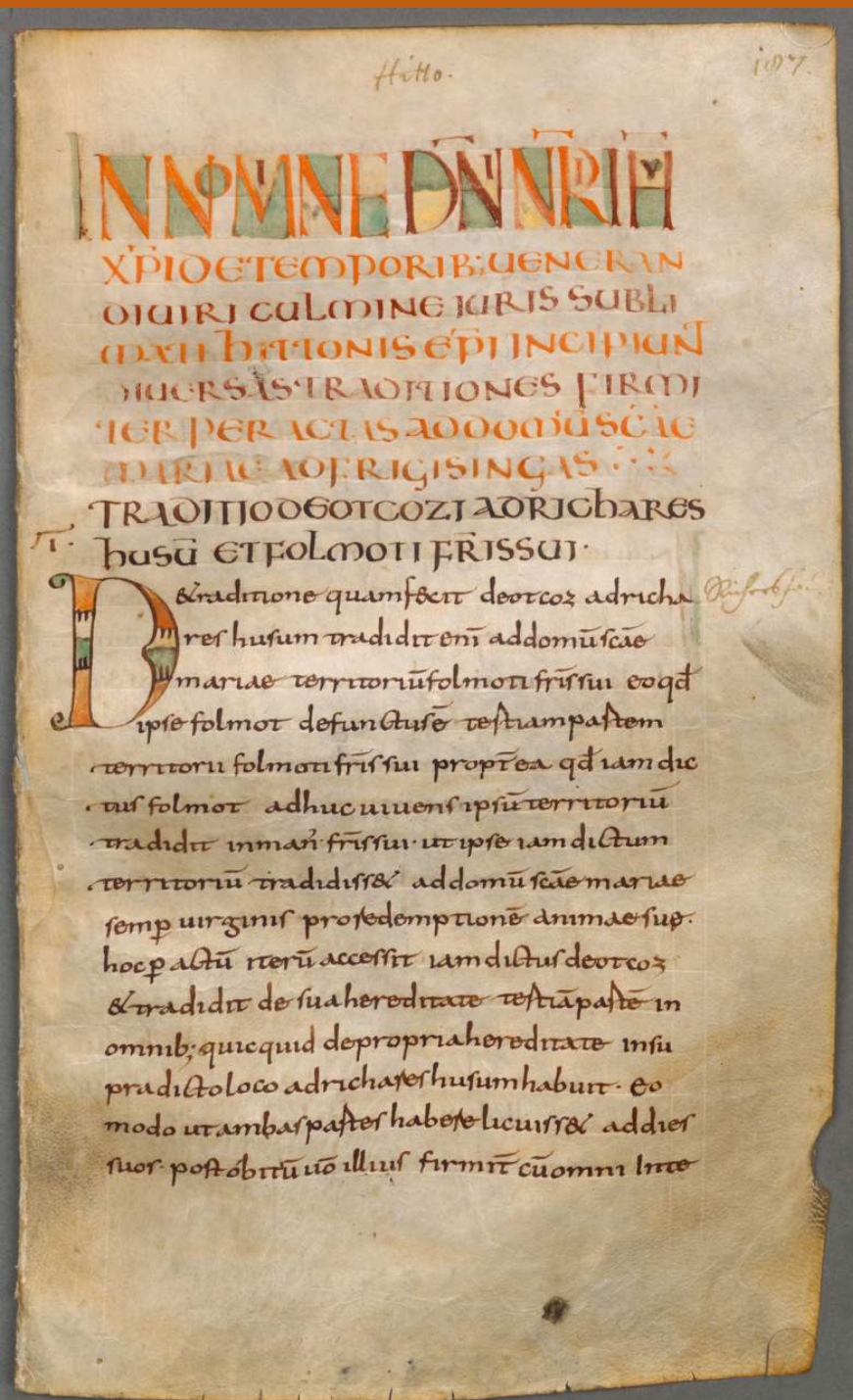


# Huosiland

## A Small Country in Carolingian Europe

Carl I. Hammer



Access Archaeology



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## Preface

This is the story of an imagined country or landscape – imagined in two senses. The first sense is explained in Part 1/1. Although the land itself, roughly western Bavaria between the rivers Isar and Lech, retains its basic contours, it has been much altered by 1200 years of human habitation. Forests have been cleared and replanted, marshes and bogs drained, river courses channelized, cultivated fields opened and enlarged for mechanization. No structures from the early Middle Ages remain. They have either perished or, like the cathedral of Freising, been completely rebuilt. There is nothing which allows us to visualize directly either the natural or the built landscape we shall be describing. Nor do we have representations of any of the persons we shall meet. All these things can only be visualized in our imaginations. What we do have is a book, a codex written at the end of our period, which presents them all to us in the small and disjointed narrative vignettes contained in its numerous documents. These are deeds recording mostly petty property transactions which were normally composed on or near the occasions they describe and written on behalf of the people they record and their ultimate beneficiary, the bishopric of Freising. They are small, contemporary word-portraits which still exist thanks to the pious concerns and diligent efforts of a bishop and a monk of Freising cathedral. The picture which they have preserved for us is at once very constricted and yet surprisingly expansive. What we derive from viewing their picture is limited not solely by the range of their depiction but also by the active engagement of our intellects and our imaginations.

The second sense is explained in Part 1/2. There is no ‘Huosiland’ in the sense of a single bounded and recognized territorial country as there was, for example, a bishopric of Freising and a duchy of Bavaria. Those places, however vague and contested their borders and however loose and undefined their internal constitutions, were recognized by contemporaries as distinct territorial entities established in both secular and ecclesiastical law with customary powers, rights and prerogatives. The western part of the Bavarian diocese of Freising, here called Huosiland, was not such a place. But it was a place where both contemporary witness and later historical memory recognized some features in the proprietary landscape peculiar to it and where its inhabitants joined together in local institutions and cooperative activities to regulate its affairs for their own benefit and for the benefit of the larger entities of Church and State to which they belonged. In that sense, Huosiland was only a microcosm of broader early-medieval society – although perhaps one with some distinctive individual peculiarities. But it is still special because it was a microcosm which we can see and examine in astounding detail and vividness through the codex which was transcribed and preserved at Freising for our use.

This Freising codex, a deed register or cartulary (a *liber traditionum* or *Traditionsbuch* in Latin and German), is described more fully in the Introduction (Part 1/1); the entire codex can now be viewed as a digital edition from the Bavarian State Library in Munich ([www.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de](http://www.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de)) by searching under ‘Inhalte/Handschriften und Autographen/Freisinger Handschriften, Cozroh Codex’. It was edited and published along with related and successor documents by Theodor Bitterauf in the early 20th century, and both volumes of the printed edition are now available on line from the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ: [www.digitale-sammlungen.de](http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de)) by searching ‘Bitterauf Freising’. The deeds from the codex translated in Part 4B comprise essentially all of the documents surviving for our imagined place.

A version of this study was first conceived when I was a graduate student at the University of Toronto in the early 1970s. At that time, intensive regional studies were relatively new. I believe the original impetus came after the war from early-modern French historians associated with the journal founded before the war by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvres, *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations*. For medievalists, the



most important French work of this sort was undoubtedly Georges Duby's 1953 study of the Mâconnais in the 11th and 12th centuries. In 1966 Rodney Hilton, one of the founders of the journal, *Past & Present*, published his study of the West Midlands around the year 1300. In 1969 the Munich historian Karl Bosl published the second edition of his structural study of Franconia around the year 800. It had been extensively supplemented by Bosl's pupil and my friend, Wilhelm Störmer, whom I first met when I studied in Munich in 1969-70 and participated in Bosl's doctoral seminar. I mention these three studies in particular, not only because of their importance, but also because of their variety. They offered no one single template for such a study, only the charge that one should try to encompass a specific place in its human totality and try to mobilize the full range of the available evidence to do that. The French call this 'total history' which may overshoot the mark a bit but is aimed in the right direction.

Duby based his study on the deeds assembled in the modern edition of the cartulary from the great abbey of Cluny. In the third chapter of his memoirs, *History Continues* (English edition) he describes the excitement during his initial reading of the cartulary when 'A torrent of words and names tumbled out of the *Recueil*, words whose lost meaning I had to recover, names that attached to forgotten personages whom I had to identify ...' (p. 13). That is very close to how I felt when I first started reading through the Freising cartulary. Here was an entire world filled with all aspects of human life that might be recovered with persistence, energy and a bit of creativity. I had first used the Freising cartulary during my stay in Munich, but it was only after I returned to Toronto that I learned how to read it productively. That was Josef Sturm's history of the origins of the Bavarian counts of Preysing (1931) where he developed and applied a method for reconstructing social relationships in a world lacking family names. This method is now more generally associated with Gerd Tellenbach and his Freiburg school of early-medieval historical prosopography which, in my view, was the most important in post-war medieval German historiography, but which largely ignored Bavaria – and Sturm. Sturm's study focused on a single early-medieval Bavarian landscape lying directly across the Isar River from Huosiland and south and east of Freising. A portion of that same landscape, the district of Ebersberg, was then studied carefully in the manner of the *Annales* school by Hannelore Lehmann in a remarkable 1965 East German dissertation which, unfortunately, was only published in a summary article.

None of these excellent works has provided a 'model' for me. All historians use some common methodologies, but history as a discipline is, nevertheless, somewhat anarchic. Every historian has his or her own approach, and every subject has its own peculiarities and problems. But they did inspire me and forced me to think about what I wanted to do. They suggested possibilities. The distinguishing characteristic of the present study is the emphasis on, even the primacy of, the translated sources. This is the same general approach that I used in my earlier book on Bavarian slavery (*A Large-Scale Slave Society*, 2002) and I hope that other scholars will benefit now as then from some of my discussions as well as from the translated texts. The closest parallels to this approach are probably the volumes in the older series, Paul Lemerle's *Collection Historique* from Aubier, and Geoffrey Elton's *Historical Problems, Studies and Documents* from Allen and Unwin. But this study differs slightly from those excellent series where the documents were more illustrative than, as here, normative for the historical narrative. As I explain more fully in Part 1/1, my narrative is conceived as an introduction to the sources while the sources provide the substance for the narrative and, at the same time, determine (and limit) its scope. The reader, of course, will have to judge my success.

At first – many years ago – I thought I would put together a simple documentary reader for all of early-medieval Bavaria. This was, to a large extent, dictated by circumstances. After a short academic career, I spent the balance of my professional life in international business. That change of careers required that I choose an activity which could be taken up and put down on short notice and with numerous interruptions. Translating was just the right thing to keep me professionally involved with history. But after retirement I was again able to take up my earlier research interests. The specialized scholarly





studies that I then had the leisure to undertake were often centered on documents I had first become aware of doing my translations. There is no better discipline for close reading than translation which forces one to make precise choices otherwise easily ignored. Those studies progressively convinced me that it would be more valuable – both as an original scholarly effort and as an aid to teaching – to concentrate on a particular area within Bavaria and thus to present a complete documentary portrait of a particular regional society. But this led me, inevitably, to want to relate in some more descriptive and analytical way the story – or, more properly, the stories – that these documents tell us. The narrative depends on the documents, and, I hope, the documents are illuminated in the narrative.

For someone unfamiliar with documents of this sort, becoming accustomed to the name forms may be a problem. Bavarian personal names from this period normally consist of two parts or name-elements although single-element shortened forms and nicknames are not unusual. Except for a few leading individuals discussed in the commentary, I have not attempted to normalize the numerous personal names on the assumption that they are superfluous for most students and that persons doing detailed advanced research will want to consult the critical editions and original documents. But the translations here retain the document numbers of Bitterauf's edition, and his second volume contains a complete and highly-accurate index of all names normalized according to philological principles with full cross-references by document number. It can be consulted on line easily by the relevant alphabet letter where it will be noted that certain letters (B/P, C/K, D/T, F/Ph/V, I/J/Y and U/V) are treated as equivalent and interchangeable as they often are in the original documents. Bitterauf's index also supplies all cross-references to the other Freising documents in which the name (but not necessarily the person) occurs allowing an individual dossier for a person to be assembled. Most of the names of persons occurring in the deeds as donors and officials and virtually all of the witnesses are male, but, in the appurtenance lists of slaves, women's names are numerous and usually listed following those of the male slaves. Distinguishing male from female names can be tricky even for an experienced scholar and may often rely on context.

Bitterauf's index also includes all documented place-names which often also consisted of two parts, a personal name plus a topographical descriptor of some sort. In my translations I have normally provided modernized versions of the base form of the place-names as they occur in the documents. I have also provided a topographical Gazetteer of all place-names occurring in the translated documents for places within Huosiland (Part 5). About 250 separate places are noticed there. The principal places occurring can be located readily by the full term provided in the Gazetteer through a common map program such as Bing and Google. But for some of the smaller places or for places where the same name occurs for multiple locations, I have provided an indication of approximate location to narrow the search. By using these tools it is possible to assemble dossiers of particular places and to map topographical interrelationships. In some cases, the Gazetteer entry shows that modern qualifiers such as 'Ober/Unter', that is, 'Upper/Lower', have been added to the early-medieval place-name to indicate a subsequent division of an early entity into two places, but it is often very difficult (or even irrelevant) to determine which is indicated in the deed. An exception is the occurrence of two 'Mochings', important places now Feld- and Ampermoching where I have attempted to distinguish them. Where a place name is given in its early-medieval form in italics, this indicates that the place either no longer exists or its precise modern location cannot now be determined. I have not included Freising in the Gazetteer because it occurs too frequently to be useful.

Some of the translations printed here date from my original work in the 1970s to which I have added more or less continuously up to the present. Over that period of more than forty years my approach to translation has evolved. Every translation, no matter how good, is an interpretation of the original document which is why scholars prefer to work with the original texts. Early on I attempted to produce fluent literary translations of the Freising deeds which – I now believe – exaggerated the coherence,



finality and public legitimacy of these private documents. Today however, I am inclined to take a more literal approach which better reflects their improvised and tentative elements as provisional attempts to supplement essentially oral proceedings as will be discussed further in Part 1/1 and elsewhere. Of course, other people might – with equally good reason – prefer my earlier approach. In any case, I have reviewed all of the translations and tried to revise them where that seemed warranted as well as to check their accuracy against the original Latin texts. Revision, however, can be a never-ending process. Every time I revisit a document I am tempted to make some small change, a temptation which I try hard to resist, since I cannot be certain that I now know more than I did then. In a very few cases where I was unusually perplexed or had some other problem with the document or its dating, I have indicated this with a [?]. I can only request the reader's indulgence for inconsistencies and inaccuracies where they (inevitably) occur.

There is, of course, another and more contentious aspect to translation when terms from a past and far different society must be translated into a modern idiom. There are three terms in this study and in the translations which are likely to cause some confusion or even offense. Perhaps the most disturbing is my use of the word 'slave' to translate Latin 'servus', 'ancilla' and 'mancipium'. In English, the more general usage for these terms is a borrowing from modern French, 'serf', or a circumlocution such as 'dependent peasant'. Beginning in 1983 with my article 'Family and Familia in early-medieval Bavaria', through several intermediate studies and my book, *A Large-Scale Slave Society*, I have set out in detail why I prefer the admittedly harsher term 'slave'. I realize that my conclusions have not been universally (or even generally) accepted, but I do still feel obliged to follow my own research on this matter.

Perhaps less substantively contentious but still likely disorientating has been my regular use of the term 'sheriff' in other publications to translate the Latin 'comes' when virtually all English-language historians would use another French term, 'count'. Again, I have set out my reasons for this in detail, most recently in my study, *Town and Country*, where I have tried to show that 'count' is both anachronistic and seriously misleading for our period and place. The 'comites' (pl.) of early-Carolingian Bavaria were generally modest, albeit important, royal officials with limited provincial jurisdictions who exercised no powers of their own, possessed no hereditary claims on family succession to office, and presided over relatively limited proprietary estates of their own. That began to change in the 10th century, and by the 11th century the term 'count' is, indeed, appropriate in some cases for the Bavarian 'comes'. Admittedly, of course, the Anglo-Saxon 'shire reeve' or 'sheriff', can also have anachronistic connotations, especially for Americans. Since I hope that this study and particularly the translations will be used by students new to the period, I have given this problem some thought but finally retained my usual practice with this alert for the neophyte.

The final and, in my view, much more debatable term is the Latin 'advocatus' or, less frequently, 'defensor' which I translate as 'steward'. It is true that these two terms appear under the Carolingians most frequently in our evidence as functional designations for someone acting as an 'attorney' (a possible translation) for an ecclesiastic or a woman in legal proceedings where those persons lacked full legal capacities. But, when we observe people like Pilgrim (Part 2/5) occurring multiple times over many years as the bishop's 'advocatus', I think we can also detect the use of the term as one designating an office. And I suspect that the office had other largely-undocumented functions relating to the general administration of estates for persons like the bishop whose status and duties limited their own ability to do so. The office of 'advocatus', appears, like the 'comes', to be a Carolingian innovation in Bavaria, and, also like the 'comes', the authority and status of the 'advocatus' was considerably enhanced after the 9th century when such positions attached to major churches were consolidated under powerful dynasts who used them to expand their lordships. Neither this nor any of these translation issues can be determined on purely linguistic or lexicographical grounds, and the reader now has the historical materials needed to make a determination of his/her own.



A final point: some readers may be upset by the absence of footnotes. I understand their concern, and I am certainly no enemy of footnotes as anyone will know who consults my specialized scholarly studies where they frequently overwhelm the text itself. But here I thought it would be better to keep the reader fully focused on the primary documents which are cited abundantly in the text. Those are the items which deserve an occasional detour from the narrative. I also refer in the text from time to time to secondary studies which I think are particularly relevant to a particular point. In compensation for the lack of footnotes, I have arranged the bibliography (Part 3) according to the parts of the introductory narrative and provided some guidance for the reader who wishes to determine the basis in the scholarly literature (if any) for my assertion or to learn more about a particular topic.

I have been working on various aspects of both the text and the translations for about four decades now, and it really is impossible here to acknowledge all of the assistance I have received along the way. This particular manuscript, however, has benefited from the comments of anonymous readers and from Chris Wickham of Oxford, now retired. Chris' help here and previously is particularly appreciated because we have never met, he has no obligation towards me, and we do not always agree. Nevertheless, he has been very generous with his valuable time. I must also mention my friend, the late Wilhelm Störmer (Munich), whom I first met in 1969 and who was always ready to provide assistance and encouragement which was especially welcome to someone working outside the normal academic structures. We met in Karl Bosl's seminar in Munich where Störmer was Bosl's *Assistent*. Bosl's reputation has suffered enormously in recent years. His scholarly work is seldom cited today, and his largely-gratuitous reinvention of his relationship with the NS regime led to the revocation of public honors. I, like many others, was always quite aware of his scholarly and personal shortcomings. But it is also impossible to deny that he energized the study of Bavarian history in a very difficult period of academic history, and he was always very considerate to me personally. For over 50 years my wife, Jóna, has tolerated my historical preoccupations and has even taken considerable trouble to improve the literacy of this text.



# Part 1. Contexts: Structures and Communities

## Part 1/1. Introduction

In the mid-740s a new Law Code for the Bavarians was issued by Duke Odilo (r. 736x7-748), but we have no manuscripts of the Code before the early 9th century. That is well after Odilo's son, Duke Tassilo (r. 748-788/94), had been deposed by his cousin, the Frankish King Charlemagne (r. 768-814), and Odilo's ducal line replaced with an entirely new Bavarian royal line descended from Charlemagne's son, the Emperor Louis the Pious (r. 814-840). So we cannot say with assurance exactly what Odilo's earlier version of the Code contained because we have only later Carolingian redactions, and we know that later revisions and additions were made, most prominently by Charlemagne in his reforms of 802 with their clear impact on Bavaria (see below, Part 1/3). The existing Code appears, in any event, to include earlier as well as later redactions and is thus quite complex textually. Some of the surviving sections or Titles such as the compensation lists for personal injuries (Titles 4-6) and the specification of ducal qualities (Title 2/9) appear to be quite archaic and may even date back, as the Prologue to the Code states, to much earlier redactions under the Merovingian kings in the 6th and 7th centuries. Others such as the provision for the comital court or 'placitum' (Title 2/14) are almost certainly later Carolingian additions, since, as we shall see, this institution did not exist previously in Bavaria. Some, such as the legitimization of Odilo's ducal line, the Agilolfings and five other noble lineages or 'genealogiae' (Title 3) may have been innovations by Odilo himself. Its compact structure and limited scope is singular, and it has no parallel in the other ethnic law codes. This Title may be only a remnant of the earliest period under Charlemagne when there was still some question of how Bavaria should be ruled; its retention is more of a puzzle (see below, Part 1/2).

The entire first Title of the Law Code of the Bavarians provides elaborate legal sanctions protecting the Church, its property and clergy. While there were certainly Christians and churches in Bavaria long before Odilo's time, a properly-organized Church according to canonical law with a clerical hierarchy under bishops does not predate the early 8th century. And it was not finally regularized with papal approval until the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface, acting as a papal legate in 739, established the four Bavarian bishoprics which still exist today, Freising (now with Munich), Regensburg, Passau and Salzburg (now in Austria). For nearly 60 years after this Bavaria lacked any metropolitan organization with an archbishop although one had been anticipated from the earliest papal plans for Bavaria in 715/6. Nor was Bavaria subject to the Frankish church of Mainz as were the other dioceses east of the Rhine River. Rather, the Bavarian dukes cultivated direct relations with Rome to maintain their political autonomy from the Franks. But, in 798 under Charlemagne, Salzburg – and not Regensburg, the political center of Bavaria – with its bishop, Arn, was elevated to metropolitan status. Under the Carolingians the Bavarian church thus continued its earlier and distinctive independence of the large eastern Frankish province of Mainz.

Parts of Title 1 may be quite old and borrowed from earlier Frankish legislation such as the sanctions for killing a bishop (Title 1/10; not translated). Others may be of a later date and reflect more recent canon law and practice. The very first (LB 1/1) provides for gifts to the Church:

In Order that if any Free Bavarian or any other Wishes to Give His Allod or any other Property to the Church, He May Have Free Power

In order that if any free person may wish and give his properties to the Church for the redemption of his soul, he may have permission from his own portion after he has divided with his sons. No one may prohibit him, neither the king nor the duke nor any [other] person may have power of



prohibiting him. And what he may give, vills, land, slaves or any property, all of it whatsoever he may give for the redemption of his soul, let he himself confirm it through a written deed [*epistola*] by his own hand, and let him summon witnesses, six or more, and let them place their hands upon the deed, and let their names be noted there, whomever he may ask. And then let him place that deed upon the altar, and thus let him convey that same property in the presence of the priest who serves there. And after this let him have no power thence, neither he nor his descendants except as the defender of that church may wish to offer as a benefice; rather let the goods of the church be defended by the bishop, whatever may be given by Christians to the Church of God.

The detailed concern in this provision with legal procedure and the use of a written instrument, which it here calls an ‘*epistola*’, are sophisticated characteristics which stand in sharp contrast to many other sections of the Code. A strong reason for thinking that this particular provision dates to the period of Odilo’s rule is the first appearance during his reign of dated historical documents which directly reflect these provisions of the Law Code. Indeed, these earliest deeds from both the Freising cartulary (TF 1; below, Part 2/1) and the Passau cartulary (TP 2), both issued under Odilo, represent the forms and contents of early-medieval deeds in a very fully-developed state.

It is likely that written instruments were used on occasion to document title at an earlier date, but, because a Bavarian Church with established dioceses did not exist prior to Odilo, and there was no clear legal requirement for written evidences, those documents have not been preserved. The church of Salzburg may have had some earlier written notices of donations under Odilo’s ducal predecessors, but, when around 788x90 Bishop Arn, evidently concerned about possible threats to diocesan property under the new Carolingian regime, gathered information in a register, the *Notitia Arnonis*, he still relied heavily on sworn oral testimony, ‘from very old and trustworthy men, monks and laymen’, all named (*Ibid.*, c. 8/8; not translated). It is possible that Latin-speaking persons, *Romani*, who continued to inhabit parts of Bavaria, particularly in the dioceses of Passau and Salzburg, preserved intact some older Roman legal forms in their property transactions (TP 1, not translated) just as they seem to have maintained usages in their liturgies from late Antiquity. But elsewhere in Bavaria there is no evidence before Odilo’s reign for what could be called a deed, that is, a proper written instrument for property transfer. The most common contemporary Latin term for such an instrument was ‘*traditio*’ or ‘conveyance’, a word which comprehends both the act or transfer of the property itself and its written record, which, as we saw, was also called ‘*epistola*’, a ‘letter’, and also a ‘cart[ul]a’ or ‘charter’. But from then, and particularly under his son Duke Tassilo, the number of such deeds to the end of the Agilolfing regime in 788/94 is substantial and then increases rapidly in the early years of Carolingian rule.

The diocese of Freising in western Bavaria accounts for by far the largest share of this new Bavarian literate record keeping. It is difficult to establish precise numbers, since the nature of these records and the manner in which they were preserved do not always allow sharp distinctions and not all deeds are dated precisely. But in the modern edition of these deeds by Theodor Bitterauf, the period we will consider, the century from the beginning of written records in the mid-8th century to the mid-9th century, there are 741 document entries to the end of Bishop Erchanbert’s pontificate in 854 of which almost a quarter come from the first half. No other Bavarian diocese has such a rich archive and very few other churches in all of Europe can produce a comparable count from this early date, particularly when the relatively modest size and peripheral location of the diocese are considered. Moreover, as Mark Mersowsky’s recent explorations of early medieval documents have made clear, Freising’s deeds are particularly instructive on issues relating to the realization of the conveyances they document.

We owe this extraordinary documentary treasure to the two men who were responsible for assembling the bishopric’s first deed register or cartulary. The Freising Bishop Hitto (s. 811–835) entrusted oversight of this work to the new priest and monk, Cozroh, in 824. Cozroh’s initial task was completed in two



parts in mid-830. The earliest deeds preserved in Freising's archives, dating from the pontificates of three of Hitto's episcopal predecessors, were copied by pontificate through the present manuscript folio 186v. The deeds from the early years of Hitto's pontificate to the year 830 were also enrolled in parallel through present folio 354v. These first two parts were written largely though not exclusively by Cozroh, and for both of these parts he composed an analytical table of contents or 'Renner' which numbered the deeds by pontificate in the order of the manuscript. The wording of these 'Renner' entries usually corresponds to the short descriptive header – normally the donor's name and location of the gift – affixed to the beginning of each deed.

Since these two parts of the cartulary were conceived partly as memorials to the donors' generosity (see below), some attention was given to their appearance which can be readily seen at the Bavarian State Library's website where a digitized file of the entire codex is available (see the Preface for the links). They are neatly written and have simple ornamental capital letters although they are not highly decorated. An exception is the header for Bishop Hitto's deeds where his role as patron is suitably recognized (fo. 187r; see cover). Cozroh continued to work on the register in a third part as one of several scribes. He was still drafting and entering new deeds into early 848 (cf. TF 699, 701) when he probably died. This third part of the cartulary has a strictly utilitarian appearance as a functional record of properties. At this time, a new register (B) was also begun which contains primarily exchanges of property between Freising and various proprietors rather than conveyances of gifts as previously (see below).

None of these deeds survives in the original, so Cozroh is personally responsible directly or indirectly for the preservation of nearly all of our early Freising documents. Fortunately, there is every indication that Cozroh was an exceptionally scrupulous worker as were his colleagues. In Cozroh's own words from his Prologue to the cartulary (TF Prologue), Bishop Hitto, 'instruct[ed] him in this manner: neither to omit nor to add anything unless something were ascertained to be corrupted by fault of the scribe', that is, by clerical error. They chose to copy the deeds in full text including all names rather than merely producing summaries of their contents. This was done to provide better security for the properties but also to preserve the pious memory of persons who had benefited the diocese and those who had assisted them.

In this way Bishop Hitto intended that, 'forever might endure the memory of those who enriched and endowed this cathedral church with their goods or whatever they conveyed and granted to the same cathedral church for the remedy of their souls.' Whenever we read these deeds we validate his pious intent, and we can compare the names of the persons who occur in these deeds with the list of 'Brothers from Freising' who were included in the great confraternity book created at the important monastery on the Reichenau island in Lake Constance. There Hitto's successor, Bishop Erchanbert, heads the list of the living clerical and lay 'brothers' in the prayer confraternity while Hitto heads the list of the 'deceased' so the entry must date from after his death in 835 and before Erchanbert's in 854 (MGH, *Necr. Germ., Supplementum*, pp. 320-21). Unfortunately, the memorial notices from 9th century Freising itself are relatively late and scrappy; it is not clear how much confidence should be allowed to their death dates, for example, Hitto's on 11 December. Despite their designation as 'brothers' (*fratres*), the persons remembered as benefactors in these prayer lists comprised numerous women as well as men, and their study in relation to the deeds would considerably enrich our knowledge of early-medieval aristocratic women.

Another later Freising clerk, Conrad the Sacristan, a senior cathedral official, created a new cartulary in 1187. He may have intended to perpetuate the pious 'memorial' function of Cozroh's cartulary, but he was probably primarily interested in creating a diocesan history, perhaps influenced by the great Freising bishop and historian, Otto of Freising, who died in 1158. Conrad followed the order of Cozroh's volume closely. This is fortunate because the original eighth gathering of pages in the first part,



formerly located between the current folios 64v and 65r of the surviving manuscript and containing 13 deeds (Renner: Ardeo 59/60 to 72), is now missing from the first part of Cozroh's manuscript, and we must rely on Conrad's transcripts for their texts. Unfortunately, Conrad omitted the names of the witnesses to these deeds, providing only a summary reference to the entry in Cozroh's cartulary which is given in square brackets in the translations in Part 4. But Conrad may also have had access to original deeds still surviving in the episcopal archive but not entered by Cozroh (see TF 193b).

Cozroh and Hitto also arranged the deeds 'more rationally' (in their view) in rough chronological order by the pontificates of Freising's bishops and not topographically as was common in other early cartularies such as those of Passau and Mondsee in Bavaria and elsewhere in eastern Francia. Bishop Arn of Salzburg had also used a chronological scheme when a third of a century earlier he had first assembled information on his diocesan properties (see above), but there the properties were arranged by order of the Bavarian dukes, not Salzburg bishops, and his 'notices' only summarized later oral testimony (see below). Cozroh's cartulary was then, in some sense, a novel undertaking, a chronological documentary history of the early diocese without any connecting narrative. But, so far as we know, no episcopal 'gesta' or chronicle of the deeds of the individual bishops was composed although the encomium of Bishop Hitto in Cozroh's Prologue might be considered a limited attempt to create such a record for Cozroh's episcopal patron.

This chronological rather than topographical arrangement of Cozroh's cartulary is important for our study, since we shall be looking only at the far western portion of the diocese which, together with adjacent parts of the diocese of Augsburg, I have called 'Huosiland', and their procedure complicates our work. Of the more than 700 Freising deeds from our period, a disproportionate number (perhaps, almost half) seem to be relevant for a study of Huosiland. But it is impossible to be more precise, since not all early place names can be identified with certainty, and, as I shall indicate presently, Huosiland's borders are not absolutely fixed by clear geographical boundaries. Topographical organization of the cartulary would have helped us immensely to identify locations. Still, there can be little doubt that western Bavaria is one of the most intensively documented landscapes in all of early-medieval Europe. And, as we shall see, the quality of the documentation is unexcelled in its detail and intrinsic interest. It would be even richer if neighboring Augsburg's diocesan archive had survived.

Some documents in our dossier are not full deeds of conveyance (Latin: *traditio*, pl. *traditiones*) but only very summary, written notices or memoranda after the fact (*notitia*, pl. *notitiae*) which merely record informally some of the main points of the conveyance without all of the legal formalities. Other of our 'deeds' are even more rudimentary but contain interesting information on various episcopal transactions and conditions. Some deeds record sales to and from the bishopric as was also required by the Law Code (Title 16/15; not translated), and increasingly towards the middle of the 9th century they record exchanges of properties which soon became the dominate form of ecclesiastical property transfer and which evidently required royal license. Church property could not be diminished, and deeds of exchange were intended to ensure equality of value in the exchanged properties, since the properties were described precisely. That significant change, from deed of gift to exchange, has still not been adequately explained, but it appears to have happened outside Bavaria as well. These exchanges have the value of providing very precise information on the lands and people being exchanged, but they are less informative on other matters and certainly not as interestingly discursive as the deeds. These exchanges, like many of the sales and purchases recorded in the cartulary were probably intended to consolidate diocesan holdings out of the scattered donations received randomly from various persons over the course of almost a century.

Altogether in Part 4 I have translated nearly 350 Freising documents from Cozroh's cartulary which I believe are related to Huosiland during our century although, as indicated above, certainty is elusive in



some cases. In general, I may have erred on the side of inclusiveness, but I believe all of these deeds are in some way apposite to the enterprise regardless of their precise provenance. To these Freising deeds, I have added eight other documents from various sources. In addition to short excerpts from the Bavarian Law Code, there is a unique document from the diocese of Augsburg, a survey which provides detailed information on episcopal estate organization and which can be paired usefully with a corresponding provision in the first Title of the Law Code (LB 1/13) and with several Freising deeds. There is one deed from the faraway monastery of Mondsee, now in Upper Austria, which records disputed property in southern Huosiland. And there are two deeds from the monastery of Schäftlarn on the river Isar which itself was located in the southeastern part of Huosiland on the river Isar. Finally, there is one royal charter from King Ludwig whom we call ‘the German’, the first Carolingian king of Bavaria (r. 826-876).

The reason for the name ‘Huosiland’, will be explained in the next section, but for now it is enough to give its approximate geographical dimensions. In its broadest and most general sense, Huosiland is the area of Bavaria to the west and directly to the north of the episcopal seat at Freising and lying between the rivers Isar and Lech (see Map). In the west, the Alemannic diocese of Augsburg, which belonged to the Frankish province of Mainz, not to Bavarian Salzburg, extended eastwards beyond the Lech and covered the western portion of Huosiland, but, unfortunately, all of Augsburg’s early records except for the survey noted above have been lost. We shall be concerned with only that one Augsburg document which was preserved elsewhere, but a number of Freising deeds concern properties within the diocese of Augsburg. A narrower definition of Huosiland would restrict it to the land between the rivers Amper and Glonn and directly adjacent areas of which the area to the north of Allershausen and Freising is the most important. These rivers are both western tributaries of the Isar; the Glonn enters the Amper near Allershausen, an important place in Huosiland (Part 2/5). The Amper then flows eastwards from Allershausen and to the north of Freising, entering the Isar east of Freising at Moosburg. I have included several places in this area directly north of Freising reaching into the headwaters of the rivers Ilm and Abens because of their adjacency to central Huosiland (see, for example, Part 2/1 for Zolling). Like the Lech, the Amper and the Isar have their origins south of Freising in the Alps, and this southern Bavarian piedmont country, which includes the Bavarian lake country around lakes Starnberg and the Ammersee, also contains important centers of Huosiland. The distance from the monastery of Schlehdorf, which clearly came under Huosi control (Part 1/4) and which is located in the far to the south in the alpine piedmont, to the cathedral of Freising on the Bavarian plateau in the extreme north is about 100 km; from east to west it is only about 50 km. The central portion between the rivers Amper and Glonn can be toured easily in a short day with a leisurely stop for lunch. It is not a large place.

During the Late Roman Empire, the area of Huosiland pertained to the province of Raetia II with its capital at Augsburg. Both in the Roman period and the very first post-Roman centuries, this eastern portion of Raetia II, which extended to the river Inn, appears to have been a relatively empty landscape. It was crossed by important roads leading both east to the prosperous neighboring province of Noricum and south to Italy, but there are few archaeological evidences for important villas and none for urban settlements beyond Augsburg. Likewise, it is relatively poor in the row-grave cemeteries which are characteristic of the earliest medieval settlements from the 6th century to the early 8th, and its place names belong to types generally diffused in Bavaria only during the late-Merovingian and early Carolingian periods after 700. In short, Huosiland was largely a transit landscape in late Roman and very early medieval times, but this seems to have changed in the early 8th century when settlement appears to have intensified, possibly proceeding northeastwards from the Alpine piedmont along the principal rivers as well as southwest from the area around Freising. ‘Ried’ place names, which indicate man-made clearings of woodlands or assarts, are abundant there, pointing to the nature and intensity of settlement in our period. Thus, the deeds from Huosiland in the Freising cartulary reflect a human landscape which was a relatively new creation in the mid-8th century when our documentation begins.



Although thus somewhat marginal and remote, Huosiland did not remain static over our century or isolated from developments elsewhere in Carolingian Europe. We have already touched on some of the important political and ecclesiastical changes which occurred there. The most striking, of course, is that the entire top layer of the political order was restructured (though not replaced) at the end of the 8th century by Charlemagne and further altered by his descendants in the early 9th century. This had major consequences for much of the political elite, but some more fundamental changes were already well underway under the Agilolfing dukes. We have just noted one: their introduction of a written Law Code with its requirements for formal, written documentation in addition to oral testimony. As historians, we continue to benefit from that revolution. And this necessarily went together with improved education and literacy which is usually ascribed, not without reason, to the 'Carolingian Renaissance', a development which can be discerned readily in the Latinity of our deeds which become both more technically 'correct' and more grammatical in the early 9th century.

In his Prologue to the cartulary (TF Prologue), Cozroh draws attention to the zeal of his bishop, Hitto, in reforming sacred studies and liturgy at the cathedral after 811. But well before this Bavaria was provided with episcopal and monastic writing establishments or 'scriptoria' producing substantial materials, many of which still reside in the magnificent manuscript collection of the Bavarian State Library in Munich and which were described so acutely in Bernhard Bischoff's two monumental catalogue volumes. Still, there is no denying that the quality of the Latin in our documents improves noticeably during our period while becoming in some ways, unfortunately, more stereotyped in conventional forms and containing less discursive information. But this important cultural change is one area where Huosiland participated only marginally, since, as we shall see, monasteries were entirely absent from its core territory between the Amper and the Glonn although several important ones were located further south in the alpine Piedmont. This deficiency in northern Huosiland was to some extent made good by the proximity of the episcopal seat at Freising. We have ample evidence for its ready accessibility from Huosiland, and the bishop never seems to be far away when invited to visit, nor his agents lacking when problems and new tasks arose. Moreover, several of the most important members of the Freising clergy and their lay officials, including Bishop Hitto himself, seem to come from Huosiland. But Huosiland was not a learned landscape.

Huosiland, like Bavaria and, indeed, like all societies in all places at all times, contained elements of both difference and similarity to its larger environment. Nor, as we noted, was it static over our century when its older and largely autonomous ducal rule was replaced by Carolingian institutions. In order to present both the common and the unique characteristics, I have divided my introductory study into two parts, 'Contexts' and 'Connections' which, in an earlier day, I probably would have called (equally alliteratively) 'Structures' and 'Societies'. Drawing on the translated documents in Part 4 and on more general historical knowledge of the period, the balance of Part 1 (Contexts) provides short, contextual accounts of royal and ducal governance, church, economy and society in Carolingian Huosiland. They address in turn four issues:

- Part 1/2. Why have I called this region 'Huosiland'?
- Part 1/3. How was it governed by the duke and then the king and their officers?
- Part 1/4. How was the Church structured and governed, and what do we know about religious practices and beliefs there?
- Part 1/5. How were the economy and society organized?

With the partial exception of Part 1/2, we shall see that Huosiland was not a unique or even a highly-exceptional place. Rather, it was typical in many respects of the larger Frankish society and Carolingian polity of which it became a very small part. Three of the fundamental structural changes there, the establishment of the comital system of local governance, the introduction of the bi-partite manor,



and the expansion of a parochial system under episcopal control, are all common to Frankish lands in the late 8th and early 9th centuries, albeit with significant regional variations. But, because of the exceptional documentation preserved for Huosiland, we can see these features particularly clearly and their development in greater and more vivid detail which makes it a particularly rewarding place to study. Still, as we shall see in Parts 1/3 and 2/3 there remains the possibility that Huosiland itself was divided between two forms of political organization, the one typically Carolingian and the other, perhaps, more archaic.

The general historical contexts provided in Part 1 are supplemented in Part 2 (Connections) by six detailed explorations of individual documents or document clusters and the individuals and social groups they depict and the issues they seek to resolve. These six studies present close readings of those sources and give particular attention to their documentary as well as to their historical contexts. Some of our documents tell very complete stories about people and events on their own. But in most cases, they require that we put them into relation with others in order to extract their full significance. These six brief documentary sketches or narrative ‘tales’ present some people and places which are exceptionally well documented. They illuminate the larger historical issues raised in Part 1 and raise new issues. But they equally show the limitations to our knowledge which early-medieval historians must accept even when the documentation is so exceptional. My intent in both Parts 1 and 2 is not to preempt further work by exhaustive analysis, but rather to highlight a few outstanding issues and documents in order to introduce (and induce) readers into further study on their own in using the extensive document dossier contained in Part 4. With those documents the reader has all the tools required to construct new ‘Contexts’ and to draw new ‘Connections’ for Huosiland.

## **Part 1/2. Huosiland?**

In the summer of 791 Charlemagne moved his court to Regensburg in Bavaria which lies on the northernmost bend of the River Danube. With the fortifications from the old Roman legionary fortress still intact (as they are yet today), a cathedral presided over by a loyal Carolingian supporter, Bishop Sindbert, and a major monastery, St Emmeram, Regensburg was the only place in Bavaria with the infrastructure required to support a royal court on a sustained basis. This was necessary because there were evidently problems with his newly-subjected Bavarians. Charlemagne’s first cousin, Tassilo, from the ducal line of the Agilolfings, had been deposed under military pressure in 788 and was now confined to a monastery in far western Francia, but, despite a massive and carefully-staged show trial, Tassilo’s claims to rule must still have possessed some legitimacy. The establishment of unquestioned Carolingian authority in Bavaria would require further and possibly-prolonged attention there. Moreover, with its position on the Danube, the major East-West transportation axis in central Europe, and with good road connections over the Alps into Italy, Regensburg offered the strategic position and good communication lines which Charlemagne needed to pursue his new military venture against the Avars, a semi-nomadic people who occupied what is now Lower Austria and Hungary.

At Regensburg Charlemagne held his great council of war where the injuries suffered from the Avars, particularly against the Church, were rehearsed as (somewhat questionable) justifications for the undertaking. An advanced camp was then set up at Lorch on the River Enns, a southern tributary of the Danube and Bavaria’s eastern frontier with Avaria. Lorch too was the site of an old Roman legionary fortress, part of which may still have been serviceable. There Charlemagne received a message from his son King Pippin in Italy reporting a highly-successful incursion from Italy into Avaria. Clearly encouraged by this ostensibly favorable omen and having completed penitential rites to secure divine assistance, Charlemagne then launched a three-pronged incursion into Avaria with a Saxon and Frisian contingent advancing along the north bank of the Danube. Charlemagne and his young son, Louis, with their Franks followed the south bank along the old Roman highway, and both columns were supported by



a fleet of boats manned by Bavarians. However, despite such careful preparations, the great expedition ended inconclusively; the Avars wisely refused to offer a decisive battle, epidemic disease broke out amongst the horses, and two of the king's most trusted churchmen, Bishop Sindbert of Regensburg and the royal archchaplain, Bishop Angilram of Metz, died during the campaign.

Charlemagne withdrew to Regensburg to make thorough preparations for a new campaign in 792, but this was cancelled due to a serious palace revolt involving his oldest son, also named Pippin, who is known to us by a later attempt to discredit him as 'the Hunchback'. Similarly, the planned campaign in 793 was aborted when the contingent from Frisia led by Charlemagne's kinsman Theoderic was ambushed and annihilated in Saxony. Charlemagne was accustomed to success, and this string of bad luck must have undermined his confidence in the Avar undertaking. He withdrew to eastern Francia, and there he held a great council at Frankfurt in the summer of 794 where Tassilo was produced to renounce all of his claims in Bavaria.

Bavaria now seemed secure although the precise structure of the new regime there still required further consideration. Any thought of establishing a Carolingian king in Bavaria as in Italy and the Aquitaine had been scuttled for the moment by the troubles with Pippin the Hunchback who may have aspired to that position. Possibly, as we shall see, Charlemagne even considered revival of the duchy with a more compliant member of the Agilolfing family at its head and suitable safeguards incorporated into the Law Code to facilitate his removal for contumacy. After all, Tassilo and his sons were descended from Charlemagne's grandfather, the mighty majordomo Charles Martell, by the Martell's daughter and Charlemagne's own aunt, Hiltrud, who was Tassilo's mother. There may have been more members of that family about than we know.

We have much information about the details of Charlemagne's campaign in 791 because of the survival of three documents originating from activities in the advanced camp at Lorch. One of them is Charlemagne's only personal letter to survive, a remarkably affectionate message to his wife, Fastrada, who had remained in Regensburg. The other two are deeds from the Freising cartulary. Both relate to Huosiland, and both concern disputes about the possession of churches there which were considered family property and are known to modern historians as 'proprietary churches' (for which, see Part 1/4). Neither has a complete dating clause, but there is no doubt about their dates or venues. One relates proceedings at a missatical court held 'at the place called Lorch upon the hill called the Wartberg ... done on the consular day, the 12th calends of October ... on the river Enns in the already named place, Lorch', that is, on Tuesday, 20 October (TF 142). The other was, 'Done at a place located amongst the tents next to the town which is called Lorch, with the Glorious King Charles reigning in his 23rd year', that is 791 (TF 143).

Both documents are of great interest for our investigations, but here we shall concentrate only on the one involving a missatical court (TF 142). It is well known to all historians of medieval Bavaria and even to some beyond, and it tells an interesting tale. It concerns five coheirs to the church of St Martin at a place called 'Awigozeshusir' the location of which has never been identified definitively. Two of these coheirs tried to eject the other three from their possession, one of whom probably also served the church as priest. The dispute must have been quite hefty, perhaps even violent, and to settle it a council was held amongst a group identified in the deed as the Huosi and presided over by three men. But they were unable to impose a settlement, and the matter was referred to the priest's bishop, Atto of Freising, who sent them all on to Lorch where a court presided over by royal commissioners, 'missi dominici', was assembled. It was a very high-powered tribunal with Bishop Arn of Salzburg, and the court paladins, Gerold, Charlemagne's brother-in-law, and Meginfrid, the royal chamberlain, all sitting together in judgment. There the matter was argued over three whole days – all of this, remember in the camp of an army actively preparing for an imminent campaign! There is no question that the disposition of this



dispute was treated as an important matter of state and that the suitors were very important persons to the Carolingian regime. Finally, judgment was rendered in favor of the three ejected plaintiffs, and subsequently they were formally restored to their shares in the church by their two opponents in a ceremony involving the altar cloth of the church by which the priest was also received back into his position. This investiture and restoration was then confirmed by Bishop Atto of Freising to whom the Huosi had first appealed for a settlement.

The other deed from Lorch describes a similar family dispute about a church in Rottbach in southern 'Huosiland' and, likewise, raises several interesting issues (TF 143; see Part 2/6 for further discussion). But the main point of interest for the present is the reported identity in the first deed (TF 142) of the collective group, the Huosi, to which the coheirs of 'Awigozeshusir' belonged and its 'council' which tried to settle the dispute without resort to royal authorities. The Bavarian Law Code provides welcome assistance in understanding this deed. Following directly on its Title 2 describing the ducal office, there is a remarkably short third Title without any of the subdivisions found in the other Titles. It appears to be a later interpolation into the Code:

### Title 3. Concerning the *genealogiae* and their compensation

Now, with regard to the *genealogia*: concerning those which are named the Huosi, the Drozza, the Fagana, the Hahilings, and the Anniona: they are, as it were, the first after the Agilolfings who are from the ducal family (*de genere ducali*). We allow them double status, and thus they should receive two-fold compensation. However, the Agilolfings, up to the duke, should be compensated four-fold, since they are the chief rulers (*summi principes*) amongst you.

The duke, moreover, who is set over the people, that one was always from the family of the Agilolfings and ought to be because the kings our ancestors allowed it so to them. So that he who from their family was faithful to the king and judicious, they established him as duke to rule that people ...

Thus, a homicide against of any member of these five *genealogiae* must be compensated at twice the rate for an ordinary freeman who had a wergeld of 160 shillings, and members of the ducal family at four times. Moreover, the apparent intent of this title was not to extend special protection only to those in service of the duke (or the king) but rather to every (presumably male) member of those *genealogiae* by right of birth. And, yet, no particular constitutional authority or responsibilities are vested by the Law Code in any of the 'genealogiae' or in the Agilolfings other than the duke himself.

We have already noted the oddity that the Law Code, which only exists in Carolingian recensions written after the deposition of Duke Tassilo, should deal at such length with both the ducal office and the now deposed Agilolfing family. I have suggested above why the Carolingians might have been interested in preserving the ducal office, but it is more difficult to understand why they should have wished to preserve so prominently the memory of the dynasty they had discredited and displaced. There may be no answer to this puzzle. Perhaps it is only an artifact retained for its antiquarian interest, and yet we have evidence that the Law Code was used actively in early-medieval Bavaria. One of the earliest copies can even be ascribed to a sheriff, a senior Carolingian royal official in Bavaria (see below, Part 1/3), and was likely the working copy that accompanied him and his judge to court sessions in the early 9th century.

The second puzzle here is the very existence of these privileged 'genealogiae'. The term itself is a neologism of the 8th century and merely means 'family', that is, its late-Classical meaning of 'genealogy', the history of a family, was subsequently extended to include its subject, the family itself. Now, all early-medieval societies had elites or aristocracies but very few had hereditary aristocracies whose members' privileged





status was enshrined in law, that is, nobilities. Rather, the normal Frankish practice, found established in most of the early ethnic law codes, was to recognize only a single legal status as freeman and supplement this by additional privileges and protections which were extended to some explicitly-designated royal servants. Indeed, in many of our documents 'nobilis' means simply 'liber', an ordinary freeman able to execute a legal agreement. But before we dismiss this apparent peculiarity of the Bavarian Law Code as some abstract exercise in theoretical jurisprudence, we must consider two other Freising deeds.

The first and much earlier of these deeds from July 750 (TF 5) concerns properties lying just to the east of Huosiland and just across the Isar river which were disposed of at the ducal estate of Ding, now on the south edge of Munich's international airport and about 15 kilometers from Freising. There at Ding 'the Most Glorious Tassilo duke of the Bavarians', who, at this date, was barely nine years old and probably under the tutelage of his widowed mother, Hiltrud, acted on behalf of a 'genealogia' called the Ferings and granted meadows at nearby Erching to St Mary and her bishopric at Freising. In this donation, he was joined by four named men who added whatever property at Erching pertained to the 'genealogia' of the Fagana, another of the privileged 'genealogiae' named in Title 3 of the Law Code. Clearly, these men were acting on behalf of their 'genealogia' just as the later 'council' of the Huosi attempted to settle the dispute over 'Awigozeshusir' for their 'genealogia'. A third 'genealogia' identified in this early deed, the Ferings and not named in the Code, was likewise represented at the proceedings by a man Alfrid and his unnamed brothers, but, for some reason, they did not carry out the transaction themselves although they consented to it. I suspect that the Ferings, named for an eponymous ancestor 'Fara', were a cadet line or otherwise closely tied to the Agilolfings and certainly to Duke Tassilo, since the earliest documented Agilolfing, a Frank, bore the personal name Fara in the 7th century. Tassilo's involvement was probably sought to provide more secure possession.

At the same time, this deed underscored Tassilo's particular role as a benefactor of the Church and his ducal authority which is emphasized prominently in the wording of this deed despite his extreme youth. Throughout his ducal reign Tassilo was keen to promote through titles and honorifics the exalted nature of his office. Here, for the first time in the Freising deeds he deploys the 'most glorious' honorific applied to his father, and other examples will follow. It is also certain that Bishop Hitto and Cozroh considered this deed to be of exceptional importance when they composed their cartulary. They placed it first in their register at the beginning of the deeds from Bishop Joseph's pontificate (s. 748-764) even though it is not the earliest. They provided it with a header in prominent lettering which emphasized Tassilo's role and ornamented initial 'D' (9r). This prominent visual effect corresponds in the cartulary to Tassilo's charter for the monastery of Innichen in 769 (TF 34; 73r; for which see Part 1/4). In the 820s under direct Carolingian royal rule which Bishop Hitto had actively promoted, the bishop and his clerk were not inclined to suppress the deposed duke's memory any more than the Law Code sought to suppress his office and family.

In later section, we will meet again with three of the four named Fagana when they were acting with Duke Odilo six or seven years before in 743 or 744 (TF 1; Part 2/1). In that deed, the earliest (though not the first) entered into the cartulary, Anulo and Regino were identified as justiciars, and Wurmhart was a witness. This slightly later deed in 750 further emphasizes the importance of their position in the Agilolfing regime, since it was confirmed, 'in the presence of the Most Illustrious Lord Our Duke Tassilo with his justiciars consenting together with him whose names are here retained in writing who certified it through the sign of their hands'. Thus, all of the witnesses to this deed at the ducal estate of Ding, including the three representatives of the Fagana, Ragino, Anulo and Wurmhart, were likewise justiciars and part of the immediate ducal retinue. Thus, there can be little doubt that the 'genealogia' of the Fagana was a genuine historical entity and played a prominent role in Agilolfing government, but after this we hear no more about them. They seem to have disappeared under the new Carolingian regime, but their memory persisted, for some reason, in the Law Code.

This early historical oblivion was not the case with the Huosi. Besides the dispute over ‘Awigozeshusir’ which underscores their importance to the new Carolingian regime, there are other evidences, later than 791, for their unique prominence in Carolingian Bavaria. Indeed, their name is linked in several early-medieval documents to a particular landscape; as we have already indicated, it is the part of the diocese of Freising in the far western and southwestern portion of Bavaria bordering on Alemannia and the diocese of Augsburg. The earliest of these documents is a royal charter of 4 April 844 from King Ludwig (later known as ‘the German’) who first had been appointed a king in Bavaria by his father, the Emperor Louis the Pious in 817. He subsequently used this titular position to establish himself as effective king of Bavaria in the late 820s, and he then expanded his authority over all of eastern Francia. His charter of 844 records an exchange of properties with his chaplain, Baturich, bishop of Regensburg (DLD 35). There the king granted three properties to the bishop for his diocese and its monastic chapter and received in return properties, ‘pertaining to that same monastery [of St Emmeram in Regensburg] which are in the *pagus* Huosi in the vill called Sulzemoos’. The next evidence for the Huosi is a Freising deed of exchange of 19 May 853 whereby the diocese received an estate, ‘in a place which is called Landsberied within the *confinium Hosiorum*’ (TF 736). We shall return to these two deeds in a later section (Part 2/5). Thereafter, there is no reference to territories associated with the Huosi until much later; in the 11th century three documents locate a group of monasteries in far southwestern Bavarian associated with the great Benedictine foundation of Benediktbeuern (home of the later ‘Carmina Burana’) as lying within the ‘pago Hosi’.

It is difficult to know what to do with such diverse sources which vary so widely in origin and date. The term ‘pagus’ (German ‘Gau’) was used only rarely in Bavarian sources in the 8th and early 9th centuries and seems to have had a very general connotation of an extended territory possibly associated with the administration of fiscal property. Outside Bavaria, however, in Frankish charters the phrase or formula ‘in comitatu X, in pago Y’, to identify a property was common, where ‘X’ was the personal name of the responsible royal official or ‘comes’ (sheriff or count) and ‘Y’ a territorial or topographical descriptor. This reflected the ancient Roman division of those territories lying far to the west of Bavaria into administrative cities (*civitates*) and districts (*pagi*), but this diplomatic formula bears little resemblance to the actual situation in Bavaria which lacked any Roman cities and was probably never ‘paginated’ or divided into smaller administrative units. The formula begins to appear relatively late in documents there well after the integration of Bavaria into the Frankish empire, initially in royal charters and later (and less frequently) in private deeds. Thus, it is not surprising to see the term used in Ludwig’s charter of 844 although it lacks the initial portion of the formula ‘in comitatu X’ which may indicate that there was no responsible *comes* or Frankish sheriff for Sulzemoos at that time.

Likewise, it is not certain that Landsberied’s ‘confinium’ was the equivalent of Sulzemoos’ ‘pagus’, since ‘confinium’ only indicates a bounded territory which might be as small as a vill or township without any wider implications. But ‘pagus’ could also be used in that very narrow sense in 9th century Bavarian deeds: in 819 a property is located ‘in pago Uparacha in loco nucupante Pêrc’, where Überacker is a well-documented place only six kilometers south of Sulzemoos (TF 426). As a result, it would be unwise to argue that these documents indicate an exclusive lordship or even a cohesive territory dominated by the *genealogia* of the Huosi and extending at least 15 kilometers from Sulzemoos southwest to Landsberied, much less farther south into the alpine piedmont where Benediktbeuern and its associated monasteries were located. Rather, we can say that the Huosi seem to have exercised extraordinary influence of some sort over a several significant places within this far western part of Bavaria and that their historical memory was remarkably persistent particularly in the southern portions of the alpine piedmont.

‘Pagus’ is the etymological source of the modern French term ‘pays’, one’s own country within the larger, modern nation-state such as Normandy or Provence or even smaller territorial subdivisions. Like the ‘pays’, Huosiland was an area within Bavaria having several places whose special character was

recognized by contemporaries without any evident need to explain it further. However, when these early documents used the Latin term 'provincia' they meant the 'country' of the Bavarians which was acknowledged even by its enemies as an established geographical entity unified by a common population forming a distinctive society, possessed of a common history with a distinctive church, and living within a unified polity. When scribes wanted to be more precise and give the term an ecclesiastical slant, they might refer in documents to their 'diocesis', 'episcopatus', or 'parrochia', that is, the bishopric of Freising, which, as we shall see, was not yet subdivided into administrative deaneries and geographical parishes (Part 1/4). Their occasional use of the even narrower term, 'pagus', indicates that they recognized other, smaller landscapes, even micro-landscapes as places with distinctive character.

A clearly distinctive social group, the Huosi, gave its name to an identified topography, the 'pagus Huosi'. My term for the place, 'Huosiland', or the 'country of the Huosi', takes any legitimacy it may have as a possibly helpful heuristic concept which unites these places. However, unlike the French 'pays', Huosiland was not a coherent and distinct administrative unit. We lack any documents which indicate that the Huosi ever played an official role in the public life of Bavaria or even in this region of western Bavaria as members of a privileged group rather than as prominent individuals although at least one of their number did play a leading role in public life there (Part 2/3). Their position as great landed proprietors may well have given the Huosi enough pervasive influence to impress their identity on portions of it and to appropriate some of its institutions for their own uses. But that is only the way of powerful people in all ages. Perhaps Huosiland or some portions of it were a type of 'Adelspagus', an area (*pagus*) where aristocratic (*Adel*) authority was exercised to some extraordinary degree which replaced or supplemented normal royal authority. The historian Wilhelm Störmer has identified several other places in Bavaria where such seems to have been the case, and in his study of comital structure in neighboring Alemannia, Michael Borgolte has suggested that the comital districts of 'inner' (on the right bank of the Rhine) Alemannia may have been based on autonomous, aristocratic lordships rather than fiscal properties. In the next section, we shall examine some evidence for the peculiar status of southern Huosiland within the Carolingian comital regime (Part 1/3).

If we turn from later topographical to prosopographical evidences for the identity of the Huosi, we find a landscape shifted further to the northeast into the tertiary hill country to the west of the river Amper which defines this part of Bavarian territory. We have one Freising deed from the mid-ninth century which refers to the Huosi as a social group, and its date indicates that the two references to a Huosi 'pagus' and a Huosi 'confinum' in 844 and 853, respectively, are not anachronistic remembrances of some archaic condition fossilized in the Law Code. On 9 January 849 Bishop Erchanbert sued a 'noble priest by the name of Erchanfrid ... at a place which is called Tandern where many (*plurimi*) of the Huosi and likewise many other noble men had gathered together' (TF 703). The bishop's purpose was to claim properties at Singenbach, Ried, Tandern and evidently Hilgertshausen which the priest earlier had conveyed to Freising but which he subsequently refused to hand over (TF 609). As usual in these records, Freising prevailed or we would not know about it, and Erchanfrid carried out the investiture two days later on 11 January. Tandern, the site of the court proceedings and of the basilica in which Erchanfrid had a share, is located 21 kilometers north of Landsberied; Singenbach ('Munninpah' in the document) is eight kilometers north-northeast of Tandern. Hilgertshausen where Erchanfrid renewed his conveyance and completed the investiture is only four kilometers east of Tandern, and Ried, which is not certainly identified, was probably in this immediate, relatively compact area.

The special notice in the document of heavy attendance by the Huosi indicates that the transaction was of particular interest to the 'genealogia', whether because of the participants or the property or, more likely, both. But there is no indication of precisely what that interest was or which of those present were the 'many Huosi' and which merely 'other noble men.' Although it lay within the diocese of Augsburg, Tandern itself had become an important piece of Freising episcopal property when Bishop Erchanbert



purchased it for what appears to be a very steep price in a transaction which we shall consider more closely in the next section; properties at Singenbach and Hilgertshausen were also included (TF 661; Part 1/3). It has long been suspected, albeit without explicit evidence, that Bishop Erchanbert and his predecessor and uncle, Bishop Hitto, were both Huosi, as were, perhaps, some earlier Freising bishops, particularly Atto, who evidently referred the dispute over 'Awigozeshusir' on the royal commissioners at Lorch. The variations in the names Erchan-bert and Erchan-frid may indicate that the two clerics were related. If Erchanfrid the priest was, indeed, a member of the Huosi, then the counselors with whom he withdrew to discuss the matter, sheriffs Fridarat and Rihho, were possibly his relatives, as were, most likely, his suretors Starcholf and a lay namesake, Erchanfrid, who were responsible for execution of the court's decision. In this event, we may be witnessing something similar to the Huosi 'concilium' held in the 791 dispute over 'Awigozeshusir' – but here a council which seems to have succeeded.

A closely-related point is whether this assembly at Tandern was a normal session of a comital court of the sort which we shall consider next (Part 1/3). Ratolt, one of the three royal sheriffs in attendance, certainly had official responsibilities at this time in Huosiland (TF 746) as did Rihho who also had property dealings with the diocese in this far western portion of Huosiland (TF 743). The problem here is the meaning of the document's report that the bishop 'placitum suum ... condixisse' at Tandern. This could mean that he brought forward or advanced his legal claim or plea (*placitum*) as translated here, or that he established his court session (*placitum*) at Tandern. The venue, agenda and proceedings described do suggest strongly an *ad hoc* assembly to address a serious internal family dispute using the forms of a public institution – perhaps, as a last resort – for its resolution. That is probably why the scribe, the 'unworthy priest' Paatto, was so careful to note the prominent attendance of the Huosi, particularly if his bishop were an interested party; their specific identities would be known to all. However we may read the document, it reveals the continued capacity for collective action amongst the Huosi.

We seem to have come a long way over the long half-century since the pleadings before the royal commissioners at Lorch. It was no longer necessary to resort to clearly extraordinary proceedings to settle an intractable family dispute which may, moreover, have threatened the political order in Bavaria. No longer did a powerless or despairing bishop need to send the disputants along to the royal court itself to effect a resolution. Now the responsible bishop and other interested parties including sheriffs from the region could rely on established procedures and authorities, albeit here possibly in extraordinary form, to resolve pressing issues. By the same token, as Carolingian rule was indigenized and solidified beginning in 826 under King Ludwig, and as public authority grew more institutionalized there, the role of prominent social groups like the Huosi in securing the political order would have declined. Their claims to exceptional status would now appear increasingly anomalous.

The dispute over Tandern in 849 is the last mention of the Huosi as a social group. Possibly by then they had lost some of their earlier coherence as a consequence of expansion. As their collective name 'genealogia' implies, their origins must have been based on some form of kinship bond, but by the mid-9th century they may have expanded their numbers by broader forms of association through marriage, various sorts of fictive kinship such as fostering and adoption, and other measures; it has been suggested, plausibly, that the remnants of the Fagana were absorbed into the Huosi. Perhaps, the Huosi were formed originally – possibly even sworn – to accomplish some defined task (see Part 1/6). Whatever their nature and function now, they evidently had lost their utility to the Carolingian regime.

We do know one thing for certain: thereafter, their name would endure, albeit, merely as a memory in the landscape. And it is possible to combine the places that are mentioned in association with the Huosi name together with the places where they appear as persons in the historical record to arrive at a more precise and restricted territorial notion of Huosiland than that indicated in the Introduction. It must have been here, in the land between the rivers Amper and Glonn, that their influence – whatever

it may have been – was greatest or most-vividly perceived by contemporaries. And this topographical exercise signals one piece of unfinished business involving the Huosi: where was their church of St Martin at ‘Awigozeshusir’ located? Was it in this western Bavarian landscape so uniquely associated with their name? I have suggested elsewhere that it may be at a place named Kienberg. We shall return to this problem later in context when we look more closely at the Huosi properties at Sulzemoos and Landsberied (Part 2/4), and in preparation for an examination of the adjacent property to Kienberg at the key settlement of Allershausen (Part 2/5).

### Part 1/3. Rule and Authority

Political authority or rule in Huosiland – as elsewhere in Bavaria and Francia – was hierarchical, and most of the population, women, clergy and the unfree, was totally excluded from the civil polity. And this polity, whether it derived from a duke or a king (Exhibit 1/2), itself incorporated various status distinctions, of which the *genealogiae* are an extreme example, as well as those social distinctions deriving from wealth, office and royal favor. Rule there was not exercised directly by the king or the duke presiding at a court, and only distant Regensburg achieved such a status as a locus of royal authority towards the end of our period. Although there was ducal, later royal, fiscal property in Huosiland, aside from the old Agilolfing palace at Freising there was no significant royal or ducal residence, no *palatium* or *Pfalz*, in Huosiland, and even Freising had a distinctly secondary importance. This lack was in sharp contrast to the territory immediately across the Isar to the south and east of Freising where there were several principal residences as at Ding (Part 1/2). Rule was thus mediated by officials, primarily, as we shall see, the Carolingian sheriffs, and it was a broadly-based cooperative undertaking which enlisted continuous and active participation from a large number of free, adult, male landowners, in various official and customary roles. Both aspects of this polity, its hierarchy and its breadth, can be seen clearly in a remarkable deed from the end of our period which is the only immediate witness to a critical event which settled one of the Frankish empire’s greatest crises and influenced the future shape of Europe.

The succession to the Emperor Louis, known as ‘the Pious’, who died in June 840 was very troubled. Louis left three sons, Lothar and Ludwig by his first wife, Ermengard, and Charles by his second wife, Judith, a Bavarian. During the early 830s they were all in rebellion against him but also in conflict with each other. Lothar, the oldest, was raised to imperial status during his father’s reign and claimed precedence which Ludwig and Charles were reluctant to concede. Charles, the youngest, was resented by Ermengard’s two sons, since, in this zero-sum game, he could only stake out a territorial claim to rule at their expense. These were the usual problems for any royal succession which, like any personal inheritance provision amongst the Franks (or Bavarians), required suitable settlements for all of the surviving sons. In the case of Louis’ own succession in 814, this insoluble problem had only been solved by the preceding deaths of all of his brothers. The death of Louis’ fourth son, Pippin, in 838, had created a possible territorial opening for Charles in the Aquitaine, but Pippin’s own son, also named Pippin, with the support of his nobility, was unwilling to concede his father’s patrimony there, and he maintained himself as an effective ruler over a significant part of the Aquitaine into the 860s.

This toxic situation came to a head in 841 when the forces of Ludwig and Charles defeated those of Lothar and the younger Pippin at Fontenoy near Auxerre. But this was a Pyrrhic victory, since no final settlement could be enforced by them. However, the general revulsion of the Frankish aristocracy at the slaughter amongst their ranks impelled all parties to seek a solution. The negotiations over its terms were prolonged and involved numerous representatives from the three sons’ respective magnates. A prime sticking point was the final division of territories and the royal resources in each realm. Pippin was excluded from the settlement, and it was agreed as a base that the Aquitaine was reserved for Charles; Lothar had exclusive claim to Italy in addition to the imperial title; Ludwig would keep Bavaria,

which he had ruled effectively as king since the mid-820s. A meeting of the three brothers was held at Verdun in the summer of 843 where the final settlement was agreed amongst them and affirmed by their assembled retainers. No text of this famous ‘Treaty of Verdun’ survives, and, indeed, there may never have been a written agreement. Nor do we have any protocol or informative contemporary account as we do for many other Frankish royal treaties. The most detailed witness we have to this epochal meeting, so critical for the future shape of Europe, is, in fact, a Freising deed which records a property sale in Huosiland.

On Friday, 10 August 843 Bishop Erchanbert of Freising purchased properties in Bavaria from ‘a certain noble man by the name of Paldric’ (TF 661). This transaction was done, ‘in the place called Dugny which is next to the city of Verdun where the agreement of the three brothers, Lothar, Ludwig and Charles, and the division of their realm was made’. These properties were at Tandern where the Huosi gathered six years later (TF 703; Part 1/2), and at Hilgertshausen and Klenau and at Singenbach where Freising already had property (TF 118, 119; see Part 1/4). The price which Bishop Erchanbert paid is reported in the deed as £250, a fantastic amount which must be a clerical slip for 250 shillings, but still a very steep price even for obviously important properties. Indeed, these same properties were to be held for life by Erchanbert’s nephews, Reginbert and Anthelm, for one silver shilling apiece in rent, a return of less than 1% and an obvious bit of episcopal ‘nepotism’ (Anthelm’s name has been deleted for some reason, for whom see TF 635).

According to this Freising account, the purpose of the meeting of the three rulers at Verdun had been to bring about an amicable, ‘agreement’ (*concordia*) and a ‘division’ (*divisio*) of their realm’, and, indeed, it seems to have succeeded. Paldric, possibly the disgraced duke of Friuli who was evidently trying to reestablish his fortunes under Lothar, must have been anticipating its success by liquidating his patrimony in the realm of a rival ruler, Ludwig. The place of the transaction, the ‘Assembly Oak’ (*Dung-eih*), modern Dugny-sur-Meuse 8 kilometers south of Verdun, must have been the campsite of the Bavarian contingent. A place much larger than the ancient cathedral city of Verdun would surely have been needed to accommodate all of those attending and to allow their collective deliberations. Other contingents from Francia numbering into the hundreds and even thousands may well have camped and deliberated there as well.

This becomes clear when we look at the witness list of the deed. During Bishop Hitto’s pontificate, the witness-lists to deeds had become very long indeed, and this practice was continued under his nephew, Bishop Erchanbert. Altogether 99 persons witnessed Paldric’s sale at Dugny. First comes a man named Fritilo who is titled as a ‘count palatine’, a senior royal servant of King Ludwig although not his closest or most important; then come five sheriffs, two Cundpalds, a Ratolt, Herilant and Orendil. We met Ratolt at Tandern, but the other two sheriffs who appeared there in 849, Fridarat and Rihho are here absent. Then come the names of 71 untitled witnesses followed by seven ‘vassalli dominici’, royal vassals attached to an unidentified Frieso, and 15 personal vassals of Paldric. These vassals were retainers who had received properties from their lords for their services, particularly military service; Frieso’s contingent may have been royal vassals of King Ludwig for whom he had some responsibility. The investiture took place only 12 days later, probably at the properties themselves, on Wednesday, 22 August, which indicates a very rapid departure and return to Bavaria after the sale at Verdun. There another 40 witnesses are named, some of whom occur also at Verdun.

A more complete analysis of these witness lists indicates that they do not represent all of King Ludwig’s Bavarian contingent at Verdun. Rather, they are only a part of the Freising diocesan component of that contingent, and even there the western parts of the diocese seem to be disproportionately represented. This is what we would expect, since witnesses to deeds normally would be drawn to the extent possible

from the vicinity of the property. In effect, here in this witness list we have the core of the political community of Huosiland assembled with some other Freising worthies to support their king in his negotiations. Their purpose was to obtain for their king suitable recognition and particularly a share of royal resources. In order to ensure an equitable 'divisio' of those resources, they might provide expert witness regarding the fiscal properties available to King Ludwig. Along with their counterparts from across the entire realm of the Franks, they also promoted 'concordia' by their collective affirmation of the agreement. They were vital actors even though the division itself had little practical effect for their own country. The whole assembly at Verdun with the complete retinues of the three rulers together with other 'fideles' and all their entourages must have numbered in the low thousands. They could only all come together in a suitable open place such as the 'Assembly Oak' well outside the town.

The assembly at Verdun was clearly exceptional. Something we might call 'comital' or, in the early years, 'missatical' government' was the normal form for Carolingian royal government in Huosiland. The use of 'missi' (sing: 'missus') or royal commissioners was an innovation by Charlemagne and was exercised throughout Francia as well as in Bavaria. The appointment of these special imperial or royal agents with oversight of the normal regional authorities was intended by Charlemagne to control the actions of provincial officials, principally the sheriffs. But in Bavaria, where the authority of sheriffs was modest in comparison with their western Frankish counterparts, and where administrative and judicial systems were highly politicized and contentious following the deposition of Duke Tassilo, it assumed a broader and more regular scope for several years under Charlemagne's senior resident officials there.

Initially, Charlemagne's brother-in-law, Gerold, seems to have exercised some sort of missatical authority over Bavaria as he did at the dispute over 'Awigozeshusir' in 791 (Part 1/2). But, after his death in 799, Charlemagne entrusted the government of western Old Bavaria to his seneschal, Audulf. There, for a time, another principal *missus*, Arn, the new archbishop of Salzburg from 798 and also a confidant of the emperor, occurs in the Freising record as a *missus* just as he too had in 791. However, Arn's documented participation as a *missus* sitting with Audulf and others was limited to the short period 802 (TF 183) to 806 (TF 227) when he played a particularly prominent role in promulgating important royal capitularies or edicts in Bavaria (see below) and in settling contentious and highly-politicized property disputes which had originated under Duke Tassilo and involved major churches in his province. His last appearance in the Freising cartulary is in 811 at a provincial church council at the very end of Atto's pontificate (TF 299, not translated; see below, Part 1/4). His involvement as a *missus* seems largely to have been an extension of his provincial role as archbishop.

Arn's occasional importance as *missus* in western Old Bavaria was, nevertheless, quite secondary to the continuing authority of the former Carolingian courtier and seneschal, Audulf, whose tenure there lasted for nearly twenty years from 799 under the two quite different Carolingian regimes of Charlemagne and his son, Louis the Pious (see TF 397; not translated). Audulf's sphere of authority encompassed all of Old Bavaria and included the dioceses of Freising and Regensburg and the western parts of Passau and Salzburg while the newer territories to the East were put under the separate regime of another royal official, first, Charlemagne's brother-in-law, Gerold, and then Werinheri and his successors. The use of these Carolingian 'proconsuls', still only called 'comites' in the sources, had been tried earlier in neighboring Alemannia with mixed results, but this was the form Charlemagne finally settled on as the provisional method for his rule in Bavaria. Audulf proved to be a good choice, and he organized his rule through lesser royal sheriffs (also *comites*) appointed, in effect, for life, of whom there were possibly as many as 25 under his direction at any given time in Old Bavaria. Nearly the whole of Audulf's comital 'team' in Old Bavaria, which he supervised on behalf of the emperors Charlemagne and then Louis, is gathered together in the records of several extraordinary, missatical courts between 802 and 822 which are preserved in the Freising cartulary. There must have been many others, but we know only about the ones when Freising property was at stake.

These large, official gatherings were summoned to important fiscal estates and palaces on imperial authority and were presided over by lay persons and clergy, including Audulf and Arn, here designated as imperial *missi* or commissioners just as the judges were at Lorch in 791 (above, Part 1/2). In addition to judicial proceedings, these assemblies were venues where oaths of loyalty were sworn, imperial edicts or capitularies promulgated, policies discussed, administrative and legal procedure regulated. The documentary ‘cross sections’ of participants revealed in their records demonstrate a significant degree of personal continuity in comital government under Audulf’s rule over western Old Bavaria including Huosiland. The early-summer assembly at Regensburg in 802 (TF 183) was evidently held in response to Charlemagne’s great ‘Programmatic Capitulary’ of that year, which required loyalty oaths from all males having reached their 13th year; it is likely that enforcement was discussed, possibly even returns collected (see TF 186). It was presided over by the two lay commissioners, Audulf and his eastern colleague, Werinheri, and by three ecclesiastical colleagues, Archbishop Arn of Salzburg (perhaps, an author of the capitulary), Bishop Adalwin of Regensburg, and Abbot Deotker of nearby Frankish Herrieden. Also present were the Bishops of Freising and Passau. Thus, this great provincial assembly meeting in the country’s most important city included all of the great lords – both spiritual and temporal – from early-Carolingian Bavaria. In addition to Audulf and Werinheri, fifteen other sheriffs were in attendance together with four justices (*iudices*). A second great missatical assembly at the royal estate of [Alt-]Ötting in December 806 (TF 227) was probably convened to promulgate the ‘*Divisio Regnorum*’, the succession plan issued by Charlemagne earlier in February which assigned Bavaria and Alemannia to his son Pippin, king in Italy, but which was never implemented.

In addition to these great matters of state, missatical courts acted as normal comital courts adjudicating ordinary property disputes such as the case argued at Regensburg in 802 about a proprietary church in central Huosiland brought by, ‘a certain woman by the name of Engilfrit dedicated to God [who] coming forward there accused the steward of Bishop Atto by the name of Kaganhart, and so also her brother Kundperht, both saying that his bishop unjustly possessed [their] paternal inheritance, that is, the church with properties in the place which is called Baindlkirch which is located by *Lintun*’. We learn – interestingly – that this was not a new dispute. Indeed, Audulf himself had already heard it during a court session held at Velden where the sworn jurors had found for Freising. This great assembly at Regensburg then upheld that earlier decision, but it is just possible that there was a hint in the judgment that Bishop Atto should make some settlement with Engilfrit in compensation, most likely in the form of a life benefice.

Eight of the attendees at Regensburg in 802 also appeared at the smaller gathering at Altötting four and a half years later in 806 (TF 227) where Charlemagne’s plans for dividing his realm amongst his three sons, the ‘*Divisio Regnorum*’ was first promulgated. A decade and a half later, the nineteen senior officials attending missatical courts held at Ergolding and Allershausen (the only court site within Huosiland itself) in 822, ten – more than half – had also been present many years earlier at Regensburg, at Altötting, or at both courts. At both Ergolding (TF 463) and Allershausen in 822 (TF 475), three years after Sheriff Audulf’s death and one year after Archbishop Arn’s decease, we still meet with the experienced comital team that had been assembled during Audulf’s twenty-year tenure (d. 819) as Carolingian proconsul in Old Bavaria. It must have been largely this same group of sheriffs that met young King Ludwig when he arrived in Bavaria to rule four years later in 826.

Perhaps this very issue, the form of Carolingian rule in Bavaria, was discussed in 822 at Ergolding and at Allershausen, since the notice in the Frankish Royal Annals for that year identifies the agenda of a general imperial assembly at Frankfurt in late 822 as ‘for the advantage (*utilitatem*) of the eastern parts of the realm’. This term, ‘*utilitas*’, is often used in narrative accounts as a euphemism for succession issues although at Frankfurt relations with eastern and northern peoples outside the realm appear to have played a major role. This too would have been of interest to Bavarian sheriffs on the very eastern





edge of Francia. But a more pressing issue would have been the shape of the new Carolingian regime after Audulf. Since 817 when Ludwig was about 7 years old he had held a royal appanage in Bavaria composed of fiscal land designated for his maintenance, but he had not been personally present nor exercised any sort of direct authority there which was only determined for him in 825. Thereafter, while still in his teens, he moved decisively to establish his own royal rule in Bavaria where his regal status was promoted actively by Bishop Hitto and evidently supported by the Bavarian kin of his wife, Hemma, who was also the sister of the Emperor Louis' second wife, the Bavarian Judith.

The records of these missatical courts, like all the deeds in Cozroh's cartulary, are crafted pieces in a collection which was, in part, constructed and preserved to strengthen Freising's property claims, and they should not necessarily be taken as strictly neutral, official protocols of the proceedings they report. At times, we can see this when alternative versions of the same record are preserved. For example, a suit was heard at Freising just two months after the great missatical assembly held at Regensburg in 802. It concerned property of the monastery of Scharnitz/Schlehdorf which we shall be looking at more closely in the next section (Part 1/4), and we have two versions of the case preserved in different parts of Cozroh's codex. One version, beginning at folio 164v, was evidently composed by Freising clerks (TF 184a); the other beginning at folio 140r (TF 184b) is a copy of the 'official' protocol of the proceedings recorded by Berthari the notary at the command of Archbishop Arn of Salzburg who presided there as a royal commissioner. Berthari was a public notary, a royal official specialized in the drafting of official documents and the only one active in Bavaria at this time. His protocol and the Freising accounts are similar but not identical. Elsewhere, however, the versions may contain major differences as in another record of the Scharnitz/Schlehdorf dispute (TF 45a/b) and a Freising dispute with the monastery of Chiemsee which only concerns us peripherally but contains sensational information in an alternative version apparently preserved at Freising but not included by Cozroh in his collection (TF 193b, see below); we know it only from Conrad the Sacristan's much later collection.

In most cases, however, we do not have any such controls on the contents of our documents. This should not lead to cynicism about their value which is still considerable at several levels. But it should remind us that even documents which appear to be strictly factual are subject to manipulation and need to be interpreted with critical caution. With this *caveat* we will look at the only missatical court record from Huosiland itself which records proceedings at Allershausen in 822 regarding property at nearby Kienberg, both of which, as we saw in previous section (Part 1/2), were important places in northeastern Huosiland (TF 475). This is an exceptionally rich document. Allershausen, located where the river Glonn flows into the Amper, is best known today as an interchange on the Munich-Nuremberg autobahn (A9) with all the expected travel amenities; Kienberg, now divided between small Upper and Lower settlements, lies less than 5 km to the west. Both, Allershausen and Kienberg, were more important places in Carolingian Bavaria which we shall revisit later (Part 2/5).

At the end of August, a court was convened at Allershausen with Hatto, a 'missus dominicus' or special royal commissioner, the bishops of Freising, Regensburg and Augsburg, and Kysalhard, a 'publicus iudex', a royal judge, in attendance, 'to decide the pleas of many people arriving there'. The dispute reported in our deed concerned the church at Kienberg which the 'advocatus', the senior lay official or steward of Bishop Hitto of Freising, claimed against the 'defensor', another term for the lay steward, of Bishop Nidker of Augsburg (s. 816-830). It is not clear whether the two bishops thereupon recused themselves from the proceedings between their two officials. The third churchman at Allershausen, Bishop Baturich, as bishop of Regensburg, was to become an important servant of King Ludwig when he established his royal court there. Hatto occurs as commissioner and sheriff for only a few years around this time (TF 466, 502); it is not clear whether his 'commission' was from the emperor or the king. Kysalhard, on the other hand, occurs regularly as a judge and also a sheriff from 802 onwards, and in 818 he was holding a comital court at Allershausen (TF 401), so he must have been quite familiar

with local conditions, as was Sheriff Liutpald, the first of the sworn jurors, who is the best documented sheriff in Huosiland during his long official service there between 807 and 842. It was very unlikely that these men would render judgment for Augsburg and against Freising.

The importance of the church at Kienberg is indicated by the report of Bishop Nidker's official that a previous bishop of Augsburg, Hanto (s. 807-816), had been invested at the royal palace (or 'court session': fo.174r: *palatio*, but perhaps, a slip for *placito*?) at Paderborn by a certain Adalhard, but Bishop Hitto's representative promptly responded that Adalhard had had no right to do so, since he only held the church in benefice from Freising. This underlines the ongoing risk to ecclesiastical property when it was not under direct episcopal authority. When Hitto became bishop in 811, Adalhard had surrendered the benefice but then received it back for payment of a rent. This was before the proceedings at Paderborn, and shows how Hitto had endeavored to secure diocesan property upon his accession – here, evidently, to little effect. Then followed the established procedure for determining such disputes; thirty men including Sheriff Liutpald swore on sacred relics by their oaths to the emperor that they had been present when Adalhard had surrendered his benefice to Hitto and received it back. That settled the matter in Freising's favor. Then 'Kysalhard, the royal justice, sanctioned the judgment according to the Law Code of the Bavarians' and 10 named sheriffs joined him along with 56 named 'other vassals', that is royal vassals, and, 'many others. At the very end, indeed, all who were there intoned with one voice that Bishop Hitto and his steward ought thereupon by law and by right to receive investiture'.

Without this concluding notice, we would not have known what an important body was assembled at Allershausen on Sunday, 31 August 822, evidently the western Bavarian counterpart to the earlier assembly at Ergolding on 3 April (TF 463). In addition, another and similar assembly was held on Easter Monday, 14 April, at the royal estate of [Ober-] Föhring at the eastern edge of Huosiland on the east bank of the river Isar. That meeting was presided over by Bishops Hitto and Baturich and by Hatto and Kysalhard as royal commissioners; it provides evidence for attendance by only one sheriff, the ubiquitous Liutpald again, but also by 16 'vassi dominici' (TF 466). Clearly, in 822 important business of some sort was being discussed at these three great provincial assemblies, but after 822 the evidence for meetings of this sort, and indeed, for the office of 'missus' itself ends abruptly. We may suspect that this caesura was in some way connected with the establishment of effective and direct royal rule by King Ludwig.

Some of these courts such as the assembly at Regensburg in 802 (TF 183) were clearly pan-Bavarian in composition and purpose. Others such as the assembly at Föhring and Allershausen in 822 (TF 466, 475) probably also had a more narrowly regional scope. However, regardless of scope, they continued to be occasions to exchange official information and political gossip and to deliberate on matters of mutual concern. They provided opportunities to establish and cultivate political alliances, to strengthen local, regional and provincial solidarities, and to negotiate private settlements. They thus must have functioned in many respects as did later parliaments and so served the purposes of the Bavarian aristocracy as well as the Crown. Although the large comital assemblies convened by Audulf and the other 'missi' functioned at many levels, one function was clearly as an organ of limited collaborative and consensual government by the leading magnates and royal officials of Bavaria together with their clientèles and other free landowners who had an opportunity to express their views and negotiate detailed matters of policy implementation of policy which would entail their support. These persons, of course, continued to be important to royal rule, but hereafter Ludwig's royal court, still itinerant but often convened in Bavaria at Regensburg, would be the place where they assembled when they were summoned by the king. This change gave the king greater flexibility in decision-making and bestowing his favor. It enhanced Ludwig's royal power.

The end of missatical government and its extraordinary assemblies of several high ecclesiastics and numerous sheriffs did not, however, end the exercise of justice by ordinary comital courts assembled

at important estates like Allershausen throughout the Bavarian countryside. We have records for several of these courts in Carolingian Huosiland which we shall examine presently. But the record of such courts begins, it seems, even before the end of Agilolfing rule. In fact, the earliest evidence for Carolingian sheriffs acting as officials in Bavaria is well before Duke Tassilo's deposition in 788. On Friday, 7 May 765, in the week before the Ascension, 'it happened that a public synod (*publicum synodum*) was summoned, and another plea session (*alium placitum*) was to be held at Freising' (TF 23). The term 'synodus' is usually associated with a church assembly, but a 'public synod' in masculine form is more likely to be a general assembly which dealt with secular as well as sacred matters and was attended by both laymen and clergy. That seems to be the case here. Indeed, a prominent Bavarian layman, Poapo, who had extensive properties across the Alps in the valley of the Inn River, used the opportunity to make a conveyance to Freising, a conveyance which evidently did not have the agreement of all his sons. Still he was advised by his kinsmen to proceed, and, together with his kinsmen and faithful retainers, he donated property for the forgiveness of his sins and, in turn, received Bishop Arbeo's promise, 'to establish our [Poapo] memory forever in that same cathedral church of God' – which, in fact, happened. The two properties, Weichs and Holzen, were both in Huosiland, and Holzen was still in the possession of Poapo's son, Eio the priest, in 814 after which it came to be known as Ainhofen or 'Eio's Court' (TF 323; see Part 1/4).

The really surprising information in this deed, however, is at the end. The use of the term 'placitum', like 'mallum' a characteristic Frankish (not Bavarian) term for a comital court, signals the presence of three named sheriffs (*comites*), Selprat, Alprat and Mezzi, at the head of the lay witnesses to the deed and to the dating clause, 'in the 16th year of King Pippin, in the 765th year since the Incarnation of the Lord, in the 4th indiction.' There is no mention of the reigning Duke Tassilo in this dating clause, and, indeed, we know from other sources that Tassilo's rights to autonomous ducal rule over Bavaria had been contested in preceding years by his uncle. This early Carolingian initiative may have led to violence in Bavaria: one of the founders of Scharnitz monastery in 763 had received a mortal wound from a man with the title of 'sheriff' (TF 19). If there is any real basis for a later deed's charge in 804 that Duke Tassilo and his wife Liutperga held, 'a grudge ... against Bishop Arbeo, saying that he was more faithful to the Lord King Charles and to the Franks than to them' (TF 193b; see above), then this earlier record from 765 may provide corroboration. It may also indicate the political orientation of the Huosi under Tassilo, since Eio the priest, Poapo's son, was one of the parties to the Huosi dispute over 'Awigozeshusir' (Part 1/2). The very early affiliation of the Huosi with the Carolingian cause would help to explain their evident importance under the new regime.

However, Pippin's attempt to impose comital rule, and thus his own direct royal authority in Bavaria, was not successful, and the subjection of Tassilo was left to Pippin's son, Charlemagne. With the firm establishment of Frankish rule over Bavaria, this clearly-political connotation of the comital 'placitum', still possibly evident in 791 at the time of the 'Awigozeshusir' dispute, receded quickly. The Carolingian recension of the Bavarian Law Codes regulated their procedure. It stipulates in a Title (LB 2/14-15) likely inserted by Charlemagne, 'That there be courts (*placita*) held on the first of every month (*per kalendas*) or even fortnightly if necessary, to investigate cases so that there might be peace in the country.' A sheriff was to preside and have with him a capable judge, and a copy of the Law Code was to be present, 'so that they might be able always to render a right judgment'. This appears to be the form followed thereafter.

This provision of regular comital courts raises the question of whether individual sheriffs had responsibility for specific comital circuits or jurisdictions as was implied in the legal formula, 'in comitatu X, in pago Y' (above, Part 1/2). In the Bavarian Law Code (LB 2/5, not translated) the term 'comitatus' refers to the army levy for which a sheriff (*comes*) was responsible. Possibly, this was the root of the judicial term: that is, the freemen whom each sheriff had to produce for campaign were also the suitors at his monthly court. Thus, the concept of 'comitatus' was originally a personal association



and not geographical division in the sense of a ‘county’ or ‘shire’, but it is not hard to see how a group of individuals drawn, most likely, from a circumscribed area evolved into a geographical collective. In 2003 the Austrian historian, Erwin Kupfer, produced a very useful map of the locations within the diocese of Freising where these comital courts were held and where properties were located which were associated with individual sheriffs. Altogether Kupfer identified about 14 places within the diocese where such courts were documented or suspected. Their locations indicate that most suitors could travel to the local court and return within the same day.

It is not surprising that Freising itself is the best-documented venue for such courts and clearly had a regional rather than purely local significance as did the important episcopal manor at Eching, about 20 kilometers to the southwest where diocesan synods were regularly held. The other places were evidently rural estates, most probably with some fiscal tie, where the courts would have met in the open as at Verdun. All documented sites within Huosiland are within a fairly compact area in the northeastern portion. Besides Allershausen (TF 401) and Föhring (TF 406) which were also sites for the larger missatival gatherings, Haimhausen (TF 585) about 15 km south of Allershausen, Ainhofen (TF 626), about 5 km southeast of Tandern, and Vierkirchen (TF 697), about 10 km southeast of Ainhofen, occur as Huosiland court sites. Vierkirchen is also referred to as ‘within the comital jurisdiction’ of Sheriff Liutpald (TF 484), Haindlfing, 5 km northwest of Freising as within the circuit of Sheriff Oadalrih (TF 745), and a now-tiny place, Kienaden near Bergkirchen, further south, as within the circuit of Sheriff Ratolt (TF 746). Altogether, about three to four sheriffs seem to have exercised judicial responsibility at various times in this northeastern portion of Huosiland, and there is a kind of ‘snapshot’ of three of them: Liutpald, his apparent successor, Ratolt, and Engilhart, sitting together in 837 with Sheriff Rihho, whom we met at Tandern, and with King Ludwig’s commissioner, Anternaro, at Ainhofen where they judged a case about an unidentified property (TF 626).

Engilhart, who served in office between about 802 and 837, seems, indeed, to have been missed by Kupfer, but he was the principal sheriff in one of the earliest and most interesting examples of a comital court. In 814 a priest Freido had left property at Umbach to Freising, but his executors were slow to carry out his wishes and invest the bishop with the properties. Accordingly, Bishop Hitto brought the case into the ‘council’ (*concilium*) of Sheriff Engilhart, and on 18 September the executors produced the property (TF 324). But the bishop’s possession was immediately contested by three men, one of them an executor of Freido’s will, and the dispute was heard at a court session (*placitum*) on 2 October convened by Sheriffs Engilhart and Ratolt along with Bishop Hitto at Bergkirchen (TF 327). There Sheriff Engilhart empaneled a jury of 11 sworn men to state the facts of the matter, and the property was thereupon confirmed in Freising’s possession. Freido’s original testamentary disposition narrated in the first person suggests that there may have been a written record, but thereafter everything clearly proceeded orally which indicates the continuing authority of oral over written evidence, a point to which we shall return (below, Part 2/1). This is the earliest record we have for Huosiland of a comital court with the full procedure, and, along with the later reference to neighboring Kienaden as being in Ratolt’s ‘comitatus’, it is as far to the south within Huosiland as there is evidence for such proceedings and jurisdiction.

It is interesting that these proceedings refer to Sheriff Engilhart’s ‘concilium’, evidently a reference to his tribunal, because that is also the term used collectively to describe the assembly of the Huosi which tried in 791 without success to settle the dispute within their ‘genealogia’ regarding the church at ‘Awigozeshusir’ (TF 142; Part 1/2). And perhaps the most interesting aspect of Kupfer’s map is the absence of any comital courts or jurisdictions in the southern and southwestern portions of Huosiland along the upper courses of the rivers Amper, Glonn and Würm and further south in the Bavarian lake country and the alpine piedmont although we have many deeds from that area. Moreover, only one sheriff is indicated as being involved in property matters in that area, Reginhart, who was active



between about 799 and 828. A Reginhart was also one of the three named representatives of the Huosi ‘concilium’ that deliberated about ‘Awigozeshusir’. The two men need not been identical; we have evidences for several other Reginharts. But the name may still indicate the sheriff’s relationship to the ‘genealogia’ of the Huosi (see below, Part 2/3). Reginhart’s seemingly exclusive authority strengthens the suspicion expressed in the previous section that southern and southwestern Huosiland may have constituted an ‘Adelspagus’, an area where royal authority was either delegated or suborned to the dominant aristocratic group.

Perhaps the Huosi ‘concilium’ was still active well into the 9th century settling disputes there without recourse to the normal comital courts which seem to have characterized the northeastern portion of Huosiland. This extreme southern area in the alpine piedmont was, after all, the place where their name persisted the longest. Another early indication of Huosi authority there may be a separate dispute from about the same time as that over ‘Awigozeshusir’. A group of four men contested possession of the church at Farchant on the Loisach river near Garmisch with Bishop Atto of Freising (TF 145). The award to Freising was evidently made by five jurors including the three from the ‘concilium’ of the Huosi, Reginhart, Oadalker and Nibulunc (TF 142). Farchant must have been an important place, because sometime after 811 the landed estate or vill there was being claimed by the monastery of Mondsee located far to the east in what is now Upper Austria (TM 131). They wrote to their abbot, Archbishop Hiltibald of Cologne, informing him that Farchant had been conveyed to Mondsee by Duke Tassilo, but that a Regino was contesting their long-held possession; a Regino had been one of the four earlier and unsuccessful claimants for Freising’s church there. The monks of Mondsee clearly saw Bishop Hitto of Freising as an ally in their later dispute which might be related to Freising’s successful claim on the church of Farchant. Unfortunately, we don’t know further details or the outcome of Mondsee’s suit.

Our records almost certainly give a skewed impression of the normal functions of a comital court. We know quite a bit about complex property disputes because they were of vital interest to the bishops and clergy of Freising, but other matters probably occupied much more attention by the sheriffs, judges and jurors. Unfortunately, they are not well documented. In our dossier, we have three scattered notices of wergeld payments in compensation for various injuries as specified in tedious and minute detail by the Law Code. They involved the deaths of a priest, a dependent tenant called a ‘barschalk’, and a noble man’s, ‘daughter [who] had been stricken by poison through the efforts and devices of an evil slave woman from the household of St Mary’ (TF 318, 679, 738). We know of them only because the compensations paid were in grants of landed property. None specifies either ready money or even an equivalent monetary amount, and presumably they were the result of some negotiations amongst the parties, whether in court or privately.

What we would call criminal justice was also administered by comital courts, but our records are silent on crimes unless property was involved. Our only insight into the administration of criminal justice for Huosiland is a somewhat bizarre and possibly satirical poem, ‘The Ballad (*Carmen*) of Sheriff Timo’, which ostensibly celebrates the comital regime of Timo, the predecessor and possibly father of Fritilo, the count palatine whom we met at Verdun in 843. In October 830 we find him presiding over a ‘public synod’ at Freising (TF 603). Timo evidently held his own comital court on St Stephan’s hill in Freising where in 834 that saint’s newly-built church awaited the remains of two Roman martyrs, Pope Alexander and Justinus the priest. Their relics had just been fetched from Pope Gregory IV in the spring by Bishop Hitto on an adventurous Italian journey which may have been connected with the liberation of the Empress Judith from her stepson’s prison in Tortona. Addressing King Ludwig in the same year the poet celebrates Timo’s judicial activities in interesting and occasionally inscrutable detail before he proceeds to describe the pollution of St Corbinian’s hillside spring by the sheriff’s dog.

A certain Timo, your Sheriff and Commissioner, Renowned King,  
 Rendering justice to the good and quashing the wicked by the law,  
 As far as Bavarian territory reached throughout the kingdom,  
 Restored the neglected edifice of the law.  
 Hating thieves and detesting robbers,  
 He despised strife and preserved justice.  
 He knew that such things please you, Most Worthy of Kings,  
 On which account he exercised official duties in a manner worthy of you.  
 Oh King, rightly wishing that in your presence and your absence this might be brought forth,  
 You are zealous in uniting everything to justice.  
 Thereupon, the Sheriff, called by his own name, Timo,  
 To bring about the commands of your will,  
 Approached the leafy peaks of Freising hill,  
 Where Stephan the Martyr shines brightly within the completed sanctuary.  
 He who approaches at a distance, may behold from afar,  
 The lofty peaks of the new temple rising up.  
 These await you, Alexander, Bishop and Martyr,  
 In the great bosom of the Almighty.  
 Thus, the Sheriff coming there, decrees that bandits be hanged,  
 That for thieves the cheeks be ever dark with branding.  
 That for those condemned as guilty, the noses be cut off in dishonorable mutilation,  
 This one loses a foot, and that one a hand.  
 Manifold was the judgment amidst the contending tumult,  
 Where one holds wrongfully what the other claims for himself.  
 They oppose iron to iron and shields to shields,  
 Lead to lead and staves with staves.  
 Fire, water, vainly search the secrets of the accused,  
 Which true reason plainly proves as worthless.

Here we see the ordinary course of criminal justice which – probably summarily and without much proof – inflicted severe corporal punishments or executed those who were marginal and unable to pay the monetary compensations specified in the Bavarian Code for injuries and crimes. Efficiency and efficacy were evidently prized over social justice and equity as, indeed, was the case almost everywhere until very recent times. At the end of this section the poem also recounts the use of judicial ordeal and trial by battle which the poet censures in agreement with the contemporary clerical critic, Agobard, bishop of Lyons. There can be little doubt that these methods were used in Bavaria, since we have a reference in a later deed to a champion, presumably a professional champion who might work for hire or other consideration. Sometime after 863 the bishop of Regensburg exchanged arable and woodlands with, ‘a certain noble champion by the name of Chrefting ... this robust and freeborn man’, indicating that Chrefting was held in high regard by the bishop who may have needed his services (TR 49).

We have very little to set against this abundant Carolingian evidence from the preceding Agilolfing ducal regime. The duke himself, of course, would hold his own ‘public court’ and was charged by the church synod of Ascheim in 755 to hear, ‘the cry of the poor every Sunday and at the beginning of the month’ (MGH, Conc. 2/1, cap. 15: *per singulas sabbatis fiendi aut per dies Kalendarum*). Presumably other regular jurisdiction was exercised by his leading magnates some of whose identities are specified when they attended him personally (TF 5, 34, 39, 63, 86). Perhaps these justiciars rendered judgments like the later Carolingian sheriffs at various locations around the duchy. Something like this seems to be implied by the provision made at the first recorded Bavarian synod held at the ducal manor of Ascheim in 755 which refers to, ‘your commissioners on circuit of the dioceses’, where judicial fines seem to be a



concern (ibid., cap. 14); indeed, suspected oppression of the poor by, ‘governors (*presides*) or justiciars, hundredmen or deputies’, indicates a whole hierarchy of potential judicial extortionists (ibid., cap. 11). We have a rare glimpse of ducal justice executed together with these magnates when, as specified at Ascheim, on a Sunday, 16 November 777, ‘in the public town and borough called Freising this mutual agreement and settlement was concluded between Toto and his sons at the direction of the duke and his council (*senatu*) ... with the consent of the duke and the magnates (*proceris*) who were able to be there, in the presence of Bishop Virgil ... Bishops Arbeo and Oadalhart as witnesses, Salucho witness, Hartnud, Droant, Helmuni, Craman, Fricho, Riholf, Chuniperht and Adalo justiciars, confirming and consenting and giving judgment according to the law on the afore noted day in the year included above’ (TF 86).

This judgment by the ducal court on a Sunday was clearly not to redress any ‘cry of the poor’ in an economic sense. The aim of Duke Tassilo and his ‘senate’ was to settle a dispute between Toto and his sons arising from a conveyance which Toto had made to Freising one or two years earlier of properties and dependents to the north of the river Amper and somewhat to the east of Huosiland (TF 70). The concern of Tassilo and his courtiers must, rather, have been made to ensure peace in Bavaria just as it was for the Carolingians at Lorch in 791 when they deliberated about the Huosi church. Evidently Tassilo’s judgment in 777 held firm almost fifty years later, since Toto’s surviving son, Wago the chaplain, was still in possession of lands and tenants there (TF 523; see Part 1/5). Still this clear manifestation of personal ducal authority may indicate that the transition from Agilolfing to Carolingian rule was also a transition from highly personal and irregular practices to more institutional and regular forms of delegated government and justice. Still, Carolingian rule in all of its manifestations continued to have a strong element of purely personal bonds, an inherent consequence of its complete dependence on a relatively restricted group of propertied freemen for its exercise. These were the same people who travelled from Huosiland to Verdun with Bishop Erchanbert in 843 and who assembled at Tandern in 849 to safeguard their interests.

#### Part 1/4. Church and Piety

In the previous Part it was noted that clergy, like women and the unfree, were excluded from the civil polity, and it is true that clerics were not to participate directly in certain secular matters such as the proceedings of comital courts. That is why they needed lay stewards (*advocati, defensores*) to plead on their behalf and secular champions to defend them against legal challenges. Nor were they to swear as witnesses to property transactions although, in practice, particularly in the 8th century, this prohibition was ignored. However, any simple division of Huosiland society into two separate orders, civil and ecclesiastical, is clearly misleading; the interconnections were too many and too intense.

All secular rulers and their officials relied heavily upon their churchmen (see Exhibit 1/2). The importance of the Church made the relationship an entirely natural one. The leaders of the Church were recruited overwhelmingly from the aristocracies and even the royal families which ruled the country; the Church was a large landowner, possibly the largest, with huge numbers of servile dependents and free retainers; its estates and other possessions made the Church a repository of wealth and manpower that could be tapped from time to time for secular purposes; the Church controlled a potent ideology and liturgical ceremony which could be used to legitimize (or discredit) rulers, and its regular prayers were necessary to maintain God’s favor; the clergy possessed – often nearly monopolized – the literate skills necessary for precise record keeping and complex administration. All of the documents we are using were transcribed and kept by clerks even if laymen might influence the contents and at times even lend their hands to their composition. Thus, our perspective Huosiland is always in a certain sense a clerical one.

In return for placing these assets in the service of rulers, the Church expected – and usually got – physical protection and support for its advantageous position. Since the time of the Emperor Constantine in the early 4th century, the clergy formed a distinctive group within society, and they were allowed privileges

and exemptions from lay obligations and civil interference. The Church was a legally-established hierarchy which paralleled the lay hierarchy. Indeed, its organization into dioceses and provinces was adopted directly from that of the late Roman state. It had its own courts and system of law for its clergy, its own method of regular taxation, the tithe, at a time when lay rulers often had, at best, only irregular donatives from their subjects. Lay rulers and their clerical counterparts were well aware of all these matters, even though the former often chaffed at their restraints and the latter might strive for even greater advantages and authority. Exceptionally strong rulers like Constantine and Charlemagne could, at times, dominate Church affairs, believing, no doubt sincerely, that they were only serving Christ and assisting His Church. But the Church had a powerful institutional memory enshrined in its canon law and great staying power ensured by its ability to reproduce itself institutionally rather than biologically. Usually it was in the interest of both parties to cooperate peacefully to their mutual advantage.

An example is provided by the Freising cartulary. In 769 Duke Tassilo returned to Bavaria from Italy. At Bozen (Bolzano) near the border with the Langobard kingdom of Italy and well south of the Brenner Pass on the great Roman highway from Verona, he issued an exceptional charter with the consent and confirmation of 12 Bavarian magnates who were in his retinue there (TF 34).

In the Name of God. I Tassilo, Duke of the Bavarians, Illustrious Man, urged by divine mercy and by eternal bliss, grant and discharge by empowering hand, with the consent of the magnates (*optimatum*) of the Bavarians, to Abbot Atto for the church of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and of other Holy Apostles and Martyrs [Scharnitz/Schlehdorf], for the health of my soul and the souls of my ancestors, for the improvement of the monastery and for its service, the place known as Innichen, commonly called 'Campo Gelau'... For I have written down by my own hand, as I was able, the letters at the beginning of this cyrograph in the presence of my justiciars and magnates (*optimatibus*). And since we know that same place to have been empty and uninhabited since olden times, now, indeed, I have listened to Atto's request and humble supplication, and I have granted it and conveyed it gladly by these present writings, in order that the unbelieving generation of the Slavs might be led to the way of truth... The mark of my own hand, Tassilo, granting and confirming. Done at Bozen on the way back from Italy in the 22nd year of his ducal rule. Alizzeo, Reginwolf, the sign of the hand of Cundheri, Drudmunt, Pillunc, Oatachar, Hliodro, Crimperht, Papo, Hariperaht, Kislolt, Jubeanus, Bishop Alim as witnesses. I, unworthy Anno, wrote this up by command and subscribed to it.

Along with Tassilo's earlier involvement in 750 with the meadows at Erching (TF 5; Part 1/2), this document has a singular format in Cozroh's codex. Indeed, its ornamentation is exceptional with header and opening words on folio 73r in ornate capitals which give the impression of an effort to imitate an impressive original document or exemplar. Duke Tassilo himself notes that he had written the initial letters of this legal document, here called a cyrograph, a deed written in duplicate or triplicate on a single sheet for authentication, so the cartulary's format may preserve the duke's own calligraphy. We are quite certain that he was well educated.

Although this ducal grant was made under Bishop Arbeo (s. 764-783), it is entered in the cartulary as the first deed under his successor, Bishop Atto (s. 783-811) because at the time of the conveyance the then bishop of Freising, Arbeo, had appointed Atto as abbot of the monastery of St Peter which had been moved from Scharnitz to Schlehdorf and was now entrusted with the new foundation at Innichen (TF 53). Scharnitz, which itself had been founded only six years earlier with the consent of Duke Tassilo, had a contentious early history to which we shall return (TF 19). But here we note that, after his succession to the episcopacy, Atto himself evidently retained this and other documents of its early years under his abbacy at Schlehdorf for production in legal disputes during his pontificate. From Duke Tassilo's point of view, both foundations, Scharnitz and Innichen, were not only visible manifestations of his piety but also useful strategic installations for his control of Alpine passes to Italy.



In an era of difficult transportation, monasteries and other important churches were valuable logistical points to support travel and bases from which to control the routes. Scharnitz, near the alpine source of the Isar river, was the site of an old Roman highway station on the Via Claudia from Augsburg leading into the Inn valley and the Fern and Reschen passes to Italy. Innichen, modern Italian San Candido named after the monastery's patron saint, lies on another important Roman highway which branches off from the Via Vipitena coming south from the Brenner pass and leads eastwards into the valley of the River Drau and then along the Isonzo river to the city and patriarchate of Aquileia in northeastern Italy. In 772 Tassilo extended by conquest his Bavarian rule over the Drau valley in Carinthia; there would have been much work for the clergy of Innichen bringing the Gospel to, 'the unbelieving generation of the Slavs' in his newly-won lands.

We do not know the purpose or final destination of Tassilo's Italian journey in 769, but we may suspect two possibilities which are quite compatible. He may have visited the Langobard King Desiderius at Pavia to gain support for his disputes with his cousin, Charlemagne, who had succeeded as king of the Franks along with his brother Carloman in 768. The brothers' joint reign was a contentious one which ended with Carloman's death in 771. In defiance of Charlemagne, King Desiderius then provided an Italian refuge for Carloman's widow and sons. Tassilo married Desiderius' daughter Liutpiric sometime around 770x71 which would have sealed any alliance, so this too may have been on their agenda in 769. Also about this time the diocese of Säben in this transalpine area of Bavaria became a part of the Bavarian church. That is probably why Bishop Alim of Säben accompanied Duke Tassilo at Bozen and witnessed the grant; he was escorting the ducal party through his diocese.

As we saw already in Part 1/1, the Bavarian church under the Agilolfing dukes in the 8th century included the four Bonifacian dioceses north of the Alps: Freising, Regensburg, Passau, and Salzburg. This Agilolfing Bavarian church had no metropolitan at this time although one had been intended from an early date, and Tassilo himself seems to have enjoyed substantial authority over its affairs, working particularly closely with the Irishman, Bishop Virgil (Fergil) of Salzburg. The transfer to Bavaria of Säben, which earlier had been associated with the northern Italian dioceses centered on the Patriarchate of Aquileia, would probably have required both papal and Langobard royal acquiescence. In this deed, we see Tassilo here aged only about 18 years at a high point in his reign, disposing over both secular and clerical affairs.

We noted earlier that by the early 9th century, Huosiland was not entirely within the diocese of Freising nor the Carolingian province of Salzburg (Exhibit 1/1). The diocese of Augsburg, part of the archbishopric of Mainz, had two prominent bulges across the river Lech to the east which probably represent the extent of two Agilolfing rump dioceses whose bishops are documented briefly in the late 8th century: Neuburg in the north and possibly a suffragan establishment at Staffelsee in the south. Apparently for political reasons these two areas had been detached from Augsburg and the jurisdiction of Frankish Mainz in the mid-8th century by the Agilolfing dukes and then reabsorbed by Augsburg after Charlemagne's subjection of Bavaria in 788. Thereafter, Augsburg certainly claimed authority over the western and southwestern portions of Huosiland.

The border between Freising and Augsburg in Huosiland is difficult to delineate precisely and was probably somewhat uncertain to contemporaries. Very recently Gottfried Mayr has mapped its probable course (Map). It seems to have run north-south somewhat to the east of the river Paar, a southern tributary of the Danube, but there are significant extensions of the diocesan boundary eastwards in the areas immediately south of the Danube around Neuburg and in the far south around Staffelsee where Augsburg seems to have encompassed the whole of the lake country in the alpine piedmont. The origins of Augsburg's trans-Lech jurisdiction may go back to the Roman period when Augsburg, as the provincial capital of Raetia II, would have had a civic territory (*civitas*) attached to it; faint toponymic

traces of a later 'Augstgau' (Augsburg district) appear there in the early-medieval period which may be remnants of Augsburg's earlier territory.

We have already encountered competition between Freising and Augsburg in the court dispute over Kienberg (TF 475; Part 1/3). That suit, however, was related to property, and not to episcopal jurisdiction. A diocese could and often did possess property in other dioceses where its status was that of an ordinary landed proprietor. It could not, however, exercise any diocesan jurisdiction over those properties such as consecration of a church; such authority was reserved to the ordinary bishop. It is possible that the judicial award of Kienberg to Freising in late August 816 had awakened some resentment because shortly thereafter in mid-September 816 an aged priest named Minigo came to Freising to renew an earlier donation of a church at Ecknach in far western Bavaria and to gain Bishop Hitto's approval for his nephew, also named Minigo, to hold the church in service to Freising as a benefice for life on payment of an annual rent (TF 477).

There was no doubt that Ecknach at this time belonged to the diocese of Augsburg, and this Freising property transaction looks suspiciously like the installation of a priest in one of the churches at Ecknach which is also suggested by the back-story in the deed which relates:

'how the venerable men, Oadalpald the priest and Minigo the priest, each built his own church on their inherited property in the place Ecknach and, on account of the familiar brotherhood which they always had with the faithful Bishop Atto [s. 783-811], by permission of Bishop Sindbert [s. 778-807], they engaged Bishop Atto so that he might consecrate their churches. And it was done thus with the consent of those bishops and of all the good men who were neighbors abiding there in that same place. Thus, it was agreed by all that on one day he should consecrate both churches. And those same said men dedicated to God, Oadalpald the priest and Minigo the priest, with devout intent validly granted on the same day each of those churches to the cathedral church of St Mary into the hands of Bishop Atto'.

Evidently the earlier exceptional permission to consecrate the church at Ecknach, granted as a favor by Bishop Sindbert of Augsburg to Bishop Atto of Freising, was taken as a precedent to provide now for the church; in order to secure this somewhat-tenuous claim, Minigo and the new Bishop Hitto were taking preemptive action to forestall a possibly-irate Bishop Nidker of Augsburg from claiming his rights to jurisdiction as ordinary bishop over Ecknach. Such jurisdictional conflicts between Freising and Augsburg were probably much more frequent than the record allows given the dispersed landholding of many benefactors; Tandern, the important Freising estate and church (Part 1/2), for example, may also have been within Augsburg's diocesan jurisdiction.

Periodic church synods, like the comital courts with which they were sometimes convened, were a regular means to engender clerical solidarity within an ecclesiastical jurisdiction and to secure collective action. They were held at both a diocesan and a provincial level. Although the Bavarian Church did not have an archbishop before Charlemagne's elevation of Arn of Salzburg in 798, from the mid-8th century the Church in Bavaria did meet together in synods, evidently like Frankish synods twice a year in the spring and autumn, under ducal aegis where, as elsewhere, secular matters were deliberated as well as ecclesiastical. In the late 770s the largest gathering of Bavarian prelates of which we are aware took place on the ducal estate of Dingolfing about 70 km east of Freising on the river Isar. All six Bavarian bishops were there including Ardeo of Freising, Alim of Säben, and Manno of Neuburg, as were 13 abbots including Atto of Scharnitz/Schlehdorf, and possibly two from the far southwestern portion of Huosiland in the later 'pagus Huosi' including the important foundation of Benediktbeuern. One of the purposes at Dingolfing was to form an association amongst these leading ecclesiastics for mutual prayer as had been established for Frankish churches at Attigny in 762. It was, thus, a political response to promote Bavarian solidarity.



After 800 Archbishop Arn evidently continued this Bavarian tradition of provincial synods as a means to instill solidarity in his newly-created province and to introduce Carolingian reforms into Bavaria. Annual provincial synods may have been an innovation within the larger Frankish church, but this older Agilolfing practice would have occurred naturally to Arn who was a native Bavarian, offered by his parents as an oblate at Freising in 758, shortly after the first Bavarian synod was held at the nearby ducal manor of Ascheim in 756 (TF 11; not translated). Initially under Arn there was a triple synod held at three regional venues, Reisbach near Dingolfing, Freising, and Salzburg for which voluminous records survive (MGH, Conc. 2, 205-19; not translated). There are two additional records of a provincial synods meeting under Archbishop Arn, one at Salzburg in 807 which concerned monastic tithes (TF 248; see below) and one at Freising in mid-811 (TF 299; not translated). We do not know the reason for the choice of Freising, but it may have been connected in some way with Bishop Atto's health, since he was soon succeeded by Hitto. It is not clear from the surviving documentation whether Arn maintained the practice of annual provincial synods during his long pontificate to 821; the lack of records seems to indicate that he did not.

In contrast, we have numerous incidental notices of Freising's diocesan synods. Indeed, as Maximilian Diesenberger's recent book has pointed out, the documentation for Freising diocesan synods is extraordinary and demonstrates that the bishops did try to follow canonical requirements for two such synods a year. These synods normally met in May at the episcopal estate of Eching located in Huosiland 15 km southwest of Freising (TF 339, 437, 455, 562, 564) and then again at the beginning of October in Freising itself. But we have very little insight into the normal ecclesiastical business transacted at them nor the extent of clerical attendance. Diesenberger has described an elaborate agenda based upon an 'ordo' or normative document from Salzburg which regulates in minute detail their liturgical and administrative schedules and activities. This should probably be taken as an ideal, and there is no evidence that its provisions had any significant effect on our Freising assemblies. On the other hand, it is clear that the synods of which we have records, particularly those spring synods at Eching, were regularly convened together with secular assemblies of royal officials.

Bishops also governed their dioceses by making regular visitations to parishes where they could examine the incumbent priests regarding their duties and confirm children. Diesenberger has showed that this canonical requirement was taken quite seriously by Freising bishops, particularly Bishop Hitto. Such visitation trips, often in winter, also provided an opportunity to reach persons who could not attend cathedral services, providing them nevertheless with episcopal instruction and moral exhortation through preaching. Indeed, preaching was an important requirement for bishops, which also has been discussed in detail by Diesenberger for Freising. In addition to preaching at important cathedral festival services, Freising's bishops could also exercise influence over their lay flocks by their occasional preaching missions in the diocese which could be used, like that of modern televangelists, to solicit offerings. Two relevant examples of such 'revivals' are recorded from Bishop Hitto's pontificate. In late 827 (TF 547c) when:

'By the gift of Divine Providence, to incite the love of charity while imparting and preaching divine words, Bishops Hitto and Baturich [of Regensburg] arrived together at Freising, and there, with many noble and illustrious men coming there and hearing the flow of eloquent words of eternal doctrine, there in their presence certain of them recalling the consolation of the promise of divine mercy and for the salvation of their souls and of their parents offered something to God in alms'.

In early 828 (TF 556) when, 'I, a sinner by the name of Amalperht, came to the cell of St Mary in place which is called Sünzhausen where I heard that Venerable Ruler Bishop Hitto preaching and teaching. And, in his presence, I validly conveyed into the reliquary of St Mary whatever of my own inheritance or acquired property I had in a place which is called Oelpersberg'. Evidently Hitto's preaching had moved Amalperht to make amends for his sins.



Tithes, the tenth part of the annual increase of crops and livestock, were an important source of income for both the diocese and the lesser churches and thus were of great concern to all the clergy. The regular imposition of tithes was an important aspect of Charlemagne's legislative program. These tithes were not necessarily paid to local churches where the payers lived. For example, the important basilica church at Bergkirchen where the early comital court discussed in the previous section (Part 1/3) was held received the tithes of nine vills: that is smaller settlements or estates (TF 652). Nor was their collection a simple matter, since there might be various intermediaries between the payer of the tithe and the ultimate recipient. For rural estates which usually had two types of land, demesne worked by the proprietor and tenancies worked by dependents, the tithes were due separately from each (see below, Part 1/5). It is uncertain whether the normal dues owed by dependent tenant to lay proprietors, which we shall discuss in the next section, included the tithe, and in any case tithes from the tenancies were probably rendered directly to the lay proprietor and thus difficult for the Church to oversee.

At a provincial synod held at Salzburg in January 807 Archbishop Arn and the assembled bishops including Atto of Freising, 'moved questions concerning the tithe of the faithful people which are offered to the churches. After reading provisions from the authority of the canons about what they ought to do in this matter, they found that there should be four portions: one for the bishop, another for the clerks, a third for the poor, a fourth for the fabric of the church' (TF 248). Thereupon all the abbots who were present consented to this decree according to the canons, and they rendered the portions of the bishops to the bishops which rightly pertained to them'. Presumably, the abbots, seven of whom are named, were withholding for their own uses the part due to their bishops from their proprietary churches of which there were many. It would be surprising if many lay proprietors were not doing the same. When a noble man, Liutfrid, received 'to hold as property' a church at Sigmertshausen in an exchange with Bishop Anno, the agreement stipulated nevertheless that, 'he render the tithe from that church into the power of the bishop' (TF 872).

Freising was, like all other early-medieval German cathedrals, a monastic cathedral, and it is regularly referred to as a 'monasterium', where, as elsewhere under Charlemagne, the Rule of St Benedict was introduced. In 825 Wago the chaplain, son of the Agilolfing magnate Toto, granted property (TF 523a), '... for the uses of those monks who in that same cathedral church profess the Rule of St Benedict'. But the monastic establishment was subsequently removed from the conduct of diocesan affairs and secular canons were introduced in their place. Thus, in 846 a priest made a provision in his conveyance that (TF 676), '... those same canons who at that time serve in the cathedral church of St Mary may have the said property for their service for felling wood'.

But the entire establishment at the cathedral, both monastic and secular, was probably never very large. In 765, when Poapo made his donation at the pre-mature Carolingian 'placitum' at Freising, Bishop Ardeo could only muster three deacons and three clerks to witness with him (TF 23; above, Part 1/3). In 815, when Bishop Hitto made donation of his own, the archpriest, who was head of the secular cathedral clergy, five priests, one of them also a monk, two deacons, one subdeacon, and four clerks were present although as clerics they did not witness to secular business (as noted above, a canonical rule not always followed); another subdeacon acted as scribe 'at the monastery of Freising' (TF 352). In 845 under Bishop Erchanbert another conveyance was 'viewed (*viderunt*)' by two priests who were also monks, four priests, a deacon and provost, four deacons, and three clerks (TF 671). Although the deed referred to 'others without number', which also would have included laymen, we should probably think of the cathedral as a relatively small foundation with fewer than two dozen clergy of all ranks and orders in residence at any time.

Most early medieval landscapes are well known to modern historians because they were associated with a major monastery such as St Denis, Cluny, Lorsch, the Reichenau, St Gall or Fulda which maintained

their own cartularies and other administrative documents. Freising itself was a respectable foundation but certainly neither a major monastery nor cathedral. The most important monastery in Bavaria throughout our long century was probably St Emmeram at Regensburg which was closely associated with the early bishopric there and subsequently with the resident East Frankish kings and emperors. Although there were several monasteries within the diocese of Freising, none was located in the northeastern portion of Huosiland which pertained to Freising, nor in the neighboring portions of the diocese of Augsburg. A small proprietary monastery on the river Ilm at modern Ilmmünster is poorly documented and lies just beyond Huosiland within Regensburg's sphere of influence. In the far southwest of Huosiland the important monastery of Benediktbeuern together with the six monasteries later claimed as its monastic 'family' were all within the diocese Augsburg; but, as is true for that bishopric of Augsburg itself, contemporary early documents are lacking. Two other monasteries in this southern piedmont region of Huosiland are, however, very well documented: Scharnitz/Schlehdorf which we have already met and Schäftlarn. Neither was of great importance due to wealth or learning, but both have their interest as parts of Huosiland.

Schäftlarn, located on the river Isar on the eastern edge of Huosiland, was clearly within the diocese of Freising, and it has an early body of deeds dating from its foundation in the early 760s to 828. Gertrud Diepolder showed that the donors were a relatively homogenous and closed group over several generations. These monastery patrons were important persons whose connections were wide-reaching, but Schäftlarn's interests touched Huosiland only peripherally. Schäftlarn's early properties lay primarily to the southeast of Huosiland and particularly along the river Isar, even extending north into the area of modern Munich which did not then exist. Two relevant examples of Schäftlarn's properties are included amongst the translations. In the mid-780s a woman named Baganza with Duke Tassilo's permission endowed a church of St Valentine in a place called Percha and then donated the entire property with church to the monastery of St Denis at Schäftlarn (TS 11a&b). This saint, Denis, was also patron of the great monastery in Paris which was closely associated with the Frankish royal dynasties of the Merovingians and Carolingians, and his presence at Schäftlarn indicates the good relations of its founders with the Frankish rulers. But, interestingly, in the revised version of her conveyance (TS 11b) Baganza added a reference to the patronage of St Juliana, evidently of Nicomedia, which may indicate a personal devotion, since Juliana's patronage of the monastery was clearly secondary.

We have several Freising deeds which mention a Percha (TF 18, 22, 658, 723, 777), but they all seem related to what are now the 'upper' and 'lower' settlements of Hohenbercha or Appercha in the far northeastern portion of Huosiland. Baganza's Percha was clearly the place in southern Huosiland where the river Würm flows out of Lake Starnberg (formerly the Würmsee) and where the parish church still claims the patronage of St Valentine. In another deed in the early 9th century a deacon named Eliwart donated property to Schäftlarn at Puchschlagen (TS 19). This is clearly the place about 11 km northwest of Dachau where important donations were also made to Freising (TF 328, 647), but Eliwart's connection to those Freising donors, while quite possible, is not evident. Freising itself received properties including two churches at Schäftlarn, possibly Hohenschäftlarn on the ridge above the river (TF 88, 342, 557); the earliest conveyance from the time of Bishop Ardeo in 778 mentions the consecrator of the church as Bishop Waltrih, bishop of Passau, who was a key member of Schäftlarn's founding clan, and it is unclear why it was given to Freising rather than the new monastery. Schäftlarn has an interesting history, but it was not central to the history of Huosiland.

In contrast to Schäftlarn, Scharnitz/Schlehdorf, which has been mentioned several times, was clearly essential to the story of Huosiland. One reason, of course, is that we have a relatively good dossier of early deeds which were preserved in Freising cartulary by Bishop Atto from this tenure as abbot there (see above). Although Scharnitz and its successor Schlehdorf were within the diocese of Augsburg, the bishops of Freising as abbots there played a dominant role in its administration which caused them to

preserve its records. We even have a ‘foundation charter’ for Scharnitz from 29 June 763, the Feast of SS Paul and Peter Apostles, which specifies the original benefactors and the original patron of this, ‘church in honor of the blessed prince of the apostles, Peter’ (TF 19). The names of these founding benefactors were: Reginperht, the founder, together with his brother, Irminfrid, their mother Ackilinda, and their kinsmen Otilo and Cros with the consent of the ‘most illustrious Duke Tassilo and his leading magnates (*satrabum*)’. Thus, these founders must have been quite high in the Bavarian duke’s favor and, perhaps, even his kinsmen as the namesake of his father, Duke Odilo, may indicate.

Scharnitz was from its earliest times a proprietary monastery of Freising, but it is also usually reckoned as a ‘Hauskloster’ or family monastery of the Huosi. However, the names of the founding family do not indicate this, nor do their apparent close political connections to the Agilolfing duke which, as we saw, resulted in Tassilo’s entrusting the monastery with his new foundation at Innichen in 769. This political dimension can be seen by comparing the Scharnitz foundation deed with Poapo’s nearly-contemporary donation to Freising of properties in 765 at Weichs and Ainhofen where the linkage to a documented member of the Huosi, his son, Eio the priest, is certain (TF 23; above, Part 1/3). If we look first at the two extensive witness lists comprising both clergy and laymen, we may be surprised to see that of the 28 names contained in both the only common witness is Arbeo, an archpriest and scribe at Scharnitz, and now the newly installed bishop, ‘with the entire family of St Mary [assembled] in public synod’ for Poapo’s grant. Even taking account of the different venues (Scharnitz and Freising), this indicates that these donors did not share immediate kin or retinues. And Scharnitz’s close attachment to Tassilo was no fleeting matter because, besides the grant of Innichen, it is possible that the founder of Scharnitz, Reginperht, accompanied Duke Tassilo’s young son, Theodo, to Rome where he was baptized on Whitsunday (17 May), 772 by Pope Hadrian. We learn in August 772 that Reginperht had obtained relics of St Tertulian in Rome from that newly-consecrated pontiff (TF 45b). This all speaks highly for Duke Tassilo’s confidence in the founders of Scharnitz.

Rather, the undoubtedly close connection of the monastery with the *genealogia* of the Huosi came only with its removal to Schlehdorf around 770 when Bishop Arbeo installed his own candidate and episcopal successor, Atto, as abbot, evidently in place of the founders and their immediate kin (TF 53). Moreover, this removal seems to have coincided with the introduction of a new patron for the monastery, the Frankish St Denis whom we also met at Schäftlarn and who subsequently supplanted the original patronage of St Peter and even took precedence over the founder, Reginperht’s saintly trophy from Rome, the relics of St Tertullian (TF 45b). This displacement by Bishop Arbeo and Abbot Atto of the founders as rulers of the monastery and their chosen saintly patrons was evidently resented by their descendants. At the head of a small dossier from Atto’s pontificate there is an official court protocol prepared by the ‘notarius’ Berthari (TF 184b). From it we learn that as late as 802 Lantfrid, son of the founding brother, Irminfrid, was still withholding important properties from the original donation for which the former abbot and now bishop Atto sued him at a missatival court held at Freising.

Evidently Atto had retained as proof of his claim the original donation to Scharnitz (TF 19) along with Bishop Arbeo’s recognition of his authority when Scharnitz was relocated to Schlehdorf (TF 53) and the renewal of another important donation made through him at Kienberg (TF 45b). These proofs seem to have sufficed, but, although Lantfrid was made to surrender the properties which did not pertain to his patrimony, he evidently was successful in maintaining a distinction between the new foundation at Schlehdorf where Bishop Atto claimed them in Freising’s version of the case (TF 184a) and his father’s foundation at Scharnitz where he settled the suit at the altar of St Peter by order of the imperial commissioners (TF 184b). This indicates that the dispute may not have been entirely about inherited property but that resentments regarding the subsequent fate of the monastery and its dedication may have played a role. Our brief examination suggests that a political dimension was quite prominent in

these ostensibly monastic developments at Scharnitz/Schlehdorf which emphasize its distinctive role in Huosiland. We shall return to its association with the Huosi when we examine the career of Sherriff Reginhart in the following section (Part 2/3).

Many of the characteristics and developments discussed above could be replicated from other early ecclesiastical cartularies. The really distinctive aspect of Freising's cartulary is the singular abundance of early evidence about the lesser country churches, something which was recognized by Ulrich Stutz, who originated the concept of the 'proprietary church' (*Eigenkirche*) over a century ago, and quite recently by Susan Wood in her monumental study of that institution, which now has been supplemented by Julia Barrow in her survey of the early-medieval secular clergy. Historians use this term, 'proprietary church', to designate a church which was the personal property of the founder or of another lay owner or of an ecclesiastical foundation such as a bishopric or a monastery. We even have potted histories of three such churches in Huosiland (TF 54, 234, 288). The most interesting is that concerning the church of St Martin at Biberach in northeastern Huosiland which is printed as two separate documents (TF 234, 235) but forms a single entry on two consecutive folio pages in Cozroh's codex (fo. 215r-v). The first part (TF 235) is a 'notice' of the church's history which begins with Bishop Erembert (s. 730s-747x8) who held three small churches (*tituli*), two at Biberach itself and a third at the neighboring settlement of Milbertshofen. Under his successor, Bishop Joseph (s. 748-764), these were consolidated into a single 'public oratory' for the use of all at Biberach which thereafter continued to pertain to successive Freising bishops Ardeo (s. 764-783) and Atto (s. 783-811).

The notice associates this parochial reorganization by Bishop Joseph with Boniface's, 'set[ting] the affairs of the [Bavarian] church in order (*regere res ecclesiasticas*)' in 739 which has been mentioned (Part 1/1). But a man named Erembert, whose pontificate may in fact have predated Boniface, was certainly bishop at that time. Nevertheless, this is interesting because it is the only mention of Boniface in the cartulary. The famous Anglo-Saxon missionary and saint seems to have been the object of a systematic 'damnatio memoriae' in Bavaria. Alternative narratives of diocesan origins were written under Duke Tassilo for Freising, Regensburg and Salzburg; none was needed for Passau because Boniface himself admitted that there was already an incumbent there even though he disapproved of him. Neuburg probably did not yet exist at that time, being still a part of Augsburg. Boniface's close but eventful connection to the Carolingians was probably a source of anxiety for Tassilo, and, moreover, Boniface, a spiky individual like many saints, had made himself quite unpopular with Salzburg's clever Bishop Virgil, an Irishman, who evidently orchestrated the effort to erase his memory from the Bavarian historical record. It appears that the author of our Freising notice about Biberach was, likewise, keen to establish Freising's prior existence as a bishopric.

This notice of Biberach's history was evidently composed to supply the defense against an effort narrated in the second part (TF 235) about a group known as the 'men of Moching (*Mochingara*)' who attempted unsuccessfully during Bishop Atto's pontificate to gain control of the church as their inheritance. The designation for these opponents, none identified by name, indicates that they were what German legal historians call an 'Erbgemeinschaft' or group of joint heirs of the sort we met with the Huosi and Fagana *genealogiae* (Part 1/2). The 'men of Moching' drew their collective appellation, mentioned only in the header, from the settlements of Amper-/Holz-moching, about 5 km south of Biberach and Feld-Moching which lies about 15 km to the southeast of Ampermoching in modern Munich. This indicates that the original estate belonging to the ancestral patronym, the otherwise unknown 'Mocho' who bore a distinctly archaic name, must have been very large indeed. And Biberach was clearly a valuable property which held the possessions of its three predecessor churches and had since been well endowed with patrimony, a large number of slaves, and a carved stone altar; under Bishop Atto it was rich enough to provide a living for the diocesan archpriest Ellanod. Small wonder that the 'men of Moching' contended vigorously for it; possibly the new priest

instituted by their agreement with Bishop Atto was one of their number under a compromise. The bishop was clearly a bit distrustful about him, feeling it necessary to stipulate that, 'he might serve it [the church] as is decreed for other clergy in canon law'!

This remarkable early history of Biberach indicates that the Huosiland countryside may already have been well provided with smaller churches from a very early date in the 8th century, since three separate churches already existed there under Boniface's contemporary, Bishop Erembert. Even so, numerous new foundations are recorded regularly in the cartulary for almost another century where, as Wilhelm Störmer has shown, they are called variously 'tituli', 'oratoria', and 'basilicae' and 'ecclesiae baptismales', as well as 'ecclesiae' without any obvious or necessary connection to their canonical status or architectural form. We learn about these proprietary churches primarily when they were conveyed by their owners or proprietors to Freising's bishops or when, as at Biberach, Freising's possession was challenged by disgruntled heirs. Given the incomplete documentation, it is difficult to put an exact number to these churches and to determine how many settlements in Huosiland possessed a church. Wilfrid Hartmann has estimated that the Freising cartulary contains a total of 95 such conveyances of proprietary churches for the entire diocese through the year 830 when such transactions end abruptly for reasons that are not entirely clear but may be connected to changes in legislation which he discusses. On broader criteria Wilhelm Störmer identified 164 proprietary churches mentioned in some way in the Freising cartulary through 850; possibly as many as 71 (43%) of those fall within our broad definition of Huosiland. Hellmuth Stahleder counted 228 total churches documented in the diocese through the pontificate of Bishop Erchanbert in 854. Thomas Kohl's more restricted survey covered only a portion of northeastern Huosiland (*Amperraum*) without the area bordering the Glonn westwards so that important places for the Huosi like Tandern are omitted. But he still counts 58 total documented places and of these 23 (40%) have notices of churches. The count of places in the Gazetteer (Part 5) is slightly over 250; an interested student might attempt to determine which of them had a documented church.

However we may wish to view this evidence for early churches, it is clear that it is relatively abundant. We might reasonably expect that 100 or more country churches existed in Huosiland at some point during our long century, but, as the careful researches of Hellmuth Stahleder have shown, not all of them thrived or even survived into the high-medieval period. Nor should we expect impressive structures like that at Biberach, much less anything comparable in size and solidity to the modern parish churches of western Bavaria which typically date from the later Middle Ages and often have been extensively altered in the Barock and Rococco styles. Aside from churches in major ecclesiastical and political centers, archaeological evidence indicates, rather, small, simple hall structures of wood which would not have been large enough to accommodate the whole population of a settlement for Sunday mass. A paved floor, possibly the remnant of a Roman structure, seems to have been unusual enough to merit remark (TF 702). The small, scattered country churches of modern Iceland may give a better impression of such places. They are invariably attached to an important farmstead and rarely have room for more than 50 worshippers in their timber and turf structures.

Huosiland's country churches probably functioned initially as private chapels for their proprietors who were often members of the highest aristocracy in Huosiland. Such people provided generously for their foundations and expected proportionate spiritual benefits in return as well as any privileges and favors they might receive from a grateful bishop for conveying the churches to his authority. Thus, David, clearly one of the great magnates of Agilolfing Bavaria, generously endowed his church at Buch, dedicated to St Michael, St Andrew and St John the Baptist, when he transferred it around 760 to Freising (TF 12; see below). In 784x5 Helmker, whom Wilhelm Störmer has plausibly identified as a member of the Huosi and who may have been related to Palderic of Tandern (above, Part 1/3), endowed the church of St Peter at Singenbach which he himself had built and then transferred both the church itself and his own person to Freising, possibly as entry into some religious vocation (TF 118, 119).





For these propertied church founders, their church would primarily have been a focal point for the communal devotion of their family and a visible demonstration of their own personal piety. Any function the church had as a cult site for the broader village community would thus have been secondary and limited to the consecration and distribution of the sacraments at specific festival services such as the Easter eucharist. The broader local community of dependent cultivators might have assembled then outside the building to hear any (probably rudimentary) preaching and to receive the bread either there or by filing inside to the altar and then promptly exiting. We may suspect that this exclusive aspect of these churches continued for some time after their transfer to the diocese with only gradual expansion of what we would consider ordinary parochial life and worship as appropriate clergy and the resources to support them independently became available. It is not clear how widely baptismal privileges were claimed by these lesser churches and to what extent baptism remained a prerogative of the bishop – nor, indeed, whether great trouble was taken to baptize everyone, infants or adults.

We are privileged witnesses in these deeds to the earliest formation of the modern parochial system, that is, a church organization based upon dioceses (or their equivalents) which have been subdivided into contiguous geographical parishes, a system which only now, 1200 years later, is in the final stages of dissolution. The parochial system was established when bishops began to accumulate significant numbers of proprietary churches together with their associated clergy under direct episcopal ownership and control so that systematic oversight and management of their dioceses was possible. To do this, they aggressively exercised the same powers which they always had possessed, an exclusive right to consecrate churches and to ordain clergy within their dioceses, in order to persuade or to coerce proprietors to surrender their churches to the diocese. Indeed, this is what the term ‘parochial church’ means in this period, not a parish church in our modern sense; rather, it is a church belonging to the ‘*parrochia*’ of the bishop, a diocesan church (*ecclesia parrochialis*) such as the four churches restored by an abbot to Bishop Atto at the provincial synod of Reisbach in 800 (TF 181). The bishops did not abolish the ‘proprietary church’; rather, they expropriated it for themselves as proprietors.

Of course, this power over all lesser churches had long been claimed by Bavarian bishops. At the synod held at the ducal manor of Ascheim in autumn 755, it was asserted that bishops, because they had the power to bind and to loose and were charged with ‘exercising pastoral cure amongst the people’, should also, ‘be as the lords over church possessions and be in charge of distributions’ (MGH, Conc. 2/1, Nr 10, cap. 3; not translated). The early bishops of Freising set about realizing this claim much as did their Carolingian successors. For example, on Friday, 7 August 778 Bishop Arbeo consecrated two churches on the same day at Pullach about 10 km north of Schäftlarn in the Isar valley and at Biburg which, because of the implied itinerary, is probably the place about 10 km further to the east and like Pullach now a southern suburb of Munich. Both churches then were conveyed on the spot to the diocese (TF 90). In the mid-770s under Bishop Arbeo a clerk named Rihpald and his wife conveyed all of their possessions at two places on the eastern edge of Huosiland to their church of St Corbinian. They then conveyed the church itself to the diocese of St Mary where they attached it to the tomb of Corbinian within the cathedral indicating a special devotion to Freising’s particular patron (TF 69). This clerical couple evidently had been proprietors of the church for some time before they made provision for its transfer to the diocese; possibly Rihpald sensed the end of his life approaching. Presumably, Heripald the priest, who had held (and presumably served) the church from the donors, now would hold it from the bishop and be under his direct control.

Clergy like Rihpald were often founders of these churches, and it is clear from their circumstances that they were relatively prosperous landholders. Early in Bishop Hitto’s pontificate a priest named Erchanperht obtained episcopal consecration of his oratory at Rothschweige near Dachau which he had built within his own manor courtyard, and he endowed it with three slaves and presumably their holdings (TF 470, 471). The parish clergy who staffed the proprietary churches of Huosiland could,



in fact, be persons of some standing in their neighborhoods, and we shall examine the dealings of one of them in greater detail in the next section (Part 2/2). But others, like the impoverished curates of Victorian novels, probably eked out precarious existences under the control of the proprietors, who, if the clerk came from servile origins, may have been their former masters. Such dependency was a concern to reformers. In 818x9 the Emperor Louis the Pious issued a capitulary which aimed to regularize a variety of ecclesiastical matters (MGH, Cap., Nr 138; not translated). There (c. 10) he provided that, 'every church be assigned one whole manse without any other service due from it', and relieved the priest from all other charges on his income such as tithes, offerings of the faithful, and from properties directly assigned to his pastoral office. This was, in fact, a very modest minimum, since a manse or hide was the conventional holding of a single family and was reckoned at this time as about 30 yoke of arable or about 10 ha. The economic support of the parish clergy is a critical topic which still requires fundamental research.

Bishop Hitto's prominent requirement for endowment of the churches before consecration shows that he was well attuned to these contemporary concerns for sufficient endowment of these lesser churches that the incumbent priest would be freed for pastoral service and also independent from control and interference by local laity. In 814 a man named Sigibald built an oratory within the courtyard of his estate at Puchschlagen, and then asked Bishop Hitto to consecrate it (TF 328). Hitto, arriving there, asked Sigibald how he intended to endow the church. Sigibald responded that he would endow it with three slaves, presumably along with the dependent holdings that they worked. Then Hitto proceeded to consecrate the church and its altar and added relics to it whereupon Sigibald conveyed all of his inheritance at Puchschlagen to Freising while retaining it for his lifetime. It is clear from the deed that this was a great social occasion, since Bishop Hitto 'came there and many other noble men were present with him', and Sigibald made his conveyance in 'the presence of that multitude which had come for that celebration'.

The three slaves allocated to the churches both at Puchschlagen and at Rothschweige seem to have met Hitto's (and the emperor's) standard although it is difficult to establish a precise equivalence with Louis' manse. We may imagine that this imperial minimum was regularly exceeded in Huosiland where assarting was still active and land was not in short supply. When in 814 the member of the Huosi, Eio the priest, completed the earlier conveyance of a church by his father Poapo at Holz, there was a careful survey made (TF 323) regarding:

'... a church with dwelling and whatever was seen to pertain to that church and to that dwelling ... as well in arable land as in slaves, two furnished manses, woodlands, meadows, pastures, water and watercourses, movables and immovables, and all things which were seen to pertain by law to that already said dwelling ... and Eio and Alphart his brother led [Bishop Hitto's commissioners] around and showed them all the places pertaining to this church. And Eio said: 'All this my father conveyed, and I wish to renew and convey it to the cathedral church of St Mary.' These already said persons reported all things to the Lord Bishop, that they had seen there the boundary and the mark and the woodlands lying around that same church ...'

Of course, Bishop Hitto was here concerned that the church's endowment had not been diminished since the original grant, but, given the participants, this survey probably represents the extent of a well-endowed lesser church with a complete complement of property to support it.

In fact, we have more extensive surveys of church properties in Huosiland which we will consider in the next section (Part 1/5), but several of these documents give insight not only into the landed endowment of the churches but also into their ecclesiastical furnishings and the liturgical possessions of their clergy (TF 646, 652, 654, 657, 742). Several seem to have been recorded or preserved in the cartulary in connection

with the division of the Frankish realm in 843 where we saw that there were numerous participants from Huosiland (Part 1/3). The best known of these surveys is that for Bergkirchen, obviously an important central place which was associated with comital jurisdiction (TF 652; see above, Part 1/3). It is quite clear that the church there (*basilica*) was also a very substantial establishment, possibly like the Anglo-Saxon minster with pastoral responsibilities in the surrounding countryside, since it received the tithes of nine other 'vills' or estates. Nevertheless, it was not exceptionally provided with liturgical books; it possessed only the texts essential for conducting a service, a lectionary of Biblical lessons for the church year and a missal with the order of service and appropriate texts and prayers for celebration of the mass and various feast days. Perhaps other books were there but considered the private possessions of its priests. Oato the priest also had a separate book of collects or liturgical prayers and an antiphony of responsive liturgical chants in his proprietary church evidently nearby at 'Pipun' (TF 654).

All of these ecclesiastical furnishings, particularly the books, are overshadowed by those found at the church of St Michael on an island in lake Staffelsee in southern Huosiland (MGH, Cap., Nr 128) which from the early 9th century belonged to the diocese of Augsburg but earlier may have been a suffragan establishment connected to the Agilolfing rump diocese of Neuburg on the Danube or to Freising. Brigitte Haas-Gebhard has produced archaeological evidence for a small church at Staffelsee from the 7th century which was significantly enlarged in the 8th century; the chapter there may well have been a monastic one as elsewhere which accounts for the extraordinary library. The precise reason for preservation along with other, similar Frankish surveys of this part of an (undated) Augsburg diocesan survey is unclear although the similarity of its structure to that for Bergkirchen suggests that it may have provided a pattern for that probably later survey. Likewise, the impressive inventory of the church at Thannkirchen just east of the Isar in the southern Bavarian piedmont is clearly connected to the status of its incumbent, the 'chori episcopus' or suffragan bishop Herolf who, as his title implies, evidently exercised episcopal responsibilities on behalf of Freising in this somewhat remote 'country' (TF 742; Greek: *chōra*). Here at Thannkirchen there is no indication of monastic presence.

The personal religiosity and characteristic devotions of the laity are difficult to establish at any period although a few direct insights are provided by our deeds. It appears that lay men and women might join together with clergy in voluntary pious and charitable religious associations or confraternities, one of which may have been centered on the important church of St Martin at Biberach (above and Part 2/6), and in a later section of Part 2 we shall also look particularly at women who also constructed alternative religious vocations for themselves outside of established ecclesiastical institutions. Such irregular religious paths were also open to laymen, but was clearly easier for them to attach themselves to a monastery or church in some position as a lay brother or clergy in minor orders as Helmker evidently did at Singenbach (see above), and exceptional vocations for them are seldom noted in the record. One notable example of male lay piety does come from Huosiland. We earlier saw that around the year 760 a man named David, acting in the presence of Duke Tassilo, endowed the church of St Michael, St Andrew and St John the Baptist and 'all the saints whose relics repose there in honor' at Buch with his hereditary property at Mammendorf about 5 km to the northwest (TF 12). This array of patron saints for a country church is extraordinary. The altars of many of these churches would have received relics – usually unidentified and probably very often secondary or 'contact' relics which had been sanctified by contact with holy artifacts rather than the holy artifacts themselves – from the bishop at their consecration, but relics are seldom mentioned as valuable possessions of lesser churches. Nor do we even know the titular dedications of many churches and whether their altar relics and their dedications were identical. This may indicate a certain indifference to saintly dedications in sharp contrast to the situation at monasteries and the cathedral.

The abundance of relics here at Buch and their prominent mention by David indicates a distinctive religiosity on his part, perhaps linked to the introduction of the Feast of All Saints in Bavaria about this

time for which there is early evidence from the eastern diocese of Passau (TP 2). Buch itself is about 30 km south of Zeitlbach, and one of the witnesses to David's endowment was a man named Alto who was identified as a hermit (*reclusus*) and who much later became the patron saint of the Welfs' first family foundation, the later Benedictine monastery at 'Alto's Minster' (Altomünster) less than 5 km north of Zeitlbach. This is another indication of the extraordinary religiosity of David and his circle. We have no contemporary evidence that Alto himself established a religious community there as the later monastic tradition maintained, but it is possible that his example inspired others to settle near him in an irregular community, perhaps, as we shall see, even including pious women (Part 2/6). Perhaps, his hermitage itself was also the later object of devotion.

On the other hand, men certainly participated – perhaps predominately – in another distinctive medieval religious practice, pilgrimage to Rome. We have four deeds in which the pilgrims, three of them priests, one layman, and a lay woman (*matrona*) settled their affairs before setting out on what could be a prolonged and dangerous journey over the Alps (TF 409, 410, 434, 557). All four of the deeds are dated in early- to mid-April around the great feast of Easter which fell in the respective years on 17 April (819), 8 April (820), and 5 April (828). This would have been the right season to begin the journey, since the alpine passes would again be open and there would have been time to return to Bavaria in the autumn. But why three examples fall in only in the two years 819/20 is unclear. It is possible that these pilgrims were also serving as messengers to Italy for Bishop Hitto who in 818/9 had apparently been conspiring with Italian counterparts in the maneuvers to secure a suitable new consort for the Emperor Louis. The one lay pilgrim in 819, Ratkis, appears from his repeated occurrences in the witness lists to have been a low-level and otherwise undistinguished episcopal retainer in Huosiland (TF 410). At a later date in 834 the aged bishop himself would go on a political pilgrimage to Rome which appears to have been connected with the liberation of that same imperial consort, the Welf Judith, from prison at Tortona; his departure was likewise around Easter (see below and above, Part 1/3, for Sheriff Timo's court).

We may imagine that our people from Huosiland went on other pilgrimages to local and regional shrines which did not receive special notice in our documents. Even these were not without dangers. Bishop Arbeo wrote a 'Life' of Regensburg's patron saint, the martyr Emmeram, where he recorded the miraculous return to Bavaria of a craftsman who in the earlier 8th century had been kidnapped on his way to the saint's shrine and sold into slavery amongst pagans. However, we are poorly informed about pilgrimage shrines in Huosiland itself. Possibly the monastic churches of Schäftlarn and Schlehdorf were such places; Bishop Atto, while abbot at Schlehdorf, was keen to record the exceptional presence of the Roman martyr, Tertullian (TF 45; see above). St Denis at Schäftlarn was joined, perhaps only fleetingly, by an exotic female companion, St Juliana (TS 11b; see above).

Our deeds document a particular and readily-understandable attachment to the tomb of Corbinian, an early missionary and, along with St Mary, patron of the cathedral at Freising (TF 69). We may suppose that the many persons having various secular matters to attend to there used their journey to Freising to combine business with piety. Indeed, Corbinian's feast day, 8 September was attended in 853 by, 'many noble men of this country (*provinciae*), sheriffs as well as other countrymen (*pagenses*), [who] came to Freising at the Feast of St Corbinian, and there in prayer they devoted themselves to divine worship as is the custom for Christians' (TF 738). After 834 they could add a side trip to St Stephan's hill to the newly-built shrine of the Roman saints and martyrs, Pope Alexander and Justinus the priest (see above, Part 1/3). But the most important shrine readily accessible from Huosiland was that of the Roman martyr St Afra at neighboring Augsburg which had a continuous existence from late Antiquity and was of international repute. When the poet Venantius Fortunatus described in reverse order the route of his journey from Italy to Francia in the mid-6th century, he made special mention of 'Augsburg where the Wertach and the Lech flow /there they venerate the bones of the holy martyr Afra' (MGH, AA

4, p. 368; not translated). For the inhabitants of far western Huosiland, Augsburg was probably a more convenient and attractive destination than Freising.

The deeds of exchange (*commutatio*) in our document dossier which predominate from the end of our period have a more practical and everyday character which did not provide occasion for more than purely-perfunctory piety. But many of the earlier conveyances in the cartulary were quasi-testamentary in character where the anticipation of death – whether imminent or distant – was clearly present in some form. It is not surprising then that the preambles to these deeds should often express some eschatological element. Of course, these were often stock formulations taken from the collections of sample documents available to the scribes (see below, Part 2/1). But donors and their scribes nevertheless had a variety of patterns to choose from.

Their responses could incorporate general (and perennially popular) apocalyptic considerations about the deteriorating nature of the times as did Crimperht's conveyance in 794, 'With the end of the world approaching and with disasters increasing, already sure signs are becoming manifest' (TF 170), or Deota's in 833, 'With the disasters of this world increasing and appearing daily by various events' (TF 605). Or they might dwell on more particular considerations. In 799 Gaio's ample benefaction was motivated by the disconcerting (and convoluted) thought that, 'Since the frailty of the human condition causes fear that the last day of life's span might come by sudden reverse, lest it find someone unprepared, and he, taking no regard for any good work, depart from the world; nor, while legal authority and power remain, he prepare for himself a life of salvation while he holds the price in his hands by which he might attain eternal blessedness' (TF 177). At its simplest this concern was expressed as 'He uses (*baiulat*) prudent counsel who gives thought to the remedy of his soul' (TF 498; 487).

But, however it is expressed, the basic thought is, some version of, 'Do ut des', 'I give [property] to you [God] that you might give [eternal salvation] to me'. This may seem to us to express a somewhat perfunctory and external spirituality, but it should be remembered that this was a society where all injuries, including homicide, could be atoned for a price. In general, the donors' relationships to the saints seem likewise to be very impersonal. St Mary and St Corbinian and the other patrons of the various churches were acknowledged as the true owners of their patrimonies and their final vengeance upon those who infringe them is amply invoked in the penalty clauses at the ends of the deeds (below, Part 2/1). Only occasionally, however, do these saints appear as helpers and personal intercessors. In the early 9th century Ratolt the priest placed his conveyance, 'at the altar of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, so that she might deign to intercede mercifully for me with a pious God on that account' (TF 220). At about the same time a woman named Deotpurc granted her inheritance, 'validly and unquestionably to My Lady St Mary, so that she might deign to intercede for my many transgressions' (TF 253). Her piety seems to have been like that described in more personal terms by her contemporary Hiltimari who bore her troubles, 'in the love of St Mary' (TF 304; see below Part 2/6). But, whether St Mary had, as might be expected, a greater appeal for women than men, is a difficult matter to determine.

The most striking expression of this hope for saintly intercession concerns St Lawrence, a Roman saint who seems to have been quite popular in southern Huosiland. At the end of the 8th century two brothers conveyed meadows 'to the altar of St Lawrence in the village called Maisach for the salvation of our father whose name was Deodolt because our father's body is buried in that same church, so that he might be worthy to receive some absolution with St Lawrence and have his intercessions with God' (TF 167). This is quite unusual, since in Bavaria burial of laymen within churches was not practiced. Deodolt at Maisach appears to have been an interloper whose piety was formed in western Francia. His burial rite as a layman 'ad sanctos', amongst the relics of the saints within the church, only spread later to Bavaria. This avoidance of church burial can be seen also in the description of funeral rites for the possible Huosi named Isancrim in 821 at the church of St Martin at Nörting. There 'many of his noble

kinsmen came together to him to bury his body, and they bore him to the church of God's Confessor, St Martin. Moreover, when his body had come into the church and had been put down so that both prayers and supplications might be read but before his body had been carried out of the church', a conveyance was completed at the altar (TF 447).

It is possible that the rather mechanical piety we observe in Huosiland was a bit behind the times in many respects other than burial rite. Nevertheless, our documents reveal a certain variety and richness to religious practice in this landscape which at first sight is so devoid of prominent religious institutions and still so rudimentary in the provision of lesser churches. The surprising ingenuity of freewomen is particularly notable, and we shall return to it in Part 2. But knowledge of those, male or female, who exercised such opportunities as were available is limited to the propertied inhabitants. Aside from secondary accounts in learned treatises and normative documents, we have no immediate evidence for the religious practices of the larger and predominately unfree part of the Bavarian population who possessed no property and lacked legal status for pious benefactions. Only rarely do we see them as more than objects for disposition. It is normally presumed that superstitious and syncretic pagan beliefs and practices flourished among them which would not be surprising given the rudimentary level of pastoral care which they surely received.

We cannot say for certain, but it would probably be unwise to ascribe to them a religious uniformity which was probably lacking amongst their superiors. Bavarians certainly knew of magic, and the Bavarian Code – in a single Title only (LB 13/8; not translated) – provided harsh penalties for any freeman who attempted to harm another's harvest by magical practices (*maleficis artibus*). Our Freising documents may, however, provide us with a single insight into the rather shadowy borderlands between popular religion, folk medicine and magic. In the discussion of compensation (above, Part 1/3; TF 738), we noted the case of an 'evil slave woman' who killed the daughter of a freeman by poison (*veneno*). It is impossible to say what the precise circumstances for this crime were. But the Bavarian Law Code (LB 4/22; not translated) does address the crime of administering any sort of lethal drink (*potionem mortiferum*), and in a later section (LB 8/18; not translated) it specifically provides sanctions against administering a drink to induce an abortion. Evidently, the legislator could only conceive of a woman doing this: if she were a slave, as in the Freising deed which does not provide information on her punishment, she was to receive 200 lashes, if a free woman she was to be deprived of her freedom and assigned to anyone whom the duke might specify. Both of them very harsh sanctions indeed.

## Part 1/5. Economy and Society

Huosiland was entirely rural. There had been no urban settlements under the Romans, and there were none in the early-medieval period. Within all of Bavaria, only Regensburg, the principal site of the ducal, then royal court on the Danube, attained full urban status during our period with a significant merchant population and rudimentary civic institutions. The other places designated in the documents as 'urbes' or boroughs remained proto-urban settlements with only a few urban characteristics. One of them was Freising, the seat of the bishopric, at the very northeast edge of Huosiland. It was a small place, probably counting only a few hundred inhabitants who were mostly dependents of the cathedral and other churches. It was not granted a royal privilege of mint, market and toll until 996, and it does not seem to have been a significant regional marketplace during our period. Its distinguishing 'urban' feature was its walls, probably masonry, which marked it out in a period when fortifications were rare. Even Augsburg, the ancient Roman capital of the province of Raetia II on the western edge of Huosiland, was no larger or more important at this time.

It is likely that smaller rural markets were scattered throughout the countryside and were probably open for local trade only at certain times. Elsewhere in Bavaria, these places were located primarily



on fiscal land at strategic points of communication, for example, where important roads crossed rivers, and they seem to have been organized around the distribution of salt coming from the salt pans near Salzburg. Facilitating this essential trade was their primary function to which other products such as livestock, slaves and other merchandise were added. Föhring, at the eastern edge of Huosiland across the river Isar, a venue for comital assemblies (Part 1/3) was such a place and may even have overshadowed Freising as an economic center. Many similar places have been identified by archaeologists elsewhere in Europe, primarily through coin evidence. These so-called 'productive centers' may also have been small regional centers of industry such as iron production and pottery. The estate at Föhring, which passed from the Crown to the bishopric of Freising in 903, would certainly have maintained some craftsmen to support the transportation of goods including maintenance of the bridge over the Isar, but at present there is no archaeological evidence of other such places in the more central parts of Huosiland.

Virtually all of the population of Huosiland lived in agricultural villages, some of which may also have been 'productive centers' producing for a wider market while most may have had a resident craftsman such as a smith or carpenter working for local requirements while tending his own plot of land. The 'Gazetteer' attached to the translations lists almost 250 such places. However, when we try to obtain a closer idea of the physical structure of these villages, their layout and their buildings, our deeds largely fail us. They present, rather, a seigneurial view of village society where the various aspects of proprietorship, authority over persons and property and claims on production, are the primary concerns. Moreover, although a settlement may initially have had a single proprietor as indicated by the frequency of eponymic place-names, with time, through partible inheritance, sale, exchange and benefaction, its ownership might become fragmented, and the proprietors of the settlement might be many. Thus, in a single deed we may be seeing only a portion of the entire settlement just as we see only a portion of a donor's entire property when he or she makes a gift to a church.

This caveat does not mean, however, that our documents are totally silent on settlement or useless for its study. When we discuss the evidences for the manor, we shall see that they provide much information on local population size and even some indications of layout. From the way the manor house and its courtyard are presented in the appurtenance lists of the deeds, these buildings certainly appear to be located near or at the center of the settlement just as the local church probably was likewise so sited during our period. This suggests that some degree of nucleation was already present although we should also presume the existence of outlying hamlets and scattered farmsteads such as in the numerous 'Ried' place-names which represent new clearings or assarts outside the central area of cultivation.

It would be pleasant, indeed, if archaeology could provide for the deficiencies of the historical evidence, and this may be so someday. But, at present, the settlement archaeology of early-medieval Bavaria is very fragmentary. Recently, Janine Fries-Knoblach has assembled an excellent overview of the current state of research. Unfortunately, excavation reports are only available for two settlements in Huosiland, Zolling and Eching. Moreover, as is normally the case, both excavations covered only a small part of the entire settled surface. The remains at Eching predate our period. At Zolling (see Part 2/1), Hermann Dannheimer excavated the sites of five dwellings and outbuildings dating from the late 7th to the 9th century (Fries-Knoblach, Fig. 39). All were fairly roomy with, perhaps, 100 m<sup>2</sup> of interior space. None seems to have been a byre-house with stable area incorporated into the dwelling, and it seems unlikely to me that villagers often kept large animals individually. Judging from the tenants' renders at the episcopal manor of Staffelsee, poultry and pigs were their normal livestock. How they cultivated their allotments is a bit of a mystery. Perhaps heavy equipment and plow teams were pooled or, more likely, provided by the lord in a *rota*; perhaps some land was cultivated by a small scratch plow drawn by a person or by the spade.

Despite this dearth of local evidence, it is unlikely that the villages of central Huosiland northeast of the alpine areas were markedly different from settlements elsewhere in Bavaria. It is interesting to



note that the overall archaeological evidence there indicates population size which is consistent with the deed evidence, albeit at the high end (see below): 20 farmsteads or more arranged in parallel on up to 20 ha of land with populations possibly reaching into the low hundreds. The orderly arrangement of the structures at many sites seems to indicate a certain level of planning and direction by an early proprietor. Typically, the houses and other structures themselves have left only their outlines revealed in the ground by the postholes of their supporting timbers. Their construction seems to have been unsophisticated but functional indicating local builders. A major puzzle is the lack of any clear evidence so far for the site of an elite dwelling, a manor house and its outbuildings within a courtyard, although the deeds regularly indicate one, and the Title of the Bavarian Law Code on arson (LB 10; not translated) describes in detail the possible extent of an aristocratic freeman's dwelling complex. There are several theoretical ways of explaining this current lacuna in the archaeological record, none of which is conclusive. Thus, at present, archaeological evidence for our settlements, while a welcome supplement and control, does not add significantly to the historical account and even raises new puzzles.

Given its pronounced non-urban character, it is not surprising that the economy Huosiland was largely pre-monetary. It is true that the deeds regularly refer to annual rents paid in coin for episcopal grants of property, and various chattels and land were bought and sold in transactions regulated by the Bavarian Law Code for what appear to be money prices (see below). But here it is necessary to understand that money might serve as a standard of value as well as an actual medium of exchange or specie, coin or cash money in our modern sense. Moreover, money prices might be quoted in units of account such as pounds and shillings which did not then exist as actual currency (TF 703). The only coin circulating regularly in Frankish realms at this time was the Carolingian silver penny (*denarius*), but the first mint in Bavaria was not established until 818 at Regensburg, and its output appears to have been feeble. Thus, in 809 the rent for a benefice held from the monastery of Schlehdorf was reckoned as 'six pence or six pence in value in food or clothing or wax or in livestock' (TF 295). Probably only a major church such as that at Staffelsee possessed a significant stock of coin, and even its inventory from the early ninth century records merely that in its treasury 'there are three shillings [36 pennies] in minted silver money there' along with numerous silver furnishings and liturgical utensils (MGH Cap 128). Thus, Huosiland was a money-poor economy, but it is probably not correct to say that it was, for that reason, a barter economy. It is quite clear that contemporaries had a well-developed sense of value expressed in money prices, but they lacked sufficient specie, that is, minted coin, to effect their transactions and, instead, relied regularly on payment in kind.

The largest population centers in Huosiland would have been entirely seigneurial, that is, the manorial centers of large rural estates and estate complexes. Fortunately, here, as with the proprietary churches (Part 1/4), we have some of the best evidence available in Europe for this period. Whether such large manors were, indeed, the dominant form of agricultural exploitation in the 8th and 9th centuries is an unresolved question because of the fragmentary nature of our evidence. Their prevalence may well have varied by region and type of crop. But there is no question that the manor, whether large or small, ecclesiastical or lay, was a pronounced characteristic of the Huosiland countryside. How they were organized is another matter. Historians have identified three dominant forms along a continuum. At the one end is the manor where all cultivation was carried out directly from the central estate on its own fields as *demesne*, what German historians call a 'Guts-hof'. At the other end was the 'rentier' manor where all the agricultural land had been parceled out to tenants of varying personal condition on varying terms, for example, for fixed rents reckoned in coin (but, perhaps, rendered in goods) or for a share of the crop.

Between the 'Gutshof' and the 'rentier' estate was what has been come to be known as the 'classic' manor, one with a significant home farm or *demesne* exploited centrally by its own workforce but also with land allocated to dependent tenants who provided additional labor for the *demesne* but otherwise worked their own small tenures for which they paid certain specified renders in kind and



also performed various labor services. This last type is what German historians call the ‘Fron-hof’ from the archaic word for ‘lord’ (Fron-). It is this last type which is best documented in our sources, but it is clear that it too represents a potential range of exploitations depending on the division between demesne and tenancy and the conditions and terms of the tenants. Presumably in our period there was some sense of a ‘risk vs. return’ calculation even if such purely economic considerations were not dominant. Thus, in times of plentiful labor and high demand the lay or ecclesiastical proprietor would want to maximize his own demesne production while in times of scarce labor and slack demand there would be an inclination to off-load more risk on the tenancies which would have to supply any shortfall. Unfortunately, our documents, which give us only isolated ‘snap shots’ from certain specific dates, do not allow us to trace and verify this theoretical dynamic over the course of our long century. We must therefore be aware that the division between demesne and tenancy described in our documents represents only a temporary state in a constantly shifting balance.

We have evidence for all three types of manors in Huosiland, but, as might be expected, ecclesiastical manors are the best represented in the surviving evidence. For them we have three very well-known documents: the surveys of Bergkirchen and Staffelsee noted in the previous Part (1/4) for their church inventories, and the last paragraph of the first Title of the Bavarian Law Code (LB 1/13). The Bergkirchen survey along with the associated notices for ‘Pipun’ and Feldgeding (TF 652, 653, 654) is securely dated to the period around 842x3 when they may have been assembled in connection with the anticipated division of the Frankish realm (Part 1/3), but the modern edition obscures the purpose of the Bergkirchen survey which has no separate header in the cartulary, since the manuscript order (Ms. fos. 388v-389v: 652, 654, 653) has not been followed. It is possible that all three (evidently nearby) places including Bergkirchen were originally the property of Oato the priest who is otherwise not well documented. The Staffelsee survey (MGH, Cap. 128) is part of a larger document of sample estate surveys (*Brevium Exempla*) which includes other ecclesiastical and Crown properties from central and western Francia. Its preservation may be linked likewise to the division of 843, but the occasion for the original survey of all of Augsburg’s properties including Staffelsee is unknown and may have been much earlier in the Carolingian period. The standard editions date this manuscript collection to about 810, but it and the contents both could well be somewhat earlier or later.

Likewise, the Title in the Bavarian Law Code (LB 1/13), ‘Concerning colons and slaves of the Church, what services they should perform and what dues they should render’, is undated, but the structure it describes, that of a classic bi-partite manor, suggests that it too pertains to this early Carolingian period, possibly as an earlier Frankish royal edict or capitulary only incorporated into the Code after 788 as part of Carolingian efforts to regularize the administration of church estates. In any event, the need for its inclusion in the Code cannot be earlier than the establishment of ecclesiastical structures and the organization of church estates in Bavaria from the mid-8th century. It is thus relevant to Huosiland but not specific to it. In any event, we have no comparable documents preserved from the Agilolfing period although detailed surveys, particularly of Church properties, must have been conducted then for which we only have the summaries in the surviving deeds.

The Bergkirchen documents and the Staffelsee survey give us some notion of the division between demesne land and tenancies in this period even though both the grammar and the metrics of the documents leave a considerable measure of uncertainty, since arable is given according to various measures. For Bergkirchen it is the equivalent of a colon-holding (*colonia*) or standard ‘free’ tenancy, possibly 30 to 40 yokes or 10 to 15 ha. These three estates at Bergkirchen, Pipun and Feldgeding seem to represent the entire spectrum of theoretical possibilities discussed above. At Bergkirchen the demesne and tenancies were in rough balance; the demesne’s arable land comprised the equivalent of three colon tenancies worked by nine slaves, six of them male, while there were two fully equipped manses of tenant lands with 10 slaves on them. At Pipun all of the land seems to have been worked as demesne

with the equivalent of seven colon tenancies – more than twice Bergkirchen’s – in demesne arable and an unknown number of demesne slaves. At Feldgeding in contrast there was evidently no manor farm as at Pipun (*curtis cum domo*) with demesne, and all of the land at Feldgeding seems to have been worked as two separate colon tenancies with 15 slaves divided between them. We have no idea why there was such variety although we might suspect that smaller properties such as Feldgeding were worked solely as tenancies for ease of administration.

The estate at Staffelsee was clearly a much larger agricultural establishment attached directly to a major church (Part 1/4). The manor farm (*curtis et casa indominicata*) had 740 day-works of arable which was worked by 72 ‘prebendaries’, that is, dependents allocated shares (*prebenda*) of grain provisions (*annona*) for their maintenance. They may also have had small allotments of land or even been housed in cottages with plots to supplement their provisions. In addition, on the central estate there was a ‘gynaeceum’, a cloth workshop, with 24 women workers who were presumably maintained separately from the prebendaries. We do not learn the sizes of the dependent tenancies but rather that they were grouped in two large classes, free manses (*mansi ingenuiles*) and unfree or servile manses (*serviles mansi*) by the type of services and renders. Altogether there were supposedly 23 of the former free manses although, when accounted for by the particular services of each, the total yields 26, a discrepancy not unusual in early-medieval accounting. To these were added 19 servile manses which would imply some rough equivalence of manpower if not property. These 45 (or 42) manses might have a total of 150 to 200 occupants which appears to be larger than the total population of the demesne manor although we cannot be certain that the individual prebendaries had no dependents. In any event, Staffelsee’s estate must be reckoned as a reasonably large population center in Huosiland.

The division at Staffelsee between ‘free’ and ‘servile’ tenancies is clearly reproduced in the Bavarian Law Code (LB 1/13) which likewise distinguishes between, on the one hand, the ‘colons’, that is, the free tenants who held a privileged tenancy, a ‘colon-holding’ (*colonia*) and had a variety of fixed services and renders to perform, and, on the other, the unfree tenants who, just as at Staffelsee, ‘shall perform their labor-services three days a week on the demesne, but for three [days] each shall work for himself’. Such a fundamental division between occasional, largely seasonal services such as plowing, harvesting and hauling, and regular weekly services of three days, whether attributed to the nature of the tenancy or to the status of the tenant, may derive ultimately from late-Roman fiscal administration which seems implied by the use of its technical terms such as ‘colonus’. It is even conceivable that their presence at Staffelsee, for example, may represent some form of administrative continuity from the late Empire, since the estate was situated, unlike Bergkirchen, in a thoroughly Romanized part of Bavaria, and the Church was the main medium for the transfer of classical civilization into the early Middle Ages. But such connections remain tenuous and highly speculative.

In any event, this duality of personal status amongst dependent tenants is also found in some much more modest lay estates. In 816 a Liutto ‘on account of a serious illness, gave up the secular way of life in the cathedral church of St Mary and, tonsured, took vows to hold to the monastic life’ whereupon he conveyed ‘six [named] slaves and two colon-holdings in the place ‘Croaninpach’, one of which with an unfree man whose name is Liupheri, stands ready to perform labor services; moreover, a free man lives on the other and does free service for it’ (TF 366). Presumably Liupheri was obliged to provide the servile three days of work a week, but this would only have been meaningful if the tenancy were attached to some larger estate for which there is no indication in this deed (see below, Part 2/5). Sometime around 850 Liutto’s nephew, Pilgrim, ‘presented into the bishop’s possession another colon-holding which Liutto the monk had conveyed at Berg’ (TF 702). We do not know whether the tenancy returned by Pilgrim was the free or the servile one nor what happened to the other at this renamed settlement only two kilometers southeast of Pilgrim’s properties around Allershausen where Liupheri’s service may have been of value.



In Bavaria, there were also free tenants known as ‘barschalks’, a name meaning either the oxymoronic ‘free (*bar*)-slaves (*schalk*)’ or (less likely) that their service was to be rendered (at least theoretically) in a money payment (also *bar*). An agreement negotiated by Wago the chaplain with a group of eleven ‘free men who are called barschalks’ was appended to his conveyance in 825 for the monks of Freising at Zolling north of the Amper and two other places, evidently to secure their continued tenures under their new ecclesiastical seigneurs (TF 523a&b):

‘They [the barschalks] have agreed to render service for this same land. These are, first, Saxo, Oadalmunt, Toto, Sigadeo and Deotmar are to plow three times a year for 3 days and to harvest for three days, gather it and bring it in to the barns; Weliman, Cozpald and Waldker are to plow and harvest and bring it in to the barns as above, and, in addition, they are to render 15 measures of which three of barley, and a suckling pig worth 2 saigas; Selprat and Alprat are to plow and harvest and to bring it in to the place in the same manner; Hroadfrid is to plow in full measure as do other men of servile status, and he should offer 10 measures of oats and a suckling pig worth 2 saigas. This is firmly agreed so that henceforth no one may enjoin heavier service upon them. But they shall take part in military campaigns by turn.’

The free personal status of these men may be indicated by their liability to some form of service on military expeditions. Except for Hroadfrid, they all clearly provided ‘free’ service for their holdings. They evidently worked their tenancies as peasant farmers although that did not exclude their having a few of their own slaves just as later Bavarian peasant farms always included a few ‘Gesinde’ (hired hands and serving girls) of both sexes. The highly differentiated terms of the barschalk’s tenures (as those amongst the free tenants at Staffelsee) suggest that their modest holdings were brought under Wago’s proprietorship at different times and under different circumstances. But, Hroadfrid, although he too is accounted amongst the free barschalks, nevertheless was held to service as a slave (*sicut alii servi*) which may indicate that he came originally from Wago’s servile household and subsequently took over a vacant barschalk tenancy just as it was possible for a free man to occupy an unfree tenancy although at some risk to his personal status.

The status of the barschalks as freemen must have been tenuous in any event, and on 14 October 848 at a court session held (*placito habito*) in King Ludwig’s Bavarian capital of Regensburg, a ruling was made ‘concerning the barschalks (*de parschalchis*) who are obliged to render service just as other slaves, whether it be a man or a woman’ (MGH, *Scriptores*, vol. 30/2, p. 741; not translated). This judgment appears to be a ‘novella’ or updating emendation to Title 1/13 of the Law Code, and, indeed, in a few later manuscripts ‘*colonus*’ there has been replaced with ‘*parschalchus*’. Thus, diminution in the status of the barschalks seems to be part of a general trend under the manorial regime in the 9th century to simplify a variety of dependent arrangements by reducing all to a common servile status.

But, regardless of personal legal status, there is no doubt that the occupants of the tenancies enjoyed a clear social advantage over the demesne workforce living on the central manor, since they were able to establish independent households and families. Still we should not suppose that their masters necessarily thought of these tenants as of higher status due to their tenancies. When Isanhart conveyed his property at Herrsching on Lake Ammersee in 776, he included all ‘slaves within the manor house (*in domo*) as well as those abiding on the holdings (*in villis*)’ (TF 75). On the classic manor, all unfree dependents constituted a single seigneurial ‘*familia*’, and their master, the seigneur, could allocate them and their labor according to need although in practice certain restraints were surely observed to maintain good order.

This manorial system is difficult to discern in the static ‘snapshots’ of our documents, but it can be inferred from an exceptional Regensburg deed from the winter of 820x1 which deals with two estates. One belonged personally to a Sigifrid, possibly lay abbot, of the ‘monasterium Ilme’, usually identified

as the later Engelbrechtsmünster, and the other to the monastic chapter of St Emmeram (TR 17; not translated). These properties all lie north of Huosiland but not too far away. The central estates of both the abbot and the cathedral were at Lauterbach, now Ober- and Niederlauterbach, about 22 km north of Allershausen. In addition to his Lauterbach estate, Sigifrid conveyed eight other, smaller properties at various surrounding places along with his dependent servants at the monastery itself. His entire lordship included 264 unfree persons divided between 144 members of tenant families (*manentes*) and 120 landless workers (*mancipia*), some of whom belonged to tenant households but most of whom were on the central demesnes. As at Bergkirchen, Pipun and Feldgeding, Abbot Sigifrid's properties had a variety of structures. Both Sigifrid's and St Emmeram's estates at Lauterbach had separate churches and substantial demesne and tenant populations with a combined total of 187 unfree dependents including 23 inmates of Sigifrid's predominately-female gynaeceum there just as at Staffelsee. The combined settlement at Lauterbach was, thus, about the size of those settlements indicated by archaeological evidence.

The two estates at Lauterbach, although they were both bi-partite, nevertheless differed somewhat in structure, since St Emmeram's demesne does not appear to have been so closely integrated with the tenant holdings there. But similar bi-partite arrangements to Sigifrid's Lauterbach estate existed at his other major properties at Pöbenhausen and Rockolding with a combined total of 93 unfree inhabitants, 68 in tenant families and 25 landless workers. However, of his six smaller properties, four had no such bi-partite structures, some being entire demesne and others entirely tenant holdings as at Pipun and Rockolding. Moreover, it appears that his entire complex of Sigifrid's estates was managed in such a way as to circulate population between the demesne and the tenancies and also between locations as need required.

On Abbot Sigifrid's properties, the inhabitants of both sexes seem both to have moved amongst settlements and also to have progressed at various stages in their lives from residence on a tenancy (childhood) to unmarried worker on the demesne (youth) to householder on a tenancy (adult) and then back to the demesne in old age in a regular 'seigneurial lifecycle' which gave some of them an opportunity to establish families. This apparently-planned circulation of Sigifrid's dependents also seems to have resulted in simple family structures based on two-generation 'nuclear' families with parents and children only and no other kin such as parents or siblings of the adult tenants. In contrast, the tenancies of St Emmeram's estate at Lauterbach exhibit a more complex variety of extended family structures resulting, perhaps, from a higher degree of tenant autonomy. On the classic manor, tenants and demesne workers thus represent stages in the lifecycle and seigneurial development rather than differences of legal status. All were similarly unfree just as Isanhart's conveyance reminds us.

Despite Sigifrid's office of abbot, his properties as his inheritance, probably give us a unique insight into a relatively large lay seignury but still probably one of only middling size compared to the similarly dispersed properties of the higher aristocracy and particularly those of the Crown and the larger churches. We may imagine that such lay estate complexes existed also in Huosiland, but our deeds tell us only about discrete parts of them as they were conveyed into the possession of the Church. Most of the property descriptions in these deeds are summary and highly formulaic. But a few others provide more detailed insight. Thus, around 830 when Erchanolf, son of Kaganhart, was accused of attempting to alienate portions of an episcopal benefice, Bishop Hitto sent his commissioners who, 'investigated thoroughly by oath amongst the male slaves' and determined that the benefice consisted in his father's time of six tenant hides and a substantial demesne with 120 yokes of arable on which altogether there were 31 named slaves (15 male/16 female), to which Kaganhart had added the five hides with six named slaves (3 male/3 female) which his son was accused of alienating (TF 604).

Such welcome specificity is particularly true of the property exchanges which become the dominant form of transaction towards the end of our period, since they took place under royal license and were required to represent equivalent values so as not to diminish (or increase) Church property. Thus,





sometime after 860 Bishop Anno (s. 854-875) completed an exchange with a certain ‘noble man’ conveying to him, ‘at Sigmertshausen a church, courtyard, dwelling, three slaves, Hruodhari together with two sons, 5 hides of arable land, and 80 cartloads of meadows, 80 yokes of woodlands ... [and receiving in return], ‘at Feldmoching a dwelling with courtyard, three slaves of whom the names are Hiltiperht, Unfrid, Rihholt, 2 barns, 1 hopfield, 6 hides of arable land, 100 cartloads of meadows, 100 yokes of woodlands, and for the church ... in that same place 2 hides, 1 mill’ (TF 872). Sometimes the chattels are also specified in the deed as in the surveys of Staffelsee and Bergkirchen. In 833 Deota held a benefice at Umbach to which she had added, evidently in stages, 23 (11 male/12 female) named slaves for the benefit of the cathedral and which was also furnished – so a marginal note adds – with other chattels besides the slaves: 21 cattle, 18 swine, 79 sheep, 18 goats (TF 605). Altogether, these documents give the distinct impression that the properties conveyed to Freising or granted out in benefice were relatively modest estates and generally smaller than those surveyed at Bergkirchen or owned by Abbot Sigifrid at Pöbenhausen and Rockolding. The typical donor or benefice recipient seems to have been at gentry level, a rural squire with more property, more complexly structured than a typical peasant farming a subsistence holding with his family, but they were hardly great seigneurs with extensive properties. However, Abbot Sigifrid’s exceptional deed reminds us that we gain only a very discrete and partial view of donors’ entire portfolio of properties, limited to the parts involved in transactions with the Church.

Below this gentry level there may have been some free peasant farmers working their own modest freehold; this is certainly one possible impression given in the Bavarian Code’s interminable lists of compensations for personal injuries, damages and thefts, its ‘Kulturportrait’ or ‘Lebensbild’. But those persons are not clearly identifiable in the existing documents, and here the Code’s provisions may be somewhat anachronistic, reflecting an archaic world and not modern reality. No doubt some such persons still worked small allodial holdings independently like the ‘barschalks’ discussed above had done before they were acquired by Wago the chaplain, but I would argue, rather, that some form of estate-based, personal servile dependence was typical of the Huosiland’s agricultural workers. These are persons whom the documents normally identify as ‘servus’ (male), ‘ancilla’ (female), or ‘mancipium’ (male and female). I have called these persons ‘slaves’. As I noted in the Preface, most historians would still object to this term, preferring the neologism ‘serf’ or other euphemism or avoiding it entirely by talking in general terms of ‘peasants’ and ‘peasant society’. But the regime described particularly in Titles 1 and 16 of the Bavarian Law Code and the actual practice documented repeatedly in the contemporary deed evidence shows quite dramatically that they were chattels to be disposed of like Deota’s cattle, swine, sheep and goats.

The main source of these slaves in Huosiland and elsewhere in Bavaria was, like other livestock, natural increase on one’s own estate and paternal inheritance (LB 16/14; not translated) which could be supplemented by purchase, exchange or occasional booty from a foreign expedition (LB 16/11; not translated). As we have seen, slaves were regularly granted in gift to churches to form part of the patron saint’s patrimony. The saint’s ownership, however, differed importantly from that of lay masters in that such ecclesiastical possession was immortal, perhaps providing some stability and personal security not available on a lay estate which was constantly being divided and reorganized as one proprietor died and others succeeded to the inheritance.

A form of dependence suitable to free men, vassalage, also makes its first appearance in this period although we are still quite far removed from the elaborate feudal relationships which permeated high-medieval society. Erchanolf, son of Kaganhart, is identified as a vassal of Bishop Hitto from whom he had received his substantial benefice at Pettenbach (TF 604, above). We have met other vassals at Verdun where they accompanied the laymen Paldric and Freaso (TF 661; above Part 1/3). There were also ‘vassi dominici’, that is royal vassals, who turned out in large numbers for the missatical courts held



at Föhring and Allershausen in 822 (TF 466, 475; above Part 1/3). Presumably, all of these vassals had, like Erchanolf, received landed benefices from the properties of their respective lords, whether great magnates, churches, or the Crown.

Rewarding faithful followers with lands, as we shall see (Part 2/1) certainly predated Carolingian rule in Bavaria. And intermediate lordship probably existed under Tassilo. In 776 when two brothers granted properties at Fischen to the monastery of Scharnitz/Schlehdorf, the approval of their 'lord' Isanhart (*Isanhardum domnum nostrum*) was needed even though the property was, so they asserted, their own (TF 77, cf. 76; below, Part 2/3). But some regular, institutionalized form of retained and subordinate service with a landed basis and established by oath may have been a Carolingian innovation in Bavaria. By the end of the 8th century vassalage was already a potent enough concept to be used by Charlemagne in the trumped-up charges brought against his cousin Duke Tassilo at an assembly held at Ingelheim in 788 where Tassilo was summoned, according to the official Frankish Royal Annals, 'as were other of [Charlemagne's] vassals' (MGH, ARF, *sub* 788: *sicut et ceteri eius vassi*; cf. *sub* 757).

Aside from providing personal retinues and attendance at important meetings, it is not clear what the duties were expected from these Carolingian vassals. In Bavaria, where we can trace the careers of many sheriffs, vassalage does not seem to be a regular stage of any 'cursus honorum' in royal service leading ultimately to that comital office. Nor do we know whether a vassal's duties were linked directly to the benefice (or vice-versa), as was any fiscal property granted to sheriffs to support their duties. Benefices, that is 'benefits' or favors conferred, usually for life, were granted to numerous persons by the bishop including to clergy and women who clearly were not capable of exercising the public duties of freemen and for which rents (*census*) reckoned (if not necessarily paid) in money, not personal service, were usually required. However, service was clearly required of the bishop's man (*suo homine*) Walderrich in 807 when he, 'conveyed himself into the service of Bishop Atto and of the cathedral church of St Mary up to the end of his life. And he received the same benefice on this condition, that he would remain faithful in the service of the church of St Mary, and, if he were to do otherwise, he would be deprived permanently of this benefice' (TF 257). Perhaps this was exceptional which is why it was noted so carefully. Nor do we know whether vassals also had allodial lands of their own in addition to their benefices. In Erchanolf's case this seems likely, since his father, Kaganhart, who had held the benefice before him, possessed the means to purchase substantial additions for it from his own resources; here there also seems to have been an hereditary aspect to the benefice at Pettenbach, but we do not know whether this was usual.

Our long century was largely peaceful for Bavaria and particularly for Huosiland. Between a punitive Frankish incursion against Duke Odilo in 743 (below, Part 2/1) and the first raids of the Magyars in the early 10th century, the peace of Huosiland was undisturbed by foreign invasions. This peaceful situation accounts for the absence of fortifications noted above, a situation which would change radically in the 10th century with the onset of the Magyars. In our period, warfare would have been a very subsidiary responsibility, largely confined to persons living or possessing properties on the frontiers. The Bavarian Law Code identifies the sheriff as the official directly responsible for military contingents of freemen drawn from his 'comitatus' or sphere of comital authority (LB 2/5; not translated). This seems to have been the Frankish norm. But this sort of freeman levy was being replaced during our period by better equipped and more specialized military units capable of operating further away from their homes. Moreover, early-medieval logistics could easily be overwhelmed by a full turnout of freemen. Charlemagne, in particular, possibly adapting late-Roman regulations, attempted to reorganize the comital levy on the basis of minimal property qualifications or groupings of property owners who would be sufficient to provide a warrior suitably equipped for the host. But our Bavarian sources are largely silent on this.



The later feudal vassal was regularly an armed retainer of his lord, and this may have been the case by the early 9th century in Bavaria. Indeed, in 819 a royal vassal, Meginhard was in Pannonia, ‘on the same campaign which they were then waging in warlike manner’ (TF 419). Participating in ‘warlike’ campaigns outside Bavaria in places to the east like Pannonia (modern Lower Austria/Hungary) or to the south like Italy may have constituted a significant aspect of a vassal’s expected service to the king or other lord who provided material support. The critical charge against Tassilo at Ingelheim was that he was guilty of ‘harisliz’, desertion from the army of his uncle King Pippin in 763! Important churches were required to provide their own contingents for such expeditions, so Freising would have needed some armed retainers and others like the ‘barschalks’ to provide logistical support. The bishop evidently controlled his own stock of weaponry (TF 246).

Although Huosiland was entirely rural and any industry such as metal working was certainly conducted on a small scale at dispersed locations, there was one significant piece of industrial investment which is mentioned regularly in the deeds, the mill. Mills were the largest machines known to Carolingian society in peacetime. In Bavaria, there is plentiful evidence for watermills located primarily along secondary rivers such as the Glonn and their smaller tributaries. Their prevalence indicates a surprising demand for milled grain given the small scale and dispersed nature of settlement patterns. Aside from the households and courts of the aristocracy, the major churches and monasteries must have been the primary destinations for their production. Feldmoching, located in the northwest part of modern Munich at the headwaters of what is now a covered rivulet, the Moosach, had a notable concentration of mills. The Moosach flows into the Isar at Freising, and the bishops seem to have given particular attention to accumulating mills there to supply the cathedral and other churches by water, even on a piecemeal basis. Thus, in 826 two men conveyed ‘half of one mill in the place which is called [Feld-]Moching so that from today it is validly held fast to that same cathedral church without any objection’ (TF 533).

Laymen clearly recognized the value of mills and apparently built them on an entrepreneurial basis. On a manor, the mill was also a source of income, since the dependent tenants would have been required to mill their own grain there from which the mill’s proprietor retained a share; at Staffelsee the mill ‘renders twelve bushels each year’ in profit to the bishopric (MGH, Cap.1, Nr 128). But proprietors also had their own personal uses for mills. In 823 a man who had received a benefice from the bishop granted in lieu of rent, ‘whatever property I and my brother had between the river Amper and the stream Pasenbach’ but was also quite careful to specify ‘that every third week I might have one day and one night in the mill if it is completed’ (TF 490).

The most important archaeological evidence to date for a Bavarian mill is at Dasing on the river Paar in western Huosiland recently excavated by Wolfgang Cyszcz. It was first built at the end of the 7th century and subsequently rebuilt during the 8th century until it was finally destroyed by a massive flood sometime after 789. The mill was probably owned by an important family which we can trace in Freising’s deeds and was particularly notable for the number of clergy it produced. Their property at Dasing was conveyed to Freising in 828 when the mill may already have been in ruins; it is not mentioned in the deed (TF 576; cf. 36, 375), but another mill was built there at the end of our period. Some mills in Huosiland may have been simple horizontal tub mills which were merely submerged in a stream without a millpond. But the Dasing mill was a vertical mill of the undershot type which was particularly suited to the slow flowing streams of the region. The Dasing mill’s erection with a large millpond used also for cloth production, a carefully constructed mill wheel with complex gearing, and imported millstone was clearly overseen by an expert millwright.

These mills indicate the importance of grain crops in Huosiland. The inventory made at Bergkirchen included, ‘10 measures of spelt [a form of wheat]; 11 measures of barley; and 20 measures of rye’, which, along with some oats were probably the principal grain crops (TF 652). But the deeds, by specifying yields

of meadows in cartloads of hay, also make clear that they were considered an extremely valuable asset which suggests considerable livestock holdings, particularly of cattle, which were sources of dairy products and, as oxen, that is, castrated males, were extensively used for plowing and cartage as at Bergkirchen. After these meadows were mowed, they could have been opened to livestock for grazing. Horses were bred primarily to satisfy the needs of the aristocracy, for communications and the hunt in peacetime and for war. The status distinction between the mounted warrior and the foot soldier is a very ancient one.

The rich water meadows along the river valleys of the Amper and Glonn seem to have been particularly valuable, and holdings of them were referred to by a particular term, a 'hluz', for an 'Anger' or water meadow (TF 538, cf. 326, 537). We might expect that in far southern alpine Huosiland properties included 'alps', alpine pastures which were grazed by cattle in the summer time allowing more extensive growth of grass for hay at lower elevations. But the only reference in our deeds to an alp is far across the first ridge of the mountains in the upper valley of the river Inn (TF 177). Sheep were certainly kept on large estates such as Bergkirchen and Staffelsee (MGH, Cap., Nr 128), but they do not seem to have been numerous, and their wool probably served primarily for local cloth-making rather than for external sale.

Woodlands are also noted carefully in our deeds. They were valuable as sources of building material when almost all structures, even churches, were wooden. The name for the modern village of Vierkirchen, the sight of comital courts in our period (Part 1/3), derives not, as the modern name might indicate, from 'Four-Churches', but rather from 'Spruce-Church' (*Feohtkirha*). Woodlands also provided fuel for household and industrial uses (charcoal for metal work), and oak woodlands provided acorn mast to fatten pigs in the autumn. These woodlands might be used communally by all the adjacent proprietors or might be enclosed for private use (TF 70). This latter use might include hunting which was an aristocratic prerogative for sport and to provide game, a carefully-preserved monopoly of the noble table (TF 34, 743). Orchards (*pomerium*) are also mentioned in some deeds, particularly later ones (TF 615, 648, 671, 736), and sometimes they occur in conjunction with hop fields (*humularium*), a famous modern Bavarian specialty in the Hallertau district adjoining Huosiland to the northeast, which make their first regular appearances in our documents towards the very end of our period (TF 872, 891). Although grapes were cultivated in other parts of Bavaria, there are no certain indications of them in documentation here (but cf. TF 86), and the cathedral establishment at Freising maintained its own vineyards in the diocese of Säben in northern Italy on the southside of the alps. Waters and watercourses and wetlands would have provided specialized foodstuffs and products. The large lakes in the south and the numerous rivers were certainly fished, and the fishery rights (*piscatio*) were probably linked to adjacent shoreline property as they regularly are in Europe today (TF 555).

Altogether, the evidence indicates that Huosiland was not characterized by any highly specialized agricultural regime. The absence of significant urban settlements with numerous consumers would preclude that, while the other concentrations of consumers, the Church and the royal, ducal and aristocratic courts, were relatively small and had estates of their own. Rather landowners of all sorts practiced a diversified subsistence agriculture typical of the period and aimed at supplying all their basic necessities with, hopefully, a small surplus sufficient for ecclesiastical and public charges and for limited sale to purchase essentials such as salt in addition to a few specialized and luxury items which could not be produced at home.

## Part 1/6. Some Interim Thoughts

It was noted at the beginning (Part 1/1) that Huosiland was primarily a transit landscape and devoid of urbanism under the Romans and in the early Middle Ages. In some important respects, it still is today. Most people see it only from the autobahns or the high-speed train lines which connect Munich with Augsburg and Stuttgart to the west and Nuremberg to the north. Its central areas are seldom visited



by tourists, and the county towns which mark its limits are pleasant but modest places: Dachau in the east, Schrobenhausen in the west, Pfaffenhofen on the river Ilm in the north, and Fürstenfeldbrück in the south. Monumental structures of great artistic merit and important historical sites are relatively few. Only the far southwestern portion in the alpine piedmont and Bavarian lake district is well known to outsiders who frequent it in large numbers for sightseeing, recreation and sport. Huosiland is still predominately a landscape of villages, many retaining a pronounced agricultural character, lying scattered amongst its small streams, low hills and remaining woodlands. The rivers Amper and Glonn with their modest tributaries still provide topographical definition just as they did in the 8th century. Huosiland is still unmarked by major modern developments such as Munich's international airport which has completely transformed a similarly-sleepy countryside across the Isar directly to the southeast of Freising. In our century from 750 to 850 Huosiland was likewise a largely unremarkable place marked by small dispersed settlements lying between woodland and waste, most probably composed of unimpressive wooden structures, and inhabited by a largely sedentary and servile population never numbering more than a few hundred and frequently far fewer.

What had preceded this bucolic state of affairs? Historians of the earlier Middle Ages usually frame their discussions in some way with reference to the transition from Roman rule although they may differ widely in their emphases on 'continuity' on the one hand or 'change' on the other. This sort of dichotomy probably applies to other parts of Bavaria, particularly to eastern Bavaria beyond the river Inn which belonged to the highly-developed and urbanized Roman province of Noricum. But it is not relevant to Huosiland where, as we saw, the imprint of Rome must have been very light indeed. It is worth noting in this context that Freising is the only one of the older Bavarian bishoprics not located, so far as we know, on the site of a former Roman settlement. Huosiland seems to have been largely devoid of Roman institutions and structures. Its medieval settlement, perhaps only from the period around 700, was not a new beginning; rather, it was the entirely new settlement of a largely-empty frontier landscape which was probably encouraged by both the dukes of Bavaria and the rulers, the kings and major domos, of Francia for their own political reasons.

Nor is its settlement likely to have been a 'popular' development. Rather, it may have been in the form of a 'patent' from the Frankish king or Bavarian duke granting enormous tracts of land to powerful individual proprietors or contractors who then established large plantations of their own and settled their retainers and followers on the balance of the land. Just as in the early colonies under 'Lords Proprietors' of the New World and, indeed, in much of the American southwest even in the 19th century, these great landed proprietors in Huosiland would have ruled their properties in relative independence from royal authority, establishing structures of their own which were only subsequently absorbed into the new structures and forms promulgated by the Carolingians beginning with the introduction of the comital system in the late 8th century. This is all, admittedly quite speculative, but this sort of settlement model would explain the peculiar structure of rule which we detected in the southwest of Huosiland, particularly if, as seems possible, the new proprietors moved northeast from the Inn valley. The Huosi themselves may be a remnant of an older order.

By the time that documentation begins, the bishop of Freising was clearly the most important person in this landscape – at least that is the perspective which Cozroh's cartulary conveys. We have nothing to set against this partisan perspective, but it is unlikely to be wholly inaccurate. The bishop was clearly a major secular proprietor and lord in Huosiland, possibly the largest, and there was no one to dispute his position. Some fiscal land was present, but there is nothing in the charters of the Carolingian kings to indicate any particular interest in Huosiland, and their officials were not active in the far southwestern portion. That may have been somewhat different under the Agilolfing dukes who, as we shall see, evidently dispersed a significant portion of their ducal patrimony there to their leading subjects (Part 2/1). Likewise, there was no other major ecclesiastical institution to challenge Freising's authority in

much of Huosiland. Monasteries were completely absent from the central portions of Huosiland, and Freising had its own proprietary monastery in the southwest at Schlehdorf.

We did see that the bishopric of Augsburg exercised episcopal authority over the western portions of Huosiland, and there was clearly some level of friction between the two bishops, neither of which was amongst the more important pontiffs in Carolingian Europe. Here the survival of Augsburg's early deeds might have provided a correction – and certainly a welcome supplement – to Cozroh's collection. There is a tantalizing hint of this in the survey of Staffelsee which points to an extensive episcopal patrimony, some of which was certainly located like Staffelsee itself in Huosiland. Moreover, the bishop of Freising did have important interests and concerns elsewhere in the eastern parts of his diocese, and one of these areas, which elsewhere I have called the Sundergau to the east of the Isar where the Fagana meadows at Erching were located, was clearly a place of some importance with several fiscal estates. Cozroh's cartulary presents similarly dense documentation for this landscape indicating its importance in the diocesan perspective. The bishop could not focus all of his attention on Huosiland.

The bishop of Freising had one other important instrument of control over Huosiland, his clergy located there. Over a century we can follow his regular acquisition of small proprietary churches for the diocese, forging a network, albeit an incomplete one, of local churches and clergy under his direct and ultimately exclusive authority. Likewise, these clergy were summoned regularly to seasonal assemblies at Freising and the episcopal estate at Eching. Of course, not all attended, but, like the comital assemblies, these meetings were occasions to create solidarity and common purpose amongst the more important local clergy. Similarly, the bishop traveled regularly through his diocese, something which no single secular authority was able or willing to do on a regular basis, and this gave him direct access to current information and useful local contacts. As a preacher and priest, he was in a position to reinforce his message with divine admonitions and sanctions. Finally, Bishop Hitto was himself together with his family a major secular proprietor in Huosiland. So perhaps the perspective which he conveyed together with Cozroh is not totally misleading? But none of this means that the bishop exercised any sort of direct 'rule' over Huosiland or that the society was in any sense 'clerical'. In the following Part (Connections) we can explore more closely some dynamics of Freising's interactions with Huosiland as well as those amongst its inhabitants. We will see how even modest lay persons had their own concerns which they pursued diligently.





## Part 2. Connections: Explorations in the Sources

### Part 2/1. Reading a Deed in Context: Moatbert at Zolling

In order to gain a more precise notion of the cartulary's contents and the nature of our documents, a close reading of the earliest deed in the Freising cartulary will indicate the range of information available to us as visitors to Huosiland. In September 743 or 744 (we'll discuss the year in a minute) a man named Moatbert, in the company of his wife, Totana, made a gift to the cathedral church of St Mary in Freising (TF 1). Although it is the oldest deed in the cartulary and the first in the modern printed edition, it was not the first deed to be recorded by Cozroh in the Freising cartulary. Moatbert's grant was made during Bishop Ermbert's pontificate which probably began at some date in the 730s and whose tenure was confirmed for Freising when Boniface established a diocesan organization in Bavaria in 739. But no other deeds survived from Ermbert's episcopal tenure, and this deed was recorded with the deeds of Ermbert's immediate successor, Bishop Joseph (s. 748-764), when the property may have come finally into that bishop's possession. It is the eleventh deed listed in the numbered table of contents or 'Renner' prepared later by Cozroh, and it can be seen beginning on the verso side of folio 18 in the complete cartulary. It is not the most interesting or detailed deed in the cartulary and follows fairly closely the standard forms for such documents available in the 'formularies', collections of sample letters and documents, which were readily available in any good ecclesiastical library.

In fact, for that very reason it is a good place for us to begin because this deed exemplifies the basic elements which we might normally expect to find in any early-medieval deed, whether in exactly this form or in some less formal or more elaborate format, and whether written up at the time of the grant or recalled later. Those items have been separated and numbered here and will be discussed in order.

1. The Conveyance of Moatbert from Zolling
2. Our Lord and the Redeemer of All, Jesus Christ, intones with loud voice through the gospels saying: 'Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven where neither rust nor moth corrupt nor thieves break in and steal.'
3. Therefore, I, Moatbert, together with my wife, Totana by name, trying as far as I was able to follow this example, conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin in the place Freising where Ermbert is known to preside as bishop and priest
4. whatever my father Petto left me as an inheritance in the place called Zolling and whatever is seen lawfully to pertain to me, completely I convey and discharge it to the already said cathedral into the hands of Bishop Ermbert in the presence of all the household of St Mary,
5. that is: dwellings, messuages, together with fields, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, slaves, draft animals, herds, and every utensil.
6. Indeed, by valid conveyance, on such condition that after my death and that of my wife, my inheritance might be the inheritance of the saints for me and my heirs forever,
7. so that if any of my heirs or any other come in opposition against this donation and try to break it, first, may he incur the wrath of God and of all the saints, and abide outside the multitude of the angels, and be damned by an unbreakable chain, and what he attempted to gain may not be, and he be liable to the earthly judge for 500 shillings in gold, and whatever he bore away, he restore it four fold, that this donation endure valid and firm by the subjoined stipulation.
8. Done in the borough of Freising, in the month of September, on the 12th day, in the 8th year of the Most Glorious Duke Odilo.
9. The sign of Moatbert who requested this donation to be made, and his wife, Totana, likewise with him consenting and validating. The sign of Quartini the priest; the sign of Felix the priest; the



sign of Anulo the justiciar; the sign of Regino the justiciar, the signs of Cuno, Sindo, Maurinus, Hroado, Hroadunc, Wurmhart, Reginolf, Reginpald, Cundpald, Cympho, Chimmi, Birtilo, Ato.  
10.I, Benignus, unworthy priest, wrote this and subscribed, with Duke Odilo confirming.

Nearly all deeds in Cozroh's cartulary begin with a short header or summary of the contents, usually the name of the donor and the location of the property, which corresponds to the entry in his table of contents or 'Renner' (Item 1). Sometimes this document header contains additional or variant information, but that is not the case here. The deed itself then normally begins with a pious invocation of divine assistance and a rehearsal of the reason for making the gift (2). Here Jesus' teaching in the gospel of Matthew (chapter 6, verse 20) is quoted directly. This verse was commonly cited, and it is easy to see why. Jesus no doubt meant this command to encourage charitable works and good behavior, but, when taken quite literally, it provides the rationale for a kind of divine retirement plan where one can invest one's earthly goods in a suitable institutional fund and then draw upon them after death as a heavenly pension! We shall see several variants of this potent motivation for generosity to the Church, but it would be a mistake to dismiss them cynically or, as we shall see, to suppose that the donors had no prudent expectation of benefits in this life as well.

In the next item in the deed (3) the donor identifies himself (or is identified) and the institution which was to benefit from his gift is specified. We know nothing else about Moatbert but may assume that he was a freeman of property or he would not be making a deed and certainly not, as we shall see, in such distinguished company. Although he is specified as the sole the benefactor, his wife, Totana, is also included here and again in item 9. She may have had some claim, residual or actual, on the property. Under Bavarian Law (LB 15/7; not translated) as an unmarried widow, Totana enjoyed rights of usufruct, that is a share of the proceeds from the property, with Moatbert's sons, and, even if she remarried, she retained her marriage portion or 'dos' from her husband in addition to any properties she might have owned in her own right. Despite some undoubted legal impediments, freewomen like Totana might still be important property owners in their own right which they were quite ready to assert, and we shall find several striking examples in Freising's deeds (see below, Parts 2/5 and 2/6). Other persons might also have legal claims on the property. By Bavarian law all the sons born of free women divided their paternal inheritance equally (LB 15/9; not translated), and gifts to churches could only be made after that division was established (LB 1/1; above Part 1/1). Moreover, their uncles, Moatbert's brothers, and even their sons might, likewise, have mounted claims on the basis that it was their common inheritance although no such challenge is indicated here.

As we might expect, the cathedral church of Freising was the immediate beneficiary of most grants in this cartulary. But there were several other churches in Freising such as the monastery of St Stephan or Weihenstephan on a neighboring hill (now the site of the Bavarian brewing academy!) where Sheriff Timo later held his comital court (Part 1/3), so it was important to be specific. The term 'domus', literally a house, is normally used in these deeds to identify the cathedral church, and the term has become the modern German word for a cathedral, 'Dom'. This was the 'domus' or house of St Mary to whom, in a final legal sense, the property belonged personally rather than to a legal abstraction, a corporation. Later she will be joined in our deeds by St Corbinian, an early Frankish missionary to Bavaria, whose tomb was under the high altar and who became the distinctive patron saint of the cathedral and the diocese of Freising with his own cult there (Part 1/4). But to make the matter even more certain, the name of the presiding bishop at the time of the grant, Ermbert, was provided, since he was the senior member of St Mary's diocesan clergy and was most directly involved in and responsible for execution of the transaction.

Indeed, as the following item (4) states, the bishop himself was present at the transaction together with the entire cathedral clergy, another indication of the importance of the grant, and Moatbert placed



the property literally into his hands, that is, into his legal authority, possibly through some symbolic gesture using an object to represent the property. Still, full and secure possession or, to use a later term, *seisin* would only occur subsequently by a procedure of investiture which could be carried out best at the property itself. We learn here that the property was located at a place called Zolling which lies on the river Amper at the far northeastern edge of our area of interest and only about five kilometers north of Freising. This was probably a relatively old settlement. Unlike the more recent place-names typical of 'Huosiland', it has an ending in '-ing' which means roughly 'the people of' a man named Zollo, an archaic personal name no longer common in mid-8th century Bavaria. Whether this Zollo was the founder or a subsequent owner of the place cannot be known. In any event, he was not Moatbert's father whose name, according to Moatbert himself, was Petto, and who left this place to his son as his inheritance. Here Moatbert is claiming that he has sole possession of whatever pertains to him by the laws of inheritance which is something like our modern concept of full ownership or freehold. Only on this basis would the conveyance to Freising be valid in accordance with Bavarian law, and the cartulary has several examples of such ownership being disputed by disgruntled or greedy heirs.

After Moatbert's legal claim had been established, the extent of the property was specified (5). It included all real and chattel property of various kinds, its 'appurtenances', beginning with dwellings and messuages. The latter term 'messuage' translates the Latin word 'curtis' which can also mean the courtyard of a manor house or an entire landed estate. But because 'curtis' is here paired in the plural with 'casa' or simple dwelling, it is better identified in this deed as the small plot of land surrounding a farmhouse. Adjoined to these farmsteads (now in the ablative case: '[together] with') is a trio of land types, fields (*campis*), here arable fields for which several other terms were also used in the deeds, meadows (*pratis*) for hay, and pastures (*pascuis*) for grazing. Virtually every property specified in Freising's deeds has this agricultural trinity essential for raising crops and keeping livestock in a subsistence economy (Part 1/5). Likewise, woodlands (*silvis*) providing building materials, firewood and pannage for pigs, standing waters (*aquis*) and flowing streams (*aquarumque decursibus*) are all very common appurtenances of rural properties. Next (once again in accusative case) come the chattel or moveable properties: slaves (*mancipias*), draft animals (*iumentas*), herds or flocks (*pecodes*), and finally all the equipment (*omnem utensiliam*) needed for cultivation of the property.

This is a very complete inventory even though the exact nature of each item and the precise quantities such as acres and numbers of slaves are here missing; no doubt they would be supplied by a subsequent survey carried out by the bishop's and Moatbert's agents together with knowledgeable locals. We have several such examples in other Freising deeds. Of course, one could object that this is just a stock 'laundry list' mindlessly copied from a formulary without regard to the real situation, and, indeed, it follows the format of a formulary. But there is enough variation in the Freising deeds to indicate that the scribes made some effort to modify these standard lists of appurtenances to fit the specific information supplied to them. And Moatbert's list suggests an interesting possibility, that his land was not yet organized as a classic bi-partite manor of the sort which, as we saw, soon came to characterize large estate organization in the Carolingian period (Part 1/5).

As we saw there, an important manor such as Abbot Sigifrid's at Lauterbach would be composed of two parts, 1) a large demesne or home farm with a manor house and outbuildings in a fenced courtyard and worked by a servile population housed there and lacking their own land, 2) together with a number of dependent households cultivating their own small properties individually. These dependent tenancies were tightly linked socially and economically to the manorial demesne by labor services and produce renders of various types and by the circulation of people between the properties as required for their optimal utilization. But in this early deed we may see an alternative estate form with insignificant demesne and consisting primarily of unfree but still largely autonomous cultivators living on their plots and probably rendering dues and services to their owner according some well-established customary



system requiring little direct oversight. Such forms of *rentier* manors (Part 1/5) did, it is true, coexist with bi-partite manors, but here on a clearly important estate well before the spread of Frankish institutions under the Carolingians it may well be a remnant of earlier times.

One type of property often found on estates described in the cartulary is conspicuously absent from Moatbert's list, a church. If there was a church at Zolling, it may not have belonged to Moatbert. There were probably other estates at an old settlement such as Zolling about which we are not completely informed. But it is also possible that there was not yet a church. The Anglo-Saxon papal missionary Boniface had regularized diocesan organization in Bavaria only four or five years before Moatbert's deed was drawn up (Parts 1/1, 1/4). The spread of lesser churches into the countryside, although no doubt already underway for some time, was probably still quite spotty in the early 740s (Part 1/4). Usually these country churches were founded, held and staffed as private property by a landed proprietor on his estate which is why they are called 'proprietary churches'. These proprietors could be laymen, clergy or even foundations such as a cathedral or monastery. But, regardless of the proprietor's identity, these churches were only indirectly under episcopal control and should not be considered parish churches in any modern sense. As we saw, the Freising cartulary is particularly rich in early information on such churches, and its unique value for their study has long been recognized by scholars. Usually we encounter such churches when their ownership is transferred from their proprietor to the bishop. If Moatbert had such a church, then he would have been under pressure from Bishop Ermbert to include it in his grant to Freising. When the church of St Peter the Prince of the Apostles at Zolling first appears sixty years later in 804, it was held by a clerk from the nearby cathedral so it apparently had passed to the bishopric in the meantime (TF 198).

After specifying the location, validity and extent of his grant, Moatbert includes an important provision regarding its execution (6). Moatbert delayed the validity of the conveyance retaining the property for his lifetime and that of his wife. This was prudent and showed a consideration for Totana, since it ensured her independent authority over property beyond that required by the Law Code which, as we saw, only granted her usufruct in her sons' inheritance. Moatbert and she may have owned extensive properties elsewhere, but Zolling was clearly significant enough to warrant their continued hold on it. Such reservations for life were not uncommon. As an alternative procedure, the bishop might re-grant the conveyed property to the donor on what was called 'precarious' or conditional tenure for life, or he might grant the donor another property as a benefice for life to be held for annual payment of rent in token of Freising's ultimate ownership. As a 'sweetener', this beneficial grant might be in addition to retention of the donated property, so that generosity might indeed be its own reward and benefits reaped on earth as well as in heaven.

The retention clause emphasizes the provisional nature of a written deed of conveyance which was not the same as actual physical investiture in the property of which there are several examples in our documents. If Moatbert and Totana were already quite old, then this incomplete status might be tolerable from the bishop's perspective, but, if a long delay until their deaths ensued, then the validity of the conveyance might be weakened or – worse – forgotten amidst a jumble of records. We have numerous instances in the cartulary of donors renewing their conveyances – perhaps not entirely voluntarily – to maintain their validity, and the bishop needed to be very watchful lest promised property elude his heavenly patroness St Mary. He certainly could not rely on the donor's family or even designated executors to complete the transaction, since they might be neglectful and their interests might even diverge from his (and hers). The next item (7) is sometimes referred to as a 'penalty clause' from Latin 'poena', penalty or punishment, because it rehearses the awful punishments, spiritual and temporal, to be visited upon any heirs or other persons who might seek to frustrate the conveyance. Some of these clauses even include reference to the donor himself as a possible evildoer. The consequences for such opposition were certainly terrible; I doubt whether 500 shillings in gold were available in all of Bavaria at this time. And yet we know from other deeds that people did contest such conveyances, and

sometimes their suits were at least partly successful. Despite his assurances, was Moatbert's ownership perhaps not quite as complete as he claimed?

The long and elaborate rehearsal of sanctions ends with a common phrase in these deeds, 'by the subjoined stipulation', the significance of which is not entirely clear. A 'stipulatio' in Classical Roman law was a verbal contract which still exists in modern legal language as a 'stipulation' meaning a specified condition included in an agreement. Similarly, the pretentious references to a Roman 'consular day' in some of our documents seems to mean merely a weekday or non-feast day when secular business and legal proceedings could be settled; it has no specific or independent dating function. All early Bavarian deeds began as verbal agreements which were then recorded in writing. In Moatbert's deed, these words precede what might be called the enactment and validation clauses with the place and date (8), witnesses to the agreement (9), enrollment and official confirmation (10), so, perhaps, that public confirmatory process is what is intended here. Or, perhaps, it may only be a bit of meaningless legal embroidery. In any event, those proceedings were clearly held at Freising in the cathedral on the 12th of September, but the year is more of a problem.

Regnal years, the year following the accession date (epoch) of a ruler, were used everywhere throughout the Middle Ages and beyond to specify dates; they are still used in modern Japan. Our system of *Anno Domini* or Incarnational years was not regularly included in Freising deeds until the 9th century when Carolingian reforms spread the influence of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries who had introduced to the Continent this uniform chronology popularized by the Venerable Bede. Even then there was no uniform agreement about when the year began; 25 March (Annunciation) and 25 December were long preferred to the Roman 1 January. Often another system for indicating the year, the Indiction, was used. This was based on a Roman civil cycle of 15 years beginning in A.D. 312 with the Emperor Constantine the Great. But there were three different days on which the Indiction year might begin (1 or 24 September, 25 December), and a specific year in the Indiction cycle obviously did not reveal precisely which Indiction cycle was intended. Here there is no indiction.

In Moatbert's deed the year is specified only as the '8th year of the Most Glorious Duke Odilo'. But no source tells us when Odilo began his rule over the Bavarians, and there are very few other deeds from his reign to provide clues. The best we can say is that Odilo's epoch or reign probably commenced sometime between 13 February 736 and 12 February 737 leaving two possible years, 743 and 744, for the date of Moatbert's deed. Either way this is highly interesting. In 743 Carlomann and Pippin, two sons of the recently-deceased Frankish majordomo, Charles Martell, led a punitive expedition against Odilo who had eloped with their sister, Hiltrud, two years before (Exhibit 1/3). According to Frankish sources – no Bavarian accounts survive – Odilo was defeated at the western border of Bavaria on the river Lech and pursued in retreat to the river Inn where he finally sued for peace and the Franks withdrew. This indicates that the political situation in the western Bavarian diocese of Freising may have been quite unstable, and Odilo's personal appearance there as indicated by his confirmation in item 10 – either going forward to the Lech frontier to meet the Franks in 743 or returning to restore his authority in the West in 744 – was very significant. The use of the exalted honorific 'Most Glorious' must be interpreted as a clear endorsement of his rule by Bishop Ermbert and Moatbert. Indeed, throughout our period from the mid-750s to the mid-850s the dating clauses in our Freising deeds provide valuable and often unique indications of the political situation within Bavaria. They are a very sensitive political barometer.

The witnesses to any deed are always significant because they include various kinships, social and interest groups which are important both for the participants in the deed itself and for the broader society in which it is embedded. The problem is to decode their specific attachments. The witness list for Moatbert's deed contains 19 names of persons who attested to the grant with their signs, well above the six required by law. Whether these were signatures or marks is not clear, but some of the participants





such as the two priests were certainly literate. A written sign was not the most common way for persons to attest Freising deeds but occurs amongst the very earliest before yielding to another practice. The Bavarian Law Code provides for witnesses to be ‘tugged by the ear’ to validate their status (LB 16/2; not translated). The origins and exact significance of this uniquely-Bavarian diplomatic custom are uncertain, but numerous deeds throughout our period attest to this curious practice which underscores the fundamentally oral (and aural) nature of a conveyance or ‘traditio’ as a ceremony rather than a document. Presumably, this performance was in the vernacular for the benefit of the lay witnesses.

The first two names in our witness list are Moatbert himself and Totana, who affirms her agreement with the grant as a respected participant. Then come the names of two priests, Quartinus and Felix, who, as we saw in Part 1/4, should not have been legal witnesses. The deed itself tells us that the donation was made ‘in the presence of all the household of St Mary’ which included not only the cathedral clergy, but also the lay retinue of the bishop. Only two priests seem a meager number for a cathedral. The list may not be complete, omitting, for example, clergy in lesser orders, but other witness lists indicate that the staff of secular clerics and monks at the cathedral was never very large (Part 1/4). It is also notable that both priests bear Roman names. While names are not a certain indicator of ethnicity, it seems likely that the clergy at all of the oldest Bavarian cathedrals and monasteries such as Salzburg was heavily staffed by members of the Latin-speaking Bavarian ‘Romania’ which evidently had survived intact from late Antiquity in several areas. In the mid-8th century they probably were still disproportionately literate, but thereafter, judging from names, their numbers decline, evidently indicating an expansion of education amongst the ethnic Bavarian population.

The two justiciars, Anulo and Regino, have a double interest. The Latin term for their titles, ‘iudex’, might be simply be a ‘judge’ as is the legal expert who later accompanied the Carolingian sheriff to the fortnightly meetings of the county courts, or it could be a bailiff, the chief administrator of an important estate. But here the English title ‘justiciar’ best translates the Latin ‘iudex’ which was an older Merovingian title for a high royal official and which was subsequently superseded under the Carolingians by the title of ‘comes’, a sheriff or count. It appears that Odilo was quite conservative in his adherence to older Merovingian practice for his senior servants. Both of these men were also members of a noble Bavarian kin group, the Fagana, which at this time seems to have been active principally within the diocese of Freising; the Wurmhart of the deed may also be a member (Part 1/2). The Fagana were evidently quite close to Odilo’s son, the next Duke Tassilo, and the three Fagana here must have been key members of Odilo’s ducal retinue as probably were some of the other 12 names without any identifiers. Moatbert’s retainers, if he had brought any, were certainly included there as were the bishop’s senior lay officials.

The last section (10) identifies the scribe Begninus the priest who wrote the deed which we have before us. His name too is Roman, and he was probably also a member of the cathedral clergy although he does not here add, as was common, that he wrote the document at the command or even at the dictation of the bishop. Indeed, virtually all of the original documents we now possess in copy were produced by episcopal clerks. The ubiquitous role of cathedral clergy does not nullify the value of their documents but must be kept in mind. Our view of ‘Huosiland’ is profoundly shaped by a Freising perspective. Finally, we have the confirmation by Duke Odilo to the entire transaction. It is usually assumed, probably correctly, that this indicates the property being granted was originally a part of the ducal estate complex or fisc which had been granted out to various persons to ensure their loyalty and service. Such ducal largesse would make good sense in the particular political circumstances which we have just examined, and it raises a final point worth considering.

We know that throughout the medieval period and particularly in uncertain times persons tried to safeguard their own and their family’s claims on property by attaching it to a church. If Moatbert had tied his political future to Duke Odilo (as we suspect), and if Duke Odilo had not survived the Frankish

incursion or subsequent threats to his rule, then Moatbert and Totana would at least still have had support from their property at Zolling. The vengeful Frankish brothers of Odilo's wife (or widow) would have been much more reluctant to deprive an important church of its expectations than a disobedient layman of his inheritance. This danger was particularly great if the property were indeed fiscal in origin, since new rulers would move aggressively to reclaim their possessions granted away by previous 'usurpers' such as the treacherous Duke Odilo. Moatbert's conditional conveyance to Freising was no guarantee of safety, but, of the options then available, it was probably the best and provides another example of how laying up treasure in heaven could produce earthly benefits.

It should be quite clear that Moatbert's deed takes the requirements of the Law Code very seriously, since we have noted several close correspondences in both form and substance. Not all Freising deeds are constructed quite so formally. Moatbert's deed is very similar to a royal charter in its structure (DLD 35), but it lacks the dispositive authority of a such charter which would by itself have invested the bishopric with full possession without the need for corroborating witnesses. In the case of Moatbert's deed, if a problem arose subsequently, the bishop could produce the charter as proof of Moatbert's donation, and, if it were still possible, he would call upon the witnesses to attest its truthfulness. The written deed would be of great service there, but it would not substitute completely for oral testimony which also might augment or contradict it. Several of our Freising deeds are, in fact, court records of such property disputes where evidence was taken under oath from knowledgeable persons. Carolingian Huosiland was a place where the spoken and the written word were achieving a kind of balance although the spoken word could still trump the written and particularly when the written word was not unequivocal or incomplete in its utterance.

## Part 2/2. A Private Archive: Erchanheri the Priest at Alting

We know that archives, often rudimentary and incomplete, were maintained at many large early-medieval churches and monasteries such as Freising. We know much less about the record-keeping of lesser places and individuals, both lay and clerical. As Mark Mersiowsky has recently observed, 'of course clergy received deeds and thus small archives were formed, but there is little to be learned about them'. Even when there are clear indications that written instruments documenting properties and related transactions were carefully kept, these private archives would have perished or been dispersed at death – unlike the archives of an important church which never died. Sometimes we get a glimpse of these small archives as collections of individual documents preserved either systematically or fortuitously at some larger foundation (see Part 2/3). But other archives are preserved only in edited and composite form which presents its own problems of interpretation.

Many of the deeds in Cozroh's Freising cartulary report closely related events which took place over time rather than single, unique events such as Moatbert's donation at Zolling. Usually, these related events are recorded in several separate documents which we can combine into a single narrative based upon their dates, persons and places and even upon their positions in the cartulary. Occasionally, however, a single document in the cartulary itself combines these separate events for us into a continuous narrative and even provides us with a full 'back story' to the final conveyance which would otherwise be completely unknown to us. Such a composite document or *pancarte* is TF 200 which the modern editor has divided into seven individual subparts lettered a-g, reflecting the division of the cartulary copy (fos. 168r-169v) where each separate transaction begins a new line with an ornate initial capital letter.

Each of these seven parts is a self-contained conveyance containing all of the essential elements including witness lists which we examined in Moatbert's donation at Zolling. This can be seen more easily in tabular format (Exhibit 2/2). This format corresponds exactly to that of the other lengthy *pancarte* from Huosiland TF 547 (fos. 320r-322r) which will be discussed below (Part 2/5) and which

also has only a single number in Cozroh's table of contents or 'Renner' from the pontificate of Bishop Hitto (s. 811-835; Nr 230 there). Its header, 'The Conveyance of Noble Men at Allershausen', correctly reflects its collective character as the actions of several coheirs at a particular place, Allershausen, within a limited period of time in the second half of 827. In contrast, the header for TF 200 identifies the document as 'The Conveyance of Erchanheri and Heriwini Priests', which corresponds to the named donors of the first (a) and last (g) sections but not to those of the other five sections (b-f) and omits entirely the names of the places conveyed, evidently at various times over several years (see next). Perhaps, Cozroh was just as perplexed by the components of this elaborate, composite deed as we will be when we have examined it more closely. But, despite its evident complexity, Cozroh seems to have regarded his original exemplar as recording a single and coherent transaction, since, like TF 547, he has given it too only a single header and index number in his 'Renner' for the pontificate of Bishop Atto (s. 783-811; Nr 192 there).

In identifying TF 200 as the donation of the two priests, Erchanheri and Heriwin, Cozroh undoubtedly took his cue from the first and the last sections (a & b) which are the only fully dated transactions in the document. The final transaction in the series took place in southern Huosiland at the vill or estate (*in villa*) of Alting to the east of Lake Ammer. It is precisely dated on the Tuesday after Epiphany, 8 January 810, by Charlemagne's 10th regnal year as emperor although the indiction date given there, 'xv', is three years out and should be 'iii', a much more likely clerical slip than the regnal year (TF 200g). That date, 810, is more than five years after Erchanheri's initial, provisional conveyance to Freising together with his nephew, Heriwin, of their joint inheritance at Alting (TF 200a) which was written by an experienced Freising episcopal scribe, Tagabert, during a diocesan synod held at Freising on Monday, 16 September 804, just before the beginning of the autumnal fasting season of Embertide. However, in the later conveyance of 810 it is Erchanheri himself who acts alone as the petitioner for the document which he witnesses (*Signum Erchanheri presbiteri qui hanc cartulam fieri rogavit*) and also as its scribe, both writing and subscribing to it (*Ego Erchanheri propria manu scripsi et subscripsi*).

In this concluding transaction (200g) it is Erchanheri alone who makes the conveyance while providing only for his nephew Heriwin after his own death. And the properties in the first and last sections do not seem to correspond exactly. In 804 (200a) they are specified as, 'the places called Alting and Ludenhausen', whereas in 810 (200g) Erchanheri conveys the church of St Peter built by him at Alting and his church of St Martin at Dorf founded by their ancestors (kinsmen? *heredes nostri*). Nor do the intervening documents (TF 200b-f) fill in the blanks. Indeed, the second (200b) tells us that the altar at Alting was dedicated not to St Peter but to St Mary. We know this because on a January 20th a man named Kysalheri and his brother Irminheri sold their property in the village (*in vico*) of Alting to Erchanheri and then completed the transaction by conveying it to the altar of St Mary there (*in eodem vico*) where Erchanheri is identified as the 'venerable custodian'. The term 'venerabilis custor', is a rare variant of Latin 'custos' (the source for modern German 'Küster' or sexton) and probably refers to his position as proprietor of the church at Alting as well as being its priest. Since all the names including Kysalheri's son, Crimheri, a witness to the deed, vary on the second name-element, '-heri', we may suspect that these persons were all related in some way; shared name-elements were the way that persons could indicate kinship in absence of family names.

The next deed of Erchanheri's *pancarte* (200c) records that a man named Deotperht conveyed his inherited properties at another nearby place, Etterschlag, also to the altar of St Mary at Alting, but provides an interesting condition by reserving for his unnamed son the right of redemption by performing certain limited labor services compatible with free status (*tributum*) after a three-year holiday. Etterschlag or 'Etti's Grove' (*Etinesloch*) may also be the location of Isanhart's inherited property (200d) which he conveyed to Erchanheri while retaining use for his lifetime. But in the next transaction (200e) Isanhart seems to make final conveyance to Erchanheri of that same property in Etterschlag along with that of

his brother Isanbert there. The location of the slave and fields conveyed by a married couple and a third man is not specified, but might well be Etterschlag as well (200f).

In sum, TF 200 is a compendium probably assembled by Erchanheri in early January 810 from his personal archive in order to document the provenance and legitimate possession of properties which he had assembled over several years, some of which at least he was now donating to Freising. But, if so, he certainly did not resolve all questions about the conveyance, and there is yet more confusion regarding Erchanheri the priest's conveyance at Alting. On the backside or verso of folio 121 there are two additional deeds although the modern editor has only printed the second one as TF 221; in Cozroh's table of contents or 'Renner' however they are listed separately as documents numbered 108 and 109 in the 'Renner' for the pontificate of Bishop Atto and well ahead of the *pancarte* TF 200. In the first of these deeds (TF 221a) the priests Erchanheri and Heriwin convey their inherited property at Alting and Ludenhausen to Freising while retaining their use for life. Aside from trivial name variants, this deed is identical with the first part (a) of the *pancarte*, TF 200.

Duplicate records occur elsewhere in the cartulary, but Cozroh's copies of such documents usually exhibit greater variation in wording which implies variant original exemplars which does not seem to be the case here. The separate positions of TF 221a and TF 200 in the cartulary manuscript do not indicate any particular archival context for their exemplars. It seems likely that Cozroh came to the two documents which now comprise TF 221 together in the Freising archive, and he dutifully copied them seriatim into the cartulary while giving them appropriate and distinctive headers and Renner numbers. Possibly, the very document TF 221a which Cozroh found in the Freising archive was that used by Erchanheri in 804 to begin the series of donations which he subsequently recorded in early 810 for his *pancarte* TF 200. That later document then was deposited separately in the archive, probably after Erchanheri's death, and Cozroh only came upon it after he had already copied TF 221a and 221b. But because it contained additional information about pious donations, it too needed to be copied in full.

The second deed of this cartulary pair (TF 221b) has no exact counterpart in TF 200. There Erchanheri by himself 'once again' (*Iterata traditio*, so the header and the Renner) conveyed his property at Alting but without any reservation either for himself or for Heriwin who is not mentioned. This second deed, TF 221b, is not fully dated and has no specification of immediate circumstances nor even indication of scribal identity although the modern editor assigned it as a 'stand alone' document to the following five years. But the first three witnesses also provide a dating clue; they are the archpriest Ellanod, the senior cathedral cleric since the 790s, and an Eio and Pernwin who were also Freising clergy at this time although Eio's clerical status is not indicated here (see TF 255). This indicates that there was some diocesan occasion for its execution as was true of TF 221a. Ellannod the archpriest, the first witness in TF 221b, is last securely documented as such in June 807 (TF 257); by May 809 Heriperht held that cathedral position (TF 294). Although two contemporary archpriests are not impossible, by July 809 Ellannod seems to have removed himself exclusively to the abbacy (*indignus vocatus abbas*) of Schlehdorf (TF 295) and does not occur in the cartulary thereafter. This seems to set a more reliable *terminus ante quem* for TF 221b which is accordingly earlier than its counterpart in the *pancarte*, TF 200g. Thus, the modern edition of the cartulary has assigned Erchanheri's two sets of related documents in reverse order of the manuscript, and TF 200 in its composite form must be chronologically later than TF 221b.

The main substantive difference between TF 221a and 221b is the disappearance of the second priest, Heriwin, and the second property, Ludenhausen, from the second of these two documents (TF 221b). Perhaps it was originally intended that Heriwin should use and be responsible separately for the final conveyance of Ludenhausen while Erchanheri retained Alting for his own use before finally disposing of it to Freising in 809? When Cozroh subsequently prepared his Renner for Atto's pontificate, he added 'Alting' to the header's wording for TF 221a (p. 8: fo. 7r: *CVIII Erchanheri presbiter et Heriwini presbiter*

*Alhmuntinga*), bringing it into line with TF 221b. This addition clearly signals that Cozroh saw Alting as the essence of Erchanheri's conveyance. Both places, Alting and Ludenhausen, are near Lake Ammer, the source of the Amper River, in the Bavarian alpine piedmont which contained several monasteries including Ellanod's Schlehdorf which were later characterized as all lying within the 'pagus Huosi' or district of the Huosi (Parts 1/2, 1/4).

Alting is now split into two settlements, Ober- or Upper Alting on the tiny Lake Pilsen to east of the larger lake, and Unter- or Lower Alting 10 km to the north-northwest directly on the Amper river near where it flows out of the north end of Lake Ammer. The adjacent settlement on the river nearest the lake is Kottgeisering or 'Dirty' (Kott-) Geisering because of the muddy marshes there. It derives its name 'Geisering' from a Kysalheri (*Kysalheringas*), who, as we saw, was involved in Erchanheri's transactions at Alting (TF 200b). The adjacent settlement downstream is 'Pleasant' (Schön-) Geising which is named for a Kiso (*Kisingas*), possibly a hypocorism or short form of Kysalheri. Like both Altings they are also '-ing' place names meaning 'the people of', which, like Moatbert's Zolling, represent the oldest layer in Bavarian place names and often carry patronymics which were no longer in use. In Alting's case these were 'the people of [a man named] Alamunt/Alhmunt' who does not occur in these deeds although a person of that name is documented at this time (TF 118).

The exact extent of the grant which Erchanheri completed by 809 is unknown; possibly it included both the Altings and also Kottgeisering which occurs slightly later for the first time as an important episcopal manor although we have no separate document of its conveyance to Freising (TF 576b). Schöngeising was part of the earliest endowment of Scharnitz/Schlehdorf, which soon became a proprietary monastery of Freising with Bishop Atto as its abbot (TF 19, 184, 185, 186), so that by the early 9th century, when Ellanod became abbot there, Freising controlled this uppermost stretch of the Amper. Ludenhausen, however, lies some distance away well to the west of Lake Ammer and fully 25 km to the southwest of Unterlating. The need to administer it separately because of the distance might explain its being separated under Heriwin's authority as was suggested above. Its name, 'Hludinhusr' also contains a patronymic, Hludio, or 'the house/estate of Hludio', a newer type which was more common in northeastern Huosiland; his name likewise does not occur in these documents but is recorded at this time (TF 187) although there is no direct connection to our settlement which does not occur again in the early Freising records. Erchanheri's second deed for Alting alone (TF 221b) specifically mentions a church but does not give its dedication. Both places, Alting and Ludenhausen, were, in fact, like the entire 'pagus Huosi', within the diocese of Augsburg which around 800 had re-incorporated substantial areas to the east of the river Lech (Part 1/1).

Moreover, there is still another document regarding Alting which must be considered here. On Thursday, 23 May 827 a man named Epucho appeared at another diocesan synod held by Atto's successor, Bishop Hitto (s. 811-835) at the episcopal manor of Eching south of Freising, and on behalf of 'Wichari venerable priest' Epucho there conveyed property at Alting which Wichari's father and ancestors had devised (*dimiserunt*) to him as his own (*proprium*) (TF 543). The second element in the priest's name (-hari/heri) varies in the same way as that of the proprietors at Alting, and a lay Wichari even occurs as a witness to the transaction by the brothers Kysalheri and Irminheri which was also witnessed by Kysalheri's son, Crimheri (TF 200g); could that venerable priest Wichari be the son of Erchanheri the priest? Around 800 such an eventuality might be frowned upon but certainly would not be unknown. If so, his father preferred to indulge in 'nepotism' by favoring his nephew Heriwin in our deeds, but perhaps some separate or subsequent settlement was made for Wichari from the property at Alting? Wichari the priest was certainly active in this region; in the following year 828 he was involved in an unsuccessful dispute with two women, a religious woman Engilpurc and her mother Ellanpurc, regarding a church at (Ober-/Unter-) Lappach, only 15 km north of Unterlating (TF 562). Engilpurc's name recalls the wife of Walto, Engilmot, who was the object of additional property donations to Erchanheri, possibly at Etterschlag (TF 200f).





Depending on whether we equate the witnesses, the probable diocesan priest Eio (TF 221b) with the lay witness Heio (200e/g), the two sets of deeds together identify about 65 or 66 separate individuals actively involved with Erchanheri's business in various capacities over more than half a decade. About two-thirds occur only once and another four or five only twice, but, besides Erchanheri himself, about a dozen occur three or more times indicating that they were amongst his closest associates, and four of them have, like Heriwin, onomastic indications of kinship: Crimheri (5x), Kysalheri, Irminheri and Wicheri (4x). Moreover, this small society was remarkably focused on the local altar of St Mary at Alting and its priest, Erchanheri, who was the only one to have direct dealings with the diocesan establishment at Freising (221a, b; 200a, g). For the rest of them, that is, for Kysalheri, Irminheri, Deotperht, Isanhart, Isanbert, Walto, Engilmot and Perhtolt, none made their pious donations directly to faraway Freising about 75 km to the northeast nor even to the monastery at Schlehdorf about 50 km to the south which had held nearby (Schön-) Geising for 40 years (TF 19; above, Part 1/4) and where Ellanod the archpriest took charge in 809. Rather, it was the 'venerabilis custor' Erchanheri and his nearby altar of St Mary which were the immediate center of their pious devotions as expressed most explicitly by Isanhart 'for the remedy and health of my soul' (200d).

It is a surprise then that in the last dated deed in the dossier, on 8 January 810 Erchanheri refers to the church which he had built at Alting 'in honor of St Peter' (200g). It is, of course, possible that a church of St Peter might have an altar to St Mary, but from what we know archaeologically about these small country churches this would indicate an unusually capacious establishment. More likely Erchanheri had built a new church for St Peter at Alting, perhaps at another center of the estate (*villa*), since we do not really know whether the existing altar of St Mary was at Upper or Lower Alting. Such estates with more than one proprietary church are not especially common but are known (Part 2/6). But where did his church of St Martin at 'Dorf' come from? We might have expected Erchanheri to name Ludenhausen which was specified in his earliest deed of 804 which is common to both sets of deeds. Of course, the non-descript place-name 'Dorf', meaning only 'village', could be applied to many places and may simply be another name for Ludenhausen. However, if Erchanheri subsequently had acquired another property named 'Dorf' since 804 in substitution for remote Ludenhausen, it is puzzling that he did not include some documentation in his otherwise exemplary property dossier. And where did Wichari the priest's property at Alting come from; did it include the altar of St Mary there with the endowments provided by Erchanheri's flock which is not mentioned in the final transaction of 810? Wichari's property is not described and no church is mentioned in Epucho's conveyance of 827 (TF 543).

In the end, we probably must consider the final transaction which Erchanheri himself executed and documented at Alting on the Tuesday after Epiphany, 8 January 810 (TF 200g), as his last will and testament with its all of its puzzles unresolved regarding the churches and the places he disposed of to his nephew Heriwin, to Freising cathedral, and possibly to Wichari the priest. I, at least, have no solution to propose now which may be taken as a challenge rather than a capitulation. Medieval historians, particularly early-medievalists, often regret the relative poverty of documentation for their period. This deficiency is certainly real and limiting, but Erchanheri's remarkably rich archive shows that more documents do not necessarily lead straightaway to more clarity. In many ways, our lives would be simpler and our historical knowledge would be greater in a perverse way if we only had TF 200g or TF 221b – but not both! We should be careful what we wish for even though it is very unlikely to come true.

### **Part 2/3. A Huosi Sheriff: Reginhart at Fischen**

We saw earlier (Part 1/3) that a Reginhart was active in the council of the Huosi and that a sheriff of the same name possibly exercised unique authority in Huosiland outside the normal structures of the Carolingian comital system. Cozroh provided additional information on this clearly-important person which we can assemble because of its placement in the cartulary. Although Erchanheri the priest



prepared a single document, a *pancarte*, uniting the records of several separate transactions which had occurred over several years (Part 2/2), this was an exceptional circumstance due to Erchanheri's central position as the orchestrator of the transactions and to his status as a literate priest. Another indication that ostensibly separate transactions belong together is their continuous arrangement together in the cartulary as a kind of dossier or file.

Bishop Atto of Freising (s. 783-811) was, as we saw (Part 1/4), also the abbot of the episcopal proprietary monastery of Schlehdorf in the alpine piedmont of southern Huosiland. In Cozroh's cartulary there are two short runs of documents which all record early donations to Schlehdorf but which are not printed according to their cartulary order in the modern edition where they are arranged strictly by date. The first, shorter set of six documents having Renner numbers 133-138 from Atto's pontificate are copied on folios 133r-141v in the cartulary; the second set of ten documents has the Renner numbers 180-189 which are transcribed on folios 160r-166v. In the first run of six there is also one anomalous document, now TF 548 on folios 136r-v (not translated) from Bishop Hitto's later pontificate (s. 811-835) which is dated 21 August 827 but without any Renner number. It probably came into Cozroh's possession just as he was working on Atto's older dossier of Schlehdorf documents.

These two dossiers of 16 documents from Atto's pontificate related the interesting history of the monastery of Schlehdorf which we have discussed elsewhere (Parts 1/2, 1/4). Here I would like to examine more closely a group of properties and their donors which are recorded in the second set of ten documents. These places donated to Schlehdorf are located quite close to those donated by Erchanheri and his associates to Freising, but here the donors chose to exercise their piety towards a regional monastery rather than the faraway cathedral at Freising or the nearby altar of St Mary at Alting. We may suppose that their actions were motivated by a very different set of social solidarities. The deeds in question are TF 75 (Atto 183; 161v-162r), 76a (Atto 184; 162r-v), and 77 (Atto 186; 163r-v), all dated to the year 776, and TF 295 (Atto 181; 160v-161r), dated 20 July 809; that is about the time that Erchanheri was working to complete his complicated donation to Freising (Exhibit 2/3a). Although TF 295 is 33 years later than the others, it is recorded first in the cartulary, and the other three, much earlier deeds provide closely related evidence about the construction of Schlehdorf's patrimony. It records the conveyance of a property at Fischen, now Vorder-/Mitterfischen at the far southeast end of lake Ammer, by Ellanod the abbot who had just become abbot of Schlehdorf after Atto. The original deed was executed at Schlehdorf itself which is designated as a 'locus publicus' or public place, probably indicating its privileged status as an established court venue, and the Ellanod's *advocatus* or steward for the deed, Reginhart, is probably our sheriff.

Fischen is also the property location in the last of the three earlier deeds from 776 (TF 77). It was written by Abbot Atto himself, probably at Schlehdorf, and explains why his successor, Abbot Ellanod, was in a position to donate property at Fischen to his own monastery. The donors in 776 were two men, Hroadinc and Nendinc – possibly brothers judging from their names – who conveyed their own allodial and acquired property there. Like Moatbert, they required consent from their lord (*domni nostri*) the Bavarian ruler, Duke Tassilo, but also support from a certain Isanhart, 'our lord' (*domnum nostrum*), indicating some sort of more immediate dependency despite their free status and allodial property. It is very unusual to have such a relationship noted amongst laymen possibly indicating that they were Isanhart's vassals for which service they would have received property but evidently here as an outright gran rather than as a benefice (Part 1/5).

These two men also made provision after their own deaths for their sons (*fili nostri*) to hold the property in benefice for rent from Abbot Atto and the monk Reginperht, one of the founders of Schlehdorf's predecessor, Scharnitz, who retained some sort of subordinate position in his foundation after its removal to Schlehdorf (TF 19). One of the sons named in the deed was an Ellanod who is probably the later abbot, but in his own deed of 809 he refers to his property at Fischen not as a benefice but as allod

(*de alode mea*), possibly indicating that some property at Fischen had been withheld from the initial donation despite Hroadinc and Nendinc's assurance in 776 that their conveyance included, 'all of it ... completely, setting nothing aside'. However, in 820, soon after the death of the other named son, Kaganhart, when Kaganhart's infant son was commended to Bishop Hitto for protection, 'whatever the afore mentioned Kaganhart had in the place called Fischen he [Bishop Hitto] presented to the same infant child for his maintenance, and for this he should pay every year six pence' (TF 435a). Perhaps, this indicates a continuation of the original benefice granted to Kaganhart although the posthumous grant likewise specifies as in 776, 'his own allodial and purchased property'.

The presence of Hroadinc and Nendinc's lord, Isanhart, explains the other two documents in this small file from 776 which were probably executed together at Schlehdorf, since the last five witnesses for both are identical (TF 75, 76a; Exhibit 2/3a). Fischen is not mentioned in either of them, but these two deeds include five properties in the same immediate area of southern Huosiland. The first is a conveyance to Schlehdorf by Isanhart himself from his allodial and acquired properties at Herrsching, Holzhausen, Raisting and Erling, which was witnessed by Nendinc. The second is by Isanart's son, himself named Reginhart, from his own properties at Dürnhausen and also again at Raisting. Three of these properties are of the older Bavarian '-ing', type like Erchanheri's Alting; two are of the '-hausen' type like Ludenhausen. Four are quite near lake Ammer: Fischen at the southeast end, Raisting about four kilometers to the southwest of Fischen; Erling about six kilometers to the northeast of Fischen; and Herrsching on the east bank of the lake about five to six kilometers northwest of Erling. Herrsching is and only about five kilometers to the southwest of Erchanheri's Oberalting; this was clearly a very compact settlement area lying immediately to the south of the complex of properties around Alting which were assembled by Erchanheri the priest (above, Part 2/2).

But Holzhausen is probably the settlement bearing that common descriptive name which lies on the southeast side of Lake Starnberg (formerly, the Würmseel), and Dürnhausen lies to the southwest of Holzhausen and only about 8 kilometers north of Schlehdorf itself. Isanhart's Holzhausen was also the location of disputed properties from the earliest endowment of Scharnitz/Schlehdorf which Lantfrid, the son of the original donor Irminfrid, was still withholding in 802 (TF 185, cf. TF 19, 184). A Lantfrid is witness to the donations at both Fischen and Dürnhausen in 776. Reginhart's 776 donation to Schlehdorf at Dürnhausen was still an issue for dispute between Freising and his heirs in 837 as was his father, Isanhart's at 'Pachiltahofa' possibly an alternative (female: Pachilta) patronymic for Holzhausen or for Raisting (TF 636a)!

We are clearly witnesses here to some complex and contentious family politics arising from the disputes over the endowment of Scharnitz and then Schlehdorf. And we may likewise be reasonably certain that the persons named in these deeds were amongst the oldest and best-established aristocracy of southern Huosiland. Herrsching, the site of the first of Isanhart's properties, provides dramatic evidence for this. The richest family necropolis yet discovered for early-medieval Bavaria has been excavated there. Sometime towards the middle of the seventh century a small, separate cemetery was established at Herrsching, evidently adjacent to a manor-house complex. The first two graves were lined with volcanic tuff, a material used in later churchyard burials in this southern region at Weilheim and Wielenbach. The primary grave (Nr 9) contained a complete set of weapons: two-edge spatha long sword, single-edge sax short sword, shield and lance, while the extraordinary belt hangings of massive gilt silver, elaborately ornamented and weighing 230 grams, clearly identifies the occupant as a member of the very highest aristocracy. The other grave (Nr 10) was apparently contemporary and contained the remains of five males aged 20 to 40, but because of the thorough plundering, an exact dating sequence for these burials is impossible.

Shortly thereafter a wooden church was erected which incorporated this small necropolis into its northwestern corner, and, in turn, this first church was replaced about the year 700 with a stone church which now can be viewed in reconstruction with the gravesites at the archaeological park in Herrsching.



At about the same time as the stone church was built, another large tuff grave (Nr 1) was placed opposite the western end of the church structures. It was robbed at an early date but clearly contained a man of some importance, since he was buried in a robe worked with gold threads. He was accompanied in the grave by two men of evidently lesser standing. This small churchyard then continued in limited use into the first decades of the eighth century. The most striking fact about these burials aside from their obvious wealth was noted by the excavator, Erwin Keller: for about a century from its foundation this necropolis ‘only admitted children and grown men...aristocratic adult women are absent’. It is perhaps notable in this regard that no women participated in the donations to Schlehdorf, a male monastery.

Was Herrsching a significant center for the noble *genealogia* of the Huosi as has often been supposed? The identities of Reginhart and Kaganhart are quite relevant here. We have, in fact, two Reginharts amongst our early deeds. The one is the son of Isanhart who witnessed his father’s grant (TF 75), his own grant (TF 76), and that of Hroadinc and Nendinc in 776 (TF 77). But a second, probably younger Reginhart appears as the sixth witness to this last deed for Fischen (TF 77), and a Reginhart reappears, as we saw, as the lay steward for Abbot Ellanod’s grant also at Fischen in 809 (TF 295). Since Schlehdorf is designated there as a ‘locus publicus’ in 809, we inferred that this later Reginhart is the well-known early-Carolingian *comes* or royal sheriff and is likely to be identical with the second Reginhart who witnessed the original deed for Fischen.

This Reginhart’s descent and comital career are both well documented (Exhibit 2/3b). In 822 he was one of the sheriffs attending the great missatival gathering at Allershausen where two of the royal vassals were also named Reginhart (TF 476; Part 1/3). In southern Huosiland our comital Reginhart occurs as a sheriff between October 799 (TF 177) and April 828 (TF 556b), so that in 776 he must have been quite young and relatively new to public life. Moreover, we know that this comital Reginhart was the son of an Erchanfrid (TF 199; cf. TF 114). This may be the Erchanfrid, son of the Sigifrid who granted property at Ebertshausen to Freising in 769 (TF 31). Ebertshausen is only four kilometers west of Sulzemoos, where in 844 King Ludwig received in exchange from St Emmeram properties ‘pertaining to that same monastery which are in the *pagus Huosi* in the vill called Sulzemoos’ (DLD 35; Parts 1/2; 2/4). Erchanfrid certainly held properties also at [Langen-]Pettenbach 20 kilometers northeast of Ebertshausen and may have had two wives in succession there, the second of whom would be the mother of our Sheriff Reginhart (TF 44, 199); the properties at Pettenbach passed subsequently to his son, Reginhart, and daughter, Alpunia. One of the founders of Scharnitz, Otilo, also evidently had property at Pettenbach (TF 19, 177). Sheriff Reginhart is thus well-represented as an official and as a proprietor in both the southwestern and northeastern portions of Huosiland which is a further indication of his importance.

There is thus ample reason to suspect that Sheriff Reginhart and his kin were closely tied to the *genealogia* of the Huosi, and this suspicion becomes a virtual certainty which we consider the famous dispute amongst the Huosi in 791 regarding the church of ‘Awigozeshusir’, itself recorded amongst another dossier of documents transcribed by Cozroh into the cartulary. This dispute, as we saw, was so prominent and so threatening that it had to be settled by royal commissioners at Lorch where Charlemagne was encamped in preparation for his unsuccessful incursion into Avaria in September (TF 142; Part 1/2). However, before this case came to royal attention at the recommendation of Bishop Atto, there had been an attempt to settle it within the *genealogia* by a ‘council’ (*concilium*) of which an Oadalker, Reginhart and Nibulunc were evidently the senior members. Probably not long thereafter another dispute regarding a church at Farchant, about 30 kilometers above Dürrenhausen on the Loisach, was witnessed and possibly settled by five men: Reginhart, Nipulunc, Kaganhart, Oadalker, and Hitto (TF 145; Exhibit 2/3a).

We argued (Part 1/3) that this dispute at Farchant might be interpreted as another instance of the Huosi ‘council’ in action. Kaganhart, the son of either Hroadinc or Nendinc, was witness to all three of the transactions from 776 and was active in other Freising business under Bishops Atto and Hitto whose name

occurs here born by a layman at Farchant. The Huosi councilor Nipulunc's name is especially striking when considered with that of Reginhart's putative grandfather, Sigifrid, which was drawn from the same heroic source, some early version of the 'Nibelungenlied'. Charlemagne's kinsmen, Childebrand and his son Nibelunc, displayed a similar taste for heroic names, albeit from ostensibly different cycles. Sheriff Reginhart may even have had a nephew at Pettenbach named Karolus (Exhibit 2/3b; TF 44), a unique non-royal occurrence of this novel Carolingian *Leitname* or distinctive name which has been used by modern historians to identify the family as the 'Carolingians'. Some sort of kinship between these Huosi and a branch of the Carolingian family is certainly conceivable, albeit only conjectural.

The identities of these early benefactors of Schlehdorf indicate social, familial and political connections much more important and wider than those for the persons gathered around Erchanheri the priest and his altar of St Mary at Alting whose properties lie so nearby at the northern end of lake Ammer. There is thus a temptation to assign Erchanheri and his associates on the one hand to a provincial 'squirearchy' or even 'yeomanry' concerned with narrowly-local matters and, on the other hand, to regard Reginhart and his kin as members of an 'imperial aristocracy' who were active in public affairs as servants of the Carolingians. But Gerd Tellenbach, in his revolutionary 1939 study of Carolingian rule, did not see the Huosi in that critical imperial role. Reginhart the sheriff, despite his official position and his possibly-exclusive brief to attend to matters in southern Huosiland, never seems to have played a prominent role outside western Bavaria. Nor did his contemporaries amongst the Huosi although some may have done so as exceptional individuals. Kaganhart's career was in service of Freising's bishops as indicated by the solicitude of Bishop Hitto for his infant son which we noted above. Nipulunc seems to have made his career further afield in the Carolingian kingdom of Italy. Reginhart's landscape was certainly more broadly defined than Erchanheri's and his public role more prominent, but both were still distinctly circumscribed. At Alting and at Fischen and their associated properties, we have evidence for groups from two distinct levels of provincial society in Huosiland. So far as we know, the people at Alting never created a memorial as venerable and impressive as the necropolis at Herrsching. But it would still be appropriate to characterize both groups as 'provincial'.

#### Part 2/4. Huosi Homelands? Sulzemoos and Landsberied

Two places in the more central part of the area we have identified as Huosiland are designated explicitly in mid-ninth century documents as pertaining to some sort of Huosi lordship (Part 1/2). A royal diploma or charter of King Ludwig (the German) from 844 describes properties belonging to the monastery of St Emmeram in Regensburg which he will receive in an exchange as, 'within the district of the Huosi (*in pago Huosi*) in the vill (*villa*) called Sulzemoos' (DLD 35). In 853 Bishop Erchanberht of Freising exchanged land with a Sheriff Adalberht, receiving property, 'in a place which is called Landsberied which Adalberht bought for a price from Landberht' (TF 736a), which a slightly later version describes as, 'the place which is called Landsberied within the boundary of the Huosi (*in confinio Hosiorum*)', without mentioning the manner of acquisition (TF 736b). Why these two places were given such designations is not entirely clear. As we saw, royal charters regularly used the formula, 'within the district of X, the comital jurisdiction of Y', although this is a relatively late and quite rare practice in Bavarian documents, and the expected designation of the responsible sheriff is omitted here (Part 1/3). A 'confinium' as that at Landsberied meant only some bounded territory and could be applied to a variety of properties down to a local 'vill' as at Sulzemoos, that is, a single settlement or estate. Given these uncertainties, we have noted that it would be very risky to posit a single, broader 'Huosi district' encompassing both places which lie about 20 kilometers from one another. And we know very little else about these two places aside from what these two documents tell us.

We have no record of how Sulzemoos came into the possession of St Emmeram in Bavaria's 'capital' city of Regensburg on the Danube about 130 kilometers to the northeast, nor do we know why King Ludwig



was interested to acquire it. It is possible that Sulzemoos lay near other fiscal properties of which we have no knowledge. The Freising cartulary contains a single contemporary deed regarding Sulzemoos (TF 438). In 820 a layman, Cozpald, surrendered to the bishop a benefice which he held there from Freising. The reason for Cozpald's action was a fraudulent accusation by certain unnamed persons that he, Cozpald, intended to alienate the property from the bishopric, a charge which he denied and was believed. We learn from the investigation of the charge that the property had been given to Freising by Cozpald's father, Pisum, and that Cozpald had been granted it twice already in benefice from Freising, an arrangement which may have been a stipulation of the original grant. Now he was again reinvested with this evidently substantial property, 'so long as he preserves it for the cathedral church of St Mary with service and fidelity'.

Thus, it appears that Cozpald served as one of the bishop's lay retainers or vassals in an early example of 'faithful' service for property (Part 1/5). We should like to know more about his father who bore the unusual name, Pisum, and other circumstances of his gift to Freising, but the sources are lacking. The persons who falsely accused Cozpald and 'plotted by a crafty artifice that they might be able to defraud [him] of his benefice and also alienate all the income' were most probably his relatives whose conflicting claims may have originated in disputes over Pisum's original conveyance to Freising. Clearly, the document's wording and Bishop Hitto's solicitous treatment of Cozpald indicates that he felt Freising's interests were best secured by a continuation of the existing arrangement. In any event, this document indicates that Sulzemoos may have been divided amongst several proprietors at a fairly early date, and there is no indication in Freising's deed that it pertained to any 'Huosi district'.

For Landsberied we have likewise only the one deed, TF 736, copied in two versions into the successor volume (B) to Cozroh's cartulary which continued to enroll transactions, mostly exchanges rather than grants, after his death in 848. But the identity of the new proprietor there, Sheriff Adalperht, is, perhaps, significant. It is not readily evident why he felt it necessary first to purchase this property and then to use it in the exchange with Freising. The name of the eponymous seller, Landperht, of this newly-cleared land or assart ('Ried' in German, that is, 'Landperht's Assart') varied its second element with Sheriff Adalperht, but this name-element, '-perht', is so common that, of itself, it provides no particular help. Perhaps, Adalperht lacked other substantial properties in the diocese which would match the value of his desired acquisition; both properties to the exchange contained very extensive arable land and meadows.

The property which Adalperht received in return from Freising, 'a church in the place which is called Bernwines Church next to the river Maisach', is only about 15 kilometers to the northeast at Perg in another district (*pagus*), that of Überacker. Its eponym, Pernwin, was its priest and proprietor and evidently an important cleric affiliated with the cathedral clergy but with no obvious connection to Sheriff Adalperht (TF 221, 255, 426, 455). As a sheriff, Adalperht, who is probably the second one of that name occurring in Carolingian Bavaria, was not active as a royal official in Huosiland. We can only speculate provisionally that unknown family connections were the source of his unusual property transaction. But if we explore a bit farther afield, we might detect some additional clues.

Landsberied, as property recently-cleared for settlement by Landperht, was probably established as an extension from an existing estate. At the time of the exchange in 853 it still contained extensive standing woodlands from which fully 400 day-works of arable could be cleared. Barely three kilometers to the west of Landsberied is Jesenwang. A connection between the two places is possible: for example, Landsberied as an assart within the original vill of Jesenwang. There is archaeological indication that Jesenwang was the older and more important because it is the site of a small male necropolis located directly on the great Roman highway running from Augsburg to Salzburg. Three graves from about 700 were excavated there of which one (Nr 2) was placed within a circular ditch measuring 9-10

meters internal diameter which would have been deep enough to produce a central mound or barrow two meters high. This grave, fortunately, was not robbed and contained an adult male buried with a complete set of silver-ornamented weapons, belt assembly, and riding tack, confirming his high social status. This necropolis at Jesenwang stands in sharp contrast to the contemporary early church site at Herrsching, just over 20 kilometers to the south (Part 2/3). The barrow grave at Jesenwang with the clearly-atavistic and even pagan connotations of its form contained no evidence of Christian influence amongst the objects or in the ornamentation of the outfit.

Yet the revealed identities of its later proprietors at Jesenwang are distinctly Christian. We have two early deeds in the cartulary which record gifts of land there to Freising (TF 61, 157). The first, by Raholf the priest in 773 in the presence of Bishop Arbeo and the assembled cathedral clergy, included all of his property at Jesenwang. Moreover, he added, 'not only goods alone but I have also subjected my own body to the service of this church', that is, to the church of Freising, and, indeed, he seems to have become a member of the cathedral clergy for which his property at Jesenwang was probably the price of admission (cf. TF 190). But the pious and aristocratic associations of the second deed from about two decades later are even more unmistakable (TF 157). There during the early Carolingian regime in the 790s a woman named Cotani[a] granted her paternal inheritance from Jesenwang to the church of St Michael Archangel and St Mary at Rottbach, the establishment of which – so we learn from another deed – had evidently been a remarkable joint enterprise with her husband Oazo and their daughter Engilsnot, who is called 'a handmaid of God' in the deed (TF 144: *ancilla dei*). Cotania's husband, Oazo, may have been the contemporary eponym of the property, Jesen-wang, or 'Oazo's Meadow'. Unfortunately, we do not learn the name of Cotania's father from whom the property in fact descended; Jesenwang may well have had a different name under his proprietorship. We do know, however, that Oazo's family was exceptionally important, because sometime before late 791 together with other family members he had established another church at Rottbach, dedicated to St Peter, which, like the Huosi church at 'Awigozeshusir', was the subject of a dispute so serious that it had to be settled at Charlemagne's court in Regensburg by important royal commissioners in 791x2 (TF 143; Part 1/2).

The notable piety of the two women, Cotania and Engilsnot, will be discussed presently (Part 2/6). But here it is perhaps relevant to note that Rottbach, which lies 16 kilometers northeast of Jesenwang, is itself less than three kilometers to the northwest of Überacker, the district (*pagus*) in which lay Perg, the site of 'Pernwin's Church' for which Sheriff Adalperht had acquired his property at Landsberied. Überacker's name, 'Uberacha', probably the 'Upper Brook' (or possibly: 'Above the Brook', i.e. the Maisach, a small stream flowing into the Amper) and not the Upper Acre or Field, is not documented before 819. It is worth considering whether this 'district' with its non-descript name was, like Landsberied, settled from an adjacent place. Perhaps, then, 'Pernwin's Church' at Perg in the district of Überacker, was the much-disputed church of Oazo's clan, St Peter at Rottbach? It is true that in October 819 during a diocesan synod when Pernwin conveyed his church at Perg to Freising, he noted that he was fulfilling a vow he had made 'when Bishop Atto dedicated his church', which might indicate that he was the founder as well as the proprietor (TF 426). The modern 'Golfclub Rottbach' has its green links only a few minutes' walk away from this portion of modern Überacker which is crossed by a little road, 'Bergstrasse' or the road to Perg. Überacker as an early extension of a parent settlement at Rottbach is certainly possible.

An Adalperht was a prominent witness to the settlement made at Regensburg for the church of St Peter at Rottbach. And, while this is hardly likely to be our Sheriff Adalperht at an early age, it may indicate a family interest in the church and its property which persisted into the middle of the 9th century. But we are unable to connect him to the Huosi. No Adalperht was directly involved in the dispute over 'Awigozeshusir' (TF 142), and Sheriff Adalperht did not join the 'many Huosi' at Tandern in 849 (TF 703; Part 1/2). Nor do Cotania, Oazo and Engilsnot, or Landperht provide any direct connection to the eponyms of the 'confinium Hosi'. Their high social status indicates their suitability, but they



elude identification with the *genealogia*. For Pernwin the priest we have every indication that he was an important figure, but his kinship ties too are unknown. Thus, like Sulzemoos, Landsberied's precise affiliation with the Huosi cannot be established – a disappointing conclusion but one with which the attentive reader will now be familiar! On the other hand, it may be an indication that the later connection of these two places to the Huosi was in some way official rather than proprietary in nature.

## Part 2/5. Bishop's Official and Family Man: Pilgrim at Allershausen

When we discussed Erchanheri the priest's *pancarte* for Alting and other properties (TF 200; Part 2/2), a brief reference was made to another important *pancarte* entered in the Freising cartulary, TF 547 (Exhibit 2/5a). Like Erchanheri's *pancarte*, TF 547 was divided by the modern editor into seven parts lettered a. to g., which, indeed, reflects the manuscript division in the cartulary (fos. 320r-322r) where each new section except for the last is slightly indented and begins with a decorated capital letter. The manuscript presentation thus creates the impression of a continuous historical narrative in several parts rather than a collection of separate documents. In contrast to Erchanheri's *pancarte*, however, the time period covered by its narrative is quite brief, 18 July to 6 November 827, and all of the sections relate to church property in one single place, Allershausen. Moreover, it appears that this *pancarte* was assembled by the episcopal scribe and creator of the cartulary, Cozroh himself, rather than by any of the participants in the transactions as was true for Erchanheri the priest's remarkable and enigmatic document. Cozroh identified himself as the original scribe of four sections (a., c.-e.) all of which describe actions taken at Freising, and he probably added the last section (g.) and redacted the various separate documents together into the present continuous form when he entered it into the cartulary with its collective header 'The Conveyance of Noble Men at Allershausen'. As a result, TF 547 is a much more coherent document than Erchanheri's and presents no insoluble problems of interpretation.

Allershausen, the location of the church property which also may have included a church, lies about 14 kilometers west of Freising. It is thus located at the opposite, northeastern end of Huosiland from Alting. Today, it is known primarily as a stopover on the Nuremberg to Munich autobahn and a convenient place to stay when using Munich's international airport located just south of Freising. In the early ninth century, it was clearly an important place in its own right. It is located at the confluence of the river Glonn with the Amper and thus was an accessible place for courts and public assemblies in northern Huosiland; one of the great courts of 822 convened by the royal commissioner Hatto was held there to decide the ownership over the nearby church at Kienberg between the contending bishops of Freising and Augsburg (TF 475; Parts 1/2, 1/4). This probably indicates the presence of fiscal property at Allershausen as at Föhring to the east, and in 818 Sheriff Liutpald did hold a 'publicum placitum' or session of his comital court there (TF 401c). Still, Allershausen, despite its strategic location may not have been an ancient estate. The place name itself, 'Adalhareshusun', 'Adalheri's House/Manor', incorporates a patronym still in common usage in the ninth century and a second element, '-hausen' which is characteristic of secondary settlement. Its name contrasts in both its parts with Moatbert's ancient Zolling (Part 2/1). And the first mention of it is only in 814 when a certain Hleoperht ceded arable land, a 'territorium' there as wergild for a priest who apparently had been a member of the cathedral clergy (TF 318b). This absence of early references to Allershausen in the cartulary may also indicate that non-fiscal property there was very closely held, and, indeed, this is what TF 547 itself indicates.

On Friday, 19 July 827 Pilgrim and his son, Reginperht, conveyed to the cathedral church at Freising their inheritance of church properties at Allershausen in which their parents had had a share (TF 547a). On Sunday, 29 September, Pilgrim's sister, Erchanfrit, appeared herself along with her brother at an important assembly held at Holz- (now Amper-) Moching, about 19 kilometers to the south of Allershausen, and conveyed her own inherited share into the reliquary of St Mary for Freising (547b).

Then, Saturday, 5 October, evidently at an autumn synod attended also by Bishop Baturich of Regensburg, a certain Hartnid conveyed his own inherited share and his coheir Liutpald conveyed his share as well (547c, d). In addition, Pilgrim then renewed his own conveyance and that of his sister (547e) in what may have been intended as a conspicuous display of generosity before such an impressive audience: the two bishops, the whole of the cathedral clergy, the local sheriff also named Liutpald, and numerous lay worthies as enumerated in the witness list for these three transactions. The next day, on Sunday, 6 October, Pilgrim, Hartnid, and Liutpald returned to Allershausen with Bishop Hitto's commissioner, the Archpriest Rubo, senior cleric of the cathedral who had been present at their conveyances in Freising. With Erchanfrit possibly looking on and with Reginperht witnessing, they carried out the formal investiture of the properties by token of the church's bell rope; the second witness there was an Adalhart, possibly the earlier benefice holder in the Kienberg dispute of 822 (TF 547f; TF 475). Finally, a month later on Wednesday, 6 November, two more coheirs, Poapo and Heriolt, appeared at Freising and, with Pilgrim and Reginperht leading the witnesses, they too conveyed their shares (547g), evidently completing the transfer to Freising of all the church property at Allershausen held by these coheirs.

Pilgrim was clearly the person who oversaw this orderly chain of donations, and he is otherwise a well-known and well-studied person although he was not a particularly important figure himself. The reason for his modest fame is, rather, the large number of deeds in the cartulary which originated either with him or his father, Coteperht, and which undoubtedly resulted from their close associations with Freising and with Bishop Hitto in particular. Although the great *pancarte* of 827 refers repeatedly to various 'parentes', that is, in general, 'kinsmen', but which also includes our term 'parents' in its plural form, and Pilgrim's sister, Erchanfrit, specifically mentions 'genitor[es] ipsorum' (TF 547b) that is, Pilgrim's and her mother and father. Still none of the donors mentions any of these people by name. This, however, is not unusual. Their names may have been entered elsewhere in a 'liber memorialis' or book of names used by major churches for memorial, intercessory prayer. Pilgrim, but not Erchanfrit, was entered amongst the 'deceased' with other 'Brothers from Freising' in the great confraternity at the monastery on the Reichenau. For that reason, immediate relationships other than those between Pilgrim and his sister and son must be pieced together from this dossier of relevant deeds numbering ten altogether aside from TF 547, which span almost a century from the end of Agilolfing ducal rule in 788 to 870. These relatively numerous records have allowed the German historian, Thomas Kohl, recently to reconstruct a family tree for Pilgrim as part of his study of family structure in early-medieval Bavaria (Exhibit 2/5b).

All of the donors in 827 were coheirs to the church property in Allershausen. This means that they must have had a common ancestor who originally possessed the entire property which was subsequently fragmented through the law of partible inheritance (Part 2/1) creating an 'Erbgemeinschaft' or 'inheritance community' as we found amongst the Huosi at 'Awigozeshusir' (TF 142: Part 1/2) and the 'men of Moching' at Biberach (TF 235: Part 1/4). Such groups were inherently unstable and strife-prone, and it could be in the interest of such heirs to rid themselves of their shares in return for other properties or considerations. Perhaps, Hleoperht was happy to be able to pay the wergild for the dead priest with an isolated 'territorium' at Allershausen, and Freising was happy to receive it as a modest start to its acquisition of property there. In any case, from then onwards these properties were henceforth impartible because they belonged to an immortal proprietor, the patron saint as represented by the cathedral church.

We do not know the identity of the original proprietor at Allershausen. The presence of several coheirs in TF 547 who were not siblings indicates that it was not Pilgrim's father, Coteperht. Perhaps it was the eponym Adalheri himself, but the few early mentions of that name in the cartulary are relatively late and inauspicious. The earliest ancestor whom Kohl (or any other historian) has been able to identify was a certain Regino. In the last years of Duke Tassilo's rule he, together with his wife named Oaspirin,

granted hereditary property at (Hohen-)Kammer to Freising and subsequently with his son, Liutto, gave purchased property, probably in the same place, which they had bought from three named persons, one of whom (Cunzila) was probably a woman (TF 109). Hohenkammer is only five kilometers west of Allershausen, and in 816 Liutto, now tonsured as a monk and gravely ill, donated two tenancies at an unidentified place, 'Croaninpach' with their tenants, slaves, and other livestock to Freising, possibly as the price of admission to the cathedral's monastery (TF 366; see above, Part 1/5). Coteperht, Liutto's brother, represented him as steward in the transaction. Only around 850 does Pilgrim reveal that Coteperht was his own father and Liutto his uncle when he makes settlement, somewhat tardily, with Freising for Liutto's property, now called 'ad Perge' and clearly the same as 'Croaninpach' because of the survival of four of the original named slaves from 816 although now diminished to only one tenancy (TF 702). In his very first appearance as Bishop Hitto's steward in 829 (TF 586; not translated, see below), Pilgrim along with a second steward, Reginperht (probably the bishop's nephew of that name and not Pilgrim's son), received church property from Hroadhoh at a place called Berg which may be the same place as Uncle Liutto's grant.

In that settlement in 850 Pilgrim also relinquished property at Ottmarshart which his father had granted to the cathedral (TF 315). That original conveyance too was much earlier in 814, and Coteperht made it in return for a benefice from Bishop Hitto also at Ottmarshart and in gratitude for the baptism of his son, Oadalker, by the bishop himself, a sign of particular favor and closeness. The two properties at Ottmarshart were to remain with Coteperht and his son during their lifetimes, but Pilgrim evidently had claimed Oadalker's share after his brother's death. Another uncle, Haduperht, occurs in 817 when Coteperht renewed and Haduperht first donated their shares of property at Assenhausen (TF 382). Ottmarshart is near the river Glonn and only 7 kilometers northwest of Assenhausen, but it is fully 24 kilometers southwest of Allershausen. Thus, Pilgrim's family had at least two distinct early concentrations of property on the right or eastern bank of the Glonn: one in the northeast (Allershausen; Hohenkammer), and the other in the southwest (Ottmarshart and Assenhausen).

The closeness of Coteperht and his son, Pilgrim, to Bishop Hitto was distinctive and was clearly a source of such position and wealth as they had. Coteperht seems to have been one of the bishop's few vassals, a rare instance of an early feudal relationship which may go beyond the conditional possession of a benefice (TF 466, 475; Part 1/5). Pilgrim himself occurs eight times under Bishops Hitto and Erchanperht as their 'advocatus' or steward, that is, as legal representative of the bishop, in Huosiland property transactions from 829 (TF 586; not translated) through 849 (TF 703) although, as we just saw, he was not the only steward used by the bishops during that period. It is notable that his tenure in that desirable office began after he had successfully orchestrated the great donation at Allershausen.

In 843 Pilgrim accompanied Hitto's nephew and successor, Bishop Erchanbert, to the great assembly at Verdun (TF 661: Part 1/3). Before he left, on Friday, 6 July 843, he took the precaution to dispose of properties 'for the remedy of his own soul and of his son Reginperht and for his parents and those kin pertaining to him' (TF 660: *cognatorum*, 'by marriage?'). This is usually taken to indicate that Reginperht was dead at this time which may be true; his name is conspicuously absent from the witness list to this complex transaction which disposes of property in three adjacent places, Allershausen, (Ober-/Unter-) Kienberg directly to the west of Allershausen, and 'Reod', probably the farmstead 'Riedhof' which lies just north of Kienberg. The conveyance, which was to take effect only after Pilgrim's death, included all of his paternal inheritance at Kienberg and Ried, but excluded property at Allershausen which he had exchanged earlier with his sister, Sicca, and a certain Rihpert. Pilgrim also excluded the dependent tenancy or hide (German: *Hufe/Hobe*) there of Ekkymunt, one of the slaves included in the conveyance (*Ekkymunteshopa*), which Pilgrim had given to his wife, Alta, to hold in her own right as her marriage portion (*ad iustitiam suam habendam*). Thus, the earlier *pancarte* of 827 had included only a portion of the family's property at Allershausen, that which had been attached to the church there.



At this time, in 843, Pilgrim must have been quite mature; his highly-distinctive name first occurs in a series of numerous and continuous transactions as a witness in August 814 (TF 320: 'Pilicrim'), so he must have been born in the 790s if not earlier. It is, thus, interesting to consider his relationship to his wife, Alta, who is first named in this much later document. It is very unlikely that she was Reginperht's mother, since she was evidently young enough in 843 that Pilgrim foresaw the possibility that an heir might yet be born to them. If Reginperht was old enough to participate in the great *pancarte* of 827, then he must have been born at least 14 years earlier which would make another pregnancy for his unnamed mother fully thirty years later highly unlikely. Alta must be a subsequent wife and probably very much younger than Pilgrim himself. It is for that reason that Pilgrim made elaborate provision in 843 for her possible remarriage.

Pilgrim's approach to Alta's possible widowhood was entirely conventional:

'... And this conveyance was done on this condition, that Pilgrim himself keep his benefices and his conveyance throughout his life; moreover, after his own death, his wife, Alta, [may keep] that his conveyance at Kienberg or any one of his benefices which she may wish to choose for herself, if she wishes to add to her conveyance at Allershausen and all which she has acquired for herself, and if she chooses to preserve the marriage bed henceforth veiled, and every year pay a rent from it, that is a monk's apparel with robe and hood. If, however, by the Lord's gift, in the meantime a heir is born to them, then he should possess our inheritance at Kienberg and at Allershausen aside from that which has been set aside; after the death of Pilgrim, even though they may have an heir, [nevertheless] it shall endure wholly to Freising along with 12 slaves, whichever ones the property administrators for the same church of Freising may wish to choose; if, however, his same wife does not wish to veil herself or if no heir is born to them, then at once those our conveyed properties shall remain wholly to Freising with the slaves by these names... '

Although Pilgrim's complex property provisions are somewhat oblique, still his intent for Alta was very clear: she was to enjoy his property at Kienberg with an additional Freising benefice of her choice in addition to the hide, 'Ekkymunteshopa' at Allershausen, which she had received from him to hold in her own right, as well as her own acquired properties, so long as she preserved unmarried the sanctity of their marriage bed as a veiled widow withdrawn from society. However, if she were to remarry, then she would lose the additional properties at Kienberg and the benefice, and only 'Ekkymunteshopa' and her acquired properties would remain for her support.

In the event, Pilgrim did return from Verdun, and nothing more is heard about Alta until eight years later in 851 when they jointly conveyed 'our own inheritance' at Glonn, receiving in return a benefice from Freising at Schlipps which would be held for the life of the surviving party (TF 724). They were, however, evidently somewhat uneasy about the identity of Bishop Erchanbert's then unknown successor and retained authority over the property at Glonn should the terms of the benefice be altered, for example, possibly limited to Pilgrim's lifetime alone. There is no mention of a surviving heir having been born to them in the meantime. The 'place called Glonn' is possibly the settlement of that name located near the southwestern estates at Ottmarshart and Assenhausen where Coteperht and Pilgrim certainly had properties although the source Alta's claimed inheritance there is undocumented and may have been the cause for their unease in the event of Pilgrim's death. Schlipps where they received the joint benefice adjoins Kienberg, so it appears that they were further consolidating their properties immediately around Allershausen and disposing of one further away.

Subsequently, in 853, during the episcopal interim at Freising, a vacancy evidently anticipated two years earlier, a dying Pilgrim turned over additional properties which he had acquired at Schlipps, a mill and three colon-holdings, to two sheriffs, who were to convey the properties on his behalf to Freising as a last



memorial. But now, in his final will and testament, he made it on the condition that his wife, Alta, ‘might hold that conveyance up to the end of her life, whether she intended to marry or not, regardless, she should nevertheless have that conveyance’ (TF 741). Thus, ten years after his elaborate first disposition for Alta, Pilgrim was no longer concerned to keep her in chaste widowhood. We do not know the reason. Perhaps, it merely reflected the evolution of their marital relationship, or perhaps the continued lack of any heir had made him less concerned that his own offspring might have been treated with prejudice by a stepfather. And, more remarkably, we do know that Alta herself remarried. In 870 Alta came with her new husband, Buoso, to Freising, now under Bishop Anno (s. 854-875) who does not seem to have been related to his predecessors, Hitto and Erchanbert – possibly the source of earlier mistrust. There she disposed finally of her own property at Glonn, for which she and her new husband received a joint benefice for life at Zell on the river Wolnzach which flows north to the Danube (TF 901). But, although Alta had remarried, the text of the conveyance notes prominently that she now ‘was vowed (*devota*) to the service of God’, indicating that she now was leading a religious and probably celibate life as did other (and particularly) mature women of property (see below: Part 2/6). In Alta’s own time and on her own terms, Pilgrim’s original intent for her had been fulfilled. We may hope that he was included in her religious devotions.

Pilgrim’s well documented career gives us an insight into the fortunes of a group which must have been relatively numerous and important: lay officials who supervised the administrative and legal aspects of ecclesiastical estates for the bishop who was impeded by canon law from participating himself in secular litigation and preoccupied with ecclesiastical concerns. Presumably, there would have been fees from some of the successful suits along with considerations in kind (see below), and there were certainly episcopal benefices granted by grateful bishops. It would be interesting to know whether Pilgrim was literate. His own conveyances at Allershausen (TF 547a, 660) used established Freising scribes and his final dispositions at Glonn (TF 724) and Schlipps (TF 741) lack scribal endings in the later transcriptions by Conrad the Sacristan. But it is quite possible that he was literate in the sense of being able to read Latin. The closeness of his father and himself to the Bishops Hitto and Erchanbert suggest that there may have been exceptional opportunities for some rudimentary education. Moreover, there is his unusual name, Pili-grim, which consists of two common Germanic name elements but which may be a conscious construct as Henning Kaufmann has suggested to mimic the Latin term ‘peregrinus’: German ‘Pilger’ or English ‘pilgrim’. If so, his episcopal service may have been viewed as a vocation.

The family’s prosperity was clearly founded on service to the church of Freising. It has often been suggested that Coteperht and Pilgrim, because of their closeness to Bishops Hitto and Erchanperht, were members of the Huosi or, perhaps, the Fagana. The name of Pilgrim’s son, Reginperht, the same as Hitto’s nephew, seems to point towards some kinship with the bishops. The name of Coteperht and Liutto’s father, Regino, certainly occurs amongst the mid-8th century *genealogia* of the Fagana who may have been assimilated into the Huosi (TF 5: Part 1/2). We also considered earlier the possibility that Kienberg might be the elusive Huosi church at ‘Awigozeshusir’ (Part 1/2) without reaching any firm conclusion. A much earlier Oadalker was a donor of property at Kienberg to the Huosi monastery at Schlehdorf in 772 (TF 45: Part 1/4), but he was the son of an Anulo and thus not Pilgrim’s possibly much younger brother, Oadalker. Wider kinship considerations seem to have played a very limited role although the cooperation of the coheirs at Allershausen was necessary in 827. Similarly, it is difficult to discern any broader personal retinue or consistent social circle around Pilgrim from the witnesses to his transactions. Only Deotrih, Hroadperht and Karuheri occur in his original donation of church property at Allershausen and in at least two other parts of the same *pancarte* (TF 547). They could well be other episcopal retainers, and that group may have largely circumscribed his non-familial social relationships. Such professionally-oriented friendships are not uncommon today.

In contrast, Coteperht and Pilgrim’s provision for their immediate families was pronounced, and Thomas Kohl was quite right when he recently concluded that their transactions, ‘were fundamentally

concerned only with their own nuclear family' (p. 167). This can be seen from a possibly-unusual perspective with regard to Pilgrim's second sister. In 817 when Coteperht renewed his conveyance at Assenhausen, he, 'humbly request[ed], saying that if need should betide his daughter, then she should have his food allowance (*annonam*) for herself' (TF 382). This 'annona' was probably a periodic allocation of provisions which Coteperht received from the bishop for his service. His unnamed – and possibly illegitimate – daughter was evidently not otherwise well provided for. She is unlikely to have been Erchanfrit who made a generous provision of her own at Allershausen in 827 (TF 547b). More likely, this daughter is Pilgrim's own sister (*sororem suam*) Sicca, who is named only the once and in passing in 843 (TF 660).

Sicca may even have been unfree. In 805 a slave Sicca was conveyed with other slaves to the basilica of SS Corbinian and Lambert at Dachau by a woman named Erchana (TF 218; cf. TF 370). Since Erchana had inherited these slaves from her father, Zazo, she is probably not Coteperht's sister, but her name varies with that of his daughter Erchanfrit, possibly indicating a relationship. Provisions such as Coteperht's for the illegitimate offspring of morganatic unions was not unusual in this period. And by a subsequent exchange, possibly a very favorable one, Pilgrim may have provided further for his [half-]sister with property of her own at Allershausen which he then safeguarded on the eve of his departure in 843. The otherwise unknown Rihpert who was also a party to that exchange may have been her husband. Thus, even the interests of a socially-marginal family member like Sicca seem to have received Pilgrim's careful attention. Perhaps, his lack of a male heir in some way reinforced his concern for the other members of his immediate family and even encouraged the relatively generous treatment of his younger wife Alta?

## Part 2/6. Pious Women: Cotania and Engilsnot at Rottbach; Deota and Hiltimari

The 'devoted' service to God of Pilgrim's widow, Alta, as a (re-)married lay woman was evidently not exceptional. Indeed, one of the distinctive aspects of all of these property transactions is the prominence of women in a society where they were largely excluded from a public role in lay affairs and an established place in the Church. There were, of course, nunneries, but there was none in the entire diocese of Freising although we might wish to include Kochel on the lake of that name in southern Huosiland near Schlehdorf which, however, pertained, as did all monasteries there, to Augsburg diocese. Some women in Huosiland seem, nevertheless, to have carved out a place for themselves in religious practice. Such irregular vocations were evidently permitted or at least tolerated. We have very early evidence from the mid-730s in the diocese of Passau of a couple who, in the earliest evidence for the feast of All Saints (1 November) in Bavaria or, perhaps, anywhere, established a small church with multiple relics and 'offered their daughter, Cotalind, veiled under a black veil, that she might serve God and St Mary' at the church which she evidently did (TP 2).

A later example of a woman's irregular religious vocation is provided for Huosiland by the other dispute aired at Charlemagne's camp at Lorch in 791 which was mentioned in our earlier discussion of the Huosi at 'Awigozeshusir'. This involved Tutilo the priest's oratory of St Peter at Rottbach which was the subject of a dispute amongst the coheirs and which was finally settled by royal commissioners at Regensburg (TF 143; Parts 1/2, 2/4). Evidently not long thereafter one of the donors to this church, Tutilo's kinsman, Oazo, together with his wife Cotania and his daughter Engilsnot established another church at Rottbach dedicated to St Mary and St Michael to which Tutilo the priest contributed slaves and property as well as a chalice and paten and a sacramentary which was a priest's service book, a forerunner of the missal (TF 144). Somewhat later Cotania made an additional conveyance to their church at Rottbach from her paternal inheritance, and subsequently the daughter Engilsnot held at least a portion of the property at Rottbach in benefice from Freising (TF 157, 159). Both women, the daughter and the mother are of interest.

Cotania's first deed (TF 144) identifies her daughter Engilsnot as a 'handmaiden (*ancilla*) of God', a title which, of course, echoes St Mary's response in Luke's gospel to the angel at the Annunciation and indicates some special religious devotion although evidently not, as we might expect, as a nun in a convent. Fully 35 years later in 826 the daughter Engilsnot is called a 'sanctified woman (*sanctimonialis femina*)' when she renewed her father's conveyance (TF 532); once again there is the implication of a religious vocation without any institutional connection. She was joined now in 826 by her nephew, Erchanperht the priest, who added slaves and property to the conveyance and placed himself into the hands of Bishop Hitto for faithful service (*ad fidele servitio*) for which he received the property back as a benefice. Here, however, the property is referred to as Schweinbach, now two settlements, Ober- and Unter-Schweinbach, about 5 to 10 km west of Rottbach. It is possible that these two places, Rottbach and Schweinbach, were once parts of the same extensive estate. Oazo's original deed refers only to Rottbach and contains the interesting provision that, 'if after our decease anyone of our close kin attaches himself to the service of God in sacerdotal office, and is obedient in all matters to the church of St Mary at Freising, with the permission of that bishop who in those times is discerned to preside over the above written cathedral church, he may dispose over both the main estate and holdings thereafter' (TF 144). It appears that the priest Erchanperht (perhaps, the later Freising bishop?) may have been exercising that privilege with the patronage of his aunt Engilsnot who had evidently spent her life in respectable but irregular celibate religious devotion, possibly centered on the family's proprietary church of St Mary and St Michael.

The mother's name, Cotania, is the same as that of a daughter of Duke Tassilo who, after her father's forced deposition in 788, was exiled to a nunnery in western Francia; our Cotania is probably the older of the two. Cotania's distinctive name also occurs in a list of 25 names which is entered into an 8th century sacramentary now in Prague. These persons were mostly other lay men and women from Huosiland but also included the incumbent bishop of Augsburg, Sindbert, who reincorporated both Neuburg and Staffelsee to his diocese under the Carolingian regime. They all evidently belonged to a religious confraternity which seems to have had a special devotion to St Martin and may have been centered on the important church at Biberach later claimed by the 'men of Moching' (Part 1/4). Cotania's paternal inheritance was at Jesen-wang, 'Oazo's field', a patronymic which may refer to her husband but does not need to. Jesenwang is located about 15 km southwest of Rottbach and only 3 km west of Landsberied which we saw was within the *confinium Hosiorum* (TF 736). The main Roman highway from Augsburg to Salzburg runs just north of Jesenwang, and it is the site of an important aristocratic burial in a tumulus or barrow from the period around 700 which may even have pagan associations (Part 2/4).

There can be little doubt that Cotania belonged to the highest levels of Bavarian aristocracy and exercised her religiosity in a way entirely appropriate to her social status as a lay woman participating as an equal with men in a religious confraternity and as the mother dedicating her daughter to a lifelong religious vocation. Another woman with an Agilolfing name, Deota, also occurs in the Prague Sacramentary's confraternity list. It is the female version of Theodo, the name of the first historic Bavarian duke who ruled around the year 700, and also that of the son of Duke Tassilo who shared the Carolingian exile of his family after his father's deposition in 788. This Deota has a somewhat younger namesake in Huosiland who, with her husband, Kerhart, and her three sons disposed over important properties there. These included a holding at the important comital and ecclesiastical center of Bergkirchen which figured many times in the discussion in Part 1 (TF 605, 611, 672). In the earliest of these deeds from 833 this Deota calls herself 'a most humble handmaiden of God' (TF 605), the same title used by Cotania for her daughter Engilsnot.

Schweinbach, the site of Engilsnot's property, is also of interest as the place where a man named Hunperht had earlier made the donation of a property he had received from Duke Tassilo. He did this for the benefit of the duke himself as well as for Tassilo's deceased father and mother, Duke Odilo and Hiltrud, 'so that

by their intercessions (*ut eorum intercessionibus*) we might be worthy to receive remission of sins from a pious God' (TF 63). This is a puzzling provision to say the least, since it invokes the ducal pair as divine intercessors. Yet we cannot doubt Hunperht's pronounced devotion to the ducal family, since an earlier conveyance his apparent brother Rihperht, joined by Hunperht, ceded properties at four other places in Huosiland 'for the duke and duchess', that is Duke Tassilo and his consort, the Langobard princess royal Liutpiric, as well as for his own family (TF 46). This ducal attachment may explain Cotania's name as well as Engilsnot and her nephew's connection to Schweinbach, since the name of the priest Erchanperht varies an admittedly common name-element with the two brothers and Agilolfing loyalists.

Such irregular provisions for devout women did not always proceed as smoothly as it evidently did for Engilsnot. In the same year 772 as Rihperht's conveyance and with Duke Tassilo 'looking on and confirming', a Helzuni together with his wife Oadalhilt and his son and daughter, Silvester and Hiltimari, conveyed hereditary property at Zeitlbach, now also an Ober- and Unter-Zeitlbach, in far western Huosiland to Freising while reserving it as benefice for themselves during their lifetimes (TF 48). But things seem not to have gone smoothly for Hiltimari who 40 years later in 812, recalling the exact terms of the earlier grant by her family of which she may have had a copy, renewed the conveyance to Freising as their sole survivor (*relicta*) (TF 304:).

'... where I would desire to have my defense. For I once settled my head under their protection for religious enclosure (*clausurum*), but the envy of others, I believe, expelled me. Or, rather, I wish to believe that this was done as a result of my sins. With these things over and fulfilled according to God's dispensation and will, that which my soul previously bore with difficulty, now, having been overcome cheerfully in the love of God, I bear my expulsion willingly and in the love of St Mary...'

Here we have the record of some small human tragedy that we cannot quite reconstruct. When Hiltimari speaks of 'their protection' she is not referring to the clergy of Freising but, rather to St Mary and St Corbinian themselves, and what sort of enclosure she expected is not at all clear, since we have no record of an early community of religious women at Freising. Perhaps, it was not there that she sought her 'clausurum' or religious enclosure. One of the leading witnesses to the original family conveyance was David, a prominent early benefactor of the church at Buch, about 30 km south of Zeitlbach, where, as we saw, one of the witnesses to David's endowment was an Alto the hermit (TF 12: *reclusus*; see above, Part 1/4). Alto's solitary religious vocation may have inspired others, including some women, to settle near him in an irregular community, evidently at the site of the later 'Alto's Minster' near Zeitlbach. Hiltimari's lament, however, seems to indicate a more direct connection to Freising. A church at Zeitlbach itself as a proprietary church of Freising, might have served Hiltimari's vocation, but none is mentioned in the deed nor in any early Freising records although this does not exclude the presence of one. In any event, in her old age she seems to have come to terms with her disappointment, and we can only puzzle about it sympathetically.

These examples indicate that the women of Huosiland, whether married, widowed or single, were able to pursue their own personal devotions (or ones ascribed to them by their kin) through distinctive and acceptable religious vocations without the benefit of established ecclesiastical institutions. Of course, such possibilities were only available to women of property and, particularly, to ones connected to proprietary churches which seem in many cases to have continued to serve as family religious foundations after their conveyance to the bishopric. This arrangement evidently suited the male family members quite well. For all of these persons, who probably lacked the very substantial means needed to found a proper monastery or the impulse to endow an altar beyond their control at the cathedral, a modest country church 'staffed' by a suitable female member of the family offering regular prayers at the altar there might serve to preserve the family's 'memoria' at a modest cost.



## Part 2/7. Some Final Thoughts

These individual explorations into provincial society during the late 8th and early 9th centuries would be difficult to duplicate anywhere else, but they are possible in Bavaria because of the unique documentation contained in Cozroh's cartulary. To change the imagery, these Parts are something like the removal of the topsoil covering an ant nest. Just like that ant nest, Huosiland must have been a place filled with frenetic activity on the part of its small elite. They were not numerous, at any time probably numbering fewer than 100 men, most of whom could even turn out at an important occasion as far away as Verdun. Moreover, although a certain precedence can be observed in the witness lists, none of these men was clearly dominant beyond his own immediate clientele. This was the group from which the sheriffs, the local representatives of royal government, were chosen for tenures which normally lasted for life, and they were also those from whom episcopal retainers were recruited. These men together with their retinues must have been on their horses much of the time attending monthly local court sessions, seasonal synods, and occasional comital assemblies, while constantly executing royal and episcopal business in various places. Only rarely did they need to travel as far as they did in 843 to Verdun. Most of their travels were probably no more than a day's ride, but they would have been frequent and in all seasons and weathers. Only in the far southwest might there have been a significant exception to this pattern of modest and highly dispersed public responsibility with a small elite group called the Huosi exercising the normal functions of government.

It was also a place where persons of respectable but modest status were busy looking after own interests. Moatbert and Totana were securing their property in uncertain times by donating it to the one institution with assured survival (Part 2/1). Erchanheri the priest was assembling properties with the aid of his family and neighbors for a pious foundation (Part 2/2). Reginhart, a sheriff with strong local roots and a possibly unique jurisdiction in Huosiland, was also the protector of a monastery with close connections to that *genealogia* (Part 2/3). On the other hand, at the Huosi places, Sulzemoos and Landsberied, other proprietors, Pisum, Cozpald, Landperht and Adalperht, were all closely involved with the property transactions, but no documented connection to the *genealogia* can be established for any of them (Part 2/5). Pilgrim was normally busy about the bishop's affairs but all the while clearly attending to the particular needs of his own immediate family (Part 2/5). Cotania, Engilsnot, Deota and Hiltimari were seeking new forms of religious expression for women in the absence of suitable institutions (Part 2/6). In the early-medieval period it is rarely possible to view such activities and conditions at a social level below that of ruler and highest aristocracy. But here we can, to some small extent, see these persons as distinctive individuals. Below them, of course, was the great servile mass of Huosiland's population. We can see them too, but know them only by name, and cannot characterize them as individuals, only collectively as members of a group. They, must, likewise, have had their own individual stories which, unfortunately, elude us.

## Part 3: Secondary References and Further Reading

The following comments and citations provide some general background but are highly selective and related primarily to the particular arguments of 'Part 1: Contexts'. They also provide ample further references to the existing literature which is extensive and almost entirely in German.

Preface and General:

For the regional studies cited in the Preface see:

- K. Bosl, *Franken um 800. Strukturanalyse einer fränkischen Königsprovinz*, 2nd edn (Munich, 1969)  
G. Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, reprint (Paris, 1971); and his *History Continues*, transl. A. Goldhammer, ed. J. Baldwin (Chicago, 1994)  
R. Hilton, *A Medieval Society; The West Midlands at the end of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1967)  
H. Lehmann, 'Untersuchungen zur Sozialstruktur im Gebiet des bayerischen Landkreises Ebersberg wähen des 8. Und 9. Jh.', *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 7, 1966, 137-45  
J. Sturm, *Die Anfänge des Hauses Preysing*, Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte 8 (Munich, 1931; reprint: 1974)

Early in this century, several monographs were published in English on aspects of various early-medieval German territories, generally covering much longer periods than here:

- W. Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest and Authority in an Early Medieval Society* (Ithaca, 2001) [the 'Society' is Bavaria]  
H. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge, 2005)  
M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle-Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000)

In my view, the best general introduction to the early-medieval period in English is now:

- C. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome; A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*, The Penguin History of Europe 2 (London & New York, 2009)

which also provides a more-palatable alternative to his massive, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005). Attentive readers will note that his interpretations sometimes differ from those offered here, particularly on servitude, but they are always worth consideration. His Introduction provides a concise, critical but, nevertheless, balanced review of current trends in early-medieval scholarship, not all of which are embraced here.

The best general collection of translated Carolingian documents is the late Peter D. King's:

*Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Kendal, 1987)

which was privately printed and is very difficult to obtain; it should be reprinted. But there is another very good older collection, likewise out of print but probably more readily available in libraries:

H.R. Loyn and J. Percival, *The Reign of Charlemagne: Documents on Carolingian Government and Administration* (London, 1975)



The older standard historical handbook for early-medieval Bavaria:

*Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte 1: Das alte Bayern. Das Stammesherzogtum bis zum Ausgang des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. M. Spindler, 2nd edn (Munich, 1981)

is still worth consulting but has now been replaced by an entirely new edition where the relevant sections are written by Roman Deutinger, a very competent and reliable expert:

*Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte 1: Das alte Bayer: Erster Teil: Von der Vorgeschichte bis zum Hochmittelalter*, rev. edn. A. Schmid (Munich, 2017)

For church history it is complemented by:

*Handbuch der bayerischen Kirchengeschichte 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Schwelle der Neuzeit*, ed. W. Brandmüller (St Ottilien, 1998)

Unfortunately, the ambitious on-line Historisches Lexikon Bayerns ([www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de](http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de)), which will replace certain aspects of it, has yet to begin work on the early-medieval section. Currently, the best short introduction to early Bavarian history before the 9th century is:

W. Störmer, *Die Baiuwaren. Von der Völkerwanderung bis Tassilo III.* (Munich, 2007, with subsequent editions)

The Bavarian State Library's website, Bayerische Landesbibliothek Online ([www.bayerisches-landesbibliothek-online.de](http://www.bayerisches-landesbibliothek-online.de)) is valuable as a source for materials and literature including past issues of the Bavarian history journal, the *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* (ZBLG).

Another standard reference work, still extremely useful for its excellent maps and commentary, but also needs updating:

*Bayerischer Geschichtsatlas*, ed. M. Spindler and G. Diepolder (Munich, 1969)

More recent and reliable historical, topographical and place-name information on the larger villages and towns of modern Huosiland is available in:

*Handbuch der Historischen Stätten. Bayern I: Altbayern und Schwaben*, ed. H. Körner et al. (Stuttgart, 2006)  
W.-A. Frhr.v.Reitzenstein, *Lexikon Bayerischer Ortsnamen. Herkunft und Bedeutung* (Munich, 2006)

Still fundamental for both personal and place names, is:

E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, 1: *Personennamen*, 2nd edn (Bonn, 1901; reprint: Munich/Hildesheim, 1966); 2: *Orts- und sonstige geographische Namen*, 3rd edn by H. Jellinghaus, (Bonn, 1913/16; reprint: Munich/Hildesheim, 1967); together with H. Kaufmann, *Altdeutsche Personennamen. Ergänzungsband* (Munich/Hildesheim, 1968).

For a recent overview of early-medieval archaeology in Bavaria see:

B. Haas-Gebhard, *Die Baiuwaren. Archäologie und Geschichte* (Regensburg, 2013)

Since 1980, the annual volume, *Das Archäologische Jahr in Bayern*, has published short excavation reports on early-medieval places such as Herrsching (1982) and Jesenwang (1987) mentioned in the text.

Identifications of early-medieval place names in Bitterauf's edition of the Freising Cartulary (see Part 4B), always a difficult task, need to be checked against:

E. Wallner, 'Beiträge zum Namenregister der Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising', *Oberbayerisches Archiv* 76, 1950, 43-79; 77, 1952, 57-102

Part 1/1: The surviving Freising manuscripts are all described in the first part of Bernhard Bischoff's magisterial catalogue of the early-medieval Bavarian scriptoria:

*Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, Teil I: Die Bayrischen Diözesen (Wiesbaden, 1974)

Early-medieval Bavarian 'diplomatic' is still presented most fully and authoritatively (despite the title) in:

H. Fichtenau, *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich vom 8. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 23 (Vienna, Cologne & Graz, 1971)

Carolingian deeds (*Privaturkunden*) are surveyed comprehensively in:

*Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit*, ed. P. Erhart *et al.* (Dietikon-Zurich, 2009)

with a chapter on Bavarian deeds by H. Wolfram, 'Die bayerische Carta als diplomatisch-historische Quelle' (145-60), which provides a valuable supplement to the work of his teacher, Fichtenau.

Diplomatic aspects of the Freising deeds are now also discussed innovatively within the context of all early-medieval royal and private documents in the second part of:

M. Mersowsky, *Die Urkunde in der Karolingerzeit*, MGH Schriften 60, 2 parts (Wiesbaden, 2015)

which gives particular attention to issues of implementation.

The methodologies for exploiting names in the prayer lists of liturgical memorial books were established by Gerd Tellenbach and, particularly, his student, the late Karl Schmid, and are presented in their new edition of the Reichenau confraternity book:

*Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, MGH, Libri Memoriales et Necrologia, Nova Series, 1 (Hannover, 1979)

For the memorial functions of early-medieval cartularies, see now the very thorough survey by G. Declercq:

'History, Memory, and Remembrance in Early Cartularies and *Libri Traditionum*', *Studi Medievali* 3/58, 2017, 1-25

which particularly notes Cozroh's Freising cartulary.

For various Bavarian documentary issues see also:

W. Störmer, 'Zur Bedeutung der Gerichtsprozesse in den Freisinger Traditionen', *ZBLG* 68, 2005, 255-73  
*Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. Bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. I. Fees and P. Depreux, Archiv für Diplomatik, Beiheft 13 (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 2013), with essays on Bavaria by S. Esders (19-44), T.Kohl (201-16), and G. Bühner-Thierry (217-37)



There are useful discussions of general aspects of early-medieval record-keeping and literacy (also discussed here in several sections of Part 2: Connections) in:

- S. Foot, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record or Story?', in *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, ed. E. Tyler and R. Barzaretti, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 16 (Turnhout, 2006), 39-65
- H. Hummer, 'The Production and Preservation of Documents in Francia: The Evidence of the Cartularies', in *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Brown et al. (Cambridge, 2013), 189-230
- R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word* (Cambridge, 1989), esp. Chap. 3

Various aspects of the Bavarian Law Code are discussed concisely and authoritatively (but, by no means finally) in:

- P. Landau, *Die Lex Baiuvariorum. Entstehungszeit, Entstehungsort und Charakter von Bayerns ältester Rechts- und Geschichtsquelle*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 2004, Heft 3 (Munich, 2004)

Part 1/2: For early-medieval Huosiland there is a good, recent historical survey for the northeastern portions in our period:

- T. Kohl, *Lokale Gesellschaften*, Mittelalter-Forschungen 29 (Ostfildern, 2010)

Several aspects of Huosiland's society are also discussed, but less completely, in:

- L. Pearson, *Conflicting Loyalties in Early-Medieval Bavaria: A View of Socio-Political Interaction, 680-900* (Aldershot & Brookfield, VT, 1999)

Issues of Huosiland's historical topography – not only for ecclesiastical boundaries there – are discussed thoroughly with map in Gottfried Mayr's:

'Bemerkungen zu den frühen kirchlichen Verhältnissen im westlichen Oberbayern', *ZBLG* 75, 2012, 1-93

The local-history journal, *Amperland*, published a number of interesting, short studies by Gottfried Mayer and Wilhelm Störmer on the earliest history of several places in Huosiland, and all are now available at the journal's website ([www.zeitschrift-amperland.de](http://www.zeitschrift-amperland.de)):

- G. Mayr, 'Ein Erbstreit im Jahre 777', *Amperland* 9, 1973, 337-40
- idem*, 'Haimhausen in den Anfängen seiner Geschichte', *Amperland* 10, 1974, 477-83
- idem*, '1200 Jahre Röhrmoos, Glonn und Allach', *Amperland* 10, 1974, 545-47
- idem*, 'Zur Frühgeschichte des Kloster Altomünster', *Amperland* 17, 1981, 132-35
- idem*, 'Etzenhausen in den Freisinger Traditionen', *Amperland* 26, 1990, 465-70
- W. Störmer, 'Eine frühmittelalterliche Adelsfamilie im Dachauer Umland', *Amperland* 3, 1967, 80-81
- idem*, 'Der Raum Vierkirchen im 8. Und 9. Jahrhundert', *Amperland* 15, 1979, 442-47
- idem*, 'Singenbach, Ried, Walkertshofen und Pleimannswang im Jahre 784', *Amperland* 20, 1984, 663-65
- idem*, 'Herbertshausen und seine Besitzer in der späten Agilolfingerzeit', *Amperland* 21, 1985, 78-81
- idem* and F. Hornstein, 'Die Anfänge von Emmering im Lichte schriftlicher Quellen', *Amperland* 26, 1990, 460-64

For Charlemagne's expedition into Avaria see my:

'In the Field with Charlemagne, 791', *Journal of Medieval Military History* (forthcoming)



Part 1/3: In addition to the handbooks cited above, many relevant aspects of ducal and royal rule in early-medieval Bavaria, particularly comital organization, are discussed in my own books and articles:

*From 'Ducatus' to 'Regnum': Ruling Bavaria under the Merovingians and Early Carolingians*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge 2 (Turnhout, 2007)

*Town and Country in Early-Medieval Bavaria: Two Studies in Urban and Comital Structure*, BAR International Series, S2437 (Oxford, 2012)

'Pipinus Rex: Pippin's Plot of 792 and Bavaria', *Traditio* 63, 2008, 235-76

'Bavarians at Verdun, 843', *Francia* 41, 2014, 49-73

For the topography of comital jurisdiction in the diocese of Freising, see Erwin Kupfer:

'Karolingische Grafschaftsstrukturen im bayrisch-österreichischen Raum', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 111, 2003, 1-17

The concept of the 'Adelspagus' was developed in Wilhelm Störmer's:

*Früher Adel. Studien zur politischen Führungsschicht im fränkisch-deutschen Reich vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert*, 2 Parts, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 6 (Stuttgart, 1975), 2, 382-91

For comparison see also Michael Borgolte:

*Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit*, Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 31 (Sigmaringen, 1984)

Bavaria is considered in several sections of Jennifer Davis' recent book on Charlemagne's system of governance:

*Charlemagne's Practice of Empire* (Cambridge, 2015)

which overstates Bishop Arn's role in western Bavaria while ignoring Audulf's.

For a survey of royal rule in eastern Francia including Bavaria, which essentially begins where this essay ends, but is still useful for the earlier period see:

R. Deutinger, *Königsherrschaft im ostfränkischen Reich. Eine pragmatische Verfassungsgeschichte der späten Karolingerzeit*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 20 (Ostfildern, 2006)

Part 1/4: Given the nature of the surviving documentation it is not surprising that various historical and archaeological aspects of ecclesiastical organization and religious practice have been studied intensively since Ulrich Stutz' pioneering work on the 'proprietary church' (*Eigenkirche*), which was largely based on the Freising cartulary and now has been superseded by Susan Wood's fundamental study which is, however, still highly dependent on the same Bavarian sources for country churches:

*The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006)

It is particularly disappointing that Julia Barrow did not give more systematic attention to clerical economic support in her otherwise excellent study:

*The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe c. 800 - c. 1200* (Cambridge, 2015)

Also particularly relevant and helpful are:

- Cristianizzazione ed Organizzazione Ecclesiastica delle Campagne nell'Alto Medioevo*, Settimana di Studio 28 (Spoleto, 1982); particularly essays by A. Angenendt (169-234) and W. Hartmann (397-444).
- S. Esders and H. J. Mierau, *Der althochdeutsche Klerikereid. Bischöfliche Diözesangewalt, kirchliches Benefizialwesen und volkssprachliche Rechtspraxis im frühmittelalterlichen Baiern*, MGH Schriften 28 (Hannover, 2000)
- C. Hammer, 'Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History* 49, 1980, 5-17
- idem*, 'For All the Saints'; Bishop Vivolo of Passau and the Eighth-Century Origins of the Feast', *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 15, 2004, 5-26
- H. J. Mierau, 'Die Seelsorgeorganisation auf dem Lande im frühmittelalterlichen Bistum Freising', in *Pfarreien im Mittelalter*, ed. N. Kruppa, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 238 (Göttingen, 2008), 121-54
- H. Stahleder, 'Bischöfliche und adelige Eigenkirchen des Bistums Freising im frühen Mittelalter und die Kirchenorganisation im Jahre 1315', *Oberbayerisches Archiv* 104, 1979, 117-88; 105, 1980, 7-69
- W. Störmer, 'Adelige Eigenkirchen und Adelsgräber – Denkmalpflegerische Aufgaben', *ZBLG* 38, 1975, 1142-58
- idem*, 'Frühe Kirchenanlagen in den Ostalpen und ihrem Vorland', *ZBLG* 67, 2004, 13-34

Episcopal preaching, diocesan synods and parish visitations during our period have now been discussed in detail relying heavily on Freising documents in:

- M. Diesenberger, *Predigt und Politik im frühmittelalterlichen Bayern; Karl der Große, Arn von Salzburg und die Salzburger Sermones-Sammlung*, Millennium Studien 58 (Berlin & Boston, 2016)

A remarkable 8th-century sacramentary or priest's mass book from Bavaria, now in Prague, which may document the existence of a lay confraternity of St Martin in Huosiland (Part 2/6) is discussed primarily from social and political perspectives in my:

- 'The Social Landscape of the Prague Sacramentary: The Prosopography of an Eighth-Century Mass-Book', *Traditio*, 54, 1999, 41-80

And that sacramentary is now the subject of an impressive multi-disciplinary study:

- The Prague Sacramentary; Culture, Religion, and Politics in Late Eighth-Century Bavaria*, ed. M. Diesenberger, R. Meens and E. Rose (Turnhout, 2016)

For monasteries in modern Bavaria there is now a massive reference work published in the series *Germania Benedictina*, Band II:

- Die Männer- und Frauenklöster der Benediktiner in Bayern*, ed. M. Kaufmann *et al.*, 3 volumes (St Ottilien, 2014), with the individual foundations arranged in alphabetical order; the entries for Schäftlarn by M. Ruf and Scharnitz/Schlehdorf by S. Mokry are both in volume 3, 2043-64 and 2097-2104, respectively.

For Huosiland monasteries, see also particularly:

- G. Diepolder, 'Schäftlarn: Nachlese in den Traditionen der Gründerzeit', in *Früh- und Hochmittelalterlicher Adel in Schwaben und Bayern*, ed. I. Eberl and W. Hartung, Regio. Forschungen zur schwäbischen Regionalgeschichte, 1 (Sigmarlingendorf, 1988), 161-88.

- B. Haas-Gebhard, 'Frühmittelalterliche Klöster 'in pago Huosi'', *Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Siedlungsarchäologie*, ed. P. Ettel et al. (Rahden, 2002), 153-59.
- J. Jahn, *Ducatus Baiuvariorum. Das bairische Herzogtum der Agilolfinger*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 35 (Stuttgart, 1991), 408-60

The most complete survey of the learned and legal literature on early-medieval magic and related topics is still:

V. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 1991)

which does not consider any deed evidence.

Part 1/ 5: Urban structures and internal trade in early-medieval Bavaria are discussed in the first part of my *Town and Country in Early-Medieval Bavaria* (see above).

There is an excellent, recent survey of Bavarian settlement archaeology (in English!) by Janine Fries-Knoblach:

'Dwellings and Settlements of the Baiuvarii before Urbanisation', in *The Baiuvarii and Thuringii: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. J. Fries-Knoblach and H. Steuer, *Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology* 9 (Woodbridge, 2014), 149-241

For monetary issues, land sales and other commercial transactions see my:

'Land Sales in Eighth- and Ninth-Century Bavaria: Legal, Economic and Social Aspects', *Early Medieval Europe* 6, 1997, 47-76

The classic study of Bavaria's rural economy and social structure remains the older monograph by a student of Marc Bloch which, however, is primarily concerned with the period after 850 and is only widely available in an otherwise excellent German translation with a misleading title:

P. Dollinger, *Der bayerische Bauernstand vom 9. Bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1982)

There is no satisfactory modern overview of estate organization, but see the following:

*Strukturen der Grundherrschaft im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. W. Rösener, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 92 (Göttingen, 1989); Bavarian essays by K. Elmhäuser (285-334) and W. Störmer (370-410)

And for another interesting comparative study see now:

S. Freudenberg, *Trado atque dono*, VSWG, Beiheft 224 (Stuttgart, 2013)

For possible late-Roman fiscal origins of early-medieval manorial and military organization and practice, some of which is based upon Bavarian evidence, particularly the Staffelsee survey and the Law Code:

Stefan Esders, 'Öffentliche' Abgaben und Leistungen im Übergang von der Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter: Konzeption und Befunde', in *Von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter: Kontinuitäten und Brüche, Konzeptionen und Befunde*, ed. T. Kölzer and R. Schieffer, *Vorträge und Forschungen* 70 (Ostfildern, 2009), 189-244

And for the condition of estate tenants see also the companion piece there:

Margarete Weidemann, 'Spätantike Traditionen in der Wirtschaftsführung frühmittelalterliche Grundherrschaften', *ibid.*, 287-317

Much of my own earlier work focused on Bavaria's servile population and especially their familial relationships:

*A Large-Scale Slave Society of the Early Middle Ages: Slaves and their Families in Early-Medieval Bavaria* (Aldershot & Burlington, 2002)

'Family and *familia* in early-medieval Bavaria', in *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, ed. R. Wall, J. Robin and P. Laslett (Cambridge, 1983), 217-48

'The Handmaid's Tale; Morganatic Relationships in Early-Medieval Bavaria', *Continuity and Change* 10, 1995, 345-68

'Servile Names and Seignorial Organization in Early-Medieval Bavaria', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series 36, 1995, 917-28

'A Slave Marriage Ceremony from Early-Medieval Germany: a Note and a Document in Translation', *Slavery and Abolition* 16, 1995, 243-49

There is a useful discussion of servile terminology and a compendium of the sources in:

M. Banzhaf, *Unterschichten in bayerischen Quellen des 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert*, Materialien zur Bayerischen Landesgeschichte 9 (Munich, 1991)

Legal aspects of servitude in the Bavarian Code are examined thoroughly in:

H. Nehlsen, 'Die servi, ancillae und mancipia der Lex Baiuvariorum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sklaverei in Bayern', in *Fünfzig Jahre Forschung zur antiken Sklaverei an der Mainzer Akademie 1950-2000*, ed. H. Bellen and H. Heinen (Stuttgart, 2001), 505-23

Bavarian society and economy as represented more generally in the Code are discussed in:

H. Siems, 'Das Lebensbild der Lex Baiuvariorum', in *Rechtssetzung und Rechtswirklichkeit in der bayerischen Geschichte*, ed. H.-J. Hecker et al., Beihefte der ZBLG 30 (Munich, 2006), 29-73

For a recent survey by an archaeologist of agricultural techniques and tools, the focus of which, however, is broader and largely predates our period, see:

J. Henning, 'Did the 'Agricultural Revolution' go East with Carolingian Conquest? Some reflections on Early Medieval Rural Economics of the Baiuvarii and Thuringii', in *The Baiuvarii and Thuringii*, 331-59

Wolfgang Czyż's monograph on his excavations of the early-medieval mill at Dasing is now available from the Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege with contributions by several experts and a short note by me (378-81) on the mill's proprietors:

*Römische und frühmittelalterliche Wassermühlen im Paartal bei Dasing. Studien zur Landwirtschaft des 1. Jahrtausends*, Materialhefte zur bayerischen Archäologie 103 (Kallmünz, 2016)

On Bavarian mills and milling more generally, see my:

'A Suitable Place for Putting up a Mill': Water Power Landscapes and Structures in Carolingian Bavaria', *VSWG* 95, 2008, 319-34

Part 2/1: A variety of secular motivations and ‘strategies’ for alienating land to churches are discussed clearly in:

- A. S. McKinley, ‘Strategies of Alienating Land to the Church in Eighth-Century Alsace’ in *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, ed. J. Jarrett and A. S. McKinley, International Medieval Research 19 (Turnhout, 2013), 33-56

Part 2/5: For the discussion of Pilgrim’s family, see also:

- T. Kohl, ‘Groß- und Kleinfamilien in Bayern im 9. Und 10. Jahrhundert’, in *Verwandschaft, Name und soziale Ordnung (300-1000)*, ed. S. Patzold and K. Ubl, Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Beiheft 90 (Berlin, 2014), 161-75

The earliest references to Bavarian episcopal ‘advocati’ is collected in the older essay by Ernst Klebel who was, however, primarily concerned with later developments:

- ‘Eigenklosterrechte und Vogteien in Baiern und Deutschösterreich’, reprinted in his *Probleme der Bayerischen Verfassungsgeschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte 57 (Munich, 1957), 257-91





## Part 4. Translations: Sources for Huosiland

### A. Miscellaneous Documents

MGH: Monumenta Germaniae Historica; all MGH editions cited are available through the website, [www.mgh.de](http://www.mgh.de), under the tab dMGH

LB: *Lex Baiuvariorum*, ed. E. von Schwind, MGH, Legum Sectio I (Leges Nationum Germanicarum), vol. 5, Part 2 (Hannover, 1926); English translation: *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians*, transl. T. Rivers (Philadelphia, 1977), pp.109-80. Cited by Title and Paragraph.

LB 1/1: In Order that if any Free Bavarian or any other Wishes to Give His Allod or any other Property to the Church, Let Him have Free Power

In order that if any free person may wish and give his properties to the Church for the redemption of his soul, let him have permission from his own portion after he has divided with his sons. No one may prohibit him, neither the king nor the duke nor any person may have power of prohibiting him. And what he may give, vills, land, slaves or any property, all of it whatsoever he may give for the redemption of his soul, let he himself confirm it through a written deed by his own hand, and let him summon witnesses, six or more, and let them place their hands upon the deed, and let their names be noted there, whomever he may ask. And then let him place that deed upon the altar, and thus let him convey that same property in the presence of the priest who serves there. And after this let him have no power thence, neither he nor his descendants except as the defender of that church may wish to offer as a benefice; rather let the goods of the church be defended by the bishop, whatever may be given by Christians to the Church of God.

LB 1/13: Concerning colons and slaves of the Church, what services they should perform and what dues they should render:

This is the field-tax according to the estimate of the bailiff. The bailiff shall conduct a survey, and each shall render according to what he has: from 30 bushels he shall render three. And he shall discharge the pasture-tax according to the custom of the country. He shall plow, sow and enclose a plot of one statute acre, that is, 4 perches in width and 40 in length, each perch having 10 feet, and gather it up, and bring it in, and store it. He shall enclose one arpent of meadow, mow it, gather it, and bring it in. From the springtime sowing each tenant shall sort out two bushels of seed-corn, plant, harvest and store it. They shall plant vines, and enclose, ditch, graft, prune and pick them. They shall render a bundle of flax, ten pots of honey, four chickens and 15 eggs. Let them supply post-horses or journey themselves wherever they are bidden. They shall perform carriage services with carts up to a distance of 50 leagues; they shall not be driven further. In order to maintain manor houses and to keep hay-ricks, granaries and field-boundaries in repair, they shall undertake to do a specified share of the work, and, if necessary, to provide for the whole thing. Fifty men shall supply firewood and limestone for the kiln if it lies nearby; where it is far away, 100 men ought to be summoned. And they shall transport the finished mortar to the episcopal seat or to the estate where it is needed.

Slaves of the church, on the other hand, shall render dues according to their possessions. Moreover, they shall perform their labor-services three days a week on the demesne, but for three each shall work for himself. If, indeed, their master gave them oxen or other goods which they have, each should render as much service as can be imposed according to his resources. But you shall not wrongfully oppress anyone.



LB 2/14-15: Courts should be held on the first day of the month, or even fortnightly if necessary, to inquire into offences so that there may be peace in the country. And all freemen shall assemble on the appointed days wherever the judge shall ordain. And no one who dwells within the jurisdiction of the sheriff shall dare refuse to come to the court; whether a vassal of the king or the duke, all shall come to the court, and anyone who neglects to come shall be fined 15 shillings. Moreover, the sheriff should have with him a justice who is authorized to render judgment there and also a law-book, so that they may always render a right judgment. With regard to any offence which requires compensation, let him who offended against the law pay compensation as the law requires, and let him hand over a pledge to the sheriff as 'peace-money' as the law provides. The judge also should receive his share from any case that he judges ... From every amount paid in compensation he should always receive the third part so long as he judges rightly.

MGH, Cap: MGH, *Capitularia Regum Francorum, Legum Sectio II*, vol. 1, ed. A. Boretius (Hannover, 1883); vol. 2, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause (Hannover, 1890/7). Cited by document.

MGH, Cap 128: Estate Survey from Staffelsee (ca 810)

1. [MS defective]...when he does not participate in military expeditions he shall provide instead one top-quality whether for each of the first two years and in the third year four measures of feed.
2. Item, with regard to the same. On the island which is called Staffelsee we found a church built to the honor of St Michael in which we discovered: one altar worked with gold and silver; five gilded reliquaries decorated with glass and crystal jewels; one copper reliquary, gilded in places; one tiny gilded reliquary cross covered with silver overleaf; another small reliquary cross made out of gold and glass; another larger cross worked with gold and silver and with glass jewels. One silver chandelier, gilded in places, hangs above the same altar; it weighs two pounds and from its middle hangs one little gilded copper cross and one crystal ball; and 35 rows of pearls of various colors hang on the same chandelier in a circle. There are three shillings in minted silver money there. Four overlaid gold coins weighing 17 pence are kept there. There are two silver chalices of which one, gilded and embossed on its outer surface, together with its paten weighs 30 shillings; the other, also gilded and embossed on its outer surface, together with its paten weighs 15 shillings. One silver altar vessel weighing six shillings. One silver reliquary casket with a lid for holding incense weighing altogether six shillings. Another silver reliquary casket weighing five shillings.
3. We found there one silver censer, gilded in places, weighing 30 shillings; also one other old copper censer; one copper two-handled jug; another two-handled tin jug; one copper pitcher with a wash-basin; one big, glass jar; two little two-handled glass flasks filled with balsam. Two good bells hang on the top of the same church, having on their ropes two gilded copper rings.
4. We found there two chestnut-colored chasubles, one made of wool and dyed; one dalmatic; one silken garment; seven albs; four amices; 13 linen maniples worked with silk for making offerings at the altar; eight cloths for covering the altars; two cloths made of wool and dyed for covering the altar; two dyed linen altar-cloths; 20 small cloths worked with silk for adorning the altars; four silken sleeves worked with gold and pearls, and four other silken ones; four corporals; two stoles; one feather cushion embroidered with silk.
5. With regard to books: the book of the Heptateuch [sic] of Moses together with the book of Joshua and the book of Judges and Ruth and the four books of Kings and the two books of Chronicles, all in one volume; the book of the Psalms of David and the book of the Proverbs of Solomon and the book of Ecclesiastes and the book of the Song of Songs and the book of the Wisdom of Solomon and the book of Jesus, son of Sirach, and the book of Job and the book of Tobit and the book of Judith and the book of Esther and the two books of Maccabees, all in one

- volume; twelve books of the Prophets and two books of Esdras, all in one volume; the book of the Acts of the Apostles and a book of Paul's Epistles and seven books of other canonical Epistles and the book of Revelations, all in one volume; a Lectionary having covers worked with gilded copper overleaf; one book of homilies by diverse authors; one book of 40 homilies by St Gregory; three Sacramentaries; two Lectionaries; one book of excerpts from canon law; one book of commentary on the Psalms lacking an author; one old book of the four Gospels; two books of antiphones; one book of Jerome's commentary on Matthew; one book of the Rule of St Benedict.
6. There are two full-sized glass basins there; three bars of lead and one lump of it; and 170 reed-pens; one folding chair for sitting.
  7. Item, whence as above. In the same place we found a manor with both a manor house and other buildings pertaining to the support of the aforementioned church. There are 740 day-works of arable land pertaining to the demesne of the same manor and also meadows from which 610 cartloads of hay can be gathered. We found no grain there except 30 cartloads which we distributed to the prebendary slaves who are now provided with provisions up to the Feast of St John [the Baptist, 24 June], and they are 72 in number. Twelve measures of malt; one trained horse; 26 oxen; 20 milch-cows; one bull; 61 heifers; five calves; 87 sheep; 14 lambs; 17 billy-goats; 58 she-goats; 12 kids; 40 pigs; 50 piglets; 63 geese; 50 chickens; 17 beehives. In the larder: 20 sides of bacon together with the offal; 27 chunks of lard; a boar, slaughtered and hung; 40 cheeses; half a pot of honey; two pots of butter; five bushels of salt; three pots of soap. A featherbed with five pillows; three brass cauldrons; also six iron ones; five pot-hooks; one iron lamp; 17 barrels bound with iron; 10 scythes; 17 sickles; seven adzes; seven axes. Ten goat-skins; 26 sheep-skins; one fish-trap. There is a women's workshop at that place in which there are 24 women and in which we found five woolen tunics along with four pair of leggings and five shirts. There is one mill there, and it renders twelve bushels each year.
  - 8a. There are 23 occupied free manses pertaining to that same manor, of which there are six which each renders every year 14 bushels of grain and also four suckling-pigs, flax for spinning to the weight of one saiga, two chickens, ten eggs, one sester of flax seed, one sester of lentils; each performs labor services for five weeks each year; plows three day-works of demesne arable; mows one cartload of hay from the demesne meadows and brings it in; and performs carriage service. Moreover, of the rest, another six each plows two day-works of demesne arable every year; sows them and gathers in the harvest; mows three cartloads of hay from the demesne meadows and brings them in; performs other labor services for two weeks every year; and every two of them provide jointly one ox for military expeditions when they themselves do not participate in the campaign; each does messenger service by horse wherever he is bidden. There are five of these free manses which jointly provide two oxen every year for military expeditions, and each does messenger service wherever he is bidden. And there are four of these free manses, each of which plows nine day-works of demesne arable each year, sows them and gathers in the harvest; mows three cartloads of hay from the demesne meadows and brings them in; performs labor services six weeks in the year; performs carriage service to fetch the wine; manures one day-work of the demesne land, and provides ten cartloads of wood. And there is one of these free manses which plows nine day-works each year, sows them, and gathers in the harvest; mows three cartloads of hay from the demesne meadow and brings them in; does carriage service; provides a horse for messenger service; and performs labor services for five weeks in the year.
  - 8b. Moreover, there are nineteen occupied servile manses of which each renders every year one suckling-pig; five chickens; ten eggs; raises four of the young pigs from the demesne; plows half a plowland of demesne arable; provides labor services three days a week; does carriage service and provides a horse for messenger service. In addition, the wife on each makes one shirt and one woolen tunic yearly, prepares malt and cooks horsebread.



9. There remain seven manors in the same diocese which are not surveyed separately here, but they are included in the sum total. The Diocese of Augsburg has a total of 1,006 free manses which are occupied and 35 empty ones; 421 occupied servile manses and 45 empty ones. Therefore, between the free and servile manses altogether there are 1,427 occupied and 80 empty ones. The End.

DLD: MGH, *Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger*, vol. 1: Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen 829-858, ed. P. Kehr (Berlin, 1932). Cited by document number.

DLD 35: Ludwig the German, Charter Nr 35, 4 April 844

In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. Ludwig, by the favor of Divine Grace, King. Be it known to all the faithful servants of God's holy church and our own, both present and future, that we together with Baturich the Venerable Bishop and our High Chaplain have recently completed an exchange of certain properties and slaves to the advantage of both parties. Indeed, the properties which we have conveyed to Baturich the incumbent Bishop for the part of Christ's Martyr St Emmeram, where that same Pontiff is seen to be the Rector at the present time, are within the district of the Kelsgau in the vills called Sandelzhausen and Gundertshausen and Manching, whatever Engilmon and Isandeo held by our favor, that is one church and the tenements with dwellings and other buildings placed upon them; slaves of both sexes and various ages; arable lands, woodlands, fields, meadows, pastures, waters and watercourses, mills set thereon, ways leading both out and in, everything claimed and to be claimed, whatever the aforementioned men, viz. Engilmon and Isandeo, earlier held in the afore written vills by our favor and which is our property by right and possession, all of it complete we have conceded as the property of Christ's Martyr St Emmeram, and transferred it into the right and lordship of that monastery through the grant of our generosity. And, in return and in compensation for these things, the same Bishop Baturich has granted us on behalf of his monastery of St Emmeram, with the consent and approval of the monks abiding in the same monastery, for our own possession certain properties pertaining to that monastery which are within the district of the Huosi in the vill called Sulzemoos, whatever he is perceived to have there, that is one church and the tenements with dwellings and other buildings placed upon them; slaves of both sexes and various ages; arable lands, woodlands, fields, meadows, pastures, waters and watercourses, mills set thereon, ways leading both out and in, everything claimed and to be claimed, whatever the same Bishop Baturich is perceived to have in the same vill, all of it complete he conveyed and delegated into our right and lordship to be held lawfully in the future. Moreover, for complete validity and security, it pleased the zeal of our serenity to confirm in full the same acts of exchange through the precept of our clemency. On account of which we have commanded these our charters to be made, by which we discern and order that whatever we have conveyed to that said holy place might remain forever in its possession and that whatever the rulers and servants of the same monastery henceforth from this very day and time wish to order and dispose, that they may choose to do so freely in the Name of God, and those properties which the aforementioned Pontiff conveyed to us as we have said above, may remain in the future within our authority. And in order that this power of conveyance and our confirmation may be more truly believed and diligently observed for all time by all the faithful servants of God's holy church and our own, both present and the future, we have confirmed it below by our own hand and commanded the impression of our seal to be affixed thereto. [The Lord Ludwig, himself, the Most Serene King, ordered this to be done and Bishop Baturich was responsible for its execution.]

The signature of Ludwig the Most Glorious King.

I, Comeatus the notary, have reviewed and subscribed to it in place of Radleic.

Given on the 2nd nones of April, in the year by the Grace of Christ the 11th of the reign of the Most Glorious King Ludwig in Eastern Francia, in the 7th indiction; done at the city of Regensburg, in the Name of God, happily, Amen.



## Other Bavarian Cartularies

TM: *Das älteste Traditionsbuch des Klosters Mondsee*, ed. G. Rath and E. Reiter, *Forschungen zur Geschichte Oberösterreichs*, vol. 16 (Linz, 1989). Cited by document number.

TM 131: Mondsee Deed Nr 131, 811/2x17

In the Name of Christ. Let us, your unworthy servants who are in your monastery in the place called Mondsee, make written notice to you Our Lord Archbishop Hiltipald. There was one vill conveyed to your monastery – in which we are – and Duke Tassilo conveyed that same vill to the same monastery. This same vill has the name Farchant, and Abbot Oportunus and Abbot Hunric held that vill in full possession for more than 20 years, and Regino seized that same vill away from our monastery contrary to law. Many of noble condition in this country know this, and Bishop Hitto knows this case, and it is in his diocese, and there are many others who know the truth of this, and the same Hitto acted thus in a friendly manner for your case in every way that the law requires.

TP: *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Passau*, ed. M. Heuwieser, *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte*, New Series, vol. 6 (Munich, 1930; reprint: Aalen, 1988). Cited by document number.

TP 2: Passau Deed Nr 2, before 1 November 736/7

In the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Here begins the account in order that everyone might know at what date this church was built, for it was in the time of the Duke of the Bavarians whose names was Odilo, and the country was under his authority for one year before the church was consecrated. And the name of the bishop who poured out the oil was Vivilo who placed relics of the saints into the house of God, these by name: from the Holy Sepulcher, St Mary, St Peter, St Paul, St Andrew and St Lawrence. And he consecrated it in the name of St Mary and established its festival day on the calends of November [1 November]. Cotafrid and his wife, Kepahilt, built this church with their slaves, and offered for the health of their souls as much property as they were able in lands, of male and female slaves by name: Werdolf, Roodcaoz, Cundrih, Tagapert, Adalperht, Cundachar, Odaldrud. And he offered his own daughter, Cotalind, veiled under a black veil, that she might serve God and St Mary. Folchrat gave for his soul what he regarded as worthy to make propitiation for his sins: a male and a female slave, Waldker and Lantswind, together with all the property with the proceeds, with plow-lands and meadows, two horses and one ox, and Luitilo's message.

TR: *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Regensburg und des Klosters S. Emmeram*, ed. J. Widemann, *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte*, New Series, vol. 8 (Munich, 1943; reprint: Aalen, 1988). Cited by document number.

TR 49: Regensburg Deed Nr 49, 863x85

May the zeal of the multitude of the faithful, now and in the future, know through this account of my most humble scribe how the Reverend Priest of God completed a balanced exchange with a certain noble champion by the name of Chrefting. Accordingly, this robust and freeborn man conveyed to God's Martyr St Emmeram at a place called Kelheim 21 yokes of arable land and what would be judged by many as a nice enough piece of woodlands. There are twenty yokes of the same woodlands or more. In return, the Venerable Bishop of the diocese, Ambricho, together with his steward, Cundbert, gave to the same nobleman noted above from the possessions of St Emmeram the same number of yokes of arable land and an equivalent piece of woodlands in the place called Arnhofen. Thus they acted, each of them eager to acquire from the other the use and commodity of the aforesaid places. So that this agreement



might remain more valid and be better believed by posterity, it was agreed to produce two identical written deeds and to note down the names of the witnesses which are: [17 men].

TS: *Die Traditionen des Klosters Schäftlarn*, Part 1, ed. A. Weisstanner, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, New Series, vol.10/1 (Munich, 1953). Cited by document number.

TS 11: Schäftlarn Deed Nr 11, ca 785?

[a.] In the Name of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ. In the times of the Most Glorious Duke Tassilo, in the 38th year of his ducal reign, the 2nd indiction, I Baganza conveyed and confirmed with the consent and permission of the aforesaid ruler all that I had in the place called Percha, dwellings, male and female slaves, and tribute-payers, fields, meadows, pastures and woodlands and water courses, movables and immovables, cultivated and uncultivated, all of it completely I conveyed to the church of the Blessed Valentine, and that same church and all things which pertain to it I conveyed to the monastery of St Denis which is built near the river which is called the Isar, so that it might be valid and firm there forever. These are the witnesses: Meginhart, Albune, Amo, Amalpreht, Irminfrid, Reicho, Atto, Cundhart, Albrich, Reginhart, Einhart.

[b.] In the Name of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ. In the times of the Most Glorious Duke Tassilo, in the 38th year of his ducal reign, the 2nd indiction, I Baganza conveyed and confirmed with the consent and permission of the aforesaid ruler, all things which I had in the place called Percha, dwellings, male and female slaves, tribute-payers, fields, meadows, pastures, and all the woodlands great a small from the spring at my meadow up to the boundaries of the vill of Schäftlarn, and watercourses, movables and immovables, cultivated and uncultivated, all of it completely I conveyed, as having been encompassed all around by circuit, to the church of St Valentine, and the same church and all things which pertain to it, to the monastery of St Denis and St Juliana, which is built near the river Isar, so that it be valid and firm there forever. These are the witnesses: Meginhart, Albune, Amo, Amelpreht, Irminfrid, Reicho, Atto, Sundthart, Albrich, Reginhart, Einhart.

TS 19: Schäftlarn Deed Nr 19, 3 December 806x13

For the holy monastery of St Denis which is built upon the river which is called the Isar, where Bishop Petto is seen to preside, I Eliwart the deacon, having pondered in the first place for the fear of God and in order to reduce my sins, conveyed for an eternal recompense to the church of St Denis all things which I had at Puchschlag, dwellings, fields, meadows, pastures and woodlands, and watercourses, moveables and immoveables, cultivated and uncultivated, all of it completely so that it might be valid and firm there. These are the witnesses: Pippi sheriff, Cundhart sheriff, Amalrich, Erchnolf, Kagenhart, Othram. Done on the 3rd nones of December.

## B. Freising Deeds

TF: *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, Parts 1 and 2, ed. T. Bitterauf, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, New Series, vol. 4/1,2 (Munich, 1905, 1909; reprint: Aalen, 1967), cited by document number. This two-part volume can be accessed on-line through the Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum (MDZ) website: [www.digitale-sammlungen.de](http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de) (search: Bitterauf, Freising)

All Freising Deeds can also be viewed in manuscript at the Bavarian State Library's website: [www.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de/schwerpunkte#Handschriften](http://www.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de/schwerpunkte#Handschriften). There, under 'Freisinger Handschriften', the three relevant volumes are: Cozroh-Codex (undesigned below); Codex Commutationum ('B' below); Traditionscodex des Conrad Sacrista ('Conrad' below). The initial folio number in the respective volume is indicated here for each translated deed.

## Cozroh's Prologue to the Freising Cartulary (2v)

When by Divine Providence with the Lord's Favor Bishop Hitto was approved by Divine Dispensation to be honorably advanced to the bishop's throne of the see of Freising, he did not desist from better restoring all the instruments of Divine Scriptures of the New and the Old Testament, and whatever of sacred volumes appeared to be lacking, plucking blooms from wide fields, by sweaty labor, as one avidly thirsting for the fountain of eternal life, he zealously sought to be gathered with every effort of instruction, so that he might revive with splendid feasts all the Christian people pertaining to him by contemplating the example of the sanctity of his own life, just as by the sweet honey flowing from the stream of the fountain of holy scriptures he might satisfy them with the clearest and healthiest drafts of instruction. Likewise, by liturgical music and by the observances of all divine examples, by the vigor of his instruction he filled that same cathedral church of St Mary at which he was discerned to preside as with a wondrously sweet smell, and by the wonderful work of adornment of precious metals and by the embellishments of building works in every wise he honorably adorned it. Moreover, at length he also with nourishing mind undertook that forever might endure the memory of those who enriched and endowed this cathedral church with their goods or whatever they conveyed and granted to the same cathedral church for the remedy of their souls. For it was ascertained with certainty that the written evidences and confirmations which previously by the devotion of the faithful had been enacted validly, some had been conveyed into oblivion, some laid waste by the devices of the envious or even lost by removal, likewise ruined by the negligence of the custodians, and he saw on this account great error and labor to arise, and as is the case of human weakness, because in many ways the Church of Christ is attacked, not only by aliens but also by false brothers. For there are many who strive to bear away that which they knew with full publicity by right of authority to pertain to it [?], which he himself often reflected upon and had ascertained to be true by many labors. Therefore, in order to avoid diverse labors and to stop the mouths of falsifiers, he was eager to include correctly in a single volume whatever he found set down in separate deeds and confirmed by witnesses, both from the times of the fathers his predecessors as also of his own renowned regime, so that thereby they might more easily display themselves to the contemplations of readers, also in that they are ordered more rationally. He sought out whom he might entrust this not vile but rather laudable work, and he found nevertheless his own most vile little servant, but also his most loyal, Cozroh by name, whom he moreover had educated by his sacred teachings and promoted to the dignity of priest. Imposing upon him the weight of such a labor, carefully and with all circumspection to execute this work, instructing him firmly in this manner: neither to omit nor to add anything unless something were ascertained to be corrupted by fault of the scribe. And he himself, aware of his inexperience, resisting somewhat timidly, but desiring to obey such nourishing precepts, as also to avoid the burden of such anxiety, with the help of God, he commenced this work.

TF 1, 12 September 743x44 (12v)

## The Conveyance of Moatbert from Zolling

Our Lord and the Redeemer of All, Jesus Christ, intones with loud voice through the gospels saying: 'Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven where neither rust nor moth corrupt nor thieves break in and steal.' Therefore, I, Moatbert, together with my wife Totana by name, trying as far as I was able to follow this example, conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin in the place Freising where Ermbert is known to preside as bishop and priest, whatever my father Petto left me as an inheritance in the place called Zolling and whatever is seen lawfully to pertain to me, completely I convey and discharge it to the already said cathedral into the hands of Bishop Ermbert in the presence of all the household of St Mary, that is: dwellings, messuages, together with fields, meadows, pastures,



woodlands, waters and watercourses, slaves, draft animals, herds, and every utensil. Indeed, by valid conveyance, on such condition that after my death and that of my wife, my inheritance might be the inheritance of the saints for me and my heirs forever, so that if any of my heirs or any other come in opposition against this donation and try to break it, first, may he incur the wrath of God and of all the saints, and abide outside the multitude of the angels, and be damned by an unbreakable chain, and what he attempted to gain may not be, and he be liable to the earthly judge for 500 shillings in gold, and whatever he bore away, he restore it four fold, that this donation endure valid and firm by the subjoined stipulation. Done in the borough of Freising, in the month of September, on the 12th day, in the 8th year of the Most Glorious Duke Odilo. The sign of Moatbert who requested this donation to be made, and his wife, Totana, likewise with him consenting and validating. The sign of Quartini the priest; the sign of Felix the priest; the sign of Anulo the justiciar; the sign of Regino the justiciar, also the individual signs of Cuno, Sindo, Maurinus, Hroado, Hroadunc, Wurmhart, Reginolf, Reginpald, Cundpald, Cympho, Chimmī, Birtilo, Ato. I, Benignus, unworthy priest, wrote this and subscribed, with Duke Odilo confirming.

TF 2, 12 February 747x8 (19v)

#### The Conveyance of Amilo from Wolfertshausen

While pondering and considering in God's name concerning my soul and the future life so that from a pious Lord I might be worthy to receive a portion of forgiveness, thus I Amilo, a sinner, convey and discharge my own property which my father Wolfperht left to me as an inheritance in the place which is called Wolfertshausen to the church of St Mary Ever Virgin which is situated in the public place called Freising and into the hands of Bishop Joseph in the presence of Duke Odilo, so that by Christ's favor he might have power to preserve and to dispose over it not to its damage but rather to its improvement. If I myself or anyone of my heirs or any sort of opponent or stranger should attempt to oppose this donation or to break it, in the first place may he incur the wrath of God and be seen as excommunicate from and a stranger to all the places of the saints, and in addition be made to pay by fiscal distraint 3 pounds of gold and 5 pounds of silver, and what he seeks to claim shall not prevail, but rather this present donation shall endure valid and fixed by subjoined stipulation. This was done on the 12th day of the month of February in the place called [Amper-]Moching in the 12th year of Duke Odilo. And after this I Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, have confirmed this deed by my own hand. The sign of Amilo who requested this deed to be made, also the individual signs of Rathari, Wattini, Liutprand, Hrodeo, Fridaperht, Reginheri, Hroadolt, Fridrih, Arbeo, Chundhari, Cozrat, Goatfrid. I Benignus unworthy priest wrote and subscribed it by request and entreaty.

TF 5, 3 July 750 (9r)

#### The Conveyance of Duke Tassilo from Erching and of Other Faithful Men Whose Names are Alfrid, Anulo, Wettī, Wurmhart

I, Joseph, in God's Name bishop, shepherd and ruler of the Lord's flock of the Blessed Mother of God, Mary, and of the other saints abiding in the borough called Freising, since the arable lands opposite the same place joined together with the ducal pasture did not suffice, sought out a place which is called Erching from its proprietors, and there, out of necessity, I put up some buildings, since previously it had been untilled and waste for a long time. Moreover, all the possessors of this place grant and convey it with manifest authority for the salvation of their souls: first, the Most Glorious Duke of the Bavarians Tassilo conveys whatever pertains to the Ferings, with Alfrid and his brothers and their co-proprietors and shareholders likewise consenting. However, concerning the remaining shares, whatever pertained to the *genealogia* which is called the Fagana, they themselves conveyed it; they are: Ragino, Anulo, Wettī,

Wurmhart and all their co-proprietors, granting and discharging the donation according to the legal practice of the Bavarians, so that the lands of both *genealogiae* in that place, Erching, might remain and abide forever, validly and without injury, to the authority of the aforesaid Blessed Mother of God, Mary, to the end that there may be no claim by the heirs or descendants of those who joined themselves to the donation. If anyone should try to diminish this deed of gift, he shall be answerable to the aforesaid Mother of God, Mary. And, thus, this deed of gift was confirmed in the presence of the Most Illustrious Lord Our Duke Tassilo with his justiciars consenting together with him whose names are here retained in writing who certified it through the sign of their hands. Sign of the hand of Duke Tassilo, sign of the hand of Ragino who was present as witness, also the individual signs of other witnesses present: Oadalhart, Aliwic, Tato, Chuniperht, Puni, Hrodhard the justiciar, Petto, Odalfret, Reginpert, Einhard. Done on the estate which is called Ding, with Our Most Illustrious Lord Duke Tassilo ruling in the 3rd year of his reign, on the 3rd day of the 7th month. And I, Tassilo, Duke of the Bavarians, have confirmed this charter. I, Atto, unworthy priest, have written it up by command [of the bishop].

TF 12, 15 March 758x63 (16v)

#### The Conveyance of David from Mammendorf

He is well possessed of properties who, storing up for himself from earthly goods in this fleeting life for heavenly realms and eternal joys, may be invited to the heavenly banquets and deserve to enter into the heavenly and eternal feasts to possess them with joy. On account of this hope, I David, pondering in the Name of God on the redemption of my soul and on the future life, following this example as far as I was able conveyed to the church in place called Buch of St Michael and St Andrew the Apostle and St John the Baptist and of all the saints whose relics repose there in honor two shares of my inheritance in the place Mammendorf both in slaves as in fields, meadows, woodlands and whatever is seen to pertain lawfully to me there. Those two shares, as we said above, I convey and discharge completely to the already said church into the hands of Bishop Joseph by his assurances, commending myself to his most holy prayers, and he received me faithfully into his holy and venerable hands and allowed everything to be as I requested. And I granted him power from this day to hold with authority in all things, possessing lordship, selling, granting and exchanging or whatever else he may wish to do with it. And if any of my heirs, either my brothers, which I do not believe, or any other person come forth in opposition to this donation and attempt to break it, first may he incur the wrath of Almighty God and remain excommunicate from all the saints, and this donation shall none the less endure as valid, and he shall be anathema from all communion with Christians, and that which he sought to claim shall not prevail, and for this he shall be made to pay into the fisc 1 pound of gold and 5 of silver. This was done in the country of Bavaria in the presence of Duke Tassilo himself confirming on the ides of March. First, the sign of David who requested this donation to be made, the sign of Irminfrid his brother, also the individual signs of Keparoh, Chuanrat, Hailrih, Hiltimunt, Liutolf, Eparachar, Hroadachar, Oato, Isanhart, Madalger, Tutilo, Alto the hermit, Tuto the priest, Haito the priest, Haliho the priest, Reginperht the priest. I Reginperht was requested to write this. I have not written this as I wished but as I was able with Pippin reigning as king and Tassilo as duke.

TF 18, 762x4 (57r)

#### The Grant of Erchanpald from Percha

In the Name of Our God and Savior. the Lord Jesus Christ. I Erchanpald pondering how to possess eternal blessedness and to escape infernal judgment and considering how those despising God fall into eternal punishment and those adhering to Christ obtain eternal life, on that account I have established that from my rights in property which my father left me as inheritance I made conveyance at the town



of Freising in the places named Percha and Mintraching to the church of the Blessed Mother of God, Mary Ever Virgin. Truly, indeed, from Percha the dwelling with all of the buildings enclosed by fence within the courtyard and three families with their colon holdings and with all things whatever they have whose names are: Nordperht and five others by name, Lantfrid and his wife, Otrih and his mother and Alarih his brother; in the village Mintraching two families with all of their possessions whose names are: Pirhtilo and his wife, Hroadheri together with his wife, and all the land within our power and allodial possession, with meadows, pastures, woodlands which are seen legally to pertain to me. It has been given after my death to the church of St Mary, the episcopal church, as is above said, I wish it to be granted perpetually for me as for my father Reginpald and my mother Cotafrita and for Oadalker so that my inheritance might be that of the saints.

TF 19, 29 June 763 (133r)

#### How Reginperht Established the Church in Scharnitz

In the name of God. I, Reginperht, thinking and reflecting on my soul and, the future life so that I might be worthy to receive a measure of forgiveness from the pious Lord, together with my brother, Irminfrid, equally approving as well as our mother, Akilind, and our kinsmen, Otilo and Cros, with the intention of erecting a monastery there in the wilderness of Scharnitz where I had built a church in honor of the Blessed Prince of the Apostles, Peter, I transferred my own inheritance and substance by my own hand and that of the Venerable Bishop, Joseph, with the consent of the Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo and of his magnates and of our neighbors in the manner as is subjoined below. First, in the district of 'Inter Valles', my share of the estate in the vills called Polling and Flaurling as well as my share of the estate in the town of Imst; likewise, beyond the mountains, my share of the estate in the vill called Schlehdorf and in Hofheim and in the vill which is called Sindelsdorf; likewise, also at Giesing our whole territory; and, in addition, I conveyed the fruits of jurisdiction in the vills called Pasing and Gräfelting and our share of the estate in the district of Rottachgau in the vill which is called Kurtham on the river Pfriem which is by custom called a vill; and otherwise a wilderness district which we call the Wallgau with the attached lake and the fishery on the river Isar which is seen to pertain to that place. All the aforesaid vills together with whatever had fallen to our share of the estate within their bounds: freemen as well as colons and slaves, dwellings, messuages, draft-animals, livestock, mountain pastures, waters and their courses, mills, meadows, pastures, assarts and all wastelands with their appurtenances and rights to keep bees and gather wood and whatever else I plainly possessed under authority by law, all of it I have conveyed and transferred to the aforesaid monastery to the relics of the Blessed Prince of the Apostles Peter for the common possession of the brothers who may be seen to abide there. And a payment shall be from the same monastery to Saint Mary, to the presiding bishop of the relevant diocese, that is, Freising, viz. two leggings, to ensure the stability of the Rule imposed from the Fathers, so that the episcopal authority may not be lacking to provide an abbot with the consent of the brothers dwelling there. Likewise also, Akilind, our mother, conveyed her share of the estate in the aforesaid vills to the same monastery. In the same manner also Irminfrid conveyed his share of the estate, and, if children should be born to him, they shall each receive their share of the estate as much as pertains to them. However, my share of the estate should remain valid and firm, and, if there be no children, my whole inheritance shall be confirmed to the aforesaid monastery after my death, and this by consent of the Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo. Also, Otilo, by like decision, with the assent of the aforesaid Duke, conveyed his entire inheritance if he begets no sons or daughters. However, if children are born, they shall receive their shares of the estate. And, regarding that share which pertains to me from the aforesaid Otilo, the donation to the aforesaid monastery at Scharnitz shall remain valid and firm. Cros, indeed, goaded by the warning of God and having been dealt an incurable wound by Sheriff Keparoh in a place called Bachern, conveyed both himself and his entire fortune to the aforesaid monastery with the consent of our supreme ruler, Tassilo, and there he received the tonsure from Argeo



the archpriest. If anyone, either from amongst the kin or others, tries to oppose this, let him settle accounts with God and Peter the Apostle. Done in the wilderness of Scharnitz on the 3rd calends of July, in the 16th year of the reign of the Illustrious Duke Tassilo, in the presence of Bishop Joseph, the author of the transaction, and of Arbeo the archpriest to whom we have eagerly commended the rule of that church together with the endowment to be conveyed to it. These are the witnesses: Bishop Joseph and Arbeo the archpriest, Riholf priest, Albinus priest, Hato priest, Erchanfrid, Irminfrid the conveyor, Otilo the conveyor, Kermunt, Lantpald, David, Adalperht, Situli, Liutolt, Leidrat, Chuniperht, Reginpald, Cundpald and others without number. I, Arbeo, at the request and injunction of Bishop Joseph, have certified this donation and subscribed to it as a witness.

TF 22, 10 July 754x64 (Conrad 15r)

#### The Conveyance of Percha

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. I Reginolt and my brother Egeno, for the remedy of our souls and our kin, that is for father and mother and grandparents and for all who are from our close kinship and who have believed in Christ, we have conveyed and discharged from our paternal or whatever other inheritance wholly and completely to the church of St Michael in the place which is called Percha, all these things we have given and discharged to that same place with the permission and encouragement of our kin, with they themselves present and bearing witness completely who were present, according to what we have learned from churchmen in order that this donation might endure valid and firm. And, if any of my heirs or close kin or other opponent, attempts to oppose or to break this donation, first let him incur the wrath of God and also of whomever might be the judge at that time, and let him pay 12 ounces of gold, and in the sight of God and of all the saints and of the 318 fathers let him render account; who in any manner attempts to break this donation, if he does not make amends, let him be damned and anathema from the whole holy church of God. [The names of the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances.] This deed was made in the time of that Most Excellent Man King Pippin and of Duke Tassilo, in the 7th month [year?], on the 10th day of the 7th month. And I Reginolt and my brother Egeno beseech permission of all the servants of God so long as our life remains, if we make reversion, that this property which we have conveyed for ourselves might continue to serve us also at the place where we serve and have our consolation, and also our mother in the same manner with that property, so long as she may live, she might live on it and serve the same saints as is written above.

TF 23, 7 May 765 (23r)

#### The Conveyance of Poapo from Weichs and at Holzen

Because it behooves everyone who is seen to be free to make provision in this world to keep in mind the sacraments and to fear the last day, lest unforeseen death, as holds the chance of the human fragility, might find us unprepared, and as a thief seizes and conveys us into the snares of eternal death, from transitory possessions which the faithfulness of the Lord and human profit may have acquired, he ought to acquire a patron who on his account on the day of the great judgment might intercede with the Lord so that he might receive from Him the fullest possible reward of the forgiveness. For that reason I, in God's name, Poapo, a noble man, have assembled a multitude of my kinsmen, noblemen, and regarding a certain doubt on the part of my sons, I have taken counsel with them just as they gave me their counsel by their faith, that I should convey my inheritance to the cathedral church of St Mary. Meanwhile, it happened that a public synod was summoned, and another plea session was to be held at Freising. And I Poapo coming there arrived with my kinsmen and retainers to the already said cathedral church of St Mary, and I announced our counsel to Bishop Arbeo. And that shepherd as a healer of souls consoled us and joyfully accepted this counsel, and promised to establish our memory forever in that same cathedral

church of God. Whence I once again undertook, for the remedy of my soul and for the washing away of my sins, so that a pious Lord might deign to grant me some measure of eternal forgiveness, that in the presence of all the clergy with my kinsmen confirming, validly and without doubt I have conveyed and established my inheritance in the places called at Weichs and at Holzen to the cathedral church of St Mary and of all the saints whose relics are seen to be venerated there, so that it might endure there to that holy place validly forever. That is, in the already said places, whatever is seen to be of inherited property, all of it completely I have conveyed and confirmed by witnesses to the above said cathedral church, that it might endure there forever on this condition: that as long as we live, I and my sons, we ought to hold and use that property completely, so that no one on account of a certain dispute of my sons, if it should happen, might be able to alienate that same inheritance of mine from the cathedral church of St Mary, but, rather, that this my conveyance might endure valid and stable forever. After our death, indeed, the ruler who at that time is seen to be charged with the governance in that same monastery of St Mary, shall cause it to be recalled into his lordship, with all property added or improved and free of any encumbrance or objection. And if anyone in the future, which I scarcely believe, whether I myself or any of my heirs or any person coming forth, opposes this deed of conveyance which I myself have requested to be made and validated by my own will, or otherwise attempts to resist, in first place may he incur the wrath of Almighty God on that account, and suit be brought against him so that he be made to pay 50 shillings, and his petition remain empty and at naught, but, rather, the deed might gain for all time yet more valid strength. I have confirmed below by my own hand and I have designated it to be strengthened by good men whose names are these: first Bishop Arbeo with all of the household of St Mary in the public synod, that is Arn deacon, Orilan deacon, Ratolt deacon, Liutfrid clerk, Heimilo clerk, Hununc clerk, Selprat sheriff, Alprat sheriff, Mezzi sheriff, Waldker, Hringrim, Alphart, Egilolf, Perhtolf, Chuno, Angilperht, Pern, Arbeo, Hartrih. These things were done at Freising in the 16th year of King Pippin, in the 765th year since the Incarnation of the Lord, in the 4th indiction, on the consular day which is the nones of May. And I Pern the clerk wrote it up at the dictation of Arbeo.

TF 24, 5 November 765/1 October 767 (66r)

#### The Conveyance of Hrodheri from Schwindach and Pullach

[a.] In the Name of the Highest and Only-Begotten Son of God. I Hrodheri have granted and discharged to the church of the Blessed and Inviolable Virgin Mary situated within the walls of the borough of Freising my own property which my father Sicco left me as an inheritance in the places called Schwindach and another which is called Pullach for the remedy of my soul and of my afore noted father and my wife Waltnia together with our only son Heribald: dwellings, messuages, slaves, fields, woodland pastures, woodlands and watercourses, mills, meadows, dependencies and whatever I am seen to possess in utensils whether from patrimony or by acquisition, so that after my death and that of my afore noted wife and of the here enrolled son, it might be under the authority of the same Mother of God, together with the oratories which I myself built and the colon holdings; after my death I have established all things for the patrimony of St Mary and of Christ's Confessor Corbinian. However, if by the gift of divine grace my son should attain to a higher order, and he should maintain himself in an ecclesiastical manner as is suitable for a pastor, then throughout his days he shall possess all things albeit under the episcopal authority of him to him these things are accounted. If, indeed, he does not serve his order in a normal manner, nevertheless he shall possess his own portion, and the other things shall remain under episcopal jurisdiction, and after his death we confirm this conveyance to endure forever. But, if I or any one of my heirs or any other opponent attempt to go against this grant, let him receive judgment by that same Mother of God and by the patronal authority of those saints who are worshipped and named and adored there, and this deed of conveyance shall nevertheless retain its validity. Done in the vill which is called Pullach in the 18th year of the reign of the Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo, on the consular day which is the nones of November. And these are the witnesses and their names who were tugged by

the ears: Alpolt, Ratolt, Heimilo priests, Arn, Rihpald deacons, and Hulzilo monk, Heimperht, Wurmheri, Aeio, Heilrat, Hramperht lay witnesses. And I Bishop Arbeo am myself a witness, from whose mouth I Sunderheri wrote up this deed of confirmation.

[b.] We have set forth a written notice that I, Arbeo, bishop by the gift of divine generosity whom divine grace established to preside over the cathedral church of St Mary, have acquired from a certain monk by the name of Egino, his own property and that of his brother Reginolt which Reginolt their father left them as an inheritance, by the consent of the Lord and Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo, in the places which are called Ilm and Percha together with the same basilica which is seen to be founded there together with that very altar to which they earlier made conveyance. I gave to him as he himself specified 200 shillings more or less from the goods of St Mary. And these are the witnesses: Selprat, Hato, Chuno, Sullo Popo, all of them tugged by the ears, and others indeed from amongst ours without number.

TF 26, 765x76 (34r)

#### The Conveyance of Waltheri and his Wife from Ambach

In the Name of Christ. I Waltheri and my wife Hiltini with the permission of Tassilo have conveyed our inheritance which pertains to us for the love of God and for the redemption of our souls to the church of St Andreas for Hukperht's minster, so that our conveyance might endure valid and firm there, those are three male slaves, Ratmunt, Wismunt, Muno together with their wives and children and with the beasts and the land around Ambach, both shares. And we have certified it by witnesses: Cozzolt priest as witness, Chuniheri priest as witness, Wital priest as witness, Fridheri witness, Fridurih witness, Hucco witness, Deotmar witness, Huni witness, Frehholf witness, Anno witness, Adalpald, witness, Hiltiperht witness, Hagustalt witness, Atto witness, Chraft witness. If anyone should attempt to oppose this matter and thinks to nullify it, let him have it in common with God and St Andreas the Apostle before the presence God the Terrible Judge. I Sundarhari wrote this deed by command of Bishop Arbeo.

TF 27, 765x76 (64r)

#### The Conveyance of Hagustalt from Münsing

I Hagustalt have given thought for the remedy of my soul and have conveyed to the church which is at Münsing all of my inheritance which my father left me as allod so that it might be firm there forever. And these are the witnesses: Chraft, Podalunc, Moatheri, Irminheri, Hadolt, Waltheri, Tunti, Jonnes, Ferholt, Engildeo. So that if any of my heirs should attempt to breach this, may he be cursed by God and pay as is law, and this conveyance shall endure valid and firm.

TF 30, 20 January 769 (63r)

#### The Conveyance of Kepahilt from the Place Germerswang at the Hill

In the Name of Christ. With our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever, I, Kepahilt, have assembled my own estate which I received from my husband, Cundpato, while he lived or which devolved on me from my lawful dower or which pertains to my paternal patrimony in one place which is called Germerswang at the Hill in which I, with companions, built a church to the Blessed Honor and Perpetual Virginity of Mary which Bishop Arbeo consecrated on the 13th calends of February. I have granted two colons, Cozpald and Prunic, as its endowment, and, after my death, all that I possess, that is, 8 colons altogether with buildings and messuages, houses and all appurtenances, with meadows and pastures, with fields and woodlands as well as forest-pasture and watercourses, I have conveyed to the aforementioned oratory with the consent of my son Alprih. And I have conveyed that church with the same aforementioned endowment to the episcopal

church of the Blessed Mother of Christ Mary located in the borough of Freising, and I have received it back from the hand of the aforementioned bishop as a benefice in usufruct for the days of my life, and after my death I have fixed it there forever. After this donation had been completed, I confirmed it for a second time in like manner in joint authority with my son upon that very altar in the same words as above. The witnesses to this are Ursus the priest and our nephew Cundpato. But let us return to the provisions of the donation above, that if any of my heirs—which I do not think will happen—or anyone else tries to oppose or attempts to alter this, he shall be judged by the same Holy Virgin of God and by all the Saints whose names are revered in that borough, and this donation shall remain valid nonetheless. Done in the aforementioned place at the Hill, in the 22nd year of the reign of the Lord Duke Tassilo, on the 13th calends of February. And these are the witnesses: Bishop Arbeo, Ratolt, Ursus and Heimilo priests, Arn, Chunihoch, Adalperht, Teto, Hramperht, Hroadperht, and others without number who were present. I, Heripaid, commanded from the mouth of Bishop Arbeo, have written up this deed and certified it as a witness.

TF 31, 24 February 769 (48v)

#### The Conveyance of Sigifrid from Ebertshausen

Whereas it is fitting for everyone who is seen to spend time in this world to remember the sacraments and fear for the last day lest unforeseen death should suddenly find us unprepared as is the case of human weakness, and take hold as a thief and convey us to the snares of eternal death; from transitory goods which the piety of the Lord and human expedience might acquire, he ought to acquire a patron who might intercede with the Lord on his account on the day of the Great Judgment, so that he might receive in fullest measure mercy in recompense from him. For that reason I in God's Name Sigifrid together with my son Erchanfrid have given thought for the remedy of our soul and for the cleansing of our sins so that the Pious Lord might deign to offer some measure of eternal forgiveness, we likewise are bound to concede our inheritance to the tomb of St Corbinian Christ's Confessor in the place Freising where that same precious man is discerned to be buried in body. Which we have done thus and established that it might endure validly forever there to that holy place, that is, in the vill called Ebertshausen, whatever there we are seen to have in hereditary property, all of it completely we have conveyed and certified it by witnesses to the above said cathedral church of St Corbinian, so that it might eternally endure moreover on this condition, that, so long as we live, we should completely hold and use that same property; after our death with every possession added and improved and without any exception or opposition the same ruler who at that time is seen to have the governance in that same monastery of St Corbinian may cause it to revert to his authority. If anyone indeed in the future, which I scarcely believe, if I myself or any of my heirs or any person who may appear should presume to oppose or challenge this deed of conveyance which I by my own will have requested to be made and certified, in the first place let him incur the wrath of God Omnipotent on that account, and let him pay forty shillings in compensation to him against whom he brought suit, and his petition shall remain empty and void; rather for all time the deed shall gain more valid strength. By my own hand I have certified it below and by the good men whom I have designated to confirm it whose names are: first Bishop Arbeo who dedicated this basilica and into whose hand it is conveyed; Ratolt priest, Arn deacon, Pern deacon, Hununc priest, Reginpald, Hato, Chuno, Angilperht, Arpeo layman, Hrodker, Pern layman, Hartrih, Eginolf, Perhtolf. This was done on the 6th calends of March in the 22nd year of the reign of the Glorious Duke Tassilo. I indeed Arbeo commanded this deed to be made at the request of the abovesaid Sigifrid who made this conveyance.

TF 34, 769 (73r)

#### Concerning Campo Gelau which is Called Innichen

In the Name of God. I Tassilo, Duke of the Bavarians, Illustrious Man, urged by divine mercy and by eternal bliss, grant and discharge by empowering hand, with the consent of the magnates (*optimatum*) of



the Bavarians, to Abbot Atto for the church of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and of other Holy Apostles and Martyrs, for the health of my soul and the souls of my ancestors, for the improvement of the monastery and for its service, the place know as Innichen, commonly called 'Campo Gelau', from the stream which is called the Gsiessbach up to the frontiers of the Slavs, that is, to the brook Margarethenbach at Mount Anras; all of it without exception, both valley lands and uplands, pastures and hunting reserves, wetlands and bush, all pertaining to the same place. So that, henceforth, no one begotten of men might be able to usurp it or anyone dare to disturb the place or its inhabitants by any plot or complaint against Abbot Atto and his successors arising in any manner from this agreement. For I have written down by my own hand, as I was able, the letters at the beginning of this cyrograph in the presence of my justiciars and magnates (*optimatibus*). And since we know that same place to have been empty and uninhabited since olden times, now, indeed, I have listened to Atto's request and humble supplication, and I have granted it and conveyed it gladly by these present writings, in order that the unbelieving generation of the Slavs might be led to the way of truth. If anyone, which I doubt will happen, either from my heirs or coheirs or any other person, tries to oppose or infringe this deed of gift, he shall incur the wrath of God and all the Saints. The mark of my own hand, Tassilo, granting and confirming. Done at Bozen on the way back from Italy in the 22nd year of his ducal rule. Alizeo, Reginwolf, the sign of the hand of Cundheri, Drudmunt, Pillunc, Oatachar, Hliodro, Crimperht, Papo, Hariperaht, Kislolt, Jubeanus, Bishop Alim as witnesses. I, unworthy Anno, wrote this up by command and subscribed to it.

TF 36, 769x76 (45r)

#### The Conveyance of Alprih and Ascrih

Inspired by Our Lord Jesus Christ and mindful of the human condition and the faithfulness of God, we have pondered how to gain redemption for our souls. I Alprih and Ascrih have conveyed our inheritance which pertains to us as our portion in the place called Malching to St Mary and to St Corbinian at the place which is called Freising. And this conveyance has been made such that we above noted and our two sisters, Marchraat and Waltraat, and our three nephews, these are the sons of Amilo and Wisurih and of our sister Angilrat, we seven and each one of us might hold it until the end of his life, and those our nephews shall have no power thence so long as I live and our sisters who are above named, and after our death then they shall take it into their power, and after their passing it shall be in the power of St Mary and St Corbinian until the last day; and the bishop who is seated at Freising may receive all the tithe which pertains to our church as long as we live, and after our death all these things are within his power of holding and granting whence he will do it. And I Ascrih, called as unworthy deacon, have a property of my own in the place which is called Ried which Hiltistain conveyed to me. And I convey that likewise to St Mary and to St Corbinian for myself and for Hiltistain who conveyed it to me. And If anyone, which indeed I do not believe will be, if we or any of our heirs or any other opponent attempt to oppose this conveyance so that he might break it, first let him incur the wrath of God and let him make composition as is the law, and remain excommunicate from the precincts of all the saints, and this conveyance shall nevertheless endure valid. And these are the witnesses: Amilo, Wisurih, Liutunc, Alprih, Posilo, Adalperht, Eigil, Apo, Adalperht clerk, Anulo, Anulo, Deotuni, Kerpald. Moreover, I Ascrih, unworthy deacon who made this conveyance, wrote this with Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever. Amen.

TF 38, 28 April 770 (26v)

#### The Conveyance of Peigiri from Holzhausen

With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever, in the 23rd year of the reign of the Illustrious Duke Tassilo, I, Peigiri, in the presence of my sons and with the consent of my brothers, have conveyed to the church of the Blessed Archangel Michael, which I established as my own property in the place called Holzhausen:



first, Odalperht's share of the estate for the health of his soul; then, moreover, my own share which I have retained from my sons, except for two colon holdings, Puzzii lives in one of them, Tenno holds the other, so that if there were any need to convey them, I might have authority over them against my sons and anyone else; and three slaves named Tagapaldus and Sasca the Slav and Paldwiha. I have conveyed all the rest of the slaves except for those whom I have set free whose names are Misa and Cozzo, and their 'muntput' pertains to that same church which I have transferred completely with the entire conveyance to the cathedral church of Mary, the Blessed Mother of God, established in the borough of Freising, and into the hands of Bishop Arbeo together with dwellings and messuages, slaves and colons, land with meadows and pastures, with waters and woodlands, and with all the appurtenances and four-legged beasts and whatever I am seen to possess there. I have received back this donation from the aforesaid bishop as a benefice until my passing on and to the end of my days to inhabit and increase and extend it as is appropriate for the house of God. For I have conveyed it in perpetual possession for myself and my aforesaid brother, as well as for our father by the same name as my brother, and for our mother and sons, that we might be worthy to receive a measure of forgiveness from a pious Lord God, so that if anyone attempts to oppose this deed of conveyance or the conveyance itself, he shall bring upon himself the wrath of God enthroned on high, and he shall offend against the saints, and he shall have his suit with the Blessed and Inviolable Virgin Mary and the Archangel Michael, and be liable to the earthly judge, and the grant shall nonetheless endure validly. Done at the vill of Holzhausen with the consent of my sons and brother who themselves are witnesses tugged by the ears to confirm it for the hand of the afore noted Bishop together with these witnesses: first, Eodunc as witness, then Oatlant, afterwards Oadalhart in the sight of the whole clergy; witnesses: Lantfrid, Turo, Savulo, Rekinperht the priest, Immo, Herirat, Arn, Rekinolt, Rihperht and many others. Done at the afore noted place, on the consular day which is the 4th calends of May, at the time included above. I Pern the deacon wrote up the deed of gift by command and instruction of Bishop Arbeo.

TF 39, 26 September 770 (31v)

The Conveyance of Oadalker the Priest from the place Poh and from the Bank of the River Glonn

Whereas in the name of God I, Oadalker by name, called priest by divine clemency, was pondering and considering concerning my soul and the future life so that in measure I might be worthy to receive mercy from a pious God, and with my body increasing in feebleness, afflicted with daily pains, with the supple knees of youth having lost their vigor, sighing I derive pleasure only with difficulty, weak I take care for the soul placed in an earthly cover within seven walls, I profess a future life, I recall the testimony of truth which says: 'Give up all that you have and come, follow me, and you will have treasure in heaven.' On this account, all of the property which my father Cello left me as an inheritance, with him present and consenting when he renounced the world and changed his habit, by my own hand all of the property, that is our common inheritance which he conveyed to me, in the sight of Bishop Arbeo and all the clergy and the noble men and our neighbors present in the borough called Freising in the church of the Inviolable and Ever Virgin Mother of God Mary together with her companion the Blessed Confessor of Christ Corbinian whose body is seen to be established within the walls and joined with those relics, into their authority I have conveyed and discharged our entire inheritance for myself as well as for my father giving consent as for my mother, except as necessity impels, should time ordain that I might make use of their revenues not as my own but as benefices of the church. After my death indeed this conveyance shall endure valid and firm with the subjoined stipulation by the consent of the Most Illustrious Man Duke Tassilo who confirmed this conveyance by his own hand. For I have conveyed in the place called Buch and in another place on the bank of the river Glonn which we possessed, between both places I have conveyed five colon holdings with all of their equipment, dwellings, messuages, meadows, pastures, waters and their courses, ploughland, boundarys, woodlands, woodland meadows, plains, and whatever we are seen to possess by right, everything claimed, so that if any of my kinsmen



or opponents should attempt to come against this grant, let him receive retribution as an accused by an insoluble chain of eternal damnation, and let him have cause for account with the Holy Mother of God and God's aforesaid Confessor, and moreover let him be liable to the earthly judge for two pounds of gold and five of silver, and this grant shall nonetheless endure valid. Done in the town of Freising on the consular day which is the 6th calends of October in the 23rd year of the reign of the most eminent lord Duke Tassilo. These are the witnesses who certified it with their own hand led by the ear and by speech to witness: First the Lord Duke Tassilo, then Alim and Arbeo bishops, Waltrih, Ratolt, Hununc, Reginolf, Engilpald, Horskeo priests, Arn, Reginolt, Pern deacons, Cundhari, Mazii, Salucho justiciars, Haimo and Geo, and innumerable others. I Oadalger the donor wrote it and subscribed by my own hand and affirmed the witnesses. And I Cello wrote it by my own hand and myself made conveyance. Virgil bishop as witness, Wisurih bishop as witness, Chunihart witness, Chunihoh witness.

TF 44, 12 August 772 (44r)

#### The Conveyance of Alpunia Handmaiden of God from Pettenbach

Whereas in the Name of God and by judgment of the Supreme Censor I had been drawn to the end, pondering upon such pressing matters and urged on by the whip of infirmity considering how in measure I might be assured of forgiveness for my sins by a pious God, I Alpunia, convey by the consent of my son Karolo and his brothers my own property which fell to me as allodial patrimony in the place called Pettenbach which pertained by lot against my uterine sister, that is slaves to the number of 8 within the dwelling and 2 colon holdings with 1 dependent servant together with all of their appurtenances, with buildings and lands, meadows, pastures, woodlands and with livestock and watercourses and forest clearings and grounds with fruit bearing trees and groves. I transfer it for the remedy of my soul and of my father Erchanfrid as well as my mother Deotrata to the church of the Blessed and Ever Undeified Virgin and Mother of Christ Mary and also to the tomb of his Confessor Corbinian and to their companions whose relics are venerated there together with the church of the Blessed Archangel Michael and its territory with all appurtenances together with the extent of the boundaries, and whatever I was seen to possess there we bind forever validly and fixed by subjoined stipulation: that if anyone should attempt to oppose this conveyance or to break it, let him not doubt to incur for himself the wrath of divine judgment, and may he endure damned by an unbreakable chain; may he be at odds with the same Virgin of Christ by whose own hand we have confirmed these things as a trespasser who dares to trespass the property of another, and nonetheless the conveyance shall endure valid and inviolate, except we concede that Bishop Arbeo, moved by piety and by the bonds of kinship, might grant in benefice to the already afore noted Karolo that donation to the afore noted Mother of God, so that he have permission to use it and to improve it further for such days as he may have use on account of necessity or need. However, after her death, if he be endowed with wealth by his lord, the original conditions should be observed as we have included above in writing and set forth in letters, let be it guarded under episcopal authority, and as we have confirmed the afore noted patrimony be subject to that episcopal seat forever. Done in the borough at Freising in the presence of Bishop Arbeo and all the clergy in the 25th year of the reign of the Lord and Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo, on the consular day which was the 2nd ides of August. These are the witnesses and their names who confirmed it by their present hand: Karolus, Rihpald, Helias, Liutfrid, Popo, Rathoh.

TF 45, 18 August 772 (a.160r/b.135v)

#### [a.] The Conveyance of Abbot Atto at Kienberg

With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever, in the 25th year of Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, I Abbot Atto, for the salvation of the souls which have commended themselves to me and at the same time also



for my own soul, convey and transfer the inheritance which Oadalker and his father, Anulo, making conveyance with the consent of the Lord Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, and confirming it, had conveyed to me in the place called Kienberg in perpetual right as an inheritance for me to possess. Now, indeed, as we said above, I convey that same place with all equipment and whatever is seen to pertain to it, whether from that conveyance or by purchase or by whatever sort of acquisition, all in everything completely as we have said for the aforesaid souls to the body of the Holy and Most Blessed Martyr Tertulian for whom, with the Lord's assistance, Almighty God established me as heir, and for my days, wherever his body may be located, it be under our provision, because from the apostolic see the Most Blessed Pope Hadrian, conceding and commending it to us, committed it so that with the zeal of highest devotion it be cared for. Moreover, it is agreed by me to convey and confirm to the aforesaid body all my goods by acquisition pertaining to that place: messuages, dwellings, slaves, movables and immovables, cultivated land and uncultivated, woodlands, meadows, waters and watercourses, excluding nothing by added stipulation. Done in the aforesaid vill, on the consular day which is the 15th calends of September, in the 5th indiction. These are the names of the witnesses: Bishop Arbeo, Tatto priest, Lantfrid abbot, Chunihart priest, Cundheri priest and monk, Arn, Ratolt. I Altman the deacon have written it from the mouth of Abbot Atto.

[b.] The Renewal of the Conveyance which Anulo and Oadalker Made

With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever, in the 25th year of Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, I Abbot Atto, for the salvation of the souls which have commended themselves to me, renew and restore the inheritance in the place called Kienberg which Oadalker and his father, Anulo, making conveyance with the consent of the Lord Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, had commended to me for my lifetime for the monastery of Schlehdorf, because those already afore said men commended that property to me in order that, after my death, for their souls I might confirm the said place Kienberg in all integrity and also anything I myself had been able to acquire by purchase, to the relics of the saints which are venerated there to be possessed and fully enjoyed in perpetual right. Now, indeed, I shall restore and confirm their requests by returning and delivering up those properties in the presence of the venerable men whose names are inserted below to the holy church of God which is solemnized first in honor of St Denis and where St Tertulian rests bodily whom Reginperht the monk conveyed into the parts of Bavaria from the Holy See with the consent of Pope Hadrian. Done in the aforesaid vill of Kienberg, on the consular day which is the 15th calends of September, in the 5th indiction. These are the names of the witnesses: Bishop Arbeo, Lantfrid witness, Chunihart, Tatto, witness, Cundheri witness, Arn deacon, Ratolt witness. I Altman wrote up this deed at the dictation of Abbot Atto and by the command of Bishop Arbeo.

TF 46, 18/28 August 772 (28r)

The Conveyance of Rihperht from Ilmina and Haimhausen and Percha and Fürholzen and also Giesenbach

[a.] Conscious of the gifts of divine generosity, in the Name of God, and likewise pondering and considering that I might merit to receive forgiveness of sins from a Pious God, this thought impelled my intent that from my own allodial property I ought to apply a part to the church and thus we have done. My own inheritance which my mother, Adalswind, left me in the place Ilmina, and Haimhausen, and Percha, and Fürholzen and also in Giesenbach, both ecclesiastical rights and lay possessions, whatever is seen to be under our authority and ceded as a share, all property cultivated and uncultivated I Rihperht have conveyed to the church of the Blessed and Undeified Virgin and Mother of God Mary and of Christ's Confessor Corbinian, deposited in body, situated within the walls of Freising, to the episcopal cathedral into the possession of which I have resigned the aforesaid property, both male and female slaves, as well as freedmen and aldions, dwellings, holdings, ploughland, meadows, pastures, woodlands, clearings,

and watercourses or whatever else I have received in those places from maternal inheritance in share, in order that henceforth it might serve the authority of the afore noted church so defending as serving and possessing forever. Whence in the day of the great judgment I am confident of return as gift from a generous judge for the value of the sacrifice, so that if any should attempt to come forward against this donation or seek to break it, let him answer his case to the same Mother and remain condemned by an indissoluble chain and this deed of conveyance nonetheless shall remain valid which I have conveyed by my own hand also for the duke and duchess as for father and mother and brothers and sisters and predecessors by whose labor the inheritance pertains to us. This conveyance was made at the city of Regensburg in the church of the Blessed Emmeram on the consular day which is the 15th calends of September, with the Lord Tassilo Most Illustrious Duke reigning in the 25th year. And these are the witness tugged by the ears to confirm the conveyance: Arbeo bishop and receiver, Otpald priest, Imo priest, Hiltiker priest, Ratolt priest, Liutfrid deacon and Arn deacon as witnesses. Kisalolt the judge as witness, Pupo witness, Popo witness.

[b.] I, Hunperht, completely in the above sense and intent have conveyed by my own hand whatever pertains to me as a share in that same inheritance upon the altar of the Blessed Mary and upon the tomb of the Blessed Corbinian in the same year on the consular day which is the 5th calends of September in the presence of Bishop Arbeo and of all the clergy. And these witnesses were tugged by the ears to confirm the conveyance: Ratolt priest as witness, Horsceo priest as witness, Pern deacon, Sullo witness, Hitto witness, Graman witness, Waninc witness, Papo witness.

TF 48, 8 September 772 (71r)

The Conveyance of Helzuni from Zeitlbach and of his Son Silvester

With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever, in the 25th year of the Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo, I Helzuni, with the agreement and permission of the Lord Duke Tassilo and the consent of my wife by the name of Oadalhilt and of my children by the name of Silvester and Hiltimari, validly conveyed my own hereditary property to the cathedral church of St Mary and into the hands of Bishop Arbeo; I included whatever of my own inheritance I had in the place called Zeitlbach. Thus, I Helzuni have validly conveyed it from our right into the right and power of the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising, so that it might endure confirmed, uncontested and whole, to that same cathedral church from this same day, and we to the end of our life might use it in precarial succession in benefice from the cathedral church of St Mary without rent. We executed this conveyance by common hands, I Helzuni and my son Silvester, with my wife and daughter standing by whose names are already noted above, Oadalhilt and Hiltimari, on this condition, that whoever of us who might be survivor to the other might hold it in the benefice of St Mary by making offering for the others. This was done at Freising in the 14th indiction, on the 6th ides of September. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: first Bishop Virgil as witness, Megilo as witness, Benedict deacon as witness, Salomon, David as witness, Einhart as witness, Edilo as witness, Alprat, Selprat the sheriff, Wisurih, Emilo, Cunzo, Perhtolf, Poapo, Deotpald, Adlaunc. And I Alpolt wrote it up at the dictation of Arbeo with Tassilo looking on and confirming by his own hand.

TF 52, 20 December 772 (62r)

Muniperht and Adalnia from the River Würm

I Muniperht equally with my mother Adalnia conveyed by joint hand all of the property which we were seen to possess in the vill at the river Würm by name and whatever is hers, that is Adalnia's, which came to her by right or by purchase to the church of the Holy Savior which we have built there, and together with that same church to the episcopal church of the Blessed and Undeified Virgin Mary which church



is situated in the borough of Freising, together with slaves and colons, with buildings and messuages, with arable and woodland clearings, with meadows and pastures, with mills and waters, with livestock and utensils, so that this donation might endure valid and fixed by subjoined stipulation, done and confirmed by the hand of Bishop Arbeo. And these are the witnesses and their names: Ratolt, Epo, Erchanperht, Hato, Deotpald the priest; fellow countrymen: Situli, Adalperht, Fridurih, Paturih and his son Nordperht, and others without number. Done in the afore noted vill called the Würm with the Lord and Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo reigning in the 25th year, on the consular day which is the 13th calends of January, in that same oratory by dedication and title of the Holy Savior. I Alpalt the priest wrote up this donation commanded from the mouth of Bishop Arbeo.

TF 53, by 769? (134v)

#### How Bishop Arbeo Took Possession of Scharnitz

In the Name of the Supreme God and Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. I Arbeo, Bishop by the gift of divine generosity, for the brothers in minor orders whom I have undertaken to rule congregated in the wilderness of Scharnitz, that is Reginperht as well as his brother who commenced to found a monastery on their allodial property by consent of the lord and our predecessor Joseph and afterwards by our counsel moved the location to Schlehdorf, when I was occupied and had acknowledged it, we proposed Atto a brother and religious companion to me in charity to Reginperht in my place by consent also with my brothers. For it happened that as they were collecting possessions as the law of this life declares, that whatever property they held they should unite for that community, and after Abbot Atto that same Reginperht was to have presided while he was still alive and after his death. And we indeed established after their death, that no one ought to provide an abbot there save only as those bishops who might be after us should elect as abbot for themselves from that same congregation, except always however, if such a one who was worthy and regular was lacking, then their will should be obedient in consent so that the bishop might restore another in his place. We however have not withdrawn our hand, but rather confirm by our hand in all wise that canonical order endure and a regular way of life as the Rule requires.

TF 54, 772x80 (40v)

#### The Conveyance of Kerolt the Priest and Lantfrid His Brother and of Other Faithful Men from the Place Which is Called at the Würm

In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Indeed, I Helmpert as well for the remedy of my soul, as for my son Cunzo by name, and also for my wife [blank] by name, have conveyed one slave with colon holding and also the whole household of that same slave and his name is Inguni. I conveyed him to the church of the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, which was built at a place which is called at the Würm. Likewise too, I Hetti conveyed to that same church my own inheritance for the remedy of my soul, that is, Adalker together with his household, Leotholf together with his household, and above that the fourth part of my land which pertains to me. Likewise moreover, I Kysalni conveyed my slave Liuprat by name together with a colon holding and with household to that same basilica. Likewise, I Waldker conveyed my own slave by the name of Ratker to that same above written church of the Blessed Peter together with colon holding and with household, and above that the third part of my land which pertains to me. Kerolt the priest built that same basilica and Waldker his father, and they invited Bishop Joseph thence so that he might dedicate this basilica. And thus he did, and Kerolt the priest held it up to the end of his life. Kerolt the priest himself conveyed this basilica to the bishopric of St Mary into the hands of Bishop Arbeo and also whatever else of his own property he had, all of it completely he conveyed to St Mary Ever Virgin in the place Freising in the presence of the Lord Bishop Arbeo. Likewise in truth, I Lantfrid

the priest, brother of Kerolt the priest, conveyed and confirmed it, so that it might endure validly to the cathedral church of St Mary forever.

TF 60, 24 July 773 (42v)

#### The Conveyance of Cunzo from Pfettrach

In the Name of Christ. We Arbeo, bishop by the gift of the Divine Bestower, draw forth for the treasure chest of the Blessed and Undeified Virgin Mary and judge it useful for posterity lest by anyone through ignorance or our negligence the patrimony of the saints which has been conveyed by the faithful be destroyed. On that account the allodial property which the Most Christian Cunzo conveyed equally to us and to St Martin in the place called Pfettrach and which, after his death, endured violation through some vexatious trespasses and attacks from his brother by the name of Nevo and some offspring. These allods are difficult to describe in writing, but while they were not able to be measured out exactly, by the divine document of gift, they could be overthrown and led to repentance, humbly at our feet all things were discharged by common hand into our authority, and they removed themselves from that patrimony by subjoined stipulations as is appropriate to our rights, so that they might commit no further trespass, that is: Otolf et Paldrih, sons of the afore noted Nevo, and Hroadheri the priest and their descendants, but rather it ought to endure secure forever under the authority of the church of St Martin. And these are the witnesses and their names: Ratolt, Ekkahart, Heimilo, Hununc, Arn, Cundhart, Tito, Pupo, Cundolf, Marcheo, Pilgrim and others without number. Done in the vill of Eching with our Lord and Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo reigning in the 26th year, on the consular day which was the 8th calends of August. I Sundarheri wrote this up from the mouth of Bishop Arbeo.

TF 61, 15 August 773 (52v)

#### The Conveyance of Raholf the Priest from Jesenwang

While I was pondering and considering in the Name of God concerning my soul and the future life, so that I might be worthy to receive a measure of forgiveness from a Pious Lord, thus I Raholf, concerning the property which my father left me as an inheritance and I had been able to acquire by the gift of divine generosity, since it is pleasing for him to dispose in the world over that which repays forever and to purchase the eternal from transitory wealth out of which patrimonies are bestowed and all things mutable are rendered, on that account as we have comprised above in writing, for the place called Jesenwang or wherever I was able to gather together by acquisition or henceforth be collected, I convey and discharge to the episcopal church established at Freising as the church of the Blessed and Inviolable Ever Virgin Mary and for the tomb of Christ's Confessor Corbinian, buildings, courtyards, slaves, herds, ploughland, meadows, pastures and whatever I was seen to possess there, not only goods alone but I have also subjected my own body to the service of this church; so that if anyone should attempt to oppose this deed of gift and intend to break it, he should not doubt to deserve the wrath of divine judgment and to have his suit with that same Mother of God Mary and be in offense against those saints whose relics are celebrated there; let him remain damned under the chain of anathema, and this gift shall endure nonetheless valid and stable by subjoined stipulation. Moreover, this was done in the borough of Freising, in the 26th year with the Lord and Illustrious Duke Tassilo reigning, on the consular day which was the 18th calends of September, in the sight of Bishop Arbeo and all the clergy. These are the witness and their names tugged by the ears as the custom of the Bavarians declares: first, Bishop Arbeo into whose hands this was conveyed; Wolfperht, Magolf, Horskeo, priests; Arn, Liutfrid deacons; Chuno, Sullo, Petto, Hitto, Ratolt, Arbeo, Wolfleoz, Wicrat and many others. I Sundarheri wrote it and subscribed from the mouth of Bishop Arbeo, and confirmed it as witness.

TF 63, 30 August 773 (47r)

## The Conveyance of Hunperht from the Place Schweinbach

In the Name of the Highest and Only-Begotten Son of the Living God and Our Lord Jesus Christ. I Hunperht, seized by divine call, stricken by the fear of hell, and driven by the desire for eternal life, deploring the sins of youth, yet ignorant of the end of events, therefore by consent and permission of the Lord and Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo have conveyed my own estate called Schweinbach to the church of the Blessed and Undeified Ever Virgin Mary as well as to the tomb of Christ's Confessor Corbinian, and their companions who are venerated there as patrons. Moreover, I give the afore noted benefice both for the Lord and Venerable Duke Tassilo, who by the generosity of divine inspiration granted me this, as also for his father of good memory, Odilo, and his mother, Hiltrud, and finally for my own sins that by their intercessions we might be worthy to receive remission of sins from a pious God, and, although unworthy, nevertheless, trusting in that mercy which not desiring the death of a sinner, promises forgiveness to one who repents, and which searches less the beginning and always seeks the ending, even accepting the brief repentance of a robber and promising participation in paradise. In Whose love and fear I convey the afore noted estate except for three girls whom I have already conveyed into the security of marriage and brought to lawful estate; for, indeed, I transfer buildings, holdings, church with its possessions, male and female slaves, fields, meadows, woodlands, clearings, watercourses, ponds, mills, colon holdings, aldions, herds and all utensils, whatever pertains to the aforesaid estate, together with all within borders and boundaries lawfully enclosed or from my father if some were acquired and left in perpetuity, this I have confirmed to be valid by subjoined stipulation: that if anyone should attempt to oppose this conveyance, whether from among my heirs or anyone else, and seeks to break it, let him not doubt that he will incur the wrath of God and of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and be liable to judgment by the same St Mary and her companions he shall be bound to trial and remain damned beneath anathemas by an indissoluble chain, and render account for my own sins and for those lords whose names we have afore noted up to the Last Judgment, and this deed shall, nevertheless, remain valid which we have affirmed by the hand of Bishop Arbeo. Done at the estate of Aiterhofen in the 26th year of the reign of the Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo. And these are the witnesses to confirm the conveyance: first, the lord and afore noted Duke Tassilo who by his command consented that these things be done, Machelm, Helmuni, Rihperht, Reginolf, Craman, Heimperht the priest. From amongst our own: Magolf, Ratolt, Pern, Arn and so many other witnesses as were seen to be there or were present as subjects of the same. Done on the consular day which was the 3rd calends of September. Adalger, Hartnid, Cundpald and another Helmuni as witness. I, Sundheri the clerk, commanded by Bishop Arbeo, wrote up the present deed of conveyance. And I, Duke Tassilo, have confirmed it by my own hand.

TF 65, 30 March 774 (35v)

## The Conveyance of Onolf

In the Name of Christ. I Onolf by the divine call have lost my beloved and, so to speak, only son Keparoh, insidiously killed by bandits, of whom I remained bereft with a single son by the name of Hrodin whom I have established in divine learning. While pondering and considering the patrimony which I am seen to possess by right and which Toti my father left me or what my wife was seen to be left as inheritance by her father Keparoh, equally by common hand we have conveyed and discharged it to the oratory in the place which is called Röhrmoos. Moreover, we have conveyed that church and oratory to the church of the Blessed and Inviolat Virgin of God and Mother of the Lord Mary, to the episcopal church located within the walls in the borough of Freising, so that, after my death and that of my dear afore noted wife, also the son, the aforesaid Hrodin, if he advance to honorable estate by God's help, both by episcopal judgment and the provision of canonical law, he might possess the aforesaid patrimony in a position as intercessor

for father, mother and brother. Nonetheless, let him be subject to episocpal power, and after his death it be attached to the afore noted cathedral church by provision of legal authority. If, however, he disdains to accede to our wishes, so that he neglects to enter priestly orders and keeps his own share until death, the other parts shall remain unharmed by injuries, and those of that only son shall be subject to the same conditions. For I have granted and discharged by the same words that aforesaid place Röhrmoos, and another which is called Glonn on the course of that same river, and a third place which is called Allach. Moreover, I have granted dwellings, messuages, buildings, fields, clearings, meadows, pastures, watercourses, mills, woodlands, groves, slaves, livestock, and whatever I am seen to possess, cultivated and uncultivated, utensils, all of them and the license to claim debts by law, we have conceded by written stipulation and earnestly requested to write out, so that if I myself or any opponent should try to oppose this donation, in the first place, let him remain anathema by an indissoluble chain, and pursue his illicitly entered plea with the Mother of God and Inviolat Virgin, and with the Blessed Confessor of Christ Corbinian to whom these things are credited and of whose virtues are seen to be named there in praise divine. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: first the author of these same words, Bishop Arbeo, with the whole clergy, for a synod took place on that day which is the 5th weekday before Easter on which the chrism is conferred. Nevertheless, for the sake of urgent necessity, as I think, we ought to rehearse all the names individually, and first the date which was in the 25th year of the Lord and Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo: Waltrih, Ratolt, Reginperht, Meioran, Hununc, Pern, Pald, Horskeo, Oto, Epo, priests as witnesses; Arn, Reginolt, Liutfrid, Rihpald, deacons; Chuno, Popo, Sullo, Hato, Hitto, Hramperht, laymen as witnesses; others without number whose names I would wish to include in writing, if, as I think, the day would not fail before the words. Done in the public vill in the borough of Freising on the consular day which was the 3rd calends of April, in the already noted number of the years. I Sundheri wrote it up and confirmed it as witness by command from the mouth of Bishop Arbeo.

TF 69, 775/6 (31r)

#### The Conveyance of Rihpald from Schleissheim and Deutenhausen

In the Name of God Our Savior Jesus Christ. With the Lord Tassilo reigning in his 38th year, I Rihpald a clerk pondering and considering about my soul and the future life so that I might be worthy to receive some measure of forgiveness from a pious God, have conveyed and my wife also all things that we have to the church of St Corbinian, and that same church of ours which Heripald the priest holds, I have conveyed to the Blessed Mother of God Mary to the episcopal church at the place which is called Freising, and whatever pertains to that church, that is: dependant tenants, slaves, colon holdings, buildings, woodlands, [blank], fruit bearing, fields, pastures, meadows, watercourses, together with all utensils pertaining by right to us, and that property of mine in the vill which is called Schleissheim and at Deutenhausen, for the remedy of my soul and of my wife and for my sons, so that after my death it might be fixed to the tomb of Christ's Confessor Corbinian. If anyone should attempt to oppose this conveyance, may he incur judgment from these saints whose names are venerated there before the presence of the dreadful Divine Majesty, and nonetheless this conveyance shall endure valid. These are the witnesses: Fracho, Onhart, Deotmunt, Perhthelm, Isanperht, Hludolf, Oasker, Droaz, all laymen; Engilpero clerk, Reginolt layman, Paldachar layman. I have written it up from the mouth of Arbeo.

TF 70, 775/6 (Conrad 14v)

#### The Conveyance from Airischwand

With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning in the 28th year of the reign of the Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo, I Toto, seized by a divine warning and forced to take thought for the remedy of my soul, that I should grant a portion to the Founding Author of the universe, so also I did it, that, by the power of love, I might



escape restraint by his chains. For I conveyed to the church of the blessed and inviolate Virgin Mary built within the walls of the borough of Freising and also to the tomb of St Corbinian Christ's Confessor whatever I received as my portion apart from my sons, that is: one male slave Hunrat by name, four colons and tributaries and their names are Hacco, Wolfleich, Triwolf, Dietmar, and the territory on the north side of the Amper river, whatever I received, and in the woodlands called Airischwand and the enclosed woods which I possessed by the course of the above said river, and both in legal claims and waters as in all utensils, the received portion I completely discharge by subjoined stipulation, that whoever may attempt to overthrow this offering should not doubt that he is an alien to the catholic communion and recognize himself damned by an unbreakable chain. [The names of the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances.]

TF 73, 2 September 776 (60v)

#### Waltrih's Conveyance at Höchenberg

It is well known to all that Waltrih the priest conveyed his woodland and other territory in the place which is called at Höchenberg and whatever he was seen to have there to the church of the Blessed Mary Ever Virgin and Mother of God located in the borough of Freising with Bishop Ardeo present and the whole clergy in the 29th year with the Lord Tassilo reigning as duke, on the consular day which was the 4th nones of September, in the 1st indiction. These are the witnesses: Arn, Ratolt, Hununc, Pern priests, Deodolt, Helmuni, Chunihoh, Hludiwic. I Sunderheri deacon having been commanded wrote it up.

TF 75, 776 (161v)

#### The Conveyance of Isanhart at Herrsching and at Holzhausen and at Erling

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. A written notice of the conveyance which Isanhart made from his own allodial and from acquired property to the body of the blessed and holy martyr Tertulian and to the altar of St Denis. First, at Herrsching whatever he is seen to hold there, all of it completely setting aside nothing pertaining to those places, cultivated and uncultivated land, with meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, slaves within the manor house as well as those abiding on the holdings, all of it as we have said completely, movables and immovables; and in like manner at Holzhausen, the ploughland which I held there; and at Raisting indeed the half of all which I was seen to hold there. Likewise, I have conveyed to the aforesaid saint in Erling except for that colon holding which Arfrid holds and 40 yokes of field and 10 cartloads of meadows, all of the rest pertaining to those places I have conveyed and confirmed by the consent and license of Our Most Glorious Lord Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, in the 29th year of his reign. If indeed anyone wishes to oppose this deed of conveyance or break it, let him incur the wrath of God and pay whatever is just to the judge. These are the names of the witnesses: Isanhart himself as witness, Reginhart, Deotpald, Kerwolf, Kaganhart, Nendinc, Otti. I Abbot Atto wrote this.

TF 76, 776 (a.162r/b.B 48r)

#### [a.] The Conveyance of Reginhart at Dürrnhausen and at Raisting

In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. A written notice of the conveyance which Reginhart, son of Isanhart, made from his own allodial and acquired property to the body of the Blessed and Holy Martyr Tertulian. First at Dürrnhausen and at Raisting whatever he is seen to hold there, all of it completely setting aside nothing pertaining to those places, land cultivated and uncultivated, with meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, slaves and livestock abiding within my authority, all of



it as we have said completely, movables and immovables, on this very condition: that after his death it endure firm and valid to the aforesaid saint by consent and license of the Most Glorious Lord Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, in the 29th year of his reign, in the 10th indiction. If indeed anyone wishes to oppose this deed of conveyance or to break it, let him incur the wrath of God and pay whatever is just to the judge. And these are the names of the witnesses: Reginhart himself as witness, Lantfrid as witness, Deotpald, Kerwolf the priest, Kaganhart, Nendinc, Otti. And I Williperht the priest wrote it up by command of the Lord Abbot Atto.

[b.] The Conveyance of Reginhart

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. A written notice of the conveyance which Reginhart, son of Isanhart, made from his own allodial and acquired property to the body of the Blessed and Holy Martyr Tertulian. First at Dürrnhausen and at Raisting whatever he is seen to hold there, all of it completely setting nothing pertaining to those places aside, land cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, with pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, slaves within the manor house as well as those abiding on the holdings, all of it as we have said completely, on this very condition: that after his death it endure firm and valid to the aforesaid saint by consent and license of the Most Glorious Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, in the 29th year of his reign, in the 10th indiction. If indeed anyone wishes to oppose this deed of conveyance or to break it, let him incur the wrath of God and pay whatever is just to the judge. And this are the names of the witnesses: Reginhart himself, Lantfrid, Deotpald, Kerolf the priest, Kaganhart, Nendinc, Otti. I Williperht the priest wrote it up by command of the Lord Abbot Atto.

TF 77, 776 (163r)

The Conveyance of Hroadinc and Nendinc

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. A written notice of the conveyance which Hroadinc and Nendinc made from their own allodial and acquired property to the altar of St Peter and to the body of the Holy Martyr Tertulian, whatever we hold there in the place called Fischen, all of it pertaining to those places, completely, setting nothing aside. But we nevertheless have implored Abbot Atto and Isanhart our lord that we might make this conveyance with the consent and license of Our Lord Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, on this condition: that after our death, our sons, Ellanod and Kaganhart, might accept the above said place at Fischen in benefice from the hand of Abbot Atto and Reginperht the monk, so that they also might render every year rent, that is six measures of grain. In the 29th year of the reign of Duke Tassilo, in the 9th indiction. These are the names of the witnesses: Isanhart, Reginhart, Deotpald, Arahad, Heio, Reginhart, Irminheri, Mahtuni, Hahart, Kerolf the priest, Kaganhart, Otti, Arfrid, Adalperht, Lantfrid. I Abbot Atto wrote this and confirmed it with my own hand.

TF 84, 17 May 777 (Conrad 14v)

The Conveyance of Bachern

With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever, in the 30th year of the reign of the Lord and Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo, I Pircho, moved by the sufferance of divine will, equally together with my wife Perhtcunda and also our offspring by the name of Oadalcrim, we have conveyed a territory lying within the place called Bachern to the church of the Blessed and Ever Virgin Mary and to the tomb of Christ's Confessor Corbinian, both for ourselves and our offspring as for our predecessors and on behalf of our own son. If he wishes to remain within that same congregation, let him have food and clothing there. If, however, he withdraws, this conveyance shall endure valid and firm nonetheless. We have, moreover, conveyed the territory pertaining thereto completely with meadows



and pastures, with woodlands and watercourses, with messuages and buildings, and with all utensils pertaining there. And if anyone attempts to oppose this conveyance, let him prosecute his suit with St Mary herself, and nonetheless this conveyance shall endure valid as written. Done in the borough of Freising, on the consular day which was the 16th calends of June, in the 1st indiction. [The names of the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances.]

TF 85, 5 October 777 (43r)

#### The Conveyance of Mekilo from Dörnbach

With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever, in the 30th year of the reign of Duke Tassilo, I Mekilo conveyed for the remedy of my soul to the church of the Blessed Corbinian together with his companions all the allod which I was seen to possess except for the territory of one colon-holding; together with that same church which I established in that same territory called Dörnbach, I confirmed it by the hands of Arbeo, bishop and dedicator of this oratory, to the cathedral church of his bishopric with the clergy and people present as well as my offspring and relatives consenting, whatever pertains to our authority, the place as well as slaves and buildings, as arable and tools and utensils and herds, every property cultivated and uncultivated, just we distinguish it by embracing it through writing, we certify it to be in perpetual stability. Done on the consular day which was the 3rd nones of October in the first indiction. And these are the witnesses and their names: Bishop Arbeo, David, Heripald, Alpuni, Otperht, Otperht, Alholf, Hacuno, Herolf, Heripald, Wolfpero, Hrodunc, Otter, Asprant, Podolunc. I Francho wrote it up commanded from the mouth of Bishop Arbeo.

TF 86, 16 November 777 (39v) [cf. TF 72; not translated]

#### The Conveyance of Toto

With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever, in the 30th year of the reign of the Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo, on the 16th calends of December, in the first indiction, in the public town and borough called Freising this mutual agreement and settlement was concluded between Toto and his sons at the direction of the duke and his council (*senatu*): that he give to Cundhart, in addition to his share which he had previously received, one colon named Hacco; and to Ratolt another male slave named Kepuni together with his son and his wife, and that he be installed in the colon-holding of Wolfleih with all its appurtenances in the place called at Holzen; and that he divide the arable land at Isen together with the arable land which he had previously received as his share, allotting it so that half of that same land is held by him and that the other half remain inviolate to the church of St. Mary for his brother, Scrot by name, just as it previously had been conveyed; to the end that hereafter no claim for division remain, neither amongst these brothers including Wago, nor against their stepmother, Ospurga, nor against their father, that is, Toto, nor against the episcopal church of Freising, that is, Arbeo, to whom these things have been entrusted and conveyed forever after their deaths, neither with regard to churches nor estates nor arable land nor slaves nor vineyards nor any property or profit arising from the estate. Done with the consent of the duke and the magnates (*proceris*) who were able to be there, in the presence of Bishop Virgil. These witnesses, tugged by the ears, conveyed and confirmed it on behalf of both parties so that hereafter no cause for division or quarreling over the patrimony might remain: Bishops Arbeo and Oadalhart as witnesses, Salucho witness, Hartnud, Droant, Helmuni, Craman, Fricho, Riholf, Chuniperht and Adalo justiciars, confirming and consenting and giving judgment according to the law on the afore noted day in the year included above, they established it to be valid forever with the priests Tato and Ratolt and Arn present. I, Sundheri the deacon, have written up this charter of confirmation by command from the mouth of Bishop Arbeo.

TF 87, 777x83 (69v)

#### The Conveyance of Hugiperht from Holzhausen

Concerning the conveyance which Hugiperht made in the presence of many, whatever he had of his own allod in the place Holzhausen, arable, meadows, woodlands, slaves, all of it completely he conveyed validly to the cathedral church of St Mary situated in the borough of Freising. These are the witnesses and their names: Waltrih priest, Ellannod priest, Friduperht priest, Ekkihart priest, Memmo a layman, Hroadperht, Alprih layman, Rihperht layman.

TF 88, 18 February 778 (53v)

#### The Conveyance of Adalgart and Oadalger from Schäftlarn

Concerning the oratory of Adalgart and Oadalger built in the place called Schäftlarn, and its conveyance with the altar and its endowment by the hand of the consecrator Bishop Waltrih and of the immediate heir Liutfrid the priest to the episcopal cathedral and church of Bishop Arbeo to whom the diocese is discerned to be subject for confirmation of this conveyance, that is to the Blessed and Inviolable Virgin Mary for the cathedral built within the borough of Freising, in the 31st year of the reign of Duke Tassilo, on the consular day which was the 12th calends of March, in the 1st indiction. And these are the witnesses and their names: Waltrich bishop, Liutfrid, Hununc priests, Atto, Helmker, Madalger, Erchnolf, Starcholf, Urso, Waldman. I Sundarheri deacon wrote it up commanded from the mouth of Bishop Arbeo.

TF 90, 7 August 778 (59r)

#### The Conveyance of Husina and Irminpald from Pullach and Biburg

Concerning the dedication and conveyance to the bishopric of St Mary in the place Freising to the cathedral church of the Mother of God Ever Virgin, that Bishop Arbeo was the dedicator of two churches in one day, that is at Pullach which Husina and Irminpald founded, likewise at Biburg which Rihheri and Wolfhart built with their companions; in the 31st year of the reign of the Lord Tassilo Most Illustrious Duke, on the consular day which was the 7th ides of August they validly conveyed by common hands the above said houses of God to the afore noted episcopal cathedral together with all things pertaining to them by right, fields, slaves, meadows, pastures, woodlands, cultivated and uncultivated. No one shall be able or dare to oppose it, but rather they shall endure valid and inviolable both for us as for our kinsmen and descendants. These are the witnesses and their names: Waldman, Adalfrid, Cozperht, Fritilo, Kepahoh, Eio, Adalhram, Rihheri, Kerwentil, Wolfhart, Sigipald, Immino, Hrodrih, Helfrih, and many others whose names are not easily numbered or recorded.

TF 96, 16 June 779 (Conrad 14v)

#### The Conveyance of Reichertshausen

We bring forth a written notice that a certain religious woman by the name of Toza built an oratory on her own allodial land in the place which is called Reichertshausen in honor of St Corbinian, to which church she granted all of her patrimony, that is slaves, fields, meadows, pastures, clearings, woodlands, and watercourses, except for two colon holdings, that is the colon holding of Willifrid which I consign in benefice to Sigihard my son; in like manner also to my son Rodmund I consign the colon holding of Willico in benefice. However, after their death they shall endure to the afore noted titular church, and she conveyed that same titular church to the bishopric, the church of the Blessed and Inviolable



Virgin Mary built within the borough of Freising, in perpetual possession both for myself as for my predecessors. If anyone attempts to oppose this deed, let him have his suit with God and with the same Mother of God. Done in the afore noted vill on the consular day which was the 16th calends of July, with the Lord and Most illustrious Duke Tassilo reigning in the 32nd year. [The names of the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances.]

TF 97, 16/18 June 779 (34v)

The Conveyance of Hroadswind from Arzbach and of Meginolt from Inzemoos

[a.] These are the witnesses: Selprat, Alprat, Toto, Orendil, Maiaran, Tarchnat, Raginperht, Lantfrid, Nendinc, Hrepin, Maricho, Maio. The one who established these things was Frumolt. After the death of Frumolt, I Hroadswind conveyed for our souls the church built on our allodial property at Arzbach to the honor of St Mary and conveyed by Maio, the founder, to the bishopric of St Mary into the hand of Bishop Ardeo, together with dwelling and with all buildings and appurtenances, whatever is seen to pertain to it by the laws. And it was confirmed by the above noted witnesses on the consular day which was the 16th calends of July; confirmed by the Lord and Most Illustrious Duke Tassilo during the 32nd year of his reign.

[b.] In like manner, on the second day Meginolt confirmed to the afore noted bishopric the oratory which he founded on his own allodial property, that it might endure fixed forever in the vill which is called Inzemoos by the hand of Bishop Ardeo to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place Freising; he conveyed the above said church validly and whatever ought by the laws to pertain to it, this he confirmed by the hand of the above said bishop and consecrator, and he secured it by the present letters. These are the witnesses concerning which church and conveyance: Lantfrid, Maginperht, Tarchnat, Selprat, Onolf, Helis, Aaron, Peradeo, and many others at the time moreover as above. Nevertheless, on this condition in both conveyances, so that if their respective sons were to advance to ecclesiastical status, together with those same allodial properties they shall abide to the bishopric above noted, and after their death, it should continue to abide as is specified by the writing. I Alpolt the priest wrote it up from the mouth of Ardeo.

TF 101, 779x83 (46r)

The Conveyance of Rihpald the Priest at Germerswang

Whereas in the Name of God both by consideration of the supernal will and in hope of repayment in the future life, I Rihpald the priest pondering that I might be worthy to received forgiveness of sins from a pious Lord, on that account we have conveyed our own property and allod lying within the place called Germerswang completely after our death and discharged it to the church of the Blessed and Inviolat Virgin of God, Mary, built in the town of Freising and to the tomb of the Blessed Confessor of Christ Corbinian, and certified it for perpetual possession. For we have conveyed in that same place a church with dwelling which Bishop Ardeo dedicated and with all the buildings, fields, meadows, pastures, woodlands, woodland clearings, waters and watercourses, slaves, colons, and whatever utensils for use are seen to be within our authority. Thus, after our death as we have specified above in writing we certify it to endure conveyed forever and inviolate, so that if anyone attempts to oppose or attack or breach it, let him be damned by an unbreakable chain and endure forever anathema and partake his judgment with that same Mother of God and the afore noted Confessor of Christ Corbinian, and nonetheless this conveyance shall endure valid by subjoined stipulation, and what is removed unjustly from our church through our idleness or weakness, by your good will and wisdom let it be reclaimed to that same place so that it might endure forever amongst the inheritance of the saints. Amen.

TF 102, 11/13 September 780 (46r)

The Conveyance of Cunzo and Folchmar the Clerk

[a.] With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever in the 33rd year of the Most Religious Duke Tassilo, on the consular day which was the 3rd ides of September, I Cunzo [conveyed at .... ?] the allodial property left by my father, all of it both cultivated and uncultivated, whatever I was seen to possess, so that after my death, if the Lord should grant me offspring, my own portion ought to pertain by the present conveyance to the church of the Blessed and Inviolable Virgin of Christ and Mother of God, Mary, situated in the borough of Freising. If not, however, then this conveyance in its entirety shall endure valid and fixed, that is male and female slaves, tributaries, buildings, woodland clearings, woodlands, waters and watercourses, fields, all the utensils I have conveyed in the presence of Bishop Arbeo with all the clergy in that obedience, as is discerned to be written above. And these are the witnesses and their names: Pern, Wolfperht, both priests, Wigrat, Eio, Deotan, Toto, Situli, all clerks.

[b.] At the same time but only a bit later, that is on the ides of September, Folchmar the clerk conveyed and confirmed himself and his property [at ....?] together with all the utensils after his death to the Blessed and Inviolable Mother of God, Mary. And these are the witnesses and their names: Tarchnat, Waldperht, Petto, Pern, Toto, Situli, Eio, Deotan, Rihpald Sundarheri. I Sundarheri the deacon wrote this up from the mouth of Bishop Arbeo and am witness to both conveyances.

TF 108, 782x83 (100v)

The Conveyance of Adalhelm

[a.] With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever, in the 35th year of the reign of Tassilo, Glorious Duke of the people of the Bavarians, I Adalhelm, moved thus by the divine mercy of Our God, and for the remedy of my soul and eternal recompense, I grant and validly convey my inheritance in the place which is called Adelzhausen, all of it completely to the relics of St Mary; and in that same place we began to build a church, and, when it was done, there all things pertaining to my inheritance were affirmed, and also I conveyed it to the priest Oadalpald and to my most beloved son, Altilo, to possess and to keep safe. With Abbot Atto, moreover, taking possession and defending it in like manner under his lordship, I conveyed and confirmed the aforesaid inheritance, with dwellings, buildings, slaves together with all things which they hold, moveable and immovable, lands, meadows, woodlands, waters, mills, watercourses, ways, pastures, all of it completely, whatever I am seen to hold there, to the above said cathedral church of St Mary in the place Freising, with no one contradicting by subjoined stipulation. Done in the vill which is called Bernbach. If anyone, either I or any opponent, presumes to attempt anything against this deed, let him incur the judgment of God and pay whatever is just. These are the names of the witnesses of the first conveyance to Oadalpald the priest: Coteperht, Heriperht, Maiol, Rifuni, Waltheri, Scrot, Haduker, Sigidanc, Ainhart.

[b.] At the second conveyance, I Adalhelm, equally and the priest Oadalpald, conveyed the aforesaid inheritance to Abbot Atto, and we have confirmed it and tugged witnesses by their ears whose names are: first the aforesaid Coteperht, Salomon, David, Angilheri, Otperht, Croon the priest, Poto the deacon as witness. I Hato the priest wrote this deed and subscribed to it.

TF 109, ante 788/ca 790 (75v)

The Conveyance of Regino and his Wife

[a.] In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. I Regino and my wife Oaspirin have thus conveyed and transferred for the remedy of our souls whatever we had as inheritance and whatever her father conveyed to her as





her own property by permission of the Lord Duke Tassilo in the place which is called Kammer to the church of the Holy Mother of God Mary in the borough called Freising, that is one male slave by the name of Adalperht and his wife Waldni together with their sons whose names are Crimperht and Zeizilo together with all things pertaining and appurtenant to them with buildings, ploughlands cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, pastures, woodlands, watercourses, moveables and immoveables, all of it completely to possess for the aforesaid place after our death. These are the witnesses: Selprat the sheriff as witness, Wicrat as witness, Salomon as witness, Poapo as witness, Otpald as witness.

[b.] Also another conveyance which I Regino and my most dear son Liuto made to the aforesaid church for the remedy of our souls, whatever we were able to buy for an inheritance from those persons whose names are Cunzila, Ekkileip, Waltrih, that is, ploughland, meadows, pastures and woodlands. And we have established this that it be firm and unmoveable after our death. These are the witnesses who saw and heard this conveyance done: Hiltigis, Adalperht, Oadalperht, Ermperht, Riholf, Helpfrih, Oathelm. Moreover, I Williperht the deacon wrote this by command from the Lord Bishop Atto.

TF 110, 4 July ante 790 (65r)

[Renner: The Renewal by Muniperht the Clerk]

[Be it known to all the faithful that Muniperht the clerk] conveyed his [own inheritance] to the cathedral church of the Blessed and Inviolable Virgin Mary at Freising into the hands of Bishop Atto, that is in two places, at Herbertshausen and also at the Würm, whatever he held of his own inheritance in these two places, all of it completely, he left nothing out but all of it completely he conveyed into the hands of the Venerable Man Bishop Atto, on this very condition: that Basilius his son might have permission to hold this same in benefice, and Basilius himself, wholly without any objection, should remain firmly attached to the the cathedral church of St Mary. These are the witnesses: first, Mezzi the sheriff, Tarchanat priest, Hununc priest, Wicrat clerk, Tiso priest, Francho priest, Lantfrid priest. This was done in the cathedral church of St Mary in the place Freising on the consular day which happened on the 4th nones of July.

TF 112, 783x91 (101r)

Wolfperht's Conveyance

Whereas in God's Name I was pondering and considering about my soul and the future life so that I might be worthy to receive a measure of forgiveness from a pious Lord, therefore I Wolfperht grant and discharge to the church of the Blessed and Inviolable Virgin Mary within the town of Freising, a public place, my own inheritance that my father Erchanperht left me as an inheritance in the vill called Wolfertshausen [*Wolfperhtes-husir*] and whatever pertains to these places and that which I have been able to acquire, so that while I live and after my death the steward and incumbent of that same above said church might have power over all that which my above said father left. Accordingly, I have conveyed and discharged my own inheritance and acquired property in that aforesaid place; moreover all the remaining appurtenances, that is in fields, meadows, pastures, waters and watercourses and whatever is seen to be within our authority, all of the appurtenances of that place I have confirmed in full devotion to remain forever to that aforesaid place with no one objecting. If anyone, which I do not believe to be, either I myself or any of my kinsmen or any opponent should attempt to oppose this donation, let him appear as excommunicate by God the judge of the living and the dead and have his share with the traitor Judas, and this conveyance shall endure nonetheless as valid. And these are the witnesses: Hununc priest, Pern priest, Tiso priest, Wicrat clerk, Marcheo clerk, Toto clerk, Heripald clerk, Situli clerk, Salaman layman, Reginperht layman. I Pern unworthy priest wrote this conveyance having been commanded by Bishop Atto.

TF 118, September 784-January 785 (37v)

The Conveyance of Helmker from Singenbach

In the Name of God. I, Helmker, have taken counsel with myself for the redemption of my soul and built a house of God in honor of St Peter outside the vill named Munninpah [Singenbach] upon my own hereditary property and that of my fathers; and there I convey myself into the service of God, myself and with me all those things which were mine by law: first, in that very vill previously noted above; and in another place which is called Ried; and in a third place on the bank of the river which is called the Glonn, a vill named Walkershofen; and in a fourth place which is called Pleitmannswang; dwellings, messuages, male and female slaves, and all things pertaining to me there, land cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, pastures, woodlands, water courses, nothing have I set aside except for these, Miltunc, Sindperht, Wolfpirc, and three others which suit us. All these things I have done with the permission of the Most Illustrious Lord Our Duke Tassilo, in the 37th year of his ducal reign, the 7th indiction. If anyone attempts to go against this deed, in the first place let him incur the wrath of God and let him have his suit with the Blessed Peter, and his common lot with the traitor Jude, and nonetheless this deed shall remain valid. The sign of Hwasmot, sign of Tassilo duke, sign of Oadalhart bishop, sign of Hunrih abbot, sign of Fricho priest, sign of Sigideo abbot, sign of Reginperht priest, sign Otlant priest, sign of Waldker, sign of Adalger, sign of Alhmunt, sign of Ellanpald.

TF 119, September 784-January 785 (Conrad 14r)

The Conveyance from Munninpah [Singenbach]

In the Name of God our Savior. I Helmker, pondering and taking counsel for my soul and the future life so that I might deserve to receive a measure of forgiveness with a pious Lord, thus I conveyed my own hereditary property to the church which I myself built in the place called Munninpach [Singenbach], that is, Ried, Walkertshofen, Pleitmannswang, and all things which pertain to those places, that is, demesne slaves, families by household, woodlands, pastures, meadows, and watercourses with all furnishings; and that very church which we mentioned above, I have conveyed to the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Christ's Confessor Corbinian in the place called Freising for my soul and for my son Reginhoh, so that after my death it might be firm; and if anyone attempts to break this conveyance, let him incur the wrath of God and pay compensation as the law provides, and nonetheless this conveyance shall remain valid. [The names of the witnesses of this conveyance are contained in the book of conveyances.]

TF 120, 1 October 788 (97v)

The Conveyance of Deotlind from Nörting

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, I Deotlind, pondering and considering in the Name of God the future life and the benefit of eternal recompense, so that from my sins I might merit to receive forgiveness of my sins, accordingly I convey and transfer all things pertaining to me, whether of my own property or gained by any sort of acquisition, in the place which is called Nörting, that is two manses: Emicho with his wife Hroadwar and son by the name of Liutperht together with their household and substance, whatever he is seen to hold, and another male slave by the name of Wolfdeo with his wife Perhthilt and with a son named Hroduni and a daughter named Waltrat and a son Sikifrid; and moreover that which I have presented in benefice with the consent of Bishop Atto to the deacon Snelmot, that is, two slaves with the ploughland pertaining to one manse. All of this by valid hand with no one objecting I convey and confirm to the church of the Blessed and Undefined Ever Virgin Mary at the episcopal church in the place called Freising, so that there the conveyance might

endure firm and fixed just as we have already said, the slaves, messuages, built dwellings, ploughland, meadows, waters and watercourses, pastures and the boundary ways, just as it was accustomed of old by our ancestors from the beginning by subjoined stipulation. Done in the borough called Freising on the consular day with the Magnificent and Glorious Lord Charles, King of the Franks and Langobards and Patricius of the Romans, reigning in his 20th year, on the day in the month which is the calends of October, in the 11th indiction. These are the witnesses: Alprat the sheriff, Hamadeo, Hununc the priest, Cozzo the clerk, Maio, Enzilo, Altman the deacon. I Snelmot by my own hand from the mouth of Bishop Atto wrote this deed and subscribed.

TF 123, 788x91 (169v)

#### The Conveyance of Liupato and Hroadbert at Moosach

In the Name of the Lord. Be it known to all the faithful that I Liupato and Hroadperht have conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary all of our inheritance in the place Moosach, whatever of our own inheritance we are perceived to have in that same place and the portion of my [sic] wife, all of it altogether we have conveyed validly to Freising. These witnesses: Tunno, Rumolt, Oadalker, Hroadperht, Otrich, Porci, Adalker, Coteфриd.

TF 128, ca 790x91 (121r)

#### The Conveyance of Karuheri from Etzenhausen

In the Name of Our Savior. I Karuheri, pondering and considering about my soul and the future life so that I might be worthy to receive a measure of forgiveness from a pious God, thus I conveyed to the bishopric of St Mary and to St Corbinian Christ's Confessor in the the place called Freising one household with four slaves and with the same colon holding lying in the place Etzenhausen which it holds there and the third part of the fields and with all the utensils which pertained to me as an inheritance to the same above said man, Lord Corbinian, that it be fixed forever. And I Karuheri was overcome by illness. Hence, I summoned my brother, Ernst, to confirm this same conveyance which I made at the altar of St Mary, and furthermore that there be witnesses tugged by the ears, and if anyone attempts to break this conveyance, let him have portion with Judas the traitor, and this deed nonetheless shall endure valid. And these are the witnesses: Altman deacon, Hitto clerk, Hunolt layman, Einhart layman. I Heilrih the subdeacon and monk wrote this commanded from the mouth of Bishop Atto.

TF 129, 790x94 (81r)

#### The Conveyance of Hugiperht the Priest for Freising

In the Name of God Our Savior. I Hugiperht the priest, pondering and considering about my soul and the future life so that I might be worthy to receive a measure of forgiveness from a Pious Lord, for that reason I conveyed to the bishopric of St Mary in the place called Freising, these are churches and households by holdings and slaves, arable, meadows, woodlands, watercourses, and all things that I had I conveyed to the place which we have recalled above that it be firm forever. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Atto a layman, Chraft, Waltheri a layman, Hetto a layman, Podalunc, Tunzi, Kislolt, Ferholt, Warmunt, Oadalker laymen. And if anyone should attempt to breach this conveyance, let him join suit with the Omnipotent God, and pay composition as is the law, and this conveyance shall endure valid nonetheless. I, Berno unworthy priest and monk wrote this conveyance commanded by the mouth of Bishop Atto.

TF 132, 790x94 (92r)

## The Conveyance of Adalo and Reginpald

In the Name of Christ. While I was pondering and considering about my soul and the future life so that I might be worthy to receive a measure of forgiveness from a pious Lord, thus I Adalo, although a sinner, convey and discharge my own inheritance in the place which is called Schrobenausen and at Edelshausen to the borough called Freising for St Mary and St Corbinian, that is slaves, land with buildings, fields, meadows, pastures, woodlands, cultivated and uncultivated, moveables and immoveables, waters and watercourses, together with all the utensils, whatever pertains to my share. And these are the witnesses: Hamadeo, Sindeo, Cundram, Amalperht, Cozmar, Rihperht, Adalker, Pazrih, Riheri, Reginperht. If anyone should attempt to oppose this deed of conveyance or try to breach it, either I myself or any of my heirs, let him incur the wrath of God and have his suit with St Mary and his share with Judas the traitor, and this deed of conveyance shall endure in every wise valid. And I Reginpald have confirmed this deed and conveyance.

TF 133, 790x94 (109v)

## Rihperht Conveyed Gerenzhausen

I Rihperht for the remedy of my soul have conveyed my hereditary property in the place which is called Gerenzhausen to St Mary in the place called Freising, whatever is seen to be of hereditary property in that said place, that it might remain validly to the service of God and of those blessed persons abiding honorably there. These are the witnesses and their names: Tiso, Oadalgrim the deacon, Hitto the clerk, Egiwint the clerk, Alholf the clerk.

TF 135, 20 July 790x803 (103r)

## Job [and] Helmpirich Made Conveyance

In the Name of Christ. I Job and Helmpirich my wife have conveyed to St Mary, to the place Freising for the health of our souls and for Selprat and Deothilta whatever we had in the place called Feldmoching, that is 60 yokes and 30 cartloads of meadows. These are the witnesses and their names who were tugged by the ears: first, Adalo, Wolfperht, Engilperht, Ermpert, Hramperht, Crimuni, Cunzo, laymen, Wicrat, Sundarheri deacons, Isaac deacon; in the presence of Atto made bishop. And whoever attempts to oppose this deed and wishes to breach it, in the first place may he incur the wrath of God and thereafter be made a stranger to the thresholds of the saints, and this deed shall endure nonetheless valid. This was done in the vill which is called Isen, in the church of the Blessed Zeno Confessor on the consular day which was the 13th calends of August. I Isaac the deacon wrote this deed at the command of Bishop Atto, and in the aforesaid place which is called Feldmoching they thus conveyed and certified whatever from the properties of the church pertaining to them, whether of slaves or lands, with the witnesses who are written above for the church of the Blessed Mary in the borough of Freising, into the hands of Bishop Atto.

TF 142, 20 September 791 (173r)

## Concerning the Church at Awigozeshusir

In the Name of God. A memorandum of the deliberations concerning the church of St Martin in a place called Awigozeshusir, since Hiltiprot and Egilolf tried, without cause, to reduce that church to their



lordship after ejecting their coheirs; and their coheirs in that church were Eio the priest, and his brother, Isangrim, and his brother, Erchanperht. And all the coheirs disputed amongst themselves concerning the church. And then all of the Huosi were assembled, and they held a council amongst themselves, but they were unable to reach a settlement about the church or to agree amongst themselves. And Oadalker and Reginhart and Nibulunc told Eio the priest to go to his own bishop and to declare the matter to him. And he did this, and the Lord Bishop sent him together with his coheirs to the royal commissioners at the place called Lorch upon the hill called the Wartberg. Bishop Arn was there, Gerolt, Meginfrid, Wolfwolt, and Rimicoz the justice. And Eio the priest came before them there together with his coheirs whose names are Isangrim, Erchanperht, Cunzo with his sons, and many others who took the part of Eio the priest in this dispute. The pleading before the above said imperial commissioners lasted for three days. On the third day the aforesaid Egilolf and Hiltiport, having been convicted according to law, returned that same church into the hands of Eio the priest and of his coheirs, fellow claimants with him to that church, two shares in all the possessions of the same church, and the other co-proprietors did likewise with the remaining share. And they confirmed this amongst themselves with an agreement. This was done on the consular day, the 12th calends of October. And these are the witnesses who saw all of this at Lorch in the presence of all those assembled there: Oadalker, Reginhart, Nibulunc, Hrocholf, Tagaperht, Hramperht, Isangrim, Pernolf, Altiperht, Avô, Telo, Ampho, Immino, Tuto, Alphoh, Reginperht, Helmperht, Sigimot. This was done on the river Enns in the already named place, Lorch. Then they returned from there to their own places and completed everything as they were obliged by law to do in this manner: that on an agreed day they all assembled at the church, and the same Egilolf and Hiltiport, having taken hold of the altar-cloth, returned the two shares to the possessions of the church with the altar; and, for the third share in the church, they received Eio into the position as priest. When this was done, they summoned witnesses whose names are these: Isangrim, Erchanperht, Cunzo with his sons, Oadalker, and many others. This was done with the consent of Bishop Atto and all who were seen to hold any share in the same church.

TF 143, September 791 (99v)

#### The Conveyance of Tutilo the Priest from Rottbach

[a.] In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. A summary account of the deed of conveyance of Tutilo the priest together with his kinsman, Oazo, and his brother by the name of Cozzilo. As we consider eternal blessedness and the future life with a pious God, in order that we might receive forgiveness, therefore, we have established by our intent a part of the inheritance which by lawful right of kinship we have taken into possession, so that, inspired by the aid of divine grace, we might erect an oratory on our own allodial property in a place which is called Rottbach. Which, with the Lord's aid, we have accomplished and summoned Bishop Atto whose was the sacerdotal office of consecrating churches throughout his diocese. When the consecration of the church and altar was complete, we, I Tutilo together with my coheirs above written, conveyed to the altar dedicated in honor of St Peter and with other relics all that we are seen to hold there by our inheritance. First, the aforesaid Tutilo conveyed slaves 14 in number, ploughland, with woodlands and fields, meadows, waters and watercourses, everything completely from my own property setting nothing aside. Likewise, I, Oazo, have conveyed the portion remaining after I have shared with my son, Meiolf, everything completely, whatever pertained to my shares, to that same altar: slaves 14 in number, land cultivated and uncultivated, woodlands, waters, all of it together I have conveyed and confirmed. Likewise also for the shares of my brothers, I Tutilo made conveyance for our souls. With all of these things completed by conveyance, having taken hold the pall of the altar, I, the above named Tutilo the priest together with my aforesaid coheirs, we have conveyed it to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising into the hands of Bishop Atto, whence I, Tutilo the priest, have taken up that same oratory in benefice from the aforesaid bishop for the days of my life. Moreover, after my death it shall remain firm to that same bishopric for our souls, that is, of my father Pirhtilo, and mother, Ata, as also the brothers Fritilo, Cozzilo, Petilo, Waltfrid, together with their children, Fritilo,



Situli, Swidpurc. These are the witnesses: Tutilo the priest as witness, Oazo as witness, Meiol as witness, Freido as witness, Otperht as witness, Lanto as witness, Alpuni as witness, Kaganhart as witness, Erachar the priest. Done at a place located amongst the tents next to the town which is called Lorch, with the Glorious King Charles reigning in his 23rd year.

[b.] A dispute broke out amongst them; certain of them wished to expel the aforesaid Tutilo the priest from that same church which, however, they could in no wise do because he had been confirmed and ordained by canonical authority and by the consent of his nearest kin. Nevertheless, that dispute increased, and he came to the palace of the lord king. Having taken this account, he brought it before the commissioners of the lord king who are Gerolt and Meginfrid, and there it was determined amongst them in this manner: that the aforesaid Tutilo should have authority in all things concerning the aforesaid oratory and whatever pertained to it as was first established, and after his death it should validly pertain to the cathedral church of St Mary without any contradiction. These are the names of those who interposed with Bishop Atto and his opponents in confirmation: Gerolt as witness, Meginfrid as witness, Helmuni the sheriff as witness, Waninc the justice as witness, Wolfolt the justice as witness, Eginolf as witness, Adalperht as witness, Hiltiperht as witness, Sindperht as witness, Meginhart as witness, Ermperht as witness, Freido as witness. I, Altman the deacon, wrote it and subscribed.

TF 144, 791? (77r)

#### The Conveyance of Oazo and his Wife from Rottbach

He is well possessed in landed goods who with the earthly and perishable acquires celestial and eternal properties as rewards before God. On that account, I Oazo, have erected a church in the place called Rottbach together with my wife Cotania and my daughter Engilsnota, a handmaiden of God. And I myself and Engilsnot made the altar by our own hands, and we invited there the Venerable Bishop Atto to consecrate that altar, and that same honorable bishop accomplished it in honor of St Mary and St Michael with holy relics. And I Oazo and my son Meiol conveyed to that same altar our slaves of whom the names are: Cozolt, Eepo, Lantpiric, Angilswind, Waninc, Lantpiric, Perahtleih, Alpwih, Paldrih, Perahttram Engilwih, Amalni, Adaldrud, Otta, Hiltilo, Hiltihart; Cotesdiu gave Asoltan and Wicdrud; and everything which we had received in share from our own inheritance together with all utensils, that it might remain valid and affixed to the above written church. And the church itself we validly conveyed without any objection together with all things pertaining to it after our death to the cathedral church of St Mary and to the tomb of St Corbinian Christ's Confessor in the place Freising; indeed, on this condition the conveyance is valid: if after our decease anyone of our close kin attaches himself to the service of God in sacerdotal office, and is obedient in all matters to the church of St Mary at Freising, with the permission of that bishop who in those times is discerned to preside over the above written cathedral church, he may dispose over both the main estate and holdings thereafter just as I have established these matters in the presence of the bishop and confirmed before the authorities. And I Tutilo the priest have given to the aforesaid church in the presence of the same bishop a chalice and paten and sacramentary and whatever of paternal inheritance I have accepted as my own share or by any manner lawfully acquired for myself together I offer faithfully and firmly with these slaves: Adalmunt, Sicco, Kerleip, Froihilt, Angilswind, Waninc, Otilo, Otta, Liupwar, Hettilo, Ratheri, Liutheri Niunta; together with all things which pertain to me as inheritance either from my father or from my kinsmen: fields, meadows, woodlands, mountains, hills, pastures, shorelines and watercourses, cultivated and uncultivated, that it might remain valid forever. And I Cozzilo have done likewise and am a witness. Erachar the priest as witness, Ellannod deacon as witness, Anno as witness, Situli clerk as witness, Otperht, Reginhart, Kaganhart, Tutilo as witnesses. Oazo, Meiol as witnesses, Freido as witness, Haduleih as witness, Hraffolt as witness. If anyone tries to oppose this deed, first may he incur the wrath of God, and have a share with Judas the traitor, and be condemned forever and ever.



TF 145, 791x802 (99r)

#### For the Church Which is Called Farchant

A written notice of how Irminheri and several of his companions, who joined in this dispute against Bishop Atto for the church which is situated in the place which is called Farchant, having been defeated and overcome by law, they returned the same church into the hands of Bishop Atto and whatever was seen lawfully to pertain to it, and they established that no further dispute would ever be raised on this account at any time by them. First they themselves stood forth as witnesses who previously had contended, that is: Irminheri, Hrodlant, Deotmar, Regino. Thereupon other witnesses were introduced who heard and saw this, that is: Reginhart, Nipulunc, Kaganhart, Oadalker, Hitto. I Tagabert indeed wrote this deed by order of Bishop Atto.

TF 146, ante 807 (110r)

#### The Conveyance of Waltfrid; He Conveyed Huppenberg

Concerning the conveyance which Waltfrid made in a place called Huppenberg: whatever he held lawfully as his share, he conveyed all of it completely to the cathedral church of St Mary and Christ's Confessor St Corbinian. These are the witnesses: first, Waltrih the priest, Cundachar, Cundachar the clerk, Poaso a layman. This was done in the place Freising in the presence of the Lord Bishop Atto and of many others from the holy household: Pern, Hununc, Alpolt.

TF 147, ca 800 (151r)

#### The Dispute with Managolt and Others

A written notice of how Managolt a priest and Hantuni a layman disputed with Bishop Atto for an inheritance which previously had been conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. However, defeated and lawfully overcome at length, they restored it into the hands of Bishop Atto, and they established that no objection would ever arise from this, that is, for Etzenhausen. These are the witnesses: first Adalunc priest, Ernust, Hunolt, Tuato, Meginolt, Isanperht. I Tagabert wrote it at the command of Bishop Atto.

TF 148, 791x808 (123r)

#### Concerning Isangrim's Sale with Bishop Atto

A written notice of the sale which Isangrim made with the Lord Bishop Atto in a place which is called Holzhausen, all of it complete, whatever pertained to his own inheritance, he conveyed all things with the above said Lord Bishop Atto returning the purchase price, that is ploughland with meadows, pastures, woodlands cultivated and uncultivated, waters and courses, so that it be valid and fixed with these agreeing and none speaking against; these are the witnesses: Wolfperht, Adalhart, Sindeo, Nothart, Liuthram, Erchanperht, Ampho.

TF 149, 791x808 (67v)

#### The Conveyance of Isangrim and Liutpurc his Mother from Holzhausen

In the Name of Christ. Thus I Liutpurc and my son Isangrim conveyed our inheritance to the place which is called Freising for St Mary, that is one basilica, two colon holdings with buildings, half of the

ploughland, meadows, pastures, fields and two shares of the woodlands in the place which is called Holzhausen, for the health of our souls and of our kinsmen and of our sons, and their names are: Oadalperht, Liutrat, Reginolf, Ellangrim, Erchanperht. These moreover are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Oadlaker, Coteperht, Anno, Kaganhart, Nothart, Adalhart, Immino, Ampho, Cozperht, Altrih, Friduperht, Folrat.

TF 155, 792x93 (122v)

#### The Conveyance of Sindeo from at the Laimbach

In the Name of God Our Savior. I Sindeo have conveyed my own inheritance for the remedy of my soul in the place which is called at the Laimbach, two shares, the third share I gave to my wife for her lawful portion. On that account I conveyed two shares for the Blessed St Mary and the church of Christ's Confessor St Corbinian in the place which is called at Freising after my death, and also three slaves: Rihflat together with two children. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: first, Liut, Pazrih, Crimuni, Wifholf, Emicho, Ekkihart Perhthram. I Horskeo unworthy priest wrote it.

TF 156, 792x94 (84r)

#### Cotescalh the Priest and Cozpald the Priest

In the Name of Our God and Savior Jesus Christ. I Cotescalh priest and Cozpald priest, as we were pondering and considering for our souls and for the future life so that we might be worthy to receive a measure of forgiveness from a Pious Lord, by an agreement moreover made between us with the advice of the Lord Bishop Atto each conveyed to the other his own inheritance up to their death in the place which is called Lauterbach, but with Cotescalh nevertheless having authority over it; and immediately afterwards we conveyed our abovesaid inheritance to St Mary at the place called Freising in the presence of the Lord Bishop Atto and all of his congregation, that is with all equipment, land cultivated and uncultivated, with meadows, pastures, woodlands, movables and immovables, together with male and female slaves and whatever we have in additional property purchased with money or by improvement, all of it completely after our death so vested and improved without any opposition let it return to the above said cathedral church in that order, that so long as we may live holding authority over the land as enjoying its use. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: first, those same above said priests Cotescalh and Cozpald, Ortheri priest, Williperht, Altman deacons, Hitto, Arnolt, Irminfrid, clerks. Moreover, I Heilrih wrote it commanded by that same Lord Bishop.

TF 157, 12 May 792x800 (56v)

#### The Conveyance of Cotania from Jesenwang

In the Name of the Highest God. I Cotani, unworthy woman, grant for my soul and discharge from my portion which my father left me as my own inheritance within the boundary which is called Jesenwang, that is one equipped manse and 40 yokes of ploughland and 20 cartloads worth of meadows, this I convey in the presence of my husband, Oazo, and of my daughter, Engilsnot, to the church of St Michael Archangel and of St Mary Ever Virgin at the place which is called Rottbach for the remedy of my soul and for eternal recompense, so that on the Day of Judgment I might deserve to have forgiveness. And if any man, which we doubt to be, either I, or my son, or any of my heirs, or any other sort of opponent attempt to act against this donation or to break it, first he shall incur the wrath of God in Heaven and remain excommunicate from the abode of the saints, and this deed yet endure valid and inviolate forever. If, indeed, any person should ever attempt to break it, let him not have God's permission, and let him be anathema from all the

saints, and for this let him bring to the fisc one pound of gold and be compelled by the king to pay five pounds of silver. This was done within the church of St Michael and St Mary at the place above written, with our King Charles reigning; this conveyance was done on the 4th ides of May.

TF 159, 792x800 (149r)

#### Engilsnot Returned the Benefice

How Engilsnot returned the benefice which she held at Rottbach into the hands of the Lord Bishop Atto, and afterwards that same Engilsnot received that same property as a benefice for rent from Bishop Atto by his mercy. These are the witnesses: Adalhart, Pern, Alto, Isanhart, Alprih, Salomon, Scalco, Memmo, Kaganhart, Heimo, Weriant, Egisperht, Hramperht, Kiso, Roho, Kerpald, Poasilo, Jacob.

TF 163, ca 800 (116v)

#### The Conveyance of Adalunc the Priest from Etzenhausen

Concerning the conveyance which Adalunc the priest made. He conveyed all of his inheritance and acquired property, whatever he held in the place which is called Etzenhausen; validly he conveyed it to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place Freising, that is ploughlands, buildings, fields, meadows, pastures, woodlands, cultivated and uncultivated, all of it completely, whatever he held in the afore said place he confirmed with witnesses. These are the witnesses: Lantfrid priest, Liutto priest, Ernest, Wetti, Sigperht, Maio, Ermanolt, Hrodperht, Walahram, Cundhram, Selpker, all laymen.

TF 165, 22 December 793 (126v)

#### Sheriff Cundhart for Huppenberg

In the Name of God. Thus, I Sheriff Cundhart pondering and considering about my soul and the future life so that I might be worthy to receive a portion of forgiveness from a pious Lord, convey and discharge my own inheritance in the place which is called Huppenberg to the place called Freising for St Mary the Mother of God and for St Corbinian who rests there in body, that is the land with meadows, pastures, woodlands, fields, cultivated and uncultivated, and watercourses. If anyone attempts to oppose this conveyance and tries to breach it, either I or anyone from amongst my heirs, let him incur the wrath of God, and be made a stranger from the portals of St Peter Prince of the Apostles, and compose as is law. This was done in the place which is called Freising, on the consular day which is the 11th calends of January, the 6th indiction, in the 26th and 25th [sic] year with the Most Glorious King Charles reigning. These are the witnesses: Ellannod archpriest, Tiso priest, Riholt priest, Aaron priest, Cozmar Toato, Otachar. Moreover, I Tagabert deacon wrote it.

TF 167, 793-806 (105v)

#### Liutfrid and Erchanfrid

In the Name of God Our Savior. I, Liutfrid, and Erchanfrid, have conveyed by joint hand meadows in a place named Esting to the altar of St Lawrence in the village called Maisach for the salvation of our father whose name was Deodolt because our father's body is buried in that same church, so that he might be worthy to receive some absolution with St Lawrence and have his intercessions with God. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: first, Kaganhart, Cozmar, Crimuni, Toto, Waltrih. And if anyone tries to break this donation let him incur the wrath of God and pay in compensation according to law and, nonetheless this charter will endure valid. And I, Marcheo, unworthy deacon, wrote this conveyance at the command of Bishop Atto.

TF 170, 8 May 794 (96v)

## The Conveyance of Crimperht

With the end of the world approaching and with disasters increasing, already sure signs are becoming manifest. For that reason, I Crimperht considering in the Name of God the gravity of my sins and recalling the goodness of God, I convey and discharge my own inheritance in the place which is called at Ottershausen to the borough called Freising for St Mary and for St Corbinian where he rests in body after my death with fields, meadows, pastures, watercourses, wetlands, movables and immovables, on this condition, if I should beget any heirs from a lawful wife, that they might have the portion of my inheritance which pertains to them lawfully as share; however, my share after my death I certify validly without any contradiction to the cathedral church of St Mary with none opposing or able to do so, rather my share in the inheritance be forever that of the saints, so that I might be worthy to have some forgiveness. If any of my heirs, which I judge not to be, attempts to oppose this conveyance or break it, either I myself or other of my heirs, let him not doubt to incur the wrath of Almighty God for this and endure an abode of torments in everlasting damnation, separated from the company of all the saints. These are the witnesses: Heripald priest, Hamminc priest, Altman deacon, Hitto deacon, Adalhart, Cozmar, Toato, Nidker, Alholf, Reginheri. Moreover, this was done in the above said place Freising, on the consular day which is the 8th ides of May, the 7th indiction, the 26th [break in ms.] with the Most Fortunate Lord Charles reigning.

TF 171, 28 September 794 (B 252r)

In the Name of God. I Hrimcrim pondering and considering the remedy of my soul so that I might deserve to receive some forgiveness from the pious Lord, on this account I petitioned the glorious and illustrious man Bishop Atto and all the brothers abiding there in the monastery called Schlehdorf that I might have my place ready at the above said house of God both living and dead. With the venerable men consenting to my above said petitions and with the agreement of all the brothers serving God devotedly there, I have commended myself and conveyed my inheritance in my own allodial property in the place called at Dettenhofen, in fields and meadows, cultivated and uncultivated, and in slaves with all equipment. I have conveyed the above said place called Dettenhofen to the above said house of God which is erected in honor of St Denis and the honor of all the saints is celebrated where St Tertulian rests in body, and in the presence of Bishop Atto and Ellanod the archpriest I have conveyed it together with a grove with the kind of tree from which honey is produced [?]. And my son Tozi was present there and consented and confirmed it with me on this condition: that he accept it in benefice from the hand of Atto and every year render one shilling at the feast of St Martin and give two robes to his father for his use. And these are the names of the monks: Williperht priest, Meginolt priest, Craolf priest, Tagaperht priest, Zotto deacon, Sandolf deacon, Unroh deacon, Arnolt monk, Keio monk, Cundpald monk, Kerpald monk. These brothers were present, and these are the names of the witnesses: Alprih, Cundperht, Kaganhart, Erchanfrid, Asolt, Reginolt, Heriprant, Sigistein. This was done moreover on the consular day on the 4th calends of October in the 7th year after King Charles came to Bavaria, the 3rd indiction. And I Hruodstein unworthy deacon wrote it by command of the Lord Bishop Atto.

TF 172, 794 (106v)

## Haholf Conveyed to Freising

A written account of the conveyance which Haholf made to the church of the Ever Virgin Mary within the borough called Freising. Whence, after we, Bishop Atto, had made an agreement regarding the son of Haholf by the name of Pernolf and at the same time with his friends and kinsmen, that the aforesaid Haholf conveyed his allodial land which he held in the place Laimbach all of it completely. Afterwards, upon the birth of the aforesaid son, we conceded the half of the inheritance which he was seen to possess,





which we assessed for division into two parts, whether cultivated or uncultivated lands or slaves, half possession of all in all things from his inheritance he released to St Mary and validly conveyed it, half he reserved for himself as hereditary. Whence this deed may endure valid by subjoined stipulation. Done in the borough of Freising in the 26th year of the reign of the Lord Charles, King of the Franks and Langobards and Patricius of the Romans, in the [blank] indiction. This agreement rests upon just measure and partition and remains valid with no alteration but rather with a just division agreed. These are the names of the witnesses: Droant as witness, Wago as witness, Drudmunt as witness, Sindeo as witness, Hamadeo as witness, Avo as witness, Immino as witness, Crimheri as witness, Adalhoh, Kerhoh, Tagaperht as witness, Droant, Haholf as witness, Altrih as witness, Hleoperht, Deotrich as witness. I Tagaberht the monk wrote this from the mouth of Bishop Atto and subscribed.

TF 176, 11 December 798 (112v)

#### The Second Conveyance of Selprih for Hettenhausen

A written notice concerning the second agreement by which Selprih, having accepted money, disputed, contrary to law, the fields and woodlands in the place which is called Hettenhausen, and he conveyed everything completely to the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the place Freising into the hands of Bishop Atto, with cultivated and uncultivated, fields, meadows, woodlands, and watercourses by subjoined stipulation. Done in the borough of Fresing on the 3rd ides of December with the Lord Charles the Great King reigning in the 31st year. These are the names of the witnesses: Hamadeo the sheriff as witness, Engilperht the bailiff as witness, Wetti witness, Sindeo witness, Cundheri witness. I Tagabert the deacon wrote this commanded by the lord Bishop Atto.

TF 177, 28 October 799 (163v)

#### The Conveyance of Gaio in the Places Poapintal, Oberhofen, Zirl, Pettenbach

Since the frailty of the human condition causes fear that the last day of life's span might come by sudden reverse, lest it find someone unprepared, and he, taking no regard for any good work, depart from the world; nor, while legal authority and power remain, he prepare for himself a life of salvation while he holds the price in his hands by which he might attain eternal blessedness. Accordingly, I Gaio, pondering in the Name of God for the remedy of my soul and the remission of my sins, so that I might deserve to acquire future forgiveness, I convey all of my inheritance which came to me by right of my kinsmen: named villis in the territory which is called the Poapintal, that is in Oberhofen, and in Zirl, and beyond the mountains in the place which is called Pettenbach, and wherever I am seen to hold together with lands, with dwelling houses, tenants, slaves, alps, woodlands, fields, meadows, pastures, waters and watercourses, appurtenances adjoined and adjoining, livestock of both sexes, moveables and immoveables, I convey to the monastery which is called Schlehdorf where the body of St Tertulian rests and Bishop Atto is seen to preside together with the monks abiding there; and we received from you in benefice that land which you hold in Pettenbach from Otilo's share and 4 oxen, on this condition, that every year I be obliged to pay a rent of half a shilling in silver and grain, and those same places which we have afore noted above neither to sell nor to alienate nor submit to any sort of harm but rather to restore them improved to that same monastery. If anyone, which I do not believe will be, to this our will by any sort of machinations, anyone from amongst our heirs or any other person who should be discovered opposing this conveyance to break its validity, may he be held a stranger to the society of all Christians and the bounds of churches, and may he enjoy his lot with Judas the traitor of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and moreover let him bring to the portions of that same monastery and the brothers abiding there two pounds of gold, nor shall he be able to claim that which he sought, and nonetheless this present conveyance which has been written from the fear of God and the love of Christ endure valid and inviolate for all time. These are the witnesses: Reginhart the

sheriff, another Reginhart, Kaganhart, Alprih, Rubo deacon, Zotto deacon, Engiperht, Helmperht, Nothart, Etti, Cozrat, Engilperht, with our lord King Charles reigning as King in Bavaria in the 12th year, in the 5th calends of November. I Meriolf the priest wrote and subscribed this.

TF 179, 26 November ca 800 (161r)

#### The Conveyance of Ortuni at Gräfelting

A written notice of the conveyance which Ortuni, the son of Irphing, made in the vill which is called Gräfelting. All things, whatever I held there from my own share of the paternal inheritance except for six yokes which I convey to the altar at Gräfelting. Beyond that I convey validly whatever territory my father left me, all of it completely, to the altar of St Peter and to St Denis and to the body of St Tertulian Christ's Martyr for the remedy of my father and for me myself, and as long as I may live every year I shall pay rent of two pence as a reminder for holding what I have conveyed validly, so that after my death it might endure validly to the above said place to the monastery named Schlehdorf for all times in perpetuity. This deed was done at the monastery of Schlehdorf on the 6th calends of December. These are the witnesses: Reginhart the sheriff, Lantfrid, Alprih, Irminheri, Adalperht, Reginolt the priest.

TF 181, 800 (152r)

#### Abbot Cundheri Returned to Bishop Atto

A written notice that Abbot Cundhari returned four diocesan churches to Bishop Atto at Thanning, at Moosham, at Mintraching, at Sauerlach, and made an agreement that if any of his close kin were worthy of the priesthood, the bishop would ordain him. And this was done in the synod at Reisbach in the presence of these: Waltrih bishop, Arn archbishop, Adalwin bishop, Urolf abbot, Reginperht abbot, Amo archpriest, Ellannod archpriest, Hiltiperht deacon, Paldrih archpriest.

TF 182, 21 May 802

#### The Conveyance of Wenilo and Helmker Priests

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. I Wenilo and my brother Helmker priests, pondering and considering together some approach to the celestial kingdom so that we might be worthy to enter, on which account we have conveyed our small earthly possessions; whatever we had in the place Eisenhofen of our own inheritance we have both conveyed validly and in equal unanimity to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place Freising, all things whatever we had in the above said place, setting nothing aside, but rather we have bestowed all of it completely for the redemption of our souls after our death. And we have certified this action in the presence of witnesses into the hands of Bishop Atto, and from that same bishop we have received that same property in benefice up to the end of our life. However, after our death no one may deny that same property in any manner to the cathedral church of St Mary. On the consular day what was the 12th calends of June, in the 2nd year of the Lord Emperor Charles, the 4th indiction. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Kaganhart, Nipulunc, Cundheri, Sindeo, Paldachar, Racholf, Tiso, Einhart, Reginperht, Memmo, Starcholf, Tozi, Reginpald, Hartperht, Sigifrid.

TF 183, 11 June 802 (142v)

#### The Accusation of Engilfrit

When the commissioners of the Most Serene August [Emperor] had taken seat in the place which is called Regensburg to hear the suits of all people and deliver just judgments, viz. Archbishop Arn, Sheriff

Audulf, Bishop Adalwin, Abbot Deotker, and Sheriff Werinhari, a certain woman by the name of Engilfrit dedicated to God coming forward there accused the steward of Bishop Atto by the name of Kaganhart, and so also her brother Kundperht, both saying that his bishop unjustly possessed the paternal inheritance, that is the church with properties in the place which is called Baindlkirch which is located by 'Lintun'. But Kaganhart himself returned a response thus, 'The properties which you seek were conveyed to us years ago by an illustrious man named [blank], and on this account we possess it in our portion by right for our church.' Then the same aforesaid commissioners, inquiring into this suit simply and diligently discovered that it had been confirmed on oath by seven sworn men in the presence of Sheriff Audulf at Velden, that it stood more legitimately in the gift of the above said man for that church than it should revert to them in inheritance. And it was concluded at once at that same court session, and the same bishop should have those properties awarded to his own church for all days, and there should be final and incontrovertible settlement between them concerning this property. Done at the royal city of Regensburg, on the 11th day of the month of June, with Our Lord Charles the Serene and August reigning as King in the 33rd year and as Emperor in the 2nd. These are the witnesses who were present: Bishop Atto, Bishop Waltrih, Abbot Johannes, Abbot Cundheri, and Ellanod the archpriest, Theorolf deacon, Paldrih archpriest, Oadalfrid priest, Droant sheriff, Nidhart sheriff, Alprat sheriff, Pippi sheriff, Cotehram sheriff, Adalperht sheriff, Job sheriff, Walto sheriff, Rihheri sheriff, Engilhart sheriff, Engildeo sheriff, Erchanpald sheriff, Cundhart sheriff, Hamadeo sheriff, Rantolf sheriff, Orendil, Kysalhard, Pero, Helmuni justices. Berthari notary.

TF 184, 4 August 804 (a.164v/b.140r)

[a.] How Bishop Atto and Lantfrid His Steward Accused Another Lantfrid

With the commissioners of the Great Emperor Lord Charles, viz. Archbishop Arn and Adalwin his fellow bishop sitting together with Orendil the judge in the public place Freising to examine justly the cases of many arriving, the steward of Bishop Atto by the name of Lantfrid arriving there at that time brought suit against a certain other man similarly called Lantfrid, the son of Irminfrid a certain nobleman, charging that he unjustly possessed the goods of St Peter from the monastery of Schlehdorf which by judgment the afore said Irminfrid had conveyed authoritatively to that same monastery for the health of his soul: the places called Scharnitz with its appurtenances in Flaurling, in Polling, in Schlehdorf, in Hofheim, in Sindelsdorf, in Giesing, in Pasing, Gräufeling, all of which his father Irminfrid conveyed to God and to St Peter to that already said monastery in the times of the lord King Pippin and Duke Tassilo by their consent. Then Lantfrid himself present came forward and was in no wise able to excuse this, for those afore said commissioners, diligently inquiring by faithful and truthful persons, found this to have been done most validly on this condition: that if the same Irminfrid were to beget legitimate sons as heirs, then they might have their portion, and the portion of Irminfrid be firm to that same monastery. Beyond this, however, that same often said Lantfrid acting pertinaciously attempted to claim half of that same altar of Scharnitz for his own use. Then those same commissioners together with those who were present at that same court session, recognizing his foolishness, so that without grave damage he might escape by the mercy of God's Holy Church and of the Lord Emperor, requested Bishop Atto that he might make a settlement with him, and it was permitted him without lawful compensation to return the afore said properties to the holy church with clean hand and without compensation of the king's immunity and without royal penalty. In this manner indeed it should be done, that he never more seek to claim from that same said church anything from the afore said properties for himself any more. And this was certified in the presence of witnesses and written up whose names are inserted below. Done in the public place Freising on the consular day which is the 2nd nones of August, in the second year of the imperial rule of the Most Serene and August Lord Charles, in the 10th indiction. And these are the witnesses to the agreement tugged by the ears by Ellannod the archpriest: Kaganhart and Lantfrid stewards of the same Bishop Atto, Orendil the judge, Toto, Helmuni, Wolfperht, Cotehelm, Immo,

Erlapald, Reginperht, Rihpald, Liutprant, Reginhart the sheriff, Eodunc, Suamperht, Herirac, Crimuni, Seliker, Lantperht, Folcrat, Perahart, Huuswart. And I Horskeo unworthy priest wrote this from the mouth of Adalperht, and I unworthy Adalperht have subscribed and confirmed it.

[b.] Concerning the Irminfrid's Dispute with Bishop Atto

With the commissioners of the Most Serene Charles August, viz. Archbishop Arn and Bishop Adalwin, sitting in the place Freising to transact all cases, the steward of Bishop Atto by the name of Lantfrid arriving there at that time brought suit against a certain other man similarly called Lantfrid, the son of Irminfrid, saying then that he had unjustly usurped the properties of St Peter in the place which is called Scharnitz together with its appurtenances in Flaurling and in Polling and in Schlehdorf and in Hofheim and in Sindelsdorf and in Giesing and in Pasing and in Gräfelding which his own father Irminfrid conveyed during the times of Bishop Joseph and with license of Duke Tassilo. Then Lantfrid himself present came forward and was not able to deny this charge. Then those same afore said commissioners together with Orendil the judge and Reginhart the sheriff and many others participating in that court session making inquiry plainly and diligently found that the same conveyance from Irminfrid himself was valid on this very condition: that if he were to beget a son, he ought to receive his share in those places. Likewise also another case was moved there, that is that Lantfrid applied to gain his own portion from that same altar of St Peter in the aforesaid place Scharnitz. Then those afore said commissioners together with those holding suit there discussed it amongst themselves, whether it be allowed the afore mentioned Lantfrid to return the portion of his father with clean hand and without compensation or imperial obligation and indemnification of the immunity and receive his own portion from that half of the altar of St Peter, so that he never more claim from his own portion against the parts of that same holy church of God. That was done presently on this condition: that if he attempted further to claim from that same matter, then the entire obligation which had been pardoned him freely be exacted. And it was affirmed truly by witnesses whose names are inserted below. This was done at the public bishopric of Freising on the eve of the nones of August in the 33rd year and the second with Our Lord the Most Glorious and August Charles reigning as King and as Emperor. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears through the hands of Ellanod the archpriest: Kaganhart and Lantfrid stewards, Orendil judge as witness, Toto witness, Helmuni witness, Cotehelm witness, Immo witness, Erlapald witness, Reginperht witness, Rihpald witness, Liutprant witness, Reginhart the sheriff as witness, Eodunc witness, Sonperht witness, Herirach witness, Wolfperht witness. Berthari the notary wrote and subscribed this deed of report by command of the high pontiff Arn.

TF 185, August 802 (148r)

Irminfrid [Sic] Made Return

Following this inquest, he lawfully returned with pledge into the hands of Archbishop Arn and Bishop Atto and Orendil the judge and Lantfrid the steward what Lantfrid son of Irminfrid had removed unjustly: at Holzhausen, two places which we call 'hovasteti' with 12 cartloads of meadows; at Giesing 10 dayworks of ploughland; at 'Situlinesstetim', one 'hovasteti' and a mill which he had submerged; and at Gräfelding the territory which we call a 'kapreitta' in which is about 7 dayworks; at Pasing two colon holdings with six slaves altogether between them: Weranza with two infants, Zeizhilt with two infrants.

TF 186, 14 August 802 (165v)

How Lantfrid Accused a Certain Man Reginperht

When the venerable commissioners of Lord Charles the Great Emperor, to wit, Archbishop Arn and his suffragan bishop, Adalwin, and the judge, Orendil, had taken their seat at the royal court session in the place Freising to examine the pleas of diverse people and to settle them according to law and with justice,



the steward of Bishop Atto, Lantfrid by name, came there and brought charges against a certain man named Reginperht, son of Scatto, on the grounds that he was unjustly usurping for himself properties of the holy church of God which Gaio, paternal uncle of the aforesaid Reginperht, had conveyed in the presence of witnesses to St Tertulian at the monastery of Schlehdorf for the salvation of his soul. And Reginperht himself presented himself and sought to retain those properties as his inheritance. Then witnesses were produced who offered testimony saying that they knew and could vouch that Gaio had conveyed those properties with full authority to that holy place for the salvation of his soul, whatever of his own goods ought to pertain to him as his portion over and against his brothers. Then the aforesaid lord commissioners, Archbishop Arn and Bishop Adalwin, and Orendil the judge, summoned those men who had testified to this to the center and bound them by the oath of fealty which they had sworn in this present year to the Great Emperor, Lord Charles himself, that in all things without fraud or deceit they would declare publicly in this matter in as truthful a manner as they knew how. They said: 'We know that there were three full brothers, and when one of them died, the two brothers who remained, Scatto and Poapo, were to divide the inheritance of the dead brother equally between themselves. But, before this division had been carried out, Poapo died, leaving his portion to his son, Gaio. And Gaio himself, being well seised of the portion which was to pertain to him over and against his paternal uncle, conveyed it to God and to St Tertulian at Schlehdorf. However, against Gaio's objections, Scatto held on to all these things and left them to his son, Reginberht.' Then those commissioners took counsel together with Orendil the judge and other trustworthy men concerning whether Reginperht ought for any reason to hold on to the portion of the inheritance of his cousin, Gaio, which the latter had conveyed for his soul to God and his saints. Then, convicted by law and justice, Reginperht forthwith returned to the steward of that church and to the archpriest of its bishop, Ellanod, the places called Alling, Giesing and in the district of Garmisch so that henceforth the bishops of that place should hold the goods claimed without any contradiction by perpetual right. And thus the dispute was concluded before many persons both who were seated in their places and who were standing about. And the witnesses were tugged by the ears in Bavarian manner by both parties so that henceforth this dispute might be settled: Orendil the judge as witness, Toto, Helmuni, Wulfperht, Rihpald, Liutprant, Reginhart, Kaganhart, Eodunc, Soamperht, Herirach, Crimuni, Seliger, Folchrat, Perahart, Huswart. This was done and confirmed in the public place of Freising at the session of the public court in the 35th year of the royal and imperial reigns of the Lord Charles the Great Emperor, and in Bavaria, the 2nd, on the eve of the nones of August, in the 10th indiction. I, unworthy Adalperht, wrote this down and subscribed to it at the command of the lord Archbishop Arn.

TF 187, August 802 (151r)

#### Reginperht Returned Alling

These are the ones who gave testimony as truthful witnesses concerning the possessions of the church of Freising from the gift of Gaio in the place called Alling which Reginperht, son of Scatto, returned. These are the witnesses: Helmuni, Herirach, Rihpald, Sonperht, Toto, Kaganhart, Hludio, Adalhart.

TF 190, 802x8 (110v)

#### The Conveyance of Toti

In the Name of God. I Toti, pondering and considering about my soul and the future life, thus together with my wife Galilea we have conveyed and discharged in the place which is called Allach to St Mary Mother of God in the borough named Freising, that is, the basilica of the place together with courtyard and buildings, fields, meadows, pastures on both sides, that is in the east and in the west extending to the river Würm, that it be fixed and immoveable to the aforesaid place after our death. Likewise,



moreover, we have conveyed in another place which is called Weilbach, a courtyard with dwelling and with all the buildings and two manses furnished with all things pertaining to them, we have conveyed and transferred them to the cathedral church of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary and Christ's Confessor St Corbinian, with ploughlands, meadows, pastures, woodlands, clearings, cultivated and uncultivated, all in all, aside from 12 yokes of land; if Tunzi or his son wish to redeem them, let them have permission. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Lantfrid priest, Racholf priest, Hitto deacon, Coteperht, Tunzi, Gaio, Engilfrid. The mark of their hands.

TF 191, 802x11 (127v)

#### The Conveyance of Wicpald

In the Name of God. I Wicpald thus conveyed my own inheritance in the place which is called [Feld-] Moching to the cathedral church of St Mary and Christ's Confessor St Corbinian. Whatever I held there in the above said place, all of it completely for the remedy of my soul and of my father I have made as a conveyance and confirmation, and so desire that forever it might endure validly and imperishably. And these are the witnesses in whose presence this was done: first Adalhart, Toato, Memmo, Turdagawo. And I have established that if at any time anyone attempts to enter against this deed of conveyance, first let him incur the wrath of Almighty God and be made a stranger to the precincts of the saints, and my grant and conveyance nonetheless shall endure valid.

TF 193, 13 January 804 (Conrad 38v)

#### [b.] Concerning Willing and Mietraching

In the 4th year of the imperial reign of the Lord Charles the August, and in the 36th of his reign in Francia, the 12th indiction, on the ides of January, Archbishop Arn as well as Bishop Atto together with Sheriff Erchanpald and Otpert and Alpric, judges, were presiding over the public court session in the fiscal estate of Aibling according to the decree of the Emperor Charles the August in order to settle with justice the suits of those coming before it. There, before everyone, Bishop Atto and his steward, Wolfpreht, brought suit against Liutfrid, abbot of the monastery called Au, located at the place Chiemsee, and against his steward, Ruodin, for those churches which by name are at Willing, Mietraching, Högling and Berg, asserting that they ought to pertain rightfully by law through prior investiture to the bishopric of Freising and to the cathedral church of St Mary; and that Duke Tassilo and his wife, Liutperga, unjustly removed not only these churches but many others from the same bishopric on account of the grudge which they bore against Bishop Arbeo, saying that he was more faithful to the Lord King Charles and to the Franks than to them. And then Archbishop Arn and Sheriff Erchanpald, according to the mandate of the Lord Emperor Charles, found old and truthful men there who knew this dispute well, and they ordered them to swear there on the sacred relics so that after the oath they might speak on this matter as best they knew. Their names are: Meginhart, Meginrat, Sigipreht, Willihelm, Isanpreht, Liudolf, Egilolf, Folchrat, Kotescalch, Rutmunt, Snelhart, Herpreht. All of them firmly and unanimously declared that these abovesaid churches ought to pertain with greater justice by virtue of prior investiture to the see of Freising rather than to the monastery of Au. And, likewise, all who were at the same court session adjudged this to be just, that the churches should be returned to Bishop Atto and to his steward. And Abbot Liutfrid and his steward acknowledged it themselves and returned these three: at Willing, at Högling, and at Berg. However, they refused to return the one at Mietraching, requesting that a period of time be allowed to them until a more thorough inquest could be made. And these were present: Bishop Arn, Ellanot the archpriest and others whose names are contained in the cartulary. [TF 193a: These testimonies: Bishop Arn, Liutfrid abbot, Ellanod the archpriest, Eruni priest, Wigradus monk, Hludiperht chaplain of Pippin, Erchanpald sheriff, Meginhart, Oatperht and Albrih



justices, Sigiperht, Willahelm, Isanperht, Hlodiolf, Egilolf, Folchrat, Eio, Cotesscalch, Hrodmunt, Alholf, Heriperht, Reginperht, Hroadperht, Heripald, Otlant, Snelhart, Immino, Paldachar; Berthari the notary wrote it and subscribed.]

TF 197, 16 June 804 (137r)

#### How Bishop Atto Accused Adlabert and Zacco

A written account of the suit of St Mary Ever Virgin, and of the Blessed Corbinian, Christ's Confessor, on behalf of the episcopal church which is called Freising; how Bishop Atto brought suit against Abbot Adalbert and Zacco, his vicar, for the property of St Mary which was alienated unlawfully from their portion. The aforesaid bishop put forth his case in the presence of the bishops and abbots whose names are here recorded. For they were assembled at the church of Christ's Martyr, the Blessed Emmeram, which is located near the city which is called Regensburg by the common people. These are the names of those religious and sagacious men: first, Bishop Altheus, Bishop Waltrich, Bishop Arn, Abbot Itheri, Ato deacon and abbot, Abbot Hunrich, Abbot Urolf, Abbot Reginperht, item Reginperht chaplain and priest, Wolfher chaplain and priest, Abbot Petto, Cunzi the priest. In the presence of all of these, the aforesaid Abbots, Adalperht and Zacco, promised to return to the episcopal church of St Mary everything which they had alienated from it in an unlawful manner. And for their pledge they both were constrained to give their hands into the hand of Bishop Atto, declaring that they would return in full the rights as may be accomplished according to just judgment. But nothing came of all this for which they had made pledge, nor were we able to attain any of our right against them. Moreover, after not a long period of time it happened that Abbot Meginhart took over the rule of that house while Zacco was still alive. Thereupon, the venerable man Bishop Atto, and Abbot Meginhart agreed that a royal court session ought to be held about this matter and how an assembly with all that crowd comprising its retinue ought to be brought together in a place which is called Tegernsee at the Feast of the Translation of the Holy Martyr of Christ, Quirinius; this was the understanding. On that very day an inquiry was held there and the suit was joined between Bishop Atto and Meginhart, the abbot of that same aforesaid monastery, with these Illustrious Men having taken seat: Archbishop Arn, Bishop Atto, Bishop Oadallhart, Hiltger called bishop, Abbot Maginhart, Abbot Cundhari, Ellanod the archpriest, Perhtrat priest and chaplain of the Lord Emperor, Oadalfrid priest, Zaccho, the monk who was previously an abbot, Rihheri priest and monk, Isaac priest and monk, Lantolt monk, Eparhart monk, Arn monk, and the whole congregation of that monastery; moreover, Sheriff Droant, Sheriff Pippin, Sheriff Cundhart, Reginhart the hundredman of the lord emperor, Maginhart, Amlrih, Swarzolf, Hitto, Amo, and many others. Bishop Atto laid claim to baptismal churches pertaining lawfully to his diocese; those were: at Ascholding and at Hartpenning, at Högling, Warngau, Alling, Thannkirchen, Etzenhausen, Holzhausen, Roggersdorf, Pfunzen, Helfendorf, at Finsing, at Pullach and the tithe of the church at Feldkirchen and the church at Holzhausen from the former gift of a certain most noble man by the name of David, and the parish at Thannkirchen, and two consecrated altars, and also at Dornhecken, because they had been unlawfully alienated from that same diocese and settled on their monastery for some time already. Then the same Abbot Meginhard, according to things heard and said by many men who maintained it, sought to keep this all in the multitude of men's gifts made to that same monastery. Then Archbishop Arn made an assertion saying: 'If you want to keep those churches and all the things which the Lord Bishop Atto claims from you, let your steward be present and make the case for it and claim for that house of God whatever legitimately can be claimed in turn. If not, however, let it be returned, since you are not able to hold it lawfully.' After this statement they came together again and agreed how they could bring about a settlement between them which, in fact, they did. Thereupon, Abbot Meginhard returned those same churches and tithe and two altars which had been alienated unlawfully to be restored to that very place in their presence to Bishop Atto by the hands of Archbishop Arn and Ellanod the archpriest, on this condition, that if it could be established by truthful witnesses that they ought to pertain more legitimately to

his own monastery by the gift of noble men than to that same diocese, that he would be authorized to demand it back with the permission and approval of that same bishop as far as possible according to canon law. Thereafter, indeed, the Pontiff Arn requested of Bishop Atto that he return those same churches to Abbot Meginhard by a precarial grant in benefice with the exception of the tithe, to the end that he might receive the tithe for those same churches on the same basis as that same bishop was accustomed to receive it for his diocesan priests, as, indeed, it was done. However, the same bishop retained the church at Thanckirchen and the abovementioned altars for his diocese with all their tithe. And, thus, they established it between themselves and provided that, if he should give rise to no further dissension, then that same abbot ought to enjoy those same churches lawfully on behalf of that same bishop, except, as we have said, for the lawful tithe as we have indicated above. If, however, that abbot should dare to cause any dissension hereafter and make his people rebellious and stir up lawsuits in a haughty manner against that same bishop and contrary to canon law and cause this same agreement to be void, then that same bishop should have power to reclaim these same abovementioned churches to his episcopal see. Done in the public monastery of Tegernsee on the 16th calends of July, in the 4th year of the imperial rule of Our Most Serene and August Lord Charles, the 12th indiction. Happily, in the Name of God, Amen. Berththari the Notary wrote down this account.

TF 198, 20 July 804 (72r)

#### The Conveyance of Wolfheri at Haag

In the Name of God. I, Wolfheri, have thus conveyed my own inheritance in the place called Haag, that is, the courtyard with dwelling and other buildings within and without and whatever of my own inheritance which I had there. I have conveyed it wholly and completely to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin, and also of St Peter Prince of the Apostles in a place called Zolling except for two slaves. Everything else, as I said, I have conveyed completely into the hands of Bishop Atto and also into the hands of Wago the clerk who now is in charge of the above said church at Zolling, on this very condition, that it be granted to me to hold and to enjoy these properties the while that I shall live. And, as she ministers to me and aids me during my life, my mistress named Ellinswind should have complete power of administration. However, after my death, it shall endure validly forever without any contradiction to the abovesaid church of St Mary. This was done on the 13th calends of August, in the 4th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles. These are the witnesses: first, Wago the clerk, Sindeo a layman, Einhart, Kaganhart, Wichart, Wigant, Alprih, Otlant, Mahperht, Immino, Irminfrid, Engilhart, Toto, Cauzo, Hruodprant, Khadal, Reginperht, Kerperht, Cundheri, Pernolf, Memmo, Anulo, Rihpald, Tento. Indeed, I, Tagabert, unworthy Deacon, wrote this charter at the injunction of Bishop Atto.

TF 199, 2 September 804 (162v)

#### The Conveyance of Reginhart the Sheriff and of Adalperht his Son at Pettenbach and at the River Glonn

In the Name of God. I Reginhart pondering thus for the remedy of my soul and for the eternal requite of my father Erchanfid and of my brother Liutfrid and the eternal salvation of my coheirs, thus from the inheritance which we held in the places at Pettenbach and at Glonn I have conveyed all of it completely to the monastery which is called Schlehdorf by the common people where St Tertulian rests in body, except that I separated one colon holding for our sister who is named Epa for her life and after her death it be confirmed to the above said monastery, and the already said allod together with all appurtenances, whatever pertains to those places, that is with fields, meadows, cultivated and uncultivated, ways, waters and watercourses, endure validly and eternally to that said monastery. If indeed anyone, which I scarcely believe, if I myself or any opponent from my heirs whosoever, attempts to oppose this conveyance or to break it, let him restore it twofold to that house of God and let him be made to pay one pound of gold to



the fisc, and he shall not be able to claim what he seeks, and nonetheless this conveyance shall endure validly for all time by subjoined stipulation. This conveyance was made on the 4th nones of September. It was done at the public village Gilching with Our Lord the August Charles reigning in his 4th year, in the 11th indiction. And these are the witnesses: Irminheri, Soamperht, Waldperht, Aduwan, Waltrih, Diudolf, Cozpald, Arfrid, Tozi the clerk, Engilperht, Drudolt, Teneol, Alpolt, Zotto the deacon, Kaganhart, Herirach, Reginhelm, Heriprant, Hericco, Heimo, Nothart. I Reginhart have conveyed it by the hands of Ellanod, and my son Adalperht affirmed it and added himself to those bearing witness in that said place. I Emicho unworthy clerk wrote and subscribed this by command of Ellanod the archpriest.

TF 200, 16 September 804-8 January 810 (168r)

#### The Conveyance of Erchanheri and Herwin Priests

[a. 16 September 804] Concerning the conveyance which Erchanheri priest and Heriwin priest made. They conveyed their own inheritance to St Mary and to St Corbinian Christ's Confesor at Freising, those are the places called Alting and Ludenhausen. Whatever they were seen to have there in these two places they conveyed completely and certified it with lawful witnesses on this condition, that it be allowed them to use it while they live; after their death however it shall endure validly and without any contradiction to the above said place by name at Freising. These are moreover the witnesses: first Kaganhart, Meginhart, Toato, Nothart, Hrochof, Ekkihart, Tiso. This was done in the above said place Freising in the presence of the Lord Bishop Atto and all the clergy assembled in public synod on the consular day which falls on the 16th calends of October, the 11th indiction, in the 4th year of the reign of the Lord Emperor Charles. I Tagobert unworthy subdeacon wrote it moreover commanded from the mouth of Bishop Atto.

[b.] In the Name of Christ. It suits us, Kysalheri and Irminheri full brothers, to sell to you Erchanheri all those things which pertain to us in the village called Alting, that is plough land, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters, mills, all things completely pertaining to us in that same place and we certify it by these witnesses: the same Kysalheri as witness, Reginhart, Crimheri son of the same Kysalheri, Wicheri, Irminheri, Isanhart, Putilo, Ernust, Walto, Hamdeo. And in addition, we have conveyed those very things to the altar of St Mary in that same village called Alting where Erchanheri is seen to be the venerable custodian [*custor*] and certified it by the same witnesses.

[c. 28 March:] In the Name of Christ. Here begins a memorandum that Deotperht conveyed his inheritance to the altar of St Mary Ever Virgin; in a place called Etterschlag, fields, meadows, assart, cultivated and uncultivated. And let these things be agreed, that he may hold it for the purpose of his sustenance up to the day of his death, and thereafter they who serve this altar shall hold it. And if his son succeeds him, he may redeem it by rendering tribute, that is, to plow for three days, and to mow hay for one, and to gather it in. At the beginning he may have a respite up to the third year; thereafter, he may redeem it with the aforesaid tribute. And all these things were done on the 4th calends of April and were confirmed by 12 witnesses. They are: Kysalheri, Peradeo, Reginhart, Crimheri, Echo, Haduperht, Willapato, Sigiwart, Putilo, Isanhart, Liutperht, Sigifrid, Chunimunt, Hamadeo, Deotperht, Pirhtilo, Rincholf, Drooz.

[d. 1 September:] In the Name of Christ. I Isanhart pondering indeed have given thought for the remedy and health of my soul and so that the Lord might mitigate all my misdeeds, on that account I conveyed my inheritance to the venerable man Erchanhari, and so that I might have power for the use of my sustenance as long as life is allowed me, and afterwards that same above said priest may receive it as his own inheritance just as though in portion from his own father. And these things were settled in the calends of September in the place called Etterschlag with his own close kin witnessing and consenting whose names are these witnesses: Hamadeo, Pirhtilo, Rincholf, Deotperht, Aran, Meginperht.

[e. 12 October:] Again in the Name of the Eternal God. I Isanhart have indeed conveyed my inheritance and that of my brother Isanbert for the remedy of my soul in the place called Etterschlag, arable, meadows, woodlands, waters, assart cultivated and uncultivated, to the venerable man Erchanheri for the remedy of my soul that it might endure firm forever. Done on the 4th ides of October and with 12 witnesses I have certified it whose names are: Kysalheri, Irminheri, Heio, Willapald, Wicheri, Crimheri, Kysalhart, Hamadeo, Pirhtilo, Rincholf, Deotperht, Drooz.

[f. 1 February:] In the Name of God. I Walto indeed have conveyed for the remedy of my wife Engilmota 1 slave by the name of Kerswind and three arable fields. Likewise Perhtolt made conveyance. This was done on the calends of February, and I have certified it by witnesses whose names are: Kysalheri, Irminheri, Wicheri, Crimheri, Heidanrih, Keidrih, Engilperht, Cotto, Putilo, Earnust.

[g. 8 January 810:] In the Name of God. I Erchanheri priest convey and discharge after my decease to my nephew by the name of Heriwin in the place called Alting my church which is built in the aforesaid place in honor of St Peter within my inheritance, and all my things which pertain to that same church and all my acquisition; likewise at Dorfen that same church which is dedicated in honor of St Martin which our ancestors [*heredes*] established with all of its possession I convey to him in like manner after my death and all things which are necessary in these places, meadows, woodlands, waters and watercourses, and all things which I possess by law, may it endure in his power after my death up to the end of his own life. Moreover, after his death the above said things shall endure completely to Freising as is contained in the conveyance previously made for the souls of us both and for kinsmen and parents, father and mother and brothers, may it persevere valid and undisturbed for the cathedral church of St Mary forever. This was done in the vill of Alting on the day which falls on the 6th ides of January, the 15th indication, with the Lord Charles reigning in the 10th year. If anyone should contend to oppose this deed and intend to breach it, may he first incur the judgment of God and St Peter and pay 40 shillings composition to the fisc valued in gold, and he shall hardly prevail, but this conveyance shall endure valid for all time by subjoined stipulation. The sign of Erchanheri the priest who requested this deed to be made, Heito witness, Kysalhart, Irminheri, Wicheri, Waltheri, Altuperht, Marcho, Isanpart, Haio, Adalwalt, Tinno, Putilo, Earnust. I Erchanheri wrote it by my own hand and subscribed.

TF 208, 804x06 (113r)

#### Hettilo's Conveyance from Schmiechen

In the Name of God. Thus I Hettilo moved by divine mercy convey my own inheritance for the remedy of my soul to St Mary at Freising, that is in the place which is called at Schmiechen, whatever I had there, all of it completely I have conveyed to the above said place and confirmed it by witnesses so that it might endure validly forever and without any opposite. This was done [date blank] in the presence of Bishop Atto and of others who were there present, those are: Pern, Liutfrid, Hununc. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: first Wago the clerk, Hrodperht priest, Altman deacon, Rubo deacon, Remeio layman, Memmo layman, Wichart, Heriolt, Selprih, Adalhart, Heriperht, Crimheri.

TF 209, 804x07 (90v)

#### Peradeo the Clerk from Prittlbach

Concerning the conveyance which Peradeo the clerk made in the place which is called Prittlbach, whatever he had there he conveyed all of it completely to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin in the place Freising, that is, six slaves and two colon-holdings. Let no one doubt that that same conveyance was made into the hands of the Lord Bishop Atto on this condition indeed, that it be allowed me to use it





as long as I live and likewise my nephew, Undeo by name; however after our death it shall endure validly forever to the above said cathedral church of St Mary without any opposition. These are the witnesses: Hroadolt, Peradeo, Putulunc, Swarzolh, Pernker.

TF 212, 7 July 804x08 (128r)

Wulfrih the Priest

A remembrance of the conveyance which Wulfrih the priest made in the place which is called Brunn: he conveyed his properties to the altar and granted into the hand of Bishop Atto together with the altar cloth whatever he had in the vill of Brunn, slaves, fields, meadows and woodlands, all of it he conveyed into the hand of the bishop, and he certified it by this same conveyance in the presence of all the people who were there to Freising for the cathedral church of St Mary where St Corbinian rests in body. This was done on the consular day which was the nones of July. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Liutfrid priest, Rupo deacon, Citi deacon, Unroh deacon, Lantperht clerk, Cundpald, Pazrih, Hiltiker, Cundrih, Cozpato, Wolfhroc, Wolfpero, Ampricho, Reginpato, Ellanrih witnesses.

TF 214, 2 May 804x09 (107v)

The Conveyance of Heriperht the Clerk

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. I Heriperht clerk pondering on the fear of God and eternal retribution, and recalling what the Lord himself said in the gospel, 'Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven where neither moth nor rust corrupt, etc.' On that account I have conveyed my own inheritance which I had at a place called Röhrmoos in full authority and without any opposition to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place which is called Freising where St Corbinian rests in body. I have conveyed and confirmed it on this condition indeed, that I might hold it for use and improvement until the end of my life; however, after my death all of it completely shall return unshaken to the service of the above said cathedral church with no one objecting or so able. Rather, this conveyance shall endure valid and firm confirmed with witnesses. These are the names of the witnesses: Kaganhart, Nothart, Hroadilo, Adalker, Crimuni, Isanhart, Meginhelm. This was done on the 6th nones of May.

TF 215, 804x809 (86r)

The Conveyance of Liutrat

In the Name of God Our Savior. Thus I Liutrat pondering and considering concerning my soul, so that I might be worthy to receive forgiveness from a pious God, have made conveyance from my own inheritance to the church which is built in honor of the Blessed Mary in the place called Holzhausen, that is one slavewoman by the name of Drudwih and six altar stones, and I have confirmed this by witnesses so that this conveyance might endure valid. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Eio priest, Oatkelt priest, Frumolt priest, Kaganhart, Nothart, Herico, Meginhelm, Cundheri, Truhtperht, Deotheri, Kuno, Hrepin, Pernker. If anyone attempts to breach this deed of conveyance, let him incur the wrath of God and make compensation as is the law, and this deed shall nonetheless endure valid.

TF 217, 26 May 805 (76v)

Meginhart Conveyed Wiedenzhausen

Concerning the conveyance which Meginhart made in a place which is called Wiedenzhausen. He conveyed whatever he held in that same place, both from his own property and from acquired, to

the cathedral church of St Mary the Virgin and of St Corbinian Christ's Confessor at Freising. And I established and confirmed with lawful witnesses that it might endure there perpetually forever. These are the witnesses: first Ellannod archpriest, Engilperht, Kaganhart, Sindeo, Deotperht, Waldperht, Wolfhart, Mahalcoz, Alawich, Toawart. This was done on the 7th calends of June, in the 13th indiction, in the 5th year of the reign of Our Lord the Emperor Charles. And thus I Tagabert wrote this deed commanded from the mouth of Bishop Atto.

TF 218, 15 August 805 (158r)

#### Erchana's Conveyance of Dachau

I Erchana, while pondering and considering in God's name about my soul and the future life so that I might be worthy to receive forgiveness in measure from a pious Lord, for that reason I conveyed my own acquired property to the basilica of St Mary Ever Virgin and Christ's Elect Confessor St Corbinian and also the Elect of God, the Blessed Landebert, which is situated in the place Dachau, that is the fields purchased by my own money and the slaves which my father Zazo left me as an inheritance whose names are: Helidolf, Paldrih, Riza, Sicca, Irminswind. Moreover, I made this conveyance on this condition, that it be allowed me to use all of these for improvement and not for conveyance to any other place, but rather in usufruct and for increase as it is just and proper to preserve carefully the very possessions of God's Elect granted and conveyed in their dread and love and to preserve them faithfully in all things. This was done on the consular day which constitutes the 18th calends of September, in the fifth year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles the August, in the 7th indiction. These are the witnesses in whose presence this was seen to be done: first Sikideo priest, Salomon deacon, Eparhart clerk, Tevit layman, Kermunt layman, Engilperht layman, Adalperht. I Tagabert wrote this at the command of Bishop Atto.

TF 219, ante 807 (102r)

#### The Conveyance of Umplod and Erchanperht his Son

In the Name of God. Be it known to all abiding in the diocese of St Mary that Umplod and Erchanperht his son conveyed their inheritance to the church of St Mary in the place called Hohenkammer, whatever they had in those two places named Bachenhausen and Hirschenhausen, together with all things pertaining to those named places, excluding nothing which by law pertained to them as inheritance. And these are the witnesses legitimately tugged by the ears: first, Hroadolt, Cozmar, Toto, Chuniperht, Altiperht, Popo, Waltrih, Wenilo, Ekkolf, Soamperht, Toto, Wolfhart, Eccho.

TF 220, 805x808 (117v)

#### Ratolt the Priest at Feldmoching

In the Name of God. I Ratolt the priest thus moved by divine mercy some time ago conveyed my own inheritance which lies in the village which is called Moching. Whatever I held there I conveyed the half part to the cathedral church of St Mary and of St Corbinian Christ's Confessor at Freising. Now however weighed down heavily by a great sickness, I have determined to confirm the original conveyance. With the religious men Liutfrid the priest and Pern the priest coming to me for the sake of visitation and consolation of my illness and amongst many others standing there, I requested that this deed be made, and I placed it by their hands equally at the altar of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, so that she might deign to intercede mercifully for me with a pious God on that account, so that whatever on that same day I was invested with in the above said village of Moching from my own inheritance the half part of all that I had, I conveyed and confirmed it, so in the courtyard as in buildings, fields, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters, mills,

or whatever sort of equipment it was seen that I held in that same place. And I confirmed this deed of my conveyance in the presence of these who names are: Engilrih priest, Eigil priest, Ekkihart priest, Erachar priest, Reginolf clerk, Rihperht clerk, Anno layman, Isangrim laymen, Ratkis layman Toawart layman, Chuniprht layman, Wolfolt layman. Moreover, I Tagaperht wrote this deed.

TF 221, a. 16 September 804; b. 20 January 805x09 (121v)

[a.] Erchanheri the Priest and Heriwin the Priest

Concerning the conveyance which Erchanheri priest and Heriwin priest made. They conveyed their own inheritance to St Mary and to St Corbinian Christ's Confesor at Freising, those are the places called Alting and Ludenhausen. Whatever they were seen to have there in these two places they conveyed completely and certified it with lawful witnesses on this condition, that it be allowed them to use it while they live; after their death however it shall endure validly and without any contradiction to the above said place by name of Freising. These are moreover the witnesses: first Kaganhart, Meginhart, Toato, Nothart, Hrocholf, Ekkihart, Tiso. This was done in the above said place Freising in the presence of the Lord Bishop Atto and all the clergy assembled in public synod on the consular day which falls on the 16th calends of October, the 11th indiction, in the 4th year of the reign of the Lord Emperor Charles. I Tagabert unworthy subdeacon wrote it commanded from the mouth of Bishop Atto.

[b.] The Repeated Conveyance of Erchanheri the Priest

In the Name of God. Thus I Erchanheri conveyed my own inheritance in the place which is called Alting to the cathedral church of St Mary and St Corbinian Christ's Confessor and have established validly that it continue steadfastly there forever and uncorrupted for the remedy of my soul, that is with the church, dwellings, buildings, messuages, woodlands, fields, meadows, pastures, water and watercourses, springs, together with flocks, movables and immovables, cultivated and uncultivated, and whatever there at the present time I am seen to possess or enjoy, this all completely I have conveyed to the afore said cathedral church and have established it validly in perennial right. And these are the witnesses in whose presence this was done: first Ellannod the archpriest, Eio, Pernwin priest, Kaganhart, Liutker, Lantfrid, Alpuni, Werinc, Crimheri, Erchanfrid, Reginhelm, Putilo, Snelhart, Deotheri, Isaac, Emiho Walto, Isanheri, Pirtilo, Zahheri, Tozzi. And this was done on the 13th calends of February. Moreover, if anyone should attempt to oppose this deed of conveyance, first may he incur the wrath of Omnipotent God and know himself to be contending against the Blessed Mother, and be made a stranger to the company of the saints.

TF 222, 14 June 805x09 (120v)

Salomon the Deacon at Dachau

It is known to all the faithful that Salomon the deacon conveyed after his death his own inheritance, whatever he had in the place Dachau, to the cathedral church of St Mary and St Corbinian Christ's Confessor in the place Freising that it might endure there forever. These are the witnesses: Adalhart, Kaganhart, Rihperht, Tozi, David Meginhelm, Ratolf. This was done on the 18th calends of July.

TF 224, 14 July 806 (127r)

Swidmot, Elismot

A summary account of how Swidmot, a holy woman already dedicated to God, returned her conveyance into the hands of the Lord Bishop Atto. He indeed presented it in benefice to the daughter of the above said Swidmot by the name of Elismot on this very condition, that the same Elismot conveyed the share

which she had in that same inheritance, all of it completely, to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. On this account, the Lord Bishop Atto presented it to her up to the end of her life; after her death indeed it shall endure forever without any objection to the cathedral church of St Mary. These are moreover the witnesses: first Sindeo, Riholt, Reginperht, Deotrih, Emicho, Lantolt. This was done on the eve of the ides of July, in the 6th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles. I Tagabert wrote it.

TF 225, 26 August 806 (128v)

#### The Conveyance of Nahuni at Maisach

Concerning the conveyance which Nahuni made to the cathedral church of Saint Mary Ever Virgin at Freising, both for himself as for his father by the name of Deotuni and also for his mother by the name of Hrodni and at the same time also for my [sic] daughters whose names are Chrimhilt, Kysalni. For he conveyed his land in the village which is called Maisach, whatever he had there he granted completely to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. These are the witnesses: first, Lantfrid, Erchanfrid, Adalhart, Toato, Egisperht, Hunperht, Willihelm, Humpald, Wolfheri. This was done on the 7th calends of August in the 6th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles. I Tagabert wrote it by command of Bishop Atto.

TF 226, 17 October 806 (80r)

#### Drudmunt, Cunpald, Chuonrat Conveyed to Freising

In the Name of God and of His Son Jesus Christ. A written account and memorandum of the gift which after the death of Sheriff Droant his sons, that is, Drudmunt, Cundpald and Chuonrat the deacon, made to the altar of St Mary before the body of Christ's Confessor Corbinian, in the borough called Freising for the salvation of their father's soul. And this was done in the presence of their mother, Judith, and of many others who were there from the episcopal household. That is: one colon-holding equipped with slaves and with whatever other of his own goods which he had at that time. and the name of that man is Swarzoh, including himself, they made the gift in a place called Feldtuching. And the other colon-holding is equipped similarly as is recorded above; and the name of that man is Deganolt, together with his wife and whatever possessions pertain to him, and this is in a place called Gerlhausen; both with the entire obligation of services which they previously owed to their lords. And there was an additional memorandum to which they agreed concerning the man called Deganolt. They made their gift in these words: that if the means were to become available to them, they would have license to redeem him by other goods with everything as we have noted above, undiminished, for his lawful price, that is, by means of other slaves or horses or with gold and silver or whatever they might have to offer. And, in the meantime, let him render services as is above said. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears and other witnesses whose names are: first, Wago the chaplain, Engilhart, Reginperht, Cundpato, Memo, Tenil, Teneol, Chadolph, Herirat. And this was done in the everlasting reign of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the 6th year of the reign of the Lord Charles as Emperor, and on the consular day which falls on the 16th calends of November, the 14th indiction. And I, Hiltiperht, priest and administrator of the household, requested that this be written up as a temporary reminder, so that when, with God's help, our lord, Bishop Atto, arrives, then it may be better amended. Because whatever inexperience denies, charity supplies. And I, Starcholf, wrote this deed.

TF 227, 15 December 806 (144v)

#### How Engilhard and Hrocholf Brought Suit against Wago the Clerk

When Archbishop Arn, Bishop Adalwin, and Audulf, Werinheri and Cotefrid sheriffs, the commissioners of our Lord Emperor Charles the Great had taken their seats at Ötting in the public fisc to hear the decree of the lord emperor as he himself, the emperor, had ordered, there in their



presence two closely related men, Engilhard and Hrocholf brought suit against Wago, a certain clerk, saying that he unjustly retained in his power their inheritance which by law ought to fall to them. But Wago the clerk himself and his steward Helmoin came forward at once and vigorously defended this suit. For they asserted that this inheritance which Wago the clerk held in benefice from St Mary and St Corbinian ought not by law to fall to Engilhard and Hrocholf because the father of Wago, Toto by name, had conveyed his share and the share of his wife named Ospuruch and the portion for his sons, Scrot and Wago, to St Mary and St Corbinian in full authority with no one objecting, and he confirmed it there forever. Whence also they at once submitted the deeds of his conveyance and presented truthful witness to their contents that it be thus true that nothing ought to fall to Engilhard and Hrocholf from this inheritance. On this account the commissioners of the lord emperor, Arn and Audulf, as well as the other bishops, abbots, sheriffs, and justices whose names are inserted below found and brought judgment that this inheritance which these two sought, that nothing could fall to them by law, but rather that it ought to endure completely to St Mary and St Corbinian; just as Toto confirmed it there and as he did in the times of Duke Tassilo, so also now and forever it should endure valid. And Engilhard and Hrocholf undertook solemnly that they would no longer seek this inheritance nor ever presume to bring suit nor disturb Wago the clerk further, and they gave a pledge of confirmation and the suretor for it is Kisalhart the justice, and they made peace for themselves, and this inheritance was awarded to Wago the clerk and to Helmoin his steward. This was done at Ötting in the public fisc on the 18th calends of January, in the 6th year of the imperial reign of Our Lord Emperor Charles the Great. And these are the names of the witnesses who were present and hearing this case brought judgment: Archbishop Arn, Bishop Adalwin, Bishop Einrich, Bishop Atto, Abbot Urolf, Abbot Meginhart, Abbot Hepfilo, [Abbot] Sigimot, Sheriff Audulf, Sheriff Werinheri, Sheriff Coteфриd, Sherif Adalperht, Sheriff Rihheri, Sheriff Walto, Sheriff Engilhart, Sheriff Randolph, Sheriff Amalrich, Sheriff Drudmunt, Justice Kisalhart, Justice Ellanperht, Helmuni, Wenilo, Ernust, Johan, Reginperht, Engilscalch, Cundalperht, Chuniperht, Cundpald, Oadalger, Peradeo, Engilperht, Alprich, Hroadperht, Liutprand, Cundheri, Ratolt, Haholt, Starcholf, Hunperht, and a great many others. I Egipald priest and notary commanded by Archbishop Arn wrote this charter of award and subscribed.

TF 234, 783-811/806-807 (115r)

#### The Matter of Hunker the Priest from Biberach

[a.] A memorandum concerning the church which is built to the honor of St Martin in the place called Biberach. In former times Bishop Erembert held it, and there were three churches altogether, two at Biberach itself and a third at Milbertshofen. And after Bishop Erembert, Bishop Joseph held the aforesaid church when Bishop Boniface arrived to set the affairs of the church in order. Then, the Venerable Father Joseph consolidated the three churches which are mentioned above together in one place and erected a public oratory, and since that time up to now the above said oratory has pertained to the cathedral-church dedicated to the honor of St Mary. And, afterwards, Oato conveyed his share and the share of Immo, his brother, and, furthermore, the share of one of his own sons; and the abovementioned Oato conveyed Tutilo the priest into the hands of Bishop Arbeo.

[b.] The conveyance by Hunker the priest of his slaves into the hands of Bishop Atto. These are the names of the slaves: first Keruni, Altilo, Palduni, Kerlind, Kerni, Hrodpiric, Ratheid, Hiltolf, Altheri, Liupheri, Waltila, Hunperht, Willigund and her four small children, Onlind, Wikkis, Werdni, Duringin, Lechwart, Hrodilind, Richelm, Adaluni, Rinpuruc, Hringuni, his wife and their children. The number of all the slaves is 26 [sic]. Hunker the priest carved the stone altar of the above said church in the place called Biberach.



TF 235, 806x8 (115v)

## The Agreement of Atto with the Men Who are Called the Mochingara

While it is not unknown what happened regarding the church of St Martin in the place called Biberach where the archpriest Ellannod was in charge, how they who were heirs to it tried to withdraw that church from episcopal control, and sought it for their own inheritance; and on that account contended with Bishop Atto and with the above remembered Ellannod the archpriest that ecclesiastical title might be in their power, and they attempted by judicial inquest, and were not able to obtain it by law. Then, understanding that they quarreled unjustly, they came to the cathedral church called Freising and before the venerable man Bishop Atto and Ellanpert the judge and Liutpald the sheriff, and by pledge they returned into his hand the above said church, into the power of Bishop Atto to direct and dispose just as he held episcopal power for other churches. Then the venerable father Bishop Atto placed Rihperht in benefice of St Mary into the above aforesaid church, so that he might serve it as is decreed for other clergy in canon law. These are they who saw and heard: Liutfrid priest, Ellannod archpriest, Helmuni, Liutpald sheriff, Ellanperht judge, Heriperht, Heimperht, Anno, Situli, Hrocholf, Welant, Pern, Putilo, Adalhart, Toato, Jacob, Hiltiprant, Wisurich, Eparhart, Tuowart, Siguwin, Madalker, Reginwart, Chuniperht, Erchanperht, Hroadolt.

TF 236, 806x08 (104r)

## The Conveyance of Hitto the Deacon from Laimbach

Whereas it should not to be kept unknown how Hitto the deacon established the case of his inheritance; whatever he had at Laimbach he conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary to the place Freising on this very condition, that so long as he might live, he might have it in his power to use and improve it and in no wise to diminish it. After his death however it shall return without any opposition and undisturbed to the service of St Mary in the afore noted place with all things pertaining to it. These are the witnesses seeing this conveyance: Sheriff Liutpald, Adalhart, another Liutpald, Pupo, Toanwart, Engilrih, Erchanperht, Eparhart, Madalker.

TF 242, ca 806x810? (146r)

## The Inquest of Bishop Atto at Walkertshofen

Concerning the inquest by Bishop Atto regarding the conveyance by Helmker which he claimed against a certain person whose name is Reginhoh respecting the place Walkertshofen. This inquest was held on the river Roth in the presence of the commissioners Archbishop Arn and Audulf, and of Bishop Adalwin, Abbot Meginhart, Abbot Snello, Abbot Sigimot, Abbot Johan, Abbot Woldregi, Sheriff Job, Sheriff Richo, Ellanperht justice, Adalperht, Helmuni, Egino chaplain, Johan priest, Amo, Weidheri, Folrat, Erinperht. These are witnesses who testified between Bishop Atto and the above said person that by law it ought to remain validly to the cathedral church of St Mary as in Helmker's conveyance.

TF 243, 29 November 806x11 (129r)

## The Conveyance of Frecholf from Percha

Concerning the conveyance of Frecholf to the cathedral church of St Mary and to the tomb of Christ's Confessor the Blessed Corbinian, he conveyed the half share of my [sic] inheritance in the place Percha, that is his slave whose name is Atto together with his wife Alphilt and son by the name of Ellanhart, together with the equipped colon-holding as he was settled there, the messuage with dwelling, with



buildings, with arable, meadows, pastures, with all things pertaining to it, validly and without doubt he granted it to the above said cathedral church of God in the place Freising after his death. This was done in the Vigil of St Andrew [30 November], in the presence of the congregation of that Saint in the place Freising. These are those who were present and are witnesses: Helmonio, Wicrat, Liutfrid, Adalhoh, Oadalgrim, Hroadolf, Cervus, Mercho, Starcholf clerk, Petto, Paldachar, Otlant.

TF 246, 806x811 (153v)

Bishop Atto and Hroadachar at Eching

A written record of the sale which the Lord Bishop Atto and Hroadachar concluded between themselves, that is, Hroadachar gave to the above said bishop a piece of land in a place which is called Eching, and in return Bishop Atto gave him one breastplate. These are the witnesses: Chuniperht, Reginperht, Cunheri, Kaganhart, Memmo.

TF 248, 16 January 807 (144r)

The Agreement of the Bishops and the Abbots Concerning Tithes

When a synod of bishops, abbots and other clerks of the province of Bavaria assembled at the metropolitan see Salzburg, there they carefully considered not a few things to their advantage, and amongst other matters moreover Arn the archbishop, Atto, Adalwin, Einric, Hato moved questions concerning the tithe of the faithful people which are offered to the churches. After reading provisions from the authority of the canons about what they ought to do in this matter, they found that there should be four portions: one for the bishop, another for the clerks, a third for the poor, a fourth for the fabric of the church. Thereupon all the abbots who were present consented to this decree according to the canons, and they rendered the portions of the bishops to the bishops which rightly pertained to them, that is Meginhart, Urolf, Johan, Wolfdregi, Wolchanhart, Kerrih, Hepfilo and the others each to his own bishop on this condition that afterwards no discord should arise on this account, but rather concord should henceforth endure forever. This was done on the 17th calends of February in the 7th year of Charles the Glorious and August reigning as Emperor after his Consulship. Deoderic wrote it.

TF 249, 6 February 807 (170r)

The Conveyance of Engilperht and his Son Isso the Priest and his Wife Perhtswind

Let this be declared to all the faithful for their understanding, that Engilperht and his son, Isso the priest, and his wife, Perhtswind, by their common hands validly conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising whatever they held in the place which is called Deutenhofen, the church together with the dwelling and all the inherited and acquired property. This was done on the 8th ides of February. And these witnesses: Rihperht, Cundperht, Egiperht, Cozpald, Sicco, Werot, Arpeo, Haguno, Rimideo, Engilperht, Perhtolf, Starcholf.

TF 252, 16 May 807 (91v)

The Conveyance of Tato from Edelshausen

Concerning the conveyance which Tato made in the place which is called Edelshausen [*Zetileshusun*]. Next to there is a place which we call 'at Ried'. In that very same place he conveyed whatever he had, all of it completely, to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin and St Corbinian Christ's Confessor at Freising, and he established it validly and undoubtedly so that it may endure forever to the above said

place Freising for the remedy of his soul. This was done moreover on the Holy Day of Pentecost in the presence of the Pious Pontiff Atto and also in the presence of many gathered there. These moreover are the witnesses: in the first place, Zetil, Starcholf clerk, Ortheri, Cozmar. This was done in the 7th year of the Most Serene Emperor Charles the August, in the 12th indiction. And thus I Tagabert, unworthy subdeacon, wrote this deed of conveyance commanded by the Lord Bishop Atto.

TF 253, 16 May 807 (125v)

#### Deotpurc from Weichs

In the Name of God. Accordingly, I Deotpurc pondering and considering about my soul and the future life so that I might be worthy to receive a measure of forgiveness from a pious Lord, for the rest I convey with the consent of my husband by the name of Anno my own inheritance in the place called at Weichs which I have exchanged and acquired from my own inheritance. Now, however, I convey and discharge it, with no one objecting, to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin and of Christ's Confessor St Corbinian at Freising, whatever I might have in the above said place I grant and confirm validly and unquestionably to My Lady St Mary, so that she might deign to intercede for my many transgressions. This was done on the day of Pentecost in the presence of the Pious Pontifex Lord Atto, and in the presence of many others gathered there. These are moreover the witnesses: first Anno, Einhart, another Einhart, Adalhart, Toato, Ratolt, Otachar, Isanperht, Fatto. This was done moreover in the 7th year of the reign of the Most Serene Emperor Charles the August, in the 13th indiction. I Tagabert unworthy subdeacon accordingly wrote this deed of conveyance by command from the mouth of Bishop Atto.

TF 255, 13 June 807 (79v)

#### The Conveyance of Egilric the Priest at Biburg and at Pellheim

With Our Lord Jesus Christ reigning forever in the times of Our Most Excellent and Pious Emperor Charles, in the 7th year of his imperial rule, accordingly I Egilric the priest conveyed my own inheritance in the place called Biburg and Pellheim, in basilicas, in dwellings, in ploughland, in fields, pastures, waters, and from all the things which my father and my mother left to me and pertain to me in my own right to the altar of St Mary at Freising and into the hand of Bishop Atto. And it was agreed that after his death, Oadalker the priest, whom he had raised from infancy and by God's favor he had brought to the honorable estate of priest, should hold it by such rent as was agreeable to the bishop. And this was done on the ides of June in the place which is called Freising. These are the witnesses: Liutfrid priest of Ellannod, Adalunc, Cundpald, Reginhart, Meginolt, Oadalpald, Sigipald, Lanfrid, Eio, Liutto, Waltrih, Pernwin, all priests; Heimperht a layman, Reginperht, Sindeo, Cundheri, Hunolt, Rihpald, Einhart, Crimperht, Memmo, Emicho, Selprih, Ortheri, Adalhart, Cozmar, Toto, Angilperht, Heoperht, Adalker, Coteperht, and many others. If indeed anyone, which I do not believe to be, either I myself or any opponent attempts to break or alter it, if he does not make amends, let him incur the wrath of Almighty God and pay compensation as is the law. I Alpheri the clerk wrote this accordingly at the request of Egilric the priest.

TF 257, after 17 June 807 (153r)

#### Concerning the Benefice at Thanckirchen

A written notice how the Lord Bishop Atto granted a benefice of the church at a place called Thanckirchen to his man named Vuldarrich. For the same Vuldarrich conveyed himself into the service of Bishop Atto and of the cathedral church of St Mary up to the end of his life. And he received the same benefice on this condition, that he would remain faithful in the service of the church of St Mary, and, if he were to



do otherwise, he would be deprived permanently of this benefice. This was done in the place Freising in the presence of the whole household of St Mary, a few of whose names from amongst many we have set down: Ellannod archpriest, Eio priest, Oadalpald priest, Hiltiperht priest, Rato priest, Unroch priest, Altman deacon, Pazzuni deacon, Hitto deacon, Rupo deacon, Marchuni deacon, Tagaperht deacon, Salomon monk, Hiltiperht monk, Crimheri monk, Wolfhart monk, Kaganhart layman, Emicho, Adalhart, Coazmar, Toato, Pazrih.. All of these are witnesses that I, Bishop Atto, granted a benefice to my own man Vuldarrich for his lifetime. However, after his death, it should revert without delay and without any objection to the cathedral church of St Mary.

TF 261, 24 August 807 (93r)

#### The Conveyance of Ellanpurc and Engilpurc

A written notice of how Ellanpurc and Engilpurc conveyed their inheritance to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin at Freising into the hands of Bishop Atto, that is, in the place named Lappach, a church with dwelling and whatever was seen by law to pertain to them in that same place, all of it completely setting nothing aside, but in all completeness they conveyed it to the above said cathedral church with no one objecting or diminishing in any way. These are the witnesses in whose presence this was done: first, Nendinc priest, Rato priest, Eginolf priest, Rupo deacon, Alholf clerk. This was done on the 9th calends of September, in the 15th indiction, in the 7th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles. Indeed, I Tagabert unworthy deacon, seeing and hearing these things, wrote it down by command of Bishop Atto.

TF 264, a. 7 June 807; b. 15 August 808 (156r)

#### The Conveyance of Aso at Mammendorf

[a.] Concerning the conveyance which Aso made at Mammendorf, whatever he had there he conveyed all of it completely to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin and St Corbinian Christ's Confessor at Freising on this very condition, so long as I shall continue to live in this fragile life, I may hold it for use and improvement and in no wise diminish it; however, after my life it shall endure undisturbed, conveyed and validly confirmed to the above said cathedral church at Freising thus augmented and improved as it was left at my death in all completeness together with buildings, flocks, cattle and with all appurtenances legally pertaining to me in that same place Mammendorf from my own inheritance or acquisition or purchase. This was done on the 7th ides of June in the presence of the Pious Pontifex Lord Atto in the basilica of St Mary. These moreover are the witnesses: first Richo, Hrodhart, Wago, Pruninc, Sindihho. This was done moreover in the 7th year of the reign of the Most Serene Emperor Charles the August, in the 12th indiction.

[b.] And once again in the next year he renewed the original conveyance and confirmed it and conveyed all things altogether, cultivated and uncultivated, slaves, fields cultivated and uncultivated, so that after his death whatever he had in the place Mammendorf might endure without any opposition to Freising for the cathedral church of St Mary. This was done on the 18th calends of September, in the 8th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles, in the 13th indiction. Indeed, I Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote this deed by order of Bishop Hitto. These moreover are the witnesses: Kaganhart, Spulit, Nothart, Adalhart, Sigipald, Wituchi.

TF 265, 19 April 807x8/808x11 (95v)

#### The Conveyance of Altman at Arzbach

[a.] A written notice of the conveyance which Altman made to the cathedral church of St Mary, that is in the place which is called at Pfettrach and at Arzbach. For he conveyed whatever fell to him as his share

of the inheritance when he divided with his sons, all of this completely he conveyed; he put nothing aside but validly delivered it up and confirmed it by lawful witnesses whose names are: Sigipald, Einhart, another Einhart, Memmo Ekkihart, Hitto the deacon. This was done on the 13th calends of May.

[b.] Straightaway thereafter that same Altman confirmed and renewed the same conveyance in this manner, so that Altman himself assembled a crowd of closest relations and kinsmen and renewed that same conveyance which he had made before in order that he might have better validity. These are the names of those who saw and heard: first Sulman the priest, Folrat, Alpuni Hunleih, Tuto.

TF 268, 807x8 (152v)

#### The Agreement of Bishop Atto with the Brothers Patto and Tetti

[a.] An agreement by Bishop Atto with two brothers whose names are Patto and Tetti. For these same two aforesaid brothers tried to alienate some part of the estate at Sünzhausen. Thereupon, an agreement was made whereby Bishop Atto granted these two brothers 40 day-works of arable and six cartloads of meadows in the place Haselbach, and a horse with shield and lance. Accordingly, it was confirmed by both parties with witnesses, and thus may it be settled between them forever. This was done in the presence of Bishop Atto and Bishop Oadalhart, Abbot Meginhart, and Antarbot the priest. These are the witnesses: Mezzi sheriff, Engilperht deputy, Kaganhart, Einhart, another Einhart, Friduperht, Memmo, Wichart, Isancrim, Hrocholf, Tiso, Sindeo, Cundheri, Haholf, Chippo.

[b.] Likewise, concerning the woodlands at Sünzhausen: Rupo the deacon, Hamminc, Mezzi sheriff, Reginhart, Kaganhart, Cundheri, Sindeo, Reginperht, Diudolf, Fatto, Herirat, Soanperht, Wichart. These are the witnesses whom Tetti and Patto produced to Bishop Atto for the woodlands which they had claimed in the place Sünzhausen. Thereupon, they accepted seven shillings in silver, and in the presence of these witnesses they renounced any legal claim to these woodlands. This was done at the public court session at Freising.

TF 275, 30 May 808 (93v)

#### The Settlement of Bishop Atto and Kyppo and his Conveyance

Be it known to many who abide within the cathedral church of St Mary how Kyppo conveyed into the hands of Bishop Atto for the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising his own inheritance in the place Marzling. Previously, a certain dispute had arisen between Bishop Atto and the same Kyppo on account of an exchange which they had made between themselves. For Kyppo himself treacherously [terminated the exchange, and on that account they were in discord. or: destroyed the exchanged property concerning which they were disputing.] Accordingly, the Pious Pontiff, Atto, remitted back to him the exchange and gave to him a horse and a woolen cloth and another of linen for the buildings which had been destroyed during the dispute, and they made peace between themselves in the presence of many. And Kyppo declared on the reliquary: 'If you do not give me one side of bacon, nothing is valid between us, neither the peace settlement nor the gift which I made.' Therefore, Bishop Atto directed that he be given a side of bacon, and each placed his hands upon it, and they made peace in that fashion. Moreover, Kyppo conveyed validly his part of his own inheritance and confirmed it with witnesses whose names are: Memmo, Einhart, Reginperht, another Einhart, Richolf, Ellanrich, Adalrih, Alholf the clerk, Madalcoz.. This was done on the 3rd calends of June, in the 8th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles the August. Indeed, I Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote this deed at the command of Bishop Atto.





TF 277, 10 June 808 (88v)

#### The Conveyance of Isangrim

A written notice that a certain man by the name of Isangrim sought land in a place which is called Egino's Church because that same land pertained to the cathedral church of St Mary where Bishop Atto was seen at that time to preside. Then Bishop Atto and his defenders dismissed that dispute into the hands of the above said Isancrim and his kinsmen so that they might act thereupon according to law. And they did so and came to Freising and swore with lawful oath-helpers that that same property ought to stand more so to the inheritance of the above said Isancrim than to the cathedral church of St Mary and the authority of Bishop Atto, and it was concluded between them. Thereupon also Isangrim himself, moved by divine grace, conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary and of St Corbinian Christ's Confessor that same land which he had acquired by the dispute for the remedy of his soul and of his kinsmen. Moreover, he established that it might endure thus validly and firmly forever, so that no further dispute might arise therefrom between them. These are moreover the witnesses: first Kaganhart, Selprih, Haholf, Ampho, Nothart, Hericco. This was done on the 4th ides of June, in the 8th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles the August, in the 1st indiction. I Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote this deed at the command of Bishop Atto.

TF 279, 28 June 828 (275v)

#### Deotswind Conveyed Slaves

In the Name of God. A written notice that a certain woman, Deotswind by name, conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary and St Corbinian Christ's Confessor at Freising five slaves whose names are: Sikifrid, Otni, Perhta, Regindrud, Ellandeo. These are the witnesses: first Petto, Sindeo, Friduperht, Reginperht, Hiltiker, Cros, Altperht. This was done on the 4th calends of July, in the 8th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles, in the 1st indiction. I indeed Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote up this deed by command of Bishop Atto.

TF 281, 15 August 808 (128v)

#### The Conveyance of Pernhart the Priest

Concerning the conveyance which Pernhart the priest made in the place Wiedenzhausen. Indeed, Pernhart himself built a basilica in that same above said place and invited Bishop Atto, and he indeed dedicated that basilica himself. With that done, Pernhart himself took hold of the altar cloth and conveyed it into the hands of Bishop Atto, and whatever of his own inheritance he was seen to hold in the above said village, all of it completely he conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin at Freising, for he set nothing aside. These are moreover the witnesses: Ekkihart, Hadolt, Edilo, Sipicho, Lungar, Wirunt, Cozpald, Wurmhart, Haguno, Salomon. This was done on the 18th calends of September, in the 8th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles the August, in the 1st indiction. Indeed I Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote this deed at the command of Bishop Atto.

TF 286, 808x811 (146v)

#### The Church at Fürholzen

Concerning the church which is located at the place Fürholzen, it was first built by these who had equal share in the same place Fürholzen who names are Alpheri, Pollo and Oato. They endowed the same church with their own inheritance and then, with the advice of the bishop, they first put in place a

priest whose name was Lipolf. After him was Cozuni; third, Heito; fourth, Deotrih; fifth, Alpuni; sixth, Perhthram; seventh, Seliperht. These same priests have served the cathedral church of St Mary from that time up to now. Following those first aforesaid men who built that church, there were others who conveyed their inheritance to that same church whose names are these: Emilo, Altmar, Welisunc, Erchanpald, Egino, and Reginolt.

TF 290, 16 February 809 (170r)

The conveyance of Abbot Meginhard and Chundhart and Reginhart and his Son Hitto

By trustworthy confirmation let it be declared to all those knowing proper confirmation that Abbot Meginhart and Cundhart and Reginhart and his son Hitto validly conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising whatever they had in the place Huppenberg. This was done on the 14th calends of March. These witnesses: Kaganhart, Heriperht sheriff, Selprih, and another Kaganhart, Toato, Hitto, Orendil, Kerhart, Waldman.

TF 291, February 809 (107v)

The Conveyance of Waldman from Königsdorf

Be it known to all in the bishopric of St Mary that a certain man by the name of Waldman conveyed a part of his inheritance in the place which is called Königsdorf to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place Freising, all of it completely whatever chanced to him in share apart from his coheirs, without any contradiction he validly conveyed it in arable, fruitful wetlands, and in all properties, so that it might endure to the above said cathedral church eternally for the redemption of his soul. These are the names of the witnesses: Waldman himself as witness and his own son Sigiwolch, Herideo, Ortheri, Sigahart, Irminperht witness.

TF 294, 16 May x 14 June 809 (117r)

Oadalcrim the Priest and Hroadant the Deacon

Concerning the conveyance which Oadalgrim the priest and Hroadant the deacon made to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin, whatever of their own inheritance or acquisition they had in the place which is called Hörgebenbach, moreover on this condition, that it be allowed them to hold this same while they live; after their death however all of it completely shall endure without any opposition to the cathedral church of St Mary. This was done in the presence of the Lord Bishop Atto and of the household of St Mary whose names are: first Heriperht the archpriest, Meginolt priest, Marchuni priest, Pazzuni deacon, Hitto deacon, Altman deacon, Rupo deacon, Hunolt deacon. Only two female slaves did they set aside whose names are Enisa, Plidrud. The are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Alholf clerk, Deodolt clerk, Sigiwin layman, Heriperht, Hisker. This was done on the 18th [*sic*] calends of June, in the 9th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles the August, in the [blank] indiction. Indeed, I Tagabert unworthy priest wrote this deed by the command of Bishop Atto.

TF 295, 20 July 809 (160v)

The Conveyance of Ellanod the Priest at Fischen

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Be it known to all the faithful and devoted to God that I Ellanod, allowed to be called unworthy abbot, have confirmed those things of my own right pertaining to my allod in a place called Fischen after my death to the house of God situated in the place called Schlehdorf which is dedicated in honor of St Denis and where St Tertulian rests in body. Thereupon with the advice and agreement of Bishop

Atto, I myself and together with me all the brothers serving God devotedly in the afore mentioned place, we granted this in benefice to my nephew Hericco on this very condition: that if the afore said Hericco were to long outlive me, every year he should pay rent for it, that is six pence or six pence in value in food or clothing or wax or in livestock, and in this manner, that after the death of Hericco it remain confirmed forever to the above said place where the honor of many saints is revered for the remedy of my soul and for the souls of my father and mother and for the soul of my brother. I Ellanod and Reginhart the steward of the afore said brothers conveyed that afore said property in benefice to Hericco on the condition as is said above in the presence of the brothers abiding in the service of God and of St Denis and St Tertulian Martyr and of all the saints whose relics are adored in that afore mentioned place. And these are the witnesses: Meginrat, Helmker, Otperht, Frumolt, Arfrid, Adalwart, Oadalfrid. And these are the names of the monks who confirmed the words of others: Williperht priest, Rihmunt priest, Erphuni priest, Sandolf deacon, Hroadperht, Kamanolt. Done in the public place called Schlehdorf on the consular day, in the 13th calends of August, in the 2nd indiction, with Our Lord Charles the Great Emperor reigning in the 9th year. I Kerolt an unworthy deacon wrote this by command of the lord Ellanod and from the mouth of Emicho.

TF 296, 9 September 809 (90r)

#### The Conveyance of Deodolt at Eppertshofen

Be it know to all those having business within the cathedral church of St Mary how I, Bishop Atto, conceded in benefice to Deodolt the clerk our own property in the place Eppertshofen which Chuniperht and Adalcoz had conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary. And he himself, the already said Deodolt, conveyed in return to the church of St Mary his own inheritance in the same above said village, territory with buildings, two slaves whose names are Alprih, Oata, 36 day-works, of meadows about 40 cartloads, and whatever in the same village he himself and his mother Irminrat by name were seen to have of their own inheritance, all of it completely they conveyed by common hand to the altar of St Mary into the hands of Bishop Atto. These are moreover the witnesses: Kaganhart, Adalhart, Spulit, Nothart, Aso, Emicho, Oadalhart, Hrodlant, Eparpert, Somperht clerk. This was done on the 5th ides of September, in the 8th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles the August, the 3rd indiction. I Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote it at the command of Bishop Atto.

TF 297, 27 March 811 (120v)

#### Einhard at [Schön-]Brunn

A written notice that Einhard, a layman, conveyed his own inheritance in the place which is called Brunn. The third part of all things from whatever that he was seen to have there, in slaves as also in lands, and the third part from whatever was determined to be there he conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary and St Corbinian Christ's Confessor at Freising into the hands of Bishop Atto. These moreover are the witnesses: first, Memmo, Crimuni, Hisso, Hunolt the deacon. This was done on the consular day which was the 6th calends of April in the 11th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles the August, the 4th indiction. I Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote this deed by order of Bishop Atto.

TF 304, 26 September 812 (87r)

#### The Conveyance of Hiltimeri from Zeitlbach

In the Name of God. Whereas, I Hiltimeri, pondering and considering about my soul and the future life, in order that I might be worthy to receive a measure of forgiveness for my sins from a merciful Lord and might be able to find intercession and refreshment for my soul with the merciful Lord through the Most Blessed Virgin Mary by her merits, therefore, I, Hiltimeri conveyed my own inheritance to the same Most

Blessed Mary and to St Corbinian, Christ's Confessor, at the see of Freising where I would desire to have my defense. For I once settled my head under their protection for religious enclosure, but the envy of others, I believe, expelled me. Or, rather, I wish to believe that this was done as a result of my sins. With these things over and fulfilled according to God's dispensation and will, that which my soul previously bore with difficulty, now having been overcome cheerfully in the love of God, I bear my expulsion willingly and in the love of St Mary, with my little inheritance which I have at Zeitlbach which rightfully came to me as my own share of the inheritance from my next of kin and which is in four parts: first, the share of my father and mother whose names were Helzuni and Oadalhilt, and then of my brother, Silvester, and, finally, what I am heir to in my wretched state as the remaining one. On account of which I, for us all and for the salvation of our souls, do convey and validly grant all these things to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin, that it might endure there stable forever with no one objecting. These are the witnesses: Oadalker, Cundhart, Situli, Toto, Kernand, Haholf, Toato, Emicho, Deotheri, Angilhart, Hartperht clerk, Isanhart clerk. This was done at Freising before the altar of St Mary in the presence of the Lord Bishop Hitto and of his household on the 6th calends of October, in the 12th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles the August, the 5th indiction. Indeed, I, Tagabert, unworthy deacon, wrote this charter at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 310, 3 December 813 (192v)

#### The Conveyance of Leidrat at Kammer

A written notice of how Leidrat conveyed his allodial property in the place named Kammer. The afore noted Leidrat conveyed whatever he had of his own inheritance to the church of St Mary located in the afore noted place at Kammer, all of it completely setting nothing aside; rather, after his death it shall endure validly to the afore noted church of God. And he supported this by the subjoining of witnesses whose names are inserted below: Paldachar, Cundhart, Heriperht, Wolfunc, Pazrih, Willipato, in the public place at Kammer, on the 3rd nones of December, the 5th moon phase, the 6th indiction.

TF 315, 31 March 814 (200v)

#### The Benefice of Coteperht and His Conveyance

Indeed, it is well known to many abiding within the diocese of St Mary that the Lord Bishop Hitto presented a certain man, Coteperht, and his son by the name of Oadlker to a benefice of land within a place called Ottmarshart because the Lord Bishop Hitto raised up the son of Coteperht from the baptismal font. Moreover, that same already said Coteperht conveyed in return to the cathedral church of St Mary one colon-holding and two slaves in that same place Ottmarshart in this manner: that Coteperht himself and his son Oadalker be allowed to hold both the said properties during their life; after their death both of those designated properties without any objection return to the cathedral-church of St Mary, and no one be able to object. These, indeed, are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Alhmunt, Einhart, Kartheri, Heriperht, Reginpald, Willipato, Reginhoh, Tiso, Ratolt, Selprih, Poapo, another Poapo, Kerhoc. The Lord Bishop Hitto did this in the place Freising in the presence of the whole household of St Mary. From amongst many we name a few who were present: Wago the chaplain, Rupō deacon, Anno deacon, Emicho deacon, Oadalpald priest and monk, Unroh priest. This was done on the eve of the calends of April in the 1st year of the Lord Emperor Louis, the 6th indiction. I Tagabert unworthy deacon, wrote this by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 316, 2 April 814 (193r)

#### The Conveyance of Deotpald the Priest and Deotpatō the Priest

Concerning the conveyance which two brothers made, and they themselves also taking their place in ordination as priests whose names are Deotpald the priest and Deotpatō the priest. For they conveyed

to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising whatever of their own inheritance they had in the place Holzhausen, all of it completely putting nothing aside, but rather all things which they were seen to have there, they granted by common hand jointly in valid conveyance to the already said cathedral church of St Mary on this condition, that it be allowed them to hold this same until the end of their life; after their death indeed it shall endure to the already said cathedral church without any objection by valid conveyance. Moreover, these are the witnesses: Hrodolt, Kaganhart, Kerhart, Freaso, Pernker, Sigihart, Cundperht, Ambricho, Toto. This was done in the presence of Bishop Hitto on the consular day which is the 4th nones of April, in the 14th year of the most glorious Emperor Charles the August, in the 4th indiction. Indeed, I Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote this deed by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 317, 9 June 814 (197r)

#### The Conveyance of Oadalscalh the Priest at Degerndorf

It is thus evident to many abiding within the bishopric of St Mary how a certain priest Oadalscalh by name conveyed his own church in the place Degerndorf into the hands of the Lord Bishop Atto together with all the properties of this church. Moreover, after Bishop Atto's death Oadalscalh the priest came himself to the Lord Bishop Hitto relating to him all things, how he had conferred with Atto and made an agreement so that he had conveyed the already said church to the cathedral church of St Mary and confirmed it validly to this cathedral church with truthful witnesses. Now indeed it is agreed by me and at the same time equally with my brother by the name of Deotto and his son, my nephew Cundheri by name, that, upon the agreement of Bishop Hitto that same church in all completeness to be presented from the episcopal church in benefice to my nephew Cundhari. Hearing this, the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto consented to our counsel in this manner, that my above said nephew Cundheri should convey his own share of his inheritance to the cathedral church of St Mary. And they did it thus, Deotto together with his son Cundhari came forward, and by common hand they conveyed the share of Cundhari to the cathedral church of St Mary on this condition, that it be allowed him to hold both properties for his life. If indeed Oadalscalh should outlive Cundhari or Cundhari should be the survivor of Oadalscalh, then the same should hold the already said inheritance of both as long as he lives; moreover after their death this property should return to the cathedral church of St Mary, nor shall anyone be able to oppose it. These are the witnesses for both parties; Emicho, Reginpald, Willipato, Wituchi, Hiltiprant, Engilrih, Rihperht, Reginhoh. Hartbert clerk, Eparhart clerk. This was done on the 5th ides of June, in the first year of the Most Glorious Emperor Louis, the 6th indiction. I Tagibert unworthy deacon wrote it at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 318, 22 June 814 (194v)

#### The Conveyance of Kerhoh at Pettenbach

[a.] In the Name of the Lord. Kerhoh conveyed his own inheritance, that is 20 dayworks of land and two other places which we call Ried, and three slaves in the place Pettenbach to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin and to Christ's Confessor St Corbinian at Freising. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Kernand, Walho, Cundhart, Waninc, Reginpald, Arahad, Wituchi, Eparheri, Engilrih. This was done in the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin at Freising, in the 1st year of the Lord Emperor Louis, on the consular day which is the 10th calends of July, in the 7th indiction. I Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote it at the command of Bishop Hitto.

[b.] These are the witnesses which Hleoperht presented on account of the ploughland which he conveyed into the hands of Kernand for the wergeld of Hroadolf the priest in the place Allershausen: Mezzi the sheriff, Deothart the hundredman, Noato, Immino, Isancrim, Liutpald, Hatto, Irminfrid.





TF 319, 1 July 814 (192r)

## The Conveyance of Pietto at Wollnzach

It is known to many how Pietto previously had ordained and in the presence of his close kin announced that he was conveying the third part of his own inheritance in the place Wollnzach to the cathedral church of St Mary. Now indeed, compelled by necessity and weighed down by a grave illness, in the presence of many he placed the already said conveyance into the hands of his nearest relatives whose names are Milo and Friduperht, in this manner, if he should die of that illness, then in his place they would carry out the already said conveyance, and, in the presence of these very witnesses, would convey it to the altar of St Mary for the redemption of his soul. These are the witnesses: Cozperht, Eoperht, Tagamar, Sigimar, Kerperht, Eporolf, Ratolt, another Cozperht. With this complete and after a short time had passed, Pietto died, and those same already said Milo and with him Friduperht took up the son of Pietto by the name of Hununc and came to Freising into the presence of Bishop Hitto, and carried out all these things just as they had received authority from Pietto in this manner, that they themselves as well as with Hununc his son placed the already said conveyance by common hand on the altar of St Mary, and once again witnesses thereupon confirmed it whose names are: Pernolf, Pepilo, Milo, Isangrim, Haholf, Alawih, Coteforht, Isker, Nidhart, Rihhart, Altiperht, Cundhart. This was done in the basilica of St Mary Ever Virgin at Freising, on the consular day which is the calends of July, in the 14th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles the August, in the 11th indiction. Indeed I Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote this conveyance at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 320, 25 August 814 (195v)

## The Conveyance of Williperht

Because it is necessary for each man always to take care for himself because death does not tarry, but rather the unknown last day from day to day draws nearer, for that reason I, an unworthy deacon Williperht, terrified on account of my constant infirmities which I endure with fear, lest the last day snatch [me?] before I meet it unexpectedly in my own despair, I have procured for myself to dispose of something for the saints of God. On which account I, pondering it in God's name, for fear of God and in return for eternal goods, I grant, convey to the church of St Mary Mother of God at Freising where the Venerable Man Hitto is seen to preside as bishop and ruler, that is, whatever I have been able to acquire by my own effort, for that same benefice by the generosity of the Lord, I have acquired it, on this condition, that it be allowed me to use it with the permission of the same aforementioned bishop, or for Rihpert the priest and also Antonio my brother up to our departure from this light, and after our death whatever may be found to have been added there to that same benefice and improved or what our passing left there, it shall revert to the lordship of that same already said holy church of God, and for that use we shall give such rent as the same Lord Bishop deigns to give us to dispose. And similarly Rihperht the priest and my brother Antonio wish to serve with suitable service towards the cathedral church of St Mary and the lordship of the Lord Bishop as it may please his sanctity. These are the witnesses of his conveyance: Sheriff Liutpald, Engilpoto imperial commissioner, Deothart imperial vicar, Einhart, Memmo, Wichart, Reginhart, Adalhart, Pilicrim, Wolfheri, Chuniperht, Ampricho, Hroadolt. These things were done on the consular day which falls on the 8th calends of September, in the first year of the Lord Emperor Louis, the 6th indiction. Moreover, I Willibert unworthy deacon have requested this writing to be made.

TF 323, 18 September 814 (198v)

## The Conveyance of Eio the Priest at Holzen

Whereas, lest it be kept unknown to all how the venerable man Eio the priest renewed the conveyance of his father Poapo in a place called at Holzen, that is, a church with dwelling and whatever was seen to pertain

to that church and to that dwelling, all of it completely he granted and validly conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin and of Christ's Confessor St Corbinian as well in arable land as in slaves, two furnished manses, woodlands, meadows, pastures, water and watercourses, movables and immovables, and all things which were seen to pertain by law to that already said dwelling. In this manner he made this conveyance, Eio the priest himself came and his brother Alphart to the Lord Bishop Hitto seeking that the same bishop should send his commissioners with them, so that they might view the arable land and the woodlands and the boundary limit of this mark, so that before he conveyed it, they might see what he had arranged to convey. This was agreeable to the Lord Bishop, and he sent with them Luitpald the sheriff and Oadalpald the deacon, Kernand, Regipert, Tagabert the scribe, so that they might view what was shown to them. Thus also they did, and Eio and Alphart his brother led them around and showed them all the places pertaining to this church. And Eio said: 'All this my father conveyed, and I wish to renew and convey it to the cathedral church of St Mary.' These already said persons reported all things to the Lord Bishop, that they had seen there the boundary and the mark and the woodlands lying around that same church. Then Eio and Alphart his brother arrived and in the presence of Bishop Hitto and all his household they conveyed to the altar of St Mary all the things which they had displayed before the commissioners of the lord bishop. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Luitpald sheriff, Mezzi sheriff, Kaganhart, Engilhart, Sindeo, Cundheri, Alphart, Nothart, Deotrih, Tuto, Liutprant, Deotpald, Rihpald, Pernolf, Hitto, Reginperht, Einhart, Tozzi, Emicho, Ratolt, Hiltprant, Reginpald, Aarahad, Alpheri, Kartheri, Hato. This was done on the consular day which is the 14th calends of October, in the first year of the Emperor Louis, in the 7th indiction. I unworthy Tagabert deacon wrote it at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 324, 18 September 814 (197v)

#### The Conveyance of Freido the Priest at Umbach

Whereas, that it not be unknown to all how I Freido the priest conveyed my own inheritance in the place Umbach to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place Freising, that is the church with the dwelling and all things which pertain lawfully to that same church, thus I Freido the priest in this manner made the conveyance. For it happened that I, having fallen into great illness, summoned to me my close kinsmen and neighbors whose names are Hadolt, Adalleoz, Kysalrih, Cunzo, Ekkyhart, Kerhart, Ermanrih, and I placed into their hands my entire said property by pledge, so, if I Freido were to die in this illness, that they would complete the conveyance which I have previously disposed and intended. I validly agreed this with them and established it in their power without doubt. This done, with the illness prevailing and the day of his departure approaching, Freido the priest died, and those same above said persons delayed for a time to do what they had promised to Friedo the priest. Truly then Hadolt, the steward of Freido the priest, came and related to Bishop Hitto all things as had been done. And that bishop came into the council of Sheriff Engilhart and brought suit against those concerning the church which Freido had conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary by their hands. And they, confessing the truth, came to Freising and completed it just as Freido the priest had enjoined them, and they confirmed his conveyance upon the altar of St Mary in the presence of men whose names are Ratolf the clerk, Wenilo, Hadurih, Adalperht, Perakis. This was done on the consular day which is the 14th calends of October, in the first year of the Emperor Louis, the 7th indiction. I Tagabert the deacon have written this by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 325, 18 September 814 (199r)

#### The Conveyance of Soapurc at Deisenhofen

Whereas in the Name of God I Soanpurc, a handmaiden consecrated to God, pondering and considering for my soul and eternal redemption, I convey my own inheritance in the place Deisenhofen to the

cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin at the place Freising, that is the land with buildings, slaves, and all things which were seen to pertain to me lawfully in that same place on this day, except for eight day-works, and one place which is half a messuage, and one slave which is appropriate to me; the rest moreover, whatever I have of my own, all of it completely I convey and grant together with my steward Hato by name for myself and for my son Alprih and for my husband Haduni in this manner, that without any contradiction it endure firm to the cathedral church of St Mary forever. This was done on the consular day which falls on the 14th calends of October, the first year of the Emperor Louis, the 7th indiction. These are the witnesses: Kaganhart, Sindeo, Rihpald, Kundhart, Hato, Emicho, Walho, Sigideo, Reginpald, Nothart, Arahad, Eparhart, Liutprant, Ampricho, Deotpald, Waninc, Hiltiprant. I Tagabert unworthy deacon wrote this deed by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 326, 23 September 814 (199v)

#### The Conveyance of Rihker from Cella

Concerning the conveyance which Rihker made in the place which is called Cella, that is a territory which is commonly called a 'hluz'. These are the witnesses: Emicho, Einhart, Walho, Eparheri, Erchanperht, Reginpald, Hisker, Heriperht. This was done on the consular day which falls on the 8th calends of October, in the first year of the Emperor Louis, the 7th indiction. I Tagabert, unworthy priest, wrote this at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 327, 2 October 814 (199v)

#### The Reclamation of the Matter of Freido the Priest

While Bishop Hitto and Sheriff Engilhard and Sheriff Liutpald were seated at the church which is called Bergkirchen and many others had come there to this court session, Hunperht and Hroadleoz and Ermanrih came into their presence and claimed the church which is in the place which is called Odelzhausen which Freido the priest conveyed for the remedy of his soul to the cathedral church of St Mary. Thereupon, Kaganhart and many others with him arose and testified that they had seen when Freido had conveyed the aforesaid church into the hands of Bishop Atto and to the cathedral church of St Mary at the time when Bishop Atto consecrated that church. Then Hunperht and Hrodleoz and Ermanrih responded that it had never been conveyed. Then Sherif Engilhart demanded that certain noble men should swear to tell the truth. And first swore Ekkihart, likewise Kerhart, Salomon, Cunzo, Pernhart, Hrodfolch, Sindihho, Lantperht, Odalpato, Wimo, Ato. And after the oath they declared that the aforesaid Freido, when he quit this life, called them to him and for a second time he conveyed that church to the cathedral church of St Mary and established it into their hands so that they should come and convey the above said church to the cathedral church of St Mary. Then the aforesaid men who sought that church saw that they would never be able to obtain that which they sought, but had been overcome by just judgment, and they admitted for themselves that they had done this unjustly. Afterwards, the aforementioned men, Ekkihart and Kerhart together with those into hands he had established that church, and together with those who previously had claimed the church against the monastery of Freising, by joint oath also restored that conveyance in the presence of the whole assembly to the cathedral church of St Mary. And these are the names of those who saw and heard that it had been thus agreed and confirmed: Bishop Hitto, Sheriff Engilhart, Sheriff Liutpald, Reginhart, Reginperht, Deothart, Kaganhart, Tiso, Pern, Spulit, Cunzo, Wenilo, Reginolt, Cronhart. Liutfrid, Freso, Unforht, Lantperht, Snelperht, Wicperht, Francho, Alto, Secki, Itto, Liutunc, Oadalrih, and many others who saw and heard this. This was done on the 6th nones of October in the most glorious first year in the reign of Emperor Louis, in the 7th indiction, the 13th lunar day.



TF 328, 7 October 814 (195r)

#### The Conveyance of Sigibald

A written notice of the conveyance which Sigibald made in a place called Puchschlagen. The aforesaid Sigibald built an oratory within his courtyard. Thereupon he came to the Venerable Bishop Hitto to supplicate that he might deign to come there, and thus he did, and the Venerable Bishop came there and many other noble men were present with him. Then the Venerable Bishop, asked how he wished to endow the aforesaid oratorio, and he, at once being present, admitted that he wished to endow the above said church with three slaves. Then the Venerable Bishop consecrated the church and in addition the altar and added relics. Just then the aforementioned Sigibald came into the presence of that multitude which had come for that celebration, and he bore a pledge in his hand and conveyed to that altar all the rights in his own inheritance which was seen to befall him from paternal or maternal side in the above said place Puchschlagen, and that altar into the hands of Bishop Hitto for the monastery of St Mary situated in the castle of Freising on this condition: that he himself, so long as he might endure in this fragile life, might have it for his use and authority, and after his death it might be kept validly for the cathedral church of St Mary without any contradiction. And he certified this by the support of witnesses whose names are here inserted: Reginhart, Hrodperht, Kernand, Kundhart, Odolt, Echo, Liutpald, Liutolt, Adalperht, Reginhoh, Drudolt, Aaron, Reginpald, Emicho. This was done on the nones of October with the Most Glorious Emperor Louis reigning in the first year, in the 7th indiction.

TF 330, 17 November 814 (201r)

#### The Conveyance of Seliperht

It is well known to many abiding in the bishopric of St Mary that Seliperht built an oratory within his courtyard in the place named Husir. Thereupon he came to the Venerable Bishop Hitto beseeching that he might deign to come there. And thus he also did, the Venerable Bishop coming there, and many noble men were there with him. Then with the Bishop asking how he intended to endow the aforesaid oratory, he, being willingly present, at once confessed that he would endow that very altar with 5 slaves and 30 yokes [of arable] and 12 cartloads of meadows. Then the Venerable Bishop consecrated the church and in addition the altar and added relics. Then at length the aforementioned Seliperht came before the multitude of people who had come to that celebration, and he bore the pall of the same altar in his hand, and he conveyed that altar into the hands of Bishop Hitto together with 5 slaves and 30 yokes and 12 cartloads of meadows, and the courtyard which encloses the church with a fence, together with the houses and all the other buildings for the cathedral church of St Mary located in the borough Freising on this very condition, that he and his son by the name of Job might have it for their use and possession so long as they live in this fragile life, and after their death it be held validly for the cathedral church of St Mary. And he certified this by the support of witnesses that it might be stable forever without any contradiction. And these are the witnesses whose names are inserted here: Kaganhart, Liutunc, Emilo, Spulit, Deotmar, Sigideo, Reginhoh, Jacob, Walho, Hroadperht, Marchuni, Arahad, Reginperht, Toto, Scalco, Otilo, Engilnod, Waltheri, Waltilo, Wichart, Oadalrih, Waltrih, Oadalker, Wolfhart, Wictarp, Isanhart, Hartnid. This that Seliperht did was done on the consular day on the 15th calends of December, with the Most Glorious Louis reigning in the first year, the 30th lunar phase, the 7th indiction.

TF 331, 19 February 815 (212v)

#### The Conveyance of Rihkeri to Poapincella

A written notice of the of the conveyance which Rihker made to the church built in the place named Poapincella. From his own land he conveyed four day works, and after the death of the aforesaid Rihkeri,

his son Chraft, escorted the stewards of Bishop Hitto, Sindeo and Einhard, around the aforesaid land and consigned it, and he invested it into their hands, and confirmed it with witnesses whose names are here: Pernolf, Isangrim, Reginperht, Reginolf, Reginperht, Einhart, Reginpald, Perahart, Cartheri, Deotheri. Done in the place called Poapincella, on the consular day which falls on the 11th calends of March, the 6th lunar phase, with Our Lord Emperor Louis reigning in the 2nd year, the 8th indiction.

TF 332, 19 February 815 (212v)

#### The Conveyance and Sale of Lantfrid

A written notice of the purchase which Bishop Hitto's steward, Sindeo by name, completed by order of Bishop Hitto with a certain man by the name of Lantfrid. The aforesaid Lantfrid conveyed his woodlands in the place called Zell, four statute rods in width and in length, as much as he is seen to have there, into the hands of the aforesaid steward of Bishop Hitto. And he received from him the purchase price which was one war horse. And thus they confirmed this by the certification of witnesses whose names are included here: Cundheri, Pernolf, Isangrim, Cundhart, Reginperht, Reginpald, Reginperht, Einhart, Cartheri, Reginolt, Chraft, Perahart, Fridurh, Ampho. Done in the place called Zell on the consular day which falls on the 11th calends of March, on Monday, in the 2nd year of the reign of Our Lord Emperor Louis, in the 8th indiction.

TF 335, 13 April 815 (213r)

#### The Renewal of the Conveyance of Oadalpald the Priest at Adelzhausen

It is known to many abiding within the diocese of St Mary how a certain priest, Oadalpald by name, once in the times of Duke Tassilo conveyed his own inheritance in the place Adelzhausen to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place called Freising into the hands of the Venerable Bishop Arbeo. Now however it suits me to renew that same conveyance just as I already did for a successor of the already afore noted venerable father of good memory Bishop Arbeo, the same conveyance which I caused to be renewed into the hands of Bishop Atto. Likewise, now also for a third time I shall do it into the hands of Bishop Hitto, the successor of them both. I shall renew that same conveyance so that there be no one who might be able to alienate it from that already said cathedral church or presume to excite or move any objection thence. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Reginperht, Adalker, Tozzi, Eparheri, Reginhoh, Hiltiprant. This was done on the ides of April, in the second year of the Emperor Louis and in the first in which King Lothar happily entered within Bavaria, in the 8th indiction. I Tagabert priest wrote this at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 336, 19 April 815 (214r)

#### The Grant of Situli and His Son at Fröttmanning

It is evident to many abiding within the diocese of St Mary how Situli built an oratory within his courtyard within the district at the place called Fröttmanning. Thereupon he came praying Bishop Hitto that he might deign to come there, and the venerable bishop arrived there and many other noble men were with him. Then, the above said bishop, asking how he wished to endow the afore said oratory, and he, the above said Situli, devout and attentive there at once declared that he would endow the already said oratory with two slaves named Kysalni and Engilrih, 20 yokes of arable, and as much in meadowlands as was sufficient, and after his death, whatever pertained to him in share against sons and wife, he would grant to that altar. Then the bishop consecrated this church and in addition the altar and added relics in this manner, that he not have permission nor authority to convey that same



church outside the diocese of St Mary. Thereupon the above said Situli came before the crowd which had come to that celebration, and he related to all what agreement and support he had with the Most Beneficent Bishop Hitto, and he conveyed the same property which Liutfrid the priest had conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary before and not received as a benefice from Atto his predecessor, and which fell to his own son by the name of Anno, which together with his inheritance and acquisition pertaining to him against his brothers, he had offered to the cathedral church of St Mary. Thereupon the bishop did not compel him at once to make conveyance, but rather he himself and his aforesaid son, so long as they should live in this fragile life, might hold it for their use and authority, and after their death with all utensils and furnishings whatever was found to have been added and improved there or their passing had left, without any contradiction should proceed to the monastery of Freising where St Corbinian rests in body and where were present those who saw and heard this: Ratkis, Frecholf, Situli, Toto, Cundhart, Hiltiprant, Liutcoz, Isker, Emihho, Walho, Selprih, Odalhart, Heripald priest, Meginolt priest, Otperht priest, Adalhart priest, Rubo deacon, Ratolt clerk, Ratolf clerk. This was done on the consular day on the 13th calends of May in the 2nd year of the Emperor Louis, in the 7th indiction, the 6th lunar day.

TF 338, 10 May 815 (208v)

#### The Benefice of Jacob the Abbot at Wollnzach

Be it known to all abiding within the cathedral church of St Mary, whether taking their place amongst the clergy or also living in a secular manner, how and why the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto conceded to Jacob called abbot as a benefice an ecclesiastical property in the place called Wollnzach in this manner, that the same Jacob might keep it for his own use and for his life, nor might he have license to present it to anyone else in benefice, but rather for improvement and augmentation and for producing larger proceeds nor in any wise diminishing and dissipating, but as it befits a servant of God to have license to care for it securely and use it well in every way; so that after his death he might have mercy greatly from the Lord and good esteem from household of St Mary and the ruler of this see because he did not do anything in any wise other than faithfully and well, so that he might be worthy to hear the desired promise offered by the Lord to a faithful servant: 'Because you were faithful in small matters, I establish you over much, that is, I grant you eternal for temporal goods.' And the already said Jacob called abbot, having accepted the benefice, established by his pledge into the hands of the Lord Bishop Hitto ten silver Frankish shillings to be given every year for rent and confirmed it validly by witnesses, on this condition, that as long as the same Jacob might hold his benefice in Francia, he shall render ten shillings as was said; if however he gives up his benefice in Francia, thereafter he shall render three shillings. These are the witnesses in whose presence this was done: Oadalpald priest and monk, Meginperht priest, Meginolt priest, Cundhart priest, Wago chaplain, Crimwart master, Rupō deacon, Zotto deacon, Emicho deacon, Nidperht deacon, Hroadant deacon, Starcholf deacon, Erphuni deacon. Laymen moreover: Eingilhart, Reginperht, Pernolf, Cundhart, Toto, Friduperht, Chulpinc, Heriperht, Tetti, Wicfrid, Willipato, Wolfheri, Emicho. This was done on the consular day which falls on the 6th ides of May, in the 2nd year of the reign of Louis the Pious Prince, and in the 1st year of Lothar as King in Bavaria, the 7th indiction. I Tagabert unworthy priest wrote this up by the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 339, 15 May 815 (216v)

#### The Conveyance of Lantperht at Huppenberg

May the church of the Blessed Mary Ever Virgin and Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ be honored by us and celebrated in every proclamation. Thus I, in God's Name, Lantperht pondering on the fear of God and eternal recompense so that we might be worthy to attain some small measure of indulgence

in the eternal dwell places with a Pious Lord, for this reason we grant in the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ to the monastery of St Corbinian located in the borough to Freising where the Precious and Holy Lord Corbinian rests in body and there the Venerable Bishop Hitto presides together with an enormous crowd of God's servants singing together the praises of Christ. And we wish it to be granted and by this deed of donation we convey and discharge from our right into the right and power of that same above said monastery our own inheritance which is in the place called Huppenberg up to the road that leads to Königsdorf, and thus along the middle of the course of the stream which is called the Rotach; whatever in those same said places which was in our present possession we convey into yours and that of the same monastery of St Corbinian for lordship on this very condition, that you should possess that same property in all completeness and solidity pertaining and belonging to it; and that our acts endure stable forever in this manner, if any seeks to alienate or to defraud the cathedral church of St Mary of this conveyance, let him render account on the Day of the Great Judgment. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears whose names are inserted here: Liutpald sheriff, Crimperht, Adalker, Engilperht, Oadalperht, Kerhoh, Reginperht, Situli, Wenito, Joseph, Odolt, Cundheri, Hroadachar, Rumolt, Toto, Ratkis, Lanperht himself. This was done on the consular day which fell on the ides of Mai, in the second year with Louis reigning as Emperor, in the first year with Lothar reigning as King in Bavaria, the 7th indiction, the 2nd lunar phase. And thus I Pirhtilo wrote and subscribed to this grant. This was done in the vill which is called Eching in the synod of Bishop Hitto.

TF 342, 23 June 815 (213v)

#### The Conveyance of Cozolt the Priest at Schäftlarn

Whereas I Cozolt the priest was pondering and considering in God's Name about my soul and the future life so that I might be worthy to receive in measure forgiveness for my sins from a Pious Lord, with no other need compelling but rather out of love for life perpetual and eternal blessedness, I convey my own church and whatever pertains lawfully to that church in the place Schäftlarn to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin and of Christ's Confessor St Corbinian at Freising, so that it might endure there forever for the redemption of my soul and of my kinsmen, that is the church with the church dwelling and whatever is seen to pertain lawfully to that same church except for only three slaves whose names I do not as yet mention but wish them to be just as now in my power; otherwise, indeed, whatever I have both in buildings as in lands cultivated and uncultivated, slaves, draft animals and herds, or which in any matter might be claimed or sought, all of it completely I validly convey and grant to the cathedral church of the Most Blessed Ever Virgin Mary, so that it might remain there firmly forever. These are the witnesses: Pernolf, Kaganhart, Altrih, Spulit, Cundhart, Alawih, Oadalhart, Willipato, Sindeo, Moathart. This was done in the place Freising on the 9th calends of July, in the second year of the Glorious Emperor Louis, and in the first year of Lothar as King in Bavari, the 8th indiction. I Tagibert unworthy priest wrote it at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 348, 2 October 815 (205v)

#### The Conveyance of Spulit at Wiedenzhausen

Be it evident to many abiding within the diocese of St Mary that Spulit conveyed his own inheritance in the place Wiedenzhausen to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin and St Corbinian Christ's Confessor at Freising. For whatever of his own inheritance he held in the already said place, all of it completely he conveyed into the hands of the Lord Bishop Hitto and validly granted it in this manner, that after his death without any objection it might endure forever to the cathedral church of St Mary. And the Venerable Pontifex Hitto himself conceded to the said Spulit ecclesiastical property in that same place Wiedenzhausen, the church with dwelling and whatever pertains to that church; moreover

he conceded this benefice to him on this condition, that so long as he fully executes faithful service to the defender of the see of St Mary and preserves himself faithfully towards the cathedral church of St Mary, he may hold it. These moreover are the witnesses: Kaganhart, Nothart, Walho, Arahad, Adalunc, Reginpald, Sighard clerk, Engilrih, Reginhoh, Sintarvizzilo, Hroadinc, Hericco, Heriperht, Sigilo, Lantpald. This was done in the place Freising, on the consular day which falls on the 6th nones of October, in the 8th indiction, in the 2nd year of the Most Glorious Emperor Louis, and in the first year of Lothar as King in Bavaria. I Tagibert unworthy priest wrote this at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 349, 2 October 815 (206r)

#### The Conveyance of Sheriff Cundhart at Moosach

Whereas it is not unknown to all but rather well known to many within the bishopric of St Mary that Sheriff Cundhart built a church on his own allodial land and on the allod of his wife, Adalfrit by name, in the place name Moosach, and he invited the venerable man Bishop Atto there to consecrate the same church. And Atto coming there himself inquired in the presence of the people what the already said Sheriff Cundhart wished to do with the same church, and he responded, 'I indeed wish to convey my share now in the presence of these all to the cathedral church of St Mary into your hands for the remedy of my soul, and I wish to confirm it in this manner, that after my death my wife Adalfrit, if she survives me, might have permission to hold it, if however she wishes to convey her own share in the same church to the cathedral church of St Mary.' With these words confirmed, the same church was consecrated. After some time had passed and Sheriff Cundhart was dead, his wife Adalfrit, having gathered her kinsmen, came together with her brother Hiltolf to the venerable pontifex Hitto, and in the public synod assembled at Freising she approached to the altar of St Mary and renewed the conveyance of Cundhart her husband, and she added to it her share of the same church in all completeness, whatever in the allod itself and by acquisition she was seen to have as her own in that church in this manner, that after her death no one might have permission, neither her brother nor any of her close kin of holding or in any wise diminish it, but as she was seised on that day, thus it might endure to the cathedral church of St Mary without any opposition. This was done in the presence of Bishop Hitto and of Heribert and Johannes archpriests, and many others. These are the witnesses: Heipo, Hasolf, Arahad, Reginhoh, Adalker, Adalperht, Pernolf, Liutpald, Deotpald, Adalhoh, Aaron, on the consular day which falls on the 6th nones of October, in the 2nd year of the Emperor Louis, and in the 1st of King Lothar, the 8th indiction. I Tagipert unworthy priest wrote this at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 350, 2 October 815 (207v)

#### The Conveyance of Waldperht

It is known to many abiding within the bishopric of St Mary that Waldperht [conveyed] a share of his own land in the place Ruppertskirchen to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin and St Corbinian Christ's Confessor. Moreover, Waldperht made that same conveyance in this manner; with the end of his life then approaching and vexed with serious illness, not a little crowd of kinsmen was summoned. In their presence indeed he placed the same conveyance into the hands of Sindeo and of his own two sons whose names are Williperht [and] Chuniperht, the third share of the land which he had on that day both in arable fields as also in woodlands and meadows. The same said persons, having received this conveyance, came to Freising and completed everything just as he had enjoined them, and Waldperht their father had placed it into their hands. For they approached to the altar of St Mary in the presence of the Lord Bishop Hitto and of Johannis the archpriest and Heribert the archpriest and many others, and they confirmed the conveyance enjoined upon them. These are moreover the witnesses: Sindeo, Adalhoh, Crimheri, Reginolt, Aaron, Deotpald, Walho, Liutpald, Arnolt, Tetti, Toato. This was done in

the place Freising, on the consular day which falls on the 6th nones of October, in the 8th indiction, the second of the imperial rule of the Glorious Louis, the first year of Lothar as King in Bavaria. I Tagabert unworthy priest wrote this at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 352, 5 November 815 (202v)

#### The Grant of Bishop Hitto

In the Name of God the Redeemer of all the faithful. Hitto humble bishop but elected by God's grace and crowned by God and established for the increase of God's holy church and the advantage of the cathedral church of St Mary, thus admonished by divine clemency ordered a church to be built and amply provided for upon his own inheritance in a place which is called Holzhausen which came to him from the share of his father. Thereupon the aforementioned bishop came thence and many other noble men with him. Then the aforesaid bishop made inquiry of his sister by the name of Cotesdiu if she wished to grant anything from her goods to the afore noted church. And she, the above remembered Cotesdiu, appeared devoutly and by earnest example before the great assembly and conveyed the proper share of her son Kernand for the remedy of his soul to the aforesaid church, whatever came to him by right of inheritance; and she plainly subjoined to this, that, because Kernand had offspring in Italy, if it ever happened that a descendant of his should come to the fatherland and there wished to claim the allodial property of his father, without any contradiction and judicial proceedings he should have it in full power. Then the above remembered bishop consecrated this church and the altar and in addition added relics. Then at length the venerable bishop and his sister together with her daughter by the name of Heilrat came into the presence of the multitude who had come to that celebration, and conveyed generally as much as they were seen to hold in lordship and possess as their own inheritance at the present time in that same above said place to that church; and the church itself with all things pertaining to it they granted validly for the remedy of their souls to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin and Mother of God in the borough of Freising, in this manner: that each one of them so long as he might live in this corruptible life might hold it for use and exercise of authority, and if they should wish to make a further arrangement for it with anyone of their kindred, that no one might be able to deny it in any manner. This was done with many present: Heriperht the archpriest, Oadalpald priest and monk, Unroh priest, Rihpald priest, Heriolt priest, Engilheri priest, Emicho deacon, Starcholf deacon, Heimo subdeacon, Wago clerk, Erchanperht clerk, Sigahart clerk, Perahtrat clerk. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Deothart the hundredman, Sindeo, Cundheri, Cartheri, Reginpald, Heriperht, Ampho, Reginperht, Isancrim, Cundhart, another Reginperht, Deotrih, Reginhoh, Engilrih, Altrih, Altperht, Hartperht, Oadalhart, Adalperht, Adalunc, Walho, and many others. This was done on the nones of November, in the 8th indiction, in the second year of the imperial reign of Louis the August, and the 1st of Lothar ruling as King in Bavaria. And I Pirtilo unworthy subdeacon have written this conveyance by command of the venerable bishop Hitto and subscribed to it at the monastery of Freising.

TF 356, 7 April 816 (233v)

#### The Conveyance of Hrodolf the Priest

A written notice of how Hrodolf the priest conveyed his own inheritance in the place Miltach to the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin and of Christ's Confessor St Corbinian at Freising, this is the courtyard with dwelling and all the utensils, whatever lawfully pertains to this dwelling except four slaves, six dayworks of arable, four cartloads of meadows. Moreover, whatever else my father Alpolc and my mother Deothilt and my brother Paldwart and my sister Benedicta left to me as my own inheritance for all of us, I validly convey to the already said cathedral church, and I shall likewise grant in this manner, that after my death it may endure there without any objection. These are the six slaves the



names of which: Ratolf, Adalpald, Sindolf, Kerwih, Waldpiric, Eparswind. This was done before the altar of St Mary on the consular day which is the 7th ides of April, in the 3rd year of the Glorious Emperor Louis, in the 8th indiction. I Tagabert unworthy priest wrote this at the command of Bishop Hitto. These were present: Meginolt priest, Hunperht priest, Deotpald priest, Engilwart deacon, Hartperht clerk, Remeio monk; moreover the laymen who were present: Deothart, Reginperht, Pilicrim, another Reginperht, Kerpald, Walto, Sigiperht, Oadalscalch, Wichart, Reginolf priest, Rihperht priest, Engilperht, Wicpald, Lantrih, Adalheri, Heriolt. I have excluded these slaves: Otker, Heilrat, Poapilo, Isula.

TF 357, 11 April 816 (226r)

#### The Conveyance of Meginolt and his Son Hahfrid

For it is manifest to many abiding in the diocese of Mary the Fruitful, that Hahfrid the clerk restored his benefice into the hands of Bishop Hitto which his father Meginolt conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary, and Bishop Atto presented him into in order that he might convey validly his own portion which pertained to him from his father's share to the afore noted cathedral church of the Blessed Mary, and he did it thus in the presence of many. Wherefore the already above remembered Bishop Hitto presented it to the aforesaid clerk to use and improve until the departure of his life, and after his death it might endure validly without any opposition to the aforesaid cathedral church. These are they who were present: Sheriff Liutpald, Crimperht, Cotaperht, Epuhho, Adalpald, Ermanolt, Reginheri, Kipihho, Liutpald, Arahad, Reginhoh, Isanperht, Tiso, Odolt, Hato, Reginpald, Eparheri, Rihpald, Emicho, Oadalhart, Hiltiprant. This was done in the vill which is called [Amper-]Moching, in the 3rd year of the Most Glorious Emperor Louis, the 3rd ides of April, in the 9th indiction.

TF 362, 16 May 816 (224r)

#### The Conveyance of Kerhoh [for] Nörting

We announce to all those abiding within the diocese of St Mary how a certain man by the name of Crimheri conveyed the share of the land from his own inheritance for the redemption of his soul to the church of St Martin situated in the place Nörting and confirmed it by truthful witnesses, but was overcome by the moment of death before he had completed the investiture of the land conveyed to that church, for precisely after his death, his brother Kerhoh had possession together with other of their joint properties. Moreover, the Lord Bishop Hitto well knew all of this in truth, and in stillness he summoned the said Kerhoh faithfully, and admonished him that he amend himself lawfully in this regard. And that same Kerhoh did so having regard to divine clemency. Just as he had heard from the pious pontifex Hitto and from other faithful men, he returned one colon holding in the place lying at Laimbach or whatever the already said bishop had made him search out in the conveyance which his brother Crimheri had made to the church of St Martin. And thus it was faithfully concluded between them and confirmed by these witnesses whose names are: Hrodolt, Engilhart, Haholf, Reginhoh, Tetti, Wolfheri, Ampricho, Alawih, Cundhart, Umfrid, Wago, Adalunc, Reginperht, Kerperht, Gauzo, Hroadperht, Hunger, Wigant, Immino. This was done at Zolling on the consular day in the 17th calends of June, in the 9th indiction, in the third year of the reign of Emperor Louis.

TF 365, 8 September 816 (224v)

#### The Conveyance of Sheriff Engilhard at Allach

With Engilhard the sheriff and his wife Ermanswind pondering and considering concerning the lessening of their sins so that they might be worthy to receive forgiveness from a God who rewards, on that account they conveyed to the monastery of Freising where St Corbinian rests in body as much as they are seen to have in the place which is called Allach; they granted it in perpetual right and



completely confirmed it so that it might endure forever undisturbed to the cathedral church of St Mary. However, afterwards they humbly requested that it be deigned to present it to them in benefice, and thus it happened; so long as they may survive in this life, they might hold it for their use and authority, and after their death whatever may appear there added and improved and their departure left behind, without any opposition it be held validly for the aforesaid house. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Isancrim, Paldachar, Ratolt, Alahmunt, Odalhoh, Toto, Donarperht, Haduperht, Cruan, Waninc, Hiltirih, Deotrih, Wago, Urliuc, Kepahoh, Cruanhart, Reginperht, Memmo, Einhart, Herirat. This was done in the month of September on the 6th ides, the 9th indiction, in the 3rd year of with Louis the August governing the realm of the Franks and the Langobards.

TF 366, 10 September 816 (219v)

#### The Conveyance of Liutto at Croninpach

Indeed, it is well known to many abiding within the diocese of St Mary that Liutto, on account of a serious illness, gave up the secular way of life in the cathedral church of St Mary and, tonsured, took vows to hold to the monastic life. Then, straightway, the same Liutto, urged on by divine mercy, together with his steward and brother, Coteperht, conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary six slaves and two colon-holdings in the place 'Croaninpach', one of which, with an unfree man whose name is Liupheri, stands ready to perform labor services; moreover, a free man lives on the other and does free service for it. These are the names of the slaves: Heimo, Nidhart, Otpiric, Amalpiric, Engilrat; six horses, and six oxen, and altogether 30 sheep and pigs. This was done in the cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin, in the presence of the Lord Bishop Hitto and of his household of whom the names of those present are these: Oadalpald priest and monk, Meginolt priest and monk, Hiltiperht priest and monk, Anno deacon, Emicho deacon, Anulo clerk, Undeo clerk, and many others. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Cundhart, Alawih, Emicho, Sigideo, Arahad, Sigilo, Wicco, Walho, Coteperht, Cundhart, Crimperht, Kepahoh, Willihart, Engilrich, Situli, Toato, Engilhart. This was done on the consular day which falls on the 4th ides of September, the 9th indiction, in the 3rd year of the Glorious Emperor Louis, and in the first year of King Lothar in Bavaria. Moreover, I, Tagibert, unworthy priest, have written this out at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 370, 28 January 817 (232v)

#### The Return of Arpio the Clerk at Dachau

With Arpio the clerk arriving also at the cathedral church of St Mary situated in the borough of Freising, there in the presence of many bystanders he returned into the hands of Bishop Hitto whatever the above said clerk and his sister by the name of Erchana were seen to hold in benefice or by their own acquisition in the place which is called Dachau, all of it he resigned completely to the afore said cathedral church. Then the aforementioned bishop caused a bondsman of the above mentioned cathedral church to occupy this property for the aforesaid cathedral church of Mary the Mother of God. This was done on the consular day which is 5th calends of February, in the 10th indiction, with the Emperor Louis reigning in the 4th year with these present: Orendil the sheriff, Rumolt the judge, Spulit, Nothart, Deotrih, Reginpald, Eparheri, Marcho, Willahram, Fater, Cotefrid.

TF 372, 15 April 817 (245v)

#### The Conveyance of Liutfrid the Priest at Feldmoching

Whereas it is not considered unknown to all but rather is well known to many within the diocese of St Mary that the venerable man, Liutfrid the priest, once previously had conveyed his own inheritance in the public village of Feldmoching to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. Indeed, with the



end of his life already approaching having called together a crowd of his kinsmen and close relatives, amongst whom was present Anno his brother, in the presence of many he made known his counsel because he intended to seek in benefice for his nephew Anno that same above said property which had been conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary, in this manner so that the same Anno his nephew might hold for his life this same in benefice from the cathedral church of St Mary, not diminishing or alienating it in any way, but rather improving and using it well, and after his death it be released to the cathedral church of St Mary for perpetual enjoyment. After Liutfrid the venerable priest had died, his already said brother Anno came to the Venerable Bishop Hitto, and he carried out all of the above said matters just as was the will of Liutfrid the venerable priest. This was done on the 17th calends of May in the place Feldmoching in the 5th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Louis and in the second year of Lothar as King in Bavaria, in the 10th indiction. Indeed, I Tagabert unworthy priest wrote it up at the command of Bishop Hitto. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: first Situli, Ratkis, Petto, Isker, Husinc, Juto, Isanperht, Ermanolt, Hasolt, Putilo, Arahad, Hiltirat, Alpker, Tito.

TF 373b, 27 March 817 (236r)

The Conveyance of Aogo a Layman [a.] and of Rihpald the Priest

[b.] At the very same hour [as 373a] Rihpald the priest together with his steward by the name of Deotrih were at hand and conveyed together property to the abovementioned cathedral church which they had purchased for a price from Reginperht which lies next to Walterskirchen. And Reginperht conveyed whatever in addition there was in that same place for which he had not accepted money; forever he confirmed it to the afore noted cathedral church with those same above written witnesses present [as 373a: Sheriff Liutpald, Fritilo, Kamanolf, Reginperht, Cundhart, Deotrih, Husinc, Cozrat, Ermanolt, Alpheri, Rihlant, Hungis, Otolf, Liutpraht, Engilrih and many others].

TF 375, 20 April 817 (232v)

The Conveyance of Emilo at Malching

Whereas it is not considered unknown to many but is, rather, well known how a certain noble man Emilo conveyed and confirmed his own, his inherited property in the place Malching to the cathedral church of St Mary built in the place Freising, whatever he was seen to have lawfully in the above said place at the present time either by right of his own or also by acquisition, from wherever it might have befallen him, this estate wholly and in all parts he conjoined to the recalled cathedral church of the Blessed and Inviolable Virgin Mary in eternal fastness for remission and to merit for eternity a share amongst the saints of God; putting, moreover, nothing aside except for a small lad on this condition, so that he himself and his wife [and those] whose names are inserted here Ellanrih, Anno, Magana, whoever of them should survive the other, might hold it for his own use to improve and increase it, and indeed, after departure from this dark place, whatever has been added or was found to have been acquired shall endure validly to the above noted establishment. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Alprih, Keio, Freso, Liutunc, Reginperht, Weriant, Wisurih, Reginhelm, Putilo, Amalo, Waltrih, Kerhwas, Nidhart, Ekkihart, Oadalrih, Hugi, Seliperht, Engilnot, Wicperht. This was done in the vill which is called at Buch, on the consular day which is the 12th calends of May, in the 10th indiction, in the 4th year of the imperial rule of the Emperor Louis.

TF 380, 18 August 817 (229r)

Another Conveyance of Engilperht the Priest and Heriperht at Altheim

On the same day and at the same hour [as Nr 379], two brothers, Engilperht the priest and his brother Heriperht, came from parts to the south from the village which is called Altheim Steingau to the

Venerable Bishop Hitto seeking mercy from the Omnipotent God and from St Mary Mother of Christ. Because they, the aforesaid, did not have any natural heir, they chose for themselves spiritual heirs, the already said Mother of the Lord Mary and the Blessed Corbinian Christ's Confessor, and there in the presence of all assembled there they approached the altar of St Mary Ever Virgin and the body of St Corbinian Christ's Confessor, and they conveyed by common counsel and will everything whatsoever that they were seen to hold by the laws as their own inheritance; for they did not set aside anything they were seen to have in uncultivated properties, but all of it completely they granted to the cathedral church of St Mary which is situated within the borough of Freising, and they validly conveyed it, so that they might have spiritually in heaven what they were not worthy to have corporally on earth. Moreover they declared thus: 'If anyone at any time seeks to act against these properties or attempts to alienate or diminish anything from this cathedral church of God, let him have suit for judgment with those whom we have now chosen as heirs.' This was done on the above said 15th calends of September, in the 4th year of the Emperor Louis, in the 11th indiction, with the same above written witnesses present and looking on; nevertheless we have tugged these by the ears: Walho, Sigur, Petto, Sigiulch, Reginperht, Kerperht, Gammo, Wicco, Frumolt clerk. Moreover I Tagibert unworthy priest wrote this at the command of the venerable Bishop Hitto.

TF 382, 30 September 817 (231r)

#### The Conveyance of Coteperht at Assenhausen

Let it be sufficiently clear to all those abiding within the diocese of St Mary, that a certain man by the name of Coteperht once again renewed his conveyance which he had previously made, and whatever pertained to him as share against his sons, and wherever he had acquired it into his lordship; all of this completely he conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place named at Assenhausen together with all things of his interspersed there. In similar manner also his son Haduperht, regarding all things which came to him by law and authority from paternal and maternal inheritance in this way, to the extent that should any one of them live longer, he should hold it for his own use and to the service of the aforementioned cathedral church of St Mary. Nevertheless, indeed, the aforesaid Coteperht humbly requests, saying that if need should betide his daughter, then she should have his food allowance for herself. Witnesses: Walho, Reginhoh, Snelhart, Cozraat, Unforht, Wicco, Kepahoh, Marcho, Alpker, Adolf, Hramperht, Eigolf, Isanhart. This was done on the eve of the calends of October, the 11th indiction, moreover in the 4th of the imperial reign of the Emperor Louis.

TF 384, 21 October 817 (228r)

#### The Conveyance of Reginhart the Deacon at Adelzhausen

It is known to all abiding within the diocese of St Mary how the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto vouched safe in benefice to Reginhart the deacon from the properties of St Mary Ever Virgin in the place Ecknach which Oadalpald the priest previously had conveyed and validly granted to the cathedral church of St Mary. Now, moreover, the already said Oadalpald the priest and Reginhart the deacon made an agreement between themselves that the same Reginhart should convey this own inheritance which he had in the place called Adelzhausen to the cathedral church of St Mary. With this agreed between them and having gathered kinsmen and close relatives, they came to the pious pontifex Hitto in the public synod assembled at Freising; and there in the presence of all assembled in the holy synod, the same Reginhart the deacon approached to the altar of St Mary and conveyed whatever of his own inheritance he was seen lawfully to have in the already said place Adelzhausen in this manner, that after his death no one might have power to bring objection in any manner against the cathedral church of St Mary. After the conveyance had been accepted by Bishop Hitto, he at once conceded both properties in benefice to Reginhart the deacon in this manner, if the same Reginhart should preserve himself faithfully towards



the cathedral church of St Mary and every year pay for it six pence in rent. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Swarzolz, Heriperht, Ampricho, Toto, Sigur, Willihelm, Liutprant, Adalger, Putilo, Hartmoat, Wichart, Wigant, Wicco, Emicho, Sigideo, Tato, Ellanheri, Iuto, Meginrat, Lantrih, Huno, Deotrih, Reginperht. This was done on the consular day which is the 12th calends of November, in the 4th year of the Glorious Emperor Louis, in the 11th indiction. I Tagabert unworthy priest wrote it at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 390, 15 January 818 (232r)

#### The Return of Coteperht at Ottmarshart

Be it known to all those abiding within the cathedral church of St Corbinian, both those present and those absent, that Coteperht returned his benefice which he had received from the cathedral church of St Mary into the hands of Bishop Hitto in the place called Ottmarshart; [and] into the hands of a guarantor he made compensation to Hato for whatever he had added to and improved there with such full seissin as the commissioner of Lord Bishop Hitto may discover there. Then Coteperht came, and bore a pledge in his hand, and conveyed into the hands of Bishop Hitto an equal estate from his own allodial property for the cathedral church of St Mary which clearly came to him from paternal and maternal inheritance. And he confessed there before the Lord Bishop Hitto that he would come to the church of St Corbinian, and there in their presence he would renew that conveyance. And then he there entered an agreement with the Venerable Hitto the bishop and his congregation that he would receive both properties in benefice from the cathedral church of St Mary, so that he himself and his son, so long as they remained within this fragile life, should hold it for their use and authority, and after their death it would be held without any objection validly by the cathedral church of St Mary. And he certified this by the corroboration of witnesses whose names are: Sheriff Liutpald, Kaganhart, Anno, Reginperht, Kernand, Úto and many others seeing and hearing this who were there present. This was done in the place named Prittlbach on the 18th calends of February, in the 18th lunar day, in the 4th year of the Emperor Louis, the 11th indiction. I Pirtilo wrote this.

TF 394, 14 March 818 (251v)

#### The Conveyance of Imihho the Priest next to the Würmsee in the Place Called Holzhausen

May it indeed be declared to all abiding within the diocese of St Mary, both to ecclesiastics as well also as to lay persons, how Imihho the priest built an oratory within his courtyard in the place named Holzhausen lying next to the lake Würmsee. Thereupon, he came to the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto making humble supplication that he might deign to come there, and that moreover the aforesaid bishop, yielding to his anxious petition, set out to come there and many truthful and good noble men came equally with him. Then, when the already mentioned bishop enquired earnestly how he had determined to endow the afore mentioned oratory, he at once drew near and exclaimed that he would endow that same oratory with three slaves whose names he declared: Heriwini, Deothelm Wenila. Thereupon, the above remembered bishop wholly entering in, consecrated the oratory and also beyond that the altar and installed patronal relics. Then the already indicated priest approached and conveyed all of his own inheritance to that very altar, and after that he conveyed the same altar into the hands of that already noted bishop for the cathedral church of the Ever Virgin situated in the borough of Freising together with every utensil and fixed possession to his church, and in perpetual right and unchangeable essence he established it as a possession for the above said cathedral church, moreover also with acquired property or whatever he might have at the present time and beyond that might befall him on a subsequent day. Then once again he accepted it back in benefice from the already aforesaid bishop until he might have completed the course of his time; from the day of his departure it shall be for

the vigorous use of the aforementioned cathedral church. These are the lawful witnesses: Reginperht, Sigihart, Ilprant, Pepo, Salamon, Heriperht, Sigiperht, Altaperht, Walho, Adalunc, Reginhoh, Eparheri, Alawih, Reginpald, Engilrih, Kepahoh. This was done on the 2nd ides in the month of March, the 11th indiction, under the rule of the Most Elect of God, Louis the Most Pious Emperor governing in the 5th year of his reign. Present were: Heriperht archpriest, Otperht priest, Anno, Emihho both deacons, Undeo, Anulo, Sigihart, Erchanperht, Perhtrat, Hartperht, Palduni.

TF 395, 25 March 818 (244r)

#### The Conveyance of Lantperht the Priest at Berghofen

Lest it be unknown to all but, rather, well known to many within the diocese of of St Mary Ever Virgin that Lantperht the priest conveyed his own inheritance in two places, at Berghofen and at Brunn for the redemption of his own soul and of his ancestors, that is whatever he is seen to have as his own in those two places except for three slaves; from whatever else he had, indeed, he set nothing aside from it all. These are the slaves whom he conveyed: Wiholf, Deotheid, Ratmunt, Ratolf, Hadolf, Liutheri, Wiphilt, Willifrid, Hrodolf, Adalker, Wolfhoh. No one may have power to prohibit all of these to serve the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising after my death and of my nephew David. This is done in the presence of Bishop Hitto, Heriperht archpriest, Odalpald, Miginolt priest, Emicho deacon, Nidperht deacon, Anno deacon and many others. Moreover, witnesses tugged by the ears: Willihelm, Walho, Sigiprant, Kisalmar, Putilo, Heriperht, Weriant, Petto, Reginhoh, Lantpald, Sigilo, Ampricho, Willihart, Cundhart, Marcheo, Juto, Snelhart, Reginpald guarantor, Willihelm. This is done on the 8th calends of April, in the 5th year of the Glorious Emperor Louis, the 11th indiction. I Tagabert unworthy priest wrote it at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 396, 29 March 818 (250v)

#### The Conveyance of Tompurc at Finning

Although it is manifest in ancient tradition that it may be possible to wipe away daily sins, nevertheless it appears clearly when He declared: 'The kingdom of God is worth whatever he has.' Wherefore I Tompurc a poor woman convey for God and St Corbinian to the cathedral church of St Mary whatever I am known to enjoy at the present time in the place which is called Finning; and I concede this by my own hand in all completeness and entirety to the aforementioned cathedral church and certify it forever unshaken, so that at the last I might be worthy of a share of divine blessedness. This was brought to completion with many present on the 4th calends of April in the 5th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Louis governing the empire, the 11th indiction, with witnesses displayed: Liutpald the sheriff, Crimperht, Reginperht, Kaganhart, Cundhart, Sigur, Willihelm, Asolt, Weriant, Spulit, Putilo, Alpheri, Arnolt, Odalhart, Engilrih, Willapato, Altrih, Ratkis, Eparhart, Pernolf, Haholf, Hato, innumerable others.

TF 401, c.15 September 818 (175r)

#### How Waldker Returned the Church at Bach; Chuniperht Disputed with the Bishop; and How the Bishop Claimed Waldperht

[a.] With noble men assembling at a place on the River Pfettrach, particularly Bishop Hitto and also, indeed, Sheriff Liutpald, to conclude the disputes of those arriving there and also to settle final compensation lest anything worse occur. Accordingly, during that time the Bishop's steward by the name of Wichart rose up and brought charges against a certain man by the name of Waldker, declaring that he had unjustly entered into the courtyard and the dwelling of the church which is located in a





place by the name of Bach and had thrashed a bondsman belonging to St Mary. He, however, declared that this church along with all the things that pertained to it were his own property. Then, Sheriff Liutpald put the question to him whether he or the bishop had full possession. He, indeed, asserted before everyone three times that he validly held full possession. Then the Bishop and Liutpald summoned those men who were best acquainted with this property and made them swear on relics that they publicly would make plain the truth of this matter to everyone; these are their names: first Chuniperht, Haholf, Wicco, Reginperht, Kerperht, Alawih, Isso, Egilperht, Job, another Alawih, Pern, Memmo, Ampricho, Petto, Rihhuni, Wichart, Erchanhart. And after taking the oath, they declared that in the time of Emperor Charles, Bishop Atto held it in full full possession and presented it to his priest, Toto, in benefice; in like manner also Bishop Hitto in the time of Charles and after him of Emperor Louis until Waldker unjustly disseised him. When these things were heard, the people enjoined that Bishop Hitto and his steward ought to have full possession. Then, when he saw that he would never be able to obtain that which he desired but, rather, had been overcome by just judgment, he returned the same church with all its appurtenances into the hands of the bishop and his steward. Wolfleoz pledged for all these same things, item, Wolfleoz as suretor for the altar for 40 shillings, item, Wolfleoz as suretor. On that very same day he invested the Bishop's lawful commissioner by means of the bell rope together with dwellings, buildings, messuages, slaves and beasts, and he disclaimed himself forever.

[b.] On the very same day a dispute between Bishop Hitto and Chunibert was concluded for the land which Chunibert unjustly removed; he returned it into the hands of Haholf the bishop's steward, and all things likewise with these witnesses: Wago, Chuniperht, Cundpald, Engilman, Ambricho, Crimuni, Wicco, Urso, Memmo, Chadol, Toto, Tagaperht, Isso, Walho, Liutpald, Adalunc, Herirat, Altuni, Chuniperht, Liutpald Cauzo, Salomon, Alawih, Mahtperht, Durinc, Irminfrid, Nidhram.

[c.] Thereafter, indeed, the Bishop and Liutpald came to Sheriff Kisalhard where he was holding a royal court session at Allershausen. And there the bishop and his steward, Reginperht, claimed Waldperht into the status of a slave. They declared that his father had ended life in servile obedience. Hearing this, the aforesaid sheriffs examined this matter with vigilant mind and expert care, and they ordered those to whom this case was well known and familiar to be presented. These are the ones who swore an oath: Situli, Pernolf, Cundheri, Wichart, Reginperht, Memmo, Frecholf, Erlunc, Altrih. Subsequently they said that they knew his father to have been a slave of St Mary and to have departed this life in the service of this cathedral church, and, likewise, that Waldperht must be his offspring. Sheriff Liutpald, Wago, Deothart, and Kaganhart attested to this by the royal oath with these looking on: Haholf, Pernolf, Adalperht, Hitto, Reginperht, Situli, Walho, Durinc, Hatto, Cundheri, Piligrim, Engilpern, Deotrih, Anthelm, Liutpald, Deotpald, Tetti, Adalhart, Mahtperht, Kerhoh, Heilrih, Cartfrid, Oadalscalch, Soamperht, Ratkis, and innumerable others. Then the aforesaid sheriffs declared that Bishop Hitto ought to take up and command his man and impose upon him such service as a slave ought to do; which he did. Done on the 17th calends of October, with the Most Glorious Louis ruling the realm in the 5th year, in the 12th indiction.

TF 406, 25 January 819 (241r)

#### The Conveyance of Cotefrid in the Place Strasslach, 12 Day-Works

It is known to all abiding within the bishopric of St Mary how Cotefrid had conveyed twelve day-works to the basilica which is situated at Strasslach. Nevertheless he made this conveyance to the altar of St Mary in the place Freising in the presence of the venerable Bishop Hitto and of other venerable noble men who had been summoned for witness and confirmation of this conveyance. Cotefrid made this conveyance for himself and for his brother by the name of Sigifrid. Moreover he established that these

properties should endure forever to the already said basilica because that same basilica is the cathedral church of St Mary's own property and pertained to Her lawfully from the earliest times. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Kaganhart, Sigur, Haholf, Spulit, Reginhoh, Petto, Kammo, Juto, Wichart, Kartheri, Jacob. This was done on the consular day which falls on the 8th calends of February, in the 5th year of the Glorious Emperor Louis the August, in the 11th indiction. I Tagibert unworthy priest wrote this up at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 407, 6 March 819 (B 20v)

#### The Exchange of Bishop Hitto and Pupo a Layman

Be it known to all hearing and reading this deed how the humble Hitto, by God's grace bishop, considering together with a certain man Pupo their joint opportunity and advantage, determined to exchange between themselves some properties in certain places for the advantage of both parties. And the above said Pupo gave to the Venerable Bishop Hitto properties from his own possessions which he had in the district Tegernwang on the river Isen, whatever he was seen to have there, all of it completely he conveyed to the said Bishop as hereditary property, and he received in recompense from the Bishop and his steward Reginperht properties from his own possessions which a certain clerk by the name of Tozi had conveyed to him in the place called Pasenbach on the river which is called the Glonn, whatever the above said Tozi had as an inheritance on the east of that river and had conveyed to him, this same Bishop Hitto and his lay steward Reginperht also conveyed to Pupo in full ownership on account of the above said conveyance which Pupo made to him, and with companions summoned by each party they validated these same conveyances, and they went around the boundaries surveying and displaying them to view in order that the advantage of both parties might endure valid and firm. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Engilhart, Toto, Jusip, Einhart, Mahtperht, Hunperht, Tuto, Cawo, Willahart, Kerhoh, Cozperht, Liutto, Helmpert, Ermanolt, Willapato, Ludolf, Lantpald, Rihperht, Situli, Petto, Walho, Reginhoh, Engilhart, Adalperht, Adalunc, Alawih, Cundhart, Frehholf, Kepahoh, Tetti, Cozolt, Sulman, Tozi, Marcho. This was done on the 2nd nones of March, in the 819th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 13th indiction, in the 6th year of Louis' imperial reign.

TF 409, 14 April 819 (262v)

#### How Deopald the Priest Made Return at Holzhausen

Now also and henceforth may be it manifestly evident to all those throughout all Bavaria doing and practicing the truth as well as wishing indeed to assert justice, noblemen and commoners, that a certain priest by the name of Deotpald, who had already previously conveyed and in lawful manner secured his own, which was also his brother's inheritance and acquired property to the cathedral church of St Mary, on the day he was setting out for the cathedral church of Peter the Prince of the Apostles, whatever on this day he was seen to hold or possess in the place called Holzhausen, all of this property completely, the already said Deotpald returned it into the hands of Bishop Hitto and his steward in full possession, lest – may it be absent! – it might in any way be withdrawn or alienated from the aforesaid blessed cathedral church by his idleness and likewise negligence; but in all things, whatever from this day had been pleasing to his eyes, be seen to avail to completion and utility for the afore remembered cathedral church and household to be enjoyed in free authority by the Bishop, and this conveyance nonetheless shall endure valid. This was on the 18th calends of May, indeed with Louis governing the realm in the 6th year, in the 12th indiction. And these are the witnesses by subjoined stipulation: Haholf, [Sigur], Heipo, Eparheri, Rihpald, Petto, Otperht, Tuoto, Memmo, Wichart, Reginperht, Kammo, Cundhart, Arperht, Odalhart and many others. I Pirhtilo unworthy subdeacon wrote it thus by the command of the most pious Bishop Hitto and subscribed.



TF 410, 18 April 819 (254r)

Ratkis Conveyed at [Feld-]Moching

A document of account that a certain man by the name of Ratkis, as he was setting out with God's guidance for Rome, came to Freising and conveyed a mill site in the place called Moching to the cathedral church of St Mary, so that it might thus persevere unchanged forever. Witnesses: Kaganhart, Sigur, Spulit, Situli, Heipo, Kerhart, Weriant, Petto, Reginhoh, Wichelm, Arahad, Asolt, Willahelm, Adalperht, Alpheri. This was done on the 14th calends of May in the 6th year of the Emperor Louis, in the 12th indiction.

TF 412, 6 May 819 (261r)

How Sigifuns Renewed for Puppling

A memorandum of how a certain priest Sigifuns again restored his previously completed conveyance in the place called Puppling and established this together with his pledge into the hands of Hrodolf the priest, until in all completeness he might release the investiture authoritatively to the cathedral church of St Mary, which he so did. The aforesaid Hrodolf came to the cathedral church of the Blessed Mother of God situated in the borough of Freising and, together with one stole, he dismissed and returned it to the altar of St Mary. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Sigiperht, Pernolf, Haholf, Isancrim, Ampho, Kaganhart, Engilpoto, Wichart, Kisalfrid, Cundheri, Wicpald. This was on the day which is the eve of the nones in the month of May, in the 6th year of the Most Blessed and Glorious Emperor Ludwig ruling the realm.

TF 413, 7 May 819 (260r)

The Conveyance of Berno the Priest and Monk

The conveyance of Berno the priest and monk at Germerswang, whatever he bore away as share of his own inheritance against his brothers, all of it completely both in slaves as in lands he conveyed and validly presented to the cathedral church of St Mary. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Walho, Eparheri, Wico, Einworht, Cozolt, Willihelm, Wulfinc, Haholf, Pernolf, Adalunc, Cundhart, Pernker, Otperht, Aarperht, Wigant, Emicho. This was done on the nones of May in the sixth year of Louis' imperial reign, in the 12th indiction. I Tagabert unworthy priest wrote it by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 419, 4 July 819 (250r)

The Conveyance of Meginhard a Layman

So that it might be sufficiently evident to all, venerable men of both the church and the laity, how, in return for a deer-horn armlet, Meginhard, a royal vassal, returned into the hands of Bishop Atto a reliquary which, together with relics from the cathedral church of St Mary he had received with Wasacrim as suretor. And he renewed that same conveyance which he had previously made in this manner: if, on the same campaign which they were then waging in warlike manner against Liudwin, his day should catch up with him, then the fourth part of the surviving draft animals together with every third stallion shall pertain strictly to the cathedral church of the Blessed Mary for the salvation and forgiveness of his soul. If, on the other hand, he returns home safe and unharmed, he shall keep it all for his use as long as he lives. However, after his death, whenever he departs this life, the same reliquary together with the above said conveyance and all other additions as were found in it on the day of investiture, shall immediately adhere forever validly and unchallenged to the aforementioned cathedral church of the Most Blessed Mother of God. These witnesses included: Wasucrim, Crimperht, Hartman, Reginperht,

Sigur, Heipo, Petto, Durinc, Uulfinc, Ermperht, and many others. Done in Pannonia on the 4th nones of July, in the 5th year in which the Most Blessed Louis the August was governing the realm, in the 12th indiction, in the 8th lunar phase.

TF 421, 15 September 819 (265v)

#### The Conveyance of Rihpald the Priest and Deotrih and Reginpert for Freising

Whereas it is not held to be unknown, but rather well known by many, that a certain priest, Rihpald by name, built a certain oratory which, with his own money, he and his steward, Deotrih, acquired from Reginpert for St Mary within the woods which lies towards the place called Kienberg. Then, coming to the Venerable Bishop Hitto, he humbly requested, that he might deign to come there, which he did thus. The bishop came there, and many noble men were present with him. Then he questioned the aforementioned priest and his steward and also Reginpert whether anyone else held any claim or lordship whatsoever in this oratory. They, indeed, with one voice declared that no one else was able to put himself in possession. Hearing this, the Bishop consecrated the church and also the altar, and, indeed, he also added relics; moreover, in addition, he himself immediately celebrated the solemnities of the mass there. When these all had been completed, the already noted priest came together with his steward and also Reginpert in the presence of many who had come to this celebration, and they conveyed that oratory by joint hand into the hands of the Bishop for the cathedral church of St Mary, and without delay they shall pay rent to Freising. Then the Bishop presented Rihpald that church in benefice, with these witnesses: Situli, Pernolf, Reginpald, Kerhoh, Reginhoh, Engilrih, Ampricho, Walho, Adalunc, Tetti, Willapato, Cozolt, Durinc, Altrih, Altaperht, Popo, Drudmunt, Eliut, Reginperht, Deotrih and many others. This was done on the day which is the 17th calends of October, indeed, in the 6th year of the Most Pious Emperor Louis governing the empire, the 12th indiction.

TF 426, 19 October 819 (239v)

#### How Pernwin Conveyed His Own Property at Berg

Truly, the faithful inflamed by the ardor of faith and the love of Christ for the remedy of their souls and their desire for the heavenly fatherland, with their own properties enrich the holy church. For this reason a certain priest by the name of Pernwin, a good man and honorable in his associations, happened indeed on a day to be present with a congregation of priests, deacons and other clerks at Freising where a great and universal synod was being held, and there by his decision and free will he burst forth in their midst and, with all agreeing, he indicated in a public voice that he then had vowed a vow when Bishop Atto dedicated his church to commit his own property to the cathedral church of St Mary. For also at once in the presence of the above remembered multitude the already mentioned priest at the altar of the Blessed Mary where the Elect and Glorious Lord Corbinian rests in body, by a beaver pelt he conveyed and established validly in perpetual right that whatever inheritance or acquired property he was seen to have within the district of Überacker in the place called Berg, this all wholly and altogether both in allod and purchased or by whatever means it was determined to have come to him, he granted and discharged to the aforesaid cathedral church of Mary Mother of God placed in the borough of Freising together with dwellings, buildings, messuages, wells, arable, woodlands, fields, meadows, pastures, mills, slaves, waters and watercourses, cultivated and uncultivated, flocks and herds; he conveyed and totally secured it forever to the remembered cathedral church, so that forever it might endure undisturbed and in every way valid and fixed. And in this manner he particularly established it to be done, that he himself, so long as he might continue in this fragile and miserable life, might enjoy it for this own use and utility, and for this every year pay half a shilling for tribute. Then, in all humility he requested, that if necessity should happen to his niece and if she should survive him, she might hold



the proceeds as a prebend with such rent as they might ordain to impose on her. After their decease indeed it should be at the disposal of the above noted cathedral church completely and intact by the sujoined stipulation, whose names here are recited in the presence of Bishop Hitto: Sigimot, Hahart, Sabulo abbots, Heriperht archpriest, Oadalpald priest and monk, Hiltolf, Alprat, Heriolt, Rubo, Undeo, Sigihart, Uuldarrih, Erchanperht. With these witnesses: Sigur witness, Situli, Coteperht, Adalhart, Cundhart, Altfred, Ellanhart, Heipo, Willahelm, Reginpald, Eparheri, Emicho, Kerperht, Weriant, Sigideo, Kaganhart, Engilhart, Adalperht, another Kerperht, Leidrat, Arbeo, Reighhelm, Ratkis, Tato, Reginperht, Engilhart, Wichart, Walho and innumerable others were present. This was done on the consular day which is the 14th calends of November, in the 819th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 12th indiction, in the 5th with Louis governing the realm as Emperor.

TF 434, 19 April 820 (a.b.266v/c.209r)

#### The Conveyance of Heripald the Priest and the Renewal of the Conveyance of Adalunc the Priest

[a.] May it be manifest to all those hearing, whether abiding under ecclesiastical regime or observing secular rules, that a certain priest Heripald, considering a certain disposition which he had made from his own properties to the cathedral church of the Blessed Mary Mother of God, for the sake of confirming it, the aforesaid priest by the name of Heripald came before Bishop Hitto in the place which is called Ottershausen by the common folk, and there in the presence of a multitude of people he came forth and whatever of his own allodial or purchased property in the mentioned place Hörenzhäusen which he was seen to use or control at the present time together with all utensils and appurtenances he conveyed it into the hands of Bishop Hitto for the afore remembered cathedral church of St Mary, so that forever it might remain undisturbed. He set nothing aside except for a small property which by agreement with the bishop he conveyed to his nephew for life use. And these are the witness: Crimperht, Cotaperht, Paldachar, Cundhart, Hludolf, Ilprant, Eparachar, Marcheo, Wicco, Heilrih, Ermanolt, Waldker, Odalscalh, Engilhart, Cartfrid, Lantpald, and many others were present. Hludolf as guarantor.

[b] After a short time on the same day Adalunc the priest came to the Bishop seeking to have permission to set out for Rome for which the Pious Bishop hardly revealed any unwillingness and with joy admonished him to take precaution concerning his conveyance which he had already made in former times to the cathedral church of St Mary situated within the borough of Freising. He, indeed, at once acted readily, and as much as in these times he is known to have from marriage or purchase, all of this completely he turned over into the hands of Bishop Hitto and renewed the original conveyance so that it might firmly endure valid forever, with these looking on: Tamuzan Crimperht, Cotaperht, Paldachar, Cundhart, Walcho, Ilprant, Reginhoh, Cartfrid, Ermanolt, Waldker, Kisalfred, Wituhhi, Engilhart, Adalperht, Heilrih, Odalscalh, Cundpald, Juto, Lungar, Herimunt, Truchman, Cotedeo, Wolfuni. This was done on the 18th calends in the month of May, in the 13th indiction, in the 7th year indeed of Louis' imperial reign.

#### [c.] The Conveyance of Heripald and Adalhart Priests

May it be disclosed to many who are so acquainted, how certain priests, Heripald and Adalhart, disposed of their own allodial property for the establishment of the Inviolable Virgin and also, moreover, in the same manner returned an already completed conveyance into the hands of Bishop Hitto, with many looking on: Engilhart, Liutpald, Orendil, Ellanperht, all sheriffs; Cundhart, Crimperht, Meigol, Coteperht, Keio, Alprih, Paldachar, Spulit, Odalscalh, Uto, Deothart, Echo, Einheri, Heriperht, Kiso, Alpuni, Deotheri, Situli, Cundperht, Reginperht, Sulman, Erchanolf, and not a few more. Done at Ottershausen.



TF 435, 13/15 April 820 (267r)

How Reginhelm Returned the Estate of Kaganhart to Bishop Hitto; How Frumolt the Priest and Liutolt the Conveyed at Weilbach; How Haduperht the Clerk Returned and Once Again Received in Benefice

[a.] We are also directed to the remembrance of how a certain layman by the name of Kaganhart, on a day nearing his death, accordingly assigned his own allodial and purchased property by pledge into the hands of Reginhelm his nephew, by which he invested Bishop Hitto with all his goods and by this pledge commended it to him, because he trusted more in his mercy than in any other's for some forbearance and assistance in making disposition after him. For that reason and for the remission of his soul the already said Reginhelm came to the place Vierkirchen before the presence of Bishop Hitto, and there, in the presence of a great multitude, he invested and released all things by pledge into the hands of the Bishop, and in truth moreover he commended the infant child of the same Kaganhart into his protection and piety. Which also the Pious Bishop freely accepted, and, moved by God's mercy, whatever the afore mentioned Kaganhart had in the place called Fischen he presented to the same infant child for his maintenance, and for this he should pay every year six pence. This was done with these present: Crimperht, Sigiperht, Cotaperht, Alhmunt, Reginperht, Cundhart, Cartfrid, Waldker, Ermanolt, Adalperht, Engilhart, Kisalfrid, Wituhhi, Heilrih, Pilicrim, Odalschalh, Cotascalh, Ilprant, Reginhoh, Cundpald, Juto, Wolfolt, Luncar, Cozrat, Sulman, Chuniperht, Adalhart, and many others.

[b.] Moreover, at the same hour Frumolt the priest and Liutolt his nephew came forward with their stewards, and whatever of their own inheritance or acquisition they are seen at this present time to have at Weilbach, all of this indeed they conveyed completely into the hands of Bishop Hitto for the cathedral church of St Mary on this condition, that if either were to survive the other, he might hold it for his use and authority in service of St Mary. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Crimperht, Cotaperht, Alhmunt, Cundhart, Reginperht, Liutpald, Hugiperht, Pilikrim, Wolfolt, Paldachar, Reginhoh, Wituhhi, Odalschalh, Cozolt, Cozrat, Odolt, Hato. This was done in the vill which is called Vierkirchen, on the 17th calends of the month of May, in the 7th year of the Glorious Emperor Louis, the 13th indiction.

[c.] Three days before this Haduperht the clerk returned and reinvested into the hands of Bishop Hitto his already completed conveyance of his allodial property for the cathedral church of St Mary and the benefices received from the afore said cathedral church, and he showed himself dispossessed for three days and three nights, and a bondsman of St Mary occupied that property. With that completed, he came again to the Bishop, and in his mercy he presented to him the same property for use during his life. He returned it in the vill called Ottershausen with these looking on: Situli, Crimperht, Ratkis, Engilhart, Hrodhart, Reginhoh, Cundhart, Ilprant, Marcho, Kisalfrid, Heriperht, Eparachar, Wicco, Moathart, Lantpald. And these others above written were present when he again received it in benefice at Vierkirchen.

TF 437, 24 May 820 (268v)

How Altwart Returned the Church at Luttenwang

A holy synod thus convened in the place which is called Eching by the common people, where sat Bishop Hitto, Meginhart, Sigimot and Sindihho abbots, and a certain layman by the name of Wergant came forward in their presence and made claim for himself to the congregation saying that Altwart the priest had unjustly conveyed away from the bishopric of St Mary his own share in the ecclesiastical property which is built in the place called Luttenwang which conveyance the aforesaid priest was scarcely able to deny. Then the above remembered bishop commanded that same priest to recount about that property as rightly as he could remember. He, indeed, said, that Bishop Joseph had dedicated the church and

afterwards the same church had been given to him by the Bishop as his own property to the end of his life. In the meantime Keidrih the priest arose recounting that Altwart himself in the times of Bishop Atto had returned that same church with all things pertaining to it to the bishopric and the power of St Mary so that it is discerned truly to be there at present. For that reason the aforesaid Bishop had sought the investiture of his [Altwart's?] church which from ancient times had been conveyed and delegated to the cathedral church of the Blessed Mary, and once again he [Altwart?] accepted it thence for himself as the holder of a benefice. Then he saw that he was not able to oppose or offer defense, but rather by his own words he had been convicted of having no power to convey, and he returned that same church with full possession to the aforesaid cathedral church into the hands of Bishop Hitto. Guarantors: Keidrih, Alprih, with these present: Samuel, Sigperht, Situli, Spulit, Liutpald, Wergant, Haholf, Cozolf, Eparachar, Wichart; moreover, in addition, the whole congregation of priests and other ecclesiastics. This was done on the consular day which is the 9th calends of June, indeed in the 7th year for Louis as Most Serene Emperor August, the 13th indiction. And I Pirthilo unworthy subdeacon wrote it and subscribed by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 438, 2 June 820 (255r)

#### How Cozpald a Layman Returned the Benefice at Sulzemoos

Indeed, let us now relate how certain men plotted by a crafty artifice that they might be able to defraud Cozpald of his benefice and also alienate all the income. For that reason, they came to Bishop Hitto representing to him that the aforesaid Cozpald in frequent contemplation together with his siblings had concluded and counseled that with all effort they should dispute that same benefice with the cathedral church of St Mary and its rulers. Moreover, upon hearing this the Bishop summoned him to himself and questioned him about that property which his paternal uncle by the name of Pisum had conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary and the aforesaid Cozpald had accepted not less than twice thereafter in benefice. He, however, saying that he had never asserted or said otherwise than that it was the property of St Mary, whatever the aforementioned Pisum was known to hold in the place named Sulzemoos, at once he surrendered it completely into the hands of the Bishop, that is, buildings with dwellings, messuages, slaves with these names: Oadalkis, Adalker, Somrat, Wuolfkis, Adalrih, Ratpot, Mahtuni, Popila, Werindrud, Alphilt, Alpswind, Ostila, Prunhilt, Kisalhilt, Ratpurc, and three colon-holdings in addition with all equipment. This was done on the day which is the 4th nones of June, in the 7th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Louis the August, the 13th indiction, with these present: Keparoh, Freso, Alprih, Aram, Waltrih, Liutprant, Sulman, Walho, Reginhoh, Asolt, Tamuzan, Wuofuni, Emilo, Engilker, Putilo, Erchanolf, Spulit, Kiso, Engilhart and others. When all of these things had been completed, the Bishop again presented him with the benefice so long as he preserve it for the cathedral church of St Mary with service and fidelity. And thus I, Pirhtilo, unworthy subdeacon, wrote it down by command of the Lord Bishop Hitto.

TF 439, 20 July 820 (273v)

#### The Conveyance of Isaac the Priest at Handenzhofen

May the wisdom of many be thus aware that a certain priest Isaac conveyed his own allodial property in the place called Handenzhofen to the cathedral church of St Mary. When, yielding to the divine call, he departed from this light, his nephew by the name of Asolt thus approached Bishop Hitto, took a place at the property boundary, and rendered that already said conveyance of the above mentioned priest into the hands of Bishop Hitto, and renewed it, and in every wise validly assigned whatever at the present time was manifest there, whether in allod or by purchase or by grant of religious men, all of this he conveyed without any delay into the hands of the Bishop. Afterwards indeed the Venerable Bishop

presented that very property as a benefice to the same Asolf on this condition, that he might hold it so long as he live and every year pay one shilling in silver as rent for it. Alprih guarantor. And these are the witnesses: Uro, Reginhoh, Durinc, Sigideo, Eparheri, Emihho, Adalperht, Rihpald, Isanhart, Engilperht, Perhtolt, Ratpot, Petto, Lanto. This was done at Prenbruc on the 13th calends of August, in the 820th year of the Lord's Incarnation, and the 8th year of Louis governing the realm as Emperor.

TF 441, 5 January 821? (277v)

#### The Conveyance of Hahfrid the Clerk from Inzemoos

Moreover, Hahfrid the clerk came to Bishop Hitto, and whatever he or his father had had at Inzemoos and conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary, all of it he restored into the hands of the bishop and received it once again in benefice. And at once he paid up the rent, and he acknowledged henceforth to pay 6 pence every year at the mass of St Martin [11 November] with these present: Wago, Heriperht, Odalpald, Rihpald, Anno, Undeo, Sigihart, Erckanpert, Sigipald, Eparheri, Cozolt, Pertolt, Reginperht, Durinc, Wichelm, Otperht, Rihpert, Wicco, Adalunc, Reginheri. Done at Freising on the nones of January.

TF 444, 3 February 821? (276v)

#### Cunzilo the Priest Conveyed at Schweinbach

For the remembrance of the acts which already a short while ago Cunzilo the priest did, conveying his property to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising; however arriving there he once again renewed the earlier conveyance and increased it by adding his purchased property, all in all, both in allod and in acquired property which he is seen to have at the present time or to enjoy in the place called Schweinbach, completely he granted and assigned it in valid firmness, fully and entirely to the mentioned cathedral church of Freising, so that forever immutably it might continue steadfast for the remedy of his soul. And these are the names of the witnesses: Situli, Engilhart, Spulit, Cundalpert, Erchanolt, Sulman, Deotrih, Toto, Erchanolf, Alprih. This was done on the 3rd nones of February.

TF 446, 10 March 821 (265r)

#### The Conveyance of Hroosswind

In the Name of God. Be this conveyance known to all the faithful which Hroosswind and her steward Uuluinc made for her husband Reginperht so that he might gain some share in the Kingdom of God for the remedy of his soul. Now I myself Hroosswind and my above noted steward convey and transfer to the cathedral church of St Mary and Christ's Confessor St Corbinian at Freising of which now Bishop Hitto is seen at the present time to be ruler, I myself convey with my hand one share in the place called Arreshausen which my father released to me by right of property as an inheritance. That same share is in woodlands which contain 12 perches in width between my fellow participants in the mark and coheirs who were there present when this was done. Now I wish earnestly to certify it, so that this conveyance might be firm and immoveable by any other persons, so that forever it be valid for the cathedral church of St Mary. And if any of my coheirs should make an attempt against this deed so that he might break it, let him incur the wrath of God and be a stranger to the precincts of the saints. These are the witnesses who were tugged by the ears because they saw this: Engilhart, Adalperht, Walho, Petto, Reginhoh, Ermperht, Anno, Oadalscalh, Otperht, Heriwart, Engilrih, Kepahoh, Tetti, Cundhart, Meginrat, Irminfrid, Altolf, Pruninc, Hunperht, Purcman, Kisalfrid, Altperht, Reginperht, Isancrim, Willihelm, Reginhart, Situli, Oadalhart, Lantfrid, Isanhart. This was done at Zell and within that same estate on the 6th ides of March on a Sunday.

TF 447, 28 April 821 (277v)

Isangrim from Hirschbach

In the Name of the Lord. We shall preserve a written record of the conveyance which Isancrim made for the redemption of his soul in the time of Bishop Hitto, his kinsman, to the altar of St Martin; for that church, the third part of his inheritance from his demesne lands which are in a place called Hirschbach. First, in the presence of priests he made his confession; these are their names: Rihpald, Juto and Lanto. Then, after this, he conveyed it in the presence of the commissioners of our Lord Bishop Hitto, and placed it into their hands; their names: Isaac the Priest and Erchanperht the Priest, both commissioners of our Bishop, and also Pernolf, a layman. Then, after this, for a second time he conveyed it and placed the conveyance, as is written above, into the hands of Milo to invest the altar of St Martin at the baptismal church of Nörting. Then, after this, by the will of Almighty God he ended his life on the day of the month reckoned as the 4th calends of May. On that day many of his noble kinsmen came together to him to bury his body, and they bore him to the church of God's Confessor, St Martin. Moreover, when his body had come into the church and had been put down so that both prayers and supplications might be read but before his body had been carried out of the church, the same Milo who had received the conveyance from him, and Ellanswind, the sister of the same Isancrim, and Leo, his son, all came before the altar of St Martin and jointly conveyed everything according to law, and at the same time they also confirmed it and invested the altar of St Martin with the third part of the inheritance of Isancrim from his demesne lands. And Pernolf received the conveyance from their hand. This was done in the presence of priests and people who were present there. These are the priests: Erinperht, Juto, Lanto and Engilheri. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Reginperht, Reginpald, Isancrim, Reginhart, Immino, Irminfrid, Durinc, Engilhart, Pruninc, Hunperht, Chuniperht, Kisalfrid. And this was done in the place which is called Nörting, at the baptismal church, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 821, in the 14th indiction. Moreover, I, Lanto, wrote this out commanded by the Lord Bishop Hitto.

TF 448, 25 May 821 (275r)

The Conveyance of Reginpald the Priest from Puppling

Be it known to all those abiding within the diocese of St Mary how Reginpald the priest renewed his conveyance already previously done in the place Puppling in this manner: that, coming to God's priest Hitto and all the household of St Mary Ever Virgin, he rendered himself into the service of St Mary with all things which he was seen to have as his own in that already said place Puppling, the church together with dwellings and whatever was seen to pertain to that church as its own. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Hrodolt, Pernker, Cozperht, Starcolf, Tozi, Reginhoh, Crimheri, Spulit, Petto, Otperht, Wichelm, Odalscalh, Eparheri, Irminheri, Freaso, Cundheri. This was done in the 8th year of the Emperor Ludwig, in the 14th indiction, on the consular day which is the 8th calends of June. I Tagaberht unworthy priest wrote this by command of the Lord Bishop Hitto.

TF 450, 26 July 821 (270v)

The Conveyance of Tenil at Pfettrach

Whereas it is not unknown but, rather, well known to many within the diocese of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary how a certain man, Tenil by name, took counsel and made provision for his affairs with the Lord Bishop Hitto. For, after the wife of the aforesaid man, Tenil, had died, he, driven by necessity, joined himself with a woman of St Mary, a slave by the name of Meripurc, and with her he begot a son and gave to him the name of Haguno, whom he loved mightily in his heart. For that reason,

he began to take counsel with his close kinsmen as to how he might be able to obtain his already mentioned mistress from the Lord Bishop Hitto together with the son, and this plan was devised: that he ought to convey to the cathedral church of St Mary a share of his own inheritance on this account. After this plan had been settled, they came to the Pious Pontiff Hitto, and declared all these things. And the Venerable Man hearing this graciously accepted and allowed it to be. And, on this account, he sent his commissioner Wago to Freising so that he might complete this faithfully. The same often-named Tenil assembled a crowd of his kinsmen on the advice of his brother, Egolt, and they came together with Wago to Freising to the cathedral church of St Mary into the presence of his household. In the presence of all, the already named Tenil approached the altar of St Mary and conveyed his own property which he had at the place Pfettrach, first indeed, a share in the basilica which appeared lawfully to pertain to him, then a plot judged sufficient for a courtyard and other buildings for habitation. Also he joined to it half of whatever property, without exception, that he was seen to have in the same place: woodlands as well as arable, meadows and fields, cultivated and waste. Half of it he validly conveyed and delivered up on this condition, that it be granted to him to hold the same property for his life, and after his death, if they survive him, his mistress and his son shall hold it in the service of St Mary. And, afterwards, no one may prevent its remaining in perpetual right to the episcopal church. These are the witnesses: Haholf, Umfrid, Reginperht, Immينو, Chadol, Egolt, Hunkis, Hruadperht, Hunger, Altolf, Engilperht. This was done on the 7th calends of August, the 13th indiction, in the 8th year of the Glorious Emperor Ludwig. I, Tagobert, wrote it out at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 453, 27 December 821 (277r)

#### Engilrat Conveyed 6 Slaves

A certain woman by the name of Engilrat came to Freising and conveyed to the cathedral church of Mary the Chosen Mother of God 6 slaves of her own property whose names are these: Hunrih, Tehwart, Engilrih, Cozni, Liuposta, Adalni, so long as these slaves without any alteration remain fixed validly to the already named lordship. And these are the witnesses: Alawih, Haholf, Cundhart, Petto, Cotafrid, Otperht, Arperht. This was done on the 6th calends of January, in the 8th year of the Emperor Louis, the 15th indiction.

TF 454, 30 December 821 (274r)

#### How Asolt the Priest Renewed

It is indeed agreed by not a few men within the bishopric of the Blessed Mary, both ecclesiastics and lay, that a certain priest by the name of Asolt in many ways restored the conveyance of his maternal uncle Isaac the priest. At the last, coming indeed to Freising he summoned Bishop Hitto and the rest of the household of clerks and laymen, and he renewed upon the very altar of the Blessed Mother of God where the Glorious Confessor of Christ Corbinian rests in body with all present, the same conveyance which Isaac had already made by conveying and confirming it again. So that whatever the afore said Isaac had of inheritance or acquired property at Handenzhofen or that the same Asolt had received for himself as a share over against his heirs, all of this completely, validly and firmly should remain with the named cathedral church forever, that is the church with dwellings, buildings, messuages, slaves of both sexes, arable, lands, fields, meadows, pastures, watercourses, so that whatever the rulers of that same church or their successors wish to do, they might enjoy free authority in all matters. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Haholf, Wago, Sigipald, Eparheri, Wituhhi, Adalunc, Otperht, Walker, Alawih, Pern, Wizant, Rihperht. This was done on the consular day which was the 3rd calends of January, in the year of Louis, of his reign the 8th, the 15th indiction.





TF 455, 821 (276r)

The Conveyance of Pernwin the Priest from Berg

It is evident to many abiding within the region of the Bavarians, both churchmen as well as laymen, how a certain priest by the name of Perwin once again restored the strongly and immutably made prior conveyance of his own inheritance and possession in the place called Überacker, and with unavoidable firmness validly conveyed it a second time to the cathedral church of St Mary, and, with utter plenitude, assigned as much as at the present time he is seen to have in that same place Überacker in order to attain the forgiveness of his sins. He validly transferred to the above named cathedral church the church with the houses and other buildings, messuages, slaves, arable, woodlands, fields, meadows, pastures, waters, cultivated and uncultivated, and with all the appurtenances, and a bondsman of St Mary by the name of Winiperht occupied it for three nights, and afterwards the Bishop let the same property to Perwin the priest for a rent. This was done at Eching with these present: Meginhart, Hahart, both abbots; Wago, Erckanfrid, Liutpald the sheriff, Cundachar, Deotpald, Cotascalh, Deothart, Cotaperht, Epuhho, Erckanfrid, Putulunc, Heimo, Liutprant, Engilhart, Crimperht, Keio, Meginhart, Sipihho, Wichart, Kartheri, Heilrih, Hitto, Spulit, Crimheri, Situli, Reginpert, Paldachar, Emihho, Hatto, Petto, Durinc, Putilo, Engilhart, Reginhoh, Haholf, Swomperht, Regino, Reginperht, Kerperht, Memmo, Wichart, Wigant, Pern, Alphart, many others. In the 821st year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 8th of the Emperor Louis, in the 14th indiction.

TF 460, 1 March 822 (283r)

Elizo the Priest Conveyed at Schweinbach

In the Name of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. I Elizo the priest thus guided by the Divine Voice, 'Give and it shall be given unto you', on which account I grant and convey all of my own property to the monastery of St Mary situated in the borough of Freising where Christ's Confessor, the Blessed Corbinian, is buried, whatever of inherited or acquired property I am seen to have in the place which is called Schweinbach, all of this completely together with dwellings, buildings, messuages, woodlands, fields, meadows, pastures, slaves, cattle, flocks, cultivated and uncultivated, waters and watercourses, I convey and validly transfer from my own right and power into the right and power of the same monastery, so that forever it may be in all manner valid and firm on this condition: that I myself and by nephew Rihheri, so long as we may live in this fragile life, hold it for our use and power, and at this same hour I have paid rent for this into the hands of the Venerable Bishop Hitto, that is 6 pence, and I have pledged to do likewise every year. After our death moreover whatever is found to be added and improved there or that our passing leaves, this all and completely be held to the already said monastery at Freising. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Spulit witness and guarantor, Cundalpert witness, Amolo, Cotafrid, Alawih, Hrodpert, Cundhart, Eckihart, Wicco, and many others. This was done on the consular day which is the calends of March, in the 15th indiction, in the 9th year with the Most Glorious Louis the August ruling the realm.

TF 461, 10 March 822 (278v)

Conveyance and Return of Reginwart at Pohscorro

A written notice how Reginwart came to Bishop Hitto and returned into his hands all of the property which his brother for the remedy of his soul had conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place named Pohscorro. Above this he added all of his own property in that same place which he was seen to have at the present time and conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary whatever of his

own inheritance or acquired property he had, and confirmed it so that it endure undisturbed forever for himself and his kinsmen to the aforesaid cathedral church. But after this he accepted the same in benefice from Bishop Hitto, and for this he paid every year for Pohscorro 12 [omission] or 12 measures of oats; Hiltipald as guarantor. Moreover, after his death whatever they had by law at Pohscorro, all of it completely be held by the cathedral church of St Mary. Sheriff Liutpald as witness, Cotascalh, Cotaperht, Crimperht, Alhmunt, Paldachar, Hemmi, Reginhoh, Fricho, Sipihho, Hiltipald, Wichart, Deotheri, Reginperht, Hitto, Haholf, Adalunc, Kerpert, Eparheri, Sigipald, another Liutpald, Kaganhart, Unfrid, Cauzo, Chonhad, Altrih, Cunpald, Ratpold, Engilrih, Hrodperht, Lanperht, Reginpert, Chadol. This was done faithfully on the consular day, the 6th ides of March, in the 9th year of the Glorious Emperor Louis, the 15th indiction.

TF 463, 3 April 822 (284v)

#### How Bishop Hitto Claimed the Church at Föhring for the Bishopric

When Cotafrid and Hatto had manifestly taken seat at Ergolding together with Adalhram, Hitto, Baturih, Reginheri and Agnus bishops, Kisalhart and Ellanperht justices, and others, all of them crown men, there among them Nidhart and Frehholf, royal commissioners, arose amongst them and brought suit against Bishop Hitto for the church which is located in the place named Föhring, declaring that it had been enjoined on them by the Lord Emperor to investigate about that church, whether it should pertain to the bishopric or ought specifically to be a chapel for the royal demesne, because Gregory reported to the Lord Emperor that Bishop Hitto had unjustly taken away that same afore mentioned church. This was found on the spot to be false by the bishops, abbots, sheriffs and other good and honest men who related that from the times of King Pippin the already above said church had pertained to the bishopric of St Mary at Freising together with all things pertaining adjacent to her. Then also the afore said commissioners Nidhart and Frehholf admitted for themselves that the already mentioned church could in no wise be removed from that bishopric. Likewise also Gregory, who together with his steward Perhtolt had brought suit for that same church, was convinced and admitted that he would make no further motion in that regard. This was done at Ergolding in the presence of many: Meginhart, Deotpald, Sigimot, Isaac, Adalpert, all abbots, Rihheri, Amalrih, Engilhart, Engildeo, Rihho, Liutpald, Heidanrih, Reginhart, Odalscalh, Adalpert, Heripert, Kerolt, all sheriffs, Hrodolt, Cuniperht, Perhtolt, Camanolf, Swarzolf, Cundalpert, Pernker, Cundpald, Cuniperht, Perahart, Job, Parto, Crimuni, Pillunc, Erinpert, Cundalperht, Irminheri, Ellanperht, Ratolt, Swomperht, Toto, Heipo. This was done on the consular day which is the 3rd nones of April, in the 9th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Louis the August, the first indiction.

TF 466, 14 April 822 (176v)

#### For the Church at Holzhausen with Adaluni and Marcho the Priest for His Benefice

When Bishops Hitto and Baturic with the royal commissioners Hatto and Kisalhard had taken seat at the public court session in the place which is commonly called Föhring for justly determining the suits of many coming there, there Hitto and his steward Engilhart brought suit against a certain man by the name of Adaluni for the church at Holzhausen which from ancient times the predecessors of Bishop Hitto held in full possession for the bishopric of St Mary and presented in benefice to their own subordinates; and likewise the venerable Bishop Hitto held it in full possession and beneficed Deotperht the clerk, his own brother, until the aforementioned Adaluni disputed that same church unjustly and invested himself. He however declared that same church to be in half his inheritance and for the other half to hold it in royal benefice which at once was revealed as false by truthful and honorable men. Then indeed the aforesaid commissioners called upon those men who best knew this case, and made



them swear on sacred relics that they would reveal the truth of this matter whose names are here inserted: first swore Regindeo his brother, then Moatheri, Sigideo, Irminheri, Engilfrid, Ratolt, Adalker, Cundalperht, Coteфриd, Sarhilo, Hrodheri, Cundheri Freaso, Heipo, Hitto, Regino, Oadalperht. And after the oath had been made, all declared with one voice that Bishop Arbeo as well as Bishop Hitto had held that same church in full possession, and that Bishop Atto had presented that same church to his priest Adalfrid and likewise as well to the aforesaid Deotperht, and that Bishop Hitto had presented it again to the same Deotperht in benefice, and that it had never be heard by anyone otherwise than that it had been in the full possession of the bishopric of St Mary. Likewise also Sheriff Liutpald, [and] the royal vassals Hrodolt and Camanolf declared that they had seen when Deotperht had returned that same church into the hands of Bishop Hitto. Then also the aforesaid commissioners commanded Adaluni to do justice; he moreover seeing that he would never be able to obtain what he wanted but rather had been convicted by just judgment, confounded he returned the same church with all things pertaining to it into the hands of the already mentioned Bishop and of his defender Engilhart. Regino pledged all things likewise as guarantor; Regindeo, Hitto, Heipo, Coteфриd guarantors; for the altar he pledged 40 shillings, Oadalperht guarantor. And these are the names of those who decreed this according to the law code of the Bavarians; Kysalhart royal judge, Liutpald sheriff; royal vassals: Cundachar, Meginhart, Wolfperht, Hroadolt, Camnolf, Machelm, Atto, Meiolf, Coteschalch, Deotpald, Engilhart, Cundpald, Ratpot, Einhart, Cundperht, Hitto; others moreover, Adalperht, Hadolt, Oatilo, Cozwin, Deothart, Moatuni, Meginhart, Helmker, Wolfhelm, Reginolf, Rihpald, Faramunt, Cunzo, Hroadlant, Koteforht, Hartrih, Erchanpald, Lantfrid, Coteperht, Drasamunt, Erimperht, Amalperht, Adalker, Hroadinc. At the last, the whole people cried aloud with one voice that this had been done according to the law. Then moreover the above remembered Bishop, having been requested by many, pardoned that composition up to 40 shillings on this condition, that in no wise would he cause any sort of further disturbance. This was done at the royal court session at Föhring on the 17th calends of May, in the 10th year of the Most Benign Emperor Louis the August, in the 1st indiction, the 28th lunar phase. Thus I Pirtilo wrote it and subscribed by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 467, 7 May 822 (286v)

#### Wolfdeo the Priest Made Conveyance at Degerndorf

It is manifest to all abiding within the bishopric of St Mary that Wolfdeo the priest impelled by divine urging conveyed to Freising to the cathedral of St Mary his own inheritance in the place which is called at Degerndorf. Whatever he was seen to have there or henceforth might be able to acquire both in lands as in slaves or any sort of possession, the above said Wolfdeo conveyed his own inheritance by his own hand to the altar of St Mary as a valid grant on this condition, that after his death no one might be able to oppose the cathedral church of St Mary, nor any close kinsman nor anyone else have any such power, but rather that it might endure validly confirmed by truthful witnesses. This were the witnesses who were present there and stood forth as witnesses: Oadalscalh, Wichelm, Alprih, Irminfrid, Spulit, Cozolt, Emicho, Willihelm, Engilperht, Adalunc, Otperht, Wicco, Walch, Wituchi, Wigant. This was done moreover on the nones of May, in the 9th year of the Glorious Emperor Louis, the first indiction. Indeed I Cozroh, deacon and monk, wrote this deed at the command of the Lord Bishop Hitto.

TF 470, 5 September ante 822 (288v)

#### Erchanperht the Priest at *Ratinwege*

A notice of the conveyance which Erchanperht made in a place named *Ratinwege*. Erchanperht built an oratory in the courtyard of his estate, and then came supplicating the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto that he might come there. And thus the Venerable Bishop did it, coming there, and many noble men

were present together with him. Then the Lord Bishop made inquiry how the aforesaid Erchanperht intended to endow that church, and he was ready at once to endow that church on the spot with three slaves whose names are inserted here [nil]. Then the Lord Bishop consecrated that oratory and also in addition he added relics. Thereupon the afore mentioned Erchanperht, coming before multitude of people who had come together for that celebration, bore the pledge in his hand and conveyed all rights in his own allodial property to that altar and into the hands of Bishop Hitto for the cathedral church of St Mary of Freising Ever Virgin, excluding nothing which he was seen to have acquired from his paternal inheritance on this condition, that so long as Erchanperht himself [and they; omission?] abide in this fragile life, the properties be diverted to their use and authority, and after their death be held validly just as it is recorded above. And he confirmed this by the strength of witnesses whose names are here inserted: Ellanperht, Liutprant, Walho, Willipato, Ermperht, Alpheri, Reginpald [gap in ms.], Kiso, Selprat, Arnolt, Emicho, Hiltiperht, Rihperht, Wolfleoz. Done in the place commonly called at Erdweg on the nones of September. And thus I Starholf, commanded by the Lord Bishop Hitto, wrote this at the dictation of Emicho.

TF 471, 3 July 822 (289r)

Once Again

[a.] A notice of how Erchanperht the priest renewed his conveyance and once again conveyed whatever of inheritance or acquisition he held in the place called Glonn. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Haholf, Adalhart, Situli, Reginhoh, Petto, Adalunc, Wicco, Otperht, Arperht, Liutker, Ampricho, Rihperht, Snelhart, Egino. Done on the consular day which is the 5th nones of July in the [blank] year of the Emperor Ludwig, in the 15th indiction.

[b.] The conveyance of Snelhart to the house of St Mary: three slaves by these names, Freso, Ratfrid, Ratpurc, two horses, 20 cartloads from his meadows. Witnesses: Engilhart, Heipo, Cotafrid, Walho, Heriperht, Oadalhart, Kerperht. These saw and heard the conveyance.

TF 475, 31 August 822 (173v)

The Reclamation for Kienberg

When Hatto, the royal commissioner, Hitto, Baturic and Nidker, bishops, as well as the royal justiciar, Kysalhard, had convened in a place which is called Allershausen by the common people, to decide the pleas of many people arriving there, thereupon Reginpert, the lay steward of Bishop Hitto, arose in their presence and brought suit against Bishop Nidker and his steward, Anthugi, for the church which is built in a place called Kienberg, declaring that the same abovesaid church at Kienberg with all things pertaining thereto ought to pertain to the diocese of Saint Mary at Freising. Thereupon, the afore named Anthugi declared that Hanto together with his steward had claimed from Adalhard for the diocese of the city of Augsburg and St Mary the same church with all things belonging to the same place at a court session held at Paderborn; and that Adalhard had returned the same there and, moreover, a royal commissioner by the name of Hartuni had reinvested Hanto with the same property, which was revealed, on the spot, to have been done with malicious intent and in an unjust manner. Indeed, thereupon, Reginbert said that Adalhard had no authority to surrender it, because, in the year that the aforementioned Hitto succeeded to rule as bishop, he had returned the very same and whatever else he held in benefice from the cathedral of Saint Mary and reinvested it into their hands and once again received it in benefice for a rental payment, and that this was already done long before Hanto or his steward had made suit for it. Upon hearing this Hatto, the royal commissioner, and Kysalhard, the judge, summoned those men to whom this case was best known and caused them to swear upon sacred relics so that they might reveal

the truth in this matter, whose names are entered here: first, Sheriff Liutpald testified upon his royal oath; then swore Meginhart, Crimperht, Pernolf, Pilicrim, Coteschalch, Liutpald, another Liutpald, Tozi, Odolt, Chuniperht, Hato, Ermpert, Epuho, Walho, Adalunc, Reginperht, Heriperht, Isker, Hringolf, Fricho, Adalperht, Reginpald, Wituchi, Alpol, Cozrat, Hatto, Alper, Engilperht. And after the oath was complete, they declared that they were present when Adalhard restored this into the hands of Bishop Hitto and once again received it from the same bishop in benefice for a rental payment before the court session which was held with Hanto. On account of which the aforesaid commissioner decreed the law between them. First, Kysalhard, the royal justice, sanctioned the judgment according to the law code of the Bavarians; then Engilhart, Liutpald, Richo, Heriperht, Ellanperht, Heidanrih, Oadalschalch, Adalperht, Reginhart, Orendil, all of them sheriffs; moreover, other vassals: Machelm, Coteschalch, Reginhart, Etih, Haholf, Emheri, Parto, Hemmi, Crimuni, Hamminc, Meiolf, Reginhart, Kamanolf, Chuniperht, Hroadolt, Swarzfolf, Pernker, Cundpald, Chuniperht, Oadalschalch, Coteperht, Engilhart, Lantfrid, Heipo, Reginperht, Spulit, Situli, Regino, Sigur, Paldachar, Poapo, Adalker, Poran, Ratolt, Adalker, Pero, Deothart, Ellanperht, Cundalperht, Hroadhart, Wichelm, Kotehelm, Sigiperht, Tiso, Crimheri, Morizzo, Chonrat, Hroadolt, Ellanperht, Heilrih, Wolfolt, Wolfperht, Tato, Tuti, Reginolt, another Wolfperht, as well as many others. At the very end, indeed, all who were there intoned with one voice that Bishop Hitto and his steward ought thereupon by law and by right to receive investiture. And, following this ruling, the aforesaid commissioner commanded him to do justice. Moreover, Anthugi himself, seeing that he would never be able to persist in his refusal, but, rather, that he had been convicted according to law and by reasonable judgment, returned into the hands of Bishop Hitto and his steward, Reginbert, Kienberg with the church as well as the dwellings and other buildings, the slaves, together with everything belonging and pertaining to the aforesaid place, Kienberg, and invested it. This was done at Allershausen on the day which is the 2nd calends of September, in the 8th year of the Most Glorious Emperor Louis, in the 1st indiction.

TF 477, 16 September 822 (280v)

#### Oadalpald and Minigo Priests

Whereas it is not considered unknown to all but rather well known to many within the diocese of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary how the venerable men, Oadalpald the priest and Minigo the priest, each built his own church on their inherited property in the place Ecknach and, on account of the familiar brotherhood which they always had with the faithful bishop Atto, by permission of Bishop Sindbert, they engaged Bishop Atto so that he might consecrate their churches. And it was done thus with the consent of those bishops and of all the good men who were neighbors abiding there in that same place. Thus it was agreed by all that on one day he should consecrate both churches. And those same said men dedicated to God, Oadalpald the priest and Minigo the priest, with devout intent validly granted on the same day each of those churches to the cathedral church of St Mary into the hands of Bishop Atto, and they conveyed in the presence of all, both churchmen and lay, in the immense multitude assembled for the dedication of these churches. There, before all it was made known clearly to all in this country that each church had been conveyed and granted in all manner to the cathedral church of St Mary. Now indeed Minigo the priest came in old age to the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto in the public synod at Freising to renew and confirm his previously completed conveyance which the Pious Pontifex received with care and freely accepted all the things which he proposed. For he humbly requested the Lord Bishop in the presence of the entire synodal congregation that it might be worthy for his nephew given by name Minigo to accept that same church in benefice from the hand of God's priest for his life in service of the afore said bishop with such rent as might be well pleasing to the Lord Bishop and all his household. And thus it was confirmed mightily between them so that no one might be able to oppose or overturn it but rather that it might have valid firmness forever. With these things confirmed by oaths, Minigo the priest himself amongst the synodal congregation approached the altar of St Mary and



returned and likewise conveyed that same church with all things pertaining to it; he set nothing aside but with all completeness he conveyed it and invested it for the cathedral church of St Mary. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Hrodolt, Heriperht, Kerhart, Memmo, Wichart, Reginhoh, Wigant, Crimuni, Hiltiprant, Cozolt. This was done on the 16th calends of October in the 9th year of the Glorious Emperor Louis, in the 13th indiction. I Tagabert unworthy priest wrote it at the command of the Lord Bishop Hitto.

TF 484, 16 February 823 (312v)

#### The Conveyance of Cozhilt at Vierkirchen

Whereas it is not unknown to all but rather is well known to many in this country in which, within the jurisdiction of Sheriff Liutpald, Vierkirchen is built, particularly to noble men, how a certain matron, Cozhilt by name, already previously had conveyed and validly granted paternal allod possessed by lawful right to the already said church with the consent of her closest relatives and all of her neighbors. Now moreover it suited the already said woman once again to renew and confirm that same conveyance. And she did it thus in this manner. Taking her steward Asolt by name and with many kinsmen she came into the presence of the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto and of many others there present. In the sight of all she approached the altar of the Holy Savior with devout intent and conveyed all things which on that same day she was seen to hold as property lawfully in that same village, in slaves as well as in buildings, and likewise all things pertaining to them in lands, cultivated and uncultivated, and all of whatever more she had, all of it completely she conveyed and set nothing aside, and validly before all she certified this lest that any of the men from this holy cathedral church might be able to hold it either in benefice or in any other form of tenure or other control but rather it might endure to the already said church forever in valid and undisturbed firmness. And these are the names of the slaves: Puoso, Artolf, Ellanperht, Rathelm, Adalfrid, Perolf, Liuta, Mahalni, Rihila, Frewihilt, another Mahalni, Kerlind, Reginswind, Cundhilt. Moreover these priests were present: Ekkihart, Cozpald, Puopo, Perolf, Hroadperht, Rathelm. Now indeed the witnesses tugged by the ears: Asolt, Oadalpald, Keparoh clerk, Reginpald, Madalker, Adalperht, Kipihho, Cundheri, Amalker, Hitto, Ratolt, Alprih, Ekkihart, Isanrih, Rohinc, Pupo, Tagaperht. This was done on the 14th calends of March, in the 823rd year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 1st indiction, in the 10th year of the Emperor Louis. And I Tagabert priest wrote this deed.

TF 486, 10 April 823 (296r)

#### Asolt the Priest at Lappach

Be it known to all the faithful that Asolt the priest validly conveyed to the cathedral church of the St Mary in the place Freising where the Most Blessed Corbinian Christ's Confessor rests bodily, one colon-holding in the place called Lappach for the salvation of his soul and for that of his uncle, Isaac the priest, who left him that same colon-holding as an inheritance after his death. This was because his same uncle previously had conveyed to the above said cathedral church a certain property of his in the place Handenzhofen and had arranged that after his death his same above said nephew should have that very property and all the things which he was seen to hold there. And after his death, his successor, Asolt the priest, came to the Most Pious Pontiff Hitto and received from the Lord Bishop Hitto the property of his uncle in benefice. And in return Asolt conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary whatever he himself had in the place Handenzhofen, all of it completely, but he set aside the same colon-holding because it did not lie in that same place. But now, for a third time, he conveyed everything without exception. And he arranged that his nephew, Poapo the priest, should hold it all after his death. And they both bound themselves equally to pay rent of 12 pence every year at the Feast of St Martin the Confessor up to the end of their lives. After their deaths, however, it shall revert to the cathedral church of St Mary



complete and undiminished. These are the witnesses: Deothari, Petto, Reginpald, Adlunc, Reginperht, Otperht, Memmo, Kaganhart, Haholf, Altrih, Altperht. This was done in the cathedral church in the presence of all the clergy on the 4th ides of April, in the 2nd indiction, in the 10th year of Emperor Louis. I, Cozroh the Deacon, wrote this charter.

TF 487, 10 April 823 (296v)

Keidrih the Priest at Nannhofen

He holds with prudent counsel who ponders upon the health of his soul; so long as he may be confident to have recompense, he may not doubt of God's mercy. For that reason, I in God's Name Keidrih the priest conveyed the acquired property which I had in the place Nannhofen to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place named Freising where St Corbinian rests in body, and whatever I had in that said place together with slaves, fields, woodlands, pastures, cultivated and uncultivated, and whatever I had in another place which is called 'Oalanteshofa', all of it completely I conveyed, whatever ought to pertain to me by law in those already said places. I put nothing aside on this condition indeed, that I myself Keidrih might hold this same property in benefice while I live in this fallen life; moreover, after my death, it be allowed to be held by my nephew Lantfrid who on this very day attained to the office of deacon. And we are assessed to pay in rent for this, both of us equally 5 pence each year at the feast of St Martin; after our death moreover it shall endure to the above said cathedral church of St Mary without any objection in all completeness just as it is seen to be vested on this same day. And these are the witnesses who have been tugged: Deothart, Haholf, Petto, Reginperht, Altrih, Altperht, Reginpald, Memmo, Kaganhart, Otperht, Adalunc. This was done on the 4th ides of April, in the 2nd indiction, in the 10th year of the reign of the Emperor Louis, in the presence of all the household of St Mary and in her cathedral church in the place Freising. Indeed, I Cozroh, deacon and monk, wrote this deed by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 488, 18 April 823 (345r)

Ilprant at Gallenbach [? Calmanapach] and from his Daughter

Be it known to all abiding within the bishopric of St Mary that I Ilprant and my wife Kerswind together with our daughter Ilpurc, from whatever of our own inheritance or acquisition which we were seen to have at the present time in the place called at Calmanapah, all of this completely I Ilprant have conveyed by my own hand to the cathedral church of St Mary so that it might persist there undisturbed for the remedy of our souls on this condition, that I myself and my wife and also my daughter so long as we may survive in this fragile life might have it for our use and authority; however, after our death whatever might be found there to be added and improved, all of this completely shall be held for the afore said cathedral church of St Mary Ever Virgin. And he received this same in benefice from Bishop Hitto and at once he paid fully the rent, and for this he is owes rent of two pence every year at the mass of St Martin [11 November]. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Crimperht, Kerhart, Oadalperht, Regino, Friaso, Cozolt, Wicco, Wigant, Kerperht, Alprih, Sigifolc, Wallunc, Liutker, Oadalhoh. This was done on the consular day, the 14th calends of May, in the 10th year of the Emperor Louis, the 1st indiction. Thus I Pirithilo wrote it and subscribed by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 490, 6 May 823 (294r)

The Rent of Reginwart for Pohscorro

Thus, I, Reginwart, received a benefice from the Lord Bishop Hitto in a place called Pohscorro, and for it I paid rent of 10 pence every year. For that reason, it pleased me and seemed appropriate that, in place of that same rent, I would grant and convey to the altar of St Mary at Freising whatever property



I and my brother had between the river Amper and the stream Pasenbach. All of this together I convey and transfer to the abovesaid altar at Freising, so that from this present day they may freely have the enjoyment of it for whatever they wish to do, with this exception: that every 3rd week I might have one day and one night in the mill if it is completed, and every year pay two pence at the Feast of St Martin, which I have just now rendered. Witness: Sheriff Liutpald, Camanolf, Cundachar, Cunipert, Cundpald, Reginpert, Kerpert, Ortuni, Starcholf, Alfrid, Pernolf, Cauzo, Oadalscalh, Emihho, Cozrat, Tetti, Matperht, Alawih, Wichelm, Wolfheri, Kaganhart, Ampricho, Reginpald, Cuniperht, Chadol, Tetto, Kerperht, Wichart, Tagapert. Done at Freising on the eve of the nones of May, in the 10th year of the Most Pious Louis the August reigning as emperor. I, Pirthilo, wrote it out and subscribed to it at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 493, 11 June 823 (298r)

#### The Conveyance of Engilman the Deacon from Bachern

The Lord Jesus Christ and Redeemer of all declares in a loud voice saying, ‘Store up for yourselves treasure in heaven where neither the thief enters nor is it stolen; make for yourself a purse of mammon which does not grow old’, and in another place he says, ‘Give a little and acquire a kingdom, offer transitory things and receive things abiding without end.’ For that reason in the Name of God, I Engilman the deacon, so that I might be worthy to receive in some measure forgiveness from a pious Lord to attain eternal dwellings, because of this I grant in the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ to the monastery at Freising where St Corbinian rests in body and where also the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto is discerned to preside with many servants of God united by Rule for singing the praises of God, and I wish by this letter of donation to be given the half of my inheritance which I have conveyed and transferred from my right into the right and power of that same monastery, that is in the place called Bachern, the half in all things whatever in that same said place which was at present in our possession into yours and the same monastery of Christ’s Confessor St Corbinian, and I have conveyed it to the altar of St Mary in lordship, one half in all things of my inheritance, both in arable lands as in meadows, pastures, woodlands and slaves whose names are: Eonolt, Rihker, Ortheri, Wolfheri, Heriswind, on this very condition, that you ought to possess the same property with all reward and entirety pertaining and assigned to it by survey, and with our things completed it ought to remain firm forever. If anyone, which, in truth we do not believe will happen, if I myself or anyone from amongst my coheirs or any other opponent, any opponent whatsoever attempts to oppose or break this my letter of donation which for the love of Christ and the remedy of my soul I have just requested to be dictated and confirmed for the aforesaid monastery and St Corbinian, first let him incur the wrath of Almighty God, and be made a stranger to the precincts of the saints of the church, and let him take up the share of Judas Iscariot, and what he seeks may he in no wise be able to obtain, but this conveyance for all time shall endure valid and firm. The was done in the place Freising in the presence of all the clergy and also many others: Rubo archpriest, Heripert archpriest, Oadalpald priest, Eliuni priest, Cozpald priest, Sindmar priest, Meginolt priest. These are the laymen tugged by the ears: Toto, Crimperht, Hroadperht, Sigipald, Eparheri, Sigideo, Lantperht, Oadalhart, Kepahoh, Adalperht, Leo, Heimpert, Ekkolf, Meginpot, Ratkis, Wolfolt, Reginperht, Hiuto, Mahtperht, Amalperht, Reginhart, Eoperht, Pertolf; on the consular day which was the 3rd ides of June, in the 2nd indiction, in the 10th year of the reign of the Emperor Louis, in the 2nd indiction [sic]. I Cozroh unworthy deacon wrote this deed at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 495, 20 October 823 (295r)

#### Freaso Conveyed One Slope to Freising

The ancient fathers ordained that whoever wished to convey anything by right from his own property, should understand to do this in the presence of many witnesses and to bind it by written account. For



this reason, I Freso thus convey and donate to the cathedral church of St Mary in the borough called Freising for the souls of Keparoh and Erchanrata, one hill slope which lies and is confined within the fence which encloses the courtyard which is called Buch, from that fence up to the high road which is on the south side. I convey it thus and confirm it completely in everlasting firmness to the above said cathedral church of the Elect Mother of God Mary, so that from today the rulers of that same cathedral church might have the power to do with it whatever they wish, so that neither I myself nor any of my heirs or coheirs might have power to break or to alter this conveyance, but rather it remain completely valid and firm to the aforesaid cathedral church. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Engilhart, Liutpald, Alprat, Ratolt, Wicco, Willahelm, Kerhart, Lantfrid, Irminfrid, Hruadperht, Hatto, Perhtolt, Engilhart, Eparhart, Manno, Waninc, Alamar, Waltunc, Saluhho, Engilhart, Adalperht, Juto, Cozrat, Willahelm, Uro, Kiso, Lanto, Rumolt. This was done on the consular day which is the 13th calends of November, in the 10th year of the Emperor Louis, in the 2nd indiction. And I Pirhtilo unworthy subdeacon commanded by the venerable Bishop Hitto wrote and subscribed it.

TF 498, 4 February 824 (306v)

#### The Conveyance of Cundheri at Laimbach

He bears with prudent counsel who gives thought for the remedy of his soul. In the Name of God, I Cundheri have conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary in the place Freising one furnished colon holding in the place Laimbach and 7 cartloads of meadows for the remedy of my soul and for the remedy of my son by the name of Kartheri. I did it in this manner so that my conveyance might endure valid and undisturbed to the cathedral church of St Mary, that is one manse with two slaves; the names of the slaves: Waldhram, Deotswind. These are the witnesses: Deotrih, Kerperht, Alawich, Heidanrih, Wichelm, Irminfrid, Mahtperht, Kerhoh, Kaganhart, Toto, Leo, Adalhart, Adalwart, Deothart the hundredman who received this conveyance from the altar of St Mary and with the whole household present. This was done in the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising on the eve of the nones of February, the 2nd indiction, in the 11th year of the Lord Emperor Louis. I indeed Cozroh unworthy priest wrote this deed.

TF 502, 21 April 824 (307r)

#### Aso's Renewal from Mammendorf which He Already Previously had Executed

In the Name of God. Be it known to all faithful and truthful men, that already previously a man called Aso had conveyed for two parts his own inheritance in a place which is called Mammendorf to Freising to the cathedral church of St Mary that it might be fixed forever. Moreover, for that reason it pleased and was agreeable as the day of his death approached that he established his lawful commissioner by the name of Spulit by pledge for the third part which before he had set aside; Aso himself granted him authority to certify it for the house of St Mary for the remedy of his soul. And he did it thus, by his pledge he conveyed it to the altar that it might remain undisturbed. This was done in the presence of Sheriff Engilhard, and Haholf the Bishop's steward received this same conveyance. These are the witnesses: Reginperht, Otperht, Willihart, Kerpato, Wichelm, Putilo, Juto. This was done at Freising on the 11th calends of May, in the 11th year of the Emperor Louis, the 2nd indiction.

TF 503, 824x25 (156v)

These are the slaves which Haso [Aso 502] conveyed to St Mary: Alholf, Erinperht, Alpheri, Kerpald, Denchilo, Waltilo, Welaspurc, Meripurc. Likewise also his wife by the name of Engilfrid conveyed these slaves: Paldmot, Froimot, Rihcperht, Engilrihc, another Paldmot, and Alholf, Alphram, Reginperht, Liupo, Kyso, Hruodpurc, Erchanpurc, Ekydrud, Lantswind, Meriswind, Sigin, Werdni, Winclind, Adalpir, Reginswind, Hiltiswind, Erchanswind. In all the slaves are 30 in number.

TF 504, 25 April 824 (305v)

#### The Conveyance of Wolfpald at Degerndorf

In the Name of the Lord. Be it known to all faithful and truthful men that a certain clerk by the name of Wolfpald and his steward Walh conveyed to Freising to the altar of St Mary where St Corbinian rests in body his own inheritance and slaves by these names: Poncil, Sigihah, Nordolf, Perhtdrud, Lehswind, and 44 yokes [of arable] and 30 cartloads of hay and meadows in the place which is called Degerndorf, so that after the end of his life it might be valid and firm in the power of the steward of St Mary so that no one thereafter might have license to enter into it but, rather, that the holding might forever serve St Mary. These are the witnesses: Donarperht, Lantfrid, Coteфриd, Toto, Wago, Oadalscalc, Alfrid, Tetti, Walho, Engilrih, Adalgrim, Sigilo, Egino, Sigiwart Erchanolt, Irminfrid, Willaheri, Cozфриd, Engilhart, Paltar, Samson, Isker, Adalperht, Alprih, Hroadperht, Reginpald, Wichelm, Arpeo, Irminfrid, Wicco, Juto, Heriperht. This was done at Freising on the 7th calends of May, in the 11th year of the Emperor Louis, in the 2nd indiction.

TF 505, 25 April 824 (308r)

#### The Conveyance of Drudperht the Deacon at Strasslach and Hechenberg

In the Name of God. Be it known to all faithful and truthful men that a certain deacon by the name of Drudker conveyed to Freising to the altar of St Mary where St Corbinian rests in body his own inheritance in the place which is called Strasslach and Hechenberg, two demesnes and 6 other colon-holdings and 15 slaves, so that after the end of his life it might be valid and firm in the power of the steward of St Mary so that no one thereafter might have license to enter into it but, rather that the holding might forever serve the cathedral church of St Mary. These are the witnesses: Donarperht, Lantfrid, Coteфриd, Toto, Wago, Oadalscalc, Alfrid, Tetti, Walho, Engilrih, Adalgrim, Sigilo, Egino, Sigiwart Erchanolt, Irminfrid, Willaheri, Cozфриd, Engilhart, Paltar, Samson, Isker, Adalperht, Alprih, Hroadperht, Reginpald, Wichelm, Arpeo, Irminfrid, Wicco, Tuto [sic], Heriperht. This was done at Freising on the 7th calends of May, in the 11th year of the Emperor Louis, in the 2nd indiction.

TF 507, 24 May 824 (328r)

#### The Restoration to Bishop Hitto at Bachern

When the venerable men, Bishop Hitto, Bishop Baturic, Sheriff Hatto, Sheriff Kisalhart, Sheriff Liutpald, Sheriff Ellanperht, Sheriff Orendil, and many others were assembling in the place which is called Ergolting to settle right judgments, then the steward of Bishop Hitto by the name of Oadalscalc arose there and made claim for one basilica in the place called Bachern from certain men by the name of Hroadolt and Engilman, because they had maintained that same basilica for themselves and usurped it as their own. And then they became convinced themselves that they disputed and acted unjustly there, and they returned the same basilica, and they pledged other equivalent things for the iniquity which they had done, and the suretors for the above said Hroadolt were Hugiperht, Alpuni, Wurmhart, Lancpart. For the altar they pledged 40 shillings, and he committed himself for this pledge. These were present at the court session: Wolfperht, Hroadolt, Camanolf, Cundalperht, Oago, Chuniperht, Swarzolf, Pernker, Chuniperht, Cundpald, Reginperht, Adalpero, Lantfrid, Liutfrid, Odolt, another Odolt, Cozwin, Deothart, Riholt, Kermunt, Hroadheri, Hrodhart, Winid, Tanto, Alprih, Egilperht, Salaman, Oadalperht, Hahwart, Hrodlant, Hunperht, Ato, Tagaperht, Sigiperht, Rantolf, Nidhart, Otperht, Cundhart, Kypicho, Adalker, Piligrim, Kerhart, Mezzi, Watto, Erchanpald, Kislolt, Hroadperht, Tuti, Petto, Alprih, Cozolt, Somperht, Hugiperht, Isanperht, Oadalperht, Erinperht, Situli, Saxo, Parto, Poapilo, another Hahwart. This was done in the public court session at Ergolting on the 9th calends of June, in the 11th year of





Emperor Louis, in the 2nd indiction. When Hroadolt invested Oadalscalch, the steward of the Bishop, with this church at Bachern, these were present: Odolt, another Odolt, Jacob, Alpuni, Wurmhart, Lanto, Sigilant, Miliz, Liutolt, Hwasmoat, Reginwart, Egilrih, Engildeo, Lancpart, Engilperht, Hunperht, Unforht, Sigiperht.

TF 508, 21 June 824 (304r)

The Conveyance of Engilfrid the Priest at *Reginperhteshusun*

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Be it known to all faithful and truthful men that a certain venerable priest by the name of Engilfrid conveyed his own inheritance nearby Lake Würm [Starnbergersee] in the place called *Reginperhteshusun* which his father devised to him, that is, 8 slaves and another piece of land, into the hands of Bishop Hitto and into the power of St Mary at Freising, so that after his death it might be secure there, and so that in return he might receive in benefice that which Alpuni the priest already previously had conveyed into the power of St Mary. And then the same above said priest Engilfrid gave surety to return rent every year at the mass of St Martin [11 November], that is 2 shillings valued in gold, so that on no pretext it might be discharged other than is declared above. These are they who saw it and are witnesses: first, Willapato, Mahtrih, Wolfperht, Reginolt, Fridurh, Reginperht, Liutker, Diudolf, Alawih, Uro, Cundhart, Fridheri, Nevo, Petto, Tuti, Irminfrid. This was done in the place which is called Isen monastery on the 11th calends of July, in the 11th year of the Emperor Louis, the 2nd indiction.

TF 509, 19 July 824 (3r)

The Benefice of Rihho

Be it known to all the faithful within the diocese of St Mary how the Religious Man Bishop Hittto, presented to Rihho for faithful service to the cathedral church of St Mary in benefice at Schrobenhausen whatever formerly a certain matron by the name of Tagani had conveyed in that same place to the cathedral church of St Mary, in this manner, that he might hold it for use and improvement for his life, these are the 12 slaves and whatever the above said Tagani had in that same place, and after his death whatever was found there to have been built up and improved wholly without any objection shall return to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. And in return the above said Sheriff Rihho pledged to pay rent every year for this, that is, to offer three shillings of silver at the mass of St Martin without delay, and the suretor is Rumolt who accepted the pledge for the rent. These are the witnesses who saw and heard this done: first the above said Rumolt, Deothart, Donarperht, Haduperht, Haholf, Alahmunt, Woldregi, Ysso, Deotrih, Petto, Adalunc, Otperht, Kerperht, Wicperht, Hartuni, Sigahart, Wolfhart, Perahart, Ellanhart, Kaganhart, Adalhart, Rantwic, Egilolf, Ellinpald, Fricho, Teppo. This was done at Freising in the 824th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 2nd indiction, on the consular day which was the 14th calends of August, with the Lord Emperor Louis reigning in the 10th. I [omission] unworthy deacon wrote it by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 515, 15 March 825 (330r)

The Conveyance of Engilfrit

In the Name of God. Be it known to all the faithful within the diocese of St Mary that a certain matron by the name of Engilfrit and her steward by the name of Hroadolt by common hand conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary 4 slaves for the remedy of their souls at Freising. And this conveyance was done at [Amper-]Moching into the reliquary of St Mary and St Corbian with the Lord Bishop Hitto present who on the present day is discerned as the pastor of the Lord's flocks pertaining to that same cathedral church of the see of Freising, and in the presence of many faithful there assembled. The names

of the slaves: Paldmot, Froimunt, Hroadswind, Hroadpurc, Erchanpurc; suretor Amalo. The witnesses tugged by the ears: Sheriff Liutpald, Deothart, Amalo, Reginperht, Odolt, Sigipald, Hroadperht, Ratolt, Alprat, Haduperht, Oadalscalch, Coteperht. This was done in the above said place on the 18th calends of April, the 3rd indiction, in the 12th year of Emperor Louis. I indeed Cozoroh unworthy priest wrote this by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 519, 6 April 825 (313r)

#### The Conveyance of Kerold the Deacon at Allach and at Weilbach

Whereas it behooves each one to remain aloof from the world, to remember the sacraments, and to fear the last day, for that reason it is proper for all Christians that they despise things earthly and fleeting, and weigh carefully the eternal, and desire the heavenly. On that account, may all the faithful in Christ know that I Kerold the deacon and my brother in the flesh Kernod had validly confirmed and conveyed each to the other the communal paternal and maternal inheritance between us if one were survivor to the other. Because Kernod was the steward of his brother Kerold the deacon, thereupon it was agreed by them that each dissolve to the other of them the conveyance they previously had made to one the other. And having taken this counsel, they came to the Pious Pontifex Hitto at Freising, and they declared it to him, and he mercifully heard this counsel, and allowed it to be. Thereupon Kerold the deacon at once gave himself into official service for the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto. Then they went out into the portico of the cathedral church of St Mary, Kerold and Kernod, and they each dissolved the other's conveyance three times with these witnesses who saw and heard this: Odolt, Willipato, Snelhart, Sigilo, Kerhoh, Alhmunt, Poapo, Hroadperht, Toto, Cotefrid, Reginperht, Arhart, Sigiprant, Nebo, Cozolt, Alprih, Alawih, Willihart, Pillunc, Heimperht, Adalwart, Rihperht, Peiri, Pezzi, Petto, Marcho, Hroadrih, Engilrih, Adalhart. After this conveyance had been dissolved between them, they approached to the altar of St Mary and to the tomb of Christ's Confessor St Corbinian, and Kerold conveyed his own part of his inheritance; whatever he had lawfully accepted as a share from his brother Kernod, in the place Allach and at Weilbach, he conveyed validly to the cathedral church of St Mary and St Corbinian at Freising for the remedy of his own soul, whatever he had in the named places in arable, meadows, pastures, slaves, herds, cultivated and uncultivated, whatever might be seen to pertain to him lawfully, all of it completely he conveyed upon the altar of St Mary with same named and the above written witness also tugged by the ears in the custom of the Bavarians. This was done on the 8th ides of April on the Feast of the Lord's Supper [Maundy Thursday], in the 3rd indiction, in the 824th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 11th year of the Emperor Louis, on this very condition, that after his death, none of his kinsmen or descendants might be able to dispute with the cathedral church of St Mary, but rather it remain validly done, and whatever afterwards he might be able to build up and acquire, all in all they should remain undisputed to the above said cathedral church. I indeed Cozoroh unworthy priest wrote it at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 523a&b, 20 April 825 (324r)

#### The Conveyance of Wago the Chaplain of Whatever He Had

[a.] In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Be it known to all faithful and truthful men how I Wago the chaplain, pondering for the redemption of my soul, so that I might be worthy to obtain some forgiveness for my sins, have renewed the earlier conveyance which I previously had made to the cathedral church of Saint Mary at Freising. Now indeed whatever my progenitors left to me as my own inheritance or whatever I Wago myself have gathered by my own acquisition, validly once again I have conveyed and renewed to the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Freising with the consent of Bishop Hitto who was discerned to preside on that same day as the pastor and ruler of the Lord's flocks of that same cathedral



church. In this manner with concord and confirmation this my conveyance has been executed validly and inviolably, that the monks who in that same cathedral church are professed to the Rule of St Benedict and who strive to observe it might have these my properties for their uses. We wish this to be quit and validly confirmed between us, that after my death none might be able to remove it from those same monks nor in any way diminish it, neither the bishop who on that day be present, but, as it befits a pastor to watch over his flock, leading them for the increase of their pasture nor in any wise diminishing, nor any other person presume to remove from them anything which I Wago on this day am seen to have in three places named at Zolling and at Gerlhausen and at Holzen, but rather it be held validly to that above said cathedral church for the uses of those monks who in that same cathedral church profess the Rule of St Benedict. They may have my properties together with all things lawfully pertaining to me for their lighting and for my eternal peace and for the peace and remedy of my progenitors and my kinsmen. This was done and confirmed; these are the witnesses tugged by the ears who saw and heard this: Cundpald, Sigiperht, Oadalscalch, Emheri, Heipo, Reginperht, Otperht, Engilhart, Erchanolf, Adalperht, Wolfheri, Hrigolf, Memmo, Plidker, Reginpald, Arbeo, Leo, Crimuni, Tato, Mauritius, Kerhoh, Deotrih, Pezzi, Alawih, Tuto, Helido, Isso, Kaganhart, Wago, Hunker, Uro, Hringolf, Lantrih, Willahelm, Cundhart, Adalhart, Situli, Kerperht, Willapato, Wichart, Coteфриd, Drudolt, Willihelm Emicho, and another Sigiperht. This was done in that same cathedral church of St Mary at Freising in the presence of Hitto and of all the household, on the 2nd calends of May, in the 825th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 3rd indiction, with Louis reigning in the 12th as Emperor.

[b.] These are the free men which are called 'barscalci' who also together with Wago have made an agreement in the presence of many to receive church land. They have agreed to render service for this same land. These are, first, Saxo, Oadalmunt, Toto, Sigadeo and Deotmar are to plow three times a year for 3 days and to harvest for three days, gather it and bring it in to the barns; Weliman, Cozpald and Waldker are to plow and harvest and bring it in to the barns as above, and, in addition, they are to render 15 measures of which three of barley, and a suckling pig worth 2 saicas; Selprat and Alprat are to plow and harvest and to bring it in to the place in the same manner; Hroadfrid is to plow in full measure as do other men of servile status, and he should offer 10 measures of oats and a suckling pig worth 2 saicas. This is firmly agreed so that henceforth no one may enjoin heavier service upon them. But they shall take part in military campaigns by turn.

TF 528, 2 January 826? (307v)

#### The Conveyance of Engilperht and of his Sister Heta at Berg

In the Name of the Lord. Be it known to all faithful and truthful noble men, that a certain venerable deacon by the name of Engilperht and his mother Perthilt and his sister Heta pondered upon the remedy of their souls so that from their property they might be worthy to receive some forgiveness for sins. Thereupon those named above came to the chosen place Freising. And at that present time Hitto the Venerable Bishop abided there, and they requested him that with his permission that conveyance might be made to the church of St Mary, and in return some other favor might be granted thence to them so that they might be able to carry on their life. Afterwards this pleased all those who were listening so that this was carried out in full. For indeed, coming to the altar the same deacon and his brother Amalperht and the same matron, conveyed to the altar of St Mary such property and full possession as Engilperht and his mother and sister at that time are seen to have at Berg and at Buch, and 10 slaves by these names: Sigipald, Immina, Otфrit, Alprat, Irminheri, Sigimunt, Lira, Ellanpirn, Lantrih, Hartmot; and with their brother Amalperht confirming this together with them at the altar of St Mary. And the guarantors for them were Amalperht himself, Heriolt, Liutpald who confirmed this conveyance. Then afterwards the Lord Bishop out of his regard presented to them one basilica at Bachern with the full possession of the same, and another 2 colon-holdings at Buch, and whichever of them lives the longer

may hold this to his use, and moreover after the death of those three it shall endure validly to Freising. These are the witnesses: Haholf, Petto, Otperht, Ratpot, Uro, Hatto, Wicco, Rihperht, Cundhart, Alawih, Liutpald, Arperht, Crimuni, Nendilo, Adalhart, Heriolt, Hiltiwart, another Rihperht, Deothelm. This was done at Freising on the 4th nones of January, in the 12th year of the Emperor Louis, the 3rd indiction.

TF 531, 25 May 826 (331v)

#### The Renewal which Echo Made for his Brother Erchanperht

A written notice of a conveyance which already sometime earlier Erchanperht the priest had completed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. After the death of his brother, Echo renewed the original conveyance and once again validly conveyed and confirmed it to the cathedral church of St Mary, whatever his brother Erchanperht the priest had previously conveyed in the places named at Kammer, and at Bachenhausen, so that thereafter it might remain validly to the cathedral church of St Mary without any contradiction. This was done at Freising on the 8th calends of June, in the 4th indiction, in the 13th year of the Emperor Louis. These are the witnesses: Heriperht, Reginpald, Warmunt, Pirhtilo, Williheri, Antonio, Odolt, Kepahoh, Petto, Mahtuni, Pezzi, Rihperht, Mahtperht, Alawih Cundhart. I unworthy Cozroh wrote this.

TF 532, 6 June 826 (319r)

#### The Renewal which Engilsnot and Erchanperht Made

Let words reveal the knowledge that a certain sanctified woman by the name of Engilsnot together with her nephew by the name of Erchanperht the priest, both together renewed a former conveyance which some time before his father had carried out and the same Engilsnot often had renewed. Now, indeed, she completely renewed and firmly conveyed whatever she held in the place Schweinbach in slaves and in all utensils, all of it completely she conveyed it to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. By the same conveyance together with her, Erchanperht the priest, her nephew, added to it and conveyed 10 slaves and whatever in that same place he had been able to hold or acquire. The names of the slaves are: Zeizmunt, Perhthram, Paldrih, Irminpirc, Dingolf, Hroadolf, Engilwih, Alarun, Irminswind, Moatker. And the same Erchanperht gave himself into the hands of Bishop Hitto for faithful service, and the Lord Bishop presented to him that property as a benefice, so that he might hold it for his life with such rent as the bishop might determine. These are the witnesses who saw and heard: Spulit, Irminfrid, Reginhart, Rihperht, Hleo, Willihelm, Ambricho, Wichelm, Oadalscalch, Petto, Pezzi, Sintavizzilo, Poapo, Heriperht, Reginperht. This was done at Freising on the 8th ides of June, in the 4th indiction, in the 13th year of Louis' imperial reign, in the first year in which his son, Ludwig, came as King to Bavaria.

TF 533, 16 June 826 (332r)

#### The Conveyance of Wolfolt and Heimperht for One Mill

In the Name of the Lord. Be it known that the noble men, Wolfolt and Heimperht, conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising half of one mill in the place which is called [Feld-]Moching so that from today it is validly held fast to that same cathedral church without any objection. These are the witnesses: Ratkis, Petto, Wicco, Alawih, Cundhart, Uro, Hatto, Wigant, Ascrih, Pezzi, Unforht, Tiso, Rihhart, Adalker, Adalhart, Rihmar. This was done in the same place at Freising within the cathedral church of St Mary, on the 16th calends of July, in the 4th indiction, in the 13th year of the Emperor Louis, in the first year in which his son Ludwig came as King in Bavaria. I unworthy priest Cozroh wrote it by command of Bishop Hitto.



TF 536, 28 June 826 (330v)

The Conveyance of Ratpald at Nörting

Be it plain to all truthful and faithful men abiding in the Bavarian country, that a certain man by the name of Ratpald, taking thought for the redemption of his soul, conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising where the Holy and Elect of God Corbinian rests in body whatever of his own inheritance or acquisition he held in the place Nörting or whatever he previously had been able to acquire, that is, the dwelling contained within the courtyard together with all buildings and additions, whatever by his own acquisition or inheritance he was seen to hold in the above said place Nörting, both livestock and all properties, all of them altogether from the present day are validly held to the cathedral church of St Mary. Afterwards indeed, by his mercy the Pious Pontifex Hitto presented to him the same in benefice, so that Ratpald himself might hold it for his life; after his death it reverts completely to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. This was done and confirmed within the cathedral church of St Mary. These are those who were present and stepped forward as witnesses: Emheri, Wolfperht, Odolt, Kaganhart, Heimperht, Fritilo, Williheri, Reginperht, Marcheo, Hroadcrim, Toto, Rihperht, Kerperht, Alawih, Cundhart, Wichart, Memmo, Willihelm, Wichelm, Wicco, Wigant, Reginhart, Uro, Kerhart, Mahtperht. This was completed within that same cathedral church of St Mary at Freising on the vigil of St Peter, on the 3rd calends of July, in the 4th indiction, in the 13th year of the Emperor Louis, in the first year in which his son, Ludwig, came as King in Bavaria. I Cozroh wrote this deed of conveyance.

TF 537, 10 July 826 (317v)

The Conveyance which Kipicho and Reginwart Made and Adalperht, One 'Hluzz' at [Amper-]Moching

Whereas it is not unknown to all but rather well known to many noble men within this country, that Kipicho and Reginwart and Adalperht conveyed to Freising to the cathedral church of St Mary one 'hluzz' in that place where the Pasenbach stream circles round as far as the Amper river, in such manner that henceforth it might remain without the opposition of any person forever to Freising. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: first Hiltipald, Odolt, Unforht, Emilo, Deotrih, Oadalker, Liutto, Arbeo, Isanperht, Kisalrih, Isanheri, Amalker, Friduperht, Jacob, another Oadalker. This was done at Holzmoching in the same place which they conveyed, on the 6th ides of July, in the 14th year of the Emperor Louis, in the 4th indiction.

TF 538, a.11 July/b.13 October 826 (316r)

The Conveyance of Crimperht, Kepolf and Wettini [his] Sons of 1 'Hluz' which We Call an 'Angar'

[a.] In the Name of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Be it declared to many hearing and believing in God that I indeed Crimperht convey to Hitto Venerable Bishop one 'hluz' of my property which is in a suitable place at [Amper-]Moching and whatever I am seen to have there of my property by lawful means and in running waters and in all other properties cultivated and uncultivated, all of it completely I convey and confirm that right in my property to Bishop Hitto to have as his own. And at once in that same place he invested Hitto the Venerable Bishop and his steward Odolt in the presence of Sheriff Liutpald. These are they who saw and heard this and are lawful witnesses tugged by the ears: first Liutpald the sheriff, Deotpald, Isangrim, Waninc, Tozi, Wichelm, Hiltipald, Alprat, Ratolt, Wetti, Kepolf, Ratkys, Hahkis, Meginhart, Odolt, Alhmunt, Adalperht, Hugiperht, Tagaperht, Tiso, Keparoch, Adalhart, Unforht, Arbeo, Isanperht, Emilo, Liutto, Oadalker, Hatto, Petto, Irminfrid, Kernod, Alpuni, Hugiperht, Kepahoh, Rihperht, Leo, another Irminfrid, Arahad, Tetti, Engilrih, Kipicho, another



Engilrih, Deotrih, Kisalrih, Elis, Reginwart, Reginhart, Alprih, Cello, Isanheri, Meginhart, Lantwih, Pezzi, Isanheri, Snelhart. This was done at Holzmoching on the 5th ides of July. And on that same day Bishop Hitto mowed that same 'hluz' of grass with his own reapers, in the 14th year of Emperor Louis, in the 4th indiction.

[b.] Moreover I Crimperht came again to Freising with my sons Wettini and Kepolf and by common counsel with the Lord Bishop, it pleased us by common hands to renew this conveyance. In this manner by common hands we have renewed this conveyance and confirmed it at the altar of St Mary, that separate from the power of all hands it might endure validly in right and lordship from today to the cathedral church of St Mary. This was done on the 3rd ides of October within the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. These are the ones whom we have tugged by the ears there for testimony and confirmation: Mahtperht, Wolfheri, Isso, Uro, Alawih, Cundhart, Crimuni, Nendilo, Kerolt, Ambrico, Engilrih, Altolf, Sigiprant. And it was done in the very same year in which the son of the Emperor Louis by the same name of Ludwig arrived as King in Bavaria. And I Cozroh unworthy priest commanded by the Lord Bishop Hitto and requested by the conveyors themselves wrote up this confirmation.

TF 539, 14 July 826 (319v)

Rathelm the Priest at Pasenbach

A written notice that Rathelm the priest dismissed his benefice at Pasenbach to the Venerable Bishop Hitto and into his authority. These were present there: Sheriff Liutpald, Crimperht, Liutperht, Hahkis, Alprat, Ratolt, Meginhart, Adalhart, Adalker, Fritilo, Kernod, Imidanc, Eparhart, Tagaperht, Alpolt, Pupo, Adalpald, Hiltipald, Odolt, Deotrih, Unforht, Anshelm, Cundperht, Lantwic, another Ratolt, Keparoh, another Adalhart and Fritilo, Heimo, another Liutpald. This was done at Holzmoching on the 2nd ides of July.

TF 543, 23 May 827 (293r)

Epucho Conveyed at Alting for Wichari the Priest

When Hitto the Venerable Bishop had arrived at the place named Eching to hold a synod with his diocesan clergy and to show them the way of the salutary life eternal so that they might be leaders of the sheep which were placed subject to their care, a certain man by the name of Epucho came there into the presence of Bishop Hitto and of Ellan[perh]t the judge and of Sheriff Oadalscalh, and conveyed into the reliquary of St Mary at Freising for the see on behalf of Wichari venerable priest whatever in the place called Alting his father and ancestors had left him as his own property and whatever he is seen to have in that same village, so that immediately from the present day it might endure validly in the power and in the service of St Mary so that no person after this conveyance might have any power whatsoever to challenge the power of St Mary. And Epucho himself agreed by his pledge that every issue which he had in that same village against Irminfrid the steward of Bishop Hitto, that henceforth no other man might have a prior claim from that case against the house of God. These are the witnesses of that plea tugged by the ears: Ellanperht the judge, Oadalscalh the sheriff, Irminfrid, Odolt, Eigil, Kepahoh, Heripert, Adalker, Tuto, Willihelm, Cotafrid, Regino, Emheri, Heipo, Kerhart, Reginpald, Cozolt, Sigiwart, Tetti, Maho, Oadalker, Managolt, Isaac, Freso, Wolfperht, Wicco, Fridarih, Wichelm Frumolt, Rihperht, Liuto, another Rihperht, Adalpert, Reginolt, Rihdeo, Mootheri, Ratolf, Cotadeo, Manno, Ampricho, Liuthart, Chuniperht, Paldachar, Tozi, Isanpert, Isancrim, Erchanolf, Sulman, Cundpald, Alawih, Cundhart, Egino, Adalcrim Sigilo, Tetti, Engilrih. Done at Eching on the 10th calends of June, in the 14th year of the Emperor Louis, the 5th indiction. I indeed Undeo unworthy deacon wrote this deed at the command of Bishop Hitto. The guarantor for this conveyance was Cotaperht.

TF 545, 23 May 827 (301v)

#### Denchilo Made Conveyance at Dörnbach

In the Name of God. Be it known to all faithful and truthful men that a certain man by the name of Denchilo conveyed into the reliquary of St Mary for the see of Freising what he is seen to have of his own property in the village which is called Dörnbach, so that after his death it may endure there validly without the opposition of any man forever. These are the witnesses: Oadalscalh the sheriff, Adalker, Tuti, Fridarih, Wolfperht, Reginhoh, Raholf, Wicco, Kerhart, Emheri, Eigil, Heipo, Sigiwart Cotafrid, another Cotafrid. This was done at Eching on the 10th calends of June, in the year of the Emperor Louis his 14th, in the 5th indiction. I Undeo unworthy deacon wrote this deed.

TF 546, 29 May 827 (295v)

#### Helidmunt at Herbertshausen

In the Name of God. Be it known to all faithful men and true that a certain man by the name of Helidmunt conveyed his own property in a place called Hebertshausen which he had acquired with his own money from noble men to the altar of St Mary at Freising where St Corbinian rests in body, that is, one colon-holding and three slaves by these names, Isanpurc, Purcrat and Fritilo, to the end that after his death it might remain there validly without the encroachment of any man so that neither he nor his descendants nor kinsmen might have the authority to remove anything or diminish it, but, rather, that this donation might endure validly and without harm. And Helidmunt himself pledged to pay rental dues each year at the Feast of St Martin into the hands of Bishop Hitto and his steward, Odolt, that is, one shilling in silver, and to plow two days in the springtime and in the summer and in the autumn, and, likewise, to mow hay for two days and to reap the crop for another two, and to bring it all in to the granary with his own carts. These are the witnesses who saw and heard this: first, Hahkis, Wolfcrim, Willipato, Crimheri, Perhtolt, Adalhart, Irminheri, Cotahelm, Mahtuni, Reginhart, Kaganhart, Amalpert, Isaac, Maho, Erchanperht, Marcheo. This was done at Freising on the 4th calends of June, in the 14th year of the Emperor Louis, in the 5th indiction. I, Undeo, unworthy deacon, wrote this conveyance out at the command of the Venerable Bishop Hitto. Hahkis was the suretor for this investiture.

TF 547, 19 July – 6 November 827 (320r)

#### The Conveyance of Noble Men at Allershausen

[a. 19 July 827:] By the gift of divine dispensation, the promise by the Lord's voice has been heard by many Christians, that when perishable and transitory abodes are given, heavenly ones without end are acquired. Having followed the voice of this promise, I, Pilgrim, a sinner and unworthy, have conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising, whatever of our own inheritance at Allershausen is found clearly to have come to us, I and my son, Reginperht, in church properties in the share from our parents. This I Pilgrim and my son Reginperht have conveyed by joint hands validly to Freising as well for our parents as for us and for our posterity wholly and completely from our share and of our parents that which pertains to the church property above said: in lands cultivated and uncultivated, slaves, woodlands, fields, pastures, meadows with all appurtenances and domesticated animals, so that from this present day it be held validly to the cathedral church of St Mary to the tomb of the Blessed Confessor of Christ Corbinian. This was done at Freising on the 14th calends of August, the 5th indication, in the 827th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 14th of the Emperor Louis. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears according to the custom of the Bavarians: Heriperht, Antonio, Deotrih, another Heriperht, Arahad, Karuheri, Ambricho, Hroadperht, Juto, Amalo, Wichelm, Sintarfizilo, Wigant, Reginhoh, Engilpald, and

with all the episcopal household looking on in the presence of Bishop Hitto: Oadalpald priest and monk, Ingubert priest, Waldaric priest, Wago chaplain, Eliuni priest, Altman priest, Adalmunt priest, Ratuni priest, Perhtolt deacon, Nendinc deacon. And I [Cozroh] unworthy priest hearing and seeing wrote up this confirmation at the command of Bishop Hitto.

[b. 29 September 827:] Thereafter it happened that the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto arrived at a place which is called Holzmoching, and, moved by that same voice of the Lord's consolation, the sister of Pilgrim by the name of Erchanfrit also conveyed with all devotion validly whatever she held in the above said church property at Allershausen into the reliquary chest of St Mary, so that from that same day it might remain validly and completely to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. Whatever property is seen to pertain as a share to her, Erchanfrit herself by her own hands and with her brother Pilgrim imposing his own hands, jointly they conveyed for the salvation of their own and their parents souls into the reliquary chest of St Mary and into the hands of the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto. This was done of the 3rd calends of October, the 6th indiction, in the year abovewritten. It was confirmed by these witnesses: Pilgrim, Paldachar, Crimperht, Petto, Wicco, Oadalscalch, Ratkis, Wolfolt, Managolt, Hiltipald, Hroadperht, Sigipald, Oadalrih, Chuniperht, Tiso, Liutpald, Oadalker, Wetti, Kepolf, Reginhart, Reginperht, Cundalperht, Hartmot, Deotpald, Sintaruizzilo, Wigant, Mahtuni, Wolfcrim, Juto, Engilrih, Kaganhart, Karuheri, Adalperht. And I, Undeo deacon, seeing and hearing, wrote it up.

[c. 5 October 827:] By the gift of Divine Providence, to incite the love of charity while imparting and preaching divine words, Bishops Hitto and Baturic arrived together at Freising, and there, with many noble and illustrious men coming there and hearing the flow of eloquent words of eternal doctrine, there in their presence certain of them recalling the consolation of the promise of divine mercy and for the salvation of their souls and of their parents offered something to God in alms. There a certain Hartnid approached and validly conveyed to the altar of Saint Mary and the tomb of the Most Pious Confessor of Christ Corbinian, whatever in the church property at Allershausen he might be seen to hold from his own share and that of his parents as well for his own soul as for his parents and descendants, so that from that day it be held validly to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. This was done on the 3rd nones of October in the abovesaid year in the presence of Bishops Hitto and Baturic and of the whole household: Adalbert abbot, Wago chaplain, Oadalpald priet, Rubo archpriest, Altman priet, Adalmunt, Wisuker priest, Eliuni priest, Ratuni priest, Undeo deacon, Anno deacon, Erchanolf deacon, Benignus deacon. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears in the accustomed manner of the Bavarians: first, Sheriff Liutpald, Reginperht, Priso, Oadalscalc, Willihelm, Alprat, Pilgrim, Sigipald, Haduperht, Willipato, Reginhart, Hroadhart, Adalperht, Reginperht, Oadalrih, Kepahoh, Eigil, Adalhart, Crimuni, Hroadperht, another Reginhart, Siuo, Kerperht, Karuheri, Deotrih, Otheri, Hringolf, Petto, another Liutpald, Alawih, Tetti, Mahtuni, Wicco, Lantwih, Adalunc, Reginperht, Cundhart, Kisalheri, Isanheri, Williheri. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing these conveyances wrote it up at the command of the Lord Bishop Hitto.

[d. date as c:] And, after the abovesaid conveyances had been completed, a certain coheir of theirs by the name of Liutpald, seeing and hearing this and moved by the same consideration, approached to the altar of St Mary at the same hour within a short space and conveyed inviolably for himself and his parents whatever from amongst those church properties at Allershausen from the share of his parents came to him as property according to law, wholly and completely to the cathedral church and altar of St Mary and to the tomb of Corbinian, Christ's Confessor, so that from this present day it might remain validly to the abovesaid cathedral-church at Freising. This was confirmed on the abovesaid day and in the presence of the abovesaid witnesses.

[e. date as c:] Thereupon, so as more validly to confirm it, Pilgrim, seeing such a multitude of oath worthy and truthful men, renewed his original conveyances and equally that of his sister, and in that

hour in the presence of the abovesaid men, once again he made conveyance to the altar of St Mary so that those previously made conveyances might endure with more valid strength, and once again he tugged the above reckoned men by the ears in the accustomed manner in witness and confirmation.

[f. 6 October:] Thereupon, accordingly, Bishop Hitto dispatched his lawful commissioner, Rubo the archpriest, to that same place at Allershausen so that he might lawfully accept investiture, and, as Rubo arrived there, in the first place Pilgrim invested Archpriest Rubo the archpriest lawfully by the bell rope of the church and from the share of his sister, Erchanfrit, he invested likewise by it; then Liutpald invested by a like confirmation. In the same manner Hartnid invested into the hands of Rubo the archpriest. Those who were present in attestation and saw this investiture: Ortuni, Adalhart, Hitto, Irfinc, Reginperht, Eigil, Deotrih, Erchanperht, Engilheri, Oadalrih, Oadalscalch. This was done on the 2nd nones of October.

[g. 6 November:] Afterwards, noble men who were coheirs in that church whose names are Poapo and Heriolt, hearing this, came to Freising and validly conveyed to the altar of St Mary whatever amongst the properties of that same church which is dedicated at Allershausen are seen to pertain to them by law, so that from the present day they might be held validly to the cathedral-church of St Mary for the salvation of their souls and of their parents and for their sons. This was done in the above said year, in the same indiction, on the 8th ides of November. These are the witnesses: Pilgrim, Reginperht, Petto, Wichelm, Adalunc, Wicco, Uro, Mahtuni, Ambricho, Irminfrid, another Poapo, Wolfcrim, Reginhart, Sintaruizzilo, Sigihart, Hatto, Wigant.

TF 553, 12 March 828 (329r)

How Frumperht, Cozni and Rihpurc Rendered Themselves into Servitude

Be it known to all the faithful that Reginbert, the steward of Bishop Hitto, had acquired for the service of St Mary these slaves whose names are: Frumiperht, Cozni, Rihpurc. These acknowledged themselves to be without any plea of recourse and rendered themselves into the service of St Mary into the hands of Reginbert the steward. These are the ones who saw that they rendered themselves into service of a servile nature: Spulit, Situli, Emheri, Coteperht, Heriperht, Adalhart, Otperht, Kerolt, Sigiwart, Ratpot, Wicco, Kaganhart, Reginperht, Otperht, Wichart, Willihelm, Hringolf, Wigant, Tetti. This was done on the 4th ides of March, the 5th indiction, in the 15th year of the Emperor Louis, in the same year when his son, King Ludwig returned to Francia from Bavaria. I, the unworthy priest Cozroh, wrote it out at the command of the Lord Bishop Hitto.

TF 555, 3 April 828 (326r)

The Conveyance of Swidker and Ilprant of Meadows

A written notice that Ilprant and Swidker validly conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary meadows lying next to the River Amper yielding 70 cartloads of hay together with the springs and fields and fishery so that from this present day it shall remain in the power and protection of the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears who saw that they conveyed it and that they accepted a price of 12 shillings in clothing, and a war horse, and a side of bacon; witnesses: Petto, Reginperht, Wicco, another Reginperht, Marcho, Altrih, Pezzi, Adalhart, Arhart, Cundheri, Irminfrid, Eigil, Sigiprant, Cotefrid, Freaso, Reginholt, Heimperht. This was done at Freising in the 15th year of the Emperor Louis, the 7th indiction, in the same year when his son, King Ludwig, returned to Bavaria with a wife, on the 3rd nones of April. I, Cozroh, unworthy priest, wrote this out at the command of the Lord Bishop Hitto.

TF 556, 4 – 12 April 828 (335v)

### The Conveyance of Amalperht at Oelpersberg

[a.] Because of the recollection of my sins and for the salvation of the souls of my parents, father and mother, and of my brother, with terrified ears I heard the promise of the Divine Voice declaring: 'Make friends for yourself with the men of iniquity that you may acquire eternal rewards with earthly and transitory goods, and when you have passed away, they may receive you into the eternal halls'. Moved and consoled by the sound of this promise, I, a sinner by the name of Amalperht, came to the cell of St Mary in place which is called Sünzhausen where I heard that Venerable Ruler Bishop Hitto preaching and teaching. And in his presence I validly conveyed into the reliquary of St Mary whatever of my own inheritance or acquired property I had in a place which is called Oelpersberg: buildings, messuages, cultivated and uncultivated, moveables and immovables, woodlands, fields, meadows, pastures, waters and watercourses, and six slaves by these names: Engilhart, Sindpald, Liupmunt, Hatto, Enisa and Enisa, together with livestock and goods, all these things, completely, so that from this present day they might endure in full possession and authority and protection of the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. And it was our request, and the holy reverence of the Most Pious Father Bishop Hitto did not deny it, that it should endure valid on this condition, that I, myself, Amalperht, and my wife, Cundrat, might have that same property to use and improve it for our lifetime. And, if by the will of God, my same wife outlives me, if she henceforth preserves the marriage bed, she may hold that same property of mine for her lifetime as my free gift and support. If, on the other hand, she is joined to any other man, at once my property shall pertain undiminished and unshakable to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. This was done at Sünzhausen on the eve of the nones of April, in the 829th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 7th indiction, in the 15th year of the Emperor Louis, in the same year that his son King Ludwig returned to Bavaria with a wife. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Reginperht Petto, Alawich, uro, Rihperht, Wichelm, Cundhart, Mahtuni, Ellanhart, Wicco.

[b.] Three days thereafter, I, Amalperht, and my wife, Cundrat, by mutual advice and consent, came to Freising, and I conveyed undiminished to the altar of St Mary my above said property which is in the place Oelpersberg, confirming the abovesaid words. And these were the witnesses there tugged by the ears: Sheriff Reginhart, Adalhart, Heriperht, Wicco, Rihperht, Memmo, Uro, Heidanhrih, Cauzo, Liutpald, Engilperht, Deotrih, Cundperht, Hartperht, Megino, Durinc, Cundalperht, Heripato, Wigant, Engilperht the deacon, Crimuni, Fredant, Adalperht, Poapo, Oatilo, Hroadprant, Salucho, Willapald, Ellancoz, Pernhart, Kerperht, Madalcoz, Wicpald.

[c.] On the following Sunday, that was, on the 2nd ides of April, the Venerable Bishop Hitto sent his steward Reginperht that he might lawfully receive full possession of that property. And that same steward, Reginperht, came there together with a numerous crowd of noble men, and the abovesaid Amalperht invested him lawfully at the doorpost and the threshold of the house from his right and power into the right and power of St Mary at Freising that it might remain there forever. Moreover, with Amalperht going out, Reginperht, the Bishop's steward, sent in Cozroh the priest. And that same monk, Cozroh, dwelled lawfully for three days and three nights in the house. And these are they who saw the investiture carried out in their presence: Reginperht, Heriperht, Pilgrim, Hitto the hundredman, another Reginperht, Tetti, Reginhart, Irminperht, Oazilo, Kerperht, Crimuni, Spenneol, Wichelm, Otheri, Kerolt, Engilhart, Ellanhrih, Hatto, Paldrih, Kaganhart, Hiltolf, Abaram, Heidanhrih. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing all these things, wrote them at the command of Bishop Hitto.



TF 557, 8 April 828 (327r)

### The Renewal of the Conveyance by Engilrat from Schäftlarn

[a.] That a certain matron by the name of Engilrat, when she wished to journey to Rome, renewed an earlier conveyance, whatever of property or acquisition she had in the place Schäftlarn for the remedy of her soul she inviolably conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising, so that from the present day it might return to the service and protection of the above said cathedral church. This was done on the 6th ides of April in Easter Week, in the 15th year of the Emperor Louis, in the same year when his son Ludwig returned with a wife as King in Bavaria. These witnesses: Petto, Situli, Marcho, Sintarvizzilo, Wicco, Engilrih, Memmo, Rihperht, Arbeo, Pezzi, Kaganhart, Reginperht.

TF 560, 10 May 828 (331v)

### The Conveyance of Fritilo at Hirschbach

How Fritilo conveyed his inheritance completely so that it might endure for all time to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising, whatever he had in that same place where the small stream which is called Hirschbach by the common people has its source, in lands cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, pastures, fields, together with the dwelling and courtyard and messuages and springs, and with every building and whatever of his own inheritance he is discerned to have, all of it altogether which he previously had been able to acquire validly and legally in his own right, and he also offered himself with all that he possessed to the above said cathedral church. This was done at Fresing in the 828th year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the 7th indiction, the 15th year of the Emperor Louis, in the same year in which his son, Ludwig, returned with his wife as king in Bavaria, on the 6th ides of May. And these are the witnesses: Reginperht, Oadalscalch, Pezzi, Pilgrim, Kerhart, Heriperht, Petto, Deotrih, Kerperht, Reginhart, Hringolf, Deothart, Arbeo, Hatto, Troago, Anthelm, Wichelm, Willihelm. Moreover I, the unworthy priest Cozroh wrote this.

TF 562, 19 May 828 (301r)

### The Rent of Ellanpurc and Engilpurc

In the Name of the Lord. Be it known to all the faithful that, when a public synod had been assembled at Eching, a woman dedicated to God by the name of Engilburc came forward there making complaint for herself asserting about the conveyance which her mother Ellanpurc and Engilpurc herself had made to Freising from their own inheritance in a place which is called Lappach, how their nephew by the name of Wicheri the priest was attempting to eject them from it. But the Benign Pontiff Hitto allowed it to them as long as they should live and admonished Wichari the priest that he might not pray in that same church except by their permission. And Engilpurc herself immediately paid the rent into the hands of the Bishop's steward whose name is Spulit, three pence, and freely agreed to render thus every year. These are they who saw and heard: Paldachar, Chuniperht, Oadalscalh, Irminfrid, Engilperht, Liutperht, Oadalperht, Hegilo, Coteфриd, Heriperht, Oadalrih, Ambrico, Kernod, Hroadleoz, Cozolt, Sigiprant, Otperht, Deotrih, Sigilo, Hunperht, Mahho, Liutprant. This was done on the 14th calends of June, the 5th indiction, in the 15th year of the Emperor Louis. And I Cozroh unworthy priest wrote it up.

TF 563, 24 May 828 (178r)

### How Hitto Settled Every Suit

Be it evident to all that a certain man by the name of Hitto settled validly every claim and suit which he had initiated against the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising against the steward of that church



Reginperht, so that he would on no occasion be able or have power to disturb or breach it further, but rather unshaken and confirmed it might endure forever. These are those who saw and heard: Reginperht, Pilgrim, Odolt, Wisurih, Amalperht, Hartnid, Kerhoh, Adalperht, Adalhoh, Petto, Wicco, Mahtuni, Otperht, Tetti, Cundheri, Kaganhart, Irminfrid, Ellancoz, Kerperht, Crimuni, Wigant, Wolfheri, Tato, Rihperht, Arhart Wicperht, Pezzi, Urolf. This was down at Freising on the 9th calends of June, in the 16th year of the Emperor Louis, in the 6th indiction, in the 828th year of the the Lord's Incarnation.

TF 564, 16 June 828 (309v)

#### The Conveyance of Engilheri at Kienberg

In the Name of God. Be it known to all faithful and truthful men that I Engilheri convey my own inheritance into the reliquary of St Mary at Freising; whatever I am seen to hold in that place at Kienberg, this I convey and confirm for the above said place, that it remain there validly forever without the opposition of any person. These are they who saw this and were witnesses tugged by the ears: Reginperht, Pilicrim, Heriwart, Alawih, Uro, Wicco, Marcho, Mahtuni, Heriperht, Rihperht, Hatto, Cundhart, Adalhart, Heimperht, Kaganhart, another Adalhart, Altrih, Altolf, Oadalker, Wicperht, Isker, Urolf, another Reginperht. This was done at Eching on the 16th calends of July in the 828th year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the 15th of Emperor Louis, in the 5th indiction.

TF 565, 16 July 828

#### The Conveyance which Denchilo Made at Dörnbach

May it be evident to all the Christian flock within the country of Bavaria and the faithful men sojourning within it that indeed I Denchilo previously conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising my own inheritance together with all my acquisition in the place which is called Dörnbach, so that it might validly endure there. Now, moreover, I myself release such property as I am seen to have on the present day into the hands of the Venerable Bishop Hitto for that same house of God, so that it might endure henceforth in the service and power of St Mary, and neither I myself nor another from amongst my kinsmen may have the power thence to alienate or diminish anything, but rather my conveyance shall endure valid and firm there. This was done at Eching when the holy synod was assemble there on the 16th calends of July, in the 15th year of the Emperor Louis, in the 5th indiction. These are they who saw and heard and are obliged to confirm this by testimony: Reginperht, Pilgrim, Heriwart, Alawih, Uro, Wicco, Marcho, Mahtuni, Heriperht, Rihperht, Hatto, Cundhart, Adalhart, Heimperht, Kaganhart, another Adalhart, Altrih, Altolf, Oadalker, Wicperht, Isker, Urolf, another Reginperht.

TF 566, 16 June 828 (330v)

#### The Conveyance which Juto Made at Herbertshausen

Whereas it is not unknown to all but rather well known to many noble men sojourning in this country that Juto conveyed one messuage and such property as he had there in that place which is called Herbertshausen into the reliquary of St Mary at Freising with the Venerable Bishop Hitto present. And he immediately released what he may be seen to have there for the service of St Mary. These are the witnesses: Reginperht, Pilgrim, Heriwart, Alawih, Uro, Wicco, Marcho, Hatto, Mahtuni, Heriperht, Rihperht, Cundhart, Adalhart, Heimperht, Kaganhart, another Adalhert, Altrih, Altolf, Oadalker, Wicperht, Isker, Urolf, another Reginperht. This was done at Eching when the holy synod was assembled there on the 16th calends of July, in the 15th year of the Emperor Louis, in the 5th indiction.



TF 574, 14/16 December 828 (337v)

The Conveyance of Ekkihart the Priest in the Place which is Called Ried

[a.] Being mindful of the divine admonition which says that eternal rewards should be acquired with things perishable, accordingly I, an unworthy priest by the name of Ekkihart, have conveyed validly whatever I have gathered by purchase or acquisition in the place which is called Ried, all of it completely to the altar of the Holy Savior in the place which is called at Vierkirchen, and, that it might remain with that same altar, to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising, that is, with slaves, fields, cultivated and uncultivated, woodlands meadows, pastures, waters and watercourses, moveables and immoveables, adjoined appurtenances, and with all things pertaining by my acquisition to that place; they altogether I validly grant and without doubt convey to the above said altar, except for what my brother Alprih conveyed to me. This I have agreed with my nephew by the name of Ekkihart, that he might have it to the end of his life for use and improvement. And after this the conveyance shall endure validly to the above said altar, and together with the altar it shall remain steadfast forever to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. This was done in the 828th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 7th indiction, in the 15th of Louis' Imperial Rule, in the same year that his son Ludwig returned with a wife as King in Bavaria, on the consular day which was the 19th calends of January. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Sheriff Liutpald, Reginperht, Tagiperht, Sigipald, Irminfrid, Alhmunt, Wicco, Hahkis, Wichelm, Paldachar, Cundpald, Ratkis, Engilfrid, Arahad, Heriperht, Erchanolf, Adalperht, Unfrid, Husinc, Odolt, Cozperht, Cozleip, another Liutpald, Petto, Siuo, Engilrih, Irinc, Hugiperht, Sigihram, Cundhart, Isanpald, Hucco, Cundpato, Oadalhart, Nordperht, Liuto, Cundperht, Kerperht, Erchanperht, Chuniperht, Alpolt, Hiltipald, Adalhart. This was done at Vierkirchen. And I Undeo the deacon seeing and hearing wrote it commanded by the Lord Bishop Hitto and by the conveyor himself, Ekkihard the priest. And Hahkis and my brother Alprih stood forth as guarantors.

[b.] And three days after this Ekkihart invested Odolt, the steward of Bishop Hitto, with all of the above said things. And these are they who saw this investiture done and stand forth as witnesses: Tagaperht, Sigipald, Hahkis, Hiltipald, Engilrih, Imidanc, Erchanperht, Pupo, Eparhart, Madalker, Cundpald, Sigihart, Crimperht, Friduperht, Cundperht, Isanpald, Sigihram, Oadalman, Engilperht, Aso, Cundhart, Liutpald, Cundpato, Kipicho, Moathart. The names of the slaves which Ekkihart conveyed: Hunpald, Jarant, Hwasmot, Hiltiwih, Frowihilt; and at Ried: Wolfrat, Reginhoh, Slaugo, Meginheri, Zeiza, Emhilt, Liutheid, Wolfpirin, Irminswind, Irmingund, Liupdrud, Engilwih. And I Fastheri the priest recorded the investiture and the slaves.

TF 575, 23 December 828 (337r)

Adalhart Conveyed at Eglhausen

Moved by the inspiration of divine admonition and corporal chastisement, I Adalhart, pondering accordingly, have taken thought for the remedy of my soul so that I might be worthy to attain the forgiveness of my sins. For I conveyed validly whatever by purchase or acquisition I had in the place which is called Eglhausen, in slaves, arable lands, cultivated and uncultivated, woodlands, meadows, pastures, waters and watercourses, the courtyard with dwelling and all buildings pertaining to this place by my acquisition, whatever I had I have confirmed to Freising and into the reliquary of St Mary; except for 30 day-works of arable and 3 cartloads of meadows, this is the place called 'Cotefridssteti' by the common people, and one messuage at Eglhausen, this I have conveyed to my daughter Perhtkart by name for her own property. However, whatever else I had in all of property or acquisition, all things in all pertaining to me, validly I have conveyed into the reliquary of St Mary and into the hands of Bishop Hitto, so that from today it might remain steadfast to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. And with this conveyance just completed validly, I Adalhart myself have invested Bishop Hitto with all of

my above said properties, so that without any opposition it might remain conveyed and confirmed to Freising. This was done in that same place Eglhausen, on the 10th calends of January, in the 828th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 15th of the Emperor Louis, in the same year that his son Ludwig returned with a wife as King in Bavaria. With these present and tugged in witness of the confirmation of this conveyance: Sheriff Luitpald, Pilgrim, Odolt, Wicco, Mahtuni, Karuheri, Eigil, Pezzi, another Eigil, Reginperht, Ratpot, Heriperht, Adalhart, Siuo, Oadalhart, Engilrih, Arbeo, Irminolt. Now indeed the names of the slaves which I have conveyed: Liupheri, Otmar, Sigolt, Purcman, Adalrih, Ratfrid. And I Undeo the deacon seeing and hearing these things wrote it up at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 576, 27 December/10 June 828 (334r)

The Conveyance of Ellanrih the Priest and Engilhart the Priest and Anno the Deacon at Nannhofen and at Dasing, and a Certain Noble Man Isaac at Günzlhofen

[a.] Moved by divine admonition for remembrance, Ellanrih the priest and Engilhart the priest and Anno the deacon came to Freising to renew earlier conveyances which already previously their father Emilo and their paternal uncles Alprih the priest and Ascrih the deacon had made in the place which is called Nannhofen and at Ried and the same conveyance which Ellanrih and Anno themselves made at Dasing they likewise confirmed. In this manner this account of the conveyances was comprised, that first Ellanrih and Anno confirmed by common hands the conveyance made earlier by their father Emilo and that which they themselves previously made at Dasing, and adding shares of their inheritance which they had received in allocation from the paternal inheritance in the place Nannhofen which is called 'at Mahaleihi' [Malching] by the common people, and whatever in the abovesaid places they had, they conveyed it validly to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising to the altar of St Mary, that is in slaves 32 [in number], in buildings, messuages, arable fields, woodlands, meadows, pastures, herds, and with all utensils, all in all validly they conveyed to the altar of St Mary. This was done within the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. Thereupon, Engilhart the priest approached and conveyed validly to that same altar whatever of his acquired properties he had in the place Ried or might be able to acquire, amongst everything else he conveyed without doubt 6 slaves, so that on the day of his death, he relinquished all their authority and the increases validly thereafter to be held fast to the cathedral church of St Mary. This was done on the consular day which is the 6th calends of January, in the 829th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 7th indiction, the 15th year of the Emperor Louis, in that same year that his son Ludwig returned with a wife as King in Bavaria. These witnesses: Petto, Wicco, Pilgrim, Pezzi, Karuheri, Alawih, Ratpot, Tetti, Cundhart, Meiolo, Deotperht, Kerrat, Marcho, Waldperht, Kaganhart, Sigilo, Ambricho, Wolfheri, Mahho, Engilrih, Reginperht, Uro, Reginhart, Mahtuni, Hahkis, Altrih, Isaac, Wigant, Eigil, another Eigil. And there present from the household itself were Rubo the archpriest, Oadalpald, Undeo deacon, Eliuni priest, Altman priest, Adalmunt priest, and many others. And I unworthy priest Cozroh seeing and hearing wrote it up.

[b.] Thereupon they themselves with all those present and written above came into the solar to the Most Pious Pontifex Hitto, and they confirmed these conveyances into his hands, and the same Most Reverend Man presented in benefice to them their same conveyances and whatever their father or their paternal uncles previously had conveyed up to the end of their life so that they might persevere in faithful service to the cathedral church of St Mary. And, indeed, Ellanrih the priest and Anno the deacon had come earlier to the Pious Pontifex Hitto at Kottgeisering, and whatever they had at Dasing in all completeness they conveyed validly into the reliquary of St Mary, so that it might endure validly to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears according to the custom of the Bavarians: Petto, Irminfrid, Uro, Spulit, Sigur, Hroadperht, Hahkys, Wicco, Adalhart, Oadalker, Cundpald, Mahtuni, Altrih, Kepahoh, Engilrih, Arbeo, Wicperht, Kaganhart, Hartperht, Yuto, Walto, Eparhart, Cundheri. This was done on the 4th ides of June in the year as above.



[c.] Thereupon moreover a certain noble man by the name of Isaac approached, and, for the remedy of his soul and for the absolution of the souls of father and mother, he conveyed validly to the same altar of St Mary whatever he had in paternal inheritance and from his mother or by acquisition and whatever he might be able henceforth to acquire in the places named at Günzelhofen and at Gundackersdorf. This was done on the above said day in the same place with the above written witnesses confirming and seeing this, that he set nothing aside but rather validly conveyed all in all that he had to the altar of St Mary.

TF 578, 828 (341v)

#### Heilrat Conveyed Slaves

In the Name of the Lord. I Heilrat have conveyed for the remedy of my soul 5 slaves by these names: Waltrat, Tutila, Wanpald, Wanker, Ratpurc, to the altar of St Mary at Freising, so that they might endure there forever. Witnesses: Wago, Willihelm, Uro, Hatto, Wicco, Wichelm, Karuheri, Reginhart, Kaganhart, Altrih, Antonio.

TF 579, 11 January 829 (342r)

#### How Alprih Made Restitution at Alling

These venerable men assembled at a place which is called Emmering by the command of the Lord King to determine right judgments: Bishop Hitto, Sheriff Anzo, a royal commissioner, and Sheriff Liutpald; and many others learned in the law. Thereupon, indeed, the steward of the Venerable Bishop Hitto, Spulit by name, sought from a certain man by the name of Alprih something fully equivalent to that which he previously had conveyed to St Mary at Freising, that is, the place called Schmiechen, with all things pertaining to that same place. And he had not been able to confirm and authenticate that same conveyance to that same house of God. Rather, he had received that conveyance back again from the hand of the above named steward, and he had granted it to Chonrat as his own property. For that reason, when all had heard this, Anzo, the commissioner of the Lord King, ordered Alprih to do justice according to law to the Bishop and his steward because he had declined to confirm that conveyance to the same house of God. Thereupon, the abovesaid Alprih and his sons, Hadumar and Hunolt, along with him granted into the hands of Bishop Hitto and his steward Spulit such property of their own as they had at Alling, that is, the house with other buildings inside the courtyard; and six slaves, three men and three women still in their youth, and 12 cattle, and 90 day-works of arable, 40 cartloads of meadows, 1 mill, and 4 other colon-holdings with dwellings and messuages together with land and meadows such as unfree men are accustomed to hold as full colon-holdings. And all these things here noted they gave in compensation and for the wrong which they had done to that same House of God, so that from this present day it would remain in the power of the Bishop of St Mary at Freising, with Alprih and his sons confirming, so that it might remain there validly without the objection of any man. And these were the suretors for that investiture: Kerhart, Orendil, Hatto, Cundperht. And, again, Alprih and his sons, Hadumar and Hunolt, renounced every advantage in all the dealings which they had with the same House of God, so that they no longer would have any authority to bring suit, and they confirmed it equally with their pledge. These are they who saw and heard: Bishop Hitto, Sheriff Anzo, Sheriff Liutpald, Reginperht, Pilicrim, Spulit, Amalo, Arahard, Adalperht, Kyso, Wicperht, Deotmar, Walaheri, Juto, Salucho, Friduperht, Hroadperht, Eigil, Karuheri, Sulaman, Cozpald, Odolt, Hahkis, Sigipald, Rumolt, Alpuni, Heimrih, Huzo, Heripald, Waldker, Cundheri, Kaganhart, Reginperht, Erchanolf, Cozperht, Waltrih, Cundpald, Siuo, Alholf, Liuthram, Hilti, Cotedeo, another Orendil, Starcholf, Cundheri, Kotehelm, Hadumar, Hunolt, Walto, Cundhart, Engilperht, Deotperht, Racholf, Altrih, another Hunolt, Kerhart, Engilhart, Jacob, Kerrat,



another Engilperht, Moatperht, Oadalrih, Kerperht, Reginpald, Franco, another Hroadperht, Heriker, Hroadinc, Cundhart, Deotmar, Wicco, Putilo, Nidhart Cundwin. This was done at Emmering on the 3rd ides of January, in the 828th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 7th indiction, in the 15th year of the Emperor Louis, in the same year that his son, Ludwig, King of the Bavarians, returned with a wife to Bavaria. Indeed, I, Undeo, unworthy deacon, seeing and hearing this, wrote up this memorandum at the command of Hitto, the Venerable Bishop.

TF 580, 15 January 829 (347r)

Anno Conveyed a Part of the Woodlands at Geisenhausen and Accepted the Price

May it come to the attention of many that the Venerable Man Bishop Hitto and his steward Reginperht had just given to a certain man by the name of Anno one war-horse valued at ten shillings and 5 shillings in clothing and other goods, and they acquired one piece of woodlands in a place Geisenhausen which measures 30 yokes in length and 16 perches in width and which lies next to the woods of Abbot Iskar. In that way, Anno, who was recognized as the temporal owner on that day, conveyed that same woodlands for the above said price validly into the hands of Reginperht so that from that day it would remain in the power and authority of St Mary and the Lord Bishop Hitto. Neither he nor his successors shall have power in any manner to alter or diminish this but, rather, this sale shall endure unchanged. These are the witnesses tugged according to Bavarian custom for confirmation in testimony: Reginperht, Pilgrim, Ermperht, Deotrih, Rihperht, Macho, Reginperht, Wicco, Friduperht, Reginperht, Purcman, Wicperht, Hartmot, Tetti, Wicperht, Willihelm, Kisalhart, Arbeo Tato, Starcholf, Reginheri, Deothelm, Reginhoh, Uro, Eigolt, Appo, Pruninc, Wolfheri, Memmo. This was done at Holzhausen on the 18th calends of February, in the 829th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 17th year of Emperor Louis, in the 7th indiction. And I, Cozroh, seeing and hearing this, wrote it up at the command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 581, a. 17 March; b. 25 March 829 (338v)

The Conveyance of Herimot and his Son, Batucho the Deacon, at Dörnbach and also of Eto the Priest

[a.] Whereas in the Name of God it should be known to all abiding within the bishopric of St Mary and all the faithful tarrying within Bavaria that certain noble men by the name of Herimot and his son, Batucho the deacon, conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising whatever of their own property and acquisition they had in the place Dörnbach, in slaves, buildings, messuages, waters and watercourses, lands cultivated and uncultivated, moveables and immoveables; all of it altogether they conveyed validly to Freising so that it might endure confirmed and undisturbed from the present day for Freising. This was done at Dörnbach on the 16th calends of April, in the 6th indiction, in the 828th [sic] year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the 15th of the Emperor Louis, in the same year in which his son, Ludwig, returned with his wife as king in Bavaria. And these witnesses: Adalperht, Hahart, Cundperht, Cundheri, Asprant, Hekilo, Meginrat, Cundhart, Rihker, Tagaperht, Herimot, Hunpald, Helid, Wolfdregi, Pernker, Wolfperht, Erih, Lantperht, Heriperht, Oadalrih, Hroadhart, Denchilo, Ellanhart, Heimker, Coteperht, Wolfcrim, Comolt, Wenilo.

[b.] In the same manner on the Lord's Supper [Maundy Thursday] Eto the priest and his nephew Batucho the deacon came to Freising and confirmed the above said conveyance, and whatever they had in the above said place they conveyed validly to the altar of St Mary, and confirmed it by witnesses. And these are the witnesses: Petto, Altrih, Mahtuni, Irminfrid, Hroadperht, Irminhart, Arbeo, Wicperht, Egilolf, Sigihart, Unforht, Oadalker; guarantors: Eto and Erchanbald priests; and Sigihart the archpriest and all the household of St Mary stood by and saw it done. This was done in the above said year, on the 8th calends of April. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing this wrote it by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 582, 20 June 829 (346v)

The Conveyance of Deotmar a Gerenzhausen and of Ratcoz the Priest at Giggenhausen

[a.] In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. I Deotmar moved by divine love, for the remedy of my soul I conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary whatever of my own inheritance or acquisition I had in the place Gerenzhausen, the courtyard with the dwelling and with all the buildings, pastures, meadows, woodlands, fields cultivated and uncultivated, all things altogether I validly conveyed to Freising together with slaves and herds, the slaves named, Reginker, Wicrih, Liutdrud; and there are 52 yokes of arable land and 56 cartloads of meadows. And these are the witnesses: Odolt, Sigipald, Otperht, Pilgrim, Alpheri, Friddo, Ratkis, Wicco, Suidker, Ilprant, Hiltipald, Hitto, Poapo, Adalheri, another Poapo, Meiol, Wigant, Kerperht, Engilhart, Engilrih, Cozolt, Reginwart, Frumolt, Ambrico, Altolf, Wolfheri, Kerolt, Urolf.

[b.] At the very same time with the above said witnesses standing there, Ratcoz the priest and his nephew by the same name Ratcoz the clerk approached, and by common hands they conveyed validly to the altar of St Mary whatever they had in the place Giggenhausen, courtyard with the dwelling and with all buildings, and their acquisitions, so that forever they might endure to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. And the same witnesses tugged by the ears as is accounted above. This was done on the 12th calends of July, the 6th indiction, the 829th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 16th year of the Emperor Louis. And I Cozroh seeing and hear this wrote it.

TF 585, a.25/b.28 June 829 (347v)

How Oadalpald Having Been Overcome Returned from Sulzrain the Property of Hludolf

[a.] Many noble and trustworthy men assembled in a place which is called Haimhausen: Sheriff Liutpald, Liutperht, Paldachar, Ratkis; and the judges Managolt, Hahkis, Alpuni, Imidanc, Chuniperht, Eparhat, Situli, Sigiperht, Hugiperht, and many others. There Bishop Hitto's steward [Odolt] came forward and brought suit against a certain man by the name of Oadalpald for a property in a place which is called Sulzrain which Hludolf previously had conveyed to Freising. And Oadalpald himself responded that he was not obliged to return this property because Hludolf had bequeathed him that property and left it to him as an inheritance. And the same Odolt declared that Hludolf was not able to bequeath that property to anyone because he had previously conveyed it to St Mary. And the other [Oadalpald] denied this, declaring that it had never before been conveyed to St Mary. Thereupon, Sheriff Liutpald directed that they produce the written deed of conveyance. There present, they produced the evidence of the conveyance, and eyewitnesses were standing by. Thereupon, Liutpald directed them to swear that they would declare the truth in this matter, and they, after the oath, declared that they had seen Hludolf carry out this conveyance. And, with the above said Oadalpald vanquished by the truth and by testimony and overcome and confounded by the judges discerning and rendering judgment according to the law and by all in the assembly testifying with one voice, he returned that same property into the hands of Odolt. These are they who saw this done: Sheriff Liutpald, Liutperht, Paldachar, Ratkis, Madalker, another Liutpald, another Madalker, Reginheri, Perhttolf, Zello, Alprih, Antonio, Egilperht, Alpolt, Arbeo, Unforht, Kysalrih, Deotrih, Isanperht, Engilrih, Aso, Ernust, Deothart, Meio, Engilperht, Amalunc, Reginperht, Ato, Engilhart, Cello, Altolf, Hiltipald, Kipicho, Hunfrid, Arbeo, Jacob. The names of the judges are written above. This was done on the 7th calends of July, the 6th indiction, in the 829th year of the Incarnation, in the 16th year of Emperor Louis, in the second year after his son, King Ludwig, received authority over the Bavarians.

[b.] And on the 4th calends of July Oadalpald invested Odolt and Pilgrim at Sulzrain. These are they who saw this investiture, that Pilgrim and Odolt received it: Paldachar, Jacob, Wichelm, Hahkis, Reginhart, Kerhart, Isanperht, Unforht, Heriperht, Hiltipald, Ratkis, Eparhart, Cello, Oadalmar, another Jacob, Reginperht, Engilrih, Pruninc, Oadalhoh, Helmuni, Cauwirat, Paldrih.

TF 598, 3 August 830 (353r)

#### How Tiso the Priest Renewed his Conveyance at Pullhausen

Be it known to all faithful and honest men, that Tiso the priest renewed his conveyance at Pullhausen, and he conveyed it to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising, the church with the dwelling and courtyard, slaves and beasts, and all the things that he had in lands cultivated and uncultivated, woodlands, meadows, pastures, movables and immovables. He set nothing aside but all of it whole and complete, whatever he had been able to gain by his work or to acquire, so that after his death it might endure validly to the cathedral church St Mary of Freising. This was done at Freising on the 3rd nones of August, in the 831st year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 8th indiction, of the Emperor Louis his 17th year, the 5th year of Ludwig the King of the Bavarians. These witnesses: Liutpald sheriff, Isangrim, Odolt the steward who received this conveyance, Coteperht, Hiltipald, Snelhart, Chuniperht, Kernod, Alpuni, Adalhart, Perhtolf, Wigant, Kerperht, Tizan, Wicco, Oadalker, Mahtuni, Kernand, Uroolf, Kaganhart. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing this, I wrote it up by command of Bishop Hitto.

TF 599, 6 August 830? (352v)

#### How Bishop Hitto and Kernod Made Division at Allach and Weilbach

In the Name of God. Be it known to all the faithful how certain brothers germane, noble men whose names are Kerolt and Kernod who had a common inheritance from father and mother, did not divide it between themselves but used it communally without division as loving brothers ought to do for the love of God, one of whom whose name is Kerolt was ordained by the Lord's dispensation to the office of deacon. And it was agreed by both that the same Kerolt the deacon conveyed validly to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising the share of his inheritance which was in two places at Allach and at Weilbach, and he completed this and validly confirmed it. A few years after this it happened that he departed from this world, and the surviving brother Kernod came to the Pious Pontifex Hitto beseeching that by his clemency he might mercifully deign to divide it with him. Whence the same most Pious Pontifex, moved by his distress, permitted this to be done. In this manner they divided between themselves as seemed opportune to each. Then Kernod approached and whatever of his own property or acquisition he had at Weilbach in lands cultivated and uncultivated, buildings, meadows, pastures, woodlands, whatever might be seen to pertain to that same place from their inheritance, all of this completely he discharged into the hands of Bishop Hitto as his portion from the portion of the inheritance of Kerolt the deacon and renounced any claim between them concerning that place. Likewise, the venerable Bishop Hitto discharged into the hands of Kernod whatever Kerolt the deacon had of inheritance at Allach, all of it completely in lands cultivated and uncultivated, buildings, meadows, pastures, woodlands, as the portion of his inheritance which he ought to accept from his brother Kerolt the deacon. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears according to the custom of the Bavarians: Sheriff Rihho, Odolt steward, Wicco, Erchanperht, Arhart, Sindi, Tiso, Adalunc, Altrih, Mahtuni, Irminheri, Cundpald, Hahkis, Engilperht, Chraft. This was done at Freising on the 8th ides of August, in the 831st year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 8th indiction, the 17th of the Emperor Louis, the 5th year of Ludwig Our King. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing this subscribed by order of Bishop Hitto.



TF 601, 13 September 830 (354v)

#### The Conveyance of Ekkyhoh at Ramelsbach

We have decreed that it come to the notice of all the faithful that Ekkiho the clerk validly conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising all the property of his inheritance, whatever he received as his own portion from his father and brother in the place Ramelsbach, all of this completely and whatever he had been able to acquire in lands cultivated and uncultivated, slaves, buildings, equipment, livestock, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, movables and immovables, all in all, whatever in division of property he had received from them, his father and brother, or had been able to acquire, in this manner, that he might accept in benefice this same property and whatever Ekkihart the priest had of his own inheritance in that same place to use and improve it and in no wise to diminish it up to the end of his life. This was done in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 831, the 8th indiction, in the year of the Emperor Louis his 17th, the 5th of Ludwig Our King. These are they who saw and heard and stood forth as witnesses: Liutpald, Ratolt, Tiso, Reginpald, Madalker, Alawih, Reginperht, Eparheri, Pilgrim, Hahkis, Wicco, Heriperht, Tagaperht, Odolt, Hiltipald, Huasmot, Hugiperht, Adalhart, Hartnid, Ratkis, Mahtperht, Ato, Kerperht, Arhart, Wigant, Pezzi, Kaganhart, Rato, Poapo, Chuniperht, Adalfrid, Egilolf, Deotpald, Rakis, Heriperht, Kaganhart, Odolt, Kerperht, Irminfrid, Hitto, on the consular day which falls on the ides of September. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing wrote it up.

TF 603, 11 October 830 (355r)

#### The Conveyance of Sigifuns at Puppling

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Be it known to all the faithful, that a certain priest by the name of Sigifuns pondering upon the remedy of his soul conveyed whatever he had of his own inheritance or acquisition in the place Puppling aside from one slave who had pleased him; from everything else which he held in slaves, livestock, property, lands cultivated and uncultivated, he set none of it aside, but, rather, all of it in all wise he validly conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. This was done in the public synod at Freising on the 5th ides of October, in the 9th indiction, in the 831st year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the Emperor Louis' 17th year, the 5th of Ludwig Our King. These are they who saw this and stood as witnesses: Timo count palatine, Liutpald sheriff, Heipo, Emheri, Wicco, Mahtuni, Arahad, Willihelm, Erchanolt, Ambricho, Arhart, Sigiwart, Tuti, Cundheri, Rihperht, Heriperht, Hiltipald, Isanhart, Pilgrim, Einhart, Friduperht, Ato, another Friduperht, Pezzi, Willahelm, Liuthart, Jacob, Ato, Poapo, Adaluni. And I Cozroh seeing and hearing this wrote it up.

TF 604, ca 830? (346r)

#### How Erchanolf Made Recompense at Glonn

Some persons came to the Most Reverend Man Bishop Hitto and declared to him accusing Erchanolf his vassal, son of Kaganhart, saying that he intended to alienate from the acquired or purchased property of his father Kaganhart from the same cathedral church at Pettenbach which he held in benefice of Bishop Hitto, and that he intended to usurp as his own property 5 hides and 6 slaves. Thereupon the Lord Bishop Hitto sent his commissioners to make inquiry, Pilgrim his steward and Odolt, and many others as well came there to make careful inquiry into this. And we investigated thoroughly by oath amongst the male slaves that Kaganhart held in benefice at Pettenbach 6 hides occupied by slaves, and to these pertain 80 cartloads of meadowlands, and of the demesne land 120 yokes of arable and 100 cartloads of meadows, and amongst all of them 31 slaves by these names: Ratolf, Engilhart, Hugiperht, Talamot, Paldhart, Nandheri, Leidrat, Koiperht, Reginperht, Wolfpero, Tiholf, Wolfleih, Nandheri, Sindperht,

Rathilt, Waltrat, Willidrud, Waltila, Adalhilt, Wolfhilt, Perhtcund, Adalhilt, Petta, Soana, Hiltifrit, Deota, Sigihilt, Kerflat, Willipurc, Soanpurc, and that part of the woodlands as Tozi held it. From Kaganhart's acquisition [at Glonn?] we found 5 hides and 6 slaves by these names: Waldker, Werimunt, Hulzilo, Maganza, Zamila, Cozni, 60 cartloads of meadows. This likewise Erchanolf freely professes himself to hold in benefice from St Mary and the Lord Bishop Hitto. These are they who heard and saw this so that they objected to nothing: Kotaperht, Ratkis, Spulit, Odolt, Pilgrim, Nothart, Oadalker, Engilrih, Pilgrim, Odolt [sic], Sigihelm, Cundhart, Liutpald, Oato, Isanhart, Cundpald, Otuni, Alhmunt, Erchanolf, Kaganhart, Toto, Keio, Egino. And I Cozroh seeing and hearing this wrote it up.

TF 605, 9 February 833 (377r)

#### The Conveyance by Deota from Bergkirchen and the Benefice at Umbach

With the disasters of this world increasing and appearing daily by various events, I Deota, in God's name a most humble handmaiden of God, considering for the remedy of my soul and coming as a supplicant to the Most Pious Pontiff Hitto, I took counsel with him regarding what it might be possible to attain for the advantage of my soul. He in his mercy counseling my disquiet and adding solace for the present life, also extended to me in benefice in the place named Umbach whatever in that same place he was seen to have. Afterwards moreover it happened that my husband Kerhart and I Deota together with him came to Freising. There I came forward in the presence of my husband and of my son Kerhart with their permission and adding their hands thereto, and I conveyed to the altar of St Mary one colon-holding within the boundary which pertains to Bergkirchen, and on the south side of the river Amper 20 cartloads of meadows at Buch which are ready for mowing, so that the same colon-holding with the added meadows from today might endure securely to the service of St Mary at Freising without any opposition, and I introduced 11 slaves into the benefice at Umbach for the full possession of St Mary, so that I might have them in benefice from the cathedral church of St Mary until the end of my life whose names are: [over erasure: Eigil, Hiltipald, Dapiriz, Rasmar, Unil,] Alprun, [Tiehhant,] Wurmheri, [likewise and partly interlinear: Deotmunt, Trabini, Meginolt, Ermanswind, Dewila, Wolfpurc, Zewina, Mariza, Lantpurc, Ellanpurc, Deotrih, Kerhilt, Perhtwih, Craman, Ratpurc]; [in margin: 21 cattle, 18 swine, 79 sheep, 18 goats]. I made this conveyance in this manner, so that I might be able to hold the same benefice at Umbach in complete integrity validly without any objection up to the end of my life, so that neither the above remembered Bishop nor his successors might diminish that same benefice in nothing nor be able to diminish it. Thus have I agreed that whatever I Deota myself am able to acquire in arable land and in slaves together with all things enumerated above from today for the remedy of my soul might endure validly to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising, so that they might endure there forever without any diminution together with all my acquisition. This was done at Freising above the tomb of the most precious Confessor of Christ Corbinian on the 5th ides of February, in the 833rd year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 11th indiction, in the 18th of the Emperor Louis, in the 7th of Ludwig Our King, in the presence of the entire household: Oadalpald prior and priest, Eliuni priest, Altman priest, Riholt priest, Reginolf priest, Felix priest, Adalmunt priest, Herolf deacon, Liutperht deacon, Sindperht deacon, another Sindperht deacon, and others without number. These as witnesses: Rumolt, Kerhart, Salomon, Cundheri, Snelhart, Hiltirih, Erlunc, Hunperht, Wolfleoz, Perco, Rihheri.

TF 607, 21 March/26 May 834 (366r)

#### The Conveyance of Heilrat from Glonn

[a.] With the Most Pious Pontifex Hitto urging and assisting and granting permission, I [Heilrat], a most humble handmaiden of Christ, considering for the remedy of my soul and the forgiveness of my sins and for the absolution of my parents, father and mother, and my brother Kernand, in the presence of God I have conveyed all of my acquired property and of my brother Kernand, whatever I had near the river



Glonn, that is a courtyard with dwelling and land, two colon-holdings, two mills, 80 cartloads of meadows, and whatever I had there, all of this and completely I have validly conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising, so that it might endure there forever for the remedy of my soul and of my parents, so that we might be worthy to receive some small measure of forgiveness from a pious Lord. And through the mercy of my most pious father, Bishop Hitto, I have agreed that I might hold the same property that I conveyed, for use and improvement for the days of my life in this world. And if my dearest son were to survive me in this world, whom I have adopted for myself as son of my brother [also] called Kernand by name, he may have these my properties for his life with the same benefice which the generous goodness of My Lord the Lord Bishop Hitto deigned to concede to me in the place called at Buch, so that after my life he might have both properties for his life, for use and improvement and in no wise to diminish. And so that it might endure more validly confirmed after my life concerning the benefice received at Buch and my conveyance made near the river Glonn, Kernand shall pay rent every year from my conveyance to the cathedral church of St Mary, that is 12 pence. And after the departure from this life of us both, without any opposition the abovesaid properties together with all improvement shall return to the cathedral church of St Mary. This was done at the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising, in the 834th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 12th indiction, in the 21st of the Emperor Louis, in the 8th of Ludwig Our King. And these are witnesses: Kerhart, Tetti, Pillunc, Karuheri, Reginperht, Sigihart, Reginhoh, Cundhart, Kammo, Unto, Tuto, Engilpern, Altolf, Mahtuni, Rathart, Isanperht, Ratpot, Wanker, Ekkihart, Irminhart, Ratkoz, Supo, Hroadlant, on the consular day which was the 12th calends of April. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing wrote it up at the command of Bishop Hitto.

[b.] And on the same day with the abovesaid witnesses standing there, a certain noble man by the name of Reginhoh conveyed validly whatever he had at *Liutperhteshofa*, all of this completely, to the cathedral church of St Mary.

[c.] With the day of her, the already aforesaid Heilrat's death indeed approaching, she increased the earlier conveyance with these slaves: Rihpurc, Perthhilt, Adalrat, Tutila, Reginpurc, Kewimar, Erchanrat, Perhtfrit, Liutpurc, Reginpirc, Cotafrith, Tagaperht, Isanhilt, Cundiho, Mahtrih, Iagub, Sitilla, Peita, Alpsuind, Torstat, Amalunc, Ratmar, Wanpold, Wanger, Sundarhilt, Liupiza, Cundpirc, Nordpirc, another Wanger, Waltrat, Irminsuind. Done on the 7th calends of June at Freising.

TF 608, 13 April 835 (355v)

#### The Conveyance of Tota from Mammendorf

By the grace of God Almighty, I Tota, moved by divine love, came to the Most Pious Pontifex, our protector Hitto, at the place Kottgeisering, and I conveyed one colon-holding into the hands of the Venerable Bishop Hitto and of his steward Hroadpert, together with messuages and with all the buildings placed upon them, so that they might endure forever to the cathedral church of St Mary, and one male slave by the name of Peruni, because my children are subject in service to St Mary. In this manner I agreed with the Most Pious above Remembered pontiff, that I might have that same property for my life, and after my departure from this light, my son by the name of Truunheri might have that same property thus, that every year he plow for three days, and gather this and bring it back for the cathedral church, and for one day he mow hay and gather it together for the cathedral church, and he may have his own horse for the service of St Mary, so that wherever it were ordered him by his lords or masters, he might obey readily to the command of authority and faithfully fulfill the service enjoined on him; and my daughter Liuphilt shall render for her head in rent 4 pence at the mass of St Martin, and thus also the descendants of my children shall endure in this same service and rent forever. This was done in the 835th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 13th indiction, the 10th of Ludwig Our King in Bavaria governing the realm, on the ides of April. That same colon-holding which I conveyed adjoins the public village, the place called Mammendorf. And these are

the witnesses tugged by the ears: Pilgrim, Gammo, Mahtuni, Nordloh, Hroadpert, Amalo, Uolf, Heriperht, Kaganhart, Rihhilo, Arpeo, Meiolo, Erchanperht, Firman, Einhart, Dregil, Pruninc. Thus I Amalric unworthy subdeacon seeing all these things and hearing them wrote it up.

TF 609, 25 January 836 (380v)

#### The Renewal of the Conveyance of Erchanfrid the Priest

Be it known for all to understand that a certain priest by the name of Erchanfrid devised his benefice in the place Singenbach into the hands of Bishop Erchanbert and whatever he held in that same place in ecclesiastical properties of his own inheritance and in all the properties of his patrimony in that same place and at Ried, all of these he conveyed validly into the reliquary chest of St Mary and into the hands of Bishop Erchanbert so that they might pertain forever to Freising for the health of his soul without any objection whatsoever, and slaves by these names: Alaman, Chunifrid, Kerhoh, Arnolt, Adalkys, Walto, Winiker, Irminperht, Alphoh, Werinperht, another Werinperht, Ellanhart, Egiloolf, Wealant, Erchanswap, Arnolt, Swapin, Hroadlind and another Hroadlind, Woatila, Irmina, Irmindrud and another Irmindrud, Meriswind, Ilimot, Liutfrit, Werdni, Lantdrud, Purcswind, Lantpurc, Engilfrit, Coilind, Hiltipurc, Rihswind, Perhtdrud, Kerpiric, Hemdrud. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Sheiff Liutpald, Sheriff Riho, Coteperht, Reginperht, Meiolo, Tetti, Pilgrim, Oadalker, Willihelm, Anno, Hiltipald, Eparheri, Adalhart, Wichelm, Mahtuni, Hunperht, Absalon, Kepahart, Alprat, Epucho, Reginperht, Erchanfrid, Cros, Odolt, another Adalhart, Sigipald, Heriperht, Clanaheri, Ellanpald, Eparachar, Deotmar, Waldker, Irminheri, Hugiperht, Engilrih, another Reginperht, Pald, Erchanolt. This was done at Holzen which had been Eio the priest's, in the 836th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 14th indiction, in the 11th of Ludwig Our King in Bavaria, on the 8th calends of February. And I the unworthy priest Cozroh wrote this up at the command of Bishop Erchanbert.

TF 610, 29 January 836 (380r)

#### Sheriff Herilant Discharges Completely Rent of 8 Shillings in Silver in the Presence of Bishop Baturic and Liupramm and Sigihard

This was done in the 836th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 14th indiction, at Freising on the 4th calends of February. These are they who saw and heard this: Rihho sheriff, Oago sheriff, Irinc, Hitto, Emheri, Heipo, Ermperht, Pillunc, Marcho, Wicheri, Tagaperht, Adalperht, Petto, Toto, Anthad, Ramwolf, Paldrih, Sigiperht, Hadaperht, Cundpald Otperht, Tetti, Altolf, Ilprant, Hringolf, Sigipald, Hatto, Isanperht, Heipo, Reginperht, Nordloh, Situli, Rihcoz, Mahho, Paldrih, Pisin, Deotperht, Erchanolf, Adalhoh.

TF 611, 20 February 836 (378r)

After Bishop Erchanbert was indeed by God's gift discerned to be the ruler and governor of his very see, I too, Deota, came to Freising with my sons, and in the above said words [as TF 605] I renewed the earlier conveyance and received that same property in benefice from the Lord Bishop Erchanbert on the above said condition up to the end of my life. Moreover, after my death together with all of my acquisition and improvement it shall endure uncontested without any opposition to Freising. And these witnesses were tugged by the ears: my sons, Engilhart and Sigahart and Kerhart, stood forth in turn as witnesses and guarantors; others also: Willahelm, Irinc, Adaluni, Mahtuni, Peppo, Drudolt, Hringolf, Wicco, Hiltiker. It was done a second time at Freising in the 836th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 14th indiction, on the 10th calends of March, in the 22nd year of the Emperor Louis, the 11th of Ludwig Our King. And I Cozroh unworthy priest wrote it up at the command of the Lord Bishop Erchanbert.



TF 612, 5 July 836 (380r)

#### Wenilo the Priest Made Restoration at Eisenhofen

For whatever Wenilo had at Eisenhofen which he had already previously conveyed to Freising he released all of it completely and added whatever of his own inheritance and acquisition he had in that same place into the hands of Bishop Erchanbert; and once again he accepted it in benefice from the Lord Bishop Erchanbert to use in this fragile life until the end of his life. Moreover, after his death no one might be able to oppose the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. This was done at Freising on the 3rd nones of July, in the 836th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 14th indiction, the 11th year of Ludwig Our King in Bavaria. These are the witnesses who saw it done: Mahtuni, Willahelm, Eparheri, Wicperht, Uroolf, Ekkitheri, Deotpald, Drudolt, Pisun, Rihheri, Perhtcoz, Deotperht, Isker.

TF 615, 31 July 836 (379r)

#### The Conveyance of Zotto the Deacon at Ohlstatt and at Ried

[a.] A written notice of the renewal by which Zotto the deacon came with many others to the monastery which is called Schlehdorf which is erected in honor of St Denis and St Tertulian the Martyr on the very day of his martyrdom, that is the eve of the calends of August, and conveyed and renewed the conveyance which previously his father Alprih and his mother Imma together with their son Zotto had conveyed. And it was acknowledged in the presence of the stewards Oadalric and Irminfrid and of Cundpald, the commissioner of Bishop Erchanperht, that his father and his mother and he himself who was now present had previously completed that conveyance. Then the same above said Zotto joined to it all of his acquired property and all things which he might seem to hold in the places named at Ohlstatt and at Ried, all of it completely he conveyed validly to the above said place Schlehdorf with all things pertaining to those same places, with lands cultivated and uncultivated, waters and watercourses, woodlands, fields, pastures, meadows, with uplands, boundaries, furnished homesteads, orchards, livestock and buildings, all in every way augmented, he conveyed validly and inviolably to the above said place and granted besides two male slaves whose names are Deotuni and Heriwic, and a third male slave by the name of Hiltuni he conveyed to Bishop Erchanperht. All the rest he conveyed and renewed validly to the above said place Schlehdorf, and he established and validly confirmed this: if he himself or anyone of his family or from amongst his heirs should try to break this conveyance, he be constrained to pay one pound of gold to that same monastery, and that which he sought, in no wise should be able to gain, but rather that same conveyance might endure valid and fixed forever. And, in order that it be believed more certainly by all those listening, he undertook to pay rent of 2 pence every year at the Feast of God's Martyr Tertulian. And this are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Oadalrih, Irminfrid, Ellant, Cundheri, Hartmot, Cundperht, Rihperht, Arpio, Clarmunt, Irminolt, Rincho, Friduperht, Cundheri, Ambricho, Einrih, Engilport, Weriant, Hroadperht, Reginperht, Lantfrid, Isanperht, Ascrih, Oadalfrid, Kerpald, Engildeo, Peio, Cundperht, Werot, Sigiprant, Arho. This was done on the 2nd calends of August at the public monastery, in the 835th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 13th indiction, in the 22nd of the Emperor Louis, the 11th of Ludwig Our King.

[b.] Zotto came again another time to Freising and by the above said words he renewed his conveyance at the altar of St Mary, so that all things in the above said places pertaining to him by law might endure perpetually to Schlehdorf. And these are the witnesses who saw this done and heard it said: Heimo, Heriperht, Hatto, Alhmunt, Liutpald, Chuniperht, Cozleip, Spenneol, Tetti, Piligrim, Sigiwalh, Maganperht, Maganrat, Willahart, Wichart, Cundpald. This was done in the above said year. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing this wrote it up by command of Bishop Erchanperht.

TF 624, 836x47 (381r)

Kerhoh from Strassbach

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Be it known to all abiding within Bavaria that I Kerhoh unworthy priest have conveyed every item of my own property which I had in the place Strassbach into the reliquary of St Mary at Freising, so that from the present day it might endure undisturbed to Freising with all the goods of my property, with slaves whose names are Perhtolf, Erchanperht, Cundhelm, Werhilt, Paldwih, with livestock and moveable goods, lands cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, woodlands, water and watercourses and whatever I might be able to obtain from the present day. This my conveyance was executed on this condition, that after the death of Frumolt the priest, the same church which he held together with all things pertaining to it, I might have for my lifetime for my use; however, after my death it shall endure in all completeness to the cathedral church of St Mary without any objection.

TF 626, 25 January 837 (382r)

Concerning the Dispute of Ellanhart and Isanhart with Bishop Erchanperht and his Steward Oadalrih for Pachilthofa

Many noble men assembled at a place which is called Ainhofen, Bishop Erchanperht, Sheriff Liutpald, Sheriff Ratolt, Sheriff Engilhart, Sheriff Riho, and the commissioner of the Lord King, Antenaro, to determine just judgments, and many others to put an end to and terminate diverse legal actions. There, in the presence of all, the steward of Bishop Erchanperht by the name of Oadalrih came forward and charged the noble men Isanhart and Ellanhart regarding their inheritance which they held at Dürrenhausen and at Pachiltahofa saying that their grandfather Isanhart and their father Reginhart had conveyed them for the remedy of their souls to Schlehdorf and to Christ's Martyr St Tertulian. They, indeed, strongly resisted and contradicted this and for a long space of time there was a dispute between them on this account, but Bishop Erchanperht and his steward Oadalrih sought to prove this as true by exhibiting testimonies, and they had the full testimony of witnesses. Thence, upon taking advice the above said men came to believe between themselves that by agreement and reconciliation with the Lord Bishop it would be to their advantage to render to the Lord Bishop and his steward three full colon-holdings at Pachiltahofa. In truth, with others making supplication at that court session, the most benign bishop moved and urged by mercy did not wish to deprive them of their entire inheritance nor to disinherit them; rather considering their poverty he allowed it to be thus on the condition that they restore those same three full colon-holdings together with the homesteads and the lands, and the meadows and pastures and whatever was seen to pertain to those same three colon-holdings, and beyond those all, half of the woodlands and the forest pasture and all their boundary lands, whatever on that same day they were seen to hold, cultivated and uncultivated, or that they might take into cultivation. From all of their boundary lands, half in the woodlands and in the fields and the assarts they discharged into the hands of Bishop Erchanperht and his steward Oadalrih, and whatever else they held from the share of their inheritance they intended to affix and confirm by oath upon the reliquary of St Tertulian's body, but the above said Bishop excused them that same oath in his mercy if they fully completed it as is afore noted above. This was done in the 837th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 15th indiction, in the 12th of Ludwig Our King in Bavaria. This was completed in the presence of the venerable men Bishop Erchanperht and [Sheriff] Liutpald and Sheriff Ratolt and Sheriff Riho and Sheriff Engilhart. And the others present as witnesses: Coteperht, Meiol, Wolfolt, Ratkys, Reginperht, Purchart, Perhtolf, Cundpald, Erchanolf, Hiltipald, Cundperht, Machelm, Pero, another Meiol, Hatto, Oadalker, Wichelm, Karuheri, Piligrim, Tagaperht, Odolt, Deothram, Engilrih, Pernwin, Sigimot, Friduperht, Elilant, Hunperht, Alpolt, Paltar, Heriperht, Sigipald, Tozi, Hroadperht, Hahkys, Situli, Helfant, Otpot, Alpuni, Hugiperht, Adalhart, Erchanolt, Hilti, Hukperht, Oadalscalch, Tinto, Asolt,



Rimideo, Erchanhart, Talamot, Ramfolf, Wicperht, Irfinc, Sigiprant, Hroadolt, another Hilti, Adalperht, Cozperht, Oadalscalch, another Cundperht, Froimar, Toto, Alphoh, another Reginperht, another Situli, Liutperht and others without number. And I Cozroh seeing and hearing this wrote it up. And these are they who saw the same investiture which Isanhart and Ellanhart invested Bishop Erchanperht and his steward Oadalrih at Pachiltahofun with three homesteads and from all pertaining to them and all of the above said properties: Reginperht, Meiol, Coteperht, Purchart, Oadalker, Sigipald, Engilrih, Erchanolf, Odolt, Cundpald, Tozi, Wichelm, Wicperht, Situli, Hroadperht, Adalperht, Alphoh, Nordperht, on the consular day which occurs on the 8th calends of February.

[b.] And in the same court session Wenilo the priest discharged into the hands of Bishop Erchanperht and his steward Reginperht whatever he held as benefice at Eisenhofen and which he himself had conveyed in that same place to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising.

TF 627, 27 January 837 (383r)

Concerning the Conveyance by Swidmot at Herrschenhofen and of Wicbert her Son

Whereas it may not be unknown to all that a certain matron by the name of Swidmot, with her son Wicbert present, conveyed all of her own property which she had at Herrschenhofen, the courtyard with the dwelling and with all the buildings thereon, with slaves whose names are, Ermanrih, Meginolt, Winimunt, Peirin, Enisa, Hroadlind, Winilind, Adalind, arable lands cultivated and uncultivated, woodlands, meadows, pastures, with all the adjoined appurtenances, waters and watercourses, and whatever she is seen to have in that same place, these all she validly conveyed with the consent of her above said son into the reliquary of St Mary, so that from the present day it might endure to Freising on this condition, that they might hold this same in benefice from the cathedral church of St Mary and also such benefice as Adalperht the priest held at Tölzkirchen up to the end of their life, and every year her son Wicperht should pay rent there from, that is 2 pence at the Feast of St Martin; however after the death of them both it shall endure in all completeness to Freising. This was done at Kammer on the 6th calends of February, in the 837th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 15th indiction, the 12th of Ludwig Our King. And these are the witnesses: Reginperht, Heriperht, Ortuni, another Reginperht, Irfinc, Hatto, Tozi, Engilperht, Engilrih, Situli, Uolf, Reginhart, Lantpald, Japo, Tato, Reginolf. And I Cozroh unworthy priest wrote it up.

TF 630, 8 July 838 (384r)

The Conveyance of Engilbert for Eching

Engilperht a certain noble man conveyed 4 slaves to Freising whose names are Engilpald, Waltunc, Williheri, Liupdrud, in this manner, that his brother Adalhoh the clerk might hold them for St Andreas for his life in the same place Eching. The suretor for the investiture Rumolt, Kaganhart, Ampho, Adalperht, Hadaperht clerk, Otperht, Epucho, Kerhelm, Cotehelm, Hitto. This was done in the above said year [as 629] at Freising on the 8th ides of July.

TF 632, ca 838-840 (384v)

A record of those slaves which Liutbald holds in benefice from Bishop Erchanbert. Their names: Reginpald, Irminperht, Wihrih, Reginker, Amaldrud, Waltila, Chunipurc. Concerning those who are not able to perform services in a useful manner on account of infirmity or because of blindness or old age, that is: Unforht, Waldarhilt, Plidcund, Meriswind. Concerning the small children: Kamanheid, Amaldrud, Pilihilt, Paldilo, Werilant Hroddrud, Walthad.



TF 635, 5 June 840 (384v)

The Conveyance of Ermbert for his Brother Purcman

I Ermbert pondering thus for the remedy of the soul of my brother by the name of Purcman who was killed carelessly by chance, therefore I have conveyed for him the share of his own woodlands in the place which is called at Zell which adjoins to the middle of that same church's woodlands which pertains to Freising, six perches across, so that it might endure there forever. This was done at Freising at the altar of St Mary. Conveyed on the nones of June in the 840th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 1st indiction, in the 12th of Ludwig Our King. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Reginbert subdeacon and nephew of the Lord Bishop Erchanbert and Anthelm his brother, Sigapald, another Sigabald, Folmot, Jacob, Rihhilo, Wictarp the son of the same conveyancer, Reginheri, Alpolt, Sindperht clerk and noble man.

TF 637, 25 June 840 (386r)

The Conveyance of Drudhart at Feldmoching

In the Name of God Almighty. Be it known that a certain noble man, Drudhart by name, sought to provide maintenance for his wife up to the end of his life and also beyond his own departure. On account of which he conveyed to Freising on her behalf some meadows in a place called Feldmoching from the ditch up to the stream which is called the Moosach, that it might validly remain there forever. And he conveyed it for this reason, that his same wife might have the property and the dwelling there in that above said place and likewise sustenance as long as she shall live in return for such service as it might be within her powers to fulfill at that time. This was done at Freising and conveyed to the altar of St Mary on the 7th calends of July, in the 840th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 1st indiction. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Situli, Kaganhart, another Kaganhart, Hruodperht, Isangrim, Meirol, Nothart, Ercholf.

TF 638, 29 September 841 (386r)

The Conveyance of Liutpald and Ilisana

On account of divine love, a certain noble man by the name of Liutpald together with his wife conveyed certain slaves to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising whose names are: Onheri, Selizuei, Chneth, Wolfker, Helphuni, Heriker, Albuni, Wenita, Frenchin, Wolfpirc, in this manner, that after the death of them both, Liutpald and Ilisana, they might endure validly to the already said cathedral of the Freising church. This was done at Freising in the 841st year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 4th indiction, the 3rd calends of October. These are the witnesses: Reginperht, Otperht, Petto, Liutprant, Tetti, Hiltpert, Egilperht, Tato, Aarfrid.

TF 644, 8 February 842 (392r)

The Conveyance of Heilrat a Certain Matron at Allershausen [see TF 674]

Be it known to all the faithful men of this country how a certain woman by the name of Heilrat conveyed to the altar of St Mary whatever she had at Allershausen, that is courtyard with dwelling, slaves, livestock, arable lands, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, two mills, moveables and immoveables; she set nothing aside, but she granted it completely to the above said place, and confirmed it by the truthfulness of witnesses. These are the witnesses: Piligrim, Reginperht, Situli, Swidker, Reginker, Rihheri, Liutker, Pisan, Wolfperht, Wigant. This was done at Freising on the 6th ides of February, in the 842nd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 4th indiction.

TF 646, 1 July 842 (391r)

The Conveyance of Egino the Priest

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Be it known by all faithful men and true how I, Egino, unworthy priest, mindful of the fear of God and considering my infirmity, have conveyed to St Mary my own acquired property on this condition, that after my death my little son by the name of Regino, whom I have fostered, should receive by grant of the Lord Bishop the same benefice which I was seen to hold, all without exception, to the service of St Mary and of the Lord Bishop. And, on this account, I have conveyed: 3 male slaves with these names, Sigideo, Nendinc and Adalkis; 3 horses; 8 cattle; 12 sheep; 34 she-goats; 14 pigs; and from the ecclesiastical office: two missals; one lectionary; one book of collects; a homiliary containing dialogues; one gradual; one antiphonary; one book of canons; and one penitential. With these witnesses present: Irinc, Mathpert, Crimperht, Sindperht, Sigihram, Adalperht, Patucho, Richolf, Erchanperht, Cozperht, Perhthram, Herideo, Wisurih, Chuniperht, Cotaurot, Kerhart, Heimipald, Adalpald, Reginolf, another Richolf. This conveyance was made at Puppling on the calends of July before Wuldaric the archpriest, the commissioner of the Lord Bishop Erchanpert, in the 842nd year from the Lord's Incarnation, and the 5th indiction.

TF 647, [August] 842 (389v)

The Conveyance of Kysalfrit a Certain Matron

May the benevolent throng of the faithful not disdain to ascertain how a certain noble man [vir] by the name of Kysalfrit conveyed his own property in the place which is called Puchschlagen to his own son who is called by the same name Kysalfrit. Then it happened that a grave illness weighed upon the same Kysalfrit until he sensed that the hour of his final time had come, and he, pondering in his mind how he might be worthy to preserve the remedy of his soul, conveyed the above said place to Kysalfrit his mother [sic], so that she with full authority might convey it wherever she wished. Afterwards the same Kysalfrit came to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising and conveyed the same above said place to the altar of St Mary, that it might there endure firm henceforth, and a second time she agreed for the same place, that if the venerable Bishop Erchanbert might present it in benefice up to the end of her life for a rent to be paid annually at the Feast of St Martin, that is two pence. These are the witnesses: Otperht, Arfrid, Onhart, Epucho, Nendilo, Swidker, Ermperht, Hartmuot, Hartwich, Reginheri, Erchanperht, another Erchanperht the suretor for the same Kysalfrit and witness. Done at Freising in the 842nd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 3rd indiction.

TF 648, 8 August 842 (390r)

The Conveyance of Isancrim the Priest at Buch

Whereas a certain venerable priest of reverend memory by the name of Isancrim, impelled by divine love considered how he might be worthy to obtain the forgiveness of his sins, he conveyed to Freising to the altar of St Mary his property in a place named at Buch together with the consent and counsel of his father, and he established that after the departure from this life of them both, it should endure valid and unchallenged to the above said cathedral church of God, that is the courtyard with dwelling, 6 slaves whose names are Ratheri, Einrih, Deotman, Adalpald, Muothilt, Hiltipirc, together with lands, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, and an exceedingly fine orchard, moveables and immoveables; all of it, whatever on that day he was seen to have he conveyed setting nothing aside except for two slaves. This was done at Freising on the 6th ides of August, and in the presence of Aodalpald the provost and of Wuldarric the archpriest and Herolf the priest. These are the witnesses: Sheriff Herilant, Wicco, Reginfrid, Sigipald, Irphinc, Ratolt, Wigant, Reginheri, Chuonrat, Hartmuot, in the 842nd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 3rd indiction.

TF 650, 19 August 842 (387v)

The Conveyance of Kisalrih the Priest at Prittlbach

In the Name of the Omnipotent and Eternal God. Be it known to all the noble and faithful men of this country how a certain priest by the name of Kisalrih, urged by love of the Lord, conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary whatever he may be seen to have in full authority on that same day in the place which is called Prittlbach, that is a courtyard with dwelling, six slaves whose names are Ellanhart, Snelhart, Adalpurc, Tuotila, Adalpurc, Hruodpurc, meadows, pastures, waters, moveables and immoveables, and he confirmed it in the presence of credible witnesses. This was done in the place Wippenhausen on the 14th calends of September, in the 842nd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 4th indiction. These are the witnesses: Odolt who received investiture of the same conveyance, Amuto, Willahelm, Kundperht, Kartheri, Jepo, Kundhart, Ekkihart, Kerilo, Adalperht, Toto, Kerolt, Engilhart, Hrodperht, Altolf, Alprih, Sigipald.

TF 652, 842 (388v)

A short account of what we found there at Bergkirchen is noted down here. First, the basilica: within the basilica three altars; 13 linen altar cloths; 1 gilded reliquary; 1 gilded cross; and another cross made of tin; 1 gilded chandelier; 1 chalice and a paten, both adorned with gold; and another chalice and a paten, both made of tin; 1 lectionary; one missal; 2 church bells, one of brass and the other of iron; 1 alb and 1 chasuble. And there are 9 villi which render tithe to that basilica. The courtyard with the dwelling and three storehouses; within the dwelling, 9 slaves, 6 men and 3 women; 12 cattle, 7 oxen and another 5 young calves; 26 pigs; 2 sheep; 7 geese and 4 chickens; 2 cauldrons, one small and one large; 1 plowshare and 1 spade; 1 large scythe; 2 carts; 1 chain; 1 measuring tub and 3 other vessels for preparing ale; 2 hives of bees; 10 measures of spelt; 11 measures of barley; and 20 measures of rye. The cultivated demesne land contains three colon-holdings; 200 cartloads of meadow; and the demesne land is fully sown. And 2 equipped manses there pertain to that same estate; between them they contain 10 slaves. Each of these manses renders 12 measures of ale yearly; and each of them also renders 1 suckling pig and 2 chickens; and the womenfolk of each prepare one linen shirt yearly; and these manses render labor services 3 days in the week; and they have 9 cattle; and one of them has 1 horse, and the other has 6 sheep. And the reeve has 1 horse; and the slaves on the demesne altogether have 6 cattle; and one of those manses has 4 pigs.

TF 653, ca 842 (389r)

In the Name of God. I, Oato, have conveyed my own inheritance to holy places at Freising to St Mary, everything which is here listed below, on this very condition, that it not be passed on to any other places but only to the service of St Mary for the monks and canons there, so that it may not be given as a precarial grant to any other person. This was done before Sheriff Liutpald. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Reginperht, Managolt, Pilicrim, Odolt, another Odolt, Huasmot, Hugiperht, Alpuni, Hitto, Kerhart, Mahtuni, Ratgis, Wolfuolt, Kepahoh, and many others who saw and heard.

TF 654, ca 842 (389v)

Now, indeed, an account shall be rendered of the possessions of the same priest, Oato, at Pipun. First, we found a basilica with 1 altar, altar vestments, 10 linen altar cloths; a gilded reliquary, and another one of tin; 2 bells, one of bronze and the other of iron; 1 missal; 1 lectionary; 1 book of collects; 1 complete antiphonary; 2 vestments for the mass [gap in ms.] A courtyard with a dwelling; 4 storehouses; 7 colon-holdings of cultivated land; 250 cartloads of meadow; 100 yokes of woodlands. At Feldgeding: 2 dwellings; 3 storehouses; 2 colon-holdings of cultivated land; and such share of the marshlands as he holds jointly



with his coheirs; 15 slaves. And the same abovesaid priest, Oato, invested Pilgrim, the steward of Lord Bishop Erchanbert, with whatever property from his inheritance which is mentioned there above. These are they who saw and heard whose names are: Managolt, Whasmot, Alpuni, Regindeo, Hrodpreht, Hrodrih, Arn, Kisalrich priest, Immino, Kerolt. Now, moreover, concerning the slaves which the above said Oato conveyed to St Mary, these are the names: Erchanperht, Ratmunt, Ratuni, Rahod, Hadurich, Meginolt, another Ratmunt, Megino, Deotleip, Deotpurc, Adaldrud, Liubdrud, Ratni, Werdni, Engilrun, Sigirun, Erchanswind, Meginpurc, Waldila, Ellanrun, and one small child.

TF 655, 17 September 842 (364r)

Wisurih from Ecknach 1 Colon-Holding

[a.] In the Name of the Lord. Be it known to all the faithful that a certain noble man by the name of Wisurih, for the remedy of his own soul and for his kinsmen whose names are Heripirc, Rihpirc, Swanahilta and Engilhilt, validly conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising all of his own property which he had at Ecknach, so that it might endure there forever without alteration, and so that Reginhart the priest holding this property in the same place might have charge of it to the end of his life. This was done in the 843rd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 6th indiction, on the 2nd nones of January. These witnesses were tugged by the ears: Folmot, Jacob, Altolf, Sigipald, Spulit, Mahtrih, Liutprant, Eginolf, Wolfolt, Lantfrid, Joseph.

[b.] On another occasion previously he had conveyed to that same altar at Ecknach on the 15th calends of October. Witnesses: Machelm, Tito, Walto, Crifo, Hroadker, Anthugi, Siffo, Heriker, Adalker, Hatto, Alto, Eparolf, Eparuni, Isangrim, Uto. And I Cozroh unworthy priest wrote this up by command of Bishop Erchanbert.

TF 656, 22 February 843 (393v)

The Conveyance of Hrodperht the Priest at Steingau

[a.] Be it known to all the faithful men of this country how a certain honorable priest by the name of Hrodperht conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary whatever of his own property he might be seen to have on that same day in the place which is called Steingau in consideration of the benefice agreed in return to him on that account, and he set nothing aside which he did not convey all of it fully. Done at Freising on the 8th calends of March, in the 843rd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 6th indiction. These are the witnesses: Emheri, Joseph, Epo, Egisheri, Reginfrid, Perhtrih, Williheri, Willapato, Chonrat, Kozperht clerk, Amalrih clerk, Lantfrid.

[b.] This is the rent which Hruodolf pledged to pay yearly at the Feast of St Martin, 2 pence for the benefice at Bachern, at the public court session in the presence of Erchanbert Bishop of the holy see and in the presence of two sheriffs, Ratold and Adalbert, and of others: Pilgrim, Kepolf, Kunzo, Purchard, Otpoto, Wulfolt, Petto who received the same rent, Tozo, Reginperht, Altolf.

TF 657, 23 June 843 (392r)

The Conveyance of Waltheri at Pullhausen

May both the inhabitants of this country and the faithful of this see know that a certain man by the name of Waltheri conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising: 1 missal; 2 slaves whose names are Drudpald and Williswind; 3 cattle; 1 cauldron; and 1 andiron at a place which is called Pullhausen. Done in that same place in the 843rd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 6th indiction, on the 9th calends of July. These are the witnesses: Pilgrim the steward, Odolt, Reginperht, Engilpern, Empricho, Kaganhart, Lamo, Situli, Altrih.

TF 658, 23 June 843 (392v)

#### The Conveyance of Nordperht at Percha

Be it agreed therefore that a certain man by the name of Nordperht conveyed to the altar of St Mary at Freising in the place called Percha three yokes between arable and woodland in the 843rd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 6th indiction, the 9th calends of July. Done at Freising. These witnesses: Aarfrid, Reginpoto, Reginhart.

TF 660, 6 July 843 (392v)

#### The Conveyance of Piligrim at Kienberg

A certain noble man by the name of Piligrim, recalling indeed the divine and evangelical commands: 'Make for yourself friends from the Mammon of Iniquity', and so forth. Moved by this voice of divine love, the above said Piligrim for the salvation of his soul and of his son, Reginbert, and for his parents and for those kin pertaining to him conveyed all of his property from his parental inheritance and by acquisition which he held at Kienberg and at Ried and at Allershausen, except for that which he had exchanged with Rihperht and with his own sister, Sicca, and for 'Ekkymunteshopa' which he had conveyed to his wife whose name is Alta to hold rightly as her own. And this conveyance was done on this condition, that Piligrim himself keep his benefices and his conveyance throughout his life; moreover, after his own death, his wife, Alta, [may keep] that his conveyance at Kienberg or any one of his benefices which she may wish to choose for herself, if she wishes to add to her conveyance at Allershausen and all which she has acquired for herself, and if she chooses to preserve the marriage bed henceforth veiled, and every year pay a rent from it, that is a monk's apparel with robe and hood. If, however, by the Lord's gift, in the meantime a heir is born to them, then he should possess our inheritance at Kienberg and at Allershausen aside from that which has been set aside; after the death of Piligrim, even though they may have an heir, [nevertheless] it shall endure wholly to Freising along with 12 slaves, whichever ones the property administrators for the same church of Freising may wish to choose; if, however, his same wife does not wish to veil herself or if no heir is born to them, then at once those our conveyed properties shall remain wholly to Freising with the slaves by these names: Amalperht, Riholt, Deotolf, Seliman, Liutmar, Purcman, Radach, Nordcoz, Wolfarn, Williheri, Waltheri, Erpfrat, Ortmunt, Wildfanc, Ekkymunt, Hiltidrud, Cunddrud, Pettac, Deothilt, Ellanhilt, Alpiz, Wisagund, Zeizwar, Deotila, Purcrat, Fridarat, Hroadpirc, Ratdrud, Waltila, together with plough lands, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, with dwellings and all buildings, with messuages and livestock, with all acquisitions and added moveable goods, this all and wholly without any exchange he conveyed validly to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising, so that it might remain there forever. This was done at Freising in the presence of Bishop Erchanbert and of all the household of St Mary, in the 843rd year of the Incarnation, the 6th indiction, on the 2nd nones of July. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Kepolf, Wicpald, Liutpald, Willihelm and another Willhelm, Eparheri, Liutperht, Friduperht, Reginhart, Choanrat, Cundheri, Hitto, Kaganhart, Nothart, Altolf, Otperht, Folmot, Engilpern, Deotperht, Liutprant, Arfrid, Jacob, Reginolf, Liutker, Altrih, Irphinc, Rihilo, Isanperht, Hroadperht, Hroadhart, Cunzi, Ampricho, Leo, Ellanhart, Hitto, Anthelm Reginpato. And I, Cozroh, unworthy priest, seeing and hearing this wrote it up at the command of Bishop Erchanbert.

TF 661, 10/22 August 843 (394r)

[No Header]

A notice that the Venerable Bishop Erchanbert as well as a certain noble man by the name of Paldric settled their affairs by a common agreement between themselves. In the name of Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ. Be it known to all adhering to the Christian religion that Erchanbert, Bishop of the





Freising church, by the assent of divine grace joined together with the esteemed man Paldric regarding such matters as the following account in turn demonstrates. That is, that the same Bishop and the same named man met in the place called Dungeih which is next to the city of Verdun where the agreement of the three brothers, Lothar, Ludwig and Charles, and the division of their realm was made, and they agreed that the aforementioned Paldric should convey the property which he held within the borders of the Bavarians to the cathedral church of St Mary for money worth £250 and that Erchanbert, the already said Bishop, [agreed] that his nephews, Reginpert to whit [~~erased: and Anthelm~~] should hold that same property as their own until the end of their life, and rent of two shillings in silver from them at annual terms should come to the already said cathedral of God, that is from each of them one shilling while they should live. After this, the afore noted Paldric approached and conveyed into the reliquary chests of St Mary and into the hands of Bishop Erchanbert and of his nephew Reginbert and of their steward Eparhari such property as he held within the muster of the Bavarians in the places named Tandern, Hilgertshausen, Klenau, Munninpah [Singenbach] together with all things pertaining to them, that is, the courtyard with the dwelling, slaves, lands, meadows, pastures, waters and water courses, chattels and real, all and complete with everything integral and by just acquisition pertaining to the said places. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears according to the law code of the Bavarians: the Count Palatine Fritilo, Sheriff Cundpald, another Sheriff Cundpald, Sheriff Ratolt, Sheriff Herilant, Sheriff Orendil, Adalperht, Managolt, Reginperht, Adalhoh, Irinc, Hunolf, Cundalperht, Cundperht, Keio, Pilgrim Heriperht, Meginolt, Canto, Kepahart, Liuthart, Folmot, Petto, Regino, Reginperht, Eparheri, Otperht, Altolf, Adalo, Eginolf, Althrih, Willihelm, Kepahoh, another Kepahoh, Tozzi, Hringolf, Sigiwart, Cozzolt, Waltfrid, Alphrih, Mahtperht, Rihperht, Willihart, Rocholf, Kernod, Tozzilo, Karheri, Job, Friduperht, Reginhart, Immo, Tagaperht, Hiltikern Hludowic, Erchanperht, Irmfid, Regindeo, Chuniperht, Manno, Enginpald, Cotaperht, Jacob, Alpkis, Ecco, Helmuni, Antres, Oadalscalh, Reginheri, Perhtram, Urolf, Eigil, Ermperht, Offo, Rihheri, Heriperht, Engilrih, Meginperht. And these are Frieso's dominical vassals: Ermfrid, Waldker, Lantfrid, Germo, Perhtolt, Adalhart, another Adalhart. And these the vassals of Paldric: Sigipot, Kerans, Otachar, Camanolf, Folchans, Deotolf, Hiltihram, Kerrih, Drudpald, Leipwin, Engilperht, Dincfrid, Magnus, Reginperht, Frumolt. These also are the guarantors: Sigipoto, Cundpald, from whom Bishop Erchanbert and his lay steward Eparhari together with his nephew Reginpert [~~erased: and Anthelm~~] accepted investiture of the aforesaid properties on the 11th calends of September in the presence of many witnesses of whom the names are: Adalperht, Cotaperht, Etih, Cundperht, Pilgrim Hitto, Eparheri, Jusiph, Folmot, Willihelm, Waldker, Oadalrih, Isankrim, Isanhart, Froimar, Nordperht, Wisunt, Reginpoto, Perhtrih, Pisin, Jacob, Altolf, Lantperht, Talamot, Erchanolf, Rihheri, Hucperht, Frecholf, Paldrih, Ekkiheri, Cozperht, Hrodperht, Rihheri, Lantperht, another Hitto, Hiltolf, Hrodlant, Eparhelm, Reginolt, Reginpoto. In the 843rd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 6th indiction; done on day ten of the 8th month, that is the 4th ides of August.

TF 665, 25 May 844 (364v)

### The Conveyance of Swidmot

Be it known to all the noble and faithful men of this country that a certain woman dedicated to God by the name of Swidmot came to the Lord Bishop Erchanbert in the place called Kammer. She approached together with her son Wicbert and conveyed into the reliquary of St Mary whatever property she was seen to have on that day in the place called at Herrschenhofen, with the hands of both laid on to confirm that same conveyance, so that same conveyance might be held more validly and truly, that is the courtyard with the dwelling and with the other buildings, arable, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, slaves with these names: Winimunt, Ermanrih, Mekinolt, Winilind Hrodilind, Enisa; setting nothing aside which she had not completely conveyed, indeed on this condition, that she might hold this same as long as she may live and her son Wicperht might hold it likewise, and, after the death of both, the same conveyance shall endure further valid and firm to the cathedral church of

St Mary at Freising. And the same above said Wicperht at once pledged to pay one penny annually in rent. The guarantor moreover is Otperht the steward for the same conveyance, and he stood for the rent and the investiture. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Liutpald, Reginperht, Eparheri, Hartnid, Choanrat, Otperht, Otachar, Adalperht, Wichelm, Hringolf, Irphinc, Reginhart, Arfrid, Mahtrih, Hartmot, Cunzi, Helfrih, Cundhart, Deotperht, Jacob, Reginpoto, Amo, Eparhart, Oatilo, Hartperht. Done in the place which is called Kammer, on the 8th calends of June, in the 844th year of Christ's Incarnation, the 7th indiction. And I Patto unworthy priest seeing and hearing this wrote it up at the command of Bishop Erchanpert.

TF 668, 24 January 845 (359r)

#### The Conveyance of Unfort at Lotzbach

Be it known to all the faithful holding a place within the borders of the Bavarians that a certain noble man by the name of Unfort abased himself at the altar of St Mary and conveyed himself into the service of God's Holy Mother Mary, and whatever he had in the place named at Lotzbach except for ten yokes [of arable] and one enclosure, and of meadows a few hollows worth; whatever else he had in all completeness he validly conveyed to the altar of St Mary at Freising. These are the slaves: Horscolf, Cunzo, Adalgoz, Heripald, Christina; a courtyard with a dwelling and other buildings together with all things pertaining to them. These are they who saw this executed and stood forth as witnesses: Cundperht, Heriperht, Altolf, Joseph, Folmot, Eigil, Nendilo, Crimuni, Anthelm, Isanperht, Egilperht, Oadalrih, Fridurih, Warmunt, Arbeo, another Fridurih another Oadalrih, Sarunc, Liutker, Meginheri clerk, Ratkis, Wolfolt, Heimperht, Cundpald, Walfrid, Isanhart, Wichelm, Husinc, Kerperht, another Kerperht, Wolfolt, Rohinc, Alpuni, Wilipato, Isanperht, Tozi, Engilrih. This was done at the same time on the above said day [as TF 667].

TF 671, 9 April 845 (B 26r)

#### The Exchange between Bishop Erchanbert and Hitto a Layman

In the Name of God. It was pleasing and agreeable between the Venerable Man Erchanbert, Bishop of the Freising church, and a certain noble man by the name of Hitto that they ought to exchange some properties between themselves for their common benefit and advantage, which they also so did. Thus Bishop Erchanbert granted on the account of his aforementioned church together with the consent and agreement of the canons and monks and other faithful men abiding within that same church and also by license of the Lord King Ludwig to the same Hitto to have for his own in the place which is called at Paunzhausen, a place established upon a hill, the church and the courtyard with dwelling and orchard, and beyond pertaining to this place: of arable land 124 day-works, and of meadows where 15 cartloads can be gathered, and of bounded woodlands 8 day-works; this all and completely with all such full possession as afore said is discerned to pertain to that same see. And in return in recompense for this property the remembered layman Hitto validly granted from his own property to the above said Bishop Erchanbert and to his steward Pilgrim for the portion of his monastery in the vill which is called Gūnzenhausen near to the Moosach river a courtyard with dwelling and one messuage, and such share in that church property as he might have, and beyond of arable land, aside from the church property, 104 day-works, and of meadows where 100 cartloads can be gathered, and of bounded woodlands 100 day-works, with mills and with all things pertaining to it. Whence also they requested two deeds of exchange in the same wording to be written between them by which henceforth each of them might hold and possess that which he received from the other, and whatever for his advantage he wishes to do or to conclude, he may have free authority in all ways to do it. And so they agreed between themselves, and, if after this day, either of them or any other opponent or deceitful person appear against this deed



of exchange of which two deeds are seen to be written in valid manner, let him attempt to come, and, if he were to try to infringe it, let him owe to the party against whom he brought suit two pounds with the fisc making distraint, let him make composition with a fine, and his claim shall gain no effect, but rather the present deed of exchange shall endure validly for all time by subjoined stipulation. This was done at Freising in the 845th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 8th indiction, on the 5th ides of April. And these are they within this cathedral church who saw this deed of exchange executed: Uodalpald priest and monk, Gozroh priest and monk, Sindmar priest and monk, Herolf priest, Amalrih priest, Rihperht priest, Adalgari deacon and provost, Absalon deacon, Kernod deacon, Undieo deacon, Hartperht priest, Arnolt deacon, Pilgrim steward and layman, Reginperht layman Otperht layman, Riholf layman, Willihart, Immino, Kartheri, Erkanperht, Anthelm, Makelm Hitto clerk, Hartwih clerk, Culping clerk, and others without number. I an unworthy priest Gozroh seeing and hearing these deeds of exchange executed, wrote it and subscribed.

TF 672, 10 May 845 (365v)

#### The Conveyance of Kerhart and Deota at Pang

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus I Kerhart and my wife by the name of Deota, both equally pondering for the remedy of our souls and of our parents and children, we have conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising whatever of property we and our sons had in the place which is called Pang, all of this completely with all the wastelands pertaining to it together with these slaves whose names are: Wurmheri, Reginpald, Eigil, Chuniperht, Werinperht, Rihhart, Hiltipald, Drasuno, Zemidrat, Dapariz, Ermanswind, Kerhilt, Albrun, Ratpurc, Etisa, Enisa, Dawuila, Zauwini, and with the messuages and all buildings, with flocks and herds, and with all our acquired property which we were seen to have on that same day when it happens that we have departed from this world. And in return, in the mercy of Bishop Erchanbert, we have received from him in benefice such property as Salomon the priest held in the place which is called Dachau near the river which is called the Amper, so that we might hold that same property up to the end of our life; after the death of us both in all integrity and improvement and with all our acquisition it shall return to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising into the cathedral church of St Mary as our death relinquishes it. This was done at Freising at the cathedral church of St Mary where our patron St Corbinian is discerned bodily to rest, in the 845th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 8th indiction, on the day which happens on the 6th idea of May. And these are witnesses who saw all these things executed and confirmed: the Count Palatine Fritilo, Wicpald, Kisalhart, Eparheri, Reginfrid, Engilperht, Adalperht, Francho, Choanrat, Isanperht, Ekkiheri, Cundperht, Cundheri, Meiolt, Ellanhart. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing this wrote it and subscribed.

TF 674, 845 (B 253r)

The Conveyance of Bishop Hitto and his Sister Cotesdiu and her Daughter Heilrat, and the Agreement with Bishop Erchanbert for Hitto the Clerk How the Terms of the Condition Apply to Him [see TF 644]

With Bishop Hitto and his sister Cotesdiu and other of their kin being deceased in happy passing, Erchanpert was honorably ordained as Bishop to this see of Freising who deserved to hold the episcopal throne with all due obligation in great piety. Moreover, coming forth from their issue, Heilrat handmaid of God, daughter of the sister of Bishop Hitto, Cotesdiu, appeared as survivor, and bearing from herself daughters and sons, amongst her daughters she was so worthy that by the Lord's dispensation, in her daughter by the name of Perhta a son was begotten by her husband Willihelm. The already said Heilrat herself, kindled with love for her maternal uncle Bishop Hitto, called him Hitto, and he growing apace such that he accepted the clerical tonsure and consented and was professed. Moreover, when he had

with difficulty been nurtured and educated by the assembled household of St Mary gathered at Freising and imbued with the liberal arts by faithful brothers amongst whom also the same above said Hitto, Heilrat came with her daughters and others of her faithful retainers, supporting and assisting and supplicating to the whole household of St Mary, she admonished the Venerable Bishop Erchanbert to practice the clemency of God the Almighty Father and of the above said words as she herself and her mother Cotesdiu had agreed with Bishop Hitto. And they chose that Hitto the clerk, if he remain quiet in priestly ministry and the office of cleric, after the death of Heilrat he might possess the same property sic: rem]. Moreover, the same Most Generous Pontifex Erchanbert considered this carefully and moved by affection from the bottom of his heart, allowed it thus on this condition: if the already said Hitto should by the supplication of all his faithful advance to the clerical office and attain to the estate of priest and hold fast to the cathedral church of St Mary and to the rulers of the same; if not, in any way deviating or erring otherwise, he ought not to have any acre of the same property but rather in all integrity for the remedy of the above said souls it should return to the cathedral church of St Mary, and that, with Heilrat still living, he not presume to do any injury or interference in the same property. These are the witnesses who saw this executed in words and confirmed: Willihelm, Wichelm, Reginperht, Otperht, Joseph, Situli, Ishart, Helmpert, Cotehelm, Hucco, Reginhoh, Anthelm, Erchanperht, Hartperht, Eapo, Arpeo, Drudolt, Folmot, Jacob, Amuto, Jacob, Eginolf, Fridaperht, Kepahoh, Ekkiheri, Ermperht, Kerrih, Altrih, Arfrid, Wolfperht, Machelm, This was done at Freising in the 845th year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 8th indiction. Thus I unworthy priest Cozroh by command of Erchanbert seeing and hearing wrote it and subscribed.

TF 675, 845x51 (Conrad 94v)

#### Bachern

Because the custom arose amongst men to offer something of their goods to the places of the saints, I, an unworthy man by the name of Rudolf, moved thereby, pondered how to make a certain conveyance thus, and I did. For I conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary my own inheritance in the place which is called Bachern together with every building, lands cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, ways and thruways, all of it and complete, putting nothing aside except for my slaves, for this very reason, that I might hold the share of my brother Engilman the deacon fully and that Kernot the deacon might have, hold and possess and use as he will both of these properties by valid dispositions up to the end of his life. And whoever of us, I or my wife Svidpurc or Kernot the deacon, may outlive the other, as it has been written, without any objection, he may possess it as if by hereditary right up to the end of life. After the decease of us three, this same conveyance shall endure valid and inviolate for all times to the cathedral church of St Mary where St Corbinian rests in body, without the interference of kin or coheirs. [The names of the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances.]

TF 676, 23 February 846 (366v)

#### The Conveyance of Fricho the Priest at Holz

Be it known to all the faithful abiding within the diocese of St Mary of the Freising church how a certain priest Fricho by name validly conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising to the altar of St Mary where St Corbinian is discerned to rest in body for the remedy of his soul and of his parents all of inheritance or of acquisition in his property whatever he had at Holz which extends to the boundary of that which is called at Schmidhausen; this all and complete. These are the slaves which he conveyed: Oadalker, Adalkys, Hiltirat, Hrodker, Teorpurc, Frenchin. This was done within the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising in the 846th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 9th indiction, on the day which



fell on the 7th calends of March. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Piligrim the steward who received this conveyance, Onhart, Cundheri, Erchanperht, Toto, Kepahart, Waldperht, Hrodpald, Hartmot, Reginhart, Hrocholf, Heriolt, Alawih, Immino. On this condition the grant is valid: if, God willing, Absalon the deacon should survive him, he may have this same property up to the end of his present life; moreover after his departure from this life, those same canons who at that time serve in the cathedral church of St Mary may have the said property for their service for felling wood. And I unworthy priest Cozroh seeing and hearing this executed wrote it and subscribed.

TF 679, 19 May 846 (367v)

#### The Counterplea of Isanhart the Bailiff

Be it known by all those established within Bavaria that a certain noble man by the name of Isanhart, a bailiff, brought suit against Bishop Erchanbert and his steward, Odolt, for the wergeld of Kaganhart, his barschalk. And he received from the Lord Bishop Erchanbert one colon-holding suitable for him in the place [blank]. And he owes rental dues to be paid every year at the Feast of St Martin: 30 pence or one shilling in gold. This was done at Freising in the 846th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 9th indiction, on the 14th calends of June, in the presence of the whole household. And these are the witnesses: Odolt, Altrih, Hroadperht, Meginfrid, Oadalscalh, Alpker, Liutprant, Nendilo. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing these things, wrote it up.

TF 692, 847 (381v)

#### The Conveyance of Herigis at Umbach

Thus I Herigis have conveyed to the cathedral of St Mary at Freising 1 colon-holding in the place called Umbach so that my sons might hold that same colon-holding for their life whose names are Druant and Deotrat. And these are the witnesses: Wolfprant, Deotperht, Hrodker, Racholf, Wolfcrim, Reon, Hadarih, Ermperht, Meginfrid, Oadalscalh, Folmot, Liutprant, Alprih, Deotperht, Machelm, Pisin, Egino, Anthelm, Cotahelm, Reginperht, Eparhart, Wolfperht, Wolfolt, Reginhoh, Antres, in the 847th year of the Lord's Incarnation. This was done at Buch. And I Kernod unworthy priest wrote it and subscribed.

TF 697, a.6/b.13 April 848 (371v)

[No Header]

[a.] Be it known to many noble and truthful men of this country how a certain noble man by the name of Undeo the deacon conveyed to a certain young boy by the name of Reginolf his own property in the place which is called Glonn and at Inzemoos, all of it completely, whatever he was seen to have in these two places except for 15 slaves. And Undeo made this conveyance into the hands of that infant and of his steward Piligrim which many who were present saw. Afterwards moreover it happened that many noble man assembled together to the court session announced in the place which is called Vierkirchen for the settling of however many pleas, that is Erchanpert the Venerable Bishop, and Ratolt the sheriff, and as many others as in the following are counted thereto. And when they had seated themselves in council and began to plead, then the already said Undeo the deacon arose in the presence of all situate there in council and requested the same infant Reginolf and his steward Piligrim to remit the earlier conveyance to him which they refused and afterwards did. And he received the return of that conveyance from Piligrim and that infant, and the suretor was Cunzo, and that he dismissed the mundeburd to the infant. Thereupon the often said deacon completed that which he previously had intended by himself and conveyed this same property at Glonn and at Inzemoos with no one objecting



into the reliquary of St Mary at Freising into the hands of Bishop Erchanpert and of his steward Pilgrim, all of it completely together with all things lawfully pertaining to those places, putting nothing aside except for 15 slaves by these names: Adalperht, Adaluni, Ratfrid, Deotolf, Altolf, Amalrihc, Trebuin, Scalco, Fridaheri, Megusuind, Willipurc, Kerhilt, Kysalpirc, Hruodpurc, Deotlind; everything else he conveyed on the condition that the benefice at Jepinkhiricha and at Inzemoos be allowed to be held by them both together with the slaves and the other things lawfully belonging to those places for their life and that the same infant might accept the tonsure and have lordship from that see. Moreover, with that condition executed, they received in benefice from the hand of Bishop Erchanpert that which he had conveyed and that which he had contracted for a rent of 15 pence to be paid annually at the Feast of the Nativity of St Mary, and at once in the court session they paid it. And on the same day he invested Eparhari the steward of Bishop Erchanbert at Inzemoos with Sheriff Ratolf present. And these are the witnesses: Ratolt sheriff, Cotaperht, Cunzo, Liutperht, Pilgrim, Kepolf, Anno, Hruodperht, Odolt, Eparheri, Huasmot, Wichelm, Reginperht, Managolt, Isangrim, Heririh, Amuto, Paldachar, Kepahoh, Reginhart, Wolfolt, Hruodheri, Wisunt, Engilrihc, Ratolf, Cotafrid, Tuto, Alprihc, Jacob, Erlunc, Hitto, Alprihc, Rihcperht, Isanheri, Heymo, Fridaperht, Hiltiport, Odalpald, Deotpald, Liutprant, Irphinc, Cotahelm, Pisim, Mahtrihc, Isanperht, Sigipald, Anthelm, Eigil, Atto, Leidrat, Adalhart, Immino, Oadalker, Koypold, Isanhart, Sigideo, Muniperht, Willipato, Lanperht, Isanpald, Amalker, Reginperht, Einwic, Dancholf, Ratolf, Heriperht, Irminpald, Cundperht, Engilhart, Sniunhart, Engilperht, Cros. This was done in the public court session in the presence of Ratold the sheriff in the place which is called Vierkirchen, on the 8th ides of April, in the 848th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 12th indiction, with Ludwig reigning for the 13th year in eastern Francia.

[b.] And these are they who were present when the Venerable Bishop Erchanbert and his steward Pilgrim accepted the investiture at Glonn: Cotaperht, Amato, Alprihc, Cundpald, Echo, Liutprant, Eigio, Isanhart, Hartperht, Odolt, Andreas, Isangrim, Kaganhart, Keparohc, Isanperht, Williperht, Cotahelm, Anthelm, Reginhoh. This was done on the ides of April. And I Paatto unworthy priest wrote up this notice at the command of Bishop Erchanpert.

TF 699, 4 May 848 (362v)

#### The Conveyance of Starcholf the Priest at Pullhausen

We draw the attention of all those sojourning within the country of Bavaria that a certain noble man by the name of Starcholf the priest validly conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising whatever he had in the vill which is called Pullhausen together with 6 slaves whose names are Chuniperht, Drudmunt, Chunipurc, Meginfrit, Engilpurc, Waldrud, all of these above noted things for the health of his soul and of his kinsmen, on this condition, that the benefices which Oadalker holds at Pullhausen, after his death the above the above said Starcholf the priest might hold them for use during his life if he faithfully perform service for the cathedral church of St Mary. These are the witnesses who saw and heard: Fridaperht, Anthelm, Erchanperht, another Erchanperht, Liutolt, Lantfrid, Isanperht, Waninc, Helicho. And I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing wrote it and subscribed. This was done at Freising in the 848th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 6th indiction, on the 4th nones of May.

TF 701, before September 848 (361r)

#### The Conveyance of Iring and his Wife Fridapurc and of their Son by the Name of Meginhart in Three Places, at Ried which Pertains to Thannkirchen, at Asch and at Ellbach

For the remembrance of their kinsmen, thus a certain noble man by the name of Irinc, urged by divine love, came together with wife and son to the Venerable Man Erchanbert Bishop of the



Freising church, to take counsel with him for some healing of his own soul and of his parents and relations. Moreover, the above said Most Pious Pontiff Erchanbert poured out healthful counsel to him by recommending in accordance with the inclination of his will, so that he execute it thus. He in truth stood ready at once to execute it thus, and he approached to the altar of St Mary in Freising together with wife and son, and by common hands they conveyed to the altar of St Mary whatever they had of their own property or acquisition at Ried which pertains to Thannkirchen, together with messuages and buildings, with meadows and fields, with woodlands cultivated and uncultivated, with pastures and mill sites. And in return we have received in benefice that same church at Thannkirchen together with all things pertaining to it and that same conveyance of ours at Ried for the life of us three, and we undertake to pay as rent for it every year 4 shillings in silver for my life; after my life moreover, if, as the Lord so ordains, my wife Fridapurc and my son Meginhart were to be my survivors, then they should pay 2 shillings in rent every year. Afterwards, moreover, in two other places, at Asch a courtyard with dwelling and with all the buildings and beyond it 55 day-works of arable land and 12 cartloads of meadows, and in another place at Ellbach 12 cartloads of meadows, these properties at once we have dismissed in full possession and lordship into the service of St Mary securely for the authority for the already said Bishop. This was done at Freising in the 848th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 11th indiction, in the presence of Bishop Erchanbert and all of his household. These are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Herilant sheriff, Emheri, Pilgrim, Othelm, Kartheri, Amalperht, Friccho, Irminheri, Chuniperht, Regindeo, Adalgart, Mahperht, Mahtuni, another Emheri, Cundheri, Puopo, Erchanperht, Sigipald, Kerhart, Rihholf, Adalperht, another Mahtuni, Nothart, Kerolt, Wichart, Sigiwart, Liutker, Wurmhart, Ratolt, Ellanperht, Wolfolt, Cundpato, Altolf, Hucco, Reginperht, Teito. After the death of us three indeed with all integrity and improvement without any opposition it should return to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. Accordingly I Cozroh unworthy priest seeing and hearing these things wrote and subscribed it at the command of Bishop Erchanbert.

TF 702, 14 October 848x53? (4r)

#### A Written Notice of the Property which Pilgrim Returned

On a certain day it happened through Christ's favor that Pilgrim acknowledged the divine admonitions that, without dispute, confirmation by investiture be given for a property conveyed to the cathedral-church of St Mary. Pilgrim, aroused by this sting of conscience, came to Bishop Erchanbert; having been received with devotion by him, he requested that his commissioners might come thence to complete the transaction. The Lord Bishop, favorably considering this, acknowledged the Author of Good Counsel who manifests himself faithful not only in this but in all matters. Moreover, with advice undertaken, on the 2nd ides of October he took care to direct to Ottmarshart his commissioners of whom the names are Undeo the priest, Wichelm, Eccho. Pilgrim met them on the same day and at once began upon oath to consider with the elders how that just matter might be accomplished. In the first place he returned the altar at Ottmarshart and the paved floor of the basilica in the western part of the vill just as an oak tree sets the boundary and a rampart marks the extent of the dwelling site in that same vill; and he returned one colon-holding with arable lands, meadows, pastures woodlands which his father, Coteperht, had conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary. Likewise, he presented into the bishop's possession another colon-holding which Liutto the monk had conveyed at Berg for the salvation of his soul, all of it completely with arable lands, meadows, pastures, woodlands, ways. Also the names of the slaves are inserted here: Uodalheri, Hruodpirin, Heimo, Engilrat, Otpirc, Erchanpald, Atta, Imma, Folrat, Rihho, Nidhart, Liupheri. These commissioners accepted the investiture: Undeo the priest, Wichelm, Eccho. These are the witnesses seeing and hearing: Cundpald, Cozperht, Eralo, Adalhart, Liutto, Isanperht, Reginhart, Gaganhart, Meio, Uodalger, Uodalperht. Done at Ottmarshart on the 2nd ides of October.

TF 703, 9/11 January 849 (B 191r)

The Agreement and Restoration of Erchanfrid the Priest at Munninpah [Singenbach] and at Ried

[a.] So it may be manifest, since it is not unknown to many throughout the country of Bavaria, that a certain noble priest by the name of Erchanfrid formerly in the time of Bishop Atto made a conveyance to the cathedral of St Mary from his own property which his father had left him by right of inheritance and which he had as his own share apart from his brothers. However, at the devil's instigation and by the urgings of others he attempted to breach this conveyance and began to abhor and reject it so that he would never carry it through to completion. And, in truth, it happened then that the Venerable Bishop Erchanbert, brought forward his legal claim to dispute and overcome this deceitful refusal at a place which is called Tandern where many of the Huosi and, likewise, many other noble men had gathered together, which was accomplished by truthful witnesses and written evidences. And the aforesaid priest, seeing that he would not be able to complete the thing which he had undertaken, withdrew to a private place, taking with him Sheriff Fridarat, and Rihho, and others with whom he wished to take counsel regarding his case. And perceiving himself to be overcome by the laws and witnesses and written evidences, he talked it over with them, and he changed from his deceitful intent, and admitted the earlier conveyance. At the same time he engaged in counsel with them, and when they had reconvened, then amongst other matters, Pilgrim, the steward of Bishop Erchanbert, charged Waldker, the steward of the aforesaid priest, declaring: 'Give up the conveyance which Erchanfrid previously made to the cathedral of Saint Mary and afterwards unjustly alienated.' And he, seeing in truth that he was not able to do otherwise, surrendered it at once into the hands of the oft said Bishop and his steward, Pilgrim. The suretors were Starcholf and Erchanfrid. Then he sought investiture from him, and, indeed, he admitted that he would invest him on the second day, which was done accordingly. Moreover, after this investiture, the venerable Bishop Erchanbert questioned the aforesaid priest about what counsel he had taken regarding his affair, and he, in reply, requesting that he be granted permission to renew his earlier conveyance, for a second time conveyed completely everything that he had, excepting nothing other than five slaves and his own acquisitions. Moreover, the above named Venerable Bishop, not unmindful of his mercy, conceded to him all of this in benefice for his lifetime; but, upon the end of his life it would remain without the objection of any man validly and inviolably to the cathedral church of Saint Mary. And these are the witnesses who saw and heard what was done at Tandern: first Sheriff Fridarat, Sheriff Rihho, Sheriff Ratolt, Managolt, Cotaperht, Pilgrim, Purchart, Cunzo, Eparheri, Adalker, Adalo, Oadalrih, Kysalfrid, Cotaurht, Frieso, Petto, Mahtuni, Eginolf, Meginperht, Willihelm, Cundperht, Pald, Hitto, Altolf, Cotahelm, another Pald, Deotpald, Hruodolt, Hruodperht, Folmolt, Cundpald, Odolt, Rihheri, Eiio, Waltfrid, Meginfrid, Alprih, Jacob, Liutperht, Hiltipald, Cros, Wichelm, Otperht, Crimuni, Meiol, Juncman, Chuniperht, Wicperht, Immino, Isanheri, Oadalscalh, Deotmar, Isanhart, Cotafrid, Wolfolt, Peradeo, another Petto, Deotperht, Purchart, Adalwart, Erlo, Tunno, Liutker, another Starcholf, Eckyheri, Ranuolf, Tiso, Paldacchar, another Oadalscalh, Heriperht, Umfrid, Stallo, Talamot, Eccho, Maricho, Adalker, Kaganhart. Done in the place Tandern, in the 849th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 7th indiction, in the month of January on the 5th ides. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears at Hilgertshausen when Erchanfrid made his conveyance: Pertolt, Wichelm, Pilgrim, Amoto, Waldker, Wolmot, Alprihc, Meginfrid, Hruodperht, Otperht, Humperht, Jacob, Liutprant, Ippo, Sigahart, Stallo, Reginhoh. This was done at Hilgertshausen on the 3rd ides of January. And I, Paato, unworth priest, made note and wrote it up at the command of Bishop Erchanbert.

[b.] And these are those who were present when Waldker, the steward of Erchanfrid the priest, invested Pilgrim, the steward of Bishop Erchanbert, at Munninpah [Singenbach] and at Ried, whatever is discerned to pertain justly and legally by right of inheritance at those two places: messuages and plots, dwellings and other buildings, lands cultivated and waste, marklands, woodlands, meadows, pastures, waters and watercourses, slaves rightly pertaining to all of this: Engildrud, Rihpald, Zeizhilt, Starcholf, Meginperht,



Willihelm, Eparheri, Wichelm, Isangrim, Amoto, Erchanfrid, Eccho, Isanhart, Cundpald, Keio, Moricho, Gaganhart, another Caganhart, Hruodperht, Lantolt, Riholf, Oadalscalh, Amo, Cotaperht, Immino, Otperht, Einwic, Adalpero. Likewise, at Tandern, whatever manifestly pertained to Erchanfred by law as his own share in that basilica apart from his kinsmen and brothers and all things that are deemed to pertain to him by acquisition, all of it he invested by the fringe of the pall lying upon the altar.

TF 705, 30 June 849 (B 193v)

#### The Conveyance of Titzan at Roth

We have decreed to come to the notice of all the faithful how a certain noble man by the name of Titzan came to Tandern and whatever he had of his own property or acquisition at Roth near the river which is called by the same name of Roth, this is a courtyard with dwelling and with other buildings and whatever ought to have passed to him by hereditary right in the same place, all of it completely he conveyed validly into the reliquary of St Mary so that in perpetual right from today it might remain to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising for the remedy of his soul and of his parents and kinsmen. This was done at Tandern on the 2nd calends of July in the 849th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 7th indiction. And these are the witnesses: Eparheri, Wichelm, Eccho, Isangrim, Erchanperht, Anthelm, Joseb, Alprihc, Eginolf, Reginheri, Situli, Hepinolt, Hruodperht, Folmot, Rihheri, Mahtrihc, Immino, Anthelm, Hunolt, Craman, Eparhart, Rihcpald, Eigio, Engilperht, Arpeo, Kaganhart.

TF 709, 849 (B 194r)

#### Reginhilt's Conveyance at Erlhausen

A written notice for all the faithful that a certain noble woman by the name of Reginhilt conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary whatever she had of her own inheritance and acquisition at Erlausen, the courtyard with dwelling and with other buildings, 20 day-works [of arable], 10 cartloads of meadows, 1 slave, all of this completely, and that her son by the name of Wenilo might hold it for his life; after his death it shall endure to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. These are the witnesses: Odolt, Hadaperht, Iminolf, Hegilo, another Hadaperht, Aodalhart, Eparmunt, Petilo, Cundpato. This was done at Freising in the 849th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 7th indiction.

TF 710, 849 (B 194v)

#### The Conveyance of Kysalrih at Prittlbach

For the notice of all the faithful, that a certain noble man by the name of Kysalrih renewed the former conveyance, whatever of his own inheritance or acquisition he had at Prittlbach, the courtyard with dwelling, six slaves, 50 yokes [of arable], 24 cartloads of meadows, this all he conveyed completely to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. This was done at Freising in the 849th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 7th indiction. And these are the witnesses: Ratolt, Altolf, Cotehelm, Rihcheri, Atto, Wenilo, Hruadperht, Reginperht, Meginfrid, Anthelm.

TF 720, 27 May 850 (B 197r)

#### Rosmot's Conveyance at Feldgeding and Roth

A written notice that a certain noble woman by the name of Rosmot conveyed by divine inspiration her properties into the reliquary of St Mary, whatever she had in the place Feldgeding and in another place which is called Roth for the souls of those whose names are here written: Aodalrihc, Helmrihc, Tutti,

Picca, Eccila, Cundrat, so that for their redemption it might endure to the see of St Mary at Freising forever validly and firmly. These are the witnesses: Odolt, Pilgrim, Eparheri, Altolf, Adalperht, Cozpald, Pisim, Deotperht, Altolf, Willihelm, Engilpern, Altrihc, Altolf, Sigiprant, Situli, Amuto, Reginperht, Erchanbert, Wolfperht, Engilrihc, Kerrihc, Jacob, Rohinc, Reginperht, Reginolf. This was done on the 6th calends of June in the public synod at Eching, and she ought to render such rent at Christmas, that is 8 pence. The suretors are Odolt, Cozpald. Moreover, another time she conveyed these same properties to the above said place at Freising. These are the witnesses: Odolt, Altolf, Erchanperht, Eckyheri, Amato, Urolf, Heio, Irminheri, Aodalscalh, Wolfperht, another Irminheri, Cundperht, Anthad, Andres.

TF 723, 19 January 851 (Conrad 93v)

#### Percha

By inspiration of the Divine Spirit, let every wise person in truth hear the scripture of the Lord saying: 'Honor the Lord from your substance' and the rest. Following it as we had powers, we unworthy Diepolt and Waltila, a woman dedicated to God, conveyed to St Mary in the place Freising all and everything of our inheritance at Percha, whatever we were seen to hold there setting nothing aside which we have not conveyed completely. Taking in return in benefice from Erchanbert the Rector of that church in the place which is called Fürholzen, so that whoever of us outlives the other may possess it to the end of life. After our decease without any objection the present conveyance shall endure to the holy see validly and uncontested for all time. Moreover, the God-dedicated Waltila also added all of her acquired goods in like manner to St Mary for the remedy of her soul after this transitory life, so that at once joined all together it remain inviolate in the possession of the holy see. [The names of the slaves and the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances.] This was done at Freising in the 14th calends of February, in the 851 of the Lord's incarnation, in the 14th indiction, in the 18th year of King Ludwig, happily amen. The conveyance which Diepolt made was done at Freising; afterwards at Kienberg Diepolt and Waltila; a third time at Freising they renewed it validly and confirmed it.

TF 724, 27 January 851 (Conrad 94r)

#### The Conveyance at Glonn

Who would not diligently imitate the divine scripture saying: 'Give temporal things so that you might gain things eternal'? We, I unworthy Pilgrim, and Alta my wife, have deliberated as best we are able to act accordingly, and have, at length, conveyed to St Mary at Freising church our own hereditary property in the place which is called Glonn, all of it completely with messuages, arable lands, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, slaves. In return, we are receiving a benefice in the place which is called Schlipps, so that whichever of us remains as survivor of the other may hold it until the end of his life. However, since we do not wish that there shall be any Ruler of that church who may attempt to change this, let that deed of conveyance remain in our power, so that we might do with it whatever we wish. If, however, regarding the benefice it should be valid as agreed, then that conveyance shall remain fast for all times and undisturbed without the objection from any of our coheirs. [The names of the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances.] This was done happily at Freising on the 6th calends of February, in the 851st year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 18th year of King Ludwig. Amen.

TF 725, 31 January 851 (Conrad 93v)

#### The Conveyance at Kienberg and Ilm

The Lord declares in the gospel: 'Make for yourselves friends with the mammon of iniquity' and the rest. Whence I have taken thought to carry out something for the remedy of my soul, and





thus I have done it. For I Waltila, a woman dedicated to God, have sought out the shrine of St Mary at Freising and conveyed there my property in the places which are called Kienberg and Ilm, all of it completely to St Mary, that is messuages, fields cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, woodlands, pastures, throughways, waters and watercourses, setting nothing aside which I have not all conveyed together with my acquired goods. In return I have agreed to conduct myself honorably, and, whoever might be Rector of the church, let him as Lord of the household provide how I might be subject. If not, however, let my inheritance be in my power. By the aforesaid oaths I have confirmed the conveyance to St Mary, so that none of my kinsmen nor coheirs might dispute it, and the gift be altered, rather that the present conveyance endure to the holy see of Freising inviolate for all times. [The names of the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances]. This was done at Freising in the 2nd calends of February, in the 851st year of the Lord's incarnation, in the 14th year of King Ludwig, happily amen.

TF 726, 28 April 851 (B 21r)

#### The Exchange of Bishop Erchanbert and Wolfolt a Layman

In the Name of God. It was satisfactory and agreeable between the Venerable Man Erchanbert, Bishop of the Freising church, and a certain noble person Wolfolt that for their common use and convenience they should exchange certain properties between themselves. Thus, the afore said bishop granted on the part of his church together with the consent and agreement of the canons and monks and other faithful men abiding in that church to the same person to hold as his own property in a place which is called Arget insofar as he himself makes compensation for. In return in recompense of these properties, the mentioned Wolfolt granted to the above said Bishop from his own property in a place which is called Ober Nörting and by other designation 'Uotilineigan' all of it completely with all things pertaining to it, the courtyard with dwelling, fields, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, omitting nothing which he did not convey entirely. Whence also they requested two deeds of exchange with the same wording to be written between them by which henceforth each one might hold and possess what he received from the other, and whatever for his advantage he intended to do with it, he might have free power of doing in all things. If anyone, which may it not happen, wishes to break this, his claim shall gain no effect; rather the present deed of exchange shall endure valid for all time. These are the witnesses: Emheri, Piligrim, Eparheri, Kakenhart, Tozi, Reginfrid, Reginperht. Done at Freising on the 4th calends of May, in the year of God's Incarnation 851, the 13th indiction, in the 18th year of King Ludwig. Happily amen.

TF 732, 11 January 852 (Conrad 94r)

#### The Conveyance at Weilbach

A written notice of how a noble man by the name of Manigolt with his wife present conveyed whatever they had at Weilbach to the cathedral church of St Mary. And in return they accepted in benefice from the Venerable Man Bishop Erchanbert such church property at Bachern as Engilman the deacon of good memory conveyed to the holy cathedral church of Mary Ever Virgin at Freising. On this condition they completed the conveyance, that they might hold both of those properties for the present term of life; after the departure of them both, nobody shall be able to oppose the cathedral church of St Mary and her rulers, but with all integrity that our already said conveyance at Weilbach with all things pertaining to us shall endure forever to the cathedral church of St Mary for the remedy of our souls. [The names of the slaves and the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances.] This was done at Freising on the 3rd ides of January in the 852nd year of the Lord's Incarnation.

TF 733, 22 August 852 (B 22v)

#### The Exchange between Bishop Erchanbert and Hitto a Layman

In the Name of God. May it be brought to the notice of all noble men of the Bavarians that anyone who desires an increase of mercy ought thus to provide usefully for his advancement, as the divine utterances resound which ordain all things in every way to be expended according to charity. Whence with divine grace urging, it pleased Erchanbert, Bishop of the Freising see, to make a certain exchange with a certain layman by the name of Hitto for their common utility and advantage just as they did it. Accordingly, the afore mentioned Bishop with the consent and agreement of the canons and monks granted on the part of this church of Freising in a place called Assenhausen 126 yokes between meadows and arable land and attached woodlands so that he might hold and possess and do with it whatever he chooses [nor] may it be altered by any treacherous person that which is confirmed by royal license. In return, the Lord Priest received from the noble man Hitto a share of his inheritance in the place which is called Rettenbach, whatever he is seen to have, all of it completely which is equal measure on his part; he retained nothing but turned over all things to the cathedral church of St Mary. Moreover, Tato the son of Hitto imposed his hand to this exchange so that the firmness of hereditary power might endure more validly. Whence also they ordered two deeds of exchange to be written with equal wording so that each one might keep, use and turn to his use whatever he received from the other; none of their successors or heirs may ever be able to break this, but rather the present exchange shall endure valid and undisturbed for all times. On the part of the bishop, Eparhari was the lay-steward of the bishop up to the term of the plea. These are the witnesses: Rohinc, Heimperht, Job, Odolt, Waltfrid, another Odolt, Cundpald, Eio, Gaganhart, Uodalger. Done at Hilgertshausen on the 11th calends of September, in the 852nd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 13th indiction, the 17th year of Ludwig as King in Eastern Francia. Arnord unworthy deacon commanded by the Lord Bishop Hitto have authenticated this exchange happily in the Lord. Amen.

TF 734, 23 November 852 (Conrad 94r)

#### The Conveyance at Adelzhausen

A written notice how Reginhart the priest conveyed at Adelzhausen by the Ecknach stream such property as he had gained and acquired by his own effort to the altar of St Mary: 7 slaves with other properties, meadows, pastures, woodlands waters and watercourses. And moreover, the layman Eparher conveyed: 3 slaves, 3 warhorses, 6 cattle, and 20 other livestock to that same cathedral church of St Mary. Moreover, both of them, Reginhart the priest and the layman Eparher, made this conveyance on this condition: that after the death of Reginhart, the son of Eparhardi [sic] by the name of Diepolt should hold in benefice from the Ruler of that cathedral church, whatever he is seen to have at the present time in that aforesaid place, Diepolt himself also might hold the donation. And if he should try to alienate it from there, then he has no authority, or if he should try to detach anything from that conveyance, then at once this same conveyance shall be breached. After the decease of both of them, the present conveyance shall remain valid for all times to Freising with no one contradicting. The rent which moreover Reginahrt the priest ought to pay is 12 pence annually; afterwards, Diepolt 24 pence. [The names of the witnesses are contained in the cartulary.] Done at Freising on the 8th calends of December in the 852nd year of the Lord's Incarnation.

TF 736, a.19 May 853/b.854x5? (B a.23r/b.24v)

#### The Exchange of Bishop Erchanbert and Sheriff Adalbert

[a.] In the Name of God. It was agreed between the Venerable Men, Bishop Erchanbert and Sheriff Adalbert, to make a certain exchange between themselves for their common utility and advantage,



and they did it. Accordingly, the Lord Bishop Erchanbert with the consent of the canons and monks granted to Sheriff Adalbert on behalf of his Freising a church in the place which is called Bernwines Church next to the river Maisach in all completeness, together with the arable lands, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, without the slaves, so that he might keep and possess it. In return, the Lord Bishop received from Sheriff Adalbert with like validity for the cathedral church of St Mary in a place which is called Landsberied which Adalbert bought for a price from Landbert, all of it completely which he is seen to have there in arable lands, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, assarts, so that he might keep and possess it. Whence also they ordered two deeds to be written between them in identical wording for the exchange, so that it might be evident by the hands of those present and future, whatever either received from the other with none opposing, he might have authority for himself of doing as he wishes for his own utility, and the present exchange shall endure firm for all times. Done on the 14th calends of June in the 853rd year of the Lord's Incarnation, in the 14th indiction, in the 18th year of King Ludwig in eastern Francia, happily in the Lord.

#### The Exchange between Bishop Erchanbert and Sheriff Adalbert

[b.] In the Name of God. It pleased and was agreed between that venerable man, Erchanbert, bishop of the Freising church, and a certain sheriff by the name of Adelperht, that they ought to exchange between themselves certain properties for their common utility and advantage, which they did thus. The aforesaid Bishop Erchanbert on behalf of the aforementioned church together with the consent and agreement of the canons and monks and other of the faithful abiding in that very church as well as by license of the Lord King Ludwig granted to that same Sheriff Adalbert to have as his own property in the vill which is called Überacker near the river Maisach on the hill which is called Pernwines Church that same church with dwellings and buildings together with mills and orchards pertaining to it and beyond that 160 day-works of arable land and 100 cartloads of meadows and whatever else is deemed to pertain to that same place in arable lands, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses. And in return in recompense for this property, the remembered Adalbert granted from his own property to the above said Bishop Erchanbert for the part of his monasterry to be held as its own for the church of Freising in the place which is called Landsberied within the boundary of the Huosi a courtyard with dwelling, with orchards and buildings, and 110 day-works of arable land and 30 cartloads of meadows and enough woodland from which 400 day-works could be cultivated, and an additional 56 cartloads of meadows, and woodlands sufficient for pasture. Whence also they requested that two agreements of like tenor be drawn up between them by which each one of them might take up and possess what he had received from the other, and whatever, henceforth, he wishes to do or dispose for his own convenience, let him have in every wise free authority so to do. And thus it was agreed between them, and if it were to happen that after this day either of them or any other person opposed to this exchange concerning which two deeds of like validity were written up, attempted to come against or tried to infringe it, through distraint of the fisc let him pay to the party against which he brought suit two pounds of gold; let him pay much in amends and his claim shall have no effect. Rather, the present exchange shall remain valid for all time by subjoined stipulation. In the 1st indiction.

TF 738, 8 September 853 (Conrad 94v)

#### At Eching

Memorandum that many noble men of this country, sheriffs as well as other countrymen, came to Freising at the Feast of St Corbinian, and there in prayer they devoted themselves to divine worship as is the custom for Christians. Among them also came a certain noble man by the name of Engilperht, proclaiming that his daughter had been stricken by poison through the efforts and devices of an evil slave woman from the household of St Mary, as they alleged, which could not be denied nor contradicted.



Thereupon, the Venerable Bishop Erchanbert, mercifully making amends for this unlawful deed, granted to the same abovesaid Engilperht, one colon-holding in a place which is called Eching (Eginga), so that he might hold it up to his and his son's death; he may possess it without encroachment as though it were by hereditary right until the end of life. In addition, regarding the benefice which Adalhoch the priest held with such rental dues as he was bound to pay every year, he may have, hold possess and use it as he will on this very condition: if he will declare himself to serve the Bishop of the Freising church. And after this agreement Engilperht settled everything that had been done unlawfully against him. This was done at Freising on the 6th ides of September in the 853rd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 1st indiction. [The names of the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances.]

TF 739, 16 November 853 (B 24r)

#### The Exchange between Bishop Erchanbert and Eralo a Layman

In the Name of God. It was pleasing and agreeable between the venerable men, Bishop Erchanbert and the noble Eralo, to make a certain exchange, and they did it thus. Indeed, the Lord Bishop with the consent of the canons and monks granted to Eralo a share of their church in the place which is called Roth with arable lands, meadows, pastures, woodlands, waters and watercourses, setting nothing aside which he did not completely convey. In return the Lord Bishop received from Eralo in the place which is called Erlhausen as is above written in equal possessions for the cathedral church of St Mary; he set nothing aside but conveyed it all validly. Whence also they ordered that two deeds of exchange be written in equal wording between them so that either might hold what he had received and possess and turn it to his advantage. Moreover, it be permitted to no successor or kinsman to break it, but rather the present exchange shall endure valid for all time. These are the witnesses henceforth: Sheriff Ratolt, Pilgrim, Starcholf, Purchart, Hunperht, Zozo, Reginheri, Eparheri, Reginhart, Jacob, Wolwolt, Heimperht, Job, Rohinc, Hurodperht, Eccho, Wichelm, Isangrim, Cundperht, Pald, Putalunc, Eio, Hunperht. This was done at Ebersbach on the 16th calends of December, in the 853rd year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 14th indiction, the 19th year of King Ludwig in Eastern Francia.

TF 741, after November 853 (Conrad 94v)

#### The Conveyance at Schlipps

In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Be it known to all abiding within the diocese of St Mary, that a certain noble man by the name of Pilgrim made a certain conveyance at Schlipps for the salvation of his soul: whatever he had acquired from noble men, that is, one mill, three colon-holdings with messuages, meadows, woodlands, waters and watercourses, together with everything pertaining to them in that same place at Schlipps. All of this he gave undiminished into the hands of Sheriff Ratold and Sheriff Kepolf to carry out that same conveyance to the altar of St Mary on this condition, that his wife, Alta, might hold that conveyance up to the end of her life, whether she intended to marry or not, regardless, she should nevertheless have that conveyance. However, after her death, no one shall be able to deny it to the cathedral church of St Mary at Freising. Moreover, Sheriffs Ratold and Kepolf came themselves with the remains of his body to Freising, and with the above said words they completed that same conveyance. [The names of the witnesses are contained in the book of conveyances.]

TF 742, 854x5 (inserted between fos. 361 and 362)

Moreover, after Anno had been raised by the aid of Divine Grace to the order of the episcopacy, Herolf, the Suffragan Bishop, accepted this investiture at Thannkirchen that it might endure inviolate to the aforesaid church of St Mary without opposition by anyone, as was stated above, that is: 3 missals; 3

lectionaries; 3 dalmatics; 6 chasubles; 6 albs; 2 [collections of Old Testament] histories in separate volumes; 1 book of collects; 1 collection of Gospels and Epistles; an exposition of the Psalms; a Psalter in three volumes; 1 antiphonary; 1 commentary on Matthew. In another place: 2 missals; 2 lectionaries; 40 homilies; 1 office-book; 1 penitential; another homily; 2 Psalters; 1 book on pastoral care; 1 antiphonary; 1 computus; a table of epacts; slaves: Heriwart, Wolfcrim, Hiltrat, Perhtlot, Reginolt, Ratolf, Piligis, Riholf, Hrodolf, Wolfuni, Hrodenco, Fridapald, Podalunc, Adalrih, Reginolt, Cozperht, Deotni, Frewihilt, Kisalni, Muata, Adalsuind, Werdhilt, Oata, Ot lind, Wolfhilt, Liutpurc, Adalmot, Deotni, Heitila, Liuphilt, Frowihilt, Hroadger, Hrodni, Alaheid, Cundrun, Engildrud, Kundlind, Hrodliup, Stillimot, Cundpirc, Ratni, Deotwich, Sigirat, Reginsuind, Liutheri.

TF 743, 23 February 855 (Conrad 82r)

#### The Conveyance at Schrobenhausen

Be it known to all those abiding within the country of the Bavarians that I Sheriff Rihho asked Bishop Anno to visit me at Schrobenhausen and which he kindly did. Then, having taken counsel with relatives and friends, I made a certain conveyance to St Mary by my own hand together with my son. For I conveyed into the reliquary whatever I possessed by hereditary right in the place which is called Schrobenhausen, the courtyard with dwelling, 5 colon tenures with 18 slaves, lands cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, pastures, woodlands, forest for hunting, pannage, clearing, ways, throughways, exits and entrances, waters and watercourses, mills, moveables and immoveables, claimed or to be claimed; all of this completely I have conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary on this condition, that I might hold the estate at Egenhofen up to the end of my life, thereafter it shall return to the due place. Moreover, Adalo my son might have the two parts at Schrobenhausen, my benefice and the conveyance, completely up to the end of his life; afterwards it shall return as it is written fully to the cathedral church of St Mary. We have placed this prohibition in the conveyance lest anyone else ever accept it thereafter in benefice and it be voided by the heirs, but rather it shall endure valid and undisturbed for all times in the service of the household of St Mary. [The names of the witnesses who received investiture for the conveyance are contained in the book of conveyances together with the names of the slaves.] This was done at Schrobenhausen on the 7th calends of March, in the 855th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 3rd indiction.

TF 745, 12 July 855 (B 57r)

#### Exchange of Bishop Anno and the Layman Liutprant

In the Name of God. It pleased and was agreed between the Venerable Man Anno, Bishop of the Freising church, and a certain layman by the name of Liutprant, that they ought to exchange some properties for their common utility and advantage, which they also did thus. Accordingly, the aforesaid bishop granted on behalf of his church with the consent and agreement of the canons and of other faithful men abiding within that same church to the same man Liutprant to have as his own property in the vill which is called Haindlfing within the comital jurisdiction of Sheriff Oadalric, 3 colon-holdings, 100 cartloads of meadows, together with the dwelling and other buildings such as which are discerned to the part of that dwelling. In return, in recompense of these properties, the remembered Liuprant granted from his own and his wife's property to the aforementioned Bishop for the part of his church whatever he possesses in the vill which is called Zustorf, that is a courtyard with dwelling and another building, 3 colon-holdings or 27 ploughlands, 100 cartloads of meadows with all such full possession as he is seen to have in that same place. Whence also they ordered two deeds of exchange with the same wording to be written between them, by which henceforth either one of them with what he receives from the other might keep and possess it, and whatever for his convenience he wishes to do or determines, he shall have free power of doing it in every way, and so that this exchange might be held more validly, it shall



be approved by confirmation of the king's hand. This was done at Freising on the 4th ides of July, in the 855th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 3rd indiction.

TF 746, 11 September 855 (B 43v)

#### The Exchange of Bishop Anno and Heimperht a Layman

It pleased and was agreed between the Venerable Man Anno, Bishop of the Freising church, and a certain noble man by the name of Heimperht, that they ought to exchange some properties for their common utility and advantage, which they also did thus. Accordingly, the aforesaid bishop granted on behalf of his church with the consent and agreement of the canons and of other faithful men abiding within that same church to the same man Heimbart to have as his own property in the place which is called Kienaden within the comital jurisdiction of Sheriff Ratolt, 8 colon-holdings, one mill, with all such full possession as is discerned to pertain to that same see in the same place. In return, in recompense of these properties, the remembered Heimperht granted from his own property to the aforementioned Bishop for the part of his church in the vill which is called [Feld-]Moching, 9 colon-holdings and a mill ready for milling with all such full possession as the steward of St Mary received in that same place. Whence also they ordered two deeds of exchange with the same wording to be written between them, by which henceforth either one of them with what he receives from the other might keep and possess it, and whatever for his convenience he wishes to do or determines, he shall have free power of doing it in every way with none of the successors of the Bishop or kinsmen of the layman objecting, but on the contrary this present deed of exchange shall endure valid and undisturbed for all times. This was done at Freising on the 3rd ides of September, in the 855th year of the Lord's Incarnation, the 3rd indiction, happily in the Lord. Amen.

TF 754, 855x60 (B 28r)

#### The Exchange between Bishop Anno and a certain Noble Man by the Name of Isangrim

In the Name of God. It was pleasing and agreeable between the Venerable Anno, Bishop of the Freising church, and also a certain noble man by the name of Isangrim to make a certain exchange, and thus they did it. Accordingly, the afore said bishop granted together with the consent and agreement of his faithful men and by permission of the Lord King Ludwig to the same noble man in the place which is called Nörting one slave by the name of Swanahilt to be held as his own property. And in return in recompense for the same slave, the same noble man Isangrim granted to the said bishop another slave of his own property by the name of Adalpurc. Whence also they requested that two deeds of exchange with the same wording be written out, so that either might hold and possess what he had received from the other for all times.

TF 768, 856x60 (B 39r)

#### The Exchange between Bishop Anno and Cotafrid a Noble Man

In the Name of God. It was pleasing and agreeable between the Venerable Anno Bishop of the Freising church and a certain noble man by the name of Cotafrid to make a certain exchange, and thus they did it. Accordingly, the afore said laudable bishop granted to the same noble man in the place which is called Glonn 7 yokes of arable with the consent and agreement of the canons and of other faithful men and also by license of the Lord King Ludwig. And in return in recompense of these yokes the same aforesaid noble man granted to the same afore named venerable bishop an equal number of 7 yokes from his own property in the place which is called Riedenzhofen. Whence also they requested that two deeds of exchange with the same wording be written out, so that either might hold and possess what he had received from the other for all times.



TF 770, 856x60 (B 39v)

The Exchange between Bishop Anno and a certain Noble Man by the Name of Winnideo

In the Name of God. It was pleasing and agreeable between the Venerable Anno, Bishop of the Freising church, and also a certain noble man by the name of Winnideo to make a certain exchange, and thus they did it. Accordingly, the same aforementioned Laudable Bishop together with his steward Heimbert granted to the same noble man from the share of his church in the place called Nörting 1 messuage and a part of another. In return in recompense of this property, the afore titled noble man granted to the same bishop to retain for his see in the same place 3 cartloads of meadows, from arable fields 1 yoke. Whence also they requested that two deeds of exchange with the same wording be written out, so that either might hold and possess what he had received from the other for all times.

TF 771, 856x60 (B 40r)

The Exchange between Bishop Anno and a Certain Noble Man by the Name of Ihho

In the Name of God. It was pleasing and agreeable between the Venerable Anno Bishop of the Freising church and a certain noble man by the name of Ihho to make a certain exchange, and thus they did it. Accordingly, the afore said laudable bishop granted to the same noble man to have as his own property in the place which is called Puchschlagen 2 yokes of arable. And he in return in recompense of this property granted to the afore named venerable bishop in the same place 2 yokes and one half. Whence also they requested that two deeds of exchange with the same wording be written out, so that either might hold and possess what he had received from the other for all times.

TF 777, 856x60 (B 41v)

The Exchange between Bishop Anno and a Certain Noble Man by the Name of Alpwin

In the Name of God. It was pleasing and agreeable between the Venerable Anno Bishop of the Freising church and a certain noble man by the name of Alpwin to make a certain exchange, and thus they did it. Accordingly, the afore said venerable bishop granted to the same above said noble man 8 yokes of arable, half a messuage, 1 slavewoman with two children in the place which is called Percha. And in return in recompense of these things the above said man granted the location for one mill in the place named Dellnhausen. Whence also they requested that two deeds of exchange with the same wording be written out, so that either might hold and possess what he had received from the other for all times.

TF 788, 857x64 (B 47v)

The Exchange between Bishop Anno and a Certain Noble Man by the Name of Liutfrid

In the Name of God. It was pleasing and agreeable between the Venerable Anno Bishop of the Freising church and a certain noble man by the name of Liutfrid to make a certain exchange, and thus they did it. Accordingly, the afore said venerable bishop, together with the consent and support of the canons and monks and of other faithful men abiding in that same church and by license of the Lord King Ludwig, granted to the same noble man from the share of the monastery in the place which is called Pohscorro: 1 messuage, 55 yokes of arable, 8 cartloads of meadows. And in return in recompense of these things the remembered man granted for the share of the church from the portion of his own inheritance in the place which is called Feldmoching: 1 messuage, all the buildings, 1 tenant, 60 yokes of arable, 12 cartloads.. Whence also they requested that two deeds of exchange with the same wording be written out, so that either might hold and possess what he had received from the other for all times.

TF 791, 857x64 (B 47v)

The Exchange between Bishop Anno and a Certain Noble Man by the Name of Heimbert

In the Name of God. It was pleasing and agreeable between the venerable man Bishop Anno and a certain layman by the name of Heimperht to make another exchange for their common advantage, and thus they did it. Accordingly, the afore said venerable bishop, together with the consent and support of the canons and monks and of other faithful men abiding in that same church and by license of the Most Serene Lord King Ludwig, granted to the same noble man a share of from the church in the vill which is called Pellheim: 1 messuage together with buildings, 40 yokes of arable, 12 cartloads of meadows so that he might have and possess it and forever do whatever he chooses. And in recompense of these things he himself granted to the aforementioned bishop the share of his own property in the vill which is called Rumeltshausen: 1 messuage together with the buildings, 52 yokes of arable, 12 cartloads of meadows. Whence also they requested that two deeds of exchange with the same wording be written out, so that either might hold and possess what he had received from the other with none of the bishop's successors or any of the afore said layman's kinsmen objecting, but rather that the present exchange which was done for the profit of both might endure valid for all times.

TF 799, 857x64 (B 53r)

The Exchange between Bishop Anno and Hantuni

In the Name of God. It pleased and was agreed between the Venerable Bishop Anno and a certain noble man by the name of Hantuni to make a certain exchange, and they did it thus. Accordingly, the Venerable Bishop granted to the same noble man two parts of one field in the place which is called Prittlbach to be held as his own. And he in return in recompense for these properties restored twofold in the same place. Whence also they requested that two deeds of exchange with the same wording be written out, so that either might hold and possess what he had received from the other for all times.

TF 866, 860x69 (B 246r)

The Conveyance of Erhard a Certain Noble Man

When by the inspiration of divine mercy the custom of pious devotion is implanted so that anyone for the hope of future recompense should busy himself to attain eternal rewards, whence it happens that a certain noble man by the name of Erhart comes into the presence of the Venerable Bishop Anno at Freising intending to make a certain conveyance just as he also did it. For he conveyed to the altar of St Mary whatever property he was seen to have in the place which is called Berg, otherwise named Überacker, the church, courtyard, dwelling, land cultivated and uncultivated, slaves, meadows, water and watercourses, with none of his coheirs objecting, so that it might not remain firm. Moreover, in another place which is called Biberbach he conveyed whatever he had there on this day and immediately released it to the cathedral church of God and received it back in benefice. And these are the witnesses tugged by the ears: Eccho, Sigipald, Cartheri, Egilbreht, Tiso, Otachar, Rihpold, Otperht, Immino, Altrih, Willihelm, Leoperht, Wichart, Erchanperht, Epuco, Ellinhart, Sigimunt.

TF 872, 860x75 (B 30v/62r)

An Exchange between Bishop Anno and a Certain Noble Man by the Name of Liutfrid

In the Name of God. It pleased and was agreed between the Venerable Anno Bishop of the church of Freising and a certain noble man by the name of Liutfrid to make a certain exchange, and they did it



thus. The aforesaid Venerable Bishop together with the consent of the canons and monks and also by license of the Lord King Ludwig gave from the account of the afore titled church to the aforesaid noble man to hold as property in the place which is called Sigmertshausen a church, courtyard, dwelling, three slaves, Hruodhari together with two sons, 5 hides of arable land, and 80 cartloads of meadows, 80 yokes of woodlands. And in return in recompense for these properties the afore named noble man gave to the Venerable Bishop to be held for the part of the of the church in the place which is called Feldmoching a dwelling with courtyard, three slaves of whom the names are Hiltiperht, Unfrid, Rihholt, 2 barns, 1 hopfield, 6 hides of arable land, 100 cartloads of meadows, 100 yokes of woodlands, and for the church he conveyed to the cathedral church of St Mary in that same place 2 hides, 1 mill. This was done on this very condition, that he render the tithe from that church into the power of the bishop. Whence also they requested that two deeds of exchange with the same wording be written out, so that either might hold and possess what he had received from the other for all times.

TF 891, 864 (B 27v/36r)

#### The Exchange between Bishop Anno and Sheriff Cotascalc

In the Name of God. It pleased and was agreed between the Venerable Anno, Bishop of the Freising church, and a certain noble man Cotascalc the sheriff and his wife by the name of Altasuind to make a certain exchange, and they did it thus. Accordingly, the aforesaid Venerable Bishop granted on behalf of the afore titled church of Freising together with the consent and agreement of the canons and the monks and the other faithful men abiding within that same church and by license of the Most Serene King to the same Cotascalc the sheriff and his wife in the place which is called Etzenhausen, a church, courtyard, dwelling, orchard, hopfield, storehouse, and 240 yokes of arable land, 300 cartloads of meadows. And in return in recompense for these properties the aforesaid Cotascalc together with his wife from a share of their own property granted to the same Venerable Bishop to be held for the aforementioned church; in the place which is called Weng a courtyard with dwelling, 225 [yokes] of arable land, 200 cartloads of meadows; at Hollenbach a courtyard with dwelling and a third part of the church, 154 yokes of arable land, 35 cartloads of the best meadows, and sufficient of other things. Whence also they requested that two deeds of exchange with the same wording be written out, so that either might hold and possess what he had received from the other for all times. These are the witnesses: Heimperht, Wolfperht, Eparheri, Eginolf.

TF 898, 869 (B 246r)

#### The Conveyance of the Peretkund, a Woman Dedicated to God, at Rohrbach and Rudlfing and Pitten

[a.] Be it manifest to all those established within the country of the Bavarians how a certain matron of Christ by the name of Peretkund, pondering to make a certain conveyance of her own property, considering the divine saying: 'Give earthly things, acquire things eternal', did it also thus. Having taken counsel with those who were wont to give her advice, coming to Freising into the presence of Anno the Venerable Bishop and of their magnates, and with devout mind she completed the afore written matter which she had thought to do. Arising indeed, in the presence of all seated there, with full authority and none opposing, she conveyed into the reliquary of St Mary whatever of property she was seen to have at Rohrbach and Rudlfing in arable lands, meadows, slaves, woodlands, pastures, waters and watercourse, so that it might remain steadfast to the cathedral church of God forever for all times. With this conveyance executed, the Venerable Bishop Anno received it by his steward Kaganhard. And these are the witnesses: Managolt sheriff, Egino, Kuoto, Pald, Amalrih, Petto, Kartheri, Emheri.

[b.] Afterwards she agreed to increase it further for the cathedral church of God, and she conveyed all that she had at Pitten, and Managold her brother [acting] together with her. And these are the witnesses: Egino, Kuoto, Pald, Amalrih, Petto, Kartheri, Emheri.

[c.] After these things were executed, it had happened that the Most Pious Karlmann, son of King Ludwig, went into the eastern regions with not a little troop, coming to Baden. Thereupon, an inquest was held there in the palace before Karlmann by Peretkund whether anyone intended to oppose her, [charging] that she had neither the power nor the right over her property to convey it wherever she desired. After a bit Sheriff Kundhari arose saying that he had all that property in hereditary right by conveyance of Ratpod, and thus she could scarcely grant it away to any cathedral church of God. In regard to this plea, these witnesses were introduced: Cundalperht, Amalker, Rapholt, Uogo, Amalrih, Hato, bound by oath in the presence of the people saying that they knew this, that it would have been conveyed rather to Fridarat and his daughter Peretkund than to any other man. Then Kundhari, thus overcome, was convinced that he had no further grounds for suit. With all of these things thus executed, she repeated her conveyance validly in the presence of the Pious Karlmann, conveying whatever of property she had at Pitten, except for 40 dependent holdings which she conveyed to Managolt and Egino her brothers, and agreed to have it back in benefice. These are the witnesses: Oadalrih sheriff, Waltilo, Keio, Eginolf, Hruodperht, Cundhram, Hoolt Wolfperht, Immo, Wirunt, Undeo.

TF 899, 8 February 870 (B 248r)

#### The Second Conveyance by Peretkund

The Lord declares in the gospels, 'Whoever will serve me, let him follow' and the rest. Peretkund, a certain woman dedicated to God, following the example in this matter and moved by divine admonition, came to Freising into the presence of the Venerable Bishop Anno and his faithful men to repeat the original conveyance which she already had often carried out. For, with many persons standing around, approaching the church of St Mary Ever Virgin, she conveyed to the altar of Christ's confessor St Corbinian whatever property she was seen to hold on this side of the Leitha mountains, putting nothing aside, but that she would convey everything, and immediately she would dismiss it to the cathedral church of God except for 40 hides which she had conveyed to her brothers, Managold and Egino. And in return she accepted in benefice for her life in places called Kienberg, Allershausen, Pettenbach, and one hide in Weil. And thus it was completed on this condition, that if anyone had the intent to infringe this agreement, the conveyance might continue in power. And these are the witnesses: Fritilo count palatine, Wirunt, Erchanfrid, Anno, Wolfperht, Tozi, Arperht, Wicperht, Cundheri, Liutprant, Fatto, Ihho, Rihuni, Nothart, Isanpart, Erchanperht, Hilitroh, Pern, Hiltiperht, Adalfrid, Hruodperht, Otachar, Salamar, Oadalrih, Kamanolf, Matheri, Undeo Wichart, Kartheri, Otperht, Alprih, Fustrih. This was done at Freising on the 6th ides of February, in the 870th year of the Lord's incarnation, in the 3rd indiction.

TF 901, 870 (B 241r)

#### The Conveyance of Alta at Glonn

In the Name of the Omnipotent God. Be it known to all the faithful of the Bavarians that Alta, vowed to the service of God, thinking to increase the cathedral church of God with her gifts, coming to Freising into the presence of Bishop Anno along with Buoso, her husband, conveyed to the altar of St Mary where Christ's Confessor St Corbinian rests bodily, whatever of property she was seen to have at Glonn in buildings, land cultivated and uncultivated, meadows, pasture, water and watercourses [4 cm gap in ms] together with these slaves of whom the names are: Eckimunt, Adalperht, Teorperht,





Herilant, Ratmunt, Fridarat, Heildrud, Amalgund, Rihpurc, Emihilt. And, in return, she accepted in benefice from the Venerable Bishop Anno, Ruler of this church, in a place which is called Zell next to the stream Wollnzach, so that she might hold them both up to the end of her life and, after her decease, this conveyance might persist validly and uncontroverted to the cathedral church of God. And these are the witnesses: Erchanfrid, Hruodperht, Heipo, Wichart, Helidolf, Muniperht, Kerhart, Fridaperht, Irminhart, Kanganhart, Rihperht, Hemmo, Francho, Matheus, Hruodolt, Reginhart, Folmot, Wicperht, Isolf, Isanhart. This was done at Freising in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 870, the 3rd indiction.

## Part 5. Gazetteer of Huosiland Places in the Translated Document (TF Number omitted for Freising documents)

Adelzhausen 108 335 384 734	Buch nr Ainhofen 39 605 607
Ainhofen 626	Buch nr Fürstenfeldbruck 12 375 648 692
Airischwand 70	Buch, Leonhards- 495 528
Allach 65 190 365 519 599	<i>Cella</i> 326
Allershausen 318 401 475 547 644 660 899	<i>Coetefridssteti</i> nr Eglhausen 575
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Feldtuching 226	Hirschenhausen 219
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Fischen 77 295 435	Hofheim 19 184
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Föhring, Ober- 463 466	Hollenbach 891
Fröttmanning 336	Holzen nr Zolling 23 86 323 523 609
Fürholzen 46 286 723	<i>Holze nr Schmiedhausen 676</i>
Gallenbach 488	<i>Holzhausen 466</i>
Garmisch 186	Holzhausen, Fürstenfeldbruck 75 185 316 409
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Gerenzhausen 133 582	Holzhausen, Wester- 38 148 149 215
Gerlhausen 226 523	Holzhausen nr Würmsee 87 197 394
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Giesenbach 46	Hörenzhausen 434
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Haimhausen 46 585	Kienaden nr Bergkirchen 746
Haindlfing, Ober-/Unter- 745	Kienberg, Ober-/Unter- 45 421 475 564 660 723 725 899



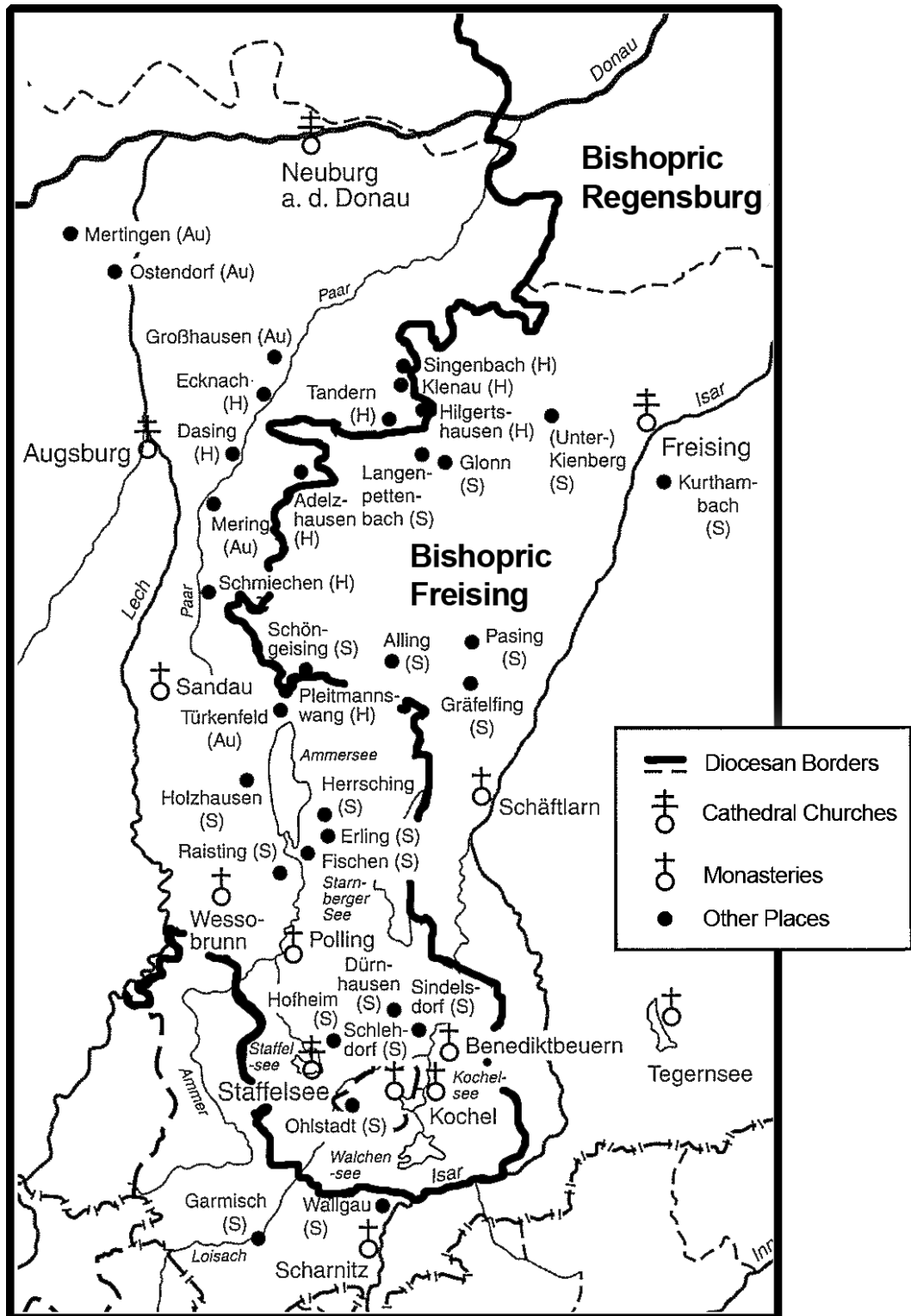
Klenau 661	Ottmarshart nr Niederroth 315 390 702
Königsdorf 291 339	<i>Pachiltahofa</i> 626
Kottgeisering 576 608	Pang 672
Kurtham 19	Pasenbach 407
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Oelpersberg nr Zolling 556	<i>Ried</i> nr Edelshausen 252
Ohlstatt nr Garmish 615	<i>Ried</i> nr Pettenbach 318
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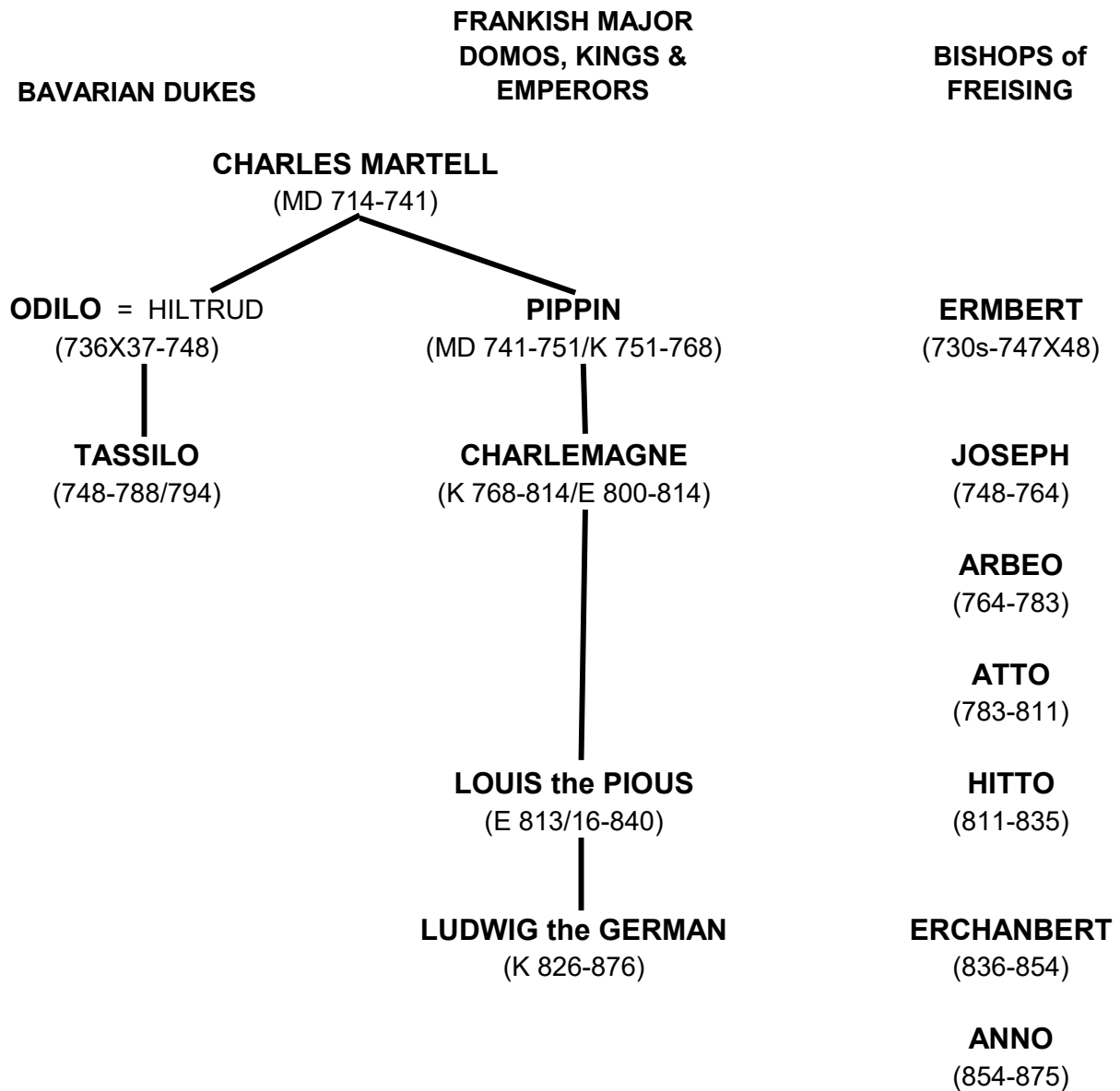
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<i>Ried</i> nr Ohlstatt 615	Sulzemoos 438; see also DLD 35
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## Map and Exhibits



Map of Huosiland with Freising/Augsburg Diocesan Border  
(after G. Mayr, 'Bemerkungen', p. 92/Bayerischer Geschichtsatlas, Map 26)



*Exhibit 1/3: The Rulers of Huosiland*

<b>TF Nr:</b>	Nil [=221a]	221[=b]	200a	200b	200c	200d	200e	200f	200g	543
<b>Renner Nr:</b>	Atto 108	Atto 109	Atto 192	Atto 192	Atto 192	Atto 192	Atto 192	Atto 192	Atto 192	Hitto 181
<b>Folio Nr:</b>	121v	121v-122r	168r	168r-v	168v	168v-169r	169r	169r	169r-v	293r-v
<b>Scribe:</b>	Tagabert subd	Nil	Tagabert subd	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Erchanheri	Undeo deac
<b>Place:</b>	Freising	Nil	Freising	Alting?	Etterschlag?	Etterschlag	Nil	Nil	Alting	Eching
<b>Date:</b>	16 Sep 804	20 Jan	16 Sep 804	Nil	28 Mar	1 Sep	12 Oct	1 Feb	8 Jan 810	23 May 827
<b>Traditor:</b>	Erchanheri pr Heriwin pr	Erchanheri pr	Erchanheri pr Heriwin pr	Kysalheri br Irmminheri br	Deotperht	Isanhart	Isanhart Isanbert br	Walto Engilmot ux Perhtolt	Erchanheri pr	Wichari pr (Epucho)
<b>Property:</b>	Alting Ludenhausen	Alting	Alting Ludenhausen	Alting	Etterschlag?	Nil	Etterschlag	manc+agr	Alting (St Peter) Dorfen (St Martin)	Alting
<b>Beneficiary:</b>	Freising	Freising	Freising	Erchanheri (custor) Alting (St Mary)	Alting? (St Mary)	Erchanheri pr	Erchanheri	Nil	Herwin nep Freising	Freising
<b>Witnesses:</b>	Kaganhart Meginhart Toato Nothart Hrochof Ekkihart Tiso	Ellannod archpr Eio Pernwin pr Kaganhart Liutker Lantfrid Alpuni Werinc Crimheri Erchanfrid Reginheim Putilo Snelhart Deotheri Isaac Emiho Walto Isanheri Pirtilo Zaheri Tozzi	Kaganhart Meginhart Toato Nothart Hrochof Ekkihart Tiso	Kysalheri Reginhart Crimheri fil.Ky. Wicheri Irmminheri Isanhart Putilo Ernst Walto Hamadeo	Kysalheri Peradeo Reginhart Crimheri Echo Haduperht Willapato Sigwart Putilo Isanhart Liutperht Sigfrid Chunimunt Hamadeo Deotperht Pirhtilo Rinchof Drooz	Hamadeo Pirhtilo Rinchof Deotperht Aran Meginperht	Kysalheri Irmminheri Heio Willapald Wicheri Crimheri Kysalhart Hamadeo Pirhtilo Rinchof Deotperht Drooz	Kysalheri Irmminheri Wicheri Crimheri Heidanrih Keidrih Engilperht Cozzo Putilo Ernst	Erchanheri pr Heito Kysalhart Irmminheri Wicheri Waltheri Altuperht Marcho Isanpart Haio Adalwait Tinno Putilo Ernst	56 Names

Exhibit 2/2: Alting Deeds



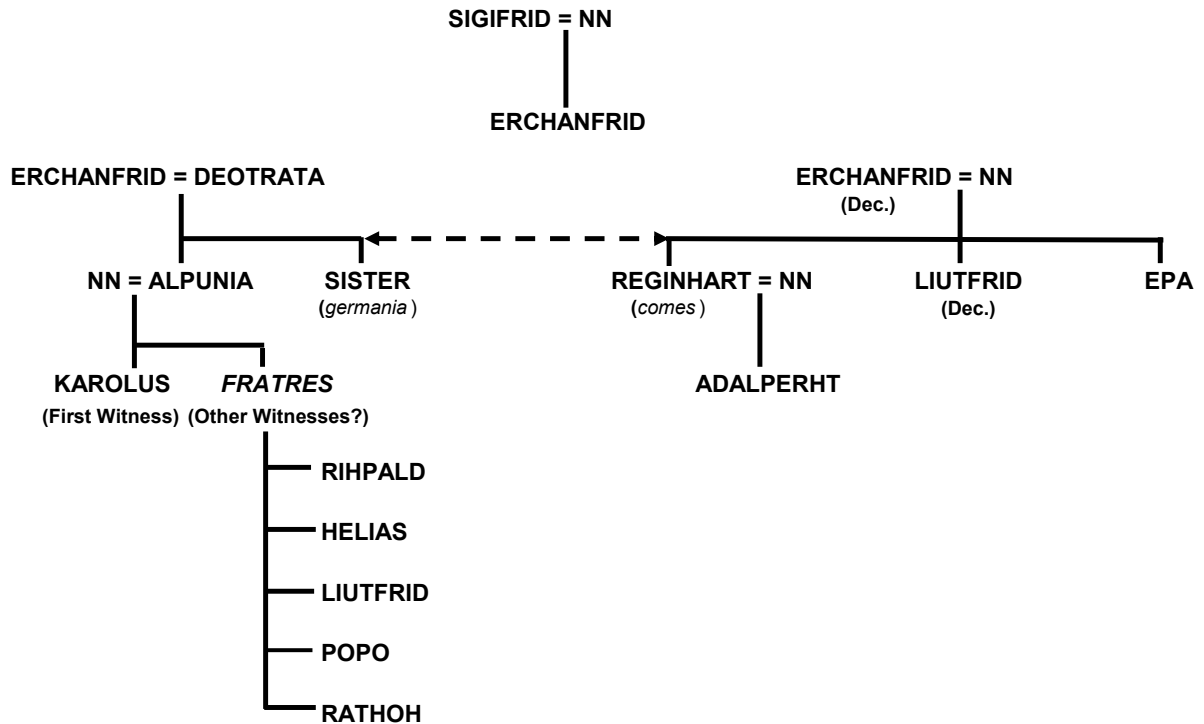
<b>TF Nr:</b>	75	76a	77	295	145
<b>Renner Nr:</b>	Atto 183	Atto 184	Atto 186	Atto 181	Atto 54
<b>Folio Nr:</b>	161v-162r	162r-162v	163r-163v	160v-161r	99r-99v
<b>Scribe:</b>	Atto abbas	Williperht presb	Atto abbas	Kerolt deac	Tagabert
<b>Place/Date:</b>	Schlehdorf? 776	Schlehdorf? 776	Schlehdorf? 776	Schlehdorf loc publ 20 July 809	Freising? 791x802?
<b>Traditor:</b>	Isanhart	Reginhart fil l.	Hroadunc Nendinc (Atto abbas) (Reginbert mon)	Ellanod abbas (Reginhart adv)	Irminheri Hrodlant Deotmar Regino
<b>Property:</b>	Herrsching Holzhausen Raisting Erling	Duerrnhausen Raisting	Fischen	Fischen	Farchant
<b>Beneficiary:</b>	Sts Tertull/Dion (Schlehdorf)	St Tertull (Schlehdorf)	Sts Pet/Tertull (Schlehdorf) (Ellanod fil nos) (Kaganhart fil nos)	Sts Dion/Tertull (Schlehdorf) (Hericco nep)	Atto epis
<b>Witnesses:</b>	Isanhart Reginhart Deotpald Kerwolf Kaganhart Nendinc Otti	ipse Reginhart Lantfrid Deotpald Kerwolf presb Kaganhart Nendinc Otti	Isanhart dom nos Reginhart Deotpald Arahad Heio Reginhart Irminheri Mahtuni Hahart Kerolf presb Kaganhart Otti Arfrid Adalperht Lantfrid	Meginrat Helmker Otperht Frumolt Arfrid Adalwart Oadalfrid	Reginhart Nipulunc Kaganhart Oadalker Hitto

Exhibit 2/3a: Fischen Deeds

**TRAD.FREISING, Nr 44**  
Pettenbach  
(12 August 772)

**TRAD.FREISING, Nr 31**  
Ebertshausen  
(24 February 769)

**TRAD.FREISING, Nr 199**  
Pettenbach  
(2 September 804)

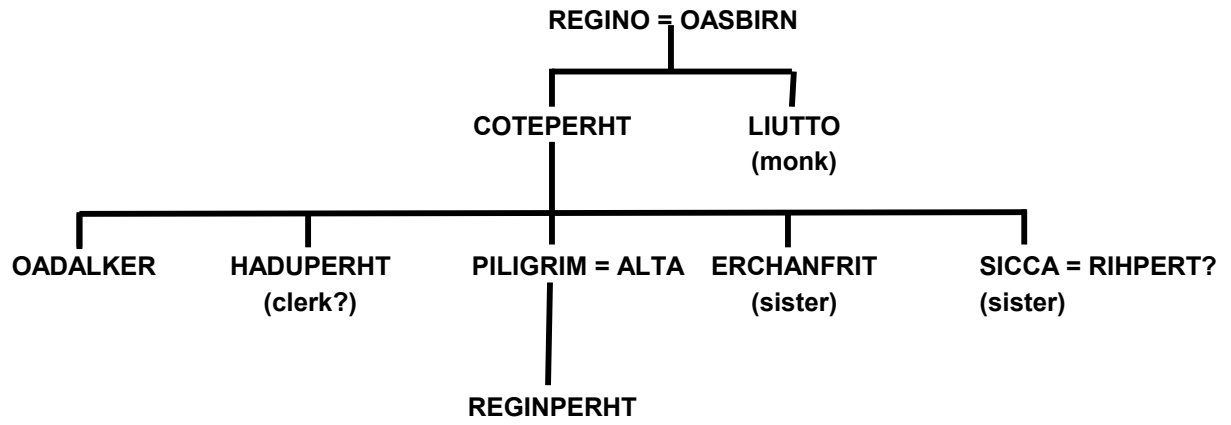


*Exhibit 2/3b: Reginhart Comes*

<b>TF Nr:</b>	547a	547b	547c	547d	547e	547f	547g
<b>Renner Nr:</b>	230	230	230	230	230	230	230
<b>Folio Nr:</b>	320r-v	320v-321r	321r-321v	321v	321v	322r	322r
<b>Scribe:</b>	Cozroh presb?	Undeo diac	Cozroh presb	Cozroh presb	Cozroh presb	Nil	Nil
<b>Place:</b>	Freising	Holzmoching	Freising	Freising	Freising	Allershausen	Freising
<b>Date:</b>	19 July 827	29 Sept 827	5 Oct 827	5 Oct 827	5 Oct 827	6 Oct 827	6 Nov 827
<b>Traditor:</b>	Piligrim Reginperht fil	Erchanfrit (soror Piligrim)	Hartnid	Liutpald	Piligrim (Erchanfrit)	Piligrim Erchanfrit Liutpald Hartnid	Poapo Heriolt (coheredes)
<b>Property:</b>	Allershausen (in eccl rebus)	Allershausen (in eccl re)	Allershausen (in eccl re)	Allershausen (ill eccl rebus)	Allershausen (prist trad renov)	Allershausen (vestivit)	Allershausen (ips eccl rebus)
<b>Beneficiary:</b>	dom St Mary tumul Corbinian (Freising)	capsa St Mary (Freising)	altar St Mary sepul Corbinian (Freising)	dom/alt St Mary sepul Corbinian (Freising)	altar St Mary (Freising)	Rubo archpr (miss Bp Hitto) (Freising)	altar St Mary (Freising)
<b>Witnesses:</b>	Heriperht Antonio Deotrih Heriperht al Arahad Karuheri Ambricho Hroadperht Juto Amalo Wichelm Sintarfizilo Wigant Reginhoh Engilpald (cunct fam vid:) in pres Bp Hitto Oadalpald pr/moi Ingubertus pr Waldarricus pr Adalmunt pr Ratuni pr Perhtolt diac Nendinc diac	Piligrim Paldachar Crimperht Petto Wicco Oadalscalch Ratkis Wolfolt Managolt Hiltipald Hroadperht Sigipald Oadalrih Chuniperht Tiso Liutpald Oadalker Wetti Kepolf Reginhart Reginperht Cundalperht Hartmot Deotpald Sintervizzilo Wigant Mahtuni Wolcrim Juto Engilrih Kaganhart Karuheri Adalperht	Hitto ep Baturicus ep (cunct fam:) Adalbert abb Wago capel Oadalpald pr Rubo archpr Altman pr Adalmunt [pr] Wisuker pr Eliuni pr Ratuni pr Undeo diac Anno diac Erchanolf diac Benignus diac Liutpald com Reginperht Priso Oadalscalc Willihelm Alprat Piligrim Sigipald Haduperht Willipato Reginhart Hroadhart Adalperht Reginperht Oadalrih Kepahoh Eigil Adalhart Crimuni Hroadperht (cont next:)	suprad test (as 547c)	suprad test (as 547c)	Ortuni Adalhart Hitto Irfinc Reginperht Eigil Deotrih Erchanperht Engilheri Oadalrih Oadalscalch	Piligrim Reginperht Petto Wichelm Adalunc Wicco Uro Mahtuni Ambricho Irminfrid Poapo al Wolfcrim Reginhart Sintarvizzilo Sigihart Hatto Wigant

Exhibit 2/5a: Piligrim's Allershausen Deeds





*Exhibit 2/5b: Pilgrim's Family*

IN NOMINE DNI NRI  
 XPI DE TEMPORIB; UENERAN  
 OIURI CALMINE IURIS SUBLI  
 MAXI HATIONIS EPI INCIPIAN  
 DIUERSAS TRADITIONES FIRMI  
 TER PER ACTAS ADDOMUSCIE  
 ADRIE AORIGISINGAS  
 TRADITIONES COZI AORICHARES  
 T. HUSU ET FOLMOTI FRISSUI.

**D**iscussed here is the landscape of western Bavaria in the early-medieval period, between about 750 and 850. The title of the study derives from several indications that a noble genealogia, the Huosi, were particularly influential there during the period. Huosiland may be the best documented European landscape of this time. This is due to the extraordinary cartulary or register of deeds prepared for the diocese of Freising by the monk, Cozroh, in the second quarter of the ninth century. The first part of the study (Contexts) describes Cozroh's codex and Huosiland and then analyzes the main political, ecclesiastical, social and economic structures and features there, based upon the available historical and archaeological evidence. The second part (Connections) explores a selection of particular issues raised by specific documents or related groups of documents from Huosiland. The third part provides all of the voluminous and highly-informative documentary evidence for Huosiland, both from Cozroh's codex and other sources, complete in full English translation. As a result, the reader is able to construct his or her own Contexts and Connections. A full annotated Bibliography of the relevant secondary literature is included as is a complete Gazetteer of the translated documents. The publication will provide a valuable resource both for advanced teaching and for scholarly research.

Carl Hammer graduated from Amherst College (B.A.) and the University of Toronto (Ph.D.). He has also studied and conducted research at the universities of Munich, Chicago and Oxford. After a brief teaching career, he spent the balance of his professional life in international business with Westinghouse Corporation and the former Rail Systems Division of Daimler Benz. He is now retired. He has published four other scholarly monographs on early-medieval Bavaria, two of them with Archaeopress, and numerous articles in North American and European academic journals. He and his wife live in Pittsburgh but spend several months each year in Easthampton, MA, where he has acquired a new research interest in the Puritans of the Connecticut Valley and colonial western Massachusetts.