

# Landscapes of Conversion in Eighth- Century Hessia

An Interdisciplinary Approach to the  
Anglo-Saxon Mission of St Boniface

Volume 2:  
Appendices, Figures and Plates

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# Table of Contents

Appendix 1: Terms and expressions relating to mission and missionaries in the letters of Boniface and Lul.....	3
Appendix 2: Metaphors and motifs used to represent the mission in the letters of Boniface and Lul.....	9
Appendix 3: The terms <i>Germania</i> and <i>Germanicum</i> in the letters of Boniface and Lul.....	18
Appendix 4: Property held by Hersfeld in Hessa before 775.....	21
Appendix 5: Patrons of Fulda in the Amöneburg district, 750-779.....	23
List of figures.....	26
Figures.....	28
List of plates.....	68
Plates.....	69

**Appendix 1: Terms and expressions relating to mission and missionaries in the letters of Boniface and Lul**

Appendix 1.1: terms and expressions relating to missions and missionaries

(Words in italics used in analysis in appendix 1.2 below)

<b>Tangl ep. #</b>	<b>Sender</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Terms and expressions</b>	<b>Reference (pp., ll.)</b>
12	Gregory II	Boniface	<i>ad dispensationem</i> verbi Dei	17, 10
			te <i>conministro</i> utamur	17, 11
			in <i>laborem</i> salutiferae <i>praedicationis</i>	17, 15
14	Eangyth	Boniface	in... <i>peregrinationem</i> illam	26, 13-14
			incoluit illam <i>peregrinationem</i>	26, 18-19
17	Gregory II	all faithful	<i>ad predicandum</i> recte fidei	30, 13-14
			<i>predicando</i> verbum salutis	30, 16
			<i>opus...</i> pietatis et <i>negotium</i> salutis	30, 28-29
			<i>labori</i>	31, 7
			<i>laborem</i>	31, 8-9
20	Gregory II	C. Martel	<i>ad predicandum</i>	34, 9
			in sorte <i>predicationis</i> procedit	34, 20-21
21	Gregory II	Old Saxons	<i>fidelis minister</i>	36, 21-22
23	Daniel	Boniface	<i>evangelice predicationis</i>	38, 20
			<i>cotidiani labore</i>	38, 21
			<i>operi</i>	39, 1
			<i>predicationis opus</i>	39, 3
24	Gregory II	Boniface	<i>ad inlumptionem</i>	42, 4-5
			<i>ministerium</i> verbi	42, 8-9
			<i>praedicationis</i> praeconio	42, 9
			<i>praedicationis</i> verbum	42, 26
25	Gregory II	Thuringians	<i>docete</i> omnes gentes (Matt 28:19)	43, 15-17
26	Gregory II	Boniface	<i>ministerio</i>	44, 16-17
			<i>operis</i>	47, 20
28	Gregory III	Boniface	<i>ad inlumptionem</i>	49, 14
			<i>negotium</i> salutis	51, 28
32	Boniface	Pethelm	nobis <i>opus</i> est periclitantibus	55, 21
33	Boniface	Nothelm	<i>peregrinationis</i> meae	57, 7
			Augustini pontificis ac <i>praedicatoris</i> primi Anglorum	57, 11-12
			<i>praedicatores</i>	58, 12
35	Boniface	Eadburg	hoc <i>iter</i>	60, 18
38	Boniface	Aldhere	<i>peregrinationis</i> nostrae	63, 12
			nobiscum <i>laborabant</i> in Domino	63, 28

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
41	Boniface	Fritzlar monks	pontifex... de <i>legatione</i> nostra laeta responsa reddidit et consilium et preceptum dedit... in certo <i>labore</i> persistamus	66, 11-14
42	Gregory III	all religious	<i>predicare</i> verbum Dei	67, 14
			<i>ministerio exhortationis</i> sanctae catholice fidei	67, 25-26
43	Gregory III	Hess. and Thuringians	ad <i>faciendam</i> Deo <i>plebem perfectam</i>	68, 16-17
47	Torthelm	Boniface	in his <i>operibus</i>	76, 10
49	Lul	Cuniburg	ipsiusque <i>laboris</i>	79, 1-2
50	Boniface	Zacharias	in ista <i>legatione</i>	81, 12
51	Zacharias	Boniface	per tuam <i>predicationem</i>	86, 22
			<i>ministerium</i> Dei et <i>dispensatorem</i> ecclesiarum Christi	92, 7-8
54	Gemmulus	Boniface	in <i>opere</i> , quo adsumptus es	97, 16-17
57	Zacharias	Boniface	<i>opere</i> ad <i>inlumptionem</i> gentium	103, 9-10
			<i>ministerio</i> Christi	105, 12
60	Zacharias	Boniface	in bono <i>opere</i>	120, 26
			in bono <i>opere</i>	121, 13
61	Zacharias	Boniface	<i>opus</i> bonum	125, 23
			ad <i>predicandum</i>	126, 1
63	Boniface	Daniel	cursum <i>ministerii</i> nostri	130, 9-10
			<i>pius laborantium</i> consolator Deus	130, 13
			<i>predicatione</i>	130, 29
			solacio <i>peregrinationis</i> meae	131, 5
64	Daniel	Boniface	<i>ritus</i> religionis vestrae	132, 24-25
			<i>operam</i>	132, 29
65	Boniface	Eadburg	conversatio <i>peregrinationis</i> nostrae	137, 12
67	Boniface	Leobgytha et al.	ad <i>predicandum</i> evangelium	140, 2
75	Boniface	Egbert	<i>predicatorem</i> ad <i>predicandum</i>	157, 16
76	Boniface	Huetbert	<i>laborantes</i>	159, 4
			solacium <i>peregrinationis</i> nostrae	159, 16-17
77	Zacharias	Boniface	peragendum... <i>ministerium</i>	160, 6-7
78	Boniface	Cuthbert	<i>labor</i> nostri <i>ministerii</i>	162, 13
80	Zacharias	Boniface	<i>predicatione</i> evangelii Christi	172, 21-22
			<i>ministerium</i> tibi impositum	173, 5
			<i>predicadores</i>	173, 15
			<i>ministerio</i> Christi	180, 14-15

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
82	Zacharias	Frankish bishops	in <i>exhortatione</i> evangelii in <i>ministerio</i>	183, 19
			<i>conlaborandum...</i> in evangelium Christi	184, 5-6
85	Theophy.	Boniface	vestri <i>laboris</i> cumentum	190, 13
86	Boniface	Zacharias	ad <i>predicandum</i> verbum fidei	192, 17-18
			verbum Christi... <i>diximus</i>	193, 32
87	Zacharias	Boniface	ad <i>predicandum</i> verbum evangelii	194, 20
			ad <i>predicandum...</i> evangelii	195, 1
90	Benedict	Boniface	propter divinum <i>mandatum</i> et <i>predicationem</i> evangelii	206, 4-5
			<i>decursum ministerii</i> tui	206, 9-10
91	Boniface	Egbert	<i>laborantibus</i>	207, 9
93	Boniface	Fulrad	<i>peregrini</i>	213, 11
			ad <i>ministerium</i>	213, 12
			<i>mecum...</i> <i>laboraverunt</i>	213, 15
			<i>hoc ministerium</i>	213, 23
			<i>predicatore</i>	213, 24
			ad <i>ministerium</i>	214, 1
94	Boniface	Bugga	amor <i>peregrinationis</i>	214, 14-5
101	Wigbert	Glastonbury monks	<i>labor</i> noster	224, 22
			<i>operis</i> nostri	224, 24
104	Boniface	Gemmulus	<i>peregrinationis</i> erumna	228, 10-11
			<i>peregrinationis</i> huius consolationem	228, 14
105	Æthelbert	Boniface	<i>predicationis</i> vestrae verbo et <i>labore</i> convertit	230, 20-21
			per vos cepit <i>operare</i>	230, 22-23
108	Boniface	Stephan II	ista <i>legatione</i> Romana	234, 9
109	Boniface	Stephan II	ad <i>predicandum</i>	235, 7
			<i>predicans</i>	235, 8-9
			<i>predicator</i>	235, 30
			non <i>predicavit</i> , non <i>convertit</i>	235, 30 to 236, 1
			ad <i>predicandum</i>	236, 4
			<i>convertit</i>	236, 5
			<i>predicatoris</i>	236, 6
			<i>predicans</i>	236, 8
			<i>predicatoris</i>	236, 11
			<i>predicans</i>	236, 12

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
111	Cuthbert	Lul	sacraeque <i>exhortationis</i> fructum	239, 11
			<i>peregrinatione</i> pro amore aeternae patriae	239, 24
			ante eum nullus aliquando <i>evangelizandi</i> causa doctor adire temptabat	240, 11-13
			discipulorum Christi <i>ministerium</i>	240, 15
112	Milret	Lul	ille <i>peregrino</i>	244, 6
121	Alchred	Lul	te in tam longa <i>peregrinatione</i> desudantem	257, 15-16
125	Lul	Koena	ad consolationem <i>peregrinationis</i> nostrae	263, 9
126	Lul	Guthbert	ad consolationem <i>peregrinationis</i>	264, 7-8
127	Guthbert	Lul	ad consolationem <i>tuae peregrinationi</i>	265, 2-3
137	Wigberht	Lul	multum iam vitae nostrae fluctuando et negligendo, quasi extra nos fusi, <i>peregrimus</i> [for <i>peregrinamur</i> ]	276, 19-21
138	Wigberht	Lul	ecclesiae et <i>ministerium</i> ... me dimittas	278, 4
141	Lul	anon.	te agente in <i>peregrinatione</i>	281, 7-8

Appendix 1.2: Analysis of terms according to correspondents

<b>Term</b>	<b>Number of occurrences in papal correspondence</b>	<b>Number of occurrences between Anglo-Saxon correspondents</b>	<b>Number of occurrences between other correspondents</b>	<b>Total:</b>
convertere	2	1		3
dicere	1			1
dispensatio/ dispensator	2			2
docere	1			1
exhortatio	2	1		3
facere plebem perfectam	1			1
inluminatio	3			3
iter		1		1
labor	4	10	2	16
legatio	2	1		3
mandatum			1	1
minister/ ministerium	11	4	4	19
negotium	2			2
opus	6	7	1	14
peregrinatio/ peregrinus/ peregrinari		16	3	19
predicatio/ predicare/ predicator	24	10	2	36
ritus		1		1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>126</b>

Appendix 1.3: The objects of Boniface's *predicatio*

Tangl ep. #	Expression	Reference (pp., ll.)
12	in laborem salutiferae <i>predicationis</i> ad innotescendum <u>gentibus incredulis</u> mysterium fidei	17, 15-16
17	aliquas gentes in Germaniae partibus vel plaga orientali Rheni fluminis <u>antiquo hoste suadente errore...</u> aliquos vero, qui <u>necdum cognitionem Dei habentes nec baptismatis sacri</u> unda sunt loti... necessario pro utrorum inlumptionem ad <i>predicandum</i> recte fidei verbum harum portitorem Bonifatium... ut et illis <i>predicando</i> verbum salutis vitam provideat	30, 7-16
20	ad <i>predicandum</i> plebibus Germaniae gentis ac diversis in orientali Rheni flumini parte consistentibus <u>gentilitatis errore detentis</u>	34, 9-11
23	saxea steriliaque actenus <u>gentilium</u> corda fidei magnitudine fretus fiducialiter adgrediendo vomere evangelice <i>predicationis</i> infatigabiliter subigens	38, 18-21
24	<i>praedicationis</i> praeconio <u>populum infidelem...</u> audivimus converti	42, 9-10
51	cottidie in gremio sanctae matris ecclesiae per tuam <i>predicationem</i> <u>novi populi</u> adduntur	86, 21-22
75	catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia... indignum ac vilem <i>predicatore</i> ad <i>predicandum</i> <u>Germaniae erroneis vel paganis gentibus</u> direxit	157, 15-17
86	Gregorius... me indignum ordinavit et ad <i>predicandum</i> verbum fidei <u>Germanicis gentibus</u> misit	192, 17-18
105	innumerosam <u>multitudinem gentilium idolatriae vetustissimo errore miserabiliter deceptam</u> ad christiane fidei normam <i>predicationis</i> vestrae verbo et labore convertit	230, 18-21



## Appendix 2: Metaphors and motifs used to represent the mission in the letters of Boniface and Lul

### Appendix 2.1: Paganism as captivity, darkness and ignorance

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
12	Gregory II	Boniface	ad gentes quascumque infidelitatis <i>errore detentas</i>	17, 29-30
			mentibus <i>indoctis</i>	18, 3
17	Gregory II	all faithful	<i>in umbra mortis</i> aliquas gentes in Germaniae partibus vel plaga orientali Rheni fluminis antiquo hoste suadente <i>errare</i> quasi sub religione christiana idolorum culturae eos <i>servire</i> cognovimus	30, 7-10
			conparatione <i>brutorum animalium</i> pagani factorem <i>non recognoscunt</i>	30, 11-12
			si quos... astutia diabolica suasos <i>erroneos</i> repererit	30, 17-19
20	Gregory II	C. Martel	ad predicandum plebibus Germaniae gentis ac diversis in orientali Rheni fluminis parte consistentibus gentilitatis <i>errore detentis</i> vel adhuc <i>insipientibus</i> , multis adhuc <i>ignorantiae obscuritatibus</i> <i>prepeditis</i>	34, 9-12
21	Gregory III	Old Saxons	'Sapientibus et <i>insipientibus</i> debitor sum'	35, 8
			Astutiores enim sunt filii <i>tenebrarum</i> quam filii lucis	35, 27-28
			ut a diaboli fraude <i>liberati</i> mereamini	36, 25
23	Daniel	Boniface	pagani erubescant pro tam <i>absurdis</i> opinionibus	40, 18-19
			in <i>vanitate</i> antiqua adhuc perseverant	41, 1-2
24	Gregory II	Boniface	ad <i>inluminationem</i> Germaniae gentis <i>in umbra mortis</i> sedentis	42, 4-5
			a <i>tenebris</i> ad lucem populum illum... reducat	42, 13-14
			quantos ab <i>errore</i> converteris... cognovimus	42, 22-23
25	Gregory II	Thuringians	ab <i>errore</i> ad viam salutis	43, 22
26	Gregory II	Boniface	[Deus] in <i>opacam</i> silvam lumine veritatis... micare praedestinavit	47, 18-19

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
28	Gregory III	Boniface	ad <i>inluminacionem</i> gentis Germaniae vel circumquaque <i>in umbra mortis</i> morantibus gentibus <i>in errore</i> constitutis	49, 14-16
			a gentilitate et <i>errore</i> ... convertisse	49, 21-22
30	Boniface	Eadburg	qui <i>tenebrosos</i> angulos Germanicarum gentium lustrare debet	54, 12-13
32	Boniface	Pethelm	caecis proprias <i>tenebras ignorantibus</i> ... lumen evangelice veritatis offerre nitimur	55, 25-27
46	Boniface	all Anglo-Saxons	[obsecrate ut pagani Saxones] liberemur a <i>laqueo venantis</i> satanae	74, 33
			[obsecrate ut pagani Saxones] resipiscant a diabuli <i>laqueis</i> , a quibus <i>capti tenentur</i>	75, 4
73	Boniface	Æthelbald	ipsi pagani verum Deum <i>ignorantes</i> naturaliter	150, 6-7
76	Boniface	Huetbert	<i>feras et ignaras</i> gentes Germaniae	159, 4
105	Æthelbert	Boniface	innumerosam multitudinem gentilium idolatriae vetustissimo <i>errore</i> miserabiliter deceptam	230, 18-20
111	Cuthbert	Lul	ferocissimas nationes per devia diutius <i>errantes</i>	240, 4-5

Appendix 2.2: Christianity as freedom, light and wisdom

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
12	Gregory II	Boniface	in verbo gratiae Dei, quo <i>igne salutifero</i>	17, 28
			<i>consona ratione</i>	18, 3-4
17	Gregory II	all faithful	pro utrorum <i>inluminacione</i>	30, 13
			ad <i>inluminacione gentium</i>	31, 2-3
20	Gregory II	C. Martel	sanctis apostolis... ad <i>lucem gentium destinatis</i>	34, 18
21	Gregory III	Old Saxons	'consolentur corda vestra instructa in caritate et in omnes divitias plenitudinis <i>intellectus</i> '	35, 12-13
			'[Jesus], in quo sunt omnes thesauri <i>sapientiae et scientiae absconditi</i> '	35, 14-15
			Astutiores enim sunt filii tenebrarum quam filii <i>lucis</i>	35, 27-28
			'[Deus], qui vult omnes homines <i>salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire</i> '	36, 14-15
24	Gregory II	Boniface	a tenebris ad <i>lucem</i> populum illum... reducat	42, 13-14
26	Gregory II	Boniface	[Deus] in opacam silvam <i>lumine veritatis... micare</i> praedestinavit	47, 18-19
28	Gregory III	Boniface	ad <i>inluminacionem</i> gentis Germaniae	49, 14-15
30	Boniface	Eadburg	qui tenebrosos angulos Germanicarum gentium <i>lustrare</i> debet	54, 13-14
32	Boniface	Pehthelm	<i>lumen</i> evangelice veritatis offerre nitimur	55, 25-27
38	Boniface	Aldhere	'[Deus] vult omnes homines <i>salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire</i> '	63, 24-25
			ut [Deus gentes Germanicas] ad <i>agnitionem</i> creatoris... convertat	63, 26-27
45	Gregory III	Boniface	non desinas... docendo... ut <i>inluminentur</i> rudes	72, 22-24
46	Boniface	all Anglo-Saxons	'[Deus] vult omnes homines <i>salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire</i> '	74, 1-2
			[obsecrate ut pagani Saxones] ' <i>resipiscant</i> a diabuli laqueis'	75, 4
52	Zacharias	Witta	<i>inluminatori</i> ... Iesu Christo gratias egimus	93, 11-13

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
53	Zacharias	Burchard	<i>illuminatori</i> [sic]... Iesu Christo gratias agimus	94, 31 to 95, 1
57	Zacharias	Boniface	per predicationem... mundum <i>inluminarent</i> universum	103, 1-3
			<i>inluminatio</i> predicationis atque doctrine Christi presidio mansit et manet catholica Dei ecclesia <i>praeifulgens</i> horum et beati apostolorum principis Petri <i>inluminata</i> doctrinis	103, 3-6
65	Boniface	Eadburg	speciosi pedes portantium <i>lucernam</i> pacis evangelicae	137, 19-20
			pater... perficiat <i>lucernas</i> ardentis in manibus nostris et <i>inluminet</i> corda gentilium	137, 21-23
			'[Deus] vult omnes homines <i>salvos</i> fieri et ad <i>agnitionem veritatis</i> venire'	138, 2-3
85	Theoph.	Boniface	vestrae sanctissime paternitatis <i>inluminatos</i> doctrinis	190, 16-17
101	Wiehtberht	monks of Glastonbury	'[Deus] vult omnes homines <i>salvos</i> fieri et ad <i>agnitionem veritatis</i> venire'	224, 10-11
106	Boniface	Optatus	<i>lux</i> evangeliorum gloriae Christi	232, 14-15

Appendix 2.3: Mission as harvest

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
15	Bugga	Boniface	debuisti manifeste <i>messem</i> Dei <i>metere et congregare</i> sanctarum animarum <i>manipulos in horream</i> regni caelestis	27, 12-14
23	Daniel	Boniface	[Bonifatius], qui <i>saxea steriliaque</i> actenus gentilium corda fidei magnitudine fretus fiducialiter adgrediendo <i>vomere</i> evangelice predicationis infatigabiliter <i>subigens in glebas fertiles</i> cotidiano labore convertere niteris	38, 18-21
24	Gregory II	Boniface	'Obsecrate dominum <i>messis</i> , ut eiciat operarios in <i>messem</i> suam'	41, 31 to 42, 1
26	Gregory II	Boniface	<i>ager</i> dominicus, qui <i>incultus</i> iacebat et <i>spinarum aculeis</i> ex infidelitate riguerat <i>vomerem</i> tuae doctrinae <i>exarantem semen</i> verbi suscepit et <i>fertilem messem</i> protulit fidelitatis	44, 18-21
54	Gemmulus	Boniface	in opere, quo adsumptus es, multo amplius <i>fructum</i> boni operis <i>pullulare</i> concedat... divina maiestas	97, 16-19
60	Zacharias	Boniface	dum dominici <i>triciti semina</i> quaereres elaborare ad augendum <i>segetem</i> spiritalem, subito inimici <i>superseminant zizania</i> , ut sanctitatem tuam in bono opere impediunt	120, 23-26
			spiritalis <i>sarculos</i> construens et <i>zizaniam</i> eradicens deportet ad <i>comburendum</i>	120, 28-29
63	Boniface	Daniel	Et <i>semen</i> verbi, quod de sinu catholicae et apostolicae ecclesiae sumptum et nobis commendatum <i>seminare</i> aliquantulum studemus, illi cum <i>lolio superseminare</i> et <i>suffocare</i> nituntur vel in <i>herbam pestiferi generis</i> convertere	129, 15-19
64	Daniel	Boniface	<i>segetem</i> vestrae venerabilitati commissam <i>sterile lolium</i> <i>interserendo suffocare</i> conentur; quia unice ante <i>messis</i> <i>maturitatem</i> in quodam commate <i>conpescitur evelli</i>	133, 20-22

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
64			'quia proposita est similitudo <i>tritici</i> et <i>zizaniarum</i> de permixtione malorum atque bonorum'	134, 34-35
76	Boniface	Huetbert	'neque qui <i>plantet</i> neque qui <i>inrigat</i> est aliquid, sed Deus qui incrementum dat'	159, 9-10
111	Cuthbert	Boniface	sacraeque exhortationis <i>fructum</i>	239, 11
148	?	?	tende, ubi <i>messis</i> est Deo adiuvante	284, 2
			' <i>Messis</i> quidem multa, operarii autem pauci' et cetera	284, 3

Appendix 2.4: Mission as turbulence, danger and suffering

(Note association with peregrinatio)

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
27	Boniface	Bugga	pro peccatis meis multis <i>tribulationibus</i> fatigor et multo maiore mentis <i>tribulatione</i> et <i>sollicitudine</i> quam corporis labore <i>conturbor</i>	49, 4-6
30	Boniface	Eadburg	<i>periculosi</i> maris <i>tempestatibus</i> <i>quatior</i>	54, 16-17
31	Boniface	?	<i>periculosi</i> maris <i>tempestatibus</i> undique <i>quatimur</i>	55, 7-8
32	Boniface	Pehthelm	nobis opus est <i>periclitantibus</i>	55, 21
			Germanicum mare <i>periculosum</i> est <i>navigantibus</i>	55, 22-23
33	Boniface	Nothelm	[navis] mentis meae variis Germanicarum gentium <i>tempestatum fluctibus quassatam</i>	57, 1-2
34	Boniface	Duddo	senis Germanici maris <i>tempestatibus</i> undique <i>quassantibus fatigati</i>	58, 29 to 59, 1
35	Boniface	Eadburg	sepe sive in <i>solamine</i> librorum sive vestimentorum adiuvamine pietas tua <i>tristitiam</i> meam consolata est	60, 12-14
38	Boniface	Alhere	ne [navis nostra] <i>fluctibus</i> Germanicarum <i>tempestatum</i> submergatur	63, 12-13
49	Lul et al.	Cuniburg	nostram lintrem <i>procellosis fluctibus</i> huius mundi <i>fatigatam</i>	79, 5-6
63	Boniface	Daniel	inter tales <i>turbines</i> diversarum causarum	130, 13-14
			de uno <i>solacio peregrinationis</i> meae	131 4-5
64	Daniel	Boniface	pari tamen <i>tribulationum</i> <i>deprimimur</i> fasce.	136, 21-22
65	Boniface	Eadburg	conversatio <u>peregrinationis</u> nostrae variis <i>tempestatibus inliduntur</i> . Undique labor, undique <i>meror</i> . 'Foris <i>pugnae</i> , intus <i>timores</i> '.	137, 12-14
66	Boniface	?	multis et variis <i>tempestatum turbinibus concussi</i> et <i>quassati</i> sumus	138, 13-14
			<i>cottidiana tribulatio</i> divina <i>solamina</i> fratrum ac sororum me quaerere admonet	138, 27-28

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
67	Boniface	Leobgytha et al.	<i>tribulationes</i> cordis nostri dilatate sunt	139, 24
			' <i>Multae tribulationes</i> iustorum, sed de his omnibus liberavit eos Dominus'	140, 23-24
70	Lul	Eadburg	flagito, ut meae fragilitatis navem, quae cotidie presentis mundi <i>procellarum turbinibus quatiatur</i> , tuae stabilitatis suffragio fulciatur	143, 12-15
71	Lul	Dealwin	ad <i>consolationem peregrinationis</i> meae	144, 19-20
72	Ingalice	Lul	insinuasti nobis erga vos diversas <i>molestias et tribulationes</i>	145, 13-14
76	Boniface	Huetbert	grande <i>solacium peregrinationis</i> nostrae	159, 16-17
91	Boniface	Egbert	Enarrare autem omnia <i>mala</i> , quae nos extrinsecus et intrinsecus <i>patimur</i> , epistolaris brevitatis prohibet	207, 12-14
92	Lul	Gregory	Festinatio autem ad te veniendi propter multiplicem <i>tribulationem</i> , quam iugiter Deo gratias sustinemus, mihi undique denegata est	211, 24-27
100	Lul	Leobgytha	valde rarus est, qui <i>tribulationes</i> meas mecum pare velit	223, 25-26
			Vale in Deo intercedens pro me tanto anxius, quanto <i>gravioere angustia deprimor</i>	223, 27-28
101	Wiehtberht	monks of Glastonbury	valde sit <i>periculosum ac laboriosum</i> pene in omne re	224, 25
111	Cuthbert	Lul	diversarorum atque indefessarum <i>tribulationum angores</i> ... inter <i>persecutores</i> paganos et hereticos atque scismaticos seductores in tam <i>periculosa ac ferocitate plena peregrinatione</i>	239, 19-24
			quanta <i>pericula</i> atque <i>difficultates</i> ... [Bonifatius] libenter tolleraret	242, 11-13
121	Alchred	Lul	te in tam longa <i>peregrinatione</i> desudantem et in Christi <i>agonibus decertantem</i> optatae conservavit sospitati	257, 15-17
123	Cyneheard	Lul	obsecrantes, ut... usque ad finem firmam retineatis, quandam multis <i>tribulationibus tundimini</i>	260, 18-20



Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
137	Wigberht	Lul	multum iam vitae nostrae <i>fluctuando et neglegendo</i> , quasi extra nos fusi, <u>peregrimus</u>	276, 19-21

**Appendix 3: The terms *Germania* and *Germanicum* in the letters of Boniface and Lul**

<b>Tangl ep. #</b>	<b>Sender</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Terms and expressions</b>	<b>Reference (pp., ll.)</b>
17	Gregory II	all Christians	'in umbra mortis' aliquas gentes in <i>Germaniae</i> partibus vel plaga orientali Reni fluminis	30, 7-8
20	Gregory II	C. Martel	informatum ad predicandum plebibus <i>Germaniae</i> gentis ac diversis in orientali Reni fluminis parte consistentibus	34, 9-10
24	Gregory II	Boniface	in partibus Esperiarum ad inlumptionem <i>Germaniae</i> gentis 'in umbra mortis' sedentis	42, 4-5
			Thuringis et <i>Germaniae</i> populo ea, quae ad animae respiciunt utilitatem et salutem, scribere non omisimus	42, 32-33
28	Gregory III	Boniface	Bonifatio coepiscopo ad inlumptionem gentis <i>Germaniae</i> vel circumquaque in umbra mortis morantibus gentibus in errore constitutis... directo	49, 14-17
30	Boniface	Eadburg	quae sanctorum librorum munera transmittendo exulem <i>Germanicum</i> spiritali lumine consolata est... qui tenebrosos angulos <i>Germanicarum</i> gentium lustrare debet	54, 10-13
32	Boniface	Pethelm	<i>Germanicum</i> mare periculosum est navigantibus	55, 22-23
33	Boniface	Nothelm	navem mentis meae variis <i>Germanicarum</i> gentium tempestatum fluctibus quassatam	57, 1-2
34	Boniface	Duddo	<i>Germanici</i> maris tempestatibus undique quassantibus fatigati	58, 29 to 59, 1
38	Boniface	Aldhere	ne [navis nostra] fluctibus <i>Germanicarum</i> tempestatum submergatur	63, 12-13
			Petimus quoque, ut pro <i>Germanicis</i> gentis [sic] idolorum culturae deditis intercedere curetis	63, 22-23
43	Gregory III	Hessians, Thuringians and other tribes	populo provinciarum <i>Germaniae</i> , Thuringis et Hassis, Bortharis et Nistresis, Uedreciis et Lognais, Suduodis et Graffeltis vel omnibus in orientali plaga constitutis	68, 10-14

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
45	Gregory III	Boniface	Agnoscentes... tam de <i>Germaniae</i> gentibus... quae a te acta sunt	72, 1-6
46	Boniface	Anglo-Saxon Christians	de stirpe et prosapia Anglorum procreatis eiusdem generis vernaculus universalis ecclesiae legatus <i>Germanicus</i> ... Bonifacius	74, 25-27
49	Lul et al.	Cuniburg	ad <i>Germanicas</i> gentes transivimus	78, 18-19
50	Boniface	Zacharias	<i>Germaniae</i> populis aliquantulum percussis vel correctis tres ordinavimus episcopos et provinciam in tres parrochias discrevimus	81, 16-18
			postulamus, ut... per auctoritatem et preceptum sancti Petri iussionibus apostolicis fundatae et stabilite sint tres in <i>Germania</i> episcopales sedes	81, 26-28
52	Zacharias	Witta	innotuit... Bonifatius nuper decrevisse et ordinasse in <i>Germaniae</i> partibus episcopales sedes	93, 7-9
53	Zacharias	Burchard	innotuit... Bonifatius nuper decrevisse et ordinasse in <i>Germaniae</i> partibus episcopales sedes	94, 26-29
54	Gemmulus	Boniface	Bonifatio archiepiscopo provinciae <i>Germaniae</i>	96, 8-9
59	[Roman synod of 745]		'Deneardus religiosus presbiter legatus Bonifatii sanctissimi archiepiscopi provinciae <i>Germaniae</i> '	109, 12-14
60	Zacharias	Boniface	usque ad paganorum fines et in partes <i>Germanicarum</i> gentium, ubi antea predicasti	121, 28-30
63	Boniface	Daniel	ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum in <i>Germania</i> sine illius mandato et timore prohibere valeo	130, 20-21
73	Boniface	Æthelbald	Bonifatius archiepiscopus legatus <i>Germanicus</i> Romanae ecclesiae	146, 25-26
75	Boniface	Egbert	Bonifatius servus servorum Dei legatus <i>Germanicus</i> sedis apostolicae	156, 30 to 157, 1
			ad predicandum <i>Germaniae</i> erroneis vel paganis gentibus direxit	157, 16-17
76	Boniface	Huetbert	nos inter feras et ignaras gentes <i>Germaniae</i> laborantes	159, 4

Tangl ep. #	Sender	Recipient	Terms and expressions	Reference (pp., ll.)
78	Boniface	Cuthbert	Bonifatius legatus <i>Germanicus</i> catholice apostolice Romane [sic] ecclesiae	161, 28-29
86	Boniface	Zacharias	[Bonifatius] legatus <i>Germanicus</i>	192, 1
			me indignum ordinavit et ad predicandum verbum fidei <i>Germanicis</i> gentibus misit	192, 17-18
87	Zacharias	Boniface	ad predicandum verbum evangelii tuam misisset fraternitatem in <i>Germaniae</i> partibus	195, 7-8
91	Boniface	Egbert	Bonifatius exiguus episcopus legatus <i>Germanicus</i> catholicae et apostolicae Romanae ecclesiae	206, 30 to 207, 1
109	Boniface	Stephan II	Bonifatius exiguus legatus vel missus <i>Germanicus</i> catholicae et apostolicae Romanae aecclesiae	234, 27 to 235, 1

## Appendix 4: Property held by Lul in Hessia before 775

(See figure 42 for a distribution map)

<u>Name in <i>Breviarium Sancti Lulli</i><sup>1</sup></u>	<u>Modern name (# in fig. 42)</u>
<b>[Group 1a]</b>	
<i>Martdorf</i>	Mardorf (1)
<i>Holzhusen</i>	Holzhausen (2)
<i>Firne</i>	Verna (3)
<i>Burcun</i>	Borken (4)
<i>Sungsule</i>	Sondheim (5)
<i>Angelgise</i>	Kleinenglis (6)
<i>Waltunniu</i>	Wellen (7)
<i>Iuffelze</i>	Giflitz (8)
<i>Nielahc</i>	Nilach (9)
<i>Balahorna</i>	Balhorn (10)
<i>Harabirge</i>	Herberge (11)
<i>Rittahe</i>	Großenritte (12)
<i>Stochusun</i>	Stockhausen (13)
<i>Mathanon</i>	Maden (14)
<i>Hebilide</i>	Hebel (15)
<b>[Group 1b]</b>	
<i>Filmare</i>	Vellmar (16)
<i>Elisungen</i>	Oberelsungen (17)
<i>Mazheim</i>	Mosheim (18)
<i>Wildungen</i>	Bad Wildungen (19)
<i>Beisheim</i>	Niederbeisheim (20)
<i>Felmide</i>	Velmeden (35 km east of Kirchberg)
Total property: 50 <i>hobas</i> and 30 <i>mansus</i>	
<b>[Group 2]</b>	
<i>Bracho</i>	Braach (21)
<i>Breidinge</i>	Breitingen (22)
<i>Biberaho</i>	Bebra (6 km up the Fulda from Heinebach (23))
<i>Heginebahc</i>	Heinebach (23)
Total property: 12 <i>hobas</i> and 23 <i>mansus</i>	

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<sup>1</sup> Edited in Weirich, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Reichsabtei Hersfeld*, p. 73, ll. 15-29.

Name in *Breviarium Sancti Lulli*      Modern name (# in fig. 42)

[Group 3]

<i>Kyricheim</i>	Kirchheim (24)
<i>Liutgeshusen</i>	unknown
<i>Otraho</i>	Ottrau (25)
<i>Grintafo</i>	Gründau (20 km north-east of Frankfurt)

Total property: 18 *hobas* and 18 *mansus*

[Group 4]

<i>Treise</i>	Treysa (26)
<i>Grosiun</i>	Grüsen (27)
<i>Waraha</i>	Wohra (28)

Total property: 13 *hobas* and 12 *mansus*

[Group 5]

<i>Niwihusen</i>	unknown
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Total property: 4 *hobas* and 4 *mansus*

## Appendix 5: Patrons of Fulda in the Amöneburg district, c. 750-779

(see figure 43 for a distribution map)

<u>Donor(s)</u>	<u>Name in charter</u>	<u>Modern name (# on fig. 43)</u>	<u>UBF #</u>
Adelbirc	<i>'in Lógene partibus iuxta Amana fluvium'</i>	'In the Lahn region, next to the river Ohm'	117
Adelburch	<i>Lundorf</i>	Lohndorf (9)	108
	<i>Salzbutine</i>	Salzböden (15)	108
	<i>Lôoh</i>	Loch, nr. Lohndorf (9)	108
	<i>Roda</i>	Rödgen, nr. Gießen	108
Adelman & Uodalswint	<i>Lare</i>	Lahr, nr. Gießen OR Lohra (10)	111
Adelolt	<i>'unum biuanc sui nominis Adeloltes'</i>	'one <i>biuanc</i> named after Adelolt himself' – prob. Albshausen (1) <sup>2</sup>	110
Adeltrud	<i>Seltrese</i>	Selters, nr. Nassau	120
	<i>Bûchen</i>	Buchen <sup>3</sup>	120
	<i>Mainlinten</i>	Freienfels, in lower Lahn valley	120
	<i>Neistinbach</i>	Heistenbach, in lower Lahn valley	120
Altrat	<i>Rosdorf</i>	Rossdorf (14)	119
	<i>Holhus</i>	Rauischholzhausen (8)	119
	<i>Brettenbrunnen</i>	unknown	119
	<i>Hoheim</i>	unknown	119
	<i>Sibenbrunnen</i>	unknown <sup>4</sup>	119
Arahoz	<i>Marachdorf</i>	Mardorf (11)	121
	<i>Rosdorf</i>	Rossdorf (14)	121
	<i>'in ipsa marcha Logene'</i>	'in the Lahngau region'	121
Arcgoz & Luibbirc/ Argoz & Lipgart <sup>5</sup>	<i>Blidenstat</i>	unknown <sup>6</sup>	105, 116

<sup>2</sup> I have noted the location of a village named Albshausen on figure 43, but a more likely identification is with the Albshausen 5 km west of Wetzlar on the lower Lahn. See *UBF*, p. 181, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> There are three places named Buchen in Hesse, north of Frankfurt but south of the region shown on figure 43, any one of which could be the *Bûchen* named in *UBF* 120. See *UBF* p. 186, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> All of the properties donated by Altrat were located *super ripam fluminis, quod dicitur Antrafa*, according to Stengel the Rülfbach, a tributary of the Ohm. Both Rossdorf and Rauischholzhausen lie on the Rülfbach, and there are several known DMVs upstream. A spring running into the Rülfbach is known locally as the Sieborn, after which *Sibenbrunnen* was presumably named. See *UBF*, p. 185, nn. 2-6.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the *comes* Arcgoz and his wife Luibbirc of *UBF* 105 are to be identified with Argoz and his wife Lipgart of *UBF* 116. See *UBF*, p. 178, n. 1. The donations recorded in *UBF* 106 were given in Argoz's name alone, but he is explicitly identified with the Argoz of *UBF* 105 (*item idem Argoz tradidit...*).

<sup>6</sup> Only the name of *Blidenstat* is given in *UBF* 105, but in *UBF* 116 it is described as lying *super ripam fluminis Amana in pago Logenecgewe*, i.e. on the banks of the Ohm in Lahngau.

<u>Donor(s)</u>	<u>Name in charter</u>	<u>Modern name (# on fig. 43)</u>	<u>UBF #</u>
	<i>Rostorf/Rüesdorf</i>	Rossdorf (14)	106, 116
	<i>Saláha</i>	? Sehlen (16) <sup>7</sup>	106
	<i>Holzhusen</i>	Rauischholzhausen (8)	116
	<i>Affaltráhe</i>	uncertain, but possibly Affoldern on the Eder <sup>8</sup>	116
	<i>Seleheim</i>	Groß-Seelheim (5)	116
	<i>'in monte, qui dicitur Hagenesberch'</i>	'on the rise known as the Hahnes', which lies between Hof Capelle and Moischt (6)	116
	<i>Zegemunden</i>	? Gemünden (4) <sup>9</sup>	116
	<i>Weterstat</i>	? Wetter (17) <sup>10</sup>	116
	<i>Neazzaha</i>	Hof Netz (7) <sup>11</sup>	116
	<i>Vfleida</i>	Ober-Ofleiden (12)	116
	<i>Eulizedorf</i>	Ebsdorf (3)	116
	<i>Boia</i>	? Beuern (2) <sup>12</sup>	116
	<i>Suvgia</i>	? Hof Sorge <sup>13</sup>	116
	<i>Witmane</i>	unknown	116
	<i>Rudingesbach</i>	Rudigenbach <sup>14</sup>	116
Bidanc	<i>Walchesdorf/Walehestorf</i>	Walsdorf, in lower Lahn valley	109a/b
	<i>Megeratesheim/</i>	unknown	109a/b

<sup>7</sup> This is the most likely location in the opinion of Stengel; he mentions an alternative suggestion of Groß-Seelheim near Kirchhain or Seelbach near Lohra (*UBF*, p. 178, n. 4). Groß-Seelheim, however, where Argoz also held land, is called *Seleheim* in *UBF* 116.

<sup>8</sup> Stengel (*UBF*, p. 183, n. 7) declines to identify *Affaltráhe* with Affoldern, which lies on the Eder 12 km upstream of the Büraburg, although he does not explain why; it may have seemed too far removed from Argoz's other holdings to be plausible. According to Wand, Affoldern is first attested as *Affeltra* in a charter of c. 850 (Wand, *Die Büraburg bei Fritzlar*, p. 155). I am inclined to equate *Affaltráhe* and *Affeltra*, since although Affoldern is located some 40 km north of Amöneburg, it was within the bounds of the Frankish-dominated frontier zone, and only 7 km west of *Waltunniu/Wellen*, where Charlemagne granted property to the monastery of Hersfeld c. 775 (see Weirich, *UBH* 38(2), p. 73, l. 16).

<sup>9</sup> Other possibilities for Gemünden given by Stengel (*UBF*, p. 184, n. 1) are Burg- or Nieder-Gemünden, twin villages which lie approximately 15 km south-east of Amöneburg.

<sup>10</sup> According to Stengel (*UBF*, p. 184, n. 2), the Wetter south of the Christenberg is a far more likely candidate than Wetterburg, 30 km north of Fritzlar and beyond the scope of Frankish domination before Charlemagne's conquest of the Eresburg in 772.

<sup>11</sup> There is a Netze just 6 km north of Affoldern (see note 8 above), but the proximity of Hof Netz to Amöneburg makes it the better choice.

<sup>12</sup> Stengel (*UBF*, p. 184, n. 6) suggests the deserted medieval settlement of Beuern north of Amöneburg.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly Hof Sorge near Burg-Gemünden, 15 km south-east of Amöneburg.

<sup>14</sup> According to Stengel (*UBF*, p. 184, n. 8), a deserted medieval settlement near Kirchhain, which lies 3 km north of Amöneburg.



<u>Donor(s)</u>	<u>Name in charter</u>	<u>Modern name (# in fig. 43)</u>	<u>UBF #</u>
	<i>Meinratesheim</i>		
	<i>Wolemare/Wâlmare</i>	Wollmar (18)	109a/b
Dithart	<i>Ebilezdorf</i>	Ebsdorf (3)	118
Nenthere & Hadalouch	<i>Ebelizdorf</i>	Ebsdorf (3)	115
	<i>Rosdorf</i>	Rossdorf (14)	115
Rudun	<i>Rodohusen</i>	Radenhausen (13)	112
	<i>Holzhusen</i>	Rauischholzhausen (8)	113
	<i>Biberaffa</i>	unknown	113
	<i>Ebilizdorfe</i>	Ebsdorf (3)	113
	<i>Luntdorfe</i>	Lohndorf (9)	113
	<i>Hoheim</i>	unknown <sup>15</sup>	113
	<i>Heledungen</i>	unknown	113
	<i>'et ceteris locis'</i>	'and in other places'	113
Ruthart/Ruothardus	<i>Rutharteshusen</i>	unknown <sup>16</sup>	107a/b

<sup>15</sup> Most likely the same *Hoheim* where Altrat held the land donated in *UBF* 119; see note 4 to this appendix.

<sup>16</sup> *UBF* 107a names *Rutharteshusen*, while *UBF* 107b (the pair represents two abbreviated versions of the same original charter) specifies that it lies *super ripam fluminis Liutera, ubi ipse rivulus intrat flumen Amana*, i.e. 'on the banks of the *Liutera*, where that stream joins the Ohm.' The identity of the *Liutera* has been lost. See Stengel, *UBF*, p. 179, n. 3.

## List of figures

- 1 The Solent region in the early eighth century
- 2 Wessex from the late sixth to the early eighth century
- 3 The trading settlement of Hamwic (Hants)
- 4 The settlement at Cowage Farm (Wilts)
- 5 Representation of Turner's 'Christian landscape'
- 6 The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms
- 7 Frankish territories in Western Europe
- 8 The topography of Hesse
- 9 Hesse in the Roman period
- 10 Burials in Hesse and the Rhine-Main region
- 11 Excavation plan of the *Reihengräberfeld* at Griesheim
- 12 Grave assemblage from Eschwege-Niederhone
- 13 Excavation plan of burial at Fritzlar
- 14 Grave assemblage from Fritzlar 1
- 15 Grave assemblage from Fritzlar 2
- 16 Excavation plan of inhumation at Werkel
- 17 Excavation plan of Kirchberg
- 18 Grave assemblage of Kirchberg grave 9
- 19 Grave assemblages from Kirchberg
- 20 Excavation plan of inhumations at Amöneburg
- 21 Pot from burial mound at Gießen
- 22 Christenberg and its environs
- 23 Kesterburg on the Christenberg
- 24 Finds from the Christenberg
- 25 Büraburg
- 26 Fortified sites north of the Main
- 27 Höfe bei Dreihausen
- 28 Schiffenberg
- 29 Altes Schloss
- 30 Fulda
- 31 Grasburg

- 32 Holzheim
- 33 Christenberg pottery 1
- 34 Christenberg pottery 2
- 35 Büraburg pottery
- 36 Holzheim pottery
- 37 *-Hausen* and *-inghausen* place-names in Hessia
- 38 Tribes in the Hessia region
- 39 Sites of pagan and Christian significance in Hessia
- 40 The ecclesiastical organisation of Hessia
- 41 Property of Fulda, Hersfeld and Lorsch in Hessia and the Amöneburg district
- 42 Property held by Lul in Hessia before 775
- 43 Patrons of Fulda in the Amöneburg district, *c.* 750-779
- 44 Medieval church dedications in Hessia and the Amöneburg district
- 45 The Hessian-Saxon borderlands
- 46 Skull of burial 3 from Amöneburg

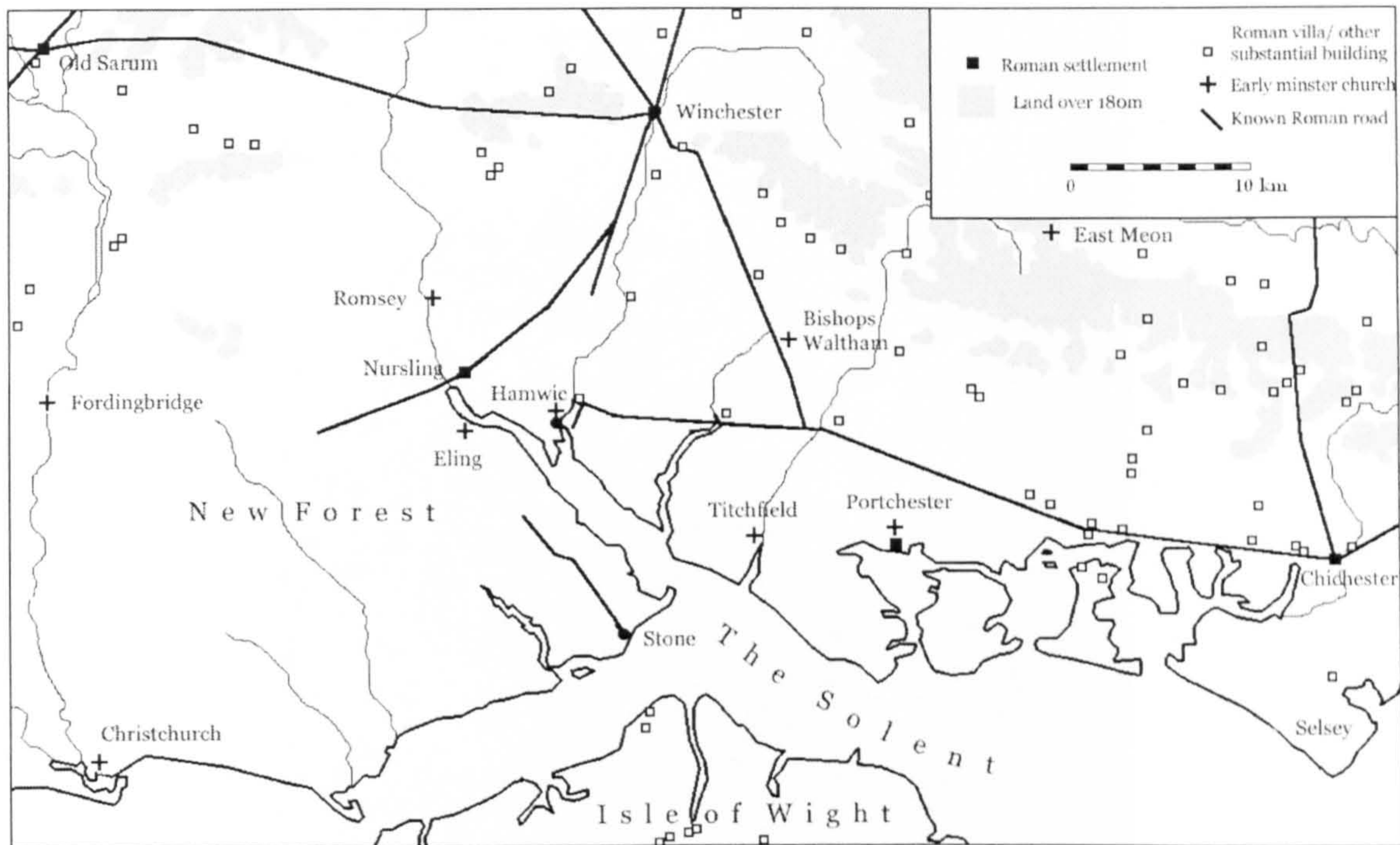


Figure 1: The Solent region in the early eighth century

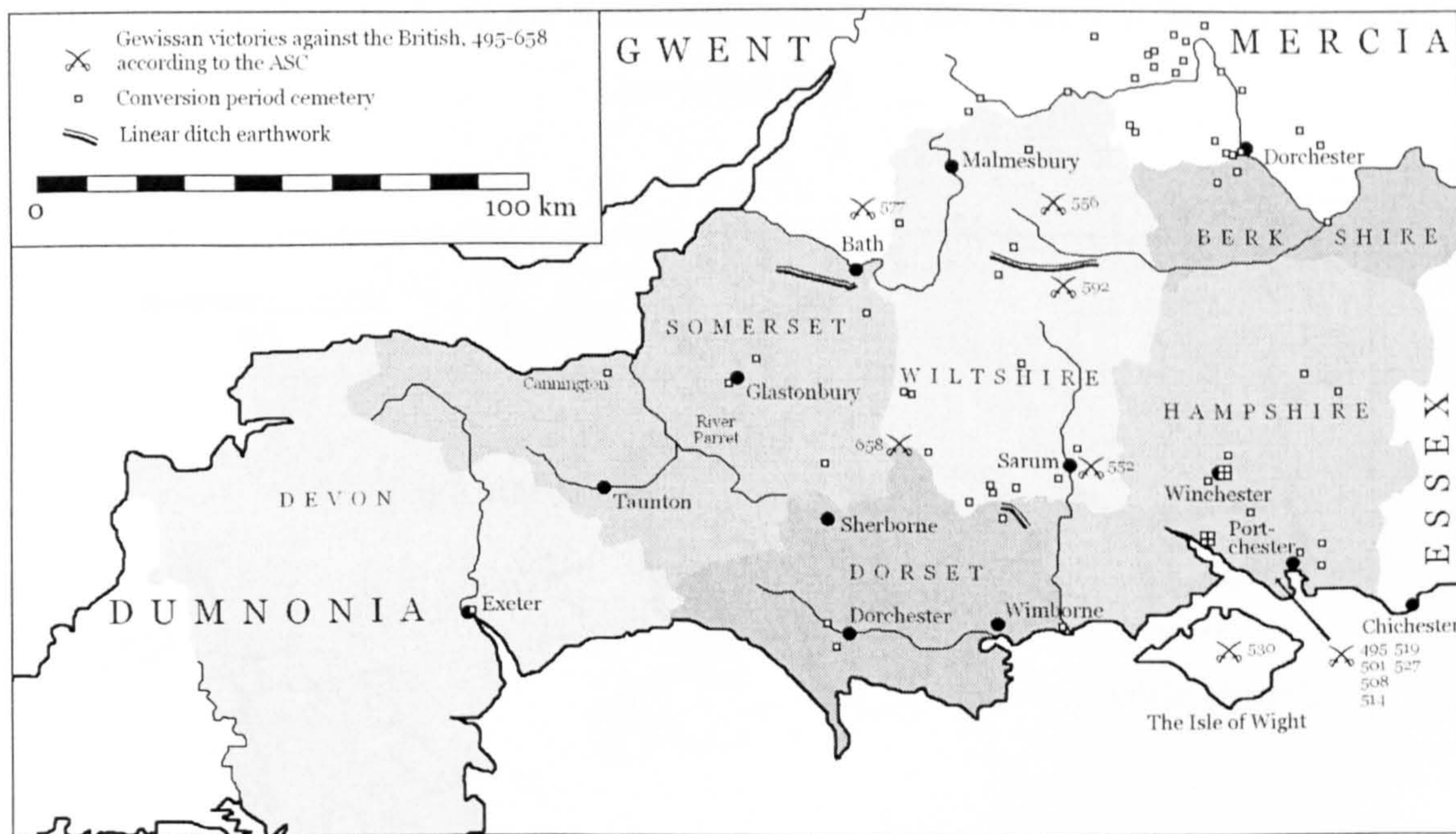


Figure 2: Wessex from the late sixth to the early eighth century (showing modern counties)

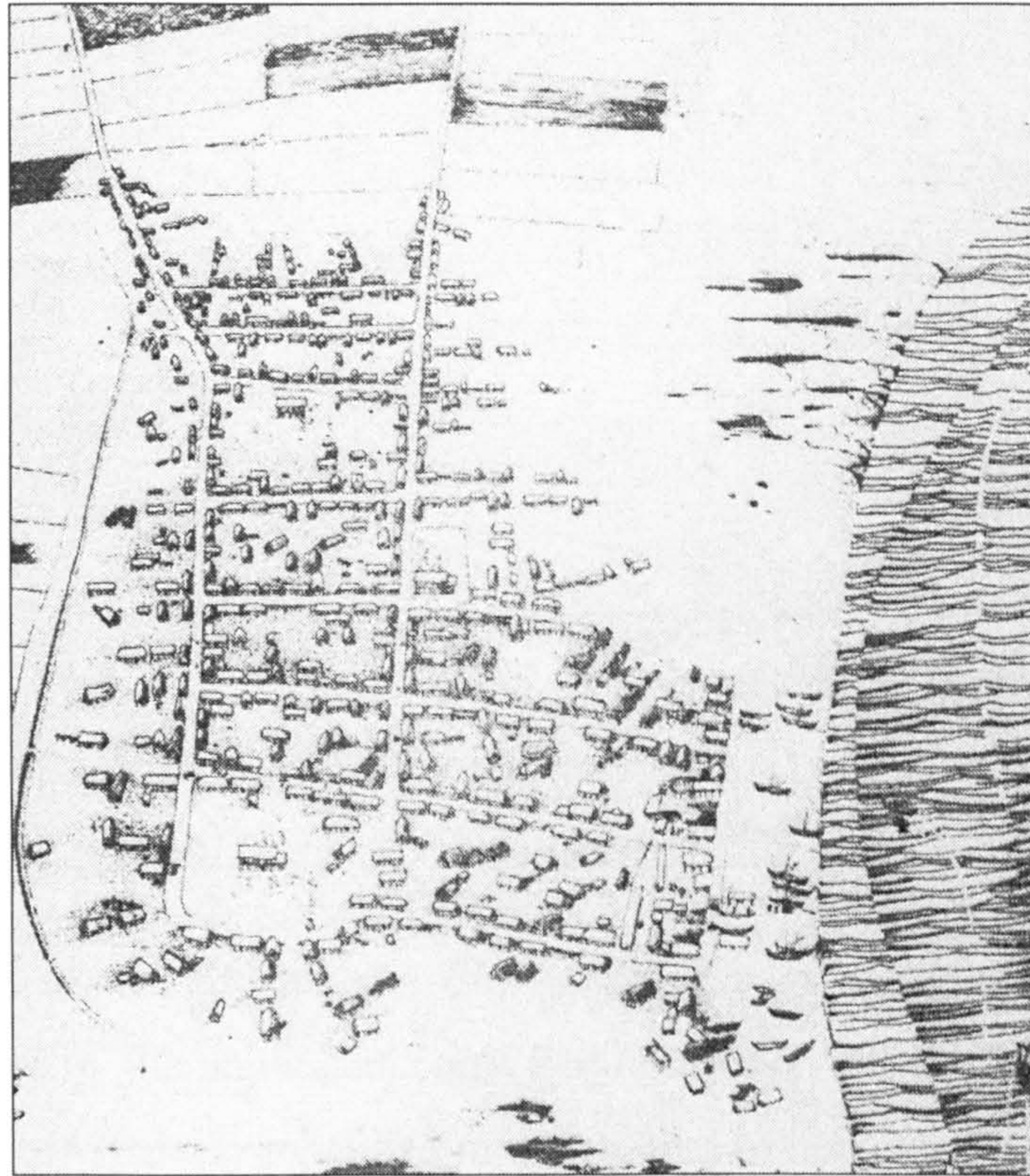


Figure 3: The trading settlement of Hamwic (Hants) (Illustration by John Hodgson; after Hodges, *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement*, p. 80); the church of St Mary is in the lower left plot

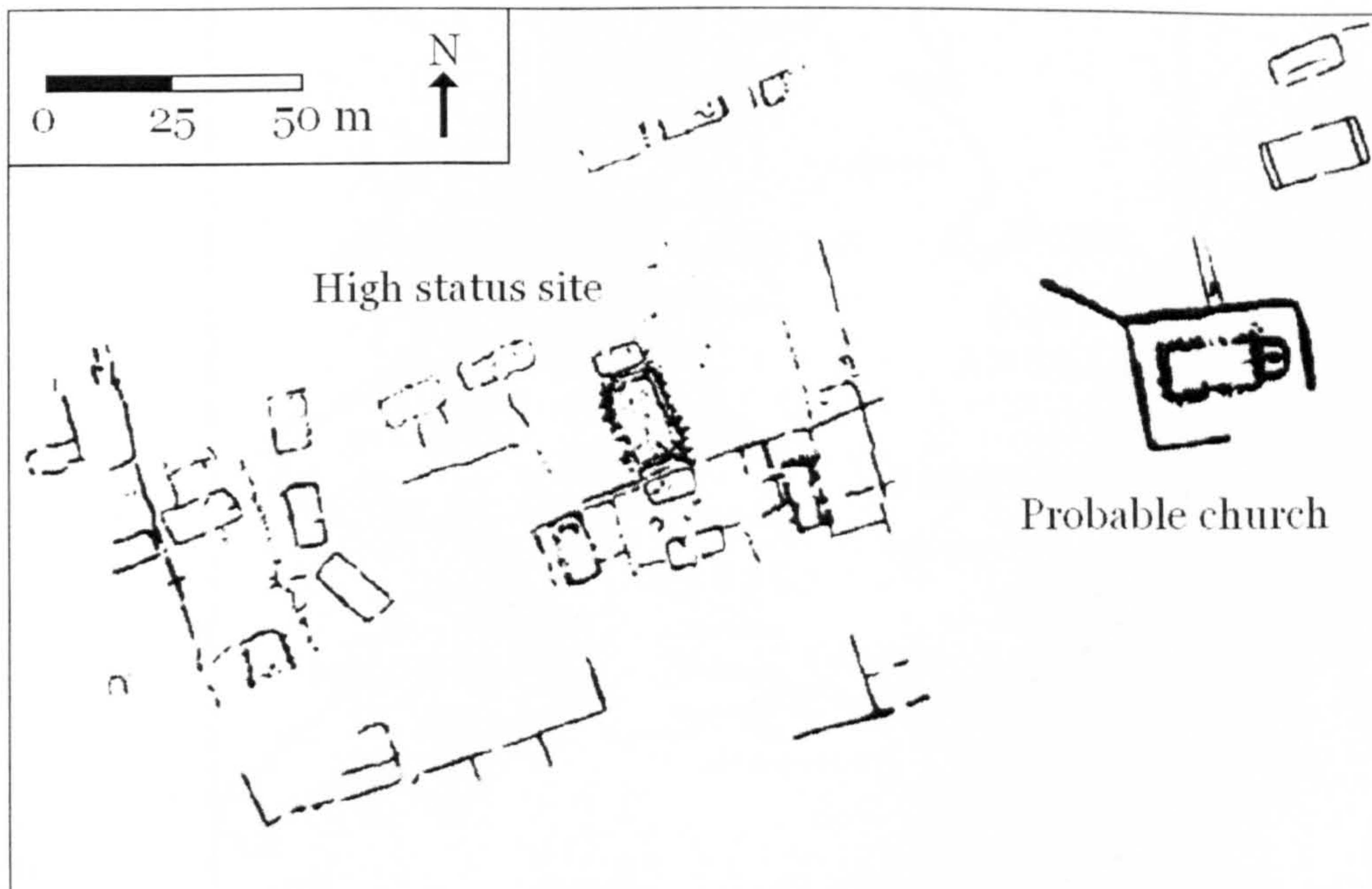


Figure 4: The settlement at Cowage Farm (Wilts) (After Hinchcliffe, 'An Early Medieval Settlement at Cowage Farm', fig. 1)

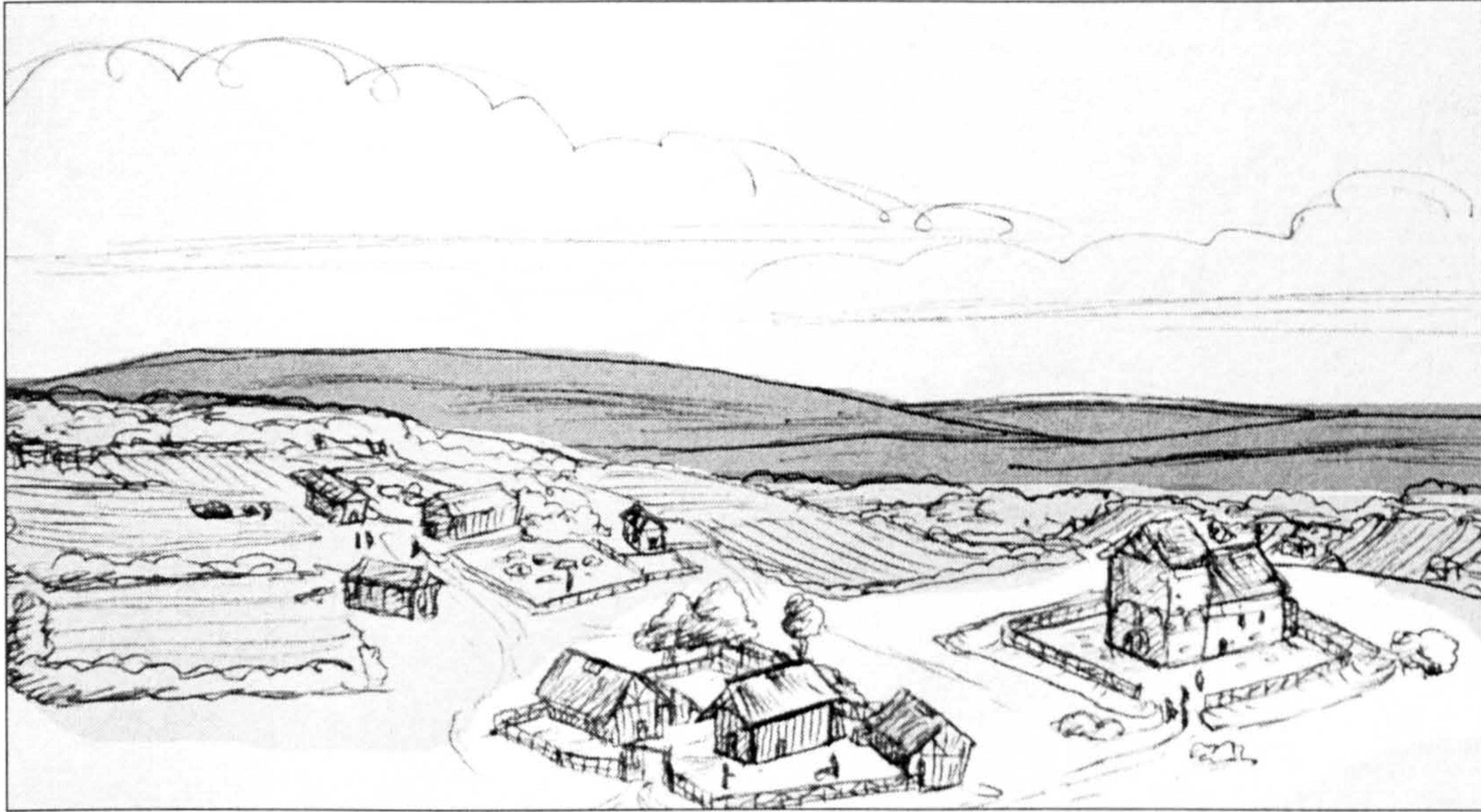


Figure 5: Representation of Turner's 'Christian landscape'. Vill and church are at the centre, surrounded by the populated, cultivated landscape, which in turn is surrounded by the sparsely inhabited marginal land of heath and forest



Figure 6: The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

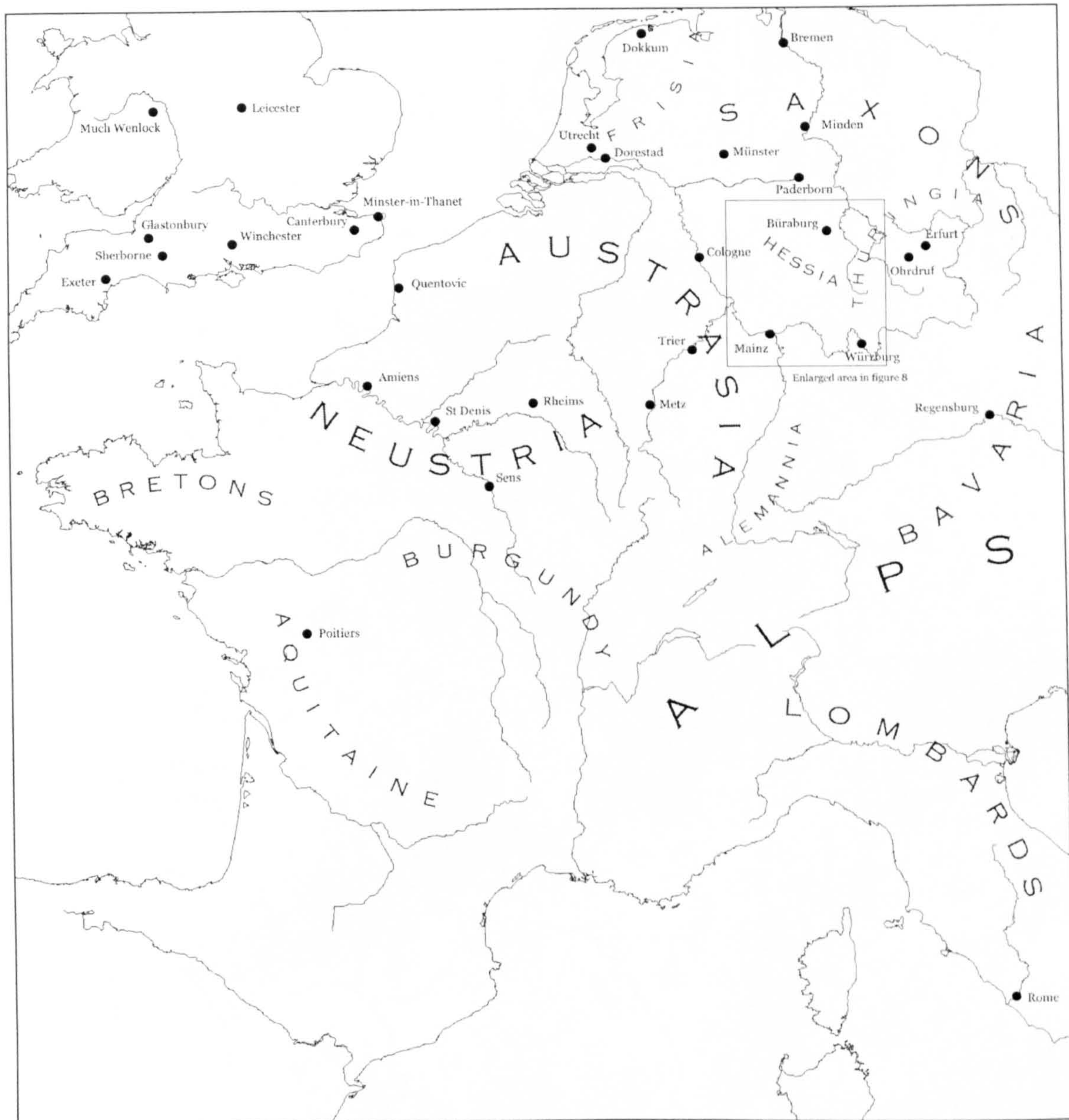


Figure 7: Frankish territories in Western Europe

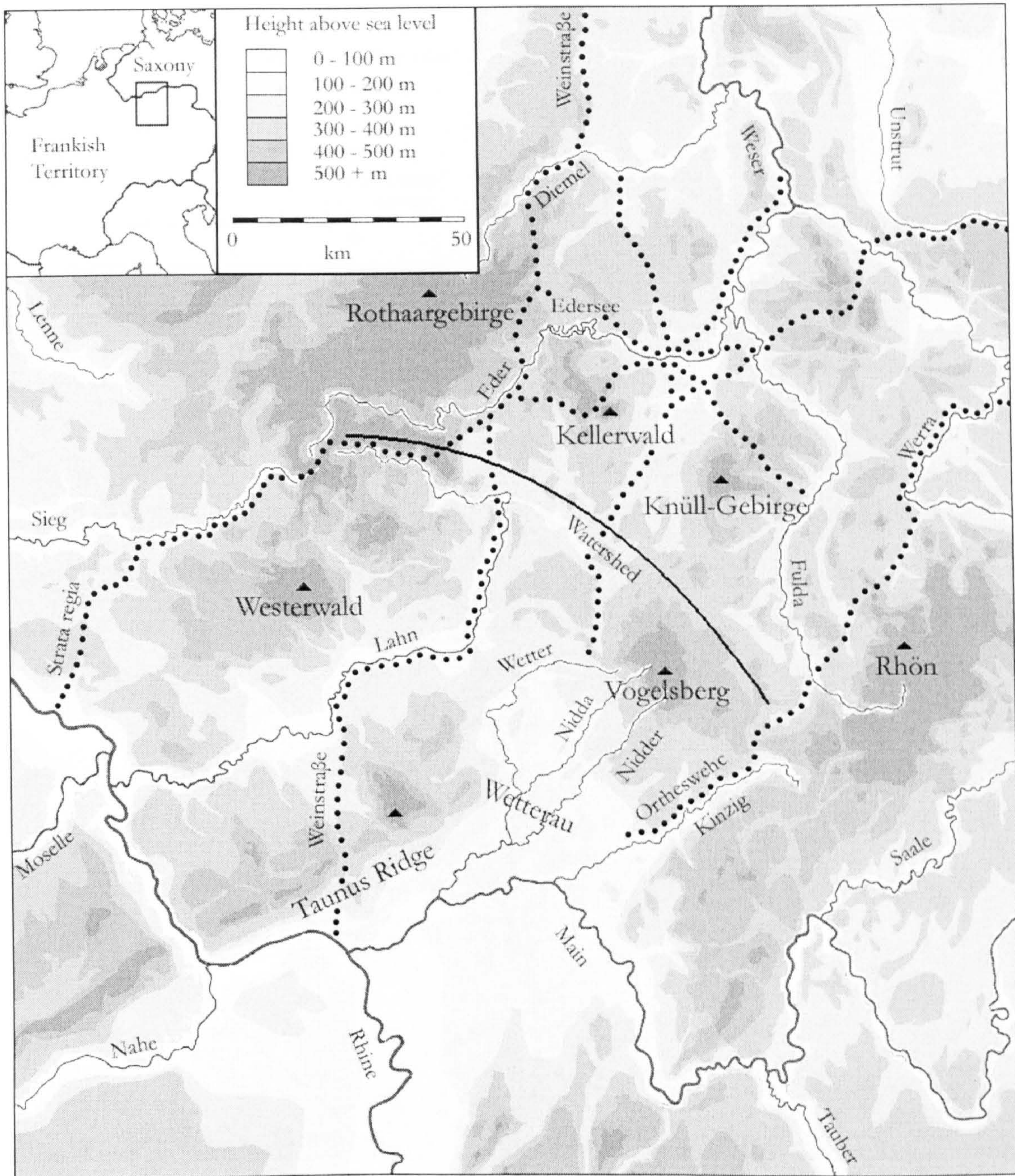


Figure 8: The topography of Hesse. The dotted lines mark the major long-distance communication routes



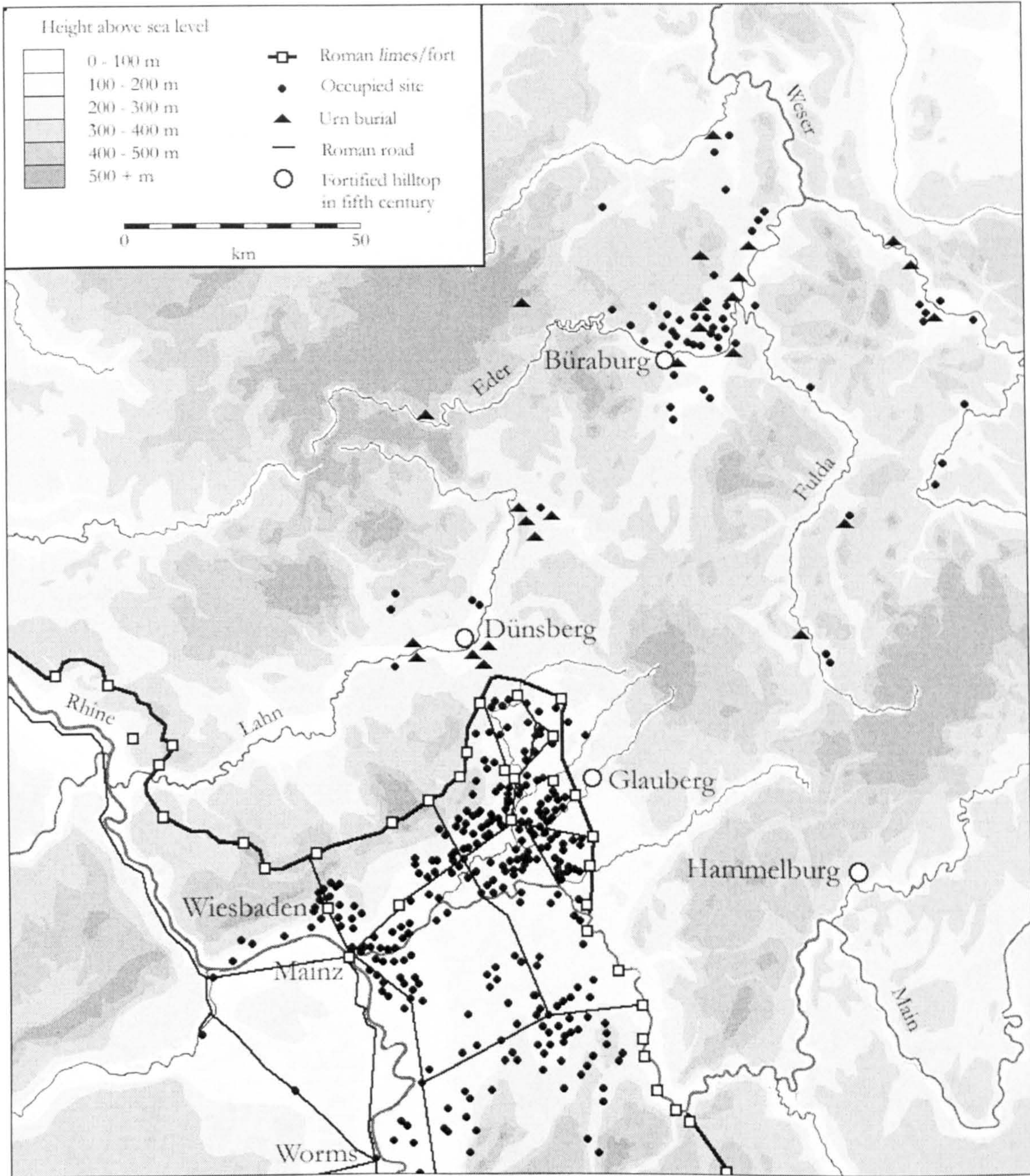


Figure 9: Hesse in the Roman period. Only major sites west of the Rhine are shown

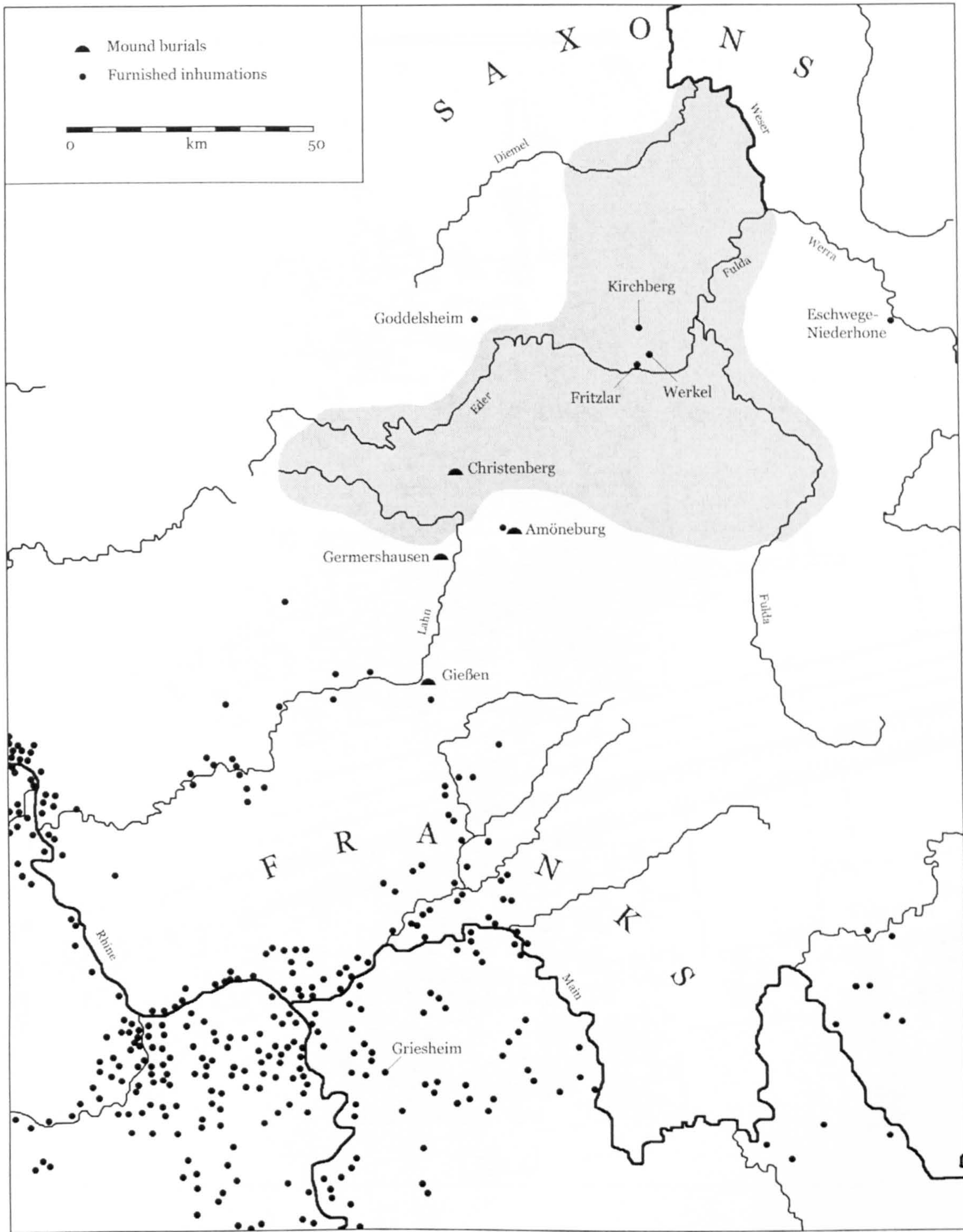


Figure 10: Burials in Hesse and the Rhine-Main region. The shaded area is the region referred to as the *pago Hessorum* in eighth- and ninth-century charters; the modern German *Land* of Hesse extends from the Diemel to south of the Rhine and Main. See Backhaus, 'Die Gaue vor und nach 900', Karte 8a, for a distribution map of individual settlements within the *pago Hessorum* prior to 900.

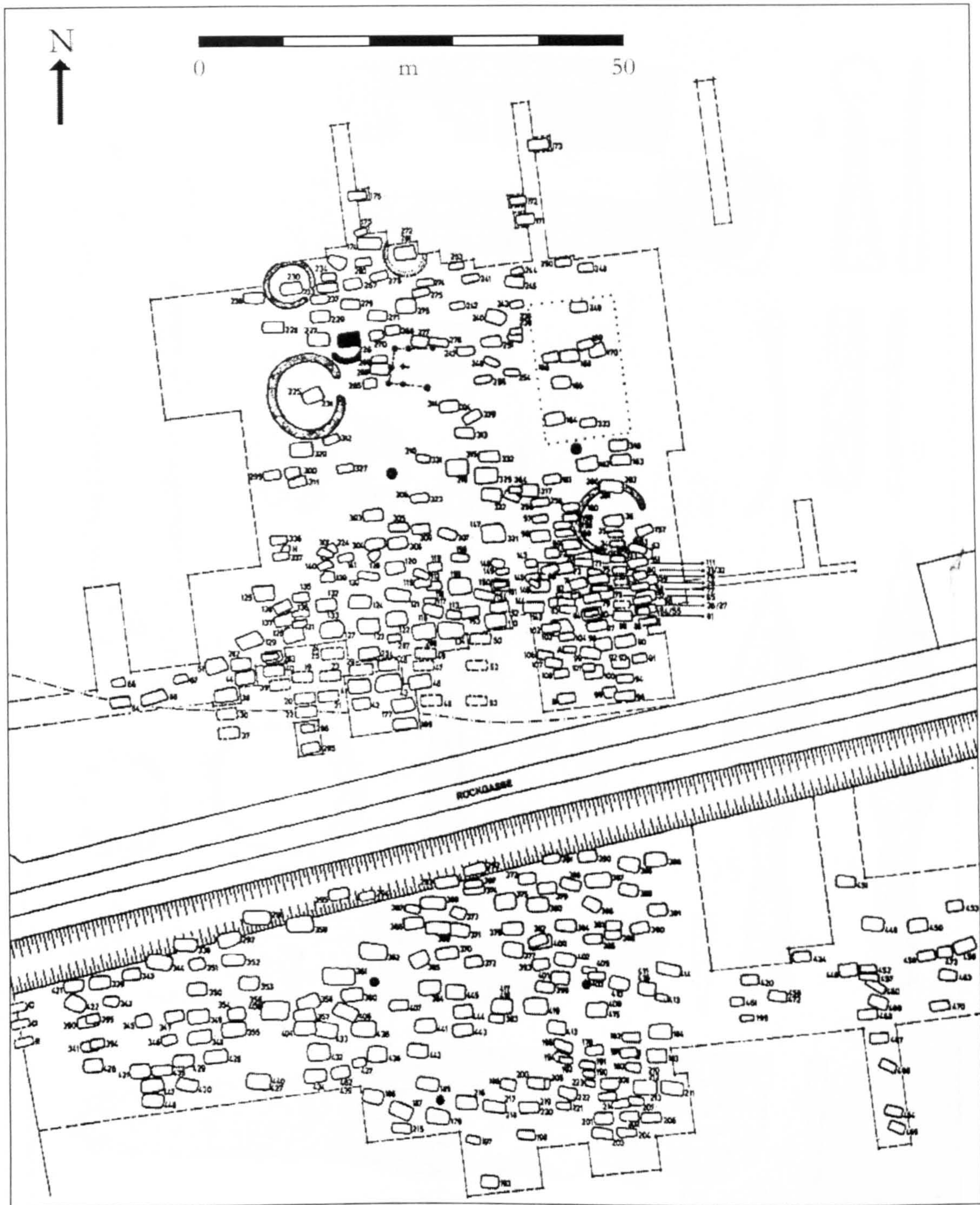


Figure 11: Excavation plan of the *Reihengräberfeld* at Griesheim (After Andrae, *Alamannen und Franken in Starkenburg*)

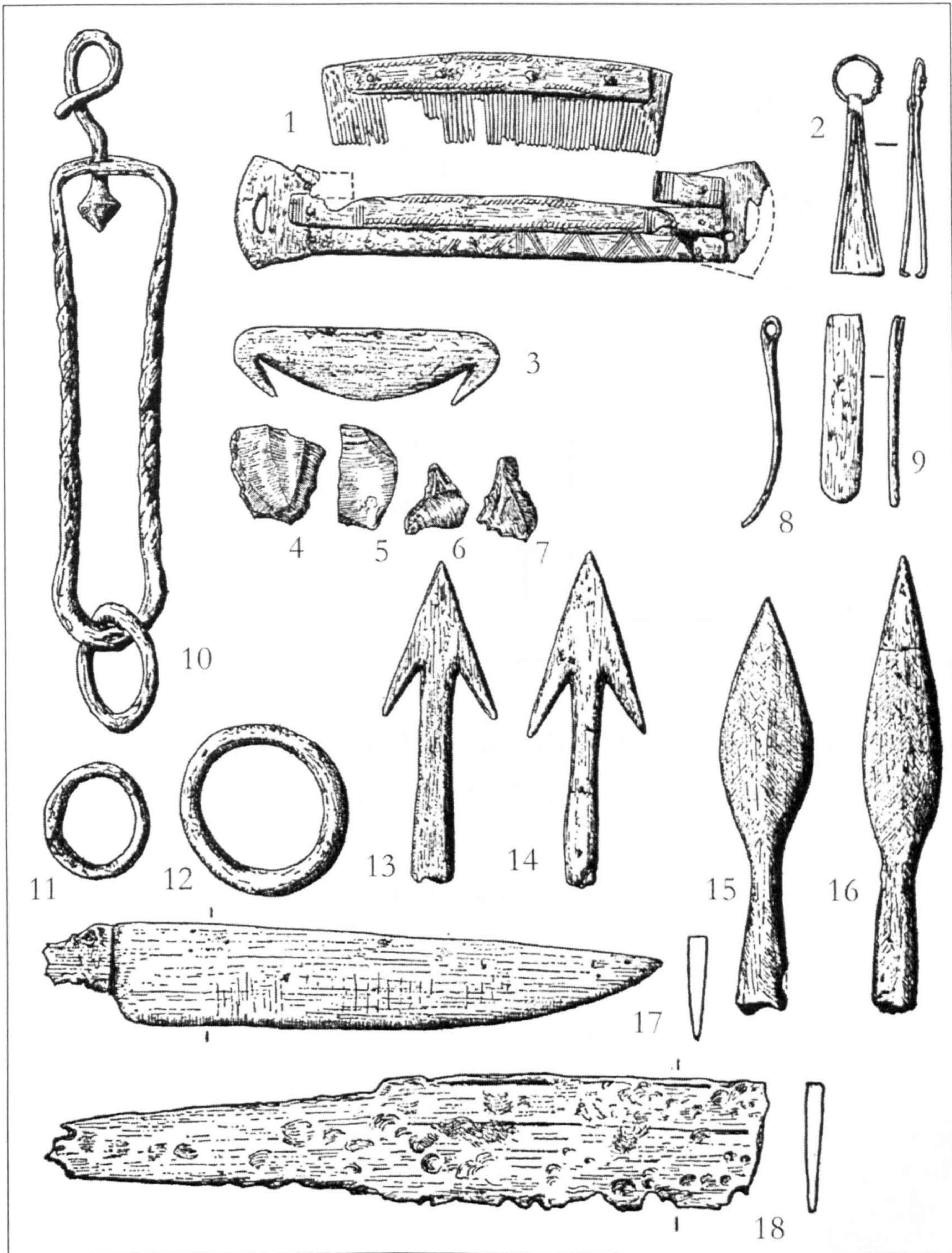


Figure 12: Grave assemblage from Eschwege-Niederhone, scale 1:2 (after Gensen, 'Ain Adelsgrab aus Eschwege-Niederhone,' p. 94, Abb. 1)

1. Bone comb
2. Bronze pincers
3. Firesteel
- 4-5. Fragments of flint
- 6-7. Fragments of slate
8. Bronze needle
9. Iron strap-end
10. Iron object
- 11-12. Iron rings
- 13-14. Iron arrowheads
- 15-16. Iron spearheads
17. Iron knife
18. Fragment of iron sax

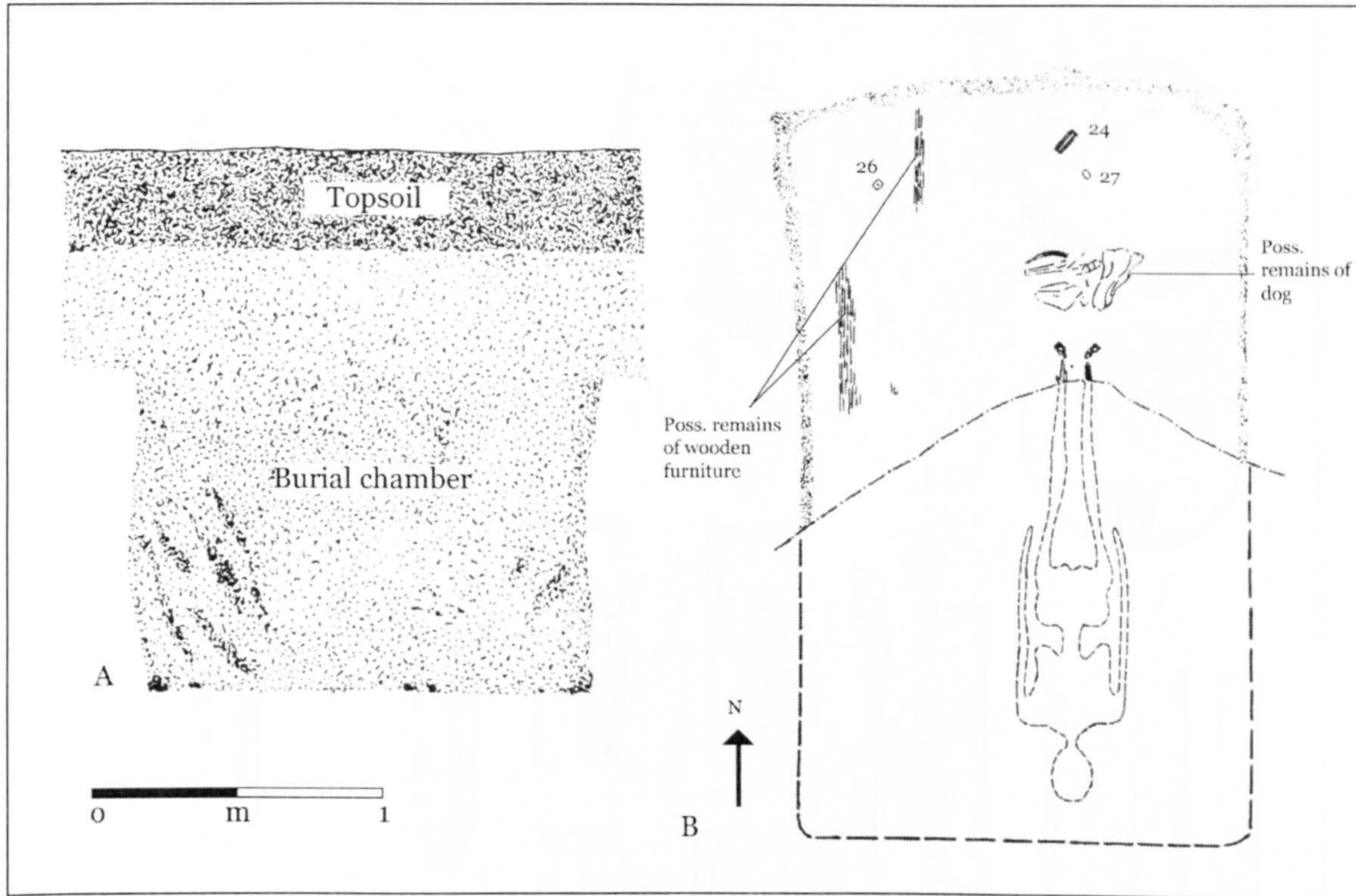


Figure 13: Excavation plan of burial at Fritzlar (B) with profile of grave chamber (A)  
 (after Gensen, 'Ein Frauengrab des 7. Jahrhunderts', p. 36, Abb. 3)

Artefact numbers in B correspond with the numbers in fig. 15

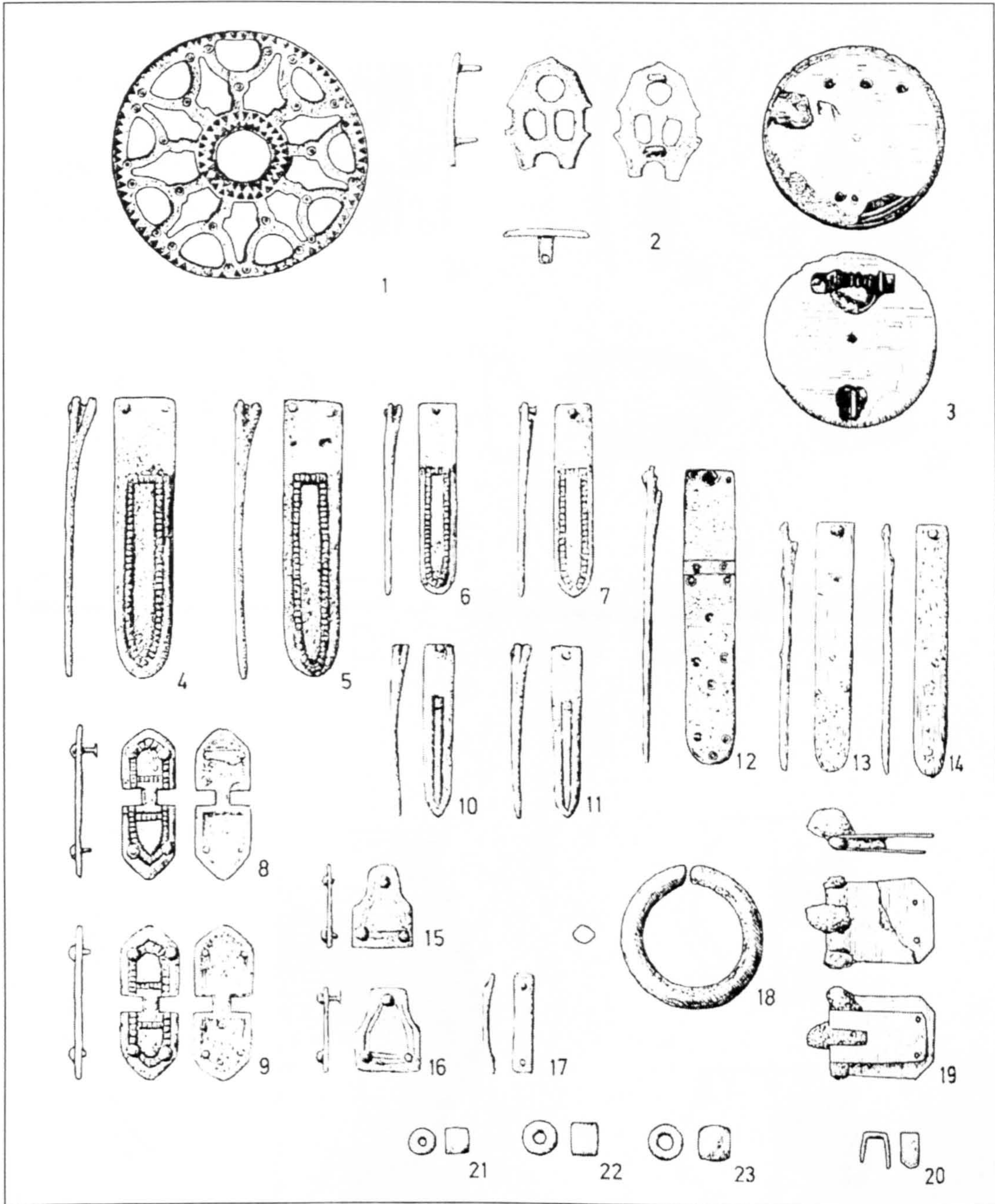


Figure 14: Grave assemblage from Fritzlar 1, scale 1:2 (after Gensen, 'Ein Frauengrab des 7. Jahrhunderts', p. 40, Abb. 4)

- 1. Ornate bronze disc
- 2. Bronze plate
- 3. Disc brooch
- 4-7. Bronze strap-ends
- 8-9. Bronze dress fasteners
- 10-14. Bronze strap-ends
- 15-16. Bronze dress fasteners
- 17. Bronze strip
- 18. Bronze ring
- 19. Bronze buckle with iron pin and tongue
- 20. Bronze strip
- 21-23. Beads

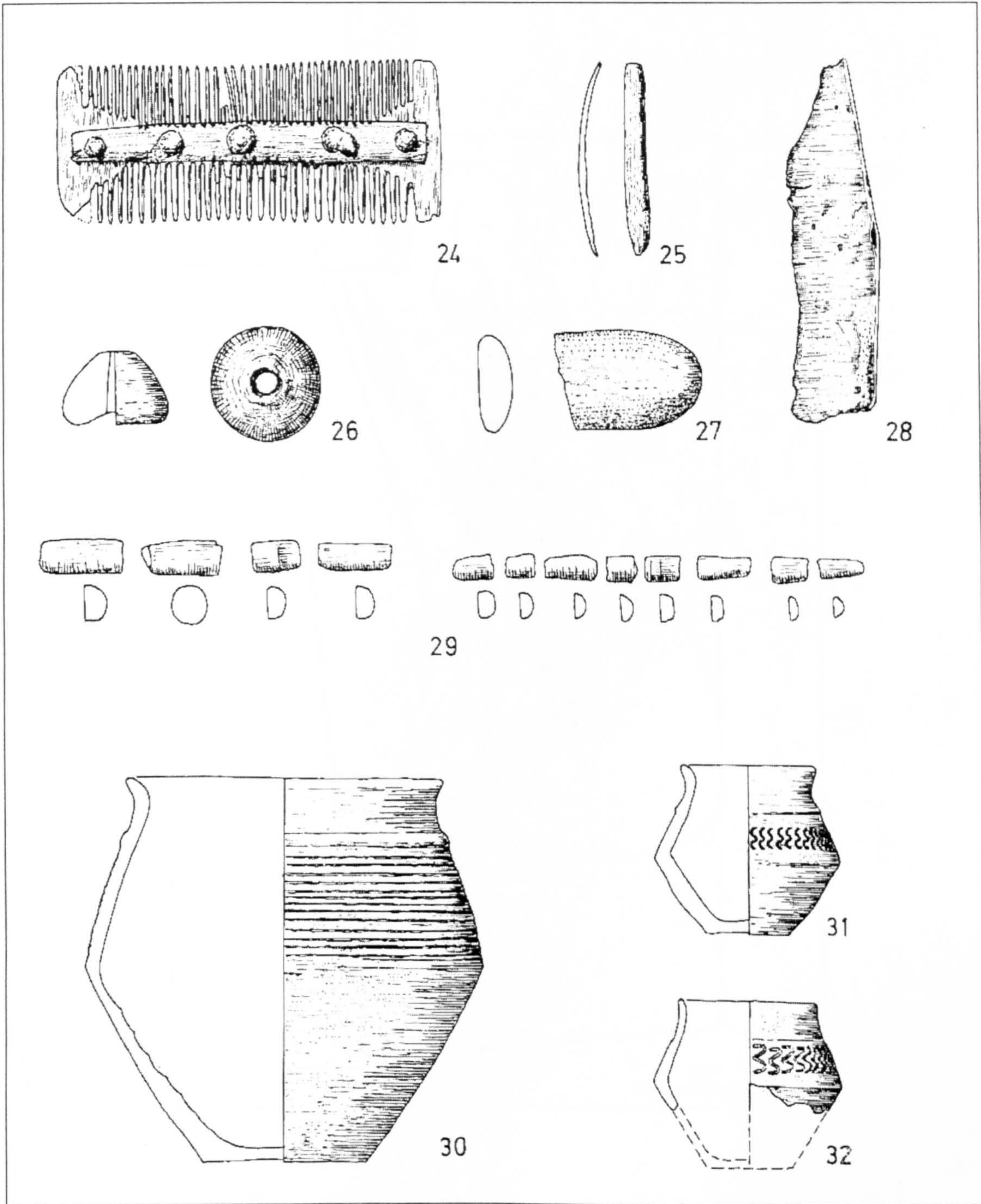


Figure 15: Grave assemblage from Fritzlar 2, nos. 24-29 scale 1:2, nos. 30-32 scale 1:4 (after Gensen, 'Ein Frauengrab des 7. Jahrhunderts', p. 41, Abb. 5)

24. Bone comb 25. Splinter from a piece of antler 26. Spinning whorl 27. Pebble  
 28. Iron knife 29. Bone fragments of probably two objects 30-32. *Knickwand* vessels

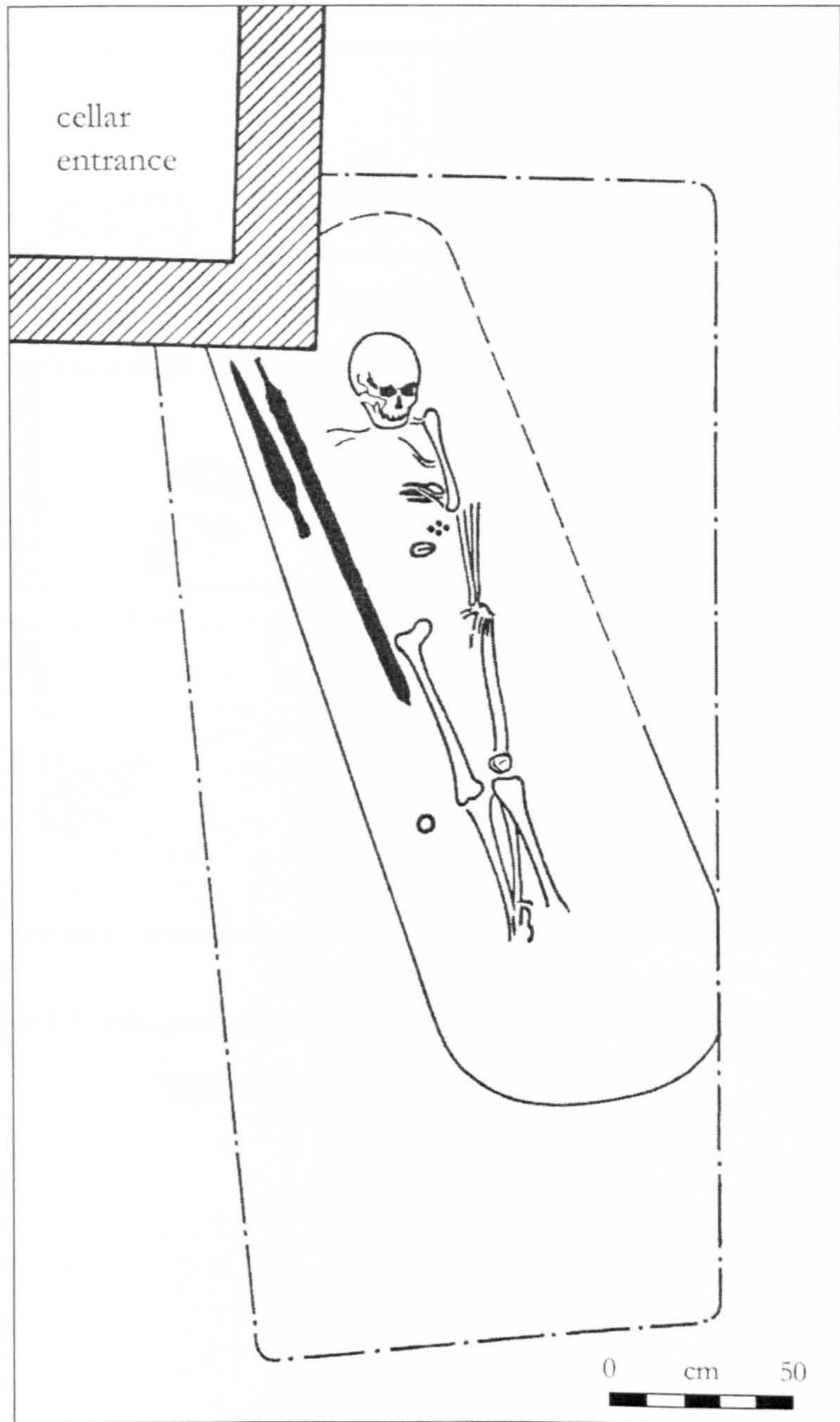


Figure 16: Excavation plan of inhumation at Werkel (after Uenze, 'Völkerwanderungszeitliche Gräber', p. 87, Abb. 4)





Figure 17: Excavation plan of Kirchberg (after Göldner and Sippel, 'Spätmerowingische Gräber', Abb. 2)

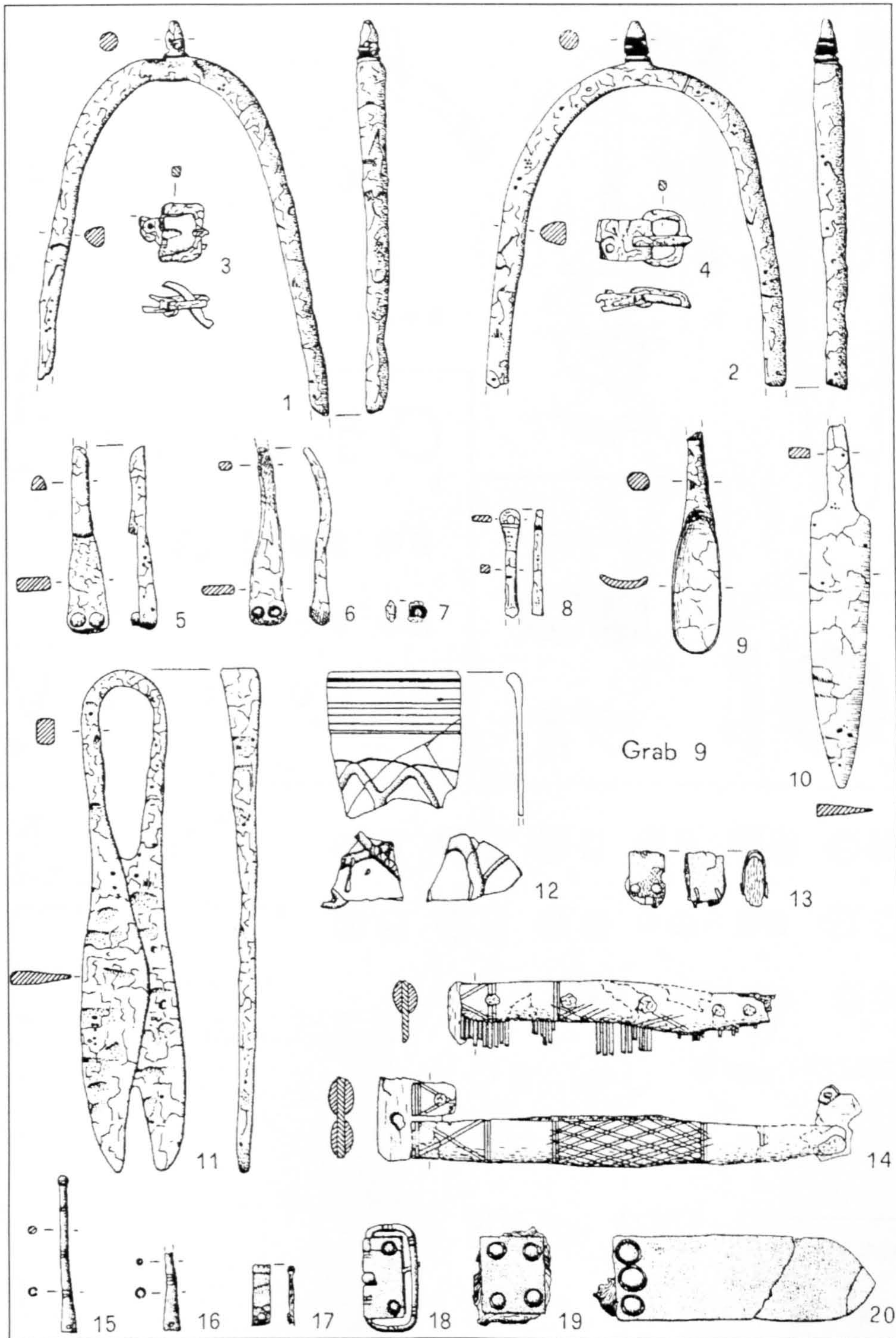


Figure 18: Grave assemblage of Kirchberg grave 9, scale 1:2 (after Göldner and Sippel, 'Spätmerowingische Gräber', Abb. 4)

1. Spur 2. Spur 3. Buckle 4. Buckle 5. Iron fastening 6. Iron fastening 7. Iron fragment 8. Iron fastening 9. Head of spoon 10. Knife 11. Shears 12. Pottery 13. Iron fastening 14. Bone comb 15. ?Bronze stylus 16. ?Bronze stylus 17. Fastening 18. Buckle 19. Fastening 20. Strap-end

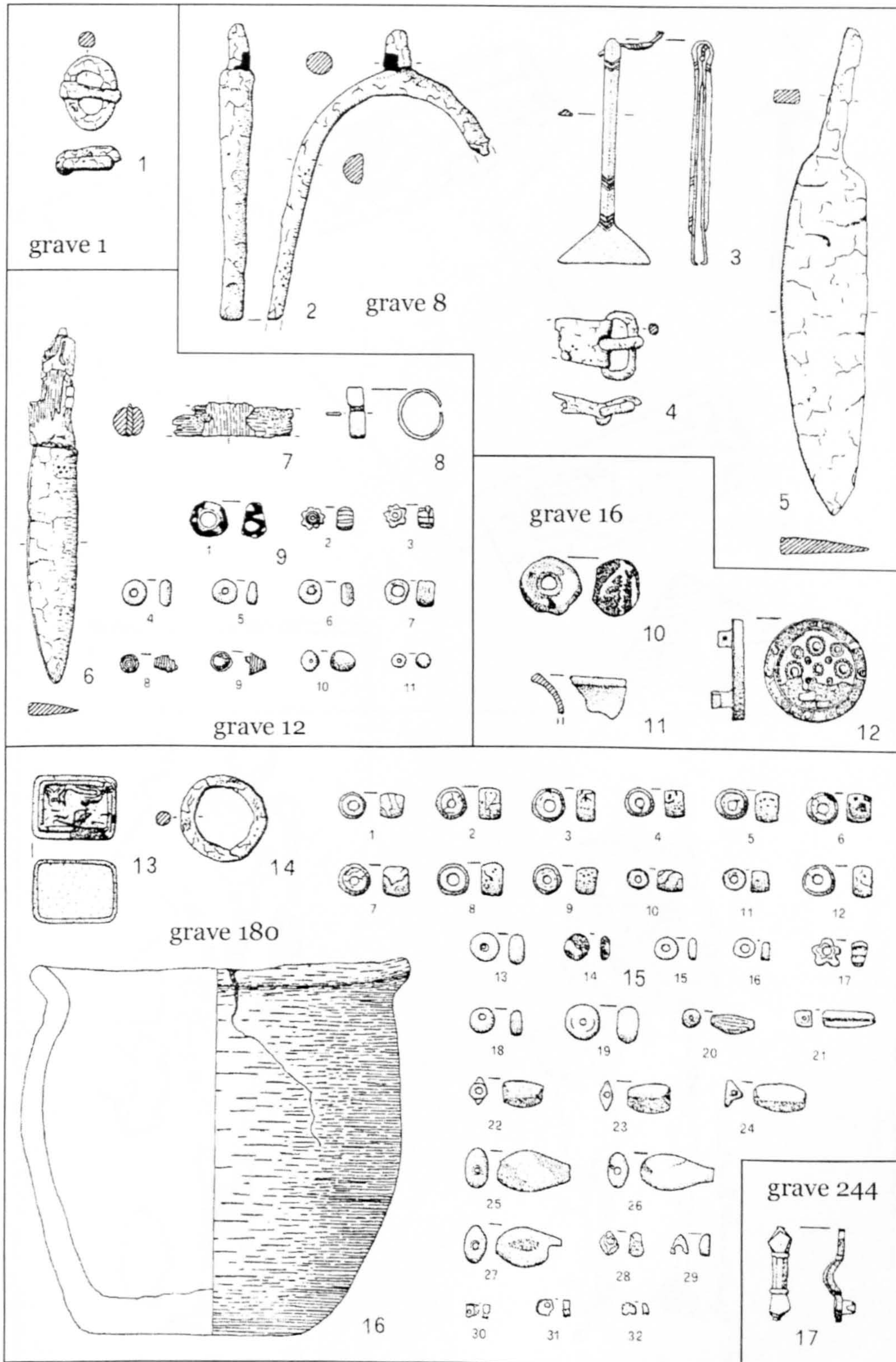


Figure 19: Grave assemblages from Kirchberg, scale 1:2 (after Göldner and Sippel, 'Spätmerowingische Gräber', Abb. 3)

1. Buckle 2. Spur 3. Bronze clasp 4. Buckle 5. Iron knife 6. Iron knife 7. ?Handle  
 8. Ring 9. Beads 10. Bead 11. Pottery 12. Disc brooch 13. Pendant 14. Ring  
 15. Beads 16. Vessel 17. Brooch

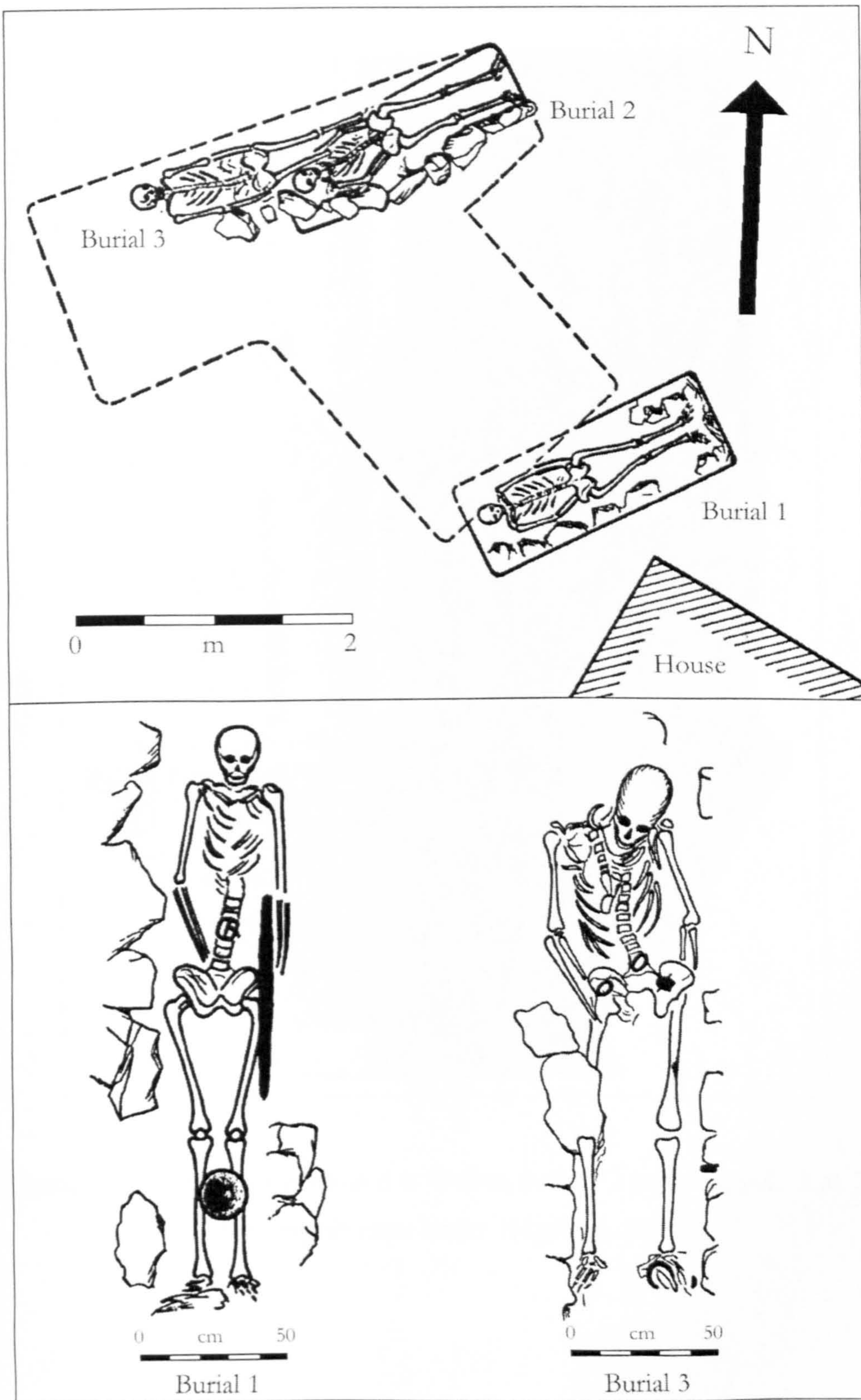


Figure 20: Excavation plan of inhumations at Amöneburg (after Uenze, 'Völkerwanderungszeitliche Gräber', pp. 82-4, Abb. 1-3)

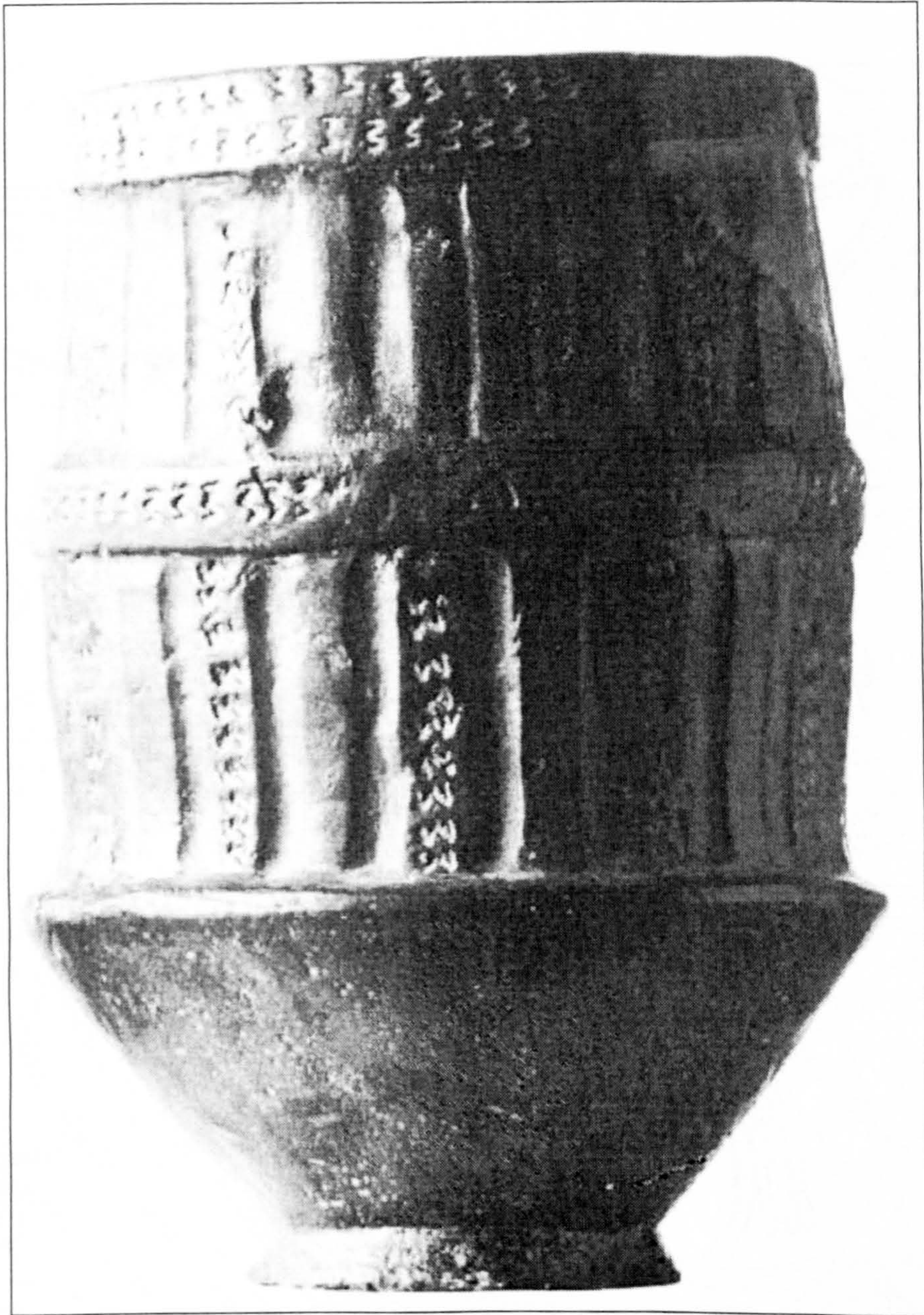


Figure 21: Pot from burial mound at Gießen, scale 1:2 (after Sippel, 'Kat. 24. Frauengrab unter einem Hügel', p. 109)

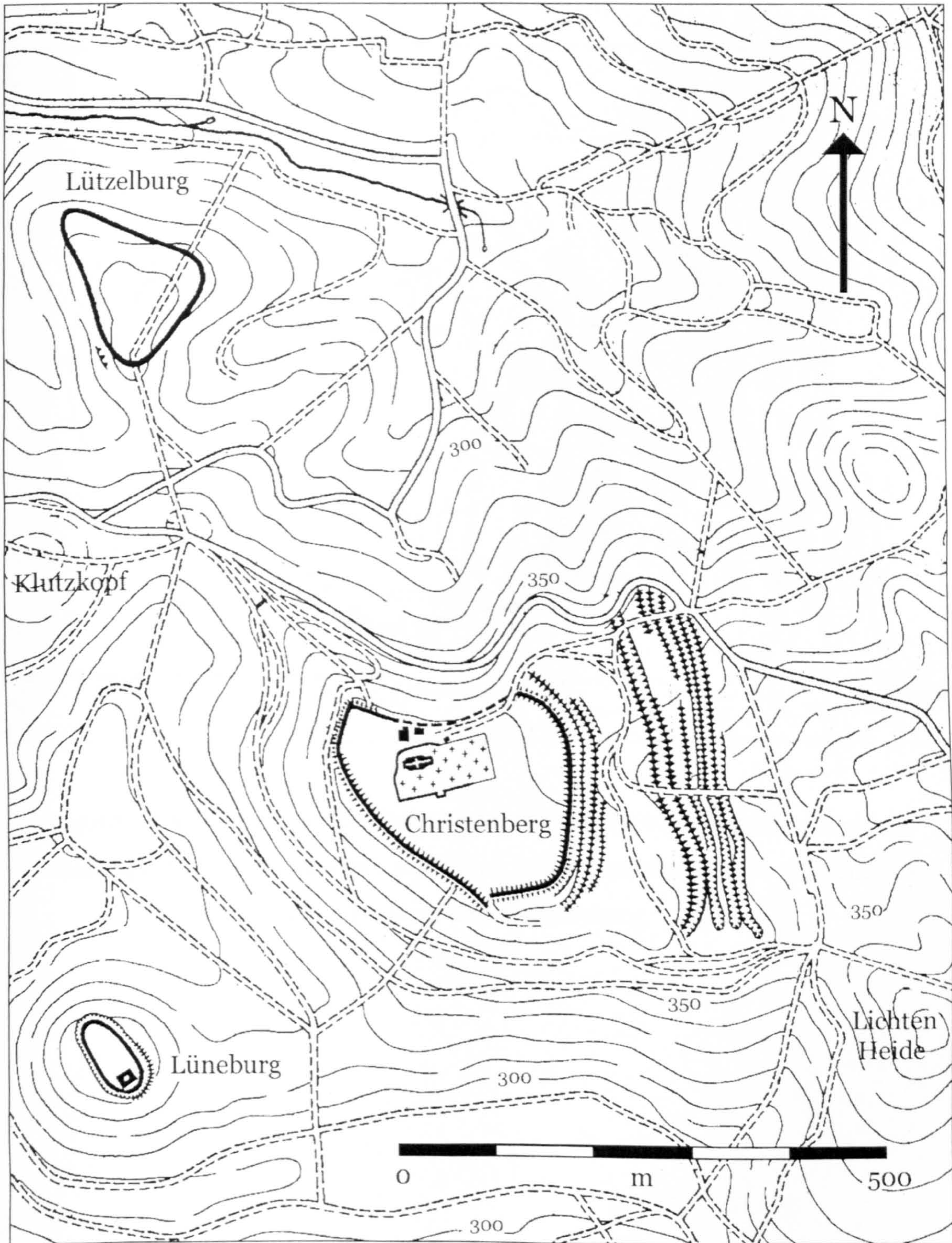


Figure 22: Christenberg and its environs (after Gensen, 'Der Christenberg bei Münchhausen', Abb. 1)

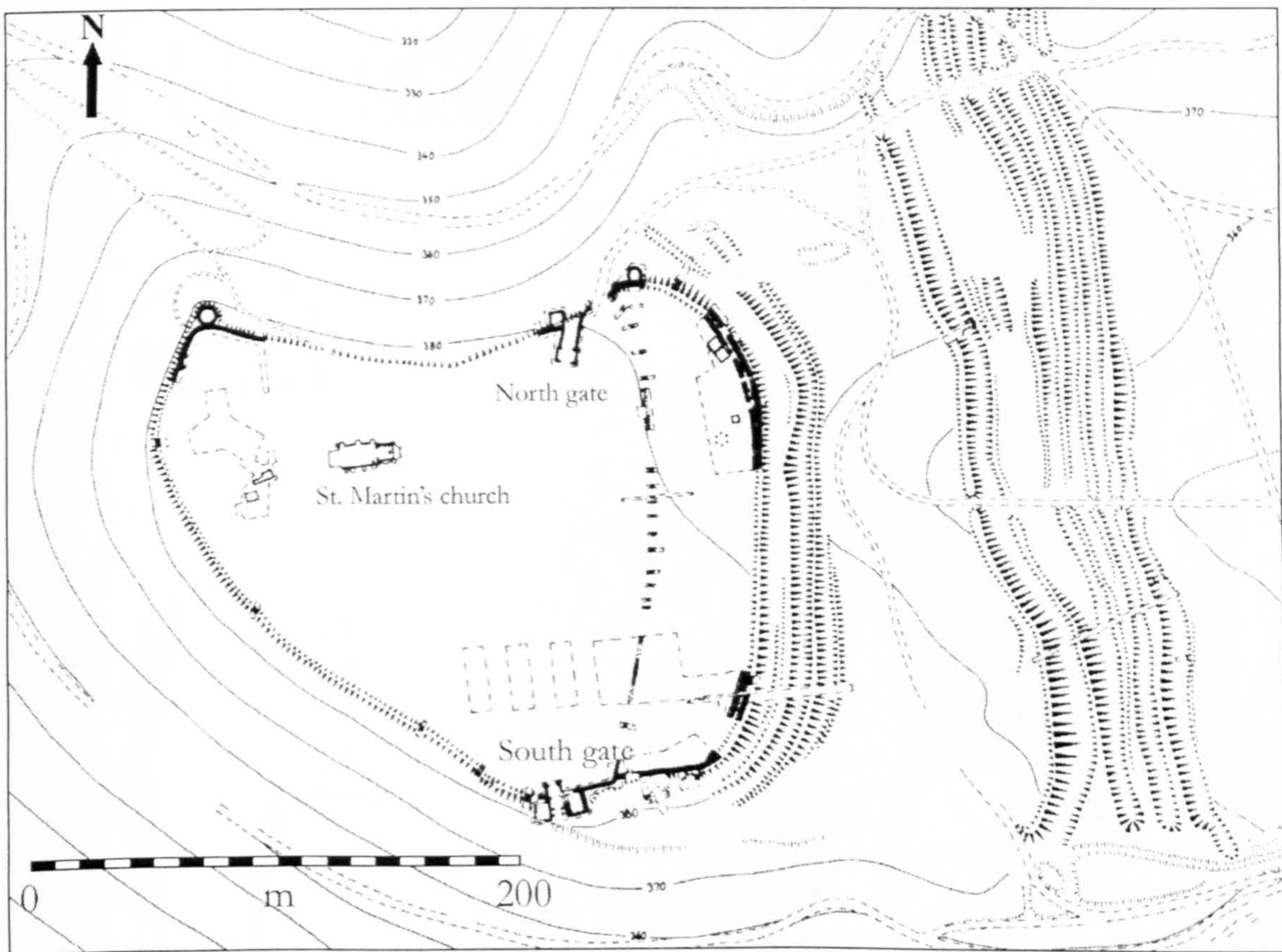


Figure 23: Kesterburg on the Christenberg (after large-scale supplement plan to Schlesinger (ed.), *Althessen im Frankenreich*; also reproduced in R. Gensen, 'Kat. 167. Kesterburg auf dem Christenburg,' p. 256)

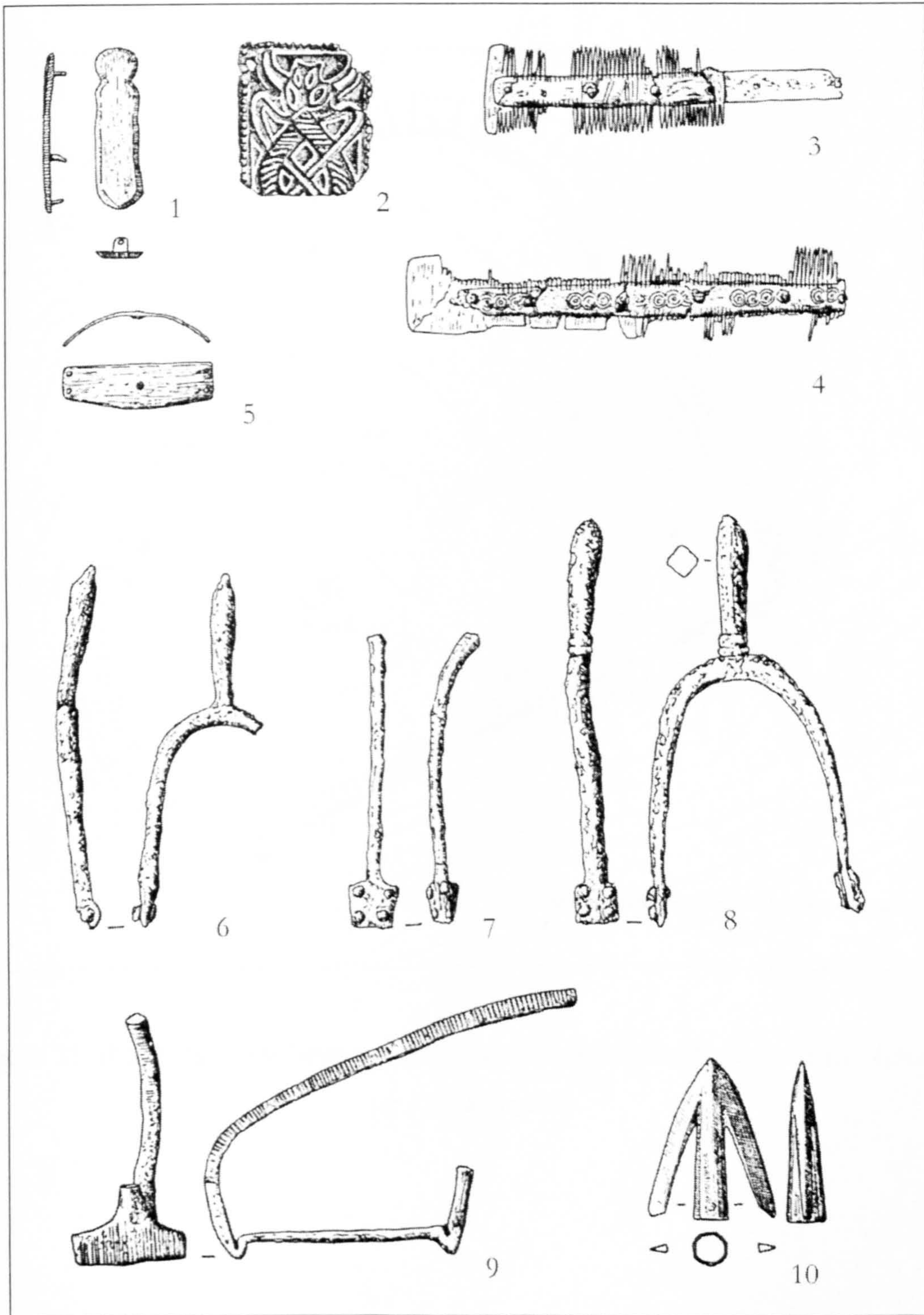


Figure 24: Finds from the Christenberg, nos. 1, 3-10 scale 1:3, no. 2 scale 2:3 (after Gensen, 'Christenberg, Burgwald und Amöneburger Becken,' p. 145, Abb. 2)

1. Silver-plated belt fitting 2. Gilded bronze plate 3-4. Bone combs 5. Silver-plated fitting 6-8. Spurs 9. Stirrup 10. Arrowhead



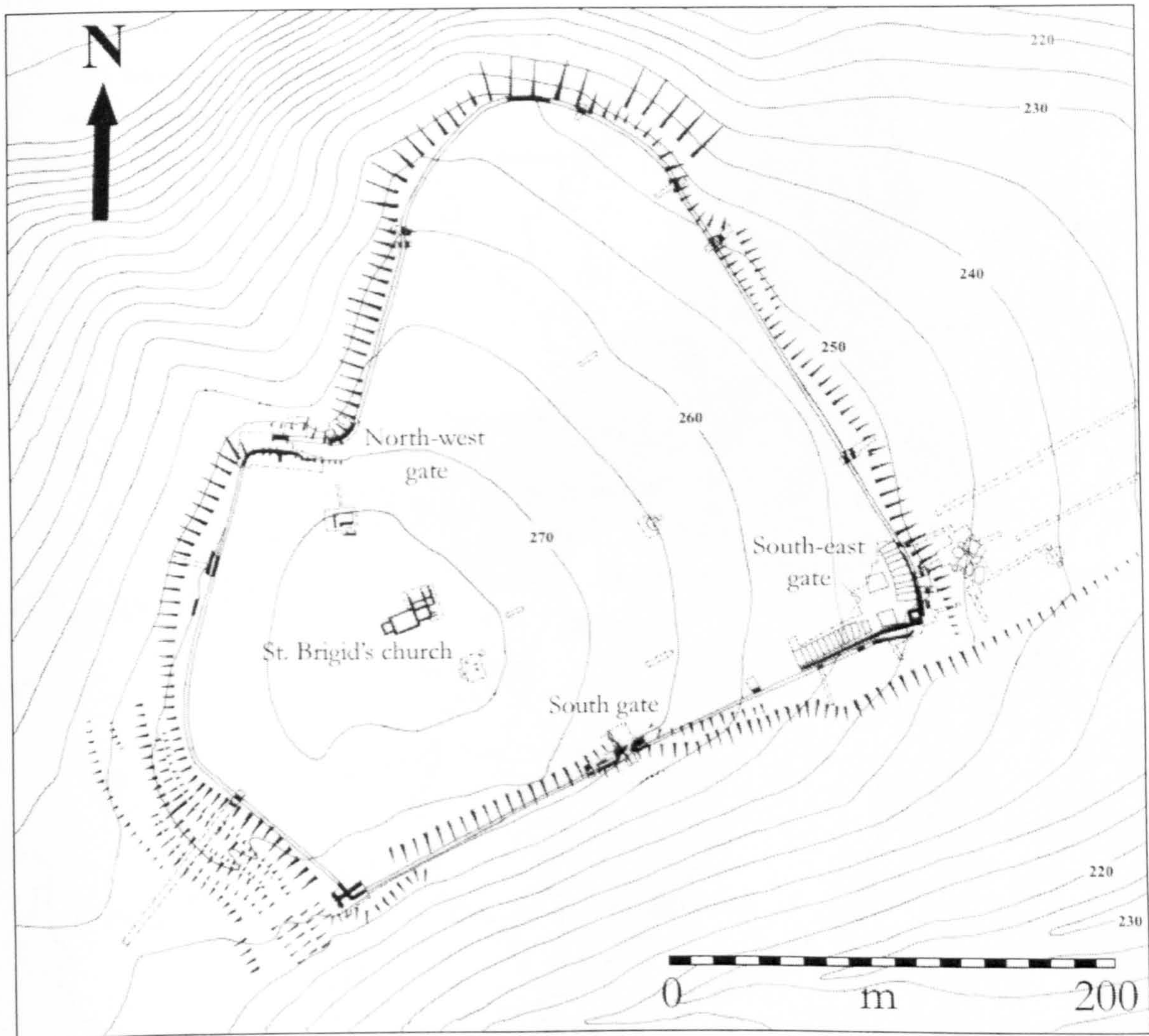


Figure 25: Büraburg (after large-scale supplement plan to Schlesinger (ed.), *Althessen im Frankenreich*)

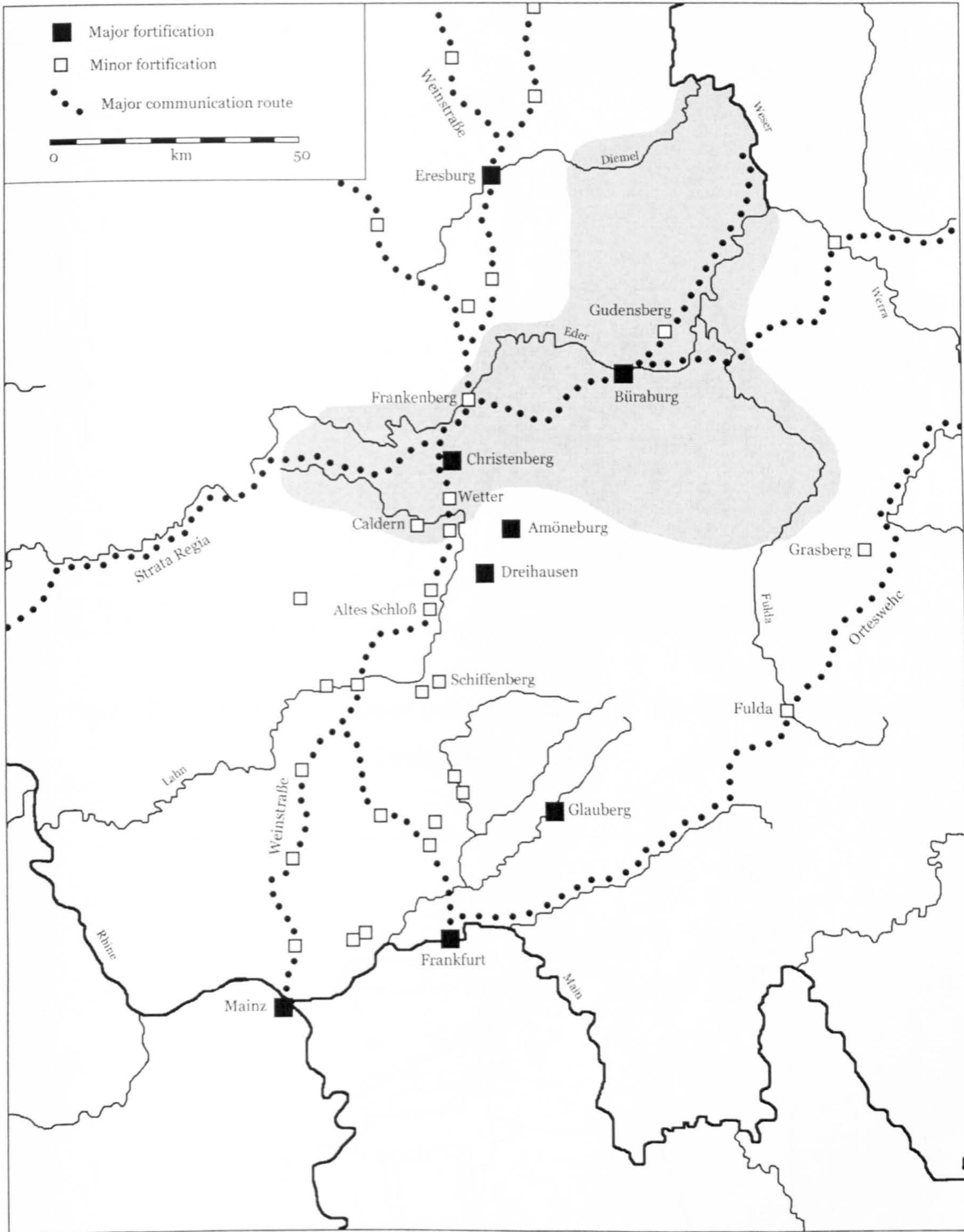


Figure 26: Fortified sites north of the Main. The shaded area is the region referred to as the *pago Hessorum* in eighth- and ninth-century charters

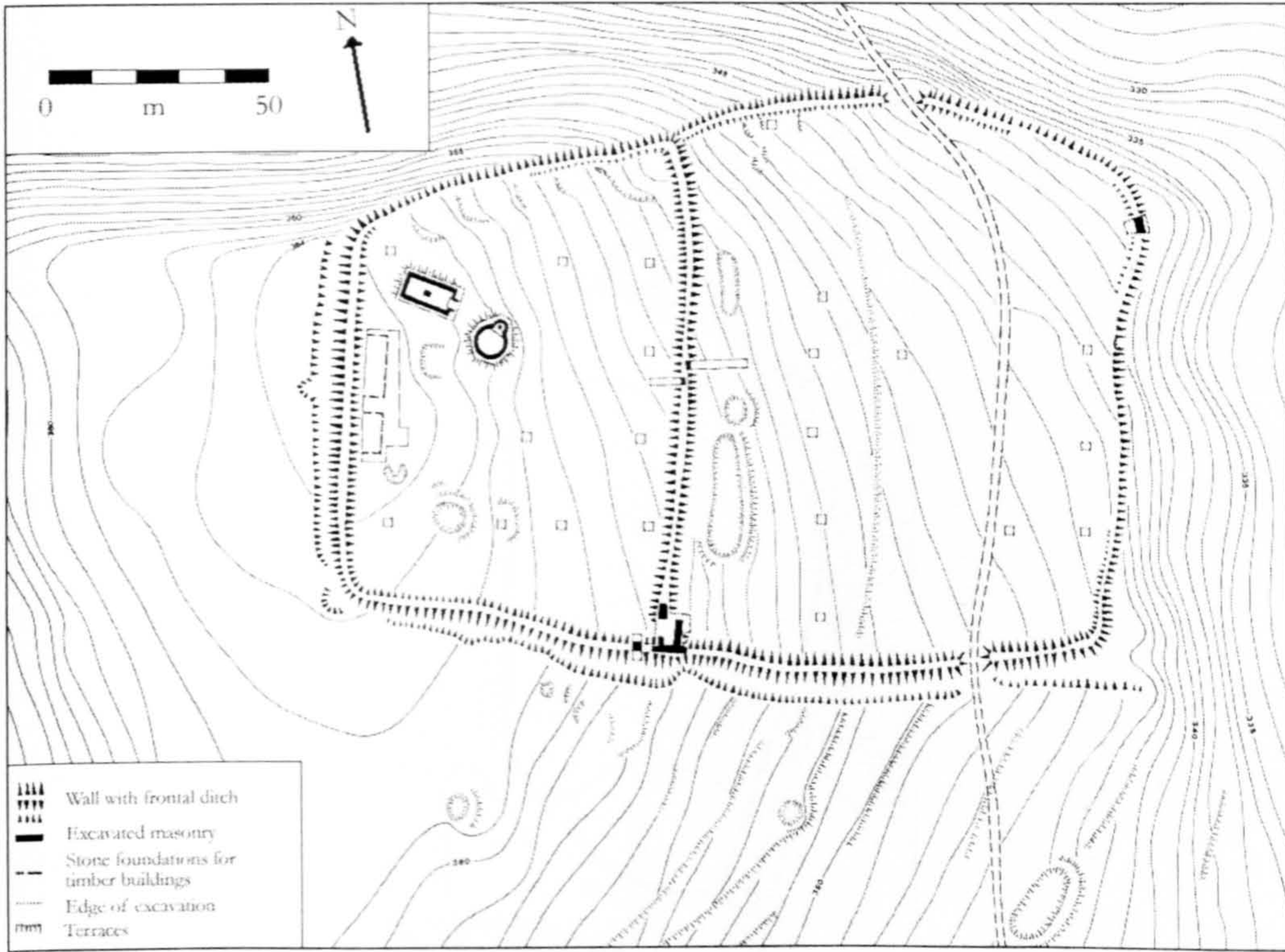


Figure 27: Höfe bei Dreihäusen (after Gensen, 'Kat 164. Ringwall Höfe bei Dreihäusen,' p. 249)

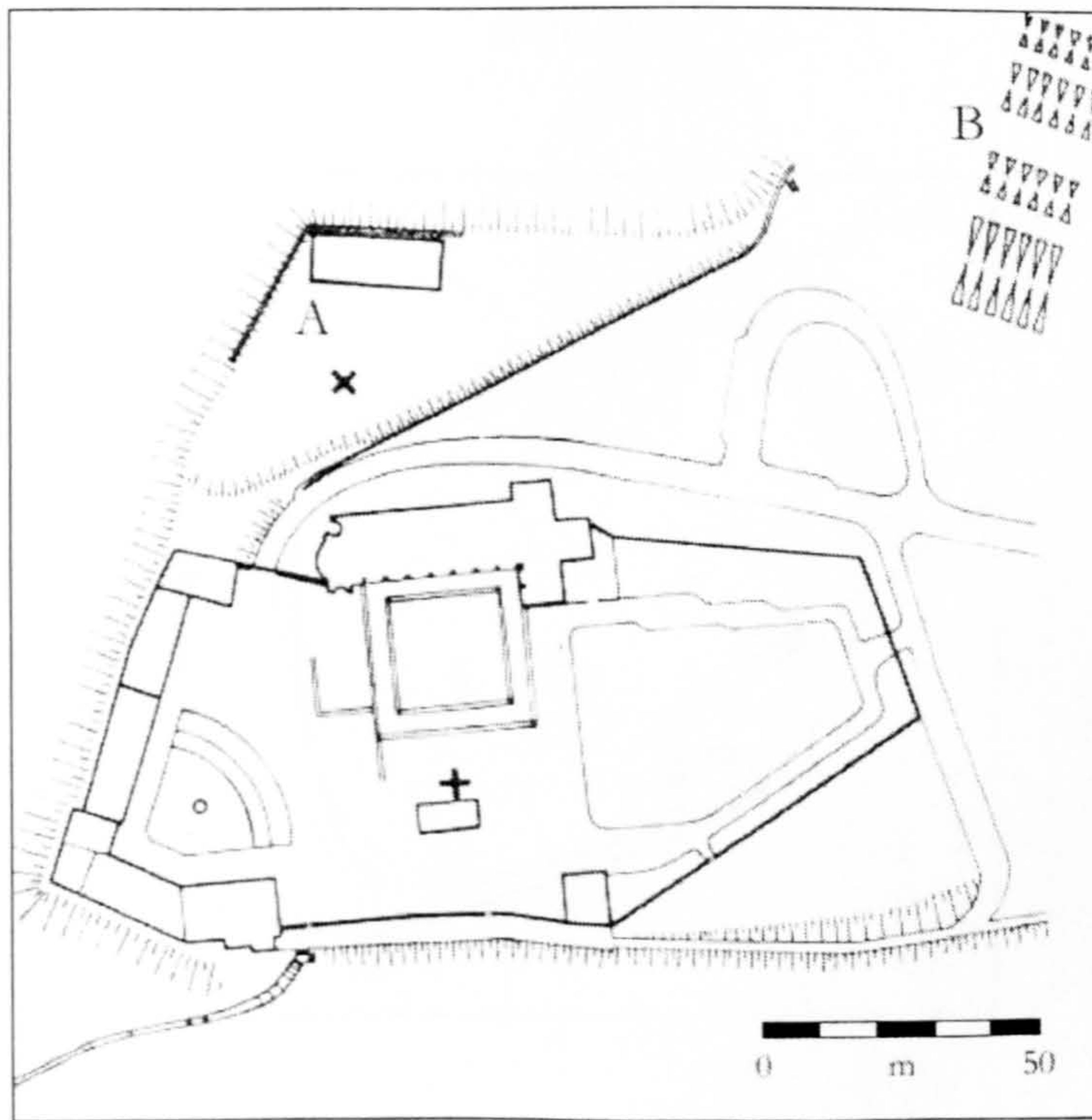


Figure 28: Schiffenberg (after Herrmann, 'Kat. 170. Schiffenberg bei Gießen,' p. 260)  
 A: stone structures of c. 680-730; B: excavated area of fortifications

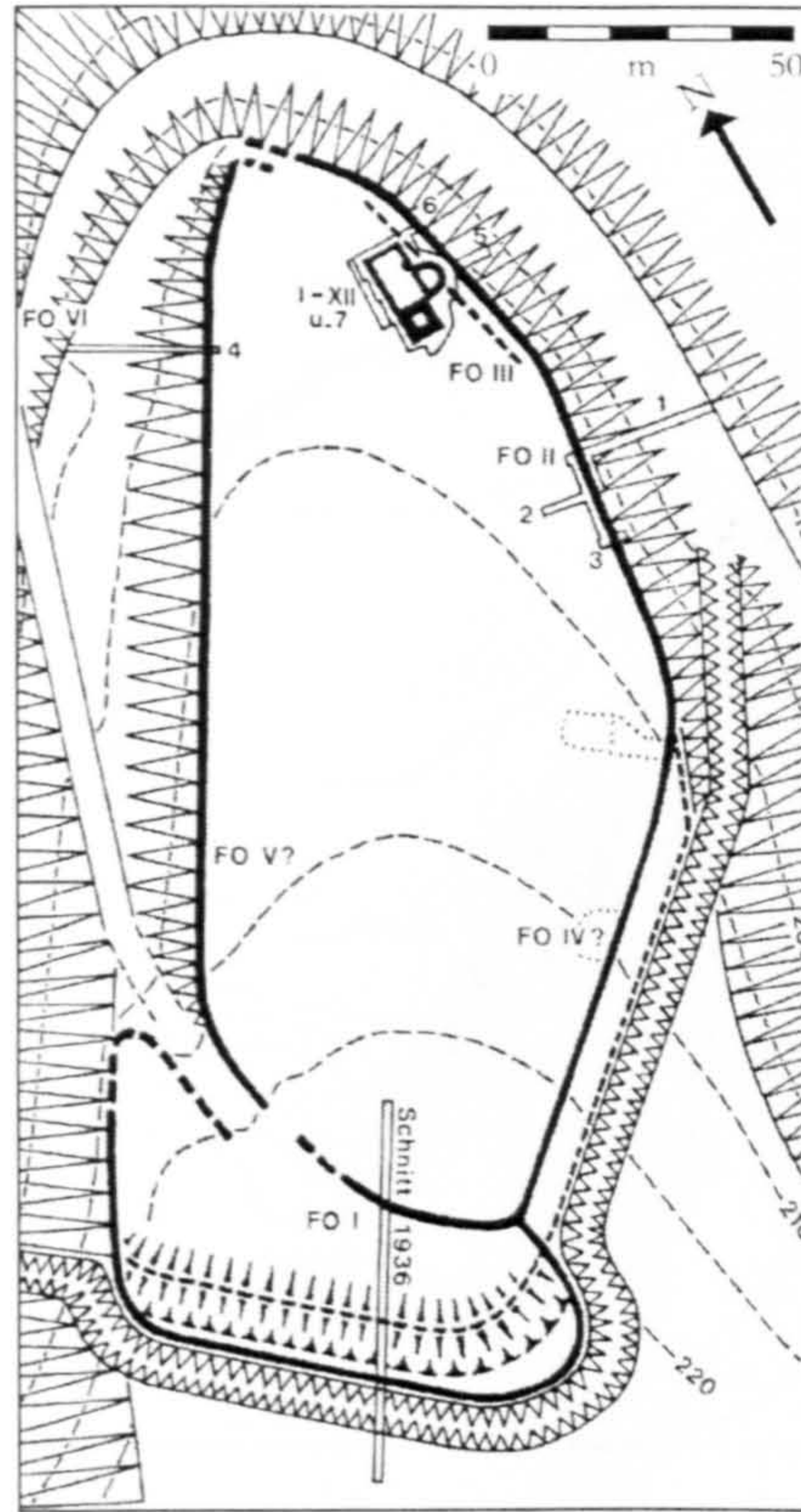


Figure 29: Altes Schloß (after Bauer, 'Die Keramik des Gronauer "Alten Schloßes"',  
Abb. 1)

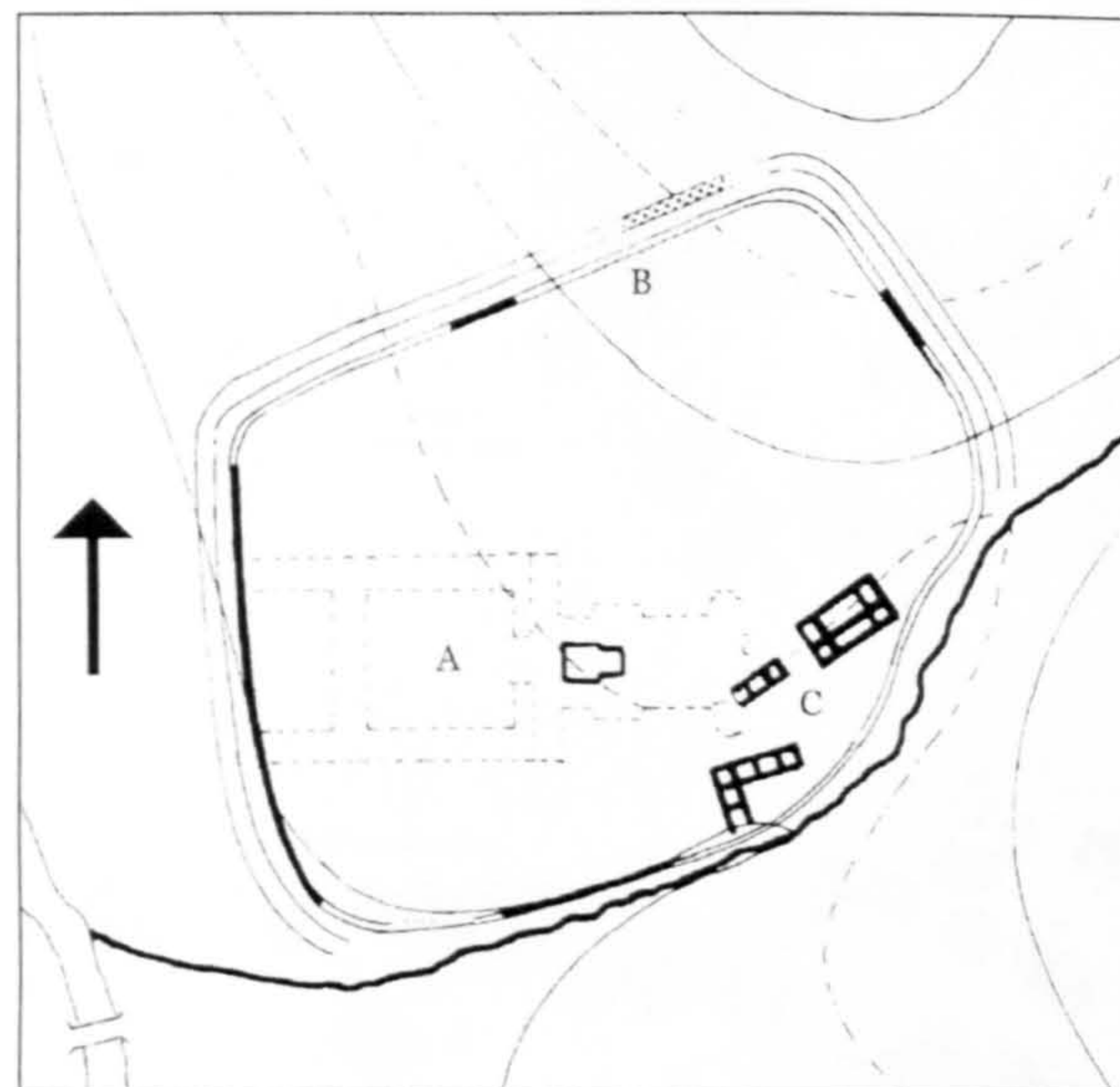


Figure 30: Fulda (after Hahn, 'Kat. 211.1: Fulda Domplatz-Bereich', p. 300; no scale  
on original plan) A: modern-day cathedral; B: seventh-century fortifications; C:  
seventh-century stone structures



Figure 31: Grasburg (after Sippel, 'Die Grasburg bei Mansbach', Beilage 2)

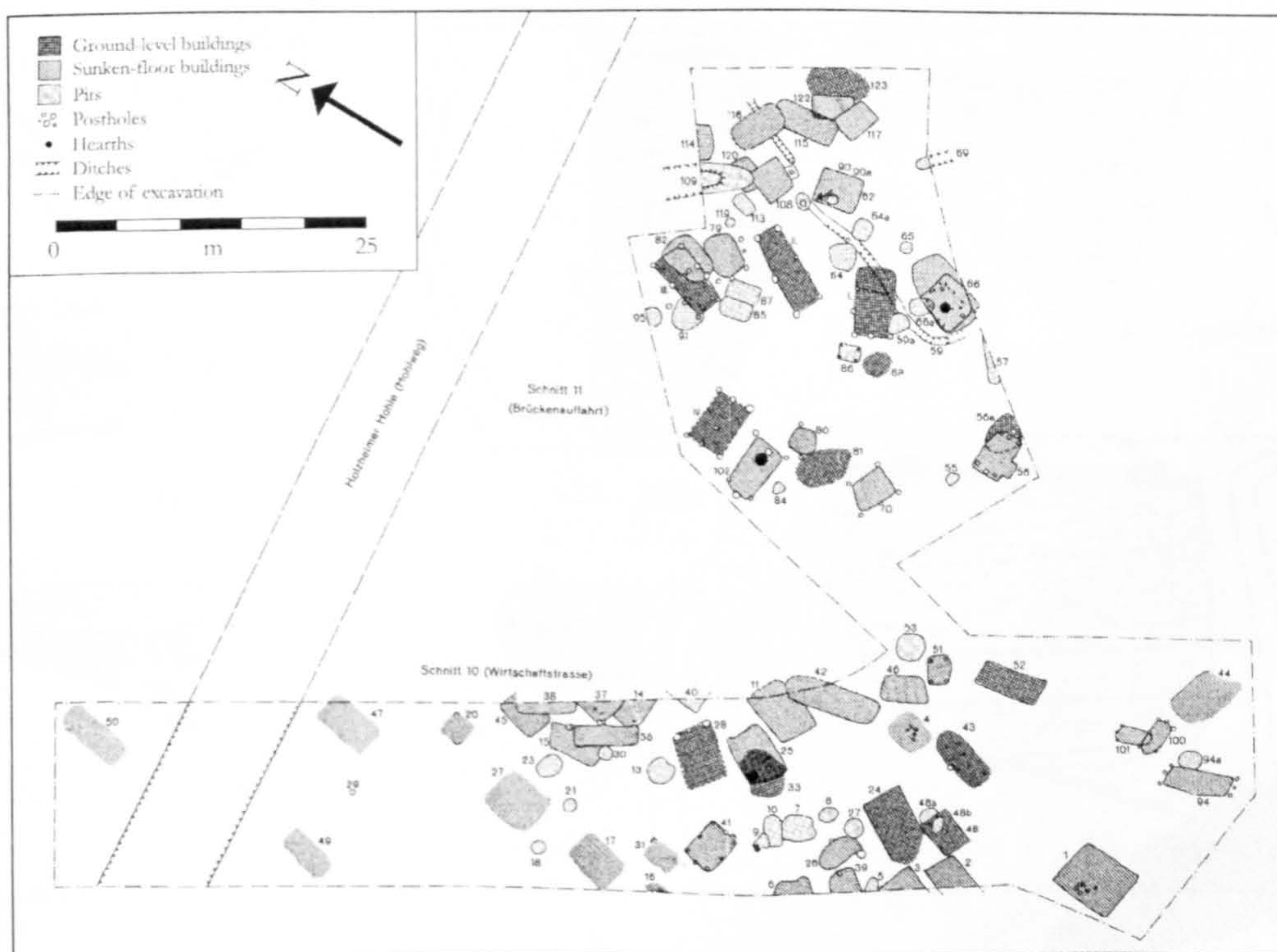


Figure 32: Holzheim (after Schotten et al., 'Ausgrabungen in jüngkaiserzeitlichen und früh- bis spätmittelalterlichen Siedlungsbereichen', Beilage 1)

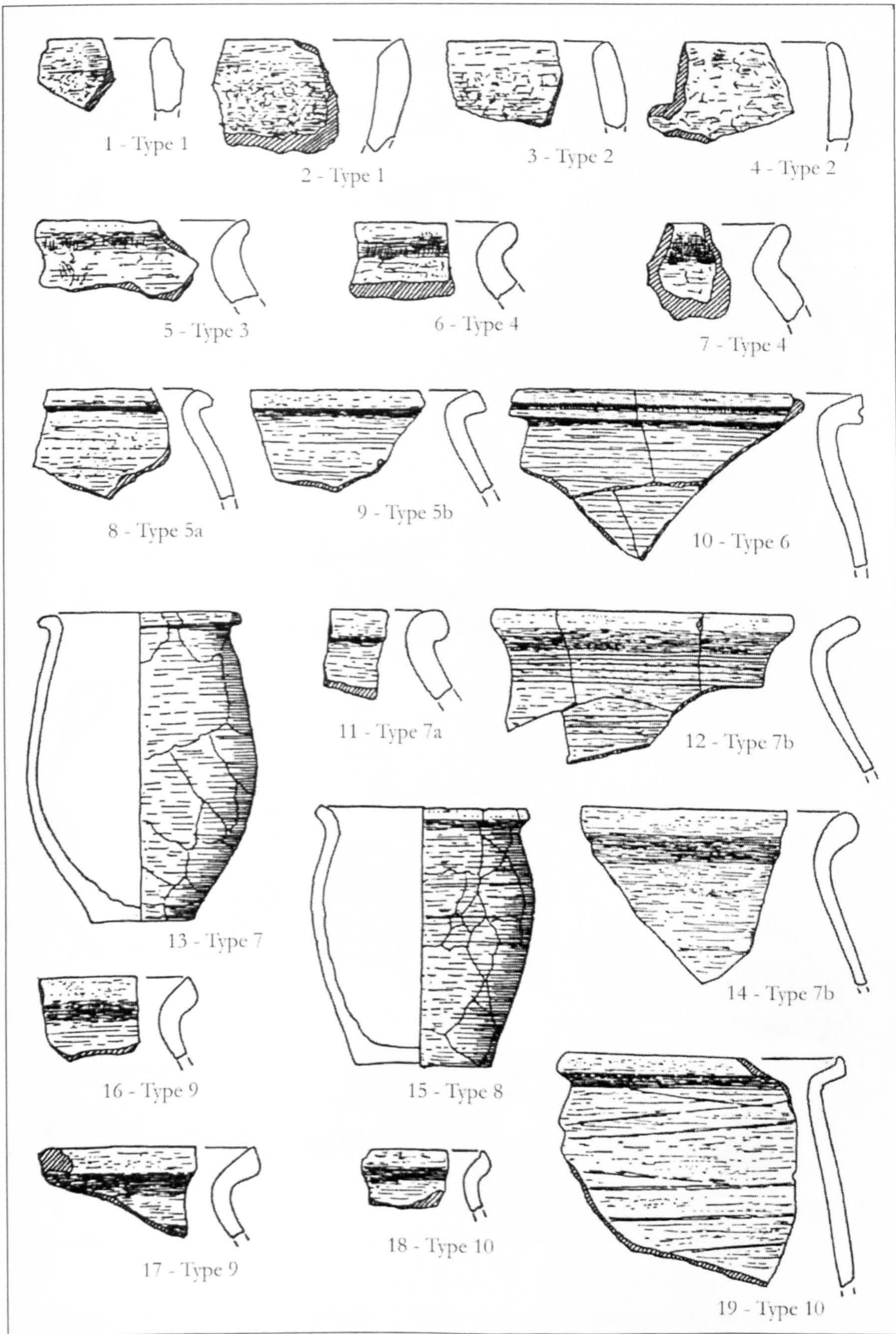


Figure 33: Christenberg pottery 1 (after Gensen, 'Christenberg, Burgwald und Amöneburger Becken', p. 147, Abb. 3)

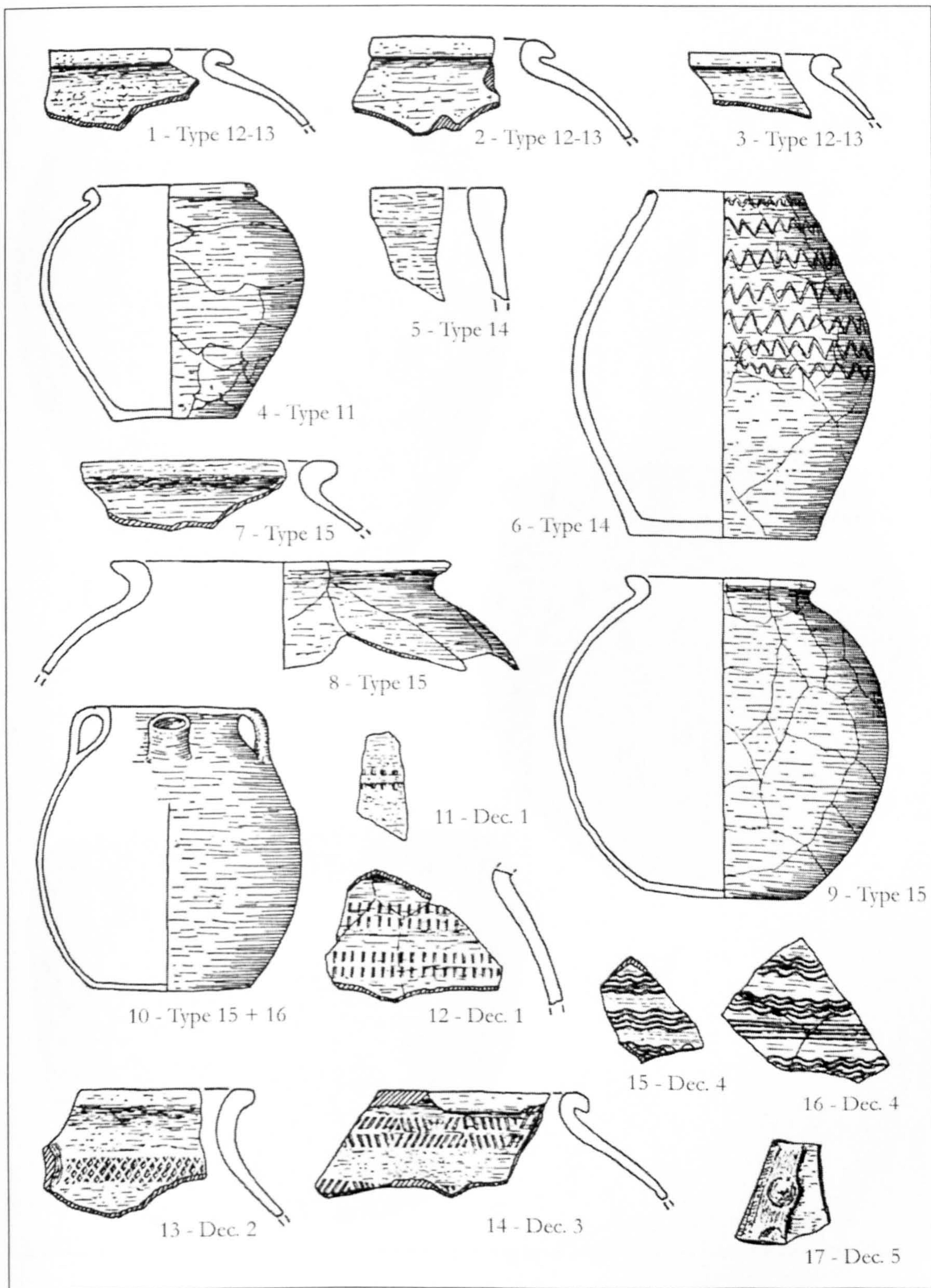


Figure 34: Christenberg pottery 2 (after Gensen, 'Christenberg, Burgwald und Amöneburger Becken', p. 149, Abb. 4)



Figure 35: Büraburg pottery (after Wand, *Die Büraburg bei Fritzlar*, Taf. 37)

1-2. Reconstructed *Wölbwand* vessels 3. Hand-made vessel



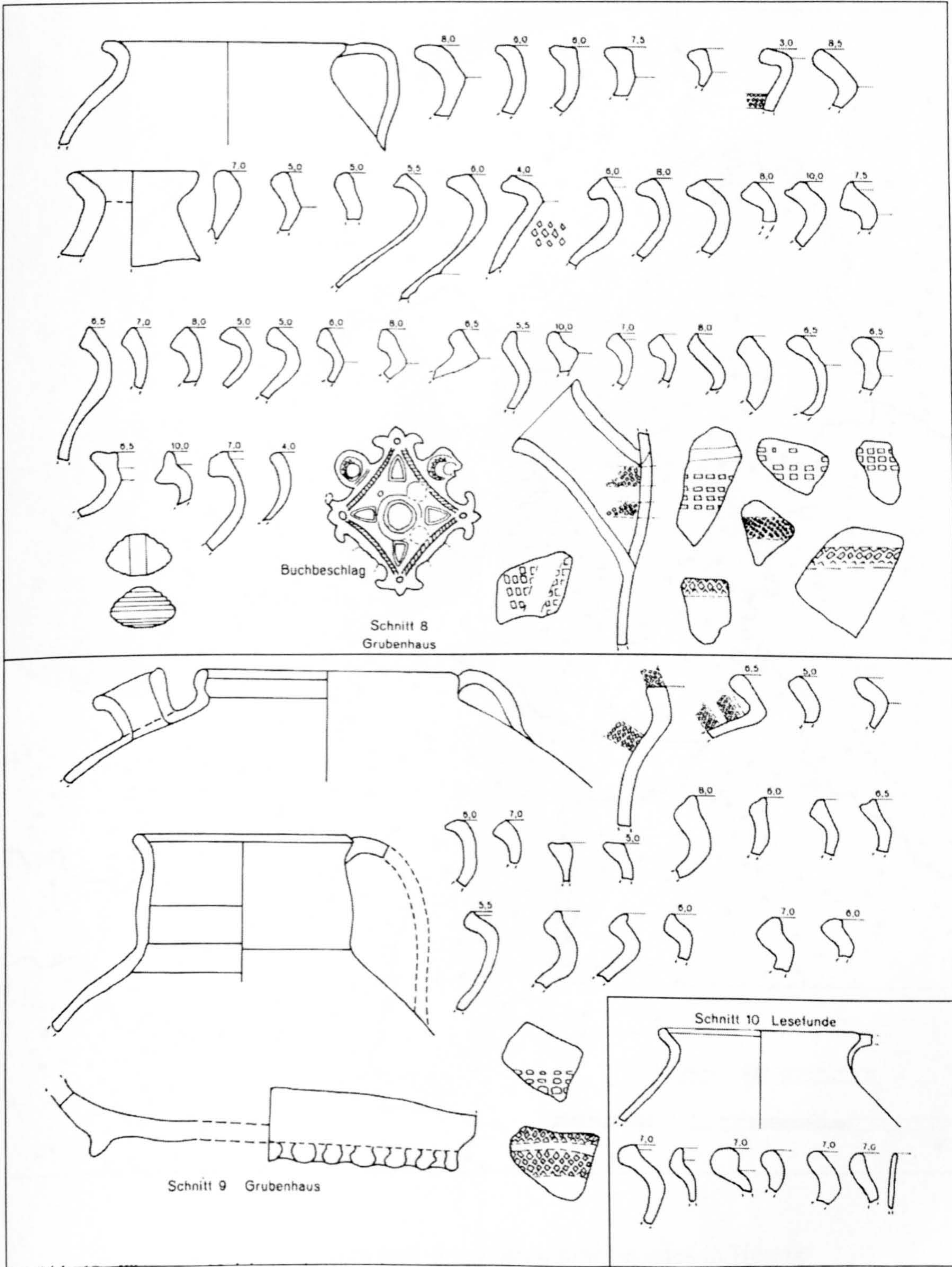


Figure 36: Holzheim pottery (after Schotten et al., 'Ausgrabungen in jüngkaiserzeitlichen und früh- bis spätmittelalterlichen Siedlungsbereichen', p. 244,

Abb. 19)

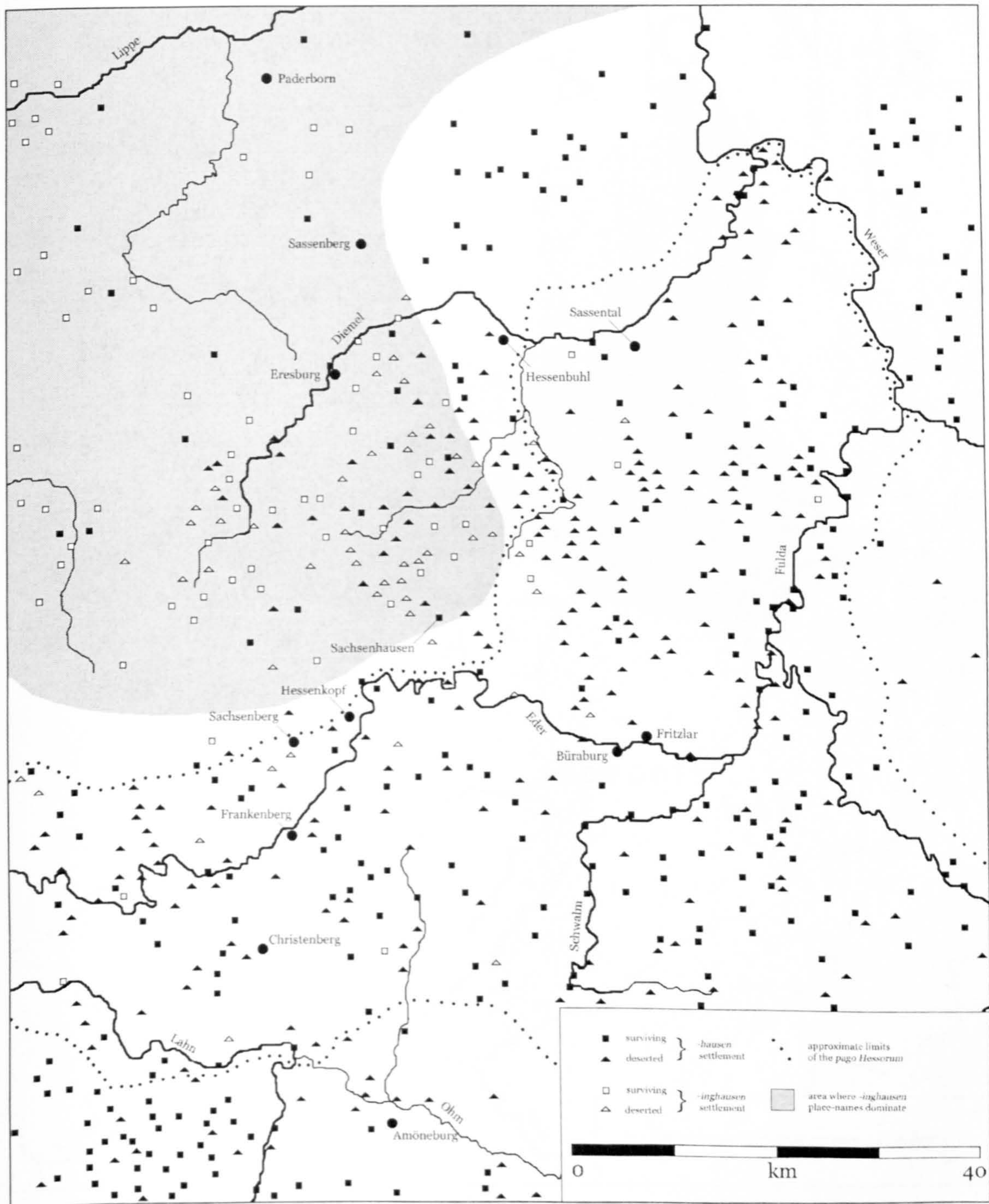


Figure 37: *-hausen* and *-inghausen* place-names in Hessian

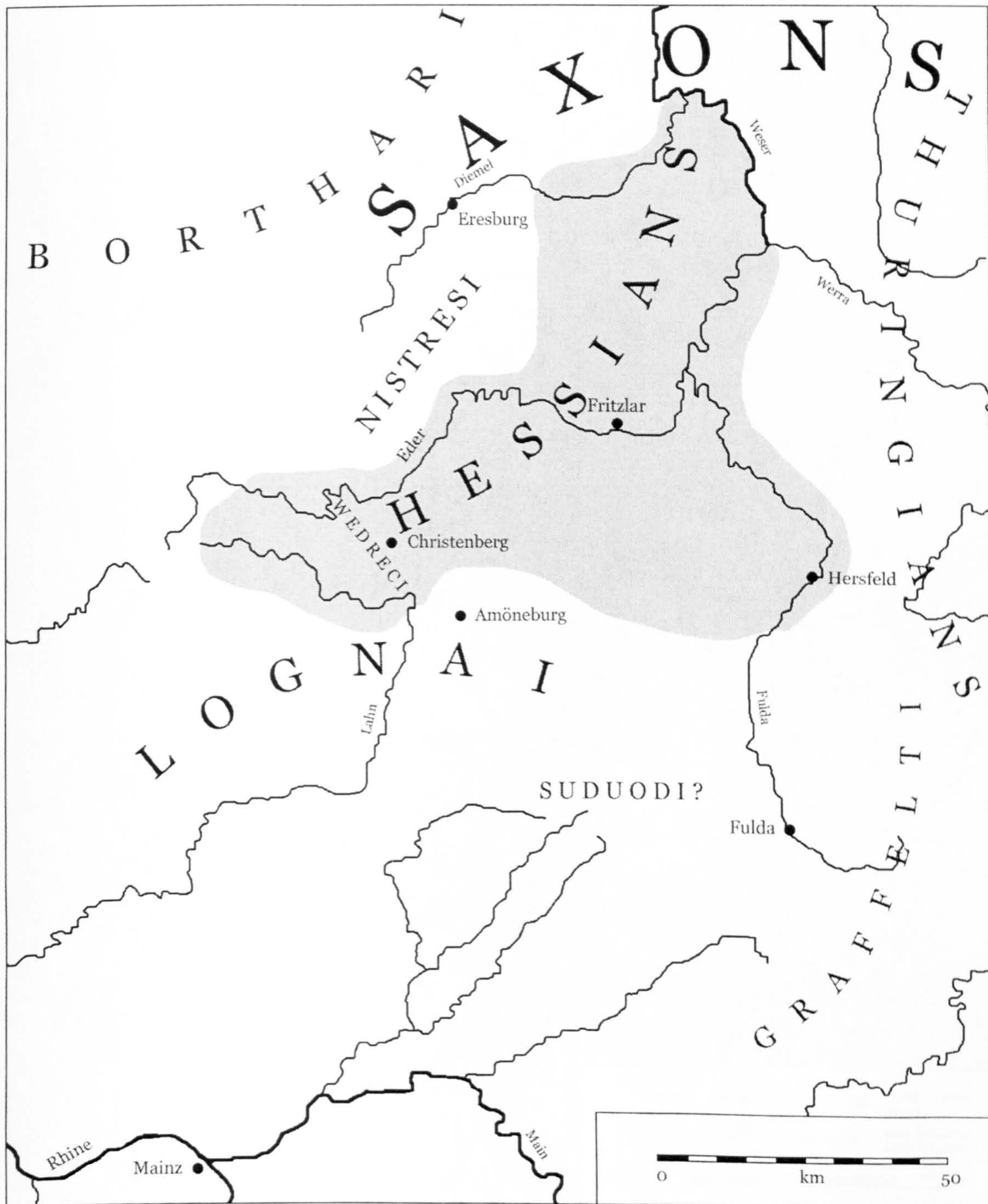


Figure 38: Tribes in the Hestia region. The shaded area is the region referred to as the *pago Hessorum* in eighth- and ninth-century charters

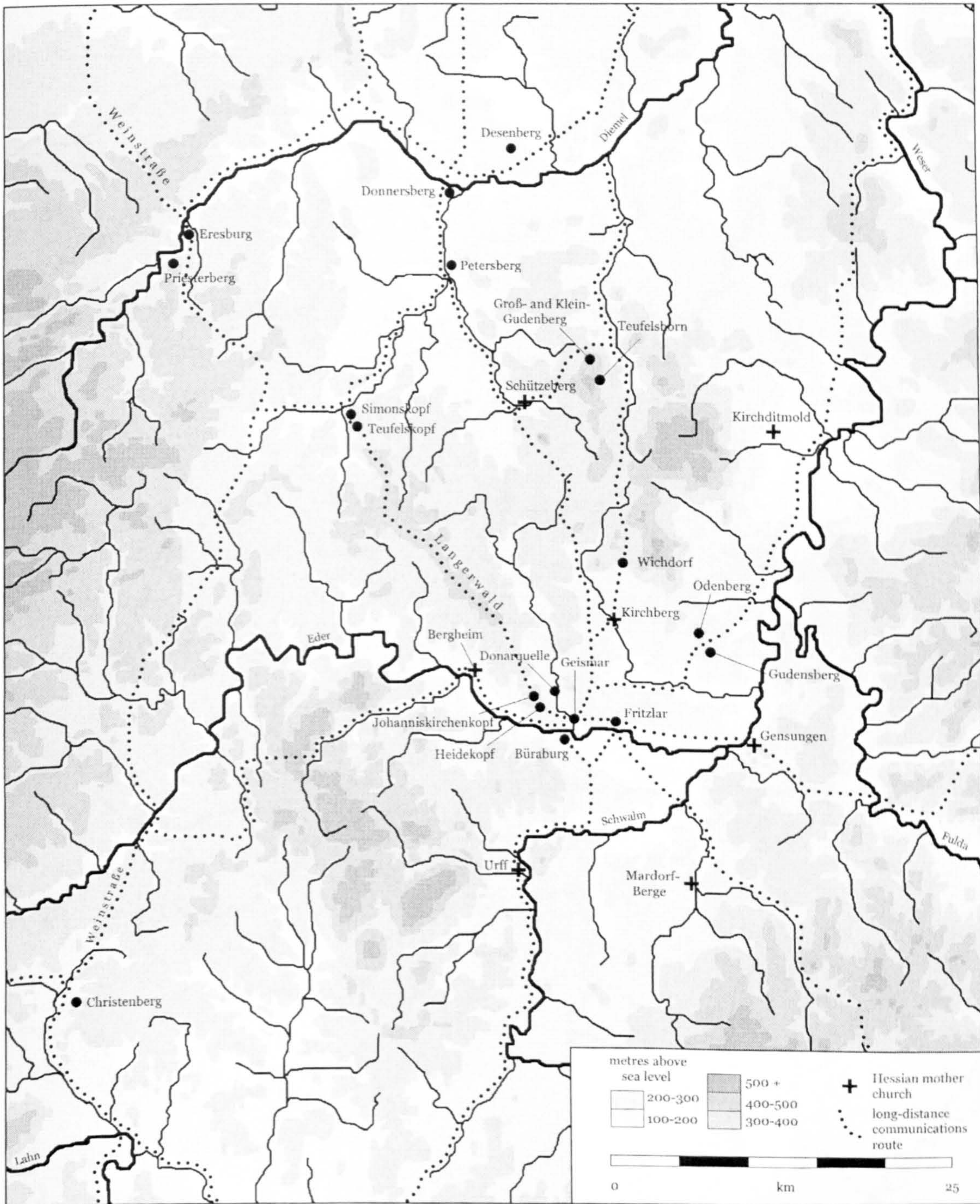


Figure 39: Sites of pagan and Christian significance in Hessia

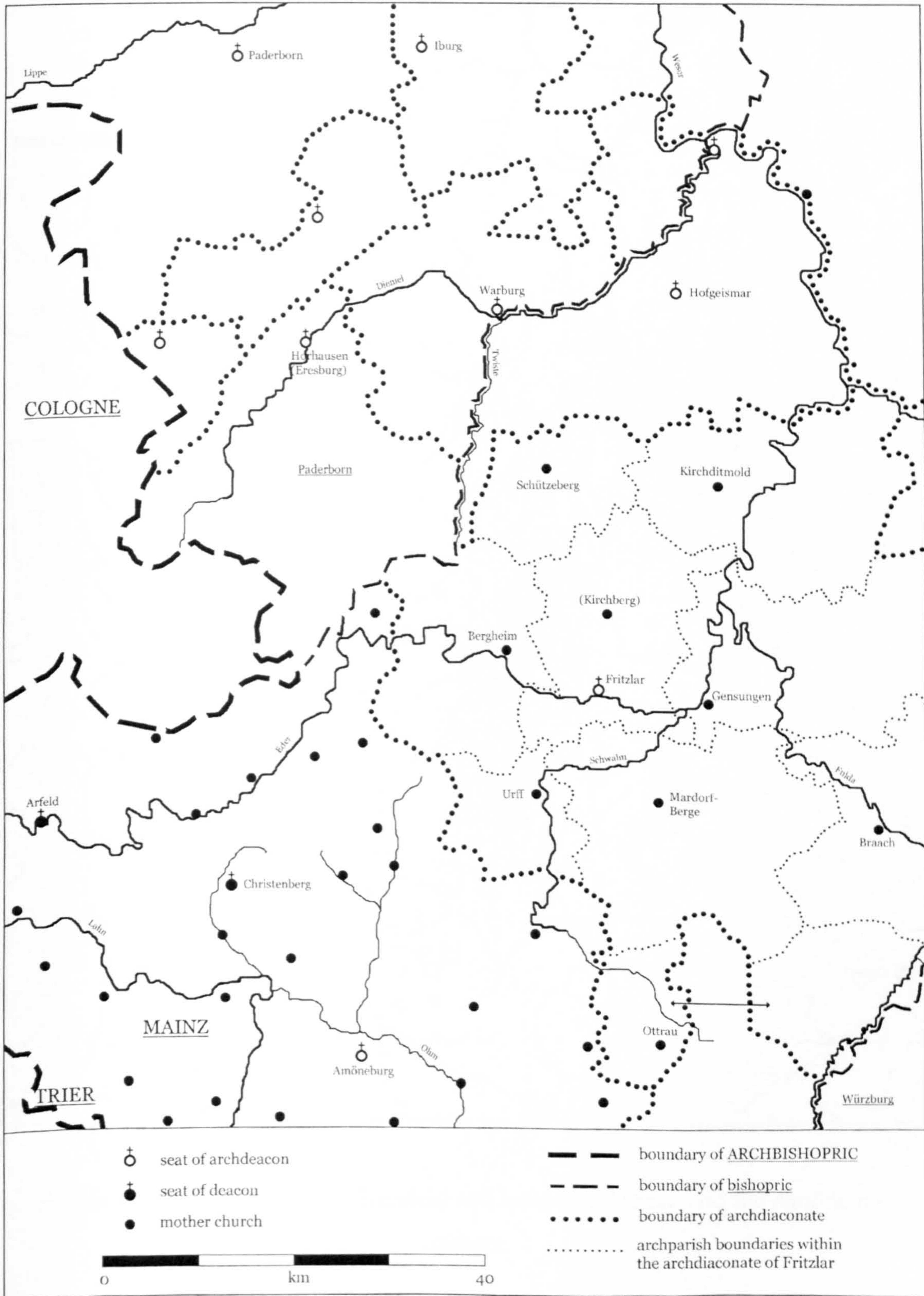


Figure 40: The ecclesiastical landscape of Hessian

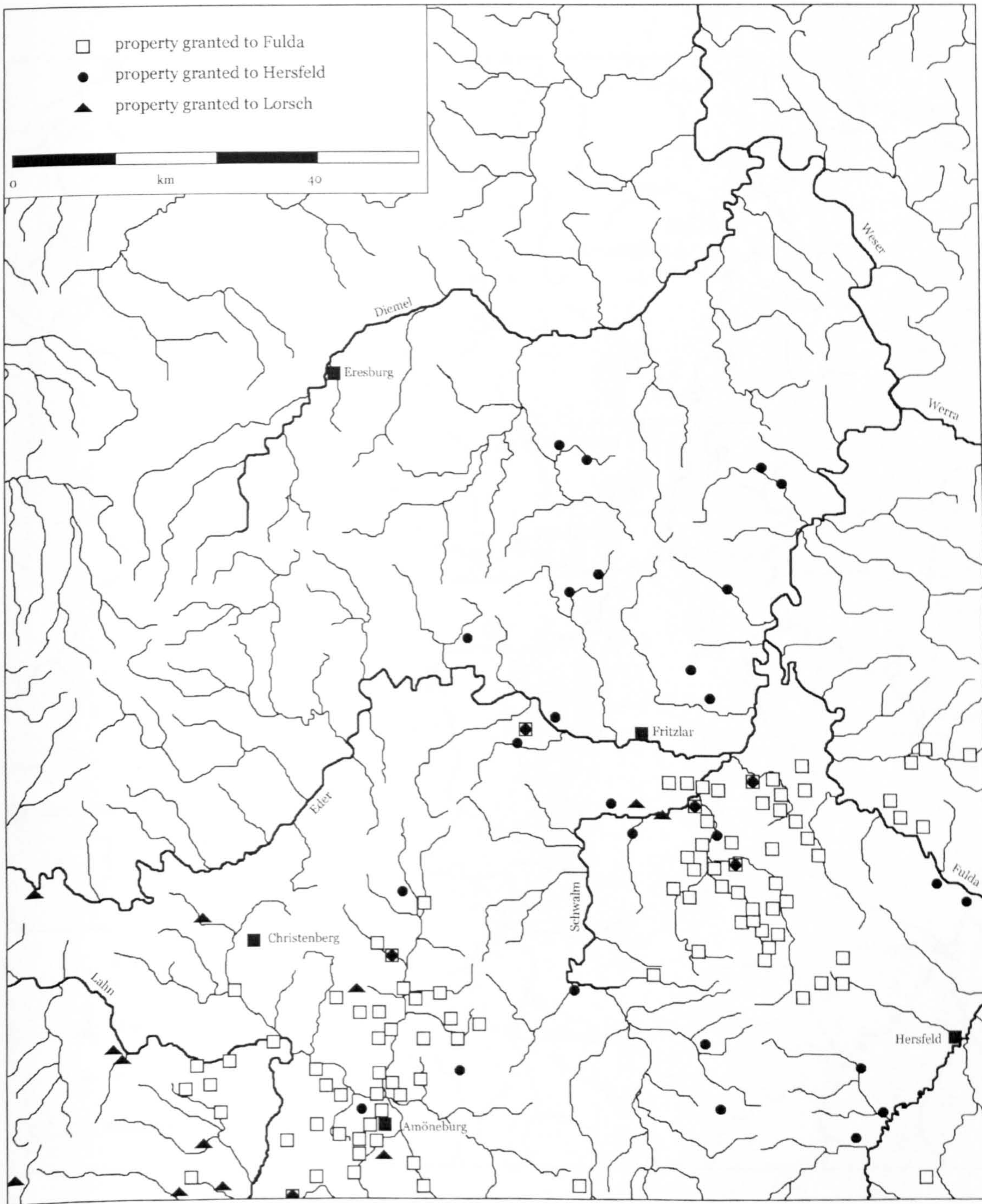


Figure 41: Property of Fulda, Hersfeld and Lorsch in Hessia and the Amöneburg district

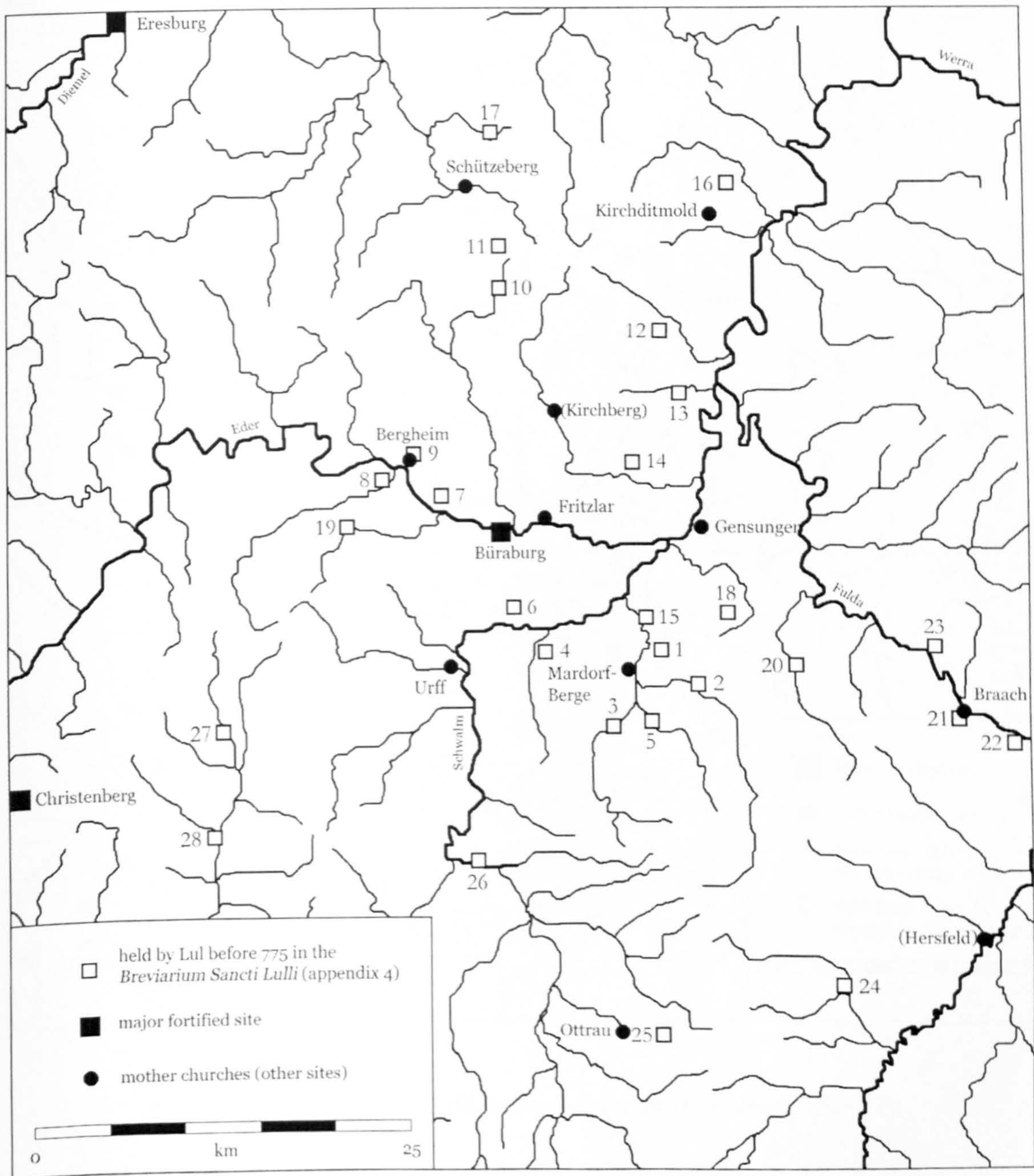


Figure 42: Property held by Lul in Hessia before 775

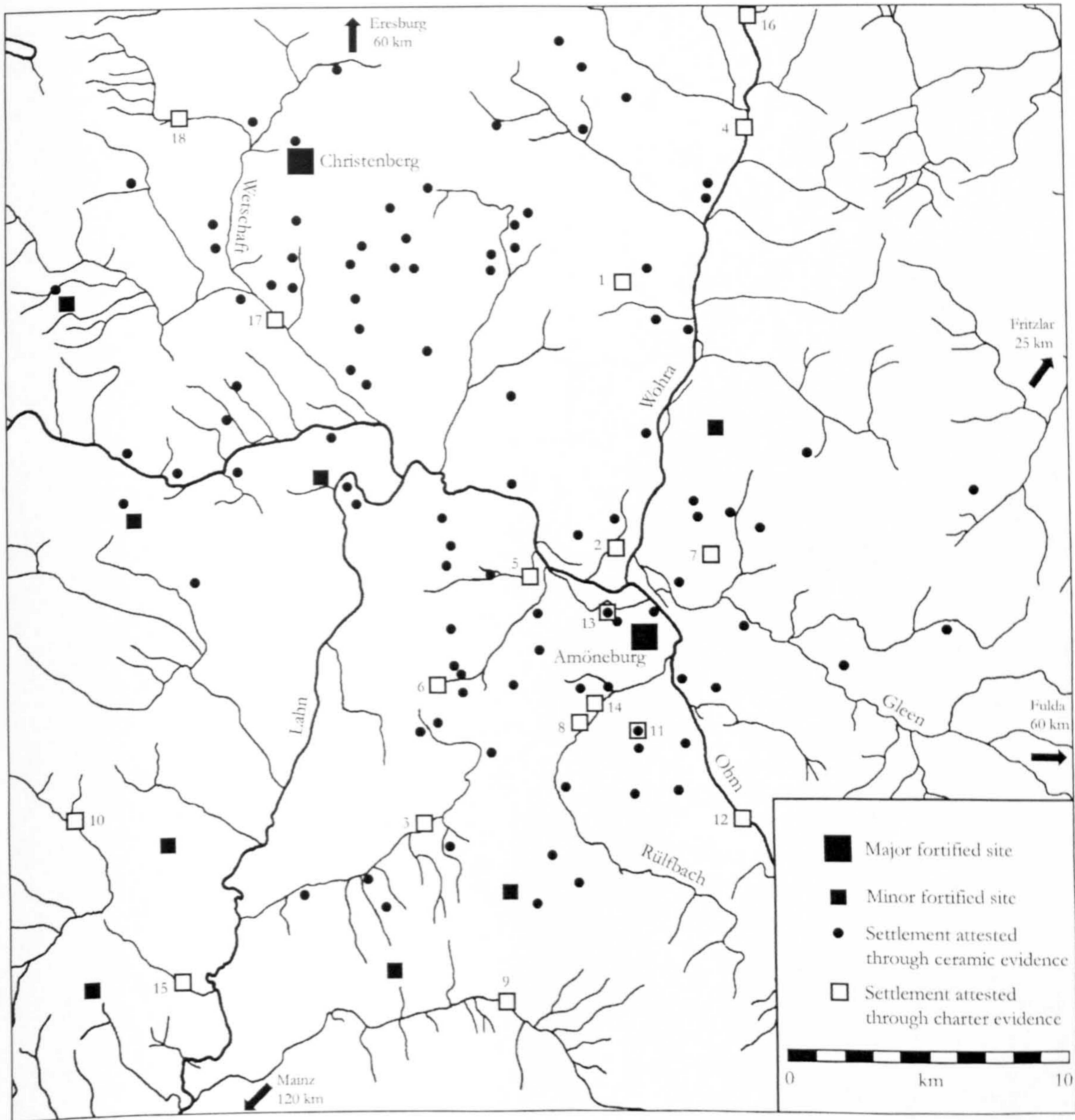


Figure 43: Patrons of Fulda in the Amöneburg district, 750-779



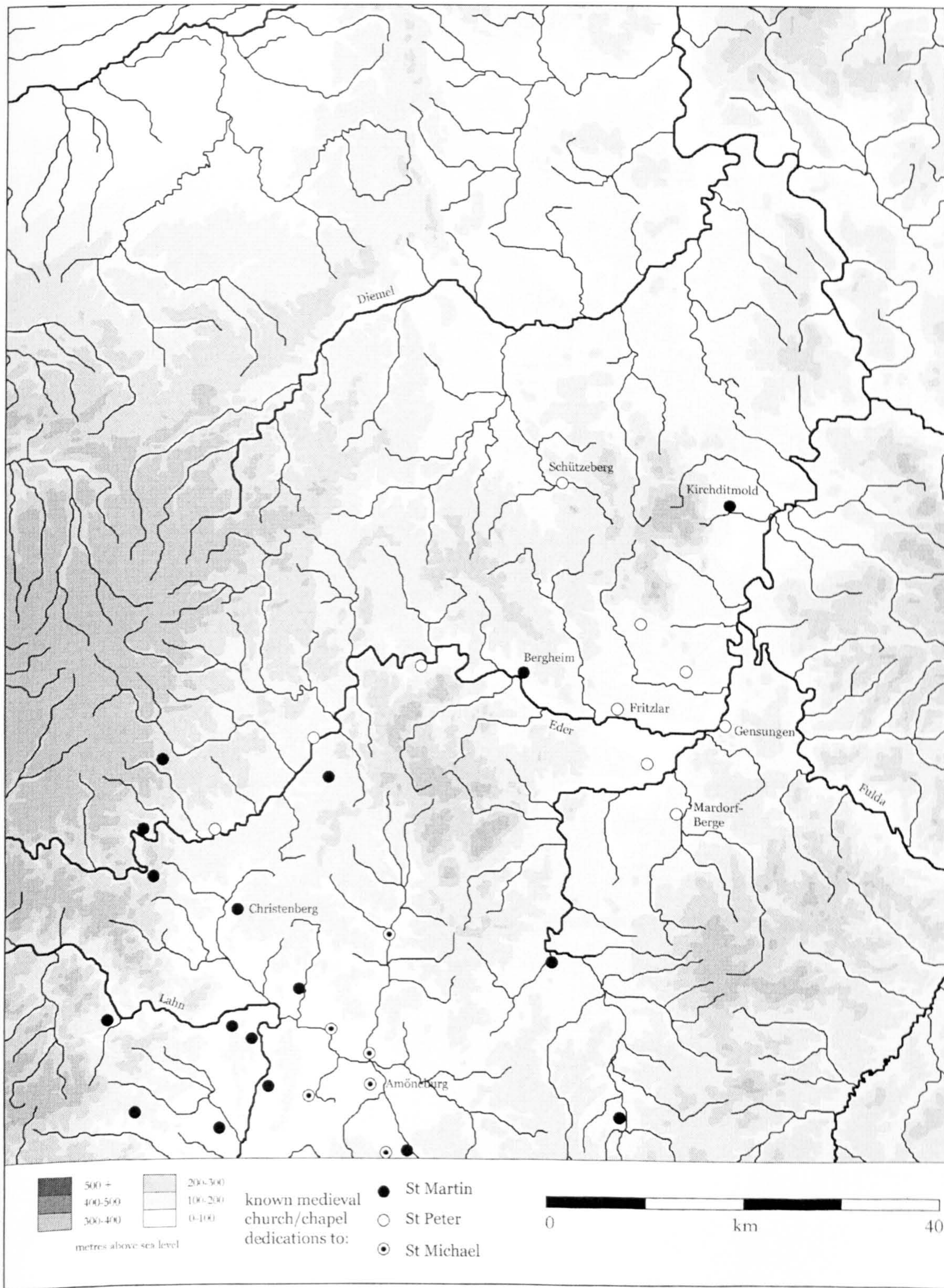


Figure 44: Medieval church dedications in Hesse and the Amöneburg district

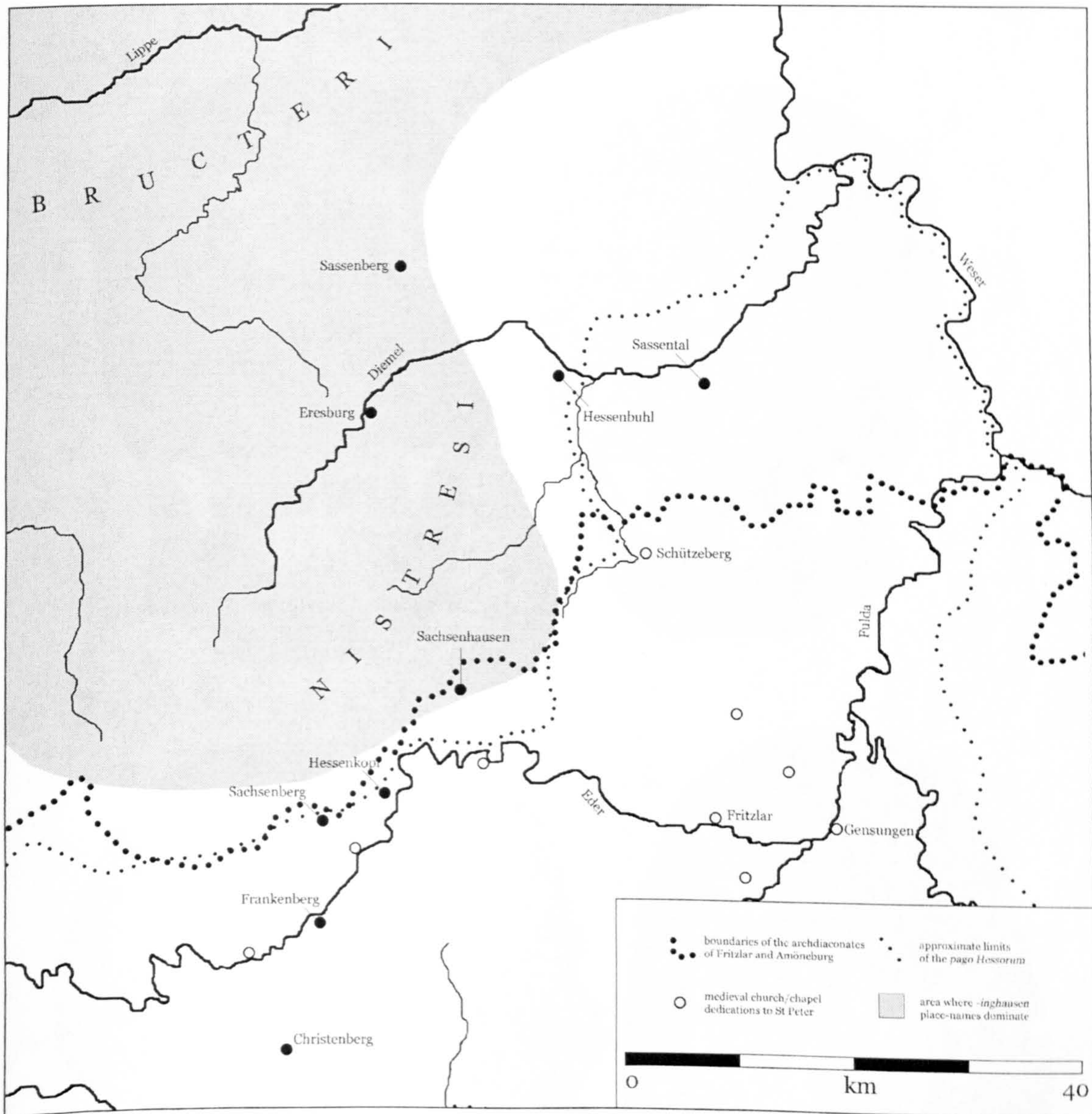


Figure 45: The Hessian-Saxon borderlands

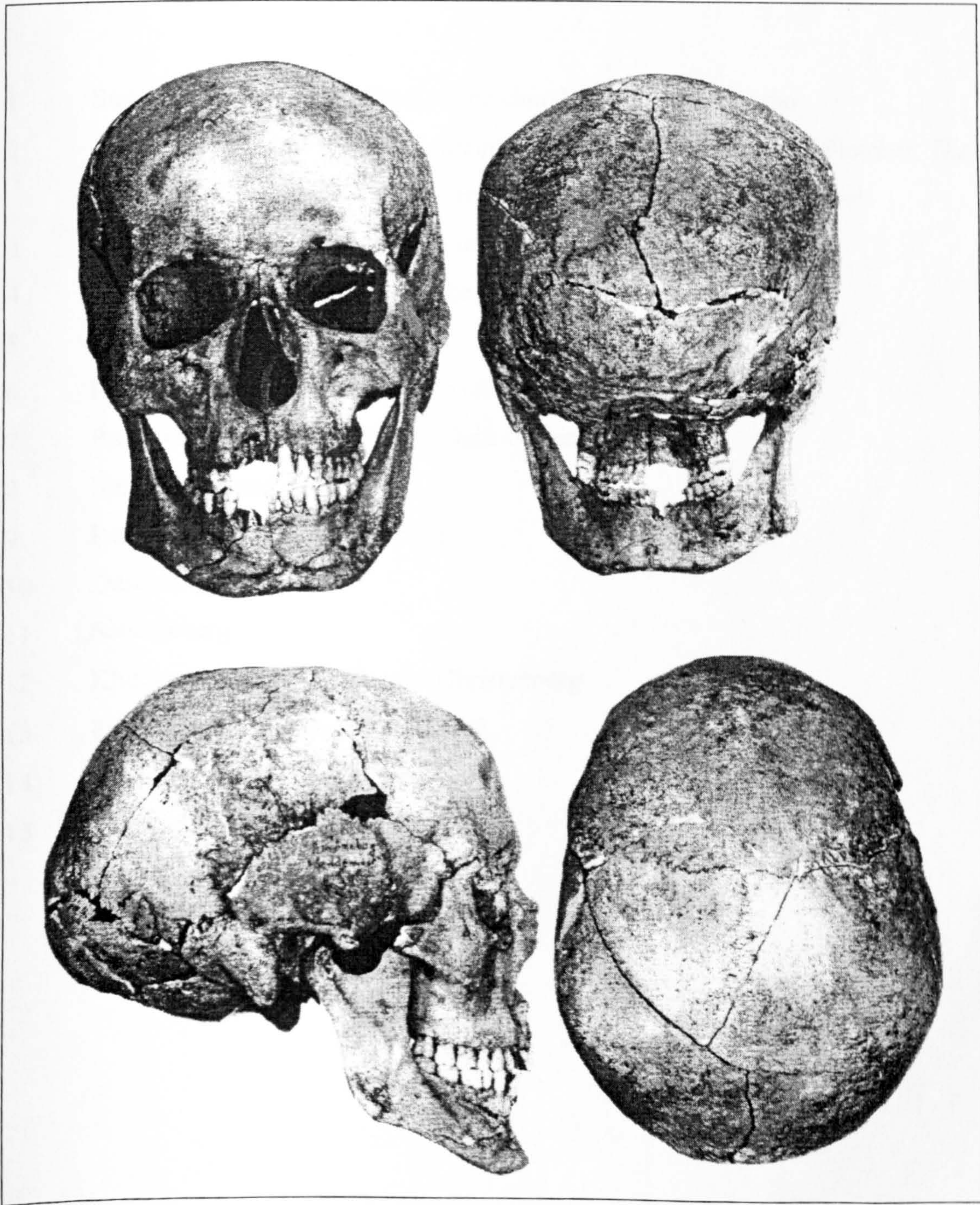


Figure 46: Skull of burial 3 from Amöneburg, scale 1:3 (after M. Kunter, 'Menschliche Überreste', p. 263, Abb. 6)

## List of plates

- 1 Statue of St Boniface in front of the church of St Peter, Fritzlar
- 2 Illumination from the Fulda Sacramentary on the front covers of Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe* and Padberg, *Christianisierung im Mittelalter*
- 3 Southern wall of Portchester (Hants)
- 4 Marginal land near Fritham in the New Forest (Hants)
- 5 Amöneburg
- 6 Panoramic view of the Fritzlar basin
- 7 Panoramic view of Groß- and Klein-Gudenberg
- 8 Simonskopf and Teufelskopf
- 9 Panoramic view from Eresburg
- 10 Desenberg
- 11 Schützeberg
- 12 Klutzkopf burial mounds near Christenberg
- 13 Panoramic view from Christenberg
- 14 Panoramic view from Büraburg
- 15 View of Fritzlar basin from Büraburg



Plate 1: Statue of St Boniface in front of the church of St Peter, Fritzlar (from [http://www.christus-koenig-duisburg.de/boni\\_1.htm](http://www.christus-koenig-duisburg.de/boni_1.htm))

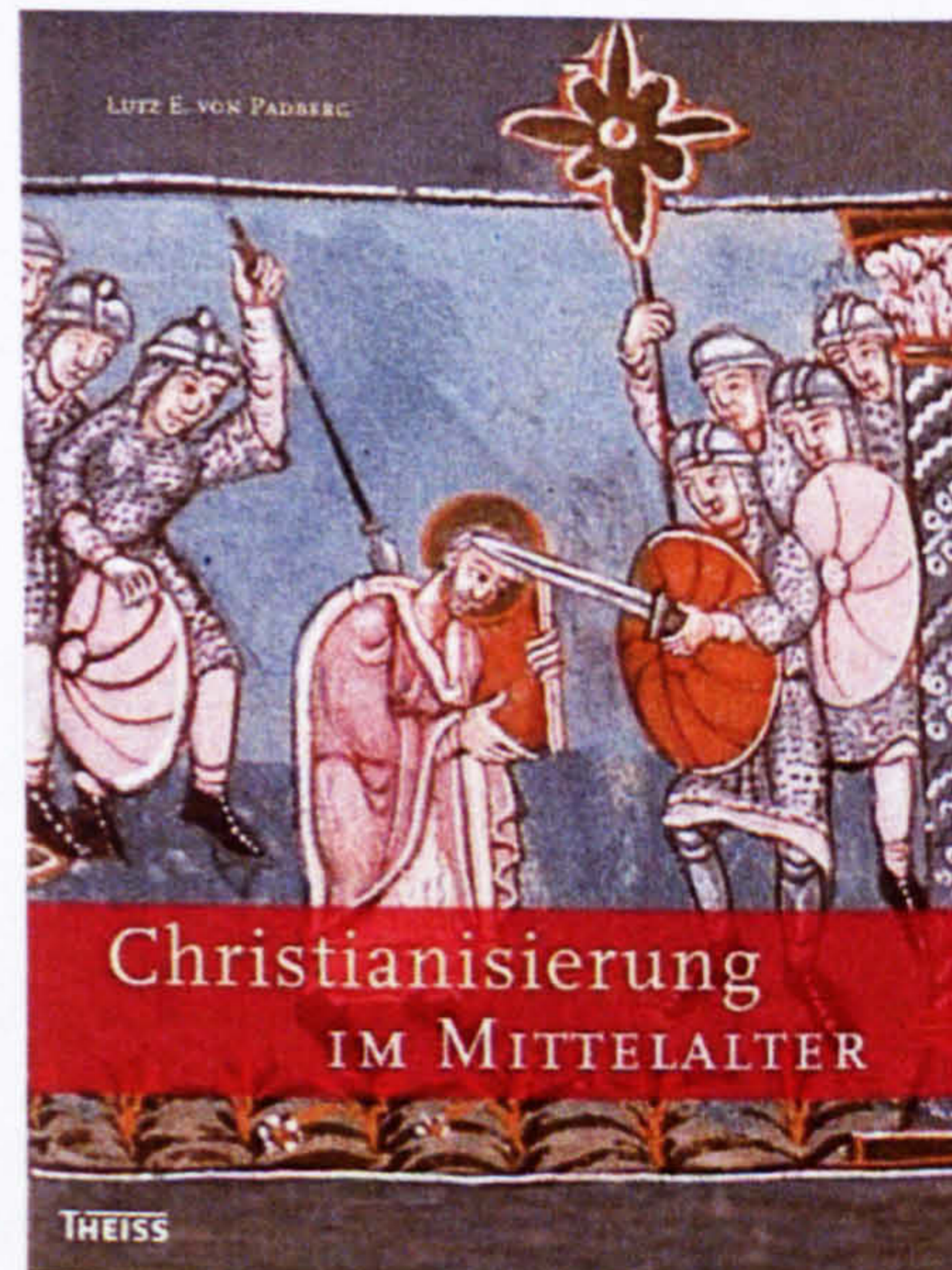
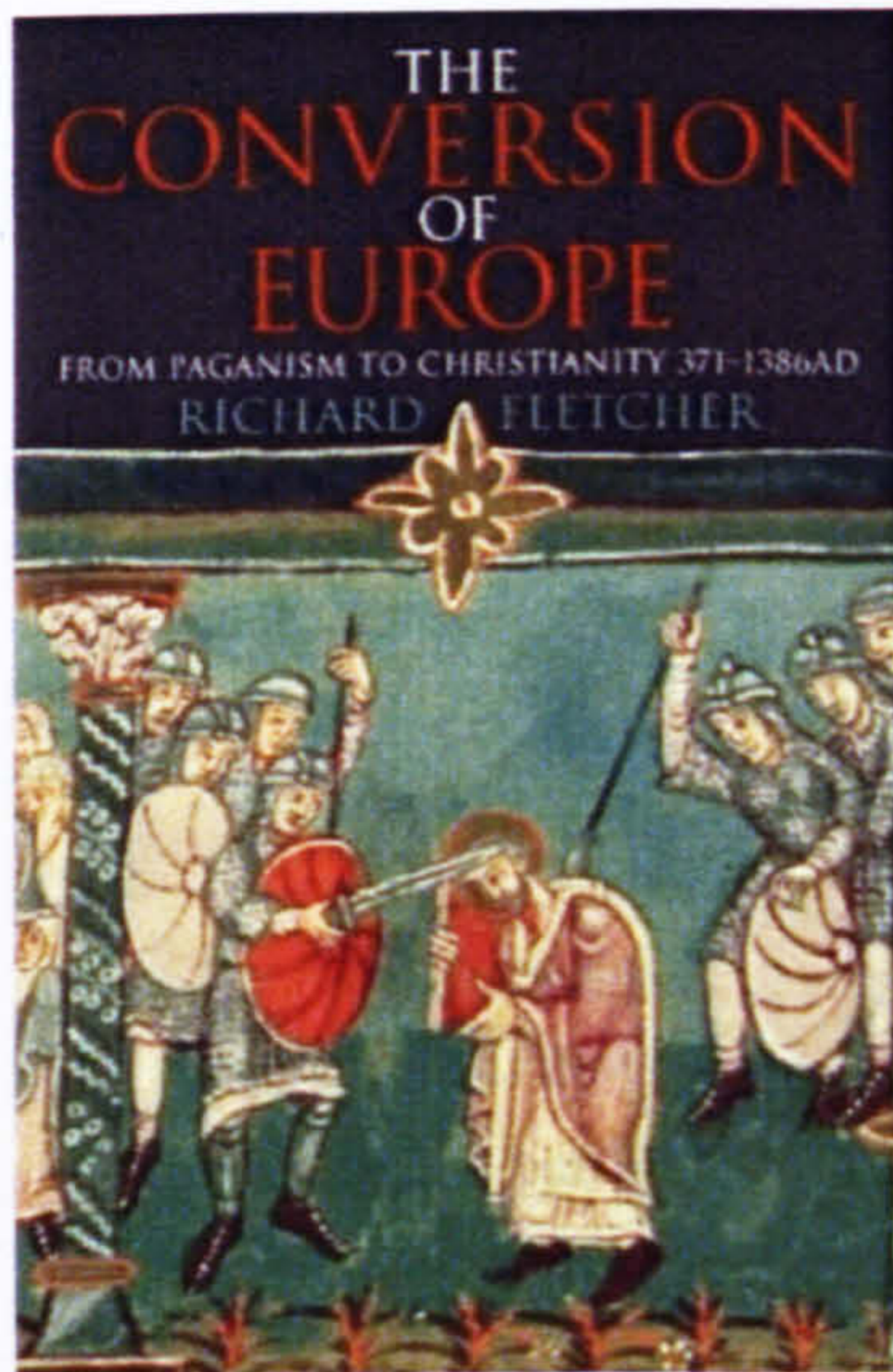


Plate 2: Illumination of the martyrdom of St Boniface from the Fulda Sacramentary on the front covers of Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe* and Padberg, *Christianisierung im Mittelalter*

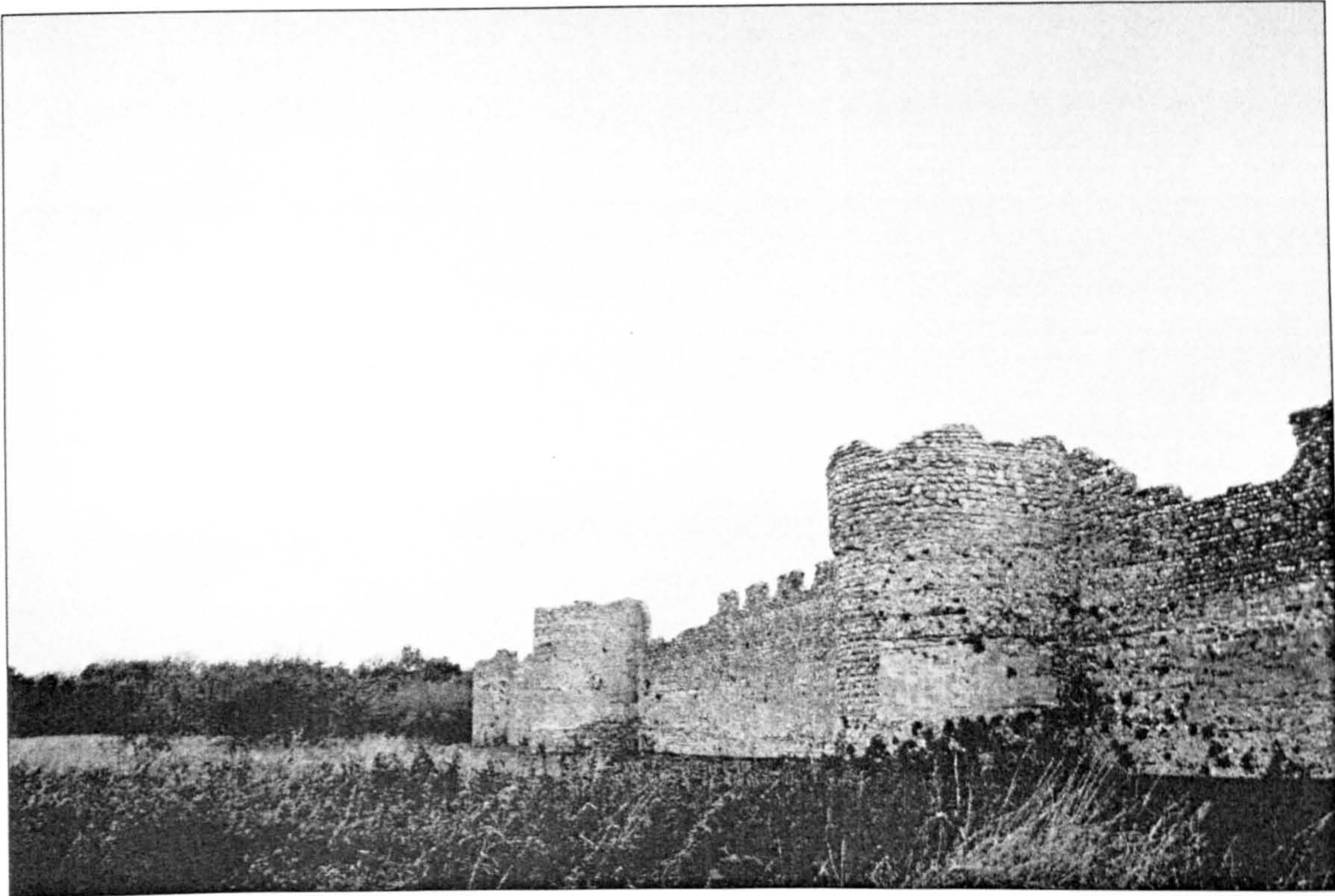


Plate 3: Southern wall of Portchester (Hants) (John-Henry Clay, November 2006)

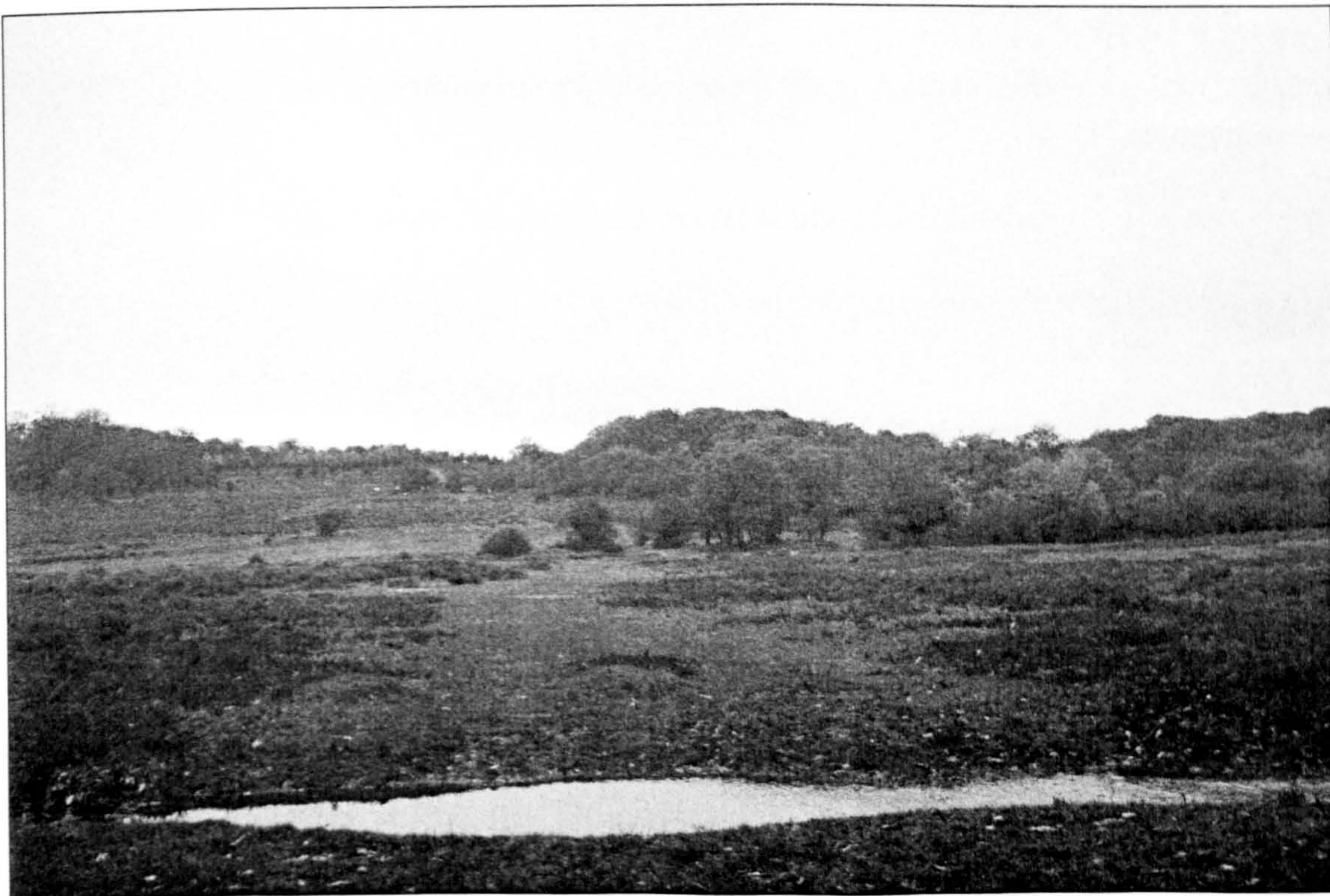


Plate 4: Marginal land near Fritham in the New Forest (Hants) (John-Henry Clay, November 2006)



Plate 5: Amöneburg (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)

Taken from the Rulfbach river, south of Amöneburg



Plate 6: Panoramic view of the Fritzlar basin (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)

A 90-degree view from north to north-west, taken 2 km north of Fritzlar. From the left, the arrows indicate Wartberg (overlooking Kirchberg), Odenberg and Gudensberg.



Plate 7: Panoramic view of Groß- and Klein-Gutenberg (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)

From near Schützeberg, looking north-east; Groß- and Klein-Gutenberg are the two peaks on the left





Plate 8: Simonskopf and Teufelskopf (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)

Looking north-east; Simonskopf is indicated by the left-hand arrow, Teufelskopf by the right-hand arrow



Plate 9: Panoramic view from Eresburg (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)

A 90-degree panoramic view from the south-east to the south-west, taken from the southern ramparts of Eresburg. The arrow indicates Priesterberg.

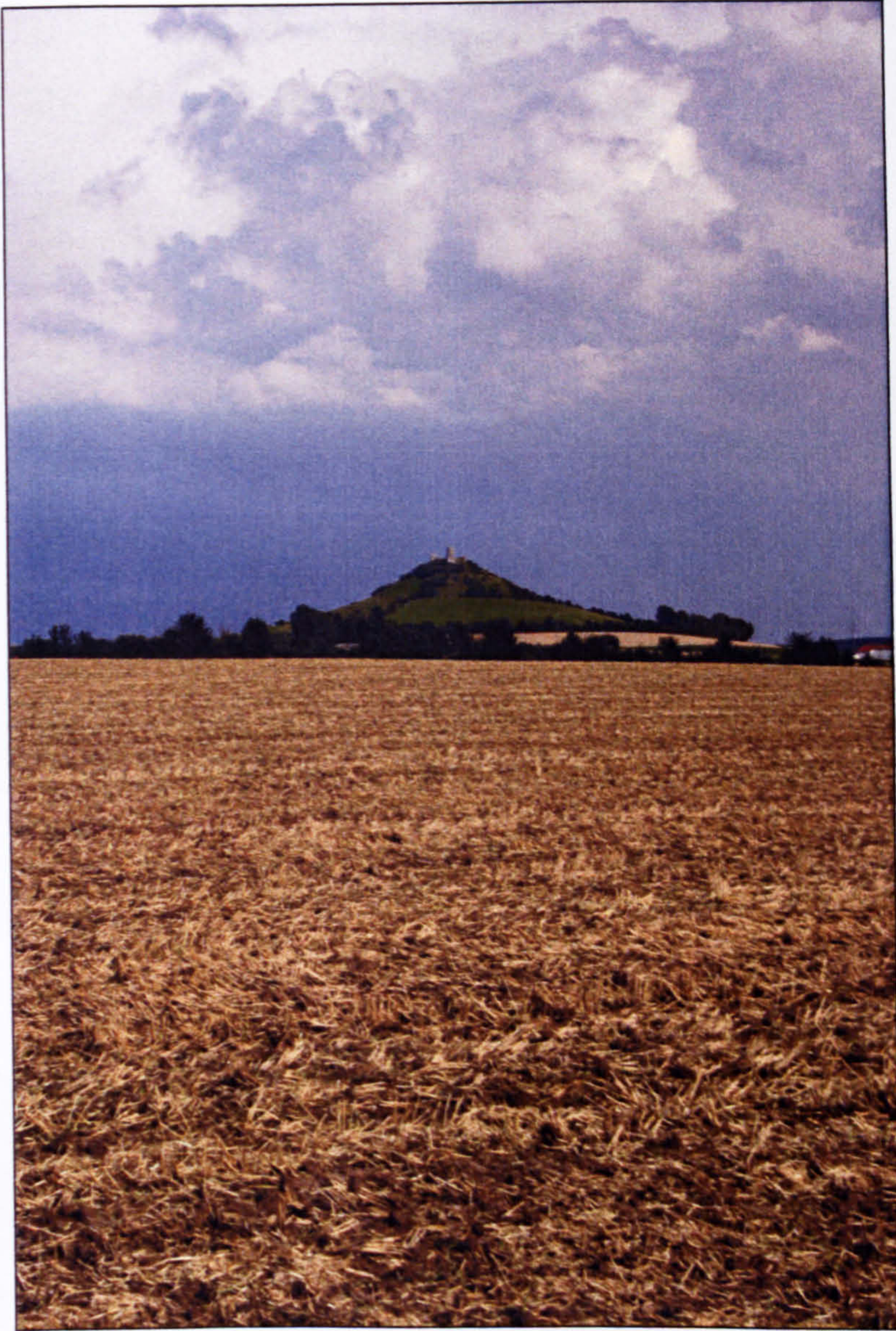


Plate 10: Desenberg (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)

Looking to the east



Plate 11: Schützeberg (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)  
Looking to the east



Plate 12: Klutzkopf burial mounds near Christenberg (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)  
The path to the Christenberg is visible at the extreme left; the two arrows indicate two  
burial mounds.



Plate 13: Panoramic view from Christenberg (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)

A 90-degree panoramic view, south-west to north-west, from the western ramparts of the Christenberg. The *Weinstraße* runs from left to right, through the cultivated land beyond the trees. The arrow indicates the position of Laisa, where a Saxon invading force was defeated in 778



Plate 14: Panoramic view from Büraburg (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)

A 90-degree view, north-west to north-east, from the rise immediately south-west of Büraburg. The main route between the Christenberg and central Hestia runs from left to right. The arrows, from left to right, indicate Bergheim, Johanniskirchenkopf and Geismar.

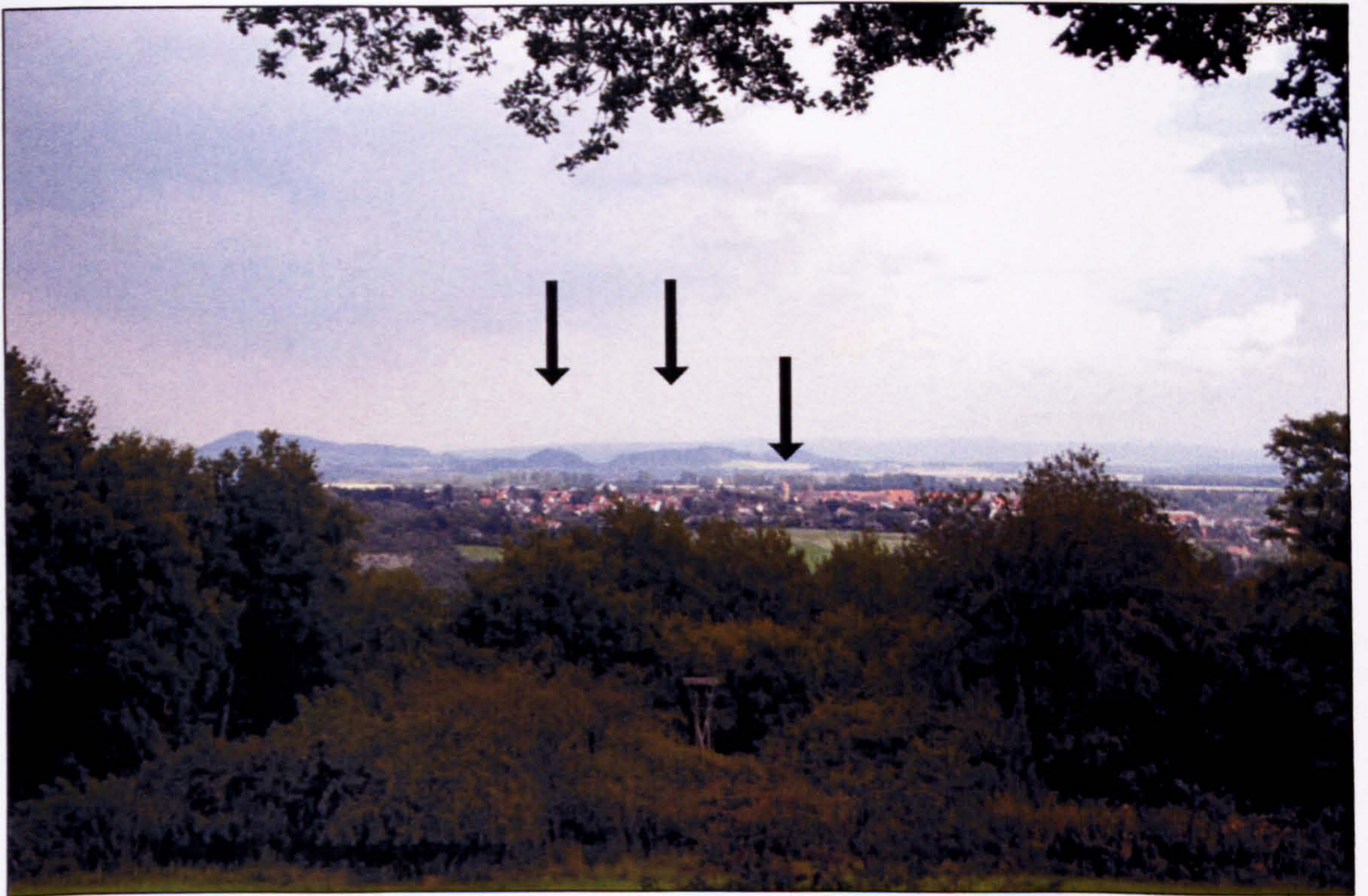


Plate 15: View of Fritzlar basin from Büraburg (John-Henry Clay, August 2007)  
Standing east of the church of St Brigid looking north-east. The arrows, from left to right, indicate Odenberg, Gudensberg and the abbey at Fritzlar.