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EDITED BY
DENYS HAY, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

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Juan Mercader Ribà, in two articles, provides an original account of the political and fiscal aspects of municipal government in Catalonia under the later Habsburgs and their transformation by the centralizing policy of Philip V after 1714: the first article deals with Barcelona, the second with eleven other towns. *Hispania*, xxi.

J. Nadal Oller studies the economic and demographic history of Palamos, Catalonia, from 1705 to 1839. Limited economic expansion together with rise of population due, largely, to decline in infant mortality. *Estudios de hist. mod.*, vi.

H. Krebs describes the political reforms in eighteenth-century Spain, in particular the impact of the Enlightenment, and shows how they stimulated the demand for independence in the overseas colonies. *Hist. Zeitschr.* xcii.

Pedro Voltes Bou examines the economic consequences for Spain of her intervention in the American War of Independence; on the basis of MS. sources and a wide collection of printed material he elucidates the impact of the war on agricultural and industrial conditions in Spain and on her foreign and colonial trade. *Hispania*, xxi.

Y. Roustit describes the activities of the French merchant and army purveyor, Raymond Durand, during the French occupation of Barcelona, 1808-14. Prints documents and tables. *Estudios de hist. mod.*, vi.

The Princes in the Tower and their Doctor: Addendum

DR. D. E. RHODES wishes to explain that when he wrote his note on the above subject (*ante*, lxxvi, 304-6) he had not yet seen Mr. C. A. J. Armstrong's article, 'An Italian Astrologer at the Court of Henry VII', in *Italian Renaissance Studies, A tribute to the late Cecilia M. Ady* (London: Faber and Faber, published in May 1960). At p. 449 Mr. Armstrong had already identified 'Argentinus medicus' with John Argentine, and referred to Mr. Rhodes's article in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* ii (1956). For this oversight Mr. Rhodes apologizes to Mr. Armstrong. The Editor wishes to express his own sincere regrets.

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'Baiuli' in the Carolingian 'regnum Langobardorum' and the career of Abbot Waldo († 813)

THE capitularies and other 'official' sources for Charles the Great's reign provide us with a comprehensive account of the way in which that monarch tried to govern his extensive dominions and of the institutions through which this royal administration functioned; private charters, necrologies, and other texts of various kinds give us the names of many of the men who were expected to translate Charles's aspirations into reality and tell us something of their family connections and places of origin.¹ The picture that this material tends to convey, however, is just a little too neat and systematic: an all-seeing monarch controlling a hierarchy of local officials whose responsibilities may frequently have overlapped but were none-the-less clearly defined and who—at least at the highest levels—were recruited from a limited number of established families. The recorded activity of some agents of the Carolingian monarchy and the terminology used to describe them suggest that in practice the administration of the Carolingian empire was far more flexible and empirical than this, varying widely between different regions and at different dates. They also suggest that the responsibility exercised by any particular individual was often determined more by his personality and ability than by his title or family connections (however important the latter might be in certain circumstances).² Evidence that throws light on the way in which the *regnum Langobardorum* was governed after its annexation by Charles in 774³ is particularly revealing in this respect; and there is a special interest in a small group of texts recording the activity of *bainli*—a title (or office) which is not mentioned in any capitulary or diploma.

¹ The most notable present-day exponents of the prosopographical approach to Carolingian history are Professor Tellenbach and his pupils: see G. Tellenbach (ed.), *Studien u. Vorarbeiten zur Gesch. des deutschfränkischen u. frühdeutschen Adels* (Freiburg im Br., 1957) and subsequent publications in the *Vorsch. zur oberbayerischen Landesgesch.*

² Cf. D. A. Bullough, 'Leo, qui apud Hlotharium magni loci habebatur, et le gouvernement du Regnum Italiae dans l'époque carolingienne', *Le Moyen Age*, lxxvii (1961), 221-45.

³ The standard account is still that of L. M. Hartmann, *Gesch. Italiens im M.a.*, ii/2 (Gotha, 1903), 274 ff., iii (1908-11), *passim*. A great quantity of new material and new ideas is to be found in E. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern u. Burgunder in Oberitalien, 774-962*—*Vorsch. zur oberbayer. Gesch.*, viii (Freiburg i. Br., 1960).

The first of these texts is a letter from King Charles to Pope Hadrian I (found in a palimpsest manuscript at Munich)¹ which must be later than the baptism of Charles's son Pippin and his coronation as *rex Langobardorum* on 15 April 781, since in the *intitulatio* Charles refers to himself and the pope as *compatri*.² The letter has a lengthy exordium (*arenga*) of a type familiar, although in shorter form, from other letters of Charles and from his diplomas, as well as from papal letters of this period.³ A much freer styling characterizes the *expositio*. The purpose of the letter is a request to the pope that 'by the imposition of his hand he should make Walto shepherd of the holy mother church of Pavia';⁴ for (as the letter explains) Charles, 'sitting with bishops, priests and other ranks of the clergy', has decided to put Walto forward for that see and present him to the pope 'because he has been coming and going in those regions as *servitutis nostrae baiulus atque praecipuus operator*'.⁵

That the Frankish king should turn to the pope rather than the archbishop of Milan for the consecration of his nominee as bishop of Pavia was canonically correct. The *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that during the pontificate of Constantine I (708–15) Archbishop Benedict of Milan came to Rome to assert his metropolitan rights

¹ E. Munding, *Königshrief Karls d. Gr. an Papst Hadrian über Abt-Bischof Waldo von Reichenau Pavia* (Texte u. Arbeiten herausg. durch d. Veralthei Beuron, Uvii) (Beuron-Leipzig, 1920), from Munich clm. 6333. Munding's edition was reviewed critically by W. Levison in *Neues Archiv*, xliii (1927), 464 f. and commented on further by W. Erben in *ib.* xlv (1925), 11 f. The latest account of clm. 6333 is by A. Dold in *Texte u. Arb.*, lxxlviii (Beuron, 1957). See also E. A. Lowe, *Cod. Lat. Ant.* ix (Oxford, 1959), n. 1277.

² *Wahmser Mühlbacher, Regesta Imperii*, i, 235 b, 508 f. G. Föten, *Das Unterkönigtum im Reiche der Merowinger u. Karolinger* (Heidelberg, 1907), pp. 18 f. Charles is *compater* of the pope for the first time in *Mon. Germ. Epist.*, iii (ed. Gundlach), no. 597 of May/June. (The two preceding letters in Gundlach's edition, pp. 593 ff., are of 784: J. Wladyslaw in *Rev. Benedictine*, lix (1949), 206 ff.).

³ The verbal parallels noted by Munding, pp. 12 ff. come from all three types of text.

⁴ *Unaltonem sanctae matris ecclesiae Ticinensis impositione manus vestrae fore pastorem*.

⁵ The translation given in the text for the words *quia tam eundi quam redeundi in his partibus (servitutis, &c.)* seems to be the correct one; it is unlikely that *quia* is introducing a clause of purpose, i.e. 'so that he may be (al. become)'. (I have to thank Dom Paul Meyvaert and the abbot of Quarr for their help and guidance with this and other linguistic points.) The words *tam eundi quam redeundi* have apparently been taken over from some (unidentified) legal text or document. The *facilitatem eundi ac redeundi* (to the four corners of the world) is included in the grant of liberty made to one of his serfs by the Italian king Berengar I in 912, *Diplomi di Berengario I*, ed. Schiaparelli (Rome, 1902), no. 86. The corresponding *praecipuum regis de ferro per denarium ingenium relaxato* in the so-called *Formulae Marculphanae aevi Karolini* (*Mon. Germ., Form.*, ed. Zeumer, p. 124, no. 27, itself based on *Form. Marc.* f. 22, Zeumer p. 57) does not use these words; but a closely parallel construction is found in, e.g. *Formulae Angenses coll. B.* (of the late eighth century), no. 2, Zeumer, p. 349; *facilitatem aut immendi aut alienandi*. The possibility that in the Carolingian period (*ire et*) *redire* was or came to be used particularly of journeys to and from the court is suggested by words used by Agobard of Lyons in connection with the closing of the general assembly at Attigny in August 827, *Mon. Germ., Epist.* v, 164 no. 4: *cum a palatio tempus redeundi nobis iam fuisset indultum*. For parallels to the words *nostrae* . . . *operator* see below.

over the Pavian church, only to be met with the assertion that *a prisca temporibus sedis apostolicae eiusdem Ticinensis ecclesiae antistes ad consecrandum pertinebat atque pertinet*.¹ In fact the direct subjection of Pavia to Rome was not ancient in Pope Constantine's day but seems rather to have been the result of the conversion of the Lombards and their Arian bishop of Pavia to orthodoxy by missionaries organized from Rome in the later seventh century.² None the less Pavia became a suffragan of Milan once more only as a result of the post-Napoleonic reorganization of the Italian hierarchy in 1817.³

It was not only because its bishops were consecrated by the pope that Pavia had a distinctive position in the *regnum Langobardorum*. When the city fell to the Lombards in 572 after a prolonged siege King Alboin established himself in the palace that Theodoric had built,⁴ which at the time of its capture contained a valuable treasure. Alboin's early successors showed no clear preference for Pavia as a royal residence; but by the time of Rothari the city was established as, in a very real sense, the capital of the 'kingdom of the Lombards'.⁵ Thenceforward until the end of the independent kingdom in 774 this was the place at which national assemblies were usually held and where the king's subjects and others would normally expect to find him or some representative: thus, those responsible for the *castrum Maiense* (near the border with Bavaria) would only admit the body of St. Corbinian for burial after they had been ordered to do so by 'letters from the king at Pavia' (c. 725);⁶ and when in 737/8 St. Boniface was travelling back to Germany from Rome he came to Pavia and stayed there for a time with King Liutprand.⁷ The *sacrum palatium* (a term which is found in Lombard sources only in the eighth century, but which may have been inherited directly from

¹ Ed. Duchesne, i (Rome, 1886), 392.

² G. P. Bognetti, 'Le origini della consacrazione del vescovo di Pavia da parte del pontefice Romano . . .', *Atti e Mem. del II Congr. storico Langobardo* (Milan, 1940), esp. pp. 132 ff.; and the same author in Bognetti et al., *Sta. Maria di Castelseprio* (Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri; Milan, 1948), pp. 237 ff.

³ P. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, vi/1 (Berlin, 1913), p. 172. Another documented example of papal consecration of a bishop of Pavia during Charles's reign is (it seems) that of Bishop Peter II in 781: see my 'I vescovi di Pavia nel secolo otavo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, vol. xvii (1963).

⁴ Anonymus Valesianus c. 71, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant.* ix (Monnisen), p. 324. Cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. eccl. Ravennatis*, c. 94, *Mon. Germ. Hist., SS. rer. Lang.* (Berlin, 1878), p. 337 who speaks of its similarity to the better-documented Theodorian palace at Ravenna, on which see R. Dyggve, *Ravennatum Palatium Saxum*, D. Kgl. Danske Videnskabskernes, Arch. kunsth. Medd. iii/2 (Copenhagen, 1941).

⁵ Hartmann, ii/2, 35 f.; Bognetti 'Origini', pp. 105 ff. P. Vaccari, 'Pavia nell' alto medioevo', *La Città nell' Alto Medioevo*, Centro Italiano di Studi sull' alto medioevo (Spoleto, 1959), pp. 151 ff. is a mediocre general survey.

⁶ *Archeion Vita Corbiniani*, c. 28; ed. B. Krusch, *Mon. Germ., SS. rer. Merov.* vi, 589; *SS. rer. Germ.* (Hanover, 1920), p. 227.

⁷ *Vita Bonifatii auctore Willibaldo*, c. 7; ed. W. Levison, *SS. rer. Germ.* (Hanover, 1905), p. 37. And cf. *ib.*, c. 5, p. 22, where the *finis Italiae* in which Boniface met Liutprand in 719 correspond roughly to Lombardy in present-day usage.

the Ostrogothic and Imperial periods)¹ doubtless continued the Lombard royal treasure, which in the time of Liutprand and his successors was apparently under the supervision of *thesaurarius*.² In this period it was certainly the repository of records of important judicial proceedings;³ and a body of (lay) royal notaries, distinct from the writers of diplomas, who undertook some important judicial missions on the king's behalf as well as being skilled writers of documents, was closely associated with it.⁴ This pre-eminence of Pavia and the notarial organization associated with its palace were substantially unaffected by the Frankish annexation of the *regnum*. In 775 Pope Hadrian speaks in a letter to King Charles of *indices illos quos constituere visi estis at Pavia*.⁵ The activity of the royal notaries can be dimly discerned in the years immediately after 774 and in the early years of Pippin; and at the very end of the century they are beginning to play a unique and important part in the administration (more particularly the judicial administration) of the *regnum*.⁶ Two capitularies in Pippin's name (the second of them drawn up *secundum sceda domni Caroli*) were promulgated before 788 in assemblies at Pavia.⁷ Pavia was therefore the obvious base for anyone who held the reigns of government in the subordinate 'kingdom of the Lombards' when the sovereign was non-resident or during a royal minority.

That this was the responsibility that had already been accepted by the man named in Charles's letter (who was now intended to combine it with the bishopric of Pavia) can confidently be deduced from the language used to describe his position. There was evidently no accepted technical term for this—the equivalent of 'viceroy' or 'regent'—and the *dictator* of the letter was compelled to draw on his knowledge of literary texts. An entry in Festus's *de Verborum*, for example, as transmitted by Paul the Deacon's *Epitome*, has some bearing on the conjunction of the words *bailulus* and *operator*: this reads (in Paul the Deacon's *Epitome*) *Bailulos dicebant antiqui quos nunc dicimus operarios*.⁸ Unlike *operarius*, which always retained the sense

¹ Its use in the Lombard period has been denied by H. Fichtenau 'Byzanz u. die Pfalz zu Aachen', *Mitt. Inst. Österr. Gesch.*, lxi (1951), 14, n. 68. It occurs, however, in a royal diploma of 764/5, C. Troya, *Cod. dipl. Longobardo* (Naples, 1853), no. 838, V. Fainelli, *Cod. dipl. Veronese* (Venice, 1940), no. 45; and in a *notitia indicati* of 747, L. Giorgi and U. Balzani, *Il Regesto di Farfa* ii (Rome, 1879), no. 20.

² For Lombard *thesaurarii* see L. Schiaparelli, *Cod. dipl. Long.*, i (Rome, 1929), no. 48 of 730, ii (Rome, 1933), no. 257 of 771; *Lit. Pont.*, i, 487. For his responsibility for the royal treasure see Hartmann, *ibid.*, ii/2, 47.

³ As appears from the Farfa document cited in n. 1.

⁴ L. Schiaparelli, 'Note diplomatiche sulle carte longobarde: 1. I notari nell'età longobarda', *Arch. stor. Ital.*, xc (1932), esp. 18 ff. ⁵ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Epist.*, iii, 578.

⁶ As I hope to show later in a paper on the Italian notaries of the Carolingian period.

⁷ *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Capitularia*, i (Boetius), no. 91 (probably), no. 94; possibly also Charles's capitulary, *ibid.*, no. 95.

⁸ F. Lindsay (Leipzig, 1912), p. 32; *ibid.* (Paris, 1930), p. 125. The words are almost certainly Festus's own: cf. Cicero, *Probus*, 257 (*operarii* . . . aut *bailuli*) and the same author's *Paradoxa*, 23.

of 'manual labourer', *bailulus* had acquired several new and more dignified senses in the post-Classical period. In the fourth to sixth centuries it was used particularly of 'a letter-carrier', which is presumably the origin of the medieval Venetian *baillo* 'envoy, esp. envoy of Constantinople'.¹ From the tenth century it was widely used in the sense of 'agent, official, (bailiff)', usually of a fairly subordinate kind.² In Merovingian Gaul, however, it had come to have the very different sense of 'tutor, preceptor', and especially the tutor or mentor of a young sovereign or child of a sovereign, in which sense it was still used in the ninth century.³ If the words *servitutis nostrae* are thought to be grammatically dependent on *bailulus*, neither 'messenger' nor 'tutor' is a strictly possible meaning in the context and we should have to translate 'bearer of our burden (in those parts)'.⁴ If, however, we take *servitutis nostrae* to mean simply 'in (at) our service' it is reasonable to suppose that the writer of the letter had both these senses in mind when he used the word *bailulus* of Waldo. As regards the other part of the phrase: *praecipuus* was normal eighth-century usage where distinction or superiority of some kind is being indicated.⁵ *Operator*, on the other hand, is rare: like the related *cooperator*, which is considerably more common, it was of patristic origin and used particularly (although not exclusively) of 'one who worked for God in the service of the Christian faith'.⁶ Taken as a whole and in conjunction with the

¹ *Thes. ling. lat.* ii (Leipzig, 1900/6) c. 1687; Meyer-Lübke *Romanisches Etym. Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1935), no. 888.

² The earliest example given by J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, fasc. 1 (Leiden, 1954), p. 78 is of 937; his other examples are of the eleventh century or later.

³ G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgesch.*, 2nd edn., iii/2 (Kiel, 1883), pp. 537 f.; Th. Schieffler in *Deutsches Archiv*, ii (1938), 199–200; Niermeyer, p. 78. An earlier example than Fredegarius IV, 86 is probably Gregory of Tours, *Vitas Patrum*, 6 *praef.*, reading *amor nutricum, non obsecundatio bailulorum* and not *-arum* as in the latest edition: *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Scr. rer. Merov.* i (ed. Krusch), p. 680. Not cited by Niermeyer, although known to Waitz, is the early ninth-century example from Italy, *Hist. pat. Mon.*, xiii (Turin, 1873), no. 138, C. Manaresi, *I Placiti del 'Regnum Italiae'*, i (Rome, 1955), no. 45: *bailulus Adelaide filie . . . Pippini regis*. Add further *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, vi, p. 132: *Atto tunc bailulus vester*, which is of particular interest in the present context if (as Schieffler argued, *loc. cit.*) Atto is the archbishop of Mainz acting as mentor of King Arnulf's son and successor Lewis. For the semantic change from 'workman, porter' (Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, v, 34: *infantulus . . . ubi bailulatinus* is obviously relevant. *Bailola* 'children's nurse' (> mod. it. *bafia* = 'wet-nurse') is recorded only in Jonas, *Vita Columbanii*, ii, 12, if we reject the supposed occurrence in Gregory of Tours.

⁴ Compare *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2: *servitutis militiam bajulamus*.

⁵ As in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Epist.*, iii, 629: *per praecipuum vestrum missionem*; *ibid.*, 639: *Leo egregius papa et praecipuus doctor*; *Epist.*, iv, 136 (from Alcuin): *praecipuus intercessor*; *Concilia*, ii, 160 (Charles's letter to Elipand, see next note): *praecipui christianae fidari doctores*.

⁶ Charles's letter to Elipand of Toledo, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Conc.*, ii, 162, the composition of which has recently been attributed to Alcuin (L. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne* (Cornell, 1959), pp. 147 ff.) has *enim aptabilium cum operatoribus apostolicarum fulcra audire faciat*: I have not noticed any other examples. For *operator* in patristic writings

evidence that the king was trying to secure the bishopric of Pavia for Walto, the phrase (*servitutis nostrae*) *haiulus atque praecipuus operator* must be taken to mean that Charles regarded him as his principal agent in Italy in both secular and religious matters, with some responsibility for the person of the young king as well as for the kingdom at large.¹

This interpretation is borne out by other evidence for the existence of *haiuli* and their activity in the subordinate kingdoms established by the king of the Franks in 781. According to the biographer of Louis the Pious known as 'the Astronomer', Charles sent his other son Louis to Aquitaine in that year *praeponeus illi haiulum Arnoldum aliosque ministros ordinabiliter decenterque congruus puerili*.² Arnold may have been attached to Louis's court merely as a tutor: but the fact that he alone of the *ministri* is named, suggests that his responsibilities were rather more extensive; he is not, however referred to elsewhere. A later passage in the same biography refers to the wise advice given to Louis at the end of the century by, it is implied, a certain Meginarius who is described as *missum sibi a patre, virum sapientem et strenuum, quarumque utilitatis et honestatis regiae*; and although the title of *haiulus* is not actually applied to him it seems reasonable to regard him as a successor of Arnold.³ Two later texts from Italy show a *haiulus* in a less favourable light. In an *inquisitio* held at Cremona in 841 it was asserted that certain properties and dues that were apparently being administered as part of the imperial fisc had in fact been granted by King Charles to Bishop Stephen of Cremona in Lombardy *et post Stephanum possessorem et Atonem eo usque dum Rothechild haiulus Pipini regis contra legem et malo ordine Atonem divestivat*, which seems to have happened round about the year 800.⁴ The misdeeds of Rotchild are also the subject of a complaint made in a court of justice many years before this, in which he is not given any title: in March 812 the abbot of

see A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des auteurs chrétiens* (Strasbourg, 1904), p. 579 (*cooperator*): but many additions can be made. *Cooperator* is common in liturgical texts; the Ellipand letter, p. 159, has *cooperatores in praeudicatione veritatis*; and in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Epist.*, iv, 150, Alcuin actually uses the words *deputus cooperator existo*.

¹ This is a somewhat broader interpretation than Munding's 'königlichen Sendboten, . . . eine Stütze ersten Ranges, wohl in den kirchenpolitischen Angelegenheiten der Lombarden'; *Königsbriefe*, p. 22; but cf. the same author's biography of Waldo (below, n. 37), esp. pp. 74 f. ² *Vita Uladunici*, c. 4, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *SS.*, ii, 609.

³ *Epist.*, c. 1, *SS.*, ii, 613. If the wording of a diploma of 795 can be taken literally Louis was by this time acting on his own initiative but subject to the approval of his father in such matters as grants of land: *Mon. Germ. Hist., Dipl. Karol.*, i, no. 179.

⁴ *Hist. pat. mon.* xiii, no. 145; Manaresi, *Placiti*, i, 576 ff. (*Inquisitiones*, no. 7). Neither of the bishops of Cremona referred to in 841 can be closely dated. The twelfth-century chronicler Sicard associates Stephen with Charles's reign, Atto with Louis's; *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *SS.* xxx, 154 f.; but chronological indications of this kind do not mean very much. The diploma for Stephen is lost; Leuel, *Verlorene Urkunden*, no. 107 (in Böhmner Mühlbacher, p. 845) infers from the words *quando dominus Karolus rex istam patriam Langobardiam adquisivit* that it was granted in 774, but *quando* here is surely for

S. Bartolomeo, Pistoia (Tuscany) deposed that *tempore domni Pippini regis dum adhuc Rotchildo viveret per suasionem malorum hominum ab eodem Rotchildo de ipso [sic] monasterio eiectus fuerit et in exilio missus sine ulla culpa et absque iudicio et ipso monasterio tunc datum fuisset in beneficio* to a certain Nebelung (a Bavarian), about which due complaint had been made in a court held by four royal *missi* in the year 798 or very shortly afterwards.¹ In both instances Rotchild had acted illegally or arbitrarily: but the fact that in one he had apparently reclaimed for the fisc rights previously granted away and in the other he had bestowed a monastery on a layman as a fief tells us something about his position in Pippin's kingdom.

The *haiulus* Rotchild does not figure in any other text; and the name, which suggests that he was of Lombard (north Italian) origin is known otherwise only as that of an abbot of Nonantola in the period 839-42.² Arnold's name similarly does not recur among the families of counts and higher ecclesiastics of the Frankish kingdoms in the eighth and ninth centuries. Both can probably be regarded as laymen (which the young king Louis's other adviser Meginarius certainly was).³ And that is all that can be said about them. The other Italian *haiulus* in Pippin's time, Walto, makes an interesting contrast with these two. Not merely was he an ecclesiastic, but his life and career are more fully documented than almost any other royal servant in the time of Charles the Great. He is indeed one of the few men of the period (other than Charles himself and Alcuin) who has been the subject of a full-length biography—by Emmanuel Munding, who discovered the letter of Charles in the Munich

postquam and we can only say that it is earlier than 800, cf. the *intitulatio* quoted in Manaresi, i, no. 119 of 910, *rex Francorum et Langobardorum*. Evidence that Stephen was still alive in 801 (or 800) would be forthcoming if an inscription, now lost, given in P. A. Zaccaria, *Episcoporum Cremonensium series . . .* (Cremona, 1749), p. 58 could be regarded as genuine; but it has a number of anomalous features. However, the number of witnesses who could recall Atto's possession of the disputed rights makes it impossible to date Rotchild's seizure much before 800.

¹ L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae*, v (Milan, 1741), p. 953; Manaresi, i, no. 25. According to the abbot *reclamatio exinde facta fuisset ad Paulinum patriarcham, Arnone archiepiscopum, Fardullo abbati et Fecherigis comes palatii vel reliqui socii eorum qui tunc hic in Italia missi fuerunt*. Atto of Salzburg received the archiepiscopal dignity from the pope on 20 April 798, the request having been transmitted by abbot Fardulf of St. Denis: *Epist.*, v, 59 f.; and S. Abel and B. v. Simson, *Jahrb. Karls der Gr. ii* (Leipzig, 1883), 137 accordingly connect these proceedings with that year. The presence of Atto in Italy in the years 799-801 is, however, established by *Lib. Pont.*, ii, 6, *Epist.*, iv, nos. 185, 218, &c. Paulinus of Aquileia died in 802. (Fecherigus is usually regarded as being a non-Italian count of the palace; he is not recorded elsewhere.) The account of the services levied on the monastery and the abbot's reasons for refusing them deserve more attention than they have hitherto received.

² *Mon. Germ.*, *SS. rer. Lang.* (Hannover, 1878), pp. 579, 571; W. Brückner, *Die Sprache der Langobarden* (Strasbourg, 1895), p. 209.

³ On the reasonable assumption that he was the count Meginheri (Meginhari) who subscribed Charles's testament (Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 3) and whose son Reginhar is recorded in 817 (*Ann. reg. Franc.*, ed. Kurze, p. 148; *Vita Ulad.*, c. 29, *SS.*, ii, 623, where Reginar is described as *olim comes palatii imperatoris*).

manuscript.¹ Unfortunately it cannot be relied upon on points of detail; and the author was seriously wrong in his account of Walto's connection with Pavia.

Walto or Waldo (the latter appears to be the more usual form) apparently received his early education in some unidentified centre of Anglo-Saxon culture.² He first occurs by name in August 770; at that time he was a deacon in the monastery of St. Gall and from then until January 782 he regularly appears as a writer of charters for the monastery; he also made his name as a book copyist.³ Although he never seems to have made a monastic profession,⁴ shortly before November 782, by election of the monks but *rege permittente*, Waldo became abbot of St. Gall.⁵ Less than two years later, however, he was forced out of the abbacy by the bishop of Constance and with royal permission took refuge in the abbey of Reichenau where, in 786, he was 'chosen and ordained abbot'.⁶ In 806 the Emperor translated him to the abbacy of the monastery that was most closely bound up with the fortunes of the Carolingians, Saint-Denis, where he (temporarily) reformed the life of the community;⁷ here, a trusted counsellor of the monarch and his court circle, he died in the year 813. A medieval catalogue of the bishops of Pavia is preserved in later copies and seems to be substantially reliable at least as regards the names and order of the bishops;⁸ Waldo does not figure in it. His exercising of authority in the bishopric of Pavia is none the less established by two texts both of Reichenau origin but independent of one another. A passage in the so-called *Translatio Sanguinis Domini*, written in that monastery not earlier than the second quarter of the tenth century,⁹ reads:

¹ *Abt-Bischof Waldo, Begründer des goldenen Zeitalters der Reichenau — Texte u. Arbeiten*, 1st ser., x-xi (Beuron-Leipzig, 1924). The account in K. Beyerle, *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau* (Munich, 1925), i, 63 ff. is based on Munding but adds errors of its own. The references to Waldo in J. M. Clark, *The Abbey of St. Gall* (Cambridge, 1926), are confused and mostly inaccurate.

² Clark, pp. 58 f., arguing from Waldo's latinity; A. Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medi Aevi Helvetica*, ii (Geneva, 1936), 24, on the evidence of his book script. It is even possible (but not very likely) that Waldo's name is Anglo-Saxon, although transmitted only in its Alemannic form: Clark, p. 61.

³ Deacon and writer of charters: A. Bruckner, *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, i (Olten-Lausanne, 1934), nos. 71, 74, 78, 85-86, 89, 94-97. Writers of books: Ratpert, *Cassus S. Galli*, c. 4, ed. Mayer v. Knonau (St. Gall, 1872), p. 16; and the list of manuscripts and parts of manuscripts in his hand in Bruckner, *Scriptoria*, ii, 23, n. 51.

⁴ His name is missing from the *Libri Professionum* of both St. Gall and Reichenau: Beyerle, p. 209, nn. 12, 13. ⁵ Ratpert, c. 3, ed. cit. p. 14. ⁶ Ratpert, c. 4, ed. cit. p. 16.

⁷ *Mon. Germ.*, SS., iv, 447*; Munding, *Abt-Bischof Waldo*, ch. 6.

⁸ For the details see P. Savio, *Gli antichi Vescovi d'Italia: Lombardia*, II, ii (Bergamo, 1932), p. 318 ff.; E. Hoff, *Pavia u. seine Bischöfe im Mittelalter* (Pavia, 1943), p. 29 ff. The view of both Savio and Hoff that a number of eighth-century bishops are named in the catalogue in the wrong order does not seem to be justified: see Bullough, 'I vescovi di Pavia'.

⁹ *Bib. hag. lat.* (Brussels, 1901-2), no. 4152; historical portions ed. Waitz in *Mon. Germ.*, SS., iv, 445 ff. For the date see Beyerle, i, 361.

(c. 3) . . . Waldo Augiensis monasterii abba fuerat. Cui etiam pontificatum Papiæ urbis necnon et praesulatum Basiliensis civitatis, prioribus defunctis pontificibus, rex interim ad procurrendum commisit . . .

This, like other statements in the *Translatio* about events of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, has been much discussed and frequently rejected—among others by Padre Savio in his account of the medieval bishops of Pavia.¹ Both Savio and Erwin Hoff, in his more recent account of the early bishops of Pavia (where, however, he accepted the evidence of the *Translatio*),² overlooked both the letter to Pope Hadrian in which Waldo was put forward for consecration as bishop of that see and an equally unambiguous text which had been in print for very much longer. The Reichenau Chronicle of Gallus Ohem, written in c. 1500, preserves in translation a contemporary or near-contemporary account of the acquisitions and losses of the abbey library in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Part of this reads:

Abt Waldo. . . Darnach gar in kurzem zit ward im von ainem bistumb, Ticisensis [sic] kirchen in welschen landen, bevothen, allda ettliche bücher erobren, die mit namen nit not zû beschriben. Er bracht die bücher und besonder ainen antiphonar von der künigin, Pipini gemachet, im gegeben, her in der Ow. Nach verlaussung des benempten bistumbs liess im Waldo zû sinem bruch etwa menses büch schriben.³

It is clear that Waldo was for a time in charge of the bishopric of Pavia when he was already abbot of Reichenau (that is to say after 786) but that he was never consecrated bishop—that Hadrian never acceded to the king's request: the fact that Waldo was already the head of a monastery may have been the excuse for this, although the appointment of an abbot of Echternach as bishop (of Sens) in 785 or 786 clearly raised no objections from the pope since he subsequently recognized the man in question, Beornred, as metropolitan;⁴ and other reasons should probably be sought. (Whether Waldo was ever connected with the bishopric of Bâle also, as the *Translatio* asserts, must be left an open question.)⁵

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 382 f. For the trustworthiness of other parts of the *Translatio* see Beyerle, pp. 367 ff.; E. Meyer in *Festgabe Hans Nabholz* (Aarau, 1944), pp. 22 f. (on c. 14: foundation of Schännis); E. Meyer-Marthaler, *Rätien im frühen Mittelalter* (Zürich, 1948), pp. 76 ff.; O. P. Clavedetscher in *Zeitschr. der Sav.-Stift. f. Rechtsgesch.*, lxi (1953), Kap. Abt., pp. 59 ff. and D. A. Bullough in *Papers of the Brit. Sch. at Rome*, xxiii (1955), pp. 165 f. (on cc. 3, 15: the family of Hunfrid in Istria and Chur).

² *Op. cit.* pp. 15 f.

³ K. Brandl, *Die Chronik des Gallus Ohem* (Heidelberg, 1893), pp. 41 f.; this portion most conveniently in P. Lehmann, *Mittelalt. Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands u. der Schweiz*, i (Munich, 1918), p. 226.

⁴ D. A. Bullough, 'The dating of *Codex Carolinus* 95, 96, 97, Wilchar and the beginnings of the archbishopric of Sens', *Deutsches Archiv*, xviii (1962).

⁵ Waldo's name does not occur in the episcopal catalogue of Bâle: see L. Duchesne, *Fastes Episcopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, iii (Paris, 1915), p. 223. Duchesne, p. 225, is

Waldo's nomination to the bishopric of Pavia and the letter to Hadrian fall sometime in the period 785 or 787-95. Bishop Peter (II) of Pavia was apparently consecrated in 781, and was a royal emissary to the papal court c. 785 (alternatively but less probably c. 787);¹ Hadrian died in 795. The reference to Pippin's wife in the passage quoted from Gallus Öhem makes it likely that Waldo was still connected with Pavia some time after 790.² He must have left Italy, however, by about the middle of the decade. The activity of the only other Italian *bainlus* known to us, Rotchild, seems to belong to the years immediately before and after 800.³

Charles's letter implies that when it was written Waldo had already been 'going and coming' in Italy for quite a time. It is tempting to date the beginning of his association with the *regnum Langobardorum* and its court to the otherwise blank period of about two years between his abbacy at St. Gall and his election as abbot of Reichenau. What we know of his early life certainly forbids our pushing it back much further: for up to the beginning of 782 he was fully engaged at St. Gall; and it is unlikely that he would have attracted the king's attention before his election as its abbot before the end of that year: I do not accept the view that he came from an Austrasian (Rhine-Frankish) family that already had connections with the Carolingian court.⁴

accordingly sceptical of Waldo's connection with that see; but as he notes, there is ample room for his supposed period of authority between Baldebert and Heito, the second of whom was himself a monk of Reichenau before he became bishop.

¹ Bullough, 'I vescovi di Pavia'; *id.*, 'The dating of *Codex Carolinus* 95, 96, 97'.

² Only 13 in 790, Pippin was married and a parent before the end of 796, *Epist.* iv, 174 (no. 119): the phrase *Laetare cum muliere adolescentiae tuae* (which is Proverbs v. 18) is clearly a reference to a lawful wife from whom Pippin is being told not to stray and not a concubine, as Dümmler unaccountably supposed, thus misleading E. S. Duckett, *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne* (New York, 1951), p. 108 and n. 93. Nothing else is known about this wife.

³ Above, p. 6 n. 4, p. 7 n. 1.

⁴ First put forward by Munding, *Abt-Bischof Waldo*, ch. i, esp. pp. 6 ff. this view has since been adopted and built on by Beyerle, *op. cit.* p. 63, Tellenbach, *Studien u. Vorarbeiten*, p. 48 and Fleckenstein, *op. cit.* below p. 11 n. 2, pp. 89, 170 f. The grounds for this view are two, neither of which convinces me. The first is the retort attributed to Waldo in his struggle with Bishop Egin of Constance that he 'would acknowledge no superior of humbler birth than himself': Ratpert, c. 5; but this was written nearly a century later and contains a considerable element of fantasy. The second is that in the ninth century two of Waldo's relatives were successive archbishops of Frier (Heiti, c. 814-47; Theutgaud, 847-868/9), a third, Grimald, was arch-chancellor and then arch-chaplain of Lewis the German, and a fourth was abbess of Pfäfers. The relationship of these four to one another is established by the epitaph of the abbess, *Mon. Germ., Poet.*, ii, 661. Walahfrid Strabo, addressing Grimald in 826 or shortly afterwards, alludes to the Reichenau monk Wetti as *propinquus vester*: *Poet.*, ii, 302, cf. *ibid.* 334, v. 23; and in another place Walahfrid says of Wetti *Waldoni . . . consanguinitate proximius*: *ibid.* 267. This does not seem to establish a very close relationship between Grimald, &c. and Waldo and the latter is a generation senior to any of his known relatives in the royal service; the one person who is known to have been a 'blood-relative' of Waldo (namely, Wetti) was, like him, resident in a monastery in Alemannia; and the name Waldo does not recur among the comparatively well-documented families of the Frankish Rhineland.

Waldo's presence in Italy in 787 or 788 would be firmly established if Pater Munding¹ and, after him, Dr. J. Fleckenstein in his recent comprehensive book on the royal and imperial Chapels of the Carolingian period² were right in identifying him with the unnamed *capellanus* who, in the Pavia capitulary of 787/8, was commissioned with a monk to make a visitation of the monasteries of the *regnum*.³ This identification is, however, at best 'not proven' and in my view extremely improbable; and arguments drawn from it should be abandoned.⁴ In none of the many texts that enable us to follow the various phases of Waldo's career is he referred to as a *capellanus*. It is true, as Dr. Fleckenstein has insisted, that it is very much a matter of chance whether writers do or do not accord the title to men whose connection with the Chapel seems well-established: but in Waldo's case there is no text that even remotely suggests his connection with the Chapel at any of the Frankish courts. Moreover, if I am right in my interpretation of Waldo's position in the Italian *regnum* he is very unlikely to have been referred to in this way in a capitulary which he himself may have helped to draw up and promulgate.⁵ If the unnamed *capellanus* of 787/8 has to be sought among royal servants of the time who are known by name (and there is no very good reason why he should be) a better candidate for the identification is Angilbert, subsequently abbot of St. Riquier, who was (principal) chaplain at Pippin's court before the middle of the decade.⁶

¹ *Abt-Bischof Waldo*, p. 76.

² J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, 1: Die karol. Hofkapelle* (Stuttgart, 1959), pp. 60 f.

³ *Capitularia*, i, 94, c. 6.

⁴ As Fleckenstein, pp. 61, 89, 107. The statement made on p. 107, n. 410 that it is 'in unseren Zusammenhang recht aufschlussreich, dass Waldo sein Bischofsamt aufgab, als er Abt von Saint-Denis wurde' is in any case wholly false.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 628.

⁶ A letter from Alcuin to Angilbert possibly as early as 784/5, *Epist.*, iv, 37 (with the date *ante 792*; but see W. Luiders in *Archiv f. Urkundenforsch.*, ii (1909), 44, n. 3) addresses him as *primicerius* and implies that he was then—or had been when Alcuin last met him—at Pippin's court in Italy. The word *primicerius* is commonly used for the chief singer of a church choir and is found elsewhere in the Carolingian period for the head of the royal chapel: see Luiders, pp. 31, 34 and Fleckenstein, pp. 49 f. There is no room for Angilbert among the principal chaplains of Charles's own chapel and it seems to follow that he exercised this function at the Italian court. (On the basis of this letter a number of scholars—as, for example, E. Bishop, *Liturgia Historica* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 316 f.—have claimed Angilbert as tutor of Pippin and Charles's principal representative in Italy, the very position which I attribute to Waldo). When he visited Rome as Charles's envoy to the pope in 799, the first of several such visits in the 790s in circumstances that seem incompatible with permanent association with Pippin's court (for the details see Hampe, *Neues Archiv*, xxi (1895/6), 93 ff.) he was referred to as *abbas et minister capellar*, *Epist.* v, 7. (For the date 790 rather than 791, as Hampe, see W. v. Stein, *Quellen u. Forsch.* xxi (1930), pp. 73 f. and esp. p. 73, n. 5, where it is argued that *Epist.* iv, 35, which alludes to Angilbert's recent promotion to the abbacy of St. Riquier is of 'end 789' and not 'end 790'). The only other chaplain of Pippin known by name is Hildiprecht, referred to in Th. Bitterauf, *Die Traditionen der Hochstifts Freising*, i (Munich, 1905), p. 37, cited Fleckenstein, p. 24.

The evidence for Waldo's and Rotchild's activity in Italy is pitifully fragmentary and conspicuously lacking in dates. It is none the less possible to find in it several points of general interest for the history of the Carolingian period. According to a later source the young king Louis was accompanied by a *baiulus* when he was sent to his subordinate kingdom of Aquitaine in 781. In the *regnum Langobardorum* similarly king Pippin had associated with him for most or all of his minority and for some time after he had reached maturity men who were known, officially or unofficially, as *baiuli*. The earlier of the two whose names we know, Waldo, who arrived in Italy not earlier than c. 783 and possibly a year or two later, was a cleric of monastic background, probably from Alemannia; Rotchild who was active just before the end of the century was apparently a layman and probably a Lombard. Their functions are unlikely ever to have been clearly laid down but were largely in the field of what is conveniently called 'administration': someone else must be supposed to have commanded the military expeditions that were nominally led by the boy Pippin.¹ The fact that Charles chose as *baiuli* men of undistinguished background with little or no previous experience of affairs of state may mean that he expected them to be mere transmitters of the royal will and command, of what contemporary sources call the *verbum regis*.² However, the *baiuli* came to play a very different part in the government of the *regnum Langobardorum*; and Waldo in particular was evidently a man in whom the Frankish king placed great trust and from whom he received loyal service both during his stay in Italy and later. The early Carolingians made a deliberate attempt to widen the circle of those to whom positions of authority could be given in their kingdom: this was one of the purposes that lay behind the recruiting of *vasalli*,³ among whom Rotchild and the Aquitanian Arnold are perhaps to be numbered; but a similar policy was pursued among clerics, as Waldo's career reminds us. Such men naturally brought relatives into the royal service and, in the case of laymen, were often the progenitors of several generations of royal servants—members of what Professor Tellenbach (misleadingly, in my view) calls the *Reichs- or grossfränkische Aristokratie*.⁴ It is not surprising that relatives of Waldo were in the imperial service in the ninth century.⁵ The evidence for the *baiuli* also illustrates one of the

¹ As in 787 against Bavaria, *Annales regni Francorum* (ed. Kurze), p. 78.

² A. Dumas, 'La parole et l'écriture dans les Capitulaires carolingiens', *Mélanges Halphen* (Paris, 1911), pp. 209 ff.

³ A point that tends to get forgotten when too much stress is laid on the military functions of the *vasalli*. But it does much to explain the marked rise in the status of vassalage as the century proceeded. For an Italian *vasallus* who was almost a professional administrator in the first quarter of the ninth century see the article cited above, p. 1 n. 2.

⁴ G. Tellenbach, *Königtum u. Stämme in die Vorzeit des deutschen Reiches* (Weimar, 1939), esp. ch. 3 and *passim*; *ibid.*, *Studien u. Vorarbeiten*. ⁵ Above, p. 634 n. 4.

inevitable weaknesses in Charles's rule of his newly-annexed and more distant territories. Waldo came to Italy as a stranger to its problems and the relatively short time that he and others served there cannot have helped matters. Moreover, from time to time *missi* were sent to Italy direct from Charles's court.¹ What made this lack of continuity and of knowledge of local conditions less serious than might otherwise have been the case was the existence of a permanent 'capital' at Pavia and the organization associated with its royal palace, which the Frankish kings inherited from their Lombard predecessors. By nominating Waldo for the bishopric of Pavia, Charles evidently hoped to link him more closely with this unique source of strength for whoever exercised sovereign or vice-regal authority in Italy. Waldo's (abortive) nomination is interesting for another reason. Professor Bertolini, in a paper which he read at a recent Italian Church History Conference,² compared the almost complete absence of mention of bishops in the Lombard laws with the frequent references to their involvement in secular affairs in the early Carolingian capitularies. I myself believe that the evidence of documents somewhat softens the 'sharp contrast' between the two periods which the laws and capitularies undoubtedly suggest. But there is certainly no known precedent in the *regnum Langobardorum* for the combination of an extensive authority in secular matters with a bishopric, or for that matter with an abbacy, although both were to be common enough later. Many of the best-known features and usages of ninth-century Carolingian government and administration were only established gradually and by a process of trial and error: the evidence for Waldo and Rotchild throws light on one aspect of this process in the ill-documented last decades of the eighth century.

University of Edinburgh

D. A. BULLOUGH

¹ In 787, Manaresi, i, 560 (*inquisit.* no. 1) and *Dipl. Karol.*, i, no. 159; in 798, Manaresi, i, no. 10; in 798 or shortly afterwards, *ibid.*, p. 7 n. 1.

² O. Bertolini, 'I vescovi del "Regnum Langobardorum" al tempo dei Carolingi', to be published in *Italia Sacra*, vol. iii.