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THE STATISTICAL SOURCES OF FRANKISH HISTORY

THE word "statistics" was invented by Gottfried Achenwall, a professor in Göttingen University in 1746. Long before the rise of the state system of modern Europe and the cameralists, however, the value of classified economic information was keenly appreciated by governments. The great Oriental monarchies of antiquity, the Greeks, and the Romans knew the importance of statistics, even if they knew not the word. While few actual records of this kind have come down to us, not a little positive information of the nature of these statistical documents has been preserved. And the volume and variety of such records increases in proportion as the past becomes less remote. We have more statistical evidence concerning the Romans than concerning the Greeks; more concerning the Middle Ages than concerning antiquity; more concerning the period of the Renaissance than concerning the medieval epoch. But for any period before 1300 we shall never know much about number or density of population or the extent of the revenues of any government because these precious records have so largely perished.¹ Yet it will not do for the modern historian, or even the modern statistician, to point the finger of scorn at the history of the Middle Ages, for the archives of the Roman Empire and of the medieval rulers once were rich in statistical documents.

Only shreds have survived of the immense mass of administrative records once in the central, provincial, and municipal offices of the Roman imperial government.² Nothing has been preserved, except a few frag-

¹ See the observations of Ferdinand Lot, "Conjectures démographiques sur la France au IX^e siècle", *Moyen Age*, 1st ser., XXXII, 1.

² See article on "Kataster" in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, X, 2487-2493; "Census", *ibid.*, III, 1914-1924; "Kalendarium", *ibid.*, X, 1564-1567; "Gromatici", *ibid.*, VII, 1886-1896, with bibliographies, principally of German works. Among French works on the subject may be cited: Fustel de Coulanges, *La Gaule romaine* (Paris, 1891), pp. 278-282; *id.*, *La monarchie franque* (Paris, 1912), pp. 264-265; Fabien Thibault, "Les impôts directs sous le Bas-Empire", *Revue générale du droit*, XXIV (1900), 32 ff.; 112 ff.; Ferdinand Lot, *L'impôt foncier et la capitation personnelle sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris,

ments, of the great cadasters or land registers in which all real property was inscribed by name, extent, kind of exploitation, whether wheat or olives or grapes.³ This gigantic cadastral survey was represented in an immense number of sectional maps graven on bronze plates. The entire body of these metal records was preserved in the imperial archives, and local duplicates were deposited in the provincial archives.⁴ These surveys and revaluations were made every ten years. The practice was called *descriptio*; the assessors known as *descriptores* or *peraequatores*, and the registers denominated *libri censuales*, *libri publici*, or *polyptycha*.⁵ No registers of the revenues derived from the *portoria* or duties imposed on the transit of trade within the Roman Empire have been preserved, nor any records of the bureaux of vital statistics in the municipalities.⁶ The imperial, provincial, and municipal archives of the Roman Empire must have been crammed with land registers, capitation lists, receipts from the

1928); Charles H. Taylor, "Note on the Origin of the Polyptychs", *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne* (Brussels, 1926), II, 478-479. The word "Cadaster" (Ital., Span., *catastro*; French, *cadastre*), meaning a register of taxes, and hence, by implication, a tax, comes from the mediæval Latin "capitastrum" or poll tax; Du Cange, *Glossarium*.

³ "Forma censuali cavetur ut agri sic in censum referantur: nomen fundi cuiusque . . . et quos duos vicinos proximos habeat, et arvom . . . quot iugerum sit, vinea quot vites habeat, olivae quot iugerum", etc. Ulpian in *Digest*, bk. I., title 15, no. 4. In *Codex Theod.*, bk. IX, title 42, no. 7, repeated in *Codex Just.*, bk. IX, title 49, no. 7, there are meticulous instructions as to how these inventories were to be made. The inquisition included both property and persons. First slaves were to be enumerated, a distinction being made between house slaves and field hands, then *casarii* and then *coloni*—"quot sint casarii vel coloni". Cf. Coulanges, *L'allen et le domaine rural* (Paris, 1914), pp. 25, 80, 84 and notes.

⁴ *Gromatici veteres*, Karl Lachmann, ed., pp. 45, 46, 47, 48, 111, 117, 121, 154: "Fides videatur quae aereis tabulis manifestata est; quod si quis contradicat, ad sanctuarium Caesaris respici solet in sanctuario habet." *Digest*, bk. XI.VIII, title 13, no. 8: "Qui tabulam aeream legis formamve agrorum aut quid aliud continentem refixerit vel quid inde immutaverit." *Codex Theod.*, bk. XIII, title 10, no. 8: "In libris publicis et in civitatum ac provinciarum encantariis." Cf. Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, p. 267, n. 1. Land and capitation taxes in the imperial provinces were collected by *procuratores provinciae*; in senatorial provinces by *questores*. The provincial bureau in which the cadastral registers and the census lists were kept was called *tabularium*. The existence of the *fiscus Galliens provinciae Lugdunensis* and the *fiscus Asiaticus* is attested by inscriptions, Karl Joachim Marquardt, *De l'organisation financière chez les Romains* (French translation by Dessau and Domaszewski, Paris, 1888), pp. 390, 397, n. 2.

⁵ *Codex Theod.*, bk. XIII, title 10, no. 8: "libri publici"; Cassiodorus, *Variae*, bk. V, no. 14: "Polyptychis iubeantur ascribi."

⁶ Capitolinus, *M. Antoninus philosophus*, ch. 9: "Per provincias tabulariorum publicorum usum instituit apud quos idem de originibus fieret, quod Romae apud praefectos aerarii, ut, si forte aliquis in provincia natus causam liberalem diceret, testationes inde ferret, atque hanc totam legem de assertionibus firmavit." Cf. Egon Weiss, "Zur Vorgeschichte unserer Personenregister", *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, May 20, 1929; see also an article in *Zeitsch. der Savigny-Stiftung*, Roman. Abt. XLIX (1929), 260 ff.

customs, inquests of the fisc; and we know that immense quantities of these documents lasted well down into the barbarian epoch. The Roman practice of recording sales of land in the *gesta municipalia* endured until the eighth century.⁷ In the sixth century, when the old Roman municipal administration had largely passed into the hands of the bishops, we find the bishops keeping similar registers.⁸ The free town population did not wholly disappear with the downfall of Roman municipal government. Its existence may be traced in land sales and leases until as late as the ninth century. Free workmen are still mentioned in Charles the Bald's capitulary of Pîtres (862).⁹

The German nations which penetrated into the Roman Empire and settled in the provinces thereof in the fifth and sixth centuries did not all enter under the same circumstances and conditions. The Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Ostrogoths came in with the consent of the imperial government, and their settlement, on the whole, was a pacific occupation. On the other hand, the Vandals, the Franks, and the Lombards entered forcibly and settled as conquerors. The Roman fiscal organization, accordingly, was less deranged under the former than under the latter, although we may anticipate by saying that the Franks almost immediately—that is to say, after the conversion of Clovis in 496—abandoned the attitude of conquerors and followed a policy of conciliation with regard to the Roman population. In this connection Georg Wolff's researches¹⁰ are significant. For he gives examples of German settlements on Frankish crown lands, or upon church lands which had been donated by the crown, both classes of which had formerly pertained to the Roman imperial fisc.

It is beyond question that the fisc of the Frankish kings was primarily composed of the former imperial fisc.¹¹ The same is true of the fisc of the Agilolfinger dukes of Bavaria which passed to Charlemagne with the fall of Tassilo in 788. For Regensburg, Passau, Salzburg, Wels, and Lorch had pertained to the Roman fisc in Pannonia before the Bavarian occupation. But although many kings owned land within the cities, the urban fisc played no important part in history. The resemblance be-

⁷ Bruno Hirschfeld, *Die gesta municipalia in römischer und frühgermanischer Zeit* (Marburg, 1904), p. 79.

⁸ Henri Pirenne, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, *Bulletin*, 1928, p. 182, n. 2.

⁹ Alfons Dopsch, *Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit* (Weimar, 1912), II, 167.

¹⁰ "Die Bevölkerung d. rechtsrhein. Germaniens nach d. Untergang d. Römerherrschaft", *Quartaltbl. d. Histor. Ver. f. d. Grossherzog. Hessen*, N. F., I, 602 ff., cited by Dopsch, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XVI, 163, n. 4.

¹¹ O. M. Dalton, *History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours* (Oxford, 1927), I, 218. Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1926), VIII, 48-50.

tween the fiscal policies of the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Ostrogoths, and the Franks is explicable only on the hypothesis, which is easily proved, that each of these peoples adopted the Roman fiscal system which they found in the country occupied; and a considerable amount of information is available with reference to their fiscal administration, though no records have survived. Even the Vandals made a shift of preserving the imperial fiscal system.¹² The *Letters* of Cassiodorus abound with allusions to the fiscal system of the Ostrogoths, and show that the collection of the census and the survey of land were fully in vogue under Theodoric.¹³

In the case of the Merovingian Franks our information about their fiscal system is much fuller than that with reference to the other Germanic peoples, even if with them again all the registers and official documents have perished.¹⁴ Official valuation of estates was continued, although not so regularly made as in Roman times; the fiscal obligations of the great landholders remained as a heritage from the imperial system; much of the revenue of the Merovingian kings was drawn from Roman sources; registration of title deeds and transfers of land were maintained.¹⁵ For two centuries after the Roman Empire had passed away the Merovingian administration adhered to imperial fiscal practices, and its archives must have possessed immense quantities of statistical documents.¹⁶ Here were kept the duplicates of *lettres missives* of the kings,

¹² Felix Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen* (Würzburg, 1866), III, 140; VI, 252 f.; Thibault, "L'impôt direct dans les royaumes des Ostrogoths, des Wisigoths et des Burgondes", *Nouvelle revue historique de droit*, XXV, 698-728; XXVI, 32-48; Ludo Moritz Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens* (Gotha, 1897, 1911), I, 112; III, 42; Giuseppe Salvioli, *Trattato di storia di diritto italiano*, 6th ed. (Turin, 1908), p. 218; Ernst Mayer, *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1909), I, 308 f.; Ludwig Schmidt, *Geschichte der Wandalen* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 186.

¹³ *Variae*, bk. III, nos. 40, 52; bk. V, nos. 3, 4, 6, 16, 17, 18, 40; bk. VI, nos. 3, 5, 7, 8, 9; bk. XI, no. 7. Cf. Procopius, *De bello Gothico*, bk. IV, ch. 20.

¹⁴ J. M. Lehuërou, *Histoire des institutions mérovingiennes* (Paris, 1842), I, 288-303; Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1882), vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 259-267, 317-320; cf. index under "census", "tributum", "telonium"; Felix Dahn, "Zum merowingischen Finanzrecht", *Abhandlungen zum LXX Geburtstag Konrad von Maurers* (1893), pp. 335-373; Jules Tardif, *Études sur les institutions politiques et administratives de la France* (Paris, 1881), pp. 216 f.; Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, pp. 19-24, 156, 174, 178, 268-269, 274-276; Thibault, "L'impôt direct sur la propriété foncière dans les royaumes francs", *Nouvelle revue historique de droit*, XXXI, 49 f., 205 f.; Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age* (London, 1926), pp. 126-128, 172, 443; Lot, *L'impôt foncier*, pt. 2, p. 84; J. M. Pardessus, *Loi salique* (Paris, 1843), pp. 559-562.

¹⁵ Émile Chénon, "Étude historique sur le *Defensor civitatis*", *Nouvelle revue historique de droit*, XIII, 527 ff.; Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, pp. 286-287.

¹⁶ Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.*, bk. IX, ch. 30; bk. X, ch. 19; Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 269, 310; n. 2, 321 f.; Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, pp. 267-268.

diplomata, the records of the fisc, registers of land and capitation taxes. In addition, every bishopric and every monastery had its *archivium*.¹⁷ Thousands of private documents must also have been preserved,¹⁸ and every town had its municipal registers.¹⁹

In compensation for the complete loss of these documents—save a few charters and diplomas—we have incomparable descriptive information in the *Historia regum Francorum* of Gregory of Tours, in several *Vitae sanctorum*,²⁰ in the acts of church councils, and in the *formulae*.

The Frankish kings retained the former Roman *capitatio* or poll tax and the land tax (*census* or *jugatio terrena*). The absence of any official acts and the silence of Gregory of Tours on the imposition of these taxes before Clotaire I does not prove that his predecessors had not imposed them. Their customary nature was recognized as early as 535 by the council of Clermont,²¹ and there is substantial evidence of the collection of these taxes in succeeding reigns.²² The sources abound with allusions to these registers.²³

¹⁷ *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae*, vol. II (*Gregorii I papae registorum epistolarum*, referred to hereafter as *Register* of Gregory), bk. IX, no. 40. Flooard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, M. Lejeune, ed. (Reims, 1854), II, 11. Council of Agde (506), art. 26. *Vita Frodoberii*, ch. 11. Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, p. 19, n. 3.

¹⁸ Documents are cited in *Form. Andegav.*, 31, 32, 33; *Marculfi form.*, I, 34; *Form. Turon.*, 28; *Form. Senonic.*, 38. Cf. Coulanges, *op. cit.*, p. 20, n. The *formulae* are in E. de Rosière, *Recueil général des formules usitées dans l'empire des Francs*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1861-1871), and in *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. V, *Formulae merovingici et karolini aevi*. On the nature of these, see A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), pp. 482-484.

¹⁹ The *Gesta municipalia archidia* or *Codices publici* are mentioned several times in the *formulae*, e.g., *Marculfi form.*, II, 37, 38; *Form. Tur.*, 20; *Form. Andegav.*, 32; *Form. Arvernenses*, 1; *Form. Bituric.*, 3, 6, 15; *Form. Senonic.*, 39, 40.

²⁰ The most useful lives of saints are *Vita S. Balthildis*, *Vita S. Becharii*, *Vita S. Eligii*, and *Vita S. Sulpicii episcopi Biturig.* The diplomata are in J. M. Pardessus, ed., *Diplomata, chartae*, etc. (Paris, 1843) and in *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*.

²¹ *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. III, *Concilia*, I, 71; Lehuërou, pp. 318-319; Lot, *L'impôt foncier*, p. 84. A careful examination of the evidence proves that the principle and the practice of the Frankish fiscal system was a continuation, as far as possible, of the Roman system. The remarkable account of Gregory of Tours (bk. IX, ch. 30) exhibits the history of taxation in Gaul under four consecutive kings: Clotaire I, his sons Charibert and Sigebert, and Childbert II, son of Sigebert. The period extends over more than eighty years, from 511 to 596. It is true that Gregory does not go back into the reign of Clovis, but it would be an error to conclude from this silence that this form of tribute was new in the sixth century. What Gregory records is that *new* assessments were made in the sixth century. But the practice was an established one. The narrative proves it.

²² "Vita S. Balthildis", Martin Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules* (Paris, 1741), III, 572, quoted in Lehuërou, vol. I, p. 300, n. 2; Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 269-270.

²³ "Libri descriptionum", Greg. Tur., bk. V, chs. 28, 50; bk. VII, ch. 42; bk. IX, ch. 30; *Vita S. Sulpicii episcopi Biturig.*, ch. 6; Fortunatus, *Carmina*, bk. X, no. 11. Other terms were "descriptio", "polypticum" or "polepticum", *Marculfi form.*, bk. I,

In continuation of the Roman practice these tax registers, in Merovingian times, were made up as of March 1. But they were less often revised and kept up to date.²⁴ The negligence in this respect gave rise to a great amount of injustice and popular protest. In 589 when Childebert sent his mayor, Florentianus, and Romulf, his count of the palace, to Poitiers to collect the taxes "as in his father's time", the Bishop Maroveus demurred against so doing on the ground that "many on the lists had died and the burden of the tribute fell grievously and unjustly upon their widows and orphans and upon the infirm". At Tours Bishop Gregory boldly refused to have the assessments imposed, declaring that Clotaire I, in veneration for St. Martin, had granted the city immunity and that Sigebert had recognized this exemption.²⁵ The history of Chilperic is peculiarly important for the light it throws on the perpetuation of the Roman tax system. His measures were so harsh that many of his subjects were driven to find refuge in other kingdoms.²⁶

These passages show that the Merovingian kings levied taxes as kings, after the fashion of the Roman emperors, and not as proprietors. The bitter resentment against the *census* and the *capitatio* was an important factor in the decline of the house and the rise of the Austrasian mayors to supremacy. In 615 Clotaire II was compelled to legislate in restraint of their abuse. The mayor Florentianus made himself enormously unpopular by exhuming some old tax registers.²⁷

The lands of the Merovingian fisc were legally and administratively distinguished from other land, and the registers of the revenues arising from them were different registers from those which recorded the *census*, the *capitatio*, and the *portoria*.²⁸ The *portoria* were now more commonly called *telonia*.²⁹ The Merovingian kings sometimes ceded revenues of

no. 19; "capitularium", Greg. Tur., bk. IX, ch. 30. "Polyptychum" was an old word, but "capitularium" was new, Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 270, n. 1. In *Miracula S. Martini Vertae* (Mab. I), ch. 1, we find "tabulis fiscorum regalium", *ibid.*, p. 331, n. 4.

²⁴ Greg. Tur., bk. V, chs. 4, 29; Lehuërou, I, 312. Lot, *L'impôt foncier*, pp. 87, 88.

²⁵ Greg. Tur., bk. IX, ch. 30.

²⁶ "Descriptiones novas et graves in omni regno suo fieri iussit", Greg. Tur., bk. V, ch. 21.

²⁷ *Edictum Chlotharii*, art. 7, Baluze, *Capitularia regum Francorum* (Paris, 1677), vol. I, col. 23. Greg. Tur., bk. IX, ch. 30.

²⁸ This is evident from a statement of Fredegar, *Chronicon*, ch. 24, *M.G.H., SS. rer. Mer.*, II, 130: "pagus [pagos] et civitates fiscum inquerendum dirigunt". Cf. Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 92, n. 1; Dopsch, I, 69 and n. 5.

²⁹ Baluze, *loc. cit.*, art. 9. Many Merovingian charters are spurious, especially immunity grants. But a formula of the seventh century mentions offices for collecting *portoria* at Marseilles, Toulon, Fos, Arles, Avignon, Sorgues, Valence, Vienne, Lyons, and Châlons. *Supplementum form. Marculfi*, no. 1; Rozière, no. 32 bis; Coulanges,

cities as dowry, but did not yield proprietorship of the lands of the fisc as dowry.³⁰ Allotments were, however, made from the fisc to the Church and to favorite retainers in proprietorship and with hereditary right. But it is a moot point whether the new possessor was required to pay the census or not.³¹

The Roman *census* and *capitatio* gradually broke down during the seventh century, although, as has been observed, there are obscure traces of registration of deeds as late as the eighth century. "Even in the sixth century the Roman technique of tax-assessment and registration was maintained with only partial success. Public opinion resisted changes in amount or incidence, and tended to regard taxation as exploitation, or extortion. . . . By the seventh century the amount of the tax was becoming fixed by custom, probably as an invariable payment due from particular properties." The process was one of "merger of customary land-taxes and royal quit-rents" at the expense of the former.³²

This decline of both the theory and the practice of public taxation in the seventh and eighth centuries, and the growth of the theory and the practice of proprietorship in its stead were characterized, if not by the first appearance, then certainly by the great prominence and administrative importance of a new kind of land and population register, a combination of the *census de rebus* and the *capitatio* in one proprietary register. This was the *polyptychum*.³³ As proprietorship increased the word became the almost universal term to describe inventories of the royal domain, of

La monarchie franque, p. 255 and n. 5; for the *portoria* in Gaul in Roman times, see *ibid.*, pp. 248-250.

³⁰ Lehuërou, I, 317.

³¹ A diploma of 510, the authenticity of which is open to doubt, makes a grant "absque tributis et exactione", Pardessus, no. 87. Coulanges, *La monarchie franque*, p. 284, says: "Il est possible aussi que personne n'ait soulevé cette question". Independently of this question, we know that sales of land by a Roman provincial to a Frank in Merovingian times gave rise to the issue whether the new owner had to pay the old Roman land tax, or whether the new possessor was free, as Franks were not required to pay the land tax. In Ostrogothic Italy, however, a new owner was required to pay it. "Parati sumus singulis annis pro eadem pradia fiscalia competentia solvere unde rogamus uti jubetis a polyptichis publicis nomen prioris domini suspendi & nostri domini adscribi", Gaetano Marini, *Papiri diplomatici* (Rome, 1805), no. 83, p. 130.

³² The quoted portions of the above paragraph are from Charles H. Taylor, in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History*, by Students of Charles Homer Haskins (Boston, 1924), pp. 346-347.

³³ "Polipticum est multorum descriptio. pol[is] grece multorum dicitur", cited by Goetz, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der K. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Philologisch-Historische Classe, XLVIII, 75. Cf. Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* (Rome, 1832), VI, 43, and Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1923), II, 31.

the lands of the Church, of the estates of private proprietors. This new type of register differed from the old form of registers in that it was technically not a tax register but a rent register. The polyptychs were estate or villa or manorial registers rather than tax registers.

At this point an important and difficult question arises. Were the polyptychs historically derived from the former Roman tax registers? Or were they derived from villa accounts? A close relation between cadaster and polyptych, and the derivation of the latter from the former has long been the opinion of historians.³⁴ Unfortunately for the establishment of this contention we shall never know as much of the economy of a Roman domain as we do of a medieval domain. For no Roman cartulary, no map, no testament describing a property, no inventory, has come down to us, as many such documents of the Middle Ages have been preserved. All that we possess are the prescriptions of the law. Every Roman rural domain had its stock book which included property and persons (*calendarium*), and its book of accounts (*rationes*) which covered receipts and expenditures.³⁵ The broadest difference between the governmental *census de rebus* and capitation registers and Roman villa accounts would seem to be that the latter embodied no data regarding revenues. They were ratings of valuation in terms of real property, slaves, *casati*, and *coloni*, not revenue schedules.

The thesis that the medieval polyptychs were derived from the Roman imperial cadasters has recently been sharply challenged by Charles H. Taylor, who contends that Šusta "has chosen to disregard" sources which are inconvenient for his purpose; that the law texts upon which Šusta relies "are of little value for the reconstruction of the plan of a cadaster", and denies that there is "a resemblance in fundamental arrangement between Roman cadaster and Frankish register".³⁶ A Frankish domanial proprietor would have found information in the public registers only in regard to the extent of villa-lands, his own and that of others, the amount of taxes, and a list of *coloni* subject to the

³⁴ Coulanges, *Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire* (Paris, 1885), p. 84. Lot is of the same opinion, though like Coulanges he is too cautious to state the proposition categorically, *L'impôt foncier*, p. 82. With greater assurance G. Luzzatto, *I servi nelle grandi proprietà ecclesiastiche italiane nei sec. IX e X* (St. Gall, 1910), p. 4, maintains "la derivazione diretta" of the medieval polyptychs from the ancient Roman registers (cited by Dopsch, vol. I, p. 69, no. 10). This is also the conclusion of Josef Šusta, "Zur Geschichte und Kritik der Urbarialaufzeichnungen", *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Classe, vol. CXXXVIII, pt. 8.

³⁵ *Digest*, bk. XII, title 1, no. 41; bk. XXXIV, title 5, no. 1: "quum rationibus demonstraretur".

³⁶ "Note on the origin of the polyptychs", *Mélanges Pirenne*, II, 477, 479, 481.

capitation tax. But he would not have found any information as to the resources of those domains.

Mr. Taylor thinks that the medieval polyptychs were derived from Roman villa accounts—not from Roman tax registers—and that the system harks back to Egyptian practice.³⁷ An alternative origin, however, for the polyptychs has been advanced by Meitzen. This is that they were derived from or imitations of the inventories or surveys customary upon the papal patrimony, at least from the pontificate of Gregory I (590-604). Sommerlad is skeptical of this conjecture, and Dopsch rejects it. As to the theory of Holm, reflected by Meitzen, that the system of management of the papal patrimony was borrowed from the management in vogue upon the papal estates in Sicily, which in turn was a continuation of the estate management which obtained in antiquity, Dopsch dismisses it as a "phantasie", but Sommerlad thinks it plausible.³⁸

Garcis thinks that the inventories exacted on the papal patrimony inspired the *Capitulare de villis* of Charlemagne—which means that the polyptychs were of papal patrimonial origin—and that the system was introduced into the Frankish kingdom by Abbot Ansegis of St. Wandrille, who had been *missus* in central Italy.³⁹ It is significant that the word 'polyptychum' occurs very rarely among Merovingian documents, and then is employed in the public sense,⁴⁰ and not in the proprietary application. We have the thing, however, if not the word, in a letter of the bishop of Nevers to the bishop of Cahors between 635 and 635.⁴¹

Aside from the apparent resemblance between the management of the estates of the papal patrimony and the management of the estates of the Carolingian fisc, it is significant that Gregory the Great calls the reg-

³⁷ "Census de rebus", in *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, pp. 329 ff.

³⁸ "Diese . . . Vorschriften [des *Capitulare de villis*] beruhen auf den Ueberlieferungen römischer Kultur, deren Verständniss die südländische Geistlichkeit vermittelte", August Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen* (Berlin, 1895), I, 612; Theo Sommerlad, *Die wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Kirche in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1905), II, 105; Dopsch, I, 70; Ad. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens in Altertum* (Leipzig, 1898), III, 315.

³⁹ "Bemerkungen zu Kaiser Karl's des Grossen capitulare de villis", in *Abhandlungen zum LXX Geburtstag Konrad von Maurer*, pp. 235-238. On Ansegis as a *missus* in Italy see Victor Krause, "Geschichte des Institutes der missi dominici", *Mitteilungen des Institutes für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XI, 288-289.

⁴⁰ *Marculfi form.*, I, 19, which makes mention of those registered "in poleptico publico", would seem to be the last evidence of Merovingian tax registers, and even this may signify registers of the crown lands instead of tax registers. Cf. Taylor in *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, p. 347, n. 74.

⁴¹ ". . . descriptionem mancipiorum inquirenda", *M.G.H., Epp.*, III, 206. Cf. Dopsch, vol. I, p. 69, n. 9. But whether this term is referable to Roman fiscal practice or to Roman villa practice it is hard to say.

ister of the *massa* of Gela a 'polypticum',⁴² quite evidently in the proprietary sense. Moreover, the word 'breve' in the meaning of an inventory or statistical view, while common in postclassical Latin under the form *breviarium*, appears to have been used in Merovingian times with the meaning of a procès-verbal, and not with the meaning of a statistical document.⁴³ The earliest example of the revived use of 'breve' in the sense of a statistical document occurs in Gregory the Great's *Register*.⁴⁴

Now the Carolingian period, from its very inception, was characterized by energetic attempts to introduce regulation and system into the management of both ecclesiastical and crown lands, and the words *breve*, *imbreviare*, and *polyptychum* acquired great currency. I believe that this new statistical interest and this new statistical policy emanated from Boniface and his own and Pepin the Short's close relations with the papacy in the years 751-756. The whole matter was forced forward by the endeavor of the Frankish Church to recover the ecclesiastical lands which Charles Martel had confiscated and distributed as military benefices,⁴⁵ aided and abetted by Pepin's ambition to become king and his intervention in Italy on behalf of the pope against the Lombards.

As long as Charles Martel lived no restitution was possible. But when he died in 741 and was succeeded in the mayoralty by his two sons, Pepin and Carloman, the situation was altered. The latter was inclined

⁴² *M.G.H., Epp.*, vol. III, *Register*, bk. II, no. 38. The same word is employed by John the Deacon in his *Vita S. Gregorii*, bk. II, ch. 24.

⁴³ See E. A. Andrews, *Latin Lexicon*, for "breviarium"; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, for "brevis", "breve"; Max Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890), p. 247, n. 4.

⁴⁴ Bk. XIV, no. 14. On the other hand, the accounts of local stewards on the papal patrimony are called "libri rationum", *ibid.*, bk. I, nos. 18, 44, 54; bk. II, nos. 3, 31; bk. III, no. 55, etc. This seems the place to observe that the system of management of the papal patrimony and the terminology of administration, instead of having been derived from Egyptian villa accounts or the Sicilian estates, may have come down from the oldest possessions of the papacy, i.e., the former fisc lands (*fundi*) of the emperors in and around Rome. The Patrimonium Urbanum of the popes, or St. Peter's property within Roman territory, comprised four separate blocks (*massae*) of land on both sides of the Tiber, besides houses, gardens, and vineyards in the city itself. On these domains within the city of Rome, see L. Homo, "Le domaine impérial à Rome", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XIX, 101 ff., with a map wrongly inserted at p. 147 instead of at p. 130.

⁴⁵ There was nothing new in this policy of Charles Martel except the magnitude of its application. The mayor Protadius, who became major domus of Theuderic through Brunhilda's influence, had appropriated ecclesiastical property (Fredegar, *Chron.*, ch. 27, *M.G.H., SS. rer. Mer.*, II, 131; Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 331, and n. 2). Dagobert later did the same, "Coepit facultates sanctorum locorum inquirere et medias tabulis fiscorum regalium inscribere . . . mediam eorum partem fisco addidit et mediam fratribus reliquit", *Mirac. S. Martini Vertav.*, ch. 1, quoted by Waitz, vol. II, pt. 2, p. 331, n. 4. Dopsch, vol. I, p. 69 and n. 5.

to yield to Boniface's urgency.⁴⁶ Pepin, however, was less tractable. His refractory attitude, though, changed when he became imbued with the determination to depose Childeric III and assume the crown. Boniface adroitly took advantage of the new situation. For consent of the clergy was indispensable to the success of Pepin's design, and that consent could only be secured by a conciliatory policy toward the Frankish Church, which meant at least partial restoration of the confiscated ecclesiastical lands. At the synod of Estinnes near Lobbes, in 743, an investigation into the use and abuse of the lands of which the Church had been deprived was ordered.⁴⁷ But the restitutions were few and the process of secularization of ecclesiastical lands hardly arrested until 751, when Pepin became a party to that remarkable combination of Frankish-Papal and Lombard politics which culminated in Pepin's coronation and his establishment of the temporal power of the papacy in 754-756.

Sagely counseled by Boniface,⁴⁸ an inquest into the secularized lands of the Church was made. The *descriptio* was the prelude to a new *divisio* which endeavored to adjust at least the worst grievances of the clergy against the government.⁴⁹ Four years later, in 755, the council of Verneuil, in the twentieth article of its resolutions, imposed upon the monasteries the requirement to keep those invaluable *breviaria* or polyptychs which form so copious an element in Carolingian statistical literature.⁵⁰

Charlemagne inherited the statistical tradition of his father's reign and improved upon the policy:

⁴⁶ "Et se de ecclesiastica religione . . . aliquid corrigere et emendare velle", P. Jaffé, *Monumenta Carolina* (Berlin, 1867), vol. III, no. 42, p. 112; cf. Jaffé, "Zur Chronologie der Bonifazischen Briefe und Synoden", *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1870) X, 407.

⁴⁷ The sources and authorities are assembled in Gustav Richter and H. Kohl, *Annalen der deutschen Geschichte* (Halle, 1873), I, 205 and notes.

⁴⁸ "Pippinus, monente sancto Bonifacio, quibusdam episcopatibus vel medietates vel tertias rerum [reddidit], promittens in postmodum omnia restituere", *Annales Bertiniani*, anno 750, *M.G.H., SS.*, I, 138; cf. Waitz (3d ed., 1883), vol. III, p. 37, n.

⁴⁹ "Res ecclesiarum descriptas atque divisas", *Annales Alamannici*, *M.G.H., SS.*, I, 27 (anno 751). For commentary, see Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1904), II, 44; Karl August Hase, *Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 172; Engelbert Mühlbacher, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Karolingern* (Stuttgart, 1896), p. 51; Sommerlad, II, 9; Heinrich Hahn, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs*, 741-752 (Berlin, 1863), pp. 29-35, 60-61; Waitz, III, 38; Konrad Rilsbeck, *Die sogenannte divisio des fränkischen Kirchengutes* (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 65 f.

⁵⁰ "Ut illa monasteria, ubi regulariter monachi vel monachae vixerunt, hoc quod eis de istis rebus dimittentibus unde vivere potuissent, exinde si regalis erat, ad Regem faciant rationes Abbas vel Abbatissa; & si episcopalis, ad illum Episcopum. Similiter & de illis vicis", Baluze, vol. I, col. 174. In this connection it is interesting to observe that Luitprand made an inventory of the church lands in the Lombard kingdom. Cited by Dopsch (I, 69), who refers to Tamassia's article in *Archivio giuridico*, LXI, 129.

The Carolingian renaissance produced a number of attempts to regulate the administration of Crown estates and of the *beneficia* detached from them. Nor did these efforts of Royal administration remain without influence on the arrangement of ecclesiastical institutions. Lamprecht was right in illustrating the connexion between these spheres by comparing the *Brevium Exempla* with the Rental of Prüm. . . . There is ample evidence to establish the fact that the good times of the Carolingian period were characterized by energetic attempts on the part of the state and of the church to introduce order into the management of their domains.⁵¹

Even the great landowners became infected with the new zeal for thorough administration, and instituted surveys of their own properties like Charlemagne's inquisitions of the fisc and the abbatial polyptychs.⁵² It is incontestable that under the Merovingian kings the land and capitation taxes continued to be collected according to imperial practice, except where immunity negated their imposition, while it is doubtful whether any but remnants of that administration survived in the time of the Carolingians. When mentioned at all, the capitularies vaguely refer to a tradition.⁵³ In other words, where collected, the *census* and *capitatio* had the force of customary law.

By the time the Carolingian epoch began neither *census* nor *tributum* signified what they had meant under the Merovingians. There is little which recalls former Roman or Merovingian fiscal practices.⁵⁴ The crown lands had become the paramount source of income, and the administration of them an object of intense administrative interest. For "Der König hätte beständig das weite Reich von Pfalz zu Pfalz durchwandern müssen".⁵⁵ Charles the Bald, who combined with his literary tastes a vivid descriptive style and who seems to have himself written the preamble to his most important capitularies, has graphically pictured this migratory nature of the life of the court.⁵⁶ The indispensability of

⁵¹ P. Vinogradoff, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX, 136.

⁵² Karl Gareis, *Die Landgüterordnung Kaiser Karls des Grossen* (Berlin, 1895), p. 10.

⁵³ "Ut ad illos pauperes nova aliqua consuetudo inposita fuit postea", *Breviar. missor. Aquitan.* (789), ch. 5, *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 65; "Statuendum est, ut unusquisque qui censum regium solvere debet in eodem loco illum persolvat ubi pater et avus solvere consueverunt", *Cap. missor. in Theodonis villa* (805), *ibid.*, p. 125; "Ut missi nostri census nostros perquirant diligenter, undecemque antiquitus ad partem regis exire solebant", *Cap. de iustitiis faciendis* (811-813), ch. 10, *ibid.*, p. 177; "Census tamen singularum provinciarum antiquitus constitutus huius rei occasione pauperibus non augetur", *Relatio ad imperatorem* (828), *ibid.*, *LL.* [folio vol.] I, 327.

⁵⁴ See the observations of Lot, *L'impôt foncier*, pp. 114-118.

⁵⁵ Fedor Schneider, *Handbuch der Mittelalter*, p. 112.

⁵⁶ Edict of Pîtres (862): "Sicut quando solemus de istis frequentibus itineribus reverti ad mansiones nostras detonsi & delavati cum drappis & calciamentis depannatis, & tunc nos reficimus et reparamus", Baluze, vol. II, col. 157.

possessing full and accurate statistics of the extent and resources of the crown lands, collectively known as the fisc, may be appreciated when one reflects that compared with these resources the other incomes of the crown were relatively insignificant. As M. Lot has observed:

Il lui [roi] est d'autant plus nécessaire de connaître le montant de sa fortune, d'évaluer ses disponibilités. Il lui importe extrêmement d'être fixée sur les revenus de ses *villae*, de ses *fiscs*. L'évaluation du rendement en nature ou en deniers est inséparable de celle du cheptel humain attaché à l'exploitation de ces grands domaines. Il était indispensable de relever les noms et les redevances des colons, serfs, hôtes, etc., au moins de ceux qui étaient en âge de travailler. Une démographie, certainement minutieuse, était le corollaire obligatoire de toute évaluation des produits d'un domaine.⁵⁷

The number and importance of Carolingian statistical documents must have been great. For although few of the actual inventories have survived, and those in fragmentary form,⁵⁸ the evidence of their existence, the nature of them, and the circumstances under which they were compiled is very full. The first scholar who clearly appreciated the nature, extent, and historical value of these Carolingian statistical documents which have survived, was Karl T. Inama-Sternegg.⁵⁹ Of outstanding significance, from the point of view of statistics, is Charlemagne's capitulary in 811. The steward of every villa was required to keep a double record of the income and outgo of the property.⁶⁰

These invaluable inventories or surveys begin with the *breviaria* first

⁵⁷ *Mayen Age*, XXXII, 2-3.

⁵⁸ We have more or less information about twenty domains, Lot, in *Mélanges Pirenne*, vol. I, p. 310, n. 3; Louis Halphen, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1921), p. 275. Of one of these the former has made a comprehensive study, Lot, "Un grand domaine à l'époque franque", *Cinquante-neuf de l'École des Hautes Études* (1921).

⁵⁹ *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte bis zum Schluss der Karolingerperiode* (Leipzig, 1879), i.e., vol. I of his *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. Already in the previous year (1878) he had set forth the matter in Gustav Schmoller's *Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, vol. I, no. 1; and see also his "Quellen der deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte", *Sitzungsber.*, Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil. Cl. (Vienna), LXXXIV, 135-210. Much other literature is cited in Gareis, *Die Landgüterordnung Kaiser Karls des Grossen*, p. 1, n. The most recent discussion is Dopsch, I, 25-107. For the literature inspired by Dopsch's remarkable views, see my *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (New York, 1928), pp. 821-822, to which is to be added Wilhelm Elsner, *Zur Entstehung des Capitulare de villis* (Kiel, 1929).

⁶⁰ *Cap. de just. fac.*, sec. 7: "Ut non solum beneficia episcoporum, abbatum, abbatissarum atque comitum et vassallorum nostrum, sed etiam nostri fisci describantur, ut scire possimus quantum etiam de nostro in uniuscujusque legatione habemus", *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 177. *Cap. de villis*, sec. 55: "Volumus ut quicquid ad nostrum opus iudices dederint vel servierint aut sequestraverint, in uno breve conscribi faciant, et quicquid dispensaverint, in alio; et quod reliquum fuerit, nobis per brevem innotescant", *ibid.*, *LL.*, I, 185.

ordained by Pepin the Short and which were continued by Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and the later Carolingian kings. Independently of the injunctions regarding the careful keeping of books upon the manors of the fisc enjoined in the capitulary *de villis*, sections 55, 62, similar injunctions are found in the capitularies of Aachen, section 7, in 807, and again in 812, sections 5 and 7.⁶¹ Each judex in every crown land had to prepare for the emperor and furnish to the *missi* a threefold statement covering *naturalia*, expenses of the house and household, and cost of the farm; payments in kind and stock and tools on hand were provided in another *breve*. Charlemagne demanded the account of *naturalia* at Christmas, the money account at Lent. These lists were checked against the reports of the *missi* by a *provisor villarum regiarum* or overseer of all stewards of the fisc. The *Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales* seems to have been a model prepared for practical guidance of the stewards in charge of the management of each crown land, and according to Dopsch it contains excerpts from actual registers.⁶² It is a model of description for the agents of the domain of the king. The numbers are not fantastic; the real description of four royal fisces has been copied. Buildings, yards, utensils, produce, stock, dependent villae, herbs, etc., are all listed.⁶³

The *Breviarium rerum fiscalium* is apparently a circular letter in explanation of the Capitulary of Aachen in 812⁶⁴ in regard to *fisci regales*; it is based upon a model formulary of the chancellery. This capitulary is most comprehensive in its statistical exactions. Articles 5-7 require every *missus* to make a return of all benefice-holders and beneficed lands, all allods within his circuit (*missaticum*), "that not only the benefices of bishops, abbots, abbesses, and of counts and of our vassals, but also our fisc lands shall be described so that we may know how much we possess in every missaticum".⁶⁵

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 174. The inventories of the estates of Asnapitium and Inscel Staffelsee (*ibid.*, pp. 176-179) are examples of many such surveys which were made in Carolingian times.

⁶² *Cap. de villis*, secs. 44, 62, 66, and *Cap. Aquisgran.*, 813, sec. 19, *M.G.H., LL.*, I, 184-186, 189. *Ibid.*, SS., II, 291, ch. 16; cf. Dopsch, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Vienna, 1928), p. 372. *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 250. Dopsch, I, 79.

⁶³ Lot, "La grandeur des fisces à l'époque carolingienne", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, I (1914), 51-58, 77.

⁶⁴ *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 250. Dopsch, vol. I, p. 77, n. 4, thinks the date is 810.

⁶⁵ *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 170; Baluze, vol. I, cols. 497-498; cf. Waitz, IV, 152-153. B. Guérard, *Polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon* (Paris, 1844), I, 19; new ed. by August Longnon (2 vols., Paris, 1895).

Compared with the meager and fragmentary information we have concerning fiscal lands there is a considerable amount of statistical matter pertaining to the possessions of the Church in the Carolingian period; the greatest example of which is the *Polyptyque d'Irminon*.⁶⁶ In 785 a survey of Jumièges was ordered, and in the same year one of Salzburg. Two years later Charlemagne ordered Landry, abbot of Jumièges, and a Count Richard to make an inventory of the property of St. Wandrille, and we have the total number of its possessions including those held *in beneficio*. In 831 Louis the Pious commanded a similar survey in the case of St. Riquier and important fragments of this inventory are preserved.⁶⁷

In addition to the purpose to promote efficient management of the royal manors and to prevent deterioration of them, another intention of these inventories was to check unjust exploitation of the laboring peasantry upon the crown lands by dishonest and tyrannical mayors or stewards.⁶⁸ The constant and reiterated formulae, "invenimus", "reperimus" point to the activity of the *missi dominici* in enforcing these regulations; and fortune has preserved the record of one such inquest which was made in Switzerland about 812-820 by the counts Sicard and Tandard on the lands of the abbey of Mont Joux.⁶⁹

Among other inventories which have survived may be enumerated the *Breviarium rerum fiscalium*,⁷⁰ the *Breve commemoratorium*, which is an old "Traditionscodex" of the bishopric of Freising found among the

⁶⁶ Other examples are in Charles Lalore, *Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes* (Paris, 1878), IV, 89-237; Ch. Duvivier, *Recherches sur le Hainaut ancien* [Lobbes] (Brussels, 1865), p. 307.

⁶⁷ For Jumièges, *M.G.H., SS.*, II, 290; Salzburg, *Indiculus Arnonis episcopi Juvaviensis*; for critical editions and literature upon this document, see August Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi* (2d ed., Berlin, 1895), I, 648; St. Riquier, *Chronicon Centulense*, F. Lot, ed., bk. III, ch. 3, pp. 86-87, 306-308. The government apparently could compel monastic inventories more easily than inventories of episcopal property. For an example of the latter, see *M.G.H., LL.*, I, 177.

⁶⁸ This intention may be inferred from *Cap. de villis*, sec. 3, and in some of the *breviaria* there is evidence that local serfs were questioned by the *missi* for information.

⁶⁹ *Praeceptum de rebus redditibus*—Jugement rendu . . . contre Vultgarius, abbé du monastère du Mont Joux vers 812-20: "Notum . . . quia quidam homines . . . questi sunt coram missis nostris . . . eo quod", etc., *Mémoires et documents*, Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande, XXIX (1875), 21.

⁷⁰ *M.G.H., LL.*, I, 176 ff. This is a fragment of a once detailed description of the manors of the fisc and the benefices found in the diocese of Augsburg and in the Wormsergau and adjacent territory. The latter is especially interesting, for it is obviously a model or pattern book of instructions furnished to the *missi* for their guidance, as the frequently recurring phrase "et sic cetera de talibus, rebus breviare debes" indicates. There can be no doubt that the data in these documents go back to genuine inventories. Cf. Waitz, IV, 159; Guérard, I, 16 f.

papers of Bishop Erchambert (836-854).⁷¹ A fine example of a Carolingian inventory, without being a *breviarium*, is the *Notitia testium* of the reign of Louis the Pious which deals with the lands of the monastery of St. Gall.⁷² Less comprehensive yet valuable inventories—though it is not clear whether they were made in compliance with a special command of the crown, but which seem to be a reflection of Charlemagne's injunctions—are the *Breviarium Urofi Abbatis de cenobio qui vocatur Altaia* (Niederaltaich),⁷³ the *Breves noticiae Salzburgenses*,⁷⁴ two indexes of the monastery of Lorsch dating from the time of Charlemagne, the *Registrum antiquum bonorum ecclesiae Prumiensis*, and the *Breviarium Sancti Lulli*, which is an inventory of the estates of Hersfeld, originally begun by Abbot Lull, who died in 786, and given its present form early in the ninth century.⁷⁵ After the conquest of Saxony evidently a parochial census was taken, for article 15 of the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, probably but not certainly to be ascribed to the year 789, in addition to a house and two *mansi* of land within each parish, provides for a manservant and a maidservant for the priest.⁷⁶ Fortune has also preserved inventories of Staffelsee near Augsburg; Weissenburg

⁷¹ This is not to be confused with the brief and valueless annals attributed to Erchambert and entitled *Breviarium regum Francorum inde a saeculo V usque ad A. 881*, in *M.G.H., SS.*, II, 328-330. It has been printed only in part by C. Meichelbeck, *Hist. Fris.* (Augsburg, 1724), I, 126, who regards the document as the bishop's own work. But the initial formula, "Elic innotescit quid ibi invenimus", and also the arrangement, as Inama-Sternegg, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, I, 190, has pointed out, exactly follow the pattern of the *Breviarium rerum fiscalium*. It is evidently an inventory made according to the instructions in the *Cap. Aquisgran*.

⁷² Hermann Wartinann, *Urkundenbuch von St. Gallen* (Zurich, 1862), II, 393. Another later but still ninth century example may be seen on pages 394-398.

⁷³ *Monumenta Boica* (Munich, 1771), XI, 13-14. It is there attributed to the year 731. But since Urofi was abbot from 788 to 814, the document is certainly of the reign of Charlemagne. Cf. Guérard, I, 22. It is a summary of the manors given to the abbey by Odilo and Tassilo, the last Agilolfinger dukes of Bavaria, with detailed enumeration of the constituent parts of those manors, e.g., "cum silva vel termino suo, cum vinea, silva ad ligna cedenda", etc., together with the number and status of the population upon them.

⁷⁴ Edited by Friedrich Keinz, Munich, 1869. See Wattenbach's comments in *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1870. This is an index made by Arno of Salzburg, the same to whom the *Indiculus Arnonis* is attributed, to secure title and royal certification to the property then possessed by the archbishop. The former would seem to have been a preliminary survey made in anticipation of the *Indiculus*, as there are properties in one which are not enumerated in the other.

⁷⁵ *Codex Laureshamensis* (Mannheim, 1768), II, 346 f. Cf. Aug. Fr. Gfrörer, *Zur Geschichte deutscher Volksrechte* (Schaffhausen, 1866), II, 377 f. This important register was copied and provided with a commentary in 1222 by Abbot Caesarius of Prüm. It is printed in Beyer, *Mittelrhein. Urkundenbuch*, pp. 142-201. For Hersfeld, see Helfrich Bernard Wenck, *Hessische Landesgeschichte, Urkunden* (Frankfurt, 1785-1803), II, 15 f.

⁷⁶ *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 69.

near Worms; and of the *hof* named Asnapium, identified as Gennepe, Southwestern Cleves, or as Asnières in Northern France.⁷⁷

Military inquisitions were frequent in the reign of Charlemagne: in 805, in 807, in 808, in 812.⁷⁸ The military service exacted by the Carolingian government must certainly have entailed the keeping of a considerable amount of statistical data. Every freeman owed this service. If he was too poor to provide the required equipment, two or three or four or five of his neighbors had to help him out. Every freeman possessing at least four *mansi* was compelled to serve in person.⁷⁹

The Carolingian statistical practices inaugurated by Pepin and Charlemagne continued nearly to the end of the ninth century through the reigns of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald. Without citing here the narrative sources particularly dealing with the partition of the fisc in the reigns of these two rulers, one may cite a diploma of November 20, 817, authorizing Abbot Irminon of St.-Germain-des-Prés in company with two others to make a survey of the fisc in the vicinity of Tournai; the *Notitia de monasteriis quæ Regi militiam, dona, vel solas orationes debent*, dated at Aachen in the same year; the military inquisition of 829; and the lines of Ermoldus Nigellus's *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*.⁸⁰

Charles the Bald was amazingly energetic in the matter of exacting statistical information.⁸¹ In 843, being concerned over the rapid disappearance of freemen, he instituted an inquiry into allodial lands; in 846 in response to a petition of the synod of Meaux the twentieth article of the

⁷⁷ See Garcis, *Die Landgüterordnung*, p. 11, n. 23.

⁷⁸ *Cap. missor. in Theodonis villa, Memoratorium de exercitu in Gallia occidentali præparando, Cap. missor. de exercitu promovendo, and Brevis cap. quam missi dominici habere debent ad exercitum promovendum, M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 122, 134, 136-137.

⁷⁹ Cf. detailed examination of these military texts in Waitz (2d ed., 1885), IV, 567-574.

⁸⁰ Baluze, vol. I, cols. 589-591; *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, II, 707; *ibid.*, *SS.*, II, 488, verses 521-524.

⁸¹ "We have evidence which indicates that the king sometimes took an inventory of the benefices held from him; the counts and the *missi* were required to report from time to time on the number of freemen in each county that were liable to military service; the *polyptiques* of the abbey prove that records were kept by the ecclesiastical establishments, of the number and kinds of *mansi* within their domains, and also of the number and status of their tenants; it may be inferred that similar records were kept by the lay seigniors; undoubtedly the bishops had records of the resources of all the priests within their dioceses; and the royal fisc very probably possessed some information as regards the resources of the merchants." Einar Joranson, *The Danegeld in France* (Rock Island, 1923), p. 197.

capitulary of Epernay ordered the *missi* to make a searching investigation into all holders of benefices, ascertaining whether title to them dated from his grandfather, or his father, together with the nature and extent of the obligations, "qui omnia diligenter imbrevient". It is evident that the king was growing alarmed over the inclination of benefices to pass from father to son.⁸² In 858 he commanded a *descriptio* to be made of the property of Notre Dame de Soissons. The great *Edictum Pistense* (864) which reveals the good intention, if not the effectual government, of Charles the Bald, abounds in instructions to the *missi* and counts with regard to statistical investigations and the making of statistical reports.⁸³ In 866 Charles the Bald ordered a census of the whole male free population over twelve years of age, each of whom was required to take an oath of fidelity to the king. The counts were commanded, through their subordinate *centenarii*, to ascertain this information. They were to enumerate not only natives of the county, but also to include all *advenae* who had drifted in, and all benefice holders. The very name of each person was exacted.⁸⁴

The *Edictum apud Compendium* or Edict of Compiègne (868), which deals wholly with reform of monasteries and nunneries, is a minute series of instructions to the *missi*. Statistical information is required concerning almost every activity and condition of monastic and conventual life. Charles the Bald requires to know the number of monasteries and nunneries in every diocese, the number of inmates in each house,⁸⁵ the material condition of each house within and without, the amount of clothing, food, drinkables on hand both for the comfort of the inmates and for alms to the poor, the number of lamps, an inventory of the treasures, and a catalogue of the books in every house, the number of allods and benefices possessed by every house, and what losses any may have sustained from the Northmen, the nature and extent of the revenue, and endowments of each, the ninths and tenths for which every house is liable or from which it is relieved, the number of colons and other serfs

⁸² *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, II, 403. Baluze, vol. II, col. 31: "Ut fideles & strenuos Missos . . . miratis, qui omnia diligenter imbrevient que tempore avi ac patris vestri vel in regio specialiter servitio vel in vassalorum dominiorum beneficiis fuerunt".

⁸³ Baluze, vol. II, cols. 173 ff., secs. XIX, XXVII, XXIX-XXXI. On sec. XIX see S. Loisel, *Essai sur la législation économique des Carolingiens* (Caen, 1904), p. 147 and P. Huvelin, *Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires* (Paris, 1897), p. 153.

⁸⁴ *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, I, 377. For formulas of the oaths see *ibid.*, I, 67, 102; II, 278, 341, 345, 364. In II, 278, is even a specimen of such an inquest in which freemen assert under oath that they have truly sworn fidelity.

⁸⁵ The average was twelve, *ibid.*, I, 358.

on the lands of every house. A bishop or abbot might spontaneously make a survey, as Hincmar of Reims did of St. Remi and of the monasteries of Avenay, Hautvilliers, and Orbais, or Jonas, bishop of Autun, of St. Andoche, or John, bishop of Cambrai, of Lobbes.⁸⁶

The history of the partitions of the Frankish Empire in the ninth century casts vivid light upon the use of statistical documents in late Carolingian times. In the projected settlement of 837—it never went into effect—for the first time the crown lands, royal abbeys, bishoprics and counties were enumerated as assets and objects of distribution.⁸⁷ We find the same language repeated in the partition of 838, in recording which Nithard obviously had the official documents before him. The prospect of a rebellion on the part of Louis the Pious's elder sons, because of the favoritism shown to Charles the Bald, in 839 compelled a new partition which is minutely described by the chroniclers. The contemplated new partition was evidently designed to be systematically done, for the commissioners, we are informed, had a 'descriptio' in their hands.⁸⁸ The signal illustration, however, of the importance of statistical documents is in the settlement at Verdun in 843. In the preliminaries to the treaty, the clergy, deeply alarmed at the condition of things, proposed the appointment of a commission of thirty-six, twelve for each of the princes, who should make a survey of the crown lands, with special attention to resources, fertility, population, and contiguity.⁸⁹ The information thus gathered by the *missi* was to be statistically summarized (*imbreviaretur* is the word used), and when done formed the 'descriptio' which has been mentioned. The winter of 842-843 was spent in compiling this information.⁹⁰ Finally, in the first week of August, 843, the commission, now increased to 120 members, met at Verdun and effected the great settlement. The text of the treaty of Verdun unfortunately is lost, but it is a

⁸⁶ Baluze, vol. II, col. 203; Flodoard, *Hist. Rem. eccles.*, II, 50, 380, 395; *Gallia Christiana*, vol. IV, col. 52; Folcuin, *Gesta abbat. Lob.*, Bouquet, IV, 61; cf. Émile Lesne, *L'origine des menses* (Lille, 1910), pp. 11-12.

⁸⁷ "Omnes videlicet episcopatus, abbatias, comitatus, fiscos, et omnia intra praedictos fines consistentia cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, in quacumque regione consistent", *Annal. Bertin.*, anno 837, *M.G.H., SS.*, I, 431. *Cf. Vita Hlud.*, ch. lix.

⁸⁸ Nithard, bk. I, nos. 6, 7; *Annal. Bertin.*, anno 839. The assumption made by Bernhard Simson, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen* (Leipzig, 1876), II, 207, and accepted by many subsequent historians is erroneous. The word "descriptio" signified an inventory or survey, and not a map.

⁸⁹ Nithard, bk. IV, no. 1, ad finem.

⁹⁰ *Annales Xantenses*, anno 842, *M.G.H., SS.*, II, 227; Waitz, vol. IV, p. 695, n. 1; Ernst Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reichs* (Leipzig, 1887), vol. I, p. 192, no. 3.

practical certainty that these statistics played a leading part.⁹¹ A study of the later partition at Meersen in 870 confirms this conjecture.

Unlike the text of Verdun, the text of Meersen is preserved, and we know the precise apportionment of the bishoprics, abbeys, and pagi. The business was rapidly concluded. As Sir Francis Palgrave has written: "The division was settled with cautious minuteness and the schedule enumerates all the parcels, as a conveyancer would say."⁹² The crown lands are not mentioned by name, but were 'thrown in' with the dioceses and counties, as they were allotted, as shown in the recurrent phrase: *cum omnibus villis in eo consistentibus tam dominicatis quam et vassalorum consistentibus*. Ludwig the German got two archbishoprics, four bishoprics, forty-three abbeys, thirty-one counties, four half-counties, and two 'districts'. Charles the Bald got three archbishoprics, six bishoprics, thirty-three abbeys, thirty counties, and four half-counties.

The decade between 866 and 876 was an interval of relief from invasions by the Norsemen and hence of partial recuperation of the Frankish kingdom, during which Charles the Bald endeavored to tighten the relaxed authority of the crown. To that end, in January, 869, *lettres missives* were sent throughout the realm requiring all bishops, abbots, and abbesses by the kalends of May—*i.e.*, between April 16 and May 1—to make returns of the number and extent of *honores* each possessed; at the same time also in every county the royal vassals were commanded to "imbreuiate" the number of benefices held by the count, and the latter in turn was commanded to report upon the number of benefices possessed by each vassal. The check of each class by the other is interesting.⁹³

The whole history of the collections of the various local or general Danegelds imposed upon the realm of Charles the Bald, especially that of the great Danegeld of 877, indicates that an immense amount of statistical information was possessed by the Carolingian government.⁹⁴

⁹¹ "Prefati tres reges miserunt legatos suos proceres, unusquisque ex parte sua, ut iterum per descriptas mansas aeque tripartirent regnum Francorum", *Annal. Xant.*, 843; cf. Waitz, vol. IV, p. 695, n. 1.

⁹² *History of Normandy and England* (London, 1851), I, 370.

⁹³ "... per omne regnum suum litteras misit, ut episcopi, abbates et abbatissae breves de honoribus suis, quanta mansa quisque haberet, ad futuras Kalendas Maii deferre curarent, vasalli autem domini comitum beneficia, et comites vasallorum beneficia imbreuiarent, et praedicto placito aedum breves inde deferrent", etc., *Annal. Bertin.*, anno 869. Cf. Lot, *Moyen Age*, XVIII, pp. 10-11. The capitulary based upon these findings was promulgated in the following July, *M.G.H., LL.*, sec. II, *Capitularia*, vol. II, p. 333, no. 275.

⁹⁴ On the history of the Danegeld see Joranson, *The Danegeld in France*, and Lot, "Les tributs aux Normands", *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, LXXXV, 58 ff.

as late as the last years of the reign of Charles the Bald. M. Lot seems to think that the body of such documents was nearly as complete in 877 as in the reign of Charlemagne,⁹⁵ and that it was not only possible but probable that the Carolingian kings knew the number of manors in every *pagus* as the Roman emperors knew the number of *iugera* in every *civitas*, the number of royal vassals, the number of episcopal and abbatial benefices, etc. It is not implied in this statement that the whole kingdom was *amansé*; but the amount of land not so engaged was negligible.⁹⁶ Lot sadly observes: "Tout a péri des renseignements recueillis par la royauté. Le même sort a atteint les statistiques dressées par les particuliers, hauts fonctionnaires et grandes propriétaires."⁹⁷ Susta and Dopsch believe that the confection, recording, and preservation of governmental instruments—even the writing (*Schreibwerk*) of them, had deteriorated.⁹⁸ With the opinion of these two scholars Joranson also concurs.⁹⁹ Except in Italy all private documents before the thirteenth century have disappeared save for a few scattered bits which have come from ecclesiastical archives. In Italy there are house archives as far back as the tenth century.¹⁰⁰

From the triumph of feudalism at the end of the ninth century until the beginning of the thirteenth century, there is a poverty of statistical information. And yet the paucity of documentary material of this kind is not so great as usually supposed. The nature and extent of this matter I hope to set forth in a subsequent article. The Capetian kings, notably Philip Augustus, and the kings of Norman Sicily furnish the best examples of this interest, although William the Conqueror's Domesday survey must be regarded as the most energetic instance. But there is more statistical information with regard to the history of Germany, Italy, the Byzantine Empire, the khalifate, and the papacy before the thirteenth century than is dreamed of by the average medievalist.

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⁹⁵ "Ainsi, au IX^e siècle, on a fait de la 'statistique' et on en a fait beaucoup, autant et plus qu'on en a fait sous la royauté capétienne au XIII^e siècle. Les pièces de service étaient certainement conservées dans l'*Archivium* ou *armarium sacri palatii* sous la garde du chancelier." *Moyen Age*, XXXII, 7-8. Cf. Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1912), I, 163 ff.

⁹⁶ *Bib. de l'École des chartes*, LXXXV, 61.

⁹⁷ *Moyen Age*, XXXII, 8.

⁹⁸ Susta, *op. cit.*, p. 50. Dopsch, I, 300.

⁹⁹ "It seems very unlikely that the royal officials ever could have secured, as the basis for their calculations, a body of fiscal information that was at all complete or accurate", Joranson, p. 197.

¹⁰⁰ See Bresslau, I, 182.