

Agricultural Production in Luxembourg in the light of its Micro-Toponymy

Part Two

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1 Introduction¹

The history of rural agrarian production in the context of the manufacture of alcoholic beverages is often understudied, most notably due to a shortage of possible sources, as is the case of such a history within the confines of modern day Luxembourg, the present area of focus.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg lays in the heart of Europe and borders Belgium, France and Germany, situating it right at three frontiers of Germanic and Romanic languages. Though the Grand Duchy is a multilingual area of approximately 2500 square kilometers, and with slightly less than half its population having foreign citizenship, the micro-toponymy is marked by lexemes and structures mostly of Germanic origin (see Mersch 2023: 374–399).

Place names in Luxembourg are, as they are in many other places, a fruitful source of linguistic and sociohistoric data that can highlight the past of a rural economy and manufacturing culture, specifically if any other more traditional sources of historiographic study are only to be found parsimoniously if at all. As such, place names also offer manifold research possibilities, especially in Luxembourg, as numerous micro-toponomastic analyses are of older age, with only a few more recent studies, such as Schorr (2005) and Mersch (2022, 2022b, 2023, 2023b).²

The following text examines the lexical field of agricultural production in Luxembourgish toponymy. It constitutes a slightly amended part of Mersch (2021) that could not be incorporated into Mersch (2023) and is split up into two parts, the first part of which (concerning the growth of staple crops and animal husbandry) has been published as Mersch (2023b). This second part focuses on the possible toponymic evidence of agrarian production and the correlation of alcoholic byproducts.

There are three elements concerning the production of alcoholic beverages that are exhibited by the evidence found in place name data in Luxembourg. The

1 I want to express my gratitude to Christopher Morse and Chris Dewhurst for reading parts of this article.

2 A short discussion of older literature on the topic can be found in Mersch 2023: 24–27.

most prominent is that of viticulture, which is still to this day an important element of the agrarian economy in the Grand Duchy. However, the production of beer and spirits can be gathered from the toponymic data, be it by a far lesser degree. The fact that of these three parts of agrarian production of alcoholic beverages, only the toponymic evidence of viticulture is so strongly represented could also be in relation to the nature of wine making, which needs far more specifically dedicated land to grow the crops. With beer and distilates, the raw material could also have been used for other agrarian economic activities.

1.1 Corpus data

The following analysis follows Mersch (2023b) and uses the place name data gathered and explained in Mersch (2023), though not all corpora mentioned in the latter are present in the subsequent text. Hence, tab. 1 only shows the corpus origins and their corresponding shorthands, i.e. the abbreviations which were actually referred to in this text. The short hands, referenced in the examples throughout the text, enable the reader and researcher to discern the quality of the evidence given by a specific named instance. A discussion of the corpora can be found in Mersch (2023: 28–56). The corpora themselves were made available as a CSV-file in a repository.³

It should be noted that graphematics were not normalised, but rather were used in the exact way they were initially documented, including total capitalisation or the use of diacritics. A discussion about the graphematics of the Luxembourgish place name data can be found in Mersch (2023: 119–218), while problems with early digitisations of place name data in Luxembourg are discussed in Mersch (2022). When a named instance is referenced in the text, the village name and corpus short hand is given.

Corpus origin	Shorthand
Administration du cadastre et de la topographie – plan cadastral numérisé	a _p
Administration du cadastre et de la topographie – cartographie	a _c
Verkéiersverbond	t _p
Institut Grand-Ducal, section linguistique, onomastique et ethnographie Relevée de la Section – Données 1930	il ₃₀

3 https://github.com/sammersch/PhD_Thesis (last access on 17/10/2023).

Institut Grand-Ducal, section linguistique, onomastique et ethnographie Relevée de la Section – Données cadastrales	il _c
Institut vini-viticole	ivv
Diözesanarchiv Luxemburg	dal
Administration du cadastre et de la topographie – inofficial file all names before conversion	s _a
Administration du cadastre et de la topographie – inofficial file all names after conversion	s _n
Administration du cadastre et de la topographie – inofficial file first land registry	s _u
Centre national de la recherche archéologique fichiers de toponymes évocateurs	a

Table 1: Corpus origins and short hands (following Mersch 2023: 33–34)

2 Brewing

The evidence of mankind brewing some kind of beer hints to a very old and widespread tradition (Legras et al., 2007: 2091),⁴ barley beer possibly being the oldest kind of beer (Adamson, 2004: 4, 48). Although, there is no necessity for a sedentary (or even semi-sedentary) life style of early humans in order to sprout beer production (Meußdoerffer and Zankow, 2014: 20–21; Lerner, 2008: 29), most of the evidence hints to a link of sedentary life styles and beer production (and consumption),⁵ with archaeological evidence found in ancient Egypt but also in *Huánuco Pampa*, an Inca city and textual evidence going as far back as Sumerian (the oldest attested language in human history) (Renfrew and Bahn, 2012: 210,

⁴ *Communis opinio* has been that wine production is older than that of beer, however, the molecular analysis of yeast strains seems to hint at a parallel development, with beer yeast strains not developed from wine yeast strains (Legras et al., 2007: 2100).

⁵ Even the Gilgamesh epic, the oldest epic yet known to mankind, mentions the link to beer consumption and sedentary life, as Gilgamesh introduces Enkidu into society by offering him beer, for example in Pennsylvania tablet (OBII) col. 3.98 (George, 2003: 177), see also Meußdoerffer and Zankow (2014: 24–28). Slightly contrary, however, stands George (2003: 142), who argues that the idea of a *savage* Enkidu is only a post-Sumerian product that was added to the text tradition. Hints to this seem to be present in Old Babylonian already, as can be seen from an excerpt of the Pennsylvania tablet (OBII) col. 2.45–54, 2.83–3.85 (George, 2003: 175).

272–273; D. Brothwell and P. Brothwell, 1969: 166; Bottéro, 1999: 255).⁶ Closer to home, there is not only textual evidence for the Celtic and Germanic tribes making beer (Renfrew and Bahn, 2012: 275; Reynolds, 1999: 314) but the Roman authors Pliny and Columella tell us about the supposedly widespread usage of beer before wine was adopted (D. Brothwell and P. Brothwell, 1969: 165; Legras et al., 2007: 2091). In fact, during the Roman reign over Europe, barley beer was drunk almost everywhere (but in Italy) (Pliny Nat. Hist.: 14.29, 18.68, 22.164; Braun, 1999: 27; Adamson, 2004: 132).

Beer brewing was a local, often even household craft before the advent of cities and more market oriented beer industries within them (Plümer, 2003: 137; Albala, 2003: 81; Adamson, 2004: 48–49; Hess, 1929: 226; Meußdoerffer and Zankow, 2014: 58; Lerner, 2008: 29–30),⁷ however, the link from urban to rural landscape is always present, given the raw materials of beer production (Meußdoerffer and Zankow, 2014: 9).⁸ Local household production possibly could have left traces in Luxembourgish toponymy but only when it was a recurring event, with the household brewer emerging as a local brewer adding substantially or at least regularly to local economy. The identity of a place through its name while referring to beer production, could only have subsisted if the production was long lasting enough for the place to obtain (and keep its name). Hence, named places can only reflect medium to large beer industry but not *ad hoc* local house hold beer production that may have only subsisted over a winter.

Even though there is early textual evidence of adding aromatic plants, spices and herbs, to any malted grain (D. Brothwell and P. Brothwell, 1969: 166; Meußdoerffer and Zankow, 2014: 49–50, 64–72; Birkhan, 2012: 62), it is only with the use of hops that beer becomes what it is today, in taste, colour, longevity and alcohol content (see Meußdoerffer and Zankow, 2014: 49). The plant itself was known in Europe through the Middle Ages, as it was already adopted by the seventh century in northern Italian monasteries (Adamson, 2004: 48; Birkhan, 2012: 128). However, it only became more widely adopted since the 14th century, first in the (Belgian) Netherlands (Adamson, 2004: 48; Irsigler, 1996: 385), but also later in Germany

6 Beer was generally very popular in the ancient Near East (Goetze et al., 1933: 119; Hoffner, 1974: 7).

7 It seems that such a development from a local rural production to a more industrialised urban production went on in Luxembourg much later than elsewhere, with an actual rise in industrial production only since the 19th century (see Spang, 1983: 103–104).

8 A 19th century account of household brewing from growing and storing crops, on to malting and fermentation can be found in Hahn (2006 [1804]). Meußdoerffer and Zankow (2014: 10–17) give a technical overview over the beer making process, Plümer (2003: 135–137) gives a very short historical overview of brewing technology up to the Middle Ages.

(Irsigler, 1996: 379; Cortonesi, 1996: 429), with Luxembourg having switched completely to hops by the 19th century (Gambrinus Bruderschaft, 1993: 12).⁹ Even though there is historically a close link to bread and beer production (Jacob, 1954: 50–51, 171–172, 196; George, 2003: 177, col. 3.94–104), the kind of grains used for beer making and those for bread making need to fulfill different criteria of selection when concerned with choosing the right strain of a grain for production (Aufhammer, 1998: 45). When an increasingly marked oriented medieval or early modern beer industry possibly needed specific crops of a certain quality, it left a mark on rural economy, as well as the activity of the local beer brewers, who had a different economic prospect. Hops were mostly introduced and cultivated by monasteries in the Middle Ages (Gambrinus Bruderschaft, 1993: 11; Meußdoerffer and Zankow, 2014: 53–61; Birkhan, 2012: 182), as beer making was one of the more industrious activities of these monasteries, leaving a long line of tradition even until today (Meußdoerffer and Zankow, 2014: 53–4; Steen, 2004: 12–23 and 25). The monasteries might have disappeared but the landholdings still survived, being transferred to a new owner. Crops grown possibly remained the same, or, when land use changed, atleast the name of the place remained.

Werveke (1983: 2.70–71) talks about brewers being day labourers for a long time in Luxembourg, where they went to their patrons and brewed the crops they were given to produce beer, while the patrons, possibly local sovereignty, had or offered the use of brewing pans (Spang, 1983: 99 and 101–102; see also Plümer, 2003: 137). There is not much evidence for brewing from historical documents in Luxembourg, except perhaps for the rights of distributions or in legal cases due to tampering of beer quality (see Spang, 1983: 96–98). Interesting is the notion that beer has only been a commodity of necessity with its consumption coming to a standstill when wine became cheap enough so it the primary drink (Spang, 1983: 97), see also Irsigler (1996: 377–380). Barley beer apparently was mostly brewed as a tribute to local sovereignty, whereas spelt beer was the drink of the public in Luxembourg (Spang, 1983: 99–100). Even though it is not clear to what extent beer was produced in Luxembourg prior to the 19th century, given that wine might have been favoured as an alcoholic beverage, it seems that at least since the 19th century, there was a sizeable beer production in rural Luxembourg (Spang, 1983: 101).

9 The use of yeast strains has also changed around the same time (Legras et al., 2007: 2100).

2.1 Brewing in Luxembourgish Micro-Toponymy

Compared to the extensive testimony that named places offer for viticulture, there is far less on beer brewing, with many dubious names or names of multiple possible explanations. Hereafter there will be an analysis of possible named places hinting to local brewing, from the general corpus but also from other data sources, as well as secondary literature to give a concise overview of the imprint on the landscape left by humans through the brewing process. The relevance, however, will always be made through the named places. The subsequent evidence shows that beer brewing has been widely dispersed rurally and perhaps was not a major activity of agrarian production. However, given the fact that only a few names can be linked to breweries that are known from historiographical research (mostly from the last two centuries), it is safe to assume that the brewing activity that has left trace evidence in the named landscape, has in fact occurred in a much earlier stage in Luxembourgish history.

2.1.1 The Brewery

An actual brewery is only mentioned once in *hinter dem Braubaus* (Rodershausen) ($a, s_u, s_n, s_a, a_p, il$ and il_{30} , here as *BROHAUS*).¹⁰ Considering the mention in the first land registry of 1830 (Administration du cadastre et de la topographie, n.d.), which indicates here only the plot behind a brewery, with a possible small brewing house¹¹ at the end of the road on the plan (Lefort, 1830), which confirms Anen (1945: 127), who suggests that there is a close relation of brewing industry to milling and bigger farmsteads (see also Erpelding, 1981: 563; Gambrinus Bruderschaft, 1993: 27; Spang, 1983: 99). A similar instance, *Brabaus* (Clervaux) (il) might be interpreted similarly.¹² There is only really one other mention to an actual brewery, through a street name in t_p , *Brauereistrooss* (Wiltz). The bus stop is located in the *rue Joseph Simon*¹³, about 180m from the modern *Brasserie Simon*, which does not

10 Gambrinus Bruderschaft (1993: 98) mentions the name of the brewery as *Brauerei N. Diener* but without mention of source, so does Industrie.lu (2020), also without mention. After inquiring about it and mentioning Gambrinus Bruderschaft (1993), the administrator (and author) of the site assumed that he got his information in there, as noted from an email from the administrator of *Industrie.lu*, Jean-Marie Ottelé, from 24/03/2020.

11 According to Gambrinus Bruderschaft (1993: 27), brewery houses were small multi-storied buildings.

12 See also Industrie.lu (2020e).

13 Brewer and politician, 1886–1954, see Deltgen (2020).

leave room for interpretation. The brewery was founded in 1824¹⁴ and there is no mention of it on the first land registry map, which was established in 1827 for Wiltz (Administration du cadastre et de la topographie, n.d.).

There is mention in the general corpus of names coined with the French *brasserie* ‘brewery’, however, these always refer to modern breweries and cannot be an indicator for rural beer brewing activity prior to the 19th century.¹⁵

Even though there might not be a lot of toponomastic data referring to breweries directly, it is possible to locate them, at least roughly by the milling industry that was closely linked to brewing, as mentioned above. The mills were used for shredding malt (grain that has been brought to sprout and then dried again) (Meußdoerffer and Zankow, 2014: 11–12). The crushed malt was then later added to the brewing water to start the brewing process (Meußdoerffer and Zankow, 2014: 13). It can be assumed that breweries that needed a milling industry to fulfil its needs for crushed malt, were rather large compared to household brewing endeavours, as there does not seem to be any evidence communal milling allotted to household brewers in the general milling soke (*Mühlenzwang*) (see also Plümer, 2003: 137).

Erpelding (1981: 165–166) mentions a brewing mill, *Bramillen* (Bourscheid), which belonged to the sovereignty of the castle of Bourscheid, with a named place *Happgaard* close to the mill.¹⁶ He goes on to explain that a family in service of the sovereignty lived at the mill, where the father (Jean François Erpelding) and later his son (Theodor) service the mill,¹⁷ while he speculates that the father also was the brewer (Erpelding, 1981: 166), without giving any evidence for it. Though it is possible that this was the case, it is very much likely that neither father nor son (nor any other family member) brewed other than for home consumption and in fact, the existence of the brewery mill does not corroborate to a possible existence of a brewery within it. However, it still indicates that either commercial brewing activity, or at least cumulative household brewing took place, enough in scale to

14 Founded by the tanner Georges Pauly, married to Anne Catherine Simon, on his land holding along the river side, see Brasserie Simonh (2020), see also Gambrinus Bruderschaft (1993: 95–97).

15 The names places in question are *Brasserie* (Luxembourg Neiduerf) (t_p) hinting to the *Brasserie Mousel*, *Brasserie* (Bacharage) (t_p) hinting to the *Brasserie Bofferding* and the street names *rue de la brasserie* (Diekirch, Burange and Niederwiltz) (s_a and s_n) referring to local brewery *Diekirch*, *Battin* and *Simon*.

16 There is a mention of it in Industire.lu (2020), but it seems the information comes from Erpelding (1981), as no other information is added.

17 On the relationship between sovereignty and miller families, see also Elmsäuser et al. (2003: 890–891).

warrant the equipment for crushing malt inside the mill, as well as the mention in the documents Erpelding sites from. Brewing does not seem to have been a commercial pillar of the family running the mill, as it was later changed, or expanded to work as a lumber mill as well (Erpelding, 1981: 166).¹⁸

Important for the interrelation of any kind of brewing activity and the sovereignty, however, is the mention of a land dependency belonging to the mill (and the sovereignty) and a relationship (a dependency) to another brewing mill in the neighbouring Michelau (in the commune of Bourscheid). The presence of two mills for crushing malt seems to indicate that at least in this case, there was no mill soke, at least when concerned to brewing activity, which then again, seems to indicate that either brewing activity was of a lesser importance, or that indeed, it was outside any sokes, meaning the administrative *Bann* (see also Elmshäuser et al., 2003: 887).

Erpelding (1981) offers on other occasions ample evidence for the relationship of brewing and milling in at least these instances¹⁹ *Biissermillen* (Biessermühle, Pfaffenmühle, Hasteschmühle, Moulins de Luxembourg-Grund) (Luxembourg Grund), *Bouneweër Millen* (Bonneweger Mühle, Klostermühle, Turbelsmühle) (Luxembourg Bonnevoie), *Bramillen* (Bramühle, Loherei) (Bourscheid), *Hollérech Braumillen* (Bichholtzmühle) (Luxembourg Hollerich), *Hedinmühle* (Luxembourg Clausen), *Kiifëschmillen* (Kieffeschmühle, Junckmühle) (Luxembourg Clausen), *Escher Kinnécksmillen* (Königsmühle, Domanialmühle, Bachmühle, Bannmühle I), *Clausener Kriipsmillen* (Kriepsmühle) (Luxembourg Clausen), *Hollerécher nei Millen* (Neue Mühle, Lohmühle, Gipsmühle) (Luxembourg Hollerich), *Uewerkäerjbénger Millen* (Oberkerschner Mühle, Königsmühle) (Hautcharage), *Clausener Uelegmillen* (Ölmühle, Lohmühle) (Luxembourg Clausen) (here with the reference that the *Mousel* brewery purchased the mill in 1887 while extending storage facilities, no mention on the economic relation to the mill), *Fielzer Uelegsmillen* (Ölmühle) (Larochette) (close to the brewery *Jean Tschiderer*), *Escher Schlussmillen* (Schloßmühle, Bannmühle II, Bervartsmühle) (Esch-sur-Alzette) (brewery named as *Brauerei Berwart*), *Schweistalmühle* (Ettelbrück) (possibly named

18 A similar transition can be seen in Erpelding (1981: 15), also hinting to a rather secondary milling activity for any commercial brewing activity. Also, Erpelding (1981: 166) mentions the stop of economic activity with the advent of the rail road industry, as well as the destruction of the mill in the Second World War but not the restoration for economic purposes. At the given place, he also mentions testimony from witnesses that still saw the lumber cutting equipment of the mill but does not mention any equipment for crushing malt.

19 The names indicated here are those from Erpelding (1981), however, with the Luxembourgish name given first (if indicated), then only Erpelding's official name and any other given names in brackets. The town where the mills are located are then given in the second bracket.

after local brewer *Nicolas Schweisthal*), *Teschemillen* (Teschenschmühle, Bannmühle, Kleyermühler, Breieschmühle) (Hesperange) and possibly *Wickrénger Millen* (Wickringer Mühle) (Reckange-sur-Mess) (see also Erpelding, 1981: 145, 160, 166, 168, 273, 317, 330, 332, 391–392, 435, 443, 523, 550, 563 and 609). In a few instances, there seems to be a relation between monasteries and brewing activity, at least via the use of a mill for crushing malt, as can be seen in the example *Iechternacher Abteimillen* (*Abteimühlen*, Helensteinmühle, Lohmühle, Sägemühle, *Braumühle*, Papiermühle, Steinmühle, Farbenmühle, Fäenceriemühlen) (Erpelding, 1981: 15). There is no evidence from the general corpus to corroborate this, however.

Anen (1945: 127) mentions the named place *Breieschmühle*, possibly a brewer's mill in his hometown Hesperange (see above), which is not present in the general corpus, while saying it refers to brewing activity. Similar would be *BREIESCH HE'ICHT* (Neudorf) (il₃₀ with *BREIESCH HOECHT* in il), als as *AUF BREIESCHHOECHT* (s_a) and *op Breieschbéicht* (s_a) (not to be confused with names in *breusch* and *breisch*, which are to be derived from Latin *brūscum* (Georges, 1995: 1.868; REW: 121 Nr. 1342; FEW: 1, 575; Dittmaier, 1963: 40) contrary to Kollmann et al. (2016: 46–47).²⁰

There is one indication in the general corpus which at least hints superficially at a brewing pan, or rather kettle, in *Braukessel* (Buschdorf) (a, s_a, s_n, dal, il_c and il₃₀). However, the place is nondescript considering its name and offers a rather featureless landscape. A local resident²¹ denied knowledge of the place and mentioned only the neighbouring named place *Belburg*, which could mean that the name does not fit the place, or rather was displaced. The geomorphology does not suggest a good place for brewing activity, with no sizeable water source nearby. An interpretation derived from a house name (Jungandreas, 1962: 193) seems implausible, as the landscape lies at the outskirts of the town. A visual motivation, as Dittmaier (1963: 139–10) suggests for other places does not seem plausible either, given the geomorphology, which leaves open the possibility of a folk etymology, with a possible plant-based root as similarly hinted to in Jungandreas (1962: 101), as in heather (REW: 120 Nr. 1333), possibly of Celtic origin (Delamarre, 2018: 92, 329).

Anen (1945: 127), corroborated by Dittmaier (1963: 221 and 226), mentions the use of the word *Pan(nes)* 'pan' (LOD: s.v. *Pan*) hinting to actual brewing pans. It is interesting to note that there are no indications in the general corpus of any such names in German forms (with shifted Germanic /p/). However, the name is

20 The long /u:/ form in Latin suggests a borrowing during the Middle High German period, before /u:/ diphthongised (see also LuxSA: 14, 126–128).

21 Mr. Ferdinand Gloesener, who has lived in the vicinity his whole life, confirmed as much via a telephone conversation form 25/03/2020.

never attested as directly referring to a brewing process, which leaves open an interpretation of a visual motive, or, the interpretation of a pantile/roof tile. The latter does not seem convincing, while the former is possible, in some cases at least. That in fact the etymon for pan is referred to in Luxembourgish toponymy with such names as *PAANENDREESH* (Bois) (s_a), is corroborated by similar named places, which clearly must be the result of folk-etymology, such as *Im Pankuchsweyer* (Fentange) (a) or *Im Panig* (Everlange) (s_u), which seemingly render the word *Paangech* ‘pancake’ (LOD: s.v. *Paangecher*). In most cases, it remains uncertain if there is a direct relation to brewing industry or if the names in question only refer to visual perception and denote natural coves, which seems likely enough.

Malthouses are only mentioned twice in the general corpus, once through a street name in Luxembourg-city, in *RUE DE LA MALTERIE* (Clausen) (s_a and s_n) clearly linked to the *Brasserie Emile Mousel* (see Gambrinus Bruderschaft, 1993: 91–94). Also possibly alluding to a malthouse is a place in Garnich, *an der Melzer* (a_p and s_a) and *MELZER* (il_c) and *Mälzer* (il_{30}).

The interpretation of Kodisch (1978–1981: 1.74–78)²² concerning the named place *Boettelchen* (Differdange) as bottling (or bottle holding) facility seems implausible, as the name might also depict visual aspects of landscape (see Dittmaier, 1963: 23 and 30).

2.1.2 Dedicated Plots to the Brewery

Considering evidence from the Luxembourgish named places, there are three kinds of plots that were dedicated to a brewery, possibly as a land dependency, as can be seen with mills and the land plots dedicated to the miller (see Elmshäuser et al., 2003: 891). It however seems that these plots were dedicated to a (sedentary) brewer, or to the brewing facility while rented, as the plots hint to pastoral agriculture²³ and woodland use²⁴ referring to brewing.

Names such as *an der Béierwiss* (Ermsdorf) (s_n) (also as *BEERWIES* in il_c), *BEERWIESEN* (HAGELSDORF) (il_c and il_{30}) and *Béierel* (Arnsdorf) (a_c) most likely do not hint to any plots dedicated to brewing activity, as they are most likely to be etymologically connected to *Béier* ‘boar’ (see Klees, 1981: 68 Nr. 567; LOD: s.v. *Béier* (2); Anen, 1945: 54).

22 To be fair, Kodisch (1978–1981) gives numerous possible interpretations for the name at the given place, without really discussing the likelihood of one or the other, while just enumerating everything he could imagine.

23 As in *Braupesb* (Dondelange) (a) and *Brohwies* (Leudelange) (s_u), possibly also *BRAUGART* (Koerich) (il_c).

24 As in *Browald* (Bourscheid) (a_p) and possibly in *Brobechdelt* (Eschdorf) (a_p).

2.2 Growth of Crops

Werveke (1983: 1.154) mentions the prevalence of spelt in rural agricultural grain products. He also mentions that there was less beer consumed and also less beer produced from barley and other grains. He does not give any indication that he specifically means spelt but it seems likely, considering Spang (1983: 99–100).

Plots dedicated to growing barley are relatively common compared to those dedicated to growing spelt (see Mersch 2023b: 413). It is not clear how far an oat beer production can be guaranteed, with land plots clearly indicating its cultivation but no mention of oat beer (or really any oat consumption) at other places.

Even though other crops were probably used as bittering agents (see below), the use of hops eventually persisted, with the result that it was the only bittering agent used since at least the 19th century (with other possibilities still legally allowed) (Gambrinus Bruderschaft, 1993: 11–12).

As the monasteries in Europe first adhered to using hops in beer, there is a link between the cultivation of hops and their plots belonging to an adjacent monastery, also in Luxembourg (see Gambrinus Bruderschaft, 1993: 11; Kodisch, 1978–1981: 1.276 and 1.286–287). Again, Erpelding (1981: 15) offers additional information through the usage of milling, as for example in the *Iechternacher Abteimillen*, which also functioned as a brewing mill.²⁵

The evidence for hop substitutions is questionable at best, as many names might hint at the cultivation of specific plants but could also derive from another (unknown) etymology.

One of the possible hop substitutions might have been bog myrtle (*Myrica gale*), as it was widely used as a bittering agent (Marzell and Wissmann, 2000: 3.253–255) and a hint of them might be present in *in der Battergall* (Boevange-sur-Attert) (a_p) and *auf Gelsberg* (Syren) (s_u). The instances such as *auf Bergall* (Merholtz) (dal) are rather to be explained as denotation of a small settlement (see Ramge et al., 2002: 275).

Juniper berries might have been used as a bittering agent in the past (Gambrinus Bruderschaft, 1993: 11) and there is ample evidence in Luxembourgish toponymy. However, any usage for a local brewing activity is difficult to hypothesise from the evidence of juniper crops, as the plant had other uses in household cooking (Schorr, 2005: 55–56; Marzell and Wissmann, 2000: 2.1072–1094).

25 These are all the additional names that Erpelding (1981: 15) gives for this specific mill: *Abteimühlen, Helensteinmühle, Lobmühle, Sägemühle, Braumühle, Papiermühle, Steinmühle, Farbenmühle, Fäencieriemühlen*.

2.3 Taverns and Inns

Contrary to Anen (1945: 127), names such as *auf dem Schank* (Kalborn) (a) and *Schenk* (Weyer) (s_u) are not to be etymologically connected to NHG *Schenke* ‘tavern’ from Western Germanic *skank-ija* ‘pour in’ (Kluge and Seebold, 2011: 800) but rather to *skrank-ija* ‘to cross, interlace, entangle; obstruct’ (Kluge and Seebold, 2011: 794, 825; Kluge and Mitzka, 1975: 634–635; Dittmaier, 1963: 259; ElsWB: 2, 421; LWB: 4, 104; DRW: 12, 215).

However, Anen (1945: 127) does mention the idea of solitary inns or taverns, possibly on major roads (see Kislinger, 2003: 4.1132). This alludes to the late antique *mansiones* ‘stay, layover, sojourn, residence’ (Georges, 1995: 2.801), vulgar Latin precursor of French *maison* ‘house’ (REW: 433 Nr. 5311; FEW: 6.234–253), which has found its way into Luxembourgish toponymy and can be found in named places, such as *auf Mees* (Wellenstein) (a) and *laange Maes* (Niederdonven) (a_p). Even though etymology and use of the word make the use as ‘(temporary) layover’ possible, the word mostly refers to habitations in general and the related named places in Luxembourg cannot be interpreted as taverns/inns in general. However, the presence of an inn or hospitality allocated to passing folk (see on this Kislinger, 2003: 4.1132) cannot be disproven. An indication of something similar could be the named place *Openhalt* (Boevange-sur-Attert) (t_p) (at the intersection of the four villages Boevange, Buschdorf, Brouch and Reckange/Mersch). The two (adjoined) houses of older structure and typology close to the forest apparently were an inn and a distillery, respectively.²⁶ This information seems to be rather new as there are no indications on the *Ferraris* map, nor on the maps of the first land registry. A very close named place, *auf der Hohrast* (Brouch) (a_p and a) and possibly relating to the same place *Hobrescht* (Reckange) (a_p, il_c and a), seems to hint at a place for temporary resting, which could also be dedicated to a resting place for cattle (see Anen, 1945: 136). A Roman tomb (a *tumulus*) in the vicinity cannot be an indication of a *mansio* at the place in question (see Ternes, 1973: 137 and 145–146) and even if so, it would still not testify to any older structures of a tavern/inn.

26 This information has been obtained by one of the current owners of one house, who did not give any specification, which makes the information hardly trustworthy, but not necessarily wrong.

2.4 Names and Distribution

The following maps show the distribution of the most common lexemes possibly referring to a rural brewing industry. The use of choropleth maps is usually favoured in order to emphasise the arbitrariness of a location due to missing coordinates in the general corpus. Point distributions are used in case the data is too small or if it can in a few cases be linked to a corpus example with a coordinate set.

Fig. 2.1 shows the distribution of names possibly referring to a brewing pan (choropleth) and malting industries (in two places but differing occurrences in the general corpus). Fig. 2.2 shows the different lexemes hinting to a brewery. The distribution is relatively equal with one to two instances per place and lexeme. Fig. 2.3 shows the distribution of lexemes for possible bittering agents used in beer production. The overall restrictive distribution of juniper to the west bears a possible explanation as of yet. Fig. 2.4 shows the distribution of the lexemes *Mees* hinting to possible way stations, that cannot strictly be linked to or interpreted as taverns or inns. For the distribution of crops used for beer brewing except for bittering agents, refer to chapter 6, as the names and distributions of the crops cannot guarantee a use for brewing alone.

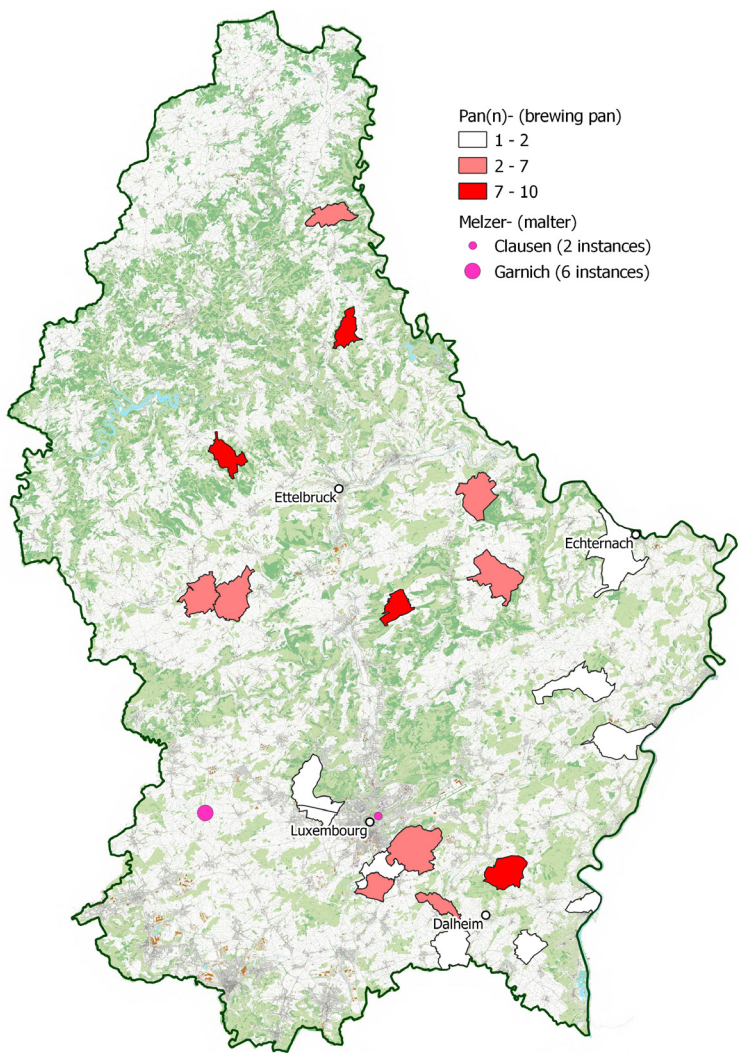


Figure 2.1: Distribution of lexemes for *brewing pan* and *malting business*

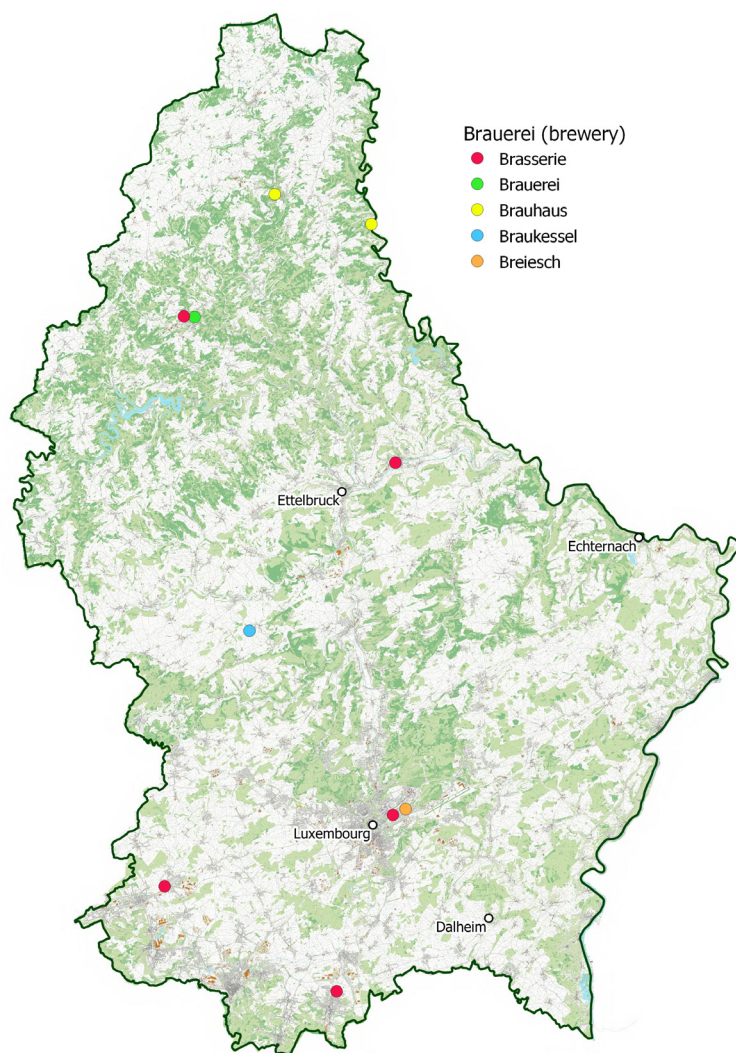


Figure 2.2: Distribution of lexemes hinting to a *brewery*

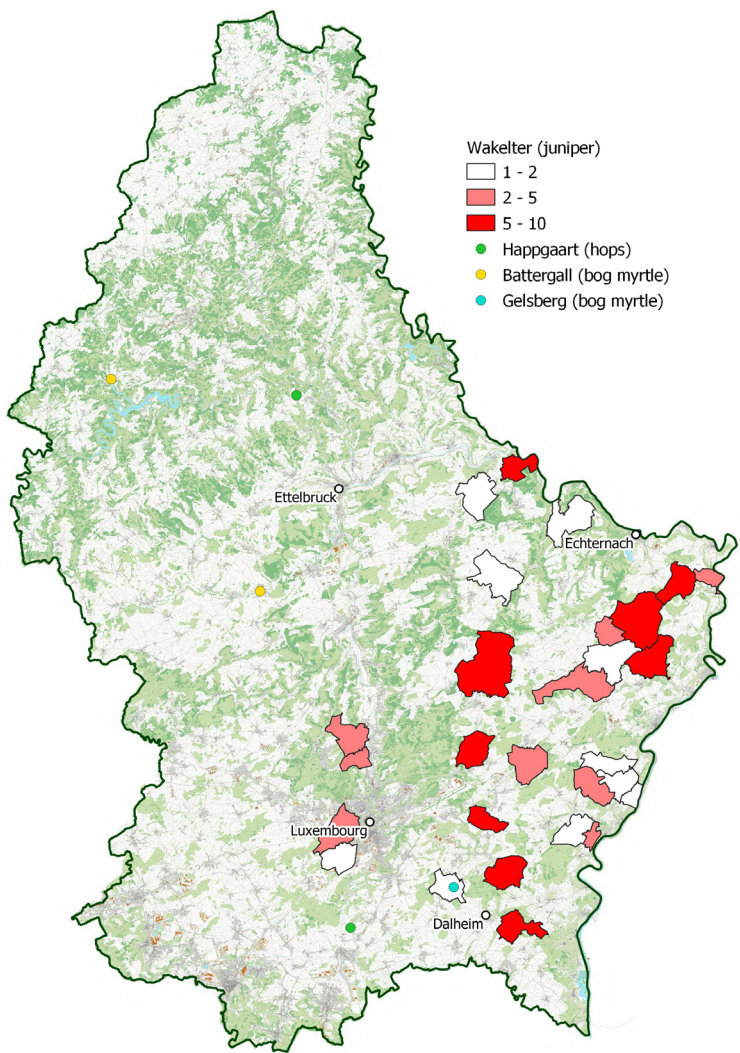


Figure 2.3: Distribution of lexemes hinting to bittering agents

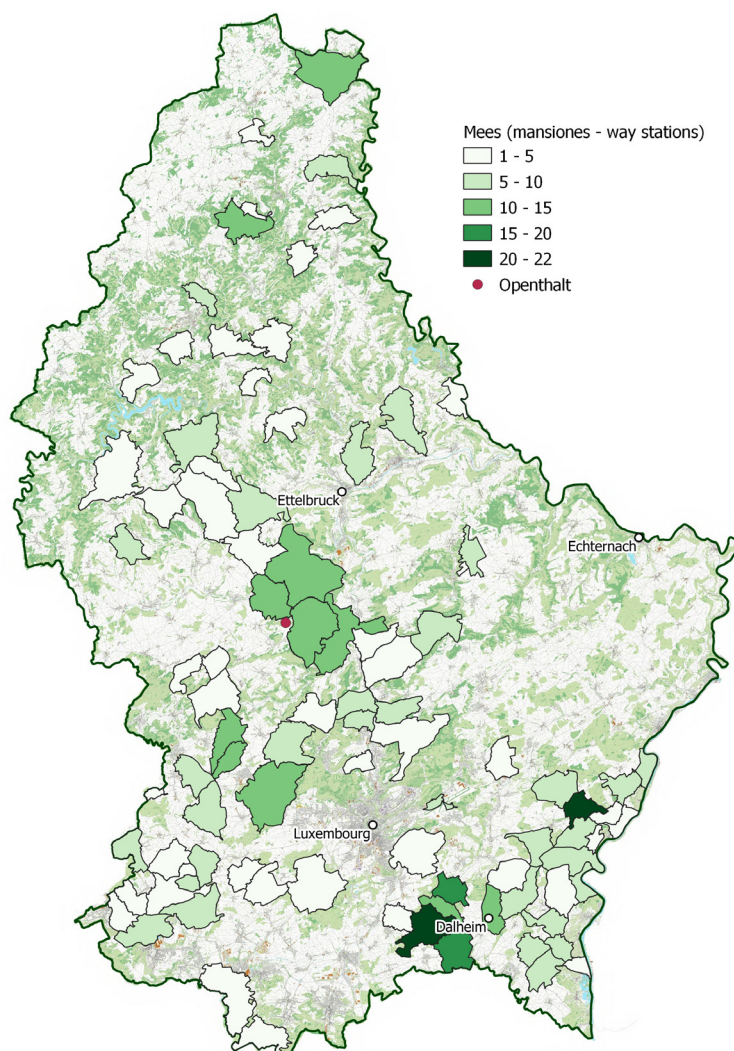


Figure 2.4: Distribution of lexemes hinting to a way stations

3 Viticulture

Wine has possibly been the most important beverage through human tradition and civilisation. While the origins of cultivated vine grapes and wine production will most likely never be known (Johnson, 1990: 16), the earliest archaeological findings stem from the Caucasus and the Near East (Johnson, 1990: 14–23; Lachiver, 1988: 20–25; Zohary, 1996; Olmo, 1996; Badler, 1996). The etymology of the word *wine* itself demonstrates the age of wine as a cultured commodity, as it can be traced back to a PIE period, but is not of PIE origin (but perhaps a loan from a Semitic language) (Brogyanyi and Lipp, 2016: 73–74). Even though there is no textual evidence of when the vine was first cultivated for the means of producing wine, the easier production process in comparison to bear making leaves the possibility of it being the first alcoholic beverage (Singleton, 1996: 72–73).

Due to its intoxicating and antiseptic properties, wine was often used for medical and cultic purposes (Johnson, 1990: 10–13, 77–80; Grivetti, 1996: 13–16). While it was foremost a drink of upper classes, possibly due to its higher alcohol content (in comparison to beer) and its longer shelf-life, wine was held in higher esteem in ancient cultures and often still is today (Johnson, 1990: 1). Even though the appreciation of different qualities of wine and their subsequent culmination in the (*grand*) *cru* and classified wines already existed way before the advent of Bordeaux wines, simple wines were most commonly consumed (Grivetti, 1996: 9–13; Johnson, 1990: 29–33, 36–37, 41–43, 47–48, 62–63; Lachiver, 1988: 35–48, 112–122, 307–314, 356–382; Uytven, 2004: 119–123, 126–127).

3.1 Wine Production in Luxembourg

Wine is a staple agricultural product of Luxembourg and evidence suggests that this was also the case in the past (see Kuhn, 2014: 352–354; Kiefer, 1962: 19–23; Krier, 2014: 154–158; Hardt, 1868: 426–435). It was by far more important to local consumption as beer was and the wine production left a more widespread and quantitative imprint onto the place name data. While there is ample evidence for local production (Pauly, 1994: 43–44, 70–86; Werveke, 1983: 1.153, 1.188, 1.263, 1.376), local and household consumption in general was fairly high (see a.o. Werveke, 1983: 1.130, 1.153–154, 1.183, 1.235, 1.376), so that there was ample evidence of wine import as well (Pauly, 1994: 70–78, 45–51, 60, map KK7B).

Not much is known about exact numbers and plot sizes dedicated to wine production. The few indications on wine trade are more tangible in historic sources than many other aspects about wine production, be it that legal fiscal characteris-

tics on viticulture are easier to grasp, most notably the *Weinrecht* (wine tax) (see a.o. Werveke, 1983: 1.369, 1.375–379). However, by 1771, about 605 hectare were dedicated to viticulture, a number that dwindled to 549 hectare in 1824 and then later continually increased to 1 730 hectare by 1920 (Kuhn, 2014: 353). In contrast, the *institut viti-vinicole* only registered slightly more than 1 310 hectare by 2020 (Institut viti-vinicole, 2021). From the early 19th century to the early 2000s, wine production gradually increased (except in times of crises), whereas the number of vintners decreased. However, at the same time, the size of the lots cultivated by a single vintner drastically increased (Kuhn, 2014: 354–357).

3.1.1 The Vineyard

The most common linguistic marker for vineyards in the place names of Luxembourg is the lexeme *Wèngert* or *Wangert*. The latter is the older form exhibiting the sound change /i/ > /a/ (see Mersch, 2023: 225–233) and the former can be explained as a loan from a bordering German dialect. The distribution that can be seen in the map in Fig. 3.3 shows an overlay of both forms, which is an indicator that the younger form is not a dialectal Luxembourgish variant. However, it became the most dominant form in the place names and is today the only form still in use (see LOD: s.v. *Wèngert*). The older name variants (*Wangert*) show a much broader distribution than the younger forms, which indicates a more widespread wine making industry than exists today. Specifically to the northern center of the modern Grand Duchy, place names using the lexeme *Wangert* can evidence a widespread wine production that seems to have been much older. Interestingly, this correlates with the demand for wine as shown by Pauly (1994: map KK7A), not however, its production in the late medieval age. Most wine at that time was produced in areas that are still today known for its wine production (Grevenmacher, Merttert, Wasserbillig, Lenningen, Statdbredimus) (see also Fig. 3.1) (see also Pauly, 1994: 43–44).²⁷ When contemplating this demand for wine and looking at the distribution of lexemes in the map in Fig. 3.3, it seems that the presence of older *Wangert* names might indicate the presence of wine before the late medieval age. Although not exactly clear, it can be maintained that wine production evidenced in place names can be dated to before the 14th century (F. NvW BNL: s.v. *wangert*; Jungandreas, 1962: 1128). This data is only a *terminus post quem*, however, and most instances are still carried in the form *wein berg*, rather than *wangert*.

27 A note has to be made that Pauly's analysis is mostly focussed on wine trade but not wine production with a focus on the medieval account books of Luxembourg city. He also mentions the absence of evidence in his sources for the presence of active vineyards within the city of Luxembourg between 1200 and 1500 (Pauly, 1994: 41–43).

Whereas the lexeme *Wängert/Wängert* exhibits itself in over 1 000 instances, reference to the lexeme wine exists in only 162 instances.²⁸ Contained within these are only 33 instances that refer to a vineyard in the compound *Wäibierg* (i. e. *wine* + *mountain*). The distribution is roughly that of the modern wine making country with a few exceptions, such as *im Weinberg* (Lintgen) (a). In four instances, always in Noertrange, a vineyard slope is mentioned, as in *Weinschleid* (Noertrange) (s_y). Twice in source a, a vineyard is mentioned as a German appellative, in *Im Weingarten* (Biwer) and *in steinmetzersch weingarten* (Burmerange). For other uses of the lexeme wine, see below.

While many denominations for (parts of) vineyards do not offer any linguistic features beyond a geomorphological reference and hence a place name cannot clearly link to wine growing (see below, 3.2), there are some lexemes that are traditionally linked to vineyard plots. In a few instances, the lexeme *Fal(l)s* is often interpreted as from lat. *vallum* ‘wall (as in the totality of all the poles erected together’ (Georges, 1995: 2.3361), thus hinting to vineyards, because in very specific instances, the name lexeme can denote a vineyard wall (Dittmaier, 1963: 69). Such names can be found in *Fallswis* (Vianden) (a_p) and *AUF DER FALSWIES* (Fouhren) (s_a), where there is other evidence of the presence of vineyards in the broader vicinity (through names using the lexeme *Wängert*). Lat. *vallum*, however, can denote any kind of wall and its link to wine growing is only through its etymology. Considering the linguistic evidence of the aforementioned names, it makes more sense to directly link the name lexemes to lat. *vallus* ‘stake, pole’ (Georges, 1995: 2.3361) (whence lat. *vallum*). The lat. lexeme *vallus* primarily denoted the stakes used to support the vines. Hence, if the evidence can stand, it is an example of wine growing by denoting a *pars pro toto* relationship of the vine growing process, not of the enclosure of vineyards. Even though the lexeme *Fal(l)s* occurs almost in all corpora, it mostly denotes places in Fouhren and Vianden, with the exception of multiple instances of place names located at the border between Michelbouch and Mertzig, as in *auf Falschent* (Michelbouch) (a_p). If these names can be interpreted as *Falsschend*, there might be another instance of the lexeme *Fal(l)s* used as referring to a vineyard. Considering the lack of other place name data for wine production in the close vicinity and the heavy clustering of the name,²⁹ an identification of the name element *Fal(l)s* with a meaning *wall* makes more sense, specifically when taking into account the latter part of the name, which denotes border outlines (-schend < -sche(e)d) (Ramge et al., 2002: 810–811). For the former name ele-

28 There are also a few instances denoting spirits, in the compound *Brannnewäin*. These are not counted here but are explained further below, in 4.1.2.

29 The name occurs thrice already in (a_p), 20 times in total considering all corpora.

ment (*Fal(l)s*), however, other interpretations outside the lexematic field of wine production is possible (Ränge et al., 2002: 347). Considering the uncertainty of the name cluster between Michelbouch and Mertzig, it can neither be an argument for or against the identification of the lexeme *Fal(l)s*, hinting to wine production in the areas Fohren and Vianden.

There is no unquestionable indication that the names *auf Gesetz* (Doennange et Deiffelt) (a_p) and *auf dem Gesetz* (Heinerscheid) (a_p)³⁰ is linked to viticulture as suggests (Dittmaier, 1963: 88) for the German Moselle region. These names possibly refer to any newly inseminated land area, as today the land in Heinerscheid is covered by forest.

On the other side, the lexeme *Plenter*, as in *PLENTER* (Remich) (il) and *AUF DEM PLENTERT* (Wormeldange) (ivv) (the lexeme occurs 13 times only at these two locations) definitely denote a newly planted vineyard. The occurrences within the modern (and traditional) wine growing area, as well as in ivv render an interpretation from Proto-Romance **plantariu* possible as does Dittmaier (1963: 230–231). This specific derivation can only be found in the French cognate *plantier* ‘young vine’, which is only attested for the south of France (TLFi: s.v. *plantier*). Considering the *umlaut* form of the Luxembourgish place names, a direct cognancy to the Lat. adjectival form *plantāris* ‘belonging to the young shoots’ (Georges, 1995: 2.1730) is not only possible but would also account towards Dittmaier (1963: 230–231) and his reluctance to directly derive the name from the noun *plantārium* ‘arboretum, plant nursery’ (Georges, 1995: 2.1730). The semantic shift would then be similar to that in the south of France, where young shoots, *i.e.* the newly planted plants, are an indicator for the most important local agricultural economic aspect, viticulture.

The lexeme *Olk/Ol(l)ek* is to be linked to Gaulish *olca* ‘ploughing land’ (Delamarre, 2018: 240) (which is of possible pre-Celtic origin) denoting ploughed land areas in place names that appear to correlate with vine growing, given instances, such as *AUF DER OLK* (Grevenmacher) (ivv) and *Olek* (Ehnen) (a_c) (see also Dittmaier, 1963: 218). However, the lexeme occurs also outside known areas for wine production, as in Syren, Moersdorf, Gostingen and others. This could also show a link to wine production in such areas, even though the primary meaning of the lexeme, which can extend to any kind of worked farm land (see REW: 496; FEW: 339–341), could give a hint that places at these locations only exhibited farming land in general. Without other, clearer data, the lexeme can only extend hypotheses and speculations.

30 Similar instances can be found at the same place in (a_c), (il₃₀), (il_c), (s_c), (s_u) and (a).

The name lexeme *Kelter* ‘wine press’ (Ramge et al., 2002: 564) occurs very frequently in the general corpus and seems to be a direct link to wine production given the locations where these names are found. Whereas some instances remain unclear, in most cases, the names are clearly referring to a vineyard, as in *IM KELTERBERG* (Ehnen) (ivv). There is also a clustering of these names where they occur which can be clearly identified clearly (see tab. 3.1). This clustering is not mandatory however, as there are enough clearly identifiable singular instances within the general corpus.

Section	Occurrence of the lexeme <i>Kelter</i>
Bous	12
Scheuerhof	11
Ehnen	7
Mondorf-les-Bains	6
Waldbredimus	5
Mersch	4
Berbourg	2
Remerschen	2

Table 3.1: Occurrences of clusters of the lexeme *Kelter*

In a sole instance in the general corpus, *In der Picht* (Waldbredimus) (_{s_w}), there is reference to the lexeme *Pichter* (Dittmaier, 1963: 228). The name can be considered as a shortened form and is derived from a medieval Latin form *pictura* ‘modus agri, vel vineæ’ (Du Cange, 1886: 5.166) (see also Dittmaier, 1963: 228–229). In this case, the name lexeme technically only bears testimony to land use after wood clearing but not to wine production in general. But seeing as the sole instance falls within the confines of the modern wine country and the historical data Dittmaier (1963: 228–229) uses to corroborate a use of the lexeme while referring to vineyards, it makes sense to assume the same here as well. The citation to Hury (1929) that Dittmaier (1963: 229) makes in this relation is erroneous, though, as Hury does not list any name with the lexeme *Picht(er)*. It seems Dittmaier misinterpreted several names exhibiting the lexeme *Pi(e)t* ‘bottom of the wine press’ (Ramge et al., 2002: 226). There are 66 instances of the lexeme in the general corpus, most of which are to be located in the modern wine country, such as *IM PITERT* (Wormeldange) (ivv) and *Pietert* (Ahn) (_{s_x}). A clear example of the lexeme outside the modern wine country is *PIETERT* (Schwebach) (_{il₃₀}) and

il) but also the instance *IWESCHTER PIETRES* (Hollerich) (il₃₀) can possibly be interpreted as such. It is unclear what the last element of the compound is in this case. In all other cases, the lexeme only occurs in the determinative compound *Pi(e)t-ert*, where the last element could either represent the modern lexeme *Äerd* (LOD: s.v. *Äerd*) and could then refer to uncultivated land areas (Ramge et al., 2002: 333–334 and 532–533), or it could represent a quickened form of the lexeme *Hart* ‘forest (on higher grounds) used for pasture feeding’ (see Ramge et al., 2002: 457–459; Kodisch, 1978–1981: 1.410). The latter seems more promising but also questions the relevance to viticulture and possibly only suggests water areas (see Ramge et al., 2002: 226). The instance *auf dem Millenpitter* (Waldbillig) (a_p)³¹ does most likely not represent the lexeme *Pi(e)t* due to the short quality of the vowel marked by <tt>. Dittmaier (1963: 370) identifies many more lexemes, which he links to viticulture. However, there is no proof for the usage of these lexemes in the general corpus beyond what has been illustrated above.

There is no evidence of remnants of names of vines (as offered by Kiefer, 1962: 19, 22; Klees, 1994: 102–104) in the general corpus that could be an indicator for wine production.

3.1.2 The Winery

On one occasion there is reference to a winery, technically a wine shop, in *im Weins Lädgen* (Munschecker) (a), but only if this name is not to be explained as a folk etymology of the denotation of a vineyard slope, as in *vor Weinschleidchen* (Noertrange) (a_p). Due to lack of any other evidence from the general corpus for specific wine taverns or inns, any instance discussed in 2.3 is also valid when discussing the sale of wine.

3.1.3 Related Plots to Wine Making

There are several names that link to viticultural production by using the lexeme for wine. However, these refer to the vintner and his property and can only tangentially stand for evidence of wine production. There is further evidence of the presence of wine makers, though.

Only in a few instances are plots mentioned that have a relation to the vintner and his economic activity outside of wine making. Instances, such as *Wäinwissen* (Welfrange) (s_n) attest to grass land plots in relation to or allotted to a vintner but not to vineyards themselves. The specific nature of the exploitation of the plot and the specific relation to the vintner cannot be further determined. In multiple in-

31 Similar instances for the same location can be found in a_c, il₃₀, il_c, s₃ and s_n.

stances, there is a relation of wine and forests, as in *bannert Weinsbësch* (Junglinster) (a_p), or former forests that is now cleared land, as in *Weinsriedchen* (Junglinster) (a_p). Although the improbability of relating to wine production itself due to the interlinking-*s* as noted by Ramge et al. (2002: 974) for Hesse (Germany) could also factor in the Luxembourgish place names. Names, such as *AUF DEM SCHWEINSPFAD* (Moestroff) (s_a) (as in the road pigs were driven on), refute this assertion to some part, for Luxembourg.

Roads on which wine was transported are mostly referred to with the lexeme *Strooss* ‘street, road’ (LOD: s.v. *Strooss*), as in *Wäistrooss* (Stadtbredimus) (s_a) or *auf der Weinstrasse* (Schouweiler) (dal) but also the lexeme *Pad* ‘path’ (LOD: s.v. *Pad*) can occur, as in *WEINSPÄDGEN* (Munschecker) (il). These names suggest to semi-exploited roads used for the transport away from the vintner and into wine trade (Ramge et al., 2002: 975; Dittmaier, 1963: 338).

There is ample evidence of wells related to wine or wine making in any form, as in *Wäibur* (Wormeldange) (a_p). These names only occur in Wormeldange but make up for a relatively high percentage in the vineyard names, see 3.2. The lexeme *Bur* occurs only to refer to natural water wells and not man-made wells (see also Ramge et al., 2002: 365–367). The names thus refer to a well in the close vicinity of vineyard plots but they cannot attest that the wells were only exploited for adjacent vineyards.

3.2 Place Names and the Modern Wine Country

The names of vineyard locations, as they are attested in source ivv, do not offer a totally different image of the name material as offered by the general corpus at large. As Fig. 3.1 shows, the density of modern vineyards and the occurrences of names in ivv overlap in most cases. Considering the rather recent age of ivv instances (on this, see Mersch, 2023: 50–51), this leads to assume that the wine growing areas did not increase but rather shifted within the modern confines of the wine producing area along the Moselle river. This stands in a stark contrast to the expanse of medieval wine industry exhibited by the distribution of vineyard names (e.g. *Wan-gert*) as can be seen in Fig. 3.3.

The vineyard names in ivv (institut vini-viticole) offer no added specific linguistic material beyond which that can be found in the general corpus. However, there is a tendency for using specific lexemes, as can be seen in table 3.2.³² Geomorphological features also have a tendency to be used primarily, with mostly

32 Only the modern Luxembourgish form is given in the table but all additional graphematic variants were taken account of.

positive elevation features being dominant. The mountain (or parts of it) are by far the most frequent. Evoking vineyards in this corpus sub set makes up for 6.2% of the total instances. Even though the area is mostly concerned with wine production, it is still interesting that place names with the lexeme for vineyard (*Wangert*) occur in that frequency. Considering the high frequency of lexemes denoting elevation or the fact the ivv corpus does not offer different linguistic material than the general corpus, even though it specifically renders the names used for plots in wine making areas, the high percentage of occurrences for the lexeme vineyard in the corpus becomes significant when considering that the same lexeme is only present in 0.5% of all instances in the general corpus. Extrapolating from the ivv data, this could mean that in the general corpus, names for wine making areas could take up higher percentage than is actually provable via linguistic means. In some cases, the presence of a lexeme for the vineyard can be found adjacent to names denoting elevation, as is e.g. in Kehlen, Kayl, Tuntange and Schieren, see Fig. 3.2. However, this could just be a coincidence and it cannot prove an extension of place names used for vineyards of wine production beyond the occurrence of names linguistically linked to wine making alone. The word for wine itself only occurs once in ivv in *WEINBOUR* (Wormeldange).

Lexeme	Absolute count	Percentage
elevation – mountain: <i>Bierg</i>	192	21.65%
elevation – peak: <i>Kopp</i>	11	1.24%
elevation – bedrock: <i>Fiels</i>	27	3.04%
elevation – bedrock: <i>Lee</i>	9	1.01%
elevation – depression: <i>Lach</i>	15	1.69%
elevation – depression: <i>Griecht</i>	4	0.45%
water well: <i>Bur</i>	17	1.92%
vineyard: <i>Wangert</i>	55	6.2%

specific features out of 887 instances: 37.2%

Table 3.2: Percentages of occurrences of specific lexemes in ivv

3.3 Names and Distribution

The following maps show the distribution of the most common lexemes possibly referring to a rural wine making industry. The use of choropleth maps is usually favoured in order to emphasise the arbitrariness of a location due to missing coordinates in the general corpus. Point distributions are used in case the data is too small or if it can in a few cases be linked to a corpus example with a coordinate set.

Fig. 3.1 highlights the difference between the extent of the modern wine industry and that portrayed by the data of the general corpus. Fig. 3.2 shows correlations of vineyard names and names for elevation using a few examples. Fig. 3.3 maps the distribution between older and newer forms for the lexeme for vineyard (*Wangert/Wēngert*). Figs. 3.4 and 3.5 show the distribution of other names hinting to vineyards.

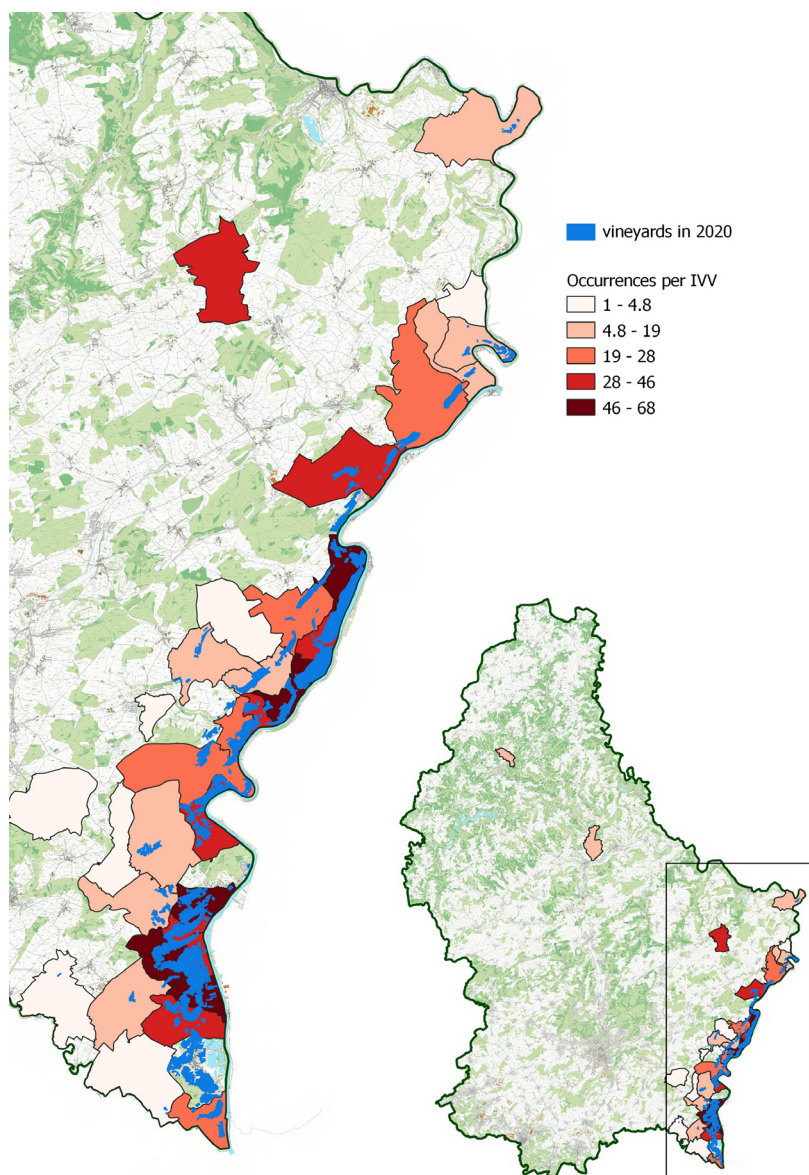


Figure 3.1: Correlation vineyards 2020 and occurrences in ivv corpus per section

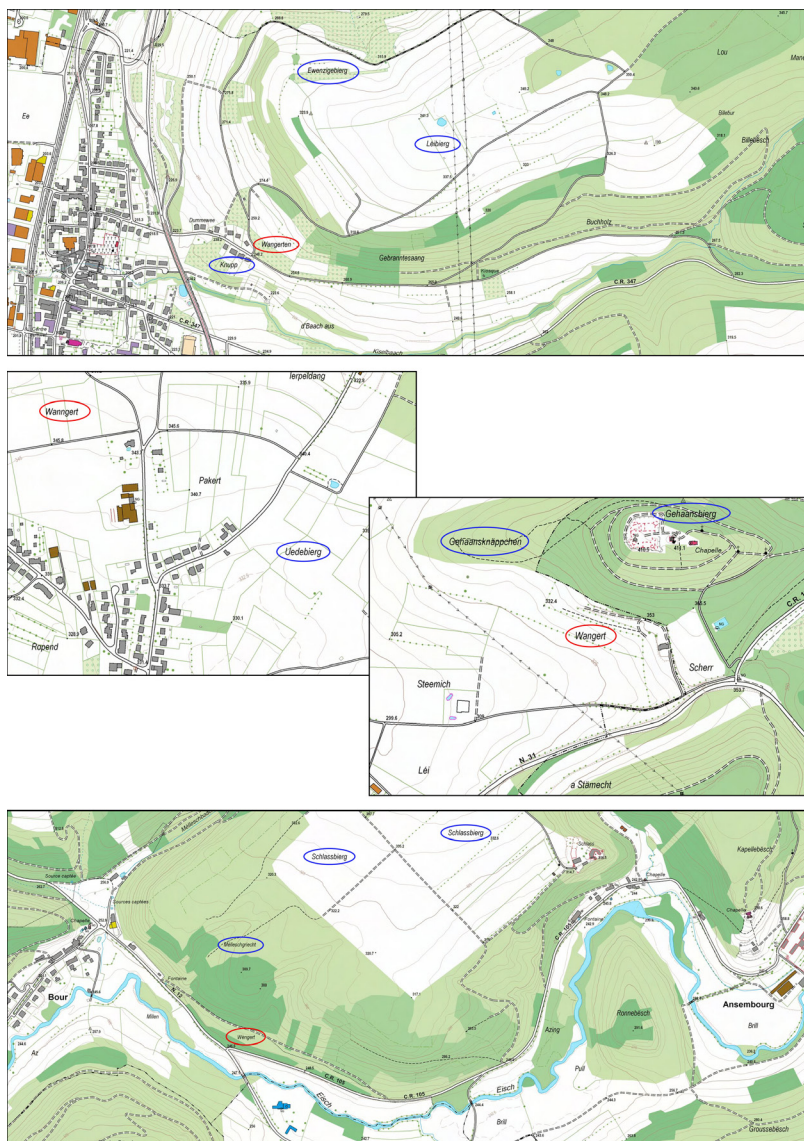


Figure 3.2: Correlation lexemes for vineyard (red) and elevation (blue) – Schieren (top), Kehlen (center left), Kayl (center right), Tuntange (bottom), all excerpts are from the topographical map 1:5000 openly made available by the *Administration du cadastre et de la topographie* of the Luxembourgish government.

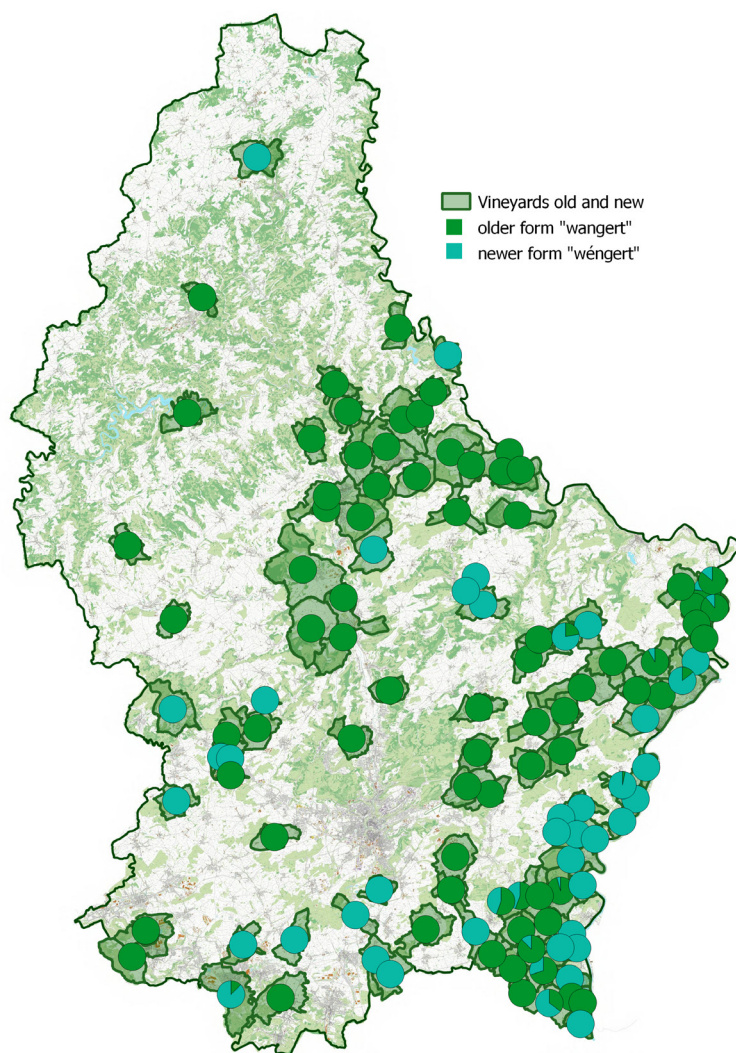


Figure 3.3: Distribution of lexemes for *vineyard* (*Wangert*, *Wéngert*)

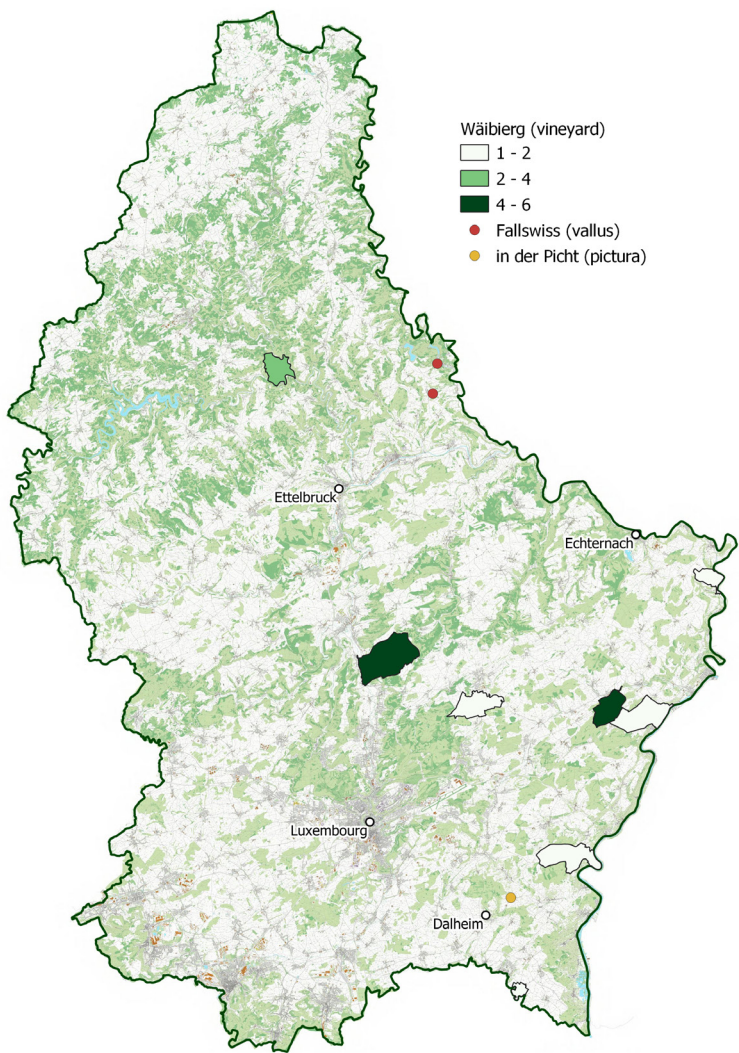
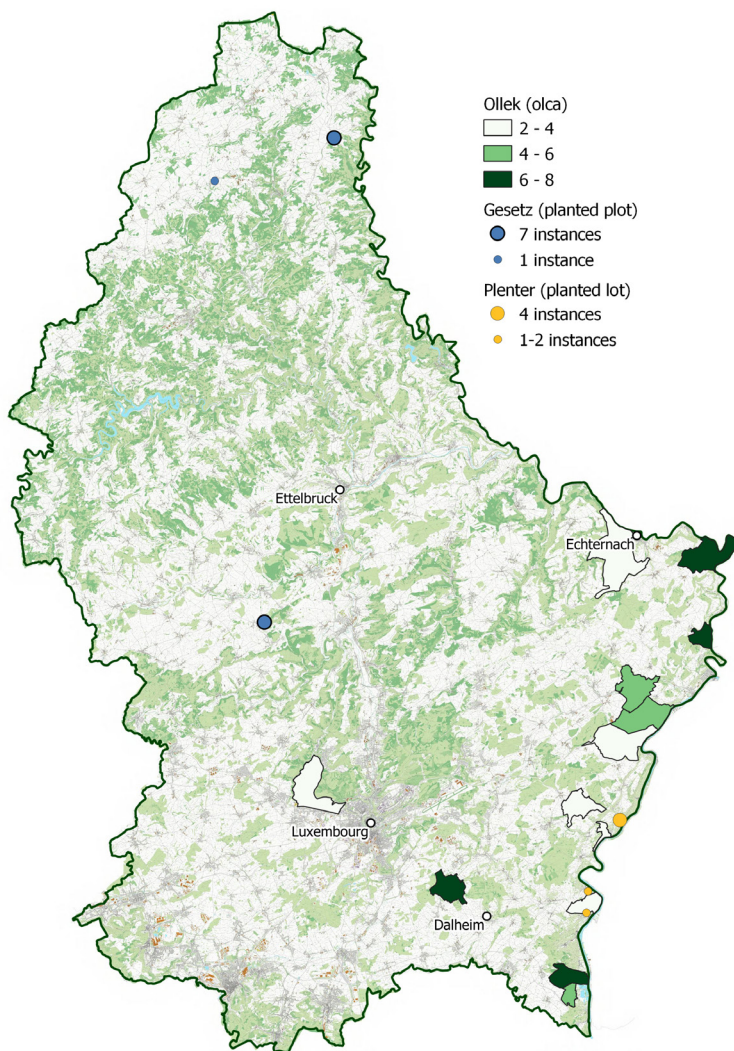


Figure 3.4: Distribution of lexemes relating to vineyards (*Wäibierg*, *Fallswiss*, *Picht*)

Figure 3.5: Distribution of lexemes relating to *vineyards* (*Ollek*, *Gesetz*, *Plenter*)

4 Distilling

Even though knowledge about distillation has been around for millennia,³³ using the process to obtain ethanol is rather modern and only slowly began to be used in the thirteenth century (Berthelot, 1893: 85). The use of distilled alcohol³⁴ was already used by the fifteenth century in (French) cuisine (Laurieux, 1996: 474) but only in the modern era, starting the sixteenth century, did drinking distilled spirits become widely popular in Europe during the era of coffee houses and other new world delicacies (Morineau, 1996: 589; Flandrin, 1996b: 622–623). The advent of spirits in Europe started from the north advancing east and is linked, just as the use of grains for distilling, to pre-existent cold climates (Flandrin, 1996a: 675–676). The overall consumption of spirits in general was far less than that of other alcoholic beverages and only rose more considerably in the 20th century (Teuteberg and Flandrin, 1996: 741–742).

In Luxembourg, distilling brandies was common in wine countries (Werveke, 1983: 2.228), as it was in France, too (Gottschalk, 1948: 2.147), while the consumption of grain spirits seems have to be widespread in general (Werveke, 1983: 1.382–386; 2.358). Although not much is known about the distillation of fruits to obtain spirits in Luxembourg, it might be viable to assume that similar reality might have been present by the 17th and 18th century here as it was in the nearby Flanders region in Belgium (see Gottschalk, 1948: 2.147).

4.1 Evidence of Distilling from Named Places

Any evidence for the production of distilled alcohol from Luxembourgish named places must be seen as a rather modern phenomenon. Specifically those plots referring to the distilleries themselves have to be seen as having been named only up to the 19th century, even though circumstantial evidence might enable earlier reconstruction. The plots dedicated to distilling or the distillery itself seem to be older as the evidence suggests that some of them have been solidified by the advent of the first land registry. However, it is impossible to deliver a generalised overview, as the linguistic forms that can be linked to distilling production do not offer specific enough insights to manifest certain details. Neither the lexicon those

33 The process was already known in ancient Mesopotamia but mostly used to obtain oils for perfumes and the such (see Levey, 1959: 36).

34 Interestingly, the word *alcohol* itself is of Arabic origin and its history, specifically the history of semantic changes, illustrate the changing use of the term and the adoption to what we denote as alcohol, meaning ethanol, today (see Berthelot, 1893: 85–86).

names offer, nor the evidenced forms themselves can offer a conclusion that the distilling industry in rural Luxembourg might have been older than the late early modern to modern era.

4.1.1 The Distillery

There are only three places that actually refer directly to a distilling production. The size of these distilleries is not clear. The three names might be considered house names that were adopted as place names (even though one is of French origin). The instance *Distillerie de Pescatore* (Grengewald) (a) can possibly be linked to the Pescatore family who were prominent and industrially active in the 19th century and there is the mention of a distiller named F. Pescatore³⁵ in an almanac of 1857 (N.C., 1857: 26).

The other two places are simply named *Brenneri* in Dommeldange and Oberanven (il₃₀ and il) (see LOD: s.v. *Brenneri*). It is questionable if the distillery was still in use by 1862³⁶ as it is mentioned as a place of residence of a forester (Luxemburger Wort, 29. Juli 1862, 4). It might have been possible that the distillery was small enough, so that the forester would have produced spirits as a side business. However, given the fact the place is mentioned on the map of Jean-Baptiste Liesch from 1865 (Liesch, 1865), it does not seem likely. If it was already a residence but not a place of industry any more, this is an indication that the distillery (and its relevant industry) was, in fact, much older than 1857.

The named place in Oberanven is possibly linked to the *Distilleries du Grand-Duché*, formerly *Ellis & Comp.*, which initially resided in *Höhenhof*³⁷ near Senningen and later migrated to Roodt-sur-Syre (Luxemburger Wort, 25. Februar 1866, 3, see also Industire.lu 2020c).

It is interesting to mention how close the three distilleries are placed together, which might just be a coincidence, however.

Names that use the name lexeme *Brenner* usually refer to charcoal makers, as it also often occurs in compounds with the lexeme for coal, as in *Kuelebrenner* (Bigonville) (a_p). It is interesting to note that when specific land areas are also named in compounds with this lexeme, they refer almost exclusively to forested

35 Possibly Charles-Philippe-Louis Pescatore (1791–1862), who was called Ferdinand and was a brother of Jean-Pierre Pescatore (1793–1855), who became a philanthropist and patron of the city of Luxembourg (see Neyen, 1972: 2.41–44 and 2.350–351) (see also Wehenkel, 2002; J. Mersch, 1947–1975: 2.448–569 and Industrie.lu 2020b and 2020d).

36 The distillery was definitely not in use any more before 1954 as it is referred to *Brenneri* - anc. *Distillerie* on the topographic map of 1954 (Administration du cadastre et de la topographie, 1954).

37 The place can also be found in the general corpus as *HÖHENHOF* (Senningen) (il_c and il₃₀).

areas, as referring to the natural resource used in coal making, as in *Kuelebrenneschbësch* (Harlange) (s_n). In some instances, though, there are plots that seemingly have a relation to distilling activity. In Greiveldange, e.g., there are two places adjacent to each other, *Brenner* (Greiveldange) (s_a) and *Brennergaarden* (Greiveldange) (s_a). The latter seems to refer to the crops used by the distillery, which would make the former evidence for the distillery itself. However, it is possible that *Brenner* was onymised and refers to a personal or house name. Considering the modern map, this seems doubtful, as both places are situated well outside the settlement core but not so far as to warrant a singular housing area. Also, there is no indication of remnants of any erected structures in that spot on the historical maps or the aerial. Indeed, the territory seems to have been delimited very clearly, which might be an indication for an orchard that was used specifically by a distillery, though this remains unclear. Greiveldange is a vintner town which has also seen distilling activity. However, it is not clear if the plots are to be linked to any modern distilleries initially.³⁸

The place named *Hellebrenner* (Mersch) (a) is located today in forest area at the boundary of the sections Mersch, Hollenfels and Schoenfels, which is an indication that the place is not to be linked to distilling activities. Additionally, a farm situated close by takes its name after another place of coal production: *Kuelbecherhaff* (Hollenfels) (a_p).

4.1.2 Dedicated Plots to the Distillery

In two places (but in multiple instances), grassland plots are referred to while determining some relation to distilling activity, in *Brantewäinswiss* (Grumelscheid) (s_n) and *BRANTEWÄINSWUES* (Merl) (il_{30}) (il). If the names are not used metaphorically, they might be an indicator for pastures that were delimited or surrounded by hedges. Two distilleries are known for Merl (see Industrie.lu 2020c), but an allocation is unclear because of the lack of actual coordinates. One single instance shows an indication of a singular tree in reference to a distilling crop, *BEIM BRANTWEINSBAEUMCHEN* (Boevange-sur-Attert) (s_a). There is no indication of it in any other corpus.

38 The only distiller that I could find out about, is the vintner family Stronck-Pinnel, thanks to a communication by local historian Armand Becker via e-mail on 21/08/2020. The sale of brandies of any kind could not be verified from the price lists and inventories on their website, see <https://www.stronck-pinnel.lu/>.

4.2 Distilling Crops

There are many crops that might have been used to distil alcohol but there is no concrete indication for the cultivation of crops specifically for distilling. In fact, hardly any fruit crops are to be found in the data, which is astonishing, especially as such crops are the staple of spirit production in modern Luxembourg. There is evidence for the production of rye, such as *KARWIS* (Wintrange) (il₃₀) and wheat, such as *Weesefeld* (Abweiler) (a) but not that much of it. Many instances seemingly indicating the etymon for wheat might be interpreted as folketymological changes initially representing the colour term for white. Interestingly, the term *Fruucht* ‘cereals’ (LOD: s.v. *Fruucht*), which is used to designate the grain used for distilling (see also LOD: s.v. *Fruuchtdrëpp*), cannot be found in any variation in the general corpus data. This might indicate that, for one, distilling production was in earlier times much less important and less wide spread than it is today but also that the distilling production indeed only became more important to rural economic production at a later stage.

Sparsely found indications of (non distinct) apple trees, such as in *Auf fubrmes apelbaum* (Boulaide) (a), were used in order to mark the landscape by a single tree but this cannot be seen as an indication for a big yield of apples in the fall to produce distilled alcohol. Although it is certainly possible to have enough raw material for producing at least one batch of clear alcohol, it is not probable that a rural household would only dedicate a single tree’s yield to alcohol production alone and not consume it as food. It is very distinct that the most common staple fruit crop has such little evidence in toponymy as a general indicator for rural economic production but rather denoting single trees.

There is no indication in the general corpus for the presence of pears, another staple fruit crop in the area. All names that might be confused with bearing the etymon for the fruit actually bear forms of the personal name *Beren(d)(s)* (Kollmann et al., 2016: 29) or the etymon *Béier* ‘wild boar’ (Klees, 1981: 68).

While some of the yield of the numerous orchards might have been used to produce distilled alcohol, the presence of the generic term for orchard, as in *auf dem Bongert* (Crauthem) (a), without any linguistic hint to the act of distilling, does not prove the possibility of clear alcohol production in these areas on its own, even though, the etymology of the word, denoting a delimited area dedicated to growing (fruit) trees, suggests an economically more important activity (that the yield of single trees, see above), rendering a wider use of the yield not only possible but also probable.

Only a few specific plants might hint at a distilling process but it might always be possible that these plants were used for other reasons, such as medical purposes. It is interesting, however that these plants can be found in the general corpus but other cultured fruit varieties cannot. The fact that such plants are still named, refers to the informational value in their name and also to their real life value at the time. All these plants are undigestible while raw and inedible in their natural state.

As mentioned above, the presence of the general word for apple tree does not give proof for the distillation economy. However, single trees that refer to a specific and not edible fruit, can at least suggest the possibility of using their yields for clear alcohol production. However, this can only be the case on two grounds, namely, the assumption that all yields possibly alleviating the personal economic situation were used, and that the name reference had a clear cultural and real value, which meant that the tree was not exchanged for something economically more useful (building on the former assumption). There are many instances that refer to crap apples and crap apple trees, as in *beim Holzapelbam* (Bigelbach) (s_n), *KAISESCHHOLZAPELBAM* (Schieren) (il_{30}) and *HOLZAPFEL* (Greisch) (il), rendering a wide spread use of them for some economic activity probable but unprovable. A similar case can be made for a specific pear variety that can only be found in the greater region, possibly a variation of *sorbus domestica* (see Marzell and Wissmann, 2000: 4.422–427), as in *Spierenoicht* (Pettingen) (a) and *beim Sperenbaum* (Oberanven) (a). That fruit variety almost died out and is only used for producing clear alcohol nowadays.

The general corpus offers a few instances that hint to the presence of sloes, such as *bei de Schléiwenhecken* (Bigelbach) (s_n) and *SCHLEHEN* (Livange) (il). Sloe jam is still rather atypical in Luxembourg and might have been so in the past, offering the possibility the plants berries were used in the production of alcohol, either infused, or distilled again. It is still possible that the sloe might have been used for medicinal purposes (see Birkhan, 2012: 159).

While it might have been possible that junipers were also used in alcohol production, as in *Wakelderbiërg* (Ahn) (a), its wide spread in the Luxembourgish named places (as already recognised by Schorr, 2005: 55) might refer to medicinal use (see Birkhan, 2012: 170).

4.3 Names and Distribution

The following maps show the distribution of the few lexemes possibly referring to a rural distilling industry. Point distributions are used since the data is too small except for the case of the distribution of the lexeme *Bongert*, where a choropleth map is used.

Fig. 4.1 shows the distribution of the names referring to a distillery, either directly or by referring to a distiller or a distillate. Fig. 4.2 shows a distribution of orchards and specific fruit crops. Considering the possible use of junipers, refer to 2, for corn fruits, see 6.

5 Summary

The present analysis offers insights into Luxembourgish toponymy and its relevance for the study of rural agrarian history, while focussing on the topics of alcoholic byproducts. There are three elements concerning the production of alcoholic beverages that are exhibited by the evidence found in place name data in Luxembourg. The most prominent is that of viticulture, which is still to this day an important element of agrarian economy in the Grand Duchy. However, beer production seems to be also evidenced, though to a much lesser degree. The evidence of distilling products is even rarer with just a few more concrete (and modern) instances that directly exhibit evidence for a distilling industry, with other data only being viable through secondary interpretation. The fact that of these three parts of agrarian production of alcoholic beverages, only the toponymic evidence of viticulture is so strongly represented could also be in relation to the nature of wine making, which needs far more specifically dedicated land to grow the crops. With beer and destilates, the raw material could also have been used for other agrarian economic activities.

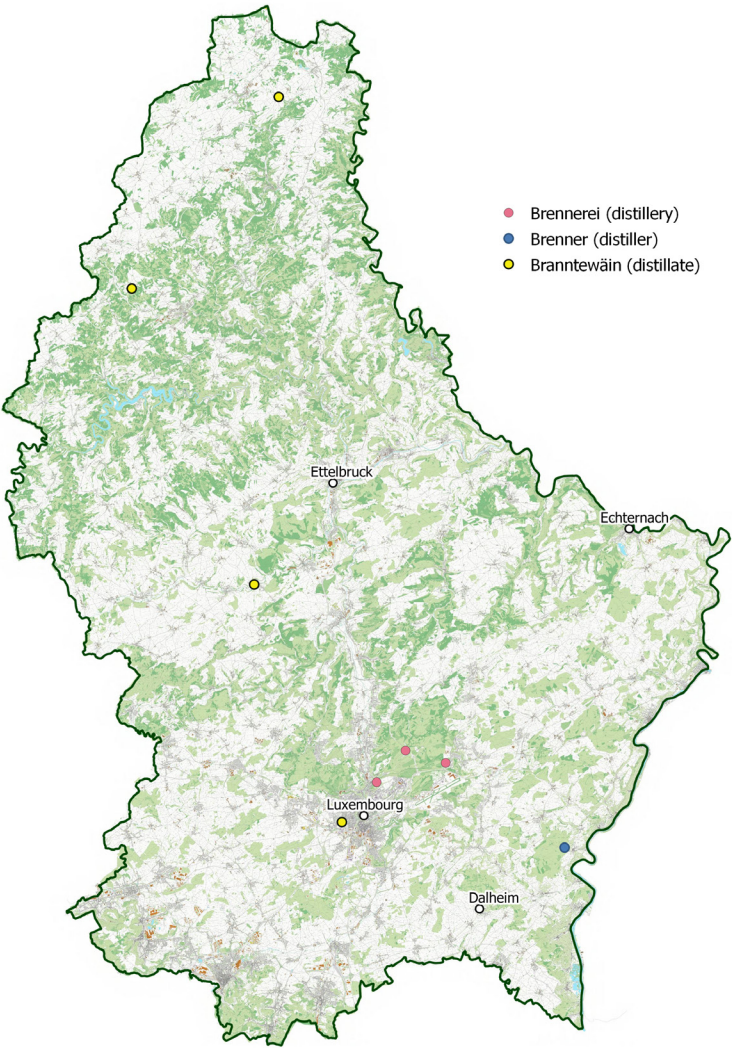


Figure 4.1: Distribution of lexemes relating to a *distillery*

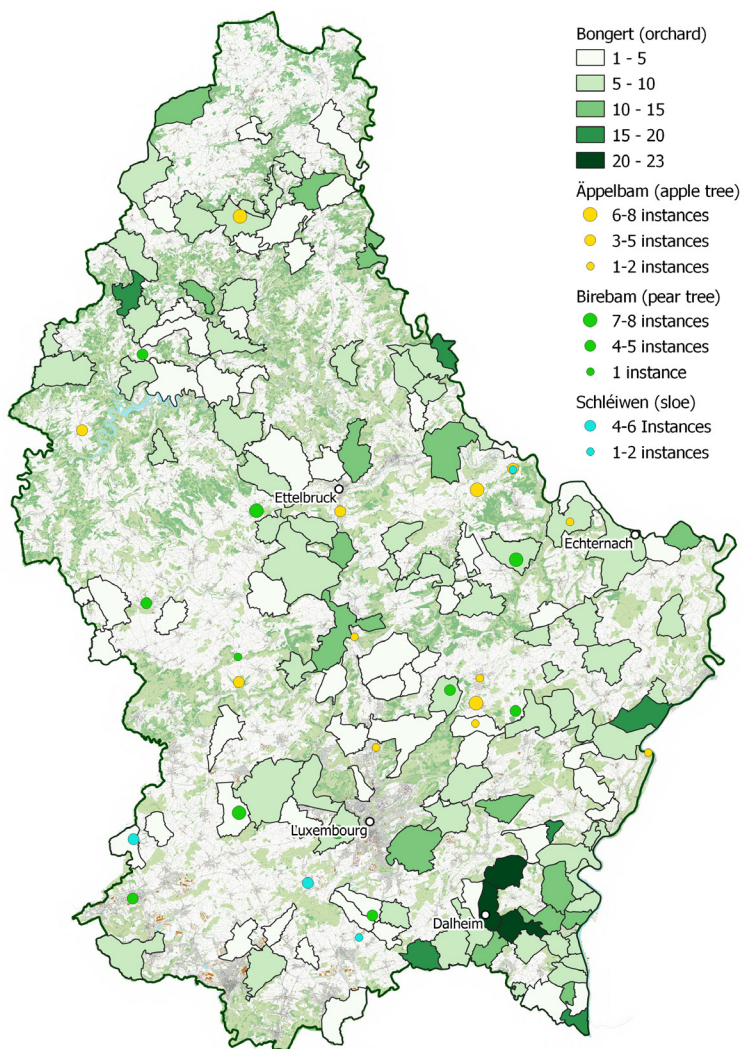


Figure 4.2: Distribution of lexemes relating to *orchards* and specific fruits (*apples*, *pears*, *sloe*)

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Note on the maps

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[*Abstract:* This analysis offers insights into Luxembourg toponymy and its relevance for the study of rural agricultural history, with a focus on the themes of alcoholic by-products. There are three elements relating to the production of alcoholic beverages, which are represented by the evidence found in place names in Luxembourg. The most prominent is viticulture, which is still an important part of the agricultural economy of the Grand Duchy to this day. However, there is also evidence of beer production, albeit to a much lesser extent. Even evidence of distillation products is even rarer, with only a few specific (and rather modern) examples that provide primary evidence for a distillation industry, while other data is only usable through secondary interpretation. The fact that of these three parts of the agricultural production of alcoholic beverages, only the toponymic evidence for viticulture is so strongly represented seems to be related to the nature of wine production, which requires considerably more land specifically dedicated to the cultivation of the raw materials. In the case of beer and distillates, the raw materials could also be used for other agricultural activities.]