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THE DISSOLUTION OF THE
CAROLINGIAN FISC
IN THE NINTH CENTURY

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PREFACE

THE PURPOSE OF THIS MONOGRAPH is to show that the Carolingian crown lands, collectively termed the *fisc*, played a more important rôle in the partitions of the Frankish Empire and the civil wars in the ninth century than has been hitherto perceived. Although Waitz, Dopsch, Steinitz, Lot, and Halphen have dealt with the subject of the Carolingian *fisc* in various writings, no one as yet has endeavored to determine and to locate the whole number of places included within the Carolingian *fisc*, or to ascertain the extent of its spread. Steinitz is the only scholar who has dealt with this subject—Darmstädter's dissertation is limited to Italy—and Steinitz made no attempt to go beyond the year 843, the very time when the question of the reversion of the *fisc* had reached acute proportions. Unfortunately, after 843 the documents infrequently give pertinent data concerning the size and character of the crown lands. Hence Steinitz, in compiling his tables, and in trying to tabulate the landed resources of Charlemagne, terminated his study with 843.

A total of 1419 places¹ pertaining to the crown between the years 752 and 900 have been listed, of which 75 remain unidentified and 35 unlocated. This does not mean that the Carolingian crown ever possessed the listed total of 1419 places at any one time, for the very good reason that we have not the information necessary to determine all the changes of each reign. The evidence available is not sufficient for the accurate determination of the expansion or contraction of the *fisc* in each reign. It is also to be understood that not all the localities found listed are to be considered as manors. In numbers of localities undoubtedly the grant relates to a parcel or parcels of land smaller than a manor. Some of these properties may have been composed of only three or four tenancies. In a word, the question of *Streu-Besitz* is an undeterminable one. Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations, I think that the lists may be taken as evidences at least of the vast extent of the Carolingian properties, and that to a considerable degree they are also evidence of the value and volume of the crown lands. Unless

¹ This is a minimum figure. There are hundreds of insignificant places mentioned in the charters which it is impossible to identify or to locate.

I am mistaken, the various maps presented herewith are impressive witnesses of the magnitude of the Carolingian fisc.

In order to avoid crowding, it has been deemed desirable to differentiate the general map into six sections, namely: the western section; the eastern section; the southern section; the Danube section; the Lombard section; and finally the "midlands" of the Empire, what I have termed the "heart of the fisc." But in spite of these enlargements, in some regions the fisc lands were so densely clustered that it has been found necessary to make insets for the areas around Paris and around Mainz and Worms. These clusters are as impressive in their way as are the sectional maps. The clusters show the density of the Carolingian fisc in certain regions and its enormous material wealth; the sectional maps show the extent and the great focal points, upon which the imperial fabric was based.

Although I have not so indicated on the maps, it will be perceived that these researches also cast new light upon the road system of the Frankish Empire, and the importance of rivers and river valleys as routes will not escape observation. It leaps to the eye that the whole fabric of the Frankish Empire was closely knit together by the binding force of the fisc, and *per contra* it is manifest that the dissolution of the fisc was an important factor in the destruction of the Carolingian Empire. In its way this process of disintegration was a manifestation of the centrifugal and disruptive forces inherent in feudalism. The alienations of the fisc under Louis the Pious and his successors were enormous, and since they fell to ecclesiastical and lay landed proprietors they contributed materially to the formation of the feudal régime. So far as my knowledge goes, I do not know of any historian who has endeavored to ascertain the number and location of these alienations and to whom they were made. The roots of the history of many of the minor and not a few of the major dynasties of the feudal epoch, and of the power of bishops and abbots as feudal proprietors, go back to this very process of alienation of the fisc.

Finally, not the least important discovery which these researches have revealed is the persistence and continuity of village life in Europe across the ages from early medieval to modern and even to present time. Out of a total of 1419 places only 75 remain uniden-

tified and only 35 unlocated. It is impressive to reflect that, in spite of the lapse of a thousand years, the ravages of war—think of the Low Countries, the Rhinelands, Lombardy, as cockpits of Europe!—pestilence, movements of population under changed economic and social conditions, this continuity of peasant life has been maintained. What happened in 1918 in the war zone happened time and again in previous centuries; the surviving population returned to its abandoned villages and doggedly began the work of rebuilding and reconstruction. The light cast on place-names by this investigation is interesting, and I hope of value. In spite of the transformation—sometimes even deformation or mutilation—which these place-names have undergone, it has usually been possible to identify them on the modern map. Most of these places, of course, have been identified and located by other scholars;² but a good many of them have now for the first time been identified.

The task of identification has been easier with French and Italian place-names than with German ones. For since by far the greater number of names are Latin forms, knowledge of the laws of etymology of the Romance languages usually enables one to follow the changes through from the ninth century to the nineteenth. Grandis campus = Grandchamp; Gundulfi villa = Gondreville; Albuflvilla = Albisheim; Romerici mons = Remiremont. There are nine places in France today named Ormes, which in medieval times were known as Ulmae (The Elms).

The rules which determine the transformation from the Latin form to the French form are the same for place-names and for common nouns, although the alteration often goes farther in the place-name. It is interesting also to observe that this transformation of Latin place-names into Romance forms coincides with the general transformation of medieval Latin into Old French in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Depuis le déclin du vi^e siècle les formes latines deviennent moins pures pour beaucoup de noms de lieu des pays où dominait l'élément romain et dès l'avènement des Carolingiens il y a de ces noms qui ne sont plus latins; ils sont

² Groeber, *Grundriss* (ed. 2), I:424 f.; Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft* (ed. 3, 1920); A. Longnon, *Les Noms de lieux* (Paris, 1926); Chevin, *Dictionnaire latin-français des noms propres de lieux* (Paris, 1897); H. Oesterley, *Historisch-geographisches Wörterbuch des deutschen Mittelalters* (Gotha, 1883).

romains. . . . Le ix^e et le x^e siècle sont les temps où le bas latin se tourne en masse en français.³

Even obscure place-names in Germany which were originally Latin preserved the evidence of their Roman ancestry. For example, Figunas became Vigaun, Crethica became Grödig, Anava became Anif, Marciolas became Marzoll, Marciago became Morzg, Monticulus became Muntigl, Cucullos became Kuehl, Quantalas became Kundl, Episas became Ebbe, Oranlo became Erl.⁴

It may be observed, in passing, that these researches have disclosed no fewer than 161 "royal" abbeys, the greatest number of them—103—being in the "heart of the fisc."

My chief source has been J. F. Böhmer and E. Mühlbacher, *Regesta Imperii, Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern, 751–918* (ed. 2, 1908; hereinafter cited as *BM*). Among authorities the following require special mention: B. Steinitz, "Die Organisation und Gruppierung der Krongüter unter Karl dem Grossen," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IX (1911), 4:481–560; R. Parisot, *Histoire du royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*; Dom Mabillon's lists of royal *palatia* contained in his *De re diplomatica*,⁵ IV:244–342; L. Vanderkindere, *Introduction à l'histoire des institutions de la Belgique au moyen âge*,⁶ and P. Darmstädter, *Der Bestand des Reichsguts in der Lombardei und Piemont (568–1250)*.⁷ I have also correlated with the lists compiled from these sources, the lists of Carolingian manors printed by A. Eggers in his *Der königliche Grundbesitz im 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhundert*.⁸ The Bibliography will show all the books and articles from which I have taken toll. To list them formally in the notes would have greatly enlarged the dimensions of this monograph.

In using the *Regesta Imperii*, two principles determined the inclusion of manors as fisc land. If the king made a gift of a certain manor to someone, it was assumed that that manor belonged to the royal domain before it passed out of the king's hands. Or, if the king stayed at a manor, that manor, unless known to be otherwise,

³ Jules Quicherat, *De la Formation française des anciens noms de lieu*. See review of this work in *Journal des Savants*, 1869, 265 f.

⁴ Cf. Hans Dachs, "Sippensiedlung oder Grundherrschaft?" *Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins*, 1930, 104, with bibliography. See also Beschorner, "Bericht über die deutsche Flurnamenforschung," *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵ 1709. ⁶ Brussels, 1890. ⁷ Strassburg, 1895. ⁸ Weimar, 1909.

was included, on the assumption that the king stayed on his own lands wherever possible.⁹ In respect to some manors there is no way of determining.

Working on these assumptions, I have not included certain manors listed by Eggers and Darmstädter. For example, Eggers listed Nieder-Altaich.¹⁰ Charter no. 1428 in the *Regesta* indicates that certain lands were given to Nieder-Altaich.¹¹ But it is not clear that the property was fise land. Eggers, Steinitz, and Parisot have each introduced a charter which seems to me dubious. Eggers (p. 34, l. 2) lists Brechen, citing charter no. 206, which not only is a forgery, but also does not even mention Brechen; Steinitz (Tab. II) includes Mengen and Saulgau, citing charter no. 695. The *Regesta* states that a part of this charter is a forgery and another part genuine, the latter part including the place-names. Steinitz may be right in accepting these names, and it may be an excess of caution on my part to reject them, as I have done. Parisot (p. 486, n. 3) regards charter no. 761 (1714) as genuine, and so lists Mare-dret, which I have excluded.

Eggers cites charters for six manors not included in the *Regesta*. The first citation is *Regesta*, no. 390, a charter of Charlemagne in the year 802. The abstract in the *Regesta* does not mention the manors which Eggers lists (p. 40, l. 36); and here it seems to me that Eggers is wrong and the *Regesta* right. The second charter listed in Eggers (p. 32, ll. 45–47), which affects eleven localities, is *Regesta*, no. 768. The place-names are not given in the abstract in the *Regesta*, but the charter is printed in *Monumenta Boica*, XXVIII, 16. The same thing is true of *Regesta*, no. 1280 (1245), no. 1551 (1509), and no. 1749 (1702). These places are the following:

Gross Grabe and Kirch-Heiligen, included in charter no. 390 (383);¹² Brendlorenzen, Brenz, Gollhofen, Hammelburg, Herlheim, Homburg, Iphofen, Kirchheim, Mellrichstadt, Stöckenburg, and Willenzheim, included in charter no. 768 (743);¹³ Gielsdorf,

⁹ Cf. Calmette, *La Diplomatie carolingienne*, xii.

¹⁰ Eggers, *op. cit.*, p. 28, l. 35, citing the *Regesta Imperii*, charter no. 1428 (no. 1387 in the second edition).

¹¹ Cf. *Monumenta Boica*, XI:1177.

¹² Eggers, p. 40, l. 36.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 32, ll. 45–47.

included in charter no. 1280 (1245);¹⁴ Odensachsen, included in charter no. 1384 (1345);¹⁵ Bellstädt, Neustadt-am-Main, Suszra, and Wolferschwenden, included in charter no. 1551 (1509);¹⁶ Wrexen, included in charter no. 1749 (6).¹⁷

Eggers¹⁸ lists five manors involved in exchanges of lands in which one party to the transaction, at least, was a royal vassal. The abstract in the *Regesta* (no. 978) does not tell much about them. But if the full charter as published in *Monumenta Boica*, XXXI, 81, is referred to, it clearly shows that the lands listed were part of the *comitatus* of the royal vassal, and therefore almost certainly royal lands, since the term *comitatus*, in reference to lands, is almost a technical phrase to designate royal lands assigned to a count as recompense for his services. These lands were: Batzenhofen, Hürblingen, Pless, Rieden, and Sontheim, figuring in an exchange of lands between Tatto, Abbot of Kempten, and Count Waning. Similarly, we find Hammerstadt and Steinheim involved in an exchange of lands between Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda, and the royal vassal, Helmerich;¹⁹ Dertingen and Remlingen included in an exchange of lands between Rabanus Maurus and Count Boppo;²⁰ Jebnheim and Onolsweiler, in an exchange between Sigimar, Abbot of Murbach, and the royal vassal, Hagilo;²¹ Goddelsheim, exchanged between Bovo, Abbot of Neu-Korvey, and Count Odo.²² Darmstädter refers to Gabiano on the Po, citing *BM* 1621,²³ which is listed as a forgery by Mühlbacher, and to Gabiana, citing *BM* 231, which is similarly listed. Eggers also considers the monastery Santa Christina, near Costeolcone, fisc land, citing *BM* 738 and 1498. These charters simply confer immunity on the monastery, which is not conclusive evidence that the monastery belonged to the fisc.

No attempt has been made to indicate on the maps the areas known as *pagi*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20, l. 16. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34, l. 5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40, ll. 44–46. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36, l. 15.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 24, l. 3, citing *Regesta*, no. 978 (947).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41, l. 20, citing *Regesta*, no. 987 (956).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32, l. 22, *Regesta*, no. 996 (965).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21, l. 23, *Regesta*, no. 1356 (1317).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 36, l. 14, *Regesta*, no. 1793 (1745).

²³ These references by Darmstädter are to the second edition of *BM* (1889).

Both Eggers and the *Regesta*, for the most part, give the names of the manors in the modern form. This will explain why some of the names in the lists are in modern form only. Where the medieval form only was given, it has been necessary to identify the modern names so far as possible. Such identifications have been marked by the symbol (*) in the lists.

My indebtedness to my former student, Mrs. *Helen Robbins Bittermann*, who has been my research assistant in this work, to whose intelligence, patience, and assiduous application in preparation of the lists and making of the maps much of the virtue of this monograph is due, is so great that the liability is but poorly recompensed in this acknowledgment.

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THE MEROVINGIAN FISC*

HISTORICALLY, the earliest crown lands of the Merovingian kings were the crown lands of the Roman emperors in northern Gaul, collectively known as the fisc,¹ which reverted to Clovis with the conquest of the Franks (481–511). These were later increased by the Frankish conquest of the Visigothic and Burgundian kingdoms, whose kings had already appropriated unto themselves the former imperial crown lands within their realms.

We know the name and location of only one among what must have been hundreds, mayhap thousands, of the former imperial domains in Gaul. But one domain alone is proof of the continuity between the imperial and the Merovingian fisc. It is that of Tournai, which is mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum*; it passed to the Merovingian kings in the time of Clovis and fell to the Carolingians in 752 when the last Merovingian king was deposed.²

* On the Merovingian fisc see K. Plath, *Die Königspfalzen der Merovinger und Karolinger* (Leipzig, 1894); Marignan, *Etudes sur la civilisation française: la société mérovingienne* (Paris, 1899), 39, 49, 77 f.; G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* (ed. 3; Berlin, 1885, 8 vols.; hereinafter cited as *DVG*), II:137 f.; R. Sohm, *Die fränkische Reichs- und Gerichtsverfassung* (Weimar, 1877), 27. Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, lib. iv, lists 163 palatia of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings. Pirenne, "Le Fisc royal de Tournai," in *Mélanges Ferdinand Lot*, pp. 641–648, has traced the history of Tournai from the Roman Empire to the end of the ninth century. He shows that it was mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum*, passed to the Merovingian Franks in the time of Clovis, and fell to the Carolingians by the coup d'état of 752.

¹ Ulpian, *Digest*, XLIII, 8, 2, sec. 4: *Loca quae sunt in fiscu patrimonio. Ibid.*, XLIX, 8, 4: *Possessiones et domus ad fiscum pertineant. Ibid.*, I, 1, 38, sec. 1: *Praedia fiscu. . .*

² Pirenne, *op. cit.*, 648: "Le fisc royal de Tournai nous apparaît en dernière analyse comme la continuation directe d'un domaine de l'état Romain." Not only the physical origin, but also the institutional source of the fisc is to be found in the imperial domains of the Roman emperors in Gaul. Under the later Roman Empire a process was in operation which gradually divided these imperial domains into *villae*, which were very like the later manors without being manors. Though once questioned by the "German school" of historians, there is no doubt of actual continuity between the Roman system of domainial management and the manorial management of the Franks. Roman *sordida munera* were converted into manorial services; the Roman *tributum* passed into the medieval *census*. Roth (*Beneficialwesen*, 81 f.) has shown that many Roman provincial proprietors retained possession of their estates under Frankish rule. The Franks adopted and imitated the administrative practices which they found in Roman Gaul.

The villas of the Merovingian fisc were scattered everywhere like the "patrimonia sparsa per orbem" of the Roman emperors.³ But the densest agglomeration of them was in Austrasia.⁴ The royal estates in the same region were administratively associated together in a circumscription called "provincia," under the direction of a *domesticus villarum regalium*, and each separate *villa* was supervised by a *custos villae*.⁵ In localities where fisc lands were so few that agglomeration was inconvenient, they seem to have been supervised by the local count.⁶ The custodes, in turn, were under the supervision of the mayor of the palace, who had jurisdiction over the personnel of the palace and the fisc.⁷

It would be possible with some degree of accuracy to determine, in hectares or acres, the actual area of land which the Merovingian and Carolingian kings possessed, at least in France and Belgium. For, since the Gallo-Roman *fundus* for the most part remained and endured intact, many French villages still possess ancient Roman place-names. This permanence of the ancient Roman and Frankish agricultural units enables us to find the locale of many of those ancient communities under the modern state. The village boundaries of a French village today often correspond with the boundaries of the former Roman *fundus*. The history of the village is written in

³ Omnes villas nostras quae . . . —*Marculfi form.*, I, 39; cf. II, 52. Duces et domestici spatiosas subripiunt villas . . . —*Vita S. Eligii*, I, 17; cf. I, 15. Cf. Waitz, *DVG*, II, 1:181, n. 5.

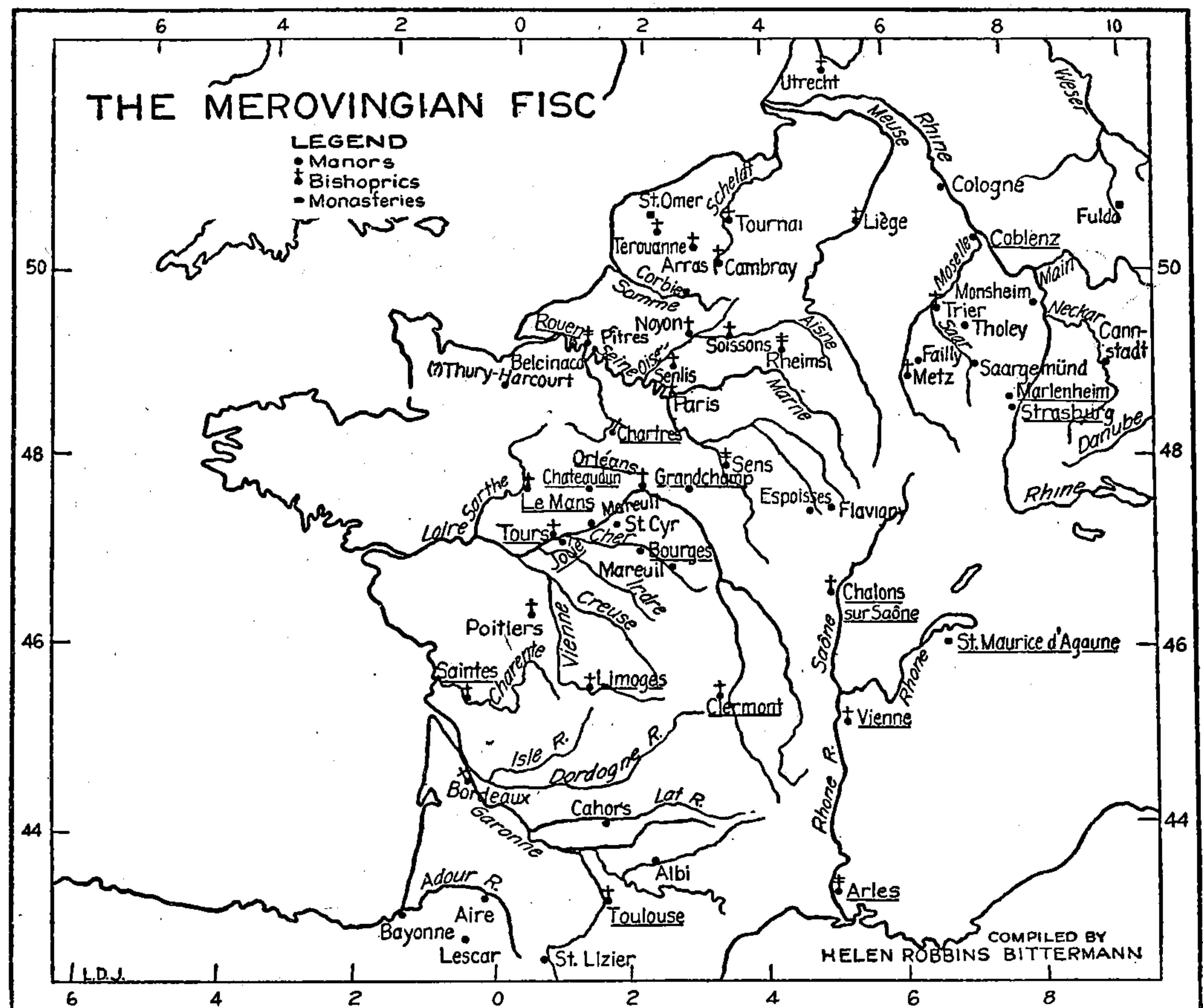
⁴ We have curious evidence of this congestion of the Merovingian crown lands in Austrasia in a versified *Cosmography* which some unknown writer in the seventh century compiled. The matter is chiefly derived from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, but the allusion to the *villae regales* of Gallia Belgica is original: "Gallia Belgica ubi sunt villae regales et venusti principes." See G. H. Pertz, "Ueber eine fränkische Kosmographie des siebenten Jahrhunderts," *Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1845:259.

⁵ Sex provinciae quas et tunc et nunc totidem agunt domestici.—*Vita Arnulfi Mettens. episcopi*, c. 4. Edita haec est confirmatio et directa Teutgislo domestico et custodi saltuum villarumque regalium.—*Chronicon Fontanellense*, c. 1. Naturally the act of donation was directed to the royal *domesticus* in the circuit concerned. The region of the lower Seine, on both banks, seems to have been one such province. . . . in ripam Sigonam usque oceanum mare per pagos et civitates fiscum inquirendum. . . . —Fredegar., *Chron.*, c. 24; cf. Lehuérou, *Histoire des institutions mérovingiennes* (Paris, 1843), 473.

⁶ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Dip. regum Francorum*, no. 54.

⁷ Greg. Tur., IX, 30; Fredegar., *Chron.*, c. 27; Fustel de Coulanges, *La Monarchie franque*, 175, n. 3. The Merovingian *palatia* or *Pfalzen* have been studied by Waitz, *DVG*, II, 1:179–182; Plath, *op. cit.*; Marignan, *La Civilisation mérovingienne*, I:39, 49, 77 f.; Brunner, *Die Landschenkungen der Merovinger und Agilolfinger* (1886).

the very soil. *Vicus, villa*, and parish become synonymous. The great domains of the later Roman Empire and the Merovingian period were the counterpart in area of the modern "rural communes" of France. In the feudal period they formed rural parishes and the parochial unit retained its integrity even after the manor was de-



Map 2.

composed. In 1790 the National Assembly erected every parish into a rural commune and consequently the commune today preserves the lines and dimensions of the Carolingian manor.⁸ The revenues arising from the royal domains were proprietary, not public, revenues.⁹ Individually, the crown lands were separate *villae*.

⁸ Lot, *Moyen Age*, XXXII:109 (janvier-avril 1921); Flach, *Les Origines de l'ancienne France*, II:51.

⁹ The word *publicus, publica, publicum*, which is frequent in Merovingian documents, does not signify "popular," but "royal." *Villa publica Bernacum* means the royal domain of Bernay; *Vernum palatium publicum* means the royal palace of Vern. A *vicus publicus* means one of the king's domains; this signification is found in the chroniclers. Thus the "possessions publicae" of the author of the *Vita S. Galli*, c. 21, is equivalent to the "possessions fiscales" of Gregory of Tours, IX, 19. Cf. Coulanges, *La Monarchie franque*, 118-119.

Besides the former imperial domains, the fisc was, on the one hand, constantly increased by purchase, exchange, escheat, and especially forfeiture and confiscation.¹⁰ On the other hand, the fisc was also constantly reduced by alienations from it, often areas of large extent, especially to the Church.¹¹ The abbey of Corbie was established upon a domain which had once pertained to Guntland, the mayor of the palace in Neustria, which at his death reverted to the fisc.¹² The prodigal waste of the crown lands under the Merovingian kings could end in nothing but bankruptcy of the crown, as it did.¹³

The heart of the Austrasian fisc was modern Belgium plus north-eastern France as far south as Sens and the Rhinlands below Cologne and Metz. In this area were 95 out of the 121 manors possessed by the Merovingians, not including 29 bishoprics and 17 monasteries. It is difficult, however, to form an accurate idea of the extent of the crown lands of the period, because of the fragmentary nature of Merovingian documents. But it seems that they were scattered over all Gaul except the region east of the Rhône River and south of the forty-fifth parallel, which was roughly the region of Provence.

Since the one purpose of investigation of the Merovingian fisc was to determine so far as possible how much of it was absorbed directly by the Carolingians, it is significant to note that seventy-four such direct transitions have been found. The manors which thus passed from the hands of the Merovingian kings to their successor are italicized in Appendixes I and II. It is of further significance that almost half of them rose to the rank of *palatia* under the Carolingians. As might be expected, by far the greater number

¹⁰ For instances see Greg. Tur., III, 14; V, 3, 25, 26, 28; VII, 29; VIII, 22, 38; X, 19. It should be understood that some of these citations from Gregory of Tours are open to doubt. Where they pertain to towns and bishoprics they may have been royal seizures made by reason of political conditions, and it may be unwarrantable to include such places in the fisc.

¹¹ Greg. Tur., V, 3; VIII, 21; IX, 38. Grants *ex fisco* are of frequent mention in the *Lives of the Saints*. See further, Lehuérou, *op. cit.*, I:337 f.; Coulanges, *Les Origines du système féodal*, 33-40; Lot, *St Wandrille*, 4 and 25. Of the liberality of Dagobert I, Fredegar., *Chron.*, IV, 79, writes: *Tantae opes ab eodem et villae et possessiones multa per plurima loca ibi sunt collatae, ut miraretur a plurimis.*

¹² Levillain, *L'Abbaye de Corbie*, 196.

¹³ Cf. Lavissee, "Etudes sur l'histoire d'Allemagne," *Revue des Deux Mondes*; (8 décembre) 1885, 15 *ad fin.*

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THE CAROLINGIAN FISC

IN 752 THE CAROLINGIANS added to their own house-lands the fisc of the Merovingian kings whom they supplanted. At this time, the domains around Tournai, Soissons, Paris, Rheims, Metz, Valenciennes, and Trier also fell to them. Since Bonnell has traced in detail the history of the original house lands of the Carolingians and determined the location of them,¹ it is not necessary for us here to do more than recapitulate his findings. He distinguished two main portions. The first was composed of the lands in Brabant, those around Utrecht and on the Betuwe, and those along the Meuse and in the Beesfre. The second group was composed of domains in the counties (*Gaue*) of Condroz and Famine, those in the Woëvre region, and those in the Rhine and Moselle valleys.

Most of this grand agglomeration of domains was the original heritage of the Carolingian house. They were the house lands which once belonged to Pepin the Old, to Pepin Heristal, to Karl Martel, and to Pepin the Short. Heristal was the favorite dwelling-place of Charlemagne before he removed to Aachen. He celebrated Easter there in 770, 771, 772, 773, 779, and 784; and Christmas in 772, 776, 777, 778, 779, and 783.²

Steinitz³ has endeavored to show that the body of the Carolingian fisc was in the form of a great trapezoid indicated on the map by drawing a line from Heristal, the most ancient seat of the Carolingian house, across to the Oise and down that river to its confluence with the Seine; up the Seine to the mouth of the Marne; up the Marne to Vitry-le-François, which is *nearly* the site of Ponthion, a villa of the dukes of Austrasia in Merovingian times; thence in a slightly northeasterly direction to the Moselle at Thionville (Die-

¹ *Die Anfänge des Karolingischen Hauses* (Berlin, 1866), 71–85; cf. Waitz, *DFG*, II:307 f., IV:140.

² L. Vanderkindere, *Introduction à l'histoire des institutions de la Belgique au moyen âge* (Brussels, 1890), 160, n. 6. See also Raoul Blanchard, *La Flandre* (Lille, 1906), 37 and 361.

³ "Die Organisation und Gruppierung der Krongüter unter Karl dem Grossen," *Vierteljahrsschrift f. Soz.- u. Wirt.-gesch.*, IX (1911), 4:485. Cf. A. Dopsch, *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit* (Weimar, 1912–1913; 2 vols.), I:169.

denhofen); down the Moselle to Coblenz; thence down the Rhine to Utrecht; and so back to Heristal again.

The results of the present research, however, have revealed that this area is too circumscribed. The body of the Carolingian fisc was both longer and broader than the area marked out by Steinitz, and practically corresponded with Old Austrasia—the territory lying between the middle and lower Rhine and the Seine, and extending from Frisia to Alsace. In certain denser regions the domains were very thick. These were the region between the Aisne, the Oise, the Seine, and the Marne; that around Paris; and that around Liège.

Delimited in strict cartographical definition, the central area of the Carolingian fisc formed a huge oblong bounded on the north by the $52^{\circ} 50'$ -parallel of latitude, on the east by the eleventh meridian east from Greenwich, on the south by the forty-seventh parallel, and on the west by the meridian of Greenwich which passes through the estuary of the Seine. In this area, which is both broader and longer than that indicated by Steinitz, the house lands of the Carolingians were so many, and sometimes so dense, that an enlarged map is required, in the present work, to indicate the data. Even then, two insets have had to be inserted to accommodate the densest of all aggregations of fiscal lands, namely, the Paris and Mainz-Worms clusters. One of the most striking results of this research has been the revelation of the very great importance of Paris in the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. In the complex around Paris only four fiscal possessions date back to Merovingian times. Twenty-one out of twenty-five were of Charlemagne's creation, and twelve of these were palatia—a fact remarkable in itself. Three more holdings were added by Louis the Pious, two of the three also being palatia. There are more palatia around Paris and between the Oise and the Marne than anywhere else on the map. In the other sector, around Mainz and Worms, although it comprised seventeen fisc lands (ten of which date from Charlemagne and seven from Louis the Pious), there are only five palatia: Kostheim, Ingelheim, Nierstein, Tribur and Frankfurt. Tribur was established by Louis the Pious.

The broad area between the Rhine and the Seine, and extending vertically from Basel to Frisia, was the "heart" of the Carolingian fisc. In Merovingian times this territory was known as Austrasia.

In the ninth century Nithard thrice calls it "France."⁴ And by him Aachen is most significantly denominated the capital.⁵ The strategic position of Aachen within this area is striking. It may be said to have been the apex of a triangle whose base-line lay between Worms-Mainz and Paris. This triangle, by situation, density of fisc lands within it, and mass weight must have exercised an enormous centripetal force in holding the Frankish Empire together. The preservation of its integrity was essential to the preservation of the unity of the empire. The dissolution of this central core (which was the heart of hearts of the empire)—or even its division—was certain to be fatal to the unity of the empire.

The pivotal position of these lands with respect to the whole empire can be seen at a glance, as well as their river system, and this position provided an extraordinary economic advantage.⁶ It is this situation which has caused M. Pirenne to say of these lands:

They were often the battlefield of Europe, but they served her often also as a field of social experience. On their soil, formed of alluvial deposits of rivers flowing alike from Germany and from France, a civilization developed in the course of centuries, of a unique nature, at once German and Roman,—in a word, a civilization which was literally not national, but European."⁷

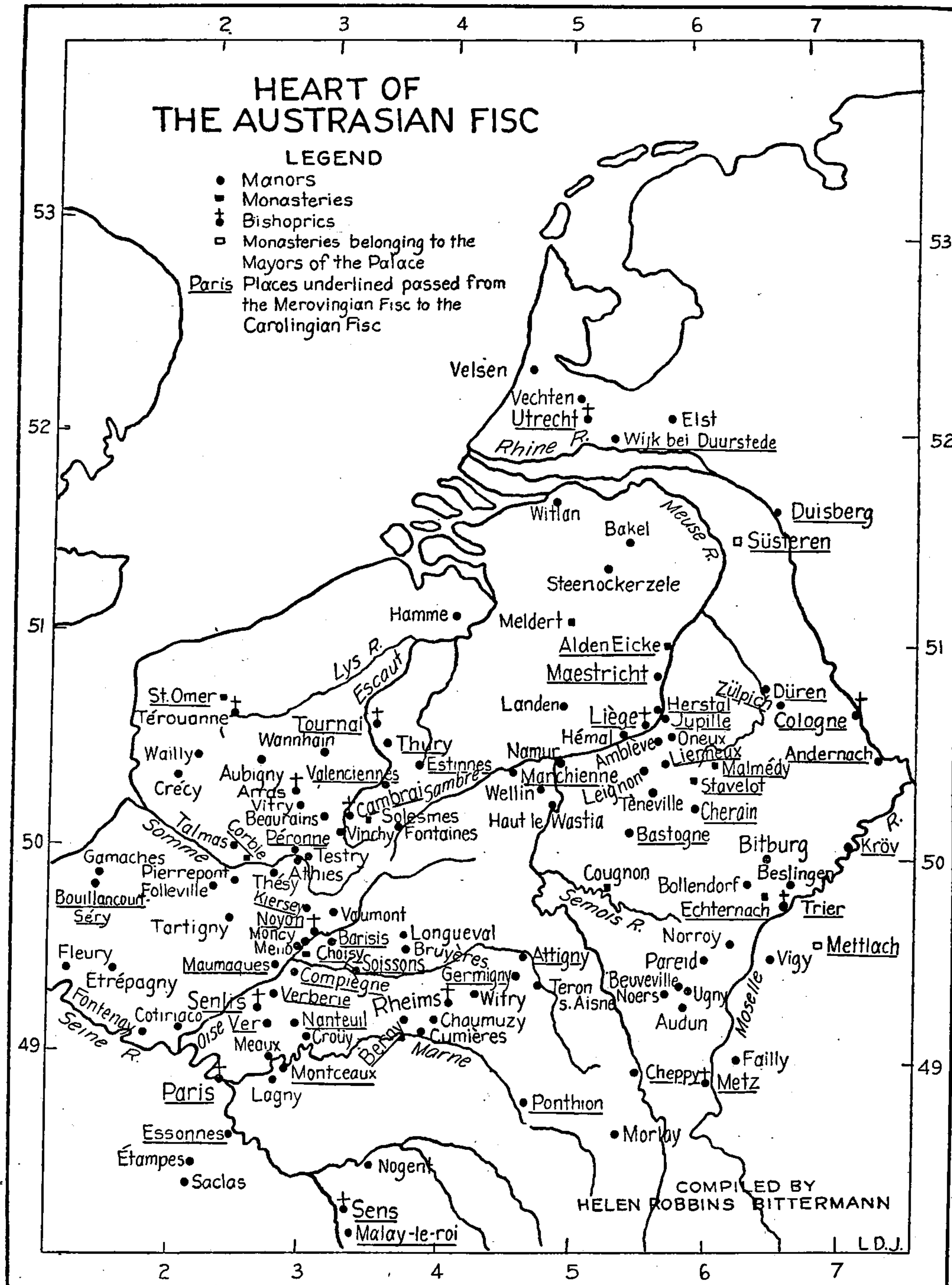
The central location of the Austrasian crown lands; the richness of the soil; the long, warm valleys of the Moselle and the Rhine, so well adapted to viticulture; the waterways of the Seine and the Meuse flanked by fertile soil; the metals of the Hunsdrück and the hills of what is now Lorraine; the network of rivers and streams which facilitated transportation to so great a degree—all these conditions conspired to make this favored region the heart of the Frankish Empire. In this old, naturally favored, and rich territory the most important ingredients of medieval civilization—Roman, German, nascent Romance, and ecclesiastical—were min-

⁴ *Historiarum*, I:5; II:1; IV:1.

⁵ "Aquis palatium quid tunc sedes prima Frantie."—Nithard, IV, 1. Of equal significance is the appellation of Erchempert in 843, who calls Francia the "kingdom of Aachen."—*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores* (hereinafter cited as *MGH SS*), III, 245. The Monk of St. Gall later in the century twice calls this midland territory "Francia antiqua."—*De gestis Karoli Magni*, I, 23; II, 11. See Lauer, "De la Signification du mot 'France' aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris, et de l'Île-de-France*, XLII (1915):5. In the tenth century we find the term "Francia" applied to Lorraine.—*Vita Johannis Gorz.*, 43; *MGH SS*, IV, 349.

⁶ H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (Brussels, 1902–1911), I:30–31.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, I:27.



Map 3

gled and commixed in admirable proportion. Within this territory the Carolingian kings lived, moved, and had their being unless called elsewhere by political exigency, such as a rebellion in Saxony, an invasion of the Avars on the far eastern frontier, or a call to Rome. Every *palatium*—and they swarmed in this territory—was a center of fiscal administration. It included within its jurisdiction a certain number of the lands of the fisc formed of several villages under the supervision of a common authority, or of isolated royal villas of which the palatium was the central point.⁸

Given time and tranquility, with competent rulers, a great state and a great civilization might here have come into being in middle Europe embodying by fusion the best elements in the German and the French peoples. It would have been neither a France nor a Germany. It would have been itself, with affiliations with each and antagonism toward neither. This region was the core of the Carolingian Empire and the home of all that was best and greatest in the civilization of the ninth century. *Here* were the favorite residences of Charlemagne; here converged the finest qualities of Latin and Germanic culture; here was the most active intellectual life; here the most intense expression of religious sentiment; here the most advanced economic development. But all this promise and potency was ruined, and the nebulous state which was here in the making was destroyed before it ever got beyond the stage of elementary formation. The red moon of a Walpurgis Night, harbinger of war, rose against the setting sun of Charlemagne and bathed the land in its bloody light. These rich conditions in central Europe excited the envious greed of the sons of Louis the Pious and of the feudality. With so rich and so concentrated a territory under the control of the Frankish kings, it is easy to see that therein lay their strength; and that in proportion as the fisc was donated or seized, the monarchy lost force and financial power at the same time that the grandees, lay and clerical, acquired it. So long as the strategic distribution and location of the fisc was maintained, the power of control was concentrated in the hands of the crown; and the power lasted as long as the integrity of the fisc was maintained. But once

⁸ Hincmar shows how the king rotated from domain to domain: “. . . omnes actores regis prescirent ubi vel ubi rex, illo vel illo tempore, tanto vel tanto spatio, manere debuisset, propter adductionem vel praeparationem.”—*De ordine palatii* (ed. M. Prou), c. 23.

that distribution was altered, feudal rebellion against the crown was made possible, the empire was wrenched asunder, and the dynasty of Charlemagne was ruined.

In addition to the Paris and Mainz-Worms clusters, which were like constellations in the galaxy of fiscal lands in the territory between the Rhine and the Seine, there were two other clusters in Germany. One of these was in *Hesse*, where Gotha and the abbeys of Fulda and *Hersfeld* were important points. The other is found around Lake Constance and between that body of water and the Alps. It is quite evident that Charlemagne was resolved to keep Italy in close connection with Germany and Frankish Gaul by assuring himself of control of the Alpine passes. Manors of the fisc are echelloned along every road leading into the Alpine passes, and these linked up with the Italian fisc.

The history of the Italian fisc is very obscure. The charters indicate 130 localities, but there is such poverty of descriptive sources that the history of the Italian fisc is difficult to ascertain. The base of it, of course, was the fisc of the Lombard kings before the Carolingian domination was established.⁹ The greatest cluster was south and east of Milan. As north of the Alps, so south, the manors were thick along the rivers. The map (map 1) shows, too, how important the Alpine passes were to the preservation of the integrity of the fisc. This is particularly true of the Great and Little St. Bernard and of the Mont Cenis. We find *gastaldi* in former Lombard Italy in the early Carolingian epoch, sometimes as public officials, more often as administrators of the royal domains,¹⁰ but they soon disappeared except in the margraviate of Friuli and the duchies of Benevento and Spoleto.¹¹ As receivers of the fisc they were replaced by *missi fiscalini*.¹² The existence of fiscal property in Central Italy, even in Rome, is undoubted, but the extent of it cannot be established. In Charlemagne's time the imperial property in the city of Rome and Roman territory annually furnished ten pounds of gold, one hundred pounds of silver. In 874 the Emperor

⁹ P. Darmstädter, *Der Bestand des Reichsguts in der Lombardei und Piemont (568-1250)* (Strassburg, 1895).

¹⁰ *Hlothar. imp. const. Olonn.* (825), c. 14.

¹¹ L. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae medii aevi* (Milan, 1738-1742; 6 vols.), I:533 D.

¹² *Capit. Ticinense*, ann. 801, c. 24.

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averaged 70 mansi, and Voulpaix-en-Laonnais, a gift of Charles the Bald, also averaged 70.¹⁷

But how large were these and other domains? On the one hand, Maurer,¹⁸ Inama-Sternegg,¹⁹ Lamprecht,²⁰ and others have contended that the *fisci*, *villae*, *curtes*, and other units of land were farms of great size. On the other hand, Dopsch²¹ has gone to the other extreme and contends that the blocks of fisc land were usually not large, but small. Baist takes a middle position, saying that not all the farms of the fisc were "grosses fermes," but that some were small.²²

The most exhaustive examination of the evidence made in late years is that made by Ferdinand Lot.²³ He has concluded that these "grosses fermes" roughly corresponded to a modern French rural commune. Each domain, therefore, corresponded, not to a farm, but to a *great* farm²⁴ averaging apparently between from 600 to 800 hectares, on the one extreme, to 4000 hectares and more, on the other. This would seem to be the logical conclusion since it is admitted that "grand" proprietorship was the prevailing form of tenure in Merovingian times,²⁵ and that it certainly continued down to the ninth century, at least so far as monastic lands were concerned.²⁶ On each of these large farms, then, one would find a vil-

¹⁷ It should be understood that any attempt to form an average from such slight evidence must be accepted with great reservation.

¹⁸ *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung* (Erlangen, 1862).

¹⁹ *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte bis zum Schluss der Karolinger-periode* (ed. 2; Leipzig, 1909).

²⁰ *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1886).

²¹ *Op. cit.*, I:135-137.

²² "Zur Interpretation der Brevium exemple und des Capitulare de Villis," *Vierteljahrsschrift f. Soz.- u. Wirt.-gesch.*, XII:33. He points out that the extent of land proposed by Dopsch would hardly support the necessary number of animals to feed the train of officials and followers accompanying the king on his tours. L. Halphen (*Etudes critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne*, 249-252) has also expressed his astonishment that Dopsch has made his estimates so small.

²³ "La Grandeur des fisci à l'époque carolingienne," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, II (1924):51-57.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁵ H. van Werveke, "Les Grands Propriétaires en Flandre au VII^e et au VIII^e siècle," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, II (1923):321; A. Bequet, "Les Grands Domaines et les villes de l'Entre-Sambre et Meuse sous l'Empire Romain," *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur*, XX (1893):9-26; Halphen, *op. cit.*, 266.

²⁶ Halphen, *op. cit.*, 257.

lage—sometimes several villages—composed of a cluster of dwellings. There were also small detached parcels of land—*curtes*, *casae*, and *hospitia*—the two former being the débris of former large farms, the latter patches of clearing.²⁷

We may picture the Carolingian rulers as the wealthiest landowners in their own right in western Europe. They possessed thousands upon thousands of acres of rich, fertile land. This was not contiguous territory, but was scattered throughout France, Germany, Italy, even Spain, in large blocks of domains, the greatest block being situated in old Austrasia.

In the foregoing discussion of the fisc, we have been dealing entirely with lands held immediately and solely by the crown, and managed either directly by its agents or farmed out in some form.²⁸ But there were other lands not pertaining directly to the fisc which were more or less assimilated to it. These were the “royal” abbeys, bishoprics, and comital fiscal land.

The “royal” abbeys owed their origin to a social phenomenon beginning in the seventh century, of which advantage was taken by the Merovingian kings and later by the Carolingians, both as mayors and as kings. In the middle and the latter half of that century, a sudden accentuation in piety became apparent. Donations abounded. Numerous monasteries were founded, which grew in power as the influence of Irish monachism in Gaul was tempered by that of the Benedictines, whose rule, although milder than that of the Irish, determined the duties of the abbot in a more precise fashion.²⁹ The foundation of a monastery became not only an act

²⁷ E. Pouillet, *Origines, développements et transformations des institutions dans les anciens Pays-Bas* (Louvain, 1882; 2 vols.), I, sec. 152. When the property was composed of several manors, the seigneurial manse (*manse domaine*) was called a *mansus indominicatus*. It was on the seigneurial manor that the *sala* or manor house was found, along with the brewery, mill, granaries, etc. (*ibid.*, sec. 154). As to management, it may be noted that part of the fisc was administered directly under fiscal agents and part distributed in the form of tenures. The serfs on the former were known as *fiscalini*.—*Ibid.*, sec. 246.

²⁸ For a discussion of the probable average size of a tenant's holding see Lot, *Revue de droit française et étranger*, sec. 4 (1925), p. 19 and *passim*.

²⁹ Vanderkindere, *op. cit.*, 278. Also Waitz, *DVG*, IV:163, n. 2, wherein he gives the following quotation from *Vita Walae*, II, 4: “Monasterium interea . . . ostendit et enumeravit pericula, cum jam tunc temporis nonnulla jam a laicis tenebantur, etsi hodie multo minus inveniantur quae de proprio regantur ordine, sed sunt pro poena peccati omnia pene mundi usibus et studiis occupata vel depravata; quid, cum bene coepisset rex de his, in fine crebrescentibus malis a saecularibus sunt pervasa.”

of piety but also a good investment.³⁰ The practice of patronage reserved to the patron the right of advowson and thus the founder and his heirs not only controlled the management of the monastery founded by them, but touched its revenues also. It is not remarkable that the Frankish kings founded a large number of monasteries and abbeys.

But not content with using the monastery as a means of personal investment, the Frankish kings had no hesitation in bestowing them as gifts in order to build up their prestige. It will be remembered, for example, how Louis the Pious heaped riches on Einhard in the form of the abbeys of St. Pierre at Mont Blandin, St. Bavon in Ghent, St. Servais at Maastricht, St. Wandrille, St. Cloud, and St. John at Pavia.³¹ Indeed, the practice of using abbey lands as gifts became so marked that, under the later Carolingians, they were treated as crown properties and assimilated to the fisc.³² Thus they must be reckoned with in any discussion of the fisc.³³

Nor were bishoprics exempt from the Carolingian policy of secularization. In 732 Karl Martel had seized episcopal lands and distributed them among the feudality as benefices; and the office of bishop was included in the patronage of the king, its beneficed lands supplying the crown with large revenues.³⁴ The ecclesiastical

³⁰ In the late ninth century there were some abbeys which were veritable private proprietorships, as St. Germain d'Auxerre, of the Welfs, and St. Martin of Tours, of the Robertinians.—E. Bourgeois, *Le Capitulaire de Kiersy-sur-Oise* (877) (Paris, 1885), 129–130.

³¹ The Monk of St. Gall, evidently to criticize the current practice, pretended that Charlemagne disliked to grant benefices to counts and bishops because of the power given them by the possession of property rights in abbey or church. Compare the words which the Monk puts into the mouth of the Frankish king: "Cum illo fisco vel curte, illa abbatiola vel aeclesia, aequè bonum vel meliorem vassallum quam ille comes, aut episcopus sit fidelem mihi facio."—I:13, in *MGH SS*, II, 736. See also P. Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1902), 126, n. 5.

³² "Unter den spätern Karolingern sind die Klöster nicht viel anders denn als grosse Güter behandelt, welche der König bald einem vornehmen Weltlichen übertrug bald auch sich selber vorbehielt."—Waitz, *DVG*, IV:156; see also III:433–436. The Council of Aachen in 817 specified fourteen abbeys which were to perform military service (cf. the "strenui abbates" of St. Bertin, 836, p. 14) and contribute *donata*; sixteen were to be charged with gifts only.

³³ "Monasterium . . . regale vel fiscale vocatur eo quod in regali potestate."—Flodoard, *Hist. rem eccles.*, III:46.

³⁴ Ficker, "Eigenthum des Reichs am Reichs Kronengute," *Göttinger gelehrter Anzeiger*, 1873:49 f.; Imbart de la Tour, "Les Paroisses rurales dans l'ancienne France," *Revue Historique*, LXVII:1 ff.; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:157–164; E. L. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches* (ed. 2; Leipzig, 1887–1888, 3 vols.), I:181.

organism was absorbed by the political organism; the Church became a part of feudal society. It was in vain that certain high churchmen like Agobard of Lyons, and various councils like those of Attigny (822), Compiègne (823), Paris (829), and Aachen (836) protested against the condition and the practice. It was in vain even that the kings of the ninth century attempted to stop the process.³⁵ For, in that period, the practice introduced by Martel became general, and the tendency developed for the lands formerly held as benefices to become hereditary.³⁶ The appetite given the feudality by Karl Martel waxed continuously. The example of 732 lived in the memory of the nobles.³⁷ As a result, in the partitions of the ninth century, not only crown lands and "royal" abbeys were subjected to partition, but also the royally controlled bishoprics, with their rural dependencies.³⁸

Finally, there were lands in the counties for support of the comital administration, which were assimilated to the fisc.³⁹ They were divided into three categories: (1) the *villae nostrae*, which were exploited for the benefit of the king; (2) the *villae vassalorum*, or benefices; (3) lands for the direct support of the count.⁴⁰ The total number of counties was about 110.⁴¹

So, to sum up, we see that the great proprietary wealth of Charlemagne, added to his assimilation of the revenue of bishoprics, monasteries, and counties with the revenues of the fisc, gave the crown control of an enormous amount of wealth and patronage. It

³⁵ De praecariis quoque, quae a rectoribus ecclesiarum in rationabeliter fiebant, suosque successores poena gravi obligabant, ut facta ipsius nequiret dissolvere, praecipimus, ut nemo successor in antecessoris sui poena statuta sit obligatus; sed suae providentiae sit concessum, ut, si antecessor eius res ecclesiae in rationabiliter distribuit, ab eo ad ius ecclesiae tenendae revocentur.—*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges* (hereinafter cited as *MGH LL*), II, Pt. I, no. 163, p. 327, art. 10 (825).

³⁶ Halphen, *op. cit.*, 267–268, and 268, n. 5.

³⁷ ". . . laici homines volebant dividere episcopia et monasteria ad illorum opus et non remansisset ulli episcopo nec abbati nec abbatissae nisi tantum ut velut canonici et monachi viverent."—L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs unter König Pippin* (Leipzig, 1871), 484; *Capit. de just. fac.*, c. 7; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:152, n. 4.

³⁸ Imbart de la Tour, "Les Paroisses rurales dans l'ancienne France," *Revue Historique*, LXVIII:29.

³⁹ Waitz, *DVG*, IV:165, was the first to demonstrate this fact. Cf. Coulanges, *La Monarchie franque*, 433–434.

⁴⁰ *Edictum Pistense*, art. 8 (*MGH LL*, II, Pt. II, p. 314, l. 20); *Divisio regni Hlotharii* (*MGH LL*, II, Pt. II, p. 194, l. 15 and l. 20).

⁴¹ Coulanges, *op. cit.*, 418.

was a colossal fortune worth fighting for, a fact which Charlemagne clearly perceived.⁴² Alive to the importance of preserving the integrity of the crown lands, he rarely alienated any of them,⁴³ except estates beyond the Rhine, presumably in order not to break up the family complex in Austrasia—a disaster reserved for his son and grandsons.⁴⁴ Charlemagne's alienations of the fisc total 48 in all; 46 of these were between the years 771 and 797.

When Charlemagne thought that he was about to die, in 806, he partitioned the empire among his three sons. Pepin was given Italy and Bavaria; Louis, Aquitaine, Gascony, the Spanish March, and part of Burgundy; Charles, the eldest son, received all northern and eastern Gaul, all Austrasia, all Germany (minus Bavaria), and the residue of Burgundy not given to Louis. Nothing is said in the act about the crown lands. But it is evident that Charles got all the fisc between the Loire and the Elbe, between the Alps and Frisia, that is to say, the great central block upon which the empire was piersed as upon a cornerstone. The implication is, too, that Charles retained possession of the crown lands in his brothers' kingdoms, and that they had to support themselves from *dona*, episcopal and abbatial revenues, fees arising from administration, court fines, etc. The care which Charlemagne took to preserve the power of the house and the integrity of the fisc is also shown in the cautious distribution of control of the passes of the Alps among the three brothers. Pepin got the Brenner Pass connecting Lombardy and Bavaria; Louis got the Mont Cenis Pass; all the others, of which the Great and Little St. Bernard were of most importance as binding links between Italy and central Europe, were in the control of the eldest son.

⁴² What could happen to the fisc by way of spoliation, even in Charlemagne's lifetime, is shown by the account in *Vita Hludowici*, c. 6 (*MGH SS*, II, 610), of the depredations committed in Ludwig the Pious's toy kingdom of Aquitaine. The date is 794. ". . . didicit . . . quia privatis studens, quisque primorum negligens autem publicorum, perversa vice, dum publica vertuntur in privata, nomine tenus dominus, factus sit pene omnium indignus . . . cavens ne filii dilectio apud optimates aliquam patereretur jacturam. . . . [Carolus] misit illi misso suos, Wilibertum Totomagae postea urbis archiepiscopum et Richardum comitem, villarum suarum provisorem praecipiens ut villae quae eatenus usui servierant regio, obsequio restituerentur publico; quod et factum est."

⁴³ Out of the heart of the fisc, what Dopsch calls "the old Königsgut," he made only nine grants.—Dopsch, *op. cit.*, I:151, and n. 11. Cf. I:155.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Only one-eighth of the places organized after the *Capitulare de villis* were found east of the Rhine. But see Vanderkindere, *op. cit.*, 178.

THE PLUNDERING OF THE FISC IN THE
REIGN OF LOUIS THE PIOUS AND
DURING THE CIVIL WARS
(A.D. 814—A.D. 840)

THE MOST IMPORTANT HISTORICAL FACT of the ninth century was the break-up of the Frankish Empire. It may seem at first glance as though the empire fell to pieces because of its own vast weight and width; that the natural cleavage of countries and peoples “merely agglutinated by pressure”¹ accounts for its rupture; that the empire was an enormous agglomeration² against the union of which the rising sentiment of races and nations protested and rebelled;³ that this centrifugal tendency was aided and abetted by the variety of languages, laws, and institutions which prevailed in Europe at this time.⁴

These theories are interesting, but hardly tenable. For racial and national feeling did not exist in the ninth century—indeed, did not become manifest for many centuries.⁵ In the period under discussion, therefore, neither racial nor national antagonism can be offered as an explanation of the disruption of the empire. The primary cause of the destruction of Charlemagne’s empire was feudalism, functioning in terms of economic self-interest. The great landed aristocracy of the empire—lay and clerical, nobles, bishops, abbots—rose in the ninth century and despoiled the monarchy of its landed resources, and, with them, of its political power and ca-

¹ Palgrave, *History of England and Normandy* (London, 1878; 5 vols.), I:136.

² Waitz, *DVG*, III:278–279; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:119.

³ Waitz, *DVG*, IV:650 ff.; E. Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern* (Stuttgart, 1896), II, 6:447 (a. 843), and III, 4:545 (a. 870); Meyer von Knonau, *Ueber Nithards vier Bücher Geschichten* (Leipzig, 1866), 67, 146 ff.

⁴ A. Kleinclausz, *L’Empire Carolingien: ses origines et ses transformations* (Paris, 1902), 275, n. 1; 268, n. 2; 324, n. 2.

⁵ See the cogent remarks of Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, 338, n. 1, with bib., and compare Coulanges, “Les Transformations de la royauté pendant l’époque carolingienne,” *Histoire des institutions politiques de l’ancienne France* (Paris, 1892; 6 vols.), VI:617–621, 630, 631, 633, 634–635, 639; Guérard, in *Bull. Soc. de l’hist. de France* (1835).

capacity to rule. To put this thesis more succinctly, the real struggle of the sons of Louis the Pious was for the possession of as great a number of the crown lands⁶ as possible; and the partitions of the ninth century were primarily and fundamentally partitions of the Carolingian fisc. Everything in the history of the period was conditioned by this fundamental issue.

Of the feudal nature of Charlemagne's empire there can be small doubt.⁷ Already in his lifetime the symptoms of decomposition were observable, and behind the imposing imperial façade a new régime was in process of formation.⁸ The restoration of the empire in 800 was only a gesture. It neither preserved the unity of the West nor prevented the further development of already nascent feudalism.

In 817, Louis the Pious yielded to the urgency of his sons and the pressure of the feudality, and partitioned the Frankish Empire into three parts.⁹ Except in the novelty of associating his eldest son Lothar with himself as co-emperor, the partition of 817 was much like that of 806. Middle Europe, where the richest crown lands lay, and Italy, were under the joint rule of father and son. Nothing was said in the document about crown lands. It was precisely in this omission that the sons found a ground of grievance, as the future was to show. The emperor and his eldest son were joint proprietors of all the fisc everywhere. The younger sons were expected to live upon gifts, tributes, rents, office fees, court fines, and "such pre-

⁶ Collectively designated as the fisc. Among the Lombards, the fisc was called the *curtis regis*. After the Frankish conquest of the Lombards, the words *curia* and *curtis*, although of different origin, were gradually confounded in usage—as they were also in reality by the facts. About the year 1000 the glossators translated *curtis regis* of the Lombard laws, that is, the royal fisc, by *curia regis*.—Haulleville, *Histoire des communes lombardes*, I:461. In Carolingian Lombardy one finds the old Lombard gastaldi sometimes still functioning as public officials, but more often as administrators of the royal domains.—*Hlothar. imp. const. Olonn* (823), *Capitulare generale*, c. xiv. In Italy after the time of Louis II, the word *camera* was used as a synonym for *palatium*. Both terms were indicative of the fisc. As early as the beginning of the eleventh century we find *camera nostra* for the papal fisc or patrimony. Otto I used this same term at least for the imperial fisc in Italy.—*Privilegium* for Subiaco, ann. 967: "medietatem in praedicto monasterio, et medietat. Kamere nostrae." See Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, III:454, nn. 1, 2.

⁷ Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, 263–273; Coulanges, *Les Transformations*, IV:573–631; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:636 ff.

⁸ Halphen, *op. cit.*, 274.

⁹ *BM*, charter no. 650, p. 271; no. 735 c, p. 295. Text in *MGH, Cap. reg. Franc.* (Boretius and Krause, eds.), I:270–273.

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that clergy and nobles were not jealous of one another. On the contrary, each of these orders had its own ax to grind. On the one hand, some of the rapacious clergy in 822, when Louis the Pious suffered the humiliation at Attigny, demanded restoration of the ecclesiastical lands which Karl Martel had secularized¹³ and the demand was repeated in 829.¹⁴ On the other hand, some of the feudality planned further spoliation of Church lands by new "secularization."¹⁵

To the credit of the clergy, however, be it said that the Council of Paris in 828 went on record in protest against their wordly-minded colleagues and at the same time rapped the Crown for abuse of its prerogative over the Church:

Among the causes which [we read] have diverted priests and princes from the right path there is one which has been a long-standing evil. It is this: the royal power interferes in things ecclesiastical, and priests through negligence, ignorance and cupidity busy themselves with secular and worldly matters. These abuses have not been corrected by either the bishops or the ruler *for reasons which may be expressed in due time*. But a reform like this is beyond our feeble powers to perform because we have neither the necessary time *nor is the general body of the clergy willing to have them made*.¹⁶

This circumspect language shows that many of the high prelates were playing politics.

All hope of perpetuation of the settlement of 817 was canceled in 823 when the emperor's second wife, the fascinating and famous Judith Welf, gave birth to Charles the Bald. A new partition was

¹³ See Agobard, *Epp.*, 5 (ed. Hampe); *Epist. Karol. aevi*, III:166-167; Lesne, *La Propriété ecclésiastique*, 80, no. 4, cf. 272-273, 293, 296-297; *BM*, charters nos. 837-839.

¹⁴ *MGH LL*, I:350.

¹⁵ *Vita Walae*, c. iv. (825): . . . quia voluerit res ecclesiarum dividerentur, tantumque remaneret ecclesiis quantum ad modum sufficeret, cetara vero militiae seculi deservirent. Cf. Waitz, *DVG*, IV:162, n. 2.

The domains of the magnates were constantly developed in two different ways: either by annexation, sometimes peacefully, sometimes by violation of the lands of mean and small landholders who surrounded them; or by gifts of the king. In order to win or to hold the support of the nobles the king was compelled to make gifts out of the fisc to them, these parcels being given under terms of feudal obligation, and as often honored in the breach as in the observance. If the king was weak, or hard-pressed to find support, he was exploited by these hungry barons, and at the worst the lands of the fisc were wrenched from his possession by force and violently appropriated. [For examples see Wauters, *Table chronologique*, for years 832, 836, 839, 843, 845, 846, 852, 856, 868, 879, 881, 887, 895, 910, 922, 958, 963, 985, 987.]

¹⁶ *Decreta concil. Paris.*, c. xxvi (828). Italics mine.

inevitable and in 829 it was made.¹⁷ The imperial territory was now quartered instead of thirDED, entailing a proportional reduction of the lands and patronage of each of the sons, to their chagrin and that of their backers. Again nothing was said about the crown lands and they still, at least in theory, remained intact under the joint control of Louis the Pious and his eldest son. A clamor of protest arose. Lothar was jealous of divided rule with his father; Ludwig and Pepin chafed under the overbearing co-emperorsHIP of Lothar; Lothar was fearful lest his father would divide the crown lands among all four sons; Ludwig and Pepin were angry because he would not; all three elder brothers resented little Charles as an interloper and were determined that he should never have either kingdom or crown land; the Empress Judith was no less resolved that her son should have his rightful inheritance.¹⁸ Each principal in the issue had his feudal partisans, lay and clerical.¹⁹

The cleavage of parties at this time is interesting. The Carolingian princes, the grandsons of Karl Martel, the powerful abbots Wala and Adalhard, together with some of Charlemagne's natural sons, notably Hugh, Abbot of St. Quentin and Drogo, Bishop of Metz, old court officials of the great emperor, like Helisachar the chancellor, Hug, Count of Tours, former ambassador to Constantinople, Lambert and Matfried, Charlemagne's two best generals, and loyal bishops like Agobard of Lyons and Theodulphus of Orleans, all of whom feared disunion and civil war, formed a party of unity, and counseled against any division or any concession. The bishops' chief concern was over the insecurity of ecclesiastical lands.²⁰ Against this party was arrayed the feudo-clerical following of Ludwig and Pepin. Against these two factions was aligned the party of the Empress Judith, led by her favorite, Count Bernhard of Septimania. Finally, there was Lothar's party, the eldest son against father and brothers.²¹ The emperor Louis oscillated and vacillated between these factions, exiled Wala and his supporters, suffered bitter humiliation from the Lotharians, recalled the im-

¹⁷ *BM*, charter no. 868 a, p. 341; Nithard, *Hist.*, I, 3.

¹⁸ Nithard, *Hist.*, I, 3; *Vita Hlud.*, 43, 45.

¹⁹ *Vita Hlud.*, 44.

²⁰ *Vita Wala*, II, III; Roth, *op. cit.*, 343, n. 122.

²¹ *BM*, charter no. 874 a, pp. 344-346.

perialists, drove them out once more, and at last terminated his devious policy by fixing all his affection upon Charles the Bald, for whose advancement, under the dictation of the empress, he blunderingly labored for the rest of his reign.

In 831 the partition of Worms (829) was canceled and a new partition made,²² which never went into effect and is chiefly interesting as an evidence of Louis' blind devotion to his "Benjamin." The imperialists now gave up all hope of preserving the unity of the empire through Louis the Pious and fixed their policy upon Lothar in order to make him sole emperor and thus preserve the empire of the great Charles from disintegration. The better class of the bishops, and the pope, backed this policy; for the Church was alarmed lest the partition of the empire destroy the unity of the Church also. Agobard of Lyons voiced some of the prevailing discontent in a famous pamphlet, the *Murmuratio*, or *Complaint* (829), in which he said to the emperor:

You have upset everything. You have made the people ("fideles," the *feudal* people) justly to complain of all the various oaths which you have exacted. First a man is made to take an oath to the emperor-father; then he is made to take one to the emperor-son; then again, if he live in Germany or Gaul, to one or another of the king-sons; and now it is necessary to take one to a child.

Louis the Pious in these early years of his reign had alienated benefices and revenues of the crown arising from ecclesiastical property, and thus far had broken the integrity of the fisc. What was the emperor's real intention with regard to the fisc? Although no document that has been preserved gives us any information on this head, we yet know that his wish was to preserve the integrity of the crown lands at least until his death.²³ In practice, however, almost from the inception of his reign, Louis the Pious lavishly dissipated the fisc.²⁴

Even when merely king of Aquitaine, Louis the Pious had manifested a generosity which was already ruinous to his domain

²² *Ibid.*, charter no. 882, p. 351; *MGH, Cap. reg. Franc.* (Boretius and Krause, eds.), II, no. 194, p. 20.

²³ This information comes to us, apropos of the partition in 839, from the *Annales Bertiniani*: . . . ea conditione ut viventi fideliter obsequentes, eo decedente, memoratis portionibus potirentur.

²⁴ In tantum largus ut antea nec in antiquis libris, nec modernis temporibus, auditum est, ut villas regias quae erant sui et avi et tritavi fidelibus suis tradidit in possessionem sempiternam, et praecepta construxit et annuli sui impressione cum subscriptione manu propria roboravit.—Theganus, *De gestis Ludovici imperatoris*, 19. Cf. Dopsch, *op. cit.*, I:153, n. 7.

there,²⁵ and when he became emperor he continued this flabby policy, not only alienating the lands of the fisc in the form of benefices, but even giving them away as hereditary benefices, or in full and free proprietorship. Nithard justly and bitterly records that in alienating the fiscal lands Louis the Pious was primarily responsible for the dissolution of the Frankish Empire.²⁶

In 830 the alarm of the old Carolingian party lest the empire be dissolved, united with its hatred of the Empress Judith and her favorite, Bernhard of Septimania, became so great that the party resorted to forcible measures. The Empress Judith was imprisoned in a convent in Poitiers; Bernhard fled to his estates in the far south. The emperor was deposed. Lothar, who had married Hug's daughter, was now the hope of the imperialists. But the abruptness and violence of this coup d'état offended many. The clergy especially took umbrage because it had not been consulted by the conspirators. The result was a "loyalist" recovery. The emperor was restored; the empress was liberated; Bernhard came back to court. The tables were now turned. Wala was imprisoned in a cave on the shore of Lake Geneva, perhaps at Chillon, where, centuries later, the present hoary and historic castle arose; Lambert was sent on military service to the frontier; Helisachar was sent into the provinces on court circuit.²⁷

In the next year (831) the victorious faction jubilantly proceeded to a new partition at Diedenhofen,²⁸ which is chiefly interesting in that it shows the increasing demands of Charles the Bald; for Charles's portion was largely cut out of Lothar's part. Lothar was now deprived of all land north of the Alps, retaining only Italy; Louis the Pious alone possessed the imperial title; Ludwig got Bavaria; Pepin received Aquitaine; Charles got Allemania. The Frankish Empire was now divided into four parts instead of

²⁵ Qui cum . . . a patre dimitteretur, interrogatus ab eo est cur rex cum esset, tantae tenuitatis esset in re familiari, ut nec benedictionem quidem nisi ex postulato sibi offerre posset. Didicitque ab illo quia privatis studens quisque primorum . . . dum publica vertuntur in privata, nomine tenus Dominus, factus sit pene omnium indignus.—Astronomer, *Vita Hlud.*, 6.

²⁶ Hinc libertates, hinc publica in propriis usibus distribuere suasit, ac dum quod quique petebat, ut fieri, effecit, rempublicam penitus annullavit.—Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 6.

²⁷ *Annal. Bert.*, 830; *Annal. Mettens.*, 830; *Vita Hlud.*, 44; *Vita Walae*, II, 9; Nithard, *Hist.*, I, 4; *BM*, charter no. 874 a, pp. 344–346.

²⁸ *Vita Hlud.*, 46.

three as in 817. Nominally, the great block of the crown lands in Austrasia was in the emperor's hands. But it is manifest that this partition was incompatible with the preservation of the integrity of the fisc.²⁹

It is true that there is no direct evidence that the matter of the crown lands was an issue in the partition of 831 and 833. But in the light of the partitions of 837 and after, one may inversely argue that the question was a keen one in 831. When the issue, which had long smouldered, flared into flame, it is clear that the question of the fisc had been a source of friction among the other dissensions of the time. The sources, the *Vita Walae*, the *Epistulae* of Agobard of Lyons, and divers chronicles and annals indicate that men like Wala and his brother Adalhard, Agobard, Hildwin, Abbot of St. Denis, Helisachar, another great abbot, and others dreaded lest the lid be blown off and the forces of rebellion get the upper hand; hence their policy in not permitting the issue of the crown lands to flare out if it were possible, and at the same time of trying to preserve the unity of the empire.

The disaffection of all parties was greater than ever, and the ruling motive of every one of them seems to have been selfish interest.³⁰ But in spite of Lothar's notorious jealousy and selfishness, it is fair to say that the party around him—or at least many in that party—represented a principle. That principle was imperial unity. It was this sentiment which accounted for the wide ecclesiastical support of Lothar. It was the practical rejection in 831 of all purpose of preserving the unity of the Frankish Empire which drew Pope Gregory IV into the controversy on Lothar's side.

Louis the Pious by now was the creature of the empress and her cabal. Matters came to a head in the rebellion of 833, but the effusion of blood was prevented by the wholesale desertion of the emperor at the Lügenfeld, or Field of Lies. This event has a bad name in medieval history, and it must be admitted that legally those who deserted the emperor on that day were guilty both of military desertion (*herisliz*) and of their oath of loyalty as *fideles*. But this is a narrow view to take. The ninth century was a century of revolution. The old order of things was passing away and a new form

²⁹ Cf. Simson, *op. cit.*, I:388–392: Appendix on the partition of 831.

³⁰ Agobard, *Liber apol.*, iii.

of government, a new social structure, a new political philosophy, was slowly coming into being. The deposition of Louis the Pious in October of this year at Compiègne was irregular—as all political revolutions are—but it cannot justly be said that the action was devoid of principle. It was virtually an impeachment of the emperor.³¹

The triumph of the Lotharian party in 833 made a new partition inevitable, in which Ludwig and Pepin were to be rewarded for their support of Lothar by an increase in the size of their kingdoms.³² The division was still a purely territorial one, and nothing was yet said about the crown lands. But the question of the distribution of the fisc had already been dragged into the open in Italy, where Lothar's clerical partisans had begun to help themselves to them. Lothar could not well avoid rewarding his partisans and it was natural for him to endeavor to build up his party. His only means so to do were the crown lands in his possession, especially the ecclesiastical lands.³³

Lothar initiated the fatal policy of purchasing partisans by dis-

³¹ *MGH LL*, I, 366 f.: Acta impiae et nefandae exauctorationis Ludovici imperatoris. This conception clearly appears in the letter of Gregory IV condemning those bishops who still adhered to the emperor after the Lügenfeld.

"You say that the first division of the empire was changed because of the opportunity of circumstances. This is doubly false, first because it was not made from opportunity but from importunity, secondly, because this alteration of the partition settlement is the cause and source of all the troubles, dissensions, depredations, and calamities, without speaking of innumerable perjuries, and the upset of faith and public law."—J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus—Patres Latini* (Paris, 1850–1853), CIV:302.

Agobard of Lyons declared that the deposition was "indispensable," and this seems to have been the prevailing opinion among the clergy. Even the author of the *Vita Hlud.* (19) says that Louis the Pious was better fitted for a tonsure than for a crown: Circa divinum cultum et sancta ecclesiae exaltationem incitabatur animus ita ut non modo regem sed ipsius opera potius eum vociferarentur sacerdotem. Among the fideles the "contradictory and confusing oaths" resulting from the various partitions were a serious grievance. Cf. Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, 338, n. 1.

Einhard, *Epp.*, nos. 31 and 34, written in 833, are illuminating in this respect. In the former he writes to a certain priest: "The change in things which has recently taken place has thrown us into such a state of confusion that we do not in the least know what we ought to do." On the state of opinion at this time, see Simson, *op. cit.*, II:80–83, 120–122.

³² *Vita Hlud.*, 48; *Annal. Bert.*, 833; *Annal. Fuld.*, 833; Waitz, *DVG*, IV: 670; Simson, *op. cit.*, I:391–392.

³³ Dopsch, *op. cit.*, I:166, and n. 3; Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, 94, n. 6; 95, n. 2; Parisot, *Le Royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*, 4, n. 2; 5, nn. 2–6; Simson, *op. cit.*, I:116, n. 1; cf. *BM*, charters nos. 1029, 1058, 1098; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:162, n. 2; F. Ughelli, *Italia sacra . . .*, II:247 (839).

tributing the domains he controlled among those who would support him.³⁴ Once started, the dissipation of the fisc was inevitable. The cupidity of both high clergy and feudality would see to that.³⁵ The cupidity of the aristocracy was asserted time and again, even by members of it. Hincmar of Rheims condemned the lay nobility for the same *cupiditas* that actuated himself and others of the clergy.³⁶ In the scramble for offices and honors at court, these place-hunters not only sought to recover what they had once possessed and of which they had been deprived in the vicissitudes of politics, but even claimed offices and honors which they had never had. This appetite, it must be kept in mind, fed upon the fisc, for offices and honors were supported by the fisc.³⁷ Hincmar of Rheims grimly described this struggle of the strong in the ninth century, in a letter to Eberhard, a counselor of the Emperor Lothar.³⁸

The dissolution of the fisc inevitably entailed the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire. "Eo tempore regnum Francorum infra

³⁴ Dividens se ab ejus avi nostri famulatione cunctaque beneficia et omnes proprietates, in Italiam profectus est.—*BM*, charter no. 704; E. Martène and U. Durand, *Ampliss. Coll.*, I:175; Suorum quoque complures non solum proprietatibus, verum etiam beneficiariis donavit honoribus.—*Annal. Bert.*, 839. Cf. Simson, *op. cit.*, II:116, n. 2.

Lambert of Lorraine, a descendant of Leodoin, one of the most celebrated families of Trier, during the conflict between Louis the Pious and his sons always supported Lothar (Nithard, I, c. iv). After the revolt in 835, Lothar was compelled to submit to his father and passed over the Alps to Italy. He took with him a number of faithful partisans; among them Count Richard, the uncle of Boso, who had lost his lands in the Ardennes but had acquired two *curtes* in the territory of Reggio, Mazentiaco, and Luzzara.—Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, 94, n. 6.

³⁵ Interea coeperunt regni primores qui cum tribus fratribus erant singillatim certare de honoribus, quique illorum unde majores et plures possent obtinere; et parvipendentes sacramenta de divisione regni facta, et plus certantes de illorum cupiditate quam de seniorum suorum et de sua salute, etc.—Hincmar, *Opera*, II:180; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:682, n. 2; Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, 339, n. 2.

³⁶ Instructio ad Lud. Balb., 6; Ad episcopos de institutione Carolomanni, 14.—Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, 225, col. 986, 1015. For an illustration of seignorial rapine of the fisc see the history of the Villa Noviliacum, as related by Hincmar, *De villa Noviliaco*.—Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, 225, col. 1124.

³⁷ Cupiunt autem omnes, et unusquisque eorum dum tempus est, ad ea quae habuit, ocius pertingere, vel quae nondum habuit acquirere. Gaudent vero pro eis de honoribus avidius et exsultant, quia sua omnes quaerunt, pauci quae Dei sunt.—*Vita Walae*, II, 18. Nithard, *Hist.*, I, 4, gives the names of some of these.

³⁸ . . . nature humana, testante Job XIV, nunquam in eodem statu permanet et quia in isto saeculo quacumque praeditus quis potestate contra fluminis tractum navigat; qua de re aut viriliter navigans superiora petet, aut remissis manibus habet ad ima relabi.—Flodoard, *Hist. rem. eccles.*, III:26.

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health,⁴³ feigned affection for his father and by a process of wheedling and cajoling entered once more into the emperor's favor. The result was that a new partition was planned by which the whole empire except Bavaria was to be equally divided between Lothar and Charles on condition that the elder brother become the protector of the younger. After the death of his father, Lothar was to have the imperial title. This partition is described with minuteness by Nithard and the Annalist of St. Bertin,⁴⁴ evidently from the document itself or a transcript of it, and the division of territory can be readily understood. Tracing it from north to south; the line followed the Meuse to its source (but included Toul on the Meuse in the western kingdom by a loop), crossed Burgundy diagonally to Lake Geneva (throwing the counties of Langres, Châlons, Lyon, and Geneva to the western kingdom), and thence reached the Mediterranean along the crest of the Alps. The Alpine passes were so distributed "ut alter ab altero protegeretur."

The contemplated partition was evidently designed to be systematically done, for the commissioners, we are informed, had a "descriptio" in their hands, which (as is shown in the note) was not a map, but an inventory or census of the crown lands.⁴⁵ When once the principle of equal division between Lothar and Charles

⁴³ . . . ingruente senili aetate et propter varias afflictiones poene decrepita imminente.—Nithard, *Hist.*, I, 6.

⁴⁴ The author of the *Vita Hlud.*, 60, indicates the partition in general words, but the *Annal. Bert.*, ann. 839, gives a fragment which seems to bear an official character.

⁴⁵ . . . in superque descriptione regni sui aequalibus pene partibus discreta.—Nithard, *Hist.*, I, 7; . . . descriptione regni sui aequalibus pene partibus discreta.—*Annal. Bert.*, 839. The assumption that the word "descriptio" implied a map was made by Simson, *op. cit.*, II:207, n. 3—"Man dürfte hierbei an einen förmlichen Plan, eine Karte, die Lothar vorgelegt wurde, zu denken haben"—and this opinion has been followed by every subsequent historian. But it was not a map, but an inventory or survey of the properties concerned. So again in the *Annals of St. Bertin*, 842, we find the word "descriptio" employed. The use of the word "imbreviaretur" points to this interpretation that inventories and not a map is meant. (Cf. *Cap. de just. fac.*, c. 7.) The other terms used in the context, like "aeque," "aequaliter," "pari sorte," "aequa portione," "aequa lance," may quite as appropriately be understood to have reference to values as to areas. If the partitions were made upon a mere territorial basis and not upon a distribution of the crown lands, there would have been no point in making these elaborate surveys which the missi were months in compiling. In this connection the observation made by Heyer, *De intestinis sub Ludovico Pio ejusque filiis in Francorum regno certaminibus* (Münster, 1858; pp. 4-15), is pertinent. He writes: "Unde cognoscitur, in his divisionibus minus magnitudinem atque ambitum esse spectatum, quam numerum episcopatum, abbatiarum, comitatum et praediorum."

was established, the former left the settlement of the details to two of his ministers, pleading "ignorance of the regions" concerned.⁴⁶ The fideles and partisans of the two brothers in times past seem to have been persuaded to acquiesce in this partition by the gift of parts of the fisc—presumably somewhat scattered—and benefice lands.⁴⁷ But the great body of the fisc the emperor evidently intended to retain possession of until his decease.⁴⁸ Its destiny was adjourned until after the death of Louis the Pious in the following year (840).

⁴⁶ . . . ignorantia regionum.—Nithard, *ibid.*, I, 7: . . . se hanc divisionem nequaquam exsequi posse propter ignorantiam locorum.—*Vita Hlud.*, 60.

⁴⁷ . . . suorum quoque complures non solum proprietatibus, verum etiam beneficiis donavit honoribus.—*Annal. Bert.*, 839.

⁴⁸ . . . eo decedente memoratis portionibus potirentur.—*Ibid.*

THE BATTLE OF FONTENAY (A.D. 841) AND THE TREATY OF VERDUN (A.D. 843)

LOUIS THE PIOUS'S DEATH was the signal for a rising of all the partisans and a general call of the empire to arms. The situation was long ago aptly described:

The political relations and affairs of the empire had become so complicated and involved by the repeated partitions and by the transactions attendant upon the partitions—promises accepted and promises rescinded, charters granted and charters annulled—that Lothar, Ludwig, Charles, and Pepin had each a quarrel against one or the other or others of them. Humanly speaking no one could be decidedly blamed, no one clearly justified: every one amongst them could urge some grief which was more or less founded. None was absolutely in the right, none absolutely in the wrong, and yet each had some plausible reason to offer in support of his own claim or against the claim of his adversary.¹

Lothar immediately gave out that all benefice-holders everywhere would be undisturbed in possession of their lands if they yielded allegiance to him.² Those who failed to espouse his cause, Lothar, so far as he could, deprived of the lands which his father had given them.³ But the baronage living between the Meuse and the Seine was, in the main, loyal to Charles.⁴ Lothar also at once began to recruit supporters in Italy.⁵

Many men, either out of desire to acquire more or in fear of losing what they already possessed, commended themselves to him.⁶ As for those who were vassals of his brothers, they were in the position of losing their benefices or taking oath to Lothar.⁷ Lothar

¹ Palgrave, *History of England and Normandy*, I:310.

² Nithard, *Hist.*, II, i.: Audiens Lodharius patrem suum obisse, confestim nuntios ubique, presertim per totam Franciam mittit . . . promittens unicuique honores a patre concessos se concedere et eosdem augere velle.

"France" at this time meant the territory north of the Seine, and extending almost to the Rhine. Cf. Longnon, *Atlas historique*, pt. 1, p. 48.

³ Insuper etiam quoniam ad ipsum se vertere frustrata fide noluerunt, honoribus quos pater illis dederat, privavit.—Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 2.

⁴ Interea omnes inter Mosam et Sequanam degentes ad Karolum miserunt, mandantes ut antequam a Lothario praeoccuparentur veniret, adventum ejus se praestolaturos promittentes.—Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 2.

⁵ *BM*, lxiii and no. 444. ⁶ Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 2.

⁷ Elegerunt potius fidem omittere, juramenta contemnere, quam facultates relinquere.—*Ibid.*, II, 3.

wanted to be emperor *and* sole chief of the fideles of the empire and to dispose of all the patronage himself. His brothers wanted the fideles to be parceled out, Charles complaining that Lothar was "suos sibi subtrahens."⁸ Each of the brothers hastened to attach fideles to himself either by force, or by gift of benefices, or by other private arrangement. The timorous hastened to declare themselves one way or another. The bold and prudent hung back to await developments and find in what quarter the wind would set.⁹

But a certain form of cleavage and alignment is to be perceived. The two younger brothers Ludwig and Charles and their factions tended to unite together against the oldest brother.¹⁰ For Lothar was the heir to the imperial authority, and at the same time was in possession of "Francia," which comprised the bulk of the fisc, and had the clearest claim to it.¹¹

Ludwig must then, as later, have been determined to acquire at least a part of the rich wine-lands along the left bank of the Rhine,¹² and no less insistent that no people of pure German speech should be separated from him.¹³ Charles the Bald, for his part, was as firmly resolved to get as large a share as possible of the thick cluster of domains of the Carolingian house lying between the Seine and the Meuse,¹⁴ to which he had a technical claim under the proposed, but never executed, partition of 839. Most of the nobles in this region were inclined toward him, but many of the Kohlenwald were

⁸ Nam suorum hominum sollicitos quosdam suo juri.—*Ibid.*, II, 8.

⁹ . . . qui adhuc timoris neutri se copulaverunt.—*Ibid.*, II, 9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, i.

¹¹ On the pretensions of Lothar (840) see Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:141–142, and *BM*, charter no. 1070, p. 434. Nithard, *Hist.*, III, 6, uses "sedes" for Aachen, the capital of "Francia." Cf. *idem*, IV, 1, the same usage, even more explicit. This means that Aachen was the center of the fisc. J. Depoin, *Études sur le Luxembourg à l'époque carolingienne* (Luxembourg, 1899), shows that Angilbert, father of Nithard, possessed the domain of Mersch, which Nithard inherited. Cf. *Revue Hist.*, XCVIII:220.

¹² . . . nonnullae civitates cum adjacentibus pagis trans Rhenum propter vini copiam.—Regino, *Chronicon*, 842.

¹³ *Annal. Bert.*, 838: Hlodowicus autem patris praesentia, secundum quod jussum fuerat sese offerre non distulit, habitaque secus quam oportuerat *confictione verborum*, quicquid ultra citraque Rhenum paterni juris usurpaverat, recipiente patre, amisit.—Simson, *op. cit.*, II; Waitz, *DVG*, V:121, n. 1, n. 5; cf. 97, n. 4, 178. This is the earliest intimation of the Oaths of Strassburg.

¹⁴ Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 1; Lupus de Fer., *Epp.*, xxvi; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:684, 685, n. i.

of dubious allegiance.¹⁵ Charles also suffered defections in the territory between the Seine and the Loire.¹⁶ But Lothar now refused to keep the agreement of Worms. Charles sent Count Nithard, the historian of the civil war, and Adalgarius to confer with Lothar.¹⁷ But Lothar was obdurate, and his conduct naturally drew Charles and Ludwig together against him.

The winter of 840–841 was spent by all three brothers in getting partisans.¹⁸ Yet there were some adherents in all three factions who acted from principle, and whose sincerity may not justly be impeached. Many of the clergy rose above party and self-interest, for they viewed with dismay the disruption of the empire, and especially the threatened division of dioceses in the “Middle Border.” Others who seem to have acted from conviction were Hilduin, Abbot of St. Denis, who, though a vassal of Charles, supported Lothar. Count Gerard of Paris, the brother of the historian Nithard, also adhered to Lothar. In Germany the poet Walafriid Strabo, and Rabanus Maurus, the famous Abbot of Fulda, refused to support Ludwig.¹⁹ Encouraged by these persons, many others seem to have followed their example.²⁰

When the spring of 841 opened it was evident that war was inevitable. Lothar’s tactics were to deceive by use of fair words and empty promises, and so to keep his brothers from effecting a union of their forces while he made his own preparations for war. He

¹⁵ Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 2; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:684, n. 4. On the Carbonaria Silva or Kohlenwald, see Kurth, “La Frontière linguistique en Belgique,” *Mém. de l’Acad. de Belg.*, XLVIII:545; Vander Linden, in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire*, II:203 (1923); Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 2, 3, 6, 10 has some interesting allusions to it.

¹⁶ Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 2.

¹⁸ Hludowicus autem et Karolus, alter ultra, alter citra Rhenum, partim vi, partim minis, partim honoribus, partim quibusdam conditionibus, omnes partium suarum sibi vel subdunt vel conciliant.—*Annal. Bert.*, 841; Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 2; Lotharius . . . partim minis, partim blanditiis.—Hincmar, “Instr. ad Hlud. Balb.,” iv; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXV, col. 985; Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, 335, n. 1; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:684, n. 4.

¹⁹ Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 3; Walafriid Strabo, *Carmina*; *MGH, Poetae Latini*, II, 413; Hrabanus Maurus, *Epp.*, xxviii; *MGH, Epp.*, V, 444.

²⁰ Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 4; *Annal. Fuld.*, 841; Ratpert, *Casus, S. Galli*, *MGH SS*, II, 67. Probably the numbers are exaggerated, however. Cf. Lupus de Fer., *Epp.*, no. 26; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:685, n. 1. In the south of France—Aquitaine, Septimania, and Provence—the feudality was prevailingly hostile to Charles and for that reason supported Lothar.

counted upon the Stellinga rebellion in Saxony²¹ and successful intrigue in Germany²² more than on force of arms, to check Ludwig. Popular feeling, at least in Old Franconia, was hostile to him.²³ In the western kingdom Lothar counted upon the disaffection of the feudality in Aquitaine, Provence, Septimania, and to some degree in Neustria, that is, the territory between the Seine and the Loire.²⁴

Believing that Ludwig's hands were tied, Lothar entered the western Frankish realm determined to crush his half-brother, though the force with him was small. He continued to carry on deceitful negotiations²⁵ purposely to protract things until his partisans from the south came up. In the meantime he partly crippled Charles by stripping the Seine of twenty-eight merchant barges which Charles had caused to be brought up river from Rouen²⁶ with the object of separating Neustria from Austrasia and Burgundy. His chagrin at the failure of this attempted coup was increased by the unexpected and fortunate arrival in Paris, where Charles made his headquarters, of the regalia—which had been sent to Toulouse for safe custody—brought by a force of loyal Southrons from the far south. Nithard expresses his astonishment that this little band was able to traverse so great a distance (*per tot terrarum spatia*) without molestation, and regarded the event as a good omen.²⁷

For all Lothar's designs failed. In spite of the fact that Count Adalbert had been sent by him into Rhaetia to intercept communication between Ludwig and Charles,²⁸ in the first week in May the German king's messengers got through the lines and arrived at

²¹ For this rebellion see my *Feudal Germany*, 173–176.

²² *Annal. Fuld.*, 840; *Annal. Bert.*, 841: . . . partim vi, partim minis, partim honoribus, partim quibusdam conditionibus. Lothar's strongest partisan was Adalbert, Count of Metz.

²³ This is said both by Rudolph of Fulda, the annalist, and by Nithard. The former was a partisan of Lothar, the latter of Charles.

²⁴ Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 3, *ad fin.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 5–6.

²⁶ For this and other evidence of the survival of trade in the depth of the ninth century see my *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages*, 260–266.

²⁷ Nithard, *Hist.*, II, 8.

²⁸ *Annal. Fuld.*, 841; *Annal. Bert.*, 841; Ratpert, *Casus, S. Galli*, vii; *MGH SS*, IX, 564.

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up the lands between the Seine and the Meuse which his father had given him years before, with all the crown lands therein (“a Mosa usque ad Sequanam”). Charles might have repudiated the terms with scorn; instead, he diplomatically replied that, since so many of the nobles in this region were loyal (?) to him, it would be shameful for him to cast them off.³² Further, Charles argued that as the winter was approaching it would be better for him to retain possession of what he had so long had, and in the spring, if a peace conference of few or many had failed, then the question might be fought out fairly in battle. Lothar scorned the terms and betook himself to Sens, where Pepin was tarrying, while Charles sent a courier to apprise Ludwig of the situation. The two chagrined allies vented their rage by devastating a wide range of country between Sens and Tours,³³ and here Pepin left Lothar to continue the struggle while he returned to Aquitaine. Left in the lurch, Lothar, learning that Ludwig was planning to force the crossing of the Rhine and about to invade the Middle Kingdom, hastened to Toul, and by way of Savern into Alsace. Was peace or war in the air?

Charles moved over into Burgundy near Auxerre (although Burgundy from the Jura to the Rhône backed Lothar) to meet Ludwig's forces on their way, and a union of the two armies was made. Lothar's plan to prevent it had failed. *Hesitation* ruined him; for he had feared to do battle with Charles until the arrival of Pepin II from Aquitaine, and now two armies were against him. With desperate subtlety he endeavored to spin out false negotiations until Pepin's coming. The two younger brothers, for their part, were not in a warlike mood. Charles was none too certain of his Neustrian vassals. In consequence, Ludwig and Charles were inclined to be pacific and to concede anything in reason to Lothar. Procrastination was Lothar's policy, speedy settlement that of his brothers. Each succeeding proposal they made was rejected. Lothar's camp was near Fontenay, that of Ludwig and Charles at Tauriac (Thury). Lothar obdurately insisted upon the status of 817,—his overlordship over his brothers,—a course in which the “unitarians” supported him. But precisely this was the chief

³² . . . tanta nobilitas illum secuta de his regionibus esset quos in sua fide deceptos esse minime oporteret.—*Ibid.*, III, 3.

³³ . . . maximo ambitu inaniter expleto.—*Ibid.*, III, 4.

ground of friction. On the day before St. John's Day (that is, on June 23, 841) Ludwig and Charles made their last offer of concession: each brother to have his own kingdom for himself; the two younger to be independent of Lothar's overlordship. It was the arrangement made at Worms in 839. As an inducement to Lothar, the two brothers offered to give up to him all the gold, camp furniture, finery, jewels, plate, etc. in their possession except their horses and arms.³⁴ In addition, Ludwig offered to renounce to Lothar his claim to any lands on the left bank of the Rhine and Charles in like manner offered to give up all claim to the Kohlenwald (that is, the Ardennes).³⁵ It was a generous and tempting offer. Lothar asked time to consider. But the request was a ruse. He wanted delay until Pepin's arrival. On the very day after (June 24), a force of Aquitanians arrived at Lothar's camp. The eldest brother now determined to stake everything on the fall of a die and refused the terms. Only battle could solve the *impasse*. The Gordian knot had to be cut by war.

The battle of Fontenay, fought on June 25, 841, was not a battle of nations, but a conflict of feudal partisans.³⁶ The contending forces were a mixture of races and inchoate national groups drawn from nearly the entire Frankish Empire. But no cleavage of geography, race, nation, blood, language, or tradition divided them.³⁷ Nithard the historian fought on Charles's side in the ranks of Count Adalhard. His brother Angelbert was under Lothar's standard. Lothar rode into battle standing in the saddle and swinging his great sword as he charged.³⁸

Three days of fasting, prayer, penance, and burial of the host of dead followed this tremendous engagement. That Fontenay was really a drawn battle³⁹ is shown by the fact that each army with-

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 9-10.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 10.

³⁶ Regino of Prüm was keen enough and candid enough to admit this important fact: In qua pugna ita Francorum vires adtenuatae sunt ac famosa virtus infirmata, ut non modo ad amplificandos regni terminos, verum etiam nec ad proprios tuendos in posterum sufficerent.—*Chron.*, 841.

³⁷ Non armis dissimiles, non habitu gentis distincti, solum castris obversi.—Ado, *Chron.*; *MGH SS*, II, 322. The author was Archbishop of Vienne and died in 874. It is a remarkable observation.

³⁸ Agnellus, *Liber pontif. eccles. Raven.*, 174.

³⁹ This is admitted by a contemporary: Et magna strage pugnatum et a neutra parte triumphatum.—*Annal. Lobienses*, *MGH SS*, II, 195.

drew from the field and no attempt was made to renew the conflict. Ludwig slowly took the road into Allemania (Alsace). Charles, with Count Adalhard and a small body of troops, made the circuit of Neustria in order to confirm or cow the wavering allegiance of the nobles there, swinging around in a circle which included Paris, Beauvais, Compiègne, Soissons, Rheims, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Langres. To his great anxiety the nobles in these regions—and the importance of the territory is manifest—“seeing the paucity of his following, under various pretexts cautiously held back.”⁴⁰ The chief comfort which Charles derived was from the flight of Ebbo, the calculating Archbishop of Rheims, who at this moment was giving his support to Lothar.⁴¹

In his desperate effort to increase his supporters Lothar went to Saxony in the winter, where he appealed to the revolted Saxon peasantry, offering, if we may trust the record, not only freedom to serfs and land to broken freemen, but even to allow them to revert to Wodenism again. But Lothar got nothing except condemnation from this course.^{41^a}

In February, 842, Ludwig and Charles met at Strassburg and perfected their alliance in the famous Oaths of Strassburg. The winter was a hard one.⁴² Anarchy and rapine ravaged the provinces.⁴³ The roads were infested with robbers. The feudality was divided into bitter factions.⁴⁴ Lothar's desperate efforts to buy supporters by lavish distribution of the crown lands failed.⁴⁵ In his extremity Lothar (at least the Fulda annalist and Nithard so

⁴⁰ *Franci vero eandem paucitatem quam et Aquitani spreverant spernentes, variis fictionibus illi se per praesens subdere distulerunt.*—Nithard, *Hist.*, III, 2.

⁴¹ Cf. *Ep. concil. tricass.*, *HF*, VII:591. Ebbo, who was displaced by Hincmar, distinguished himself by the profitable manner in which he could turn his coat. In the course of his slippery career he passed successively from Louis the Pious to Lothar, then to Ludwig the German—from Gaul to Lorraine and from Lorraine to Germany, acquiring abbeys and bishoprics at each change.

^{41^a} Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 2.

⁴² Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 6, *ad fin.*; *Chron. Fontanell.*, 842, *MGH SS*, II, 302; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:182, n. 2.

⁴³ Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 7; Flori diaconi Lugdun., *Querela de divisione imperii . . .*, *MGH, Poet. Lat.*, II, 559–564; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:183, nn. 2, 3. The church lands and sanctuaries were pillaged by organized bands of brigands.—Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 5; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:183, n. 4.

⁴⁴ Hincmar, *Instr. ad Hlud. Balb.*, c. 4; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:175, n. 68; 193, n. 33.

⁴⁵ Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 2 and 6; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:688, n. 3.

say) for a moment thought of giving up the struggle for the middle lands and retaining Italy.⁴⁶

In the spring (842) the two younger brothers met again at Worms, whence they sent messengers to Lothar at Diedenhofen, appointing a place of meeting for all three between Worms and Mainz.⁴⁷ But Lothar refused to come. After some hesitation Ludwig and Charles determined to force Lothar's hand and with their armies crossed the Moselle at Sinzig, dispersing the garrisons of Otgar, Archbishop of Mainz, of Count *Hatto* and Count *Heriold*, and others whom Lothar had posted there. From Sinzig they came to Aachen. Here a concourse of many bishops was gathered.⁴⁸ For the clergy, deeply alarmed at the condition of things—war, anarchy, brigandage—and perhaps above all fearing the destruction of the unity of the ecclesiastical system⁴⁹ unless peace were made soon, now took the initiative and proposed the appointment of a commission of thirty-six, twelve men for each brother, to make an economic survey of the imperial fisc, with attention to resources, fertility, population, and contiguity.⁵⁰

Lothar was now in desperate straits, so much so that he broke up Charlemagne's plate in the palace at Aachen, including a magnificent silver disc with the planets and starry constellations—the signs

⁴⁶ Cf. Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:172, n. 59.

⁴⁷ Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 4.

⁴⁸ *Annal. Bert.*, 842.

⁴⁹ Richter and Kohl, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

⁵⁰ Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 1, *ad fin.*, is very explicit in this particular: *Et sicut illis congruum, ut inter illos hoc regnum divideretur, visum est, contenti sunt; in qua divisione non tantum fertilitas aut aequa portio regni, quantum affinitas et congruentia cujusque aptata est.*

For the meaning of the terms "affinitas et congruentia" see Waitz, *DVG*, IV:691, n.; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:175; G. Meyer von Knonau, *Teilung*, 41 and 106, n. 325.

Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 1 (end of second paragraph). "Respondentibus . . . aiunt: Et auctoritate divina . . . ortamur atque praecipimus" is a formula which shows that Nithard had the recorded acts before him. So the previous phrase, "in quantum nosse ac posse," is also a formula.

A captious critic may accuse me of overstressing the evidence in interpreting the statement of Nithard to signify that an inventory of the crown lands is here meant, and may infer that the text rather suggests the possibility of a general survey of the resources of the Frankish realm. But this cannot have been the purpose. Crown lands and "royal" abbeys might be inventoried by the crown, but the Carolingian government was certainly incapable of similarly inventorying bishoprics, to say nothing of the property of great lay proprietors. A Domesday in the ninth century is unthinkable.

of the zodiac—graven upon it, in order to pay his troops; he even seized the treasure in the church at Notre Dame. He then fled to Lyons, feeling safer in his southern than in his northern dominions.

After Easter (April 2), Ludwig, who had been at Cologne, came by way of Diedenhofen to Verdun, where he met Charles, who had celebrated the festival at Heristal, a convenient place from which to keep an eye on the Channel raids of the Norsemen, who in this year sacked Quentowich and Ponthieu.⁵¹ There they were met by emissaries of Lothar, who, although he still had a considerable number of troops,⁵² now was in a mood to parley on condition that Italy, Bavaria, and Aquitaine be left out of any partition.⁵³ The overture was referred by the brothers to the bishops with them—and there must have been many—for deliberation.⁵⁴ After four days of consideration Lothar was proffered for his own the territories north of the Alps which lay between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Saône, together with that part of the old kingdom of Burgundy enclosed between the Rhône and the Maritime Alps—*videlicet, omnes episcopatus, abbatias, comitatus, fisca, cis Alpibus constantia.*⁵⁵

Adalhard, a brother of the Count of Orleans, Conrad the Welf, a brother of the Empress Judith, and Cobbo, a Saxon noble, seem to have dictated the terms. When the messengers returned from conference with Lothar, it was with the complaint that the territory suggested was not sufficient for him to indemnify those who had supported him, especially since those who owned benefices in the two other kingdoms had been deprived of them and were de-

⁵¹ Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 3.

⁵² *Collecto fido satis exercitu.—Annal. Fuld.*, 842.

⁵³ Whether the place of conference was Milciacum—Mussy-sur-Seine SW Troyes, or Climiacum—Clamecy-sur-Yonne, or at Villa Milciacus in pago Cabillonensi—Mellecy NW Châlons-sur-Saône, is uncertain. See Richter, *Annalen des fränkischen Reichs im Zeitalter der Karolinger*, 321–322, n., and Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, 336, n. 1.

⁵⁴ . . . solito more ad episcopos sacerdotisque rem referunt . . . —Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 3.

⁵⁵ Si vellent aliquid illi supra terciam partem regni propter nomen imperatoris, quod illi pater illorum concesserat, et propter dignitatem imperii, quam avus regno Francorum adjecerat, augere, facerent; sin aliter, tertiam tantummodo partem totius absque Langobardia, Baioaria et Aquitania illi concederent; regeretque quisque illorum . . . portionem regni sui, prout melius posset, frueretur alter alterius subsidio ac benevolentia; concederent pacem et leges invicem sibi subjectis, essetque inter illos . . . pax pacta perpes.—*Ibid.*, IV, 3.

pendent upon his bounty. It was an adroit argument, for it omitted to mention the essential fact that more than half of the great block of the crown lands would fall to him by this suggested partition. Lothar was not content. He wanted the Ardennes and the Kohlenwald, which were yielded up, "although it seemed unjust," apparently to avoid new bloodshed.⁵⁶

In June—we are yet in the year 842—Lothar moved northward with his following to Mâcon, near which, on an island in the Saône called Ansilla, on Wednesday, June 15, the preliminaries of the Treaty of Verdun were sealed.⁵⁷ The commission was now enlarged to one hundred and twenty members.⁵⁸

The settlement was now fortunately out of the hands of the three brothers. Ludwig went off to Saxony to crush a new rising of the Stellinga, Charles invaded Aquitaine in order to suppress Pepin II, and Lothar went hunting in the forests of the Ardennes, and incidentally deprived of their benefices all those who had not supported him.⁵⁹ In October a new conference was held at Coblenz⁶⁰ in the church of St. Castor, which was attended by the three brothers. At this conference the commissioners representing Ludwig and Charles complained that full and accurate information was lacking with reference to the extent, fertility, and resources of the fisc (as the use of the words "imbreviatum esset" shows), and the demand was made that missi be sent out to acquire this informa-

⁵⁶ Cumque in divisione regni quattuor dies vel eo amplius morarentur, tandem visum est ut inter Renum et Mosam usque ad exortum Mosae ac deinde ad exortum Saugonnae et sic per Saugonnam usque ad confluentium Rodani et sic deinde per Rodanum usque in mare Tyrrenum, omnes videlicet episcopatus, abbatias, comitatus, fisca eis Alpibus consistentia absque (*) illi in parte regni tercia offerrent . . . et si hanc recipere rennuat, quid cuique debeatur armis decernant. Quod quidem, quanquam ultra quod justum ac congruum, ut quibusdam videbatur, inventum fuerit, per Conradum, Cobbonem, Adelhardum et ceteros mandatum est; . . . qui [missi] cum ad Lodharium venissent, repererunt illum paululum minus solito more animatum. Aiebat enim se non esse contentum in eo quod fratres sui illi mandaverant, quia aequa portio non esset; querebaturque insuper suorum qui de sequuti sunt causam, quod in praefata parte quae illi offerebatur, necnon haberet unde illis ea quae amittebant restituere posset. Quamobrem . . . hi qui missi fuerant, augent illi supra definitam partem usque in Carbonarias.—*Ibid.*, IV, 3. There is a hiatus in the MS where the asterisk appears above.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 4.

⁵⁸ *Annal. Fuld.*, 842; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:693, n. 2.

⁵⁹ Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 4.

⁶⁰ *BM*, charter no. 1093, p. 451.

tion.⁶¹ The tension seems to have been serious for some time, until the bishops threw the weight of their influence in support of the complaint and endorsed the proposal. The information gathered from the proposed survey was to be statistically summarized (*imbreviaretur* is the technical word used), or otherwise "blind cupidity" would prevail.⁶² Lothar must have been chagrined, for he did not want his brothers' commissioners to learn the extent and resources of the fisc. But at last it was so agreed and peace was decreed on November 5 until St. John's Day (June 24) of the next year. The articles were signed at Diedenhofen, whither the commission had removed, perhaps in order to be more conveniently situated near the center of the fisc.

A sigh of relief must have arisen. Even the nobles were for peace.⁶³ The kings returned each to his own favorite palatium—Lothar to Aachen, Ludwig to Bavaria, Charles to Kiersy, while the commissioners and the missi spent the hard winter in collecting and compiling the necessary data.⁶⁴

The winter and the spring, and time until well into the summer, were spent by the missi in gathering data of the fisc, and by the commissioners in summarizing these inventories, of which there must have been hundreds.^{64a} Finally, in the first week of August (843) the commission and the principals met at Verdun and effected the

⁶¹ Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 5; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:694–695; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:180–181.

⁶² Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 5.

⁶³ Nithard, *Hist.*, IV, 6; Lupus de Fer., *Epp.*, xxv. But they must have consented with reluctance, for in the previous chapter Nithard (IV, 5) has a significant passage which shows the great growth of the power of the feudality: "Quoniam neuter quod alter volebat absque seniorum suorum auctoritate assentire audebat, statuunt ut pax inter illos esset donec scire possent quid seniores sui horum recipere vellent." Again (Bk. IV, 7), he condemns the unprincipled self-seeking of these nobles, who were indifferent to every interest but their own: "quoniam quique semitam quam cupit, incedit, ubique dissensiones et rixae sunt manifestae." Prudentius, the annalist of St. Bertin (843), gives a striking picture of the desperate condition of the masses of the people as a result of rapine: "Emergentibus igitur hinc inde tot tantisque incessabiliter malis, vastante passim cuncta raptore, coacti sunt per multa totius Galliae loca homines terram mixta paucitate farinae atque in panis speciem redactam comedere."

⁶⁴ Tres reges miserunt legatos suos proceres, unusquisque ex parte sua ut iterum *per descriptas mansas* aequè tripartirent regnum Francorum.—*Annal. Xant.*, 842; Waitz, *DVG*, IV:695, n. 1; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:192, n. 30.

^{64a} See my article, "The Statistical Sources of Frankish History," *American Historical Review*, XL:625–645 (July, 1935).

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imperial unity. They felt actual dismay when it became evident at Verdun that some of the dioceses were to be divided. But both imperial and church unity were sacrificed to feudal interest and feudal influence. These dioceses *à cheval*, as they have been graphically described, are interesting phenomena of the partition. The archbishopric of Mainz was given to Ludwig (together with Speyer and Worms), but the diocese of Strassburg, which was a suffragan of Mainz, fell with Alsace to Lothar. The province of Cologne also was dissevered. The metropolitan and the suffragan bishops of Liège and Utrecht obeyed Lothar, but the suffragans on the right bank of the Rhine were in the state of Ludwig. The great ecclesiastical province of Rheims, when the upper Meuse and the Scheldt were made the frontier between the Middle Kingdom and the West Frankish realm (one of the few *permanent* frontiers created in 843 was the line of the Scheldt), was mutilated, to the grief of Hincmar, by the splitting of the diocese of Cambrai between Lothar and Charles. This was the fruit of Charles's efforts to acquire the crown lands to the northeast of him, which had been assigned to him by the unexecuted partitions of 837 and 839. The Saône divided the ecclesiastical province of Lyons between the emperor and Charles, for, while the archbishopric was under Lothar, the suffragan sees of Langres, Châlons-sur-Saône, Autun, and Mâcon fell to Charles. In short, to quote the words of a historian: "From the mouths of the Rhône to those of the Rhine the frontiers of the kingdoms formed, with limits of the ecclesiastical provinces, a tangled and confused network."⁶⁹ A careful examination of the map will show that these dioceses were divided in order to make as equal a division of the fisc as possible among the three brothers. Yet, in last analysis, Verdun was far more than a tripartite division of the Frankish Empire. It was a partition among the vassals, who got the lion's share of the crown lands—"tout se réduisit à un partage de vassaux," as Coulanges has written.⁷⁰

It is manifest that the principle of the unity of the empire was destroyed. Most of the great proponents of imperialism now were

⁶⁹ Lesne, *op. cit.*, 267; cf. Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:201. The fate of the many pagi in this intricate shuffling of boundaries is too complex to be entered into here. (See Parisot, *op. cit.*, 107, and n. 3.)

⁷⁰ *Les Transformations de la royauté pendant l'époque carolingienne*, 639. MM. Lot and Halphen, *Le Règne de Charles le Chauve*, 66, do not know whether to accept or to reject this interpretation. I have no doubt of it.

dead. Wala had died in 836, Agobard, Hug, Lambert, and Jesse in 840; the rest were exiles in Italy, the safest place for them in the circumstances.⁷¹ Only a remnant of the idea of imperial unity was preserved in the attribution of a slightly higher *dignity* to Lothar, the emperor—"propter nomen imperatoris . . . et propter dignitatem imperii."⁷² Of centralized *government* there was nothing left.

The Treaty of Verdun was the death knell of Carolingian imperialism. It was so recognized at that time, witness the threnody of Walafrid Strabo.⁷³ But it was something else too.

It was the shredding of ancient Austrasia, the homeland and original seat of power of the Carolingian dynasty, the most solidly Frankish part of the empire. Austrasia henceforth becomes a debatable land, fought for and fought over by French and German kings and the French and German nations for centuries yet to be. By this partition the heart of the Frankish Empire was cut into ribbons and the Carolingian fisc, the great solid core of crown lands in old Austrasia and extending into the rich warm valleys of the Moselle and the Rhine, was dissipated and divided. It has been well and pertinently written by a modern scholar—one of the very few who has perceived the true nature of the history of the break-up of the Frankish Empire—that

If the Carolings could have looked forward instead of back, they would have abandoned forever the idea of empire, withdrawn within the ample boundaries of the treaty of Meërsen and built up out of their patrimony a powerful duchy; would in fact have claimed for themselves the chief place in the feudal order that was coming into being. Instead however of consolidating they were rather disintegrating their patrimony.⁷⁴

In their magnificent patrimony the Carolingians had the very essence of feudal power. But it was scattered and dissipated and fell into the hands of the feudality, hungry for land and utterly unscrupulous in their acquisition of it. It was feudalism, particularism, and proprietorship on a vast and formidable scale, that destroyed the empire and erected on its ruins a new Europe.

⁷¹ *Vita Hlud.*, 56; *Vita Walae*, II, 17.

⁷² *Annal. Fuld.*, 843.

⁷³ Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, 340.

⁷⁴ J. R. Moreton Macdonald, *History of France*, I:87–88. Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:400, thinks that the preservation of the unity of the Middle Kingdom was impossible from the first. Parisot, *op. cit.*, 111, on the contrary, thinks that Lorraine "aurait pu, sans concours inoui de circonstances malheureuses, continuer son existence pendant de longs siècles" (cf. Introduction, xiv).

THE LAST PHASE (A.D. 843—A.D. 887)

THE FRANKISH EMPIRE did not pass away in 843. It was transformed by the penetrating and dissolving forces of feudalism and converted into three amorphous feudal states. The imperial office persisted, but it was a superior dignity, not a superior authority—"nomen imperatoris et dignitas imperii," wrote a clear-headed German chronicler of the time, who understood more than most men the inward significance of things. The Treaty of Verdun marked the end of a political doctrine, and the term of the political power of the Carolingians.

It is with an ironic smile that the historian reads that the integrity of the several kingdoms created in 843 was solemnly declared,¹ and that soon afterward even an association of the heirs of Charlemagne was formed for the conservation of their patrimonies.² For each of the brothers was promptly beset by a clamorous rout of claimants, demanding to be rewarded for past services, or indemnified for real or pretended losses,³ while the Church, at the Synod of Beauvais in 845, as vociferously demanded of Charles the Bald restitution of its lost property "as in the days of your father and grandfather."⁴

Charles the Bald was unable to comply with the demands of the clergy, and in his realm a condition bordering upon anarchy prevailed.⁵ In the Middle Kingdom, both in Lorraine and in Italy,

¹ Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:204.

² Faugeron, *De fraternitate seu conloquiis inter filios et nepotes Hludowici Pii* (1868), 43; Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, 22; Calmette, *La Diplomatie carolingienne*, 31.

³ Adrevaldus, a monk of Fleury, who died in 878, looking backward through and beyond the reign of Charles the Bald, somewhat rhetorically, yet not untruthfully, described this work of transformation and characterized the motives of the men by which that change was accomplished: *Divi Augusti Ludovici temporibus . . . , dissidio gentis Francorum accidit multifariam rempublica, ejusdem regni affidi. Namque pravorum hominum consiliis dum consultatio reipublicae in superbiam dominatumque se transformavit, primoribusque magis sibi invicem invidere et obloqui quam regni utilitati consulere placuit.—Ex miraculis S. Benedicti, HF, VI:313.*

⁴ Cf. Roth, *op. cit.*, 344, n. 126.

⁵ Capit. dat. in conventu Ticanense (Pertz, *Leges*, I; 405–407, c. 2): *Quia . . . homines inter se conspirent, et diversos comitatus circumeuntes praedas et rapinas per villas seu et per vias vel per silvas faciant, et innocentes homines depraedentur et spolient.*

Lothar endeavored, though with small success, to recover ecclesiastical lands which he had formerly seized and given out as benefices, and to restore them to the clergy from whom they had been taken.⁶ His son Lothar II continued this policy.⁷

In Germany, Ludwig the German, the strongest of the three brother-kings, in 852 seems to have endeavored to "revindicate" part of the fisc which had previously been alienated,⁸ but unfortunately neither Rodolf of Fulda, nor Regino of Prüm, nor the annalist of Xanten give us any information about it.

The Treaty of Verdun was far from putting an end to the practice of partition. As the three sons of Louis the Pious had divided the patrimony of the house, so the sons of the sons continued to sever and divide the portions created in 843. In 855, when he felt death approaching, Lothar I, renouncing his old principles, divided his realm between his three sons, "disposing of his domains more as a private person than as a sovereign solicitous of the grandeur of his empire."⁹ The youngest, Charles, received Provence and the Lyonnais; Lothar II, the territory between the Rhine and the Meuse, Alsace, Frisia, and some of the Burgundian pagi. Louis II was thought to have been sufficiently provided for with Italy and the imperial title.

But Louis II was not content. His pretext—or plausible legal claim—was that he had acquired Italy from his grandfather, Louis the Pious, so that his father had really given him nothing. It was a bold gesture, but sufficient to force the hand of Ludwig the German, who yielded to him Geneva, Lausanne, and Sitten on Lake Geneva, "cum episcopatibus, monasteriis et comitatibus."¹⁰ Later, in 864, when Charles of Provence died, Louis II seized Provence and part of Transjurane Burgundy.

⁶ *BM*, charter no. 1058, p. 409; no. 1075, p. 414; no. 1098, p. 424; *HF*, VIII: 374, 384. In charters nos. 1056, 1116, 1122, 1123, and 1124 he restores lands, but the charter does not say why. No. 1056 is in favor of the monastery St. Maur-les Fossés, October 17, 841, and may be found in Tardif, 93. No. 1116, in favor of the church of Lyon, is dated sometime between 841 and 851 and may be found in *HF*, VIII:383. Nos. 1122, 1123, and 1124 are in favor also of Lyon, occurred in 852, and may be found in *HF*, VIII:390, nos. 34 and 35, and *HF*, VIII:389.

⁷ *BM*, charter no. 1261, p. 485; no. 1286, p. 504; *HF*, 405, 409, no. 8; Martène and Durand, *Coll. ampliss.*, II:26.

⁸ *BM*, charter no. 1403 a.

⁹ Parisot, *op. cit.*, 73.

¹⁰ *Annal. Bert.*, 859; Parisot, *op. cit.*, 90–91; Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, 424–425.

In 865, like his brother Lothar I in 855, Ludwig the German, although he had still eleven years to live, divided Germany among his three sons, "so that each might have his due share of bishoprics, monasteries, and manors of the fisc."¹¹

These lesser, internal partitions need no examination beyond observation of the fact that the feudal principle and practice prevailed. But a greater importance is attached to the destiny of the Middle Kingdom, or "Lorraine" as it came to be called (*Lotharii Regnum*, Lotharingia, Lothringen, Lorraine). For Lorraine after 843 formed the greatest single fragment of old Austrasia; it included the greatest and solidest block of yet undistributed crown lands. For the acquisition of these lands, Ludwig and Charles were determined to strike as soon as opportunity should arise.

It is held by most historians that the question of Lorraine so dominated the policy of the kings east and west of the Rhine after the partition of Verdun because of the half-German, half-Romance nature of the country. But I think this is an allegation which is not demonstrable, for the ninth century at least. The real ground of feud between the kings east and west was the question of the reversion of what remained of the Carolingian fisc in Lorraine. Ludwig the German and Charles the Bald asserted that the Treaty of Verdun had created only a life-interest for Lothar I in the domains situated within the Middle Kingdom, and that his three sons had no title thereto, but that the lawful heirs were themselves; that is, the uncles claimed that agnate succession superseded hereditary succession. Lothar II's alliance with the Emperor Louis II in 864-865 was an effort to protect himself against his uncles, both of whom coveted not so much Lorraine itself as the Carolingian estates there. The two uncles had very material interest in these, and the import of the compact made at Tusey between them on February 19, 865, was nothing less than the partition of these estates between them. The curious collective letter addressed by the Lotharingian clergy to their colleagues in France¹² shows that the danger was a real one. The pretext for this proposed interven-

¹¹ . . . ut ipsi filii . . . curtes haberent . . . episcopia vero omnia et monasteria nec non et comitiae, publici etiam fisci et cuncta majora judicia ad se spectare deberent.—*Erchanb. breviar. contin.*, *MGH SS*, II, 329; cf. Dümmler, *op. cit.*, I:559; Riezler, *Bayern*, I:261; Waitz, *DVG*, V:19.

¹² Baronius, *Annal. eccles.*, XV, 59 f.

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tion in Lorraine was the obloquy which covered Lothar II owing to the scandal of his divorce and the resultant humiliation of him by Pope Nicholas I. But the real purpose of the uncles was one of spoliation. Secret treaties and suppressed articles to treaties are not peculiar to modern history. It is clear from Article VII of the Treaty of Tusey that there were some secret clauses, either written or verbal. The *Annals of Fulda*, 864, gives one of these particulars—the information that each of the contracting parties appointed two guarantors,—but we know from other sources that the Emperor Louis II wanted Alsace, and was willing to play double to get it; that Hinemar wanted to reunite the diocese of Cambrai with the West Frankish kingdom, since it was an ecclesiastical province of Rheims; and that Charles the Bald hoped to acquire possession of Provence.¹³

The complexity of politics for five years prevented the uncles from carrying out their purpose, and meantime the compact of Tusey was confirmed by that of Metz in June, 868.¹⁴ But in 869 the question was resolved by the death of Lothar II on August 8, 869, leaving only a natural son. The kingdom of Lorraine being left without a legitimate ruler, its partition was certain.

Ludwig was ill in Bavaria at the time; his nephew, and Lothar II's elder brother, the Emperor Louis II, who was his legal heir, was fighting the Saracens in Italy. Charles the Bald at once threw himself into Lorraine, hopeful of seizing the whole kingdom and the richest residue of the Carolingian house lands. It was a wanton act, which his nephew tried to frustrate by engaging the diplomatic intervention of Pope Hadrian II. But when the papal legates arrived they found themselves in face of an accomplished fact. In defiance of their nephew's rights and the papal protestation, Ludwig and Charles the Bald made a preliminary treaty at Attigny in May, 870, to divide the kingdom of Lorraine between themselves, the terms of which were minutely worked out in the important Treaty of Meerssen, August 8, 870. The epilogue of the Carolingian house lands and of Old Austrasia is written in them. The entire realm was considered as royal domain. Meanwhile, late in June, 870, the pope had sent new legates into the north protesting against Charles's spoliation and praising the honorable conduct of his

¹³ Calmette, *op. cit.*, 93–96, shows all this in detail.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

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brother Ludwig who had not imitated his bad example.¹⁵ Hadrian II's credulous faith was soon undeceived. For Ludwig, having recovered his health, had invaded his deceased brother's kingdom, too. Numbers of the Lotharingian nobles seized the occasion to fish in the troubled waters, alleging that Lothar II's decease had canceled their feudal contracts and left them free to recognize whom they might choose. The kings asserted that Lothar II's death caused all benefices to lapse to them.¹⁶

Unlike the Treaty of Verdun, the text of which is lost, we are fortunate in possessing the complete text¹⁷ of that of Meerssen, and we know exactly how the partition was made, and the precise apportionment of bishoprics, abbeys, and pagi, between the two kings. Each king selected four *episcopi*, twelve *consilarii*, and thirty *ministeriales et vassales* as commissioners to represent him. The business was rapidly concluded. As Palgrave has written: ". . . The division was settled with cautious minuteness and the schedule enumerates all the *parcels*, as a conveyancer would say."¹⁸ It is to be observed that the crown lands are not specified by name, as are the bishoprics and abbeys, at Meerssen. The reasons for this omission are clear. In the first place, the document would have been extended to portentous length if each and all of the crown lands had been specified. In the second place, they were included within the areas of the dioceses and pagi. But the crown lands, nevertheless, played an important part in the division of Meerssen. Just as in 843 the wish to make equal distribution of the fisc had split some of the bishoprics and created those dioceses *à cheval*, so in 870 the same wish accounts for the discrepancy in the figures, when numbers of bishoprics, abbeys, and counties are compared.

The experience of 843 had not been forgotten nor the statistical surveys and maps lost. The text enumerates, first for Ludwig, then for Charles, the episcopal towns, the abbeys, and finally the counties (pagi) attributed to each. The manors of the fisc are not mentioned by name but are included in the cadres of dioceses and pagi, as the recurrent phrase "cum omnibus villis in eo consistentibus

¹⁵ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXII:1297 f.; P. Jaffé, *Reg.*, nos. 2926–2931.

¹⁶ See for explanation of this intricate matter, Coulanges, *Transformations*, 691–693.

¹⁷ *Leges*, I, 516 f.

¹⁸ *History of England and Normandy*, I:370.

tam dominicatis quam et vassalorum consistentibus" shows. Ludwig got two archbishoprics, four bishoprics, forty-three abbeys, thirty-one counties, four half-counties, and two districts. Charles got two archbishoprics, seven bishoprics, thirty-two abbeys, thirty counties, and four half-counties. The Jura, the Vosges, the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Ourthe formed an irregular frontier. Almost everything to the right of this line passed to Ludwig, almost everything to the left passed to Charles. Cologne, Trier, Metz, and Strassburg were reunited with Germany; Cambrai, Toul, and Verdun passed to France. No attention was given to natural boundaries or to difference of language.¹⁹ In fact, in the former matter the practice at Meerssen was worse than that in 843. For each king possessed enclaves in the territory of the other. Thus the Pagus Calvomontensis pertained to Ludwig, but Charles was given the Abbey of Senones, which was situated in the eastern part of this pagus, and far from the frontier. In a similar manner Charles was given a whole cluster of monasteries therein, notably those of Faverney, Lure, and Luxeuil.²⁰ Charles the Bald had attained his heart's desire of many years—possession of the rich lands of the Carolingian fisc lying to the northeast of his kingdom.

It is the irony of history that in 870 the Middle Kingdom was wiped out by its two neighbors, and two Lorraines—a French and a German—created. Since that time, for more than a thousand years, two rival and jealous dynasties and two rival and jealous states have faced each other with enmity across a frontier conform-

¹⁹ Ils [some historians] refusent de reconnaître des influences et des suites linguistiques au traité de Verdun, mais les admettent pour celui de Meerssen. En ce qui concerne Verdun on peut sans hésitation concéder que les 300 conseillers convoqués pour élaborer les détails du partage ont jugé selon d'autres points de vue que ceux de la langue. . . . Evidemment à Meerssen aussi le grand souci des négociateurs fut non pas de donner à Louis le Germanique des sujets de langue allemande, à Charles le Chauve des sujets de langue romane; mais à chacun des évêchés, des abbayes, des comtés, en un mot des revenus de valeur aussi égale que possible.—Paul Lévy, *Histoire linguistique d'Alsace et de Lorraine*, I (1929):140.

²⁰ Only royal abbeys are mentioned in the treaty. It went without saying that episcopal abbeys followed the fate of the bishoprics in which they were situated.—Parisot, *op. cit.*, 377, and n. 2. Apparently every monastery was inventoried. That of St. Trond is specifically mentioned.—Rudolphus, *Chron. S. Trudonis*, I, 3; G. Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, I:322. For matter upon Meerssen see especially Parisot, *op. cit.*, 368–378; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, II:296–300; Waitz, *DVG*, V:16–17; Lesne, *op. cit.*, 283–284; Richter, *op. cit.*, 419–423, who gives the text at length; Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, 428; Vanderkindere, *op. cit.*, 299–300; Calmette, *op. cit.*, 125–127.

ing neither to natural features nor to distinction of language, blood, or tradition. The bloody history of Belgium, Lorraine, Alsace, and the Palatinate is the grim heritage of the divisions of the ninth century when neither race-consciousness nor national sentiment existed in the hearts of men; when in medieval Europe there was "neither east nor west, nor border nor breed nor birth," when the vernacular languages were inchoate and in slow process of formation, and not to be for two centuries yet those vivid and graceful media for the expression of literature, which they became in the twelfth century. Well does a modern son of French Lorraine deplore the partitions of the ninth century :

Les territoires austrasiens réduits à n'être plus que des appendices de la France et de l'Allemagne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Liège, Trèves et Metz, tombées au rang de villes frontières, telle était la situation intolérable, aussi humiliante que précaire, faite au pays qui avait formé le centre et le cœur de l'empire carolingien.²¹

The folly of the Carolingians was their own destruction. It was to continue until they passed from history. Ludwig and Charles, as Ahab looked with envious eyes upon Naboth's vineyard, still further coveted possession of the only remnant of the Carolingian fisc left north of the Alps not already in their hands. This was the fragment of territory in the Jura and around Besançon which belonged to the Emperor Louis II of Italy, their nephew. In 871 it was rumored that Louis II had died. Forthwith Ludwig advanced into the Jura country while Charles the Bald occupied Besançon. Each king lost no opportunity to increase his domains and the number of his vassals. The rumor proved false, and neither lived to acquire this region. It was destined to be comprehended in the new kingdom of Rodolf of Burgundy, which he created by fiat act and sheer usurpation in 888.²²

Louis II was not disposed to let himself be entirely euchred out of the rich cluster of Carolingian crown lands in Lorraine, and was ably abetted by his wife, the Empress Engelberge, a shrewd and intriguing woman. The emperor was childless, and the means of persuasion was the imperial crown. In a secret interview at Trent—secret diplomacy is not the invention of modern cabinets—in May, 872, between the empress and Ludwig the German, the

²¹ Parisot, *op. cit.*, 378.

²² *Annal. Fuld.* and *Annal. Bert.*, 871; Kleinclausz, *op. cit.*, 389.

latter ceded to his nephew under a secret covenant that part of Lorraine which he had acquired at Meerssen two years before.²³ It was a flagrant piece of treachery and double-dealing. For Engelberge had no intention of keeping the agreement. With bold duplicity she began to intrigue to acquire western Lorraine also for her husband and attempted to wheedle Charles the Bald into making a similar pledge of western Lorraine in return for the imperial crown. But when Louis II died in 875 Charles found other means to get the crown and left the tricky empress holding an empty bag.

The history of the rest of the partitions of the ninth century is the epilogue and the epitaph of the Frankish Empire. In 875, taking advantage of Charles's absence in Italy, Ludwig invaded France, conniving with a body of rebellious nobles there, in the hope, in which he was frustrated, of enlarging the domains he had already acquired in German Lorraine by despoiling Charles of those in French Lorraine, and so "indemnifying" himself for the advantage Charles had received by becoming emperor.

It was soon Charles's turn to overreach himself in his ravenous appetite for more crown lands. In 876 Ludwig the German died, and his brother promptly demanded, in addition to eastern Lorraine, all the cities situated on the left bank of the Rhine, which, if accomplished, would have made his kingdom identical with ancient Roman Gaul.²⁴ But the battle of Andernach (October 8, 876) ruined the design.²⁵

The counter-blow to this attempted spoliation came in 879, two years after the death of Charles, when his son Louis the Stammerer was engaged in a fierce struggle with his own baronage to protect

²³ Apud Trientum cum Ingelberga loquens, partem regni Lotharii quam contra Karolum . . . accepit . . . *clam* reddidit. Unde utrimque sacramenta . . . inter eos sunt facta.—*Annal. Bert.*; 872.

²⁴ Karolus vero Hludowici morte comperta regnum illius . . . invasit et suae ditioni studiit, existimans se, ut fama vulgebat, non solum partem regni Hlotharii, quam Hludowicus tenuit et filiis suis utendam dereliquit, per tyrannidem posse obtinere, verum etiam cunctos civitates regni Hludowici in occidentali litore Rheni fluminis positas regno suo addere.—*Annal. Fuld.*, 876.

²⁵ Sequenti autem mense Karlmannus et Hludowicus atque Karolus, Hludowici regis filii in pago Retiense [Riess] convenientes paternum inter se regnum diviserunt et sibi invicem fidelitatem servaturos esse sacramento firmaverunt. Cujus sacramenti textus THEUTONICA lingua conscriptus in nonnullis locis habetur.—*Annal. Fuld.*, 876. Cf. Dümmler, *op. cit.*, III: 60 f. Except the Strassburg Oaths this must be the oldest document in the German language. It is a misfortune that it has not been preserved.

and retain his crown lands. Then Ludwig III invaded French Lorraine and compelled the cession to Germany of all the bishoprics, abbeys, counties, and crown lands which Charles the Bald had acquired in 870—a spoliation which is the particular, special root of the age-long feud of France and Germany for possession of the “Middle Border.”²⁶

By this time the forces of disintegration had penetrated the whole body politic and body social until Europe was in dissolution. Even the manors decomposed.²⁷ Charles the Bald in 864 by the Edict of Pîtres forbade the cleavage of royal manors and those pertaining to religious houses, but the process continued.

We get few glimpses of the old Carolingian manors after this time, for their former identity was obliterated by the vicissitudes which have been related. In 885 the cluster of vineyards around Coblenz, Andernach, and Sinzig reappears when the Danish chieftain Godfrey, who had been permitted to settle in Frisia by Charles the Fat, complained that Frisia was not suitable for the grape and demanded those manors around Coblenz, Andernach, Sinzig, “et nonnullos alios fiscos . . . propter vini affluentiam.”²⁸ In France the Carolingian kings were not such “lean and solemn phantoms”—the phrase is Lavissee’s—as they have been represented.²⁹ In Germany the spoliation which Ludwig had tried to arrest in 860³⁰ went on apace under Charles the Fat and Arnulf.

After 887 was the debacle. In Germany Charles the Fat and Arnulf hopelessly surrendered to influences beyond their control, and the Church especially fattened upon the crown lands. Arnulf’s alienations of the fisc aggregate 87; those of Zwentibold, 7; of Louis the Child, 37, with whose death in 911 the Carolingian dynasty in Germany expired. In Germany at that date the Carolingian crown lands were reduced to 176 pieces, of which 83 were

²⁶ *Annal. Fuld.*, 879; Regino, *Chron.*, 879; Dümmler, *op. cit.*, III:130–134.

²⁷ Henri See, *Les Classes rurales*, 134.

²⁸ Regino, *Chron.*, 885.

²⁹ See the careful studies of Eckel, *Le Règne de Charles le Simple*, 18, 41–43, 96, 113; Lauer, *Le Règne de Louis d’Outre-Mer*, 253 f.; Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens*, 181–185.

³⁰ Conv. apud Confluentes, Adnuntatio Ludowici Germ. regis, Art. VI, *Leges*, I:472.

in Franconia, 50 in Allemania, 21 in Bavaria, 12 in Thuringia, and 5 in Saxony.³¹

Charles the Fat's five visits to Italy (in the years 875, 879, 881, 883, and 886) were disastrous to the fisc. Lavish distribution was made to his supporters there. To Bishop Paul of Reggio he granted possessions from the crown lands; to Wibold of Parma, perhaps at the time the most powerful prelate in Lombardy, he gave several properties including a *curtis* at Zena, and the Abbey of Bercado. Other donations were made to churches, monasteries, to a priest, to his chaplain—eleven in all.³² On his second expedition he made use of the same "spoils system," and to a larger extent than before. The documents recording these alienations are too numerous to permit individual designation, but some idea of the nature and extent of Charles's largesses may be gained from a summary of the deeds of grant. In all, sixty-two charters are preserved,³³ although not every one is an alienation of domain. Some are confirmations of previous deeds, extensions of privileges, immunities, and writs of protection, but invariably each represents a surrender of the royal prerogative. The most favored recipients of the royal bounty were monasteries, then bishops, then ministeriales, whose elevation Charles the Fat favored as a makeweight against the power of the great nobles. The largest alienation was made in favor of Liutward of Vercelli, to whom seventeen localities in Piedmont alone were given.

Little information is available on the fisc in Rome and its vicinity. But in addition to such monasteries as Farfa and S. Andrea on Soracte, which paid taxes to the emperor as their protector, other domains are mentioned.³⁴

In marked contrast to this progressive dissolution of the Carolingian fisc in Italy was the papacy's endeavor to protect the integ-

³¹ Lamprecht, I:717, estimated the fisc in the Moselle lands to be 12 per cent of the area. For all Germany at the expiration of the Carolingian period he estimated the fisc which remained as equivalent to 375 square miles (German). In 1830 Hüllmann, *Finanzgesch. des Mittelalters*, and his *Gesch. des Ursprungs der Stände* (ed. 2, 1830), enumerated 123 domains in Germany. Another early estimation is that of Ideler, *Leben Einhard's*, I:249 f. Cf. K. T. von Inama-Sternegg, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (ed. 2), I:387, and n. 4.

³² *BM*, charters nos. 1592–1602.

³³ *Ibid.*, nos. 1589 ff.

³⁴ *Libell. de imp. potest.*, p. 770: . . . erant denique monasteria in Sabinis, seu cetera fiscalia patrimonia intra Romanos ad usum imperialem. Cited by Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, III:454.

(Footnote 34 continued on page 60.)

rity of the papal patrimony. At the Synod of Ravenna in August, 877, John VII succeeded in having a decree passed forbidding the alienation of papal lands through the granting of fiefs, except in specially designated lands.³⁵

When the eastern branch of the lineage of Charlemagne expired in 911, not a single manor in Lorraine pertained to the crown. The greatest part of the ancient fisc had been engrossed by Regnier Longneck, who was a son of a Count Gilbert, who had married a daughter of Lothar I (and thus Regnier had Carolingian blood in his veins). He was possessed of the Ardennes, *Hainaut*, the *Hesbaye*, and the abbeys of Echternach, Stavelot, Malmédy, and St. Servais at Maastricht.³⁶ His life was spent in conflict to withhold his possessions against Arnulf's natural son Zwentibold, who had been made Duke of Lorraine. Regnier was succeeded by his son Gilbert, who was in almost chronic strife with Charles the Simple until *Henry the Fowler* interfered and attached Lorraine to the German kingdom.

Information with reference to the fate of the fisc in France is not so clear, owing to greater poverty of documents. The reign of Eudes (888–898) affords almost no information. From the circumstance that Eudes restored Laon to Charles the Simple in 897, it may be inferred that all the Carolingian crown lands except in French Lorraine, where Charles's partisans were strong enough to protect his interests—and theirs, were acquired by Eudes and only returned to Charles, less what alienations Eudes had made of them, in 898.³⁷ Information about the extent of the royal domain under Charles the Simple is as scanty as like information about the domain under his predecessor. His desperate endeavor to acquire

A digest of Darmstädter's *Reichsgut* shows the following alienations or confirmations of preceding alienations:

	LOMBARDY	PIEDMONT	TOTAL
Louis the Pious.....	3	5	8
Lothar.....	12	4	16
Louis II.....	11	7	19
Charles the Bald.....	2	---	2
Carloman.....	6	---	6
Charles the Fat.....	13	19	32
Guido of Spoleto.....	6	1	7

³⁵ . . . exceptis his quos familiares vel nostros vel nostrorum successorum esse . . . demonstravit.—Dümmler, *op. cit.*, III:49. Cf. Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, III:202.

³⁶ Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I:42.

³⁷ Favre, *op. cit.*, 190–192.

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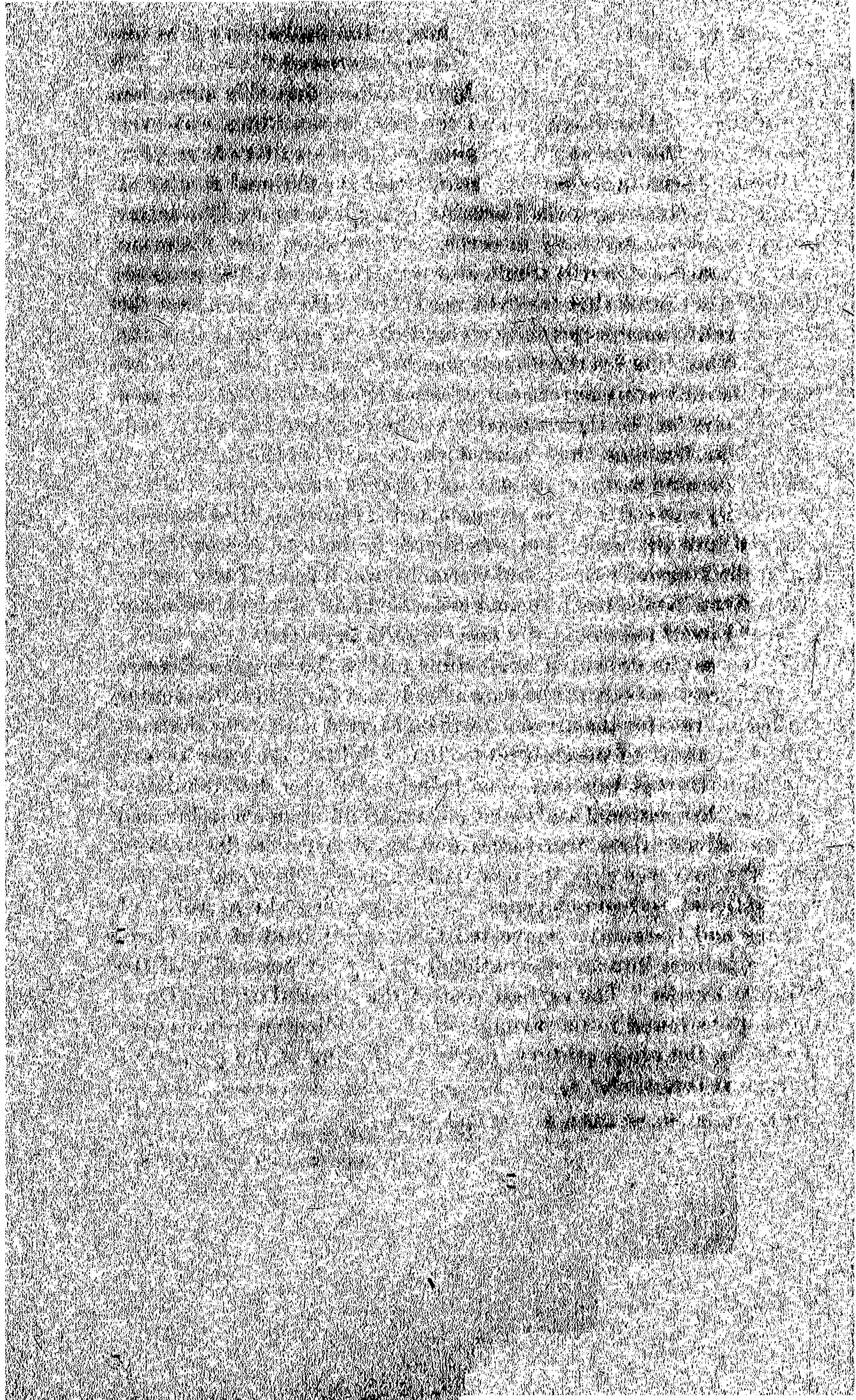
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APPENDIX I

THE MEROVINGIAN FISC

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
	A	
<i>Agaunense</i> , mon.	<i>St Maurice d'Agaune</i>	Greg. Tur., iii, 5
Albiga	Albi	Greg. Tur., ix, 20
<i>Arelatense</i> , bpc.	<i>Arles</i>	Greg. Tur., iv, 23 (30) Mabillon
Arlaun	near Caudebec, between the Seine and the Forêt de Brothonne	Lot, <i>L'Impôt foncier</i> , p. 102
<i>Arvernus</i> , bpc.	<i>Clermont-Ferrand</i>	Greg. Tur., iii, 12
<i>Aurelianense</i> , bpc.	<i>Orléans</i>	BM 31 d: <i>Gest. reg. Franc.</i> , c. 53 Greg. Tur., viii, 1-4
	B	
Belcinaca "non procul ab urbe . . . Calidumbeccum"	—	DD Thierry III: PL 87, 1319
Benara	Lescar	Greg. Tur., ix, 7
<i>Bituricense</i>	<i>Bourges</i>	Greg. Tur., vi, 22 (31)
<i>Blesense</i>	<i>Blois</i>	Greg. Tur., vii, 2 (21)
Burdigala, bpc.	Bordeaux	Greg. Tur., ii, 28 (38)
	C	
Cadurcus	Cahors	Greg. Tur., ix, 11
<i>Carnotenum</i> , bpc.	<i>Chartres</i>	Greg. Tur., ix, 20
<i>Cavallone</i> , bpc.	<i>Châlons-sur-Saône</i>	Greg. Tur., ix, 20 Mabillon
<i>Cenomanis</i> , bpc.	<i>Le Mans</i>	Greg. Tur., ix, 41
Condistatt	Canstatt	Ann. Mett., a. 746
<i>Confluentes</i>	<i>Coblenz</i>	Greg. Tur., viii, 13 Mabillon: <i>Fortunatus</i>
Consorranis urbs	St Lizier	Greg. Tur., ix, 20
	D	
<i>Dunensium</i>	<i>Châteaudun</i>	Greg. Tur., ix, 20: <i>Dunum</i>
	E	
<i>Eilohha</i> , mon.	<i>Fulda</i>	BM 47 (46): <i>Vita S. Sturmi</i> , c. 12
	F	
Flaviniano	Flavigny	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279

G		
Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Gaimundas	Saargemünd	BM 14
Gemetium, mon.	Jumièges	Gest. abb. Font., c. 8
<i>Grandis Campus</i>	<i>Grandchamp</i>	BM 925 (896): PL 104, 1227
J		
<i>Jocundiacus</i>	<i>Joué-les-Tours</i> ¹	Greg. Tur., v, 8 (14)
Julii vicus	Aire	Greg. Tur., ix, 20
L		
Laburdus	Bayonne	Greg. Tur., ix, 20
<i>Lemovicus</i> , bpc.	<i>Limoges</i>	Greg. Tur., v, 23 (30)
M		
<i>Marelegium</i>	<i>Marlenheim</i>	Greg. Tur., ix, 20 Marignan: La Société Mérovin- gienne, p. 39, n.
Maroialum	Mareuil-sur-Cher	Greg. Tur., vii, 12
Maroilensis villa	Mareil-sur-Loire	Greg. Tur., x, 3 Mabillon
*Monosensishaim	Monsheim	DD Childeric II: PL 87, 1298
N		
<i>Narbonense</i>	<i>Narbonne</i>	Mabillon: Greg. Tur., Glor. Mart.; Ann. Mett., a. 737
P		
Pictavense, bpc.	Poitiers	BM 39 a: Mabillon
R		
Rhodoialansis villa	Vaudreuil (Eure)	Greg. Tur., vii, 19
<i>Rotomagus</i> , bpc.	<i>Rouen</i>	Greg. Tur., iv, 36 Vanderkindere, p. 284
S		
<i>Santonae</i> , bpc.	<i>Saintes</i>	Greg. Tur., v, 7 (13)
Simpliciacus	St Cyr-Semblecy	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Spinogelum	near Epinay-sur-Seine	Fredegar, Chron. Cf. Rev. Archéol., XVI, 610 f.
Spissia	Espoisses	Mabillon
<i>Strataeburgum</i>	<i>Strasbourg</i>	Greg. Tur., ix, 36; x, 19

¹ Dalton identifies *Jocundiacus* as Jonzac. I prefer *Joué*, not only for philological reasons but also because of the phrase "positam ad flumen Carum prope Turonos" which locates it in the text.

T		
Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
*Tauriaco	Thury-Harcourt	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Teulegio	Tholey	PL 87, 1344
<i>Tolosa</i> , bpc.	<i>Toulouse</i>	Greg. Tur., ii, 18 (27)
<i>Turonis urbs</i> , bpc.	<i>Tours</i>	Greg. Tur., ix, 20
V		
<i>Viennense</i> , bpc.	<i>Vienne</i>	BM 51 f.: Greg. Tur., ii, 9 Mabillon

Unidentified Manors

Manor	Source references
Alintummas	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Burgonno	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Bursiaco	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Cambariaco	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Chambo super Orto fluviolo	PL 87, 1346
Coriaco	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Ercherecus	Mabillon Fredegar., Chron., c. 97
Fons Besuae, mon. near Trier	DD Thierry III: PL 87, 1325
Fortilca villa	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1281
Glamane villa, pal.	BM 32
Hogregia	PL 87, 1347
Luciniacum in pago Velocassinense	BM 12
Madiacus	PL 87, 1344
Molinus-cottus super fluvio Masso in pago Belloacense	BM 29
Monhiago	PL 87, 1345
Nielsio	BM 6
Pociusciniaco	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Saocitha	DD Thierry III: PL 87, 1325
Sastivale	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Stupellas	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Talmatio	PL 87, 1344
Vassurecurri	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Villa regis	Mabillon: Vita S. Germani
Virtlaicum super fluvio Eora in pago Tellau	BM 26
Weimodus, pal.	Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 5 Mabillon: Miraeus, Cod. dip., 27

Unlocated Manors

Manor	Modern location	Source reference
Ecclesiola	Glisolles (Eure)?	BM 13: G. abb. Font., c. 2

APPENDIX II

THE AUSTRASIAN FISC

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
	A	
Abniti	Oneux	DD Thierry III: PL 87, 1325
Adtantinna	Audun	PL 87, 1345
Albinicus	Aubigny	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1281
Amblava villa	Amblève	BM 30 q DD Childeric II: PL 87, 1294 Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 1
<i>Andernacum</i>	<i>Andernach</i>	BM 55 c: PL 89, 1119 Mabillon: Fortunatus, x, Carmina, 12
Arraticum, bpc.	Arras	Vanderkindere, p. 276
<i>Attiniaco</i>	<i>Attigny</i>	BM 56: HF IV, 715
	B	
<i>Barisiacum</i>	<i>Barisis-aux-Bois</i>	DD Childeric II: PL 87, 1285
<i>Bastoneco</i>	<i>Bastogne</i>	PL 87, 1347
Bedense	Bitburg	BM 24 Eggers, 43.33: R.C. 24
Bellerino	Beaurains	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1281
Belsonancus	Beslingen	Greg. Tur., viii, 21
Belulfiago	Beuveville	PL 87, 1344
Bogolosa villa	Bakel	BM 20 Eggers, 43.24: R.C. 20 Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 4
Bosleni Pons	Bouillancourt-Séry	Levillain, Moyen âge, 1903, p. 11, n. 2; Lot, Moyen âge, 1905, pp. 29 and 31
<i>Brinnacus</i>	<i>Berny-Rivière</i> ¹	Greg. Tur., iv, 15 (22) Marignan, p. 39, n.
Brocaria	Bruyères	PL 87, 1341 Mabillon: Vita Columb., i, 18
Bullendorf	Bollendorf	BM 31
	C	
Calmiciacum	Chaumuzy	BM 4: Flodoard, Hist. Rem., ii
<i>Camarmacum</i> , bpc.	<i>Cambrai</i>	Greg. Tur., ii, 31 (42) Vanderkindere, p. 276
<i>Caranco</i>	<i>Cherain</i>	DD Childeric II: PL 87, 1294 Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 1
<i>Carraciaco</i>	<i>Kiersy</i>	BM 30 e: Pardessus II, 261

¹ See Appendix IV.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
<i>Keверmunt</i>	Chèvremont near Liège	D'Otreppe de Bouvette, Bulletin de l'Institut archéol. Liègois, I, 437; Vita S. Beggae (widow of Pepin of Landen, Abbess of Andenne, d. 694 or 695): AA SS Belg., V, 111-119
<i>Casecongildunus, mon.</i>	Cougnon	BM 2 t
<i>Cauciacum, mon.</i>	Choisy-au-Bac	Marignan, p. 39, n.
<i>Cispiacum</i>	Cheppy ²	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1281 Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 10
<i>Colonia, bpc.</i>	Cologne	BM 30 t
<i>Compendium</i>	Compiègne	BM 29: Fredegar., Chron., c. 85 Marignan, p. 39, n.
<i>Corbeia, mon.</i>	Corbie	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1281
<i>Cotiriaco in pago Cameliacensi</i>	—————	DD Clovis II: PL 87, 681
<i>Crisciaco</i>	Crécy	DD Thierry III: PL 87, 1339
<i>Crovia</i>	Kröv	BM 59: MGH DD Mer. 109
<i>Croviacum</i>	Croüy	Mabillon: Fortunatus, Vita S. Medardi
—————	Cumières	BM 10: MGH DD Mer. 92
D		
<i>Dispargum</i>	Duisburg	Marignan, p. 39, n.
<i>Dorestate</i>	Wijk bei Duurstede	BM 5 a: Fredegar., Chron., c. 102
<i>Dunavilla</i>	Tèneville ³	BM 49
<i>Duria</i>	Düren	BM 55 a: Ann. Mett., a. 748
E		
<i>Eike, mon.</i>	Alden Eyck	Teulet II, 395
<i>Elsti</i>	Elst	BM 38: PL 89, 552
<i>Epternach, mon.</i>	Echternach	BM 14: MGH DD Mer. 173
<i>Essona</i>	Essonnes	Mabillon
F		
<i>Fatiliago</i>	Faily	PL 87, 1346
<i>Felison</i>	Velsen	BM 41: MGH DD Mer. 101
<i>Fidiacus</i>	Vigy	BM 27: MGH DD Mer. 214 BM 31: MGH DD Mer. 97
<i>Floriacus in pago Veliocassino</i>	Fleury-sur-Andelle	BM 16: G. abb. Font., c. 2
* <i>Folieto</i>	Folleville	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1281
* <i>Fontanas ad Sambram</i>	Fontaine-aux-Bois	BM 47: G. abb. Font., c. 2
* <i>Fontanidum</i>	Fontenay	BM 17: G. abb. Font., c. 2

² See Appendix IV.³ Mühlbacher also gives Didonvilla, now Dingdorf near Prüm.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
<i>Mettis</i> , bpc.	<i>Metz</i>	BM 27: PL 88, 1262 Greg. Tur., viii, 37 Mabillon
Monciaco * <i>Muntcellis</i>	Monchy-aux-Bois <i>Montceaux</i>	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1281 DD Thierry III: PL 87, 1325
N		
Namucum	Namur	Vanderkindere, p. 160, n. 1; p. 178, n. 17
<i>Nantogilum</i>	<i>Nanteuil-le-Harduin</i>	Mabillon: Spicil., iii, 194
Nogaria	Noers	PL 87, 1343
Novientum	Nogent	Greg. Tur., vi, 2
<i>Noviomagus</i> , bpc.	<i>Noyon</i>	Mabillon: Vita S. Medardi Vanderkindere, p. 276
Nugaredum	Norroy-le-Sec	BM 6: MGH DD Mer. 92
O		
Okinsala	Steenockerzeele	BM 21: Vita S. Trudonis Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 2
*Onenhaim	Wannheim	DD Childeric II: PL 87, 1198
P		
Paridum <i>Parisius</i> , bpc.	Pareid <i>Paris</i>	BM 10: MGH DD Mer. 92 BM 30 s: Fredegar., c. 106 Greg. Tur., vii, 23 Mabillon
<i>Perona</i>	<i>Péronne</i>	Mabillon: Fortunatus
Petraepons	Pierrepont	BM 33: MGH SS IV, 43
Pontico	Ponthion	Greg. Tur., iv, 16 (23); vi, 37
R		
Remense, bpc.	Rheims	Greg. Tur., iv, 15 (22) Vanderkindere, p. 284
S		
—————	Saclas	BM 5 (535)
Sauriciacus	Longueval	Marignan, p. 39, n.
<i>Senonense</i> , bpc.	<i>Sens</i>	Greg. Tur., ix, 20 Vanderkindere, p. 284
<i>Silvanectis</i> , bpc.	<i>Senlis</i>	Greg. Tur., ix, 20 Mabillon
<i>Sithiu</i> , mon.	<i>St Omer</i>	Vanderkindere, p. 188
Solemnium, mon.	Solesmes	BM 56
<i>Stabulaus</i> , mon.	<i>Stavelot</i>	BM 3 a
Stampense	Etampes	Greg. Tur., ix, 20

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
<i>Sterpiniacus</i> <i>Suessionis</i> , bpc.	Etrépagny Soissons	Mabillon: <i>Gesta Dagoberti</i> BM 31 c: <i>Gest. reg. Franc.</i> , c. 53 Greg. Tur., iv, 16 (23). Mabillon
<i>Suestre</i> , mon.	<i>Süsteren</i>	BM 20: PL 89, 547
T		
Taceaco	Thésy	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1281
*Taricinus in pago Bellovacis	Tartigny	BM 11: G. abb. Font., c. 2
Taruenna, bpc.	Térouanne	Vanderkindere, p. 276
<i>Tauricciacus</i>	<i>Thury</i>	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1279
Templum Martis	Talmas	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1281
Terune juxta fluvio- lum Axina	Terron-sur-Aisne	DD Sigibert: PL 87, 325 BM 3: MGH DD Mer. 91
Textricius	Testri	BM 4 f.
<i>Tornacus</i> , bpc.	<i>Tournai</i>	Greg. Tur., ii, 18 (27)
<i>Trajectus ad Mosam</i>	<i>Maastricht</i>	Vanderkindere, p. 276
<i>Trajectus</i> , bpc.	<i>Utrecht</i>	Vanderkindere, p. 276
<i>Treviris</i> , bpc.	<i>Trier</i> (Trèves)	BM 40: MGH SS XXIII, 23 Mabillon
<i>Tulpiciacum</i>	<i>Zülpich</i> ⁴	BM 35: MGH SS II, 279 BM 38: HF VI, 705 Eggers, 43.33: R.C. 35, 38
U		
Unichi	Ugny	PL 87, 1345
V		
<i>Valentianae</i>	<i>Valenciennes</i>	BM 35 b: Pardessus, II, 338
_____	Vechten	BM 34: PL 89, 551
<i>Vermeria</i>	<i>Verberie</i>	BM 41 c: Fredegar, Chron., c. 109 BM 65 (63): PL 96, 1521 Mabillon
<i>Vernum</i>	<i>Ver</i>	BM 55: PL 88, 1308
Victricus	Vitry	Greg. Tur., iv, 36 (51) Mabillon
Victuriacus	Vitry-les-Rheims	BM 4: Flodoard, Hist. Rem. ii, 7
Vinciago	Vinchy	BM 30 r
W		
Walliaco	Wailly	DD Chlothar III: PL 87, 1281
*Walmo in pago Bellovacis	Vaumont	BM 12: G. abb. Font., c. 2

⁴ Cf. Appendix IV.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Waslin	Wellin	BM 48: PL 88, 1307
Wassidio	Haut-le-Wastia	BM 50 (48) Eggers, 43.26: R.C. 50 Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 6
*Wintalana	Witlan	BM 28: G. abb. Font., c. 8

Forests Belonging to the Austrasian Fisc

Forest	Source references
Arelaunus ⁵	Mabillon: Acta S. Landeberti Lugdunensis Episcopi A. Maury, Les Forêts de la France, pp. 82 and 124 Greg. Tur., iii, 28
Cotia ⁶	Greg. Tur., iv, 14 (21) Maury, p. 78
Roverito ⁷	DD Chilperic II: PL 88, 1125

Regions Belonging to the Austrasian Fisc

Region	Modern location	Source references
Condorusto	Condroz ⁸	Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 15
Corbario	Corbière mts. ⁹	BM 39 1: Mabillon
—	Graveningen	BM 34
Hasbaniensis pagus	The Hesbaye	Ann. Bert., a. 842, p. 48, n. c Vanderkindere, p. 178
Lomense ¹⁰		Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 17

⁵ A forest of Brothonne.⁶ Near the Forest of Compiègne.⁷ Near Paris.⁸ A pagus.⁹ In the Narbonnais near Pierrefitte.¹⁰ A pasture.

APPENDIX III

THE CAROLINGIAN FISC

A.D. 752 TO A.D. 900

WESTERN SECTION

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Agaunense, mon.	St Maurice d'Agaune	Parisot, p. 352
Agennum	Agen	BM 104 c (101 c): Fredegar., Chron., cc. 128, 129 BM 644 (623): PL 104, 1059.
Albufilvilla, pal.	Albisheim	See Appendix IV
Alisiacum	Alièze	BM 1324 (1288): Gall. Christ., XV ^b , 4
Alta Petra, mon.	Mouthier- Haute-Pierre ¹	TM: Parisot, p. 372
Ambianos, bpc.	Amiens	See Appendix IV
Ambiliacus (im Genfer gau)	Aouilly?	BM 1289 (1254): HF VIII, 407
Andernacum, pal.	Andernach	See Appendix IV
Andiacum, pal.	Angeac	BM 136 (133): PL 97, 917 Mabillon
S. Andrea, mon.	St André	BM 236 (227): MGH SS III, 707 BM 914 (885): PL 104, 1179
Aquis, bpc.	Aix	Parisot, p. 226
Aquisgranum, pal.	Aachen	See Appendix IV
Arausione, bpc.	Orange	BM 1331 (1294): BECh, I, 495
Arcae Remorum, pal.	Arches-sur-Meuse	See Appendix IV
Ardon	Ardon	BM 979 (948): PL 104, 1282
Areae "in portu Vitrariae"	Port-St-Père	BM 738 (714): Sickel, Reg. 133; L 167
Arelatense, archbpc.	Arles	Parisot, pp. 106-107
Arvernum, bpc.	Clermont-Ferrand	BM 92 d (90 d): Fredegar., Chron., c. 124 BM 929 (900): Fredegar., Chron., c. 125; Ann. Mett., a. 761 BM 998 b (967 b): Prud. Ann., a. 839
Aslao, pal.	Elsloo	See Appendix IV
Attiniacum, pal.	Attigny	See Appendix IV

¹ Mabillon, Calmet, Bertholet, and Bouquet have identified this monastery as Haut Pierre near Moyenmoutier. Waitz, Longnon, Mühlbacher, Krause, and Parisot prefer Mouthiers-Haute-Pierre.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
S. Aubinus, mon.	St Aubin (Angers)	Parisot, p. 41, n. 5
Audiacum	Audeux	Mabillon: Vita Hlud., a. 795
Audriaca villa, pal.	Orville	See Appendix IV
S. Augentius, mon.	St Claude	TM: Parisot, p. 374
Augustodunum, bpc.	Autun	BM 1045 a (1011 a): Vita Hlud., c. 53; Parisot, p. 434
Aurelianense, bpc., pal.	Orléans	See Appendix IV
Ausciensis, archbpc.	Auch	BM 644 (623): PL 104, 1059
Autisiodero, bpc.	Auxerre	See Appendix IV
—————	Avort	Poupardin, Monuments de l'his- toire des abbayes de Saint Philibert, p. 110, n. 2
*Aziriaca villa	Aiserey	BM 963 (932): HF VI, 611 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 611
		B]
Bain "in pago Browerochi"	Bains	BM 933 (904): PL 104, 1251
Barcinona, bpc.	Barcelona	BM 516 f (497 f): Ann. Einh., a. 801
Basiu, pal.	Basieu	See Appendix IV
Basula, bpc.	Basel	See Appendix IV
Bellicum, bpc.	Belley	Parisot, pp. 106-107, 120
Belna	Beaune	Parisot, p. 190, n. 6
Bes	Bessé ²	BM 917 (888): PL 104, 1218 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 917, 8 Jan., 833
Bidolidum, pal.	Belloy	See Appendix IV
Bituricense, pal.	Bourges	BM 93 d (91 d): Ann. Lauriss., a. 762; Mabillon: Ann. Franc., a. 762, 766, 767
Blanciaco, pal.	Blanzée	See Appendix IV
Blesense, pal.	Blois	BM 931 d (902 d): Ann. Bert., a. 834
Bonalla	Bannes-en-Charnie	BM 973 (942): PL 104, 1278 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 618
Brinnacus, pal.	Berny-Rivière	See Appendix IV
*Briona, pal.	Brion	Parisot, p. 41, n. 5
Brogilum (Nova Villa)	Neuveville-sur- Sarthe	BM 641 (620): MGH SS III, 151 BM 917 (888): PL 104, 1218 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 587
—————	Bruailles	Parisot, p. 393
Burbone	Bourbon-l'Archan- bault	BM 92 m (90 m): Ann. Mett., a. 761

² Because of the direction of the itinerary, Mühlbacher prefers Bessé to Spruner-Menke's suggestions of Bais, northwest of Le Mans, or Boësse-le-Sec (Sarthe, arr. Mamers, cant. Tuffé).

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Burgus	Bourg	BM 1743 (1696): Dopsch, <i>Forschungen</i> , IX, 422
Buxeria	La Boussière	BM 114 (111): Bréquigny, <i>Table chronologique</i> , I, 104
C		
Cachiliacum	Chélieu	BM 1322 (1286): HF VIII, 409, no. 8: Parisot, p. 225, n. 2
Cadiniaco	Chagny	BM 1077 (1043): HF VIII, 368
*Cadrius mons, pal.	Caumont	Mabillon: <i>Gesta Convoionis abbatibus et patrum Rotonensium</i> , saec. 4, Bened., pt. 2, 200
Caduppa	Chappes	BM 910 (881): PL 104, 1215
Calisamen	Chammes	BM 999 (968): PL 115, 105 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 627
Calviacus	Chouzy	BM 931 d (902 d): Ann. Bert., a. 834: Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 931 d, a. 834
Camaracum, bpc.	Cambrai	See Appendix IV
Cambisonum, pal.	Chamesson	See Appendix IV
Cameliacum, pal.	Chambly-l'Aubérger	See Appendix IV
Cammingehunderi	Leeuwarden	BM 997 (966): Schaten, <i>Ann. Pader.</i> , I, 118 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 997
Cantella	Chantella	BM 92 n (90 n): Ann. Lauriss., a. 761
Captunacum, pal.	Capdenac	Mabillon: <i>Archives de St Denis</i>
*Carboniles, mon.	Cubières?	BM 567 (547): HF VI, 472
Carnotenum, bpc.	Chartres	See Appendix IV
Carpentrate, bpc.	Carpentras	BM 1338 (1300): HF viii, 401
Carraciacus, pal.	Kiersy	See Appendix IV
Cartilatium	Carlat	BM 998 c (967 c): <i>Vita Hlud.</i> , c. 61
Casa Nova, mon.	Caseneuve (Aude)	BM 970 (939): PL 103, 1437
Cassinogilum, pal.	Casseneuil ³	BM 214 a (209 a): Ann. Lauriss., a. 778; <i>Vita Hlud.</i> , c. 2 Baluze, <i>Capit.</i> II, 1402 Mabillon
Castrum Carnonis, mon.	Château-Châlons	BM 1324 (1288): Gall. Christ., XV ^b , 4; TM Parisot, p. 316, n. 2, p. 372
Catalaunense, bpc., pal.	Châlons-sur-Marne	See Appendix IV

³ Jullian, in *Moyen Age*, 1897, p. 263, believes Cassinogilum to be Chasseneuil in Poitou. Cf. *Etudes Monod*, p. 89.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Catiacus	Chazé	BM 335 (326): PL 97, 1068 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 180
Cauciacum, mon., pal.	Choisy-au-Bac	See Appendix IV
Caucina "super fluvium Araurem ubi dicitur Ad Salices"	Cousse-de-la-Selle	KDD 188
Cavallone, bpc., pal.	Châlons-sur-Saône	BM 515 m (496 m): Ann. Einh., a. 817; BM 997 d (966 d): Vita Hlud., c. 61 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 998, 1 Sept., 839 Parisot, <i>passim</i> ; Mabillon
Cavennacum	Cavagnac	BM 1324 (1288): Gall. Christ., XV ^b , 4
Cenomanis, bpc.	Le Mans	BM 910 b (881 b): HF VI, 299 BM 997 d (966 d): Vita Hlud., c. 61; Steinitz, Tab. II : HF VI, 584; Steinitz, Tab. III Reg. 998, 1 Sept., 839
Chirichheim, pal.	Kirchheim	See Appendix IV
Circiacus, pal.	St Denis (near Issoudun)	BM 947 (916): PL 104, 1264
Cispiacum, pal.	Cheppy	See Appendix IV
Clunacus	Cluny	BM 1044 (1010): HF VIII, 374 Parisot, p. 393
Codiacum, pal.	Coucy	See Appendix IV
Colonia, archbpc.	Cologne	See Appendix IV
Compendium, pal.	Compiègne	See Appendix IV
Confluentes ad Rhenum, pal.	Coblentz	See Appendix IV
Constantinus Comitatus, bpc.	Coutances	Ann. Bert., a. 837
Corbonaca, pal.	Corbény	See Appendix IV
Costa	Côte-St-André	Parisot, p. 456, n. 8
Creaiacum ad Serram, pal.	Crécy-sur-Serre	See Appendix IV
Cruciniacum, pal.	Kreuznach	See Appendix IV
Cugnus	Cugney	BM 1135 (1101): HF VIII, 385
Curcionatis (Cinciacum)	Cessenon	BM 758 (733): PL 103, 1436, as Cissan; BM 969 (938)
Curtiniacus	Courtenay	BM 1301 (1266): HF VIII, 409, no. 9; Parisot, p. 225, n. 2
Cusiacum, pal.	Chézy	See Appendix IV

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Gordinis	Gordon ⁶	BM 103 n (101 n): Fredegar., Chron., c. 132
Grandis vallis, mon.	Moutiers-Granval ⁸	BM 1310 (1275): HF VIII, 413 Eggers, 21.20: R.C. 1310: TM: Parisot, p. 372
Grantias valle	Granges-la-Ville ⁷	BM 1697 (1652): Wiener SB, XCII; 381, n. 4
Gratianopolis, bpc.	Grenoble	Parisot, p. 317, n. 4, 393
Gundulfi villa, pal.	Gondreville	See Appendix IV
H		
Harastallium, pal.	Heristal	See Appendix IV
S. Hilarius, mon.	St Hilaire (Poitou)	F. Lot, BECh, LXXVI, 499 Ann. Bert., a. 867
Hisandonis	Issoudun	BM 96 f (94 f): MGH SS IV: 115
I		
S. Imerius, mon.	St Immier	BM 1691 (1646): HF IX, 334
Insula Barba, mon.	Ile-Barbe	BM 596 (576): PL 104, 1026
J		
Jenua, bpc.	Geneva	BM 158 a (155 a): Ann. Einh., a. 773; Parisot, p. 93, n. 3; pp. 106-107
Jobii villa, pal.	Jupille	See Appendix IV
Jocundiacum, pal.	Jouac ⁹	BM 516 (497): PL 104, 979 Mabillon: Thegan, Vita Hlud., and Astronomer, Vita Hlud.
Jocundiago, pal.	Joué-les-Tours	BM 906 b (877 b): HF VI, 313 Mabillon
Juvinciacum	Juvignac	BM 349 (340): HF V, 761 BM 907 (878): HF VI, 581
L		
Laniaco	Laigné	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD, 205
Lantdegon	Langon	BM 933 (904): PL 104, 1251 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 597
Lauriaco	Loiré	BM 335 (326): PL 97, 1068 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 180
Lausanna, bpc.	Lausanne	Parisot, p. 95, n. 3, and <i>passim</i>
S. Leodegarium, pal.	St Léger	See Appendix IV
Leodicum, bpc., pal.	Liège	See Appendix IV

⁶ Mühlbacher also gives Cosne on the Loire (Nièvre, arr. Conada).

⁷ Mühlbacher also gives Granges (Jura, Côte d'Or, and Haute Saône all have Granges), and Granges-du-Val (Haute Marne, arr. Langres). Parisot, 472, n. 4, says Grängen near Brigne.

⁸ This is Parisot's identification. Waitz and Eggers give Granfelt, in the diocese of Basel.

⁹ Mabillon, although citing both Jocundiacum and Jocundiago, separately, identifies both as Jouac.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Lemovicus, bpc.	Limoges	BM 92 p (90 p): Ann. Mett., a. 761
Lingonense, bpc., pal.	Langres	See Appendix IV
Liptinae, pal.	Estinnes	See Appendix IV
Livia	La Louvesc?	BM 1322 (1286): HF VIII, 409, no. 8; BM 1337 (1299): HF VIII, 399, no. 6: Parisot, p. 225, n. 2
Locus Sanctus, pal.	Lieusaint	See Appendix IV
Longlario, pal.	Longlier	See Appendix IV
Loptannaeus	Lurey-le-Bourg	BM 796 (772): HF VI, 246
—	Louerre	Poupardin, p. 110, n. 2
Luciniacus	Lucenay-l'Evêque	BM 1076 (1042): HF VIII, 376
Lucus villa	Leuk (Louèche)	BM 945 (914): PL 104, 1260 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 945
Lugdunum	Loudun	BM 972 (941): PL 104, 1279 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 617
Lugdunum clava- tum, bpc., pal.	Laon	See Appendix IV
Lugdunum Sequisi- anorum, archbpc., pal.	Lyon	BM 76 b (74 b): Fredegar., Chron., c. 120 Parisot, p. 374, and <i>passim</i> TM; Mabillon
Lusarca, pal.	Luzarches	See Appendix IV
M		
Magdalonense castrum	Maguelonne	BM 752 (726): PL 104, 1432
Mamaccae, pal.	Maumaques	See Appendix IV
Manderfelt, pal.	Manderfeld	See Appendix IV
Mantala, pal.	Mantaille	BM 1299 (1264): HF VIII, 398 Mabillon, Ann. Burgundiae
S. Marcellus, mon.	St Marcel	BM 1329 (1293): HF VIII, 397 TM Parisot, p. 374
Mareleiae, mon., pal.	Maroilles	See Appendix IV
S. Maria, mon.	Sta Maria (Besançon)	TM Parisot, p. 374
*Mariscarius, pal.	Mercœur	Mabillon: DD Charles the Bald, a. 845
—	Marmont	BM 528 (509): Zapf, I, 3
Marsna, pal.	Meerssen	See Appendix IV
S. Martinus, mon.	St Martin (Arles)	BM 706 (685): PL 103, 1428

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
S. Martinus, mon.	St Martin (Besançon)	TM Parisot, p. 374
S. Martinus, mon.	St Martin (Tours)	Parisot, p. 191 and n. 2
Masiacum	Mausaune	BM 179 (175): HF V, 720, as Messy near Meaux ¹⁰ BM 714 (691): PL 103, 1430 BM 752 (726): PL 103, 1435
Maslarius, pal.	Mâlay-le-Roy	See Appendix IV
*Massiliacus	Massilly	BM 671 (657): HF VI, 639
Masua	Mesvres	BM 92 c (90 c): Fredegar., Chron., c. 124
Matualis villa	Montaillé	BM 929 a (900 a): Vita Hlud., c. 53
Maurienna	St-Jean-de-Maurienne	BM 76 e (74 e): Ann. Mett., a. 754
S. Maximinus, mon.	St Maximin	BM 1300 (1265): HF VIII, 408
Mesciacus	Messy-en-Poitou	F. Lot, BECh, LXXVI, 473
Mettis, bpc., pal.	Metz	See Appendix IV
Milciacum	Mellecy	BM 1091 i (1057 i) Nithard, iv, 3 Richter, Annalen, a. 842 Dümmler, I, 174, as Mussy-sur- Seine
Miliacus	Millas ¹¹	BM 517 (498): PL 104, 982
Milidunum, pal.	Melun	See Appendix IV
Minerves	Villa Cessères (near Narbonne)	HF VIII, 440, no. 17; Lot and Halphen, Le règne de Charles le Chauve, p. 105
Miscaria	Meschers	BM 526 (507): PL 104, 987
Mogontiacum, archbpc., pal.	Mainz	See Appendix IV
Monasteriolum, pal.	Montreuil	See Appendix IV
Montecalmense	Montcalm ¹²	BM 522 (503): PL 103, 1423 BM 580 (560): PL 103, 1426
Monticellus, pal.	Montceaux	See Appendix IV
Montiniacum, pal.	Montigny-sur-Aube	See Appendix IV
Morenate	Mornas	BM 706 (685): PL 103, 1428
Mors Gothorum	Morgoudou	BM 515 u (496 u): Vita Hlud., c. 5
Murnaco	Mornac	BM 134 (131): PL 97, 916
N		
Namnetense, bpc.	Nantes	BM 671 a (657 a): Ermoldus Nigellus, III, 297

¹⁰ Mühlbacher also suggests Mussy-sur-Seine as a possibility, but prefers Mellecy. See Milciacum below.

¹¹ Mühlbacher also suggests Milhac d'Auberoche (Dordogne, arr. Périgueux).

¹² Mühlbacher also suggests Montagues, near Maguelonne.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Nantogilum, pal.	Nanteuil-le-Harduin	See Appendix IV
Narbonense, pal.	Narbonne	Ann. Mett., aa. 737, 757, 761
Nemetense, bpc., pal.	Speier	See Appendix IV
Neumago, pal.	Neumagen	See Appendix IV
Nevernum	Nevers	BM 92 l (90 l): Fredegar., Chron., c. 125 BM 96 c (94 c): Ann. Mett., a. 763
Noronte	Néronde	BM 129 (125): HF V, 721 Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 53 Parisot, p. 456, n. 8
Noviomagus Bata- vorum, Niuma- gum, pal.	Nymwegen (Nimègue)	See Appendix IV
Noviomagus Verò- mandorum, bpc., pal.	Noyon	See Appendix IV
O		
Oscarnise	Oscheret ¹³	BM 963 (932): HF VI, 611
P		
Pampilona, bpc.	Pamplona	BM 214 e (209 e): Ann. Lauriss., a. 778
Parisius, bpc., pal.	Paris	See Appendix IV
Patriciacus	Perrecy-les-Forges	BM 1001 (970): HF VI, 628
Pauliacus	Pouilly-sur-Loire	Parisot, p. 298, n.
Pavasianus	Pavezin	BM 1135 (1101): HF VIII, 385
Perona, pal.	Péronne	See Appendix IV
Petracta, pal.	Pierrefitte-sur-Aire	See Appendix IV
Petracta, pal.	Pierrefitte	Mabillon: DD Pippin the Youn- ger, of Aquitaine
*Pingu	Pingon	Steinitz, Tab. II: Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 16
Pipicense	Bümplitz	BM 1310 (1295): HF VIII, 413; Eggers, 21.22: R.C. 1310; Pari- sot, p. 134, n. 5
Pistae, pal.	Pîtres	See Appendix IV
Plaz	Plazac	BM 979 (948): PL 104, 1282
Plomberiae	Plombières-les-Dijon	BM 1698 (1653): HF IX, 335
Polemniacus, mon.	Poligny	TM; Parisot, p. 372
Ponciacum, pal.	Pontac	Mabillon: 20th year of Charles the Bald
Pontico, pal.	Ponthion	See Appendix IV

¹³ At the juncture of the Ouche and Saône rivers.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Pontiliacum, pal.	Pontaillier ¹⁴ (near Dijon)	Ann. Bert., a. 872 Calmette, pp. 140, 206
R		
Rannac	Renac	BM 979 (948): PL 104, 1282
Reckovis-villare	Reconvillier	BM 1691 (1646): HF IX, 334
Redonica urbs, bpc.	Rennes	BM 790 c (765 c): Ann. Einh., a. 824
Remiliacus	Remilly	BM 1071 (1037): HF VIII, 394 Parisot, pp. 410, 686
Restis	Rest	BM 910 a (881 a): MGH SS IV, 119
Romerici Mons, mon., pal.	Remiremont	See Appendix IV
Rosariae	Rosay	BM 540 (521): PL 104, 990
Rosiacum, pal.	Rouy	See Appendix IV
Rotomagus, archbpc.	Rouen	See Appendix IV
S		
Salmunciagum, pal.	Samoucy	See Appendix IV
Santonae, bpc.	Saintes	BM 104 u (101 u): Ann. Lauriss., a. 768
Saponarius, pal.	Savonnières	See Appendix IV
Satanacum, pal.	Stenay	See Appendix IV
_____	Saugé-l'Hôpital	Poupardin, p. 110, n. 2
Scladistadense, pal.	Schlettstadt	See Appendix IV
Scobrit " 'in vicaria Racinense' im gau Poitiers"	_____	BM 1000 (969): PL 104, 1305
Sconilare, pal.	Schüller	See Appendix IV
Sedunum, bpc.	Sion	Parisot, p. 95, n. 3
Sellus	Chantoceaux	BM 104 x (101 x): Fredegar., Chron., cc. 134, 135
Senonense, archbpc., pal.	Sens	See Appendix IV
Ad Signa	Sigean	BM 522 (503): PL 103, 1423
Silvanectis, bpc.	Senlis	See Appendix IV
Silviacus, pal.	Servais	See Appendix IV
Silviniacus	Serves-Erome	BM 1328 (1292): Gall. Christ., XVI ^b , 8
Sinciacus, pal.	Sinzig	See Appendix IV
Sita	Cette	BM 522 (503): PL 103, 1423
Soricinium, mon.	Sorèze	Böhmer, no. 8; Gall. Christ., XIII, 263
Stirpiacum, pal.	Etrépy	See Appendix IV

¹⁴ Lot has identified the Pons Liadi of the Ann. Bert., a. 872, with Pontiliacum and hence with Pontaillier—"Mélanges carolingiennes," *Moyen Age*, 1905: 131.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Stramiacum, pal.	Crémieu	BM 1326 (1290): D'Achéry, Spicil., XII, 120 (III, 383 in ed. 2); BM 941 a (910 a): Ann. Fuld., a. 835; Parisot, p. 57 Mabillon: Vita Hlud., a. 836
Strataeburgum, bpc., pal.	Strasbourg	See Appendix IV
Suessionis, bpc., pal.	Soissons	See Appendix IV
T		
Tarentasia, archbpc.	Mouthiers-Tarentaise	Parisot, pp. 106-107
Tectis, pal.	Theux	See Appendix IV
Theodonis villa, pal.	Thionville (Diedenhofen)	See Appendix IV
Theodvvadum, pal.	Doué	BM 92 e (90 e): Ann. Mett., a. 760 Poupardin, pp. 101, 110, n. 2 Mabillon: Vita Hlud., a. 832
Toarcius	Thouars	BM 93 e (91 e): Ann. Mett., a. 762
Tolliacus	Tullins ¹⁵	BM 1329 (1293): HF VIII, 397
Tolosa, archbpc., pal.	Toulouse	BM 104 i (101 i): Ann. Lauriss., a. 767; Mabillon: Ann. reg. Franc., a. 767
Torent	Torrent	BM 1044 (1010): HF VIII, 374
Tornacus, bpc.	Tournai	See Appendix IV
Tornone	Tournon	BM 1301 (1266): HF VIII, 409, no. 9 BM 1335 (1298): HF VIII, 399, no. 5
Trajectus ad Mosam, bpc.	Maastricht	See Appendix IV
Trecus, bpc.	Troyes	See Appendix IV
Treviris, archbpc., pal.	Trèves (Trier)	See Appendix IV
Tridens	Trans	BM 974 (943): PL 104, 1278 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 619
Troilum	Treil	Devic and Vaissette, Hist. du Languedoc (ed. 2), II, 48 Dopsch, Wirtschaftsentw. der Karolingerzeit, I, 67, n. 6
Tullus, bpc.	Toul	See Appendix IV
Tumbis, pal.	Thommen	See Appendix IV
Turicae	Thurié?	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 205

¹⁵ Mühlbacher also suggests Thollet.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Turceriae	Torcy	BM 247 (238): HF V, 746
Turonis, archbpc.	Tours	BM 353 c (344 c): Vita Hlud., c. 12
Tusiacum, pal.	Tusey	See Appendix IV
U		
Ucetica, bpc.	Uzès	BM 1331 (1294): BECh I, 1, 495 Parisot, p. 374: TM
Urba	Orbe (near Lausanne)	Ann. Bert., a. 856, 864, 865, 877: Parisot, <i>passim</i> : Calmette, pp. 32, 92, 100: BM 1323 (1287): Grandidier, Strasbourg, II ^b , 253
S. Ursus, mon.	St Ursus (Soleure)	Parisot, p. 372
Utrech, bpc.	Utrecht	See Appendix IV
V		
Valentiana, pal.	Valenciennes	See Appendix IV
Vallis Clusae, mon.	Vauxcluse	TM: Parisot, p. 372
Vendopera, pal.	Vandœuvre	See Appendix IV
Venedis, bpc.	Vannes	BM 671 b (657 b): Erm. Nig., iii, 305 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 671 b
Venitta, pal.	Venette	See Appendix IV
Veredunum, bpc.	Verdun	See Appendix IV
—	Vergy	Parisot, p. 190: Böhmer, no. 1697
Vermeria, pal.	Verberie	See Appendix IV
Vernimptae, pal.	Vernantes	Mabillon: DD Charles the Bald
Vernus, pal.	Ver	See Appendix IV
Vertuma, mon.	Vermes	BM 1691 (1646): HF IX, 334
Vesontium, bpc.	Besançon	TM: Parisot, p. 372
Vienna, archbpc.	Vienne	TM: Parisot, p. 374
Villa Censerada	[Narbonnais]	HF VIII, 442, no. 20; Lot and Halphen, <i>Le Règne de Charles le Chauve</i> , 101, n. 2
Villa Fontes	Dép. Aude, arr. Narbonne, cant. Durban	HF VIII, 459, no. 38; Lot and Halphen, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 105
Villa nova	Villeneuve-des-Escalades	BM 1034 (1000): HF VI, 365
Vivariae, bpc.	Viviers	Parisot, p. 374
W		
Warmatia, pal.	Worms	See Appendix IV
Wasalia, pal.	Oberwesel	See Appendix IV

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D

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
————	Daasdorf	Eggers, 41.16: Rübél, Franken, 363
————	Diexburg	BM 1912 (1861): Zahn, Steiermark UB I, 25 Eggers, 27.24: R.C. 1912

E

————	Emmen	BM 1069 (1035): HF VIII, 366 Eggers, 22.15: R.C. 1069
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F

Felda	Velden	BM 1813: SB der bayer. Akad., 1893, p. 293, no. 5 Eggers, 29.3: R.C. 1813
————	Flums	BM 1609 (1566): Schöpflin, Als.-d., I, 90 Eggers, 21.25: R.C. 1609
Foracheim, pal.	Forchheim	BM 1395 (1354): Dronke, C. d. F., 254 Eggers, 29.18: R.C. 1395 Parisot, p. 407, n. 1
Forzheim	Pfözen	BM 1933 (1882): MB 28, 115
Franconofurd, pal.	Frankfurt-am-Main	See Appendix IV

G

————	Grosshausen	BM 1803 (1755): MG 28, 82 Eggers, 25.27: R.C. 1803
Gunzenhausen, mon.	Gunzenhausen	BM 781 (756): Württemberg UB I, 99
Gurka, bpc.	Gurk	BM 1454 (1411): Iuvavia anh., 96, a. 864 BM 1940 (1889): Eichhorn, Beytr., I, 167 Eggers, 27.25: R.C. 1940
————	Gurkfeld	BM 1912 (1861): Zahn, Steiermärk UB I, 25 Eggers, 27.25: R.C. 1912

H

Haduloha	Hadeln	BM 338 d (329 d): Ann. Lauriss., a. 797
Hamaburgus, archbpc.	Hamburg	Parisot, p. 82

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Haslaha	Hasslach	BM 194 (190): Wenck, II, 3; III, 1; Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 105
—	Hechlingen	BM 1954 (1902): Bayreuth UB 4, no. 2
Heilicbrunnus, pal.	Heilbrunn	See Appendix IV
Hengistfeldon	Hengstberg	BM 1869 b (1818 b): Ann. Fuld., a. 892
—	Herbrunn	BM 1847 (1798): Hodenberg, Verdener GQ II, 27 Eggers, 36.19: R.C. 1847.
Hliuni-Bardunwih	Lüne-Bardowick	BM 328 g (319 g): Ann. Lauriss., a. 795
Holdunsteti	Hollenstedt	BM 406 g (398 g): Ann. Einh., a. 804
Hunzikon	Hunzigen	BM 985 (954): Wartmann UB I, 331; Eggers, 22.21: R.C. 985 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. Imp., 985
Huxori, mon., pal.	Höxter	See Appendix IV
I		
Ingoldesstat, pal.	Ingolstadt	BM 1338 c (1300 c): July, 817 BM 1370 (1331): MB 11, 107 Eggers, 28.42: R.C. 1338 c Steinitz, Tab. II: Boretius, Capit., I, 126, c. 2 Inama-Sternegg: MB 11, 107, a. 841
Isemburgus, pal.	Isenburg	See Appendix IV
J		
Juvavense, archbpc.	Salzburg	BM 404 a (396 a): MGH SS IX, 564; BM 1870 (1819): Iuvavia anh., 107 Eggers, 43.46: R.C. 404 a
K		
—	Kirchbach	BM 1358 (1319): MB 28, 29
—	Kneten	BM 1847 (1798): Hodenberg, Verdener GQ II, 17
L		
Labenza	Lafnitz	BM 1456 (1413): Zahn, Steiermark UB, I, 11 Eggers, 27.32: R.C. 1456
—	Lechfeld	BM 290 g (281 g): Ann. Einh., a. 787
Leubice	Lübeck	BM 927 (898): PL 104, 1245

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Litaha	Schönbrunn on the Leithe	BM 768 (753): MB 30, 381 BM 1350 (1311): MB 31, 70 Eggers, 27.30: R.C. 1350
*Lorii ad Lavantam	Also-Lendva	BM 1858 (1808): Iuvavia anh., 116
Lucerna, mon.	Lucerne	BM 1069 (1035): HF VIII, 366 Eggers, 22.22: R.C. 1069
Luttraof	Lauterhofen	BM 1338 c (1300 c): July, 817 Eggers, 28.32: R.C. 1338 c Steinitz, Tab. II: Boretius, Capit., I, 126, c. 2
M		
S. Maria, mon.	Sta Maria (Regensburg)	BM 1652 (1609): MB 28, 69
Meppen, mon.	Meppen	BM 935 (906): PL 104, 1244 Eggers, 34.29: DD I, 77
Minda, bpc.	Minden	See Appendix IV
Muotilestat	Mittelstetten	BM 1573 (1531): Iuvavia anh., 104; Eggers, 25.40: R.C. 1573
N		
Nabauuinida am bach Trebina	—————	BM 1451 (1409): MB 11, 120 Eggers, 28.36: R.C. 1451
—————	Nüziders	BM 1609 (1566): Schöpflin, Als. d., I, 90 Eggers, 21.25: R.C. 1609
O		
Otinga, pal.	Oetting	BM 1342: Münchener SB 1892, I, 125; BM 1346 (1307): Berliner Abbild., I, 9 BM 1361 (1322): Wiener SB 36, 359; BM 1521 (1479): MB 31, 101; BM 1530 (1448): UB des Landes ob der Enns, II, 20 BM 1781 (1733): Iuvavia anh., 105; Eggers, 25.2: R.C. 1342, 1361-1364, 1530, 1781, 1521
P		
Padrabunna, bpc.	Paderborn	See Appendix IV

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Sopronium	Oedenburg	BM 1440 (1399): MB 31, 98 Eggers, 27.30: R.C. 1440
————	Staffelsee	Inama-Sternegg, I, 707 (ed. 2): Brev. rer. fisc., I, 177, a. 812
Stettwang, mon.	Stettwang	BM 883 (854): MB 28, 19
T		
————	Trebina	Inama-Sternegg, I, 707 (ed. 2): MB 31 a, no. 50, a. 878
————	Treffen	BM 1533 (1491): MB 31, 109 Eggers, 26.32: R.C. 1533
Tullina	Tuln	BM 1412 a: MGH SS I, 465 BM 1438 (1397): MB 28, 50 Eggers, 26.20: R.C. 1438
U		
Ulma, pal.	Ulm	See Appendix IV
Undrina	Ingering	BM 1912 (1861): Zahn, Steier- mark UB I, 25 Eggers, 27.25: R.C. 1912
————	Ursheim	BM 1954 (1902): Bayreuth UB 4, no. 2
V		
Verdia (Ferdia) iuxta Verden confluentem Alarae fluvii quo Wisurae flumini coniungitum		BM 449 e (439 e): Ann. Einh., a. 810
Visbeck, mon.	Visbeck	BM 1412 (1371): Schaten, Ann. Pader., I, 144
W		
————	Wachau	BM 778 (753): MB 30, 381 Eggers, 27.22: R.C. 778
Wanga	Wangs	BM 1089 (1055): Wiener SB 85, 534 Eggers, 22.1: DO II, 221
————	Wanzleben	BM 1879 (1828): Wilmans, 226 Eggers, 41.15: R.C. 1829
Wessofontium, mon.	Wessobrun	BM 1710 (1665): MB 28, 76 Eggers, 24.7: R.C. 1710
Widinwang (Ginwag)	Weidenwang	BM 1385: MGH SS VII, 247 Eggers, 28.31: R.C. 1385
Wirzinburg, bpc.	Würzburg	See Appendix IV
Wizzunburg	Weissenburg	BM 1464 (1421): MB 11, 426 Eggers, 32.11: R.C. 1464

Z

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
_____	Zeltschach	BM 1940 (1889): Eichhorn, Beytr., I, 167

Unidentified Manors

Manor	Source references
<i>Hugeshus</i> , im Augsgau	BM 1933 (1882): MB 28, 115
<i>Omontesberch</i> , im Wienerwald	BM 1844 b (1795 b)
<i>Zuzcilinga</i> , im Augsgau	BM 1933 (1882): MB 28, 115

Exchanges

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Batzenhofen	Region of Breisgau	BM Regesta, 978
Hürblingen	_____	Monumenta Boica XXX I, p. 81
{ Pless	Upper Danube	} Eggers, 24.3: R.C. 978
{ Rieden	Upper Neckar	
Sontheim ²⁴	_____	Eggers, 23.11: DH II, 147: R.C. 978
Hammerstadt	Near Weimar	BM 987 (956)
Steinheim ²⁵	_____	Eggers, 41. 20
Dertingen	Sud Franken	BM 996 (965)
Remlingen ²⁶	_____	Eggers, 32. 22
Jebsheim	Elsass	BM 1356 (1317)
Onolsweiler ²⁷	_____	Eggers 21. 23
Goddelsheim ²⁸	Weser Gebiet	BM 1793 (1745) Eggers, 36. 14

SOUTHERN SECTION

A

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
_____	Accola	BM 1615 (1572): Ughelli, IV, 1366 (ed. 2, IV, 980)
S. Agathe, bpc.	Sant' Agata dei Goti	BM 1216 q (1182 q): Chron. S. Bened. Casin., c. 13
Aliphe, bpc.	Alife	BM 1216 o (1182 o): Chron. S. Bened. Casin., c. 13
Ancona, bpc.	Ancona	BM 369 c (360 c): Ann. Einh., a. 800
S. Apollinaris, mon.	San Apollinare	BM 1262 (1227): MGH SS VII, 608

²⁴ Exchange between Tatto, Abbot of Kempten, and Count Waning.

²⁵ Exchange between Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda, and the royal vassal Helmerich.

²⁶ Exchange between Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda, and Count Boppo.

²⁷ Exchange between Sigimar, Abbot of Murbach, and the royal vassal Hagilo.

²⁸ Exchange between BoVo, Abbot of Neu-Korvey, and Count Odo.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Aprutium, bpc.	Teramo	BM 285 (276): MGH SS VII, 589
Aquis, bpc.	Acqui	See Lombardy inset
Attiniacum	Antignano	BM 1235 (1201): Muratori, Ant., II, 118: as Dignano in Istria near Pola Darm. 176: BM 1201
Aureola, pal.	Oriolo	BM 1015 (983): Reg. di. Farfa, II, 217, no. 281
B		
Baira, archbpc.	Bari	BM 1242 a (1208 a): Ann. Bert., a. 869; BM 1246 a (1212 a): MGH SS III, 525
—————	Balva	BM 285 (276): MGH, SS VII, 589
Benevento, archbpc.	Benevento	BM 1235 g (1201 g): Chron. S. Bened. Casin., c. 4
Berceto, mon.	Berceto	BM 1696 (1651): Affò, Parma, I, 305
Bergomen, bpc.	Bergamo	See Lombardy inset
Brixia, bpc.	Brescia	See Lombardy inset
C		
Cammina, bpc.	Citta di Castella	BM 1108 (1074): Muratori, Ant., V, 193
—————	Campora	BM 1147 (1113): Cod. Lang., 294
S. Cantiano	San Canziano	BM 1231 (1197): Archiv für Kunde öst. GQ, 18, 427
Capua, archbpc.	Capua	BM 282 c (273 c): Ann. Lauriss., a. 787
—————	Casauria	BM 1251 f (1216 f): Muratori, SS, II ^b , 932
Caudium	Arpaia	BM 1235 f (1201 f): Chron. S. Bened. Casin., c. 4
—————	Cis	Inama-Sternegg, I, 707 (2d): Reg. Car., p. 284, a. 831
—————	Citta Nuova	BM 750 (725): PL 104, 1118
Colonnae, pal.	Colonna	BM 1182 (1147): Ughelli, I, 1133; (ed. 2, I, 1427)
—————	Coriano ²⁹	BM 1273 (1238): Ughelli, I, 1334 (ed. 2, I, 1428)
Cremona, bpc., pal.	Cremona	See Lombardy inset
E		
Eboreia, bpc., pal.	Ivrea	See Lombardy inset

²⁹ There is another Coriano near the Villa Minozzo south of Reggio which is also suggested by BM.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
O		
Oerea	Oria	BM 1239 d (1205 d): Erchempert, c. 33
Olonna, pal.	Corteolonna	See Lombardy inset
Orba, pal.	Capriata d'Orba	See Lombardy inset
P		
Parma, bpc.	Parma	See Lombardy inset
Penna	Pianella	BM 285 (276): MGH SS VII, 589
S. Petrus	San Pietro, church of, in Castellereccio	BM 1052 (1018): PL 104, 1232
————	Piscinola	BM 1108 (1074): Muratori, Ant., V, 193
Placentia, bpc.	Piacenza	See Lombardy inset
Pratis Gaigio	Gaggio ³⁰	BM 203 (199): Muratori, Ant., V, 334
————	Prun	BM 1954 (1902): Bayreuth UB 4, no. 2
Puteolim, bpc.	Pozzuoli	BM 1235 d (1201 d): Chron. S. Bened. Casin., c. 4
R		
Ravenna, archbpc.	Ravenna	BM 288 a (279 a): SS Lang., 383
Roma, archbpc., pal.	Rome	BM 235 b (226 b): Ann. Lauriss., a. 781; BM 1254 (1219): Muratori, SS, II ^b , 402
S		
————	Sala (Marsi)	BM 1047 (1013): MGH, SS VII, 596
Salerno, archbpc.	Salerno	BM 1239 k (1205 k): Muratori, SS, II ^b : 931
Scana	Scanna	Inama-Sternegg, I, 707 (ed. 2): Reg. Car., p. 287, a. 831
————	Sessi	BM 1840 (1791): MB 31, 130
————	Sessulana	BM 1235 e (1201 e): Chron. S. Bened. Casin., c. 4
Sexpilas, pal.	Sospiro	See Lombardy inset
Sinna, pal.	Senna	See Lombardy inset
Spoletum, bpc.	Spoletum	BM 371 c (363 c): Ann. Einh., a. 801
T		
Tarvisium, bpc., pal.	Treviso	BM 200 d (196 d): Ann. Lauriss., a. 776 BM 241 (232): Wiener SB 49, 394

³⁰ There is another Gaggio near Bioggio on the road to Mont Cenere.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Teate, bpc.	Chieti	BM 285 (276): MGH SS VII, 589
Telesia	Telese	BM 1216 p (1182 p): Chron. S. Bened. Casin., c. 13
Ticinum, bpc., pal.	Pavia	See Lombardy inset
Tortona, bpc.	Tortona	See Lombardy inset
Trientem, bpc.	Trient	BM 1212 a (1178 a): Prud. Ann., a. 857
In loco valle Tritano	————	BM 1251 e (1216 e): Muratori, SS, I ^b , 396

V

ad Vadum Medianum ————	Mezzastrada in Florence Valfabbrica	BM 236 a (227 a): Sickel, Reg. 256 K 95 BM 731 (707): Tiraboschi, Nonantula, I, 428
Venusii	Venosa	BM 1240 (1206): Muratori, Ant., VI, 343; Parisot, p. 317, n. 3
Verona, bpc. Vico ————	Verona Vicoli Völs	BM 1528 (1486): Cod. Lang. 461 BM 1251 f (1216 f): Muratori, SS, II ^b , 932 BM 1782 (1734): MB 28, 81

W

Wilzchara	San Cesario	BM 816 (792): PL 104, 118
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Forests Belonging to the Carolingian Fisc

Forest	Source references
Ceciliano ³¹	BM 559 (540): PL 104, 1003
Lamafraolaria ³²	BM 238 (229): Ughelli, II, 243
Rivaria ³³	BM 241 (232): Sickel, Reg. 255, K 82

Unidentified Manors

Manor	Source references
<i>Berulae</i> ³⁴	BM 1254 c (1219 c): Vita Athanasii, c. 8
<i>Camoriana</i> ³⁵	BM 203 (199): Tiraboschi, Nonantula, II, 24
<i>Campus Fugianus</i> ³⁶	BM 1107 (1073): Muratori, Ant., V, 193
<i>Campus Miliacus</i> ³⁷	BM 1183 (1148): Muratori, Ant., II, 117 BM 1245 (1211): Cod. Lang. 396 BM 1636 (1593): Cod. Lang. 523

³¹ Belonged to Sienna.

³² In county of Parma.

³³ Near Cividale.

³⁴ Near Capua.

³⁵ Near Modena.

³⁶ Possibly near Arezzo.

³⁷ Near Modena.

Medieval place-name	Source references
<i>Curatico</i> ³⁸	BM 1542 (1500): Affò, Parma, I, 293
<i>Curtisnova</i> ³⁹	BM 1183 (1148): Muratori, Ant., II, 117
<i>Leoniana</i>	BM 1224 (1190): Reg. di. Farfa, III, 8, no. 320
<i>Luculo</i> ⁴⁰	BM 1613 (1570): Muratori, Ant., II, 936
<i>Scalarico</i> ⁴¹	BM 1199 (1163): Lami, II, 1456
<i>Sencimacus</i> ⁴²	BM 1001 (970): HF VI, 628

Unlocated Manors

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
—————	Alina ⁴³	BM 1147 (1113): Cod. Lang. 294
S. Angelo, mon.	San Angelo	BM 1589 (1547): Muratori, Ant., V, 943
—————	Massenzatico	BM 1064 (1029): Ughelli, V, 1564 (ed. 2, II, 247)
—————	Mariano ⁴³	BM 236 (227): MGH SS III, 707
Mauratica	Moradego nel Veronese	BM 1663 (1619): Muratori, Ant., II, 47
Mezzana, mon.	Mezzana	BM 1614 (1571): Ughelli, II, 190 (ed. 2, II, 80)
—————	Monte Fiorentino ⁴⁴	BM 281 (272): Lami, I, 573
—————	Palma ⁴⁵	BM 1222 f (1188 f): Muratori, SS, II ^b , 929
Platanum	Pladano	BM 1063 (1028): C. D. Padana, I, 17
Quintus	Quinto ⁴⁶	BM 1216 f (1182 f): Vita Nicolai, I, 8 and 9
—————	Reatino	BM 1253 b (1218 b): Muratori, SS, II ^b , 934
—————	Sextuno ⁴⁷	BM 1147 (1113): Cod. Lang. 294
—————	Zena ⁴⁸	BM 1544 (1502): Muratori, Ant., I, 929

³⁸ Near Parma, in the mountains.³⁹ Near Reggio.⁴⁰ In the mountains near Parma.⁴¹ "in territorio Pistoriense."⁴² "in vicaria Garbaldo."⁴³ Monasteries of St. Silvester and St. Stephen in Mariano.⁴⁴ Near Florence. This is mentioned in BM edition 2 only.⁴⁵ In Tuscany. ⁴⁶ On the Via Flaminia. ⁴⁷ Near Rieti.⁴⁸ Near Modena (in BM ed. 2 only).

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
————	Deinding	BM 1346 (1307): Iuvavia anh., 81 BM 1361 (1322): Wiener SB 36, 359; Eggers, 25.34: R.C. 1346: as "Deiding" (error), Eggers, 25.35: R.C. 1361
————	Diersbach	BM 1348 (1309): MB 31, 66 Eggers, 27.20: R.C. 1348
Dingolving	Dingolfing	BM 1352 (1313): MB 28, 24 Eggers, 24.19: R.C. 1352
————	Doidorf	BM 1876 (1825): MB 31, 142 Eggers, 25.31: R.C. 1876
D		
Eiplingen	Aibling	BM 1892 c (1841 c): Ann. Fuld., Christmas, 893 BM 1411 b (1370 b): Fontes r. Austr., II, 31.16 Eggers, 44.3: R.C. 1892 c, 1411 b
————	Emerting	BM 1361 (1322): Wiener SB 36, 359; Eggers, 25.35: R.C. 1361
Engildiosdorf ad Beregum	Engelsdorf	BM 1564 (1522): Iuvavia anh., 103 Eggers, 25.42: R.C. 1564
Epilinga	Pölling	BM 1530 (1488): Hagn, UB von Kremsmünster, 13 Eggers, 25.47: R.C. 1530
————	Erding	BM 1857 (1807); Iuvavia anh., 115; Eggers, 27.26: R.C. 1857
————	Erlau	BM 778 (753): MB 30, 381 Eggers, 27.38: R.C. 778
E		
S. Florianus	St Florian	BM 778 (753): MB 30, 381 Eggers, 27.34: R.C. 778
Flozzinga	Flossing	BM 1564 (1522): Iuvavia anh., 103; Eggers, 25.41: R.C. 1564
F		
Garazza	Gars	BM 1573 (1531): Iuvavia anh., 104; Eggers, 25.38: R.C. 1573
G		
————	Harlanden	BM 1856: SB der bayer. Akad., 1893, p. 293, no. 6
Herigoltshusa	Hergertshausen	BM 1952 (1901): MB 1, 351 Eggers, 25.30: R.C. 1952
H		

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Herilungoburg	Gross-Pöchlarn	BM 1347 (1308): MB 28, 21 Eggers, 27.33: R.C. 1347
Hohberahha	Hochburg ⁴⁹	BM 1534 (1492): MB 28, 64 Eggers, 44.2: R.C. 1534
Hostermontigon	Ostermieting	BM 1440 (1399): MB 31, 98 Eggers, 25.20: R.C. 1440
K		
————	Kamern	BM 1454 (1411): Iuvavia anh., 96 Eggers, 27.35: R.C. 1454
Kieminseo, mon.	Chiemsee	BM 298 (289): Kleinmayr, 48. BM 1861 (1811): Iuvavia anh., 110; Eggers, 25.15: R.C. 298, 1861 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 162 Parisot, p. 494, n. 5
————	Krems	BM 1578 (1536): Wartmann UB II, 213; Eggers, 26.14: R.C. 1578
L		
————	Laichling	BM 1467 (1425): MB 11, 428 Eggers, 25.33: R.C. 1846 ⁵⁰
Lentinchovon	Riekofen	BM 1876 (1825): MB 31, 142 Eggers, 43.44: R.C. 1876
Linza	Linz	BM 778 (753): MB 30, 381 Eggers, 27.39: R.C. 778
Lunsee, mon.	Mondsee ⁵¹	BM 1790 (1742): Wartmann UB II, 269
M		
————	Manching	BM 1376 (1337): MB 28, 37 Eggers, 25.28: R.C. 1376
Marlingon	Marolding	BM 1690 (1645): MB 28, 74 Eggers, 25.38: R.C. 1690
Matachove	Mattighofen	BM 1444 (1403): Féjer, C. d. Hung., I, 169 BM 1449 (1407): MB 28, 52 BM 1521 (1479): MB 31, 101 Eggers, 26.7: R.C. 1444, 1449, 1521; Parisot, p. 180, n. 1
Matheseo, mon.	Mattsee	BM 1521 (1479): MB 31, 101 Eggers, 27.17: R.C. 1521

⁴⁹ Mühlbacher also suggests Harbach near Eggenfelden.

⁵⁰ There seems to be an error in Eggers' citation, since BM 1846 (1797) does not mention Laichling. Cf. MB 11, 126.

⁵¹ Eggers cites R.C. 1349 (1310), which is marked "unecht" by BM.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
—————	Melk	BM 1870 (1819): Iuvavia anh., 107; Eggers, 27.20: R.C. 1870
Metamen	Metten	Eggers, 28.35: "gestiftet aus Krongut," a. 794
—————	Mögling	BM 1361 (1322): Wiener SB 36, 359; Eggers, 25.35: R.C. 1361
Mosaburc	Moosburg	BM 1784 (1736): MB 28, 85 Eggers, 43.45: R.C. 1784
Muotarum, quae Eberesburc nominatur	Mautern	BM 1890 (1839): MB 31, 145 Eggers, 44.1: R.C. 1890
N		
—————	Naarn	BM 778 (753): MB 30, 381 Eggers, 27.38: R.C. 778
—————	Nesselbach	BM 1773 (1725): MB 31, 120 Eggers, 27.16: R.C. 1773
—————	Neuhofen	BM 1772 (1724): UB von Krems- münster, 17; MB 31, 118 Eggers, 26.10: R.C. 1772
Nuzpach	Nussbach ⁵²	BM 1440 (1399): MB 31, 98 Eggers, 27.29: R.C. 1440
O		
—————	Oberndorf	BM 1811 (1763): MB 28, 87 Eggers, 27.40: R.C. 1811
Ohoberg	Aichberg	BM 1365 (1326): Iuvavia anh., 88
Ostrehova	Osterhofen	BM 1350 (1311): MB 31, 70 BM 1358 (1319): Le Cointe, VIII, 431 Eggers, 44.1: R.C. 1350, 1358
P		
Pathavia, bpc.	Passau	BM 1948 (1897): MB 28, 123 Eggers, 25.10: R.C. 1948
—————	Perschling	BM 1404 (1363): MB 28, 45
—————	Pfetrach	BM 1344 (1305): Büttner, Fran- conia, II, 52
—————	Phaldorf	BM 1856: SB der bayer. Akad., 1893, p. 293, no. 6. Eggers, 28.37: R.C. 1856
—————	Piring	BM 1652 (1609): MB 28, 69 Eggers, 28.36: R.C. 1652

⁵² This is near Steyr. Eggers lists the place as destroyed and puts it between the Inn and the Salzach. In that region, there is a Nussdorf between Rosenheim and Kugstein. There is a mineral bath located there, and, in view of Charles the Bald's fondness for such baths, there is a possibility that this was the place indicated.

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		W	
Medieval place-name			Source references
Weles	Wels		BM 1711 (1666): MB 31, 116 Eggers, 27.11: R.C. 1711 BM 1787 (1739): MGH SS XXV, 668
————	Wolfersdorf		BM 1778 (1730): MB 31, 122 Eggers, 25.29: R.C. 1778

		Y	
————	Ybbs		BM 1365 (1326): Iuvavia anh., 201; Eggers, 27.21: R.C. 1365

Forests Belonging to the Carolingian Fisc

Forest	Modern location	Source references
————	Enswald	BM 1451 (1409): MB 11, 120 Eggers, 26.13: DH II, 231

Unidentified Manors

Manor	Source references
<i>Herilungevelde</i> ⁵⁵	BM 1404 (1363): MB 28, 45
<i>Liburna</i> ⁵⁶	BM 1862 (1812): MB 31, 137 Eggers, 27.26: R.C. 1862
<i>Richenburch</i> ⁵⁷	BM 1912 (1861): Zahn, Steier- mark UB I, 25 Eggers, 27.24: R.C. 1912
<i>Salapiuga</i> ⁵⁸	BM 1442 (1401): MB 11, 119 Eggers, 27.36: R.C. 1442
<i>Vivariae</i> ⁵⁹	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 176
<i>Walahofeld</i> ⁶⁰	BM 1520 (1478): MB 28, 61 Eggers, 27.14: R.C. 1520
<i>Wisitindorf</i> ⁶¹	BM 1456 (1413): Zahn, Steier- mark UB I: 11 Eggers, 27.32: R.C. 1456
<i>Wolffeswanch</i> ⁶²	BM 778 (753): MB 30, 381 Eggers, 27.38: R.C. 778

⁵⁵ On the Erlau River. It should be noted that Herilungoberg was identified as Pöchlarn. *Vide supra.*

⁵⁶ Located by Eggers between the Inn and Salzach rivers. See MGH SS XXIV: 316.

⁵⁷ Located by Eggers between the Inn and Salzach rivers.

⁵⁸ It was on the Saale.

⁵⁹ This was a gift to St. Emmeram of Regensburg. No further information is available.

⁶⁰ It was in the Traungau.

⁶¹ In Pannonia. Included by Eggers between the Inn and Salzach rivers.

⁶² Placed by Eggers between the Inn and Salzach rivers.

Unlocated Manors

Manor	Modern location	Source references
_____	The confluence of the Gurk and Gör-schütz rivers	BM 1343 (1304) Eggers, 27.34: R.C. 1343
Grunzwitigau am Sumarperch	Grünz ⁶³	BM 850 (824): PL 104, 1173 BM 1763 (1716): Wiener SB 97, 380: Gunzwita Eggers, 27.14: R.C. 850
_____	Drasdorf ⁶⁴	BM 1468 (1424): MB 11, 427 Eggers, 27.33: R.C. 1468
_____	Ittling ⁶⁵	BM 1908 (1857): MB 28, 106 Eggers, 25.43: R.C. 1908
_____	Messling ⁶⁶	BM 1858 (1808): Iuvavia anh., 116; Eggers, 27.28: R.C. 1858
_____	Mühlheim ⁶⁷	BM 1578 (1536): Wartmann UB II, 213; Eggers, 27.9: R.C. 1578
_____	Obermünster ⁶⁸	BM 1462 (1419): Wartmann UB II, 133
_____	Rosdorf ⁶⁹	BM 1404 (1363): MB 28, 45
_____	Sellesen ⁷⁰	BM 1881 (1830): Iuvavia anh., 110; Eggers, 27.35: R.C. 1881
_____	Sondergai ⁷¹	BM 1405 (1364): MB 28, 47 Eggers, 25.30: R.C. 1405
_____	Sufers ⁷²	BM 1089 (1055): Wiener SB 85, 534; Parisot, p. 426, n. 2
Talahusa	Thalhausen ⁷³	BM 1925 (1874): Pertz, Archiv, III, 536 Eggers, 28.36: R.C. 1925

LOMBARDY INSET

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Albinies	Albino	Darm. 30; CL 379
Aquis, bpc.	Acqui	Darm. 166: Muratori, Ant., V, 635

⁶³ Given to Kremsmünster.

⁶⁵ Near Salzburg.

⁶⁷ Included in the charter with Schliersbach (see Appendix IV).

⁶⁸ Near Regensburg.

⁶⁹ On the Danube, possibly between Passau and Linz.

⁷⁰ On the Gurk River.

⁷¹ The charter reads "southeast of Straubing on the Tegernsee." This is somewhat confusing, since the Tegern See is quite a bit southeast of Straubing.

⁷² In the Chur forest. Parisot mentions a monastery Tufers in the same general region, for which reason I suppose the two places were the same, and one of the spellings incorrect. But I do not know which of the two is correct.

⁷³ Located by Eggers in the general region of the mouth of the Isar, the Altmühl, Naab, and Regen.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Armeasca	Armone ⁷⁴	Darm. 127: Chron. Nov., III, 26
Arx Minervae	Manerba	BM 1536 (1494): Heumann, Comment., II, 284 Darm. 51: BM 1494
Aucimianum	Occimiano	Darm. 177
Aucis	Olcio	Darm. 23 ⁷⁵
Audiniaco	Oldenico	Darm. 149
B		
—————	Batuda	Darm. 111: CL 330
Bergomen, bpc.	Bergamo	BM 1892 f (1841 f): Ann. Fuld., a. 894; BM 1893 (1842): Cod. Lang. 596 Darm. 27: CL 37 and 71 BM 405 (397): PL 97, 1029 BM 1545 (1503): Cod. Lang. 477 Darm. 43: BM 1503; CL 283 BM 1198 (1162): Heumann, Comment., I, 489 Darm. 39-40 Darm. 150: CL 270 BM 831 (805): Muratori, Ant., V, 553; Darm. 144: BM 805
Berizona	Bellinzona	
Bogonago	Borgonato	
Brixia, bpc.	Brescia	
Brunago	Bornago	
Bugella	Biella	
C		
Caballi	Cavaglia	Darm. 147
Cabroi	Cabbio	Darm. 13: CL 270
—————	Calliano	Darm. 176
—————	Camerano	Darm. 176: Ch I, 14
—————	Canneto	Darm. 59: CL 369
—————	Capiate	BM 1600 (1557): Wiener SB 92, 446; BM 1603 (1560): Cod. Lang. 501 Darm. 18: BM 1560; CL 124 Darm. 67: CL 143 BM 1245 (1211): Cod. Lang. 396 BM 1524 (1482): Muratori, Ant., V, 501; BM 1636 (1593): Cod. Lang. 523
Caprariola	Gere de' Caprioli	
Caput Trebia, mon.	San Pietro, monas- tery of, in Piacenza	
Cariniana	Caresana	Darm. 146
—————	Carpiano	Darm. 89: CL 87, 100, 102
—————	Casiriano ⁷⁶	BM 1181 (1146): Cod. Lang. 289: Carisiano Darm. 47: BM 1147; CL 170

⁷⁴ Darmstädter also suggests l'Orme, between Oulx and Salbertrand.

⁷⁵ Darmstädter refers to BM 1012 (ed. 2), but in the edition of 1908, only Limonta is referred to. As in the citation of Eggers, I am assuming that Darmstädter has seen the original charter and am therefore including the place-name.

⁷⁶ Darmstädter thinks that the name Carisiano as printed in BM is a misprint for Casiriano.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Firminiana	Formigliana	Darm. 148
Fontana Titerici	Borgo di Fontana	BM 1662 (1618): Campi, I: 468
Fulgitis	Foglizzo	Darm. 129
G		
Gabiana	Gabiano ⁸⁰	BM 1219 (1185): Cod. Lang. 368
Gardina, pal.	Gardone	BM 1034 (1000): HF VIII, 365 Darm. 51: BM 1000
ad Grane in villa Coriana	Giare	Darm. 118: Muratori, Ant., III, 739
I		
Iberna	Inverna	BM 1236 (1202) as "Iverna" BM 1245 (1211): Cod. Lang. 396 BM 1311 (1276): Muratori, Ant., VI, 31 BM 1636 (1593): Cod. Lang. 523 Darm. 114: BM 1202, 1276
L		
Languscum	Langosco	Darm. 116
Laocedum, mon. (Lucedium)	Lucedio	BM 1065 (1031): Regest. in MIOG II, 450, no. 1
Lauchade	Locate	BM 1053 (1019): Cod. Lang. 228 BM 1627 (1584): Cod. Lang. 520 Darm. 90: CL 41; Darm. 91: BM 1019, 1584; CL 128, 307
Laureta	Loreto	BM 1219 (1185): Cod. Lang. 368
Lavagium	Lavaggio	Darm. 118: Muratori, Ant., II, 47
Lemin	Almenno	BM 1505 (1463): Muratori, Ant., II, 215 Darm. 30, 31: CL 262, 351
Lemunta	Limonta	BM 1046 (1012): PL 104, 1268 BM 1051 (1017): Cod. Lang. 223 Darm. 23: BM 1012, 1017; CL 121, 125
Leno, mon.	Leno	BM 1221 (1187): Cod. Lang. 369 Darm. 48: BM 1187
Leocarno	Locarno	BM 1235 (1201): Muratori, Ant., II, 119 BM 1245 (1211): Cod. Lang. 396 BM 1636 (1593): Cod. Lang. 523 Darm. 12: BM 1201, 1211; CL 248, 237.
Lodi, bpc.	Lodi	Darm. 94: Vignati, p. 13, no. 7
Luani	Luiano	Darm. 13: CL 388 and 821

⁸⁰ Now Borgo San Giacomo.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
—————	Luzzara	BM 1226 (1192): Cod. Lang. 386 BM 1245 (1211): Cod. Lang. 396 BM 1636 (1593): Cod. Lang. 523 Darm. 60: BM 1192; CL 231 Darm. 61: BM 231, 1029
M		
Magusiano	Maguzzano	Darm. 51: BM 1494 ⁸¹ ; CL 277
—————	Mantello	Darm. 3: CL 230
Mantova, bpc., pal.	Mantua	BM 234 (225): PL 97, 135 BM 290 (281): PL 97, 252 BM 1032 (998): Reg. di Farfa, II, 229 BM 1035 (1001): PL 104, 1223 BM 1201 (1165): C. d. Pado- vano, 27 BM 1215 (1181): Cod. Lang. 350 BM 1221 (1187): Cod. Lang. 369 BM 1659 (1615): MGH, Capit., II, 141 Darm. 52-53: BM 225, 281, 998, 1001, 1165, 1181, 1187, 1615 Darm. 89: CL 354
Marinade	Marnate	BM 1022 (989): PL 104, 1151
Marinco, pal.	Marengo	BM 1059 (1024): Cod. Lang. 231 BM 1183 (1148): Tiraboschi, Modena, I ^b , 33 BM 1252 (1217): Campi, I, 460 Darm. 160: BM 989, 1024, 1148, 1183, 1217 Darm. 36: CL 311
—————	Martinengo	BM 1623 (1580): Grandidier, Strasbourg, II ^b , 331
S. Martinus, mon.	San Martino (Pavia)	
Massimo	Massino	BM 1245 (1211): Cod. Lang. 396 BM 1636 (1593): Cod. Lang. 523 BM 1816 (1767): Cod. Lang. 573 Darm. 153: BM 1211, 1593, 1767; CL 237, 310, 343
Medianensi, mon.	Vico Mezzano	BM 1614 (1571): Ughelli, II, 190 (ed. 2, II, 80); Darm. 120
Mediolanum, archbpc., pal.	Milan	BM 241 a (232 a): Ann. Lauriss., a. 781; BM 1625 (1582): Cod. Lang. 517; Darm. 85 ff.: BM 1582; CL 146, 154, 207, 342, 475

⁸¹ BM 1536 (1494) mentions only Desenzano.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Meletum	Meletto	BM 1546 (1504): Cod. Lang. 480 Darm. 96: BM 1504
Mellaria	Melara	Darm. 55: CL 997
Meziana	Mezzano (island in Po near Cremona)	Darm. 71: CL 349
Mojade	Mozzate	Darm. 89: CL 354
Moninello	Island of Mincio out- side the Porta del Porto of Mantua	BM 1272 (1237): Muratori, SS, II ^b , 812 Darm. 53: MIOG I: 434 ff
—	Montemalo	Darm. 96: CL 270; Vignati, I, No. 149
Muciana ⁸²	Mezzana Passone	BM 1546 (1504): Cod. Lang. 480 Darm. 96: BM 1504
Murgule	Murgula	BM 1505 (1463): Muratori, Ant., II, 205, 215; BM 1669 (1625): BM 1697 (1647): Ughelli, IV, 483 (ed. 2, IV, 339) Darm. 27-28: BM 1463, 1625- 1629, 1647; CL 319, 361
N		
Nagariola	Nogara ⁸³	BM 1212 (1178): Muratori, Ant., II, 793 Darm. 56: BM 1178; CL 201
Nocicla	Noce	Darm. 120
Novara, bpc.	Novara	Darm. 149
O		
Octavo	San Christoforo d'Occhiate	Darm. 92: CL 270
Olonna, pal.	Corteolona	BM 1016 (984): Boretius, Capit., I, 150 BM 1017 (985): MGH LL I, 232, 355; BM 1024 (991) BM 1053 (1019): Cod. Lang. 228 BM 1060 (1025): Baluze, Capit., II, 1436 BM 1202 (1166): Tatti, I, 953 BM 1265 (1230): Muratori, SS, II ^b , 809 BM 1617 (1574): MIOG VII: 444 BM 1716 c (1672 c): Ann. Fuld., a. 886; Darm. 111-112: PD vi, 58; BM 983 a, 990 a, 1019, 1025, 1166, 1230, 1574, 1672 c

⁸² Is this not possibly the Muciana in the *civitas* of Brescia also listed by Darm. 48 (CL 344)?

⁸³ Given the modern form of Nogarole by Mühlbacher.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Sala	Salò	Darm. 51: Forschungen z. deutschen Gesch., X, 279
—	Salluciola	BM 1540 (1498): Cod. Lang. 476 Darm. 112: BM 1498; CL 282
—	San Salvatore	Darm. 178: Atti d. Turin. Acad., XXVI, 670, ff.
Sarmata	Sermide	Darm. 65: CL 93
Sarnega	Sarnico	BM 1219 (1185): Cod. Lang. 368 Darm. 37: BM 1185; CL 220
Sazutiola	Salussola	Darm. 149
—	Sermione	BM 167 (163): PL 97, 931 BM 1545 (1503): Cod. Lang. 477 Darm. 50: BM 163
Sesilla	Sezella	BM 1241 (1207): Muratori, Ant., VI, 27 Darm. 158: BM 1207; CL 345
Sexpilas, pal.	Sospiro	BM 1049 (1015): PL 104, 1269 BM 1100 (1066): Cod. Lang. 260 BM 1184 (1149): Cod. Lang. 267 Darm. 70: BM 1015, 1066, 1149; CL 180, 349
Sextum	Sesto	BM 1235 (1201): Muratori, Ant., II, 119 BM 1245 (1211): Cod. Lang. 396 BM 1636 (1593): Cod. Lang. 523 BM 1816 (1769): Cod. Lang. 573 Darm. 70: BM 1201, 1211; CL 248, 237, 270
Sinna, pal. (Senna)	Senna	BM 1191 (1155): Cod. Lang. 339: as Sienna Darm. 97: BM 1155, 1867 ⁸⁹
S. Sofia	Santa Sofia	Darm. 111: CL 265, 299.
Solario	Solero	Darm. 171: BM 163; ⁹⁰ CL 52
—	Soncino	Darm. 70: CL 492
Sparovaria	Fisc in Piacenza	BM 1816 (1767): Cod. Lang. 573
S. Stephanus, mon.	San Stefano (Lugano)	BM 865 (836): PL 104, 1177
Summovico	Sonvico	Darm. 13: Troya, Codice diplomaticus Longobardo, no. 445
—	Suzzara	BM 1592 (1550): Muratori, Ant., I, 361; BM 1661 (1617): Cod. Lang. 553; Darm 64: BM 1212; ⁹¹ 1550, 1617; CL 254

⁸⁹ BM 1915 (1867) is marked "falsch."⁹⁰ No mention is made of Solero in BM 167 (163). *Vide supra*, Sermione.⁹¹ BM 1246 (1212) is marked "of doubtful authority."

T		
Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Ticinum, bpc. pal.,	Pavia	BM 74 f: Fredegar., Chron., c. 120; BM 167 (163): PL 97, 931 BM 1061 (1026): Muratori, Ant., I, 579; Darm. 106: PD ii, 31; iv, 8: Darm. 109 BM 163, 1026: CL 52, 134
Tortona, bpc.	Tortona	Darm. 158: Salice, <i>Annali Tortonese</i> (1869-1870), p. 121
Trencate	Trencate	Darm. 152: CL 270
Tripontio	Treponte	Darm. 49: BM 1503 ⁹²
V		
Vaccaricae	Viarigi	Darm. 178: BM 1207 ⁹³
Vallis clivi	Val Chuisella	Darm. 129
Vicinia	Island between the Po and the Bondena near Biagio de Avezana	BM 1055 (1020): Tiraboschi, <i>Nonantula</i> , II, 51
Vico Gogonzoni	Vigonzone	BM 1617 (1574): MIOG VII, 444 Darm. 114: BM 1574
Vicuciolo	Viguzzolo	Darm. 158: Ch I: 48
W		
Wardistalla	Guastalla	BM 1226 (1192): Cod. Lang. 386 BM 1245 (1211): Cod. Lang. 396 BM 1636 (1593): Cod. Lang. 523
Z		
Zitofa	Cizzolo	BM 1544 (1502): Muratori, Ant., I, 929; Darm. 54: BM 1502; CL 284

Forests, Fisheries, and Regions Belonging to the Carolingian Fisc

Forest	Modern location	Source references
_____	Val Camonica ⁹⁴	BM 167 (163): HF V, 724 Darm. 44: BM 163; CL 52
Carbonaria sylva	Carbonara ⁹⁶	BM 1044 (1010): HF VIII, 374 BM 1248 (1214): Cod. Lang. 323 BM 1625 (1582): Cod. Lang. 517 Darm. 116: BM 1011, 1214, 1582
_____	Como, fishery on Lake ⁹⁵	BM 1191 (1155): Cod. Lang. 339

⁹² No mention is made of Treponte in BM 1545 (1503). *Vide supra*, Sermione.

⁹³ No mention is made of Viarigi in BM 1241 (1207). *Vide supra*, Sesilla.

⁹⁴ Lands in, given to St. Martin of Tours. Situated between lakes Garda and Iseo.

⁹⁵ Dates from the time of Pepin.

⁹⁶ On the right bank of the Po near Pavia.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Cavalara sylvā	Cavalara ⁹⁷	BM 1544 (1502): Muratori, Ant., I, 929 Darm. 54: BM 1502; CL 284
—	Lugana	Darm. 51: BM 1494; ⁹⁸ CL 277
—	Susinate	BM 1618 (1575): Muratori, Ant., I, 171; Darm. 112: BM 1498, ⁹⁹ 1575; CL 282

Unidentified Manors

Manor	Source references
<i>Allonica</i> ¹⁰⁰	Darm. 127: Chron. Nov., III, 26
<i>Bellamium</i>	Darm. 169: CL 391
<i>Brivisula</i>	BM 1084 (1050): Ughelli, IV, 786 (ed. 2, IV, 582)
<i>Cucullo</i>	BM 1084 (1050): Ughelli, IV, 786 (ed. 2, IV, 582) Darm. 67: BM 1050; CL 143
<i>Diobasca</i>	Darm. 127: Chron. Nov., III: 26
<i>Evorianum</i>	BM 1708 (1663): Affò, Parma, I, 307
<i>Gumulfi</i> ¹⁰¹	Darm. 43: BM 1503; ¹⁰² CL 283
<i>Haehohim</i> ¹⁰³	BM 1037 (1003); HF VIII, 370
<i>Liona</i> ¹⁰⁴	BM 167 (163): HF V, 724 Darm. 50: BM 163
<i>Meliniaco</i> ¹⁰⁵	BM 1603 (1560): Cod. Lang. 501
<i>Memoriola</i>	Darm. 158: Ch I, 48
<i>Plectola</i> ¹⁰⁶	BM 1616 (1573): Cod. Lang. 509
<i>Quadradola</i>	Darm. 149
<i>Teclodo</i>	BM 1084 (1050): Ughelli, IV, 786 (ed. 2, IV, 582)
<i>Trazun</i>	Darm. 54: BM 1502; ¹⁰⁷ CL 284
<i>Turinga</i>	BM 1219 (1185): Cod. Lang. 368
<i>Villula</i> ¹⁰⁸	Darm. 58: CL 270
<i>Vulpariolus</i>	BM 1084 (1050): Ughelli, IV, 786 (ed. 2, IV, 582) Darm. 71: CL 349

⁹⁷ Extended south from the mouth of the Oglio River, on the left bank of the Po.⁹⁸ BM 1536 (1494) does not mention the forest.⁹⁹ BM 1540 (1498) mentions Salluciola only. See also CL 381 (Darm. 112), where another medieval form of the word is "Suvinate."¹⁰⁰ Near Bard. ¹⁰¹ Near Borgonato. ¹⁰² BM 1545 (1503) makes no mention of Gumulfi.¹⁰³ On Lake Como. ¹⁰⁴ Near Peschiera. ¹⁰⁵ Near Milan. ¹⁰⁶ Near Pavia.¹⁰⁷ BM 1544 (1502) does not mention Trazun. ¹⁰⁸ "in comitatu Mantovano."

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Altheim in pago Alsac.	Altheim	BM 1357 (1318): Wirtemberg UB I, 109 BM 1585 (1543): Wyss, 14 Eggers, 21.18: R.C. 1585
—	Altnau	BM 1818 (1769): Wartmann UB II, 273 Eggers, 22.19: R.C. 1818
Altrepio	Altripp	BM 1492 (1450): Mtlrh UB I, 120 Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 116
Altum mons, mon. Amalrici Villare	Haumont Ammerschweier	TM: Parisot, p. 373 BM 1323 (1287): Grandidier, Strasbourg II ^b , 253 BM 1588 (1546): Wyss, 16 Parisot, p. 315, n. 6 Eggers, 21.23: R.C. 1323
Amarlaus	Amberloup	BM 1967 (1916): Martène, Coll., II, 35
Ambianos, bpc.	Amiens	BM 672 d (658 d): Ann. Einh., a. 818; Parisot, pp. 447, 454, 457
—	Ammern	BM 1926 (1875): Dronke, C. d. F., 294 Eggers, 41.18: R.C. 1926
Amplidi Anadopa	Empelde Ampen	BM 1369 (1330): Wilmans, I, 83 BM 920 (891): Sickel, Reg. 346, L 312 Steinitz, Tab. II: Wilmans, I, 36 Eggers, 35.4: R.C. 920
Andana, mon. Andernacum, pal.	Andenne Andernach	TM: Parisot, p. 373 BM 57 c (55 c): PL 89, 1119 BM 545 (526): Martène, Coll., II, 23 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 658 Eggers, 19:31: R.C. 545 Mabillon, citing Fredegar., Chron., v. 40 Parisot, <i>passim</i>
Angledura	Angleur	Parisot, p. 613, n. 2
Antennacum	Antenai	Parisot, pp. 416, 417
Antina	Anthisne	Parisot, p. 432, n. 6
Antonius, mon.	Antoing	TM: Parisot, p. 373
Aplast	Apfelstädt ³	BM 193 (189): Kopp, Palaeo- graphia, I a, 379 Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 104 Eggers, 41.17: R.C. 193

³ BM suggests Opolda as another possibility.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
S. Aprus, mon.	St Evre ⁴	BM 1285 (1250): HF VIII, 405
Apsiacum	Essey-en-Woëvre ⁵	BM 1312 (1277): Grandidier, Strasbourg, II ^b , 240 Parisot, p. 290, n. 1
Aquisgranum, pal.	Aachen	BM 101 a (99 a): Ann. Einh., Christmas, 765 ⁶ Steinitz, Tab. II-III Parisot, <i>passim</i> Mabillon, citing Ann. Einh., a. 829: Eggers, 10.20: DO I, 316
Arcae Remorum, pal.	Arches-sur-Meuse (near Épinal)	BM 1288 a (1253 a): Prud. Ann., a. 859: Mabillon Parisot, p. 125, n. 1: Calmette, pp. 60, 203
Arcus	Ars	BM 1823 (1774): HF IX, 364
————	Arenberg	BM 1472 (1429): Wilmans, I, 154 Eggers, 33.45: R.C. 1472
Aschinsa villa	Eschenz	BM 1577 (1535): Meyer v. Kno- nau, Cart. von Reichenau, 19 Eggers, 22.3: R.C. 1577
Ascwillaris, villa regia	Eschweiler (near Aachen)	Einhard, Trans. SS. Marc. et Petr., c. 6, sec. 66
Aslao, pal.	Elsloo	BM 1292 (1257): MGH SS XXI, 263; Eggers, 17.25: R.C. 1292 Parisot, p. 55, n. 5, and <i>passim</i> Codex Laurisham. 1, diplom. I, 54 (860): HF VIII, 865
Asnapium	Gennep	Steinitz, Tab. II: Boretius, Capit., I, 250 ff., c. 25
Astanido	Astenet	Steinitz, Tab. II: Martène, II, 24
Attiniaco, pal.	Attigny	BM 58 (56): HF V, 715 Steinitz, Tab. II-III Parisot, p. 27, n. 2, and <i>passim</i> Mabillon: Doublet, p. 691 Calmette, pp. 28, 54, 105, 125, 197

⁴ There is some question whether St Evre was fisc or not. (See Parisot, p. 377 and p. 421, n. 4. However, the charter cited would seem to indicate that it had formerly belonged to Lothar I.

⁵ There are numerous other possibilities, as BM points out: Essey near Lunéville; Essey near Nancy; Epfich near Schlettstadt.

⁶ This is the earliest reference to Aachen in BM.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Audriaca villa, pal.	Orville (near Laon)	BM 133 (130): PL 97, 915 BM 1720 (1674): Dopsch, Forschungen, IX, 416 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 645 Steinitz, Tab. III: KDD 57 Parisot, p. 298, n. Calmette, pp. 134, 206
—	Auenheim	BM 1789 (1741): Schöpflin, Als. d., I, 95 Eggers, 21.24: R.C. 1789
Aufeldus	Allfeld	Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 45
Aufoldum	Uffholz	BM 118 (115): HF V, 715 Eggers, 21.25: R.C. 118
Augia, mon.	Reichenau	BM 1681 (1637): Dümge, 75 Eggers, 12.28
Augustkirche, mon.	Augst ⁷	BM 1852 (1803): Wartmann UB II, 284; TM: Parisot, p. 372, n. 4 Eggers, 22.16: R.C. 1852
Aurelianense, bpc., pal.	Orléans	BM 33 d (31 d): Gest. reg. Franc., c. 53 Steinitz: Tab. II-III: KDD 21, 22, 23 Parisot, <i>passim</i> Mabillon
Autisiodero, bpc.	Auxerre	BM 92 b (90 b): Fredegar., Chron., c. 124 BM 1369 f (1330 f): Austellort Parisot, p. 190
Autmundisstat	Umstadt	BM 102 (100): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 14 BM 768 (743): MB XXVIII, 16 Eggers, 32.43: R.C. 102
Auuanno	Auw ⁸	BM 545 (526): Mtlrh UB I, 36 BM 1165 f (1131 f): Mtlrh UB I, 92 Steinitz, Tab. II: Martène II, 24 Parisot, p. 28, n. Eggers, 18.30: R.C. 1165 f
Avenacum, mon.	Avenai	Parisot, p. 234, n. 3; 262
Bácheim	Bachem	B BM 1490 (1448): Mtlrh UB I, 107 Eggers, 20.19: R.C. 1490 Parisot, p. 398, n. 6

⁷ Parisot, p. 5, n. 1, suggests Augst for Augustkirche.

⁸ There is another Auw south of Speicher.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
—	Bergheim	BM 1604 (1561): Grandidier, Strasbourg, II ^b , 269 Eggers, 23.13: DC I, 28
Berinscoza	Bärenscheszen	BM 255 (246): Wenck, III ^b , 14 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 14 Eggers, 33.16: R.C. 255
Bersiseiae	Bersillies-le-Bois	BM 1284 (1249): Duvivier, Hainaut, 304
S. Bertinus, mon.	St Bertin	Parisot, p. 203, n. 2
Bettinga	Bettingen	BM 1114 (1080): Martène, Coll., I, 108; Eggers, 20.17: R.C. 1114
Beura	Bures	Parisot, p. 764, n. 6
Biberesheim	Bibernheim	BM 712 (689): PL 104, 1098 Steinitz, Tab. II: Mtlrh UB I, 58 Eggers, 20.10: R.C. 712
Bichhumbach	Bickenbach	BM 1503 (1461): MGH SS XXI, 372; Eggers 29.7: DO III, 189
Bidolidum, pal.	Belloy	BM 846 (820): Tardif, 83: an exchange of lands Mabillon, citing Hilduin, Abbate Dionysiano
Bidolricum	Boppard	BM 712 (689): PL 104, 1098 Steinitz, Tab. II: Mtlrh UB I, 58 Eggers, 20.11: R.C. 712 Parisot, p. 686, n. 5
*Bilefurti	Béfort	BM 1970 (1918): Duvivier, Hainaut, 322
—	Bingenheim	BM 656 (642): Dronke, C. d. F., 325 a: Steinitz, Tab. II Eggers, 33.44: R.C. 656
Bingia	Bingen	BM 701 b (680 b): Ann. Einh., a. 819; BM 904 (875): Bodmann, Rheingau. Alterth., 109. Eggers, 10.40: DO II, 306 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 904 Steinitz, Tab. III: Reg. 701 b
Binuzheim	Binzen	BM 308 (299): HF V, 753 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 166
Birgisburiae	Birresborn	Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 16
Birninga	Bierlingen	BM 1676 (1632): Pupikofer, Gesch. des Thurgaus, I b, 3 Eggers, 23.32: R.C. 1676
Bisestat	Bürstadt	Ann. Fuld., a. 871 Calmette, pp. 123, 203

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Blanciacó, pal.	Blanzée	BM 143 (140): PL 97, 925 Eggers, 43.32: R.C. 143 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 64 Parisot, p. 685 and n. 4
*Blandovium	Blanmont ¹¹	BM 1644 (1601): Martène, Coll., II, 31
*Bodobrio	Bodeux	BM 545 (526): Martène, Coll., II, 23; Steinitz, Tab. II: Martène, Coll., II, 24
Bodoma, pal.	Bodmann am ¹² Bodensee	BM 986 b (958 b): MGH SS I, 453; BM 990 (959): MB 28, 31, 33, 83; BM 993 (962): Simson, Ludwig der Fromme, I, 186, n. 6 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 986 b, 990, 991 Steinitz, Tab. III Eggers, 22.27: R.C. 986 b, 990-993; Parisot, p. 481, n. 6
Bodonis monasterium	Bonmoutier	BM 1679 (1635): Grandidier, Strasbourg, II ^b , 272 TM Parisot, p. 371, n. 2, and <i>passim</i>
Bohholt	Bockholt	BM 222 f (216 f): Ann. Lauriss., a. 779
Bonna	Bonn	BM 73 b (71 b): Fredegar., Chron., c. 118 BM 545 (526): Martène, Coll., II, 23; Steinitz, Tab. II: Martène, Coll., II, 24 Steinitz, Tab. III: Reg. 73 b Parisot, <i>passim</i> Eggers, 19.35: R.C. 73 b
Borbona	Bourbonne-les-Bains	BM 1127 (1093): Dopsch, Forschungen, IX, 409
Borsaha	Borsch	Steinitz, Tab. II: Dronke, C. d. F., 524
Bractis	Bras-les-St-Hubert	BM 1644 (1601): Martène, Coll., II, 31
————	Breckera-Wetrida	BM 342 (333): Wurth-Paquet, II, 20; Eggers, 18.28: R.C. 342 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 184

¹¹ Parisot gives a Blandonium as Blanden. It occurs to me that Blandonium and Blandovium might be the same place.

¹² BM 1423 (1382) lists Villa Potamo, which might be Bodmann (MB 11, 115).

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
—	Breitenheim	BM 1609 (1566): Schöpflin, Als. d., I, 90 Eggers, 21.14: R.C. 1609
—	Brendlorenzen	Eggers, 33.25: R.C. 768 ¹³
—	Brenz	BM 1512 (1732): Wartmann UB II, 203: BM 1780 (1732) Wartmann UB II, 267 Eggers, 23.44: R.C. 1512
Breona	Brienne-le-Château (near Bar-sur-Aube)	BM 1435 k (1394 k): Ann. Bert., a. 858; Calmette, pp. 48, 53
Briganticum	Bodensee	BM 1386 c (1346 c): Ann. Fuld., Easter, a. 846
Brinnacus, pal.	Berny-Rivière ¹⁴	BM 73 g (71 g): Ann. Mett., a. 754; Nithard, iii, 2 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Bernaco Mabillon: Greg. Tur.
Britennacus	Brétigny	BM 836 (810): PL 104, 1144
Brocmagad	Brumath	BM 125 (122): PL 97, 1578 BM 149 (146): Wartmann UB I, 64 Eggers, 20.39: R.C. 125, 149 Steinitz, Tab. II-III, Reg. 125 Parisot, p. 685 and n. 18
Bronium, mon.	Brogne ¹⁵	Parisot, p. 486, n. 3
Brunisberg	The Brunsberg	BM 192 d (188 d): MGH SS I, 155, n. 60
Brunnilare	Barweiler	BM 1171 (1137): Martène, Coll., I, 136; Eggers, 20.13: R.C. 1171
Bruoil	Brühlhof	BM 1971 (1919): Miraeus, Donaḡ., 389
Budinisvelt	Bodenfeld	BM 922 (893): PL 104, 1229 Eggers, 36.16: R.C. 922 Steinitz, Tab. II: Wilmans, I, 42
—	Bühl	BM 1470 (1427): MGH SS XXI, 371; Eggers, 23.45: R.C. 1470
—	Bühne ¹⁶	BM 1843 (1794): Wilmans, I, 256 Eggers, 35.9: R.C. 1843

¹³ Cf. *supra*, n. 9. In charter 768 (743), Eggers also includes the following names not found in the charter as printed in BM: Brenz, Gollhofen, Herlheim, Homburg, Iphofen, Kirchheim, Mellrichstadt, Stöckenburg, Willenzheim, Kirchheim, Burgheim, and Dornheim.

¹⁴ Abbé Lebœuf shows irrefutably that Brinnacus was fourteen leagues from Paris and seven from Soissons, and, hence, the modern Berny-rivière, "Sur la position d'un ancien palais de nos rois de la première race," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXI, Part 1: 100-110. For further bibliography on the subject, see C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles* (H. Leclercq, trans.; Paris, 1909), III, pt. 1, p. 200, n. 1.

¹⁵ Now St Gérard.

¹⁶ There are two other Bühne. One is three-quarters of a mile northwest of Osterwick. The other is three miles south-southeast of Salzwedel.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Cauciacum, mon., pal.	Choisy-au-Bac	BM 842 (816): PL 104, 1133 Parisot, p. 456, n. 8 Mabillon: Ann. Mett., a. 783
*Cavera	Chevières	BM 836 (810): PL 104, 1144 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 544
Celeberch Centulum, mon.	Zellenberg St Riquier	MGH KD I, no. 300 BM 352 a (347 a): Ann. Lauriss., a. 800
Cervia	Zerf	MGH KD I, no. 268 Eggers, 20.7: DO I: 110
Chamvers	Chamvres	BM 561 (542): Ragut, Cart. de Mâcon, 516
Chesnich	Kessenich	BM 1098 (1064): Wilmans, I, 89 BM 1175 (1141): Wilmans, I, 92 BM 1315 (1280): Mtlrh UB I, 113 Eggers, 20.13: R.C. 1098, 1175 Parisot, p. 97, n. 3
Chieninga	Klengen	BM 1619 (1578): Wartmann UB .II, 224; BM 1776 (1728): Wartmann UB II, 266 Eggers, 23.35: R.C. 1619
Chirichheim, pal.	Kirchheim	BM 1749 a (1702 a): Ann. Fuld., a. 887; BM 1750 (1703): Wartmann UB II, 264 BM 1754 a (1707 a): Ann. Fuld., a. 887; Steinitz, Tab. II: Chron. Gotwicense, iii, no. 68 Eggers, 32.46: R.C. 768 ²⁰ Parisot, p. 484, n. 7, 483 Dümmler, III, 277, n. 2
*Chizzeche	Kessach	Inama-Sternegg, I, 707 (ed. 2): Trad. Fuld., a. 801
Cholembra	Colmar	BM 772 (747): PL 104, 1157 BM 1646 (1603): MB 27, 67 BM 1677 d (1633 d): Coloburg Eggers, 20.26: R.C. 772 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 534 Parisot, p. 137, n. 2; p. 469, n. 9
Cidalaribah Cimbero Zimbra	Zeillern Zimmern	BM 1451 (1409): MB 11, 120 BM 194 (190): Wenck, III, 1; II, 3; Eggers, 40.38: R.C. 194 Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 105
Cispiacum, pal.	Cheppy ²¹	Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 545, 781

²⁰ *Vide supra*, n. 9.²¹ The identification is Parisot's.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
		BM 545 (526): Martène, Coll., II, 23; Eggers, 17.33 DO I: 426: (Cipliacum) Parisot, p. 686, n. 12 Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 10
Clodena	Clotten	BM 545 (526): Martène, Coll., II, 23; Eggers, 19.30: R.C. 545 Steinitz, Tab. II: Martène, Coll., II, 24
Codiacum, pal.	Coucy	Mabillon, citing Flodoard, Hist. Rem., iv, 13
Collinchova	Kölliken	BM 1455 (1412): Wartmann UB II, 117
Colonia, archbpc.	Cologne	BM 1337 (1299): HF VIII, 399, no. 6: TM Parisot, p. 373 and <i>passim</i> Eggers, 10.24: DO I, 288
Combles	Combles	BM 1284 (1249): Duvivier, Hainaut, 304
Commarciacum	Commercy	BM 853 a (826 a): Thegan, c. 34 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 853
Compendium, pal.	Compiègne	BM 841 b (815 b): Vita Hlud., c. 41; Steinitz, Tab. II-III Parisot, <i>passim</i> Mabillon, <i>cit.</i> Ann. Bert., a. 829 TM: Parisot, p. 373
Condatum, mon.	Condé	
Confluentes ad Rhenum, pal.	Coblenz	BM 782 (757): PL 104, 1122 BM 701 c (680 c): Ann. Einh., a. 819; Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 782: Parisot, <i>passim</i> Eggers, 10.42: DH II, 397
Corbeia, mon.	Corvey	BM 1367 (1327): Wilmans, I, 72 Eggers, 35.36: R.C. 1367 Parisot, p. 379, n. 1: p. 489, n. 1; p. 490, n. 1
Corbeia, mon.	Corbie	Parisot, p. 41, n. 2; pp. 404, 457
Corbonaca, pal.	Corbény ²²	BM 86 a (84 a): Ann. Lauriss., a. 757 BM 142 a (139 a): MGH SS XIII, 27 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg., Dec., 770
Corneri	Körner	BM 390 (383): Wenck, II ^b , 19 Eggers, 40.36: R.C. 390 Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 198

²² BM 876 a (847 a): Mohr, C. d., I, 30, lists Curbinago palatium. This may well be Corbény.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Coslus	Cuy	BM 925 (896): PL 104, 1227 BM 1734 (1687): Mittheilungen f. öst. G.F., IX, 129
Cotonariae Crasnicium	Coignièeres Gressenich	Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 28 BM 1371 (1332): Lacomblet, I, 72; BM 1553 (1511): Martène, Coll., I, 202 Parisot, p. 422, n. 4
Crecciacum ad Serram, pal.	Crécy-sur-Serre	BM 1565 a (1523 a): Hincmar, Ann., a. 880 (Ercuriacum); Einhard, Trans. SS. Marc. et Petr., c. 9, sec. 84 Mabillon: no source reference TM: Parisot, p. 373
Crispinno, mon.	Crespin	Parisot, p. 137, n. 2
Crovia	Kröv	BM 701 a (680 a): Ann. Einh., a. 819; BM 768 (742): MB 28, 16; BM 996 (965): Dronke, C. d. F., 302
Crucinium, pal.	Kreuznach	BM 1469 (1426): Habel'schen Sammlung zu Miltenberg-am- Main, Forschungen XVIII, 199; BM 1645 (1602): Böhmer, C. d. F., 5; Eggers, 31.16: R.C. 768, 1469, 1645 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 996 Parisot, p. 93, n. 3; p. 458
Curtracus Cusiacum, pal.	Courtrai Chézy	BM 947 (916): PL 104, 1264 BM 1749 (1702): MGH SS XIII, 106; Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 947; Mabillon: DD Louis the Pious
D		
Dalaheim	Dahlem	BM 1315 (1280): Mtlrh UB I, 113 Eggers, 20.19: no source refer- ence
Dannistath	Tennstedt	BM 192 (188): Wenck, III ^b , 8 BM 1551 (1509): MGH SS IV, 314; Eggers, 41.2: R.C. 192 Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 103
S. Deodat, mon.	St Dié	BM 131 (128): HF V: 712 TM: Parisot, p. 371

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Duria, pal.	Düren-am-Roer (between Aachen and Cologne)	BM 92 i (90 i): Ann. reg. Franc., a. 761; BM 545 (526): HF VI, 641 Eggers, 19.40: R.C. 92 i Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 10 Ann. reg. Franco., a. 760, 769, . 775, 779 Parisot, p. 27, n. 5 Mabillon: DD Charlemagne
—	Dusslingen	BM 1802 (1754): Wartmann UB II, 270 Eggers, 23.31: R.C. 1802
E		
Eboresheim, mon.	Ebersheim	TM: Parisot, p. 372 Eggers, 22.11: DO II, 79 a
Echa, mon.	Alden Eyck	TM
—	Ehrich	Parisot, p. 373; p. 615, n. 9 BM 1551 (1509): MGH SS IV, 314; Eggers, 40.46: R.C. 1551
Eichesfelt	Eisfeld ²⁷	Eggers, 32.47: R.C. 76d
—	Eichtersheim	BM 1436 (1395): MGH SS XXI, 368; Eggers, 32.24: R.C. 1436
—	Eiterfeld	BM 1384 (1345): Schöttgen and Kreysig, I, 12, no. 31 Eggers, 34.4: R.C. 1384
Eleone, mon.	Andlau	Parisot, p. 469, n. 9; p. 483, n. 3
Ellwangen, mon.	Ellwangen	BM 1766 (1718): Wirttemberg UB IV, 329
Endloinga	Endingen	BM 1450 (1408): Grandidier, Strasbourg, II ^b , 251 Eggers, 23.24: R.C. 1450
Ephternacus, mon.	Echternach	TM: Parisot, p. 132, n. 4; p. 372, n. 2, and <i>passim</i> Eggers, 19.4: DO III: 89
Ereckeshusen	Wrexen? ²⁸	Eggers, 36.15: R.C. 1749
Erehstein, mon.	Erstein	BM 733 (709): PL 104, 1082 Eggers, 20.27: R.C. 733 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 646: Herinstein; TM Parisot, p. 4, n. 4; p. 28, n.; p. 372, and <i>passim</i>

²⁷ *Vide supra*, nn. 9, 13.

²⁸ *Vide supra*, n. 9. This charter (1749 in the first edition and 1702 in the second) mentions Erickeshusen not at all; but on the assumption that Eggers may have seen the original charter (Wilmans, I: 197), I have included it.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
————	Erpen ²⁹	BM 1403 (1362): Wilmans, I, 113 Eggers, 35.2: R.C. 1403
————	Estenfeld	BM 1380 (1341): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 189 Eggers, 32.15: R.C. 1380
Etingon	Edingen	Cod. Lauresh., MGH SS XXI, 373
————	Ewattingen	BM 1842 (1793): Wartmann UB II, 276 Eggers, 24.2: R.C. 1842
Exona, pal.	Essonnes	BM 104 (101): HF V, 706 Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 22 Mabillon: Fortunatus, Vita Radegund
Ezzilinga (Hadalongcella) ³⁰	Esslingen	BM 1461 (1418): HF VII, 421 Eggers, 23.28: R.C. 1461
F		
Faberolae	Faverolles	BM 129 (125): HF V, 721 Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 53
Faurndau, mon.	Faurndau	BM 1511 (1469): Wartmann, UB II, 202 BM 1780 (1732): Wartmann, UB II, 267 Eggers, 23.29: R.C. 1511
Faus	Foug	BM 1563 (1521): Tabouillot, Hist. de Metz, IV, 40 Parisot, p. 425, n. 3
Faverniacus, mon.	Faverny	TM: Parisot, p. 372
————	Feldberg ³¹	BM 1842 (1793): Wartmann UB II, 276 Eggers, 24.2: R.C. 1842
————	Feldkirch ³²	Inama-Sternegg, I, 707 (ed. 2): Reg. Car. 284 Eggers, 22.11: R.C. 2056
SS. Felix et Regula, mon.	SS Felix et Regula (Zürich)	BM 1584 (1542): Wyss, 14 Parisot, p. 96, n. 2; p. 315
Ferreriae, mon.	Ferrières	Parisot, p. 437
Filicione	Seraincourt	Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 107
Flamereshem	Flamersheim	BM 1479 f (1436 f): Hincmar, Ann., a. 870; Parisot, p. 368

²⁹ Eggers has the correct spelling: Erpen. BM lists it as Erpingen, apparently a typographical error.

³⁰ There is another Esslingen south of Waiblingen. Hadalongcella is another possible variante of the medieval form of Esslingen, which Eggers cites as a separate manor, p. 23, l. 47. Set Hadalongcella, in the index of MGH KDD I, for indication that this is Esslingen.

³¹ There is another Feldberg three and one-quarter miles east of Neu-Strelitz.

³² I cannot verify Inama-Sternegg's reference. Charter no. 284 of BM contains no reference to a Feldkirch.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Flaridesheim	Flörsheim	BM 1465 (1422): Schannat, Ep. Wormat., II, 9
Flattera	Vlatten (Blatten)	BM 996 c (966 c): Vita Hlud., c. 61; BM 1129 (1095): Mtlrh UB I, 83 Eggers, 43.34: R.C. 996 c, 1129 Steinitz, Tab. III: Reg. 996 c Dümmler, I, 131, n. 69
Floriacus, mon.	Fleury	Parisot, p. 36; p. 38, n. 7; and <i>passim</i>
Florikingas villa	Florange (Flörchingen)	BM 1884 (1833): HF IX, 366 BM 1963 (1912): MGH SS, VIII, 638; Eggers, 32.32: R.C. 1884, 1963; Parisot, p. 686
Floriniacus	Fleurigny	BM 1734 (1686): Mittheilungen f. öst. G.F., IX, 129
Fontaneum	Fontenoy-en- Puisaye	BM 1084 f (1050 f): Nithard, ii, .10; Parisot, p. 8, n. 3
*Fontanis	Fontaine-Walmont	BM 1151 (1117): Cart. de Hainaut, xiv
Forestis, mon.	Forestmoustier	BM 337 (328): PL 97, 986
Fossae, mon.	Fosses	TM: Parisot, p. 373
Franconofurd, pal.	Frankfurt-am- ³³ Main	BM 320 o (311 o): MGH LL, I, 71 BM 1645 (1602): Böhmer, C. d. F., 5; Steinitz, Tab. II-III Eggers, 10.27: R.C. 589 ff. Parisot, p. 27, n. 2, and <i>passim</i> Mabillon: a. 794
—————	Frankenheim	BM 809 (785): HF VI, 648 Eggers, 21.8: R.C. 809 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 648
*Fraxindus	Fresneau- Montchevreuil	Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 566
Frideslar	Fritzlar	MGH KD I, 142 Eggers, 11.28: DDO I, <i>passim</i> .
—————	Friemersheim	BM 516 a-b (497 a-b): Vita Hlud., c. 9 Eggers, 44.5 (Reichstag, 799) Steinitz, Tab. II; no source reference Parisot, p. 522

³³ Frankfurt is mentioned as a villa as early as 793 (cf. *Annales Mettenses*). In 815 it is first mentioned as a palatium. The references given are only indicative of the many times it appears in the records.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Gerunesheim	Gernsheim	BM 1401 (1360): MGH SS XXI, 367; BM 1645 (1602): Böhmer, C. d. F., 5 Eggers, 43.37: R.C. 1401 Parisot, p. 397, n. 2; p. 491, n. 3
Giacus, mon.	Gy-les-Nonnains	BM 1075 (1041): HF VIII, 377
—————	Gielsdorf ³⁵	Eggers, 20.16: R.C. 1280
Gildini monasterium	St Ghislain ³⁶	TM: Parisot, p. 374, n. 3
—————	Gillancourt	BM 1720 (1674): Dopsch, Forschungen, IX, 416
—————	Gilsdorf	BM 1129 (1095): Martène, Coll., I, 114 Eggers, 20.18: R.C. 1129
Glaniacus	Glain	BM 545 (526): Martène, Coll., II, 23 Steinitz, Tab. II: Martène, Coll., II, 24
S. Goar	St Goar	BM 1982 a (1930 a): Dümmler, Ostfränk. Reich, III, 469, n. 5
—————	Gochsheim	BM 1470 (1427): MGH SS XXI: 37; Eggers, 32.2: R.C. 1470
*Goddinga villa, pal.	Godinne	BM 216 (210): PL 97, 959 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 120 Mabillon: DD Charlemagne [Goddingen]
*Godenhofe (near Hohenstatt)	Gottenhof	Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD.114
—————	Gollhofen ³⁷	Eggers, 32.46: R.C. 768
—————	Gönz	Eggers, 33.44, a. 889
—————	Görmar	BM 1926 (1875): Dronke, C. d. F., 294 Eggers, 40.42: R.C. 1926
Gothaha	Gotha	BM 194 (190): Wenck, II, 3 Eggers, 41.18: R.C. 194 Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 105
Gowirikkesheim	Gauersheim	BM 941 (910): PL 104, 1254 Steinitz, Tab. II: Mtlrh UB I, 69
—————	Grabs	BM 1089 (1055): Wiener SB LXXXV, 534
Grandis Campus	Grandchamp	BM 925 (896): PL 104, 1227

³⁵ *Vide supra*, n. 9. Eggers includes Gielsdorf with the charter mentioning Büllesheim, Pissenheim, and Strassfeld. BM 1280 (1245) does not mention it. Cf. Mtlrh UB, I: 97.

³⁶ Parisot identifies Gildini monasterium as Calmontier. I am using the identification of Valois, *Notitia Galliarum* (Paris, 1675), p. 234, col. 1. Calmet and Bertholet (t. II, p. 426) hesitate between the two.

³⁷ *Vide supra*, n. 9.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Gransvillari	Grandvilliers	BM 1860 (1810): HF IX, 365
Grecionem	Grusa	Beise, "Zur Interpret. d. Bre- viums," Vierteljahrsschr., XII, 22-70
S. Gregorius, mon.	Münster	TM: Parisot, p. 372
Gresweiler	Gressweiler	BM 1138 (1104): HF VIII, 386 Eggers, 21.22: R.C. 1138
Grisione	Grieth	Steinitz, Tab. II: Boretius, Capit., I, 250, c. 26
—————	Grosseneder	BM 1759 (1712): Wilmans, I, 206 Eggers, 35.32: R.C. 1759
—————	Gross Grabe ³⁸	Eggers, 40.36: R.C. 390
—————	Grumbach	BM 1380 (1341): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 189 Eggers, 32.15: R.C. 1380
S. Gualricus, mon.	St Valéry-sur- Somme	BM 874 (845): PL 104, 1182
—————	Gundershausen	BM 1376 (1337): MB 28, 37 Eggers, 25.28: R.C. 1376
Gundrinium	Jandrain	BM 1172 (1138): Martène, Coll., I, 138 Eggers, 18.29: R.C. 1172
Gundulfi villa, pal.	Gondreville (near Toul)	BM 966 (935): HF VI, 612 BM 1106 (1072): Muratori, Ant., VI, 35 BM 1867: Mittheilungen f. öst. G. F., XV, 371 (Gundolves- dorf) Eggers, 18.37: R.C. 1106 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 147 Parisot, p. 27, n. 5, and <i>passmi</i> Calmette, pp. 99, 118, 140 Mabillon: DD Louis the Pious
Gutinga	Güttingen	BM 1447 (1406): Wartmann UB II, 92 BM 1648 (1605): Wartmann UB II, 236 Eggers, 23.22: R.C. 1447
Guttehusa	Gotteshausen	BM 1813: SB der bayer. Akad., 1893, p. 293, n. 5 Eggers, 28.41: R.C. 1813

³⁸ *Vide supra*, n. 9. Eggers includes Gross Grabe and Kirch Heiligen in charter no. 390 (383). Cf. Wenck, II^b, 19.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Hagrebetingae	Herbrechtingen	BM 170 (166): Hartzheim, I, 242 BM 1461 (1418): HF VII, 421 Eggers, 23.41: R.C. 170 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 83
Hammalumburg	Hammelburg	BM 205 (201): PL 97, 1057 Eggers, 34.7: R.C. 205, 768 ³⁹ Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 116 Inama-Sternegg, I, 707 (ed. 2)
Hanover	Hannover	Schuschardt, Ztschft. d. hist. Ver. f. Niedersachsen, 1902, Heft IV
Haonstat	Hahnstätten	BM 1381 (1342): Kremer, Orig. Nass., I, 13 Eggers, 34.2: R.C. 1381
—	Happenweiler	BM 1513 (1471): Wartmann UB II, 185 Eggers, 23.21: R.C. 1513
Harastallium, pal.	Heristal	BM 66 (64): HF V, 698 BM 137 (134): HF V, 719 Eggers, 43.24: R.C. 34, 66, 137 Parisot, pp. 368 ff. Steinitz, Tab. II-III Mabillon: Miraeus, Donat. II, c. 3 Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 9
—	Harheim	BM 656 (642): Dronke, C. d. F., 325; Eggers, 33.39: R.C. 656
Harital	Erthal	BM 205 (201): Dronke, C. d. F., 36; Eggers, 24.5: R.C. 205 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 116
Hasernum, mon.	Herrieden	BM 1766 (1718): Wirtemberg UB IV, 329 BM 1783 (1735): MB 31, 123 Eggers, 32.14: R.C. 1783
—	Häsingen	BM 1356 (1319): Schöpflin, Als. d., I, 76 Eggers, 21.20: R.C. 1356
—	Hausen	BM 1842 (1793): Wartmann UB II, 276 Eggers, 24.2: R.C. 1842
Hecgstat	Hochstadt	Einhard, Trans. SS. Marc. et Petr., c. 49

³⁹ Included by Eggers in charter 768 (743). Cf. *supra*, n. 9.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Hoinowa, mon.	Honaugia ⁴⁴	TM: Parisot, p. 372
Holskiricha	Holzkirchen	BM 195 (191): PL 97, 1052 BM 2032 (1977): MB 28, 139 Eggers, 44.4: R.C. 2032; 41.21: R.C. 2032 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 166
Homburch, mon.	Odilienberg ⁴⁵	TM: Parisot, p. 372
Hordinga	Rödingen	BM 1124 (1090): Mtlrh UB I, 84 Parisot, p. 97, n. 3
Horrea	Oeren	TM: Parisot, p. 371
—	Horrem	BM 1303 (1268): Mtlrh UB I, 104 Eggers, 19.37: DH II, 102
*Hosita	Housset	BM 1091 (1057): Mtlrh UB I, 76
Huculvi	Hockleve ⁴⁶	BM 266 e (257 e): Ann. Lauriss., a. 784
Humlonariae	Homblières ⁴⁷	Steinitz, Tab. I a: no source reference
Hunnulfcurt, mon.	Honnecourt	TM: Parisot, p. 373
Huonefelt	Hoffeld	BM 1171 (1137): Martène, I, 136 Eggers, 20.12: R.C. 1171
Huxori, mon., pal.	Höxter ⁴⁸	BM 779 (754): PL 104, 1128 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 779 Mabillon: DD Louis the Pious

I

Inda, mon.	Cornelimünster	TM: Parisot, p. 370, n. 3
Ipihoue	Iphofen ⁴⁹	Eggers, 32.46: R.C. 768
—	Ippingen	BM 1598 (1556): Wartmann UB II, 223 Eggers, 23.38: R.C. 1598
Isca	Over-Yssche	BM 897 (868): HF VI, 574 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 574
Isemburgus, pal.	Isenburg	BM 765 (740:) PL 104, 1116 Eggers, 43.42: R.C. 765 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 765 Mabillon: no source reference

⁴⁴ This is Waitz's identification. Parisot and Longnon both prefer Honau, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, which seems slightly absurd.

⁴⁵ Originally Hohenburg. See U. Chevalier, *Topo-Bibliographie* (Montbéliard, 1894-1899), under Odilienberg.

⁴⁶ Now Petershagen.

⁴⁷ Steinitz' identification is Ouerre. I prefer Homblières.

⁴⁸ Cf. Corvey. This is another manor to which the reference given in BM is not the only one, but simply one of many. The charter no. 779 is the earliest reference to it, being the foundation charter on July 27, 823.

⁴⁹ Included by Eggers in charter 768 (743). *Vide supra*, n. 9.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Ismerleke	Schmerleke	BM 920 (891): Sickel, Reg. 346 L 312 Eggers, 35.3: R.C. 920 Steinitz, Tab. II: Wilmans I, 36
J		
Jobii villa, pal.	Jupille ⁵⁰	BM 89 b (87 b): Ann. Mett., a. 760 Eggers, 17.17: DH I, 23 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 89 b Parisot, p. 613, n. 2; p. 688, n. 1 Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 3 Mabillon: DD Pepin the Short BM 1734 (1687): Mittheilungen f. öst. G.F., IX, 129 Eggers, 43.31: R.C. 1734 Parisot, p. 481, n. 5 Dümmler, III: 274
Jovilla nova	Juville	Calmette, p. 4: Dümmler, 1, 255u. MGH, Cap. II, 112
Judicium	Yütz (near Diedenhofen)	BM 1436 e (1395 e): PL 125, 1175 Parisot, p. 349, n. 3
Juliacus	Juilly	BM 1124 (1090): Mtlrh UB I, 84
Jussiacus, mon.	Jussey	BM 1288 (1253): Mtlrh UB I, 98
S. Justina, mon.	Güsten	TM: Parisot, p. 372, n. 5
Justinna, mon.	Mont Justin ⁵¹	
K		
_____	Kaalefeld	BM 1822 (1773): Wilmans, I, 229 Eggers, 37.28: R.C. 1822
Karleburg, mon.	Karleburg	BM 768 (743): MB 28, 16 Eggers, 34.7: R.C. 768
_____	Karsbach	BM 1585 (1543): Wyss, 15 Eggers, 21.17: R.C. 1585
_____	Kesswil	BM 1818 (1769): Wartmann UB II, 273 Eggers, 22.19: R.C. 1818
Ketzicha	Kissingen	BM 1006 (975): Brit. Mus. 4, no. 47 Eggers, 44.7: R.C. 1006 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 1006
_____	Kilver	BM 1403 (1362): Wilmans, I, 113 Eggers, 36.18: R.C. 1403
_____	Kirch Heiligen ⁵²	Eggers, 40.36: R.C. 390

⁵⁰ The reference to Jupille noted from BM is merely the earliest one—a. 760. There are many more.

⁵¹ Dehaisnes, Waitz, Mühlbacher, Krause, and Parisot identify this monastery as probably Jussan. I prefer Mont Justin, with Valois, Leibniz, and Bertholet.

⁵² Included by Eggers in BM 390 (383): Wenck, II^b, 91. *Vide supra*, n. 9.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
_____	Krautheim	BM 1784 (1736): MB 28, 85 Eggers, 41.16: R.C. 1784
_____	Kürnach	BM 1380 (1341): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 189 Eggers, 32.15: R.C. 1380
L		
Landriciae	Landricies	BM 1151 (1117): Cart. de Hainaut, xiv
Langeivilla	Longville ⁵³	Parisot, p. 689, n. 7
_____	Langen	BM 1354 (1315): MGH SS XXI, 363; Eggers, 32.33: R.C. 1354
Larun	Laar	BM 1403 (1362): Wilmans I, 113 (Laer) Eggers, 34.45: R.C. 1403
Laubiae, mon.	Lobbes	TM: Parisot, p. 373
S. Laurentius, mon.	St Laurent (Liège)	TM Parisot, p. 373, n. 2
Lauresham, mon.	Lorsch	BM 167 c (163 c): MGH SS XXI, 348; Eggers, 12.25: DC I, 18 Parisot, p. 173, n. 3, and <i>passim</i>
Lebraha, mon.	Leberau (Lièpvre)	BM 1167 (1133): Grandidier, Strasbourg, II ^b , 238 Parisot, p. 28, n.
Ledi, mon.	Lierre	TM: Parisot, p. 373
Leimheim	Leimen	MGH SS XXI, 373
Lens, pal.	Lens	BM 1311 (1276): Muratori, Ant., VI, 31; Parisot, p. 289, n. 1
S. Leodegarium, pal.	St Léger	Mabillon: DD Charles the Bald
Leodicum, bpc., pal.	Liège ⁵⁴	BM 138 a (135 a): Ann. Lauriss., a. 769 Eggers, 17.15: St. 2240 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 138 a TM ⁵⁵ Parisot, p. 107, and <i>passim</i>
_____	Lessenich	BM 1303 (1268): Mtlrh UB I, 104
_____	Leutesdorf	BM 1472 (1429): Wilmans, I, 154 Eggers, 34.1: R.C. 1472

⁵³ No longer existent, but would be near modern Craincourt (Château-Salins, Delme). Cf. Parisot, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ The bishopric was changed from Maastricht to Liège about A.D. 710. Cf. Vanderkindere p. 276.

⁵⁵ There is no specific mention of Liège in the text of the Treaty of Meersen. However, it must have been included. The text lists Tongres as one of the bishoprics. This must have been an error, since Tongres had not been the seat of a bishop since the fourth century, the seat having been moved to Maastricht in 346, and to Liège about 710. Cf. Vanderkindere, p. 276; Parisot, p. 373.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Longlario, pal.	Longlier	BM 89 a (87 a): Ann. Lauriss., a. 759; Eggers, 16.28: R.C. 89 a Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 63 Parisot, p. 432, n. 1 Mabillon: Miraeus, Diplom. notit., p. 53
Lorch, mon.	Lorch	BM 904 (875): Bodmann, Rhein- gau. Alterth., 109 Eggers, 26.12: DO II, 167 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 904
Loufen	Lauffen ⁵⁷	BM 768 (743): MB 28, 16 Eggers, 32.45: R.C. 768
Lucida	Ludes	Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 544
Lugdunum cla- vatum, bpc., pal.	Laon	BM 358 (349): PL 97, 990 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 358 Parisot, p. 457, n. 5, and <i>passim</i> Mabillon: DD Charles the Simple
Lupentia	Lupnitz	BM 217 (211): Wenck, II ^b , 6 Eggers, 41.20: R.C. 217 Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 121
Lusarca, pal.	Luzarches	BM 179 (175): HF V, 729 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 92 Mabillon: DD Chlodovechus II
Lustenowa	Lustnau-am-Rhein	BM 1755 (1708): Wartmann UB II, 265 Eggers, 43.42: R.C. 1755
Lutera, mon.	Lure	TM: Parisot, pp. 372, 376
Luthosa, mon.	Leuze	TM: Parisot, p. 373 Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 1
Luttera	Kaiserslautern	BM 1645 (1602): Böhmer, C. d. F., 5 (Lautern) Eggers, 30.25: R.C. 1645
Luxovium, mon.	Luxeuil	TM: Parisot, pp. 372, 376
M		
Maalinae, mon.	Malines (Mechelen)	TM: Parisot, p. 373 Eggers, 18.30: DO II; 210
Madabolispirarius	Speicher	BM 930 (901): PL 104, 1248 Steinitz, Tab. II: Mtlrh UB I, 68
Magdera	Maidières	BM 1688 (1644): Miraeus, Diplom. notit., 47

⁵⁷ There is another Lauffen on the Kocher, west of Ellwangen.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Malmundarius, mon.	Malmédy ⁵⁸	TM: Parisot, p. 371, n. 2, and <i>passim</i>
Mamaccae, pal.	Maumaques	Steinitz, Tab. II: Mabillon, IV, 295
Manchenheim	Mannheim	BM 1465 (1422): Schannat, Ep. Wormat., II, 9
Manderfelt, pal.	Manderfeld	BM 1165 (1131): Mtlrh UB I, 92 Eggers, 43.37: R.C. 1165 Parisot, p. 685, n. 1
Manniacum	Mayn (near Coblenz)	Einhard, Epp., viii
S. Mansuetus, mon.	St Mansuy (Toul)	Parisot, p. 28, n.
Marciacus	Merzig	BM 1092 (1058): Mtlrh UB I, 20 Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 16 Parisot, p. 744, n. 6
Marciano	Marchienne-au-Pont	BM 1005 (974): Duvivier, Hainaut, I, 295 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 1005 Parisot, p. 417; p. 696, n. 1
Marcilliacum	Moncel	Bertaire, Gesta epp. Virid., cc. 18-20: MGH SS V, 45 Parisot, p. 686, nn. 14, 15
Mareleiae, mon., pal.	Maroilles	TM: Parisot, p. 373 Mabillon
S. Maria, mon.	Sta Maria (Dinant)	TM: Parisot, p. 373
Marilegium	Marlenheim	BM 925 e (896 e): Vita Hlud., c. 48; BM 1310 (1273): HF VIII, 413 BM 1717 (1672): Grandidier, Strasbourg, II ^b , 279 Eggers, 21.21: R.C. 1310, 1717 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Chron. Gotwic. iii, no. 10: Reg. 925 e Parisot, p. 180, n. 4; p. 289, n. 1; and <i>passim</i>
Marisch	Mersch	J. Depoin, "Etudes sur le Lux- embourg à l'époque Carolin- gien," <i>Revue Historique</i> , XCVIII, 229-230
_____	Marköbel	BM 993 (962): MB 28, 33 Eggers, 33.41: R.C. 993

⁵⁸ Cf. Stavelot. The two monasteries were founded in Merovingian times by the *Major Domus* Grimoald the Elder about 651 A.D.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Marningae	Mehring	BM 68 (66): Mtlrh UB I, 13 Eggers, 20.7: Mtlrh UB I, 114 Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 16
Marsna, pal.	Meersen	BM 1130 b (1096 b): Ann. Fuld., a. 847 Eggers, 17.24: DH I, 23 Parisot, pp. 37, 38, and <i>passim</i> Calmette, pp. 123-127; Mabillon: Miraeus, Donat., p. 155
Martdorf S. Martinus, mon.	Mardorf St Martin (Metz)	BM 251 (242): Wenck, II, 10 TM: Parisot, p. 371, n. 2
Masciagus Maslarius, pal.	Messy Mâlay-le-Roi	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 92 BM 97 (95): PL 96, 1546 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 18 Mabillon: (Masolacum): TM: Parisot, p. 372
Masonis monas- terium	Maesmünster ⁵⁹	
_____	Massenheim	BM 697 (676): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 131 Eggers, 32.44: R.C. 697 Steinitz, Tab. II: Dronke, C. d. F., 390
Matra	Modern	BM 1559 (1517): HF IX, 329 Parisot, p. 425, n. 4
Maurinianaie vallis, mon.	Morienval	Parisot, p. 367, n. 4
Mauri monasterium	Maursmünster	BM 1036 b (1002 b): Vita Hlud., c. 48: Masmünster TM: Parisot, p. 372
S. Maximinus, mon.	St Maximin (Trier)	TM Parisot, p. 371
Mechitamulinero	Möckmühl	BM 1384 (1345): Schöttgen and Kreysig, I, 12, no. 31 Eggers, 32.23: R.C. 1384
Mediolacus, mon.	Mettlach	BM 261 (252): Mtlrh UB I, 32 Parisot, p. 154, n. 3
Medofulli	Mittel-Uffel ⁶⁰	BM 222 h (216 h): Ann. Lauriss., a. 779
Meieni monas- terium	Moyen-moûtier	TM Parisot, pp. 371, 372, n. 5
Meinrodum	Marat-la-Grande	Parisot, p. 686, n. 16

⁵⁹ Parisot's identification of this monastery is Massevaux. BM also seems to confuse Mauri monasterium with Maesmünster. (Cf. Mauri monasterium.)

⁶⁰ There seems to be a difference of opinion about Medofulli. Förstemann, Oesterley, and Mühlbacher hold the opinion noted above. Kurze places it on the Weser and says that it is no longer existent.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Molinhuso	Mühlhausen	BM 193 (189): Wenck, III ^b , 9 Eggers, 20.44: DO II, 143 Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 104
Monasterium, pal. ——	Montreuil Mons	Mabillon: Test. Ansegisi BM 104 w (101 w): Ann. Lauriss., a. 768
Montemfalconis, mon.	Montfaucon	TM Parisot, p. 373
Monticellus, pal.	Montceaux	Mabillon: Acta synodi Sues- siones, a. 862
Montiniacum, pal.	Montigny-sur-Aube	BM 1697 (1652): Dopsch, For- schungen, IX, 415
Montiniacum ——	Monthion Moosheim	HF VI, 566 BM 1710 (1665): MB 28, 76 Eggers, 23.40: R.C. 1710
Morbach, mon. ——	Murbach Muchhorst	TM: Parisot, p. 372 BM 1837 (1798): Hodenberg, Verdener GQ II, 17 Eggers, 36.19: R.C. 1847
——	Mühlheim	BM 569 (549): Cod. Lauresh., I, 144; Eggers, 32.21: R.C. 569 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 569
Mundilinga	Mündling	BM 1470 (1427): MGH SS XXI, 371; Eggers, 23.46: R.C. 1470
Muneresdorf	Mindersdorf	BM 1647 (1604): Wartmann UB II, 235 Eggers, 44.3: R.C. 1647
Munucherstati	Münnerstadt	BM 995 (964): HF VI, 625 (Muniiheistati) Eggers, 34.8: Rübel, p. 326 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 626
N		
S. Naboris, mon.	St Avold	BM 1281 (1246): Tabouillet, IV, 30 Parisot, p. 90, n. 4; p. 701, n. 4
Nantogilum, pal.	Nanteuil-le- Harduin	BM 926 q (897 q): Vita Hlud., c. 52; Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 926: Mabillon
Nemetense, bpc., pal.	Spire (Speier)	BM 167 b (163 b): MGH SS XXI, 348; Eggers, 12.28: 5 Diplom. Otto I
——	Nendingen	Parisot, p. 485
——	Nenzingen	BM 991 (960): Sickel, Reg. 354, L 370 Eggers, 24.1: R.C. 991

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Neumago, pal.	Neumagen	BM 127 (124): Muratori, Ant., II, 19 Eggers, 43.33: R.C. 127 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 127
*Nideis Niella, mon.	Nids Nivelles	BM 1726 (1676): HF IX, 361 TM: Parisot, p. 373 Eggers, 17.8: DO II, 21
Nigella	Nesles ⁶⁴	F. Lot, "Mélanges Carolingiennes," <i>Moyen Age</i> , 1905, 20, n. 1 Eggers, 40.44: R.C. 1551
Niuvenstat	Neustadt-am-Main ⁶⁵	TM: Parisot, p. 370, n. 3 Parisot, p. 419
Niumonasterium ——, mon.	Neumoutier ⁶⁶ Notre Dame (Compiègne)	BM 130 (126): HF V, 362 Steinitz, Tab. II: MGH SS XV, 1168
Novilliacum	Neuilly-St-Front	BM 209 a (205 a): Ann. Lauriss., a. 777; BM 406 b (398 b): Ann. Mett., a. 804; BM 416 b (409 b): Ann. Einh., a. 806 Eggers, 18.4: R.C. 406 b Steinitz, Tab. II-III Parisot, pp. 330, 365, and <i>passim</i> Mabillon: Miraeus, Diplom. notit., p. 36
Noviomagus Bata- vorum, Niuma- gum, pal.	Nimègue (Nymwegen)	Ann. Bert., a. 859 Parisot, p. 494, n. 5; p. 644 Vanderkindere, p. 276
Noviomagus Vero- mandorum, bpc., pal.	Noyon	BM 1172 (1138): Martène, Coll., I, 138 BM 1296 (1261): Martène, Coll., II, 26 Parisot, p. 193, n. 1
Novocastro	Neufchâteau ⁶⁷	Martène, Coll., II, 27 BM 1809 (1761): MB 28, 84 Eggers, 23.38: R.C. 1809
Novum Castellum ——	Neuf Chastel Nusplingen	
Offonis villa, mon.	Enfonvelle ⁶⁸	TM: Parisot, p. 372, n. 5

⁶⁴ Lot also notes Nesles-l'Hôpital and Neslettes in the same vicinity.

⁶⁵ *Vide supra*, n. 9. Eggers includes Neustadt in the charter containing Ehrich and Tennstedt (BM 1511-1509). He omits Tennstedt, however. Cf. Schaten, *Ann. Pader.* I, 183.

⁶⁶ Eggers, Valois, Mabillon, Bouquet, and Waitz suggest Nussa, on the Rhine above Cologne. Leibniz suggests Huy. Mühlbacher, Krause, and Parisot prefer Münstereifel. I have followed Bertholet's suggestion of Neumoutier as being far more plausible than the other identifications.

⁶⁷ Mühlbacher identifies Novocastro as Chèvremont near Liège. I have followed Kurze's preference for Neufchâteau.

⁶⁸ Calmet (p. 738) suggests either Offonville near Toul, or Vellfaux. I have followed Parisot and Longnon in preferring Enfonvelle.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Orhaim	Ohrum	BM 229 a (222 a): <i>Ann. Lauriss.</i> , a. 780
—	Ostheim	BM 1357 (1318): <i>Wirtemberg UB I</i> , 109 Eggers, 23.39: R.C. 1357
—	Ovenhausen	BM 1749 (1702): <i>Wilmans, I</i> , 197 Eggers, 36.15: R.C. 1749
Ovlaho	Nieder-Aula	BM 223 (217): <i>Wenck, II</i> , 7 Eggers, 34.3: R.C. 223 Steinitz, <i>Tab. I b</i> : KDD 126
P		
Padrabunna, bpc.	Paderborn ⁶⁹	BM 211 a (206 a): <i>Ann. Lauriss.</i> , a. 777; BM 268 b (260 b): <i>Ann. r. Franc.</i> , a. 785 Steinitz, <i>Tab. II-III</i> : <i>Chron. Gotwic.</i> , p. 501, no. 90: <i>Reg. 211 a, 268 b</i> Parisot, p. 38, n. 8 Eggers, 11.10: <i>Thietmar, V</i> , 18
Parisius, bpc., pal.	Paris ⁷⁰	BM 106 b (103 b): <i>Ann. r. Franc.</i> , a. 768 Steinitz, <i>Tab. II-III</i> : <i>Reg. 106 b</i> Parisot, <i>passim</i>
Perona, pal.	Péronne	BM 1136 a (1102 a): <i>MGH SS II</i> , 302; Steinitz, <i>Tab. II</i> : <i>Mabillon, IV</i> , 311 f. Parisot, p. 27, n. 2, and <i>passim</i> <i>Fortunatus, Vita Radegundis</i>
Petraefons	Pierrefonds	<i>Mabillon</i> : meeting of nobles, a. 877
Petrafieta, pal.	Pierrefitte-sur-Aire	<i>Mabillon</i> , citing DD Carloman, son of Louis the Stammerer. But see Parisot, p. 456, n. 8.
S. Petrus, mon.	St Pierre (Metz)	TM Parisot, p. 371., n. 2
—	Pfohren	BM 1418 (1377): <i>Wartmann UB II</i> , 67 Eggers, 23.37: R.C. 1418
—	Pissenheim	BM 1280 (1245): <i>Mrlth UB I</i> , 97 Eggers, 20.16: R.C. 1280

⁶⁹ BM 515 f. (496 f.) mentions Partesbrunn (*Ann. Lauriss.*, a. 815; *Thegan*, c. 14). On the strength of the citation in *Ann. Hildes.*, a. 815, I assume it to be Paderborn.

⁷⁰ See the list of manors accompanying the inset of the group of Merovingian and Carolingian manors about Paris for further source citations of Paris.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
————	Rankweil	BM 1609 (1566): Schöpflin, Als. d., I, 90 BM 1640 (1597): Wartmann UB II, 232 Eggers, 21.41: R.C. 1609, 1640 Inama-Sternegg, I, 707 (ed. 2): Reg. Car., a. 831, p. 284
Reginbach	Rhëinbach	BM 95 (93): PL 96, 1557 Eggers, 20.12: R.C. 95 Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 16
————	Reimlingen	BM 1470 (1427): MGH, SS XXI, 371; Eggers, 23.46: R.C. 1470
S. Remigius, mon.	St Rémi (Rheims)	Parisot, p. 199, n. 6 Guérard, Cart. de St Rémi Hessels, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 650
————	Rheine	BM 977 (946): Wilmans, I, 51 Eggers, 34.45: R.C. 977 Steinitz, Tab. II: Wilmans, I, 51
Ribodi montem	Ribemont	Ann. Bert., a. 880 Parisot, p. 438
————	Rickenbach	BM 1818 (1769): Wartmann UB II, 273 Eggers, 22.19: R.C. 1818
————	Riedlingen	BM 1357 (1318): Wirtemberg UB I, 109 Eggers, 23.39: R.C. 1357
Rimie	Rehme	BM 267 e (259 e): Ann. Lauriss., a. 785
Riuuino	Révin	Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 16 Parisot, p. 93
Roggunstatt	Rochstät	BM 1395 (1354): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 193 Eggers, 32.16: R.C. 1395
Rohdveswilari	Rossrüti	BM 1587 (1545): Wartmann UB II, 218 Eggers, 22.20: R.C. 1587
Romaningahobo	Rümmingen	BM 308 (299): HF V, 753 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 166 Oelsner, Pippin, 209
Romerici mons, mon., pal.	Remiremont	BM 411 f (404 f): Ann. Einh., a. 805; BM 740 c (716 c): Vita Hlud., c. 34 BM 823 (798): HF VI, 658 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 658 Steinitz, Tab. III: Reg. 411 TM

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
		Parisot, p. 371
Rosariae	Rosières	Mabillon: <i>Astronomer</i> , a. 831
Rosbath	Rosbach ⁷¹	BM 1860 (1810): HF IX, 365
		BM 1369 (1330): Wilmans, I, 83
		Eggers, 35.12: R.C. 1926
Rosiacum, pal.	Rouy	Ann. Bert., a. 865
		Calmette, pp. 47, 69
		Mém. de la soc. d'antiq. de Picardie, XVII, 82
_____	Rosbach	BM 1680 (1636): Dronke, C. d. F., 283
		Eggers, 33.40: R.C. 1680
Rostorp	Rasdorf ⁷²	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 140
_____	Roth	BM 1937 (1886): MB 28, 116
Rotomagus, archbpc.	Rouen	BM 133 a (130 a):
		Ann. Einh., a. 769
		BM 793 (736): HF VI, 634
		Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 793
_____	Röthis	BM 1640 (1597): Wartmann UB II, 232
		BM 1695 (1650):
		Wartmann UB II, 247 (Rötis)
		Eggers, 22.12: R.C. 1640
Rotunwila	Rottweil	BM 1744 (1697): Wiener SB 92, 393; BM 1999 (1947):
		Wartmann UB I, 326
		BM 2033 (1978): Wartmann UB I, 350
		Eggers, 23.7: R.C. 1744, 2033, 1999; Parisot, p. 481, n. 5
_____	Roxheim	BM 1795 (1747): MGH SS XXI, 377; Eggers, 32.34: R.C. 1795
_____	Rubenach	BM 1775 (1727): Mtlrh UB I, 131
		Eggers, 20.9: R.C. 1775
_____	Rügshofen	BM 1853 (1804): MG 31, 132
		Eggers, 32.17: R.C. 1853
Rumerucoyne	Rommersheim	BM 95 (93): PL 96, 1157
		BM 1295 (1260): Mtlrh UB I, 100
		Eggers, 20.11: R.C. 95
		Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 16
		Parisot, p. 189, n. 3
Rumlinga	Rimlingen	BM 1307 (1272): MB 31, 100
		Eggers, 20.6: R.C. 1307

⁷¹ Now Rösebeck. BM also suggests Rosbach near Witzhausen, which is southeast of Minden.

⁷² Steinitz also suggests Roszdorf near Meiningen.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	S	Source references
Sahspah	Saspach		BM 994 (963): Sickel, Reg. 354 L 372 BM 1719 (1673): Wartmann UB II, 257 Eggers, 11.41: R.C. 1719 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 994
Salmunciagum, pal.	Samoucy		BM 104 e (101 e): Ann. Lauriss., a. 766 BM 876 (847): HF VI, 566 Steinitz, Tab. II: Calmuniaco Steinitz, Tab. III: KDD 53, Reg. 876; Parisot, pp. 295, 417 Mabillon, citing Ann. Tiliani, a. 771
Salossa	Selz (Alsace)		BM 126 a (123 a): Ann. Lauriss., a. 770 Eggers, 20.36: DO I, 368
Salsunga	Salzungen		BM 177 (173): Wenck, III ^b , 7 BM 1087 (1053): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 13 Eggers, 34.14: R.C. 177 Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 90
S. Salvius, mon.	St Saulve		TM: Parisot, p. 373
Salz, pal.	Salz on the Saale		BM 307 a (298 a): Ann. Einh., a. 790, 803, 826 BM 320 f (311 f): Vita Hlud., c. 40 Eggers, 39.14: DH II, 195 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 307 a Parisot, p. 424, n. 4
Salz "per Austriam ad"	Königshofen		BM 899 (870): MGH SS III, 117 Ann. Bert., a. 832 Ann. Fuld., a. 840, 842, 895, 897 Eggers, 34.8: R.C. 768
Salzaha	Salza (near Nord- hausen)		Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 198 Eggers, 39.14: DH II, 195
Saponarius, pal.	Savonnières (near Toul)		BM 1288 c (1253 c): HF VII, 637 Eggers, 43.30: R.C. 1288 c Parisot, p. 24, n. 5, and <i>passim</i> Mabillon, citing Ann. Bert., a. 859; Calmette, pp. 47, 69
Sarabodisvilla	Sarresdorf		Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 16
Satanacum, pal.	Stenay		Mabillon: DD Ch. Calv. Calmette, p. 206

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Silviacus, pal.	Servais	BM 729 (705): HF VI, 522, no. 96 BM 875 (846): HF VI, 563 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 875 Parisot, p. 44, n. 4, and <i>passim</i> Mabillon, citing DD Ch. Calv. Calmette, pp. 23, 135, 137, etc. Bourgeois, <i>op. cit.</i>
Sinciacus, pal. (Sintiachus)	Sinzig	BM 94 (92): Mtlrh UB I, 18 BM 545 (526): Martène, Coll., II, 23; Eggers, 19.34: R.C. 94, 545 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 15 Parisot, p. 28, n. Mabillon, cit. Ann. Bert., a. 842 Einhard, Trans. SS. Marc. et Petr., c. iv, sec. 44
Sithiu, mon.	St Omer	BM 353 (344): PL 97, 976
Sociacum	Schweich	BM 68 (66): Mtlrh UB I, 13 Eggers, 20.7: Mtlrh UB I, 114 Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 16
Sodoia	Soy-les-Namur	BM 1277 (1242): MGH SS XXI, 362; Parisot, p. 40, n. 3
Sonarciaga	Surcy	BM 247 (238): HF V, 746
Spanelo	Spahl	Steinitz, Tab. II: Dronke, C. d. F., 324
Spedona	Espône-sur-Maudre	Nithard iii, 2
Spernacum	Epernay	BM 836 (810): PL 104, 1144 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 544 Parisot, p. 649
Sprendelinga	Sprendlingen	BM 1971 (1919): Miraeus, Donat., 389
Stabolau, mon.	Stavelot ⁷⁴	TM Parisot, p. 371, n. 2, and <i>passim</i>
Stainagonstat	Steinenstadt Stammheim	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 167 BM 1590 (1548): Wartmann UB II, 222 Eggers, 23.25: R.C. 1590
S. Stapnus, mon.	St Estienne (Strasbourg)	TM. Parisot, p. 372, and <i>passim</i>
Stetin	Stetten (near Kirchheim- bolanden)	BM 941 (910): PL 104, 1254 Steinitz, Tab. II Mtlrh UB I, 69

⁷⁴ Cf. Malmédy; *vide supra*, n. 58.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Stetin, im gau Wetterau	Staden	BM 656 (642): Dronke, no. 325 BM 993 (962): MB 28, 33 Eggers, 33.43: R.C. 993 (gives Kilianstetten as variant) Eggers, 33.42: R.C. 656 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 993
Stirpiacum, pal.	Etrépy	BM 1705 (1660): HF IX, 339 Parisot, p. 472, n. 6 Mabillon, citing DD Car. Crassus
Stivagium, Stivale, mon.	Etival	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 205 TM Parisot, pp. 371, 710, and n. 7
————— Stochheim	Stöckenburg Stockum	Eggers, 32.46: R.C. 768 ⁷⁵ BM 977 (946): Wilmans, I, 51 BM 1435 (1394): Wilmans, I, 142 Eggers, 35.1: R.C. 977
—————	Strassfeld	Steinitz, Tab. II: Wilmans, I, 51 BM 1280 (1245): Mtlrh UB I, 97 Eggers, 20.16: R.C. 1280
Strataeburgum, bpc., pal.	Strasbourg	BM 1288 (1252): HF VIII, 406 Eggers, 20.43: DH II, 34 TM Parisot, p. 372, n. 5, and <i>passim</i>
Stratella	Strée ⁷⁶	BM 757 (732): HF VI, 530 Eggers, 43.29: R.C. 757 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 757
Strum	Etrum	Ann. Bert., a. 881 Parisot, p. 458, n. 2
Suega Suessionis, bpc., pal.	Schweigen Soissons	Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 198 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Mabillon Parisot, p. 419, n. 3 Mabillon, citing Greg. Tur. iv, 16
Suestre, mon. Sulbichi	Süsteren Sülbeck	TM: Parisot, p. 370 BM 927 (898): Wilmans, I, 45 Eggers, 37.29: R.C. 927
—————	Sumpffohren	Steinitz, Tab. II: Wilmans, I, 45 BM 1648 (1605): Wartmann UB II, 236 Eggers, 23.23: R.C. 1648
Suncampus	Sonchamp	BM 947 (916): PL 104, 1264 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 604

⁷⁵ *Vide supra*, n. 9.

⁷⁶ Spruner Menké identified this as Estrées, Pas de Calais, arr. Montreuil, cant. Etaples. Le Glay preferred Strazeele, arr. Hazebrouck, south-southeast of Dunkirk.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Suncar	Sengerich ⁷⁷	BM 1980 (1928): Mtlrh UB I, 211
Sunniacus, mon.	Soignies	TM: Parisot, p. 373
—	Sunthausen	BM 1905 (1854): Wiener SB XCII, 388, 391 Eggers, 39.16: DO II: 269
—	Suszra ⁷⁸	Eggers, 40.45: R.C. 1551
Suueichusa	Schweighausen	BM 1962 (1910): HF IX, 377 Eggers, 20.34: DO I, 368
Swarza, mon.	Schwarzach	BM 1422 (1381): MB 31, 92 Eggers, 23.2: DH II, 277 Parisot, p. 187, n. 4
T		
Taftaha	Groszentaft ⁷⁹	BM 1779 (1731): Dronke, C. d. F., 286 Eggers, 33.19: R.C. 1779
Tarchusa	Dorschhausen	BM 1813: SB der bayer. Akad. 1893, p. 293, no. 5 Eggers, 28.40: R.C. 1813
Tauricciacus	Thury	BM 1369 f-g (1330 f-g): a. 841
Tectis, pal.	Theux	BM 545 (526): Martène, Coll., II: 23 BM 721 (698): Kopp, Schrift., 21 Eggers, 43.28: R.C. 721 Steinitz, Tab. II: PL 104, 1164 Steinitz, Tab. III: Reg. 721 Parisot, p. 572, n. 1 Vanderkindere, p. 178, n. 8
Temseca	Tamise	HF VIII, 625, no. 229
Theodonis villa, pal.	Thionville (Diedenhofen) ⁸⁰	BM 73 d (71 d): Ann. Mett., a. 773 Eggers, 18.39: DH I, 24 Steinitz, Tab. II-III Parisot, p. 12, n. 1, and <i>passim</i> Mabillon, citing Chron. Virid., a. 781
Theotmalli	Detmold	BM 263 b (254 b): Ann. Lauriss., a. 783
—	Theres	Eggers, 29.34: DH II, 219: "schon Karolingisch"

⁷⁷ This is Havet's identification. Mühlbacher prefers Surrez, southwest of Prüm.

⁷⁸ *Vide supra*, n. 9.

⁷⁹ Mühlbacher also suggests Wenigentaft near Geisa.

⁸⁰ Diedenhofen was first mentioned as a palatium in 805: cf. Ann. Einh. Prior to that time it was merely a royal manor.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Tullus, bpc.	Toul	BM 1701 c (1656 c): HF IX, 342 Eggers, 18.37: no source reference TM: Parisot, p. 37, and <i>passim</i>
Tulpiciacum	Zülpich ⁸²	BM 35: MGH SS II, 279 BM 38: HF IV, 705 Eggers, 43.33: R.C. 35, 38
Tumbis, pal.	Thommen	BM 545 (526): Martène, Coll., II, 23, 24 BM 638 (618): PL 104, 1058 BM 1115 (1081): Mtlrh UB I, 80 Eggers, 43.35: R.C. 545, 638, 1115; Steinitz, Tab. II Parisot, p. 684, n. 15
Tumiomum	Thiméon	Parisot, p. 448, n. 3, and p. 686
Tundolvesdorf	Tondorf	BM 1980 (1928): Mtlrh UB I, 21 Eggers, 20.19: R.C. 1980 Parisot, p. 497, n. 2
Tunnaha	Domeneck	BM 1384 (1345): Schöttgen and Kreysig, I, 12, no. 31 Eggers, 32.22: R.C. 1384
Turegum	Zürich	BM 735 (711): PL 104, 1108 BM 1407 (1366): Wyss, 3 Eggers, 21.45: R.C. 735 Steinitz, Tab. II: PL 104, 1108
Turenheim	Dauernheim	BM 256 (247): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 45 Eggers, 32.41: R.C. 256 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 145
Tusiacum, pal.	Tusey	BM 1329 a (1293 a): Mansi, XV, 528 BM 1458 (1415): HF VIII, 670 Parisot, p. 686, n. 17 Mabillon (as Tulley) Calmette, p. 208
U		
Uffeninge	Oefflingen	BM 343 (334): PL 97, 1067 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 186
Uhcirinda	Uznach	BM 735 (711): Wartmann UB II, 249 Steinitz, Tab. II: PL 104, 1108

⁸² Zülpich was important only in the eighth century from 722 to 726 (BM 35, 38). The only other reference to it is in BM 92 (90): Mtlrh UB, I: 15, which is marked as a forgery in Böhmer-Mühlbacher, although it is included as no. 36 in MGH KD I.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Ulma, pal.	Ulm	BM 1408 b (1367 b): MGH SS II, 67; BM 1418 (1377): Wartmann UB II, 67 BM 1430 b (1389 b): Escher and Schweizer, Züricher UB I, 28 BM 1432 (1391): Meyer von Knonau, Cart. Rheinau., 13 BM 1848 (1799): MB 31, 135 BM 1867 c: Ann. Fuld., Christmas, 892 Eggers, 23.13: R.C. 1418, 1430 b, 1848, 1867 c Parisot, p. 89, n. 2
Ulmae	Les Ormes	BM 1915 (1864): Dopsch, Forschungen, IX, 420
Unofelt	Hünfeld	BM 248 (239): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 34 Eggers, 34.4: R.C. 248 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 139 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 117
Upkirika "quae est super Dorestad constructa"	————	
Uriaue	Iré-le-Sec	Parisot, p. 686, n. 13
Ursel, mon.	Ursel	BM 1570 (1528): Böhmer, C. d. F., 3; Eggers, 33.38: R.C. 1570
Ursonvillare	Orsonville	Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 28
Utrech, bpc.	Utrecht	TM: Parisot, p. 373, and <i>passim</i>
Uuarningas	Wirmingen	BM 196 (192): PL 97, 946 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 107
Uuliuisanger	Wolfsanger	BM 477 (464): Wilmans, I, 6 Eggers, 35.19: D Car. 218
————	Uzwil	BM 1591 (1549): Wartmann UB II 223 Eggers, 22.18: R.C. 1591
		V
————	Vachdorf	BM 1646 (1603): MB 28, 67 Eggers, 34.11: R.C. 1646
Vache	Vacha on the Werra	Steinitz, Tab. II: Dronke, C. d. F., 324
Valentianae, pal.	Valenciennes	BM 1290 (1255): HF VIII, 407 Steinitz, Tab. II-III Parisot, p. 27, n. 5, and <i>passim</i> Mabillon, citing Einh., Transl. SS. Marc. et Petr., 4

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Vallidi	Welda on the Twiste	BM 1545 (1506): Hodenburg, Verdener GQ II, 15
S. Vedast, mon.	St Vaast	Ann. Bert., a. 866 F. Lot, <i>Moyen Age</i> (1905), p. 405 and nn. 3, 4 Parisot, p. 172, n. 1
Vendopera, pal.	Vandœuvre	Mabillon, citing DD Louis the Pious
Venitta, pal.	Venette	Mabillon, citing Saec. 2, Bened. 1060: Vita S. Ansberti
Veredunum, bpc.	Verdun	BM 1167 (1133): Grandidier, Strasbourg, II ^b , 238 TM: Parisot, p. 373, and <i>passim</i>
Vermeria, pal.	Verberie	BM 65 (63): PL 96, 1521 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 7 Mabillon
Verna	Vert-la-Gravelle	BM 836 (810): PL 104, 1144 (Verne) Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 544
Vernus, pal.	Ver	BM 77 (75): MGH LL I, 24 BM 357 c (348 c): Vita Hlud., c. 12 BM 726 (702): Guérard, Cart. de S. Bertin, 76 BM 785 (761): Mtlrh UB I, 283 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 785 Ann. Bert., a. 838 Calmette, p. 208
Vertinium	Vertain	BM 1284 (1249): Duvivier, Hainaut, p. 304
Veterum-domum	Louviers ⁸³	Steinitz, Tab. II; Calmette, p. 32; Dümmler, I, 392, n. 28
Victriacus ad Logiam, pal.	Vitry-aux-Loges	BM 665 c (651 c): Erm. Nig., iii, 275 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 665 c
S. Victorsberg, mon.	St Viktorsberg	BM 1640 (1597): Wartmann UB II, 232 Eggers, 22.24: R.C. 1640
Villancia	Villance ⁸⁴	BM 995 (964): HF VI, 625 BM 1305 (1270): Mtlrh UB I, 105 Steinitz, Tab. II: HF VI, 626
Villanova	Villeneuve	BM 686 (666): PL 104, 1088

⁸³ Lot, in *Moyen Age* (1904), pp. 465-477, identifies *Veterum domum* with *Locos Veteres*, or Louviers.

⁸⁴ Both charters nos. 995 and 1305 are concerned with a legacy, including Villance, belonging to one Count Richard, former *ostarius* to Louis the Pious. Parisot (p. 350, n. 5) does not believe Villance to have been fisc. I include it since it was land which had been confiscated by Lothar I (cf. charter 995), during which period, however brief, it must have been fisc land.

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Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Wasitico	Vassy	BM 545 (526): Martène, Coll., II, 23 Steinitz, Tab. II: Martène, Coll., II, 24 Nithard iii, 2
Wasloi, mon.	Wallers	TM: Parisot, p. 373
Wateringas	Wettringen	BM 977 (946): Wilmans, I, 51 Eggers, 35.1: R.C. 977 Steinitz, Tab. II: Wilmans, I, 51
Wathilentorp	Wetteldorf	Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 16
Waudiniecas	Wattigny	BM 1151 (1117): Cart de Hainaut, xiv
—	Waxweiler	BM 1151 (1117): Cart de Hainaut, xiv
Weibelinga	Waiblingen	BM 1710 (1665): MB 28, 76 Eggers, 43.41: R.C. 1710 Parisot, p. 481, n. 6
Werdena, mon.	Werden	Parisot, p. 422, n. 5; Köttschke, Gesch. d. Mon. Werden-am- Ruhr
Werithe, mon.	Kaiserswerth	Parisot, p. 422, n. 5
Wezzinloch	Wiesloch	BM 1838 (1789): MGH SS XXI, 379 Eggers, 43.40: R.C. 1838
—	Willenzheim ⁸⁶	Eggers, 32.34: R.C. 768
—	Winzenheim	BM 1609 (1566): Schöpflin, Als. d., I, 90 Eggers, 21.14: R.C. 1609
Wipichina	Wipkingen (Vuippens)	BM 1622 (1579): Wyss, 17 Eggers, 22.17: R.C. 1622
Wirzinburg, bpc.	Würzburg	BM 320 n (311 n): Ann. Lauriss., Christmas, 793 Eggers, 12.32: DDH II, 174
—	Wolferschwenden ⁸⁷	Eggers, 40.45: R.C. 1551
—	Wulften	BM 1822 (1773): Wilmans, I, 229 Eggers, 37.28: R.C. 1822
Y		
Ymminchusen	Immingshausen	Steinitz, Tab. II: Wigand, Trad. Corb., no. 379
Z		
Zabrena	Saverne (Zabern)	Nithard iii, 4 Parisot, pp. 122, 593, and <i>passim</i>

⁸⁶ *Vide supra*, n. 9.⁸⁷ *Vide supra*, n. 9.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Zuckinreod	Zuckenried	BM 1591 (1549): Wartmann UB II, 223 Eggers, 22.18: R.C. 1591
Zurzach, mon.	Zurzach	BM 1624 (1581): Publik des. literar. Ver. in Stuttgart, LXXXIV, 63 Eggers, 22.22: R.C. 1624
Zusemarohuson	Zusmarshausen	BM 1868 (1817): Dümge, 82 Eggers, 43.43: R.C. 1868
Zutilinga	Züttlingen	BM 1384 (1345): Schöttgen and Kreysig, I, 12, no. 31 Eggers, 32.22: R.C. 1384

Unidentified Manors

Manor	Source references
Aldricella, mon. ⁸⁸	BM 990 (959): PL 104, 1304 Eggers, 24.2: R.C. 990
Anderffesfurt ⁸⁹	BM 1878 (1827): Janicke, BU des Hochstifts Hildesheim
Aqueductus ⁹⁰	BM 1979 (1927): Miraeus, Diplom. notit., 265
Biderica ⁹¹	BM 1691 (1646): HF IX, 334
Cranheim ⁹²	BM 953 (922): Mtlrh UB I, 72 Eggers, 20.20: R.C. 953 Steinitz, Tab. II: Mtlrh UB I, 74
Diobia ⁹³	BM 1122 (1088): MGH SS VII, 105
Dripioné, pal. ⁹⁴	BM 147 (144): PL 97, 922 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 66 Mabillon: DD Charlemagne
Galgiacus ⁹⁵	BM 1075 (1041): HF VIII, 377
Höenchirche, ⁹⁶ mon.	TM: Parisot, p. 372, n. 4
Hrotkisingae	BM 1091 (1057): Mtlrh UB I, 76
Iserna	Vanderkindere, p. 205: Miraeus-Foppens, II, 247
Lubringouva ⁹⁷	BM 224 (218): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 30 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 127
Niuhem, pal. ⁹⁸	BM 873 (844): PL 104, 1190 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 873

⁸⁸ Near Kempten, in Swabia. ⁸⁹ Thought to be Frankfort. ⁹⁰ Near Diedenhofen.

⁹¹ Near Reconvillier. Mühlbacher identified this as Péry.

⁹² Between the Rhine and the Meuse. ⁹³ A castle protecting the pass of Mont Genève.

⁹⁴ Possibly a variant of Theodone, hence Diedenhofen.

⁹⁵ Belonged to the monastery Faremoutier. ⁹⁶ In the diocese of Basel.

⁹⁷ An island in the Rhine, possibly near Mainz.

⁹⁸ In the region between St Omer and St Valéry-sur-Somme.

Manor	Source references
Pandiacum, pal.	Mabillon: Miraeus, <i>Diplom. notit.</i> , II, 262 BM 1715 (1670): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 212
Pechstadt	Eggers, 41.18: R.C. 1715 BM 903 (874): Kremer, <i>Orig. Nass.</i> , II, 11
Richilingsbach ⁹⁹	Steinitz, <i>Tab. II: Reg.</i> 903 BM 995 (964): HF VI, 625 Steinitz, <i>Tab. II: HF VI</i> , 626
Romfelt ¹⁰⁰	BM 925 c (896 c): Nithard, I, 4
Rotfelth: "id est rubeus campus iuxta Columbarium qui deinceps campus-mentitus vocatur." ¹⁰¹	
Stagnfurt ¹⁰²	BM 266 g (257 g): <i>Ann. Lauriss.</i> , a. 784
Stamaconstat ¹⁰³	BM 309 (300): PL 97, 979 Oelsner, <i>Pippin</i> , p. 209
Sulcia	BM 1962 (1910): HF IX, 377
Treola	Steinitz, <i>Tab. II: Boretius, Capit.</i> , I, 250, c. 36
Trisgodros ¹⁰⁴	BM 95 (93): PL 96, 1557 Steinitz, <i>Tab. II-III: KDD</i> 16
Vaganesheim ¹⁰⁵	BM 1842 (1793): <i>Wartmann UB II</i> 276
Wadimiae, pal.	BM 1127 (1093): <i>Dopsch, Forschungen</i> , IX, 409
Wichrammeswilare ¹⁰⁶	BM 1426 (1385): <i>Wartmann UB II</i> , 70
Wigmodinga ¹⁰⁷	BM 333 f (324 f): <i>Ann. Lauriss.</i> , a. 796
Willareshusen ¹⁰⁸	BM 1384 (1345): Schöttgen and Kreysig, I, 12, no. 31
Wiria	BM 543 (526): <i>Martène, Coll.</i> , II, 23; Steinitz, <i>Tab. II</i>
Wistrikesheim ¹⁰⁹	BM 953 (922): <i>Mtlrh UB I</i> , 72 Eggers, 20.20: R.C. 953 Steinitz, <i>Tab. II: Mtlrh UB I</i> , 64, a. 837; 72 <i>Inama-Sternegg</i> , I, 707 (ed. 2)

⁹⁹ In the Heriltisheimer Mark. ¹⁰⁰ In the Ardennes.

¹⁰¹ Near Colmar. There is a Rothfelden south of Calw, but this is hardly near enough to Colmar to justify it as an identification.

¹⁰² Perhaps on the Ohre River. ¹⁰³ In the Breisgau.

¹⁰⁴ Probably south of Coblenz between the Rhine and Moselle rivers.

¹⁰⁵ Near Donaueschingen. ¹⁰⁶ Near Busnang, but now disappeared.

¹⁰⁷ Possibly near Verden, on the Weser River.

¹⁰⁸ Near Zuttlingen and Domeneck in the Neckar River region.

¹⁰⁹ Near Cranheim (*vide supra*, n. 91), between the Meuse and Rhine rivers.

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Forest	Modern location	Source references
Cotia silva	Cuise ¹¹³	Greg. Tur. iv, 14 (21) Mabillon: Ann. Bert., a. 877
Fornhese	Vernheeze or Over- heeze	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 117
Hosninge	Osningwald in Westphalia	BM 1143 a (1109 a): Ann. Xant., a. 850; Parisot, p. 41, n. 4
Hulsinae	Aulne sous Aywille	BM 1713 (1668): Martène, Coll., II, 32
————	Lautern	BM 1645 (1602): Böhmer, C. d. F., 5; Eggers, 30.27: DO I, 71
Mellere	————	BM 94 (92): Günther, Cod. dip., I, 43 Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 15
Mocoroht ¹¹⁴	————	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 117
Widoc ¹¹⁵	————	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 117
————	Wolkmar	BM 1396 (1355): Sickel, Beitr., II; Wiener SB XXXIX, 146, n. 1. Kopp, Schrift., 17 BM 390 (383)
Wosega silva ¹¹⁶ “in loco qui dicitur Suega”	Vosges	Ann. Lauriss., a. 805, 817, 821, 825

¹¹³ Part of the forest of Compiègne. Cf. Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹¹⁴ On the Ems River.

¹¹⁵ On the Ems River, south of the Zuyder Zee.

¹¹⁶ Near Schweigen, in Alsace.

APPENDIX IV_A

INSETS

MANORS SITUATED ABOUT PARIS

*Manors Belonging to the Merovingian Kings*¹¹⁷

Manor	Modern location	Source references
*Bigargium Cala, mon., pal.	Garges Chelles	Mabillon: <i>Gesta Dagoberti</i> BM 917 a (888 a): HF VI, 309 Parisot, pp. 629, 643, n. 1, 648 Mabillon: <i>Greg. Tur.</i> , v. 29 (39)
Clipiacus, pal.	Clichy	BM 43: HF IV, 707 Mabillon: DD Chlothar II Ann. Mett., a. 741
S. Dionysianus, mon., pal.	St Denis	Mabillon: DD Dagobert Parisot, p. 28, n., and <i>passim</i>
Gentiliacum, pal.	Gentilly	DD Chlothar III, a. 659: PL 87, 1281: BM 96 a (94 a): Ann. Mett., a. 762 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 96 a Mabillon: Ann. Einh., a. 766
Isiacum, pal.	Issy-sur-Seine	Mabillon: DD Childebert
Nemetadorum, pal.	Nanterre	<i>Greg. Tur.</i> , x, 28
Nucetum, pal.	Noisy	<i>Greg. Tur.</i> , v, 29 (39)
Palatiolum, pal.	Palaiseau	Mabillon: DD Chlothar III <i>Polyptique de St Germain</i> , c. 5 Coulanges, <i>L'Alleu et le domain rural</i> , 365
Rigoialensis villa, pal.	Rueil	<i>Greg. Tur.</i> , vii, 19; ix, 13; x, 28 Longnon, <i>Geogr.</i> , p. 360 Steinitz, Tab. II: Mabillon
Romiliacum, pal.	Reuilly	Fredegar., <i>Chron.</i> : MGH SS, Mer., II, 150, 408
Spinogilum, pal.	Espinay	Mabillon: Fredegar., <i>Chron.</i> , p. 763, citing DD Dagobert
*Taberniacus	Taverny	BM 76 (74): HF V, 701

Manors Belonging to the Austrasian Mayors

Manor	Modern location	Source references
<u>Karolivanna</u>	Chalevanne	BM 628 (608): PL 104, 1065

¹¹⁷ Delineated on the map by white symbols.

*Manors Belonging to the Carolingian Kings*¹¹⁸

Manor	Modern location	Source references
Actrico monte	Aigremont	Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 28
Ansberto	Ambésis	Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 28
Argentogilum, mon.	Argenteuil	BM 848 (822): PL 104, 142
Bonogilus, pal.	Bonneuil	BM 1090 (1056): Tardif, p. 93 Mabillon: Vita Hlud. Simson, Ludwig der Fromme, II, 187
S. Germanus, mon.	St Germain-des-Prés	BM 77 a (75 a): HF V, 426
Madriolae	Marolles-sur-Seine	Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 154
S. Maurus, mon.	St Maur-des-Fossés	Parisot, p. 298, n.
Petrafacta, pal.	Pierrefitte	BM 1044 (1010): HF VIII, 374 (See also Appendix IV)
Pinciacum, pal.	Poissy	Mabillon: DD Charlemagne
Uisiniolo	Vesinet	Steinitz, Tab. I a: KDD 28
Vincentia	Vincennes	BM 201 (197): Muratori, SS, II ^b , 351

¹¹⁸ Delineated on the map by black symbols.

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Manor	Modern location	Source references
Dinenheim	Dienheim	BM 256 (247): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 45, 131; BM 697 (676): Eggers, 32.39: R.C. 256, 697 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 145
Franconofurd, pal.	Frankfurt-am-Main	See Appendix IV
Furte	Fürth	MGH SS XXI, 348
Gerunesheim	Gernsheim	See Appendix IV
Gunzinheim	Gonsenheim	BM 224 (218): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 30; BM 1470 (1427): MGH SS XXI, 371 Eggers, 23.46: R.C. 1470 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 127
Hanscuesheim	Handschuhsheim	MGH SS XXI, 373
Helisa	Elisenhöhe	BM 656 (642): Dronke, C. d. F., 158
Hemmingisbach	Hemsbach	MGH SS XXI, 348
Hephenheim	Heppenheim	BM 152 (149): MGH SS XXI, 348; Eggers, 32.32: R.C. 152 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 73
—	Horchheim	BM 932 (903): Rassler, II ^b , 31 BM 1930 (1879): Schannat, Ep. Wormat., II, 11 BM 1935 (1884): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., II, 13 Eggers, 32.41: R.C. 1930, 1935 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 932
*Hucheleheim	Heuchelheim	BM 1395 (1354): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 193 Eggers, 32.16: R.C. 1395
Ingelenheim, pal.	Ingelheim	BM 169 a (165 a): Ann. Lauriss., a. 774; BM 768 (743): MB 28, 16; BM 1645 (1602): Böhmer, C. d. F., 5 Eggers, 10.29; 31.27: R.C. 768 Steinitz, Tab. II-III Parisot, p. 29, n. 5; p. 129, n. 4, and <i>passim</i> Einhard, Vita Caroli, c. 17 Mabillon
Langbardheim	Lampertheim	BM 1346 (1307): Ann. Bert., a. 832
Lauresham, mon.	Lorsch	See Appendix IV
Lobotenbure	Ladenburg	BM 1503 (1461): MGH SS XXI, 372 Eggers, 30.10: R.C. 1503 Parisot, p. 407, n. 1

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Lutenbach	Laudenbach	MGH SS XXI, 348
Manchenheim	Mannheim	See Appendix IV
Morlenbach	Mörlenbach	MGH SS XXI, 348
————	Neckarau	BM 1485 (1443): Mtlrh UB I, 119 BM 1492 (1450): Mtlrh UB I, 120 BM 1638 (1595): Mtlrh UB I, 127 Eggers, 32.28: R.C. 1484, 1492 Parisot, p. 397, n. 2
————	Nordenstadt	BM 1575 (1534): Wilmans, I, 517 Eggers, 31.43: R.C. 1575
Nuvenheim	Nubenheim	BM 224 (218): Schannat, Trad. Fuld., 30 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 127
Obbenheim	Oppenheim	BM 167 d (163 d): Cf. BM 169 BM 169 (165) Eggers, 30.42: R.C. 167 d, 169 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 82
Ophowa	Oppau	BM 1798 (1750): MGH SS XXI, 378; Eggers, 32.28: R.C. 1798
Ottinheim	Edigheim	BM 1798 (1750): MGH SS XXI, 378; Eggers, 32.38: R.C. 1798
Rintbach	Rimbach	MGH SS XXI, 348
Scoronisheim	Schornsheim	BM 255 (246): Wenck, II ^b , 11 Eggers, 34.2: R.C. 255 Steinitz, Tab. II: KDD 144
Scriezesheim	Schriesheim	MGH SS XXI, 373
————	Seckenheim	BM 777 (752): MGH SS XXI, 361; Eggers, 32.39: R.C. 777 Steinitz, Tab. II: Reg. 777
————	Seeheim	BM 1503 (1461): MGH SS XXI, 372; Eggers, 32.35: R.C. 1503
————	Sigenwert	BM 1795 (1747): MGH SS XXI, 377; Eggers, 32.34: R.C. 1795
————	Sülzen	BM 1821 (1772): Wilmans, I, 231
————	Sulzheim	Steinitz, Tab. II: Dronke, C. d. F., 144
Sunthove	Sandhofen ¹²²	BM 1795 (1747): MGH SS XXI, 377; Eggers, 32.30: R.C. 1795
Thechidesheim	Dexheim ¹²³	BM 1824 (1775): Dronke, C. d. F., 288 (Dechidesstein) Eggers, 32.38: R.C. 1824 Steinitz, Tab. I b: KDD 82

¹²¹ An island in the Rhine near Worms. The charter to which Eggers refers mentions Selm and Stockum only. Cf. BM 1435 (1394): Wilmans, I: 142.

¹²² Mühlbacher thinks that Santhasolanta (BM 1806: *SB der bayer. Akad.*, 1893, no. 6, p. 293) was also Sandhofen.

¹²³ BM 169 (165): MGH SS XXI: 348 and Eggers, 32.42 (R.C. 169) cite Drexheim. This seems to be a misprint for Dexheim mentioned in MGH SS XXI: 349, l. 1.

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Triburim, pal.	Tribur	BM 872 (843): HF VI, 651 BM 1354 (1315): MGH SS XXI, 363; BM 1645 (1602): Böhmer, C. d. F., 5 Eggers, 31.11: R.C. 1354, 1645 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: Reg. 872 Parisot, p. 366, n. 2
Urbach	Auerbach	MGH SS XXI, 348
Virninheim	Virnheim	BM 1947 (1896): MGH SS, XXI, 382; Eggers, 30.11: R.C. 1947
—	Wallstadt	BM 1436 (1395): MGH SS XXI, 368
Werestein, pal.	Nierstein	BM 68 (66): Sickel, Reg. 212 P 4 BM 768 (743): MB 28, 16 BM 1645 (1602) Böhmer, C. d. F., 5 Steinitz, Tab. II-III: KDD 3
Winenheim	Weinheim	BM 1549 (1507) MGH SS XXI, 373 BM 1930 (1879): Schannat, Ep. Wormat., II, 11 Eggers, 30.13: R.C. 1549 Eggers, 32.39: R.C. 1930
Wisibada	Wiesbaden	Einhard, Transl. SS Mar. et Petr., iv, 56

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Medieval place-name	Modern location
Hoinowa, mon.	Honaugia ⁹
Homburch, mon.	Odilienberg ¹⁰
Horrea, mon.	Oeren
Inda, mon.	Cornelimünster
Justinna, mon.	Jussan ¹¹
Lutera, mon.	Lure
Luxovium, mon.	Luxeuil
S. Martinus, mon.	St Martin (Metz)
Masonis-monas- terium, mon.	Maesmünster ¹²
Mauri-monas- terium, mon.	Maursmünster
S. Maximinus, mon.	St Maximin (Trier)
Meieni monas- terium, mon.	Moyenmoutier
Mettis	Metz ¹³
Morbach, mon.	Murbach
Niumonasterium, mon.	Neumoustier ¹⁴
Offonis villa, mon.	Enfonvelle ¹⁵
Polemniacus, mon.	Poligny
S. Petrus, mon.	St Pierre (Metz)
Prumia, mon.	Prüm
Romerici mons, mon.	Remiremont
Stabolau, mon.	Stavelot
S. Stapnus, mon.	St Estienne (Strasbourg)
Stivagium, mon.	Etival
Strastburch, bpc.	Strasbourg
Suestre, mon.	Süsteren

⁹ Parisot and Longnon identify this monastery as Honau in the Grand Duchy of Baden. Waitz's conjecture, Honaugia, an island in the Rhine near Strasbourg, which is now a part of the mainland, seems more plausible.

¹⁰ Originally Hohenbourg, now Odilienberg. Cf. Chevalier, *Topo-Bibliographie* (Montbéliard, 1894-1899).

¹¹ Dehaisnes, Waitz, Mühlbacher, Krause, and Parisot identify this monastery as Jussan. Valois, Leibniz, and Bertholet prefer Mont Justin.

¹² Parisot's identification of this monastery is Massevaux.

¹³ Ludwig is simply given the town. Nothing is said about the fact that Metz is the bishopric. Cf. Parisot, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

¹⁴ Waitz suggested Neuss on the Rhine; Parisot thinks Münstereifel is meant. The reason for these suggestions seems to be connected, for some reason, with the idea that Niumonasterium was under the spiritual jurisdiction of Cologne; if it was, there might be some reason to suppose one of the two identifications suggested. I see nothing in the text of the treaty to justify this supposition and I identify it as Neumoustier near Huy.

¹⁵ *Vide* Parisot, *op. cit.*, p. 372, n. 5.

Medieval place-name	Modern location
Treveris, archbpc.	Trier (Trèves)
S. Ursus, mon.	St Ursus ¹⁶ (Soleure: Solothurn)
Utrech, bpc.	Utrecht
Vallis-clusa, mon.	Vauxcluse

*Share of Charles the Bald*¹⁷

Medieval place-name	Modern location
Altus mons	Haumont
Andana, mon.	Andennes
Antonius, mon.	Antoing
S. Augentius, mon.	St Claude
Calmons, mon.	Calmont
Camaracum, bpc.	Cambrai
Condatus, mon.	Condé
Crispinno, mon.	Crespin
Echa, mon.	Alden Eyck
Fossai, mon.	Fosses
S. Gaugericus, mon.	St Géry (Cambrai)
Gildini monas- terium, mon.	St Ghislain ¹⁸
Hunnulfurt, mon.	Honnecourt
Laubiae, mon.	Lobbes
S. Laurentius Leudensi, mon.	St Laurent (Liège)
Ledi, mon.	Lierre
Leodicum, bpc.	Liège ¹⁹
Lugdunum, archbpc.	Lyon
Luthosa, mon.	Leuze
Maalinae, mon.	Malines (Mechelen)
S. Marcellus, mon.	St Marcel
S. Maria, mon.	Ste Marie (Besançon)
S. Maria, mon.	Sta Maria ²⁰ (Dinant)
Mariliae, mon.	Maroilles

¹⁶ Parisot (p. 372) lists the town rather than the monastery.¹⁷ Indicated on the map by black symbols.¹⁸ Parisot preferred Calmontier (*op. cit.*, p. 374, n. 3). I have followed Bertholet's identification of St Ghislain.¹⁹ Liège is not mentioned in the text of the treaty. But see Parisot, *op. cit.*, p. 373, and *infra*, Tongres.²⁰ Parisot (*op. cit.*, p. 373) mentions the town rather than the monastery.

Medieval place-name	Modern location
S. Martinus, mon.	St Martin (Besançon)
Merrebecchi, mon.	Meerbeek
S. Michahelis, mon.	St Mihiel
Molburius, mon.	Maubeuge
Montemfalconis, mon.	Montfaucon
Niella, mon.	Nivelles
S. Salvius, mon.	St Saulve
Sennonones, mon.	Sennonones
S. Servatius, mon.	S. Servatius (Maastricht)
Sunniacus, mon.	Soignies
Ticlivinni, mon.	Dickelvenne
Tullus, bpc.	Toul
Tungris	Tongres ²¹
Ucecia, bpc.	Uzès
Vesontium, bpc.	Besançon.
Vienna, archbpc.	Vienne
Viridunum, bpc.	Verdun
Vivariae, bpc.	Viviers
Wasloi, mon.	Walers

²¹ Tongres was included among the bishoprics in the text of the treaty. This is patently an error for Liège, since Tongres was not the seat of a bishop and had not been since the fourth century, when the seat was moved to Maastricht. About A.D. 710, the seat was moved to Liège, where it remained. Cf. L. Vanderkindere, *Introduction a l'histoire des institutions de la Belgique au moyen âge*, p. 276.

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APPENDIX VII

LOMBARD FISC WHICH PRESUMABLY PASSED TO
THE CAROLINGIAN DOMAIN, BUT FOR WHICH
DATA ARE UNAVAILABLE

NEAR LODI

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
—————	Auriate ¹	Darm. 95: CL 25
Beca	Beccalzu ²	Darm. 94: CL 25
—————	Benenaco	Darm. 95: CL 25
Breolas	Briocche ³	Darm. 95: CL 25
Gambate	Gambarotta ⁴	Darm. 94: CL 25
—————	Isella ⁵	Darm. 94: CL 25
Roverica	Rovereto ⁶	Darm. 95: CL 25
Pantanasco	San Panscatio ⁷	Darm. 95: CL 25
—————	Surbano ⁸	Darm. 95: CL 25
Vico Magoni	Vimagano ⁹	Darm. 94: CL 25

OTHER FISC SITUATED IN LOMBARDY

Medieval place-name	Modern location	Source references
Calcinato ¹⁰	—————	Darm. 32: CL 15
Cicomaria	Cicognara ¹¹	Darm. 55: Paul Diac, Hist. lang., iii, 18
Gusenagus	Gusnago ¹²	Darm. 55: CL 29 Troya, no. 837
—————	Lomello	Darm. 116: Paul Diac, Hist. lang., iii, 35
Modoetia	Monza	Darm. 91 and 92: Paul Diac, Hist. lang., iv, 21; CL 34
Pisserisse	Piscillesse ¹³	Darm. 69: CL 20 Troya, no. 747
Ursianica	Assonica ¹⁴	Darm. 37: CL 149
Vado	Vho ¹⁵	Darm. 73: CL 47 Troya, no. 964

¹ Near Salerano on the Lambro, west of Lodi.

² Near Villarossa on the Lambro, west of Lodi.

³ Near San Colombano, south of Lodi.

⁴ Commune Marudo, southwest of Lodi.

⁵ Commune Abbadia di Cereto.

⁶ On the left bank of the Adda.

⁷ Northwest of Lodi.

⁸ Near old Lodi.

⁹ Near Graffignana, south of Lodi.

¹⁰ Fourteen kilometers southeast of Bergamo, on the road to Brescia.

¹¹ On the left bank of the Po near Viadana.

¹² Southern part of the battlefield of Solferino.

¹³ On the lower Oglio River east from Piadena.

¹⁴ West of Sorisole, which is four kilometers north from Bergamo.

¹⁵ Near Piadena on the Oglio.

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MAPS 1, 4 AND 5

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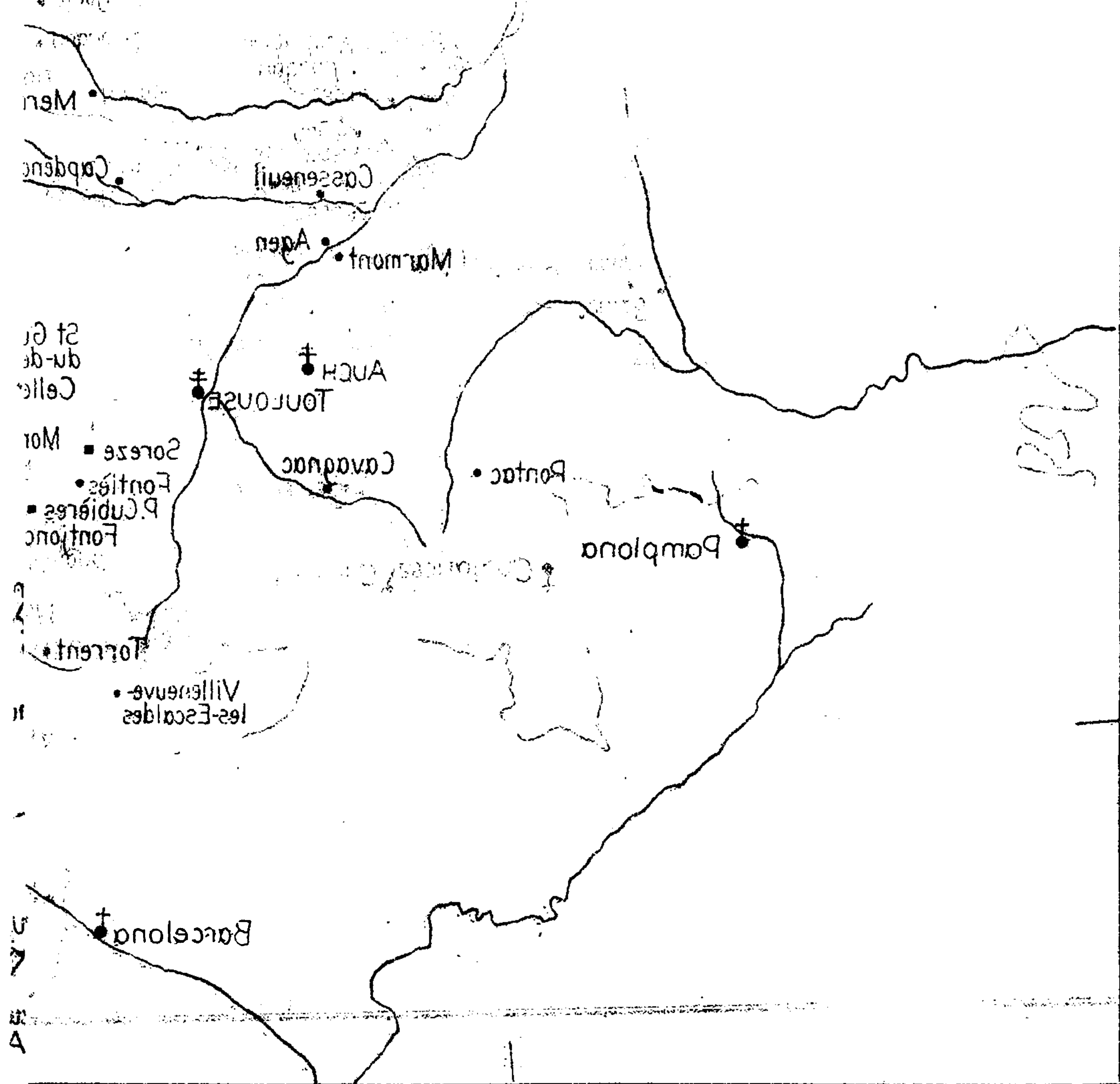
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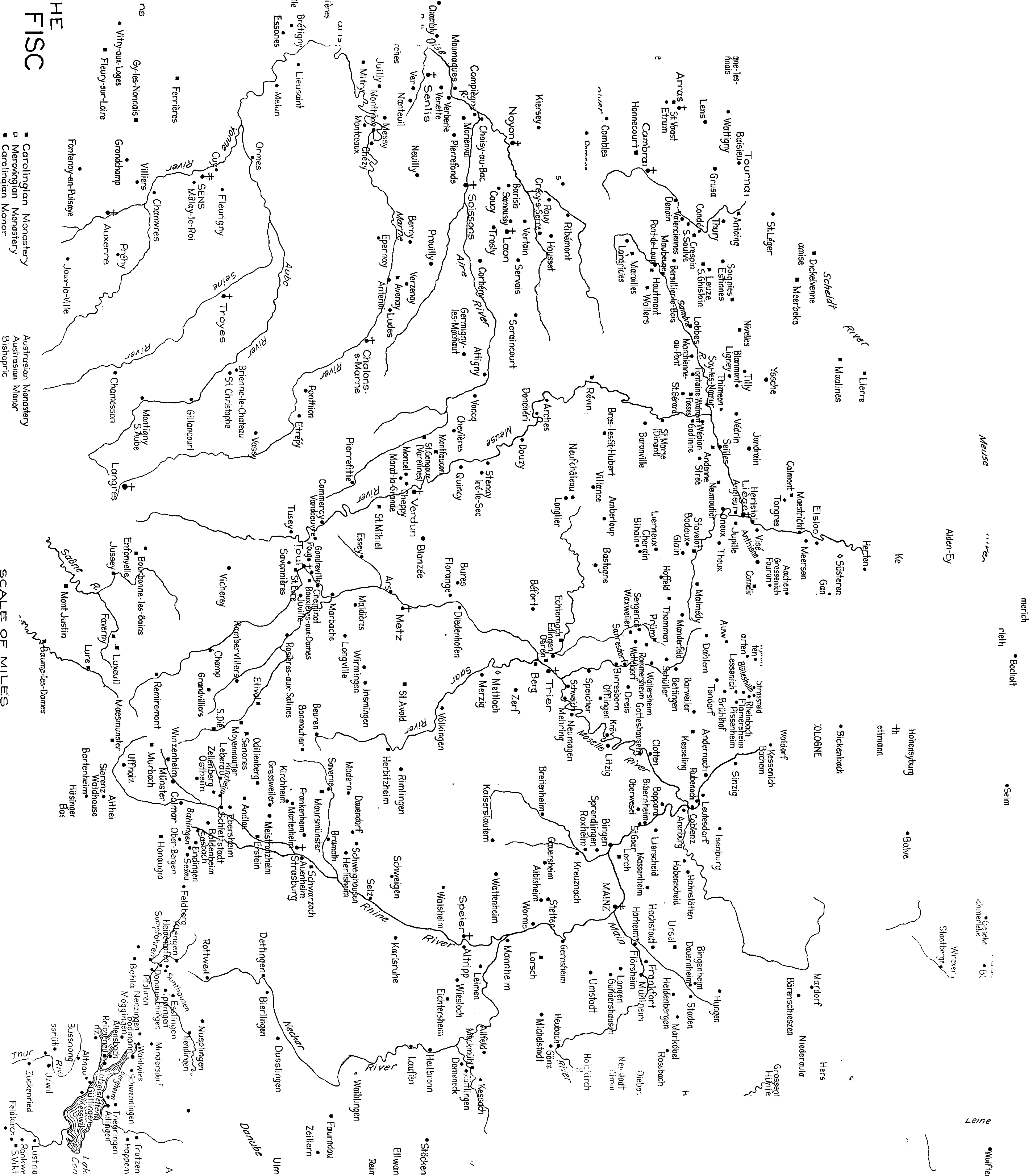
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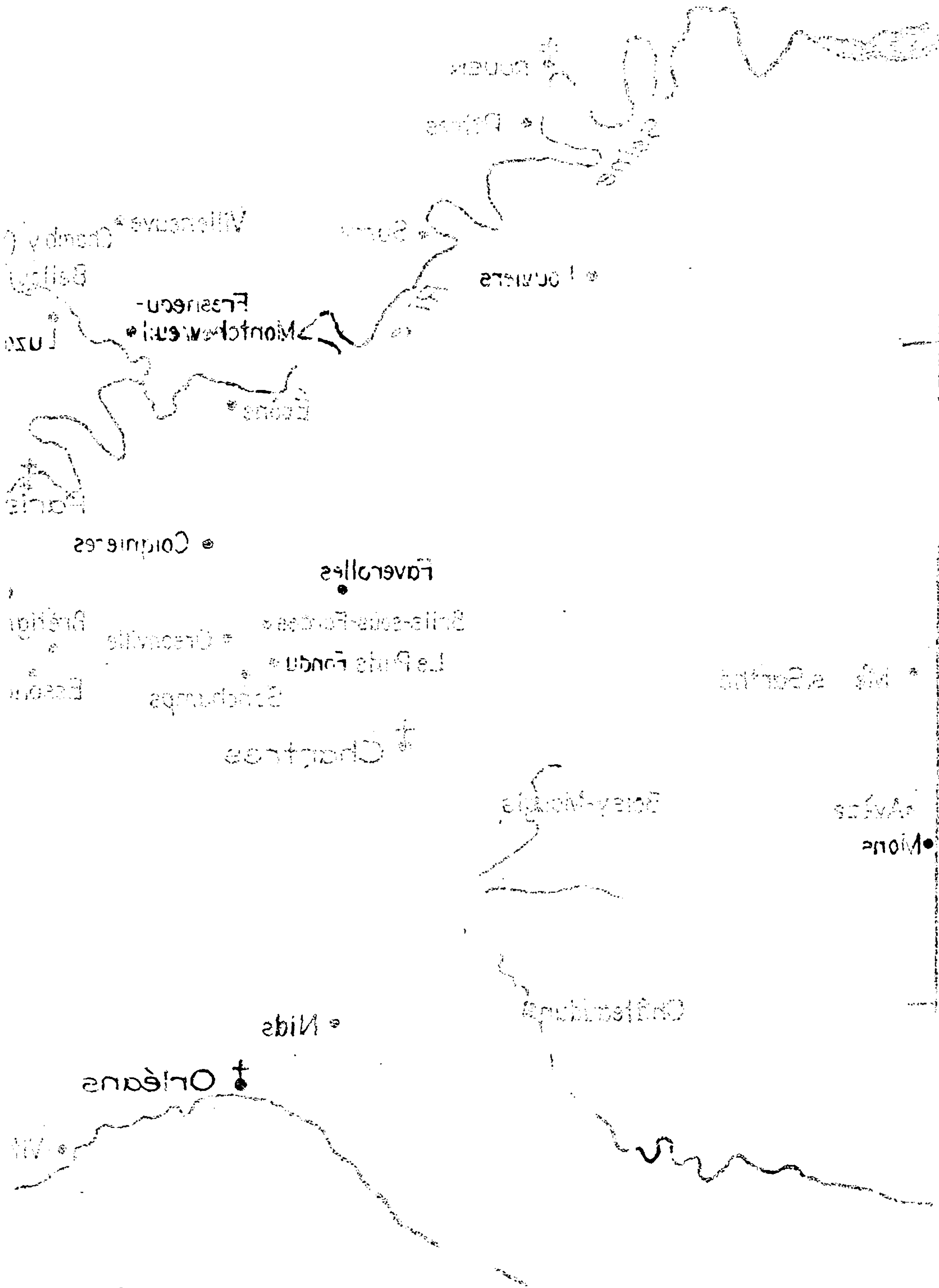
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- Ferrières
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