prisoner of war in Italy.⁶

In this year the star called Mars could not be seen anywhere in the entire sky from July of the preceding year to July of this year. The Balearic Islands were plundered by Moors and Saracens. During the winter King Alfonso of Galicia and Asturias, after plundering Lisbon, the remotest city of Spain, as tokens of his victory, sent coats of mail, mules, and captive Moors to the Lord King by his envoys Froia and Basiliscus. In this palace the Lord King celebrated Christmas and Easter. And the date changed to

799

The Romans captured the pope at the Major Litanies, blinded him, and tore his tongue out. After being cast into prison, he escaped over the wall at night, went to the envoys of the Lord King, that is, Abbot Wirund and Duke Winigis of Spoleto, who were then at St. Peter's basilica, and was taken to Spoleto.

R When Pope Leo in Rome was riding on horseback from the Lateran to the church of the blessed Lawrence, which is called At the Roast, to participate in the litany, he fell into an ambush set up by the Romans near this church. He was thrown from his horse, his eyes, as it appeared to some observers, gouged out, and his tongue cut off; they left him lying in the street naked and half-dead. On the order of those responsible for this act he was then taken to the monastery of the holy martyr Erasmus, seemingly to recover there. But through the efforts of Albinus, his chamberlain, he was lowered over the wall at night, received by Duke Winigis of Spoleto, who on the news of this crime had rushed to Rome, and escorted to Spoleto.¹

When the king received news of this event, he ordered the pope, as the vicar of St. Peter and Roman pontiff, to be led to him with highest honors. But still he did not give up the campaign which he had planned to carry into Saxony.

The Lord King set out for Saxony, crossed the Rhine at Lippeham, and stopped at Paderborn where he pitched camp. After splitting up his army he sent his son Charles with one part into the Bardengau to negotiate with the Slavs and to receive the Saxons

coming from the Nordliudi. The other part remained with him. In the same place he received Pope Leo with highest honors and while waiting there for the return of his son Charles he dismissed Pope Leo with the same honors as he had bestowed on receiving him.² The pope at once proceeded to Rome and the king returned to his palace at Aachen.

On the same campaign an envoy of Michael, governor of Sicily, by the name of Daniel came to the Lord King and was dismissed again from there with great honors.

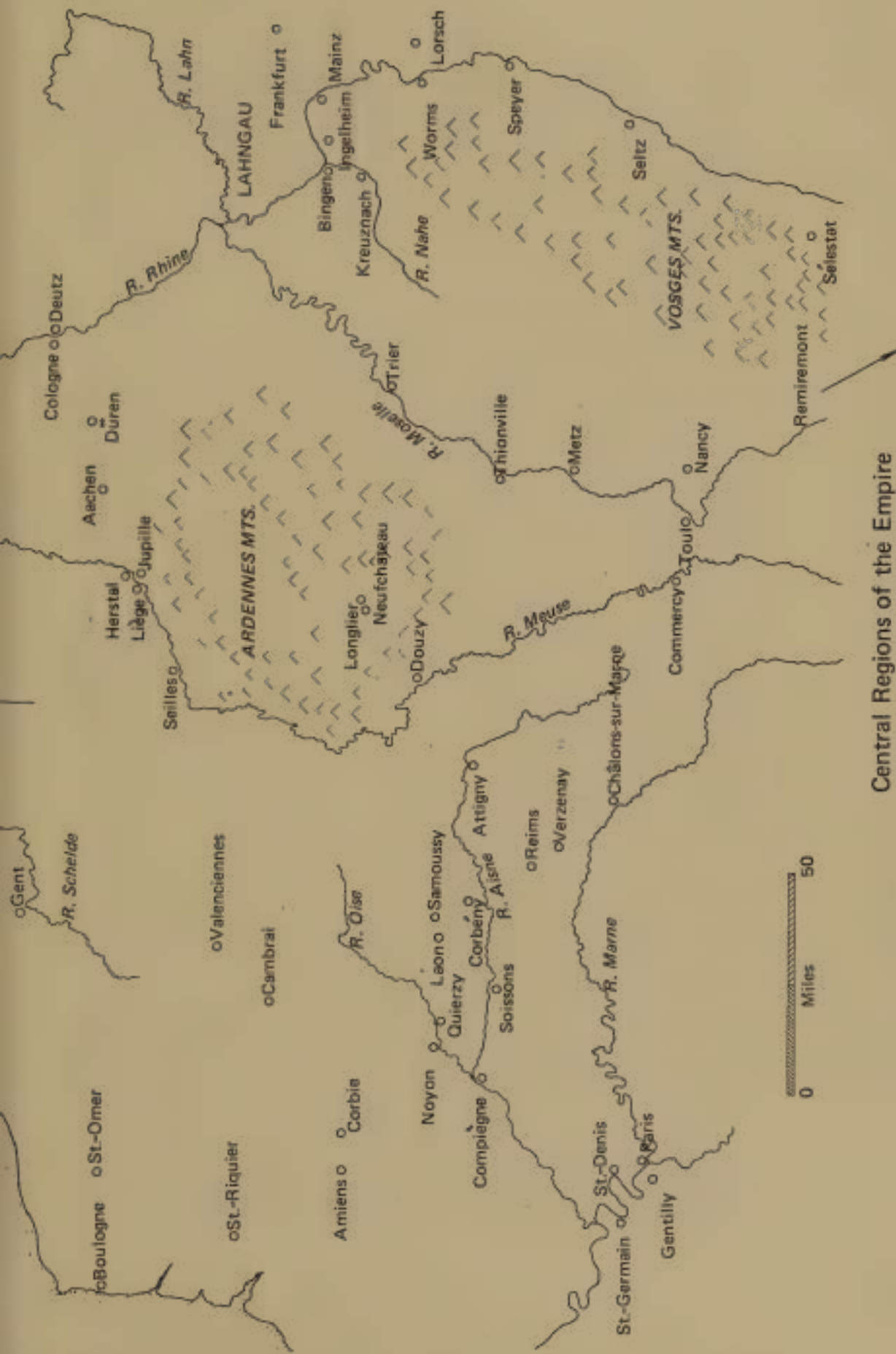
In the same year the tribe of the Avars broke the faith which it had promised, and Eric, duke of Friuli, after many successes, fell a victim to an ambush of its inhabitants near the city of Tarsatika in Liburnia.³ Count Gerold, commander of Bavaria, perished in a battle against the Avars. The Balearic Islands, which had been plundered the year before by Moors and Saracens and had sought and received aid from us, submitted to us and with God's help and ours were defended against the raids of the pirates. Military insignia of the Moors were carried away in battle and presented to the Lord King.

Count Wido, commander of the Breton March, with his fellow counts, entered Brittany, traversed the whole land and conquered it. On the king's return from Saxony Wido presented to him the weapons of the leaders who had surrendered with their names inscribed on them. Each of these delivered his land, his people, and himself to the Franks and the whole province of Brittany was subjugated by the Franks, something which had never happened before.

In the same year a monk arrived from Jerusalem and brought blessings and relics of the Lord's Sepulcher, which the patriarch of Jerusalem sent to the Lord King. Hassaa, governor of the city of Huesca, by his envoy sent the keys of the city with presents.⁴ Christmas was celebrated in the same palace. And the date changed to

800

The king dismissed the monk from Jerusalem and sent back with him Zacharias, a priest of his palace, to deliver his presents for the Holy Places. He himself left the palace of Aachen in the middle of March and traversed the shore of the Gallic sea. He built a fleet on this sea, which was then infested with pirates, set guards in different places, and celebrated Easter at St.-Riquier in Centulum. From



Central Regions of the Empire

Centulum he marched again along the shore of the ocean to Rouen, crossed the River Seine at this point, and arrived at Tours in order to pray at St. Martin's. There he stayed for a few days because of the bad health of his wife, the Lady Liutgarda; and there she died on June 4 and was buried.

From here he returned to Aachen by way of Paris and Orléans. On June 6 and likewise on June 9 there was a severe frost which did not, however, harm the harvest.

At the beginning of August he came to Mainz. Announcing an expedition into Italy, he left Mainz and went with his army to Ravenna. There he arranged a campaign against the Beneventans and after a delay of seven days headed for Rome and ordered the army under his son Pepin to go into the territory of the Beneventans and plunder it. When he approached Rome, Pope Leo came to meet him with the Romans at Mentana, twelve miles from the city, and welcomed him with the greatest humility and respect. After dining with the king in Mentana the pope immediately returned ahead of him to the city. On the next day he sent the banners of the city of Rome to meet him and ordered crowds of townspeople and pilgrims to line the streets and acclaim the king on his arrival. Standing with his clergy and bishops on the steps of the basilica of the blessed apostle Peter, he welcomed the king when he dismounted from his horse and ascended the stairs. A prayer was offered and while all were chanting the psalms the pope led the king into the basilica of the blessed apostle Peter. This took place on November 24.

Seven days later the king convoked an assembly, made known to everybody why he had come to Rome, and from that time on devoted himself daily to carrying out the tasks for which he had come. The most important and most difficult among these and the one he tackled first was the examination of the crimes with which the pope had been charged. Since nobody was willing to prove these charges, the pope mounted the pulpit of the basilica of the blessed apostle Peter, in the presence of the whole populace. With the Gospel in his hand, he invoked the name of the Holy Trinity and purged himself by oath from the charges.¹

On the same day Zacharias returned from the East to Rome with two monks, one from Mount Olivet and the other from St. Saba's. These monks the patriarch of Jerusalem sent to the king with Zacha-

rias. As a sign of his good will they brought along the keys of the Lord's Sepulcher and of Calvary, also the keys of the city and of Mount Zion along with a flag.² The king received them graciously, entertained them for a few days, and permitted them to return with rich rewards in the month of April. He celebrated Christmas at Rome. And the date changed to

801

On the most holy day of Christmas, when the king rose from prayer in front of the shrine of the blessed apostle Peter, to take part in the Mass, Pope Leo placed a crown on his head, and he was hailed by the whole Roman people: To the august Charles, crowned by God, the great and peaceful emperor of the Romans, life and victory! After the acclamations the pope addressed him in the manner of the old emperors. The name of Patricius was now abandoned and he was called Emperor and Augustus.³

A few days later he ordered those to be tried who had deposed the pope in the previous year. After the trial they were condemned to death according to the Roman law of *lèse majesté*.² But the pope, in Christian charity, pleaded for them with the emperor, who granted them life and freedom from mutilation, but because of the magnitude of their crime they were sent into exile. The leaders of this conspiracy were the nomenclator³ Paschal, the treasurer Campulus, and many other high-ranking men of the city of Rome; they all received the same sentence at the same time. After settling public as well as ecclesiastic and private matters of the city of Rome, the pope, and all Italy (for the emperor did nothing but this all winter) he again sent an expedition under his son Pepin against the Beneventans. He left Rome after Easter, on April 25, and proceeded to Spoleto. While he was staying there, on April 30, in the second hour of the night, a tremendous earthquake occurred which severely shook the whole of Italy. Because of this tremor a large part of the roof of the basilica of the blessed apostle Paul with its wooden framework collapsed, and in some places mountains tumbled on top of cities. In the same year also some places along the Rhine, in Gaul, and in Germany were hit by earth tremors. Since the weather was mild a pestilence broke out.

From Spoleto the emperor came to Ravenna and after staying there for a few days continued to Pavia. There he received the news

that envoys of Harun Emir al Mumenin, the king of the Persians, had arrived at the port of Pisa. He sent messengers to meet them and had them presented at court between Vercelli and Ivrea. One of them—for there were two—was a Persian from the East and the envoy of the Persian king, the other was a Saracen from Africa and the envoy of Emir Abraham, who ruled on the border of Africa in Fustât.⁴ They reported that Isaac the Jew, whom the emperor four years earlier had dispatched with Lantfrid and Sigimund to the king of the Persians, was returning with large presents, but that Lantfrid and Sigimund had both died. Then the king sent Ercanbald, the notary, to Liguria to prepare a fleet on which the elephant and whatever else he brought along might be transported. After celebrating the feast of St. John the Baptist at Ivrea,⁵ Charles crossed the Alps and returned to Gaul.

In the same summer the city of Barcelona in Spain was captured after a two-year siege. Its governor Zaton and many other Saracens were taken prisoner. In Italy the city of Chieti was also captured and burned, and its governor Roselmus taken prisoner; the castles belonging to this city surrendered. Zaton and Roselmus were brought before the emperor on the same day and condemned to exile.⁶

In the month of October of the same year Isaac the Jew returned from Africa with the elephant and arrived at Porto-Venere. Since he could not cross the Alps because of the snow, he spent the winter at Vercelli.

The emperor celebrated Christmas in his palace at Aachen. And the date changed to

802

Empress Irene sent the spatarius Leo as envoy from Constantinople to ratify a peace between Franks and Greeks.¹ When the envoy returned, the emperor on his part sent along to Constantinople Bishop Jesse of Amiens and Count Helmgand to make peace with Irene.² Easter was celebrated in the palace of Aachen.³

On July 20 of this same year Isaac arrived with the elephant and the other presents sent by the Persian king, and he delivered them to the emperor at Aachen. The name of the elephant was Abul Abaz.

The city of Ortona in Italy surrendered.⁴ Also Lucera, worn out by prolonged siege, was forced to surrender, and a garrison of our people was installed.⁵

The emperor was occupied with the chase in the Ardennes during the summer. He dispatched an army of Saxons to lay waste the lands of the Saxons on the far side of the Elbe.

Duke Grimoald of the Beneventans besieged Count Winigis of Spoleto in Lucera, where Winigis was in command. Worn out by ill-health Winigis was made to surrender, but was held in honorable captivity.⁸

The emperor celebrated Christmas at Aachen. And the date changed to

803

In this winter there was an earthquake around the palace and in neighboring areas and a large death toll was the result.

Winigis was released from captivity by Grimoald, and the emperor's emissaries returned from Constantinople. Along with them came envoys of Emperor Nicephorus, who ruled the commonwealth at that time, for they had deposed Irene after the arrival of the Frankish embassy. The names of the envoys were Bishop Michael, Abbot Peter, and the candidate Calistus. They met the emperor at Salz on the River Saale and received a written proposal for peace. They were dismissed with a letter from the emperor and returned by way of Rome to Constantinople.¹

But the emperor marched into Bavaria and, after settling the affairs of Pannonia, returned to Aachen in the month of December and celebrated Christmas there. And the date changed to

804

The emperor spent the winter at Aachen. But in the summer he led an army into Saxony and deported all Saxons living beyond the Elbe and in Wihmuodi¹ with wives and children into Francia and gave the districts beyond the Elbe to the Obodrites.²

At the same time Godofrid, king of the Danes, came with his fleet and the entire cavalry of his kingdom to Schleswig on the border of his kingdom and Saxony. He promised to show up for a conference with the emperor, but was made wary by the counsel of his men and did not venture any closer. Instead, he communicated through envoys whatever he wanted to say. The emperor stayed at Hollenstedt on the River Elbe and sent an embassy to Godofrid to discuss the return of

fugitives. About the middle of September he returned to Cologne. After dismissing the army he went first to Aachen and then into the Ardennes. He devoted himself to the chase and then returned to Aachen.

In the middle of November he was informed that Pope Leo wished to celebrate Christmas with him at whatever place that could be arranged. The king at once sent his son Charles to St.-Maurice and ordered him to receive the pope honorably. He himself came to meet him in the city of Reims. After welcoming him there he took the pope first to the villa of Quierzy, where he celebrated Christmas, and then to Aachen. Charles gave him many presents and since the pope wished to return by way of Bavaria had him escorted as far as Ravenna. The cause of his coming was this: in the past summer the emperor had been informed that in the city of Mantua the blood of Christ had been found. He sent to the pope and asked him to inquire into the truthfulness of this rumor. The pope made use of this opportunity to leave, traveled first to Lombardy to investigate the rumor, and after a rapid journey from there suddenly reached the emperor. He stayed with him for eight days and then, as was said, made his way back to Rome.³ And the date changed to

805

Not long afterward the capcan, a prince of the Huns, approached the emperor because of the predicament of his people and asked him to give them a place to settle between Szombathely and Petronell. The Huns could not stay in their previous dwelling places on account of the attacks of the Slavs. The emperor received him graciously—for the capcan was a Christian by the name of Theodore—agreed to his request, and permitted him to return home with presents.

The capcan died a short while after returning to his people. And the khagan sent one of his magnates asking for the ancient dignity which the khagan used to have among the Huns. The emperor agreed to his request and ordered that the khagan, according to the ancient custom of the Huns, was to be lord over the whole kingdom.¹

In the same year he sent the army under his son Charles into the country of the Slavs who are called Bohemians. Charles ravaged their native land from one end to the other and killed their chief

Lecho. Upon his return he went to see the emperor in the Vosges at Champ.² The emperor had left Aachen in July and headed by Thionville and Metz for the Vosges Mountains, where he went hunting. Once the army had returned, he moved on to the castle of Remiremont, where he remained for a while, and then he settled down for the winter in his palace of Thionville. Here his two sons Pepin and Louis came to him; here he celebrated Christmas. And the date changed to

806

Shortly after Christmas Willeri and Beatus, dukes of Venice, Paul, duke of Zara, and Donatus, bishop of the same city, came before the emperor with large gifts, as ambassadors of the Dalmatians. The emperor settled the affairs of the dukes and people of Venice as well as the affairs of Dalmatia.¹

When they had been dismissed, the emperor held an assembly with the nobles and magnates of the Franks to confirm and preserve peace among his sons and to discuss the division of the empire into three parts, so that each son would know which part to protect and to rule if he should survive his father. A testament was drawn up ratifying this decision, and it was confirmed by the oaths of the Frankish magnates. Stipulations were laid down for the sake of preserving peace. All this was committed to writing and carried by Einhard to Pope Leo so that he would sign it.² After reading it the pontiff gave his consent and signed it with his own hand.

When he had dispatched both his sons, that is, Pepin and Louis, into their kingdoms, the emperor went by ship from the palace of Thionville down the Moselle and the Rhine to Nijmegen, where he celebrated the holy forty-days' fast and the most sacred feast of Easter.³ After a few days he came from Nijmegen to Aachen and sent his son Charles with an army into the country of the Slavs who are called Sorbs and live on the River Elbe. On this campaign Miliduoch, duke of the Slavs, was killed. The army constructed two castles, one on the bank of the River Saale, the other one on the Elbe. When the Slavs had been pacified, Charles returned with the army and came to the emperor at Seilles on the Meuse.

A body of troops from Bavaria, Alamannia, and Burgundy was

also sent into the country of Bohemia, as in the previous year. After laying waste much of the land the army returned without serious losses.

In the same year a fleet was dispatched by Pepin from Italy to Corsica against the Moors who had pillaged the island. Without awaiting its arrival the Moors made away. But one of our men, Hadumar, count of the city of Genoa, was killed when he carelessly got into a fight with them. In Spain the people of Navarre and Pamplona, who had defected to the Saracens during the last years, were again placed under our authority.⁴

Emperor Nicephorus⁵ dispatched a fleet under the command of the patrician Nicetas to reconquer Dalmatia. And the envoys, who about four years earlier had been sent to the king of the Persians, sailed through the very anchoring places of the Greek ships and returned to Treviso, into the shelter of the port, without being noticed by one of the enemies.

The emperor celebrated Christmas at Aachen. And the date changed to

807

During the previous year there was an eclipse of the moon on September 2. At that time the sun stood in the sixteenth degree of Virgo, and the moon in the sixteenth degree of Pisces. In this year, however, it was on January 31, on the seventeenth of the lunar month, when Jupiter was seen to pass through the moon. On February 11 at noon there was an eclipse of the sun, during which both stars stood in the twenty-fifth degree of Aquarius. There was again an eclipse of the moon on February 26 and in the same night enormous battle lines appeared in the sky. The sun stood in the eleventh degree of Pisces and the moon in the eleventh degree of Virgo. On March 17 the star Mercury was seen as a small dark spot a little above the center of the sun, and it was seen by us for eight days. When it first entered and left the sun, we could not observe it well because of clouds. Again on August 22 at the third hour of the night there was a lunar eclipse, while the sun stood in the fifth degree of Virgo and the moon in the fifth degree of Pisces. Thus, from September of last year to September of the present year the moon was eclipsed three times and the sun once.

Radbert, the emperor's emissary, died on his way back from the East. The envoy of the king of Persia by the name of Abdallah came to the emperor with monks from Jerusalem, who formed an embassy from the patriarch Thomas. Their names were George and Felix. This George is abbot of Mount Olivet, a native German and called, by his real name, Egilbald. They came to the emperor and delivered presents which the king of Persia sent to him, that is, a tent and curtains for the canopy of different colors and of unbelievable size and beauty. They were all made of the best linen, the curtains as well as the strings, and dyed in different colors. The presents of the Persian king consisted besides of many precious silken robes, of perfumes, ointments, and balsam; also of a brass clock, a marvelous mechanical contraption, in which the course of the twelve hours moved according to a water clock, with as many brazen little balls, which fall down on the hour and through their fall made a cymbal ring underneath. On this clock there were also twelve horsemen who at the end of each hour stepped out of twelve windows, closing the previously open windows by their movements. There were many other things on this clock which are too numerous to describe now.¹ Besides these presents there were two brass candlesticks of amazing size and height. All this was taken to the emperor in the palace at Aachen. The emperor kept the ambassador and the monks with him for a while and then sent them to Italy and told them to wait there till it was time to set sail.

In the same year he sent his marshal Burchard with a fleet to Corsica to defend the island against the Moors, who in past years used to come there and pillage. The Moors embarked, as usual, from Spain and went ashore first in Sardinia, where they waged a battle with the Sardinians and lost many men—three thousand are said to have died there. Then they came by a direct route to Corsica. Here they again engaged in battle with the fleet under Burchard's command, in a harbor of this island. They were defeated and put to flight with thirteen ships lost and most of their men killed. The Moors in this year were plagued by so much misfortune everywhere that they themselves admitted that this had happened because the year before they had unjustly carried away sixty monks from Pantelleria and sold them in Spain.² But some of these monks returned home again through the largesse of the emperor.

The patrician Nicetas who was staying in Venice with the fleet

of Constantinople made peace with King Pepin. After concluding an armistice until the month of August, he weighed anchor and returned to Constantinople.³

In this year the emperor celebrated Easter and also Christmas at Aachen. And the date changed to

808

The winter was extremely mild and unhealthy at that time: When spring came, the emperor went to Nijmegen. After spending Lent and celebrating Holy Easter there, he returned again to Aachen.

Since he was informed that Godofrid, the king of the Danes, with his army had crossed over into the land of the Obodrites, he sent his son Charles with a strong host of Franks and Saxons to the Elbe, with orders to resist the mad king if he should attempt to attack the borders of Saxony.¹ Godofrid set up quarters on the shore for some days² and attacked and took a number of Slavic castles in hand-to-hand combat. Then he withdrew, suffering severe casualties. He expelled Thrasco, duke of the Obodrites, who did not trust the loyalty of his countrymen,³ hanged on the gallows Godelaib, another duke, whom he had caught by treachery, and made two-thirds of the Obodrites tributary. But he lost the best and most battle-tested of his soldiers. With them he lost Reginold, his brother's son, who was killed at the siege of a town along with a great number of Danish nobles. But Charles, the son of the emperor, built a bridge across the Elbe,⁴ and moved the army under his command as fast as he could across the river against the Linones and Smeldingi. These tribes had also defected to Godofrid. Charles laid waste their fields far and wide and after crossing the river again returned to Saxony with his army unimpaired.

On this expedition Godofrid had as his allies the Slavs called Wilzi,⁵ who joined his forces voluntarily because of their ancient conflicts with the Obodrites. When Godofrid returned home, they also went home with the booty which they had been able to capture from the Obodrites. But Godofrid before his return destroyed a trading place on the seashore, in Danish called Reric, which, because of the taxes it paid, was of great advantage to his kingdom.⁶ Transferring the merchants from Reric he weighed anchor and came with his whole army to the harbor of Schleswig. There he remained for a few days

and decided to fortify the border of his kingdom against Saxony with a rampart, so that a protective bulwark would stretch from the eastern bay, called Ostarsalt, as far as the western sea, along the entire north bank of the River Eider and broken by a single gate through which wagons and horsemen would be able to leave and enter. After dividing the work among the leaders of his troops he returned home.

In the meantime Eardwulf, the king of the Northumbrians from the island of Britain, had been driven from his throne and country. He came to the emperor while the latter was still at Nijmegen and, after saying why he had come, continued to Rome. On his return from Rome he was taken back to his kingdom by the envoys of the Roman pontiff and the Lord Emperor. At that time Leo III ruled the Roman Church. As his envoy the deacon Aldulf, a Saxon from Britain, was sent to Britain. Two abbots were dispatched with him by the emperor, the notary Hruotfrid and Nanthar of St-Omer.⁷

After having two castles built on the River Elbe by his envoys and placing troops in them for the defense against the attacks of the Slavs, the emperor spent the winter at Aachen and celebrated Christmas and Holy Easter in the same place.⁸ And the date changed to

809

A fleet dispatched from Constantinople put ashore first in Dalmatia and then in Venice. While staying there for the winter, part of it anchored off the island of Comacchio and skirmished with the garrison stationed there. The fleet was defeated, put to flight, and returned to Venice. Paul, commander of the fleet, was apparently under orders in his desire to negotiate with the Lord Pepin, king of Italy, about the terms of a peace between Franks and Greeks. But he was prevented in all his attempts by Willeri and Beatus, dukes of Venice, who even prepared an ambush against him, and departed when he recognized their treachery.¹

In the west the Lord King Louis entered Spain with his army and besieged the city of Tortosa on the River Ebro. When he had devoted some time to the siege and had seen that he could not take the city quickly, he gave up and returned to Aquitaine with his army unimpaired.

When Eardwulf, king of the Northumbrians, had been taken back to his kingdom and the envoys of emperor and pontiff were

returning, all crossed without mishap except one of them, the deacon Aldulf, who was captured by pirates and taken to Britain. But he was ransomed by one of King Cenwulf's men and returned to Rome.²

In Tuscany the Greeks named Orobioetae³ ravaged the port city of Piombino. Also the Moors came to Corsica from Spain and plundered a city on the very Sunday of Holy Easter, leaving behind nothing but the bishop and a few of the old and infirm.

In the meantime Godofrid, king of the Danes, sent word by some merchants that he had heard of the emperor's wrath against him because he had led an army against the Obodrites the year before and revenged himself for injuries done to him. Godofrid added that he would like to purge himself of the charges made against him and that the Obodrites had broken the peace first. He also requested that a meeting between his counts and the emperor's should take place beyond the Elbe near the borders of his kingdom. There they could establish what both parties had done and determine what redresses were to be made. This the emperor did not refuse. A conference was held with Danish nobles beyond the Elbe at Badenflot.⁴ Both sides brought up and elaborated on a number of matters and then departed, leaving the entire question unsettled. But Thrasco, duke of the Obodrites, first surrendered his son as a hostage to Godofrid as Godofrid demanded, and then gathered an army of his people. Supported by the Saxons, he attacked the neighboring Wilzi and laid waste their fields with fire and sword. Returning home with immense booty and with even more help from the Saxons, he conquered the largest city of the Smeldingi.⁵ By these successes he forced all who had defected from him to join him again.

When these things had come to pass, the emperor returned from the Ardennes to Aachen and in November held a council about the procession of the Holy Spirit, a question which John, a monk of Jerusalem, had first raised.⁶ To reach a decision on this matter Bernhar, bishop of Worms, and Adalhard, abbot of the monastery of Corbie, were sent to Rome to Pope Leo.⁷ At this same council they also examined the condition of the churches and the lives of those who were to serve God in them. But they decided nothing, apparently because of the magnitude of the problems.

Since he had heard much about the arrogance and pride of the Danish king, the emperor decided to build a castle on the other side

of the Elbe and to garrison it with a Frankish force. For this purpose he gathered men in Gaul and Germany equipped with arms and all other necessities, and ordered them to be taken by way of Frisia to their destination. In the meantime Thrasco, duke of the Obodrites, was treacherously killed by Godofrid's men at the trading place of Reric. When the location for the founding of a castle had been explored, the emperor appointed Count Egbert to be responsible for this matter, ordering him to cross the Elbe and to occupy the site. This place is located on the River Stör and is called Esesfelth. Egbert and the Saxon counts occupied it and began to fortify it about March 15.⁸

Count Aureolus died. He had been stationed on the border of Spain and Gaul, on the other side of the Pyrenees over against Huesca and Saragossa. Amorez, the governor of Saragossa and Huesca, assumed the count's position, placed garrisons in his castles, and sent an embassy to the emperor, promising that he was willing to submit to him with everything he had.⁹

An eclipse of the moon occurred on December 26.

810

When the imperial envoys came to Amorez, governor of Saragossa, he requested a conference with the guards of the Spanish border, promising that at this conference he would submit with all his people to the emperor. Although the emperor gave his consent, complications arose which prevented this formal submission from taking place.¹ The Moors with a fleet of immense size, which had been gathered by the whole of Spain, landed first in Sardinia, then in Corsica. Since they found no garrison there, they conquered almost the entire island.

In the meantime King Pepin, aroused by the treachery of the Venetian dukes, ordered Venice to be attacked by land and by sea. After the capture of Venice and the submission of the dukes he sent the same fleet to ravage the shores of Dalmatia. But when Paul, governor of Cephalaria, came to the aid of the Dalmatians with the eastern fleet, the royal fleet returned home.²

Hruodtrude, the emperor's eldest daughter, died on June 6.³

While the emperor was still at Aachen, considering an expedition against King Godofrid, he received the news that a fleet of two hundred ships from Denmark had landed in Frisia, that all the islands off the coast of Frisia had been ravaged, that the army had

already landed and fought three battles against the Frisians, that the victorious Danes had imposed a tribute on the vanquished, that already one hundred pounds of silver had been paid as tribute by the Frisians, and that King Godofrid was at home. That, in fact, is how things stood. This information aroused the emperor so much that he sent out messengers everywhere to gather an army. Leaving the palace without delay, he decided first to go and meet the fleet, then to cross the Rhine at Lippeham and wait for the troops which had not yet arrived. While he stayed there for a few days, the elephant which Harun, the king of the Saracens, had sent him, suddenly died. When the troops had finally assembled, the emperor hastened to the Aller at the greatest possible speed, set up camp where it flows into the Weser, and then waited for what would come of King Godofrid's threats. Inflated by the vain hope of victory, this king boasted that he wished to fight the emperor in open battle.⁴

But while the emperor had his quarters in the place mentioned, news of various matters was brought to him. It was reported that the fleet which ravaged Frisia had returned home and King Godofrid had been murdered by one of his retainers; that the castle of Hohbuoki on the Elbe,⁵ with Odo, the emperor's envoy, and a garrison of East Saxons, had been captured by the Wilzi; that his son Pepin, the king of Italy, had died on July 8; and that two embassies to make peace had arrived from different countries, one from Constantinople, the other from Cordova. When the emperor had received all these reports, he settled the affairs of Saxony as far as circumstances at that time permitted and returned home. On this campaign an epidemic broke out among the cattle which was so severe that almost no animals remained to feed such a large army. All perished to the last head. Not only there but in all provinces subject to the emperor the mortality of this kind of animal ran very high.⁶

Arriving at Aachen in the month of October, the emperor received the embassies mentioned and made peace with Emperor Nicephorus and with Abul Aas, king of Spain. He gave back Venice to Nicephorus and received Count Haimric, who at one time had been taken prisoner by the Saracens and whom Abul Aas now sent back.⁷

In this year both sun and moon were eclipsed twice; the sun on June 7 and November 30, the moon on June 21 and December 15. The island of Corsica was again ravaged by the Moors.

Amorez was expelled from Saragossa by Abd ar-Rahman, the son of Abul Aas, and forced to enter Huesca.

After the death of Godofrid, king of the Danes, Hemming, the son of his brother, succeeded to his throne and made peace with the emperor.⁸

811

The emperor settled with the spatarius Arsafius, who was envoy of Emperor Nicephorus, dismissed him, and to ratify this peace¹ sent his own envoys, Bishop Haido of Basle,² Count Hugo of Tours, and the Lombard Aio of Friuli, to Constantinople. With them were the spatarius Leo, a Sicilian by birth, and Willeri, duke of Venice. The former of these two had fled ten years earlier from Sicily to the emperor in Rome and now was sent back, since he wanted to return to his homeland; Willeri had been deprived of his office because of treachery and was ordered to be returned to his lord in Constantinople.

The peace announced between the emperor and Hemming, the king of the Danes, was only sworn on arms because of the severity of the winter, which closed the road for traveling between the parties. Only with the return of spring and the opening of the roads, which had been closed because of harsh frost, did twelve magnates of each party and people, that is, of Franks and Danes, meet on the River Eider at Heiligen and confirm the peace by an exchange of oaths according to their customs. The nobles on the Frankish side were Count Walach, son of Bernard, Count Burchard, Count Unroch,³ Count Odo, Count Meginhard, Count Bernard, Count Egbert, Count Theothari, Count Abo, Count Osdag, and Count Wigman. On the Danish side there were Hankwin and Angandeo, Hemming's brothers, and, in addition, other men distinguished among this people: Osfrid nicknamed Turdimulo, Warstein, Suomi, Urm, another Osfrid, son of Heiligen, and Osfrid of Schonen, and Hebbi and Aowin.

After peace had been made with Hemming and the general assembly held at Aachen according to custom, the emperor sent into three parts of his kingdom an equal number of armies. One went beyond the Elbe against the Linones, which ravaged their territory and restored the castle of Hohbuoki on the Elbe destroyed by the Wilzi in the preceding year. The second went into Pannonia to end the disputes among Huns and Slavs. The third was dispatched against

the Bretons to punish their treachery. They all returned home unharmed after carrying out their orders successfully.

In the meantime, the emperor himself went to the port city of Boulogne in order to inspect the fleet whose construction he had ordered the year before. There the ships in question had assembled. At Boulogne he restored the lighthouse constructed a long time ago to guide the course of sailors and had a fire lit on its top at night. From Boulogne he came to the River Scheldt at Ghent and inspected the ships built for the same fleet. About the middle of November he came to Aachen. The envoys of King Hemming, Aowin and Hebbi, came to meet him and brought presents and assurances of peace. Envoys had also arrived at Aachen from Pannonia and waited for him, namely the canizauci,⁴ prince of the Avars, and the tudun and other nobles and leaders of the Slavs who live along the Danube. They had been ordered to come before the prince by the commanders of the troops dispatched into Pannonia.

Meanwhile, Charles, the eldest son of the Lord Emperor, died on December 4.⁵ The emperor spent the winter at Aachen.

812

Not much later the news arrived that Hemming, king of the Danes, had died. Sigifrid, the nephew of King Godofrid, and Anulo, the nephew of Heriold and of the former king, both wished to succeed him. Being unable to agree on who should be king, they raised troops, fought a battle, and were both killed. The party of Anulo won, however, and made his brothers Heriold and Reginfrid their kings. The defeated party out of necessity had to go along with Anulo's party and did not reject the brothers as their kings. They say that ten thousand nine hundred and forty men died in that battle.

Emperor Nicephorus after many remarkable victories died in the province of Moesia in a battle against the Bulgars.¹ His son-in-law Michael became emperor and received and dismissed in Constantinople the envoys of the Lord Emperor Charles, who had been sent to Nicephorus. With these men he sent his own envoys, Bishop Michael and the protospatrii Arsafius and Theognostus, through whom he ratified the peace proposed by Nicephorus. At Aachen, where they came before the emperor, they received from him in church the document of the treaty, acclaimed him according to their custom, that is,

in Greek, and called him "Emperor" and "Basileus." When they came to Rome on their journey home, they received the same charter of an agreement or an alliance a second time from Pope Leo in the basilica of the holy apostle Peter.²

When the envoys had been dismissed and the general assembly held in the usual manner at Aachen, the emperor sent his grandson Bernard, son of Pepin, to Italy.³ A fleet was said to be coming from Africa as well as Spain to lay waste Italy. Because of this rumor the emperor ordered Wala, son of his father's brother Bernard, to stay with him until the outcome of the matter would assure the safety of our people.⁴ Part of this fleet went to Corsica and part to Sardinia. The part which came to Sardinia was almost totally destroyed.

Also a fleet of the Norsemen landed in Ireland, the island of the Scots, and in a battle with the Scots many of the Norsemen were killed, and the fleet returned home after shameful flight.

Peace was made with Abul Aas, king of the Saracens;⁵ also with Grimoald, duke of the Beneventans, and twenty-five thousand gold solidi were paid as tribute by the Beneventans.⁶

A campaign was carried out against the Wilzi, and hostages were received from them.

Heriold and Reginfrid, kings of the Danes, sent an embassy to the emperor, asking for peace and requesting that their brother Hemming be released.

In this year there was an eclipse of the sun on May 15 after midday.⁷

813

The emperor spent the winter at Aachen, and when the mild season of spring set in, he sent Bishop Amalhar of Trier and Abbot Peter of the monastery of Nonantola to Constantinople in order to ratify the peace with Emperor Michael.¹

He invited his son Louis, king of Aquitaine, to a general assembly at Aachen, placed the crown on his head, and shared the title of emperor with him. His grandson Bernard, son of his son Pepin, he placed in charge of Italy and ordered to be called king.² Also on his order councils were held by the bishops in all of Gaul to improve the condition of the churches, one at Mainz, another at Reims, a third at Tours, a fourth at Chalon, a fifth at Arles. Of the canons issued in

the individual councils a collection was made before the emperor at that assembly. Anyone who wants to know them can find them in the above-named five cities, although copies are also available in the archives of the palace.³

From this assembly several Frankish and Saxon nobles were sent beyond the Elbe to the borders of the Norsemen. They came to make peace, at the request of the Danish kings, whose brother they intended to return. When an equal number—they were sixteen—of Danish magnates met them at the stipulated place, peace was sworn by mutual oaths and the brother of the kings was returned. The kings themselves at this time were not at home but had marched with an army toward Westarfolda,⁴ an area in the extreme northwest of their kingdom across the northern tip of Britain, whose princes and people refused to submit to them. When they returned after conquering the Britons and received their brother, who had been sent from the emperor, the sons of King Godofrid gathered troops from everywhere and made war upon the kings. The sons of King Godofrid were assisted by not a few of the Danish nobles who for some time after leaving their homeland had been in exile with the Swedes. Since hosts of their countrymen joined the sons of Godofrid from all over the land of the Danes, they easily drove the kings from the kingdom after a battle.

Count Irmingar of Ampurias prepared an ambush near Majorca against the Moors who were returning with much booty from Corsica to Spain. Irmingar captured eight Moorish ships, on which he found more than five hundred Corsican prisoners. The Moors wanted revenge and ravaged Civitavecchia in Tuscany and Nice in the province of Narbonne. They also attacked Sardinia, but were repelled and defeated in battle by the Sardinians and turned back after losing many of their men.

Emperor Michael achieved little success when he made war on the Bulgars. On his return home he laid down the imperial headband and became a monk. In his place Leo, son of the patrician Bardas, was made emperor.⁵ Krum, king of the Bulgars, who two years before had killed Emperor Nicephorus and driven Michael out of Moesia, was elated by his luck and advanced with his army to the very confines of Constantinople, pitching his camp before the gate of the city. But as he rode his horse around the walls Emperor Leo ordered a

sally and intercepted the reckless king. Krum was gravely wounded and forced to save himself by flight and to return to his homeland in disgrace.

814

While spending the winter at Aachen, the Lord Emperor Charles departed this life on January 28, in about his seventy-first year, in the forty-seventh year of his reign, in the forty-third since the conquest of Italy, and in the fourteenth since he had been named Emperor and Augustus.¹

A large number of messengers informed Louis of this event at the royal villa of Doué² in Aquitaine, where he was then spending the winter. Thirty days later he arrived at Aachen and succeeded his father with the full consent and support of all Franks. Turning his mind to the administration of the kingdom which he had assumed, he first heard and dismissed the foreign envoys who had come to his father. He then received the other envoys who had been sent to his father but had come to him instead.

The most important among the latter was the mission sent from Constantinople. When Emperor Leo, Michael's successor, dismissed Bishop Amalhar and Abbot Peter, who had been sent to Michael but had come to him, he dispatched his own envoys along with them to the Lord Charles. These were the spatarius Christopher and the deacon Gregory. Through them Emperor Leo delivered the ratified text of a treaty of alliance. When they had been received and dismissed, the Lord Louis directed his envoys, Bishop Nordbert of Reggio and Count Richoin of Padua, to Emperor Leo to renew friendship with him and to ratify the aforementioned pact.³

After holding a general assembly of his people at Aachen he sent envoys into all parts of his kingdom to render justice and relieve the oppression of the people. He sent for Bernard, king of Italy, his nephew, presented him with gifts, and dismissed him again. With Duke Grimoald of the Beneventans he made a solemn treaty similar to that of his father, namely that the Beneventans should pay an annual tribute of seven thousand solidi. Then he sent Lothair, one of his two sons, to Bavaria and the other son, Pepin, to Aquitaine.

Heriold and Reginfrid, kings of the Danes, had been defeated and expelled from their kingdom the year before by the sons of