

Aiming at the aristocracy: social mobility in Lucca at the time of Lothar I

by Manuel Fauliri

Not only was the city of Lucca one of the main political centres of the *regnum Italiae*, it is also, thanks to its rich heritage of *chartae* preserved in the Archivio Storico Diocesano, one of the best documented geographical areas of the early Middle Ages. It is thus the best place in the kingdom to observe the dynamics both of a city's society and of the rural areas within its ambit, and of its institutions, allowing us to highlight in particular the trajectories of the city elite, whether focusing on individuals or on the family groups to which they belonged. In this article I will focus on the so-called "diocesan elite", investigating three family groups who emerge from the Lucchese records and whose activities can be traced over a number of generations. I will seek to reveal both the similarities and the differences between these groups, and the strategies they appeared to use in building networks of relations with other families and with the various actors operating in the same urban and rural contexts, as they strove – in a constant process of negotiation – to attain, maintain and pass on to future generations a social position which would allow them to present themselves as firmly integrated within the elite.

Middle Ages; ninth century; Carolingian Italy; Lucca; elite; kinship.

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Abbreviations

- ChLA, XXXVI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth-Century*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXVI, Italy XVII, Lucca, publ. G. Nicolaj, Dietikon-Zürich 1990.
- ChLA, XXXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth-Century*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXVII, Italy XVIII, Lucca, publ. P. Supino Martini, Dietikon-Zürich 1990.
- ChLA, XXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth-Century*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXVIII, Italy XIX, Lucca, publ. M. Palma, F. Bianchi, Dietikon-Zürich 1990.
- ChLA, XXXIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth-Century*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XXXIX, Italy XX, Lucca, publ. F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 1991.
- ChLA, XL = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth-Century*, ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, part XL, Italy XXI, Lucca, publ. M. Palma, F. Bianchi, Dietikon-Zürich 1991.
- ChLA², LXXII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXII, Italy XLIV, Lucca 1, publ. C. Gattagrisi, Dietikon-Zürich 2002.
- ChLA², LXXIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXIII, Italy XLV, Lucca 2, publ. F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 2003.
- ChLA², LXXIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXIV, Italy XLVI, Lucca 3, publ. F. Magistrale, C. Gattagrisi, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2004.
- ChLA², LXXV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXV, Italy XLVII, Lucca 4, publ. F. Magistrale, P. Cordasco, C. Drago, Dietikon-Zürich 2005.
- ChLA², LXXVI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVI, Italy XLVIII, Lucca 5, publ. F. Magistrale, C. Gattagrisi, Dietikon-Zürich 2007.
- ChLA², LXXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVII, Italy XLIX, Lucca 6, publ. F. Magistrale, C. Gattagrisi, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2008.
- ChLA², LXXVIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXVIII, Italy L, Lucca 7, publ. M. Palma, Dietikon-Zürich 2009.
- ChLA², LXXIX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXIX, Italy LI, Lucca 8, publ. F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 2010.
- ChLA², LXXX = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXX, Italy LII, Lucca 9, publ. C. Gattagrisi, F. Magistrale, Dietikon-Zürich 2010.
- ChLA², LXXXI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXI, Italy LIII, Lucca 10, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2011.
- ChLA², LXXXII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXII, Italy LIV, Lucca 11, publ. C. Gattagrisi, P. Cordasco, C. Drago Tedeschini, Dietikon-Zürich 2013.
- ChLA², LXXXIII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXIII, Italy LV, Lucca 12, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2013.
- ChLA², LXXXIV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXIV, Italy LVI, Lucca 13, publ. C. Gattagrisi, C. Drago Tedeschini, P. Fioretti, Dietikon-Zürich 2014.
- ChLA², LXXXV = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXV, Italy LVII, Lucca 15, publ. A. Mastruzzo, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.
- ChLA², LXXXVI = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd

- series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXVI, Italy LVIII, Lucca 15, publ. C. Gattagrisi, C. Drago Tedeschini, Dietikon-Zürich 2015.
- ChLA², LXXXVII = *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile-edition of the Latin Charters*, 2nd series, ed. G. Cavallo, G. Nicolaj, part LXXXVII, Italy LIX, Lucca 16, publ. Dietikon-Zürich 2016.
- MGH, Capit. I = *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. 1, ed. A. Boretius, Hannover 1883 (MGH, Legum sectio, II/1).
- Placiti I = *I placiti del "Regnum Italiae"*, vol. 1, ed. C. Manaresi, Roma 1955 (FSI, 92).

1. Introduction

Among the various regional contexts that offer us an opportunity to observe in some detail the paths followed by certain family groups which, for various reasons, can be considered part of the elite, Lucca – with its rich collection of *chartae* held in the Archivio Storico Diocesano – undoubtedly stands out. Early medieval Tuscany, indeed, is widely recognised as one of the best documented geographical areas of its time, and many scholars have studied the area's extant charters, investigating various aspects of its society, including the activities of the elites¹. And the particular case of Lucca, thanks to the considerable volume of its documents, provides the ideal setting in which to trace, with far greater continuity than in any of the other regions in the Italian kingdom, the activities of various actors at all levels of society, including the aristocracy. We thus find that we have an opportunity to investigate not only the highest levels of the elite but also the lower ranks of the fourfold division proposed by Simone Collavini; a system which he believes to have become widespread between 775 and 850². In the present work I thus refer to this division in investigating some of the examples offered by the extant charters, where one of these four levels is particularly well represented. While acknowledging, as Collavini himself points out, its artificiality and instrumentality³, this grouping of the elites active in the *regnum* at that time is unquestionably useful. This said, we also have to remember that this description of the central Italian elites is simply a snapshot of the organisation of the dominant groups at one particular moment, inevitably showing its limitations when one endeavours to describe the evolution of particular individuals or families. Both family groups and individuals can move – up and/or down – from one level to another over time. Nonetheless, this fourfold model

¹ Of the many studies, see in particular: Schwarzmaier, *Lucca und das Reich*; Wickham, *The mountains and the city*; Collavini, «Honorabilis domus»; Collavini, *Spazi politici*; Stoffella, *Lociservatores*; Collavini, *Per una categorizzazione delle élites*; Castagnetti, *I vassalli imperiali*; Castagnetti, *Arimanni*; Castagnetti, *L'inquisitio*; Cortese, *L'aristocrazia toscana*; Tomei, *Milites elegantes*. For an overview of the Carolingian elite see Costambeys, Innes, MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, pp. 271-323; Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, pp. 213-264; Predastisch, *Migration*.

² Collavini proposes classifying the elites in *Reichsadel*, regional elite, diocesan elite, and local elite (see Collavini, *Spazi politici*, p. 328).

³ *Ibidem*, p. 322.

enables us first to establish the commonalities at each level of the elite and then to examine the similarities and differences between the various actors who emerge from the sources.

I will not discuss the so-called *Reichsadel* here, the highest rank of the aristocracy whose members held the most eminent positions across the empire, nor the slightly lower level, the origins of which were older and regional, and whose members were interconnected with the *Reichsadel* through kinship and client relationships. Instead, I will focus on that third category of the elite known as the “diocesan elite”, characterised by – according to Collavini’s definition – on the one hand the relatively limited scope of their estates, not extending beyond the area of one diocesan/comital, a dwelling in the city, no more than occasional attainment of high (non-hereditary) public office, and, on the other hand, by the more wide-scale and long-term holding of mid-level appointments both ecclesiastic and lay; their absolute, although informal, dominance of urban societies through their activity as *adstantes* at judicial hearings, as estimators for exchanges of property and as witnesses to the wills of prominent figures⁴.

My contribution examines three family groups – whom I have decided to call the Sons of Dundulus, the Sons of Guntulus and the Sons of Iltifridus, taking the names of the first member of each line whose activities are mentioned directly in the sources – which have to date received less attention in the various studies dedicated to this research area than other members of the so-called diocesan elite⁵. They first appear in the Lucchese charters of the first half of the ninth century, most prominently during the reign of Lothar I (822-855)⁶.

I do not intend to embark upon a prosopographical analysis that includes all the members of the three chosen family groups⁷. Instead, I will examine some important aspects which relate to those figures who were most prominent in the sources, and mentioned over longer periods of time, in certain cases also after the time of Lothar. This provides insights into the ways in which established members of the diocesan elite operated – in a process of

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 321-322.

⁵ On family and kinship in Early Middle Ages see Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*; Devroey, *Puis-sants et misérables*, pp. 83-129.

⁶ The charters from the period in question, between 814 and 855 – this is the timeframe examined by the *Ruling in hard times* project – are published in the eight volumes from LXXIV to LXXXI of the *Chartae latinae antiquiores* (ChLA², LXXIV-LXXXI), but in order fully to analyse both the origins and the subsequent development of these groups over the course of the second half of the ninth century, it has been necessary to delve into the earlier records too, those dated between the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, and into the subsequent volumes, at least until the beginning of the tenth century. Therefore, volumes XXXVI to XL; volumes LXXII-LXXIII and the volumes from LXXXII to LXXXVII (ChLA, XXXVI-XL; ChLA², LXXII-LXXIII; ChLA², LXXXII-LXXXVII) are also referred to.

⁷ For a complete list of the attestations of the various members of these family groups, accompanied by my proposed reconstruction of the family trees for each group, see Appendix and Figg. 1-3.

constant negotiation and through the construction of a network of relations with other groups or individuals – to attain, maintain and pass on to future generations a social position which permitted them to present themselves as an integral part of the elite.

2. *The Sons of Dundulus*

Among the most frequently mentioned family groups, that which we are going to call the Sons of Dundulus – after, as noted previously, the first member of the family referred to – stands out. Dundulus first appears in a will dated December 776⁸, where he appends his *signum manus* acting as a witness, and identifying himself as the son of the deceased Wandulus; three years later his son Aloitus signs a deed of exchange between two clerics⁹. Then, in the early years of the ninth century, the group starts to appear consistently in the charters. Since the perspective that these documents represent is that of the bishopric¹⁰, we witness how members of this family gradually play increasingly active roles in the life of the city that revolves around the bishopric: they appear as witnesses in a remarkable number of documents, often together with members of other emerging groups who belong to the same social rank. In 803, another of Dundulus' sons, the *vassus domni regis* Arochis, first appears¹¹. This representative of Carolingian power – thoroughly researched by Andrea Castagnetti¹² – was to go on to become one of Charlemagne's close circle of *fideles*.

The well-known *placitum* at which the priest Alpulus, accused by the bishop of Pisa of abducting a nun, stood trial – a trial which had already been running for ten years – was the context within which Arochis first emerges, as one of the *adstantes*¹³. It is not easy to identify all of Arochis' attestations because of his non-autograph subscription: sometimes he referred to himself as *vassus*, sometimes simply as the son of the deceased Dundulus. After some attestations in which he identifies himself generically as *vassus domni regis*, we find Arochis, in a private deed dated November 813, specifying that he is a *vassus domni Caroli Magni imperatoris* as well as being *filio bone memorie Dunduli*¹⁴. As Castagnetti has pointed out, it is significant that we can prove, thanks to this

⁸ ChLA, XXXVI, n. 1058, pp. 48-49 (776 XII, Monaciatico).

⁹ ChLA, XXXVII, n. 1071, pp. 13-15 (779 XII, Lucca).

¹⁰ On the overwhelming dominance of documents directly establishing the interests of the Church and the filtering and reshaping processes operated by church and monastic archives in response to their own needs during the Carolingian age, see for example Innes, *Archives, documents and landowners*.

¹¹ Arochis is attested in sixteen *chartae* between 803 and 832 (see Appendix).

¹² Castagnetti, *I vassalli*, pp. 226-228; Castagnetti, *Arimanni*, pp. 99-106.

¹³ ChLA², LXXII, n. 24, pp. 83-89 (803 VII, the cathedral in Lucca). Arochis figures on this occasion, among the *adstantes*, together with a second vassal, called Vuilipertus, and is the only layman who signs, thus ensuring the fulfilment of the royal *iussio* (see Castagnetti, *Arimanni*, p. 100). On the priest Alpulus see Andreolli, *Uomini nel Medioevo*, pp. 39-52.

¹⁴ ChLA², LXXIV, n. 3, pp. 21-24 (813 XI 8, Lucca).

subscription, that after the death of King Pippin of Italy, Arochis entered into a relation of direct vassalage with Charlemagne, which continued even after Bernard's arrival in the *regnum*¹⁵. As has already been indicated, however, Arochis did not always include mention of his vassalage when subscribing charters and, in the numerous documents in which his name appears, he more frequently refers to himself in relation to his dead father¹⁶.

We know that Dundulus had died by 803¹⁷, because from then on his death was always attested by his descendants when they were signing documents, apart from in one particular case, which, as far as I can see, has not been discussed in other studies. In April 804, we find an Arochis, son of a monk named Dundulus, among the witnesses to a donation made to the cathedral in Lucca by the priest Vualprandus, rector of the church of San Michele Arcangelo in Colognora Valleriana (*Culonia*)¹⁸. This could mean that another member of the group was also called Dundulus, or simply that the priest, Rachiprandus, who drew up the document, had forgotten to specify that our Dundulus was dead. But the nature of the deed, accompanying as it does the donation of the church in which Vualprandus had been ordained, and of which he had been appointed rector by his aunt, the *ancilla Dei* Rapperga, combined with the fact that everyone who signed it was a member of the clergy except the layman Arochis, leads me to suppose that Arochis had here chosen to highlight that which legitimised his presence at that meeting: the fact that his father had, at some point, become a monk. It is indeed plausible that, in his last years, Dundulus had chosen to retreat into monastic life, a detail which his son thought opportune to highlight only in this particular case, since it enabled him to extend his own and his family's networks, connecting them with that of the priest who had made the donation. The identification of Arochis, son of the monk Dundulus, with King Pippin's vassal is also confirmed by the fact that in the document by which the priest Vualprandus was ordained rector of the church of San Michele by the bishop, drawn up the day after the donation, he subscribes as *vassus domni regis*¹⁹. Along with the vassal Arochis, and Aloitus, two other brothers emerge as sons of the deceased Dundulus: Aloni, active between 807 and 839 – and still attested as alive in 849 – who wrote his autograph subscription on²⁰, and Ghisus, who appended his *signum*

¹⁵ Castagnetti, *I vassalli*, pp. 226-227; Castagnetti, *Arimanni*, pp. 102-103.

¹⁶ In fact Arochis, after the death of Charlemagne, no longer appears with the title of vassal which means that he did not become a vassal of Bernard, or of Louis the Pious, or of the latter's son, Lothar I (see Castagnetti, *Arimanni*, p. 103).

¹⁷ ChLA², LXXII, n. 25, pp. 90-91 (803 VIII, Lucca).

¹⁸ ChLA², LXXII, n. 30, pp. 102-103 (804 IV 29, Lucca).

¹⁹ ChLA², LXXII, n. 31, pp. 104-105 (804 IV 30, Lucca). On this occasion Arochis is joined by another layman, Gherimundus son of the deceased Fratellus.

²⁰ Aloni is attested on nineteen occasions between 807 and 849 (see Appendix). On Aloni see Castagnetti, *L'inquisitio*, pp. 108-113. On the literacy of the laity in the Carolingian age see McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*, pp. 211-270; Sennis, *Documentary practices*; on the documentary record of eighth and ninth century Italy see also Costambeys, *The laity, the clergy, the scribes*.

manus, to some documents dated between 816 and 819 and who was already dead in 823²¹.

One conspicuous fact is that, during the first decades of the ninth century, members of this family group never appear as authors of any of the extant charters, although we do see them acting as members of the Lucchese elite. They seem, in other words, to have been prominent and successful citizens who, nevertheless, limited themselves to appending their *signum manus*, or in the case of Aloni their autograph subscription, to private charters, while also sometimes appearing as *adstantes* at trials. And then, the fact that one of them became a vassal, first of the king of Italy and then directly of Charlemagne's, clearly ranks them above the other actors who appear occasionally in the sources. However, it is the three sons of Ghisus, and thus members of the fourth generation of the family, who begin to emerge as protagonists in Lucchese charters in the first half of the ninth century, in some cases actually as the authors. The first is Iohannes, who, in April 815, signed a deed of sale between the archdeacon Austrifonsus/Ostrifusus and the nun Iltruda²²; the latter belonged to the family whom I have called the "Sons of Guntulus", the second family group that I investigate here. Three years later we become aware of a second brother, Andrea, active between 818 and 844, and, lastly, Aroghisus, who appears on a number of occasions between the end of the 830s and 855. Looking at the last years of the period of time upon which this work focuses (mid-840s to mid-850s), we see that other members of the same family group are still active as charter subscribers. Two such figures are, very probably, the sons of Andrea of the deceased Ghisus: Adelpertus/Adalpertus and Adelghisus/Adalchisus (called Appo). Two other figures, Angalpertus and Aroghisus, also appear, and, although their father's name is not given, may well be Andrea's nephews²³.

As noted earlier, the members of this family group tend to appear, in the extant documents, only as subscribers, or occasionally *adstantes* during *placita*²⁴; it is rare to find them in the role of authors of charters. The first

²¹ ChLA², LXXIV, n. 21, pp. 77-79 (816 VIII 6, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 110-112 (818 III 10, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 124-125 (818 VIII 20, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 132-134 (819 IV 30, Lucca). Ghisus is first attested as already deceased in ChLA², LXXV, n. 16, pp. 63-65 (823 VII 11, Lucca).

²² ChLA², LXXIV, n. 10, pp. 46-47 (815 IV 16, Lucca). Iohannes is attested on two further occasions (ChLA², LXXVI, n. 19, pp. 73-75 [829 XII 17, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXVII, n. 34, pp. 104-105 [839 I 28 - 840 I 27, Lucca]).

²³ For a complete list of these agents' attestations, see Appendix. Given Aroghisus' name, we can perhaps hypothesise that he and his brother Angalpertus were the sons of Aroghisus, son of the deceased Ghisus.

²⁴ The brothers Adalpertus and Adelghisus (known as Appo) appear, for instance, on the occasion of a *placitum* held in June 847 at the court of Duke Adalbert I (on the location of the ducal court, see Belli Barsali, *La topografia di Lucca*, pp. 509-510; Tomei, *The Power*) to resolve a dispute that had arisen between two brothers, Draco and Vualpertus (substituted in the course of the hearing by Fraimannus), and the baptismal church of Santa Giulia in Controne, represented by the advocate Andrea (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 [847 VI 25, Lucca]). Adalpertus and Appo, who had appeared at the first sitting as *adstantes*, intervened more actively during the fourth and last sitting, together with the *scabinus* Gherimundus, vouching for the validity of the

such instance, in March 840, concerns a *livellario ordine* grant of a house in Guamo and its appurtenances by Bishop Berengar of Lucca to Aroghisus of the deceased Ghisus²⁵. Among the few other cases in which we find the Sons of Dundulus as the protagonists in documents preserved in the bishopric's archive is a donation dated January 844, when Aloni, son of the deceased Dundulus, offered *pro anima* to the cathedral a piece of land *in locho Macritula*. The gift adjoined land owned by four different subjects: his great-nephew Angalpertus, Count Hagano, the city church of Sant'Anastasio and, lastly, the bishopric itself²⁶. And so we see that the identities of Aloni's neighbours – the local count and the bishop, among others – also indicate that he undoubtedly enjoyed a position of some importance in the city. Among the autograph subscribers, the imperial vassal Eriprandus, son of the deceased Hildiprandus, is particularly noteworthy²⁷: Aloni, it turns out, had a direct relationship with the prominent family of the Aldobrandeschi, not only with Eriprandus, but also with his uncle, the cleric Alpertus II²⁸. These are relationships based not just on co-participation in the drafting of various documents, but also on their presence as witnesses to three transactions drawn up by the cleric Alpertus and by Eriprandus, as well as on the fact that their land adjoined. This connection appears to have extended to other members of the family group since, among the subscribers, we find the brothers Adelghisus and Adalpertus, sons of the deceased Andrea and therefore grand-nephews of Aloni. These are the grounds upon which Castagnetti has hypothesised a relationship of patronage between Aloni and the Aldobrandeschi, a hypothesis which appears to be supported by the subscription of Eriprandus in the charter testifying to the *pro anima* donation made by Aloni²⁹. But his relationship with the bishop is also attested on various occasions; Aloni appears among the witnesses to the *inquisitio* in 838 for rights over the church of San Frediano³⁰; and, finally, he is mentioned in the donation made by the priest Petrus, son of the deceased

testimony of someone called Vuito which had been challenged by Fraimannus who maintained that his property did not exceed the value of one hundred and fifty *solidi*. The two brothers, called as persons with knowledge of the facts, are thus shown to be well integrated within Lucchese society and in a position to vouch for others during a public hearing. Later we find them again, with their cousins, the brothers Aroghisus and Angalpertus, as members of the judicial council in August 848 (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 35, pp. 116-121 [848 VIII 7, Lucca]).

²⁵ ChLA², LXXVII, n. 36, pp. 112-113 (840 III 10, Lucca). Guamo is located south of Lucca, in the hamlet of Capannori (see Repetti, *Dizionario geografico*, I, p. 623).

²⁶ ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 17, pp. 50-51 (844 I 17, Lucca): «terra mea illa quam abere visu sum in lochi Macritula, prope casa illa ubi quondam Baronciulo residet, pertinens ecclesie Sancti Anastasii, qui uno caput tenet in via publica, alio caput es tenente in terra qui fuit Angilperti nepoti mei, et aliquantulo in terra Aghinoni chomiti, lato uno in terra Sancti Anastasii et alio lato in terra suprascripte ecclesie Sancti Martini».

²⁷ On Eriprandus see Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 38-51; Castagnetti, *I vassalli*, pp. 229-241.

²⁸ On the cleric Alpertus II see Collavini, «Honorabilis domus», pp. 27-31, 34-38, 62-68.

²⁹ See Castagnetti, *L'inquisitio*, p. 112. For an analysis of the subscriptions of Eriprandus, in Carolingian minuscule, see *ibidem*, pp. 180-183; Collavini, *Aristocrazia d'ufficio e scrittura*, p. 34.

³⁰ ChLA², LXXVII, n. 12, pp. 45-47 (838 IV, Lucca); see Castagnetti, *L'inquisitio*.

Paldus, as the buyer of the donated land³¹. The document was, not coincidentally, subscribed by members of Aloni's family group: the brothers Adelghisus and Adalpertus, sons of the deceased Andrea.

These are the only times within the period under investigation where we see the (direct or indirect) involvement – and not simply as subscribers or *adstantes* at *placita* – of members of the family group. This said, a foray into subsequent documents, up to the year 900, allows us to see how the family continued to be very much part of Lucchese society in the second half of the century. Some years after Angalpertus' last appearance, as a subscriber on a *livellum* drawn up by Bishop Jeremiah³², we find the *signum manus* of an Aloni, son of the deceased Angalpertus, on another *livellum* charter written in October 873³³, and there are traces of Aloni in the records up until 899³⁴; he appears, for instance, as a *missus* for both Duke Adalbert and Bishop Jeremiah³⁵.

Finally, Aloni is one of the twenty-seven beneficiaries listed in the *Breve de feora*³⁶, drawn up for the *placitum* which took place in Florence on 4th

³¹ ChLA², LXXIX, n. 44, pp. 144-145 (849 XI 12, Lucca). As Castagnetti has pointed out, from 854 onwards (ChLA², LXXX, n. 38, pp. 126-127 [854 VII 14, Lucca]) another actor called Aloni is attested; this Aloni, however, can be distinguished from Aloni of the deceased Dundulus by the form of his autograph subscription (see Castagnetti, *L'inquisitio*, p. 112 note 419).

³² ChLA², LXXXI, n. 21, pp. 70-73 (858 III 31, Lucca).

³³ ChLA², LXXXIII, n. 20, pp. 70-73 (873 X 21, Lucca).

³⁴ On the subsequent attestations of Aloni, son of the deceased Angalpertus, see Appendix. In an exchange in which Aloni acts as *missus* of the count, his brother Fraimundus, also named as a *missus*, appears for the first and only time (ChLA², LXXXV, n. 39, pp. 130-133 [886 VII 11, Lucca]). The name of this agent refers to the onomastic stock of the family called by Paolo Tomei Sons of Huscit (Tomei, *Milites elegantes*, pp. 223-357); this fact could be interpreted as a clue to a possible marriage between a woman from that family and Angalpertus, father of Aloni and Fraimundus.

³⁵ See, respectively, ChLA², LXXXV, 39, pp. 130-133 (886 VII 11, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 11, pp. 42-45 (890 V 27, Lucca).

³⁶ ChLA², CXVII, n. 17, pp. 94-107 (*post* 895 XI 19 – *ante* 897 III 4; see in particular p. 106). Among the properties of the Lucchese episcopal church that Aloni of the deceased Angalpertus held in *beneficio* we find those in Cascio (*Cassu super Aniciano*), more specifically this was a *sors* from which he received half of the wine produced and three *solidi*, and a tract of *silva dominicata*, containing oak and chestnut trees, upon which twenty pigs could be raised. This identification seems to be borne out by the fact that Aloni figures among the subscribers in a *livellum* with which Bishop Gherard had granted some properties situated in that same locality (ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 41, pp. 126-127 [895 XI 19, Lucca]). Aloni appears again as a subscriber on some occasions together with other beneficiaries listed in the polyptych, Lambert member of the Sons of Rodilandus in particular (ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 33, pp. 110-111 [893 VI 25, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXXVII, n. 14, pp. 90-93 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 24, pp. 90-93 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 25, pp. 94-97 [898 XII 27, Lucca]); Cunimund III of the *Cunimundighi* (ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 11, pp. 43-45 [890 V 27, Lucca]; n. 31, pp. 106-107 [893 V 15, Lucca]; n. 32, pp. 108-109 [893 V 19, Lucca]; n. 35, pp. 114-115 [894 XII 30, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXXVII, n. 14, pp. 90-93 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 24, pp. 90-93 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 25, pp. 94-97 [898 XII 27, Lucca]) and Fraolmo of the Sons of Huscit (ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 11, pp. 43-45 [890 V 27, Lucca]; n. 31, pp. 106-107 [893 V 15, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 33, pp. 110-111 [893 VI 25, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXXVII, n. 10, pp. 42-43 [898 IV 20, Lucca]; n. 24, pp. 90-93 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 25, pp. 94-97 [898 XII 27, Lucca]; n. 26, pp. 98-103 [899 II 3, Lucca]), the first three people listed at the start of the *Breve de feora* (on these men and their family groups, see Tomei, *Milites elegantes*; see, in particular, the family trees on pp. 456-461).

March 897; he does not, however, appear among those summoned to the trial³⁷. The *Breve* reveals other properties of which, given the predominantly oral nature of the concession of *beneficia*, we would otherwise have remained ignorant³⁸. Aloni *filio Angalperti* is shown to possess the Lucchese church of Santa Giulia, located in the eastern quarter of Porta San Gervasio³⁹, with a *sala*, a courtyard and a vegetable garden; in the locality of Vetriano, in the middle zone of the Valdiserchio, he had three *manentes* who paid him six *solidi*, while other *manentes*, resident in Cune, paid eighteen. Further properties were located in Cascio, in *Macretula*⁴⁰, in Guamo, where a man who rendered to Aloni half of his wine production lived, and there was a meadow which produced four cartloads of hay. In the locality of Arsina⁴¹ he owned a *sors* which produced thirty *libras* of oil, a house with land which yielded a *modius* of agricultural produce, a vineyard from which a cart, probably of wine, left each year, a meadow and a wooded area which together yielded forty cartloads of hay. It is interesting to note that the writer of the *Breve* ended this list of properties with *et ceterum nescio*, a formula which suggests how difficult it was to locate all the properties, or at least all the produce, that Aloni could expect to derive from the *beneficium*. The list ends with a meadow, owned by the church of San Michele Arcangelo, which yielded twenty cartloads when harvested. Aloni's *beneficium* fell midway between the particularly substantial *beneficia* held by some of the men listed in the *Breve* and the much smaller ones bestowed upon others⁴².

We can thus see how, over the course of more than a century, the members of this family knew how to maintain themselves within the circle of the city's elite, establishing close bonds with members of the other emerging groups, some of whom, like the Aldobrandeschi, had succeeded in propelling themselves into the highest ranks of the elite. The family group thus proves to have played an influential role in Lucchese society for a long time, its members present in public contexts when justice was being administered and as subscribers to private deeds related to areas where they probably held property,

³⁷ Placiti I, n. 102, pp. 368-373 (897 III 4, Firenze). For a dating of the *Breve* in relation to the *placitum*, accepted by the recent edition of *ChLA*, see Tomei, *Un nuovo "politico" lucchese*.

³⁸ On the use of the term *beneficium* see Brancoli Busdraghi, *La formazione storica del feudo lombardo*; Brancoli Busdraghi, *Rapporti di vassallaggio e assegnazione in beneficium*, pp. 149-169; Spicciani, *Benefici livelli feudali*; for more recent perspectives see Fouracre, *The use of the term beneficium*, pp. 62-88; Kasten, *Beneficium*, pp. 243-260; Kasten, *Feudalesimo*, pp. 39-83; Fauliri, *Il beneficium*; Fauliri, *Il beneficium tra trappole fatali*.

³⁹ See Belli Barsali, *La topografia di Lucca*, p. 526 n. 3. This would seem to be the first mention in Lucca of a church dedicated to Saint Julia (on the spread of her worship and dedications in Lucca to this saint, see Bergamaschi, *S. Giulia a Lucca*; Bergamaschi, *Il culto di santa Giulia a Lucca*).

⁴⁰ A place name which no longer exists, it indicated a locality near San Vito, in the north eastern periphery of Lucca (see Pieri, *Toponomastica delle valli del Serchio*, p. 129).

⁴¹ A locality situated in Valfreddana, north of Lucca (see Repetti, *Dizionario geografico*, I, p. 148).

⁴² For an analysis of some of the *beneficia* recorded in the *Breve de feora*, see Fauliri, *Il beneficium*, pp. 210-225.

such as that granted to Aloni *in beneficio*, largely in the area north of Lucca as well as in the city and its periphery. And so, we could imagine that, in all likelihood, the asset basis of the Sons of Dundulus had, in part, a fiscal origin⁴³. None of the vassal Arochis' extant charters reveal the extent of his estate but his position as a royal and imperial vassal allows us to hypothesise that he was in receipt of fiscal assets, probably as a *beneficium*. Additionally, the fact that the documents bearing the subscriptions of, and/or produced by, members of this group date predominantly from the 840s would seem to indicate – always bearing in mind the dispersion of much of the early medieval documentation – that a different type of investment was being made as a way of establishing themselves more firmly within the circle of episcopal patronage just around the time that bishops Berengar (837-843) and subsequently Ambrose (843-852) were installed in Lucca⁴⁴; an investment which – as the *Breve de feora* reveals – was fully realised by Aloni of the deceased Angalpertus. Clearly, certain members of this family group made it their business to make the most of any opportunity that arose to penetrate ever further into the nerve centres of Carolingian society, and the family appears to have long shared a common purpose.

3. *The Sons of Guntulus*

The other group, which I have called the Sons of Guntulus, attested initially as the elite of a village, is revealed as particularly active in Lucchese society from the early ninth century onwards and its members' names appear rather frequently throughout that century. Some of the Sons of Guntulus – unlike those of Dundulus – achieved public office. Taito of Lunata, the son of Guntulus, is first attested among the *adstantes* of the 801-802 *placitum* held in the cathedral in Lucca⁴⁵. Subsequently he appears occasionally as a *lociservator*, before, a few years later, becoming a *scabinus*⁴⁶. The office of

⁴³ Recently, the topic of the royal fisc in the early medieval West has become a focus of renewed scholarly attention. On this topic see for example Gasparri, *Le basi economiche del potere*; Bougard, *Les biens et les revenus publics*; Bianchi, Cantini, Collavini, *Beni pubblici*; Quirós Castillo, Santos Salazar, *Le basi economiche*; Le Jan, *Fisc et ressources royales*; Loré, *Introduction*; Lazzari, *La tutela del patrimonio fiscale*; Loré, *Spazi e forme dei beni pubblici*; Wickham, *Beni pubblici*; Santos Salazar, *Beni fiscali e frattura politica*; Santos Salazar, *Fiscal lands*; Santos Salazar, *Governare la Lombardia*; Tabarrini, Lazzari, *Beni del fisco regio ed economia*; Cortese, *Beni fiscali e attività minerario-metallurgiche*; Schroeder, *Fiscal Estates and Economy*; Collavini, *Mutazione signorile' e trasformazioni economiche*.

⁴⁴ On the political and social changes that occurred in Lucca while Berengar and Ambrose were the city's bishops, see Tomei, *Writing*, pp. 157-180.

⁴⁵ ChLA², LXXII, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (801 VI – 802 IV 14, Lucca). On Taito see Stoffella, *Lociservatores*, pp. 369-376. For a complete list of Taito's attestations see Appendix.

⁴⁶ ChLA², LXXIV, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (815 XI, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca). On the title and function of the *lociservator* and the *scabinus*, see also Bougard, *La justice*, pp. 140-158; Castagnetti, *Giustizia partecipata*.

scabinus is later also held by his son Ardo, who establishes himself as one of the mainstays of the judicial college, very rarely absent from a *placitum*⁴⁷.

In contrast to the Sons of Dundulus, in this group it is possible to identify an early patrimonial base concentrated, from its first appearances in the second half of the eighth century, in the village of Lunata, a few kilometres east of Lucca⁴⁸. The toponym is, in fact, often indicated beside non-autograph subscriptions and here the Sons of Guntulus begin to act both as the authors of charters and as subscribers to documents related to the local church of San Frediano, at which transformation into a *plebs*, as Marco Stoffella has clearly shown, they actively participated, together with the family group of the deacon and *lociservator* Ostrifusus⁴⁹. Their establishment as the local rural elite of that area is also suggested, right from their first appearances in the records, by the name of one of the members of the family: Turingo, one of the sons of Tao of Lunata, bears the name of the toponym *vico Turingo*, today's Toringo, a village near Capannori, in the same area as Lunata was, and is, located. We can presume that this choice of name indicates the family's roots in the rural area where the patrimonial interests of the group were first concentrated⁵⁰.

The Sons of Guntulus did not confine their activities and self-advancement to the secular context, however. One of Tao's sons, the cleric Guntelmus, appears in the records from 816, as Bishop Jacob's *missus* tasked with verifying the regularity of an exchange between his uncle Taito and the archdeacon Ostrifusus⁵¹, then going on to become rector of the churches of Santa Maria a Monte and Sant'Ippolito in Aniano⁵². We can thus observe another concen-

⁴⁷ ChLA², LXXVI, n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca). Ardo then appears in another twelve charters (see Appendix).

⁴⁸ On the parish church of Lunata see Savigni, *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, pp. 13-86 (see in particular pp. 25-29).

⁴⁹ See Stoffella, *Lociservatores*, pp. 370-371.

⁵⁰ Turingo first appears as a subscriber, together with his brother Ramingo, in ChLA², LXXII, n. 15, pp. 60-61 (802 IX 4, church of Sant'Ippolito in Aniano); both exhibit a rudimentary ability to write. Turingo, whom we see acting for the last time in 851 (ChLA², LXXX, n. 12, pp. 47-53 [851 IX, Lucca]), is still alive in 854 when he is mentioned in the non-autograph subscription of his son Rodingo (ChLA², LXXX, n. 39, pp. 128-129 [854 X, 20, Lucca]). Ramingo, who like his brother Turingo subscribes in many Lucchese documents, also appears to be the author of one of the mutilated subscriptions in a heavily damaged *charta* where he is nevertheless mentioned as *missus* of Count Adalbert I of Lucca (see ChLA², LXXXI, n. 2, pp. 19-23 [855 IX 22, Lucca]: «[... si]cut supra legitur, misso fui»; I would like to thank Laura Pani for giving me her opinion on this subscription). For a complete list of Turingo and Ramingo attestations see Appendix. It is perhaps possible to suggest a descent from Ramingo for an agent of the same name who appears as a subscriber, adopting a Carolingian script, in two charters both relating to the area of Santa Maria a Monte and Sant'Ippolito (ChLA², LXXXIV, n. 10, pp. 44-47 [876 XI, 27, church of Santa Maria a Monte]; n. 22, pp. 80-83 [879 II 24, church of Santa Maria a Monte]). This agent could in turn be the father of the subdeacon Tao attested in Lucca in 891 and who subscribes in Carolingian minuscule (ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 18, pp. 66-69 [891 VIII 21, Lucca]).

⁵¹ ChLA², LXXIV, n. 16, pp. 63-65 (816 II 15, Lucca). In the document, the name of the archdeacon is given as Austrifonus; for an analysis of the relations between Taito's family group and that of Ostrifusus, see Stoffella, *Lociservatores*.

⁵² It is probable that Guntelmus, like his successor Anualdus, became rector of the two churches at the same time, although in the extant documents we first see him as rector of the baptismal

tration of this family's interests in the area of Santa Maria a Monte, about 30 kilometres south of Lunata, where the family already had connections in the earliest years of the ninth century⁵³. Guntelmus appears for the first time in the extant records as the rector of Santa Maria a Monte on the occasion of a *placitum* in April 822, as one of the parties in a conflict, with the brothers Natalis and Auripertus, over property located in Bulficiano⁵⁴. Interestingly, his uncle Taito *scabinus* was the person presiding over the *placitum*, with a colleague called Donusdei, and among the subscribers we find Iohannes, the son of Taito and thus Guntelmus' cousin. In December of the same year, Guntelmus granted *in precaria* to the priest Austripertus the goods that the latter had given *pro anima* to the church of Santa Maria a Monte⁵⁵; one of the subscriptions on the document is that of Turingo, the cleric's brother, and Guntelmus' cousin Iohannes also signed it. The close collaboration between the cleric and his brothers is also attested by a document from May 838 in which he appears as executor (*dispensator*) of the will of the nun Iltruda *de Lunata* – daughter of the deceased Argimus and Guntelmus' cousin – alongside the priest Osprandus⁵⁶. Iltruda had drawn up her will with the consent of her brother and *mundoaldus* Ansimus, and Turingo had been chosen as the beneficiary of the sale: twenty silver *solidi* which were to be donated in memory of the dead nun⁵⁷.

But 838 was also the year of the *inquisitio* concerning the outlying church of San Frediano in which Guntelmus testified, along with many others, in support of the rights of the bishopric to the church⁵⁸. The connection of the

church of Sant'Ippolito in 830 (ChLA², LXXVI, n. 23, pp. 86-89 [830 IV 1, Lucca]), some years after the first mention as rector of Santa Maria a Monte. A *placitum* held in 851 (ChLA², LXXX, n. 12, pp. 47-53 [851 IX, Lucca]) also suggests that, according to a now lost charter, the cleric was connected to the church of Santa Maria at least as early as 817, when the rector was the priest Marinus. Guntelmus probably retained his position at the two churches until his death; indeed, in March 845 we see him vowing to Bishop Ambrose that he will fulfil his duties as rector of both Sant'Ippolito and Santa Maria a Monte, agreeing to pay sixty *solidi* every year in May, with the exception of the May to come (see ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 41, pp. 108-109 [845 III 21, Lucca]). A charter dated March 848 indicates that Guntelmus had by then died (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 29, pp. 102-104 [848 III 31, Lucca]) and we can place his death in the period before 19th February of that year, since in a document drawn up on that day the priest Anualdus is appointed by bishop Ambrose as rector of the baptismal church of Sant'Ippolito and the church of Santa Maria a Monte (see ChLA², LXXIX, n. 27, pp. 98-99 [848 II 19, Lucca]). On the churches of Santa Maria a Monte and Sant'Ippolito in Aniano see Mailloux, *L'évêque en son domaine*; Ciampoltrini, Manfredini, *Sant'Ippolito di Anniano*, pp. 45-50.

⁵³ Among the subscribers to a donation made to the church of Santa Maria a Monte in 802 we find, for the first time, Turingo and Ramingo, the cleric Guntelmus' brothers (ChLA², LXXII, n. 15, pp. 60-61 [802 IX 4, church of Sant'Ippolito in Aniano]).

⁵⁴ ChLA², LXXV, n. 8 pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca). The locality of Bulficiano was situated *prope Monticlo* which, according to Silvio Pieri, is in the same area as Santa Maria a Monte (see Pieri, *Toponomastica della Valle dell'Arno*, pp. 318-319).

⁵⁵ ChLA², LXXV, n. 11, pp. 47-49 (822 XII 6, Lucca).

⁵⁶ ChLA², LXXVII, n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca).

⁵⁷ Ten years later, Turingo was to donate the vineyard in Lunata, the object of this sale, to the outlying church of San Michele *de Scragio* (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 29, pp. 102-104 [848 III 31, Lucca]).

⁵⁸ ChLA², LXXVII, n. 12, pp. 45-47 (838 IV, Lucca).

family group with the bishop is further evidenced in a testimonial for the same church: another unusual document, which has also been studied by Castagnetti, who suggests that it is dated to the same time as the *inquisitio*, about a decade earlier than the dating of the *Chartae Latinae antiquiores*. Among the forty-five depositions in favour of the bishopric – almost all by lay people and only four by clerics – the brothers of the cleric, Turingo and Ramingo, as well as two of their cousins, the *scabinus* Ardo and Emitancus, are attested⁵⁹.

In the 840s, “immigrants” from north of the Alps start to appear in the area around Santa Maria a Monte, there having been no trace of them in any of the Lucchese sources for fifteen years. And so, in April 842, Hitto *homo Baioario*, is recorded as having received *ad laborandum et censum persolvendum* from Guntelmus some land in Bulficiano, near Santa Maria a Monte⁶⁰. Noticeable is the fact that some Franks appear among the subscribers. From the 840s on, in fact, Frankish names begin to reappear in the Lucchese records, corresponding with the time that the probably Frankish bishops Berengar and Ambrose were in office and Hagano was the count of Lucca (838-844), and after Lothar I’s fifth and last sojourn in Italy (between 834 and 840) and the subsequent accession of Louis II in 844⁶¹.

These transalpine arrivals who moved between Lucca and the area around Santa Maria a Monte lead us to an interesting case: a charter from April 846 which allows us to develop some ideas of relevance to our subject. On that day, the cleric Guntelmus received, in the vestibule of the church of Santa Maria, a donation made by a Frankish woman, Eugenia the widow of Adtjus and the daughter of the deceased Albertus; a donation to which the *signa manus* of three Alamanni are appended⁶². The nature of the property is also of interest: it is a house with outbuildings in Pontignano, near the church of Sant’Albano, which the husband of the woman had bought from Vuillelmus *homo Alamanno*⁶³. After the treaty of Verdun (843), and as a consequence of the divisions promulgated in the previous decade, it is easy to imagine that many people who had property scattered across the empire might have chosen to sell some

⁵⁹ ChLA², LXXX, n. 35, pp. 118-120. On Andrea Castagnetti’s proposed dating, see Castagnetti, *L’inquisitio*, p. 267.

⁶⁰ ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 1, pp. 18-19 (842 IV 8, Lucca).

⁶¹ See Cortese, *L’aristocrazia*, pp. 68-69. One of the two Frankish subscribers, Vuilimundus, was able to sign in his own hand, exhibiting a notable ability to write, while Hitto the Bavarian, could only append his *signum manus*, so too Rodericus *homo Francisco*. For the only two attestations of transalpine actors in the Lucchese records in the period between 814 and 840, see ChLA², LXXIV, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (815 XI, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 30, pp. 106-107 (824 IV 30, Lucca). On migration in Carolingian Italy of transalpine agents, with a special focus on the Lucchese records, see Predatsch, *Migration*; Andreolli, *Uomini nel Medioevo*, pp. 67-77.

⁶² ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte).

⁶³ Hunroc, Gherardus and Atto – the three subscribers described as Alamanni – are possibly in some way connected with Vuillelmus.

of it, that had perhaps become less easy to manage; Vuillelmus could well have been one of the Alamanni who decided to do this⁶⁴.

The family's involvement in this transaction, and their joint action alongside the cleric Guntelmus, are testified to by the autograph subscriptions of the *scabinus* Ardo, Guntelmus' cousin, those of the brothers Turingo and Ramingo, and, lastly, by the first and only attestation by Teutpaldus, the son of Turingo, and thus Guntelmus' nephew, who also appended his *signum manus*⁶⁵. The house donated by the widow must have been shortly afterwards bestowed *livellario ordine* upon another agent by the cleric Guntelmus, and the deed, once again, was witnessed by his two brothers⁶⁶.

It is noteworthy that, in this case too, the performative context in which the deed was drawn up, the vestibule of the baptismal church of Sant'Ippolito, where Guntelmus was also rector, is described. Moreover, on this occasion an Alaman is again present – Teutpertus, who appends his *signum manus*, thus evoking the whisper of memories lingering around the property, which had in the past been owned by the Alaman Vuillelmus. Santa Maria a Monte, incidentally, was becoming an extremely important strategic centre for the bishop of Lucca; an area in which, some decades later, Bishop Peter II (896-932) would begin to build a castle⁶⁷. This explains the greater attention to the performative aspects recorded in these charters, which reveal the relationships between local elites and people from other parts of the empire.

4. *The Sons of Iltifridus*

I have called the third and last family group investigated in this paper the Sons of Iltifridus. The group is characterised by its consistent presence,

⁶⁴ On the uncertainty and anxiety experienced by the regional aristocracy due to the divisions of the empire, promulgated between 829 and 839, and the subsequent confusion about which sovereign loyalty should be sworn, see Costambeys, Innes, MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, p. 382; Patzold, *Ich und Karl der Große*, pp. 255-259. In the *Divisio regnorum* of 806 and the *Ordinatio imperii* of 817 there are, however, specific sections which set out to clarify the question of loyalty following the carving up of the empire (see, respectively, MGH, Capit. I, n. 45, 9, p. 128; n. 136, 9, p. 272).

⁶⁵ As well as Teutpaldus, two other sons of Turingo appear in the *chartae*: Turingo (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 45 [849 XI 16, Lucca]) and Rodingo (n. 35, pp. 116-121 [848 VIII 7, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXX, n. 10, pp. 42-43 [845/846-851 IX 10, Lucca]; n. 25, pp. 90-91 [853 IV 15, Lucca]; n. 39, pp. 128-129 [854 X, 20, Lucca]).

⁶⁶ ChLA², LXXIX, n. 11, pp. 48-50 (847 III 3, in the *atrium* of the church of Sant'Ippolito in *loco Anniano*). Turingo's activities in support of his brother the rector, are also testified to in the last document in which we have a record of Guntelmus when he was alive. In April 847, we see Turingo acting as the executor of a will, alongside the archdeacon Teudilascius, on behalf of someone called Adalprandus who was donating property to the church of Santa Maria a Monte (n. 15, pp. 60-61 [847 IV 29, Lucca]).

⁶⁷ The area was accessible both by river, situated as it was at the confluence of numerous water courses flowing from northern Tuscany with the Arno River, and also by land along the ridge of the Cerbaie hills, and was situated very strategically, where routes to Pisa, Pistoia, Volterra, Siena and southern Tuscany met (see Stoffella, *Lociservatores*, pp. 374-375; Savigni, *Lucca*, p. 48).

often in conjunction with more active subscribers from the other two families. In the case of the Sons of Iltifridus, however, there is no trace of activity, in the extant charters, after the 860s. The first attestations of the family appear in the early years of the century when, in September 805, Iltifridus, son of the deceased Sichiprandus, signed a lease on behalf of Bishop Jacob: the other party was someone called Flaipertus, and the goods in question were some houses and properties (*dominicum* and *massaricium*) belonging to the church of San Quirico⁶⁸. Significantly, in this, his first appearance in the records, Iltifridus places his *signum manus* immediately before Ghisus of the deceased Dundulus, in a charter which bears the autograph subscription of Bishop Jacob and the archdeacon Agiprandus. In other words, he was someone who was already part of the diocesan elite, on an equal standing with the members of the other two groups that we have been examining.

Ten years later we see him again with one of the Sons of Dundulus, Arochis, witnessing a *pro anima* donation to the church of San Donato of some land to be used as a paupers' graveyard (*ad pauperes seppelliendum*)⁶⁹. There are ten attestations in all and at least seven of the documents in which the names of members of the families that we have been examining appear bear the subscription of Iltifridus⁷⁰. In 822 we see him acting with other *homines idonei* as a *missus* for Bishop Peter I, tasked with assessing the propriety of an exchange between the cleric Alpertus II Aldobrandeschi and the church of San Donato⁷¹. Our last sighting of Iltifridus in a public context is at the top of a list of the many *arimanni* who attended the third sitting of the abovementioned *placitum* that took place in Lucca in April 822, at which a dispute between the cleric Guntelmus and the brothers Natalis and Auripertus was heard⁷². His attendance, recorded immediately after that of Bishop Peter I and the cleric Anspaldus – as well as the fact that members of the family group of the *scabinius* Taito, who presided over the hearing, and some members of other rising families like the Sons of Huscit figure among the members of the judicial college⁷³ – locates him within the diocesan elite, and thus as a member of the Lucchese establishment.

Of Iltifridus' five sons, Ildiprandus – last seen in November 862 – is the most frequently attested in the sources⁷⁴. He appears almost always as a witness, but on one occasion figures among the *adstantes* at a *placitum*, along

⁶⁸ ChLA², LXXII, n. 33, pp. 110-111 (805 IX 17, Lucca).

⁶⁹ ChLA², LXXIV, n. 11, pp. 48-49 (815 XI, Lucca).

⁷⁰ With the Sons of Dundulus in ChLA², LXXII, n. 33, pp. 110-111 (805 IX 17, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 11, pp. 48-49 (815 XI, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 77-79 (816 VIII 6, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 119-121 (818 VI 26); n. 38, pp. 132-134 (819 IV 30, Lucca); with the Sons of Guntulus in ChLA², LXXIV, n. 16, pp. 63-65 (816 II 15, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca). For a complete list of Iltifridus' attestations see Appendix.

⁷¹ ChLA², LXXV, n. 7, pp. 32-35 (821 X 17, Lucca).

⁷² *Ibidem*, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca).

⁷³ On the Sons of Huscit see Tomei, *Milites elegantes*, pp. 223-357.

⁷⁴ Ildiprandus is attested on eighteen occasions (see Appendix).

with his brother Sichiprandus II⁷⁵. His presence, in October 862, when an exchange between Count Hildiprandus and Bishop Jeremiah (the count's brother) was made, is interesting⁷⁶. His non-autograph subscription in a charter also signed by the Count Hildiprandus and the imperial vassal Teudimundus, testifies to his integration within the diocesan elite and his proximity to the two centres of urban and regional power, both of which, at the time, revolved around the Aldobrandeschi family. On many occasions we find his subscription, like that of his brothers, alongside those of members of both the Sons of Dundulus and the Sons of Guntulus, confirming the fact that the interests of these family groups often coincided⁷⁷. It should also be remembered, however, that it is very possible that these actors were largely motivated by a desire to make their presence felt, to show off in both public and private contexts, including in the production of charters, signing them in their own hand, or appending their *signum manus*. In sum, in Lucca, when a *charta* was drawn up, it was highly likely that one of these actors would be present, eagerly poised to carry out their role as subscribers.

5. Conclusions

The picture that emerges from this study of three families, all of whom can be considered part of a "diocesan elite", allows us to see how their members could avail themselves of a range of possible routes upwards, and use various ways to try to satisfy their ambition to enter the aristocracy and thereby to position themselves more firmly in Lucchese society. Among these routes was, of course, vassalage to the sovereign; the reinforcing of relations with the bishop – in particular with bishops Berengar and Ambrose –; the creation of networks of relations with other prominent families; and increasing power in some specific areas, as demonstrated by the case of the churches of Sant'Ippolito and Santa Maria a Monte. We can also observe a very evident network of subscribers weaving through these family groups. The Sons of Dundulus

⁷⁵ ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca).

⁷⁶ ChLA², LXXXI, n. 38, pp. 114-117 (862 X 9, Lucca). On the exchange, see Collavini, «Honorable domus», pp. 58-59.

⁷⁷ Unlike his father, however, Ildiprandus' subscription is attested on at least eight occasions, alongside the Sons of Dundulus (see ChLA², LXXVI, n. 15, pp. 61-63 [828 XII 17, Lucca]; n. 23, pp. 86-89 [830 IV 1, Lucca]; n. 35, pp. 128-129 [832 XII 30, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXIX, n. 22, pp. 86-87 [847 VII 30, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXX, n. 3, pp. 20-22 [850 III 7, Lucca]; n. 11, pp. 44-45 [851 IX 10, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXXI, n. 21, pp. 70-73 [858 III 31, Lucca]; n. 41, pp. 124-127 [863 IV 20, Lucca]) but not with the Sons of Guntulus. The latter are, however, present with Ildiprandus and his brother Sichiprandus II as *adstantes* on the occasion of a *placitum* held at the ducal court in Lucca in June 847 (ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 [847 VI 25, Lucca]), and their subscriptions sometimes appear alongside those of three other Sons of Iltifridus: with Sichiprandus II in ChLA², LXXVII, n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca); with Periprandus in ChLA², LXXVII, n. 18, pp. 62-63 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 64-65 (838 XII 16, Lucca); with Andrea in ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 21, pp. 62-64 (844 I, Lucca).

appear almost exclusively as subscribers, and so we have no way of determining with any certainty how the family first began to accumulate property. The same applies to the Sons of Iltifridus, all trace of whom disappears from the extant charters after the 860s. That said, the appearance of members of these two families in deeds related to particular areas and properties can, of course, tell us a certain amount. The case of the Sons of Guntulus is, to some extent, different: they subscribed a considerable number of *chartae*, enabling us to follow some of their careers, both as laymen and clerics, and their activities as subscribers or *adstantes* at *placita* throughout the century, if not beyond. It is only for this family group that we are able to identify with some certainty where they originated and first owned property – the village of Lunata, as demonstrated by the non-autograph subscriptions – and clearly see their investment in the area of Santa Maria a Monte coinciding with Guntelmus' clerical career. As already mentioned, it is possible that most of the wealth possessed by these family groups was originally derived from the royal fisc: the extant sources fail to give us a clear picture of the extent of these assets, but the positions held by some members of the families that we have investigated here allow us to make certain assumptions. Glimpses of some family groups are caught as early as the second half of the eighth century, but it is from the start of the ninth, and above all during Lothar's reign, that they are most prominent on the local scene. Unlike the families from which would spring the *milites elegantes* – members of the opulent court of Marquis Adalbert II⁷⁸ –, whose interests intersect with those of these groups during the period that concerns us here, they never, however, attain the highest ranks. Nor did they all succeed in maintaining their positions over the long term, or in climbing any higher in the ranks of the elite, even when they took what appears to be the most promising route: the case of the Sons of Iltifridus, for example, allows us to see how, despite their consistent presence at the drawing up of numerous charters in Lucca, alongside the Sons of Dundulus and of Guntulus, at a certain point, they disappear. There are many possible reasons for this, and it is hard to identify them precisely. Their disappearance could have been determined by a shift of interests outside the episcopal ambit, by a change in the onomastics which makes it difficult to follow the lines of descent, or simply by the extinction of the family line due to a lack of legitimate heirs to step into the shoes so carefully fashioned over the course of decades. Moreover, it is not necessarily the case that the fortunes of those groups whose activities for a certain period intersected with the city's episcopal power – the perspective given by the *chartae* – but then vanish off the episcopal radar, had, in fact, declined.

The situation which emerges from the sources is thus very fluid, at least for the whole of the first half of the ninth century; some further decades were to pass before it stabilised. We have before us a society in transformation

⁷⁸ Liutprand, *Antapodosis*, II, pp. 38-39.

characterised by a teeming host of actors, some more visible than others, who operate both in their own interests and in those of their family groups, seeking to ensure that their descendants can maintain the positions that they have attained; supporting each other – as evident in the case of the brothers of the cleric Guntelmus, but also in the doings of members of the other two groups –; valorising memories, and presenting a united front in public. These actors sought to present an image of the success of their clan in the light of their personal aspirations and ambitions; they made the most of the avenues that opened up for those who could act with alacrity, initiative and sufficient flexibility to adapt to the changes reshaping Lucchese society within the wider political context at the time of Lothar I.

Appendix

Charters in which the Sons of Dundulus appear to be alive

II

Dundulus (776-†803): ChLA, XXXVI, n. 1058, pp. 48-49 (776 XII, Monaciatico).

III

Aloitus (779-815): ChLA, XXXVII, n. 1071, pp. 13-15 (779 XII, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 8, pp. 41-43 (815 I 11, Lucca).

Arochis (803-832): ChLA², LXXII, n. 24, pp. 83-89 (803 VII, the cathedral in Lucca); n. 25, pp. 90-91 (803 VIII, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 92-93 (803 VIII, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 102-103 (804 aprile 29, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 104-105 (804 IV 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIII, n. 9, pp. 39-41 (807 IV 14, Lucca); n. 50, pp. 164-171 (813 IV, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 3, pp. 21-24 (813 XI 8, Lucca); n. 6, pp. 33-35 (814 IV 20); n. 11, pp. 48-49 (815 XI, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 19-21 (818 VI 26); ChLA², LXXV, n. 28, pp. 102-103 (824 III 24, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 114-115 (825 VII 24, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 2, pp. 19-21 (826 X 19, Lucca); n. 15, pp. 61-63 (828 XII 17, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 128-129 (832 XII 30, Lucca).

Ghisus (816-819; †823): ChLA², LXXIV, n. 21, pp. 77-79 (816 VIII 6, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 110-112 (818 III 10, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 124-125 (818 VIII 20, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 132-134 (819 IV 30, Lucca).

Aloni (807-849): ChLA², LXXIII, n. 3, pp. 19-21 (807 III, Lucca); n. 5, pp. 26-29 (807 IV 1-14, Lucca); n. 9, pp. 39-41 (807 IV 14, Lucca), n. 21, pp. 75-77 (808 VII, Lucca); n. 22, pp. 79-82 (808 VIII, Lucca); n. 29, pp. 101-103 (809 IX 22, Lucca, in the bishopric see); n. 43, pp. 144-146 (812 I 11, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 1, pp. 14-16 (820 IX 3, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 18, pp. 69-71 (829 XI 16, Lucca); n. 37, pp. 133-135 (833 XII 6, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 137-139 (833 XII 6, Lucca); n. 39, pp. 140-141 (834 I 2, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 12, pp. 45-47 (838 IV); n. 18, pp. 62-63 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 64-65 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 84-85 (839 VI 14, Lucca); n. 27, pp. 86-87 (839 VI 14, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 17, pp. 50-51 (844 I 17, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 44, pp. 144-145 (849 XI 12, Lucca).

IV

Aroghisus/Arochis (839/840-855): ChLA², LXXVII, n. 34, pp. 104-105 (839 I 28 – 840 I 27, Lucca); n. 36, pp. 112-113 (840 III 10, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 116-119 (840 III 24, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 19, pp. 56-59 (844 I 24, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 91-93 (844 VIII 10, Lucca); n. 48, pp. 122-123 (845 VI 20, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 10, pp. 45-47 (846 VIII 7, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 96-97 (847 XI 12, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 105-107 (848 III 31, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 108-109 (848 IV 7, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 128-129 (848 IX 2, Lucca); n. 46, pp. 148-149 (849 XI 16, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 2, pp. 18-19 (850 II 21, Lucca); n. 3, pp. 20-22 (850 III 7, Lucca); n. 17, pp. 68-71 (852 II 17, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 92-99 (853 IV, Lucca); n. 34, pp. 114-117 (853 XII 22, Lucca); n. 45, pp. 146-147 (855 IV 15, Lucca).

Iohannes (815-839/840): ChLA², LXXIV, n. 10, pp. 46-47 (815 IV 16, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 19, pp. 73-75 (829 XII 17, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 34, pp. 104-105 (839 I 28 – 840 I 27, Lucca).

Andrea (818-844): ChLA², LXXIV, n. 35, pp. 124-125 (818 VIII 20, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 16, pp. 63-65 (823 VII 11, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 23, pp. 86-89 (830 IV 1, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 112-113 (831 IV 9, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 34, pp. 104-105 (839 I 28 – 840 I 27, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 19, pp. 56-59 (844 I 24, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 91-93 (844 VIII 10, Lucca).

V

Angalpertus (844-858; †873): ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 17, pp. 50-51 (844 I 17, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 56-59 (844 I 24, Lucca); n. 42, pp. 110-111 (845 IV 4, Lucca); n. 43, pp. 112-113 (845 IV 4, Lucca); n. 48, pp. 122-123 (845 VI 20, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 24, pp. 90-92 (847 IX 4 or X 6 or XI 4, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 108-109 (848 IV 7, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 1, pp. 16-17 (850 II 15, Lucca); n. 16, pp. 64-67 (852 II 17,

Lucca);, n. 33, pp. 112-113 (853 XII 12, Lucca);, n. 41, pp. 134-137 (855 III 25, Lucca);, n. 45, pp. 146-147 (855 IV 15, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXI, n. 21, pp. 70-73 (858 III 31, Lucca).

Aroghisus (847-855): ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 1, pp. 16-17 (850 II 15, Lucca); n. 41, pp. 134-137 (855 III 25, Lucca).

Adalpertus (840-855): ChLA², LXXVII, n. 37, pp. 114-115 (840 III 13, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 16, pp. 48-49 (843 XII 15, Lucca); n. 20, pp. 60-61 (844 I 27, Lucca); n. 23, pp. 68-71 (844 III 7, Lucca); n. 24, pp. 72-73 (844 IV 10, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 96-97 (844 IX 5, Lucca); n. 37, pp. 100-101 (844 XII 14, Lucca); n. 46, pp. 118-119 (845 V 4, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 20, pp. 76-77 (847 V 21, *in loco Casanova*); n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 22, pp. 86-87 (847 VII 30, Lucca); n. 24, pp. 90-92 (847 IX 4 or X 6 or XI 4, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 96-97 (847 XI 12, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 112-113 (848 VI 23, Lucca); n. 34, pp. 114-115 (848 VI 23, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); n. 44, pp. 144-145 (849 XI 12, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 1, pp. 16-17 (850 II 15, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 47-53 (851 IX, Lucca); n. 13, pp. 54-55 (851 X 9, Lucca); n. 41, pp. 134-137 (855 III 25, Lucca).

Adelghisus "Appo" (845-853): ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 42, pp. 110-111 (845 IV 4, Lucca); n. 43, pp. 112-113 (845 IV 4, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 27, pp. 98-99 (848 II 19, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 112-113 (848 VI 23, Lucca); n. 34, pp. 114-115 (848 VI 23, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); n. 36, pp. 122-123 (848 VIII 31, Lucca); n. 37, pp. 124-127 (848 IX 1, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 128-129 (848 IX 2, Lucca); n. 44, pp. 144-145 (849 XI 12, Lucca); n. 45, pp. 146-147 (849 XI 16, Lucca); n. 46, pp. 148-149 (849 XI 16, Lucca); n. 49, pp. 154-157 (850 I 20, *ad Curte Nova finibus Maritimense*); n. 50, pp. 158-159 (850 II 10, San Quirico di Moriano); ChLA², LXXX, n. 1, pp. 16-17 (850 II 15, Lucca); n. 5, pp. 27-29 (850 VI 22, Lucca); n. 6, pp. 30-31 (850 VI 22, Lucca); n. 11, pp. 44-45 (851 IX 10, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 47-53 (851 IX, Lucca); n. 18, pp. 72-73 (852 II 29, Lucca); n. 20, pp. 76-78 (853 II 11, Capannoli); n. 21, pp. 79-81 (853 III 11, Lucca).

VI

Aloni (873-899): ChLA², LXXXIII, n. 20, pp. 70-73 (873 X 21, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXV, n. 39, pp. 130-133 (886 VII 11, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 11, pp. 42-45 (890 V 27, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 106-107 (893 V 15, Lucca); n. 32, pp. 108-109 (893 V 19, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 110-111 (893 VI 25, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 114-115 (894 XII 30, Lucca); n. 41, pp. 126-127 (895 XI 19, Lucca); n. 47, pp. 144-147 (897 III 24, Lucca); n. 48, pp. 148-151 (897 III 24, Lucca); n. 49, pp. 152-153 (897 III 24, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXVII, n. 8, pp. 36-38 (898 IV 15, Lucca); n. 10, pp. 42-43 (898 IV 20, Lucca); n. 14, pp. 52-57 (898 V 9, Ponte a Cappiano); n. 15, pp. 58-63 (898 VI 30, Lucca); n. 24, pp. 90-93 (898 XII 27, Lucca); n. 25, pp. 94-97 (898 XII 27, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 98-103 (898 II 3, Lucca); n. 32, pp. 116-121 (899 XI, 23; ChLA², CXVII, n. 17, pp. 94-107 (*post* 895 XI 19 – *ante* 897 III 4).

Fraimundus (886): ChLA², LXXXV, n. 39, pp. 130-133 (886 VII 11, Lucca).

Charters in which the Sons of Guntulus appear to be alive

I

Guntulus (767-776; †789): ChLA, XXXIV, n. 999, pp. 52-53 (767 XI, Lunata); ChLA, XXXVI, n. 1056, pp. 42-43 (776 V 26, Lucca).

II

Tao (767-816; †828): ChLA, XXXIV, n. 999, pp. 52-53 (767 XI, Lunata); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 20, pp. 74-76 (816 VII 28, Lucca).

Aimo *vir devotus* (767-†822): ChLA, XXXIV, n. 999, pp. 52-53 (767 XI, Lunata).

Argimus (769-789; †811): ChLA XXXIV, n. 1008, pp. 86-87 (769 XI 14, Lucca); ChLA XXXVI, n. 1049, pp. 28-29 (774 IX, Lunata); ChLA, XXXVIII, n. 1124, pp. 88-91 (789 VI 9, Lucca).

Gumpertus (776-806): ChLA², XXXIV, n. 1056, pp. 42-43 (776 V 26, Lucca); ChLA², LXXII, n. 47, pp. 148-149 (806 XI 28, Lucca).

Taito *lociservator/scabinus* (801/802-830; †838): ChLA², LXXII, n. 12, pp. 50-53 ([801 VI – 802 IV 14], in the cathedral of Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (815 XI, Lucca); n. 16, pp. 63-65 (816 II 15, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 40, pp. 137-138 (825 XII 20, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 12, pp. 50-52 (828 VII 8, Nazzano *near* Avenza); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 21, pp. 79-81 (830 I 11, Lucca).

III

Guntelmus *clericus* (816-847; †848): ChLA², LXXIV, n. 16, pp. 63-65 (816 II 15, Lucca); n. 20, pp. 74-76 (816 VII 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 1, pp. 14-16 (820 IX 3, Lucca); n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca); n. 11, pp. 47-49 (822 XII 6, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 23, pp. 86-89 (830 IV 1, Lucca); n. 41, pp. 147-149 (834 V 2, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 2, pp. 17-21 (835 VIII 28, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 45-47 (838 IV); n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca); n. 15, pp. 54-55 (838 VIII 1, Lucca); n. 17, pp. 59-61 (838 IX 6, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 68-71 (839 III 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 1, pp. 18-19 (842 IV 8, Lucca); n. 11, pp. 38-39 (843 VI 30, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 84-85 (844 V 24, Lucca); n. 41, pp. 108-109 (845 III 21, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte); n. 11, pp. 48-50 (847 III 3, in the *atrium* of the church of Sant'Ippolito in *loco Anniano*); n. 15, pp. 60-61 (847 IV 29, Lucca).

Turingo I (802-854): ChLA², LXXII, n. 15, pp. 60-61 (802 IX 4, church of Sant'Ippolito in Aniano); ChLA², LXXV, n. 11, pp. 47-49 (822 XII 6, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca); n. 32, pp. 118-121 (831 X 7, Lucca); n. 42, pp. 150-151 (834 V 2, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 68-71 (839 III 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 11, pp. 38-39 (843 VI 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte); n. 11, pp. 48-50 (847 III 3, in the *atrium* of the church of Sant'Ippolito in *loco Anniano*); n. 15, pp. 60-61 (847 IV 29, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 96-97 (847 XI 12, Lucca); n. 27, pp. 98-99 (848 II 19, Lucca); n. 29, pp. 102-104 (848 III 31, Lucca); n. 45, pp. 146-147 (849 XI 16, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 7, pp. 32-34 (850 VIII 2, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 47-53 (851 IX, Lucca); n. 25, pp. 90-91 (853 IV 15, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 118-120 (847-853 [?]); n. 39, pp. 128-129 (854 X 20, Lucca).

Ramingo I (802-855): ChLA², LXXII, n. 15, pp. 60-61 (802 IX 4, church of Sant'Ippolito in Aniano); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 9, pp. 42-43 (828 II 19, Lucca); n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 2, pp. 17-21 (835 VIII 28, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 68-71 (839 III 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 11, pp. 38-39 (843 VI 30, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 91-93 (844 VIII 10, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte); n. 11, pp. 48-50 (847 III 3, in the *atrium* of the church of Sant'Ippolito in *loco Anniano*); ChLA², LXXX, n. 7, pp. 32-34 (850 VIII 2, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 47-53 (851 IX, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 118-120 (847-853 [?]); ChLA², LXXXI, n. 2, pp. 19-23 (855 IX 22, Lucca).

Laipo (792-840): ChLA, XXXIX, n. 1132, pp. 29-31 (792 V 18, church of San Frediano in Lunata); ChLA², LXXV, n. 12, pp. 50-53 (822 XII 16, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 38, pp. 116-119 (840 III 24, Lucca).

Emitancus (822-840): ChLA², LXXV, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 38, pp. 116-119 (840 III 24, Lucca).

Iltruda *ancilla Dei* (811-815; †838): ChLA², LXXIII, n. 38, pp. 127-129 (811 V 7, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 10, pp. 46-47 (815 IV 16, Lucca).

Ansimus (838): ChLA², LXXVII, n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca).

Iohannes (812-840): ChLA², LXXIII, n. 46, pp. 152-155 (812 V, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 40, pp. 138-140 (819 VI 28, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca); n. 11, pp. 47-49 (822 XII 6, Lucca); n. 12, pp. 50-53 (822 XII 16, Lucca); n. 17, pp. 67-69 (823 VII 18, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 74-77 (822 XI – 823 VII 31, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 12, pp. 50-52 (828 VII 8, Nazzano *near* Avenza); n. 15, pp. 61-63 (828 XII 17, Lucca); n. 17, pp. 66-68 (829 IX 15, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 114-117 (831 X 5, Lucca); n. 36, pp. 130-132 (833 VI 19, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 37, pp. 114-115 (840 III 13, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 116-119 (840 III 24, Lucca).

Ardo *scabinus* (830-853): ChLA², LXXVI, n. 24, pp. 91-93 (830 IX 29, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVI, n. 40, pp. 143-145 (834 I 13, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 3, pp. 22-23 (835 IX 4, Lucca); n. 13, pp.

48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca); n. 18, pp. 62-63 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 64-65 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 46, pp. 140-142 (840 XII 18, Lucca); n. 49, pp. 150-151 (841 XII 3, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 11, pp. 38-39 (843 VI 30, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 62-64 (844 I, Lucca); n. 25, pp. 74-75 (844 IV 10, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 23, pp. 88-89 (847 X 1, Lucca); n. 31, pp. 108-109 (848 IV 7, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 12, pp. 47-53 (851 IX, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 92-99 (853 IV, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 118-120 (847-853 [?]).

IV

Turingo II (849): ChLA², LXXIX, n. 45 (849 XI 16, Lucca).

Rodingo (845/851-854): ChLA², LXXIX, n. 35, pp. 116-121 (848 VIII 7, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 10, pp. 42-43 (845/846-851 IX 10, Lucca); n. 25, pp. 90-91 (853 IV 15, Lucca); n. 39, pp. 128-129 (854 X 20, Lucca).

Teutpaldus (846): ChLA², LXXIX, n. 8, pp. 38-40 (846 IV 7, in the *atrium* of the church of Santa Maria a Monte).

Ramingo II (876-879): ChLA², LXXXIV, n. 10, pp. 44-47 (876 XI, 27, church of Santa Maria a Monte); n. 22, pp. 80-83 (879 II 24, church of Santa Maria a Monte).

V

Tao *subdiaconus* (891): ChLA², LXXXVI, n. 18, pp. 66-69 (891 VIII 21, Lucca).

Charters in which the Sons of Ilthfridus appear to be alive

II

Ilthfridus (805-822; †828): ChLA², LXXII, n. 33, pp. 110-111 (805 IX 17, Lucca); n. 36, pp. 118-119 (805 XI, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIV, n. 11, pp. 48-49 (815 XI, Lucca); n. 14, pp. 57-59 (816 I 31, Lucca); n. 16, pp. 63-65 (816 II 15, Lucca); n. 17, pp. 66-67 (816 IV 5, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 77-79 (816 VIII 6, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 119-121 (818 VI 26, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 132-134 (819 IV 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXV, n. 7, pp. 32-35 (821 X 17, Lucca); n. 8, pp. 36-40 (822 IV, Lucca).

III

Ildiprandus (828-862): ChLA², LXXVI, n. 15, pp. 61-63 (828 XII 17, Lucca); n. 23, pp. 86-89 (830 IV 1, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 128-129 (832 XII 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 42, pp. 128-129 (840 V 24, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 31, pp. 86-87 (844 VII 26, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 5, pp. 28-30 (846 III 10, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 79-85 (847 VI 25, Lucca); n. 22, pp. 86-87 (847 VII 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 3, pp. 20-22 (850 III 7, Lucca); n. 11, pp. 44-45 (851 IX 10, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 106-107 (853 IX, Lucca); ChLA², LXXXI, n. 12, pp. 46-47 (856 XI 11, Lucca); n. 21, pp. 70-73 (858 III 31, Lucca); n. 26, pp. 84-85 (859 II 7, Lucca); n. 28, pp. 90-91 (859 XI 18, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 108-109 (861 IX 3, Lucca); n. 38, pp. 114-117 (862 X 9, Lucca); n. 39, pp. 118-119 (862 XI 5, Lucca).

Sichiprandus II (828-855): ChLA², LXXVI, n. 15, pp. 61-63 (828 XII 17, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 112-113 (831 IV 9, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 13, pp. 48-51 (838 V 24, Lucca); n. 39, pp. 120-121 (840 IV 20, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 21, pp. 79-85 [847 VI 25, Lucca]; ChLA², LXXX, n. 41, pp. 134-137 (855 III 25, Lucca; *Sighiprando*).

Periprandus (831-843): ChLA², LXXVI, n. 29, pp. 108-111 (831 IV 8, Lucca); n. 35, pp. 128-129 (832 XII 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 18, pp. 62-63 (838 XII 16, Lucca); n. 19, pp. 64-65 (838 XII 16, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 9, pp. 34-35 (843 VI 12, Lucca); n. 10, pp. 36-37 (843 VI 12, Lucca).

Andrea (832-851): ChLA², LXXVI, n. 34, pp. 126-127 (832 X 30, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVII, n. 7, pp. 32-33 (837 XI 10, Lucca); n. 33, pp. 101-103 (839 XI 11, Lucca); n. 43, pp. 130-132 (840 V 28, Lucca); n. 50, pp. 152-155 (842 I 4, Lucca); ChLA², LXXVIII, n. 21, pp. 62-64 (844 I, Lucca); n. 39, pp. 104-105 (844 XII 27, Lucca); ChLA², LXXIX, n. 29, pp. 102-104 (848 III 31, Lucca); n. 30, pp. 105-107 (848 III 31, Lucca); ChLA², LXXX, n. 11, pp. 44-45 (851 IX 10, Lucca).

Richiprandus (836): ChLA², LXXVII, n. 4, pp. 24-27 (836 VI 9, Lucca).

Family trees⁷⁹

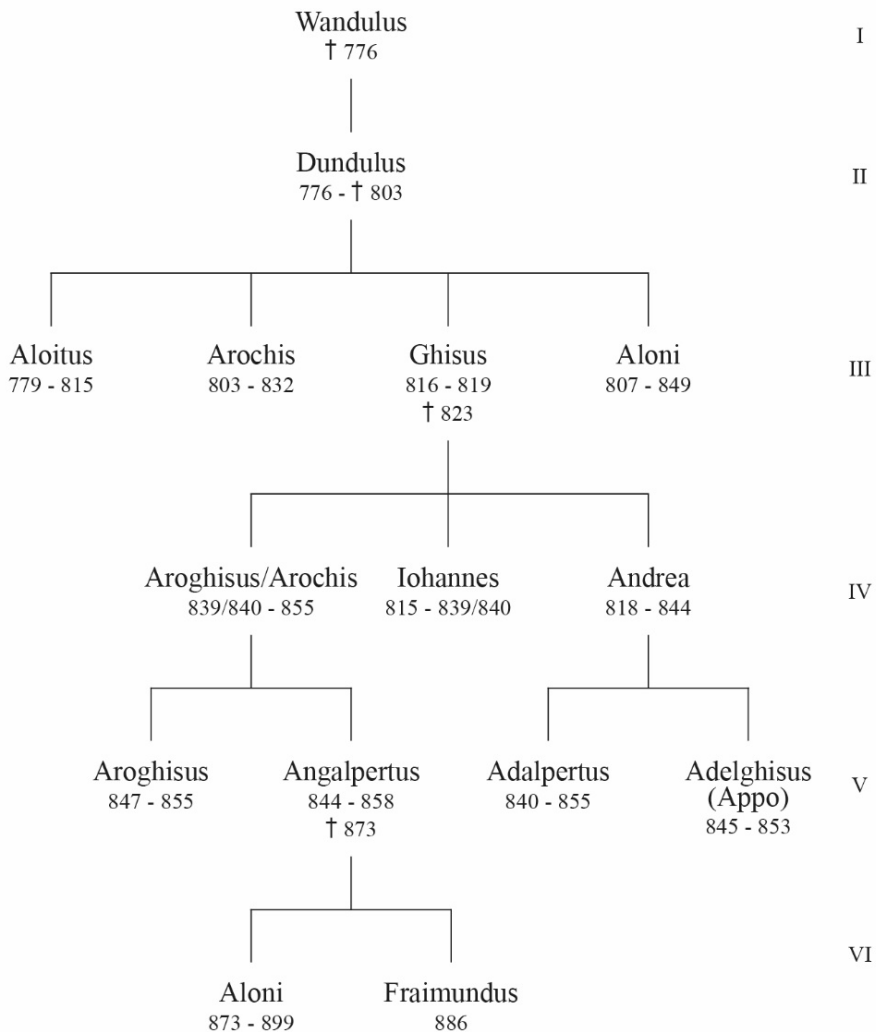


Figure 1. The Sons of Dundulus.

⁷⁹ Graphics by Giulio Mattiello.

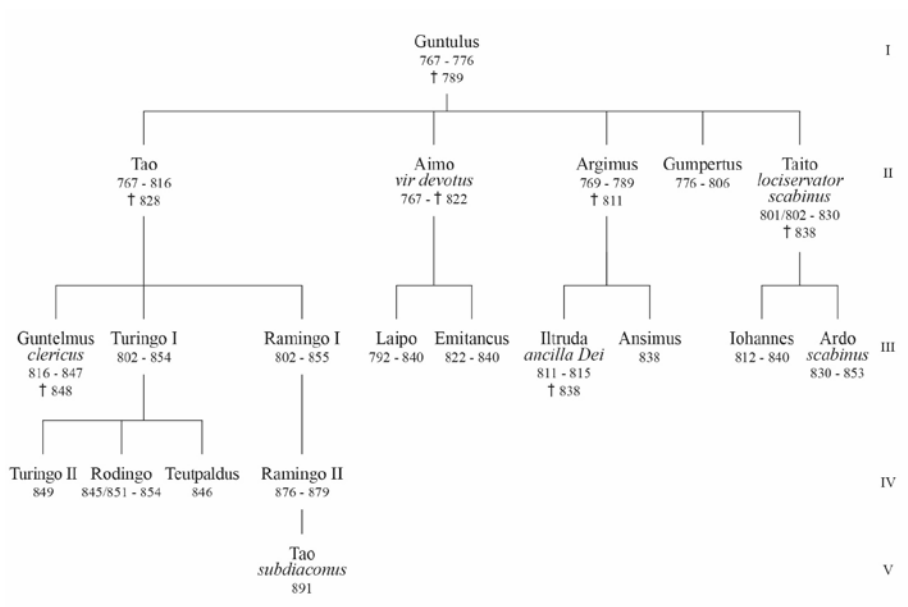


Figure 2. The Sons of Guntulus.

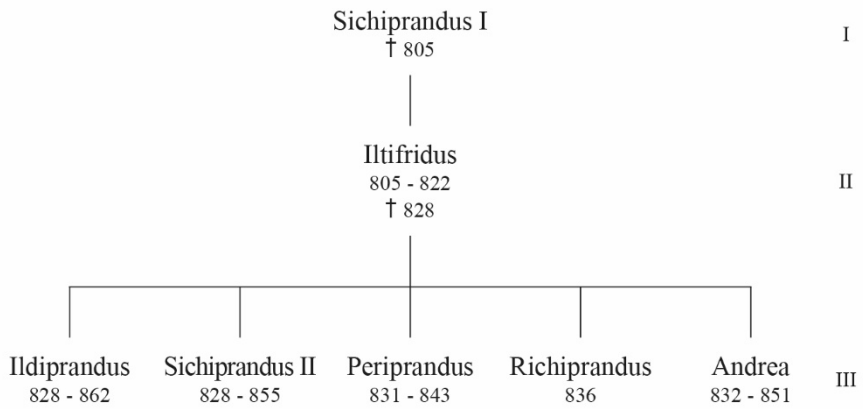


Figure 3. The Sons of Iltifridus.

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