

## The Identity of the Unnamed Fiscs in the « Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales »

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# THE IDENTITY OF THE UNNAMED FISCS IN THE « BREVIUM EXEMPLA AD DESCRIBENDAS RES ECCLESIASTICAS ET FISCALES »

The so-called <sup>(1)</sup> *Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales* form one of the small group of surviving documents on which is based our knowledge of the organization of the royal domain in Carolingian times <sup>(2)</sup>. They consist of three specimen descriptions of property more or less fiscal in character, and were presumably drawn up for the guidance of the royal agents engaged in assessing the produce of the domain <sup>(3)</sup>. The first description is of the possessions of the see of Augsburg on an island on Staffelsee in Bavaria, the second is part of a register of the possessions of the abbey of Weissenburg in Alsace, and the third is the survey of a group of royal fisco belonging directly to the Crown. It is with

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(1) They bear no title in the manuscript, their opening portion being missing, but the title given them by Boretius is the one by which they are usually known.

(2) The *Brevium exempla* are printed by A. BORETIUS, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, t. I (Hannover, 1883), pp. 250-256 ; another convenient but less trustworthy edition is that of B. GUÉRARD in his *Polyptique de l'abbé Irminon*, t. II (Paris, 1844), pp. 296-304. They are written in a manuscript continuously with, but preceding, the *Capitulare de villis*, and are bound up with a collection of the letters of Pope Leo III to Charlemagne. These may or may not have formed part of the original manuscript, which was probably a collection of the capitularies of Charles the Great and his son (cf. O. VON HEINEMANN, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel* ; 1<sup>o</sup> Abteilung : *Die Helmstedter Handschriften*, t. I (Wolfenbüttel, 1884), no. 287 (254), pp. 214-215).

(3) See below, p. 438, n. 2.

this third description that we are concerned here. There is nothing to indicate the date of the document <sup>(1)</sup>; the general opinion is that it was composed in about the year 812 <sup>(2)</sup>, though Dopsch <sup>(3)</sup> argues with some cogency that it is rather later, and belongs to the reign of Louis the Pious <sup>(4)</sup>.

The scribe who copied the description of the group of fisco left in the names of two of them, *Asnapium* and *Treola*, and that of a *villa*, *Grisione*, dependent on *Asnapium*. For one of the fisco the summary of the harvest is incomplete, and the figures for the total produce of the group of fisco are omitted. Since the form of the document is somewhat obscured by its division in the *Capitularia* into chapters, it may be as well to indicate it here.

De ministerio illius maioris vel ceterorum <sup>(5)</sup>.

[I] Invenimus in Asnapio fisco dominico salam regalem ex lapide factam optime... (c. 25).

De eo quod supra. Item de mansionilibus quae ad supra scriptum mansum aspiciunt :

[Ia] In Grisione villa invenimus mansioniles dominicatas... (c. 26).

[Ib] In alia villa repperimus mansioniles dominicatas.... (c. 27).

[Ic] In villa illa mansioniles dominicatas... (c. 28).

[II] Repperimus in illo fisco dominico domum regalem,

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(1) Boretius dates it in the *Capitularia* (p. 250) as c. 810.

(2) Because of a clause in the *Capitularia de iusticiis faciendis* of 811/813 regarding the royal missi: « Ut non solum beneficia episcoporum, abbatum, abbatissarum atque comitum, sive vassallorum nostrorum, sed etiam nostri fisco describantur » (c. 7; BORETIUS, *Capitularia*, t. I, p. 177). Cf. F. LOT, *Conjectures démographiques sur la France au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in LE MOYEN AGE, 2nd series, t. XXIII, 1921, p. 3, n. 1.

(3) A. DOPSCH, *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, t. I (Weimar, 1912), pp. 77 sq.

(4) The account of the harvest in the section dealing with the royal fisco indicates that the survey was made in a year when the crops had partially failed (see below, p. 454), but famines were too frequent at this period (cf. F. CURSCHMANN, *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter*, in LEIPZIGER STUDIEN AUS DEM GEBIET DER GESCHICHTE, t. VI, 1900, pp. 92-95) for this fact to be of any use in trying to determine the date.

(5) *Capitularia*, t. I, pp. 254-256.

exterius a lapide et interius ex ligno bene constructam... (c. 30).

[III] Invenimus in illo fisco dominico casam regalem... (c. 32).

[IV] Repperimus in illo fisco dominico domum regalem ex ligno ordinabiliter constructam... (c. 34).

[V] Invenimus in Treola fisco dominico casam dominicam ex lapide optime factam... (c. 36).

Haec est summa de supradictis villis. Sunt in summa : spelta vetus de praeterito anno corbes tantos, unde possunt fieri de farina pensas tantas ; frumentum vetus, et sic de ceteris omnibus, praeteritis et praesentibus vel reliquis numerabis (c. 39).

It shows very clearly the way in which the royal domain was organized under Charles the Great. A number of separate *fisci dominici* — in this case five, one of them with three *villae* dependent on it — were placed under the charge of a single official (*maior*) <sup>(1)</sup>, and their produce was added together and treated for fiscal purposes as if it came from a single domain.

Of the three *villae* named in the *Brevium exempla*, two have been identified. *Asnapium* is Annappes <sup>(2)</sup>, a few kilometres east of Lille, and *Grisione* is the neighbouring village of Gruson <sup>(3)</sup>. So far as one can judge from the account of their stock and produce as given in the *Brevium exempla*, Fiscs II, III, and IV were somewhere in the same region ; this

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(1) In the *Capitulare de villis* the officials who managed a group of fisci have the title of *iudex*, that of *maior* being apparently reserved for the heads of the individual fisci.

(2) Dep. Nord., arr. Lille, cant. Lannoy. The identification of Annappes and Gruson was first made by T. LEURIDAN in his article *Une revedication : Annappes et Gruson sous Charlemagne* (in MÉM. DE LA SOC. DES SCIENCES, DE L'AGRICULTURE ET DES ARTS DE LILLE, 4th series, t. XXI, 1895, pp. 133-150) ; that of Annappes was later made independently by H. BRUNNER, and that of Gruson by BAIST (cf. G. BAIST, *Zur Interpretation der Brevium exempla und des Capitulare de villis*, in the VIERTELJAHR-SCHRIFT FÜR SOZIAL- UND WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE, t. XII, 1914, p. 32).

(3) Dep. Nord, arr. Lille, cant. Lannoy. Gruson is 6 kilometres south-east of Annappes.

is only what one might expect for reasons of natural convenience in organizing the domain. But Fisc V (*Treola*) is quite different from the others. It is primarily a vineyard, and, as Baist <sup>(1)</sup> has pointed out, an extremely prosperous one, the vines on the lord's demesne alone producing 730 *modii* of wine in the year, and the serfs paying a *census* of 500 *modii* more; apart from its kitchen-gardens and orchards, its only other object of cultivation was hemp, of which it produced two pounds in the year. Now although we know that the vine was formerly grown in Flanders and parts of northern France where it no longer is today <sup>(2)</sup>, it is scarcely possible that an entire *villa* in the neighbourhood of Lille should have been devoted to its cultivation, and we must look for *Treola* in some other part of the Carolingian dominions <sup>(3)</sup>. It is in fact an example of what M. Van Werveke has aptly termed a « domaine excentrique ». Just as the monasteries of northern

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(1) BAIST, *art. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

(2) See J. HALKIN, *Étude historique sur la culture de la vigne en Belgique* (extract from the BULL. DE LA SOC. D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE DU DIOCÈSE DE LIÈGE, t. IX, 1895), and the articles of M. VAN WERVEKE referred to below, p. 441, n. 1. One of the *villae* dependent on Annappes (IIb; Noyelles?) had a small vineyard of one arpent (c. 40 ares).

(3) F. LOT, *La grandeur des fisci à l'époque carolingienne*, in the REVUE BELGE DE PHILOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE, t. III, 1924, p. 54, n. 1, identified *Treola* with Trieu, one of the three hamlets — Trieu de l'Ewille, Trieu du Pape, and Trieu du Wazon — dependant on Templeuve (Belgium: prov. Hainault, arr. Tournai, chef-lieu cant.), and the same identification was made by P. THOMAS, *Textes historiques sur Lille et le Nord de la France avant 1789*, t. I (Lille, 1931; BIBL. DE LA SOC. D'HISTOIRE DU DROIT DES PAYS FLAMANDS, PICARDS ET WALLONS, fasc. V), p. 19. M. THOMAS later (*op. cit.*, t. II, 1936, p. 543, additional note to p. 19) discarded this identification in favour of Tressin (départ. Nord, arr. Lille, cant. Cysoing), on the ground that the root syllable of *Treola* and Tressin was the same, and that Tressin, like Annappes, was later a domain belonging to the counts of Flanders. This last consideration is indecisive, since although Annappes was later a possession of the counts of Flanders, Gruson was not; moreover Trieu — there are nearly a dozen hamlets of this name in the Département du Nord, and many more in Belgium — is a more probable derivative of *Treola* than is Tressin. But the fact that it was a vineyard makes it unlikely that *Treola* was in this region.

France and what is now Belgium possessed outlying estates in the wine-producing areas of France and Germany to keep them supplied with wine <sup>(1)</sup>, so it was natural that a group of royal fiscs in the neighbourhood of Lille should have an estate in some other region joined to them which could supply them with one of the chief necessities of life that they lacked. *Treola*, however, has not yet been successfully identified, though there is reason to believe that it must be sought somewhere along the Upper Rhine in Alsace or Baden rather than on the Moselle or in the wine-producing areas of France <sup>(2)</sup>.

We have then, described in the *Brevium exempla*, a group of four royal fiscs in the neighbourhood of Lille ; one of them was Annappes, and one of the *villae* dependent on Annappes was Gruson. The task of identifying the other fiscs and *villa* might well appear insuperable but for a fortunate accident. Gisela, the only daughter of the Emperor Louis the Pious by his second wife Judith, married Eberhard, marquis of Friuli and son of an Unroch who was count of Thérrouanne in northern France <sup>(3)</sup>, in about the year 836. Eberhard's will, together with three charters of Gisela to the monastery of Cysoing <sup>(4)</sup> have survived, and from these it appears that

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(1) See H. VAN WERVEKE, *Comment les établissements religieux belges se procuraient-ils du vin au haut Moyen Âge ?*, in the *REVUE BELGE DE PHIL. ET D'HISTOIRE*, t. II, 1923, pp. 643-662 ; *Les propriétés excentriques des églises au haut Moyen Âge*, in the same, t. IV, 1925, pp. 136-141 ; and *Le commerce des vins français au moyen âge*, in the same, t. XII, 1933, pp. 1098-1099.

(2) See below, p. 459.

(3) On the family of Eberhard, see E. FAVRE, *La famille d'Évrard, marquis de Frioul, dans le royaume franc de l'ouest*, in *Études d'histoire du moyen âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris, 1896), pp. 155-162 ; the more complete and virtually definitive study by P. HIRSCH, *Die Erhebung Berengars I von Friaul zum König in Italien* (Inaugural-Dissertation ; Strassburg. 1910), pp. 32-88 ; and my article, *La maison d'Évrard de Frioul et les origines du comté de Flandre*, in the *REVUE DU NORD*, t. XXIV, 1938, pp. 241-266.

(4) L. D'ACHERY, *Spicilegium*, t. II (Paris, 1733), pp. 876-879 ; better edition by I. DE COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cysoing* (Lille, 1886), t. I, nos. I-V, pp. 1-11. The genuineness of all the early charters of

Eberhard possessed, together with other property, four former fisci in northern France; one of these was Annappes, and the others were Vitry-en-Artois, Cysoing, and Somain-en-Ostrevant. There can be no doubt that this group of fisci came to Eberhard as the marriage-portion of his wife Gisela, and there is a strong probability that Vitry, Cysoing, and Somain are identical with Fisci II, III, and IV of the *Brevium exempla*.

Of the four fisci owned by Eberhard, Somain-en-Ostrevant<sup>(1)</sup> is the only one for which we have a detailed description dating from the ninth century. The fisc was assigned by Eberhard to the share of his third son Adelard<sup>(2)</sup>, but Charles the Bald confiscated it during Eberhard's lifetime, and Gisela did not recover it from her brother till after her husband's death<sup>(3)</sup>. By a diploma of 14 April 868 or 869<sup>(4)</sup> she transferred it to

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Cysoing has been attacked by O. OPPERMANN, *Die älteren Urkunden des Klosters Blandinium und die Anfänge der Stadt Gent* (Utrecht 1928), pp. 440-450, but without justification; cf. W. LEVISON in the *Neues Archiv*, t. XLVIII, 1930, pp. 287-288.

(1) Dép. Nord., arr. Douai, cant. Marchiennes.

(2) COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, n° I, p. I: « Secundus quoque Berengharius volumus ut habeat curtem in Anaspis cum his omnibus, que ibi pertinere videntur, preter Grecinam.... Tertius Adalardus volumus ut habeat curtem nostram in Cisinio,... et Grecinam cum omnibus que ad ipsam ecclesiam in supradicto loco Cisionio pertinere disposui,... et Summinium curtem nostram. Quartus Rodolphus volumus ut habeat Vitrei vicum... cum omnibus que supradictis locis pertinent, preter ecclesiam Vitrei, quam ad ecclesiam nostram, cum omnibus qui pertinent in Cisionio, pertinere censui ». I have omitted the names of places which did not form part of the fisc.

(3) The restoration of Somain to Gisela seems to have been to some extent incomplete, since in 877 Charles the Bald was able to grant four hundred eels from Rieulay to the abbey of Marchiennes (BOUQUET, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, t. VIII, p. 667), and Rieulay was probably a part of the *villa* of Somain.

(4) The date is given as « 17 kal. Maii, indictione 1, in anno 29 regnante domine nostro Karolo rege gloriosissimo » but the indiction and the regnal year do not agree; the first indiction corresponds to 868, but the twenty-ninth year of Charles' reign ran from 21 June 868 to 20 June 869. Since we only know the diploma from a copy in the fifteenth-century cartulary,

the abbey of Cysoing, reserving only to Adelard the usufruct of it for his life. It is this diploma that gives us a description of the fisc. The lord's demesne (*mansus dominicatus*) consisted of 179 bonniers of arable land, 32 of meadow, and 561 of woods; there were in addition 93 bonniers *huic servientia*, the land of the serfs outside the demesne, 4 bonniers of land whose purpose is unspecified, and a chapel (the future priory of Beaurepaire) and 9 *mans*i which Gisela had given directly to Cysoing <sup>(1)</sup>. If we assume that a *mansus* was equal to 12 bonniers, which seems to have been its normal figure <sup>(2)</sup>, the total area of the *villa* of Somain was 977 bonniers. The area of the bonnier varied greatly from region to region, and even from village to village, but it seems to have averaged about 1,4 hectares <sup>(3)</sup>, which would give the *villa* of Somain

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it is impossible to say which figure is correct, and the precise year cannot be known for certain.

(1) COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, no. III, pp. 7-8: « *Dono ergo tibi, filii dulcissime, Adelardo, fiscum nomine Summinium, in pago Hostrewant situm,... scilicet preter capellam cum mansis 9, qui apud supranominatum monasterium [Cisionium]... tradidi.... Hoc est mansum dominicatum cum terris arabilibus, bunaria videlicet 179, pratorum bunaria 32, silve bunaria 561, atque huic servientia 93, simul etiam terre bunaria 4, omnem, ut dictum est, fiscum* ».

(2) F. LOT, *Les tributs des Normands et l'église de France au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in BIBL. DE L'ÉCOLE DES CHARTES, t. LXXXV, 1924, pp. 64-65, reckons the *average* size of the *mansus* on the estates of the abbey of Saint-Bertin in this region as 12,84 bonniers. But an examination of what survives of the polyptique of this abbey (GUÉRARD, *Polyptique d'Irminon*, t. II, pp. 396 sqq.) shows that the *normal* size of the *mansus* is 12 bonniers, so that although the *average* size may be 12.84 bonniers one is justified in accepting the lower figure; cf. below p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also the article of F. LOT, *Le Jugum, le Manse et les exploitations agricoles de la France moderne*, in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne* (Bruxelles, 1926), t. I, pp. 307-326, and the article of G. DES MAREZ, *Note sur le manse brabançon au moyen âge*, in the same *Mélanges*, t. I, pp. 131-138.

(3) The figure 1,385 was arrived at by P. GUILHERMOZ in his article, *De l'équivalence des anciennes mesures à propos d'une publication récente*, in BIBL. DE L'ÉCOLE DES CHARTES, t. LXXIV (1913), p. 306, and it is accepted as exact by M. LOT in his calculations on the size of the fisc of Somain (see below, p. , 445n. 1). I have taken the round multiple 1,4,



an area of 1368 hectares. The modern commune of Somain has an area of only 987 hectares. But on topographical ground there is reason to believe that the adjacent communes of Rieulay (174 hectares) and Villers-Campeau (245 hectares) are only subdivisions of the ancient *villa* of Somain. Villers-Campeau was presumably separated quite early (10th century?), since the union has left no trace in the texts <sup>(1)</sup>, but there is strong documentary evidence that Rieulay once formed part of Somain. The latter *villa*, as we have seen, was given by Gisela to the abbey of Cysoing. In 1217 we find the abbey of Cysoing and the church of Somain (Beaurepaire) reserving their rights over Rieulay when Peter of Douai, later *advocatus* of Beaurepaire, set up a chapel there <sup>(2)</sup>, and in 1286 we find the abbey of Cysoing ceding the homage of the castle of Rieulay to Guy de Dampierre <sup>(3)</sup>. We may safely conclude that Rieulay and probably Villers-Campeau formed part of the original *villa* of Somain, which brings up its total area to 1406 hectares. This agrees reasonably well with the area of 1368 calculated on the basis of the figures given by Gisela's diploma, particularly when we take into account the arbitrary and uncertain nature of the boundaries through woods and marshes between Somain and the neighbouring villages <sup>(4)</sup>, the difficulties that must have existed in the ninth

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but with considerable hesitation in view of the great local variations in the size of the bonnier (cf. G. W. COOPLAND, *The Abbey of St. Bertin and its neighbourhood, 900-1350* (in OXFORD STUDIES IN SOCIAL AND LEGAL HISTORY, edited by P. VINOGRADOFF, t. IV ; Oxford, 1914), pp. 126-140.

(1) The church of Villers-Campeau belonged in the later Middle Ages to the abbey of Anchin (A. LONGNON, *Pouillés de la province de Reims*, Paris, 1908, t. I, p. 270), but I have failed to find in E. ESCALLIER, *L'abbaye d'Anchin* (Lille, 1852) any information as to the date or the circumstances in which the abbey acquired it, and Dr C. J. BRANDT, who was kind enough to consult the archives of Anchin in the Archives du Nord at Lille for me, was equally unsuccessful in the matter. The cartularies of Anchin are unfortunately lost.

(2) COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, n° LXXIII, pp. 95-96.

(3) *Ibid.*, n° CLXXV, pp. 220-221.

(4) The boundary between the possessions of the abbeys of Cysoing and Marchiennes over the woods and marshes between Rieulay and Marchiennes

century in reckoning areas in wooded country, and the errors that there must necessarily be in converting the very variable values of medieval measurements into modern metric ones <sup>(1)</sup>.

No detailed description of the state of the other three fiscs in the ninth century has survived, but we can arrive at their approximate area by a consideration of their later history.

Cysoing <sup>(2)</sup>, like Somain, formed part of the share of Eberhard's third son Adelard <sup>(3)</sup>. The marquis of Friuli had caused the relics of Pope St Calixtus to be translated to a chapel there in 854 <sup>(4)</sup>, and he and his wife had founded the abbey of Cysoing in honour of the saint. In the later Middle Ages the *villa* was divided between the abbey and a dynasty of seigneurs of Cysoing who acted as its *advocati* <sup>(5)</sup>. The modern

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was particularly ill-defined ; cf. for example the agreement of 1281 (*Cartulaire*, n° CLXV, pp. 211-212), in which that part of the wood known as the « *boscus de Riulai* » appears as a possession of Marchiennes, and the part known as the « *boscus de Kesnoit* » (Quesnoy) as the share of Cysoing. It is no doubt the same uncertainty that explains the description of the « *cappellania de Rieullay* » as being situated in the « *parrochia de Marchiennes* » in a document of the 15th century (LONGNON, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 271).

(1) The same calculations, based on the diploma of Gisela, were made by Lot in his article on *La grandeur des fiscs* (see above, p. 440, n. 3), pp. 54-55, but with rather different results, since he was not aware that Rieullay and Villers-Campeau made part of the original *villa* of Somain, and since he rather unjustifiably omitted the 93 *bonniers huic servientia*, the four additional *bonniers*, and the nine *mansi* from his reckoning.

(2) Dep. Nord, arr. Lille, chef-lieu cant.

(3) See above, p. 442, n. 2.

(4) *Translatio S. Calixti Cisonium*, in MON. GERM. HIST., SCRIPTORES, t. XV, pp. 418-422.

(5) For the history of Cysoing, the chief source is the Cartulary of the abbey (see above p. 441, n. 4) ; cf. also A. LEGLAY, *Mémoire sur les archives de l'abbaye de Cysoing*, in MÉM. DE LA SOC. DES SCIENCES, DE L'AGRICULTURE ET DES ARTS DE LILLE, 1st series, t. 34, 1853, pp. 492-528. The chief modern works are J. BATAILLE, *Cysoing : les seigneurs, l'abbaye, la ville, la paroisse* (Lille, 1934), and two studies by T. LEURIDAN on the seigneurs of Cysoing : one, *Les seigneurs de Cysoing et leur domaine féodal*, in the MÉMOIRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉMULATION DE ROUBAIX, t. XIX, 1897-98, pp. 43-211, and the other in his *Statistique féodale du dépt. du Nord* :

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commune of Cysoing has an area of 1351 hectares, but the original *villa* was larger, comprising the two adjacent communes of Bouvines (268 hectares) and Louvil (248 hectares) <sup>(1)</sup>. This is not only probable on topographical grounds, but is clearly indicated in the sources. In 1002 (?) a certain Arnold, presumably seigneur of Cysoing, granted the *villa* of Bouvines to the abbey of Saint-Amand <sup>(2)</sup>, but in succeeding centuries the seigneurs of Cysoing claimed the exercise of « haute justice » in Bouvines <sup>(3)</sup>, the abbey of Cysoing continued to possess the tithes and the patronage of the church <sup>(4)</sup>, and the inhabitants of Bouvines claimed to share with those of Cysoing and Louvil the right of using the « Grand Marais » at Cysoing <sup>(5)</sup>. Louvil itself was a possession of the abbey of Cysoing <sup>(6)</sup>, and the rights of the inhabitants of Louvil and Cysoing over the woods and marshes which formed their common boundary were extensive and ill-defined <sup>(7)</sup>. We may therefore conclude that the Carolingian *villa* of Cysoing had

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*La châtellenie de Lille ; t. III, La Pevèle* (in BULL. DE LA COMM. HIST. DU NORD, t. XXV, 1901), pp. 62 sqq.

(1) BATAILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

(2) C. DUVIVIER, *Actes et documents anciens intéressant la Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1898), t. I, pp. 27-29. The date is uncertain, since the indications in the charter — only known from a late copy in a cartulary — are contradictory ; Duvivier suggests 1018-1031, though the date in the text is 1002. I am inclined to accept this date, and to assume that the confirmation by Bishop Hugh of Tournai-Noyon (1030-1044) in the presence of Abbot Malbold of St Amand (1018-1063) was added subsequently, between 1030 and 1044, and has only been accidentally incorporated by the copyist in the text of the charter.

(3) BATAILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

(4) For the titles, see the diploma of Bishop Gerard of Tournai of 1164 (COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, n° XXV, p. 31) ; for the patronage, see LONGNON, *op. cit.* t. I, p. 416.

(5) Cf. BATAILLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-408.

(6) LEURIDAN, *Statistique féodale* (see above, p. 445, n. 5), p. 145 ; for the tithes, see COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, n° XXV, p. 31 ; for the patronage, see LONGNON, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 417. On Louvil, see also the book of J. BATAILLE, *Louvil*, Lille, 1936.

(7) COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, *passim*.

an area of some 1867 hectares instead of 1351, being thus decidedly larger than the *villa* of Somain.

Vitry-en-Artois <sup>(1)</sup> formed part of the share of Eberhard's fourth son Raoul <sup>(2)</sup>. It is not described in Eberhard's will — the only one of the Cysoing documents in which it is mentioned — as part of the fisc, but there can be no doubt that it did belong to it, since it had been one of the chief royal *palatia* of the Merovingians <sup>(3)</sup>. In later times <sup>(4)</sup> it passed into the possession of the counts of Flanders, till in 1188 Philip of Alsace ceded it to the see of Arras <sup>(5)</sup>; the abbey of Cysoing, however, retained the property there that it had been granted by Eberhard <sup>(6)</sup>. The modern commune has an

(1) Dép. Pas-de-Calais, arr. Arras, chef-lieu cant. On Vitry, one can consult a note by E. TAILLIAR, *Sur le village de Vitry-sur-la-Scarpe*, in BULL. DE LA COMM. HIST. DU NORD, t. XI, 1871, pp. 204-206, and a very mediocre article by A. DE CARDEVACQUE in the *Dictionnaire historique et archéologique du Pas-de-Calais : Arrondissement d'Arras*, t. II (Arras, 1874), pp. 323-332.

(2) See above p. 442, n. 2.

(3) See the references in MABILLON, *De re diplomatica*, Paris, 1709, p. 359. Vitry is described in Eberhard's will as a *vicus*, and the diploma of 868/9 is *actum Vitreiaco, villa publica*. On the significance of these two expressions, which do not necessarily imply that Vitry was a royal domain, though they are in no way incompatible with it, see A. DUMAS, *La propriété à l'époque carolingienne*, in the REVUE HISTORIQUE DU DROIT FRANÇAIS ET ÉTRANGER, 4th series, t. V, 1926, pp. 614-621.

(4) Probably in 892; see below, p. 451, n. 2.

(5) A. MIRAEUS and J. F. FOPPENS, *Opera diplomatica* (Bruxelles, 1748), t. IV, pp. 215-216. Cf. also COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, n° XLV, pp. 61-62. Vitry was held of the counts by the châtelains of Douai (F. BRASSART, *Histoire du château et de la châtellenie de Douai*, Douai, 1877, t. I, p. 39; cf. t. III, Preuves, no. 33 (pp. 47-48), 38 (pp. 53-54), etc.). That the counts of Flanders and the abbey of Cysoing did not between them possess the whole *villa*, however, is, shown by a diploma of 1041 by which Ermengarde, widow of the murdered châtelain Walter II of Cambrai, grants some small properties there to the abbey of St. Amand (DUVIVIER, *Actes et documents*, t. I, pp. 31-33).

(6) In the bull of Alexander III of 10 January 1180 (COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, n° XXXIX, p. 52), the possessions of the abbey at Vitry are described as « curtem de Vitri cum terragio et hospitibus, et ex eo iure quod habetis in redditibus et decimis totius ville ». But the church of

area of 1855 hectares, and there are no grounds for supposing that the Carolingian *villa* differed to any great extent from this or that it included any of the neighbouring communes.

The fisc of Annappes was assigned by Eberhard in his will to his second son Berengar, later King of Italy <sup>(1)</sup>. From the *Brevium exempla* we know it had three minor *villae* attached to it for fiscal purposes <sup>(2)</sup>; one of these was Gruson, but for the other two the names are not given. Gruson is likewise the only one of the dependencies of Annappes which is named by Eberhard, who left it to his third son Adelard <sup>(3)</sup> in his will; the others are passed over in silence <sup>(4)</sup>, and presumably went with Annappes to Berengar. In the diploma of Gisela of 1 July 874, however, we find the names of two further *villae*, *Nivilla* and *Wakeslare*, both in the Mélantois, which were possessed by her and by her son Adelard <sup>(5)</sup>. Neither is mentioned in Eberhard's will, so the presumption is that they are the two *villae* dependant on Annappes not named in it, but which we know from the *Brevium exempla* to have existed; presumably the clause of Eberhard's will providing for a redistribution of the lands belonging to Annappes if the shares

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Vitry, which was left by Eberhard to Cysoing, passed at some date into the possession of the chapter of St. Amé at Douai (LONGNON, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 268).

(1) See above, p. 442, n. 2.

(2) See above, p. 438, and below, p. 450, n. 5.

(3) See above, p. 442, n. 2.

(4) They are included in the phrase « *curtem de Anaspis cum his omnibus, qui ibi pertinere videntur* ».

(5) COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, no. V, p. 10 : « *Addo ad usus luminarium iam fati oratorii (Cisonii) mansum unum, cum bunariis terre 12 in pago Medenentisse in villa Nivilla situm. Consentiens etiam utrique duorum filiorum meorum Adelardo atque Rodulpho de partibus prelati descriptis, post obitum meum sibi cedendis, unum pro suprascripta ratione mansum in usus luminarium prefixorum concedere, Adelardo scilicet in supradicto pago villa Wakeslare dicta, mansum unum cum integritate sua, Rodulpho quoque in pago Tornacensi, villa nomine Gressione, mansum unum cum integritate sua* ». The *mansus* at Gruson is probably the same as the « *de terra arabili in Grecione consistente bunaria 12* » mentioned in the diploma of 2 April 870 (*ibid.*, n°. III, p. 9); cf. above, p. 443 and n. 2.

of Adelard and Raoul were found to be unequal to that of Berengar <sup>(1)</sup> had been invoked <sup>(2)</sup>, since we do not find the two *villae* in the possession of Berengar. The identification of *Nivilla* and *Wakeslare* is not absolutely certain. For *Nivilla*, Piot <sup>(3)</sup> was in favour of La Neuville <sup>(4)</sup>, and it is in fact just possible that this village did lie in the Mélantois <sup>(5)</sup>, but Leuridan's identification <sup>(6)</sup> of it with Noyelles-lez-Seclin <sup>(7)</sup>, a small commune of 238 hectares which unquestionably was situated in the Mélantois some five kilometres south of Lille, is much more probable. For *Wakeslare*, Piot <sup>(8)</sup> suggested Le Vaclar, the local name given to a few fields in the north-east corner of the commune of Lesquin <sup>(9)</sup>, but this

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(1) COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, pp. 1-2 : « Ita hanc divisionem peragere volumus, ut si minus Adalardus aut Rodulphus de mansis habuerint, quam Berrengharius, de Anaspio adequare inter eos cum mancipiis que supersedent debeant ».

(2) The idea that the clause had been invoked and Eberhard's dispositions modified in more than one particular is confirmed by the fact that Gruson appears as a possession of Raoul in the diploma of 1 July 874 (see above, p. 448, n. 5), though Eberhard had left it to Adelard (see above, p. 442, n. 2).

(3) C. PIOT, *Les pagi de la Belgique* (MÉMOIRES COURONNÉS DE L'ACADÉMIE ROYALE, t. XXXIX ; Bruxelles, 1879), p. 65. PIOT's identification is rather tentatively followed by A. DE VLAMINCK, *La Ménapie et la Flandre*, in ANN. DE L'ACAD. D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE BELGIQUE, t. XXXIV, 1878, p. 543.

(4) Dép. Nord, arr. Lille, cant. Pont-à-Marcq.

(5) If it did, it must have formed the southernmost point of the *pagus*, since Phalempin, to the west of it, lay in the Carembault, and Pont-à-Marcq and Mons-en-Pevèle, to the north-east and south-east of it, lay respectively in the *pagus Tornacensis* and the *pagus Pabulensis* ; see the map in DE VLAMINCK, *art. cit.*, at end.

(6) T. LEURIDAN, *Statistique féodale...., I, Le Mélantois*, in BULL. DE LA COMM. HIST. DU NORD, t. XXIV, 1900, pp. 163-164.

(7) Dép. Nord, arr. Lille, cant. Seclin.

(8) PIOT, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

(9) T. LEURIDAN and V. DESMONS, *Histoire de Lesquin et notice historique sur Vendeville*, Lille, 1889, p. 94, and map facing this page. In his *Histoire de Seclin* (t. II, p. 75), however, CANON LEURIDAN denies the existence of Le Vaclar. In the 1 : 50.000 map published by the État-Major (1937), Le Vaclar appears not in the commune of Lesquin, but as

must be regarded as unlikely, despite the proximity of the place in question to Annappes <sup>(1)</sup>, since Le Vaclar could scarcely have constituted a *villa*. Leuridan's identification <sup>(2)</sup> of it with Wattiestart, a hamlet in the southern half of the commune of Seclin <sup>(3)</sup>, which appears as *Walkersar* and *Waltersar* in a charter of 1112 <sup>(4)</sup>, is much more probable. Since Wattiestart is only a hamlet of the commune of Seclin (1742 hectares), there is nothing to indicate the size of the *villa*, but between 200 and 300 hectares seems a reasonable estimate <sup>(5)</sup>.

The modern commune of Annappes has an area of 1156 hectares, Gruson of 311 hectares, and Noyelles of 238 hectares; for Wattiestart we may allow 200-300 hectares. Assuming that the *villa* of Annappes had the same area as the modern commune, the whole *caput fisci*, including the three dependent *villae*, would thus have had an area of between 1900 and 2000 hectares. But this is hardly more than Cysoing (1867 hect.) and Vitry-en-Artois (1855 hect.), and is scarcely compatible with the position of Annappes as the *caput fisci* or with the implication of its greater size contained

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part of the narrow strip of the commune of Lezennes between Lesquin and Annappes (cf. next note).

(1) Lesquin (dép. Nord, arr. Lille, cant. Seclin) is only separated from Annappes and Ascq by a narrow strip of the commune of Lezennes.

(2) T. LEURIDAN, *Histoire de Seclin*, t. II (Lille, 1930), p. 75.

(3) Dép. Nord, arr. Lille, chef-lieu cant.

(4) LEURIDAN, *op. cit.*, p. 75, n. 5.

(5) To judge by the description of the three *villae* in the *Brevium exempla* (BORETIVS, *Capitularia*, t. I, pp. 254-255), they must all have been of much the same size. The descriptions are as follows:

« Item de mansionilibus quae ad supra scriptum mansum aspiciunt.

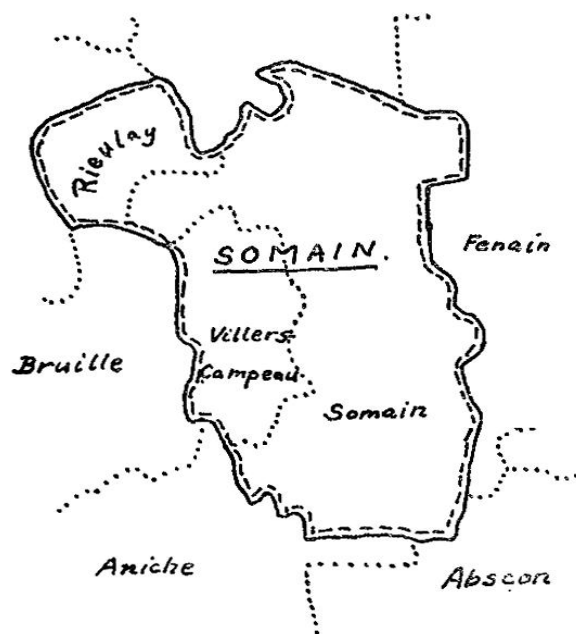
In Grisone villa [Gruson : 311 hect.] invenimus mansioniles dominicatas, ubi habet scuras 3, et curtem sepe circumdatam. Habet ibi ortum cum arboribus; aucas 10, anantes 8, pullos 30.

In alia villa [Noyelles (?) ; 238 hect.] reperimus mansioniles dominicatas et curtem sepe munitam, et infra scuras 3, vineam arrippennem 1, ortum cum arboribus 1, aucas 15, pullos 20.

In villa illa [Wattiestart (?) ; 200-300 hect. (?) ] mansioniles dominicatas. Habet scuras 2, spicarium 1, ortum 1, curtem sepe bene munitam ».

The produce and stock, apart from the poultry, is not given separately, but is put into the totals of the whole *caput fisci* of Annappes.

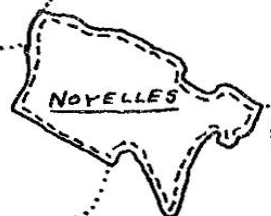
THE FISC OF SOMAIN.



ANNAPPES



NOVELLES



Seclin

WATTESART



THE FISC OF ANNAPPES AND CYSSOIN

Boundaries of Fisco .....

Boundaries of Communes .....

The boundary between Wattesart and remaining part of the commune of Seclin is only approximate.





in Eberhard's provision for its possible partition. The difficulty is solved by a knowledge of the subsequent history of the *villae*. Gruson, Noyelles, and Wattiecart, minor *villae* which happened to belong to the Carolingian domain and which were attached to Annappes, though they were not contiguous with it, solely for reasons of fiscal convenience, passed into various hands, and their later history is of no importance to us <sup>(1)</sup>. But Annappes, like Vitry, passed to the counts of Flanders <sup>(2)</sup>, and in the later Middle Ages it formed, with the adjacent commune of Flers, part of the

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(1) Gruson passed to various seigneurs, Noyelles at the end of the eleventh century was in the hands of the counts of Flanders, and Wattiecart formed a fief of the *châtellenie* of Lille; cf. LEURIDAN, *Statistique féodale*, in BULL. DE LA COMM. HIST. DU NORD, t. XXV, 1901, pp. 139-144 (Gruson); t. XXIV, 1900, pp. 201-202 (Wattiecart), pp. 163-168 (Noyelles). For Wattiecart, see also LEURIDAN, *Histoire de Seclin*, t. II, pp. 75-78. It may be noted that it was only at Gruson that the abbey of Cysoing retained the property it had been granted by Gisela and her sons; its property at Noyelles and Wattiecart was resumably lost or disposed of during the tenth or eleventh century. — The wording of M. THOMAS's note in his *Textes historiques sur Lille*, t. II, p. 543, additional note to p. 19, implies that Gruson is cited among the possessions of the counts of Flanders in the *Gros briefs* of the 14th century, which is not the case, the apparent mistake being due to his having condensed unduly the phrase in which he writes of the question.

(2) Baldwin II of Flanders was a cousin of Raoul — their common ancestor was Louis the Pious: Louis, Gisela, Raoul; Louis, Charles the Bald, Judith, Baldwin II —, who held, amongst other honours, the abbey of St. Vaast of Arras, and it was on the pretext that he was his *consanguineus* that Baldwin claimed the abbey on Raoul's death in 892 (*Annales Vedastini*, a. 892; ed. B. DE SIMSON, Hannover, 1909, p. 71). One may conjecture that he laid claim to Raoul's private possessions and those of his family at the same time, though Berengar of Friuli was still alive and he would have another competitor on the spot in Raoul's brother-in-law Hucbald. — LEURIDAN, *Statistique féodale*, in BULL. DE LA COMM. HIST. DU NORD, t. XXV, 1901, p. 140, suggests that Gruson, Annappes, etc., passed to the counts of Flanders on the marriage of Berengar's great-grand-daughter Clemence of Burgundy to Robert II of Flanders. This is impossible, since Annappes and Flers were already in the possession of the counts of Flanders in 1066 (E. HAUTCOEUR, *Cartulaire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, Lille, 1894, t. I, pp. 3, 4), and the marriage of

domain directly held by them ; the two *villae* formed a single échevinage administered by a *maire* <sup>(1)</sup>. The inference, that in Carolingian times the two communes formed a single fisc, that of Annappes, and that this ancient unity was perpetuated by the échevinage, is irresistible <sup>(2)</sup> ; presumably the *maire* of the later Middle Ages <sup>(3)</sup> was, at least in some of his attributes, a successor of the *maior* who administered the *caput fisci* in Carolingian times. The area of Flers (907 hect.) must therefore be added to that of Annappes (1156 hect.) to give the area of the *villa* of Annappes (2063 hect.), which with the addition of the three subordinate *villae* brings the total area of the *caput fisci* to between 2800 and 2900 hectares.

Our final result, therefore, for the fiscs held by Eberhard, is that Annappes and its dependencies had a total area of

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Clemence and Robert did not take place till c. 1092. Cf. the allegations of the Prince d'Épinoi in 1680 on the descent of the seigneurie of Cysoing (COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, t. II, no. CCCXV, pp. 619-634) ; their exactitude must be regarded as extremely doubtful, but they provided the analogy on which Leuridan's suggestion was based.

(1) LEURIDAN, *Statistique féodale*, in BULL. DE LA COMM. HIST. DU NORD, t. XXIV, 1900, pp. 6, 68, describes the échevinage as consisting of the three parishes of Annappes, Flers, and Ascq, but in his description of the last (p. 23 sq.) he makes it clear that only part of the parish of Ascq, the lands belonging to the counts of Flanders, formed part of the échevinage. Moreover M. Thomas, to whose kindness I am indebted for much information regarding the domain of the counts of Flanders in this region, has informed me that Ascq does not appear as part of the domain of the counts in the *gros briefs* of the 14th century. This suggests that only Flers and Annappes formed the Carolingian *villa*, and that the lands in Ascq were added to the échevinage at some later date when they passed to the counts of Flanders, by confiscation or in some other way.

(2) M. THOMAS, suggests in his *Textes historiques*, t. II, p. 543, additional note to p. 19, that Flers formed one of the unnamed *villae* described in the *Brevium exempla*. The view that I have taken is that Flers was an integral part of Annappes in the ninth century. M. Thomas also suggests that the two other *villae* may have been Anstaing and Vendeville, but the only argument in their favour is that they formed part of the domain of the counts of Flanders, and this is not sufficient to prove the case.

(3) On the *maires* in this region, see LEURIDAN, *Statistique féodale*, in BULL. DE LA COMM. HIST. DU NORD, t. XXI, 1898, pp. 61-70.

about 2850 hectares, Vitry of 1855 hectares, Cysoing of 1867 hectares, and Somain of 1406 hectares. The suggestion which I have made is that the three last of these fisci are identical with Fisci II, III, and IV of the *Brevium exempla*. That this hypothesis can be *proved* is, for obvious reasons, impossible; the information given in the *Brevium exempla* concerning the stock and produce of Fisci II-IV (see Tables I and II) is not sufficient in itself to permit us to arrive at any very accurate idea of their area. This has not always been fully realised. Dopsch, when trying to estimate the size of the *villa* in Carolingian times, attempted a calculation of it on the basis of the stock and produce of the fisc of Annappes <sup>(1)</sup>. Assuming that the total harvest amounted to 2550 modii, that the *modius* was 21,07 litres, that each hectare under cultivation would produce about 12 hectolitres of grain, and that the two-field system was in operation, he estimated the total area of land under cultivation in Annappes as 89,547 hectares (155,57 joch). Adding a couple of hundred hectares of woods and meadow, he put the total area of the fisc of Annappes at about 500 joch (285 hectares). This figure is fantastically small — it is only a tenth of the area which, on quite different grounds, I have estimated as that of the fisc —, and the various elements in Dopsch's calculations have been criticised independently by Baist <sup>(2)</sup> and Halphen <sup>(3)</sup>, and finally by Lot <sup>(4)</sup>. The figure of 2550 *modii* for the harvest is not correct, since it involves the assumption that the *corbis*, the measure used for the spelt, was the same as the *modius*, the measure used for the other kinds of grain; the *corbis* was in fact equal to 12 *modii* <sup>(5)</sup>, so that the total harvest was

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(1) DOPSCH, *Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, t. I, p. 137.

(2) BAIST, *art. cit.* (see above, p. 439, n. 2), pp. 32-36.

(3) L. HALPHEN, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne*, Paris, 1921, pp. 249-252.

(4) F. LOT, *La grandeur des fisci à l'époque carolingienne*, in the *REVUE BELGE DE PHILOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE*, t. III, 1924, pp. 52-54.

(5) See the contemporary *Statuta Adalhardi* for Corbie: « Volumus ut annis singulis veniant de spelta... corbi 750, unusquisque corbus habens

not 2550 *modii*, but 3750 *modii*. That the *modius* was equal to 21,07 litres <sup>(1)</sup> is decidedly an underestimate; other calculations give very much higher figures, Guérard <sup>(2)</sup> estimating it at 52 litres, Lot <sup>(3)</sup> at 63 litres. The harvest must therefore have been far greater than Dopsch admits. A further error is Dopsch's assumption that each hectare under cultivation would produce twelve hectolitres of grain; the multiple is taken from a book on farming published in 1828 <sup>(4)</sup>, and even if we ignore such an important factor as the variation in the quality of soil from place to place, it is evident that the medieval figure would be very different <sup>(5)</sup>. In any case, the harvest here forms no reliable basis for calculation, since it is not a normal one; as Baist points out, nearly half the produce is set aside for sowing, so that the harvest must have been exceptionally bad, since about one-fifth is the proportion one would reasonably expect <sup>(6)</sup>. It cannot likewise be taken for granted that the two-field system was in operation at Annappes; there is at least an equal possibility that it was the three-field system <sup>(7)</sup>. The two hundred hectares of woods and

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modia 12 bene coagitata et rasa, ad istum novum modium quem domnus imperator posuit » (*Les statuts d'Adelhard*, éd. L. LEVILLAIN, in *LE MOYEN AGE*, 2nd series, t. IV, p. 356); cf. BAIST, *art. cit.*, p. 31. That the imperial measures were in use at Annappes we know from the *Brevium exempla*, c. 29: « Mensuram modiorum et sestariorum ita invenimus, sicut et in palatio » (*Capitularia*, t. I, p. 255).

(1) This is the figure arrived at by K. T. VON INAMA-STERNEGG, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, t. I: *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte bis zum Schluss der Karolingerperiode* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1909), p. 719. The calculation is based on a diploma of 781, the values of which refer only to Italy; cf. BAIST, *art. cit.*, p. 34, and LOT, *art. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

(2) *Polyptique d'Irminon*, t. I (Prolégomènes), pp. 184-185; the *modius* under Louis the Pious he estimates at 68 litres. LOT, *art. cit.*, p. 53, n. 1, notes that M. AUDOUIN arrived at the same figure of 52 litres by another route (*BULL. DE LA SOC. DES ANTIQUAIRES DE L'OUEST*, 1918, pp. 421-422).

(3) LOT, *art. cit.*, p. 53. Cf. HALPHEN, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

(4) Comte DE GASPARIN, *Le Métayage* (Bibl. du cultivateur, t. II), 1st ed., 1828, p. 119.

(5) HALPHEN, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

(6) BAIST, *art. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

(7) Cf. HALPHEN, *op. cit.*, p. 251 and n. 2. The three-field system was

meadows allowed by Dopsch for Annappes would also be scarcely sufficient for the maintenance of the animals enumerated in the *Brevium exempla* <sup>(1)</sup>, even if we could be sure that the land was fully stocked, which is not the case; the climatic conditions that spoiled the harvest may also have reduced the number of cattle, which in normal times was perhaps much larger. Besides, the extent of forest and waste on a great estate was extremely variable <sup>(2)</sup>, and there is virtually nothing in the figures given by the *Brevium exempla* to indicate what it may have been in each of the four fiscs in question <sup>(3)</sup>. Finally, the account of the stock and produce given in the *Brevium exempla* applies only to the lord's demesne, the *mansus dominicatus*; it leaves us quite in the dark as to the land in each *villa* which lay outside the demesne and was held by the serfs <sup>(4)</sup>. It is our ignorance on these last

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in operation at this date on some estates belonging to St Amand in the Pevèle and Tournaisis (GUÉRARD, *Polyptique d'Irminon*, t. I, Prolégomènes, pp. 925-926). LOT, *art. cit.*, p. 53, judges the two-field system in this region and at this period to be inadmissible, which is going too far; I believe it to have been in operation at least at Somain (see below, p. 456). There is a mistake in LOT's calculations over these systems at Annappes (*art. cit.*, p. 53); having arrived at the figure of 135 hectares for the land sown in the year, he has multiplied it by 3 instead of by 1, 5 to arrive at the total of arable land on the estate.

(1) BAIST, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36; LOT, *art. cit.*, p. 52.

(2) HALPHEN, *op. cit.*, p. 251; cf. his detailed analysis of the « Répartition des cultures, des prairies et des bois sur les terres de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés » on pp. 275-276. For this part of France, unfortunately, modern conditions afford no reliable guide as to what might have been the wooded areas of a parish at the Carolingian period, and the maps (16th-18th centuries) of Annappes, Cysoing, Somain, and Vitry which I have consulted at the Archives départementales at Lille and Arras give no help in the matter. I am indebted to the kindness of M. LEGUEUX, of the Université de Lille, for information on modern conditions in the communes of Cysoing, Bouvines, and Louvil, and to Mr. E. P. WELLER for advice on technical questions of agriculture involved in this study.

(3) The numbers of pigs and goats recorded in the *Brevium exempla* are of little use, since woods were rarely stocked to capacity; cf. BAIST, *art. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

(4) HALPHEN, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

two points, the extent of the woods and the servile tenures, that make it impossible to calculate directly the area of the fisci from the data given by the *Brevium exempla*.

We can, however, make a partial calculation in the case of one of the fisci. I have suggested that Somain, the smallest of the fisci belonging to Eberhard, is identical with Fisc IV, the smallest of the fisci described in the *Brevium exempla*, and we do know something of the division of land at Somain in the ninth century. On Fisc IV, one *corbis* (12 *modii*) of spelt and 400 *modii* of barley were reserved for sowing, and at the normal ratio of five *modii* of seed for each bonnier <sup>(1)</sup> this would be sufficient for 82,4 bonniers. But since the total arable land in the demesne on the fisc of Somain was 179 bonniers <sup>(2)</sup>, this would be equal to almost half the demesne, which is what one would expect on the two-field system <sup>(3)</sup>. From the amount of stock no such exact conclusion can be drawn, firstly because the total amount of stock is not given, and secondly because we do not know how much pasturage was reckoned to be necessary for the maintenance of a beast at Somain in the ninth century. A rough estimate, however, gives the stock of Fisc IV as the equivalent of c. 150 head of cattle <sup>(4)</sup>. The amount of pasturage necessary for these cannot be accurately gauged, since we have no contemporary figures, either for the Ostrevant or for other regions of France; even if we had the latter it would not be safe to argue that they would hold good for Somain. In the parish of Templeuve-en-Pevèle <sup>(5)</sup>, however, we have for the end of the Middle Ages

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(1) This was approximately the ratio used on the estates of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the region of Paris (HALPHEN, *op. cit.*, p. 252), and a fragment of the polyptique of St Amand shows the same average ratio — 4 *modii* per bonnier in the winter sowing, 6 *modii* per bonnier in the spring — for the estates of this abbey in the Tournaisis and Pevèle (GUÉRARD, *Polyptique d'Irminon*, t. I, Prolégomènes, pp. 925-926).

(2) See above, p. 443 and n. 1.

(3) See above, p. 454, n. 7.

(4) See Table 3, note 2.

(5) Dép. Nord, arr. Lille, cant. Cysoing.

some figures which are comparable to those of Somain, since the two villages are on much the same type of soil and no radical changes in agricultural conditions that would affect the grazing of cattle had taken place between the ninth and the end of the fifteenth century. In 1505, we find that Templeuve, with 513 bonniers of arable land and 127 bonniers of various kinds of pasturage, provided sustenance for 100 horses, 562 cattle, and 628 « blancques bestes » <sup>(1)</sup>. If then on Templeuve the equivalent of 750 cattle <sup>(2)</sup> could maintain themselves on 127 bonniers of pasture and what they could get on the fields lying fallow and the stubble after harvest of 513 bonniers, we may reasonably assume that c. 150 cattle could have found sustenance on the 32 bonniers of pasture and the 179 bonniers of arable at Somain <sup>(3)</sup>. There can likewise be no doubt that the 561 bonniers of wood at Somain would be more than, sufficient to maintain the 250 pigs and 130 goats of Fisc IV <sup>(4)</sup>. Though we cannot say, therefore, that a comparison of the figures in question proves the identity of Somain with Fisc IV, we can at least admit that it leaves it as a reasonable possibility.

It is indeed on the probability that the fiscal grouping would not be unnecessarily broken up, on the fact that the stock and produce on Fiscs I-IV are roughly in the same proportions to one another as are the areas of Annappes, Vitry, Cysoing, and Somain, and on certain minor details in the description of the fiscs, that the hypothesis of their identity with the possessions of Eberhard must be based. The proportions of the

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(1) C. BONNIER, *Templeuve-en-Pevèle : Histoire d'un village*, Liverpool, 1907, pp. 213-214.

(2) Assuming that a horse is the equal of a cow, and that a cow is the equivalent of seven sheep.

(3) A strict proportion would allow Somain to support nearly 200 cattle. Even the lower figure is considerably in excess of what land would be stocked with today, so presumably the poorer quality of medieval pasturage was more than compensated for by the smaller size and poorer quality of the beasts it nourished.

(4) The proportion of pigs to wood varied enormously on different estates; see some figures in BAIST, *art. cit.*, pp. 34-36.



fiscs and their produce can be seen in Table 3. Annappes, the largest of the fiscs, is over twice as large as Somain ; the number of cattle on it is just under twice as many as on Fisc IV, but the extent of arable on the demesne is nearly five times as large <sup>(1)</sup>. The stock and produce of Fiscs II and III come in between those of Annappes and Fisc IV, being rather closer to the latter than the former ; the same proportions hold good of the areas of Vitry and Cysoing. A comparison of the produce of the four fiscs shows that Fisc III had virtually the same kind of crops as Annappes <sup>(2)</sup>, which is what one would expect if Fisc III were Cysoing, situated less than 10 km. from Annappes on the same kind of soil, while the crops at Fiscs II and IV are rather different <sup>(3)</sup>, which again is what one would expect if these fiscs were Vitry and Somain, situated each some 30 km. from Annappes on rather different soil. This latter consideration no doubt explains also why the stock of Fisc II is larger than that of Fisc III, though Vitry and Cysoing are much the same in area <sup>(4)</sup>. The same conclusions as to their identity are suggested by various details in the descriptions of the two fiscs. Fisc II, like Annappes, the *caput fisci*, and unlike Fisc III, has a *domus regalis* built of stone instead of wood and has a number of peacocks amongst its livestock ; both features suggest the old Merovingian *palatium* of Vitry rather than the less important Cysoing. On the other hand, Fisc III is the only one of the four to have a stone-built chapel (« capella ex lapide bene constructa ») and separate women's quarters (« mansiones feminarum iii ») ; if Fisc III is Cysoing, these features would

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(1) As Annappes was the *caput fisci*, it had no doubt a proportionally larger demesne than the other fiscs.

(2) Annappes had spelt, corn, rye, barley, and oats ; Fisc III had all these except corn.

(3) They are alike in having no corn, rye, or oats, spelt and barley being their only crop.

(4) Possibly the large number of horses on Fisc II is to be explained by the importance of Vitry in Merovingian times ; the breeding of horses for military purposes may have taken place there. The commune of Vitry is to-day almost wholly under the plough.

go far to explain why it was to Cysoing and not to one of the other fisci that the relics of St Calixtus were brought in 854 <sup>(1)</sup>, why it was at Cysoing that Eberhard and Gisela founded their monastery, and why it was to Cysoing that Gisela retired with one of her daughters (Engeltrude) after her husband's death <sup>(2)</sup>.

There would seem therefore to be reasonably good ground for accepting the identification of Fisci II, III, and IV with Vitry, Cysoing, and Somain, and for localising this portion of the *Brevium exempla* in northern France. Only *Treola* remains outside this closely related group of estates in the neighbourhood of Lille. As I have suggested already, it is a « domaine excentrique », and, assuming that it passed with the rest of the fiscal complex described in the *Brevium exempla* to Eberhard, it must be looked for on the upper Rhine, in Alsace or Baden. The reason is that Eberhard's will mentions by name all his possessions save those in Lombardy and Alamannia, which formed the share of Unroch, and those in Condruz and Toxandria, which were part of the shares of Berengar and Raoul <sup>(3)</sup>, and that since *Treola* is not separately mentioned it must have been included in one of these shares. Since no vineyard of any size is likely to have existed in either Condruz or Toxandria, and Lombardy, besides being too far away, was only conquered by Charlemagne and had its separate fiscal administration, the probability remains that *Treola* was situated in Alamannia.

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(1) See above, p. 445, n. 4. That a church or chapel existed at Cysoing before 854 we know from the *Translatio S. Calixti Cisionium*, c. 9 (SS., XV, 421-422).

(2) COUSSEMAKER, *Cartulaire*, n° IV, p. 9.

(3) *Ibid.*, n° I, pp. 1, 2.

TABLE I. — The Stock of the Fiscs (1).

	FISC I (Annap.)	FISC II	FISC III	FISC IV
1. <i>Horses</i>				
mares	51	79	44	c. 30 (2)
colts	18	18	7	c. 20 (3)
stallions	3	4	2	2
2. <i>Cattle</i>				
oxen	16	20	24	tantos
asses	2	2	—	—
cows	50*	30*	6*	tantas
heifers	20	—	—	8
yearlings	38	—	—	3
bulls	3	3	—	1
other animals	—	10	5	—
3. <i>Pigs, sheep, and goats</i>				
pigs (4)	360	250	160	250
boars	5	—	—	—
ewes	150*	80*	150*	150*
shearlings	200	58	200	200
rams	120	82	8	100
goats	63*	27*	41*	130*
4. <i>Poultry</i>				
geese	30	40	10	20
hens	80	100	—	—
ducks	—	6	—	4
peacocks	20	8	—	—

A \* sign indicates an unspecified number of calves, lambs, or kids.

(1) In Tables I and II only the main items are given ; further information on a number of points will be found in the text of the *Brevium exempla*.

(2) A rough estimate of the total ; only the numbers of the two year olds (10) and one year olds (11) are given.

(3) A rough estimate ; there were 10 two year olds, and 5 one year olds.

(4) I have not distinguished between *porci maiores* and *porci minores*.

TABLE II. — The Produce of the Fiscs.

	Fisc I (Annap.)	Fisc II	Fisc III	Fisc IV
Spelt	1320	1080	240	360
(for sowing)	720	—	120	12
Corn	100	—	—	—
(for sowing)	60	—	—	—
Rye	98	—	160	—
(for sowing)	98	—	100	—
Barley	1800	1300	450	800
(for sowing)	1100	600	300	400
Oats	430	—	200	—
(for sowing)	—	—	200	—
Beans	1	—	—	—
Peas	12	—	—	—

The figures refer to *modii*. I have converted the *corbis*, in which the spelt is measured, into *modii*, on the basis of 1 *corbis* = 12 *modii*.

TABLE III. — Comparative Table of the Fiscs.

	No. of Cattle <sup>(1)</sup>	SEED, in modii	AREA, in hectares	
Fisc I (Annappes)	268	1978	c. 2850	Annappes, etc.
Fisc II	199	600	1855	Vitry
Fisc III	139	720	1867	Cysoing, etc.
Fisc IV	c. 150 <sup>(2)</sup>	412	1406	Somain, etc.

(1) In arriving at the number of cattle, I have reckoned a cow as the equivalent of a horse or of seven sheep. The lambs and calves, which would increase the totals slightly, are omitted; so are the pigs and goats, which would find their livelihood in the woods.

(2) This figure is an estimate, the total number of mares and colts, and the numbers of the oxen and cows, not being given in the text. I have estimated the colts at 30, the mares at 20, the oxen at 15, and the cows at 7.