

### The Polyptych of St-Germain-des-Prés: Neuillay, 810.<sup>1</sup>

A polyptych is an inventory of the resources of a series of estates, usually all controlled by the same lord (whether an individual nobleman or, more often, a monastery). This one was recorded under the direction of Abbot Irminon of the abbey of St. Germain des Pres in France. This section describes the manor of Neuillay.

A. At Neuillay there is a *demesne* farm [*mansus*]; it has an abundance of other buildings. It has there ten small fields containing 40 *bunuaria* in land, which can be sown with 200 *modia* of oats; nine *arpents* of meadow-land from which 10 loads of hay can be collected. There is a forest there, which is, according to estimation, 3 leagues in length, 1 league in width, in which 800 pigs can be fattened.

1. Electeus a *servus* and his wife, a *colona* by the name of Landina, who are dependents of St-Germain, live at Neuillay. He holds half a farm [*mansus*] that has 6 *bunuaria* of arable land, a half arpent of meadow. He ploughs 4 perches of winter wheat and 13 of spring wheat. He spreads manure on the lord's fields, and does nothing else nor owes anything, because of the service that they provide.

2. Abrahil a *servus* and his wife a *lida*<sup>2</sup> by the name of Berthidlis, are dependents of St-Germain. These are their children: Abram, Avremarus Bertrada. And Ceslinus a *lidus* and his wife a *lida* by the name of Leutberga. These are their children: Leutgardis, Ingohildis. And Godalbertus a *lidus*. These are their [his] children: Gedalcaus, Celsovildis, Bladovildis. These three live in Neuillay. They hold a farm having 15 *bunuaria* of arable land and 4 arpents of meadow. They do service in Anjou and in the month of May at Paris. For the army tax they pay 2 sheep, 9 hens, 30 eggs, 100 planks and as many shingles, 12 staves, 6 hoops, and 12 torches; and they take 2 loads of wood to Sûtré. They enclose 4 perches with stakes in the lord's court, 4 perches with hedge in the meadow, and as much as necessary at harvest time. They plough 8 perches with winter wheat, 26 perches with spring wheat. As well their labour and service, they spread manure on the lord's fields. Each them pays 4 *denarii* on his head.

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.le.ac.uk/hi/polyptyques/neuillay/site.html>

3. Gislevetus a *servus* and his wife a *lida* by the name of Gotberga. These are their children: Ragno, Gausbertus, Gaujoinus, Gautlindis. And Sinopus a *servus* and his wife a *servus* named Frolaica. These are their children: Sictlandus, Frothardus, Marellus, Adaluildis, Frotlidis. And Ansegudis a *servus*. These are their [her] children: Ingalbertus, Frotbertus, Frotlaicus, Frotberga. These three live in Neuillay. They hold 1 farm having 26 *bunuaria* of arable land and 8 arpents of meadow. They pay like the above.

4. Maurifius a *lidus* and his wife a *colona* by the name of Ermengardis. Ermengildis is their son. And Gaudulfus a *lidus* and his wife a *lida* by the name of Celsa. Gaudildis is their son. These two [families] live in Neuillay. They hold 1 farm having 28 *bunuaria* of arable land and 4 arpents of meadow. They pay like the above.

5. Ragenardus a *servus* and his wife a *colona* by the name of Dagen. Ragenaus is their son. And Gausboldus a *servus* and his wife a *lida* by the name of Faregildis. These 2 [families] live in Neuillay. They hold 1 farm having 11 *bunuaria* of arable land and 4 arpents of meadow. They make [payment] like the above.

6. Feremundus a *servus* and his wife a *colona* by the name of Creada. Feroardus a *servus* and his wife a *lida* by the name of Adalgardis. Illegardis is their daughter. And Faroneus a *servus*. And Adalgrimus a *servus*. These four live in Neuillay. They hold 1 farm having 8 *bunuaria* of arable land and 4 arpents of meadow. They make [payment] like the above.

7. Gautmarus a *servus* and his wife a *lida* by the name of Sigalsis. These are their children: Siclevoldus, Sicleardus. That one lives in Neuillay. He holds a quarter of a farm having 1 and a half *bunuaria* of arable land and 1 arpent of meadow. He pays a quarter of what a whole farm pays.

8. Hildeboldus a *servus* and his wife a *lida* by the name of Bertenildis. These are their children: Aldedramnus, Adalbertus, Hildegardus, Trutgaudus, Bernardus, Bertramnus, Hildoinus, Haldedrudis, Martinga. And Haldemarus a *servus* and his wife a *colona* by the name of Motberga.

<sup>2</sup> *lidus* or *lida*: Another type of tenant; it is difficult to distinguish it from *colonus* or *servus*.

These are their children: Martinus, Siclehildis, Bernegildis. These two [families] live in Neuillay. They hold half a farm having 6 bunuaria of arable land and a half arpent of meadow. They return half of what is owed by a whole farm.

9. Bertlinus a lidus and his wife a colona by the name of Lantsida. These are their children: Creatus, Martinus, Lantbertus. He lives in Neuillay. He holds a quarter of a farm having 3 bunuaria of arable land and 2 arpents of meadow. He does service. He ought to pay a quarter of what a whole farm pays, but to look after this debt he takes care of the pigs.

10. In Neuillay there are 6 and a half inhabited farms; another half a farm is uninhabited. There are 16 hearths. For the army tax they pay 12 sheep; in head tax 5 solidi and 4 denarii; 48 chickens, 160 eggs, 600 planks and as many shingles, 54 staves and as many hoops, 72 torches. They take 2 cartloads to the wine harvest, and 2 and a half in May, and half an ox.

11. These are the servi: Electeus, Gislevetus, Sinopus, Ragenardus, Gausboldus, Feremundus, Gedalbertus, Faroardus, Abrahil, Faroinus, Adalgrimus, Gautmarus, Hildeboldus. They pay with torches and by carrying.

12. These are the lidi: Maurifius, Gaudulfus, Bertlinus, Ceslinus, Gedalbertus.

13. These are the female servi: Frotlina, Ansegundis, Alda, Framberta. They keep the chickens and make cloth, if wool is supplied to them.

14. These are the female lidae: Berthildis, Leutberga, Gotberga, Celsa, Faregildis, Sigalsis, Bertenildis. They pay 4 denarii in tax.

15. Ragenardus holds 1 bunuarium from the lord's property. Gislevetus holds, apart from his farm, 2 fruitful fields.

### **Charter issued by the Abbey of Stavelot, 1126<sup>3</sup>**

*A charter is a legal document, often documenting land transactions, etc. This one concerns labor obligations (sometimes called the corvée of labor) of peasants living on lands held by the Abbey. Stavelot is located near Liège in Belgium.*

In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity. Cuonon, by the grace of God, Abbot of Stavelot. Just as it is right to keep alive those things which have been well and truly decreed to be inviolate and holy, so there is no question at all that those things which have been corrupted by perversion ought to be returned to their proper use. Therefore, let it be known to your posterity that we have discovered a certain corrupt and altogether reprehensible use, or rather abuse, which we on the advice of our monastery and of our faithful people have corrected by this present charter. For since it was the ancient custom that all, who have a rural possession within the boundaries of the villa of Stavelot, should bring lime three times a year to the monastery, negligent officials, having accepted money for the cartage, worked two evils, i.e., they oppressed the people by this exaction and they neglected both the walls of our buildings and the crumbling walls of the inner cloister. And so we, resisting this two-fold evil, have decreed, and by this present charter have confirmed our decree, that, for the future, serfs will bring lime or stone for burning to our monastery, and if they are not commanded to transport the lime, they need not pay any commutation or redemption at all, except that if there be an abundance of lime, they may pay for one cartload of lime six loads of timber for building purposes or two for fuel. Moreover, they will go three times a year, first in the month of May, then between the feast of St. John and that of St. Peter, at the end of the month of June, and thirdly between the feast of St. Remaclus and that of St. Remigius. Let them bring this lime or stone prepared for burning from our manors, that is Louveigné, or Xhoris, or Filot, or Ozo.

Done at Stavelot in the year of the Incarnation 1126, Lothar being King of the Romans, Alberon Bishop of Liège, and Cuonon Abbot of Stavelot.

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<sup>3</sup> From: Roy C. Cave and Herbert H. Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History* (Milwaukee, Wis.: Bruce Publishing Co., 1936). Accessed via Facts on File History Database Center, <http://www.fofweb.com/History>

### ***Capitulary De Villis, c. 800***<sup>4</sup>

*This “capitulary” or royal decree, was issued by the government of either Charlemagne or his son Louis, around the year 800. It describes official royal policy (rather than describing actual events).*

1. It is our wish that those of our estates which we have established to minister to our needs shall serve our purposes entirely and not those of other men...

3. That the stewards shall not presume to put our people to their own service, and shall not compel them to give their labour or to cut wood or to do any other work for them; and they shall accept no gifts from them, neither a horse nor an ox, nor a cow, nor a pig, nor a sheep, nor a piglet, nor a lamb, nor anything other than bottles of wine, vegetables, fruit, chickens and eggs...

8. That our stewards shall take charge of our vineyards in their districts, and see that they are properly worked; and let them put the wine into good vessels, and take particular care that no loss is incurred in shipping it. They are to have purchased other, more special, wine to supply the royal estates. And if they should buy more of this wine than is necessary for supplying our estates they should inform us of this, so that we can tell them what we wish to be done with it. They shall also have slips from our vineyards sent for our use. Such rents from our estates as are paid in wine they shall send to our cellars.

...11. That no steward, under any circumstances, shall take lodgings for his own use or for his dogs, either among our men or among those living outside our estates.

...13. That they shall take good care of the stallions, and under no circumstances allow them to stay for long in the same pasture, lest it should be spoiled. And if any of them is unhealthy, or too old, or is likely to die, the stewards are to see that we are informed at the proper time, before the season comes for sending them in among the mares.

14. That they shall look after our mares well, and segregate the colts at the proper time. And if the fillies increase in number, let them be separated so that they can form a new herd by themselves.

...17. A steward shall appoint as many men as he has estates in his district, whose task it will be to keep bees for our use.

18. At our mills they are to keep chickens and geese, according to the mill's importance—or as many as is possible.

19. In the barns on our chief estates they are to keep not less than 100 chickens and not less than 30 geese. At the smaller farms they are to keep not less than 50 chickens and not less than 12 geese.

20. Every steward is to see that the produce is brought to the court in plentiful supply throughout the year; also, let them make their visitations for this purpose at least three or four times.

21. Every steward is to keep fishponds on our estates where they have existed in the past, and if possible he is to enlarge them. They are also to be established in places where they have not so far existed but where they are now practicable.

...23. On each of our estates the stewards are to have as many byres, pigsties, sheepfolds and goat-pens as possible, and under no circumstances are they to be without them. They are also to have cows provided by our serfs for the performance of their service, so that the byres and plough-teams are in no way weakened by service on our demesne. And when they have to provide meat, let them have lame but healthy oxen, cows or horses which are not mangy, and other healthy animals; and, as we have said, our byres and plough-teams must not suffer as a result of this.

...32. That every steward shall make it his business always to have good seed of the best quality, whether bought or otherwise acquired.

...34. They are to take particular care that anything which they do or make with their hands—that is, lard, smoked meat, sausage, newly-salted meat, wine, vinegar, mulberry wine, boiled wine, garum, mustard, cheese, butter, malt, beer, mead, honey, wax and flour—that all these are made or prepared with the greatest attention to cleanliness.

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.le.ac.uk/hi/polyptyques/capitulare/trans.html>

35. It is our wish that tallow shall be made from fat sheep and also from pigs; in addition, they are to keep on each estate not less than two fattened oxen, which can either be used for making tallow there or can be sent to us.

36. That our woods and forests shall be well protected; if there is an area to be cleared, the stewards are to have it cleared, and shall not allow fields to become overgrown with woodland. Where woods are supposed to exist they shall not allow them to be excessively cut and damaged. Inside the forests they are to take good care of our game; likewise, they shall keep our hawks and falcons in readiness for our use, and shall diligently collect our dues there. And the stewards, or our mayors or their men, if they send their pigs into our woods to be fattened, shall be the first to pay the tithe for this, so as to set a good example and encourage other men to pay their tithe in full in the future.

37. That they shall keep our fields and arable land in good order, and shall guard our meadows at the appropriate time.

38. That they shall always keep fattened geese and chickens sufficient for our use if needed, or for sending to us.

...40. That every steward, on each of our estates, shall always have swans, peacocks, pheasants, ducks, pigeons, partridges and turtle doves, for the sake of ornament.

...42. That each estate shall have in its store-room beds, mattresses, pillows, bed-linen, table-cloths, seat-covers, vessels of bronze, lead, iron and wood, fire-dogs, chains, pot-hangers, adzes, axes, augers, knives and all sorts of tools, so that there is no need to seek them elsewhere or to borrow them. As to the iron tools which they provide for the army, the stewards are to make it their business to see that these are good, and that when they are returned they are put back into the storeroom.

43. They are to supply the women's workshops with materials at the appropriate times, according to their instructions — that is, linen, wool, woad, vermilion, madder, wool-combs, teazles, soap, oil, vessels and the other small things that are needed there.

...45. That every steward shall have in his district good workmen—that is, blacksmiths, gold- and silver-smiths, shoemakers, turners,

carpenters, shield-makers, fishermen, falconers, soap-makers, brewers (that is, people who know how to make beer, cider, perry or any other suitable beverage), bakers to make bread for our use, net-makers who can make good nets for hunting or fishing or fowling, and all the other workmen too numerous to mention.

...49. That our women's quarters shall lie properly arranged—that is, with houses, heated rooms and living rooms; and let them have good fences all round, and strong doors, so that they can do our work well.

...51. Every steward is to take care that dishonest men do not conceal our seed from us, either under the ground or elsewhere, thus making the harvest less plentiful. Similarly, with the other kinds of mischief, let them see to it that they never happen.

...55. It is our wish that the stewards should record, in one document, any goods or services they have provided, or anything they have appropriated for our use, and, in another document, what payments they have made; and they shall notify us by letter of anything that is left over.

56. That every steward in his district shall hold frequent hearings and dispense justice, and see to it that our people live a law-abiding life.

...58. When our puppies are entrusted to the stewards they are to feed them at their own expense, or else entrust them to their subordinates, that is, the mayors and deans, or cellarers, so that they in their turn can feed them from their own resources—unless there should be an order from ourselves or the queen that they are to be fed on our estate at our own expense. In this case the steward is to send a man to them, to see to their feeding, and is to set aside food for them; and there will be no need for the man to go to the kennels every day.

...61. That each steward, when he is on service, shall have his malt brought to the palace; and with him shall come master-brewers who can make good beer there.

62. That each steward shall make an annual statement of all our income, from the oxen which our ploughmen keep, from the holdings which owe ploughing services, from the pigs, from rents, judgement-fees and fines, from the fines for taking game in our forests without our permission and from the various other payments; from the mills, forests,

fields, bridges and ships; from the free men and the hundreds which are attached to our fisc; from the markets; from the vineyards, and those who pay their dues in wine; from hay, firewood and torches, from planks and other timber; from waste land; from vegetables, millet and panic<sup>5</sup>; from wool, linen and hemp; from the fruits of trees; from larger and smaller nuts; from the graftings of various trees; from gardens, turnips, fishponds; from hides, skins and horns; from honey and wax; from oil, tallow and soap; from mulberry wine, boiled wine, mead and vinegar; from beer and from new and old wine; from new and old grain; from chickens and eggs and geese; from the fishermen, smiths, shield-makers and cobblers; from kneading troughs, bins or boxes; from the turners and saddlers; from forges and from mines, that is, from iron- or lead-workings and from workings of any other kind; from people paying tribute; and from colts and fillies. All these things they shall set out in order under separate headings, and shall send the information to us at Christmas time, so that we may know the character and amount of our income from the various sources.

...69. They shall at all times keep us informed about wolves, how many each of them has caught, and shall have the skins delivered to us. And in the month of May they are to seek out the wolf cubs and catch them, with poison and hooks as well as with pits and dogs.

70. It is our wish that they shall have in their gardens all kinds of plants: lily, roses, fenugreek, costmary, sage, rue, southernwood, cucumbers, pumpkins, gourds, kidney-bean, cumin, rosemary, caraway, chick-pea, squill, gladiolus, tarragon, anise, colocynth, chicory, ammi, sesili, lettuces, spider's foot, rocket salad, garden cress, burdock, penny-royal, hemlock, parsley, celery, lovage, juniper, dill, sweet fennel, endive, dittany, white mustard, summer savory, water mint, garden mint, wild mint, tansy, catnip, centaury, garden poppy, beets, hazelwort, marshmallows, mallows, carrots, parsnip, orach, spinach, kohlrabi, cabbages, onions, chives, leeks, radishes, shallots, cibols, garlic, madder,

teazles, broad beans, peas, coriander, chervil, capers, clary. And the gardener shall have house-leeks growing on his house. As for trees, it is our wish that they shall have various kinds of apple, pear, plum, sorb, medlar, chestnut and peach; quince, hazel, almond, mulberry, laurel, pine, fig, nut and cherry trees of various kinds. The names of apples are: gozmaringa, geroldinga, crevedella, spirauca; there are sweet ones, bitter ones, those that keep well, those that are to be eaten straightaway, and early ones. Of pears they are to have three or four kinds, those that keep well, sweet ones, cooking pears and the late-ripening ones.

### Inventory of Asnapium, c. 800<sup>6</sup>

*This is a specimen of the annual statements required by Charlemagne from the stewards on his royal domains. The location of Asnapium is unknown, but it is evident that this estate was one of the smaller sort. Like all the rest, it was liable occasionally to become the temporary abiding place of the king.*

We found in the imperial estate of Asnapium a royal house built of stone in the very best manner, having three rooms. The entire house was surrounded with balconies and it had eleven apartments for women. Underneath was one cellar. There were two porticoes. There were 17 other houses built of wood within the court-yard, with a similar number of rooms and other fixtures, all well constructed. There was 1 stable, 1 kitchen, 1 mill, 1 granary, and 3 barns. The yard was enclosed with a hedge and a stone gateway, and above was a balcony from which distributions can be made. There was also an inner yard, surrounded by a hedge, well arranged, and planted with various kinds of trees.

Of vestments: coverings for 1 bed, 1 table-cloth, and 1 towel.

Of utensils: 2 brass kettles; 2 drinking cups; 2 brass cauldrons; 1 iron cauldron; 1 frying-pan; 1 gramalmin; 1 pair of andirons; 1 lamp; 2 hatchets; 1 chisel; 2 augers; 1 axe; 1 knife; 1 large plane; 1 small plane; 2

<sup>5</sup> panic: a type of grain.

<sup>6</sup> From: Frederic Austin Ogg, ed., *A Source Book of Mediaeval History: Documents Illustrative of European Life and Institutions from the German Invasions to the Renaissance* (New York, 1907, reprinted New York: Cooper

Square Publishers, 1972), pp. 127-129. Accessed via Internet Medieval Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html>. Source-Text in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges* (Pertz ed.), Vol. I., pp. 178-179.

scythes; 2 sickles; 2 spades edged with iron; and a sufficient supply of utensils of wood.

Of farm produce: old spelt from last year, 90 baskets which can be made into 450 weight of flour; and 100 measures of barley. From the present year, 110 baskets of spelt, of which 60 baskets had been planted, but the rest we found; 100 measures of wheat, 60 sown, the rest we found; 98 measures of rye all sown; 1,800 measures of barley, 1,100 sown, the rest we found; 430 measures of oats; 1 measure of beans; 12 measures of peas. At 5 mills were found 800 measures of small size. At 4 breweries, 650 measures of small size, 240 given to the prebendaries, the rest we found. At 2 bridges, 60 measures of salt and 2 shillings. At 4 gardens, 11 shillings. Also honey, 3 measures; about 1 measure of butter; lard, from last year 10 sides; new sides, 200, with fragments and fats; cheese from the present year, 43 weights.

Of cattle: 51 head of larger cattle; 5 three-year olds; 7 two-year olds; 7 yearlings; 10 two-year old colts; 8 yearlings; 3 stallions; 16 cows; 2 asses; 50 cows with calves; 20 young bulls; 38 yearling calves; 3 bulls; 260 hogs; 100 pigs; 5 boars; 150 sheep with lambs; 200 yearling lambs; 120 rams; 30 goats with kids; 30 yearling kids; 3 male goats; 30 geese; 80 chickens; 22 peacocks.

Also concerning the manors which belong to the above mansion. In the villa of Grisio we found domain buildings, where there are 3 barns and a yard enclosed by a hedge. There were, besides, 1 garden with trees, 10 geese, 8 ducks, 30 chickens. In another villa we found domain buildings and a yard surrounded by a hedge, and within 3 barns; 1 arpent of vines; 1 garden with trees; 15 geese; 20 chickens. In a third villa, domain buildings, with 2 barns; 1 granary; 1 garden and 1 yard well enclosed by a hedge.

We found all the dry and liquid measures just as in the palace. We did not find any goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, huntsmen, or persons engaged in other services. The garden herbs which we found were lily, putchuck, mint, parsley, rue, celery, libesticum, sage, savory, juniper, leeks, garlic, tansy, wild mint, coriander, scullions, onions, cabbage, kohlrabi, betony. Trees: pears, apples, medlars, peaches, filberts, walnuts, mulberries, quinces.