

# ON THE RAETIAN-ALEMANNIC CONNECTIONS WITH ISTRIA, DALMATIA AND CARANTANIA IN THE CAROLINGIAN AGE – TWO EXAMPLES

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*Frankish rule over the Lombard Kingdom rested largely upon people who arrived in Italy from the area to the north of the Alps. The distinguished noble families that established themselves in north-eastern Italy (Friuli, Istria) included also the Frankish(?) Unruochings and the Raetian-Alemannic Hunfridings. The article addresses their members' lesser known contacts with Istria and the Slavic hinterland from Carantania to Dalmatia. Hunfrid I and his son Hunfrid II were counts in Raetia and were active in Italy as missi of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, during whose lifetimes they administered Istria, which became an important centre of the Hunfridings' power. Albgar, on the other hand, who travelled to Dalmatia as a missus of Louis the Pious in 817 to settle the disputes between the Slavs and the Romans, was a member of the Unruochings. He was a cousin of Eberhard, Duke of Friuli, who was married to Gisela, daughter of Louis the Pious. He came to Italy as a tutor, baiolus, of King Pippin's daughter, and left it after the king's death for a long time. He was attested as Count of Alemannia around 830, whereupon he was very probably Count of Carantania until his return to northern Italy around 840, where he spent his old age living near Lago Maggiore. The contacts and connections of the Frankish elite with their Slavic peers on the empire's south-eastern border were much more intensive than they appear to be at first glance. They are well-documented, inter alia, by libri vitae from Salzburg and Cividale, where Frankish and Slavic magnates from a large contact area, extending from Moravia and Pannonia to Carantania and Dalmatia, are often entered alongside each other.*

**Key words:** *the Hunfridings, the Unruochings, transalpine connections, the 9th century, Raetia, Alemannia, Istria, Dalmatia, Carantania*

## FRAMING

Frankish rule over the Lombard kingdom rested largely upon people who arrived in Italy from the area to the north of the Alps. Research conducted by Gerd Tellenbach and Eduard Hlawitschka more than half a century ago indicated that many Franks and Alemanni, to a lesser extent also Bavarians and Burgundians, who took on important military, administrative and ecclesiastical posts, had arrived in Italy from the last quarter of the 8th century onwards. As counts, *missi*, bishops, abbots or ordinary *vassi*, who formed the backbone of the Frankish military presence in northern Italy as vassals, they served Charlemagne or his successors and contributed significantly to the stabilization and, subsequently, maintenance of the Frankish rule in *regnum Langobardorum*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>G. TELLENBACH, *Der großfränkische Adel und die Regierung Italiens in der Blütezeit des Karolingerreiches*, in: *Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des großfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adel*, (ed.) Gerd Tellenbach, (Forschungen zur Oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, 4), Freiburg im Breisgau, 1957, pp. 40-70; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774–962). Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien* (Forschungen zur Oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, 8), Freiburg im Breisgau, 1960.

Friuli occupied a prominent position among the Lombard duchies to which a flow of newcomers arriving from the north was directed. Having quashed the revolt of the Lombard opposition led by the Friulan Duke Hrodgaud in 776, Charlemagne introduced personnel-related and institutional changes in north-eastern Italy. The statement made in the Royal Frankish Annals, namely that he handed over the administration of all cities to the Franks or Frankish counts is surely an exaggeration; however, numerous leading positions were occupied by new people from the north. Confiscated land lost by the *infideles Langobardi*, who were killed during the revolt, taken into captivity by the Franks as hostages, or who fled into the Avarian exile, formed to a great extent the material basis for the replacement of the elites.<sup>2</sup>

Having been Italy's border duchy on the front against the Avars and Byzantium, Friuli's strategic significance was great; it was under Charlemagne's direct (military) authority, similarly to the Duchy of Spoleto in the south. Charlemagne appointed trusted people to its helm, even though it was formally ruled by his son Pippin, who was crowned King of Italy as a four-year old child in Rome in 781.<sup>3</sup> Friuli's importance for the Frankish politics in Italy is best illustrated by the fact that after 776 all of its dukes originated from the Frankish Kingdom's central areas to the north of the Alps. In the case of Friuli's first duke Marcarius, who was mentioned only in a letter by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne relating to the return of the newly blinded Istrian Bishop Mauricius of Novigrad to his bishopric, this is a more or less likely assumption;<sup>4</sup> however, we do know that in Charlemagne's period both Eric († 799)<sup>5</sup> and Cadolah († 819)<sup>6</sup> came from Alemannia. Baldric, who was appointed Duke of Friuli in the period of Louis the Pious, also arrived in Italy from the north and possibly originated from Alemannia as well.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 776, (ed.) Friedrich Kurze (Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex MGH separatim editi, [6]), Hannover, 1895, p. 44; *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 776, (ed.) Friedrich Kurze (Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex MGH separatim editi, [6]), Hannover, 1895, p. 45; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 23-24, 37. For Hrodgaud's revolt and its consequences see H. KRAHWINKLER, *Friaul im Frühmittelalter. Geschichte einer Region vom Ende des fünften bis zum Ende des zehnten Jahrhunderts* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 30), Wien - Köln - Weimar, 1992, pp. 119-143; L. VILLA, Rodgaudo, duca del Friuli, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il Medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scalon, Udine, 2006, pp. 742-744.

<sup>3</sup> B. KASTEN, *Königssöhne und Königsherrschaft. Untersuchungen zur Teilhabe am Reich in der Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit* (MGH, Schriften, 44), Hannover, 1997, pp. 284, 294-296; A. STIELDORE, *Marken und Markgrafen. Studien zur Grenzsicherung durch die fränkisch-deutschen Herrscher* (MGH, Schriften, 64), Hannover, 2012, pp. 68-72; P. ŠTIH, *Pippin, Istrien und die Welt östlich von Italien* (forthcoming).

<sup>4</sup> E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 24, 235. However, see also H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 144-145, who believes that Marcarius might have been preceded in Friuli by *dux Massellio*.

<sup>5</sup> For Eric see J. B. ROSS, Two Neglected Paladins of Charlemagne. Erich of Friuli and Gerold of Bavaria, *Speculum*, 20, Cambridge, Ma., 1945, pp. 212-235; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 176-177; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 151-158; L. VILLA, Erico, duca del Friuli, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scalon, Udine, 2006, pp. 291-295.

<sup>6</sup> For Cadolah see E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 163-165; M. BORGOLTE, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit. Eine Prosopographie* (Archäologie und Geschichte. Freiburger Forschungen zum ersten Jahrtausend in Südwestdeutschland, 2), Sigmaringen, 1986, pp. 88-90; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 223-225; S. TAVANO, Cadalo, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scalon, Udine, 2006, pp. 181-182.

<sup>7</sup> For Baldric see E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 146 sq.; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 192-197. Having his name entered (*Baldrich comes*) in the *liber vitae* of the Reichenau Abbey in 824, where he is listed among the monastery's living friends alongside several Alemannic counts, could speak in favour of Baldric's Alemannic origin; *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, (ed.) Johanne Autenrieth, Dieter Guenich, Karl Schmid (MGH, Libri memoriales et necrologia, N. S. 1), Hannover, 1979, p. 99/A2; D. GUENICH, *Das Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuch*, in: *Libri vitae. Gebetsgedenken in der Gesellschaft des Frühen Mittelalters*, (ed.) Dieter Guenich, Uwe Ludwig, Köln - Weimar - Wien, 2015, pp. 135, 137-138.

With Baldric's removal from office in 828 and the division of the great area under his authority – which after the Avar wars extended from the river Drava in the east as far as the Dalmatian hinterland – among four counts, the Duchy of Friuli came to an end;<sup>8</sup> however, this did not diminish Friuli's significance or the power of people installed at its helm. Comes and dux Eberhard († 864/66) from the (Frankish?) Unruoching family, who succeeded Baldric, belonged to the circle of *Reichsaristokratie*, the empire's highest noble families, and was married to the daughter of Louis the Pious and sister of (the future) Emperor Charles the Bald.<sup>9</sup> It was consanguinity with the Carolingian dynasty that legitimized his son Berengar († 924), who succeeded his brother Unroch in Friuli in 874/75, to lay claim to the position of the king of Italy (888–924) and of the emperor (915–924).<sup>10</sup> The codex with transcripts of *leges* of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks, the Alemanni, the Bavarians, and the Lombards, which was owned by Eberhard, holder of judicial authority who was entrusted with administering the province, speaks volumes about the presence of newcomers from the area to the north of the Alps, who lived in Friuli according to their gentile laws.<sup>11</sup>

Nonetheless, the case of Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia († 802), indicates that Charlemagne appointed locals to key positions as well. Paulinus, who was according to Jennifer R. Davis “Charlemagne's favourite Italian bishop”,<sup>12</sup> was alongside Eric the most prominent figure in the first period of Frankish rule in north-eastern Italy, as well as one of the main players in the Frankish expansion into Pannonia and the western Balkans. Back in 776, when he was still *artis grammaticae magister* (in Cividale del Friuli), Charlemagne bestowed a large estate upon him in Friuli.<sup>13</sup> He was the first known “Italian” to be endowed by the new Frankish King of the Lombards and, at the same time, the first documented member of the Frankish regime in Friuli, which had to be stabilized after Hrodgaud's revolt. Paulinus was certainly the right man for the new times and integrated splendidly into the Frankish ecclesiastical and intellectual elite; he also had excellent relations with the Frankish court in Aachen.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 196-197.

<sup>9</sup> For Eberhard see E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 169-172; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 245-266; M. DISSADERI, Eberardo, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scaloni, Udine, 2006, pp. 265-269.

<sup>10</sup> For Unroch and Berengar see E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 276-277; E. HLAWITSCHKA, Unruochinger, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 8, Stuttgart - Weimar, 1999, col. 1261; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 266-291; M. DISSADERI, Berengario I, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scaloni, Udine, 2006, pp. 160-164.

<sup>11</sup> *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cysoing et de ses dépendances*, no. 1, (ed.) Ignace de Coussemaker, Lille, 1885, pp. 1-5. For Eberhard's library see R. MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 245-246; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 264-265; C. LA ROCCA, L. PROVERO, The Dead and Their Gifts. The Will of Eberhard, Count of Friuli, and His Wife Gisela, Daughter of Louis the Pious (863–864), in: *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages (The Transformation of the Roman World, 8)*, (ed.) Frans Theuws, Janet L. Nelson, Leiden, 2000, pp. 256-257. For this famous codex, which was penned on behalf of Eberhard by Lupus von Ferrières and is preserved in transcript from the 10th century (Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. O. I. 2), cf. O. MÜNSCH, *Der Liber legum des Lupus von Ferrières* (Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, 14), Frankfurt am Main, 2001; H. MORDEK, Frühmittelalterliche Gesetzgeber und *iustitia* in Miniaturen weltlicher Rechtshandschriften, in: *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli V–VIII) 2* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 42), Spoleto, 1995, pp. 1035-1049.

<sup>12</sup> J. R. DAVIS, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, Cambridge, 2017, p. 207.

<sup>13</sup> *D. Kar. 1*, no. 112, (ed.) Engelbert Mühlbacher, *Die Urkunden Pipins, Karlmanns und Karl des Großen* (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 1), München, 2nd ed. 1991, pp. 158-159.

<sup>14</sup> For Paulinus see *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio su Paolino d'Aquileia nel XII centenario dell'episcopato*, (ed.) Giuseppe Fornasir, Udine, 1988; *XII centenario del Concilio di Cividale (796–1996)* (Pubblicazioni della Deputazione di storia patria per il Friuli, 26), (ed.) Sandro Piussi, Udine, 1998; *Paolino di Aquileia e il contributo italiano all'Europa carolingia* (Libri e biblioteche, 12), (ed.) Paolo Chiesa, Udine, 2003; P. CHIESA, Paolino, patriarca di Aquileia, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scaloni, Udine, 2006, pp. 641-650.

The influential Lombard Aio, whose biography is very interesting, was probably also a native of Friuli. Having committed “menacing sins” in his youth, which probably refers to his participation in Hrodgaud’s revolt, he became *infidelis* and a *fugitivus*, who fled to the Avars. He returned from Pannonia (as a captive) with Pippin’s army in 796. He was pardoned by Charlemagne three years later and given back a large confiscated estate in Friuli, Verona, and Vicenza. Aio made a distinguished career of serving the emperor. He was sent to Istria in 804 as a *comes* and *missus*, where he adjudicated at the Diet of Rižana/Riziano alongside the Friulian Duke Cadolah and the clergyman Izzo in the dispute between the Istrians, Duke John of Istria, and the local bishops. Along with Bishop Haito of Basel and Count Hugo of Tours he was a member of the delegation to Constantinople in 811. His participation in this important mission, which paved the way for the Treaty of Aachen from the following year, draws attention to the great trust that Charlemagne placed in Aio; subsequently, he was also a *fidelis* of Louis the Pious.<sup>15</sup>

The cases of Paulinus and Aio demonstrate that the Carolingian authority in Italy or Friuli also relied on members of the local elite, who were regarded as loyal and were deemed capable of acting in an integrative manner. Duke John of Istria is also believed to have belonged in this group. A part of historiography considers him a local of Istria or, at least, of Italy (Venetia), while the remaining part sees him as a foreigner who arrived in Istria from an area to the north of the Alps. His name speaks in favour of the first view. Harald Krahwinkler maintains that this biblical anthroponym was spread throughout the Christian world in the early Middle Ages; it could be seen among the clergy and monks to the north of the Alps, and less often among laymen, while in the area to the south of the Alps this name was more common among laymen.<sup>16</sup> However, defending himself against the Istrians’ accusations at the Diet of Rižana, John spoke about *vestra consuetudo* and about *leges parentorum vestrorum*, which implies that he did not consider customs and laws by which the Istrians abided as something that would include him or as something that would be “his” or “ours”. This suggests that John was a foreigner, and Hlawitschka thought that he was a Frank.<sup>17</sup> Such a definite conclusion might be deemed too bold; nonetheless, also John’s other statement, namely that he thought the forests and pastures that he had taken away from the Istrians were part of the imperial fisc, and not of the municipal estate, indicates that he was not familiar with the situation in the peninsula to the degree expected from a local.<sup>18</sup>

Whatever the case may be, John’s measures to the detriment of the municipal elites and great landowners caused such general dissatisfaction in Istria that Charlemagne himself had to intervene in the heated conditions and convene the Diet of Rižana, where the changes were almost completely done away with.<sup>19</sup> Having been accused of corruption and nepotism, John compromised himself to too great a degree, making his position insupportable both in Istria and at the Frankish court. His presence was disruptive and he became a disintegrative factor; he probably lost his position as provincial duke soon after the Diet of Rižana. At any rate, he was not mentioned after 804.

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<sup>15</sup> *D. Kar. 1*, nos. 187, 209, (ed.) Engelbert Mühlbacher (n. 13), pp. 251-252, 279-280; *D. LdF*, no. 101, (ed.) Theo Kölzer, *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen* (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 2/1), Wiesbaden, 2016, pp. 244-245; P. CLASSEN, *Karl der Große, das Papsttum und Byzanz. Die Begründung des karolingischen Kaisertums*, (ed.) Horst Fuhrmann, Claudia Märkl (Beiträge zu Geschichte und Quellen des Mittelalters, 9), Sigmaringen, 1988, pp. 93-94; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 137-142; H. KRAHWINKLER, ...in loco qui dicitur Riziano... *Zbor v Rižani leta 804 / Die Versammlung in Rižana/Risano bei Koper/Capodistria im Jahre 804* (Knjižnica Annales, 40), Koper, 2004, pp. 27-28.

<sup>16</sup> H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 18.

<sup>17</sup> *Placitum Rizianense*, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 79; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 212.

<sup>18</sup> *Placitum Rizianense*, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 79.

<sup>19</sup> For more details refer to P. ŠTIH, Imperial politics and its regional consequences: Istria between Byzantium and the Franks 788–812, in: *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic. Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812)*, (ed.) Mladen Ančić, Jonathan Shepard, Trpimir Vedriš, London - New York, 2018, pp. 57-72. For the Diet of Rižana see H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 15).

## THE HUNFRIDINGS AND ISTRIA

Duke John's successor is revealed in the hagiographical text *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* (also *Translatio sanguinis Domini*), which was penned in the second quarter of the 10th century in Reichenau in Alemannia. It depicts an approximately 120-year long journey, after which this famous Alemannic monastery came into possession of a relic in the form of a pectoral cross containing the Precious Blood of Jesus and a splinter of the cross upon which he was crucified.<sup>20</sup> Authored by an unknown Reichenau monk, the beginning of the story goes back to Charlemagne's period, when Azan, Prefect of Jerusalem, wanted to gift the emperor special treasure, a series of relics associated with Jesus and his death, and meet him in Rome on this occasion. However, having fallen ill, Azan had to halt his journey on Corsica, where he was met by Hunfrid and Waldo, Abbot of Reichenau, who arrived there at the behest of the Western Emperor and brought him the relics.<sup>21</sup> According to *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, Hunfrid was one of Charlemagne's *primores* and was at the time in charge of Istria: *eo tempore totam Hystriam tenebat*.<sup>22</sup> Our source indicates that to reward his courage – as both the emperor and his courtiers dared not embark on the journey for fear of rough seas – the elderly Hunfrid asked Charlemagne for the relic of the Holy Cross and founded in its honour and for the salvation of the Emperor Charles a convent in Schänis (the canton of St. Gallen), in the border area of Raetia Curiensis, which he helmed at the time.<sup>23</sup> Therefore the convent must have been built after Charlemagne's death on 28 January 814; the further course of the relic's history prompted the anonymous author to mention four generations of Hunfrid's descendants and heirs, who were in possession of the valuable gift and to whom we shall return.

The narrative of *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* is based on reports of the Royal Frankish Annals for the years 799 and 801 about Charlemagne's contacts with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Caliph of Bagdad Harun al-Rashid and Hasan (=Azan), the Saracen governor of the Spanish city of Huesca, which the author tailored to his own needs.<sup>24</sup> He is believed to have used also *Gesta Karoli Magni* by Notker (the Stammerer) of Saint Gall from the 880s and had a good command of the local Raetian-Alemannic history, as well as of Hunfrid's genealogy, which is attested by entries in different *libri vitae*.<sup>25</sup> Pieces of information regarding Hunfrid's administration of Istria and Raetia Curiensis can thus be regarded as credible; his engagement in Italy and Raetia is attested also by other sources.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, (ed.) Theodor Klüppel, in: T. KLÜPPEL, *Reichenauer Hagiographie zwischen Walahfrid und Berno*, Sigmaringen, 1980, pp. 152-164, see ebd. pp. 106-118; or: W. BERSCHIN, T. KLÜPPEL, *Die Reichenauer Heiligblut-Reliquie*, Konstanz, 1988, pp. 22-47 (with a parallel German translation). An older and only partial publication: *Translatio sanguinis Domini*, (ed.) Georg Waitz (MGH, Scriptorum, 4), Hannover, 2nd ed. 1982, pp. 446-449.

<sup>21</sup> *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, cc. 3-10, *op. cit.* (n. 20), pp. 153-156.

<sup>22</sup> *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, c. 5, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 154.

<sup>23</sup> *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, cc. 15, 16, *op. cit.* (n. 20), pp. 157-158 (*eo tempore etiam curiensem tenebat*); R. KAISER, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter. Ende des 5. bis Mitte des 10. Jahrhundert*, Basel, 1998, pp. 149-150; W. VOGLER, Schänis, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 8, Stuttgart - Weimar, 1999, coll. 1439-1440.

<sup>24</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, aa. 799, 801, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 108, 114.

<sup>25</sup> NOTKER BALBULUS, *Gesta Karoli Magni*, c. II. 8, (ed.) Hans F. Häfele (MGH, Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum, N. S. 12), Berlin, 1959, pp. 59-62; see K. SCHMID, Wege zur Erschließung des Verbrüderungsbuches, in: *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. LXXI-LXXII; T. KLÜPPEL, *op. cit.* (n. 20), pp. 108-112; M. BORGOLTE, *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit* (Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 31), Sigmaringen, 1984, pp. 222, 227-228; U. LUDWIG, K. SCHMID, Hunfrid, Witagowo und Heimo in einem neuentdeckten Eintrag des Evangeliars von Cividale, in: *Geschichte und ihre Quellen. Festschrift für Friedrich Hausmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, Reinhard Härtel, Graz, 1987, pp. 85-92; D. WALZ, Karl der Große – ein verhinderter Seefahrer. Die Reichenauer Heiligenbluterzählung aus dem 10. Jahrhundert, in: *Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen. Akten des 8. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes, Leipzig 15.-18. März 1999*, (ed.) Franz-Reiner Erkens, Berlin, 2001, p. 239.

<sup>26</sup> G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 55; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 206-207; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 221-222; R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 58-62; H. WOLFRAM, *Grenzen und Räume. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung. Österreichische Geschichte 378-907*, Wien, 1995, pp. 144-145.

Hunfrid (I) is the first known member of the so-called Hunfridings or Burchardings, a noble family active in Raetia, Alemannia and Italy in the 9th century. The family is believed to have been of Frankish origin, although it was ascribed also Alemannic and Burgundian descent.<sup>27</sup> The family reached its zenith in 917, when Burkhard II became Duke of Swabia, and died out with his eponymous son in 973.<sup>28</sup> Hunfrid was first mentioned as *Unfredus vir inluster Reciarum comis* on 7 February 807(?), when he presided over the Diet of Rankweil, in present-day Vorarlberg.<sup>29</sup> He was the first Frankish count in Raetia, where Charlemagne had introduced comital administration only a short while before, which was probably also associated with the *Divisio regnorum* from 806.<sup>30</sup> With this political last will, which was to enter into force after his death, Charlemagne integrated Bavaria, Alemannia to the south of the Danube, and Raetia Curiensis into his son's Kingdom of Italy. Dates on a few deeds issued in Saint Gall following years of Pippin's reign suggest that Raetia and Alemannia were regarded as part of Italy already during Charlemagne's lifetime, remaining a part thereof up to 829.<sup>31</sup>

Soon after having been first mentioned, Hunfrid visited Pope Leo III, King Pippin, and the Archbishop of Ravenna in the spring of 808, alongside Helmgau, who was *praefectus in aula palatina*. Both counts arrived in Italy as Charlemagne's *missi*, tasked with mediating in a conflict – about which little is known – between the heir of St Peter and the King of Italy.<sup>32</sup> Hunfrid's installing as the first Raetian count and the delicate task with which he was sent to Rome and to Pippin's court demonstrate that Charlemagne must have put great trust in him, which is, inter alia, indicated by the position that he held in Istria. When he succeeded the compromised Duke John in Istria remains unknown. It is certain only that the highest position of the Istrian provincial administration must have been replaced at some point after the Diet of Rižana in 804 and, most assuredly, during Pippin's lifetime († 8 July 810).<sup>33</sup> Due to scarce information we can only assume that this was associated with Hunfrid's missatic journey to Italy in 808, where he met (and became close to) Pippin, whose kingdom included Istria, even though his father, who convened the Diet of Rižana without regard to his son, surely had the final say in this personnel-related matter as well.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 207.

<sup>28</sup> T. ZOTZ, Hunfridinger, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 5, Stuttgart - Weimar, 1999, coll. 219-220; M. BORGOLTE, Hunfride (Adalberte), in: *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz – Online* (<https://beta.hls-dhs-dss.ch/Articles/020831/?language=de>; accessed in April 2019).

<sup>29</sup> *Bündner Urkundenbuch*, 1, no. 35, (ed.) Elizabeth Meyer-Marthaler, Franz Perret, Chur, 1955, pp. 34-35. For dating cf. *ibid.*, the introductory note; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 221 and n. 18; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 408 and n. 40; J. R. DAVIS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 65. Older edition: *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, 1, no. 187, (ed.) Hermann Wartmann, Zürich, 1863, pp. 177-178.

<sup>30</sup> R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 45-58; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 143-147, 158.

<sup>31</sup> *Divisio regnorum*, c. 2, (ed.) Alfred Boretius (MGH, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, 1), Hannover, 1883, p. 127; P. CLASSEN, Karl der Große und die Thronfolge im Frankenreich, in: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Peter Classen*, (ed.) Josef Fleckenstein, Carl Joachim Classen, Johannes Fried (Vorträge und Forschungen, 28), Sigmaringen, 1983, pp. 205-229; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 225; R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 58; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 143-144.

<sup>32</sup> *Leonis III. papae epistolae*, nos. 1, 2, (ed.) Karl Hampe (MGH, *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, 3), Berlin, 2nd ed. 1995, pp. 87-91.

<sup>33</sup> For dating the Diet of Rižana to 804 cf. H. KRAHWINKLER, Patriarch Fortunatus of Grado and the "Placitum" of Riziano, in: *Istra med Vzhodom in Zahodom. Ob 1200-letnici Rižanskega zbora* (Acta Histriae, 13/1), Koper, 2005, pp. 66-68; P. ŠTIH, *op. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 63-65.

<sup>34</sup> See P. ŠTIH, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 65; P. ŠTIH, *op. cit.* (n. 3). According to the relative chronology in *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, which due to its hagiographical nature and chronological distance should be regarded with great caution, and where it is stated that Hunfrid administered Istria during Charlemagne's lifetime and Raetia Curiensis after his death, one can even infer that he was first Count of Istria and then of Raetia. This would imply that Hunfrid succeeded John in Istria sometime between 804 and 7 February 807(?), when he was referred to as *Reciarum comis*. However, this conclusion is relativized by the fact that Hunfrid was count of Raetia already during Charlemagne's lifetime and not only after his death, as stated in *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*.

After his appearance in Italy we do not have any information about Hunfrid for a whole 15 years. On his way from Rome to his father Louis the Pious, on 4 June 823, Emperor Lothair I issued a deed for Bishop Leo of Como in the afore-mentioned Rankweil, *in villa Unfredi comitis*, which manifests itself along with Schänis as one of the Hunfridings' centres in Raetia.<sup>35</sup> Shortly before or after that *Hunfridus comes Curiensis* was at the Diet of Frankfurt tasked with travelling to Rome as the emperor's *missus* alongside Abbot Adalung of St. Vaast to investigate the circumstances in which two members of Lothair I's entourage were murdered. The emissaries reported about their mission to Louis the Pious in November of that same year at the Diet of Compiègne.<sup>36</sup>

Gerd Tellenbach, along with Eduard Hlawitschka, Otto P. Clavadetscher, and Karl Schmid after him, believed that Hunfrid from 823 was identical to that from 807/808.<sup>37</sup> However, the gap between these two mentions is so wide that they might have been also father and son. Two entries in the confraternity book of the monasteries in Saint Gall and Reichenau pertaining to Hunfrid's family attest that two members of the family bore the name of Hunfrid.<sup>38</sup> Michael Borgolte has demonstrated that they were very likely indeed father and son, and more recent historiography accords with his view.<sup>39</sup> Hunfrid II, Count of Raetia Curiensis, who was mentioned in 823, was involved just like his father in Italian imperial politics. This name was rare in Italy, so he is believed to have been identical with Humfrid, who was summoned by Emperor Lothair I in October 846 to take part in the war against Saracens in Benevento along with other magnates from Carolingian Italy listed in the capitulary. A *beneficium* that he had in Italy and due to which he was the emperor's vassal was the basis of his obligatory military service.<sup>40</sup> A mention in a confirmatory charter from 879, which was issued by King Carlman to the Church of Aquileia, is also believed to refer to him, namely that a certain Liutbirga left the late Humfred (*beate memorie Humfredo*) an estate *in Raccenna et in Carone* that he obviously bestowed on Aquileia, which must have obtained it at some point after 30 November 832.<sup>41</sup> An almost identical confirmatory charter issued by Lothair I for the Church of Aquileia is marked with this date; it also served as a basis for Carlman's charter, yet it does not contain any mention of Humfred's estate.<sup>42</sup> The locations stated in Carlman's document have not been identified; Paul Kehr, who published it in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, believes that they could be situated in Istria,<sup>43</sup> with which *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* indirectly associates Hunfrid II as well.

<sup>35</sup> *D. Lo I*, no. 2, (ed.) Theodor Schieffer, *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.* (MGH, Diplomata Karolorum, 3), Berlin - Zürich, 1966, pp. 52-54.

<sup>36</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 823, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 161. See also THEGAN, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 30, (ed.) Georg Heinrich Pertz (MGH, Scriptores, 2), Hannover, 2nd ed. 1976, p. 597 (*Hunfridus dux super Redicam*); ANONYMUS (ASTRONOMUS), *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 37, (ed.) Georg Heinrich Pertz, (MGH, Scriptores, 2), Hannover, 2nd ed. 1976, p. 627 (*Hunfridus comes Curiae*).

<sup>37</sup> G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 55; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 206 and n. 1; for Clavadetscher and Schmid see R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 62.

<sup>38</sup> *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 103/A1; *Liber confraternitatis Sancti Galli*, (ed.) Paul Piper, *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis* (MGH, Necrologia Germaniae, Supplement), Berlin, 2nd ed. 1983, p. 15 (23).

<sup>39</sup> M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 220-229; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 223; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 295; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 145-146; cf. R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 58-62.

<sup>40</sup> *Hlotharii capitulare de expeditione contra Sarracenos facienda*, (ed.) Alfred Boretius, Victor Krause (MGH, Capitularia regum Francorum, 2), Hannover, 1897, no. 203, p. 67; see G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 55-56; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 207; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 255-256.

<sup>41</sup> *D. Kn*, no. 22, (ed.) Paul Kehr, *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren* (MGH, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolorum, 1), München, 2nd ed. 1991, pp. 316-318; see G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 56; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 207; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 274-275 and n. 160.

<sup>42</sup> *D. Lo I*, no. 9, *op. cit.* (n. 35), pp. 70-73.

<sup>43</sup> The same also P. PASCHINI, *Storia del Friuli*, Udine, 4th ed. 1990, p. 175 and n. 9. However, this cannot be confirmed.

According to this Reichenau text, the relic of the Holy Cross was transferred after Hunfrid I's death to his son Adalbert, who succeeded his father also as Count of Raetia. However, a certain Ruodpert, a *vasallus* of Louis the Pious, tricked the ruler into leaving Raetia Curiensis to him, expelling Adalbert from the province, who only managed to take with him the relic of the Holy Cross. Adalbert fled to his unnamed brother, who ruled Istria at the time, *qui tunc temporis Hystriam tenebat*. With the help of his brother he gathered a military entourage in Istria, defeated Ruodpert in Raetia, and claimed back his father's legacy, which he enjoyed without disturbance until his death. Naturally, the narrator remembered to assure us that Adalbert won thanks to the magical power of the relic, which he carried on him at all times and which after his death was inherited by his son Udalric.<sup>44</sup>

Unlike Otto P. Clavadetscher and Karl Schmid, Michael Borgolte maintains that the report in *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* about Adalbert's succession of Hunfrid I in Raetia is authentic and thus historically relevant, and this view is also shared by Herwig Wolfram.<sup>45</sup> Borgolte placed the conflict between Adalbert and Ruodpert in the context of the revolt of Pippin's son Bernard of Italy against his uncle Louis the Pious in 817. It would appear that the early Hunfridings were supporters of King Pippin and, after 810, of his son Bernard, who was formally elevated to King of Italy by Charlemagne. Bernard was outranked by Louis the Pious, whom Charlemagne made the emperor and heir of the whole empire.<sup>46</sup> Ruodpert, who was in *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* probably referred to as Count Ruadbert (II) of Alemannic Lienzgau and Argengau, located to the north of Lake Constance,<sup>47</sup> was a vassal of Louis the Pious.<sup>48</sup> He attacked his southern neighbour and occupied Raetia with the emperor's consent before May 817. Adalbert, who succeeded his father Hunfrid I at some point after 808, fled to his brother in Istria, who succeeded his father in the other centre ruled by the Hunfridings. Adalbert's brother, who was not named in *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, is probably identical with Hunfrid II, who was – as shown above – identified as Hunfrid I's other son.<sup>49</sup> In July 817, when Louis the Pious addressed anew the question of succession within the empire in his *Ordinatio imperii*, pushing his nephew completely aside in favour of his sons, Bernard incited an open revolt. In doing so, he strove not only to keep his father's legacy in Italy, but also secure Raetia and southern Alemannia, which, according to *Divisio regnorum* from 806, were intended for Pippin.

This was the right moment for Adalbert, too. Having recruited a military entourage in Istria, he arrived in Raetia as Bernhard's follower in the second half of 817, where he defeated Ruadbert.<sup>50</sup> However, the revolt was crushed already in December of that same year. Bernard subordinated himself to the emperor; he was blinded, which caused his death on 17 April 818. The magnates and bishops who joined the conspiracy were similarly unable to escape their punishment and, consequently, Adalbert could not enjoy his regained position in Raetia for long and might have been executed or sent into exile just like some other rebels.<sup>51</sup> However, the Hunfridings must have again received the emperor's mercy soon, as Hunfrid II is attested as *missus* of the Emperor Louis the Pious in Italy and Count of

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<sup>44</sup> *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, c. 17, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 158.

<sup>45</sup> H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 145.

<sup>46</sup> See P. CLASSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 31), p. 228.

<sup>47</sup> M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 220-224; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 223-224.

<sup>48</sup> Regardless of *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* this is confirmed also by a Saint-Gall deed from 816-824, where he is referred to as *uassallus regis*; see M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 224 and n. 41.

<sup>49</sup> As argued already by G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 55-56; and afterwards by E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 207, though they both regarded that mentioned after 832 and in 847, not that in 823, to be Hunfrid II.

<sup>50</sup> M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 226; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 145.

<sup>51</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 817, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 147-148; see E. BOSHOFF, *Ludwig der Fromme*, Darmstadt, 1996, pp. 141-147.

Raetia as early as in 823. Their rehabilitation must have been associated with Louis' amnesty of the conspirators at the Diet of Diedenhofen in October 821 and with the emperor's public penance for sharing the guilt for Bernard's death at the Diet of Attigny a year later.<sup>52</sup> However, Hunfrid II was soon ousted from power in Raetia by Count Roderich,<sup>53</sup> whose origin is unknown, and both *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* and letters penned by Victor III, Bishop of Chur, bear witness to the resistance with which the Hunfridings were faced in Raetia.<sup>54</sup> Hunfrid II brought the epicentre of his operation (back) to Istria and Italy, where he was attested also in 846 and where he made a donation to the Church of Aquileia at some point after 832.

Hunfrid is a rather rare name, wherefore Gerd Tellenbach made the connection between the Raetian-Istrian Hunfridings and Huntfrid, who was Margrave of Toulouse and of neighbouring Gothia (Septimania). According to the Annals of Saint Bertin, Huntfrid fled to Italy in 864, after the revolt against Charles the Bald, King of West Francia.<sup>55</sup> With him in mind, Uwe Ludwig and Karl Schmid pointed to a report penned by the monk Aimon from Saint-Germain-des-Prés about the journey to Spain undertaken by his monastic brother Usuard in 858. According to *Translatio sanctorum martyrorum Georgii monachii, Aurelii et Nathaliae ex urbe Corduba Parisios*, a text from the second half of the 9th century, Usuard's journey, which took him as far as Cordoba, was aimed at obtaining martyrs' relics. He was assisted by *marchio Gothiae* Hunfrid, who accompanied him as far as the south of France and gave him a letter of recommendation for the governor of Zaragoza.<sup>56</sup> Usuard († around 875) is otherwise famous mostly for his martyrology, which was compiled in the 860s or the early 870s and dedicated to Charles the Bald. A group of Italian saints not mentioned in sources used by Usuard command attention in the martyrology. His knowledge of them must have been based on other pieces of information, which are assumed to have been provided by Hunfrid himself, who fled to Italy in 864, or clergymen from his surroundings. It is particularly interesting to note that this group of Italian saints consists of two, regionally speaking, clearly divided parts: one part refers to Tuscan saints and the other to saints from Friuli and its neighbourhood, including Verona, Trient and Istria.<sup>57</sup> This suggests that Hunfrid from Aquitaine found refuge with his relatives in north-eastern Italy.

This view is strengthened by two entries of Hunfrid's name in the Gospel Book of Cividale; they can be dated to the 860s.<sup>58</sup> On fol. 5<sup>v</sup> Hunfrid is featured in the third place in a group of 38 names, behind *Heimo* and *Uuitagauu* and in front of *Mildrud*; on fol. 9<sup>r</sup> *Uuitigau* and *Umfrede* are listed on positions 8 and 9 in a group of 26 people.<sup>59</sup> Hunfrid was mentioned twice in the company of Witagowo, who was a count in the Admont Valley in Carantania, where he received a bestowal from Louis the German in 859 and Charles III bestowed him an estate in present-day Lower Austria at some point before 885/887.<sup>60</sup> Witagowo is on fol. 5<sup>v</sup> of the Gospel Book of Cividale also

<sup>52</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, aa. 821, 822, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 156, 158; E. BOSHOFF, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 148.

<sup>53</sup> M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 227; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 146.

<sup>54</sup> R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 61.

<sup>55</sup> *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 864, (ed.) Georg Waitz (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex MGH separatim editi*, [5]), Hannover, 1883, p. 72; G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 56.

<sup>56</sup> *Translatio sanctorum martyrorum Georgii monachii, Aurelii et Nathaliae ex urbe Corduba Parisios*, cc. 2–5, (ed.) Jacques-Paul Migne (*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina* 115), Paris, 1881, coll. 941–943.

<sup>57</sup> U. LUDWIG, K. SCHMID, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 91.

<sup>58</sup> U. LUDWIG, K. SCHMID, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 87.

<sup>59</sup> *Codex Forojuliensis*, 5v.33, 9r.7, (ed.) Uwe Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung* (MGH, Studien und Texte, 25), Hannover, 1999, pp. 256, 262; see *ibidem*, pp. 218–226; U. LUDWIG, K. SCHMID, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 87–92.

<sup>60</sup> *D. LD*, no. 99, (ed.) Paul Kehr, *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren* (MGH *Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum*, 1), München, 2nd ed. 1991, pp. 143–144; *D. Karl III.*, no. 113, (ed.) Paul Kehr, *Die Urkunden Karls III.* (MGH, *Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum*, 2), Berlin, 1937, pp. 179–180.

accompanied by his son Heimo with his wife Miltrud. Heimo was King Arnulf's *ministerialis* and part of his close entourage. He and his wife Miltrud must have supported Arnulf's rise to power so strongly that the new king rewarded them richly – i.e. each of them separately – already in 888, in the first year of his rule.<sup>61</sup> Witagowo also had a daughter named Tunza, who was married to the Carantanian *nobilis vir* Georgius. Both were also listed on fol. 5<sup>v</sup> in the Gospel Book of Cividale.<sup>62</sup> Michael Mitterauer demonstrated convincingly in the beginning of the 1960s that Count Witagow's family, which belonged to eastern Bavaria's leading noble families, was most probably of Burgundian and Romance origin. In the second half of the 8th century it was attested in Lobdengau, Franconia, between Worms and Heidelberg, from where they arrived in Carantania via Bavaria.<sup>63</sup> Another group of entries found on fol. 5<sup>v</sup> of the Gospel Book of Cividale indicates that Witagowo was associated also with the Pannonian Count Pribina and the Croatian Prince Trpimir (along with his son Peter).<sup>64</sup> Entries on fol. 5<sup>v</sup>, which manifest themselves as a spot reserved for Witagow's family *memoria*, reveal a circle of influential and inter-connected people in the south-east of the Carolingian empire.

Irrespective of the fact that Hunfried, who was entered into the Gospel Book of Cividale, cannot in all certainty be equated with the eponymous Count of Toulouse and that the name could refer to the Istrian-Raetian Hunfrid II or to a relative of his (theirs), the aforementioned threads can be connected in a rather coherent depiction of the Hunfridings' activities in Raetia and Alemannia, as well as in Istria and Friuli, or even in Aquitaine or Septimania. This puts them on par with influential families such as the aforementioned Unruochings, Friuli's leading family after 828. These families managed to secure estates and authority in the service of the ruling Carolingian dynasty in very different parts of the Frankish Empire.

## ALBGAR, DALMACIA AND CARANTANIA

The Royal Frankish Annals report for 817 that a delegation of the Byzantine Emperor Leo V, which was led by Nicephorus, arrived at the court of Louis the Pious in Aachen *pro Dalmatinorum causa*. The Frankish court refused to discuss the matter until the arrival of *dux* Cadolah of Friuli, "under whose authority was this border area." However, soon after his arrival they came to the conclusion that the matter could only be resolved on site in the presence of the concerned Romans and Slavs. Accompanied by *missus ad hoc* Albgar, who was according to the Royal Frankish

<sup>61</sup> *DD. Arn*, nos. 32, 42, (ed.) Paul Kehr, *Die Urkunden Arnolfs* (MGH, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum, 3), Berlin, 2nd ed. 1955, pp. 47-48, 60-61. For the first deed cf. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum. Das Weißbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantaniern und Pannonien*, Herausgegeben, übersetzt, kommentiert und um *Epistola Theotmarii* wie um Gesammelte Schriften zum Thema ergänzt von Herwig Wolfram (Dela I. razreda Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, 38 – Zbirka Zgodovinskega časopisa, 44), Ljubljana, 3rd ed. 2013, pp. 340-350.

<sup>62</sup> *Codex Forojuliensis*, 5v.31, *op. cit.* (n. 59), p. 256; *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, 1, no. 1036, (ed.) Theodor Bitterauf (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, NF 4), München, 1905, pp. 780-781. For Tunza and Georgius cf. M. MITTERAUER, *Slawischer und bayrischer Adel am Ausgang der Karolingerzeit, Carinthia I*, 150, Klagenfurt, 1960, pp. 693-697; P. ŠTIH, *Integration on the Fringes of the Frankish Empire. The Case of the Carantanians and their Neighbours*, in: *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire* (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages 450–1450, 50), (ed.) Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević, Trpimir Vedriš, Leiden - Boston, 2018, pp. 113-114.

<sup>63</sup> M. MITTERAUER, *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten. Fränkische Reichsaristokratie und bayerischer Stammesadel im österreichischen Raum* (Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, 123), Graz - Wien - Köln, 1963, pp. 144-153, M. MITTERAUER, *op. cit.* (n. 62), pp. 696-700.

<sup>64</sup> *Codex Forojuliensis*, 5v.26, *op. cit.* (n. 59), p. 255; see *ibidem*, pp. 222-226.

Annals a nephew of a certain Unroch, Cadolah was thus instructed to set off to Dalmatia along with the Byzantine emissaries.<sup>65</sup>

Cadolah has been well known in historiography for a long time.<sup>66</sup> He was a native of Alemannia, Count or *dux* of Friuli in charge of a large area to the east of Italy, which is also attested by the previously mentioned report in the Royal Frankish Annals. As Duke of Friuli he succeeded Eric, who was killed near Tarsatica (Trsat near Rijeka) in 799, and participated as one of Charlemagne's and Pippin's three *missi* at the Diet of Rižana near Koper in 804. In 818 emissaries of Duke Liudewit of Lower Pannonia complained to Louis the Pious of his cruelty and wantonness at the general Diet at Herstal. Having failed to quash Liudewit's revolt in the following year, Cadolah died upon the army's return from Pannonia to Italy on 31 July 819.<sup>67</sup>

Not much is widely known about Albgar, although he has not been a *persona incognita* since Gerd Tellenbach's research.<sup>68</sup> Information provided in the Royal Frankish Annals, namely that he was Unroch's nephew, makes him a member of the powerful Unruoching family that is believed to have originated from the central areas of the Frankish Kingdom, in modern-day northern France and Belgium. The family was attested in Alemannia, Septimania, and, first and foremost, in Italy.<sup>69</sup> Its first known representative was Count Unroch, a confidant of Charlemagne, who co-signed the emperor's last will.<sup>70</sup> It was precisely he who was referred to in a mention stating that Albgar was *Unrochi nepos*. The aforementioned *dux* Eberhard of Friuli, through whom the Unruochings formed familial bonds with the Carolingians, and his son Berengar were the family's most prominent members.<sup>71</sup> Eberhard was probably Unroch's son and named his firstborn after his father, which implies that he and Albgar must have been cousins.

The bulk of information for Albgar's biography is provided by a group of four deeds issued in Brescia, Milan and Sumirago. These refer to an estate that he purchased in northern Italy, which, subsequently, brought him into a conflict with a certain deacon and his brother after they had misappropriated it.<sup>72</sup> We learn from them that Albgar, who in the documents was referred to as *Alp(i)charius* or *Alcharius*, was of

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<sup>65</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 817, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 145; see also ANONYMUS (ASTRONOMUS), *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 27, (ed.) Georg Heinrich Pertz (n. 36), p. 621. With this mission and Cadolah is most probably connected a deed with which on 17 November 817 *Chadaloh diuina optulante clementia comis* conditionally gifted the Abbey of Saint Gall an extensive estate in order to secure the future of his son Bertold in the event of his death. (*Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, 1, no. 228, *op. cit.* (n. 29), pp. 219-222; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 88-89). It can be assumed on the basis of this deed that the Frankish-Byzantine delegation travelled from Aachen to Dalmatia via Alemannia, the Alps, Venice and the Adriatic Sea, reaching its destination towards the end of 817 or in 818. For circumstances in Dalmatia in 817 see e.g. F. BORRI, *Gli Istrani e i loro parenti. Φράγγοι, Romani e Slavi nella periferia di Bisanzio*, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 60, Vienna, 2010, p. 14; N. BUDAK, *Early medieval boundaries in Dalmatia/Croatia (8th–11th centuries)*, in: *«Castellum, civitas, urbs». Zentren und Eliten im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa / Centres and Elites in Early Medieval East-Central Europe* (*Castellum Pannonicum Pelsonense*, 6), (ed.) Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáská *et al.*, Budapest - Leipzig - Rahden/Westf., 2015, p. 38.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. E. DÜMMLER, *Über die südöstlichen Marken des fränkischen Reiches unter den Karolingern (795–907)* (*Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-quellen*, 10), Wien, 1853; A. HOFMEISTER, *Markgrafen und Markgrafschaften im Italischen Königreich in der Zeit von Karl dem Grossen bis auf Otto den Grossen (774–962)*, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband*, 7, Innsbruck, 1907, pp. 272-273.

<sup>67</sup> See n. 6.

<sup>68</sup> G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 58-59. At a later point Albgar was discussed particularly by E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 120-122; M. MITTERAUER, *op. cit.* (n. 63), pp. 139-144 (with a genealogical table on p. 143); M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 46-48.

<sup>69</sup> E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 10), col. 1261; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 246 and n. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 33, (ed.) Oswald Holder-Egger (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex MGH separatim editi*, [25]), Hanover - Leipzig, 1911, p. 41.

<sup>71</sup> See n. 9-11.

<sup>72</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, nos. 84, 138, 145, 146 (*Historiae patriae monumenta*, 13), Torino, 1873, coll. 157-159, 242-243, 253-256.

Alemannic origin (*ex Alamannorum genere; de ex genere Alamannorum*)<sup>73</sup> and that his father Autcherius, after whom Albgar's brother was named,<sup>74</sup> originated from Linzgau, an area to the north of Lake Constance (*de finibus Alamannie, loco ubi nominatur Lintzicawa*).<sup>75</sup> The estate, due to which he was involved in a litigation in Milan at some point between 820 and 842, was purchased in the period when he was a *baiolus* of Adelaid, daughter of King Pippin. He presented a deed of sale in a court of law, which is preserved and dated 11 September 807.<sup>76</sup> Albgar therefore arrived in Italy, where he was a tutor of the Carolingian princess, before this date. However, he left Italy for a long time soon after 8 June 810, when King Pippin died. He stated in a court of law that after Pippin's death he had taken his underage daughter Adelaid to Charlemagne's court, where he remained in the emperor's service. The emperor bestowed a county on him and employed his services, which kept Albgar from returning to Italy for a long time.<sup>77</sup>

The county that Charlemagne bestowed upon him after his service in Italy had come to an end must have been situated in Alemannia, seeing that he is referred to as *comes de Alemannia* in the aforementioned deed. It is highly likely that Albgar was Count in Hegau, to the west of Lake Constance, where a deed was issued for Saint Gall *sub Alpcario comite* in 830.<sup>78</sup> He is almost certainly also mentioned in the fundamental part of the Confraternity book of Reichenau Abbey, which was begun around 824, where he is featured under *Nomina amicorum viventium* as *Albker com(es)* as the fifth out of eleven originally listed counts, who were predominately of Alemannic origin.<sup>79</sup> His journey to Dalmatia confirms his statement that he also performed *cetera palatina servicia* for the Frankish court, which implies that he provided several services.

Albger is mentioned as Count in Hegau only in 830 and he cannot be found in Saint-Gall documents after this date. His becoming Count in Carantania could be the reason behind this. In the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* a certain Albgarius is listed in the second place among Carantanian counts who replaced the domestic princes in 828(?).<sup>80</sup> Gerd Tellenbach and subsequently Michael Mitterauer equated him with our Albger, which was received with caution or disfavour because the main argument behind their view, namely Albger's journey to Dalmatia in 817 attesting his activity in the border area in the south-eastern corner of the empire, in fact, fails to confirm it.<sup>81</sup> Two mentions in the Gospel Book of Cividale could perhaps prove helpful when answering this question. Albgar's name was entered twice on fol. 4<sup>v</sup>, once in the company of a Slav by the name of *Porosit* and a woman named *Rihilt*, and once in a group of 13 people, whose names point to their

<sup>73</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, op. cit.* (n. 72), nos. 84, 146, coll. 157-159, 254-255.

<sup>74</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, op. cit.* (n. 72), no. 145, coll. 253-254.

<sup>75</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, op. cit.* (n. 72), nos. 84, 146, coll. 157-159, 254-255.

<sup>76</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, op. cit.* (n. 72), nos. 138, 84, coll. 242-243, 157-159.

<sup>77</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, op. cit.* (n. 72), no. 138 (*Tempore domni Pippini regis, dum ego eram bajolus Adelaide filiae ipsius Pippini regis, conquisieram ego per hanc cartulam casas et res ... [mortuo] domno Pippino rege ambolavi cum predicta Aldelaidam infanciam ad domnum Carolum imperatorum, et dum in eius servicio illic demorassem, sua mercede dedit mihi comitatum; et dum per his et ceteris palatinis serviciis praecupatus venire in hac patria licenciam non habuissem...*), coll. 242-243.

<sup>78</sup> *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen, op. cit.* (n. 29), no. 331, pp. 304-306.

<sup>79</sup> *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau, op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 99/A2; see also n. 7.

<sup>80</sup> *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, c. 10, (ed.) Fritz Lošek (MGH, Studien und Texte, 15), Hannover, 1997, p. 120. For the period of the introduction of comital administration in Carantania cf. H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich. Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband, 31), Wien - München, 1995, pp. 306-310.

<sup>81</sup> G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 58; M. MITTERAUER, *op. cit.* (n. 63), p. 142; afterwards also F. PRINZ, *Die innere Entwicklung: Staat, Gesellschaft, Kirche, Wirtschaft*, in: *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte*, 1, (ed.) Max Spindler, München, 2nd ed. 1981, p. 368. With caution: E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 121; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 47. With disfavour: H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 80), p. 305 and n. 590.

Bavarian provenance.<sup>82</sup> This does not tell us anything about Albgar's connections with Carantania per se; however, Uwe Ludwig's note that three names from the second group (*Paldmunt, Lontpert, Uualtrih*) are repeated in the list of the Carantanian clergy in the Reichenau Book of Life does.<sup>83</sup> Also, *Porosit* from the first Cividale entry could be identical with that in the Reichenau *Nomina presbiterorum de Carentana*, which is topped by (the provincial) Bishop Oswald (around 836–around 863).<sup>84</sup>

Albgar could have been Count of Carantania between around 830 and around 840, i.e. in the period when his cousin Eberhard was already Duke of Friuli. The second half of 842 saw him living in Italy, in Sumirago (*abitator vico Samoiraco*), to the east of Lago Maggiore, where he donated a part of his estate, which he recovered in the court of law, to the Church of St Ambrose in Milan.<sup>85</sup> Mitterauer argues that he is identical with a certain Alpcarius, upon whom Emperor Lothair I bestowed an extensive estate in the surroundings of Thionville on 5 February 842.<sup>86</sup> Alpcarius is in the document referred to merely as a *fidelis* and not a count; to Mitterauer, this is a sign that as a follower of Lothair I in the conflict with his brother Louis the German he lost his position in Carantania, which was under Louis the German's rule, forcing him to withdraw to Italy, which was ruled by Lothair.<sup>87</sup> He probably died in Italy; before that, at an unknown point, he had commissioned a construction of the Church of St Marcyan in Tortona, to the south of Pavia, as reported by Walafrid Strabo, a monk and poet from Reichenau.<sup>88</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Despite some hypothetical conclusions our two cases confirm the significance of the nobility that arrived in Italy from the area to the north of the Alps in the period of Charlemagne and his successors. This holds particularly true for its border provinces in the north-east, where they played a decisive role. Members of families originating in the north, who time and again made Italy their new homeland, belonged to main bearers of Carolingian eastern politics. Friuli and Istria, where they occupied leading positions, became one of the centres of their familial power, as well as an area to which their relatives could withdraw during crises. Adalbert could retreat to Istria, which was helmed by his brother Hunfrid II, and even organize a military entourage there, by means of which he managed to restore his position in Raetia. Hunfrid, Count of Toulouse, also found refuge with his relatives in north-eastern Italy.

On the other hand, Albgar's biography demonstrates the importance of these families for Frankish politics in Italy's and Bavaria's Slavic hinterland, as well as the influence individual family members had as *missi* and counts. Here, a decisive role was played by the Unruochings, who appear to have obtained the leading positions in Friuli and Carantania at a certain point. Eberhard, the most important Unruoching, had contacts with the Croatian Prince Trpimir as well, with whom was associated also Count Witigowo, who was active in Carantania and also collaborated with Pribina from Lower Pannonia and the Hunfridings.<sup>89</sup> The contacts and connections of the Frankish elite with their Slavic

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<sup>82</sup> *Codex Forojulienensis*, 4v.3, 4v.10, *op. cit.* (n. 59), p. 253.

<sup>83</sup> U. LUDWIG, *op. cit.* (n. 59), p. 203.

<sup>84</sup> *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 108/C-D1-3. The first one to draw attention to this list was to my knowledge K. SCHMID, *Das Zeugnis der Verbrüderungsbücher zur Slawenmission*, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 126, Salzburg, 1986, pp. 190-191. For Oswald see H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 61), pp. 164, 215-216.

<sup>85</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, *op. cit.* (n. 72), nos. 145, 146, coll. 253-256.

<sup>86</sup> *D. Lo I*, no. 66, *op. cit.* (n. 35), pp. 177-178.

<sup>87</sup> M. MITTERAUER, *op. cit.* (n. 63), p. 142; see also introductory note in *D. Lo I*, no. 66, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 177.

<sup>88</sup> Walahfridus Strabo, *Carmina*, no. 68, (ed.) Ernst Dümmler (MGH, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, 2), Berlin, 2nd ed. 1978, p. 409.

<sup>89</sup> For connections with Trpimir see P. ŠTIH, *O novi knjigi, novejši hrvaški historiografiji in novih pogledih na hrvaško zgodnesrednjeveško zgodovino*, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 72, Ljubljana, 2018, pp. 479-480.

peers on the empire's south-eastern border were much more extensive than they appear to be at first glance. They are well-documented, inter alia, by *libri vitae* from Salzburg and Cividale, where Frankish and Slavic magnates are often entered alongside each other in the large contact area extending from Moravia and Pannonia to Carantania and Dalmatia. They knew each other, were active alongside one another, and formed familial bonds.<sup>90</sup>

## O poveznicama recijsko-alemanskog područja s Istrom, Dalmacijom i Karantanijom u doba Karolinga - dva primjera

Franačka vlast nad Langobardskim Kraljevstvom ovisila je u velikoj mjeri o ljudima koji su došli u Italiju s područja sjeverno od Alpa. Među važnim plemićkim obiteljima koje su se afirmirale u sjeveroistočnom dijelu Italije (Furlanija, Istra) bili su i franački (č) Unruochinzi te recijsko-alemanski Hunfridinzi. Članak razmatra slabo poznate kontakte koje su njihovi članovi imali s Istrom i slavenskim zaleđem od Karantanije do Dalmacije.

Hunfrid I. i njegov sin Hunfrid II. bili su grofovi u Reciji i djelovali su u Italiji kao *missi* Karla Velikog i Ljudevita I. Pobožnog, tijekom čijih života su imali pod upravom Istru, koja je postala važno središte moći Hunfridinga. Godine 817., kod svojeg brata Hunfrida I., u Istru se sklonio Adalbert, koji je bio protjeran iz Recije gdje je bio grof. Adalbert je u Istri, uz bratovu pomoć, uspio organizirati vojnu pratnju s kojom je još iste godine u Reciji pobijedio svog protivnika.

Albgar, koji je kao *missus* Ljudevita I. Pobožnog 817. godine putovao zajedno s furlanskim margroфом Kadolahom u Dalmaciju kako bi riješili sporove između Slavena i Romana, s druge je strane pripadao Unruochinzima. Bio je rođak furlanskog vojvode Eberharda, koji je bio u braku s Giselom, kćerkom Ljudevita I. Pobožnog. Kao odgojitelj, *baiolus*, kćeri kralja Pipina stigao je u Italiju, koju je nakon Pipinove smrti na duže vrijeme napustio. Oko godine 830. spominje se kao grof u Alemaniji, a nakon toga vrlo je vjerojatno bio grof u Karantaniji, sve dok se, oko godine 840., nije vratio u sjevernu Italiju, gdje je pod stare dane živio u blizini Lago Maggiore.

Primjeri potvrđuju kako su kontakti i poveznice franačke elite s njihovim slavenskim pandanima na jugoistočnoj granici Carstva bili intenzivniji nego se to na prvi pogled čini. Između ostalog, dobro ih dokumentiraju *libri vitae* iz Salzburga i Čedadada, u kojima su često zajedno upisani franački i slavenski velikaši na velikom dodirnom prostoru od Moravske preko Panonije i Karantanije do Dalmacije, koji su se poznavali, zajedno djelovali i srodstveno se povezivali.

**Ključne riječi:** *Hunfridinzi, Unruochinzi, prekoalpske veze, 9. stoljeće, Recija, Alemanija, Istra, Dalmacija, Karantanija*

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<sup>90</sup> See U. LUDWIG, *op. cit.* (n. 59), pp. 193-237; H. WOLFRAM, Die *Libri vitae* von Salzburg und Cividale und das Bayerische Ostland (799-907), in: *Libri vitae, op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 343-377. For more recent bibliography on *libri vitae* see along the aforementioned work also *Bücher des Lebens – Lebendige Bücher*, (ed.) Peter Erhart, Jakob Kuratli Hüebli, St. Gallen, 2010. On familial bonds between the Frankish-Bavarian and Slavic nobility see P. ŠTIH, *op. cit.* (n. 62), pp. 111-116.