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# Of Palaces, Hunts, and Pork Roast: Deciphering the Last Chapters of the Capitulary of Quierzy (a. 877)

*Martin Gravel*

Politics depends on personal contacts.<sup>1</sup> This is true in today's world, and it was certainly true in early medieval states. Even in the Carolingian empire, the largest Western polity of the period, power depended on relations built on personal contacts.<sup>2</sup> In an effort to nurture such necessary relationships, the sovereign moved with his court, within a network of important political "communication centres";<sup>3</sup> in the ninth century, the foremost among these were his palaces, along with certain cities and religious sanctuaries. And thus, in contemporaneous sources, the Latin term *palatium* often designates not merely a royal residence but the king's entourage, through a metonymic displacement that shows the importance of palatial grounds in

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\* I would like to thank my fellow panelists at the International Medieval Congress (Leeds, 2011): Stuart Airlie, Alexandra Beauchamp, and Aurélien Le Coq, as well as our session organizer Jens Schneider. This paper has greatly benefited from the good counsel of Jennifer R. Davis, Eduard Frunzeanu, Alban Gautier, Maxime L'Héritier, and Jonathan Wild. I am also indebted to Eric J. Goldberg, who was kind enough to read my draft and share insightful remarks. In the final stage, the precise reading by *Florilegium's* anonymous referees has greatly improved this paper.

- 1 In this paper, the term *politics* will be used in accordance with Baker's definition, as rephrased by Stofferahn: "politics, broadly construed, is the activity through which individuals and groups in any society articulate, negotiate, implement, and enforce the competing claims they make upon one another"; Stofferahn, "Resonance and Discord," 9.
- 2 Reuter went so far as to argue that before the thirteenth century, royal assemblies were the *only* place where the political community took form and became an active force; Reuter, "Assembly Politics," 442. For a more optimistic view of Carolingian politics as defined by various acts of communication, see Gravel, *Distances*, 28-46.
- 3 The term *king* will designate emperors and kings, unless otherwise noted.

defining meeting spaces that were both physical and relational:<sup>4</sup> coming to the palace, one could hope to see and hear the sovereign. This is why research on the movements of kings (*Itinerarforschung*) has been vital to recent historiography.<sup>5</sup> It also justifies the considerable efforts invested in the study of palatial sites (*Pfalzforschung*), notably through archaeology.<sup>6</sup> And it coheres with the central role of the concept of ‘proximity to the king’ (*Königsnähe*) in Carolingian political historiography.<sup>7</sup>

The significance of a specific palace at a certain time depended on the way the king made use of it and adapted its setting to suit these uses. In his seminal work on Frankish itinerant kingship, Carlrichard Brühl concurred with the principle that early medieval palaces were defined, in part, by the king’s recurrent visits, while insisting on the fact that the sites had to be equipped accordingly.<sup>8</sup> Since then, the validity of these considerations has been confirmed. Every historical study of *Pfalzforschung* carefully considers the sojourns of the respective kings, trying to understand why they stayed at a palace at a certain time, how long they stayed, whom they met, and what they did while there.<sup>9</sup> In other words, beyond locating the palaces, unearthing their archaeological remains, and charting the kings’ travels from one to another, historians have been trying to determine the changing political relevance of each site.<sup>10</sup>

This sort of enquiry has its difficulties. The available information seems abundant, but it is fragmentary, and charters, capitularies, and narrative sources permit only partial reconstructions of events. Kings can sometimes be placed at specific

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4 Zotz, “*Palatium publicum*,” 73-81. See also Renoux, “Aux marches.”

5 For recent research focused on this subject with respect to the Carolingian empire, see McKittrick, *Charlemagne*, 137-213; and Gravel, *Distances*, 46-71.

6 In this field, the most important enterprise of the last fifty years has been the project titled *Deutsche Königspfalzen*, conducted at the Max Planck Institut in Göttingen (see bibliography under that title). For a recent report on the research concerning the palaces of the Frankish heartland, see Renoux, “Bemerkungen.”

7 The concept is widely used, but it has rarely been the specific object of enquiry, since its initial development by Gerd Tellenbach, who hypothesized the existence of a Carolingian ‘imperial aristocracy’ (*Reichsaristokratie*) dependent on its direct relation to the emperor; Tellenbach, *Königtum*. Concerning the relational nature of the early medieval state, see Innes, “People, Places and Power”; Airlie, “The Aristocracy”; and Airlie, “The Palace of Memory.”

8 Brühl, *Fodrum, gistum*, 1:92-93; and Brühl, “Die Herrscheritinerare,” 624-25.

9 For reliable overviews, see Barbier, “Les lieux du pouvoir,” and Stieldorf, “Reiseherrschaft.”

10 For two general presentations of the basic theoretical approach, see Barbier, “Le système palatial franc,” 248-55; and Zotz, “Pfalzen zur Karolingerzeit,” 18-19.

locations for specific activities such as court hearings, assemblies, diplomatic consultations, and religious festivals, but the sources rarely touch on the relationship between the sovereign's presence, his actions, and the particular symbolic character of the palace, and thus even the status of such an important palace as Aachen has been a subject of debate. Only recently have most historians been decisively convinced by the arguments of Janet Nelson, among others, in favour of a positive appreciation of the unique position which Aachen occupied in the palace network of the Carolingian empire under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.<sup>11</sup>

While it is possible to locate the palaces favoured by a king and to develop a general outline of his actions when in residence, contemporaneous sources rarely reveal precise information about the political character of a *palatium*, or about the features that distinguish it from another *palatium*, or a *villa*, or a *curtis*. The symbolic significance of a palace is difficult to circumscribe.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, every piece of textual evidence that might bring clarity should be scrutinized, especially if it helps promote an understanding beyond the basics of the number and duration of the stays.

Chapters 32 and 33 of the famous capitulary of Quierzy provide some of these rare textual clues.<sup>13</sup> As a whole, the document records the proceedings of an assembly held in June 877 by the emperor Charles the Bald. It has been thoroughly discussed as a major piece of evidence for the so-called feudal transformation,<sup>14</sup> but its last two chapters have not received much attention.<sup>15</sup> This should be corrected.

The situation that brought about the Quierzy assembly and resulted in the composition of the capitulary was a very difficult one for Charles the Bald. After the death of Emperor Louis II, Charles had claimed the imperial title and spent half a year in Italy, from September 875 to April 876.<sup>16</sup> This was a dangerous gamble. His

11 Nelson, "Aachen as a Place of Power."

12 Efforts have been made in that direction, for example, Depreux, "Le 'siège du royaume'; Zotz, "*Palatium publicum*"; and Ehlers, "Having the King."

13 Chapter references are to the standard edition: *MGH Capit. II*, 355-61, no. 281.

14 For a recent historiographical report that reaches back to Montesquieu, see Guillot, "Dans l'avant X<sup>e</sup> siècle," 478-82.

15 Curiosity has sometimes been expressed but has not led to publications; see Devisse, *Hincmar*, 2:820 n. 681.

16 What follows depends mainly on the Annals of St. Bertin, which have been analysed in Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 221-53. For a recent biographical study of Louis the Stammerer, see McCarthy, "Power and Kingship."

half-brother Louis the German took the opportunity to invade the northern part of his kingdom, going so far as to celebrate Christmas at Attigny, one of Charles's most frequented palaces.<sup>17</sup> Louis the German died the following summer, but Charles's difficulties on the eastern frontier of his realm were not over. Hoping to profit from his brother's death, he tried to take control of all Lotharingia, but in September 876, his army was routed by Louis the Younger's host at Andernach, near Koblenz,<sup>18</sup> and his last efforts to gain control of the former realm of Lothar II (†869) thus met with failure as he was humiliated twice, by the occupation of his palace and a devastating military defeat. Charles also had to face serious opposition from within his own realm, notably because his sons were prone to revolt. Charles the Child served as the figurehead of an Aquitanian uprising in 863, and a year earlier, Louis the Stammerer had allied himself with the Bretons and moved against his father's interests in Neustria.<sup>19</sup> Even Charles's third son, Carloman, who had been tonsured at an early age, served as the political leader of an opposition movement in Lotharingia following the 869 annexation. Carloman grew close to Louis the German, who tried to use him against his father, even after Carloman had been blinded for his rebellious actions.<sup>20</sup> Yet Charles had to suffer additional indignities from his children: two of his sons married without his consent, and his eldest, twice-widowed daughter eloped with the unruly Count Baldwin of Flanders.<sup>21</sup>

These setbacks and difficulties were still fresh when Charles decided to return to Italy in the spring of 877. Carloman's actions had reminded him that sons could become their father's enemies, and his brother and nephew had just shown their readiness to invade his territory. The lords of the realm were prepared to support these familial adversaries, notably in Lotharingia, where Charles had not been able to gain the support of the *potentes*. On top of all this, Charles was in poor health. Therefore, organizing his succession was very much on the agenda, and he hoped that his second

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17 This was clearly an important nexus for the second part of his reign since he was at Attigny almost every year from 859 to 874; see Barbier, "Palais et fisc," 138-44.

18 Louis the German had three adult sons and heirs: Carloman (†880), Louis the Younger (†882), and Charles the Fat (†888).

19 McCarthy, "Power and Kingship," 45-48.

20 Nelson, "A Tale of Two Princes," 111-15. McCarthy, "Power and Kingship," 35-36.

21 Joye, *La femme ravie*, 449-58.

wife, Richildis, would provide him with a new heir to rival Louis the Stammerer.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, in the spring of 877, Charles decided to lead his army to Italy, apparently to fight the Muslim pirates who were harassing the coastal lands of the papal state.<sup>23</sup>

Sickness and death, invasion and revolt, tensions between the queen and the heir apparent — these difficulties determined the discussions of the Quierzy assembly of June 877, which was called to establish how Charles's realm was to be administered during his imminent, dangerous Italian campaign. Given that Charles wanted to reduce the potential for problems during his absence, the capitulary must be read as a series of preventative measures specific to this context.

It is therefore no surprise that the Quierzy proceedings did not have much impact after the death of Charles the Bald — although historians long considered it a far-reaching piece of legislation, which supposedly stabilized the (alleged) concessions made by Charles to the aristocratic families who held high, secular offices.<sup>24</sup> Medieval copyists and their patrons, however, were less interested: the transmission of this capitulary depends on a single, early seventeenth-century edition (1623) based on a single manuscript, now lost.<sup>25</sup> Hincmar made two references to it after Charles's death, first in a letter to Louis the Stammerer, and then in the *ordo* of Louis's coronation.<sup>26</sup> Thereafter, except for one short, verbatim citation in the coronation *ordo* of 882, it disappears from the textual record.

It follows that this capitulary can hardly be read as a determinative statement of feudal hereditary succession, though this reading has encouraged its incomplete and uneven treatment. Legal historians have so much focused on the section of the capitulary where the emperor's statements are answered by the *fideles* (cap. 1-9) and on the

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22 Nelson, "La mort," 58-61. Kasten, *Königssöhne*, 456-65. For Richildis as a shrewd player in this political game, see Brühl, "Karolingische Miscellen I," 355-70.

23 Organizing an efficient response to the Muslim threat in Italy had been a serious problem since Lothar's reign; see Zielinski, "Reisegeschwindigkeit." Nelson points out that in the year following Charles's final Italian campaign of 877, the Muslim forces took Syracuse and conquered Sicily; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 248.

24 See note 14. Among legal historians who consider the capitulary from this angle, see Fałkowski, "La monarchie en crise," 334-35. This reading tends to be taken for solid, historical fact; see Schneidmüller, "Quierzy," 368.

25 *Karoli Calvi*, ed. Sirmond, 424-41. Nothing is known of the lost manuscript.

26 Hincmar, "Ad Ludovicum Balbum regem," *PL* 125:983D-990B. *Ordines* of 877 and 882: *Ordines coronationis*, ed. Jackson, 1:110-23, 130-32.

excerpts read to the attendees (*coram populo*)<sup>27</sup> that their analysis has largely neglected the rest (cap. 10-33).<sup>28</sup> The final two chapters, however, offer rare information concerning symbols of power and the specific situation in the year 877. Charles here limited the range of his son's activities at certain palaces and estates and in some forests.

The full text of these final two chapters reads as follows:

32. Here are those of our palaces in which our son shall not stay, if there is no necessity [to do so], and the reserves in which he shall not go hunting. Quierzy and its reserve are entirely off-limits. Likewise Servais and all the Laonnois. Likewise Compiègne and Cuise. Likewise Samoussy. He shall not accept pigs from the estate of Orville, nor can he hunt there, unless he is passing through [the area]. He can hunt a little at Attigny. At Ver, he can accept only pigs. The Ardennes are entirely off-limits, unless [he is] passing through. And likewise the estates [assigned] to our service. At *Ligurio*, he can accept pigs and wild beasts. Herstal and its reserve are entirely off-limits. At *Lens*, *Wara*, and *Astenido*, he can take both wild beasts and pigs. At *Rugitusit*, *Scadebolt*, and *Launif*, only if [he is] passing through, and as little as possible. Likewise at Crécy. At *Lisga*, he can accept only pigs.

33. Thus, for each reserve, Adelelmus will have to know exactly how many pigs and wild beasts have been hunted down by our son.<sup>29</sup>

27 *MGH Capit. II*, 361-63, no. 282. This sole other document issuing directly from the proceedings of the Quierzy assembly also comes from a lost manuscript, originally bound in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 4671 (early tenth century). This codex was stolen and cut in three in 1840-1844; only two parts were later retrieved. The last recorded consultation of the lost part was by Georg H. Pertz, in the early nineteenth century; see Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium*, 540-45. This text was part of the manuscript used by Sirmond; see note 25.

28 See Bourgeois, *Le capitulaire de Kiersy-sur-Oise*; and Guillot, "Dans l'avant X<sup>e</sup> siècle." An early reaction can be found in Devisse, *Hincmar*, 2:818-20.

29 32. In quibus ex nostris palatiis filius noster, si necessitas non fuerit, morari vel in quibus forestibus venationem exercere non debeat: Carisiacus penitus cum forestibus excipitur; Silvacus cum toto Laudunensi similiter; Compendium cum Causia similiter; Salmonciacus similiter; in Odreia villa porcos non accipiat et non ibi caciet, nisi in transeundo; in Attiniaco parum caciet; in Verno porcos accipiat tantum; Arduenna penitus excipitur, nisi in transeundo; et villae ad servitium nostrum similiter; in Ligurio porcos et feramina accipiat; Aristallium cum foreste penitus excipitur; in Lens et Wara et Astenido et feramina et porcos capere potest; in Rugitusit, in Scadebolt, in Launif tantummodo in transitu, et sicut minus potest; in Crisiaco similiter; in Lisga porcos tantum accipiat.

33. Ut Adelelmus de forestibus diligenter sciat, quot porci et feramina in unaquaque a filio nostro caciata fuerint; *MGH Capit. II*, 361, no. 281, cap. 32-33, reproducing the 1623 capitulary edition *Karoli Calvi*, ed. Sirmond, 424-41.

The translation reflects a number of difficulties:

First, while certain place names can be assigned to specific locations and have been translated directly in the text, others pose identification problems and have been left in their original Latin form; they will be discussed below.

Secondly, *Adelelmus* cannot be identified with absolute certainty, since the name was common. It is highly probable, however, that he was the count of Laon, one of the major political figures in the realm during Charles the Bald's last years.<sup>30</sup> As will be seen below, the city of Laon is strategically located within the area defined by the palaces and reserves mentioned in chapter 32, including the Laonnois reserve. This suggests that Charles chose Count Adelelmus to keep an eye on his son because he had a vested interest in the protection of the local resources.<sup>31</sup> This identification is supported by the fact that the same name occurs among the counts responsible for giving counsel to Louis during his father's absence.<sup>32</sup>

Third, the Latin *forestis* is here translated as 'reserve' to designate protected, limited-access hunting grounds.<sup>33</sup> *Forestes* as 'reserves' should be distinguished from the *brogili* (Fr. *breuils*), which were enclosed hunting parks.<sup>34</sup>

Fourth, it seemed better to translate *feramina* as 'wild beasts' than as 'game,' because the latter can designate not only the animals on the hoof but also their meat. In the text, two of three verbs (*capere* and *caciare*) used in conjunction with *feramina* indicate catching and hunting live animals; moreover, chapter 32 opens with a clear mention of the hunt (*venationem exercere*).

Fifth, there are six occurrences of the term *porci*, each designating domesticated pigs, not wild boar.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, the text distinguishes between *porci* and *feramina*, without any implication that wild boar were being singled out from other wild animals.<sup>36</sup>

30 Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 249-50. See also McCarthy, "Power and Kingship," 72.

31 I am grateful to Josiane Barbier for this suggestion. By creating such a tension between Louis and Adelelm, Charles seems to be following a political strategy typical of Carolingian government since Charlemagne; see Gravel, *Distances*, 254-68. For a detailed study, see Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*.

32 *MGH Capit. II*, 359, no. 281, cap. 15.

33 Petit-Dutaillis, "De la signification du mot 'forêt'."

34 Guizard-Duchamp, "Les parcs à gibier." On the Carolingian *brogili*, see Hauck, "Tiergärten," 32-50.

35 For a different reading, see Barbier, "Palatium, fiscus, saltus," 201, 217; Giese, "Die designativen Nachfolgeregelungen," 484; Goblet d'Alviella, *Histoire des bois*, 98; and Pécheur, *Annales*, 1:485.

36 Stags, aurochs, and bears were also beasts fit for the king's hunt; see Delort, "Les facteurs," 85-86; and Delort, *Les animaux*, 130-31.



Moreover, when *porci* are mentioned without *feramina* being involved, the verb used is *accipere* (three occurrences). Verbs that bring the hunt to mind (*capere*, *caciare*) are used only in reference to *feramina*. External arguments also support this reading. The central importance of pork at the Frankish aristocratic table is well attested, both in written and archaeological sources.<sup>37</sup> Contemporaries could distinguish boars from pigs: using an adjective (*indomitus*) was a possibility, and the classical Latin term (*aper*) is not unheard of in Carolingian documents.<sup>38</sup> In addition, a charter concerning Scadeholt [*Scadebolt*], one of the estates listed in chapter 32 of the capitulary, mentions the pigs that were raised and fattened on its premises.<sup>39</sup> Thus, it is clear that in the capitulary of Quierzy, *porci* are domesticated pigs.<sup>40</sup>

It appears, then, that Charles wanted to restrict his son's access to his palaces, his hunting grounds, and his pigs. But the question remains: why was this important enough to justify an addition to an already long and complex set of arrangements for the king's absence? Until recently, scholars have interpreted these two chapters in terms of the requirements of animal husbandry. Carolingian monarchs allegedly had difficulty feeding their court — was this not the reason why they kept moving from one place to another? — and consequently, Charles had to make sure Louis and his men would not deplete his stores while he was away.<sup>41</sup> That the details of

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37 Early ninth-century inventories taken from the *Brevium exempla* show that in four royal palaces of northern Francia, pigs were more numerous than any other domesticated animals; see Martino, “La comida y la bebida,” 185-86. For the archaeological demonstration of the prime importance of fresh pork at the lord's table, especially in the Frankish North before the eleventh century; see Audoin-Rouzeau, “Élevage et alimentation,” 145-46. See also Audoin-Rouzeau, “Compter et mesurer,” 292-93, 298-99.

38 Most references in the capitularies are to domesticated pigs. In one exceptional case, the text uses the adjective *indomiti* to specify that the *porci* are wild animals; *MGH Capit. II*, 134, no. 233, cap. 21. *Aper* is used in other sources, notably chronicles and panegyric poetry; see Goldberg, “Louis the Pious,” 626, 629-30. However, it is also in the Salic Law; *Pactus legis salicae* 33,5; *MGH LL nat. Germ.* 4.1, p. 125.

39 Einhard's charter for the monastery of St. Peter in Gent; see Pirenne, “Note sur un manuscrit,” 135-36. Acts written in this region sometimes mention pigs that were fattened in the forests, for example, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy*, 1:107-109, no. 43; 126-29, no. 53; 136-38, no. 57.

40 Pigs and boars were quite distinct from each other. Occasional crossbreeding had limited consequences, as archaeozoological data show; see Audoin-Rouzeau, “Compter et mesurer,” 292-93 n. 16.

41 For early, decisive mentions, see Fustel de Coulanges, *Nouvelles recherches*, 435-36; Bourgeois, *Le capitulaire de Kiersy-sur-Oise*, 141; and Goblet d'Alviella, *Histoire des bois*, 97-98. For more recent reaffirmation, see Kasten, *Königssöhne*, 464; Barbier, “Palatium, fiscus, saltus,” 217-18; and Brühl, *Fodrum, gistum*, 1:85-87. Barbier has later insisted on the political justification of royal itinerancy; Barbier, “Les lieux du pouvoir,” 241.

chapter 32 were determined by the state of supplies and by Charles's hunting plans for the following autumn is reasonable but not entirely convincing.

First of all, it is incompatible with the capitulary as a whole, which concerns politics, not resource management. Secondly, it suggests that Charles the Bald planned to hunt on a vast scale, even though he could not expect to return from Italy before the autumn season was well under way.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, it does not explain why pigs are singled out among the many staples subject to careful management by royal stewards,<sup>43</sup> and if preserving resources was the goal, one would expect the capitulary to mention the monasteries and episcopal cities where Charles often stayed, using their supplies.<sup>44</sup> Lastly, research has shown that itinerancy was not forced upon the Carolingian royal court because it was incapable of maintaining itself in the same place over an extended period of time.<sup>45</sup> This implies that the effect of food restrictions on the choice of the king's residence should not be exaggerated, especially in relation to hunting, since its contribution to the royal and aristocratic table was very limited.<sup>46</sup> For the Carolingian kings, the purpose of hunting was not to bring back supper, nor was it simply an aristocratic pastime: it was a rite of power and an occasion to engage in politics.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the traditional economic and administrative explanation of chapters 32 and 33 is unsustainable. Instead, given the political context sketched above, it appears that Charles may have tried to block his son's access to royal palaces and hunting grounds and thus to limit his heir's capacity to

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42 Hunting is a year-round activity, but it has high seasons; for details, see Bord, *La chasse*, 281-89. The Carolingians favoured late summer and autumn; Goldberg, "Louis the Pious," 642-43. Charles the Bald's known hunting expeditions are not geographically dispersed. The Annals of St. Bertin report his eight hunts between 865 and 873: five at Orville, two in the Ardennes, and one at Cuise; see Goldberg, "Louis the Pious," 643.

43 The most comprehensive contemporary written evidence on their variety is to be found in the *Capitulare de villis*.

44 Brühl, "Königspfalz und Bischofstadt," 163-66.

45 For a recent, comprehensive argument against this classic, albeit erroneous, view of Carolingian itinerant kingship, see McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 171-78; and Le Jan, "Espaces sauvages," 45-52.

46 Archaeozoological research has shown as much; see Gautier, "Manger de la viande," 288-89; and Guerreau, "Les structures de base," 27. About 60% of the bones in the refuse of the royal hunting lodge of Wellin in the Ardennes are from domesticated pigs; see Devroey, *Économie rurale*, 92.

47 Le Jan, "Espaces sauvages," 37-38. Devroey, *Économie rurale*, 91-94. Hunting developed in that direction during Louis the Pious's imperial reign; see Goldberg, "Louis the Pious"; and Guizard-Duchamp, "Louis le Pieux." Eric Goldberg is currently working on a book about hunting and its political significance in the early Middle Ages.

strengthen his aristocratic support. He did not want Louis to gain political profit from his absence; he did not want him to become a competitor to himself and to the son Richildis might give him.<sup>48</sup>

Further analysis of the text offers decisive support for this argument, but this depends on the identification of the palaces, estates, and hunting grounds named in the capitulary. Most of them are easily located. The June 877 assembly took place at the palace of Quierzy (*Carisiacus*), now Quierzy-sur-Oise (départ. Aisne). Servais (*Silvacus*) is another important palace, now a French commune of the same name (départ. Aisne); it is located in the region dominated by the city of Laon (adj. *Laudunensis*). Compiègne (*Compendium*) (départ. Oise), with the nearby forest of Cuise (*Causia*)<sup>49</sup> is also a major palatial site of the late ninth century, as are Samoussy (*Salmonciacus*) (départ. Aisne), Orville (*Odreia villa*) (départ. Pas-de-Calais),<sup>50</sup> Attigny (*Attiniacum*) (départ. Ardennes), and Ver (*Vernum*) (départ. Oise).<sup>51</sup> All of them are frequently mentioned in the contemporaneous sources, and their Latin names are well attested. The same can be said of the vast Ardennes forest (*Arduenna*)<sup>52</sup> and of the palaces of Herstal (*Aristallium*) (prov. Liège) and Crécy (*Crisiacum*) (départ. Somme).<sup>53</sup> Thus, more than half of the sites mentioned in chapter 32 can be located with certainty. Collectively, they are some of the most important palaces in the northeastern part of Charles the Bald's Frankish kingdom, and most of them are either mentioned in relation to a reserve or known for having one nearby.<sup>54</sup> They are all royal residences

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48 Richildis may have influenced the restrictions imposed on Louis; see Brühl, "Karolingische Miscellen I," 365-66.

49 It has been called the Forêt de Compiègne since the seventeenth century; see Lambert, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Oise*, 152-53, no. 998.

50 De Loisne, *Dictionnaire topographique du département du Pas-de-Calais*, 285. Orville must not be confused with Autreville (*Audriaca villa*) (départ. Aisne), a location which does not appear in the Quierzy capitulary; Bautier, "Les itinéraires des souverains," 100 n. 17. *Actes de Louis II le Bègue*, xxiv n. 1.

51 Since 1935, Ver-sur-Launette; see Lambert, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Oise*, 592, no. 3716.

52 For a comprehensive study of this forest in the early Middle Ages, see Noël, "Deux grandes forêts." It was split between east and west at Meerssen in 870, using the river Ourthes as the dividing line; Gorissen, "Encore la clause." Thus, the capitulary of Quierzy is concerned with the western part of the forest.

53 Since 1635, Crécy-en-Ponthieu; Garnier, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de la Somme*, 271-73.

54 On the forests near Orville and Crécy, see Barbier, "Palatium, fiscus, saltus," 210-11, 287-88.

and hunting grounds — which is not surprising, given that the first and principal provision of chapter 32 is the prohibition against Louis the Stammerer's staying or hunting in these places.

There remain eight place names — *Ligurium*, *Lens*, *Wara*, *Astenido*, *Rugitusit*, *Scadebolt*, *Launif*, and *Lisga* — for which definitive identifications are lacking.<sup>55</sup> A partial solution to this problem may lie in the text, where six of these place names are combined in two sets of three, implying that the sites are located close to each other. This observation has not previously been brought to the fore, and there has not been any detailed analysis of its implications,<sup>56</sup> but this deductive path leads to more likely identifications than the approaches which have generated the prevalent hypotheses, which will be reviewed below.

*Ligurium* may refer to the protohistoric Ligurian people, but if so, this connection does not help in locating the site.<sup>57</sup> Josiane Barbier has argued that the name may denote the forest of Luiz.<sup>58</sup> This forest is now centred on the commune of Trois-Fontaines-l'Abbaye (départ. Marne), built around a Cistercian monastery, which was founded, in part, through the recuperation of rights belonging to Saint-Corneille de Compiègne since its original dotation by Charles the Bald, made just before the Quierzy assembly.<sup>59</sup>

Since there are several locations named *Lens* in Belgium and northeastern France, any identification must remain tenuous in the absence of additional clues. The French city of Lens (départ. Pas-de-Calais) is the most commonly cited,<sup>60</sup> though the name may also refer to Lens-St-Servais, now a part of the Belgian commune of Geer (prov. Liège),<sup>61</sup> among other possibilities.

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55 The *Orbis latinus*, the standard reference on Latin topographical matters, does not provide useful information.

56 The only full translation of the difficult second half of the text has been found in Goblet d'Alviella, *Histoire des bois*, 98 n. 1. Its author suggests that there are two triads of place names to consider.

57 There are a few similar place names, such as the northern Italian region of Liguria and the river Livière, near Narbonne; see Longnon, *Les noms de lieu*, 12-26.

58 Barbier, "Les lieux du pouvoir," 232, 235. The forest of Luiz was already identified by Longnon as the Forêt de Troisfontaines albeit on limited topographical information; Longnon, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de la Marne*, 274.

59 *Recueils des actes de Charles II*, 2:448-54, no. 425.

60 Guadet, "Palais et maisons," 198. Goblet d'Alviella, *Histoire des bois*, 98 n. 1. An interpolated passage in a diploma by Lothar IV (5 May 966) mentions fiscal lands situated in Lens; *Liber traditionum Sancti Petri Blandiniensis*, 62, no. 64.

61 Barbier, "Palatium, fiscus, saltus," 417.

Locating *Wara* poses the same problem, but on a larger scale. The term seems to originate in the Celtic word *vabero* (small stream) or *vabris*,<sup>62</sup> a term which came to designate marshes and, eventually, uncultivated, infertile lands.<sup>63</sup> Modern names deriving from it are ubiquitous in the francophone part of Europe, notably as *Voivre* or *Woëvre*, but other variations are possible.<sup>64</sup> Here again, additional clues are needed.

In itself, the name *Astenido* does not permit a definite identification.<sup>65</sup> Among the possible locations, Staneux, near the Belgian town of Theux (prov. Liège) has received recent, credible support.<sup>66</sup> Alternatively, the reference may be to the small commune of Esneux (prov. Liège), which was identified as *Astanido* in a charter by Louis the Pious.<sup>67</sup> Similar place names abound.

*Rugitusit* also remains enigmatic, and even the etymology is uncertain.<sup>68</sup> The stem may relate to a *Ruggis mansum*, which is mentioned in a diploma by King Henry I of France and thus may have been located in the Belgian hamlet of Rugge (comm. Avelgem);<sup>69</sup> a stream in that area is also called Rugge or Larugge.<sup>70</sup> However, without further support, the identification cannot be confirmed.

*Scadebolt* is a case for which there is a solution. It is plausible that at some point in the chain of transmission a minor mistake was made in copying the text prior to the early seventeenth-century printed edition, which is the oldest extant version of the capitulary. A minor transcription error may have substituted the form *Scadebolt* for

62 Lebel, "Onomastique," 717.

63 Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, s.v. *vaura* 'ager sterilis, incultus.'

64 The name *Wara* may refer to the forest of Voivre, near the Ardennes, or to *Wasda/Waes* in the county of Gent; see Maury, *Les forêts de la Gaule*, 59, 104, 186. Alternatively, the location may have been close to the commune of Warcq, near Charleville-Mézières; see Guadet, "Palais et maisons," 210. The name may also refer to a forest of Vabres, close to Verdun (départ. Meuse); Pécheur, *Annales* 1:485 n. 3. Other identifications are also possible.

65 Buirette, *Histoire de la ville*, 7-17. Desnoyers, "Topographie ecclésiastique," 206, 211-20. Guadet, "Palais et maisons," 188. Maury, *Les forêts de la Gaule*, 104. Pécheur, *Annales*, 1:485 n. 3.

66 Müller-Kehlen, *Die Ardennen*, 104 n. 53. For an early reference, see Grandgagnage, *Mémoire sur les anciens noms*, 16-17.

67 *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Mahmedy*, 1:63-67, no. 25; 161-63, no. 70.

68 Without citing supporting evidence, Guadet suggests, "Peut-être le même que *Reisteste*, Rethel, sur l'Aisne, près de Reims"; Guadet, "Palais et maisons," 205, though his identifications have often not been upheld by subsequent research. Similarly, Pécheur suggests that the name was *Regitesti* (Rethel), positing a scribal error; Pécheur, *Annales*, 1:485 n. 4.

69 Vercauteren, "Étude critique sur un diplôme," 210.

70 Mansion, *Oud-gentsche naamkunde*, 180. Pirenne, "Note sur un manuscrit," 75, l. 25.

an original *Scalde-holt*, that is, ‘forest by the Schelde.’<sup>71</sup> Many locations are named in reference to the river Escaut (Fr.) or Schelde (Du.), and there is in fact a *Sceldeholt* in the diploma of King Henry I mentioned above.<sup>72</sup> A charter by Abbot Einhard of St. Peter in Gent refers to the same piece of woodland, contributing additional geographical information that makes it possible to locate this estate between the river Lys and the Escaut, or Schelde, midway between the modern cities of Gent and Roubaix.<sup>73</sup>

The location of *Launif* cannot be determined. No such place is mentioned in the topographical dictionaries<sup>74</sup> or in any recent studies. According to Goblet d’Alviella, it may be in the Flemish region, but this hypothesis has not been substantiated.<sup>75</sup>

For *Lisga*, however, three possibilities stand out. The name may refer to the Forêt de Laigue (départ. Oise), the *Lisica sylva* between the palaces of Quierzy and Compiègne, near the forest of Cuise.<sup>76</sup> Alternatively, it may correspond to the hamlet Le Lys, southwest from Compiègne, fifty kilometres down the Oise river. This location is first documented in the late eighth century, and it is close to a wooded area of the same name, known for its hunting activities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>77</sup> As a third option, the root *Lis-* may refer to the river Lys, which drains into the Schelde rather than the Oise, and thus the *Lisga* would be the Lisganaw — Lys-Gau — near the better documented *Scadebolt* estate.<sup>78</sup> Although all three identifications seem reasonable, the last seems preferable: since *Lisga* appears at the end of the list of places in chapter 32, it would be counterintuitive to locate it in the

71 Goblet d’Alviella, *Histoire des bois*, 98. Maury, *Les forêts de la Gaule*, 58-59.

72 See note 69. *Holt*, cognate of *Holz* (Ger.) and *hout* (Du.).

73 Vercauteren refers to it in his study of the diploma by King Henry (see note 69). For an edition of the text, see *Liber traditionum Sancti Petri Blandiniensis*, 10-15, no. 5. For confirmation of the localization, see Mansion, *Oud-gentsche naamkunde*, 127, 157; Dhondt, “Het ontstaan,” 551 n. 12.

74 One exception, but without identification and topographical argument, is mentioned in Guadet, “Palais et maisons,” 198.

75 Goblet d’Alviella, *Histoire des bois*, 98.

76 Lambert, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l’Oise*, 297-98, no. 1957. Maury, *Les forêts de la Gaule*, 100. Goblet d’Alviella, *Histoire des bois*, 84. Barbier, “Palatium, fiscus, saltus,” 420-21. Guadet tentatively identifies it as the forest of the Yvelines, west of Paris; Guadet, “Palais et maisons,” 198.

77 Lambert, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l’Oise*, 317-18, no. 2079-80.

78 Goblet d’Alviella, *Histoire des bois*, 98. Maury, *Les forêts de la Gaule*, 59. This third, possible identification for *Lisga* is supported in a seminal article by Higounet, “Les forêts,” 361. A papal bull of John XV, dated 993, mentions a *pagus listrogaugiensis*, in the vicinity of Gent, between the Lys and the Schelde; for the text of the bull, see Pirenne, “Note sur un manuscrit,” 119.

vicinity of Quierzy and Compiègne, which are mentioned at the beginning. Within the geographical construct of the capitulary, it seems more plausible to place *Lisga* in Flanders than in the heartland of Charles the Bald's kingdom.

With solid, self-evident identifications lacking and some of the tentative ones being contradictory, there is no obvious way to choose among them. However, the last observation concerning *Lisga* suggests a solution. Since the places named do not follow each other in a random list, but rather conform to a coherent geographical principle, certain hypotheses about these locations can be developed. Taken together, the geographical pattern made by the locations of the palaces mentioned in the capitulary and identified with certainty — from Quierzy to Crécy — indicates that Charles the Bald was concerned about palaces and forests situated along the river Oise, the river Aisne, and the new frontier established at Meerssen in 870. If the efforts made to locate the lesser-known places are oriented accordingly and if the location hypotheses are tested by using this geographical logic, it becomes possible to identify those that make up a set. It is highly unlikely that another region of Gaul could permit such coherent groupings.

The geographical logic of the text offers additional clues. For instance, the text presents two groups of three minor *villae*. First, there is the triad of *Lens*, *Wara*, and *Astenidum*, where Louis the Stammerer is allowed to take pigs and game. Then, there is the second triad of *Rugitusit*, *Scadebolt*, and *Launif*, where he may take only a limited amount and only if he is just passing through the area. It seems improbable that the person composing this chapter would have brought together far-distant locations, on the sole principle of common restrictions. It is more likely that they are also geographically close, that they are treated as a group because they are, in fact, parts of the same local lodging and hunting structure. This possibility is supported by the fact that the proposed locations form a pattern.

If the first group is considered as a geographically coherent set, it can be convincingly located in modern Wallonia, where Lens-Saint-Servais and Esneux are a day's walk (30 km) from each other. In the same general area, there is a river called La Warche and also the commune of Wavre (prov. Brabant wallon).<sup>79</sup> It is not possible to choose among the numerous plausible identifications for *Wara* in this specific region. Nonetheless, if the identification of *Lens* as Lens-Saint-Servais and of *Astenidum* as Esneux is adopted and if *Wara* is presumed to be in the vicinity of these two, the association of the three locations can be explained as completing a 'Walloon triad.'

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79 The Forêt de Wavre, located in this area, has been known by this name since the twelfth century; see Vander Linden, "La forêt," 209-10.

The same process suggests that the second group of three makes a ‘Flemish triad,’ located in the Schelde region upriver from Gent. According to the same principle, *Scadebolt* can be identified as a ‘forest by the Schelde’ and *Rugitusit* as a place related to the hamlet of Rugge, located 30 kilometres away from *Scadebolt*. *Launif* remains unidentified, but the possibility that it was located in Flanders gains support.<sup>80</sup>

All in all, it appears that the individuals responsible for assembling this list had three criteria in mind: the importance of the sites (from *palatia* to *villae*), their proximity to the Oise valley, and the level of the limitations imposed on Louis the Stammerer. Its structure appears to move from important central palaces in the Oise valley, where all is forbidden, to peripheral estates where some activities are tolerated. The former are mostly located in the region where Charles the Bald’s palaces were concentrated, while the latter are widely dispersed but forming a northeastern arc centred on Quierzy. This general distribution becomes evident when the opposite ends of the list are considered: Quierzy, Servais, Compiègne . . . *Launif*, Crécy, *Lisga*.

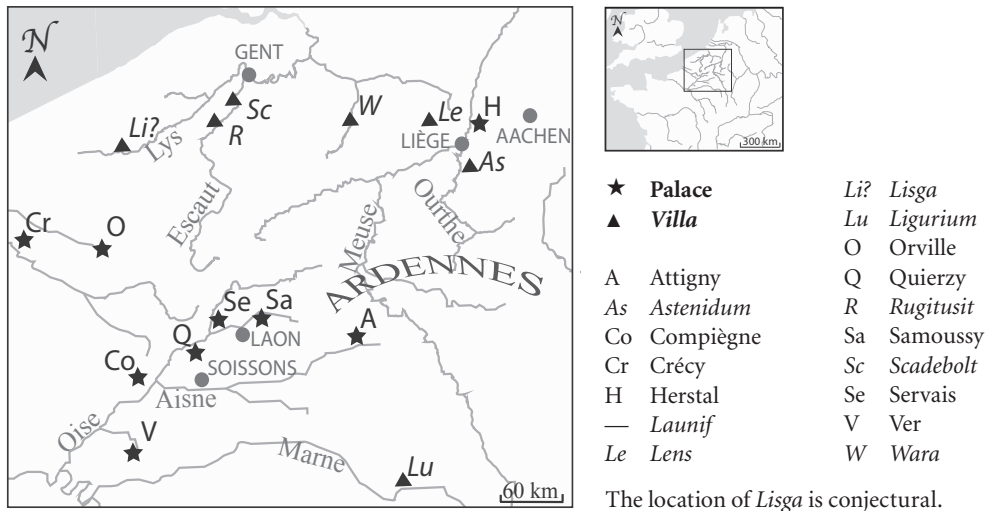


Figure 1. Geographical distribution of the sites mentioned in the capitulary of Quierzy (cap. 32). Map courtesy of Oana Besnea.

80 The possibility of this Flemish triad was first suggested by Goblet d’Alviella, *Histoire des bois*, 98.



The obvious inference is that Charles the Bald did not want his son to usurp his role on his own land, but that he could grant Louis some space in peripheral regions where his own control was more indirect. Thus, economic and administrative considerations are not the determining factors for the list. Rather, the Quierzy capitulary is all politics.

Given this political explanation of chapter 32, its preoccupation with Louis the Stammerer's access to the pigs raised on royal estates also becomes explicable: fresh pork was the most important ingredient for political banquets. In practice, once pigs were two or three years old, they were fattened during one last autumn spent in the woods, feeding on acorns, chestnuts, beechnuts, and the like. Come December, they were killed, and a good supply of pork was salted. This can be observed in the descriptions of the palaces already mentioned — the *Brevium exempla* — where salted pork carcasses of the previous year are almost as numerous as live, mature pigs.<sup>81</sup> However, this normal cycle notwithstanding, pigs could be slaughtered at any time of the year, because they are the only domestic animals which do not have any other function: they do not grow wool, give milk, lay eggs, or pull carts or ploughs. Properly roasted, pork played a symbolic role at the prince's table. Venison had a similar function but was much less present.<sup>82</sup> The Celtic, Roman, and Germanic pillars of ninth-century Frankish culture all considered the pig an important symbol of wealth and power.<sup>83</sup> Boiled salted pork was common fare, but roasted fresh pork was a prestigious, festive repast to share among the elite.<sup>84</sup> It must have been an important resource for any powerful man intent on developing political connections through feasts. Thus, an emphasis on limiting Louis's ability to access food appropriate for ceremonial occasions fits well with the capitulary's effort to limit Louis's opportunity to hunt. Charles was aware of the potential for relationship-building inherent in both the hunt and the feast. Hunting grounds and feasting halls were important nexus of political networking. Charles clearly did not want his son to develop too strong a following in the Frankish heartland, especially while he was preparing to send Louis to Italy to be made king, probably as a permanent arrangement,<sup>85</sup> and controlling the number of pigs that Louis could roast in Francia was an efficient way to limit the number of aristocrats he could entertain and build alliances with.

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81 See note 37. *MGH Capit. I*, 254-56, no. 128, cap. 25-35.

82 Gautier, "Manger de la viande," 299-301.

83 Sergent, "Le porc indo-européen," 11-23.

84 Montanari, *La faim*, 26-31.

85 *MGH Capit. II*, 359, no. 281, cap. 14.

This also explains the last chapter (cap. 33). Charles the Bald did not ask Count Adelelmus to record the number of pigs and wild beasts taken by Louis because he wanted to keep his manorial accounts tidy. This was a task for local, lower-ranking officers, such as the *iudici* often mentioned in the capitulary *De villis* as being in charge of the administration of palatial domains. By perusing such a tally, Charles could hope to deduce precise information on the networking his son had engaged in while he was away. One could not honour important men and their retinues without hosting a feast commensurate with their expectations of royal largesse. Had Adelelmus reported that Louis had roasted fifty pigs at Compiègne — a disallowed act in a prohibited hall — Charles would have been able to infer that a conspiracy was afoot: with its 75 kilograms of meat, each animal could feed fifty people.<sup>86</sup> When a powerful prince banqueted in grand style — with many guests attending — political implications were to be expected.

Approaching this text from a political angle also helps explain its geographical logic. It has already been pointed out that as the palatial core of Charles's kingdom, the Oise valley was essentially put out of bounds for Louis the Stammerer. A careful reading reveals additional interesting information about Charles's list of palaces, forests, and *villae*. It describes an outward trajectory from the centre to the periphery: from Quierzy, where the emperor's assembly took place, towards the frontier established at Meerssen in 870. Considering this trajectory in light of Charles's political aims offers a plausible explanation for the prohibitions imposed on Louis.

Along with Quierzy and its neighbouring forests, the list mentions three other important palaces of Charles the Bald's reign, each being directly or indirectly related to a hunting reserve: Servais with the region of Laon, Compiègne with the forest of Cuise, and Samoussy with the unnamed adjacent grounds where Louis is not permitted to hunt. All these palaces and reserves border on the ancient forest of the *Sylvanecti*, the central hunting grounds of the Carolingians since Charlemagne.<sup>87</sup> Imbued with a strong symbolism, this central area is Charles's prerogative.

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86 This approximation is based on the extensive archaeozoological data collected in Audoin-Rouzeau, "Élevage et alimentation," 145-46. It contradicts an earlier evaluation that came to a third of that weight, before losses due to butchering and cooking; Brühl, *Fodrum, gistum*, 1:174-77. Brühl underestimated the size of pigs, while overestimating the amount of meat courtiers ate. One cannot eat five and a half pounds of meat every day — along with bread, beer, and the usual accompaniments — unless one trains as a high-performance athlete. For other errors of this magnitude in evaluating medieval food consumption, see Gautier, *Alimentations*, 57-60.

87 Le Jan, "Espaces sauvages," 39 map 1, 49.

An important change occurs with the mention of the estate of Orville, where Louis is granted limited access, but only if he is just passing through the area. At Attigny, he can hunt “a little,” and at Ver, he can kill only domesticated pigs. At these estates, he has to stay within the limits permitted by his father; in other words, he has to act with filial modesty, not regal pomp. Of course, Louis can command some respect, and in important palaces, too, but this is because the list has moved outside of the palatial core of the Oise, where Charles was predominant.<sup>88</sup>

The limited licence to hunt and feast also applies in the Ardennes forests, but here again, it holds only if Louis is just passing through. After the Ardennes, the capitulary moves on to the forest of Luiz. The list now extends far to the east, a good week’s travel from Quierzy. Unsurprisingly, Louis is finally given unrestricted rights to hunt and take pigs. This follows the principle applied to the previous three palaces: Charles the Bald’s main preoccupation was with the elites capable of converging on the core region of the Oise and Aisne, where his most important palaces and forests were located. Farther away from this centre, Louis is afforded more room to manoeuvre.

After Luiz, the list turns towards the northeasterly reaches of the realm. Herstal is a major palace from a Carolingian historical perspective, but Charles had only recently gained control of it, as a result of the Meersen agreement. After 870, he did not spend much time there, but in 876, he used it as a refuge for Queen Richildis, while he marched towards disaster at Andernach.<sup>89</sup> This, and the fact that he refused all access to Herstal to Louis the Stammerer in the capitulary of Quierzy, point to the possibility that he was thinking of using it as his own base for Lotharingian politics.

It is tempting to imagine that the second part of the list, starting with Herstal, has a Lotharingian orientation. It would fit with the political context, determined by Charles’s ambitions to take control of the traditional Frankish heartland. At Quierzy, Charles seems to have given Louis the Stammerer limited access to a series of estates, because he felt his son could serve as his proxy in this disputed area, exactly as Louis had done in 875, when Charles sent him to Lotharingia before leaving for Italy to seize the imperial title for himself.<sup>90</sup> As unreliable as Louis was, he was Charles’s

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88 Travelling from Orville from Quierzy via Amiens, a distance of approximately 120 kilometres, would take three to five days. Concerning the speed of movement in the Carolingian world, see Gravel, *Distances*, 83-92.

89 *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, a. 876.

90 McCarthy, “Power and Kingship,” 24, 49.

heir apparent. Besides, sending him to an area where Charles did not already have the backing of the local elite could not do much harm, especially since Louis was not likely to put down roots there: he was destined to reign in Italy. Since Charles was having difficulty securing new, important relations in Lothar's former realm,<sup>91</sup> he may have been considering a carefully monitored Louis as a temporary expedient to hold the region.<sup>92</sup> This hypothesis accommodates the fact that Charles granted his son only limited access to the three estates of the 'Flemish triad.' These localities were close to Gent, the seat of Louis's brother-in-law, Count Baldwin of Flanders. It is possible that Charles did not want to antagonize such a powerful count — his son-in-law — mentioned in the capitulary as one of the *fideles* responsible for cooperating with Louis during his Italian expedition.<sup>93</sup>

Reading chapters 32 and 33 in light of the geographical clustering gives insight into the geo-political concerns animating Charles's plans. It is tempting to see this list as beginning with a first section concerning the major palaces of the core region, followed by a second section on major palaces outside the core region, and ending with a third section of mostly minor estates and hunting grounds situated in the recently acquired lands on the Lotharingian frontier. The first section is all prohibitions, while the second permits limited access without prestige and the third allows limited but less restricted access with more opportunities to build connections.

However, a few places named in the list seem to disrupt this logic. Crécy was part of Charles's realm before Meersen. In relation to the Oise-Aisne core, it was a minor, peripheral location. Consequently, it might have been included in the middle section of the list, together with Luiz, rather than at the end. Perhaps it was overlooked at first; after all, the list was probably composed on the spot, without a precise draft to ensure that every location was mentioned in its rightful place.

The case of Attigny is puzzling. It was one of Charles's three major palaces, along with Quierzy and Compiègne, and considering that it is not located very far from the Oise valley, it could have been mentioned in the first part of the list, along with the other important sites that were forbidden to Louis. But it is in the second part of the list, and while Charles did not want Louis to linger at Attigny, he did leave

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92 In contested regions, palaces had a role to play in expressing political control; see Barbier, "Les lieux du pouvoir," 239.

93 *MGH Capit. II*, 359, no. 281, cap. 15. I am indebted to Régine Le Jan for the idea concerning the possible importance of Baldwin in this arrangement.

him some leeway: he could “hunt a little” (*parum caciet*). Why so? The events of the previous years suggest a plausible, though tentative, explanation. Before Charles annexed the western part of Lotharingia in 870, Attigny was on the frontier between the realms. None of Charles’s other palaces was located as close to the Meuse valley. Attigny could be defined as a bridgehead for Charles’s eastward networking efforts.<sup>94</sup> Its border location was both an asset and a difficulty. Louis the German also considered it significant. His invasion of 858 brought him to Attigny, and in 875, he went so far as to celebrate Christmas there,<sup>95</sup> probably using the opportunity to develop his relations with the local aristocracy.<sup>96</sup> Thus, in 877, this important frontier site had just been marked by the presence of Charles’s enemy brother. I would propose that Charles was uncomfortably aware of Louis the German’s lingering presence at the site. As he was preparing for his new Italian venture, he was certainly wary of an encore: Louis’s sons could use Charles’s absence to move in. I would suggest that Charles saw his own son’s presence at Attigny as a deterrent, and perhaps as a way to remove any mark of East Frankish control. Charles would rather send his unruly heir than let the memory of his brother’s incursion linger in this disputed palace. Between Louis the German’s first and second invasion of Attigny, Charles made sure he stayed there almost every year himself, though he was much less systematic after the second invasion. Unable to be present in 877, he may have preferred to have his son Louis visit in his stead.

Lastly, the list’s obvious omissions must be considered. Many well-known West Carolingian palaces (including Corbeny, Verbery, Ponthion, Valenciennes, and Clichy) are not mentioned. Although they were on Charles the Bald’s itineraries, they were not as important as Quierzy, Compiègne, and Attigny. In the last years of his life, Charles did not visit them as often as he did these last three, and he did not invest as much energy in affirming their symbolic significance.<sup>97</sup> Quierzy had long been a key meeting-place for assemblies and diplomatic encounters, and, from 859

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94 The most recent, extensive research on this site does suggest this; see Barbier, “Palais et fisc,” 142-45.

95 Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, 51, 121.

96 Le Jan, “Élites et révoltes,” 416-17.

97 Barbier has tabulated Charles the Bald’s stays at his palaces, listing eight at Verberie as compared to thirty-two at Compiègne. Verberie seems to have been in favour from 850 to 858; see Barbier, “Domaines royaux,” 27-29.

onwards, Charles visited Attigny almost every year; of course, in 876-877, he made Compiègne his own, personal Aachen. From that perspective, it appears that certain neglected sites are very close to those mentioned along with their reserves, and this could justify their omission. It may have been considered redundant to mention Verberie, since it is so close to Compiègne and Cuise. The same could be said of Corbeny in relation to Attigny. If this is the correct explanation, it tends to support the idea that hunting, together with feasting, is at the core of the list's rationale: the important consideration may have been to keep Louis out of the *Sylvanecti* reserves.

Clichy, Basiu, and Ponthion may, at this moment in Charles's reign, have been too far from the general area covered by the capitulary. Similarly, there was perhaps no incentive to mention Valenciennes and Douzy because Charles the Bald did not visit them regularly in his last years. Admittedly, for lack of complementary information, most of the silences of chapter 32 remain beyond the historian's reach.

The relationship between the monarch's presence and the political significance of a palace can be hard to grasp. Of course, there is plentiful information to determine when and for how long rulers stayed at particular palaces, and it is sometimes known what they did there: convene assemblies, hear plaintiffs, receive ambassadors, and so forth. But assessing the political impact of the monarch's physical presence remains difficult. Chapter 32 of Charles the Bald's capitulary of Quierzy is one of the rare shreds of textual evidence that reveal the relationship between effective presence, political symbolism, and the "power of place."<sup>98</sup> Its set of prescriptions shows that Charles the Bald had a sense of the relative symbolic significance of his palaces and hunting grounds and that he could use them as a tool to develop political strategies. Charles's calculations about the significance of his residences provide an analytical key which we can use to unlock the meaning of the use of other sites. In particular, Charles's use of the palaces and reserves mentioned in the capitulary emphasizes the importance of the political over the economic. It deserves more than the usual, subsidiary footnote. If nothing else, chapter 32 testifies to the Carolingian flair for winning political support — and to the role of hunting and feasting in Carolingian politics.

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98 Ehlers, "Having the King," 8-9.

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