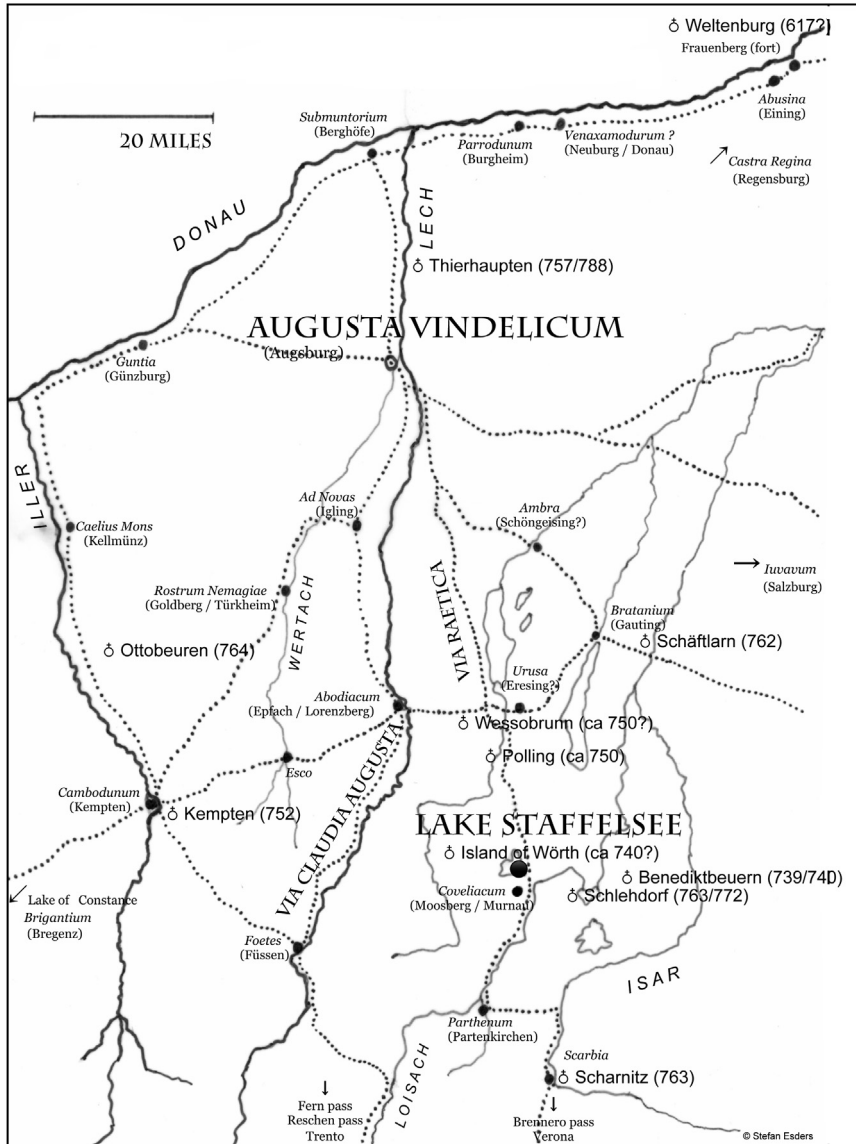


Figure 1
 Lake Staffelsee and Augsburg as part of the province *Raetia secunda*
 and the duchy of Bavaria (4th-8th century)



- late Roman roads
- late Roman fortifications and places (modern name)
- ⊕ early medieval monasteries (foundation date)

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The Staffelsee Inventory. Carolingian Manorial Economy, Mobility of Peasants, and “Pockets of Functional Continuity” in the Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*

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In many reference works, textbooks and source collections of medieval agrarian and social history, the so-called Staffelsee inventory,¹ a manorial register most probably composed under Charlemagne, occupies a prominent place.² This is certainly not due solely to the fact that the monastery of Staffelsee, situated close to the Alps in Upper Bavaria, was a highly important religious and political centre at that time. What mattered even more to economic and social historians is that the inventory is a compact text, not too long, with a clear structure³ that seems to encapsulate all that was

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¹ Editions: *Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales*, ed. Boretius, 1883, no. 128, 250-2 (hereafter quoted); ed. Brühl, 1971, 49-51; English translation: Loyn, Percival, 1975, 98-105.

² See, e.g., Dollinger, 1982 (1949), 25-6, 92, 114, 117-8, 148, 257 and 289; Kuchenbuch, 1991a, 111-5; Verhulst, 42-3, 46, 56 and 75. See also the additional literature cited below.

³ See Verhein, 1954/55, at 342: “Es ist in der Tat ein Musterurbar. Ich habe unter den

significant about early medieval manorial organization. Indeed, it embodies the so-called bipartite system, with a homestead or manor to which 42 dependent farmsteads (*mansi*) were assigned, so that the peasants' agricultural output would be further processed at the manor by their *corvées*. In addition, it offers a clear-cut division between free and unfree dependents and their differing obligations, and also, to some extent at least, between male and female work.⁴ The inventory thus appeared to document a stage in economic development at which free wage labour was either insignificant or not even available, with the result that certain types of work had to be assigned to the holders of carefully measured portions of dependent land as part of a farmstead, the *mansi*.⁵ The Staffelsee manorial system could thus be interpreted as forcibly tying the peasants to the soil that they cultivated. Moreover, in an evolutionary perspective, Georges Duby even interpreted the inventory as documenting a sort of "stone age economics," which in his view illustrated the archaic nature of agriculture in areas "East of the Rhine."⁶ Only recently has Duby's view been refuted by Joachim Henning. Henning has interpreted the text as mirroring the introduction of the innovative three-field rotation system, since several groups of its free farmsteads (*mansi*) as referenced in the document were divisible by the number three; for Henning, therefore, the inventory reflects the agricultural revolution that led to the emergence of the "*système bipartite*."⁷

The ostensibly paradigmatic nature of the inventory is seemingly underlined by its manuscript transmission. It is only extant today in a codex preserved at Wolfenbüttel⁸ that uniquely contains the famous *Capitulare de villis*, issued most likely by Charlemagne

Urbaren der Karolingerzeit keines wiedergefunden, das so systematisch und überlegt angelegt wäre."

⁴ Kuchenbuch, 1991, 139-76.

⁵ See Kroeschell, 1999, 91 with a helpful graphic depiction of the manorial system as contained in the Staffelsee inventory.

⁶ Duby, 1977 (1973), 39.

⁷ Henning, 2014, 331-59, at 331.

⁸ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 254 Helmstad, foll. 9^v-10^r. On the manuscript and its supposed Aachen origin, see Bergmann, 1967, 213-17.

for the administration of fiscal estates.⁹ Following a model text, the Staffelsee inventory deals with ecclesiastical property and is one of several texts from different regions that apparently were combined shortly after 800 within one dossier, the so-called "*Brevium exempla*."¹⁰ In the context of Carolingian administration, these texts appear to provide a sort of model of how inventories of churches' and monasteries' property were to be drafted in the near future on the basis of an oral inquest, presumably under oath.¹¹

To be sure, there are no objections to regarding this text as an important source for the Carolingian manorial system and to using it to illustrate some of that system's overarching features and principles. On closer inspection, however, the uniqueness of this text does not consist in its seeming to approach an "ideal type" of manorial economy. In fact, a focus on "Agrarian Change and Peasant Mobility" prompts us to rethink and overcome some schematic generalizations by nuancing historical processes and regional divergence, while the idea of peasant mobility, though on a smaller scale and confined to typical labour service, appears to be very relevant for reinterpreting this document. For upon closer inspection of the inventory's regional background and of its setting in terms of landscape and environment, a much more complex contextualization seems not only possible but necessary. Moreover, the geographical categorization of regions as located "East of the Rhine," which one often encounters in publications on the manorial system, is not particularly useful for understanding developments in the region of Bavaria, which was situated south of the Danube and maintained

⁹ Editions: Boretius, 1883, no. 32, 82-91; Gareis, 1895; Brühl 1971; Fois Ennas, 1981. On its date and localization, see Verhulst, 1965, 175-89.

¹⁰ On the Northern French parts of the *Brevium exempla*, see Grierson, 1939, 437-461, also Metz, 1966, 598-617; on the Wissembourg register of ecclesiastical benefices, see Id., 1967, 160-71; Hummer, 2005, 82-4.

¹¹ Metz, 1953/54, 395-416; Id., 1960, 26-33 and 45-50. Campbell connects the drafting of these texts to Charlemagne's taking residence at Aachen: Campbell, 2010, 243-64. See also the remark by Verhein 1954/55. On inquisition procedure used in manorial administration, see Kuchenbuch, 1991, 36-47.

Roman traditions to a greater degree than many regions further north and west. It is thus helpful to start with a note on the physical geography and infrastructure of the area in question.

The Staffelsee monastery, once located on the island of Woerth in Lake Staffelsee, was situated in a region almost bordering on the Alps that was of vital importance in the middle ages but equally in Roman times. Located in the pre-alpine zone which came to be called Bavaria in the 6th century, the Lake Staffelsee area was endowed with two major transalpine roads, the *Via Claudia* and the so-called *Via Retica*, both connecting Italy to the capital of the Roman province *Raetia secunda*, *Augusta Vindelicorum*, today's Augsburg.¹² As these Roman roads were in continuous use also in the early medieval period, the geographical and infrastructural setting of Lake Staffelsee is vital for interpreting the inventory.

The structure of the inventory

The Staffelsee inventory was by no means confined to manorial and economic matters, also providing a summary list of the monastery's property, including chalices, linen cloths and books, and observations on its economic potential and workforce. As it has come down to us, the inventory is composed of four parts. The first part deals with the equipment of the monastic church situated on the island of Woerth in the Staffelsee, while the second part treats the manor or homestead, certainly situated on the mainland, with its equipment and functions. The third part details the possessions and obligations of the dependent peasants living nearby, although precisely where their possessions were located cannot be said with any confidence. The fourth and final part of the inventory briefly summarizes the overall number of 1507 *mansi* – free and unfree, cultivated and not cultivated – that belonged to the bishopric of Augs-

¹² For a reconstruction of these routes, see, for example, Bauer, 2007, 71-111; Knauss, 2013, 7-29. See also Figure 1.

burg, distributed over seven homesteads, one of them being Staffelsee.¹³ These numbers make sufficiently clear that the 42 *mansi* attributed to the Staffelsee homestead constituted only a very small portion – less than 3 per cent – of the overall possessions of the Augsburg episcopal church, since Staffelsee's some 150 dependents were few in number compared with the 6000 Augsburg dependents that can be estimated by multiplying the total number of *mansi* by a factor of four. The manorial system of Staffelsee thus does not appear to have been exemplary, but simply operated on a fairly small scale.

Examining the document in more detail, the focus of the inventory's first part was plainly the worth of the property of the monastic church of St. Michael situated on the island, as the inventory continually converts the liturgical objects and precious metal items found there into *solidi*, whilst also recording all other metal items of some value, without any such specification.¹⁴ The list of manuscripts contained in the monastery's library that follows suggests that the inventory sought to meet the imperial court's expectations concerning religious institutions' standard endowment of books, culminating in the rule of Saint Benedict.¹⁵ The inventory's parts II and III, containing the "agriculturally relevant information" of interest here, make up one half of the entire document, and are plainly separated from the items that were recorded from the monastic church.¹⁶ Part II, referring to the *curtis et casa indominicata*, suggests, as has already been observed, that the manor (with a mill and a women's workshop, a *genitium*) cannot have been situated on the island, which was far too small – just 38 hectares – to accommodate it.¹⁷ Part II provides

¹³ On this part, see Verhein, 1954/55, 339-42.

¹⁴ *Brevium exempla*, ed. Boretius, 1883, 251.

¹⁵ On such inventories of vestiments and books, see Hammer, 1980, 5-17, who does not, however, deal with the (monastic) Staffelsee inventory. See also *Capitulare missorum Suessionense* a. 858, c. 1 (eds. Boretius, Krause, 1888, no. 259, 267-8). See van Rhijn, 2016, 177-98. It is striking that the Staffelsee inventory contains the whole Bible, listing the books of the Old Testament separately.

¹⁶ *Brevium exempla*, ed. Boretius, 1883, 251-2.

¹⁷ See Elmshäuser, 1989, 335-69, at 355 (suggesting the site of Seehausen, close to the Roman road, as the site of the manorial court), and Haas-Gebhard, 1999, 140-61, at 141.

a summary of the total number of agricultural works days (740 *iurnales*) to be performed at the manor, and the potential yields of hay provided by the monastery meadows, namely 610 *carradae* (“cart-loads”). The enumeration then turns to the items that were actually found at the manorial court, starting with the interesting detail that the agents did not find any *annona* except the grain rations given to the *provendarii*, that is, those obliged to work on the demesne as holders of a prebend, not a *mansus*.¹⁸ The rich evidence about tools and utensils indicates that the monastery, like many others of the time, was a centre of craftsmanship for a variety of products.¹⁹ Only the inventory’s third part, discussed in more detail below, specifies the labour services to be performed and the produce to be delivered by the dependent *mansi*, strictly distinguishing between free and unfree *mansi*.

There is little doubt that this inventory, in its design and also its listing of items, responded to some sort of model questionnaire developed by Charlemagne and his advisers.²⁰ As such, it documented all items regarded by the imperial centre as relevant to the public – that is to say the performance of functions that had an impact on public welfare, so to speak: transport and military service, but probably also prayer, etc. Viewed from this perspective, an individual monastery was a multifunctional microcosm that had to be kept intact and be supervised for a number of reasons; the monastery, with all its functions, was conceived of as part of a much larger religious, political and social whole.

Aspects of military organization and infrastructure in the inventory

The economic and social features of the text can reveal a good

¹⁸ See Verhulst, 2002, 43. On *prebendarii* as specialized demesne slaves, see Wickham, 2005, 300-1.

¹⁹ On this important aspect, see Schwind, 1984, 101-23.

²⁰ See Metz, 1960, 18-45.

deal about the processes of transformation between late antiquity and the early middle ages. Archaeological excavations carried out by Brigitte Haas-Gebhard in the late 1990s indicate that the church was most likely built in the later 7th century on the island of Woerth, with the monastery constructed slightly later.²¹ This happened – as with so many other Bavarian monasteries of the time²² – on the remains of a late Roman fortress, taking advantage – as was also very typical – of direct access to the Roman road system.²³ Now, the Carolingian inventory makes clear that under Charlemagne the monastery of Staffelsee belonged to the bishopric of Augsburg not only ecclesiastically but also in terms of possession, but this appears to have been a more recent development. Simpert, bishop of Augsburg from 778 to 807, was among the emperor's prominent ecclesiastic advisers and may even have been related to the Carolingian dynasty.²⁴ However, in much earlier times, even before the foundation of the monastery, the Staffelsee site was connected to Augsburg, albeit in other ways. In fact, the Carolingian inventory enables us to look backwards and to take a diachronic perspective on the transformation of the region between, roughly, the years 400 and 800.

Several of its entries relate to military defence and to infrastructure. According to the inventory, the holders of six of the 23 free *mansi* had to perform military service in person or, in case this was not required, to pay one ox in compensation, having to do this in sets of two.²⁵ We know that shortly after 800 often four or five free holders of a *mansus* were pooled to furnish a recruit for Charle-

²¹ Haas-Gebhard, 2000; Ead., 2007, 52-9.

²² Jahn, 1991, 411-2.

²³ The first scholar to point out the importance of possessions situated along Roman roads that were donated to Bavarian monasteries was Wilhelm Störmer. See Störmer, 1966, 299-343, and Id., 1987, 385-92.

²⁴ See the contributions in Thierbach, 2007.

²⁵ *Ceterorum vero sunt VI, quorum unusquisque arat annis singulis iurnales II, seminat et introducit; secat in prato dominico carrdas III et illas introducit; operatur ebdomadas II; dant inter duos in hoste bovem I, quando in hostem non pergunt; equitat quocumque illi praecipitur. Et sunt mansi V, qui dant annis singulis boves II; aequitat quocumque illi praecipitur.* (*Brevium exempla*, ed. Boretius, 1883, 252).

magne's campaigns or for defence.²⁶ Against this background, it is remarkable that at Staffelsee military service apparently was attributed to a number of free *mansi* individually. Moreover, the holders of several free *mansi* had to perform equestrian service on demand, which suggests that these *mansi* must have had horses, while mention is made of only one horse on the homestead or manor.²⁷ It seems, therefore, that the services to be performed by the Staffelsee dependents presupposed a much more complex and focused organization than the inventory suggests when one looks at the homestead alone. At Staffelsee, it appears that public services came to be organized by the abbot, who sought to handle the dependent peasants' obligations as flexibly as possible.²⁸ One may suspect that these regulations could have been arranged at the request of the bishop of Augsburg, who possibly obtained immunity for the episcopal church under Charlemagne.²⁹ But it is worth emphasizing that the bishop of Augsburg played an enormously important political and military role in both the Carolingian and Ottonian periods.³⁰

Peasants holding an unfree *mansus*, presumably being of unfree personal status, were not obliged to perform military service or pay a tax in compensation. By contrast, they had to perform transport service (*scaram facere*), probably with oxen, and provide horse transport (*parafredum donare*).³¹ As has been recently observed, the transport service *scara* very much resembles the late Roman *angariae*,³² but it could also denote a military unit in the Carolingian

²⁶ Esders, 2009, 206-27.

²⁷ *Caballum domitum* I. (*Brevium exempla*, ed. Boretius, 1883, 252).

²⁸ On military taxes, see Esders, 2009, 227-34.

²⁹ Due to the lack of surviving charters, it is not clear when the episcopal church of Augsburg was first granted immunity. See the survey by Kreuzer, 1984, 115-21. But one can assume that such a grant would have allowed the bishop to redistribute or reorganize functions and obligations under the dependents of the monasteries.

³⁰ See, e.g., Bowlus, 2006.

³¹ *Servoiles vero mansi vestiti XIX, quorum reddit unusquisque annis singulis friskingam I, pullos V, ova X, nutrit porcellos dominicos IV, arat dimidium araturam; operatur in ebdomada III dies, scaram facit, parafredum donat. Uxor vero illius facit canisilem I et sarcilem I; conficit bracem et coquit panem.* (*Brevium exempla*, ed. Boretius, 1883, 252).

³² Windhausen, 2006, 4-30.

period.³³ In the case of the horses, the very term *parafredus*, the etymological origin of the German word *Pferd*, shows that it traces back to the late Roman *paraveredus*, which was used to organize public transport (*cursus publicus*), the so-called *cursus velox*.³⁴ In fact, the Roman province of *Raetia secunda* has been called a "road and transit province," meaning that in Roman times it was extremely important for the military defence and communication system north of the Alps and for the supply of the provincial capital, Augsburg.³⁵ This underlines the importance of military and transport services already in the late Roman period; indeed, for the provinces that constituted the Raetian limes, any liberation from the obligation to provide *paraveredus* had been excluded by imperial laws of the years 382 and 390: "The exemption from compulsory public services of a menial nature shall be as follows: the patrimonies of the dignitaries listed above shall not be charged with making flour, baking bread, or service in the breadmaking establishments, and such men shall not be charged with furnishing supplementary post horses or supplementary post wagons, except for furnishing those supplies which are customarily used in guarding the Raetian border or those supplies by which the interests of the Illyrian expeditionary force are served, according as necessity or the occasion may demand."³⁶ Both *angariae* and *paraveredus* had been *munera publica* in late antiquity, i.e. services (*munera*) to be performed by free citizens.³⁷ In a long-term perspec-

³³ On this meaning, see Bachrach, 2001, 80-2.

³⁴ For a more systematic treatment, including papyrological evidence and the Late Roman law codes, see Stoffel, 1993; Kolb, 1997, 533-40; Ead., 2000, 49-226.

³⁵ Walser, 1983, 7 and 28. See also the survey by Mackensen, 2000, 213-8.

³⁶ C. Th. XI, 16 (*De extraordinariis sive sordidis muneribus*), 15: *Sordidorum vero munerum talis exceptio sit, ut patrimoniis dignitatum superius digestarum nec conficiendi pollinis cura mandetur aut panis excotio aut obsequium pistrini nec paraveredorum huiusmodi viris aut parangariarum praebitio mandetur, exceptis his, quibus ex more Raeticus limes includitur vel expeditionis Illyricae pro necessitate vel tempore utilitas adiuvatur.* (ed. Mommsen/Meyer, 1905, vol. 1, 601-2; translation by Pharr, 1952, 308); see also *ibid.* XI, 16, 18: *... nulla paraveredorum et parangariarum praebitione pulsabitur exceptis his, quas Ratiarum limes, expeditiones Illyricae, quas pastus translatio militaris vel pro necessitate vel pro sollempnitate deposcunt.* (390) (*ibid.*, pp. 602-3).

³⁷ On *munera publica* and *liturgeia* in general, see Lewis, 1982; Drecoll, 1997, 79-139. Legal questions connected to the performance of *munera* are dealt with by Sirks, 1989, 79-111.

tive,³⁸ it is significant that these two obligations were often attached to specific pieces of property situated along the major public roads already in late antiquity.³⁹ For early medieval Bavaria, a continuation of this practice can be observed in the so-called statute of the *coloni* contained in the Bavarian law-code probably compiled in the 7th century,⁴⁰ but we also find them in the monastery of Prüm in the Moselle region, where transport services were still closely connected to the Roman road system in the late 9th century.⁴¹ As the monastery of Staffelsee also was built next to a Roman road, this suggests a sort of “functional” continuity relating to the ongoing use and maintenance of the Roman road system in the early medieval period.⁴² However, in the Staffelsee inventory this obligation was for the most part distributed among the holders of the unfree *mansi*. This points to a transformation, an explanation for which will be suggested later. Further, some additional obligations attached to the unfree *mansi* remind us of late Roman *munera publica* in relation to the army, for instance the delivery of wood⁴³ or the baking of bread.⁴⁴

³⁸ On early medieval *paraveredus* see Dannenbauer, 1958, 257-70; Schneider, 2004, 47-69; Esders, 2009, 191-205.

³⁹ On the administration and maintenance of Roman roads, see Rathmann, 2003. A good idea of how these transports were organized at a local level in the Roman Empire can be gained from the evidence of inscriptions: see Frensd, 1956, 46-56; and Mitchell, 1976, 106-31.

⁴⁰ *Lex Baiuvariorum* I, 13: ed. von Schwind, 1926, 286-290; on this chapter, see Rivers, 1975, 335-43; Id., 1991, 89-95. For the date of this text, see Esders, 2016.

⁴¹ Windhausen, 2006.

⁴² On transport and roads in Bavaria, see also Heitmeier, 2015, 7-36.

⁴³ On the importance of wood for building, heating, lime-burning etc., see Herz, 2001, 101-17; Id., 2010, 27-42; Absmeier, 2011, 11-24.

⁴⁴ A detailed but by no means complete list of late antique *munera sordida* is given in the above-cited law C. Th. XI, 16, 18 of 390: *Ac ne in occulto lateat quae sit, munerum enumeratio sordidorum vocabulis ipsis signata respondet. Eius igitur patrimonium, quem ab his obsequiis lex nostra defendit, cura conficiendi pollinis non habebit; nullam excoctionem panis agnoscet; nulla pistrinis obsequia dependet; operas atque artifices non praebebit; excoquendae ab eo calcis sollicitudo cessabit; non conferendis tabulatis obnoxia, non lignis, indultam quoque materiem sub eadem exceptione numerabit; nulla paraveredorum et parangariarum praebitione pulsabitur exceptis his, quas Raetiarum limes, expeditiones Illyricae, quas pastus translatio militaris vel pro necessitate vel pro sollempnitate deposcunt; carbonis ab eo inlatio non cogetur, nisi vel monetalis cusio vel antiquo more necessaria fabricatio poscit armorum; nullam sollici-*

In harmony with this picture, according to the inventory in the homestead, the *curtis vel casa indomincata*, we find a *genitium*, i.e. a larger workshop for the production of textiles, in which 24 unfree women worked weaving cloths of linen or wool. The term *genitium* clearly points to the Greco-Latin administrative term *gynaeceum*, denoting state manufactories where women produced textiles for the army and the court in late Roman times.⁴⁵ Several laws contained in the Theodosian Code show that it was usually women of unfree status (*mancipia*) who were active in the *gynaecaea*.⁴⁶ As these *gynaecaea* are only exceptionally mentioned in the Notitia dignitatum of ca. 400 AD, because the Notitia references them in connection with stationed troops alone, the spread of these *gynaeceae* and also of the granaries (the *horrea*) can most often be traced only on the basis of archaeological evidence for the provinces that would later form the duchy of Bavaria.⁴⁷ Consequently, it is difficult to tell if an individual *gynaeceum* was a carryover from the late Roman period or was founded later, and whether the types of textiles it produced changed in the course of time.⁴⁸ The mention of *gynaeceae* in the *Capitulare de villis* suggests that they were common on fiscal domains in the Carolingian period.⁴⁹

tudinem publicarum aedium vel sacrarum constituendarum reparandarumve suscipiet; nulla pontium vel viarum constructione retinebitur; temonis sive capituli onera non sentiet; allectis atque legatis nihil in sumptuum conlatione numerabit. (Mommsen, Meier 1905, vol. 1, 603); see also note 36 above.

⁴⁵ On late Roman *gynaeceae*, see Wild, 1967, 648-62; Id., 1976, 51-8; Belamarić, 2004, 141-62.

⁴⁶ See for example C. Th. X, 20 (*De murilegulis et gynaeceariis et monetariis et bastagariis*), 3, issued in 365: *Theodosiani libri*, Vol. 1, p. 561.

⁴⁷ On late Roman *horrea* in the region concerned here, see Fuchs, 2011, 87-105; for a different region and on the topic of continuities, see Rizos, 2013, 659-96. On the integration of former Roman substructures into the Bavarian duchy, see Esders, 2014, 425-462.

⁴⁸ On early medieval *gynaeceae*, see Irsigler, 1970, 482-87; Kuchenbuch, 1991b.

⁴⁹ *Capitulare de villis*, c. 31 (ed. Boretius, 1883, no. 32, p. 86); see Verhulst, 2002, 75.

The Moosberg and the *Via Retica*: The question of “functional continuity”

These parallels with late Roman institutions and obligations call for a discussion of possible continuities, which by necessity must be based on scanty evidence. As mentioned earlier, in the case of the monastery of Staffelsee any debate on continuity or transformation must not focus exclusively on the little island of Woerth where the monastery was only built in the later 7th or early 8th century. To argue for “functional continuity,” the road system and also nearby places and their functional interdependencies should be taken into account. Given the changing fortunes of political organization between the 5th and the 9th centuries, with the deep ruptures in superstructures that occurred, we must emphasize that only “pockets of functional continuity” are concerned here; that is to say, certain “enclaves” with functions connected to the continuing Roman road system persisted to some extent but formed part of a very different political, administrative and social superstructure by the early 9th century.

Due to the paucity of written sources for this region and period, such developments can only be traced with the help of archaeology. As the excavator of the remains of the late Roman fortification on the island of Woerth has already observed, these ruins point to other late Roman fortifications in Raetia, which were built on hilltops or other naturally protected sites and were close to but somewhat hidden from long-distance Roman roads.⁵⁰ These fortifications served to protect the civil population, but apparently they also continuously provided certain military functions. In the province of *Raetia secunda*, only a mile south of the Staffelsee, there once was the Moosberg, a hill some 20 meters high, which was only levelled in the 1920s. Archaeologists have found that this complex was built with five towers and a wall in the 3rd century and that it was apparently abandoned around 430.⁵¹ The Moosberg fortification was used for military and

⁵⁰ Haas-Gebhard, 2000, 40-3; for a survey, see Mackensen, 1999, 199-244.

⁵¹ Garbsch, 1966; Mackensen, 2002, 232-6.

civil functions. The northern part had dwellings, possibly for inhabitants of a neighboring vicus who had moved to this hill settlement. In the southern part, there were several functional buildings. The double house no. VI has been interpreted by Michael Mackensen as accommodation for guard troops, while house no. IX hosted a smithy and a foundry, but may have functioned as a mansion (*mansio*) or hostel where transport animals could be changed for the *cursus publicus*. This interpretation was based on detailed archaeological excavations which brought to light many utensils and tools for farm work and for the processing of wood, metal, leather and cloth.⁵² The Moosberg was situated within a swampy area only a kilometer west of an important Roman road, the aforementioned *Via Retica*, which connected Augsburg to northern Italy via the Brenner Pass. Travellers heading north to Augsburg came from Wilten and *Teriolis* (Zirl) (near Innsbruck), passed the fortification *Scarbia* (Scharnitz) and the road station *Parthanium* (Partenkirchen) to arrive finally at *Augusta Vindelicum* (Augsburg), while they could also change to the alternative route via *Abodiacum* (Epfach).⁵³ For this reason, the Moosberg has been identified with the road station *Coveliacas* which is mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*,⁵⁴ although the *Itinerarium Antonini*, our second important source, suggests a somewhat different route.⁵⁵ Be that as it may, the Moosberg was an integral part of the supply system of the province of *Raetia secunda*, whose complex defence system was organized by the *dux Raetiarum* who commanded certain frontier troops as *limitanei*, but also had to enforce the performance of public services such as the *angariae* and the *paraveredus*. Although this does suggest some functional continuity associated with the maintenance of the Roman road system, there are no traces of settlement on the Moosberg after 430, nor do we have any information

⁵² Mackensen, 2002, 235.

⁵³ See the reconstruction in *Miliaria provinciarum Raetiae et Norici*, in CIL XVII/4, 1, ed. Anne Kolb, Gerold Walser, Gerhard Winkler, Berlin 2005.

⁵⁴ *Tabula Peutingeriana* IV, 2: Edition: Weber, 1976.

⁵⁵ Mackensen, 2002, 232. *Coveliacas* is not mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum*, as it was not a place where troops were stationed in the late 4th century.

on the fate of other sites along the *via Reticca*. So there is a gap to be bridged until the foundation of the church and monastery on the Staffelsee island in the late 7th century and somewhat later, a gap that can only be filled by arguing that the road continued to be used and must also have been maintained to some extent. If this were the case, one would have to assume that the mansion's workshops located on the Moosberg were transferred to a different place beyond the swampy area, but still close to the road, sometime after 430. At the end of the 7th century, the anonymous geographer of Ravenna refers to a *civitas Stafulon*, which may perhaps be identified with Seehausen on the left shore of Lake Staffelsee (part of today's city of Murnau).⁵⁶ If this is correct, a new settlement may have acquired some of the Moosberg's functions. It has already been suggested that Seehausen may have been the place where the Staffelsee manor was situated in the Carolingian period, given its proximity to the monastery on the island.⁵⁷

Some general characteristics of the peasants' obligations in the Staffelsee inventory

In the inventory, apart from military service, the *scarae* and the *paraveredi*, several further features point to a military dimension of the Staffelsee manorial system still in the Carolingian period. It is quite striking how much emphasis is placed on personal obligations. Konrad Elmshäuser, in the first detailed examination of the inventory's agricultural section, pointed out that the description does not concentrate on agricultural work, but, unlike other inventories, is much more concerned with the provision of transport and other services;⁵⁸ for this reason, the obligations placed on the free farmsteads (the *mansi ingenuiles*) were far less centred on renders in kind and

⁵⁶ The Cosmography of the Unknown Ravennese Cosmographer, IV, 26: ed. Schnetz, 1929. See also Greule, 2005, 485.

⁵⁷ See note 17 above.

⁵⁸ Elmshäuser, 1989, 365.

the like, but, rather, seem to relate to a logistic system.⁵⁹ This accords with the fact that some of these obligations were rooted in the tradition of *munera publica*, a late Roman term that would soon be replaced by the medieval *servitium publicum* or even *servitium regis*.⁶⁰ It also accords with the observation that the inventory does not contain any information on renders in specific cereals, such as wheat, barley and so on, as is known from other polyptychs, but only presents an inventory of yield.⁶¹ For the inventory refers very generically to *annona*, which means grain, of course, but which is also the late Roman technical term for the regular tax for the army to be delivered in kind,⁶² which is attested for Raetia well into the 5th century.⁶³

While a discussion of the continuity of the late Roman tax system should not be pushed too far here,⁶⁴ another noteworthy feature is the units of measure employed in our text. In fact, as a measure of capacity (a "Hohlmaß") for grain the Staffelsee inventory does not use the usual unit of a *modius* (a "bushel", or "Scheffel" in German), but the term *carrada*, a "cart-load" (or "Fuder" in German). Since *carrada* was a unit specifically designed for transport, this suggests that the renders to the lord were less important than their delivery to the final consumer.⁶⁵ As Adriaan Verhulst has shown for the register of the abbey of St. Bavo in Ghent, the use of the *carrada* for quantities of grain often points to delivery in kind for the purposes of military organization.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Elmshäuser, 1989, 355.

⁶⁰ Esders, 2009, 194.

⁶¹ Elmshäuser, 1989, 357.

⁶² See, e.g., Mitthof, 2001.

⁶³ As is illustrated by a wonderful story told by Augustine of Hippo (*De civitate Dei* XXII 18, 18, 14-16), according to which around 425 a man is metamorphosed into a transport horse destined to go to Raetia to support the troops stationed there with the *annona* (ed. Dombart, Kalb, 1981, 279).

⁶⁴ See note 121 below.

⁶⁵ Elmshäuser, 1989, 358.

⁶⁶ Verhulst, 1971, 212-13.

The changing role of Augsburg and the foundation of monasteries in 8th-century Bavaria

It appears that some functional and logistic features found in the Carolingian Staffelsee inventory had predecessors in the late Roman defence system of this region, while these functions came to be re-organized in a different manner in the interim. Of course, the foundation and formation of the Merovingian duchy of Bavaria in the 530s was vital here. It brought about a complete reorientation of the North Alpine defence and road system, with all its public resources. Under the Roman emperors and the Ostrogothic kings, that system had protected the northern frontier of the Roman Empire; now it protected the south-eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom. North became South, so to speak, but, as many military functions depended on the road system, several Roman substructures could be fairly easily integrated into the Frankish defence system, despite its geopolitical reversal.⁶⁷

There remains the question of how these Roman structures became re-centred or, if their function was ever interrupted, revived in the context of the newly founded monastery between, say, 700 and 750. An answer must take into account the latest research on the fate of the Roman provincial capital of Augsburg, with which the inventory appeared to be closely associated under Charlemagne. In late Roman times, but, as it seems, also in the Merovingian period, political authorities had a vital interest in maintaining Roman infrastructures north of the Alps.⁶⁸ Thus, the *Via Retica* and the *Via Claudia* may have well been among those *viae publicae* mentioned in the Bavarian law-code.⁶⁹ Roman roads in the region gave access to

⁶⁷ On this transformation and its consequences see Esders, 2016. See also Ridder, 2015.

⁶⁸ Maintenance and repair work is also attested by archaeological excavations, see Steidl, 2013, 163-94.

⁶⁹ L. Bai. X, 19: *Si quis viam publicam, ubi [rex vel] dux egreditur, vel viam equalem alicuius clauserit contra legem, cum XII sold. componat et illam sepem tollat. Et si negare voluerit, cum XII sacramentalibus iuret.* (ed. von Schwind, 1926, 394). See also Ridder, 2015, 100-4. On the concept of *viam publicam*, which is deeply rooted in Roman law, see Möller, 2009, 421-44. On its continuation in Bavaria, see Blei, 2013, 181-3. On Roman law in early medieval Bavaria, see also Erkens, 2008, 491-502.

the Alpine passes (the Brenner and the Fernpass in particular); they allowed political authorities to control mobility. Needless to say, they were important for defence and indispensable for supplying the provincial capital. If we follow the fascinating hypothesis put forward several years ago by the archaeologist Arno Rettner, the capital of the newly established duchy of Bavaria was not Regensburg (which appears not to have assumed this function earlier than the mid-7th century), but Augsburg.⁷⁰ Rettner has supported his idea with several very good arguments which we need not recount here, as his hypothesis has gained wide acceptance among historians and archaeologists alike⁷¹ – at least outside of Regensburg.⁷² In the context of interest to us here, this hypothesis could explain many important features of the early Bavarian duchy: the substantial settlement continuity in Augsburg between antiquity and the middle ages, as is evidenced by huge graveyards; the pragmatic attitude of the Merovingian kings in continuing an established administrative centre for their newly created duchy; the restoration of the episcopal see, among others. Still more, for our subject, the transfer of the duchy's capital from Augsburg to Regensburg in the course of the 7th century would help to explain the fact that several of the 50 newly created Bavarian monasteries in the 8th century were likely founded upon late Roman fortifications that had fallen into disuse, it being easy to delegate important military and political functions to these monasteries closely connected with the road system.⁷³ The above-mentioned fortification *Scarbia* (Mittenwald), which is referred to in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, is another example: it became the site of the monastery of Scharnitz, which would later be transferred to Schleiberg.⁷⁴ We may assume a comparable development in the case of the

⁷⁰ Rettner, 2002, 538-45.

⁷¹ See, e.g., Störmer, 2009, 71-85 suggesting that a transfer of the duke's residence from Augsburg to Regensburg had taken place by the 6th century, which seems too early. See Rettner, 2014, 640-53.

⁷² Codreanu-Windauer, 2014, 634-39.

⁷³ Störmer, 1966. On monastic foundations on Roman ruins, see also Clemens, 2003, 258-67.

⁷⁴ Jahn, 1991, 410.

8th-century monastic foundation at Kempten with its Roman remains.⁷⁵ In legal terms, the late Roman fortifications were fiscal property, and the new rulers could readily reuse them to construct new buildings.⁷⁶ High medieval tradition credits the Bavarian aristocratic family of the Huosi with founding the Staffelsee monastery, apparently to attribute to their monastery of Benediktbeuern some sort of supervision over Staffelsee;⁷⁷ however, Staffelsee's patrocinium of St. Michael also hints at the possibility that it was founded by the Agilolfings, i.e. the ducal family.⁷⁸ At any rate, these monasteries were subject in ecclesiastical terms to the bishopric of Augsburg, while under Bishop Simpert, a close ally of Charlemagne's, the Staffelsee monastery with all its territories, belongings and dependents became incorporated into the Augsburg bishopric also in terms of possession, as is documented by the final section of the inventory.

The background to this ecclesiastical reorganization is fairly complicated. Sometime in the 8th century, there seem to have been two bishoprics on either side of the river Lech, one at Neuburg/Donau, the other at Augsburg.⁷⁹ It appears that the monastery of Staffelsee belonged to Neuburg for some time, while under Simpert both bishoprics were united in the see of Augsburg. Simpert is referred to in papal letters of 798 and 800 first as "bishop of the church of Neuburg" (*ecclesia Nivuinburgensis*) and then as

⁷⁵ On the late Roman settlement, see Mackensen, 2000b, 134-46; for the monastic foundation, see Schwarzmaier, 2008, 322-23.

⁷⁶ On the Bavarian dukes' succession to the Roman emperors' fiscal rights in terms of property, see Dachs, 1965 (1962), 44-84; on this question, see most recently Blei, 2013.

⁷⁷ See the critical discussion in Holzfurtner, 1984, 57, 61-62 and 185-86.

⁷⁸ On the archangel Michael, whose cult was brought from southern Italy (Monte Gargano) to the North in the later 7th century and appears to have been propagated by the Carolingians, see Arnold, 2013, 121-36. The patrocinium of St. Michael seems to be attested for Staffelsee already around 750, when a noblewoman called Wangart donated a third of their possessions at Obersöchering to St. Michael *ad stagnum Staphala: Monumenta Boica* VII (1766) 38, no. 1.

⁷⁹ On this vexed question see the contrasting views of Weitlauff, 2006, 31-2, and Seitz, 2010, 405-10.

"bishop of Staffelsee" (*Sintperto Stafnensis ecclesiae*),⁸⁰ but it appears that under him Staffelsee became reintegrated into the Augsburg bishopric,⁸¹ probably between 801 and 807, which could provide a *terminus post quem* for the drafting of the inventory.⁸²

"Pockets of functional continuity" and their Carolingian reframing in monastic foundations

Conferring important logistic and military functions along with fiscal property to a newly founded monastery was by no means unusual in the 8th century. For instance, from the Life of Magnus of Fuessen, written in the later 9th century in the bishopric of Augsburg, we learn that prior to the foundation of the Fuessen monastery, located about 30 miles west of Staffelsee, King Pippin had inquired with the Alaman duke Gunzo in search of tax-payers (*tributarii*) in the surrounding area of the *pagus* Keltenstein (close to the Lech). The tributaries' payments and obligations – in sum 123 *vectigalia* – were transferred to the new monastery with the consent of the duke; in so doing, Pippin responded to a request by Bishop Wikterp of Augsburg.⁸³ Moreover, another 10 *hobae* (= *mansi*) of *liberi homines* in the

⁸⁰ See Volkert, 1985, 25-8, no. 14-16 with further references (MGH Epp. 5, nos. 3 and 5; MGH Conc. II/2, p. 215).

⁸¹ Freund, 2010, 472-3.

⁸² On the transfer of Staffelsee to the bishopric of Augsburg as background to the drafting of the inventory, see Fried, 1978, 181-5.

⁸³ Vita s. Magni, c. 22: *Inquisiuit (sc. Pippinus rex) ergo a praefato Chuzzone, quomodo in uicina loca potuisset tributarios inuenire de eodem pago, qui uectigalia annuatim redditibus regis inferre debebant, et inuenit in ipso uicino loco pagum, quod uocabatur Geltinstein, sibi per omnia annuatim tributa persoluere. Inter cetera ergo munificentiae suae dona, quae impertiuit beato uiro, dedit ei totum ipsum saltum cum marcha firmitatis, quae in epistola sua fecit conscribi, et uectigalia cxiii, quae ex praefato pago inferre debebant annuatim, quatinus pro memoria beneficiorum eius perpetuo ibi permaneret.* (Walz, 1989, 168). Interestingly, the Life goes on to describe the incorporation of the newly established monastery into the bishopric of Augsburg, whose bishop Wikterp had approached Pippin to support the foundation, while Magnus's obedience to Wikterp is emphasized; see Walz, 1989, 62-4. On Wikterp and his disputed identity, see in particular Schmid, 1964, 99-134; see also Volkert, 1985, 1-8.

pagi Augustogowe et Gildinstein were given by Charlemagne to the monastery of Kempten, as is shown by a charter of 832 in which Louis the Pious confirms *in elemosina nostra* this transfer and another 86 *hobe* given to Kempten along with their annual *census*, on the condition that the monastery would not acquire further fiscal possessions liable to tax in the future.⁸⁴ Only two years later, Louis the Pious granted the monastery of Kempten immunity from all public burdens (*ab omnibus publicis functionibus*) in order to enable it to concentrate on invoking God's mercy by praying for the ruler, his wife and the whole of Christendom; this is detailed by reference to bridge and building work and further public services and to the performance of military service in the host by the monastery's administrators and dependents (while the holders of benefices were excluded from this liberation).⁸⁵ This makes it sufficiently clear that the transfer of *tributarii* to a monastery was a method of reorganizing the military and the maintenance of infrastructures in this region, while later grants of immunity point to a new stage within this development. Furthermore, a charter of King Pippin I, probably issued around 756, illustrates how all public obligations, military, transport and others, of five men (*homines*) and their offspring living in a place called Emmen (Aargau, modern Switzerland) were transferred to the monastery of Luzern; it also made explicit that the men had pre-

⁸⁴ *Et quia ex eis hobis census annualis ad publicum persolvebatur ..., eidem monasterio fieri decrevimus, per quod postulata concedimus [...] Ea tamen conditione premissa concessimus, ut nemo prelatorum vel agentium huius monasterii ea in postmodum a quolibet accipiat, unde ad publicum census vel aliqua functio persolvitur.* (ed. Kölzer, 2016, no. 310, 766).

⁸⁵ ... *interdicimus, ut nullus domesticorum ceterorumque superioris aut inferioris ordinis tam ecclesiastice quam rei publicae administratorum a praelatis et agentibus a servientibus eiusdem monasterii aut dona annualia aut aliquid operationis ad pontes videlicet ceteraque aedificia facienda aut reficienda aut alia quaelibet servitia ad partem publicam pertinentia, nisi quae sponte et voluntariae obtulerint, requirere aut exactare praesumat. Memoratum quoque Tattonem venerabilem abbatem suosque successores ab omni hostili expeditione facienda cum tributariis, quorum memoria in altero praecepto continetur [this refers to the charter of 832 quoted above in note 84], liberum esse constituimus, ut interius regularis vitae observantiam indefesse providere et exterius res eidem monasterio conlatas procurare valeant. Nobiliores quoque persone de rebus memorati monasterii beneficia habentes ab exercitalibus expeditionibus faciendis non excludimus, sed ad ea solvenda sicut ceteri liberi homines praeparati habeantur.* (ed. Kölzer, 2016, no. 339, 850-1).

viously owed these obligations (*de itinere exercitale seu scaras vel quamcumque partem ire praesumat aut mansionaticas aut mallum custodire aut navigii facere vel alias functiones*) to the local count.⁸⁶ Again, most of these obligations appear tied to possessions situated along roads and rivers as part of a communication and defence infrastructure, most likely structured as *mansi* or *hobe*. Presumably, they would now have entered the monastery's polypytch (which has not survived) and been reorganized by the abbot of Luzern. These two examples from roughly the same region and time, both concerned with exact numbers of persons, hint at how we might imagine the monastery of Staffelsee's acquisition of their *mansi*: apparently by a transfer of public obligations and various renders along with fiscal properties that took place in the course of the 8th century, when the Bavarian duke had already taken up residence in Regensburg, while the position of the bishop of Augsburg, supported by the early Carolingians, was turned into a principality that encompassed important secular and religious functions.

Transferring a limited number of tenants along with their possessions appears to be an exercise in micro-management.⁸⁷ Yet, it suggests that in the 8th century there must still have been a considerable number of "tribute-payers" in Bavaria, i.e. tenants on fiscal

⁸⁶ The charter is referred to in Lothar I's confirmation of Pippin's donation (840): [...] *noster Pippinus quondam rex ... in sua elemosina concessissent monasterium Luciarum vel monachis ibidem degentibus homines quinque his nominibus: Uualdonem, Uualfratum, Uuilfinum, Uuolfoldum et Uulbertum cum filiis et posteris eorum, commanentes in loco nuncupante villa Emau super fluvium Riusa in pago Aregaua, videlicet ut illud, quod ad partem publicam facere consueverant, ad praedictum monasterium fecissent: ... de itinere exercitale seu scaras vel quamcumque partem ire praesumat aut mansionaticas aut mallum custodire aut navigii facere vel alias functiones aut freda exactare et quicquid ad partem comitum aut iuniorum eorum seu successorum exigere poterat.* (ed. Schieffer, 1966, no. 45, 136). Boesch-Ineichen, 1955, 69-76, provides relevant regional background (despite his adaption of the problematic "Königsfreien-Theorie") and dates Pippin's donation to around 756.

⁸⁷ There has been some debate among German-speaking scholars as to whether individual persons of free status could really be "donated" to an institution like a monastery. However, it seems clear that it was their possessions that were donated, along with the functions attached thereto. On this debate, see the critical discussion in Wernli, 1960.

properties who were performing important public functions as they were obliged to.⁸⁸ To understand the fundamental and complicated process through which “pockets of functional continuity” became reintegrated into new political systems, it is important to emphasize that already in the late Roman period many obligations that served to maintain the road and defence system were defined through the individual pieces of property situated along those roads. This change, whereby the performance of public functions was separated from an individual’s status of Roman citizen or inhabitant in late antiquity, served to safeguard the availability of resources for public purposes.⁸⁹ Placing obligations on possessions rather than on the status of their holders paved the way for reintegrating certain “islands” of continuity into new governance structures such as the Bavarian duchy or the Carolingian devolvement of military and political functions to episcopal churches and monasteries. In the early Carolingian period, however, it seems a new functional differentiation took place that maintained the notion that obligations were dependent upon holding an individual piece of property. But the obligations that had rested upon such properties were now redefined and differentiated according to free and unfree holders – or according to free and unfree pieces of property – as a redefinition of *mansi* appears to have taken place.

This must have occurred sometime in the 8th century, when the organization of the Staffelsee manor as run by the monastery was most likely established. As we have no information concerning exactly what the creation of *mansi* looked like or involved, any considerations in this regard must be speculative. Still, the point of “functional continuity” may give us a hint as to what may have mattered in this situation. It seems likely that several possessions located

⁸⁸ It is conceivable that the persons concerned, as tenants of these possessions, gave their consent to this transfer, provided their legal status was maintained and the range of their obligations not extended, as can often be observed in cases where fiscal lands were transferred to ecclesiastical institutions. See Zotz, 1989, 124-25, and Ewig, 1995, 304-13.

⁸⁹ Horstkotte, 1996, 252.

close to the *Via Retica*, whose maintenance was part of their burden, had already been required to do so before the foundation of the monastery. These possessions, few in number, would have formed the base of Staffelsee's *mansi*, and there is good reason to assume that their holders were now becoming dependents of the Staffelsee manor.⁹⁰ In this process, those functions relating to road and defence were continued, while the *corvées* on the manor were introduced as an additional obligation. As it was in particular the unfree *mansi* which bore this obligation, this suggests that the holders of the free *mansi* to some extent maintained their status as free *coloni*, keeping their public obligations but also becoming somewhat integrated into the manorial system. In the case of Staffelsee, it seems that the establishment of the manor was for the most part effected by the creation of unfree manses burdened with heavy labour services (three days per week) to be performed at the *indominicatum*. It is thus entirely conceivable that in the formation of the Staffelsee manor, with its overall number of 42 manses, a royal donation of a small number of *tributarii*, as in the case of Luzern, Kempten and Fuessen (where the bishop of Augsburg was also involved), formed some sort of basic endowment. These *tributarii* were, as comparable evidence from other Bavarian regions illustrates,⁹¹ holders of special pockets of fiscal lands, and it was together with their lands that they were integrated into the military organization of the Bavarian duchy.⁹² It seems that they were often given to a monastery as their new lord starting in the 8th century.

If this hypothetical reconstruction is plausible, the local perspective yields a very different view of the emergence of what is often called the "Carolingian manorial system." Its emergence entailed a far-reaching transformation and rearrangement of important param-

⁹⁰ It has been suggested for the *scararii* of Prüm that their possessions were distantly located holdings *extra familiam*. See Windhausen, 2006, 5.

⁹¹ See Jahn, 1991, 247; Wolfram, 1995, 153.

⁹² On this important transformation, see Jahn, 1991; Dopsch, 1988, 49; see also Blei, 2013, 153-6.

eters – from civil obligations (*munera publica*) into royal service (*servitium regis*) and manorial corvées with an odd mixture of public and private burdens, a renegotiation between free and unfree status that took place in the process of the creation of the *mansus* system, and not least between “state” and “church,” to put it bluntly. The obligations of locals were transferred to new authorities in a process that transformed former *munera publica* into *servitia publica*, which were defined not only according to the size and quality of an individual piece of property (which formerly was fiscal property),⁹³ but also according to the individual status of its holder as a free or unfree person – in sum, to a *mansus*.⁹⁴ It is only logical that a major redefinition and reorganization of these structures and obligations must have taken place sometime in the 8th century,⁹⁵ when the new monastery was equipped with property that became part of its organization. Adriaan Verhulst, in a very suggestive argument, has explained the uniformity of burdens often to be found on unfree *mansi* (such as in the case of Staffelsee) by the fact “that *mansi serviles* were usually created anew and that it was easier to impose uniform obligations on slaves than on free or half-free *coloni*. The holdings of the latter may indeed have been previously independent farms that had been integrated within an estate only later, in which case an agreement had possibly to be concluded with the free person or *colonus* concerned. This difference in juridical status might also explain the fact that *mansi serviles* or *servi* personally were usually taxed much more heavily in services than *lidi*, *coloni* or *ingenui*.”⁹⁶ The labour service of three days per week on the demesne with which the holders of the unfree *mansi* at Staffelsee were burdened even appears to echo a

⁹³ In this respect I contradict the assumption of Elmshäuser, 1989, 346.

⁹⁴ Windhausen, 2006, 10, suggests that the location of properties was responsible for their charge with *angariae* and *scarae*.

⁹⁵ On the standardization of the *mansus* under Charlemagne, see Herlihy, 1960/1961, 79–89, and Sonnlechner, 2004, 43–6. Störmer, 1987, 393, believed that the *mansus* organization at Staffelsee may have predated the foundation of the monastery, in a period the site probably belonged to the Bavarian dukes.

⁹⁶ Verhulst, 2002, 46.

general royal regulation on ecclesiastical lands that is contained in the 7th or 8th-century Bavarian law-code.⁹⁷ While there were general prescriptions for holders of unfree *mansi* with regard to their labour service in the *indominicatum*, among the other obligations of this group we find the *paraveredus*, an obligation most often placed on free *mansi* in manorial systems, but also imposed on holders of private possessions in the counties.⁹⁸ It is striking that the obligation to provide a horse, the *paraveredus*, still referred to as a function to be performed by persons of free status in the Bavarian law-code,⁹⁹ became generally attributed to the holders of the unfree manses at Staffelsee. This suggests that these services were regarded as indispensable and so extensive that the monastery had to redefine some holdings as unfree *mansi*, thereby allowing imposition of a heavier burden. The almost equal division between 23 free and 19 unfree *mansi* at Staffelsee, which contrasts with other manorial estates of the time, points in the same direction.

The Carolingian age marks a new step within this development, witnessing a reframing of the political and military functions of monasteries, but also of major episcopal sees. The roles played by the bishops Wicterp¹⁰⁰ and Simpert¹⁰¹ of Augsburg, the latter a close ally of Charlemagne, underlined such transformations, as both men sought to gain control over new monastic foundations in this part of Bavaria. And the fact that the Staffelsee inventory has come down

⁹⁷ L. Baiuv. I, 13: *Servi autem ecclesiae secundum possessionem suam reddant tributa. Opera vero III dies in ebdomeda in dominico operet, III vero sibi faciat.* (ed. von Schwind, 1926, 289-90). See Dollinger, 1982, 148, who also points to the same number in the inventory of Bergkirchen of 842 (ed. Bitterauf, *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, 1905, vol. 1, no. 652, 550-51). The importance of the demense is also conveyed by the large number of *journalles* and by the fact that over and above the three days a week of labour services provided by the holders of the 19 unfree *mansi*, there were another 72 *provendarii* without a *mansus* who worked on the demesne. See Verhulst, 2002, 43.

⁹⁸ See Esders, 2009, 195-6.

⁹⁹ L. Baiuv. I, 13: *Parafretos donent aut ipsi vadant, ubi eis iniunctum fuerit. Angarias cum carra faciant usque L lewas; amplius non minentur.* (ed. von Schwind, 1926, 288).

¹⁰⁰ For Wicterp, see Schmid, 1964.

¹⁰¹ For Simpert, see Groll, 2007, 8-17.

to us within the same manuscript that also contains the *Capitulare de villis*¹⁰² illustrates that, channelled through the agency of the bishop of Augsburg, this monastery's affairs were regarded as vital by the political authorities in connection with the resources of governance. At the same time, in many respects the political role attributed to the bishop of Augsburg appears typical of how the Carolingians proceeded in upgrading ecclesiastical lordship, when we consider, for instance, what was happening at almost the same time in Churraetia or Istria.¹⁰³

Mobility of peasants as evidenced by the Staffelsee inventory

In the Carolingian age, as in any other era, peasants had their own agency, interests and goals, and their strategies to cope with extreme conditions. Naturally, the extant documents referring to peasants, having been drafted with a view to making the peasants and their labour power objects of manorial administration, do not allow us to adopt an actor's perspective here. However, more recent research has emphasized that some degree of social mobility can be detected even in the seemingly "static" registers. For instance, in the famous polyptyque of Saint Germain-des-Près, written in the 820s, intermarriage between persons of different status apparently resulted in holders of unfree *mansi* not always having an unfree personal status; as a consequence, the qualification of a *mansus* as either free or unfree indicated the amount of labour service and renders attributed to that *mansus* rather than the legal status of the holder.¹⁰⁴ By contrast, in the Staffelsee inventory carefully differentiated obligations can be found among the free *mansi*, while the unfree *mansi*, as shown in the last chapter,¹⁰⁵ appear quite uniform. Another indicator of peasants' mobility within the manorial system is the rela-

¹⁰² See note 8 above.

¹⁰³ For Churraetia, see Kaiser, 2002, 1-27; for Istria, see Esders, 1999, 49-112.

¹⁰⁴ Elmshäuser, Hedwig, 1993, 478-80.

¹⁰⁵ See note 95 above.

tionship between occupied and vacant *mansi* (*mansi vestititi/absi*), as a large number of the latter often points to a demand for peasants for cultivation that apparently could not be satisfied, at least temporarily.¹⁰⁶ The Staffelsee inventory refers to both categories of *mansi* only in the summary of all farmsteads belonging to the bishopric of Augsburg, while for Staffelsee it only references *mansi vestititi*; this suggests that all *mansi* at Staffelsee were under cultivation when the register was produced.¹⁰⁷

However, the relationship between occupied and vacant *mansi* is not the only indicator of peasants' mobility. Of Staffelsee's free *mansi*, eleven had to render transport service (*scara*), one of them also being obliged to provide horse service (*parafredus*), while another eleven had to provide military service (*in hoste*) or a payment and riding or messenger service (*equitatio*) if military service was not needed. All the *mansi serviles* were obliged to provide *scara* and *parafredus*. Thus, both holders of free and of unfree manses were expected to fulfil functions that required spatial mobility, it being presupposed that many tenants had oxen and horses to fulfil expectations connected with transport and supply. As we have to assume that many *mansi* were located along the road, attending the manor to perform manorial service would have required some mobility as well. Being actively mobile in this sense was a requirement attaching to *mansi* held and was therefore certainly not unlawful. It would appear that at the time the register was drafted fugitive peasants did not pose a problem at Staffelsee.

Another important and difficult question is how strictly personal these obligations actually were. The change within the late Roman system that made many public obligations depend on the land rather than on its holder suggests that we tread cautiously here. We

¹⁰⁶ Grand, 1959, 251-6, and Devroey, 1976, 421-51, taking different perspectives on this feature.

¹⁰⁷ *Respicunt ad eandem curtem mansi ingenuiles vestititi XXIII. [...] Serviles vero mansi vestititi XIX [...] Habet quippe summa Augustensis episcopatus mansos ingenuiles vestitos MVI, absos XXXV, serviles vero vestitos CCCCXXI, absos XXXXV; inter ingenuiles autem et serviles vestitos MCCCCXXVII, absos LXXX. (Brevium exempla, ed. Boretius, 1883, 252).*

know, for instance, from late Roman Egypt, that there were several legal devices to transfer a public obligation (*munus publicum* or *liturgeia*) to another person who was willing to fulfil it for a certain payment.¹⁰⁸ Our early medieval sources are usually silent on this, but recent research has emphasized the role of money-lending.¹⁰⁹ In the case of the Staffelsee register, the large number of *provendarii* at the manor suggests that the bulk of labour services in the *indominicatum* did not depend on the *mansi*, but were in fact performed through persons who had received a prebend.¹¹⁰ This underlines our previous observation that the *mansi*, despite their obligations to fulfil corvées at the manor, were to a considerable extent orientated towards the military, transport and supply organization of the wider region. A broader view encompassing other manorial systems illustrates how differently the provision of *paraveredus* could develop in the Carolingian period: in some polyptyques, this burden was placed on the free *mansi*; others, like Lorsch, attribute it to those manses in possession of *liti*; whereas Saint Germain-des-Près also has special manses devoted exclusively to the provision of *paraveredus* by *ingenuiles* (*mansi paraveredorum*), suggesting a professionalization, as the holders of these *mansi* were called *paraveredarii*.¹¹¹ A later development is indicated by a late-9th-century diploma by which Emperor Arnulf donated eleven *servi fiscalini* with their families (and, we may assume, their *mansi*) to the bishopric of Worms, where they continued their specialized task of providing horse transport organized as a *societas parafridorum*.¹¹² “Functional continuity” and peasants’ agency do not always appear to be contradictory.

¹⁰⁸ See Klingenberg, 1988, 281-349.

¹⁰⁹ Bougard, 2011, 439-78.

¹¹⁰ Verhulst, 2002, 43; the opposite view is taken by Wickham, 2005, 301, who states as a general rule that *prebendarii* usually did not “constitute more than a minority of demesne labour”. This cannot have been the case in Staffelsee, with its total number of 42 manses and 72 *prebendarii*.

¹¹¹ Gockel, 1970, 95-99; Staab, 1975, 32-88; Devroey, 1984, 576; Esders, 2009, 200-5.

¹¹² *Ad hec etiam nostre celsitudinis precati sunt clementiam, ut nostros fiscalinos servos, qui regie potestati parafridos debita subministracione in expeditionem reddere consueverant, una cum ipsa institutione persolutionis parafridorum ceterorumque utensilium, que dominicus fiscus ab eis exigere solitus erat, quorum nomina quidem inscripta videntur: Leibolf, Herolf, Anstolf,*

While all these documents point to the importance of horses in ecclesiastical transport and exchange systems, one has to be cautious in seeing the function of *paraveredus* as being limited to the interests of ecclesiastical institutions alone. There is evidence in formularies and capitularies that *paraveredus* continued to be provided to support the mobility of the king and his functionaries; this happened in the *pagi* administered by the counts,¹¹³ but also in some administered by ecclesiastical institutions, as not all immunities included exemption from providing the *paraveredus*.¹¹⁴ Its precise function can only be assessed against the backdrop of local circumstances. On the other hand, it is difficult to judge from the Staffelsee inventory who actually took most advantage of the peasants' obligations – abbot, bishop, or king¹¹⁵ – and for what purpose – war, transport of economic goods, messenger service, etc.¹¹⁶ To make this point clear: we simply do not know whether the unfree women in the Staffelsee *genitium* had to produce textiles for military purposes or, rather, altar cloths and paraments. The inventory is more precise about obligations of the free *mansi*, as it references four free *mansi* in particular, whose *scara* service explicitly included transport of wine. But can we be sure that the other *mansi* obliged to perform *scaras* were not

Gozbraht, Oci, Richgo, Diedo, Ezo, Madelolt, item Ezo, Iso, eos cum filiis eorum omnemque familiam utriusque sexus et cum omni progenie ad eandem societatem parafridorum pertinente oportunitati predictae sedis Wormatie episcopo propter dei amorem concederemus ... Hanc igitur ut priorem postulationem humane pertractantes divini amoris inspectione quicquid prenominati fiscalini servi eorumque consocii regali dignitati antea persolvere debuerant, totum ex integro magnum cum parvo simul cum ipsis ad prelibatam ecclesiam condonavimus. (ed. Kehr, 1955, no. 158, 240).

¹¹³ See, e.g., *Responsa missis data* a. 826, c. 10: Boretius 1883, no. 155, p. 315.

¹¹⁴ *Epistola synodi Carisiacensis ad Hludovicum regem Germaniae directa* a. 858, c. 14: Boretius, Krause 1888, no. 297, 438; Zotz, 1989, 116-8.

¹¹⁵ Störmer, 1987, 392, interpreted the transport services of the Staffelsee dependents as labour performed for the benefit of the abbot as well as the king. On the importance of these roads and their stations for the Carolingian kings' visits to Italy, see Appl, 2011, 25-52.

¹¹⁶ In contrast to Elmshäuser, 1989, 360, note 142, who interpreted all services of the Staffelsee peasants as part of a manorial system that served the interests of the ecclesiastical lord alone, I find that several obligations were not necessarily tied solely to the needs of the manor.

also forced to provide transalpine transport services of this kind?¹¹⁷ Some clauses explicitly allowed leeway in handling certain obligations by those who had the power to command (e.g. *equitat quocumque illi praecipitur*). Conflicts over the extent of transport services are attested in the 9th century, as the legal definition of obligations and the landlord's interest and power to ignore them could easily conflict.¹¹⁸ Although the often carefully calibrated distinctions between various types of *mansi* must be taken seriously, it cannot be excluded that the power of the landlord, who held so many different legal claims and competences, could overrule them to some extent. The blending of religious, ecclesiastical, economic and political functions, so typical of the Carolingian period, makes it difficult, if not impossible, to offer hard and fast answers to such questions.

Conclusion

What does this tell us about the Carolingian manorial economy and the place assigned to the Staffelsee inventory in the debate concerning it? The hypothetical reconstruction offered above delineates a process that lasted over four hundred years and comprised at least four major stages: a number of possessions originally situated on an important road in a late Roman province, whose inhabitants or holders performed important functions relating to defence, transalpine communication and infrastructure maintenance, were transformed into an element of supply and defence within the Frankish duchy of Bavaria in the 6th century, its capital at Augsburg. These possessions were considerably reframed when they became part of a monastic

¹¹⁷ *Et sunt mansi IV, quorum arat unusquisque annis singulis iurnales IX, seminat et introducit; secat in prato dominico carradas III et illud introducit; operatur in anno ebdomadas VI, scaram facit ad vinum ducendum; fimat de terra dominica iurnalem I, de ligno donat carradas X.* (*Brevium exempla*, ed. Boretius, 1883, 252). On the importance of transalpine wine transport from Tirol or northern Italy to Staffelsee, see Weber, 1994, 92-4.

¹¹⁸ See most famously Charles the Bald's Edict of Pîtres of 864, cc. 29-30 (eds. Boretius, Krause, 1888, no. 273, p. 323).

manor in the 8th century, judging from the differentiation of *mansi*. Finally, they were appended to an ecclesiastical principality run by the bishop of Augsburg in the early 9th century. The Staffelsee inventory thus appears to reflect the Frankish rulers' interest in keeping vital aspects of the late Roman supply and defence system of the former province of *Raetia secunda* intact. They accomplished this first in the context of the Bavarian duchy and its infrastructures and then, after the dissolution of the Bavarian duchy in 788, by upgrading the status of the bishop of Augsburg as a close ally of the Carolingian court. With regard to infrastructures of these regions,¹¹⁹ we have proposed the concept of "pockets of functional continuity" to indicate that several functions attached to the road and defence system were maintained but were also fundamentally redirected and thus transformed between the 5th and the 9th centuries. Comparable processes occurred in the former province of *Raetia prima*, whose institutions, for instance public roads, fiscal properties and fortifications such as Arbon at Lake Constance, were eventually absorbed by the principality of the bishop of Chur, but preserved their highly Romanized character to a greater extent than did those of the former Roman province of *Raetia secunda*.¹²⁰

The curious intermingling of "public" and "private" obligations that we encounter in many documents of ecclesiastical institutions has been the object of a fairly fruitless discussion initiated by scholars who have uncompromisingly sought to prove the public character of the early medieval manorial system by stating a maximum case for Roman continuity.¹²¹ Arguably this debate has obscured the fact that some important features of the early medieval manorial economy cannot be explained systematically but only historically, as the result of a longer regional process in which the transfer of fiscal lands and dependents and the donation of private lands to ec-

¹¹⁹ Szabó, 1984, 125-45.

¹²⁰ For *Raetia prima* or *Churraetia*, see Clavadetscher, 1994; Grüniger, 2006; Kaiser, 2008.

¹²¹ It is sufficient for our present purposes to mention Durliat, 1990; for an opposing view, see, among others, Wickham, 1993, 107-26.

clesiastical institutions, together with the granting of immunities to monasteries and episcopal churches, appear to have played a major role. The main advantage of the hypothesis put forward here is that it offers an explanation for a problem that has never really been resolved: precisely why so many obligations whose origin was undoubtedly Roman and which were defined as “public” in the late Roman period show up in the ecclesiastical polyptychs from the 8th century as part of manorial organization, in which “public” and “private” functions are so indistinguishably mixed. But it also explains why the Carolingian rulers were so keen to regard church property as potentially “public” property, which it had in fact been to a considerable extent.¹²²

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¹²² Esders, Patzold, 2016, 371-92.

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