
Redaction and the use of the lists of rents in eleventh and twelfth century Tuscany

Yoshiya NISHIMURA

Meijo University, Nagoya

In early medieval Italy until the twelfth century, various kinds of written records concerning estate management were written and used. These were issued in many cases as ‘private charters’ such as leases or donation charters; in other cases, we also find polyptychs, or more simple forms of inventories: lists of dependents, lists of lands that the tenants hold, and lists of rents (lists of tenants and their payment). Such two categories of documents, ‘private charters’ and inventories, represent the different types of their writers: the former were written by professional scribes, i.e. notaries, while the latter were usually redacted by ecclesiastics or monks who were responsible for estate management. Therefore, the inventories express documentation practices of estate management by those who ran the estates more clearly than the ‘private charters’.

In this presentation I will examine how the ecclesiastics or monks redacted and used lists of rents for the purpose of managing their estates in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Tuscany. Among the various types of inventories I chose the lists of rents, because these documents, classified as one type of *censiers* by Robert Fossier,¹ exemplify the inventories drawn up in the Mediterranean world in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In Tuscany many churches and monasteries drew up inventories, as the surviving lists show us: episcopal churches of Lucca, *canonica* (cathedral chapter) of Siena, monasteries of Camaldoli, Passignano, and Monte Amiata, etc.² Among them I will focus particularly on the lists of the

1 R. Fossier, *Polyptiques et censiers*, Turnhout 1978, pp. 40–41.

2 In the following references “f” refers to the number of the on-line photo that can be accessed at <http://archiviostatato.firenze.it/pergasfi/>. Episcopal church of Lucca: P. Guidi, E. Pellegrinetti (eds.), *Inventari del vescovato, della cattedrale e di altre chiese di Lucca* (= *Inventari del vescovato*), Rome 1921, nn. III, VII, IX; Cathedral chapter of Siena: A. Ghignoli (ed.), *Carte dell’Archivio di Stato di Siena. Opera Metropolitana (1000–1200)*, Siena 1994 (= *OM*), Appendice I, II–1, II–2, pp. 249–63; Monastery of Camaldoli: L. Schiaparelli, F. Baldasseroni (eds.), *Regesto di Camaldoli* (= *RC*), vol. 2, Rome 1909, nn. 724, 750; Monastery of Passignano: Archivio di Stato di Firenze (= *ASF*), Diplomatico, *Passignano*, sec. XI, n. 3 (f. 2902), sec. XI, n. 11 (f. 2910), sec. XI, n. 12 (f. 2911), sec. XII, n. 11 (f. 7532); *ASF*, Diplomatico, *Strozziene Uguccioni a quaderno*, sec. XII; Monastery of Monte Amiata: W. Kurze (ed.), *Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus. Urkundenbuch der Abtei S. Salvatore am Mont Amiata von den Anfängen bis zum Regierungsantritt Papst Innozenz’ III. (736–1198)*, vol. 3/1, Tübingen 2004, Z 1–3, pp. 152–70. Other lists of rents have been preserved in the following religious institutions: Cathedral church of Pisa: A. Ghignoli (ed.), *Carte dell’Archivio Arcivescovile di Pisa* [= *CAAP*], vol. 3, Pisa 2006, n. 163; Cathedral chapter of Lucca: P. Guidi, O. Parenti (eds.), *Regesto del Capitolo di Lucca*, vol. 3, Rome 1933, n. 1568; Monastery of San Salvatore di Sesto: Archivio di Stato di Lucca (= *ASL*), *Recuperate*, sec. XII (ff. 16829, 16834); Monastery of Luco di Mugello: *ASF*, Diplomatico, *Luco di Mugello*, sec. XII (ff. 7512, 7514, 7516, 7517, 7518, 7520); Monastery of Coltibuono: D. Luigi Pagliai (ed.), *Regesto di Coltibuono* (= *RColt.*), Rome 1909, nn. 515, 549; *ASF*, Diplomatico, *Coltibuono*, sec. XII (ff. 7503, 7508). Besides lists of rents there are other types of inventories, such as lists of lands, lists of tenants, lists of tenants and their holdings, lists of expenditure etc. Lists of lands: *Inventari del vescovato*, n. VIII, pp. 30–31; *ASF*, Diplomatico, *Luco di Mugello*, sec. XII (f. 7513); *RColt.*, n. 537; *ASF*, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, sec. XII, n. 15 (f. 7536). Lists of tenants: *CAAP*, 1, n. 209; *ASF*, Diplomatico, *Coltibuono*, sec. XII (f. 7504). Lists of tenants and their holding lands: *Inventari del vescovato*, n. IV; *CAAP*, 3, n. 171; *ASF*, Diplomatico, *S. Maria della Badia*, sec. XI (ff. 2914–2915). List of expenditure: *Inventari del vescovato*, n. V. (The list of examples given here is only partial.)

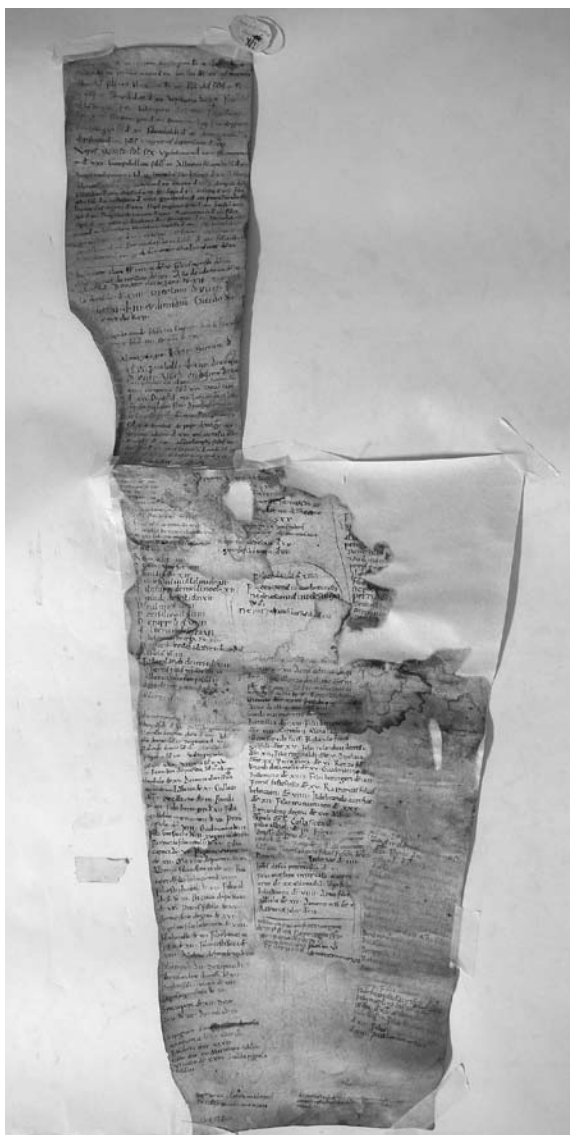


Fig. I Archivio di Stato di Siena, Diplomatico, *Opera Metropolitana*, sec. XII, r. Used by kind permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Reproduction of the photo by any means is prohibited by law.

*Bruculi de Corzano dr. XII; Mencuzo de Corzano dr. IIII; Rolandus filius Bita/li cum sociis dr. VIII et armum unum et salutem unam [...]*⁷

As in the case of “Castello”, the names of some rent payers were replaced by the names of the settlements where they lived or from where they came. Some tenants, such as *Rolandus filius Bitali*, were obliged to offer “salutes” (presents of deference) to the *canonica Senese* as well as money rents. In this list, 60 rent payers’ names and 10 place names are enumerated along with the amounts of their rents (see the table 1).

Texts II. 1 and II. 2 were also redacted in a similar way, but we find some differences from text

canonica of Siena and those of the monastery of S. Michele a Passignano on the hills of Chianti. This choice comes from the fact that a series of inventories written at two religious institutions not only shows that there are two types of lists of rents, but it also permits us to examine the different ways of, and different attitudes toward, redaction and use of the written texts regarding estate management.

First we shall consider the lists of the cathedral chapter of Siena. Along with other documents, lists of rents produced at the *canonica Senese* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been edited by Antonella Ghignoli.³ This edition includes a series of lists recorded on three parchments.⁴ One parchment was used on both sides to contain the lists, and this and the other parchment were sewn together with thread at a later period.⁵ As the editor has done, we shall call these documents text I, text II. 1, text II. 2 *recto* and *verso* (II. 1 and II. 2 were sewn together. See fig. I). The editor offered the following chronology for the texts: text I was drawn up slightly after 1088 and the last ones—the last textual groups of II. 2—at the latest in the mid-twelfth century.⁶

In text I the names of rent payers and the amounts of money rents they owed were listed. Text I begins as follows:

“De Castello sl. IIII et dr. V; presbiter de Vico sl. II; Rolandus de Vico sl. III; Galunti de Caliano dr. V;/ filius

3 This is *OM* in the previous note.

4 *OM*, pp. 252–53 (I), 253–55 (II. 1), 255–63 (II. 2).

5 *OM*, p. 249.

6 *OM*, p. 250.

7 *OM*, p. 252.

I. First, text I constitutes one list, whereas both texts II. 1 and II. 2 are composed of several textual units (lists). In fact, text II. 1 is divided into two parts.⁸ And on both sides of the parchment on which text II. 2 is written, the text is divided into ten textual units (lists) and at least eight units, and on the *recto* the units are separated from each other by straight lines or curved lines in a disordered fashion.⁹ Each of these units differs considerably in length, from a fragmentary list of several rent payers to a list of 55 payers. Secondly, in contrast to text I, texts II. 1 and II. 2 contain various types of lists or descriptions. One part of text II. 1 is composed of a list of expenses for daily supplies, such as “*de copertuio prepositi sol. V et dimidium*”, and “*de gambe et pisci d. XIII*” etc.¹⁰ Then, text II. 2 includes a fragmentary description of “*decimatio*” (tithe),¹¹ as well as several names of debtors and the amounts of annual refunds or interests they were obliged to pay to the capitulary: “*De pignore Martello sol. III*”.¹² Notwithstanding such diversity, these three parchments were mainly used as support materials for listing rent payers’ names and the amounts of money rents.

A question arises here. How did the individual textual units relate to each other? The point to be stressed here is that, firstly, many names of rent payers appear repeatedly in different textual units, as the table 1 shows. Thus, for example, two *fili Beringeri*, Bernardus and Beringeri, or one of them alone, appear in six textual units as tenants who owe 12 *denarii*; in a lease of 1084 they promised Iohannes, archpriest of the *canonica*, to pay the same amount of annual rent in December every year.¹³ Four years later Petrus Fastello held a piece of land adjacent to the building of the *canonica* from the archpriest, and he was obliged to pay 15 *d.* in December as annual rent. His name was recorded in five textual units, and then his son, Aczo Fastello, was listed in four units. In all cases they were required to pay 15 *d.*¹⁴ In these and similar cases the majority of tenants who appeared repeatedly were to pay always the same amounts of money. But there are a few exceptions: to take an example, Bernardus/Bernardino of Gena was recorded in six textual units; he was to pay 15 *d.* three times, 16 *d.* twice, and 17 *d.* once.¹⁵ Furthermore, in each textual unit we do not find any systematic order in the enumeration of rent payers, even in the case of those who appear repeatedly. Thus, it seems reasonable to think that the series of the *canonica* lists is a kind of annual accounting. We can assume that writers of these texts described the amounts of money rent which was actually paid.

The lists were probably drawn up by the canons themselves, since the texts were written in a form of Caroline minuscule, the script used for producing manuscripts at the *scriptoria* of monasteries and cathedral chapters at that time.¹⁶ Ghignoli identified five hands (from A to E) that mainly redacted the lists. According to her, several hands can be identified in the redaction of each textual unit.¹⁷ In the case of text I, one hand wrote 67 groups of rent payers from the beginning

8 The two parts are a list of rents and a list of expenses. More exactly the text is divided into three parts: the first part of the text, the list of rents, is divided again into two parts by a straight line (see fig. I and the editor’s notes to *OM*, II. 1). Yet these two parts seem constitute one list, for no names of either persons or places appear in both parts.

9 On the forms and layouts of the parchments II. 1 and II. 2, see *OM*, p. 253. See also fig. I.

10 *OM*, II. 1, ll. 28–35. The quotations: *OM*, II. 1, ll. 32, 35.

11 *OM*, II. 2 v. (V).

12 *OM*, II. 2 r. (IV), l. 1. See also *OM*, II. 2 r. (I), ll. 9–10: “*Martello de Monte Claro dn. VIII et IIII sol. de pigno*”; (III), ll. 1–2.: “*De pignore de medietate de masia dela Quercia sold. II et dnr. III*”. There is also mention of non-payment: *OM*, II. 2 r. (X): “*De Monte claro non abemus. De Colle non abemus [...]*”

13 *Fili Beringeri*: *OM*, I, ll. 1; II. 2 r. (II); (VI); (VIII). *Bernardo filius Beringeri*: *OM*, II. 2 v. (VII). The lease of 1084 is in *OM*, n. 27. See table 1, n. 35.

14 ASF, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, 1088 luglio (f. 2288, cf. *OM*, n. 83, note). *Petrus Fastello*: *OM*, I, II. 1; II. 2 r. (II); (VI); (VII). *Actio f. Petri Fastelli*: *OM*, II. 2 r. (VIII); II. 2 v. (VI); (VII); (VIII). See table 1, n. 24.

15 17 d.: *OM*, II. 1. 16 d.: *OM*, II. 2 r. (II); (VI). 15 d.: *OM*, II. 2 r. (VIII); II. 2 v. (VI); (VIII). He may have been *Bernardinus* of text I who was to pay 17 d. (see table 1, n. 27). See also table 1, nn. 4, 8, 31, 34.

16 See *OM*, pp. 132–33, 249.

17 *OM*, p. 249.

and then another wrote the remaining five groups.¹⁸ Thus we can assume that in each year several capitularies, usually two or three, were in charge of writing the names of rent payers and the amounts they paid down at the moment of payment, that is, in December when the money rents were collected,¹⁹ and annual refunds made, or interests would have been also collected.

As has often been noted, the systematic annual recording of income and expenditure appeared and was diffused in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Italy.²⁰ The yearly records of the *canonica Senese* written during the eleventh and twelfth centuries differ from other such records in that they were quite simple and disordered both in form and content. The support materials on which the lists of the cathedral chapter were written were not prepared carefully. In fact, they show neither a standardized format nor a common layout;²¹ ruled lines are also lacking. The lack of preparedness is also true of the texts themselves: the lists are undated; the texts contain neither a title nor a description of why they were written; the descriptions of tithes, non-payment,²² credits and expenses are inserted in these texts without any order. Furthermore, there is almost no sign of cross-reference between each textual unit,²³ which means that the canons of Siena were not concerned whether rents were actually paid each year nor if they had been paid in full. Nevertheless, the canons seem to have been conscious of the need to make a record, as often as possible, of their incomes and even, to a lesser extent, of their expenditures.

I have already argued that a list of rents drawn up in the monastery of Monte Amiata in the early eleventh century served the function of annual accounting.²⁴ However, as far as I know, a large part of the lists of rents written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Tuscany are inventories, that is, the written records produced in order to specify who must pay the rents, what kinds of rents and how much they are obliged to pay. This is true of the lists written at the monastery of Passignano. The archive of the Vallombrosan monastery, now in the National Archive of Florence, has preserved at least five lists of rents drawn up in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁵ Here I select three lists, all written in the twelfth century. Two of these lists were written on a single sheet of parchment—one of which bearing the title “*Exemplar*” seems to be contemporary to the original—, and the third

18 See the editor’s notes to *OM*, I.

19 In almost all of the leases of the *canonica* the money rent was required in December: *OM*, nn. 1 (a. 1000), 11, 14, 15, 23, 27, 30, 39, 46, 47, 53, 59, 79, 86 (a. 1185). In these last two leases the payment was required “*in festo sancti Stefani*” (26th December). Only one rent payer promised the canons to pay rents in February: *OM*, n. 19.

20 P. Cammarosano, *Italia medievale. Struttura e geografia delle fonti scritte*, Rome 1991, pp. 174–76, 227–31, 277–79; *Le campagne friulane nel tardo medioevo. Un’analisi dei registri di censi dei grandi proprietari fondiari*, ed. P. Cammarosano, Udine 1985, p. 5; C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800*, Oxford 2005, pp. 265–68.

21 The parchment of text I is almost square form and it has a dimension of 19 x 20 cm, whereas the parchment of text II. 1 (33 x 14 cm) is somewhat deformed rectangular and that of text II. 2 is trapezium (52 x 28 cm). See fig. I.

22 See n. 12 above.

23 Only in text I a few traces of cross-reference can be found: in this text one of the two scribes seems to have marked “:” above the names of rent payers. Only six of them lack this mark (table 1, nn. 7, 37, 57, 60, 65, 66). It is difficult to offer a definite reason why such signs were made, but it is possible that these signs were used for crosschecking who had, or had not, paid rents. In fact none of the six rent payers, for whom the marks “:” are lacking, can be found in any other textual units: they may well have fallen behind with their payment of rent at the moment of checking the list.

24 Y. Nishimura, “The Transformation of Documentation Practices at the Monastery of San Salvatore at Monte Amiata in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: From *Libelli* to List of Rents”, in *Genesis of Historical Text and Map: Text / Context 2*, (21st Century COE Program, Studies for the Integrated Text Science. Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference, 17 November 2006), ed. S. Sato, Nagoya 2007, pp. 31–38.

25 See n. 2 above. On the monastery of Passignano in the Middle Ages, besides W. Kurze, “Passignano. Il materiale archivistico — Le origini — Il collegamento con Giovanni Gualberto”, in *Badia a Passignano. Un monastero vallombrosano e la sua storia*, Convegno di Studi nella Badia a Passignano, 3 ottobre 1998, ed. in *Il Chianti. storia arte cultura territorio*, 23 (2004), pp. 11–28 (now in W. Kurze, *Scritti di storia toscana. Assetti territoriali, diocesi, monasteri dai longobardi all’età comunale*, ed. M. Marocchi, Pistoia 2008, pp. 297–317), see studies by various authors collected in *Passignano in Val di Pesa. Un monastero e la sua storia*, I, ed. P. Pirillo, Florence 2009. See also two classical studies which make large use of the Passignano documents: J. Plesner, *L’émigration de la campagne à la ville libre de Florence au XIII^e siècle*, Copenhagen 1934; E. Conti, *La formazione della struttura agraria moderna nel contado fiorentino*, 1: *Le campagne nell’età precomunale*, Rome 1965.

is redacted in the form of a quire or gathering.²⁶ I chose these three lists because they show us the process of their redaction as well as the attitude of the monks toward the use of these texts.

I begin with the “*Exemplar*” which we shall call “list B” for convenience.²⁷ As is often the case with inventories in Tuscany,²⁸ this list B begins with introductory descriptions using the terms “*breve recordationis*”, as follows: “*Breve recordationis de aq(ui)sitionib(us) et pensionib(us) et adiutoriis quas (sic) eccl(esia)e et monasterii Sancti Michaelis de Passignano de sedeci(m) partib(us) de castro de Monte Ficalli et de partib(us) duodeci(m) de burgo et de pendicibus unam de octo...*” (Note to be recorded on the acquisitions, rents and *adiutoria* (material helps), belonging to the monastery of San Michele a Passignano concerning sixteenth of the *castro* of Monteficalle, twelfth of the *burgo* and eighth of the hill). According to the writer of the *breve recordationis*, the property and revenues attached to it originally belonged to a local aristocratic family, and they came to the monastery through transactions with members of the family, Berizino and Benno.²⁹

After the introductory description there follows a list of 14 tenants who were obliged to pay rents at the *curia* (estate) of Monteficalle (now Montefioralle), situated about 4 km east of the monastery:

Rufus fabe(r) de Mo(n)te Gu(n)zi debet da(r)e denarios octo et i(n) t(er)tio / anno p(ro) adiutorio sex denarios; Orlandus / de Monte Pongni denarios duodeci(m) et uno / pane; Ubertin(us) de Mo(n)te Gu(n)zi duos denarios / p(ro) pensione et tres p(ro) adiutorio...”

All tenants were obliged to pay money rents, and many of them were to offer the owner *adiutoria* and also bread. *Adiutorium* was an additional rent, introduced in the late eleventh century in the region and it seems to have been collected every three years in the form of rent in money or in kind.³⁰

Two surviving Passignano charters show that the original text of this copy must have been redacted in 1122 or slightly later. In March of that year Benno, his wife Gisla and her mother Ermingarda sold to the monastery their portion of property attached to the “*curte et castro et destructo (sic) de Milatiana et Monte Ficalli*”; three years earlier, Berizino and his wife Berta had donated their portion of the same property.³¹

Every time the monks acquired lands and rights, they seem to have felt it necessary to produce a list of rents. Thus they came to redact a new form of list, in itself composed of several lists. This second list of rents, which seems to have been redacted slightly later than the original document of the above-mentioned copy, belongs to this type of record (We shall call this list “list C”).³² This list C, written on the front side of a single sheet of parchment, is divided into four sections, as the distinctive symbol “§” and blank spaces equivalent to several letters indicate. In the first section the

26 ASF, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, sec. XI, nn. 3 (f. 2902), 12 (f. 2911); ASF, Diplomatico, *Stroziane Uguccioni a quaderno*, sec. XII.

27 ASF, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, sec. XI, n. 12 (f. 2911).

28 *Inventari del vescovato*, n. 4; ASL, *Recuperate*, sec. XII, f. 16829; *CAAP* 1, n. 209; *CAAP* 3, nn. 163, 171; ASF, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, sec. XI, n. 11 (f. 2910); ASF, Diplomatico, *Luco di Mugello*, sec. XII, 2° (f. 7513), 5° (f. 7516), 6° (f. 7517), 7° (f. 7518); *RC*, n. 724. See also *Inventari del vescovato*, n. 3 (“*Breve memoratoria*”); *RC*, n. 750 (“*Breve*”). On *brevia* which denote various types of documents, including lists, see A. Bartoli Langeli, “Sui ‘brevi’ italiani altomedievali”, *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 105 (2003), pp. 1–23.

29 ASF, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, sec. XI, n. 12 (f. 2911), ll. 6–11: “[H]ic / est tota(m) parte(m) quas fuit de Cascisis et in curia de p(re)dicto castro et in curiis de Minazano et de Monte Gu(n)zi et in o(mn)i/b(us) locis ubicu(m)q(ue) infra ia(m)dictas curias / invenit(ur), parte(m) Berizini ia(m)dictu(m) / monasteriu(m) habuit p(ro) offerzione ea / que fuer(it) Benni p(ro) emptione; ...”

30 On *adiutorium*, see M. E. Cortese, *Signori, castelli, città. L’aristocrazia del territorio fiorentino tra X e XII secolo*, Florence 2007, pp. 186–87; S. M. Collavini, “I poteri signorili nell’area di San Michele di Passignano (secc. XI–XII)”, in *Passignano in Val di Pesa* (n. 25 above), p. 190. See also ASF, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, sec. XI, n. 12 (f. 2911), ll. 11–15: “et de ia(m)dic/tis t(er)ris et vineis et reb(us) est pensione / in o(mn)i anno solidos tres et in t(er)tio anno su(n)t / p(ro) adiutorio quatuor solidos et denarios no/ve(m)...”

31 ASF, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, 1122 marzo 4 (f. 3760); 1119 novembre 15 (f. 3686). See Cortese, *Signori, castelli, città* (n. 30 above), p. 168, n. 57 and Collavini, “I poteri signorili” (n. 30 above), pp. 189–90.

32 ASF, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, sec. XI, n. 3 (f. 2902).

same 14 tenants as those found in the above-mentioned copy are listed in the same order.

However, there are two major differences between list B and list C. First, list C begins by listing tenants and their obligations without any introductory description. Second, the amounts of rents, and types of rents that the tenants owed, often differ greatly in list C from those found in the *Breve recordationis* (see table 2). Thus, in list B n. 2, Orlandus of Monteponino was to pay 12 *d.* of money rent as well as one loaf of bread, whereas in the later list, list C, he was obliged to pay rent of money and bread, respectively twice and four-times as much, along with two pairs of chickens; and Gerardus of Puzo (n. 8) was to pay 6 *d.* and three loaves of bread in the list B, while according to list C he owed one barrel of wine as well as 8 *d.* and 3 loaves of bread.

One should not automatically attribute such differences to errors committed by the copyist of list B, nor to corrections of errors made by the scribe of the succeeding inventory. Rather, most differences were probably caused when the scribes of the latter writings updated the information concerning the obligations of tenants. In list C, in fact, seven tenants and their rents were cancelled by drawing lines through the entry.³³ The cancellation meant that the tenant in question ceased to owe any obligations towards the monastery for some reason, such as, for example, death. The expunction and/or addition of numbers is another way of updating the list. For example, the amount of rent owed by “*plebanus de Sancto Crisco*” was written at first ‘*X d.*’, but later ‘*X*’ and ‘*V*’ were added on the left and right side of the ‘*X*’: in this way the number was corrected from ‘*X*’ to ‘*XXV*’. Furthermore the words “*et I pane(m)*” were added on the upper spacing.³⁴ The traces of updating the list can be found also in the texts written on the *verso* of the parchment. On the top of the *verso* the second hand wrote two rent payers’ names and the amount of rents they owed, whereas at the bottom the third hand listed six groups of tenants who owed labour service in the following way:

“§ *Iste su(n)t op(er)e de curia de Sillano. Casa del Fabro da Lato XXXVI op(er)e man(uales) et II op(er)e bov(es); Casa de I(n)crassabichi XXXVI op(er)e man(uales) et II op(er)e bov(es)...*”

This list of *angariales* (labour-givers) includes three tenants, who are also found in the list written on the *recto*. One of them, Ianellino son of Ingrassabichi, who owed money rent and a gift according to the list on the *recto*, must have been a member of “*casa de Ingrassabichi*” that had to perform 36 days labour service at the *curia* (estate) of Sillano, located about 2 km south-east of the monastery.³⁵

The effort made by the Passignano monks to produce an inventory composed of a series of lists, and also to revise such records characterized their documentation practice in the field of estate management during the twelfth century. This process culminated in a pamphlet, or quire, drawn up at the monastery in the later twelfth century. (See fig. II)³⁶ Elio Conti maintains that the main body of the inventory was redacted probably between 1160 and 1180.³⁷ The quire on which the inventory was written consists of three *bifolia*, folded and sewn together (12 pages). As Conti notes, the fourth *bifolium*, which must have constituted the first and last two pages of the quire, seems to have been

33 “*Russus de Pagio ...*” (table 2, n. 6), “*Pellicione de Milazana ...*” (n. 7), “*Stacciarfina ...*” (n. 9), “*Guituncinus de ripa Mortoia ...*” (n. 10), “*Gerardus de Lato ...*”, “*Plebanus de Sancto Eriseo ...*”, “*Petrus filius Mart*”.

34 See table 2, n. 11. Another example is the case of Orlandus of Monteponino (table 2, n. 2). According to the list he owed “*II s(olidos) et IIII pane(s) et duo parium pulli*”, but ‘*II s.*’, ‘*-III*’ and ‘*duo*’ were added after expunging some numbers or letters.

35 “*Ianellino filius Ingrassabichi XII denarios et una obia*”. Other two labour-givers were “*Piero Blanco et Gianni Bonizi*” in *verso*, correspondent to “*Petrus Blanchus*” and “*Johannis filius Bonizi*” in *recto*.

36 ASF, Diplomatico, *Stroziane Uguccioni a quaderno*, sec. XII. See also Conti, *La formazione* (n. 25 above), pp. 277–82, where a part of the list was published in the form of a register. Here I would like to express my gratitude to Prof.ssa Antonella Ghignoli for her great help to read and interpret the manuscript.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 278.

lost.³⁸ The monks prepared the material that supported the inventory very carefully. This is seen in the choice of quire as the form of inventory and the regular strokes of the ruled lines.

The ruled lines also represent the efforts of the monks to facilitate reference to the inventory. Other devices can be pointed out. The main text are written every two lines; the distinctive marks such as § and characteristic letters or *litterae notabiliores*, enlarged letters, are used in order to clarify the change of the section. Distinctive scripts are used in the titles, for example: “*Massa de Castello Rupto*” in enlarged capitals (fol. 1r), or again “*Ista est pensio de curte de Panzano*” written with red ink (fol. 4v).

It is reasonable to think that both blank spaces created every two lines and distinctive symbols or letters contributed towards updating the inventory easily. In fact, the inventory has numerous traces demonstrating revision of the contents by the monks.³⁹ In the first place, (as we can see from the photo of the manuscript fol. 1r), many additional passages such as “*II man(uales)*” or “*et III op(er)era de bovis et VIII man(uales)*” were inserted between the lines, either by the same hand as that of the main text or by other later hands.⁴⁰ Many of these additional passages were concerned with labour service.⁴¹ Sometimes a passage, consisting of the name of a tenant and his obligations, was added between the lines or at the bottom of the page.⁴² Secondly, quantities of rents or those of labour services were often corrected, or revised, by means of expunging and/or adding numbers.⁴³ Thirdly, several tenants and rents they owed were expunged by means of lines or points by later hands.⁴⁴ Many of these revisions were written in the same Caroline minuscule as the script of the main text, while some were written in a later Gothic minuscule.⁴⁵ Therefore, there are at least three strata in the text: first, the main text; secondly, revisions or additions made both by the scribes who wrote the main text and by others also written in Caroline minuscule; thirdly, revisions or additions written in

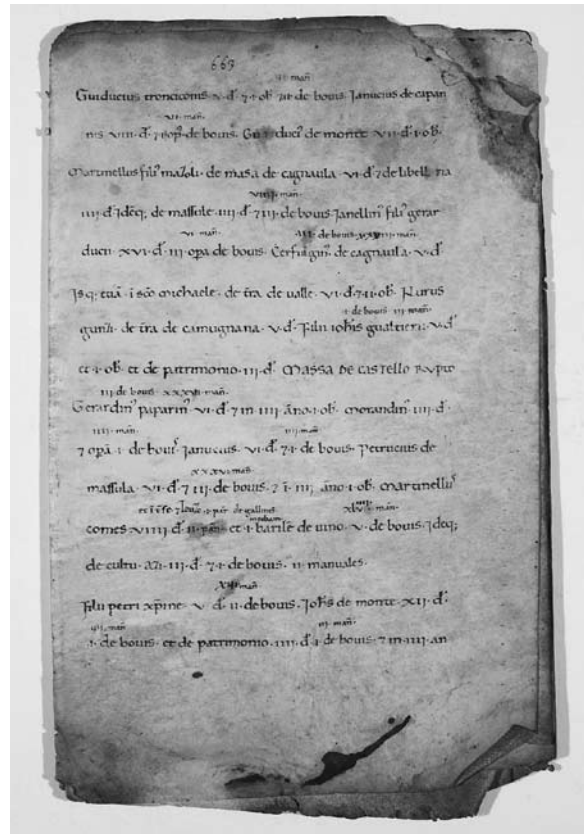


Fig. II Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Diplomatico, Strozziane Uguccioni a quaderno, sec. XII, fol. 1r. Used by kind permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Reproduction of the photo by any means is prohibited by law.

38 Ibid., pp. 277–78.

39 Here I limit myself to some general remarks. I intend to examine this manuscript in greater detail in collaboration with Prof.ssa Ghignoli in a future study.

40 “*II man(uales)*”: fol. 1r, l. 1; “*et III op(er)era de bovis et VIII man(uales)*”: fol. 1v, ll. 9–10. An example of addition by other hand is “*I de bovis III man(uales)*”: fol. 1r, l. 7.

41 This point has been already pointed out by Conti, *La formazione* (n. 25 above), p. 278.

42 For example, the passage “*De Maciala, Rolandin(us) fili(us) Calcietti VIII d(enarios)*” was added at the bottom of fol. 1v.

43 To take an example, the passage “*III*” of the addition “*VIII man(uales)*” (fol. 1r, l. 4) was added after erasing some letters.

44 For instance, “*Petrus Scarpellus VI d(enarios), I ob(liam), I de bovis*” (fol. 2v, ll. 10–11) was expunged by drawing a line through the text; “*Ioh(anne)s fili(us) Pet(r)i de T(er)mine IIII d(enarios)*” (fol. 3v, ll. 4–5) was expunged by adding points.

45 An example of addition in Gothic minuscule is “*Filii Ioh(ann)is fabri X d(enarios), III pan(es) et par(ium) gall(inam) et in alia parte de I petia t(er)re po(s)ita i(n) Cintoia et alia iuxta area(m) Sinibaldi, XVIII d(enarios) et III pan(es)*” (fol. 1v, between l. 11 and l. 12). I would like to thank Prof.ssa Ghignoli again for drawing my attention to the difference in the scripts used in the manuscript.

Gothic script. This manuscript requires more detailed research, but we can conclude here that the inventory had the practical function of being a register, to which the monks could repeatedly refer for the purpose of keeping and, if necessary, updating records as needs required for managing their estates.

The lists of rents written at the cathedral chapter of Siena and those at the monastery of Passignano represent two different types of documents in this category, that is to say, annual accountings and inventories. It is true that, as I have already argued with reference to a list written at the monastery of Monte Amiata, a list drawn up as an accounts document could sometimes have another function in practice: that of being a register for reference.⁴⁶ That does not alter the fact that at least in the first stage of the redaction of a list it was written mainly for either of these purposes. For example, the canons of Siena decided to make annual records probably with little intention of using them later for reference, or of preservation of the documents. On the other hand, the monks of Passignano were more inclined to make inventories to be referred to and updated constantly.

Here a question may be asked: What caused these different attitudes to emerge between the canons of Siena and the monks of Passignano when they undertook the task of making lists of rents as a means of estate management? It is impossible to reduce the reasons for this choice to one motive, but one can point out one important factor which influenced their decision: it is the patterns of obligation required of the tenants. Historians such as Elio Conti and Chris Wickham have shown that in several parts of Tuscany, such as the Lucchese area, where the bipartite estate ceased to exist after the tenth century, labour service disappeared and both lease holding tenants and customary tenants owed only payments in money. On the other hand, in other parts, such as the Chianti hills and the Casentino area, where demesnes survived, though in a fragmented state, the traditional kinds of obligations also continued to be required during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁴⁷ The monastery of Passignano, founded on the central hills of Chianti, followed the pattern of practice of the area. By contrast, in Siena and in its surrounding area, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the patterns of obligations required towards the tenants was reduced to rent in money, as we can see from the documents of the *canonica Senese*, especially the lists of rents themselves and the leases.⁴⁸ It is needless to say that the patterns of obligations do not determine the types of documents for estate management, but they are one of the essential factors in deciding which type of lists they used, annual accountings or inventories.

As for the case of the cathedral chapter of Siena, we should keep in mind that it was located in Siena, one of the urbanised areas where the monetary economy was developing considerably at that time. Indeed, the canons were under the pressure of increasing demands for money, as the fragmentary list of expenses clearly tells us. Such situations gave rise to the canons' desire to specify the incomes and expenses of their religious institution with the help of the accountings, even if it is unlikely that the canons made use of them as a means to intensify control over the exactions of rents.

46 Nishimura, "The Transformation of Documentation Practices" (n. 24 above), p. 33.

47 Conti, *La formazione* (n. 25 above), pp. 125–33; C. Wickham, *The Mountains and the City. The Tuscan Appennines in the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford 1988, pp. 68–89, 221–31; P. Jones, "An Italian Estate, 900–1200", *Economic History Review*, 2 ser., 7 (1954), pp. 30–31. On the Amiantino area, where labour service disappeared around 900, see Nishimura, "The Transformation of Documentation Practices" (n. 24 above), pp. 35–37.

48 All leases of the *canonica senese* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries until the 1180s determine the obligation of tenants to pay only rents in money (*OM*, nn. 1, 11, 14, 15, 19, 23, 27, 30, 39, 46, 47, 53, 57, 59, 79, 86. See also *OM*, n. 68). By the end of the twelfth century the canons, as many other landlords of the Senese, began to require from their tenants rents in kind such as wheat in place of money (*OM*, nn. 100 (a. 1196), 103). In this connection see P. Cammarosano, *La famiglia dei Berardenghi. Contributo alla storia della società senese nei secoli XI–XIII*, Spoleto 1974, pp. 50–54.

If the canons of Siena organized the collection of money rent by constantly producing new texts, the monks of Passignano managed their estates by adjusting the same existing text which was produced only once. In cases in which all or almost all tenants pay only rents in money, it is enough for landowners to collect money once a year. However, when each tenant owes various types of obligations, the exaction of rents and services becomes more complicated. In the latter case it is important for the landowners to know who has to pay rents, what kind of rent, and how much they are obliged to pay. Another factor which made the monks' task in collecting rents and imposing services more complicated was the fragmentation of the unit called *mansus*, or the unit of tenant exploitation. The study by Conti on the area of Poggialvento demonstrates that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the landholding patterns in the Chianti area became highly fragmented, and the *mansus* unit gradually ceased to exist, being replaced by a series of fragmented parcels. Furthermore, there was constant movement of fragmented lands between the landowners in that area.⁴⁹ Thus, landowners constantly alienated bits of land used by their tenants to other people. The monks of Passignano accumulated land and rights attached to it from the surrounding landowners in this way.⁵⁰ This means that more and more monastic tenants must have been obliged to pay more rents and perform more services to the monastery. One can add the possibility that the monks reorganized their demesnes so that they could require their tenants labour service more intensively. A form of inventory that was suitable for updating the information must have been useful for such purposes.

According to Simone Collavini, in the twelfth century the monastery of Passignano kept its own armed clientele and often resorted to violence in order to establish its signorial power. Stressing such activities of the monks, Tommaso Casini referred to the monastery of Passignano as a “‘warlike’ monastery”.⁵¹ It is highly probable that the monastery made use of a list of rents that was capable of being revised as a weapon to intensify control over their tenants.

By way of conclusion I wish to underline two elements: the relationship between two types of lists of rents, and the use of these lists by laymen. In the records concerning estate management we can imagine the evolution of documents from one type of document to another: from inventories to accounts. However, we should take into account that, at least in the areas where the landholding patterns were fragmented and various types of rents and services continued to exist, an inventory whose documentary form could be up-dated was more suitable for estate management than continuously producing new documents for accounts.

As for the documentation practices by laymen, it is difficult to reconstruct them because of the scarcity of such documents. But the use of lists as a means of estate management was not restricted to the churches and monasteries. Laymen also used them. In fact, we have an early twelfth century “*breve recordationis*”, in which lists of services and rents owed to a lord of the *castrum* of Pernina in the upper Valdarno were written.⁵² In the eleventh and twelfth-century Tuscany, lists of rents

49 Conti, *La formazione* (n. 25 above), pp. 133–43, 182–88. See also Cammarosano, *La famiglia dei Berardenghi* (n. 48 above), pp. 34–43 for similar patterns in the neighboring north eastern Senese, and Wickham, *The Mountains and the City* (n. 47 above), pp. 231–37 for the Casentino area.

50 On the accumulation of land by the monastery of Passignano in the neighboring Poggialvento area during the twelfth century, see the register of documents by Conti, *La formazione* (n. 25 above), pp. 265–73.

51 Collavini, “I poteri signorili” (n. 30 above), pp. 192–93, 195; T. Casini, “L’abate e gli *homines* di Poggialvento (secc. XII e XIII)”, in *Passignano in Val di Pesa* (n. 25 above), pp. 206–13 (the quotation from the title of the first section “monastero ‘guerriero’” (p. 206)).

52 The text was published in C. Fabbri, *Statuti e riforme del commune di Terranuova (1487–1675). Una comunità del contado fiorentino attraverso le sue istituzioni*, Florence 1989, n. 2, pp. 344–46. For useful comments of this *breve*, see E. M. Cortese, “L’incastellamento nel territorio di Arezzo (secoli X–XII)”, in *Castelli. Storia e archeologia del potere nella Toscana medievale*, 1, eds. R. Francovich, M. Ginatempo, Florence 2000, p. 102; Ead., *Signori, castelli, città* (n. 30 above), p. 187–88; and S. Carocci, “Il lessico del prelievo signorile: una nota sulle fonti italiane”, *Annali del Dipartimento di Storia. Università di Roma, Tor Vergata*, 3 (2007), pp. 2–3.

constituted an essential part of the rich and fertile written culture beyond the wall that segregated the ecclesiastics from laymen. Lists of rents, at first sight only dry and simple enumerations of the names and numbers, have a complicated and rich textual world of their own.

Table 2 Rent payers and their obligations in the two lists of the Monastery of Passignano

list	rent payers	money rent	adiutorium	kind rent	corvée	others
1	B Rufus faber de Monte Gunzi C Ruffus faber de Monte Guizzi	8 d. 8 d.	6 d. (every 3 years) 6 d. (every 3 years)		12 opere	
2	B Orlandus de Monte Pongni C Orlandus de Monte Pongni	12 d. 2 s.				1 loaf of bread 4 loaves of bread 4 chickens
3	B Ubertinus de Monte Gunzi C Ubertinus de Monte Gunzi	2 d. 4 d.	3 d.			
4	B Tiniosus de Monte Gonzi C Tjignosus de Campo Lucci	1 d. 2 d.	1 d.			1 loaf of bread 1 loaf of bread
5	B Perullo C Perullo	2 d. 2 d.	2 d. 2 d.			
6	B Rufus de Pacino C Russus de Pagio	4 d. 16 d.	2 d.			1 loaf of bread 1 loaf of bread
7	B Pellicio de Minazana C Pellicione de Milazana	1 d. 2 d.	3 d.			
8	B Gerardus de Pitzo C Gerardus de Puzo	6 d. 8 d.		1 barrel of wine		3 loaves of bread 3 loaves of bread
9	B Staciafarina de ripa Mortoria C Stacciafarina	1 d. 1 d.				
10	B Guitoncino cum sua parentela C Guituncinus de ripa Mortoia cum sua parentela	3 d. 3 d.				
11	B Plebanus C Plebanus de Sancto Crisco	5 d. 15 (25) d.	9 d.			(1 loaf of bread)
12	B ff. Peri de Lupinare C ff. Peri de Lupinari	2 d. 2 d.	1 d. 1 d.			1 loaf of bread 1 loaf of bread
13	B Bue C Bove de Monte Gunzi	1 d. 2 d.	1 d.			1 loaf of bread 1 loaf of bread
14	B Rainerius de Boccaciano C Rainerius de Buccaciano	1 d. 1 d.				1 loaf of bread 1 loaf of bread

B: ASF, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, sec. XI, n. 12 (f. 2911*)

C: ASF, Diplomatico, *Passignano*, sec. XI, n. 3 (f. 2902*)

* ff. 2911, 2902: numbers of the photographs *on-line*.