Slav invasions.

The counts of the Spanish march passed over the River Segre into Spain. There they ravaged the countryside, set fire to many villages, and seized considerable booty, before returning. In the same fashion, after the fall equinox a campaign was waged by the counts of the Breton march in the territory of a certain Breton Wihomarc, who was then a rebel. The counts destroyed everything with sword and fire.

With the assembly at Attigny over, the lord emperor went to the Ardennes to hunt. He sent his son Lothar to Italy and arranged for his relative, the monk Wala, and Wala's brother, the Abbot Adalhard, and Gering, the master of the doorkeepers, to go with him. Lothar was to rely on their advice in both domestic business and in matters pertaining to the interests of the kingdom. He ordered Pepin to go to Aquitaine, but first made him accept as his wife the daughter of Count Theotbert of Madrie. After the wedding was celebrated Pepin departed for his western lands. After the autumn hunt was finished, Louis crossed the Rhine to winter in a place that is called Frankfurt.

There, having called for a general assembly, with the nobles whom he ordered to gather there he examined the issues that pertained to the wellbeing of the eastern parts of his kingdom. At this gathering he listened to all the legations of the eastern Slavs, that is, the Obodrites, Sorbs, Wilzi, Bohemians, Moravians, Praedenecenti, and the Avars living in Pannonia, and received gifts from them. At the same assembly there were legations from the Northmen—from the side of Harald as well from the side of the sons of Godefrid. After all these legations were heard and dismissed, Louis wintered there at Frankfurt. As he had commanded, new buildings had been constructed for this purpose.

Questions: Why would Louis seek pardon for the sins that both he and his father had committed? What old wrongs were corrected? What actions followed from this penance? How does the annalist organize his reports of different events in the empire? Why does he include unusual natural phenomena in his entry?

30. The Polyptyque of Saint-Germain-des-Prés

Charlemagne's interest in rational estate management certainly spread to the churchmen of the realm. A number of polyptyques or inventories of church properties were compiled in the ninth century, the most impressive of these being the lengthy one made of the resources of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Abbot Irmino may have ordered this inventory in the early years of Louis the Pious's reign. The territory held by the monastery was approximately 2210 square kilometers, though much of the area would have been heavily forested. Over 2000 households holding more than 10,000 individuals are listed in the inventory. Though there is much disagreement about the meaning of individual terms and the reliability of parts of the inventory, the polyptyque is, nevertheless, a rich source of information about the social history of Carolingian Europe. Two separate short entries are translated below and after each readers will find a chart with which they can begin to break down some of the demographic data contained in the polyptyque.

Source: trans. P.E. Dutton from Polyptyque de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, ed. A. Longnon, vol. 2 (Paris, 1886-1895), pp.158-161, 256-257.

11. Brief Concerning Neuillay

Neuillay was situated in a heavily wooded part of northern France with no vineyards and hence its economy was geared towards pasturing pigs and preventing pigs from eating cultivated wheat. There were six-and-a-half farm units [mansi] at Neuillay and sixteen hearths. The slaves, who were actually serfs of a lower standing, owed more service to the lord than the lidi and coloni; those were social and legal conditions intermediate between the slaves and the free. These distinctions of legal status may have been growing less significant even at the time this inventory was made. Other terms can be given rough values: 1 bunuarium = 3.4 acres; 1 arpent = .2 acres; 1 perch = 412.5 square yards; 1 modium of dry or liquid measure = 64 liters; 1 league = 2.25 miles or 3.6 kms.

At Neuillay there is a manse [farm unit] that belongs to the lord; 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 slave and his wife, a colona by the name of Landina, who are dependents of Saint Germain, live at Neuillay. He holds half a farm that has 6 bunuaria of arable land, a half arpent of meadow. He plows four perches of winter wheat and thirteen 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 slave and his wife a lida by the name of Berthidlis, are dependents of Saint 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 [families] 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 plow 8 perches with winter wheat, 26 perches with spring wheat. As well as their labor and service, they spread manure on the lord's fields. Each of them pays 4 denarii on his head.

3. Gislevertus a slave and his wife a lida by the name of Gotberga. These are their children: Ragno, Gausbertus, Gaujoinus, Gautlindis. And Sinopus a slave and his wife a slave Frolaica. These are their children: Siclandus, Frothardus, Marellus, Adaluildis, Frotlidis. And Ansegudis a slave. These are their [her] children: Ingalbertus, Frotbertus, Frotlaicus, Frotberga. These three [families] 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 slave and his wife a colona by the name of Dagena. Ragenaus is their son. And Gausboldus a slave 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 slave and his wife a colona by the name of Creada. And Feroardus a slave and his wife a lida by the name of Adalgardis. Illegardis is their daughter. And Faroneus a slave. And Adalgrimus a slave. These four [families] 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 slave 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 slave and his wife a lida by the name of Bertenildis. These are their children: Aldedramnus, Adalbertus, Hildegaudus, Trutgaudus, Bernardus, Bertramnus, Hildoinus, Haldedrudis, Martinga. And Haldemarus a slave and his wife a colona by the name of Motberga. 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 [families]. 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 cart-loads to the wine harvest, and 2 and a half in May, and half an ox.

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

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

13. These are the female slaves: 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. Gislevertus holds, apart from his farm, 2 fruitful fields.

Demographic Data Broken Down by Farm and Family Size

| Farm | Adults | | | | | | Children | | Family Size |
| | SLAVE | | LIDUS/A | | COLONUS/A | | | | |
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	no.	no.
1a.										
2a.										
b.										
c.										
3a.										
b.										
c.										
4a.										
b.										
5a.										
b.										
6a.										
b.										
c.										
d.										
7a.										
8a.										
b.										
9a.										

Totals:

Average family size:
Average number of children in each:
Average number of children if 6c. and 6d. are removed:
Percentage of boys to girls:
Number of presently childless couples:

Number of widowers:
Number of widows:
Number of bachelors:
Percentage of the population composed of children:
Number of marriages between people of different status:
Number of marriages between people of the same status:

18. Brief Concerning Coudray-sur-Seine

Coudray had a very different rural economy from that of Neuillay, for here the cultivation of grapes dominated. Hence payments on these eleven-and-a-half free (that is, not servile) farms or manses were different and more concentrated on wine and not at all upon pigs.

1. In Coudray there are 11 and a half free farms that pay each year 5 and a half oxen for the army tax, 33 chickens, 165 eggs.
2. There is in Coudary a farm belonging to the lord having 60 bunuaria of arable land in which 175 modia of wheat can be sown; 14 arpents of vineyards in which 230 measures of wine can be collected; 10 arpents of meadow in which 40 loads of hay can be collected; 25 bunuaria of woods.
3. Gerbertus a colonus and his wife a colona by the name of Adalgundis are dependents of Saint-Germain. They have living with them 2 children with these names: Bismodus, Gerberga. He holds 1 free farm having 11 bunuaria of arable land and 2 arpents of vineyards. He pays to the army tax a half an ox, 2 measures of wine in pannage; and he plows 7 perches. In payment he makes 1 arpent of wine; 3 chickens, 15 eggs. Manual labor, wood-cutting, cartage services, handiwork, as much as is required. Payment for wood due: 1 foot.
4. Teutgrimus a colonus and his wife a colona by the name of Ingberta are dependents of Saint-Germain. Teutberga is their daughter. He holds 1 free farm having 6 bunuaria of arable land and 1 arpent of vineyards. He pays as above.
5. Hiltbertus a colonus of Saint-Germain and his wife a slave hold a free farm having 12 bunuaria of arable land and [2] arpents of vineyards. He pays as above.
6. Amalgis a colonus and his wife a free woman by the name of Ardelindis are dependents of Saint-Germain. Odilelmus a colonus and his wife a slave by the name of Ermengardis are dependents of Saint-Germain. They have living with them 2 children with these names: Leudricus, Gisloina. These two [families] hold 1 free farm having 2 bunuaria of arable land and 2 arpents of vineyards. This farm pays the same as above.
7. Sicharius a colonus of Saint-Germain and his wife a free woman by the name of Solisma. Sicharia is their daughter. Ermbradus, [a dependent] of Saint-Germain, and his wife [a dependent] of Saint-Germain, have living with them 5 children by these names: Hildebertus, Godalbertus, Madalgarius, Ermbrada, Elia. These two [families] hold 1 free farm having 11 and a half bunuaria of arable land and 2 arpents of vineyards. This farm pays the same

as above.
8. Sicboldus a colonus of Saint-Germain and his wife a free woman by the name of Ercamberta. Agebertus a colonus of Saint-Germain. These two [families] hold 1 free farm having 11 bunuaria of arable land and 2 arpents of vineyards. This farm pays the same as above.
9. Godebertus a lidus. Mattheus a colonus of Saint-Germain and his wife a colona by the name of Cristiana. These two [families] hold 1 free farm having 7 bunuaria of arable land, 1 arpent of vineyard, and 3 parts of an arpent.
10. Ermenulfus a colonus of Saint-Germain. Ingulfus a colonus of Saint-Germain. These two hold 1 free farm having 7 bunuaria of arable land and 2 and a half arpents of vineyards. This farm pays the same as above.
11. Airbertus a colonus of Saint-Germain. Adalradus a colonus and his wife a colona by the name of Frotlindis are dependents of Saint-Germain. These two [families] hold 1 free farm having 10 bunuaria of arable land and 2 arpents of vineyards. This farm pays [the same as above.]
12. Edimius a colonus and his wife a colona by the name of Electa are dependents of Saint-Germain. Frothardus a colonus of Saint-Germain has his mother with him. These two [families] hold 1 free farm having 5 bunuaria of arable land and 1 and a half arpents of vineyards. This farm pays [the same as above.]
13. Ermenoldus a colonus and his wife a colona by the name of Walda are dependents of Saint-Germain. They have living with them 2 children with these names: Sicrada, Sigenildis. Teutgarnus a colonus and his wife a colona by the name of Ermentrudis are dependents of Saint-Germain. Melismus is their son. These two [families] have 1 free farm having 11 bunuaria of arable land and 1 arpent of vineyard, and 2 parts of an arpent.
14. Airoardus a colonus of Saint-Germain holds half a farm having 5 bunuaria of arable land and 1 arpent of vineyard. He makes other payments as if that of half a farm.

Demographic Data Broken Down by Farm and Family Size

| Farm | Adults | | | | | | Children | | Family Size |
| | SLAVE | | LIDUS/A | | COLONUS/A* | | | | |
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	no.	no.
3a.										
4a.										
5a.										
6a.										
b.										
7a.										
b.										
8a.										
b.										
9a.										
b.										
10a.										
b.										
11a.										
b.										
12a.										
b.										
13a.										
b.										
14a.										

Totals:

*Note: free and dependent persons in this column or make separate columns.

Average family size:
Average number of children in each:
Percentage of boys to girls:
Number of presently childless couples:
Number of widowers:
Number of widows:
Number of bachelors:
Percentage of the population composed of children:
Number of marriages between people of different status:
Number of marriages between people of the same status:

Questions: Can we assume that all the inhabitants of a manor are listed? Who might be left out? What information collected in the polyptyque can be quantified and what cannot? Compare and contrast the economies of the two different communities. Are there discernible patterns in the names that these people gave to their children?

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31. Agobard of Lyons and the Popular Belief in Weather Magic

Louis the Pious's reforming spirit was soon taken up by the clerics of his realm. One day in 815 or 816, Agobard, the suffragan bishop of Lyons, came upon a crowd that was about to stone to death some people accused of stealing crops by means of weather magic. Not long afterwards, the bishop composed a treatise against this popular superstition, in part to impress his fellow reformers, for it is unlikely that it had any effect on his parishioners. Both the incidents he reports here concern the rural economy, that is, the success of grain crops and cattle farming. In a world with no insurance against crop failures, devastating storms, or epizootics, the lot of the Carolingian farmer was precarious and full of gnawing anxiety.

Source: trans. P.E. Dutton from Agobard of Lyons, De grandine et tonitruis, ed. L. Van Acker in Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera Omnia, in Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis, vol. 52 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), pp.3-15.

1. In these regions almost everyone—nobles and common people, city folk and country folk, the old and young—believe that hail and thunder can be caused by the will of humans. For as soon as they have heard thunder or seen lightning, they say: "The wind has been raised." When asked why it is [called] a raised wind, some with shame, their consciences troubling them a little, others boldly, as is the way of the ignorant, answer that the wind was raised by the incantations of people who are called storm-makers [*tempestarii*]. Hence it is called a raised wind.

   Whether that is true, as is popularly believed, should be verified by the authority of Holy Scripture. If, however, it is false, as we believe without doubt, it ought to be emphasized just how great the crime is of him who attributes to humans the work of God....

2. We have seen and heard of many overcome by such great madness and deranged by such great foolishness that they believe and claim that there is a certain region called Magonia [Magic Land] from which ships travel in the clouds. These ships, [so they believe], carry crops that were knocked down by hail and perished in storms back to that same region. Those cloud-sailors [are thought to] give a fee to the storm-makers and to take back grain and other crops. So blinded are some by this great and foolish belief that they believe that these things can [actually] be done.

   We [once] saw many people gathered together in a crowd who were showing off four captives, three men and a woman, as though they had fallen out of some such ships. These people had been held for some time in chains. But at last, as I said, they were exhibited to that crowd of people in our presence as [criminals] fit to be stoned to death. Nevertheless the truth did come out. After much argument, those who exhibited those captives were, as the Prophet says, "confused, just as the thief is confused when apprehended."

3. Because this error, which in this area possesses the minds of almost everyone, ought to be judged by reason, let us offer up the witness of Scrip-