

THE NORMAN EPISCOPATE, 989-1110
(2 VOLS.)

by

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I

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Abstract

The episcopal office, and the individuals who held it, were fundamental to the political, religious, social and cultural development of ducal Normandy. Not only men of great political power, many strove to create vibrant centres of learning in their dioceses, and accounts of their efforts to reform the Norman Church spread throughout Europe. However, while the episcopate of twelfth-century Normandy continues to be the subject of various studies, such as that published recently by Jörg Peltzer, there are few works, especially in English, which examine the careers of their predecessors in any real detail. This thesis is intended, therefore, as the first comprehensive analysis of the tenth and eleventh-century episcopate, and their role in the emergence of the Norman and Anglo-Norman realms. Using chronicles, ducal and episcopal *acta*, published conciliar records, architecture, and a wide variety of unpublished material in both French and English archives, this thesis traces the origins of the bishops, their recruitment and relations with the dukes of Normandy, their role in Normandy before the Conquest of England and in the governance of the Anglo-Norman realm, their secular role and connections, and their role as cultural patrons. It also includes, in various appendices, critical editions of texts either associated with, or created by, members of the episcopate, including the texts of over eighty episcopal *acta*.

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the Archives nationales, the departmental archives of Calvados, Eure, Eure-et-Loir, Manche, Orne and Seine-Maritime, the municipal libraries of Avranches, Bayeux, Caen, Cherbourg, Évreux, Flers, Fougères, Lisieux and Rouen, and the library of the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Caen. I am grateful to the directors and staff of all these repositories for providing access to their collections, and the names of those who were particularly helpful in facilitating my work in these institutions are among those listed above. I also benefited from the help of M. l'abbé Georges Pouppy of the diocesan archives of Coutances, who made arrangements for me to see some of the invaluable manuscripts in his care.

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‘Acta archiepiscoporum’	‘Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium’, in <i>Vetera Analecta</i> , ed. J. Mabillon (Paris, 1723), pp. 222-226
AD	Archives départementales
AN	<i>Annales de Normandie</i>
ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
Arch. nat.	Archives nationales (Paris)
ASC	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , ed. C. Plummer, <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-1899)
AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur</i> , ed. Société des Bollandistes, 67 vols. (1863-1983)
BEC	<i>Bibliothèque de l’École de Chartes</i>
BL	British Library
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BSAN	<i>Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie</i>
CDF	<i>Calendar of documents preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland: A.D. 918-1206</i> , ed. J.H. Round (London, 1899)
<i>De moribus</i>	<i>De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum auctore Dudone sancti Quintini decano</i> , ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865)
‘De statu’	‘De statu huius ecclesiae ab anno 836 ad 1093’, <i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 217-224
EEA	<i>English Episcopal Acta</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>

<i>GC</i>	<i>Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa</i> , 16 vols. (Paris, 1865-1870)
<i>GDB</i>	Great Domesday Book
<i>GG</i>	<i>The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers</i> , ed. and trans. R.H.C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998)
<i>GND</i>	<i>The Gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni</i> , ed. and trans. E.M.C. van Houts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992-1995)
<i>HSJ</i>	<i>Haskins Society Journal</i>
<i>LDB</i>	Little Domesday Book
<i>Letters of Lanfranc</i>	<i>The letters of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury</i> , ed. and trans. H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979)
<i>Les évêques normands</i>	<i>Les évêques normands du XIe siècle</i> , ed. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen, 1995)
<i>Mansi</i>	<i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , ed. G. Mansi, 31 vols. (Venice, 1757-1798)
<i>MGH: SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores</i>
<i>Migne, PL</i>	<i>Patrologia latina cursus completus</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864)
<i>Millénaire monastique</i>	<i>Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel</i> , ed. J. Laporte et al., 5 vols. (Paris, 1967-1971)
<i>MSAN</i>	<i>Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie</i>
<i>OV</i>	<i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-1980)
<i>RADN</i>	<i>Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066</i> , ed. M. Fauroux (Caen, 1961)

<i>Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I, 1066-1087</i> , ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998)
<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i	<i>Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154: vol. I. Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi, 1066-1100</i> , ed. H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1913)
<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii	<i>Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154: vol. II. Regesta Henrici Primi, 1100-1135</i> , ed. C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956)
<i>RHGF</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , 24 vols. (Paris, 1840-1904)
Spear, <i>The personnel</i>	<i>The personnel of the Norman cathedrals during the ducal period, 911-1204</i> , ed. D. Spear (London, 2006)
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
William of Malmesbury, <i>GR</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta regum Anglorum</i> , ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-1999)

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Note

Throughout the text French place names have been rendered according to the form found in the topographical dictionaries for each *département* produced by the *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques*,¹ while those in their Latin form have been identified using the works of Jean Adigard des Gautries² and François de Beaurepaire.³ Norman and French personal toponyms are rendered ‘de X’ in all but a handful of cases. The form of English place names is taken from the relevant volume of *Victoria County History*. Norman dukes are referred to by their numerical sequence, rather than by their epithets, which means that William the Conqueror is William I. In the tables listing appearances in the diplomatic record the letters ‘T’, ‘S’ and ‘M’ stand for ‘Testes’, ‘Signum’ and ‘Mention’, while an ‘x’ in all three columns indicates a charter issued by the bishop. In these tables, and in the episcopal *acta* edited in Appendix G, reference is made to many documents that are often referred to elsewhere as *pancartes*. This is a term that has been overused in studies of Norman diplomatic, and it is used here according to the more precise criteria determined elsewhere.⁴ In the itineraries an asterisk next to the date means the participation of the bishop in that event is not certain.

¹ INSEE. Direction régionale (Rouen), *Nomenclature des hameaux écarts et lieux-dits du département de Seine-Inférieure* (Rouen, 1953); *Nomenclature des hameaux écarts et lieux-dits du département de l'Eure* (Rouen, 1955); *Nomenclature des hameaux: écarts et lieux-dits du département du Calvados* (Rouen, 1956); *Nomenclature des hameaux écarts et lieux-dits du département de la Manche* (Rouen, 1961); *Nomenclature des hameaux écarts et lieux-dits du département de l'Orne* (Rouen, 1962).

² J. Adigard des Gautries, ‘Les noms de lieux de la Manche attestés entre 911 et 1066’, *AN*, 1 (1951), pp. 9-44; ‘Les noms de lieux des îles anglo-normandes attestés entre 911 et 1066’, *AN*, 2 (1952), pp. 27-33; ‘Les noms de lieux du Calvados attestés entre 911 et 1066’, *AN*, 2 (1952), pp. 209-228; 3 (1953), pp. 22-36, 135-148; ‘Les noms de lieux de l'Eure attestés entre 911 et 1066’, *AN*, 4 (1954), pp. 39-60, 237-256; 5 (1955), pp. 15-34; ‘Les noms de lieux de la Seine-Maritime attestés entre 911 et 1066’, *AN*, 6 (1956), 119-135, 223-244; 7 (1957), pp. 135-158; 8 (1958), pp. 299-322; 9 (1959), pp. 151-167.

³ F. de Beaurepaire, *Les Noms des communes et anciennes paroisses de la Seine-Maritime* (Paris, 1979); *Les Noms des communes et anciennes paroisses de l'Eure* (Paris, 1981); *Les Noms des communes et anciennes paroisses de la Manche* (Paris, 1986).

⁴ For discussion see *Regesta*, pp. 22-30; M. Parisse, ‘Les pancartes. Étude d'un type d'acte diplomatique’, in *Pancartes monastiques des XIe et XIIe siècles*, ed. M. Parisse, P. Pégeot and B.-M. Tock (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 11-62.

Introduction

The episcopal office, and the individuals who held it, occupied a central place in eleventh-century Normandy. Through the building of cathedrals, the founding of monastic houses and the sponsoring of such works as the famous Bayeux Tapestry, these men made fundamental religious, political, social and cultural contributions to the development of Normandy as a regional—and after 1066—an international power. Compared to some other aspects of the ecclesiastical history of the duchy, however, these individuals have not always received the attention that they deserve, especially from scholars in the English-speaking world. Those that have sought to examine the episcopate in more detail have often found their work hindered by two factors. The first concerns the survival of source material. The history of tenth- and eleventh-century Normandy suffers from a well-known paucity of sources, and while documents for the history of the Norman church (including its episcopate) are more plentiful than for other aspects of the duchy's history, these often come with certain conditions. This is perhaps illustrated no better than by the surviving material of the diocese of Coutances. Decimated by the fire that destroyed the archives at Saint-Lô on 6 June 1944, the number of surviving charters for the eleventh-century bishops can be counted on one hand, while our understanding of life in the city and diocese during the eleventh century relies solely on two narrative texts that were both written in the early twelfth.¹ These documents are consequently not only open to questions concerning their veracity, but the very nature in which they have survived continues to cause problems for those studying the history of the diocese, including the author of this particular work.²

¹ These are the collection of miracles, which are edited below in Appendix F, and the text known most commonly as the *Gesta Gaufridi* or 'De statu huius ecclesiae ab anno 836 ad 1093', which is printed in *Gallia Christiana* (see abbreviations for details).

² This is particularly true of *De statu*, which, along with the miracles of Coutances, was once found in the *Livre noir* of the cathedral chapter, a medieval codex that itself fell victim to the vicissitudes of the French Revolution. For discussion, see G. Désiré dit Gosset, 'Les *Livres noirs* et les *Livres blancs* de l'ancien diocèse de Coutances', *Revue de la Manche*, 39 (1997), pp. 7-21. The original intention was to edit both texts in this study, but the oldest surviving complete manuscript copy of *De statu*, which was made by Arthur Du Monstier in 1641, is in a manuscript (BN, ms. lat. 10049) that has been deemed, due to its current state, to be '*totalement incommunicable*'. Frequent requests over the last two years, including those made on the author's behalf by Véronique Gazeau, Stephen Marritt and Emmanuel Poulle, have failed to make the codex available for consultation. This is particularly unfortunate, for earlier fragmentary copies of *De statu* suggest the edition in *Gallia Christiana* is wholly unsatisfactory, yet it is still the version used most frequently by scholars to make arguments concerning important aspects of life in eleventh-century Coutances. For an example with regards to the eleventh-century cathedral, see below, pp. 182-185.

The second factor is related to the first. While the history of ducal Normandy is served by some of the most famous chronicles of the High Middle Ages, the frequency with which members of the Norman episcopate are mentioned in their pages varies greatly from bishop to bishop. Like their modern counterparts, medieval historians were limited by the amount of information available for the career of each particular bishop, while personal taste and value judgements often determined which bishops were the recipient of either praise or scorn. Among those to feature most prominently in the work of Orderic Vitalis, for example, is Odo, bishop of Bayeux.³ He, like Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances, had an active—often controversial—career, the events of which were well documented on both sides of the Channel. Consequently, much ink has been spilled by modern scholars on Odo and Geoffrey, but to focus exclusively on such figures leaves the historiography of the eleventh-century Norman episcopate, and that of the duchy itself, somewhat one-dimensional. While it is true that bishops such as Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées, and John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen, had much in common with their more (in)famous colleagues, their careers were guided by entirely different forces. Moreover, men such as William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, and Serlo d’Orgères, bishop of Sées, represent a completely different aspect of the Norman episcopate at this time—one which, due to its more pacific nature, has failed to capture so completely the attention of modern authorities. There are, of course, also those who seem to have been unjustly treated by both their contemporaries and later scholars, such as Mauger, archbishop of Rouen.

The aim of this study is, therefore, twofold. First, it seeks to provide a complete analysis of the career of every bishop during this period, and to document in full the contribution that each made to the restoration of the Norman church following the Scandinavian incursions of the ninth and tenth centuries. This will not only redress the imbalances noted above, but will also allow for the careers of better known bishops to be placed in their proper context. It will, moreover, confront the fact that too much of our knowledge for this period is based upon the work of early modern antiquarians, who although often having access to material that has since been lost, have never had many of their assertions critically examined or questioned. These can sometimes

³ P. Bouet, ‘L’image des évêques normands dans l’œuvre d’Orderic Vital’, in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 253-275.

concern what appear to be matters of minute detail, but in an era when so many events and documents are undated, the clarification of something as minor as the identity of the source used by *Gallia Christiana* to state that William Fleitel, bishop of Évreux, died on 11 February 1066,⁴ allows for other aspects of the region's history to be studied with far greater precision.⁵ Similar examples can be found throughout, while the appendices, which represent the study's second aim, namely to provide critical editions of documents either written by or associated with members of the episcopate, allow for many different aspects of the history of ducal Normandy to be studied with greater rigour.

This work, of course, does not stand in isolation. From David Douglas' seminal study of the pre-Conquest Norman episcopate,⁶ to the recent collection of essays published following a conference held in honour of Geoffrey de Montbray,⁷ the quantity of secondary works on which this study relies is far too large to be outlined in full here. However, while these studies have proved invaluable in completing this thesis, few make full use of the wide range of material available for the study of the episcopate. The episcopal *acta* of this period, many of which have been edited here critically for the first time, have hitherto remained a particularly neglected source of information. The work of David Bates and Richard Sharpe on the Anglo-Norman royal *acta* of this period has already made accessible to analysis the texts of these important documents, and has revealed the rewards of bringing new and more rigorous standards of analysis to such material. Contemporary episcopal *acta* are deserving of the same attention, and it is only by analysing the charters produced during this formative period that we can truly understand the foundations on which

⁴ *GC*, xi, col. 571. This date is often repeated without question (e.g. P. Bouet and M. Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands de 985 à 1150', in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 19-37, at p. 29), even though it clashes with the date given by an obituary of the cathedral of Évreux. The source of the editors of *Gallia Christiana* appears to be a lost obituary of Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux, which is referenced in a manuscript of the seventeenth century written by Arthur Du Monstier, BN, ms. lat. 10050, fol. 114r. For full discussion, see below p. 223.

⁵ Orderic claims that William was present at the meeting, which is traditionally located at Lillebonne, during which the invasion plans for England were discussed, *OV*, ii, pp. 140-142. Armed with the information discovered in the work of Arthur Du Monstier, scholars can now choose to either reject or accept the date for the bishop's death given by *Gallia Christiana*, and this means that the period in which the meeting at Lillebonne, which is no better dated than early 1066, can be further refined.

⁶ D.C. Douglas, 'The Norman episcopate before the Norman Conquest', *Cambridge Historical Review*, 13 (1957), pp. 101-115.

⁷ This was the *colloque* entitled *Geoffroy de Montbray et les évêques normands du XIe siècle*, which was held on 30 September to 3 October 1993 at Cerisy-la-Salle. The proceedings were published as *Les évêques normands* (see abbreviations for details).

the diplomatic material of succeeding centuries was based. Moreover, once treated properly these texts can allow for comments to be made on a wide variety of issues, including the means by which a bishop appointed members of his cathedral chapter, the manner in which he exercised authority in his city and the development and administration of his estates.⁸

The narrative structure of this study, which examines the career of each bishop individually, diocese by diocese, does mean, however, that it has not been possible to do some things. Those searching for an overarching hypothesis that relates not only the members of the Norman episcopate to each other, but also to the wider European episcopal network, will not find such ideas openly expressed here. The evidence is often far too slender to support such concepts, and while comparisons between members of the Norman episcopate, or with their European colleagues, may seem necessary, they are, given the circumstances in Normandy at this time, often somewhat incongruous. Moreover, while many chapters consider similar themes, it has seemed prudent not to try and examine these separately. This is done partly to avoid repetition of existing material, but also because any such study would be unfairly weighted towards those dioceses (normally Rouen and Bayeux) for which the greatest amount of information survives. Every effort has been made to try and relate the subjects considered in each chapter to events of wider significance in the duchy, although given how completely some members of the episcopate can disappear from the historical record, this has not always been possible. Such shortcomings, however, should not detract from the need for a fresh examination of these bishops, and it is hoped that what follows goes at least some way to illuminating not only the extent of their individual achievements, but also their place as a group within the wider history of ducal Normandy.

⁸ For two recent examples of the application of episcopal *acta* in this way, see R. Allen, 'Five charters concerning the early history of the chapter at Avranches', *Tabularia 'Documents'*, 8 (2008), pp. 1-33; R. Allen, 'Un évêque et sa ville: les évêques d'Avranches de 990 à 1134', *Revue de l'Avranchin et du pays de Granville*, 86 (2009), pp. 1-49.

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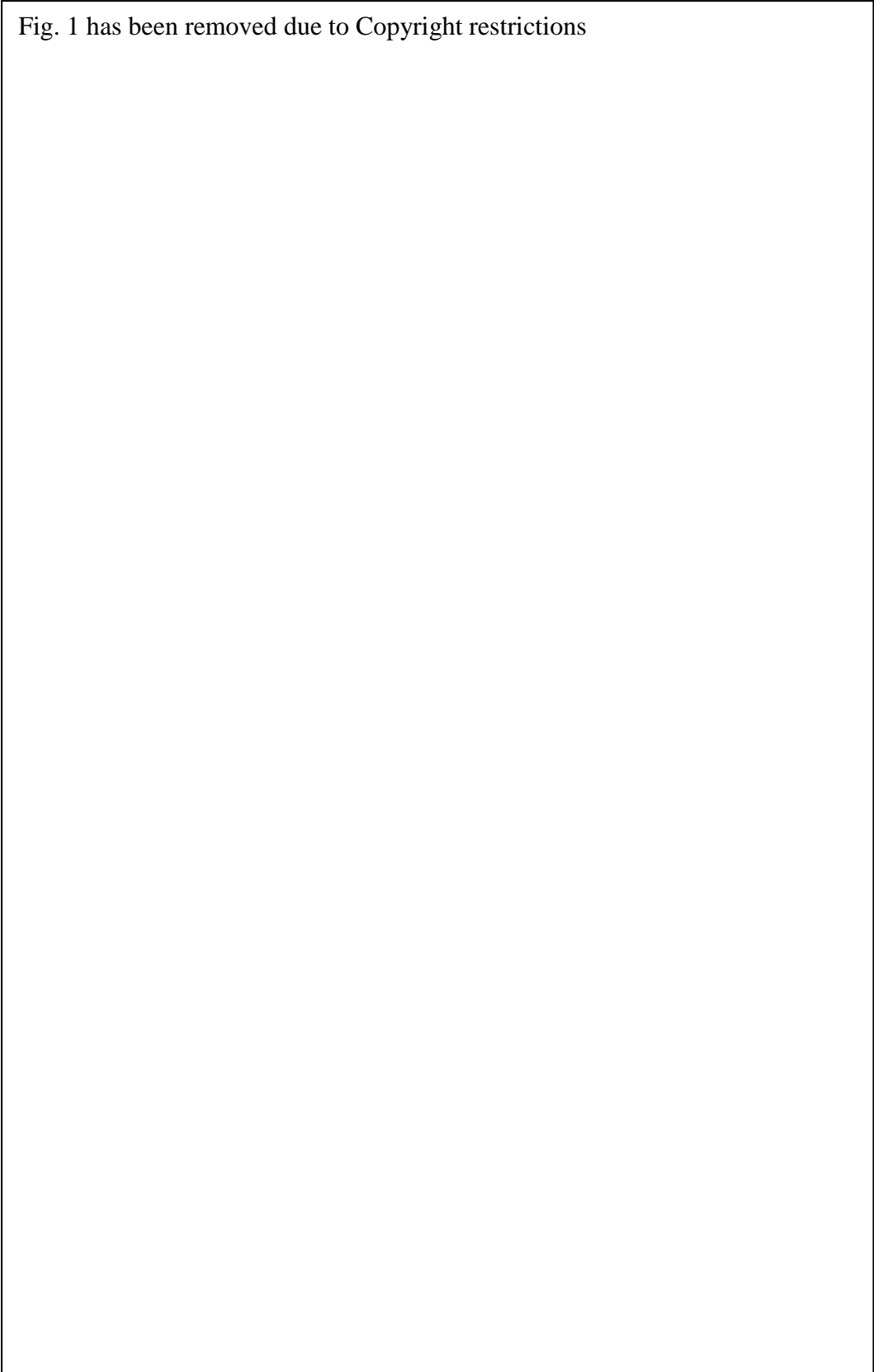


Fig 1 The ecclesiastical province of Rouen during the eleventh and twelfth centuries*

* Map adapted from the French version in F. Neveux, 'Les diocèses normands aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Les évêques normands*, pp. 13-18, at p. 16.

The Norman episcopate before 989

Any assessment of the Norman episcopate before 989 is plagued by the severe lack of evidence caused by the Northmen incursions of the previous century. First appearing in the region in 841, no diocese escaped unscathed.¹ Churches were razed to the ground, relics scattered, bishops killed, and another even captured and sold into slavery.² By 862, the smallest diocese in the province, Avranches, had been completely severed from the ecclesiastical chain of command. The see would lay vacant for over a century, and was only reoccupied in around 990.³ The destruction in the bishopric of Coutances, also in Lower Normandy, was also profound. The Northmen razed the cathedral to the ground, and the clergy fled, taking with them the cathedral relics, which were subsequently scattered throughout France. Fortunately, the newly converted Danish leader Hrólfr (christened Rollo by the archbishop of Rouen in 911) made amends for the destruction wrought by his followers, and shortly after his baptism, arranged for the transferral of Theoderic, bishop of Coutances, to the church of Saint-Lô in Rouen, where he continued to work ‘as if he were in his own see’.⁴ This was a situation that would endure until the episcopate of Geoffrey de Montbray (1049-1093).⁵ The circumstances at Lisieux and Évreux were little better. The editors of *Gallia Christiana* were unable to name any bishop for Lisieux between 876 and 990,⁶ while the only person known unquestionably to have occupied the seat at Évreux after 909 is Gunhardus,⁷ who witnessed two charters of Ragenfredus, bishop of Chartres, in favour of Saint-Père de Chartres in the 950s.⁸ Lucien Musset thought that Gunhardus had probably evacuated his see (although he couldn’t indicate

¹ Nithard, *Histoire de fils de Louis de Pieux*, ed. and trans. P.H. Lauer (Paris, 1926), p. 56; ‘Annales Fontanellenses priores’, ed. J. Laporte, in *Société de l’histoire de Normandie, Mélanges*, 15 (1951), pp. 74-75.

² Balfridus, bishop of Bayeux, was killed in 858 and Lista, bishop of Coutances, in 889, *GC*, xi, cols. 351, 867. Adalhelmus, bishop of Sées, was captured and sold into slavery in c. 885, ‘Liber miraculorum sanctae Opportunae’, *AASS*, April III, p. 68.

³ *GC*, xi, col. 474.

⁴ ‘... ibique sicut in sede propria sedebat’, ‘De statu’, col. 218. The sections of this text dealing with Rollo are translated in, *The Normans in Europe*, ed. and trans. E.M.C. van Houts (Manchester, 2000), pp. 38-40.

⁵ Both Geoffrey’s predecessors Herbert (c. 1022/3) and Robert (c. 1023-1048) were involved in the reconstruction effort at Coutances, but it was only under Geoffrey that the bishop moved back permanently to the Cotentin. For discussion, see below pp. 176-203.

⁶ *GC*, xi, col. 765.

⁷ *Gallia Christiana* names two other prelates in the list before Gunhardus (Cerdegarius and Hugh), but the existence of both rests on no certain source.

⁸ *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. B. Guérard, 2 vols. (Paris, 1840), i, no. i, pp. 49-50; ii, no. cxxx, p. 351.

to where),⁹ but a sizeable Christian population must have remained in the area, for it was only with their help that Hugh the Great (d. 956) was able to seize the *castrum* of the city in 943.¹⁰ Both bishops Roger of Lisieux and Gerard of Évreux, who reoccupied their sees sometime in the late tenth century, appear alongside other pre-989 prelates at a translation of the relics of St. Ouen undertaken by Richard I (942-996), but it remains unclear when this event took place, and when these two prelates were elevated to their respective seats.¹¹ A twelfth-century tradition states that the inhabitants of the Ouche, in the south of the diocese of Lisieux, still did not fall under episcopal authority even as late as 1020.¹²

The situation at Bayeux, the province's second diocese, is only slightly better. The most famous pre-989 occupant of the see is Heiric.¹³ He appears twice in Dudo de Saint-Quentin's *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, and was allegedly responsible for baptising the infant Richard I.¹⁴ Dudo describes him as 'of the very highest reverence' (*reverentissimo*), while both he and various monastic annals make reference to his holiness (*omnium quippe praesulum sanctissimum*).¹⁵ Little else is known of this prelate. The state of his cathedral church is unclear, although given that William Longsword sent his son Richard to the city to be educated in Danish customs and language, one must assume that the Scandinavian impact had been great, and perhaps even destructive as far as the ecclesiastical hierarchy was concerned.¹⁶ Henri Prentout suggested Heiric lived outside his see among the Rouen clergy, although provided no other evidence than that the baptism appears to have taken place at Fécamp, and that there were disturbances in other

⁹ L. Musset, 'Un millénaire oublié: la remise en ordre de la hiérarchie épiscopale en Normandie autour de 990', in *Papauté, monachisme et théories politiques: études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Marcel Pacaut*, ed. P. Guichard et al., 2 vols. (Lyon, 1994), ii, pp. 563-573, at p. 565. It has recently been suggested that if Gunhardus did leave his see, he gravitated towards the city of Tours, P. Bauduin, *La première Normandie (Xe-XIe siècles): sur les frontières de la haute Normandie* (Caen, 2004), p. 165.

¹⁰ Flodoard of Reims, *Les annales de Flodoard*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1905), p. 88.

¹¹ 'Translatio secunda corporis beati Audoeni', AASS, Aug. IV, pp. 823-824, at p. 824. For discussion, see below pp. 9-15.

¹² *OV*, ii, p. 26.

¹³ Elisabeth van Houts translated his name as Henry, despite the fact that William of Jumièges uses the same Latin form of his name as Dudo, i.e. *Heiricus*, *GND*, ii, p. 78.

¹⁴ *De moribus*, pp. 191, 219. A set of annals composed at the cathedral of Rouen claims the baptism took place in 938. For this text, which has been edited only once from a manuscript now lost, see 'Chronicon Rotomagensis', in *Novae bibliothecae manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. P. Labbé, 2 vols. (Paris, 1657), i, pp. 364-390, at p. 366.

¹⁵ *De moribus*, pp. 191, 219; 'Chronicon Rotomagensis', p. 366; *Les annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges: chronique universelle des origines au XIIIe siècle*, ed. J. Laporte (Rouen, 1954), p. 52.

¹⁶ *De moribus*, p. 221.

Norman sees at this time,¹⁷ while it is possible the bishop was a member of the duchy's new ruling family.¹⁸ *Gallia Christiana* names three other bishops of Bayeux for the tenth century, and while one of these (Hugh II) can now be dismissed,¹⁹ the appearance of a *Ricardus Baiocensis episcopus* at the translation of St. Ouen noted above means the identity of the person to immediately succeed Heiric remains unclear.²⁰ Maylis Baylé also drew attention to the inscription 'Ertmandus ep.', which was carved into the base of a column of the church of Evrecy in the diocese of Bayeux.²¹ She dated the carving to the late tenth century, and associated it with a consecration perhaps conducted by this bishop at Evrecy. David Spear concluded that as long as Ertmundus is not a variation of the name Erchambertus, who was bishop of Bayeux towards the end of the ninth century, then Ertmund could be a hitherto unknown bishop of the early ducal period, although he did not include him among his formal list of cathedral personnel.²²

Finally, while a twelfth-century episcopal list preserved in a manuscript of Jumièges lists numerous prelates for the period, the diocese of Sées appears to have lain vacant for most of the tenth century.²³ Indeed, *Gallia Christiana* printed none of the six names (Godegrannus, Robert, Hugh, Benedict, Ragenfridus and Rainaldus) that appear in the Jumièges manuscript between the two confirmed tenth-century occupants of the see (Adalhelmus, d. c. 910 and Azo, c. 990-1015).²⁴ Louis Duchesne was able to identify two of these with bishops who occupied the see prior to the tenth century,²⁵ yet another two (Robert and Benedict) remain in the list of bishops given by Jacques Savary in his eighteenth-century *pouillé* of the diocese.²⁶ Unfortunately, neither name is accompanied by any biographical information. Adalhelmus, the last occupant of the see before the vacancy, is perhaps most famous for a benedictionary

¹⁷ H. Prentout, *Étude critique sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin et son histoire des premiers ducs normands* (Paris, 1916), p. 411.

¹⁸ E. Deniaux, C. Lorren, P. Bauduin and T. Jarry, *La Normandie avant les Normands: de la conquête romaine à l'arrivée des Vikings* (Rennes, 2002), p. 404.

¹⁹ *RADN*, p. 69.

²⁰ For discussion see below p. 15.

²¹ M. Baylé, 'Sur quelques inscriptions lapidaires proches de l'an mil', in *La Normandie vers l'an mil: études et documents*, ed. F. de Beaurepaire and J.-P. Chaline (Rouen, 2000), pp. 45-59, at pp. 45-47.

²² Spear, *The personnel*, p. 31 n. 1. Spear does provisionally include a bishop Hubert, who witnessed a charter (*RADN*, no. 7) on behalf of Saint-Wandrille.

²³ *BM* (Rouen), ms. U 46 Omont 1333, fol. 37v-38r.

²⁴ *GC*, xi, col. 679.

²⁵ L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1907-1915), ii, pp. 231-235.

²⁶ *Pouillé de l'ancien diocèse de Sées rédigé en 1763, par Jacques Savary*, ed. Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne, 2 vols. (Alençon, 1903-1908), i, p. 7.

which he composed for an archbishop Franco, usually associated with the archbishop of Rouen by that name.²⁷ Unfortunately, it seems unlikely that the benedictionary was intended for use in Rouen (none of the later Norman benedictionaries contain the formulas found in Adalhelmus' work), while the existence of the work has long caused problems for historians attempting to date the tenure of Archbishop Franco.²⁸ This will be discussed more fully below.

Of course, of the seven Norman sees, it is the metropolitan seat for which we have the fullest information. Unlike its suffragan dioceses, it suffered no major disruption in the archiepiscopal succession, and given the almost complete lack of evidence for the other sees, we can consider the information we possess about the activities of its occupants as detailed. Yet before we begin an analysis of the archdiocese of Rouen and its prelates before 989, we must first examine an account of a translation of the relics of St. Ouen already mentioned above, in which a number of the pre-989 episcopate are said to have been involved.

Richard I and the second translation of St. Ouen

Preserved in the *Livre noir*, an eleventh-century manuscript of the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, is an account of a translation of the relics of St. Ouen undertaken by Richard I.²⁹ Probably written between 996 and 1001, no exact date is assigned to the events which it records, and while there is a list of those in attendance at the ceremony, their appearance alongside each other is chronologically problematic. Nevertheless, Mathieu Arnoux has recently highlighted the importance to historians of such sources in a period starved of narrative accounts,³⁰ and since the *translatio* is an important witness to the ecclesiastical reconstitution of Normandy during the tenth century, mentioning the names of more than two pre-989 bishops, we are justified in reprinting a large portion of it here:

²⁷ J. Laporte, 'Bénédictions épiscopales à Paris (Xe s.)', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 71 (1957), pp. 145-184.

²⁸ Laporte, 'Bénédictions épiscopales', p. 156.

²⁹ BM (Rouen), ms. Y 41 Omont 1406, fol. 211r-213v (one folio missing at end of the text). A complete copy can be found in a thirteenth-century manuscript also of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, namely BM (Rouen), ms. U 64 Omont 1411, fol. 97r-98v.

³⁰ M. Arnoux, 'Before the *Gesta Normannorum* and beyond Dudo: some evidence on early Norman historiography', *ANS*, 22 (2000), pp. 29-48, at pp. 35-36.

Quamobrem praedicto patri interminando praecepit, ut in eadem aecclesia tam die quam nocte semper duo lucerent luminaria, unum scilicet coram altare beati Petri apostoli, alterum vero ante aram beati AUDOENI pontificis, qui sunt duae olivae et duo candelabra ante Dominum aeterna claritate micantia. Deputatis proinde edituis, et custodibus idoneis qui ibidem excubias agerent, et apreciosas pignerum gazas vel alia quaeque ornamenta diligenter seruarent, ipse princeps inclytus dedit sancto AUDOENO villam sancti Martini nomine nuncupatam, et decimam villae quae Ros dicitur. Deinde peritos accersiens aurifices, tradidit eis copiam auri et gemmas preciosas ad deaurandum et decorandum sancti praesulis feretrum. Consummato denique hoc opere, convocatis episcopis et abbatibus ac optimatibus suis, fecit detegi sanctissimi antistitis menbra a quattuor monachis religiosis eiusdem monasterii cum magno metu et reverentia. Inventum est itaque totum corpus integrum cum capite et absque ulla imminutione, sicuti a venerabili archiepiscopo Riculfo fuerat compositum. Tunc cum magnis laudum praeconiis pallio valde precioso involutum, et sindone munda coopertum, sicuti repertum fuerat integerrimum repositum est in scrinio, cum circulis ferreis quibus se vivens constringendo afflixerat pro eius dulcissimo amore, qui nos in cruce propria redemit passione. Ipsum vero scrinium, in feretro est reconditum, auro gemmisque decoratum. Ibi ergo beati AUDOENI corpus sacratissimum, beatæ resurrectionis diem expectat, ut geminam incorruptionis stolam et perennem gloriae coronam a Christo percipiat.

Affuerunt huic tam felici obsequio et digno spectaculo, dux ipse egregius Ricardus, cum coniuge sua Albereda nomine, et filio Rotberto cognomine Dano, qui defunctus sepultus est apud sanctum Petrum Carnoti, et cum aliis filiis et filiabus ex eadem uxore. Affuerunt etiam domnus HUGO eiusdem sedis archiepiscopus, Ricardus Baiocensis episcopus, Rogerius Lisiacensis episcopus, Gerardus Ebroicensis episcopus, HILDEBERTUS abbas eiusdem monasterii, Mainardus abbas sancti Michaelis de monte, Frotmundus abbas sancti Taurini Ebroicensis, et alii multi venerabiles episcopi et abbates, convenit quoque innumerabilis monachorum, clericorum, ac procerum totius regni, et alia plebs copiosa. Quatuor vero monachi qui sanctissimum corpus ut praedictum est detexerunt, occulta Dei dispositione ipso anno ad Dominum migraverunt. Hec iccirco dilectissimi compendiose digessimus, quemadmodum veridica a maioribus nostris relatione comperimus, ut plane et absque ambiguitate sanctissimi patris nostri Audoeni corpus integrum et ab omni membrorum parte imminutum haberi apud nos ut praediximus credatur.³¹

Various authorities have attempted to date this event. The editors of *Gallia Christiana* say no more than it took place in ‘medio seculo decimo’.³² Jean Hermant dated it to 955, but the presence of Mainard, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (965-991) militates against this.³³ Lucien Musset and Marie Fauroux dated the donation of Saint-Martin des Bois and Rots associated with the translation to 966 × 989.³⁴ More

³¹ BM (Rouen), ms. Y 41 Omont 1406, fol. 213r-v (last section missing); BM (Rouen), ms. U 64 Omont 1411, fol. 98r-v. For a full, though unsatisfactory edition, see AASS, Aug. IV, pp. 823-824. For a French translation of the text, see M. Arnoux, ‘La conversion des normands de Neustrie et la restauration de l’église dans la province de Rouen’, in *Le christianisme en Occident du début du VIII^e siècle au milieu du XI^e siècle: textes et documents*, ed. F. Bougard (Paris, 1997), pp. 269-281, at pp. 275-278.

³² GC, xi, col. 352.

³³ J. Hermant, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayeux* (Caen, 1705), p. 123.

³⁴ L. Musset, ‘La contribution de Fécamp à la reconquête monastique de la Basse-Normandie (990-1066)’, in *L’abbaye bénédictine de Fécamp. Ouvrage scientifique du XIII^e centenaire, 658-1958*, 4 vols. (Fécamp, 1959), i, pp. 57-66, 341-343, at p. 58; RADN, p. 22.

recently, Jean-Michel Bouvris argued the translation occurred between 985 and 989,³⁵ while Pierre Bouet and Monique Dosdat stated it occurred in 988,³⁶ a conclusion that has been followed elsewhere.³⁷ More recently still, Mathieu Arnoux maintained that the date could be none other than 989, for the author of the *translatio* appears to closely relate the translation with the foundation of Fécamp in the following year.³⁸ Of those in attendance at the translation, the following can be dated without doubt: Richard I, duke of Normandy (942-996), Hugh, archbishop of Rouen (942-989), and Mainard I, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (965-991). The second of these provides us with a broad *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem*. Of the others we know that Hildebert, abbot of Saint-Ouen, died in 1006;³⁹ that Roger, bishop of Lisieux, died on 19 October 1022,⁴⁰ and that Gerard, bishop of Évreux, passed away sometime after 1006,⁴¹ while the only other datable appearance of Frotmundus, abbot of Saint-Taurin of Évreux, is as a witness to the foundation charter of Conches in 1035.⁴² Of those for whom we can provide no dates, one is an apparent member of the pre-989 episcopacy (*Ricardus Baiocensis episcopus*), while the other is a member of the ducal family (*filio Roberto cognomine Dano*). Both are problematic to the dates 985 × 989 and 988 suggested above.

Unfortunately, we know almost nothing of either individual. Robert *Danus* was one of the five sons that Richard I had with his second wife Gunnor (Albereda).⁴³ The *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* for his life are extremely difficult to establish. According to Robert de Torigni, he was born, along with his siblings, before the marriage of Richard I and Gunnor.⁴⁴ Dudo of Saint-Quentin, however, suggests that the children were born after the union.⁴⁵ The date of the marriage is unknown, although a number of traditions survive. It certainly occurred after the

³⁵ J.-M. Bouvris, 'Notes d'histoire bayeusaine au siècle de Guillaume le Conquérant', *Société des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Bayeux*, 29 (1987), pp. 15-41, at p. 16.

³⁶ Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 28.

³⁷ L. Musset, 'Les translations de reliques en Normandie (IXe-XIIe siècles)' in *Les saints dans la Normandie médiévale*, ed. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen, 2000), pp. 97-108, at p. 102.

³⁸ Arnoux, 'Before the *Gesta Normannorum*', p. 38. See also, V. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, 2 vols. (Caen, 2007), ii, p. 242.

³⁹ 'Chronicon Rotomagense', p. 366.

⁴⁰ 'Obitus domno Rogerii Lexoviensi episcopi', BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1778, fol. 89v.

⁴¹ GC, xi, col. 570.

⁴² *Le Grand Cartulaire de Conches et sa copie: transcription et analyse*, ed. C. de Haas (Le Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée, 2005), no. 406 (i). For his career see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, p. 94.

⁴³ *De moribus*, p. 290; *GND*, ii, pp. 128-130.

⁴⁴ *GND*, ii, p. 268.

⁴⁵ *De moribus*, p. 290.

death of Richard's first wife Emma, who disappears from the records in 966.⁴⁶ Dudo of Saint-Quentin places his account in the years following a Northmen excursion to Spain c. 966-c. 971. Having already fathered two illegitimate children with mistresses, Richard became involved with Gunnor and 'amicably allotted her to himself in an alliance of forbidden union'. With the thoughts of his successor in mind, the magnates of Rouen advised him to lawfully marry her.⁴⁷ Robert de Torigni provides a different motive for the marriage. He indicates that the duke 'wished his son Robert [not *Danus*] to become archbishop of Rouen, [and] was told by certain people that according to canon law this was impossible, because his mother [i.e. Gunnor] had not been married'.⁴⁸ Given that Hugh of Saint-Denis occupied the archiepiscopal see until 989, this assertion must either refer either to a decision made in the wake of the archbishop's passing, or to an incredible act of ducal foresight. As for the account of the translation of St. Ouen, it refers to Gunnor as Richard's *coniunx* and *uxor*, a clear indication that the two had been married when the translation took place. Since the weight placed by modern scholars on Robert de Torigni's account has recently been reassessed in favour of Dudo, it would therefore seem likely that Richard married Gunnor sometime in the late 960s.⁴⁹ This is the new *terminus a quo* for our translation. As for the *terminus ad quem*, we know that Robert *Danus* passed away as a child, for he is recorded in the obituary of the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres as such.⁵⁰ Since the date of his passing has recently been given as before 985 × 989,⁵¹ the broad timeframe for the translation of St. Ouen must therefore be c. 967 × 985.

Determining the existence for the other individual is equally challenging. Nowhere besides the translation of St. Ouen does a Richard, bishop of Bayeux, appear during the tenth century. According to *Gallia Christiana* his immediate successor

⁴⁶ She was present at the *placitum* of Gisors, which took place in June or July 966, and which is referenced in a charter of Saint-Denis from 18 March 968, *RADN*, no. 3. This document claims Richard I undertook the restitution of certain lands to Saint-Denis in this charter in memory of his grandfather Robert (Rollo) and his father William, and 'pro anime mee necnon coniugis'. The mention of Emma alongside the duke's dead relatives suggests that she was also dead by this point, although the authenticity of this charter is doubted, *GND*, ii, p. 128 n. 1.

⁴⁷ *De moribus*, p. 289.

⁴⁸ *GND*, ii, pp. 266-268.

⁴⁹ E. Searle, 'Fact and pattern in heroic history: Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *Viator*, 15 (1984), pp. 119-138, at pp. 133-136.

⁵⁰ '[Augustus] II. idus. Robertus, puer, filius comitis Richardi', *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, ed. A. Molinier, 4 vols. (Paris, 1902-1923), p. 193.

⁵¹ *GND*, ii, p. 130 n. 1.

	Rouen	Avranches	Bayeux	Coutances	Évreux	Lisieux	Sées
900							Adalhelmus † c. 910
—	Franco 911-919			Theoderic 911			
—	Gunhard 919-942			Herbert ... - ...			
—							
—	Hugh 942-989	<i>See vacant</i> 862-c. 990	Heinric c. 938	Algerundus ... - ...			<i>See vacant</i>
950			Richard ... - ...		Gunhardus c. 954		
—				Gilbert ... - ...			
—							
—							
—	Robert c. 989-1037	Norgod c. 990-1017	Rodulf 986-1006	Hugh c. 989-1025	Gerald c. 988-c. 1006	Roger c. 985-1022	Azo c. 986-1006
1000							

Fig. 2 The Norman episcopate before 989 (traditional)

	Rouen	Avranches	Bayeux	Coutances	Évreux	Lisieux	Sées
900	Guy (Wito) c. 892-c. 914			Theoderic 911			(Adalhelmus) (c. 885)
950	Hugh 942-989	<i>See vacant</i> 862- c. 990	Heinric c. 938	Herbert ... - ...			<i>See vacant</i>
			<i>See vacant (?)</i>		Gunhardus c. 954		
				Algerundus 968 ?			
			Ertmandus ...-...	Gilbert ... - ...			
	Robert c. 989-1037	Norgod c. 990-1017 × c. 1022	Rodulf c. 990-1006	Hugh c. 989- c. 1022	Gerald bef. 985 × 989-c. 1006	Roger bef. 985 × 989-c. 1022	Azo c. 990- c. 1015
1000							

Fig. 3 The Norman episcopate before 989 (revised)

was Hugh II, but as has been noted above, the existence of this prelate is now rejected.⁵² The next name in the list is the bishop Rodulf, who was known as ‘of Avranches’. A Breton by birth, his first *bona fide* appearance is alongside all the other bishops of Normandy in the famous charter issued at the dedication of Fécamp on 15 June 990.⁵³ *Gallia Christiana* claims that Rodulf witnessed a charter of the abbey of Saint-Denis, which it dates to 967, but this document is not to be found.⁵⁴ Until evidence surfaces to demonstrate otherwise, the most likely explanation is that it was Rodulf who was present at the St. Ouen translation, and that his name (*Radulfus*) was mistranscribed for Richard (*Ricardus*). This means that the see of Bayeux apparently lay vacant from between the end of the Heiric’s rule and c. 967 × before 985 × 989, which itself provides evidence for Prentout’s suggestion that the see was so disrupted that Heiric worked at Rouen. Frustratingly, the author of the *translatio* states that other bishops were present at the translation, and while these could have been non-Norman, perhaps this event, which may have taken place over a decade before the dedication of Fécamp, is the first time at which the entire episcopate was present. It is simply unfortunate that the scribe either did not know, or did not take the time, to record their names.

The archbishops of Rouen

Although the quantity of information for the pre-989 occupants of the archiepiscopal see is far greater than for their suffragan counterparts, its quality remains a contentious issue. Officially, three pontiffs governed the province of Rouen from the beginning of the tenth century until 989. These were archbishops Franco (c. 911-919), Gunhardus (920-942) and Hugh of Saint-Denis (942-989).⁵⁵ Yet doubt has long existed around the career of Archbishop Franco, whose deeds in the tenth century were first recorded by the often unreliable Dudo of Saint-Quentin, and there is

⁵² *GC*, xi, col. 352.

⁵³ *RADN*, no. 4. For discussion of this charter, see D.C. Douglas, ‘The first ducal charter for Fécamp’, in *L’abbaye bénédictine de Fécamp*, i, pp. 45-56, 323-339. Rodulf’s appearance in a charter issued for the abbey of Saint-Wandrille on 29 or 30 May 996 × 1006 (*RADN*, no. 7) is open to doubt.

⁵⁴ *GC*, xi, col. 352. For a complete inventory of the diplomatic material of the abbey of Saint-Denis, either original or otherwise, during this period see D. Songzoni, ‘Le chartier de l’abbaye de Saint-Denis en France au haut Moyen Âge. Essai de reconstitution’, *Pecia: Ressources en médiévistique*, 3 (2003), pp. 9-211, esp. pp. 209-210.

⁵⁵ The two most important works on the episcopal lists of Rouen are Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, pp. 200-212 and E.P. Sauvage, ‘Elenchi archiepiscoporum Rothomagensium’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 8 (1891), pp. 406-428.

considerable evidence to suggest that he was not archbishop at the beginning of the tenth century, but rather at the end of the ninth. Similarly, while Archbishop Gunhardus occupied the see for over two decades we know nothing of his career, while the reputation of Hugh of Saint-Denis continues to suffer from the disdain of later monastic chroniclers, despite a recent attempt at rehabilitation.⁵⁶ Archbishop Franco is of course most famous for his role, as described by Dudo of Saint-Quentin, in the submission and conversion of Rollo, the first ‘duke’ of Normandy.⁵⁷ The baptism of the Northmen leader, which Dudo dates to 912 but which most likely took place in the autumn of 911,⁵⁸ is traditionally seen as one of two key events in the birth of the early Norman state, the other being the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, which ceded territory to Rollo for him to settle between the Epte and the Risle.⁵⁹ Yet despite the role of Franco being well entrenched in the popular imagination, too much contradictory evidence exists for scholars to accept Dudo’s account wholeheartedly.⁶⁰ Indeed, contemporary annals, narrative sources, episcopal lists and even a benedictionary suggest that Franco was not even archbishop in 911. Two distinct solutions to such inconsistencies can be proposed. Either Dudo’s dates are maintained and the involvement of Franco abandoned, or the dates are abandoned and the involvement of Franco maintained.

One of the central documents in the debate over Franco’s tenure as archbishop is an episcopal list made at the abbey of Fécamp towards the end of the tenth century.⁶¹ One of the oldest episcopal lists for Rouen, it is the only one from before the eleventh century to have been drawn up in the ecclesiastical province itself,⁶² and since it was compiled before Dudo of Saint-Quentin wrote his history of the early Norman dukes, is free from his influence.⁶³ Written under the title ‘Nomina episcoporum

⁵⁶ For discussion, see below pp. 19-27.

⁵⁷ *De moribus*, pp. 166-170.

⁵⁸ *De moribus*, p. 170; D.C. Douglas, ‘Rollo of Normandy’, *EHR*, 57 (1942), pp. 417-436, at pp. 427-428.

⁵⁹ D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), pp. 8-9.

⁶⁰ Jules Lair, the first modern editor of *De moribus* noted as much in the introduction to his edition, *De moribus*, p. 62.

⁶¹ BN, ms. lat. 1805, fol. 45v. For discussion of the contents of the manuscript in which this list appears, see F. Lifshitz, *The Norman conquest of pious Neustria: historiographic discourse and saintly relics, 684-1090* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 157-161.

⁶² *Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis coenobii (Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium)*, ed. F. Lohier and J. Laporte (Rouen, 1936), pp. xvii-xxii.

⁶³ The other lists come from Saint-Aubin d’Angers (BM (Angers), ms. 275 (266), fol. 110r), of the ninth century, and the abbey of Saint-Bertin (BM (Saint-Omer), ms. 764, fol. 52r-52v), of the tenth.

Rotomagensis ecclesiae' it lists 41 prelates.⁶⁴ These are arranged in threes and fours across, and cover twelve lines in the bottom half of the second column of a bi-columnar page. The last seven names read: Adalardus/ Riculfus/ Iohannes/ Franco/ Gunhardus/ Uuigo/ Uuito. The only punctuation is three semi-colons: one after 'ecclesiae', another after Uuigo and another after Uuito. At first glance Franco appears to be in his accepted position, i.e. just before Gunhardus. The problem comes with the last two names, whose position in the list, as well as their identity, has been open to various interpretations. The traditional identification, first suggested by Eugène Sauvage, was that Uuigo was Hugh of Saint-Denis, archbishop from 942 to 989. This was based on a letter sent from a certain Gerard *pater cenobitarum* to a Uuigo (later changed in the manuscript to Hugo) archbishop of Rouen.⁶⁵ He also argued that the semi-colons that appear 'before and after' (*praepositum et subjunctum*) the name Uuito were designed to indicate that it should be placed between Iohannes and Franco, thus tallying with eleventh-century episcopal lists which list an archbishop Wito (or Guy) between these two prelates.⁶⁶ Both Duchesne and Guillot accepted this reordering.⁶⁷

Felice Lifshitz was the first to reassess these conclusions.⁶⁸ She argued that Franco was in his correct position within the list, but that the Uuigo at the end was not Hugh of Saint-Denis, but rather Archbishop Guy (Wito), whose first appearance can be dated to c. 892.⁶⁹ She noted that a list compiled at the abbey of Saint-Bertin (which interestingly does not record Franco's name at all), also ended in two similar names (this time Uuigo and Uuinto). The compiler of the Fécamp list, whose work ultimately derives from the Saint-Bertin tradition, had at first ended the list with Uuigo, but

⁶⁴ The list has been previously described by Felice Lifshitz, 'The dossier of Romanus of Rouen: the political uses of hagiographical texts', Thesis, PhD (Columbia University, 1988), pp. 510-511. Her findings are those that are followed here, except the assertion that the last name is written in different ink.

⁶⁵ The letter was originally edited by Jean Mabillon (*Veterum analectorum*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1675-1682), i, pp. 107-109 and *Vetera analecta* (Paris, 1723), p. 429), whose edition was republished by Jacques-Paul Migne (Migne, *PL*, cxxxviii, cols. 171-172) and by Joseph van Hecke (AASS, Oct. X, pp. 91-92). The only critical edition (with a translation) is unpublished, Lifshitz, 'Dossier of Romanus', pp. 362-366.

⁶⁶ Sauvage, 'Elenchi archiepiscoporum', p. 411.

⁶⁷ Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, p. 202; O. Guillot, 'La conversion des normands peu après 911: des reflets contemporains à l'historiographie ultérieure (Xe-XIe siècles)', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 24 (1981), pp. 101-116, 181-219, at p. 200.

⁶⁸ Lifshitz, 'Dossier of Romanus', pp. 67-71, 510-511.

⁶⁹ He was present in July of this year at the plea held at Verberie concerning the cell of *Alfa* and the monastery of Arremaro, *RHGF*, ix, p. 459.

when the folia were proofed he had corrected *Uuigo* to *Uuito*.⁷⁰ Accordingly, the episcopal succession should not run John, Guy, Franco, Gunhardus, Hugh, but rather John, Franco, Gunhardus, Guy, Hugh, and consequently, any reference to Franco acting in 911 that comes from a source written after Dudo should be considered corrupt. Lifshitz also noted (correctly) that while there were semi-colons after the names *Uuigo* and *Uuito* in the Fécamp list, there was no mark to suggest that the latter should be placed anywhere else in the list, including between *Iohannes* and *Franco* as suggested by Eugène Sauvage.⁷¹ As for the letter from Gerard *pater cenobitarum* to the *Uuigo/Hugo*, archbishop of Rouen, she initially argued that this was also intended for Guy (Wito), but later stated that the recipient was in fact Archbishop Hugh of Saint-Denis, and that the sender was Gerard of Brogne (d. 959), the significance of which is discussed below.⁷²

The Fécamp episcopal list is not the only source to suggest Franco was not archbishop when Dudo claims he was. Both Flodoard and Richer of Reims mention Wito as archbishop during the first decades of the tenth century, while Richer even claims that it was he who baptised the Normans.⁷³ The name is also found in the proceedings of the councils of Reims (900) and Trosly (909),⁷⁴ while Hervey, archbishop of Reims (900-920), sent a letter to Wito, archbishop of Rouen, sometime after 914 regarding the latter's difficulty in converting the Normans.⁷⁵ In 906, Wito was also involved in the efforts to translate the relics of St. Marculf from the diocese of Coutances, which was racked by Northmen incursions, to Corbeny.⁷⁶ Perhaps most troubling to the traditional tenure of Franco is the dedication to him of a ninth-century benedictionary by Adalhelmus, bishop of Sées.⁷⁷ Adalhelmus, who occupied the bishopric of Sées towards the end of the ninth century, was captured by the Northmen and sold into slavery towards 885.⁷⁸ Styling himself *captivus episcopus*, he recounted

⁷⁰ BM (Saint-Omer), ms. 764, fol. 52v; Lifshitz, 'Dossier of Romanus', p. 70.

⁷¹ Lifshitz, 'Dossier of Romanus', p. 84 n. 13.

⁷² Lifshitz, 'Dossier of Romanus', pp. 71-72; Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, pp. 161-163.

⁷³ Flodoard of Reims, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. M. Stratmann, *MGH: SS*, 36 (Hanover, 1998), p. 407; Richer of Reims, *Historiarum Libri IV*, ed. H. Hoffmann, *MGH: SS*, 38 (Hanover, 2000), pp. 68-69.

⁷⁴ *RHGF*, ix, p. 318.

⁷⁵ Migne, *PL*, cxxxii, cols. 661-674.

⁷⁶ *RHGF*, ix, p. 501. Corbeny, Aisne, cant. Craonne.

⁷⁷ For details, see above p. 9 n. 27.

⁷⁸ The last appearance of his predecessor (Hildebrand) comes in a letter of Lambert, bishop of Le Mans, which was sent in 883 or 884, Migne, *PL*, cxxxii, col. 467.

his capture and escape from the Northmen in a *liber miraculorum* of St. Opportuna, which he wrote during the reign of Charles the Fat (885-887).⁷⁹ Scholars have long tried to reconcile this date (the only one known of his episcopate) with the accepted archiepiscopate of Franco. Mabillon posited that the unfortunate Adalhelmus was captured a second time towards 910 and wrote his collection of miracles soon after, while Léopold Delisle argued that Adalhelmus was not a bishop of Sées but of Paris. Jean Laporte contended that Adalhelmus occupied the see for over forty years (until around 910) and wore his title *captivus episcopus* as a self-imposed sobriquet.⁸⁰ Yet if Franco was not bishop from 911-920, but from c. 876 (last mention of John) to c. 892 (first appearance of Guy), as is suggested by the Fécamp list, it is far easier to reconcile his episcopacy with that of Adalhelmus.

Olivier Guillot was the first to offer a solution to these inconsistencies. He suggested that Franco was never involved in the conversion of the Normans in the early tenth century, and was only used by Dudo of Saint-Quentin as a symbol of the privileged relationship enjoyed by Rollo with the Franks.⁸¹ Moreover, Felice Lifshitz has argued that Franco (as archbishop in the 890s, not in the early tenth century) was perhaps responsible for the marriage of Rollo and Popa, and that his name was simply remembered by later members of the ducal house alongside other events of Rollo's reign, including those of 911.⁸² Lifshitz has recently extended her rejection of Dudo's chronology beyond the archiepiscopate of Franco to his entire account of the conversion of the Normans.⁸³ Whatever uncertainties surround the career of Franco no such problems arise when examining the life of Hugh of Saint-Denis, archbishop from 942 to 989. The first 'Norman' archbishop for whom we have detailed and accurate information, according to the eleventh-century *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* he was chosen by William Longsword to become archbishop while still a monk at Saint-Denis.⁸⁴ Although some have questioned if he ascended to the see this early, there seems no good reason to doubt the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, unless

⁷⁹ 'Liber miraculorum Opportunae', p. 68. For the date, Laporte, 'Bénédictions épiscopales', p. 155.

⁸⁰ Laporte, 'Bénédictions épiscopales', pp. 155-156.

⁸¹ Guillot, 'Conversion des normands après 911', pp. 101-116, 181-219, esp. pp. 200-202.

⁸² Lifshitz, 'Dossier of Romanus', pp. 72-73.

⁸³ F. Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne: essai sur la continuité, avec utilisation de sources négligées', *AN*, 48 (1998), pp. 505-524, at pp. 509-512.

⁸⁴ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', pp. 222-226. For a new critical edition of this text with translation see R. Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: study and edition', *Tabularia 'Documents'* (forthcoming).

we wish to insert a lengthy vacancy in the archiepiscopal succession.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, his reputation among later chroniclers was not a good one. The *Acta archiepiscoporum* states that he was noble in family but not in deeds, and unable to resist temptations of the flesh he had many sons. It also criticises him for the spoliation of cathedral property.⁸⁶ Similarly, Orderic Vitalis records that ‘he received no praise from any of the writers who have described him’ and that ‘he was a monk in dress but not in deed.’⁸⁷ Finally, the heroic couplets written by the clergy of Rouen cathedral on the forty-six pontiffs of that city also attest that Hugh was regarded as anathema: ‘Hugh followed, violator of God’s law | Worthy enough by birth, but blind to Christ’.⁸⁸

If Hugh did arrive in Rouen in around 942 he would have probably encountered utter chaos. William Longsword had been assassinated by Arnulf of Flanders (d. 965) and had left his nine-year-old son Richard as his successor.⁸⁹ Normans, foreign princes from Brittany and Flanders, and even the king of France had all been enticed by such a power vacuum in the duchy, and sought to remove from the young duke his inheritance.⁹⁰ Yet Richard I was to survive this period of instability.⁹¹ By the end of the tenth century he had cultivated in the city of Rouen a thriving cosmopolitan centre, and had engineered a duchy based on the typical Carolingian model. There was a *vicomte* who occupied himself with justice, the military service and the tolls in each *pagus*.⁹² The legal practices and the use of scribes in Normandy were, as from 960 at the latest, Carolingian.⁹³ Norman *denarii* of the tenth century were carefully struck according to the strict rules of coining, and unlike other princes of Francia who had lost their Carolingian rights to mint, the dynasty of Rollo maintained a monopoly

⁸⁵ Lifshitz, ‘Dossier of Romanus’, pp. 74-75. Given the possible revised order of the archiepiscopal succession noted above, a vacancy may actually have occurred, unless we wish to assign Guy an archiepiscopate of over fifty years.

⁸⁶ The author claims that he alienated the land of Tosny to his brother Rodulf, ‘*Acta archiepiscoporum*’, p. 224. For further discussion, L. Musset, ‘Aux origines d’une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons normands du Xe au XIIIe siècle’, *Francia*, 5 (1977), pp. 45-80, at pp. 48-49.

⁸⁷ *OV*, iii, p. 82.

⁸⁸ *OV*, iii, p. 80.

⁸⁹ *De moribus*, pp. 205-209.

⁹⁰ E. Searle, *Predatory kinship and the creation of Norman power, 840-1066* (Berkeley, CA, 1988), pp. 79-90.

⁹¹ For what follows see Lifshitz, ‘La Normandie carolingienne’, pp. 513-520.

⁹² Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 24-38, 147-188; J. Dunbabin, *France in the making* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 37-43, 89-92, 199-206; Lifshitz, ‘La Normandie carolingienne’, pp. 505-508.

⁹³ E.Z. Tabuteau, *Transfers of property in eleventh-century Norman law* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988), pp. 5-6.

over the practice.⁹⁴ Value and weight of currency was stabilised, with the tenth century currency of Rouen becoming the only currency struck by a prince of Francia that circulated outside of the kingdom.⁹⁵ In 966, the duke, with the assistance of Hugh, reformed the canons at Mont-Saint-Michel into a regular Benedictine community, creating one of the great houses of northern France.⁹⁶ Hugh was also keen to reconstitute the library of his cathedral, acquiring a copy of the *vita* of St. Romanus, the city's primary saint, from Gerard of Brogne, as well as establishing cults throughout the province.⁹⁷ By the end of the tenth century the Norman capital also supported a cadre of poets, among whom was Warner of Rouen, whose work is discussed below.

That the archbishop played a prominent role in the stabilisation and growth of the duchy is mostly clearly indicated by the rewards that he, his family and his former monastery received from the duke.⁹⁸ The properties of Hugh's family in Tosny were due to the donation and confirmation of gifts by the duke,⁹⁹ and almost the first surviving charter from the duchy donates several properties to the monastery of Saint-Denis, with Hugh's *signum* appearing at the head of the attestations.¹⁰⁰ The duke also donated Saint-Vaast d'Equiqueville to the cathedral,¹⁰¹ adding to the donations already made by his father, while his half brother Rodulf, count of Ivry, gave land in the Hiémois at Boulon and Laize-la-Ville.¹⁰² Once assured his inheritance, Richard I also gave to Hugh the right to strike money, an extremely rare privilege in Normandy, where such rights were rigorously controlled (fig. 4).¹⁰³ The archbishop was also free to distribute the goods of his church freely among members of his family, giving the land of Douvrend to his brother-in-law Odo, and that of Tosny to his brother Rodulf,

⁹⁴ F. Dumas-Dubourg, *Le trésor de Fécamp et le monnayage en France occidentale pendant le seconde moitié du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1971), pp. 17-18.

⁹⁵ Dumas-Dubourg, *Le trésor de Fécamp*, pp. 51-52, 58-59.

⁹⁶ *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et de Louis V, rois de France (954-987)*, ed. L. Halphen and F. Lot (Paris, 1908), no. xxiv.

⁹⁷ He also helped promulgate the cults of St. Lô of Coutances and St. Taurin of Évreux, Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne', pp. 516-517; Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, pp. 137-179.

⁹⁸ Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne', p. 514.

⁹⁹ For discussion see Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante', pp. 48-49; L. Musset, 'Un lignage de grands barons normands du Xe au XIIe siècles: les Tosny', *Revue historique du droit* (1966), pp. 188-189.

¹⁰⁰ *RADN*, no. 3.

¹⁰¹ Saint-Vaast d'Equiqueville, Seine-Maritime, cant. Envermeu.

¹⁰² Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, p. 376. Boulon, Calvados, cant. Bretteville-sur-Laize and Laize-la-Ville, Calvados, cant. Bourguébus.

¹⁰³ Dumas-Dubourg, *Le trésor de Fécamp*, pp. 91-97.

son of Hugh de Calvacamp.¹⁰⁴ As Felice Lifshitz has noted, all this suggests a debt recognised by Richard I towards Archbishop Hugh.¹⁰⁵

It was not just the archbishop's involvement in the administration of the duchy that helped preserve it. It has been suggested that Hugh was interested in promoting works of literature, perhaps sponsoring Moriut, the rival and victim of Warner of Rouen.¹⁰⁶ This hypothesis is based on the following line of Moriut's poetry quoted by Warner in his poem: 'Foribus en clausis moratur pontifex Hugo'.¹⁰⁷ Though precise dates are lacking, Moriut was a resident of France at some point and it may have been while he was here that he wrote the quoted verse. Warner mentions that, because the verse was badly written, it provoked mirth among the French and brought disgrace upon the pupils whom he taught, presumably also in France.¹⁰⁸ If Moriut did work in Hugh's archiepiscopal court and did compose a panegyric for him it does provide a plausible explanation for the apparent animosity between him and Warner.¹⁰⁹ Warner's scathing attack may have been aimed at dislodging an established poet from archiepiscopal favour. Such rivalries were common, and attacks against Irishmen (such as Moriut) were frequent in the competitive world of court politics. To demonstrate his own superiority as a poet Warner therefore wrote a poem for Hugh's successor, Archbishop Robert (989-1037), whose name occupies honorific pride of place as the opening word of the poem, and which takes both his rival's character and his work and rubbishes them. Conversely, Lucien Musset believed that the verse might convey a posthumous allusion to Hugh, included to honour his family.¹¹⁰

There is, however, nothing in the evidence that makes it more or less likely that Moriut was French or Norman, or that he was patronised by Archbishop Hugh.¹¹¹ That Moriut should be supposed to be in Rouen is based only on the inference that

¹⁰⁴ RADN, no. 10; 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 223.

¹⁰⁵ Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne', p. 515.

¹⁰⁶ H. Omont, 'Satire de Garnier de Rouen contre le poète Moriuth (Xe-XIe siècle)', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, 31 (1894), pp. 193-210, at p. 197.

¹⁰⁷ Warner of Rouen, *Moriut. A Norman Latin poem from the early eleventh century*, ed. and trans. C.J. McDonough (Toronto, 1995), pp. 97, 103.

¹⁰⁸ Warner of Rouen, *Moriut*, p. 99.

¹⁰⁹ For full discussion of the identity of this bishop and the career of Moriut see McDonough, *Moriut*, pp. 40-45.

¹¹⁰ Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante', pp. 48-56.

¹¹¹ McDonough, *Moriut*, p. 44.

Warner's literary activity took place in that city. If it is a Norman archbishop that Moriut mentions then it is puzzling why he should say it is the French (*Francus*) who reacted negatively to his verses, and given the fact that Warner stresses Moriut's ignorance reflects badly on the French, if it were Hugh of Rouen in his verse, then that dishonour would have fallen on Normandy instead. Such indirect evidence is therefore not sufficient to identify 'pontifex Hugo' positively. Matters are worsened by the fact that records indicate the election of nine bishops with the name Hugh from 965.¹¹²

Of course, this does not mean that Archbishop Hugh was not involved in the promotion of literature. It has been proposed that it is to him that we owe the *Planctus* for William Longsword,¹¹³ although the most recent scholar to translate the text believes it was composed under the patronage of Longsword's sister Gerloc/Adela, countess of Aquitaine and Poitou.¹¹⁴ Felice Lifshitz is also ready to assign to Hugh an episcopal chancellery, the possible use of diocesan councils from 950, a potential role in the circulation of the written version of the *Song of Roland*, and even a hand in ordering a poetic inscription on a tenth-century tombstone discovered in the chapel of St. Nicholas in Rouen cathedral.¹¹⁵ Yet the assertion that Hugh might have had a possible role in the spread of the written version of the *Song of Roland* is based on nothing more than Gérard Moignet's speculation that by the tenth century the *Song* was in Normandy.¹¹⁶ Similarly, Hugh's probable role in the tombstone inscription, which was first discussed by Eugène Sauvage, is based simply on the grounds that he was archbishop when it happened, even though neither Sauvage nor Léopold Delisle make such a connection, the latter only remarking that the discovery is 'très intéressante'.¹¹⁷ Finally, the possible convening of diocesan synods by Hugh is based on a single manuscript from the monastery of Préaux printed by Guillaume Bessin entitled 'Concilium incerti loci et temporis in Normannia simul

¹¹² McDonough, *Moriut*, p. 45.

¹¹³ Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne', pp. 515. None of the current editions of the *planctus* are considered definitive, though the best can be found in P.A. Becker, 'Der Planctus auf den Normannenherzog Wilhelm Langschwert (942)', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 43 (1939), pp. 190-197, at pp. 193-195.

¹¹⁴ Van Houts, *Normans in Europe*, p. 41.

¹¹⁵ Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne', pp. 515-516.

¹¹⁶ *La Chanson de Roland: texte établi d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford, traduction, notes et commentaires*, ed. G. Moignet (Paris, 1989), pp. 18-19.

¹¹⁷ The inscription was found during excavations in the chapel of Saint-Nicholas in the cathedral of Rouen, L. Delisle, 'Inscription découverte à Rouen', *BEC*, 50 (1889), p. 508.

Fig. 4 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 4 Coins minted by Hugh of Saint-Denis, archbishop of Rouen, for Richard I, duke of Normandy*

* Coin set I: AR denier, 20mm, 1.15gr. Obverse: RICARDVS, central cross with four besants. Reverse: ROTOMANVS, central Carolingian inspired monogram, formed from G, T, H. Coin set II: AR denier, 20mm, 1.07gr. Obverse: +RICARDVS, central cross in a solid circle, besants in each quadrant. The legend is stylised. Reverse: +ROTOMACIVS, central monogram. The primary difference between the coins of Richard and those coins issued by Hugh in Richard's name is the fact that Richard generally has a temple in the reverse field while Hugh has a Carolingian style monogram in the reverse field. Images available on <http://home.eckerd.edu/~oberhot/feud-normandy.htm> (accessed 26 October 2006).

cum Armoricis Antistitibus celebratum' and assigned to the year c. 950.¹¹⁸ The synod's twenty canons largely contain regulations on pastoral life, suggesting that a bishop created them for his diocese. But the most recent editor of the text assigns no particular bishop to the council because the manuscript from Préaux has not been identified. It therefore remains unknown whether the designation of *concilium* is on the original, or was added by Bessin.¹¹⁹ In an era from which we have few, if any, records of such activity, such uncertainties must surely weigh against Hugh having convened such meetings.

Regardless, much of the evidence noted above presents an archbishop harshly judged by later monastic chroniclers. Perhaps his involvement in the secular world drew their ire, and the spoliation of cathedral property that of the author of the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, but Hugh was not unusual in his actions, and prelates guilty of equally poor practices occupied dioceses throughout northern France at this time.¹²⁰ Hugh had also come to Normandy at an extremely difficult time. The beginning of his pontificate coincided with the arrival in the duchy of Louis IV d'Outremer (936-954) who, under the pretext of organising the regency of the duchy due to the duke's minority, had entered Rouen, and placed the young prince under his supervision before taking him to Laon. Members of the ducal entourage were isolated and control entrusted to faithful men of the king.¹²¹ In Rouen, Louis granted powers of administration to a certain Rodulf *Torta*, who was remembered as a predatory tax collector.¹²² As archbishop of Rouen, Hugh was also titular abbot of the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen.¹²³ Unlike other Norman houses (such as Jumièges), the abbey fared well during the French occupation of the region.¹²⁴ Interestingly, the only known benefactor of Saint-Ouen during this period was the same Rodulf *Torta*, who

¹¹⁸ *Concilia Rothomagensis provinciae*, ed. G. Bessin (Rouen, 1717), pp. 36-38.

¹¹⁹ I. Schröder, *Die westfränkischen Synoden von 888 bis 987 und ihre Überlieferung* (Munich, 1980), pp. 347-348.

¹²⁰ For the dioceses of Angers, Tours, Orléans, Le Mans and Chartres, all of which were occupied at this time by bishops guilty of various ecclesiastical crimes, including simony, nicolaitanism, spoliation, as well as violent behaviour more befitting secular lords, see J. Boussard, 'Les évêques en Neustrie avant la réforme Grégorienne (950-1050 environ)', *Journal des Savants* (1970), pp. 161-196, esp. pp. 164-185.

¹²¹ For full discussion of the occupation, see P. Lauer, *Le règne de Louis IV d'Outre-Mer* (Paris, 1900), pp. 87-143.

¹²² *De moribus*, pp. 248-249.

¹²³ For discussion, see Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 188 n. 27.

¹²⁴ For what follows, see J. Le Maho, 'La production éditoriale à Jumièges vers le milieu du Xe siècle', *Tabularia 'Études'*, 1 (2001), pp. 11-32, esp. pp. 15-16.

donated vast grounds to the abbey to the east of Rouen.¹²⁵ It was also at this time that the abbey was granted the right to mint coins, a privilege that Hugh would later enjoy under his archiepiscopal authority, to which was possibly attached the right to immunity.¹²⁶ Indeed, a vast enclosed oval trench existed around the monastery of Saint-Ouen before the twelfth century, perhaps marking, like that of the royal abbey of Saint-Denis, the perimeter of the monastic borough under exemption.¹²⁷ By granting gifts and privileges to the abbey, and as a consequence to the French-born archbishop, the king secured an invaluable ally in the city,¹²⁸ while Hugh was free to try and transform Saint-Ouen de Rouen into a miniature replica of Saint-Denis, his *alma mater*.

It was perhaps this support of the French that condemned the archbishop in the eyes of later Norman chroniclers. Indeed, Jacques Le Maho has traced the ramifications of the association of the abbey of Saint-Ouen with the French occupiers to the tenth-century hagiographical production of Jumièges, which is unusually cold towards the patron saint of the *rouennais* house.¹²⁹ For those writing at the cathedral in the eleventh century the archbishop's betrayal would have seemed especially bad. Historiographical texts such as the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* and *Metrical chronicle of the archbishops* were composed in the midst of a conflict between the cathedral and the abbey of Saint-Ouen for control of the religious heritage of the region.¹³⁰ Under the guidance of Abbot Nicholas (1042-1092), the duke's cousin,¹³¹ the abbey had quickly become one of the most important religious centres in the duchy. It had received a huge number of donations from the duke and his most powerful magnates, making the restitutions made to the cathedral by the

¹²⁵ RADN, no. 53.

¹²⁶ Dumas-Dubourg, *Le trésor de Fécamp*, p. 100 n. 2. It is possible, however, that this right to mint belonged to Hugh's successor, J. Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines de quelques églises de Rouen (VIe-XIe siècles)', *Bulletin de la Commission départementale des Antiquités de la Seine-Maritime*, 43 (1996), pp. 143-205, at pp. 156-157.

¹²⁷ Le Maho, 'La production éditoriale', p. 15.

¹²⁸ This was a tactic he employed in 943 with the archbishop of Tours at the time of the restoration of the monastery of Saint-Julian, *Recueil des Actes de Louis IV, roi de France (936-954)*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1914), no. xviii.

¹²⁹ Le Maho, 'La production éditoriale', pp. 28-29.

¹³⁰ For discussion of this rivalry and its role in the composition of historiographical texts at the cathedral of Rouen in the eleventh century, as well as its impact on various aspects of life in eleventh-century Rouen, see R. Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* and urban ecclesiastical rivalry in eleventh-century Normandy', in *Cathedrals, communities and conflict, 1000-1300*, ed. P. Dalton (forthcoming).

¹³¹ For his career, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 244-248.

archbishops seem trivial in comparison.¹³² The abbey had also developed a sophisticated *scriptorium* that produced numerous hagiographical texts in honour of the saints whose relics it held, while these relics had themselves been involved in some of the most important events of the duchy.¹³³ For the cathedral authors, whose works were undoubtedly used by later chroniclers,¹³⁴ Hugh had not only tolerated the French presence in Rouen, but by supporting them had also encouraged the growth in prestige and power of the cathedral's greatest ecclesiastical rival. It was a double betrayal that was not to be forgiven.

Bishops without sees

The disruption caused to the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Normandy during the tenth century is illustrated no more clearly than by the existence of three bishops to whom we can attach no particular seat.¹³⁵ The existence of a tenth-century carving in a church in the diocese of Bayeux that refers to an 'Ertmandus episcopus' has already been discussed above.¹³⁶ A bishop Aillemundus is mentioned in a charter for Saint-Denis, issued on 18 March 968, while two bishops, Hubert and Hervey, witnessed a charter for Saint-Wandrille between 996 and 1006.¹³⁷ None of the efforts to identify these individuals has resolved anything conclusively. Lucien Musset believed that Aillemundus might be a corruption of the name Algerundus, one of the tenth-century bishops of Coutances who lived at Saint-Lô in Rouen, while Marie Fauroux thought that Hervey could have been the bishop of Nantes (991/992-c.1004) by that name.¹³⁸ Hubert remains unknown. He might have been a bishop of Bayeux,¹³⁹ although he may have been an *episcopi vagantes*, a particular kind of bishop without any fixed jurisdiction peculiar to the Scandinavian world.¹⁴⁰ There is also the possibility that the scribe confused *Hubertus* with *Robertus*, the archbishop of Rouen at the time, and

¹³² The number of authentic extant ducal charters is itself enormous, *RADN*, nos. 13, 19, 21, 24, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 53, 78, 79, 103, 105, 107, 112, 158, 191, 193, 204, 204*bis*, 205, 210, 211, 212.

¹³³ E.g. Duke William II swore to uphold the Truce of God on the relics of St. Ouen in October 1047, 'Miracula sancti Audoeni', *AASS*, August IV, pp. 825-837, at pp. 834-835.

¹³⁴ It appears that Orderic Vitalis used the *Acta archiepiscoporum* while writing certain sections of his history, *OV*, i, p. 60 and ii, p. xxvi.

¹³⁵ Musset, 'Un millénaire oublié', pp. 569-570.

¹³⁶ Above, p. 8.

¹³⁷ *RADN*, nos. 3 and 7.

¹³⁸ Musset, 'Un millénaire oublié', p. 569; *RADN*, p. 77.

¹³⁹ *RADN*, p. 77.

¹⁴⁰ Musset cites the example of the Anglo-Scandinavian Osmund, who was present at Fécamp in 1017, Musset, 'Un millénaire oublié', pp. 569-570.

replaced *archiepiscopus* with *episcopus*,¹⁴¹ although this explanation is not very probable.

¹⁴¹ *RADN*, p. 77 n. 4.

THE NORMAN EPISCOPATE, 989-1110

AVRANCHES

Norgod, c. 990-1017 × c. 1022

We know almost nothing of this bishop of Avranches who re-established episcopal authority after the vacancy of the ninth and tenth centuries.¹ The exact date at which he came to the city remains unknown, but his first unequivocal appearance as bishop is at the foundation of Fécamp on 15 June 990.² He then disappears completely from the diplomatic record, only reappearing some twenty-five years later in around 1015. In this year he witnessed two charters in favour of Mont-Saint-Michel (the ecclesiastical powerhouse of his diocese), both of which simply granted the monastery allods from the possessions of Robert, count of Mortain and Gunnor, wife of Richard I.³ The highpoint of his career came towards its end, when at some point after 1017 he witnessed, along with every other member of the Norman episcopate, a charter of William de Volpiano (d. 1031) concerning the privileges of the monks of Fruttuaria.⁴ If the signatures on this charter were all appended simultaneously, Norgod would have rubbed shoulders with some of the heavyweights of the eleventh-century church, including Odilo of Cluny (994-1049) and Fulbert of Chartres (1006-1028), as well as Robert the Pious, king of France (996-1031). Yet he removed himself from his duties to become a monk at Mont-Saint-Michel soon after.⁵ According to the necrology of the monastery he died there on 14 October,⁶ while the year is invariably given as either 1026 or 1036.⁷ The summary of his career in the most recent scholarship dedicated to the Norman episcopate adds nothing to this cursory analysis.⁸

Scholars of earlier generations knew little else of this prelate. Jean-Jacques Desroches posited that the bishop ‘*paraît être de race danoise*’, although he offered

¹ *GC*, xi, col. 474.

² *RADN*, no. 4.

³ *RADN*, nos. 16, 17.

⁴ N. Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon (962-1031)* (Bonn, 1973), pp. 223-236, at pp. 235-236.

⁵ *GC*, xi, col. 474.

⁶ *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 580.

⁷ For 1036 see BN, ms. fr. 18947, fol. 24v, ed. E. de Robillard de Beaurepaire, *Histoire générale de l'abbaye du Mont-St-Michel au péril de la mer par dom Jean Huynes*, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1872-1873), i, p. 68; BN, ms. fr. 18950, pp. 112, 145; F. Feuarent, *Histoire de la fondation de l'église et abbaye du Mont-St-Michel* (Avranches, 1827), p. 29; E.-A. Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches, sa topographie, ses origines, ses évêques, sa cathédrale, ses églises, ses comtes et ses châteaux*, 2 vols. (Coutances, 1888), ii, p. 328; for 1026 see J.-J. Desroches, *Histoire du Mont-Saint-Michel et de l'ancien diocèse d'Avranches* (Caen, 1838), p. 155.

⁸ Bouet and Dosdat, ‘Les évêques normands’, p. 22.

no evidence to back up his claim.⁹ Émile-Auber Pigeon thought he was perhaps from Mortain, but could only tender the appearance of a Norgod, canon of Saint-Évrout of Mortain,¹⁰ in three charters of the late eleventh century as proof.¹¹ The name is certainly unusual (the bishop and the canon of Saint-Évrout are two of only three known examples from Normandy in the tenth and eleventh centuries), while its form is far from uniform.¹² Comprised of two components, the etymology of the first half (*Nor-*) is linked to the word ‘north’, while the second half has various permutations (*-gotus*, *-godus*, *-jotus*, *-gaudus*). The last of these has been interpreted as related to a Gothic people, an unidentified Latin origin or the Norse word *gautr* (subtle, penetrating).¹³ The appearance of etymons either directly or traditionally associated with Norse elements certainly tempts concurrence with Desroches’ hypothesis, although the name is not to be found in the most recent study of Scandinavian names from the duchy during this period.¹⁴

Norgod’s ecclesiastical career is seemingly otherwise undistinguished. As local diocesan it is possible he witnessed the marriage of Richard II and Judith de Rennes, which took place at Mont-Saint-Michel sometime between 996 and 1008, although no source names him as present.¹⁵ It is also possible that during his episcopate Richard II restored certain possessions to his cathedral, though it is equally likely that the impetus for these restitutions lay during his successor’s tenure.¹⁶ Despite a lengthy pontificate it appears Norgod did not undertake any great architectural work on his cathedral. The Carolingian building seems to have escaped unscathed from the ninth-century Northmen raids that affected other metropolitan centres in Lower Normandy

⁹ Desroches, *Histoire du Mont-Saint-Michel*, p. 143.

¹⁰ Mortain, Manche, chef-lieu.

¹¹ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d’Avranches*, ii, p. 622. These three charters are edited in *Regesta*, nos. 205(I), 205(II), 215.

¹² The other is an unidentified *Norgoldus*, who appears in a charter of Richard II dating from 29 or 30 May 996 × 1006, *RADN*, no. 7. Marie-Thérèse Morlet identified three other individuals with the name *Norgaudus* (one from the eighth century, the others from the early eleventh) from other parts of France, *Les noms de personne sur le territoire de l’ancienne Gaule du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, ed. M.-T. Morlet, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968-1985), i, p. 174.

¹³ Morlet, *Noms de personne*, i, pp. 16, 173-174.

¹⁴ The only bishop of Avranches from this period to have a Scandinavian name was Turgis. For the etymology of this name, see J. Adigard des Gautries, *Les noms de personnes Scandinaves en Normandie de 911 à 1066* (Lund, 1954), pp. 321-322.

¹⁵ *GND*, ii, p. 28. For discussion of the date, see D.C. Douglas, ‘Some problems of early Norman chronology’, *EHR*, 65 (1950), pp. 289-303, at pp. 289-291.

¹⁶ The date for these restorations can be assigned no more accurately than the reign of Richard II, namely 996 × 1026, Pigeon, *Le diocèse d’Avranches*, ii, p. 666. For a critical edition of the charter in question see Appendix G.

(Bayeux in 858, Saint-Lô in 890), but the discovery during the most recent excavations of a greyish layer of moisture under a tenth-century sarcophagus, placed within the north wall of the edifice, suggests that it had rained in the pit before the coffin was lowered in place, indicating that this part of the building was open to the sky. Daniel Levalet suggested that the large size of the tomb might indicate it was that of an important figure, although the lack of any furnishings prevented him from identifying the occupant as an ecclesiastical dignitary.¹⁷ Perhaps with parts of his cathedral open to the elements Norgod was simply too overwhelmed by the destruction to rectify the situation in any meaningful way. However, as we shall see below, evidence from another source suggests that the vestiges of the Carolingian buildings must have remained in a state of repair suitable for the conducting of at least some liturgical business.

Norgod's only other appearance in the historical record is in a miracle associated with an appearance of the Archangel Michael at Mont-Saint-Michel. Although the provenance of the story is unclear (an attempt will be made below to clarify this), and its genre viewed with scepticism, the account contains some interesting information regarding the prelate and his cathedral. The story survives in two main forms: one in the vernacular, and the other in Latin. The Latin version forms part of a collection of miracles composed towards the end of the eleventh century.¹⁸ That in the vernacular is found in the *Roman du Mont-Saint-Michel*, which was written in around 1155 by William of Saint-Pair, a monk of Mont-Saint-Michel.¹⁹ Although slight variations exist the two versions are essentially the same, and the story runs as follows. The feast day of St. Michael was approaching.²⁰ Mainard II, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (991-1009), and Norgod, a 'man of noble birth' (*generis nobilitate*), had met the day before at a place known only as *Rupis*. As night drew in the two men were forced to leave their business unfinished. They bid each other farewell, and promised to return

¹⁷ D. Levalet, 'La cathédrale Saint-André et les origines chrétiennes d'Avranches', *Archéologie médiévale*, 12 (1982), pp. 107-153, at pp. 120-121.

¹⁸ For recent critical editions, see Allen, 'Un évêque et sa ville', pp. 33-38; *Chroniques latines du Mont Saint-Michel (IXe-XIIe siècles)*, ed. P. Bouet and O. Desbordes (Caen, 2009), pp. 312-314.

¹⁹ William de Saint-Pair, *Le Roman du Mont-Saint-Michel (XIIe siècle)*, ed. C. Bougy (Caen, 2009), pp. 252-258.

²⁰ It is not clear which of the three feasts of St. Michael the miracle refers to. The monks of Mont-Saint-Michel celebrated the anniversaries of the apparition of St. Michael at Monte Gargano (8 May) and the dedication of Autbert's church (16 October), as well as the feast day itself (29 September). For discussion of all three, see K.A. Smith, 'Footprints in stone: Saint Michael the Archangel as a medieval saint, 1000-1500', Thesis, PhD (New York University, 2004), pp. 268-283.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
15 June 990 1015 c. 1015 1017 × c. 1022	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4 <i>RADN</i> , no. 17 <i>RADN</i> , no. 16 Bulst, <i>Wilhelms von Dijon</i> , pp. 223-236	Fécamp Mont-Saint-Michel Mont-Saint-Michel Fruttuaria	Fécamp		x x x	x

Fig. 5 Appearances of Norgod, bishop of Avranches (c. 990-1017 × c. 1022), in the diplomatic record

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
c. 1022 × 1024 c. 1022 × 1025 c. 1022 × 1026 c. 1022 × 1026 c. 1025 × c. 1026 1025 × 1026 1025 1025 August 1025 c. 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 44 <i>RADN</i> , no. 31 <i>RADN</i> , no. 47 <i>RADN</i> , no. 49 <i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. iv, pp. 115-116 <i>RADN</i> , no. 52, version B <i>RADN</i> , no. 35 <i>RADN</i> , no. 36 <i>RADN</i> , no. 34 <i>RADN</i> , no. 33	Saint-Ouen de Rouen Fécamp Mont-Saint-Michel Mont-Saint-Michel Saint-Père de Chartres Saint-Wandrille Fécamp Jumièges Fécamp Sées cathedral	Fécamp Fécamp Fécamp		x x x x x x x x x	

Fig. 6 Appearances of Maugis, bishop of Avranches (c. 1022-c. 1026), in the diplomatic record

the next day to continue their business. Returning to his cathedral (*ad sedem propriam rediit*) the bishop celebrated matins.²¹ Having finished, he headed to his bedchamber (*cubiculum*), and in doing so, glanced out of the window and saw the whole of Mont-Saint-Michel ablaze. Greatly disturbed, he called out to those around him and tried to show them what he saw, but while some said they too could see the flames, others said they could see nothing. Therefore, with great lamentations he called his canons to him, and believing that some monks would have perished in the fire, he celebrated the office of the dead. This completed, he jumped on his horse and rode to the abbey where as a means of consolation he hoped to help bury those killed. Meanwhile, Abbot Mainard had also just finished matins, and had gone with some of his monks to prepare for the feast day Mass. Arriving at the abbey, the bishop found Mainard and told him what he had seen, and then asked whether anything uncusomary had happened at the abbey that night. The abbot answered that nothing unusual had transpired, and the two men deduced that what the bishop had seen was the Archangel Michael hovering over the abbey.

The value of this story should be obvious simply from this brief summary. Indeed, it provides us with a piece of local toponymical information, and testifies to the bishop's noble background, the liturgical practices of the period, the presence of cathedral dignitaries, the existence of a bishop's residence, the state of the cathedral, and relations between the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel and bishop of Avranches. While its form must be viewed with a degree of scepticism, we should remember that Norgod had already witnessed one real fire at the abbey, and his hallucination may have been based on real fears, rather than any religiosity.²² Moreover, there are 'legends' concerning other members of the pre-Conquest Norman episcopate. Norgod's contemporary and metropolitan, Archbishop Robert of Rouen (989-1037), is himself the subject of a legend, as is Maurilius (1055-1067), one of Robert's successors in the archiepiscopal see. According to William of Jumièges, it was

²¹ This is the service held at midnight, not to be confused with the morning Matins of the modern liturgy, which in the Middle Ages was known as *matutine laudes*. The evening service consisted of a hymn, twelve psalms under one antiphony with six *Gloria Patri*, three lessons and three responses. John of Ivry, one of Norgod's successors, followed this standard format in his liturgical treatise *De officiis ecclesiasticis*. For discussion see *Le 'De officiis ecclesiasticis' de Jean d'Avranches, archevêque de Rouen (1067-1079)*, ed. R. Delamare (Paris, 1923), p. lxxix.

²² For the Mont-Saint-Michel fire of 992, which destroyed the abbey's library, see 'Vita domni Willelmi abbatis', in *Rodulfus Glaber, Opera*, ed. and trans. N. Bulst, J. France and P. Reynolds (Oxford, 1989), p. 110.

Robert who was responsible for the conversion of St. Olaf in either 1013 or 1014,²³ while William of Malmesbury claims that the dead Maurilius was brought back to life to tell those who mourned him of a vision he had seen.²⁴ Despite William of Jumièges being the only chronicler to mention Robert's conversion of Olaf, and given that it is only one of a handful of ecclesiastical acts in a career otherwise dominated by involvement in the secular world,²⁵ authorities of the Anglo-Norman world often repeat the story as fact.²⁶ Moreover, while Maurilius' legend is more typical of the miraculous stories that surrounded those prelates who were beatified almost immediately after their deaths, and should not really be regarded as an actual event, those scholars writing about the archbishop or the cathedral of Rouen do not hesitate to mention it.²⁷

Similarly, Norgod's miracle has been recounted in scholarship associated with the great monastery of the Avranchin since the early seventeenth century.²⁸ It has also made an indelible impression on the popular imagination. The story can be found in an abridged form on the Avranches website, and is often repeated by the town's resident historian, Cécile Paillard.²⁹ The origin of the popular version, which dates the events to the year 1007, seems to be Étienne Dupont, who even went so far as to provide one of Norgod's clerks with a name (Sigisbert).³⁰ The source of the original miracle is a little less obvious. It has been suggested that it might be based on a similar legend from the church of Siponto.³¹ This church was in close proximity to

²³ GND, ii, pp. 26-28. The story was repeated by Wace, *The Roman de Rou*, ed. and trans. G. Burgess (St. Helier, 2002), part III, lines 1823-1824.

²⁴ William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, pp. 494-496.

²⁵ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224; *OV*, iii, p. 84.

²⁶ D.C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: the Norman impact upon England* (London, 1964), p. 161; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 37.

²⁷ For two recent examples see L. Shopkow, *History and community: Norman historical writing in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Washington D.C., 1997), p. 242 and *La cathédrale de Rouen, seize siècles d'histoire*, ed. J-P. Chaline (Rouen, 1996), p. 47.

²⁸ Feuardent, *Histoire du Mont-St.-Michel*, pp. 27-29; Desroches, *Histoire du Mont-Saint-Michel*, pp. 154-155; P. Gout, *Le Mont-Saint-Michel: histoire de l'abbaye et de la ville, étude archéologique et architecturale des monuments*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1910), i, p. 112; J. Laporte, 'L'Abbaye du Mont Saint-Michel aux Xe et XIe siècles', in *Millénaire monastique*, i, pp. 53-80, at p. 68.

²⁹ <http://www.ville-avranches.fr/histoire/pdfs/8.pdf> (accessed 2 November 2006); C. Boudin, 'Sur les traces de l'archange', *Ouest-France*, mercredi 23 juillet 2003, Édition: Manche, Rubrique: Départementale.

³⁰ E. Dupont, *Légendes du Mont Saint-Michel: historiettes et anecdotes sur l'abbaye et les prisons* (Vannes, 1926), pp. 23-29, at p. 25. Other modern versions (see note above) prefer the year 1008, while an eighteenth-century history of Mont-Saint-Michel gives the year as 993, BN, ms. fr. 18949, p. 320.

³¹ R. Herval, 'Un moine jongleur au Mont Saint-Michel, Guillaume de Saint-Pair', in *Millénaire monastique*, ii, pp. 383-395, at p. 392 n. 14.

Mount Gargon, which was an institution closely associated with both Mont-Saint-Michel, and the tradition of the appearance of the Archangel Michael in the form of fire.³² Unfortunately, the medieval history of Siponto is rather turbulent,³³ while its archives were completely destroyed when the Turks sacked the city in the early seventeenth century.

However, since Norgod became a monk at Mont-Saint-Michel it is not entirely impossible that the oral tradition began with him. When the story was first committed to parchment is slightly harder to determine. The collection of miracles in which it appears seems to have been composed sometime in 1080 × 1095.³⁴ These were based upon the recollections of four monks (Gatho, Osmund, Bernier and Frotmundus), who cannot only be located at the monastery during the abbatiage of Mainard II,³⁵ but who were also sometimes accomplished scribes in their own right.³⁶ It is possible that the author of the collection was Rannulf de Bayeux, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (1053/5-1084/5).³⁷ Even if this were not the case, the collection was apparently completed by the beginning of the twelfth century, since the author of the *De abbatibus montis sancti Michaelis* associated a later fiery apparition above the monastery with Norgod's vision:

*Anno M^oC^oII^o. Visus est a nonnullis prope ac procul positus sanctus Michaelis, prout credimus, in figura columnae ignee nocte salorum suae ultime festivitatis penetrasse basilicam istius Montis et simile accidit tempore sancti Mainardi abbatis huius loci et Norgodi Abrincensis episcopi.*³⁸

³² 'Liber de apparitione s. Michaelis in Monte Gargano', ed. G. Waitz, *MGH: SS rer. Lang.*, 1 (Hanover, 1878), pp. 540-543. For the relations between this text and its Mont-Saint-Michel equivalent, see S. Bettocchi, 'Note su due tradizioni micaeliche altomedievali: il Gargano e Mont Saint-Michel', *Vetera Christianorum*, 31 (1994), pp. 333-355.

³³ I am grateful to Graham Loud for his comments (pers. comm.) with regards to the church of Siponto. For its history, see *Italia Pontificia*, ed. P.F. Kehr et al., 10 vols. (Berlin, 1961-1975), ix, pp. 230-267, esp. pp. 230-241.

³⁴ Bouet and Desbordes, *Chroniques*, pp. 259-260.

³⁵ Their names are all listed among the living members of the community recorded in a manuscript of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, which is transcribed in D. Gremont and L. Donnat, 'Fleury, le Mont-Saint-Michel et l'Angleterre à la fin du Xe siècle et au début du XIe siècle: à propos du manuscrit d'Orléans no. 127 (105)', in *Millénaire monastique*, i, pp. 751-793, at p. 783.

³⁶ The following subscription is found in another eleventh-century manuscript of Mont-Saint-Michel: 'Ipsa manus vivat, que tam bene scribere eurat. | Si quis sit scriptor quaeris cognoscere lector, | Hunc studuit totum Frotmundus scribere librum; | Maxima conscripsit, quamplurima sancta peregit | Felix Frotmundus, per secula frater amandus', BM (Avranches) ms. 72, fol. 99r.

³⁷ M. Lelégard, 'Saint Aubert', in *Millénaire monastique*, i, pp. 29-52, at pp. 39-41.

³⁸ 'De abbatibus montis sancti Michaelis in periculo maris', Migne, *PL*, ccii, col. 1326. It is unclear when this anonymous annalistic work was written. The only known copy is in BM (Avranches) ms. 213, fol. 178r-183r, which is a fifteenth-century manuscript (the entry is on fol. 179r). However,

The miracles were recopied (either in whole or in part) into a number of *montois* manuscripts, and since the one concerning Norgod appears in the *Roman du Mont-Saint-Michel*, it seems clear that William of Saint-Pair must have consulted them in the mid-twelfth century.³⁹

The provenance of the miracle story aside, its importance as an historical source should not be overlooked.⁴⁰ One of the more interesting details it contains is the name of the place where Norgod is said to have met the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, which is known only as *Rupis* (modern French, La Roche). Unfortunately, the miracle gives no indication of where this La Roche might be, and candidates from La Roche Torin, in the bay of Mont-Saint-Michel, to La Roche-qui-Boit, on the banks of the Sélune, have been proposed.⁴¹ The cartulary of Avranches cathedral contains references to two places that bear this name. The first is found near Plomb (cant. Avranches), and is mentioned in association with a number of donations made in the mid-thirteenth century by a certain Rodulf Tesson, who claimed that his house was at La Roche (*domo mea sitam apud Ruccam*), and that he was a knight there (*Rad. Tesson miles de Rocha*).⁴² Although Plomb is close to Avranches (about 4.5km to the northeast), scholars have invariably assumed that the *Rupis* of our story is halfway between the cathedral and Mont-Saint-Michel.⁴³ If this were true, and the story gives no indication that it is, a more suitable candidate is the La Roche located about six kilometres to the southwest of Avranches in the commune of Val-Saint-Père (fig. 7).

Léopold Delisle believed Robert de Torigni was familiar with the work, *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont Saint Michel*, ed. L. Delisle, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1872-1873), ii, pp. xvi-xvii.

³⁹ This connection is absent from the scholarship on William's Latin sources, C. Bougy, 'Le Roman du Mont-Saint-Michel de Guillaume de Saint-Pair et ses sources latines', in *Culte et pèlerinages à saint Michel en Occident: les trois Monts dédiés à l'archange*, ed. P. Bouet, G. Otranto and A. Vauchez (Rome, 2003), pp. 481-506.

⁴⁰ No scholar has scrutinised the historical value of the miracle story in full. Most simply describe the events without further analysis, as in Smith, 'Footprints in stone', pp. 208-209.

⁴¹ For supporters of La Roche Torin see *Vies des Saints du diocèse de Coutances et Avranches, avec des notions préliminaires et l'histoire des reliques de chaque Saint*, ed. E.-A. Pigeon, 2 vols. (Avranches, 1892-1898), ii, p. 318; N. Simmonet, 'Saint-Aubert ou comment le Mont devint normand', *Bulletin des amis du Mont-Saint-Michel*, 107 (2002), pp. 31-35, at p. 34; P. Bouet, 'Le Mont-Saint-Michel entre Bretagne et Normandie de 960 à 1060', in *Bretons et Normands au Moyen Âge: rivalités, malentendus, convergences*, ed. J. Quaghebeur and B. Merdrignac (Rennes, 2008), pp. 165-200, at p. 192. The most recent identification is that of La Roche-qui-Boit (Manche, cant. Ducey), by Éric van Torhout, 'Centralité et marginalité en Neustrie et dans le duché de Normandie. Maîtrise du territoire et pouvoirs locaux dans l'Avranchin, le Bessin et le Cotentin (VIe-XIe siècles)', Thesis, PhD, 3 vols. (Université de Paris-VII, 2008), i, p. 302. This seems quite unlikely, however, as it is some considerable distance from Mont-Saint-Michel.

⁴² BM (Avranches), ms. 206, fol. 27r and 41r-v.

⁴³ E.g. Katherine Smith states that the bishop and abbot met 'midway between the monastery and the episcopal palace', Smith, 'Footprints in stone', p. 208.

This La Roche first appears in the cathedral records in the eleventh century under the name *Rupes Necata*.⁴⁴

The significance of this site as a meeting place remains unclear. Its unusual name ('the killed rock') could suggest the presence of a dolmen (prehistoric monuments thought to be tombs), since such structures certainly influence the toponymy elsewhere in the region.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, no trace of such a monument has ever been found, although there were Gaulish settlements in the area, such as Bouillé.⁴⁶ Of course, the explanation behind the name could be far less intriguing, and may simply derive from the Celtic word *roch*, describing rocky land or earth,⁴⁷ or from the presence of a large natural stone that bore no other significance.⁴⁸ Jean-Jacques Desroches suggested that the road between Avranches and Mont-Saint-Michel ran through La Roche, and while this would have undoubtedly been convenient, we must assume that a significant structure existed there, since the meeting between abbot and bishop is said to have lasted until nightfall.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the first documentary evidence of a structure dates from the thirteenth century, and only then it records the presence of a mill.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, it seems the land in this area was of great significance to the cathedral. By the twelfth century a prebend had been created at La Roche,⁵¹ while such was the volume of cathedral possessions in this area that Edouard le Héricher described the commune of Val-Saint-Père as '*une terre sacerdotale*'.⁵² Moreover, a number of the transactions regarding this land concern vineyards, which suggests particularly rich and valuable soil.⁵³ Daniel Levalet, however, suggests that

⁴⁴ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, pp. 632, 666; *RADN*, p. 24.

⁴⁵ D. Levalet, 'De la cité des *Abrincates* au diocèse d'Avranches. Contribution à l'étude du peuplement de la Normandie', *AN*, 29 (1979), pp. 3-22, 259-300, at p. 8.

⁴⁶ For Bouillé, see F. de Beaurepaire, 'Toponymie et évolution du peuplement sur le pourtour de la baie du Mont Saint-Michel', in *Millénaire monastique*, ii, pp. 49-72, at p. 67. I am grateful to Daniel Levalet for sharing his thoughts on the archaeological history of the area (pers. comm.), and for confirming that nothing of significance has since been found there.

⁴⁷ M.-J. Masselin, 'Études sur les étymologies des noms de lieux et des noms de famille dans l'Avranchin: table de ces étymologies par ordre alphabétique', *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Avranches*, 12 (1894-1895), pp. 127-227, at p. 213.

⁴⁸ R. Lepelley, *Noms de lieux de Normandie et des îles anglo-normandes* (Paris, 1999), p. 128.

⁴⁹ J.-J. Desroches, 'Annales religieuses de l'Avranchin', 3 pts., *MSAN*, 14 (1844), pp. 395-498; 17 (1850) pp. 11-90, 321-387, at pt. ii, p. 51.

⁵⁰ The mill of La Roche was given to Mont-Saint-Michel in 1278, T. Le Roy, 'Curieuses recherches du Mont-Saint-Michel', ed. E. de Robillard de Beaurepaire, *MSAN*, 29 (1875), p. 386.

⁵¹ BM (Avranches), ms. 206, fol. 15v.

⁵² E. Le Héricher, *Avranchin monumental et historique*, 3 vols. (Avranches, 1845-1865), i, p. 214.

⁵³ There are eight charters in the cartulary of Avranches cathedral (the *Livre vert*) that concern land at Val-Saint-Père, BM (Avranches), ms. 206, fol. 31r-v, 35v, 38v, 39r-v, 40r and 42v.

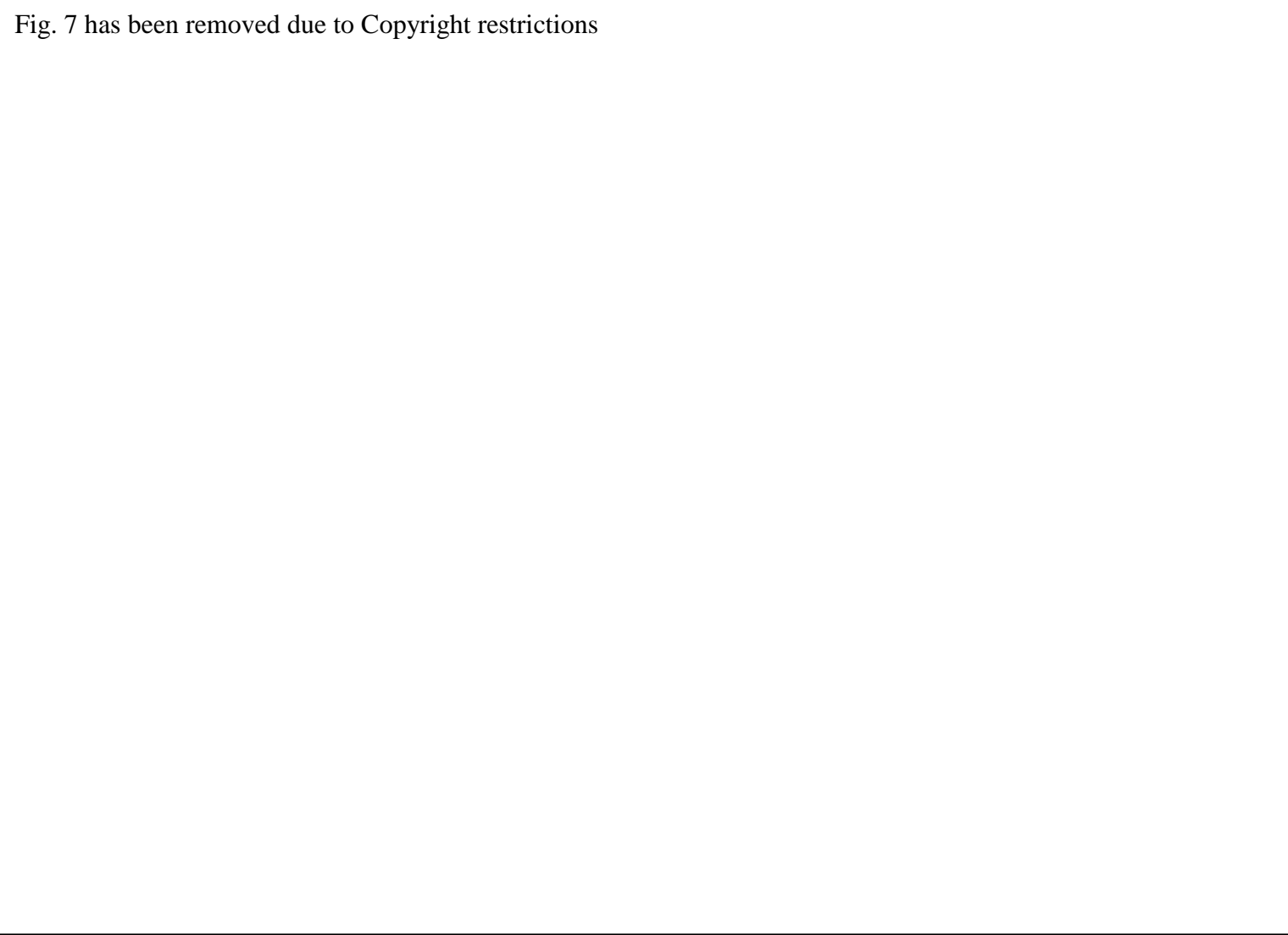


Fig. 7 La Roche (cne Val-Saint-Père): carte topographique d'IGN Ref: 1215ET (scale 1:25,000) (detail)

La Roche may have simply derived its name from a boulder, pillar or boundary stone that marked the limit of the bishop's authority along the right bank of the river Sée. It is possible that this marker recalled the municipal area of the ancient city of Avranches, which had been resurrected by Norgod in the eleventh century to mark the limit of his authority.⁵⁴ It is clear that this was not a border crossed lightly, for when Mainard saw Norgod at the abbey he asked him why he had passed La Roche, where meetings should be held.⁵⁵ In fact, before the restitutions made to the cathedral by Norgod's successor Hugh,⁵⁶ there is no evidence to indicate that episcopal authority extended to the west of La Roche, while Mainard's reaction suggests that in passing this point, the bishop of Avranches had violated the territory subjected to the authority of the abbey, many of whose possessions were located, during the early years of the eleventh century, between the Sélune and the Couesnon.⁵⁷ This in itself confirms that the two men cannot have met at La Roche Torin, which was already located in the heart of this '*pays montois*'. Instead, it seems that the meeting between the abbot and bishop took place on the 'border' between their respective jurisdictions. This feature not only recalls the gatherings of secular rulers, who often met at geographical features that divided kingdoms,⁵⁸ but the appearance of La Roche in the miracle story provides us with invaluable evidence concerning the western boundaries of the temporal of the cathedral of Avranches in the early eleventh-century, and the ancient Roman infrastructure upon which Norgod based the restoration of his authority within the region.

The miracle also provides us with an alternative picture of relations between the abbey and cathedral at this time. There can be no doubt that as the bishops began to restore their authority in the later eleventh century tensions between the two institutions worsened. By the middle of the century the monks had made an open attempt to remove themselves from episcopal jurisdiction, while a few years later the

⁵⁴ Daniel Levalet (pers. comm.).

⁵⁵ Both the eleventh-century miracle and the poem of William de Saint-Pair contain a passage concerning the passing of La Roche: 'Quem cum isdem abbas requisisset cur denominatum colloquii locum preterisset', Allen, 'Un évêque et sa ville', p. 36. 'Il et si moine encontre unt | Norgot l'évesque, qui veneit | Demandent lui que il quereit | Por quei la Roche aveit passee | Ou deveit estre l'assemblée'; William of Saint-Pair, *Roman*, p. 257.

⁵⁶ These are discussed below p. 55.

⁵⁷ Van Torhoudt, 'Centralité et marginalité', iii, p. 886, carte 36 and p. 941, carte 91; Bouet, 'Le Mont-Saint-Michel', p. 183.

⁵⁸ The Norman principality was itself born at a meeting held along a geographical feature that divided two regions, *De moribus*, p. 168.

bishop of Avranches imposed on the abbey a convention that severely tempered its power.⁵⁹ Scholars have often sought to impose these conditions on the early eleventh century.⁶⁰ Our miracle, however, suggests that Norgod enjoyed a particularly good relationship with the abbey. According to the story he gave it many gifts, including fish, which he presented to the monks during their periods of fasting.⁶¹ The Latin version of the miracle fondly remembers Norgod as a man of ‘upright ways’,⁶² while William of Saint-Pair praised the bishop for being ‘*bien letrez*’.⁶³ The personal relationship between the abbot and bishop also seems to have been particularly close, and it is possible they were at La Roche to discuss preparations for the feast of St. Michael. Perhaps Norgod planned to participate in the celebrations. If so, this is reminiscent of a similar arrangement later established in the Norman capital, where the archbishop helped officiate the feast day mass of St. Ouen at the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen.⁶⁴

The story also gives us some idea of the state of both Norgod’s cathedral and his chapter. Although excavations have confirmed the poor state of the eleventh-century cathedral, the miracle story makes it quite clear that Norgod was able to conduct some liturgical business there.⁶⁵ Moreover, the story confirms the existence of an episcopal residence with a bedchamber (*cubiculum*), which seems to have been distinct from the cathedral. Indeed, the author of the story draws a clear distinction between the people to whom Norgod initially turns upon seeing the ‘fire’, calling them ‘certain people who were present’, and the canons of his cathedral, whom he summoned (*evocans canonicos*) to help him celebrate the office of the dead. The presence of the canons is itself significant, and it has already been noted above how a large late tenth-century sarcophagus excavated in the 1970s could have belonged to a cathedral dignitary. It is even possible the fledgling chapter at Avranches supplied

⁵⁹ This is discussed below pp. 66-67.

⁶⁰ *The cartulary of the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Donington, 2006), pp. 17-18; Bouet, ‘Le Mont-Saint-Michel’, pp. 192-193.

⁶¹ ‘Xenia etiam sepiissime immo pene assidue ipsis monachis dirigebat, precipueque hoc quadragesimali tempore faciebat: pisces de suo emptos uice caritatis illis immittendo diebus quibus eos ieiunatuos sciebat’, Allen, ‘Un évêque et sa ville’, p. 35.

⁶² ‘... presul Norgodus, tam generis nobilitate quam morum probitate conspicuus’, Allen, ‘Un évêque et sa ville’, p. 35.

⁶³ William of Saint-Pair, *Roman*, p. 253.

⁶⁴ AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 156. A critical edition of this charter can be found below in Appendix G. The history of this ceremony is discussed by J.-F. Pommeraye, *Histoire de l’abbaye royale de S. Ouen de Rouen* (Rouen, 1662), pp. 174-177.

⁶⁵ For discussion, see above pp. 32-33.

another Norman diocese with its bishop, since Jean-Jacques Desroches claimed that Rodulf of Avranches, bishop of Bayeux (c. 990-1006), was a cathedral dignitary in the city before ascending to the episcopal see.⁶⁶ Rodulf must have certainly had a significant attachment to Avranches, since according to the editors of *Gallia Christiana* he was born in Dol.⁶⁷ This place would surely have taken precedence as his toponym over Avranches had his association with the city not been great. Unfortunately, Desroches provides no evidence to support his claim, and it is not repeated in diocesan histories of Bayeux.⁶⁸

Norgod's decision to retire to Mont-Saint-Michel perhaps says more than anything, however, about the state of his diocese. If he was 'well lettered', as William de Saint-Pair claimed, perhaps he sought at the abbey the intellectual stimulation that would later attract such eminent scholars as Lanfranc and St. Anselm to the region.⁶⁹ He must have certainly desired a stricter religious life than was possible at his cathedral, for although later authors lamented the lax conditions at Mont-Saint-Michel in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, few scholars accept their descriptions as historically accurate, and it is likely that the liturgical routine was still gruelling.⁷⁰ Of course, it is only because of Mont-Saint-Michel that Norgod's memory has been partly preserved. Two of the four charters in which he appears concern the abbey,⁷¹ while it is thanks only to its necrology that we know the date of his death, and the miracle story that we can gain some idea of the state of his diocese in the early eleventh century. The bishop's abandonment of his charge highlights the lack of ducal influence in the western parts of the duchy at this time, but his lengthy episcopate did mark the beginning of a course that would ultimately lead to the

⁶⁶ Desroches, 'Annales religieuses', i, p. 421.

⁶⁷ GC, xi, col. 352.

⁶⁸ Only Honoré Fisquet attempts to explain Rodulf's association with Avranches, by claiming that the bishop had '*étudié en cette ville*', *La France pontificale (Gallia Christiana)*, ed. H. Fisquet, 22 vols. (Paris, 1864-1873), ii, p. 20.

⁶⁹ For discussion, see below pp. 55-56.

⁷⁰ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, pp. 16-17.

⁷¹ Pigeon believed that Norgod continued to witness acts as a monk of Mont-Saint-Michel, citing his appearance in two acts of Robert I, which he dated to 1030, on fol. 54r-55r and 75v-76v of the abbey's cartulary, Pigeon, *Vies des saints*, ii, pp. 320-321. The charters in fact date to around 1015, *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, nos. 31 and 60. Pigeon also claimed to have found Norgod's tomb during renovation work, which was carried out in 1873 on the court in front of the western façade. This work, which revealed the span of the old nave, also unearthed three tombs. That identified as Norgod's had apparently been cut in two by the foundations of the western wall of the south tower erected towards 1060, Pigeon, *Vies des saints*, ii, p. 322. Cf. E. Corroyer, *Description de l'abbaye du Mont Saint-Michel et de ses abords précédée d'une notice historique* (Paris, 1877), pp. 90-100.

reestablishment of both episcopal and ducal authority in the region. David Douglas long ago noted how the resuscitation of ecclesiastical life in the duchy was due to many agencies,⁷² and whatever judgements may be passed on Norgod's episcopate, it must certainly be reckoned more important than his occasional appearances in the historical record suggest.

⁷² Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 124.

Maugis, c. 1017 × c. 1022-c. 1026

It is unclear whether the seat of Avranches lay vacant for any length of time following the departure of Norgod for Mont-Saint-Michel. His successor Maugis, whose origins are otherwise unknown, does not appear in a document datable to a single year until August 1025.¹ According to Julien Nicole, he performed the funeral of Hildebert I, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, in 1017, although this seems unlikely.² His appearances in the diplomatic record overwhelmingly concern institutions in Upper Normandy, something which suggests that the state of his church was perhaps still well beyond recovery. He was not uninvolved in matters in his diocese, however, and witnessed two acts concerning Mont-Saint-Michel.³ Yet even here, when the monks remembered the bishop, it was his association with the abbey of Fécamp that they chose to evoke.⁴ Maugis' only other appearance in an act concerning an institution of Lower Normandy is in a charter for the canons of the cathedral of Sées, which was issued in around 1025.⁵ He was also witness to a charter of Robert, archbishop of Rouen, concerning Saint-Père de Chartres.⁶ There is little remarkable about any of these acts except their testimony to the growing coherence of the Norman episcopate, and their important role in the elaboration of ducal *acta*.⁷ Of the eight documents, two are witnessed by all seven members of the episcopate, another two by six, and the rest by four.⁸

The only other thing of note is Maugis' position within the witness lists of a number of these documents. Three times he is the first ecclesiastical witness to append his *signum*, while on one occasion he is only second behind the duke in the

¹ RADN, nos. 35 and 36.

² 'Histoire chronologique des évêques d'Avranches de maître Julien Nicole', ed. C. de Beaurepaire, *Société de l'histoire de Normandie, Mélanges*, 4 (1898), pp. 1-109, at p. 44.

³ Maugis was in Fécamp on a number of occasions towards the end of his episcopate and witnessed charters for the abbey of that town, as well as one for Jumièges, RADN, nos. 31, 34-36. He also witnessed one charter for Saint-Ouen de Rouen, RADN, no. 44.

⁴ 'Richardo mortuo, Richardus dux filius omnia Fiscani datis litteris confirmavit, et a Richardo et Roberto filiis, aliisque signari procuravit, inter quos Maugisus episcopus Abrincensis', 'De abbatibus montis sancti Michaelis', col. 1326.

⁵ RADN, no. 33.

⁶ *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. iv, pp. 115-116. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

⁷ D. Bates, 'Le rôle des évêques dans l'élaboration des actes ducaux et royaux entre 1066 et 1087', in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 103-115.

⁸ RADN, nos. 31 (4), 33 (7), 34 (4), 35 (7), 36 (4), 44 (4), 49 (6); *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. iv, pp. 115-116 (6).

entire list.⁹ While one of these acts (*RADN*, no. 49) concerns a monastery within his diocese and his position is explicable as a result, the other two both concern institutions of Upper Normandy (Jumièges and Fécamp). Although scholars have recently tended to moderate the weight previously assigned to the testimony of witness lists,¹⁰ the appearance of Maugis, whose ecclesiastical career is otherwise undistinguished, at the head of these attestations certainly demands comment. Unfortunately, there is little to suggest why he should appear so prominently within these witness lists. The donations in question do not concern lands in his diocese, while his complete absence from the narrative record hinders any detailed investigation.¹¹

His name, which has a number of permutations (*Maugisius*, *Mangisus*, *Maugisius*), is certainly unusual for Normandy, and is only found on two other occasions towards the beginning of the twelfth century (interestingly, in documents concerning the Avranchin).¹² It can also be found in the names of two communes of the Orne, which suggests it was not unknown in the region before the eleventh century (Boissy-Maugis has existed since the beginning of the ninth century), and continued to be popular long after (Maison-Maugis has existed since 1219).¹³ According to Ernest Nègre, the modern form Maugis is derived from the ancient name Amalgis,¹⁴ of which nothing remarkable can be said.¹⁵ Geographically, while this name is found in Normandy during this period,¹⁶ it is primarily a Frankish name, and is associated in particular with the church of Reims. Indeed, of the six occurrences of

⁹ *RADN*, no. 36. He is fourth in the list overall in nos. 35 and 49.

¹⁰ For recent discussion, see D. Bates, 'Charters and historians of Britain and Ireland: problems and possibilities', in *Charters and charter scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. M.T. Flanagan and J.A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 1-14, at p. 10; S. Marritt, 'King Stephen and the bishops', *ANS*, 24 (2002), pp. 129-144, at pp. 132-137; D. Bates, 'The prosopographical study of Anglo-Norman royal charters', in *Family trees and the roots of politics: the prosopography of Britain and France from the tenth to the twelfth century*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 89-102.

¹¹ In *RADN*, no. 36 all the donations but one are in the departments of Seine-Maritime, Calvados, Orne and Eure, and the only one in Manche is in the diocese of Bayeux (La Luzerne), while in *RADN*, no. 35 the vast majority of the donations are in the Eure.

¹² A certain Mangisius of Savigny witnessed a charter for the abbey of Savigny sometime between 1112 and 1133 (*GC*, xi, *Instr.*, col. 110), while in 1099 a Mangisus, who was a monk of Mont-Saint-Michel, was involved in a plea held before Hugh, *vicomte* of Châteaudun, *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 103.

¹³ For the dates see, *Toponymie générale de la France: étymologie de 35,000 noms de lieux*, ed. E. Nègre, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1990-1991), i, p. 335; iii, p. 1664. Boissy-Maugis, Orne, cant. Rémalard; Maison-Maugis, Orne, cant. Rémalard.

¹⁴ Nègre, *Toponymie générale*, iii, p. 1664.

¹⁵ Morlet, *Noms de personne*, i, p. 34.

¹⁶ Robert de Bellême had a messenger called Amalgis, *OV*, v, p. 254.

the name in the *Patrologia Latina* series, half concern *rémois* events or documents.¹⁷ Olivier Guillot has noted the significant role this church played in the conversion of the Normans in the tenth century, and it is not impossible that our bishop was himself linked to Reims, and that the deference shown to him by his position in the witness lists is explicable as a result.¹⁸ Of course, there is always the possibility he was simply a court favourite,¹⁹ while the frequent occurrence of the name in the Blésois, the Orlénais and Brittany has led at least one scholar to question whether the bishop was a native of one of these regions.²⁰ Moreover, modern scholars occasionally render *Maugisus* as Mauger,²¹ which was a name of the ducal family and is perhaps evidence of a familial connection with the ruling line.²²

Despite a rather unremarkable career, Maugis did make one great contribution to his diocese, for in around 1025 he began the construction of his cathedral. Although two different necrologies (both now lost) credit two different Norman dukes with the foundation,²³ most modern authorities believe that it was during his episcopate that building work began.²⁴ Despite the detailed excavations carried out by Daniel Levalet, and the existence of a number of drawings of the cathedral in a state of ruin, the complete destruction of the cathedral during the nineteenth century means it remains difficult to determine Maugis' exact architectural contribution. Indeed, since there was a second construction campaign during the episcopate of Turgis (1094-1134), it is

¹⁷ Flodoard of Reims, *Historia Remensis*, p. 359; Reolus Rhemensis, 'Charta', Migne, *PL*, lxxxviii, col. 1215; 'Karoli II Conventus Attiniacensis', Migne, *PL*, cxxxviii, col. 610. Of the other three occurrences, one concerns Verdun, one Liège and the other Normandy.

¹⁸ Guillot, 'Conversion des normands après 911', pp. 101-116, 181-219, esp. pp. 200-202; O. Guillot, 'La conversion des normands à partir de 911', in *Histoire religieuse de la Normandie*, ed. G.-M. Oury (Chambray, 1981), pp. 23-53, esp. pp. 39-46.

¹⁹ For popularity at court linked to witness lists of a later period, see T. Keefe, 'The courting game: rank order and witness clusters in the early charters of King Richard I, 1189-90', *Medieval Prosopography*, 18 (1997), pp. 93-108.

²⁰ Van Torhout, 'Centralité et marginalité', iii, pp. 768-769.

²¹ F. Avril, 'La décoration des manuscrits au Mont-Saint-Michel (XIe-XIIe siècles)', in *Millénaire monastique*, ii, pp. 203-238, at p. 231; P. Chesnel, *Le Cotentin et l'Avranchin (département de la Manche) sous les ducs de Normandie (911-1204)* (Caen, 1912), p. 176.

²² E.g. Mauger, son of Richard I, and Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, son of Richard II.

²³ The necrology of the cathedral listed Richard II as founder of the cathedral: '25 Augusti 1027 obiit Ricardus II dux Normannie fundator ecclesiae Abrincensis', Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, p. 679; BM (Avranches), fonds Pigeon, ms. 45, p. 124. However, Jean-Jacques Desroches argued that a Mont-Saint-Michel necrology deposited at Saint-Lô (destroyed) listed Robert I as 'fundator ecclesie Abrincensis' (this is not in the Mont-Saint-Michel necrology edited in *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 579), and claimed that construction began during the episcopate of Hugh, Desroches, 'Annales religieuses', p. 418. Émile-Auber Pigeon acknowledged the existence of this necrology, but called Robert I the 'second fondateur', Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, p. 679.

²⁴ Levalet, 'La cathédrale Saint-André', p. 121; M. Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture normande au XIe siècle', in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 151-172, at p. 158.

Fig. 8 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

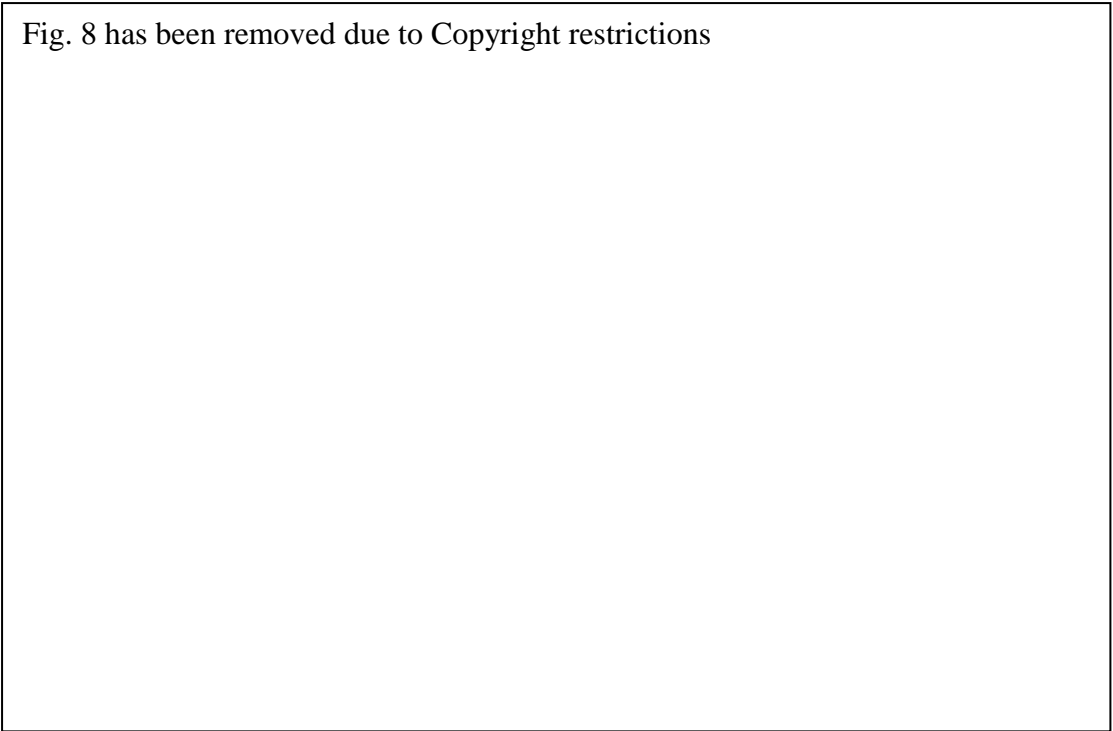


Fig. 8 The cathedral of Avranches in 1649 (copy of painting by N. Gravier)

Fig. 9 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

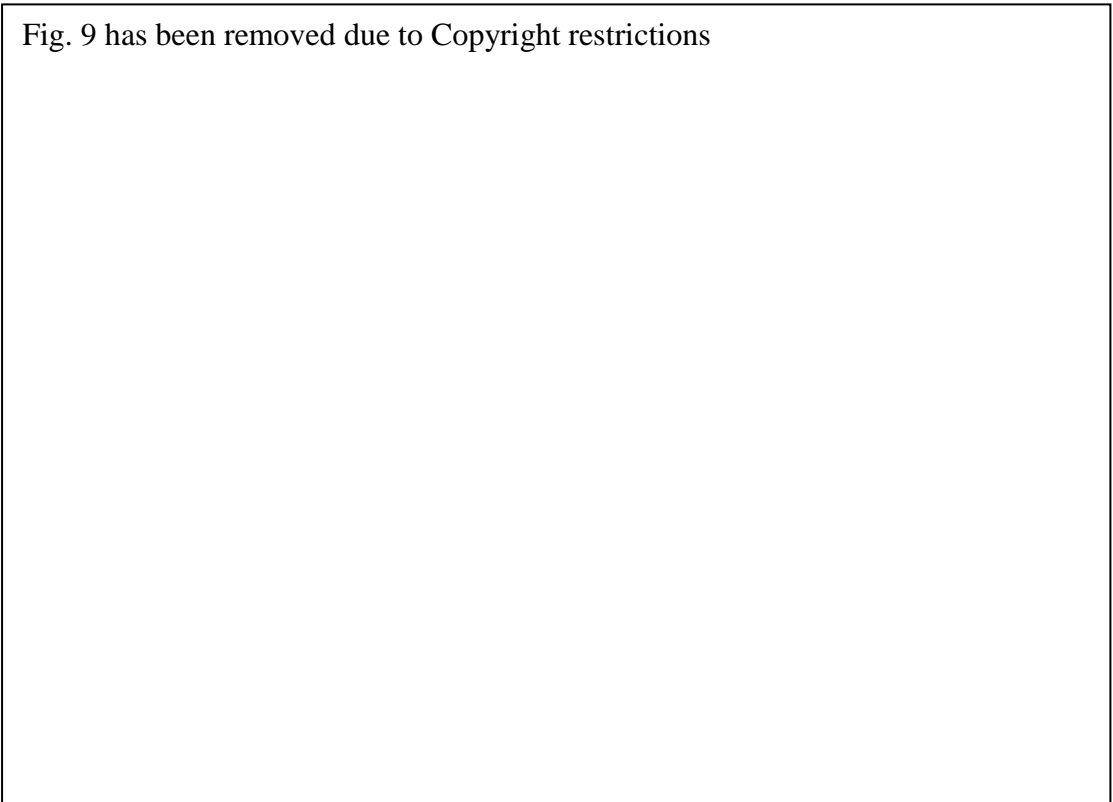


Fig. 9 Ruins of the cathedral of Avranches in 1828 (by Lemaître)*

* Images from Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', p. 159. For discussion of the painting by Nicolas Graver, see D. Nicolas-Méry, 'Le tableau « Avranches en 1649 »: témoignage sur la cité médiévale', *Revue de l'Avranchin et du pays de Granville*, 83 (2006), pp. 1-25.

possible that many of the architectural features evident in the drawings of Nicolas Gravier and Lemaître date from this time (figs. 8 and 9). The most striking feature is the cathedral's ambulatory, which may have been modelled on the one completed at Mont-Saint-Michel two years earlier.²⁵ According to Julien Nicole, Maugis had been responsible for the consecration of the newly completed abbey church.²⁶ Perhaps it was at this event (for which there is no surviving record of Maugis' involvement) that the architectural plans for his cathedral were first formed. Regardless, Maugis must have at least completed the western façade of the cathedral, since he was buried (see below) under its northern tower.

Unfortunately, Maugis was to die soon after construction began. According to Thomas Le Roy, he was also gripped by the desire to become a monk at Mont-Saint-Michel, and it was only due to the intervention of the abbot (either Hildebert II (1017-1023), Theoderic, (1023-1027) or Almodus (1023/4-1032)) that he did not achieve his goal.²⁷ An anonymous historian of Mont-Saint-Michel associated this event with certain jurisdictional concessions made by the bishop to the abbey,²⁸ but this 'donation', which was first mentioned by Thomas Le Roy,²⁹ and later repeated by others,³⁰ seems to be an incredibly confused interpretation of a charter issued by Richard II,³¹ which itself confirmed certain grants found in a forged papal bull of John XIII.³² According to the necrology of Mont-Saint-Michel, Maugis died on 17 August, while that of Jumièges commemorates the bishop on the following day.³³ The year of his passing is given in the annals of Robert de Torigni as 1027.³⁴ The bishop was buried in the cathedral he had begun under the north tower of the western façade,³⁵

²⁵ Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', p. 160.

²⁶ Nicole, 'Histoire des évêques d'Avranches', p. 44.

²⁷ Desroches, 'Annales religieuses', i, p. 418. An anonymous eighteenth-century history of the abbey claims the same thing, and names the abbot responsible for deterring the bishop as Mainard II, BN, ms. fr. 18949, p. 35.

²⁸ BN, ms. fr. 18949, p. 35.

²⁹ Le Roy, 'Curieuses recherches', p. 284.

³⁰ Desroches, 'Annales religieuses', i, p. 418; Le Héricher, *Avranchin monumental*, ii, p. 215.

³¹ RADN, no. 49.

³² The following marginal note is inserted in the copy of this charter in the anonymous eighteenth-century history noted above. It is written next to the passage that begins 'Omnes ad postremum...': 'Richard 1er en 966 avoit accordé aux moines sa jurisdiction temporelle sur les moines du Mont St. Michel. Maugis 18e eveque d'Avranches accorda la jurisdiction episcopalle qui est se y confirmée. Il vivoit du temps de Richard, 2e du nom, duc de Normandie, cestadire vers l'an 966', BN, ms. fr. 18949, p. 405.

³³ RHGF, xxiii, pp. 421, 579.

³⁴ Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, ii, p. 219.

³⁵ Levalet, 'La cathédrale Saint-André', p. 121.



Fig 9 The tomb of Maugis, bishop of Avranches (photo R. Allen)*

* Avranches, coll. musée municipale.

while Robert Cénalis, a sixteenth-century bishop of Avranches, recorded a rather crude distich that might have been inscribed on Maugis' tomb.³⁶ Today, a sarcophagus identified as Maugis' forms part of the collection of the municipal museum of Avranches (fig. 10).³⁷

³⁶ 'Quum gleba excelse sedeat fundamine turris | Non mihi Maugisus, sed bene gisus eris', BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 37r.

³⁷ The tomb is currently on display in the town's new museum 'Scriptorial', which is dedicated to the manuscripts of Mont-Saint-Michel.

Hugh, c. 1028-1055 × 1060

Little is known of the man who occupied the see of Avranches for almost thirty-two years. His attestation can be found on several ducal charters, among which, as one would expect, are numerous acts concerning Mont-Saint-Michel. In fact, six of the eleven surviving ducal charters that Hugh witnessed benefited the monastery. These include two charters of Robert I in which he confirmed the monastery's ancient rights, and granted half the island of Guernsey (including the 'episcopal laws'), as well as territory in Avranches and Bayeux, to the monastery,¹ while another three concluded donations of land to the abbey given by those about to take up the habit within its confines.² Nevertheless, Hugh was willing to partake in the 'feast on church property'³ that had devastated many parts of Lower Normandy, securing from Suppo, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (c. 1032-1048), a grant of property, and, in doing so, revealing his willingness to act as predator as well as protector.⁴ It is also possible that Hugh had children, for the bishop only secured the aforementioned grant, which included tithes on Guernsey, by promising to return the benefices to the abbey despite any objections from 'either my successor as bishop, a relation or an heir'.⁵ The stipulation is certainly not unusual for a 'life-lease' agreement such as this,⁶ but if Hugh did father offspring he would have hardly been unusual. Not only did the archbishop under whom he first served have a wife and sons, but members of the Norman episcopate continued to produce children well into the second half of the eleventh century.

Hugh was also active in Upper Normandy, and here confirmed three 'life-lease' agreements involving the abbey of Fécamp. The first concerned an agreement

¹ *RADN*, nos. 65, 73; *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 115.

² The three individuals were Adelelmus, a knight of Robert I, a priest named Neal (*Niellus*), and William Pichenoht, *RADN*, nos. 110, 132, 133.

³ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 100.

⁴ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 80.

⁵ '... ut post excessum meum eam sancto Michaeli sibique famulantibus absque ullius successoris mei episcopi vel parentis aut heredis contradictione restituerem', *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 80. Tabuteau suggested that the clause related only to Hugh's episcopal successors, but given its exactitude, and the fact that she cites only the charter's anathema clause, which is not so precise, this seems unlikely, Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, p. 315 n. 249. Interestingly, an unidentified bishop Hugh witnessed a charter of John of Ravenna, abbot of Fécamp, with his brother Turolf and his son Rodulf, BN, ms. coll. Moreau, vol. 21, fol. 25v. Given Hugh's frequent involvement with this house (see below), it is not impossible that this is the bishop of Avranches. It is more likely, however, the bishop of Bayeux, Hugh of Ivry. See below p. 113.

⁶ Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, p. 76.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
c. 1028 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 72	Fécamp	Rouen Fécamp	x		
c. 1028 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 73	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
c. 1028 × 1035	Pigeon, <i>Le diocèse d'Avranches</i> , ii, p. 667	Avranches cathedral				x
c. 1028 × 1033	<i>RADN</i> , no. 65	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
12 Nov. 1032	<i>RADN</i> , no. 64 (probable)	Cerisy-la-Forêt			x	
c. 1032-1048	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 80	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	x
13 Jan. 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 90	Montivilliers		x		
1035 × 1040	<i>RADN</i> , no. 93	Fécamp		x		
1035 × 1048	<i>RADN</i> , no. 111	Mont-Saint-Michel		x		
1035 × 1060	Pigeon, <i>Le diocèse d'Avranches</i> , ii, p. 668	Avranches cathedral				x
1037 × 1046	<i>RADN</i> , no. 110	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1046 × 1060	<i>RADN</i> , no. 145	Fécamp			x	x
1054	<i>RADN</i> , no. 132	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
25 Dec. 1054	<i>RADN</i> , no. 133	Mont-Saint-Michel	Rouen cathedral		x	x

Fig. 11 Appearances of Hugh, bishop of Avranches (c. 1028-1055 × 1060), in the diplomatic record*

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1060 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 220	Jumièges	Rouen Domfront Bayeux (<i>in camera comitis</i>) Bonneville-sur-Touques Caen Rouen		x	
1061 × 1067	<i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon</i> , no. cccxxvi	Saint-Sauveur de Redon				x
1061	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , Appendix II, no. 5	Mont-Saint-Michel				x
1061	Pigeon, <i>Le diocèse d'Avranches</i> , ii, p. 666	Avranches cathedral				x
1061	<i>RADN</i> , no. 148	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
22 Sept. 1063 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 159	Marmoutier		x		
1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 229	Avranches cathedral			x	x
1066 (?)	<i>RADN</i> , no. 227	Beaumont-lès-Tours		x		
27 May × 16 July 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 232	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
18 June 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 231	La Trinité, Caen			x	x
Sept. 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 228	Marmoutier		x		

Fig. 12 Appearances of John of Ivry, bishop of Avranches (1060-1067), in the diplomatic record

* Hugh may be the bishop by that name who witnessed *RADN*, no. 21, though the bishops of Bayeux, Coutances and Évreux were also called Hugh at this time. Hugh's signum is also interpolated in a charter dated 21 September 1014, *RADN*, no. 15 (version *Abis*).

between John of Ravenna and a certain Gozelinus fitzHeddo over land that the abbey had received from Rainaldus the *vicomte*.⁷ The second was concluded at Brionne in the presence of the duke and an important group of dignitaries.⁸ The simultaneous appearance of these men not only illustrates the evolution of the composition of the ducal entourage over the course of the period up until 1066, but also suggests that Hugh was perhaps a regular attendee of such gatherings, and that his role in affairs of state was quite substantial.⁹ Finally, Hugh concluded his own 'life-lease' agreement with John of Ravenna that entitled him to the tithes of the town of Ryes and a manse of ten acres in the grounds of Fécamp.¹⁰ Lucien Musset held that Hugh received these goods for his role in the benediction of John of Ravenna as abbot of Fécamp,¹¹ but not only were these privileges small reward, they were also to return to the abbey upon the bishop's death. Moreover, none of Hugh's successors were allowed to claim rights over the goods contained in the charter.¹² Nevertheless, this agreement, and the several appearances by Hugh in Fécamp documents, is the best evidence available for the growing connection between the monastic schools and the early eleventh-century episcopate, which Hugh seems to have fostered.¹³

It was also during Hugh's episcopate that the most important parts of the cathedral were completed. It remains difficult to determine the exact role of the bishop in this project, although recent scholarship has revisited the issue.¹⁴ Of greatest interest are the alternating chapels revealed in the drawings of the cathedral made in the early nineteenth century by the painter Nicolas Gravier. Although such architectural details can be found in the first half of the eleventh century throughout Normandy, they are also present in the chapels of the cathedrals of Winchester and Worcester in England.¹⁵ Whether the latter were influenced by the former, or *vice versa*, remains a

⁷ *RADN*, no. 72.

⁸ Among those in attendance were William, count of Arques, Nigel *vicomte* of the Cotentin, Osbern the Steward and Goscelin the *vicomte*, *RADN*, no. 93.

⁹ For a discussion of this evolution and the meeting at Brionne see Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 158-159.

¹⁰ Ryes-en-Bessin, Calvados, chef-lieu.

¹¹ Musset, 'La contribution de Fécamp', p. 63.

¹² '... quam prefatus episcopus condonate amitia in vita sua possidet, aliquis eius quomodo successor post obitum illius ullam reclamationem faciat, vel monasterio, cui idem beneficium appendet, aliquam molestiam inferat', *RADN*, no. 145.

¹³ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 195.

¹⁴ Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', pp. 158-160.

¹⁵ For full discussion see E. Fernie, *The architecture of Norman England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 117-118, 153-154.

matter for debate, with neither side able to present overwhelming evidence to support their cause.¹⁶ Émile-Auber Pigeon also remarked on the similarity between the two apsidioles of Saint-Georges and Saint-Jean, which recall similar features built during the pontificate of Geoffrey of Montbray in the cathedral of Coutances.¹⁷ Like his predecessors, Hugh also took steps to reconstitute the holdings of his cathedral. At the request of the bishop (*prece et hortatu Hugonis venerabilis antistitis*), Robert I gave to the cathedral the church of Saint-Gervais in the suburbs of Avranches, the churches of *Esgen* (either Sainte-Eugénie or Les Gens),¹⁸ Céaux, Vessey, la Croix-Avranchin, Villiers, Saint-Senier de Beuvron and Vains, as well as various parcels of land with their attendant tithes, tolls and mills. Similarly, in 1035 × 1060, William II gave to the cathedral the churches of Saint-Senier-sous-Avranches, Appilly, Orceil, Saint-Pierre-Langers, Chantorre and *Frigabulgam*, while at the petitioning (*precatu*) of the bishop, he also donated to the cathedral all the land held in the region by Warner, brother of Theoderic the *hostiarius* (fig. 13).¹⁹ Most interestingly, Robert I gave to the cathedral ‘the tithe of the tonlieu of the *pagus* of Avranches’ (*decimam totius telonei Abrincensis pagi*),²⁰ which not only demonstrates that the Norman dukes preserved Carolingian-style financial administration, but also the important administrative role of the bishop in the region.²¹

Perhaps the most outstanding event of Hugh’s episcopacy remains the visit of Lanfranc to the city of Avranches in around 1039-1040. His presence in the region remains controversial, with scholars divided over his exact role. Lanfranc’s stay in the city is based on one source, the *Vita Lanfranci*, which is attributed to Miles Crispin, monk and cantor at Bec, and which was written sometime between 1140 and 1156.²² Nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars automatically understood

¹⁶ The chapels of Worcester are polygonal; those of Winchester are rectangular and finish at the collaterals. They are different from those of Fécamp or Avranches, but could come from a tradition from the Avranchin, where the polygonal ambulatory of Mont-Saint-Michel (c. 1023) could constitute a stage in this architectural style, Baylé, ‘Les évêques et l’architecture’, p. 160 n. 23.

¹⁷ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d’Avranches*, ii, p. 681-682. An apsidiole is a small or secondary apse usually found in the transept arms. Pigeon’s interpretation of the architectural configuration of the cathedral of Coutances is open to question, however. For full discussion, see below, pp. 184-185.

¹⁸ The latter is found in the commune of Saint-Quentin-sur-le-Homme, Manche, cant. Ducey.

¹⁹ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d’Avranches*, ii, pp. 667-668.

²⁰ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d’Avranches*, ii, p. 667.

²¹ L. Musset, ‘Recherches sur le tonlieu en Normandie à l’époque ducal’, in *Autour du pouvoir ducal normand Xe-XIIe siècles, Cahier des Annales de Normandie*, 17 (1985), pp. 61-76, at p. 67.

²² ‘Vita Lanfranci’, ed. M. Gibson, in *Lanfranco di Pavia e l’Europa del secolo XI nel IX centenario della morte (1089-1989)*, ed. G. D’Onofrio (Rome, 1993), pp. 659-715, at p. 668. Translated in S.

Lanfranc's visit to mean that, at Avranches, he would have found a flourishing intellectual centre both willing and able to accommodate him and his *magni nominis scholares*.²³ Allan Macdonald placed his stay in the city at the end of a period during which Lanfranc, disillusioned over his stay in Chartres, and especially his encounter with Berengar of Tours in c. 1035, had opened schools, which attracted students in the different places through which he passed. Charles Lebréton suggested that it was only with the permission of Bishop Hugh that Lanfranc was allowed to operate in the city.²⁴ The fact that Anselm (d. 1109) was also a visitor to the city in the late 1050s has led some scholars to posit a continuous scholastic tradition in the city from Lanfranc onwards.²⁵

Most modern academics are more sceptical. The most vocal critic of late has been Margaret Gibson, who argues that Avranches would have had neither the books nor the scribes to accommodate Lanfranc and his entourage, let alone an audience ready to listen to him.²⁶ Indeed, with previous bishops of Avranches keen themselves to retreat to the monastery of the archangel it would be surprising if Lanfranc did not also seek out all that this institution had to offer. Here he would have found a monastic house with an exceptional zeal for the collection and illumination of manuscripts, and, it is conjectured, a patron in his fellow countryman, the Italian, Abbot Suppo of Fruttuaria.²⁷ Yet we must not ignore the evidence presented by Hugh's presence in the business of the abbey of Fécamp between 1027 and 1060. If this reveals a growing connection between the monastic schools and the early eleventh-century episcopate, as David Bates suggests it does, then surely it would be understandable if Hugh had taken an active interest in the intellectual life of his own

Vaughn, *The abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman state, 1034-1136* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 87-111, at p. 88.

²³ 'Et pertransiens Franciam, quamplures magni nominis scholares secum habens, in Normanniam pervenit, et in Abrincatensi civitate demoratus, per aliquod tempus docuit', 'Vita Lanfranci', p. 668.

²⁴ A.J. Macdonald, *Lanfranc: a study of his life, work and writing* (Oxford, 1926), p. 11; C. Lebréton, 'L'école d'Avranches au XIe siècle sous Lanfranc et saint Anselme', *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Avranches*, 6 (1873), pp. 493-510, at p. 496.

²⁵ Lebréton, 'L'école d'Avranches', pp. 493-510.

²⁶ M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 20-21.

²⁷ J.J.G. Alexander, *Norman illumination at Mont St. Michel, 966-1100* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 35-37, 212-213. Gibson also suggests that, even if Suppo did not fulfil a role as patron, he would undoubtedly have been consulted before Lanfranc came to the region, Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, p. 21. Lanfranc's most recent biographer, H.E.J. Cowdrey, suggests that if Lanfranc was in Avranches his academic activity there was limited, and that his stay in the city more likely 'offered the possibility of contact with the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel', H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: scholar, monk, and archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), p. 10.

diocese, and had created a centre of learning in Avranches in which Lanfranc, and later Anselm, could pursue serious scholarship.²⁸ The discovery of non-Norman early eleventh-century coins in Avranches certainly suggests the city was open to outside influences,²⁹ and although Hugh's charter attestations speak of a man committed first and foremost to his personal estates, rather than his diocese,³⁰ the illustrious names associated with the city which he governed, as well as the existence of a *scholasticus* among the cathedral personnel,³¹ continue to tempt scholars to associate the bishop with more enlightened activities.³²

Outside his diocese Hugh was involved in only three events of any significance that we know of. Towards the beginning of his episcopate he was responsible for the benediction of John of Ravenna as abbot of Fécamp.³³ The choice of Hugh to perform the ceremony, which allows for the beginning of his episcopate to be dated with some precision,³⁴ is certainly noteworthy. Robert, archbishop of Rouen, who would undoubtedly have performed this rite under normal circumstances, had recently been besieged by the duke at Évreux, and had subsequently fled into exile.³⁵ The banishment of such a powerful figure not only significantly weakened the duchy,³⁶ but also sent a worrying message to other members of the episcopate, a number of whom were related to the archbishop.³⁷ Perhaps the duke's actions had alienated these men, and temporarily unable to rely on their fidelity, he was forced to turn to the only member of the episcopate not connected in some way with the exiled pontiff. It was vital that the duke choose a man upon whom he could rely to perform the service, since the abbot of Fécamp was the head of one of the most important abbeys in Normandy, and the foundation itself lay at the heart of one of the traditional centres of

²⁸ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 195 and 210-211.

²⁹ Levalet, 'La cathédrale Saint-André', p. 122.

³⁰ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 213.

³¹ This was Robert, who later became *scholasticus* at Le Mans in 1030 × 1040, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 14.

³² Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', pp. 22-23.

³³ L. Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', *BSAN*, 54 (1957), pp. 584-598, at pp. 595-596.

³⁴ John was blessed as abbot in 1028. For his career, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 105-110.

³⁵ *GND*, ii, p. 48.

³⁶ For this period, see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 32-33.

³⁷ Three out of the six remaining bishops were related to the ducal line. Robert, archbishop of Rouen, was the son of Richard I; Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux, was the cousin of Richard II, while the author of *De libertate Beccensis* claimed that Herbert, bishop of Lisieux, was a *propinquus* of the duke, 'De libertate Beccensis monasterii', in *Three treatises from Bec on the nature of monastic life*, ed. G. Constable and trans. B. Smith (Toronto, 2008), pp. 136-167, at p. 138.

ducal power. In a period described by David Douglas as ‘approaching a crisis’,³⁸ the consecration not only helped the duke consolidate his authority, but was also perhaps the catalyst for the later relations between the abbey of Fécamp and the bishop of Avranches noted above. Hugh also became the first bishop of Avranches to leave the duchy, and in 1049 attended the famous papal council of Reims along with four of his episcopal colleagues.³⁹ Unlike some it appears he was not censured for uncanonical behaviour, although whether the movement of reform had any impact on his later activities is unknown.⁴⁰

Although Hugh’s episcopate is traditionally dated until 1060, his last securely datable appearance comes from a charter of 25 December 1054.⁴¹ According to the necrology of Mont-Saint-Michel, and a lost obituary of the cathedral, he died on 5 April.⁴² The editors of *Gallia Christiana* claimed he was buried in the cathedral of Avranches,⁴³ while a ground plan of the cathedral, which was copied by Émile-Auber Pigeon from drawings dating to 1786, show Hugh’s tomb next to those of the bishops Maugis and Michael in the building’s west end (fig. 14).⁴⁴ The most recent scholar to date his episcopate argues he could have passed away as early as 1055.⁴⁵ We know that his successor John became bishop in 1060, since he became archbishop of Rouen in September 1067, and Orderic Vitalis says he served as bishop of Avranches for seven years and three months before coming to the archiepiscopal see.⁴⁶ Perhaps the clearest evidence that the see was no longer occupied comes from an attempt made between 1058 and 1060 by the monks of Mont-Saint-Michel to claim exemption from episcopal control. Interpolating a charter of Richard II, the monks declared that they

³⁸ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 32.

³⁹ The primary source for the council is the ‘Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Remigii’, in Mansi, xix, cols. 727-745. A less accessible but critical edition (along with a French translation) can be found in ‘Anselme de Saint-Rémy: Histoire de la dédicace de Saint-Rémy’, ed. J. Hourlier, in *Contribution à l’année Saint-Benoît (480-1980): la Champagne bénédictine* (Reims, 1981), pp. 179-297, at p. 236.

⁴⁰ According to an interpolation by Orderic Vitalis into the work of William of Jumièges, Ivo of Sées was censured by the pope over the destruction of his cathedral (*GND*, ii, pp. 116-118), while the council proceedings record how Geoffrey of Coutances had to defend himself from accusations that his brother had purchased his bishopric for him, ‘Dedicatio sancti Remigii’, col. 741; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, ‘Histoire’, p. 248.

⁴¹ *RADN*, no. 133. He is also thought to have been among the attendees of the reforming council of 1055 (Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 47), while it is also possible he was present at the dedication of Coutances cathedral on 8 December 1056, ‘De statu’, col. 220; *RADN*, no. 214, p. 407.

⁴² *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 579; *GC*, xi, col. 475.

⁴³ *GC*, xi, col. 475.

⁴⁴ BM (Avranches), fonds Pigeon, ms. CP 9, fol. 105v.

⁴⁵ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 3.

⁴⁶ *OV*, ii, p. 200.

Fig. 14 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 14 The tombs of Maugis, Hugh and Michael, bishops of Avranches, marked (in yellow) in a plan of the cathedral, which was copied by Émile-Auber Pigeon from '*les dessins de M. Lefebvre, ingénieur en chef... de la généralité de Caen*' (dated to 1786)*

* BM (Avranches), fonds Pigeon, ms. CP 9, fol. 105v.

should have exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, that the right of correction over an abbot was the prerogative of the duke, rather than the bishop, and that they had the right to choose the bishop who would perform the ordination of the abbot, monks and clerks.⁴⁷ Had Hugh still been alive he would have undoubtedly resisted such a move, but it was only with the arrival of his successor that the situation was eventually resolved.⁴⁸ Perhaps the monks, who had long opposed ducal initiatives to select abbots for them, had hoped to take advantage of a see that had fallen vacant, and once again reclaim some of the authority they had enjoyed in the diocese during the vacancy of the tenth century.

⁴⁷ The charter is *RADN*, no. 49. For discussion, see J.-F. Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction ecclésiastique des abbayes normandes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1140* (Paris, 1937), Appendix VI, pp. 264-266.

⁴⁸ For discussion, see below pp. 66-67.

John of Ivry,¹ 1060-1067

John is the first bishop of Avranches for whom we have truly detailed information.² A member of one of the most prestigious families in the duchy, it was during his pontificate that the temporal possessions of the cathedral were properly recovered and organised. He led an attempt to regularise liturgical practices within the province as a whole, authoring the liturgical treatise known as *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, and was a trusted member of the ducal *curia*, who would later occupy the archiepiscopal seat from 1067 to 1079. Despite this, very little is known of John's early life. His father was Rodulf, the uterine brother of Duke Richard I, and also the count of Ivry.³ The patriarch of an important and powerful marcher family, Rodulf was '*sans doute le principal artisan laïc de la pacification du duché*'.⁴ At the beginning of the reign of Richard II he helped suppress a peasant rebellion that ravaged Normandy, and soon thereafter he quelled an uprising led by William I, count of Eu.⁵ He was actively involved in the religious revival of the late tenth century, which accompanied the consolidation of secular power by the descendants of Rollo, attending the foundation of the collegiate church at Fécamp in 990,⁶ and acting as a generous donor himself to the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen.⁷ He acted as an informer to Dudo of Saint-Quentin, whose history of the early Norman dukes helped define and confirm their permanent presence in the region,⁸ a role that John himself

¹ A note on John's toponym is necessary here. His contemporaries simply qualified him by reference to his episcopal or archiepiscopal seat. In those charters in which he appears before he accepted his first ecclesiastical post he is sometimes referred to as 'Iohannes de sancto Philiberto', his toponym originating from lands he held near the Risle (e.g. *Le cartulaire de l'abbaye bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux (1034-1227)*, ed. D. Rouet (Paris, 2005), no. A1, p. 8), or as 'Iohannes filius Rodulfi', which is self-explanatory. Modern historians have chosen various names. English historians tend to prefer John of Avranches, while many of their French counterparts refer to him as Jean d'Ivry, although they sometimes use 'd'Avranches' or 'de Saint-Philbert'. It is in deference to them, and for reasons of stylistic convenience, that I have chosen to refer to John as 'of Ivry'. Unfortunately, some scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century confusingly refer to John as 'of Bayeux' (e.g. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1849-1885), i, no. 304, p. 408), which originates from the incorrect identification by Orderic Vitalis of John's father, Rodulf, count of Ivry, as count of Bayeux. See D.C. Douglas, 'The ancestors of William fitz Osbern', *EHR*, 59 (1944), pp. 62-79, at pp. 71-72.

² This chapter, and that on John's career in Rouen, has recently been published as R. Allen, "'A proud and headstrong man": John of Ivry, bishop of Avranches and archbishop of Rouen, 1060-79', *Historical Research* (forthcoming; early view).

³ *GG*, i, 56, p. 91; *GND*, ii, p. 173; *OV*, ii, p. 200.

⁴ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 191-215, esp. pp. 197-209.

⁵ *GND*, ii, pp. 8-10.

⁶ *RADN*, no. 4.

⁷ *RADN*, no. 13.

⁸ Douglas, 'The ancestors of William fitz Osbern', pp. 69-71; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 61-75.

possibly later fulfilled with a major chronicler of his own time, William of Jumièges.⁹ John's mother was most likely Rodulf's second wife Albereda, about whom nothing of substance is known.¹⁰

His elder half-brother Hugh, the son of Rodulf and his first wife Eremberga, was bishop of Bayeux from c. 1011 to 1049. His career is discussed in full below. Rodulf, another brother, is known only from one subscription,¹¹ but a sister Emma was married to Osbern, the famous ducal steward, who was murdered in his bedchamber while acting as guardian to the young Duke William II. Their son was William fitzOsbern, later earl of Hereford, and arguably one of the most important and powerful men in the Anglo-Norman realm. Another son, Osbern, who would eventually become bishop of Exeter (1072-1103), was a priest in the chapel of Edward the Confessor.¹² Emma ended her days as abbess of Saint-Amand de Rouen,¹³ a house to which John, as archbishop, would later act as benefactor.¹⁴ John's other sister, whose name is lost to history, married Richard de Beaufou, whose own daughter eventually married Hugh de Montfort.¹⁵ John was therefore part of one of the more prestigious families of the duchy, the members of which dominated both secular and ecclesiastical life.

In spite of his high status, little is known of John's activities before he became bishop of Avranches. Upon his father's death it appears he inherited estates situated on the Risle near Saint-Philbert,¹⁶ which although important, were small in comparison with his brother Hugh's patrimony.¹⁷ Like his contemporaries John was

⁹ *GND*, i, pp. xlv-xlv.

¹⁰ David Douglas thought that Eremberga was the second wife of Rodulf and that it was with her that he had John (Douglas, 'The ancestors of William fitz Osbern', p. 71, n. 6), but Elisabeth van Houts has argued convincingly for Albereda, *GND*, ii, p. 175 n. 7.

¹¹ *RADN*, no. 13.

¹² *GND*, ii, p. 92; *OV*, iv, p. 82; William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 316. For his career, see *EEA*, xi, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

¹³ *RADN*, no. 116.

¹⁴ M.-J. Le Cacheux, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen, des origines à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Caen, 1937), no. 12, p. 251.

¹⁵ For more information on the Montforts, see H.E. Mayer, 'Ein unedierter Originalbrief aus dem Heiligen Land von 1164-5 und die Herren von Montfort-sur-Risle', *Deutsches Archiv*, 46 (1990), pp. 481-505.

¹⁶ Saint-Philbert-sur-Risle, Eure, cant. Montfort-sur-Risle.

¹⁷ *RADN*, no. 229. For discussion of this inheritance, see D. Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande. I. Hugues, évêque de Bayeux (1011 env.-1049). II. Herluin de Conteville et sa famille', *AN*, 23 (1973), pp. 7-38, at pp. 13-14; V. Gazeau, 'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux (c. 1011-1049)', in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 139-147; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 207-208.

actively involved in matters concerning his local religious institutions, acting as their patron. Sometime in c.1040 × 1060 he sold the land of Saint-Benoît within the forest of Vièvre to Saint-Pierre de Préaux for fifteen *livres*,¹⁸ and at an undetermined date Abbess Emma of Saint-Léger de Préaux bought ten tenements from John, although the scribe neglected to record the name of the lands in question.¹⁹ He also donated the church of Saint-Georges-du-Vièvre to the abbey of Bec,²⁰ a gift that he appears to have confirmed in 1065.²¹

It is also possible that John was at Fécamp in early 1035, when Duke Robert I (1027-1035) organised the government of the duchy in preparation for his departure on pilgrimage. Evidence for his presence at this important meeting, for which we only know the name of one attendee, is to be found in an act by which Peter, a monk of Fécamp, gave land to Saint-Pierre de Préaux before becoming a recluse, and which was witnessed by Duke Robert and various other dignitaries, including John. Despite corruptions contained in both the text of the act and the witness list that appear to indicate otherwise, Marie Faroux dated the charter 1034 × 1035, a conclusion adhered to by Cassandra Potts, who argued that the act is reflective of Humphrey of Vieilles' attempts to establish ties between his fledgling house at Préaux and the important monastery of Fécamp.²² Neither scholar posits a location for the act. A reassessment of the charter by Dominique Rouet suggests, however, that the body of the text and the witness list are actually unrelated. Instead, they are actually different parts of the *pancarte* of foundation for this house, which appeared together in this form in an older cartulary, now lost, which the scribe of the surviving thirteenth-century cartulary simply copied.²³ The donation of the monk Peter is actually one of the donations that was supposed to be listed in the *pancarte* and should in fact be dated

¹⁸ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, A1[15].

¹⁹ *Regesta*, no. 217.

²⁰ *Regesta*, no. 166.

²¹ BN, ms. lat. 12884, fol. 177v. For discussion, see A.-A. Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, 2 vols. (Évreux, 1901), i, p. 329 n. 3.

²² RADN, no. 88. The text refers to William as *rege Anglorum*, and makes an allusion to the foundation of Saint-Martin-du-Bosc, which did not occur until after 1059. The witness list is also corrupted with the *signa* of two archbishops of Rouen (Robert (989-1037) and Mauger (1037-1054/5)), two bishops of Lisieux (Herbert (c. 1026-c. 1046) and Hugh (1046 × 1047/8-1077)), who obviously could not have witnessed the act at the same time, and Humphrey of Vieilles and his sons, which can only be said to have been added sometime before 1050 and not after 1054. For discussion, C. Potts, *Monastic revival and regional identity in early Normandy* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 126-127.

²³ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, pp. lxxv-lxxvii. The *pancarte* of foundation is numbered A1 in Rouet's edition.

16 March 1078-1079. The only act in the *pancarte*—indeed the whole cartulary—which corresponds with the *signa* of Duke Robert is the second one in the text, by which he donated land at Toutainville to Préaux.²⁴ Rouet concludes that as Robert was unlikely to travel to Préaux, the act was probably drawn up at the meeting of magnates and prelates at Fécamp in January 1035, which is recorded by William of Jumièges.²⁵ Of the *signa* attached to the donation, those who could have witnessed were the young Conqueror, Robert, archbishop of Rouen, and Herbert, bishop of Lisieux. The *signa* of Mauger of Rouen, Hugh of Lisieux, and Humphrey of Veilles and his sons were all added later by different scribes,²⁶ while John's *signum* should be associated with his donation of the land of Saint-Benoît within the forest of Vièvre which he gave to the abbey between c. 1040-1060, and which is listed in the *pancarte*.²⁷

Since we lack an original of the *pancarte*, however, there is nothing to indicate that John's *signum* cannot be associated with the donation of Toutainville. With the first and only mention of his mother coming from a charter of 1011, and his father's last known donation dating from 1015-1017, we have both a *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* for his birth.²⁸ By 1035, therefore, John would have been a man between eighteen and twenty-five years of age, and with his father dead, the major local landowner (i.e. his estates on the Risle) closest to Préaux. His later donations to the houses of Préaux illustrate his interest in these particular foundations, and the use of his toponym in the donation of Saint-Benoît, which is not repeated in the *signa* with which it could be associated, is an inconsistency that could point to its association with the donation of Toutainville. Such evidence is slender, but his presence at Fécamp certainly tallies with his later role as a trusted member of the

²⁴ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, A1[2].

²⁵ William of Jumièges mentions the gathering of the prelates and barons of Normandy, which he associates with the duke's announcement concerning his intentions to go on pilgrimage, but he fails to provide a location, *GND*, ii, p. 80. The meeting might have taken place at the Christmas court held at Fécamp, or on 13 January 1035 when Robert's desire to go to Jerusalem was included in a charter for Montivilliers drawn up at Fécamp, *RADN*, no. 90. Dominique Rouet notes that the items the duke received from Humphrey in return for the land of Toutainville, namely two hauberks and two horses of great value, would have been ideal for a man about to embark on a voyage to the Holy Land, *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, p. lxxvii.

²⁶ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, pp. lxxviii- lxxix.

²⁷ D. Rouet, 'Acte A6 dans Le cartulaire de l'abbaye bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux (1034-1227)', pers. comm. (05.08.2005). For John's donation of Saint-Benoît, see *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, A1[15].

²⁸ *RADN*, no. 13 (Albereda), no. 21 (Rodulf).

ducal *curia*, whose duty it had become in 1035 to maintain order and protect the young William during his father's absence.

Little information survives about why John was chosen to fill the see of Avranches. His family was typical of the new aristocracy whose power rose in close association to the ducal line.²⁹ Yet the lands that John had inherited from his father were close to over ninety miles from Avranches, and it is doubtful that he had any dealings with the city prior to his arrival there. Nothing suggests that he lived in the region before becoming bishop. Scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries posited that John was a disciple of Lanfranc during his stay in Avranches.³⁰ Despite the two enjoying close relations in later life most modern scholars dismiss the suggestion.³¹ According to William of Poitiers, John did not take Holy Orders, but so great was the admiration roused by the religious life he led that the bishops of Normandy were anxious to have him as their colleague.³² Some have suggested, however, that John was reluctant to accept a bishopric that was far away from the decision-making centres, and which was eclipsed by Mont-Saint-Michel.³³ If he did harbour such sentiments, and there is no evidence to suggest that he did, they were not altogether misplaced. The influence of Mont-Saint-Michel over the region has been demonstrated in the preceding chapters. Its power and quasi-independent nature was one of the more serious problems facing Duke William in the years following his minority as he attempted to exert greater control over Lower Normandy. Since the late tenth century the monastery had been distinctly removed from Norman affairs, and even with increased ducal intervention there in the early eleventh century—donations, selection of abbots, etc.—the abbey continued to resist the centralising authority of the duke, often looking towards Brittany and Rennes rather than Normandy and Rouen for support.³⁴ The first two Norman bishops of Avranches

²⁹ For discussion see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 89-90.

³⁰ Lebréton, 'L'école d'Avranches', pp. 504, 506; Delamare, *De officiis*, p. ii.

³¹ M. Dosdat, 'Les évêques de la province de Rouen et la vie intellectuelle au XI^e siècle', in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 223-252, at p. 236 n. 63. Dosdat is incorrect, however, in her assertion that Charles Lebréton and René Delamare believed that a *scholasticus* named John, who appears in a charter of Mont-Saint-Michel, which she dates to 1058, should be identified as John of Ivry. Neither scholar makes this connection, while the charter actually comes from 1068, *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 73.

³² *GG*, i. 56, p. 91.

³³ *GC*, xi, col. 515; Dosdat, 'Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle', p. 237.

³⁴ Potts, *Monastic revival*, pp. 81-104; C. Potts, 'Normandy or Brittany? A conflict of interests at Mont-Saint-Michel, 966-1035', *ANS*, 12 (1990), pp. 135-156; Bouet, 'Le Mont-Saint-Michel', pp. 165-200.

seem to have been unable to impose themselves over the monastery, for as has been noted, one abandoned his episcopal charge to become a monk there, and the other unsuccessfully tried to do the same. While his predecessor appears to have been keen to cement links between the monasteries of Upper Normandy and his diocese, even he seems to have failed to control the abbey, for towards the end of his office it attempted to assign the right of correction over an abbot to the duke, rather than the bishop of Avranches.³⁵

John dealt with this problem almost immediately upon arriving in the diocese. In 1061 he fashioned an agreement with the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel that clearly defined a relationship between bishop and abbey in which he was the dominant partner.³⁶ He made the abbot his archdeacon, granting him jurisdiction over non-criminal cases, but reserving criminal cases and the degradation of the clergy for himself. The definition and imposition of the archidiaconal post is itself significant, for as we shall see below, John used the position regularly to help govern his diocese and extend his own effective authority. Moreover, as in English cases, the imposition of the archdeaconry on the abbot not only made him a useful ally, but also redefined the abbey's role in local and regional society, and emphasised cooperation between cathedral and monastery.³⁷ The arrangement also had some more tangible benefits. The monastery was also to provide vestments and items for the bishop, including three pounds of incense, the same of spice, six tablets of wax totalling nine pounds and three candles for the Purification of the Virgin Mary. Such details seem to suggest that the cathedral chapter was unable to produce such objects themselves, but this may simply have been designed to reinforce the abbey's new acquiescent relationship to the cathedral. The agreement also stipulated that the abbot, two canons and the priests must attend the episcopal synod twice a year, evidence that the diocese was capable—or that John felt it should be—of holding such meetings regularly. Moreover, on the fifth day of Pentecost the monks were to process to the cathedral

The monastery continued to exert an independent streak well into the twelfth century. For discussion see A. Dufief, 'La vie monastique au Mont Saint-Michel pendant le XII^e siècle (1085-1186)', in *Millénaire monastique*, i, pp. 81-101.

³⁵ This was interpolated into a charter of Richard II, *RADN*, no. 49. For discussion, see Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, Appendix VI, pp. 264-266.

³⁶ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, Appendix II, no. 5, pp. 195-196.

³⁷ For examples of this in England, see J. Sayers, 'Monastic archdeacons', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to C.R. Cheney*, ed. C.N.L. Brooke, D.E. Luscombe, G.H. Martin and D. Owen (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 177-203.

carrying with them the head of St. Aubert. This ceremony not only sought to alleviate tensions over the abbey's possession of his relics, but also reminded the abbots of Mont-Saint-Michel that their founder had been a bishop of Avranches. The bishop also reserved the right to fill any canonries should they fall vacant. It is not known whether the impetus for such an agreement lay with the duke or the bishop, but the agreement is indicative of keen administrative skills, something which John would display throughout his life. At least one scholar has argued that the agreement actually gave more power to the abbot than the bishop,³⁸ but this seems unlikely, for both Odo of Bayeux and William Bona Anima negotiated similar agreements with Saint-Étienne de Caen and Bec, respectively.³⁹

We can be certain, however, that John was not made bishop of Avranches simply to solve what was essentially a local ecclesiastical problem. His appointment was patently part of a much wider policy by which William attempted to consolidate his power in Lower Normandy. This had begun ecclesiastically when, in 1049, William gave the bishopric of Bayeux to his half-brother Odo, and that of Coutances to the warlike Geoffrey of Montbray. Like Avranches, both dioceses had suffered during the Northmen incursions, yet by the mid-1050s restructuring was being energetically pursued as temporal possessions were regained, cathedrals constructed, and the foundations laid for episcopal schools.⁴⁰ By the beginning of the 1060s, Duke William had also begun to develop Caen as a centre of ducal power, and the founding of the twin monasteries of Saint-Étienne and La Trinité, with Lanfranc as abbot of the former, gave the town both political and ecclesiastical might. John's appointment therefore placed him at the head of one of a growing network of towns and cities throughout Lower Normandy through which the duke was able to exert greater control over the region. Having negotiated his settlement with Mont-Saint-Michel, John, like the bishops of Bayeux and Coutances, began the restructuring of his diocese. He soon

³⁸ D. Spear, 'The Norman episcopate under Henry I, king of England and duke of Normandy (1106-1135)', Thesis, PhD (University of California, Santa Barbara, 1982), p. 35. Sally Vaughn, in her study of the abbey of Bec, also seems to suggest, although not quite as forcefully as Spear, that the agreement did more to benefit the abbey than the bishop, Vaughn, *The abbey of Bec*, p. 38.

³⁹ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 17-18 (William) and *Regesta*, no. 52 (Odo). Critical editions of these charters can be found below in Appendix G.

⁴⁰ J. Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray, bishop of Coutances, 1049-1093', *EHR*, 59 (1944), pp. 134-143; D. Bates, 'The character and career of Odo, bishop of Bayeux (1049/50-1097)', *Speculum*, 50 (1975), pp. 1-20, at pp. 5-6. For further discussion, see the chapters on Odo and Geoffrey below, pp. 120-160 and 176-203.

drew up a *pancarte* of the cathedral's possessions,⁴¹ a document that bears a striking resemblance to the charter issued after 8 December 1056 to confirm the possessions of the cathedral of Coutances.⁴² He also contributed Saint-Philbert and Le Parc to the network of episcopal castles and manors that crisscrossed the duchy, which themselves helped manifest his power as much as that of the duke,⁴³ while according to his *pancarte* he secured diverse parcels of land along the banks of the Limon from Baldwin, son of Gilbert count of Brionne, and a previously unidentified donation from the duke of the tithes of the tonlieu of the Mayenne.⁴⁴ John's experience as a member of one of the most important frontier families of the duchy must surely have also played a role in the duke's decision to place him at the head of this frontier diocese, which in turn helped to define the duchy's western boundaries and bring added coherence to the Norman political state.

John also contributed to cathedral holdings and made numerous donations from his own honours on the Risle. The bishop presented half the land of Vièvre to his cathedral on condition that as long as he lived it should remain in his power.⁴⁵ This condition was apparently observed, as John retired to Saint-Philbert (which was within Vièvre) two months before his death.⁴⁶ The donation was not without its

⁴¹ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, pp. 666-668. A critical edition of this charter can be found below in Appendix G.

⁴² *Le cartulaire du chapitre cathédral de Coutances. Etude et édition critique*, ed. J. Fontanel (Saint-Lô, 2003), no. 340; J. Fontanel, 'La réorganisation religieuse sous Guillaume le Conquérant: le cas de l'église de Coutances', *Revue de l'Avranchin et du Pays de Granville*, 77 (2000), pp. 189-208, at pp. 189-192.

⁴³ M. Casset, 'Les stratégies d'implantation des châteaux et manoirs des évêques normands au Moyen Âge (XIe-XVe siècle)', in *Les lieux de pouvoir au Moyen Âge en Normandie et sur ses marges*, ed. A.-M. Flambard-Hérichier (Caen, 2006), pp. 37-51, esp. pp. 48-50; M. Casset, *Les évêques aux champs: châteaux et manoirs des évêques normands au Moyen Âge (XIe-XVe siècles)* (Caen, 2008), pp. 335-344, 451-462.

⁴⁴ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, p. 668. The Mayenne donation is previously unknown because Pigeon printed the relevant section as follows: 'Dedit etiam Guillelmus princeps decimam telonei et meduanae et transitus et minagii prece Ioannis episcopi ecclesiae Abrincensis'. It should actually read 'Dedit etiam Guillelmus princeps decimam telonei Meduanae et transitus...'. Pigeon's mistake, which was reprinted by Fauroux (*RADN*, p. 27 n. 37), is the result of interpreting a pen mark before the word *Meduanae* as 'et', and not capitalising the word that follows it. Although Charles Guérin, the seventeenth-century canon responsible for the only surviving manuscript copy of the *pancarte*, is often an unreliable scribe, he is consistent in two respects. Firstly, he always abbreviates 'et' with an easily distinguishable '&', and secondly, he always distinguishes place and personal names from his extremely untidy cursive hand by writing the names in a non-cursive script without capitalising the first letter. Not only is the pen mark previously interpreted as 'et' not a clear '&' (it looks more like the first minim of an 'm' aborted halfway through), but the word *Meduanae* is also written in a non-cursive script, BM (Avranches), fonds Pigeon, ms. 45, p. 453. A critical edition can be found in Appendix G. See also, Allen, 'Un évêque et sa ville', pp. 3-5.

⁴⁵ *RADN*, no. 229.

⁴⁶ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 226.

problems, however. The charter states that before the witnesses could put down their signatures, John's nephew, Robert de Beaufou, claimed that he had received the land as his inheritance.⁴⁷ Robert's claim was considered and only dropped once John had offered a payment of ten *livres* and the service of five of his knights who, after his death, would remain in Saint-Philbert, and hold their lands in fief (*in fevio tenerent*) of the bishop of Avranches. The allusion to these knights is the first textual reference to the five knights of the bishops of Avranches in the honour of Saint-Philbert, a *servitia debita* that was still in existence when Henry II (1154-1189) conducted his famous inquest of 1172.⁴⁸ Part of the land of Vièvre eventually end up with Robert who, at the end of the eleventh century, or beginning of the twelfth, granted it to the abbey of Bec.⁴⁹ Furthermore, unable to pass on any patrimonial inheritance because of his position as bishop, John was made to grant part of Vièvre to a certain viscount called Hugh, who would inherit the land after the bishop's death. Véronique Gazeau has identified this individual as none other than Robert de Beaufou's brother-in-law, Hugh de Montfort (d. 1088).⁵⁰ Despite these difficulties, his patrimonial donations ensured his memory at the cathedral, for he was still honoured as the donor of Saint-Philbert over a century-and-a-half later.⁵¹

The nature of John's appearances in the diplomatic evidence also hints at a role focused on advice and administration. In 1061, he joined William, Archbishop Maurilius, Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, and various other dignitaries at Rouen in attesting a charter that gave the mill at Vains to Mont-Saint-Michel,⁵² and on a 22 September between 1063 and 1066, he was once again with William, this time at the castle of Domfront.⁵³ Here he took part in a lawsuit in which the monks of Marmoutier and the

⁴⁷ *RADN*, no. 229.

⁴⁸ 'Episcopus Abrincensis debet servicium v militum de Abrincensi, et de honore Sancti Philiberti v milites', 'Scripta de feudis ad regem spectantibus et de militibus ad exercitum vocandis', *RHGF*, xxiii, col. 693; C. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, MA, 1918), pp. 8, 18-19. The debate over the establishment of knight service in England and Normandy is long and complex. The standard work is J.H. Round, 'The introduction of knight service into England', *EHR*, 6 (1891), pp. 417-443, 625-645. Recent revaluation of this study has been conducted by J. Gillingham, 'The introduction of knight service into England', *ANS*, 4 (1982), pp. 53-64 and J. Holt, 'The introduction of knight service into England', *ANS*, 6 (1984) pp. 89-106.

⁴⁹ BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 83v.

⁵⁰ Gazeau, 'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux', pp. 144-145.

⁵¹ 'Ita que in anniversario felicis memorie Iohannis quondam Abrincensi episcopi qui dedit manerium sancti Philiberti ecclesie Abrincensi percipient xx solidos Turensis', BM (Avranches) ms. 206, fol. 10v.

⁵² *RADN*, no. 148.

⁵³ *RADN*, no. 159.

monks of Saint-Pierre de la Couture disputed who rightfully owned a ‘borough’ near the castle of Laval in Maine. Although we cannot state with any certainty what role John may have played at this hearing, he was one of only two of the six Norman suffragans present, the other being Odo of Bayeux. The dioceses of both bishops bordered the county of Maine, although whether this necessitated their presence is hard to say. At least one scholar believes they were present because ‘they could be trusted to know local custom’,⁵⁴ and we can certainly see John advising William on matters in the county later in his career.⁵⁵ He was also involved in the affairs of the other principality bordering his diocese, and along with Robert, count of Mortain, he commanded and approved (*imperante et concedente*) the donation of the church of La Bazoge⁵⁶ to the abbey of Saint-Sauveur de Redon, in Brittany.⁵⁷ Sometime in 1066 he was possibly at Bayeux, ‘in camera Guillelmi ducis’, to witness a donation to the abbey of Beaumont-lès-Tours,⁵⁸ while early in the same year he was summoned by the duke, along with other laymen and ecclesiastics of the duchy, to discuss the invasion of England.⁵⁹ It was also in this year that he witnessed a charter granted in Rouen by Robert Curthose.⁶⁰

Although it appears John was not often in his diocese he remained an active churchman. On 1 October 1063 he was present at the dedication of the newly completed cathedral of Rouen;⁶¹ in 1064 he attended Archbishop Maurilius’ council at Lisieux;⁶² on 18 June 1066 he was present at the dedication of Holy Trinity, Caen,⁶³ and one of his final public acts as bishop was attending the dedication of the abbey of Jumièges on 1 July 1067 with the king-duke William, Archbishop Maurilius and the

⁵⁴ R. Barton, *Lordship in the county of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 217. For further discussion, see Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, pp. 48 and n. 34, 149 n. 49, 199, 201, 215.

⁵⁵ ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 225.

⁵⁶ La Bazoge, Manche, cant. Juvigny-le-Tertre.

⁵⁷ *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Redon en Bretagne*, ed. A. de Courson (Paris, 1863), no. cccxxvi.

⁵⁸ *RADN*, no. 227. John actually appears in the act as ‘Ioanne archiepiscopo’, but Marie Fauroux speculated that the scribe, working after 1066, ‘peut-être... changé son titre d’évêque en celui d’archevêque’.

⁵⁹ It is Orderic who lists him as among those present, *OV*, ii, pp. 140-142. The monk of Saint-Évroult was apparently working from William of Poitiers, but he does not mention John’s presence, *GG*, ii. 1, p. 100.

⁶⁰ *RADN*, no. 228.

⁶¹ ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224.

⁶² L. Delisle, ‘Canons du concile tenu à Lisieux en 1064’, *Journal de Savants* (1901), pp. 516-521. John is not named personally, although it is likely he was among the ‘ceteris suffraganeis episcopis’ present at the council.

⁶³ *RADN*, nos. 229, 231; *Les actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises*, ed. L. Musset (Caen, 1967), no. 2; *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, col. 59.

other suffragans of Normandy.⁶⁴ The great anomaly of his episcopate is that, unlike neighbouring bishops, he appears to have carried out no major building work on his cathedral, despite his predecessors completing substantial parts of the edifice. Indeed, building work was so slow that the cathedral was not consecrated until 17 September 1121,⁶⁵ although such a great length of time between foundation and consecration was not unusual for the region.⁶⁶

Of course, John's most famous contribution as bishop was his liturgical treatise *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, which he authored at an unknown date during his episcopate. While some have seen this work as nothing more than an extension of John's love for the ostentation of his office,⁶⁷ according to the opening of the treatise he did hope that it would first be used to reform the diocese of Rouen, and then for use on his own church.⁶⁸ Even the impact of the work, traditionally viewed as extremely limited,⁶⁹ has recently been reassessed, and in a little acknowledged study a convincing argument has been made for its influential place in the liturgical history of Normandy and Europe.⁷⁰ The treatise itself was dedicated to Maurilius, the elderly archbishop of Rouen.⁷¹ As René Delamare showed, the model for the text was provided by the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and *Eclogae de officio missae* of Amalarius, one of the greatest liturgists of the ninth century.⁷² Other sources included the Councils of Carthage, Laodicea and Toledo, the decrees of many popes, and the writings of SS. Augustine and Bede, Chrodegang and Isidore of Seville.⁷³ With the consultation of such a large number of works it would be tempting to suggest that John had perhaps established a *scriptorium*, or at the very least a library, at his cathedral. But since there is no known

⁶⁴ *GND*, ii, p. 172; *OV*, ii, p. 198.

⁶⁵ *GC*, xi, col. 467.

⁶⁶ The abbey of Lessay, in the neighbouring diocese of Coutances, was founded in 1056 but not consecrated until 1178, R. Herval, 'L'Abbaye de Lessay', in *La Normandie bénédictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquérant (XIe siècle)* (Lille, 1967), pp. 287-303, at p. 299.

⁶⁷ Dosdat, 'Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle', p. 237.

⁶⁸ 'Quod, si utile et ratum tua auctoritate censetur, postquam de metropolitan a sede distillare viderimus, canonum statuta sequentes, nostrae propinare curabimus Ecclesiae'; Delamare, *De officiis*, p. 4.

⁶⁹ Delamare, *De officiis*, p. xlvi; J. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Vienna, 1949), i, p. 131.

⁷⁰ For much of what follows see R.J. Zawilla, 'The *Sententia Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi de divinis officiis*, the 'Norman School', and liturgical scholarship: study and edition', *Mediaeval Studies*, 49 (1987), pp. 124-151.

⁷¹ Delamare, *De officiis*, p. 3.

⁷² A comparison of the liturgies of John of Avranches and Amalarius can be found in Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. xxxviii-xli.

⁷³ Delamare, *De officiis*, p. xliii.

reference to a *scholasticus* for the chapter of Avranches between 1030 × 1040 and 1072,⁷⁴ it is more likely that John used the library of Mont-Saint-Michel, which had copies of many of the works in question.⁷⁵

Nevertheless, while these texts were used extensively as templates, John's treatise contains original details of many local traditions, which makes the work an invaluable guide to Norman practices as they were, or as he perceived they should be.⁷⁶ This in itself often means the work is not completely in concordance with the concerns of reform-minded Church leaders. John's decision to include the celebration of the Feast of the Trinity and All Souls Day, for example, was at that time not recognised by Rome, and the celebration of many feasts with octaves, a practice that shocked Roman liturgists, was accepted by John.⁷⁷ The bishop also presaged Rome in his use of hymns for feasts and fasts, a practice not condoned by the papacy until the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-1085), and in the use of the daily office of the dead, which did not become an essential part of the office for many centuries.⁷⁸ The work also records details of many extinct practices: the kissing by the priest of the deacon and sub-deacon after the confession; the kissing of the altar and Gospels during the singing of the *Kyrie*; and the singing on feast days of the *graduel* or alleluia by the cantors from the pulpit.⁷⁹

Despite the obvious interest of the *De officiis* to modern scholars, the majority have dismissed its overall importance and impact. Delamare believed that not only was the treatise not detailed enough to be a really satisfactory textbook, requiring an attempt by Archbishop Maurilius to improve upon it, but that all the evidence suggests that John's liturgy never became widely known in either Normandy or Europe.⁸⁰ He assumed that, given the scarcity of manuscripts of *De officiis*,⁸¹ it was

⁷⁴ The last occupant of the post before John's episcopate was Robert I, who later became *scholasticus* at Le Mans, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 14.

⁷⁵ For a catalogue of manuscripts at Mont-Saint-Michel, see Alexander, *Norman illumination*, Appendix II, pp. 214-232.

⁷⁶ Delamare, *De officiis*, p. 4.

⁷⁷ Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. 45, 47, 48.

⁷⁸ Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. 19, 20-21, 30-38, 47.

⁷⁹ Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. 9, 11, 14.

⁸⁰ Extracts of Maurilius' treatise, with commentary, can be found in Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. xlvi-lvii.

⁸¹ For discussion of the various manuscripts, lost and extant, of *De officiis*, see Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. xxxi-xxxviii.

little known in the duchy and it had no impact outside its borders.⁸² With Delamare providing the only comprehensive analysis of the treatise, it is no surprise that many scholars have followed his conclusions.⁸³ However, an examination by Ronald Zawilla of a text usually attributed to Ivo of Chartres (1090-1117), the *Sententia Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi de divinis officiis*,⁸⁴ has shown that this liturgical commentary is not an original work, but is in fact based on John's *De officiis* and the *Liber de divinis officiis (LDO)* of pseudo-Alcuin.⁸⁵ Zawilla also identified an anonymous epitome of the treatise, the *Quia quatuor elementis*, often attributed to Odo of Soissons, which is to be found in nine manuscripts throughout Europe, providing convincing evidence that *De officiis* was disseminated to a far greater extent than originally thought.⁸⁶ This, and the suggestion that it was perhaps John who, using the criticisms he had received from Maurilius, revised his own work, has done a great deal to improve both his and the treatise's place within the history of liturgical scholarship.⁸⁷

Whether his liturgical efforts commended him to his contemporaries is difficult to ascertain. Although he was the only Norman bishop of the eleventh century to produce such a work, it apparently did little to influence Duke William's choice for archbishop when Rouen fell vacant in August 1067. The king-duke first asked Lanfranc to fill the position, but he declined on the grounds of humility.⁸⁸ The abbot of Caen then recommended John as a worthy prelate, and with William consenting, he was translated from his see to become the new archbishop.⁸⁹ A translation of this sort canonically required papal sanction. Lanfranc was promptly despatched to Rome to gain the pontiff's approval. He returned with a letter urging John to accept the

⁸² Delamare, *De officiis*, p. xlv. It seems John gave a copy to the cathedral of Rouen, where he was later archbishop, but unfortunately the manuscript is no longer extant. It is listed in a catalogue of the cathedral library, which was drawn up during the early twelfth century during the episcopate of Archbishop Geoffrey Brito (1111-1128) and inserted into the manuscript known as the *Livre d'ivoire*. The manuscript is listed as 'Brevarium Iohannis archiepiscopi de communi servicio ecclesiae', BM (Rouen), ms. Y 27 Omont 1405, p. 128.

⁸³ See, for example, Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, i, p. 131; Dosdat, 'Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle', p. 239.

⁸⁴ Zawilla, 'The *Sententia Ivonis*', pp. 124-151.

⁸⁵ Migne, *PL*, ci, cols. 1173-1286.

⁸⁶ Zawilla, 'The *Sententia Ivonis*', pp. 134-136.

⁸⁷ Zawilla, 'The *Sententia Ivonis*', pp. 136-137.

⁸⁸ *OV*, ii, p. 200; 'Vita Lanfranci', p. 682. Lanfranc may have genuinely refused the appointment on grounds of humility, but it is more likely an indication that William already intended him for Canterbury, *OV*, ii, p. 200 n. 1; Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: scholar*, p. 38.

⁸⁹ *OV*, ii, p. 200.

archiepiscopate,⁹⁰ and by December 1067 the bishop of Avranches had assumed his new duties at Rouen.⁹¹

⁹⁰ *OV*, ii, p. 200; ‘Vita Lanfranci’, p. 682.

⁹¹ E. Vacandard, ‘Un essai d’histoire des archevêques de Rouen au XIe siècle’, *Revue catholique de Normandie*, 3 (1893), pp. 117-127, at p. 117 n. 1.

Michael, c. 1068-1094

It is probable that Lanfranc also played a role in the nomination of Michael, who became bishop of Avranches in around 1068.¹ An Italian by birth, he was one of a number of churchmen from south of the Alps to make Normandy his home in the eleventh century. Indeed, some of the most famous names in the duchy's ecclesiastical history were Italian, including William of Volpiano, Lanfranc, John of Ravenna, abbot of Fécamp, Suppo of Fruttuaria, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, and St. Anselm. Unfortunately, despite a lengthy episcopate, we know very little of Michael. Before ascending to the episcopal seat he was a chaplain of William II, although his only known appearance in this capacity is in a diploma issued by William at Winchester on 11 May 1068.² While some have questioned the authenticity of this document, and the complex dating clause suggests that the grant and charter were made at different times, there seems little reason to doubt that Michael was present at either one or both of these occasions.³ As such, he is the first bishop of Avranches who can be located outside northern France at any point during his life. His appointment illustrates the duke's desire to select men with adequate ecclesiastical training for the episcopate,⁴ rather than simply those with close relations to the ducal line, while the choice of diocese suggests he must have had experience in Normandy, and perhaps even with the city he was now to govern. Indeed, he may have been attracted to the region—like his fellow Italians before him—by the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel and the intellectual centre it offered.⁵ According to Orderic Vitalis he was 'a man of considerable learning and piety' (*eruditione litterarum imbutus*) who remained a model bishop throughout his pontificate. Interestingly, Orderic takes the time to stress that his promotion to the seat was lawful, although the statement is probably formulaic, rather than an indication that there had been some sort of a problem with his investiture.⁶

¹ Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 23.

² *Regesta*, no. 181. For discussion of the ducal chaplaincy as a route to the episcopate, see L. Musset, 'Une voie privilégiée d'accès à l'épiscopat dans le monde anglo-normand: la chapelle du duc-roi (v. 1050-v. 1150)', in *L'évêque dans l'histoire de l'Église: actes de la Septième Rencontre d'histoire religieuse tenue à Fontevraud les 14 et 15 octobre 1983* (Angers, 1984), pp. 51-62.

³ For discussion of this charter, see *Regesta*, no. 181, pp. 595-596.

⁴ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 211.

⁵ Desroches certainly makes such a connection, but without reference, Desroches, 'Annales religieuses', i, p. 421. For the 'school' of Avranches, see above pp. 55-56.

⁶ *OV*, ii, p. 200. Orderic does not, however, give any indication that Michael received a full canonical election.

Although Michael is almost absent from the narrative sources, he appears far more frequently in the diplomatic record than both his predecessors and his successor. Perhaps what is most striking about these occurrences is how few of them are concerned with institutions within his diocese. Of the twenty-one *acta* in which he appears seven concern foundations in Upper Normandy,⁷ eight those of Lower Normandy,⁸ of which only one is in his diocese,⁹ while six involve establishments outside the duchy.¹⁰ Surprisingly, there are no charters for Mont-Saint-Michel, and of the five acts in this abbey's cartulary in which Michael's name appears, only three suggest the active involvement of the bishop in the donation.¹¹ Of course, Michael was not totally uninvolved with affairs in his diocese. In autumn 1082, he gave his confirmation (*confirmatio*) to the foundation of the collegiate church of Saint-Évroult de Mortain, and secured in return from Robert, count of Mortain (c. 1055-1095), the protection of certain hunting and hawking tithes in the Forêt de Lande-Pourrie, as well as the right to take one stag there annually.¹² While such tithes would have brought important revenues to his cathedral and any bishop would have sought to have them protected, their nature perhaps suggests that Michael was more like many other Norman members of the episcopate, a number of whom enjoyed hunting, and less like those of Italian origin, such as Lanfranc, with whom he is traditionally compared.¹³ Indeed, as a former ducal chaplain, Michael would have been exposed daily to the behaviour of his fellow chaplains, whose nicolaitan and nepotistic practices led to the formation of '*une sorte d'oligarchie cléricale*' within the Norman Church.¹⁴ In agreeing to the foundation, however, Michael looked also to ecclesiastical matters, and secured the attendance at his diocesan synods of two canons from the collegiate church, which suggests that his cathedral was now capable of hosting such events, as well as the requirement that the chaplain of Saint-Évroult take the chrism to Avranches.

⁷ *Regesta*, nos. 30, 217, 230, 237, 261, 281 (I & II), 284, 257.

⁸ *Regesta*, nos. 49, 53, 54, 57, 59 (I & II), 64 (I & II), 175 (I & II), 212.

⁹ *Regesta*, no. 215.

¹⁰ *Regesta*, nos. 82, 199, 200, 201, 205 (I & II), 252.

¹¹ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, nos. 42 (name used as dating parameter), 50, 61 (name used as dating parameter), 73, 90.

¹² *Regesta*, no. 215. The Forêt de Lande-Pourrie is to the east of Mortain.

¹³ Geoffrey of Montbray, bishop of Coutances, and Odo, bishop of Bayeux both reserved space outside their cities for hunting. For discussion, F. Neveux, 'Les évêques et les villes de Normandie', in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 205-220, at pp. 212-213.

¹⁴ L. Musset, 'La formation d'un milieu social original: les chapelains normands du duc-roi au XI^e et au début du XII^e siècle', in *Aspects de la société et l'économie dans la Normandie médiévale, Xe-XIII^e siècles*, *Cahier des Annales de Normandie*, 22 (1988), pp. 91-114, at p. 113.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1066 (?)*	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 73	Mont-Saint-Michel				x
1068 × 1076	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 212	Montivilliers		x	x	
1068 × 1077/78 or 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 199	Marmoutier			x	
1068 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 284	Troarn			x	
1070 or possibly 1068 × 1070	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 237	Saint-Amand		x		
1070 × 1072 or 1070 × 1075	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 82	St. Augustine's, Canterbury			x	
1071 × 1081	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 90	Mont-Saint-Michel		x		
1071	<i>Nouveau traité de diplomatique</i> , i, pp. 375-376	Saint-Denis	Rouen		x	x
May 1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 261	Saint-Wandrille	Rouen		x	
1077 × 1078 or 1080 × 1081	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 217	Préaux			x	
1078 × 1085	BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 60v	Bec		x	x	x
1079 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 57	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 257	Fécamp		x		x
2 June 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 30	Bernay		x		
14 July 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175 (I & II)	Lessay	Bonneville-sur-Touques		x	
27 December 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 200	Marmoutier	Cherbourg			x
27 December 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 201	Marmoutier				x
1080 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 281 (I & II)	Troarn			x	
1080/1 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 53	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		
1081 × 1082, but perh. 1081 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 49	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1081 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 54	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1082	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , col. 107	Saint-Pierre-de-la-Couture	Avranches			x
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215	Saint-Évroult of Mortain			x	x
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 59 (I & II)	La Trinité de Caen			x	
24 June 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 205 (I & II)	Marmoutier	Oissel		x	
April 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 230	Rouen cathedral	Fécamp	x		
18 July 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 64 (I & II)	La Trinité de Caen			x	
9 January 1084	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 252	Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire			x	
1085 × 1094	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 50	Mont-Saint-Michel				x
1086	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 42	Mont-Saint-Michel				x
20 July × 9 Sept. 1089	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r-v	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1090	Pigeon, <i>Le diocèse d'Avranches</i> , ii, pp. 674-676	Priory (Saint-James) de Sacey	Sacey (<i>in claustrum</i>)			x
1091	BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 57v	Avranches cathedral	Rouen			x
Jan. 1093	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , col. 223	Coutances cathedral	(Coutances)	x		

Fig. 17 Appearances of Michael, bishop of Avranches (c. 1068-1094), in the diplomatic record

* This charter is dated 1066, but the donation must have occurred after this date since it was made with Michael's 'council and encouragement' (*consilio et exhortatione*), *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 73. The bishop appears in two other charters that are dated outside his episcopate, *RADN*, no. 222 and *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 61. The first is probably a later interpolation, the latter a scribal error.

Michael was also involved in the foundation of three priories within his diocese.¹⁵ On 24 June 1082, he was present at Oissel when the church of Notre-Dame de Mortain was given to the abbey of Marmoutier and subsequently turned into a priory.¹⁶ Just under two years later, on 9 January 1084, the bishop gave his approval ‘legally and justly’ (*iuste et legaliter consentit*)¹⁷ to the foundation of the priory of Saint-Hilaire du Harcouët,¹⁸ although it is unclear whether he was responsible for the church’s dedication, as is sometimes stated.¹⁹ Finally, around a decade later, and standing in the building’s cloister (*in claustro s. Jacobi*), Michael confirmed the foundation of the priory of Saint-James de Sacey.²⁰ The bishop also looked to the holdings and state of his cathedral. In 1091, he secured the land of Vièvre (a donation originally made by his predecessor) for his cathedral,²¹ paying William de Breteuil 100 *livres* in Rouen money for the donation,²² while it was with his ‘counsel and encouragement’ (*consilio et exhortatione*) that William fitzWimund, a tenant of Avranches cathedral, donated to Mont-Saint-Michel the whole tithes of all his vavassors and himself at Le Luot sometime towards the beginning of Michael’s episcopate.²³ It was also during his pontificate that the cathedral chapter began to have its first dignitaries. Although it has been noted above that personnel may have existed at the cathedral since the early eleventh century, there is unfortunately no record of their identity. The chapter was apparently starved of personnel even under Bishop John, since in 1061 he made the abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel his archdeacon, an act that sought to limit the monastery’s influence as much as solve an administrative shortfall.²⁴ Under Michael there were two archdeacons (Peter and Gislebert), a *scholasticus* (John), a *prepositus* (Osbern),²⁵ and five canons (Bernard,

¹⁵ For a brief history of these priories, see Pigeon, *Le diocèse d’Avranches*, i, pp. 142-144.

¹⁶ *Regesta*, no. 205. Mortain, Manche, cant. Mortain. For discussion, see Desroches, ‘Annales religieuses’, iii, pp. 342-343, at p. 342.

¹⁷ *Regesta*, no. 252.

¹⁸ Saint-Hilaire du Harcouët, Manche, chef-lieu.

¹⁹ The statement that Michael dedicated the church is that of Desroches (‘Annales religieuses’, iii, p. 349). He seems to have been working from the document that is now *Regesta*, no. 252, but this text makes no mention of the dedication. Of course, it is not impossible that Desroches had access to other documents concerning the prior that have since been lost.

²⁰ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d’Avranches*, ii, pp. 674-676, at p. 675. Sacey, Manche, cant. Pontorson.

²¹ For discussion of this donation by Bishop John of Ivry, see above pp. 68-69.

²² Pigeon, *Le diocèse d’Avranches*, ii, pp. 661. A critical edition can be found in Appendix G.

²³ The act is dated 1066, but this must be a scribal error, considering Michael’s explicit involvement in the donation, *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 73.

²⁴ For discussion of this agreement, see above pp. 66-67.

²⁵ This member of the bishop’s household was unknown to David Spear. He witnessed an agreement made between Michael and Anselm, abbot of Bec, in 1078 × 1093, BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 60v. A critical edition can be found in Appendix G.

Ernesy of Verdun, Garner, Gauslin and Serlo). The bishop obviously did not struggle to find men who were of a high quality and highly capable, for one of them (the canon Serlo) would later become abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester.²⁶ Moreover, when the archdeacon Gislebert confirmed the donation of the church of Vezins²⁷ to Saint-Pierre-de-la-Couture in 1082, he gave his consent (*assensu*) to the act independently of the bishop, which is the first evidence of a bishop of Avranches working closely with one of his archdeacons.²⁸

Though if Michael was involved in the affairs of his diocese, he was equally concerned with matters on a wider level. In 1071, he was among three Norman bishops to witness a *concordia* between the abbot of Saint-Denis and John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen, which stated that the archbishop would hand over to the monastery several churches in the Vexin.²⁹ He was also frequently involved with institutions in the archdiocese of Tours, witnessing four royal charters that concerned the abbey of Marmoutier,³⁰ and giving his approval to the donation to Saint-Pierre-de-la-Couture of the church of Vezins, noted above. Moreover, each of the three priories that the bishop helped establish in his diocese belonged to an institution in the archdiocese of Tours, with those of Saint-Marie du Rocher and Saint-James de Sacey being dependants of Marmoutier, and that of Saint-Hilaire du Harcouët being a dependant of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire.³¹ Of course, there is little unusual in enriching institutions in a neighbouring principality, and the dukes of Normandy had been making donations to the abbey of Marmoutier since the early eleventh century.³² However, the frequency with which such acts were occurring by the second half of the eleventh century illustrates the important role that Michael played in extending

²⁶ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 6-28.

²⁷ Vezins, Manche, cant. Isigny-le-Buat.

²⁸ 'Hanc etiam donationem a supradictis militibus sanctam [*leg. factam*] Michaël episcopus Abrincensis, de assensu Gisleberti archidiaconi sui Abrincis in ecclesia beati Andreae anno ab incarnatione mxxxii approbavit, et auctoritate sua confirmavit', *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, col. 107. This statement also suggests that Gislebert was responsible for what would later be the archdeaconry of Mortain.

²⁹ *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, ed. C.-F. Toustain *et al.*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1750-1765), pp. 375-376. The other bishops were Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux, and Gilbert, son of Osbern, bishop of Évreux. A critical edition of the act can be found in Appendix G.

³⁰ *Regesta*, nos. 199, 200, 201, 205 (I & II).

³¹ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, i, pp. 142-144.

³² The first donation was made in 1013 × 1020 by Richard II, and conceded to the abbey certain domains in the Cotentin, *RADN*, no. 23. William II enjoyed a close relationship with Marmoutier, which provided monks for his new abbey at Battle, as did his half-brother, Robert de Mortain, whose own wife was buried with the assistance of a Marmoutier monk. For these, and further examples of Norman interaction with the abbey, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i, pp. 221-222.

Norman influence, while also further integrating the principality within the European ecclesiastical network.

Michael was also involved in affairs of wider significance to the duchy. Indeed, he appears to have even helped govern it alongside the duchess Mathilda during the duke's absence. He was present at Bayeux, for example, when an agreement was made before the queen between the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel and William Paynel, and is the first person recorded as witness to the agreement.³³ He was also with Mathilda and Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, at the royal residence in Cherbourg on 27 December 1080, where he helped force Robert Bertran to recognise the customs held by the abbey of Marmoutier at Héauville.³⁴ Interestingly, this is not the only occasion when the bishops of Avranches and Lisieux are the only representatives of the suffragan episcopate at an event. They also appear together in 1082 at the foundation of the priory of Saint-Marie du Rocher, and again on 9 January 1084 at that of the priory of Saint-Hilaire du Harcouët.³⁵ The two men would have undoubtedly known each other well, since both were former ducal chaplains, while Michael had consecrated Gilbert as bishop of Lisieux sometime between 25 July and 22 October 1077.³⁶ There is further evidence that Michael's former role as ducal chaplain perhaps kept him close to the royal court. In the early autumn of 1073, he was called upon by the duke to help reconcile the same archbishop of Rouen with the abbey of Saint-Ouen, the two having quarrelled and become involved in a tumult during the feast day celebrations of St. Ouen (24 August).³⁷ Perhaps the duke called on Michael because he was a skilled negotiator who was adept at resolving conflicts between disputing ecclesiastical factions. Perhaps it was because he was John's successor at Avranches, and knew the tempestuous archbishop better than anyone else. Or perhaps it was because Michael was already in Rouen, and was helping to administer matters for the duke, who, the account of the tumult informs us, was in Le

³³ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 90.

³⁴ *Regesta*, no. 200. The duke is known to have been at Gloucester for the Christmas of 1080. Michael and Gilbert, along with Geoffrey of Montbray, confirmed a second act concerning Marmoutier during their stay at Cherbourg, *Regesta*, no. 201.

³⁵ Desroches, 'Annales religieuses', iii, pp. 342 and 349; *Regesta*, no. 252.

³⁶ *OV*, iii, p. 20. Michael performed the service because John, archbishop of Rouen, had been incapacitated by a stroke. Julien Nicole claimed that Michael also consecrated Robert, bishop of Sées, in the presence of the archbishop (Nicole, 'Histoire des évêques d'Avranches', p. 54), but this seems unlikely, since Robert became bishop seven years before John's stroke. It is not impossible, however, that John delegated the duty to Michael for other reasons.

³⁷ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', pp. 224-226.

Mans.³⁸ Indeed, had Michael been in his diocese, it seems unlikely that the duke would have summoned him all the way to Rouen to mediate what was essentially a local ecclesiastical problem. Unhappily, no evidence corroborates his presence in the capital, but it is intriguing to note that when he does surface in the historical record during this period he is invariably at Rouen,³⁹ while he was also no stranger to events attended by the duke.⁴⁰

The final years of Michael's episcopate were dominated by the transition of power in Normandy between William II and his son Robert Curthose. Following the failed rebellion of Odo, bishop of Bayeux and Robert, count of Mortain, in England in March 1088, the duke, in a desperate bid to raise funds, granted the Cotentin and the Avranchin, including the city of Avranches and the monastery of Mont-Saint-Michel, to his brother Henry, in return for three thousand pounds.⁴¹ Although the rationale behind the move has recently been reassessed,⁴² it had dramatic consequences for the region, which was essentially severed from the rest of the duchy. While Michael was apparently acquiescent to the terms of the agreement, which gave Henry ducal control over his bishopric, it clearly affected his relationship with Curthose.⁴³ In the years following the bargain, the duke rarely concerned himself with western Normandy,⁴⁴ and, as a result, the bishop disappears almost entirely from the ducal diplomatic record.⁴⁵ The relationship between the bishop of Avranches and his new master is also

³⁸ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 225. For discussion, see below p. 355 n. 76.

³⁹ Michael was present at the councils of Rouen in 1072 (*OV*, ii, p. 286) and 1074 (Mansi, xx, col. 397-399, at col. 399), while in May 1074 he witnessed at Rouen a charter in favour of Saint-Wandrille (*Regesta*, no. 261).

⁴⁰ Michael participated in the Council of Lillebonne in 1080 (*OV*, iii, p. 24), and assisted in the dedications of the cathedrals of Évreux and Bayeux (*OV*, iii, p. 12). He was not, however, present at the dedication of the abbey of Bec as Orderic Vitalis contends (*OV*, iii, pp. 10-12), since he is not named among the list of attendees preserved by the monks of Bec, *Chronique du Bec et chronique de François Carré*, ed. A.-A. Porée (Rouen, 1883), p. 3. Julien Nicole claimed Michael officiated at the funeral of Rannulf, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (1057/8-1083/5), although he cites no source to support his claim, Nicole, 'Histoire des évêques d'Avranches', p. 54.

⁴¹ The details of this agreement, which are recorded by *De statu* (col. 221) and Orderic (*OV*, iv, pp. 118-120), are confirmed by diplomatic evidence. It has been followed by all modern authorities, C. David, *Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, MA, 1920), pp. 48-49; F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), pp. 69-70; C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I* (London, 2001), pp. 49-61; W. Aird, *Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, c. 1050-1134* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 106-108.

⁴² Aird, *Robert Curthose*, p. 107.

⁴³ 'De statu', col. 221.

⁴⁴ Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 268-273. For a rare exception, see J.-M. Bouvris, 'Un bref inédit de Robert Courte-Heuse, duc de Normandie, relative à l'abbaye de Montebourg au diocèse de Coutances', in *Actes du 105e congrès national des sociétés savantes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1984), ii, pp. 125-150.

⁴⁵ Following the agreement, Michael appears only once more alongside the duke in 20 July × 9 Sept. 1089, AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r-v.

hard to determine. His agreement to the transferral might suggest that he was close to Henry, and one scholar has even suggested that the bishop was a ‘trusted supporter’ of the young count.⁴⁶ On the other hand, it is possible the decision was made for more pragmatic reasons. The neighbouring bishop of Coutances suffered attacks from local magnates for his refusal to recognize Henry as his overlord, which he resisted successfully.⁴⁷ It is unlikely that Michael, famed as a man of learning rather than of war, would have been able to act similarly. Whatever the reasons behind his decision, the bishop had chosen to be governed by a man whose power over him was enough to alienate him from the ducal court, but apparently not enough to act as its replacement.⁴⁸

The awkward situation in which Michael now found himself is perhaps no better illustrated than by a judgment he secured in 1091, which concerned a possession of his cathedral. The land in question was that of the forest of Vièvre, which had been given to the cathedral of Avranches by Duke William in 1066.⁴⁹ An extremely valuable possession that lay well outside the bishop’s sphere of influence, the cathedral’s ownership of Vièvre had been challenged by William de Breteuil, the nephew of Michael’s predecessor, John of Ivry, who had first granted the land to Duke William.⁵⁰ Rather than gain confirmation from Curthose of a grant made by his father, as other institutions in this period chose to do,⁵¹ Michael secured possession of Vièvre not in the ducal court, nor in that of his overlord Henry, but in the court of the archbishop of Rouen.⁵² That the case was heard in the Norman capital at the same

⁴⁶ Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 61.

⁴⁷ ‘De statu’, col. 221.

⁴⁸ Henry’s authority as *comte* of the Cotentin is discussed in Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 53-61; E. van Torhout, ‘Henri Beaulerc, comte du Cotentin reconsidéré (1088-1101)’, in *Tinchebray, 1106-2006*, ed. V. Gazeau and J. Green (Flers, 2009), pp. 101-121.

⁴⁹ *RADN*, no. 229.

⁵⁰ William de Breteuil, who was one of Curthose’s closest supporters, was given the castle of Ivry, which was the seat of power of Rodulf, count of Ivry, who was Bishop John’s father, by the duke, *OV*, iv, p. 114.

⁵¹ Robert Curthose confirmed the donation made by his father of the manor of Vains to Saint-Étienne de Caen (‘Ego Rotbertus dux Normannorum et princeps Cenomannorum, concedo... donum de manerio de Vedun quod idem pater meus in infirmitate qua defunctus est eidem ecclesie fecit’, AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46r), and that of the church of Émendreville (now Saint-Sever) to the abbey of Bec: ‘... ego Rodbertus gratia Dei princeps Normannorum... concessi monasterio Beccensi... ecclesiam quam pater meus et mater mea in honorem eiusdem gloriose virginis, iuxta Ermentrudis villa propre urbem Rotomagi Sequana intercurrente coeperunt aedificare...’, AD Seine-Maritime, 20 HP 5. The first act is dated 1087 × 1091, the second Feb. 1092.

⁵² ‘... in camera Willelmi archiepiscopi placitum’, BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 57v. For a critical edition, see Appendix G and Allen, ‘Un évêque et sa ville’, pp 44-47.

time as the council convened in 1091 to elect a new bishop of Sées,⁵³ an event at which Curthose was present,⁵⁴ contributes even more strongly to the sense that Michael had turned to the archbishop as the only authority left open to him. These circumstances arose directly as a result of the decision made by the duke three years earlier, which had not only ceded control of around a third of his duchy to his brother, but had robbed him of the cooperation of an important member of his father's entourage.⁵⁵

Whether Michael regretted his decision to support the transferral of power to Henry is impossible to know. Perhaps, after twenty years of service in the ducal court he sought a quieter life. There is evidence, however, that suggests Michael's decision had alienated him from both the duke and Henry. Indeed, both his last known acts took place during years when Henry was away from the region: one in 1090, when he was occupied with the rebellion of Conan in Rouen, and the other in 1091, after the count's expulsion from the region, and his impoverished wanderings in the *Vexin français*.⁵⁶ Michael also associated with men who had defied Henry, and his last known public appearance was at the funeral of Geoffrey de Montbray in February 1093. The bishop of Avranches, along with the bishops of Bayeux and Durham, as well as a number of abbots, had come to comfort the bishop of Coutances on his deathbed. There, and once again at the funeral, they confirmed the rights of the church of Coutances, which Geoffrey had drawn up in a charter, and, along with all the people and clerks present, they publicly confirmed the anathema 'Amen'.⁵⁷ The bishop of Avranches died himself less than a year later on 26 January 1094.⁵⁸ He was

⁵³ Among the witnesses to Michael's act are the archbishop of Rouen, Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, Fulk, abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives and Gerald, abbot of Saint-Wandrille (Allen, 'Un évêque et sa ville', p. 46), all of whom witnessed a charter (BN, ms. lat. 12884, fols. 68v-69v; BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r; for a critical edition, see Appendix G) traditionally associated with the council held shortly after 1 June 1091, *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, 'Errata and addenda to Volume 1', no. 317b.

⁵⁴ *OV*, iv, p. 252.

⁵⁵ The withdrawal of Michael from life at court is perhaps most neatly illustrated by a charter issued in favour of the abbey of Jumièges, which was confirmed by Robert Curthose at Lisieux in the presence of five members of the episcopate, but not the bishop of Avranches, Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix E, no. 7. The act is dated 1091 × 1095. The absence of Geoffrey de Montbray might suggest that the donation was confirmed towards 1092 or early 1093, when the bishop of Coutances had retired to his diocese due to illness.

⁵⁶ For Henry after his expulsion from Mont-Saint-Michel, see *OV*, iv, p. 252.

⁵⁷ 'De statu', col. 224. For a full discussion of the pronouncement of anathemas during donations, see Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, pp. 206-207. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

⁵⁸ The day and month is given by the Mont-Saint-Michel obituary (*RHGF*, xxiii, p. 576), and the year by *GC*, xi, col. 477.

buried in the cathedral under the north tower of the western façade alongside his predecessor Maugis.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, p. 679. Robert Cénalis provided the following additional details: 'Sepultus Michael quiescit in ecclesia Abrincensis eregione eiusdem altaris occidentem versus', BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 57v.

Turgis, 1094-1134

Turgis' origins are as obscure as those of many of his predecessors. His name, which derives from the Scandinavian *Borgisl*, was extremely common in Normandy during the Middle Ages, and endured in the region until the fifteenth century.¹ Although it can be found occurring throughout the duchy, it appears most frequently in the region of Caen and the Cotentin, and persists to the present day in a number of Norman place names in this area.² An anonymous contributor to the *Revue de l'Avranchin* speculated that Turgis was from the Avranchin, and that he was perhaps a relative of the counts of Avranches, and of those of Saint-Hilaire du Harcouët, but there is no evidence to justify this.³ Whether the bishop had any previous ecclesiastical experience before ascending to the see is also unclear. H.W.C. Davis identified a Turgis *capellanus* who appears in a royal charter issued by William Rufus at Dover on 27 January 1091 as the future bishop of Avranches,⁴ while Charles Homer Haskins dated a charter issued by Ivo Taillebois to 1094, because he believed that the Turgis *capellanus regis* who witnessed this act was the same man.⁵ Although the prevalence of the name noted above means such conclusions are slender, the fact that Turgis was both preceded and succeeded in his see by royal chaplains certainly tempts such a connection. Elsewhere, Orderic Vitalis mentions a Turgis who was chanter of Lisieux in 1077, but it seems unlikely that this is our bishop.⁶ Although the Norman church suffered during the reign of Robert Curthose, the standard of the episcopate remained high, and such a transgression would have undoubtedly hindered Turgis from holding such an exalted position. Moreover, it is probable that Turgis the chanter was dead by 1113, since his name is found in the mortuary roll of Mathilda, abbess of La Trinité de Caen.⁷

The first decade of Turgis' episcopate was dominated by the troubles of the reign of Robert Curthose. His predecessor's acquiescence to Henry's requisition of the

¹ Adigard des Gautries, *Noms de personnes Scandinaves*, pp. 159-160, 321-322.

² For further examples, see *Noms de personnes Scandinaves*, pp. 159-160 and n. 66-67, 69.

³ L.C., 'Turgis, évêque d'Avranches (1094-1134)', *Revue de l'Avranchin et du pays de Granville*, 49 (1972), pp. 71-73, at p. 71.

⁴ Cf. *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 315. For the identification, see the 'Index of Persons', p. 152.

⁵ Haskins, *Norman institutions*, p. 74 n. 29. For the charter text, see *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. C. Métais, 5 vols. (Paris, 1893-1904), ii, no. cccli.

⁶ *OV*, iii, p. 20. Cf. Spear, *The personnel*, p. 181.

⁷ *Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siècle*, ed. L. Delisle (Paris, 1866), p. 205. Cf. Spear, *The personnel*, p. 181.

Avranchin had effectively severed the bishopric from the rest of the duchy.⁸ Elsewhere, the disruption to ecclesiastical affairs throughout Normandy was profound, and contemporary narratives speak of private war, pillage, rapine and the wanton destruction of ecclesiastical property.⁹ The dreary picture painted here is verified by the diplomatic record. Duke Robert issued no ducal charter for the cathedral of Avranches throughout his entire reign (his name appears alongside that of the bishop in only one transaction),¹⁰ and even under the more organised governorship of William Rufus, the cathedral and bishop (with one exception) are conspicuous by their absence from the corpus of extant royal charters.¹¹ Frank Barlow includes Turgis among a group of ‘courtiers’ who accompanied Rufus back to England in 1097 after his successful acquisition of Normandy the year before, yet any such intimacy was apparently short lived, since the bishop is never again found in the presence of the king.¹² While Turgis appears in three charters broadly dated during the opening years of his episcopate, there is no surviving document dated to a single year until after Henry’s victory at Tinchebray.¹³ Of course, the situation under Henry I improved considerably, and while Turgis seems not to have been an intimate of the king, only venturing out of the Avranchin when required, he was a prelate actively involved in the religious life of both his diocese, and Europe as a whole. He is certainly undeserving of his reputation as ‘obscure’.¹⁴

The other great event that coincided with Turgis’ investiture was, of course, the beginning of the First Crusade. Three Norman bishops joined Urban II (1088-1099) at Clermont in November 1095, while those who could not attend (including Turgis) sent envoys (*legati*) with letters of excuse.¹⁵ Whether these envoys were supplied by the duke, or came from amongst cathedral personnel, is unknown, but given the

⁸ See above, pp. 82-84.

⁹ The fullest account is that of Orderic Vitalis, *OV*, iv, p. 112, 146-148, 226-228; iv, p. 26, 300-302; vi, pp. 32-36.

¹⁰ For a list of charters issued by Robert between 1087 and 1104, see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 66-70. For the sole document that mentions both the duke (his name simply appears as a dating clause) and Turgis, see *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A122.

¹¹ For a list of charters issued by William Rufus in Normandy, see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 80-81. The exception is Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, no. 24.

¹² Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 372.

¹³ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 792. For the text, see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix F, no. 1, p. 293.

¹⁴ D. Spear, ‘Geoffrey Brito, archbishop of Rouen (1111-1128)’, *HSJ*, 2 (1990), pp. 123-137, at p. 133.

¹⁵ *OV*, v, p. 18.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1094 × 1133	BN, ms. lat. 5441 (ii), pp. 161-162	Marmoutier		x	x	x
1094 × 1113	BM (Avranches) ms. 206, fol. 8v-9 and 33v-34v	Avranches cathedral				x
Jan. 1094 × Sept. 1106	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux</i> , no. A122	Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux		x		
Apr. × Nov. 1097	Musset, <i>Abbayes caennaises</i> , no. 24	Saint-Étienne, Caen			x	
1106 (aft. 28 Sept.) × 1107	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix F, no. 1	Bec	Rouen	x		
June? 1107	<i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. xxxviii	Bayeux cathedral	Cirencester	x		
1110	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , Appendix II, no. 7	Mont-Saint-Michel	Avranches	x		x
1112	Moolenbroek, <i>Vital l'ermite</i> , no. 10	Savigny				x
25 Jan. 1113	Moolenbroek, <i>Vital l'ermite</i> , no. 2	Savigny	Savigny			x
2 Mar. 1113	Moolenbroek, <i>Vital l'ermite</i> , no. 3	Savigny	Avranches	x		
2 Mar. 1113	Moolenbroek, <i>Vital l'ermite</i> , no. 11	Savigny		x	x	x
1113 × 1134	Arch. nat., L 978, no. 1342*	Savigny		x	x	
c. 1113 × 1134	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215	Saint-Évroult de Mortain		x		
1118	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1183	Savigny	Arganchy			x
1120 × 1134	Arch. nat., L 978, no. 1352a	Savigny			x	
1120	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , col. 112	Marmoutier				x
21 Nov. 1120	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1233	Cerisy-la-Forêt	Barfleur	x		
1121 × 1125	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 16	Mont-Saint-Michel	Argentan		x	x
Oct.? 1125	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1427	Reading abbey	Rouen?		x	
Sept.? 1127	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1547	Bec	Rouen			x
1128	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1553	Saint-Évroult	Rouen	x		
1128 × 1129	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 76	Mont-Saint-Michel	Mont-Saint-Michel			x
1129?	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1588	Savigny			x	
1129	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 72	Mont-Saint-Michel		x		x
1129 × 1131	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1702	Saint-Étienne, Caen			x	
1131	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 98	Mont-Saint-Michel				x

Fig. 18 Appearances of Turgis, bishop of Avranches (1094-1134), in the diplomatic record**

* This charter also appeared in the cartulary of Savigny, which was destroyed in 1944 (AD Manche, H non coté, fol. 52v). Fortunately, this page was one of ten photographed for Victor Hunger, and can be found today in AD Calvados, F 5690, no. 159.

** A collection by Dom Le Michel concerning the abbey of Marmoutier also contains a description of a lost charter of Stephen, count of Mortain, concerning the church of Romagny, which is dated 1128: 'At anno 1128 in curia suae [Stephanus comes Moritoni] ubi ipse persedebat et cum eo Turgisus Abrincensis episcopus, Henricus Fulgerarius dominus et de baronibus comitis Ranulfus Avenello, Adam de Malaherba, Richardus de Toschet, Arnulfus vicecomes, Robertus de s. Georgio, Wilelmus de Heuton, Eudo de Bailloio, Gervasius de Chanceo et Stephanus vicecomes ecclesiam de Romamiaco quam olim Hamelinus de Isinniaco et heredes eius s. Mariae de Moritonio concesserant ab aliquibus repetitam monachis eiusdem loci publico iudicio ascripsit praesentationem presbyteri quo in iudicio praesentes fuisse simul cum illis quos dyo...nus Odo abbas Maiorismom(asterii), Frotmundus abbas s. Faronis, Guilelmus prior Moretonii, Gaufredus abbas Saviniaci iam tunc erat ord. Cisterciensis, etc. ', BN, ms. lat. 12875, fol. 359r.

growth of the cathedral chapter under Turgis' predecessor, it is entirely possible that it was a representative of Avranches cathedral who was sent to represent his bishop at the council. Regardless, those bishops who did attend returned with synodal letters for their fellow bishops, and in the following year, William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, convened a council where the canons of Clermont were promulgated, which Turgis attended.¹⁶ The council also issued its own canons, the details of which are discussed below.¹⁷ Turgis' reaction to the decrees of Clermont is unknown. At least one modern authority has declared that he preached their message with eloquence and force to the men of his diocese, and, as a result, many enthusiastically took the cross and left for the Holy Land.¹⁸ There is, unfortunately, no evidence to justify such assertions.¹⁹

Turgis' activities after the council of Rouen are ill-recorded. Sometime before September 1106, a certain Arnulf *Pinel* donated the land which he held at *Malmuncel* to the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Préaux. The donation was given with Turgis' assent (*annuente domino suo Turgiso episcopo Abrincensi*), for which he received 10 *livres* from Arnulf.²⁰ Henry II later confirmed the donation.²¹ The location of *Malmuncel* is unclear. Dominique Rouet argued it could be Le Moussel, which is situated to the northeast of Lieurey, in the region of Vièvre.²² John of Ivry, Turgis' predecessor, had made a number of donations from his inheritance in this region. Sometime c. 1040 × 1060 he sold the land of Saint-Benoît within the forest of Vièvre to Saint-Pierre de Préaux for fifteen *livres*,²³ and at an unknown date before 1060 he donated the church of Saint-Georges-du-Vièvre to the abbey of Bec.²⁴ He also presented half the forest

¹⁶ *OV*, v, pp. 18-24.

¹⁷ See pp. 382-383.

¹⁸ L.C., 'Turgis, évêque d'Avranches', p. 71.

¹⁹ It is clear simply from a glance at the names of local lords given by the anonymous contributor to the *Revue de l'Avranchin* (L.C., 'Turgis, évêque d'Avranches', p. 71) that the list is an heraldic fiction. Although a source is not given, it appears the names have simply been taken from the list of crusaders found in a work similar to that of Paul Roger, who cites an unidentified manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale as his source, P. Roger, *La noblesse de France aux croisades* (Paris, 1845), pp. 165-192, at pp. 167 (Ralph and William d'Argouges), 168 (Fraslin Avenel), 173 (Alan de Clinchamp), 179 (Thomas de la Luzerne), 182 (William and Frasnîl de Malemains), 186 (the lord of Ponts), 188 (John de Saint-Germain) and 191 (Roland de Verdun).

²⁰ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A122.

²¹ *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, 4 vols. (Paris, 1916-1927), ii, no. dclxxv, p. 181; *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. B72.

²² *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A122, p. 115. Le Moussel, Eure, cant. Saint-Georges-du-Vièvre.

²³ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, A1[15].

²⁴ *Regesta*, no. 166.

of Vièvre to his cathedral on condition that as long as he lived it should remain in his power.²⁵ His other great holding in this region was the honour of Saint-Philbert, which, it has been noted above, had owed a *servitia debita* of five knights since 1066.²⁶

Arnulf *Pinel* was the son of Rodulf *Pinel*. Rodulf appears in Little Domesday holding lands in the hundred of Tendring (Essex), and giving service for this land to Geoffrey de Mandeville (d. c. 1100).²⁷ He is also often found among the more fanciful lists of the ‘Conqueror’s Companions’,²⁸ but has since been removed.²⁹ Arnulf was present in 1066 when the *servitia debita* of the five knights of Saint-Philbert was created, and was one of four men (including his brother Rodulf) to confirm the act.³⁰ Afterwards he seems to have become a man of John, bishop of Avranches, and was still associated with him when he became archbishop of Rouen, since he witnessed an important act on his behalf in Rouen cathedral in late 1075 or early 1076.³¹ The continued association of these men with John, as well as their later involvement in affairs concerning the land at Saint-Philbert, suggests that Arnulf was perhaps one of the knights of Saint-Philbert.³² Indeed, his donation to Préaux was made before retirement into the monastery, an act typical of a knight who had chosen to end his days in the cloister.³³ Moreover, his cognomen is the Anglo-Norman for ‘shaft’, which is perhaps a reference to the lance,³⁴ while the description of Turgis as Arnulf’s ‘lord’ suggests a relationship based upon fealty, and echoes the stipulation of the

²⁵ *RADN*, no. 229.

²⁶ See above, pp. 68-69.

²⁷ *LDB*, fol. 97v. Ralph also held lands in Suffolk (fol. 424r).

²⁸ See, for example, the Dives list compiled in 1866 by a committee of French scholars, in C.L. Cleveland, *The Battle Abbey roll: with some account of the Norman lineages*, 3 vols. (London, 1889), i, pp. xxxi-xxxvi, at p. xxxiv. For the Pinel family, see *The Battle Abbey roll*, iii, p. 35.

²⁹ The standard list currently stands in the thirties, D.C. Douglas, ‘Companions of the Conqueror’, *History*, 28 (1943), pp. 130-147.

³⁰ ‘Post hec vero idem Robertus, prefate terre primitus calumpniator, novissime fautor et fidelissimus assertor existans, hanc eandem cartam hoc signo, presentibus Osberno filio Walonis, et duobus filiis Rodulphi Pinelli, scilicet Arnulpho atque Rodulpho, et Boldino Odonis prepositi filio, ceterisque compluribus gratanter confirmavit’, *RADN*, no. 229.

³¹ ‘... ex parte vero archiepiscopi, Benedicti archidiacono, Arnulfo Pinello...’, *Regesta*, no. 229. For discussion of this act, see below Appendix G.

³² In 1078 × 1093, both Arnulf and his father witnessed an agreement between Michael, bishop of Avranches, and the abbot of Bec concerning a bridge at Fontainecourt (Eure, cant. Montfort-sur-Risle, c. Glos-sur-Risle), BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 60v. This charter is edited below in Appendix G.

³³ ‘Ipse autem Arnulfus factus monachus ibidem vitam finivit’, *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A122.

³⁴ The association of the word made by the editors of the *Anglo-Norman dictionary* is, unfortunately, far more mundane, *Anglo-Norman dictionary*, ed. L.W. Stone and W. Rothwell (London, 1977-1992), p. 525.

original agreement that the knights hold their lands in fief (*in fevio tenerent*) of the bishop.³⁵ Had the details of Henry II's famous inquest of 1172 not survived, this brief document would be invaluable in confirming that the terms of the *servitia debita* were still being obeyed fifty years after its creation. Turgis' only other appearance in the historical record at this time comes from April × November 1097, when it appears he returned with William Rufus to England after the king's acquisition of Normandy. The significance of this has been noted above.³⁶

The death of William Rufus on 2 August 1100, and the coronation of his younger brother Henry three days later, dramatically altered the makeup of the Anglo-Norman realm. Few escaped the consequences of these events, but if it had any direct impact on Turgis we do not know it. Throughout all the dramatic events that followed, the bishop of Avranches is conspicuous by his absence, and there is a full nine years between Turgis' appearance alongside Rufus in England, and his reappearance beside the new king-duke at Rouen in 1106.³⁷ Even for the bishopric of Avranches, which is often dismissed as a remote backwater, this lengthy gap is unusual, and was unknown since the end of the tenth century.³⁸ The cause of such a lengthy absence is unclear. Given the bishop's later activities during Henry's reign it seems unlikely that he had somehow displeased him. It is to this period that a second building campaign on the cathedral has been located, but common sense alone suggests that this cannot have occupied the bishop to such an extent that he was unable to participate in other matters.³⁹ Interestingly, the other bishop of western Normandy (Rodulf, bishop of Coutances) is equally absent from the diplomatic and narrative sources.⁴⁰ The political circumstances in the region were certainly chaotic enough to be disruptive, but the most influential magnate in the region (William, count of Mortain, (1091-1106)) only became truly problematic when he defected to Robert Curthose in 1104.⁴¹ Whatever the cause, Henry's victory at Tinchebray on 28 September 1106 seems to have

³⁵ RADN, no. 229.

³⁶ Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, no. 24. The association of this act with Rufus' return to England at this time is made by Frank Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 372.

³⁷ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 792.

³⁸ The next longest absence from the historical record by a bishop of Avranches is six years, and comes from the episcopate of Hugh. However, if one believes that Hugh died in around 1055 (rather than the traditional date of c. 1060), the gap was due to a vacancy in the see, not a withdrawal of the bishop from affairs. For Hugh's death, see above pp. 58-60.

³⁹ Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', p. 160.

⁴⁰ OV, iv, pp. 264-266; v, p. 24.

⁴¹ Hollister, *Henry I*, p. 144; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, p. 226.

resolved it. Within just over a month, Turgis was at Rouen along with Turolde, bishop of Bayeux, where he witnessed a charter in favour of the monks of Bec.⁴² The following summer he was back in England, where at Cirencester he witnessed, along with the bishops of Lisieux and Sées, a writ addressed to Turolde's successor, Richard.⁴³

Turgis' activities in the remaining twenty-eight years of his episcopate overwhelmingly concern his diocese. In 1110, he was involved for the first time with a donation concerning the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel, and gave his consent to William de Tracy's grant of land at Montpinçon, La Luzerne, Champrepus, Saint-Vigor-des-Monts and Argouges.⁴⁴ Two years later, the diocese of Avranches was blessed with another monastic foundation that would soon come to rival Mont-Saint-Michel in prestige. The abbey of Savigny, which was founded by Vitalis of Mortain in the heavily forested area that connected Normandy, Brittany and Maine, came to characterise the revival of religious fervour that gripped Europe at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century. Unfortunately, the records of this abbey were decimated when the departmental archives of la Manche were destroyed during the bombardment of Saint-Lô on 6 June 1944.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, enough evidence survives to indicate that Turgis was actively involved in this foundation, and was an important patron. He confirmed Rodulf de Fougères' initial grant of the forest of Savigny to Vitalis in 1112,⁴⁶ and later threatened all those who would dare to encroach upon the property of the new abbey with excommunication.⁴⁷ The king then confirmed the donation while at Avranches on 2 March 1113, at which point the bishop of Avranches freed the abbey from certain episcopal customs.⁴⁸ *Gallia*

⁴² Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix F, no. 1.

⁴³ *Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae Baiocensis (livre noir)*, ed. V. Bourrienne, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1902-1903), no. xxxviii.

⁴⁴ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, Appendix II, no. 7. These are all in the Manche in the cantons of Cerisy-la-Salle, La Haye-Pesnel, Villedieu-les-Poêles, Tessy-sur-Vire and Saint-James-de-Beuvron.

⁴⁵ Cf. B. Poulle, 'Les sources de l'histoire de l'abbaye cistercienne de Savigny au diocèse d'Avranches', *Revue Mabillon*, 7 (1996), pp. 105-125, esp. pp. 123-125.

⁴⁶ A transcript of this charter from the since destroyed cartulary can be found in J. Buhot, 'L'abbaye normande de Savigny, chef d'ordre et fille de Cîteaux', *Le Moyen Âge*, 46 (1936), pp. 1-19, 104-121, 178-190 and 249-272, at p. 9. See also J. van Moolenbroek, *Vital l'ermite, prédicateur itinérant, fondateur de l'abbaye normande de Savigny*, trans. A.-M. Nambot (Assen, 1990), no. 10.

⁴⁷ Buhot, 'L'abbaye normande de Savigny', p. 10; Moolenbroek, *Vital l'ermite*, no. 11. A critical edition can be found in Appendix G.

⁴⁸ Moolenbroek, *Vital l'ermite*, no. 3. The dating of Savigny's earliest charters have long caused problems for historians, with many dated '1112 or 1113'. For a full discussion of these problems, and arguments in favour of both years, see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 311; *Regesta* (Johnson and

Christiana states that Turgis wished to give the monks exemption from all episcopal customs,⁴⁹ but recent scholarship has suggested that the relevant clause in the charter might simply relate to the question of Savigny's feudal immunity, and not to its ecclesiastical exemption.⁵⁰

The details of a number of donations made by Turgis to Savigny also survive in two charters of Henry II (1154-1189). In the opening years of his reign, Henry confirmed Savigny's possessions. Among these was Turgis' donation of the church of Lapenty (cant. Saint-Hilaire du Harcouët), which included its cemetery, the alms land of the church, and the tithe of the parish.⁵¹ This donation was confirmed again at some time between 1177 and 1182, along with the bishop's other donations of the churches of Virey (cant. Saint-Hilaire du Harcouët), the church of Sainte-Martin de Brécey (cant. Brécey), and the church of Moulines (cant. Saint-Hilaire du Harcouët). These donations had been confirmed by Turgis' successors Richard, Herbert and Achard, and were done with the consent of Rannulf de Virey, and his brothers William and Roger.⁵² The surviving charters of Savigny confirm that Turgis also donated the churches of Moidrey (cant. Pontorson) and Saint-Hilaire du Neufbourg (cant. Mortain), as well as Saint-Georges de Rennes,⁵³ while he also witnessed two donations made by important local magnates.⁵⁴ On 9 September 1119, Turgis was also the recipient of a papal bull (along with the bishop of Le Mans) informing him that the pope had placed Savigny's possessions under apostolic protection.⁵⁵ Finally, on 1 July 1124, Turgis helped dedicated the newly completed abbey church along with Richard of Brix, bishop of Coutances (1124-1131), Richard of Dover, bishop of

Cronne), ii, no. 1015; Buhot, 'L'abbaye normande de Savigny', p. 5; Moolenbroek, *Vital l'ermite*, pp. 91-101.

⁴⁹ 'Turgisus vero Abrincensis episcopus monachorum quieti consuleret, hos ab omni consuetudinum episcopali exactione immunes esse voluit', *GC*, xi, col. 541.

⁵⁰ F. Swietek and T. Deneen, 'The episcopal exemption of Savigny, 1112-1184', *Church History*, 52 (1983), pp. 285-298, at pp. 288-289 and n. 13.

⁵¹ *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, i, no. lxxx.

⁵² *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ii, no. dxc.

⁵³ Details of these donations, and those above, are preserved in the confirmations of a number of Turgis' successors, Arch. nat., L 978, no. 1353 (confirmation of Bishop Herbert); Arch. nat., L 978, no. 1357 (confirmation of Bishop Achard); Arch. nat., L 967, no. 103 (confirmation of Bishop Richard III). Copies in BN, ms. n. a. lat. 2500, p. 18 (no. viii), p. 24 (no. xiv); BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1022, pp. 6-7 (no. 8) (extract from BN, ms. n. a. lat. 2500, p. 18 (no. viii)); Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, ms. 298, fol. 4v (no. viii); fol. 5v (no. xiv); fol. 6r (no. xvi); fol. 17v-18v (no. lx); BM (Flers), ms. 22, pp. 15-16 (no. 8); pp. 20-22 (no. 14); pp. 23-24; pp. 89-96 (no. 60); AD Calvados, F 5276. Cf. the calendar of episcopal *acta* in Appendix G.

⁵⁴ Arch. nat., L 978, nos. 1342 and 1352.

⁵⁵ *RHGF*, xv, pp. 231-232.

Bayeux, John, bishop of Sées (1124-1143), and Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans (1097-1125).⁵⁶

The monastic houses of the diocese were not the only institutions to expand during Turgis' episcopate. The cathedral of Avranches benefited greatly during his tenure, and for the first time since the refoundation of the late tenth century it had a fully functioning cathedral chapter. One of the key new positions to be created by Turgis was the deanship.⁵⁷ The position included a prebend, which comprised the church of Saint-Pierre de Vains with its cemetery, the tithes of three vavassors, the tithes of the vineyards of *campo Botri*, and various revenues from the manor at Saint-Philbert.⁵⁸ The details of this act were confirmed by one of his successors, Richard de Subligny (1142-1153), who was himself a former dean appointed by Turgis.⁵⁹ By 1120, we have the first evidence of a simultaneous gathering of a large number of various personnel, including two archdeacons (Robert and Fulcher), the bishop's chaplain (Roger de Lingèvres), the cathedral treasurer (Hervey), and a *magister scholarum* (Alexander).⁶⁰ This document also contains the first known reference to the seal of the bishop of Avranches (*sigilli nostri*), although unfortunately no examples have survived.⁶¹ During Turgis' episcopate a total of fifteen men were, at various times, members of the cathedral chapter, among whom two were deans, four archdeacons, two *scholastici* (one of whom began his career under Michael), and three treasurers. Surprisingly, only four canons can be located during Turgis' reign, although the number is identical to that under his predecessor if one trusts the somewhat unreliable Julien Nicole, who holds that Rolland II, archbishop of Dol (c.

⁵⁶ Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, ii, p. 160.

⁵⁷ For full discussion, see Allen, 'Five charters', pp. 1-33.

⁵⁸ Both Jean-Jacques Desroches (J.-J. Desroches, 'Sur les paroisses du Mont-Saint-Michel', *MSAN*, 14 (1844), pp. 37-128, at p. 49; Desroches, 'Annales religieuses', i, pp. 428-429) and Edouard Le Héricher make reference to this donation (Le Héricher, *Avranchin monumental*, i, pp. 178-179), which Spear was unable to locate (Spear, *The personnel*, p. 6). Fortunately, Le Héricher (of whose citation Spear was apparently unaware) provides a complete (although slightly inaccurate) reference, as well as a partial transcription, of what he claims is this act. It is in fact the text of one of two confirmations in the cathedral cartulary (BM (Avranches), ms 206, fol. 8v-9r and 34r-v) issued by Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen (1130-1164). For a critical editions, see Allen, 'Five charters', nos. 1 and 3, pp. 27-29, 30-31.

⁵⁹ BM (Avranches), ms. 206, fol. 33v-34. This charter is edited and discussed in Allen, 'Five charters', no. 2, pp. 29-30.

⁶⁰ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, col. 112. This is the same document that is partially reprinted in Desroches, 'Annales religieuses', iii, p. 345.

⁶¹ The earliest surviving seals for Avranches comes from the episcopates of Achard (1161-1170) and Richard III (1170-1182), Arch. nat., L 978, no. 1357 (Achard); L 968, no. 280 (Richard); L 970, no. 552 (Richard).

1093-1100 × 1107), was a former canon of Avranches, and that he asked to be consecrated by Turgis.⁶²

It was also during Turgis' episcopate that a second phase of building was begun on the cathedral.⁶³ A seventeenth-century painting by Nicolas Gravier informs us about the aspect of the cathedral in its final stage, and shows a church with three naves without transepts, and a massive western façade with two towers. These towers existed in the time of Bishop Maugis, but it is unclear to what architectural tradition they belonged. The only surviving image of the western façade comes from a seventeenth-century map,⁶⁴ but this is too indistinct to draw any definitive conclusions (fig. 19).⁶⁵ At the cathedral's eastern end there was an ambulatory with radiating chapels that were alternately semi-circular and square. Nineteenth-century drawings show the interior of the nave with vaulted galleries running through the walls above the columns. Édouard Le Héricher claimed that Hugh I, earl of Chester, and his son Richard, helped finance this period of reconstruction.⁶⁶ Pigeon believed that Hugh gave benefices located at Portchester (Hampshire) to the cathedral in around 1097, whose revenue would have undoubtedly been useful in funding any construction,⁶⁷ but the most recent scholar of this donation suggests that this endowment was actually made by Henry I.⁶⁸

Turgis dedicated the cathedral on 17 September 1121.⁶⁹ Citing the work of Robert Cénalis, a sixteenth-century bishop of Avranches, Édouard Le Héricher held that the cathedral was consecrated on 15 October 1122,⁷⁰ but the day and month seem to be a

⁶² Nicole, 'Histoire des évêques d'Avranches', p. 57. Rolland does not appear in the *fasti* of David Spear, while if he was associated with Avranches, historians of Dol were unaware of it, *GC*, xiv, cols. 1047-1048; F.-M. Duine, *La métropole de Bretagne: Chronique de Dol, composée au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1916), pp. 116-117. It seems likely, therefore, that Nicole has confused Rolland II with Rolland III (1177-1188), who was a dean at Avranches before becoming archbishop of Dol. Cf. Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, ii, p. 72; Spear, *The personnel*, p. 7.

⁶³ For what follows, see Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', pp. 158-161.

⁶⁴ AD Calvados, Fi C 4147.

⁶⁵ For discussion of the history of this somewhat enigmatic map, which figures both Avranches and Mont-Saint-Michel, see E. Pouille, 'Vue d'Avranches au XVIIIe siècle', *Revue de l'Avranchin et du pays de Granville*, 79 (2002), pp. 179-180.

⁶⁶ Le Héricher, *Avranchin monumental*, i, p. 14.

⁶⁷ Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, p. 329.

⁶⁸ J. Peltzer, 'Portchester, les évêques d'Avranches et les Hommet (1100-1230)', *AN*, 56 (2006), p. 463-482, at p. 465.

⁶⁹ *GC*, xi, col. 467.

⁷⁰ Héricher, *Avranchin monumental*, i, p. 14.

Fig. 19 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions




Fig. 19 Seventeenth-century view of Avranches showing the western façade of the cathedral (detail)*

* AD Calvados, Fi C 4147.

misreading of *calendarum octobris 15*.⁷¹ The significance of the actual date chosen is unknown. The cathedral was dedicated in honour of St. Andrew, but his feast day is 30 November. We know that other Norman bishops chose dates important to the local community on which to consecrate their churches,⁷² yet the only saint whose feast was celebrated in Normandy on September 17 was St. Floscellus (a second-century martyr), and even then he was only honoured in Bayeux on September 25.⁷³ Interestingly, September 18 (*xiv calendas Octobris*) was the feast day of St. Senerius, a former bishop of Avranches, yet while his cult was certainly important in the city,⁷⁴ none of the inventories of the cathedral's relics record the presence of any of his relics.⁷⁵ According to a seventeenth-century manuscript, the dedication was attended by Henry I, along with the bishops of Bayeux, Coutances, Sées and Le Mans.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, this document misidentifies three of the five participants,⁷⁷ although a marginal note in a sixteenth-century manuscript does suggest that information concerning the consecration was once found in the lost Avranches cartulary known as the *Livre blanc*.⁷⁸

If Turgis did leave his diocese it was usually for significant events. He was present at a council of bishops and barons convoked by the king at Barfleur on 21 November 1120 following his first victory over William Clito (1102-1128), and he was presumably still in the region when the *White Ship* set sail a few days later.⁷⁹ In October 1125 he witnessed the charter which established Henry's great foundation at Reading.⁸⁰ He also attended important councils at Rouen in 1118 and 1128,⁸¹ while

⁷¹ BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 65v (marginalia).

⁷² For discussion, see below, pp. 147, 332.

⁷³ *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 13th ed., ed. H. Grotefend (Hanover, 1991), p. 55.

⁷⁴ *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung*, p. 98

⁷⁵ BM (Avranches), ms. 206, fol. 5r (s. xiii); BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 15r-16v (s. xvi); BM (Avranches), fonds Pigeon, ms. 45, p. 135 (s. xvii).

⁷⁶ Nicolas-Joseph Foucault, 'Eslection d'Avranches', in *L'intendance de Caen en 1700: édition critique des mémoires rédigés sous la dir. de Nicolas-Joseph Foucault*, ed. P. Gouhier (Paris, 1998), p. 486.

⁷⁷ Foucault identifies Henry I as Henry II; Roger, bishop of Coutances, as Richard, and Serlo, bishop of Sées as John.

⁷⁸ 'Ecclesia siquidem Abrincensis uti (ex chartulario colligi fur) fuit dedicata et consecrata in nomine Domini, et beatissimi Andreae ipsius apostoli, fratris Simonis Petri, prout reperitur in antiquis scriptis de anno domini millesimo centesimo vigesimo primo, calendarum octobris 15', BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 65v. The surviving cathedral cartulary, the *Livre vert*, only makes reference to the dedication without specifics, BM (Avranches), ms 206, fol. 8r.

⁷⁹ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1233.

⁸⁰ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1427.

⁸¹ *OV*, vi, pp. 202, 388.



Fig 20 Model of the cathedral of Avranches (photo R. Allen)*

* Avranches, coll. musée municipale. These models, of which around six survive, were made by inmates imprisoned on Mont-Saint-Michel from the beginning of the French Revolution to 1863.

Julien Nicole claimed he attended the council held by Pope Calixtus II at Reims in 1119.⁸² Geoffrey Brito, archbishop of Rouen, was present at this council (one of thirteen archbishops), as were over two hundred bishops, but Turgis' name is not mentioned either in Orderic Vitalis' account of the council, or in the other records preserved by Mansi.⁸³ The assumption that Turgis was present may be based on the fact that Orderic mentions that the archbishops were at the council 'cum suffraganeis suis', but his account also goes on to mention that some absent bishops had sent envoys.⁸⁴ Regardless, Turgis would have undoubtedly been familiar with the council's edicts since John, a monk of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, recorded the canons, while upon his return from Reims, the archbishop of Rouen convened a synod in his cathedral at which he hoped to use their example 'to reform the priests of his diocese'.⁸⁵ Unfortunately for Geoffrey his decrees were so unpopular that a riot broke out. Orderic does not mention the presence of other bishops (representatives from the abbey of Saint-Évroult (i.e. outwith the diocese of Rouen) were certainly there), but it seems unlikely that had Turgis been absent news of such events would not have reached his ears.

Such violence was perhaps the reason that the next council (1128) was a full diocesan assembly presided over by the king.⁸⁶ Also in attendance was the papal legate, Matthew, bishop of Albano (c. 1085-1135),⁸⁷ who was legate in France and England in 1128-1129. His presence was certainly significant, since it was the first time in Norman history that a papal legate held a council in the duchy.⁸⁸ Turgis himself was no stranger to papal influence within the region. In 1119 he received a papal bull seeking his assistance in protecting the abbey of Savigny (see above), while in October of the same year he received a second letter entreating him to help the monks of Mont-Saint-Michel regain certain lands that had been usurped from them.⁸⁹ Yet the transition of the Norman episcopate to within the papal ambit was not without

⁸² Nicole, 'Histoire des évêques d'Avranches', p. 56.

⁸³ *OV*, vi, pp. 252-276; Mansi, xxi, cols. 233-256. Nicole's claim was repeated by L.C., 'Turgis, évêque d'Avranches', p. 72.

⁸⁴ *OV*, vi, p. 254.

⁸⁵ *OV*, vi, p. 274, 290-294.

⁸⁶ *OV*, vi, pp. 388-390.

⁸⁷ His career is examined in U. Berlière, 'Le cardinal Matthieu d'Albano', *Revue Bénédictine*, 18 (1901), pp. 113-140 and 280-303, and U. Berlière, 'Le cardinal Matthieu d'Albano (c. 1085-1135)', *Mélanges d'histoire bénédictine*, 4 (1902), pp. 1-51.

⁸⁸ The council is discussed in Spear, 'The Norman episcopate', pp. 74-76 and 149-150.

⁸⁹ *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé, 2 vols. (Liepzig, 1885-1888), i, no. 6772.

its problems,⁹⁰ and a letter from Ivo, bishop of Chartres (1089-1116), to Turgis provides a neat insight into these difficulties. In his initial letter, which has unfortunately not survived, the bishop of Avranches had apparently asked Ivo whether he should obey an unnamed papal legate. Although the bishop of Chartres noted the problems Turgis was facing ('the legate of the apostolic seat compels you to obey its commands; the king urges you to resist'),⁹¹ he responded forcefully that it would be wise to obey apostolic decrees, for 'it is better to fall into the hands of man than to abandon the law of God'.⁹² He also advised that Turgis send substitutes (*vicarios*) to Rome in order that they might plead his case there, and 'restore the blessing of the apostolic seat to you'.⁹³

The circumstances surrounding this letter are unclear. It seems to relate to the papal legate Cono, bishop of Palestrina, and the failure of the Norman episcopate to attend the councils excommunicating the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V (1111-1125). The Norman bishops had themselves been excommunicated by the legate for their absence,⁹⁴ and Ivo advised Turgis that obedience was the only way he could 'break the chain of anathema'.⁹⁵ Although correspondence with such an eminent figure speaks highly of Turgis, the letter also reveals his limited standing within the wider ecclesiastical community. Ivo had been contacted by another member of the Norman episcopate (Richard of Dover, bishop of Bayeux) concerning the same issue, and had written to the papal legate in his defence.⁹⁶ His only arguments in support of an exemption for the bishop of Bayeux (which one might expect to hinge on a subtle interpretation of canon law) were that he constantly complained of his inability to act independently of the king (a grievance strikingly similar to Turgis'),⁹⁷ and that

⁹⁰ For discussion see Spear, 'The Norman episcopate', pp. 61-88.

⁹¹ 'Cogit enim vos ex una parte legatio apostolicae sedis, ut praeceptis ejus obediatis; urget vos ex altera regia potestas, ut resistatis', Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cclxx, Migne, *PL*, clxii, cols. 273-274, at col. 273.

⁹² 'Melius est mihi incidere in manu hominum quam derelinquere legem Dei mei', Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cclxx, col. 273. Cf. 'sed melius est mihi absque opere incidere in manus vestras quam peccare in conspectu Domini', Daniel, 13:23.

⁹³ '... et gratiam sedis apostolicae vobis restituant', Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cclxx, col. 273.

⁹⁴ A number of different chroniclers record that Cono excommunicated the Norman bishops, although Turgis is not named personally, William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 206; John of Worcester, *The chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and trans. R.R. Darlington, P. McGurk and J. Bray, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1995-1998), iii, p. 136.

⁹⁵ '... anathematis vinculum rumpere potestis', Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cclxx, col. 273.

⁹⁶ Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cclxxiii, cols. 275-276.

⁹⁷ 'Sub alieno enim iure tanquam sub torculari positus dolet et gemit se nihil plus posse quam permittitur', Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cclxxiii, col. 276.

Richard was his dear friend.⁹⁸ This stands in stark contrast to the advice given to Turgis, which is not only prescribed, but also unworkable (it is doubtful the bishop had the resources to fund a trip to Rome). Of course, Richard of Dover was a member of one of the most talented Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical families of the era, and his academic prowess earned him the esteem of men like Adelard of Bath.⁹⁹ For all his intellectual achievements, however, the bishop of Bayeux was unable to defend the holdings of his diocese, and in this sense he was a lesser bishop than Turgis.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, Ivo's curt response reveals that regional success rarely earned plaudits outside the locality concerned, and that an ability to achieve (and receive) greater things involved participating in a wider community. This is something Turgis clearly could not (or perhaps would not) do.

Though if increased papal involvement in the duchy could be troublesome, it also had its advantages. In 1128, Henry's daughter Mathilda was married to Geoffrey V, count of Anjou (1113-1151). Although they shared the same consanguinity that Henry I had used to win papal dissolution of the marriage of William Clito and Sibylla of Anjou (d. 1165), the papacy remained silent about their union.¹⁰¹ Turgis was at the centre of this momentous event, and according to Orderic, it was he (by now an old man) who performed the marriage ceremony.¹⁰² Unfortunately, it is unclear to what service Orderic is referring. The marriage took place at Le Mans on 17 June 1128, but Angevin sources state that Guy of Ploërmel, bishop of Le Mans (1126-1135), and John, bishop of Sées (1124-1143), performed the act.¹⁰³ Josèphe Chartrou suggested that Turgis presided over the betrothal, which took place at Rouen sometime between 22 May and the end of August 1128, although why Henry turned to the bishop of Avranches is unclear.¹⁰⁴ The archbishop of Rouen, who would have undoubtedly performed such a service were he able, was probably very ill (he was dead by November), while the decision not to call on the bishop of Bayeux, who was first

⁹⁸ Ivo calls Richard his 'amicus et familiaris' and 'Baiocensi episcopo... amicissimo', Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cclxxiii, cols. 275-276.

⁹⁹ S.E. Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony of the middle ages: the bishopric of Bayeux, 1066-1204* (Cambridge, MA, 1936), pp. 23-24; Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 25.

¹⁰⁰ Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, p. 24.

¹⁰¹ Spear suggests that the legatine council of the same year helped silence any papal objections, Spear, 'The Norman episcopate', p. 41.

¹⁰² *OV*, vi, p. 390 and n. 2.

¹⁰³ J. Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151: Foulque de Jérusalem et Geoffroi Plantagenêt* (Paris, 1928), pp. 22-23.

¹⁰⁴ Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151*, pp. 21-22 and nn.

suffragan of the province, is noteworthy. Interestingly, Richard of Dover is absent from the royal diplomatic record during 1128.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps Henry had become increasingly frustrated with the bishop's inability to maintain the holdings of his bishopric (the king would conduct the famous inquest of the diocese immediately after the bishop's passing), and instead turned to Turgis, who was not only the longest serving member of the episcopate, but also, as bishop of Avranches, the dean of the Norman suffragans.

The following year Turgis was back in his diocese. He was soon involved again with the affairs of Mont-Saint-Michel, and at some time in 1129 gave his consent, along with his cathedral chapter, to the grant by Robert of Avranches of tithes of land in Ponts.¹⁰⁶ David Spear claimed incorrectly that Turgis was the only Norman bishop to appear by name in the famous Pipe Roll of 1130,¹⁰⁷ but the *Turgis de Abrincensis* here is Turgis of Avranches, a onetime *familiaris* of Stephen of Blois who would later rebel against the king.¹⁰⁸ Turgis the bishop's last two known acts date to 1131. In this year he consented to a donation in favour of Mont-Saint-Michel by John firzGarner de Huisnes, and also blessed Bernard, a former prior of Bec, as abbot of this same house.¹⁰⁹ Turgis' involvement in this event is significant, for it is the first known reference to a bishop of Avranches investing an abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel. According to *Gallia Christiana* the bishop died two years later, although no contemporary source confirms this date.¹¹⁰ A necrology of Mont-Saint-Michel records the day as 7 January, while Julien Nicole claimed Turgis passed away on '*le jour des Roys*' (i.e. Epiphany, 6 January) in 1134.¹¹¹ Turgis was buried in the cathedral he had helped rebuild, and was laid to rest in the north (*sepultus ad septentrionem*) of the chapel of Notre-Dame.¹¹² His remarkably long episcopate had

¹⁰⁵ Richard last appears beside the king in September 1127 (*Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1546) and reappears in 1129 (*Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1575).

¹⁰⁶ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 72.

¹⁰⁷ Spear, 'The Norman episcopate', p. 36.

¹⁰⁸ *Magnum rotulum Scaccarii, vel Magnum rotulum pipae de anno tricesimo primo regni Henrici primi*, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1833), p. 67. This Turgis appears in a number of royal charters, *Regesta* (Cronne and Davis) iii, nos. 109, 162, 163, 194, 276, 406, 655, 855, 858.

¹⁰⁹ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 98 and Appendix II, no. 9.

¹¹⁰ *GC*, xi, col. 477.

¹¹¹ *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 576; Nicole, 'Histoire des évêques d'Avranches', p. 57. Nicole was presumably working from the obituary of the abbey of La Lucerne, which lists Turgis' death under 8th ides January, A. du Monstier, *Neustria pia* (Rouen, 1663), p. 797.

¹¹² *GC*, xi, col. 477. It is Julien Nicole and Robert Cénalis who provide the more exact locations of Turgis' tomb, Nicole, 'Histoire des évêques d'Avranches', p. 57; BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 65r.

spanned a momentous period in Norman history, and his contributions to his church had finally helped it regain its pre-ninth century standing. His efforts were clearly greatly appreciated by the chapter itself, who remembered him fondly as an illustrious and pious bishop, while one of his successors even accorded him the honour of saintliness.¹¹³

¹¹³ E.g. a confirmation of Richard de Subligny refers to Turgis as ‘illustri et sancte... episcopo Turgisio’, BM (Avranches), ms. 206, fol. 33v.

BAYEUX

Rodulf, c. 990-c. 1006

The disruption to the see of Bayeux during the tenth century was acute. It is possible that as many as three bishops (Richard, Hubert and Ertmandus) occupied the see before Rodulf, although the evidence is so fragmentary that nothing can be determined precisely. According to the editors of *Gallia Christiana*, Rodulf was originally from Dol in Brittany,¹ while Jean-Jacques Desroches suggested that the bishop, who was also known as ‘of Avranches’, was perhaps a cathedral dignitary in this city before ascending to the episcopate.² The dates of his tenure at Bayeux are often given as 986-1006,³ but his first appearance is in the famous charter issued by Richard I at the foundation of Fécamp on 15 June 990.⁴ No documentation exists to confirm the assertion that he witnessed a charter of Saint-Denis in 967,⁵ while he appears in no other extant piece of diplomatic. He is also completely absent from the narrative sources. A bishop of Bayeux called Richard is listed among the attendees at the translation of St. Ouen undertaken by Richard I sometime before 985 × 989, yet it is possible that this is actually a confused reference to Rodulf. Indeed, not only is the existence of a tenth-century bishop called Richard not corroborated elsewhere, but also the author of the *translatio*, who was writing in the early twelfth century, may have accidentally written *Richardus* for *Radulfus*, since one of the early twelfth-century bishops of Bayeux was Richard of Dover (1107-1133).⁶ Despite this state of affairs, it is possible that a rudimentary level of diocesan organisation existed during Rodulf’s episcopate, for an inscription within the church of Mondrainville (in the diocese of Bayeux) records the existence of a ‘Mundradus sacerdos vel archidiaconus’.⁷ Maylis Baylé reluctantly dated the engraving to the decades around the year 1000,⁸ yet this was enough for David Spear to include Mundradus among his

¹ *GC*, xi, col. 352.

² Desroches, ‘Annales religieuses’, i, p. 421. Desroches claims that ‘*les vieilles chroniques de Normandie*’ make reference to Rodulf as ‘of Avranches’. This seems to be a rather confusing translation of the entry in *Gallia Christiana*, which states ‘De Abrincis dictus Radulfus in Antiquitatibus Normanniae...’, *GC*, xi, col. 352.

³ Bouet and Dosdat, ‘Les évêques normands’, p. 24.

⁴ *RADN*, no. 4.

⁵ *GC*, xi, col. 352. Cf. Songzoni, ‘Le chartier de Saint-Denis’, pp. 209-210.

⁶ For bibliographical details on the manuscripts of the *translatio*, see p. 9 n. 29.

⁷ Mondrainville, Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles. Albert Dauzat claimed that this place name perhaps comes from the German name Montrannus (*Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France*, ed. A. Dauzat (Paris, 1963), p. 464), although Ernest Nègre claims the form is Mundricus, Nègre, *Toponymie générale*, ii, p. 944. For this name, of which only one example can be found from the Paris basin, see Morlet, *Noms de personne*, i, p. 170.

⁸ Baylé, ‘Sur quelques inscriptions’, pp. 54-55.

fasti of cathedral personnel.⁹ It is possible, of course, that Mundradus was a member of the episcopal household during the episcopate of Rodulf's successor, Hugh, though the evidence remains slim.

It is unclear when Rodulf left his charge. His last known appearance is usually dated to 1006, and is invariably associated with a document issued for the abbey of Fécamp.¹⁰ David Spear claimed that these facts were only known from *Gallia Christiana*,¹¹ but their source seems to have been the *Libellus de revelatione, edificatione et auctoritate Fiscannensis monasterii*,¹² which was composed c. 1090 × 1094.¹³ The text itself recounts the early history of Fécamp, a number of miracles, and details certain privileges, which it claims were bestowed upon the abbey by Richard II. According to the *Libellus*, at some time after monks had been installed in the abbey (i.e. after 1001), the duke summoned all the nobles and bishops of Normandy to Fécamp (*totius Northmanniae episcopos, et viros nobiles, festinus Fiscannum convocavit*), and decided to free the abbey from all episcopal customs. A charter was drawn up, which was signed and confirmed by the archbishop of Rouen and all the bishops, as well as many magnates.¹⁴ Interestingly, there is a surviving authentic charter issued by Richard II for Fécamp that deals with its privileges, and which dates to 30 May 1006.¹⁵ This seems to be the document the editors of *Gallia Christiana* associated with the account of *Libellus de revelatione*. Unfortunately, not only do its contents not tally with the description in the *Libellus* (it seems the author is mistakenly—perhaps deliberately—referring to details in the document issued by Richard I on 15 June 990), but also the great number of witnesses that are said to have signed and confirmed the charter are not to be found.¹⁶ The editors of *Gallia*

⁹ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 37.

¹⁰ GC, xi, col. 353.

¹¹ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 31.

¹² The text and its editions are discussed in Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, Appendix V, pp. 259-262. For emendations based on a new manuscript, see M. Arnoux, 'La fortune du *Libellus de revelatione, edificatione et auctoritate Fiscannensis monasterii*: note sur la production historiographique d'une abbaye bénédictine normande', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 21 (1991), pp. 135-158. See also M. Arnoux, 'Les premières chroniques de Fécamp: de l'hagiographie à l'histoire', in *Les saints dans la Normandie médiévale*, pp. 71-82.

¹³ Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, p. 58. For discussion of Lemarignier's dating, see Douglas, 'The first ducal charter', pp. 48-51.

¹⁴ '... donatae libertatis chartam archiepiscopus, aliique episcopi, signo et consensu corroboraverunt', 'Libellus de revelatione, edificatione et auctoritate Fiscannensis monasterii', ch. xx, Migne, *PL*, cli, col. 722.

¹⁵ RADN, no. 9.

¹⁶ Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, pp. 58-61.

Christiana did have access to a twelfth-century Fécamp cartulary that has since been lost, but had this contained either a different version of the charter of 30 May 1006, or another different document, it seems strange that they make no reference to it.¹⁷ Regardless, it seems there was another vacancy at Bayeux following Rodulf's death or departure. Fortunately, his successor proved more than capable in resurrecting the city's fortunes.

¹⁷ GC, xi, col. 203.

Hugh of Ivry, c. 1011-1049

There could not be a greater contrast between Hugh's episcopate and that of his predecessor. While Rodulf's origins are unknown, Hugh was the son of Rodulf, count of Ivry, the uterine brother of Richard I, and Rodulf's first wife Eremberga (d. c.1011). He therefore shared the same important familial connections as John of Ivry, bishop of Avranches and archbishop of Rouen, the details of which are discussed above.¹ Moreover, while Rodulf's episcopate is defined by a lone appearance in the diplomatic record, Hugh appears in over thirty charters, and is often described there as a *fidelis* of Richard II. It was also during his episcopate that the diocese was energetically reorganised. Using his personal influence he helped restore the temporal possessions of his cathedral, and by the beginning of the second decade of his tenure he issued a charter in his own name through which he sought to safeguard the wealth of his bishopric.² He also began work on a new basilica, to which the relics of SS. Ravennus and Rasiphus were later translated.³ Unfortunately, the names of only two members of the cathedral chapter survive from this period, and it seems that Hugh was unable to fully reconstitute his cathedral personnel.⁴ His lax moral behaviour also earned the ire of later monastic chroniclers. Indeed, he was able to muster military might equivalent to that of a secular lord, and also had at least one child (a daughter, Albereda).⁵ Nevertheless, his career, which neatly encompasses the period before the beginning of the movement of reform, has long attracted the attention of modern scholars,⁶ while the details of his landed possessions continue to be a focal point for debate.⁷

Hugh was invested in his bishopric sometime around 1011.⁸ No information survives regarding the nature of his elevation, or the exact date and location of his

¹ For discussion, see pp. 61-62 and fig. 15.

² *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges (v. 825-1204) conservées aux archives de la Seine-Inférieure*, ed. J.-J. Vernier, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1916), i, no. viii. A critical edition of this charter is in Appendix G.

³ 'Historia translationis SS. Ravenni et Rasiphi', AASS, July V, p. 393.

⁴ The possible existence of an archdeacon called Mundradus has been discussed above (pp. 104-105), while a chaplain of the bishop called Tedoldus appears in charter of Jumièges, which is discussed below; *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges*, i, no. viii. For further discussion, Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 37 and 54.

⁵ *GND*, vi, 5, p. 52; *OV*, iii, p. 244. For discussion of a possible son, see below, p. 113.

⁶ Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', pp. 7-21.

⁷ Gazeau, 'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux', pp. 139-147; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 207-208.

⁸ Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', pp. 8-9.

consecration. His first known act as bishop was very much a family affair. On 15 September 1011, he witnessed a charter at Rouen in which Richard II (his cousin) confirmed numerous donations that his father had made to the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen.⁹ Although his signature is one of a number written in a different hand from the main body of text, and was originally thought to be a later interpolation, scholars now believe that Hugh witnessed the act.¹⁰ The abbey of Saint-Ouen was one of the institutions most favoured by the early Norman dukes and their followers,¹¹ and was a particular favourite of Hugh's father Rodulf, who had a *pitance* founded there in his memory.¹² The count may have issued his charter during the weekend of his son's consecration, for although 15 September was a Saturday, it is possible that the newly ordained bishop appended his *signum* the following day, which would explain why it is written in a different hand.¹³

The death of Hugh's father shortly after this meeting soon saw the bishop's ecclesiastical power further reinforced with that of a secular lord.¹⁴ The exact extent of the properties that passed to Hugh, in particular the honour of Breteuil, has long been a matter for debate,¹⁵ although there is little doubt that his inheritance was extensive.¹⁶ He was by no means unusual, however, and two of his contemporaries, Robert, archbishop of Rouen, and Ivo, bishop of Sées, also commanded great secular power as the *comte* of Évreux and lord of Bellême, respectively. This arrangement undoubtedly brought benefits to the communities of the dioceses with which these men had been charged, for their great material wealth could be relied upon to reinvigorate the physical and spiritual infrastructure of their sees.¹⁷ Hugh was no

⁹ *RADN*, no. 13.

¹⁰ Bates argued that although the charter existed in two different versions, both with different witness lists, these both contained Hugh's *signum*. Moreover, one of the charters was written in part by Dudo of Saint-Quentin, a man who was closely linked with the family of Ivry, Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', pp. 8-9; Gazeau, 'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux', p. 139.

¹¹ More ducal charters survive for the abbey of Saint-Ouen than any other Norman house between 911 and 1066, *RADN*, pp. 35-36.

¹² 'Directorium S. Audoeni Rothomagensis', *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 380.

¹³ Of those bishops for whom an exact date of consecration is known (Geoffrey de Montbray, his successor Rodulf and Serlo, bishop of Sées), all were consecrated on a Sunday. All three men were also consecrated in Rouen by the archbishop. For the exact dates, and further discussion, see below, pp. 180, 204, 435.

¹⁴ Rodulf's last appearances in the historical record dates from 1015 × 1017, *RADN*, nos. 18, 21.

¹⁵ Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', pp. 10-15; Gazeau, 'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux', pp. 139-147.

¹⁶ For full discussion see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 201-210.

¹⁷ The best known example of a specific injection of personal wealth into an episcopal city comes from Coutances during the reign of Geoffrey de Montbray. See below pp. 176-203 for discussion.

different, and it is perhaps no coincidence that the relics of SS. Ravennus and Rasiphus, which were translated to the cathedral of Bayeux by Hugh, were said to have been found in the church of Saint-Vaast-sur-Seulles.¹⁸ This edifice not only lay in a region close to properties inherited by Hugh from his father,¹⁹ but also belonged to a powerful local lord, Rodulf Taisson, to whom it is possible the bishop, either in his ecclesiastical or secular capacity, had ordered it to be subinfeudated.²⁰ The bishop may have exploited similar networks to secure a relic of St. Quentin, for although the oldest inventory of the cathedral's relics does not comment on its provenance,²¹ it is possible Hugh received the saint's arm from Dudo of Saint-Quentin,²² with whom his father had been so close.²³ The liberality allowed by such connections guaranteed that Hugh was remembered as 'a good and blessed bishop' (*episcopus pius et bonus*),²⁴ although as we shall see, the manipulation of such immense secular power was not without its problems.

The opening years of Hugh's episcopate passed, however, without dramatic incident. The bishop disappears from the historical record for four years following his appearance at Rouen, before reappearing, along with six of his episcopal colleagues, to witness a charter for Mont-Saint-Michel in 1015.²⁵ This charter, which was clearly issued at an important meeting of the court, was perhaps delivered at the same time as another charter for the chapter of Saint-Quentin, which was witnessed by many of the same people at Rouen on 8 September 1015.²⁶ As with the act of Saint-Ouen almost

¹⁸ Saint-Vaast-sur-Seulles, Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles. For the tradition that a nun living at Bayeux was made aware of the presence of the relics in a vision, and then subsequently went to tell the bishop, see 'Historia Ravenni et Rasiphi', p. 393; 'Appendix ex hodierno Bajocensi Breviario', AASS, July V, pp. 393-394.

¹⁹ Rodulf possessed properties in the Hiémois, to the southeast of Saint-Vaast, Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 204.

²⁰ For this suggestion, which would make the subinfeudation an act of reward for Rodulf's participation at Val-ès-Dunes on the side of the duke, and would confirm the tradition that the translation occurred towards the end of Hugh's reign, see J. Decaens, 'Les origines du village et du château de Saint-Vaast-sur-Seulles (Calvados)', *ANS*, 10 (1988), pp. 83-100, at pp. 91-92.

²¹ 'Inventaire du Trésor de la cathédrale de Bayeux (1476)', ed. E. Deslandes in 'Le trésor de l'église Notre-Dame de Bayeux', *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1896), pp. 341-450, at p. 367.

²² F. Neveux, 'Les reliques de la cathédrale de Bayeux', in *Les saints dans la Normandie médiévale*, pp. 109-133, at p. 114.

²³ Rodulf, count of Ivry, was one of Dudo's principal informers, while Hugh is known to have met the canon, since the charter of Saint-Ouen discussed above was written in part by him: 'Dudo capellanus Richardi Northmannorum ducis et marchionis hanc cartam composuit et scripsit', *RADN*, no. 13, p. 89.

²⁴ 'Historia Ravenni et Rasiphi', p. 393.

²⁵ *RADN*, no. 17.

²⁶ *RADN*, no. 18.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
15 June 990	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4	Fécamp	Fécamp			x

Fig. 21 Appearances of Rodulf, bishop of Bayeux (c. 990-c. 1006), in the diplomatic record

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
15 Sept. 1011	<i>RADN</i> , no. 13	Saint-Ouen de Rouen	Rouen		x	
21 Sept. 1014	<i>RADN</i> , no. 15 (doubtful)	Chartres cathedral	Rouen		x	
1015	<i>RADN</i> , no. 17	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
8 Sept. 1015	<i>RADN</i> , no. 18	Saint-Quentin	Rouen		x	
1015 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 43	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1017 × c. 1022	Bulst, <i>Wilhelms von Dijon</i> , pp. 223-236	Fruttuaria			x	
1017 × 1023	<i>RADN</i> , no. 24	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		x		
1017 × c. 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 30	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1017 × 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 31	Fécamp			x	
1017 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 47	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1020 × 1030	<i>Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges</i> , i, no. viii	Jumièges		x	x	x
c. 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 33	Sées cathedral		x		
1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35	Fécamp	Fécamp		x	
Aug. 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 34	Fécamp	Fécamp		x	
Aug. 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 36	Jumièges	Fécamp		x	x
c. 1025 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 53	Saint-Ouen de Rouen				x
1025 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 55	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1027 × 1033	<i>RADN</i> , no. 65	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1027 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 73 (doubtful)	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1028 × 1040	BN, ms. coll. Moreau, vol. 21, fol. 25r-v	Fécamp			x	
1028 × 1033	<i>RADN</i> , no. 67	Rouen cathedral		x		
c. 1030	<i>RADN</i> , no. 61 (doubtful)	Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen	Rouen		x	
c. 1031 × 1034	<i>RADN</i> , no. 70	Fécamp			x	
12 Nov. 1032	<i>RADN</i> , no. 64	Cerisy-la-Forêt		x		x
13 April × 30 April 1033	<i>RADN</i> , no. 69	Saint-Wandrille			x	
c. 1033 × 1049	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux</i> , no. A1[7]	Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux	Préaux			x
11 April 1034	<i>RADN</i> , no. 71	Fécamp	Fécamp			x
1035	<i>Grand Cartulaire de Conches</i> , no. 406 (i)	Conches			x	
1035 × 1037	<i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. xxi	Bayeux cathedral				x
1035 × c. 1043	<i>RADN</i> , no. 100	Jumièges				x
c. 1035 × 1049	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux</i> , no. A1[14]	Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux				x
c. 1042 × 1049	<i>RADN</i> , no. 116	Saint-Amand de Rouen			x	x
c. 1042 × 1049	Le Cacheux, <i>Histoire de Saint-Amand</i> , no. 2, p. 246	Saint-Amand de Rouen				x
1046 × 1049	<i>Grand Cartulaire de Conches</i> , no. 406 (xv)	Conches				x
1047 × 1049	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 149	Fontenay				x

Fig. 22 Appearances of Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux (c. 1011-1049), in the diplomatic record*

* Hugh may be the bishop by that name who witnessed *RADN*, nos. 21, 52 version B.

four years earlier, the bishop's father played a prominent role in this donation. Indeed, such was the count's influence that his son's *signum* was appended as that of 'Hugh the bishop, son of Rodulf'.²⁷ Hugh had chosen—or had been required—to style himself similarly in the act of Saint-Ouen.²⁸ These two examples are unusual among contemporary episcopal attestations, where bishops are normally identified by nothing more than their office, sometimes with the diocese, sometimes without.²⁹ This suggests that either Hugh continued to live very much in his father's shadow while he remained alive, or that, given the impoverished state of the diocese with which he was charged, it was still more prestigious to be seen as also the son of the count of Ivry rather than just the bishop of Bayeux.

The next decade saw the bishop attend at least one other great meeting of court, where he witnessed a charter for the abbey of Fruttuaria,³⁰ while he also appended his signature to various acts for the abbeys of Mont-Saint-Michel, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Ouen and Fécamp, none of which can be dated precisely.³¹ It was also during this period that the bishop began producing his own charters, and at sometime after 1020, he issued an act for the abbey of Jumièges in which he gave the abbey the land of Rouvray,³² and allowed the monks free passage along the Eure from here until the village of Fontaine-sous-Jouy.³³ Hugh is once again qualified in the act by both his episcopal office and his relationship to his father, though it is clear Rodulf was no longer alive, for the bishop is described as 'the former son of the count' (*quondam comitis filius*).³⁴ The charter is interesting, therefore, not only because it is the oldest known surviving original episcopal act for the entire ecclesiastical province, but also because it shows Hugh discharging the responsibilities of his newly acquired secular position. The donation was made at the request of Hugh's knight, a certain Rodulf, whom the bishop described as being 'exceedingly dear to me' (*meus miles*

²⁷ 'S. Hugonis episcopi, Rodulfi filii', *RADN*, nos. 18, p. 102.

²⁸ 'Signum Hugonis episcopi filii Rodulfi comitis', *RADN*, no. 13, p. 89.

²⁹ Exceptions to this rule include Robert, archbishop of Rouen, who is referred to as a relation (either son or brother) of one of the dukes (e.g. *RADN*, no. 24); Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who after 1066 is often referred to as earl of Kent (e.g. *Regesta*, no. 71), though not in Norman documents, and Hugh's brother John, bishop of Avranches, who is also referred to as Rodulf's son, even though the count had been dead for almost fifty years, *RADN*, no. 229.

³⁰ Bulst, *Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223-236. Hugh witnessed this act along with all the other bishops of Normandy in 1017 × c. 1022.

³¹ *RADN*, nos. 24, 30-31, 43, 47.

³² Rouvray, Eure, cant. Vernon-Sud.

³³ Fontaine-sous-Jouy, Eure, cant. Évreux-Est.

³⁴ AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 27. A critical edition of this charter can be found in Appendix G.

uehementer michi carissimus), and who was about to become a monk at Jumièges. Rodulf held the land of Rouvray from the bishop ‘*ex meo iure hereditario*’, which clearly refers to his paternal inheritance, while the affection that Hugh felt for Rodulf suggests he was perhaps a former tutor or guardian of some kind. The act was also witnessed by Hugh’s chaplain, and although he has been included among lists of cathedral personnel,³⁵ it seems more likely that this was an individual inherited by the bishop from his father.³⁶

The charter was the first of a series in which Hugh made donations to institutions and individuals throughout the duchy.³⁷ Despite the bishop’s evident liberality, modern scholars have not always viewed his activities sympathetically, and have portrayed Hugh as an individual whose primary concerns lay with his landed estates, rather than his diocese, and who often acted to the detriment of other religious institutions.³⁸ This is especially true of the abbey of Fécamp, which Lucien Musset believed had ‘*souffrit beaucoup*’³⁹ following an exchange in which the bishop received the domain of Argences.⁴⁰ Though as Cassandra Potts has noted, although the act states the monks initially balked at the proposal,⁴¹ the trade seems to have been made in their favour, allowing them to administer their estates more efficiently.⁴² It is possible that Hugh was also involved in negotiating a ‘life-lease’ agreement for the abbey concerning the land of Beaunay in the Pays de Caux.⁴³ This act was witnessed by a ‘Hugo episcopus’,⁴⁴ and although other Norman bishops named Hugh were involved with Fécamp at this time, sometimes negotiating their own ‘life-lease’ agreements,⁴⁵ it seems most likely that the individual in this instance was the bishop

³⁵ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 54.

³⁶ If the chaplain did serve Hugh as bishop, rather than count, then it is the only known example of this position at Bayeux in the eleventh century. The next individual identified in this post does not appear for another hundred years, Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 53-54.

³⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A1[7] & [14]; Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, no. 3, p. 247; Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxi; *RADN*, nos. 36, 53, 100, 144, 234; *OV*, iii, p. 122. Critical editions of all these acts can be found in Appendix G.

³⁸ Bates, ‘Notes sur l’aristocratie normande’, p. 9; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 213.

³⁹ Musset, ‘La contribution de Fécamp’, p. 62.

⁴⁰ Argences, Calvados, cant. Troarn.

⁴¹ ‘Quod post multas eorum excusationes tandem obtinui’, *RADN*, no. 71, p. 208. Dated 11 April 1034 at Fécamp.

⁴² Potts, *Monastic revival*, pp. 127-130.

⁴³ Beaunay, Seine-Maritime, cant. Tôtes.

⁴⁴ BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 21, fol. 25r-v. Dated 1028 × 1040. For a full list of episcopal children, see below, Appendix D.

⁴⁵ This is Hugh, bishop of Avranches. For details of his various dealings with Fécamp, see above pp. 53-54.

of Bayeux. As inheritor of the honour of Breteuil,⁴⁶ which included fees in the Pays de Caux,⁴⁷ Hugh would have had an active interest in overseeing such an arrangement, while he was joined in witnessing the act by various members of his family, including his brother-in-law Osbern, and two previously unknown relatives, his brother Tuold, and his son Rodulf.⁴⁸ Given that Hugh is known to have fathered at least one other child,⁴⁹ and that his son is named in his father's honour, a practice evident among his sister's children,⁵⁰ it not only confirms his participation in this particular agreement, but also provides interesting information regarding his own family. Moreover, Hugh's involvement reinforces the arguments of Cassandra Potts, since these 'life-lease' contracts often helped develop and augment the lands of the abbey involved.⁵¹

The generous donations made by the bishop to monastic institutions throughout the duchy does much to reinforce his image as a man concerned for their wellbeing, while the style of the charters through which he made these grants reveals some of his less recognised qualities. Among the more notable features of these acts are their *arengae*, a pious or portentous preamble, through which Hugh explains the wider considerations behind his actions. These elaborate clauses expound the spiritual need for and reward of such ventures, while their message is reinforced by Scriptural allusions from both the Old and New Testaments.⁵² Moreover, Hugh not only granted property to certain abbeys, he also consented to their foundation. He played a leading role, for example, in the establishment of the abbeys of Cerisy-la-Forêt, Conches, Préaux and Saint-Étienne de Fontenay,⁵³ and not only agreed to their foundation, but

⁴⁶ Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', pp. 10-12.

⁴⁷ The fees in the Pays de Caux of the honour of Breteuil are analysed in J. Le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries châtelaines dans le Grand-Caux à l'époque ducal', *Archéologie médiévale*, 6 (1976), pp. 5-148, at pp. 46-47. Hugh also donated land located in this region to the abbey of Saint-Wandrille, *RADN*, no. 234. It is possible that one of these properties (*Brunetot*), identified by Marie Fauroux as Benetot (Seine-Maritime, cant. Yerville), is actually Benetot, located about 3km to the east of Beaunay. Hugh's mother was also from the Pays de Caux, *GND*, ii, p. 174.

⁴⁸ '... testes affuit Hugo episcopus, Tuoldus frater eius, Osbernus filius Arfast, Radulfus filius episcopi...', BN, ms. coll. Moreau, vol. 21, fol. 25r-v, at fol. 25v.

⁴⁹ This is his daughter, Aubrée, *GND*, vi, 5, p. 52; *OV*, iii, p. 244.

⁵⁰ We know that Emma named at least two of her children Rodulf, Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 198.

⁵¹ Potts analyses the specific contract discussed here, but does not mention the involvement of the bishop of Bayeux, Potts, *Monastic revival*, p. 56.

⁵² *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges*, i, no. viii; Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, no. 3, p. 247. Critical editions of these acts can be found in Appendix G.

⁵³ *RADN*, no. 64; *Regesta*, no. 149; *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A1; *Grand Cartulaire de Conches*, no. 406 (i).

also provided some of them with exemption from certain episcopal customs.⁵⁴ Hugh showed similar commitment to preserving and extending the possessions of his own cathedral, and expressed how he had grieved (*dolui*) over the loss of church benefices following the death of Robert I, which he was apparently powerless to stop in the face of ‘certain robbers’ (*quosdam raptores*).⁵⁵ Calling upon his half-cousin, the archbishop of Rouen, and certain other laymen, he was able to demonstrate the cathedral’s rightful possession of these benefices, and promptly had them restored and confirmed (fig. 23).⁵⁶

This charter is interesting not only for the snapshot it provides of cathedral possessions at this time, but also the light it sheds on the difficulties that men, even those of the highest stature, could face in protecting their property during periods of *iure tirannico*. Hugh had ascended to the episcopate during a period when ducal authority was particularly strong, and it is possible that throughout these years the duke’s influence was enough to guarantee possessions located far from Hugh’s own sphere of influence, which was concentrated overwhelmingly in the east of the duchy.⁵⁷ It is difficult, in fact, to locate Hugh in his diocese throughout his entire reign,⁵⁸ and when his precise location can be determined, he is to be found either in places of ducal authority (Rouen, Fécamp),⁵⁹ or those near his landed possessions (Préaux).⁶⁰ It is possible, therefore, that following the collapse of ducal authority in the opening years of the reign of Robert I, the bishop of Bayeux found the possessions of his church, located well outside his ambit of power, difficult to protect from local barons over whom he had little control. It has been proposed that the cause of the

⁵⁴ For a map of the episcopal customs held in fee from the bishop by Rodulf Taisson, which were subsequently given by him to his foundation at Fontenay, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 203.

⁵⁵ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxi. A critical edition of this charter can be found in Appendix G.

⁵⁶ ‘... sed Roberto archiepiscopo, et comiti, et vicecomiti Niello, ceterisque senioribus regni iusticiam gerentibus facere clamorem necessarium duxi. Quo vero clamore prolato in medio; invenerunt Robertus scilicet archiepiscopus, Odo comes, et Niellus vicecomes, alique seniores iusticiam regni obtinentes, quod illas terras quarum clamorem facerem; sub episcopali sacramento sancte Marie in perpetuum, adquirere deberem, quod et feci, terrarumque nomina; tali notatione in hac cartula subscripsi’, Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxi, p. 28.

⁵⁷ Bates, ‘Notes sur l’aristocratie normande’, pp. 10-12.

⁵⁸ The description of the discovery of the relics of SS. Ravennus and Rasiphus claims that when the nun was told the relics were in the church of Saint-Vaast-sur-Seulles, she ‘went to Hugh’, who was presumably also in Bayeux: ‘... mulier, Hugonem adit, narratque ex ordine quaecumque viderat’, ‘Appendix Bajocensi Breviario’, p. 394.

⁵⁹ *RADN*, nos. 13, 18, 61 (Rouen) and 34-36 (Fécamp).

⁶⁰ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A1[7].

quarrel between the duke and the bishop, which led to Hugh fortifying his castle at Ivry and his subsequent exile in France,⁶¹ was caused by the bishop's dissatisfaction with the duke's misuse of ecclesiastical property.⁶² If Hugh recognised the need to bolster his authority in his diocese, then it is perhaps little surprise that it was upon his return from France that he approached the duke at Fécamp, and asked that he countenance his proposal regarding the domain of Argences, which would allow him to exchange lands in the extreme northeast of the duchy for a much needed foothold in his diocese.⁶³

That the majority of the bishop's contributions to his city date from the end of his episcopate seems to confirm the suggestion that he was not much involved there until after 1035. Moreover, the exact nature of Hugh's role in the growth of Bayeux is a matter of debate, with much of the evidence coming from late and unreliable sources. The city was certainly home, by no later than 1026, to a thriving cult dedicated to Mary Magdalene,⁶⁴ and although it seems Bayeux was at the heart of spreading this particular devotion in the West,⁶⁵ it cannot be said that its bishop played any specific part in its dissemination. In fact, it is entirely possible that the cult, like that of St. George, another cult of eastern origin active in the city during Hugh's episcopate, had been established in the region well before the eleventh century.⁶⁶ The most contentious source regarding the early eleventh-century history of Bayeux remains, however, the *vita* of Geoffrey, second abbot of Savigny.⁶⁷ The criticisms of this text, which was written towards the end of twelfth century, are well enough known that

⁶¹ *GND*, ii, p. 52.

⁶² Potts, *Monastic revival*, p. 130.

⁶³ *RADN*, no. 71.

⁶⁴ The evidence comes from Hugh of Flavigny, who, during his account of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem undertaken by Richard de Saint-Vanne, records the existence of 'monasterium sanctae Mariae Magdalenae in eadem Baiocensium civitate situm', Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH: SS*, 8 (Hanover, 1848), p. 393.

⁶⁵ For discussion of the cult of Mary Magdalene in Bayeux, see V. Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Auxerre, 1959), i, pp. 62, 73, 84, 88, 128, 144, 163, 176; ii, pp. 202, 255, 269, 290-291, 298, 300, 320-321; L. Musset, 'Observations sur le culte de sainte Marie-Madeleine en Normandie et notamment à Bayeux', *BSAN*, 56 (1961-1962), pp. 667-670; J. Fournée, *Le culte populaire et l'iconographie des saints en Normandie* (Paris, 1973), p. 53; Bouvris, 'Notes d'histoire bayeusaine', pp. 16-18.

⁶⁶ For the cult of St. George, and the church dedicated in Bayeux in his honour, see Bouvris, 'Notes d'histoire bayeusaine', pp. 18-20. Saint-Georges de Bayeux was one of the churches granted to the abbey of Cerisy-la-Forêt at the moment of its foundation in Nov. 1032, which Hugh freed from episcopal customs, *RADN*, no. 64.

⁶⁷ 'Vita s. Gaufridi, secundi abbatis Saviniacensis', in 'Vitae BB. Vitalis et Gaufridi, primi et secundi abbatum Saviniacensium', ed. E.P. Sauvage, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1 (1882), pp. 355-410, at pp. 390-410.

they need not be rehearsed here.⁶⁸ It seems, nevertheless, that Hugh did play some role in beginning construction on the cathedral,⁶⁹ which was far enough advanced to welcome the relics of SS. Ravennus and Rasiphus, while the fire mentioned in the *vita* of Geoffrey, which is supposed to have destroyed a large part of the edifice,⁷⁰ is still repeated as fact by modern historians of the city,⁷¹ and is sometimes dated as precisely as 1046.⁷²

Hugh also played an important role in developing some of the other institutions necessary to the cohesion of any medieval bishopric. The charter confirming the cathedral's possessions includes 'the land where the park of the bishop was at Bayeux',⁷³ and allods at Douvres-la-Délivrande,⁷⁴ which are the earliest references to two of the episcopal manors established throughout the diocese, which allowed the bishop to exercise his authority throughout the see.⁷⁵ Hugh's most important contribution in this regard, however, was the parcel of possessions secured in the west of his diocese that would later comprise the domain of Neuilly.⁷⁶ These holdings helped secure an important frontier location, while the site was later home to an episcopal residence that included a stone castle.⁷⁷ It seems Hugh also took the first steps to establish the personnel who would administer these sites in his absence. The famous Bayeux Inquest of 1133 reveals some of the land subinfeudated by the bishop before 1047,⁷⁸ while families like the Suhart,⁷⁹ whose land is mentioned in the charter of cathedral restitutions,⁸⁰ continued to serve Hugh's successors, and held positions within the cathedral chapter.⁸¹ Similarly, families such as those centred around

⁶⁸ Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', pp. 18-20. Bates' criticisms have been followed by certain Savignac scholars, including Moolenbroek, *Vital l'ermite*, pp. 80-81.

⁶⁹ Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', p. 167.

⁷⁰ 'Contigit... civitatem Baiocensem, cum cathedrali ecclesia et aliis ecclesiis parochialibus... inopinati incendii infortunio concremari', 'Vita s. Gaufridi', § II, p. 392.

⁷¹ Bouvris, 'Notes d'histoire bayeusaine', p. 28.

⁷² F. Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux: villes épiscopales de Normandie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Caen, 1996), pp. 42, 51.

⁷³ '... terram ubi parcus episcopi fuit in Baiocis', Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxi, p. 29.

⁷⁴ Douvres-la-Délivrande, Calvados, chef-lieu.

⁷⁵ For these manors, see Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, pp. 60-61, 280-281.

⁷⁶ For the possessions that made up this domain, see Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, p. 367.

⁷⁷ Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, pp. 367-371.

⁷⁸ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 16-17.

⁷⁹ The Suhart are discussed in Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', pp. 16-17.

⁸⁰ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxi, p. 29. This land may have been located around Neuilly, Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, p. 367.

⁸¹ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 73, 78.

Feuguerolles and Cottun,⁸² whose land also formed part of the cathedral possessions restored by Hugh,⁸³ not only went on to hold various positions within the cathedral chapter, but also established prebends that would eventually come under the control of the Suhart.⁸⁴

What control Hugh actually retained over these men is, however, unclear. The rebellious army that marched against the duke in 1047 was comprised of some of the leading men of the Bessin, including those from Bayeux itself,⁸⁵ while the famous battle that saw the rebel army defeated at Val-ès-Dunes was fought in the heart of Hugh's diocese. Those who recorded the events surrounding the revolt are silent as to any role played by the bishop in support of either the duke or the rebels,⁸⁶ though this has not prevented some from falsely accusing Hugh of having some role in the uprising.⁸⁷ Interestingly, Wace, who is a surprisingly reliable source for the battle,⁸⁸ records that in the days before the *mêlée*, Rodulf Taisson had sworn on the relics at Bayeux that he would strike the duke 'wherever he might find him'.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, the identity of these relics is not specified, but since the relics of SS. Ravennus and Rasiphus were located, before their translation to Bayeux, at Saint-Vaast-sur-Seulles,⁹⁰ which may have already been in Rodulf's possession at this time, it is entirely possible that these are the ossements in question. Moreover, such a ceremony would have undoubtedly involved the participation of a local ecclesiastic, and if this was not Hugh, then it was, at the very least, someone under his charge.⁹¹ On the other hand, it is possible that Hugh played a leading role in the defection of Rodulf Taisson, who joined the duke's side before battle commenced,⁹² rewarding him with the

⁸² Feuguerolles-Bully, Calvados, cant. Évrecy; Cottun, Calvados, cant. Bayeux.

⁸³ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxi, p. 29.

⁸⁴ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 61, 67, 73.

⁸⁵ Wace records that a certain man by the name of Hardret, 'who was born and raised in Bayeux', was killed by Duke William, Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 4061-62.

⁸⁶ *GG*, i, 8, p. 10; *GND*, ii, pp. 120-122; *OV*, iv, p. 84; William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 428; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 3761-4162.

⁸⁷ H. Navel, 'Monographie de Feuguerolles-sur-Orne (Calvados) des origines à la Révolution', *MSAN*, 38 (1930), pp. 141-459, at p. 228. Navel does not state his source, though it is probably the thirteenth-century 'Chronique de Normandie', which lists a 'Sansson l'Evesque de Bayeux' among the conspirators, *RHGF*, xi, p. 333.

⁸⁸ E.M.C. van Houts, 'Wace as historian', in *Family trees and the roots of politics*, pp. 103-132, at p. 107.

⁸⁹ Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, line 3884.

⁹⁰ 'Historia Ravenni et Rasiphi', p. 393.

⁹¹ The presence of an ecclesiastic was not always necessary at such ceremonies, however. See L. Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, trans. R. Rex (Woodbridge, 2005), Scene 23, pp. 148-149.

⁹² Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 3873-3913.

possession of Saint-Vaast, and the episcopal customs of twelve churches in the region, which he held in fief from the bishop.⁹³ Moreover, it is perhaps no coincidence that William set off to confront the rebels from Argences, which had been in Hugh's possession since 1034.⁹⁴

The entire episode must, however, have proved somewhat embarrassing for the bishop. Men like Grimoult Le Plessis, who served the cathedral of Bayeux for his lands, was one of the principal conspirators of 1047.⁹⁵ His possessions were promptly confiscated by the duke, and were only returned to the cathedral in 1074.⁹⁶ This not only robbed the community at Bayeux of an important estate, but perhaps indicates that the duke had, to some extent, begun to doubt Hugh's ability to administer that with which he was charged. The diplomatic evidence reveals that the bishop was primarily interested in institutions located to the east of the Risle at this time, where he was particularly involved in the abbey of Saint-Amand de Rouen, of which his sister, Emma, had just been made abbess.⁹⁷ It is possible that Hugh played some role in the establishment of the Truce of God,⁹⁸ which was promulgated at a council held in his diocese shortly after Val-ès-Dunes, but the fact that he chose, in the same year as this meeting, to invade lands belonging to the abbey of Préaux,⁹⁹ has rightly been held up as evidence that the bishop would probably have been less than enthusiastic about such measures.¹⁰⁰ It is possible, however, that the move was intended to benefit his cathedral, rather than the bishop himself, for Hugh secured plate (candelabras and a chalice) from the abbey in return for the lands he had seized,¹⁰¹ which may have been intended to replace those items lost during the fire that had ravaged the city in around 1046. The bishop had, however, already shown himself unprepared to become

⁹³ These are the churches later granted to the abbey of Fontenay, *Regesta*, no. 149.

⁹⁴ Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, line 3841.

⁹⁵ H. Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133 sur les fiefs de l'évêché de Bayeux', *BSAN*, 42 (1934), pp. 5-81, at pp. 15-16; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 4203-4226.

⁹⁶ *Regesta*, no. 27.

⁹⁷ *RADN*, no. 116 (a critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G); Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, no. 2, p. 246.

⁹⁸ David Douglas felt that the synod was held 'at the instigation of Hugh', Douglas, 'The Norman episcopate', p. 114.

⁹⁹ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A1[14]. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

¹⁰⁰ M. de Bouïard, 'Sur les origines de la Trêve de Dieu en Normandie', *AN*, 9 (1959), pp. 169-189, at p. 175.

¹⁰¹ '... tria argentea candelabra, videlicet, duo ex puro argento, et tercium ex auro et argento, vel nigello pulchre compositum, et unum calicem deauratum', *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A1[14], p. 7.

actively involved in promoting reform ideas in the duchy, and did not attend the council convened by the archbishop of Rouen in around 1045 to discuss such matters.¹⁰²

It is somewhat unusual, therefore, that Hugh, in his last known act as bishop, should have participated in the papal council held at Reims in October 1049.¹⁰³ It is possible that, like the archbishop under whom he had first served, Hugh had chosen to amend his ways, and now sought to dedicate himself to upholding principles that he had once shunned.¹⁰⁴ It is more likely, however, that he was sent along with four of his colleagues in part to negotiate the marriage of the duke to Mathilda of Flanders, a union that had been conceived in the year following Val-ès-Dunes.¹⁰⁵ The marriage would ultimately be condemned by the pope, though the record of council proceedings gives no exact reason why.¹⁰⁶ What Hugh made of the meeting is unknown. Bates suggested he would have been ‘*stupéfait*’,¹⁰⁷ and there seems little reason to doubt that a man who had fathered at least two children, commanded great secular power and exerted his influence militarily would have found many of the council’s decrees unpalatable.¹⁰⁸ Hugh’s participation in the council is, however, one of the many contradictions that define his episcopate. He undoubtedly played an important role in revitalising his diocese, but many of the most important institutions remained only half restored, a failing revealed all too painfully by the revolt of 1047. But above all, Hugh’s episcopate had illustrated how great secular power alone was not enough to guarantee the successful administration of a diocese, and although the bishop chose to be buried at Bayeux,¹⁰⁹ it is perhaps no coincidence that the man the duke chose to succeed him was not simply his half-brother, but was part of a family already well implanted in the region.

¹⁰² The council was only attended by two of the Norman bishops, namely those of Coutances and Évreux, Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 40.

¹⁰³ ‘*Dedicatio sancti Remigii*’, col. 737; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, ‘*Histoire*’, p. 236.

¹⁰⁴ For the repentance of Robert, archbishop of Rouen, see ‘*Acta archiepiscoporum*’, p. 224.

¹⁰⁵ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 76; *GND*, ii, p. 129 n. 5.

¹⁰⁶ ‘*Dedicatio sancti Remigii*’, col. 742; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, ‘*Histoire*’, p. 252.

¹⁰⁷ Bates, ‘*Notes sur l’aristocratie normande*’, p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Unlike the bishops of Sées and Coutances, however, he was not admonished for his misdeeds at the council, ‘*Dedicatio sancti Remigii*’, col. 741; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, ‘*Histoire*’, p. 248; *GND*, ii, pp. 116-118.

¹⁰⁹ Hugh was apparently buried next to the tower: ‘... sepultus est iuxta pyramidem a parte septentrionis’, *GC*, xi, col. 353. The source for this information is unclear, although it is repeated in an eighteenth-century history of the bishops, which adds that Hugh was interred ‘*sous un tombeau de marbre*’, Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 7 (now AD Calvados, ms. 6 G 7), fol. 76v. This monument, along with its inscription, was destroyed by the Huguenots in 1562.

Odo, c. 1049-1097

Few Anglo-Norman personalities are quite so well known as Odo, bishop of Bayeux. With activities well documented on both sides of the Channel, his career has been the subject of scholarly endeavours in both England and France since the turn of the eighteenth century.¹ Odo's most recent biographer, David Bates, has done much to correct the mistakes of these earlier authors, and although many resources have since become available for the study of Odo's career, that which follows is, necessarily, still heavily indebted to this work.² Moreover, in an effort to reduce unnecessary repetition, and to ensure that it is Odo's contributions as a member of the Norman episcopate, rather than the English nobility, that are documented, the reassessments offered herein will primarily concern his continental activities. There is little need to discuss the beginnings of these deeds in any great detail, for Odo is well known to be the son of the Conqueror's mother, Herleva, and her husband Herluin de Conteville,³ whose influence spread throughout the duchy, including the diocese of Bayeux.⁴ Odo's exact date of birth has proved impossible to determine, though it should probably be located around 1032 to 1033.⁵ Despite this uncertainty, there is little doubt that when Odo finally received the see of Bayeux he was well under the canonical age of thirty, a fact noted by certain near contemporary chroniclers.⁶ He did not ascend to the episcopate completely unschooled in ecclesiastical affairs, however, for at some point before his election he was ordained a deacon at Fécamp by his first

¹ Hermant, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayeux*, pp. 130-150; Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 6 (now AD Calvados, ms. 6 G 6), fol. 33v-36r; Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 7 (now AD Calvados, ms. 6 G 7), fol. 13r-14r, 76v-78v; E.A. Freeman, *The history of the Norman Conquest of England, its causes and its results*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1867-1879), vi, pp. 180-181 (index of Odo's appearances); M. Beziers, *Mémoires pour servir à l'état historique et géographique du diocèse de Bayeux*, ed. G. le Hardy, 3 vols. (Rouen, 1894-1896), i, pp. 287-294; V. Bourrienne, 'Odon de Conteville, évêque de Bayeux. Son rôle au début de la première Croisade', *Revue catholique de Normandie*, 7 (1897), pp. 389-405; 8 (1898), pp. 20-41; 9 (1899), pp. 420-440, 530-542; 10 (1900), pp. 266-289 (also published as a single volume); Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, pp. 8-17; P.L. Hull, 'The Norman episcopate during the reign of William the Conqueror', Dissertation, MA, 2 vols. (University of Bristol, 1955), ii, pp. 236-297 and pp. 298-365.

² D. Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux, 1049-1097', Thesis, PhD (University of Exeter, 1970), 344 p.; Bates, 'The character and career', pp. 1-20. The article of Lucien Musset adds little to this work, L. Musset, 'Un prélate du XI^e siècle, Odon de Bayeux', *Art de Basse-Normandie*, 76 (1978-1979), pp. 12-18.

³ *GND*, ii, p. 96; *OV*, iv, p. 98.

⁴ For a detailed discussion of this family, see Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', pp. 21-38; D. Bates and V. Gazeau, 'L'abbaye de Grestain et la famille d'Herluin de Conteville', *AN*, 40 (1990), pp. 5-30.

⁵ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 3; Bates, 'The character and career', p. 2. Musset dated Odo's birth 'vers 1036', Musset, 'Un prélate du XI^e siècle', p. 13.

⁶ *GG*, i, 39, p. 166; *OV*, iv, p. 116.

cousin, once removed, Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux.⁷ The ordination may have taken place shortly before Odo's appointment as bishop,⁸ and therefore paid little more than lip service to canonical regulations,⁹ but given the redating of the episcopate of Hugh d'Eu discussed below, this event may have taken place anytime between 1046 and 1049.¹⁰ It is entirely possible, therefore, that Odo spent some time at Fécamp, where he may have received instruction from one of the duchy's most eminent ecclesiastics, John of Ravenna.¹¹

Unfortunately, it is unknown exactly when Odo became bishop, or where, and by whom, he was consecrated. A charter of Robert Curthose, which was issued on 24 April 1089, in 'the fortieth year since the ordination of bishop Odo', suggests he had been consecrated at some point before 23 April 1050,¹² although Odo's first datable appearance is found in a charter of Saint-Évroult, certain redactions of which claim it was issued on 25 September of the same year.¹³ Since all the other known episcopal ordinations of the eleventh century took place at Rouen,¹⁴ it is possible that Odo's consecration coincided with the duke's re-entry into the ducal capital following an uprising by its citizenry.¹⁵ However, since Odo's election was clearly part of a deliberate policy that sought to extend ducal influence in the west of the duchy,¹⁶ it is entirely possible that the duke ordered the consecration take place in Bayeux itself. The city was, after all, home to a cathedral that had been partly completed by Odo's predecessor, and even if this edifice had been destroyed by the fire mentioned in the *vita* of Geoffrey, abbot of Savigny, there was still a thriving religious community centred around as many as ten parish churches.¹⁷ Bayeux also had a reputation as a strong centre of Scandinavian culture, where dukes sent their children to be educated

⁷ Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', p. 596.

⁸ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 3; Musset, 'Un prélate du XIe siècle', p. 13.

⁹ See, for example, the ninth canon of the council convened at Rouen in 1072, *OV*, ii, p. 288.

¹⁰ For discussion of this redating, see below pp. 257-259.

¹¹ For John of Ravenna, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 105-110.

¹² '... ordinationis Odonis eiusdem ecclesiae episcopi anno quadragesimo', Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. iv. The *Liber depositionum* of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon claims Odo governed his diocese for 48 years, which would place his ordination in late 1049, *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon : prieurés et dépendances des origines à 1300*, ed. G. Chevrier and M. Chaume, 2 vols. (Dijon, 1943-1986), ii, no. 390, p. 167.

¹³ *RADN*, no. 122 versions CDE.

¹⁴ William Bona Anima, Geoffrey de Montbray, Rodulf, bishop of Coutances, Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux and Serlo, bishop of Sées were all consecrated at Rouen.

¹⁵ *GG*, i, 10, p. 12. The duke re-entered the city in early 1050.

¹⁶ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 9; Bates, 'The character and career', p. 5.

¹⁷ Bouvris, 'Notes d'histoire bayeusaine', pp. 15-30; Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, pp. 52-53.

in Danish customs in the days of Dudo of Saint-Quentin,¹⁸ while men from the city had participated in the revolt of 1047.¹⁹ There would have been little better place, therefore, to perform the consecration, an event that would have heralded the process by which the dichotomy between Upper and Lower Normandy would begin to be mitigated.²⁰

Following his election, Odo wasted little time in becoming a regular participant in the daily life of the court. His activities at this time are, however, no different from those of his episcopal colleagues, and primarily involve the attestation of ducal acts for the duchy's ecclesiastical institutions.²¹ These charters sometimes involved donations of land located within Odo's diocese,²² or concerned gifts made to a local monastery such as Cerisy,²³ but the vast majority seem to have been subscribed by the bishop simply because they were issued at a meeting of the court at which he was present. In 1051, for example, Odo attested two charters for the abbey of Saint-Wandrille, which were witnessed by an impressive gathering of ecclesiastics and laymen.²⁴ The presence among the witnesses of the young Robert Curthose, who cannot have been more than a year old,²⁵ suggests the charters had perhaps been drawn up in the immediate aftermath of an event such as his baptism, which had been officiated by the archbishop of Rouen, who was also present, with Odo and the bishops of Évreux and Lisieux assisting.²⁶ Similarly, it is possible that another attestation, this time on a charter concerning a dispute between the abbeys of Marmoutier and Saint-Pierre de la Couture,²⁷ conceals Odo's participation in another event of wider significance. Indeed, although it has been most recently suggested that

¹⁸ *De moribus*, p. 221.

¹⁹ Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 4061-62.

²⁰ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 55.

²¹ *RADN*, nos. 122 (versions CDE), 124, 126, 132, 141, 159 (version B and C), 190, 195, 227, 229, 231.

²² *RADN*, no. 190.

²³ *RADN*, no. 195.

²⁴ ‘+ Signum Roberti iuvenis comitis’, *RADN*, nos. 124, 126.

²⁵ Both acts survive as originals (AD Seine-Maritime, 16 H 27 and BN, ms. lat. 16738, planche 5), and although Ferdinand Lot believed the *signum* of the young Curthose was a later interpolation (F. Lot, *Études critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille* (Paris, 1913), no. 30, p. 76 n. 1), it is generally accepted as genuine by modern authorities (*RADN*, no. 124, p. 294). Not all have been convinced, however, and Curthose's most recent biographer has suggested that while the young Robert may have been present, the signatures were probably added later, Aird, *Robert Curthose*, p. 26 n. 21.

²⁶ That the acts were witnessed by such figures, as well as by both parents and an impressive gathering of laymen would certainly suggest such an event. Curthose's most recent biographer does not comment on the matter, Aird, *Robert Curthose*, p. 26.

²⁷ *RADN*, no. 159.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
c. 1049 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 190	Saint-Wandrille	Lyons-la-Forêt	x	x	
1050 (25 Sept.?)	<i>RADN</i> , no. 122 (versions CDE)	Saint-Évroult			x	
c. 1050 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 195	Cerisy-la-Forêt			x	
1051	<i>RADN</i> , no. 124	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1051	<i>RADN</i> , no. 126	Saint-Wandrille			x	
c. 1052 × 1058	<i>RADN</i> , no. 141	Marmoutier			x	
1055	<i>RADN</i> , no. 132	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
c. 1060 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 219	Bayeux cathedral				x
22 Sept. 1063 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 159	Marmoutier	Domfront	x		
1063	<i>RADN</i> , no. 156 (versions B and C)	Saint-Julien de Tours	Bonneville-sur-Touques	x	x	
1066 (?)	<i>RADN</i> , no. 227	Beaumont-lès-Tours	Bayeux (<i>in camera comitis</i>)	x	x	
1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 229	Avranches cathedral	Caen		x	x
18 June 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 231	La Trinité de Caen			x	x
1066 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 90	Cerisy-la-Forêt			x	
1066 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 91	Cerisy-la-Forêt			x	x
1066 × 1079	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 89	Cerisy-la-Forêt			x	x
1066 × 1077	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 45	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1066 × 1076	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 211	Montivilliers				x
1068 × 1077/8	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 199	Marmoutier			x	
1068 × 1076	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 212	Montivilliers				x
1068 × 1070	BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 52r	Troarn		x	x	x
1068	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 280	Troarn	(Westminster) Winchester		x	x
1068	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 345(I & II)	Worcester cathedral			x	
May 1068	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 286	Wells cathedral			x	
13 April 1069	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 254	Saint-Denis			x	
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 70	Canterbury cathedral				x
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 71	Canterbury cathedral		x	x	x
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 72	Canterbury cathedral			x	
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 73	Canterbury cathedral			x	
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 74	Canterbury cathedral		x	x	x
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 75	Canterbury cathedral			x	
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 76	Canterbury cathedral			x	
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 85	St. Augustine's, Canterbury		x	x	x
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 86	St. Augustine's, Canterbury		x	x	x
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 87	St. Augustine's, Canterbury		x		x
1070 × 1079	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 149	Fontenay			x	x
c. 1070 × 1077/8	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 141 (A)	Fécamp			x	
1071 × 1079	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 198	Marmoutier			x	

25 Mar. × 28 Aug. 1072	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 69 (I, Ib and II)	Canterbury cathedral				X
27 May 1072	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 68	Canterbury cathedral	Windsor		X	
1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 27	Bayeux cathedral				X
May 1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 261	Saint-Wandrille	Rouen		X	
30 Nov. 1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 26	Bayeux cathedral	Rouen			X
1075 × 1082/3*	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 186	London, St. Paul's		X		
1075/6 × 1081/2	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 118	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				X
1076 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 307	Westminster abbey			X	
1076 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 313	Westminster abbey		X		
1077/8 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 102	Cluny				X
1077	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 166	Bec		X	X	
14 July 1077	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 83	St. Augustine's, Canterbury	Bayeux	X		
13 Sept. 1077	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 46	Saint-Étienne de Caen	Caen (at the abbey)	X		
1078 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 134	Evesham				X
1078 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 135	Evesham		X	X	X
1078 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 155	St. Peter's, Gloucester		X		
1079 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 52	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X	X	X
1079 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 57	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X	X	X
1079 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 282	Troarn			X	
1079 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 283	Troarn			X	
1080/1 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 53	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X		
1080 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 221	Ramsey abbey		X		
1080 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 281 (I,II & III)	Troarn			X	
1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 153	St. Peter's, Gloucester	Berkeley		X	
7 Jan. 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267 (II)	Saint-Florent de Saumur	Caen	X		
31 Jan. 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 266 (II)	Saint-Florent de Saumur	Saint-Georges de Boscherville			X
2 June 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 30	Bernay		X		
14 July 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175 (I&II)	Lessay	Bonneville-sur-Touques		X	
1081 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 54	Saint-Étienne de Caen			X	
1081/2 × 1086	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 121	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				X
1081 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 49	Saint-Étienne de Caen		X	X	
Feb. 1081	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 193	Malmesbury abbey	London		X	
31 May 1081	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 39	Bury St. Edmunds	Winchester			X
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 59 (I&II)	La Trinité de Caen		X	X	X
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215	Saint-Évroult de Mortain			X	X
Autumn 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 158	Grestain			X	X
1082 (late)	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 253	Saint-Calais	Downton (Wilts)		X	
1087 × 1096	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. lxxvi	The bishops of Bayeux	Bayeux (<i>in domo episcopi</i>)	X	X	X

* This charter may also be dated 1087 × 1088.

1087 × 1094	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 355	Rochester cathedral	Brigstock (Northants)			x
1087 × 1088	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 304	St. Augustine's, Canterbury				x
1088 × 1091	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45v-46v	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		
1088 × 1096	BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 158v-159r	Troarn	Caen (<i>in hospicio episcopi</i>)			x
c. 1088 × Feb. 1092	AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 160	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		x	x	x
24 April 1089	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. iv	Bayeux cathedral	Vernon			x
20 July × 9 Sept. 1089	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r-v	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		x
1089 (July)	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. vi	Saint-Vigor-le-Grand	Eu (during siege)	x		x
20 July 1089	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r	Saint-Étienne de Caen	Eu (during siege)	x		
1091 × 1095	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 7	Jumièges	Lisieux		x	
1 June 1091 × 28 Feb. 1092	BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r	Bec	(Rouen)		x	
7 May 1092	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. xxii	Bayeux cathedral	Bayeux (<i>in capitulo</i>)	x	x	x
1093 × 1094	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267(II)	Saint-Florent de Saumur	Bonneville-sur-Touques	x		
1093	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 340	St. Saviour at Bermondsey				x
Jan. 1093	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , col. 223	Coutances cathedral	(Coutances)	x		
Sept. 1093	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 336	Anselm, abp of Canterbury				x
25 Sept. 1093	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. xxiii	Bayeux cathedral	Bayeux (<i>in capitulo</i>)	x	x	x
1094	<i>Cartulaire de Vendôme</i> , ii, no. cccli	La Trinité de Vendôme	Vendôme	x		
1094	<i>Cartulaire de Vendôme</i> , ii, no. ccclii	La Trinité de Vendôme	Vendôme			x
24 May 1096	<i>Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon</i> , ii, nos. 385, 391	Saint-Bénigne de Dijon	Bayeux	x	x	x
24 May 1096	<i>Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon</i> , ii, no. 386	Saint-Bénigne de Dijon	Bayeux		x	x
1096, summer	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , Appendix II, no. 10	Rouen cathedral			x	

Fig. 24 Appearances of Odo, bishop of Bayeux (c. 1049-1097), in the diplomatic record*

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1097/9 × 1106	BN, ms. lat. 10058, pp. 1-2	Bec		x	x	x
1097/9 × 1106	BN, ms. lat. 10058, p. 3	Bec				x
1097/9 × 1106	BN, ms. lat. 10058, p. 4	Bec		x		
1101 × 1105	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 3	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1106 (aft. 28 Sept.) × 1107	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix F, no. 1	Bec	Rouen	x		
7 Nov. 1106	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 127-128	Fécamp	Rouen	x		

Fig. 25 Appearances of Turol d'Envermeu, bishop of Bayeux (1097 × 1099-1107), in the diplomatic record

* Odo also appears in forged charters for the abbeys of Coventry, Evesham, Gent, Malmesbury, Ramsey, Saint-Ouen de Rouen, Selby and Westminster, and the cathedral of Durham (*Regesta*, nos. 104, 109, 110, 111, 114, 133, 150, 194, 220, 245, 272, 290, 293, 301, 303, 305, 306, 308, 317, 322 and 331), while his *signum* was interpolated into a charter for Saint-Amand de Rouen, *RADN*, no. 116 version C. The bishop of Bayeux is also said to have attested a charter for Saint-Évroult shortly after the Conquest, the text of which is now lost (*OV*, ii, p. 120), and another for Bec along with Robert Curthose, which has suffered a similar fate, BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 20r (marginalia). Odo is also mentioned in two confirmation charters issued by Henry I, *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, nos. 646, 890.

Odo witnessed this act, which was issued at Domfront in 1063 × 1066, because his position in a neighbouring diocese allowed him to know local custom,²⁸ it is also possible that the act was issued at the end of the Breton campaign of 1064, in which the bishop may have played a part.²⁹

The culmination of this campaign was, of course, the momentous oath of Harold Godwinson, which was sworn, according to the famous embroidery later produced under Odo's patronage,³⁰ at Bayeux.³¹ Unfortunately, the narrative sources disagree as to the location at which the oath was sworn,³² though it is not impossible there were many such ceremonies,³³ while none of the chroniclers, or the Tapestry itself, mention the involvement of Odo himself. It is generally assumed that, if the oath was sworn at Bayeux, then it was done so upon the cathedral's relics, though Wace, who was himself a canon of Bayeux,³⁴ does not mention any specific ossements, claiming instead that the duke ordered numerous unidentified relics to be assembled in the city.³⁵ This naturally recalls similar circumstances at the council of Caen convened in 1047, where the relics of the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen had held centre stage.³⁶ Nevertheless, by 1064 the city of Bayeux would have been no mean place at which to stage such an important act of ceremony. Odo had already begun acquiring benefices for his cathedral,³⁷ and the edifice, which would be dedicated just over a decade later, must have already been fairly well advanced. It is possible that the cobble stones depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry, upon which the reliquaries are placed, represent the space before Odo's most impressive architectural achievement, namely the two towers of the cathedral's western façade. Furthermore, while the relics housed at Bayeux were of no great international reputation, we know that Odo provided a lavish

²⁸ Barton, *Lordship in Maine*, p. 217.

²⁹ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 11-12.

³⁰ The debate over the patronage of the Bayeux Tapestry continues to this day, with the most recent candidate being Edith Godwinson, wife of Edward the Confessor. Other possible patrons include Eustace II, count of Boulogne, although Odo remains the most likely candidate. For a full bibliography of Tapestry works written between 1985 and 1999, see S.A. Brown, 'Bibliographie sur la Tapisserie de Bayeux (1985-1999)', in *La Tapisserie de Bayeux: l'art de broder l'Histoire*, ed. P. Bouet, B. Levy and F. Neveux (Caen, 2004), pp. 411-417.

³¹ Musset, *Bayeux Tapestry*, Scenes 22-24, pp. 144-155.

³² Wace suggests Bayeux (Wace, *Roman de Rouen*, part III, line 5683), William of Poitiers proposes Bonneville-sur-Touques (*GG*, i. 42, p. 70) and Orderic Vitalis claims Rouen, *OV*, ii, p. 134.

³³ Musset, *Bayeux Tapestry*, p. 148.

³⁴ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 83.

³⁵ Wace, *Roman de Rouen*, part III, ll. 5685-86.

³⁶ Musset, *Bayeux Tapestry*, p. 150.

³⁷ *RADN*, no. 219.

reliquary for the bones of SS. Ravennus and Rasiphus, the twelfth-century description of which matches those depicted in the Tapestry.³⁸ Unfortunately, the reliquary's most distinctive feature, its four gilded feet shaped like those of an eagle,³⁹ are not represented here, although a later inventory description does refer to its cover using terminology normally associated with roofs,⁴⁰ recalling the reliquary under Harold's right hand, which has a curved lid in the shape of a hogback roof similar to other contemporary examples.⁴¹

The liberality evident in the reliquary of SS. Ravennus and Rasiphus was repeated by Odo throughout Bayeux. By the beginning of the twelfth century, visitors from outside the duchy expressed their admiration at a city of shining rooftops and impressive towers,⁴² while Marbode de Rennes snidely commented that the diocese was wealthy enough to support three bishops.⁴³ Although a great deal of capital was injected into the city following the Conquest of England, it is clear that a great many of the institutions that would later benefit from Odo's newly acquired wealth had been patronised by the bishop before 1066. Chief among these was the cathedral, of which only a fraction of the material built by Odo survives. The nature of these components, and the information they provide regarding the place of Odo's cathedral within the architectural history of the region, is so well known that it need not be rehearsed in full here.⁴⁴ Those features that perhaps reveal the most about Odo, and about eleventh-century Bayeux, are the numerous capitals that were discovered during restorations performed on the cathedral in 1856. Carved in the years before the

³⁸ 'Pontificante vero magno et sublimi viro domno Odone hanc matrem nostram, sanctam videlicet ecclesiam Baiocensem, tam digniter quam sublimiter, maioris dignitatis et honoris praecipui pretiosam et mirabiliter auro obrizo et gemmis micantibus dignissimam aliam...', 'Historia Ravenni et Rasiphi', p. 393.

³⁹ This feature is mentioned in an inventory of 1476: '... assise sur quatre piés de cuivre doré, faictz en manière de piés d'aigle', 'Inventaire de Bayeux', ed. Deslandes, p. 363. The reliquary described is generally believed to be Odo's, Neveux, 'Les reliques de Bayeux', p. 114.

⁴⁰ The inventory of 1476 has '... le costé de devant, les deux boutz et le festage de hault, est de fin or', 'Inventaire de Bayeux', ed. Deslandes, p. 363. The term *festage*, which is derived from the Latin *fastigium*, refers to the top or slope of a roof, *Dictionnaire de la langue française au XIIe et au XIIIe siècle*, ed. C. Hippeau, 2 vols. (Paris, 1873), i, p. 178.

⁴¹ This is a Danish reliquary from Cammin cathedral, Musset, *Bayeux Tapestry*, pp. 150-153.

⁴² *Rodulfi Tortarii Carmina*, ed. M. Ogle and D. Schullian (Rome, 1933), Ep. IX, p. 329.

⁴³ 'Quo si forte vocas citus occurram Baiocas, sedes praesulibus sufficit illa tribus', Marbode de Rennes, 'Carmina varia', no. xxi, 'Marbodius Samsoni episcopo', Migne, *PL*, clxxi, col. 1658.

⁴⁴ J. Valléry-Radot, *La cathédrale de Bayeux*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1958), pp. 12-14, 26-32; J.-J. Bertaux, 'La cathédrale de Bayeux', *Art de Basse-Normandie*, 54 (1969), pp. 19-43; J. Thirion, 'La cathédrale de Bayeux', *Congrès archéologique de France*, 132 (1978), pp. 240-285, esp. pp. 240-250; M. Baylé, 'Bayeux: cathédrale Notre-Dame', in *L'architecture normande au Moyen Âge*, ed. M. Baylé, 2 vols. (Caen, 1997), ii, pp. 37-42.

Conquest,⁴⁵ Bates considered them as somewhat rudimentary,⁴⁶ though they are generally thought to be '*parmi les chef-d'œuvre de la sculpture du XIe siècle en Normandie*'.⁴⁷ The sculptors themselves seem to have come from outside Normandy, and were influenced by styles found from Toulouse to England.⁴⁸ Their exact identity, and the means by how they came into Odo's employ, remains unclear, but the presence of these craftsmen in the city does much to confirm twelfth-century views of Bayeux, which paint the city created by Odo as a sophisticated centre of international trade and commerce.⁴⁹

The most interesting of the capitals is that depicting a scene from the Life of Christ (fig. 26). Once thought to portray Jesus and the apostles Peter and Paul,⁵⁰ it is now believed to represent the Incredulity of Thomas,⁵¹ who can be seen gesticulating towards Christ's right side, while Peter stands on his left, holding an enormous key. Although some have expressed reservations about this identification,⁵² the similarity between this capital and others located at the nearby church of Rucqueville,⁵³ as well as the more remote basilica of Saint-Sernin de Toulouse, confirms the identity of this particular scene.⁵⁴ Those who have studied these capitals have tended to focus on the representation of Peter, since few depictions of the Incredulity identify the Prince of Apostles by his key,⁵⁵ but it is the portrayal of Thomas that is of greatest significance in the Bayeux work. Normally standing to the right of Jesus, the earliest known examples of the Incredulity invariably show Thomas pointing to the wound in Christ's

⁴⁵ Baylé, 'Bayeux: cathédrale Notre-Dame', p. 39.

⁴⁶ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 151-152.

⁴⁷ Thirion, 'La cathédrale de Bayeux', pp. 242-244.

⁴⁸ L. Musset, *Normandie romane*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1984-1985), i, p. 250; M. Baylé, 'Chapiteaux provenant de la cathédrale romane de Bayeux', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1980), pp. 45-50, at pp. 48-50; G. Zarnecki, 'Early Romanesque capitals at Bayeux and Rucqueville', in *Symbolae historiae artium: studia z historii sztuki Lechowi Kalinowskiemu dedykowane* (Warsaw, 1986), pp. 165-189; M. Baylé, *Les origines et les premiers développements de la sculpture romane en Normandie* (Caen, 1992), pp. 118-123.

⁴⁹ 'Incipiunt versus Serlonis capta Baiocensium civitate', in *The Anglo-Latin satirical poets and epigrammatists of the twelfth century*, ed. T. Wright, 2 vols. (London, 1872), ii, pp. 241-251; *Rodulfi Tortarii Carmina*, Ep. IX, pp. 329-330; 'Vita s. Gaufridi', § II, pp. 392-394.

⁵⁰ Valléry-Radot, *La cathédrale de Bayeux*, p. 56.

⁵¹ Bertaux, 'La cathédrale de Bayeux', p. 20; Musset, *Normandie romane*, i, p. 250; Baylé, 'Chapiteaux de Bayeux', p. 46.

⁵² Thirion, 'La cathédrale de Bayeux', p. 244.

⁵³ Rucqueville, Calvados, cant. Creully.

⁵⁴ For images of these capitals, see Musset, *Normandie romane*, i, pl. 125; Zarnecki, 'Early Romanesque capitals', p. 171.

⁵⁵ Zarnecki, 'Early Romanesque capitals', p. 172. Peter is also not personally named as present at this event in the Gospels, John, 20: 26-29.



Fig. 26 Eleventh-century capital of Bayeux cathedral (carved c. 1050 × 1077) showing the *Incredulity of Thomas* (photo R. Allen)*

* This capital, which was once housed in the *Musée lapidaire*, is now found in the cathedral itself in the crypt built by Bishop Odo.

Origin	Medium	Location	Date	Description
Aachen	Ivory	Aachen, Domkapitel. Diptych, six panels.	9th cent.	Incredulity in top left panel. Christ, cross-nimbed, partly draped, right hand extended. Thomas, to His right, touches Christ's right side with his right hand. Left hand not visible. Four other apostles present. Scene in architectural setting.
Metz	Illumination	BN, ms. lat. 9428, fol. 66r	9th cent.	Christ, nimbed, partly-robed, stands on hillock with right hand raised, surrounded by apostles. Thomas stands on Christ's right side, touching His wounds with his right hand. Left hand not visible. Scene in letter 'P'.
Echternach	Illumination	Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms. 9428, fol. 92v	9th cent.	Christ, cross-nimbed, partly draped, right hand extended, with scroll in left hand, stands in a stylised building with three of the apostles, including Thomas, who are on his right side. Thomas is identified by an inscription, and points to Christ's wounds with his right hand, while his left hand is open palm-forward and empty. The other apostles are not identified.
Augsburg	Illumination	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 23631, fol. 197r	9th cent.	Christ, nimbed, raises left hand, and points at wounds on High left side with His right hand. Thomas, couched, on Christ's left, examines His wounds. Holding his right hand up to his face, his left holds the bottom of Christ's robes.
Cologne(?)	Ivory	Cologne, Domschatzkammer im Dom. Pxyis.	10th cent.	Christ, cross-nimbed, partly-robed, raises His right to reveal wounds on right side. Thomas, points with his right hand to Christ's wounds; his left is not shown. Another unidentified figure is depicted to Christ's right. The scene is set within a stylised castle.
Winchester	Illumination	BL, ms. Add. 49598, fol. 56v	971 × 984	Christ, cross-nimbed and partly draped, holding a cross-topped staff in left hand, stands between eight Apostles, all nimbed. Besides Thomas, only Peter is identified by his key. All but one of the apostles are on Christ's right side. Thomas points to Christ's wound with his right hand, while his left holds the bottom of Christ's robes. The scene is set in an arched frame of 'Winchester' acanthus, surmounted by a round boss.

Reichenau (?)	Ivory	Munich, Bayer. Nat. Museum. Plaque.	970	Christ, cross-nimbed, draped, raises His left hand. Thomas, kneeling, points to Christ's left side with right hand, and holds Christ's robes with his left. Scene in architectural setting (stylised house)
Reichenau	Illumination	Trier, Stadtbibliothek, ms. 24, fol. 92r	980 × 993	Christ, cross-nimbed, raises His right hand, and pulls back His robes with his left to reveal wound on right side. Thomas, on His right, identified by an inscription, touches Christ's right side with his right hand. His left is empty, palm forward. Three other unidentified apostles stand behind Thomas. The scene is set outside.
Salzburg	Illumination	Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St Peter, a 6 X, fol. 214r	1001 × 1015	Christ, cross-nimbed, draped, raises His right hand to reveal wound on right side. Thomas, nimbed, kneels to His right on mound, touching Christ's side with his right hand, and holding his robes with his left. The scene is set between two capitals.
Salzburg	Illumination	New York, Morgan Library, ms. M.781, fol. 225r	11th cent. (second quart.)	Thomas, pearled nimbus, kneels, with right hand touching side wound of Christ, left hand holding his own robes, cross-projecting pearled nimbus, showing wounds, and raising his right arm. Scene in architectural setting.
Echternach	Illumination	Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, b.21, fol. 66r	1039 × 1043	Christ, cross-nimbed, raises His right hand to reveal wound on right side. Thomas, on His right, identified by an inscription, touches Christ's right side with his right hand. His left is empty, palm forward. Three other apostles stand behind Thomas. The scene is in an architectural setting.
Winchester	Illumination	BL, ms. Cott. Tib. C. vi, fol. 14v	c. 1050	Christ, cross-nimbed, robed, holding a cross-topped staff in left hand, stretches out His right arm to reveal wound. Thomas, nimbed, on Christ's right, slightly couched, touches the wound with his right hand; his left hand is empty, with palm forward. The scene is set outdoors.
Bayeux	Sculpture	Bayeux cathedral. Historiated capital, once located on the south-west pier of the crossing, now in cathedral crypt.	1050 × 1066	Christ, cross-nimbed, robed, with arms outstretched. Peter, robed, stands to His left, holding a large key in his left hand, and gesturing towards Christ with his right. Thomas, robed, stands on the right, gesturing to Christ with his right hand,

Salzburg	Illumination	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15713, fol. 29v	11th cent. (second half)	and holding either a scroll or carved block of stone (an ionic capital?) in his left. Christ, cross-nimbed, partly draped, raises His right hand to reveal wound. Thomas, nimbed, on right, touches Christ's right side with his right hand. His left hand is empty. A female figure, presumably Mary Magdalene, nimbed, stands on Christ's right. Scene set in two-tiered architectural setting, above image showing two women visiting the tomb of Christ.
Toulouse	Sculpture	Basilique Saint-Sernin. Historiated capital, north transept	1070 × 1090	Christ, cross-nimbed, robed, with arms outstretched. Peter, robed, stands to His left, holding a large key. Thomas, robed, stands on the right, gesturing to Christ with his right hand, left hand hidden.
Salzburg	Illumination	New York, Morgan Library, ms. M.780, fol. 39v	1070 × 1090	Thomas, nimbed, with scroll in left hand, extends right hand toward side wound of Christ, cross-nimbed, partly draped, with right arm raised, and scroll in left hand. Scene in architectural setting.
Osnabrück	Ivory	Osnabrück, Domschatz. Reliquary.	11th cent. (second half)	Christ, robed, surrounded by twelve apostles, raises right hand to reveal wound, carries cross-topped staff in left hand. Thomas, on Christ's right side, points to wound with right hand. Left hand not visible. Scene is in architectural setting, and is to right of depiction of women at Christ's tomb.
Rucqueville	Sculpture	Église Saint-Pierre. Capital, southwest pillar of the crossing.	11th cent. (late)	Christ, cross-nimbed, raises His right arm in benediction. Thomas, nimbed, on His right, points to Christ's right side with his right hand. Left hand not carved. St. Peter, nimbed, stands to Christ's left holding key in right hand.
Silos	Sculpture	Monasterio de Santo Domingo. Cloister.	c. 1100	Christ, cross-nimbed, raises His right arm. Thomas, to Christ's right, touches His wounds with his right hand. Left hand hidden. Three other apostles, nimbed, to Christ's right, among whom is Peter with his key. Remaining apostles, nimbed, arranged above in two rows of four. Scene in architectural setting.

Narbonne	Sculpture	Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. Capital (inventory no. ME 263; 619 (Ra))	12th cent.	Christ, robed, stretches out his right arm to reveal right side. Thomas, kneeling on His right, touches His wounds with his left hand. His right hand rests upon his left knee.
Arles	Sculpture	Église Saint-Trophime. Statues (nos. 28 and 29) on pier of north range	12th cent.	Christ, on north face of pier, cross-nimbed, partly robed, points to His wounds on His right side with His left hand, right arm by His side with palm open. Thomas, on north-east face of pier, holds left arm with right hand, while left hand is hidden within his robes.
Toulouse	Sculpture	Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. Capital, from the abbey of Notre-Dame de la Daurade (inventory no. ME 148; 466 a (Ra))	12th cent. (first quarter)	Christ, robed, stretches out his right arm to reveal right side. Thomas, kneeling on His right, touches His wounds with his right hand. Left hand not visible.
Toulouse	Sculpture	Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. Capital, from the abbey of Notre-Dame de la Daurade (inventory no. ME 110; 472 a (Ra))	12th cent. (first quarter)	Christ, robed, stretches out his right arm to reveal right side. Thomas, kneeling on His right, touches His wounds with his right hand. Left hand not visible.
Hildesheim	Enamel	Basilika St. Godehard. Plaque.	12th cent. (second half)	Thomas, nimbed, with unrolled scroll in left hand, extends right hand toward side wound of Christ, cross-nimbed and partly draped, with right arm raised.
St. Albans	Illumination	Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, ms. St. Godehard 1, p. 52	1119 × 1146	Christ, cross-nimbed and robed, stands among the apostles with arms raised. Thomas, on His right, points to His wounds with his right hand, while his left hand is open palm forward. Scene in architectural setting.
Salzburg	Illumination	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15903, fol. 49v	c. 1140	Christ, partly-draped, lifts His right arms to reveal wounds on right side. Thomas, nimbed, to Christ's right, touches His wounds with his right hand, his left being empty and palm forward. Three unidentified apostles, nimbed, stand behind Thomas. The scene is in an architectural setting.
Huesca	Sculpture	Huesca, Monasterio de San Pedro el Viejo. Capital, cloister, west range	12th cent.	Christ, cross-nimbed, draped, lifts His left arm and points to His left side with His right hand. He is surrounded by four apostles, with Thomas to His left. Thomas does not gesture to Christ with either hand, but instead holds on to his own robes.

Corbie	Illumination	New York, Morgan Library, ms. M.44, fol. 12v	c. 1175	Christ, cross-nimbed, raises His left arm, revealing wound in opening of His garment on His left side. His right hand is grasped by Thomas with his left hand, nimbed, kneeling partly and extending his right forefinger to the side wound of Christ. Three nimbed apostles, one with joined hands raised, stand at right. Scene with decorated frame.
Fécamp	Illumination	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 76 F 13, fol. 25r	c. 1180	Christ, cross-nimbed, partly draped, and surrounded by nine of the apostles, all nimbed, in a stylised building. Three apostles stand on Christ's left and five, including Thomas, on His right. Thomas touches Christ's wounds with his right hand, while his left holds Christ's robes.
Pamplona	Illumination	BM (Amiens), ms. 108, fol. 197r	1197	Christ, cross-nimbed, robed, and surrounded by the eleven apostles in a stylised building. Six apostles stand on Christ's left and five, including Thomas, on his right. Thomas touches Christ's wounds with his right hand, while his left hand is empty.
Tedula	Sculpture	Catedral de Santa María. Capital, cloister, east range, no. 12	12th cent. (end)	Christ, nimbed and robed, stretches out His right arm to reveal His wounds. Thomas, to His right, kneeling, touches Christ's right side with his right hand. Left hand is not visible. The other apostles are carved on the other sides of the capital.
Puy-de-Dôme	Sculpture	Église Saint-Nectaire. Capital, south side of northwest pier of ambulatory	12th cent. (end)	The image is the last of four carved in order around this capital. These begin with a representation of Peter striking Malchus, who stands on the left of Christ, who is cross-nimbed, robed, and outstretching His right hand. Thomas, on Christ's right, points to His wounds with his right hand. His left hand is not visible.
Pfalz	Illumination	Trier, Stadtbibliothek, ms. 261/1140, fol. 127v	1200	Christ, cross-nimbed, raises His right arm, which holds an unrolled scroll, to reveal wounds on His right side. Thomas, nimbed, kneeling, touches Christ's right side with his right hand, while his left hold his own robes. The scene appears in the left margin of the folio.

Fig. 27 Representations of the *Incredulity of Thomas*, north of the Alps, and south of the Pyrenees, 800-1200

right side with his right hand, while his left is normally either hidden, empty, or shown holding Jesus' robes.⁵⁶ Later examples conform to this pattern, as do those at Rucqueville and Toulouse.⁵⁷ The Bayeux capital, however, depicts Thomas holding something in his left hand. This is perhaps a scroll, an iconographic tool sometimes used to identify apostles (including Thomas),⁵⁸ although it also looks like the top of an ionic capital.⁵⁹ The association of Thomas with such an item is not unusual, for the saint, like Peter and his key, soon came to be identified by other objects. These related to the apostle's architectural activities during his alleged mission to India, and included a setsquare,⁶⁰ as well as, occasionally, a stone.⁶¹ Such connections meant the saint soon became the patron of architects, masons and stonecutters, who paid for monuments to be erected in his honour.⁶² Admittedly, these traditions, and those concerning the saint's architectural iconography, are late, but if the object in Thomas' hand is supposed to represent a capital, then the Bayeux carving may be one of the earliest examples of the association of this saint with this particular art form, and the men responsible for its creation. If nothing else, it remains one of the earliest Romanesque images of the Incredulity to identify the apostle with an iconographical symbol (fig. 27).

The capitals were not Odo's only forays into the plastic arts. According to Rodulf Tortaire, the early twelfth-century cathedral of Bayeux was covered in statues, which

⁵⁶ BL, ms. Add. 49598, fol. 56v (Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, produced 971-984); *Moses Receiving the Law and the Incredulity of Thomas*, diptych, early eleventh century, ivory, 245mm × 102mm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst.

⁵⁷ Late eleventh-/early twelfth-century carving in the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos, E. Valdez del Álamo, 'Touch me, see me: the Emmaus and Thomas reliefs in the cloister of Silos', in *Spanish medieval art: recent studies*, ed. C. Hourihane (Tempe, AZ, 2007), pp. 35-64, at p. 36; twelfth-century capital in the church of Saint-Nectaire (Puy-de-Dôme), G. Rochias, 'Les chapiteaux de l'église de Saint-Nectaire. Étude iconographique', *Bulletin monumental*, 73 (1909), pp. 213-242, pl. 16c, between pp. 236-237; late twelfth-century illustration in Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 F 13, fol. 25r.

⁵⁸ C. Kuné, 'Thomas, der Zweifler. Text und Bild', *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik*, 30 (1990), pp. 33-49, at p. 37; New York, Morgan Library, ms. G.73, fol. 101r.

⁵⁹ For those who saw in this capital an image of Christ surrounded by SS. Peter and Paul, the object was identified as the hilt of a sword, V. de Cussy, 'Mémoire sur des chapiteaux romans de la cathédrale de Bayeux', *Bulletin monumental*, 25 (1859), pp. 465-476, at p. 468.

⁶⁰ 'Les attributs historiques de saint Thomas, apôtre', *Recueil de la Commission des arts et monuments historiques de la Charente-Inférieure*, 9 (1888), p. 167; L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1955-1959), iii, pt. iii, p. 1268.

⁶¹ A. Crosnier, 'Iconographie chrétienne, ou étude des sculptures, peintures, etc.', *Bulletin monumental*, 14 (1848), pp. 1-339, at p. 334; E. Reusens, *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, 2 vols. (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1886), ii, p. 515.

⁶² For example, the window dedicated to his life in the chapel of Sainte-Philomène in the cathedral of Bourges, A. Boinet, *La cathédrale de Bourges*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1929), p. 121.

had presumably been erected during Odo's episcopate.⁶³ Unfortunately, no other information about these sculptures survives. The thirteenth-century cathedral in nearby Coutances had statues dedicated to those associated with its foundation,⁶⁴ which may have replaced earlier effigies erected by Geoffrey de Montbray, and while the figures at Bayeux may have been dedicated to a similar theme, it is possible that the outside of the edifice was decorated with something similar to the Romanesque frieze at Lincoln.⁶⁵ Odo was certainly no stranger to such a medium, for the famous Bayeux Tapestry, which may, or may not, have been designed to hang in the nave of the cathedral, certainly employed a similar 'cartoon strip' narrative.⁶⁶ The bishop also contributed to the internal decoration, and Rodulf Tortaire was struck not only by the amount and quality of the cathedral's plate and vestments, but also, like so many visitors, by the great crown that hung at the crossing.⁶⁷ Measuring sixteen feet high, and wide enough to almost touch the walls of the cathedral, the crown was made of copper gilded in silver, carried ninety-six candles,⁶⁸ and was inscribed with verses that included a prayer in Odo's honour.⁶⁹ It must have been an impressive, if somewhat gaudy sight, and has rightly been considered as indicative of the extent of Odo's personal ambition.⁷⁰

Odo was also able to secure donations of treasure from members of his family. The duke gave to the cathedral, perhaps at the time of its dedication,⁷¹ a gilded casket, as well as the cloaks that he and Mathilda had worn during their wedding ceremony.⁷²

⁶³ 'Exterius sculptis fulget imaginibus', *Rodulfi Tortarii Carmina*, Ep. IX, p. 329, line 294.

⁶⁴ F.-A. Delamare, 'Essai sur la véritable origine et sur les vicissitudes de la cathédrale de Coutances', *MSAN*, 12 (1841), pp. 139-263, at pp. 177-187.

⁶⁵ Although the artistic style of the frieze at Lincoln has long been recognised as a of the mid-twelfth century, archaeological investigations seemed to suggest that the panels on which it rested had been installed during the reign of Bishop Remigius. Recent magnetic testing seems to confirm the later date, however, L. Maher *et al.*, 'The Romanesque frieze at Lincoln cathedral (England) – primary or secondary insertion? Magnetic considerations', *Archaeometry*, 42 (2000), pp. 225-236.

⁶⁶ For a summary of the debate concerning the location, either ecclesiastical or secular, in which the Tapestry was meant to be displayed, see C. Henige, 'Putting the Tapestry in its place', in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. G.R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 125-137, who eventually advances arguments for a secular setting.

⁶⁷ 'Multa metallorum locupletat quam variorum copia cum bisso, murice, vermiculo; Ferrea sustentant argenti vincla coronam, alta quae dura sunt trabe fixa sude', *Rodulfi Tortarii Carmina*, Ep. IX, p. 329, ll. 295-298.

⁶⁸ Beziers, *Mémoires de Bayeux*, i, p. 293; Bourrienne, 'Odon de Conteville', pp. 396-397.

⁶⁹ Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 1 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 1), fol. 217v; ed. Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, i, pp. lxxviii-lxxi.

⁷⁰ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 165; Bates, 'The character and career', p. 12.

⁷¹ Neveux, 'Les reliques de Bayeux', p. 115.

⁷² 'Inventaire de Bayeux', ed. Deslandes, pp. 378, 380-381, nos. 110, 128-129.

Odo and his brother also gave two vessels to the cathedral, each sculpted to represent the horn of a unicorn.⁷³ These two artefacts, which are often incorrectly reported to have been entire unicorns,⁷⁴ apparently measured nine and fifteen feet in length,⁷⁵ though their exact function is unclear. The inventory of 1476 records only that they were ‘très précieuse’,⁷⁶ and as such, were presented to François I, king of France (1515-1547), during his visit to the city in 1532.⁷⁷ It was not uncommon to find such items among the cathedral treasuries of France, however, and precious objects crafted to represent everything from whales to crocodiles could be found in churches from Paris to the Périgord.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, like so many of the treasures amassed by Odo, these two items were lost during the Huguenot uprisings of the second half of the sixteenth century, and having been entrusted to Henri-Robert de La Marck, *duc de Bouillon*, were lost forever.⁷⁹

Worldly treasure was, of course, only a small part of the valuables that might be accrued by a medieval bishop. Spiritual possessions, in particular relics, were also of enormous value, and Odo, like his episcopal colleagues, attempted to reconstitute the holdings of his cathedral, which had been devastated during the Scandinavian incursions. Unfortunately, Odo’s exact contributions in this regard are unknown. It is possible he helped secure the ossements of St. Aubert, which are recorded in the inventory of 1476,⁸⁰ in return for involving personnel from Mont-Saint-Michel in the foundation of Saint-Vigor le Grand.⁸¹ The bishop’s methods were not always so respectable, however. According to Guibert de Nogent, Odo bribed the priest of the church of Corbeil⁸² in an effort to secure the relics of St. Exupère,⁸³ the first bishop of

⁷³ ‘Inventaire de Bayeux’, ed. Deslandes, p. 378, nos. 111-112.

⁷⁴ Beziers, *Mémoires de Bayeux*, i, p. 201; ii, p. 34; Bourrienne, ‘Odon de Conteville’, p. 395; Bates, ‘Odo, bishop of Bayeux’, p. 156.

⁷⁵ C. de Bourgueville, *Les recherches et antiquitez de la Province de Neustrie* (Caen, 1588; reprint, Caen, 1833), p. 263. Repeated by all later Bayeux historians.

⁷⁶ ‘Inventaire de Bayeux’, ed. Deslandes, p. 378.

⁷⁷ De Bourgueville, *Recherches de Neustrie*, p. 263. The king duly restored the objects to the cathedral. He was in the city on 15 April 1532, *Catalogue des actes de François Ier*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1887-1908), viii, p. 478. Cf. vol. vi, no. 20200, pp. 255-256. The date is sometimes incorrectly given as 1531, P. de Farcy, *Sigillographie de la Normandie (évêché de Bayeux)* (Caen, 1875), p. 49; Bourrienne, ‘Odon de Conteville’, p. 395.

⁷⁸ E. Cholet, *Remarques singulières de Paris: d’après l’exemplaire unique de la Bibliothèque nationale*, ed. V. Dufour (Paris, 1881), p. 46 n. 1.

⁷⁹ M. Beziers, *Histoire sommaire de la ville de Bayeux* (Caen, 1773), pièces justificatives, pp. 3-16, at p. 6; perhaps from Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 201 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 201), liasse I.

⁸⁰ ‘Inventaire de Bayeux’, ed. Deslandes, p. 370, no. 51.

⁸¹ Neveux, ‘Les reliques de Bayeux’, pp. 115, 126-127.

⁸² Corbeil-Essonnes, Essonne, chef-lieu.

Bayeux,⁸⁴ while he unsuccessfully petitioned the abbey of Saint-Riquier to return the body of St. Vigor.⁸⁵ For Bates, the portrait was less than flattering,⁸⁶ but neither the circumstances in Bayeux, nor Odo's methods, were unusual. The metropolitan church of Rouen was so starved of relics, for example, that one archbishop decided to translate the relics of St. Severus from the west of the duchy,⁸⁷ while dioceses such as Lisieux had to appropriate saintly traditions from as far away as Bourges.⁸⁸ Odo may have thought to establish a cult to a more general celestial figure, especially since his cathedral was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, but it is possible, given that the bishop eventually dedicated his cathedral on a day of local religious significance,⁸⁹ that he realised the extent to which a cult in her honour was being promoted in Coutances by Geoffrey de Montbray.⁹⁰

Unlike his neighbour, however, Odo seems to have been unable to foster any successful cultic activity centred on his cathedral. The altar of SS. Ravennus and Rasiphus was still the second most important in the cathedral at the beginning of the twelfth century,⁹¹ a testament, if any were needed, to Odo's failure to establish anything more successful, while their cult barely spread beyond Bayeux itself.⁹² Of course, the fact that no collection of 'Bayeux miracles' has survived does not mean one was never written, though the fact that its residents sought, and received, healing everywhere in the duchy but Bayeux does suggest that there was little in the city to satisfy such needs.⁹³ Such trends seem to have been established well before Odo's

⁸³ For St. Exupère see J. Lair, 'Études sur les origines de l'évêché de Bayeux', *BEC*, 24 (1863), pp. 281-302.

⁸⁴ Guibert of Nogent, 'De sanctis et eorum pigneribus', in *Guibertus Abbas Sanctae Mariae Novigenti*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1993), pp. 79-175, at p. 104. Odo was duped and humiliated, however, being sold the bones of a local peasant named Exupère.

⁸⁵ Hariulf, *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier (Ve siècle-1104)*, ed. F. Lot (Paris, 1894), p. 187.

⁸⁶ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 156-157.

⁸⁷ 'Beati Severi translatio anno 1089', *AASS*, Feb. I, pp. 192-194, at p. 192.

⁸⁸ For discussion, see below, pp. 265-266.

⁸⁹ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 47.

⁹⁰ For discussion of this cult, see below, pp. 194-198.

⁹¹ 'Et quoniam, eodem tempore, ab eodem episcopo basilica, quae nunc usque superest, in honore beatissimae Dei genitricis construebatur, altare quod secundum est, in honore et nomine horum fratrum et martyrum condidit', 'Historia Ravenni et Rasiphi', p. 393.

⁹² Outside of Bayeux, copies of the *vita* and/or the *translatio* were found in manuscripts belonging to Saint-Ouen de Rouen and Saint-Évroult, while their feast was noted in liturgical manuscripts in Caen, Lisieux and Sées, B. de Gaiffier, 'Les saints Raven et Rasiphe vénérés en Normandie', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 79 (1961), pp. 303-319, at pp. 304-307. There is only one church dedicated in their honour in the whole of Normandy, Fournée, *Le culte des saints*, p. 32.

⁹³ There are cases of inhabitants of Bayeux being healed at Saint-Ouen de Rouen, Saint-Wandrille, Mortain, Coutances and Fécamp, Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 157-158.

time, however,⁹⁴ and although it was no great hagiographical centre, the duke deemed the cathedral worthy enough to receive the body of his daughter, Agatha.⁹⁵ In spite of this, and all that Odo lavished on the cathedral, he did not chose the building as his final resting place, stipulating instead that he, and his successors, should be interred in the abbey of Saint-Vigor le Grand.⁹⁶ Bates saw this as proof of the ‘personal disappointment’ that Odo felt in his work at the cathedral,⁹⁷ and although such stipulations are unique in Normandy, the bishop’s choice not to be buried in his cathedral is hardly unusual.⁹⁸ Only one of his successors obeyed the edict, however,⁹⁹ and by the mid-twelfth century it proved so embarrassing that the pope was asked to provide an exemption.¹⁰⁰

However, little epitomises the chequered history of one of Odo’s more enigmatic creations better than this papal decree. Founded before 1066, the abbey of Saint-Vigor was located to the northeast of the city on a site home to various religious edifices since at least the sixth century.¹⁰¹ Odo was undoubtedly already familiar with the mechanics of establishing a monastery, since his father had founded the abbey of Grestain in 1050, to which the bishop had made certain contributions.¹⁰² The ultimate demise of Odo’s own venture—the abbey would be turned into a priory in 1096—has led some to see Saint-Vigor as little more than a ‘folly’, over which the bishop exercised almost seigneurial rights.¹⁰³ Since Odo retained the right to elect and invest every abbot, such accusations are not without cause.¹⁰⁴ The house was not only well

⁹⁴ Aimoin, ‘De miraculis sancti Germani libri duo’, Migne, *PL*, cxxvi, col. 1041.

⁹⁵ *OV*, iii, p. 114. Agatha was interred in 1068.

⁹⁶ ‘Constituo etiam ibidem fieri sepulturam corporis mei et successorum meorum, et canonicorum, ritu sempiterno, laude eorundem canonicorum’, *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, no. 385. A critical edition of this charter can be found in Appendix G.

⁹⁷ Bates, ‘Odo, bishop of Bayeux’, p. 158.

⁹⁸ Surprisingly few members of the episcopate for this period can actually be said to have been buried in their cathedral. For discussion of the various places in which the bishops of this period were interred, see Allen, ‘Un évêque et sa ville’, pp. 32-33.

⁹⁹ This was Richard of Gloucester, d. 3 April 1142, Bourrienne, ‘Odon de Conteville’, p. 286.

¹⁰⁰ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. clxxx.

¹⁰¹ There is no solid historical evidence to confirm this date, though it is that most often repeated by historians of the abbey, J.-F. Faucon, ‘Essai historique sur le prieuré de Saint-Vigor-le-Grand’, *BSAN*, 2 (1862), pp. 47-52; G. Aubourg, ‘L’église du prieuré de Saint-Vigor-le-Grand, ordre de St Benoît’, *BSAN*, 47 (1939), pp. 333-347; L. Musset, ‘Les fouilles entreprises à l’emplacement de l’ancienne église abbatiale de Saint-Vigor-le-Grand près de Bayeux’, *BSAN*, 57 (1965), pp. 696-703; L. Musset, ‘Rapport sur les fouilles de l’abbatiale de Saint-Vigor le Grand en 1965 et 1966’, *BSAN*, 58 (1969), pp. 538-544; Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, pp. 65-67; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰² *Regesta*, no. 158. Cf. Bates and Gazeau, ‘L’abbaye de Grestain’, pp. 5-30.

¹⁰³ Bates, ‘Odo, bishop of Bayeux’, p. 159.

¹⁰⁴ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. vi, pp. 11-12.

invested with property, however, but provided with an abbot of impressive ecclesiastical credentials. Robert de Tombelaine, who as his toponym suggests came from Mont-Saint-Michel,¹⁰⁵ had been personally chosen by Odo.¹⁰⁶ The author of various commentaries,¹⁰⁷ and a correspondent of Anselm of Bec,¹⁰⁸ Robert would eventually leave Bayeux for Rome, where he served Gregory VII.¹⁰⁹ It seems highly improbable, therefore, that Odo would have been able to convince such a figure to help establish the abbey if there was any suggestion that contemporaries viewed it with disdain.¹¹⁰

The fact that life at the community collapsed so completely following the bishop's incarceration seems, however, to confirm the view that the house depended entirely on his will.¹¹¹ Exactly what the monks abandoned is unclear. Orderic claimed the buildings were incomplete upon their departure,¹¹² but a letter of Robert de Tombelaine, sent to the monks of Mont-Saint-Michel, refers to the choir of the abbey, its chapter house, an altar dedicated to St. Nicholas, which was perhaps housed in one of the apsidal chapels of the transepts,¹¹³ an infirmary (*domus infirmum*) and a house of refecton (*domus refectorium*).¹¹⁴ Much of this was perhaps already in place by 1068 × 1070, for the abbey, although described pejoratively (*monasteriolum*), was still suitably equipped to host a trial by ordeal.¹¹⁵ Robert's letter, which recounts the epileptic seizures of a monk named Hugh, also reveals a close-knit community, which strove for almost thirty days to cure their brother, employing not only a wide range of ecclesiastical techniques, but also seeking the help of two doctors, who were at that

¹⁰⁵ The Tombelaine is a small island in the bay of Mont-Saint-Michel, which is located on the right bank of the channel of the river Sée.

¹⁰⁶ *OV*, iv, p. 116.

¹⁰⁷ *OV*, iv, pp. 304-306. Cf. P. Quivy and J. Thiron, 'Robert de Tombelaine et son commentaire du Cantique des cantiques', in *Millénaire monastique*, ii, pp. 347-356.

¹⁰⁸ Anselm, 'Epistolae', in *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. F.S. Schmitt, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1946-1951), iii, no. 3.

¹⁰⁹ *OV*, iv, pp. 116, 304.

¹¹⁰ Gleason suggested that Odo chose Robert to maintain 'a high standard of monastic discipline' within the abbey, Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, p. 14.

¹¹¹ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 159-160; Bates, 'The character and career', p. 19.

¹¹² *OV*, iv, p. 304.

¹¹³ That the abbey had such features is suggested by an eighteenth-century print, *Monasticon Gallicanum: collection de 168 planches de vues topographiques des monastères bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, ed. A. Peigné-Delacourt (Paris, 1871), planche 103.

¹¹⁴ 'Roberti de Tumbalena prioris s. Vigoris epistola ad monachos s. Michaelis de Monte', Migne, *PL*, cl, cols. 1369-1378.

¹¹⁵ *Regesta*, no. 162. The trial was administered in the presence of a number of dignitaries, including William, archdeacon of Bayeux, who presumably brought the ordeal iron from the neighbouring cathedral.

time in the city of Bayeux.¹¹⁶ The abbey was also able to employ lay servants (*famuli*), who joked with Hugh as he recovered in the infirmary.¹¹⁷ Bates rather cynically implied that, since Hugh had come, like his abbot, to Bayeux from Mont-Saint-Michel,¹¹⁸ his prolonged illness was the result of ‘a psychological problem of adjustment’.¹¹⁹ But the description given by Robert is more of a frightened young man suffering from a debilitating disease to which no cure, either spiritual or medical, could be found.¹²⁰

The fact that the monks did disperse following Odo’s imprisonment is, however, inescapable. Bates felt that the root cause of their departure was that Odo had over-provisioned the house, resulting in an artificial environment ‘detrimental to community spirit’.¹²¹ The bishop’s behaviour was hardly unusual, however, and similar patterns of endowment can be found throughout the Norman monastic network.¹²² The abbeys founded in nearby Caen may have even provided a model for Odo as he contemplated establishing his own house, and both La Trinité and Saint-Étienne, like Saint-Vigor, were well endowed with land, while the first abbot of Saint-Étienne, Lanfranc, was, like Robert de Tombelaine, a man of impressive ecclesiastical credentials.¹²³ The Caen houses soon became some of the most successful monastic institutions in the duchy, in spite of their pampered beginnings, and there seems little reason to doubt that Odo intended the same for Saint-Vigor. Relics, of course, were an essential part in establishing a successful community, and whereas the abbeys of Caen had many such possessions, including of saints to whom they were dedicated,¹²⁴ Odo had failed to secure any relics of note for Saint-Vigor, even those of the bishop

¹¹⁶ ‘... medici duo doctissimi, qui in civitate praesentes aderant...’, ‘Roberti de Tumbalena’, col. 1372.

¹¹⁷ ‘... domum in qua frater separatus, ut huiusmodi rei competeat, habebatur, intrans, eum et ridentem, sedentem, iocantemque cum famulis, qui eius servitio’, Migne, *PL*, cl, col. 1372.

¹¹⁸ According to the letter, five monks of Saint-Vigor had come from Mont-Saint-Michel along with Robert and Hugh, ‘Roberti de Tumbalena’, col. 1378.

¹¹⁹ Bates, ‘Odo, bishop of Bayeux’, p. 161.

¹²⁰ Hugh was eventually restored to full health following a vision in which he was told he would die if the monks of Saint-Vigor ever returned to Mont-Saint-Michel during Robert’s lifetime. This is hardly the vision of a monk keen to return to the Avranchin, though perhaps suggests such talk was current among the monks of Saint-Vigor. Robert clearly took the vision seriously, however, for he not only wrote to his former companions on the matter, but chose to leave for Rome, rather than return to the Mont, in 1082/3, *OV*, iv, pp. 116, 304.

¹²¹ Bates, ‘Odo, bishop of Bayeux’, p. 160.

¹²² For a general overview of the numerous male houses founded or refounded between 911 and 1204, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i, pp. 7-16.

¹²³ For a brief summary of the early history of both Caen houses, see Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, pp. 13-15.

¹²⁴ Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, nos. 29, 30.

himself.¹²⁵ For monks of Mont-Saint-Michel, accustomed to an endless flow of pilgrims, the circumstances at Bayeux perhaps proved disheartening, while the existence of an altar dedicated to St. Nicholas,¹²⁶ a universal saint whose cult did not require the physical presence of relics,¹²⁷ suggests the relic drought persisted at the time Robert wrote his letter.¹²⁸

It seems unlikely, however, that such deficiencies alone would have prompted the monks to disperse so readily. Bayeux was, after all, no ecclesiastical backwater. It had an impressive cathedral, an extensive parochial network,¹²⁹ and was home to a thriving ecclesiastical regimen in which Saint-Vigor was itself involved.¹³⁰ Furthermore, given the presence of cults to eastern saints already established within the city, an altar dedicated to St. Nicholas may simply reflect further devotion in this regard.¹³¹ That which ultimately doomed the abbey was, rather, the decision taken by Robert de Tombelaine in the immediate aftermath of Odo's imprisonment. The explanation, given by Orderic, that Robert chose to leave Bayeux simply because Odo 'lay in fetters' is unconvincing.¹³² Houses founded by members of the aristocracy always faced the risk that their patron might fall foul of the duke, or, in the case of William fitzOsbern, die in his service, but abbeys such as Lyre and Notre-Dame de Corneilles continued nonetheless.¹³³ It is possible that Odo's arrest simply presented Robert with the opportunity to escape a post he did not want, or that he felt his association with the disgraced bishop endangered his own life. Regardless, in choosing to abandon the monks Robert effectively sealed the community's fate. Six of their number had come with him from Mont-Saint-Michel, and it is doubtful they

¹²⁵ Hariulf, *Chronique*, p. 187.

¹²⁶ '... ante beati Nicolai prostraverunt altare', 'Roberti de Tumbalena', col. 1371.

¹²⁷ J. Fournée, *Saint Nicolas en Normandie* (Nogent-sur-Marne, 1988), pp. 47-50; Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, pp. 208-210.

¹²⁸ Interestingly, relics play no part in the methods (the Cross, holy water, prostration before the altar of St. Nicholas, the singing of psalms, etc.) used by Robert de Tombelaine, as he and his monks struggled to relieve Hugh's suffering, 'Roberti de Tumbalena', cols. 1371-1377.

¹²⁹ Bouvris, 'Notes d'histoire bayeusaine', pp. 15-30; Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, pp. 52-53.

¹³⁰ See, for example, the various Paschal processions, which a thirteenth-century ordinal records were established by Odo: 'Et inter orationes predictus dicitur oratio Absolve quesumus, pro Odonis anima episcopi qui has processiones instituit', *Ordinaire et coutumier de l'église catédrale de Bayeux (XIIIe siècle)*, ed. U. Chevalier (Paris, 1902), pp. 382-383.

¹³¹ The leprosy of Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Chesnaie, which was founded during the reign of William the Conqueror, was established on land belonging to Saint-Vigor, Bouvris, 'Notes d'histoire bayeusaine', pp. 23-25; Fournée, *Saint Nicolas en Normandie*, p. 40.

¹³² *OV*, iv, p. 116.

¹³³ Like Saint-Vigor, these two houses depended entirely on the generosity of their founder for their earliest possessions, *RADN*, no. 120 (Lyre); *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ii, no. dcccvii (Corneilles).

would have wanted to remain, with their mentor now in Italy.¹³⁴ If these individuals chose to leave the community, which may have numbered little more than the apostolic number of twelve, it would have been effectively halved. Those who decided to remain in Bayeux probably found themselves the victims of Odo's rigid guidelines and,¹³⁵ unable to receive a new abbot at his hands, were also unable to secure an appointment from a duke less than amenable to matters concerning his half brother.¹³⁶

Whatever the fate of Saint-Vigor, it did earn Odo some praise from the normally critical Orderic.¹³⁷ The bishop was, of course, not solely concerned with his own foundation, and like many of his colleagues played an active role in the development of the wider monastic network. In the diocese of Bayeux, for example, the abbeys of Caen and Troarn not only benefitted from Odo's generosity,¹³⁸ but he was also present at their dedications,¹³⁹ officiating at that of Troarn on 13 May 1059.¹⁴⁰ Elsewhere, he was probably a regular participant in the councils held by Archbishop Maurilius, and although he can only be definitively located at that which accompanied the dedication of Rouen cathedral on 1 October 1063,¹⁴¹ he was, by some accounts, most eloquent during these meetings.¹⁴² Odo reinforced these contributions to the fabric of the duchy's ecclesiastical life by also strengthening the lay institutions of his diocese. His dabbling in secular matters would earn the ire of later chroniclers,¹⁴³ but their importance to the stabilisation and expansion of the Norman realm has long been

¹³⁴ In his letter to the monks of Mont-Saint-Michel, Robert mentions that five of the monks at Saint-Vigor were 'of the Mont', as was Hugh, nephew of the abbot of Lonlay: 'Quibus dictis, ego fratribus illis montanis (erant autem quinque): "Eia, domini mei, audistis, quae a Deo praecepta sunt vobis; recedite nunc, ut iterum in stratis vestris quiescat", 'Roberti de Tumbalena', col. 1378.

¹³⁵ Richard des Fourneaux, later abbot of Préaux (1101-1125), gathered the remaining monks of Saint-Vigor in a house in the city, Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, p. 234. Such behaviour contradicts Bates' assertion that the monks 'felt little attachment to their new home', Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 160.

¹³⁶ It is possible that William actively targeted the abbey's possessions, though there is no direct evidence of spoliation, Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 160.

¹³⁷ Orderic claimed that the giving of the house to the abbey of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon 'clearly demonstrates Bishop Odo's great affection for the monastic order', *OV*, iv, p. 118.

¹³⁸ *RADN*, no. 231; *Regesta*, no. 280; BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 52r.

¹³⁹ The following charters were issued either at, or shortly after, the dedications in question, and were witnessed by Odo, *RADN*, no. 231 (La Trinité); *Regesta*, no. 46 (Saint-Étienne).

¹⁴⁰ '... ab anno .m.lix. et terciadecima die mensis maii quibus hec abbatia dedicata fuit ab Odone episcopo Baiocensis, et regimen ipsius abbacie traditum abbati primo Durando', BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 29r.

¹⁴¹ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

¹⁴² *GG*, ii, 37, p. 166.

¹⁴³ *OV*, ii, pp. 264-266.

recognised.¹⁴⁴ Home to a ducal castle since the reign of Richard I,¹⁴⁵ the city of Bayeux was also equipped with an impressive series of stone fortifications,¹⁴⁶ which included houses like that of the father of Geoffrey abbot of Savigny.¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, it is unknown if Odo had any role in the maintenance of such structures. Bayeux was, of course, controlled primarily by a *vicomte*,¹⁴⁸ although the existence of a *burgus episcopi*,¹⁴⁹ which was one of a network of such municipal districts,¹⁵⁰ suggests the bishop played some role in assuring the city's defences, while we know that other Norman bishops did not hesitate to reconfigure the walls of their cities.¹⁵¹ Thanks to the efforts of his predecessor, Odo was also ensured a presence in the region's principal harbour, Port-en-Bessin.¹⁵²

The bishop's most impressive contribution in this regard remains, however, the network of knights and tenants that he enfeoffed throughout his diocese, the details of which are recorded in the famous Inquest of 1133.¹⁵³ Their identities, and the reasons why Odo enfeoffed six times the number of knights he owed in service to the duke, have long been a topic of discussion, the details of which will not be repeated here.¹⁵⁴ Their geographical distribution is, nevertheless, impressive, and the magnates, knights, vavassors and services associated with the bishop not only stretched across most of the diocese of Bayeux, but also extended throughout the duchy as a whole (fig. 28). Of course, the details recorded in the Inquest of 1133 relate to circumstances as they were at the end of the eleventh century,¹⁵⁵ but as Haskins first noted, the history of the military obligations of at least one of the bishop's honours, that of Le

¹⁴⁴ Even contemporaries praised Odo's important contribution in this regard, though some of this work is panegyric in nature, *GG*, ii, 37, p. 164.

¹⁴⁵ 'Translatio secunda beati Audoeni', p. 823. The exact form of this castle is, unfortunately, not known.

¹⁴⁶ 'Incipiunt versus Serlonis', p. 246.

¹⁴⁷ 'Hic [pater Gaufridi] habuit mansionem suam, videlicet castellum nobile, cum turri fortissima, intra civitatem Baiocensem prope portam Anquilonarem', 'Vita s. Gaufridi', § II, p. 391.

¹⁴⁸ For the eleventh-century *vicomtes* of the Bessin, see E. de Laheudrie, 'Les vicomtes de Bayeux', *BSAN*, 46 (1938), pp. 183-225, esp. pp. 193-195.

¹⁴⁹ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. vi.

¹⁵⁰ Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, pp. 41-43.

¹⁵¹ Azo, bishop of Sées, and Herbert, bishop of Lisieux, both used stone from their city walls to build their cathedrals. For discussion, see below, p. 249-251, 401.

¹⁵² Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxi. Port-en-Bessin, Calvados, cant. Ryes.

¹⁵³ Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133', pp. 13-23.

¹⁵⁴ Besides the commentary of Navel, see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 14-19; Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, pp. 41-82; Hull, 'The Norman episcopate', ii, pp. 298-352; Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 219-229.

¹⁵⁵ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 15; Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 220.

Plessis-Grimoult, suggests it had been fixed before Odo ascended to the episcopate.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, the prominent role that the bishop would play in preparing for the invasion of England, and in governing during its aftermath, suggest that he had already established himself as an experienced administrator from whom both counsel and material contributions were expected. The bishop duly obliged, and was not only among those who advised the duke on the expedition,¹⁵⁷ but also equipped the fleet with one hundred ships.¹⁵⁸

Like his contemporary in the diocese of Coutances, few would have their career redefined so dramatically by the events of 14 October 1066 as Odo. The bishop is, of course, most famous for his role in the Battle of Hastings, the ‘active’ nature of which is vividly realised in the Bayeux Tapestry.¹⁵⁹ Having helped his half-brother secure victory, Odo was promptly rewarded with the county of Kent.¹⁶⁰ His administration of this region, and the vice-regency he shared with William fitzOsbern, fundamentally altered his position in the political landscape, and his title of *episcopus Baiocensis* was soon augmented by those of a radically different nature, such as *Cantię comes* and *consul*.¹⁶¹ Odo was also invested with great territorial holdings by his brother, which by the time Domesday came to be completed stretched across twenty-two counties and had a value of over three thousand pounds.¹⁶² The consequences of this fundamental shift in the scope of Odo’s power, its exact nature, and the problems it created in the relationship between the bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, have already been fully discussed by David Bates.¹⁶³ Unlike Geoffrey de Montbray, however, whose time was spent almost entirely in England until the reign of William

¹⁵⁶ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 16-18.

¹⁵⁷ According to Wace, Odo was among the first small group of nobles from whom the duke sought advice, Wace, *Roman de Rouen*, part III, line 5989. He was also present at the larger gathering, details of which are recorded by Orderic, *OV*, ii, p. 140.

¹⁵⁸ E.M.C. van Houts, ‘The ship list of William the Conqueror’, *ANS*, 10 (1988), pp. 159-183, at Appendix I, p. 176. Wace claims that Odo only contributed forty ships, Wace, *Roman de Rouen*, part III, line 6164.

¹⁵⁹ Musset, *Bayeux Tapestry*, Scene 54, pp. 248-249.

¹⁶⁰ *OV*, ii, p. 196.

¹⁶¹ *Regesta*, nos. 85-86, 266(II), 267(II). Later chroniclers gave Odo even more prolific epithets, including *consul palatinus*, *praeceptor Angliae* and *iustitiarius et princeps totius Angliae*, *OV*, ii, p. 264; Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, ‘Historia translationis s. Augustini episcopi Anglorum apostoli’, Migne, *PL*, clv, col. 37; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: the history of the English people*, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), p. 408. The last of these seems to be a misinterpretation of a reference in the *ASC*, which is supposed to relate to the bishop of Durham.

¹⁶² Bates, ‘The character and career’, p. 10.

¹⁶³ D. Bates, ‘The origins of the justiciarship’, *ANS*, 4 (1982), pp. 1-12, at pp. 2-4; Bates, ‘The character and career’, pp. 6-12; Bates, ‘Odo, bishop of Bayeux’, pp. 30-108.

Rufus, Odo remained an active, if somewhat infrequent, participant in Norman affairs, returning in both 1072 and 1074 to attend the councils convened by John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen.¹⁶⁴ He was also present at the council of Lillebonne, convened by John's successor in 1080.¹⁶⁵

Such visits cannot, however, have been motivated simply by Odo's desire to contribute to the promulgation of reform ideas. He could, after all, have compensated for any absence at these meetings by participating, like Geoffrey de Montbray, in their English equivalents.¹⁶⁶ Instead, his activities during the trip of 1074, which appears to have lasted from May until the end of the year, allowed him to not only secure additional wealth for his cathedral,¹⁶⁷ but must have also permitted him to supervise developments in his city and diocese. Material wealth, such as the sapphire pastoral staff taken by Odo from Durham cathedral,¹⁶⁸ flowed from England to Bayeux, enriching not only physical structures such as the cathedral, but also allowing for the development of less tangible endeavours. The Bayeux school, which had clearly been established before the Conquest,¹⁶⁹ produced an impressive number of students during these years, and Odo was able to fund their wider education with trips to Liège, Germany and even Spain.¹⁷⁰ The bishop would have also been afforded the opportunity to attend to more mundane matters, such as the petition he received from Serlo, canon of the cathedral,¹⁷¹ and one of the school's most famous students, concerning his dispute with the monks of Saint-Étienne de Caen.¹⁷² Moreover, with

¹⁶⁴ OV, ii, pp. 286, 292; Mansi, xx, col. 399. Odo seems to have remained in Normandy until at least 30 November, *Regesta*, no. 26.

¹⁶⁵ OV, iii, p. 24.

¹⁶⁶ Council of London, 25 Dec. 1074 × 28 Aug. 1075, *Councils and synods: with other documents relating to the English church, A.D. 871-1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1981), i, p. 612.

¹⁶⁷ *Regesta*, nos. 26-27.

¹⁶⁸ 'Quedam etiam ex ornamentis ecclesie [Dunelmensis], inter que et baculum pastorem materia et arte mirandum (erat enim de saphiro factus), prefatus episcopus [Odo] abstulit', Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie*, ed. and trans. D. Rollason (Oxford, 2000), p. 220. Unfortunately, this staff is not among those listed in the fifteenth-century inventory ('Inventaire de Bayeux', ed. Deslandes, pp. 371, 373, 377-378), though it seems logical that Odo would have taken such an object for use in his own church.

¹⁶⁹ D. Bates, 'Le patronage clérical et intellectuel de l'évêque Odon de Bayeux, (1049/50-1097)', in *Chapitres et cathédrales en Normandie*, ed. S. Lemagnen *et al.* (Caen, 1997), pp. 105-114, at p. 106.

¹⁷⁰ Bates, 'Le patronage clérical', pp. 105-114; Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 193-218.

¹⁷¹ 'Quae monachi quaerunt', in *The Anglo-Latin satirical poets*, ii, pp. 202-207, at p. 204. For the identification of these verses, see A. Boutemy, 'Deux poèmes inconnus de Serlon de Bayeux et une copie nouvelle de son poème contre les moines de Caen', *Le Moyen Âge*, 67 (1938), pp. 241-269.

¹⁷² This dispute, which occurred during the abbacy of Abbot Gilbert (1079-1101), has been dated by some to 1079/80 (H. Böhmer, 'Der sogenannte Serlo von Bayeux und die ihm zugeschriebene

the cathedral nearing completion, Odo may have not only taken the opportunity to monitor circumstances at the worksite, but also begin preparations for the building's eventual consecration.

The dedication itself took place on 14 July 1077.¹⁷³ Held on the anniversary of the translation of the relics of SS. Exupère and Loup to the Merovingian cathedral,¹⁷⁴ the event was attended by an impressive gathering of ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries, including the king and queen, with their two sons Robert and William; the archbishops of Canterbury, Rouen and York; all the bishops of Normandy, except Hugh, bishop of Lisieux; the abbot of Sant'Eufemia di Calabria; Robert, count of Eu, and Richard son of Gilbert de Brionne.¹⁷⁵ The service itself was performed by the archbishop of Rouen, although the most famous account of the dedication is lacking in precise details.¹⁷⁶ It is possible that the famous Tapestry was presented to the cathedral during the ceremony, but nothing is certain.¹⁷⁷ We do know that the king donated to the cathedral the wood of Elle,¹⁷⁸ a gift he confirmed by placing his helmet and crown on the high altar,¹⁷⁹ while he also took the time to issue a writ concerning the abbey of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.¹⁸⁰ What happened to Odo after the dedication is unclear. He may have returned with the king to Rouen,¹⁸¹ and he was certainly not among those present at the dedication of Saint-Désir de Lisieux, which took place on 25 July.¹⁸² He was certainly back in his diocese by 13 September, as his participation in the dedication of Saint-Étienne de Caen demonstrates,¹⁸³ while just over a month later he was back in Upper Normandy for the dedication of Bec on 23 October.¹⁸⁴ It is also possible he attended the dedication of Évreux cathedral during

Gedichte', *Neues archiv*, 22 (1897), pp. 703-738, at p. 722) though not all have been convinced, Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 202-203.

¹⁷³ The standard work on this event is J.-M. Bouvris, 'La dédicace de l'église cathédrale Notre-Dame de Bayeux (14 juillet 1077)', *Société des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Bayeux*, 28 (1982), pp. 3-16.

¹⁷⁴ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 47.

¹⁷⁵ Bouvris, 'La dédicace de Bayeux', p. 12.

¹⁷⁶ *OV*, iii, p. 10.

¹⁷⁷ Bouvris, 'La dédicace de Bayeux', p. 16.

¹⁷⁸ '... et in signum donationis ipsius posuit cassidem sua super maius altare ecclesie cum corona deaurata...', *Ordinaire de Bayeux*, ed. Chevalier, p. 418.

¹⁷⁹ *Regesta*, no. 52. Elle, Manche, cant. Saint-Clair-sur-Elle and Calvados, cant. Isigny. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

¹⁸⁰ *Regesta*, no. 83.

¹⁸¹ Orderic records the king's presence in the Norman capital a few days after the dedication, though the monk of Saint-Évroult may have misinterpreted the evidence, *OV*, iii, p. 18.

¹⁸² The attendees are listed in AD Calvados, 2 Fi 231.

¹⁸³ Odo witnessed a charter issued during this ceremony, *Regesta*, no. 46.

¹⁸⁴ *Chronique du Bec*, p. 3.

this year, though the exact date, and the identities of those in attendance, remain far from certain.¹⁸⁵

Odo's movements for 1078 and 1079 are unknown. The year of dedications had been marred by the dispute that arose between the king and Robert Curthose, which erupted sometime after 13 September 1077.¹⁸⁶ The consequences for the stability of the region were profound, and although we do not know how Odo reacted to his nephew's behaviour, he cannot have failed to have been somehow involved. Nevertheless, his position remained secure and, as the new decade began, he continued to be an active member of the Norman ecclesiastical and political scene. The bishop was certainly in Normandy for much of 1080, and his itinerary can be documented with a degree of certainty.¹⁸⁷ He began the year in Caen, where on 7 January he took part in a plea involving the abbey of Saint-Florent de Saumur.¹⁸⁸ It appears he then travelled with the court for the rest of the month, following the king- duke to Saint-Georges de Boscherville, where he was involved in another plea involving the same house.¹⁸⁹ He is strangely absent from the prestigious Easter meeting convened at Rouen on 12 April,¹⁹⁰ though Odo was still in—or had returned to—Upper Normandy by late spring/early summer, and not only attended the council of Lillebonne on 31 May,¹⁹¹ but also witnessed a charter for the abbey of Lessay at Bonneville-sur-Touques on 14 July.¹⁹² He returned to England at some point thereafter, and was dispatched to the north of the country, where he viciously avenged the murder of Walcher, bishop of Durham (1071-1080).¹⁹³ Odo's actions, which included the pilfering of treasure from Durham cathedral, drew no comment outside the local community, however, and by the end of the year it appears he was back down south, where he perhaps spent Christmas in Gloucester.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁵ For discussion, see below, pp. 229-230.

¹⁸⁶ The dispute took place after Robert had been publicly insulted by his brothers during a stay in L'Aigle, which occurred in either late 1077 or early 1078, *OV*, ii, pp. 356-360.

¹⁸⁷ That proposed by Bates, which is based largely upon the dates given by Davis's *Regesta*, contains a number of errors that can here be rectified thanks to the later work of the same scholar, Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 59.

¹⁸⁸ *Regesta*, no. 267 (II).

¹⁸⁹ *Regesta*, no. 266 (II).

¹⁹⁰ *Regesta*, no. 235.

¹⁹¹ *OV*, iii, p. 24.

¹⁹² *Regesta*, no. 175 (I&II).

¹⁹³ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus*, pp. 218-220. It was during this adventure that Odo stole the emerald staff from the cathedral of Durham.

¹⁹⁴ *Regesta*, no. 153.

Though if the actions of this year, and those of 1081/82,¹⁹⁵ suggest that Odo was preoccupied solely with the routine, the bishop was, according to later chroniclers, already engaged in affairs of a far grander design. From the almost cryptic entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,¹⁹⁶ to the fantastic tales of Orderic, William of Malmesbury and the Hyde Chronicle,¹⁹⁷ the exact nature of these manoeuvrings, which ultimately led to Odo's arrest by his brother on the Isle of Wight in late 1082 or early 1083, have long been a subject of fascination for historians.¹⁹⁸ It is generally accepted that Odo was arrested on account of some involvement in Italian affairs, which perhaps included plans to abandon his charge and acquire the papacy. Of course, the sources for this story, which relate how the bishop obtained and provisioned a house in Rome, and began to bribe its citizens, were written almost forty years after the fact.¹⁹⁹ The idea of Odo becoming involved in the machinations of eleventh-century papal politics has, nevertheless, proved so intoxicating as to tempt some to identify the bishop with figures such as Odo *de Tulio*, who appears in the *vita* of Mathilda of Tuscany written by Donizo of Canossa.²⁰⁰ What is certain is that Odo was arrested, and he was to spend the next four years in the ducal castle at Rouen.²⁰¹ We know nothing of his time in prison, though his circumstances were either secure or comfortable enough to dissuade him from attempting to escape,²⁰² while the enmity that he had aroused in his half-brother was so intense that the Conqueror only finally assented to his release on his deathbed.²⁰³

Having been freed, the bishop of Bayeux initially chose to remain in Normandy. He attended his brother's funeral in Caen, which suggests he had decided to forgive

¹⁹⁵ Odo was largely in England during these years (*Regesta*, nos. 39, 193, 253), although he was back in Normandy for the dedication of the collegiate church of Mortain in late summer/fall 1082, *Regesta*, no. 215.

¹⁹⁶ ASC 'E', p. 214.

¹⁹⁷ OV, iv, pp. 38-44; William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 506; 'Chronicon monasterii de Hida', in *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, ed. E. Edwards (London, 1866), pp. 283-321, at p. 296.

¹⁹⁸ For a summary of the debate, see Bates, 'The character and career', pp. 15-17; Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 247-261.

¹⁹⁹ OV, iv, pp. 38-44; William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 506; 'Chronicon de Hida', p. 296.

²⁰⁰ 'Is est Oddo episcopus Bajocensis, Wilhelmi conquestoris Angliae regis frater, ad papatum sacrilegis votis inhians, de quo Ordericus Vitalis lib. VII. Hist. eccles. ad annum 1085', Donizo of Canossa, 'Vita Mathildis, celeberrimae principis Italiae', Migne, *PL*, cxlviii, col. 1003 n. 768. For the dismissal of this identification, see *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. G. Carducci et al., 34 vols. (Bologna, 1900-1979), 5.2, p. 67.

²⁰¹ OV, iv, p. 42.

²⁰² For examples of how one might escape ducal or royal incarceration, see *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 153-154; OV, v, p. 312.

²⁰³ OV, iv, pp. 98-100.

William for his actions, and was duly restored to his Norman possessions by Robert Curthose.²⁰⁴ Consequently, Odo was soon an active force within both the ducal court and his diocese, attesting Curthose's confirmation of his father's donation of the manor of Vains to Saint-Étienne de Caen,²⁰⁵ and renegotiating his relationship with the *vicomte* of the Bessin, who had been granted some of the bishop's lands during his incarceration.²⁰⁶ For some, his return was heralded as akin to the return of Joseph, though not all can have welcomed the bishop's restoration so enthusiastically.²⁰⁷ Odo then travelled to England, apparently in time for Christmas court at London,²⁰⁸ and was well received by William Rufus, who restored him to his earldom.²⁰⁹ He soon began to participate in the governance of the realm, receiving notification from the king regarding the abbey of St. Augustine's, Canterbury,²¹⁰ and helping Lanfranc to install the new abbot of this same house on 22 December 1087.²¹¹ The assertion that Odo also participated at this time in the dedication of St. Mary's, York,²¹² has, however, rightly been questioned.²¹³

But it would not be long before the bishop was once again embroiled in affairs that would lead to his ruin. The revolt against William Rufus, which he engineered in the spring and early summer of 1088, would eventually see his presence in England end forever, though exactly what motivated the uprising remains a matter for debate.²¹⁴ Its outcome is beyond question, however, and in defeat Odo returned to Normandy, his English fee being steadily broken up.²¹⁵ The bishop initially went to

²⁰⁴ *OV*, iv, p. 114.

²⁰⁵ AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45v-46v. Charles Haskins printed a different version of this charter, which does not include the mention of Odo, Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix E, no. 1, p. 285. Haskins dated the charter to shortly after September 1087, but the presence among the witnesses of William, bishop of Durham, and Robert, count of Mortain, must place the act between November 1088 and 1091.

²⁰⁶ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. lxxvi. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

²⁰⁷ 'Joseph namque modo nobis est redditus Odo | Joseph dira trucis clauserat ira ducis', 'Ad Odonem Baiocensem episcopum, versus', in *The Anglo-Latin satirical poets*, ii, p. 254.

²⁰⁸ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, p. 408.

²⁰⁹ William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 544.

²¹⁰ *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 304. It is also possible that a writ for St. Paul's, London, of which Odo is the sole witness, was issued by Rufus, though this may be an act of his father, *Regesta*, no. 186.

²¹¹ 'Acta Lanfranci', in *Two of the Saxon chronicles, parallel, with supplementary extracts from the others*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892-1899), i, Appendix B, pp. 290-291.

²¹² W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley *et al.*, 6 vols. (London, 1817-1830), iii, p. 546.

²¹³ Hull, 'The Norman episcopate', ii, p. 269; Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 264.

²¹⁴ Aird, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 104-117; Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 70-84; Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 264-269; David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 45-53.

²¹⁵ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 269-270.

Bayeux where, according to Orderic, he found a duchy in disarray.²¹⁶ The bishop's own men had been involved in the pillaging of benefices belonging to the monastic institutions of his diocese,²¹⁷ and it was not long before Odo himself began to lash out at those around him. He decided, within a short time of his return,²¹⁸ to demand a written profession of obedience from Arnulf, the new abbot of Troarn,²¹⁹ an issue he may have pressed when the two men met in the bishop's house at Caen to resolve the abbey's possession of the church of Dives-sur-Mer,²²⁰ while politically he contrived to have Henry, the duke's brother, and Robert de Bellême arrested upon their return from England in autumn 1088, the two men being imprisoned under Odo's guard at Bayeux and Neuilly-l'Évêque.²²¹ The bishop then promptly travelled to Rouen to meet with the duke who, so the story goes, quickly found himself the victim of Odo's restless ambition.²²²

The first target of this ambition was the county of Maine. The death of the Conqueror had led to some unrest in the region,²²³ and although it seems Robert had already dealt with these problems,²²⁴ Odo urged Curthose to secure formal homage from the nobles of Maine.²²⁵ The duke duly assembled an army, which was in part commanded by the bishop of Bayeux, and in August 1088 marched towards Le Mans.²²⁶ The majority of the county's leading men came out in support of the duke, though Payn of Mondoubleau resisted at the castle of Ballon,²²⁷ the siege of which killed Osmond de Gâprée on 1 September.²²⁸ The duke then turned his attention back to Normandy and to the possessions of the Montgomery-Bellême, whom Odo had

²¹⁶ *OV*, iv, pp. 134, 146.

²¹⁷ According to the records of La Trinité de Caen, the bishop's chamberlain, Adelold, took from them possessions in Englesqueville-la-Percée (Calvados, cant. Isigny-sur-Mer) and Grandcamp-les-Bains (Calvados, cant. Isigny-sur-Mer), *Charters and customs of the abbey of Holy Trinity, Caen, Part 2, The French estates*, ed. J. Walmsley (Oxford, 1994), pp. 126-127.

²¹⁸ Arnulf was elected sometime after 11 February 1088. It seems unlikely that Odo would have pressed the abbot on such an issue while still in England, especially if he was preparing to revolt. For Arnulf, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 374-376.

²¹⁹ *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iii, no. 123, pp. 263-264.

²²⁰ 'Notum sit omnibus... quod Robertus de Sulle requisitus apud Cadomum a domino abbate Ernulfo in hospicio domini Odonis Baiocensis episcopi...', BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 158v-159r, at fol. 158v.

²²¹ *OV*, iv, p. 148. Robert de Torigni states that Henry was imprisoned at Rouen, *GND*, ii, p. 204.

²²² *OV*, iv, p. 150.

²²³ *Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, ed. G. Busson and A. Ledru (Le Mans, 1901), p. 385.

²²⁴ David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 69.

²²⁵ *OV*, iv, p. 150.

²²⁶ *OV*, iv, p. 154.

²²⁷ Ballon, Sarthe, chef-lieu.

²²⁸ *OV*, iv, p. 154.

advised he also attack, besieging the castle at Saint-Céneri-le-Gérei.²²⁹ The garrison eventually surrendered, but as winter approached the campaign had to be brought to a halt. Curthose therefore came to terms with Roger Montgomery, and released his son Robert from prison.²³⁰

If Odo was in any way disappointed by this outcome then none of the sources record it. Instead, it seems that the bishop spent Easter 1089 (1 April) with the duke, for on the 24 April he was with Curthose at the castle of Vernon,²³¹ convincing him to confirm the possessions of his cathedral as the duke prepared for an expedition into France.²³² It is not known if Odo accompanied the duke beyond Vernon at this time, but the excursion was undoubtedly the result of the steadily deteriorating circumstances in the duchy. Maine was in revolt again, while the northeast of the duchy had been coerced into rebellion by William Rufus, who had bribed many of the local magnates.²³³ The duke was able to secure help from the king of France to combat his brother's influence, and together they besieged the castle of La Ferté-en-Bray.²³⁴ When Curthose granted the land of Gisors to King Philip in return for his assistance, however, he so enraged the archbishop of Rouen that he laid the duchy under an interdict.²³⁵ It is possible that Odo remained with the duke throughout this period. He was certainly at the siege of the castle of Eu on 20 July, and not only witnessed an agreement between the abbeys of Saint-Étienne de Caen and Saint-Bénigne de Dijon,²³⁶ but also secured a confirmation from the duke of his establishment of Saint-Vigor-le-Grand.²³⁷ Shortly thereafter, and certainly before September 9, Odo was present at an impressive gathering of court,²³⁸ during which

²²⁹ Saint-Céneri-le-Gérei, Orne, cant. Alençon 1.

²³⁰ *OV*, iv, pp. 154-156. Orderic attributes the abrupt end of the campaign to Curthose's laziness. For the suggestion that the onset of winter was a more likely cause, see Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 271.

²³¹ Vernon, Eure, chef-lieu.

²³² '... apud Vernonem, quoddam castrum Normanniae, iturus in expeditionem in Frantiam', Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. iv.

²³³ For details, see Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 270-273; David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 53-54.

²³⁴ Now La Ferté-Saint-Samson, Seine-Maritime, cant. Forges-les-Eaux.

²³⁵ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 18-19.

²³⁶ AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r. The precise date for the siege of the castle is given by this charter.

²³⁷ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. vi.

²³⁸ Those present included the duke, William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, Michael, bishop of Avranches, William of Saint-Calais, bishop of Durham, Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, Gerard, bishop Sées, and a large number of laymen, including Robert, count of Meulan, and Nigel, vicomte of the Cotentin, AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r-v. For discussion of the date, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, p. 45.

Gilbert, abbot of Saint-Étienne de Caen, paid Rainald d'Orval, whose lord was the bishop of Bayeux,²³⁹ two hundred and fifty *livres* for his part of the manor of Baupte, located in the Cotentin.²⁴⁰

The regularity with which Odo can be seen participating in the government of Normandy decreases after this date, though his movements can still be traced with some degree of accuracy.²⁴¹ He played no apparent role in the Rouen insurrection of November 1090, though given the involvement of count Henry, whom he had helped imprison, it is perhaps little surprise that Odo chose to stay clear of the Norman capital.²⁴² He seems to have attended the council convened shortly after 1 June 1091 to elect the new bishop of Sées,²⁴³ since he was among those who witnessed a charter issued for the abbey of Bec by the archbishop of Rouen, which is traditionally associated with this event.²⁴⁴ He also witnessed an act for the abbey of Jumièges issued by the duke at Lisieux, though the document can be no more accurately dated than 1091 × 1095.²⁴⁵ He can next be located in his diocese, where, in the chapterhouse of his cathedral, he witnessed, on 7 May 1092, a donation made to the cathedral by the archdeacon Goscelin and Rodulf de Russy,²⁴⁶ an act he would later confirm, again in the chapterhouse at Bayeux, on 25 September 1093 and 16 January 1094.²⁴⁷ It is possible that he was in the west of the duchy throughout this entire period, since he is known to have visited Geoffrey de Montbray on his deathbed at Coutances, and attended his funeral on 3 February 1093.²⁴⁸ He certainly did not perform the marriage of the king of France and Bertrade de Montfort in May 1092, as Orderic contends.²⁴⁹ He was, instead, by the end of the year, and certainly after 11 December, back in the

²³⁹ '... concedente... Odone episcopo Baiocensi domino meo', AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r.

²⁴⁰ Baupte, Manche, cant. Périers.

²⁴¹ Bourrienne believed that Odo played a limited role in the troubles of 1091-1095, but this may simply confirm Orderic's statement that the duke took the bishop's advice only when it suited him, Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 275.

²⁴² *OV*, iv, pp. 220-226.

²⁴³ *OV*, iv, p. 252.

²⁴⁴ BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r. For a critical edition of this act see Appendix G.

²⁴⁵ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix E, no. 7.

²⁴⁶ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxii. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

²⁴⁷ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxiii. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

²⁴⁸ 'De statu', col. 223.

²⁴⁹ *OV*, iv, p. 260. William of Malmesbury claimed the union was solemnised by William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen (William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 732), but papal letters and royal charter subscriptions prove that the marriage was performed by Ursion, bishop of Senlis, A. Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France, 1060-1108* (Paris, 1912), p. 50.

presence of the duke, for at Bonneville-sur-Touques he witnessed a plea between the abbeys of Saint-Florent de Saumur and Lonlay concerning the church of Briouze.²⁵⁰ He then followed Curthose to Maine in 1094, where at Vendôme he witnessed two charters for the abbey of La Trinité.²⁵¹

If this visit did take place in this year, and it is not entirely clear that it did,²⁵² then it must have occurred before the invasion of Normandy by William Rufus on 19 March 1094,²⁵³ an event in whose consequences the bishop of Bayeux is not known to have played any part. Odo does not resurface, in fact, until over twenty months later at the council of Clermont in November 1095.²⁵⁴ Whether Odo's restless nature induced him to travel to the meeting, or he went simply to discuss matters of an unknown nature with the pope, is unclear. According to the *Liber depositionum* of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, Odo travelled first to the abbey, where he hoped to meet Pope Urban for reasons that are not stated.²⁵⁵ He was welcomed by Abbot Gerento, and during the course of his stay, granted the abbey of Saint-Vigor-le-Grand to Saint-Bénigne.²⁵⁶ Scholars have longed puzzled at Odo's decision, given the apparent mismatch between his personality and the strict religious life practised at Saint-Bénigne, and have been unconvinced by the Dijon explanation that Odo felt he had to reward the monks for the hospitality shown him during his stay.²⁵⁷ Gerento and Odo had met before, however, on 20 July 1089, during the course of a hearing concerning the abbeys of Saint-Étienne de Caen and Saint-Bénigne, which had been held during

²⁵⁰ *Regesta*, no. 267(II). Odo had been witness to the original plea concerning this church, which took place at Caen on 7 Jan. 1080.

²⁵¹ *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, ii, nos. cccli and ccclii.

²⁵² The first charter, the oldest copy of which dates to the seventeenth/eighteenth century (BN, coll. Baluze, vol. 47, fol. 267r), was also witnessed by William de Saint-Calais, bishop of Durham (*Guillelmus episcopus de Durelmo*). Although he was in Normandy in early 1093, he was back in England by July of that year, and seems to have remained in the country until his death on 2 Jan. 1096. Having been so restored to favour by Rufus that in Christmas 1093 he was able to secure a charter allowing him to hold in free alms all those lands for which he had once owed military service, it seems unlikely he would have jeopardised all this by returning to the court of Curthose. For the bishop's itinerary at this time, see H. Offler, 'William of Saint-Calais, first Norman bishop of Durham', *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, 10 (1950), pp. 258-279, at pp. 274-275.

²⁵³ The closest to Vendôme that Robert is known to have come between March and December 1094 is Argentan, almost 150km away, Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 331-335.

²⁵⁴ *OV*, v, p. 18.

²⁵⁵ '... cum vice quadam Urbanum papam inter Gallias constitutum expeteret, Divionem veniens a domno Iarentone...', *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, no. 390.

²⁵⁶ *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, no. 390. This grant was later confirmed in Bayeux on 24 May 1096, *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, nos. 385 and 391. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

²⁵⁷ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 278.

the siege of the castle of Eu.²⁵⁸ Interestingly, it was at this event that Odo secured from the duke a confirmation of the foundation of Saint-Vigor,²⁵⁹ and it is not impossible that the bishop had occasion to speak of his establishment with the abbot of Saint-Bénigne at this time.

It is also important to remember that Odo was a man with international ambitions who enjoyed a pan-European network of relations. He had transformed his city into an international centre, and throughout his long career the bishop is known to have been a correspondent with some of Europe's leading ecclesiastics,²⁶⁰ receiving letters or verses from Marbode de Rennes,²⁶¹ Hildebert de Lavardin,²⁶² St. Anselm,²⁶³ and even Berengar of Tours.²⁶⁴ Many of these, such as the letter from Marbode de Rennes, who was then archdeacon of Angers, are addressed to the bishop warmly, even sycophantically,²⁶⁵ while others testify to the generosity that so obviously endeared Odo to his colleagues.²⁶⁶ Among men of this calibre only Lanfranc seems to have genuinely mistrusted the bishop, and proved himself a constant foil to Odo's ambition almost from the very beginning. Within a few years of his election as abbot of Saint-Étienne, for example, he had used a visit to Rome to secure a papal bull protecting the abbey from episcopal interference,²⁶⁷ while in England he consistently fought to prevent Odo from appropriating land belonging to his cathedral, most famously thwarting his efforts at Penenden Heath.²⁶⁸ William of Malmesbury even reports that it was at Lanfranc's suggestion that the king arrested Odo in 1082/3 not as bishop of Bayeux, but as earl of Kent.²⁶⁹ Such bitter relations seem, however, to have been the

²⁵⁸ 'Hi omnes hanc cartam firmaverunt quorum subscripti sunt nomina, Robertus comes Normannorum, Willelmus archiepiscopus, Odo Baiocensis episcopus... Ierento abbas Divionensis...', AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r, at fol. 47r.

²⁵⁹ Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. vi.

²⁶⁰ For full discussion, see Bates, 'Le patronage clérical', pp. 105-114.

²⁶¹ Marbode de Rennes, 'Carmina varia', no. xxxii, 'Ad Odonem episcopum simul et comitem', Migne, *PL*, clxxi, col. 1724.

²⁶² Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Carmina', no. lvii, 'Ad episcopum Bajocensem', Migne, *PL*, clxxi, col. 1407.

²⁶³ *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iii, no. 87.

²⁶⁴ *Berengarius Turonensis oder eine Sammlung ihn betreffender Briefe*, ed. H. Sudendorf (Hamburg, 1850), no. xxi, pp. 231-232.

²⁶⁵ 'Gazas, aetatem, personaeque nobilitatem, | Linguam quae fari, mentem quae scit meditari, | Morum candorem, plebis patrumque favorem', Marbode de Rennes, 'Ad Odonem episcopum', col. 1724.

²⁶⁶ One speaks of a ring (*annulus*) given to him by Odo, Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Ad episcopum Bajocensem', col. 1407.

²⁶⁷ Migne, *PL*, cxlvi, vol. 1340 (dated 18 Jan. 1068).

²⁶⁸ *Regesta*, no. 69.

²⁶⁹ William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 544.

exception rather than the rule in Odo's dealings with his fellow ecclesiastics. His gift to Gerento is further proof that he was able charm those who might otherwise condemn him, while the donation of the abbey of Saint-Vigor, however failed this institution may have been, was as much an honour for the abbey of Dijon as for the bishop and city of Bayeux.

Having secured the future of his foundation, the bishop then travelled to Clermont, his dean and an archdeacon in tow,²⁷⁰ where he was joined from among the Norman dioceses by the bishops of Évreux and Sées.²⁷¹ The proceedings of the papal council clearly had a profound impact on Odo, and upon his return to the duchy he joined the bishops of Avranches, Coutances, Lisieux and Sées at a council convened by the archbishop of Rouen to promulgate certain of the Clermont canons.²⁷² The bishop, who may have made the decision to take the cross before returning to Normandy, then began to set his affairs in order ready for departure. In spring 1096, the abbot of Saint-Bénigne, along with Hugh of Flavigny, came to Normandy as part of his legatine mission to reconcile the warring Rufus and Curthose. Having already been to England, the abbot and his entourage crossed to Normandy at some point after Easter.²⁷³ Odo and Gerento were reunited at Bayeux on 24 May, where the bishop confirmed his grant of the abbey of Saint-Vigor.²⁷⁴ The duke issued his own confirmation charter on the same day,²⁷⁵ the scribe identifying himself as *Hugo Divionensis ecclesie monachus*, that is to say, Hugh of Flavigny.²⁷⁶ The *signum* appended by Odo is in a different hand, and may be that of the bishop himself. The duke, the bishop and the abbot then seem to have travelled to Upper Normandy

²⁷⁰ Odo travelled with William, dean of Bayeux, and Richard the archdeacon (*Richardo Rhotomagensi archidiacono*), who was either an archdeacon of the church of Rouen, or an archdeacon of Bayeux whose toponym was 'de Rouen', *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, no. 390. Spear opts for the former, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 209-210.

²⁷¹ *OV*, v, p. 18.

²⁷² *OV*, v, p. 20.

²⁷³ Hugh of Flavigny *Chronicon*, pp. 474-475.

²⁷⁴ *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, nos. 385, 391. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

²⁷⁵ BM (Bayeux), titres scellés, no. 9; ed. *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, no. 386.

²⁷⁶ For discussion, see P. Healy, *The chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny: reform and the investiture contest in the late eleventh century* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 72-73. Healy is mistaken, however, in his assertion that Gerento also arranged at this time the exchange with the abbey of Saint-Étienne concerning the church of Saint-Martin de Longchamps. The text of the original charter to which he refers (AD Calvados, H 1847) is identical to that considered at the siege of Eu in July 1089 (AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r), and therefore dates to the same time. Haskins believed that the original was written by Hugh of Flavigny (Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 76 n. 34), which if correct, means Hugh accompanied Gerento to the duchy in both 1089 and 1096.

together, for in the summer of 1096 they can be found in Rouen witnessing a charter for its cathedral.²⁷⁷ In late September the three men left the duchy, along with many others, for the east.²⁷⁸

The crusade caravan began to make its way slowly across France. Geronto and Hugh of Flavigny accompanied the crusaders as far as the eastern limits of the *comté* of Burgundy, taking their leave of the leaders at Pontarlier.²⁷⁹ Odo and the duke then crossed over into Italy, where they were met at Lucca by Urban II.²⁸⁰ The host then moved on to Rome, where they were greeted violently by supporters of the anti-pope,²⁸¹ before pushing to the port of Bari by way of Montecassino, where they stopped to ask a blessing of St. Benedict.²⁸² Unable to cross the sea in winter, however, the crusaders remained in Apulia and Calabria,²⁸³ and while Curthose was entertained by Roger Borsa, duke of Apulia,²⁸⁴ the ever-restless Odo crossed to Sicily to visit Palermo. During his stay, however, the bishop contracted a fatal disease, and after a short illness, succumbed. Orderic placed this episode in February,²⁸⁵ but various Norman and English obituaries record the bishop's death in the first week of January.²⁸⁶ Odo bequeathed his moveable wealth to Arnulf de Chocques, later patriarch of Jerusalem.²⁸⁷ The bishop was then interred in the cathedral of Palermo by his colleague Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, who had been at his deathbed, while Roger, count of Sicily, erected a magnificent tomb for him.²⁸⁸ Unfortunately, all trace of this monument was lost during the remodelling of the cathedral in the last quarter of the

²⁷⁷ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 10.

²⁷⁸ *OV*, v, p. 34.

²⁷⁹ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, p. 475.

²⁸⁰ Fulcher of Chartres says the duke was greeted by the pope at Lucca (*Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 164), while Orderic claims Odo had an audience with the pope in Rome, *OV*, v, p. 210. This is probably a confused reference to the meeting mentioned by Fulcher.

²⁸¹ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, pp. 165-166.

²⁸² Leo of Ostia, Guido of Monte Cassino and Peter the Deacon, *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, ed. H. Hoffmann, *MGH: SS*, 34 (Hanover, 1980), p. 476.

²⁸³ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, p. 167.

²⁸⁴ *OV*, v, p. 278.

²⁸⁵ *OV*, v, p. 210.

²⁸⁶ The obituary of Jumièges records his death of 2 January (*RHGF*, xxiii, p. 417), that of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, on 4 January (BL, ms. Cott. Vitellius, C. xii, fol. 114r), while he was commemorated at Bayeux on 6 January (*Ordinaire de Bayeux*, ed. Chevalier, p. 410). However, the obituary of abbey of Grestain, which is now lost, records that Odo's obit was moveable, being celebrated on the Thursday of the third week of Lent, Abbé Alix, 'Fragment de l'obituaire de Notre-Dame de Grestain', *BSAN*, 33 (1918), pp. 313-318, at p. 317.

²⁸⁷ Guibert de Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1996), p. 291.

²⁸⁸ *OV*, iv, p. 118; v, p. 210.

twelfth century, although three seventeenth-century manuscripts contain what is purported to be the bishop's epitaph. This is perhaps the work of the bishop of Évreux, who was known for his funeral oration.²⁸⁹ Only one of the versions has been printed before,²⁹⁰ and although the differences between them are not great, there is some value to printing all three here.

The first is found in an anonymous history of the bishops of Bayeux, which forms part of the Mancel collection at Caen:²⁹¹

Epitaphium Odonis episcopi Baiocen(sis), primi huius
nominis fratris regis Angliae et dux Normanorum

Quid Baiocensis prodest mihi pontificatus,
Gloria laus et honor quid erant nisi causa iratus.
Iam tam exibant de tempestate profundi,
Quia iam rescibat episcopatu pro XLVIII^o anno
Et per transibant laqueos et tetrici mundi.
Dum pertransirem Hierosolimam veniendo
Panormi iacui pauper domini moriendo.
Unde memento mei clerus quem semper amaui
Pro me funde preces aliquas in odore suaui
Pro me, funde gemitus lachrimas recolendo
Quam meruit veniam peccatrix foemina flendo
Interea de morte mea tua respice fata.
Et speculare quod hic nunquam sit vita beata
Vita beata deus in eo sunt gaudia vitae
Unde mei fratres ad eum properando redditae.

The second is located in another anonymous history of the bishops, with the text rendered in narrative form:²⁹²

Epitaphium Odonis episcopi Baiocensis, primi huius nominis, fratris regis
Angliae et ducis Normannorum

Quid Baiocensis prodest mihi pontificatus gloria, laus et honor, quid erant,
nisi causa quaestus. Dum pertransirem Ierosolymam veniendo panormi iacui
pauper domini moriendo. Unde memento mei, clerus quem semper amaui pro
me funde preces aliquas in odore suaui pro me funde gemitus lacrymas
recolendo quam meruit veniam peccatrix famina flendo interea de morte mea
tua respice fata et speculare quod hic nunquam sit vita beata deus in sancta
gaudia uitae, unde mei fratres ad eum properando reddeite.

²⁸⁹ Dosdat, 'Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle', p. 234. For further discussion of Gilbert's oratorical skills, see below, pp. 233-234.

²⁹⁰ Bourrienne, 'Odon de Conteville', p. 276; R. Tower, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 39 (1927), pp. 55-76, at p. 68; Dosdat, 'Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle', pp. 251-252. Dosdat suggests corrections for some of the faulty Latin. For an English translation, see Hull, 'The Norman episcopate', ii, p. 297 n. 5.

²⁹¹ Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, vol. 183, fol. 5r.

²⁹² BM (Caen), ms. 296 (in quarto 169), pp. 122-123. Another example of this narrative version, which has slight variations, can be found in Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 6 (now AD Calvados, ms. 6 G 6), fol. 36r.

Finally, there is the abbreviated version incorporated into the work of Jean Hermant, whose composition the epitaph may in fact be.²⁹³ The manuscript copy of his diocesan history, which survives in three volumes in the municipal library of Caen,²⁹⁴ is different from that printed in 1705:²⁹⁵

Quid Baiocensis prodest mihi pontificatus,
Gloria, laus et honor tantum nisi causa reatus,
Dum pertransirem Hierosolimam veniendo,
Panormi iacui pauper domini moriendo,
Unde memento mei clerus, quem semper amaui,
Pro me funde preces aliquas in odore suaui, etc.

Whatever the authenticity of this piece, Odo had, of course, made provision to be buried in his foundation at Saint-Vigor-le-Grand. That such was stipulated in a charter issued just months before his departure for Jerusalem suggests he perhaps expected to return to the duchy.²⁹⁶ Despite not being able to lay claim to the body of their most important patron, the cathedral community at Bayeux made efforts to incorporate his remembrance into their liturgical routine. Commemorated on 6 January, three reliquaries (*capsa*), which perhaps included that sent back to Bayeux by Odo from the east,²⁹⁷ were to be placed on the altar during this day, while a mass was to be said for the bishop during the feast of St. Thomas, if certain liturgical ceremonies had already earlier been performed.²⁹⁸ His obituary was also to be marked by the lighting of a candelabrum, which was to burn beside the altar during mass.²⁹⁹ The liturgical regimen of the cathedral even remembered some of Odo's less celebrated achievements, and during the processions that were to take place during the Paschal season a 'special speech' (*oratio specialis*) was to be made on behalf of the former bishop, who had secured from the pope the right to grant ten days indulgence to all those who participated in the celebrations.³⁰⁰ Odo's full importance could, of course,

²⁹³ Bourrienne, 'Odon de Conteville', p. 276.

²⁹⁴ BM (Caen), ms. 297 (in folio 70), vol. 1, fol. 121r.

²⁹⁵ The last line in the printed version is rendered 'Pro me funde preces in ordine suaui, etc', Hermant, *Histoire du diocèse de Bayeux*, p. 150.

²⁹⁶ *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, nos. 385, 391.

²⁹⁷ This is the reliquary used to hold the chasuble of St. Regnobert, which can still be found today among the cathedral's treasures. Arabic in origin, it was perhaps sent back by Odo, or brought back by Gilbert, bishop of Évreux. It is inscribed with the Arabic word بسملة (*basmala*), *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale*, 22, *Calvados, Eure, Manche, Orne, Seine-Maritime*, ed. R. Favreau and J. Michaud (Paris, 2002), p. 30.

²⁹⁸ *Ordinaire de Bayeux*, ed. Chevalier, pp. 77, 410.

²⁹⁹ *Ordinaire de Bayeux*, ed. Chevalier, pp. 406.

³⁰⁰ 'Et in hiis omnibus processionibus fit oratio specialis, ut dictum est, pro Odone episcopo, qui sicut dicitur impetravit a sede apostolica, dari decem die de indulgentia omnibus qui prosequerentur processiones predictas', *Ordinaire de Bayeux*, ed. Chevalier, p. 383.

never fully be memorialised without a tomb around which such festivities could revolve, but the spiritual and physical infrastructure that he left in place, many traces of which can still be seen today, is perhaps greater testament to the significance of his episcopate than any sepulchral monument.

Turol d'Envermeu,¹ 1097 × 1099-1107

It seems almost inevitable that the man chosen to fill the vacancy left by Odo should fail to live up to the reputation of his predecessor. Elected to the episcopate by William Rufus during his administration of the duchy following Curthose's departure for the Holy Land,² Turol was the brother of Hugh d'Envermeu,³ and was part of a family whose power was centred on Dieppe.⁴ It was in this region that the king of England had established much of his power in Normandy,⁵ and the appearances of both men as witnesses to his acts,⁶ along with a papal letter concerning Turol's election,⁷ reveal that the two were *curiales* engaged in the mundane matters of court. Although royal clerks constituted a significant number of the men elected to the English episcopate,⁸ Turol seems to have been particularly unsuited for such a role. He had failed to pass through the minor orders in the normal clerical fashion, had probably had a son,⁹ and had not even received a canonical election, owing his position solely to the intervention of secular authorities.¹⁰ Although similar allegations could have been levelled at his predecessor, the new bishop of Bayeux lacked the weight and influence that Odo commanded so masterfully. With his powerbase restricted to the Pays de Caux, and with the death of his patron in August 1100, Turol soon found himself unable to secure recognition of his investiture from every important authority. Consequently, his episcopate is remarkable only for the series of disasters that afflicted the diocese of Bayeux during his reign. His appearances in the historical record are, unsurprisingly, somewhat limited, and it is thanks only to his association with the abbey of Bec, where he later became a monk, that we know anything of his life.

¹ Envermeu, Seine-Maritime, chef-lieu.

² *OV*, v, p. 210.

³ *OV*, v, p. 210.

⁴ Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, p. 18.

⁵ Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 270-273; David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 53-54.

⁶ *Regesta* (Davis), i, nos. 354, 400 (Hugh), 413 (Turol, as chaplain).

⁷ The letter was first printed and discussed by Germain Morin, who dated it to 8 October 1104, G. Morin, 'Lettre inédite de Pascal II notifiant la déposition de Turol, évêque de Bayeux, puis moine du Bec (8 oct. 1104)', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 5 (1904), pp. 284-289, at pp. 284-285. A critical edition, with a redating to the previous year, can be found in *Papsturkunden in Frankreich: Neue Folge*, ed. J. Ramackers, 9 vols. (Berlin, 1932-), ii, no. 5, pp. 58-60.

⁸ For the precise numbers see R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin kings, 1066-1225* (Oxford, 2000), p. 397.

⁹ For discussion, see below Appendix D.

¹⁰ '... se quidem non electum a clero, non expetitur a populo, per secularem potestatem ecclesiam obtinuisse confessus est, diaconii etiam officium, quod non nisi certis licet temporibus extra eadem tempora accepisse se non negavit', *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, ii, no. 5, p. 59.

The exact date at which Rufus gave the bishopric to Turolde is unclear. Orderic provides two contradictory pieces of evidence. He first states that the king gave the bishopric to Turolde when he heard of the death of Bishop Odo.¹¹ Since news from the east travelled relatively quickly,¹² this suggests the new bishop may have been in position well before the end of 1097. However, Orderic states that Turolde abandoned his post 'seven years later',¹³ and since the bishop of Bayeux is known to have still been active as late as November 1106,¹⁴ this seems to indicate that Turolde was not given the episcopate by Rufus until as late as 1099. Although scholars have found this contradictory evidence difficult to reconcile,¹⁵ often placing his elevation in 1098,¹⁶ it is not entirely impossible that Turolde was given the bishopric at such a late date. Orderic does not, after all, state that Rufus placed Turolde in Bayeux immediately following the news of Odo's death, while the English king is well known to have delayed the investiture of bishops in order to appropriate for as long as possible the revenues of vacant bishoprics.¹⁷ With his oldest brother away in the east, Rufus may have anticipated that the contest that would come to dominate the succession would be between himself and his brother Henry. Of course, Henry was already well established in the west of the duchy,¹⁸ and the opportunity for Rufus to extend his influence in the land bordering his brother's zone of influence would have been a welcome one. Furthermore, in the letter sent on 8 October 1103 to the clergy and people of Bayeux regarding the irregularities of Turolde's election, Paschal II stated that it had been three years since the bishop had forcibly seized the bishopric, placing this event in 1099.¹⁹

Of course, the pope had been made aware of the circumstances in Bayeux by its chapter, who had refused to accept Turolde. It is difficult to determine on what grounds

¹¹ *OV*, v, p. 210.

¹² News of the capture of Jerusalem 'flew swiftly' to Normandy, and details of Curthose's exploits were already well known before his arrival back in the duchy in 1100, *OV*, v, p. 280.

¹³ *OV*, v, p. 210.

¹⁴ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 127-128.

¹⁵ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 32.

¹⁶ S.M. Christelow, 'Chancellors and curial bishops: ecclesiastical promotions and power in Anglo-Norman England', *ANS*, 22 (2000), pp. 49-69, at p. 60; Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 25.

¹⁷ Dioceses in England remained vacant anywhere from under a year to over four-and-a-half years, Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 181, 234-240.

¹⁸ He had been granted the Cotentin by Curthose in 1088, 'De statu', col. 221; *OV*, iv, pp. 118-120.

¹⁹ 'Pro vestra igitur salute oportuit Turolde, eius qui vobis hactenus presedit, causam diligentius ventilari. Iam enim triennium agitur, ex quo ipsius cause actio ventilata est', *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, ii, no. 5, p. 59.

this refusal was based. The means by which Turolde was nominated to the bishopric were hardly unusual,²⁰ and although the chapter may have taken a stand on religious grounds, it is possible that Odo had ordered the chapter, many of whose members his careers he had made, to refuse any appointment of Rufus, his bitter enemy, should he fail to return from the east. If the bishop did ever give such an order it would ultimately prove destructive, for it would paralyse his diocese. The chapter of Bayeux petitioned the pope, resulting in a summons ordering Turolde to appear in Rome. The bishop ignored the first of these commands, which was made in 1100, and seems then to have set about trying to secure investiture from Curthose, for which the pope also later criticised him.²¹ It appears, however, that he ultimately failed in his attempts,²² and soon found himself in an unenviable position between the pope, Curthose and the king of England.

In spite of these circumstances, however, Turolde can be seen acting as bishop of Bayeux. At some time between 1101 and 1105, for example, he witnessed a charter of the duke by which he gave an annual fair at Cheux to the abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen,²³ while according to Arthur Du Monstier, who consulted folia now lost of the *Livre rouge* of Bayeux,²⁴ there also arose a ‘dispute’ (*contentio*) between Turolde and Robert, abbot of this same house, concerning jurisdiction,²⁵ which was eventually resolved amicably.²⁶ Turolde also received another summons from the pope at this time, and at some time in 1102 he travelled to Rome, where he appeared before Paschal II ‘crying and wailing’, convincing him to grant a delay sufficient to enable

²⁰ Sarell Gleason noted that in refusing to canonically elect the appointment, the chapter at Bayeux ‘defied both tradition and recognized authority’, Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, p. 21.

²¹ The pope accuses Turolde of breaking an oath he made to the king of England (identified as Henry I), which said he would not seek investiture from Curthose: ‘Pro his igitur omnibus, pro fide etiam non accipiendi a Normannorum comite honoris ecclesiastici ante conspectum Anglici regis data...’, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, ii, no. 5, p. 59.

²² In a letter to William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, the pope admitted that he had heard that Turolde had not yet been invested: ‘Caeterum, quia eum [Turolde] necdum revestitum audivimus...’, Pascal II, ‘Epistolae’, no. clxxix, Migne, *PL*, clxiii, col. 188.

²³ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix E, no. 3. He appears only as *episcopus Baiocensis* in the original act edited by Haskins, but a cartulary copy of the charter provides his name, AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 21r-v. Cheux, Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles.

²⁴ Du Monstier cites folio 102r of the *Livre rouge* (BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1828), but folia 93r-108r are missing. Cf. *Le Livre rouge de l’évêché de Bayeux: manuscrit du XVe siècle*, ed. E. Anquetil, 2 vols. (Bayeux, 1908), i, p. 11.

²⁵ ‘Contentio notatur super iurisdictione quadam inter episcopum Baiocensem, et ipsum Robertum, Cadomensem abbatem, quae postea conciliatur’, Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, p. 651.

²⁶ Véronique Gazeau identifies the bishop of Bayeux as Robert son of Samson, but since Robert, abbot of Saint-Étienne, died on 22 January 1107, it seems more likely that the dispute arose during Turolde’s episcopate, Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, p. 47.

him to prove his innocence.²⁷ The pope granted him a year's respite, and ordered that he return to Rome on 1 October the following year (1103), at which time he would hear judgement. Turolde would never return to Rome. His activities following his return from the papal see are unknown. He may have returned to his diocese in order to further press his case and consolidate his power within the bishopric, but if he had established any semblance of order within his episcopal city, it was soon to be rudely disturbed.

Henry I's invasion of the duchy in spring 1105 was to have ruinous consequences for the city of Bayeux. Having arrived in the neighbouring Cotentin, where he heard the famous Easter sermon delivered by Serlo, bishop of Sées, in the church at Carentan,²⁸ the king soon began his march eastward. Following an engagement shortly after Easter at Maromme in Upper Normandy,²⁹ Henry turned his attention to Bayeux. The city was not only of great strategic significance, but its citizens had also captured Robert fitzHaimon, lord of Creully and Torigni,³⁰ who in the months before had switched his allegiance to the king, and had been harrying much of the Bessin.³¹ Whatever can be said about the siege that followed, Turolde appears to have played no part in it.³² His brother, Hugh, seems to have been involved with Henry in the military engagements that preceded the siege of Bayeux, witnessing a charter issued 'during the siege of Arques',³³ and was certainly with the king in the years before the invasion.³⁴ It is possible, therefore, that Turolde also lent his support to Henry's campaign. This was probably limited to tacit approval, however, since any active role would surely have drawn comment from someone like Serlo de Bayeux, who was not only a great admirer of Turolde's predecessor, but was also a member of the cathedral chapter resisting his claims to the episcopate. Nevertheless, the destruction wrought in

²⁷ '... cum flens et eiulans terrae consternatus indutias flagitavit...', *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, ii, no. 5, p. 59.

²⁸ *OV*, vi, pp. 60-68. For full discussion, see below, pp. 443-444.

²⁹ *OV*, vi, p. 72. Maromme, Seine-Maritime, chef-lieu.

³⁰ Creully, Calvados, chef-lieu; Torigni-sur-Vire, Manche, chef-lieu.

³¹ The most detailed account of this episode is found in Wace, *Roman de Rou*, pt. iii, ll. 11073-11102. His description is corroborated elsewhere, *OV*, vi, p. 60.

³² The bishop is not mentioned in any of the sources that recount the circumstances during and after the siege; 'Incipiunt versus Serlonis', pp. 241-251; *OV*, vi, p. 70; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, pt. iii, ll. 10945-11162.

³³ 'Teste Hugone de Envremodio, in obsidione ante Archas', BN, ms. lat. 10058, p. 7. Round dated this charter 1104 × 1106 (*CDF*, no. 393), while Davis and Cronne placed it in 1106(?), *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 794. Charles David, however, associates it with the events of 1105, David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 165 n. 107.

³⁴ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, nos. 601, 727.

the city of Bayeux during the siege was profound,³⁵ and it would not be long before the disasters that ruined his episcopal city would soon come to overwhelm Turolde himself.

The bishop's papal problems resurfaced even before the war between Henry and Curthose had come to an end on the field at Tinchebray. On 30 March 1106, Paschal II sent a letter to William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, which gave him various instructions regarding the situation at Bayeux, and set a date of Easter 1107 for the final hearing before the archbishop of Canterbury.³⁶ Turolde continued in his functions as diocesan, however, witnessing a charter of the archbishop of Rouen that was issued in the Norman capital sometime after 28 September 1106,³⁷ while on 6 November he was still in Rouen for a large gathering of court convened by Henry I, during which a charter in favour of Fécamp was issued.³⁸ Turolde undoubtedly used the opportunity to press the new king- duke on the subject of his investiture, but it was a matter on which Henry was not to be moved. He had perhaps heard the rumours that Turolde had sought investiture from Curthose, breaking an oath that the bishop had made with the king.³⁹ It was not long, therefore, before Turolde found his position impossible, and at sometime in early 1107 he resigned his post.⁴⁰ Orderic suggests that he then immediately became a monk at Bec,⁴¹ to whom he had granted as bishop the priory of Saint-Laurence d'Envermeu,⁴² but he was certainly in England following his resignation, where he witnessed an act issued in London, which might be associated with the election of Rodulf d'Escures as bishop of Rochester on 29 June 1108.⁴³ If nothing else, the appearance certainly shows that Turolde had not fallen entirely out of favour with the king. Indeed, his brother Hugh remained a constant in the royal

³⁵ It is sometimes suggested that the destruction wrought in Bayeux by Henry was somewhat exaggerated by Serlo, though his account is partly confirmed by that of John of Worcester: 'Ille [Henricus rex] vero Baius, cum ecclesia s. Marie, que intus erat, combussit', John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 106.

³⁶ Paschal II, 'Epistolae', no. clxxix, col. 188.

³⁷ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix F, no. 1, p. 293. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

³⁸ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 127-128.

³⁹ This is the oath mentioned in the 1103 letter of Paschal II, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, ii, no. 5, p. 59. It is possible that king referred to is William Rufus, though is more likely a reference to Henry, Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁰ Turolde's successor, Richard son of Samson, entered office in 1107, since he died in 1133 and Orderic states he ruled for twenty-six years, *OV*, v, p. 210.

⁴¹ *OV*, v, p. 210.

⁴² BN, ms. lat. 10058, pp. 1-2. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

⁴³ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 936. Turolde witnesses as 'Tur[old] de Enverneu'.

court,⁴⁴ eventually marrying Turfrida, the daughter of the repudiated wife of Hereward the Wake.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, Turolde's experiences as bishop of Bayeux had clearly had a profound effect upon him. His decision to retire to Bec certainly suggests that he had either always sought a stricter religious life, or that the disasters of his reign had taken their toll upon his person. His career at Bec, which lasted almost forty years, has left but a few traces. Porée believed that an anonymous letter, the text of which survives in a manuscript that was once at Bec, was sent to Turolde in the immediate aftermath of his decision to become a monk,⁴⁶ but it is now known that this epistle was actually sent by Richard de Saint-Victor to Alain de Lille in early 1168.⁴⁷ In fact, Turolde received words of encouragement from St. Anselm, who counselled his 'dearest friend' (*amico carissimo*) that by removing his person from the secular way of life his mind 'might be separated from worldly thought, and might always be occupied with good things and spiritual contemplation'.⁴⁸ Turolde clearly took the advice of this letter, which proves he became a monk before 21 April 1109, to heart. Abbey texts remembered the former bishop as 'a very venerable man', even 'holy',⁴⁹ while a letter of Honorius II, which was sent to Richard son of Samson, recalled to the new bishop of Bayeux his 'god-fearing' predecessor.⁵⁰ It is possible, however, that Turolde did not completely abandon his secular roots, for he is often identified as the Turolde

⁴⁴ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, nos. 601, 727, 744-5, 818, 973, 1577.

⁴⁵ Such is the claim made in the history of Crowland by pseudo-Ingulf, 'Historia Ingulphi', ed. W. Fulman, in *Rerum anglicarum scriptorum veterum*, ed. J. Fell and W. Fulman, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1684-1691), i, p. 67. Round dismissed such a suggestion (J. Round, *Feudal England: historical studies on the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (London, 1895), pp. 159-161, 165), though the idea has recently found fresh support, E.M.C. van Houts, 'Hereward and Flanders', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 28 (1999), pp. 201-223, at p. 222.

⁴⁶ A.-A. Porée, 'L'abbaye du Bec et ses écoles (1045-1790)', *Revue catholique de Normandie*, 1 (1891), pp. 407-430, 513-541; 2 (1892), pp. 28-50, 120-161, at 2, pp. 41-43.

⁴⁷ BN, ms. lat. 13575, fol. 48r-49r. A fourteenth-century note reveals that the manuscript eventually became the property of the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Préaux ('Iste liber est de abbatia sancti Petri de Pratellis', BN, ms. lat. 13575, fol. 44v), before entering the collection of Machault and then the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. For discussion, Alain de Lille, *Lettres familières, 1167-1170*, ed. F. Hudry (Paris, 2003), no. vi, pp. 106-113.

⁴⁸ 'Sicut igitur corpus vestrum est segregatum a saecularium conversatione: sic cor vestrum sit separatum a mundana cogitatione, et sit semper occupatum aliqua utili et spirituali meditatione', S. Anselmi *Opera omnia*, v, no. 418, pp. 363-364.

⁴⁹ 'Fuit nostris temporibus vir valde venerabilis, Turolde nomine, germanus Hugonis Evremodensis, pontifex ordinatus Baocassine urbis... Hanc vero miseriam vir sanctus, pudore optimo decorates...', Vatican Library, ms. Regina lat. 499, fol. 161r; BN, ms. lat. 5427, fol. 125r. For discussion of the Vatican manuscript, of which I have only seen photocopies, see L. Delisle, 'Notice sur vingt manuscrits du Vatican', *BEC*, 37 (1876), pp. 471-527, at pp. 519-527.

⁵⁰ '... timoratus praedecessoris tui Toroldi...', Honorius II, 'Epistolae', no. lx, Migne, *PL*, clxvi, col. 1276. The letter is dated 6 May 1127.

responsible for the oldest copy of the *Song of Roland*, which is found in a manuscript at the Bodleian.⁵¹ The fact that Turolde, while suffering from a hernia, appealed for help to St. Foy,⁵² for whom an eleventh-century *chanson* survives,⁵³ certainly suggests he may have been familiar with such material. One of his last known actions was to make a pilgrimage to the priory of Sainte-Foy de Longueville,⁵⁴ but he seems to have died shortly thereafter, in around 1146.⁵⁵

In spite of his admirable monastic career, the damage done to the diocese of Bayeux during Turolde's short episcopate proved nearly catastrophic. His immediate successor, Richard son of Samson, although a highly gifted intellectual, seems to have lacked the administrative skills necessary for the governance of a bishopric, and the steady exploitation of cathedral benefices by local magnates that had begun under Turolde continued unabated during his reign. So dire were the circumstances by the end of his tenure that Henry I ordered the famous Inquest of 1133, which attempted to establish the diocese's possessions in the days of Bishop Odo. Richard of Gloucester, the son of the earl of Gloucester and grandson of Henry I, proved little better than his predecessor, for his appointment simply opened the wealth of the diocese to his father, who had been enriching himself through the appropriation of cathedral benefices since the reign of Richard son of Samson. It would only be with the election of Philip d'Harcourt, a man of considerable drive and energy, that the bishopric would eventually begin to recover.⁵⁶ How much we should blame Turolde for the decline in the diocese's fortunes is, nevertheless, difficult to determine. His time at Bec suggests he was not completely insensitive to religious sensibilities, and it perhaps reveals a man whose cenobitic personality was inherently incompatible with the dirtier world of eleventh-century episcopal politics. His background as a *curialis*, however, means such matters cannot have been entirely alien to him, and it is perhaps best to view

⁵¹ W. Tavernier, 'Beiträge zur Rolandsforschung', *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, 38 (1912), pp. 117-135; 39 (1913), pp. 133-159; 41 (1914), pp. 49-101; J. Bédier, *La chanson de Roland* (Paris, 1927), p. 33; P. Le Gentil, *La Chanson de Roland*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1967), p. 34; *The Song of Roland*, ed. and trans. G. Burgess (London, 1990), p. 14.

⁵² 'Miraculum beatae Fidis de episcopo Baiocensi qui postea factus fuit monachus Becci', Vatican Library, ms. Regina lat. 499, fol. 161r-162r; BN, ms. lat. 5427, fol. 125r-126v. This text is discussed in Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, i, pp. 311-313.

⁵³ The only surviving copy of the *chanson* is written in Provençal, but it is generally thought that this scribe worked from a version, now lost, written in French, F.M. Chambers, *An introduction to old Provençal versification* (Philadelphia, PA, 1985), p. 10.

⁵⁴ Vatican Library, ms. Regina lat. 499, fol. 161r-162r; BN, ms. lat. 5427, fol. 125r-126v.

⁵⁵ 'Chronicon Beccensis abbatae', in Migne, *PL*, cl, col. 653.

⁵⁶ Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, pp. 23-31.

Turolde as little more than a victim of circumstance. The chaos of Curthose's reign had caused difficulties for many of the Norman bishops; it was simply that the enormous wealth amassed by Turolde's predecessor made the diocese of Bayeux an even more tempting target.

COUTANCES

Hugh I, c. 989-c. 1022

If the destruction wrought by the Northmen in the diocese of Coutances during the tenth century can be compared to that elsewhere in the duchy, it differs in two distinct ways. Firstly, we have a description, albeit from almost two centuries later, of the circumstances following the arrival of Scandinavian forces in the region. According to *De statu huius ecclesiae ab anno 836 ad 1093*, which was written by a canon of the cathedral, John son of Peter, in the early twelfth century,¹ the diocese was home, towards the end of ninth century, to urban settlements, churches, relics, the cathedral and a sizeable lay and clerical population, all of which were laid to waste by the successive invasions of Hasting the Dane and Hrólfr, later Rollo, first duke of Normandy.² Secondly, while every other Norman diocese besides Rouen ceased to be represented by a bishop for all or part of the tenth century, the episcopal succession at Coutances remained uninterrupted. This partial reprieve was apparently thanks to Rollo, who in the years following his baptism, sought to make amends for the destruction wrought by his followers. As a sign of his commitment to the new faith of which he had just become part, the duke not only patronised religious institutions in Rouen and Évreux,³ but also arranged for the transferral of Theoderic, bishop of Coutances, to the church of Saint-Lô in Rouen, where he would continue to work ‘as if he were in his own see’.⁴ Unfortunately, the *De statu* provides no further information about the *coutançais* presence in Rouen, except to name the bishops (Herbert, Algerundus and Gilbert) who succeeded Theoderic, although archaeological evidence confirms that the church in which they had been placed had existed long in the city before their arrival.⁵

¹ For the identification of the author of the *De statu*, who also wrote a set of miracles of the church of Coutances (ed. É.-A. Pigeon, *Histoire de la cathédrale de Coutances* (Coutances, 1876), pp. 217-224), see L. Delisle, ‘Notice sur un traité inédit du XII^e siècle: *Miracula Ecclesiae Constantiensis*’, *BEC*, 4 (1847-1848), pp. 339-352, at p. 341. For full bibliographical details concerning the *De statu*, and the now lost manuscript in which it was once found, see B. Jacqueline, ‘Institutions et état économique-social du diocèse de Coutances de 836 à 1093, d’après les *Gesta Gaufridi* du ‘Livre noir’ du chapitre coutançais’, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 58 (1980), pp. 227-239, esp. p. 228 n. 4. A critical edition of the Coutances miracles can be found in Appendix F. For the oldest surviving manuscript of *De statu* see above p. 1 n. 2.

² ‘... plurimae captae et concrematae sunt urbes, oppida diruta, destructae ecclesiae, praedia sanctorum et ecclesiastica iura et privilegia direpta, clerus et incola populus gladiis aufugit annullatus, sanctorum reliquiae et corpora latibulis abscondita, vel fuga per diversas provincias exportata. His itaque miseriis iingruentibus, sancta Constantiensis ecclesia... funditus evertitur...’, ‘De statu’, col. 217.

³ *De moribus*, p. 171; *GND*, ii, p. 134.

⁴ ‘... ibique sicut in sede propria sedebat’, ‘De statu’, col. 218.

⁵ Le Maho, ‘Recherches sur les origines’, pp. 148-150.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M				
c. 989 × 996	<i>RADN</i> , no. 6 (act lost)	Coutances cathedral	Fécamp			x				
15 June 990	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4	Fécamp								
996 × c. 1022	<i>RADN</i> , no. 28 (act lost)	Coutances cathedral	Rouen					x		
15 Sept. 1011	<i>RADN</i> , no. 13	Saint-Ouen de Rouen								
c. 1014 × 1017	Musset, ‘Les origines de Saint-Fromond’, p. 484	Saint-Fromond (priory)	Rouen							x
1015	<i>RADN</i> , no. 17	Mont-Saint-Michel								
8 Sept. 1015	<i>RADN</i> , no. 18	Saint-Quentin								
1017 × c. 1022	Bulst, <i>Wilhelms von Dijon</i> , pp. 223-236	Fruttuaria								
1017 × 1022	<i>RADN</i> , no. 24	Saint-Ouen de Rouen								
1017 × c. 1022	<i>RADN</i> , no. 30	Saint-Wandrille								

Fig. 29 Appearances of Hugh I, bishop of Coutances (c. 989- c. 1022), in the diplomatic record*

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1023 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 49	Mont-Saint-Michel		x	x	x
c. 1025 × c. 1026	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. iv, pp. 115-116	Saint-Père de Chartres			x	
c. 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 33	Sées cathedral				
1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35	Fécamp			x	
1032 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 85	Fécamp			x	
1033 × 1034	<i>RADN</i> , no. 76	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
13×30 April 1033	<i>RADN</i> , no. 69	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1034 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 87	Fécamp			x	
1035	<i>Grand Cartulaire de Conches</i> , no. 406 (i)	Conches			x	
1037 × c.1045	<i>RADN</i> , no. 102	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1037 × 1048	<i>RADN</i> , no. 112	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	

Fig. 30 Appearances of Robert I, bishop of Coutances (c. 1023-1048), in the diplomatic record

* Hugh may be the bishop by that name who witnessed *RADN*, no. 21, though the bishops of Avranches, Bayeux, and Évreux were also called Hugh at this time.

It is only with the accession of Hugh to the episcopate that we can begin to trace with any certainty the reestablishment of episcopal authority. The exact date at which he succeeded Gilbert is unknown, but like every other member of the late tenth-century episcopate, his first known datable appearance is at the dedication of Fécamp on 15 June 990.⁶ Given the state of his diocese, he proved to be a particularly active member of the episcopate. Richard I had made an attempt to restore an episcopal presence in the Cotentin, and although Hugh moved seven of the canons established by the duke to Saint-Lô in Rouen,⁷ he apparently made every effort to aggrandise the church to which they had been relocated.⁸ Hugh also secured the first restitutions of land for his cathedral canons, granting them Blainville, Courcy and Soulles,⁹ while he may also have obtained the donation of Saint-Ébremond and Bonfosse, which was later turned into an episcopal manor.¹⁰ His curial activities were, however, limited almost exclusively to Upper Normandy, where he witnessed acts at Rouen and Fécamp for houses located within the traditional centres of ducal power.¹¹ Hugh was, nevertheless, involved with institutions located in the west of the duchy, such as the church of Saint-Fromond,¹² which would later become a priory of Cerisy-la-Forêt,¹³ while a twelfth-century charter of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte claims the church (later abbey) enjoyed freedom from all episcopal customs in ‘the time of old duke Richard’ (*a tempore vetuli Ricardi comitis*),¹⁴ for which it had given to the cathedral of Coutances the church and other possessions at Le Homme.¹⁵ It is possible that Hugh had negotiated this arrangement, and although the document’s veracity has recently

⁶ *RADN*, no. 4.

⁷ ‘De statu’, col. 218.

⁸ ‘Consequente vero tempore venerabilis Hugo episcopus ad honorem sanctorum et gloriam eandem pluribus sumptibus ampliavit ecclesiam...’, ‘Translatio sancti Laudi’, in Pigeon, *Vies des saints*, i, p. 162.

⁹ *RADN*, nos. 6 and 28. These possessions, all of which are located in La Manche, are in the cantons of Saint-Malo-de-la-Lande, Coutances and Canisy, respectively.

¹⁰ Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, p. 417.

¹¹ *RADN*, nos. 13, 17, 18, 24 and 30.

¹² Saint-Fromond, Manche, cant. Saint-Jean-de-Daye.

¹³ Hugh is mentioned in a copy of a lost charter of Richard II, in which he grants the church freedom from synod, visit and all episcopal customs. For the text of the charter, see L. Musset, ‘Les origines du prieuré de Saint-Fromond. Un acte négligé de Richard II’, *BSAN*, 53 (1955-1956), pp. 475-488, at p. 484. For a partial re-evaluation of this act, see Van Torhout, ‘Centralité et marginalité’, ii, pp. 320-322.

¹⁴ ‘Notum sit omnibus hanc cartam legentibus et audientibus quod ecclesia sancti Salvatoris est libera ab omnibus episcopalibus consuetudinibus, et a tempore vetuli Ricardi comitis et Rogeri vicecomitis, qui ecclesiam inchoavit et liberam eam construxit, qui pro hac libertate ecclesiam sancti Nicholai de Hulmo et vicum qui vocatur Gishaula in eadem villa sancte Marie Constanciensi concessit’, L. Delisle, *Histoire du château et des sires de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte* (Valognes, 1867), pièces justificatives, no. 48, p. 59. The act is dated 1135 × 1138.

¹⁵ Le Homme, now L’Isle-Marie, Manche, cant. Saint-Mère-Église, comm. Picauville.

been questioned,¹⁶ the church at Le Homme is among those possessions confirmed in the charter of the cathedral of Coutances, which was issued after 8 December 1056.¹⁷ Hugh was also party to two acts for institutions located outside Normandy. On 8 September 1015 he witnessed a charter for the abbey of Saint-Quentin,¹⁸ while he also attested an act along with the entire Norman episcopate for the Italian house of Fruttuaria.¹⁹

The date at which the bishop left his charge is unknown. His last appearance in the diplomatic record can be dated no more exactly than 1017 × c. 1023,²⁰ although he was certainly still active in around 1020, for it was at this time that he dedicated the church of La Ferté-en-Bray, an important event that helped stabilise the duchy's north-eastern borders, in the presence of Richard II and Robert, archbishop of Rouen.²¹ Besides these appearances, we know only that Hugh had a wife, or at the very least a concubine, for his son Roger later gave lands to two different Rouen houses.²² With these donations concerning land located either within the vicinity of Rouen, or within the Pays de Talou, we have what is perhaps the best evidence with regards to Hugh's own origins, and while this may lead us to question the suitability of his appointment as a bishop of Coutances, as Eric van Torhoudt has recently noted, the bishop's links within the eastern part of the duchy may well have allowed for the implantation of some of Normandy's leading families in the west of the duchy, which subsequently allowed for the reintegration of this region within the burgeoning Norman realm.²³

¹⁶ E. van Torhoudt, 'Les sièges du pouvoir des Néel, vicomtes dans le Cotentin', in *Les lieux de pouvoir*, pp. 7-35, at p. 11.

¹⁷ RADN, no. 214; Fontanel, *Le cartulaire de Coutances*, no. 340.

¹⁸ RADN, no. 18.

¹⁹ Bulst, *Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223-236.

²⁰ RADN, no. 30. Fauroux dated this act 1017 × 1025.

²¹ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 292 n. 37.

²² RADN, nos. 135 (La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen), 186 (Saint-Amand de Rouen).

²³ Van Torhoudt, 'Centralité et marginalité', ii, pp. 591-592.

Robert I, c. 1023-1048

Robert began his episcopal career as bishop of Lisieux, a position to which he probably ascended in around 1022. For reasons unknown he then traded dioceses with Herbert, bishop of Coutances.¹ During his short episcopate, Herbert had left Rouen and had re-established himself in the Cotentin at Saint-Lô. Noticing the lack of instruction among the canons previously installed there, he deprived them of their prebends until they made an effort to acquire some knowledge.² Robert followed in his predecessor's footsteps, choosing to remain in the region, from where it is sometimes claimed he originated,³ while also taking the first steps towards a full reconstitution of episcopal authority within the city of Coutances. His episcopate proved, however, to be somewhat of a mixed blessing for the diocese. On the one hand, he undertook the construction of a new cathedral, which he began with the help of the duchess Gunnor,⁴ who donated the land of *Forcivilla* at the time that she came to lay the first stone,⁵ while he also enlisted the help of local nobles and his parishioners, whose names he engraved on the arches of the edifice in recognition of their contributions.⁶ Robert, however, failed to reconstitute either the library of the cathedral, or its ornaments, which were required to conduct the divine service, while he also used cathedral lands to support his family members.⁷ Moreover, given the length of his episcopate, Robert's appearances in the diplomatic record are surprisingly limited, and overwhelmingly concern houses located in Upper Normandy. This, however, is not unusual for a bishop of Lower Normandy at this time, and this pattern is remarkably similar to the diplomatic appearances of Hugh, bishop of Avranches.

¹ For a full discussion of the complexities surrounding the exact date at which Robert first accepted, and then abandoned, his charge, see the chapter on Herbert, bishop of Lisieux, below p. 248.

² 'De statu', col. 218.

³ R. Toustain de Billy, *Histoire ecclésiastique du diocèse de Coutances*, ed. F. Dolbet, 3 vols. (Rouen, 1874-1886), i, p. 109; Pigeon, *Histoire de Coutances*, p. 37.

⁴ The involvement of the duchess places this event sometime between c. 1023 and 1026, if one assumes that she would have only acted in this capacity during her husband's lifetime. Otherwise, the *terminus ad quem* is her death in 1031, 'Chronicon Rotomagensis', p. 366. Gunnor was herself from the Cotentin. For discussion, see Searle, 'Fact and pattern', p. 135.

⁵ '... terram etiam Rolphi de Forcivilla quam dedit Gonnor ancilla dei cum primam posuerit petram in fundamentis predictae ecclesie', *RADN*, no. 214, p. 406.

⁶ 'Huius tamen temporibus incoepa et ex parte constructa est Constantientis ecclesia, fundante et coadiuvante Gonnora comitissa, auxiliantibus etiam canonicis, redditibus medietatis altaris ad tempus operi concessis, cooperantibus quoque baronibus et parochianis fidelibus, quod usque hodie contestantur aliquod ipsorum nomina insculpta lapidibus in ecclesia arcubus', 'De statu', col. 218.

⁷ 'De statu', col. 218. This behaviour goes some way to confirm the assertion that Robert was from the Cotentin.

Frustratingly, we know little else of Robert. Unlike some of his contemporaries, no later chronicler provides any information regarding his background, though he was presumably closely related to the ducal line, or was at least descended from one of the duchy's leading families.⁸ Given the involvement of Gunnor in the refoundation of the cathedral, it would be tempting to posit a relationship between her and the bishop, though the familial origins of the duchess remain unresolved.⁹ We know that he had sisters, but their identities are unknown.¹⁰ Besides his diplomatic attestations we know only that Robert helped the archbishop of Rouen and Herbert, bishop of Lisieux, consecrate the abbey of Saint-Wandrille on 12 September 1033,¹¹ while towards 1045 he attended the reforming council convened by Mauger, archbishop of Rouen.¹² Why he chose to attend an event that was apparently shunned by two-thirds of his colleagues is unclear. It is possible that he felt strongly about reform ideas, although this seems unlikely given his treatment of his cathedral's possessions. Interestingly, the only other member of the episcopate at the council was Hugh, bishop of Évreux, who was perhaps related to the archbishop.¹³ If the bishop of Coutances did enjoy a familial connection with the duchess Gunnor, then he too would have been related to Mauger, and it is possible that familial loyalties, rather than reforming zeal, determined the presence of both bishops. Despite the claims of the author of the *De statu* that Robert despoiled cathedral property, however, it is possible that it was Robert who secured the land of Saint-Ébremond and Bonfosse, which was later turned into an episcopal manor,¹⁴ and that he was committed to improving the church which he served. It is in the achievements of his successor, however, that the inadequacies of Robert's episcopate are perhaps most clearly reflected, for under Geoffrey de Montbray, the cathedral of Coutances would rarely want again.

⁸ Like, for example, the man with whom he swapped dioceses, who was described by an author of the twelfth century as a *propinquus* of the duke, 'De libertate Beccensis', p. 138.

⁹ Eleanor Searle proposed that she was related to the family of Nigel, vicomte of the Cotentin (Searle, *Predatory kinship*, p. 103), though this was dismissed by Eric van Torhout, 'Les sièges du pouvoir', p. 22. For discussion of the various other theories concerning her familial ties, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 219-220.

¹⁰ '... non solum praebendas dictorum canonicorum servito ecclesiae non reddidit, verum etiam haec et alia in feodum et hereditatem nepotibus et consanguineis, et sororibus suis non large sed prodige distribuit', 'De statu', col. 218.

¹¹ 'Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni', ed. J. Laporte, in *Société de l'histoire de Normandie, Mélanges*, 14 (1938), pp. 8-87, at pp. 50-51.

¹² Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 40.

¹³ For Hugh's possible association with the ducal line, see below, pp. 215-216.

¹⁴ Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, p. 417.

Geoffrey de Montbray,¹ 1048/9-1093

Like his contemporary in the diocese of Bayeux, Geoffrey de Montbray was an exceptional individual. Ruling his diocese for forty-five years, the bishop was an active force not only within the regeneration of the Norman episcopal network, but also within the Norman governance of England. Accordingly, he has been the focus of scholarly interest since the seventeenth century, and, although his career has not been the subject of a truly comprehensive analysis for over sixty-five years,² the following seeks, as with the famous bishop of Bayeux, only to reconsider Geoffrey's Norman activities.³ The new bishop was himself of a noble family whose origins are unclear. No contemporary source refers to the bishop by the toponym with which he is now most famously associated, although it is Orderic who claims that Robert de Montbray, earl of Northumberland, was his nephew.⁴ This has subsequently led to the assumption that Roger de Montbray was the bishop's brother.⁵ Fortunately, the author of *De statu*, John son of Peter, a canon of the cathedral, provides additional information with regards to Geoffrey's other siblings, and not only refers to his sisters, but also names another of the bishop's brothers, Mauger.⁶ The same author also claims that Geoffrey was a kinsman (*consanguineus*) of Nigel, vicomte of the Cotentin,⁷ though the extent of these ties cannot have been great, for Geoffrey's rise to power seems to have been unaffected by Nigel's fall from grace after the battle of Val-ès-Dunes.⁸ The profusion of the name Mauger within the ducal family has led some to question whether Geoffrey was a member of Normandy's ruling lineage,⁹ although if such a connection did ever exist, it is strange that no contemporary chronicler chose to mention it.

¹ Montbray, Manche, cant. Percy.

² The standard modern work remains Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', pp. 129-161. For further treatment of Geoffrey's career, see L. Musset, 'Un grand prélat normand du XIe siècle: Geoffroy de Montbray, évêque de Coutances (1048-1093)', *Revue du département de la Manche*, 14 (1983), pp. 3-17; Jacqueline, 'Institutions et état économique-social', pp. 227-239; M. Chibnall, 'La carrière de Geoffroi de Montbray', in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 279-294; Fontanel, 'La réorganisation religieuse', pp. 189-208.

³ A complete study of Geoffrey's episcopate is currently in preparation by Chris Dennis, under the supervision of Bill Aird at the University of Cardiff.

⁴ *OV*, ii, p. 266.

⁵ Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 133; Musset, 'Un grand prélat normand', p. 7; Spear, *The personnel*, p. 91.

⁶ 'De statu', col. 219.

⁷ 'De statu', col. 222.

⁸ Nigel went into exile in Brittany, and was only restored to ducal favour in 1054, *GND*, ii, p. 122 n. 3.

⁹ Chibnall, 'La carrière de Geoffroi', p. 281.

The most recent hypothesis concerning the bishop's origins proposes an entirely local pedigree. Eric van Torhoutd has suggested that Geoffrey was from a canonical family of 'bajocassino-contentinaise' origins, who were based around the prebend of Soulles,¹⁰ the evidence for which he claimed is found in a passage in the confirmation charter of the cathedral of Coutances.¹¹ Unhappy with the explanation that Geoffrey had acquired the land of *Crapolt* from an individual called *Solel*,¹² van Torhoutd argued that this is actually a confused reference to a toponym associated with the bishop (i.e. 'de Soulles'). Although the uncertainty surrounding Geoffrey's origins certainly allows for such speculation, this hypothesis ignores a number of important factors. Most importantly, few Norman bishops of the eleventh century, even those with the most prestigious of pedigrees, refer to themselves, or are referred to by others, as anything other than the bishop of the diocese with which they were charged. If the allusion to *de Solel* is a confused reference to a toponym associated with the bishop of Coutances, then it is an unusual, and given the insignificant nature of Soulles, also a highly unlikely example of such practices. Furthermore, the charter of Coutances survives only in later copies, the earliest of which date to the fourteenth century. Analysis of these copies confirms the reading of *de Solel*,¹³ though this could easily be part of the name Solel(man) (Solomon),¹⁴ which was common in the region,¹⁵ or perhaps even a garbled reference to Saint-Lô, another name for the bishop of Coutances.¹⁶

To whomever Geoffrey was related they were sufficiently powerful to be able to secure the episcopate for him, although Mauger's purchase of the bishopric for his brother was not particularly well-received outside the duchy.¹⁷ Like his origins, the

¹⁰ Van Torhoutd, 'Centralité et marginalité', ii, pp. 473 and 776; E. van Torhoutd, 'Les Bretons dans les diocèses d'Avranches et de Coutances (950-1200 environ)', in *Bretons et Normands au Moyen Âge*, pp. 113-144, at pp. 139-140. Soulles, Manche, cant. Canisy.

¹¹ '... terram etiam de Crapolt quam Gaufridus episcopus de Solel ad opus sancte Marie acquisivit et terram de Unceyo quam similiter prefate ecclesie attribuit', Fontanel, *Le cartulaire de Coutances*, no. 340, p. 493.

¹² For the traditional identification, see the 'Index général' in *RADN*, p. 540.

¹³ Arch. nat., JJ 59, fol. 146v; Arch. nat., JJ 152, fol. 111v.

¹⁴ It is possible that this name was abbreviated as Solel', and that later scribes simply omitted the apostrophe.

¹⁵ There is, for example, a Solomon d'Avranches, who was active around the time that the charter was drawn up, *RADN*, nos. 201, 208 and 220, p. 419 n. w.

¹⁶ For an example of the bishop of Coutances being called 'bishop of Saint-Lô' (*sanctus Loth*), see *Regesta*, no. 81(I).

¹⁷ Geoffrey was censured by the pope at the Council of Reims in 1049, 'Dedicatio sancti Remigii', col. 741; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, 'Histoire', p. 248.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1048/9 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 181	Bec	Brionne	x		
c. 1050 × 1064	<i>RADN</i> , no. 163	Marmoutier		x		
c. 1050 × 1064	<i>RADN</i> , no. 163 <i>bis</i>	Marmoutier		x		
c. 1052 × 1058	<i>RADN</i> , no. 141	Marmoutier			x	
1056 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 214	Coutances cathedral				x
1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 227	Beaumont-lès-Tours	Bayeux (<i>in camera comitis</i>)	x	x	
1066 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 77	Canterbury cathedral	Westminster	x		
1066 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 95	Cerisy-la-Forêt			x	x
1066 × 1086	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 103	Coutances cathedral				x
1066 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 51	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1066 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 92	Cerisy-la-Forêt			x	x
1066 × 1077/80	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 346	Worcester cathedral		x		
May 1068	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 286 (probable)	Wells cathedral			x	
11 May 1068	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 181	St. Martin-le-Grand	Westminster		x	
1069	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 256	Saint-Gabriel priory	Valognes		x	x
1069 (? Easter)	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 138	Exeter cathedral			x	
prob. c. 12 April 1069	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 232	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen			x	
13 April 1069	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 254	Saint-Denis	Winchester		x	
1070 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 88	St. Augustine's, Canterbury	Rouen	x		
1070 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 152	St. Peter's, Gloucester		x		
1070 × 1086	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 129	England, kingdom				x
1070 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 87	St. Augustine's, Canterbury	Windsor	x		
1070 × 1078	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 133	Evesham abbey	Winchester	x		
1070 × 1071	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 104	St. Mary's, Coventry		x		
1070 (bef. Whitsun)	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 81(I)	St. Augustine's, Canterbury	Windsor	x		
1071 × 1075	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 117	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				x
1072 × 1085	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 265	Samson the chaplain				x
1072 × 1073	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 69(I&II)	Canterbury cathedral	Penenden Heath			x
27 May 1072	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 68	Canterbury cathedral	Windsor		x	
1075/6 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 122	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				x
c. 1076	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 214	Mont-Saint-Michel				x
1077 × 1085	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 349	Worcester cathedral				x
1077 × 1078	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 174	Saint-Vincent du Mans	(?) Le Mans		x	
1077 × 1078	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 217	Saint-Léger de Préaux			x	
14 July 1077	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 83	St. Augustine's, Canterbury	Bayeux			x
1078 × 1085	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 347	Worcester cathedral		x		
1078 × 1085	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 348	Worcester cathedral		x		x
1079 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 57	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x	x	x

1080/1 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 53	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		
1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 257	Saint-Gabriel priory			x	x
12 April 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 235	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen				x
14 July 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175(I&II)	Lessay	Bonneville-sur-Touques		x	x
27 Dec. 1080 (?)	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 201	Marmoutier	Cherbourg			x
1081 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 54	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1081 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 167	Bec			x	
1081 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 49	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1081 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 50	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1081/2 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 119	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				x
1081/2 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 120	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				x
1081/2 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 121	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				x
1081/2 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 123	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				x
1081/2 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 124	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				x
1081/2 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 125	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				x
1081/2 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 126 (var. 'a')	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				x
1081/2 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 127	St. Etheldreda's, Ely				x
Feb. 1081	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 193	Malmesbury abbey	London		x	
31 May 1081	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 39	Bury St. Edmunds	Winchester		x	
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 60	La Trinité de Caen			x	
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215	Saint-Évroult de Mortain			x	x
1082 (late)	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 253	Saint-Calais	Downton (Wilts)		x	
1085 × 1093	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 278	St. Mary's, Thorney		x		
1085	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 156	St. Peter's, Gloucester	Gloucester		x	
1086	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 350	Worcester cathedral		x	x	x
April (or after) 1086	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 146	Fécamp	Lacock (Wilts)	x		
1087 × 1093	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 346	Peter de Valognes		x		
1087 × 1091	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 323	Gent, Saint-Pierre au Mont-Blandin			x	
1087 × 1088	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 306	St. Peter's, Westminster		x		
c. 1091	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 320	Bec			x	
27 Jan. 1091	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 315	Bath cathedral	Dover		x	
1 June 1091 × 28 Feb. 1092	BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r	Bec			x	
1092 × 1093	Caen, coll. Mancel, vol. 303 (vi), fol. 59r	Saint-Pierre de Marigny	Marigny	x		x
Jan. 1093	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , col. 223	Coutances cathedral	(Coutances)	x	x	x

Fig. 31 Appearances of Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances (1048/9-1093), in the diplomatic record*

* Geoffrey also appears in forged charters for Gent, Saint-Pierre au Moulin-Blandin (*Regesta*, no. 150), Malmesbury abbey (*Regesta*, no. 194), St. Peter's, Westminster (*Regesta*, nos. 290, 294, 301, 303, 305, 306, 317, 322, 331) and Durham (*Regesta*, nos. 109, 110). Geoffrey may also be the unnamed bishop of Coutances said to have attested a charter for Bec along with Robert Curthose, the text of which is now lost, BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 20r (marginalia).

date of the bishop's consecration has also been the subject of much debate, and although the date of 12 March 1049 was once accepted, it seems most likely that he was consecrated at Rouen, where he presumably received his pastoral staff from Archbishop Mauger, on 10 April 1048.¹⁸

Whether Geoffrey visited the diocese with which he had been entrusted at this time is unclear. He may have had little need to see an episcopal city which was already well known to be in state of some considerable disrepair, while the chronology of *De statu* seems to suggest that his first action upon his consecration was to leave for Italy, where he was welcomed by Robert Guiscard, his parishioner (*parochianum suum*), and his barons, to whom Geoffrey was kinsman (*consanguineus*).¹⁹ Before arriving in the Apennine peninsula, however, Geoffrey had first attended the papal council convened at Reims in October 1049, where he was forced to defend himself against accusations of simony.²⁰ This he managed to do successfully,²¹ and having been accorded a position of some apparent privilege—and perhaps also of reconciliation—during the dedication ceremony of the church of Reims,²² he then followed the pope to Rome, where in April 1050 he attended the Easter synod convened to discuss, among other matters, the heresy of Berengar of Tours.²³ It was from here that he then undoubtedly went to visit his parishioner and relatives in the south of the country, from whom he was able to elicit gold, silver and many jewels, which he later used to enrich his church.²⁴ The bishop of Coutances was not alone in exploiting such networks, for Ivo, bishop of Sées, who had been with Geoffrey at Reims, also visited relatives in Italy to secure finances for the rebuilding

¹⁸ The source of the confusion is the following passage in *De statu*: 'Anno igitur Dominicæ Incarnationis MXLVIII, duodecim tantum diebus ipsius anni restantibus, id est IV idus Aprilis, indictione II, venerandus Gaufridus post Robertum Constantiensis episcopus Rotomagi consecratur...'. Le Patourel proposed 12 March 1049 (Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 134 and n. 2), which has been followed by most modern authorities. David Spear, however, has recently argued convincingly for the alternative date, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 90 n. 5.

¹⁹ 'De statu', col. 219.

²⁰ 'Dedicatio sancti Remigii', col. 737; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, 'Histoire', p. 236.

²¹ Geoffrey claimed that he had protested against his brother's purchase of the bishopric, but that he had been held violently captive by him, and forced to accept the see against his will: '... sed ab eodem violenter captum, episcopali contra voluntatem suam esse dignitate', 'Dedicatio sancti Remigii', col. 741; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, 'Histoire', p. 248.

²² Geoffrey stood fourth from the pope's right, next to the archbishop of Canterbury, and was the closest to Leo IX of all the Norman bishops present. For an illustration of the order of the bishops based on the description given by Anselme de Saint-Rémy, see Anselme de Saint-Rémy, 'Histoire', p. 285.

²³ 'Dedicatio sancti Remigii', col. 771.

²⁴ 'De statu', col. 219.

of his cathedral, and even travelled as far as Constantinople, where he received gifts for his church from the Emperor.²⁵

When Geoffrey did finally arrive at Coutances he found a city in decline. Despite the efforts of his predecessors, the city remained unable to accommodate the presence of a bishop, and Geoffrey found that not only was there no church in the area that could accommodate him, or a residence ‘leaning against the walls of the cathedral’, but also, as the author of *De statu* famously remarked, that there was not even a place in which ‘to stable his horse’.²⁶ If this account is accurate, and there is every possibility that John son of Peter is more panegyrist than historian,²⁷ then the speed with which Geoffrey revived the city is remarkable. He quickly began the work of rebuilding, and

on account of his prudence and probity, he acquired and secured the most important half of the city [of Coutances], the suburbs, the tolls and taxes, with the mill and its dues of Grimouville, from William, the most invincible duke of the Normans, and later glorious king of the English, for three hundred livres. Then he constructed an episcopal hall and outbuildings, planted an orchard and a vineyard of no small scale, built the chevet of the nave of the cathedral, with an *area*, and on both sides constructed two larger chevets more noble and more distinguished.²⁸ He also erected, from their foundations, two [western] towers, and one above the choir, in which he established melodious and expensive bells; and all this he covered in lead. Moreover, he created in Coutances two ponds with mills; regained in part the land of Parc from the count of Mortain, which he surrounded with a double fosse and a palisade, and within which he planted acorns, oaks, beeches and other trees, lovingly nurtured, and filled it with English stags. He similarly bought back, through his diligence and at his own expense, the other wood in the parish of Saint-Ébremond, and there he created an opulent park with stags, boars, bulls, cows and horses.²⁹ Likewise, he acquired Blainville by pledge; he bought, for the use of the church, the mill at Le Hommet from his brother Mauger; he developed the town of Saint-Lô, which is on the river Vire, so efficiently that the toll, which was 15 livres, is now 220 livres, and there he established a pond with a mill, as well as a stone bridge above the Vire. In the *pagus* of Bayeux, he bought from his sister and his brothers, as the property and heritage of the church, the land that is called Ussy, and he similarly liberated the land of *Crapolt* and the church of Saint-Gilles from the domination of the monks. In addition to the churches of Cherbourg, Turlaville, Equeurdreville and Barfleur, [he also secured] whatever the church of Coutances has in the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark and Alderney. He also acquired, thanks to the donation of the aforementioned duke William, [and] thanks to his service and at his own expense, the land of the bird-catchers at Lingreville, all the forests of the Cotentin and the *Passeis*, which are in the domain

²⁵ *GND*, ii, p. 118.

²⁶ ‘Cum autem non haberet in civitate, sive in suburbio tantum possessionis ecclesiae, ubi maneret episcopus, vel proprius equus ejus posset stabulari, sed neque propriam domum, nisi quoddam appendicium humile, quod pendebat de parietibus ecclesiae...’, ‘De statu’, col. 219.

²⁷ Jacqueline, ‘Institutions et état économique-social’, p. 232.

²⁸ The various interpretations of this passage, which is critical to our understanding of the form of the eastern end constructed by Geoffrey, are discussed below.

²⁹ For this park see, Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, pp. 415-425, esp. pp. 416-419.

of the duke of the Normans, and land at Valognes, where he constructed a fine house, an orchard and a chapel.³⁰

He also adorned his new cathedral with a large crucifix, and provided the church with every ornament and liturgical device, including an extensive library. It was also at this time that certain positions within the cathedral chapter were established, including a chanter, a subchanter, a rector of the schools, church wardens and prebendary canons, while Geoffrey employed goldsmiths, a blacksmith, carpenters and a master mason to work on the cathedral.³¹

The exact form of the cathedral, which was dedicated on 8 December 1056 in the presence of the duke, the archbishop of Rouen, the other bishops of Normandy, and many Norman and Breton nobles, has, however, become a matter of some debate.³² The most immediate problem relates to the extent to which the building had been completed. The account in *De statu* assigns the first stage of building to Geoffrey's predecessor, and although it does not name a specific part of the cathedral completed under his supervision, its reference to the inscription of names 'on the arches of the church'³³ has generally been interpreted as an allusion to the nave.³⁴ For some this is the only part of the cathedral that Geoffrey could have dedicated,³⁵ while others argue that a considerable part of the edifice must have been completed,³⁶ perhaps even the entire building.³⁷ The testimony of *De statu* seems fairly clear, since it places the description of the dedication after that of the parts completed by Geoffrey, though the problems associated with the achievement of such a substantial part of the building in less than a decade cannot be ignored.³⁸ Similar problems affect the nature of those additions made to the cathedral by Geoffrey. All agree that the bishop was responsible

³⁰ 'Ipse prudentia sua ... et capellam construxit', 'De statu', col. 219.

³¹ 'De statu', cols. 219-220.

³² For the exact date of the dedication, see *RADN*, no. 214, p. 407; Fontanel, *Le cartulaire de Coutances*, no. 340, p. 492. For the list of attendees, 'De statu', col. 220.

³³ '... nomina lapidibus in ecclesiae arcibus', 'De statu', col. 218.

³⁴ Pigeon, *Histoire de Coutances*, p. 38; E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 'La cathédrale de Coutances', *Congrès archéologique de France*, 75 (1909), i, pp. 247-271, at p. 247; J. Herschman, 'The eleventh-century nave of the cathedral of Coutances: a new reconstruction', *Gesta*, 22 (1983), pp. 121-134, at p. 122; Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', p. 162.

³⁵ Lefèvre-Pontalis, 'La cathédrale de Coutances', p. 248; Herschman, 'The eleventh-century nave', pp. 124-125.

³⁶ Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 137; Musset, 'Un grand prélat normand', p. 9; Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', p. 162.

³⁷ R. Liess, *Der frühromanische Kirchenbau des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Normandie* (Munich, 1967), p. 149 and n. 186.

³⁸ *De statu* itself notes that building work continued after 'the English war', 'De statu', col. 220.

for the towers of the building, the Romanesque masonry of which can still be seen inside the two structures of the western façade,³⁹ though the configuration of the eastern end is less clear.

Having completed his episcopal residence, and having implemented various horticultural projects, the new bishop, according to John son of Peter, ‘capitium navis ecclesiae cum area, et hinc [et] inde duo maiora capitia nobiliora et ampliora construxit’.⁴⁰ The first problem in this description is the term *area*, which has been interpreted as either the choir or an ambulatory.⁴¹ If Coutances possessed the latter of these features then it is possible Geoffrey had been inspired by the example at the cathedral of Rouen, whose echeloned east end he would have seen at the time of his consecration,⁴² while the neighbouring cathedral of Avranches also took this form, though probably at a later date.⁴³ The choice of word is, however, somewhat unusual, especially since the same author refers to the ambulatory in another of his works as *circuitum interiorem ecclesiae*.⁴⁴ More perplexing still are the ‘two larger chevets (*maiora capitia*) more noble and more distinguished’, which are said to have been ‘on both sides’ (*hinc [et] inde*) of the eastern end. John Le Patourel, who followed Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, interpreted these features as ‘the apses opening out of the eastern walls of the transepts’,⁴⁵ while Marcel Lelégard suggested that they were the apses either side of the central projection.⁴⁶ Maylis Baylé, on the other hand, preferred to see the transepts themselves.⁴⁷ The abbé Pigeon arrived at a similar conclusion, but printed a different version of the description in which the features became ‘duo minora capitia’.⁴⁸ This led to accusations that Pigeon amended the text to correspond

³⁹ Herschman, ‘The eleventh-century nave’, p. 126; Baylé, ‘Les évêques et l’architecture’, p. 166.

⁴⁰ ‘De statu’, col. 219.

⁴¹ Lefèvre-Pontalis felt it unlikely that the cathedral had an echeloned east end (Lefèvre-Pontalis, ‘La cathédrale de Coutances’, p. 248), while even Maylis Baylé was reluctant to state outright that the cathedral was built in this style, Baylé, ‘Les évêques et l’architecture’, pp. 162-163. Others, however, keen to place the cathedral of Coutances within this architectural tradition, have sometimes replaced the word *area* with another like *circata*, even when quoting from the edition of *De statu* in *Gallia Christiana*, ‘Scéance du 27 mars 1883’, *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1 (1883), p. 4.

⁴² For the eastern end of Rouen cathedral, and its influential place within the architecture of the period, see below, pp. 295-297.

⁴³ For the cathedral of Avranches, see above pp. 47-49, 94.

⁴⁴ ‘Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis’, ch. XXXI, p. 383.

⁴⁵ Le Patourel, ‘Geoffrey of Mowbray’, p. 140.

⁴⁶ M. Lelégard, ‘La cathédrale et la tombe de Geoffroi d’après le *Livre noir* de Coutances’, in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 295-301, at p. 297.

⁴⁷ Baylé, ‘Les évêques et l’architecture’, p. 162.

⁴⁸ Pigeon, *Histoire de Coutances*, p. 89.

with his arguments,⁴⁹ but unlike all the others involved in the debate, who relied solely on the printed text of *Gallia Christiana*, the abbé made frequent use of the surviving manuscript copies of *De statu*. Interestingly, the oldest surviving copy, which is partial and dates to the sixteenth century, also has ‘duo minora capitia’,⁵⁰ although it has proved impossible to determine whether the copy consulted by Pigeon has the same.⁵¹ Furthermore, in a section of text omitted by the Maurists,⁵² John son of Peter refers again to the eastern end during his description of an earthquake that struck the cathedral on 5 November 1091, claiming that pieces from the central tower ‘fell from the eastern part, and damaged the large chevet, and [those] smaller [chevets] which are on both sides’.⁵³

It seems, therefore, that the cathedral built by Geoffrey had an echeloned east end with radiating chapels. Whether this took the form proposed by Pigeon can only be confirmed through excavations (fig. 32),⁵⁴ although surveys performed by Yves-Marie Froidevaux do suggest that more detailed archaeological investigations might reveal such structures.⁵⁵ It remains unclear, however, why John son of Peter chose to describe these smaller apses as *nobiliora et ampliora* than the feature they surrounded. The latter of these terms is often translated as ‘large’ or ‘vast’,⁵⁶ but it can also imply something distinguished more in style than in size. Lelégard claimed that the chapels located in these two apses were dedicated to St. Nicholas and the Virgin Mary.⁵⁷ It is possible that these dedications, to saints whose cults were not only important within Normandy,⁵⁸ but also within the community at Coutances,⁵⁹ resulted in the chapels being decorated more elaborately. Pigeon, however, proposed a

⁴⁹ Lelégard, ‘La tombe de Geoffroi’, p. 297.

⁵⁰ BN, ms. lat. 10068, fol. 101r-104r, at fol. 103r.

⁵¹ This is the copy of Du Monstier in BN, ms. lat. 10049. For discussion of its current state, see above p. 1 n. 2.

⁵² ‘De statu’, col. 222.

⁵³ ‘...ab orientali parte scinderent, majusque capitium ecclesiae et quae sunt hinc et inde minora conquassarent’, BN, ms. lat. 10049, fol. 421r. Printed by Pigeon (*Histoire de Coutances*, p. 44), and presumably the source for Lelégard, who cites the existence of these features without reference, Lelégard, ‘La tombe de Geoffroi’, p. 297.

⁵⁴ Pigeon also proposed the location of certain key monuments within his reconstruction of Geoffrey’s cathedral (*Histoire de Coutances*, p. 90), although some of his suggestions, such as the location of Geoffrey’s tomb, have subsequently been shown to be inaccurate, Lelégard, ‘La tombe de Geoffroi’, pp. 298-301.

⁵⁵ Médiathèque de l’architecture et du patrimoine, fonds Froidevaux.

⁵⁶ Lelégard, ‘La tombe de Geoffroi’, p. 297; Baylé, ‘Les évêques et l’architecture’, p. 162.

⁵⁷ Lelégard, ‘La tombe de Geoffroi’, p. 297.

⁵⁸ Fournée, *Le culte des saints*, p. 33.

⁵⁹ See below, pp. 195-198.

different plan for the eastern end, placing the chapel of the Virgin Mary in the central apse.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the presence of this chapel, and the fact that the edifice was dedicated to Mary on a feast day in her honour, is evidence of how quickly Geoffrey began to cultivate this cult within his community, the most enduring legacy of which will be discussed below.

If there are uncertainties regarding the means by which Geoffrey equipped his cathedral architecturally, there can be little doubt about how he provided for it financially. Not only do we have the account of Geoffrey's accomplishments in *De statu*, but a charter of cathedral goods, written sometime in the decade after the dedication of the cathedral, provides further details of the extent of his acquisitions.⁶¹ Together, the two documents reveal possessions in fifty-five locations (fig. 35), over twice the number granted to the cathedral of Avranches at this time, and exactly the same as those belonging to the cathedral of Rouen.⁶² Overall, these benefices were located in the regions around Coutances and Saint-Lô, though they also extended as far north as Cherbourg, and as far west as Rouen. The extent of these holdings testifies, of course, to Geoffrey's importance to the duke, to whom he provided 'good and wise council', and on whose account he 'was often occupied with affairs of court'.⁶³ Indeed, although he was witness to only a handful of acts prior to the invasion of England,⁶⁴ the bishop of Coutances participated in all the major events of the years before 1066. He was apparently at the council that deposed Mauger, archbishop of Rouen,⁶⁵ and the first reforming council convened by his successor,⁶⁶ while he was also at the council held at the time of the dedication of Rouen cathedral on 1 October 1063,⁶⁷ and another meeting convened the following year at Lisieux.⁶⁸ Two years later he was among those who counselled the duke as to the invasion of

⁶⁰ Pigeon, *Histoire de Coutances*, p. 90.

⁶¹ RADN, no. 214; Fontanel, *Le cartulaire de Coutances*, no. 340.

⁶² For the possessions of the cathedrals of Avranches and Rouen, which are known from documents of the first half of the eleventh century, see figs. 13-14, 55-56. For discussion of those of Rouen, see below pp. 293-295.

⁶³ '... prudentia consilioque providus, quamquam saepissime curialibus negotiis ... irretitus', 'De statu', col. 219.

⁶⁴ RADN, nos. 141, 163, 163bis, 181, 214 and 227. This small number is perhaps explained in part by his travels abroad, as well as the work with which he was preoccupied in his own diocese, Chibnall, 'La carrière de Geoffroi', p. 284.

⁶⁵ GG, i. 53, p. 88; 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

⁶⁶ Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 47.

⁶⁷ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

⁶⁸ Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

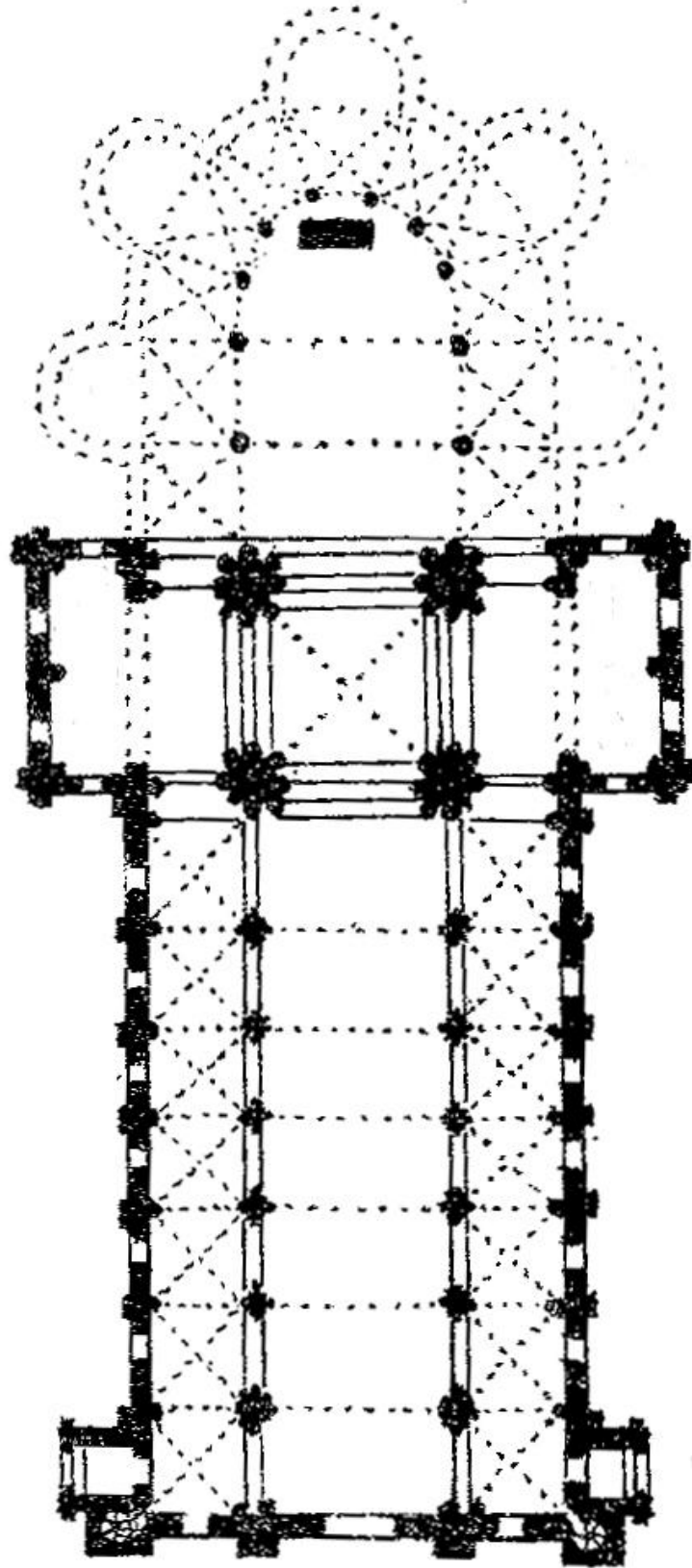


Fig. 32 The eleventh-century cathedral of Coutances, proposed reconstruction (Pigeon)

Fig. 33 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 33 The eleventh-century cathedral of Coutances, proposed reconstruction^{*}

^{*} G. Guillier, *Coutances: l'élan medieval* (Rennes, 1993), p. 10.

Fig. 34 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 34 The western façade of the eleventh-century cathedral of Coutances,
proposed reconstruction*

* Liess, *Der frühromanische Kirchenbau*, Risse und Rekonstruktionen, p. 59.

England,⁶⁹ and although we do not know the nature of his advice, the fact that he was one of the two bishops chosen to accompany the expedition perhaps suggests he had spoken forcefully in its favour.⁷⁰

Though as John Le Patourel first noted, if there is one anomaly to these years it is that, unlike many of his contemporaries, Geoffrey seems to have taken no interest in fostering the expansion of the Norman monastic network in his diocese.⁷¹ Only the abbey of Lessay was founded with the bishop's 'advice' (*consilio*),⁷² and his indifference to cenobitic matters seems also to have applied to monasticism within the entire duchy, for Geoffrey is conspicuous by his absence from the dedication of La Trinité de Caen on 18 June 1066.⁷³ It is possible, however, that he had been charged by the duke with preparing for the invasion, and was occupied thus. If he did expend any efforts during these preparations they would soon be well rewarded, for few members of the Norman episcopate would have their career redefined so dramatically by the events of 14 October 1066 as Geoffrey. His role in the Battle of Hastings, and in its immediate aftermath, are already well known, and will not be repeated at length here.⁷⁴ There is some doubt as to whether he participated in the battle militarily,⁷⁵ but given his later martial exploits in England, it would be surprising if he, like Odo of Bayeux, did not at some point offer his support physically as well as spiritually.⁷⁶ The extent of his participation is obvious from the important role in he played in the

⁶⁹ *OV*, ii, p. 140.

⁷⁰ *OV*, ii, p. 172.

⁷¹ Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', pp. 142-143. See also Musset, 'Un grand prélat normand', p. 11.

⁷² *Regesta*, no. 175.

⁷³ *RADN*, no. 231. Five out of the seven bishops were present at this event. The other absentee was Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées, whose diocese at this time remained largely outside the Norman sphere of influence.

⁷⁴ For near contemporaneous descriptions of Geoffrey's role in the invasion of England, see *GG*, ii, 14, p. 124; *OV*, ii, pp. 172, 266; Wace, *Roman de Rouen*, iii, ll. 7349-7352.

⁷⁵ Orderic claims that Geoffrey 'took part in' (*interfuit*) the Battle of Hastings as a *fautor acer*, literally a 'sharp/sagacious/severe supporter', and as a 'consoler' (*consolator*): 'Gaufredus quoque Constantiniensis episcopus, de nobili Normannorum progenie ortus, qui certamini Senlacio fautor acer et consolator interfuit', *OV*, ii, p. 266. Marjorie Chibnall translated this as 'Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances... fought in the battle of Senlac as well as offering up prayers', but still seemed to question if he ever participated in the battle with arms, Chibnall, 'La carrière de Geoffroi', p. 286. John Le Patourel believed that Geoffrey's part in the campaign was 'purely ecclesiastical' (Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 150), while Lucien Musset did not comment on the issue in his study of the bishop, but suggested elsewhere that the issue must, for the moment, remain open, Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, p. 250.

⁷⁶ The significance of Geoffrey's role as a military leader is to be discussed in a thesis currently in preparation by Daniel Gerrard at the University of Glasgow, to whom I am grateful for sharing his thoughts on this issue with me.

Conqueror's coronation service,⁷⁷ and the scale of his later holdings in England.⁷⁸ He continued to remain close to the duke in the immediate aftermath of the conquest, returning with him to Normandy for the triumphal tour of early 1067,⁷⁹ and participated along with his episcopal colleagues in the famous dedication of the abbey of Jumièges on 1 July.⁸⁰

Geoffrey's visits to the duchy following this event would be few and infrequent. It is possible that he visited his city in early 1067 to bestow upon it some of the wealth he had acquired in England,⁸¹ but we are unable to securely locate Geoffrey in Coutances until the end of his episcopate. Indeed, while the author of *De statu* confirms Geoffrey used his new gained English wealth for the good of his church, he speaks of how the bishop 'sent over' (*transmittebat*) various artefacts, including precious jewels, tapestries and metalwork, rather than acts of donation made in person.⁸² The bishop was certainly back in England by 11 May 1068, for on this day he witnessed a charter issued at Westminster for the church of St. Martin-le-Grand.⁸³ Unlike Le Patourel and Musset, who both believed Geoffrey remained in England until sometime around 1075-1076,⁸⁴ we know now that he returned once more to the duchy during this period, witnessing a charter in favour of the priory of Saint-Gabriel, which was issued in the presence of William and Mathilda at Valognes.⁸⁵ It is possible that the bishop hosted the royal court at his 'fine house' (*domus optimam*) at Valognes,⁸⁶ though the area was also home to a long established, and long favoured, ducal residence.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it seems that Geoffrey was travelling with the royal court at this time, and as a result was soon back across the Channel, where at Winchester on 13 April 1069 he witnessed a charter in favour of the abbey of Saint-Denis.⁸⁸ It is from this date onwards that some of the bishop's most famous actions are known, and following the death of William fitzOsbern in February 1071, the

⁷⁷ *GG*, ii. 30, p. 150; *The Carmen de Hastingae proelio of Guy, bishop of Amiens*, 2nd ed., ed. and trans. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1999), p. 48.

⁷⁸ For discussion, see Chibnall, 'La carrière de Geoffroi', pp. 286-289.

⁷⁹ Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 143; Musset, 'Un grand prélat normand', p. 12.

⁸⁰ *GND*, ii, p. 172.

⁸¹ Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 143.

⁸² 'De statu', col. 220.

⁸³ *Regesta*, no. 181.

⁸⁴ Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 144; Musset, 'Un grand prélat normand', p. 12.

⁸⁵ *Regesta*, no. 256.

⁸⁶ 'De statu', col. 219.

⁸⁷ For the ducal and episcopal manors at Valognes, see Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, pp. 463-470.

⁸⁸ *Regesta*, no. 254.

responsibilities once bestowed upon the king-duke's most trusted advisor seem to have been transferred to Geoffrey.⁸⁹ Indeed, so preoccupied was the bishop with affairs in England that he did not even return home for the reforming councils of 1072 and 1074,⁹⁰ preferring instead to attend their English equivalents, where, 'although he might be a bishop from overseas, he sat with the others in the council, having many possessions in England'.⁹¹

It is only with the dedication of the cathedral of Bayeux on 14 July 1077 that Geoffrey can be securely located back in Normandy for the first time since the late 1060s.⁹² In either this year, or the following, he then accompanied the king on campaign in Maine. Here, in Le Mans, at the time of the truce agreed between the Conqueror and Fulk le Réchin, he witnessed a charter in favour of the abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans.⁹³ It is unknown whether Geoffrey participated in any of the military engagements that occurred at this time,⁹⁴ although some of the bishop's recent English activities certainly recommended him for such pursuits.⁹⁵ He then appears to have remained in Normandy, along with the king and the court, for at least another two years. John Le Patourel demonstrated long ago that Geoffrey cannot have been at the head of a trial held at Kentford on 2 April 1080,⁹⁶ but was rather still in Normandy, where he spent Easter (12 April) at Rouen;⁹⁷ attended (probably) the famous council of Lillebonne just over a month later,⁹⁸ his first Norman conciliar meeting since before the Conquest; confirmed, at Bonneville-sur-Touques, the donations made to an abbey located within his diocese,⁹⁹ and at the end of the year acted as judge in a case involving the abbey of Marmoutier.¹⁰⁰ This meeting took

⁸⁹ Chibnall, 'La carrière de Geoffroi', p. 288.

⁹⁰ *OV*, ii, p. 286; Mansi, xx, col. 399.

⁹¹ '... Goisfredo Constantiensi, qui cum transmarinus esset episcopus in Anglia multas possessions habens cum ceteris in concilio residebat', Council of London, 25 Dec. 1074 × 28 Aug. 1075, *Councils and synods*, i, p. 612.

⁹² *Regesta*, no. 83. Le Patourel believed that this document demonstrated Geoffrey was still in England at this time (Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 144), but it has been demonstrated elsewhere that this charter confirms his presence at Bayeux, Bouvris, 'La dédicace de Bayeux', pp. 11-12.

⁹³ *Regesta*, no. 174.

⁹⁴ For the details of William's campaigns in this region, see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 404-406.

⁹⁵ This includes, for example, the suppression of a revolt in Somerset and Dorset (*OV*, ii, p. 228), and his role in the defeat of the rebels of 1075, *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 35.

⁹⁶ Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', pp. 159-161.

⁹⁷ *Regesta*, no. 235.

⁹⁸ Orderic claims that the meeting was attended by 'all the bishops', *OV*, iii, p. 24.

⁹⁹ *Regesta*, no. 175 (I&II).

¹⁰⁰ *Regesta*, no. 201.

place at Cherbourg, and since it was probably held on 27 December,¹⁰¹ might indicate that Geoffrey had spent Christmas at Coutances, where he would have officiated during the ceremonies.

The nature of this meeting, which involved ‘a judgement of the court of the king of the English’ (*iudicio curie regis Anglorum*) made in his absence,¹⁰² illustrates that Geoffrey, whose judicial activities on behalf of the king in England are well-documented,¹⁰³ could also be relied upon to perform similar duties in Normandy. It was not long before the bishop was back in England, however, and in February 1081 he was at London attesting a charter for Malmesbury abbey.¹⁰⁴ It was here that Geoffrey would largely remain until the Conqueror’s death,¹⁰⁵ and unlike Le Patourel, who could only surmise that the bishop was in England at this time,¹⁰⁶ we can now document an itinerary for these five years, which included sojourns at Winchester, Downton (Wilts), Gloucester and Lacock (Wilts).¹⁰⁷ The last eighteen months of the Conqueror’s reign saw the bishop occupied with the compilation of returns for Domesday Book,¹⁰⁸ and he was probably still in England when the king was fatally injured at Mantes in the late summer of 1087. He nevertheless made the journey across to Normandy to attend the Conqueror’s funeral,¹⁰⁹ but seems to have returned to England shortly thereafter. Like many members of the cross-Channel nobility the Conqueror’s decision, which was made in Geoffrey’s absence,¹¹⁰ to divide the Anglo-Norman realm between his two eldest sons, placed the bishop of Coutances in an extremely difficult position. The need for him to secure from William Rufus

¹⁰¹ Many of the same persons involved, although not Geoffrey, appear in another notice concerning a grant made to the abbey of Marmoutier on 27 December 1080, which Bates associated with the plea held at Cherbourg, *Regesta*, no. 200.

¹⁰² William later confirmed the outcome of this plea ‘as he sat on his carpet between the forester’s house and the church of Bénouville’, *Regesta*, no. 201, p. 637.

¹⁰³ For Geoffrey’s judicial activities in England, see Le Patourel, ‘Geoffrey of Mowbray’, pp. 148-150. Le Patourel’s conclusions regarding the nature of Geoffrey’s judicial tasks have subsequently been followed elsewhere, Bates, ‘The origins of the justiciarship’, p. 5; Chibnall, ‘La carrière de Geoffroi’, pp. 287-290.

¹⁰⁴ *Regesta*, no. 193.

¹⁰⁵ Largely, because he was in Normandy between 24 June and autumn, *Regesta*, no. 215.

¹⁰⁶ Le Patourel, ‘Geoffrey of Mowbray’, p. 146. Musset, on the other hand, believed that between 1081/2 and 1086, Geoffrey ‘résida sans doute en Normandie’, Musset, ‘Un grand prélat normand’, p. 14.

¹⁰⁷ *Regesta*, no. 39, 253, 109-110, 156 and 146.

¹⁰⁸ Le Patourel estimated that he must have finished his Domesday work ‘at the latest, by the autumn of 1087’, Le Patourel, ‘Geoffrey of Mowbray’, p. 146.

¹⁰⁹ *OV*, iv, p. 104.

¹¹⁰ The decision was made by the Conqueror on his deathbed. Geoffrey is not recorded among those present, *GND*, ii, p. 186.

recognition of his holdings in England, which were undoubtedly more impressive than those in Normandy, probably explains the speed with which he hurried back across the Channel following the funeral at Caen.

The opening months of the reigns of William Rufus and Robert Curthose were to prove dramatic for Geoffrey. By the end of spring 1088 he had not only participated in a failed rebellion,¹¹¹ but had also witnessed the division of Normandy between Curthose and his youngest brother, with the city of Coutances, along with the rest of western Normandy, being granted to Henry by the duke.¹¹² Although Geoffrey soon became reconciled with William Rufus, taking part in the famous trial of William de Saint-Calais,¹¹³ the bishop chose to vigorously oppose the developments that had occurred in Normandy. According to *De statu*, Geoffrey declared that his church would have no other master than the church of Rouen, and suffering attacks from local barons loyal to Henry as a result of his defiance, was forced 'to endure the pillaging of his goods, the burning of his houses and the destruction of his parks'.¹¹⁴ This, of course, suggests that Geoffrey had returned to Normandy, and since he is last seen in England with the king in the days before he crossed the Channel, it seems that the bishop returned to the duchy in early 1091.¹¹⁵ It is possible that he remained with the royal person at this time, helping in the process that led to Curthose and Rufus besieging their brother at Mont-Saint-Michel.¹¹⁶ It is unclear if Geoffrey was then at Caen during the meeting that produced the *Consuetudines et Iusticie*,¹¹⁷ though the bishop almost certainly seems to have participated in the council convened at Rouen the previous month to discuss the election of a new bishop of Sées.¹¹⁸ With the temporary reintegration of the city of Coutances into the wider episcopal network, it

¹¹¹ Geoffrey, along with his alleged nephew Robert de Montbray, led the rebellion of 1088 in the West Country, raiding and destroying the castles at Bristol and Bath, as well as the royal estate at Berkeley (Glos), *ASC* 'E', p. 223; William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 544; John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, iii, pp. 48, 52.

¹¹² 'De statu', col. 221; *OV*, iv, pp. 118-120.

¹¹³ 'De iniusta vexacione Willelmi episcopi primi', ed. H. Offler and revised by A.J. Piper and A.I. Doyle in *Camden Miscellany*, 34, Camden 5th Series, 10 (1997), pp. 49-104, at p. 84.

¹¹⁴ 'Quapropter ipsius domini, potentium quoque baronum et parochianorum longas inimicitias, bonorum suorum crebras depredationes, domorum concremationes, parcorum suorum destructorias confractiones viriliter diuque sustinuit', 'De statu', col. 221.

¹¹⁵ Geoffrey witnessed a charter at Dover on 27 January 1091, *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 315.

¹¹⁶ Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 148.

¹¹⁷ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix D, pp. 281-284.

¹¹⁸ Geoffrey witnessed a charter that seems to have been issued either during, or shortly after, this meeting, BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r. For full discussion, and a critical edition of this act, see Appendix G.

appears that the bishop, now almost a septuagenarian, decided to spend his remaining years in his diocese.

If Geoffrey was hoping for a peaceful retirement he was to be sorely disappointed. On 5 November 1091, only a few months after having returned, and as the bishop was in his hall (*aula episcopali*), the city was struck by an earthquake.¹¹⁹ The violent tremors shattered the fine golden cockerel that Geoffrey had erected on the top of the crossing tower, and debris from the cathedral not only fell and damaged the building itself, but also the episcopal hall, which the bishop seems to have erected in the shadow of his basilica.¹²⁰ The event was interpreted ominously,¹²¹ and having witnessed the ease with which the physical legacy of his episcopate could be so easily destroyed, it was perhaps in the wake of the earthquake that Geoffrey, having heard of—and experienced—some of the miracles which had occurred at the cathedral, commissioned the compilation of the collection that would eventually become known as the *Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis*.¹²² These thirty-two vignettes, which concern miracles performed by the Virgin Mary, were also written by John son of Peter,¹²³ whose proficiency as an author makes him the most famous product of the school system established by Geoffrey.¹²⁴ Unfortunately, the exact date at which he worked is unknown, though his reference to a plague during the reigns of Henry I, king of England and duke of Normandy (1106-1135) and Louis VI, king of France (1108-1137),¹²⁵ is traditionally identified as an allusion to the epidemic that struck the region around 1130.¹²⁶ The inspiration for John's work lay, however, in Geoffrey's

¹¹⁹ 'De statu', col. 222.

¹²⁰ The position of Geoffrey's *aula* is quite unusual compared to similar residences in the other cities of the duchy, A. Renoux, 'Palais épiscopaux des diocèses de Normandie, du Mans et d'Angers (XIe-XIIIe siècles): état de la question', in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 173-204, at pp. 180-181.

¹²¹ The author of *De statu* reports that some people claimed it was a sign that his father Peter, the chamberlain, would die of the illness that had recently afflicted him, while others simply interpreted it as punishment for their sins, 'De statu', col. 222.

¹²² The text of these thirty-two miracles was once found in the *Livre noir* of the cathedral, which was lost in the early nineteenth century. They were first published by the abbot Pigeon from a copy made by Arthur Du Monstier, Pigeon, *Histoire de Coutances*, pp. 367-383. A critical edition can be found in Appendix F.

¹²³ For the identification of John son of Peter as author of both works, see Delisle, 'Notice sur un traité inédit', p. 341.

¹²⁴ According to *De statu*, Geoffrey established school masters, grammarians, dialecticians and organists at Coutances, 'De statu', col. 220.

¹²⁵ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. XXVII, p. 381.

¹²⁶ J. Fournée, 'Les miracles de Notre Dame aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Cahiers Léopold Delisle*, 29 (1980), pp. 3-38, at p. 16; J.-C. Richard, 'Les miracula composés en Normandie aux XIe et XIIe siècles', in *Ecole nationale des Chartes. Positions des thèses* (1975), pp. 183-189, at p. 188; G. Signori,

episcopate, for it was during his reign that a similar collection, bound in ‘gold and pearls’, had been commissioned.¹²⁷ Traditionally believed to be the work of an unknown cathedral canon, it has most recently been suggested that the author of this lost work was John himself, and that the current collection represents his attempt to improve upon his earlier efforts.¹²⁸

Why John chose to return to his work in the midst of a devastating epidemic is unclear. Jean-Claude Richard felt that the canon wrote nostalgically of Geoffrey’s episcopate while not only having to endure the plague, but also the problems that surrounded the election of Bishop Algar (1132-1151).¹²⁹ It is possible, however, that the redrafting was performed at the instigation of Geoffrey’s successor, Rodulf. He seems to have taken an active interest in miraculous phenomenon within his city, discussing an apparition that took place in the church of Saint-Pierre de Coutances with a fellow bishop,¹³⁰ while one of the miracles recorded by John that occurred after Geoffrey’s death includes a story reported to him by ‘a priest of the suburb below the city’, which is undoubtedly a reference to the priest of the same church.¹³¹ That John was able to write of only six post-Geoffrey miracles also corresponds far better with a shorter timeframe, for he would hardly have wanted to publicise the fact that so few miracles had occurred in the forty years between Geoffrey’s death and Algar’s election, while it is by no means certain that John lived as long as is traditionally believed.¹³² It is difficult, of course, to form any definitive conclusions regarding the composition of the miracles, whose very chaptering may be a product of the seventeenth-century scribe responsible for the oldest surviving copy,¹³³ but the last six

Maria zwischen Kathedrale, Kloster und Welt: hagiographische und historiographische Annäherungen an eine hochmittelalterliche Wunderpredigt (Sigmaringen, 1995), p. 77; C. Devos, ‘Miracles, images et espace sacré en Normandie du XIe au milieu du XIIe siècle. Le culte marial: les *Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis*’, mémoire de maîtrise (Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2007), p. 21.

¹²⁷ ‘*Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis*’, Prologue, p. 367.

¹²⁸ Cédric Devos has noted how John’s portrayal of the previous author (‘quidam iuvenis praesumptuosus, maiorum ecclesiae personarum consanguineus’) is a description of himself, Devos, ‘Miracles, images et espace sacré’, p. 15.

¹²⁹ Richard, ‘Les miracula composés’, p. 188.

¹³⁰ *OV*, iv, pp. 264-266.

¹³¹ ‘*Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis*’, ch. XXX, p. 382.

¹³² John’s survival to 1134 is based upon the appearance of a canon John in a charter of Bishop Algar (1132-1151), Spear, *The personnel*, p. 115. There is nothing in this charter, however, which specifically identifies this as the same man (cf. the copy by Paul Le Cacheux in AD Manche 136 J), while John’s brother, Richard the archdeacon, disappears from the historical record in 1104, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 96.

¹³³ This is Arthur Du Monstier, whose copy can be found in BN, ms. lat. 10051, fol. 216v-220v. For discussion, see below Appendix F.

miracles in the collection feel very much like an afterthought, authored by a man robbed of his original inspiration. Indeed, it is possible they were written not long after the death of Bishop Rodulf, who, Orderic relates, passed shortly after having told his story to his colleague, and who left a diocese that was soon ravaged by ‘a deadly plague’.¹³⁴ It is exactly this plague to which John son of Peter refers in the first chapter written after 1108,¹³⁵ and it is possible that these six tracts, along with the reworked twenty-six, represent an attempt to demonstrate that, while the city might be seen to be suffering a terrible punishment at the hands of God, it had not been completely abandoned.

This, of course, is the crux that underpins the collection, regardless of when exactly it was written. Like many medieval cities, Coutances depended in part upon its ability to attract pilgrims, and a successful cult not only brought devotees with their material wealth, but also attracted men of spiritual quality, who in turn improved the city’s prestige.¹³⁶ Coutances had, of course, to compete with local pilgrimage sites such as Mont-Saint-Michel, and although it was en route for some pilgrims travelling to the rock of the Archangel,¹³⁷ it could not, like the city of Avranches, rely solely on siphoning these individuals.¹³⁸ Instead, the cathedral had to create a vibrant local cult, but could not depend upon an impressive relic collection to attract pilgrims, for like many Norman dioceses, its early bishops were either undistinguished or entirely forgotten.¹³⁹ This is perhaps why Geoffrey chose to promote a Marian cult, for although physical relics were associated with the Virgin,¹⁴⁰ her presence could also be represented in more ethereal ways, such as the appearance of unexplained light.¹⁴¹ The success of Geoffrey’s venture is apparent from the wide variety of pilgrims

¹³⁴ *OV*, iv, p. 266.

¹³⁵ John says the plague was called by many ‘the infernal fire’ (*quamplures ignem vocant infernalem*); ‘*Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis*’, ch. XXVII, p. 381. For an identification of this pestilence, see below, p. 210.

¹³⁶ For discussion, see L. Musset, ‘Recherches sur les pèlerins et les pèlerinages en Normandie jusqu’à la première croisade’, *AN*, 12 (1962), pp. 127-150.

¹³⁷ C. Bouhier, ‘Les chemins montais dans les anciens diocèses d’Avranches et de Coutances’, in *Millénaire monastique*, iii, pp. 251-270.

¹³⁸ Such was the *rayonnement* of Mont-Saint-Michel, that it attracted to Avranches such figures as Lanfranc and Anselm. For discussion, see above pp. 55-56.

¹³⁹ While the list of relics recorded by Pigeon contains the ossements of figures like St. Laud, it remains a meagre collection, Pigeon, *Histoire de Coutances*, p. 384.

¹⁴⁰ Geoffrey himself claims to have found one of the Virgin’s hairs among the relics at Coutances, ‘*Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis*’, ch. XXII, pp. 378-379.

¹⁴¹ Such ethereal apparitions also formed a part of the cult of the Archangel at Mont-Saint-Michel, who often appeared in the form of fire, Smith, ‘Footprints in stone’, pp. 206-217.

mentioned in the *miracula*, who came to the city from as far away as Amiens.¹⁴² The success of the cult even surpassed similar veneration in the neighbouring diocese of Bayeux, and, as elsewhere in the duchy,¹⁴³ a rivalry seems to have briefly developed between the two.¹⁴⁴

As this last comment suggests the collection is not without historical significance. This is particularly true with regards to the many references to cathedral personnel, some of whom are known only from their appearances in the miracles. There is, for example, the cathedral treasurer, Peter, who is called 'the monk',¹⁴⁵ though not in the edition by Pigeon,¹⁴⁶ and whose position is not found again at the cathedral until the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁷ There is also Goisbert the mason, who not only worked on the cathedral, but also became Bishop Geoffrey's *pastor*,¹⁴⁸ while Theodelinus, who was a canon and the cathedral chanter, appears in two of the vignettes.¹⁴⁹ John son of Peter also provides information about his relatives, and not only speaks of his father, who was chamberlain and dean, but also his paternal uncle, Walter, a priest and canon, and his brother Richard, an archdeacon.¹⁵⁰ Such capitular families were common within the cathedral communities of ducal Normandy, though that at Coutances is a particularly early example.¹⁵¹ Members of this family even supported their own personnel, and Peter the chamberlain is known to have had a chamberlain, Goscelinus. He was a canon of the cathedral who lived with his mother-in-law, suggesting he was married.¹⁵² The collection also provides evidence regarding synodal activities in the diocese,¹⁵³ and furnishes additional architectural details, including the dedications of various altars, the existence of a statue (*imago*) of the Virgin Mary, and the location of the crucifix erected by Bishop Geoffrey.¹⁵⁴ Like *De statu*, one of the miracles also preserves the alleged words of Geoffrey de

¹⁴² 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. VIII, p. 372.

¹⁴³ For discussion, see the chapters on Avranches and Rouen.

¹⁴⁴ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. VI, pp. 370-372. For a full analysis of this, and other aspects of the *miracula*, see Devos, 'Miracles, images et espace sacré', pp. 47-67.

¹⁴⁵ BN, ms. lat. 10051, fol. 216v.

¹⁴⁶ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. I, p. 368.

¹⁴⁷ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 102.

¹⁴⁸ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. V, pp. 369-370.

¹⁴⁹ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', chs. XIV and XIX, pp. 376-377.

¹⁵⁰ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', chs. VI, XXII and XXVIII, pp. 370-372, 379, 381.

¹⁵¹ For further examples of such families, see D. Spear, 'Power, patronage, and personality in the Norman cathedral chapters', *ANS*, 20 (1998), pp. 205-221.

¹⁵² 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. XXXI, p. 382.

¹⁵³ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. V, p. 370.

¹⁵⁴ Delisle, 'Notice sur un traité inédit', pp. 351-352.

Montbray,¹⁵⁵ while another contains toponymic information about the city,¹⁵⁶ and many even provide insight into the medical conditions that most often afflicted the inhabitants of the region.¹⁵⁷

Even if the work of John son of Peter was written long after Geoffrey's passing, its contents surely demonstrate the extent of his legacy. Moreover, it also preserves for us some of the few personal details about Geoffrey, allowing us in part to comment on his appearance and his character.¹⁵⁸ Physically, he seems to have been an impressive man, and is said to have been tall and fair of face,¹⁵⁹ while an anecdote preserved by William of Malmesbury suggests that the bishop liked to dress somewhat lavishly.¹⁶⁰ Orderic Vitalis saw Geoffrey simply as a military man with few redeeming features,¹⁶¹ and the descriptions of John son of Peter, which, tending towards the panegyric, often ignore the more awkward episodes of the bishop's life.¹⁶² His accounts, nevertheless, reveal a man committed to both his church and the poor of his community, and the extent to which he would go to ensure the wellbeing of both.¹⁶³ Despite Orderic's claim that Geoffrey 'knew better how to teach knights in their hauberks than clerks in their vestments to sing psalms',¹⁶⁴ the bishop did not shun intellectual endeavours, and established key positions within the school at Coutances,¹⁶⁵ while he also corresponded with men of intellectual prowess, such as Lanfranc of Bec,¹⁶⁶ and was friends with others, such as Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester.¹⁶⁷ If this school did not produce men of the same quality as that established at Bayeux, whose graduates included a number of later bishops and

¹⁵⁵ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. XXII, p. 379.

¹⁵⁶ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. XXXI, p. 382 This is the *Frigido vico*, or rue Froid, which seems to have been to the north of the cathedral. In the eighteenth century the cathedral still possessed a door that led to the outside, which was called *hius froid*. This was later renamed *Pertuis-Troarn*, Pigeon, *Histoire de Coutances*, p. 114 n. 1; Delamare, 'Essai sur la cathédrale de Coutances', pp. 183-184.

¹⁵⁷ For a detailed analysis, see Fournée, 'Les miracles de Coutances', pp. 20-26.

¹⁵⁸ Le Patourel remains the only one of Geoffrey's modern biographers to offer an analysis of the bishop's personality, to which the following is greatly indebted, Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', pp. 155-157.

¹⁵⁹ '... statura procerus, vultu decorus', 'De statu', col. 219.

¹⁶⁰ 'Vita Wulfstani', in *William of Malmesbury, Saints' lives*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), p. 108.

¹⁶¹ *OV*, ii, p. 266; iv, p. 278.

¹⁶² Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 155.

¹⁶³ 'De statu', col. 219; 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. XI, p. 374.

¹⁶⁴ *OV*, iv, p. 278.

¹⁶⁵ 'De statu', cols. 219-220.

¹⁶⁶ *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 51, and perhaps no. 53.

¹⁶⁷ William of Malmesbury, 'Vita Wulfstani', pp. 106-108.

archbishops,¹⁶⁸ then the fault can hardly be Geoffrey's alone, and is rather a consequence of the extensive responsibilities that occupied him far beyond the boundaries of his diocese.

Geoffrey's activities during the last years of his life testify, however, to the importance he assigned to his duties within both his city and his diocese. The earthquake of November 1091 had badly damaged the cathedral, but despite the fact that he lay on his deathbed, the bishop sent to England for a certain Brismetus, a plumber (*plumbarius*), who fixed the cracks in the roofing and restored the golden cockerel on top of the central tower.¹⁶⁹ The illness that had so confined Geoffrey had first manifested itself the year before, during the summer, and consisted of severe stomach pain.¹⁷⁰ He was first incapacitated by it on 14 August 1092. Geoffrey had been celebrating vespers in the cathedral, but the pain became so bad that he was forced to leave the service early. Nevertheless, when word came in the night that the bishop's relative Nigel, vicomte of the Cotentin, needed to be buried, Geoffrey did not hesitate to perform this duty.¹⁷¹ The next day the bishop travelled to a local church, whose dedication he had twice postponed, although he was in so much pain that he had to sit by the altar while his chaplain said Mass. The identity of this church is unknown, though it was perhaps that of Saint-Pierre-de-Marigny,¹⁷² for a copy of a charter destroyed in 1944 reports that Geoffrey was asked to sing Mass during its dedication.¹⁷³ Although the act says nothing of his ill-health, John son of Peter says that once the service was completed Geoffrey retired to Saint-Lô,¹⁷⁴ only six miles to

¹⁶⁸ Bates, 'Le patronage clérical', pp. 105-114.

¹⁶⁹ 'De statu', col. 223. The fact that Geoffrey had to send abroad for help suggests he was unable to find someone with the requisite skills in the region around Coutances, although these circumstances were not unusual in the duchy, F. Neveux, *La Normandie des ducs aux rois, Xe-XIIIe siècle* (Rennes, 1998), pp. 217-220.

¹⁷⁰ '... interno viscerum dolore correptus est', 'De statu', col. 222.

¹⁷¹ 'De statu', col. 222. Arthur du Monstier suggested Nigel was buried at the abbey of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, but this seems unlikely given the time and distances involved, Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, p. 541.

¹⁷² Marigny, Manche, chef-lieu.

¹⁷³ 'Notum sit fidelibus sancte ecclesie quatinus Robertus filius Rainfridi de Rumilleio fecit ecclesiam sancti Petri de Marineio dedicari... tunc ipse Robertus rogavit dominum Godefridum episcopum missam cantare paratum...', Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, vol. 303 (vi), fol. 59r. The church of Marigny was given to the abbey of Aunay c. 1160, at which time the confirmation of the dedication was made. The charter includes no date, and although Musset speaks of it in his discussion of the beginning of Geoffrey's episcopate (Musset, 'Un grand prélat normand', p. 11), it most likely dates from the end of his reign, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer and C.T. Clay, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1913-1967), vii, p. 35. For a full edition of this charter, see Appendix E.

¹⁷⁴ 'De statu', col. 223.

the northeast, while the charter also records that John's father Peter was present,¹⁷⁵ who, if the bishop had been taken ill at this event, would have undoubtedly related matters to his son. Moreover, if the dedication related in *De statu* was that of Marigny, Geoffrey's eagerness to perform the service might not only reflect his commitment to his pastoral duties, but perhaps also confirms, given the proximity of Marigny to Hauteville-la-Guichard,¹⁷⁶ the ancestral home of the family of Robert Guiscard, whom Geoffrey had visited in Italy,¹⁷⁷ that the bishop was related to this family, and that as with the burial of the vicomte Nigel, he was fulfilling an obligation to one of his kinsmen.¹⁷⁸

Geoffrey soon realised the seriousness of his condition, however, and having returned to Coutances from Saint-Lô began to make preparations for his death. He soon made a public confession of his sins, and spent his remaining days washing the feet of the poor—though his chaplain performed the duty in place of the incapacitated bishop—and dispensing alms. Geoffrey then made arrangements to protect the possessions of his church and issued a charter to this effect, confirming its contents 'under [his] seal' (*sub sigillo*). He read and re-read this document, an interesting comment on the bishop's literacy, while it was then confirmed by those who had come to see Geoffrey in his final days, and who later attended his funeral, namely Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Michael, bishop of Avranches, William, bishop of Durham, Gilbert, abbot of Saint-Étienne de Caen, Roger, abbot of Lessay and Roger, abbot of Montebourg.¹⁷⁹ Of these men, the majority of whom operated within Geoffrey's diocese, or in one of those which bordered it, only Gilbert, who was himself a native of Coutances,¹⁸⁰ would live to see the twelfth century.¹⁸¹ The gathering therefore not only represented a meeting of old colleagues, but also embodied in part the end of a

¹⁷⁵ 'Teste Gaufrido episcopo, et Godefrido archidiacono et Petro camerario episcopi...', Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, vol. 303 (vi), fol. 59r.

¹⁷⁶ Hauteville-la-Guichard is within the canton of Saint-Sauveur-Lendelin, and is about five kilometres to the northeast of Marigny.

¹⁷⁷ 'De statu', col. 219.

¹⁷⁸ Interestingly, a 'W. de Altavilla' appears in the witness list of the charter of Marigny alongside Bishop Geoffrey, Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, vol. 303 (vi), fol. 59r. A description of the charter by M. Dubosc expands the W. to William, but it seems that this is speculation, *Inventaire sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790: Manche: archives ecclésiastiques, série H*, ed. N. Dubosc, F. Dolbet and P. Le Cacheux, 3 vols. (Saint-Lô, 1875-1914), i, p. 7. It has, nevertheless, been followed elsewhere, Musset, 'Un grand prélat normand', p. 11.

¹⁷⁹ 'De statu', col. 223. The text of this act is edited below in Appendix G.

¹⁸⁰ *GND*, ii, p. 148.

¹⁸¹ Odo died in February 1097, Michael on 26 Jan. 1094, William on 2 Jan. 1096 and the two Rogers on 29 June 1094 and 11 Nov. 1093, respectively.

generation. The reason why the bishop of Durham chose to visit his Norman colleague is less clear. None of William's modern biographers have offered any explanations,¹⁸² although it is possible he had been sent to ensure the transition of Geoffrey's English estates to his nephew, the earl of Northumberland, who was, of course, the bishop of Durham's most powerful parishioner.¹⁸³ The two men were by no means strangers, however, and they had not only been regular attendees at court together,¹⁸⁴ but Geoffrey was also present at William's trial,¹⁸⁵ while both bishops had also played a major role in compiling Domesday Book.¹⁸⁶ It was perhaps on account of simple affection that William therefore chose to attend on an old friend during his final days.

Five days before Geoffrey died, a monk at the abbey of Cerisy-la-Forêt had seen the bishop in a vision in which he was presented, in the surroundings of a fine palace, to the Blessed Virgin, who welcomed him, dressed him in fine clothes, and made him to sit beside her.¹⁸⁷ Such traditions of predicted death are, of course, hardly unusual,¹⁸⁸ and while the story is also undoubtedly more hagiography than history, the choice of Cerisy as the location for the vision is an interesting comment not only on the aspirations that John son of Peter had for the Marial cult of Coutances, but also for a possible cult based around Geoffrey. The elderly bishop eventually passed during the evening of Wednesday 2 February 1093, and the following day was buried in the cathedral of Coutances. The exact location (*in stillicidio*) of his tomb has become a matter of some debate, with Auguste Lecanu proposing that it was under one of the cathedral's gutters,¹⁸⁹ Pigeon that it was near the high altar,¹⁹⁰ Lefèvre-Pontalis and

¹⁸² L. Guilloreau, 'Guillaume de St. Calais, évêque de Durham', *Revue historique et archéologique du Maine*, 74 (1913), pp. 209-232; 75 (1914), pp. 64-79; Offler, 'William of Saint-Calais', pp. 258-279; W. Aird, 'An absent friend: the career of Bishop William of St. Calais', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 283-297.

¹⁸³ It is Orderic who records this transfer, *OV*, ii, p. 266

¹⁸⁴ *Regesta*, no. 54, 146, 156, 167, 253; *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 306.

¹⁸⁵ 'De iniusta vexacione', p. 84.

¹⁸⁶ For Geoffrey and Domesday, see Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', pp. 148-149; for William, see P. Chaplais, 'William of Saint-Calais and the Domesday Survey', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 65-77.

¹⁸⁷ 'De statu', col. 224.

¹⁸⁸ For further examples, see G. Philippart, 'Le récit miraculaire marial dans l'Occident médiéval', in *Marie. Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale*, ed. D. Iogna-Prat, E. Palazzo and D. Russo (Paris, 1996), pp. 563-590.

¹⁸⁹ A. Lecanu, *Histoire des évêques de Coutances, depuis la fondation de l'évêché jusqu'à nos jours* (Coutances, 1839), p. 129.

¹⁹⁰ Pigeon, *Histoire de Coutances*, pp. 120-122.

Le Patourel that it was in the cemetery,¹⁹¹ while Marcel Lelégard most recently proposed that the tomb was under the drain outside the east end, which was later incorporated into the ambulatory when the chevet was expanded in the thirteenth century.¹⁹² His arguments are certainly intriguing, although they ignore the evidence provided by an early sixteenth century document, which established the rule for the children of the choir and their master. Here it was ruled that these children would pray each day before the place to the left of the high altar where the relics were held, around where Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, who had established the position of master of the children, had erected his tomb.¹⁹³ The interesting vignette about one of the positions created by Geoffrey aside,¹⁹⁴ it seems that the bishop's tomb at this time was located beside the high altar, though it is entirely possible that its original position had been long forgotten, and that a later monument, which is itself no longer extant, had been erected in its place.¹⁹⁵

The circumstances surrounding Geoffrey's death had, by the seventeenth century, faded from local memory to such an extent that René Toustain de Billy claimed, without further comment, that the bishop was commemorated in the cathedral obituary on 12 July.¹⁹⁶ No obituary, either extant or lost, has ever been recorded as belonging to the cathedral of Coutances,¹⁹⁷ and since various breviaries record 12 July as the date when the dedication of the cathedral was celebrated,¹⁹⁸ it seems that de Billy had become confused with the information in these manuscripts.¹⁹⁹ That the memory of arguably the city's most important medieval bishop had been so

¹⁹¹ Le Patourel, 'Geoffrey of Mowbray', p. 158; Lefèvre-Pontalis, 'La cathédrale de Coutances', p. 248.

¹⁹² Lelégard, 'La cathédrale et la tombe de Geoffroi', pp. 299-300.

¹⁹³ '... aller avecques lesd. enfans devant le lieu ou sont les reliques au costé senestre du grand autel, auquel lieu reverend pere en Dieu monsieur Geoffrey, par la permission divine evesque de Coustances, fondateur de lad. maistrise d'enffans, a esleu sa sepulture...', Fontanel, *Le cartulaire de Coutances*, no. 359, p. 539. The document is dated 3 July 1504.

¹⁹⁴ It seems that the 'maistrise d'enffans' was the position that had evolved from the 'cantor' established by Geoffrey, 'De statu', col. 220.

¹⁹⁵ The only remaining monument in Geoffrey's honour in the cathedral is a modern stained glass window above the door in the southern tower of the western façade, C. Daireaux and A. Lemesle, *La cathédrale de Coutances: son histoire du Moyen Age au XXe siècle* (Coutances, 2008), p. 107.

¹⁹⁶ Toustain de Billy, *Histoire de Coutances*, i, p. 145.

¹⁹⁷ *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français* (Recueil des historiens de la France, Obituaires, VII), ed. J.-L. Lemaître, 4 vols. (Paris, 1980), i, pp. 321-326.

¹⁹⁸ This is the rededication of the cathedral performed in the thirteenth century, Pigeon, *Histoire de Coutances*, pp. 185-186; J.L. Adam, 'Le manuel de Coutances, imprimé à Rouen en 1494', *Revue catholique de Normandie*, 18 (1909), pp. 185-199, at p. 187.

¹⁹⁹ 'iiii id., iul. dedicatio ecclesie Constanciensis', BM (Valognes), ms. 6, fol. 122r; Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 79 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 79), fol. 147r. Other Coutances breviaries can be found in BN, ms. lat. 786, 1271 and 1300; n. a. lat. 423; BL, ms. Add. 29886; BM (Valognes), mss. 4-5, 7-9.

completely forgotten may seem surprising, especially given the amount of attention that was lavished upon him during various centenarial celebrations in the twentieth century.²⁰⁰ Geoffrey seems to have realised himself to what extent the preservation of his achievements depended on his personal will, however, for in his final days he is said to have commanded the restoration of the cockerel atop the central tower, fearing ‘that if I had died before this was done, neither that cock, nor anything similar, would ever have gone up’.²⁰¹ Such matters were still within his control, but while the golden cockerel was restored, the diocese would never have another bishop who would shine quite so brightly as Geoffrey.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ For a description of these ceremonies, see J. Masson, ‘Geoffroy de Montbray, ou la fabrique d’une geste’, in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 307-319; P. Bouet, ‘L’histoire sans fin de Geoffroi de Montbray’, in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 321-324.

²⁰¹ ‘Timebam, inquit, quod si meus obitus praevenisset, nunquam gallus ille vel illi consimilis illuc ulterius ascendisset’, ‘De statu’, col. 223.

²⁰² A ‘catalogue des évêques de *Constans* selon M. Robert’, which was copied by Pierre Mangon du Houguet in the seventeenth century, lists the bishop as ‘Gofridus vel Jofridus bonas’, the only one to be awarded such an epithet, BM (Grenoble), ms. 3909, vol. 1, fol. 261v.

Rodulf, 1093-1110

The familial origins of the next bishop of Coutances are unknown. Joseph Depoin suggested Rodulf was ‘*un fils naturel*’ of William the Conqueror,¹ but his source, an extremely unreliable charter of Saint-Martin des Champs, is most probably a forgery.² René Toustain de Billy claimed that ‘*un ancien manuscrit*’,³ perhaps the same as that identified as a *tabularius* by the editors of *Gallia Christiana*,⁴ listed Rodulf as the first archdeacon of Coutances, a position he held from at least 1080.⁵ It was in this role that Rodulf became responsible for directing the affairs of the diocese during Geoffrey de Montbray’s absences in England,⁶ although the fact that he makes only a sole appearance in the historical record as archdeacon suggests that he either operated with a silent efficiency that drew little comment from his contemporaries, or that his role in such matters has been overstated by later authors.⁷ He clearly felt some affection for his predecessor, however, for according to the same *tabularius* quoted by *Gallia Christiana*, it was during the opening months of his episcopate that he decreed the canons of the cathedral should begin celebrating the anniversary of Geoffrey’s death on 3 February.⁸ Later historians claimed Rodulf was himself canonically elected,⁹ while he was consecrated at Rouen, where he presumably received his pastoral staff from William Bona Anima on 3 April 1093.¹⁰ Robert Curthose is not known to have had a role in Rodulf’s elevation. The diocese of Coutances had, of course, recently been restored to the duke following three years of rule by his brother

¹ *Recueil des chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, monastère parisien*, ed. J. Depoin, 6 vols. (Paris, 1912-1989), ii, pp. 77-79, at pp. 78-79 n. 127.

² BN, ms. lat. 10977, fol. 79r-v, at fol. 79v. The charter is issued in the name of ‘Willelmus Dei gratia rex Anglorum’, while the witness list reads ‘Iohelem, Robertum Balduini filium, Rog(erium) de Nonant, Ra. ep(iscopu)m de frem H. regis, Henr(icum) comitem de Vuar(wich), Ro., Ricardi filium, R. Bigot’. Depoin attributed the charter to William the Atheling (dating it 1117), while he printed ‘Ra. ep(iscopu)m de frem H. regis’ as ‘Ra(dulfum) episcopum fratrem H(enrici) regis’. Dugdale, on the other hand, printed ‘Ra. episcopum de Frem.’, but there is, of course, no such diocese in either England or Normandy, Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v, p. 198. Davis and Cronne noted the correct transcription, and suggested that the cartulary scribe had omitted the diocese associated with the bishop because it was illegible in the document from which he was working, while they also suggested that the charter was a forgery, *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, p. 408.

³ Toustain de Billy, *Histoire de Coutances*, i, p. 148.

⁴ *GC*, xi, col. 873.

⁵ *Regesta*, no. 201.

⁶ Toustain de Billy, *Histoire de Coutances*, i, p. 148.

⁷ Ironically, Rodulf’s only appearance, where he is identified as archdeacon of Saint-Lô, comes in an document that records an event in which Geoffrey was also involved, *Regesta*, no. 201.

⁸ *GC*, xi, col. 873. According to Auguste Lecanu, the canons were to give alms to the leprosies and poor of Coutances on this day, though this seems to be a later tradition, rather than one established by Rodulf, Lecanu, *Histoire des évêques de Coutances*, p. 133.

⁹ Toustain de Billy, *Histoire de Coutances*, i, p. 148.

¹⁰ *GC*, xi, col. 873.

Henry, and there would have been little better opportunity to demonstrate the reassertion of ducal authority in the region than through the appointment of its new bishop.

Within less than a year of his election, however, Rodulf can be found in England in the presence of William Rufus. On 11 February 1094 he attended the dedication of Battle Abbey,¹¹ an event that took place as Rufus waited to cross to Normandy.¹² It has been suggested that the presence of the bishop within the king's entourage reflects Rufus' desire to reinforce or enlarge his influence in the Cotentin,¹³ while it is possible that the king used the bishop to relay messages to Henry, whose resurgent power, now established around Domfront,¹⁴ would be important in undermining Curthose's authority.¹⁵ The bishop is not known to have played any prominent role in the subsequent conflicts between the sons of the Conqueror, and his episcopate has, in fact, left few traces. Two years after his appearance at Battle, Rodulf was in Rouen for the council that promulgated certain of the canons of the papal council of Clermont,¹⁶ but his appearances in the diplomatic record do not allow for his movements to be tracked with any certainty. He was, nevertheless, fairly active in affairs both within and outside his diocese, helping Richard de Redvers to establish a house of canons at Néhou,¹⁷ and witnessing a ducal act that granted an annual fair at Cheux to the monks of Saint-Étienne de Caen.¹⁸ At some point in his career a case concerning the tenancy of the church of Saint-Hilaire de Méautis was heard in his presence,¹⁹ while in 1104 he was at the abbey of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, to which he had come 'by chance', and confirmed various donations concerning the church of Saint-Martin de

¹¹ *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 348; *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. and trans. E. Searle (Oxford, 1980), p. 96. Rodulf is 'Roger' in both these sources.

¹² The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that Rufus had Battle dedicated while he waited at Hastings 'for the weather', *ASC* 'E', p. 229.

¹³ Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 334.

¹⁴ Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 85-101.

¹⁵ K. Thompson, 'From the Thames to Tinchebray: the role of Normandy in the early career of Henry I', in *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman world: studies in memory of C. Warren Hollister* (HSJ 17, 2007), pp. 16-26, at p. 22.

¹⁶ *OV*, iv, p. 264.

¹⁷ *Charters of the Redvers family and the earldom of Devon, 1090-1217*, ed. R. Bearman (Exeter, 1994), no. 4, pp. 55-7. Néhou, Manche, cant. Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte.

¹⁸ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix E, no. 3, pp. 286-287; AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 21r-v. Only the second of these two documents mentions the bishop of Coutances by name. Cheux, Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles.

¹⁹ 'Notum sit omnibus quod Blancardus in presentia Rodulfi Constantiensis episcopi et baronum eius clamavit quietam totam calumpniam quam pater suus et idem ipse habebat in ecclesia sancti Ilarii de Meltuz...', AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 56v. Méautis, Manche, cant. Saint-Lô.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1093 × 1110	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 56v	Saint-Étienne de Caen				x
11 Feb. 1094	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 348	Battle Abbey	(Battle)	x		
1100 × 1107	<i>Charters of the Redvers family</i> , no. 4, pp. 55-57	Sainte-Marie de Néhou			x	x
1101 × 1105	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 3	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1104	Delisle, <i>Histoire de Saint-Sauveur</i> , p.-j., no. 46, pp. 55-58	Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte	(Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte)			x

Fig. 36 Appearances of Rodulf, bishop of Coutances (1093-1110), in the diplomatic record*

* Rodulf also appears in a forged charter for Saint-Martin-des-Champs, BN, ms. lat. 10977, fol. 79r-v. Rodulf may also be the unnamed bishop of Coutances said to have attested a charter for Bec along with Robert Curthose, the text of which is now lost, BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 20r (marginalia).

Grouville,²⁰ handing it over in perpetual alms.²¹ The donation was then confirmed by the chapter of Coutances, and, accompanied by two of his archdeacons, his chamberlain and a large gathering of clerics,²² Rodulf delivered a verbal anathema, threatening all those who might seek to interfere with the terms of the act with eternal damnation.²³

It would be one of these archdeacons who would provoke what is perhaps the most famous episode of Rodulf's episcopate. It occurred when, one Pentecost, the noted hermit Bernard de Tiron arrived in the city of Coutances. Challenged by a local archdeacon, who had 'both a wife and children', Bernard was asked why, if he 'was a monk and dead to the world', was he preaching to the living. The hermit defended himself by using simplified allegory, and retelling the biblical story of Samson and the ass's jaw, he concluded the licence to preach was actually secured through his commitment to otherworldliness.²⁴ It is unfortunate that Bernard's biographer, Geoffrey Grossus, does not identify the archdeacon, though Richard, who was a member of one of the most famous capitular families, is a likely candidate, in spite of the fact that he is not known to have had a wife or any children.²⁵ More unfortunate still is the complete absence of Rodulf from the narrative. The confrontation took place during Pentecost, when, Geoffrey tells us, the local populace had gathered for the traditional processions, and it must be assumed that the bishop was present to administer such festivities. Nevertheless, the episode provides an interesting snapshot of life in the cathedral community in the early twelfth century, although it is not the

²⁰ Identified by Delisle as Grosville (Manche, cant. Les Pieux) (Delisle, *Histoire de Saint-Sauveur*, p.-j., no. 46, pp. 55-58), but undoubtedly Grouville, which is on the island of Jersey. Cf. *Cartulaire des îles normandes: recueil des documents concernant l'histoire de ces îles*, ed. Société jersiaise (St. Helier, 1924), p. 340.

²¹ '... presente et concedente venerabili Radulfo Constanciensi episcopo, qui tunc forte ad abbatiam venerat. ... idemque venerabilis episcopus... concessu et voluntate omnium dominorum, in elemosina dedit perhenniter possidendam', Delisle, *Histoire de Saint-Sauveur*, pièces justificatives, no. 46, pp. 56-57.

²² Spear identifies one of the archdeacons (Richard) as a possible archdeacon of Rouen, but this seems unlikely, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 96.

²³ 'Ad ultimum supradictis episcopus hanc sententiam imposuit dicens: "Si quis raptor aut presumptor hanc cartam dampnare temptaverit, dyabolo et angelis eius tradatur, descendatque vivus ad infernum, et pereat morte perpetua, nisi ad emendationem venerit. Amen"', Delisle, *Histoire de Saint-Sauveur*, pièces justificatives, no. 46, p. 57.

²⁴ The episode is related in Bernard's *vita*, Geoffrey Grossus, 'Vita beati Bernardi fundatoris congregationis de Tironio', in Migne, *PL*, clxxii, cols. 1398-1399. Although the chronology of this *vita* leaves a great deal to be desired, the episode is traditionally mentioned in relation to Rodulf's episcopate, B. Beck, *Saint Bernard de Tiron, l'ermite, le moine et le monde* (Cormelles-le-Royal, 1998), pp. 206-207.

²⁵ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 96.

only major event to have taken place in the diocese in which Rodulf is conspicuous by his absence.²⁶

It was to be to the diocese of Coutances, and more specifically, the town of Carentan, which would play centre stage in Henry I's invasion of Normandy in spring 1105. Frustratingly, Rodulf features nowhere in Orderic's narrative of the events that Easter,²⁷ and it is difficult to determine exactly what relationship the bishop maintained with the English king.²⁸ If the circumstances painted by Orderic had truly spread throughout the entire diocese, then Rodulf may have enthusiastically welcomed the king's intervention in the duchy. Fortunately, the bishop's relationship with the other protagonist in the events at Carentan is slightly easier to establish. Rodulf had already met Serlo, bishop of Sées, at the Rouen council of 1096, and it would be in similar circumstances that the second of their three meetings was to take place. Rodulf, who along with Serlo was attending the diocesan council of 1108,²⁹ approached his fellow bishop, and, in a move that suggests a degree of reverence for his colleague, asked his advice about miraculous events in the church of Saint-Pierre de Coutances.³⁰ The final meeting between the two is recorded by the editors of *Gallia Christiana*:³¹

Attamen Radulfus thesaurum Sagiensis episcopi a duobus clericis furto sublatum iuxta altare monasterii sancti Martini Sagiensis reperit, et episcopo Sagiensi reddidit; qua de causa ecclesiam de Pirou, quam dederat Guillelmus, duobus clericis abstulit, et monachis Exaquiensis in eleemosynam dedit anno 1116, teste Radulfo, ex chartulario eiusdem monasterii: sed errorum suspicor, vel in notis chronologicis, vel in nomine episcopi, nudumque forte apicem R. in apographo scriptum, lectum et intellectum fuisse pro Radulfo Rogerii loco.

The stated facts of this rather perplexing entry are as follows: Rodulf discovered the treasure of the bishop of Sées, which two clerics had taken from beside the altar of

²⁶ Not all have been convinced that the episode occurred during Rodulf's episcopate, however, since Bernard Jacqueline seems to suggest that the sermon was delivered during the reign of Geoffrey de Montbray, B. Jacqueline, 'Un épisode de la réforme grégorienne en Basse-Normandie: un sermon de Saint Bernard de Tiron à Coutances', *Revue du département de la Manche*, 27 (1985), pp. 17-28, at p. 25.

²⁷ *OV*, vi, pp. 60-68.

²⁸ The two men appear together in only one piece of diplomatic, when they both gave their counsel to the establishment of Sainte-Marie de Néhou, although only the bishop witnesses the act, *Charters of the Redvers family*, no. 4, pp. 55-57.

²⁹ *OV*, v, p. 24.

³⁰ Orderic Vitalis notes that Rodulf asked Serlo 'because he was more learned than he', *OV*, iv, pp. 264-266.

³¹ *GC*, xi, col. 873.

Saint-Martin de Sées, and returned it to him; for this reason, William [de Pirou],³² who had given the church of Pirou,³³ took this with the two clerics and in 1116 gave it in alms to the monks of Lessay, an act which Rodulf witnessed, according to the cartulary of this same monastery. The chronological inconsistencies of this are duly noted, and an explanation given.

It is difficult to see what to make of all this. Since the editors of *Gallia Christiana* seem to suggest that the donation of Pirou was somehow connected (*qua de causa*) to the return of the treasure, the source for the story appears to be a single document, which was once found in a cartulary belonging to the abbey of Lessay. Of course, the same editors then go on to argue that this document has been misinterpreted, and that the donation of the church was actually witnessed by Rodulf's successor, Roger. They maintain the association of Rodulf with the discovery of the treasure, however, listing this event under his name in the index.³⁴ Unfortunately, the destruction of the archives of Saint-Lô in June 1944 took with it all the medieval and early modern cartularies of Lessay,³⁵ while none of the modern copies of Lessay material contain a transcription of the document matching the description given by the editors of *Gallia Christiana*.³⁶ However, although the donation of Pirou is here dated to 1116, elsewhere it is placed in the year 1106.³⁷ The story of the treasure of the bishop of Sées, on the other hand, is known only from this one entry. It is not repeated in the description of Serlo's career given by *Gallia Christiana*,³⁸ and does not feature in any of the histories of either the bishopric,³⁹ or the abbey of Saint-Martin.⁴⁰ The story, and its exact source, must remain somewhat enigmatic, therefore, but given that Rodulf and Serlo are

³² Orderic claims incorrectly that William was killed in the wreck of the *White Ship*, *OV*, vi, p. 304.

³³ Pirou, Manche, cant. Lessay.

³⁴ 'Radulfus Constantiensis, 873... episcopo Sagiensi restituit thesaurum furto sublatum, D', *GC*, xi, 'Index archiepiscoporum et episcoporum', p. 54

³⁵ There were five Lessay cartularies (AD Manche, H 4617, 4665-4668); all were destroyed in 1944.

³⁶ BM (Flers), ms. 18, fol. 1r-139v; TNA, PRO 31/8/140B, pt. 2, pp. 53-78; BN, ms. lat. 10071, fol. 39r-93r.

³⁷ Lecanu, *Histoire des évêques de Coutances*, p. 137; A. Lecanu, *Histoire du diocèse de Coutances et Avranches depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, 2 vols. (Coutances, 1877-1878), ii, p. 344.

³⁸ *GC*, xi, cols. 683-686.

³⁹ L. Hommey, *Histoire générale ecclésiastique et civile du diocèse de Séez ancien et nouveau*, 5 vols. (Alençon, 1898-1900), ii, pp. 157-260.

⁴⁰ The history of the abbey is not well-served by printed sources. A rare exception is P. Deschamps, *Abbaye Saint-Martin de Sées (Orne)* (Rouen, 1978), but this makes no mention of the story, as do neither the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century histories of the abbey found in BN, ms. fr. 18953. There is also an unpublished history by Dom Carrouget (dated 1654) in the *fonds La Sicotière* of the municipal library of Alençon, which I have not been able to consult.

known to have interacted fairly regularly, it is not entirely impossible that the episode took place.

The final years of Rodulf's episcopate were dominated by misfortune. Shortly after the accession of Louis VI, king of France, the diocese of Coutances was racked by a deadly plague, which its inhabitants referred to as 'the infernal fire'.⁴¹ The Coutances miracles, which were perhaps rewritten by John son of Peter at Rodulf's insistence,⁴² contain various stories relating to individuals suffering from this disease,⁴³ which Jean Fournée identified as ergotism.⁴⁴ If the identification is correct, it suggests the region had suffered from a particularly poor harvest in the preceding years, forcing the populace to use old and infected rye to make bread. It is even possible that the epidemic claimed the life of Rodulf himself, for although Orderic makes no direct link between the plague and the bishop's death, the close association of the two events in his narrative does suggest they may have been related.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the cause of the bishop's death is not recorded, while the date of 1110 cited by the editors of *Gallia Christiana* is given no source.⁴⁶ Following his passing, the diocese of Coutances suffered a decline similar to that in neighbouring Bayeux, and, occupied by a succession of bishops whose careers left little in the way of legacy,⁴⁷ it would not be until the reign of Bishop Algar (1132-1151) that the city and bishopric of Coutances would begin to recover some of its eleventh-century spiritual and political stature.

⁴¹ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', ch. XXVII, p. 381.

⁴² For discussion, see above p. 195.

⁴³ 'Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis', chs. XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX, pp. 381-382.

⁴⁴ Fournée, 'Les miracles de Notre Dame', p. 26. Ergotism, which is commonly known as Saint Anthony's Fire, is the effect of long-term ergot poisoning, traditionally due to the ingestion of the alkaloids produced by the *Claviceps purpurea* fungus, which infects rye and other cereals. Among its symptoms is dry gangrene, which ultimately results in the death and loss of affected tissues.

⁴⁵ *OV*, iv, p. 266.

⁴⁶ *GC*, xi, col. 873.

⁴⁷ Both Roger (c. 1112/13-1124) and Richard de Brix (1124-1131) had ties to Henry I, but their infrequent appearances in his presence suggest they were little valued as counsellors, Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 91-92.

ÉVREUX

Gerald, before 985 × 989-c. 1006

Although the bishopric of Évreux seems to have enjoyed a slightly less disrupted episcopal succession during the tenth century than elsewhere in the duchy, it too suffered like the other Norman dioceses.¹ Gunhardus, the last bishop known to have occupied the see before Gerald, appears twice in the historical record in around 954,² before disappearing entirely. Lucien Musset felt that this probably resulted from an evacuation of the episcopal city, which came under constant attack at this time, although he did not indicate to where Gunhardus might have fled.³ Pierre Bauduin recently suggested that if the bishop did leave his see, he probably gravitated toward Tours, although he provided no further evidence than that Gunhardus' name appears next to or near that of the archbishop of Tours in the witness lists of two charters for the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres.⁴ Nevertheless, a sizeable Christian (Northmen) population must have remained in the area, for it was only with their help that Hugh the Great (d. 956) was able to seize the *castrum* of the city in 943.⁵ The destruction caused by the invaders of the ninth and tenth centuries, as well as the calamities of later generations, has, however, left a lacuna in episcopal sources comparable only to the dioceses of Avranches and Lisieux. No original episcopal charter survives from before the twelfth century,⁶ while only one complete act issued by a bishop of Évreux is known to date from the eleventh.⁷ It would be almost two centuries before the diocese would fully recover all of its components, and although over two hundred episcopal acts for the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries survive, the evidence suggests that the practice of writing, along with other institutions, was only gradually restored in the region at this time.⁸

The date at which Gerald, of whose origins we know nothing, arrived in the diocese is unknown. The editors of *Gallia Christiana* claimed that Gunhardus

¹ Two bishops (Hugh I and Gunhardus), one of whose existence is based on fairly shaky ground, are usually said to have occupied the see before Gerald. For full discussion, see Spear, *The personnel*, p. 133.

² *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. i, pp. 49-50; ii, no. cxxx, p. 351.

³ Musset, 'Un millénaire oublié', p. 565.

⁴ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 165.

⁵ Flodoard of Reims, *Annales*, p. 88.

⁶ The first known charter to survive as an original was issued by Bishop Ouen, and dates to 1120 × 1139, AD Eure, H 544; ed. G. Combalbert, 'Chartes des évêques d'Évreux (911-1223)', *mémoire de maîtrise* (Université de Caen, 2004), no. 6.

⁷ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 16. Cf. Appendix G.

⁸ Combalbert, 'Chartes des évêques d'Évreux', p. 30.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
15 June 990	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4	Fécamp	Fécamp			x

Fig. 37 Appearances of Gerald, bishop of Évreux (before 985 × 989-c. 1006), in the diplomatic record

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1012	<i>RADN</i> , no. 14bis	Jumièges		x		

Fig. 38 Appearances of Gilbert, bishop of Évreux (c. 1012-c. 1015), in the diplomatic record

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
8 Sept. 1015	<i>RADN</i> , no. 18	Saint-Quentin	Rouen		x	
1017 × c. 1022	Bulst, <i>Wilhelms von Dijon</i> , pp. 223-236	Fruttuaria				
1017 × 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 31	Fécamp			x	
1017 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 47	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1022 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 49	Mont-Saint-Michel		x		
c. 1025 × c. 1026	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. iv, pp. 115-116	Saint-Père de Chartres			x	x
c. 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 33	Sées cathedral		x		
1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35	Fécamp	Fécamp		x	
August 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 34	Fécamp	Fécamp		x	
August 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 36	Fécamp	Fécamp		x	
1027 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 72	Fécamp		x		
1027 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 73	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1030	<i>RADN</i> , no. 61 (doubtful)	Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen			x	
12 Nov. 1032	<i>RADN</i> , no. 64 (perhaps, according to ms. C)	Cerisy-la-Forêt	Rouen		x	
1035	<i>Grand Cartulaire de Conches</i> , no. 406 (i)	Conches			x	
13 Jan. 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 90	Montivilliers	Fécamp			x
1037 × 1046	<i>RADN</i> , no. 110	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1038	<i>RADN</i> , no. 92	Jumièges			x	

Fig. 39 Appearances of Hugh II, bishop of Évreux (1015-c. 1046), in the diplomatic record*

* Hugh may be the bishop by that name who witnessed *RADN*, nos. 21, 52 version B.

occupied the see until 969,⁹ while some later historians of the diocese maintained that Gerald became bishop in the following year.¹⁰ It is entirely possible that the bishop did indeed arrive in the city at this time, for the religious life of Évreux had already been well re-established. According to Dudo of Saint-Quentin, the cathedral of Évreux was among those religious institutions patronised by Rollo at the time of his baptism in around 912,¹¹ while the abbey of Saint-Taurin d'Évreux was refounded by Richard I sometime after the city had been retaken by Norman forces from the French king and count of Blois in 962.¹² However, as this last remark suggests, the Évrecin remained very much a region open to the ambitions of neighbouring princes at this time,¹³ and if the foundation charter of Saint-Taurin really does date to the second half of the tenth century, then the bishop of the city is conspicuous by his absence from it.¹⁴ Indeed, it is not until the translation of the body of St. Ouen, which occurred at a date shortly before 985 × 989, that Gerard appears in the historical record for the first time.¹⁵ Shortly thereafter, he was present at the refoundation of Fécamp on 15 June 990,¹⁶ while his last appearance is linked to a dubious document dated to around 1006.¹⁷ He was certainly dead by 1012, however, when his short-lived successor Gilbert I, witnessed a charter for Jumièges.¹⁸ Gilbert's career is so short that it does not warrant a separate chapter here, and his only legacy is his son, Odo, who donated land to the abbey of Fécamp.¹⁹

⁹ GC, xi, col. 570.

¹⁰ G. Bonnenfant, *Histoire générale du diocèse d'Évreux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1933), i, p. 15. Elsewhere, the date c. 975 is sometimes given, P. Le Brasseur, *Histoire civile et ecclésiastique du comté d'Évreux* (Paris, 1722), p. 78.

¹¹ *De moribus*, p. 171. This was repeated by Orderic in his interpolation of William of Jumièges, *GND*, ii, p. 134.

¹² RADN, no. 5.

¹³ For discussion in full, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 162-173.

¹⁴ It has been argued by some that the charter traditionally regarded as the foundation charter actually represents the state of the abbey's patrimony as it was in the 1030s, rather than the 960s, J.-F. Lemarignier, E. Lamon and V. Gazeau, 'Monachisme et aristocratie autour de Saint-Taurin d'Évreux et du Bec (Xe-XIIe siècles)', in *Aspects du monachisme en Normandie (Ive-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. L. Musset (Paris, 1982), pp. 91-108, at pp. 93-97; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 171.

¹⁵ 'Translatio secunda beati Audoeni', p. 824.

¹⁶ RADN, no. 4.

¹⁷ GC, xi, col. 570.

¹⁸ RADN, no. 14bis.

¹⁹ Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédictine, no. 6 (formerly 2ter). This charter was edited by Marie Fauroux, though her edition omits the crucial identification of Odo as *filius Gislberti episcopi*, having instead simply *Odo filius Gisleberti*, RADN, no. 34, p. 130. The donations were located at Saint-Mélain-la-Campagne (Eure, cant. Évreux-Nord) and Bolleville (Seine-Maritime, cant. Bolbec).

Hugh II, 1015-c. 1046

Of all the eleventh-century Norman episcopate, Hugh perhaps shares most in common with his namesake in the diocese of Avranches. Ascending to the episcopate thirteen years apart, both men enjoyed a career that was clearly important, but which has left little in the way of a legacy. Like his counterpart in the Avranchin, although Hugh II was bishop for more than thirty years, we know very little about him. Such circumstances are not helped by the fact that many early historians of the region misidentified some of Hugh's appearances with those of his predecessor,¹ but while his origins are unknown, the frequency with which he witnessed ducal charters, along with other acts issued by members of the Norman episcopate and aristocracy, suggests that he was not only an important member of the ducal *curia*, but was also somehow related to the ducal line.² Ironically, the start of his career, or at least his first known appearance, can be dated with unusual precision. On 8 September 1015, he was in Rouen to witness a charter drawn up in part by Dudo of Saint-Quentin in favour of his former house.³ Despite this encounter, and the frequent appearance of his city in Dudo's most famous work, Hugh himself is not mentioned in *De moribus*. The bishop is also absent from any of the great narrative works of the period, and is not even mentioned when notable events occur within his city, such as the siege carried out by Robert I towards 1027/8 against Robert, archbishop of Rouen, and the castle at Évreux.⁴ Nevertheless, Hugh was involved in matters concerning religious institutions throughout Europe, and following his encounter with Dudo, witnessed a charter for the abbey of Fruttuaria along with the archbishop of Rouen and the other Norman suffragans.⁵

Of the remainder of the acts witnessed by Hugh, five concern the abbey of Fécamp,⁶ four that of Mont-Saint-Michel,⁷ while the bishop also witnessed single charters for institutions ranging from Cerisy-la-Forêt in the west; the cathedral of Sées

¹ Le Brasseur, *Histoire du comté d'Évreux*, pp. 81-82.

² Hugh witnessed, on average, 0.5 ducal acts per annum (apa). This is comparable with other members of the Norman episcopate for this period, some of whom are known to have been closely related to the dukes of Normandy. For example, Hugh of Bayeux (32 acts over 38 years = 0.8 apa), Hugh of Avranches (14 acts over 32 years = 0.4 apa) and Herbert of Lisieux (14 acts over 23 years = 0.6 apa).

³ *RADN*, no. 18.

⁴ *GND*, ii, p. 48.

⁵ Bulst, *Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223-236.

⁶ *RADN*, nos. 31, 33-36.

in the south, and the abbey of Jumièges in the east.⁸ Besides his attestation of the charters for Saint-Quentin and Fruttuaria, Hugh also witnessed one other act for a non-Norman house, namely the charter of Robert, archbishop of Rouen, for the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres.⁹ He was also involved in the establishment of two Norman monasteries, and was not only present at the foundation of Cerisy-la-Forêt just noted above, but also that of Conches, which took place in 1035.¹⁰ Like his predecessor, however, he is conspicuous by his absence from affairs concerning institutions within his own diocese, and seems to have played no role in the conversion of the abbey of Saint-Taurin into a priory of Fécamp.¹¹ Whether Hugh had any role along with the archbishop of Rouen in trying to export the cult of St. Taurin to Chartres is also unclear,¹² although it is possible that a donation from the archbishop, who was also count of Évreux, allowed Hugh to establish an episcopal residence at Condé-sur-Iton.¹³ As for the location of his appearances, they overwhelmingly concern the two major centres of Upper Normandy, namely Fécamp and Rouen.¹⁴ His final appearance in the diplomatic record dates to 1038,¹⁵ but he was still active towards 1045, when he was one of only two Norman bishops to attend the reforming council convened by Archbishop Mauger.¹⁶ Despite our imprecise knowledge of his episcopate, his activities were enough to ensure his memory within his own cathedral community, and according to the obituary of Évreux he died on 20 April,¹⁷ while the year is traditionally given as 1046.¹⁸

⁷ RADN, nos. 47, 49, 73, 110.

⁸ RADN, nos. 33, 64, 92.

⁹ *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. iv, pp. 115-116. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

¹⁰ *Grand Cartulaire de Conches*, no. 406 (i).

¹¹ RADN, no. 87.

¹² J.-B. Mesnel, *Les Saints du diocèse d'Évreux. 1, Saint Taurin, premier évêque d'Évreux* (Évreux, 1914), pp. 167-168.

¹³ Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, pp. 47, 244-245. Condé-sur-Iton, Eure, cant. Breteuil.

¹⁴ RADN, nos. 18, 34-36, 64, 90.

¹⁵ RADN, no. 92.

¹⁶ Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 40.

¹⁷ BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1773, fol. 2v.

¹⁸ GC, xi, col. 571; Le Brasseur, *Histoire du comté d'Évreux*, p. 90; Bonnenfant, *Histoire générale d'Évreux*, i, p. 15.

William Fleitel, c. 1046-1066

William belonged to a prominent family of Norman aristocrats. He was the son of Gerard Fleitel,¹ whose principal holdings were established around Exmes and Argentan, in the south of the duchy.² The bishop is known to have had three brothers (Albert, Anscher and Robert), although their legacies are limited to a handful of appearances in the diplomatic record.³ William's two sisters, on the other hand, were the matriarchs of two important Anglo-Norman families. Ermengard was married to Walter Giffard, while Basilia, who had once been married to Rodulf de Gacé, son of Robert, archbishop of Rouen, later became the wife of Hugh I de Gournay.⁴ William also enjoyed familial connections with other members of the Norman episcopate, and was related to both Radbod, bishop of Sées, and his son William Bona Anima. The bishop of Évreux, whose cognomen was on at least one occasion rendered *Vilterni*,⁵ was a vassal of William, count of Arques, to whom it is possible he owed his promotion to the episcopate.⁶ The connection between the Fleitel and the count of Arques, which had begun under William's father, was actively maintained by the bishop, who not only appears in numerous charters concerning Saint-Wandrille (fig. 40), a house regularly patronised by the count,⁷ but also donated to the abbey with his consent.⁸ The two men also appear next to each other in the witness list of a charter for the abbey of Jumièges,⁹ while one of the bishop's earliest known acts was his confirmation of a donation made by the count of Arques and his brother, the archbishop of Rouen, to the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen.¹⁰ William's interests were

¹ OV, ii, pp. 38, 78, 254.

² G. Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême, Xe-XIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Flers, 1992-1993), i, pp. 158-160.

³ RADN, nos. 30, 46, 234.

⁴ GND, ii, p. 268.

⁵ Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, p. 535. Repeated by Le Brasseur, *Histoire du comté d'Évreux*, pp. 90, 92, who renders the Latin form as Vilteln, and who held that the name was a variant of Fleitel. Their source seems to be a now lost charter of Lyre, which refers to William as 'Guillelmo Vilterni filio Girardi'. This is another version of the charter as edited by Marie Fauroux (RADN, no. 120), except here William is simply referred to as *Guillermo filio Girardi*. Fauroux worked from a twelfth-century act (AD Eure, H 438), which was based upon an original charter lost 'avant 1738'. This might be the act from which Du Monstier worked, but his description of the document ('ex codic. ms. Lyrens.'), which Le Brasseur describes identically, suggests a cartulary. The most recent historian of the abbey worked from the same sources as Fauroux, C. Guéry, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Lyre* (Évreux, 1917), pp. 563-564. Cf. D. Gurney, *The record of the house of Gournay*, 4 vols. (London, 1848-1858), i, Appendix V, p. 54, who repeats Du Monstier's claim without further comment.

⁶ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 291 n. 28.

⁷ Lot, *Études critiques*, nos. 15, 20, 22, 29 and 40.

⁸ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 16.

⁹ RADN, no. 129.

¹⁰ AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189.

never limited solely to matters within the Pays de Caux, however, which at this time had been turned into almost a separate principality by the count of Arques. He was quickly involved in affairs on a wider level, and, in particular, played an active role in the reconstitution of the Norman monastic network.

Perhaps the best known of William's activities in the monastic world is his involvement in the abbey of Lyre. Founded by William fitzOsbern in around 1046, it is sometimes claimed that the bishop of Évreux witnessed the abbey's 'foundation' charter,¹¹ which was edited in *Gallia Christiana*.¹² This charter is indeed witnessed by a *Willelmo Ebroicensi episcopi*, but since the act concerns land secured by fitzOsbern after the Conquest, and was also witnessed by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, it cannot have been issued earlier than 29 August 1070, and certainly no later than the death of fitzOsbern on 22 February 1071.¹³ It seems, therefore, that this is a confused reference to William's successor, Gilbert. Fleitel was, nevertheless, involved in the maintenance of the house, and in around 1050 not only witnessed a series of donations made to Lyre,¹⁴ but shortly thereafter also consecrated the newly completed abbey church.¹⁵ The appearance of William's signature among those appended to a now lost confirmation charter for the abbey of Saint-Léger-de-Préaux suggests he was also involved in this house,¹⁶ again perhaps at its foundation,¹⁷ while his role in the reestablishment of a monastic community at Saint-Évroult is much better documented. Not only was he witness to the abbey's foundation charter,¹⁸ but he also blessed Robert de Grandmesnil as the new abbot of Saint-Évroult at Évreux on 21 June 1059, in the presence of the duke and Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées.¹⁹ William was also involved with nearby abbey of Conches, and along with Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux, he consented to a donation made by a certain William du

¹¹ *GC*, xi, col. 571; Spear, *The personnel*, p. 133. The editors of *Gallia Christiana* seemed unsure of whether William did witness the act. On one occasion they make reference to the 'foundation' charter as proof of William's involvement (*GC*, xi, col. 571), while on another they suggest that William of Jumièges and the Chronicle of Lyre mention his participation (*GC*, xi, col. 644). However, neither of these sources mention the bishop of Évreux; *GND*, ii, p. 132; *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, 5 vols. (Paris, 1717), iii, col. 1432; BN, ms. lat. 10061, fol. 2r.

¹² *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 124-125.

¹³ For full discussion, see Guéry, *Histoire de Lyre*, pp. 16-19.

¹⁴ *RADN*, no. 120.

¹⁵ Guéry, *Histoire de Lyre*, p. 14.

¹⁶ *Regesta*, no. 217.

¹⁷ This has certainly been the assumption of a number of historians, Le Brasseur, *Histoire civile d'Évreux*, p. 92; Bonnenfant, *Le diocèse d'Évreux*, i, p. 15.

¹⁸ *OV*, ii, p. 38; *RADN*, no. 122.

¹⁹ *OV*, ii, p. 74.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1046 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 188	Jumièges	Lyons-la-Forêt		x	
1046 × 1060	<i>RADN</i> , no. 145	Fécamp		x		
1046 × 1054	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , Appendix II, no. 16	Saint-Wandrille		x	x	x
1046 × 1053	<i>RADN</i> , no. 129	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1046 × 1049	<i>Grand Cartulaire de Conches</i> , no. 406 (xv)	Conches				x
1046 × 1047/8	AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1046 × 1047	<i>RADN</i> , no. 106	Saint-Wandrille		x		
1046 × 1047	<i>RADN</i> , no. 108	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1046 × 1047	<i>RADN</i> , no. 107	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
c. 1050	<i>RADN</i> , no. 120	Notre-Dame de Lyre			x	x
1050	<i>RADN</i> , no. 122	Saint-Évroult			x	
1051	<i>RADN</i> , no. 126	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1055 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 208	Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux			x	x
1055 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 209	Saint-Magloire de Léhon		x		
Sept. or Oct. 1055	<i>RADN</i> , no. 137	Marmoutier			x	
1060 × c.1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 219	Bayeux cathedral			x	
1060 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 220	Jumièges			x	x

Fig. 40 Appearances of William Fleitel, bishop of Évreux (c. 1046-1066), in the diplomatic record*

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 229	Avranches cathedral	Caen Winchester		x	
18 June 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 231	La Trinité de Caen			x	
13 April 1069	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 254	Saint-Denis			x	

Fig. 41 Appearances of Baldwin, bishop of Évreux (1066-1070), in the diplomatic record

* William's signature also appears among those at the end of the confirmation charter issued for Saint-Léger-de-Préaux in 1077 × 1078 or 1080 × 1081, *Regesta*, no. 217.

Fresne,²⁰ while he was himself a donor on at least one occasion, when he gave land at Béthencourt to Saint-Wandrille.²¹

Despite their close association, the downfall of the count of Arques in the summer of 1053, and that of his brother two years later, apparently had little effect on the bishop of Évreux. It is often claimed, however, that William played a prominent role in Archbishop Mauger's deposition,²² but of the seven near contemporaneous chroniclers to relate details of the affair,²³ only William of Poitiers names a member of the Norman episcopate as having had a particular role, and this is Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux.²⁴ Fleitel's involvement, which continues to be repeated by modern authorities,²⁵ seems to be an invention of the editors of *Gallia Christiana*,²⁶ with Georges Bonnenfant even mistaking their allusion to the bishop of Sion (*episcopis Sedunensi*) as a reference to the bishop of Sées (*episcopis Sagiensi*).²⁷ Nevertheless, William was certainly at the meeting, which was attended by all the Norman suffragans, while he was probably also at the reforming council convened by the new archbishop in Rouen a few months later. William was back in the metropolitan see for the dedication of Rouen cathedral on 1 October 1063,²⁸ and was again in the company of the archbishop in 1064 at the council of Lisieux.²⁹ William's working relationship with Maurilius was not always smooth, however, and at some point in his career he received a letter from the archbishop, and John of Ravenna, abbot of Fécamp, criticising his punishment of a monk who had violated the Truce of God.³⁰ Nevertheless, William seems to have been respected by the abbot of Fécamp, and at some time during Maurilius' reign he was invited to the abbey, where he ordained two priests named Hunfred and Hugh.³¹

²⁰ *Grand Cartulaire de Conches*, no. 406 (xv). Le Fresne, Eure, cant. Conches-en-Ouche.

²¹ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 16.

²² *GC*, xi, col. 751; J. Le Batelier d'Aviron, *Mémorial historique des évêques, ville et comté d'Évreux* (Rouen, 1875), p. 29; Le Brasseur, *Histoire civile d'Évreux*, p. 92; Bonnenfant, *Le diocèse d'Évreux*, i, p. 15.

²³ *GND*, ii, p. 130; *OV*, iii, p. 86; 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224; Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, i, p. 48; William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 494; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 4541-4546.

²⁴ *GG*, i, 58, p. 92.

²⁵ Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 29.

²⁶ *GC*, xi, col. 751.

²⁷ 'En 1055, il est en concile de Lisieux, où, avec l'évêque de cette ville et celui de Sées, il dépose l'archevêque de Rouen Mauger', Bonnenfant, *Le diocèse d'Évreux*, i, p. 15.

²⁸ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

²⁹ Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

³⁰ BN, ms. lat. 2403, fol. 165r. A critical edition of this letter can be found in Appendix G.

³¹ Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', p. 596.

It was also during William's reign that the temporal possessions of the bishopric began to be tentatively restored. The donation to Bec of Saint-Georges du Vièvre by John of Ivry, which was made before he became bishop of Avranches in 1060, mentions the mill of the bishop of Évreux that was located on the banks of the Risle near to Pont-Authou,³² while towards 1055 × 1066, the bishop received from Richard, count of Évreux, who had once been his brother-in-law,³³ the revenue from the fairs held on the cathedral square during the Annunciation.³⁴ A charter of Lyre also mentions a mill which was held of the bishop of Évreux (*teneo de pontifice Ebroicensi*) by a certain Ernald, son of Ernald, although the scribe neglected to record its location.³⁵ Nevertheless, it was undoubtedly also located on the banks of the Risle, which ran right by the abbey, and although it is mentioned alongside a donation of Ernald, abbot of Lyre (bef. 1071-bef. 1113), the abbatial succession at Lyre is so confused that this holding could easily have its origins under William.³⁶ The monastic life within his city was also encouraged by the bishop, and he supported the foundation of the abbey of Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux, which he freed from all episcopal customs.³⁷ Whether William made any restitutions to the physical state of his own church his unknown. Like the cathedral chapter, for which we can name no personnel at this time, the church of Évreux had yet to fully recover from the disruptions of the preceding centuries.³⁸ Of course, the lacuna in the record of both these institutions undoubtedly has more to do with meagre state of sources, rather than any negligence on the bishop's behalf.³⁹

Little is known of William's career beyond his benediction of the abbot of Saint-Évrout. His few known activities testify, however, to his importance within the episcopal hierarchy, and as a trusted member of the ducal *curia*. Indeed, he is listed

³² *Regesta*, no. 166, p. 554.

³³ Richard, count of Évreux, was the other son of Robert, archbishop of Rouen, and therefore the brother of Rodulf de Gacé, the first husband of William's sister Basilia.

³⁴ 'In testimonio et confirmatione quietationis episcopalis consuetudinis nundinas in Annuntiatione Dominica atrio sanctae Mariae antiquitus constitutas, in praesentia praedicti ducis praenominato episcopo donavi suae ecclesiae habendas in perpetuo', *RADN*, no. 208.

³⁵ Guéry, *Histoire de Lyre*, p. 564. Printed with slight variants in A. Le Prévost, *Mémoires et notes pour servir à l'histoire du département de l'Eure*, ed. L. Delisle and L. Passy, 3 vols. (Évreux, 1862-1869), i, p. 545.

³⁶ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 183-186.

³⁷ *RADN*, no. 208.

³⁸ Only one canon (Osbert), can be tentatively linked with the cathedral at this time, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 156.

³⁹ Georges Bonnenfant certainly believed that William had some role in building the cathedral, G. Bonnenfant, *La cathédrale d'Évreux* (Paris, 1939), p. 10.

among a group of the duke's *fideles*, which included the ecclesiastical heavyweights Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux and John of Ravenna, abbot of Fécamp, who, along with Robert, count of Mortain, judged a case concerning a disputed donation made to the priory of Saint-Magloire de Léhon,⁴⁰ while Orderic Vitalis claims he was a close friend of the bishops of Lisieux and Sées.⁴¹ Hugh also witnessed charters for the abbey of Marmoutier and the cathedral of Bayeux, where he appears both times in the witness lists beside the count of Mortain,⁴² while his last known appearance in the diplomatic record concerned Jumièges.⁴³ Like the nearby abbey of Saint-Wandrille, the bishop proved a generous benefactor to this house, and not only gave his consent to the donation by a certain Gerard of half the tithe at Hennezis,⁴⁴ for which he received twenty deniers, but also donated holdings in the commune of Emondeville, the church of Saint-Vaast-Dieppedalle, twenty-six acres of allod and his part of the church at Hautot-l'Auvray,⁴⁵ and, along with the same Gerard and a certain Milo, one hundred acres of allod at Beaunay.⁴⁶ These possessions are all located within twenty kilometres of his father's possessions at Longueil,⁴⁷ and within just over thirty from Arques, the principal powerbase of his former patron. Their proximity to one another suggests that William either received them as part of his inheritance, or as a gift from the count of Arques, while it is even possible that the Gerard mentioned in the act, who is called *Gerardus filius Anscharii*, is the son of the bishop's brother by that name.

Regrettably, William would never be afforded the opportunity to increase his territorial holdings with possessions in England. Nevertheless, he did have at least one opportunity to imprint himself upon the greatest event in the duchy's history, for according to Orderic, he was present at the great council of ecclesiastics and laymen

⁴⁰ BN, ms. lat. 13701, fol. 169v-170r; ed. *RADN*, no. 209, although Fauroux, believing the manuscript of Guérin (BM (Avranches), fonds Pigeon, ms. 45, p. 384) to have been lost, simply reprinted the edition in Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, p. 672. For a critical edition made only from the Paris manuscript, see *Chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Magloire*, ed. A. Terroine and L. Fossier, 3 vols. (Paris, 1966-1998), i, no. 12.

⁴¹ *OV*, ii, p. 78.

⁴² *RADN*, nos. 137 and 219.

⁴³ *RADN*, no. 220.

⁴⁴ Hennezis, Eure, cant. Les Andelys.

⁴⁵ All three of these places are within the canton of Ourville-en-Caux in the *département* of Seine-Maritime.

⁴⁶ Beaunay, Seine-Maritime, cant. Tôtes.

⁴⁷ Longueil, Seine-Maritime, cant. Offranville. In an act witnessed by the bishop of Évreux, his father Gerard Fleitel donated land at Longueil to Saint-Wandrille with the consent of William of Arques, *RADN*, no. 108.

that met to discuss the invasion, and after which Gilbert son of Osbern was dispatched to Rome.⁴⁸ According to the editors of *Gallia Christiana*, William died shortly thereafter on 11 February.⁴⁹ The origins for this date are unknown, although it is possible that the editors worked from a lost obituary of Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux.⁵⁰ Conversely, the thirteenth-century cathedral obituary commemorates William on 20 April,⁵¹ while a fifteenth-century manuscript records the obit of a bishop G. 'of blessed memory' under the following day,⁵² whom its editors identified as William Fleitel.⁵³ A *Willelmus episcopus* is also remembered in the obituaries of Jumièges, La Croix-Saint-Leufroy and Lyre on one of the three dates between 20 and 22 April, which are probably also references to the bishop of Évreux.⁵⁴ It is also possible that by the fifteenth-century William was honoured with both a commemoration (19 June) and an anniversary (4 November), although it is possible that these celebrations relate to Gilbert son of Osbern, or to one of the later bishops whose name in Latin begins with a 'G'.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ *OV*, ii, pp. 140-142. It is possible that this was the council at Lillebonne mentioned by William of Malmesbury, but in his account the famous papal banner has already been acquired before the meeting, which might suggest a second such gathering, William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 448. Of course, it is possible his chronology is confused.

⁴⁹ *GC*, xi, col. 571.

⁵⁰ A manuscript of Arthur Du Monstier contains the following note in the biography dedicated to William: 'Item que 3 idus Februarii, in obituario abbatiae sancti Salvatoris Ebroicens(is)', BN, ms. lat. 10050, fol. 114r.

⁵¹ BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1773, fol. 2v.

⁵² 'Obitus bonae memoriae domini G. episcopus Ebroicensis', *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 462.

⁵³ 'Idem fort. qui Willelmus in veteri obituario, die 20 Aprilis, dicitur', *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 462 n. 5.

⁵⁴ Guéry, *Histoire de Lyre*, p. 409; *RHGF*, xxiii, pp. 319, 477.

⁵⁵ 'Commemoratio bonae memoriae domini G. episcopi Ebroicensis' and 'Anniversarium bonae memoriae G. episcopi Ebroicensis', *RHGF*, xxiii, pp. 463-464.

Baldwin, 1066-1070

The second shortest-serving eleventh-century bishop of Évreux, Baldwin was previously a ducal chaplain,¹ a position that he had occupied for at least eight years.² His origins are unknown, but he was the first of this rank in the duchy to be promoted to the episcopate, suggesting he must have been particularly close to the duke. It is not impossible that he was from outside Normandy, for not only is his name Flemish in origin and somewhat unusual for the duchy at this time,³ but also at least four other pre-Conquest ducal chaplains are known to have been foreigners.⁴ Despite the brevity of his reign, Baldwin's episcopate is distinguished by his involvement in a number of well documented events. In what was perhaps his first official act as bishop, he attended the dedication of La Trinité de Caen on 18 June 1066,⁵ while the following day he witnessed the donation by the duke, and John of Ivry, of the land of Vièvre to the cathedral of Avranches.⁶ Over just a year later, on 1 July 1067, Baldwin attended another of the great dedications, this time at Jumièges, a ceremony that he performed along with Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen and the other Norman suffragans.⁷ The bishop also visited England at least once in his career, and on 13 April 1069 he witnessed a charter drawn up at Winchester for the French abbey of Saint-Denis.⁸ The reasons behind the trip are unclear, especially since the bishopric of Évreux seems not to have been rewarded with holdings in England, although it may have been prompted either by simple curiosity, or the desire of the Conqueror to have had his side one of his close advisors.⁹

Baldwin is known to have accomplished only one specific act with regards to his diocese, when at some point during the last two years of his life he ordained two

¹ *OV*, ii, p. 254.

² Baldwin witnessed as chaplain a charter for Marmoutier, which can be dated no more precisely than 1052 × 1058, *RADN*, no. 141.

³ Morlet, *Noms de personne*, i, p. 50.

⁴ These include Dudo of Saint-Quentin, who was from the Vermandois; Michael, later bishop of Avranches, who was Italian; Hoël, later bishop of Le Mans, who was Breton, and Isembard, later abbot of La Trinité-du-Mont, who was German. For discussion see Musset, 'La formation d'un milieu social', pp. 101-102.

⁵ *RADN*, no. 231.

⁶ '... quod in Cadomensis ecclesia monachorum in crastino eiusdem dedicacionis celebratum est...', *RADN*, no. 229, p. 440.

⁷ *GND*, ii, p. 172; *OV*, ii, p. 198.

⁸ *Regesta*, no. 254.

⁹ Only Gilbert son of Osbern, bishop of Évreux, is known to have held lands in England by 1086, *LDB*, fol. 388v.

priests of Fécamp, both of whom had been sent to Évreux by their abbot, John of Ravenna.¹⁰ Georges Bonnenfant claimed that, like his predecessor, Baldwin had played some role in the edification of his cathedral,¹¹ while the editors of *Gallia Christiana* incorrectly believed Thomas, archbishop of York, had been a canon of Évreux while he was bishop.¹² In 1099, Gilbert son of Robert, archdeacon of Évreux, donated the church of Saint-Martin de Rouvray to Jumièges ‘pro anima Balduini episcopi Ebroicę urbis’,¹³ but Baldwin’s involvement with his own community was apparently so limited that by the thirteenth century even his date of death had been forgotten.¹⁴ It is thanks only to the obituaries of the abbeys of Lyre and La Croix-Saint-Leufroy, which commemorate the bishop on 23 December that we know the time of Baldwin’s passing.¹⁵

¹⁰ Musset, ‘Notules fécampoises’, p. 596. The benedictions were carried out ‘in diebus Iohannis archiepiscopi’.

¹¹ Bonnenfant, *La cathédrale d’Évreux*, p. 10.

¹² *GC*, xi, col. 572. Thomas did begin his ecclesiastical career at one of the Norman chapters, but it was that of Bayeux, where he was treasurer, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 44.

¹³ AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 1703; ed. *Chartes de l’abbaye de Jumièges*, i, no. xl. Rouvray-Catillon, Seine-Maritime, cant. Forges-les-Eaux.

¹⁴ The thirteenth-century obituary of the cathedral simply records his obit on 20 April, along with bishops Hugh and William Fleitel, BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1773, fol. 2v.

¹⁵ Guéry, *Histoire de Lyre*, p. 421; *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 480. A *Balduinus episcopus* is also commemorated in the Jumièges obituary under 20 December, *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 422.

Gilbert, son of Osbern, 1071-1112

Few patronymics are as famous in the Anglo-Norman world, or as full of pitfalls, as that of ‘filius Osberni’. Instantly evoking two of the Conqueror’s most famous companions, Osbern the steward, and his son, William fitzOsbern, earl of Hereford, its use by medieval scribes has frequently tempted both early modern antiquarians, and modern scholars, to associate with this most prestigious of families individuals otherwise unknown to be related to either man. This is particularly true for Gilbert, bishop of Évreux. Called ‘son of Osbern’ by Orderic Vitalis on only one occasion,¹ generations of historians have claimed that Gilbert was the son of either Osbern or William.² Neither Orderic, nor any other chronicler, nor the diplomatic material, refer to any such relationship, however, or list the bishop among either man’s children.³ In fact, Gilbert is distinguished as an individual by only two other means, namely his association with the church of Lisieux, where he served as archdeacon, and his nickname, ‘the crane’ (*grus*), which was given to him on account of his height.⁴ He did not serve as a royal chaplain.⁵ Of course, it is possible that Gilbert was the son of Osbern, for such a distinguished background would have made him ideally suited to the episcopate, which at this time was occupied by men of the highest noble background, including, if the bishop’s descendance from Osbern is maintained, his uncle, John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen. Furthermore, such an outstanding pedigree was perhaps the reason that the duke chose Gilbert to present the Norman case for the

¹ *OV*, ii, p. 254.

² Le Brasseur, *Histoire du comté d’Évreux*, p. 99 (son of Osbern); A. Chassant, *Histoire des évêques d’Évreux: avec des notes et des armoiries* (Évreux, 1846), p. 40 (son of Osbern); Bonnenfant, *Le diocèse d’Évreux*, i, p. 16 (son of Osbern); Bouet and Dosdat, ‘Les évêques normands’, p. 29 (son of William); K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday people. I, Domesday Book: a prosopography of persons occurring in English documents, 1066-1166* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 212 (son of William); Dosdat, ‘Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle’, p. 233 (son of an illustrious family). Surprisingly, the editors of *Gallia Christiana* resisted the temptation to associate Gilbert with either man (*GC*, xi, col. 572), and while David Spear chose not to name Gilbert directly as the son of either Osbern or William, he did repeat the claim, which is again a modern fabrication, that Gilbert was known as ‘of Breteuil’, a toponym intimately linked with William fitzOsbern, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 134. Marjorie Chibnall also chose not to evoke a link between Gilbert and either William or Osbern, although she did translate ‘Gislebertus Osberni filius’ as Gilbert fitzOsbern, rather than Gilbert son of Osbern, *OV*, ii, p. 254.

³ Osbern is known to have had three children: William, Osbern, later bishop of Exeter, and Emma, *RADN*, no. 118; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, pt. 2, p. 1041. William is known to have had five children: William de Breteuil, Roger of Hereford, Emma, an unnamed daughter, and an illegitimate son, Rodulf, *GND*, ii, pp. 146, 226; *OV*, ii, pp. 282-284.

⁴ *OV*, ii, p. 254; v, p. 22.

⁵ Misidentified by Stephanie Mooers (Christelow), ‘Chancellors and curial bishops’, p. 55. The person to whom she refers is a laymen Gilbert d’Évreux, who, along with his son, was a treasurer under Henry I, Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 108-109.

invasion of England to the pope in early 1066,⁶ although given the high calibre of men known to have held capitular positions in Lisieux at this time, he may simply have been the best man for the job.⁷ It seems strange that Orderic, and others like him, chose not to mention any relationship between Gilbert and the earl of Hereford, while the prevalence of the name Osbern within England and Normandy means another parentage cannot be ruled out.⁸

Whatever Gilbert's heritage, he soon proved himself to be an active, and extremely capable, member of the episcopate. It is possible that it was in the wake of his consecration that, along with the king, queen, their sons, two other Norman bishops, and 'many members of the court' (*pluribus curialibus*), he witnessed a charter issued in Rouen by the archbishop for the abbey of Saint-Denis,⁹ while according to the editors of *Gallia Christiana* he subscribed another act for the abbey of Bernay in the same year.¹⁰ This, however, is probably a confused reference to a later charter issued for the house.¹¹ It was perhaps also in these opening years, and certainly no later than 1082 × 1086, that Gilbert dedicated the church of Notre-Dame de Vernon,¹² a foundation which, if the bishop was the son of either Osbern the steward or William fitzOsbern, had been established by William de Vernon, who was either his brother-in-law or uncle, respectively.¹³ Gilbert continued to be a frequent visitor to the Norman capital in his early years, and not only participated in both of

⁶ *OV*, ii, p. 142.

⁷ Orderic Vitalis lists a group of 'distinguished priests and renowned archdeacons and canons in the church of Lisieux' that operated under Gilbert Maminot, *OV*, iii, p. 20.

⁸ Over thirty men named Osbern appear in the Conqueror's royal charters, while another twenty-five are registered in various eleventh-century English documents, including Domesday Book, *Regesta*, p. 1109; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday people*, pp. 314-318.

⁹ *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, i, pp. 375-376. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

¹⁰ *GC*, xi, col. 572.

¹¹ Le Brasseur, who also dates the act to 1071, describes it as '*la donation que le Seigneur de Bolbec et ses enfants firent à l'Abbaïe de Bernay*' (*Histoire du comté d'Évreux*, p. 99), which could be a poor description of *Regesta*, no. 30.

¹² Vernon, Eure, chef-lieu. The details of the dedication are found in a twelfth-century charter (1186), which was issued by Richard de Vernon, and which confirmed the gift of his *antecessor*, William de Vernon: 'Sciant presentes ac futuri, quod ego Richardus de Vernone pro salute animae meae, antecessorum et successorum meorum, concedo, de proprio sigillo confirmo donationem, quam primis Guillelmus de Vernone, antecessor meus, cuius corpus in ecclesia de Vernone iacet, donavit ecclesia Vernonensi, quando Gislebertus Ebroicensis episcopus eam dedicavit', AD Eure, G 288; BN, ms. lat. 10050, fol. 115v; Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 74, p. 391. For the date of William de Vernon's death (1082 × 1086), and that of the foundation of the collegiate church at Vernon, which may have been as early as 1072, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 236 n. 334; D. Power, *The Norman frontier in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 330.

¹³ William was married to Emma, the daughter of Osbern, *Regesta*, no. 234.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1071 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 165	La Croix-Saint-Leufroy			x	
1071	<i>Nouveau traité de diplomatie</i> , i, pp. 375-376	Saint-Denis	Rouen		x	x
c. 1072 × 1082/6	AD Eure, G 288 (act dated 1186)	Notre-Dame de Vernon	Vernon			x
1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 27	Bayeux cathedral		x		
May 1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 261	Saint-Wandrille	Rouen		x	
1076	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 179a	Saint-Désir de Lisieux	Rouen	x	x	
25 July 1077	AD Calvados, 2 Fi 231	Saint-Désir de Lisieux	Lisieux			x
1080/1 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 53	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		
1080 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 281(II)	Troarn			x	
1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 257	Saint-Gabriel (priory)	Caen	x	x	
7 Jan. 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267(I)	Saint-Florent de Saumur		x		
12 April 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 235	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen		x		
2 June 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 30	Bernay	Bonneville	x		
14 July 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175(II)	Lessay			x	
1081 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 54	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1081 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 49	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 59(I&II)	Saint-Étienne de Caen	Oissel		x	
15 Sept. 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 264	Saint-Wandrille	Fécamp	x		
April 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 230	Rouen cathedral		x		
18 July 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 64(I,II,III)	La Trinité de Caen	Rouen	x		
1084	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 248	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1087 × 1089	<i>Cartulaire de Beaumont-le-Roger</i> , no. i*	Beaumont-le-Roger				x
1087 × 1089	<i>Cartulaire de Beaumont-le-Roger</i> , no. ii	Beaumont-le-Roger				x
7 July 1088	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 4a	Fécamp			x	
[July] 1089	<i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. vi	Bayeux	Eu (during siege)		x	
20 July 1089	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r	Saint-Étienne de Caen	Eu (during siege)		x	
1091 × 1095	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 7	Jumièges	Lisieux		x	
1 June 1091 × 28 Feb. 1092	BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r	Bec			x	
1091	BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 57v	Bec	Rouen	x		
15 July 1096	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 19-20**	Saint-Lucien de Beauvais	Rouen		x	
13 Nov. 1099	BN, ms. lat. 11056, fol. 33v-34r	Saint-Évroult	Saint-Évroult	x		
1102 × 1106	<i>Cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire</i> , no. 97, p. 70 ⁺	Marcigny-sur-Loire		x		
1102 × 1112	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , ii, no. xxvii, pp. 534-536	Saint-Père de Chartres				x
7 Nov. 1106	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 127-128	Fécamp	Rouen	x		

Fig. 42 Appearances of Gilbert son of Osbern, bishop of Évreux (1071-1112), in the diplomatic record⁺⁺

* *Cartulaire de l'église de la Sainte-Trinité de Beaumont-le-Roger*, ed. E. Deville (Paris, 1912).

** It is assumed that the bishop is the *Gislebertus* whose attestation appears between that of the archbishop of Rouen and bishop of Lisieux.

⁺ *Le cartulaire de Marcigny-sur-Loire (1045-1144): essai de reconstitution d'un manuscrit disparu*, ed. J. Richard (Dijon, 1957).

⁺⁺ Gilbert may also be the bishop mentioned in *Regesta*, nos. 143 and 198, while he also appears in a forged charter of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, *Regesta*, no. 245. The William, bishop of Évreux, who witnessed a post-Conquest charter for Lyre is probably a confused reference to Gilbert, *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 124-125. Cf. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21812, fol. 114v, 116v, which confirms that *Gallia's* transcription is accurate.

John of Ivry's great reforming councils,¹⁴ but also witnessed charters issued at Rouen for the abbeys of Saint-Wandrille and Saint-Désir de Lisieux,¹⁵ as well as one for the cathedral of Bayeux.¹⁶

Of course, Gilbert was never negligent of duties within his own city, and his greatest contribution in this regard was the completion and dedication of his cathedral.¹⁷ Unfortunately, much confusion surrounds the details of this ceremony, with three different traditions providing conflicting and misleading accounts. The first, which is based upon a misreading of Orderic,¹⁸ claims that Gilbert welcomed Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas, archbishop of York, on their return from Rome in 1072 (the journey actually occurred in autumn 1071),¹⁹ at which point they consecrated the cathedral.²⁰ The second seems to be an invention of the editors of *Gallia Christiana* who state, without reference, that the dedication took place in 1076.²¹ This misdating seems to be an attempt to reconcile Orderic's confused account, which places the return of the archbishops of York and Canterbury in 1077, and which also states that John, archbishop of Rouen, who was paralysed by a stroke in the summer of 1077, performed not only the dedication of Évreux, but also those of the cathedral of Bayeux, and (incorrectly) the abbeys of Bec and Saint-Étienne de Caen. The date of 1076, which could, it is true, be based upon a lost document, is that preferred by historians of the diocese, as well as some modern scholars.²² Despite the

¹⁴ *OV*, ii, pp. 284-286; Mansi, xx, col. 399.

¹⁵ *Regesta*, nos. 179a, 261.

¹⁶ *Regesta*, no. 27. This charter is dated no more precisely than 1074, but the similarities between this document and *Regesta*, no. 26 (issued in Rouen on 30 November 1074), suggest that they are probably products of the same time and place.

¹⁷ *OV*, vi, p. 174.

¹⁸ The monk of Saint-Évroult precedes the account of the dedication with a description of the archbishops' return from Rome, which he states occurred during the pontificate of Gregory VII, rather than Alexander II, while he also claims that Lanfranc and Thomas were welcomed back 'in the year of our Lord 1077', *OV*, iii, p. 10.

¹⁹ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, pp. 118-119; Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: scholar*, pp. 88-89.

²⁰ *GC*, xi, col. 572 (which simply states Gilbert received Lanfranc and Thomas); Le Brasseur, *Histoire du comté d'Évreux*, p. 99; B. Winkles, *French cathedrals: with an historical and descriptive account* (London, 1837), p. 126; D'Aviron, *Mémorial des évêques d'Évreux*, p. 33; L. Régnier, 'Fouilles dans le chœur de la cathédrale d'Évreux', *La Correspondance historique et archéologique*, 16 (1895), pp. 97-99, at p. 97. Bonnenfant prefers the date 1076, but notes that Orderic gives 'la date de 1072 avec Lanfranc comme consécrateur', Bonnenfant, *La cathédrale d'Évreux*, p. 10.

²¹ *GC*, xi, col. 572.

²² Chassant, *Histoire des évêques d'Évreux*, p. 40; Bonnenfant, *La cathédrale d'Évreux*, p. 10; Bonnenfant, *Le diocèse d'Évreux*, i, p. 16; A.-A. Porée, *Les sépultures des évêques d'Évreux* (Évreux, 1891), p. 6; J. Fossey, *Monographie de la cathédrale d'Évreux* (Évreux, 1898), p. 18; Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 29; P. Bauduin, *Atlas historique des villes de France. Évreux* (Paris, 1997), p. 2.

contradictions of Orderic's account, however, the year 1077 remains the most likely date for the consecration. Indeed, since the monk of Saint-Évroult is right about the other three dedications he places in this year (Bec, Saint-Étienne de Caen and Bayeux), there seems little reason to doubt him.²³ Moreover, we can propose a *terminus ad quem* of 17 July for the service, for if John of Ivry did indeed perform the consecration, he must have done so at a date before his incapacitating stroke.²⁴ Unfortunately, nothing survives of Gilbert's church, which was burned to the ground by Henry I in 1119.²⁵

The consecration of his cathedral was not the only ceremony of this kind that Gilbert attended in 1077. Although one cannot place the bishop of Évreux among those definitely at the dedication of Bayeux cathedral on 14 July 1077, it would be strange if he had not been in attendance,²⁶ for not only does Orderic state that the suffragans of Normandy assisted in all the dedications of 1077,²⁷ but Gilbert was with one of those men, Robert d'Eu, known to have been at Bayeux, when he, along with the bishop of Sées, consecrated the abbey of Saint-Désir de Lisieux at the same time as Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux, was buried there.²⁸ The bishop of Évreux was probably also at the dedication of Saint-Étienne de Caen on 13 September 1077,²⁹ while he was certainly at that of the abbey of Bec just over one month later, on 23 October.³⁰ In fact, Gilbert was frequently involved with affairs at Bec, and not only

²³ Bouvris, 'La dédicace de Bayeux', pp. 15-16.

²⁴ John's attack of apoplexy occurred sometime between 17 and 25 July 1077, *OV*, iii, pp. 16-18.

²⁵ *OV*, vi, pp. 228, 260. A reconstitution of the Romanesque cathedral can be found in Fossey, *Monographie d'Évreux*, between pp. 22-23.

²⁶ The known attendees include the king and queen, their sons Robert and William, the archbishops of Canterbury, Rouen and York, the bishops of Bayeux and Coutances, Robert Grandmesnil, abbot of Sant'Eufemia d'Aspromonte, Robert, count of Eu, Hugh de Montfort, and perhaps Richard, son of Gilbert, count of Brionne, Bouvris, 'La dédicace de Bayeux', p. 12.

²⁷ *OV*, iii, p. 12.

²⁸ The evidence concerning Gilbert's attendance at the dedication of Saint-Désir comes from a photograph of a charter destroyed in 1944. According to this document, Robert, count of Eu, made a donation to the abbey in 1076 'on the day of this church's dedication, the day that Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, the brother of the aforementioned count, was buried in the presence of the bishops Gilbert of Évreux and Robert of Sées' ('...in die dedicationis ipsius basilice, die qua humatus est in ea Hugo Lexoviensis episcopus supradicti comitis frater in presentia episcoporum Gisleberti Ebroensium, Rotberti Sagiensium...', AD Calvados, 2 Fi 231). We know, however, that Hugh was buried on 25 July 1077, *OV*, iii, p. 18. For discussion, see Bouvris, 'La dédicace de Bayeux', p. 13. For a brief discussion of the photograph, which was originally in the collection of Chanoine Simon, before passing via M. Leconte d'Ymouville to Pierre Chaplais, see L. Musset, 'Les problèmes de l'église de Vieux-Pont-en-Auge', *Le Pays d'Auge*, 17 (1967), pp. 3-11, at p. 4 n. 5.

²⁹ *GC*, xi, col. 572. For discussion of the dating of this dedication, see Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, pp. 14-15.

³⁰ *Chronique du Bec*, p. 3.

presided over the funeral of Herluin in autumn 1078,³¹ but also blessed Anselm as the new abbot on 22 February 1079.³² The degree to which Gilbert participated in these events is probably to be explained by the incapacitation of the archbishop of Rouen, a point *De libertate* makes clear,³³ but it no doubt also testifies to Gilbert's standing as a bishop. Both the bishoprics of Bayeux and Avranches ranked ahead of Évreux in the Norman ecclesiastical hierarchy, yet Gilbert was chosen to perform these offices, while when Anselm was elected to Canterbury, it was to him that he entrusted the abbey's wellbeing.³⁴

It was not only at Bec, however, that Gilbert acted as a replacement for the archbishop of Rouen. On 24 August 1078, he officiated the feast day Mass of Saint-Ouen in the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen. John of Ivry was present among the congregation, but the archbishop was in such a poor state of health that he had to be removed halfway through the Gospel reading.³⁵ Gilbert's presence in the city is easily explained, for he would have already officiated at Vespers the day before the feast itself, as was stipulated in the agreement forged between the archbishop of Rouen and the abbot of Saint-Ouen concerning the feast's regulations.³⁶ Nevertheless, Gilbert continued to take precedence among his episcopal colleagues in similar circumstances, and when William Bona Anima was chosen as the new archbishop of Rouen, it was he who consecrated him in Rouen cathedral,³⁷ while three years later Gilbert also consecrated Gerard, the former dean of Évreux, as the new bishop of Sées.³⁸ As this last statement suggests, the cathedral chapter had also begun to increase under Gilbert, and although it is still difficult to name canons at the cathedral

³¹ Gilbert Crispin, 'Vita Herluini', in *The works of Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster*, ed. A. Sapir Abulafia and G.R. Evans (Oxford, 1986), pp. 183-212, at p. 212.

³² 'De libertate Beccensis', p. 140; *Chronique du Bec*, p. 4.

³³ The author states that Rouen 'was without a pastor' (*absque pastore erat*), 'De libertate Beccensis', p. 138.

³⁴ 'Ecclesiam Beccensem, quam plusquam vitam corporis mei dilexi, et diligo et quam tristis tristem de mei amissione, quantum ad corporalem praesentiam, non dubito, vestrae pietatis consilio et auxilio, veluti animam meam, toto cordis affectu, lacrymis fluentibus, commendo', *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iii, no. 159, ll. 89-92. The bishop of Évreux was, however, clearly unhappy at Anselm's election as English primate, and in a letter that has since been lost, seems to have expressed concern that the abbot of Bec had accepted the post too willingly. Despite this, Gilbert and Anselm seem to have been close, with the archbishop-elect calling his colleague 'my reverend father' ('reverende mi pater et domine'; 'mi reverende pater') on more than one occasion, and welcoming Gilbert's counsel on his election.

³⁵ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 226.

³⁶ 'Precedenti igitur die festivitatis cum ab Ebroicensis episcopo et eiusdem loci monachis vespere finitę fuerint...', AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 156.

³⁷ *OV*, iii, p. 22.

³⁸ *GC*, xi, col. 682.

during his tenure, the diaconal and archidiaconal infrastructure soon became well established,³⁹ while the existence of a chanter (Hugh) provides partial proof of the means by which, according to Orderic, Gilbert secured the regular performance of the divine office.⁴⁰

Regrettably, due to the almost total destruction of the early diplomatic material of Évreux, it is impossible to document in full Gilbert's contribution to his cathedral's possessions. It is possible that, despite the best efforts of his predecessors,⁴¹ the holdings of his bishopric remained severely limited upon his election. It was perhaps on account of these circumstances that on 12 April 1080 the bishop tried to claim the island of Oissel from the abbey of La Trinité du Mont de Rouen.⁴² This land, which had played a key role in the establishment of the Scandinavian presence in the region and remained an important ducal stronghold, would have been particularly valuable, with its forest covered plateau rich in game.⁴³ Unfortunately, while the Conqueror was willing to hear the case because of the esteem in which he held Gilbert (*ob reverentiam episcalis personę*), the bishop was unsuccessful in his claim, and before a large gathering of dignitaries, including the archbishops of Bourges, Rouen and Vienne, the king ruled in the abbey's favour.⁴⁴ Besides the *placitum* concerning Oissel, only fragments survive of Gilbert's diplomatic activities with regards to either his, or neighbouring, churches. A charter of Ouen, bishop of Évreux, confirmed land in the diocese which had been given to the abbey of Coulombs in the time of Gilbert, though the seventeenth-century note is so poor that no specifics are known,⁴⁵ while at some time between 1102 × 1112, Gilbert consented to the donation of the church of Chandai⁴⁶ within his diocese to the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres.⁴⁷ Little Domesday records that the bishop also held lands in Suffolk within the hundred of

³⁹ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 136-137, 140-141, 146.

⁴⁰ OV, vi, p. 174.

⁴¹ For discussion, see above p. 221.

⁴² Oissel, Seine-Maritime, cant. Saint-Étienne-du-Rouvray.

⁴³ L. Coutil, *Armes et parures scandinaves trouvées à Rouen, Oissel et Pîtres* (Rouen, 1913), pp. 3-11. For a reassessment of Oissel's role in some of the Northmen raids of the ninth century, see C.M. Gillmor, 'Aimon's *Miracula sancti Germani* and the Viking raids on St. Denis and St. Germain-des-Prés', in *The Normans and their adversaries at war: essays in memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. R.P. Abels and B.S. Bachrach (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 103-128, at pp. 107-111.

⁴⁴ *Regesta*, no. 235.

⁴⁵ BN, ms. fr. 24133, p. 135; ed. Combalbert, 'Chartes des évêques d'Évreux', no. 9, p. 119. I have been unable to improve upon this transcription.

⁴⁶ Chandai, Eure, cant. L'Aigle-Est.

⁴⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ii, no. xxvii, pp. 534-536, at p. 535.

Wilford,⁴⁸ yet these possessions are insignificant, especially when one considers that Gilbert is often supposed to be related to one of the greatest Domesday tenants-in-chief, William fitzOsbern.⁴⁹

Like many of his contemporaries, Gilbert disappears entirely from the diplomatic record during the final years of the Conqueror's reign.⁵⁰ His last known attendance alongside the king dates from 1084, when in the abbey of Saint-Ouen he witnessed a series of donations made to this house by a certain Arnulf *Villensis*.⁵¹ Unlike some of his episcopal colleagues, however, his activities in the years immediately following this appearance are more difficult to trace. Pierre Le Brasseur claimed that Gilbert 'reçût la fondation de l'Abbaïe d'Ivry' in 1085,⁵² although this house was actually founded in 1071, with no bishop of Évreux known to have had any express role.⁵³ Gilbert was active in this year, however, for in November he buried Richer de l'Aigle in the priory of Saint-Sulpice-sur-Risle after the lord of L'Aigle had been killed besieging the castle of Sainte-Suzanne.⁵⁴ Naturally, this was not the only occasion on which Gilbert interacted with one of the most powerful families in his diocese,⁵⁵ and the bishop not only presided over the funeral of Richer's brother on 28 February 1091,⁵⁶ but also conceded to a donation along with his successor, Gilbert I, sometime after 1102.⁵⁷ It may be, however, that despite the prominence of the L'Aigle in the region, they had turned to the bishop for familial interments on account of his reputation for funeral oration. Indeed, Gilbert's various sepulchral duties are well

⁴⁸ Little Domesday, fol. 388v.

⁴⁹ Gilbert seems to have managed his possessions more than competently, however, increasing the value of 'Udeham' from £2 to £12.

⁵⁰ Of the seven Norman bishops only Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, continues to appear in the royal diplomatic record after 1084. The remaining bishops, except Odo of Bayeux, who had been imprisoned in 1082, make their last appearances in either 1083 or 1084 (Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux (*Regesta*, no. 284), Michael, bishop of Avranches (*Regesta*, no. 252), William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen (*Regesta*, no. 230)). Gerard, bishop of Sées, is almost entirely absent from the historical record at this time.

⁵¹ *Regesta*, no. 248.

⁵² Le Brasseur, *Histoire du comté d'Évreux*, p. 106.

⁵³ *GC*, xi, col. 652; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, p. 139 n. 1; AD Eure, G 1797, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁴ *OV*, iv, p. 50.

⁵⁵ For the lords of L'Aigle and their foundation of Saint-Suplice, see J.-M. Bouvris, 'Les plus anciennes chartes du prieuré de Saint-Sulpice près de l'Aigle, dépendance normande de l'abbaye de Saint-Laudmer de Blois (XIe-XIIe siècles)', *AN*, 31 (1981), pp. 327-330 reprinted as J.-M. Bouvris, 'Autour des origines du prieuré de Saint-Sulpice-sur-Risle', *Les amis de l'Aigle*, 9 (1983), pp. 1-6; K. Thompson, 'The lords of Laigle: ambition and insecurity on the borders of Normandy', *ANS*, 18 (1996), pp. 177-199.

⁵⁶ *OV*, iv, p. 202.

⁵⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ii, no. xxvii, p. 535.

documented. Gilbert Crispin praised his namesake as a man ‘great in the knowledge of letters’ at the time of the burial of Herluin of Bec,⁵⁸ while the bishop of Évreux not only delivered the funeral oration for William the Conqueror at Caen in 1087,⁵⁹ but may have also composed the epitaph for Odo, bishop of Bayeux, whom he buried in Palermo in 1097.⁶⁰

It was perhaps Gilbert’s association with the lords of L’Aigle, who were themselves relied upon by Curthose,⁶¹ that explains why the bishop was one of the first among the Norman episcopate to appear alongside the new duke.⁶² Indeed, although Stephanie Mooers did not place Gilbert among the men who witnessed the duke’s acts most often,⁶³ the bishop should undoubtedly be considered as one of those who formed a close and constant group around Curthose, for he makes six appearances at the duke’s side between 1088 and 1096, even accompanying him on siege.⁶⁴ Gilbert was also seemingly in attendance at the council of 1091, which elected Serlo d’Orgères as the new bishop of Sées,⁶⁵ at which time he witnessed a charter of the archbishop of Rouen for Bec,⁶⁶ as well as another of the bishop of Avranches for his church.⁶⁷ Furthermore, unlike many of his colleagues, Gilbert even took an interest in Curthose’s most famous venture, and not only attended the councils of Clermont in 1095 and of Rouen in 1096, whose decrees he helped promulgate, but also chose to depart with the duke on Crusade.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, little is known of the bishop’s Crusade experience, except that in February 1097 he presided over the funeral of Odo of Bayeux in the presence of Robert, count of Sicily.⁶⁹ It is even unclear whether Gilbert ever completed the Crusade, but if he did, he returned far more quickly than

⁵⁸ ‘... magnaëque litterarum scientiæ’, Gilbert Crispin, ‘Vita Herluini’, p. 212.

⁵⁹ *OV*, iv, p. 104.

⁶⁰ *OV*, v, p. 210; Dosdat, ‘Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle’, p. 234.

⁶¹ Thompson, ‘The lords of Laigle’, p. 182.

⁶² Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix E, no. 4a. This act is dated 7 July 1088.

⁶³ S. Mooers (Christelow), ‘“Backers and Stabbers”: problems of loyalty in Robert Curthose’s entourage’, *Journal of British Studies*, 21 (1981), pp. 1-17, at p. 6.

⁶⁴ Gilbert witnessed, along with the duke, an agreement between the abbeys of Saint-Étienne de Caen and Saint-Bénigne de Dijon on 20 July 1089 ‘apud castrum quod Au cum dicitur dum ibi sederem in obsidione’, AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r. A similar clause appears in the confirmation issued by Curthose assenting to the restoration of the abbey of Saint-Vigor-le-Grand by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, which was witnessed by many of the same individuals, including the bishop of Évreux, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. vi.

⁶⁵ *OV*, iv, p. 252.

⁶⁶ BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

⁶⁷ BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 57v. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

⁶⁸ *OV*, v, pp. 18-24.

⁶⁹ *OV*, v, p. 210.

many of his comrades, for by 13 November 1099 the bishop was back in the duchy to help dedicate the abbey of Saint-Évroult.⁷⁰

Of course, Gilbert's participation in the Crusade leads naturally to the question of his motives. He had attended Clermont along with Odo of Bayeux and Serlo, bishop of Sées, two individuals at opposite ends of the Norman ecclesiastical spectrum. To which man did Gilbert have the closer affinity? Was he like Serlo, a person whose presence at Clermont was undoubtedly based on religious principles, or was the bishop of Évreux more like Odo, a member of the upper Norman aristocracy who viewed the Crusade as an opportunity for wealth and adventure, much as England had been thirty years earlier? Regrettably, none of the contemporary chroniclers offer comment on Gilbert's intentions,⁷¹ though the bishop was not unaccustomed to operating on a wider European level. In the months shortly after the council of Rouen, he had written to Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, petitioning the papal legate regarding the wrongful imprisonment by Urson, the king's *dapifer*, of his parishioner (*parochianum eius*), a certain Roger, who had been on Easter pilgrimage to Vézelay (*sanctam Mariam Magdalenam de Vizeliaco*) and Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (*sanctum Aegidium*).⁷² Unfortunately, none of the individuals involved in this affair can be identified elsewhere. Urson was presumably *dapifer* to Philip I, although he was unknown to Maurice Prou,⁷³ and while the reasons for the arrest are not repeated by Hugh, the crime was serious enough for the archbishop of Lyons to place Urson, and his family, under an interdict, and to ask that Ivo of Chartres, who had assumed the responsibilities of the recently deceased archbishop of Sens (Richer II), do the same.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ *OV*, v, pp. 264-266. The cartulary of Saint-Évroult also contains a charter, witnessed by Gilbert, which it claims was issued on the day of the dedication: '... ipso die quo ecclesiam sancti Ebrulfi ipsi tres dedicauerunt', BN, ms. lat. 11056, fol. 33v-34r, at fol. 34r. However, since this was issued in the name of Richer de l'Aigle, and was witnessed by his brothers Gilbert and Robert, this is chronologically impossible. It may be, however, that this text represents a conflation of two different charters, and that the bishops of Lisieux, Évreux and Sées simply confirmed the charter which Richer had issued for the abbey sometime before his death in 1085, *OV*, v, p. 268 n. 1; Thompson, 'The lords of Laigle', p. 180 n. 12.

⁷¹ Orderic claimed that Odo chose to take the cross because of the enmity between him and Rufus (*OV*, v, p. 208), though there is no evidence that Gilbert and the English king were ever at odds.

⁷² The details of Gilbert's correspondence with the archbishop of Lyons are conserved in a letter sent by Hugh to Ivo, bishop of Chartres, Hugh of Lyons, 'Epistolae', no. xvii, Migne, *PL*, clvii, col. 520.

⁷³ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059-1108)*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908), pp. cxxxvi-cxli. There was also no *dapifer* by that name under Philip's successor, *Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France, 1108-1137*, ed. J. Dufour, 4 vols. (Paris, 1992-1994), iii, pp. 155-157.

⁷⁴ '... cuius parochianus esse dicitur, quique vices defuncti archiepiscopi Senonensis geritis', Hugh of Lyons, 'Epistolae', no. xvii, col. 520. It is this information that allows us to date the events to 1096. However, since Richer II, archbishop of Sens, died on 27 December of this year (*Obituaires de Sens*, i,

Roger's intended course is, however, of interest, for his final destination was a well-known point of departure for Rome, Santiago de Compostela, and the Holy Land.⁷⁵ Given Gilbert's interest in this matter, and the fact that the events could date to 1097,⁷⁶ it is possible he had encouraged Roger to undertake this journey, and that he had even summoned his parishioner to join him on Crusade.⁷⁷ If this were the case, then his actions suggest Gilbert viewed such activities as the source of spiritual, rather than financial, rewards.

The bishop of Évreux continued to receive correspondence from other of his European episcopal colleagues following his return from the East. It was to Gilbert that Ivo of Chartres turned concerning the difficulties in the diocese of Lisieux following Gilbert Maminot's death, which implies his diocesan neighbour held the bishop in some high regard, and that he felt Gilbert would be as appalled by the situation in Lisieux as he was.⁷⁸ Gilbert's reaction to Anselm's election as archbishop of Canterbury is very much one that would be expected from a serious churchman, concerned with the spiritual ramifications of the manner in which Anselm had ascended to the archiepiscopate,⁷⁹ and suggests that he perhaps had much in common with the bishop of Chartres, who had himself become a central figure in the investiture debate.⁸⁰ Elsewhere, Gilbert Crispin speaks very highly of his namesake,⁸¹ while a fifteenth-century manuscript, which itself seems to have been copied from a

pt. i, p. 3) and was replaced by his successor in January 1097, it seems that the archbishop of Lyons responded fairly slowly to Gilbert's petition. It may be, however, that Hugh, who had clashed with Richer at Clermont over the primacy of Lyons (Mansi, xx, col. 828), had felt unable to act until the archdiocese was vacant.

⁷⁵ M. Girault, *Les chemins de Saint-Gilles: itinéraires de pèlerinage* (Nîmes, 1990).

⁷⁶ Although Daimbert, archbishop of Sens, was elected by his canons in January 1097, but Ivo of Chartres refused to consent to his consecration. The archbishop was only finally recognised in March 1098, *GC*, xii, cols. 41-42. However, if Hugh's letter to Ivo does date from this time, it seems strange that he should refer to the death of Archbishop Richer, rather than make any reference to Daimbert and the problems surrounding his consecration.

⁷⁷ Gilbert was still only in Palermo by February 1097, and with Easter Sunday falling on 5 April that year, may have intended to rendezvous with Roger in Sicily. Interestingly, the dean of Évreux at this time was Roger (Spear, *The personnel*, p. 137), but had this been the individual in question, Hugh of Lyons would surely have referred to him as such.

⁷⁸ Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cliii, col. 157.

⁷⁹ Unfortunately, Gilbert's original letter has been lost, but Anselm's response, in which he defends his election at length, and asks that Gilbert might 'defend me before others from suspicion of ambition' ('... apud alios fiducialiter me defendatis a praedictae cupiditatis suspicione') is telling of his reaction, *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iv, no. 159, ll. 87-88.

⁸⁰ For the clearest expression of Ivo's views on investiture, see his famous letter to Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. lx, cols. 70-75.

⁸¹ 'Advenit, et totum exsequiale officium celeberrime egit Ebroicensis episcopus, honestae vitae, magnaue litterarum scientiae, vir venerandus Gislebertus', Gilbert Crispin, 'Vita Herluini', p. 212.

twelfth-century codex,⁸² lists a *Gislebertus episcopus*, identified by Porée as our bishop,⁸³ among the *fratrum familiarum* of the monks of Bec, which is itself composed of names from among the great and the good of Normandy, as well as wider Europe.⁸⁴

Despite such a reputation Gilbert seemed powerless to counteract the worst excesses of Curthose's reign. The situation in Lisieux would only be finally resolved with the arrival of Henry I as duke, but despite his restoration of stability in the duchy, Gilbert's final years are remarkable only for his complete disappearance from the historical record. He appears alongside Henry on only one occasion,⁸⁵ perhaps further proof of a close relationship between the bishop and Curthose of which the new duke did not approve, while it is also possible that his appearance in a charter for Saint-Père de Chartres dates from this time.⁸⁶ According to Orderic Vitalis, Gilbert died on 29 August 1112,⁸⁷ and while the year is confirmed by the annals of Saint-Évroult,⁸⁸ the obituaries of Évreux cathedral and Saint-Évroult give the date as 27 August,⁸⁹ while those of Lyre and Jumièges commemorate him on the following day.⁹⁰ The bishop was buried in the cathedral which he had helped complete, while according to Charles-Arthur Guéry, his tomb was discovered on 14 April 1891 between the two pillars of the second arcade on the left of the choir, opposite the chapel of Saint-Claude (fig. 43). Measuring 1m 90 (6'2"), which itself seems to confirm Orderic's anecdote about Gilbert's height, the sarcophagus was found to contain only the maxilla bone with two teeth, a thin iron crosier and a bronze ring.⁹¹ Jules Fossey claimed that these items could be found, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the Bibliothèque de l'Évêché,⁹² although it has proved impossible to determine

⁸² BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 57v.

⁸³ Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, i, p. 177.

⁸⁴ Vatican Library, ms. Regina lat. 499, fol. 24r-29v, at fol. 24r. Slightly different versions of this list can be found in BN, ms. lat. 5427, fol. 149r-v (Gilbert at fol. 149r) and BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 57v.

⁸⁵ GC, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 127-128.

⁸⁶ *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ii, no. xxvii, pp. 534-536. The act, however, can be dated no more accurately than 1102 × 1112.

⁸⁷ OV, vi, p. 172.

⁸⁸ 'Annales Uticensis', in *Orderici Vitalis Angligenae, Coenobii Uticensis Monachi, Historiae ecclesiasticae libri tredecim*, ed. A. Le Prévost, 5 vols. (Paris, 1838-1855), v, p. 158

⁸⁹ BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1773, fol. 4v; *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 488.

⁹⁰ Guéry, *Histoire de Lyre*, p. 415; *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 421.

⁹¹ C. Guéry, 'Découverte de trois sépultures dans la cathédrale d'Évreux', *Recueil des travaux de la Société libre d'agriculture, sciences, arts et belles-lettres du département de l'Eure*, 9 (1892), pp. 172-183, at pp. 172-176.

⁹² Fossey, *Monographie d'Évreux*, p. 20.



Fig. 43 The unmarked location of the tomb discovered in 1891, thought to be that of Gilbert son of Osbern, bishop of Évreux (photo R. Allen)

whether these artefacts are to be found among the holdings of this institution's successor, the Musée de l'Ancien Evêché.⁹³ Fortunately, Fossey provided a few details about the crosier, claiming it looked similar to those discovered during excavations at the abbey of Saint-Amand de Rouen in 1856,⁹⁴ one of which dates from the early twelfth century.⁹⁵

Unlike some of its neighbouring dioceses, however, the bishopric of Évreux emerged from the disorder of Curthose's reign relatively unscathed. Gilbert was succeeded by Ouen in 1113, who would govern the see for twenty-six years. The brother of Thurstan, archbishop of York (1114-1140), the new bishop was a member of one of the most remarkable twelfth-century Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical families, and was a constant figure in the courts of both Henry I and Stephen.⁹⁶ His episcopate was generally marked by growth and prosperity, although in 1119 the city of Évreux would suffer a terrible blow, when it was completely burned to the ground by Henry I, who was besieging Amaury de Montfort within its walls. Ouen consented to the devastation, but only after he secured from Henry the promise that he would rebuild what he destroyed on an even grander scale.⁹⁷ Much of Gilbert's work was, of course, undone in a matter of hours, but under the succession of bishops that replaced Ouen, the city and diocese would rarely want again.

⁹³ Repeated attempts to contact the museum's curators, Mme Laurence Le Cieux and M. Cédric Pannevel, have proved fruitless, while the only crosiers and episcopal ring to appear permanently on display at the museum date from the thirteenth century onwards. It has also proved impossible to determine whether a readily available inventory of the museum's permanent collection exists.

⁹⁴ Fossey, *Monographie d'Évreux*, p. 20 n. 1.

⁹⁵ *Trésors des abbayes normandes (Rouen-Caen 1979)*, ed. J. Le Maho (Rouen, 1979), pp. 244-247; E. Chirol, 'Crosses de deux abbesses de Saint-Amand', *Bulletin de la Commission des antiquités de la Seine-Maritime*, 25 (1964-1965), pp. 209-221.

⁹⁶ D. Spear, 'L'évêque Ouen d'Évreux et l'archevêque Thurstan d'York: une famille ecclésiastique anglo-normande', *Études normandes*, 3 (1986), pp. 21-27.

⁹⁷ *OV*, vi, pp. 228-230.

LISIEUX

Roger, before 985 × 989-c. 1022

The disruption caused by the Northmen incursions in Lisieux was great. The last bishop known to occupy the see before Roger was Hairardus, who attended the council of Ponthion in 876.¹ Richer of Reims complained that the city had long been in the possession of ‘the pirates’ following the acquisition of the duchy by Rollo and his followers,² but while their presence had uprooted much of the duchy’s ecclesiastical infrastructure, including that of Lisieux, it often stimulated rather than retarded its urban development.³ Unfortunately, we know very little of Lisieux during Roger’s episcopate, and nothing of the pre-Romanesque cathedral.⁴ Scholars sometimes hold that Orderic Vitalis provides enough evidence to suggest the presence of a cathedral,⁵ although the passage cited neither mentions Lisieux by name, nor corresponds with the description given of it.⁶ Roger was, however, with the exception of the archbishops of Rouen, the most active member of the Norman episcopate in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. His origins are unknown, but he was probably related to the ducal line.⁷ Orderic praised him as a man of outstanding virtues, and Roger was involved in some of the founding events of the duchy.⁸ He was present at the translation of St. Ouen, the dating of which has already been discussed above,⁹ while his first appearance proper was at the foundation of Fécamp on 15 June 990.¹⁰ Noël Deshays claimed that Roger witnessed a charter for Fécamp in 1001, but this is

¹ GC, xi, col. 765. For discussion of the fictitious claim that Ansegisus, abbot of Saint-Wandrille, became bishop of Lisieux after Hairardus, see N. Deshays, ‘Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire des évêques de Lisieux’, in H. de Formeville, *Histoire de l’ancien évêché-comté de Lisieux*, 2 vols. (Lisieux, 1873), ii, pp. 1-297, at pp. 13-14.

² Richer of Reims, *Historiarum Libri IV*, p. 40.

³ For the positive impact of the Northmen incursions on the urban centres of Normandy, see L. Musset, ‘La renaissance urbaine des Xe et XIe siècles dans l’ouest de la France: problèmes et hypothèses de travail’, in *Études de civilisation médiévale (IXe-XIIe siècles): mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 563-575.

⁴ C. Lemaître, ‘Lisieux dans l’Antiquité’, *Art de Basse Normandie*, 89-91 (1984-1985), pp. 12-28.

⁵ OV, iii, p. 302. Noyon and Rouen are the only two cities that Orderic mentions by name.

⁶ For example, the abbot Hardy provides a ‘translation’ of the passage which reads as follows: ‘Le diocèse de Lisieux fut autant exposé à la fureur des Normands que les autres: ces pillards saccagèrent la ville épiscopale, massacrèrent les habitants, brûlèrent les maisons et les églises, tout ce qu’il y avait d’écrits et de documents relatifs au gouvernement civil et ecclésiastique périt dans cet incendie’, V. Hardy, *La cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Lisieux* (Paris, 1917), p. 11. William Clark, who does not seem to have checked Hardy’s reference, claimed that ‘Ordericus Vitalis... recounts how the Northmen sacked Lisieux in 877, massacred the inhabitants and burned the houses and churches’, W.W. Clark, ‘The cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Lisieux and the beginning of Norman Gothic architecture’, Thesis, PhD (Columbia University, 1970), p. 33.

⁷ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 67.

⁸ OV, ii, p. 26.

⁹ ‘Translatio secunda beati Audoeni’, p. 824.

¹⁰ RADN, no. 4.

actually a confused reference to the aforementioned foundation charter.¹¹ Robert is, in fact, absent from the diplomatic record for some twenty-five years following the foundation of Fécamp, but other evidence confirms that he was both politically and ecclesiastically active during this time.

Most interesting is his role in the peace negotiated between Æthelred, king of England, and Richard I in 991. Relations between the two men had apparently soured in the preceding years, perhaps as a consequence of Norman inability (or reluctance) to discourage Scandinavian raids on England.¹² The situation was serious enough to warrant papal intervention, and by 25 December 990 a legate of John XV was at the English court to discuss peace. Æthelred agreed to reconciliation, and sent Æthelsige, bishop of Sherbourne, along with two thegns to Rouen to formalise the settlement. Here, on 1 March 991, the three Englishmen confirmed the peace along with three Normans, among whom was Roger.¹³ Though the form of the papal letter that contains the details of this agreement is unusual, its contents are generally accepted as genuine.¹⁴ The participation of Roger has not always been so readily acknowledged, however, and it has been suggested that the scribe was mistaken over the name and that Robert, archbishop of Rouen, whose sister would later marry Æthelred, was intended.¹⁵ This seems unlikely, however, since it requires that the scribe not only substituted Robert for Roger, but also changed *archiepiscopus* to *episcopus*. Nevertheless, the document is vital in illustrating the growing connection between Normandy and England at this time (a relationship that would grow even closer during the reign of Cnut), and if Roger was involved, it demonstrates the level of his importance within the ducal court, and the key role bishops often played as peacemakers. If Roger did assist in negotiations with England it was not his only

¹¹ Deshays, 'Mémoires des évêques de Lisieux', p. 14.

¹² This is the explanation put forward by Sir Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 375-376; accepted by R. Lavelle, *Æthelred II: king of the English, 978-1016* (Charleston, SC, 2002), p. 51.

¹³ The other two Normans, Rodulf, son of Hugh and Tursten, son of Turgeis, remain unidentified.

¹⁴ The details of this agreement are recorded in a papal letter, which survives in an early eleventh-century manuscript (BL, ms. Cott. Tiber. A. xv, fol. 172v-173) and by William of Malmesbury (*GR*, i, pp. 276-278). It has been printed many times, Migne, *PL*, cxxxvii, col. 843; *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1874), pp. 397-398; *English Historical Documents. Vol. 1 ca. 500-1042*, ed. D. Douglas and D. Whitelock (London, 1955), pp. 894-895; *Councils and synods*, i, pp. 177-179.

¹⁵ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 160 n. 2. For the archbishop's links with England, see below pp. 307-308. For his sister, who was twice queen consort see I. Strachan, *Emma, the twice-crowned queen: England in the Viking Age* (London, 2004).

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
15 June 990	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4	Fécamp	Fécamp			x
1015	<i>RADN</i> , no. 17	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
8 Sept. 1015	<i>RADN</i> , no. 18	Saint-Quentin	Rouen		x	
1017 × c. 1022	Bulst, <i>Wilhelms von Dijon</i> , pp. 223-236	Fruttuaria			x	

Fig. 44 Appearances of Roger, bishop of Lisieux (c. 990- c. 1022), in the diplomatic record

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1023 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 50	Saint-Père de Chartres			x	
1023 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 49	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1023 × 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 48	Lisieux cathedral			x	
1023 × 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 32	Saint-Père de Chartres			x	
c. 1025 × c. 1026	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. iv, pp. 115-116	Saint-Père de Chartres			x	x
c.1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 33	Sées cathedral		x		
1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35	Bernay	Fécamp		x	
1027 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 73	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1027 × 1033	<i>RADN</i> , no. 65	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
12 Nov. 1032	<i>RADN</i> , no. 64	Cerisy-la-Forêt	Rouen		x	
1033 × 1034	<i>RADN</i> , no. 76	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
13-30 April 1033	<i>RADN</i> , no. 69	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1034 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 87	Fécamp			x	
?Jan. 1035	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux</i> , no. A6 = <i>RADN</i> , no. 88	Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux	?Fécamp		x	
13 Jan. 1035	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 212*	Montivilliers	Fécamp	x		

Fig. 45 Appearances of Herbert, bishop of Lisieux (c. 1023-c. 1046), in the diplomatic record

* This charter was also partially edited by Marie Fauroux, but it does not contain the mention of Herbert, *RADN*, no. 90.

intercourse with an outside authority. At some point between 1014 and 1022 he received a letter from the bishop of Chartres. Fulbert was unhappy with Roger's attempts to levy the payment of synodal dues on certain churches within his diocese, which had been granted to the canons of Chartres by Richard II.¹⁶ Since priests in Chartres were exempt from paying these dues, Fulbert argued they should not be forced to pay them in the diocese of Lisieux. Unfortunately, his petition fell on deaf ears. This valuable right must have generated welcome income, which Roger could use in his attempts to regenerate episcopal authority in the region. The exact amount is unknown, but the earliest *pouillé* of the diocese (mid-fourteenth century) records that the churches of Bonneville-sur-Touques and Englesqueville-en-Auge, which both belonged to the French king, had a total taxable value of 110 *livres*, while that at Saint-Julien-sur-Calonne, which was still in possession of the cathedral of Chartres, was worth 60 *livres*.¹⁷ Fulbert never seems to have pressed the issue, and Roger appears to have never remitted payment,¹⁸ since the right to exact the dues was pursued by his successor.¹⁹

Roger also improved the holdings of his cathedral. His only known donation was the manor of Nonant, which was later confirmed by William II.²⁰ How Roger came to possess this land in the first place is unclear. Although numerous individuals, including some within the Lisieux hierarchy, had the toponym 'de Nonant', these examples were all derived from the barony of Nonant-le-Pin, located in the Orne valley.²¹ By the ten-sixties most of the land surrounding Nonant was owned by one of

¹⁶ *The letters and poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. F. Behrends (Oxford, 1976), no. 39. The churches in question were probably those of Bonneville-sur-Touques, Englesqueville-en-Auge, Roncheville and Saint-Julien-sur-Calonne (all Calvados, cant. Pont-l'Évêque), which were donated to Chartres by the duke on 21 September 1014, *RADN*, no. 15. For this identification, and discussion of the letter's date, see *Letters of Fulbert of Chartres*, pp. lxxviii-lxxix and 71 n. 2.

¹⁷ *Pouillés de la province de Rouen*, ed. A. Longnon (Paris, 1903) p. 254.

¹⁸ If the bishops' attestations were appended to a charter for Fruttuaria at the same time, Fulbert may have taken the chance to remind Roger of the issue, Bulst, *Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223-236.

¹⁹ *Letters of Fulbert of Chartres*, no. 66. For discussion, see below p. 252.

²⁰ 'Nonant et omnia ad id pertinencia, ea firmitatis ratione, pro assensu et dono Rogerii episcopi', *RADN*, no. 194. Nonant, Calvados, cant. Bayeux.

²¹ Nonant-le-Pin, Orne, cant. Le Merlerault. There are two known de Nonants in the eleventh century: Aitardus, who gave land to La Trinité de Caen, and Rainald, who appears in charters for Bayeux cathedral and the abbey of Montivilliers, *Regesta*, nos. 27, 59, 61 and 212. According to Orderic, Hugh de Nonant, who was a spirited opponent of Robert de Bellême, held the castle of Rouen until September 1106, *OV*, vi, p. 92. The nephew of Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, was another Hugh de Nonant, who was first archdeacon of Lisieux and then bishop of Coventry, D.E. Desborough, 'Politics and prelacy in the late twelfth century: the career of Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Coventry', *Historical Research*, 64 (1991), pp. 1-14.

the two Caen abbeys, but much of it had belonged previously to members of the great families of Lower Normandy. Rucqueville, four kilometres to the northeast, constituted part of the dowry of Adeladis, daughter of Thurstan (Richard) Haldup, vicomte of the Cotentin, while Richard Goz, vicomte of Avranches, also held land within the settlement.²² The church of Martragny, three kilometres to the east, also belonged to the vicomte of the Cotentin,²³ while Bussy, a kilometre to the northwest, was held by Grimoult du Plessis until his rebellion in 1047.²⁴ The monks of the priory of Saint-Gabriel (a cell of Fécamp) paid 23 *livres* for mills at Condé-sur-Seulles, two kilometres to the south, with the agreement of Richard Goz,²⁵ while benefices at Vaux-sur-Seulles and Ducy-Sainte-Marguerite were held by the minor magnates Roger des Moutiers, Roger de Boutement and William de Mesnil-Mauger.²⁶ Unfortunately, Roger cannot be directly tied to any of these individuals, although it is not impossible that he first received the land at Nonant from one of them through some familial connection. Nevertheless, this grant became one of the cathedral's most important assets. It later formed an exemption within the diocese of Bayeux, which included the churches of Ellon, Verson and Juaye.²⁷ The bishops of Lisieux also seem to have had a residence at Nonant, where one is known to have stayed during the winter of 1164.²⁸ The thirteenth-century bishop, Jordan du Hommet, used his possessions at Juaye to found the abbey of Mondaye,²⁹ and expanded the exemption by offering a similar concession for the bishop of Bayeux at his exemption at Cambremer.³⁰

Roger had overseen his own expansion almost two hundred years earlier, when in the early eleventh century lands belonging to the family of Giroie were incorporated

²² *Regesta*, nos. 49, 52, 59.

²³ *Regesta*, no. 175.

²⁴ It was granted by William II to the cathedral of Bayeux in 1074, *Regesta*, no. 27.

²⁵ L. Musset, 'Actes inédits du XI^{ème} siècle I. Les plus anciennes chartes du prieuré de Saint-Gabriel (Calvados)', *BSAN*, 52 (1952-1954), pp. 117-153, at p. 135. The act is calendared in *RADN*, p. 34.

²⁶ *Regesta*, no. 59.

²⁷ A. Le Prévost, 'Pouillés du diocese de Lisieux', *MSAN*, 13 (1844), pp. 1-100, at p. 11; De Formeville, *Histoire de Lisieux*, i, pp. x-xi.

²⁸ 'Post haec verba recedentes ab ea, ad dominum Lexoviensem litteras vestras detulimus apud manerium suum Nonant, juxta Baiocum', *The correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1162-1170*, ed. and trans. A.J. Duggan, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2000), i, no. 41, pp. 158-168, at p. 162. Of the residences belonging to the bishop of Lisieux, only those of Courtonne and Loges are studied by Marie Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, pp. 251-260, 345-353.

²⁹ AD Calvados, G 207 (September 1215); BM (Lisieux), ms. 5, fol. 217v.

³⁰ De Formeville, *Histoire de Lisieux*, i, p. xi. Cambremer, Calvados, chef-lieu. For the residence belonging to bishop of Bayeux at Cambremer, see Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, pp. 235-241.

into his diocese.³¹ According to Orderic, after Giroie had agreed to marry the daughter of a knight called Heugon, he secured the lands of Échauffour and Montreuil as her dower. Having enquired with the locals as to who was their bishop he was told that they had none. Giroie soon determined that of the neighbouring prelates Roger was ‘outstanding’ in his qualities, and placed the land under his charge, convincing Baudri of Bocquencé and his own son-in-laws Walchelin of Pont-Échanfray and Roger of Merlerault to do the same.³² The move had both political and ecclesiastical ramifications. Politically, Giroie’s actions brought a district that had previously formed part of the diocese of Sées, controlled at that time by his enemy the Bellême, into that of Lisieux, thereby removing the opportunity for the Bellême to exert episcopal authority on his estates, forcing them to relocate the comital capital west to Falaise, and providing a buffer zone between the Bellême and the Norman dukes.³³ Ecclesiastically, all four men were allowed to enjoy episcopal dues in their lands. Roger not only agreed to maintain this exemption, but also stipulated that clergy on these lands should not be compelled to attend pleas outside their territories nor suffer oppression at the hands of archdeacons.³⁴ The mention of archdeacons is significant, for no known cathedral personnel can be located under Roger, but Orderic’s story seems to confirm that they operated in the diocese at this time.³⁵ Coincidentally, Auguste Longnon held that the incorporated Giroie land would later become the archidiaconate of Gacé.³⁶

Roger is not known to have been involved in anything extraordinary during the final years of his episcopate. The duchess Judith founded the abbey of Bernay in his diocese at some time between 1008 and 1013, although the bishop of Lisieux is not known to have had any role in the project.³⁷ It is interesting to note, nevertheless, that

³¹ Gérard Louise proposed a date of c. 1015 × 1022, Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 130. For the family of Giroie, see J.-M. Maillefer, ‘Une famille aristocratique aux confins de la Normandie: Les Géré au XI^e siècle’, in *Autour du pouvoir ducal normand*, pp. 175-206; P. Bauduin, ‘Une famille châtelaine sur les confins normanno-manceaux: Les Géré (Xe-XIII^e siècle)’, *Archéologie médiévale*, 22 (1992), pp. 309-356.

³² *OV*, ii, p. 26.

³³ Neveux, ‘Les diocèses normands’, p. 17; Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 130-131; *OV*, ii, p. 26 n. 1.

³⁴ *OV*, ii, p. 26.

³⁵ The earliest known dignitary is the canon Osbern, son of Herfast, who occurs under Herbert, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 188.

³⁶ A. Longnon, *Atlas historique de la France: depuis César jusqu’à nos jours* (Paris, 1907), p. 100.

³⁷ The majority of studies concerning Bernay are architectural in their focus, M. Baylé, ‘Bernay: abbatale Notre-Dame’, in *L’architecture normande au Moyen Âge*, ii, pp. 27-31; M. Baylé, ‘Ancienne

circumstances in the diocese were conducive to such endeavours. The abbey was later entrusted to William de Volpiano, whom Roger may have met when he witnessed one of his charters for Fruttuaria,³⁸ but the transfer itself did not occur until after Roger's death.³⁹ A few years earlier, Roger had witnessed a charter for Mont-Saint-Michel and another for the collegiate church of Saint-Quentin, when he probably met the canon Dudo.⁴⁰ Despite this encounter neither Roger, nor his city, feature in the history of the early dukes of Normandy. Elsewhere, Henri de Formeville claimed that Richard II donated the land at Touques to the cathedral during Roger's episcopate,⁴¹ but this is actually a confused reference to the donation made during the reign of his successor, Herbert.⁴² The date at which Roger left his see is unclear. The year is traditionally given as 1022,⁴³ and although there is no historical evidence on which to confirm this assertion, his successor was certainly active by early 1023. The obituary of Lisieux cathedral records his day of death as 19 October.⁴⁴ Roger was still honoured with a Mass towards the end of the eighteenth century, which was said every 21 May.⁴⁵ Like so many of his contemporaries, the length of his episcopate, and the achievements of his successors, suggests that he did much to restore episcopal authority in the region. It is simply unfortunate that we are not able to honour these accomplishments in as much detail as we would like.

abbatiale Notre-Dame de Bernay', *Congrès archéologique de France*, 138 (1984), pp. 119-162; J. Decaens, 'La datation de l'abbatiale de Bernay: quelques observations architecturales et résultats des fouilles récentes', *ANS*, 5 (1983), pp. 97-120; J. Bilson, 'La date et la construction de l'église abbatiale de Bernay', *Bulletin monumental*, 75 (1911), pp. 403-422; A.-A. Porée, 'Nouvelles observations sur l'église abbatiale de Bernay', *Bulletin monumental*, 75 (1911), pp. 396-402; A.-A. Porée, 'L'Eglise abbatiale de Bernay: étude archéologique', *75e Congrès archeologique de France à Caen*, 2 vols. (1909), ii, pp. 588-614.

³⁸ Bulst, *Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223-236.

³⁹ *RADN*, no. 35.

⁴⁰ *RADN*, nos. 17 and 18.

⁴¹ De Formeville, *Histoire de Lisieux*, i, p. ccccxlii. De Formeville cites the work of Charles Trigan, although this author makes no direct link between Richard II's donation and Roger, C. Trigan, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la province de Normandie, avec des observations critiques et historiques*, 4 vols. (Caen, 1759-1761), ii, p. 392.

⁴² *RADN*, no. 49.

⁴³ E.g. Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 30.

⁴⁴ 'Obitus domno Rogerii Lexoviensi episcopi', BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1778, fol. 89v. Noël Deshays, who consulted the same obituary, mistakenly gives the date as 18 October, Deshays, 'Mémoires des évêques de Lisieux', p. 16. A second copy of the obituary, taken from a manuscript at the archives of the Société historique de Lisieux, repeats the date of 19 October, AD Calvados, F 5557, p. 241.

⁴⁵ *Obituarium insignis ecclesiae Lexoviensis, Juxta ordinem in ipsius Foundationibus rite institutum, legalemque earum Reductionem ad exitum perductam anno 1781* (Lisieux, 1783), p. 65. I am grateful to Christiane Boulan of the Bibliothèque municipale de Lisieux for arranging a viewing of this item.

Herbert, c. 1023-c.1046

Herbert was bishop of Coutances before he became bishop of Lisieux. Occupying the position for only a year, he left Rouen, where the bishops of Coutances had resided since the early tenth century, and established himself at Saint-Lô. Noticing the lack of instruction among the canons installed there by his predecessor, he deprived them of their prebends until they made an effort to acquire some knowledge.¹ He then traded dioceses with Robert, bishop of Lisieux. The reasons behind the exchange are unknown. Noël Deshays held that Herbert's harsh treatment of the canons had perhaps earned him their enmity, forcing him to flee his diocese,² while René Toustain de Billy argued that because Robert was from the Cotentin it 'l'engagea à cette permutation'.³ Although evidence of how easily canonical law could be flouted in the duchy, the transfer provoked no known response from any of the appropriate authorities. Herbert was not even censured by Leo IX when he attended the council of Reims in October 1049,⁴ although as we shall see below, it is possible that the bishop was never present at this event. The transfer did, however, continue to cause confusion among scribes long after the fact.⁵ Herbert's origins are unknown. The author of *De libertate Beccensis*, writing shortly after 1136, claimed that he was a 'kinsman' (*propinquus*) of the Norman dukes.⁶ Unfortunately, there is discrepancy over the exact date of his arrival at Lisieux. It is sometimes placed around 1026, since this is the date at which Hugh, bishop of Coutances, is believed to have died.⁷ However, Herbert received a letter as bishop of Lisieux from the canons of Chartres, which can be dated from its reference to the absence of their bishop Fulbert in Rome to late 1022 or early 1023.⁸ Consequently, Hugh must have died in early 1022, and Herbert been elected to and then abandoned the see of Coutances in less than a year.⁹

¹ 'De statu', col. 218.

² Deshays, 'Mémoires des évêques de Lisieux', p. 17.

³ Toustain de Billy, *Histoire de Coutances*, i, p. 109.

⁴ Other Norman bishops were not so lucky, 'Dedicatio sancti Remigii', col. 741; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, 'Histoire', p. 248.

⁵ Cf. *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. iv, pp. 115-116, at p. 116, where Herbert appears next to Robert, bishop of Coutances, as *Rodbertus Lisivae*.

⁶ 'De libertate Beccensis', p. 138.

⁷ Deshays, 'Mémoires des évêques de Lisieux', p. 17; Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 27.

⁸ *Letters of Fulbert of Chartres*, no. 66 and p. lxxxiii.

⁹ A marginal note in an episcopal list once found in the *Livre noir* notes 'Rexit per unum annum' next to Herbert's name, BM (Grenoble), ms. 3909, vol. 1, fol. 9v. Cf. BN, ms. fr. 4901, fol. 187r-188v.

Regardless, circumstances within the city began to change almost immediately upon Herbert's arrival. Most noticeable was his destruction of the city walls, the masonry from which he used to begin the construction of his cathedral (fig. 46).¹⁰ David Douglas associated such behaviour with the disintegration of life in the ecclesiastical province,¹¹ but Herbert was not the only bishop to use such material to edify his basilica.¹² Norman abbeys were also known to take stone from the ruins of neighbouring settlements. Saint-Wandrille used material from the ruins of nearby Lillebonne, while Bernay also contains some Gallo-Roman stonework.¹³ The practice had also been long established in Europe, and churches throughout the continent contained material taken from nearby Roman secular structures.¹⁴ Moreover, not only were Herbert's actions probably born of necessity (the local stone is of extremely poor quality),¹⁵ but François Neveux also argued that the destruction of the wall seems to suggest that the bishop believed that the duke could now guarantee peace in the region.¹⁶ Indeed, it was not until the early fifteenth century that the walls were rebuilt in any meaningful way.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Herbert has not escaped criticism for his actions. Carolyn Schriber argued that Robert de Torigni only mentioned his razing of the walls because he was 'blamed' for the damage suffered by the cathedral, when the Breton defenders set fire to the city in September 1136 to keep it from falling into the hands of Geoffrey, count of Anjou.¹⁸ However, neither account of the circumstances behind the fire blame the Breton actions on a lack of walls (Orderic claims they simply lost courage in the face of overwhelming numbers), nor is there

¹⁰ 'Urbem quoque, cuius muros Herbertus episcopus propter ecclesiam aedificandam destruxerat, maenibus ambivit', Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, i, p. 224. Of these stones, perhaps the most interesting was found, and subsequently lost, in the seventeenth century. Known as the altar '*des Quatres Divinités*', it featured carvings of the Roman gods Mercury and Hercules. It is known today from a drawing by Marin Bourgeois, which is reprinted in E. Pellerin and J. Bergeret, *Cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Lisieux* (Lisieux, 1995), p. 11.

¹¹ Douglas, 'The Norman episcopate', p. 101.

¹² Azso, bishop of Sées, also used the walls of his city to reconstruct parts of his cathedral, *GND*, ii, p. 114.

¹³ *Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis*, p. 54; G. Bouet, 'L'abbaye de Bernay', *Bulletin monumental*, 31 (1865), pp. 95-100, at pp. 97-98; Porée, 'L'église abbatiale de Bernay', pp. 594-595; G. Huard, 'La cathédrale de Lisieux aux XI^e et XII^e siècles', *Études lexoviennes*, 2 (1919), pp. 1-36, at pp. 4-5.

¹⁴ A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *La Cathédrale* (Paris, 1989), pp. 52-55.

¹⁵ The stone in the vicinity of Lisieux is comprised of soft chalk embedded with flint, Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, p. 550.

¹⁶ Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, p. 115.

¹⁷ BM (Lisieux), ms. 5, fol. 7v. For the history of the city's walls, see Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, pp. 115-120.

¹⁸ C. Schriber, *The dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux: new ideas versus old ideals* (Bloomington, IN, 1990), p. 67.



Fig. 46 Roman masonry visible within the southwest wall of the cathedral of Lisieux (photo R. Allen)

any suggestion that the cathedral was damaged.¹⁹ A letter of Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, sent to Celestine II in 1144 is often used to suggest that it was,²⁰ but Carolyn Schriber admitted that Arnulf's language seems to indicate that any damage caused by the fire only required 'simple reparations' rather than a complete overhaul.²¹ Indeed, even the most conservative estimates of when work began on a new cathedral require a gap of twenty years between the fire and the decision to build an entirely new cathedral.²²

Unfortunately, we know very little of the eleventh-century church, which was perhaps begun in around 1035.²³ Fragments of Roman masonry can be found within two eleventh-century piers of the western façade,²⁴ which seems to confirm the tradition noted above, but not all are convinced that such material formed part of the medieval walls. Carolyn Schriber stated unequivocally that material from the walls 'was not reused',²⁵ although William Clark, from whom she worked, noted only that the Roman walls found under the cathedral floor in the southwest corner of the building and under the southwest pier of the crossing do not seem to have been part of the wall system in the eleventh century (their masonry is different from that found in the eleventh-century foundations), and were therefore most probably removed at an earlier date.²⁶ Clark, however, maintained the tradition that Herbert destroyed part of the city walls to build the cathedral in his chronology of construction.²⁷ The *westwerk* itself seems to have been in a typical Norman style, and was formed of a central entrance with a tribune on the upper level, which was surrounded by two towers.²⁸ As

¹⁹ Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, i, p. 205; *OV*, vi, pp. 468-470.

²⁰ *The letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. F. Barlow, Camden Society 3rd ser. 61 (London, 1939), no. 2.

²¹ Schriber, *The dilemma of Arnulf*, p. 70.

²² For a summary of the complex arguments mustered in support of the various dates, see Schriber, *The dilemma of Arnulf*, pp. 69-75.

²³ Clark, 'The cathedral of Saint-Pierre', p. 35.

²⁴ Huard, 'La cathédrale de Lisieux', p. 4; L. Serbat, *Lisieux* (Paris, 1926), p. 25. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg agreed that these features dated to the eleventh century, but did not comment on the presence of the Roman masonry in this part of the cathedral, A. Erlande-Brandenburg, 'La cathédrale de Lisieux. Les campagnes de construction', *Congrès archéologique*, 132 (1974), pp. 139-172, at pp. 140-141.

²⁵ Schriber, *The dilemma of Arnulf*, p. 67.

²⁶ Clark, 'The cathedral of Saint-Pierre', pp. 36-37. William Clark based these assertions on a series of unpublished excavations, which were carried out in the cathedral under the supervision of the *Société historique de Lisieux* between 1917 and 1920. For a summary, see Clark, 'The cathedral of Saint-Pierre', Appendix I, pp. 288-290.

²⁷ Clark, 'The cathedral of Saint-Pierre', p. 41.

²⁸ Erlande-Brandenburg, 'La cathédrale de Lisieux', p. 141; Clark, 'The cathedral of Saint-Pierre', p. 40.

at Bayeux there seems to have been no passageway linking the towers with the nave.²⁹ Elements of the Romanesque crossing tower, which was struck by lightning on 24 June 1077,³⁰ can also be found under the Gothic masonry, and it seems that Herbert's transept had the same dimensions as those in place today.³¹ The eastern end, with its three radiating chapels, is similar to that at Rouen cathedral, although the presence of a crypt has never been found or proposed.³² It also appears that the twelfth-century Lisieux master used the Romanesque wall system as the 'structural backbone' for his Gothic nave.³³

Despite our imprecise knowledge of his cathedral, Herbert must have completed substantial parts of it, for the building was ready to host a council just eight years after his death.³⁴ Fortunately, we can be more certain about Herbert's other contributions to his church. As noted above, he defended his right to exact synodal dues from priests operating in churches in his diocese that belonged to the cathedral of Chartres, and never seems to have relented despite the promise of spiritual rewards.³⁵ Towards the beginning of his episcopate Herbert also secured donations for his chapter (*fratribus Lisiacensis ecclesiae*),³⁶ which included land at Mesnil-Guéroul *Mancelet*, the church of Touques with the fair of Saint-Léger, and the church of Verson with its tithes.³⁷ The *Chronique de Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge* claimed that Mesnil-Guéroul was actually given to the Lisieux chapter by Robert I,³⁸ and while Marie Fauroux held that this was a confused reference to the act of Richard II,³⁹ the ambiguity of the chronicle's language may suggest that another part of the land was later given by

²⁹ Erlande-Brandenburg, 'La cathédrale de Lisieux', p. 141.

³⁰ *OV*, iii, p. 14.

³¹ Erlande-Brandenburg, 'La cathédrale de Lisieux', pp. 141-144.

³² Clark, 'The cathedral of Saint-Pierre', p. 40 n. 2.

³³ W.W. Clark, 'The nave of Saint Pierre at Lisieux: Romanesque structure in a Gothic guise', *Gesta*, 16 (1977), pp. 29-38.

³⁴ For discussion of the date of the cathedral's consecration, see below, pp. 264-265.

³⁵ 'Optamus etenim potius non paruo tuae ipsius utilitatis amore, ducti in albo felicitis ordinis benefactorum nostrorum te recenseri, ut cum pro illis, tum etiam pro te iuge Domino sacrificium offerentes, ac humanitatis tuae beneficia coram illo recitantes, dignum te libro quoque vitae celestis inseri predicemus', *Letters of Fulbert of Chartres*, no. 66, p. 114. There is no entry for Bishop Herbert in the oldest surviving necrology of the cathedral of Chartres, *Letters of Fulbert of Chartres*, p. 114 n. 2.

³⁶ *RADN*, no. 48.

³⁷ Mesnil-Guéroul (today disappeared), Calvados, cant. Lisieux; Touque, Calvados, cant. Trouville-sur-Mer; Verson, Calvados, cant. Évrecy.

³⁸ 'Chronique de Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge', in M. Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme: études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 275-293, at p. 277.

³⁹ *RADN*, no. 48, p. 157 n. 2.

Robert.⁴⁰ Furthermore, it is unclear whether *Mancelet* formed part of the land of Mesnil-Guéroul, or was a separate place.⁴¹ Unfortunately, we know very little of the capitular personnel who benefited from these donations. Although the first appearance of Osbern the archdeacon dates to 5 October 1050, it is possible that he operated under Herbert.⁴² The only member of the chapter known by name, however, is the canon Osbern son of Herfast. He was a native of the Pays de Caux, and successively became a monk of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen, prior of Corneilles and abbot of Saint-Évrault. Osbern was clearly a man of outstanding qualities, and Orderic paints a flattering portrait of him, in which he noted in particular his practical and artistic skills.⁴³

Herbert also played an active role in encouraging the monastic life of the duchy. This work began in earnest in the first half of the ten-thirties. On 12 September 1033 he helped Robert, archbishop of Rouen and Robert, bishop of Coutances consecrate the abbey of Saint-Wandrille. It was on this occasion that Isembert was blessed as the first abbot of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen, and that perhaps the Lisieux canon Osbern decided to embrace the monastic vocation.⁴⁴ Herbert was also heavily involved with the fledgling foundation of Bec, and not only conferred upon the knight Herluin the habit of a monk, but also consecrated him as priest, appointed him abbot, and dedicated the primitive abbey church established at Bonneville. Unfortunately, while the details of Herbert's participation are preserved in a number of texts, the chronological information they relate is confused. The principal sources are the *Vita Herluini*,⁴⁵ written by Gilbert Crispin between 1109 and 1117, and the Bec annals, which must have existed in some form before 1127, when Orderic Vitalis incorporated the relevant entry into the fifth book of his *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁴⁶ Of these three, only Gilbert Crispin fails to provide precise chronological information,

⁴⁰ T. Roche, 'Les notices de conflit dans la Normandie ducale (milieu du XIe-milieu du XIIe siècle environ)', *Tabularia Études*, 7 (2007), pp. 51-73, at p. 63 n. 79.

⁴¹ Jean Adigard des Gautries held that *Mancelet* was part of Mesnil-Guéroul (Adigard des Gautries, 'Les noms du Calvados', pp. 209-228; 3 (1953), pp. 22-36, 135-148, at p. 32 n. 2), whereas Victor Hunger felt that they were two separate places, V. Hunger, *Histoire de Verson* (Caen, 1908), pièces justificatives, no. 2, p. 377.

⁴² *OV*, ii, p. 18.

⁴³ *OV*, ii, p. 106-116.

⁴⁴ 'Inventio sancti Vulfranni', pp. 50-51. There is some uncertainty as to when Isembert became abbot of La Trinité-du-Mont. For discussion, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 263-265, who dates his abbatiolate 12 September 1033-1 November 1054.

⁴⁵ Gilbert Crispin, 'Vita Herluini', p. 192.

⁴⁶ For the dating of this part of Book V, see *OV*, iii, pp. xiii-xiv.

simply stating that after Herbert had dedicated the church Herluin shaved his head, was ordained a priest and then made abbot.⁴⁷ The annals place all of these events except the church dedication, which they do not mention, under the year 1034,⁴⁸ while Orderic Vitalis claimed that it was in this year that Herluin became a monk, but three years later that he was ordained by Herbert and made abbot.⁴⁹ Using the same sources as Orderic, Robert de Torigni inserted a lengthy account of the early history of Bec into the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, where he placed every event, including the church dedication, in 1034.⁵⁰

Such inconsistencies have understandably led to some disagreement among scholars. Adolphe-André Porée suggested Herbert dedicated the church on 24 March 1035,⁵¹ while Sally Vaughn, who interpreted an entry in the treatise *De libertate Beccensis*, believed that this event took place in 1037.⁵² The author of *De libertate Beccensis*, who was writing at about the same time as Robert de Torigni,⁵³ suggested that Herluin was first made a monk by Herbert, and that ‘not long after this’ was ordained a priest and made abbot by the same bishop. He explained Herbert’s involvement with the abbey, which was outside his diocese, by claiming that the archdiocese of Rouen was ‘at that time without a pastor’,⁵⁴ which Vaughn subsequently argued referred to the brief vacancy in the archiepiscopal see that occurred after the death of Robert on 16 March 1037.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, not only does this ignore the considerable bias of *De libertate*, which was written to defend the abbey against archiepiscopal intrusion, and took full advantage of the absence of the Norman primate from its foundation,⁵⁶ but it also disregards the charter in which

⁴⁷ Gilbert Crispin, ‘Vita Herluini’, p. 192.

⁴⁸ *Chronique du Bec*, pp. 1-2; L. Delisle, ‘Les courtes annales du Bec’, in *Notices et documents publiés pour la Société de l’histoire de France*, ed. C. Jourdain (Paris, 1884), pp. 93-99, at p. 95.

⁴⁹ *OV*, iii, p. 12.

⁵⁰ *GND*, ii, pp. 60-76, esp. pp. 60, 64. Robert also mentions Herbert’s ordination of Herluin as priest and abbot in his *Chronicle*, but does not mention the abbey dedication, Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, i, pp. 36-39, at p. 38.

⁵¹ Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, i, p. 39. The basis for this exact date is not clear, since none of the sources cited by Porée make reference to it.

⁵² Vaughn, *The abbey of Bec*, pp. 26-27.

⁵³ ‘De libertate Beccensis’ was written shortly after 1136 (Vaughn, *The abbey of Bec*, p. 26), while Robert de Torigni completed his first redrafting of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* around 1139, *GND*, i, pp. lxxix-lxxx.

⁵⁴ ‘De libertate Beccensis’, p. 138.

⁵⁵ Vaughn, *The abbey of Bec*, p. 27.

⁵⁶ For the treatise in context, see J. Potter, ‘Monastic freedom vs. episcopal and aristocratic power in the twelfth century: context and analysis of the *De libertate Beccensis*’, in *Negotiating secular and*

Herluin, as abbot, gave to his new foundation, with the consent of Robert I and Robert, archbishop of Rouen, lands that he had inherited from the dowry of his mother.⁵⁷ This not only confirms that Herluin was abbot before Robert I left on pilgrimage in January 1035, but also challenges the claim that Archbishop Robert was uninvolved in the abbey's early years. Moreover, the charter also refers to Bec as the church of Notre-Dame, which suggests that it had also been dedicated by this time.⁵⁸ It therefore appears that Herbert performed all of those deeds with which he is associated in 1034.

Why Herbert should have apparently taken precedence over the archbishop of Rouen in these matters is unclear. The Norman primate was active during these years, and as the charter noted above suggests, was not uninterested in the abbey. The author of *De libertate Beccensis* argued Herbert was 'a celebrated bishop of Normandy', who, because he was closely related to the duke, 'did whatever he wished without offending anyone', but eventually justified his participation by erroneously placing the events during a supposed vacancy in the archiepiscopal see.⁵⁹ Noël Deshays held that Herluin turned to Herbert because he knew of his zeal and piety,⁶⁰ but while the bishop was undoubtedly committed to his church, the fact that Herbert appears to have travelled with an armed retainer reveals that, like many of his contemporaries, he was prepared to surround himself with men of the sword as well as men of the cloth.⁶¹ Of course, Herluin once served in the court of Gilbert, count of Brionne, but there is nothing to suggest an association between Gilbert and the bishop of Lisieux other than that they were both related to the ducal line.⁶² The arrangements at Bec, however, most likely reflect the informal conditions of the early stages of the ongoing episcopal reorganisation, and Herbert was not the only bishop of Lisieux whose dedication of a church outside his diocese had to be justified by a later

ecclesiastical power: western Europe in the central Middle Ages, ed. A.-J. Bijsterveld, H. Teunis and A. Wareham (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 73-85.

⁵⁷ The details of this charter are preserved in another issued on 24 February 1041, *RADN*, no. 98 version B.

⁵⁸ This was certainly the conclusion of Auguste Le Prévost, *Mémoires et notes de l'Eure*, i, p. 234. His arguments were followed by Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, i, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁹ 'De libertate Beccensis', pp. 136-138.

⁶⁰ Deshays, 'Mémoires des évêques de Lisieux', p. 18.

⁶¹ Valselinus, *militis Lisiacensis episcopi*, and Roger, *militis sancti Petri Lisiacensis episcopi*, appear alongside Herbert in the charter of Richard II noted above, *RADN*, no. 48.

⁶² Gilbert Crispin, 'Vita Herluini', p. 185; *GND*, ii, p. 60. Gilbert was the son of Godfrey, comte d'Eu, and therefore the grandson of Richard I.

chronicler.⁶³ Regardless, Herbert's involvement in the foundation of Bec secured his memory at the abbey for many centuries. In addition to those texts mentioned above, the bishop also appears in the *Gesta septem abbatum Beccensium*, which was written by Peter of Dives in the mid-twelfth century,⁶⁴ while he was still being honoured as late as the sixteenth.⁶⁵

The monastic life in the diocese of Lisieux also enjoyed a renaissance during Herbert's episcopate. His role here is not quite as obvious as at Bec, and it is only through inference that we can confirm the assertion that Herbert particularly favoured the houses of Préaux, which were founded by Humphrey of Vieilles between c.1034 and c.1050.⁶⁶ Indeed, although the *Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfranni* claims that Humphrey decided to establish Saint-Pierre de Préaux after the dedication of Saint-Wandrille, an event at which Herbert was present, it notes that he turned to its abbot Gradulf for advice, not the bishop of Lisieux.⁶⁷ Moreover, Herbert appears never to have been a benefactor of Saint-Léger de Préaux, while he is only known to have witnessed one act for Saint-Pierre.⁶⁸ This charter, which has already been discussed above with regards to John of Ivry, bishop of Avranches,⁶⁹ was recently reassessed by Dominique Rouet, and the subscription of Herbert that it contains associated instead with the donation of Toutainville to Saint-Pierre by Robert I, which appears in the abbey's foundation charter.⁷⁰ Rouet argued that this act was most likely issued at Fécamp in early 1035,⁷¹ where Robert I convened a meeting of his leading magnates to organise the government of the duchy in preparation for his departure on pilgrimage.⁷² Herbert was apparently at this meeting, for a confirmation later issued by William II for the abbey of Montivilliers confirms that the bishop of Lisieux was at Fécamp on 13 January 1035.⁷³ Finally, while some early scholars held that the abbey

⁶³ *OV*, ii, pp. 76-78.

⁶⁴ Migne, *PL*, clxxxi, col. 1710. Cf. Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, i, pp. 531-533.

⁶⁵ *Chronique du Bec*, p. 188.

⁶⁶ Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 31.

⁶⁷ 'Inventio sancti Vulfranni', pp. 51-52.

⁶⁸ For the known benefactors of Saint-Léger de Préaux, see V. Gazeau, 'Le domaine continental de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame et Saint-Léger de Préaux au XIe siècle', in *Aspects de la société*, pp. 165-183, at pp. 171-182.

⁶⁹ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A6. See above, pp. 63-64.

⁷⁰ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, pp. lxxv-lxxvii.

⁷¹ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, p. lxxvii. For further discussion of the circumstances surrounding this act, see the chapter on John of Ivry, bishop of Avranches.

⁷² *GND*, ii, p. 80.

⁷³ *Regesta*, no. 212..

of Grestain was founded during Herbert's episcopate,⁷⁴ the recent discovery of a previously unknown charter, which dates the foundation of the abbey to the year 1050, proves otherwise.⁷⁵

Herbert's appearance at Fécamp is one of his last known. His presence suggests that he was a trusted advisor of the duke, and perhaps confirms the assertion of *De liberatate* that he was closely related to Robert I. Unfortunately, Herbert then disappears entirely from the historical record for some fifteen years, before reappearing at Reims, where he is traditionally believed to have attended the papal council in October 1049.⁷⁶ This is generally assumed to be Herbert's last known act, since his successor Hugh begins appearing as bishop at about this time. There is, however, convincing evidence to suggest that not only was Herbert not the bishop of Lisieux present at Reims, but that also his episcopate ended perhaps as early as 1046. The first indication is found in the obituary of the cathedral of Lisieux, which records that the bishop died on a 16 July.⁷⁷ This date, which is likely accurate,⁷⁸ is inconsistent with Herbert's attendance at Reims, for if the 16 July is supposed to relate to 1049, then Herbert can clearly not have attended a council convened in October of this year. Furthermore, the year cannot be any later than this, since Herbert's successor Hugh is known to have ordained the duke's half brother, Odo, a deacon at Fécamp,⁷⁹ an event that must have taken place before he became bishop of Bayeux, sometime before April 1050.⁸⁰ Three pieces of diplomatic evidence also suggest that Herbert's successor was active well before late 1049, and although two of the charters in which he appears survive in less reliable forms,⁸¹ the other, a charter of

⁷⁴ E.g. Deshays, 'Mémoires des évêques de Lisieux', p. 19.

⁷⁵ *Regesta*, no. 158. This charter is discussed in full by Bates and Gazeau, 'L'abbaye de Grestain', pp. 5-30.

⁷⁶ 'Dedicatio sancti Remigii', col. 737; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, 'Histoire', p. 236.

⁷⁷ 'Obitus domno Hesberti episcopi Lexoviensis', BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1778, fol. 65v; AD Calvados, F 5557, p. 191. Repeated, but without reference, by Deshays, 'Mémoires des évêques de Lisieux', p. 19. An eighteenth-century obituary records that a Mass was said in Herbert's honour every 21 May, *Obituarium ecclesiae Lexoviensis*, p. 65.

⁷⁸ The sixteenth-century cathedral obituary not only records accurate dates for other bishops of Lisieux, whose time of passing can be corroborated by other sources (e.g. Hugh d'Eu, Gilbert Maminot, Fulcher, John, Arnulf and Ralph de Warneville, BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1778, fol. 18v, 51r, 66r, 74r, 76r, 79r), but also those of other individuals, such as William the Conqueror, who is correctly listed under 9 September, BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1778, fol. 78v.

⁷⁹ Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', p. 596.

⁸⁰ For discussion concerning the date of Odo's accession to the episcopate, which may have occurred in late 1049, see Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 10.

⁸¹ *RADN*, nos. 98 and 140.

the archbishop of Rouen, survives as an original.⁸² This act is one of two written on a single sheet of parchment. The first details the donation of William, count of Arques, and his brother Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, of the land of Perriers-sur-Andelle to the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen.⁸³ The main text of this act is written in an elongated majuscule, similar to that found on another charter for the same abbey,⁸⁴ while the list of witnesses is written in a neat minuscule hand. This same minuscule hand is then responsible for the text of a confirmation of the donation issued by the same archbishop of Rouen, which was witnessed by, among others, Hugh, bishop of Lisieux. Since both acts contain the same hand they were probably written at the same time, and certainly no later than early 1047, for the first was witnessed by Gradulf, abbot of Saint-Wandrille, who died on 6 March that year,⁸⁵ and the second by William Busac, the brother of the bishop of Lisieux, who rebelled in c. 1047/8, and was exiled shortly thereafter.⁸⁶

Why Herbert therefore appears among the attendees of the council of Reims is unclear. One might assume that a careless early modern editor had perhaps expanded the mention of an *H. episcopus Lexoviensis* to *Herbertus*, and that subsequent scholarship had been based upon this mistake, but all the surviving manuscript copies of the account of the council, which was written by Anselme de Saint-Rémy, list Herbert as the third of the five Norman bishops present.⁸⁷ Of course, while such a suggestion runs contrary to current thinking on the episcopal succession at Lisieux, the re-dating of Herbert's episcopate corresponds far better with certain aspects of the career of his successor, Hugh d'Eu. Scholars have long struggled to reconcile Hugh's appearances in the historical record that purport to relate to events prior to October 1049, even when the documents in question provide accurate information regarding

⁸² AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

⁸³ Perriers-sur-Andelles, Eure, cant. Fleury-sur-Andelles.

⁸⁴ AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 160. A critical edition of this act, which concerns a donation of the bishop of Bayeux, can be found in Appendix G.

⁸⁵ There is some uncertainty over whether Gradulf passed away in the following year, though the most recent scholar to chronicle his career has opted for the earlier of the two dates, Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, p. 335.

⁸⁶ The rebellion of William Busac (*GND*, ii, p. 128), which Douglas dismissed as a confused reference to the rebellion of William, count of Arques (Douglas, 'The earliest Norman counts', pp. 155-156), has been accepted by a number of recent authorities (*GND*, ii, p. 10 n. 4; p. 128 n. 205; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 297), and dated to c. 1047/8.

⁸⁷ See Anselme de Saint-Rémy, 'Histoire', p. 236. This notes no variants in any of the manuscript copies of the 'Dedicatio sancti Remigii', where the bishop of Lisieux always appears as *Herbertus Lisoiensis*.

matters independently confirmed by other sources.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the only other modern editor of the Saint-Ouen charter suggested that Hugh attended Reims instead of Herbert, although he failed to explore the matter any further.⁸⁹ When Herbert actually left his charge is, of course, unknown, although his successor's apparent involvement in the foundation of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, which occurred in either 1046 or 1047, suggests that he perhaps occupied the diocese for another ten years following his appearance at Fécamp.⁹⁰ His disappearance from the historical record at this time reflects the precarious situation in which Normandy found itself following the death of Robert I, but soon both the duchy and the diocese of Lisieux would be once again under strong leadership.

⁸⁸ For example, although the foundation chronicle of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives (*GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 153-156) provides extremely accurate information, which was clearly derived from independent sources such as monastic annals, regarding many aspects of this house's early history, its statement that the establishment of monks at this house in the place of nuns occurred when Hugh d'Eu was bishop of Lisieux is often dismissed as a simple mistake based on the fact that the bishop was related to the founder, Douglas, 'The earliest Norman counts', p. 138 n. 2.

⁸⁹ Gurney, *House of Gournay*, i, Appendix III, no. 2, p. 43.

⁹⁰ The foundation history of Saint-Pierre sur Dives claims that the battle of Val-ès-Dunes occurred in the second year of the abbacy of the first abbot, Ainard, *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 154-155.

Hugh d'Eu, 1046 × 1047/8-1077

Hugh was a member of one of the most celebrated families in the duchy. His father was William, an illegitimate son of Richard I by an unknown mistress.¹ Upon the accession of Richard II he was made count of the Hiémois, but thereupon rebelled and was imprisoned at Rouen. Escaping after five years, he was soon reconciled with the duke and made count of Eu.² Hugh's mother, Lesceline, was the daughter of a certain nobleman called Turketil,³ who was likely the brother of Turulf of Pont-Audemer and father of Ansketil of Harcourt.⁴ According to the foundation chronicle of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, Turketil was also the jailor of Hugh's father, and it was due to his daughter's ingenuity that the rebellious count escaped.⁵ Hugh's exact date of birth is unknown. He was most likely the youngest of William's three sons, and was born before his father's death, which occurred on a 2 January before 1040.⁶ The succession of his elder brothers William and Robert to the *comté* of Eu has long been the subject of debate, and the scheme first proposed by David Douglas rejected by a number of recent authorities.⁷ What is more certain is that Hugh's cousin Gilbert, count of Brionne, whose father Godfrey held the *comté* before his death,⁸ contested their inheritance, and expelled Lesceline and her three sons from the castle of Eu⁹ sometime before his murder at the instigation of another of Hugh's cousins, Rodulf of Gacé.¹⁰ Little else is known of Hugh before he became bishop. Noël Deshays held that the flattering portraits painted of him by William of Poitiers and Orderic Vitalis suggest he was highly educated as a child, but neither author makes reference to any

¹ *De moribus*, p. 163.

² *GND*, ii, pp. 8-10.

³ *GND*, ii, p. 10.

⁴ *GND*, ii, p. 268; Deshays, 'Mémoires des évêques de Lisieux', p. 20; Adigard des Gautries, *Noms de personnes Scandinaves*, pp. 322-323.

⁵ Elisabeth van Houts claimed that William escaped with the help of Turketil (*GND*, ii, p. 10 n. 1), but Lesceline is the subject of the following sentence: 'Erat autem eidem Turchitillo filia pulchritudine corporis, et sapientia animi, sed et morum honestate praezellens Lescelina nomine, cuius industria idem Guillelmus, posteaquam de vinculis quibus tenebatur, evasit...', *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 153-156, at col. 154.

⁶ The day and month are given by an obituary of a church that was founded by William: '2 Ian. Obiit Guillelmus primus comes Augi, fundator huius ecclesiae', *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 449. For discussion, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 297.

⁷ Douglas, 'The earliest Norman counts', pp. 154-156; Searle, *Predatory kinship*, pp. 218, 221, 319 n. 11; *GND*, ii, p. 10 n. 4; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 295-297.

⁸ William acquired the *comté* after the death of his brother, *GND*, ii, pp. 8-10, 128.

⁹ The details of this expulsion are recorded in a charter of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité du Mont de Rouen*, ed. A. Deville, in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, ed. B. Guérard (Paris, 1841), no. lxix.

¹⁰ *GND*, ii, pp. 92-94.

specific training.¹¹ His brother William rebelled during the first years of his episcopate, but Hugh is not known to have had any role, while his reputation seems not to have suffered as a result.¹²

Hugh's exact age upon ascending to the episcopate is unknown. It was clearly low enough to merit being mentioned by William of Poitiers, who claimed Hugh became bishop while still 'in his youth'.¹³ Unfortunately, the adjective (*iuuenis*) used by William does not allow for greater precision, but Hugh was in no way unusual. The archbishop under whom he initially served certainly ascended to his see while still a teenager, as did Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who occupied his position at almost the same time as Hugh, and who may have been as young as fourteen.¹⁴ Nevertheless, William of Poitiers presented a very flattering portrait of Hugh, whom he knew personally, much of which Orderic Vitalis repeated a half-century later.¹⁵ Despite his immaturity, Hugh soon showed himself to be wiser in religious matters than many of his older contemporaries, and almost immediately began playing a part in the spiritual life of the duchy.¹⁶ As has been noted above, it is most likely that it was he, rather than his predecessor, who attended the papal council of Reims in October 1049,¹⁷ although the pope may not have been too pleased to see the diocese of Lisieux represented by a teenager.¹⁸

Nevertheless, Hugh had already proved his ecclesiastical credentials when he had founded, along with his mother, the abbey of Notre-Dame-du-Pré à Saint-Désir de Lisieux.¹⁹ Unfortunately, the early history of this foundation suffers from an almost complete lack of evidence, both archival and architectural.²⁰ The nuns that came to be placed at Lisieux were first established by Lesceline at her foundation of Saint-Pierre-

¹¹ Deshays, 'Mémoires des évêques de Lisieux', p. 20.

¹² *GND*, ii, p. 128.

¹³ *GG*, i, 58, p. 92.

¹⁴ For discussion, see above, pp. 120-121, and below p. 312.

¹⁵ *GG*, i, 58, pp. 92-94; *OV*, iii, pp. 14-18.

¹⁶ *GG*, i, 58, p. 92.

¹⁷ See above, pp. 258-259.

¹⁸ The pope was enamored with few of the Norman attendees, however, for one (Geoffrey de Montbray) was accused of simony, while another (Ivo de Bellême) was chastised for having burnt his cathedral to the ground, *GND*, ii, pp. 116-118; 'Dedicatio sancti Remigii', col. 737; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, 'Histoire', p. 236.

¹⁹ *RADN*, no. 140.

²⁰ P. Le Pareux, 'L'abbaye Notre-Dame-du-Pré à Saint-Désir de Lisieux XIe-XVe siècle', mémoire de maîtrise (Université de Caen, 1996), pp. 1-5.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1046 × 1058	<i>RADN</i> , no. 140	Saint-Désir de Lisieux			x	x
1046 × 1047/8	AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1046 × 1047/8 × 1053	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 212	Montivilliers				x
c. 1047/8	<i>RADN</i> , no. 98 (sig. interp.)	Bec	Bec?		x	
1050	<i>RADN</i> , no. 122	Saint-Évroult	Lyons-la-Forêt		x	x
1050	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 158 (info. interp.)	Grestain				x
1051	<i>RADN</i> , no. 124	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1054 × 1066	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 258	Saint-Hymer-en-Auge			x	
1055 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 209	Saint-Magloire de Lehon				x
1059 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 218	Saint-Martin du Bosc				x
1061	<i>RADN</i> , no. 148	Mont-Saint-Michel	Rouen		x	
1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 230	Coulombs	Fécamp		x	
1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 227	Beaumont-lès-Tours	Bayeux (<i>in camera comitis</i>)		x	
1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 229	Avranches cathedral		x		
18 June 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 231	La Trinité de Caen	Caen	x	x	
1067	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 244	Saint-Ouen de Rouen				x
1067 × 1077	<i>RADN</i> , no. 222 (sig. interp.)	Saint-Martin d'Ecujeul	Troarn	x	x	
1068	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 179	Saint-Désir de Lisieux		x	x	x
1068	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 280	Troarn			x	
May 1068	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 286	Wells cathedral			x	
11 May 1068	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 181	St. Martin-le-Grand	Westminster		x	
1071	<i>Nouveau traité de diplomatique</i> , i, pp. 375-376	Saint-Denis	Rouen		x	x
1073 × 1077	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 197	Marmoutier	Le Mans		x	
30 March 1073	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 274	Saint-Pierre de Solesmes	Bonneville-sur-Touques		x	
after 1073 × 1077	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 173	Saint-Vincent-du-Mans	Bonneville-sur-Touques		x	
1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 27	Bayeux cathedral			x	
May 1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 261	Saint-Wandrille			x	
30 Nov. 1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 26	Bayeux cathedral	Rouen (<i>in aula turris</i>)		x	
1076	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 179a	Saint-Désir de Lisieux	Rouen	x	x	

Fig. 47 Appearances of Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux (1046 × 1047/8-1077), in the diplomatic record*

* Hugh's *signum* also appears in the witness lists of two charters, which both contain chronological irregularities that defy easy tabulation, *Regesta*, nos. 30 and 54. He also appears twice in a confirmation charter for Saint-Léger de Préaux, *Regesta*, no. 217. Hugh is also mentioned in a lost charter issued for the abbey of Troarn, Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix H, no. 1, p. 321.

sur-Dives, located about 18km northeast of Falaise. Although some date the foundation of this house to around 1011,²¹ the foundation chronicle of Saint-Pierre itself claims that it occurred after William d'Eu's death,²² which can be located no more exactly than 1015 × 1040.²³ Nevertheless, the nuns were at Saint-Pierre long enough to realise that the experiment was failing. When they were moved to Lisieux is also a matter of some uncertainty. Douglas claimed they arrived in the city in around 1046, since they were thereupon replaced at Dives by a community of monks, whose first abbot, Ainard, arrived in this year.²⁴ Pierre Bouet, Monique Dosdat and François Neveux claim the transfer occurred c. 1050,²⁵ although scholars of the nineteenth century preferred the same date as Douglas,²⁶ while Marie Fauroux claimed the foundation charter must have been issued after 1049, since this was the year in which Hugh became bishop.²⁷ However, given the redating of the episcopate of Hugh's predecessor noted above, and the lack of anything in the foundation charter to indicate otherwise, it would seem more likely that the nuns were removed from Saint-Pierre in around 1046, and re-established at Lisieux shortly thereafter. The first abbess was a certain Godehuinde Médon,²⁸ although nothing significant is known about her, and while the abbey was reasonably successful, its poor position within the city led to it often being damaged, which meant it never became one of the great Norman houses.²⁹

Hugh's activities just before, and shortly after, his trip to Reims also testify to the readiness with which he became involved in the religious governance of the duchy.

²¹ J. Deshayes, 'Le pavement roman de l'ancienne abbatale Notre-Dame-du-Pré à Saint-Désir de Lisieux et le problème de la sépulture de l'évêque Hughes d'Eu', in *Chapitres et cathédrales en Normandie*, pp. 469-478, at p. 470; Le Pareux, 'L'abbaye Notre-Dame-du-Pré', p. 16.

²² GC, xi, *Instr.*, col. 154. With regards to this chronicle, see the copy in BN, ms. fr. 4899, pp. 505-507, which was 'colationnée sur l'original en parchemin, qui est sous la cote 3', and which has the same text as *Gallia Christiana*.

²³ Douglas, 'The earliest Norman counts', p. 140.

²⁴ Douglas, 'The earliest Norman counts', p. 138 n. 2.

²⁵ Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 31; Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, p. 340. François Neveux at one time preferred the year c. 1046 (F. Neveux, 'Villes épiscopales de Normandie: études d'histoire sociale, XIVe-XVe siècles', Thèse d'État, 2 vols. (Université de Caen, 1993), ii, p. 463), although championed that of c. 1050 more recently for unexplained reasons.

²⁶ G.-A. Simon and F. Cottin, 'L'abbaye Benedictine de Notre-Dame-du-Pré-lès-Lisieux, d'après les dernières fouilles', *Bulletin de la Société historique de Lisieux*, 28 (1930-1949), pp. 16-26, at pp. 16-17. Some local historians of the nineteenth century preferred the later date, however, L. du Bois, *Histoire de Lisieux: ville, diocèse et arrondissement*, 2 vols. (Lisieux, 1845), i, p. 91.

²⁷ RADN, p. 317.

²⁸ G.-A. Simon, 'Liste des abbesses de Saint-Désir de Lisieux', in *Études lexoviennes*, 2 (1919), pp. 45-79, at p. 48.

²⁹ Neveux, *Bayeux et Lisieux*, p. 341.

His witnessing of a charter of the archbishop of Rouen for the abbey of Saint-Ouen³⁰ was soon followed by a confirmation of a charter first issued for Bec on 24 February 1041, which he issued along with his brother William Busac,³¹ who was exiled from the duchy shortly thereafter.³² It was also at his hands that began the ecclesiastical career of Odo, the future bishop of Bayeux, for Hugh ordained him a deacon at Fécamp sometime during 1046 × 1049,³³ while in 1050, the bishop attended the dedication of the newly restored abbey of Saint-Évroult along with the duke, the archbishop of Rouen and all the other Norman suffragans.³⁴ According to certain redactions of the foundation charter, which was drawn up at Lyons-la-Forêt,³⁵ the bishop of Lisieux stipulated that the monks would be allowed always to have recourse to their choice of abbot should either he, or his successors, refuse to bless him.³⁶ Hugh then blessed the abbot Theoderic (from whom he would also later accept his resignation),³⁷ although when this event actually took place is unclear.³⁸ In the same year Hugh also contributed to the abbey of Grestain, which was founded by Herluin de Conteville, and consented to the donation by Robert, count of Mortain, of the land of a certain Gundran and half a mill in Carbec,³⁹ while at some point before 1053, he consented to certain purchases made by his aunt Béatrix, who was also abbess of Montivilliers (1035-1065).⁴⁰

The monastic houses of the duchy were not the only religious institutions to benefit from Hugh's apparent energy and enthusiasm. Within eight years of his arrival

³⁰ AD Seine-Maritime, 14H 160.

³¹ *RADN*, no. 98.

³² *GND*, ii, p. 128.

³³ Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', p. 596. For discussion of the redating of this event, which is normally placed in 1049, see below pp. 320-321.

³⁴ *OV*, ii, p. 16-18, 38.

³⁵ Lyons-la-Forêt, Eure, chef-lieu.

³⁶ 'Quod etiam completum est in prima ordinatione abbatis Theoderici eiusdem loci, eligentibus Roberto atque Willelmo eius avunculo scilicet constitutoribus ipsius loci aliisque monachis, ordinante Lisiocacensi Hugone episcopo qui hoc etiam ex sua parte, ut tam ipse quam sui successores causa alicujus non recte occasionis abbatem ordinare renuerint, illos perrecturos ad quemcumque maluerint, audientibus Roberto Gerogii filio, Hernaldo, Willelmoque nepotibus, Hugone etiam qui maiorem partis possessionis eidem loci tribuit atque etiam hec concedentibus', *RADN*, no. 122 versions CDE.

³⁷ *OV*, ii, p. 68.

³⁸ Orderic states that the benediction took place on a Sunday, 5 October, *OV*, iii, p. 18. None of the Sundays in October between 1046 and 1057 fell on a Sunday, while the first Sunday in October 1050 was the 7th. This is the date repeated by some scholars, J.-M. Lamouroux, 'L'abbaye de Saint-Évroult au XIe siècle', in *La Normandie bénédictine*, pp. 249-261, at p. 250; Gazeau, *Normannia nomastica*, ii, p. 273.

³⁹ *Regesta*, no. 158. Carbec, Eure, cant. Beuzeville.

⁴⁰ *Regesta*, no. 212. These gifts, confirmed between 1068 and 1076, were witnessed by Hugh along with William, count of Arques, who rebelled and was exiled in the summer of 1053.

in the diocese, Hugh had completed large parts of the cathedral of Lisieux, and by 1055, it was ready to hold the council that deposed Mauger, archbishop of Rouen. Hugh himself played a significant role in this momentous event, and perhaps specifically chosen because of his familial connection with the disgraced archbishop, publically condemned his cousin before those gathered.⁴¹ Whether the cathedral had actually been dedicated by this point is unclear, however.⁴² Historians of the diocese suggest that it was,⁴³ although Arthur du Monstier claimed that the building was consecrated on an 8 July c. 1060 × 1070.⁴⁴ The ceremonies surrounding the dedication are also subject to some uncertainty. According to Georges Huard, an eleventh-century consecration cross could still be seen at the beginning of the twentieth century on the pier of the southern tower of the western façade, located 1m 82 from ground level.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, this marking, which would have been 50cm higher in the eleventh century,⁴⁶ can no longer be seen, and may be hidden behind a notice board recently erected by diocesan authorities.⁴⁷

Local tradition also claims that it was during the dedication of the cathedral that Hugh translated to the city the relics of St. Ursin. According to the saint's '*vita*', when the council which deposed Mauger was convened, the city of Lisieux, and its surrounding areas, were suffering from a terrible plague.⁴⁸ Wanting to rid his people of this awful burden, and wishing to solemnly dedicate his newly completed church, Hugh asked the archbishop of Bourges to bring the relics of St. Ursin to Lisieux. This having been done, and with the cathedral dedicated, it came time to return the relics

⁴¹ GG, i. 58, p. 92.

⁴² It is Orderic who informs us that the cathedral was dedicated by Hugh, but he fails to provide a precise date, OV, iii, p. 16.

⁴³ Pellerin and Bergeret, *Cathédrale de Lisieux*, p. 7; Hardy, *La cathédrale de Lisieux*, p. 12; V. Lahaye, 'Les Reliques et les reliquaires de St. Ursin à Lisieux', *Études lexoviennes*, 2 (1919), pp. 177-214, at p. 179.

⁴⁴ Du Monstier, *Neustria sancta*, BN, ms. lat. 10051, fol. 189r. Misidentified by Bouet and Dosdat as Du Monstier's published work, *Neustria pia*, while they also mistakenly claimed Du Monstier stated the year as exactly 1060, Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 31. His marginal note actually reads 'circa an(no) 1060 seu 1070'.

⁴⁵ Huard, 'La cathédrale de Lisieux', p. 6.

⁴⁶ Erlande-Brandenburg, 'La cathédrale de Lisieux', p. 141.

⁴⁷ An attempt to find this cross following the description given by Huard was carried out by the author on 14 October 2007.

⁴⁸ The material concerning Ursin's cult at Lisieux was first compiled by Jean Le Prévost, *Les Vies des saints patrons du diocèse de Lisieux* (Lisieux, 1740), esp. pp. 181-184. For a critical evaluation of this work, see H. Pellerin, 'Le culte de saint Ursin à Lisieux', *BSAN*, 58 (1965-1966), pp. 175-212; C. Hanusse and B. Tixier, 'La paroisse de Courtisigny au diocèse de Bayeux. Éléments d'enquête', in *La paroisse en Normandie au Moyen Âge: actes du colloque de Saint-Lô (28-30 nov. 2002)*, ed. M. Guibert (Saint-Lô, 2008), pp. 239-260, at pp. 245-251.

south. However, when the cart carrying the saint reached the wood outside the city known as *forêt Rathouin* it became so heavy that no one was able to move it. Realising that Ursin wished to honour the city of Lisieux with his presence, Hugh convinced the Bourges authorities that the relics should be returned to his cathedral, where he promptly placed them behind the high altar along with those of SS. Patrick and Bertivin. Of course, given the tardiness of this tradition (the saint's cult cannot be definitively located at the cathedral until the late twelfth century, despite claims to the contrary),⁴⁹ and the strange choice of saint (there are only five Norman parochial dedications in his honour),⁵⁰ scholars have more recently called into question the veracity of the early history of the cult. Indeed, not only is it possible that Ursin's relics were first 'rediscovered' at the cathedral in the mid-twelfth century, but that he was also simply a local saint, whose later confusion with his more famous brother from Bourges led to the need to create the miraculous story of his installation at Lisieux by Hugh.⁵¹ Interestingly, a now lost plaque marking the spot where the relics were once placed does seem to suggest that Ursin's cult was established at Lisieux before Hugh's arrival,⁵² and while Henri Pellerin was unable to provide an alternative identity for the saint,⁵³ the existence in the episcopal lists of Coutances of a St. *Ursicinus*,⁵⁴ and the association of Hugh's predecessor with this same see, might provide a tantalising glimpse at the identity of the individual responsible for first introducing the saint to the city.⁵⁵

Fortunately, we can be more certain about Hugh's role in the establishment of other cathedral institutions. Under his supervision, the cathedral chapter boasted a

⁴⁹ Jean Le Prévost claimed that John, bishop of Lisieux, established the feast of the translation of St. Ursin to 11 June, and that vestments embroidered with the story of St. Ursin's arrival at Lisieux, which belonged to the bishop William de Rupierre, were to be found in the sacristy (Le Prévost, *Les Vies des saints de Lisieux*, pp. 186, 189). However, the oldest documentary mention of Ursin's relics at Lisieux comes from a papal bull dated 29 July 1389, Pellerin, 'Le culte de saint Ursin', pp. 184-185.

⁵⁰ There are two dedications in the Eure, two in Calvados and one in La Manche, while only the cathedral of Lisieux is known to have celebrated his feast, Fournée, *Le culte des saints*, pp. 29-32, at p. 31.

⁵¹ Pellerin, 'Le culte de saint Ursin', pp. 199-202, 206-207, 211.

⁵² Pellerin, 'Le culte de saint Ursin', pp. 202-206.

⁵³ Pellerin simply suggested that Ursin, like those saints with whom he was interred, was '*aussi Lexovien*', Pellerin, 'Le culte de saint Ursin', p. 211.

⁵⁴ Unfortunately, although Duchesne acknowledge his presence in the ancient episcopal lists of Coutances, he did not include *Ursicinus* among his list of bishops (Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii, pp. 237, 239-241), while even the editors of *Gallia Christiana* seemed unsure of his existence, *GC*, xi, col. 865.

⁵⁵ C. Maneuvrier, 'Paysages et sociétés rurales au Moyen Âge: le pays d'Auge jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle', Thesis, PhD, 3 vols. (Université de Caen, 2000), i, pp. 48-52.

dean, five different archdeacons, a treasurer, a cantor, a chaplain and at least three canons.⁵⁶ Most famous among these was the archdeacon William of Poitiers, who during Hugh's episcopate composed his celebrated panegyric dedicated to the Conqueror, and in which he included a flattering portrait of his bishop.⁵⁷ Despite the presence of such a prolific author, the first known *scholasticus* of Lisieux appears for the first time only in the mid-twelfth century.⁵⁸ Furthermore, Monique Dosdat was not convinced that an episcopal school existed in the city during Hugh's reign, and while it is possible that William of Poitiers was himself responsible for education within the cathedral community, it seems that Hugh's own scholarly interests were limited to the knowledge of hagiographical and patristic texts.⁵⁹ Though while this same scholar believed Hugh was disinterested in secular matters, evidence from later centuries suggests that the bishop not only established a hunting park similar to those at Avranches, Bayeux and Coutances,⁶⁰ but also strictly administered commerce within the city, compelling merchants to sell in his halls. The bishop also controlled many mills within the city and its outskirts.⁶¹

The years leading up to the Conquest saw Hugh continue to be involved in a wide range of activities. In 1059 × 1066, he was involved in the foundation of Saint-Martin du Bosc,⁶² while in 1061 he was in Rouen to witness an act for Mont-Saint-Michel.⁶³ Two years later, he was back in the capital for the dedication of Rouen cathedral,⁶⁴ while the next year his city was host to the diocesan council convened by Archbishop Maurilius.⁶⁵ The bishop was particularly busy in the year of the invasion itself, and was at Fécamp to witness an act for the abbey of Coulombs; at Bayeux, in the hall of the duke (*in camera comitis*), to witness an act for Beaumont-lès-Tours, and at Caen on 18 June for the dedication of the abbey of La Trinité.⁶⁶ He was also at the meeting that same year that discussed the English campaign, but unlike some of his episcopal

⁵⁶ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 172-174, 180-181, 183, 186, 189.

⁵⁷ *GG*, i. 58, pp. 92-94.

⁵⁸ This is the *scholasticus* Robert, who himself makes only one appearance in the historical record, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 181.

⁵⁹ Dosdat, 'Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle', pp. 228-229.

⁶⁰ Casset, 'Les stratégies d'implantation', pp. 37-51; Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, p. 54.

⁶¹ Neveux, 'Les évêques et les villes', pp. 212-213.

⁶² *RADN*, no. 218. Hugh dedicated the priory along with Durand, abbot of Troarn.

⁶³ *RADN*, nos. 209.

⁶⁴ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

⁶⁵ Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

⁶⁶ *RADN*, nos. 227, 230, 231. Hugh also witnessed a charter for the cathedral of Avranches in this year, *RADN*, no. 229.

counterparts, he seems to have remained behind in Normandy.⁶⁷ His brother Robert, however, contributed sixty ships to the expedition,⁶⁸ while it was his archdeacon, Gilbert son of Osbern, who was selected to communicate the decision to invade to the authorities in Rome, and who returned successfully with the famous papal banner.⁶⁹ Hugh was soon at the side of the duke following his return to the duchy in April 1067, witnessing a charter for Saint-Ouen de Rouen,⁷⁰ while on the 1 July he was present at the dedication of Jumièges, which was carried out in the presence of an impressive gathering of ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries.⁷¹ The following year the duke, along with his eldest son, agreed to a grant made by Hugh to his foundation of Saint-Désir de Lisieux.⁷² It is possible that this concession was made in England, to where William, who was most likely accompanied by the bishop of Lisieux, had returned by December 1067.⁷³

What motivated Hugh's visit across the Channel is unclear. By 1086, the bishop of Lisieux possessed an impressive number of lands located in eight English counties, while the canons of Lisieux also possessed land in the West Country (fig. 49).⁷⁴ Regrettably, it is uncertain whether these manors belonged to the bishop during Hugh's episcopate. His successor, Gilbert Maminot, is personally named in Domesday as holding lands in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Kent and Yorkshire,⁷⁵ and it is to his episcopate that some have dated the donation of all the lands belonging to the bishop.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, while Gilbert Maminot was certainly a favourite of the duke, Hugh was himself a member of one of the most important families in the duchy, while William of Poitiers claims he endowed his cathedral with many lands.⁷⁷ Moreover, if the bishop had been granted holdings in the West Country it would certainly explain why he witnessed a charter in May 1068 for

⁶⁷ *OV*, ii, pp. 140-142.

⁶⁸ Van Houts, 'The ship list', Appendix I, p. 176.

⁶⁹ *OV*, ii, p. 142. Gilbert was, of course, later bishop of Évreux.

⁷⁰ *Regesta*, no. 244.

⁷¹ *GND*, ii, p. 172; *OV*, ii, p. 198.

⁷² *Regesta*, no. 179.

⁷³ The king spent most of 1068 campaigning, with the weeks before Easter being occupied with the siege of Exeter, *Regesta*, p. 78.

⁷⁴ *GDB*, fol. 6v, 30r, 31v, 32r, 66r, 68v, 76r, 77v, 127v, 134v, 144r, 145v, 156v. These possession had a total value of £84, 18 s. Among the Norman episcopate, only the bishops of Bayeux and Coutances possessed more English lands.

⁷⁵ *GDB*, fol. 7r, 56v, 144r-v, 166v, 298r, 382r.

⁷⁶ J. Parker, 'The church in Domesday', in *Domesday Studies*, 2 (1886), pp. 399-432, at pp. 403-404.

⁷⁷ *GG*, i. 58, p. 92.

The canons of Lisieux

Place	County	Holding	Value	Folio
Kingston Deverill	Wilts.	All	70 s.	68v

The bishop of Lisieux

Place	County	Holding	Value	Folio
Bow Brickhill	Bucks.	All	£4	145v
Crafton	Bucks.	All	60 s.	145v
Gayhurst	Bucks.	All	100 s.	145r
Lathbury	Bucks.	1 hide (less 5')	—	145r
Weston Turville	Bucks.	1 hide	—	144r
Coombe Keynes	Dorset	All	£7	77v
Hinton Martell	Dorset	1 hide in demesne	20 s.	76r
Preston	Dorset	All	70 s.	77v
Tarrant Crawford	Dorset	All	100 s.	77v
Tarrant Keyneston	Dorset	All	£13	77v
Redbourn	Herts.	All	8 s.	134v
—	Kent	2 manors	—	30r
Greenwich	Kent	All	£12	6v
Stepney	Middlesex	1½ hides	—	127v
Duns Tew	Oxon.	All	60 s.	156v
Dunthorp	Oxon.	All	£3	156v

[Great and Little] Tew	Oxon.	All	30 s.	156v
Westcott Barton	Oxon.	All	£7	156v
Battersea	Surrey	2 hides	—	32r
Hatcham	Surrey	All	40 s.	31v
Peckham	Surrey	All	30 s.	31v
Somerford Keynes	Wilts	All	£7	66r
Yatton Keynell	Wilts	All	40 s.	66r

Total: £84, 18 s.

Gilbert Maminot

Place	County	Holding	Value	Folio
Windsor	Berks.	3 virgates	—	56v
‘Dilehurst’ [in Taplow]	Bucks.	All	£6	144r
Leckhampstead	Bucks.	All	£6	144v
Lasborough	Glos.	All	50 s.	166v
Little Sodbury	Glos.	All	£4	166v
Rodmarton	Glos.	All	£3	166v
Cudham	Kent	All	£24	7r
Keston	Kent	All	40 s.	7r
Burythorpe	Yorks.	1 carucate	—	382r
York	Yorks.	3 messuages	—	298r

Total: £47, 10 s.

Fig. 49 The Domesday holdings of the bishops of Lisieux, the canons of Lisieux and Gilbert Maminot

the cathedral of Wells, while it is possible that he was rewarded for helping his brother fulfil his quota of ships.⁷⁸ Hugh's return to Normandy is undocumented. His last known act in England can be dated to 11 May 1068, when at Westminster he witnessed a charter at the time of Mathilda's consecration as queen, but it is possible that he remained in the kingdom long after this date.⁷⁹ The bishop of Évreux, who had perhaps travelled over with his colleague, was still in England by 13 April 1069,⁸⁰ although Hugh had certainly returned by 1071, for in this year at Rouen he witnessed a charter of John of Ivry for Saint-Denis.⁸¹

Hugh's visit to England was not his only expedition outside Normandy. At some point between 1073 and 1077 he was at Le Mans, where he witnessed a charter in favour of the abbey of Marmoutier.⁸² This document is perhaps to be associated with the duke's campaign in Maine in early 1073,⁸³ and while Hugh certainly seems to have travelled with the ducal court at this time, witnessing another Manceau charter issued at Bonneville-sur-Touques on 30 March 1073,⁸⁴ the Norman duke is known to have returned to the region in the summer of this same year, along with the archbishop of Rouen and abbot of Saint-Ouen, who were advising him on another campaign.⁸⁵ The Marmoutier charter could, therefore, have been issued at this time, with Hugh perhaps acting alongside the other Norman prelates as a military advisor. Of course, such behaviour is difficult for us to reconcile with the account of William of Poitiers, whose portrait of Hugh suggests he had little appetite for such things,⁸⁶ but it would require a considerable level of naivety, given the tendencies of the eleventh-century Norman episcopate, and Hugh's own familial background, for us to accept

⁷⁸ *Regesta*, no. 286.

⁷⁹ *Regesta*, no. 181.

⁸⁰ *Regesta*, no. 254.

⁸¹ *Nouveau traité de diplomatie*, i, pp. 375-376.

⁸² *Regesta*, no. 197.

⁸³ According to Orderic, the duke entered the county early in the year and quickly subdued garrisons at Fresnay and Sillé, before entering Le Mans, *OV*, ii, p. 306-308.

⁸⁴ *Regesta*, no. 274.

⁸⁵ '... qua Guillelmus Nortmannorum comes et Anglorum rex gloriosus, Cinomannis cum expeditione sua morabatur. Aderant ei inter reliquos proceres iste Iohannes sedis huius archiepiscopus, ut vir excellentis ingenii, et non mediocris consilii; Nicholaus quoque reverendus abbas...', 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 225. The date is known because it was from here that the archbishop of Rouen returned late to his city to celebrate the feast day Mass of St. Ouen on 24 August, a delay that led to the famous riot of that day. For full discussion of this campaign, see Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum*' (forthcoming).

⁸⁶ For example, William claimed that the bishop's 'night watches are spent in prayer, in assiduous observance of the sacred offices, in close study of the holy Bible, and finally in his unfailing love for every holy work', *GG*, i, 58, p. 94.

these statements unquestioningly. Furthermore, Hugh's involvement in Manceau affairs is known to have continued beyond 1073, for on a Sunday in the middle of Lent after this year, he confirmed a donation made to the abbey of Saint-Vincent-du-Mans while staying at Bonneville-sur-Touques along with the king and Arnold, bishop of Le Mans.⁸⁷

The final years of Hugh's episcopate were as eventful as the first. In 1072, he was present at the reforming council of Rouen,⁸⁸ and two years later returned for another such meeting,⁸⁹ where it is possible he witnessed a charter for the abbey of Saint-Wandrille.⁹⁰ According to Orderic, he was in Bellême on 26 June 1074, where he saw Roger de Montgomery, who had invited him to his comital capital to help celebrate the feast of St. Léonard, issue a confirmation of a donation made to Saint-Évroult,⁹¹ while it is also possible that it was at this time that he witnessed, along with Baldwin, archdeacon of Sées, a grant made by the lord of Bellême to the church Notre-Dame du Vieux-Château.⁹² Towards the end of the year he was back in Rouen, and on 30 November witnessed two charters for Bayeux cathedral, which were issued in the tower of the ducal castle.⁹³ He was back in the ducal capital two years later, where he witnessed his last known act, which appropriately enough, concerned a donation to his foundation of Saint-Désir.⁹⁴ It is possible that during the last six months of his life he attended the dedication of the cathedral of Évreux,⁹⁵ but he was certainly not present at the dedication of that of Bayeux, having been taken ill at the beginning of July.⁹⁶ The bishop's infirmity had been presaged by the calamity which struck his cathedral on 24 June 1077, whose tower was hit by lightning, killing eight men and a woman.⁹⁷ It took another three weeks for the bishop, who seems to have retired to

⁸⁷ *Regesta*, no. 173.

⁸⁸ *OV*, ii, p. 286.

⁸⁹ Mansi, xx, col. 399.

⁹⁰ *Regesta*, no. 261.

⁹¹ *OV*, iii, p. 158.

⁹² *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, ed. P. Barret (Mortagne, 1894), no. 1, p. 4. The act can be dated no more precisely than 1070 × 1082, but while this means it may have been witnessed by Hugh's successor, Gilbert is not known to have had any other dealings with the ecclesiastical institutions of Bellême.

⁹³ *Regesta*, nos. 26 and 27. Only one of these acts is dated precisely to 30 November (the other is simply to the year), but the similarities between the two charters suggests they were made at the same time.

⁹⁴ *Regesta*, no. 179a.

⁹⁵ For discussion of the date of this event, see above pp. 229-230.

⁹⁶ Hugh's last moments are recorded by Orderic, *OV*, iii, pp. 14-16.

⁹⁷ *OV*, iii, p. 14.

Pont-l'Évêque, to succumb to his illness. Eventually sensing his terminal decline, Hugh had asked to be transported to his cathedral before his death. His disease proved too serious, however, and the bishop died, surrounded by his clergy, in a field located just outside the town.⁹⁸

Despite the idyllic setting of his passing, the bishop's demise was soon followed by the uglier realities of medieval death. First the canons of Lisieux and nuns of Saint-Désir argued over where the bishop should be interred, and once a ducal court convened in Rouen had found in the nuns' favour, John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen, then refused to bury Hugh because, according to Orderic, he did not like him.⁹⁹ The bishop was finally laid to rest at Saint-Désir on 25 July, the same day as the church's dedication, with the service officiated by the bishops of Sées and Évreux in the presence of Hugh's brother, Robert.¹⁰⁰ Orderic Vitalis preserved his epitaph, which was inscribed in letters of gold,¹⁰¹ while fragments of the pavement around the tomb survive to this day.¹⁰² Despite the problems surrounding his burial, and the fact that the canons of Lisieux had lost regular access to the body of one of their most important early bishops, Hugh's memory was long-lasting at the cathedral. The portrait of William of Poitiers, and that of Orderic Vitalis, helped cement Hugh's place among the medieval bishops of Lisieux, and he was remembered by Noël Deshays as '*un des plus vertueux et plus illustres qui aient gouverné notre diocèse dans l'antiquité*'.¹⁰³ Hugh's death was recorded in the cathedral obituary on 18 July,¹⁰⁴ while he was the only one of the eleventh-century bishops to have had two Masses said in his honour, one on 8 March and the other on 14 October.¹⁰⁵ Such

⁹⁸ OV, iii, p. 18. Auguste Le Prévost believed this field, which in Orderic's day was known as Bishop's Cross, was the same place that in the nineteenth century was called Pré-l'Évêque, Le Prévost, *Orderici Vitalis*, ii, p. 309 n. 2. This nomenclature no longer exists among the communes of Pont-l'Évêque, INSEE, *Nomenclature du Calvados*, 2e partie, p. 89.

⁹⁹ OV, iii, p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ AD Calvados, 2 Fi 231.

¹⁰¹ OV, iii, p. 18.

¹⁰² F. Cottin, 'Sepulture de Hugues d'Eu évêque de Lisieux et fondateur de l'abbaye Notre-Dame du Pré à Saint-Désir de Lisieux', *Bulletin de la Société historique de Lisieux*, 30 (1961), pp. 16-21; Deshayes, 'Le pavement roman', pp. 470-475.

¹⁰³ Deshayes, 'Mémoires des évêques de Lisieux', p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ 'Obitus domno Hugonis episcopi Lexoviensis', BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1778, fol. 66r; AD Calvados, F 5557, p. 193. He appears under 17 July in the obituary of Saint-Évrout (RHGF, xxiii, p. 488), although the same date as the cathedral was observed at Saint-Désir de Lisieux: 'Obiit Hugo episcopus sancti Petri Lexo(viensis), fundator huius monasterii, et iacet in nostro choro, et debet dici magna commendatio, processio, et dicat pro eo oratio presta quesumus domine', Archives de l'abbaye Notre-Dame-du-Pré de Lisieux, non coté, p. 168 (microfilmed at AD Calvados, 1 Mi 328).

¹⁰⁵ *Obituarium ecclesiae Lexoviensis*, pp. 36, 134.

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Fig. 50 The tomb of Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux, excavated at Saint-Désir de Lisieux in 1946*

* Cottin, 'Sepulture de Hugues d'Eu', p. 16.

conventions had always to contend with the harsher aspects of medieval religious belief, however, and in one of the most interesting episodes recounted by Orderic, the former bishop of Lisieux was seen by a priest of Bonneval¹⁰⁶ on the 1 January 1091 walking among a host of the damned.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Saint-Aubin-de-Bonneval, Orne, cant. Vimoutiers.

¹⁰⁷ *OV*, iv, p. 240.

Gilbert Maminot, 1077-1101

Unlike his predecessor, we know little of Gilbert's background. According to Orderic Vitalis, he was the son of a lesser knight, Robert Courbépine, although the origins of Gilbert's sobriquet are obscure.¹ 'Maminot', the variant spellings of which include Mammoht, Maminoth and Maniinoht,² seems to be a nickname that either refers to some peculiarity of his physique, or to his devotion to the Virgin Mary, for in the fifteenth century 'Maminotier' meant 'devoted to Notre Dame'.³ It is possible the family originated from the modern department of Calvados, since in the twelfth century the fief of Maminot rendered the service of five knights, all of whom were located within this region.⁴ It has recently been argued, however, that Gilbert was an ancestor of the Maminots of West Greenwich, Kent.⁵ The bishop had a nephew (*nepos*) called Rodulf, who was perhaps the same individual as Rodulf Courbépine, a tenant of Odo, bishop of Bayeux,⁶ and who in early 1091 was involved in a donation of land on Guernsey to Marmoutier.⁷ According to Louis Dubreuil-Chambardel, Gilbert himself appeared in a charter of Marmoutier, which he dated 1053 × 1066.⁸ Unfortunately, the manuscript on which Dubreuil-Chambardel relied was destroyed in June 1940, although he argued that it was in the Touraine that Gilbert completed his medical training,⁹ to which Orderic Vitalis makes reference.¹⁰ Alternatively, the abbot Porée claimed Gilbert had completed his schooling in Poitiers, though the source of his information is unclear,¹¹ while Fécamp, Chartres and Salerno have all been proposed as possible—though not provable—locations for Gilbert's training.¹² What

¹ *OV*, iii, p. 20. Courbépine, Eure, cant. Bernay-Ouest.

² *Regesta*, no. 251; *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 700.

³ Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 31.

⁴ L.C. Loyd, *The origins of some Anglo-Norman families*, ed. C.T. Clay and D.C. Douglas (Leeds, 1951), p. 57.

⁵ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday people*, p. 212.

⁶ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 131; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday people*, p. 332.

⁷ BN, ms. lat. 5441 (i), p. 199.

⁸ L. Dubreuil-Chambardel, *Les médecins dans l'ouest de la France aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1914), p. 29.

⁹ BM (Tours), ms. 1372, fol. 217r. This manuscript was one of four (mss. 1371-1375) by André Salmon concerning the history of Marmoutier (*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: départements. Tome 37 Tours*, ed. G. Collon, 2 vols. (Paris, 1900-1905), ii, pp. 933-934), which were all destroyed in the fire of 1940. I am extremely grateful to Mme Michèle Prévost of the municipal library of Tours for alerting me to this loss. I have been unable to find any charter that mentions Gilbert before his accession to the episcopate in any of the surviving manuscripts known to contain Marmoutier diplomatic material.

¹⁰ *OV*, iii, p. 20; v, p. 8.

¹¹ Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, i, p. 101.

¹² Dosdat, 'Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle', p. 230.

is more certain is that Gilbert served as a royal chaplain before his accession to the episcopate, travelling with the court, and witnessing charters on both sides of the Channel.¹³ He also held a position of some considerable privilege, and acted throughout his life as the royal physician.¹⁴ It was undoubtedly this exposure to curial life, and his noble background, that recommended him to the episcopate when the diocese of Lisieux fell vacant in the summer of 1077. Gilbert was consecrated in the presence of John of Ivry sometime between 25 July and 22 October, although because of the archbishop's poor health, the actual service was performed by Michael, bishop of Avranches.¹⁵

Though if it appears Gilbert had much to recommend him for the episcopate, later contemporaries were not always so kind. In particular, Orderic Vitalis singled Gilbert out for a variety of crimes, including his love of leisure, gambling and hunting.¹⁶ The bishop of Lisieux was even guilty of fathering sons, an indiscretion overlooked by the monk of Saint-Évroult, one of whom (Hugh) held lands of his father in Dorset and Gloucestershire.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Gilbert had many worthy qualities, which Orderic did not neglect to mention. The foremost of these was his talent as a scholar and physician.¹⁸ In particular, his medical knowledge was unique within the Norman episcopate for this period, since such training was overwhelmingly restricted to men with a cenobitic background.¹⁹ Moreover, his position as a bishop-physician placed him among a select group of other prelates within wider Europe, many of whom, like Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, and John of Tours, bishop of Bath, were men of an

¹³ *Regesta*, no. 81(II) and 251.

¹⁴ *OV*, iii, p. 18.

¹⁵ *OV*, iii, p. 20. The date for his consecration is based on the burial of Hugh d'Eu, and Gilbert's first known act as bishop datable to a single day and year, namely his appearance at the dedication of Bec.

¹⁶ *OV*, iii, p. 20.

¹⁷ GDB, fol. 166v. Rodmarton and Lasborough (Glos.). Hugh Maminot is not mentioned directly by Domesday as holding of his father in Dorset, though his tenancy can be inferred by other sources, in particular the Dorset Geld Rolls, *The Victoria History of the county of Dorset*, ed. W. Page, 2 vols. (London, 1908-1968), iii, pp. 38, 129. For the identification of Hugh as Gilbert's son, see Keats-Rohan, *Domesday people*, p. 271. For Gilbert's other possible son, William Peverel of Dover, see Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 95 n. 203. For reasons discussed below, however, it is more likely that William was Gilbert's brother, which would mean that he was also the brother of Payn and Haimo Peverel. Katharine Keats-Rohan makes no connection between Peverel and the bishop of Lisieux, K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday descendants. II, Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum: a prosopography of persons occurring in English documents 1066-1166* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 1066-1068.

¹⁸ *OV*, iii, p. 20.

¹⁹ Men like Gontard, abbot of Jumièges (1079-1095), St. Anselm and Albert, a monk of Bec, who followed Lanfranc to Canterbury and became the community's physician. For discussion see G. Gasper, 'A doctor in the house? The context for Anselm of Canterbury's interest in medicine with reference to a probable case of malaria', *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), pp. 245-261.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1077 × 1078	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 217	Saint-Léger de Préaux			x	
1079 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 282	Troarn			x	
1079 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 57	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1080/1 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 53	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		
1080 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 281(I & III)	Troarn			x	
1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 257	Saint-Gabriel, priory			x	x
12 April 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 235	La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen				x
14 July 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175(II)	Lessay	Bonneville-sur-Touques		x	
27 Dec. 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 200	Marmoutier				x
27 Dec. 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 201	Marmoutier	Cherbourg			x
1081 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 49	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1081 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 50	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 59(I & II)	La Trinité de Caen			x	
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215	Saint-Évroult de Mortain		x	x	
24 June 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 205(I & II)	Marmoutier	Oissel		x	
15 Sept. 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 264	Saint-Wandrille	Oissel	x		
April 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 230	Rouen cathedral	Fécamp	x		
18 July 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 64(I, II & III)	La Trinité de Caen		x	x	
1084	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 248	Saint-Ouen de Rouen	Rouen (in the abbey)		x	
9 Jan. 1084	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 252	Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire			x	
1087 × 1089	<i>Cartulaire de Beaumont-le-Roger</i> , no. i	Beaumont-le-Roger				x
20 July × 9 Sept. 1089	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r-v	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		
Feb. 1091	BN, ms. 5441 (i), p. 199	Marmoutier				x
1091 × 1095	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 7	Jumièges	Lisieux		x	
1093 × 1094	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267(II)	Saint-Florent de Saumur	Bonneville-sur-Touques	x		
15 July 1096	GC, xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 19-20	Saint-Lucien de Beauvais	Rouen cathedral		x	
13 Nov. 1099	BN, ms. lat. 11056, fol. 33v-34r	Saint-Évroult	Saint-Évroult	x		

Fig. 51 Appearances of Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux (1077-1101), in the diplomatic record*

* A *Giselbertus episcopus* also appears in *Regesta*, nos. 143 and 198. This could be either Gilbert Maminot, or Gilbert, bishop of Évreux (1071-1112). Gilbert Maminot also appears in two ducal charters before his accession to the episcopate, when he served as a royal chaplain; *Regesta*, nos. 81 and 251. It is also possible that Gilbert is the bishop of Lisieux mentioned, along with Baldwin, archdeacon of Sées, in a charter for Notre-Dame du Vieux-Château, though this could be his predecessor, *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 1, p. 4.

outstanding calibre.²⁰ Gilbert also encouraged scholarly pursuits among his own cathedral community,²¹ and although a *scholasticus* cannot be traced at Lisieux until the mid-twelfth century,²² the bishop is known have interacted with other scholars, such as the unidentified Giroie Grossivus.²³ The most interesting of Gilbert's scholarly pursuits remains, of course, his interest in astronomy, but we have little to indicate the exact level of his learning in this regard, besides the occasional anecdotal reference by Orderic Vitalis.²⁴

The nature of Gilbert's appearances in the historical record also does much to confirm Orderic's image of him as a competent, if occasionally reluctant, member of the episcopate.²⁵ Although it is likely that he had already occupied the see for some time, Gilbert's first known official act as bishop occurred on 23 October 1077, when, along with Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Bayeux, Évreux, Sées and Le Mans, he helped dedicate the newly completed abbey church of Bec.²⁶ The new bishop of Lisieux also quickly established himself as an active member of the royal court, appearing in twenty-one pieces of diplomatic in the first seven years of his episcopate (an average of three acts per year), while the third year of his reign proved to be particularly eventful. Gilbert was not only witness to five acts during the course of 1080, many of which were issued on occasions when large numbers of dignitaries, both Norman and foreign, had gathered,²⁷ but he also attended the celebrated council convened at Lillebonne on Whitsunday (31 May).²⁸ The years that

²⁰ For a full list of men known to have practiced medicine in the Anglo-Norman realm up to 1154, see E.J. Kealey, *Medieval medicus: a social history of Anglo-Norman medicine* (Baltimore, MD, 1981), pp. 31-33.

²¹ *OV*, iii, pp. 20-22.

²² Spear, *The personnel*, p. 181. This, however, has not stopped some scholars from referring to the 'school of Lisieux' in the eleventh century, Dubreuil-Chambardel, *Les médecins de la France*, pp. 104-105.

²³ *OV*, iv, p. 190. Marjorie Chibnall proposed that this individual might be identified with Geoffrey Grossus, author of the *vita* of St. Bernard of Tiron, *OV*, iv, p. 190 n. 6.

²⁴ *OV*, iii, p. 20; v, pp. 8-10.

²⁵ *OV*, iii, p. 20.

²⁶ *Chronique du Bec*, p. 3.

²⁷ *Regesta*, no. 257 (witnessed by, among others, the king, his sons Robert and William, six of the Norman bishops, and the abbots of Westminster, Saint-Évroult, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives and Sées); *Regesta*, no. 235 (witnessed by, among others, the king and queen, the archbishops of Rouen, Bourges and Vienne, and the bishops of Évreux and Coutances); *Regesta*, no. 175(II) (witnessed by, among others, the king and queen, their sons Robert and William, the archbishops of Canterbury, Rouen and York, the bishops of Avranches, Bayeux, Coutances, Évreux, Salisbury and Winchester, and the abbots of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, Jumièges, Saint-Taurin d'Évreux, Saint-Évroult and Bec); *Regesta*, nos. 200 and 201 (witnessed by, among others, the king, and the bishops of Avranches and Coutances).

²⁸ *OV*, iii, p. 24.

followed saw Gilbert continue to be similarly occupied. Between 1081 and 1084, he was witness to just over an average of three acts per year, while he also assisted in such matters as the dedication of Saint-Évroult de Mortain, the foundation of the priory of Saint-Hilaire du Harcouët, and the resolution of the conflict between the archbishop of Rouen and the abbot of Saint-Wandrille over the abbey's possession of an ordeal iron.²⁹

Gilbert's activities in the final years of the Conqueror's reign are difficult to trace. Though if his absence from court suggests he had somehow fallen out of royal favour, his situation was by no means unusual among the Norman episcopate.³⁰ Furthermore, if any proof were needed of Gilbert's importance to the Conqueror as one of his closest advisors, it is to be found in the bishop's English possessions as listed in Domesday Book. This records that he had been rewarded with extensive personal holdings in five different counties, which he had probably begun to acquire before his accession to the episcopate,³¹ while it is likely that it was during his tenure that the bishop of Lisieux was first granted other possessions in Buckinghamshire, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, Middlesex, Surrey and Wiltshire (fig. 49).³² Later sources also confirm that one of the wards of Dover castle was that of Maminot,³³ and, as the following genealogical table demonstrates, Gilbert was also able to rely on a vast kin network within England. This seems to have included at least one son, although enough contradictory evidence survives to make determining the exact extent of Gilbert's relations a difficult task. For example, Frank Barlow held that William Peverel of Dover may have been either a son or brother of the bishop,³⁴ though Katharine Keats-Rohan, who never links Gilbert with William, claims that Hugh Maminot, who she believed was the bishop's son, married a sister of

²⁹ *Regesta*, nos. 215, 252, 264.

³⁰ Of the seven Norman bishops only Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, continues to appear in the royal diplomatic record after 1084. The remaining bishops, except Odo of Bayeux, who had been imprisoned in 1082, make their last appearances in either 1083 or 1084 (Gilbert son of Osbern, bishop of Évreux (*Regesta*, no. 284), Michael, bishop of Avranches (*Regesta*, no. 252), William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen (*Regesta*, no. 230)). Gerard, bishop of Sées, is almost entirely absent from the historical record at this time. As David Bates has noted elsewhere, however, the apparent disappearance of bishops from the diplomatic material may not reflect a decline in political fortunes, but simply a change in diplomatic style, Bates, 'Le rôle des évêques', pp. 109-110.

³¹ Schriber, *The dilemma of Arnulf*, p. 31.

³² Parker, 'The church in Domesday', pp. 403-404. It is not impossible, however, that this process had started under his predecessor. For discussion, see above pp. 268-271.

³³ *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols. (London, 1896), ii, pp. 617, 710, 721.

³⁴ Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 95 n. 203.

William Peverel de Bourn,³⁵ who was himself the son of William Peverel of Dover's brother, Payn.³⁶ Had William Peverel of Dover been either a brother or son of Gilbert, then Hugh Maminot would have married either his cousin or his aunt, respectively. Nevertheless, perhaps what is most clear from the familial and episcopal possessions in England is the extent to which they depended personally on Gilbert, for by the mid-twelfth century, the English holdings of the bishops of Lisieux, which had a value of almost £85, had been reduced to little more than the equivalent of one knight's fee.³⁷

Further evidence of Gilbert's special relationship with the Conqueror is found in his presence beside the king's deathbed in the autumn of 1087. Among one of a handful of clerics allowed access to the royal person, the bishop, undoubtedly valued for his medical knowledge, provided for the king both spiritual and corporal relief.³⁸ Despite their apparent closeness, however, Gilbert seems to have been among the wealthier attendants who abandoned the king's body to take care of their properties shortly after his death, although he was present at Caen for the king's funeral some weeks later.³⁹ The least one can say with regards to the bishop's relationship with William's successors in England and Normandy is that he appears to have managed to keep the trust of both king and duke. When Odo, bishop of Bayeux, rebelled against Rufus in the spring of 1088, the Maminot clan remained remarkably inactive, despite the fact that not only were they tenants of the bishop of Bayeux, but also that Dover, where a ward of the castle was held in their name, was one of the first places to enter into rebellion.⁴⁰ It was perhaps on account of this that Gilbert's son at West Greenwich was one of only a handful of Odo's vassals to become a tenant-in-chief following the failure of the uprising.⁴¹ Conversely, no evidence survives to suggest that Curthose was in any way displeased with the bishop for his failure to actively

³⁵ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday people*, p. 271.

³⁶ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday descendants*, p. 1068.

³⁷ Schriber, *The dilemma of Arnulf*, p. 31.

³⁸ *GND*, ii, p. 186; *OV*, iv, p. 80.

³⁹ *OV*, iv, pp. 100, 104.

⁴⁰ Dover's role in the rebellion, which William of St. Calais, bishop of Durham, claimed he had helped undermine, is mentioned in 'De iniusta vexacione', p. 91. What role, if any, the Maminots played in this limited uprising appears to have escaped the attention of chroniclers.

⁴¹ Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 163. Interestingly, Ralph Peverel is recorded as one of those to actively speak against the bishop of Durham at his trial ('De iniusta vexacione', p. 93), and although there is no formal relationship between the various Peverels, including those related to Gilbert Maminot, who occur in England, it has been argued that they were essentially members of the same kin group, Keats-Rohan, *Domesday people*, p. 356.

encourage his attempt to overthrow his brother. This is due in part, of course, to a total lack of evidence occasioned by the collapse of the ducal *curia* under Curthose, from which many of the Norman bishops, including to a certain extent, Gilbert, disappear entirely.⁴²

Unlike some of his contemporaries, however, Gilbert was not entirely isolated from the duke at this time,⁴³ nor did conditions in the duchy prevent him from performing some of his episcopal duties. In January 1091, he gave certain remedies to a priest of Bonneval who had fallen ill after witnessing a host of the damned,⁴⁴ while the following month it is possible he oversaw the donation made to the abbey of Marmoutier by a certain Ertald, who may be the same individual as the archdeacon of Lisieux by that name,⁴⁵ and in which his nephew Rodulf, a monk of the abbey, seems to have placed more value on the prestige of being a relative of the bishop than any toponym or sobriquet, despite the fact that he was himself entitled to be called 'lord' (*domnus*).⁴⁶ Interestingly, this document is dated by reference to William Rufus' invasion of Normandy in February 1091, another occasion when the bishop of Lisieux is conspicuous by his absence as an open supporter of either side.⁴⁷ The next month, on the fifteenth day, he ordained Orderic Vitalis as subdeacon,⁴⁸ while on 1 June he was present at the council which elected Serlo d'Orgères, abbot-elect of Saint-Évroult, as bishop of Sées,⁴⁹ an event which Curthose may have hoped would bring an end to the dispute between Gilbert and Serlo over a written profession of obedience.⁵⁰ Unfortunately for the duke, and for the monks of Saint-Évroult, it would take another eight years, and the intervention of the English king, before the situation was entirely

⁴² Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 76. Only the bishop of Bayeux can be placed among those men who witnessed ducal acts most often, and clearly formed a close and constant group around Curthose, Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 69.

⁴³ He witnessed a charter with Robert in 20 July × 9 Sept. 1089, AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r-v.

⁴⁴ *OV*, iv, p. 248.

⁴⁵ For Ertald, who is sometimes misidentified as an archdeacon of Évreux (*OV*, v, p. 267 n. 4), see Spear, *The personnel*, p. 174.

⁴⁶ 'Notum sit omnibus Maioris monasterii monachis quod Ertaldus dedit beato Martino et suis monachis, videlicet domno Radulfi nepoti domus Gisleberti Luxoviensium episcopi et domno Gaulteri, qui morabatur in insula Greneralii, v. acras terre sitas in eadem insula ad Prenigrum Montem...', BN, ms. 5441 (i), p. 199. A different version of this charter is edited in *Cartulaire des îles normands*, no. 304.

⁴⁷ 'Facta est hec donatio anno ab incarnatione Domini M.XCI. procurante Rotberto comite Normann(ie), in ipso anno quo frater eius rex Anglorum Guillelmus filius gloriosissimus regis Guillelmi se transmarinis Normanniam venit', BN, ms. 5441 (i), p. 199.

⁴⁸ *OV*, iii, p. 20; vi, p. 554.

⁴⁹ *OV*, iv, p. 252.

⁵⁰ *OV*, v, pp. 260-262.

resolved.⁵¹ If they had not already met since his arrival in the duchy, Gilbert and Rufus were probably reunited on 18 July 1091, almost four years since they had stood together around the Conqueror's deathbed, when the king, along with his two brothers, met at Caen, and together drew up the famous statement of law known as the *Consuetudines et Iusticie*.⁵²

What little else we know of Gilbert's career suggests a certain satisfaction with Curthose's rule. If Orderic's portrait of the bishop is accurate, then the two men perhaps had much in common, given their mutual love of all things hedonistic.⁵³ The bishop certainly continued, if in a more limited fashion, to participate in the ducal *curia*, and on at least one occasion played host to the duke, and a sizeable entourage of dignitaries, in his city.⁵⁴ Gilbert was also present at Bonneville-sur-Touques, again within the diocese of Lisieux, when the duke helped settle a dispute between the abbeys of Lessay and Saint-Florent de Saumur,⁵⁵ while their last known appearance together took place on 15 July 1096 in Rouen, no doubt amid the myriad preparations currently underway within the Norman capital for the First Crusade.⁵⁶ Gilbert's own attitude to this venture is unknown. According to Orderic, it was through his observance of the night sky that he came to predict the event,⁵⁷ and while the bishop of Lisieux was not at Clermont, he did attend the council convened in Rouen in early 1096, which promulgated its decrees.⁵⁸ Perhaps nearing the end of his life,⁵⁹ he realised that this adventure was more suited to younger men, such as his kinsman Payn Peverel, who apparently served as Curthose's standard bearer,⁶⁰ or perhaps his loyalty to the duke only extended so far. If he openly welcomed the arrival of William Rufus in the duchy, the diplomatic record does not reflect it. The two men never appear at each other's sides, and on the only occasion they are known to have interacted, the king probably incurred Gilbert's enmity by forcing him to finally

⁵¹ *OV*, v, p. 262.

⁵² Although it is unclear if Gilbert was directly involved in its drafting, the document claimed to have been written 'through the bishops and barons' (*per episcopos et barones*), among whom the bishop of Lisieux may well have been, Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix D, p. 281.

⁵³ For various examples of the duke's prodigality, see *OV*, iv, pp. 114, 118, 126, 156, 214.

⁵⁴ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, no. 7, pp. 291-292.

⁵⁵ *Regesta*, no. 267(II).

⁵⁶ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 19-20.

⁵⁷ *OV*, v, pp. 8-10.

⁵⁸ *OV*, v, p. 24.

⁵⁹ Orderic describes Gilbert at the time of his death five years later as 'aged', *OV*, v, p. 320.

⁶⁰ David, *Robert Curthose*, Appendix D, no. 31, pp. 225-226; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday descendants*, p. 1067.

abandon his claim for a written profession of obedience from the abbot of Saint-Évroult. On 29 August 1099, Roger, abbot of Saint-Évroult, was brought to Lisieux where he was blessed by Gilbert, who on 13 November that year returned to the abbey to help perform the dedication.⁶¹

What became of the bishop following these events is unclear. One of his first tasks upon his accession to the episcopal throne would have been the reconstruction of the cathedral tower, which had been destroyed by lightning towards the very end of his predecessor's reign.⁶² Remnants of Gilbert's work can still be seen under the current Gothic masonry, though whether the bishop continued to make additional architectural contributions to his church is unknown.⁶³ The sudden death of William Rufus, and the return of Robert Curthose, presented the duchy's inhabitants with more difficult choices, but as with so much of the conflict between the sons of the Conqueror, the bishop of Lisieux is not known to have played any visible role. He seems not to have openly supported Curthose's invasion of England in the summer of 1101, and unlike many of his colleagues, death spared him the difficulty of having to side either with Curthose or his younger brother. It is possible, however, that Gilbert had retired from his seat before his passing. According to Orderic, the bishop died in August 1101, shortly after the duke's return from his invasion,⁶⁴ a statement partially confirmed by the cathedral obituary, which honours the bishop under the twentieth day of this month.⁶⁵ The monk of Saint-Évroult also claims, however, that his successor, who died on a 29 January,⁶⁶ often presumed to be that of 1102,⁶⁷ was consecrated in the month of June,⁶⁸ which if the established chronology is maintained, must refer to the year 1101. It seems strange that, had Gilbert retired, Orderic chose not to mention such a fact (only two of Gilbert's colleagues are known to have taken

⁶¹ *OV*, v, pp. 260-266. Gilbert may also have dedicated the abbey of Saint-Léger de Préaux in this year, *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, p. 480 n. 27.

⁶² *OV*, iii, p. 14.

⁶³ Erlande-Brandenburg, 'La cathédrale de Lisieux', pp. 141-144.

⁶⁴ *OV*, v, p. 320. This statement is not entirely accurate, for the duke can still be seen operating within England as late as September 1101, David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 136 n. 79.

⁶⁵ 'Obitus domno Guil(bertus) Mamynot episcopi', BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1778, fol. 74r; 'Obitus domno G. Mamignot episcopi', AD Calvados, F 5557, p. 209. According to an eighteenth-century obituary, a Mass was to be said in honour of Bishop Gilbert every 21 May, *Obituarium ecclesiae Lexoviensis*, p. 65.

⁶⁶ BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1778, fol. 18v; AD Calvados, F 5557, p. 95.

⁶⁷ David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 151 n. 55; Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 32; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, p. 211.

⁶⁸ *OV*, v, p. 322.

such action),⁶⁹ and while David Spear has recently opted to place both Fulcher's consecration and death a year later, it is not impossible that Orderic simply wrote *Iunius* for *Ianuarius* by mistake.⁷⁰

Regardless, Fulcher's short-lived episcopate, which had been arranged by his brother, Rannulf Flambard, and approved by the duke, was to have dramatic consequences for the diocese. The new bishop was apparently illiterate, and, although he had some admirable qualities, much of what had been established by Gilbert and his predecessors began to disappear in a matter of months.⁷¹ Following his brother's demise, Flambard then managed to place his son, Thomas, a mere boy, into the bishopric. Incredibly, the duke not only approved his investiture, but also agreed that should Thomas die, another of Flambard's sons should succeed him.⁷² Despite the protestations of neighbouring prelates,⁷³ Flambard governed the see 'as a guardian' for three years, allowing its wealth to be slowly plundered.⁷⁴ In response to this, the Lisieux chapter elected William, archdeacon of Évreux, as bishop in 1105.⁷⁵ Unable to gain access to the city, the bishop-elect wrote to Ivo of Chartres.⁷⁶ Inquiring into the situation, the distinguished prelate found just how completely the ecclesiastical life of the duchy had unravelled, for although the archdeacon of Évreux had been canonically elected, he was unable to be consecrated by the archbishop of Rouen because he was under papal suspension. Ivo wrote to the pope for a ruling, but the delay simply allowed Flambard to insert his personal cleric, William de Pacy, into the see.⁷⁷ Fortunately, de Pacy was himself barred from the episcopate following accusations of simony.⁷⁸ The situation would only finally be resolved by Henry I's victory at Tinchebray, and following an abortive attempt to install Hervey, bishop of

⁶⁹ This is John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen, and Turol d'Envermeu, bishop of Bayeux.

⁷⁰ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 170.

⁷¹ Orderic claims that Fulcher was 'memorable for his hospitality', *OV*, v, p. 322.

⁷² *OV*, v, p. 322.

⁷³ Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. clvii, cols. 162-163.

⁷⁴ *OV*, v, p. 322.

⁷⁵ For William, who might have had the toponym 'de Glos', see Spear, *The personnel*, p. 141.

⁷⁶ A William, bishop of Lisieux, appears in a charter issued by Henry I for Saint-Wandrille, Lot, *Études critiques*, no. 56. Ferdinand Lot did not comment on the mystery bishop, but his transcription is correct, AD Seine-Maritime, 16 H 14, fol. 194v. Since this document was witnessed by Geoffrey Brito, archbishop of Rouen, who was elected in 1111, it cannot be a reference to our bishop, and because it concerns the donation of Véraval (Seine-Maritime, cant. Fauville), it is most likely a confused reference to William Warelwast, bishop of Exeter. I am most grateful to Steve Marritt for this observation.

⁷⁷ Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. clvii, cols. 162-163. Cf. 'Epistolae', no. cxlix.

⁷⁸ *OV*, v, p. 322.

Bangor, into the see,⁷⁹ the new duke of Normandy finally elected John, his chaplain and archdeacon of Sées, as bishop.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ It seems it was Anselm who dissuaded the king from this choice, *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, v, no. 404.

⁸⁰ *OV*, vi, p. 142.

ROUEN

Robert, c. 989-1037

Robert was the first truly 'Norman' appointment to the archiepiscopal seat of Rouen. The son of Richard I and his second wife Gunnor (Albereda), his lengthy archiepiscopate was fundamental to the reestablishment of the Norman secular church, and key to the emergence of an increasingly confident Norman state. The archbishop himself was a formidable individual. Simultaneously invested with the *comté* of Évreux he also wielded massive seigneurial power,¹ and was, as Pierre Bouet and Monique Dosdat assert, '*le prototype de ces illustres évêques du XI^e siècle*'.² Throughout his career he exercised considerable influence in matters both within and outside the duchy. Indeed, such was the extent of his authority upon ascending to the archiepiscopal throne that at least one scholar has suggested that the reinstatement of the episcopate by Richard I was designed in part to curtail his influence, although the benefits of a fully functioning episcopal network would surely have outweighed such considerations.³ Regardless, as a member of Richard II's court he continued to occupy a position of power second only to the duke, and was clearly his closest advisor.⁴ His relationship with Robert I was not quite so harmonious, yet he still played a key role in generating the prosperity enjoyed by the duchy during the final years of his reign.⁵ He also removed the threat of invasion from the duchy's western border by brokering a peace between the duke and Alan III, duke of Brittany (1008-1040), and without him it is doubtful whether the young William II would have even survived his childhood.⁶ He took a prominent role in judicial matters during William's minority, and was one of a select few who at this time had rights of justice in the duchy.⁷

His secular activities, however, drew much criticism from later chroniclers. For Orderic Vitalis he was a man who 'did not deny himself the delights of the flesh as a

¹ *OV*, iii, p. 84.

² Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 19. This sentiment is echoed in Neveux, *La Normandie, des ducs aux rois*, p. 275.

³ Arnoux, 'Before the *Gesta Normannorum*', p. 39.

⁴ He appears in twenty-nine of the duke's forty-nine surviving acts, *RADN*, nos. 13, 14*bis*, 15, 16-21, 24-26, 29, 31-33, 35-39, 43, 45, 49, 50, 52 version B, 54-55.

⁵ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 34.

⁶ *GND*, ii, p. 78.

⁷ '... sed Roberto archiepiscopo, et comiti, et vicecomiti Niello, ceterisque senioribus regni iusticiam gerentibus facere clamorem necessarium duxi', *Antiquus cartularius Bacoicensis*, i, no. xxi. The other individual mentioned is Nigel, vicomte of the Cotentin. A critical edition of this charter can be found in Appendix G.

bishop should',⁸ while the author of the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, an eleventh-century *gesta episcoporum*, sneered at the fact that he 'was much admired among laymen for his wealth'.⁹ The archbishop has also received a mixed assessment from modern scholars, despite evidence suggesting he was a surprisingly committed ecclesiastic.¹⁰ He was a generous benefactor of the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres,¹¹ while Orderic Vitalis describes him as a man 'popular' among his brethren because he procured 'many gifts for his church'.¹² He is also recorded as being an involved architect and builder who was responsible for beginning the reconstruction of his cathedral *a fundamentis*,¹³ while others claim he was responsible for the conversion of St. Olaf during his visit to the duchy in 1014.¹⁴ As Jean-Michel Bouvris first noted, it was also Robert who began to establish '*un cénacle de lettres*' around his person,¹⁵ the members of which produced a number of important works, including the earliest collection of miracles attributed to St. Romanus and Warner of Rouen's poem, *Moriuht*.¹⁶

Robert's activities before his accession to the archiepiscopate are difficult to determine. His place and date of birth are unknown, although it must have occurred after 966, the last known appearance of Emma, his father's first wife.¹⁷ No extant charter bears his *signum* before he became archbishop, and none of the narrative sources make reference to his life before his transferral to Rouen, except a late tradition which claims that there were problems with his investiture because of his parent's marital status.¹⁸ He was perhaps present at the translation of St. Ouen undertaken by his father that has already been discussed above, but he is not named personally, and could only be seen among those *aliis filiis et filiabus* who the author

⁸ *OV*, iii, p. 84.

⁹ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

¹⁰ For two opposing views, see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 33 and Lemaignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, pp. 32-33.

¹¹ *RADN*, nos. 29, 32, 50; *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, nos. iv and v, pp. 115-117.

¹² *OV*, ii, p. 42.

¹³ *OV*, iii, p. 84. Dudo of Saint-Quentin mentions only Duke Richard I in connection with the rebuilding of the cathedral at Rouen, *De moribus*, p. 290, as does Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, line 690. For further discussion, see below pp. 295-297.

¹⁴ *GND*, ii, pp. 26-28; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 1823-1824. Robert's association with the baptism of Olaf is discussed below p. 308.

¹⁵ J.-M. Bouvris, 'L'école capitulaire de Rouen au XIe siècle', *Études normandes*, 3 (1986), pp. 89-103, at. p. 90.

¹⁶ Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 189.

¹⁷ For details, see above p. 12 n. 46.

¹⁸ *GND*, ii, pp. 266-268.

claims were present at the event.¹⁹ It is also possible that he studied with a master of the liberal arts (*disciplinis liberalibus magistrum*) attached to the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, which if true, suggests he had been intended for the church from an early age.²⁰ Although various Norman annals record his accession to the archiepiscopate in 989,²¹ his first major act as archbishop was his role in the foundation of Fécamp on 15 June 990, where he helped consecrate the collegiate church.²² The significance of this event in the ecclesiastical revival of the late tenth century cannot be overstressed, and as a cardinal moment in early Norman history, has long held the attention of scholars.²³

Nevertheless, circumstances in the Norman dioceses left little to be desired. Previous archbishops of Rouen had systematically distributed cathedral benefices among their family members.²⁴ Robert began immediately to recover the holdings of his cathedral, and three surviving charters give some indication both of the state of the diocese upon his ascension, and the archbishop's efforts at regeneration.²⁵ His first known endeavour concerned the domain of Douvrend, which had been given by his predecessor Hugh of Saint-Denis to his brother-in-law Odo. Upon Odo's death the land had passed to his sister, who was married to a certain Henry, whose kinsman (*consanguineus*) was Walter II, count of Amiens-Valois-Vexin (992 × 998-1017 × 1024).²⁶ Walter then offered the domain, which included thirteen parcels of land, to Archbishop Robert, who in return gave him 'a capful of coins'.²⁷ The archbishop then restored the land to his cathedral. Unfortunately, a number of the places that comprised this domain remain unidentified,²⁸ but they were no doubt close to the remainder, which were confined to a limited area in the modern day canton of Envermeu. For some, parts of this transaction reveal the 'paucity of ducal resources'

¹⁹ 'Translatio secunda beati Audoeni', p. 824.

²⁰ 'The cathedral miracles of Romanus', in Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, pp. 267-279, at p. 268. This text is translated in Lifshitz, 'Dossier of Romanus', pp. 388-410, at pp. 388-389.

²¹ 'Chronicon Rotomagense', p. 366; *Annales de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, p. 52; 'Annales Uticenses', p. 156; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 128 E 14, fol. 9r. I am extremely grateful to Alison Alexander for supplying me with a photocopy of the last of these.

²² *RADN*, no. 4. The archbishop, along with his suffragans, also freed the church of Fécamp from episcopal customs.

²³ For bibliographical details, see Douglas, 'The first ducal charter for Fécamp', p. 45.

²⁴ *RADN*, no. 10; 'Acta archiepiscoporum', pp. 223-224.

²⁵ *RADN*, nos. 10, 66 and 67.

²⁶ Eleanor Searle claimed that Henry was Walter's cousin, Searle, *Predatory kinship*, p. 128.

²⁷ '... pleno pillo de denariis...', *RADN*, no. 10.

²⁸ These include the lands of *Pucham*, *Amermeisnil*, *Hagenonmeisnil*, *Rannulfimesnil* and *Cornepet*.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
15 June 990	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4	Fécamp	Fécamp			x
996 × 1007	<i>RADN</i> , no. 10	Rouen cathedral	Le Clos Blanc			x
996 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 37	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	x
996 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 38	Fécamp			x	
1006 × 1017	<i>RADN</i> , no. 19	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1006 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 39	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1006 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 40 (probable)	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
14 Mar. 1010 × 1016/7	<i>RADN</i> , no. 20	Saint-Riquier	Rouen		x	
15 Sept. 1011	<i>RADN</i> , no. 13	Saint-Ouen de Rouen	Rouen		x	
1012	<i>RADN</i> , no. 14 <i>bis</i>	Jumièges		x		
21 Sept. 1014	<i>RADN</i> , no. 15	Chartres cathedral	Rouen		x	
1015 × 1017	<i>RADN</i> , no. 21	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1015 × c.1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 29	Saint-Père de Chartres			x	
1015 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 43	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1015	<i>RADN</i> , no. 17	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
8 Sept. 1015	<i>RADN</i> , no. 18	Saint-Quentin	Rouen		x	
1017 × c. 1022	Bulst, <i>Wilhelms von Dijon</i> , pp. 223-236	Fruttuaria			x	
1017 × 1024	<i>RADN</i> , no. 24	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		x		
1017 × 1024	<i>RADN</i> , no. 45	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1017 × 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 31	Fécamp			x	
1017 × c.1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 30	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1017 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 47	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1021 × 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 32	Saint-Père de Chartres			x	
1022 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 49	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1023 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 50	Saint-Père de Chartres			x	x
15 June 1023	<i>RADN</i> , no. 25	Fécamp	Rouen			
13 Jan. 1024	<i>RADN</i> , no. 26	Jumièges and Saint-Vaast	Rouen	x		
1025 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 54	Fécamp			x	
1025 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 55	Saint-Wandrille			x	x
c. 1025 × c. 1026	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. iv, pp. 115-116	Saint-Père de Chartres		x	x	x
1025 × 1026	<i>RADN</i> , no. 52 version B	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1025 × 1027	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. v, pp. 116-117	Saint-Père de Chartres				x
c.1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 33	Sées cathedral		x		
1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35	Fécamp	Fécamp		x	
Aug. 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 34	Fécamp	Fécamp		x	
Aug. 1025	<i>RADN</i> , no. 36	Fécamp	Fécamp		x	x
Jan. 1026 × 1027	<i>RADN</i> , no. 58	Addella, wife of Richard III				x
1027 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 72	Fécamp				
1027 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 73	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	x
1028 × 1033	<i>RADN</i> , no. 66	Rouen cathedral		x	x	x
1028 × 1033	<i>RADN</i> , no. 67	Rouen cathedral		x	x	x

After 29 Sept. 1029 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 80	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1030 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 83	Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen			x	
1030	<i>RADN</i> , no. 61	Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen	Rouen		x	
c.1031 × 1034	<i>RADN</i> , no. 70	Fécamp			x	
1031 or 1032 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 85	Fécamp			x	
1032 × 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 86	Saint-Bénigne de Dijon		x		
12 Nov. 1032	<i>RADN</i> , no. 64	Cerisy-la-Forêt	Rouen		x	
1033 × 1034	<i>RADN</i> , no. 76	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
13 × 30 Apr. 1033	<i>RADN</i> , no. 69	Saint-Wandrille		x		x
1035 × 1037	Lot, <i>Études critiques</i> , no. 18	Saint-Wandrille		x	x	x
1035 × 1037	<i>Antiquus cartularius Baoicensis</i> , i, no. xxi.	Bayeux cathedral				x
13 Jan. 1035	<i>RADN</i> , no. 90	Montivilliers	Fécamp	x		x
26 May 1036	AD Seine-Maritime, G 3666	Rouen cathedral	Rouen cathedral	x	x	x

Fig. 53 Appearances of Robert, archbishop of Rouen (c. 989-1037), in the diplomatic record

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1037 × 1055	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. xlix, pp. 176-177	Saint-Père de Chartres		x	x	x
1037 × 1055	<i>RADN</i> , no. 134	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1037 × 1055	<i>RADN</i> , no. 135	Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen			x	
1037 × 1040	<i>RADN</i> , no. 95	Saint-Wandrille		x		
1037 × 1043	<i>RADN</i> , no. 100	Jumièges			x	
1037 × 1045	<i>RADN</i> , no. 103	Sigy-en-Bray			x	
1037 × 1045	<i>RADN</i> , no. 102	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1037 × 1046	<i>RADN</i> , no. 110	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
1037 × 1048	<i>RADN</i> , no. 112	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		x	x	x
23 Feb. 1041	<i>RADN</i> , no. 98	Bec			x	
c. 1042 × 1049	<i>RADN</i> , no. 116	Saint-Amand de Rouen			x	
1046 × 1047 or 1048	<i>RADN</i> , no. 106	Saint-Wandrille		x		
1046 × 1047 or 1048	<i>RADN</i> , no. 107	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1046 × 1047/8	AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		x	x	x
c. 1046 × 1047/8 × c. 1050	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 217	Saint-Léger-de-Préaux	Saint-Léger-de-Préaux	x	x	x
1046 × 1053	<i>RADN</i> , no. 129	Saint-Wandrille		x	x	
c. 1048	Lot, <i>Études critiques</i> , no. 26 (III)	Saint-Wandrille		x		x
1050	<i>RADN</i> , no. 122	Saint-Évroult	Lyons-la-Forêt		x	
1051	<i>RADN</i> , no. 124	Saint-Wandrille			x	
1051	<i>RADN</i> , no. 126	Saint-Wandrille			x	
25 Dec. 1054	<i>RADN</i> , no. 133	Mont-Saint-Michel	Rouen cathedral		x	x

Fig. 54 Appearances of Mauger, archbishop of Rouen (1037-1054/55), in the diplomatic record*

* Mauger's signature is also interpolated into a post-1066 ducal charter, *Regesta*, no. 238(II). He also appears in a forgery of Saint-Ouen, *RADN*, no. 136.

at this time,²⁹ but the charter stands as important witness to relations between the dukes of Normandy and the house of Amiens-Valois-Vexin, and the jurisdictional influence of the archbishop of Rouen that persisted, despite the depredation at home, in the *Vexin français*.³⁰

The situation by the last decade of Robert's archiepiscopate could not stand in greater contrast. Two charters, both issued at some point between 1028 and 1033, record and confirm the cathedral's holdings, as well as its possessions before these restitutions had been made.³¹ Numbering just over fifty, they were predominantly located in Upper Normandy, especially in the Pays de Talou and Pays de Bray, but were also found as far west as Falaise and Caen. Outside Normandy there were two benefices in the Beauvaisis, and at least one in the region of Paris.³² The most significant expansion, however, occurred along the valley of the Seine in the *Vexin normand*. This volatile borderland, which was bounded by the rivers Epte, Andelle and Seine, lay on the principal route between Paris and Rouen. Consequently, it was a constant battleground throughout the ducal period, and witnessed everything from lightening cross-border raids to full-scale campaigns.³³ Since the archdiocese of Rouen took in the whole of the Vexin, both Norman and French, the archbishops had long been involved in the region, and as early as 979 there was an archdeacon (Ornatus) responsible for its administration.³⁴ The restitutions made there by Archbishop Robert bear a striking resemblance to those undertaken in the same region

²⁹ Searle, *Predatory kinship*, p. 128.

³⁰ These relations are discussed in full in Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 251-261, esp. pp. 254-255.

³¹ *RADN*, nos. 66 and 67. Cf. L. Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen pendant la première période normande (Xème-XIème siècles)', Thesis, PhD, 2 vols. (Université de Paris-X, 1994), i, pp. 26-37.

³² It is possible that the cathedral held two benefices near Paris, since Marie Fauroux holds that the land of Vy mentioned in *RADN*, no. 66 is Vicq (Yvelines, cant. Montfort-l'Amaury), *RADN*, p. 197. Pierre Bauduin, however, believes that it is more likely to be Wy-dit-Joli-Village (Val-d'Oise, cant. Magny-en-Vexin), Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 269 n. 128.

³³ J. Green, 'Lords of the Norman Vexin', in *War and government in the Middle Ages. Essays in honour of J.O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 47-63.

³⁴ Ornatus is mentioned in a charter of Hugh of Saint-Denis for the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, des origines au début des XIIIe siècle*, ed. R. Poupardin, 2 vols. (Paris, 1909-1932), i, no. xlv. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G. Although Ornatus features in David Spear's list of cathedral personnel (Spear, *The personnel*, p. 205), he considers the appearance of Archbishop Robert as a witness in the same charter as problematic. Both Mathieu Arnoux and Pierre Bauduin have concluded, however, that this is simply the work of a later scribe, and that it has little bearing on the charter's authority, Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 267 n. 115; M. Arnoux, 'Disparition ou conservation des sources et abandon de l'acte écrit: quelques observations sur les actes de Jumièges', *Tabularia 'Études'*, 1 (2001), pp. 1-10, at p. 9 n. 33.

by the great monasteries of Normandy, through which a deliberate ducal policy to secure Norman authority in the Vexin has been traced.³⁵

Robert's acquisitions included some key strategic locations (Ecos, Neaufles-Saint-Martin),³⁶ while a number of his successors contributed to these holdings in an effort to bolster ducal authority in the region.³⁷ It is possible to see a similar strategy regarding the holdings restored at the same time along the banks of the Béthune (which included the domain of Douvrend), since this was close to the border with Picardy, which was also particularly unstable during the early years of the eleventh century.³⁸ The cathedral also possessed some benefices in Lower Normandy, while the archbishop even held land as far west as the Cotentin.³⁹ Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Robert held these lands as part of his archiepiscopal demesne, or whether they belonged to the cathedral chapter, but his association with them illustrates neatly the movement that occurred during the first quarter of the eleventh century whereby ducal authority was re-established in the west, and which one authority has described as 'an Upper Norman colonisation of Lower Normandy'.⁴⁰ Robert was capable of alienating land from his cathedral, however, and as a charter of William II records, he gave the land of Martin-Église to his son Richard shortly after issuing the charters of restitution discussed above.⁴¹ He would eventually do the same for the land of Douvrend,⁴² which was not recovered until the time of Archbishop Geoffrey Brito (1111-1128),⁴³ while it is also possible he alienated the cathedral land of Normanville to Humphrey of Vieilles, patriarch of the great Beaumont family.⁴⁴ Robert also deprived other religious institutions of their possessions, and is known to have usurped the land of Trait from the abbey of Jumièges,⁴⁵ and the church of

³⁵ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 250-251.

³⁶ For the castles later built at these sites, see 'Châteaux disparus', 'Neaufles-Saint-Martin' and 'Château-sur-Epte', in A. Châtelain, *Châteaux forts et féodalité en Île de France, du XI^{ème} au XIII^{ème} siècle* (Nonette, 1983), pp. 186, 191-194, 203-208.

³⁷ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 266-273, esp. pp. 269-271.

³⁸ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 285-318.

³⁹ Lot, *Études critiques*, no. 18. Saint-Marcouf, Manche, cant. Montebourg. The archbishop also possessed some unnamed lands in the region, *RADN*, no. 58.

⁴⁰ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 103.

⁴¹ *Regesta*, no. 230. Louis Violette concluded that this alienation probably took place after the issuance of the charters that restored the landed possessions of Rouen cathedral, Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', i, pp. 20-22.

⁴² *RADN*, no. 10.

⁴³ BM (Rouen), ms. Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 47v.

⁴⁴ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 330. Normanville, Eure, cant. Évreux-nord.

⁴⁵ *Annales de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, p. 84. Trait, Seine-Maritime, cant. Duclair.

Gravigny from La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen.⁴⁶ But if institutions of Rouen had been impoverished by these actions, those elsewhere in the duchy had been considerably improved. The alienations made in favour of his son Richard, for example, became part of the domain of the counts of Évreux, helping to increase the wealth of this *comté*, which in turn helped further stabilise the duchy's south-eastern frontier.⁴⁷ Similarly, the alienation of Normanville may have been linked to a policy by which an allied lineage was implanted in the Évrecin to help consolidate the Norman presence there.⁴⁸

Robert also began both architecturally and intellectually to rebuild his city.⁴⁹ His role in the reconstruction of Rouen cathedral remains a subject of much controversy. Despite the detailed excavations of Georges Lanfry and Jacques Le Maho,⁵⁰ much of the early history of the cathedral remains largely unresolved, due in part to a site that one authority has described as 'an archaeological nightmare'.⁵¹ Le Maho believes that the accounts of Dudo of Saint-Quentin and Wace, both of whom claim that it was Richard I who reconstructed the cathedral, are merely recounting an addition made by the duke (perhaps a porch on the west face) to the Carolingian cathedral.⁵² This was previous to, and totally independent of, the work attributed to Robert by Orderic Vitalis.⁵³ Maylis Baylé argued that the accounts of Dudo, Wace and Orderic are not contradictory, but instead refer to the same building campaign, which was begun towards the end of Richard I's reign when Robert was already archbishop (i.e. 989 × 996).⁵⁴ Le Maho, however, remains unconvinced by some of her suggestions.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ RADN, no. 201. Gravigny Eure, cant. Évreux.

⁴⁷ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 340-349

⁴⁸ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 330.

⁴⁹ A summary of recent scholarly debate on the Romanesque cathedral can be found in Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', i, pp. 60-86.

⁵⁰ As well as a series of articles published by both men for the *Bulletin des amis des monuments rouennais*, see G. Lanfry, *La cathédrale dans la cité romaine et la Normandie ducal* (Rouen, 1956); J. Le Maho, 'Les fouilles de la cathédrale de Rouen de 1985 à 1993. Esquisse d'un premier bilan', *Archéologie médiévale*, 24 (1994), pp. 7-49. The most recent excavations carried out at the cathedral have concerned its cemetery, C. Niel, 'Le recrutement des cimetières du groupe épiscopal de Rouen (XIe-XIVe siècles)', in *La paroisse en Normandie*, pp. 298-331.

⁵¹ L. Grant, 'Rouen Cathedral, 1200-1237', in *Medieval art, architecture and archaeology at Rouen*, ed. J. Stratford (London, 1993), pp. 60-68, at p. 60.

⁵² *De moribus*, p. 290; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 691-696. Le Maho's conclusions are summarised by Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', p. 153; M. Baylé, 'La cathédrale romane', in *396-1996. XVIe centenaire de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Rouen* (Rouen, 2005), pp. 182-199, at pp. 182-185.

⁵³ OV, iii, p. 85.

⁵⁴ Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', p. 153; Baylé, 'La cathédrale romane', p. 183.

Although it is likely that Robert constructed the choir, the transept and the lantern tower of his cathedral, the only surviving Romanesque part is the eleventh-century crypt (fig. 57).⁵⁶ Despite some archaeological discrepancies, its construction has been securely dated to Robert's tenure,⁵⁷ while building work may have even coincided with the restitutions noted above.⁵⁸ Its style is reminiscent of that at the cathedral of Chartres, which was begun by Bishop Fulbert in around 1027.⁵⁹ Robert enjoyed a particularly close relationship with this prelate. It is possible they met at least once,⁶⁰ while on at least two occasions they exchanged letters.⁶¹ The city of Chartres was also clearly important to Robert, since it is possible the abbey of Saint-Père became his resting place (figs. 58 and 59).⁶² Nevertheless, while Robert may have been inspired by work conducted elsewhere his crypt remains one of the finest examples of its kind within Normandy. It outshines many of its contemporaries at the great monastic houses of the diocese, while it is even possible that its influence spread as far as the Loire valley and the Bourgogne.⁶³

Robert's role in the growth of an intellectual centre within his city is more securely documented.⁶⁴ One of the greatest monuments to his achievements is undoubtedly Warner of Rouen's poem *Moriuht*, which was written sometime between 996 and 1026.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, for much of its history the poem was poorly received by those who studied it, and one of its first modern editors condemned it as, '*d'une versification rude et barbare.... [et] plus souvent encore grossier et obscene*'.⁶⁶ Its

⁵⁵ J. Le Maho, 'Nouvelles hypothèses sur l'église Notre-Dame de Rouen au Xe siècle', in *Chapitres et cathédrales en Normandie*, pp. 295-306, esp. pp. 297-299.

⁵⁶ Lanfry, *La cathédrale dans la cité romaine*, pp. 22, 26-33.

⁵⁷ Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', p. 155; Le Maho, 'Les fouilles de la cathédrale', pp. 37-39.

⁵⁸ Le Maho, 'Les fouilles de la cathédrale', p. 37 n. 79.

⁵⁹ Le Maho, 'Nouvelles hypothèses sur l'église Notre-Dame', p. 296 and n. 7; Le Maho, 'Les fouilles de la cathédrale', p. 39.

⁶⁰ They both signed a charter for Fruttuaria, Bulst, *Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223-236.

⁶¹ *Letters of Fulbert of Chartres*, nos. 93 and 126.

⁶² GC, xi, col. 28. The epitaph given by *Gallia Christiana*, which was inscribed on a plaque by the monks in 1710, has now disappeared, while the medieval tomb, identified as Robert's, was also destroyed at an unknown date. Not all have been convinced, however, that the archbishop was buried in the abbey, R. Merlet, 'Le tombeau attribué à Robert de Normandie dans l'église de Saint-Père de Chartres', *Procès verbaux de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, 8 (1892), pp. 344-351. For arguments in favour, M. Bouquet, 'Épitaphe d'un archevêque de Rouen dans une Église de Chartres', *Bulletin de la Commission des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure*, 7 (1886), pp. 86-88.

⁶³ Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', pp. 157-158; Baylé, 'La cathédrale romane', pp. 188-189; Baylé, 'La cathédrale romane', p. 188.

⁶⁴ Bouvris, 'L'école capitulaire de Rouen', pp. 90-92.

⁶⁵ McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 6.

⁶⁶ Omont, 'Satire de Garnier de Rouen', p. 197.

Fig. 57 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 57 Model of the eleventh-century crypt of Rouen cathedral completed by Archbishop Robert*

* Image taken from Lanfry, *La cathédrale dans la cité romaine*, p. 27.

Fig. 58 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 58 The supposed thirteenth-century tomb (destroyed) of Robert, archbishop of Rouen, in the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres*

* Bodleian, ms. Gough drawings-Gaignières, vol. 9, fol. 48r. This tomb was originally found in the chapel dedicated to Saint-Laurent. By the nineteenth century the dedication had changed to Notre-Dame-des-Sept-Douleurs, while today it is Sainte-Soline. A fragment of this tomb was rediscovered in the archaeological museum at Chartres in 1958, W. Sauerlander, 'Zu einem unbekannten Fragment im Museum in Chartres', *Kunstchronik*, 12 (1959), pp. 298-304.

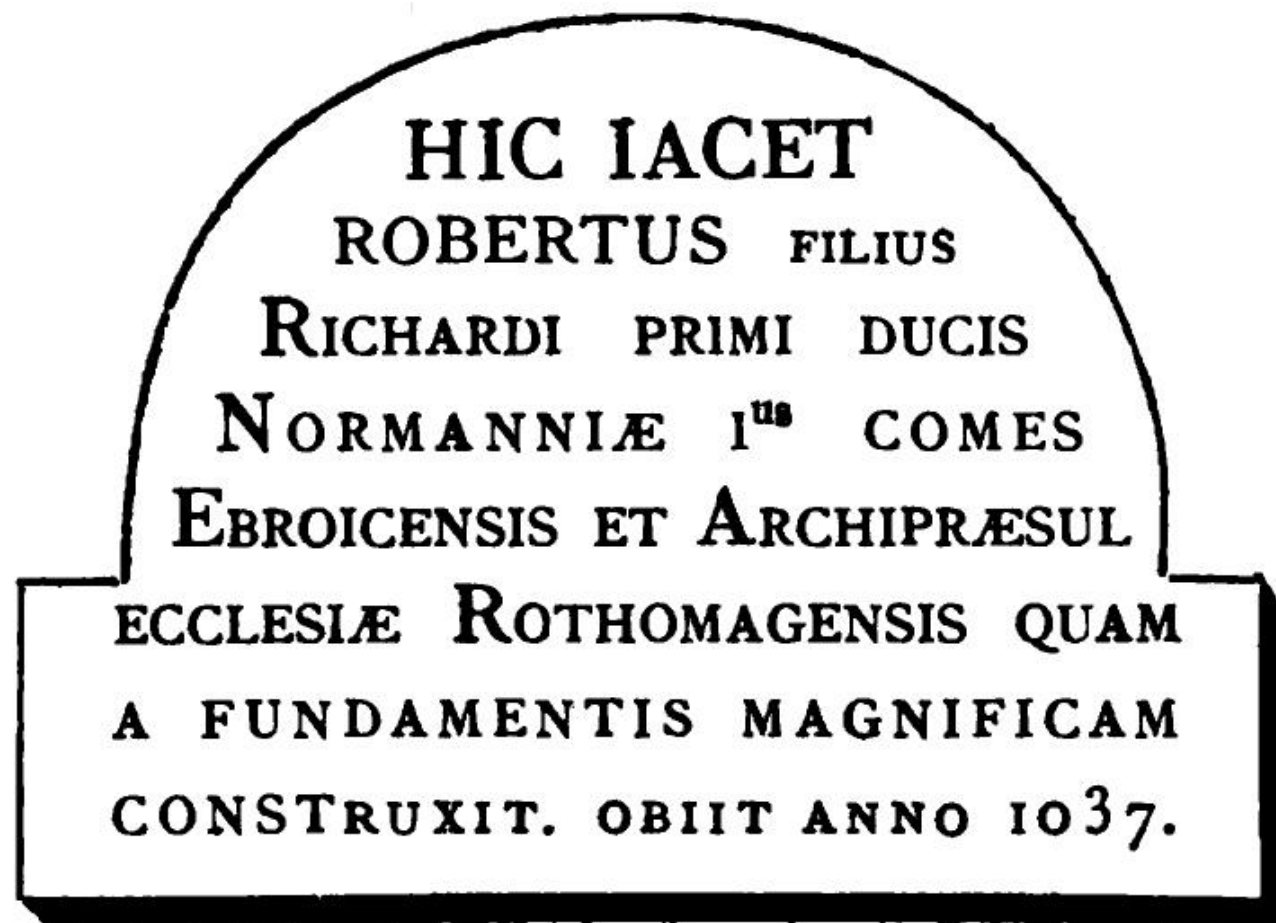


Fig. 59 The eighteenth-century inscription (destroyed) marking the location of the tomb Robert, archbishop of Rouen, in the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres*

* Image taken from A. Lecocq, 'Dissertation historique et archéologique sur la question: où est l'emplacement du tombeau de Fulbert évêque de Chartres, au XI^e siècle', *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, 5 (1872), pp. 303-391, at p. 316.

vulgarity has led scholars to use the work as evidence that Archbishop Robert was, like the central character, ‘lukewarm for learning, but hot-blooded for sex’.⁶⁷ But this not only ignores the realities of early eleventh-century Normandy, it also fails to recognise what is actually in the poem: a denunciation of sexual impropriety, and, in parts, the reflection of the tenth-century monastic ideal of total sexual abstinence.⁶⁸ The poem itself is dedicated to Archbishop Robert, for whom Warner claims he works.⁶⁹ It is not written in a liturgical or ecclesiastical Latin, but ‘a literary Latin, academic and richly illusive’.⁷⁰ If the poem was intended to be read by the archbishop it would suggest he was not only able to understand it, but was also familiar with the themes which dominate the work, namely the theorising about the nature of satire and Horatian poetics. His ecclesiastical office would in itself have demanded at least some knowledge of Latin, and it is possible that he acquired the required additional knowledge during his years of study under the master of the liberal arts noted above.

If we accept that Robert was able to fully understand and enjoy the poem, it certainly lends credence to Warner’s praise that the archbishop was at the centre of an educated circle.⁷¹ Although Christopher McDonough holds that the audience was most likely cloistered intellectuals, and suggests that Warner himself may even have been a monk, this audience should not be seen as replacing the archbishop, and it is not impossible to suggest that the poem was intended for both.⁷² If this were the case, it would make Robert the patron of a work aimed at achieving exactly what the Norman monastic establishment wanted: the celibacy of the secular clergy. Interestingly, a late eleventh-century text claims that Robert gave up his wife at the end of his life, and ‘for this and other perverse acts he repented’.⁷³ Perhaps the poem

⁶⁷ McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 78. For details of the poem’s poor reception by the scholarly community, see McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 16.

⁶⁸ McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 54.

⁶⁹ Warner’s exact role remains a mystery. In *Moriuht* he states that he served the archbishop of Rouen (line 27), while in another poem attributed to him he uses the term *famulus* to describe his relationship with the archbishop, Warner of Rouen, ‘Satire 2’, ed. L. Musset, ‘Le satiriste Garnier de Rouen et son milieu’, *Revue du Moyen Âge latin*, 10 (1954), pp. 237-266, at p. 259.

⁷⁰ McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 52.

⁷¹ Musset, ‘Le satiriste Garnier de Rouen’, p. 259.

⁷² McDonough, *Moriuht*, p. 54. The possibility of a dual audience has certainly been suggested another poem sometimes associated with Warner, *Jezebel: a Norman Latin poem of the early eleventh century*, ed. and trans. J.M. Ziolkowski (New York, NY, 1989), p. 41.

⁷³ ‘Feminam enim reliquit, et de hoc caeterisque pravis actibus suis penitentiam egit’, ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224.

is a product of these final years, and the archbishop was atoning for his sins the only way he knew how.

It has also been remarked that there is more than one trait in common between the writings of Warner, and certain aspects of the work of Dudo of Saint-Quentin.⁷⁴ This is important not only because it sheds light on the characteristics of the literary school at Rouen, but also because Archbishop Robert was among some of the dedicatees of Dudo's history.⁷⁵ The archbishop is addressed not only as a mighty prelate, but also as a potential reader, suggesting again that he had the intellect to understand such a work.⁷⁶ Dudo also hints at the learned household kept by the archbishop, while it has been proposed that the 'Norman schools' (*Northmannica gymnasia*)⁷⁷ referred to in Dudo's opening address perhaps included Warner and his ilk.⁷⁸ Regardless, the praise Robert receives in the verses dedicated to him are worthy of a great patron. Even if he were not one of Dudo's original sponsors, 'he was likely to be his most influential critic within Normandy, and well worth the effort of repeated panegyric'.⁷⁹ Yet despite his involvement in these literary activities, most scholars agree there is little evidence to suggest the existence of a formal school at Rouen during his tenure.⁸⁰ Indeed, records do not mention the existence of a *scholasticus* in the city until the time of Robert's successor.⁸¹

This does not mean, however, that the archbishop was unaware of the literary tendencies of his surroundings. Robert not only liked to surround himself with educated men, he also seemed to manifest a certain taste for books themselves. Orderic tells of him receiving a 'richly illuminated' Psalter as a gift from his sister Emma, who was the wife of two English kings (Æthelred II and Cnut),⁸² while the oldest catalogue of the library of Rouen cathedral, which dates from the archiepiscopate of Geoffrey Brito, also contains comments on books that belonged to

⁷⁴ Musset, 'Le satiriste Garnier de Rouen', pp. 247-248.

⁷⁵ *De moribus*, pp. 123-125.

⁷⁶ 'Exhibeasque patris dictis temet reverendis', *De moribus*, p. 125.

⁷⁷ *De moribus*, p. 120.

⁷⁸ Musset, 'Le satiriste Garnier de Rouen', pp. 245-246.

⁷⁹ Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998), p. xxvi.

⁸⁰ Dosdat, 'Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle', p. 240; McDonough, *Moriut*, p. 8; E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1910-1943), iv, p. 581; Bouvris, 'L'école capitulaire de Rouen', pp. 91-92.

⁸¹ Spear suggests Warner may have been the first cathedral *scholasticus*, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 223.

⁸² *OV*, ii, p. 42.

Robert, including the manuscript known as the *Benedictionarius Roberti archiepiscopi*.⁸³ Its most recent editor believed it belonged to our archbishop,⁸⁴ although tests on a now lost cover page suggest it may have belonged to Robert of Jumièges, archbishop of Canterbury (1051-1052).⁸⁵ It is even possible that the great ducal chronicler William of Jumièges began his career under Robert's patronage, since it appears he was employed by the archbishop to serve him as a *notarius* in his functions as count of Évreux.⁸⁶ In an era when no evidence survives even for a ducal chancellery, Robert's sponsorship of William illustrates neatly his commitment to ensuring that even records of mundane achievement were successfully transferred from memory to written record.

The cathedral of Rouen was also to benefit from Robert's literary activities, since the archbishop sought to improve its hagiographical dossier. The move to increase these possessions had begun under Robert's predecessor, Hugh of Saint-Denis. He had acquired a copy of the *vita* of St. Romanus, the city's primary saint, from Gerard of Brogne,⁸⁷ and had also established important cults throughout the province.⁸⁸ To this Robert added the first known collection of miracles attributed to St. Romanus, which were authored under his patronage by a clerk of the church of Saint-Godard,⁸⁹ while on 26 May 1036 he presided over a display of the body of this same saint.⁹⁰ Robert also brought the relics of St. Nicholas to Rouen from Brionne, where they had apparently performed many miracles,⁹¹ although the only evidence to confirm this translation, which may have been performed in cooperation with the archbishop's

⁸³ BM (Rouen), ms. Y 27 Omont 1405, p. 128.

⁸⁴ For a summary of this debate, see *The Benedictional of archbishop Robert*, ed. H.A. Wilson (London, 1903), pp. xiv-xvi.

⁸⁵ G. Williams, *The Norman Anonymous of 1100 A.D.: toward the identification and evaluation of the so-called Anonymous of York* (Cambridge, MA, 1951), pp. 44-45.

⁸⁶ E.M.C. van Houts, 'Une hypothèse sur l'identification de *Willelmus notarius* comme l'historien Guillaume de Jumièges', <http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/crahm/revue/tabularia/debatevha.html> (accessed 18 February 2007).

⁸⁷ For full discussion see Lifshitz, 'Dossier of Romanus', pp. 71-72, 362-366; Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, pp. 161-163.

⁸⁸ The archbishop helped promulgate the cults of St. Lô of Coutances and St. Taurin of Évreux, Lifshitz, 'La Normandie carolingienne', pp. 516-517; Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, pp. 137-179.

⁸⁹ Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 189.

⁹⁰ AD Seine-Maritime, G 3666. This eighteenth-century transcript is a five-page *procès-verbal* of three charters that were once found in the reliquary of St. Romanus. These recorded details concerning the display performed by Archbishop Robert, as well as those relating to two further such functions, which were performed on 24 August 1124 and 17 June 1179. A critical edition of the account can be found in Appendix G.

⁹¹ 'Miracula s. Nicolai conscripta a monacho Beccensi', in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1889-1893), ii, pp. 414-415.

brother, the count of Brionne, is the existence of a cathedral chapel dedicated to this saint.⁹² It is also possible that the archbishop helped translate to his church the relics of St. Severus, a sixth-century bishop of Avranches, although the event is only dated by the author of the *translatio* to the reign of Richard I.⁹³ Nevertheless, Mathieu Arnoux has noted how the decision to translate the relics of a bishop of Avranches not only sought to solve a shortfall in prestigious relics at the cathedral (see below), but also reflects a deliberate policy by the archbishop to annex the diocese of Avranches, which had been without a bishop since the end of the ninth century.⁹⁴ If this were true, then it would seem more likely that the impetus for the translation lay with Hugh of Saint-Denis, since the diocese of Avranches was reoccupied at the same time that Robert became archbishop. However, at least one scholar has argued that the event occurred during his tenure.⁹⁵

Regardless, the cathedral's collection of relics remained severely limited until the end of the eleventh century. Most noticeably, the cathedral did not even possess the relics of any of the numerous saint-(arch)bishops of Rouen, all of whom had been interred at places throughout northern France except the cathedral.⁹⁶ Only the *vita* of St. Evodus claims that he was buried in the church,⁹⁷ but Louis Violette has noted that it is only with the internment of Archbishop Maurilius in the second half of the eleventh century that we can note with any certainty the establishment of a tradition for burying former archbishops in the basilica itself.⁹⁸ All this stands in great contrast to the holdings of the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, whose pretensions towards the saint-(arch)bishops of Rouen were neatly catalogued in the *Livre noir* (there are *vitae* of SS. Ouen, Romanus, Medardus, Nicasius and Godardus) towards the end of the eleventh century. Of these prelates the abbey possessed the whole body of St. Ouen, an arm of St. Godardus, the relics of SS. Nicasius (whom the abbey claimed to be the

⁹² Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines', pp. 160-161.

⁹³ 'Beati Severi translatio', p. 192.

⁹⁴ Arnoux, 'Before the *Gesta Normannorum*', pp. 37-38.

⁹⁵ Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', i, p. 101.

⁹⁶ St. Ouen was buried in the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen; St. Ansbert at the abbey of Saint-Wandrille; St. Hugh at the abbey of Jumièges; St. Gildardus in the church that came to bear his name (formerly Sainte-Marie), and then translated to Saint-Médard de Soissons, and St. Flavius (who was only accorded sainthood in the eleventh century) at Jumièges, Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', i, pp. 90-95.

⁹⁷ 'Sepultus est autem Sanctus Dei in ecclesia beatae Mariae semper Virginis ubi sedes episcopalis cum magno tripudio laudis, cujus in Christo dormitio extitit octavo Idus Octobris....', AASS, Oct. IV, pp. 246-248.

⁹⁸ Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', i, p. 94.

first archbishop of Rouen over the cathedral-supported St. Mallonus) and Remigius, and the head of St. Romanus. This was alongside an impressive collection of other saints' relics, including those of Quirinus and Scuviculus (St. Nicasius' companions), Calixtus, Arnulf, Laurent, Vincent, Sebastian, numerous martyrs, and the heads of St. Firmin, bishop of Metz, St. Agnes, and St. Paul, the first hermit.⁹⁹ Such an embarrassing disparity between the collections of the two institutions created a noticeable tension in the city, which would manifest itself in the second half of the eleventh century, and which is discussed more fully below.¹⁰⁰ It was also under Robert's guidance that a cathedral chapter began to materialise. Two deans, three archdeacons, one treasurer, one chancellor, and at least two canons served under the archbishop, although a number of these are only associated with the church of Rouen through circumstantial evidence.¹⁰¹

Robert was also actively involved in the monastic revival that swept through Normandy at the beginning of the eleventh century. By the end of his archiepiscopate, eight ducal monasteries were active in the ecclesiastical province of Rouen: Fécamp, Saint-Ouen de Rouen, Bernay, Montivilliers, Saint-Taurin d'Évreux, Mont-Saint-Michel, Saint-Wandrille, Jumièges and Cerisy-la-Forêt. His charter attestations are typical of the period, and reflect a generosity that touched almost every one of these foundations (fig. 53).¹⁰² The archbishop also gave his consent (*consentiente*) to some early donations to Bec,¹⁰³ and helped dedicate a number of important churches, including the abbeys of Fécamp (15 June 990), La Trinité du Mont de Rouen (15 August 1030), and Saint-Wandrille (12 September 1033), where he also helped in the translation of the relics of St. Wulfran, while the church of La Ferté-en-Bray was dedicated in his presence by Hugh, bishop of Coutances (c. 989-1025).¹⁰⁴ He also

⁹⁹ For a full list of Saint-Ouen's relics, see Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, pp. 59-61.

¹⁰⁰ In particular the tumult between Archbishop John and the monks of Saint-Ouen that took place on 24 August 1073, which is discussed on pp. 359-361.

¹⁰¹ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 200, 205-206, 219, 223, 244 and 262. Moreover, another version of Robert's charter for Saint-Père, which was unknown to Spear, and which seems to have been taken from a lost original, or a faithful copy thereof, claims that Henry, who in one version is called dean, was in reality only a canon, BN, ms. fr. 24133, p. 217. A critical edition is in Appendix G.

¹⁰² Not included in this list is the donation to the abbey of Jumièges of the lands of *Griaco* or *Goiaco* and *Warsiel*, which is noted in an *inspeximus* of Louis VII, king of France, and Henry II, king of England, Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, pp. 320-325, at p. 323 (Louis VII); *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges*, ii, no. cxi.

¹⁰³ RADN, no. 98 version B.

¹⁰⁴ GC, xi, cols. 26-27; 'Inventio sancti Vulfranni', pp. 44, 50-51; RADN, no. 4; *Regesta*, no. 235; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 292.

seems to have exerted considerable influence over the abbey of Saint-Taurin d'Évreux, since Robert I sought to remove this from his control during the opening years of his reign.¹⁰⁵

Of course, the archbishop's influence was not solely religious. He also wielded great secular power, and as count of Évreux was able to muster military forces similar to a great lord. In around 1027, he was able to defend Évreux against Robert I, who had apparently become 'suspicious' of the archbishop, although he was eventually forced into exile.¹⁰⁶ The exact cause of the dispute between the two men is unknown, although it is possible that Robert was unhappy with the spoliation of church property that had accompanied the duke's rise to power.¹⁰⁷ Regardless, it soon became clear that the archbishop's presence in the duchy was vital to its governance, and using the situation to his advantage, he and the duke confirmed the possessions of Rouen cathedral in the two charters discussed above, which David Douglas has described as 'a sort of treaty'.¹⁰⁸ Within a few years the archbishop had also helped end the Breton war that had flared up in the early 1030s, and bringing his two nephews (the count of Brittany and the duke of Normandy) to Mont-Saint-Michel he arranged a truce between them.¹⁰⁹ Elsewhere, Robert was responsible for the creation of one of the great non-ducal residences in Normandy, which was located at Notre-Dame de Gravenchon.¹¹⁰ This fortified enclosure, which had originally belonged to a certain Thurstin *Dives*, may have passed to Robert through the dowry of his wife Herleve.¹¹¹ Situated at the entry of a small valley on the northern edge of the town, the fortification dominated the forests of Lintot, Gravenchon, Caudebec and Trait, and was comprised of a large reception hall, connecting galleries, a chapel and a number of vast outbuildings (figs. 60 and 61).¹¹² It remains the most impressive example of

¹⁰⁵ Lemarignier, Lamon and Gazeau, 'Monachisme et aristocratie', p. 95; Potts, *Monastic revival*, p. 67.

¹⁰⁶ *GND*, ii, p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 32. It is also possible that there was some unease between the two men after the death of Richard III (5 or 6 August 1027). Indeed, posterity wasted little time in accusing Robert of fratricide, William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 308.

¹⁰⁸ Douglas, 'The earliest Norman counts', p. 132; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁹ *GND*, ii, p. 78.

¹¹⁰ Notre-Dame de Gravenchon, Seine-Maritime, cant. Lillebonne.

¹¹¹ J. Le Maho, *L'enceinte fortifiée de Notre Dame de Gravenchon (XIe-XIIIe siècle)* (Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon, 2001), pp. 11-38; J. Le Maho, 'Un grand château de terre et de bois aux environs de l'An mil: l'enceinte fortifiée de Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon (Haute-Normandie)', *Château Gaillard*, 21 (2004), pp. 191-201.

¹¹² Le Maho, 'Un grand château', pp. 194-197.



Fig. 60 Notre-Dame de Gravenchon: fortified enclosure of Archbishop Robert of Rouen (photo R. Allen)



Fig. 61 Notre-Dame de Gravenchon: fortified enclosure of Archbishop Robert of Rouen (photo R. Allen)

such a building from this period. It was undoubtedly similar fortifications in the Évrechin that allowed Robert to help his uncle Rodulf of Ivry secure the region in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, where the latest research has found no satisfactory references to Norman influence until the 980s, although unfortunately no examples have survived.¹¹³

Furthermore, one of the noticeable differences between Robert's archiepiscopate and those of his successors is the extent to which it was played out on the international stage. It has just been noted above how the archbishop commanded enough authority to bring the leaders of Normandy and Brittany (to whom he was both related) together for peace negotiations. In 1023, he formed part of an embassy that travelled to the meeting convened by the king of France at Compiègne to discuss the introduction of the Peace of God into northern Europe,¹¹⁴ while throughout his life he seems to have maintained a close relationship with the royal court. Having fled from Évreux after it was besieged by the duke he found refuge with King Robert II (996-1031),¹¹⁵ while according to the *gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai, the king of France was involved in negotiations with the archbishop that secured the priory of Haspres for the abbey of Jumièges.¹¹⁶ Robert also maintained a close relationship with Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, one of the most eminent ecclesiastics of the age, while he also made the acquaintance of Enguerrand, abbot of Saint-Riquier.¹¹⁷ The archbishop may also have tried to export the cult of Norman saints outside the duchy,¹¹⁸ while he witnessed charters that benefited institutions throughout Europe, including Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, Saint-Vaast (Pas-de-Calais), Saint-Père de Chartres, Chartres cathedral, Saint-Quentin (Aisne), Saint-Riquier (Somme) and

¹¹³ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 191-210.

¹¹⁴ J.-F. Lemarignier, 'Paix et réforme monastique en Flandre et en Normandie autour de l'année 1023. Quelques observations', in *Droit privé et institutions régionales: études historiques offertes à Jean Yver* (Paris, 1976), pp. 443-468, esp. pp. 446, 454-457; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 195-196.

¹¹⁵ *GND*, ii, p. 48.

¹¹⁶ 'Gesta pontificum Cameracensium', ed. L. Bethmann, *MGH: SS*, 7 (Stuttgart, 1846), pp. 402-489, at p. 462. The charter was issued at Rouen on 13 January 1024, *RADN*, no. 26.

¹¹⁷ According to a charter of Richard II, the archbishop gave the abbot a *pallium*, Hariulf, *Chronique*, p. 186; *RADN*, no. 20.

¹¹⁸ Jean Mesnel claimed that Robert was responsible for the veneration of St. Taurin at Chartres, although his source is unclear and dates only to the seventeenth century, Mesnel, *Les Saints du diocèse d'Évreux. I*, pp. 167-168. This has not stopped modern authorities from incorporating these statements into discussion concerning the spread of Taurin's cult. See in particular S. Kahn Herrick, *Imagining the sacred past: hagiography and power in early Normandy* (Harvard, MA, 2007), pp. 31, 33, 37, 53, who associates Robert's actions with an attempt to foster relations between the dukes of Normandy and the counts of Blois-Chartres.

Fruttuaria.¹¹⁹ The archbishop also had cross-Channel links. His sister was married to two English kings,¹²⁰ while the men under his patronage, such as Warner of Rouen, appear to have been influenced in their work by English literary trends.¹²¹ Furthermore, Pierre Bauduin has recently highlighted the competition at this time between Normandy and Picardy for the potentially lucrative connection with England.¹²² Robert's cross-Channel connections would have undoubtedly been beneficial in securing links between the two, while the restitutions made to his cathedral along the banks of the Béthune discussed above not only helped secure the duchy's Picardian frontier, but also coincided with the expansion of Dieppe at the river's mouth, which soon became one of the premier ports linking England to the Continent.¹²³ Of course, Robert also commanded respect in the Scandinavian world, as his baptism of St. Olaf demonstrates.¹²⁴

Despite such a prolific career, Robert's influence reached its zenith during the last years of Robert I's reign, and the minority of William II's. David Douglas has noted how in the early 1030s the archbishop helped form a powerful group of magnates around the duke, which included men such as Gilbert, count of Brionne (d. c.1040), and Osbern the Steward (d. c.1040), whose great territorial wealth helped preserve and strengthen the duke's authority.¹²⁵ It also ushered in a new period of prosperity for the duchy, which had yet to fully recover from the transition of power between Richard II and Robert I. When the duke came to announce the most momentous decision of his reign, his resolution to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, it was the archbishop of Rouen to whom he turned for advice at Fécamp in January 1035.¹²⁶ With the duke's death at Bithynian Nicaea in early July 1035, the duchy was suddenly thrust upon an illegitimate seven-year-old boy. Although no contemporary source

¹¹⁹ *RADN*, nos. 15, 18, 20, 26, 29, 32, 86; Bulst, *Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223-236; *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. iv, pp. 115-116.

¹²⁰ *OV*, ii, p. 42.

¹²¹ M. Lapidge, 'Three Latin poems from Æthelwold's school at Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), pp. 85-137, esp. pp. 101-102; L. Musset, 'Rouen et l'Angleterre vers l'an mil. De nouveau sur le satiriste Garnier de Rouen et l'école littéraire de Rouen au temps de Richard II', *AN*, 24 (1974), pp. 287-290.

¹²² Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 145-161, esp. pp. 152-154.

¹²³ The first reference to the port of Dieppe in the diplomatic material comes from a charter issued for La Trinité du Mont in 1030, *RADN*, no. 61. For its history during the Middle Ages, see P. Lardin, 'Le pouvoir à Dieppe à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Communes et libertés communales du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Montivilliers, 2003), pp. 18-52.

¹²⁴ *GND*, ii, pp. 26-28; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 1823-1824.

¹²⁵ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 34.

¹²⁶ *GND*, ii, p. 80.

makes specific reference to the archbishop's role, his importance in protecting the young duke can be inferred from the prevailing conditions. Robert not only rallied Norman magnates to young William's defence, he also secured the support of neighbouring princes, including the king of France.¹²⁷ Perhaps the greatest testament to his authority in these final years is the rapid degeneration of affairs that followed his death. Indeed, when the elderly archbishop passed away on 16 March 1037,¹²⁸ the duchy was thrown into period of instability that would not be resolved until Val-ès-Dunes and Mortemer.

The condemnation of Robert's life by twelfth century monastic chroniclers has had a lasting impact on his reputation. He was never going to be like the saintly Maurilius, who, ascending to the archiepiscopal throne in 1055, quickly became the monastic ideal for the episcopate.¹²⁹ By his birth alone, Robert was inescapably committed to the struggle to assert his bloodline over others, a fact that was compounded by his position having been bestowed on him by his lay relatives. This is not to suggest, however, that he was somehow an unfortunate victim of his times who was forced to ignore his pastoral duties by his overbearing secular relations. Robert was as intent on securing the position of his own dynasty, as he was the ducal line. His legacy would continue to reverberate throughout the duchy in the years immediately following his death, most notably through his sons, one of whom succeeded to the *comté* of Évreux,¹³⁰ while the other became embroiled in the dynastic bloodfeud of the early 1040s, ordering the assassination of Gilbert of Brionne, the young duke's chief tutor.¹³¹ Moreover, Robert was certainly more than the prelate whom Jean-François Lemarignier dismissed as having little to be said in his favour.¹³² He was a highly educated man, an apparent patron of the arts, a lover of literature, a possible promoter of monastic reforming ideals, and even an architect and designer far ahead of his Norman contemporaries. His simultaneous position as metropolitan and count gave him a unique position to influence the destiny of the Norman state, and it was an opportunity he never seems to have squandered. His

¹²⁷ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 37-38.

¹²⁸ *RHGF*, xxiii, pp. 418, 577. For discussion, see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 39 n. 4.

¹²⁹ *OV*, iii, p. 88; 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

¹³⁰ Richard became count of Évreux in 1038, *RADN*, no. 92.

¹³¹ Count Gilbert of Brionne was assassinated in early 1041 at the instigation of Ralph of Gacé, a son of archbishop Robert, *GND*, ii, p. 94.

¹³² Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, pp. 32-33.

marriage, his sons, and his worldly behaviour caused the ire of certain chroniclers, but while he was criticised for these deeds, one late eleventh-century author also praised him as a man 'great in piety and honesty'.¹³³ Such adjectives would never be used to describe his successor.

¹³³ 'Hic vir magnae pietatis et honestatis fuit', 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224. For another example of a later chronicler offering the archbishop of Rouen a partial reprieve, see William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 306.

Mauger, 1037-1054/55

Robert's successor was also a member of the ducal family. Mauger was the son of Richard II and his second wife Papia.¹ He was therefore the half-brother of Robert I, and uncle to William II, while his own brother William would later become count of Arques.² Despite his status, we know little of his career before his accession to the archiepiscopal throne, except an unsubstantiated claim by the editors of *Gallia Christiana* that he was formerly a monk at Fécamp.³ Like Archbishop Robert he was sharply criticised by later monastic chroniclers, who characterised his time as archbishop as one preoccupied by 'depravity' and 'folly'.⁴ Orderic Vitalis chastised him as a man 'excessively addicted to the lusts of the flesh', and criticised him, as he did Robert, for having children.⁵ He and William of Poitiers both suggested that Mauger operated without papal blessing,⁶ while the late eleventh-century history of the archbishops, the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, also criticised the fact that he ascended to the seat while still a teenager.⁷ Little is said by these men to redeem Mauger as archbishop other than vague references to an apparent skill in interpreting the Scriptures.⁸ His alleged involvement in the rebellion of his brother William in the summer of 1053, and his eventual deposition at the Council of Lisieux in 1054/55, has done little to help this image. Yet like his predecessor, there is enough evidence to suggest that Mauger was not unaware of his responsibilities as a churchman. However, while Robert received a partial reprieve from contemporaries that has since shaped the opinion of modern authorities, Mauger was not so fortunate. In a particularly vicious attack, William of Poitiers claimed that all of Rouen and Normandy were ashamed of him. It is a *damnatio memoriae* that has proved difficult for the archbishop to escape.⁹

¹ *GND*, ii, p. 102.

² Charter evidence suggests that William of Arques was count from 1037 × 1048 until 1051, *RADN*, nos. 112 and 124-6.

³ 'Richardi II Normanniae ducis ex Papia secunda coniuge filius Malgerius patrum excepit, antea monachus Fiscannensis...', *GC*, xi, col. 28. Cf. H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie im XI. und XIII. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 11.

⁴ *GG*, i. 53, p. 88; *GND*, ii, p. 130.

⁵ *OV*, iii, p. 86; He had a son named Michael who became a knight under King Henry I in England, Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 4572-3.

⁶ *OV*, iii, p. 86; *GG*, i. 53, p. 86.

⁷ '... et adulatorum suffragio in pueritia sedem adeptus est pontificalem...', 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

⁸ *GG*, i. 53, p. 86; William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 494.

⁹ *GG*, i. 53, p. 88; For the standard view see Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 197-198; Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', pp. 19-20.

Unlike some of the criticisms levelled at the archbishop, which will be subsequently shown to be largely unfair, the complaint that Mauger was too young to be archbishop appears to be grounded in fact. David Douglas has shown convincingly that Richard II most likely married Papia ‘shortly after’ the death of his first wife Judith in June 1017.¹⁰ If Mauger were conceived within the first month of the union he would have been born in around March 1018. He would therefore have become archbishop shortly before or after his nineteenth birthday. A much later tradition, on which Professor Douglas did not comment, suggests the marriage took place as late as the year 1024.¹¹ If this were true then Mauger could have ascended to the archiepiscopal throne as young as fourteen. Although such an age suggests this scenario is highly improbable, it was perhaps not without equivalent. Orderic Vitalis claimed that the parents of the Conqueror’s half-brother Odo, who would later become bishop of Bayeux in around 1049, were married after 1035, which would mean that he could have ascended to the episcopate at around fourteen years of age.¹² Although David Douglas argued that it was more likely his parents wed in around 1030,¹³ and that he was born shortly after, David Bates did not dismiss the possibility that Odo was born as late as 1035, and noted that his brother, Robert, later count of Mortain, may have been born as late as 1040.¹⁴ Moreover, Lucien Musset declared that Odo was most probably born c. 1036, and that he was either thirteen or fourteen when he became bishop.¹⁵

If Mauger was this young it perhaps explains the visceral nature of the later attacks against him. It also neatly reflects the situation that prevailed in Normandy following the death of Archbishop Robert. The power vacuum left by his passing was quickly filled by a dynastic bloodfeud that soon claimed the lives of two of the young duke’s guardians, namely William, count of Brionne, and Osbern the Steward.¹⁶ Furthermore, compared to the internationalism that typified his successor’s archiepiscopate, Mauger’s reign, and indeed the direction of the entire duchy, was

¹⁰ Douglas, ‘Some problems of chronology’, p. 292.

¹¹ Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, i, p. 32.

¹² *GND*, ii, p. 96.

¹³ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 381-382.

¹⁴ Bates, ‘The character and career’, p. 2. Bates proposed elsewhere a date of 1032 or 1033 for Odo’s birth, Bates, ‘Odo, bishop of Bayeux’, p. 3. It has been impossible to improve upon this date, and it is that which is followed above.

¹⁵ Musset, ‘Un prélat du XIe siècle’, p. 13.

¹⁶ This period is discussed in Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 40-52.

characterised during these years by an intense regionalism. This is illustrated no more clearly than by Mauger's appearances in the diplomatic record (fig. 54). Of his twenty-one charter subscriptions only one concerns a non-Norman institution (Saint-Père de Chartres),¹⁷ while only a further three concern foundations outside the diocese of Rouen (Mont-Saint-Michel, Saint-Évroult and Saint-Léger de Préaux).¹⁸ Of the remaining charters half concern the abbey at Saint-Wandrille, an institution that the archbishop's brother frequently patronised.¹⁹ Moreover, Mauger can only be located outside the Pays de Caux on two occasions, when he witnessed charters for Saint-Évroult at Lyons-la-Forêt and for Saint-Léger de Préaux at this same abbey. So intense was the concentration of affairs in the northeast corner of the duchy that at least one scholar has described the Pays de Caux during this period as 'essentially a separate, independent principality'.²⁰

This is not to say, however, that Mauger governed incompetently. Indeed, should he have barely entered or left adolescence, his capacity to rule seems quite remarkable. David Douglas has noted how the diplomatic evidence suggests he took a prominent position in the government of the duchy during the early years of William II's reign, and how along with his brother, who had been granted his *comté* in return for his loyalty to the duke, he quickly established himself as a dominant force within the court of his young nephew.²¹ His first known ecclesiastical action also testifies to this maturity, for at some time before April 1046 (probably c. 1045) the archbishop convened a council at which he undoubtedly aimed to begin reforming his province.²² It is unlikely that the meeting was in any way due to the initiative of the duke, who, until his victory at Val-ès-Dunes, was in no position to concern himself with the ecclesiastical reform of his duchy. Moreover, it is unlikely Mauger was guided by papal initiatives, for Benedict IX, elected as a child of twelve by the Roman nobility, was more concerned with maintaining his own corrupt pontificate than pursuing

¹⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. xlix, pp. 176-177. A critical edition of this act is in Appendix G.

¹⁸ *RADN*, nos. 110, 122 and 133.

¹⁹ Lot, *Études critiques*, nos. 15, 20, 22, 29 and 40.

²⁰ Searle, *Predatory kinship*, p. 198.

²¹ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 40-41.

²² Mansi, xix, col. 752; Bessin, *Concilia*, pp. 40-42. The date is based on the death of one of the attendees, Hugh, bishop of Évreux, who passed away on 20 April 1046, BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1773, fol. 2v. For discussion, see R. Foreville, 'The synod of the province of Rouen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, pp. 19-39, at p. 27; A. Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen, 1037-1110', Dissertation, M. Litt. (University of Bristol, 1966), pp. 172-180.

ecclesiastical reform.²³ That Mauger should be interested in reform need not necessarily surprise us. According to Hugh of Flavigny, when Richard de Saint-Vanne came to Normandy in 1041-1042, the archbishop and his clergy joyfully received his teaching,²⁴ while the abbot of Verdun also convinced Mauger to acquire a 'communal book' for his cathedral, which is perhaps the breviary recorded in a twelfth-century library catalogue.²⁵ Furthermore, five Norman bishops (though not Mauger) attended the papal council at Reims in 1049, which suggests that reform ideas must have had some currency within the duchy.²⁶ Mauger's council opened with an affirmation of the catholic and apostolic faith,²⁷ a significant declaration when the Eucharistic controversy of Berengar of Tours is recalled (d. 1088).²⁸ It then continued to deal with the most prevalent evils in the church, including an attempt to prohibit simony. The archbishop clearly realised that the sale of ecclesiastical offices was by far the most serious form of corruption in the church, and, in an attempt to remedy the problem, the council forbade the sale of bishoprics and abbacies, the transfer of bishops from one see to another *honoris causa*, and the invasion by a bishop, abbot, archdeacon, clerk or priest of the benefice of another.²⁹ The council also took the time to regulate certain aspects of the sacraments, and forbade that anyone should sell the chrism, or charge for baptism.³⁰

Despite this renaissance of conciliar activity in the duchy, few scholars regard the council with any admiration.³¹ That it was attended by only two members of the episcopate (Robert, bishop of Coutances, and Hugh, bishop of Évreux), and that one of these (Robert) occupied his see having swapped diocese with another bishop,

²³ For a brief summary of the life of Pope Benedict IX see *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, ed. J.N.D. Kelly (Oxford, 1986), pp. 142-144.

²⁴ '... aecclesiam Rotomagensum cum praesule sedis ipsius et clero, eius gauderet decorari doctrina', Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, p. 402. For discussion of the visit, see Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 198; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 44.

²⁵ The breviary is listed in the catalogue of the library's holdings, which dates from the early twelfth century, as 'Breviarium quod vocatur Ricardus', BM (Rouen), ms. Y 27 Omont 1405, p. 128. For the suggestion that this was associated with Richard de Saint-Vanne, De Boüard, 'Sur les origines de la Trêve de Dieu', p. 175.

²⁶ Mansi, xix, col. 737. For further discussion see Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, p. 71.

²⁷ Canon 1, Mansi, xix, col. 752; Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 41.

²⁸ Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 174.

²⁹ Canons 2-5, 11-13, Mansi, xix, cols. 752-753; Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 42.

³⁰ Canons 14, 16-17, Mansi, xix, col. 753; Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 42.

³¹ David Bates characterised the canons as little more than 'a grim catalogue of the deficiencies of episcopal organisation in Normandy, and of the disruption that had taken place', Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 198.

certainly seems to warrant such criticism. The nonattendance of the other bishops need not necessarily reflect negatively on the council itself, however. Their absence may have been due to personal indifference, or the unsettled state of Normandy. Whatever the reasons, Mauger felt that his colleagues should not remain ignorant of the council's decisions, since he issued a letter to his 'most holy brothers' shortly after the meeting.³² Described by David Bates as 'carefully worked',³³ a detailed examination of the letter indeed reveals that many of its phrases have been lifted from a wide variety of sources, including Gregory Great's *Moralia in Job*,³⁴ the canons of Iberian councils of the sixth and seventh centuries,³⁵ and perhaps even Cicero.³⁶ That these references were included in a letter issued in Mauger's name suggests that either he, or those in his employ, were familiar with such specialised material, while they also reveal an archbishop far from the image painted of him by chroniclers such as William of Poitiers. The fact that Mauger sent the letter also suggests he hoped the decrees would be followed by all the Norman clergy, and since it contains no words of reproach, it is clear that the absence of the other bishops was either condoned, or at the very least, expected. Furthermore, the canons of the council demonstrate that Mauger was clearly concerned to try and improve the quality of his church, since he sought to provide conditions for the promotion of clerks and their education. The archbishop also rather bravely attacked the ambition of bishops who sought promotion through favouritism, despite the fact that he owed his position to his association with the ducal line.³⁷

It was also during Mauger's archiepiscopate that the Truce of God was first introduced into Normandy. Richard de Saint-Vanne, abbot of Verdun, had made the

³² '... sanctissimi fratres...', Bessin, *Concilia*, pp. 40-41.

³³ D. Bates, 'The Conqueror's adolescence', *ANS*, 25 (2003), pp. 1-18, at p. 11.

³⁴ '... peccatis nostris exigentibus' (Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 41). Cf. 'Cum ergo virtutem nostrae patientiae flagella transeunt, valde metuendum est ne, peccatis nostris exigentibus...', Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 14, par. 37, Migne, *PL*, lxxv, col. 1063.

³⁵ For example, compare '... sacerdotalem inter nos fieri conventum' (Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 40) with '... sacerdotalem inter nos fieri debere conventum...' (Council of Braga I (561), praef., Mansi, ix, col. 773); and 'Et licet de re huiusmodi quam salubri ordinatione constituere volumus praecedentium patrum prisca autoritas nequaquam silverit' (Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 41) with 'Licet de re huiusmodi, quam constituere salubri ordinatione decrevimus, prisca autoritas nequaquam silverit...' (Council of Lerida (546), c. 16, Mansi, viii, col. 614); and '... aut exiguum aut pene nullam eruditionis notitiam contigerunt' (Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 41) with '... aut exiguum, aut pene nullam rectae eruditionis notitiam contigerunt' (Council of Braga I (561), praef., Mansi, ix, col. 773).

³⁶ The letter contains the phrase 'immutatam videmus', which I have been able to locate in only one other work, namely Cicero's *De Divinatione*, ed. A.S. Pease (Urbana, IL, 1920-1923), p. 464.

³⁷ Bates, 'The Conqueror's adolescence', pp. 11-12.

first attempt to establish the Truce during his visit to the duchy in 1041-1042.³⁸ While the archbishop had apparently been open to his teachings, however, the effort had ended in failure,³⁹ with the vested interests of the duchy's leading families apparently proving too strong.⁴⁰ The endeavour was renewed following the duke's victory at Val-ès-Dunes in early 1047, and in October of that year he convened a meeting near Caen at which the Truce was finally promulgated.⁴¹ Unfortunately, Mauger's role in this venture has not always been greeted with approval. For Felice Lifshitz, the event was exploited by the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, one of the cathedral's greatest rivals,⁴² which provided relics of St. Ouen upon which oaths of fidelity were sworn to the duke. The abbey's patron saint quickly became 'the guarantor of Norman political and social stability', while the hapless archbishop had not only let secular authority fragment to such an extent that the Truce was finally required in Normandy, but had also allowed the ceremony to be hijacked by a rival for their own political and ecclesiastical gain.⁴³ Yet the rivalry that was to dominate later relations between the abbey of Saint-Ouen and the cathedral was not necessarily apparent at this time, while Michel de Boüard long ago noted how Mauger, his brother William and Nicholas, abbot of Saint-Ouen, worked in fraternal association to introduce the Truce of God, and that the involvement of this *coalition rouennaise* was vital to the restoration of ducal power in Lower Normandy.⁴⁴

Similar contradictory circumstances dominate other aspects of Mauger's career. The capitulary school that had been formed by Archbishop Robert, for example, continued to expand under Mauger.⁴⁵ It attracted to the city such eminent figures as

³⁸ For Mauger's role see De Boüard, 'Sur les origines de la Trêve de Dieu', pp. 169-189, esp. pp. 175-176.

³⁹ See above, p. 314 n. 24.

⁴⁰ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 44.

⁴¹ For the council's decrees, see Mansi, xix, cols. 597-600; Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 39. Two additional sources, namely a *pancarte* of Saint-Pierre de Préaux (*Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A1[14]) and the miracles of St. Ouen ('Miracula sancti Audoeni', p. 834), confirm that the council took place, which was probably convened on the right bank of the Orne, at the site of the church of Sainte-Paix, De Boüard, 'Sur les origines de la Trêve de Dieu', pp. 171-173.

⁴² This rivalry became most obvious during the archiepiscopate of John of Ivry, and is discussed in detail below, pp. 344-365.

⁴³ Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 195.

⁴⁴ De Boüard, 'Sur les origines de la Trêve de Dieu', p. 176. David Douglas suggested that the synod at Caen may have been held at the instigation of Hugh, bishop of Bayeux, since a charter issued for Saint-Pierre de Préaux refers to it in connection with bishop, Douglas, 'The Norman episcopate', p. 114. For discussion, see above, p. 118.

⁴⁵ Bouvris, 'L'école capitulaire de Rouen', pp. 93-96.

Gundulf, later bishop of Rochester (1075-1108),⁴⁶ and was staffed by men of an impressive calibre, such as Hugh ‘the Grammarian’, an archdeacon who played a prominent part in academic and ecclesiastical matters in the city. Jean-Michel Bouvris explained his elevated position as an understandable consequence of Mauger’s lax character,⁴⁷ but as we shall see below, it is not impossible that the two men enjoyed a particularly close working relationship. Moreover, the fact that such men were prepared to remain in Rouen suggests Mauger did nothing to discourage or harm the school. This stands in stark contrast to his image as a despoiler of cathedral goods, and had the archbishop behaved as is claimed, the school and its library would have undoubtedly proved a source of funds too tempting to ignore. Indeed, as has already been noted, he was convinced by Richard de Saint-Vanne to make his own contributions to the diocesan library, and these possessions were still at the cathedral at the beginning of the twelfth century.⁴⁸

The archbishop was also actively involved in the enrichment of the duchy’s monastic foundations.⁴⁹ He was particularly interested in the abbey of Saint-Wandrille,⁵⁰ a favourite of his brother, William, while he also played a role in the foundation of new houses. On 23 February 1041, he consecrated the abbey of Bec,⁵¹ while he also witnessed the foundation charters of Saint-Évroult and Sigy-en-Bray.⁵² He was also involved with the foundations at Préaux, and consented to the donation by Humphrey de Veilles of all that he held from the archbishop at Bouafles.⁵³ Furthermore, it was he who, shortly after his reforming council, blessed Robert III as abbot of Jumièges.⁵⁴ Of course, such behaviour naturally recalls again the accusation that Mauger was also a despoiler. William of Poitiers described Mauger as ruling over his church more like an ‘oppressive lord or greedy robber’ than a prelate, and noted

⁴⁶ *The life of Gundulf, bishop of Rochester*, ed. R. Thomson (Toronto, 1977), p. 26.

⁴⁷ Bouvris, ‘L’école capitulaire de Rouen’, p. 96.

⁴⁸ BM (Rouen), ms. Y 27 Omont 1405, p. 128.

⁴⁹ RADN, nos. 88, 95, 98, 100, 102, 103, 110, 106, 107, 116, 122, 124, 126, 129, 133, 135.

⁵⁰ Lot, *Études critiques*, nos. 17, 18bis, 20, 21, 23, 26, 30 and 31. See also OV, ii, p. 16.

⁵¹ RADN, no. 98; Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, i, p.43 n. 3.

⁵² RADN, nos. 103 and 122.

⁵³ *Regesta*, no. 217. For discussion of the domain of Bouafles (Eure, cant. Les Andelys), and how it came to form part of the possessions of the archbishops of Rouen, see Gazeau, ‘Le domaine continental’, pp. 172-173.

⁵⁴ J. Mabillon, *Histoire de l’abbaye royale de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges, par un religieux bénédictin de la congrégation de St. Maur*, ed. J. Loth, 3 vols. (Rouen, 1882-1885), i, p. 168. For discussion of when the blessing took place, and for the career of Abbot Robert see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 152-154.

how the archbishop liked to squander the cathedral's wealth to fund a lavish lifestyle,⁵⁵ while the *gesta* of the archbishops accused Mauger of childishly distributing 'the ornaments of his church and other benefices'.⁵⁶ Unlike his predecessors, however, there is no evidence in the diplomatic record to suggest that Mauger actively despoiled cathedral or monastic property.⁵⁷ Moreover, none of the narrative sources cite specific instances of the spoliation of cathedral benefices, which stands in stark contrast to the passage in the *Acta archiepiscoporum* that details the sale of the land of Tosny by Hugh of Saint-Denis to his brother.⁵⁸ Given that Mauger's own brother was the most powerful secular figure in the duchy we might expect to see a flow of benefices towards him, but there is nothing in the evidence to suggest that the archbishop ever used cathedral property to enrich his family members. If Mauger was guilty of spoliation, therefore, he seems to have limited his activities to his cathedral's treasure.⁵⁹ Interestingly, the position of treasurer disappears from the cathedral chapter during Mauger's reign, and does not reappear until the end of the eleventh century.⁶⁰ Although the nature of the evidence means it is often difficult to trace the existence of cathedral personnel, the length of this vacancy could suggest that Mauger had pillaged the cathedral treasury to such an extent that it took decades to recover and to require administration once again. The evidence is circumstantial at best, however.

Nevertheless, it seems that the final years of Mauger's reign were not without their difficulties. Among the more remarkable pieces of evidence in this regard is a charter issued by the archbishop himself. Its vicious anathema clause, which threatens those who would violate the donation with the fate of nearly every maligned character known to the Christian world,⁶¹ perhaps indicates the extent to which circumstances

⁵⁵ *GG*, i, 53, pp. 86-88.

⁵⁶ '... ornamenta aecclesiae caeteraque beneficia pueriliter erogavit', *Acta archiepiscoporum*, p. 224.

⁵⁷ For discussion of the cathedral lands (and those of other institutions) given by Archbishop Robert to his relations, see above pp. 294-295.

⁵⁸ *Acta archiepiscoporum*, p. 223.

⁵⁹ Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', i, p. 41.

⁶⁰ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 219.

⁶¹ 'Maledictus sit ab omni potente Deo, maledictione qua maledictus est diabolus et angeli eius; in igne perpetuo. Maledicat eum sancta Dei genetrix Maria, nec habeat partem cum electis Dei positus ad dextram; sed cum reprobis iure ponendis ad sinistram; maledicat eum sanctus Michahel cum omnibus ordinibus angelorum. Maledicat eum sanctus Iohannes baptista, omnesque patriarche et prophete; maledicat eum sanctus Petrus cum ceteris apostolis. Maledicat eum sanctus Stephanus cum omnibus martyribus. Maledicat eum sanctus Audoenus cum omnibus Christi confessoribus. Maledicat eum sancta Agnes cum omnibus virginibus. Omnis maledictio qua maledictus est Cain, Dathan et Abiron,

had deteriorated in the duchy, and the degree to which ecclesiastical institutions were struggling to protect their possessions. The deployment of such a liturgical tool does not necessarily betray disorder, however. David Bates has noted how the use of such an anathema is perfectly consistent with episcopal behaviour in the Carolingian West,⁶² while it is interesting to see Mauger the ‘despoiler’ employing such an elaborate device to protect the possessions of an ecclesiastical institution. Like the synodal letter discussed above, this anathema clause also hints at Mauger’s erudition, while two Fécamp documents not only provide the possible inspiration for the clause, but also perhaps confirm that Mauger had, at is claimed,⁶³ been a monk at the abbey. The first is the abbey’s famous foundation charter, which Mauger, if he had spent any time at Fécamp, would most likely have known. The anathema of this charter is similar to that in the archiepiscopal act in so far as it threatens transgressors with the wrath of various celestial figures.⁶⁴ David Douglas has already demonstrated how the scribe responsible for the Fécamp text seems to have based his list on figures found in two Frankish sacramentaries of the ninth century.⁶⁵ It seems that the Rouen scribe, who worked under the guidance of Archbishop Mauger, relied upon a similar source, except that he replaced St. Hilary and St. Felicity, the saints representing respectively confessors and virgins, with two figures important to the abbey of Saint-Ouen, namely St. Ouen himself and St. Agnes.⁶⁶

The second Fécamp text is a formula of excommunication, which was edited by Edmond Martène from a manuscript that today is lost.⁶⁷ Written in the first quarter of the eleventh century,⁶⁸ it is possible that Mauger also encountered this text while a monk at the house. Like the anathema clause this formula opens with a list of celestial

Antiochus, Herodes, Pontius Pilatus, Iudas domini traditor, Nero, Symon magus, Dioclitianus, Maximianus, ac Datianus, veniat super eum’, AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189.

⁶² Bates, ‘The Conqueror’s adolescence’, pp. 11-12.

⁶³ GC, xi, col. 28.

⁶⁴ ‘... ex auctoritate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, sanctęque Dei ęcclesię catholicę, sanctęque Marię matris Domini, ac sancti Michaelis cum novem ordinibus atque beati Petri cum omnibus apostolis, sanctique Stephani cum omnibus martyribus necnon et sancti Hylarii, cum omnibus confessoribus, atque sanctę Felicitatis cum omnibus virginibus...’, RADN, no. 4.

⁶⁵ Douglas, ‘The first ducal charter’, pp. 52-53.

⁶⁶ The importance of St. Ouen is self explanatory, while the abbey not only possessed the relics of St. Agnes (Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, p. 59), but also included two copies of her *vita*, one in prose and the other in verse, in its famous hagiographical dossier, the *Livre noir*, BM (Rouen), ms. Y 41 Omont 1406, fol. 61v-83r.

⁶⁷ *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, ed. E. Martène, 4 vols. (Bassan, 1788), ii, p. 325.

⁶⁸ For discussion of the date see L.K. Little, *Benedictine maledictions: liturgical cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), p. 8 n. 13

figures. It then continues with the names of thirteen cursed individuals, of whom seven are also found in Mauger's anathema.⁶⁹ Perhaps the most interesting among those which are different in the archiepiscopal list is the reference to Datianus, the murderer of St. Vincent. Rouen had a church dedicated to this individual, and although its first appearance dates only to 21 April 1169,⁷⁰ it is possible that the mention of Datianus in Mauger's act not only suggests the presence of Vincent's cult—and perhaps a church dedicated to him—in eleventh-century Rouen, but also reveals that the archbishop had an active interest in, and understanding of, the life of this particular individual. In any case, the decision to evoke these early Christian figures seems to be a personal choice on the part of the drafter of the charter,⁷¹ and perhaps even on the part of Mauger himself, for whom St. Vincent might have been an important spiritual figure. At the very least, the presence of all these names reveals that either the archbishop of Rouen, or those men with whom he was surrounded, had a good knowledge of early Christianity.

Three episodes remain, however, that have traditionally been used to highlight an increasing dissatisfaction with Mauger's rule. The first concerns the ducal initiative that sought to appoint Gradulf, abbot of Saint-Wandrille, as Mauger's *vicarius*. It is unclear exactly what role the duke hoped the abbot would fulfil, but the move apparently found much favour in the eyes of all the clergy and people.⁷² Gradulf was to die soon after the announcement (on 6 March 1047), but the attempt to elect a monastic personality to replace Mauger is certainly reminiscent of the policy that would eventually be pursued in 1054/55,⁷³ although it has been argued that the duke simply tried to appoint Gradulf to serve as Mauger's deputy while the archbishop was busy arranging the Truce of God council.⁷⁴ It was perhaps similar considerations that determined the second episode, which convention states shows Mauger being

⁶⁹ 'Fiat habitatio eorum deserta, ignisque aeternus eorum sit cruciatus cum Chore, Datan et Abiron, Iuda atque Pilato, Anania atque Sapphira, Nerone atque Decio, Herode, Iuliano, Valeriano et Simone Mago cum quibus et his similibus secundum sua impia facta cruciatu perpetuo...', *De antiquis ritibus*, ed. Martène, p. 325.

⁷⁰ F. Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Rouen*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Rouen, 1731), ii, pt. iv, p. 107.

⁷¹ Douglas makes such an argument with regards to the anathema clause in the Fécamp foundation charter, Douglas, 'The first ducal charter', p. 53.

⁷² '... visum est pontifici Malgerio prefatae metropolis quod et omni clero plebique non mediocriter placuit ut eundem Gradulfum abbatem sibi substitueret et vicarium sub se benedictione episcopali insigniret', 'Inventio sancti Vulfranni', p. 52.

⁷³ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i, p. 282.

⁷⁴ E.M.C. van Houts, 'Historiography and hagiography at Saint-Wandrille: the *Inventio et Miracula sancti Vulfranni*', *ANS*, 12 (1990), pp. 233-251, at p. 246.

increasingly alienated by the wider ecclesiastical community. The source on which such arguments are founded is a list of ordinations, which is found in a document known as the *Appendice de Saint-Gabriel*.⁷⁵ These ordinations were performed by various ‘foreign’ bishops, who were invited to the abbey by John of Ravenna. For Jean-François Lemarignier, these ceremonies, the first of which he dated to 1049, reveal how Mauger was ‘*systématiquement écarté*’ by the abbot of Fécamp, who exploited the archbishop’s weakness to secure for his house an exemption from archiepiscopal control.⁷⁶ Lemarignier’s date for the first ordination is, however, based upon the fact that it was performed by Hugh d’Eu, bishop of Lisieux, whose episcopate he dated from 1049. But as we have seen above, there is evidence to suggest that Hugh was bishop as early as 1046/7.⁷⁷ It is possible, therefore, that this first ordination took place in the year of the Truce of God council, and that this act does not represent a rupture between the archbishop and abbey, but rather an archiepiscopal policy through which a fellow bishop, who is described elsewhere as a *fidelis* of Mauger,⁷⁸ was elected to a post similar to that intended for the abbot of Saint-Wandrille, in which he helped the archbishop to administer affairs in his diocese while he was occupied preparing the peace council. Of course, the abbey continued to benefit from this privilege after the ordination performed by Hugh d’Eu. Mauger’s successors not only allowed the ordinations to continue, however, but also used these occasions to their advantage.⁷⁹ Rather than criticise Mauger, therefore, it is important to recognise that factors other than a loss of control may have been behind this important privilege.

The total collapse of Mauger’s authority is, however, most often illustrated by reference to an account of a miraculous display of the body of St. Wulfran, which

⁷⁵ Musset, ‘Notules fécampoises’, pp. 590-596.

⁷⁶ Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d’exemption*, p. 40.

⁷⁷ For discussion see above pp. 257-259.

⁷⁸ AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189.

⁷⁹ Archbishop Maurilius attended the ordinations performed by the bishops of Paris and Amiens in around 1058, and no doubt used the occasion to liaise with his colleagues, who, the list tells us, were in the duchy to begin peace negotiations between the duke and the king of France: ‘In diebus Maurilli archiepiscopi venerunt Fiscannum ad Paschale festum duo Franciae episcopi... missi in legatione ad Willelmum tunc comitem, postea regem, propter pacem faciendum inter ipsum et Henricum Francorum regem’, Musset, ‘Notules fécampoises’, p. 596. Maurilius’ presence is not certain, however. The list states ‘et forte tunc Maurilius archiepiscopus aberat’, but some editions note ‘aderat’ for ‘abera’ (e.g. *RHGF*, xi, p. 364). Unfortunately, the original manuscripts have been lost, but Lemarignier (*Étude sur les privilèges d’exemption*, pp. 40-41 n. 49) did not dismiss the likelihood of the latter. For details of the various surviving editions, see Musset, ‘Notules fécampoises’, p. 592, who does not note the change in verb in his edition of the text.

took place at Rouen in 1053. Carrying the body of the saint, the monks of Saint-Wandrille entered the city on 24 June and were met in procession by the clergy of the cathedral, at the head of whom was the archdeacon Hugh ‘the Grammarian’. The procession stopped at the cathedral where, in the presence of a very large crowd, Hugh, a man described as most eloquent, preached a sermon on the life and the merits of the saint.⁸⁰ The absence of the archbishop in this entire episode is tangible, and it is for some the best evidence that by this point in his reign Mauger had all but abandoned his charge.⁸¹ It is possible, however, that the archbishop was simply occupied elsewhere, and that he had delegated the management of this important affair to one of his most trusted men. Indeed, Hugh’s eloquence was apparently highly valued by the archbishop, who on at least one other occasion used the archdeacon’s oratory skills to his advantage.⁸²

Of course, the summer of 1053 heralded the event that would come to define Mauger’s archiepiscopate, for it was in this year that his brother rebelled.⁸³ Whether Mauger was ever involved in the uprising has been a subject of much debate. Later chroniclers certainly claimed that the archbishop had colluded with his brother,⁸⁴ while most modern scholars view this as the most likely reason for the archbishop’s later deposition.⁸⁵ Unlike his predecessor, however, Mauger is never recorded as having participated in any military engagement, while the archbishop continued in his functions as late as 25 December 1054, when he witnessed a charter in Rouen cathedral in favour of Mont-Saint-Michel.⁸⁶ Even if this act should be dated to December 1053, as some scholars contend,⁸⁷ it seems strange that a disgraced archbishop should be found among the ducal entourage, especially since his brother had already been forced into exile.⁸⁸ It is possible, however, that Mauger’s tacit

⁸⁰ ‘Inventio sancti Vulfranni’, p. 58.

⁸¹ See, for example, Bouvris, ‘L’école capitulaire de Rouen’, p. 96.

⁸² ‘His ita datis, ne quis in futuro calumniam intulisse foret ecclesie, famulabusque Dei inibi famulantibus, in dedicatione ipsius ecclesie, Hugo Grammaticus, Rothomagensis archidiaconus, ex precepto domini Hunfridi, excelsa voce commonuit ut si quis his donis calumniam inferre vellet, libere et in aures omnium protulisset’, *Regesta*, no. 217. The full text can be found in Appendix G.

⁸³ The date of the rebellion of the count of Arques is fully discussed in Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 309-310.

⁸⁴ *OV*, iv, p. 84.

⁸⁵ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 209; Bouet and Dosdat, ‘Les évêques normands’, pp. 19-20; Douglas, ‘The Norman episcopate’, p. 104.

⁸⁶ *RADN*, no. 133.

⁸⁷ Foreville, ‘The synod of Rouen’, p. 23 n. c; Spear, *The personnel*, p. 196.

⁸⁸ *GG*, i, 28, p. 42; *GND*, ii, p. 104.

approval of the rebellion was enough to condemn him, and that the duke used the opportunity to remove a member of a rival lineage, whose members had been posing an increasing threat his rule.⁸⁹

Regardless, when the council was convened it was not only attended by the duke and a papal legate, but also by all six Norman suffragans.⁹⁰ Mauger was accused of a wide variety of crimes, including sexual incontinence and operating without a pallium, although no mention was made of collusion in his brother's rebellion.⁹¹ Geoffrey of Anjou (1040-1060) had just been excommunicated for his un-canonical removal of the bishop of Le Mans,⁹² and William, who had recently married Mathilda, daughter of the count of Flanders, in defiance of papal decrees, was not about to make the same mistake.⁹³ One later author even claimed that Mauger had denounced the marriage and that this was the cause of his deposition, but this seems highly improbable given the presence of the papal legate.⁹⁴ Rather, the Norman duke seems to have used the council to impress upon the Roman pontiff his devotion to a policy that would see the archbishopric wrested from descendants of the ducal line for the first time since the late tenth century. Mauger was not only replaced by Maurilius, a former monk with no familial connections in the duchy, but as if to emphasise that his ancestry was no longer of relevance, it was Mauger's cousin and *fidelis*, Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, who publicly condemned the archbishop.⁹⁵ Following the council, Mauger was banished to Guernsey, an island that, according to the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, the duke 'gave' (*dedit*) to the archbishop.⁹⁶ This choice of words is particularly interesting, since it is possible it relates to a concession resulting from negotiations

⁸⁹ The archbishop of Rouen was a member of the Richardide branch of the ducal family, members of which had been at the head of the rebellion at Val-ès-Dunes.

⁹⁰ The date of the council has been a matter of some debate. For arguments in favour of 1055 see M. de Boüard, 'Notes et hypothèses sur Maurille, moine de Fécamp, et son élection au siège métropolitain de Rouen', in *L'abbaye bénédictine de Fécamp*, i, pp. 81-92, at p. 89; for those in favour of 1054, H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the penitential ordinance following the battle of Hastings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 20 (1969), pp. 225-242, at pp. 226-227; Foreville, 'The synod of Rouen', p. 23 n. c. It should be noted that various Norman annals record the year of the council as 1055, 'Chronicon Rotomagensis', p. 366; 'Historia annalis brevis in monasterio sancti Stephani Cadomensis', ed. J. Giles, *Scriptores rerum Gestarum Willelmi Conquestoris* (London, 1845), p. 165; 'Annales Uticensis', p. 157; *Annales de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, p. 56; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 128 E 14, fol. 10r.

⁹¹ *GG*, i, 53, p. 88; *OV*, iii, p. 86; William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 494.

⁹² De Boüard, 'Notes et hypothèses sur Maurille', p. 88.

⁹³ The marriage is discussed by Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 76-80.

⁹⁴ William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 494.

⁹⁵ *GG*, i, 58, p. 92.

⁹⁶ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

whereby the archbishop, who realised his position was untenable, agreed to quit his office without protest.⁹⁷ The archbishop's time on the island is recorded by Wace, who, in keeping with Mauger's already blackened reputation, reported how the archbishop fathered many children, including a knight called Michael de Baines, and slowly lost his mind.⁹⁸ Attempting to cross over to Normandy one summer, Mauger fell out of the ship in which he was travelling and drowned, his body being taken and buried in Cherbourg.⁹⁹ The end was ignominious for an archbishop who had governed the Norman church at its most turbulent, but it was perhaps not entirely inappropriate.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Such an idea is partially confirmed by the cryptic statement of William of Jumièges, who says that Mauger 'gave back the archbishopric to the duke', *GND*, ii, p. 130.

⁹⁸ Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 4541-4572.

⁹⁹ Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 4583-4618; 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224. Mauger fell out of the boat he was in as it made harbour at *Wincant*, an unidentified port on the Cotentin. Local legend says he drowned near Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue (Manche, cant. Quettehou), but this seems unlikely as it is on the east coast of the peninsula, J. Le Terrier, *Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue: monographie historique et sociologique* (Coutances, 1963), p. 46 n. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Such was Mauger's reputation that, when a fourteenth-century clerk of the cathedral came to list the archbishops of Rouen in the margin of the cathedral copy of the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, he referred to Mauger as *Malgerius malus*, BM (Rouen), Y 27 Omont 1405, p. 33 (marginalia). As for his memory outside of the Rouen community, the editors of *Gallia Christiana* claim he was remembered in the necrology of Saint-Georges de Boscherville on 1 July, *GC*, xi, col. 30. None of the surviving fragments of the abbey's necrology confirm this assertion (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 4375, fol. 94r-95r; BN, ms. lat. 13817, fol. 375r), however, and it could in fact be a confused interpretation of an entry for Mauger, bishop of Worcester, who is remembered in a other obituaries, including that of Rouen cathedral, on this date, *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 364.

Maurilius, 1055-1067

The path of Mauger's successor to the Norman primacy has been well documented by contemporaries and moderns alike.¹ Born to a noble family of Reims between 990 and 1000, Maurilius was educated in the famous school of Liège. First the *scholasticus* at Halberstadt, he made two stays in Normandy at the abbey of Fécamp towards 1030 and then again in the 1050s, the intervening years occupied by an attempt at an eremitic life in Italy, and a long but rather fraught abbatiage at St. Mary of Florence.² His arrival in Rouen signalled a tectonic shift in the complexion of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the duchy. Unlike his predecessors he was not related to the ducal line, and he shared no ties with any of the great families of Normandy. His career to date had taken him through some of the most important centres of European intellectual life, and had introduced him to some of the leading spiritual figures, including John of Ravenna, abbot of Fécamp and William of Volpiano. Consequently, Maurilius' archiepiscopate was one dominated by ideas of reform. In his twelve years at Rouen he held three important councils at which he began and maintained his opposition to the teachings of Berengar of Tours.³ He was also actively involved in attempts to restore liturgical unity to Normandy, and even composed his own treatise, the *Enchiridion*.⁴ He completed and consecrated his cathedral, and while no famous pedagogues exist from his archiepiscopate, the cathedral chapter did begin an important historiographical tradition, producing two known texts, the *Annals of Rouen*, and the *Metrical chronicle of the archbishops* written in elegiac distiches.⁵

¹ The best contemporary account is that in 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224, which was written in the second half of the eleventh century. Other briefer contemporary accounts include, *OV*, ii, p. 198; *GG*, i. 53-54, pp. 86-88. The best modern work on Maurilius is De Boüard, 'Notes et hypothèses sur Maurille', pp. 81-92. Shorter summaries of his career in both English and French can be found in Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 121; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 210; Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 19; Douglas, 'The Norman episcopate', pp. 106-107; Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', pp. 28-44.

² 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224. Orderic informs us that after attempting to instil a stricter life for the monks, they tried to poison him, *OV*, iii, p. 88.

³ Migne, *PL*, cxliii, 1382-1383; Migne, *PL*, cxlvii, 279-280; *RHGF*, xi, p. 529; Migne, *PL*, cxlvii, 279-280; Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 49; Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', pp. 516-521.

⁴ Extracts of Maurilius' liturgical treatise, with commentary, can be found in Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. xlviii-lvii.

⁵ 'Chronicon Rotomagensis', pp. 364-390. The *Metrical chronicle* has never been edited and published in full, although it is often incorrectly cited as being printed in *Veterum scriptorum collectio nova*, ed. E. Martène (Paris, 1700), part II, pp. 248-250. Martène only printed the distiches dedicated to William Bona Anima (1079-1110) and his successors to Pierre de Colmieu (1237-1245). These can be found in the *Livre noir* (BM (Rouen), ms. Y 41 Omont 1406, fol. 14v), and differ from those in the *Livre*

It was not long before Maurilius demonstrated just what a radically different archbishop he was to be. Within his first few months the duke ordered him to enquire into the unhappy state of affairs at the abbey of Saint-Évroult, which had led to the resignation of its abbot, Theoderic.⁶ Robert de Grandmesnil, who re-founded the abbey in 1050 with his brother Hugh, had become prior there.⁷ Unfortunately, his relationship with Theoderic had steadily deteriorated, and with Robert stirring up trouble among the monks, the abbot found his position impossible. Theoderic appeared before the duke to plead his case and tender his resignation. Interestingly, the abbot of Saint-Évroult offered his pastoral staff to the duke, rather than to the archbishop of Rouen or the bishop of Évreux (in whose diocese the monastery lay), but rather than accepting, William appointed Maurilius to hold an enquiry into the matter.⁸ According to Orderic, the archbishop visited the abbey on 29 June 1056 to celebrate the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul.⁹ He was joined by Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, Anfredus, abbot of Préaux, Lanfranc, prior of Bec, and 'his counsellor' the *sophista* Fulbert.¹⁰ Robert de Grandmesnil was admonished for his behaviour and reminded of the vow of humility he had sworn to the abbot, but the settlement did not last long. On 29 August 1057, Theoderic announced that he was leaving on pilgrimage for Jerusalem with William Bona Anima (then archdeacon of Rouen) and Herbert de Montreuil, a monk of Saint-Évroult, and promptly travelled to Lisieux to deliver his pastoral charge to the bishop.¹¹ It was a voyage from which he would never return.¹²

The situation would not be fully resolved until two years later, when Robert de Grandmesnil was elected abbot. However, the simultaneous attendance on 29 June 1056 of some of the leading ecclesiastics in the duchy testifies to the respect commanded

d'ivoire (BM (Rouen), ms. Y 27 Omont 1405, pp. 39-40). Orderic Vitalis incorporated the poem into his work (*OV*, iii, pp. 50-94), although the last verse is his own composition. An unpublished version including all interpolations can be found in Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', ii, pp. 449-454.

⁶ The episode is recounted in *OV*, ii, pp. 66-68.

⁷ *OV*, ii, pp. 14-18.

⁸ Theoderic's actions speak both to the duke's control over the church, and perhaps also to the damage done to the archiepiscopal reputation by Mauger, Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 36 n. 2.

⁹ *OV*, ii, p. 66.

¹⁰ For the identity of this Fulbert, and the association of this name with the Rouen chapter, see Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 206-207.

¹¹ *OV*, ii, p. 68.

¹² Theoderic died on Cyprus at the abbey dedicated to St. Nicholas the confessor, archbishop of Myra, *OV*, ii, pp. 70-72.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1055 × 1067	AD Seine-Maritime, 1 H 1*	Saint-Martin d'Aumale	Aumale			x
1055 × 1067	AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 156	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		x	x	x
1055 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 208	Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux		x		
1055 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 209	Saint-Magloire de Lehon				x
1055 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 210	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1055 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 211	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1055 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 212	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1055 × 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 213	Jumièges	Rouen		x	
1055 × 1066	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 258	Saint-Hymer-en-Auge				x
14 Oct. 1055 × 1066	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. 1, p. 177	Saint-Père de Chartres	Rouen			x
1055	<i>RADN</i> , no. 132	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	
Sept. or Oct. 1055	<i>RADN</i> , no. 137	Marmoutier			x	
8-9 Mar. 1057	<i>RADN</i> , no. 139	Fécamp	Rouen	x		
1059	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 13-16	Saint-Michel du Tréport				x
1061	<i>RADN</i> , no. 148	Mont-Saint-Michel	Rouen		x	
29 June 1063	<i>RADN</i> , no. 158	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		x	x	
1066 × 1067	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 244	Saint-Ouen de Rouen		x		x
1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 229	Avranches cathedral			x	x
18 June 1066	<i>RADN</i> , no. 231	La Trinité, Caen	Caen		x	x
1067	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 243	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	

Fig. 62 Appearances of Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen (1055-1067), in the diplomatic record**

* Another copy of this charter can be found in AD Seine-Maritime, 1 H 13.

** Maurilius also appears as a witness in two seventeenth-century copies made by Gaignières of a donation to Saint-Amand de Rouen by Gerald, *castellum* de Neufmarché, BN, ms. lat. 17131, pp. 99-100, 137-138. The first was taken from a *vidimus* of Philip VI, king of France, dated 7 June 1313. Gerald's donation was most recently edited by David Bates (*Regesta*, no. 237), and manuscript D in this edition is indeed a *vidimus* of Philip VI (AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 8). However, neither it, nor any of the other manuscript copies edited by Bates, contain the *signum* of Archbishop Maurilius. The other episcopal witness in the seventeenth-century copy is Michael, bishop of Avranches, who is unfortunately identified as bishop of Évreux. But not only does he appear as a witness in the earliest manuscript edited by David Bates, it also seems that the second copy made by Gaignières, which identifies Michael correctly as bishop of Avranches, was taken from a lost original. Both these documents do seem to have once existed, since the editors of *Gallia Christiana* refer to them in their discussion of the non-existence of a Michael, bishop of Évreux, *GC*, xi, col. 571.

by Maurilius. It stands in stark contrast to the situation under Mauger, who is rarely seen in the company of other ecclesiastics, except those to whom he was related (Nicholas, abbot of Saint-Ouen) or who owed their position to his brother (William, bishop of Évreux).¹³ Furthermore, Maurilius remained a man capable of resolving complex situations, while his sound advice was often sought and adhered to. On one occasion the archbishop had to solve his own dispute with Nicholas, abbot of Saint-Ouen,¹⁴ while he took an active role in the foundation of monasteries, especially the abbey of Saint-Michel du Tréport, which was established by Robert, count of Eu, on his counsel (*consilio Maurilii archiepiscopi*).¹⁵ Maurilius also encouraged people to take up the monastic vocation. He may have advised the duke's daughter Adeliza to become a nun,¹⁶ while according to the *Vita Anslemi* he even gave counsel to St. Anselm, not only causing him to become a monk, but also playing some role in his rise to the English primacy.¹⁷ The archbishop was also capable of acting as judge, which he did at the order of the duke in the case of the monk Hugh, who disputed his father's donation to the monastery of Saint-Magloire de Léhon of Saint-Cyr du Bailleul.¹⁸

Of course, the most impressive of all Maurilius' ecclesiastical achievements is his conciliar legacy. Unfortunately, the record of meetings convened is neither full nor clear. Those councils assigned to the archbishop, the years in which they were convened, the location of the meeting, the business under discussion, and the source for the information can be easily tabulated (fig. 63). Of these five, three are difficult to assign a date: those of 1055, 1055 × 1063 and 1061. The easiest to reject is that of 1061, which Guillaume Bessin claimed was held at Caen.¹⁹ Anne Brinkworth demonstrated convincingly that his 'canons' are little more than a Latin translation of

¹³ For the suggestion that William, count of Arques, sponsored the appointment of the bishop of Évreux, see Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 291 n. 28.

¹⁴ For discussion, see below, Appendix G.

¹⁵ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, col. 13.

¹⁶ J. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis s. Benedicti*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1703-1739), vi, p. 192.

¹⁷ When Anselm could not decide whether he should become a monk he sought Lanfranc's advice. He in turn referred him to Maurilius, who praised the monastic life above all others with the result that Anselm took the habit at Bec. Later, when Anselm was finding his position as prior of Bec intolerable he went to Maurilius hoping to resign. The archbishop forbade he do such a thing, ordering him to only relinquish the position should a higher one be offered. Anselm obeyed, and only left Bec when he was offered the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1093, Eadmer, *The life of St Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. R.W. Southern (Oxford, 1972), pp. 11-12, 21-22.

¹⁸ *RADN*, no. 209. Saint-Cyr du Bailleul, Manche, cant. Barenton.

¹⁹ Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 48.

Year	Location	Outcome	Source
1055?	Rouen	Eucharistic confession of faith against Berengar of Tours; or imposition of celibacy on clergy	(Berengar) Migne, <i>PL</i> , cxliii, cols. 1382-1383; <i>RHGF</i> , xi, p. 529; (celibacy) 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224
1055×1063?	Rouen	Imposition of celibacy on clergy	'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224
1061?	Caen	Truce of God promulgated; three canons: (i) abbots living in country forbidden from wandering around; (ii) introduction of curfew; (iii) criminals to be punished according to law	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , p. 48
1 Oct. 1063	Rouen	Imposition of celibacy on clergy; repromulgation of confession against Berengar of Tours?	'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224; for Berengar cf. Migne, <i>PL</i> , cxliii, col. 1383 and Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , p. 49.
1064	Lisieux	Ten canons; provision for well being of church and continuation of work done by earlier councils; consideration of the doctrine of the Trinity and Eucharist	Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', pp. 516-521.

Fig. 63 The councils of archbishop Maurilius held 1055-1064

events described by Gabriel du Moulin and Charles de Bourgeville, who mistakenly attributed information relating to the Truce of God meeting convened at Caen in October 1047 to a separate meeting fourteen years later.²⁰ There was a synod convened in 1061 at which Maurilius was present, but it was held at Rouen, and concerned the election of Osbern, prior of Corneilles, as abbot of Saint-Évroult.²¹ The other two councils, those of 1055 and 1055 × 1063, are more difficult to identify. Not only is it hard to decide whether one should place the date for the council in either of these two timeframes, but the possibility also exists that neither of these councils took place, and that both are simply misplaced references to a council that took place on 1 October 1063. The cause of all this uncertainty is the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, which contains the following passage in its section on Maurilius' career:

Hic aecclesiam a Rotberto archiepiscopo inceptam compleuit, et astante Guillelmo Normannorum duce, postea Anglorum rege, cum omnibus suffraganeis suis, concilium in Rotomagensi aecclesia de castitate conseruanda, et caeteris sanctorum patrum institutionibus pastorum incuria neglegenter postpositis uiriliter restituendis religiose celebravit. Postea perfecta aecclesia dedicauit eam astante Guillelmo Normannorum duce anno MLXIII Dominicae Incarnationis, regnante Henrico nobilissimo rege Francorum, astantibus etiam comprouintialibus episcopis, scilicet Odone Baiocensi, Ioanne Abrincensi, Hugone Lexouiensi, Guillelmo Ebroacensi, Iuone Sagiensi, Gaufrido Constantiniensi, caeterisque uenerabilibus abbatibus, presidente etiam sedi apostolicae papa Uictore secundo.²²

Two problems arise from this. Firstly, the statement that Henry was king of France and Victor was pope is chronologically impossible, since Victor II died in 1057 and Henry I in 1060. The statement that the dedication took place in 1063 appears correct, however, as both Orderic Vitalis and various Norman annals corroborate this date.²³ The second problem arises when the assumption is made that the date of 1063 attributed to the dedication is also intended to apply to the council mentioned just before. Such an assumption is understandable as the author of this work, after describing the convening of the council, begins the description of the consecration with the word 'afterwards' (*postea*).

²⁰ Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', pp. 337-338. Raymonde Foreville, however, held that the council took place, despite her admission of an obvious corruption in the first canon, Foreville, 'The synod of Rouen', pp. 22, 26 and n. 18. David Bates followed these conclusions, Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 199.

²¹ *OV*, ii, p. 92. For some reason, this synod was not included among those studied by Raymonde Foreville.

²² 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

²³ *OV*, iii, p. 92; 'Chronicon Rotomagensis', p. 366; 'Annales Uticensis', p. 157; *Annales de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, p. 56.

The key to resolving these chronological difficulties depends on when Maurilius promulgated his elaborate eucharistic confession of faith, which was issued ‘against the immoral Berengar [of Tours], and the voices of his followers’.²⁴ The editors of *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* held that it was first made in 1055,²⁵ or the year following, but Jean Mabillon, whose comments on the confession were republished along with the text by Jacques-Paul Migne, argued that it was issued in 1063.²⁶ Robert Somerville demonstrated, however, that Maurilius must have issued the confession of faith in 1055.²⁷ Since Maurilius is referred to as ‘of blessed memory’ (*venerabilis memoriae*) the formula of the profession that survives must be dated post-1067, and the date of 1063 assigned to the text simply the repetition of an erroneously established opinion.²⁸ Consequently, the council in 1055 did not deal with the issues of celibacy, and is therefore not the council mentioned by the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, while the council held on 1 October 1063 did not deal with the Berengar controversy. Of course, there is still the possibility that there was a separate council that was held neither in 1055 nor on 1 October 1063, but sometime between 1055 and 1063.

Even if the *Acta archiepiscoporum* is taken at face value, however, then the possibility of a separate council held between 1055 and 1063 appears unlikely. Indeed, it is important to note the one element that remains constant in the *Acta archiepiscoporum*’s narration of both the council and the dedication: the completed cathedral. It could of course be suggested that the cathedral was completed before 1063 and that a council was held in 1062 or early 1063, and that all those involved were summoned back to Rouen for the dedication in October. Although an insertion into an eleventh century benedictional assumed that two provincial councils were to be held each year, with some actually claiming this right,²⁹ such organised regularity does not become apparent in Normandy until after 1066, and even then it still fails to

²⁴ ‘... contra spurcissimas Berengarii eiusque successorum voces’, *RHGF*, xi, p. 529.

²⁵ ‘Eodem pariter anno [i.e. 1055] vel sequenti...’, *RHGF*, xi, p. 529.

²⁶ ‘Hanc fidei professionem, quae in concilio anno 1063 habito decreta fuisse videtur, contra Berengarii errores ediderat Maurilius, ne quis e sibi commisso grege haeresiarchae laqueis sese irretiret’, Migne, *PL*, cxliii, col. 1383.

²⁷ R. Somerville, ‘The case against Berengar of Tours – a new text’, *Studi Gregoriani*, 9 (1972), pp. 55-75, at pp. 57-58 n. 11.

²⁸ Somerville notes that Mansi places the text in a 1063 synod, Mansi, xix, cols. 1027-1030; Somerville, ‘The case against Berengar of Tours’, p. 58 n. 11.

²⁹ Wilson, *The Benedictional*, p. 154. In 1061, John of Avranches claimed the right to hold two diocesan synods each year, *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, Appendix 2, no. 5.

meet the standards set.³⁰ It would seem strange, therefore, not to use such a solemn occasion as a consecration to hold a council.³¹ We certainly see the combination of the two later in the duchy's history, when a synod was held the day after the dedication of the abbey of La Trinité de Caen on 18 June 1066.³² The date of the consecration is also important. We know that when Geoffrey of Coutances came to dedicate his cathedral along with the archbishop seven years earlier he had waited until 8 December,³³ the feast day of the conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a festival of some importance in the city.³⁴ Similarly, when Odo, bishop of Bayeux, dedicated his cathedral on 14 July 1077, the day not only commemorated the anniversary of the translation of the relics of SS. Exupère and Loup (former bishops of Bayeux) to the cathedral, but also their feast day.³⁵ It appears Maurilius did the same: 1 October was the feast day of St. Vedast of Arras, a saint whose cult was especially important at Rouen.³⁶ It is hard to imagine a more opportune occasion to hold a council that discussed important aspects of the restoration of the Norman Church, than at the dedication of the duchy's primary cathedral on the feast day of a man famed for restoring the faith of his people, and the churches in which they worshipped.³⁷

Maurilius therefore held councils at Rouen in 1055 and on 1 October 1063. That the archbishop should have sought to convene a meeting within the first months of his tenure illustrates his commitment to ideas of reform. Unfortunately, the substance of these first two meetings has been all but lost, since nothing more of the councils survive than the allusions already noted above. Fortunately, the proceedings of Maurilius' last council not only survive, but were edited by Léopold Delisle.³⁸ Convened at Lisieux in 1064, the council opened with a consideration of the doctrine of the Trinity and the Eucharist, evidence that the heresy of Berengar of Tours was

³⁰ Cf. Foreville 'The synod of Rouen', p. 22 for the councils post-1066.

³¹ Such a suggestion is made, but not explored, by Anne Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 336.

³² *RADN*, no. 229. For the date of the dedication, see *RADN*, no. 231.

³³ The date is given by a charter issued shortly after the dedication, *RADN*, no. 214. For the attendees, see 'De statu', col. 220.

³⁴ Lelégard, 'La tombe de Geoffroi', p. 296. For further discussion of the importance of the cult of Mary in Coutances see the chapter on Geoffrey de Montbray.

³⁵ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 47.

³⁶ *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung*, p. 105.

³⁷ For the various *vitae* of St. Vedaast, see *AASS*, 6 Feb., I, pp. 792-794 and Migne, *PL*, ci, cols. 663-681.

³⁸ Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

still a pertinent issue in the duchy.³⁹ It also undoubtedly reveals the influence that Lanfranc now held within Normandy.⁴⁰ The prior of Bec had been involved in the controversy since the council at Vercelli in 1050, and had remained Berengar's sharpest critic throughout his career. In 1059, Berengar was constrained to read a profession against his teachings at the Lenten Synod of the council of Rome, and was forced to burn certain of his writings.⁴¹ Rome effectively considered the matter closed, but by 1060 Berengar had begun to criticise the synod, an attack that Lanfranc felt could not be left unanswered.⁴² Unfortunately, no direct evidence exists to suggest that Lanfranc was present at the council of Lisieux in 1064, although we do know that it was attended by some abbots (*cum ceteris suffraganeis episcopis atque abbatibus*), who may have been present with their retinues, which could have included senior members of their communities.⁴³ Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Lanfranc would have missed such an opportunity to discuss Berengar's teachings, especially at a meeting held in his adopted homeland.

The council then began to deliberate the issue of clerical celibacy.⁴⁴ Country priests and deacons were forbidden to have a wife or to live with a woman, and those that had done so since the council of Rouen of 1 October 1063 were to send her away. Canons who were priests and deacons were forbidden to have wives, although if they were in minor orders they were not to be forced to send their wives away, but were to use persuasion and prayers instead to meet this end.⁴⁵ These canons reflect a more concerted effort to impose celibacy on the clergy, but they also demonstrate that Maurilius was perhaps unprepared to enforce Rome's decrees in their entirety.⁴⁶ Those that had married prior to the council of Rouen were allowed to keep their wives, and for those who disobeyed the council's professions no penalties appear to have been laid down. It appears that Maurilius also hoped that by concentrating on the higher orders of the clergy, the lower orders would follow their example.

³⁹ Canon 1, Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

⁴⁰ Somerville, 'The case against Berengar', pp. 61-62.

⁴¹ For discussion see A.J. MacDonald, *Berengar and the reform of sacramental doctrine* (London, 1930), p. 131.

⁴² Lanfranc responded between 1063 and 1070 with his 'De corpore et sanguine Domini', Migne, *PL*, cl, cols. 407-441.

⁴³ Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

⁴⁴ For much of what follows, see Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', pp. 518-520; Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', pp. 190-193.

⁴⁵ Canons 2 and 3, Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

⁴⁶ Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 190.

Lanfranc followed a similar approach in England in 1076, which is perhaps further evidence of his presence at the council of Lisieux.⁴⁷ The council was also concerned with keeping the peace and ensuring that clerks dedicated themselves only to their spiritual duties. The Truce of God was to be repeated and firmly kept; clerks were forbidden to carry arms or to be moneylenders; and attacks against other clerks were forbidden, although an exception was made if the person concerned was deserving of punishment and the permission of the bishop had been sought.⁴⁸ Internal affairs were also regulated. Priests were ordered to carry three flasks, one for the chrism, one for the oil of catechumens, and a third containing unction for the sick.⁴⁹ Finally, religious fraternities, whose primary purpose was for eating and drinking, were to be disbanded.⁵⁰

The impact of the council's decrees on the Norman clergy is difficult to ascertain. Orderic Vitalis records the hostility that Maurilius' successors faced when they affirmed these decrees and attempted to prescribe additional penalties, while the fact that the canons only survive in one manuscript, which escaped the attention of conciliar scholars such as Giovanni Mansi, suggests that perhaps they were little circulated in the duchy.⁵¹ The council should not, however, be dismissed. Raymonde Foreville did not hesitate to single out its effectiveness, while its decrees demonstrate that Normandy was establishing a position of orthodoxy with regards to the teachings of Berengar of Tours, and was also fully committed to instigating papal reform.⁵² It also illustrates that the archbishop of Rouen enjoyed enough leverage to not completely follow Rome's lead. He was able to develop and pass decrees that suited his own needs, while maintain a relationship with the pope that ensured his support of the invasion of England two years later. The council is also important in that it is the only one held under Maurilius of which the decrees have survived in their entirety. Interestingly, while the manuscript is currently conserved at Cambridge, it seems that it was most likely produced at Bec, which provides one final connection between the council and Lanfranc.⁵³

⁴⁷ Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 190 n. 3.

⁴⁸ Canons 5, 8 and 10, Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

⁴⁹ Canon 6, Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

⁵⁰ Canon 9, Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

⁵¹ *OV*, ii, p. 200; vi, pp. 290-294.

⁵² Foreville 'The synod of Rouen', p. 37.

⁵³ Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 520.

Of course, conciliar legislation was not the only means by which Maurilius sought to spread ideas of reform. The cathedral also enjoyed a textual revolution at this time, and produced two historiographical texts, including a set of annals and a metrical poem in elegiac distiches.⁵⁴ Although there is no surviving manuscript of the annals, and only two known manuscripts of the metrical chronicle, Louis Violette has securely dated both works to Maurilius' archiepiscopate.⁵⁵ The reasons behind their composition have also been scrutinised in full, and while they will always be associated with the rivalry that flared up between the cathedral and the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen in the second half of the eleventh century, they most clearly reflect the attempt of the archbishop to reform his diocese.⁵⁶ By writing the history of the seat—the oldest of the ecclesiastical province—they simultaneously reinforced its prestige, and that of the archbishop, who was automatically associated with his predecessors, a great number of whom were saints.⁵⁷ Most importantly, the annals were recopied and then adapted by the monastic houses of Normandy, taking with them a vision of unity and hierarchy as manifest in the community of Rouen.⁵⁸ It is unclear who authored the texts, and even with David Spear's excellent prosopographical survey of the dignitaries of the chapter of Rouen to hand, one struggles to find a candidate even vaguely suitable to fulfil the role of 'author'.⁵⁹ Hugh the Grammarian, archdeacon of the cathedral, and a prominent figure within the burgeoning school of Rouen, was dead by 16 September 1057.⁶⁰ The only other archdeacon in whom we find the skills of the *scriptorium* is Fulbert (c. 1047-c. 1075), who could be identified with the *sophista* present with Maurilius at Saint-Évroult on 29 June 1056.⁶¹ Among the canons of the cathedral one finds two possible candidates:

⁵⁴ For bibliographical details, see above p. 325 n. 5.

⁵⁵ L. Violette, 'Une étape décisive dans l'éveil des activités historiographiques au service du siège de Rouen: l'épiscopat de Maurille, moine de Fécamp', *Tabularia 'Études'*, 3 (2003), pp. 57-67, at pp. 62-63. The Norman annalistic tradition is currently undergoing a re-evaluation by Ms. Alison Alexander of Emmanuel College, A. Alexander, 'Annalistic writing in early Normandy, c. 1050 to c. 1250', Thesis, D.Phil (University of Cambridge, *in preparation*). I am grateful to Ms. Alexander for sharing some of her early draft chapters with me.

⁵⁶ Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', ii, pp. 272-313.

⁵⁷ Violette, 'Une étape décisive', pp. 63-67; L. Violette, 'Le thème des origines de l'église de Rouen d'après une œuvre de ses chanoines: *Les Annales de Rouen*', in *Chapitres et cathédrales en Normandie*, pp. 287-294, at p. 288.

⁵⁸ The annals had been copied at Saint-Wandrille by 1066, at Saint-Évroult in 1098, at Mont-Saint-Michel and Fécamp from c. 1100, at Saint-Étienne, Caen from c. 1100-1106, and at Jumièges from 1106, *Annales de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, pp. 8-10.

⁵⁹ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 195-268.

⁶⁰ Bouvris, 'L'école capitulaire de Rouen', pp. 93-97.

⁶¹ D. Spear, 'Les archidiacres de Rouen au cours de la période ducal', *AN*, 34 (1984), pp. 15-50, at pp. 19-20.

Theobald of Vernon (or ‘the Grammarian’) and Richard son of Herluin. Unfortunately, while Theobald was an active writer, all of his surviving works are in the vernacular.⁶² It is not impossible that the texts were written by Maurilius himself. Orderic Vitalis claimed that he composed the epitaphs of dukes Rollo and William Longsword, whose bodies he had transferred to the cathedral, causing them to be inscribed on their tombs in letters of gold.⁶³ This has convinced some authorities that the archbishop had literary tendencies.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the only other known literary product from Maurilius’ archiepiscopate is his own epitaph, composed by Richard son of Herluin, which perhaps suggests that the archbishop dominated matters of a literary nature.⁶⁵

If Maurilius did compose these works they were not his only textual achievements. Towards the end of his life he, along with John, bishop of Avranches, attempted to bring liturgical unity to the province. Having received John’s manuscript of *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, the elderly archbishop of Rouen began to correct it and in the process produced his own treatise, which is known as the *Enchiridion*.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the work was never completed, while René Delamare felt that what survives is a work far inferior to that of the bishop of Avranches, which at times is overly dependant on symbolism that is often obscure.⁶⁷ Not every aspect of the work should be disregarded, however, since it contains a useful list of cathedral dignitaries and their duties, and an interesting discussion of the feast days.⁶⁸ Moreover, while the archbishop’s liturgical efforts may have been less than satisfactory, he not only instigated the position of chanter within the cathedral chapter,⁶⁹ but also ensured that his canons had an adequate space in which to conduct the liturgy, and began a building campaign that finally saw the completion of the

⁶² ‘Inventio sancti Vulfranni’, pp. 68-70. Cf. Van Houts, ‘Historiography and hagiography’, p. 236 n. 26.

⁶³ *OV*, iii, pp. 90-92. Later inscriptions associated the transferral of the bodies of these two dukes with the same year as the cathedral’s dedication, A. Deville, *Tombeaux de la cathédrale de Rouen* (Paris, 1833), pp. 7, 24.

⁶⁴ Monique Dosdat is reluctant to attribute the epitaphs to Maurilius (Dosdat, ‘Les évêques et la vie intellectuelle’, p. 242), but Bouvris is more confident, Bouvris, ‘L’école capitulaire de Rouen’, p. 97.

⁶⁵ *OV*, ii, p. 198.

⁶⁶ For discussion of John’s liturgical work, see above. For the majority of what follows, see Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. xlviii-lvii.

⁶⁷ Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. l-li.

⁶⁸ Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. lii-lvi

⁶⁹ Rouen’s first known chanter is Stigand, who witnessed a charter issued by Maurilius for Saint-Père de Chartres, *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. 1, p. 177. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

church begun by Archbishop Robert. The discovery of sarcophagi between two levels of work suggests that building work had come to a complete halt during Mauger's archiepiscopate.⁷⁰ Maurilius pursued an energetic construction campaign, and in eight years completed the nave, and added a rectangular crypt in the western part of the crypt of Archbishop Robert.⁷¹ On 1 October 1063 he dedicated the newly completed building, and used the occasion to transfer the tombs of the first two Norman dukes into the sanctuary.⁷² The completed edifice was clearly extremely important to Maurilius, for he became the first archbishop to be buried in the cathedral, and was inhumed before the crucifix.⁷³ His tomb, which was disrupted in the fifteenth century to incorporate the burial of Archbishop Guillaume VII d'Estouteville, was rediscovered during the excavations of Georges Lanfry (fig. 64), and today is marked by a slab on which there is a barely legible inscription commemorating his achievement (fig. 65).⁷⁴

Despite Maurilius' obvious contributions to the religious life of Normandy he has not escaped criticism. Felice Lifshitz characterised the archbishop as a 'singularly ineffectual leader' and 'politically inert'.⁷⁵ From what has been noted above it should be clear that the first criticism is unfair, while the second seems irrelevant, since the duke had selected Maurilius exactly for his political inactivity. David Douglas, however, felt that Maurilius' contribution could be exaggerated, and that any positive developments should really be attributed to the duke since it was he who had appointed the archbishop.⁷⁶ If Maurilius did lack political acumen, it is perhaps most neatly illustrated in his dealings with the counts of Amiens-Valois-Vexin over the land of Gisors. According to a settlement brokered under his successor, Maurilius had given this land to Rodulf, count of Amiens-Valois-Vexin (1063-1074), sometime

⁷⁰ Le Maho, 'Les fouilles de la cathédrale', p. 39; Baylé, 'Les évêques et l'architecture', p. 156.

⁷¹ Lanfry, *La cathédrale dans la cité romaine*, p. 22; Le Maho, 'Les fouilles de la cathédrale', p. 40.

⁷² *OV*, iii, p. 90.

⁷³ For discussion of the location of the burials of previous archbishops, see above pp. 303-304. The location of Maurilius' tomb is given by Orderic, *OV*, ii, p. 198.

⁷⁴ In the nineteenth century an inscription marking Maurilius' tomb was found on one of the pillars of the nave. This was inscribed in gold letters on a slab of black marble, and read as follows: 'In media navi | e regione huius columnae | iacet | beatae mem. Maurilius | archiep. Rotom. an. MLV | hanc basilican perfecit | consecravique anno MLXIII | vix enatos Berengarii errores | in provin. concil. praefocavit | hoc pontif. Normanni | Guillel. duce Anglia potiti sunt | anno MLXVI', Deville, *Tombeaux de Rouen*, p. 186. The modern inscription, which is transcribed below (fig. 64), varies only slightly.

⁷⁵ Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 202.

⁷⁶ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 121.

Fig. 64 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions




Fig. 64 The tomb of Archbishop Maurilius*

* Image taken from Lanfry, *La cathédrale dans la cité romaine*, p. 39.

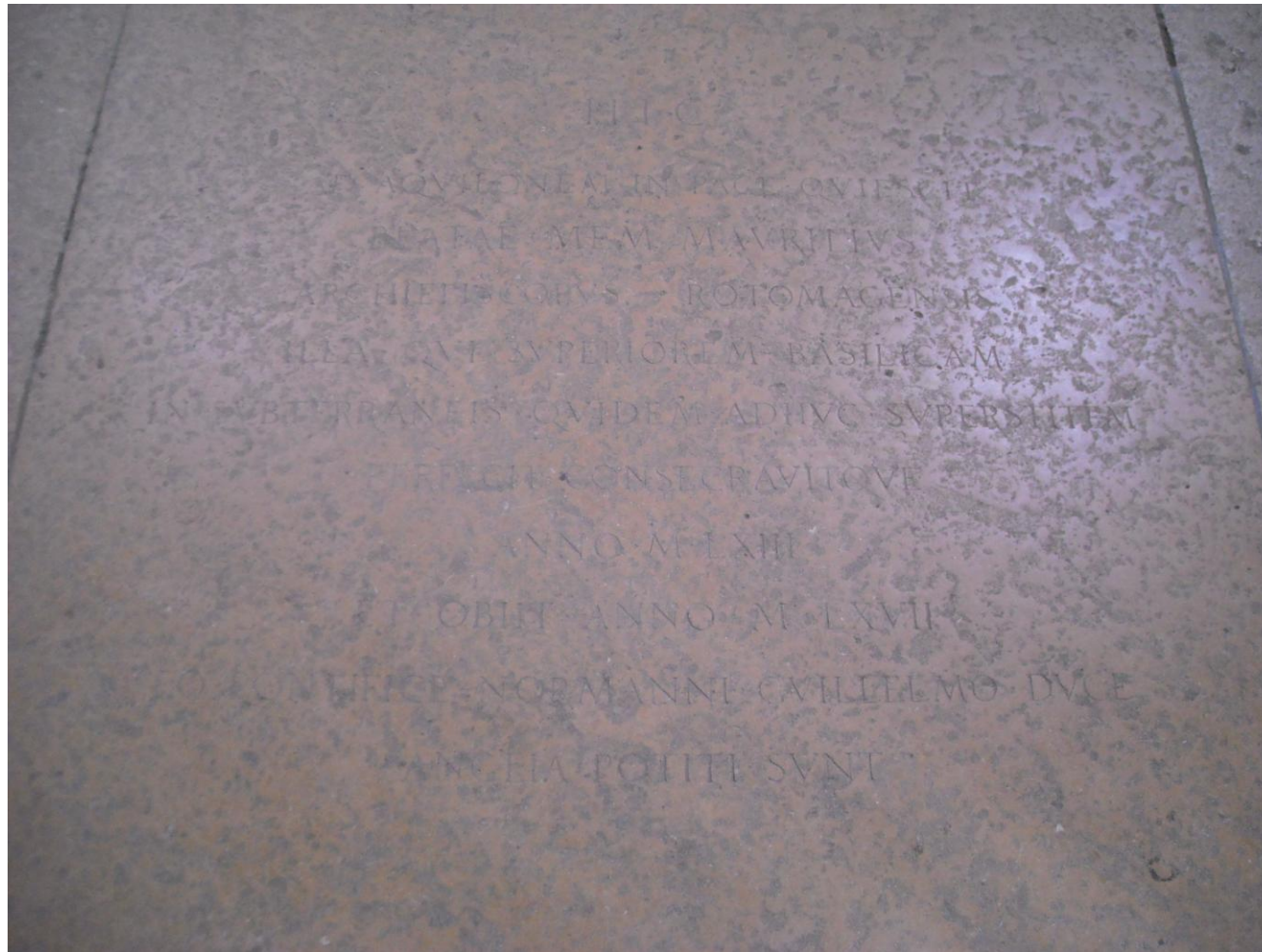


Fig. 65 Inscription in Rouen cathedral marking the location of the tomb of Archbishop Maurilius *

* This inscription is found at the eastern end of the nave just before the crossing. It reads: 'Hic | Ad aquilonem in pace quiescit | Beatae mem. Maurilius | Archiepiscopus Rotomagensis | Illa qui superiorem basilicam | In subterraneis quidem adhuc superstitem | Perfecit consecravique | Anno MLXIII | Et obit anno MLXVII | Eo pontifice Normanni Guillelmo duce | Anglia potiti sunt'. I have been unable to determine when this inscription was commissioned and set in place, though it presumably postdates the excavations carried out in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.

between 1063 and 1067.⁷⁷ Although it did not yet possess the strategic significance of later years, David Bates felt that possession of Gisors enabled Rodulf to defeat Hugh de Grandmesnil, whom the duke had entrusted the strategic castle of Neuf-Marché (Seine-Maritime, Gournay-en-Bray).⁷⁸ Of course, since the original charter has been lost it is unclear whether the donation was the initiative of the duke or the archbishop, but Maurilius' successors seem to have been aware of Gisors' importance, for one (John) facilitated its return to the cathedral, while another (William Bona Anima) placed the duchy under an interdict when Robert Curthose attempted to give the land to Philip I, king of France (1059-1108).⁷⁹ Regardless, Pierre Bauduin suggests that even if Maurilius was responsible, the donation formed part of an important concession that ensured Rodulf's alliance with Normandy, rather than causing further destabilisation.⁸⁰ Furthermore, a charter of Philip I records that Maurilius had previously secured from Walter III, count of Amiens-Valois-Vexin (1035-1063), the rights that he held over the archidiaconate of the Vexin, which helped extend the authority of the archbishop in the region.⁸¹ At around the same time, Fulk, bishop of Amiens, the uncle of the count of Amiens, came to the duchy to discuss peace terms with the duke, and when he celebrated certain ordinations at the abbey of Fécamp, the archbishop of Rouen made sure he was present.⁸² This undoubtedly served a purpose that was as much political as it was religious.⁸³ The donation of Gisors to Rodulf may, therefore, reflect little more than the priorities of the archbishop, who was more intent on ensuring the ecclesiastical influence of his church rather than the political influence of his duke.

Indeed, it is Maurilius' connections within the ecclesiastical world that is perhaps the most distinctive part of his reign. Even before he arrived in Rouen he had been in contact with leading figures of European stature, including John of Ravenna, William

⁷⁷ *Regesta*, no. 229.

⁷⁸ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 77.

⁷⁹ *Regesta*, no. 229; *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 18-19.

⁸⁰ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 259.

⁸¹ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. cxxvii; this charter is discussed in Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 257. Joseph Depoin felt that political circumstances delayed the execution of this restitution until the time of Philip I, although this seems unlikely, since Philip's charter confirms a restitution that had already been made, J. Depoin, 'Les origines de la collégiale de Saint-Mellon', *Mémoires de la Société historique et archéologique de Pontoise, du Val-d'Oise et du Vexin*, 1 (1879), pp. 27-52, at p. 28.

⁸² 'In diebus Maurilli archiepiscopi venerunt Fiscannum ad Paschale festum duo Franciae episcopi...', Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', p. 596.

⁸³ For discussion, see above p. 321 n. 79.

of Volpiano and Peter Damian.⁸⁴ He maintained relations with the abbot of Fécamp throughout his archiepiscopate, and was even content to allow John to help him in his duties as metropolitan, jointly sending a letter to the bishop of Évreux regarding his administration of the Truce of God.⁸⁵ As has been noted above, the archbishop was close to both Lanfranc and St. Anselm, while according to William of Poitiers he also knew Gerbert, abbot of Saint-Wandrille, who was with him in Italy.⁸⁶ The archbishop also used his monastic experience to negotiate with the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, and not only established procedures with Abbot Nicholas concerning the consecration of the archbishop in the abbey, which rewarded the archbishop and canons for their participation,⁸⁷ but also the role of the metropolitan in the feast day celebrations of St. Ouen.⁸⁸ It was a luxury that his successor would never enjoy.⁸⁹ Maurilius was also heavily involved in the foundation of monastic institutions. The abbey of Saint-Michel du Tréport was established on his counsel,⁹⁰ while he witnessed the foundation charters of Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux and Saint-Hymer-en-Auge.⁹¹ He also dedicated the churches of Saint-Martin d'Aumale,⁹² La Trinité de Caen, on which occasion the duke gave his daughter Cecilia as a nun with the archbishop's consent (*favente archiepiscopo Rothomagense*),⁹³ and the abbey of Jumièges, which he consecrated along with the other suffragans of Normandy on 1 July 1067.⁹⁴ The cathedral chapter also nurtured at this time the canon Walchelin, who would later be bishop of Winchester, and in whose career Maurilius took a personal interest.⁹⁵

Unfortunately, Maurilius did not long survive the conquest of England. The elderly archbishop was present at the meeting at which the decision to invade England

⁸⁴ De Boüard, 'Notes et hypothèses sur Maurille', pp. 82-84.

⁸⁵ BN, ms. lat. 2403, fol. 165r. The letter is edited in Appendix G.

⁸⁶ *GG*, i, 55, p. 90. Gerbert was also a monk with Maurilius at the abbey of Fécamp, *OV*, iii, p. 88; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, p. 339.

⁸⁷ AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 156; BN, ms. 10055, fol. 90v; BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1246, fol. 197r. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

⁸⁸ Pommeraye, *Histoire de S. Ouen de Rouen*, pp. 174-177; Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', pp. 37-38.

⁸⁹ For the tense relationship between John of Ivry and the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, see below pp. 343-365.

⁹⁰ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, col. 13.

⁹¹ *RADN*, no. 208; *Regesta*, no. 258.

⁹² AD Seine-Maritime, 1 H 1; AD Seine-Maritime, 1 H 13; BN, ms. lat. 12741, p. 448.

⁹³ *RADN*, no. 231.

⁹⁴ *GND*, ii, p. 172; *OV*, ii, p. 198.

⁹⁵ William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, pp. 270-272; Spear, *The personnel*, p. 263.

was made, although his feelings on the venture are unknown.⁹⁶ Regardless, the cathedral of Rouen benefited from the invasion and received benefices in Devonshire, which brought a yearly income of over seventy pounds in Rouen money,⁹⁷ although one of these manors (Ottery) had already been given to the church by Edward the Confessor in 1061.⁹⁸ Within less than a year of the invasion, however, the archbishop fell sick and died soon after on 9 August 1067, having continued with his fasting, prayers and almsgiving to the last day.⁹⁹ According to a later legend, the archbishop was momentarily resuscitated to tell those who mourned him of a dramatic vision.¹⁰⁰ While the story is undoubtedly more hagiography than history, it represents part of a concerted effort to sanctify the archbishop, who was honoured most openly by his successor in the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*.¹⁰¹ Although Maurilius did not live to see the expansion of Norman power throughout Europe, and the distinctive contribution that Norman ecclesiastics would make in England and the Mediterranean, he had undoubtedly played a vital role in helping to unify the Norman state and consolidate its strength and power. His own canons certainly recognised the debt they owed to him, and he was mourned as a prelate who had ‘made many benefits for the re-establishment of the Christian law and religious practices of the Church’.¹⁰² As his body was brought into the cathedral and laid to rest in the nave that he had completed four years earlier there was still much reform to be done in the Norman church, but the saintly Maurilius had ensured that his successors had solid foundations on which to build.¹⁰³

⁹⁶ It is Orderic, working from William of Poitiers (*GG*, ii. 1, p. 100), who does not mention Maurilius’ presence, who lists him as among those present, *OV*, ii, pp. 140–142.

⁹⁷ The benefices were the manors of Rawridge and Ottery St. Mary, GDB, fol. 104r.

⁹⁸ *Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici*, ed. J. Kemble, 6 vols. (London, 1839–1848), iv, no. dcccx.

⁹⁹ ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224. He is recorded in the obituary of Jumièges under this date (*RHGF*, xxiii, p. 420), although that of Mont-Saint-Michel commemorates the archbishop under 11 July, *RHGF*, xxiii, p. 579.

¹⁰⁰ William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, pp. 494–496. The story was copied by a canon of Rouen into the *Livre d’ivoire* of the cathedral, BM (Rouen), ms. Y 27 Omont 1405, p. 41.

¹⁰¹ For discussion of the ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, see below, pp. 347–351. Details concerning Maurilius’ hagiographical status can be found in BN, ms. lat. 10051, fol. 214r.

¹⁰² ‘... multa etiam bona de Christianae legis et ecclesiasticae religionis fecit’, ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224.

¹⁰³ *OV*, ii, p. 198.

John of Ivry, 1067-1079

The career of John as archbishop of Rouen sheds light on almost every aspect of the ecclesiastical and political history of eleventh-century Normandy. A former bishop of Avranches, he not only played a leading part in the reorganisation of the Church in western Normandy, restructuring it after the destruction of the Northmen incursions of the ninth and tenth centuries, but also a key political role, helping to define the boundaries of the duchy as it expanded in the decades before the Conquest.¹ As archbishop John maintained his prominent place within the Anglo-Norman realm. He sponsored a number of reforming church councils, which had important consequences on the development of canon law in the duchy; refined an historiographical tradition begun by his predecessor, which produced one of the few surviving contemporary sources on the archdiocese of Rouen and its archbishops; acted as a key adviser to the duke, helping to govern the duchy in his absence; maintained a significant relationship based on mutual respect and cooperation with Lanfranc of Canterbury, arguably the most important ecclesiastic of the age; and battled with the monastic establishments of his province over matters of archiepiscopal jurisdiction, the consequences of which, although violent, are always of interest in the study of episcopal-monastic relations in the duchy. His career was cut short by a stroke which left him severely paralysed for the last two years of his life, but the influence of his relatively short archiepiscopate can still be traced in Normandy, England, and even continental Europe. It certainly merits closer attention than it has yet received.²

John was never the subject of a contemporary *vita*, only a handful of his episcopal and archiepiscopal *acta* still survive, and for his contemporaries, the saintliness of John's archiepiscopal predecessor and successor, both of whom were monks rather than clerks, threw his somewhat abrasive character into sharp relief. Indeed, one is left with the distinct impression that later chroniclers were rather nonplussed by John.

¹ For discussion, see above pp. 61-74.

² There is little scholarship on John. The most developed study is that of Delamare, but it contains many errors (Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. i-xxix.). For more recent, but nonetheless cursory analyses, see Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 210; Douglas, 'The Norman episcopate', pp. 102, 106; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 120, 124, 128; and Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', pp. 20, 23. It is hoped that this lacuna will be somewhat filled by the publication of this, and the chapter concerning John's career at Avranches, in the forthcoming article for *Historical Research* noted above on p. 61 n. 2.

He had vigorously pursued reforming ideals, for which praise was deserved, yet his vigour often betrayed his all too secular roots, and his methods often drew violent reaction, such as when his own clerks stoned him out of his cathedral.³ The honorific couplet dedicated to him in the *Metrical chronicle of the archbishops of Rouen*, begun at the cathedral during the archiepiscopate of Maurilius, proclaims him as, ‘An indefatigable prelate [who] strove to enforce the apostolic laws’.⁴ Yet Orderic Vitalis depicts him as an ecclesiastic who, while he ‘showed his zeal for virtue in both words and deeds’, was also ‘a proud and headstrong man’ capable of harbouring bitter feelings towards his colleagues, as he did towards Hugh, bishop of Lisieux (1049-1077), whom he refused to bury because he did not like him.⁵ Evidence of similar characteristics can also be found in the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, two versions of which survive from the eleventh century.⁶ That preserved in the *Livre d’ivoire* of the cathedral states that John was an archbishop of noble birth who enforced discipline upon his clergy.⁷ But another version of the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, produced at the abbey of Saint-Ouen, reveals that John was also capable of reacting violently when he felt that his authority had been undermined, as happened at the abbey itself on 24 August 1073 when he became involved in a brawl with the monks.⁸ For the monk of Saint-Ouen who recorded the turbulent events of this day, John was a prelate whose nobility of blood and dignity of office had mixed with explosive results. He was the kind of man who, ‘forgetting the rule of justice, pretended to attribute [his] zeal for justice to the acts by which [he] obviously appeased the fury of [his] heart’.⁹ When John suffered his attack of apoplexy in July 1077, Orderic Vitalis felt his refusal to bury Hugh of Lisieux had been suitably punished by God.¹⁰

Such a mixed assessment has had a lasting effect. Like the writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, modern historians have remained ambivalent about John.

³ *OV*, ii, p. 200.

⁴ *OV*, iii, p. 92. For full discussion of the dating of this poem, see Violette, ‘Une étape décisive’, pp. 62-63.

⁵ *OV*, ii, p. 200; iii, p. 18.

⁶ ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, pp. 222-226.

⁷ BM (Rouen), ms. Y 27, Omont 1405, p. 36.

⁸ This is the copy preserved in the *Livre noir* of the abbey of Saint-Ouen, BM (Rouen), ms. Y 41, Omont 1406, fol. 1r-12r; see ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, pp. 224-226. For discussion see Allen, ‘The *Acta archiepiscoporum*’ (forthcoming).

⁹ ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224

¹⁰ *OV*, iii, pp. 16-18.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1067 × 1079	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 54	Saint-Étienne, Caen	Troarn	x	x	
1067 × 1079	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , Appendix II, no. 8	Marmoutier			x	x
1067 × 1077	<i>RADN</i> , no. 222 (sig. interp.)	Saint-Martin d'Ecujoul			x	x
1068 × 1079	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 47	Saint-Étienne, Caen			x	
1068 × 1078	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 140	Fécamp	Bonneville-sur-Touques	x		
1068 × 1076	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 212	Montivilliers			x	
1068 × 1069	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 162 (info. interp.)	Jumièges				x
1 Nov. × 25 Dec. 1068	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 280	Troarn	Rouen	x	x	
1070 × 1079	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 29	Saint-Léonard de Bellême				x
17-21 Feb. 1070	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , Appendix II, no. 7	Marmoutier	Rouen	x		
1071 × 1079	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 198	Marmoutier			x	
1071	<i>Nouveau traité de diplomatique</i> , i, pp. 375-376	Saint-Denis	Rouen	x	x	x
1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 27	Bayeux cathedral	Rouen		x	
May 1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 261	Saint-Wandrille			x	
30 Nov. 1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 26	Bayeux cathedral	Rouen (<i>in aula turris</i>)		x	
1075 × 1076	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 229	Rouen cathedral	Rouen cathedral			x
c.1075 × 1079	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , Appendix II, no. 3	Coulombs	Rouen	x	x	x
1076	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 176a	Saint-Désir de Lisieux			x	
29 September 1078	Le Cacheux, <i>Histoire de Saint-Amand</i> , p. 251 no. 12	Saint-Amand de Rouen				x
1079	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 164	Jumièges			x	x

Fig. 66 Appearances of John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen (1067-1079), in the diplomatic record

Scholarship has focused almost exclusively on the more (in)famous prelates of the age, such as Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Coutances, or on those monk-bishops whose deeds shone particularly brightly, such as Lanfranc, or to a lesser extent, Maurilius and William Bona Anima.¹¹ Yet to concentrate on these individuals, in particular with regards to the latter of these two groups, is to be guided too easily by the monastic chroniclers, leaving the historiography of the eleventh century Norman episcopate somewhat one-dimensional. What cursory modern analysis there is of John's deeds has much in common with the monk-chronicler of Saint-Évroult. While his triumphs are acknowledged, there are always caveats: his activity in support of reform was simply smart politicking;¹² his achievements are somehow depreciated by his rather unpleasant character;¹³ he was pushed unwillingly into an episcopacy in which he only succeeded because of some innate loyalty to the ducal line.¹⁴ Yet as this will demonstrate, while any account will be restricted by the scantiness and the manner of presentation of the sources for John's life, there is enough to offer here an interpretation that shapes the disparate facts into a coherent whole, and in the process define more clearly both his place within the episcopate of eleventh century Normandy, and that of the episcopate itself.

Given the impoverished church that must have greeted John upon his arrival at Avranches, the circumstances at Rouen in late 1067 should have pleased him greatly. Unlike many of its suffragan dioceses, the archdiocese had remained relatively unscathed in the wake of the Northmen invasions. It boasted a continual archiepiscopal line that stretched back to St. Mallonus in the third century, and although the temporal possessions of the cathedral had been greatly reduced by the early eleventh century, those men who had occupied the archiepiscopal seat from the late tenth century onwards had each made a lasting and significant contribution to their church.¹⁵ Archbishop Robert began the reconstruction of his cathedral, and laid the foundations for a burgeoning literary school whose products included the earliest collection of miracles attributed to St. Romanus, and Warner of Rouen's poem

¹¹ Detailed studies of all these individuals are readily available in both English and French, while some of these men's careers are, of course, treated to a detailed study above and below, pp. 120-160, 176-203, 366-398.

¹² Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, pp. 201-202.

¹³ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 210.

¹⁴ Searle, *Predatory kinship*, p. 114.

¹⁵ A charter issued by Archbishop Robert in 1028 × 1033 lists only twelve possessions, *RADN*, no. 66.

Moriuht. Archbishop Mauger, in spite of his rather inglorious deposition and death, convened the first reforming council in Normandy c.1045 and also helped sponsor the introduction into the duchy of the Truce of God, while the saintly Archbishop Maurilius, whose archiepiscopate signalled a dramatic turning point in the history of the secular Norman Church, had supported John in his efforts to bring liturgical unity to the duchy, and had himself convened three important reforming councils. Under Maurilius the chapter also began an important historiographical tradition, producing a set of annals and a metrical chronicle.

John wasted little time in contributing to this tradition, and during his first years the cathedral chapter produced a *gesta episcoporum* known as the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*.¹⁶ Consisting of biographical notes on every archbishop from the foundation of the seat until the eleventh century, it fleshes out the chronological and honorific framework set out by the annals and metrical chronicle, and provides detailed information on a number of prelates. Much debate has raged over which of the two copies of this text—either that in *Livre d'ivoire* of the cathedral or that in the *Livre noir* of the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen—is the exemplar, but the issue seems to have been definitively settled in favour of the cathedral, with a date of composition of c. 1070.¹⁷ Since the *Acta archiepiscoporum* lacks an introductory passage, the inspiration behind its composition has unfortunately been lost. However, a detailed examination of the text allows us to propose a number of possibilities. Unlike many contemporary texts, its focus is almost exclusively on the liturgical and monumental, rather than the miraculous. This has led to stylistic comparisons with the *Liber Pontificalis*, which was begun in a context of struggle between the bishops of Rome and the Emperor Justinian (527-565).¹⁸ A similar secular challenge to the authority of bishops seems to have prompted the composition of a number of *gesta*,

¹⁶ BM (Rouen), ms. Y 27, Omont 1405, pp. 26-36 (*Livre d'ivoire*); BM (Rouen), ms. Y 41, Omont 1406, fol. 1r-12r (*Livre noir*). The fundamental work on the 'Acta archiepiscoporum' is Vacandard, 'Un essai des archevêques de Rouen', pp. 117-127. For references to other secondary works, and a full critical edition of the text with an English translation, see Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum*' (forthcoming).

¹⁷ Lifshitz, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum*', pp. 337-347; L. Violette, 'Une entreprise historiographique au temps de la réforme grégorienne: les *Actes des Archevêques de Rouen*', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 83 (1997), pp. 343-365; L. Violette, 'Le problème de l'attribution d'un texte rouennais du XIe siècle: les *Acta Archiepiscoporum Rothomagensium*', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 115 (1997), pp. 113-129; O. Diard and V. Gazeau, 'Histoire et chant liturgique en Normandie au XIe siècle: les offices propres particuliers des diocèses d'Évreux et de Rouen', *AN*, 53 (2003), pp. 195-223, esp. pp. 210-218.

¹⁸ Shopkow, *History and community*, p. 253.

including those of Cambrai and Le Mans.¹⁹ They were written ‘to defend the rights of [the] church, invoking the past as proof of legitimate possession, setting out principles, forging a doctrinal arm to be held in readiness against probable challenges’.²⁰

Unlike its neighbouring provinces, however, relations between the secular and religious authorities of eleventh-century Normandy were marked by cooperation and general goodwill. We must therefore look outside the secular realm for the identity of who Archbishop John felt threatened his authority, and perhaps the most convincing suspect is found in the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen. For centuries the archbishops had governed the abbey, serving as titular abbots, but in the early eleventh century it had achieved independence and significant power.²¹ Faced with this rapid growth, the biographical notes on every archbishop in the *Acta archiepiscoporum* reinforced the unbroken episcopal line that stretched all the way back to St. Mallonus, and emphasised the new coherence and dynamism of the secular Norman Church. Indeed, in comparison with other *gesta* the *Acta archiepiscoporum* is noteworthy for its unity of purpose.²² The text in the *Livre d’ivoire* begins by listing all six suffragan churches of Rouen, and ends the account of Maurilius’ career with a description of his council of 1063. This was an event of great significance in the revival of conciliar activity in the duchy, which was attended by the duke and all six Norman bishops, possibly at the consecration of the new metropolitan cathedral on 1 October.²³ The image of unity presented here need not be overstated, and one could understand the *Acta archiepiscoporum* as an attempt by the archbishop to spread his authority not only

¹⁹ For discussion of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, see Shopkow, *History and community*, pp. 52, 253; G. Duby, *The three orders: The three orders: feudal society imagined*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, IL, 1980), pp. 19, 21-22 and R. Stein, ‘Sacred authority and secular power: the historical argument of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensis*’, in *Sacred and Secular in Medieval and Early Modern Cultures*, ed. L. Besserman (New York, NY, 2006), pp. 149-167. For the *Actus pontificum Cenomannis*, see Barton, *Lordship in Maine*, pp. 33-50.

²⁰ Duby, *The three orders*, p. 21.

²¹ For discussion, see Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 188 n. 27.

²² It has recently been shown that the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, a text usually viewed as a coherent history of a diocese, was used by contemporaries rather as ‘a source of individual community histories than as a history of the diocese’, T. Riches, ‘Bishop Gerard of Cambrai (1012-1051) and the representation of authority in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*’, Thesis, PhD (King’s College London, 2006), p. 104.

²³ ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224. For discussion of the dating of this council, see above, pp. 328-332 and fig. 63. The *Acta archiepiscoporum* is not the only *gesta episcoporum* to end with an account of a cathedral dedication, for the *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium*, concludes with a description of the dedication of the new cathedral completed by Bishop Gerard (1013-1051) in 1030, ‘Gesta pontificum Cameracensium’, pp. 483-484.

throughout Rouen, but the entire ecclesiastical province.²⁴ After all, although John would never witness it, the *Annals of Rouen* spread to all the monastic houses of Normandy.²⁵ Perhaps he hoped the *Acta archiepiscoporum* would be disseminated in a similar manner, and would take with it a vision of unity and hierarchy as manifest in the community of Rouen.

The *Acta archiepiscoporum* is also ‘uncompromising’ in its advocacy of clerical reform.²⁶ This is especially true with regards to the episode devoted to Archbishop Praetextatus,²⁷ for his deposition, re-election, and even death were all amended from the account of Gregory of Tours to conform to reforming ideals.²⁸ Various Norman archbishops are treated similarly. Two archbishops, Hugh and Mauger, are condemned as despoilers of cathedral property and fornicators, while Archbishop Robert is criticised for fathering children, but praised for his decision late in life to abandon women, and for his role as a builder and generous patron of the cathedral.²⁹ In comparison, the tract on Archbishop Maurilius is so developed that, not only are his exploits as archbishop recorded, but also his movements before accepting the position in 1055. He is held up as a perfect model of the reforming bishop. Similarly, John’s archiepiscopate is reinforced by the statement that he was elected ‘with the mutual agreement of all the bishops of the province and the canons’ of his church.³⁰ The author of the *Acta archiepiscoporum* also took the exceptional step of including the full text of the pontifical letter sent by Pope Alexander II to John, which commanded him to accept the seat and authorised his translation from Avranches to Rouen.³¹ It is the inclusion of such details that has led the function of the *Acta*

²⁴ This unity of purpose can be found in even the smallest details. Louis Violette noted how the author’s continual use of the verb *succedere*, which he uses seventeen times, emphasises the uninterrupted line of bishops. Significantly, it is never used when speaking of Melantius (577-584 & 586-601), whom the cathedral felt wrongly held the seat from St. Praetextatus (567-577 & 584-586), and whose cult was especially important at Saint-Ouen, Violette, ‘L’église métropolitaine de Rouen’, i, p. 156.

²⁵ Although the *Annals* had been copied by the monks of Saint-Wandrille by 1066, the earliest extant copies of the annals of Saint-Évroult date from 1098, Mont-Saint-Michel and Fécamp from c. 1100, Saint-Étienne, Caen from c. 1100-1106, and Jumièges from 1106, *Annales de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, pp. 8-10.

²⁶ Shopkow, *History and community*, p. 201.

²⁷ Violette, ‘Une entreprise historiographique’, p. 363.

²⁸ Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum X*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH: SS rer. Merov.*, 1.1 (Hanover, 1937), pp. 216-225, 337-338 and 397-400. For discussion, see Violette, ‘Une entreprise historiographique’, pp. 359-362.

²⁹ ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, pp. 223-224.

³⁰ ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224.

³¹ ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224.

archiepiscoporum to be likened to that of an ethical model similar to that of the work of William of Jumièges and Dudo of Saint-Quentin, only with an ecclesiastical application.³² Louis Violette has also commented on the eleventh-century traditions of sanctity that are in the text,³³ while there is also the possibility that the *Acta archiepiscoporum* was intended to have a hagiographical application, the full details of which have been discussed elsewhere.³⁴

Along with the *Annals* and the *Metrical chronicle*, the *Acta archiepiscoporum* was, therefore, part of an important trilogy of texts designed to protect and enhance the power of the archbishop. However, whereas the *Annals* were taken and reproduced by all the major monasteries of the province, and the *Metrical chronicle* was recopied by the monks of Saint-Ouen, the monastery at Mortemer and by Orderic Vitalis,³⁵ the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, as we have noted above, was only reproduced by the cathedral's biggest rival and even then essentially hijacked for the abbey's own purposes. Within the context of the historical works produced by cathedral chapters during the eleventh century extra-Normandy, the *Acta archiepiscoporum* must also be seen as somewhat primitive. Contemporary chronicles such as the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, written by a canon of Cambrai in 1024-1025,³⁶ and the *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Trajectensium, et Leodiensium*, written by Anselm of Liège before 1056, are detailed works which were widely disseminated and continued by a number of later authors.³⁷ It is not clear why the *Acta archiepiscoporum* was not reproduced elsewhere, but it should not reflect poorly on the work itself. Within a few years of its composition, the text was robbed of two of its most important patrons. John's short archiepiscopate was cut even shorter by his incapacitating stroke of 1077, while Fulbert the archdeacon, one of the possible authors, was dead by c. 1075.³⁸

³² Shopkow, *History and community*, p. 201.

³³ Violette, 'Une entreprise historiographique', p. 363.

³⁴ Violette, 'Le problème de l'attribution', pp. 123-124; Violette, 'Une entreprise historiographique', pp. 359-362.

³⁵ BM (Rouen), ms. Y 41 Omont 1406, fol. 13r-16r (Saint-Ouen); BN, ms. lat. 4863, fol. 112r (Mortemer); *OV*, iii, pp. 50-94.

³⁶ The date of composition of this work remains a source for debate. The original editor, Ludwig C. Bethmann, dated the work to the early 1040s, but Erik van Mingroot convincingly argued for 1024-1025/1051 × 1055. For a summary and contributions to this debate see Riches, 'Bishop Gerard of Cambrai', pp. 86-119.

³⁷ M. Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum* (Turnhout, 1981), p. 51.

³⁸ For the suggestion that Fulbert was the author, see *OV*, iii, pp. xxvi-xxvii; A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi: Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500* (Berlin, 1896), p. 476. For details of Fulbert's career, see Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 206-207.

Governing the province during the turbulent years of Robert Curthose (1087-1106), Archbishop William Bona Anima was censured by three popes, and may have had little appetite for continuing the work. If he did ever review the status of the *Acta archiepiscoporum* he may have seen it as a lost cause (perhaps already commandeered by the abbey of Saint-Ouen), seeking to replace it with a much grander project—the Norman Anonymous—which sought to define the position of the Norman Church within Europe.³⁹

Of course, John's vigorous imposition of ecclesiastical reform did not rest solely on the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*. His archiepiscopate is also marked by two great reforming councils of 1072 and 1074. Since Archbishop Mauger had convened his first and only council of c.1045, Normandy had seen a dynamic renaissance in the holding of such meetings, with one convened almost every two and half years or less, far more frequently than they were in other provinces of the kingdom of France,⁴⁰ or indeed in the kingdom of England, where they had essentially fallen into disuse.⁴¹ According to the letter sent by Pope Alexander II to John commanding him to accept the archiepiscopate, the papal legates who accompanied Lanfranc to Normandy carried with them the 'private wishes' (*secretiorem animi nostri voluntatem*) of the pontiff.⁴² Although no record of their discussions has survived, there is every chance that papal reform policy was reviewed, and that the legates possibly helped John to formulate a plan of reform for his province. By August 1070 John had also undoubtedly met Ermenfrid, bishop of Sion, a legate regularly involved in Norman affairs,⁴³ who had been dispatched to Normandy to 'cause the bishops, abbots and magnates of that land to be assembled' to command Lanfranc to undertake the governance of the church of Canterbury.⁴⁴ John's presence at this assembly is seemingly without doubt, for, as metropolitan, his consent would have to be given before the translation took place.⁴⁵

³⁹ For discussion of William Bona Anima and his possible role in authoring the Norman Anonymous, see below, pp. 387-389.

⁴⁰ R. Foreville, 'The synod of Rouen', pp. 33-39.

⁴¹ For discussion of the situation in England before 1066, see Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: scholar*, p. 123.

⁴² 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

⁴³ Cowdrey, 'Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion', pp. 225-242.

⁴⁴ *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 1. This council took place sometime between 15 and 29 August 1070, Foreville, 'The synod of Rouen', p. 24.

⁴⁵ Archbishop William Bona Anima's permission was sought when Anselm was translated to Canterbury, Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule (London, 1884), p. 37.

John's first council of 1072 decreed twenty-two canons upon liturgical order and discipline. Held in the cathedral of Rouen, it was attended by five out of the six Norman bishops (Geoffrey of Coutances was probably absent in England),⁴⁶ while a number of abbots were also present, although their names are not known.⁴⁷ The council opened with a reaffirmation of belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, a statement that was becoming customary at Norman councils, and then addressed simony and clerical marriage, the other constants of such meetings. In this matter, John's council sought to improve upon canons 2 and 3 of the Council of Lisieux 1064, which had forbidden canons, country priests and deacons to marry, but had prescribed no penalties for those who disobeyed.⁴⁸ Those who disregarded the rulings were therefore threatened with loss of their dignities and revenues, and were forbidden to have charge of a church, either in person or through a deputy, nor were they to receive any part of the church revenue.⁴⁹ The council of 1072 also placed the archdeacon at the fore, and as at Avranches, John gave them a central role in the reform and governance of his province. Canons commanded them to set an example of chasteness to all their subordinates, and they were forbidden from mixing their own chrism oil with drops they had obtained from other bishops. Deans were also to be chosen for their irreproachable life and their ability to correct and guide those under them.⁵⁰ If these deans were, as some suggest, rural deans, the council of 1072 was the first Norman council to mention their existence.⁵¹ The canons were apparently not well received by the clergy, however, who stoned John out of the council.⁵² Though as we shall see such a hostile reaction was not uncommon in Europe and should certainly not reflect negatively on the archbishop.

The second council of Rouen, convened in 1074, was again attended by all the bishops of Normandy except Geoffrey of Coutances, who was once again preoccupied

⁴⁶ *OV*, ii, pp. 284-292. For the itinerary of Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances, see Appendix H.

⁴⁷ *OV*, ii, p. 292.

⁴⁸ Canons 2 and 3, Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

⁴⁹ Canon 13, *OV*, ii, p. 290. Orderic, who is the only source for these canons, does not provide numbers. Any referenced are therefore my own.

⁵⁰ Canon 13, *OV*, ii, p. 290.

⁵¹ D. Spear, 'Les doyens du chapitre cathédral de Rouen durant la période ducal', *AN*, 33 (1983), p. 95; A. Thompson, 'Diocesan organisation in the middle ages', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 29 (1943), pp. 153-194; P. Andrieu, 'Pour servir à l'histoire des doyens ruraux des origines au XIII^e siècle', *Revue catholique de Normandie*, 41 (1932), pp. 113-143.

⁵² Orderic is the only source for this story, *OV*, ii, p. 200.

in England, and by several unnamed abbots, and the duke himself.⁵³ As before, the council began with a reaffirmation of faith in the doctrine of the Trinity and then turned its attention to simony, an illicit practice that was obviously still in need of attention. It was strictly forbidden for abbeys, archdeaconries, deaneries or parish churches to be sold, although no mention was made of bishoprics.⁵⁴ Further unresolved issues from the council of 1072 were also attended to, including additional decrees on clerical marriage, the abandonment of the ecclesiastical life, and the practice of receiving clerks without letters from their bishop.⁵⁵ The council also addressed issues that had not been explicitly raised at the meeting two years earlier. A group of canons sought to make the rule of St. Benedict obligatory for all monks and nuns, thereby improving the standard of monasteries in the duchy, and instigating uniformity on matters such as clothing, fasts, vigils, and the observance of the rule of silence.⁵⁶ Additionally, no monk who had sinned could become abbot, and no person could become abbot unless he had first been a monk.⁵⁷ Those gathered also took time to attend to some matters outside of canon law, confirming the properties given to the abbey of Saint-Wandrille,⁵⁸ and perhaps also those to Saint-Martin-du-Bosc,⁵⁹ but not, as a forged charter of Saint-Ouen contends, granting the entreaties of Roger of Mortimer and his wife to turn their priory of Saint-Victor-en-Caux into an abbey.⁶⁰ This last detail illustrates neatly the fluid nature of these events, which although sombre, could also be practical.

Although impressive in its vigorous assault on church corruption, the council of 1074 represented little more than the intellectual refinement of those canons issued two years earlier. It is possible that John convened a third council, the decrees of which have only survived in titular form.⁶¹ These are preserved in a collection of Anglo-Norman councils that has no known equivalent, but the impulse to create this collection appears to have occurred in the later twelfth century, not the eleventh, and

⁵³ Mansi, xx, cols. 397-399.

⁵⁴ Canon 1, Mansi, xx, col. 397.

⁵⁵ Canons 3, 9, 10, 11, 13, Mansi, xx, cols. 398-399.

⁵⁶ Canon 7, Mansi, xx, col. 398.

⁵⁷ Canon 2, Mansi, xx, col. 397.

⁵⁸ *Regesta*, no. 261.

⁵⁹ *RADN*, no. 218 version B.

⁶⁰ *Regesta*, no. 245.

⁶¹ École de Médecine de Montpellier, ms. 304, fol. 23r-27r. Printed by, among others, Mansi, xx, cols. 397-402, at col. 400.

any attempts to identify the anonymous *titulo* have so far rested on arguments too slight to secure widespread assent.⁶² It is also from John's archiepiscopate that an *ordo* for a council survives.⁶³ Its exact use remains unknown, although Henry Wilson, who mistakenly believed it dated from the end of the twelfth century, speculated that it 'may perhaps have been chosen as a model for the conclusion of the acts of a synod'.⁶⁴ Given John's use of archdeacons to extend his own effective authority throughout his ecclesiastical career, their prominent role within the *ordo* is noteworthy, as is the reference to Maurilius' profession of faith against Berengar of Tours, which was to be read aloud during the council.⁶⁵ More important still is the survival of a fragment of an eleventh-century tract written by John, which details the procession of cathedral clergy through the city on Palm Sunday.⁶⁶ This fragment not only preserves important historical information concerning the city and the cathedral, but also demonstrates the importance John placed on such rituals, which helped foster a sense of community between his clerks, neighbouring ecclesiastical institutions and the people of Rouen.⁶⁷

The effects of John's ecclesiastical policies are easy to trace. In Normandy, his conciliar legacy would take full effect at the Council of Lillebonne, convened by his successor in 1080, the decrees of which would come to be viewed 'as some kind of ecclesiastical charter of liberties'.⁶⁸ Furthermore, while some may still contend that John's influence on the Norman liturgy was minimal, it was William Bona Anima who heeded the advice given by John in *De officiis* and established a single calendar of saintly celebrations throughout the archdiocese.⁶⁹ In England, his example 'spurred on' (*provocatus*) Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury as he sought to replicate the Norman style provincial councils, holding seven between 1072 and

⁶² For discussion of the collection, see M. Brett, 'A collection of Anglo-Norman councils', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 26 (1975), pp. 301-308, for the anonymous *titulo*, pp. 301-302; Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, pp. 63-64n.

⁶³ 'Ordo 26', *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, ed. H. Schneider, *MGH: Ordines de celebrando concilio* (Hanover, 1996), pp. 107-111, 568-574.

⁶⁴ Wilson, *The Benedictinal*, p. 196.

⁶⁵ 'Ordo 26', cap. 11, p. 573.

⁶⁶ AD Seine-Maritime, G 3659. A critical edition of this document, with full discussion, can be found in Appendix C.

⁶⁷ C. Étienne-Steiner, 'Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à la cathédrale de Rouen', in *XVIe centenaire de Rouen*, pp. 202-210, at pp. 207-208.

⁶⁸ Brett, 'A collection of councils', p. 303 nn. 1-6 and 307.

⁶⁹ Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. 46-48; *OV*, iii, pp. 22-24. For discussion of this calendar, see Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. cxxxix-cxlii.

1086.⁷⁰ And the institution of a regular archidiaconal system, as well as the development of the various dignitaries of the cathedral chapter that had continued under John, also had a marked impact on similar developments in England. At Canterbury, Lanfranc introduced the archdeacon based on the pattern evident in Normandy, and when certain English dioceses came to establish dignitaries towards the end of the eleventh and mid-twelfth century respectively, they did it *juxta ritum Rothomagensis ecclesiae*.⁷¹

The five letters that Lanfranc sent to John (the only sustained correspondence that the English primate maintained with a colleague to survive) also illustrate his influence as archbishop, and the ability of the Anglo-Norman Church to work as a single cooperative unit.⁷² From them can be seen an intimate relationship between the two men, the former abbot of Caen ever thankful for the ‘fatherly concern’ (*paternam uos curam*) shown to him by John.⁷³ The two archbishops sought advice from one another on matters with which they felt the other had the greater experience (John as liturgist and Lanfranc as monk), while both shared their common anxieties with regard to the liturgical minutiae of their churches. This was particularly true with regards to the role of the archdeacon, which the two men hoped to define more clearly.⁷⁴ But above all else, these letters provide perhaps the best evidence for John’s important position within the hierarchy of the Anglo-Norman realm, and the very high level of his abilities as a bishop.

John’s influence was of course not solely religious. Unlike his predecessor, who has been styled as ‘politically inert’, he was also actively engaged in the secular world, enjoying close relations with the duke, his queen and notable magnates.⁷⁵ In August 1073, he was with the duke in Le Mans advising him on his campaign.⁷⁶ That

⁷⁰ *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 41, line 23.

⁷¹ D. Greenway, ‘The influence of the Norman cathedrals on the secular cathedrals in England in the Anglo-Norman period, 1066-1204’, in *Chapitres et cathédrales en Normandie*, pp. 273-282.

⁷² *Letters of Lanfranc*, nos. 14-17 and 41.

⁷³ *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 14, line 6.

⁷⁴ *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 14, ll. 32-64.

⁷⁵ Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 202.

⁷⁶ ‘... qua Guillelmus Nortmannorum comes et Anglorum rex gloriosus, Cinomannis cum expeditione sua morabatur’, ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 225. There can be no doubt that *Cinomannis* should be translated as Le Mans, rather than simply Maine, and that the author meant to imply William was in the city, rather than contemplating an attack elsewhere, for he uses the locative, which for 1st declension nouns (*Cinomanna*, *Cinomannae*) is the ablative plural. For translation of *Cinomannis* as Le Mans

an archbishop should provide advice on military matters ought not surprise us. The dioceses of Coutances and Bayeux were occupied at this time by the most famous of 'warrior-bishops' (Geoffrey de Montbray and Odo de Conteville),⁷⁷ and as has been noted, John was himself a member of one of the most important military frontier families of the duchy.⁷⁸ His background would have therefore made him a particularly useful counsellor, able to dispense advice as easily on military matters as on affairs of the church, and his presence in Le Mans is evidence of the dual role eleventh-century Norman ecclesiastics were expected to play.⁷⁹ In 1074 or 1075, William and the archbishop spent Easter together at Fécamp where they passed a new measure to limit bloodfeud, and the archbishop possibly consecrated the duke's daughter Cecilia in the nunnery at La Trinité de Caen.⁸⁰ The duke rewarded the archbishop for his service, and when in the aftermath of the Saint-Ouen tumult of 24 August 1073, the archbishop had to defend his actions William chose to punish the monks 'at the behest of the archbishop' (*ad placitum archiepiscopi*), dispatching for of their number to monasteries throughout Normandy.⁸¹

John also helped govern the duchy in the duke's absence. David Bates has noted the 'triumvirate' of Queen Mathilda, Roger de Beaumont and Archbishop John that appears to have dominated Norman administration in the later 1060s when William was often in England, each member useful both for their political acumen and their apparent reluctance to leave the duchy.⁸² As part of this triune he successfully negotiated in late 1075 or early 1076 the return of the land of Gisors from Simon, son of Count Rodulf IV of Amiens-Valois-Vexin, which had been given to Rodulf by Archbishop Maurilius for his lifetime only. Simon had held the land for some time after his father's death, but in the presence of Mathilda, Roger de Beaumont, the archbishop and the canons of Rouen cathedral he restored it, placing a knife on the

elsewhere, see *OV*, ii, p. 306. For a full discussion of this campaign, which is referred to only in the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, and seems to be previously unknown, see Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum*' (forthcoming).

⁷⁶ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 225.

⁷⁷ Both bishops famously played some role in the Battle of Hastings, Musset, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, pp. 248-249; *GG*, ii, 14, p. 124. For discussion of that of Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances, see above pp. 189 n. 75.

⁷⁸ For John's genealogy, see above pp. 61-62.

⁷⁹ The author of the *Acta archiepiscoporum* mentions that John was 'of good counsel' (*non mediocris consilii*), 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 225.

⁸⁰ *OV*, iii, pp. 8-10; Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, i, p. 60.

⁸¹ 'Chronicon Rotomagense', p. 367.

⁸² Bates, 'The origins of the justiciarship', p. 7.

altar of the cathedral as token.⁸³ Of course, the agreement not only restored an important benefice to the cathedral, but also helped reaffirm ducal authority at a key frontier location, which itself was located between the strategically important castles at Neaufles and Neuf-Marché.⁸⁴

It is also from John's archiepiscopate that the first evidence survives for the early development of the ecclesiastical court, something that would come of age in the twelfth century. On 17 February 1070 the monks of Marmoutier and La-Croix-Saint-Leufroy reached an agreement over the church of Saint-Ouen of Gisors in the archbishop's court;⁸⁵ and between 1070 and 1079 he heard a suit (again attended by both Matilda and Roger de Beaumont) in which the canons of Saint-Léonard de Bellême complained about the attempts of Robert, bishop of Sées, to impose customs on them to which he had no right.⁸⁶ During the hearing John rather characteristically took the opportunity to note (or perhaps complain!) that there were churches in his diocese in which he also had no customary rights, but found in favour of Saint-Leonard of Bellême.⁸⁷ Lastly, sometime in either late 1068 or early 1069, he joined the duke, Roger de Beaumont and others in judging that a woman should undergo the ordeal of hot iron to prove that she was telling the truth in a complicated property dispute involving a substituted child.⁸⁸

Because the archdiocese of Rouen took in the whole of the Vexin, both Norman and French, John was also concerned with matters in religious institutions in this contentious border region, and in neighbouring principalities. In confirming a donation to a monastery in these regions, such as that made by his *fideles* Hugh of Gisors to Marmoutier between 1067-1079, he was able to negotiate terms that not only helped impose the power of his archdiocese upon a province, but helped bolster

⁸³ In return John gave Simon three hundred pounds, which suggests that he took some convincing, *Regesta*, no. 229.

⁸⁴ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 259-260.

⁸⁵ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 7, pp. 371-373.

⁸⁶ The church of Saint-Léonard de Bellême was exempt from giving the offerings of the Mass to the bishop of Sées.

⁸⁷ 'Dixit eciam Ioh(anne)s archiepiscopus quasdam ecclesias in diocesi sua esse in quibus ipse nullam omnino consuetudinem haberet', *Regesta*, no. 29. The full text of this document is printed in Appendix G.

⁸⁸ The details of this case survive in a charter from Jumièges dated to 1080 × 1084. For discussion and dating, see *Regesta*, no. 162; *The Normans in Europe*, ed. van Houts, no. 18; P. Le Cacheux, 'Une charte de Jumièges concernant l'épreuve par le fer chaud (fin du XIe siècle)', *Société de l'histoire de Normandie, Mélanges*, 11 (1927), pp. 205-216.

ducal authority there also.⁸⁹ With Marmoutier, John insisted that the monks acknowledge that the church of Saint-Ouen of Gisors was equipped with goods from the cathedral of Rouen, that they pay three gold *deniers* to the archbishop on 16 October every year, and that when they received word of his death, they were to celebrate three Masses in his honour. John also took care to agree that three times a year the prior of Saint-Ouen of Gisors would carry, between the Epte and the Oise, the dispatches (*legationes*) of the church of Rouen to the king of France.⁹⁰ Unhappily, none of these dispatches have survived, but one can assume that, given that the recipient was not himself an ecclesiastic, the contents were not solely concerned with religious matters, and that perhaps more secular issues were communicated by the duke to the king via this route. In a single stroke, John had not only strengthened his church, but had also helped reinforce diplomatic channels between his duke and a neighbouring sovereign.

Elsewhere, John was involved in matters at Coulombs, where between c.1075-1079 he acceded to the request of Abbot *Tocbaldus* that one priest, not two, be in charge of the churches of Lainville and Montreuil-sur-Epte.⁹¹ Furthermore, a charter of Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen (1130-1165), confirmed the possessions that lay in his diocese of the abbey of Saint-Martin de Pontoise at the time his predecessors (including John), which infers that the archbishop at one time made the initial donation/confirmation, the details of which are now lost.⁹² Indeed, John was not uninvolved in affairs of this abbey, and apparently sent letters to Hugh of Cluny (1049-1109) asking Walter, abbot of Saint-Martin (1070-1099), who had fled from his charge to the famous abbey of the Mâconnais, to return to Pontoise.⁹³ Interestingly, the hagiographical text in which this episode is recorded states that the monks of Pontoise came to John and asked for his letters, so that they might take with them to Cluny the authority of his seal.⁹⁴ In an era for which no original episcopal seals

⁸⁹ For Hugh of Gisors and his descendants see Green, 'Lords of the Norman Vexin', pp. 50-51, 58-59.

⁹⁰ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 8, pp. 373-374.

⁹¹ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 3, pp. 368-369. Critical editions of both these acts can be found in Appendix G.

⁹² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Pontoise*, ed. J. Depoin (Pontoise, 1895-1909), no. xcv.

⁹³ 'Vita II s. Galterius, Abbas Martini', AASS, April I, pp. 757-763, at p. 759.

⁹⁴ 'Interea fratres iam dicti cenobii Pontisarenensis, moleste ferentes eius absentiam, Rotomagensis tunc temporis bonae memoriae Ioannem archiepiscopum adierunt, rogantes ut litteras, ejus auctoritatis sigillo signatas acciperent, quatenus servum Dei ad locum suum reducerent', 'Vita II s. Galterius', p. 759.

survive, even the mention of their use on episcopal documents is particularly useful, while the entire episode testifies to the extent of the archbishop's authority and influence in this frontier region.⁹⁵ Moreover, Cluny was not the only major European monastic institution with which John had dealings. The archbishop of Rouen also forged a *concordia* with the abbot of Saint-Denis in 1071, which granted the abbey several churches in the Vexin in return for certain financial and religious obligations.⁹⁶ Of course, John still remained ecclesiastically active within the duchy. At some time in 1077 he dedicated the cathedral of Évreux, and on 14 July in the same year he did the same at Bayeux, where it is possible that the Bayeux Tapestry was presented for the first time.⁹⁷

Of course, it is the account of the violent confrontation between John and the monks of Saint-Ouen, which occurred on 24 August 1073, that attracts most scholars to his archiepiscopate. Written by a monk of Saint-Ouen towards the end of the eleventh century, and appended to a second version of the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, it has become, in the well-known words of Michel de Boüard, '*un incident héroï-comique souvent narré*'.⁹⁸ The tumult itself occurred after John, who was supposed to conduct the feast day Mass of St. Ouen, arrived at the abbey late and found that proceedings had started without him. Clearly feeling that his jurisdiction had been impinged upon, the archbishop flew into a rage. Excommunicating the monks on the spot, he drove the officiating prelate, the abbot of Sées, from the altar, placing him under an interdict. He then began to celebrate Mass himself, but was interrupted when someone offended by his behaviour began to ring the monastery bell. Hearing the alarm, the townspeople came running and were informed that John was trying to take the relics of St. Ouen—he was not—back to the cathedral. Enraged, they attacked the archbishop, the cathedral clerks and Saint-Ouen monks brawled, and the situation

⁹⁵ Only one image of a seal for this period is known, and comes from a charter of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch Hatton ms. 170, fol. 92r. For full discussion see below Appendix G.

⁹⁶ *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, i, pp. 375-376. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

⁹⁷ There is some confusion over when the dedication of Évreux cathedral took place. Orderic Vitalis claims it occurred in 1077, but historians of the diocese, who seem to have followed the lead of *Gallia Christiana* (GC, xi, col. 572), often state, without reference, the year 1076 (e.g. Bonnenfant, *La cathédrale d'Évreux*, pp. 9-10). However, given that Orderic is right about the other three dedications he places in 1077, namely those of the abbeys of Bec and Saint-Étienne de Caen, and the cathedral of Bayeux, there seems little reason to doubt him, Bouvris, 'La dédicace de Bayeux', pp. 15-16. For full discussion, see above, pp. 229-230.

⁹⁸ De Boüard, 'Sur les origines de la Trêve de Dieu', p. 176.

only dissipated with the arrival of the local *vicomte*.⁹⁹ Having barely escaped with his life, a messenger of the archbishop approached the duke and recounted his version of events. A council was convened in Rouen by William to examine the dispute, and the duke ordered that the archbishop pay a fine of 300 *livres* for his actions against a ducal abbey, although this must be viewed with some scepticism.¹⁰⁰ Regardless, John was instructed to reconcile himself with Saint-Ouen, but the archbishop's rage was so great that he refused, and the task was eventually entrusted to Michael, bishop of Avranches. Four of the monks were also punished for their part in the riot, and at the behest of the archbishop they were sent to monasteries throughout Normandy. It is this last detail that allows us to confirm the veracity of the story, for the names of the monks concerned, and the monasteries to which they were sent appear in various annals.¹⁰¹

It would not be unreasonable to assume that it was John's rash behaviour, which one scholar has even suggested was deliberate, that caused the monks to react so violently.¹⁰² Since attaining its own regular abbots at the beginning of the eleventh century, relations between the abbey and the cathedral had been marked by noticeable tensions as the two competed for relics, noble patronage, and even the religious heritage of the region.¹⁰³ Unlike Mont-Saint-Michel, which John had subdued as bishop of Avranches, the archbishop was apparently unable to impose his will over Saint-Ouen. The abbey's dominance of ecclesiastical affairs pitted it against the cathedral on almost every level. When John therefore arrived at the abbey on 24 August, it is little wonder that he perhaps felt yet another part of his authority had been negated. Maybe the mild-mannered Maurilius would have approached the

⁹⁹ The identity of the *vicomte*, unnamed in the text, is most likely Ansfredus, who occupied the position from 1055 × 1066-1081, J.-M. Bouvris, 'Contribution à une étude de l'institution vicomtale en Normandie au XIe siècle. L'exemple de la partie orientale du duché: les vicomtes de Rouen et de Fécamp', in *Autour du pouvoir ducal normand*, pp. 149-174, at p. 161.

¹⁰⁰ 'Chronicon Rotomagense', p. 367; *Annales de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, p. 58. Not only is this an extremely large sum (the monks of Fécamp purchased the construction of an entire stone road for 80 *livres*, *Regesta*, no. 142), but the archbishop of Rouen was also emphatically supported by Lanfranc, who lobbied the duke on his behalf, *Letters of Lanfranc*, nos. 16 and 17.

¹⁰¹ The annals of Rouen state that the monk Nomenarus was sent to Fécamp, Benedict to Saint-Wandrille and Radulf to Jumièges ('Chronicon Rotomagense', p. 367), whereas the annals of Jumièges that Wynemarus was sent to Jumièges, Benedict to Saint-Wandrille and Radulf to Fécamp (*Annales de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, p. 56). It would be logical to assume that since the latter of these houses actually received one of the monks in question, the order preserved in its annals is correct.

¹⁰² Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 203.

¹⁰³ Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', i, pp. 87-95; ii, pp. 314-398; Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum*' (forthcoming).

situation with more tact, but outside the monastic world, John's actions received widespread support. The duke punished the monks at the archbishop's insistence, and the most important ecclesiastic of the age, himself a former monk, sent word of his unwavering support upon hearing of 'the proud and audacious attack made by the vilest of men on... the archbishop's honour'.¹⁰⁴ It is even possible that his successor (the saintly William Bona Anima) was involved in a similar incident at the abbey of Fécamp, when one Easter his clerks became involved in a dispute with the monks over the archbishop's claim that the abbot was required to receive him and his retinue in the monastery.¹⁰⁵ As with the dispute at Saint-Ouen, the matter was brought before the king-duke, and an agreement was drawn up and witnessed by various dignitaries.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, such violence was not even peculiar to Normandy. A remarkably similar incident to that at Saint-Ouen occurred between the men of Arnulf, archbishop of Tours (1023-1052), and the monks of Marmoutier sometime during the archbishop's reign, and relations between the cathedral of this city and its surrounding monasteries were marred throughout the eleventh century by disputes over monastic exemption.¹⁰⁷

One can similarly moderate the other violent incident of John's archiepiscopate. It would be tempting to assume that the same character flaws that caused the tumult at Saint-Ouen had also led to John being stoned out of his cathedral by the clergy present at his council of 1072. Yet comparable violence was witnessed outside Normandy at the synods of Paris and Poitiers in 1074, while Bernard of Tiron was attacked by a married priest as he preached in support of clerical celibacy in the cathedral of Coutances.¹⁰⁸ That Norman clergy should react so aggressively should also not surprise us, for several treatises justifying clerical marriage were written at

¹⁰⁴ *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 16, lines 3-4 and no. 17.

¹⁰⁵ Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', p. 597. Such is John's reputation that at least two scholars have assigned this episode to him in error, L. Fallue, *Histoire de la ville et de l'abbaye de Fécamp* (Rouen, 1841), pp. 145-146, repeated in L. Fallue, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'église métropolitaine et du diocèse de Rouen*, 4 vols. (Rouen, 1850-1851), i, pp. 270-271; Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 61. Fallue does not actually name John as archbishop in his work on Fécamp, but the story follows his account of the archbishop's troubles at Saint-Ouen, which Brinkworth interpreted as a reference to John. For discussion of this confrontation between William Bona Anima and the abbey of Fécamp see below pp. 379-380.

¹⁰⁶ Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', pp. 596-598.

¹⁰⁷ S. Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: legend and ritual in medieval Tours* (Ithaca, NY, 1991), pp. 38-49, pp. 40-41 for discussion of the violence during Arnulf's archiepiscopate.

¹⁰⁸ C.J. von Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, ed. H. Leclercq, 22 vols. (Paris, 1907-1952), 5.1, pp. 107-114; Jacqueline, 'Un épisode de la réforme grégorienne', pp. 17-28.

this time by Normans.¹⁰⁹ The anonymous author of the *Tractatus pro clericorum connubio*, who wrote in northern Italy, was apparently familiar with the decrees of the Council of Lisieux (1064), and had perhaps even spent part of his life in Normandy.¹¹⁰ It was also at this time that a monk of Bec applied Anselm's theories of free will to clerical marriage, and declared that the pope had no right to deprive the clergy of free will in this matter.¹¹¹ Orderic's account, therefore, should not really be seen as evidence of John's unbending nature and an error on his part, but as part of a general trend of opposition that ran throughout Europe, and as a neat illustration of the difficulties a reforming bishop of John's calibre was likely to encounter when disciplining 'immoral priests'.

Of course we are still left with Orderic's statement that John refused to bury Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, because he did not like him.¹¹² However, there is as little evidence to support this story, for which Orderic is the sole authority, as there is to dismiss it, and we can find no definite reason why the two bishops would have been enemies. Any animosity may have been born of the two men's noble ancestry (John's father had suppressed the rebellion of Hugh's father, William of Eu), while the frequency with which their attestations appear together suggest they may have been rivals for courtly favours.¹¹³ Of course, it may simply have been a clash of personalities.¹¹⁴ David Bates has suggested that it is possible that the archbishop was reluctant to bury Hugh, because the duke had sided with the nuns of Notre-Dame-du-Pré in their dispute with the canons of the cathedral of Lisieux over where Hugh should be buried.¹¹⁵ The bishop of Lisieux had allegedly asked to be buried in his cathedral, but the nuns, whose house the bishop had helped found, claimed otherwise.¹¹⁶ If this were true, then the archbishop, who was struggling himself to maintain his authority over the monastic institutions of his own city, would have been in an awkward position.¹¹⁷ However, the story may represent little more than

¹⁰⁹ For what follows, see Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 199.

¹¹⁰ 'Tractatus pro clericorum connubio', ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH: Ldl*, 3 (Hanover, 1897), pp. 588-596.

¹¹¹ A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1924-1937), iii, pp. 1-34.

¹¹² *OV*, iii, p. 18.

¹¹³ *RADN*, nos. 148, 222, 228, 231; *Regesta*, nos. 26, 27, 54, 261, 280.

¹¹⁴ *GG*, i, 58, pp. 92-94.

¹¹⁵ Pers. comm. (19 October 2005).

¹¹⁶ *OV*, iii, pp. 14-18.

¹¹⁷ Hugh was eventually buried in Notre-Dame-du-Pré. For discussion, see Deshayes, 'Le pavement roman', pp. 469-478.

Orderic's attempt to explain John's paralysing attack of apoplexy in July 1077. After all, why would God otherwise have apparently punished a man who, despite his pride, had followed 'in the footsteps of the Fathers [and] ordained all things for the general good of the Church'?¹¹⁸

John's activities after his incapacitation in the summer of 1077 are hard to determine. Despite being severely debilitated, it appears he did not completely abandon his duties. Gilbert Maminot was consecrated the new bishop of Lisieux sometime between 25 July and 22 October 1077 in the archbishop's presence, although the actual service was performed by Michael, bishop of Avranches.¹¹⁹ The editors of *Gallia Christiana* attributed the consecration of the church of Saint-Amand on 29 September 1078 to John, but according to Orderic the attack of apoplexy caused the archbishop to lose the power of speech, and such a statement must therefore be regarded with scepticism.¹²⁰ He did, however, make a donation to the abbey at the time of its dedication.¹²¹ Similarly, one can now moderate Orderic's assertion regarding the consecration of Bec, which he stated was carried out by John and his bishops.¹²² This event actually took place after John's attack of apoplexy, and was performed by the abbey's former prior, Lanfranc. John was apparently unable to attend, even as an observer, as he is not included in the list given in the *Chronicle of Bec*.¹²³ The beginning of the end of his archiepiscopate is typically seen in April 1078, when Pope Gregory VII wrote to King William stating that he had heard that the see of Rouen was without a pastor through infirmity, and that he was sending his legate Hubert to investigate. Should Hubert find John unable to fulfil his duties another archbishop was to be elected in his place.¹²⁴ Although no record of an

¹¹⁸ *OV*, ii, pp. 284-286.

¹¹⁹ *OV*, iii, p. 20.

¹²⁰ *GC*, xi, col. 286. Not all are convinced that the dedication occurred in 1078, however. Le Cacheux, following Guillaume Autin (*AD Seine-Maritime*, 55 H 1, p. 99), held that the dedication occurred on 28 September 1068, Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, p. 42. This is obviously the 4th calends of October, rather than the 3rd, but the day was a Sunday, rather than a Saturday. It was not unknown, however, for religious edifices to be dedicated on a day other than Sunday, for the cathedrals of Rouen and Bayeux were dedicated on a Wednesday and a Friday, respectively. For details, see above and below, pp. 147, 332.

¹²¹ According to a late eleventh-century charter, the archbishop 'dedit sancto Amando in eius dedicatione tres acras pratorum'. A *vidimus* of Philip IV, dated 1313, adds that these three acres were 'ultra Sequanam inter villam que uulgo nuncupatur Sotauilla et sanctum Stephanum', Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, no. 12, p. 251 and n. 123. For a critical edition see Appendix G.

¹²² *OV*, iii, pp. 10-12.

¹²³ The consecration took place on 23 October 1077, *Chronique du Bec*, p. 3.

¹²⁴ Jaffé, *Regesta*, i, no. 5074.

assembly to force the resignation of John survives, it has been argued by Raymonde Foreville that it was likely one took place.¹²⁵

According to the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, however, John attended the feast day Mass of St. Ouen in August 1078.¹²⁶ Gilbert, bishop of Évreux (1071-1112), officiated at the ceremony, and the incapacitated archbishop, unable to control his bladder, wet himself during the reading of the Gospel, soaking his clothes and leaving a puddle on the floor.¹²⁷ Clearly he was in a poor state of health, but despite being so severely incapacitated John was still apparently archbishop almost four months after the date assigned to his deposition council by Raymonde Foreville.¹²⁸ Indeed, it is even possible that he clung to his position at least until early 1079. At Lillebonne in this year Ralph the chamberlain conceded and confirmed the grant made by Fulk de Mirville of the church, six acres and all the tithe of Mirville to the abbey of Jumièges, to which John, as archbishop of Rouen, consented. This donation formed part of a charter of this same abbey drawn up sometime between 1079 and c. 1087.¹²⁹ The absence of *signum* on the original has led David Bates to suggest that it was never presented for confirmation, but it is likely that the details of the donation by Ralph the chamberlain came from a pre-existing document, which is now lost, and that, at least in the mind of this document's scribe, John was still to be considered archbishop. It is only with the consecration of Anselm as abbot of Bec on 22 February 1079 by Gilbert of Évreux that John seems to have left his office permanently, for *De Libertate Beccensis* states that the bishop of Évreux officiated because Rouen was without a pastor.¹³⁰ John spent his final months on his own estates in Saint-Philbert,¹³¹ but by

¹²⁵ Foreville, 'The synod of Rouen', p. 24 for discussion.

¹²⁶ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 226. The author gives no date for this event, but it seems to belong to the year 1078, for he wrote that John had been struck with paralysis a few months before the feast day; if he was describing the celebration of 1077 that would be less than a month after John's stroke of late July.

¹²⁷ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 226. According to an agreement drawn up between Maurilius and Nicholas, abbot of Saint-Ouen, the bishop of Évreux would have already been present in Rouen, having officiated at vespers on the feast day, AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 156; BN, ms. 10055, fol. 90v; BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1246, fol. 197r. A critical edition of this document is found in Appendix G.

¹²⁸ Foreville, 'The synod of Rouen', p. 22.

¹²⁹ *Regesta*, no. 164.

¹³⁰ 'De libertate Beccensis', p. 138. The existence of a papal letter, sent to an unnamed archbishop of Rouen on 20 April 1079 commanding him to accept the primacy of Lyons (Jaffé, *Regesta*, i, no. 5126), has led some to argue that John was still archbishop at this date (Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 72). However, it was not unknown for unnamed documents to be addressed to vacant sees, such as that sent to Lincoln by Henry I, *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1389. I owe this reference to Steve Marritt.

¹³¹ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 226.

the autumn of 1079 he finally succumbed to his illness, and he died on 9 September.¹³² His body was transported to Rouen and was buried in the baptistery of his cathedral, on the north side, in a tomb of white marble.¹³³ Orderic Vitalis preserved his epitaph.¹³⁴

¹³² There is some contradictory evidence regarding John's exact date of death. According to the archbishop's epitaph he died on 9 September, but the *Livre noir* version of the *Acta archiepiscoporum* states that John was buried on this day, suggesting he died a few days earlier: 'Inde tamen ad propriam sedem refertur et honorifice in ipsa, ecclesia tumulatur, v Idus Septembris', 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 226. The obituaries of Mont-Saint-Michel and Jumièges repeat the date of death as 9 September, *RHGF*, xxiii, pp. 421, 580.

¹³³ A stone tomb was found in a chapel during nineteenth-century excavations that was believed to be that of John, E.P. Sauvage, *Les Souterrains de la cathédrale de Rouen* (Rouen, 1889), p. 22.

¹³⁴ *OV*, iii, p. 22.

William Bona Anima, 1079-1110

The son of Radbod, bishop of Sées, and the cousin of William, bishop of Évreux, William Bona Anima's rise to the archiepiscopate took him through some of the most important centres of the Norman religious world.¹ A member of the powerful Fleitel family, which was solidly implanted in the region of Exmes and Argentan, he was previously a canon and archdeacon of Rouen, a monk at Bec, and then abbot of Saint-Étienne de Caen.² Unfortunately, no surviving charter connects William with the church of Rouen before he became archbishop.³ Only the *Vita Gundulfi*, which records his decision to embark on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1057 with other Norman prelates, notes his pre-archiepiscopal connections to the metropolitan see. Despite his absence from the diplomatic record, he was clearly an important figure within the Rouen community, and quickly became an intimate of Archbishop Maurilius. The two often spoke together, and the archbishop provided his archdeacon (and consequently his chapter) with both a communal table and lodging.⁴ The voyage to the Holy Land had an impact on William, for upon his return he became a monk at Bec.⁵ Nothing is known of his time at the monastery, but as archbishop he consecrated the abbey church in 1091, freed the house from all episcopal customs (*libera ab omni episcopali exactione*), and remained a close friend and correspondent of its abbot, St. Anselm.⁶ William then followed his mentor Lanfranc to Saint-Étienne de Caen, where he was successively instructor of the novices and then abbot. As head of the new ducal foundation Bona Anima seems to have spent a great deal of his time building up an endowment, improving the abbey's hagiographical collections, and also undertaking building projects that saw the completion of significant parts of the church.⁷

¹ For William's pre-archiepiscopal career, see D. Spear, 'William Bona Anima, abbot of St. Stephen's of Caen, 1070-1079', *HSJ*, 1 (1989), pp. 51-60; V. Gazeau, 'Notices biographiques des abbés de Saint-Étienne de Caen à l'époque ducale', in *Mélanges Pierre Bouet, Cahier des Annales de Normandie*, 32 (2002), pp. 93-105, at pp. 95-97; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 41-43.

² For the Fleitel see Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 158-160. Orderic claimed the power of the family was at its height at the time of the duke Richards, *OV*, ii, p. 274.

³ David Spear argued he could be identified with a *Guillelmus archidiaconus* who witnessed a charter in favour of the abbey of Lyre in around 1050 (*RADN*, no. 120), since the archdeacon's *signum* appears next to that of William, bishop of Évreux, his uncle, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 207.

⁴ 'Guillelmus igitur tunc quidem archidiaconus, ... et Maurilio archiepiscopo..., mensa communi hospitioque recepit', *Life of Gundulf*, p. 26.

⁵ *OV*, iii, p. 24. According to the *Vita Gundulfi* a violent storm so alarmed William that he vowed to take the monastic habit upon his safe return, *Life of Gundulf*, p. 28.

⁶ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 17-18, at col. 17, *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iii, nos. 18, 52 and 65 (?).

⁷ Spear, 'William Bona Anima', pp. 52-57.

The extent of William's achievements as abbot is no more clearly illustrated than by his advancement to the archiepiscopate.⁸ Although it is unclear when his predecessor ceded his position,⁹ the date of William's enthronement is traditionally given as July 1079,¹⁰ while according to Orderic, Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, performed the ordination.¹¹ Though if the duke felt Bona Anima had an outstanding ecclesiastical pedigree, his election was not well received by the papacy. Rome had already used the uncertainty in the metropolitan see following John of Ivry's incapacitation to push an issue that would later be the cause of tension between Normandy and Rome, and on 20 April 1079 sent a letter to the archbishop of Rouen commanding him to accept the primacy of Lyons.¹² Within months of Bona Anima's election, Gregory VII wrote to his legate Hubert, a subdeacon of the Roman church, that he had heard that the new archbishop of Rouen was the son of a priest, and as such, could never support his election.¹³ It remains unclear if an envoy was ever sent to Rome by the duke to gain papal consent for the new archbishop, but if William did find himself back within papal favour he did not remain there for long.¹⁴ In a letter written in early 1081, the pope admonished the archbishop and his suffragans for visiting neither Rome nor the papal legates in neighbouring provinces. Furthermore, William was reprimanded for failing to come to Rome within the three months following his election to receive his *pallium*, and until he visited the papal see he was forbidden from ordaining priests and consecrating churches.¹⁵ The archbishop of Rouen was not the only Anglo-Norman prelate to incur papal displeasure at this time, however, for Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, was also rebuked for his failure to visit Rome.¹⁶ The duke apparently interceded on behalf of the English primate, and it

⁸ The archiepiscopate of William Bona Anima has been studied twice before in unpublished works, Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', pp. 76-157, 210-231; D. Spear, 'On stormy seas: William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen (1079-1110)', an unpublished paper delivered at the 101st annual meeting of the American Historical Association, 30 December 1986, pp. 1-5. What follows is therefore heavily indebted to these pioneering studies. The author is grateful to David Spear for providing a copy of his paper.

⁹ For discussion, see above pp. 363-365.

¹⁰ It is the *Acta archiepiscoporum* which tells us that William became archbishop two months before the death of his predecessor: 'Successit huic imo processit, nam duobus ante obitum eius mensibus intronizatus est domnus Guillelmus cenobii Cadomensis abbas...', 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 226.

¹¹ *OV*, iii, p. 22.

¹² Jaffé, *Regesta*, i, no. 5126.

¹³ *Monumenta gregoriana*, ed. P. Jaffé (Berlin, 1865), p. 380; translated in *The register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, ed. and trans. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 2002), 7.1, pp. 324-325. The letter is dated 23 September 1079.

¹⁴ Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 84 n. 2.

¹⁵ Jaffé, *Monumenta*, pp. 469-470; *Register of Gregory VII*, 9.1, p. 398.

¹⁶ Jaffé, *Monumenta*, pp. 366-367; *Register of Gregory VII*, 6.30, pp. 312-313.

is probable he did the same for William Bona Anima.¹⁷ Regardless, not only would confrontation with the papal see be one of the key features of William's archiepiscopate, but David Spear also argued these events quickly cemented the archbishop's loyalties to his duke, who unlike the pope could guarantee 'peace, reform and protection'.¹⁸

The ability of the duke to uphold this guarantee is perhaps most clearly illustrated by the council convened at Lillebonne on Whitsunday (31 May) 1080.¹⁹ This famous meeting has been the subject of much discussion,²⁰ and the canons have been edited many times from the seventeenth century to the present day, with varying degrees of accuracy.²¹ Probably the best (and certainly the most accessible) version is found in the work of Orderic Vitalis, who used a now lost copy of the canons preserved at the archives of Rouen cathedral.²² A copy of the canons issued during the reign of Henry I is generally held to be one of the oldest surviving examples,²³ although it has recently been argued that this is actually a document of the reign of Henry II,²⁴ while there exists an early partial text, perhaps from Saint-Évroult, which is associated with the canons of Rouen in 1096.²⁵ The council itself was attended by the duke, the archbishop, his suffragans, the Norman abbots and also members of the nobility. The meeting discussed many of the problems that had occupied the attention of previous councils. It opened with a renewal of the Truce of God, and considered such staple themes as clerical celibacy, the possession of ecclesiastical dues by laymen, and the regulation of the practicalities of religious life. It also for the first time clearly defined the judicial responsibilities of the episcopate. Scholars have long recognised the

¹⁷ An extract from a letter of Urban II suggests that William had secured the *pallium* before 1085, M. Brett, 'Some new letters of Popes Urban II and Paschal II', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58 (2007), pp. 75-96, at pp. 84-88.

¹⁸ Spear, 'On stormy seas', p. 2.

¹⁹ Raymonde Foreville argued that the council was held after the celebration of the feast (31 May), which presumably means within the octave at the beginning of June, Foreville, 'The synod of Rouen', p. 23 n. d.

²⁰ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 30-38; Brett, 'A collection of councils', pp. 302-303; Foreville, 'The synod of Rouen', pp. 26-27; Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', pp. 97-99, 210-224.

²¹ *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta*, ed. P. Labbé and G. Cossart, 18 vols. (Paris, 1671-1672), x, cols. 391-394; Mansi, xx, cols. 555-568; Desroches, 'Annales religieuses', i, pp. 422-427; Bessin, *Concilia*, pp. 67-71; A. Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1863-1866), i, no. 22.

²² *OV*, iii, pp. 24-34.

²³ Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor*, i, no. 22.

²⁴ P. Chaplais, 'Henry II's reissue of the canons of the Council of Lillebonne of Whitsun 1080 (?25 February 1162)', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 4 (1973), pp. 627-633.

²⁵ BN, ms. fr. 17071, fol. 197r. For the identification, see Brett, 'A collection of councils', p. 303.

unique importance of the decrees in the ecclesiastical history of the duchy. They quickly became the definitive statement of ecclesiastical law under the duke, and the assertion of his ultimate authority runs throughout.²⁶

Unfortunately, while the canons provide abundant evidence of the priorities of Norman ecclesiastical reform, they fail to elucidate further on the mechanisms used to enforce the legislation, especially the system of ecclesiastical courts.²⁷ Moreover, while the decrees would later be held of utmost importance (they were probably ratified by Henry I, certainly by Henry II, and were widely copied in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), the issues covered are in no way unusual, and are distinctly (perhaps restrictively) Norman.²⁸ The success of the council is also difficult to gauge. The imposition of clerical celibacy, which Norman councils had been attempting to enforce since the mid-ten-sixties, was clearly still a problem, and the council took the unusual step of declaring that the duke exercised ultimate authority over this matter.²⁹ William Bona Anima's predecessors and successors struggled to enforce celibacy on the clergy, and were often subject to violent reaction,³⁰ while the life of Bernard, abbot of Tiron, who preached in Normandy shortly after Bona Anima's reign, claimed that priests in the duchy 'were living publicly with their wives, were celebrating marriages, and were having sons and daughters so that they might bequeath their churches to them'.³¹ Elsewhere, even minor decrees were not rigorously enforced, for although the council declared that the use of the ordeal iron must take place in the cathedral,³² within two years the abbot of Saint-Wandrille had secured the right to possess an iron at his abbey.³³ The council also failed to consider ideas important to papal reform, especially the issue of lay investiture.³⁴ Of course, such a policy was deliberate, since both the duke and his archbishop stood united in their desire to limit papal influence in the region. The timing of the council is also perhaps related to difficulties with the papacy, for it was convened only a few weeks after the papal

²⁶ Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 98; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 32.

²⁷ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 31.

²⁸ Foreville, 'The synod of Rouen', p. 27.

²⁹ Canon 3, *OV*, iii, p. 26.

³⁰ Discussed above, p. 352.

³¹ 'Porro pro consuetudine tunc temporis per totam Northmanniam hoc erat, ut presbyteri publice uxores ducerent, nuptias celebrarent, filios ac filias procrearent, quibus haereditario jure post obitum suum ecclesias relinquerent', 'Vita beati Bernardi', col. 1397.

³² Canon 39, *OV*, iii, p. 34.

³³ *Regesta*, no. 264.

³⁴ Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', pp. 215-216.

Lenten synod of 1080, which the Norman bishops had been reprimanded for failing to attend,³⁵ while it was at almost the same time (8 May 1080) that the pope demanded an oath of fealty from the Conqueror which he rejected.³⁶ Moreover, Whitsun commemorated the creation of the episcopate in the Apostles. Perhaps the day was chosen to remind the pope (as the author of the Norman Anonymous, perhaps Bona Anima himself, later would), that in the Scriptures all the Apostles, and consequently all the episcopate, were equal, and therefore capable of administering their own affairs.³⁷ The meeting at Lillebonne was followed by another seven months later at Gloucester, illustrating royal mastery over church affairs in both parts of the Anglo-Norman realm.³⁸

Conciliar legislation was not the only matter in which the duke and archbishop cooperated closely. Almost immediately upon his accession to the archiepiscopate, William Bona Anima began appearing at the royal court, and between July 1079 and April 1083 witnessed twenty-three charters (fig. 67). Among these appearances were attestations to confirmations of grants made to the leading Norman monasteries, as well as those in neighbouring principalities, and the foundation charters of the abbey of Lessay and the collegiate church of Saint-Évroult of Mortain.³⁹ The archbishop also helped the duke administer justice, and acted as judge on a number of occasions. On 7 January 1080, he heard a case at Caen in which the monks of Lonlay disputed land given by William de Briouze to the abbey of Saint-Florent de Saumur, and along with king, the queen, their sons, Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, and a number of abbots, he helped decide in favour of Saint-Florent.⁴⁰ The archbishop clearly travelled with the duke as part of his entourage during these months, for the account of the plea held at Caen records that having passed judgement in favour of Saint-Florent, the king asked for William de Briouze's charter so that he might append his *signum*, but was told that a copy was not present. Albald, a monk of Saint-Florent who was at hand, returned to

³⁵ Jaffé, *Monumenta*, p. 478; *Register of Gregory VII*, 9.5, pp. 405-406.

³⁶ The demand was probably brought in the form of a verbal message by the cardinal subdeacon Hubert, along with a letter dated 8 May 1080. For full discussion see Z.N. Brooke, 'Pope Gregory VII's demand for fealty from William the Conqueror', *EHR*, 26 (1911), pp. 225-238.

³⁷ 'Texte sum Yorcker Anonymus', in Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, pp. 436-497, at pp. 442-443; 'Tractatus Eboracenses', ed. H. Böhmer, *MGH: SS Ldl*, 3 (Hanover, 1897), pp. 642-687, at pp. 656-658. For discussion of the Norman Anonymous, and the fact that it might have been authored by Archbishop William, see below, pp. 387-389.

³⁸ *Councils and synods*, ii, pp. 629-632.

³⁹ *Regesta*, nos. 175(I & II) and 215.

⁴⁰ *Regesta*, no. 267(I & II).

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1079 × 1110	BM (Rouen), ms. Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 48v	Rouen cathedral chapter			x	x
1079 × 1110	BN, ms. lat. 5441 (i), p. 211	Marmoutier		x		x
1079 × 1093	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. xi, pp. 236-237	Saint-Père de Chartres				x
1079 × 1087	BN, coll. Baluze, vol. 77, fol. 61r	Marmoutier				x
1079 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 52	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1079 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 57	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1079 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 282	Troarn			x	
1079 × 1082/3	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 283	Troarn			x	
1079 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 48	Saint-Étienne, Caen			x	
1080/1 × 1085	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 260	Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte			x	
1080/1 × 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 53	Saint-Étienne, Caen			x	
1080 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 281(I & II)	Troarn			x	
1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 257	Saint-Gabriel-sur-Seulles			x	
7 Jan. 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267(I & II)	Saint-Florent de Saumur	Caen	x		
31 Jan. 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 266(II)	Saint-Florent de Saumur	Boscherville	x		
12 April 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 235	La Trinité-du-Mont			x	
2 June 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 30	Bernay		x		
14 July 1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175(I & II)	Lessay	Bonneville-sur-Touques		x	
1081 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 49	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x	x	
1081 × 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 50	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 59(I & II)	La Trinité, Caen			x	
1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215	Saint-Évroult of Mortain			x	x
24 June 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 205(I & II)	Marmoutier	Oissel		x	
Autumn 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 158	Notre-Dame de Grestain			x	
15 Sept. 1082	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 264	Saint-Wandrille	Oissel			x
25 Dec. 1083 × 25 Dec. 1084	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 163	Jumièges	Rouen		x	x
April 1083	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 230	Rouen cathedral	Fécamp			x
1086 × 1087	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 242	Saint-Amand de Rouen			x	
1086	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 42	Mont-Saint-Michel				x
1087 × 1089	<i>Cartulaire de Beaumont-le-Roger</i> , no. i	Beaumont-le-Roger				x
30 March 1088	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 6	Jumièges			x	
1089	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 18-19	Fécamp				x
24 April 1089	<i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. iv	Bayeux cathedral	Vernon			x
20 July × 9 Sept. 1089	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r-v	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		
20 July 1089	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r	Saint-Étienne de Caen	Eu (during siege)	x	x	
aft. 20 July 1089 × 1110	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 57	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x	x	x
1 June 1091 × 28 Feb. 1092	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 17-18/ BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r	Bec		x		x

1091 × 1095	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 7	Jumièges	Lisieux		x	
1091	BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 57v	Avranches cathedral	Rouen	x		x
1092 × before 1101	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 54r-v	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		x
1092	<i>Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier</i> , no. cxxvii	Rouen cathedral				x
Feb. 1092	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 327	Bec		x		
28 May 1095	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 61v-62r	Richard son of William	Caen			x
15 Aug. 1095	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 384	Rouen cathedral	Rouen cathedral			x
1096, summer	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , Appendix II, no. 10	Rouen cathedral			x	
15 July 1096	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 19-20	Saint-Lucien de Beauvais	Rouen cathedral		x	x
1099	<i>Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges</i> , i, no. xl	Jumièges				x
1100 × 1110	Lot, <i>Études critiques</i> , no. 52	Saint-Wandrille				x
1101 × 1105	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 3	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
Jan. 1101	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , ii, no. liii, pp. 509-510	Saint-Père de Chartres				x
6 May 1102	BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 41, fol. 45 ⁽³⁾ r-v	Fécamp		x	x	x
1105/06 × 1110	BM (Rouen), ms. Y 201 Omont 1235, fol. 85v*	Cerisy-la-Forêt			x	
1105 × 1110	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , Appendix II, no. 4	Coulombs		x	x	x
28 May 1105	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , Appendix II, no. 11	Rouen cathedral	Rouen	x	x	x
1106 × 1107	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix F, no. 1	Bec	Rouen			
7 Nov. 1106	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 127-128	Fécamp	Rouen	x		x
1107 × 1109	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 911	William de Albini	Rouen	x		x
1107 × 1109	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 912	Jumièges				
1108	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 905	Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives	Argentan		x	

Fig. 67 Appearances of William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen (1079-1110), in the diplomatic record**

* Marie Fauroux identified this act, which was witnessed by a *Willelmus comes*, as a pre-1066 donation subscribed by the duke into which William Bona Anima's *signum* had been interpolated, *RADN*, no. 168. It seems, however, that the count William is actually William III Talvas, count of Ponthieu, K. Thompson, 'Une confirmation supposée de Guillaume le Bâtard', *AN*, 34 (1984), pp. 411-412, at p. 412.

** William is also mentioned in a previously unknown charter of Mont-Saint-Michel. This act was issued by 'Rodbertus quondam illustris Normannie consul' and concerns the land of 'Landonarias'. The donation was made during the reign of Archbishop William, but is dated to 1085 ('que distracione usque ad tempore domni Willelmi Rothomag. archiepiscopi perduravit, et factum anno dominicie incarnationis millesimo octogesimo quinto'), BN, ms. lat. 5430A, fol. 274v-275r; BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 34, fol. 150r-v and BN, ms. fr. 22325, p. 724. The charter was unknown to Haskins, who calendared Curthose's acts, although its chronological irregularities suggests it may be a forgery. It is possible, however, that the year 1085 is the result of a scribal error, or that the charter is genuine and Curthose had been able to exact from his father some recognition of the ducal authority that he had first sought in 1077. After all, charters of both the duke and others date the beginning of his reign to 1077/78, BM (Bayeux), titres scellés, no. 9; *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, nos. 385 and 391. William Bona Anima is also said to have witnessed a lost charter of Bec along with Robert Curthose, BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 20r (marginalia).

Briouze, collected the charter and found the king, who was by this time at Saint-Georges de Boscherville. This charter survives, and was witnessed by the duke and various dignitaries, including the archbishop of Rouen, on 31 January.⁴¹ Less than three months later, the archbishop heard another suit on 12 April 1080 between the abbey of La Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen and Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, who both laid claim to the land of Oissel.⁴² The Norman primate was among a number of men ‘of great authority and exceptional quality’ (*magnae auctoritatis et precipuae dignitatis uiri*) present, among whom were two other metropolitans, Richard II, archbishop of Bourges (1071-1093), and Warmond, archbishop of Vienne (1077-1081). It is not clear why these two French prelates were in the duchy. Both their dioceses bordered the archdiocese of Lyons, and it is possible they had been dispatched to the region to negotiate with William regarding its primacy.⁴³ It is unlikely that they attended the Council of Lillebonne just over a month later.⁴⁴

The archbishop was also involved in monastic disputes of his own. On 15 September 1082 a plea was heard before the duke at Oissel between William and Gerbert, abbot of Saint-Wandrille.⁴⁵ The latter claimed that the abbey was free from the interference of bishops and archdeacons, and that it possessed a right to exemption in its churches at Caudebec, Sainte-Gertrude, Rançon and Saint-Michel. The abbot also tried to secure an ordeal iron for his house after a certain monk had mistakenly converted the old iron, and the archbishop had refused to consecrate a replacement. Unfortunately for the archbishop, the duke and other dignitaries (including other unnamed bishops and abbots) found in favour of Gerbert, but while William may have

⁴¹ *Regesta*, no. 266(II).

⁴² *Regesta*, no. 235. Oissel, Seine-Maritime, cant. Saint-Étienne-du-Rouvray.

⁴³ Only the entry for Warmond in the sixteenth volume of *Gallia Christiana* (GC, xvi, cols. 71-73, at col. 73) refers to the Normandy visit, but does not venture an explanation. It is not noted in recent scholarship on the archdiocese, B. Galland, *Deux Archevêchés entre la France et l'Empire : les archevêques de Lyon et les archevêques de Vienne, du milieu du XIIe siècle au milieu du XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1994), p. 11. Neither *Gallia Christiana* nor current scholarship mentions the presence of Richard of Bourges, GC, ii, cols. 42-44; M. Gasmand, *Les évêques de la province ecclésiastique de Bourges (milieu Xe- fin XIe siècle)* (Paris, 2007), pp. 417-419, 473-477, 492-496. Richard was a principal exponent of papal authority in central France, and has been described by Marion Gasmand as ‘le bras droit’ of the pope in the region, Gasmand, *Les évêques de Bourges*, p. 419. He also had problems with the archbishop of Lyons, however, and in 1077 at the Council of Autun resigned his functions. He was subsequently restored by Gregory VII, Jaffé, *Monumenta*, pp. 312-314, at p. 314; *Register of Gregory VII*, 5.17, pp. 266-267.

⁴⁴ While French provincial councils were open to travelling bishops, Norman councils were closed affairs. The first known occurrence of a foreign bishop at a Norman council comes from 1128, Foreville, ‘The synod of Rouen’, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁵ *Regesta*, no. 264.

been disappointed by the decision (according to the plea he had allowed the dispute to drag on for some time, suggesting he was reluctant to relinquish such rights), as a former monk and abbot it seems unlikely that he would have been entirely dissatisfied. Indeed, while William was never involved in a dispute over episcopal jurisdiction while abbot of Saint-Étienne, he knew how time consuming lawsuits could be. He was involved in at least one,⁴⁶ and attempted to prescribe against further legal problems in another agreement.⁴⁷ Moreover, the blow of losing to Gerbert would soon be somewhat softened, since in April of the following year William managed to restore to his cathedral the valuable land of Martin-Église, which had been previously alienated and was being held by Walter II Giffard.⁴⁸ Walter was William's cousin, once removed, and although the charter makes no allusion to this, it is interesting to note that William had few qualms about using such links if they could be used to enrich his church.⁴⁹

Bona Anima's diplomatic appearances during this period stand in stark contrast to those of the last years of William II's reign. Following the successful restitution of Martin-Église, the archbishop witnessed only one other charter issued by the king, and this dates to the final months of his life.⁵⁰ Despite the great disturbances that occupied the king in his final years, the archbishop remained an active force within the duchy. Trouble began first in England, where, in 1082, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, was arrested for reasons that continue to cause debate.⁵¹ Having lost the support of his half-brother, William then suffered another familial blow when his beloved wife Mathilda died the following year on 2 November. The king was undoubtedly in Normandy for her funeral, which was officiated by the archbishop of Rouen, who

⁴⁶ The details of this trial are conserved in the cartulary of Saint-Étienne de Caen. The text was printed by Étienne Deville ('Notice sur quelques manuscrits normands conservés à la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. IV. Analyse d'un ancien cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Etienne de Caen', *Revue catholique de Normandie*, 14 (1904-05), pp. 272-273), but his transcription is not exact, while that of Lucien Musset is abridged (Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, p. 15 n. 15). For a full accurate transcription, and discussion, see Spear, 'William Bona Anima', p. 54 n. 15.

⁴⁷ William accepted lands from the family of Robert de Vilers, and returned a horse that had been given to him 'so that no litigation will be brought against the church by them in the future', Spear, 'William Bona Anima', p. 54 n. 16.

⁴⁸ *Regesta*, no. 230. Martin-Église, Seine-Maritime, cant. Dieppe.

⁴⁹ According to an interpolation of Robert de Torigni, Walter's father had married Ermengard, a daughter of Bona Anima's uncle Gerard de Fleitel, *GND*, ii, p. 268.

⁵⁰ *Regesta*, no. 242. This diploma, issued on behalf of Saint-Amand de Rouen, must date to either late 1086 or early 1087.

⁵¹ For discussion, see Bates, 'The character and career', pp. 15-18. See also the chapter on Odo of Bayeux, above pp. 120-160.

buried the queen before the high altar in her foundation of La Trinité de Caen.⁵² The king then endured more domestic strife when his eldest son, Robert Curthose, rebelled for the second time.⁵³ The heir designate had rebelled before in late 1077 or early 1078. Suffering humiliation at the hands of both his father, who had refused to give him charge of Normandy and Maine, and his brothers, who had publicly mocked him, Curthose had subsequently tried (and failed) to seize the royal castle in Rouen.⁵⁴ The quarrel that ensued not only seriously destabilised the duchy, bringing the duke's neighbours into the fray, but also ended in William's humiliating defeat at the walls of the castle of Gerberoy.⁵⁵ William Bona Anima seems to have been involved in this affair, for according to Orderic, it was the 'bishops and other men of religion' who counselled the duke to forgive his son in 1080.⁵⁶

The duke was also occupied with affairs in Maine, which was in rebellion under Hubert de Saint-Suzanne, and here the archbishop of Rouen also played some role.⁵⁷ On 21 April 1085, he consecrated the Norman candidate, Hoël, as bishop of Le Mans, ending a dispute between the duke of Normandy and the count of Anjou, the latter of whom had forbidden the archbishop of Tours from consecrating the proposed new bishop and thereby vindicating Norman rights over the see.⁵⁸ Towards the end of his life William was also increasingly distracted by affairs in England, and in the face of a possible invasion, he began the process that would lead to the creation of Domesday Book and the famous 'Salisbury Oath'. Despite his absence at court, William Bona Anima appears to have remained much in royal favour. Indeed, when the king was fatally injured at Mantes,⁵⁹ a town in whose politics Bona Anima was himself sometimes involved,⁶⁰ it was the archbishop who was at his side at the church of

⁵² *OV*, iii, p. 94.

⁵³ The circumstances behind this rebellion are unknown. Charles David noted that Curthose disappears entirely from the diplomatic record between 18 July 1083 and 9 September 1087, suggesting he was banished. It is possible that the death of his mother, who had supported him during his difficulties with his father, removed the support that was essential for his residence at the court, David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 36-37; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, p. 95.

⁵⁴ The incident is recorded by Orderic, *OV*, ii, pp. 356-358. The rebellion is discussed in David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 19-29.

⁵⁵ Gerberoy, Oise, cant. Songeons.

⁵⁶ *OV*, iii, p. 112.

⁵⁷ The duke must have spent time in Maine, but is known to have left the campaign against Hubert to his military household, *OV*, iv, pp. 46-52.

⁵⁸ *Actus pontificum Cenomannis*, p. 383.

⁵⁹ *OV*, iv, p. 78; William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 510.

⁶⁰ William helped reconcile two local families after a certain Rodulf de Limetz-Villel had murdered Odard de Évecquemont, BN, ms. lat. 5441 (i), p. 211. See below Appendix E.

Saint-Gervais de Rouen, counselling him as to the division of his realm, brokering peace between him and Robert Curthose, and finally delivering the last rites.⁶¹ It was also he who decreed the royal body be taken from Rouen to Caen, and who oversaw its inhumation at Saint-Étienne.⁶² Unfortunately, the king's burial was an affair plagued by bad luck.⁶³ At first his body was abandoned, and only finally prepared for burial and transported to Caen by a lowly knight called Herluin. Having negotiated a fire in the town, the body was finally transported to Saint-Étienne, where the archbishop of Rouen was joined by all six of his suffragans, as well as a host of abbots and unnamed laymen. The service proceeded smoothly at first, but the continuous delays, including one mid-service, had taken their toll on the decomposing body. When it came to be lowered into the coffin, which was too small, the force caused the bowels to burst forth, and the stench was so overpowering that the service was quickly brought to a conclusion.

If the archbishop needed any portent of the state of Normandy to come he need have looked no further than the funeral itself. The collapse of authority under Robert Curthose has already been touched upon in previous chapters.⁶⁴ Like its suffragan dioceses, the archdiocese was affected by the troubles. But as head of the Norman church, William was compelled to accommodate whoever was duke, and while the cathedral suffered under Curthose, the archbishop remained loyal to his master, even to the extent of accompanying him while on siege.⁶⁵ Bona Anima has not escaped criticism for this support, and it has been argued that he appears to have been a poor judge of character.⁶⁶ His loyalty did not go unrewarded, however. On 15 August 1095, the duke joined the archbishop to celebrate Mass in the cathedral and granted to the church his rights of *bernagium* in Pierreval,⁶⁷ while the following year he granted to the church and its canon, William son of Oger, the possessions of Osbert the priest

⁶¹ *GND*, ii, pp. 184-188; *OV*, iv, p. 80.

⁶² *OV*, iv, pp. 102-104.

⁶³ *OV*, iv, pp. 104-108. The veracity of Orderic's account of the funeral is born out by the diplomatic evidence. For discussion, see Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, pp. 45-46.

⁶⁴ See above, pp. 82-91, 162-165, 281-286.

⁶⁵ William witnessed, along with the duke, an agreement between the abbeys of Saint-Étienne de Caen and Saint-Bénigne de Dijon on 20 July 1089 'apud castrum quod Au cum dicitur dum ibi sederem in obsidione', AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r. Three months earlier the archbishop had accompanied the duke on a campaign into France, and witnessed a charter issued by Curthose for the cathedral of Bayeux, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. iv. Language similar to that found in the Saint-Étienne charter can also be found in *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. vi.

⁶⁶ Spear, 'On stormy sees', p. 2.

⁶⁷ *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 384. Pierreval, Seine-Maritime, cant. Buchy.

and his sons at Neaufles-Saint-Martin.⁶⁸ While these two donations may seem small reward, they are the first known ducal grants to the cathedral since the restitutions secured by Archbishop Robert, while the right of *bernagium*, which was a customary contribution for feeding the duke's hunting dogs, was a *consuetudines vicecomitatus* and of some significant value.⁶⁹

Bona Anima also worked closely with the duke on matters of wider significance to the duchy. On 18 July 1091, the two eldest sons of the Conqueror met at Caen and together drew up the famous statement of law under their father, which is known as the *Consuetudines et Iusticie*. Although it is unclear if Bona Anima was directly involved in its drafting, the document claimed to have been written 'through the bishops and barons' (*per episcopos et barones*), among whom the archbishop of Rouen was likely to have been.⁷⁰ Curthose had already demonstrated his willingness to work with his episcopate, for the previous month (1 June) the archbishop had convened a council at Rouen, which discussed the election of Serlo d'Orgères as bishop of Sées. The appointment would have likely been a popular one for the archbishop, since Serlo was an abbot of some repute,⁷¹ but politically awkward for the duke, since the troublesome Robert de Bellême and Geoffrey de Mortagne were among Serlo's parishioners.⁷² Curthose consented to the election anyway, and the archbishop consecrated the new bishop on 22 June.⁷³ Bona Anima was also restored to papal favour at this time, and seems to have received at least two letters from Urban II. The first instructed Bona Anima in the administration of penance for certain persons who had been sent in to exile, and is perhaps to be associated with the struggles in Normandy between Curthose and Rufus in 1090.⁷⁴ The second, which

⁶⁸ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 10. Neaufles-Saint-Martin, Eure, cant. Gisors. For William son of Oger, who was previously a man of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, see Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 266-267.

⁶⁹ For *bernagium*, see C. Haskins, 'The Norman 'Consuetudines et Iusticie' of William the Conqueror', *EHR*, 23 (1908), pp. 502-508, at p. 504 n. 15 (reprinted with revisions in Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix D, pp. 277-284, at p. 279 n. 15); C. Haskins, 'Normandy under William the Conqueror', *American Historical Review*, 14 (1909), pp. 453-476, at p. 464.

⁷⁰ The text is edited in Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix D, pp. 281-284, at p. 281.

⁷¹ Serlo was previously abbot of Saint-Évroult. For his career there, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, p. 281.

⁷² Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 286.

⁷³ *OV*, iv, p. 252.

⁷⁴ The fragment (JL 5405) of this letter survives in the codex known as the *Collectio Britannica*, although Somerville admits its association with Bona Anima is entirely speculative, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica, and the Council of Melfi (1089)*, ed. and trans. R. Somerville and S. Kuttner (Oxford, 1996), pp. 163-164.

was sent on 12 October 1091, concerned the restitution of the abbey of Pavilly, which had been destroyed in the ninth century. Thomas de Pavilly had entrusted the restoration of the house to Walter, abbot of La Trinité-du-Mont, who would administer it as a priory.⁷⁵ Although the form in which this correspondence survives is unusual, it confirms not only William's restored standing as archbishop, but also demonstrates that circumstances in the duchy were still conducive to such endeavours as monastic foundation.⁷⁶

The early ten-nineties also brought other benefits for the archbishop and his cathedral. In 1092, William received the abbey of Saint-Mellon de Pontoise in fee from Philip I, king of France, and a confirmation of the restitution of the archidiaconate of the Vexin, which was originally secured by Archbishop Maurilius from Walter III, count of Amiens-Valois-Vexin.⁷⁷ The charter is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it clearly distinguishes between the land held in the Vexin by the archbishop of the king and of the Norman duke, which presaged the eventual division of the archidiaconate into two smaller archdeaconries of Pontoise and Chaumont. Secondly, it illustrates the difficulties that the archbishop of Rouen increasingly had to face in his relations with the king of France, as the territorial division between Normandy and the Île-de-France became more pronounced. Indeed, having received the abbey in fee from the king, William was expected to attend one of the king's courts (*curiis meis*) each year, although the impracticalities of such an arrangement have already been commented on elsewhere.⁷⁸ It has even been suggested that land held of the king in the Vexin was never really controlled by the

⁷⁵ A copy of the foundation charter of Pavilly, which was inscribed in stone in the seventeenth century and placed within the church, contains extracts of the letter from Urban II to William Bona Anima, C. de Beaurepaire, 'Pavilly: chapelle Saint-Pierre. Notice sur le prieuré de Sainte-Austreberte de Pavilly', *Bulletin de la Commission des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure*, 6 (1885), pp. 446-465, at pp. 452-454. A summary can be found in Urban II, *Epistolae*, no. liv, Migne, *PL*, cli, col. 335; *Ouvrages posthumes de D. Jean Mabillon et de D. Thierry Ruinart*, ed. V. Thuillier, 3 vols. (Paris, 1724), iii, p. 103. The charter claims that Bona Anima assisted in the foundation, and lent the authority of his seal to it ('huic donationi adfuit Guillelmus archiepiscopus, qui et consensum praebuilt, et sigillo suo roboravit'), Beaurepaire, 'Pavilly: chapelle Saint-Pierre', p. 453.

⁷⁶ I am extremely grateful to Professor Robert Somerville for sharing his thoughts with me on this letter, 'A privilege of Urban II for the priory of Pavilly (Haute-Normandie)', pers. comm. (17-19.09.2007).

⁷⁷ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. cxxvii. Although the charter is dated *anno mxc*i, Maurice Prou dated it to 1092. He held that the scribe had dated following the style of the Annunciation or of Easter, while the appearance of certain witnesses suggests the act also belongs to this year.

⁷⁸ F.M. Powicke, 'King Philip Augustus and the archbishop of Rouen (1196)', *EHR*, 27 (1912), pp. 106-117, esp. pp. 107-108. Powicke (p. 107 n. 6) is confused in his dating of the act, which he argued Prou assigned to the year 1091.

archbishop, while the whole arrangement seems to be ‘transitory’ in nature.⁷⁹ Regardless, the charter was not issued as reward for Bona Anima’s support of Philip’s controversial marriage to Bertrade de Montfort, which William of Malmesbury claimed was solemnised by the archbishop of Rouen.⁸⁰ The idea nevertheless found favour with some scholars of the nineteenth century.⁸¹ If the archbishop was struggling with matters outside the duchy, however, at least he finally seemed to be mastering affairs in his own city. At some time point before 28 April 1090, he performed with great ceremony the translation of the body of St. Romanus to the cathedral.⁸² This event is traditionally seen as the beginning of the end of the overwhelming influence of the abbey of Saint-Ouen in Rouen. The move created an important local cult at the cathedral to rival those at the abbey, and Saint-Ouen soon wanted to be part of this movement, laying claim to the saint’s head.⁸³ It is perhaps no coincidence that the abbey version of the *Acta archiepiscoporum* was also produced at this time.⁸⁴

Nevertheless, the early years of Curthose’s reign were not without their difficulties for the archbishop of Rouen. The period is perhaps most notable for the frequent clashes between the archbishop and various monasteries over issues of exemption. Bona Anima was no stranger to such disagreements, and had already been involved in a dispute one Easter before 1087, when his clerks argued with the monks of Fécamp over the archbishop’s claim that the abbot was required to receive him and his retinue in the monastery.⁸⁵ Fécamp defended its position successfully before the king, extracting from the archbishop a statement declaring that neither he

⁷⁹ Powicke, ‘King Philip Augustus’, p. 108.

⁸⁰ William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 732. Orderic Vitalis claimed that the ceremony was performed by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, for which he received control of Mantes (*OV*, iv, p. 260), but papal letters and royal charter subscriptions prove that the marriage was performed by Ursion, bishop of Senlis, Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, p. 50.

⁸¹ Depoin, ‘Les origines de Saint-Mellon’, p. 29.

⁸² *OV*, iii, pp. 22-24. The date is based upon the acquisition of another relic of St. Romanus, which was translated to the abbey of Saint-Ouen, and the account of which notes that the body of the saint was already ‘in vicina beate Marie basilica’, ‘The translation to St. Ouen in 1090’, in Lifshitz, ‘Dossier of Romanus’, p. 412.

⁸³ Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, pp. 194, 203-206. According to a later source, the archbishop attended the translation of the head of St. Romanus, along with other relics, to the abbey of Saint-Ouen in 1090, *Normanniae nova chronica ab anno Christi CCCCLXIII ad annum MCCCLXXVIII*, ed. L. Delisle, A. Charma and A. Chérueil, *MSAN*, 18 (1850), p. 8.

⁸⁴ For discussion of the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, see above, pp. 347-351. See also Allen, ‘The *Acta archiepiscoporum*’ (forthcoming).

⁸⁵ This is the confrontation that is sometimes incorrectly assigned to John of Ivry. For discussion see above p. 361 n. 105.

nor his successors had any rights in the abbey.⁸⁶ The monks were given another opportunity to defy the archbishop a few years later, when Bona Anima placed the duchy under an interdict following Curthose's grant of the land of Gisors to Philip I.⁸⁷ Although Bona Anima may have reacted too vigorously,⁸⁸ he could hardly assent to such a donation, for not only was Gisors the property of the archbishop of Rouen, but it also held vital strategic importance. The entire episode was a disaster for William, for not only did he lose the land, which was not recovered until 28 May 1105,⁸⁹ but the abbey of Fécamp also refused to obey the decree, claiming itself exempt from any such interference. The duke sided with his archbishop in the dispute, so the ancient ducal abbey appealed to the papacy, which sent two legates to decide the matter. They concluded that Fécamp had been improperly included in the interdict, and suspended the archbishop of Rouen from office.⁹⁰ They also issued a reaffirmation of the abbey's exempt status.⁹¹

The archbishop soon found himself making similar concessions to the abbey of Bec. Under the guidance of St. Anselm the monastery had grown massively in wealth and prestige.⁹² With such an increase in power it was only a matter of time before the abbey would be forced to deal with the traditional archiepiscopal claim to authority over the house. The issue apparently lay unresolved until William Bona Anima issued a charter, probably at the synod of Rouen shortly after 1 June 1091, recording how Anselm had refused to recognise his archiepiscopal privileges.⁹³ This document has been interpreted in various ways, and was recently reassessed by Sally Vaughn.⁹⁴ She concluded that the charter clearly represented the settlement of an unrecorded dispute over the abbey's exemption, and that it provided a 'solid legal base for the abbey's independence from the archbishop'.⁹⁵ However, the act is in many ways

⁸⁶ '“Ego [Guillelmus archiepiscopus]”, inquit, “in Fiscannensi monasterio consuetudinem nullam habeo, neque meorum antecessorum aliquam habuisse dico”', Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', p. 597.

⁸⁷ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 18-19.

⁸⁸ Spear, 'On stormy sees', p. 2.

⁸⁹ AD Seine-Maritime, G 8740. The land was returned to the archbishop by Rodulf de Bodriz, who had inherited it from his father who had died still excommunicated. A critical edition of this charter can be found in Appendix G.

⁹⁰ The dating limits of this suspension are discussed in Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', pp. 110-113.

⁹¹ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 18-19.

⁹² Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, pp. 106-233; Vaughn, *The abbey of Bec*, pp. 23-41.

⁹³ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 17-18.

⁹⁴ Vaughn, *The abbey of Bec*, pp. 38-39.

⁹⁵ Vaughn, *The abbey of Bec*, p. 39.

similar to that granted by John, bishop of Avranches, to Mont-Saint-Michel in 1061, which reinforced the authority of the bishop rather than abbot.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the archbishop of Rouen clearly felt that the matter had not been settled definitively, or that it only applied to his good friend Anselm, who he knew was destined for the English primacy, for when Anselm finally left for England with the ‘command and permission’ (*praecepto et licentia*) of the archbishop of Rouen, Bona Anima dramatically revived the affair.⁹⁷ On 10 August 1094 he arrived at Bec to bless William de Beaumont as the new abbot. As the two men stood in their regalia, and the blessing was about to be administered, the abbot-elect was informed that the archbishop would not continue without a profession of obedience. This he refused, and the matter was eventually brought before the duke who commanded that de Beaumont was not to swear obedience to the archbishop. Perhaps still smarting from the Fécamp affair, which had just recently been settled, Bona Anima assented to the duke’s decree. He clearly was not happy, however, and in a rare display of emotion (Miles Crispin claimed Bona Anima was ‘furious’) finished the ceremony. He was soon placated by the new abbot of Bec, who spoke so eloquently that he earned the archbishop’s lasting affection.⁹⁸

That the matter provoked such a heated response from a man normally admired for his mild manner is perhaps not to be unexpected. Bec was the archbishop’s old house, Anselm his old friend, and William lent his support to both when they needed his help, such as in their dispute with Saint-Père de Chartres over certain tithes and burial rights.⁹⁹ Moreover, the duke, who was perhaps wary of attracting papal

⁹⁶ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, Appendix II, no. 5, pp. 195-196. For discussion see above pp. 66-67.

⁹⁷ Miles Crispin, ‘Vita venerabilis Willelmi Beccensis’, Migne, *PL*, cl, cols. 713-724, at col. 715.

⁹⁸ ‘Die festivitatis S. Laurentii, cum archiepiscopus staret ad altare infulatus, atque electus Becci esset vestibus sacris indutus, et instaret hora ut ad benedicendum praesentaretur, audivit a referentibus quod archiepiscopus non benediceret eum, nisi professionem faceret; sed respondit se nullomodo facturum. Tunc prior Becci Baldricus cum aliquantis monachis concitus perrexit ad comitem Northmanniae Robertum, intimans ei quod archiepiscopus exigeret ab abbate Becci professionem quam antecessores ejus non fecerant. Illico dux misit Willelmum de Britolio, et Willelmum filium Richardi de Barduvilla, cum Ernulfo cancellario suo, mandans et praecipiens Willelmo archiepiscopo ut abbatem Becci sine mora benediceret, nihilque ab eo exigeret, nisi quod constaret a Beccensibus abbatibus factum esse antecessoribus ejus. Audiens hoc archiepiscopus iratus est valde; tamen perfecit quod inceptum erat, et abbatem benedixit sine professione, quia praeceptum principis illum cogeabat. Postea abbas locutus est cum archiepiscopo, atque in tantam gratiam illum praesul accepit ut nullum in Northmannia abbatem chariorem, vel familiariorem haberet’, Miles Crispin, ‘Vita Willelmi Beccensis’, col. 718.

⁹⁹ *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. xi, pp. 236-237.

intervention in the duchy as with the Fécamp affair, had sided with the abbey, delivering William another blow to his authority. It was not the only setback concerning the abbey that he suffered that year, for he was admonished by Urban II for preventing the monks of Bec based at the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Pontoise from ringing their bells after the second hour of Mass.¹⁰⁰ This papal rebuke was quickly followed by another, for at the Council of Clermont on 27 November 1095, which Bona Anima did not attend, the pope threatened to suspend the archbishop of Rouen if he did not recognise the primacy of Lyons.¹⁰¹ It is unclear whether Bona Anima submitted at this time, and it is possible that renewed papal pressure prompted the creation of the Norman Anonymous, whose author, perhaps the archbishop himself, argued forcefully against Lyons.¹⁰² The archbishop of Sens, one of the two other metropolitans affected by the dispute continued to resist papal pressure, and only finally submitted in 1099.¹⁰³

It would not be the pope who determined the next years of the archbishop's reign, however, but Robert Curthose. When the Norman prelates who had attended Clermont had returned to the duchy, a council was convened in Rouen in February 1096 to discuss its decrees. Bona Anima presided over the meeting, although only a few of the many rulings passed at Clermont were promulgated in Normandy, while there was apparently no discussion of the pope's appeal for the need to retake the Holy Land.¹⁰⁴ The duke does not seem to have attended the council, but by this point he had probably already made the momentous decision to go on crusade.¹⁰⁵ Little had gone right for Curthose in his struggles with his brothers, and in the spring of 1094, William Rufus had invaded Normandy. Although the duke had resisted successfully,

¹⁰⁰ Urban II, 'Epistolae', no. xcvi, Migne, *PL*, cli, col. 374. The letter is dated 30 July 1094 at Trastevere.

¹⁰¹ Mansi, xx, cols. 828-829.

¹⁰² Anne Brinkworth argued that William seems to have submitted to the papacy shortly after Clermont, although the evidence mustered in support of this argument is not entirely convincing, Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', pp. 95-96. The earliest date at which it seems the archbishop of Rouen had recognised Lyons is 30 March 1106, when Pascal II wrote to Bona Anima saying that he had ordered Turol, bishop of Bayeux, to be judged by the archbishop of Lyons, Pascal II, 'Epistolae', no. clxxix, col. 188. There is no evidence to suggest that William protested the jurisdiction of Lyons over one of his suffragans.

¹⁰³ Urban II, 'Epistolae', no. ccxcii, col. 544.

¹⁰⁴ *OV*, v, pp. 18-24.

¹⁰⁵ The pope never visited Normandy in his tour of France after Clermont. It has been suggested that if the pope did press the duke to take the cross, as some later chroniclers contend, he probably did so during his visit to Maine and Vendôme in February 1096, David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 90; Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 136.

neither side seemed capable of securing a decisive victory.¹⁰⁶ Into this impasse fell Urban's speech at Clermont. No source explicitly names the archbishop of Rouen as having played any part in the duke's decision, although Orderic claims that Robert took the cross 'on the advice of certain men of religion', among whom Bona Anima may have been.¹⁰⁷ Regardless, when Curthose left for Jerusalem in the autumn of 1096, the archbishop soon found himself cut off from William Rufus, who had been given the duchy in pledge until the duke's return.¹⁰⁸ No charter survives in which the two men appear together, and there is no other evidence to suggest any interaction between them.

The arrival of Rufus in Normandy signalled the beginning of Bona Anima's wilderness years. Three episcopal appointments, and one abbatial, demonstrate the complete collapse of archiepiscopal authority at this time. In February 1097, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, died in Sicily on his way to the Holy Land. Rufus used the vacancy in the see to install his *curialis* Turol d'Envermeu.¹⁰⁹ The death of Turol's patron a few years later forced him into an uneasy position between Curthose and Henry I, and unable to secure investiture, he seized the bishopric. The dispute that followed lasted many years, but what is most remarkable about the entire episode is the complete absence of the archbishop of Rouen.¹¹⁰ He seems never to have been consulted, and allowed the pope to play the most active role in the affair,¹¹¹ who finally forced Turol into retirement at Bec.¹¹² The exact cause of Bona Anima's detachment is unknown. Rufus' death should have meant he was free to investigate the matter without interference. It is possible that he was continuing to reject the primacy of Lyons, and that the suspension threatened by Urban II at Clermont had come into effect. If this were the case, within a year of Curthose's return from crusade, the archbishop had been restored in papal favour. On 25 October 1102, he baptised the duke's son, William Clito, and a short while later buried his wife, the countess Sibyl,

¹⁰⁶ David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 84-88; Barlow, *William Rufus*, pp. 331-336.

¹⁰⁷ *OV*, v, p. 26; Aird, *Robert Curthose*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁸ There is some disagreement among the various chronicles as to the precise terms of the loan, although there is no doubt that it actually occurred, *OV*, v, p. 26; *GND*, ii, p. 210; William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 562; Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 74; ASC 'E', p. 232; Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, p. 475.

¹⁰⁹ For Turol's career, see above, pp. 161-168.

¹¹⁰ Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, p. 19-20.

¹¹¹ Morin, 'Lettre inédite de Pascal II', pp. 284-285, with the correction of dating in *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, ii, no. 5.

¹¹² *OV*, v, p. 210.

who had died from complications during the birth.¹¹³ In June of either 1101 or 1102 he had consecrated Fulcher, the brother of the duke's principal advisor, Ranulf Flambard, as the new bishop of Lisieux.¹¹⁴ The whole affair brought disrepute to the duchy, and to the archbishop, who once again seemed powerless to act otherwise. It is difficult to explain why William should have been complicit in such a blatant abuse of canonical law, especially since he had perhaps just regained papal approval.¹¹⁵ It is possible that the archbishop remained loyal to the duke not because he was a poor judge of character, or a corrupt churchman, but because he persisted in a belief that he could wield influence with Curthose, as he quite clearly had done with his father.¹¹⁶ Moreover, had he openly opposed the duke, who was still powerful enough to launch an invasion of England shortly before Fulcher's consecration, he may have caused even greater turmoil in a land already racked by conflict. It is possible, of course, that like so many others he was simply overawed by the irrepressible Ranulf Flambard, who, if we may rely upon Orderic Vitalis, had been placed in a position of significant authority.¹¹⁷

Unfortunately, the affair did not end with the death of Fulcher on 29 January 1102/3. Instead matters worsened. Flambard intruded his own son, Thomas, a mere boy of twelve, into the bishopric. Astoundingly, the duke not only approved his investiture, but also agreed that should Thomas die, another of Flambard's sons should succeed him.¹¹⁸ Although *Bona Anima* cannot be directly linked with the affair, he did not take any positive action, for which he was strongly rebuked by Ivo, bishop of Chartres.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, Flambard governed the see unopposed for three years. In 1105, the Lisieux chapter elected William, archdeacon of Évreux, as

¹¹³ *OV*, v, p. 278; vi, p. 38. William also witnessed a charter for Saint-Étienne de Caen at about this time (1101 × 1105), which granted the abbey a Sunday market and an annual fair at Cheux (Calvados, cant. Tilly-sur-Seulles), Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix E, no. 3, pp. 286-287.

¹¹⁴ *OV*, iv, pp. 320-322. Orderic claims that Fulcher was consecrated in June, but this cannot be correct since his predecessor did not die until 20 August 1101. For discussion of these contradictions see above, pp. 284-286.

¹¹⁵ Fulcher was by all accounts illiterate, although Orderic did not find him completely lacking in admirable qualities, *OV*, v, p. 322.

¹¹⁶ Orderic Vitalis claimed that the Conqueror 'never spurned' the archbishop's advice, a statement corroborated by the *Bona Anima*'s important position at the duke's deathbed, *GND*, ii, p. 186.

¹¹⁷ *OV*, v, p. 312.

¹¹⁸ *OV*, v, p. 322.

¹¹⁹ 'Quod cum partim dolentibus partim deridentibus plurimis diu perpessa esset Ecclesia, monitu quorundam religiosorum graviter redargui solo charitatis intuitu Rothomagensis archiepiscopum, ad cuius dioecesim pertinet praetaxata Ecclesia, quod ex adverso non staret, quod pro domo Israel murum non opponeret', Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. clvii, col. 162.

bishop.¹²⁰ Unable to gain access to the city, the bishop-elect wrote to Ivo of Chartres. Inquiring into the situation he found just how completely the ecclesiastical life of the duchy had unravelled, for although the archdeacon of Évreux had been canonically elected he was unable to be consecrated by the archbishop of Rouen because he was under papal suspension. Ivo wrote to the pope for a ruling, prompting a rare display of emotion,¹²¹ but the delay simply allowed Flambard to insert his personal cleric, William de Pacy, into the see.¹²² The cause of the archbishop's suspension is unknown. It cannot have been related to the Lisieux affair, since Ivo would have discovered this during his enquiries, and would not have subsequently written to Rome for advice. Regardless, the situation in Lisieux lasted into the reign of Henry I, prompting Ivo to send further letters to Bona Anima, the bishop of Évreux and Robert, count of Meulan.¹²³

The situation in the diocese of Sées was little better. The collapse of ducal power in the region allowed Robert II de Bellême to act with impunity,¹²⁴ and he became increasingly hostile towards the ecclesiastical figures that fell within his ambit.¹²⁵ In 1103 × 1104, Rodulf d'Escures, abbot of Saint-Martin de Sées, abandoned his charge, while Arnulf, abbot of Troarn, sought the advice of Anselm on whether he should remain at his house.¹²⁶ More significantly, Serlo, bishop of Sées, and his archdeacon John, had quit their diocese along with the abbot of Saint-Martin, seeking refuge with Henry I in England.¹²⁷ These men became 'essential instruments' in Henry's subsequent invasion of the duchy,¹²⁸ and Serlo's famous Easter sermon delivered in the church of Carentan on 9 April 1105 legitimised Henry's actions as defender of the

¹²⁰ For the career of William, who might have had the toponym 'de Glos', see Spear, *The personnel*, p. 141.

¹²¹ The letter contains the following phrase: 'Quod in Ecclesia Luxoviensi paternitas vestra poterit agnoscere, quam jam per plures annos Rannulfus agnomine Flammardus, Dunelmensis episcopus inaudito invasionis genere occupavit'. The word *inauditus/a/um* has been associated with the bishop's agitation, B. Brasington, 'What made Ivo mad? Reflections on a medieval bishop's anger', in *The bishop reformed: studies of episcopal power and culture in the central Middle Ages*, ed. J.S. Ott and A. Trumbore Jones (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 209-218, at p. 214.

¹²² Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. clvii, cols. 162-163. Cf. 'Epistolae', no. cxlix.

¹²³ Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', nos. cliii and cliv, cols. 157-158.

¹²⁴ According to Orderic, Robert claimed that the bishopric of Sées had been given to his ancestor William de Bellême by a duke Richard (I, II or III?). He was so successful in his claim that by 1101 Curthose had surrendered all his rights in the bishopric to him, prompting a stern letter from Pascal II, *OV*, iv, pp. 296 and 297 n. 4.

¹²⁵ For the lordship of Bellême at this time, see Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 387-426.

¹²⁶ *OV*, iv, p. 296; vi, p. 46; *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, v, no. 425.

¹²⁷ *OV*, vi, p. 46.

¹²⁸ Spear, 'On stormy sees', p. 4.

Date	Issue	Source
20 April 1079	Primacy of Lyons	Jaffé, <i>Regesta</i> , i, no. 5126
23 Sept. 1079	Bona Anima as son of priest	Jaffé, <i>Monumenta</i> , p. 380
1081	Disregard of papal legates; failure to visit Rome	Jaffé, <i>Monumenta</i> , pp. 469-470
1089 × 1090	Administration of penance	Somerville, <i>Collectio Britannica</i> , pp. 163-164
12 Oct. 1091	Restoration of the abbey of Sainte-Austreberthe de Pavilly	Beaurepaire, 'Pavilly: chapelle Saint-Pierre', pp. 453-454
c. 1093	Dispute with Fécamp over interdict; suspension	GC, xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 18-19.
30 July 1094	Bec monks at Saint-Pierre de Pontoise	Urban II, 'Ep.', no. xcvi, col. 374
Sept. × Nov. 1094	Restoration of <i>pallium</i>	Brett, 'Some new letters', no. vi, pp. 84-85
10 Nov. 1095	Bayeux cathedral benefices	<i>Papsturkunden in Frankreich</i> , ii, no. 3
27 Nov. 1095	Primacy of Lyons	Mansi, xx, cols. 828-829
9 April 1102*	Confirmation of Bec properties	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , 2e partie, p. 221
1105	Consecration of new bp of Lisieux	Ivo of Chartres, 'Ep.', no. clvii, cols. 162-163
25 March 1106	Delegation of suspension ruling to Anselm	Eadmer, <i>Historia novorum</i> , p. 177
30 March 1106	Turolde, bishop of Bayeux	Pascal II, 'Ep.', no. clxxix, col. 188

Fig. 69 Papal interaction with William Bona Anima, 1079-1106

* The veracity of this document is unclear, since it misidentifies Fulk, archbishop of Paris, as Geoffrey. This could be a mistake for William de Montfort, who died in August 1101, but this then clashes with the date of the bull, which claims to have been issued on 9 April in the third year of Paschal's reign (13 Aug. 1101 × 12 Aug. 1102). A different version of this bull, dated 17 April 1104 appears in BN, ms. coll. Vexin, vol. 12, p. 12.

Norman Church.¹²⁹ Of course, the loss of control over matters in Sées was a direct consequence of ducal failings, rather than archiepiscopal, but Bona Anima had once again proven himself incapable of reining in his duke's excesses. Such paralysis even incurred the wrath of his good friend Anselm. On 5 August 1100, Henry I had given the abbacy of Bury St. Edmunds to Robert, a former monk of Saint-Évroult and the son of Hugh, earl of Chester, without consulting either the monks of St. Edmunds or the archbishop of Canterbury.¹³⁰ Anselm wrote several letters to the archbishop of Rouen entreating him to force the abbot of Saint-Évroult to recall Robert,¹³¹ who was despoiling the church and even entering the abbey under arms.¹³² William promised Anselm he would act, but failed to fulfil his word,¹³³ and Robert was only removed from office during the Council of Westminster in September 1102.¹³⁴ Why Bona Anima should have disappointed his old friend is unclear. Henry's appointment was entirely political,¹³⁵ and one might think that Curthose would have encouraged his archbishop to deliver a blow to one of his old enemies, the earl of Chester, but the general malaise that existed in Normandy at this time seemed to extend to the archbishop of Rouen.¹³⁶ He cannot have been suspended from office, for not only would Anselm not have written to him asking that he act, but we also know that he was conducting ecclesiastical business at this time.¹³⁷

There was one remarkable consequence of these years of disquiet. In the late nineteenth century, Heinrich Böhmer edited a hitherto neglected set of tractates, today known as the Norman Anonymous, in a manuscript of Corpus Christi, Cambridge.¹³⁸ Initially assigned by Böhmer to the church of York,¹³⁹ the codex was later reassessed

¹²⁹ *OV*, vi, pp. 62-64.

¹³⁰ 'Annales sancti Edmundi', in *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, 3 vols. (London, 1890-1896), ii, p. 4.

¹³¹ *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iv, nos. 266, 269, 271.

¹³² *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iv, no. 266, line 10.

¹³³ *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iv, no. 269, lines 7-9.

¹³⁴ *Councils and synods*, ii, pp. 665-688.

¹³⁵ Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 117, 166.

¹³⁶ Hugh was close to the end of his life at this time, but even when he lay on his deathbed at St. Werburgh's in July 1101, he did not hesitate to support Henry I during Curthose's invasion of England, Hollister, *Henry I*, pp. 115-117; C. Warren Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman civil war: 1101', *EHR*, 88 (1973), pp. 315-334, at p. 319.

¹³⁷ See above p. 384.

¹³⁸ 'Texte sum Yorker Anonymus', pp. 436-497; 'Tractatus Eboracenses', pp. 642-687.

¹³⁹ Böhmer originally identified the author as Gerard, archbishop of York. He later withdrew this claim, but maintained that the tractates were associated with someone attached to the church of York, Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 263.

by George Williams, who demonstrated convincingly that this important collection was actually compiled at Rouen, and that while there was no conclusive data, the author was most probably William Bona Anima.¹⁴⁰ There is no need to repeat the majority of Williams' complex codicological, liturgical and theological argument here, except to emphasise how a great number of the tractates not only correspond with many of the issues facing the archbishop towards the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries, but also how these same tractates, many of which can be dated using internal indicators, were written at exactly the time when the archbishop was contemplating these problems. William may have begun the work while he was still abbot of Saint-Étienne de Caen, since one of the tractates may have accompanied the dedication of the abbey on 13 September 1077.¹⁴¹ Upon ascending to the archiepiscopate William was forced almost immediately to deal with accusations that he was the son of a priest, and this pressure perhaps prompted the composition of four of the tractates that concern this particular issue.¹⁴² The work also contains tractates that deal with the dispute between the archbishop and Fécamp, the primacy of Lyons, the authority of the pope, which specifically quotes a 1097 letter of Ivo of Chartres (the precise time at which Bona Anima was under papal suspension), and the controversy over investitures, for which Robert Curthose may have received a letter from Pascal II.¹⁴³

Nevertheless, if the tractates of the Norman Anonymous have won the admiration of modern scholars, it is unclear to what extent they impressed the archbishop's contemporaries. Zachary Brooke believed that the work was a 'peculiar case', which represented the thoughts of no one but the author himself.¹⁴⁴ George Williams did much to clarify the work's position within contemporary theological thought,¹⁴⁵ although Anne Barstow argued that, at least as far as the opinions dealing with

¹⁴⁰ Williams, *The Norman Anonymous*, pp. 102-127, esp. p. 123, 125-127.

¹⁴¹ Williams, *The Norman Anonymous*, p. 105. For discussion of the dating of this dedication, see Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴² The four tractates are J16/B16, J17/B17, J26 and J25/L1, which Williams held 'belong to this period of William's pontificate', Williams, *The Norman anonymous*, p. 109.

¹⁴³ Williams, *The Norman anonymous*, pp. 17-18, 34, 113-114. For the papal letter, which Wilhelm Levison suggested could be connected with the controversy at Lisieux, see W. Levison, 'Aus englischen Bibliotheken, II', *Neues Archiv*, 35 (1910), pp. 331-431, at p. 427; L. Delisle, 'Une lettre de Pascal II à Robert Courte-Heuse, duc de Normandie', *BEC*, 71 (1910), pp. 465-466, at p. 466.

¹⁴⁴ Z.N. Brooke, *The English Church and the papacy from the Conquest to the reign of John* (Cambridge, 1931), esp. pp. 157-160.

¹⁴⁵ Williams thought that the ideas of the Anonymous were more representative of his generation, Williams, *The Norman Anonymous*, pp. 125.

clerical celibacy are concerned, the author was not ‘an institutional revolutionary’, and that he was a man who ultimately ‘resorted to extreme intellectual solutions, but who in the end was defeated’.¹⁴⁶ Of course, not all are convinced that William Bona Anima did author the tractates. Recent alternative candidates include Albert the Eloquent, who was imprisoned by Geoffrey Brito, archbishop of Rouen, for his articulate defence of clerical marriage in 1119,¹⁴⁷ and an anonymous tutor in the Norman court.¹⁴⁸ Regardless, the text can be securely located in Rouen during Bona Anima’s archiepiscopate.¹⁴⁹ Despite the anarchy that persisted in Normandy at this time, it seems that the city, and in particular the cathedral, was both willing and able to accommodate an individual capable of producing this complex and highly controversial work.

The cathedral *scriptorium* was also active in this period, and its school home to two *scholastici*, rather than just the one identified by David Spear.¹⁵⁰ During the ten-nineties Bona Anima commissioned a reworking of the annals first composed under Maurilius.¹⁵¹ Originally written not only to trace the history of the archbishops and their see, but also as an affirmative tool in support of a programme of reform, the factors influencing this revision were quite different, and were grounded far more in the dynamics of the city of Rouen.¹⁵² Since the late tenth century, when the abbey of Saint-Ouen had first gained independence from titular rule by the archbishops, the

¹⁴⁶ A. Barstow, ‘The defense of clerical marriage in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries: the Norman Anonymous and his contemporaries’, Thesis, PhD (Columbia University, 1979), pp. 179, 183.

¹⁴⁷ K. Woody, ‘Marginalia on the Norman Anonymous’, *Harvard Theological Review*, 66 (1973), pp. 273-288, at p. 288. For Albert, and the riot in Rouen that followed his incarceration, see *OV*, vi, pp. 290-294.

¹⁴⁸ *Die Texte des Normannischen Anonymus*, ed. K. Pellens (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. xxix and xxxii; K. Pellens, *Das Kirchendenken des Normannischen Anonymus* (Wiesbaden, 1973), pp. 22-25, 27-31.

¹⁴⁹ The earliest date we have proof for in the manuscript is 1096, while the tractates on celibacy, which were originally dated c. 1075 × after 1119, were re-dated by Barstow c. 1096 × c. 1110. For discussion of all the dates, and this reassessment, see Barstow, ‘The defence of clerical marriage’, pp. 168-169 n. 2 and 203-205.

¹⁵⁰ It is unclear why Spear did not include Alvered *scholasticus* among his *fasti* of cathedral personnel, for he appears alongside the other *scholasticus* Gislebert in all three copies of a Saint-Étienne charter, one of which (that edited by Deville) Spear had seen, AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 54v; BU Caen, ms. 21420, p. 50; Deville, ‘Analyse d’un ancien cartulaire’, p. 21.

¹⁵¹ For discussion of the annals, see Violette, ‘Une étape décisive’, pp. 63-67; Violette, ‘Le thème des origines’, pp. 287-294; Violette, ‘L’église métropolitaine de Rouen’, ii, pp. 272-313.

¹⁵² The motives for the revision by William Bona Anima were recently discussed by Alison Alexander in, ‘Rouen and the development of annalistic history c. 1060-c. 1110’, a paper delivered at the fourteenth International Medieval Congress, 9-12 July 2007. I am grateful to Ms. Alexander, whose doctoral thesis concerns Norman annalistic writing (‘Annalistic writing in early Normandy, c. 1050 to c. 1250’), for sharing her thoughts with me on this matter, and for sending me a typescript of her paper (pers. comm. 16.07.2007).

cathedral and abbey had been engaged in a bitter rivalry. Although this was played out on many different levels, the two institutions clashed most openly in their differing interpretations of the religious heritage of the region. In particular, they disagreed as to the identity of the first bishop of Rouen, and while the cathedral claimed that this honour belonged to St. Mallonus, a prelate of the mid-third century, the abbey championed the cause of St. Nicasius, who was martyred on the banks of the Epte in the first.¹⁵³ The monks had initially acquired his relics in 1032,¹⁵⁴ perhaps as a direct consequence of competition between the abbey and cathedral for influence in the Vexin.¹⁵⁵ Faced with a rapid growth in the abbey's prestige, which had become the 'single greatest collector of relics' in the duchy,¹⁵⁶ Bona Anima took steps to regain the initiative. At some point before 28 April 1090, he translated the body of Romanus, an important local saint, to the cathedral,¹⁵⁷ and shortly thereafter commissioned a reworking of the annals to include St. Mallonus as first bishop of Rouen.¹⁵⁸ This revision expanded the annals' audience, and they were soon disseminated throughout the Norman monastic network.¹⁵⁹ It has been suggested that the success of this diffusion, which took with it a vision of unity and hierarchy as manifest in the community of Rouen, as well as their image of the province's origins, prompted Saint-Ouen de Rouen to rework the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium* to include a development on St. Nicasius.¹⁶⁰

Unfortunately, the archbishop soon incurred papal wrath yet again, and at sometime after 25 October 1102 (his last known ecclesiastical act) he was suspended for reasons unknown.¹⁶¹ According to Eadmer, it was Bona Anima's good friend

¹⁵³ The different apostolic legends concerning these two individuals are discussed in Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', ii, pp. 314-402.

¹⁵⁴ 'Translatio B. Nicasii martyris, sociorumque ejus', Migne, *PL*, clxii, cols. 1163-1166, at col. 1166.

¹⁵⁵ Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, pp. 270-271.

¹⁵⁶ Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 197.

¹⁵⁷ *OV*, iii, pp. 22-24.

¹⁵⁸ This revision must have taken place after 1087. The version of the annals edited by Philippe Labbé lists Nicasius as first bishop of Rouen ('Chronicon Rotomagense', p. 364), but since some of the monastic annals derived from the Rouen text do not, it has been argued that the version edited here dates from another reworking carried out under Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, in the 1130s, Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', ii, pp. 291-295. For the acceptance of the primacy of St. Nicasius at the cathedral in the twelfth century, see Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', ii, p. 355.

¹⁵⁹ *Annales de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, pp. 8-10.

¹⁶⁰ Alexander, 'Rouen and the development', pp. 9-10.

¹⁶¹ William was apparently still on good terms with Pascal in the spring of 1102, for he is mentioned in a bull dated 9 April, in which he confirmed Bec's possession of the church of Saint-Pierre de Pontoise, Bessin, *Concilia*, 2e partie, p. 221. The veracity of this document is unclear, however. Cf. fig. 69.

Anselm who was the principal agent in the eventual reconciliation, and on a visit to Rome interceded with the pope on behalf of the Norman metropolitan.¹⁶² The pontiff sent a letter to William, dated 25 March 1106, in which he complained how the nature of the archbishop's case 'had tried our patience' (*patientiam nostram plurimum gravet*), but through which he informed William that he had delegated any final ruling on the suspension to the archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁶³ Anselm's willingness to help in this matter demonstrates the extent of his friendship with Bona Anima. Although the two experienced differences, they maintained an intimate relationship based on mutual respect and cooperation that spanned four decades. Even when writing to Urban II about the oppression that monasteries often suffered under the episcopate, Anselm made sure to single out his friend for praise, claiming that he did not fear such behaviour from the archbishop of Rouen.¹⁶⁴ The two men exchanged at least two letters while William was abbot of Saint-Étienne, including one that, despite its ambiguous tone, Franz Schmitt believed concerned the election of Arnost, a former monk of Bec, as bishop of Rochester.¹⁶⁵

Anselm was afforded greater opportunity to correspond with William following his translation to Canterbury. Although the two men's objectives sometimes clashed, they more often cooperated for the good of the general church. In one letter, the archbishop of Canterbury wrote that he hoped William would hospitably receive a certain individual named Guy.¹⁶⁶ The identity of this person is not clear, but it may have been Guy d'Étampes, a former pupil of Anselm.¹⁶⁷ He was sent by Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, to Salisbury as the first *magister scholarum* in around 1107. He does not occur in a Salisbury document, however, so may have sought to return to

¹⁶² Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, pp. 177-178.

¹⁶³ Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 177.

¹⁶⁴ 'Quod tamen sub paterna sanctitate reverendi archiepiscopi nostri Guillelmi fidelis dilectoris nostri non timemus', *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iii, no. 126.

¹⁶⁵ *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iii, no. 52 n. Arnost was only bishop for a short time, and his most famous act is probably his presence at the trial of Penenden Heath, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae, 1066-1300. II. Monastic cathedrals*, ed. D. Greenway (London, 1971), p. 75.

¹⁶⁶ *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iv, no. 279.

¹⁶⁷ Franz Schmitt believed that Guy was perhaps a monk under William while he was abbot at Caen, *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iv, no. 279 n. Anselm wrote that Guy was returning to Normandy *ad suam ecclesiam*, which would suggest an association with the church of Rouen. However, there are no known Rouen personnel called Guy, besides Guy d'Étampes, from this particular period, while it seems strange that Anselm would need to request that William receive someone hospitably whom he knew already. For the only other Guy, who was a canon at Rouen between 1175 and 1199, see Spear, *The personnel*, p. 242.

France soon after his arrival.¹⁶⁸ He appears as cantor at Le Mans towards 1112,¹⁶⁹ and eventually returned to Rouen where he was an archdeacon under Geoffrey Brito.¹⁷⁰ He was then promoted to the bishopric of Le Mans in 1126, where he was remembered as a man of mercy, dignity, faith and learning.¹⁷¹ That Guy, a Paris Master, perhaps asked to be recommended to the archbishop of Rouen, whom the letter claims he knew Anselm loved, testifies not only to William's reputation, but also to the fluidity with which personnel often moved within the ecclesiastical network of northern Europe.¹⁷²

Guy was not the only person whom Anselm hoped the archbishop would welcome to Normandy. In 1103, William Giffard, the bishop-elect of Winchester, was forced into exile by Henry I.¹⁷³ Nominated by the king on either 3 or 4 August 1100, he had been ordered, but refused, to accept consecration from the archbishop of York after Anselm had declined to ordain him as a lay investiture. The letter asked that Bona Anima welcome Giffard, a former canon and dean of Rouen,¹⁷⁴ and that he offer his help and council during his time in exile.¹⁷⁵ The association with Rouen aside, it is unlikely that Bona Anima would not have helped, since the two men were cousins, once removed. Moreover, a charter stating that no royal clerk had rights in the choir of Rouen cathedral may have been issued by the bishop of Winchester as reward for this assistance.¹⁷⁶ Giffard was restored to his see two years later, but the two men were reunited on 7 November 1106 when the monastery of Saint-Taurin d'Évreux was made a cell of Fécamp.¹⁷⁷ Though if these letters testify to the close working relationship between the two archbishops, none provide quite such eloquent testimony as the short epistle concerning the marriage of William de Tancarville. The master chamberlain had married Mathilda of Arques, to whom he was already related by

¹⁶⁸ *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae, 1066-1300. IV Salisbury*, ed. D. Greenway (London, 1971), p. 17.

¹⁶⁹ *Cartulaire de l'évêché du Mans, 965-1786*, ed. A. Bertrand de Broussillon (Le Mans, 1908), no. 974.

¹⁷⁰ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 210, 243.

¹⁷¹ 'Guidonem igitur laudabilis Anselmi familiaritas commendauit, exercuit clementia, gravitas cohercuit, instituit fides, formavit doctrina, exemplum eliminavit a discipulo quicquid displicet in homine, Anselmus enim plus moribus quam personis, plus ingenio quam generi, plus Deo detulit quam homini', *Actus pontificum Cenomannis*, p. 424.

¹⁷² *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iv, no. 279, lines 3-5.

¹⁷³ ASC 'E', p. 238.

¹⁷⁴ For his career, see Spear, *The personnel*, p. 200.

¹⁷⁵ *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, iv, no. 274, lines 16-19.

¹⁷⁶ BM (Rouen) ms. Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 141v; edited in *EEA*, viii, no. 12 pp. 6-7. Dated 11 August 1107 × 25 January 1129.

¹⁷⁷ GC, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 127-128.

marriage. The union had been condemned, but William had apparently written to the archbishop of Rouen saying that Anselm claimed they could redeem their sins by giving alms. Bona Anima wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury asking him if this were true, but Anselm strongly denied the accusation.¹⁷⁸ It is not known if either of the archbishops pursued the matter further, but William de Tancarville and Mathilda apparently remained married.¹⁷⁹ Bona Anima also received correspondence from another ecclesiastical figure of renown, but Ivo of Chartres only seems to have communicated with his neighbour when the situation in Normandy required that the archbishop be chastised.

Fortunately, the defeat of Robert Curthose at Tinchebray put an end to such unwelcome matters. Bona Anima appears to have played no active role in the duke's demise, but this is generally interpreted as tacit approval of Henry's actions.¹⁸⁰ It is unclear whether William attended the synod convened by the new duke at Lisieux on 15 October 1106,¹⁸¹ but the archbishop appeared alongside Henry shortly thereafter, and on 7 November a suit was heard in the archbishop's chamber (*in camera archiepiscopi*) at Rouen in the presence of both men, and a gathering of important dignitaries.¹⁸² The following year William was in Caen, and issued a charter along with Henry in favour of Jumièges,¹⁸³ while the archbishop issued his own charter confirming for Bec its possession of the church of Saint-Sever.¹⁸⁴ The archbishop also seems to have resolved his long-running feud with Fécamp, a process that began before the removal of Curthose. On 15 June 1099, he consecrated the new abbey church along with four of his (unnamed) suffragans,¹⁸⁵ while at some time before 1101 the archbishop helped broker a *conventio* between the abbey and his old house of Saint-Étienne.¹⁸⁶ On 6 May 1102, he issued a charter in the abbey's favour,¹⁸⁷ and

¹⁷⁸ *S. Anselmi Opera omnia*, v, no. 419.

¹⁷⁹ According to an interpolation of Robert de Torigni, the two had a son whose name was either Rabel or Ralph, *GND*, ii, p. 268 and 269 n. 7.

¹⁸⁰ Spear, 'The Norman episcopate', p. 12; Brinkworth, 'The archbishops of Rouen', p. 152; Spear, 'On stormy sees', p. 5.

¹⁸¹ *OV*, vi, p. 92; Foreville, 'The synod of Rouen', p. 22.

¹⁸² *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 127-128.

¹⁸³ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 912.

¹⁸⁴ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, no. 1, p. 293. The charter is dated 1106 × 1107. A critical edition can be found in Appendix G.

¹⁸⁵ *OV*, vi, p. 138. For the redating of this event, traditionally placed in 1106, see L. Bréhier, 'L'église abbatiale de Fécamp', *Journal des Savants* (1930), pp. 252-260, at pp. 255-257; Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, p. 113.

¹⁸⁶ AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 54r-v.

on 21 December 1107 he blessed Roger of Bayeux as the new abbot of Fécamp. The ceremony is often used to illustrate how badly ecclesiastical affairs had suffered under Curthose, for along with the new abbot, the archbishop consecrated some seven hundred men, among whom was Orderic Vitalis, who had been instructed to become a priest by his abbot.¹⁸⁸ The scandalous situation at Lisieux was also resolved in the same year, when William consecrated the new bishop, John, archdeacon of Sées.¹⁸⁹ The circumstances in Bayeux also improved, and although the cathedral was destroyed by fire during the city's capture by Henry I,¹⁹⁰ the obstinate Turolde was soon forced into retirement at Bec, and the see occupied in 1107 by Richard of Dover, the son of Samson, bishop of Worcester.¹⁹¹ The following year, Bona Anima convened a council in Rouen along with his suffragans (only the bishops of Coutances and Sées are named) to discuss important ecclesiastical affairs, but unfortunately no legislation has survived.¹⁹²

The king returned to Normandy in the summer of 1108, and the archbishop seems to have travelled with the royal court at this time. He witnessed a charter at Argentan in favour of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, the last known of his diplomatic appearances.¹⁹³ Jean-François Pommeraye held that in the following year Henry granted to the canons of the cathedral the valuable manor of Clere,¹⁹⁴ but this donation was actually made under William's successor, Geoffrey Brito.¹⁹⁵ This may also have been the case for the church of Saint-Nicolas de Meulan, the revenue from which Robert de Beaumont gave to the cathedral at some point following the pillage of Meulan by French troops in 1109. Nevertheless, it is possible that the act was issued in the last year of Bona Anima's reign.¹⁹⁶ According to Orderic, the

¹⁸⁷ BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 41, fol. 45⁽³⁾r-v.

¹⁸⁸ *OV*, vi, pp. 140-142.

¹⁸⁹ *OV*, vi, p. 144.

¹⁹⁰ 'Incipiunt versus Serlonis', pp. 246-247. It is sometimes suggested that the destruction wrought in Bayeux by Henry was somewhat exaggerated by Serlo, though his account is partly confirmed elsewhere: 'Ille [Henricus rex] vero Baius, cum ecclesia s. Marie, que intus erat, combussit', John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 106.

¹⁹¹ *OV*, v, p. 210.

¹⁹² *OV*, iv, p. 264.

¹⁹³ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 905.

¹⁹⁴ J.-F. Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église cathédrale de Rouen* (Rouen, 1686), p. 571.

¹⁹⁵ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1289. Kingsclere (Hamps.).

¹⁹⁶ '... et concedo ut illa ecclesia subiecta sit Rothomagensis ecclesie et reddens iustos redditus sicut mater ecclesia', BM (Rouen) ms. Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 47v; BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 12, fol. 52r. The foundation is discussed in D. Crouch, *The Beaumont twins: the roots and branches of power in the twelfth century* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 197 n. 7. The act is calendered in Emile Houth's study of the

archbishop was also a generous benefactor of his cathedral, and not only rebuilt the cloisters of the archiepiscopal palace and the domestic buildings, but also equipped his church with all the vessels necessary for the divine service.¹⁹⁷ It is also possible that he was responsible for the cathedral's *westwerk*, although the evidence is inconclusive at best,¹⁹⁸ while he may also have been the first to establish an episcopal residence at Les Andelys.¹⁹⁹ William also translated to the cathedral the body of St. Romanus, as we have seen, and it was he who heeded the advice given by his predecessor John in his liturgical treatise *De officiis*, and established a single calendar of saintly celebrations throughout the archdiocese.²⁰⁰ The cathedral received an even greater honour in 1106, when the crusader Ilgyrus gave it two of the Virgin's hairs, which were shared with the abbeys of Bec and Saint-Ouen. The relics were taken by the archbishop to the cathedral in a solemn procession, which included local clergy and a great crowd of people.²⁰¹

These donations earned William the affection of his clergy, and when his eventful archiepiscopate finally came to an end on 9 February 1110,²⁰² he was buried with great honour in the chapter house, which he himself had built. His epitaph, carved upon the east wall, remembered him as a pious, kind and munificent bishop.²⁰³ His reputation also travelled beyond the walls of his own community, with Orderic Vitalis summarising his career thus:²⁰⁴

He watched over the welfare of the monks and clerks and all others committed to his care like a kind father, and devoted himself continually to the sacred mysteries of the Mass, and to chanting psalms and hymns and spiritual canticles. Deceit and harshness were utterly foreign to his mind. Far from seeking to harm any man, he always found ways of helping the distressed according to their need. He had studied the art of singing, and had a most beautiful voice. Deeply versed in all the customs of the church, he could expound the word of God to simple men clearly, in language they could understand. He won the friendship of all who came into contact with him by his patience and kindness.

counts of Meulan, although it is incorrectly listed as the foundation of the church of Saint-Nicaise, E. Houth, 'Les comtes de Meulan, IXe-XIIIe siècles', *Mémoires de la Société historique et archéologique de Pontoise, du Val d'Oise et du Vexin*, 70 (1981), no. 16, p. 42.

¹⁹⁷ OV, iii, p. 22.

¹⁹⁸ Baylé, 'La cathédrale romane', pp. 183, 190-191.

¹⁹⁹ Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, p. 225.

²⁰⁰ Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. 46-48; OV, iii, pp. 22-24. For discussion of this calendar, see Delamare, *De officiis*, pp. cxxxix-cxlii. For John's liturgy, see above, pp. 71-73.

²⁰¹ Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, pp. 179-181.

²⁰² He is recorded in the necrologies of Saint-Évroult and Jumièges under 8 February, and 9 February in that of Mont-Saint-Michel, *RHGF*, xxiii, pp. 418, 484, 576.

²⁰³ OV, vi, pp. 170-172.

²⁰⁴ OV, iii, p. 24.

The monk of Saint-Évroult also placed William amid a firmament of other men of 'remarkable holiness and learning' who had recently passed away, among whom were such figures as St. Anselm (d. 21 April 1109) and Hugh, abbot of Cluny (d. 29 April 1109).²⁰⁵

Modern authorities have not always been so kind. David Spear suggested that William was not a particularly forceful personality, and that he appears to have been a poor judge of character.²⁰⁶ Similarly, Joseph Depoin held that William's sobriquet (the 'good soul') was given to him ironically following his 'servile' role in the marriage of Philip I and Bertrade de Montfort.²⁰⁷ Although it has been demonstrated that the archbishop played no part in this ceremony, he was not averse to performing equally disgraceful acts for his own duke.²⁰⁸ The silences concerning his frequent papal suspensions has caused similar speculation, which itself ranges from the scandalous to the surreal.²⁰⁹ Only Pascal II's letter to William hints at the archbishop's failings, for the pope demanded that he abandon those 'evil counsellors' who had led him astray.²¹⁰ Their identity is unknown, but it seems to confirm David Spear's suggestion that William often fell under the sway of others.²¹¹ However, one cannot help but imagine that had his compliant predecessor Maurilius ruled in his stead he would have fared little better. The only difference was that he enjoyed strong ducal leadership that defined the agenda. Under Curthose there was no agenda, except one of erratic spoilation.

The behaviour of the Norman primate does stand in stark contrast to that of his English counterpart. Anselm often found his ideals compromised, but responded forcefully and with principle, suffering lengthy exiles as a result. But any comparison

²⁰⁵ *OV*, vi, p. 168.

²⁰⁶ Spear, 'On stormy sees', pp. 2, 5.

²⁰⁷ Depoin, 'Les origines de Saint-Mellon', p. 29.

²⁰⁸ See above pp. 384-385.

²⁰⁹ This applies to the theories of both contemporaries and moderns. William of Malmesbury proposed that Bona Anima was suspended on one occasion because of his role in the marriage of Philip I and Bertrade de Montfort, William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 732. Ludovico Frati, a scholar of the early twentieth century, claimed that the reason for William's recurrent difficulties was his interest in alchemy. Despite its allure, this suggestion does not hold up on closer inspection, Williams, *Norman Anonymous*, pp. 119-120.

²¹⁰ '... ut malos consiliarios quorum instincta multos pravitates incurristi a tua familiaritate repellas', Eadmer, *Historia novorum*, p. 178.

²¹¹ David Spear suggested that the pope was referring to Rannulf Flambard, or other *curiales* of Curthose, Spear, 'On stormy sees', p. 5.

with the situation in England is unfair. Had William openly declared against Curthose he would have threatened the very fabric of Norman society, for his presence in Rouen was undoubtedly vital in maintaining what semblance of stability remained. Even if he had imposed exile on himself it is difficult to imagine where he would have gone. He did not enjoy a pan-European network of colleagues like Anselm, who often stayed either in Rome or with Hugh, archbishop of Lyons.²¹² These were hardly suitable locations for William, who had spent his career resisting the intrusions of both. Moreover, while Anselm could leave England with a functioning episcopal network in place, William had no such luxury during the bleak early years of the twelfth century. The bishop of Avranches was isolated in his diocese, Bayeux was under Turolde, Lisieux under Flambard, Sées abandoned, and Coutances ruled by a non-entity. Only Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, was a prelate of any reputation, but there is no evidence to suggest that he and the archbishop were ever especially close. Perhaps it was the impossibility of the situations in which he persevered that earned William the respect of his colleagues. He was loyal to his church, his duke, and his duchy, and for this he deserved praise, even within the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, the cathedral's biggest rival.²¹³

The legacy of William's archiepiscopate is perhaps best understood through the man chosen to succeed him. While William had been selected for his outstanding Norman pedigree, Geoffrey Brito, a former dean of Le Mans, was chosen because of his important European credentials.²¹⁴ Politically astute and a tenacious operator, he stands in stark contrast to the inhibited Bona Anima, who seems to have been primarily interested in the daily activities of clerical life, and shunned engagement in the secular world. William's resistance to outside affairs extended into the ecclesiastical realm, and much of his reign was defined by opposition to the increasing influence of the papacy in the duchy. The disastrous reign of Robert Curthose did much to undermine this defiance, and when Henry I settled his differences with the pope over lay investiture, he soon encouraged a new closeness in papal relations. Just eight years after William's passing, the new archbishop of Rouen

²¹² For the influence of Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, on Anselm, see R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: a portrait in a landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 285-289.

²¹³ The Saint-Ouen *Acta archiepiscoporum* praises William as 'a man of noble stock and excellent manners' (*vir sane et generis nobilitate cluens*), 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 226.

²¹⁴ For Geoffrey's career, see Spear, 'Geoffrey Brito', pp. 123-137; Spear, 'The Norman episcopate', pp. 13-18.

welcomed the papal legate Cuno, bishop of Palestrina, to a Norman ecclesiastical council, and in the following years Normandy became accustomed to the presence of papal legates within its borders. Bona Anima would undoubtedly have looked on in dismay, but it was Curthose's weakness as a duke, and his own shortcomings as an archbishop, that ultimately proved the theoretical and practical need for papal intervention in the duchy.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Spear, 'On stormy sees', p. 5.

SÉES

Azo, c. 990-c.1015

The last bishop to occupy the bishopric of Sées before the vacancy of the tenth century was the unfortunate Adalhelmus. Captured and sold into slavery by the Northmen towards 885 he recounted his troubles, which lasted for over three years, in a *liber miraculorum* of St. Opportuna, written upon his escape near the town of Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme.¹ The disruption that followed in the wake of his death, which occurred in around 910, was no different to that witnessed elsewhere in Normandy, despite Sées enjoying protection from the Frankish kings, and a strategic position away from major rivers. The cathedral was apparently destroyed, although what form the edifice(s) took is a matter of debate,² and there was an exodus of relics from the diocese, which were generally relocated to institutions in the Paris Basin. Admittedly, Lucien Musset noted that this evacuation was perhaps not as great as later authors would imagine, and that the movement seems to have been far more organised than in other parts of the duchy, but the troubles of the ninth and tenth centuries robbed the diocese of its relics, which it struggled to recover over the ensuing decades.³ The episcopal lists that survive for the tenth century are also witness to the extent of the collapse of episcopal authority at this time, and they are replete with figures whose lives lie more in hagiography than history. This has not stopped them from entering certain histories of the diocese, however.⁴ The career of the first known bishop to reoccupy the city rests on only slightly firmer ground. Of unknown—possibly Scandinavian—origin,⁵ the editors of *Gallia Christiana* claimed that Azo arrived in the city of Sées towards 986.⁶ His first and only known appearance, however, dates to 15 June 990, when he attended the restoration of the abbey of Fécamp along with the rest of the Norman episcopate.⁷

¹ 'Liber miraculorum Opportunae', p. 68.

² F. Neveux, 'La ville de Sées du haut moyen âge à l'époque ducale', *ANS*, 17 (1995), pp. 145-163, at pp. 150-151.

³ L. Musset, 'L'exode des reliques du diocèse de Sées au temps des invasions normandes', *Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne*, 88 (1970), pp. 3-22.

⁴ Louis Hommey, who recognised the confusing picture presented by the surviving episcopal lists, did not hesitate to include the bishops Robert III, whose episcopate he dated from 900 to 920, and Richard, whose tenure he placed after that of Siegfried, Hommey, *Histoire du diocèse de Sées*, i, pp. 364-379, 413-428.

⁵ Gerard Louise posited that Azo was perhaps of Norse origin, but noted the name does not appear in Jean Adigard des Gautries' study of Scandinavian nomenclature in the region, Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 151.

⁶ *GC*, xi, col. 679.

⁷ *RADN*, no. 4.

Azo's only other known accomplishment was the reconstruction of his cathedral, which he achieved, according to an interpolation of Orderic Vitalis, by tearing down the walls of his city.⁸ As we have seen in the chapter on Herbert, bishop of Lisieux, such behaviour was common both in Normandy and wider Europe at this time, and perhaps suggests, as it does in the *lexovien* example, that the bishop felt peace was reasonably well guaranteed in the region.⁹ Unfortunately, no remnants of this material has ever been found within the cathedral of Sées as it has at Lisieux, so confirmation of Orderic's vignette is not possible. Not every scholar has been impressed, however, with the apparent reorganisation that took place under Azo. Gérard Louise noted that the bishop never appears to have been closely linked to the dukes like other Norman bishops, while of his immediate successors one did not exist (Richard), and another (Hugh) appears in only one document.¹⁰ Moreover, the story concerning the amalgamation of the Giroie lands into the diocese of Lisieux,¹¹ which occurred in the early years of the eleventh century, demonstrates that at this time the diocese remained '*totalelement désorganisé... au point que ses limites territoriales se sont effacées de la mémoire des gens*'.¹² When Azo left the diocese is also difficult to determine. His departure is traditionally given as 1006,¹³ which is based on the statement by *Gallia Christiana* that he witnessed a charter for Fécamp in this year.¹⁴ However, this is either the same misinterpretation of the passage in the abbey's *Libellus de revelatione* that was discussed above with regards to Rodulf, bishop of Bayeux,¹⁵ or a confused reference to the foundation charter of 15 June 990.¹⁶ What is certain is that Azo was no longer bishop by 1015, for in this year a Hugh, bishop of Sées, witnessed a charter issued for Mont-Saint-Michel. So little is known of his career that it does not warrant a separate chapter here, although he could be identified with the bishop Hugh of an unspecified see who witnessed two charters on 8 September 1015 and in 1015 × 1017.¹⁷

⁸ *GND*, ii, p. 114.

⁹ For discussion see above, pp. 249-251.

¹⁰ *RADN*, no. 17; Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 150-153.

¹¹ *OV*, ii, p. 26.

¹² Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 151.

¹³ E.g. Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 33.

¹⁴ 'Adfuit... Fiscannensi conventui anno 1006', *GC*, xi, col. 679.

¹⁵ For discussion see above, pp. 105-106.

¹⁶ Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, p. 53 n. 46.

¹⁷ *RADN*, nos. 18 and 21. This was proposed by David Spear (*The personnel*, p. 271), although the sees of Bayeux, Coutances and Évreux were all occupied by bishops called Hugh at this time.

Siegfried, c. 1017-c. 1025

No history of the eleventh-century bishops of Sées can be written without reference to the lords of Bellême. First studied in detail by Henri du Motey at the beginning of the twentieth century,¹ the family has captured the attention of generations of scholars on both sides of the Channel ever since.² Their complex origins already discussed in detail elsewhere,³ the family initially established its power in the last quarter of the tenth century in the Carbonnais, before extending their influence in the opening years of the eleventh over the forests of Bellême, Perche, Perseigne and Andaine.⁴ By the second decade of the century their authority extended to city of Sées, and the episcopal office itself soon became an extension of Bellême power. The first family occupant of the bishopric was Siegfried. Although no direct evidence links him with the house of Bellême, his first name is the same as the family member who occupied the bishopric of Le Mans from 960 to 995. This was enough for Gérard Louise to claim that Siegfried was ‘*sans doute rattaché au lignage de Bellême*’,⁵ and while such a supposition seems likely, Louise is not always a reliable authority with regards to the bishop’s career. Indeed, the editors of *Gallia Christiana* claimed that Siegfried’s first appearance occurred in a charter for the abbey of Fruttuaria,⁶ but Louise interpreted this as a reference to the charter issued for Saint-Bénigne de Dijon and Fruttuaria by Pope John XVIII on 2 December 1006 in which a certain *Sigefredus episcopus* appears.⁷ Unfortunately, this individual is actually Siegfried II, bishop of Parma (981-1015), whom the pope commanded to consecrate the abbey of Fruttuaria.⁸

¹ H.R. du Motey, *Origines de la Normandie et du duché d’Alençon* (Paris, 1920), pp. 111-306.

² G.H. White, ‘The lords of Bellême and Alençon’, *Notes and Queries*, 152 (1927), pp. 399-401, 417-419, 435-438; G.H. White, ‘The first house of Bellême’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Ser., 22 (1940), pp. 67-99; J. Boussard, ‘La seigneurie de Bellême aux Xe et XIe siècles’, in *Mélanges d’histoire du Moyen Âge Louis Halphen*, ed. C.-E. Perrin (Paris, 1951), pp. 43-54; L. Musset, ‘Administration et justice dans une grande baronnie normande au XIe siècle: les terres des Bellême sous Roger II et Robert’, in *Autour du pouvoir ducal normand*, pp. 129-148; K. Thompson, ‘Family and influence to the south of Normandy in the eleventh century: the lordship of Bellême’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), pp. 215-226; K. Thompson, ‘Robert of Bellême reconsidered’, *ANS*, 13 (1990), pp. 263-286; K. Thompson, ‘William Talvas, count of Ponthieu, and the politics of the Anglo-Norman realm’, in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), pp. 169-184.

³ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 179-267.

⁴ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 276.

⁵ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 151.

⁶ GC, xi, col. 680. The act is edited critically in Bulst, *Wilhelms von Dijon*, pp. 223-236.

⁷ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 151, 286; Migne, *PL*, cxxxix, cols. 1485-1486.

⁸ Migne, *PL*, cxxxix, col. 1486.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
15 June 990	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4	Fécamp	Fécamp			x

Fig. 70 Appearances of Azo, bishop of Sées (c. 990-c. 1015), in the diplomatic record

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1015	<i>RADN</i> , no. 17	Mont-Saint-Michel			x	

Fig. 71 Appearances of Hugh, bishop of Sées (1015-c. 1017), in the diplomatic record

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1017 × c. 1022 c. 1020 c. 1025	Bulst, <i>Wilhelms von Dijon</i> , pp. 223-236 Du Monstier, <i>Neustria pia</i> , pp. 424-425 <i>RADN</i> , no. 33	Fruttuaria Lonlay Sées cathedral			x x x	

Fig. 72 Appearances of Siegfried, bishop of Sées (c. 1017-c. 1025), in the diplomatic record

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1025 c. 1025 × c. 1026 1025 × 1026 12 Nov. 1032	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35 <i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. iv, pp. 115-116 <i>RADN</i> , no. 51 <i>RADN</i> , no. 64	Bernay Saint-Père de Chartres Jumièges Cerisy-la-Forêt	Fécamp Rouen		x x x x	x

Fig. 73 Appearances of Radbod, bishop of Sées (1025-12 Nov. 1032 × c. 1047(?)), in the diplomatic record

Nevertheless, Siegfried's two remaining appearances in the historical record are both very much Bellême family affairs. The first involves the abbey of Lonlay, which was established by William I de Bellême in around 1020, and whose foundation charter Siegfried witnessed.⁹ The second concerns the re-establishment of the cathedral chapter of Sées, which was effected by the same lord of Bellême in the presence of Richard II, duke of Normandy, Robert the Pious, king of France, and a substantial gathering of Norman prelates, among whom was Siegfried.¹⁰ Unfortunately, the act provides very few specifics regarding the land on which the canons' prebends were to be founded, and no members of the chapter itself can be traced until the episcopate of Ivo de Bellême. Regardless, Gérard Louise has noted the overwhelming presence of individuals associated with the Norman duke at the refoundation (thirteen of the sixteen participants were '*de lignages fidèles*'), which, he argued, suggests that the event was as much concerned with the promotion of links between the dukes and the Bellême as it was with the restitution of the ecclesiastical infrastructure of the diocese. Indeed, the foundation not only placed episcopal goods under an authority distinct from Siegfried and his family, but the canons could also act as an intermediary between the Norman dukes and the Bellême.¹¹ Whether such benefits ever came into effect is unknown, but the political aspect of any such policy was soon negated anyway, for shortly after the refoundation Siegfried appears to have died. His passing coincided with a collapse in the fortunes of the Bellême, which allowed for the duke to insert one of his own men into the bishopric. This loss would only be temporary, however.

⁹ AD Orne, H 462 and H 5567; Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, pp. 424-425.

¹⁰ *RADN*, no. 33.

¹¹ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 155-156.

Radbod, c. 1025-12 Nov. 1032 × c. 1047(?)

Radbod belonged to a prominent aristocratic dynasty linked to the family of Fleitel.¹ According to Orderic Vitalis, his son William, who would later become abbot of Saint-Étienne de Caen and archbishop of Rouen, was the *consobrinus* of William, bishop of Évreux.² Gérard Louise proposed that this term referred to a first cousin on the maternal side, and suggested that either Radbod and Gerard de Fleitel had married sisters, or Radbod had married Gerard's sister.³ Regardless, his installation at Sées signalled the desire of the Norman dukes to retake control of the southern marches, which had fallen into the hands of the Bellême. Radbod's first appearance occurred in 1025, when at Fécamp he witnessed along with the other members of the Norman episcopate the transferral of the abbey of Bernay to William de Volpiano.⁴ What little we know of the remainder of his career is somewhat unspectacular. Sometime in the year following his appearance at Fécamp he witnessed a charter by which Albert, abbot of Saint-Mesmin de Micy, donated land in the *pagus* of Bellême to the abbey of Jumièges,⁵ while at about the same time he witnessed a charter of Robert, archbishop of Rouen, for the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres.⁶ His final appearance occurred just over six years later when he witnessed the foundation charter of Cerisy-la-Forêt at Rouen on 12 November 1032.⁷ The sporadic nature of these appearances suggests the bishopric still lay just outside the ambit of ducal power, but the various lacunae concerning Radbod's occurrence within ducal diplomatic is a pattern repeated throughout the Norman dioceses at this time. Indeed, of all the ducal acts issued between 1035 and 1050 only one was witnessed by more than one Norman bishop.⁸

Perhaps the most perplexing aspect of Radbod's episcopate is the date at which he left office. Determining this more precisely is important, for it has consequences for

¹ The misidentification by the editors of *Gallia Christiana* of Radbod's toponym as 'de Flertel' (*GC*, xi, col. 680 (marginalia) was repeated by early scholars including Pius Gams (*Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae quotquot innotuerunt a beato Petro apostolo a multis adjutus* (Ratisbonne, 1873), p. 625) and Louis Hommey (*Histoire du diocèse de Séez*, i, p. 429). For discussion see Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 159.

² *OV*, ii, pp. 38, 254; *GND*, ii, p. 148; repeated in 'Vita Lanfranci', p. 680.

³ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 159.

⁴ *RADN*, no. 35.

⁵ *RADN*, no. 51.

⁶ *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. iv, pp. 115-116. Edited critically in Appendix G.

⁷ *RADN*, no. 64.

⁸ Cf. Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 346.

our knowledge of when the episcopate of Radbod's successor commenced. It is traditional to begin Ivo's episcopate in around 1035.⁹ Ivo's first datable appearance, however, does not occur until 1046 × 1048, which led Gérard Louise to suggest that he did not become bishop until around 1047/8.¹⁰ What happened to Radbod and the bishopric of Sées is still a matter of some contention. If Radbod died shortly after 12 November 1032, and Ivo did not become bishop until the late 1040s, then we must insert a lengthy vacancy in the *sagien* episcopal succession. This was the scheme preferred by Louise,¹¹ but Joseph Decaens suggested this was unlikely, as was the existence of an unknown bishop, and proposed that Ivo ascended to the see while still a young boy.¹²

Both Louise and Decaens ignored two important facts, however. Firstly, the disappearance of a Norman bishop from the historical record for such a length of time is not unknown for this or even a later period. For example, there is a gap of fourteen years between Herbert, bishop of Lisieux's appearance in a charter of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux in early 1035, and his reappearance at the Council of Reims in October 1049,¹³ while at the beginning of the twelfth-century, Turgis, bishop of Avranches, disappears entirely from the historical record for a full nine years, a gap unknown in the see since the end of the tenth century.¹⁴ Secondly, both scholars neglected the most interesting piece of information concerning Radbod, namely his fathering of William Bona Anima. The future archbishop of Rouen died in February 1110. Consequently, if he had been born while Radbod was bishop he would have died a man between 78 and 85 years old.¹⁵ Although such an age is not unknown for the period,¹⁶ none of William's contemporary relatives lived anywhere close to seeing the twelfth century. Indeed, the archbishop of Rouen outlived his cousin William,

⁹ GC, xi, col. 682; Gams, *Series episcoporum*, p. 625; Hommey, *Histoire du diocèse de Séez*, ii, p. 1; White, 'The first house of Bellême', pp. 81-82; Neveux, 'La ville de Sées', p. 151; Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les évêques normands', p. 34.

¹⁰ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 345; ii, pp. 148, 151.

¹¹ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, p. 149.

¹² J. Decaens, 'L'évêque Yves de Sées', in *Les évêques normands*, pp. 117-137, at p. 122.

¹³ *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A6; 'Dedicatio sancti Remigii', col. 737; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, 'Histoire', p. 236. This may be the result of scribal error, however. For discussion see above pp. 258-259.

¹⁴ See above p. 6.

¹⁵ It seems unlikely that William was born before Radbod became bishop as was suggested by Pierre Bouet and Monique Dosdat ('Les évêques normands', p. 34), since he would have died a nonagenarian, although this hypothesis has been accepted elsewhere, Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i, p. 171.

¹⁶ Hugh, abbot of Cluny, who died a year before William, was 85, *OV*, vi, p. 168. Moreover, Orderic does mention that William died 'in his good old age', *OV*, vi, p. 170.

bishop of Évreux, by forty-four years,¹⁷ and outlasted the husband of the bishop's sister, Walter I Giffard, by twenty-seven.¹⁸ Bona Anima even survived Walter II Giffard, his first cousin once removed, by eight years,¹⁹ and Richard fitzRichard de Clare, abbot of Ely, his first cousin twice removed, by three.²⁰ All this suggests that he was born much later than 1032, and is perhaps the best evidence that Radbod was still alive in the period 1032 × 1047/8. Whether he was still active as bishop is, however, another question.

¹⁷ William died on 11 February 1066, *GC*, xi, col. 571. For discussion see above pp. 223.

¹⁸ Walter I Giffard died sometime before 1084. His son Walter appears in a charter in April 1083, *Regesta*, no. 230.

¹⁹ Walter II Giffard died on 15 July 1102, *OV*, vi, p. 36.

²⁰ Richard died on 16 June 1107, Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, i, pp. 461-462.

Ivo de Bellême, c. 1047/8-c. 1071

Ivo was one of the great eleventh-century bishops of Normandy. The son of William I de Bellême and his wife Mathilda, he was simultaneously bishop of Sées and lord of Bellême for a period of almost twenty-five years.¹ His episcopate, which seems to have begun at about the same time as his seigneurial ascension, marked the reestablishment not only of Bellême influence over the episcopal city, but also the complete regeneration of episcopal authority itself.² Unfortunately, the situation that Ivo inherited was chaotic. Under the stewardship of William II Talvas his family had become embroiled in a bloody conflict with the neighbouring family of Giroie.³ Talvas was eventually expelled from Bellême by his eldest son Arnulf, who, according to Orderic, rebelled against his father and seized his possessions. His reign as lord was short lived, however, and he was strangled to death while sleeping in his bed. Orderic reports that the perpetrator was often said to have been Arnulf's half-brother, Oliver du Mêle-sur-Sarthe, although he refused to believe such accusations because of Oliver's exemplary conduct in later life both as a knight and a monk of Bec.⁴ It would be Ivo, however, who would profit most from his nephew's demise. Neither near contemporaneous authors nor modern authorities have ever suggested that he was somehow involved in the crime, though Cicero's famous legal adage must surely be applied.⁵ Unfortunately, the evidence is circumstantial at best. Ecclesiastical circumstances in the region were little better. Although Ivo's predecessors had taken steps to partly restore both the cathedral and its chapter, the bishops of Sées make only sporadic appearances in the historical record, and as the above chapters demonstrate, we know little of their careers.

The opening years of Ivo's reign were hectic. Realising the detrimental effects of any ongoing animosity with the Giroie, the bishop soon made peace with them and his

¹ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, pp. 150-152; White, 'The first house of Bellême', pp. 81-82.

² Evidence in support of Louise's argument that Ivo only became bishop towards 1047/8 has already been discussed above, pp. 405-407. Ivo's first appearance as lord of Bellême datable to a single year comes from 30 October 1048, when he witnessed a charter concerning the abbey of Saint-Riquier as 'Yvo de Belismo', while two other occurrences can be dated to around 1047. It seems, therefore, that the eviction of William II Talvas, the death of Arnulf and the accession of Ivo all occurred within the years 1047/8, Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, p. 151.

³ *OV*, ii, p. 14; *GND*, ii, pp. 110-112. For discussion see Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 347-349.

⁴ *GND*, ii, p. 112.

⁵ Louise suggested that Ivo was among the *optimates* who helped Arnulf overthrow his brother, Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 355.

other neighbours.⁶ Shortly afterwards, however, Richard, Robert and Avesgot, the sons of William *Sorengi* (de Surdon?)⁷ invaded the city of Sées and began to ravage the surrounding countryside.⁸ They soon seized the cathedral, which they turned into a storehouse for their booty. Ivo, who was making one of his rare early visits to the ducal court,⁹ travelled back to the city through the Hiémois, where he enlisted the help of Hugh de Grandmesnil and other local magnates.¹⁰ Since Hugh is not known to have had any independent connection with the bishop of Sées, his desire to help must have rested on his kinship with William fitzGiroie, thus confirming Orderic's statement that Ivo had reconciled with the family.¹¹ Together the men soon laid siege to the *Sorengi*, who took refuge in the cathedral's tower. Facing fierce resistance, the bishop ordered that neighbouring houses be set ablaze so that the men might be forced out. Unfortunately, the fire soon spread to the cathedral. The edifice was badly damaged, and while Ivo repaired the roof and rededicated the building on 2 January 1049, the walls collapsed shortly thereafter.¹²

Ivo's complete mastery over his city following the eviction of the *Sorengi* seems without doubt. Within months of the rededication he left on a journey that would deprive Sées of its pastor for almost three years. The bishop was perhaps able to entrust the city to his relatives, or to the vassals of his ally the count of Anjou, some of whom can be located in Sées at this time.¹³ His first stop upon leaving was the council of Reims, where, according to Orderic, he faced accusations from the pope

⁶ *GND*, ii, p. 112.

⁷ Surdon, Orne, cant. Sées.

⁸ Scholars have rendered this cognomen in various ways. Gerard Louise always represented it in its Latin form, while Elisabeth van Houts preferred 'Sor', Kathleen Thompson 'Sorengus' and Mark Hagger 'de Surdon'. William *Sorengi* was probably related to Walter de Surdon (*Sordenia*), who was a vassal of Roger II of Montgomery, *GND*, ii, p. 114 n. 1. Gérard Louise suggested that there was perhaps some link between the family and the recently exiled William II Talvas (Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 346-347), although Mark Hagger proposed that the invasion of Sées had its origins in the hanging of Walter de Surdon by Robert de Bellême, which took place in the late 1030s or early 1040s (*GND*, ii, p. 56), M. Hagger, 'Kinship and identity in eleventh-century Normandy: the case of Hugh de Grandmesnil, c. 1040-1098', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), pp 212-230, at p. 217 n. 20.

⁹ Joseph Decaens proposed that Ivo was returning from an assembly held at Falaise, Decaens, 'L'évêque Yves de Sées', p. 126. It is possible he had been confirmed in his diocese.

¹⁰ *GND*, ii, p. 114; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 80; Thompson, 'Family and influence', p. 223. For further discussion of Ivo's various allegiances, see below.

¹¹ Hugh's mother Hawise was William fitzGiroie's sister, Hagger, 'Kinship and identity', p. 217.

¹² *GND*, ii, pp. 114-116.

¹³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, ed. R. Charles (Le Mans, 1886-1913), no. 545. For the suggestion that Ivo was an ally and vassal of Geoffrey Martel, see O. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1972), i, pp. 82-85; repeated by Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 82 and Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 115, 325.

regarding the destruction of his cathedral.¹⁴ Having defended himself successfully Ivo then embarked on a fundraising trip to Apulia where ‘he acquired a large sum of money from his rich kinsmen and friends’.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the identity of these individuals is unknown, but it is possible that Ivo was inspired to make such a trip by Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances. He was also at Reims, and in a visit to Apulia and Calabria shortly afterwards secured a great deal of treasure for his cathedral from his parishioner Robert Guiscard.¹⁶ Geoffrey travelled to the region with the pope and attended the council of Rome in April 1050, which exculpated Lanfranc. Ivo must have taken a different route, however, for he is not among those listed as present.¹⁷ From Italy he then made his way to Constantinople where he received a relic of the Holy Cross from the emperor, presumably Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055).¹⁸

When Ivo returned to his city is unclear. The date traditionally given is 1053,¹⁹ for in this year the bishop of Sées (styled *Oxismorum presulis*) appears in a charter of Saint-Julien de Tours.²⁰ The veracity of this document has been questioned, however, since it survives only in a mediocre eighteenth-century copy, and includes among the witnesses Guy, count of Brionne, whose appearance is incompatible with the year assigned to it.²¹ Ivo is often said to have attended the council in Rouen two years later

¹⁴ Orderic Vitalis is the sole authority for this episode, *GND*, ii, pp. 116-118. For the chastisement of other members of the Norman episcopate, see ‘Dedicatio sancti Remigii’, col. 737; Anselme de Saint-Rémy, ‘Histoire’, p. 236.

¹⁵ *GND*, ii, p. 118.

¹⁶ ‘De statu’, col. 219.

¹⁷ Mansi, xix, col. 771.

¹⁸ *GND*, ii, p. 118. This relic only makes fleeting appearances in the medieval historical record. It is possible that a fragment was taken from it by Adelaide du Puiset, second wife of Roger II Montgommery, for she gave part of the True Cross to the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées in 1083 × 1089, L. Musset, ‘Un nouveau document sur la fortune de Saint-Martin de Sées’, *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de l’Orne*, 78 (1960), pp. 19-29, at p. 26. Musset does not make such a connection, only noting that it was perhaps brought back by one of the many knights from the diocese of Sées who went to Italy and Byzantium, Musset, ‘Un nouveau document’, p. 21 n. 2. In 1154, a certain Matthew de La Hervauderie confirmed the donation of the church of Saint-Julien-sur-Sarthe upon the Cross, as well as the cathedral’s other relics, Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme*, Appendix 2, ‘Documents relatifs au chapitre de Sées’, no. 6. The fragment was destroyed when the city was sacked in March 1563 by Huguenots under the command of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, *Mélanges tirés d’une grande bibliothèque*, ed. M. Argenson and A. Contant d’Orville, 70 vols. (Paris, 1779-1788), viii, p. 306.

¹⁹ H. Marais and H. Beaudoin, *Essai historique sur la cathédrale et le chapitre de Sées* (Alençon, 1876), p. 40; Bouet and Dosdat, ‘Les évêques normands’, p. 34; Decaens, ‘L’évêque Yves de Sées’, p. 129; Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, p. 149.

²⁰ *RADN*, no. 131.

²¹ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 91 n. 88. The reference to Ivo as bishop of Exmes (*Oxismus*) is also unusual, and was unknown since the sixth century, Neveux, ‘La ville de Sées’, p. 149.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1047/8 × c.1071	BN, coll. Baluze, vol. 77, p. 27	Marmoutier	Bellême Sées (<i>in sancta sinodo</i>)			x
1047/8 × 1068	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 549	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
1047/8 × 1068	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 605	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
1047/8 × 1068	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 611	Saint-Vincent du Mans			x	
1047/8 × 1068	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 608	Saint-Vincent du Mans		x		
1047/8 × 1068	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 610	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
28 May 1047/8 × 1068	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 545	Saint-Vincent du Mans		x	x	x
1047/8 × 1067	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. xxiii	Saint-Père de Chartres				x
1047/8 × 1064	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 7	Marmoutier				x
1047/8 × 1050	<i>RADN</i> , no. 117	Saint-Père de Chartres				x
1047/8	<i>RADN</i> , no. 107	Saint-Ouen de Rouen			x	
1050 × 1060	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 548	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
1050 × 1064	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 5	Marmoutier			x	x
1051 × 1062	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers</i> , ii, no. 941	Saint-Aubin d'Angers		x	x	x
1053	<i>RADN</i> , no. 131	Saint-Julien de Tours				x
14 Jan. 1056 × 1067	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers</i> , i, no. 287	Saint-Aubin d'Angers	Bellême		x	
c. 1058	<i>Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou</i> , no. xxxviii	Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou		x		
c. 1060 × c. 1071	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 587	Saint-Vincent du Mans		x		
c. 1060 × c. 1071	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 628	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
c. 1060	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 573	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
c. 1060	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 590	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
c. 1060	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 621	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
c. 1060	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 624	Saint-Vincent du Mans		x		
c. 1060	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 629	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
c. 1060	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 765	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
1060	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , col. 151	Saint-Martin de Sées				x
c. 1065 × bef. 1068	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 604	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
c. 1065	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 609	Saint-Vincent du Mans	Mortagne (Roger the dean's house)		x	
29 May 1067	<i>Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier</i> , no. xxx	Saint-Martin-des-Champs	Paris		x	
7 Aug. 1067	<i>Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier</i> , no. xxxiv	Marmoutier	Chaumont-sur-Loire (castle)	x		
6 Dec. 1067	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 6	Marmoutier	Marmoutier			x
c. 1068	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 490	Saint-Vincent du Mans				x
c. 1071	Merlet, 'Une prétendue signature', pp. 643-644	Saint-Père de Chartres		x	x	x

Fig. 74 Appearances of Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées (c.1047/8-c.1071), in the diplomatic record*

* Ivo also appears in three charters solely as lord of Bellême, *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, nos. 834 and 835; *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. xxix, pp. 155-156. He also appears in the *pancartes* of Saint-Martin de Sées (Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, 7v, 9r and 10r-v), whose form defy easy tabulation. Philibert Barret identified Ivo as the individual of that name responsible for certain donations to Saint-Léonard de Bellême (*Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 1, p. 4), but this is actually Ivo II de Bellême, Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, pp. 138-139.

which deposed Mauger, archbishop of Rouen,²² but he is only to be seen among ‘the other bishops of the province’ (*ceterisque comprouintialibus episcopis*) mentioned as present by the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*.²³ It is also to this period that the beginning of construction on the Romanesque cathedral is dated,²⁴ though since almost nothing remains of Ivo’s building, and Orderic tells us that it took the efforts of three of his successors to complete it,²⁵ nothing is certain.²⁶ The final dedication did not take place until 21 March 1126,²⁷ but some substantial part of the edifice must have been in existence much earlier, for at some time before 1068 Ivo held a synod in his cathedral at which he confirmed a donation made in favour of the abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans.²⁸ A Romanesque door, above which were three windows, was discovered in a wall of the north transept during the demolition of the sacristy in 1870, but many of the stones were so badly damaged that they apparently turned to dust.²⁹ Hector Marais believed the Romanesque church, which he based upon the current plan, had an ambulatory east end with radiating chapels, while each transept was pierced by an example of the door mentioned above, the three windows being surrounded each by two columns that were surmounted by cushion capitals decorated with leaves and interlacing (fig. 75). Adjoined to the northern transept was the chapter house, which featured capitals similar to those in the windows.³⁰ Victor Ruprich-Robert likened the design of the transept to that found at La Trinité de Caen, while the description of the eastern end is reminiscent of that found in the eleventh-century cathedral of Rouen.³¹

²² Hommey, *Histoire du diocèse de Sées*, ii, p. 16; Decaens, ‘L’évêque Yves de Sées’, p. 130.

²³ ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224.

²⁴ Hommey, *Histoire du diocèse de Sées*, ii, pp. 14-16; Decaens, ‘L’évêque Yves de Sées’, p. 129; Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, p. 149.

²⁵ *GND*, ii, p. 118.

²⁶ Academically, the cathedral of Sées is perhaps the most poorly served of all the Norman cathedrals. There is one monograph on the edifice (R. Gobillot, *La cathédrale de Sées* (Paris, 1937), pp. 16-19 for its early history), and only a handful of articles, all of which concern the current Gothic church, R. Gobillot, ‘Sées’, *Congrès archéologique*, 111 (1953), pp. 39-58; C. Olde-Choukair, ‘Le chœur de la cathédrale de Sées et l’influence du style rayonnant’, in *L’architecture normande au Moyen Âge*, i, pp. 159-173; C. Olde-Choukair, ‘La cathédrale de Sées et l’importance de l’architecture de la nef dans le style gothique normand’, in *Chapitres et cathédrales en Normandie*, pp. 317-330.

²⁷ *OV*, vi, p. 366.

²⁸ ‘Hec cartula sancita est a supradicto pontifice v¹⁰ kal. iunii, in sancta sinodo Sagiensi, testibus archidiaconis...’, *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 545. Dated 1047/8 × 1060/68.

²⁹ Marais and Beaudoin, *Essai historique de Sées*, p. 47.

³⁰ Marais and Beaudoin, *Essai historique de Sées*, pp. 47-48.

³¹ Ruprich-Robert made these comments in a letter to Hector Marais dated 18 November 1874, Marais and Beaudoin, *Essai historique de Sées*, p. 48 n. 2. He did not repeat such claims in his monumental study of Norman architecture, *L’architecture normande aux XI^e et XII^e siècles, en Normandie et en Angleterre*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1885-1887), i, pp. 88-92, for section on transepts.

Fig. 75 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig 75 Interlaced capital from the Romanesque cathedral of Sées^{*}

^{*} Musée national du Moyen Âge, no. inventaire Cl. 19546.

If this last remark suggests a degree of interaction between Sées and the Norman capital then it is illusory. The first decade of Ivo's episcopate was, in fact, marked by a distinct absence from the ducal sphere of influence, and, as Olivier Guillot first noted, the house of Bellême during these years was more intimately linked with the French royal house, and with the counts of Anjou, than with William and Normandy.³² It was William II Talvas who had first tried to rupture links with the duchy when, after the murder of his first wife Hildeburg, he married a daughter of the *vicomte* of Maine. This house had been closely affiliated with that of Anjou since the early ten-twenties,³³ and a marriage alliance between Bellême and Maine gave the count of Anjou greater control over the Norman southern frontiers.³⁴ Sées remained, however, a Norman diocese, and Ivo's alliances with his neighbouring princes were not without their advantages. Indeed, when the duke required assistance at the battle of Val-ès-Dunes, the French king entered Normandy through the county of Hiémois, undoubtedly with the consent of the bishop of Sées/lord of Bellême.³⁵ Of course, the situation could easily be reversed, and when Henry I returned to Normandy at the head of an invasion force ten years later, it was again through the Hiémois that he entered the duchy.³⁶

Ivo was not uninvolved in Norman affairs at this time, however. He may have been among the those 'coepiscopis' named as present at the dedication of Coutances cathedral on 8 December 1056,³⁷ while the first stages of the restoration of the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées seem to have begun at a date before August 1057, for according to Orderic the abbey was given, at Ivo's insistence, to Theoderic, abbot of Saint-Évroult, before he left on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the summer of this year.³⁸ Moreover, with Theoderic's death on the island of Cyprus shortly afterwards,³⁹ it fell to the monks of Saint-Évroult to elect a new abbot, and when Robert de Grandmesnil was confirmed as their choice in 1059, he was taken to the duke at Évreux, where he

³² Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, i, pp. 82-85.

³³ Rodulf, the son of Rodulf III, *vicomte* of Maine, married the niece of Hubert, *vicomte* of Vendôme and bishop of Angers, Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, i, pp. 234-235.

³⁴ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 349-350.

³⁵ *GND*, ii, p. 120.

³⁶ *GG*, i, 34, p. 54.

³⁷ 'De statu', col. 220.

³⁸ *OV*, ii, pp. 48, 68. Orderic claims that before leaving for Jerusalem, Theoderic returned to Saint-Évroult to prepare for his journey on 29 August 1057 'after a long stay at Sées', which must refer to a sojourn at the abbey.

³⁹ *OV*, ii, p. 72; *GND*, ii, p. 150.

was then invested by the means of Ivo's pastoral staff.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, tracing exactly when Ivo broke ranks with Anjou is no easy task. David Bates proposed that the defeat of Henry I and Geoffrey Martel at the battle of Varaville (1057) seemed the most obvious time,⁴¹ a suggestion he believed was confirmed by the donation of the church of Saint-Ouen de Villiers to the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées.⁴² Ivo had originally given this church to Saint-Aubin d'Angers,⁴³ and its transferral to Sées, which Bates dated to around the same time as Varaville, was nothing less than 'a slap in the face of the counts of Anjou'.⁴⁴

The documents on which these conclusions were based are notoriously difficult to use, however. The twelfth-century cartulary of Saint-Martin de Sées, which is known as the *Livre blanc*, contains within its opening folia a number of important charters.⁴⁵ The codex opens on folio 7r with a version of the abbey's foundation charter. This act, which occupies the whole side of this folio, is followed on the verso by a short notice concerning the donation, with Ivo's consent, of the church of Villiers, which was made by a certain individual called Norman.⁴⁶ Three other versions of the foundation charter are found within the cartulary, two of which are followed by more developed charters that open with the Villiers donation.⁴⁷ This led Bates, who based his comments on the work of Kathleen Thompson, to conclude that together these notices should be considered *pancartes*.⁴⁸ Since Bates dated that on folio 7r-v to c. 1055 × 1057(?), he concluded that it was at this time that the church of Saint-Ouen was given to Saint-Martin, and consequently that Ivo broke ranks with Geoffrey Martel.⁴⁹ Jean-Michel Bouvris, however, interpreted these acts very differently. He argued that while the charter on folio 7r was one of four versions of the abbey's

⁴⁰ *OV*, ii, p. 74.

⁴¹ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 79.

⁴² Villiers, Sarthe, cant. La Fresnaye-sur-Chédouet, comm. Roullée.

⁴³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers. Cartulaire du XIII^e siècle, 769-vers 1175*, ed. B. de Broussillon, 3 vols. (Paris, 1903), ii, no. 941. The charter was dated 1051 × 1062 by Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, ii, no. C230, pp. 153-154.

⁴⁴ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 80.

⁴⁵ Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 7r-13v.

⁴⁶ Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 7v.

⁴⁷ Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 8v-9r, 9v-10v. The fourth version of the foundation charter, which is on the misbound folios 7v, 13r-v and 8r, was edited most recently in *Regesta*, no. 271, and is not followed by the Villiers act.

⁴⁸ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 91-92 n. 92. The acts are edited in K. Thompson, 'The cross-Channel estates of the Montgomery-Bellême family, c. 1050-1112', Dissertation, MA (University of Wales, Cardiff, 1983), pp. 232-234, 239-241 and 243-245.

⁴⁹ Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 80.

foundation charter, only the notices concerning the church of Villiers, which appear on folio 7v, and in more developed forms on folia 9r and 10r-v, should be considered as *pancartes*.⁵⁰ Consequently, since the donation concerning Saint-Ouen was no longer associated with the foundation charters, it could no longer be dated based on their redaction.

Since the donation of Villiers forms part of a *pancarte*, however, dating it more exactly poses its own problems. The first version of the *pancarte* simply records that, with the consent of his lord Ivo, bishop of Sées, a certain individual called Norman gave the church of Villiers to the abbey of Saint-Martin for the sake of his soul, and for those of his lords, William and Robert.⁵¹ The donation was also made with the consent of a certain Hugh, qualified in the later versions as le Manceau (*Cenomannensi*), while the act was witnessed by Norman the archdeacon, Warin, the *custos* of the cathedral of Sées, two priests and three laymen, among whom was Siegfried, the bastard brother of the bishop.⁵² Although in other versions of the *pancarte* Norman is called *miles*,⁵³ and was clearly a man of the bishop of Sées, his identity remains unknown.⁵⁴ Ivo appears alongside five different individuals bearing this name in the diplomatic record,⁵⁵ of whom Norman, father of Robert and Odo, and donor to Saint-Vincent du Mans of land at Vezot⁵⁶ (about 12km south of Villiers) may

⁵⁰ J.-M. Bouvris, 'Aux premiers temps d'une grande abbaye normande au XIe siècle: les chartes de fondation de Saint-Martin de Sées', *AN*, 39 (1989), pp. 452-454; J.-M. Bouvris, 'En marge de l'Année des abbayes normandes: la date de la restauration de l'abbaye d'Almenêches', *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne*, 98 (1980), pp. 113-141, at pp. 127-131.

⁵¹ Presumably William I, lord of Bellême, and his son Robert I. A similar clause can be found in a charter concerning the donation of the land of Marollette (Sarthe, cant. Mamers) to the abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans by a certain Robert, son of Froger, *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 611. Marollette is approximately 11km from Villiers.

⁵² 'ANNUENTE domino nostro IVONE episcopo, dedit Normannus pro redemptione eius animę et animarum suorum seniorum, videlicet Willelmi atque Roberti, SANCTO MARTINO, medietatem ecclesie SANCTI AUDOENI de Vilers, et totam medietatem terre scilicet planum et silvam, cum omnibus apendiciis illius ville, hoc etiam annuit HUGO quem Normannus post mortem eius ex alia medietate heredem fecit, testibus clericis et laicis, Normanno archidiacono, Warino custode ecclesie sancti Gervasii, et Warino presbytero filio Guidbaldi, at Gerardo presbytero; laicis, Seifrido fratre episcopi bastardo, Bernardo, Landrico. + SIGNUM IVONIS episcopi', Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 7v.

⁵³ Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 9r, 10r.

⁵⁴ A preliminary list of the bishop's vassals can be found in Hull, 'The Norman episcopate', ii, pp. 232-235, though Norman is not listed here. A full list of vassals, and a map illustrating their geographical distribution, can be found in Appendix B.

⁵⁵ These include Norman Borni (*Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 611); Norman son of Rodulf (*Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 545 and 629; *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 7); Norman son of Rodulf Abli or Balbi (*Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 605 and 624), and Norman, son of Ascelin (*Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 7).

⁵⁶ Vezot, Sarthe, cant. Mamers.

be the same individual.⁵⁷ Three of the other witnesses (Norman the archdeacon, Warin the *custos* and Siegfried) make appearances elsewhere in the historical record, although none can be dated more exactly.⁵⁸ Two other versions of the *pancarte*, whose redaction Bouvris dated to between 1066 and 1070, contain additional information concerning this and other donations, but nothing allows for a more precise dating of the Villiers act. Indeed, the watershed only truly arrived in 1060 with the deaths of Henry I and Geoffrey Martel. In the same year, Ivo appeared in a Norman charter for the first time in seven years, when he gave his consent to the refoundation of Saint-Martin de Sées by Roger de Montgommery and his wife (Ivo's niece) Mabel de Bellême.⁵⁹

Ivo's movement towards the ducal sphere of influence was, however, always going to be gradual. Indeed, during the last decade of his episcopate the bishop of Sées is only known to have participated in a handful of Norman affairs, while a quick glance at his appearances in the diplomatic record (fig. 74) reveal interests concentrated solely to the south of the duchy. When Ivo was involved in Norman affairs these tended to be events of national importance. On 1 October 1063, he attended the dedication of Rouen cathedral,⁶⁰ and it is possible he was also present at the council of Lisieux in 1064.⁶¹ According to Orderic he was at the meeting that discussed the invasion of England in 1066,⁶² while the monk of Saint-Évroult also claimed he enjoyed a close working relationship with Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux, and William Fleitel, bishop of Évreux, a member of whose family had once occupied the see Ivo now held.⁶³ If Ivo's activities in support of Norman interests seem limited, it also appears that he never attempted to actively thwart the ambitions of the duke. Ivo is not known, for example, to have had any active role, either as lord of

⁵⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 587.

⁵⁸ For the cathedral personnel see Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 277 and 283. For the bishop's bastard brother Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, p. 136.

⁵⁹ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, col. 151. The charter in this form is not found in the cartulary known as the *Livre blanc*, which suggests it was found in a now lost cartulary known as the *Livre rouge*. Although four versions of the foundation charter are found in the *Livre blanc*, and Ivo is mentioned in all but one of them, none of their redactions date from before 1060, Bouvris, 'Aux premiers temps', pp. 452-453. For an alternative view, see Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 92 n. 92. For a critical edition, see below Appendix G.

⁶⁰ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

⁶¹ The canons of the council simply state that the meeting was convened by Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, 'with other suffragan bishops' (*cum ceteris suffraganeis episcopis*), Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517.

⁶² *OV*, ii, pp. 140-142.

⁶³ *OV*, ii, p. 78.

Bellême or bishop of Sées, in the duke's invasion of Maine in 1062/63,⁶⁴ despite his family's longstanding interests in the region.⁶⁵ Furthermore, although Orderic claimed Ivo provided his counsel when William came to discuss the invasion of England, the bishop of Sées is not known to have had any further role in the project. Unlike other cathedrals in the duchy his did not receive any land in England, although Ivo's nephew, Roger de Montgomery, was to do particularly well out of the venture.⁶⁶

Though while holdings in England would have undoubtedly brought welcome revenue to the episcopal city, Sées did not go without under Ivo. By the end of his episcopate the city was already blessed with the beginnings of a new cathedral, while a charter of Saint-Vincent du Mans lists an impressive number of cathedral personnel operating under Ivo, including five archdeacons (Baldwin son of Etvald, Roger de Mortain, Lambert de Bellême, Hermer and Fulk I), a *scriptor* (William d'Argentan), and five canons (Ursolinus, Hugh de Rocé, Norman, son of Rodulf, Saginfred de Biart and Lambert).⁶⁷ Other charters reveal the identities of three further archdeacons (Odo de Mortain, Hugh I and Norman), a cathedral *custos* (Warin), a chaplain (Hugh I) and a *magister scholarum* (Roger), whose appearance suggests, of course, the presence of an episcopal school.⁶⁸ Hector Marais believed that Ivo was also responsible for translating to the cathedral the relics of St. Latuin from Anet,⁶⁹ where they had been taken in the ninth century,⁷⁰ although his source, the cardinal Louis Pie, is hardly of the highest order.⁷¹ The monastic life of the city also thrived under Ivo, who, as we

⁶⁴ For William's campaign in Maine, see *OV*, ii, pp. 116-118 nn.

⁶⁵ Ivo continued to be involved in affairs in the region after the invasion, and can often be seen beside the *vicomte* of Mans, or his relatives, in a number of charters, *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, nos. 490, 587, 604 and 624.

⁶⁶ The cathedral of Sées would not receive any land in England until the reign of Henry I, when on the occasion of the cathedral's dedication the king gave to the church land at Brighthampton in the manor of Bampton, Bib. év. de Sées, ms. 2, fol. 71r-v; ed. Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme*, Appendix 2, 'Documents', no. 4.

⁶⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 545.

⁶⁸ Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, 7v, 9r and 10r-v; *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, nos. 5 and 7; AD Eure-et-Loir, H 531; ed. R. Merlet, 'Une prétendue signature d'Ives, évêque de Chartres', *BEC*, 56 (1895), pp. 639-644, at pp. 643-644.

⁶⁹ Anet, Eure-et-Loir, chef-lieu.

⁷⁰ Marais and Beaudoin, *Essai historique de Sées*, p. 50.

⁷¹ L.-E. Pie, *Discours prononcé par Mgr l'évêque de Poitiers à la cérémonie de la translation des reliques de saint Latuin, à Sées, le mardi 22 juin 1858* (Poitiers, 1858), 15 p.; reprinted in *Œuvres de monseigneur l'évêque de Poitiers*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1883-1894), iii, circa p. 118. St. Latuin, who was the supposed first bishop of Sées, appears at the head of an episcopal list drawn up in the twelfth century (BM (Rouen), ms. U 46 Omont 1333, fol. 37v-38), though his relics are not listed among those upon

have seen, played an important part in the refoundation of the abbey of Saint-Martin. Ivo was also able to make various contributions to the secular life of his city. Joseph Decaens held that it was he who was responsible for building the motte of Saint-Pierre in the south of the city (fig. 76),⁷² and the bishop is certainly known to have made donations of land in this area.⁷³ Ivo is also known to have had knights, and it is possible that this is where they were stationed.⁷⁴

This pattern of development was repeated across the entire diocese. Conditions were such that two important monasteries (Saint-Évroult and Almenêches) could be established, although Ivo is not known to have had any direct role in either venture, as with the house in Sées. He did, however, actively support the development of monastic institutions founded within his seigneurial capital, donating a mill to the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême when confirming its foundation.⁷⁵ Of course, it was Ivo's position as lord of Bellême that allowed primarily for such developments to occur. Upon the death of his nephew Arnulf, he had not only inherited his family's vast possessions, but had also gained access to a network of vassals that stretched across the region. Concentrated overwhelmingly in the pays Bellêmois (fig. 82), their holdings could be used not only to enrich institutions founded by Ivo's ancestors, but also important houses in neighbouring principalities.⁷⁶ Moreover, although Ivo's episcopal title always seems to have taken precedence over his seigneurial, his frequent contact with other lay rulers besides the duke of Normandy came as a direct result of his secular position. We have already noted the close relationship that Ivo enjoyed with the counts of Anjou during the 1050s, while his connection with the French royal court endured almost until the end of his life.

which a certain Matthew de La Hervauderie confirmed the donation to the cathedral of the church of Saint-Julien-sur-Sarthe in 1154, Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme*, Appendix 2, 'Documents', no. 6.

⁷² Decaens, 'L'évêque Yves de Sées', p. 136-137. For further information on the motte, and a short bibliography, see Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, pp. 217, 288.

⁷³ 'Concessit etiam totam terram a castello Sagii usque ad vadum Cremerii, que sita est inter viam et ipsum riuium, quam dedit episcopi Ivo eidem ecclesie, Willelmo rege Anglorum postea confirmante, cum Sagiensis vivarii communione', Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 10v. A similar clause is found in *Regesta*, no. 271.

⁷⁴ Two of the knights were Berlay and his brother Rodulf, *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 545.

⁷⁵ The mill was located along the stream called La Mesme at a place called *Butinum*, *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 5, p. 14. He did not, however, make the donations to Saint-Léonard de Bellême as attributed to him by Philibert Barret, *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 1, p. 4. This is actually Ivo II de Bellême, Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, pp. 138-139.

⁷⁶ See Appendix B.



Fig. 76 The motte of Saint-Pierre, Sées, built by Ivo de Bellême (photo R. Allen)

The king was not unknown to confirm charters issued by the bishop of Sées,⁷⁷ while Ivo attended his court at least twice, and was in Paris on 29 May 1067 along with an impressive gathering of dignitaries to witness certain donations made by Philip I to the abbey of Saint-Martin des Champs,⁷⁸ a meeting of the court that survives in a famous near-contemporaneous drawing (fig. 77),⁷⁹ while just over two months later he was with the king at the castle of Chaumont-sur-Loire, where he witnessed an act in favour of the abbey of Marmoutier.⁸⁰

Ivo also seems to have been particularly deft at fostering relations with neighbouring lords of local importance, and unlike both his successors and predecessors, he refrained from the kind of internecine conflicts that so often led to ruin for the house of Bellême. We have already noted how upon his accession Ivo made peace with the family of Giroie, while throughout his career he maintained similar diplomatic relations with his other westerly neighbours, the lords of the Perche. Ivo seems to have enjoyed a particularly close relationship with Rotrou I (c.1040-1079), who by the beginning of Ivo's episcopate had extended his family's influence by establishing himself on land in and around Mortagne.⁸¹ This brought him into direct contact with the bishop of Sées/lord of Bellême, whose own family interests lay just the other side of the Huisne. Rather than responding to such an obvious threat with force, Ivo instead appears to have used the situation to his advantage, and quickly fostered an alliance that was beneficial to both houses. Ivo was not above assisting in matters concerning the Rotrou family foundation of Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou,⁸² while on another occasion he travelled to Mortagne, where in the house of the dean Roger, he gave his approval to a donation made by

⁷⁷ *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 5. Confirmed by Philip I, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 1

⁷⁸ Among the ecclesiastical witnesses were Richer, archbishop of Sens (1062-1096), Geoffrey, bishop of Paris (1061-1095), Guy, bishop of Amiens (1058-1075 or 1076), Walter, bishop of Meaux (1045-19 octobre 1082), Hugh I, bishop of Troyes, Roger III, bishop of Châlons-[sur-Marne] (1066-1093), *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. xxx; *Recueil de chartes de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, i, no. 12, pp. 28-31

⁷⁹ BL, ms. Add. 11662, fol. 5v. A thirteenth-century copy of the same picture can be found in BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1359, fol. 3r-4r. The text of the latter of these manuscripts was printed by Joseph Depoin (*Recueil de chartes de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, i, p. 19), while the drawings were discussed by M. Prou, 'Dessins du XIe siècle et peintures du XIIIe siècle', *Revue de l'Art chrétien* (1890), pp. 122-128.

⁸⁰ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. xxxiv. The act is dated 7 August 1067.

⁸¹ Mortagne-au-Perche, Orne, chef-lieu. For Rotrou's career, see K. Thompson, *Power and border lordship in medieval France: the county of the Perche, 1000-1226* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 35-45

⁸² *Saint-Denis de Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1031-1789: histoire et cartulaire*, ed. C. Métais (Vannes, 1899), no. xxxviii.

Fig. 77 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 77 Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées, (top row, furthest right) attends the court of Philip I, king of France, on 29 May 1067*

* BL, ms. Add. 11662, fol. 5v.

Rotrou in favour of the abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans.⁸³ In return, it is possible that Ivo helped negotiate the marriage between his niece Adeliza and Rotrou,⁸⁴ although not all are convinced that the count's wife by this name is to be identified so surely with the daughter of Ivo's brother Warin.⁸⁵

Much of the above does, however, go a long way to confirm the image of Ivo as presented by Orderic Vitalis. Learned, shrewd and eloquent, the monk of Saint-Évroult claimed that Ivo was also a fond companion of his abbey's former abbot, Theoderic.⁸⁶ Such flattery has understandably attracted a degree of scepticism, but to dismiss Ivo as little more than a great temporal magnate in bishop's robes is to ignore the realities of the mid-eleventh century.⁸⁷ Like his great contemporaries in the dioceses of Bayeux and Coutances, Ivo seems to have been able to manage his secular and religious authority in harmony, using one to benefit the other as the situation required. Ivo was also clearly literate, and at the very least was able to write his own name, as is demonstrated by an original charter issued by the bishop for the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres (fig. 78).⁸⁸ This same act, which concerned the church at Planches,⁸⁹ also helped establish important spiritual links between the cathedral of Sées and the great *chartrain* house,⁹⁰ which goes some way to confirm Orderic's statement that Ivo loved both his clerks and monks 'as a father loves his children'.⁹¹ The act was, however, to be his last.

The date of Ivo's passing is not certain, but it was most likely 12 April 1071. Working from Orderic's statement that Ivo's successor Robert occupied the see for 'about twelve years', scholars had originally placed Ivo's demise c. 1070.⁹² The charter concerning the church of Planches contradicts this date, however, since it was

⁸³ *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 609.

⁸⁴ Thompson, *Power and border lordship*, p. 38.

⁸⁵ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, pp. 135-136.

⁸⁶ *OV*, ii, p. 46.

⁸⁷ Douglas, 'The Norman episcopate', p. 105.

⁸⁸ AD Eure-et-Loir, H 531; ed. Merlet, 'Une prétendue signature', pp. 643-644. A critical edition of the act can be found in Appendix G.

⁸⁹ Planches, Orne, cant. Le Merlerault.

⁹⁰ Ivo relinquished rights over the church at Planches to the abbey of Saint-Père on condition that the monks pray for the cathedral clerks, and vice versa. René Merlet described this arrangement as '*une sorte d'association spirituelle entre l'église de Sées et l'abbaye de Saint-Père*', Merlet, 'Une prétendue signature', p. 640.

⁹¹ *OV*, ii, p. 46.

⁹² For what follows, see Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, pp. 149-150.

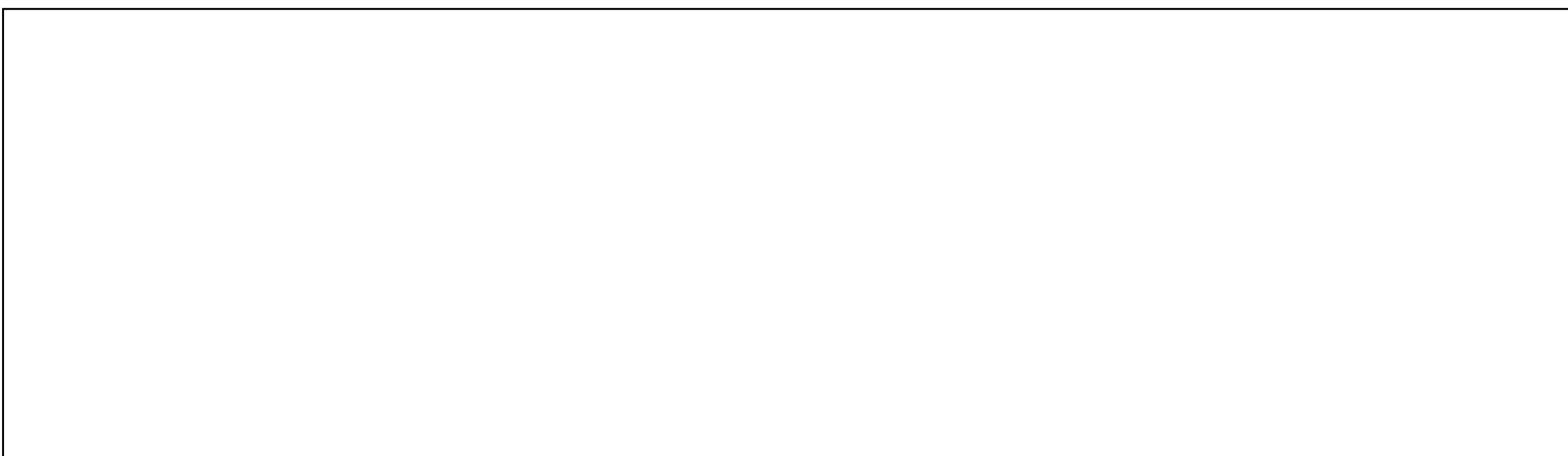


Fig. 78 The autograph signature of Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées^{*}

^{*} AD Eure-et-Loir, H 531 (detail).

issued during the reign of Hubert, abbot of Saint-Père de Chartres, which did not begin until around May 1070. Since the necrology of the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées lists Ivo's death on 12 April, he cannot have issued the Saint-Père charter before this date in 1070.⁹³ It is possible that Ivo lived until 1072, since his successor appears for the first time in this year,⁹⁴ but this seems unlikely.⁹⁵ According to *Gallia Christiana* he was buried before the high altar of his cathedral,⁹⁶ while in 1601 his body was discovered perfectly preserved and clothed in fine episcopal garb with a cross bearing the escutcheon of the house of Bellême at his side.⁹⁷ This story is undoubtedly more hagiography than history, but it reveals the level of respect that continued to endure for Ivo even five-hundred years after his death. Moreover, what is more certain is that his death opened a new chapter for both the house of Bellême and the bishopric of Sées, both of which passed to men well established within the ducal ambit.

⁹³ BN, ms. lat. 13818, fol. 210v. The necrology of the cathedral of Mans records his death under 13 April, *Nécrologe-obituaire de la cathédrale du Mans*, ed. G. Busson et A. Ledru (Le Mans, 1906), p. 83.

⁹⁴ *OV*, ii, p. 286.

⁹⁵ Bouvris, 'En marge de l'Année', p. 124 n. 52; Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, p. 150; Spear, *The personnel*, p. 272.

⁹⁶ *GC*, xi, col. 682.

⁹⁷ L.J. Fret, *Antiquités et chroniques percheronnes: ou recherches sur l'histoire civile, religieuse, monumentale, politique et littéraire de l'ancienne province du Perche, et pays limitrophes*, 3 vols. (Mortagne, 1838-1840), i, p. 349; J.-B.-N. Blin, *Fleurs de sainteté au diocèse de Séz*, 4 vols. (Alençon, 1914), ii, pp. 49-53.

Robert de Ryes,¹ c. 1071-c.1081/2

Robert de Ryes was the son of Hubert de Ryes, who saved the young duke William during his flight from Valognes in 1046.² According to Wace, Hubert instructed his three unnamed sons, of whom Robert was probably one, to escort William to Falaise, while he waited by his castle to lead those pursuing the duke in a different direction.³ Following his actions Hubert quickly entered the cadre of ducal confidants,⁴ and was perhaps rewarded with holdings outside of Caen, some of which he later donated to the ducal foundations within that town.⁵ Hubert also enjoyed a career in England after 1066, where he famously employed an Englishman (Ailward), who held from him the rectory of St. Mary Newchurch, first as a clerk (*notarius*) and then as a chaplain (*capellanus*).⁶ Robert's brothers were no less outstanding than their father. The most famous, Eudo, followed in his father's footsteps.⁷ He held the position of *dapifer*, a rank once occupied by Hubert, and was also rewarded with extensive holdings in England. His service to the royal household extended into the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I, while in around 1096 he refounded the abbey of St. John's, Colchester.⁸ The other brother, Adam, was also active in England, and is perhaps best known as one of the Domesday commissioners.⁹ Unfortunately, we cannot speak similarly of Robert, and despite his distinguished relations we know nothing of his career before he ascended to the episcopate. His election, however, signalled the clear desire of the duke to retake control of the southern parts of his duchy, and place a former bastion of Bellême power securely in the hands of one of his most important and trusted men.

¹ Ryes, Calvados, chef lieu.

² *OV*, ii, p. 254; Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 3687-3736.

³ Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 3701-3704.

⁴ Hubert's first appearances in the diplomatic record dates to the years shortly after the flight from Valognes, *RADN*, nos. 145, 204.

⁵ Hubert was present at the dedication of La Trinité de Caen on 18 June 1066, where he witnessed the donation of Escanneville (Calvados, cant. Troarn) by the duchess Mathilda to the abbey (*RADN*, no. 231), while he later gave land at Ranville (Calvados, cant. Troarn), and a vineyard, including the house of a vine-grower, at Bavent (Calvados, cant. Troarn) to Saint-Étienne de Caen and La Trinité, *Regesta*, nos. 45, 54, 59, 61.

⁶ *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria*, ed. S.A. Moore, 2 vols. (London, 1897), i, 3, 82-83; D. Crouch, *The image of aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992), p. 223; H. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: ethnic hostility, assimilation, and identity 1066-c.1220* (Oxford, 2003), p. 224.

⁷ The link between Eudo and Robert, and consequently Eudo and Hubert, is given by Orderic, *OV*, ii, p. 254.

⁸ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday people*, p. 194; Loyd, *Anglo-Norman families*, pp. 3, 14, 40.

⁹ V.H. Galbraith, *The making of Domesday Book* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 8, 36, 213; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 349.

Consequently, the nature of Robert's episcopate stands in stark contrast to that of his predecessor. Whereas Ivo had been overwhelmingly involved in matters outside the traditional ambit of ducal power, Robert's appearances in the historical record generally concern Norman events. Occupying the diocese for a little over ten years,¹⁰ his first appearance dates to 1072, when he attended the reforming council convened in Rouen by the Norman metropolitan John of Ivry.¹¹ The bishop of Sées returned to the city for another council two years later,¹² while the two of his three diplomatic appearances that document the place of their conception were both issued in the Norman capital.¹³ Furthermore, only two of the eleven charters that Robert witnessed concerned institutions in southern Normandy,¹⁴ while only one involved a monastic house located to the south of the duchy.¹⁵ Robert was again in Upper Normandy in 1077 for the dedications of Saint-Désir de Lisieux and Bec,¹⁶ and at some point in his episcopate was at Bayeux, where he witnessed a famous agreement, along with this father, between the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel and William Paynel.¹⁷ The year following the Bec dedication he blessed Fulk, prior of Saint-Évroult, as abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, marking one of the few occasions he can be seen taking an active interest in an institution within his diocese.¹⁸ Two years later, however, he is found once again in Upper Normandy, where he attended an important ducal court, and the council of Lillebonne.¹⁹ In fact, Robert can only be securely located in his diocese once, and on the rare occasion he did become involved with his neighbouring ecclesiastics, his heavy-handed tactics earned him their enmity (along with that of the local ruler), requiring a trip north to resolve the situation.²⁰ Whether Robert delivered what the duke expected of him as bishop is unknown. Following Ivo's episcopate,

¹⁰ Given the dating noted above for the death of Robert's predecessor, Orderic's statement that Robert was bishop 'for about twelve years' must be disregarded, *OV*, ii, p. 254.

¹¹ *OV*, ii, p. 286.

¹² Mansi, xx, col. 399; Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, i, p. 59.

¹³ *Regesta*, nos. 29(I&II), 261.

¹⁴ *Regesta*, nos. 29(I&II), 271.

¹⁵ *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 12.

¹⁶ *Chronique du Bec*, p. 3; Robert de Torigni, *Chronique*, i, p. 62. The evidence concerning Robert's attendance at the dedication of Saint-Désir comes from a photograph of a charter destroyed in 1944, AD Calvados, 2 Fi 231.

¹⁷ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 90.

¹⁸ *OV*, ii, p. 254.

¹⁹ *Regesta*, no. 257; *OV*, iii, p. 24.

²⁰ Having celebrated Mass at Saint-Léonard de Bellême on the feast day of that house's patron saint, Robert had attempted to keep the offerings from the Mass. The canons of Saint-Léonard protested, at which point the bishop threatened to excommunicate them. The case, which was brought by Robert de Bellême, was heard in Rouen before the king and queen, John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen, Roger de Beaumont and many other barons, who found in favour of the canons, *Regesta*, no. 29 (I&II).

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1071 × 1081/2	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 90	Mont-Saint-Michel	Bayeux	x		
1071 × 1079	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 29(I&II)	Saint-Léonard de Bellême	Rouen	x		x
c. 1074	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 12	Marmoutier		x	x	x
May 1074	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 261	Saint-Wandrille	Rouen		x	
25 July 1077	AD Calvados, 2 Fi 231	Saint-Désir de Lisieux	Lisieux			x
1078 × 1081/2	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 271	Saint-Martin de Sées			x	
1080 × 1081/2	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 281(I&II)	Troarn			x	
1080	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 257	Saint-Gabriel (priory)			x	x
1081 × 1081/2	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 49	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1081 × 1081/2	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 50	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	
1081 × 1081/2	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 53	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		
1081 × 1081/2	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 54	Saint-Étienne de Caen			x	

Fig. 79 Appearances of Robert de Ryes, bishop of Sées (c. 1071-c.1081/2), in the diplomatic record*

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
20 July × 9 Sept. 1089	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r-v	Saint-Étienne de Caen		x		
Late 1090 × early 1091	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 15	Marmoutier	Sées			x

Fig. 80 Appearances of Gerard I, bishop of Sées (1082-1091), in the diplomatic record

* Robert occurs anomalously in a ducal grant of 1066 (*RADN*, no. 232), and perhaps another of 1055 (*RADN*, no. 137). He also appears in a forgery of the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, *Regesta*, no. 245.

William was probably content to have someone who was at court more regularly, but Robert's problems with the canons of Saint-Léonard, and his infrequent appearances in his diocese, perhaps suggests that he had encountered some resistance as the new bishop. He had replaced the patriarch of an important local family, many members of which occupied positions within the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, and it is not impossible that they resented his presence within the city.

If such opposition was a factor during Robert's career, perhaps the best verification comes from a charter of the bishop for the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême. The only known act of Robert's to survive, it was issued in around 1074, and concerns the priory's freedom from episcopal control.²¹ Besides the fact that it provides evidence of one of the few interactions between Robert and his diocese, the charter is also noteworthy for the large number of cathedral personnel who witnessed it. The last known document to contain a similar number was issued by Ivo de Bellême for the abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans,²² which, unfortunately, can be dated no more precisely than a 28 May between 1047/8 and 1068.²³ If the charter was issued towards the former of these two dates then it is of little use to us here, but if it was granted towards the latter, then taken together, the two acts provide two different snapshots of the cathedral chapter of Sées only some six years apart. Either way, the picture that emerges is one of change. While the archdeacons Baldwin and Norman are found in both documents, none of the canons who witnessed Ivo's charter for Saint-Vincent witnessed Robert's for Saint-Martin.²⁴ Furthermore, a charter issued by Ivo for Saint-Père de Chartres between May 1070 and April 1071 reveals that,²⁵ by 1074, the *magister scholarum* Roger had been replaced by the *scholasticus* Hugh, while Ivo's chaplain of the same name had been replaced under Robert by a man called Geoffrey. Perhaps the most striking feature of the list of

²¹ AD Orne, H 2207; ed. *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 12. A critical edition of the act can be found in Appendix G. The date is that of Philibert Barret, but it has been followed by modern authorities, *La diplomatie française du Haut Moyen Âge. Inventaire des chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, ed. B.-M. Tock, M. Courtois, M.-J. Gasse-Grandjean and P. Demonty, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2001), i, p. 348.

²² *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 545.

²³ For the date, see Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, ii, C268, who provides a different *terminus a quo*, due to his belief that Ivo de Bellême became bishop in the 1030s.

²⁴ The canons who witnessed the charter for Saint-Vincent were Ursolius, Hugh de Rocé, Norman, son of Rodulf, Saginfred de Biart and Lambert, while those who witnessed that of Saint-Martin were Robert, Richard, Hugh, Raginaudus, Robert II, Roger and Geoffrey.

²⁵ AD Eure-et-Loir, H 531; ed. Merlet, 'Une prétendue signature', pp. 643-644. A critical edition of the act can be found in Appendix G.

cathedral personnel under Robert is the absence of the toponym 'de Bellême', or of those intimately linked with the house, such as 'de Rocé', and the complete disappearance within the chapter of names traditionally associated with the dynasty, such as Siegfried and Warin, which were replaced with traditional Norman monikers such as Robert and Richard. To describe the changes in cathedral personnel that occurred under Robert as a purge might be too much, but such behaviour would certainly have led to resentment of the bishop within his city, and perhaps accounts for his near total absence from the diocese.

What little else we know of Robert provides few insights into his person. A rather vague statement by Orderic Vitalis implies that he continued to work on the cathedral begun by his predecessor.²⁶ No specific part of the edifice can be associated with him, however, although the interlaced capital discussed above has been dated by some to the last quarter of the eleventh-century, which may mean it was produced under his guidance.²⁷ Unlike his predecessor, he only enjoyed limited associations with individuals outside the duchy, further limiting his profile. Robert's appearances at court sometimes brought him into contact with other ecclesiastics from England,²⁸ while according to a second version of the memorandum describing his dispute with Saint-Léonard, he had been invited to the priory along with Arnold, bishop of Le Mans (1067-1081).²⁹ The only direct evidence of his interaction with another ecclesiastic comes from a letter of Lanfranc, however. According to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Sées had sent to him a penitent guilty of murdering three men on their way to Mont-Saint-Michel. Robert had dispatched the man, along with 'a letter of attestation',³⁰ to Lanfranc, who in turn was sending him to Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of York. Unfortunately, the letter is frustratingly vague. It seems logical that the penitent in question was from Robert's diocese, since a number of pilgrimage routes to the abbey ran through his see.³¹ No information is given,

²⁶ *GND*, ii, p. 118.

²⁷ *Sculptures françaises du Moyen Âge dans les collections du Louvre Paris*, ed. F. Baron, C. Jankowiak, C. Vivet (Paris, 1996), p. 256; X. Dectot, *Sculptures des XIe-XIIe siècles, roman et premier art gothique: catalogue* (Paris, 2005), p. 149. Of course it is equally likely that it was created during the episcopates of either Gerard I or Serlo.

²⁸ *Regesta*, nos. 49, 53, 54, 257.

²⁹ *Regesta*, no. 29(II). Robert would also have met Arnold at the dedication of Bec.

³⁰ *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 26, dated June 1072 × 1081.

³¹ Bouhier, 'Les chemins montais', pp. 253-255, and in particular the route maps on the verso of pp. 257 and 258.

however, not even a motive for the man's crime, though it is revealing that Robert looked to Lanfranc and Canterbury for guidance. One wonders whether his predecessor would have acted similarly.³²

Robert's last known appearances are very much like his first, and concern institutions located securely in the Norman heartland. In 1080 × 1082, he was present at the foundation of the abbey of Troarn,³³ while at about the same time he witnessed a number of charters issued for the abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen.³⁴ His date of death is unknown, as is his place of burial, though it is noteworthy that he is the only bishop from the second half of the eleventh century not known to have been buried in Sées cathedral. Orderic Vitalis described Robert as 'zealous in the service of God and a very good friend to monks', but the flattery of such words aside, their banality perhaps suggests that, just one generation after his death, even the monk of Saint-Évroult was unable to find anything remarkable to say about this seemingly unremarkable prelate.³⁵

³² Unfortunately, no correspondence between Ivo and another (arch)bishop survives. However, even Serlo d'Orgères, one of Robert's successors, looked to prelates located south of the duchy concerning his parishioners, writing to Hildebert of Le Mans regarding the legality of a marriage between a widow and her brother-in-law. For full discussion see below p. 447.

³³ *Regesta*, no. 281(I).

³⁴ *Regesta*, nos. 49, 50, 53, 54.

³⁵ *OV*, ii, p. 254.

Gerard I, 1082-1091

According to the editors of *Gallia Christiana*, Gerard was the dean of the cathedral chapter at Évreux before he was elected bishop of Sées.¹ No evidence survives to confirm this assertion, but since the archives of this cathedral suffered near total destruction for the eleventh century, it cannot be ruled out.² If Gerard had been dean, however, he must have occupied the position for a short time, for his successor, Fulk de Guernanville, retired to the abbey of Saint-Évroult in around 1080, while Gerard was himself consecrated bishop in 1082 by Gilbert, bishop of Évreux.³ The logic behind Gerard's election is unclear, but he seems to represent a consensus between his two immediate predecessors. He was, on the one hand, like his immediate predecessor, someone more intimately linked with the traditional ambit of Norman power, while on the other, his failure to appear in any ducal charter suggests that he was not a regular at court, and that unlike Robert de Ryes, did not have loyalties there that tempted him away from his diocese. Indeed, what little we know of his episcopate overwhelmingly concerns matters within his see, where he presumably worked until being summoned north for the Conqueror's funeral at Caen in the autumn of 1087.⁴ Despite claims by *Gallia Christiana*,⁵ neither he nor William Bona Anima were involved in the dedication of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in September 1091, since Gerard was dead, while the editors of *Gallia* seem to have confused Goscelin de Saint-Bertin's reference to Gundulf (*Gundulfus Roffensis*), bishop of Rochester, 'who was then clothed in the authority of the late archbishop (i.e. of Canterbury)', as a reference to William (*Guillelmus Rotomagensis*), archbishop of Rouen.⁶ In reality, Gerard disappears again from the historical record following his appearance at the Conqueror's funeral, re-emerging to appoint and bless Rodulf d'Escures as abbot of Saint-Martin de Sées in 1089.⁷

¹ GC, xi, col. 682.

² A marginal note in a manuscript of Arthur Du Monstier reads 'Girardus, Ebrocensis decanus, sedit episcopus quinque annis, et apud deum et honorem laudem promeruit. Codex ms. San-Victorianus sup.', BN, ms. lat. 10050, fol. 164v. Perhaps this was the source for *Gallia Christiana*.

³ GC, xi, col. 682; Spear, *The personnel*, p. 136.

⁴ OV, iv, p. 104.

⁵ GC, xi, col. 682.

⁶ '... pontifex ecclesiae Roffensis Gundulfus, qui tunc archipraesulis defuncti auctoralis vice pollebat', Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, 'Historia translationis s. Augustini episcopi Anglorum apostoli', Migne, *PL*, clv, cols. 13-46, at col. 17.

⁷ OV, iv, p. 170. A charter in the cartulary of Saint-Martin de Sées claims Rodulf was elected 'ab episcopis et monachis et populo totius provinciae', Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 11v-12r. Gerard also witnessed a charter for Saint-Étienne de Caen in this year, AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r-v.

What little else we know of Gerard's career suggests that it was traumatic. In particular, the bishop came into conflict with Robert II de Bellême, who, following the death of the Conqueror, had expelled the ducal garrison from Bellême,⁸ and had achieved a degree of autonomy in the region unknown since the first half of the eleventh century.⁹ Their first clash concerned the collegiate church of Saint-Léonard de Bellême, the details of which are conserved in a charter whose chronological irregularities are difficult to resolve. The act records that the events it describes took place after the donation by Robert de Bellême of the church of Saint-Léonard to the abbey of Marmoutier.¹⁰ This bequest was confirmed by the French king in 1092,¹¹ yet the bishop of Sées, who is said in the charter to have hindered certain aspects of the transfer, died in January 1091. The abbé Philibert Barret proposed that Gerard's date of death should be put back a year,¹² but this is impossible, since we know that his successor, Serlo, was elected at the council of Rouen held shortly after 1 June 1091, and that he was consecrated shortly thereafter.¹³ Since it is unlikely the scribe wrote *Girardus* in the place of *Serlonus*, the most likely explanation is that the dispute had begun while Saint-Léonard was still a collegiate church.¹⁴ Regardless, Gerard was soon hauled before a comital court convened within his own episcopal city, where Robert de Bellême, along with the monks of Marmoutier, personally showed the bishop the charters granting Saint-Léonard exemption from episcopal control, and even exacted acknowledgement of similar concessions for the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême.¹⁵

The next encounter between the two men would prove fatal. Following William Rufus' failed attempt to overthrow Curthose through an insurrection in Rouen, the

⁸ OV, iv, pp. 112-114. The Bellême garrison was probably established during William's expedition against the Corbonnais around 1077 × 1079, and undoubtedly came as a consequence of the duke's control over the bishopric of Sées, Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 367.

⁹ OV, iv, pp. 112-114.

¹⁰ 'Eodem namque anno quo Robertus de Belismo nobis eam dedit, temptavit Girardus Sagiensis episcopus suę subieccioni sicut ceteras parrochianas aecclēsas in suo episcopatu sitas subicere et ne eam secundum consuetudinem monachorum aptaremus, prohibere', AD Orne, H 2156; ed. *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 15. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

¹¹ *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, nos. cxxviii and cxxix.

¹² *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, p. 27 n. 2.

¹³ OV, iv, p. 252; vi, p. 336.

¹⁴ Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, p. 217.

¹⁵ 'Qua de re advenimus apud Sagium ad placitum et ostendit ibi dominus R. de Belismo qui eam nobis dedit, per privilegia...', *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 15. The use of the word *placitum* to describe the meeting is frustratingly vague, but its composition suggests that it was Robert's court, rather than the bishop's, Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, p. 387 n. 46.

lord of Bellême continued his northward expansion across the Orne. Meeting resistance from Hugh de Grandmesnil and Richard de Courcy, he besieged them in the castle of Courcy-sur-Dives, successfully summoning the duke to his side.¹⁶ The siege had dragged on for several weeks when Gerard attempted to intervene, but to no avail. Matters worsened when Robert de Bellême seized one of the bishop's pages, Richard de Gâprée,¹⁷ who had fallen from his horse near the castle. The young boy was quickly thrown into prison, prompting the bishop of Sées to threaten the whole of Robert's army with excommunication. The lord of Bellême eventually relented and released his captive, but the whole episode proved so stressful for the bishop of Sées that, according to Orderic, he was taken ill and died soon afterwards on 23 January.¹⁸ Whether Gerard's motives for his involvement in the siege of Courcy were political or purely religious in nature is unclear. The bishop seems not to have been loyal to Curthose, since he appears alongside him on only one other occasion,¹⁹ while he would never be afforded the opportunity to prove his loyalty to William Rufus. The fact that, unlike his predecessor, the bishop's body was quickly taken and buried in the cathedral of Sées is, however, perhaps the best indication of where his true loyalties had always lain.²⁰

¹⁶ *OV*, iv, p. 228-234. Courcy-sur-Dives, Calvados, cant. Morteaux-Couliboëuf.

¹⁷ Gâprée, Orne, cant. Courtomer.

¹⁸ *OV*, iv, pp. 234-236. The date is taken from Orderic's statement that within a week of Gerard's death, William Rufus launched his invasion of Normandy. The date for this crossing can be corroborated by other sources, Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 276. There is some evidence that might contradict the testimony of Orderic Vitalis, for a lost obituary of the priory of Noyon-sur-Andelle contained the following entry: '18 kal. maii dominus Girardus Sagii episcopus', Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 4375, fol. 205r. It is possible, however, that this is a reference to Gerard II, bishop of Sées, but while his death was commemorated in various necrologies on various dates, the latest of these is 29 March, *GC*, xi, cols. 688-689.

¹⁹ AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 45r-v.

²⁰ *OV*, iv, p. 236.

Serlo d'Orgères,¹ 1091-1123

The election of Serlo as bishop of Sées represented a dramatic shift in the kind of individual chosen to occupy the diocese. A native of Orgères,² about nine kilometres to the southwest of Saint-Évrault, he entered that abbey as a monk during the abbatiage of Mainer d'Échauffour.³ Living beside Orderic Vitalis, who had come to the house shortly thereafter,⁴ the monk-chronicler of the Ouche provides a wealth of information concerning his career,⁵ even noting that Serlo was of moderate height, with handsome features, and that his red hair had quickly turned grey in his youth, remaining so for the last fifty years of his life.⁶ Little else is known of Serlo's monastic career before his election as abbot in 1089, although like many of his contemporaries he had previously been prior.⁷ His time as abbot was short and difficult. Following his election, Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux, demanded from him a written profession of obedience, which Serlo refused to deliver. He consequently remained without benediction for his entire reign,⁸ although he was still able to conduct some business, burying Gilbert de l'Aigle on 28 February 1091.⁹ It was perhaps in an effort to resolve the deadlock that Serlo was nominated for the vacant bishopric of Sées at the council convened by William Bona Anima shortly after 1 June 1091.¹⁰ His monastic background would have undoubtedly made him a popular candidate with the Norman metropolitan, himself a former abbot of Caen, but his appointment was politically awkward for the duke, since the troublesome Robert de Bellême and Geoffrey de Mortagne were among Serlo's parishioners.¹¹ Curthose consented to the election anyway, and the archbishop consecrated Serlo in Rouen cathedral on 22 June.¹²

¹ Orgères, Orne, cant. Gacé.

² Orderic calls Serlo *de Orgeriis* only once, *OV*, iii, p. 118.

³ *OV*, iii, p. 118. Échauffour, Orne, cant. Le Merlerault.

⁴ Orderic was sent as an oblate to the house in the summer of 1085, *OV*, vi, p. 554.

⁵ For the details of Serlo's abbatial career, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i, pp. 19, 81, 104, 105, 122, 131, 144, 148, 152, 155, 183; ii, p. 281.

⁶ *OV*, vi, p. 338.

⁷ *GC*, xi, col. 821. Many abbots held similar positions prior to their accession to the abbatiage, which were designed to prepare them for the position, Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, i, pp. 262-267.

⁸ *OV*, v, pp. 260-262.

⁹ *OV*, iv, p. 202 and n. 1.

¹⁰ *OV*, iv, p. 252. Serlo's successor, Roger du Sap, faced the same demands from the bishop of Lisieux. He too refused to provide a profession of obedience, and was only finally blessed as abbot on 29 August 1099, Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 281-284.

¹¹ Barlow, *William Rufus*, p. 286.

¹² *OV*, iv, p. 252.

In keeping with his election, Serlo's reign under Curthose began promisingly. It is possible the new bishop remained with the ducal court following his consecration, travelling first to Caen, where on 18 July 1091 the three sons of the Conqueror drew up, along with 'the bishops and barons', the famous statement of law under their father known as the *Consuetudines et Iusticie*.¹³ Shortly thereafter, or perhaps at the same time as his consecration, Serlo appended his *signum* to William Bona Anima's charter granting the abbey of Bec exemption from all episcopal dues, which was also witnessed by the duke, three other Norman suffragans, the bishop of Durham and an impressive gathering of Norman abbots and laymen.¹⁴ Serlo then seems to have returned to his diocese, but continued to enjoy a close relationship with Curthose. Two years after his election, the two men worked together to resolve a conflict between the abbeys of Saint-Florent de Saumur and Lonlay. The dispute concerned the church of Saint-Gervais de Briouze, which shortly after its completion, had been claimed as a possession of Lonlay by its abbot, Rannulf.¹⁵ On hearing this, Serlo, at the command of William de Briouze and with the assent of the abbot of Saint-Florent, allowed for Rannulf's plea to be heard in the court of Robert Curthose.¹⁶ The bishop decided, however, that the church should be consecrated, in order that it might remain venerable,¹⁷ which, another charter tells us, he carried out on 11 December 1093.¹⁸ William de Briouze then went with Goscelin, a monk of Saint-Florent, to the duke at Bonneville-sur-Touques, where they were joined by the abbot of Lonlay and two of his monks, William and Walter. Sensing, however, that the matter was not going to be decided in their favour, the three men, along with the unsuspecting abbot of Caen, whom they had brought to the hearing with them, soon made plans to leave the court. Angered by this, the duke duly decided in favour of Saint-Florent, and, through the

¹³ '... fecerunt recordari et scribi per episcopos et barones suos Cadomi xv. kal. Augusti', Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix D, p. 281.

¹⁴ BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r; ed. *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 17-18 (without witnesses). A critical edition of the act can be found in Appendix G.

¹⁵ The details of this case can be found inserted into a second version of a plea heard before William the Conqueror concerning the same church and the same two abbeys, *Regesta*, no. 267(II).

¹⁶ 'Post multum vero temporis edificata ecclesia, cum eandem vellet dedicare Sagiensis episcopus nomine Serlo, monitu Guillermi, presente abbate sancti Florentii, Lonliacensis abba Rannulfus iterum calumpniatus est sepius dictam ecclesiam. Episcopus vero hoc audiens, dedit, iussu Guillelmi, abbateque sancti Florentii favente, placitum Rannulfo abbati Lonliacensi et monachis eius in curia Roberti consulis', *Regesta*, no. 267(II).

¹⁷ 'Consecravit igitur ecclesiam ut cui remaneret magis veneranda fuisset', *Regesta*, no. 267(II).

¹⁸ 'Anno incarnationis Domini millesimo nonagesimo tercio, tercio idus decembris, die dominica, dedicata est aecclesia S. Gervasii de Braiosa a Serlo, Sagiensi episcopo', 'Chartes normandes de l'abbaye de Saint-Florent près Saumur de 710 à 1200 environ', ed. P. Marchegay, *MSAN*, 30 (1880), pp. 663-711, no. 17, p. 686.

authority of his seal, entrusted the bishop of Sées to guarantee the abbey's claims to the church of Briouze.¹⁹

Whether Serlo was at the meeting at Bonneville is unclear. He is certainly not listed among the witnesses, but his appearance in a charter issued at Lisieux (just 25km to the south) in the years shortly thereafter might suggest that he was, while also providing a more precise date for this act.²⁰ Nevertheless, the act is evidence of continued cooperation between Curthose and his episcopate at this date, all but two of whom witnessed the charter.²¹ However, if such collaboration was a theme of the early years of Serlo's episcopate, the bishop of Sées would soon encounter the individual who would loom largest over his career. The vacuum left by the death of the Conqueror had allowed Robert II de Bellême to expand his power in the region unrestrained. Shortly after 9 September 1087, he had expelled the ducal garrisons from Bellême, Alençon and Domfront,²² and although he often supported Curthose in his struggles with his brothers,²³ by the mid-1090s he had probably already begun to demand from the duke the bishopric of Sées, which he claimed had been granted to his family by a duke Richard (I, II or III?).²⁴ According to Orderic, following the destruction of the castle of Montaigu,²⁵ which had been built by Robert's great enemy Robert Giroie and pulled down in around 1093, the lord of Bellême began oppressing the bishopric of Sées.²⁶ The injuries caused were so severe that Serlo excommunicated the lord of Bellême,²⁷ perhaps prompting Robert to write to Ivo de Chartres to complain.²⁸ Unfortunately, since Ivo's response is addressed to Robert as count of Ponthieu,²⁹ a title the lord of Bellême is not known to have assumed publicly

¹⁹ 'Comperta igitur tanta derisione, iratus est consul valenter mandavitque, sigillo auctorizante, Sagiensi episcopo ut sancti Florentii monachus teneret et custodiret, omnesque res illorum in quantum posset ab omni hoste defenderet', *Regesta*, no. 267(II). Despite Rannulf's alleged plans, it is unlikely that Curthose would have decided differently, for his father had already heard a similar case at Caen on 7 January 1080, which was found in favour of Saint-Florent, *Regesta*, no. 267(I).

²⁰ The charter was issued in favour of Bec, and was broadly dated by Haskins 1091 × 1095, with a narrower date of 1093 × 1095 possible, Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix E, no. 7.

²¹ For discussion of the absence of Michael, bishop of Avranches, and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, from among the witnesses, see above p. 83 n. 55.

²² *OV*, iv, pp. 112-114.

²³ For Robert's involvement in the various rebellions that plagued the Anglo-Norman realm from 1087 to 1112, see Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 405-408.

²⁴ *OV*, iv, p. 296.

²⁵ *OV*, iv, pp. 294-296. For the castle, see Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, p. 207.

²⁶ *OV*, iv, pp. 296-298.

²⁷ *OV*, iv, p. 296.

²⁸ Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cxx, col. 134.

²⁹ 'Roberto comiti Pontivensi...', Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cxx, col. 134.

Date	Document	Beneficiary	Location	T	S	M
1092 × 1100	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 18	Saint-Léonard de Bellême	Saint-Fulgent des Ormes			x
1091 × 1096, 1100 × 04 or × 1106 × 12*	BM (Rouen), ms. Y 201 Omont 1235, fol. 87v	Cerisy-la-Forêt			x	
1091 × 1095	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 7	Bec	Lisieux		x	
1093 × 1094	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267(II)	Saint-Florent de Saumur				x
1 June 1091 × 28 Feb. 1092	BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r	Bec			x	
11 Dec. 1093	Marchegay, 'Saint-Florent', no. 17	Saint-Florent de Saumur	Saint-Gervais de Briouze	x		x
15 July 1096	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 19-20	Saint-Lucien de Beauvais	Rouen cathedral		x	
17 April 1097	Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 15r-v	Saint-Martin de Sées				x
24 May 1097	Marchegay, 'Saint-Florent', no. 21	Saint-Florent de Saumur	Briouze			x
27 August 1098	Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 123r-v	Saint-Martin de Sées	Sées (abbey chapter)			x
13 Nov. 1099	BN, ms. lat. 11056, fol. 33v-34r	Saint-Évroult	Saint-Évroult	x		
1101 (? after 3 Sept.)	Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 67r-v	Saint-Martin de Sées				x
1107	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 819	Bayeux cathedral	Cirencester	x		
1108	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 905	Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives	Argentan		x	
1117	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 19	Marmoutier	Sées (<i>in aula episcopo</i>)	x	x	x

Fig. 81 Appearances of Serlo d'Orgères, bishop of Sées (1091-1123), in the diplomatic record**

* Serlo appears as witness to this charter concerning the church of Marcei (Orne, cant. Mortrée), part of which was given to Cerisy by Geoffrey son of Wesinus and his wife Mathilda. It was witnessed by the bishop of Sées along with Geoffrey and his wife, as well as an unidentified *Robertus comes*. This is either Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, or Robert de Bellême, hence the different dating ranges given here.

** A donation made under Serlo, of which the charter is now lost, is mentioned in an act of 1154, Bib. év. de Sées, ms. 2, fol. 72v-73r.

until after 3 September 1101,³⁰ then it is possible Orderic's account dates to this time.³¹ Auguste Le Prévost, however, placed the excommunication mentioned by the monk of Saint-Évroult in around 1095,³² which may mean the letter of the bishop of Chartres refers to a second period of excommunication in 1103 × 1104, just prior to Serlo's exile in England.³³

However, it was perhaps as a consequence of his problems with the lord of Bellême that Serlo sought a temporary reprieve, and, in November 1095, left for Urban II's council at Clermont along with the bishops of Bayeux and Évreux.³⁴ The three Norman prelates returned to the duchy in early 1096, and in February of that year, met together with the rest of the episcopate in Rouen to discuss and promulgate some of the Clermont decrees. Unfortunately, even though Orderic knew Serlo well, he provides no information concerning the bishop's opinion on the pope's call to retake the Holy Land, although since the council itself did not actually consider this issue, the bishop of Sées may never have felt compelled to make his own feelings known.³⁵ It is possible Serlo remained for some time within Rouen following the meeting, but even if he did not, he had returned to the city by 15 July 1096, when he witnessed a charter in favour of Saint-Lucien de Beauvais in Rouen cathedral.³⁶ With the departure of the duke on crusade, Serlo then returned to his diocese, where he largely remained until the beginning of his self-imposed exile. His first known order of business concerned the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées, and in a hearing held on 17 April 1097 before Robert de Bellême, the bishop of Sées and abbot of Saint-Martin came to an agreement concerning water usage, and a certain *mansura* called *Patella*.³⁷ Five weeks later he was at Briouze, where a *conventio* was passed between the monks of Saint-Florent de Saumur and a certain cleric called Oliver, who was perhaps the

³⁰ For discussion see Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 401-403; ii, p. 173.

³¹ The account appears in a chapter in which Orderic's dating is not always precise, but all the events he describes occurred within and around 1094 × 1095, *OV*, iv, pp. 286-300.

³² Le Prévost, *Orderici Vitalis*, v, 'Table générale', p. 463. Marjorie Chibnall does not comment on the date of this passage.

³³ *OV*, vi, pp. 46, 144.

³⁴ *OV*, v, p. 18.

³⁵ *OV*, v, p. 24.

³⁶ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 19-20.

³⁷ 'Placuit ergo predictis episcopo videlicet et abbati ceterisque ex eorum partibus assistantibus tale tempus ad mensurandum expectari, ut aqua in suo alveo posita discreta et utrique utili mansura que vulgo Patella appellatur, recte mansuraretur. Fuit autem anno ab incarnatione Domini m.xc.vii. indicatione .v. epacta .iiii. xv kalendas mai legaliter hec conventio facta, et sub presentia domni Rotberti de Belismo ita firmata...', Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 15v. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

same as that individual of that name attached to the cathedral of Sées,³⁸ concerning the church within the castle of Briouze.³⁹

The good relations between Serlo and the house of Bellême evident by their cooperation in the agreement of 17 April 1097 were apparently still in place over a year later, when, on 27 August 1098, the bishop of Sées witnessed, in the chapter house of Saint-Martin, a charter of Arnulf, the brother of Robert de Bellême, concerning the church of St. Nicholas in the castle of Pembroke.⁴⁰ However, if Serlo appears to have avoided confrontation with the upper echelons of the Bellême family at this time, it did not necessarily guarantee he would not come into conflict with its extended members. Indeed, at some point between 1092 and 1100, the bishop of Sées was forced to consider the strange case of William, prior of Saint-Léonard de Bellême, whose marriage to the wife of an adulterer named Ulric, and public use of the justice of a dean, had enraged a local rural dean called John de Bellême.⁴¹ John summoned the bishop of Sées, who was at that time at his residence at Saint-Fulgent des Ormes,⁴² to a public hearing.⁴³ William therefore went to Serlo, who confirmed the rights he held in the cemetery and *uilla* of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême, taking from William's wife, who was by definition also an adulterer, an ox and a cow with its calf.⁴⁴ It was perhaps under fear of reprisals that Serlo entrusted the prior to two individuals called Albert and Lancelinus, whom Philibert Barret identified as a local knight and the lord of Eperrais.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, it is unknown whether such fears were ever realised, but the whole episode illustrates the delicate balance between the

³⁸ An *Olivarius clericus* witnessed the agreement concerning water usage between Serlo and the abbot of Saint-Martin on 17 April 1097, while a certain Oliver is also among the witnesses of the second *pancarte* of Saint-Martin de Sées in the abbey's cartulary, Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 9r and 15v. David Spear, who believed these two appearances concerned one individual, did not make the link between this person and the cleric Oliver involved with the monks of Saint-Florent, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 285.

³⁹ Marchegay, 'Saint-Florent', no. 21.

⁴⁰ Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 123r-v.

⁴¹ AD Orne, H 2158; ed. *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 18. A full critical edition of the act can be found in Appendix G.

⁴² Saint-Fulgent des Ormes, Orne, cant. Bellême. This is the first recorded mention of the episcopal residence at Saint-Fulgent des Ormes. Marie Casset believed it had originally been given to the church of Sées by Ivo de Bellême, Casset, 'Les stratégies d'implantation', p. 45.

⁴³ 'Quapropter in iram commotus Iohannes Belismi decanus, ad placitum eum fecit invitare coram Sagiensi episcopo domino videlicet Sarlone, qui apud sanctum Frogentium erat ipsa die', *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 18.

⁴⁴ 'Accepit enim ex habere mulieris adulterę, unum bouem et uaccam cum uitula: ne alii qui hec audissent talia deinceps facere pręsumerent', *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 18.

⁴⁵ Eperrais, Orne, cant. Pervenchères is about 5km due north of Bellême. For the identification of Albert and Lancelinus, see *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, 'Tables', pp. 289 and 309.

bishop and the diocese's most powerful local family, which could so easily be threatened with destabilisation.

Serlo spent the last months of the eleventh century among old friends. By 29 August 1099, William Rufus, who was temporarily in charge of the duchy during the duke's absence, had resolved the dispute between the bishop of Lisieux and abbot of Saint-Évroult concerning a profession of obedience. Serlo, along with Roger, abbot of Sées, and Arnulf, abbot of Troarn, witnessed the benediction of Roger du Sap as the new abbot, the service being performed by Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux.⁴⁶ Three months later, the bishop returned to his old house, and along with the bishops of Lisieux and Évreux, helped dedicate the newly completed abbey.⁴⁷ On 14 November, he blessed the altars dedicated to the Blessed Saviour and St. Giles, while he returned on 31 December to bless an altar in the north transept dedicated to all virgins.⁴⁸ The next century began as promisingly as the last had ended, and the return of Robert Curthose to Normandy in the autumn of 1100 ushered in a brief period of relief for the duchy.⁴⁹ It was not long, however, before the duke was once more under the sway of his worst advisors, chief among them being Robert de Bellême. Soon, he had not only been persuaded to undertake an invasion of England, but had also honoured the lord of Bellême's longstanding claim to the bishopric of Sées,⁵⁰ granting him its control along with the castle of Argentan and the forest of Gouffern.⁵¹ Prior to the agreement Serlo and Robert seem to have been prepared to work together for their mutual benefit. Just months before the transfer they can be found together in a charter granted to the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées by a certain Robert de *Polleio*,⁵² whose family was among the Bellême entourage.⁵³ Serlo and Robert not only agreed to the donation of the church of Saint-Léger-[de *Polleio*], the mill of this same town, and the land

⁴⁶ *OV*, v, p. 262.

⁴⁷ *OV*, v, p. 264. The three bishops also seem to have confirmed a charter of Richer I de l'Aigle, which had been issued before his death in 1085, BN, ms. lat. 11056, fol. 33v-34r. For discussion, see above p. 235 n. 70.

⁴⁸ *OV*, v, p. 266.

⁴⁹ David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 123-124.

⁵⁰ *OV*, iv, p. 296.

⁵¹ *OV*, v, p. 308; vi, p. 46.

⁵² The *Polleio*, or Poelley, served in the entourage of the Bellême-Montgomery family throughout the eleventh century. Their toponym survives today in the name of a hamlet (Poëley) located about a kilometre to the southwest of Saint-Léger-sur-Sarthe (Orne, cant. Alençon), where there remains a circular motte built by William de *Polleio*. Robert de *Polleio* was the *dapifer* of Roger II de Montgomery in the Saosnois and at the castle of Lurson, Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, pp. 280-281.

⁵³ Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 67r-v.

called *campi Caluana*,⁵⁴ but all this was also heard before the abbot of Saint-Martin and his chapter.⁵⁵ Even if this charter predates the grant of the bishopric to Robert,⁵⁶ it was the last time the two men are known to have been together. According to Orderic, shortly after the transfer, the lord of Bellême began to oppress the inhabitants of his new possessions, including the venerable bishop of Sées.⁵⁷ No direct evidence survives to corroborate Orderic's assertion with regards to Serlo, but it is possible that the motte of Saint-Pierre within the city, which some believe was built by Ivo de Bellême,⁵⁸ was actually the work of his nephew.⁵⁹ Robert was famed for his castle building prowess, and such behaviour would have certainly been an aggressive affront to the bishop.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the oppression apparently became so great that Serlo, having excommunicated Robert and his followers for a second time, left for England sometime between 1103 and 1104 along with John, the archdeacon of Sées, and Rodulf, abbot of Saint-Martin. According to Orderic, all three men were 'kindly received' by Henry I.⁶¹

Unfortunately, we know nothing of Serlo's time in England. John the archdeacon became one of the king's chief chaplains, and it is possible that Serlo too remained with the royal court.⁶² He may, however, have sought refuge elsewhere, and his later absence from the royal court perhaps suggests he was never entirely comfortable in such surroundings.⁶³ Indeed, it is possible he joined the abbot of Saint-Martin on his tour of the English monasteries, although William of Malmesbury makes no mention

⁵⁴ 'Notum sit omnibus tam posteris quam presentibus quod Rotbertus filius Willelmi de Polleio anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo primo consulto et concessi domni Serlonis Sagiensis episcopi et domini sui Rotberti de Belismo, Pontivorum comitis dedit... quicquid habebat in ecclesia sancti Leodegarii de Poilleio...', Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 67r.

⁵⁵ '... in presentia tocius conventus et domus abbatis Radulfi', Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 67r-v.

⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the charter is dated no more precisely than 1101, but the reference to Robert de Bellême as *Pontivorum comitis*, a title he can only be said to have used with certainty from the 3 September 1101, might suggest that this act dates to the last months of this year, Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, pp. 401-403; ii, p. 173.

⁵⁷ *OV*, vi, p. 46.

⁵⁸ Decaens, 'L'évêque Yves de Sées', p. 136-137.

⁵⁹ Neveux, 'La ville de Sées', p. 156. Ivo remains the most likely candidate, but as François Neveux has already noted, only detailed archaeological excavations can confirm any of the various hypotheses.

⁶⁰ Orderic claimed that Robert 'held thirty-four strong castles', *OV*, iv, p. 300.

⁶¹ *OV*, vi, pp. 46, 142-144. For discussion of the date, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, p. 355 n. 23. It is probable that Serlo's excommunication of Robert caused the lord of Bellême to write to Ivo of Chartres to complain. The response he received was cursory, to say the least, Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. cxx, col. 134. That Serlo was so greeted by the king is not surprising, for the two had undoubtedly become acquainted during Henry's time in Domfront, Thompson, 'From the Thames to Tinchebray', p. 21.

⁶² *OV*, vi, p. 144.

⁶³ For discussion see below pp. 444-445.

of it.⁶⁴ Yet despite his apparent withdrawal from affairs at this time, Serlo would prove to be a critical figure in Henry's conquest of Normandy in the spring of 1105, and, according to Orderic Vitalis, when the king of England arrived in the duchy, the bishop of Sées was 'the first Norman to rush to offer his service'.⁶⁵ What happened next is so well known that it does not need to be repeated here in great detail, suffice to say that while waiting for the royal court in the church of Carentan before performing the Easter service,⁶⁶ Serlo noticed how the church had become filled with the belongings of those people displaced by the troubles that plagued the region.⁶⁷ Moved by such a pitiful scene, the bishop preached against the evils done to the church by the Norman duke, and against the immorality of the courtly fashion for long hair and beards, a fad to which the king was himself an adherent. The bishop spoke so eloquently, however, that Henry not only declared he would strive to restore the church to peace and security, but demonstrated his commitment by allowing Serlo to cut first his own long hair, then that of his courtiers.

Whether Serlo followed the king from Carentan as he marched eastwards across the duchy, and saw the fire of his rhetoric made manifest in the flames that engulfed Bayeux, is unknown.⁶⁸ In fact, Serlo disappears once again from the historical record for a full two years following his famous sermon, reappearing at Cirencester in around June 1107, where he witnessed an act in the royal court concerning the cathedral of Bayeux.⁶⁹ By September of the same year he had returned to Normandy, however, and in this month ordained his archdeacon John as a priest, the archbishop of Rouen then consecrating him as the new bishop of Lisieux.⁷⁰ The following year Serlo witnessed his last known royal act, which was issued at Argentan and concerned the abbey of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives.⁷¹ In the same year he was present at the council summoned by William Bona Anima in Rouen, although Orderic failed to record the

⁶⁴ William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, pp. 202-204.

⁶⁵ *OV*, vi, p. 60.

⁶⁶ Carentan, Manche, chef-lieu. Easter Sunday fell on 9 April in 1105.

⁶⁷ *OV*, vi, pp. 60-68.

⁶⁸ *OV*, vi, p. 70. The best account of the destruction wrought on Bayeux is found in a poem by Serlo, a canon of Bayeux cathedral, who describes the city as having eleven churches (the cathedral being the largest), the bishop's beautifully decorated court, the house of a rich burgher named Conan, as well as the precious chapter house and the ducal castle, 'Incipiunt versus Serlonis', pp. 246-247. For another account, which is considerably shorter but confirms some of destruction, see John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 106.

⁶⁹ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 819.

⁷⁰ *OV*, vi, p. 144.

⁷¹ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 905.

legislation discussed, only noting how Rodulf, bishop of Coutances, met with Serlo in his lodge (*hospicium*) within the capital to discuss miraculous occurrences within a church in his city.⁷²

If Serlo's appearances following the council of Rouen are infrequent, then the least that can be said of them is that they overwhelmingly concern matters in his diocese. The arrest and imprisonment of his old tormentor, Robert de Bellême, on 4 November 1112 allowed for normal business to return to the see,⁷³ and it is perhaps to this period of his episcopate that the donation to the cathedral of the church of Saint-Julien-sur-Sarthe⁷⁴ by a certain Oliver *Bernunnus* can be dated.⁷⁵ *Gallia Christiana* records that Rodulf, bishop of Coutances, returned to Serlo the treasure that had been taken from him by two priests, which they had hidden next to the altar of Saint-Martin de Sées, but the source for this episode, which must have occurred before 1110, is unclear.⁷⁶ It is possible that Serlo occupied himself at this time with the construction of his cathedral, which within three years of his death was ready for consecration on 21 March 1126.⁷⁷ The new edifice would have complemented the cathedral chapter, which although had many of its dignitaries in place before Serlo's arrival in the city, had expanded noticeably under his supervision, boasting at various times a dean (Odo), six archdeacons (Guy, Geoffrey, John I, William I, Fulk II and Hugh II), a treasurer (John), two chanters (Raginald and John), a chaplain (William), two clerics (Fulk and Odo de Clinchamps), and five canons (Godfrey, Herbert I, Oliver *Bernunnus*, Roger de *Crucifero*, William I).⁷⁸ Serlo's apparent distaste for courtly matters is difficult to explain. It may have been a consequence of his cenobitic upbringing, which, coupled with a familial presence within his episcopal city, would have concentrated his interests here more than anywhere else.⁷⁹ It may also have been

⁷² *OV*, iv, pp. 264-266. Strangely, although Orderic records that Rodulf approached Serlo concerning the miracles because he 'was more deeply learned than he', the monk of Saint-Évroult does not divulge the bishop's interpretations of the happenings.

⁷³ *OV*, vi, p. 178. The year following the lord of Bellême's arrest, Henry invaded the lands belonging to him, and among many things, destroyed the castle in Sées, Neveux, 'La ville de Sées', p. 158.

⁷⁴ Saint-Julien-sur-Sarthe, Orne, cant. Pervençères.

⁷⁵ The donation was confirmed in 1154 by Oliver's inheritor, Bib. év. de Sées, ms. 2, fol. 72v-73r; ed. Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme*, Appendix 2, 'Documents', no. 6.

⁷⁶ *GC*, xi, col. 873.

⁷⁷ *OV*, vi, p. 366.

⁷⁸ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 275, 277-278, 281-282, 284-285, 289, 292, 295, 297.

⁷⁹ Serlo had a nephew named Hugh (*Hugo, nepos Sallonis episcopi*), who witnessed an act of Gerard II in around 1154, Bib. de év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 142r; ed. Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme*, Appendix 2, 'Documents', no. 9. This may be the same individual as the bishop's *prepositus*,

a result of his old age and infirmities, which certainly accounted for his absence at the council of Rouen held on 7 October 1118,⁸⁰ although he had perhaps recovered enough to have been present with the archbishop of Rouen at the council of Reims in October 1119.⁸¹

The restriction of Serlo to his diocese may, however, have been caused by a shift in the political priorities of Henry I. In the first years of his reign, the Conqueror's youngest son had been focused on first securing his crown in England, and then wresting Normandy from his brother. By about 1110, however, these two goals had been achieved, and with the winning of the duchy, Henry became more continental in his focus.⁸² As David Spear has noted, this shift in the king's political orientation seems to have influenced the choice of Geoffrey Brito as the new archbishop of Rouen, who brought to the Norman metropolitan see political acumen located outside the Anglo-Norman realm.⁸³ Serlo's own preoccupations also reflect this change, and about this same time he became a frequent correspondent of Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, often finding himself dragged into the murky politics of the world bordering his diocese as a result.⁸⁴

The two men first exchanged letters at some point shortly before 1112.⁸⁵ Hildebert wrote to the bishop of Sées to congratulate him on his defence of the right of sanctuary, and on his protests following the removal of a fugitive from a church who had fled from prison. Unfortunately, the letter is frustratingly vague, and

also named Hugh, who is mentioned in an act concerning Marmoutier, *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 18.

⁸⁰ *OV*, vi, p. 202.

⁸¹ *OV*, vi, p. 258.

⁸² For a neat survey of Henry's dealings with his continental neighbours, see C. Warren Hollister and T.K. Keefe, 'The making of the Angevin Empire', *Journal of British Studies*, 12 (1973), pp. 1-25.

⁸³ Spear, 'Geoffrey Brito', pp. 125-126.

⁸⁴ Hildebert and Serlo exchanged at least four letters, with only the bishop of Le Mans's responses surviving. The most accessible edition of Hildebert's letters is that of Migne, although his dating and discussion of those relating to Serlo should largely be ignored, Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', nos. ii, vii, xviii; 'Liber tertius', no. iv, Migne, *PL*, clxxi, cols. 207-208, 213-214, 227-228, 286. The letters are discussed critically in A. Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin: évêque du Mans, archevêque de Tours (1056-1133): sa vie, ses lettres* (Paris, 1898), pp. 162-166. It is the numbers assigned to the letters by Dieudonné that will be used here in conjunction with those assigned by Migne.

⁸⁵ Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. vii (Dieudonné, no. 21), cols. 213-214. Dieudonné dated this letter to before 1112, because it is the only letter in which the bishop of Le Mans addressed the bishop of Sées in the polite form, a feature absent from subsequent letters, one of which can be dated to 1112, Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin*, pp. 162-163.

Hildebert mentions neither the church in question, nor the identity of the man who had sought sanctuary there, although it was not the only occasion on which he would be exercised by the issue.⁸⁶ Fortunately, the two men's second letter concerns an altogether more well documented episode. In 1111, Rotrou II, count of the Perche, had been taken captive by Fulk V, count of Anjou, and imprisoned in the tower of Le Mans. Handed over to his great enemy, Robert de Bellême,⁸⁷ the count apparently despaired for his life, sending for the bishop of Le Mans.⁸⁸ Hildebert visited Rotrou, who instructed the bishop to go to his mother in order that he might prove to her the dire nature of his condition. This the bishop duly did, and being received by the count's mother, he remained with her for a few days. On the sixth day, however, Hildebert was seized on the orders of the count's *dapifer*, Hubert Chevreul, and was himself thrown into prison at Nogent-le-Rotrou.⁸⁹ Hildebert therefore turned to his ecclesiastical brethren for assistance, and wrote not only to Ivo, bishop of Chartres,⁹⁰ but also to the bishop of Sées,⁹¹ in whose diocese the majority of the count of Perche's possessions were found,⁹² asking that they visit him and place the *dapifer* under anathema.

Whether Serlo responded to Hildebert's requests is unknown. Ivo de Chartres certainly seems to have visited his fellow bishop,⁹³ and while Adolphe Dieudonné believed that Serlo would not have missed an opportunity to strike against Robert de Bellême,⁹⁴ the fact that Orderic Vitalis does not mention this colourful episode, which

⁸⁶ Cf. Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. xxxvi, cols. 259-260. Paul Piolin did not comment on the circumstances surrounding the letter, and simply believed that Hildebert wrote to Serlo because he admired his steadfastness, P. Piolin, *Histoire de l'Église du Mans*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1851-1863), iii, p. 529.

⁸⁷ For the vicious rivalry between Rotrou and Robert, who were related, see *OV*, vi, pp. 396-398.

⁸⁸ Hildebert, in a letter to the clergy of Mans, says that Rotrou was held only in the tower of Le Mans (Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. xvii, cols. 225-226), while the *vita* of Bernard de Tiron claims that Fulk, count of Anjou, gave the hapless count of Perche to the lord of Bellême, 'Vita beati Bernardi', col. 1415.

⁸⁹ Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. xvii, cols. 225-226. Cf. *Actus pontificum Cenomannis*, pp. 406-407.

⁹⁰ Cf. Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', no. lxxiv, cols. 95-96.

⁹¹ Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. xviii (Dieudonné, no. 22), cols. 227-228.

⁹² This is the explanation behind the letter given by Dieudonné (Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin*, p. 72), who showed that Antoine Beaugendre was mistaken in his belief that Hildebert had written to the bishop of Sées, whom he identified as Rabotius, because he had been transferred to prison at Mortagne, which lay within the bishop's diocese, Migne, *PL*, clxxi, col. 72. Migne dated the episcopate of the mysterious Rabotius to 1106-1120, Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. xviii, col. 227 n. 49.

⁹³ Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. xvii, col. 226.

⁹⁴ Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin*, p. 164.

involved two of his favourite characters, is strange. Nevertheless, the whole situation was resolved with the arrest of the lord of Bellême in November 1112, and it is likely that the bishop of Le Mans was released shortly thereafter.⁹⁵ Furthermore, the continued correspondence between the two men suggests that Serlo had come to the aid of his friend when asked.

The last two letters exchanged by the men probably date towards the end of Serlo's episcopate. The first was written in response to Serlo's letter regarding the son of Walter de Clinchamps, undoubtedly related to the cleric of Sées cathedral, Odo de Clinchamps,⁹⁶ who had married his sister-in-law after her husband had died.⁹⁷ The bishop of Sées had clearly asked Hildebert whether such a union was allowed, to which he was promptly told that it should be disbanded, and the benefices exchanged returned to the rightful individuals.⁹⁸ A letter on the same issue was sent to G. the archdeacon of Sées,⁹⁹ whom Adolphe Dieudonné identified as Walter de Mortagne.¹⁰⁰ Walter, who wrote, along with six other short treatises, that entitled *De coniugio*, would later become bishop of Laon.¹⁰¹ He was, however, born in Mortagne in Flanders,¹⁰² rather than Mortagne in the Orne, while Dieudonné's premise for connecting him to Sées seems to rest solely on the appearance of his treatise in a manuscript of Saint-Martin de Sées. This tract, however, which is often assigned to Hugh de Saint-Victor,¹⁰³ is accredited to Walter in manuscripts located from Oxford to Olomouc in the Czech Republic, though he of course had nothing to do with any of these places.¹⁰⁴ He is, therefore, rightly absent from Spear's *fasti* of cathedral personnel, but since Walter held his episcopal post until 1174, Dieudonné concluded

⁹⁵ Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin*, p. 73.

⁹⁶ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 285.

⁹⁷ Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. ii (Dieudonné, no. 24), cols. 207-208.

⁹⁸ 'Memineris etiam puellam parentibus remittendam, quatenus et ea nubat in Christo, et patris haereditas ad filiam legis beneficio revertatur', Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. ii (Dieudonné, no. 24), col. 208.

⁹⁹ Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. i (Dieudonné, no. 25), col. 207.

¹⁰⁰ Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin*, p. 165. This seems to be based on the assertion of Hector Marais (Marais and Beaudoin, *Essai historique de Sées*, p. 55), which was also repeated by Philibert Barret, P. Barret, 'La fondation du collège de Sées et son administration jusqu'à la Révolution', *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne*, 14 (1895), pp. 151-188, at p. 153.

¹⁰¹ Five of the six are edited in *Spicilegium, sive, collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum*, ed. L. d'Achery, 3 vols. (Paris, 1723), iii, pp. 520-526.

¹⁰² *GC*, ix, col. 533; *Histoire littéraire de la France par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de S. Maur*, ed. A. Rivet de la Grange et al., 41 vols. (Paris, 1733-1981), xiii, p. 511.

¹⁰³ E.g. Migne, *PL*, clxxvi, cols. 153-174.

¹⁰⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud Misc. 392, fol. 77r-88r; Research Library of Olomouc (Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci), M I 203, fol. 70v-82r.

the two letters must date to around 1120.¹⁰⁵ Of course, the archdeacon who received Hildebert's epistle was instead either Guy, Godfrey or William I, but because their tenures can be dated no more exactly than Serlo's episcopate, while at least one (William I) had a career that stretched into the mid-twelfth century, Dieudonné's date might still be correct.¹⁰⁶

Fortunately, the final letter can be dated more exactly, and was sent to Serlo just before Hildebert's departure for the First Lateran Council in the winter of 1122.¹⁰⁷ In it, the bishop of Le Mans noted the difficulties involved in journeying to Rome, and asked the bishop of Sées for his prayers as he battled against 'the snow of the Alps, the threat of floods, the chains of the emperor, and the strife of the people'.¹⁰⁸ The letter is a touching exchange, and there can be little doubt as to how close the two men had become, for Hildebert addresses Serlo not only as his 'dearest brother' (*frater charissime*), but also as a 'blessed priest' (*beate praesul*). Very few of Hildebert's many correspondents received such accolades, and those that did included the pope (Honorius II),¹⁰⁹ his legate (Gerard, bishop of Angoulême),¹¹⁰ the bishop of Clermont (Aimeric),¹¹¹ and Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury.¹¹² All this speaks very highly of Serlo, who, despite the troubles that plagued both his duchy and his diocese, seems to have conducted himself in an exemplary manner throughout his career, and for this reason won the admiration of Hildebert, among others.¹¹³ Indeed, the bishop is only known to have fallen foul of the law once, when he was excommunicated along with the rest of the Norman episcopate in July 1115 for his

¹⁰⁵ Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin*, p. 166.

¹⁰⁶ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 277-278.

¹⁰⁷ Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber tertius', no. iv (Dieudonné, no. 23), col. 286. Only the copy of the letter in BM (Rouen), ms. O 27 Omont 543 gives *S. Sagiensi ep.* as the recipient. For discussion of the date, see Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin*, p. 164.

¹⁰⁸ 'Maxime autem hoc tempore orationibus egemus tuis... tempus hieme suspectum, nivibus Alpes, incrementis aquae, vinculis imperator, seditionibus civitas, exactione palatium', Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber tertius', no. iv (Dieudonné, no. 23), col. 286.

¹⁰⁹ Hildebert addressed the pope as 'beatissime Pater' and 'reverendissimo Patri suo', or a variant thereof, Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. xxx, col. 254; 'Liber secundus', no. xxxviii, col. 262; 'Liber secundus', no. xl, col. 264.

¹¹⁰ Hildebert addressed Gerard as 'reverendissimo ac beatissimo confratri suo', Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. xxix, col. 248.

¹¹¹ Hildebert addressed Aimeric as 'beatissime praesul', Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. xxxiv, col. 257.

¹¹² Hildebert addressed Anselm as 'beate Pater', Hildebert de Lavardin, 'Epistolae', 'Liber secundus', no. ix, col. 217.

¹¹³ For Orderic, the bishop was 'tam secularium quam divinarum eruditione litterarum doctissimus', *OV*, vi, p. 336.

failure to attend the councils excommunicating the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V.¹¹⁴ How Serlo reacted to such censure is unknown,¹¹⁵ but the situation must have been resolved by 1117, for in that year Serlo negotiated, in his hall at Sées (*in aula me apud Sagium*), an agreement with the abbey of Marmoutier concerning the cemetery of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême.¹¹⁶

Regrettably, this charter, which like Hildebert's letters further reflects Serlo's new continental concerns, is the last piece of diplomatic in which the bishop is known to have been involved. Despite occupying the diocese for another six years, it is possible that this was a time plagued by ill-health, which often caused the bishop to miss certain key events, such as the council of Rouen in October 1118.¹¹⁷ When the end did finally come, however, it was orchestrated by the bishop as well as any other aspect of diocesan life. According to Orderic, having celebrated Mass on 26 October 1123, Serlo called his clergy and ministers to him.¹¹⁸ Realising that his health was failing, the bishop ordered that a grave be dug beside the high altar in the cathedral, and that masons carve a coffin in readiness for his approaching death. The following day, Serlo entered the church and attempted to perform Mass, but recognising he was no longer up to the task, entrusted the duty to William, his chaplain. Later in the day, while the cathedral community were gathered for the afternoon meal, it was announced that two papal legates, Peter and Gregory, had arrived in the city. Despite the state of his health, Serlo ordered that the two men be greeted appropriately, and although Orderic never expounds on the reason behind their visit, their presence in the city must surely reflect the respect still commanded by the elderly bishop. Serlo would never meet his guests, however, for remaining behind, he died sitting in his chair. The following day he was placed in the tomb prepared for him, and on the 29 October was buried by John, bishop of Lisieux, his former archdeacon.¹¹⁹ Perhaps only Henry I looked on the bishop's passing as a blessing, for hearing of his death, the

¹¹⁴ William of Malmesbury, *GR*, i, p. 206; John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 136. Serlo is not named personally, however.

¹¹⁵ The bishops of Avranches and Bayeux wrote to Ivo, bishop of Chartres, for advice, Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', nos. cclxx and cclxxiii, cols. 273-274, 275-276. These letters are discussed in full above pp. 99-100.

¹¹⁶ AD Orne, H 2157; ed. *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 19. A critical edition of this act can be found in Appendix G.

¹¹⁷ *OV*, vi, p. 202.

¹¹⁸ *OV*, vi, pp. 336-340.

¹¹⁹ Serlo is commemorated in the necrologies of the abbeys of Saint-Évroult and Jumièges on 27 October, *RHGF*, xxiii, pp. 422, 490.

king dispatched officers from the siege of Pont-Audemer to confiscate the bishop's valuables for the royal treasury.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ *OV*, vi, p. 340.

Conclusion

Since it has already been noted in the introduction that this work does not seek to provide any grand hypotheses, the conclusions noted here will be necessarily brief. In fact, many will already be familiar to those interested in the study of the Norman episcopate, although thanks to the discovery of new material, and the reassessment of that already well-known, some further refinement can be made to those conclusions reached elsewhere. Nevertheless, when comparing the careers of those men who ascended to the episcopate in the years following the victory at Val-ès-Dunes, the patterns of regeneration found in each diocese tend to be remarkably similar. Most of the bishops rebuilt or completed their cathedral, some with funds secured on trips to Italy, while others drew up charters confirming the temporal possessions of their communities. All expanded their cathedral chapters, which in turn led to the establishment of capitular schools, and the members of these schools often produced works in honour of the saintly cults promoted by each bishop. Those chosen to occupy the episcopal office tended to be related to one of the duchy's great families, even when, like William Bona Anima, they had led a life removed from the trappings of court. Many also commanded great secular power, and did not hesitate to exercise this authority militarily, while at least twelve of their number fathered children. This, however, did not prevent men like Odo, bishop of Bayeux, from lending his support to the movement of church reform, which was spearheaded by every archbishop of Rouen from the early 1040s. Like many other aspects of life in the duchy, the nature of the secular church was changed profoundly following the invasion of England. Only seven bishops are known to have spent time across the Channel, however, with just three establishing a significant presence there, while another (Serlo d'Orgères) visited only out of necessity.

Conclusions regarding the bishop's relations with the duke, and with each other, also reveal few surprises. Members of the episcopate were often among the duke's most trusted advisors, and on only four occasions did a bishop fall foul of the duke, suffering punishment as a result. The ducal policy of selecting men for the episcopate seems to have worked remarkably well, therefore, especially when one remembers that only one deposition, and one forced retirement, are known to have taken place. A similar unity can also be found within the episcopate itself, and the frequency with

which members of the episcopate interacted with one another at secular and ecclesiastical functions indicates a certain corporate sense within their ranks. Despite many bishops sharing common kin networks, however, few examples survive of what might be called personal relationships between them. Orderic Vitalis speaks of how Ivo, bishop of Sées, Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, and William, bishop of Évreux, were bound together by ‘mutual consent and great love’,¹ but the example is unique. That multiple bishops attended the funeral of their colleagues suggests they chose to participate out of some sense of respect, rather than simple liturgical function, but examples of such things are limited.² Only one letter from one Norman bishop to another survives,³ while examples of bishops gathering together in number without the duke are few and far between. Nevertheless, there is only one stated case of animosity between two bishops, and even then it is not entirely clear whether such feelings ever existed.⁴ Even if they did, the episcopate of neighbouring ecclesiastical provinces such as Bourges rarely experienced the sort of unity apparent in Normandy, only enjoying a similar cohesion in times of crisis.⁵

If such circumstances seem desirable, however, they also appear to have limited the Norman episcopate to relations within their own sphere of influence. It is extremely rare, for example, to find bishops in the presence of neighbouring lay rulers, and when such cases do occur they tend to concern dioceses where ducal authority was not always absolute. The closed nature of Norman religious meetings is also well known. On only a handful of occasions can neighbouring bishops be found in the duchy alongside one of their Norman colleagues, and even then it seems to have been to persuade him to adopt a measure he was resisting. Papal involvement was similarly limited. None of the bishops served as legate, and although reform was pursued, papal influence was far less than in provinces such as Bourges, Reims or Sens.⁶ This does not mean, however, that the bishops of Normandy were completely

¹ ‘... unanimi consensu tantoque nectebantur amore’, *OV*, ii, p. 78.

² Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Michael, bishop of Avranches, attended Geoffrey de Montbray at his deathbed (‘De statu’, col. 223), while Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, and Robert, bishop of Sées, officiated at the funeral of Hugh d’Eu, bishop of Lisieux, *AD Calvados*, 2 Fi 231.

³ *BN*, ms. lat. 2403, fol. 165r. A critical edition can be found in Appendix G.

⁴ This is between John, archbishop of Rouen, and Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, *OV*, iii, p. 18.

⁵ Gasmand, *Les évêques de Bourges*, p. 502.

⁶ Gasmand, *Les évêques de Bourges*, pp. 504-506; O. Guyotjeannin, ‘L’influence pontificale sur les actes épiscopaux français (provinces ecclésiastiques de Reims, Rouen et Sens, XIe-XIIe siècle)’, in *L’Église de France et la papauté (Xe-XIIIe siècle)*, ed. R. Grosse (Bonn, 1993), pp. 83-102.

cut off from their European counterparts. In France, the bishops of Chartres corresponded most frequently with their Norman colleagues, while John of Ivry and Serlo d'Orgères are known to have sent various letters to Lanfranc of Bec and Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, respectively. These examples are still somewhat limited, however, and, as with the visits of neighbouring prelates, those epistles sent to Norman bishops by individuals such as Ivo, bishop of Chartres, often relate to matters in which the recipient is being reprimanded. Moreover, only Odo, bishop of Bayeux, seems to have enjoyed a relatively large pan-European network of ecclesiastical relations, but even this was fairly limited.

But if it is tempting to see the Norman episcopate at this time as little more than a regional entity, it must not be forgotten that men from among their ranks had international ambitions. This is no better illustrated than by the career of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, as well as, to a certain extent, by those of Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances, and Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées, both of whom travelled far beyond the boundaries of their dioceses. For every distinguished prelate, however, there are two whose careers can best be described as uneventful. Whether this is a consequence of the severe paucity of sources that affects many of the Norman dioceses, or whether it is an accurate representation of actual circumstances, is often difficult to say. The bishops of Avranches, for example, rarely feature in the great chronicles of the period, and often disappear from the historical record for decades at a time. The continued resurgence of their diocese suggests they nevertheless remained active and capable administrators of their see, slowly rebuilding and regenerating its infrastructure following the severe disruption caused by the Scandinavian incursions of the preceding centuries. Each made their own particular contribution to this process, but while certain aspects of this have hopefully been revealed through the study and edition of certain neglected texts, including the surviving episcopal *acta*, it seems inevitable that many of the questions concerning the episcopate at this time will remain unanswered. Furthermore, the extent of the contribution made by the eleventh-century episcopate will only be fully understood if it is placed in a wider context. This is particularly true of the episcopal *acta*, whose real importance will only be revealed once assembled with later documents. A Norman equivalent of the *English Episcopal Acta* series has long been overdue, and it is hoped that this work in part reveals the continued need for such a project.

In spite of this, it should come as no surprise to see it concluded here that the legacy of the episcopate at this time was profound. Having influenced the duchy's religious, political, social and cultural development, the bishops were ideally placed within Norman society to leave lasting monuments to their achievements. It was their restoration of the cathedrals, their engagement with their estates, and, perhaps most importantly, their provision of the means by which such deeds could be recorded, which ensured that many from among their number secured a central place in the memory of their communities. While it is often difficult to detect the bishops playing any pronounced role in the parochial life of their dioceses,⁷ their commitment to the growth of the monastic network suggests this lacuna is more likely a reflection of a lack of sources than any deliberate neglect. As the eleventh century, and the careers of some of its most famous bishops, came to an end, however, much of what had been achieved came under serious threat. The reign of Robert Curthose, which, despite recent attempts at reassessment remains largely one of disaster, seems to have paralysed the episcopate almost to the point of collapse. The victory of Henry I at Tinchebray restored to the duchy the stability that it had enjoyed under the Conqueror, but the new duke was to pursue a different policy with the episcopate. Prelates of the highest noble blood were replaced upon their death with curialists, and while Henry retained the tight control over the church exercised by his father, and the bishops of his reign engaged in activities similar to those of their predecessors, the episcopate that was to emerge during his rule differed markedly in its character.⁸ From this new order emerged men outstanding in their own way, and while few of them had little in common with men such as Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances, they were all united by the enormous debt they owed to their eleventh-century predecessors.

⁷ For full discussion, see below Appendix E.

⁸ Spear, 'The Norman episcopate', pp. 185-186.

THE NORMAN EPISCOPATE, 989-1110
(2 VOLS.)

by

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II

Additional material

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

NORGOD, BISHOP OF AVRANCHES, AND THE 'FIRE' AT MONT-SAINT-MICHEL

Norgod, bishop of Avranches, and the ‘fire’ at Mont-Saint-Michel

- A. Original lost.
- B. BM (Avranches), ms. 211, fol. 33r-34r. 15th-century copy in a manuscript known as the *Historiae Montis sancti Michaelis volumen maius*.
- C. BM (Avranches), ms. 213, fol. 140v-141. 15th-century copy in a manuscript known as the *Historiae Montis sancti Michaelis volumen minus*.
- D. BM (Avranches), ms. 212, fol. 20v-22r. 15th-century copy.
- E. BN, ms. lat. 5430, fol. 16v-17v. 15th-century copy.
- F. BN, ms. fr. 18947, fol. 131v. 17th-century copy by Jean Huynes.
- G. BM (Avranches), fonds Pigeon, ms. 45, pp. 113-114. 17th-century copy by Charles Guérin.
- H. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 21822, fol. 431v-432v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from C).

Ptd. Le Roy, ‘Curieuses recherches’, pp. 878-879; Pigeon, *Vies des saints*, ii, pp. 324-326; Allen, ‘Un évêque et sa ville’, no. i, pp. 33-38 (from B-H); Bouet and Desbordes, *Chroniques*, pp. 312-314 (from BCD).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 13818, fol. 398r-v; Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, vol. 195, pp. 19-20; BN, ms. fr. 18948, fol. 23r-24r; BN, ms. fr. 18949, pp. 320-321; BN, ms. fr. 18950, pp. 111-112, 145; BN, ms. fr. 18947, fol. 23v-25v; BM (Cherbourg), ms. 64, pp. 14-15; BM (Cherbourg), ms. 65, pp. 9-10; Feuarent, *Histoire du Mont-St.-Michel*, pp. 27-29; Desroches, *Histoire du Mont-Saint-Michel*, pp. 154-155; Le Roy, ‘Curieuses recherches’, p. 288; Huynes, *Histoire du Mont-St-Michel*, i, pp. 66-68; Desroches, ‘Annales religieuses’, ii, p. 51; Gout, *Le Mont-Saint-Michel*, i, p. 112; Laporte, ‘L’Abbaye du Mont Saint-Michel’, p. 68; Bougy, ‘Le Roman du Mont-Saint-Michel’, p. 493; Smith, ‘Footprints in stone’, pp. 208-209.

Note. The miracle story is discussed in full on pp. 33-43. **B** has been exposed to damp, which in places has rendered the text almost illegible. This is noted in the transcription, and at these points the text is as **C**.

B

^(a-)Qualiter Norgodus, presul Abrincensis, montem^(-a) sancti Michaelis quasi ardere viderit. Solennis^(b) beati Michaelis impendebat festivitas^(c) quam annuatim per orbem sancta celebrat^(d) christianitas. Extitit itaque causa, quia^(e) tamen excessit memoria, qua^(f) presul Abrincensis ipsiusque monasterii sancti Michaelis abbas, pridie

festivitatis eius, in unum convenerunt colloquendi gratia. Preerat eo tempore ipsi cenobio Mainardus secundus, Abrincensi^(g) vero ecclesiae vigeabat presul Norgodus, tam generis nobilitate quam morum probitate conspicuus. Is quo advixit summa dilectione monachos sancti Michaelis excolvit, ^(h-)eundemque locum cum inhabitantibus⁽ⁱ⁾ pro viribus in ⁽ⁱ⁻⁾cunctis extulit;^{(-i)(-h)} xenia etiam sepiissime^(j) immo^{(i)(k)} pene assidue ipsis monachis dirigebat, precipueque hoc quadragesimali tempore faciebat, pisces de suo emptos vice caritatis^(l) illis^(m) immittendo⁽ⁿ⁾ diebus quibus eos ieiunaturos sciebat. Qui etiam^(o) cursum vite laudabili terminavit obitu, in eodem loco factus sancti Michaelis monachus. Hic itaque cum suis ad locum qui nunc etiam Rupis dicitur collocuturi ut diximus convenerunt; mutisque colloquiis ⁽ⁱ⁻⁾diem ducentes ad vesperum festivitatis gratia hora vespertine⁽⁻ⁱ⁾ sinaxis non imposito fine negocio discesserunt. Et quia id cuius causa convenerant remanebat infectum, ut sequenti die ibidem utrique⁽ⁱ⁾ redituri indixere⁽ⁱ⁾ sibi invicem intervalle dicendum. Abbas ergo ad monasterium concitus venit, presul vero Abrincis ad sedem propriam rediit.

Qui cum tante festivitati congrua matutinorum solennia^(p) peregisset atque incumbentibus adhuc tenebris noctis^(q) ad proprium cubiculum quieturus redisset,^(r) per fenestram respiciens ecce totum montem sancti Michaelis quasi ardere videt, evolare a summo ignis ad medium ⁽ⁱ⁻⁾harenarum^(s) itemque⁽⁻ⁱ⁾ redire quasi scintillantes⁽ⁱ⁾ titiones. Turbatus itaque quosdam qui praesentes erant vocavit eisque quid videret indicavit, quorum alii hoc idem viderunt, alii autem se^(t) nichil tale se^(u) videre dixerunt. Ipse vero cum grandi gemitu cunctos evocans canonicos, agenda mortuorum celebravit pro hiis^(v) quos eodem incendio^(w) credebatur extinctos.^(x) Confestimque ascensis equis ad eundem^(y) locum ire festinanter cepit, ut consolationem superstitibus monachis funus vero debitum impenderet extinctis. Abbas itidem,^(z) finitis matutinis, cum quibusdam suorum a^d ^(a)conductum^(b) locum maturius sese agere cepit, ut inde regressus interesse quiret sacris missarum solemnibus.^(c) Accelerans ergo iter predictus episcopus in medio^(d) harenarum^(e) iam prope montem ei obviam est^(f) factus. Quem cum isdem^(g) abbas requisisset^(h) cur denominatum colloqui locum⁽ⁱ⁾ preterisset, seriatim ei retulit quid vidisset, quid egisset, vel ad quod^(j) venisset, inquisiuitque^(k) utrum aliquid preter solitum nocte eadem in ipso monte sancti Michaelis accidisset. Isque^(l) cum nichil^(m) accidisse responderet insolitum, patenter⁽ⁿ⁾ intellexerunt non aliud signasse ignem visum

quam presentiam beatorum spirituum eundem locum cum sancto Michaelē
invisentium.

Variants. a–a, Qualiter venerabilis praesul Norgodus montem, *etc.* G; b, Sollennis C; c, solennitas F; d, *om.* C; e, que BCDEFG; f, quia C; g, Abrincensis D; h–h, *om.* F; i, i–i, *ill.* B; j, sepiissime E; k, imo FG; l, karitatis C; charitatis FG; m, in *add.* C; n, in *add.* FG; o, est C; p, sollennia C; solemnna F; q, noctis tenebris CDE; r, rediisset D; s, arenae F; t, *om.* CF; u, *om.* DG; v, eis FG; w, in cenobio C; x, extictos D; y, eundem D; z, itaque FG; a, a D; b, conditum D; c, solempniis C; solenniis D; d, in medio DG; e, arenae FG; f, est obviam CFG; g, idem G; h, requisivisset D; i, *om.* D; j, quid CDFG; k, inquisitus que CG; l, Ideoque C; m, nihil FG; n, illud, *add.* B, *which is scored through.*

APPENDIX B

THE VASSALS OF IVO DE BELLÊME, BISHOP OF SÉES

The vassals of Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées, c. 1047/8-c. 1071^{*}

Name	Relationship to Ivo	Source
Ascelin <i>Cotinellus</i>	Ascelin granted land at Claire-Fontaines (28) and at Gréez-sur-Roc (29) to Saint-Vincent du Mans, 'with the approval of my lord, namely, Ivo, bishop of Sées' (<i>senoribus meis fauentibus uidelicet Iuone, Sagiensi episcopo</i>).	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 629
Berlay	Berlay was one of Ivo's knights. He granted land at Les Fossés (4) ^{**} to Saint-Vincent du Mans with Ivo's consent.	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , nos. 545, 549
Fulcher <i>Digladatus</i>	Fulcher is described as a <i>fidelis</i> of the bishop, and granted land at <i>Monte Ade</i> (unidentified) to the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême.	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 5
Fulco de Crapon (24)	Fulco is described as a <i>fidelis</i> of the bishop, and granted land at Crapon (nr. La Mélarbière) (25) called <i>Aldefredi</i> , and two arpents of abandoned vineyards and two fields to the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême.	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 5
Gunherius	Gunherius granted the church at Luerzon (32) to Saint-Vincent du Mans with the 'support of the lords from whom it is held, namely the bishop Ivo...' (<i>faventibus dominis de quorum habentur beneficio, Ivone videlicet pontifice</i>).	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 765
Hamelin <i>Livarius</i>	Hamelin promised to grant the church of Marcilly (11) to Saint-Vincent du Mans after Ivo's death, which suggests he held it of the bishop.	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 628
Hernaldus	Hernaldus is described as Ivo's <i>fidelis</i> , and granted the church of Avesnes (33) and the wood of Gratesac (34) to Saint-Vincent du Mans with his permission.	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 834

^{*} Peter Hull was the first to try and catalogue Ivo's vassals (Hull, 'The Norman episcopate', ii, pp. 232-235), while a useful list illustrating the extent of Ivo's authority as shown by his *acta* can be found in Thompson, 'Family and influence', pp. 224-225. However, not only did Hull not have access to the cartulary of Saint-Martin de Sées, he also neglected to include certain *fideles* mentioned in charters relating to the priories of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême and Saint-Léonard. The numbers within the list refer to the numbers on the map, while these symbols are used to denote the following: ◇ = land/woods/vines/animals; + = church; × = mill; T = toponym.

^{**} Robert Charles proposed that this land was in the canton of Marolles-les-Braults, *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, 'Index nominum personarum et locorum', p. 49. There are, however, many places with this name in region, including Les Fosses at Les Mées (Sarthe, chef-lieu); Les Fossés at Vezot (Sarthe, cant. Mamers); Les Fossés at Roullée (Sarthe, cant. Mamers); Les Fosses at Hélioup (Orne, cant. Alençon-1); Les Fosses at Vingt-Hanaps (Orne, cant. Alençon-3) and Les Fossés at Saint-Aubin-d'Appenai (Orne, cant. Mêle-sur-Sarthe).

Hervey de Breviart (7)	Hervey gave a mill at Haguelet (8), land next to Saint-Longis (9) and a mill at Méharenc (10) to Saint-Vincent du Mans with Ivo's assent	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , nos. 624, 628
Hugh de Rocé (18)	Hugh gave land at Rocé (19) (comm. Le Gué-de-la-Chaîne) and the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême (20) to Marmoutier with Ivo's assent.	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 5
Ingelbald de Curtiello (26)	Ingelbald is described as a <i>fidelis</i> of the bishop, and granted a horse at Crapon (27) to the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême.	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 5
Norman <i>miles</i>	Norman granted the church of Saint-Ouen de Villiers (1) and land at Rougemare (2) to the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées, with 'the assent of our lord, Ivo, bishop of Sées' (<i>Annunte domino nostro Iuone episcopo...</i>).	Bib. de év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 7v, 10r
Norman, father of Robert and Odo	Norman granted land at Vezot (3) to the abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans with Ivo's assent. It is possible that this is the same individual as Norman <i>miles</i> .	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 587
Odo de Clinchamps (30)	Witnesses many acts along with the bishop, and may have possessed a castle at Le Grand Clinchamps on the banks of the Orne.	Louise, <i>La seigneurie de Bellême</i> , ii, p. 240
Rainer <i>Cementarii</i>	Rainer held land situated between the castle of Bellême and the church of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême along the stream called La Même (22), which was given by Ivo to the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême.	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 5
Robert, son of Froger	Robert granted land at Marollette (31) with the assent of his lords Geoffrey, count of Anjou and Ivo, bishop of Sées.	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 611
Walter Rufus	Walter is described as a <i>fidelis</i> of the bishop, and granted land between the stream Le Petit-Ruisseau and the old way (<i>veterem viam</i>) (23) to the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 5
Walter du Pin	Walter gave the church of Pin to the abbey of Marmoutier with Ivo's consent.	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 7
Warin Turmellus	Warin is described as a <i>fidelis</i> of the bishop, and granted Le Buchard (nr. Avesnes) (35) with Ivo's consent.	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 835
William de la Ferté Macé (12)	William granted the churches of Bellou-en-Houlme (13), Habloville (14), Giel (15), Magny-le-Désert (16) and Ferté Macé (17) to the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres, with Ivo's assent.	<i>RADN</i> , no. 117

APPENDIX C

ORDO FOR THE PALM SUNDAY PROCESSION IN ROUEN (1069)

Ordo for the Palm Sunday procession in Rouen (1069)

A charter of Richart de Cormeilles, vicomte of Rouen, which contains an abbreviated account of the liturgical procedures that are to take place in Rouen during the Palm Sunday procession. These were taken from the second and third pages of an ancient vellum book containing the observances of the church of Rouen, which was written in 1069.

The procession itself begins [in the cathedral]. It opens with the antiphon Venite benedicti, which is sung by the canons, while the archbishop, who is to be clothed in his priestly garb, stands holding the cross outstretched to his left side. Those gathered then process to the church of Saint-Godard, where the holy body (i.e. the host) is placed in a reliquary. Having sung the antiphon En rex venit, the archbishop, along with the cantor, deacon and subdeacon, must process with the people to the city gate [le Grand-Pont], where they are to be greeted by five boys singing Gloria, laus. When the people enter [the city through the gate] these same boys must then begin to sing the response Ingremente domino. Similarly, when the procession returns to the cathedral, it is to be greeted by four canons dressed in green and red copes standing near the first windows, who are to chant the verse Unus autem. When the canons enter the church with the cross then the antiphon Ave rex noster is begun. When this is finished, four deacons, wearing purple copes, are to sing the response Circumdederunt me.

- A. Original lost
- B. AD Seine-Maritime, G 3659. Extract in charter issued by Richart de Cormeilles, vicomte of Rouen, dated 15 August 1394.

Ind. Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines', p. 153; Étienne-Steiner, 'Recherches sur les rapports', pp. 207-208.

Note. This fragment survives thanks only to the obstinacy of a certain Regnault Cousin, who, as owner of the *hôtel du Grand-Pont*, attempted to stop the five boys responsible for singing the *Gloria laus* from passing through his property in 1393.¹ More developed versions of this procession can be found in later ordinals belonging to the cathedral of Rouen,² while the thirteenth-century gradual contains details of the alternative arrangements to be put in place for inclement conditions.³ By the fifteenth

¹ The *hôtel du Grand-Pont* was on the corner of rue de l'Aumône (currently rue des Fossés Louis VIII). It took its name from the gate next to which it stood, which was also known as *la porte Sainte-Appolline*. For its history, and a full discussion of the circumstances surrounding the charter of 15 August 1394, see L. Deville, 'La porte Saint-Appolline à Rouen', *Annuaire de la cinq départements de la Normandie*, 48 (1882), pp. 377-385, esp. pp. 382-384. For an image of the gate as it was in 1525, see *Le livre des fontaines de la ville de Rouen par Jacques le Lieur*, ed. B. Eliot and S. Riolland (Rouen, 2005), Le plan de la source de Gaalor.

² BM (Rouen), ms. Y 110 Omont 384, fol. 70v-73r; BN, ms. lat. 1213, pp. 70-72.

³ 'Si ergo processio non fuerit egressa ab ecclesia, fiat statio apud sanctum Stephanum et testudinibus cantent pueri hi versus scilicet *Gloria laus*, chorus reiteret flectendo genua. Item pueri predicti incipiant, *Israel es tu rex Davidis...*', BN, ms. lat. 904, fol. 78v. Both Henri Loriquet and Claire Étienne-Steiner mistranscribed the Tironian nota before *testudinibus* as 'in' (*Le graduel de l'église*

century, Pierre Cochon was able to speak of the event as one of '*les plus belles processions qui eussent à Rouen*', which, he claimed, involved the participation of over nine hundred people.⁴ Unaware of the extract edited below, François Farin and Jean-François Pommeraye thought that the Rouen procession dated to the archiepiscopate of John's successor, William Bona Anima,⁵ based upon Orderic's description of this archbishop's translation to the cathedral of the body of St. Romanus,⁶ while Jean Le Prévost believed it owed its origins to the edicts of Lanfranc.⁷ Henri Lorient also thought that the procession had Canterbury roots,⁸ although such processions were commonplace throughout much of medieval Europe,⁹ while John was already experienced in arranging such festivities, having established the annual procession of the relics of St. Aubert from Mont-Saint-Michel to the cathedral of Avranches in 1061.¹⁰ Jacques Le Maho thought that the reliquary used to house the Eucharist during the procession was perhaps that of St. Romanus,¹¹ which was inspected by John's predecessor, Robert, on 26 May 1036.¹²

B

A tous ceulz qui ces lettres verront ou ouvront Richart de Corneilles viconte de Rouen salut. Savoir faisons que lan de grace mil ccciii^{xx} et xiiii le xv jour auoust nous veisines un ancien livre ou sont contenuees les obsevances anciennes du serviaie divin de leglise de Rouen qui fu fait lan de grace mil lxix. Sicomme en velin livre est contenu en quel estoit contenu en la segrade et tierches pages ce que ensi: Primo siquidem die Dominico quadragesime. Sacerdos sacerdotali veste redimitus, crucem a sinistro latere pretendens, in canonicorum aspectu *Venite benedicti* preparatur cantaturus, die vero ramis palmarum a canonicis digna et debita processione sancti Gildardi petendum est monasterium, et sacre fidei commodum illic honoribus et docendum. Et dum corpus Deum vase convenienti pretenditur, quinque secunde forme canonici tenentur adsistere coram eo. *En rex venit* concinentes, postea archipresul

cathédrale de Rouen au XIIIe siècle, ed. H. Lorient (Rouen, 1907), p. 40 n. 3; C. Étienne-Steiner, 'Le culte des archanges et sa place dans l'Eglise préromane et romane entre Loire et Rhin', Thesis, PhD, 2 vols. (Université de Paris-X), i, p. 216 n. 2; Étienne-Steiner, 'Recherches sur les rapports', p. 208), although the meaning of the phrase is still retained, since *testudinibus* is in the locative.

⁴ *Chronique normande de Pierre Cochon, notaire apostolique à Rouen*, ed. C. de Robillard de Beurepaire (Rouen, 1870), pp. 337-338.

⁵ Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église cathédrale de Rouen*, pp. 675-676; Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, i, pt. iii, pp. 41-44. Deville followed these authors, Deville, 'La porte Saint-Appolline', p. 379.

⁶ *OV*, iii, pp. 22-24.

⁷ R. P. *Johannis Abrincensis Episcopi ... liber de officiis ecclesiasticis ad Maurilium Rotomagensis Archiepiscoporum ... nunc ex MS. codice bibliothecæ Bigotianæ auctus et emendatus* (Rouen, 1679), p. 129.

⁸ *Le graduel de Rouen*, pp. 37-38.

⁹ Étienne-Steiner, 'Le culte des archanges', i, pp. 209-220.

¹⁰ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, Appendix II, no. 5, pp. 195-196.

¹¹ Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines', p. 152.

¹² AD Seine-Maritime, G 3666.

cantore ad exitus cum diacono et subdiacono comitante, Deo afflictionis impendit humiliacione clerici et poplo equali devocione affliguntur deinde processio ad portam civitatis remeat adornatam supra quem quinque pueri *Gloria laus* audiuntur de cantare, et cum civitatem debeant subintrare *Ingrediente domino* incipiunt. Similiter quatuor sacerdotes canonici ad primas fenestras ecclesie elevati cum capis viridis et rubeis *Unus autem* de cantabunt post ea canonicis ecclesiam ingredientibus de regum crucifixum, et ab eis *Ave rex noster* incipitur, finita antiphona et a ^{or}iiii diaconis *Circumdederunt me* decantato cum capis purpureis, chorus a canonicis subintratur. Desquelles choses le pend de doien et chappitre de la dicte eglise de Rouen nous a requis ces lettres pour lui valon en temps et en lieu ce que raison sera que nous lui avons octroies. En tesmoiny de ce nous avons mis a ces lettres le grant scel aux causes de la ditte viconte. Ce fu fait en lan et jour premier dessus diz.

Collation faicte

[signé]

de Chaynell

Fig. 83 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 83 Rouen in the eleventh century^{*}

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. Abbey of Saint-Ouen | 15. Church of Saint-Laurent |
| 2. Church of Sainte-Croix-Saint-Ouen | 16. Church of Saint-Gildard |
| 3. Church of Saint-Maclou | 17. Porte aux Fèvres |
| 4. Church of Saint-Martin de la Roquette | 18. Porte Massacre |
| 5. Pont de Bois ? | 19. Porte Cauchoise ? |
| 6. Church of Saint-Clément | 20. Porte Sainte-Apolline |
| 7. Ducal castle | 21. Porte Saint-Léonard |
| 8. Church of Saint-Vincent | 22. Porte du Robec |
| 9. Church of Saint-André | 23. Cathedral |
| 10. Church of Saint-Eloi | 24. Church of Saint-Herbland |
| 11. Church of Saint-Sauveur | 25. Notre-Dame de la Ronde |
| 12. Church of Saint-Jean | 26. Priory of Saint-Lô |
| 13. Church of Saint-Martin-sur-Renelle | 27. Monastery of Saint-Amand |
| 14. Church of Saint-Gervais | 28. Church of Saint-Sever |

^{*} Map adapted from the 'plan évolutif' developed by Jacques Tanguy, <http://www.rouen-histoire.com/Plan/index.htm> (accessed 16 May 2006).

APPENDIX D

EPISCOPAL CHILDREN, 942-1110

Episcopal children, 942-1110

One issue, above all others, dominated the minds of reformers during the eleventh and twelfth centuries: clerical marriage. First legislated against in Normandy at the Council of Lisieux in 1064,¹ the duchy proved particularly stubborn in this regard, and not only produced texts such as the Norman Anonymous, which contained a defence of clerical marriage,² but was still, by the early twelfth century, home to priests who ‘were living publicly with their wives, were celebrating marriages, and were having sons and daughters so that they might bequeath their churches to them’.³ Some of the bishops of Normandy attempted, for their part, to enforce the celibacy of their colleagues and subordinates, meeting violent opposition as a result,⁴ while others continued to keep wives and concubines as late as the last quarter of the eleventh century. The offspring from these unions is occasionally known, though the wives and concubines more often are not, and episcopal children entered various aspects of life in the duchy. This might include inheriting positions from their father, as in the case of Richard, count of Évreux, or serving in the courts of later dukes and kings, as did the children of Odo, bishop of Bayeux and Mauger, archbishop of Rouen.⁵ The majority, however, are not well known, and the table below includes four individuals who have hitherto escaped the attention of scholars. These men seem often to have remained close to their father’s sphere of influence, the clearest example of which is Gilbert, son of a bishop of Sées, whose own family was established within the city, granting some of their possessions to the abbey of Saint-Martin.⁶ That episcopal children did not play a more pronounced role in the life of the duchy suggests that, while prepared to flout canonical law, those guilty of having children at least realised they should remain out of the limelight. In fact, only one bishop attempted to insert his son into one of the Norman dioceses during this period, and this was an English bishop, Rannulf Flambard.

¹ Canon 3; Delisle, ‘Canons du concile à Lisieux’, p. 517

² Four tractates (J16/B16, J17/B17, J26 and J25/L1) of the Norman Anonymous concern the issue of clerical celibacy, Williams, *The Norman anonymous*, p. 109

³ ‘Porro pro consuetudine tunc temporis per tota Normannia hoc erat, ut Presbyteri publice uxores ducerent, nuptias celebrarent, filios ac filias procrearent, quibus hereditario jure post obitum suum ecclesias relinquerent’, ‘Vita beati Bernardi’, col. 1397.

⁴ John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen, is a good example in this regard, for he was stoned out of his cathedral after trying to enforce celibacy on his clergy, *OV*, ii, p. 200.

⁵ Michael de Baines served in the court of Henry I, while John, son of Odo of Bayeux, was chosen by members of that same court to tell the king of the death of his son William on the *White Ship*, Wace, *Roman de Rou*, part III, ll. 4570-4572.

⁶ Bib. év. (Sées), non coté, fol. 112r-113r.

Bishop	Child	Mother	Source
Hugh, bishop of Bayeux	Albereda Rodulf	? ?	OV, iii, p. 244 BN, ms. coll. Moreau, vol. 21, fol. 25r-v
Odo, bishop of Bayeux	John of Bayeux	?	OV, iii, p. 264; vi, p. 378
Tuold, bishop of Bayeux*	Geoffrey (<i>filius Tuoldus de Envremou</i>)	?	BN, ms. lat. 10058, p. 6
Hugh, bishop of Coutances	Roger	?	RADN, nos. 135, 186
A bishop of Coutances (?)	Roger (<i>filius episcopi</i>)	?	BM (Flers), ms. 18, p. 5
Gilbert, bishop of Évreux	Odo (<i>filius Gisleberti episcopi</i>)	?	Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédictine, no. 6 (formerly 2ter)
Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux	Hugh Maminot	?	Keats-Rohan, <i>Domesday people</i> , p. 271
Hugh of Saint-Denis, archbishop of Rouen	(unidentified)	?	‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224
Robert, archbishop of Rouen	Rodulf Gacé Richard, count of Évreux William	Herleva " "	GND, ii, p. 232; OV, iii, p. 94 GND, ii, p. 232; OV, iii, p. 94; RADN, no. 92 OV, iii, p. 94
Mauger, archbishop of Rouen	Michael de Baines (others, unidentified)	Gisla	Wace, <i>Roman de Rou</i> , part III, ll. 4565-4572
William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen**	Hugh (<i>nostri filii</i>)	?	BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 4, pp. 156-157
Radbod, bishop of Sées	William Bona Anima	?	OV, ii, pp. 38, 254; GND, ii, p. 148
A bishop of Sées or a bishop of Bayeux (?) ⁺	Gilbert (<i>filius episcopi</i>)	?	Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 112r-113r

Fig. 84 Episcopal children, 942-1110

* While Geoffrey is not specifically identified as the son of the bishop, there seems little reason to doubt that *Tuoldus de Envremou* is not the individual by that name given the bishopric of Bayeux by William Rufus. Not only does Geoffrey appear in a document that concerns various donations either made or witnessed by his father, as well as other members of his family, but Tuold, bishop of Bayeux, can be found witnessing elsewhere as ‘Tuold d’Envermeu’, *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 936.

** Although it is highly unlikely that William Bona Anima had a son, this unusual reference has nevertheless been included. William was, after all, the son of a priest, and before his career at Caen he had been a member of a cathedral chapter famous for its clerical families. The fact that his relationship to Hugh is expressed in the plural, while others in the same text are referred to in the singular (e.g. *cancellarii mei*), is a cause for concern, and since the earliest surviving copy of this text comes from the seventeenth century, there is every possibility of a fault in the transcription.

⁺ The latter is the suggestion of Kathleen Thompson (pers. comm.), who identifies the land of *Moul*, which is associated with Gilbert, as Moul (Calvados, cant. Bourguébus). This name is rendered in Latin elsewhere as *Modollo*, however, Adigard des Gautries, ‘Les noms du Calvados’, p. 36.

APPENDIX E

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS ON SOME 'PAROCHIAL' ACTIVITIES

Notes and documents on some 'parochial' activities

The history of the Norman parish before the twelfth century is one that is difficult to trace. A recent collection of essays dedicated to the development of the Norman parochial network reveals the gap in our knowledge of this formative period, and contains only one work that attempts to describe circumstances in the duchy during the eleventh century.¹ Even harder to uncover are the parochial, pastoral or diocesan activities of the Norman episcopate at this time. This lacuna is a consequence of two factors, the first of which concerns the survival of material. Events of only local significance, such as the dedication of a parish church, were unlikely to be recorded by contemporaries if such a ceremony was not attended by the duke, or if this church was not subsequently subject to some form of dispute. The second concerns the character of the bishops of eleventh-century Normandy, and their priorities. Men such as Odo, bishop of Bayeux and Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances, were expected to be administrators not confessors.² They placed an emphasis on the glorification of their own church, and were understandably preoccupied with its restoration. Their attitude was perhaps not dissimilar to that of Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, who, according to Orderic Vitalis, was often reluctant to undertake pastoral duties unless repeatedly harried with requests.³ Consequently, we have only a handful of examples of bishops interacting with the minor institutions of their diocese. There are, for example, only seven cases of the dedication of a non-monastic church by a bishop, namely those of Aumale,⁴ Vernon,⁵ Briouze,⁶ La Ferté-en-Bray,⁷ Marigny,⁸ *Cabuciaci*,⁹ and an unnamed church dedicated by Geoffrey de Montbray on 14 August 1092,¹⁰ although even some of these were subsequently transformed into priories and abbeys.

¹ This is the essay by Éric van Torhout, 'Droit de patronage et réforme ecclésiastique à l'ouest de la Vire au XI^e siècle', in *La paroisse en Normandie au Moyen-Âge*, pp. 90-120. This study is, however, often overly reliant on later material, in particular the various *pouillés* compiled during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

² The point is made by Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 44.

³ *OV*, iii, p. 20.

⁴ Dedicated by Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime, 1 H 1.

⁵ Dedicated by Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, AD Eure, G 288.

⁶ Dedicated by Serlo, bishop of Sées, AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, fol. 119r-v.

⁷ Dedicated by Hugh, bishop of Coutances, Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 292 n. 37.

⁸ Dedicated by Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances, Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, vol. 303 (vi), fol. 59r.

⁹ Dedicated by William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, BN, ms. lat. 5441 (i), p. 211.

¹⁰ 'De statu', col. 222.

Examples of similar duties, such as the internment of a member of the local nobility, are even harder to find. There are only three cases of a bishop burying an individual not closely related to the ducal line, and two of these are from the same family.¹¹ There is also little evidence to suggest the eleventh-century bishops of Normandy had regular or sustained interaction with local priests. One of the few exceptions to this rule is the case of the priest of Bonneval, who recounted his vision of a host of the damned to Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux, but it was the priest who sought out the bishop, and only then because he required medical assistance.¹² The punishment of local priests, as well as of their parishioners, is something that appears to have been routinely delegated to the minor orders. Two charters issued by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, stipulate that criminal sins were to be heard before the archdeacon of the parish where the offence was committed,¹³ while it was the archdeacons of this same diocese who petitioned Lanfranc for his advice concerning whether a priest who had committed murder in self-defence could perform Mass.¹⁴ It seems, therefore, that the case of the priest of Vesly, which is printed below, represents an extreme case that required the intervention of not only the archbishop of Rouen, but also the king of England. The other three documents edited along with this particular text represent some of the better documented cases of bishops performing pastoral or diocesan duties, and the various other activities that could accompany something as apparently mundane as a church dedication. Only one of these documents has previously been printed *in extenso*, while all four are known from only one surviving manuscript copy.

¹¹ Gilbert, bishop of Évreux, buried members of the L'Aigle family in the years 1085 and 1091 (*OV*, iv, pp. 50, 202), while Geoffrey de Montbray buried Nigel, *vicomte* of the Cotentin, in summer 1092, 'De statu', col. 222.

¹² *OV*, iv, p. 240.

¹³ *Regesta*, nos. 52, 57.

¹⁴ *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 51. That the archdeacons appear to be acting independently of the bishop in this particular case may be explained by the fact that the petition seems to have been made during the imprisonment of Bishop Odo, but given the fact that Odo's own charters direct the lesser orders to deal with such matters the archdeacons of Bayeux may have acted similarly had their bishop not been incarcerated.

1091 × 1093

A notice of Enguerrand de Say recording how Robert, son of Rainfrid de Remilly-[sur-Lozon], had the church of Saint-Pierre de Marigny dedicated for his soul, for the souls of his mother and father, for that of his wife Muriel who was buried in this same church and for the souls of all his relatives, either living or dead. On the day of the dedication he gave as dower the bourg that he had in Marigny beyond the bridge, where his brother Geoffrey had no part. Moreover, because he had bought this with his own money from Geoffrey son of Amicus, and because he had built this bourg, he gave it free of all rents and services. He also gave a pint of grain from the two mills in this parish, freed the house of the priest Boso from all tolls, and gave to the church the tithe of the other bourg. He confirmed this by placing a knife on the altar. Peter, son of Geoffrey, who was lord of the church under Robert, gave four acres of land situated around the church, while Aitard de Mesnil-Aleaume gave his tithe of the same church, a donation confirmed by his lord, Robert, son of Rainfrid. All this was confirmed by Geoffrey, bishop [of Coutances] and many other ecclesiastical and lay figures. Robert then asked Geoffrey to sing Mass, and asked everyone to confirm, maintain, protect, defend and free the benefices that had been give the church. The bishop then issued a verbal anathema against those who sought to disturb these gifts, threatening them with excommunication.

- A. Original lost.
- B. AD Manche, H 46. 12th-cent. charter destroyed 6 June 1944.
- C. Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, vol. 303 (vi), fol. 59r-v. 19th-cent. copy by T. Courteaux (from B).

Ptd. C. Fierville, 'Étude sur le marquisat de Marigny', *Mémoires de la Société académique du Cotentin*, 1 (1875), pp. 81-184, at p. 87; L. Musset, 'Peuplements en bourgages et bourgs ruraux en Normandie du Xe au XIIIe siècle', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 9 (1966), pp. 177-208, at p. 206 (extracts, from C).

Ind. Manche: inventaire sommaire, série H, i, p. 7; *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vii, pp. 34-35; Musset, 'Un grand prélat normand', p. 11.

Note. It is possible that Saint-Pierre de Marigny¹⁵ is the unnamed church mentioned by John son of Peter in *De statu*, which Geoffrey dedicated on 14 August 1092.¹⁶ The church of Marigny was given to the abbey of Aunay c. 1160, at which time the confirmation of the dedication was made. Lucien Musset dated the dedication to the beginning of Geoffrey's reign,¹⁷ but since Robert de Remilly-[sur-Lozon]¹⁸ must have

¹⁵ Marigny, Manche, chef-lieu.

¹⁶ 'De statu', col. 222.

¹⁷ Musset, 'Un grand prélat normand', p. 11.

¹⁸ Remilly-sur-Lozon, Manche, cant. Marigny.

been born about the middle of the eleventh century it most likely dates to the last years of his reign.¹⁹

C

Notum sit fidelibus sancte ecclesie quatinus Robertus filius Rainfridi de Rumilleio fecit ecclesiam sancti Petri de Marineio dedicari, pro eius anime, et pro anime patris sui et matris sue, et pro anima Muriel uxoris eius qui obit in eadem ecclesie et intus iacet, et pro animabus omnium parentum suorum virorum atque defunctorum necnun et nasciturorum; et in illa die qua ecclesia dedicata fuit hanc dotum ei dedit, scilicet burgum quod ipse in Marneio habebat; ultra pontem in quo suus frater Gaufridus nullam partem habebat. Quia ipse Robertus emit terram illam de suo proprio censu Gaufrido filio Amici in qua illud burgum edificavit, et illud dedit ecclesia totum quietum sicuti ipse habebat de omnibus rebus et de omnibus serviciis, necnun unum sestarium frumenti de duobus molendinis ipsius parrochie, et quietitudinem domus Bosonis sacerdotis de omnibus teloniis, et decimam de alio burgo totam in eadem die ecclesie donavit. Hec dona per quemdam cultellum super altare confirmavit. Et Petrus filius Gaufridi qui dominus erat ipsius ecclesie sub Roberto de sua terra in eadem die tribuit, scilicet quatuor acras [terre] que prior ecclesie erat, et decimam sui molendini et sue terre similiter donavit. Et Aitardus de Maisniladelino suam decimam in eadem die ecclesie donavit. Et Robertus filius Raifridi qui dominus erat super istos et sua parte concessit. Teste Gaufrido episcopo, et Godefrido archidiacono et Petro camerario episcopi Gaufridi, et W. de Altavilla, et Roberto filio Hawardi, et Serlo filio Hamati, et Herberto de la Hoga, et G. Pane et Vino, et Godefrido de Camporotondo, et Silvano, et Petro sacerdote de Loreio, et Hosberto sacerdote de sancto Laudo, et alii multi. Tunc ipse Robertus rogavit dominum Godefridum episcopum missam cantare paratum; ut omnes qui hoc beneficium et donum sancto Petro concederent; et manutenerent; et servarent; et defenderent; [et] absolveret; qui vero auferrent; perpetuo maledictione excommunicaret. Tunc episcopus coram clero et populo concedentes et defendentes, et manutinentes; vice sancti Petri absolvit; subtrahentes, et devastantes, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancti, et de sancta Maria matris domini, et de omnibus angelis et archangelis, et de omnibus prophetis, et de omnibus apostolis, et martiribus, et confessoribus et virginibus; excommunicavit.

¹⁹ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vii, p. 35.

Hanc vero dotum ego Hengeredus de Sai meo sygillo confirmo: et pro sestario predicit frumenti quo ecclesia caret terram illam concedo que in sinistra parte ecclesie adiacet cum mansiunculis que sunt in parte atrii eiusdem terre ita libere et quiete sicuti predicta elemosina cum omnibus rectitudinibus et consuetudinibus. Teste Roberto de Asneres, et Hugone de Sai, et Roberto de sancto Ebremundo, et R. capellano, et Rogero Leisant, et Osberto Dacien, et Petro de sancto Benedicto, et Roberto Fossart.

II

1079 × 1110

A notice recording how, after Rodulf de Limetz-[Villez] had killed Odard de Évecquemont, he had been unable to find peace with Odard's parents and had gone to Isembard, prior of Saint-Gilles de Mantes-[la-Jolie], asking him to help reconcile him with Odard's parents and friends. Therefore, during the dedication of the church of Cabuciaci, which was next to the parish of Rosny-sur-Seine, Rodulf lay at the feet of William, archbishop of Rouen, and was ordained a monk. And in order that he might merit forgiveness for the death of Odard he gave the priory of Saint-Gilles to the abbey of Marmoutier along with the half of pressoragii that he had before the castle at Meridis.

A. Original lost.

B. BN, ms. lat. 5441 (i), p. 211. Abbreviated 18th-cent. copy by Noel Mars (no source given).

Ind. E. Martène, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Marmoutier*, ed. C. Chevalier, 2 vols. (Tours, 1874-1875), i, p. 337.

Note. The following notice illustrates neatly how our knowledge of pastoral activities is often dependant on the record of more significant events. Had Rodulf de Limetz-[Villez]²⁰ not killed Odard de Évecquemont,²¹ and then given the priory of Saint-Gilles de Mantes-[la-Jolie]²² to the abbey of Marmoutier as a gesture of reconciliation, then it is unlikely we would know that the archbishop of Rouen had been in the region to dedicate a church. Unfortunately, the church of *Cabuciaci*, which was next to the parish of Rosny-sur-Seine,²³ cannot be identified, while the whole episode can be dated no more precisely than by the archiepiscopate of William Bona Anima. The description given of the charter by Edmond Martène does, however, provide some details not found in this abbreviated version, assigning a more

²⁰ Limetz-Villez, Yvelines, cant. Bonnières-sur-Seine.

²¹ Évecquemont, Yvelines, cant. Meulan.

²² Mantes-la-Jolie, Yvelines, chef-lieu.

²³ Rosny-sur-Seine, Yvelines, cant. Mantes-la-Ville.

prominent role to Isembard, prior of Mantes, in Rodulf's decision to grant the priory to Marmoutier. Martène claimed that a copy of the charter '*se trouvera dans les preuves*' of his history of Marmoutier,²⁴ but sadly, not only did the abbé Chevalier choose not to print these *preuves* in his edited version of the history, but also the manuscript copy from which he worked was destroyed during World War II.²⁵ Furthermore, the only other surviving copy of Martène's history, which is conserved at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, does not contain a copy of this charter among its volume of *preuves*.²⁶

B

Notum sit universis quod Radulfus de Limeth, cum interfecisset Odardus de Veschomonte nec posset invenire pacem cum parentibus defunctis, locutus est cum domno Isenbardo celle s. Egidii Medantensis preposito, rogans eum ut parentibus eius et amicis se pacificaret... In dedicatione ecclesie Cabuciaci parrochie iuxta Roiniacum Secane fluvio intersecto... prostravit se Radulfus ad pedes archiepiscopi Rothomagensis Guillelmi sicut ordinaverat monachus et obsecrauit, ut... reconciliari mereretur... ad quieverunt et mortem illius Odardi illi per donauerunt... dedit nobis Maioris monasterii monachis sancto quoque Egidio Medantensi totam ex integro medietatem pressoragii quod habebat ante castellum ipsum a Meridis... testes sunt Guillelmus archiepiscopus, Guericus de Porta, Gualterius filius eius, Rotbertus de Faberillis et Raimbertus frater eius, Sansgualo, Guiardus Curtans Vaccam, Rodulfus frater eius, Radulfus de Ver, Rotbertus de Ver, Guillelmus frater eius, Odardus Boissellus, Paganus frater eius, Eustachius de Veschomonte, Giraldus de Testhiaco et mater memorati Odardi, duoque sorores eius qui omnes propter hanc etiam necem Odardi Rodulfo perdonauerunt.

III

1079 × 1110, perhaps 1096 × 1100

A notice concerning the case of Geoffrey the priest of Vesly, which was judged before William [Bona Anima], archbishop of Rouen, and a priest and two monks [of Marmoutier] called Ulric, Kadil and Roger. Geoffrey, who had repeatedly quarrelled with the monks of Marmoutier about the obedience he owed them, had been accused and convicted of various crimes, including theft, sacrilege, fornication and the desecration of his church, which he had perpetrated with the consent of his son. Since nobody was able to acquit Geoffrey of these charges the archbishop deposed him

²⁴ Martène, *Histoire de Marmoutier*, i, p. 337.

²⁵ BM (Tours), mss. 1383-1384.

²⁶ BN, ms. lat. 12880.

from his charge. The notice then outlines the details of the agreement reached between Geoffrey and the monks of Marmoutier, who gave to the former priest one hundred shillings, one half of grain, one of rye and another of oats, while Geoffrey and his sons, William the priest and Roger the layman, came before the king of the English at Neaufles and swore publicly before everyone to abandon all claim to the church of Vesly.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, coll. Baluze, vol. 77, fol. 61r. 17th-cent. copy (*ex chartulario Normanno Maioris monasterii Turonensis*).

Ptd. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 32 n. 125 (extracts, from B).

Ind. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 32; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 277, n. 170.

Note. The church of Vesly was first given to the monks of Marmoutier by Hugh de Chaumont-en-Vexin in 1067.²⁷ Since the king of England is not also identified as duke of Normandy it is possible that the court at Neaufles was held before William Rufus. That both he and the archbishop of Rouen were involved in the resolution of this case testifies to the seriousness of the crimes committed by Geoffrey, and the need for higher authorities to intervene where the influence of the local archdeacon had perhaps been found lacking.

B

Notum sit omnibus quod Gausfredus presbyter de Verliaco, dum saepe ex sua culpa querelaretur adversum nostros eiusdem obedientiae monachos, tandem ad iudicium utrinque venerunt coram Guillelmo Rotomagensis archiepiscopo, presbyter scilicet et monachi, hoc est Ulricus, Kadilo atque Rogerius. Ibi presbyter accusatus atque convictus de multis criminibus tam per se ipsum perpetratis quam sua consensione per quendam filium suum, videlicet de furtis, de sacrilegiis, de fornicationibus, et de contaminatione ecclesie sue, cum se de his nulla posset ratione purgare, ab ordine suo depositus est ab archiepiscopo, etc. Postea vero cum presbyter, pro suis licet depositus culpis, multum tamen de praedictis monachis apud alios qui illis in eadem obedientia successerant conquereretur, et pro illis de omnibus nobis, Majoris scilicet monasterii, sancti Martini monachis, ad hanc tandem cum eisdem successoribus illorum concordiam venit. Donauerunt ei denariorum solidos centum et unum medium

²⁷ *Guide des archives de l'Eure*, ed. C. Lannette (Évreux, 1982), p. 275.

frumenti, alterum segalae, tertium avenae; atque ita cum eis veniens in curiam regis Anglorum apud castrum Nielfum guerpivit coram omnibus totum omnino beneficium vel quicquid reclamare poterat ullo modo in ecclesia nostra de Verliaco. Insuper coram tota ipsa curia iuravit non se quicquam eorum ultra reclamaturum. Quam guerpicionem fecerunt de se ipsis ibidem duo filii ipsius Guillelmus presbyter et Rogerius laicus.

IV

11 Dec. 1093

A notice recording that on the day the church of Saint-Gervais de Briouze was dedicated by Serlo, bishop of Sées, William de Briouze and his son Philip read and recalled all that they had given to the monks of Saint-Florent de Saumur, whether it be in Normandy or in England. And because William's son Philip seemed to have grudgingly allowed them, William and his son and William de la Carneille, his nephew, renewed these donations as the bishop stood in his vestments before the altar about to say Mass, with the three men placing the knife of the monk Armellus on the altar. This was seen by the bishop, the archdeacons Baldwin and Guy, the bishop's dapifer and many laymen.

A. Original lost.

B. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, fol. 119r. 12th-cent. cartulary known as the *Livre blanc*.

Ptd. A. De Caix, 'Notice sur le prieuré de Briouze', *MSAN*, 22 (1856), pp. 81-128, at pp. 121-122, no. 6 (from B); Marchegay, 'Saint-Florent', no. 17, p. 686 (from B).

Ind. De La Ferrière-Percy, *Histoire du canton d'Athis*, p. 371; *CDF*, no. 1118.

Note. This charter is one of series found in the cartulary of Saint-Florent concerning the priory of Briouze, those preceding this one having been most recently edited by David Bates.²⁸ The identification *Crenella* as La Carneille is that of De Caix.²⁹ There is apparently nothing significant about the day chosen for the dedication, although it was the second Sunday of Advent.

B

Anno incarnationis domini m(illesimo) nonagesimo .iii., tercio idus decembris, die dominica, dedicata est ecclesia sancti Gervasii de Braiosa, a Serlo Sagiensi episcopo.

²⁸ *Regesta*, nos. 266, 267.

²⁹ La Carneille, Orne, cant. Athis-de-l'Orne.

Qua quidem die, fecit Guillelmus de Braiosa relegi et commemorari in conspectu suo, et Philippi filii sui aliorumque baronum suorum donaciones quas, diversis temporibus, fecerat sancto Florentio et eius monachis, tam in Anglica terra quam in Normannia. Et quia filius eius Philippus, quibusdam subortis simultatibus, minus claro et pacifico animo donaciones antea factas concessisse videbatur: eo profecto die, cum iam episcopus sacris indutus vestibus altari, mox sacrato missam celebraturus astaret in presentia ipsius, cleri quoque ac populi circumstantis, iterum donationem rerum earumdem fecerunt, Guillelmus predictus filiusque eius Philippus, Guillelmus quoque de Crenella nepos ipsis, cum cultello Armelli monachi. Quod ipsi tres pater scilicet filiusque eius ac nepos ipsius manibus suis posuerunt super altare, quod viderunt episcopus Serlo, Balduinus et Guido archidiaconi, Hugo dapifer episcopi, Guillelmus Paganus, Unfredus presbyter, Odo de Fraxineto, Herbertus filius Gunduini, Richardus de Meriaco.

APPENDIX F

MIRACULA ECCLESIAE CONSTANTENSIS

Miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis

- A. Original lost.
- B. Coutances cathedral, *Livre noir du chapitre*. 13th-century manuscript, which was lost in the 1820s.
- C. BN, ms. lat. 10051, fol. 216v-220v. 17th-century copy by Arthur Du Monstier, dated 1641 ('*ex ms. codic. nigro, ecclesiae cathedralis Constantiens(is)*').
- D. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21843, fol. 26r-41r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from lost copy of De Gerville (see below) and C).
- E. Arch. dioc. de Coutances, ms. M 26, vol. 1, pp. 132-146. 19th-century copy by Pierre-Auguste Le Cardonnel, dated 21 February 1863 (copied '*sur le ms. de M. Léopold Delisle*', which is presumably D).
- F. Lost 19th-century copy by Charles de Gerville and Louis de Mesnildot (from B).

Ptd. Pigeon, *Histoire de Coutances*, pp. 367-383 (*pi*) (from C).

*Ind.*¹ Fournée, 'Les miracles de Notre Dame', pp. 15-26; Richard, 'Les miracula composés en Normandie', p. 188; Signori, *Maria zwischen Kathedrale*, pp. 77-98.

Note. This collection of miracles is one of two texts—the other is *De statu*—written by a canon of Coutances cathedral, who is known today as John son of Peter.² The son of the dean of Coutances, who also served as chamberlain to Geoffrey de Montbray, John was a member of what was perhaps the most important canonical family of eleventh-century Coutances. He consequently enjoyed a privileged position from which to record life in his city, and it is upon these two texts that the vast majority of our knowledge of the eleventh-century diocese and city of Coutances is founded.³ The date at which John composed these miracles, which improved upon an earlier collection perhaps written by the canon himself as a young man,⁴ has already been discussed in full above, as have the various pieces of historical information that they relate. Of course, without a surviving medieval copy there remain some uncertainties concerning the form of the text. It is not entirely clear, for example, that the miracles were numbered by the medieval copyist. They are certainly not all numbered in Du Monstier's copy, although later copies and editions provide a number for all thirty-two miracles. Such matters could be clarified were another copy of the text to exist, but the only other copy of the *Livre noir* made before its disappearance, which was executed by Charles de Gerville and Louis de Mesnildot, and then given to François Dolbet, has since been lost.⁵

¹ These indications represent just a handful of recent references made to this famous work.

² For the identification of John son of Peter as author of both works, see Delisle, 'Notice sur un traité inédit', p. 341.

³ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 115.

⁴ Devos, 'Miracles, images et espace sacré', p. 15.

⁵ Désiré dit Gosset, 'Les *Livres noirs*', p. 10 n. 19.

C

Prologus in miracula ecclesiae Constantiensis

Cum igitur tempore iocundo^(a) praesulis Gaufridi Constantien(sis) episcopi, ecclesia cultu provectuque polleret, crebraque^(b) virtutum, et miraculorum ostensione longe lateque floreret; praedictus episcopus, vir prudens et providus constituit, ut virtutum miracula, quae in eadem viderant,^(c) ad laudem Domini, et honorem gloriosae Dominae suae, Dei genitricis, et aedificationem successorum, veraci et competenti calamo conscriberentur, disponens et praedicens, quod eorundem miraculorum librum, auro et gemmis^(d) de foris, ob honorem b(eatae) Mariae Virginis, operiret. Quo audito, quidam iuvenis praesumptuosus, maiorum ecclesiae personarum consanguineus,^(e) praeoptans magis, ut opinor, adipisci sibi temporalem episcopi favorem et hominum laudem, quam ab ipsa veritate, quae Deus est, et gloriosa Virgine, condignam retributionem ultro venisse, ad scribendum impulit, et aliqua vera quidem conscripsit; sed quoniam verborum phaleris solitisque digressionibus et apostrophis crebris, longis quoque comparationibus et^(f) syrmatibus, compendiosae rei modum excessit, sententiae et gravitati dominorum displicuit, et sic ex toto remansit. Verebatur enim quisque, si tentaret ea libere,^(g) vel ipsius inimicitias incurrere, vel amicorum reverentiae displicere. Inde accidit, ut illius temporis saltem scintillula miraculorum quaedam nobis vix innotuerit. Nec mirum, cum mediam partem eorum, quae audivimus et praesentes vidimus, memoria nostra deferre non sufficiat.

Attamen, nos qui in virtutibus eius laudare iubemur, et enarrare mirabilia eius, quae plena fide cognovimus, et patres nostri fideliter annuntiaverunt nobis, licet rudi, veraci tamen calamo, narrabimus laudes Domini, ei virtutes eius, et mirabilia eius, quae fecit, filiis, qui nascentur et exurgent, et narrabunt filiis suis. Quia enim domini et magistri sapientiores eius et valentiores nobis, haec funditus intacta reliquerunt,^(h) humanisque rebus, proh dolor, excesserunt, totaque generatio temporis illius velociter,

^a iocundo] iocondo *Dpi.*

^b crebraque] crebrorque *D* crebaque *pi.*

^c viderant] *ou* videram *add. Dpi.*

^d gemmis] geminis *Cpi*, *this reading is from D.*

^e consanguineus] consanguineus *pi.*

^f apostrophis ... comparationibus et] *om. pi.*

^g libere] scibere *pi.*

^h reliquerunt] reliquerent *pi.*

sicut umbra praeterii,^(a) nos quoque, qui sumus^(b) tanquam eorum scoria, vel rubigo, ad transitum iam minatur aetas et compellit.

Ego Io(ann)es^(c) praedicti Petri camerarii filius, et eiusdem ecclesiae, licet indignus, canonicus, necessitate compulsus, cogor hoc utrumque scribere, scilicet quia non est qui alicui `ista´ scribere praecipiat, vel aliquis de sapientibus aut insipientibus, qui curet, et qui faciat, magistrique licet omnes; ego malo meam pauperiem veritatis exornare titulis, quam fallaciae phaleris, et coloribus rethoricis,^(d) et pauca plena veritate scribere, quam puram veritatem miraculorum excedendo, deum, qui pura veritas est, in aliquo offendere, a quo me credo, secundum meum laborem, propriam mercedem accipere.

Incipiunt miracula sanctae Mariae.

I. Per idem tempus coelestia luminaria solebant in praedictam Constantiens(em) ecclesiam, maxime dominicis noctibus, transacto etiam sabbatho, nutu divino, descendere, et saepius ante imaginem b(eatae) Dei genitricis visibiliter stare et ardere. Cum ergo sacerdos quidam, nocturno conticinio, huiusmodi quoddam luminare coruscans^(e) vidisset desursum descendere, et ecclesiae tectum penetrare, concitus ad ecclesiam concurrir,^(f) vocatoque Petro monacho,^(g) tunc^(h) temporis ecclesiae secretario, ad altare Virginis festinus uterque perrexit, atque coeleste luminare, sine visibili adminiculo stare et ardere conspexit; cum praesbyter iniecta manu eum tetigisset, illud protinus extinctum est.

Verum, ipso mox poenitente, et⁽ⁱ⁾ super culpa tantae praesumptionis pectus tundente, idem luminare divinitus reaccensum usque post missam matutinalem, multis videntibus, arsit; custodes namque ecclesiae signa pulsaverant, concurrerant ad ecclesiam, prout soliti, et clerus et cives; et suburbani concurrerant ad ecclesiam,

^a praeterii] praeteriit *Dpi.*

^b sumus] scimus *pi.*

^c Io(ann)es] Iohannes *D.*

^d rethoricis] rhetoricis *pi.*

^e coruscans] coniscans *D.*

^f concurrir] cucurrit *D.*

^g monacho] *om. Dpi.*

^h tunc] tum *pi.*

ⁱ et] *om. pi.*

prout soliti erant, quando nova miracula fiebant. De materia quidem ipsius angelici luminaris, sive cera sive alia, Deus scit, quasi gutta paululum in terram cecidit, quod mox ignis de ipso luminari visibiliter delapsus, concremavit; ipsaque dominica die tota, ab eodem loco suavissimus odor emanavit.

II. Accidit etiam, ut mulier quaedam praedictum b(eatae) Virginis templum humiliter intraret, et oblationis gratia, candelam in manu ferret, in ipso igitur ingressione suae articulo, cum interrogaret, an inveniret ignem in templo; eadem quam ferebat candela accensa est igne divino; ipsa muliere, aliisque multis mirantibus, Deumque laudantibus, qui huic intererant spectaculo.

III. Quodam quoque sabbatho, vespertinali officio finito, fulgente tamen adhuc luce solari, quidam qui de ecclesia iam fuerant egressi, viderunt in aere tres candelas super turrim mediam descendentes, et per cooperturam turris interiora penetrantes; quo viso, pluribusque aliis patefacto, confestim reversi sunt in ecclesiam, tresque candelas ardentes, et sine humano sustamento stantes repperunt, unam scilicet, ante maius altare, alteram coram imagine, tertiam quidem super puteum ipsius ecclesiae. Dum igitur orantes, et Deo gratias agentes, ardentia luminaria cum multis aliis contemplarentur; illud luminare, quod ante imaginem in altera parte altaris stabat, mox ad gloriam Domini, translatum est in alteram partem, sicque tota nocte illa arsere, sed adeo consumenti igne combusta fuere, quod nec etiam favillae similitudinem conspicientibus reliquerint.

IV. Alia vero solemnitate accidit, quod mulier quaedam contritis pedibus, nullo gressu, ad basilicam b(eatae) Virginis allata, candelam tenens ardentem orabat: quae subito sanitati verae, et officio pedum restituta, surrexit, moxque per chorum canonicorum secundis cruribus transiens, clero simul et populo mirantibus, ad altare superius ascendit, et luminare, quod ferebat, Deo, et sanctae Virgini gratias agens super imposuit.^(a)

V. In territorio Constantiensi, in villa, quae dicitur, sanctus Paternus, ad Oceanum, fuit quidam cognomine Gisbertus, etiam in tantum paralysi dissolutus, ut eius sinistra

^a super imposuit] superimposuit *pi.*

manus pectori recurva haberet vultumque posterius, et occiput in anterius gestaret. Hic, inquam, cum biennio tantam miseriam fuisset perpessus, nocturna visione praedictum est ei, quod ab omni infirmitate sua, meritis b(eatae) Mariae genetricis^(a) Dei convaleret, si eius suffragium in ipsius ecclesia, Constantiis, praecibus postularet. Venit ergo quoquomodo^(b) Constantias, ingressusque ecclesiam, prostravit se in oratione, et flevit ante altare; ibique misericordia Dei confestim, redditus est integerrimae sanitati, meritis b(eatae) Mariae. Cum autem diutius flens, pronus pavimento incumberet, et dicerent ei pluries ecclesiae custodes, ut surgeret, praesbyter eiusdem villae sancti Paterni, qui synodi causa venerat, erat enim tunc dies synodorum, ut diligentius aspexit puerum, et eum agnovit ab omni aegritudine liberatum, illico cum praesbyteris, et omnibus, qui aderant, imbecillitatem et miseriam, quas perpessus fuerat puer enarravit. Quo, multorum testimonio, et evidentia rei, comperto, omnis illa sancta synodus, hymnum laudis deo cecinit, et gloriosae Virgini gratias egit; idem vero Goisbertus^(c) in ecclesiae servitio remansit, multisque diebus ecclesiae caementarius, postea coniugem quidem habens et filios, nobis videntibus, episcopi Gaufridi pastor extitit.

VI. Praesbyter quidam, de villa, quae vocatur Isigniacus, in pago Baiocensi, cum quarta^(d) feria Pentecostes cum parochianis rediret Baiocis, ubi debitam processionem, et oblationem persolverant, sicut debitum et solitum est in eisdem diebus reddere matribus ecclesiis, commonuit exhortationibus et precibus populum suum, ut sicut ipsi fecerant b(eatae) Mariae Baiocensis ecclesiae, et reddiderant ex debito; sic et ipsi processionem cum precibus, et oblationem facerent eidem gloriosae Virgini in Constantiensi ecclesia, communi et spontaneo voto, ostendens illius ecclesiae sanctitatem, miraculorum crebram et famosam protestationem, sancti spiritus inhabitationem: sed et eidem b(eatae) Dei genitrici gratiosius esse sponte vovere, gratisque reddere, quam debitum sicut tunc fecerant, et exactum reddere. Assentiunt omnes, seque monita sacerdotis libenter esse facturos, spondent. Die igitur tertia, quae est feria sexta,^(e) ut praedictum fuerat, summo^(f) diliculo^(g) praedictus praesbyter et

^a genetricis] genitricis *D.*

^b quoquomodo] quoquo modo *Dpi.*

^c Goisbertus] Gisbertus *pi.*

^d quarta] .4. *C.*

^e sexta] .6. *C.*

^f summo] *om. pi.*

^g diliculo] diluculo *Dpi.*

populus eius iter arripiunt, et ad civitatem prevenientes, in ecclesia precibus, et oblatione, vota persolvunt. Quidam tamen de parochianis, nomine Vitalis, qui cum ceteris, monitu sacerdotis, votum fecerat, insipida cogitatione deceptus, in corde suo^(a) revolvens; quod b(eata) Maria Baiocensis, et b(eata) Maria Constantiensis, una eademque Dei genitrix est; nec ipsam clementiorem, vel maioris esse potestatis Constantiis, quam Baiocis: votum processionis quod fecerat, factis complere distulit, quiescensque in lecto^(b) suo, die et hora processionis, domi remansit.

Cum ergo obdormisset, audivit vocem dicentem sibi:^(c) ‘Vitalis, Vitalis, quare fregisti statutum processionis? male egisti: et hoc pro certo tibi praestabitur exitus tui primi operis’. Ad hanc vocem pavefactus, coepit inter se praemeditari et deliberare; utrum in somnium,^(d) an veritas esset, quod audierat, sed quoniam recognovit quod non bene egerat, decrevit se ab omni opere servili, et proprio labore abstinere, consultum esse, et alicuius misericordiae opus, et operam primitus exercere. Surrexit itaque, et ex deliberatione perrexit, ut sepi clauderet segetem cuiusdam pauperulae sororis suae, quae conculcabatur ab animalibus et devorabatur, ratus opus bonum esse, nihilque mali de bono opere sibi provenire. Ascendit igitur super putritum^(e) truncum, ut de altiori robustius palos infingeret; sed continuo lapsus adeo corruit infoeliciter, ut alterius compages femoris a caetero corpore penitus dissiliret, nullaque iam esset humanae spes medicinae, quae posset eum redintegrare. Auditis igitur misere diris, et altis et inquietis clamoribus, quidam viatores accurrunt; et eum colligentes, domum referunt. Revertenti vero praesbytero de peregrinatione, nuntiatum est, quomodo miser ille corruerat, quantoque pene moriens angebatur dolore. Festinato igitur ventum est ad languidum. Bene sacerdos inobedientiam^(f) et transgressionem miseri clamantis coepit exprobrare, eumque confessioni et poenitentiae blande revocare, veniam, et salutem corporis spondere, si votum, quod arroganter fregerat, poenitendo festinaret supplere, ac veniam et misericordiam precibus implorare. Qui confitens et flens reatum suae transgressionis, delatum est Constantias, in feretro, praesbytero comitante, distortusque intromissus est ante altare; et licet angustis,^(g) et clamoribus

^a corde suo] suo corde *Dpi.*

^b lecto] tecto *pi.*

^c sibi] illi *pi.*

^d in somnium] insomnium *pi.*

^e putritum] putricum *D.*

^f inobedientiam] inobedentiam *pi.*

^g angustis] angustiis *pi.*

altis affectus, toto tamen corpore, misericordia Dei praeunte, redintegratus est, ipsa eadem nocte, quae lucescebat in Dominica die.

Sequenti igitur die, quae est feria secunda^(a) d(omnum) Petrum camerarium, decanum ecclesiae, et dispensatorem petiit ut iuberet dolabrum praestari, ut cum caeteris carpentariis, ipse desudaret ecclesiastico operi. Quo accepto, cum reliquis, et ipsa tota illa, et sequenti septimana, prudenter et eleganter operatus est ad fenestralia vitrearum,^(b) quae capsilia vocant, quaeque illis diebus fiebant. Hoc igitur peracto, praedictus camerarius dignam et ampliorem sui laboris nummorum recompensationem gratis obtulisset ei, penitus abnuit, confitens se b(eatae) Mariae, et ipsius ecclesiae servum emptitium fore, seque debere, quamdiu^(c) viveret, eidem ecclesiae capitagium proprii capitis annuatim reddere: quod postea devotus egit longo tempore, in praecipuis festis eiusdem gloriosae Dei genitricis Mariae.

VII. Uxor cuiusdam viri Constantiens(is) territorii, florens adhuc iuvenilibus^(d) annis, corruit in continuae tenebras caecitatis,^(e) ita tamen ut perspicuos oculos et nitidos, potentiamque claudendi, et aperiendi, sicut prius, haberet, sed officio videndi prorsus careret. Haec ita cum pluribus annis caeca maneret, plurimumque pecuniae et supellectilis suae, in medicaminibus et medicis consumpsisset, nihil omnino sibi profuit: verum etiam et oculorum pulchritudinem, et movendi potentiam funditus amisit. Plurimo igitur evoluta tempore, omnibusque penitus abiectis medicaminibus, venit ad ecclesiam b(eatae) Mariae cum viro suo, et aliis multis, in vigilia assumptionis eiusdem gloriosae Dei genitricis. Perstitit itaque pernox in precibus ante imaginem Virginis. Ac ubi nocturnalibus officiis decursis, ventum est ad laudes matutinarum, ab eius oculis sanguis manare coepit, ac si progrediretur aliquibus venis incisis. Tandem clero alternatim evangelicum triumphante canticum, quod est, *Benedictus dominus Deus Israel*: motus oculorum, et visus efficax divinitus ei redditus est. Clerus ergo et populus, qui convenerant ad diem festum audientes haec, et videntes, glorificaverunt Deum, qui tanto miraculo decorabat Virginis habitaculum et festum.

^a secunda] .2. C.

^b vitrearum] vitiearum D.

^c quamdiu] quam diu pi.

^d iuvenilibus] iuvenibus pi.

^e caecitatis] coecitatis D.

VIII. Puella quaedam in Ambianensi pago, dum in die festivitatis b(eati) Laurentii in vase quodam acclinis farinam premisceret,^(a) ut inde subcinericium panem conficeret, in renibus subito dolore percussa, post tergum continuo manum proiecit, proiectaque multo tempore, retorta et emortua permansit: naturali itaque subministrante annorum spatio, corpus eiusdem puellae perficitur viribus et forma, manu tamen praedicta manente retorsa, et exilis, ac praemortua. Quadam vero nocte revelatum est ei, ut in Constantiarum civitatem pergeret, ad ecclesiam b(eatae) Mariae, ibique reciperet restaurationem manus amissae. Nesciens siquidem quid agere deberet, quoniam multas peregrinationes aggressa fuerat, multorum limina sanctorum devote visitaverat, Ambianensem petiit episcopum, sciscitans^(b) super hac revelatione; quid esset actura. Praemonita itaque ab episcopo, et edocta, venit tempore quadragesimali ad ecclesiam b(eatae) Virginis, et prostrata solo diu oravit Dei misericordiam, et eius genitricis, precibus et lachrymis.^(c) Finitis autem vespertinalibus horis, et clero egrediente de choro, in hora refectionis, in priorem et naturalem usum, gratia Dei restituta est manus arida mulieris. Illa denique citra eamdem^(d) ecclesiam conversante, XV. diebus, adeo reformata, atque ita manui alteri conformis facta est: ut ambarum qualitas eadem ab omnibus putaretur.

IX. Sub occiduis Britanniae partibus, quidam nobilis et dives, tanta imbecillitate et aegritudine corporis opprimebatur: ut neque seipsum pascere, nec manum ad os ducere, neque de suo stratu progredi valeret. Tantam siquidem miseriam duodecimo^(e) perpessus, in somnis admonitus est: ut misericordiam et opem b(eatae) Dei genitricis Constantiens(is) ecclesiae posceret, et ab omni sui corporis incommoditate convaleret. Quibus, ut audierat, uxori suae relatis: ut festinus iter denuntiatus maritus aggrediretur, uxor collaudavit, seque comitem peregrinationis facturam, et famulari^(f) promisit, sed mox illam peregrinationis dominus idem uxori suae prohibuit. Paratis autem sumptibus itineris, et necessariis, coepit mulier blandis repetitisque precaminibus orare dominum suum, ut concederet eam secum peregrinari, et ut b(eatae) Virginis suffragium precibus imploraret, et eiusdem necessitatibus subveniret. Qui statim importunitate coniugis commotus, dixit: ‘Quando taurus ille

^a premisceret] promiseret *D* permisceret *pi*.

^b sciscitans] scicitans *CD*.

^c lachrymis] lacrymis *pi*.

^d eamdem] eandem *D*.

^e miseriam duodecimo] miseriem duodennio *D*.

^f famulari] famulam *pi*.

candidus, qui stat in illa curte, coram perget ad b(eatae) Virginis ecclesiam, tunc illuc mecum, et non antea venies'. Sublevato igitur domino illo in rhaeda,^(a) et iter incipiente, taurus idem mox consuetum relinquens armentum, de curte prosilivit, seque progredientibus praeivum dedit. Sed cum nec minis, nec verberibus ad curtem reduceretur, sed stantibus perstabat, et euntibus praeibat: intellexit hoc dominus dictus divina fieri voluntate, ut qui devotam coniugis petitionem inconsulto negaverat, et animalis bruti profectioni determinaverat exemplo saltem irrationalis bestiae, et ipse ratione fungeretur. Libens igitur et congaudens praecepit ut coniux sua festinaret, et secum proficisceretur. Illis^(b) itaque cum clientibus suis iter agentibus, taurus idem carpebat viam praeambulus; ut autem dominus ille vidit eminus ecclesiam et urbem, iussit, ut confestim deponeretur, depositusque incubuit humo tenus, et oravit: et oratione completa, sanus et incolumis, in omnibus membris, surrexit: confestimque stupentibus, et prae gaudio flentibus, uxore et famulis, ad ecclesiam b(eatae) Virginis, nunc eques, et nunc pedes pervenit. Completis igitur precibus et gratiarum oblationum actionibus; aliquot evolutis diebus, gaudentes ad propria regrediuntur. Taurus vero, qui cum eis comes individuus, et quasi ductor advenerat, gratis usque ad altare processit, ibique remansit. Domina^(c) autem post receptam sui corporis sanitatem, veniebat peregre, singulis annis, reddens b(eatae) Dei genitrici, et ipsius ecclesiae tributum proprii capitis.

X. Alius quidam reciprocatis pedibus ad nates, non solum contractus pedibus, verum et cominus^(d) totoque corpore conglobatus, manibus innitens scabellis pervenit in ecclesiam. Orante autem eo ante gradus altaris, erecti sunt pedes eius et crura,^(e) et corporis status, in naturalem statum, et usum, ipso graviter prae angustia clamante, multoque sanguine de rupturis suis emanante.

XI. Prope basilicam saepedictam b(eatae) Dei genitricis habitabat in Iurget domicilio, quidam contractus debilis, quem per annos VII^(f) praescriptus^(g) et saepe memorandus

^a rhaeda] rheda *Dpi.*

^b Illis] Istis *Dpi.*

^c Domina] Dominus *pi.*

^d cominus] cornibus *pi.*

^e et crura] *om. pi.*

^f VII] .7. *C.*

^g praescriptus] praedictus *pi.*

Gaufridus episcopus eleemosyna^(a) sua paverat, et vestierat. Hic cum esset impotens et imbecillis toto pene corpore, oris tamen officio praevalens, multum loquebatur, satisque iocose,^(b) nocte quadam quiescenti in stratu^(c) suo, coelestis illapsa est medicina: prius quidem in seipso contremuit et deinde Deum invocans, eiusque gloriosam Virginem genitricum, sanus super^(d) pedes suos, de grabato statim prosilivit. Cum igitur adhuc staret, et Deo preces et grates ageret: contigit quendam^(e) canonicum de matutinis antedialibus redeuntem illac transitum facere: et cum more solito interrogasset eum, quid ageret? Respondit se solito melius habere, Deique misericordia super pedes suos incolumem stare. Audiens itaque canonicus, aegritudinis tam^(f) longae, tamque divulgatae subitam et inopinatam curationem, prae stupore et miraculo, signo sanctae crucis se festinus consignavit, properansque quendam^(g) consodalem suum, huius miraculi testem, et indagatorem convocavit. Ambo igitur advenientes, et sanum pauperem deambulantiem reperientes, eum in ecclesiam introduxerunt, reliquisque convocatis canonicis, laetanter hymnum laudis, Domino, concinnuerunt.

XII. Secus occidentale oceanum, in villa, quae nuncupatur, Agon, mulier quaedam miserabiliter degebat: staturam huius misellae, cum fuisset procera, passio dira, vehementius ingruens, in unum acervulum contraxerat; nec quidpiam operari, sed nec retro flectere se valebat. Suis siquidem deprecationibus delata est Constantias, ab amicis, ut b(eatae) Dei genitricis meritis ab infirmitate sua convaleret: aut cum debilibus residens, saltem eleemosynis fidelium infoelicem^(h) vitam utcumque sustentaret. Verum, venerabilis episcopus Gaufridus, solator miserorum, baculus imbecillium, multis annis, huic necessaria vitae ministravit; ferebaturque in ecclesiam⁽ⁱ⁾ diebus festis, eo^(j) videlicet feretri, instrumento, quo solet funus exportari. Quadam vero die, quae est sexta Pentecostes, deposita coram imagine Virginis,

^a eleemosyna] elemosina *D.*

^b iocose] iocosse *pi.*

^c stratu] statu *pi.*

^d gloriosam ... super] *om. pi.*

^e quendam] quemdam *pi.*

^f tam] *om. pi.*

^g quondam] quemdam *pi.*

^h infoelicem] in felicem *pi.*

ⁱ ecclesiam] ecclesia *Dpi.*

^j eo] et *pi.*

astante reverendo episcopo Gaufrido [et]^(a) canonicis, accepit divinitus integerrimam sanitatem corporis. Auditis interea per totam ecclesiam crebris^(b) et altisonis clamoribus angustiantis; undique prope conveniunt, scientes more solito fere divinae virtutis indicium. Illa itaque procedente ad altare, praefatus antistes, qui paverat eam longo tempore, cunctusque clerus, hymnum iubilationis et laudis Domino cecinere.

XIII. Apud Montem s(ancti) Michaelis, qui vocatur Tumba, mulier nomine Lamburgis mendicabat contracta miserabiliter, et contritione dira pedum, et egestate victualium. Post multum temporis, miles quidam potens, nomine Willelmus de Aureavalle, qui tum^(c) ibi in munitione oppidi morabatur, misertus infoelicitatis ipsius, praebendam suam, eam constituit, postea vero ad Aureamvallem in propriam mansionem, deportari fecit. Audita vero iamdudum miraculorum fama Constantiens(is) ecclesiae, ipsam civitatem comperiens iam sibi viciniam fore: precibus impetravit, ut deportaretur ad eandem ecclesiam b(eatae) Mariae. In qua dum dies aliquot immorata fuisset; gratia Dei, et meritis beatissime Virginis, optatae sanitati corporis reddita est.

XIV. Miles quidam in ecclesia stans ante supradictam^(d) imaginem Virginis gloriosae, et imaginis pulchritudinem admirans, scilicet, et quoddam nefandum cogitans, concitus inibi in ipsa cogitatione sua, in terram corruit: vociferansque et rugiens prae angustia, spumare coepit, et os distortuere. Qui vero praesentes erant, tremefacti, nesciebant quid agerent nec qualiter ei subvenirent. Adveniens autem Theodelinus canonicus, sacerdos et praecentor ecclesiae, illuc clerum, turbamque secedere iussit. Interrogante eo denique ibi iacentem, et exhortante,^(e) ut confessionem faceret et poeniteret. Confessus est illicita cogitatione de specie sanctae imaginis se graviter peccasse,^(f) statimque culpam suam recognoscens, et ab eodem sacerdote poenitentiam poenitentiam et absolutionem petens, et^(g) terra sanus illico surrexit: os tamen illius perseveravit aliquantisper paululum distortum.^(h) Unde coniicere possemus, et valde

^a et] *erased C.*

^b crebris] *crebis pi.*

^c tum] *tunc pi.*

^d supradictam] *supra dictam pi.*

^e clerum ... et exhortante] *om. Dpi.*

^f peccasse] *penasse pi.*

^g et] *e D om. pi.*

^h distortum] *dissortum pi.*

pertimescere, quia si de sola cogitatione iniqua de ligno imaginis suae genitricis tantam vindictam in corpore Deus exegit, quam mirabiliorem et inestimabilem exacturus in anima, pro rapinis^(a) et sacrilegiis sanctuarii sui, imo etiam pro malignitatibus et adulteriis, caeterisque impudiciis, quae per omnia contradicunt, et adversantur eius sanctissimae Virginitati.

XV. Sub occidentia Britanniae climata, mulier quaedam, Rigiudua^(b) nomine, degebat: cuius pedes igne putrido consumeantur, consumptis iam duobus articulis maioribus. Haec ergo cum nullum onnino^(c) remedium miseriae tantae reperisset, praeconante fama, venit ad eandem^(d) ecclesiam: ubi gratia Dei, non solum putridus extinctus est ignis, verum etiam incolumis in obsequio et purgatione eiusdem ecclesiae, multis diebus, in castitate Deo serviens, his^(e) in Hierusalem^(f) perrexit, quod valde laboriosum erat, et minus usitatum tunc temporis.

XVI. Alii duo ardentis in eadem ecclesia considebant, et ab intrantibus caducae huius vitae stipem mendicabant;^(g) uno^(h) igitur die, dum vespertinos clerus persolveret hymnos, ignis ardore simul et foetore extinctis, convaluerunt gratia Dei.

XVII. Rursus in Britannicis finibus natus est homo surdus et mutus. Hic iam cum perfectae esset aetatis nec loqueretur, nec audiret, adductus est Constantias ab amicis; postiusque est ante altare b(eatae) Virginis. Cum igitur pro eo diu fuisset oratum a parentibus suis, et amicis, non solum redditus est ei auditus naturalis, sed etiam intellectus, et usualis copia sermonis.

XVIII. Baiocensis quaedam mulier cephalargica laborabat passione, cuius nimietate diu macerata,⁽ⁱ⁾ incidit in miseriam^(j) dementis.^(k) Amici vero eius tantae miseriae compatientes, et prae pudore verecundantes, expetitis et apposis diversis

^a rapinis] rapinio *pi.*

^b Rigiudua] Rigindua *Dpi.*

^c onnino] omnino *pi.*

^d eandem] eandem *D.*

^e his] bis *D.*

^f Hierusalem] Ierusalem *Dpi.*

^g mendicabant] mendicabant *D.*

^h uno] imo *pi.*

ⁱ macerate] marceata *pi.*

^j miseriam] miseriem *Dpi.*

^k dementis] Sic *add. pi.*

medicaminibus, nihil proficientibus, in ecclesiam b(eatae) Dei genitricis eam intulerunt Baiocis, ibique pluribus diebus eam conservantes, misericordiam b(eatae) Virginis super eam precibus flagitabant. Verum ipsa gloriosa et praepotente Virgine preces eorum non exaudiente, sed adhuc benignitatem misericordiae suae differente, adducta est eadem mulier Constantias, ad ecclesiam eiusdem Virginis, ibique paucis admodum diebus evolutis, recepit sanitatem sensus et corporis. Cum igitur incolumis regressa fuisset Baiocas, et audissent quod Constantiis ab infirmitate sua liberata est, quidam iudicia Dei non bene discernentes, sed ei dedignanter impropetantes, dicebant: ‘Stulta mulier, et amens, et omnium stultissimi parentes tui, quare templum, et auxilium sacrae Virginis alias expetiistis? Nonne te poterat hic curare, cuius est potentia ubique? Numquid hic et eius basilica non est venerabilior, clerus copiosior, cultus multo celebrior? Quod si hic expectasses, similiter hic forsitan sanata fuisses’. His et huiusmodi exprobrationibus mulier erubescens, subito corrui in eandem passionem. Istis itaque confusis, cum nec tunc inibi curari valeret, iterum Constantias reducta est, ibique meritis b(eatae) Mariae continuo sanitate recepta, gaudens et gratias agens, remeavit ad propria.

XIX. Canonico praedicto, videlicet Theodolino,^(a) in altari sacrae Virginis de more missam celebrante, accessit ad eum Normanus archidiaconus, rogans eum, ut pro quodam misello^(b) puero, ibi sedente (cuius os et vultus igne putrido [com]bureba[n]tur),^(c) benignam et exaudibilem clementiam beatissimae Virginis imploraret. Cuius monitis sacerdos confestim supplex paruit, et puer invalescentis incendium ignis, eodem die, penitus evasit.

XX. Sacerdos idem, sicut canonicorum nostrorum relatione didici, dubitaverat in animo de corpore et sanguine Domini. Quadam vero die, cum clerus in choro consisteret, et misterium consecrationis Christi corporis et sanguinis in ecclesia celebraret, iamque mediam salutaris hostiae partem in calicem de more misisset; in ipso tempore percipiendi, apparuit ei^(d) in calice eadem hostia vera caro verusque cruor.^(e) Cuius ostensionis stupore simul et timore statim preterritus, ad vocato clero,

^a Theodolino] Theodelino *Dpi.*

^b misello] missello *pi.*

^c comburebantur] oburebatur *CD.*

^d ei] et *pi.*

^e cruor] sanguis *pi.*

Deo, et fratribus suis, reatum suae dubietatis, et ostensionem divinae potentiae lachrymando deperit^(a) et confessione facta poenitentiam suscepit. Cum igitur in formam carnis et sanguinis persisteret, et ob hoc esset ab omnibus `Deo' supplicatum et oratum: visa est columba candida de supernis^(b) corporaliter in calicem descendisse, ac deinde foras evolasse.^(c) Tunc vero cum tremore et pavore respicientes in calicem, viderunt ipsum Christi corpus et sanguinem, panis et vini primam resumpsisse speciem. Ab illo ergo die praedictus sacerdos in fidei veritate solidatus; psalmis et orationibus nocte ac die incumbibat, ipsamque consecrationem Dominici corporis et sanguinis, et perceptionem summa cum devotione, cultu mundissimo, et uberibus profusis lachrymis, nobis longo tempore cernentibus celebrabat.

XXI. Illud quoque testati sunt, ex^(d) maiorum fidei narratione, quia pluries huiusmodi candida columba in eandem^(e) ecclesiam solebat advolare; et huc et illuc quadam volitatione monstrata, in puteum eiusdem ecclesiae visibiliter descendere. Similiter etiam referunt de luminaribus angelicis quando mittebantur, aliquotiens in eundem^(f) puteum descendebant, et interdum desuper stabant. De cuius putei latice, infirmi multi bibentes sanabantur, et ob hoc per diversa terrarum spatia deportabatur; in quo et plures ceciderunt, sed licet altus sit, nullam tamen laesionem sustinuerunt.

XXII. Factum est in sabbatho sancto Paschae, ut saepedictus episcopus Gaufridus reliquias sanctas ecclesiae, Dei nutu reviseret, et inter alias de capillis beatissimae Dei genitricis Mariae unum, sicut scriptum testabatur inveniret. Cum ergo quidam dicerent^(g) de corpore ipsius sacratissimae Virgnis, et Matris domini, nihil, ut arbitrabantur, in terra inveniri, quidam vero aliter crederent, et sic inter se dissentirent, patruus meus Galterus, sacerdos et canonicus, ait: 'Diu est, sicut et vos bene nostis et videtis, quod in oculo meo graviter torqueor, et eius lumen penitus amitto; sed de clementia Dei et eius piissimae genitricis virtute, confido, quod si iste capillus realiter de corpore fuit tam praepotentis Virginis, et infirmus oculus meus eo contactus et signatus fuerit, intimo dolore vacuabitur, et pristinae claritati restaurabitur'. Ad haec

^a lachrymando deperit] lachrymondo apervit *pi.*

^b supernis] supremis *D.*

^c evolasse] evoluisse *pi.*

^d ex] et *pi.*

^e eandem] eandem *D.*

^f eundem] eundem *pi.*

^g dicerent] discerent *pi.*

episcopus: ‘Oremus ergo prius ad dominum, qui est iustus iudex, fortis et patiens, cuius solius iudicia sunt vera, iustificata in semetipsa,^(a) ut hoc iudicio declaret in nobis iudicii sui veritatem, scilicet, ut si capillus iste, de quo agimus veraciter fuit de corpore suae sacratissimae matris, ad eius impositionem et tactum, per manum^(b) nostram licet peccatricem et indignam, oculus iste sanetur et illuminetur, ut laudemus nomen eius, et de praetiosis suae sanctissimae matris reliquiis^(c) confidenter gloriemur’. Deinde cum orassent et orationem complessent, episcopus, sumpto reverenter sacro sancto capillo, sub invocatione sanctae Trinitatis, oculum pereuntem^(d) consignavit, et tetigit; et mox quasi in ictum ferientis, omnem dolorem diffugit. Mane autem, crastino scilicet dominicae^(e) resurrectionis, et sanitate, et utilitate, et pulchritudine factus est oculus ille, oculo alteri conformis; et sicut idem meus patruus narrare consuevit, et ex ore eius audiui, ipsum oculum etiam in senectute sua salubriorem et perspicatorem semper habuit.

XXIII. Normanorum^(f) Britonumque turmis militari certamine congregantibus, interceptus est quidam Constantiensis miles, a Britonibus, manibus, pedibus et collo, manicis et compedibus ac collario ferreis vinctis, detrusus in carcerem, famis et sitis coercebatur^(g) inedia, donec redemptionis exactae faceret satisfactionem. Cum enim copiosam et numerosam pecuniae redemptionem ab eo exigere; et ille penitus nesciret unde saltem medietatem eius reddere posset: divexabant^(h) eum, et insultabant tormentis eius et cruciatibus. Cernens itaque eorum inmisericordem⁽ⁱ⁾ et^(j) insatiabilem insatiabilem avaritiam, quia^(k) spe et possibilitate se redimendi caruit; totam spem suam ad Deum, et eius piam genitricem convertit, reclamans eam in tormentis, et exorans precibus assiduis. Quadam siquidem die, praesente domino, qui coeperat eum, et astantibus^(l) custodibus eius, omnibus solutis nexibus ferreis, et carceris foribus divinitus apertis, egressus est incolumis; sicque de eorum dominio liberatus,

^a semetipsa] indicio *add. pi.*

^b per manum] permanum *pi.*

^c reliquiis] reliquis *pi.*

^d pereuntem] per eumtem *pi.*

^e dominicae] dominae *pi.*

^f Normanorum] Normannorum *pi.*

^g coercebatur] coerabatur *pi.*

^h divexabant] devexabant *pi.*

ⁱ inmisericordem] immisericordem *D.*

^j cruciatibus ... inmisericordem et] *om. pi.*

^k quia] qua *pi.*

^l astantibus] assistentibus *pi.*

venit liber Contantias, ad ecclesiam praecelsae Virginis, oneratus compedibus, caeterisque^(a) nexibus ferreis: ibique gratias agens Deo, et sanctae Virgini^(b) praesentavit altari ipsa^(c) ferramenta, in gloriam et laudem Domini, et monimentum tanti^(d) miraculi.

XXIV. Mulier de Abrincatensi^(e) pago, nomine Orielda, habitabat in villa, quae Sagenis, nuncupatur, quae a iuventute sua genibus et pedibus versus scapulas reflexis, et in exiguum acervulum conglobata, tota exanguis,^(f) et pene exanimis videbatur. Cumquae multo iam transacto tempore, tantam corporis incommoditatem^(g) perpessa fuisset, nullaue iam curationis suae spes esset, nuntiatum est ei, nocturna visione, ut saepedictam basilicam b(eatae) Mariae orationibus visitaret, ibique^(h) solutionem sui carceris plena sanitate reciperet. Quo audito, parentes eius et amici, asino impositam deportaverunt eam usque ad portas ecclesiae,⁽ⁱ⁾ ibique depositam intromiserunt, ponentes ante crucifixum. Hic biduo morans, et precibus et lachrymis^(j) orans, tertio^(k) quidem erecta, et in omni sanitate corporis, gratia Dei, restaurata est.

XXV. Nobilis mulier, Catharina nomine, venit in quadam solemnitate b(eatae) Mariae, ad ipsius ecclesiam, cuius clientibus infra civitatem diversa et congrua capientibus hospitia, unus eorum prope ecclesiam hospitatus est, in domo cuiusdam, qui custodiebat cereum sancti Nicolai, et die ac nocte ferebat ad altare eiusdem, cui sancto superpositus erat crucifixus, et exinde custodiae gratia, domum referebat. Videns autem armiger, hostis non hospes, cerei quantitatem, et quod, nemine vidente, posset exportari, furtim reposuit, et die crastina proficiscente domina cum omnibus suis, cereum asportavit.^(l) Quo facto, mox ultio divina corpus furis et sacrilegi percussit interno^(m) dolere, et angustia,⁽ⁿ⁾ consumentis diebus multis. Contigit itaque ut

^a caeterisque] coeterisque *D.*

^b Virgini] Virginis *pi.*

^c ipsa] sua *pi.*

^d tanti] sancti *pi.*

^e Abrincatensi] Abrenatensi *pi.*

^f exanguis] exsanguis *Dpi.*

^g incommoditatem] in commoditatem *pi.*

^h ibique] ubique *pi.*

ⁱ ecclesiae] ecclesiae *D.*

^j lachrymis] lacrymis *pi.*

^k tertio] retro *pi.*

^l asportavit] aspostavit *pi.*

^m interno] ultimo *pi.*

ⁿ angustia] augustia *pi.*

praedicta domina sua in infirmitate iacentem visitaret eum, inquirensque^(a) tempus, causam, et modum tantae aegrotationis^(b) (erat enim ipsa sciens matrona), dedicit^(c) inquirendo, qualiter Constantiis subriperat furto cereum ecclesiae de custodia^(d) sui hospitis. At illa: ‘Iuste dolore et angustia^(e) in teipso^(f) consumeris, quia furatus est^(g) luminare^(h) sanctae Constantiensis ecclesiae, et beati praecipue⁽ⁱ⁾ sancti^(j) Nicolai’, quae ait, ‘Cito resipisce, vade reddere cereum, confitere et age poenitentiam, et sanaberis’. Venit siquidem et proprium cereum reddidit, confessusque poenitentiam suscepit; sicque corporis sui et animae detrimentum evasit.

XXVI. Sunt quidem ut innumerabilia nobiliora miracula, quae dominus gratia gloriosae matris suae in hac sancta Constantiensi ecclesia, in diebus praedicti praesulis, et patris nostri Gaufridi, ad laudem suae maiestatis, et incrementum ipsius ecclesiae, operari dignatus^(k) est, quae patribus et praedecessoribus nostris cognita certaue fuerunt, et nobis ab eis relata sunt; sed quoniam pluribus evolutis scilicet mensibus et annis, nomina, et notitiam personarum, et locorum, seriem gestorum, nec tenaci memoria, nec scriptum,^(l) penes nos retinentur,^(m) malvimus ea funditus reticere, reticere, quam ipsum creatorem nostrum, qui vero⁽ⁿ⁾ est via, veritas et vita, a veritate deviendo, offendere.

XXVII. Post illius reverendi^(o) pontificis ex hoc mundo transitum, multi et^(p) inenarrabile^(q) nobis, diversis corporum infirmitatibus detenti, in hac sancta basilica, nobis scientibus, sanati sunt; quorum alii erant demoniaci,^(r) vel frenetici, vel mania,^(s)

^a inquirensque] cirquerensque *pi.*

^b aegrotationis] aegraetationis *pi.*

^c dedicit] didicit *D.*

^d custodia] custadia *pi.*

^e angustia] augustia *pi.*

^f teipso] te ipso *D.*

^g est] es *D.*

^h luminare] huminare *pi.*

ⁱ praecipue] poecipue *pi.*

^j sancti] *om. Dpi.*

^k dignatus] dignitus *pi.*

^l scriptum] scripto *pi.*

^m retinentur] retinemus *pi.*

ⁿ vero] vera *D.*

^o reverendi] venerandi *D.*

^p et] *om. pi.*

^q inenarrabile] inenarrabiles *D.*

^r demoniaci] demoniacis *D.*

mania,^(a) vel huiusmodi^(b) passione furiosi; aut distortis pedibus, seu manibus eiecti; alii linguarum, vel aurium officio privati: complurimi vero foetore simul et [com]bustione^(c) ignis consumpti; de quibus quidem multa narrare possemus, si vel tenaci memoriae lubricae^(d) nostrae iuventutis aetas ea commendasset, vel olim frequenti^(e) relatu, vel recogitatu^(f) commemorasset?^(g) Quid plura? Istis^(h) noviter temporibus, regnantibus rege Ludovico, Anglorumque rege et duce Normanorum⁽ⁱ⁾ Henrico, superioris Willelmi regis filio, cum per totam pene Franciam, miserenda^(j) et et horrenda lues praedicta (quamplures^(k) ignem vocant infernalem) effrenis desaeviret, adeo scilicet, ut in^(l) ecclesiis centeni et milleni ardentes, seu plures, seu pauciores, conclamarent, gratia Dei, et meritis b(eatae) Mariae, quotquot eius suffragium in ecclesia Constantiensi devote poposcerunt, omnes ab ingruente^(m) ardore liberati sunt.

XXVIII. Quidam quoque puer de praebenda Richardi,⁽ⁿ⁾ fratris mei, archidiaconi, qui et ipse^(o) prius et posterius nobiscum conversatus est, nuncque vir effectus est, ab ardore eiusdem pestiferi, nobis^(p) videntibus, liberatus est.

XXIX. Altera quidem die sabbathi, dum clerus vespertinos psalleret^(q) hymnos, et ante crucifixum, in medio ecclesiae, processionem de more facerent, ibique astantes concinerent, repente quidam, qui coram imagine b(eatae) Virginis sedebat, et saepedicto igne putrido consumebatur, gratia dei liberatus est. Quo comperto, dum statim ibidem ante crucifixum, *Te Deum laudamus* in laudem Dei concinerent, divina benignitate, statim quidam alter contritis pedibus ante eandem^(r) Virginis imaginem

^a mania] maniosi *pi.*

^b huiusmodi] huius modi *pi.*

^c combustionem] obustione *CD.*

^d lubricae] lubrica *D.*

^e frequenti] frequenti *pi.*

^f recogitatu] recognitatu *pi.*

^g commemorasset] Sed *add. Dpi.*

^h Istis] Ubi *pi.*

ⁱ Normanorum] Normannorum *Dpi.*

^j miserenda] miseranda *pi.*

^k quamplures] quam plures *Dpi.*

^l in] *om. pi.*

^m ingruente] ingente *pi.*

ⁿ Richardi] Richardis *pi.*

^o et ipse] etque *pi.*

^p nobis] nostris *pi.*

^q clerus vespertinos psalleret] cleri vespertinos psallerent *pi.*

^r eandem] eandem *pi.*

sanus erectus est; sicque sub una cleri et populi gratiarum actione, elevata gratia Dei, dignata est eorum gaudia duplicare.

XXX. Sacerdotis cuiusdam relatione didici, quod deorsum in suburbio, quaedam anus habitabat, quae ad matutinas^(a) ire consueverat.^(b) Quadam ergo nocte surgens intempestive ad ecclesiam usque pervenit; sed fores ecclesiae clausas, interiusque repagulis et^(c) seris^(d) firmatas reperiens, in australis introitus media, in orationem procubuit. Huius itaque sibi^(e) iacentis oculis insolitus splendor nimiae claritatis, per portarum rimas, ab intus illuxit; cuius insolentia simul et admiratione mulier excitata, iuncturae portarum protinus oculos admovit; fulgentiumque et gloriosarum processionem personarum transeuntem intro prospexit.^(f)

XXXI. Sacerdote vero alio testante comperi, quod haec eadem anus, Daria, vocata fuerit, socrus videlicet Goscelini cubicularis mei patris; qui canonicis sanctae Mariae domum suam, quam^(g) habebat in Frigido vico, contulit, in qua domo multis diebus praesbyter iste cum ipsa eadem muliere cohabitavit; quam etiam anum multi, qui adhuc superstites sumus, et vidimus et cognovimus. Haec igitur anus, sicut refert adhuc iste sacerdos, die quadam sabbathi, post completorium, in remotiore, et occultiore loco ecclesiae, in introitu videlicet ascensus gradus occidentalium^(h) turrium, ubi de more sedebat, ibique⁽ⁱ⁾ sive casu, sive Dei nutu, obdormierat.^(j) Cum ergo post somnum evigilasset, surrexit, ut egrederetur; sed ecclesiae custodibus egressis, et vectibus, et seris, foribus cunctis munitis, ad eundem locum pavida revertitur. Moxque ad orationum munimen,^(k) in obscurae noctis tenebris inflectitur. Dum autem custodes morarentur et orationi mulier insisteret, noctis evictis tenebris, ecclesia tota inaestimabili lumine subito resplenduit; et ecce ab altari sancti Io(ann)is^(l) Io(ann)is^(l) processio veneranda uxorum fulgentium cereos ferentium progrediens, ac

^a matutinas] matutinos *pi.*

^b consueverat] confueverat *C.*

^c repagulis et] *om. pi.*

^d seris] seras *pi.*

^e sibi] ibi *pi.*

^f intro prospexit] introspexit *pi.*

^g quam] quod *Cpi.*

^h occidentalium] occidentalis *Dpi.*

ⁱ ibique] ubique *pi.*

^j obdormierat] ordormierat *D* obdomierat *pi.*

^k munimen] munimem *pi.*

^l Io(ann)is] Iohannis *D.*

per circuitum interiorem ecclesiae, prope mulierem transitum faciens, ante altare sanctae Dei genitricis imaginis constitit; moxque post paululum, per chorum transiens, ante maius altare denuo stetit. Tres quidem inter eos^(a) erant personae venerandae dignitatis, similitudine, et habitu muliebri, cerei quoque, et flammae cereorum, quasi blandi et aetherei. Illa quidem anus, ut liberius intueretur quidnam agerent, de loco suo surrexit, et quasi de meditullis^(b) de maioribus ecclesiae portis, prospexit. Postea abscedentibus cunctis et egredientibus tanquam per ostium illa ut sibi visum fuit, remansit in tenebris.

XXXII.^(c) Dominica die quadam, nocturnalibus hymnis diu ante diem finitis, sicut idem praesbyter narrat, haec eadem anus in ecclesia pernoctabat: in terra luminare quoddam vidit desursum veniens, et quasi versus puteum divertens. Tunc mulier illa surrexit, et per ianuas ingrediens, agnovit quod idem luminare, quasi in ore putei pendebat, eiusque flamma tantum foris apparebat. Illa denique approximante, ut illud sustolleret, confestim se de puteo sustulit;^(d) et in candelabro ante imaginem sanctae Mariae Virginis resedit, ibique donec dies illucesceret, arsit; tuncque^(e) quasi per fenestram vitream exiens disparuit.

^a eos] eas *Dpi.*

^b meditullis] mieditullis *D.*

^c XXXII.] *om. C.*

^d sustulit] sustollit *Dpi.*

^e tuncque] hocque *pi.*

APPENDIX G

NORMAN EPISCOPAL *ACTA*, 942-1110

Norman episcopal *acta*, 942-1110

Thirty-seven men ascended to one of the seven Norman dioceses between the years 942 and 1110. What follows represents the first effort to collect and analyse the diplomatic output of nineteen of these individuals, whose surviving *acta* span some of the most critical years in the formation of the Norman and Anglo-Norman realms. Although it is unfortunate that such an effort has not been undertaken before, it is hardly surprising, since by even the most basic of standards this represents an impoverished collection. Numbering eighty-five in total, with a further twenty-nine calendared ‘mentions’, the *acta* are distributed unevenly over the seven dioceses, with the archbishops of Rouen and the bishops of Bayeux responsible for over 63% of the acts. The latter of these is dominated by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, whose eighteen *acta* alone represent almost a quarter of the total. Of course, the survival of eleventh-century material has been greatly affected by the hazards of history, and four of the dioceses have no original material for the eleventh century extant at all. Documents often exist only in much later copies, whose quality is sometimes questionable, while the manner in which details of episcopal diplomatic activity survive can often be described at best as fragmentary. Consequently, the term *acta* should not be understood to apply here in its most literal sense, and it is recognised that some of the texts edited below would not normally be included in a collection of this sort. It has seemed more desirable, however, to try and document as completely as possible the diplomatic (and other) activities of the episcopate, rather than omit material for the sake of dogma.

The collection includes, therefore, not only the standard *acta*, but also any notice recording episcopal business. These normally survive as the record of a plea, some of which were held in the presence of the bishop only, though others took place in a secular setting, such as the royal court. Many charters, normally issued by an individual other than the bishop, also include the mention of a bishop’s consent to the donation of something, normally to the freedom from episcopal customs. In general, these ‘mentions’ are registered in the calendar of acts at the end of this collection, but those which record such activities in more detail have had their text printed in full and are included in the main body of texts. Nevertheless, since it is recognised that these are not strictly *acta* they have been assigned an asterisk to distinguish them in the

numerical sequence (e.g. **no. 38***). Despite having to make these compromises, however, it is still possible to consider the acts according to guidelines established by such collections as the *English Episcopal Acta* series, and although generalisations rather than definitive conclusions are sometimes all that is possible with regard to the internal and external diplomatic features of the charters, this collection is not without its own especial significance.

The episcopal and archiepiscopal households

It would be traditional at this point to briefly chronicle the career of each bishop responsible for the *acta*, but since this has already been accomplished above, a brief overview of the episcopal and archiepiscopal households is all that follows. Since many of these careers have already been chronicled by David Spear, this is, in itself, necessarily brief.

The archdeacons

The first recorded archdeacon from among the Norman dioceses is Onoratus, who appears to have been archdeacon of the Vexin during the reign of Hugh of Saint-Denis, archbishop of Rouen (942-989). It was he who consented to and witnessed the donation of the church of Saint-Godard de Longuesse-en-Vexin by the archbishop to Saint-Germain des Prés in 979 × 989 (**no. 48**). It is another twenty-five years until we can identify another Rouen archdeacon, though by the first decades of the eleventh century, these positions had been filled by men whose activities can be traced in some detail. Perhaps most famous of these is the archdeacon Hugh, styled ‘*grammaticus*’. He appears in several ducal *acta*,¹ and was also witness to the display of the body of St. Romanus (**no. 53**), and two *acta* of Archbishop Mauger (**nos. 54, 56**). Such was his influence within the Rouen community that it was he who headed the procession of the relics of St. Wulfram into the city on 24 June 1053.² His contemporaries included the archdeacons Goslin (**no. 49**), who seems to have been a successor of Onoratus in the Vexin, Baldwin (**no. 49**), Guy, Fulbert I and William Bona Anima, later archbishop himself.

¹ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 205.

² ‘*Inventio sancti Vulfranni*’, p. 58.

Although archdeacons continued to witness archiepiscopal *acta* during the career of Archbishop Maurilius (**no. 59**), it is not until the reign of his successor, John of Ivry, that they begin to appear together in any great concentration. Eight archdeacons are known to have operated under John (Robert, Gother, Goslin II, Fulbert I, Benedict, Osmund I, Ursel and Fulk), and all of his surviving *acta* involve the participation of at least one archdeacon. Two of these acts (**nos. 60, 66***) were witnessed by four of these individuals, while only one *actum*, which is extremely suspect, mentions the participation of a lone archdeacon (**no. +63**). Among those featuring more than one archdeacon, it is Gother and Robert who can be seen together most frequently (**nos. 60-62, 65**), with the latter appearing in five of John's acts. He is identified by one of these as archdeacon of the Vexin (**no. 62**), and, although it is possible his frequent occurrences indicate he was a favourite of the archbishop, it is more likely a reflection of the fact that three quarters of John's *acta* concern benefices located in the Vexin, and that Robert's consent to these donations was required. It would be Fulbert II who would become the prominent member of the archidiaconate under William Bona Anima, however, appearing in six of the archbishop's seven *acta* (**nos. 67, 70, 72-75**). This appears to be a reflection of his seniority, for his epitaph describes him as the archdeacon *metropolitanus*, which meant he was the holder of the position later known as the Grand Archdeaconry. Six other archdeacons operated under Bona Anima, including Benedict (**nos. 72-75**), who is identified as an archdeacon in the Caux region (**no. 73**), Ursel (**nos. 67, 74-75**), Osmund I (**nos. 67, 73**), Richard I (**nos. 74-75**), Goslin II (**no. 74**) and Gerard I (**no. 72**). As under John, these men frequently appear together in groups of three or four, and there is only one instance of an archdeacon acting alone (**no. 70**).

A truly active archidiaconate cannot usually be traced outside the metropolitan see until the second half of the eleventh century. At Avranches, for example, it is not until the episcopate of Turgis that a member of the archidiaconate can be found witnessing an episcopal act (**nos. 8, 10**), although at least one archdeacon can be identified before this time. A similar pattern emerges at Bayeux, and although the existence of a number of archdeacons has been established for the early decades of Odo's episcopate, it is not until the final years of his reign that they begin to appear in his *acta* (**nos. 30, 32-34**). Given that only eleven *acta* survive for the dioceses of Coutances, Évreux and Lisieux combined, it is little surprise that none mention any

personnel, either episcopal or capitular, although a number of archdeacons have been identified for each of the sees during the period in question.³ Fortunately, circumstances in the diocese of Sées are much better documented, and one of the earliest surviving *acta*, issued by Ivo de Bellême, details the existence of five archdeacons (**no. 76**). However, no equivalent archidiaconal presence can be seen in any of the other episcopal *acta* for Sées, and unlike some of the other dioceses, the appearance of members of the archidiaconate becomes more sporadic, rather than reliable, over time.

Capellani et clerici episcopi

The difficulties in trying to identify members of the episcopal chancery at this time are manifest. Only one *actum*, from the diocese of Sées, makes explicit reference to the scribe responsible for its creation (**no. 76**), although frustratingly he is identified by his toponym, rather than an official title (*Willelmo Argentensi, qui hec scripsit, imperante domno pontifice*). Elsewhere, there is only one other act that refers to someone whose specific task was that of writing, though it is unclear if he was responsible for producing the act in question, which survives as an original (**no. 30**). It has sometimes been suggested that he was,⁴ though for reasons discussed below, it is more likely the work of a monk at the abbey for which the charter was drawn up. Matters are further complicated by the fact that in many of the dioceses the titles that were subsumed under the name *cancellarius* in the thirteenth century present themselves here in a wide variety of forms, including *scolasticus*, *grammaticus*, and *magister scholarum*. Nevertheless, it is still possible to trace the first appearance of personnel whose functions may have been chancerial, even if the number is too small to draw any firm conclusions.

The first identifiable chaplains at Avranches appear during the episcopate of Turgis. Roger de Lingèvres,⁵ who is identified as *capellanus episcopi* (**no. 10**), was apparently part of a capitular family,⁶ while William, brother of Hervey de Mayenne, is always known simply as *capellanus* (**no. 9**), perhaps suggesting the existence of

³ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 95-96, 140-141 and 173-174.

⁴ Bates, 'The character and career', p. 14.

⁵ Lingèvres, Calvados, cant. Balleroy.

⁶ It is possible he was related to the archdeacon Hugh de Lingèvres, and the canon William de Lingèvres, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 16.

some form of hierarchy among chancery officials. The position of episcopal chaplain clearly existed at an earlier date, however, for the *conventio* forged in 1061 between John of Ivry and Rannulf, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, includes the stipulation that whatever was offered to the altar during a dedication would also be offered to the bishop, and that whatever was offered to him, would also be offered to his chaplains (**no. 5**). Whether these individuals were ever responsible for performing chancery duties is unknown. There is no clear reference to an episcopal chancellor (*cancellarius episcopi*) in the diocese of Avranches throughout the entire ducal period, and it is possible that those personnel associated with the cathedral school, which seems to have been established as early as the 1030s, served the bishop in chancery affairs. Interestingly, the charter witnessed by Roger de Lingèvres was also witnessed by Alexander, the *magister scholarum*, who appears in another charter in which no chaplains are mentioned (**no. 8**). This suggests that only one of these men can have been expected to perform chancery duties, but the identity of which, if any, must remain unknown.

Circumstances in the dioceses of Bayeux, Coutances, Évreux and Lisieux are little better. Only the diocese of Bayeux is known to have had episcopal chancellors during the ducal period, but these do not begin appearing in episcopal *acta* until the second half of the twelfth century. The episcopal chaplain also seems to have been a phenomenon of the same period, though there is one very early example of a chaplain (Tedoldus) associated with Hugh of Ivry (**no. 11**). His position seems to have died with the bishop, however, and it is possible that Hugh had inherited Tedoldus as a chaplain associated with the *comté* of Ivry, with whose power he was also invested. Despite the large number of acts surviving for Odo, bishop of Bayeux, only one refers to personnel traditionally associated with chancery duties (**no. 30**), though as with the diocese of Avranches, it is unclear which of these individuals, the *grammaticus* or the scribe, performed these functions. None of the *acta* for Coutances, Évreux and Lisieux refer to either position, and only two chaplains, one for the diocese of Coutances, and the other for the diocese of Lisieux, are known to have served their bishops during this time.⁷

⁷ *Regesta*, no. 175(II).

Unsurprisingly, the evidence for the archdiocese of Rouen is better, though only just. The first chaplain (Rodulf) appears in a charter of Archbishop Robert (**no. 49**), while it is during the archiepiscopate of his successor Mauger that an archiepiscopal chancellor (*cancellarius*), named Fulbert, is mentioned for the first, and only, time (**no. 54**). It is surprising that this archbishop, renowned as a despoiler, should have overseen this development in the sophistication of his household, the first known in the duchy, but as we shall see below, this is not the only instance in which Mauger's diplomatic suggests posterity has judged him rather harshly. It is another half-century before the position resurfaces under William Bona Anima, whose charter for the abbey of Coulombs records that a certain Evaldus, *cancellarii mei*, witnessed his confirmation of an act issued by his predecessor (**no. 67**). Like Fulbert, however, this is his only recorded appearance, while of the archbishop's remaining charters, only one (**no. 72**) records the involvement of someone who may have performed chancery duties (*Gilbert scolasticus*). However, given the exalted circumstances in which this act was issued, it would seem highly unlikely that he was anyway involved in its drafting.

Unlike their neighbours, it appears that the bishops of Sées established, and maintained, the staff of an episcopal chancery from an exceptionally early date. As has already been noted, a charter of Ivo de Bellême, issued for the abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans during a synodal meeting in Sées, contains the statement that the act was written, at the command of the bishop, by William d'Argentan (**no. 76**), who seems to have been a member of the cathedral chapter. Frustratingly, not only is William not qualified by an official title, but this is also his only known appearance in the historical record. Moreover, the charter for which he was responsible is the only one issued by a bishop of Sées during this period not to survive as an original. It is only towards the end of Ivo's reign, however, that a chaplain (Hugh) and a *magister scholarum* (Roger) can be seen witnessing an episcopal act for the first time (**no. 79**), though within two years both these individuals had been replaced by Robert de Ryes (**no. 80**). The episcopate of Serlo d'Orgères heralds a first not only for the diocese, but also for the collection as a whole, with the appearance of Fulk, *episcopi clericus*, and Rannulf, *cancellarius*, though what specific functions these individuals fulfilled must remain unknown.

Lay members of the *familia*

Some of the bishops' secular officers are recorded in the witness lists. Officers bearing the title *sinescalcus* (seneschal), *dispensator* (steward), *camerarius* (chamberlain) and *homo* (man) appear in charters of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen (**nos. 31, 32, 61**); all entirely to be expected given these bishops' immense secular power. Michael, bishop of Avranches, and Serlo, bishop of Sées, are known to have had episcopal reeves (**nos. 6, 84**), while even knights sometimes appear as witnesses (**no. 76**). The notice detailing the restitution of land made by Simon, son of Rodulf IV, count of Amiens-Valois-Vexin, states that the dean and two archdeacons of Rouen, as well as four laymen, witnessed the act on behalf of the archbishop, and that these men were joined by many others of the '*familię archiepiscopi*' (**no. 65**). A charter of Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux, is witnessed by men (Rodulf Suard and Richard *Scoria Vetulum*) identified as members of two vassal families of the bishopric,⁸ while it is possible that the four laymen who witnessed the agreement between Michael, bishop of Avranches, and Anselm, abbot of Bec, concerning the building of a bridge on the banks of the Risle (**no. 6**), were the knights of Saint-Philbert, whose domain, which they held in fief (*in fevio tenerent*) of the bishop of Avranches,⁹ lay near the land in question, and for whose benefit it is likely the bridge was constructed.

The *acta*

The contents of the *acta*

This edition of Norman episcopal *acta* contains eighty-five documents (of which six, to the best of the editor's knowledge, have not hitherto been printed in any form), and calendars a further twenty-nine, which includes references to charters no longer extant, grants of episcopal customs and oral donations. The basic statistics for the seven dioceses are as follows: for the diocese of Avranches there are ten *acta*, and later references to four lost charters. Some twenty-four documents survive from the diocese of Bayeux, of which five survive as originals, while a further nine are mentioned in other texts. Only six *acta* survive for the diocese of Coutances, with three calendared, while the dioceses of Évreux and Lisieux have only two and four

⁸ Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', p. 16.

⁹ *RADN*, no. 229.

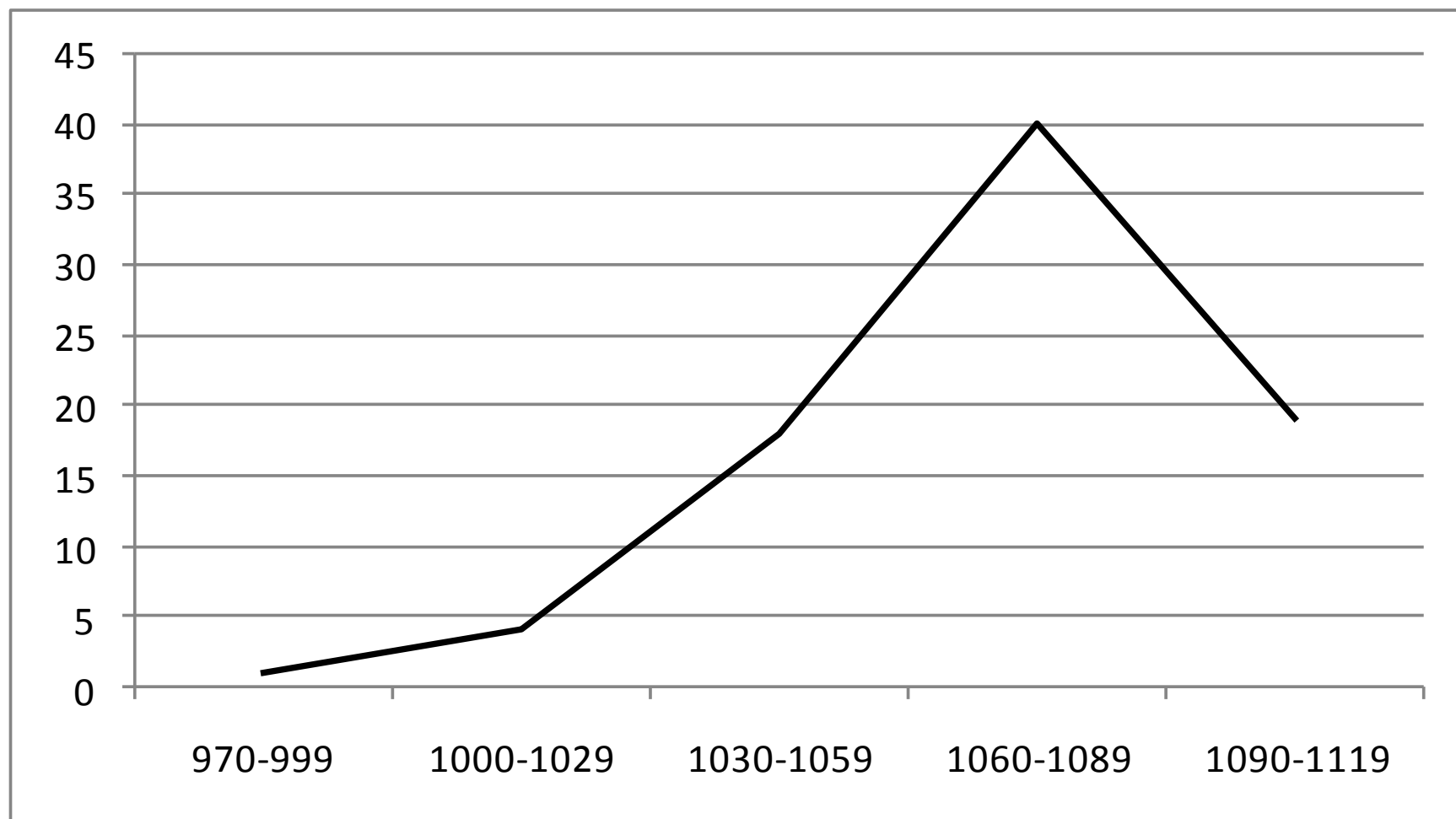


Fig. 85 Norman episcopal *acta*, 942-1110: chronological distribution

acta, respectively. There are twenty-nine *acta* for the archdiocese of Rouen, of which four are originals; there are references to ten others. Finally, the diocese of Sées has only ten charters, although all but three survive as originals. The bishop with the highest annual average of known documents is John of Ivry, whose rate is 0.42 for his episcopate at Avranches and 0.58 for his archiepiscopate, while all the others are so low as not to merit calculation.

As might be expected, grants are by far the commonest type of document, comprising over half of the total, while 20% are episcopal confirmations. A small but not insignificant group of thirteen charters are cast in the form of declarations (**nos. 9, 12, 19, 23, 27, 30, 55-57, 59, 64, 67, 75**). Such usage is common in diplomas, and in those *notitiae* which often precede the emergence of sealed episcopal charters on the continent, and unlike a similar body of texts in the archdiocese of Canterbury,¹⁰ at least half of these acts are either elaborate or formal in nature. There is also a small group of charters issued for properties in England, which not only share a similar writ format, but also, on occasion, almost identical language (e.g. **nos. 21, 24**). Unsurprisingly, the *acta* largely concern monastic beneficiaries (80% of the total), but these are spread thinly across the duchy, with the abbey of Bec receiving the highest concentration of just five charters (5.9% of the total). Twenty-one of the documents were issued for foreign houses, with the abbeys of Saint-Père de Chartres and Marmoutier receiving four each (9.5% of the total); an amount that increases to 14% if one includes the four charters concerning the priories of Bellême, which belonged to Marmoutier.

Diplomatic of the *acta*

Invocatio

Fourteen *acta* contain an *invocatio*, with examples coming from four of the seven dioceses. Most of these invoke the Trinity (**nos. 14, 25, 34, 35, 48, 51, 54, 62, 79, 80**), although two *acta* from Avranches, one from the episcopate of Hugh, and the other from that of Turgis, begin with the invocation of only one of the Three persons (**nos. 2, 8**). In a variation on this theme, an act issued by Robert, archbishop of Rouen, for the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres begins, *Deo et domino nostro Ihesu Christo*

¹⁰ *EEA*, xxviii, pp. lxvi-lxvii.

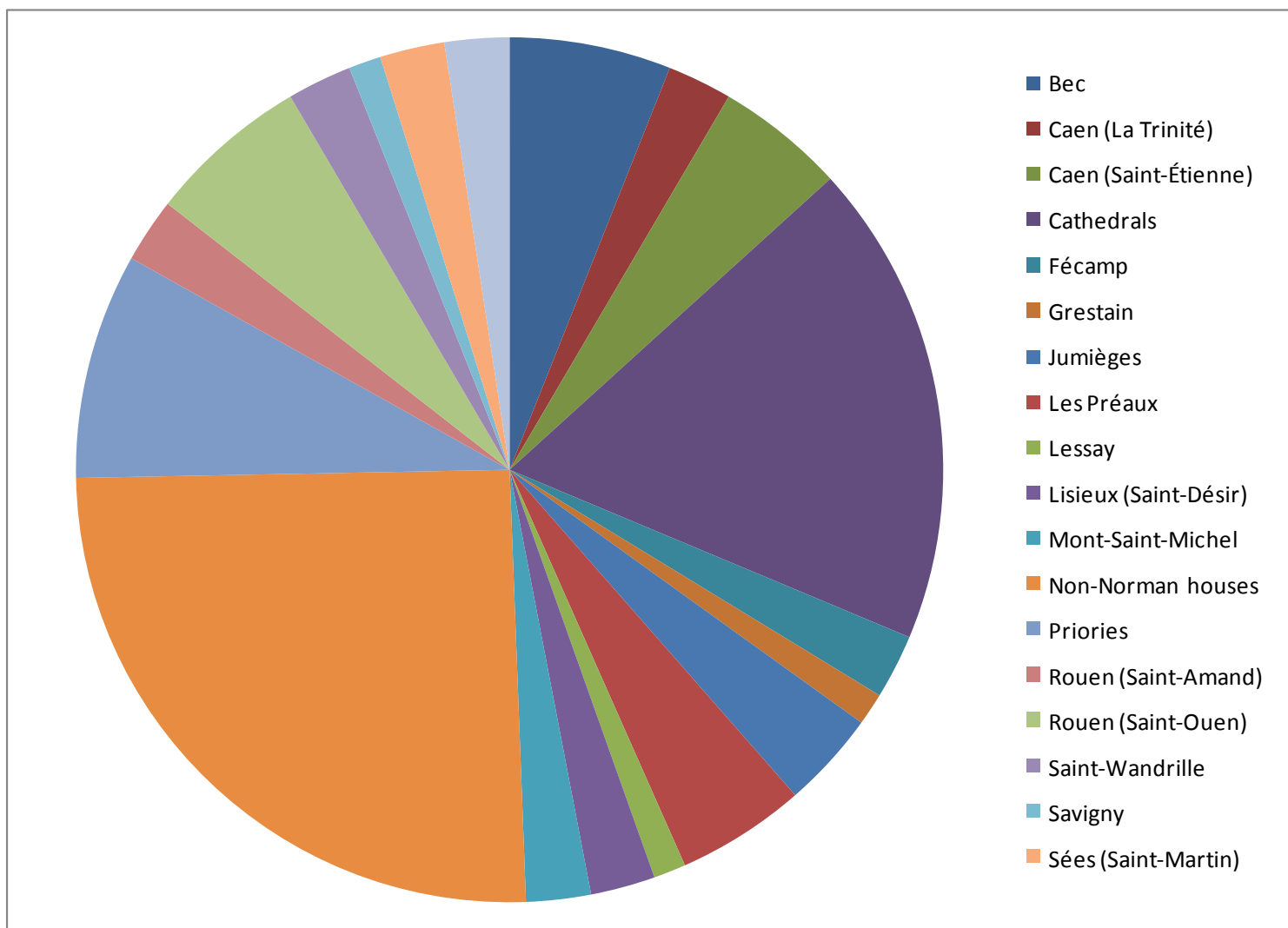


Fig. 86 Norman episcopal *acta*, 942-1110: institutional distribution

praesidente... (no. 49). All those that contain an invocation of the Trinity place the formula at the beginning of the act, except a charter issued by Hugh of Saint-Denis, archbishop of Rouen, for the abbey of Saint-Germain, which has the *invocatio* after a lengthy preamble (no. 48).

Intitulatio

The form favoured by the bishops of Avranches seems to have been the simple *episcopus Abrincensis* (nos. 2, 4, 6, 7). Three acts, one from a cartulary, and the others copied from originals extant in the eighteenth century, use the form *Dei gratia*, though these still display a wide variety in their form (nos. 1, 8, 10), and are still some way from the standard *Dei gratia Abrincensis episcopus* of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Two other charters contain more elaborate forms. In a seventeenth-century copy of a lost fourteenth-century *vidimus*, which was itself taken from a lost eleventh-century *pancarte*, John of Ivry refers to himself as *quamvis indignus sanctae Abrincensis ecclesiae episcopus* (no. 3), while Turgis, in his confirmation for the abbey of Savigny is called *episcoporum Abrincensium minimus et ultimus episcopus* (no. 9).

A similar pattern emerges in the *acta* of Bayeux, Coutances and Lisieux. In eight charters, two of which are originals, the bishop of Bayeux is simply styled *Baiocensis episcopus* (nos. 12, 15, 16, 20*, 22, 26, 29, 34), while two others, including an original, contain the slightly more elaborate *Baiocassine urbis episcopus* (no. 11) and *sanctę Baiocensis aecclesiae episcopus* (no. 30). One original, issued by Bishop Odo for Christ Church, Canterbury, uses the formula *gratia Dei Baiocensis episcopus* (no. 21), as do four other charters, three of which are found in cartulary copies (nos. 14, 19, 24, 25). Two *acta* for the abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen contain the slightly more unusual *dispensante Deo Baiocensis ecclesię antistes* (nos. 27, 28), and a further two for Canterbury institutions refer to Odo also as earl of Kent (nos. 23-24). It would be tempting to see an *intitulatio* imposed upon the bishop by a monk of Caen, rather than the conscious choice of the bishop of Bayeux, but the first of these acts forms part of a charter containing the texts of two other episcopal *acta*, neither of which use the same form (nos. 39, 71). It is possible, therefore, that these are examples of a style adopted by the bishop at this time, while the only surviving *acta* of Évreux

contains a similar, if somewhat more elaborate, version of the same clause (**no. 42**). Sixty percent of the charters of Coutances, and all those of Lisieux, refer to the bishop as either *Constantiensis episcopus* (**nos. 37, 38*, 40**) or *Lexoviensis episcopus* (**nos. 44*-47**), respectively, while in two charters Geoffrey de Montbray is styled bishop *Dei gratia* (**no. 39**) and *misericordia Dei* (**no. 41**), though the form of the latter is extremely suspect.

Unlike their suffragans, the archbishops of Rouen seem to have preferred styling themselves metropolitan *gratia Dei*. Forty percent of all the archiepiscopal *acta* contain some form of this clause (**nos. 49, 50, 54-56, 59, +63, 67, 72, 75**), though only one survives as an original (**no. 55**). The remaining documents display such a wide variety as to almost defy systematic description. These range from the verbose (**no. 48, 60, 62**) to the more perfunctory (**nos. 57, 71**), while on at least one occasion William Bona Anima is simply styled as *archiepiscopus* (**no. 70**). Finally, the diocese of Sées, with its six original *acta*, offers perhaps the best opportunity to determine diplomatic practices as they were in the eleventh century. Only one charter, surviving in a modern copy from a lost cartulary, uses the formula *gratia Dei episcopus Sagiensis* (**no. 76**). Three use the more conventional *Sagiensis episcopus*, or a variant thereof, (**nos. 80, 82, 85**), while a charter of Ivo de Bellême for Saint-Aubin d'Angers does not qualify the bishop beyond his rank (**no. 77**). Only one original charter shows evidence of a more elaborate formula. Unfortunately, holes in the parchment created by its exposure to humidity fall just after the opening of the *intitulatio*, which begins, *Ego Ivo licet indignus...* (**no. 79**). Tantalisingly, the first letter of the first obliterated word seems to be a 'd', perhaps of *Dei gratia*, while it appears the formula ended with the word *presul*. Any conclusions that can be drawn from these acts are, however, restricted by the limited number of surviving *acta*.

Inscriptio

A wide variety of forms of address was employed throughout the seven Norman dioceses. The general theme of *omnibus eccleise (sancte) fidelibus* appears to be preeminent, and is sometimes amplified by a phrase such as *tam futuris quam presentibus*. There are extreme variants, however. A charter of Turgis, bishop of Avranches, is addressed to *omnibus huius sancte ecclesie Individue Trinitatis*

tutoribus (no. 9), while another, issued by the archbishop of Rouen in conjunction with the duke, calls upon *omnibus quoscunque mouet causa uel ratio cartule huius principale tocius Normannie* (no. 50). The most extreme variants occur, however, when the bishop addresses a more closely defined audience. A series of charters issued by those prelates active in England, for example, are addressed to such groups as *omnibus Cantuariensibus regis fidelibus* (no. 22), while others call the contents of the charter to the attention of suffragans and members of the cathedral chapter (no. 48), of fellow bishops (no. 30), of successors (no. 85), and, most simply, of the reader (nos. 14, 52). The *intitulatio* was usually set before the *inscriptio*, though there are seven examples of reversal in documents generally addressed, and significantly in two surviving originals (nos. 80, 85).

Salutatio

By far the commonest form of greeting in *acta* of this period is the simple *salutem*, with all but one of the acts coming from the dioceses of Rouen and Bayeux (nos. 21-22, 24, 26, 40, 50, 51). Only four incidences of variance have been noted: *salutes et episcopales benedictiones et absolutiones*, which occurs in the confirmation of the foundation of Savigny issued by Turgis, bishop of Avranches (no. 9), is by far the most verbose. There are also single uses of *salutem, prosperitatem et pacem*, which is found in the text of a charter of Geoffrey de Montbray, preserved within the narrative of the famous *De statu* (no. 41); of *salutis et pacis incrementum*, found in a cartulary copy of a charter of Robert, archbishop of Rouen (no. 52), and of *salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem*, which occurs in a document whose form is extremely suspect (no. +63).

Arenga

Unlike many of the post-Conquest English dioceses, where *acta* do not begin to contain *arenga* until the middle of the twelfth century,¹¹ almost a quarter of the documents here have some form of pious preamble (nos. 1, 10, 11, 12, 14, 25, 34, 41, 42, 45, 48, 50-52, 54, 55, 62, 72, 77). The most verbose either come from houses located outside Normandy (nos. 48, 62, 77), or were issued in conjunction with a duke (nos. 50, 51), and undoubtedly reflect the traditions derived from the Merovingian,

¹¹ Cf. C.R. Cheney, *English bishops' chanceries, 1100-1250* (Oxford, 1950), p. 71.

and sometimes papal, chanceries. These are also the acts that generally make Scriptural quotations or allusions, though there are some exceptions to this rule (**nos. 11, 14**). One of the greatest concentrations of *arenga* is found in the *acta* of Mauger, archbishop of Rouen. Given the archbishop's reputation as a despoiler, and coupled with the anathema clause found in another of his acts, it is interesting to see Mauger bemoan how 'with the world slipping towards the abyss' his contemporaries had become 'roused with devilish madness' (*contemporales nostri rabie diabolica instincti*), and that rather than imitating the ancient tradition of giving, they 'bustle about, and tear apart the church through which they are continually nourished in Christ and reborn' (*furtim satagunt..., et ecclesiam Dei per quam sunt regenerati et in Christo nutriti incessanter adnichilare*) (**no. 55**). As regards content, these range from numerous variations on the general theme of episcopal duties (e.g. **no. 10**), to reflections on the bishop's own mortality, the weight of his sins, and the fate of his soul (**no. 77**).

Notificatio

The variety in notification clause, which occurs in all but four documents issued after 1070, is considerable. The commonest are the simple *notum sit omnibus* (**nos. 15, 28, 60, +63, 65, 70, 71, 80**), *sciatis omnes* (**nos. 21, 24, 26**) and *notum esse volo* (**nos. 1, 30**). There are also single occurrences of *notum volo fore* (**no. 11**); of *sciatis quod ego* (**no. 40**); of *notum fieri volo* (**no. 48**); of *volumus notificare* (**no. 50**); of *noverit posteritas* (**no. 61**); of *notum facio* (**no. 64**); of *noverint tam presentes* (**no. 73**); *noverint fratres* (**no. 82**); of *sciant cuncti presentes* (**no. 84**), and of *notum sit successoribus* (**no. 85**).

Narratio and dispositio

It is almost impossible to make broad generalisations about these central parts of the *acta*, which vary almost infinitely. Some *acta* provide a detailed narrative of the circumstances behind the bishop's involvement, such as the chaotic circumstances in the duchy that prompted Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux, to seek confirmation of his cathedral's possessions (**no. 12**), or the conditions that prompted the famous *conventio* between the bishop of Avranches and abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1061 (**no. 5**). The *narratio* might, however, be restricted to a note of the request for

confirmation by the donor (**no. 11**), the beneficiary (**no. 79**), or the local inhabitants (**no. 8**). The *dispositio*, the effective core of the *actum*, might on occasion be concise, almost terse, particularly if the issue at hand was the confirmation of a single church (**no. 75**). More general confirmations, however, such as that issued by Turgis, bishop of Avranches, for the abbey of Marmoutier (**no. 8**), usually describe at length the properties and rights of the house concerned, and occasionally how these had come to be violated.

The inspeximus

There are no examples among these charters of a bishop reciting verbatim the text of a document which he then confirmed, and, as in England, the *inspeximus* did not become fully developed in Normandy until the second half of the twelfth century.¹² However, the language of personal inspection is not entirely absent from this collection, and a charter of Odo of Bayeux claims that he *hanc chartam lectam et perlectam* (**no. 34**).¹³

Injunctio

The injunction clause does not appear to have been a common feature of Norman episcopal *acta* at this time, and only one charter, whose veracity is questionable, contains language of this nature (**no. +63**).

Sanctio

Unlike many English dioceses, where a significant degree of variation is found in this section of the *actum*, those Norman charters with a sanction clause, which comprise about a quarter of the collection, usually threaten those who would violate the terms of the act with formal anathema. Examples range from the terse *Quicumque eam violare presumpserit; anathema sit* (**no. 80**), to the traditional threat of anathema associated with the punishment of such figures as Dathan, Abiram and Judas (**nos. 1, 11**). A remarkable charter issued by Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, threatens potential

¹² The *inspeximus* first appeared in the English dioceses of Worcester, London, Bath and York in the 1170s, *EEA*, ii, pp. lxvi-lxvii. Only three Norman dioceses have had their charters edited to such an extent that similar developments can be traced with any certainty. For discussion, see Allen, 'Five charters at Avranches', pp. 14 n. 89 and 15 n. 96.

¹³ 'Episcopus de Lisoris vidit et Balduinus archidiaconus et plurea', *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, no. 1, p. 4.

violators with the wrath of numerous celestial figures, including God and all his angels and devils, the Virgin Mary, the Archangel Michael and all his angels, St. John the Baptist and all the prophets, St. Peter and all the other apostles, St. Stephen and all the martyrs, St. Ouen and all confessors, and St. Agnes and all virgins, while transgressors are also threatened with the fates of Cain, Dathan, Abiram, Antiochus, Herod, Pontius Pilate, Judas, Nero, Simon Magus, Diocletian, Datianus, who murdered St. Vincent, and Maximian (**no. 55**). The importance of this clause is fully discussed above. Only one document follows an admonition with a blessing for those who support the act (**no. 34**), while two documents record an oral warning and its oral confirmation (**nos. 41, 56**). At least one act contains the threat of anathema being delivered by multiple bishops, though its form is highly suspect (**no. +63**).¹⁴ Finally, there are six examples of the specific sanction of excommunication, which are found in *acta* from across both the ecclesiastical province and the period (**nos. 9, 11, 30, 48, 56, +63**).

Corroboratio

Corroboration clauses, which normally use the appropriate parts of the verbs *corroborare*, *roborare* and *confirmare* are found in around a quarter of the acts. The latter is by far the most preferred verb, and occurs in fourteen (70%) of those acts with the clause (**nos. 9, 10, 15, 23, 34, 41, 49, 51, 62, +63, 67, 70, 75, 76**). These phrases are sometimes augmented by parts of verbs such as *testificari* and *auctorizare*, although this is extremely rare (**nos. 8, 9**). Similarly, charters that mention validation by the bishop's seal are uncommon at this time, and all the examples come from the last thirty years of the period (**nos. 8, 10, 34, +63, 67**). However, we know that not all the *acta* that were sealed make reference to this part of the charter (**nos. 21, 22, 75, 84**). Reference to validation by the sign of the cross is more common, and in some cases it is stated that the cross is the bishop's autograph (**nos. 1, 23, 54, 55**).

Apprecatio

Cases of a final *apprecatio* are very rare. A double 'Amen' occurs at the end of Mauger's anathema, which is followed by a single 'Fiat' (**no. 55**). There is also an

¹⁴ The practice is not unknown, Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. iv.

‘Amen’ in **no. 15**, though it is placed before the witness list, while the charter of Geoffrey de Montbray, the text of which is preserved in the narrative of *De statu*, not only includes an ‘Amen’ followed by a ‘Fiat’, but also relates how the charter was publicly proclaimed by those present ‘Amen’ (**no. 41**).

Eschatocol

The eschatocol might include any, or a combination, of four elements: the witness list, final greeting, place and date. All of these might be subject to omission, or at the best abbreviation, by those scribes responsible for producing cartulary texts, and since the majority of the documents in this collection are, like those elsewhere, comprised primarily of transcriptions rather than originals, it is impossible to reach definitive conclusions.

Fifty-three *acta* have some form of witness list, of which eighteen (33%) place the names in the nominative case. These are introduced by a wide variety of phrases, of which some variant on the standard *testes sunt* is the commonest (**nos. 6, 8, 10, 51, 56, 67, 80, 82**). Three lists are preceded by a phrase such as *his quorum nomina subscripta sunt* or *hanc cartam firmauerunt omnes subscripti* (**nos. 25, 28, 60**), while two acts conclude with first person confirmations, which are validated by the sign of the cross (**nos. 23, 70**). There are also two examples of lists preceded by the verb *interesse*, one by the verb *audire*, and another which follows the lengthy explanation *Hanc autem sigillationem uel, ut ita dicam, sigillationem singuli singulorum nominibus coepiscoporum subscribi decernimus* (**no. 49**). The second largest grouping is of sixteen acts that are subscribed with crosses and the names of the witnesses in the genitive case, while some documents have multiple witness lists with the names in two different cases (**nos. 9, 14, 48, 66*, 76**). The remaining acts either put the names in the ablative after *testibus* or *presente* (**nos. 6, 32, 33, 53, 59, +63, 75, 85**). The individuals who form a part of these witness lists represent every aspect of Norman society, and acts are witnessed by everyone from the duke to fellow bishops and abbots, members of the cathedral chapter and episcopal household, as well as local laymen. The valediction does not seem to have been part of episcopal *acta* at this time.

Despite the disparate nature of this collection, dated documents are not as rare as might first be expected. Eighteen *acta* contain some kind of dating information, of which seven, whose form is derived from the papal chancery, are datable by day, month and year (**nos. 25, 32-34, 61, 73, 74**). Many contain additional information, usually the regnal years of the Norman duke or of the French king (**no. 10, 25, 47, 62**), although one particularly elaborate act is dated by the year, Indiction, concurrent, epact, day and month in both Julian and Gregorian forms, and the lunar year (**no. 34**). Two examples can be dated by their references to events that can be independently dated (**nos. 15, 66***), and another by its reference to the eighteenth year of William the Conqueror's reign in England (**no. 70**). Excluding records of pleas, nineteen charters record where the act was issued, although none of these contain the datary formula standard by the twelfth century. There are few surprises with regards to location: ten were issued at Rouen (**nos. 7, 25, 59, 60, 62, +63, 65, 70, 74, 75**), four at Bayeux (**nos. 31-34**), three at Sées (**nos. 76, 82, 84**), and one each at Valognes (**no. 38***) and Saint-Fulgent des Ormes (**no. 84**), where there is known to have been an episcopal manor. Occasionally, more precise information is given. We know, for example, that six of the acts were issued during the course of an ecclesiastical meeting (**nos. 32, 33, 59, 60, 74, 78**), two in halls (*camera, aula*) pertaining to the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Sées in their respective cities (**nos. 7, 85**), while an act of Odo of Bayeux is so precisely located that we know it was considered in the tower of the hall (*in aula turris*) in Rouen (**no. 25**).

Format and script

Seventeen documents, containing the text of eighteen *acta*, survive as originals (**nos. 11, 21, 22, 30, 34, 55, 57, 65, 74, 75, 77-82, 84-85**). There is also a partial facsimile of an original that was extant in the eighteenth century (fig. 86), but which is now lost (**no. 62**). The variety in the format of these charters is manifest, though not necessarily surprising, and ranges from the smallest at 36mm deep (**no. 21**), to the largest at 700mm (**no. 55**); the average breadth is approximately 265mm, compared with an average length of 302mm. Only three were issued before 1070 (**nos. 11, 55, 77**), while another three (**nos. 55, 82, 84**) are written on pieces of parchment that contain the texts of other acts, only one of which dates to the period under consideration here (**nos. 55**). Only one is a chirograph (**no. 62**). The originals are

Fig. 87 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 87 Eighteenth-century facsimile of the *concordia* forged between John of Ivry and the abbey of Saint-Denis in 1071

generally in a good state of preservation, though one has been exposed to humidity and rather crudely glued to cardboard (**no. 79**), while another has had its text nearly erased due to rubbing by gallstones (**no. 75**). This loss is particularly unfortunate, for had the text survived, we would have been able to compare it with a contemporary document (**no. 74**).

All but two of the charters (**nos. 65, 74**) come from the archives of their monastic beneficiaries. There are individual acts for four non-Norman houses, and one each for the Norman abbeys of Bec (**no. 75**) and Jumièges (**no. 11**). Those concerning institutions located outside the duchy include single acts for Saint-Bénigne de Dijon (**no. 34**), Saint-Aubin d'Angers (**no. 77**), Saint-Père de Chartres (**no. 79**), and two for Christ Church, Canterbury (**nos. 21, 22**). Although these six acts concern only two bishops, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées, there are no scribal similarities between any of them, while one of the Canterbury charters (**no. 21**), both of which share a similar writ format, was written by a scribe in Lanfranc's employ.¹⁵ The remaining acts are divided equally between the priories of Saint-Léonard and Saint-Martin de Bellême (**nos. 80-84**), both of which belonged to the abbey of Marmoutier, and the Norman house of Saint-Ouen de Rouen (**nos. 30, 55, 57**). Unfortunately, the charters of the Bellême priories seem to be the work of four different scribes, while an analysis of the Saint-Ouen originals suggests all these documents were produced by monks of the abbey. Two charters, one of Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, the other of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, share not only a similar large format, but are also partly written in elongated majuscule (**nos. 30, 55**). Moreover, that part of Odo's charter written in a minuscule script bears a striking resemblance to a hand found in the famous manuscript belonging to the abbey known as the *Livre noir* (fig. 88), and is perhaps that of the great Abbot Nicholas (1042-1092). Similar comparisons can be made with a charter of Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen (**no. 56**), which seems to have been written, if not by the same scribe as that responsible for another text in the *Livre noir*, then at least one influenced by a common technique (fig. 89). There is, however, one tantalising example of two similar hands appearing in two charters issued by bishops of the same diocese for two different abbeys (**nos. 79, 85**). These two scripts share a number of common features,

¹⁵ Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, p. 216.

Fig. 88 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 88 Scriptural comparison between AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 160 (detail, top) and BM (Rouen), ms. Y 41 Omont 1406, fol. 23v (detail, bottom)

Fig. 89 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 89 Scriptural comparison between AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 156 (detail, top) and BM (Rouen), ms. Y 41 Omont 1406, fol. 9r (detail, bottom)

Fig. 90 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 90 Scriptural comparison between AD Eure-et-Loir, H 531 (detail, top) and AD Orne, H 2157 (detail, bottom)

such as the rounded minuscule ‘d’, though this is not always the preferred form, the secretary ‘w’ and the same z-shaped ‘r’, which is used after round letters, while on occasion the form of words looks almost identical (fig. 90). These two documents, are, however, separated by almost fifty years, and although such lengthy careers were not unknown among the Norman cathedral chapters, neither of the charters were witnessed by the same personnel. It is possible, however, that we have here the transmission of a common technique within the chancery of Sées, and perhaps even the hint of a school, although unfortunately it is still impossible to identify an individual scribe.

Sealing

Only four documents, two issued in England and two in Normandy, show any signs that they were once sealed (**nos. 21, 22, 75, 85**), while a further six, one suspect, contain references to this form of validation (**nos. 8, 10, 34, 41, +63, 67**), or are inventoried as having once had a seal (**no. 34**). Unfortunately, there are no surviving examples of any episcopal seals for this period, though there is a pen and ink coloured wash facsimile of the seal once found on a charter of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, which was destroyed in the Cotton fire of 23 October 1731 (**no. 21**). Apparently made of red wax, the obverse of the seal shows Odo as earl of Kent, on horseback, holding what may be a sword—though given the lack of a visible hilt is perhaps a *baculum*—in his right hand, and a kite-shaped shield in his left. Mail covers his head, while his hauberk seems to be adorned with a mantle. The reverse has him as bishop, standing, his right hand outstretched palm-forward, and his left holding a ‘T’-shaped crosier (fig. 91). There is no legend, though later images of the seal, which were made from other drawings, rather than the original, often show the letter ‘O’ and ‘E’ in the top left and right ‘corners’ of the seal.¹⁶ Paul de Farcy estimated the seal was around 90mm in diameter,¹⁷ though given the object had long been destroyed when he came to write of it, and none of the other authors to consider the seal mention its size, it

¹⁶ The earliest of these is S. Pegge, ‘A copy of a deed in Latin and Saxon, of Odo, bishop of Baieux, half brother of William the Conqueror; with some observations thereon’, *Archaeologia*, 1 (1770), pp. 335-346, at plate between pp. 336-337. Later, slightly different copies of the same image can be found in *Antiquités anglo-normandes de Ducarel*, ed. A. Léchaudé d’Anisy (Caen, 1823), plate 2, fig. 7, between pp. xvi-xvii; De Farcy, *Sigillographie de la Normandie*, plate in between pp. 42-43. The Northamptonshire manuscript copy was printed in *Sir Christopher Hatton’s Book of seals*, ed. L.C. Loyd and D.M. Stenton (Oxford, 1950), no. 431, plate viii.

¹⁷ De Farcy, *Sigillographie de la Normandie*, p. 48.

Fig. 91 has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Fig. 91 The seal of Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent*

* Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch Hatton ms. 170, fol. 92r (detail).

seems that this figure is simply based on a comparison with the great seal of William the Conqueror, to which Odo's seal bears certain similarities.¹⁸ The seal carried enough authority that Domesday records land in Lincolnshire held by its authority.¹⁹ Outside the examples from these *acta*, we know only of the seal of John, archbishop of Rouen, which is mentioned in an hagiographical text and in a letter sent to John by Lanfranc,²⁰ and that of William Bona Anima, which is mentioned in the foundation charter of Pavilly.²¹ Too few examples survive to draw any definitive conclusions regarding the preferred method of attachment, though the two *acta* sealed *sur double queue* are early examples of this form.

Editorial method

The editorial method followed is that of the *English Episcopal Acta* series.²² Only the most significant points are rehearsed here. Originals have been assigned the siglum A (or A¹ and A² in the case of the duplicates), and B, C, D, etc., being used for copies. For originals, every attempt has been made to reproduce the layout of the charter, and the original orthography. To this end, 'i' is used for the equivalent of 'i' and 'j', although 'v' is used for consonantal 'u'. These rules (except of layout and marks) also apply to later copies. Missing sections are indicated by three dots and interlineations by the marks ` ´. Unlike volumes of the *EEA*, which do not print *acta* of which an edition exists in an accessible work, all the charters here have been printed *in extenso*. References are, moreover, given to post-medieval transcripts. Variants of these transcripts are, however, not given, unless their presumed exemplar appears to be no longer extant. In these cases only significant variant readings are recorded. Any *actum* of which the text has been lost, but whose existence is clear, has been calendared at the end of the printed texts, continuing the numerical sequence. These 'mentions' are distinguished by an asterisk before their number, while forgeries have a cross placed before the number. The *acta* are printed by diocese in chronological order. For those charters that do not include dating information, discussion, with appropriate references, has been provided to explain the date given.

¹⁸ The surviving examples of William the Conqueror's seal measure approximately 85mm, *Regesta*, nos. 68, 254.

¹⁹ GDB, fol. 342r.

²⁰ 'Vita II s. Galterius', col. 759; *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 41.

²¹ Beaurepaire, 'Pavilly: chapelle Saint-Pierre', p. 453.

²² *EEA*, i, pp. lxi-lxiv.

Before each edition is a summary of the act's contents. This is intended as a guide to its contents, and is most certainly not supposed to be a translation. Previous editions of the text are noted, while indications, including calendars, of the act are also included. Each act is also accompanied by a 'note' section, similar to that found in Bates' *Regesta*, where points of diplomatic and historical significance are discussed. Place names have been identified using the standard works of De Beaurepaire and Adigard des Gautries.²³

²³ For bibliographical details, see above p. xvi nn. 1-3.

AVRANCHES

1

c. 1032 × 1048

Hugh, bishop of Avranches, restores to the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel tithes in Guernsey that were granted to him for his lifetime by Abbot Suppo on the condition that he return it back to the abbey after his death.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BM (Avranches), ms. 210, fol. 87r-v. 12th-century cartulary.
- C. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1024, fol. 133r-v. 19th-century copy (from B).
- D. Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, vol. 303 (v), fol. 98r. 19th-century copy by T. Courteaux (from B).

Ptd. *Cartulaire de Jersey*, no. 149 (from B); *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 80 (from B).

Ind. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21822, fol. 92r; Adigard des Gautries, 'Les noms des îles', p. 30; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 101; Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, pp. 76, 79, 315 n. 249.

Note. The editor of the *Cartulaire de Jersey* dated this charter c. 1033 × c. 1042, while Jean Adigard des Gautries claimed it was issued c. 1052. It most probably dates, however, to Suppo's abbatiage, as was suggested by Katharine Keats-Rohan. The most interesting aspect of this act is the stipulation that Hugh return these goods to the abbey regardless of possible protestations from 'either my successor as bishop, a relation or an heir'. Although such clauses are common in 'life-lease' agreements such as this, the fact that it specifically stipulates successors besides those to the episcopal post could indicate that Hugh had children, or at least powerful secular relations to whom goods could be alienated. **No. 2** contains a similar clause, but only litigates against claims made by later bishops of Avranches.

B

Novimus fidelium moris esse, ut quicumque eorum Dei actus inspiratione, qui operatur in omnibus et velle et perficere pro bona voluntate, heredem sanctam Dei ecclesiam possessionum suarum vel rerum sui iuris voverint facere, inde testamentum componant litterale, manus proprie signatum subscriptione. Qua propter et ego Hugo Abrincatensis civitatis gratia Dei episcopus, notum esse volo tam presentibus quam futuris omnibus, quia decimam medie insule quę dicitur Greneroi, michi a domno abbate Suppone concessam dum advixero possidere, eo tenore ac

ratione, ut post excessum meum eam sancto Michaeli sibi que famulantibus absque ullius successoris mei episcopi vel parentis aut heredis contradictione restituerem. Hanc inquam decimationem, et exitus ecclesiarum, terramque, unius carruce, et quicquid a predicto patre acceperam, archangelo Michaeli et monachis meis fratribus et filiis uti prefixum est, postquam terrestris domus mea huius habitationis fuerit soluta, absque ulla contradictione reddo, quatinus edificationem habeam a Deo domum non manu factam eternam in celis. Quicumque ergo huic rei contraire sive successor seu parens aut heres noster conatus fuerit, et aliquid harum rerum sancti Michaelis quę possedi usurpare sine voluntate monachorum voluerit: a me et a presentibus fidelibus omni maledictionis genere anathematizatus, et a sancta Dei ecclesia proiectus, cum Dathan, et Abiron, habeat sortem in penis infernalibus. Ut vero hoc scriptum inviolabiliter firmiterque teneatur, manus mee subscriptione roboravi, et circumsedentibus firmandum tradidi. +.

2

1046 × 1060

A 'life-lease' agreement between Hugh, bishop of Avranches, and John of Ravenna, abbot of Fécamp, which states that during his life the bishop will enjoy the use of the tithe of Ryes and a manse of ten acres attached to the abbey of Fécamp, but that after his death these goods will be returned to the abbey.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 22, fol. 100r-v. 18th-century copy by J.-N. Lenoir from a lost 12th-century cartulary.
- C. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 76, 2e partie, p. 195. 18th-century copy by J.-N. Lenoir.

Ptd. RADN, no. 145 (from BC).

Ind. BN, n. a. fr. 21819, fol. 869r; N. Gourdon de Genouillac, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Fécamp et de ses abbés* (Fécamp, 1875), p. 281; Musset, 'La contribution de Fécamp', p. 63; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 195, 213; Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, pp. 77, 315 n. 258.

Note. The chronological parameters of this charter are given by the end of Hugh's episcopate, and the beginning of that of William, bishop of Évreux.

B

In Christi nomine, patescat^(a) fidelibus sanctę ecclesię^(b-) tam viventibus quam viventium posteris,^(-b) quod Hugo Abrincatinus episcopus et Iohannes Fiscannensis abbas talem conventionem ad invicem habuerunt assensu Willelmi Normannorum^(c) ducis atque fidelium eius testimonio, ne de decima illius villę quę Ria dicitur, ad predictum abbatem pertinente cum terra unius mansionis de decem^(d) acris, quam prefatus episcopus condonante amicitia^(e) in vita sua possidet, aliquis eius quoquomodo successor post obitum illius ullam reclamationem faciat, vel monasterio, cui idem beneficium appendet, aliquam molestiam inferat,^(f-) quod si quis aliter ac sancitum est de ea re facere presumpserit, et testimonio tantorum virorum refellatur et digno anathemate, in perpetuum damnetur.^(-f) Signum Hugonis episcopi.^(g) Signum Willelmi comitis +. Teste Willelmo episcopo, teste Hugone `vicecomite`, teste

Rogério `de Montegomerico', Rogério `de Bellomonte', Willelmo Osberti filio,
Rogério de `Fiscanno', Huberto de Ri, Hamelino de Matum.

Variants. a, pateat *C*; b, *om. C*; c, Normanorum *C*; d, decim *B*; e, amitia *C*; f–f, *om. C*;
g, + *add. C*.

3

1060 × 1067

A pancarte issued by John [of Ivry], bishop of Avranches, listing his cathedral's possessions. John, having examined the holdings of the cathedral and found the charters not only few but confusing, enumerated the possession thus:

Richard II gave the lands of Les Cresnays, with its dependences, Pontaubault, [Saint-Jean-de] la Haise, with Gagiaco and Asingucrîis, the burgh of Ponts with Malloué and the water up to la Roche, the land in the surrounding area, the lands of Celland, Champeaux, Juilley, with its dependences, Poilley and Précey.

Robert I gave to the cathedral, at the request of Hugh, bishop of Avranches, the church of Saint-Gervais in the suburbs of Avranches, the churches of Esgeu [Saint-Eugénie (?) or Les Gens (?)], Céaux, Vessey, with their tithe, the churches of La Croix-Avranchin, Villiers-[le-Pré], Saint-Senier de Beuvron and Vains, and the land of two Frenchmen; the tithe of the tonlieu of the Avranchin and the tithe of the two annual fairs of Saint-James and Avranches at the cathedral. He also gave the land called Noirpalu, a part of the domain of Champeaux, the domains of Plomb and Braffais, a mesnil and a mill at Esgeu [Saint-Eugénie (?) or Les Gens (?)], the land of Celland, the tonlieu of all the bishopric, Chassilly and the land of William Silvain at Saint-Pois.¹

William II, having returned the land of William Silvain to the count of Mortain, gave in return to the cathedral the churches of Saint-Senier-[sous-Avranches], Appilly, Orceil, Saint-Pierre-[Langers], Chantorre and Lieufroid (?) (Frigabulgam). He also gave sanctum Audoinum [Saint-Ouen-de la Rouerie or Saint-Ovin] instead of Mesnil-Gilbert. The domains of Coutainville and Vallerie in the Cotentin were also granted to the cathedral, while at the petitioning of the bishop, the duke also donated all the land held in the region by Warner, brother of Theoderic the hostiarius.

Baldwin, son of Gilbert count [of Brionne], with the permission of William II, gave to the cathedral, at the request of John, bishop of Avranches, diverse parcels of land on the banks of the Limon. The duke also gave the tithe of the tonlieu of the Mayenne, and of passage and of grain duty.

A. Original lost

B. BM (Avranches), fonds Pigeon, ms. 45, pp. 451-453. 17th-century copy by Charles Guérin of a lost 14th-century *vidimus* of Robert I de La Porte, bishop of Avranches (1359-1379), dated 10 July 1377.

Ptd. Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, pp. 666-668 (from B, with errors); *RADN*, pp. 24 n. 24, 25-26, n. 29, 27 nn. 33 and 37 (extracts, from B); Allen, 'Un évêque et sa ville', no. ii, pp. 38-44 (from B).

¹ Misidentified in my printed edition as Val-Saint-Père.

Ind. Fontanel, 'La réorganisation religieuse', pp. 189-192; R. Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstenmacht* (Bonn, 1981), pp. 162-163 n. 271; Van Torhoudt, 'Centralité et marginalité', ii, pp. 334-337.

Note. The only surviving manuscript copy of the *pancarte*, which was produced by the seventeenth-century canon Charles Guérin, is a difficult document to use.² His hand is particularly untidy, and the problems caused by this with regards to the donation of the tonlieu of the Mayenne have already been discussed above p. 68 n. 44. Furthermore, the end of the sentence which begins with *imprimis (terram quae intime possiderat quae Richardus... tradidit)* is clearly faulty. Pigeon noted this by placing a *sic* after each *quae*, but did not propose a solution, while Fauroux simply reprinted Pigeon's text without even maintaining the *sic*.³ Moreover, both treated the phrase beginning with *imprimis* as something similar to those in the *pancarte* that begin *inscripsimus deinde, dedit etiam* and *concessit etiam*, although without the main verb. Instead, it seems more likely to be the list of benefices implied in the disorder following the *mutatio* carried out on the suggestion of the duke. Since correcting the first *quae* to *quam* is insufficient to reconstruct the sentence, it seems best to propose a lacunae in the identification of the *terram*, to restore an *omnia* as the antecedent of *quae*, and to make *Richardus* the subject of the two verbs. The text is also almost completely devoid of punctuation, and to avoid confusion, this has been modernised. The chronological parameters of this act are determined by those of the episcopate of John of Ivry.

B

Quoniam multa torpore et negligentia pereunt quae si ordine suo subsisterent, ut deceret, vigerent, ego Ioannes quamvis indignus sanctae Abrincensis ecclesiae episcopus cartas ecclesiae nostrae respiciens magnamque terrarum confusionem in eis inveniens, quamplures enim terrarum possessiones quas ecclesia non habebat cartae intra se continebant, quasdam vero quas habebat inscriptione sua ecclesiam habere denegabant erat enim ex eis facta mutatio Guillelmi gloriosissimi principis hortatu et iussu, quae pluribus cartulis confuse titubabant nimium colligens summa veritate correximus ut decebat. Imprimis terram Cresney cum suis appendiciis, cum ecclesia quam antiquitus absque calumnia possederat, et terram Pontis Alboldi, terram quoque Haisa cum Gagiaco et Asingu[...]s^(a) coeteris que apenditiis, et burgum Pontis cum Maloiaco coeteris que apendiciis scilicet molendinis et pratis et aqua usque ad Rupem Necatam, et terras in circuitu civitatis et infra, et terram Serlant cum silvis, pratis et aquis, terris cultis et incultis, et terram quae Campellis vocatur, et terram Ilgeon cum ecclesiis et o(mn)ibus apendiciis suis, scilicet Pollei, Pressei ... et terram quae intime

² I am extremely grateful to M. Daniel Levalet for his help in identifying some of the places mentioned in this *pancarte* (pers. comm.).

³ *RADN*, p. 24 n. 24.

possederat^(b) Richardus comes [et] ecclesie Abrincensi tradidit. Inscriptus deinde terras, ecclesias, decimas, molendina quae Robertus nobilissimus princeps filius Richardi comitis, qui zelo divini amoris succensus Hierosolimis sepulturam dominicam visitavit, beato Andreae prece et hortatu Hugonis venerabilis antistitis concessit, id[est] in suburbiis civitatis ecclesiam sancti Geruasii, cum decima parochiae et cum possessionibus quas clerici ecclesiae tunc possidebant, tresque ecclesias cum decimis, unam in villa quae dicitur Esgen cum terra unius carrucae, alteram in villa Celsis cum terra unius carrucae, tertiam in villa quae dicitur Vecei cum terra unius carrucae, quatuor quoque alias ecclesias cum decimis, scilicet ecclesiam Crucis et ecclesiam villae Vileris et ecclesiam sancti Senerii in cuius parochia super ripam fluminis Bevronis, molendinum pariter tribuit et ecclesiam villae quae dicitur Vein cum uno manso terrae et terram duorum francorum. Concessit etiam decimam totius telonei Abrin(censis) pagi, et decimam de duabus nundinis annualibus quarum una^(c) habebatur tunc in villa Crucis, modo mutata apud sanctum Iacobum, altera vero in festivitate sancti Andreae Abrincis. Concessit etiam sancti Andreae terram Gualterii clerici Morini filii, quae vocatur Nigrapalus cum ecclesia et molendinis, et partem villae quae dicitur Campellis cum medietate ecclesiae. Dedit etiam Campaniam cum duobus molendinis et cum una parte silvae et villam quae vocatur Plom, et alteram quae vocatur Braffais cum ecclesiis et molendinis et unum mosnille cum uno molendino in villa quae dicitur Esgen. Dedit etiam Robertus comes terram quae vocatur Serlant, cum silvis et aquis, ecclesiis et molendinis, terris cultis et incultis. De omniumque episcopatu teloneum similiter dedit. Castiniacum vero et sanctum Paternum, scilicet terram Guillelmi Silvani similiter dedit; sed hanc Guillelmus eius filius comiti Moretonii reddens, pro ea terram Giraldi clerici fratris Godefridi scilicet sancti Senerii villam,^(d) Appiliacum et Orsolum, cum ecclesiis et decimis patrimonii sui quas tenebat et terram Rontonis scilicet sanctum Petrum et Cantorias et Frigabulgam in scambio tradidit. Pro Mesnillo Gilberti sanctum Audoinum cum ec(clesi)a et molendinis, terris cultis et incultis et o(mn)ibus apendiciis concessit. Possidet etiam antiquitus ec(clesi)a Abrincen(sis) in Constantiensi pago duas villas, una quae vocatur Constantis-villa, altera Valeria, et omnes ecclesias civitatis et suburbii. Dedit etiam comes Guillelmus, precatu Hugonis proefati episcopi Abrincensi ec(clesi)ae, omnem terram quam tenebat Garnerius frater Theodorici hostiarii in Abrincensi pago. Dedit etiam Balduinus filius Guilberti comitis, concedente Guillelmo principe, proefatae ecclesiae, particulas terrae quas in circuitu rivuli qui Limon vocatur possidebat, prece

et hortatu Ioannis episcopi, quas particulas idem episcopus infra Parcum quem cum pecunia construxerat inclusit. Dedit etiam Guillelmus princeps decimam telonei^(e) Meduanae et transitus et minagii, prece Ioannis episcopi, ecclesiae Abrin(censis). In cuius rei... etc.

Variants. a, these letters are difficult to read in B. Pigeon suggested Asingucriis; b, B adds an additional quae here, which is followed by richardus, in miniscules, which is crossed out; c, an illegible word, perhaps tenet, is crossed out after una in B; d, Api. is crossed out before Appiliacum in B; e, the first minim of the letter 'm' is crossed out before Meduanae in B.

4*

1060 × 1067

John, bishop of Avranches, grants the abbey of Bec the land of Molbert the stonemason, the land of Walcodus de Livet-[sur-Authou], the tithe of the bourg of Vièvre, the land, the houses and the island at Pont-Authou as far as the mill belonging to the bishop of Évreux.

A. Original lost

B. BN, ms. lat. 12884, fol. 177v. 17th-century copy by Jacques Jouvelin-Thibault, from a lost *pancarte* begun in 1041.

Ptd. Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, i, p. 329 n. 3 (from B).

Ind.

Note. This grant seems in part to be a confirmation of some of the land first given by John to the abbey before his accession to the episcopate.¹ It is dated by his reign as bishop of Avranches.

B

Iohannes episcopus Abriticensis dedit terram Molberti cementarii, et terram Walcodi de Livet, et decimam burgi quod est in Weuvra, et aquas et domos et insulam quae est a Ponte Altoo usque ad molendina episcopi Ebroicens(is).

¹ Cf. *Regesta*, no. 166.

5

1061

A conventio between John [of Ivry], bishop of Avranches, and Rannulf [de Bayeux], abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel. The two men came together following complaints by the monks and people of Mont-Saint-Michel that they were being repeatedly forced to come to Avranches by the bishop's attendants, despite the rising tide or Breton attacks, to act as parties or witnesses in all matters against Christianity. Not only were they being oppressed by the demands for oaths, but they were also incurring many fines and forfeitures. The abbot therefore offered to meet with the bishop once a year, and on that occasion present him with a grey pilch, three pounds of incense, the same of spice, six tablets of wax totalling nine pounds and three candles for the Purification of the Virgin Mary. John then agreed to make the abbot his archdeacon, and granted him jurisdiction over non-criminal cases, while reserving criminal cases and the degradation of the clergy for himself. Trials by ordeal were also to be the reserve of the bishop.

The agreement then lays out in some detail continued episcopal jurisdiction at the abbey. If a dedication is required then the bishop is to perform the ceremony, and the day before is to sing vespers, while on the day itself he is to perform Mass. It was also agreed that whatever was offered to the altar during the dedication would also be offered to the bishop, and that whatever was offered to him would also be offered to his chaplains. Whoever had come with the bishop for the service was also to be well attended by the monks, and provided with horses, water, or whatever else was needed. The agreement also stipulates that the abbot, two canons and the priests must attend the episcopal synod twice a year. Finally, it was required that on the fifth day of Pentecost the monks were to process to the cathedral carrying with them the head of St. Aubert. The agreement concludes by confirming Mont-Saint-Michel's possession of the domains of Genêts and Huisnes-[sur-Mer], which were first given to the abbey by St. Aubert from his episcopium.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 14832, fol. 183v-184r. 13th-century copy.
- C. BM (Avranches), fonds Pigeon, ms. 45, pp. 106-107. 17th-century copy by Charles Guérin ('ex libro authentico episcopatus Abrincensis vocato le Livre blanc').
- D. BN, ms. fr. 18948, fol. 140v-141r. 17th-century copy by Jean Huynes ('d'un ancien livre de l'évesque d'Avranches, apres la table du livre').
- E. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21842, fol. 14r-15v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. J. Petit, *Theodori Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Poenitentiale* (Paris, 1667), pp. 664-666 (from B); Migne, *PL*, cxlvii, cols. 265-268 (from B); Pigeon, *Le diocèse*

d'Avranches, ii, pp. 658-660 (from C, with errors); *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, Appendix II, no. 5 (from B).

Ind. BN, ms. fr. 18950, p. 100; Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, pp. 79-80; *GC*, xi, col. 475; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 34-35, 227-228, 337; Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, pp. 158-160; F. Combaluzier, 'Un pontifical du Mont Saint-Michel (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. latin 14 832)', in *Millénaire monastique*, i, pp. 383-398, at p. 397; Spear, 'The Norman episcopate', p. 35; Vaughn, *The abbey of Bec*, p. 38.

Note. This agreement is discussed in full on pp. 66-67. Manuscript **B** does not state its source, but the variants between the two versions suggest two different sources. The text's most recent editor was unaware of the manuscripts **CDE**. A seventeenth-century manuscript contains the text of a charter of Louis XIV, dated 2 May 1647, which mentions this act, and which seems to suggest the monks wanted to challenge the requirements of this agreement, which were still in place.¹ This was printed with the date incorrectly rendered as 1661 in the edition of the work of Thomas Le Roy.² The background to this case is discussed in full elsewhere.³ For St. Aubert's donation of Genêts and Huisnes-sur-Mer, see the *Revelatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis in monte Tumba*.⁴

B

Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo LX.I,^(a) Rannulfus^(b) abbas Montis^(c) sancti Michaelis, vir cautus^(d) in regimine tam^(e) ^(f-)cleri et populi, quam^(f) monachilis ordinis, convenit Iohannem^(g) venerabilem Abrincarum^(h) pontificem⁽ⁱ⁾ super quibusdam gravaminibus que fiebant a ministris episcopalibus frequentissime super clerum et populum Montis. Cogebantur enim venire Abrincas⁽ⁱ⁾ ad respondendum de quacunque^(k) accusatione contra Christianitatem, nec excusare poterat eos^(l) mare insurgens, nec Britonum insidie, quia^(m) preveniri ac⁽ⁿ⁾ previderi poterant, et ita sepe^(o) in forisfacta,^(p) et emendationes episcopales incidebant, et sepe iuramentis fatigabantur. Propter predicta sibi habenda in Monte, obtulit abbas episcopo; de suo competentur per singulos annos, scilicet unam pelliciam grisiam, que tam nobilem, et^(q) tam sullimem^(r) personam deceret^(s) cum gratia recipere, et abbatem Montis

¹ '... contre certain acte... datte de l'an 1061, tiré d'un livre antique, appelé, Livre blanc dud. evesché d'Avranches, signé en l'extrait, le conte Promoteux, et R. Petronalt, no(tai)re ap(osto)lique dud. evesché', BN, ms. fr. 18950, pp. 99-101.

² Le Roy, 'Curieuses recherches', pp. 810-814, at p. 813. This is a fault of the editor, since the date is rendered correctly in the manuscript copy of Le Roy's work, Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, vol. 195, pp. 462-464, at p. 463. It is printed correctly in *Recueil des actes, titres et mémoires concernant les affaires du clergé de France*, ed. P. Le Merre, 12 vols. (1716-1750), vii, no. xliii, cols. 100-103.

³ Y. Chaussy, 'Le Mont Saint-Michel dans le congrégation de Saint-Maur', in *Millénaire monastique*, i, pp. 227-265, at pp. 233-235.

⁴ *Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel*, no. 1, p. 67; Bouet and Desbordes, *Chroniques*, p. 101.

honorifice dare. Et tres libras incensi, et tres libras piperis, et sex tabulis^(t) cere, de .ix.^(u) ponderibus, et tres cereos in purificatione sancte Marie.^(v) Unum scilicet albe cere unius ponderis, ad manus episcopi, duos alterius cere unius ponderis ad decani et thesaurarii manus. Episcopus vero prefatus,^(w) ut erat animo et genere nobilis, petitioni abbatis annuit, et archidiaconum suum in Monte eum fecit.^(x) Ita tamen ut quod bene non faceret, vel non posset, episcopus corrigeret Abrincis^(y) `et` ecclesiastico iudicio terminaret. De coniugiis autem illicitis, si qui legales testes procederent, apud episcopum audirentur, et per sacramentum ipsorum lege dissolueretur, quod contra legem prescriptum erat. De criminalibus culpis venirent ad iudicium et sententiam episcopi, penitentes, confessi, vel^(z) convicti coram suo^(a) archidiacono; `et`^(b) excumunicati^(c) ab episcopo ad satisfactionem, ^(d-)et eius absolutionem venirent.^(-d) Iudicium ferri igniti et aque ferventis Abrincis^(e) portabitur a Muntanis.^(f) Presbiteri ipsi, si lapsi in culpam degradationis forte inuenirentur, quia^(g) ad episcopum pertinet^(h) ordinatio, ad eius iudicium pertinet degradatio, suspensio vero officii pro levioribus culpis in abbatis iudicium est ad correptionem.⁽ⁱ⁾ Talis inter episcopum, et abbatem, de villa Montis, facta est^(j) conuentio. In monasterio^(k) vero sancti Michaeli^(l) in abbatem, et monachos, et xii^(m) canonicos totum ius episcopale, retinuit episcopus. In monasterio, habet officium facere dedicationis: vespas precedentis diei cantabit, et missam in die dedicationis, et ⁽ⁿ⁻⁾quicquid interim offeretur ad altare⁽⁻ⁿ⁾, episcopi est. Et quod offertur ad manus^(o) eius, capellanorum suorum. Et ipse et omnes qui cum eo venerint, habundanter^(p) et honorifice debent procurari. Et equis, aqua dulcis, et cetera necessaria de monasterio inveniri. Eo die debet esse presto pellicia prefata episcopi. Et cera, et piper, et incensum, ^(q-)cerei tres,^(-q) ad purificationem sancte^(r) Marie. Etiam si episcopus defuerit, abbas cum duobus de canonicis, bis in anno debet esse ad synodum, nisi^(s) licentia episcopi remanserit, et sacerdotes Montis. Quotiens^(t) etiam^(u) graviores cause emergerint episcopo,^(v) mandabit abbati et vocabit eum et venire debet, nisi inevitabilem et legalem excusationem pretenderit. ^(w-)Nec communicabit excumunicato^(-w) episcopi scienter, nec excumunicabit^(x) nominatim^(y) aliquem parrochianem^(z) episcopi extra Montem consistentem^(a) inconsulto episcopo. Monachi .v.^{ta(b)} feria Pentecostes, venient Abrincas cum capite sancti Auberti ad ecclesiam sancti ANDREE, in qua ipse sedit episcopus, com^(c) processione magna tam clericorum, quam laicorum omnium qui domos tenent, et denariatas^(d) cere matrici^(e) ecclesie debent, ut sedi episcopali, de qua recipiunt consilium animarum, et abbas per se, vel per decanum suum, oleum et^(f) crisma,^(g) ad erogandum presbiteris ad

christianitatem faciendam. Canonici omnes sub ^(h-)episcopo proprie sunt et canonicas, id est prebendas,^(-h) cum vacue fuerint, distribuere debet sicut dignum decreverit.⁽ⁱ⁾ Beatus enim Aubertus, cui divino munere Mons ille collatus est, eos instituit, et de suo episcopo,^(j) ecclesie quam construxit, duas villas, Icium,^(k) scilicet,^(l) et Genecium^(m) ad usum suum et illorum⁽ⁿ⁾ contulit,^(o) ^(p-)gallice Huisnes et Genets.^(-p)

Variants. a, 1061 C; sexagesimo primo D; b, Ranulphus CD; c, om. CD; d, tam add. CD; e, om. CD; f-f, cleri quam populi, quam CD; g, Ioannem C; h, Abrin' CD; i, episcopum D; j, Abrin' D; k, quacumque C; l, eos poterat C; m, que CD; n, et CD; o, non add. C; p, foriscam CD; q, om. D; r, sublimem CD; s, decet D; t, tabulas CD; u, nonam CD; v, Virginis add. CD; w, profatus C; x, facit D; y, Abrincensis D; z, et C; a, et add. D; b, om. CD; c, excommunicati C; d-d, venirent et ad eius absolutionem CD; e, Abrincas C; f, Montanis CD; g, ut CD; h, om. D; i, correctio[n]em C; correctionem D; j, om. CD; k, monasterium CD; l, Michaelis CD; m, duodecim CD; n-n, quidquid interdum ad altare offertur C; quidquid... ad altare offertur D; o, manum C; p, abundanter CD; q-q, om. D; r, beate CD; s, de add. CD; t, Quoties CD; u, om. C; v, episcopus CD; w-w, Non coniurabit excommunicato CD; x, excommunicabit C; excommunicabit D; y, om. CD; z, proximum CD; a, constitutum C; b, quinta CD; c, cum CD; d, om. D; e, matri CD; f, om. D; g, recipiet add. CD; h-h, episcopo sunt propie et canonicis prebendas CD; i, decuit CD; j, episcopo D; k, Huynitium C; Huynieium D; l, om. CD; m, Geneseium C; Genereyum D; n, morum D; o, B ends here; p-p, gallice Huynes et Genet D.

6

1078 × 1085

An agreement between Michael, bishop of Avranches, and Anselm, abbot of Bec, concerning the building of a bridge on the banks of the Risle near Fontainecourt, the land of which belonged to Bec. The bishop agrees that, should the bridge cause any damage to this land, he and his successors would remove it.

A. Original lost.

B. BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 60v-61r. 16th-century copy by Robert Cénalis, bishop of Avranches (*Pactum inter dominum abbatem Anselmum et episcopum Michaellem Abrincensem de quodam pontem super Rislam*)

Ptd. Allen, 'Un évêque et sa ville', no. iv, pp. 48-49 (from B).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 10050, fol. 74r.

Note. This charter is important for a number of reasons. First, it is witnessed by members of the Pinel family, who can be further linked as knights of Saint-Philbert,¹ for whose use it is possible the bridge was constructed. It was also witnessed Gilbert Crispin, later abbot of Westminster and author of the *Vita Herluini*, and a previously unknown cathedral dignitary (Osmund the *prepositus*). The bridge was still in existence in 1134. It was known as the 'bridge of the bishop of Avranches' (*ponte episcopi Abricensis*), and had a toll pertaining to it, the revenue from which went to the abbey of Bec.² The land of Fontainecourt was given to Bec by Guy de Glos-sur-Risle and his wife, who held it from Roger de Beaumont.³ The chronological parameters are given by the abbatiates of Anselm and the election of Gilbert Crispin as abbot of Westminster.

B

Michael episcopus Abrincensis voluit pontem facere supra Rislam iuxta Fontemcourt villam Beccensis ecclesiae, quia ergo pons fieri non poterat sine permissu abbatis ecclesiae praedictae, quia terre eius ex una parte usque ad ipsam aquam erant, rogavit predictus episcopus Anselmum abbatem, ut pontem fieri permetteret. Concessit ergo et ea conditione, ut si aliquo tempore pons ille nociuus esset terris predictae ecclesiae aliquomodo, et id rationabiliter ostendi posset: et episcopus aut eius successor id emendare seu^(a) nollet, seu non posset: abbas predictae

¹ For discussion, see above, pp. 89-90.

² BN, ms. lat. 12884, fol. 188v.

³ *Regesta*, no. 166.

ecclesie absque ulla huius ad presens permissionis obligatione pontem illum si vellet, inibi remanere non consentiret. Testes ex parte abbatis monachi, Gislebertus Crispinus, Hugo de Haureceio, Eustachius Farinamus, laici, Ivo de Brionnio, Robertus filius Ceronis de Brionnio, Drogo de Roca Widonis, Bernardus de Glos, duo filii Roberti Maians, Gulielmus filius Ruonis de Bornevilla et multi alii. Ex parte episcopi, Osbernus filius Gnalonis, Arnulphus Pinellus, Radulphus Pinellus, Ioannes filius Voeldini, Osmundus prepositus episcopi et alii hactenus de his que^(b) ad rem Michaelis pertinent.

Variants. a, B has volet here, which is scored through; b, B has pertinent here, which is scored through.

7

1091, Rouen

Michael, bishop of Avranches, secures a grant made to the cathedral of Avranches by his predecessor, John. In the hall of William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, William de Breteuil, son of William fitzOsbern and nephew of John of Ivry, former bishop of Avranches, conceded the donation made by the aforesaid bishop of the land of Vièvre by placing a knife in the hand of Michael, bishop of Avranches, and having kissed the prelate, dropped all claims to the land. In return, Michael gave William one hundred livres in Rouen money.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 57v. 16th-century copy by Robert Cénalis, bishop of Avranches ('Extractum ex chartulario ex nota anni millesimi nonagesimi primi').
- C. BM (Avranches), fonds Pigeon, ms. 45, p. 161. 17th-century copy by Charles Guérin ('ex invent. episcopatus [hand of Guérin] *et Livre blanc* [hand of Pigeon]).

Ptd. Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, p. 661 (from C); Allen, 'Un évêque et sa ville', no. iii, pp. 44-47 (from BC).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 10050, fol. 74r.

Note. Ever since the publication of this act by Émile-Auber Pigeon among his extracts from the *Livre blanc* of Avranches, it has generally been assumed that the copy of this charter in the manuscript of Guérin, from which Pigeon worked, was copied by Guérin from this lost cartulary. The note besides Guérin's transcription suggests, however, that his copy was in fact taken from an inventory of the bishopric (the words *ex invent. episcopatus* are in the same hand as the main text), which was identified by Pigeon as '*l'inventaire de Laurent de Faye, évêque d'Avranches*'. The identity of the second hand, which has written '*et Livre blanc*' in the marginal note, seems to be Pigeon's, despite the noticeable differences between his other note, which is written in pencil, concerning the identity of the inventory ('*Inventaire de Laurent de Faye*').¹ Unfortunately, like Pigeon before, I have been unable to locate a copy of this inventory. It does not figure among the manuscripts of *Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches*, where the only inventory of the bishopric of Avranches dates from the eighteenth century,² and it is not recorded by Paul Le Cacheux in his *répertoire numérique* of série G of the archives of la Manche, which was destroyed in 1944.³ There is a manuscript at the *bibliothèque municipale de Tours* that was written by Laurent de Faye,⁴ but the description of this document by Léopold Delisle suggests

¹ I am indebted to M. David Nicolas-Méry for his help in identifying this as Pigeon's hand.

² BM (Avranches), ms. 203.

³ *Répertoire numérique de la série G (clergé séculier)*, ed. P. Le Cacheux (Saint-Lô, 1913), 37 p.

⁴ BM (Tours), ms. 94.

this is not the inventory of the abbé Pigeon.⁵ The charter was perhaps issued at the council held shortly after 1 June 1091, which elected Serlo d'Orgères as bishop of Sées,⁶ since a number of the witnesses also witnessed **no. 72**, which is generally thought to be associated with this meeting.⁷ The original donation of the land of Vièvre was made by John of Ivry in 1066.⁸

B

Anno ^(a-)ab incarnatione^(-a) domini ^(b-)nostri Ihesu Christi^(-b) millesimo nonagesimo primo,^(c) indictione quarta decima,^(d) ^(e-)placitum [super] concessionem et^(-e) donationem, quam Iohannes episcopus Abrincensis ecclesie quesivit et fecit et impetravit apud clementiam Gulielmi ducis et comitis Nortmannorum super terra Weura ut prefatus dux et comes eam concederet et donaret deo omnipotenti et beato Andreae et Abrincensi ecclesiae. Illud placitum et illam concessionem et donationem Gulielmus^(f) filius Wilielmi^(g) filii^(h) Osberni⁽ⁱ⁾ et^(j) nepotis Iohannis^(k) episcopi ^(l-)Abrincensis Rothomagi^(-l) in camera Wilielmi^(m) archiepiscopi ⁽ⁿ⁻⁾annuit et concessit per cultellum quendam quem⁽⁻ⁿ⁾ in manu Michaelis episcopi Abrincensis^(o) misit, eam que^(p) manum^(q) osculatus est^(r) et omnem calumniam ^(s-)alias kalengiam,^(-s) quam prius habebat super^(t) eandem terram dimisit, et^(u) ore suo proprio quittam^(v) ex toto clamavit audientibus et videntibus ^(w-)Wilielmo Rothomagensi^(-w) archiepiscopo, ^(x-)Gilleberto Ebrouicensi episcopo, et Micha`e`le Abrincensi episcopo, et Fulcone abbate de sancto Petro super Diuam, et Giraldo abbate de sancto Wandregisillo,^(-x) et aliis compluribus,^(y) et ob hanc concessionem et quietudinem Michael episcopus Abrin(censis) dedit Willelmio de Bretuel 100 libras Rothomagensis denarii.

Variants. a–a, *om. C*; b–b, *om. C*; c, 1091 *C*; d, 14 *C*; e–e, *om. C*; f, Wil(lelmus) *C*; g, Wil(lelm)i *C*; h, *C has Ausberni here, which is crossed out*; i, Osbb. *add. C*; j, *om. C*; k, 4 *add. C*; l–l, Abrin. Roth. *C*; m, Willelmi *C*; n–n, placitum, donationem et concessionem terrae de Weura, vulgo de Vievre, factam per dictum Ioannem Deo omnipotenti B. Apos. Andreae et Abrin. ecclesiae annuit et concessit per cultellum quemdam quem *C*; o, Abrin. *C*; p, eumque *C*; q, *om. C*; r, *om. C*; s, *om. C*; t, *B has terram here, which is then scored through*; u, *ex add. C*; v, quietam *C*; w–w, Willelmio Rot. *C*; x–x, *om. C*; y, *C has et pluribus aliis, while the text that follows is from C*.

⁵ 'Note de M. Léopold Delisle... sur un manuscrit de la ville de Tours', *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie* 5, (1868), pp. 318–320.

⁶ *OV*, iv, p. 252.

⁷ *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, 'Errata and addenda to Volume 1', no. 317b, p. 400.

⁸ *RADN*, no. 229.

1094 × 1134, but perhaps c. 1120

A charter of Turgis, bishop of Avranches, which records certain donations made within his bishopric to the abbey of Marmoutier. Ansger, son of Rodulf, returned to the abbey the priory of Sacey, which he had seized unjustly as part of his inheritance, by placing a knife on the altar of Avranches cathedral. He then placed the knife in the hand of Garin the prior in the presence of Hasculf [de Saint-James], in whose fief the church lay. The donation was then approved by Hasculf, his wife Mathilda, and his sons Odo and Philip. Shortly afterwards Ansger became a monk at Marmoutier, and the donation was approved by his friends and family, among whom were his wife Basilia, his son Riwallon, his father-in-law Hugh, son of Rorgon, and his two sons William and Robert. The act was then witnessed by Riwallon, son of Iual, Iudhael, the monk of Saint-Florent-[de Saumur], the two priests Amatus and Vitalis, Hamelin, son of Louet, Peter, who was Ansger's man, a certain man named Bonus, Gaspal and many others.

William Despreste [de Précey (?)] then donated, with Turgis consenting, a third of the church of Saint-James de Montanel [basilica Osmundi Asnel], which he had similarly seized unjustly. This donation was confirmed by Gilbert d'Avranches, in whose fief the church lay, and who clothed the monks in lambs' skins. Finimundus, who also held the church from Gilbert, gave to the monks the cemetery, and a mansura of land above it next to the main stone and gravel road. This was witnessed by Hasculf, son of Odo, Norman Cophinus, Rainald the craftsman, and Bardulf his son. The donation was then confirmed by Turgis himself.

The same Hasculf, son of Odo, then gave the monks of Marmoutier the church of Argouges, along with the offerings, the priest's house and the tithe, which was confirmed by Turgis. This donation, and that of Montanel, was then witnessed by Robert and Fulcher the archdeacons, Alexander, the magister scholarum, Hervey the treasurer, Herneisus, the monks Garin, Gautorius and Huber, and the priests Vitalis and Amatus. Turgis then confirmed the charter with his seal.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 5441 (ii), pp. 161-162. 18th-century copy by Noel Mars (from a lost original described as '*Sans datte. Le sceau est osté*').
- C. BN, ms. lat. 17022, fol. 33r-v. 18th-century copy by Gaignières (from '*Titre de l'abbaye de Marmoustier. Layette 76, cottée Sacé. Sans datte, le sceau est osté*').
- D. BN, coll. Baluze, vol. 77, fol. 66r (no. 86). 18th-century copy from a lost late 11th-century cartulary ('*ex cartulario Normannico Maioris monasterii Turonensis*').
- E. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 37, fol. 207r-209r. 18th-century copy (from B).

- F. Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, ms. 300, fol. 239v (p. 2434). 19th-century abbreviated copy by Charles Duchérissier de Gerville.
- G. BM (Flers), ms. 14, pp. 962-964. 19th-century abbreviated copy by Auguste Surville (from F).

Ptd. Desroches, *Histoire du Mont Saint-Michel*, i, pp. 265-266, nn. 1-2 and 1 (partial copy from lost mss. (see below)).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 12875, fol. 416r; Martène, *Histoire de Marmoutier*, i, pp. 491-492; Lecanu, *Histoire du diocèse de Coutances*, ii, p. 291; Héricher, *Avranchin monumental*, ii, p. 507; A.-M. Laisné, 'Explication des mots *per cultellum, cum missalt*, etc. employés dans des chartes de donation au moyen-âge', *Mémoires de la société d'archéologie d'Avranches*, 2 (1859), pp. 191-200, at p. 192; A. Beuve, *Sacey: les origines, la seigneurie* (Mortain, 1940; reprint. Paris, 2001), pp. 56-57; A. Dupont, *Essai d'un catalogue critique des églises et chapelles dont le patronage appartenait à l'Abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel* (Saint-Lô, 1979), p. 16; Beaurepaire, *Noms de la Manche*, p. 159; Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 9, 11, 14.

Note. This charter was perhaps issued at same time as Turgis' other charter for Marmoutier, since many of the same people witness the act. Desroches claimed his edition was from a '*charte en parchemin de l'abbaye de Marmoutier, dont une copie de 1605 existe dans la chartrier de M. de Guiton*', while he also mentions a notice summarising this act in '*cartulaire de Marmoutier, à Tours*'. I have been unable to locate either of these documents, and, as such, the variants of his edition are also noted (*de*).

B

In Dei^(a) nomine ego Turgisus^(b) Dei^(a) gracia Abrincarum^(c) episcopus omnibus ecclesie^(d-) filiis tam presentibus^(-d) quam futuris interminabilem pacis iocunditatem. Quasdam possessiones ecclesiasticas nostris temporibus in episcopatu nostro datas ratis privilegiis memorie subsequendum transmittere disponimus erit enim Deo gratum, cunctis que^(e) boni amatoribus acceptum cum nos senserint studiosius precavere^(f) ne ecclesia defraudetur suo iure. Ansgerius^(g) itaque Radulfi^(h) filius salubri sapientum usus consilio ecclesiam de Saciaco quam hactenus iure hereditario iniuste possederat⁽ⁱ⁾ cum uno cultello^(j) super altare sancti Andree^(k) absque ullo retinaculo libere guerpivit, quam eiusdem Ansgerii^(l) rogatu et assensu Deo^(m) et sancto Martino et precipue⁽ⁿ⁾ monachis de Saciaco in praesentia Harscuti^(o) de cuius fevo^(p) erat, cum eodem cultello^(j) per manum Garini^(q) monachi prioris tunc de Saciaco donavi. Concesserunt hoc ipse Harscutus^(r) et eius uxor Mathildis^(s) et duo filii eius^(t) Eudo et Philippus,^(u) non multum vero post isdem Ansgerius^(v) factus est

Maioris monasterii monachus, et tunc omnes^(w) amici et consanguinei eius concesserunt hoc donum, uxor scilicet^(x) Ansgerii^(y) Basilia nomine et filius eius Rivallonius et Hugo filius Rorgonis^(z) pater Basilie^(a) et^(b) duo^(c) filii eius Willelmus^(d) et Robertus. Inde sunt testes^(e) Rivallonius filius^(f-) Iual et Iuhellus^(-f) monachus sancti Florentii et duo^(g) presbiteri^(h) Amatus et Vitalis et Hamelinus, filius Lovet et Petrus homo Ansgerii⁽ⁱ⁾ et quidam nomine Bonus homo et Gaspal^(j) et plures alii. Item vero^(k-) Willelmus Despreste^(-k) dedit Deo et sancto Martino et monachis eius me concedente tercionariam de basilica Osmundi^(l) Asnel quam similiter^(m) iniuste⁽ⁿ⁾ possederat. Quam donacionem concessit Gislebertus^(o) de Abrincis de cuius^(p-) fevo erat basilica,^{(-p)(q)} et per capellum suum de pellibus agni factum eosdem monachos revestivit,^(r) hoc etiam concessit Finimundus^(s) qui eandem^(t) de prefato Gisleberto^(u) tenebat et insuper dedit eisdem monachis totam terram de cimiterio et unam masuram^(v) terre supra iusta^(w) chimum^(x) calciatum. Huius rei^(y) testes sunt Harsculfus^(z) filius Eudonis, Normannus^(a) Cophinus, Rainaldus^(b) Faber, Bardulfus filius eius. Ex parte vero mea ego Turgisus^(c) episcopus Abrincensis^(d) sepedictis^(e) fratribus Maioris monasterii prefatam capellam Osmundi Asnel dedi et in perpetuum habendam concessi. Iterum Harsculfus^(f) Eudonis filius dedit Deo^(g) et sancto Martino et supradictis Maioris monasterii fratribus ecclesiam de Argorgia^(h) scilicet oblationes presbiterium et decimas, me⁽ⁱ⁻⁾ hoc auctorizante⁽⁻ⁱ⁾ et confirmante sub testimonio testium subscriptorum,^(j) de dono harum ecclesiarum scilicet de Argorgia^(k) et de capella Osmundi Asnel sunt testes Robertus archidiaconus^(l) et Fulcherius archidiaconus, et^(m) Alexander⁽ⁿ⁾ scholarum magister, Herveus^(o) thesaurarius, Herneisus^(p) Garinus^(q) monachus, Gauterius^(r) monachus, Hubertus monachus, Vitalis et Amatus presbiteri.^(s) Ut autem hoc privilegium perpetui muniminis obtineat firmitatem, sigilli mei auctoritate firmavi.

Variants. a, Domini *de*; b, Turgisius *Dde*; c, Abrincarsum *D*; d–d, futuribus tam prelati ~~presentibus~~ *D*; e, cunctisque *CD*; f, precavere studiosius *D*; g, Ansgorius *D*; h, Irdulfi *D*; Radulphi *de*; i, possederat iniuste *D*; j, cutello *D*; k, Andrea *de*; l, Ansgorii *D*; Ansgeru *de*; m, Domino *de*; n, precipus *de*; o, Harscoti *D*; Harscut *de*; p, fisco *de*; q, Guarini *de*; r, Harscultus *D*; s, Malthidis *D*; Matildis *F*; t, sui *D*; *om. de*; u, *F has a blank here*; v, Angerius *D*; w, omnis *D*; x, ipsius *de*; y, dicta *add. C*; z, Rotgoris *D*; a, Basilie *Dde*; b, *om. de*; c, 2 *B*, *this reading is from D*; d, Willermus *D*; Guillerms *de*; e, testibus *D*; f–f, Vial et Niellus *D*; g, 2 *B*, *this reading is from D*; Domin. *de*; h, presbiter *de*; i, Antgeri *D*; j, Gaspatru *de*; k–k, Willermus de Preste ~~Despreste~~ *D*; Desprete *F*; Guillerms Despresle *de*; l, *de add. C*; m, simulater (*sic*) *de*; n, iniusta *D*; o, Gilebertus *D*; p–p, fisco Osmundi Asnel erat basilica illa *de*; q, illa *add. D*; r, *F has a blank here*; s, Finnundus *D*; t, eamdem *F*; u, Gilleberto *D*; v,

mansuram *D*; w, iuxta *Dde*; x, cheminum *de*; y, tres *de*; z, Arsculfus *D*; Harsculphus *de*; a, Normanus *de*; b, Rainardus *D*; Ramaldus *de*; c, Turgisius *de*; d, Abrincensis episcopus *D*; Abrinc *de*; e, supradictis *de*; f, Arsculfus *D*; g, Domino *de*; h, Argogias *D*; Argogia *Fde*; i–i, herede authorisante *de*; j, subter scriptorum *D*; subtus scriptorum *de*; k, Argogia *DFGde*; l, Rodbertus archidiaconus *D*; archidiaconus *F*; m, *om. Dde*; n, Alyvander *de*; o, Leontus *de*; p, Herneisius *F*; q, Garnius *de*; r, Gautorius *D*; s, pretre (*sic*) *de*.

1113 (around 2 March)

Turgis, bishop of Avranches, confirms the grant of the forest of Savigny by Rodulf de Fougères to Vitalis the hermit, and threatens all those who would dare to encroach upon the property of the new abbey with excommunication.

- A. Original lost
- B. AD Manche, H non coté, fol. 170r-v. 13th-century cartulary (destroyed 6 June 1944).
- C. BM (Fougères), ms. 7, 2e partie, fol. 19r-v. 18th-century copy by Dom Claude Auvry (from B).
- D. Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, ms. 298, fol. 154v (p. 1208). 19th-century copy by Charles de Gerville, dated 25 April 1836 (from B).
- E. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1022, pp. 567-569. 19th-century copy made by Léopold Delisle (from B).
- F. Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, ms. 302, 1er partie, pp. 376-377. 19th-century copy by Paul de Farcy (from B).
- G. Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, ms. 302, 3e partie, p. 5. 19th-century copy by Paul de Farcy (from *Gallia Christiana*).
- H. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 2500, p. 7. 19th-century copy by Paul de Farcy (from *Gallia Christiana*).
- I. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21843, fol. 274r-v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).
- J. BM (Flers), ms. 23, pp. 860-861. 19th-century copy by Auguste Surville dated 1891-1892 (from D).
- K. BM (Flers), ms. 22, pp. 5-6. 19th-century copy, from Savigny witnesses onwards only (from *Gallia Christiana*).
- L. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 4122, fol. 508v. 19th-century copy made for the abbé Badiche (from C).
- M. BM (Évreux), *Diplomatique des ducs de Normandie*, Carton 6, vol. 12, fol. 1511r. 19th-century copy by Armand Bénét, *signa* only (from B).

Ptd. GC, xi, *Instr.*, col. 110 (source unclear, but probably B); Buhot, 'L'abbaye normande de Savigny', pp. 9-10 (from B); Van Moolenbroek, *Vital l'ermite*, no. 11 (from CDEG).

Ind.

Note. Since **B** is lost, the edition below is based on that of **C**, with the variants of the edition of Buhot noted (*bu*). Manuscripts **DE** suggest that many of the names in the witness lists appeared in abbreviated form, which means that the expansions of Buhot, and those of the post-medieval transcripts, are neither entirely right, nor entirely wrong. Only those where the suffix affects the form of the name (i.e. *Ran*’ could be either *Ranulfus* or *Ranulphus*) are noted in the variants. Ten photographs of the lost cartulary still survive, though unfortunately this charter is not among them.¹ The date of the charter is discussed in the work of Van Moolenbroek.

C

Ego vero Turgisius^(a) episcoporum Abrincensium minimus et ultimus episcopus, salutes et episcopales benedictiones et absolutiones omnibus huius sancte ecclesie Individue Trinitatis tutoribus. Quicumque^(b) hanc abbatiam infringere,^(c) minvere, et eius beneficia rapere et destruere attemptaverint^(d) excommunicatione perpetua feriantur; donec ad emendationis et redditionis^(e) veritatem redierint. Hanc etenim^(f) donationem confirmandam,^(g) testificandam, auctorisandam^(h) assunt [testes]⁽ⁱ⁾ veridici: Hamelinus Meduanensis, Robertus de Cateria, Bozardus^(j) de Castellario, Maino de Polleio,^(k) Hamelinus filius Pinelli,^(l) Robertus de sancto Bricio, Eudo de Monte Fulcherii,^(m) Herveus de Lineriis, Willelmus capellanus, frater Hervei Meduane, Gunterius⁽ⁿ⁾ Frumentarius, et plures alii filgerienses. De valle Moritonii:^(o) Robertus filius Giroldi, ^(p-)Richardus de Tuscheio,^(-p) Robertus de Appentitio,^(q) Rannulphus^(r) de Vireio, Willelmus^(s) de Villa-canis,^(t) Rogerius^(u) de Ferreriis, Mangisus de Savigneio, Robertus nepos eius,^(v) Robertus filius Helderici, Ansgerius^(w) de Escorzinis,^(x) ^(y-)Willelmus^(z) monachus de Alemannia,^(a) Hugo Potinus canonicus de Moretonio,^(b) Willelmus^(c) canonicus filius Ansgoti, Albertus Carnotensis cantor Moretoniensis,^(d) Bernardus de Paceio^(-y) monachus,^(e) Marcherius monachus, Herveus presbiter, Azelinus^(f) presbiter de sancto^(g) Symphoriano,^(h) Fuco⁽ⁱ⁾ presbiter de Budeis,^(j) Gaufridus Bastardus, Rainaldus filius Fulcherii, Goislinus filius Grimoardi et innumerabiles alii. Ex parte fratris ^(k-)Vitalis dicti heremite sunt testes:^(-k) Hubertus presbiter, Odo presbiter, Ranulphus^(l) presbiter, Robertus presbiter de Deserto, Robertus filius Ansgoti, Osbertus frater Vitalis, frater Radulphus,^(m) frater Lambertus, et alter⁽ⁿ⁾ Lambertus de^(o) Poieio,^(p) frater Mainardus, frater Vivianus, et plures alii quos longum est enumerare et Rogerus^(q) de Hugonico et Robertus filius^(r) eius, et

¹¹ AD Calvados, F 5690, nos. 156-165.

Arnulfus qui tunc temporis erat vicecomes et ego Rogerius modo^(s) testificando peregi hoc opus. Signum Henrici regis Anglorum.^(t) +^(u) Signum Baldrici Dolensis^(v) archiepiscopi. + Signum Rannulphi^(w) cancellarii. + Signum Willelmi^(x) comitis de Warennia. + Signum Willelmi^(x) de Albineio.^(y) + Signum Thomae de sancto Iohanne. + Signum Radulphi^(z) de Filgeriis. + Signum Franwalonis.^(a) + Signum Nigelli de Albineio.^(b) + Signum Engelranni^(c) de Abernone. + Signum Hugonis^(d) scribae. + Signum Giraldi^(e) medici. + Signum Humfridi^(f) de Bohum. + Signum de Vireio +.^(g)

Variants. a, Turgisus *bu*; b, Quicunque *E*; c, infringere (sic) *I*; d, attemptaverit *bu*; e, redicionis *D*; f, etiam *F*; g, confirmandem *C*; h, auctorizandam *bu*; i, *om.* *C*; j, Bosardus *DF*; k, Poisleio *DEF*; Posleio *bu*; l, Pucelli *F*; m, Montefulcherii *DF*; n, Guntherius *DF*; o, Moretonii *bu*; p–p, Ricardus de Thuscheio *bu*; q, Aparenticio *Ebu*; r, Ran' *DE*; Ranulfus *bu*; s, Will' *DE*; Willermus *I*; t, Villacanis *DF*; Villa canis *Ebu*; u, Rogerus *DFI*; Rog' *E*; v, Maingisus *DEFbu*; v, et *add.* *DF*; w, Ansgerus *Ebu*; x, Escorcinis *F*; y–y, *bu has* Willelmus canonicus filius Ansgoti, Albertus Carnotensis cantor Moretonii, Bernardus de Paceio, Willelmus monachus de Alamania, Hugo Potinus canonicus de Moretonio; z, W^m *D*; Will' *E*; Willermus *I*; a, Alamannia *DEFI*; b, Mereton' *EI*; c, W^{mus} *D*; Will' *E*; Willermus *I*; d, Moreton' *DE*; Moretonio *F*; e, *om.* *bu*; f, Aselinus *F*; g, santo *bu*; h, Simphonriano *EI*; i, Fulco *DEFbu*; j, Buadeis *DEFI*; Buddaeis *bu*; k–k, Vitalis sunt testes dicti heremitae *C*; l, Ranulfus *DFbu*; Ran' *E*; m, Rad' *DE*; Radulfus *FI*; Ranulfus *bu*; n, alius *F*; o, de de (sic) *I*; p, Poeio *DEFIbu*; q, Rog' *DE*; Rogerius *Fbu*; r, filius (sic) *I*; filii *add.* *bu*; s, m^o *E*; monacus *I*; t, Angliae *Dbu*; Angl' *EIM*; u, *all crosses om. in Ebu*; v, Dol' *M*; w, Ranulfi *DFI*; Ran' *E*; Radulfi *bu*; x, Willi' *DEF*; Willermi *I*; y, Albigneio *Fbu*; z, Rad' *DEM*; Radulfi *Fbu*; a, Framwalonis *DEI*; Fram walonis *FM*; Frain Wallonis *bu*; b, Albigneio *bu*; c, Ingelranni *DEFIM*; d, Hug' *DEM*; e, Grialdi *C*; Grialdi (sic) *EI*; f, Hunfridi *DEF*; Hunfredi *M*; g, + (sic) *D*.

10

1120

Turgis, bishop of Avranches, confirms the possessions of the abbey of Marmoutier that lie within his diocese, namely the churches of Notre-Dame de Mortain, Notre-Dame de Romagny, Saint-Pierre de Bion and Saint-Brice de Landelles.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 5441 (ii), p. 409. 18th-century copy by Noel Mars.
- C. BN, ms. lat. 17022, fol. 32r. 18th-century copy by Gaignières (from ‘*titre de l’abbaye de Marmoustier. Layette cottée Mortain, 91*’)
- D. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 50, fol. 17r-18r. 18th-century copy (from B).
- E. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, p. 27. 18th-century copy by Jacques-Nicolas Lenoir, dating clause only (from *Gallia Christiana*).
- F. Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, ms. 300, fol. 246v (p. 2446). 19th-century abbreviated copy by Charles Duchérissier de Gerville.
- G. BM (Flers), ms. 14, pp. 986-987. 19th-century abbreviated copy by Auguste Surville (from F).

Ptd. GC, xi, Instr., col. 112 (ex chartario Maioris-monasterii) (Turgisus episcopus Majori-monasterio confirmat quidquid habebant in eius dioecesi); Desroches, ‘Annales religieuses’, iii, p. 345 (extract)

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 12875, fol. 50v; Martène, Histoire de Marmoutier, ii, p. 32

Note. This charter, which once survived as an original, now lost, was perhaps issued at same time as Turgis’ other charter for Marmoutier, since it is witnessed by some of the same people. The variants from the edition of *Gallia Christiana*, which may be based on the lost original, have also been noted (*gc*).

B

Cum tota monastice sanctionis devotio et omnis religiose professionis conversatio pontificalibus semper sit studiis adiuvanda, cura sollicitudinis^(a) est adhibenda, ut ea que Deo inspirante a fidelibus viris pro salute anime religiosi monasterii pro sustentatione servorum dei collata sunt, nulla deinceps illicite usurpationis molestia turbentur, nulla improbitate violentur. Ego igitur Turgisius^(b) Dei gratia Abrincensium^(c) pontifex licet immeritus huius rei gratia incitatus et catholice

religionis amore succensus, Deo et aecclesie beati Martini M(aioris) m(onasterii) et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus cunctaque in nostro episcopatu obtinent concedo et literis^(d) nostris auctoritate sigilli nostri roboratis perpetuo iure possidenda confirmo, aecclesiam videlicet, sancte Mariae de Moritonio,^(e) aecclesiam sancte Mariae de Rumaniaco, aecclesiam sancti Petri de Bione,^(f) aecclesiam sancti Brictii^(g) de Landellis et universa que predicti monachi possident prenominitis aecclesiis pertinentia. Huius concessionis et auctoramenti existunt testes, Robertus^(h) archidiaconus, Fulcherius⁽ⁱ⁾ archidiaconus, Rogerius^(j) de Lingueuria^(k) capellanus episcopi, item Herveus thesaurarius sancti Andree, Alexander magister scholarum. Acta sunt hec anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo vigesimo,^(l) epacta nulla, indictione XIII,^(m) domino⁽ⁿ⁾ nostro^(o) papa, Kalixto^(p) sacrosancte Romane aecclesie presidente. Ludovico regni Francorum ^(q-)gubernacula tenente^(-q), Henrico rege Anglorum et duce Normannorum regnante.^(r)

Variants. a, sollicitudinis *CD*; b, Turgisus *gc*; c, Abrincensis *F*; d, litteris *CD*; e, Moretonio *C*; f, Gione *F*; Bions *gc*; g, Brichii *F*; h, Rob. *F*; i, Fulgerius *gc*; j, Rog. *F*; k, Lingucuria *C*; Lingueronia *gc*; l, 1120 *BCDF*, *this reading is from gc*; m, 14^{ma} *BD*; 14^a *C*; XIV *F*, *this reading is from gc*; n, domno *C*; o, ono... nostro *D*; p, Calixto *F*; q–q, *om. F*; r, *om. F*.

BAYEUX

1020 × 1030

Hugh, bishop of Bayeux, at the request of his knight Rodulf, who is about to become a monk at Saint-Pierre de Jumièges, gives to this abbey the land of Rouvray on the banks of the Eure, and gives the monks free passage from the beginning of this valley until the village of Fontaine-[sous-Jouy]. Anathema is threatened for anyone who would dare violate the terms of this donation.

- A. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 27. Original. 22 lines. Measurements: approx. 435mm (across) × approx. 287mm (deep). Endorsements: *ROUREN'* (11th-cent.); *Littera Hugonis, Baiocensis episcopi et Rodulfi quondam comitis filii, qui ecclesie Gemmeticensi dedit terram que vocatur Rourai sitam iuxta fluvium Eure cum integritate tam in ecclesia quam in silvis, terris quoque cultis et incultis, dedit Arture fluvium et transitum eius liberum a theloneo tam de rebus propriis quam de suis omnibus hominibus per illud commeantibus a confinio vallis usque ad terminum ville que Fontanas dicitur* (13th-cent.); *Iste Hugo, Baiocacensis episcopus et filius Rodulfi comitis [illegible word] qui Rodulfus fuit frater uterinus primi Ricardi, natus ex Sprota matre eius, et vocabatur idem Rodulfus comes Yureii* (15th-cent.). The charter is in a good state of preservation, and the text is written in a neat 11th-century hand. The witnesses are arranged unevenly over three lines. The crosses appear to be non-autograph, while there are no arrangements for sealing.
- B. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 4170, fol. 353r-354r. 18th-century copy ('*copiée sur l'original*', which is presumably from A).
- C. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21811, fol. 804r-v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (no source given, though perhaps B).
- D. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21811, fol. 797r. 19th-century abbreviated copy by Léopold Delisle, dated 2 August 1850 (from A).

Ptd. Le Prévost, *Mémoires et notes de l'Eure*, iii, p. 45 (from A); *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges*, i, no. viii (from A); G. Dupuy, 'Recueil des actes des évêques de Bayeux antérieurs à 1205', Thesis, 2 vols. (Ecole des Chartes, Paris, 1970), i, no. 3 (from A).

Ind. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 4170, fol. 72r; *Histoire de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, i, p. 188; Abbé Charpillon, *Dictionnaire historique de toutes les communes du département de l'Eure*, 2 vols. (Les Andelys, 1868-1879), ii, pp. 203 et 726.

Note. This charter, which is the oldest episcopal act for the archdiocese of Rouen to survive as an original, is written in a neat charter hand, and is probably the work of a monk of Jumièges. There are no grounds on which to contest the date assigned to this act by Vernier. The chaplain Tedoldus, who should perhaps be associated with Hugh

in his role as count of Ivry, rather than bishop of Bayeux,¹ cannot be found elsewhere, while the only other witness who can be traced is Rainald de Grate Panche. He appears in a *pancarte* issued for the abbey of Montivilliers, when on the occasion his daughter became a nun there he gave to the abbey land at Salmonville and Crevon.² Marie Fauroux, who incorrectly transcribed *Barnaldus* for *Rainaldus*, and identified Gratepance as Gratepance (Seine-Maritime, cant. Envermeu), rather than Grate Panche (Calvados, cant. Blangy-le-Château), believed this part of the *pancarte* to be a forgery,³ although its veracity was accepted by Bates, among others. Bouvris dated Rainald's donation to c. 1065 (?), while he claimed the act below was issued c. 1027.⁴ A '*catalogue des cures et vicairies perpetuelles et chapelles de l'abbaye royale de Jumieges*', which is found in a manuscript of the eighteenth century, contains the following entry: '*L'église de S^t. Martin de Rouvray... de Rouve vistro seu de Rouverii ex dono Hugonis episcopi Baiocensis de consensus Guillelmi Conquestoris*'.⁵ This is probably a confused reference to the terms of this act, and another concerning the church of Rouvray.⁶ It is possible, however, that this entry refers to a charter that is now lost. The donation by Rodulf the knight is confirmed in a charter issued in the late eleventh century.⁷

A

DIVINĒ SCRIPTURĒ NOBIS AD PARADISI SEDEM DE QUA PER PRIMI PARENTIS LAPSUM DECIDIMUS REMEANDI ITER OSTENDUNT/¹ quatinus^a dum vivimus, bona operari studeamus. Et ex his quę nobis Dei omnipotentis miseratio bonis contulit, suorum/² fidelium indigentiam relevare non onerosum sit. Namque ibi thesauros nostros recondere iubemur, ubi erugo et tineas/³ quę demoliri eos possint penitus non inveniuntur. Quod tunc denique fit, cum ex bonis a Deo nobis attributis pauperum/⁴ inopiam reficimus: aut ecclesiis Dei ea perpetim possidenda contradimus. Quod ego, HUGO, Baiocassinę urbis episcopus et, Rodulfi, quondam/⁵ comitis filius mentis industria revoluens, et presentis seculi gloriam si pro ea ęterna vita neglegitur non nisi ad nostrum interitum/⁶ pro futuram considerans, notum volo fore tam presentibus quam futuris quod quidam meus miles vehementer michi carissimus/⁷ nomine Rodulfus cuncta moderantis Dei motus instinctu, spretis secularibus pompis, monachilem habitum Gemmetico suscepit./⁸ Qui postea me adgressus, petiit ut quandam terram quam in seculo positus ex meo iure hereditario tenuerat, tam pro mee

¹ For discussion, see above, p. 112 n. 36.

² *Regesta*, no. 212.

³ *RADN*, no. 90ter.

⁴ Bouvris, J.-M., 'La renaissance de l'abbaye de Montivilliers et son développement jusqu'à la fin du XI^e siècle', in *L'abbaye de Montivilliers à travers les âges: actes du colloque organisé à Montivilliers le 8 mars 1986* (Le Havre, 1988), pp. 17-84, at p. 76.

⁵ BN, ms. n. a. fr. 4170, fol. 421v.

⁶ AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 1703.

⁷ *Regesta*, no. 164.

anime compendio/⁹ quam pro innumeris sui obsequii laboribus, Deo sanctoque Petro cui se devoverat, contraderem. Quę terra, vulgo vocitatur Rovrensis prope/¹⁰ Auturę fluvium sita. Cuius petitionibus libenter aurem accommodans, cum integritate eam tam in ecclesia quam in silvis terris quoque cultis/¹¹ et incultis ad usus servorum Dei sancto PETRO in Gemmetico solutam ac liberam a cunctis secularibus legibus tradidi possidendam. Dedi etiam Auturę/¹² fluvium et transitum eius liberum a teloneo, tam de propriis rebus quam de omnibus suis hominibus per illud commeantibus a confinio vallis/¹³ usque ad terminum villę quę Fontanas dicitur. Pro qua re a monachis loci illius, equum unum magni pretii accepi. Quam vero donationem/¹⁴ si furiosus quisquam diabolicę nequitie veneno tumens, quoquo conamine ausu temerario infringere presumpserit, pontificali/¹⁵ anathemate excommunicatus persistat, et a sanctorum omnium cętu semotus cum illis dampnetur qui dixerunt domino, ‘recede a nobis, scientiam/¹⁶ viarum tuarum nolumus’.⁸ Et sicut Dathan et Abiron viventes terra absorbuit,¹ sic gehennalibus averni cruciatibus perenniter multetur/¹⁷ cum diabolo urendus. Et ut hęc cuncta perpetim firma permaneant, manu propria subterfirmavi, meisque fidelibus hęc eadem/¹⁸ firmanda tradidi./¹⁹

Signum .+. Hugonis Baiocassinę urbis episcopi./²⁰

Signum Tedol+di capellani eius + Signum Herberti militis. Signum Rainaldi de Gratapantia +/²¹

Signum Gretonis +

⁸ Job, 21:14.

A charter of Hugh, bishop of Bayeux, which records how, following the deaths of Richard II and his son Robert I, justice was neglected in the duchy, and men had stolen many of the lands belonging to Bayeux cathedral. Hugh therefore brought suit before a court, which consisted of Robert, archbishop of Rouen, who was also count [of Évreux], Nigel, vicomte [of the Cotentin], Odo [count of Blois], and other men responsible for upholding justice. They decided in the bishop's favour, and the cathedral's possessions were enumerated thus:

the land of Manerbe, the land of Ansketil Rufus, the land of Le Hamet [at Bonnoeil?], the land of the sons of Escerpenc, the land of Rodulf de Montreuil-en-Auge, the land of Hugh, son of Louvet, the land of Saverici, the land of Mesransend, the church of Saint-Germain-[de-la-Lieue], the land of Amferville, the land of Saint-Contest, the forests of Vory and Montifer, all the woods of [Saint-Martin and Saint-Ouen] des Besaces and Gruchy, the wood of Les Loges, the haia of Le Parquet, the customs of the forest of Ehidon, the land of Nurgot, the land of his brother William, the allods in Douvre-[la-Délivrande], la Fosse-Luchon, and the islands and the haia, the customs of the wood of Mombray, the land of Saint-Suplice, the haia of Savingei, the mill of Port-[en-Bessin], the land in Mestry, the lands of Suard, except what his wife has taken, the land of La Bigne, the land of Jurques and Ronfeugerai, the land of Petiville, the land of Espagne [at Trungy], the land of Wimond de Feuguerolles-Bully, the land of Ansketil de Cottun, the land in the bishop's park at Bayeux, the land of Rodulf Banast, the land of Roger, son of Turstin Le Sor, the land of Lassy, the land of Turstin Scorza uetula, the land of Herbert, son of Burnegc, except his allod, all the land of Rodulf Fichet, except his allod, the land of Fraisnit,¹ the land of Turstin Contevassal, the land of Acerin, the land of Rannulf, son of Ildebert, the land of Évrecy, the land of Neuilly-[la-Forêt], the land of Saint-Marcouf, all the land of Lison, the land in Brémoy held by Latum Dorsum, the churches of Caen, the leuca of Cambremer, the land of Magny-[le-Freule], the land of Bruherlad, and the land that the bishop had provided for Walter d'Andet and his parents.

- A. Original lost.
- B. Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 193 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 193), fol. 6v-7r. 13th-century cartulary (the *Livre noir*).
- C. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21806, fol. 365r-v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxi (from B); Delisle, *Histoire de Saint-Saveur*, ii, no. 13, pp. 13-16 (from B); G. Huard, *La paroisse et l'église Saint-Pierre de Caen, des origines au milieu du XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Caen,

¹ Fresnay, Fresné or Fresney.

1925), ii, pièces just. no. 3, p. vi (from B); Dupuy, 'Recueil de Bayeux', i, no. 1 (from B).

Ind. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 17 n. 54; Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, p. 40 and 52 n. 39; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 39; Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, p. 250.

Note. This is the oldest charter in the cartulary of Bayeux cathedral. The statement that Robert, archbishop of Rouen, was among a select group of men who had rights of justice in the duchy is particularly interesting, while the list of cathedral possessions is invaluable. Certain of the landholders can be seen in **no. 15**, where they witnessed on behalf of Bishop Hugh. The dating limits are the deaths of Robert I and Robert, archbishop of Rouen.

B

[E]go Hugo Baiocensis episcopus considerans hec mortalia, et illa que post hec sperantur eterna domini super utraque potest apparere misericordia. Qui quodam felici commercio ista sibi prebentibus, illa dare non moratur. Non enim hoc ex ipsarum rerum sibi convenienti aliqua contingit preciositate. Quia si quolibet iusta considerentur ratione nulla sibi convenient parilitate, cum hec terrena illa sint celestia. Hec quoque temporalia, illa vero eterna, et ut comprehensive dicatur hec ruinis et tribulationibus ultra quam mente comprehendere possit plena, illa vero ea felicitate exuberantia quam oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit que preparavit Deus diligentibus se. Hoc ergo felici et divino accensus commercio, videns quosdam raptos, ecclesie qui post excessum Ricardi comitis eiusque filii Rotberti omni postposita equitate: iure quodam tyrannico terras sancte Marie plurimas Baiocensis ecclesie, quia vi abstulerant, dolui, quod multum diu ferre non potui, sed Roberto archiepiscopo, et comiti, et vicecomiti Niello, ceterisque senioribus regni iusticiam gerentibus facere clamorem necessarium duxi. Quo vero clamore prolato in medio, invenerunt Robertus scilicet archiepiscopus, Odo comes, et Niellus vicecomes, alique seniores iusticiam regni obtinentes, quod illas terras quarum clamorem facerem, sub episcopali sacramento sancte Marie in perpetuum, acquirere deberem, quod et feci, terrarumque nomina, tali notatione in hac cartula subscripsi. Terram de Manerba totam, et terram Aschitilli rufi, et terram Hammet, et terram filiorum Esscerpenc, et terram Rodulfi de Multerol, et terram Hugonis filii Luvet, et terram Saverici, et terram de Mesransend, et ecclesiam de sancto Germano, et terram de Asfredivilla, et terram de sancto Contesto, et siluam de Voilei, et de

Monte Inferno, et totum boscum de La Bisazia, et de Grocei, et boscum de Loges, et haia del Parchet, et consuetudinem de silva de Lehedun, et terram Nurgotti, et terram Willelmi sui fratris, et alloders, in Duvero, et fossam Lucon, et insulas ut haia tenet, et caram et caram, et consuetudinem de bosco de Molbrai, et terram de sancto Sulpicio, et haiam de Savingei, et molendinum de Portu, et terram in Magistrei, et terras Suardi, exceptis ipsis quas cum sua femina accepit, et terram de Labunia, et terram de Iurches, et de Rotunda Felchera, et terram de Petit villa, et terram de Spania, et terram Wimundi de Felcheroles, et terram Aschetilli de Coltun, et terram ubi parvus episcopi fuit in Baiocis, et terram Rodulfi Banasti, et terram Rogeri filii Turstini Sauri, et terram de Lacei, et terram Turstini Scorza vetula, et terram Herberti filii Burnegc, excepto suo allodio, et totam terram Rodulfi Fichet, excepto suo allodio, et terram de Fraisnit, et terram Turstini Contevassal, et terram Acerin, et terram Rannulfi filii Ildeberti, et terram de Urcei cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, et ecclesiam de Mulgei, et terram de sancto Marculfo, et servicium de tota terra de Lisun, et terram in Bremonoest quam Latum Dorsum tenebat, et ecclesias de Cadun, et leucam de Cambremer, et terram in Magnei, et terram de Bruherlad, et ipsas terras quas ego comparavi de Walterio de Andet et de suis parentibus.

13*

1035 × 1047

Hugh, bishop of Bayeux, renounces his claims to the lands of Le Bosc-Aubé, Merlimont, Selles, and Incourt, which Humphrey [de Vieilles, founder of Saint-Pierre de Préaux] had bought from him.

- A. Original lost
- B. AD Eure, H 711, fol. 97v-98r. 13th-century cartulary.
- C. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1929, fol. 60v. 15th-century cartulary.
- D. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 4, p. 117. 17th-century copy.
- E. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1025, fol. 106r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).
- F. BM (Évreux), Manuscrits Bénét: Divers à classer, Carton 12, fol. 68r. 19th-century copy by Armand Bénét (from B).
- G. AD Seine-Maritime, F 93, p. 111.¹ 19th-century copy by Charles de Beaurepaire (no source stated, though perhaps from E).

Ptd. GC, xi, *Instr.*, col. 202 (no source given); *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A1[7] (from BC).

Ind. Gazeau, 'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux', p. 141.

Note. This notice, which is found in the foundation *pancarte* of Préaux, is fully discussed by Gazeau. There is also a copy of the cartulary made by T. Bonnin in the *archives de l'Eure*, which has not been consulted.² The act is dated by the foundation of the abbey and the episcopate of Hugh.

B

Regnante Willelmo, Roberti martionis filio, venit Baiocensis episcopus nomine Hugo ad Pratellum, et fecit ibi donationem de terra quam calumniabatur, videlicet de Osbernibosco, de Merlinimonte, de Sellis, et insuper de quadam terra, Novus boscus nomine, quam structor loci domnus Hunfridus ab illo emerat.

¹ This manuscript is unpaginated, so the page number is my own.

² AD Eure, 3 F 376.

14

c. 1042 × 1049

Hugh [of Ivry], bishop of Bayeux, brother of Emma, abbess of Saint-Amand de Rouen, concedes to the abbey, for the support of the nuns, the land of Boos with all its appurtenances, namely the church of Bouquelon, the land of [Saint-Aubin]-Celloville, the land of Torratoribus, and the tenures of Roger Malpaisance and Goslin Belatita.

- A. Original lost.
- B. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 8. 11th-century copy in a *pancarte* of the abbey of Saint-Amand. 57 lines. The text of this notice appears at lines 24-32. There are no signs of any arrangements for sealing.
- C. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 7, fol. 6v-7r. 13th-century cartulary (folia 7r-10v were removed from the codex by Marie-Josèphe Le Cacheux (cf. *RADN*, no. 116, p. 279 n. r) and subsequently stolen.
- D. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 8. Copy in a *vidimus* of Philip IV, dated 1313.
- E. Arch. nat., Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 49, no. xlvi, fol. 25v. 14th-century register copy (from D).
- F. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 8. Copy in an *inspeximus* of Henry V, dated 1 January 1419 (from D).
- G. Arch. nat., Registres de la Chambre des Comptes, P 1916², no. 32.216. Copy in an *inspeximus* of Henry V, dated 1 January 1419.
- H. TNA, C64/12, Norman Patent Roll 7 Henry V, pt. 2, m. 37. 15th-century copy (from D).
- I. BN, ms. lat. 10055, fol. 67v. 17th-century copy by Bigot (from C).
- J. BN, ms. lat. 17024, fol. 1r. 18th-century copy (from C).
- K. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 4, p. 35. 18th-century copy by J.-N. Lenoir (from G).
- L. BN, ms. lat. 17131, pp. 119-120. 18th-century copy by Gaignières (from C).
- M. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1246, fol. 138r. 19th-century copy (from C).
- N. AD Calvados, F 5277. 20th-century copy by Gaston de Beausse (from C).

Ptd. J.-F. Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen* (Rouen, 1662), p. 79 (from C); Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, iv, p. 1101 (from F); Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, no. 3, p. 247 (from C); *RADN*, no. 116 (from BCD); Dupuy, 'Recueil de Bayeux', i, no. 2 (from BCD).

Ind. AD Seine-Maritime 55 H 1, p. 20; Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, p. 135.

Note. The chronological parameters for this act are given by the first important donation made to the abbey,¹ and the episcopate of Hugh of Ivry. The theft of folia from the cartulary by Marie-Josèphe Le Cacheux is recorded in the inventory of the abbey's surviving material.²

B

IN NOMINE SANCTE ET INDIVIDUE TRINITATIS, PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI. PAX OMNIBUS ^(a-)ISTA LECTURIS PRESENTIBUS ET FUTURIS. ^(-a)Omne quod est aut Deus, aut creatura est, sed creatoris dignitas omnem sensum excedens et intelligentiam sempiternę beata in sua permanet magnificentia, creature vero modus trifariam, ^(b)subdivisus ad hoc nitens dirigitur, ut nutui non refregetur creatoris et legibus, quibus qui diligenter obsecundaverit lucis inaccessibilis rimator ^(c)vicinius merebitur adscisci. ^(d)Quod ego Hugo Baiocassinę urbis Dei gratia episcopus sollicite perpendens, et inhianti animo concupiscens, ut in civitate domini virtutum in monte sancto eius merear fieri glorię sanctorum consors, divinę voci ^(e)qua dicitur, 'Verumtamen ^(f)date elemosinam, et ecce ^(g)'omnia' munda sunt vobis'³ humiliter obtemperans, ^(h-)hereditatis terrene ^(-h)ipsum nostri honoris largytorem fieri ⁽ⁱ⁻⁾ratum duco, consortem, ⁽⁻ⁱ⁾proinde terram quam vulgo dicunt ^(j)Bothas cum appenditiis suis videlicet ecclesiam et Bothę Buculum ^(k)et terram de Serlosvilla, ^(l)et terram de Torratoribus, et terram Rogerii ^(m)Malpaisnagce, ⁽ⁿ⁾et terram Goscelini ^(o)Belatita, ^(p)christo et sanctę eius genitrici ^(q-)atque sancto Amando ^(-q)ob salutem animę meę largyor, ^(r)in loco urbis Rotomagensi ^(s)de nomine eiusdem sancti Amandi nuncupato, ad ^(t)victum ancilarum ^(u)Dei ibidem congregatarum quibus preest ^(v-)abbatissa Emma ^(-v)et spiritu et carne ^(w-)soror mea, quam largitionem ^(-w)litteris ad ^(x)futurorum notitiam mandare decreuimus, et nostrę auctoritatis signo contra perfidorum violentias roborare statuimus, ubi et anathematis dampnatione omnes

¹ Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, no. 1, p. 244.

² 55H: *Abbaye Saint-Amand de Rouen: repertoire numérique détaillé*, ed. I. Theiller (Rouen, 2005), p. 14.

³ Luke, 11:41.

huius cartulę prevaricatores ęternaliter nisi resipuerint^(y) ferimus, et a christi sanctorumque eius consortio sequestramus. Huius itaque privilegii testes et adstipulatores sunt hi,^(z) Hugo pincerna,^(a) Anfridus^(b) Alabarba, Godeboldus^(c) telonearius,^(d) Willelmus^(e) Cornola, Grentelinus^(f) filius^(g) Radulfi.^(h) +⁽ⁱ⁾ Willelmi^(j-) comitis et^(-j) Normannorum ducis. +^(k) Hugonis episcopi.^(l) +^(m) Malgerii archiepiscopi.

Variants. a–a, tam presentibus quam futuris C; b, triphariam C; c, rimatoe C; d, *DEFGH begin here*; e, voti H; f, Verumptamen E; g, *om.* C; h–h, hereditati eterne C; i–i, consortem ratum duco *CDEFGH*; j, ducunt H; k, Bochelont C; Butulum G; l, Sallovilla C; Cerlovilla E; m, Rogeri CE; n, Malpainace C; Malpasnace *DFGH*; Malpassnasse E; o, Goscellini E; Gocelini FH; p, Bellatita *DFGH*; Bellatica E; q–q, sanctoque Amando gloriosissimo confessori *DEFGH*; r, condono C; in presencia domini mei Willelmi comitis et Normannorum ducis *add. DEFGH*; s, Rothomagensi *CDEFGH*; t, ac H; u, ancillarum *CDFGH*; v–v, *ill. B, this reading is from C*; w–w, *ill. B, this reading is from C*; x, ob, C; y, recipuerint G; z, hii *DEFGH*; a, piscerna E; b, Ansfridus C; Anffridus *DEFGH*; c, Godeboudus *DFGH*; d, thelonearius CE; e, Guillelmus E; f, Grentilmus DEH; Grentilinus G; g, fillii G; h, Radulphi E; i, et FG; j–j, *om.* C; k, et *DFGH*; l, Signum Odonis episcopi Baiocensis *add. C*; m, et *DEFG*.

15

1047

Hugh, bishop of Bayeux, confirms to the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Préaux the lands that he had invaded on account of the agreement he had with the abbey's founder, Humphrey of Vieilles. Gradulf, abbot of Saint-Wandrille, who was involved in the abbey's foundation, and Anfrid, abbot of Préaux, gave to the bishop in exchange for the land 100 livres, three candelabras, two of silver and the other of gold or black silver, and a gilded chalice. These events took place in the year of the peace council held at Caen. The donation forms part of the abbey's foundation charter.

- A. Original lost
- B. AD Eure, H 711, fol. 98v-99r. 13th-century cartulary.
- C. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1929, fol. 61r-v. 15th-century cartulary.
- D. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 4, p. 118. 17th-century copy.
- E. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 20218, fol. 52v. 17th-century copy by Julien Bellaise.
- F. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1025, fol. 108r-109r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).
- G. BM (Évreux), Manuscrits Bénét: Divers à classer, Carton 12, fol. 68v. 19th-century copy by Armand Bénét (from B).
- H. AD Seine-Maritime, F 93, p. 113.¹ 19th-century copy by Charles de Beaurepaire (no source stated, but apparently from F).

Ptd. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis s. Benedicti*, iv, p. 484 (no source given); *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, col. 202 (no source given); Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 321 (from B, F); *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, no. A1 [14] (from BC).

Ind. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, p. 137; *GC*, xi, col. 353; Bouïard, 'Sur les origines de la Trêve de Dieu', p. 171; Bates, 'Notes sur l'aristocratie normande', pp. 13, 16-17; Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, pp. 51, 158; Gazeau, 'Le patrimoine d'Hugues de Bayeux', p. 141.

Note. This famous notice is important for a number of different reasons. Its allusion to the Truce of God being promulgated at Caen is one of the earliest references that confirms that this meeting took place, while its description of Hugh's military actions against an abbey provides important evidence regarding the means by which a bishop, even as late as the mid-eleventh century, might legitimately enforce the penalty of

¹ This manuscript is unpaginated, so the page number is my own.

loss of an immovable. There is also a copy of the cartulary made by T. Bonnin in the *archives de l'Eure*, which has not been consulted.²

B

Hoc notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod illo anno quo prius inceptum est concilium^(a) de pace apud Cadimum com^(b) corporibus sanctorum, invasit Baiocensis episcopus nomine Hugo, terras sancti Petri Pratell(ens)i^(c) pro quadam conventionem, quam structor loci Hunfridus nomine com^(b) eo habuerat. Unde valde commoti domnus abbas Gradulfus Fontinelle monasterii qui partim fundator illius loci extiterat, et abbas eiusdem monasterii Anffridus^(d) nomine cum nimio labore impetrauerunt ut predictam conventionem perdonaret, et terras redderet. Nec hoc sine magno precio potuit fieri. Dederunt enim illi iamdicti abbates centum libras denariorum, et tria argentea candelabra, videlicet, duo ex puro argento, et tercium ex auro et argento, vel nigello pulchre compositum, et unum calicem deauratum. Qua pecunia recepta, sicut presens subscriptio demonstrat cartam episcopali auctoritate^(e) firmavit. + Ego Hugo Baiocensis episcopus hanc donationem terrarum, scilicet, quas dedi sancto Petro Pratellensi precatu Hunfridi, nunc manu et ore confirmo, et episcopali auctoritate earum invasores anathematizo, amen. Huic conventioni interfuerunt testes, videlicet, Rainaldus Drudus, Hugo cognomento Compositus, Rodulfus Suhardus, Radulfus Afatiatus, Ricardus Scoria vetulam, Turstinus filius Rannulfi. Ex parte vero abbatum, interfuerunt Gauzfridus^(f) clericus, Christianus clericus, Alboldus clericus, Hunfridus laicus, Willelmus laicus, Guarnerius laicus, Rogerus cognomento Perarius.

Variants. a, consilium C; b, cum C; c, Pratellen(sis) C; d, Anfridus C; e, auctoritate episcopali C; f, Gaufridus C.

² AD Eure, 3 F 376.

16

c. 1049 (late)

Hugh, bishop of Bayeux, confirms a charter of Roger de Montgomery (not printed here) for the abbey of Troarn, and concedes to the same house, the church of Trun with diverse revenues, the churches of Crocy and numerous lands at Saint-Germain-[du Marais] and at Saint-Hilaire, the church of Saint-Sylvain with diverse tithes, the lands which the bishop has at Bures-[sur-Dives], with its customs, and some benefices at Basseneville and Saint-Samson.

- A. Original lost
- B. BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 1r-v. 14th-century cartulary.
- C. AD Orne, H 1955. Abbreviated 18th-century copy (*'prise sur le chartrier en original en parchemin'*).

Ptd. R.-N. Sauvage, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Troarn au diocèse de Bayeux: des origines au seizième siècle* (Caen, 1911), no. 1, p. 347 (from B); *RADN*, no. 144 (from BC).

Ind. BM (Évreux), *Diplomatique des ducs de Normandie*, Carton 11, fol. 571r.

Note. The text of this charter is found in a charter of Roger de Montgomery, dated 13 May 1059. It is unclear why it should appear in this later document, but it is possible that the monks of Troarn simply appended the text of an earlier charter of Hugh to his act. Since the foundation of Troarn took place in around 1050, and Hugh died shortly after his return from the council of Reims in 1049, the charter must date to the very end of his episcopate.

B

Ego autem Hugo, Baiocensis episcopus, cartam istam^(a) manu et ore confirmo atque omnes excommunico qui aliquid de supradictis sancto Martino violenter subtraxerint. Trado^(b) etiam^(c) et res proprias de Trun, decimam thelonei et molendini et ecclesias ipsius^(d) eius (*sic*)^(e-) et terram^(-e) presbiteri, sicut ego tenebam, et ecclesias de Croceyo^(f) ex integro, cum terra quam Osbernus^(g) tenet in sancto Germano, et quam tenet Rad(ulfus)^(h) in servicio sancti Hylarii,⁽ⁱ⁾ ^(j-) et decimam molendini, etc. Item trado etiam perpetuo iure ecclesiam sancti Silvini, cum omni decima^(k-) et cum suo^(-k) allodio et moltura ipsius ville, et terram Morini carpentarii, quam tenebat in burgo sancti Silvini, cum omnibus redditibus suis, sed et decimam denariorum de theloneo et de nutrimento meo quod erit in sancto Silvino, etc. Item tribuo etiam quicquid

habeo in Buris, tam in terra quam in aqua et in silva et in omnibus suis costumis quas teneo, meo dominicatu, etc. Item sed et terram Goisberti, Ingulfi et Heroldi et Ansgoti et Willelmi, clerici de sancto Sansone, quam tenent in Barnevilla et in sancto Sansone, in ecclesia, in terra, in silva, etc.^(-j)

Signum comitis Willelmi.^(l) Signum Rogerii de Monte Gomerii,^(m) etc.

Variants. a, in marg. B; b, C begins here; c, om. C; d, in marg. B; om. C; e-e, cum terra C; f, Croceio C; g, Osbertus C; h, Radulphus C; i, Hilarii C; j-j, om. C; k-k, in marg. B; l, C has Vuilelmi et; m, C has Gomereio, and then has the date as follows: anno ni fallor incarnationis Dominicae millesimo quinquagesimo nono.

17*

1050 × 1082/3

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, grants to the abbey of Grestain six bordars in Fiquefleur-Équainville and Crémanfleur, and twenty sites for salt making.

- A. Original lost
- B. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 4, p. 149. 17th-century copy by François de Blois.
- C. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 4, p. 143. 17th-century copy by François de Blois.
- D. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 159v. 18th-century copy by Levrier (from ‘*chartr. de Grestain*’).

Ptd. Bates and Gazeau, ‘L’abbaye de Grestain’, pp. 24-30 (from BCD); *Regesta*, no. 158 (from BCD).

Ind.

Note. This short notice, which is found in a confirmation charter issued in autumn 1082, is fully discussed by Bates. Its dating limits are the foundation of the abbey of Grestain and the imprisonment of Bishop Odo.

B

Et Odo Baiocensis episcopus dedit eidem ecclesiae sex bordarios in Fiscefluctu et in Cromamfluctu,^(a) et xx^(b) acras^(c) ad salem faciendum.

Variants. a, Cromaui fluctu C; b, viginti CD; c, areas D.

18*

18 June 1066, Caen

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, concedes that any citizen of Caen wishing to be buried in the abbey of La Trinité de Caen, shall not be charged a fee.

- A. Original lost
- B. BN, ms. lat. 5650, fol. 13v. 12th-century cartulary copy.
- C. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan. 12th-century copy (microfilmed AD Calvados, 1 Mi 30 1B).
- D. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 20221, fol. 49v. Printed text produced on 27 December 1630 (*'faicte sur l'original escrit en parchemin'*).
- E. BN, ms. lat. 10077, fol. 3v. Printed text produced on 27 December 1630 (*'faicte sur l'original escrit en parchemin'*).
- F. AD Calvados, H 1825, at a point where the ms. no longer numbers the charters. 18th-century copy.

Ptd. GC, xi, *Instr.*, col. 59-61 (*ex chartulario*); RADN, no. 231 (from B); Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, no. 2 (from B-F).

Ind. Extrait des chartes et autres actes normands ou anglo-normands qui se trouvent dans les archives du Calvados, ed. A.-L. Léchaudé d'Anisy, 2 vols. (Caen, 1834-1835), ii, p. 172; *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 4; Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, p. 171.

Note. This short notice, which appears in the charter issued at the dedication of La Trinité, is fully discussed by Fauroux and Musset.

B

Concessit etiam episcopus Odo ut quicumque^(a) Cadomensium in vita sua sepulturam sibi in hoc^(b) loco elegerit, non exigit ab eo presbiter suos sepulturam.

Variants. a, quicumque CDF; b, this word, and the first letter of the following, are illegible in C due to a hole in the parchment.

1068 × 1070

A notice of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, which states that if Durandus, abbot of Troarn, wishes to rebuild the church of Saint-Martin de Langrune-sur-Mer, it will be freed from all episcopal customs.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 52r. 14th-century cartulary.
- C. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21818, fol. 242r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. Sauvage, *L'abbaye de Troarn*, p. 76 n. 5 (from B); Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 322 (from B).

Ind. BM (Caen), ms. 300 (in quatro 222), fol. 8v-9r; Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, p. 13 n. 15.

Note. Sauvage dated this act to 1068, but this proposal has been called in to question.¹ The donation was repeated in confirmations of the abbey's foundation charter, which seems to confirm this date,² although the strict limits are 1068 × 1070, due primarily to the witness of William de Courseulles-[sur-Mer]. He seems to have been a man of the bishop of Bayeux, and was active in his own right. In 1059 × 1066, he donated fishing rights in the Touques, and an acre of meadow and seven pints of cereal, to the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Bosc,³ while at about the same time Odo bought land from William at Bernières-sur-Mer, which the bishop then gave to his cathedral.⁴ William also sold meadows, including some not far from the meadow of Cheux, to Saint-Étienne de Caen during the abbacy of Lanfranc, some of which he held in fief of Odo.⁵ Shortly after his father's death, Rodulf II Taisson gave to the abbey of Fontenay what he had held in Crasmesnil with William's consent.⁶ William seems to have followed Odo to England, for in May 1068 he witnessed a charter, along with the bishop of Bayeux, for the cathedral of Wells.⁷ He can be seen acting as sheriff of Somerset in c. 1068, a position that he held until some time before early 1083.⁸ He appears in Domesday Book as a tenant of Robert, count of Mortain, who was, of course, Odo's brother.⁹ William's sister, Hawise, was married to Hugh de Crasmesnil.¹⁰

¹ Sauvage, *L'abbaye de Troarn*, p. 76. See, for example, Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 40.

² *Regesta*, no. 281(II).

³ *RADN*, no. 218.

⁴ *RADN*, no. 219.

⁵ *Regesta*, nos. 52, 53.

⁶ *Regesta*, no. 149.

⁷ *Regesta*, no. 286.

⁸ *Regesta*, no. 288.

⁹ GDB, fol. 92r.

¹⁰ *Regesta*, no. 149.

B

Ego Odo Dei gratia episcopus urbis Baiocensis ecclesiolam in honore sancti Martini in extremis campis Lingronie quondam constructam, quam Durandus, `I.', abbas de cenobio quod Troardus vocatur, reedificare et quasi de pulvere cupit resuscitare, quietam et liberam ab omni consuetudine que nobis inde per succedentia tempora poterat exire, nostra constituimus auctoritate, nunc et in reliquo tempore, et omnes quos in illo territorio idem abbas potuerit ad inhabitandum undecumque contrahere. Signum Odonis episcopi. Signum Willelmi de Corcella.

20*

1068 (possibly 1 Nov. × 25 Dec.), Troarn

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, gives to the abbey of Troarn all customs belonging to his bishopric in the estate of Tailleville and its church.

- A. Original lost
- B. BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 2r. Abbreviated copy in 14th-century cartulary.
- C. AD Calvados, H 7750. Copy in a *vidimus* dated 20 May 1472.
- D. AD Calvados, H 7745, fol. 3v. 15th-century cartulary known as the *Chartrier blanc*.
- E. AD Calvados, H 7750. 16th-century copy.
- F. BN, ms. fr. 4902, fol. 164v. 17th-century copy, dated 6 October 1680 ('*collationé aux originaux*').
- G. AD Orne, H 1955. 18th-century copy.
- H. BN, ms. fr. 4902, fol. 132r. 18th-century copy.
- I. BN, ms. lat. 10079, fol. 88r. 19th-century copy by Léchaudé d'Anisy (from '*cartulaire de Troarn*', which is presumably D).
- J. TNA, PRO 31/8/140B, part 3, p. 322. 19th-century copy by Léchaudé d'Anisy, dated 1835 (from B).
- K. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21818, fol. 249r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle.

Ptd. Sauvage, *L'abbaye de Troarn*, no. ii, pp. 349-351 (B-E and G); *Regesta*, no. 280 (from BCD).

Ind. Regesta (Davis), i, no. 30; *CDF*, no. 463.

Note. The text of this short notice appears in a confirmation of the grants made to the abbey of Troarn by William the Conqueror in 1068, the complex manuscript tradition of which is fully discussed by Bates. AD Calvados, H 7750 contains two 17th-century abbreviated versions of the charter, neither of which mention the Odo donation. Although it is possible that Odo made the grant to the abbey before 1068, the statement that his grant was confirmed by William as king, which is unique to this donation, suggests that it was most likely made at the time the general confirmation charter was issued. The reasons for the more precise dating limits are discussed by Bates.

C

^(a-)Oddo^(b) vero episcopus^(-a) Baiocensis dedit de ipso mansiolo et ipsius villule ecclesie totas consuetudines que ad episcopatum pertinent, et ipse rex libenter co[ncessit] ^(c-)et barones sui.^(-c)

Variants. a—a, Odo episcopus *B*; b, Odo *E*; c—c, *om.* *B*.

21

1070 × 1082/3

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, notifies Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, Haimo the sheriff and the other faithful French and English men of the king that he has granted in perpetuity to Christ Church, Canterbury, all the houses he holds in Sandwich and all the customs which he has in the same vill.

- A. Canterbury, DC, Chartae Antiquae S. 246. Original. 5 lines. Measurements: 168mm (across) × 36mm (deep). One horizontal fold. Three vertical folds. Endorsements: *Carta Odonis episcopi Baiocensis concedens ecclesie Christi domos et consuetudines quas habebat in Sandwico* (12th cent.); *Registre* (15th cent.). Little trace of sealing arrangements survives. There are the remains of the stub of the tongue in the bottom left-hand corner.
- B. Canterbury, DC, Reg. E, fol. 200v. Late 13th-century cartulary.
- C. Canterbury, DC, Reg. C, fol. 55v. Late 13th-early 14th-century cartulary.
- D. Lambeth Palace, ms. 1212, p. 332. Late 13th-early 14th-century cartulary.
- E. Bodleian, ms. Tanner 223, fol. 21v. 16th-century copy (from D).

Ptd. Fifth report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (London, 1876), Appendix, p. 457 (from A); L. Delisle, 'Recueil de 109 chartes originales de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, rassemblées et photographiées par le Rév. H. Salter', *BEC*, 69 (1908), pp. 541-580, at p. 573 (from A); *Regesta*, no. 71 (from A).

Ind. Regesta (Davis), i, no. 101.

Note. This writ, which was written by a scribe of the archbishop of Canterbury active in the 1070s, is fully discussed by Bates. The wording is almost identical to Odo's donation of houses in Fordwich to St. Augustine's, Canterbury (**no. 24**). The dating-limits of this charter, which was later confirmed in an act of William Rufus,¹ are the appointment of Lanfranc as archbishop of Canterbury and the imprisonment of Bishop Odo.

A

O(do) gratia Dei^(a) Baiocensis episcopus, LANFRANCO archiepiscopo, et Haimoni^(b) vicecomiti, et ceteris fidelibus/¹ regis francigenis et anglis salutem. Sciatis omnes quia ego Odo Baiocensis episcopus et Cantie^(c) comes/² omnes domos quas in villa^(c)

¹ *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 336

Sanuuich^(e) habeo et omnes consuetudines mei iuris ad ipsam villam/³ pertinentes pro anima mea et pro anima domini mei Willelmi regis Anglorum ecclesię Christi Cantua/⁴riensi^(f) in perpetuum possidendas concedo.

Variants. a, Dei gratia *B*; b, Hamoni *BCD*; c, Cancie *BCD*; d, de *add. B*; e, Sandwiz *B*; Sandwic *C*; Sanduuich *D*; f, Cant' *BC*.

A bilingual act in which Odo, bishop of Bayeux, notifies Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, Haimo the sheriff, and all the king's faithful men of Kent that he has granted four denes of Land at Losenham (in Newenden, Kent), Adalardendena (later Wassall Farm in Rolvenden, Kent), Blacecota (Later Bly Court in Staplehurst, Kent) and Acdena (Later Hexden in Rolvenden, Kent) to Christ Church, Canterbury, in exchange for twenty-five acres of land within his park at Wickhambreux.

- A. BL, Cott. Charter xvi, 31. Original, badly damaged by fire so that holes and tears have been produced in the parchment. Measurements: approx. 205mm (across) × approx. 114mm (deep). 15 lines. This charter is written in two different hands. Both are of the eleventh century, with the text in Latin in a much larger script than that in Anglo-Saxon. The wrapping-tie (approx. 163mm long) is above the seal tongue (approx. 190mm long). The darkening of the tongue suggests the location of the seal, now lost. Since the charter has been glued to card, any endorsements have been lost.
- B. Northamptonshire Record Office, The Earl of Winchilsea's Trustees, Finch Hatton ms. 170, fol. 92r. 17th-century pen and ink and coloured wash facsimile, commissioned in 1640/1 (from A).

Ptd. Pegge, 'A copy of a deed of Odo', p. 336 (Latin only); Loyd and Stenton, *Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, no. 431 (from AB, with facsimile); *Regesta*, no. 74 (from AB).

Ind. De Farcy, *Sigillographie de la Normandie*, pp. 47-48

Note. The facsimile in Finch Hatton ms. 170 contains a drawing of Odo's double-sided seal, which has since been lost. It is fully discussed above. This donation was later confirmed by William the Conqueror.¹ The dating-limits of this charter are the appointment of Lanfranc as archbishop of Canterbury and the imprisonment of Bishop Odo.

A (with additions from B)

Odo Baiocensis episcopus Lanfranco archiepiscopo et Hammoni vicecomiti, et omnibus¹ Cantuariensibus regis fidelibus salutem. Notum sit vobis quod ego O(do) Baiocensis² episcopus et comes Cantie, nostre matri que in honore sancte Trinitatis constructa³ est Canturiensi ecclesie, trado has quatuor dennas terre, videlicet Lossenha⁴mum, et Adalardendenam, et Blaceco[tam, et] Acdenam, a domno

¹ *Regesta*, no. 75.

Lanfranco archiepiscopo/⁵ et omnibus successoribus eius perpetuo usu possidendas, pro redemptione domini m[ei]/⁶ [G]uilelmi regis Anglorum, et mee, et eorum de quorum salute specialiter [iniunctum]/⁷ est] michi procurare, et pro exca[m]bio xx et v acrarum] terre que infra [parcum]/⁸ meum [de] Wikeham continentur./⁹

Odo biscop of Baius gret Landfranc arcebiscop 7 Hæimonem sc[ir] gerefan, 7 e]alle þæs kinges þegenas on Cænt freondlice./¹⁰ Si eow eallum c[uð] þ ic] Odo biscop of Baius, 7 eorl on Cænt [ge ann ure] moder þ is Xpes circean on Cantpare byrig./¹¹ [pas fuwer d[æne] landes þ is Losenham, 7 [Aðalardæn dæne], 7 Blacecotan, 7 Acdæna, spa þ se laford Landfranc/¹² [arcebiscop 7 ealle his] æfter gængan hi heom g[e] agnian on ece] yrfe. þis ic do for mines lafordes alysednesse/¹³ [Wllesmes kin]ges, 7 for [m]inre, 7 for þæ[ra manna alyse]dnesse, be þæra hælu me is sinderlice gymene/¹⁴ [7 for gehwyrfe fif] 7 [twentigra] æcera landes, [þa licgað wi]ðinnan minum deor falde æt Wiccham./¹⁵

23

1070 × 1082/3

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, grants to the abbey of St Augustine's, Canterbury half the vill of Plumstead (Kent) and has restored Estmedetune, with its outliers, which Rannulf formerly held. He also gave the tithes which his faithful men held, namely those held by Adelold the chamberlain in the three villas of Knowlton, Tickenhurst and Ringleton (all Kent), the tithe of all Thurstan's land, the tithes held by Osbern son of Letard in two places, Betteshanger and Buckland [in Luddenham] (both in Kent), and the tithe held by Osbern Paisforere in Buckland.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BL, ms. Cott. Julius D. ii, fol. 98v-99r. 13th-century cartulary.
- C. BL, ms. Cott. Faustina A. i, fol. 341v.¹ Late 13th-century cartulary.
- D. TNA, E164/27, Exchequer K.R. Misc. Books, fol. 89v. Early 14th-century cartulary.
- E. Cambridge, Trinity Hall, ms. 1, fol. 79r. Copy in 15th-century cartulary by Thomas of Elmham.

Ptd. *The Register of St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, commonly called the Black Book*, ed. G.J. Turner and H.E. Salter, 2 vols. (London, 1915-1924), pp. 547-548 (from C); Thomas of Elmham, *Historia monasterii sancti Augustini Cantuariensis*, ed. C. Hardwick (London, 1858), p. 353 (from E); *Regesta*, no. 86 (from BCDE).

Ind.

Note. The text of this charter, which appears to be an incomplete copy of a diploma confirming the same grants as a royal writ,² is fully discussed by Bates. The dating limits are the same as this writ, namely the appointment of Scotland, abbot of St. Augustine's, and the imprisonment of Bishop Odo.

B

Ego Odo episcopus Baiocensis atque comes Cantie^(a) donationem facio sanctis Petro et Paulo nec non et^(b) Anglorum apostolo sancto Aug(ustino) de hiis^(c) que [mihi]^(d) subiecta sunt. In primis, de medietate ville^(e-) que dicitur^(-e) Plumestude.^(f) Deinde terram reddo que dicitur Estmedetune,^(g) cum adiacentiis suis que possidebat

¹ There are three different numbering for the folios in this manuscript, of which this, written in pencil, is the only one not crossed out.

² *Regesta*, no. 87.

Rannulfus,^(h) cum decimas aliquas quas mei fideles habebant, id est, Adeloldus⁽ⁱ⁾ cubicularius de tribus villis que dicuntur ^(j-)Cnoltun et Tikenherst, et Ringuentun,^(-j) et^(k) decimam totius terre Turstini,^(l) nec non decimam Osberni filii Letardi^(m) de duobus locis, id est, ⁽ⁿ⁻⁾Bedesan, et Bochelande;⁽⁻ⁿ⁾ decimam etiam Osberni Paisforei^(o) de villula^(p) que dicitur Bochelande.^(q) Hec omnia deo sanctisque apostolis Petro et Paulo sanctissimoque Augustino dono,^(r) concedo, confirmo habenda, servanda, tenenda, deo iuvante tam pro salute domini mei regis^(s) quam pro anime mee redemptione. Si quis vero huic donationi contrarius^(t) fuerit, vel aliquam calumpniam ingesserit, aeterno anathemate multetur,^(u) et reus maiestatis regie erit. Hoc ut in perpetuum maneat manu mea signo. +^(v) Ego Willelmus Dei gratia rex Anglorum confirmo hanc donationem.

Variants. a, Cancie CE; Kantie D; b, om. CE; c, his B, this reading is from C; d, om. BC, this reading is from D; michi E; e-e, de D; f, Plumestede C; Plumstede DE; g, Smethetune D; Smedetune E; h, Ranulfus C; Ranulphus D; Rannulphus E; i, Ethellkoldus D; Aþelpoldus E; j-j, Knoltune et Tykenherst et Ringestune D; Knoltu(ne) et Tykenherst et Ringetun E; k, om. C; l, Turstyn D; m, Lethardi D; n-n, de Bedesam et de Boclande C; Bedesangue et Boklande D; Bedlesan et Bocheland E; o, Paifforeie C; Paisforer D; Paifforei E; p, vilula C; q, Boklande D; Bocheland E; r, et add. D; s, om. D; t, quatenus D; u, mulcetur C; v, om. BC, this reading is from D.

24

1070 × 1082/3

Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, notifies Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, Haimo the sheriff, and the other faithful French and English men of the king that he has given all his houses and customs in Fordwich to the abbey of St Augustine's, Canterbury.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BL, ms. Cott. Julius D. ii, fol. 90v-91r. 13th-century cartulary.
- C. BL, ms. Cott. Claudius D. x, fol. 175r. Early 14th-century cartulary.
- D. Cambridge, Trinity Hall, ms. 1, fol. 79r. Copy in 15th-century cartulary by Thomas of Elmham.
- E. Canterbury, DC, Chartae Antiquae F. 47. 14th/15th-century single membrane containing documents relating to Fordwich.

Ptd. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, i, p. 142 (from C); Hardwick (ed.), *Historia s. Augustini*, p. 351 (from D); *Regesta*, no. 85 (from BCDE)

Ind. Regesta (Davis), i, no. 99

Note. This document, whose text closely resembles that of a grant made by Odo to Christ Church, Canterbury, for which the original was written by a Canterbury scribe (**no. 21**), is fully discussed by Bates. Its dating limits are the appointment of Lanfranc as archbishop of Canterbury and the imprisonment of Bishop Odo.

B

O(do) gratia Dei^(a) Baiocensis episcopus et Cantie^(b) comes, Lanfranco archiepiscopo et Haimoni^(c) vicecomiti, et ceteris fidelibus regis francigenis et anglis salutem. Sciatis omnes quod ego Odo episcopus et Cantie^(b) comes omnes domos quas in villa^(d) Forunihc^(e) habeo et omnes consuetudines mei iuris ad ipsam villam pertinentes^(f) pro anima mea et pro anima domini mei Will(elm)i regis Anglorum ecclesie sancti Aug(ustini) in perpetuum^(g) possidendas concedo.

Variants. a, Dei gratia CDE; b, Cancie D; Kanc' E; c, Hamoni CE; d, de add. CDE; e, Ffordwith C; Ffordwich D; Ffordewych D; f, pertinenetes D; g, inperpetuum CDE.

25

30 Nov. 1074, Rouen (*in aula turris*)

A charter of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, which records that he has bought Carneville for his cathedral church from Herbert d'Agneaux, with the consent of Herbert's lord Rodulf de Conches-[en-Ouche].

- A. Original lost.
- B. Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 193 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 193), fol. 1r-v. 13th-century cartulary (the *Livre noir*).
- C. TNA, PRO 31/8/140B, part 1, p. 47. 19th-century copy by Léchaudé d'Anisy, dated 1835 (from B, dating clause and witnesses only).

Ptd. Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. ii (from B); *Regesta*, no. 26 (from B).

Ind. CDF, no. 1432; *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 75.

Note. The text of this charter, which is discussed by Bates, is very similar to another issued for the cathedral,¹ and is most likely a product of the Bayeux *scriptorium*. Its dating is internally correct, though the reference to the seventh year of the lunar cycle is perhaps a copyist's mistake.

B

[I]n nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Quoniam veritas ipsa turbine falsitatis obvio sui ipsius firmitate liberum satis nequit iter ingredi, legalium subsidium personarum, temporum, locorumque quasi columnarum quarumdam fulcimentum subicimus, ne veritatis edificium firmitatis indigentia, ruinam patiatur. Ego igitur Odo Dei gratia Baiocensis episcopus frater Guillelmi Normannorum ducis, Anglorum regis, in possessionem sancte Marie Baiocensis ecclesie emi quandam terram que vocatur Chernet villa a HERBERTO de Agnellis, assentiente suo domino Radulfo de Conchis, consentiente etiam eodem rege Anglorum, presentibus Ricardo filio Turstini Guz, et Guillelmo Caritate, Fulkeroque filio Gerardi Budel, atque Radulfo de Ollei, apud Rothomagum in aula turris, prima dominica die adventus Domini, in festivitate sancti Andree, luna .vii. m^o. lxx^o. iii^o. anno ab incarnatione Domini, indictione .xii. epactis existentibus vicesimis concurrentibus .ii. regnante

¹ *Regesta*, no. 27.

Guillelmo supradicto rege Anglorum, et Philippo rege Francorum. Ut ergo quod diximus credibilis fiat, signa eorum qui interfuerunt conspiciantur subscripta. Guillelmus rex, Mathildis regina, Iohannes archiepiscopus, Hugo Luxoviensis episcopus, Rogerus de Bello monte, Rogerus de Montegomerico, Robertus comes filius Guillelmi regis, Guillelmus frater eius, Robertus comes de Moritonio, Robertus comes de Auca, Ricardus Guz, Guillelmus Caritas, Fulcherus Budel, Radulfus de Oilleio, Eudo Haldub, Radulfus Suhardus, Alveredus Malbedign, Rannulfus de Lingairus, Herbertus de Agnellis, Corbinus filius eius.

26

1078 × 1082/3

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, notifies Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, Urse, sheriff of Worcestershire, Durand, sheriff of Gloucestershire and Walter, sheriff of Warwickshire, and all the French and English faithful men of the king, that King William has restored to the abbey of Evesham, and abbot Walter, those lands to which the abbot made good his claim against all who unjustly sought them, before seven shires at Gildeneberga (Four-Shire Stone, Warws., near Moreton-in-Marsh). The lands are Weston-on-Avon (Glos.), Upper Swell (Glos.), Bengeworth (Worcs.), Binton (Warws.), Wixford (Warws.), Oldberrow (Warws.), Kinwarton (Warws.), Hillingborough (Warws.) and Ragley (Warws.).

A. Original lost

B. BL, ms. Cott. Vespasian B. xxiv, fol. 28r. 13th-century cartulary.

Ptd. Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham, ad annum 1418, ed. W.D. Macray (London, 1863), p. xlvihi (from B); *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. xxiv (from B); *Regesta*, no. 135 (from B).

Ind. Regesta (Davis), i, no. 186.

Note. This text of this document, which deals with the same plea as another royal writ,¹ is fully discussed by Bates. Its dating limits are the same as for this document, namely the appointment of Walter, abbot of Evesham, and the imprisonment of Bishop Odo.

B

O(do) Baiocensis episcopus, Wlstano episcopo, Urso, et Durando, et Wal(tero) vicecomitibus de Wiricest`e'shire, et Gloucestreshire, et Warewicsire, et omnibus fidelibus regis francis et anglis salutem. Sciatis omnes quod dominus meus W(illelmus) rex reddidit Deo et ecclesie de Evesham, et W(altero) abbati illas terras quas ipse abbas explicavit coram .vii. schires ad Gildeneberga contra omnes iniuste eas querentes, hoc est Weston(a), et Swella, et Benigwrtha, et Bivinton(a), Wrthlakefford, et Oleberga, et Kinewarton(a), et Hildeburewrtha, et Rageleia. Et constanter defendo ex parte regis ut nullus amplius super hoc ei iniustitiam faciat. Set istas et omnes alias terras cum magno honore et pace teneat. Et nemini inde respondeat nisi regi.

¹ *Regesta*, no. 134.

1079 × 1082/3

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, grants the abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen the right of synod, circata, and everything which is owed to the cathedral church of Bayeux from the churches of Saint-Vigor de Cheux, Saint-Samson d'Aunay-sur-Odon, Saint-Nicholas of Caen, Saint-Ouen de Villers, Notre-Dame and Saint-Martin d'Allemagne, of Ifs, Saint-Michel de Cabourg, and the chapel of Bavent. Over all these churches, lands, houses and people, the abbey will have all revenues deriving from criminal and non-criminal sins, and the right to administer penance for non-criminal offences. When a criminal sin is heard to have happened in these places, it will be brought to the attention of the abbot or prior of Saint-Étienne by the archdeacon of Bayeux, and at that place a monk and the archdeacon will hold an enquiry in the parish at an agreed date. The result of the enquiry will be discussed and, if a judgment is required, or an examination of the sin, or a reconciliation, then the matter will be referred to the church of Bayeux. The clergy of the aforementioned church shall attend the diocesan synod at the required times, but no money will be taken from them.

- A¹. AD Calvados, H 1843, no. 1. Supposed original, which must in fact date from the end of the 11th century. 71 lines. Measurements: 150mm (across) × 540mm (deep). Endorsements: *Carta regis Willelmi de libertatibus pontificum* (12th cent.). There is no seal, and no sign that the document was ever sealed.
- A². AD Calvados, H 1843, no. 2. A copy, which is either contemporary with A¹ or slightly later. 41 lines. Measurements: 190mm (across) × 300mm (deep). There are no medieval endorsements visible, although the bottom right-hand side of the parchment has been reinforced with paper. There is no seal and no sign of any arrangements for sealing.
- B. AD Calvados, H 1843, no. 3. 15th-century copy dated 9 July 1429 (from A²).
- C. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 20218, fol. 6r-v. 17th-century copy, dated 16 January 1658, (from A¹).
- D. AD Calvados, H 1825, bulles des papes et chartes des archevêques et évêques, cote 11. 18th-century copy (from A²).
- E. AD Calvados, H 1825, bulles des papes et chartes des archevêques et évêques, cote 12. 18th-century copy (from A¹).
- F. AD Calvados, H 1825, bulles des papes et chartes des archevêques et évêques, cote 20. 18th-century copy (from B).
- G. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1406, fol. 21r-v and 23r. 19th-century copy by Hippeau.
- H. AD Calvados, F 5276. 20th-century abbreviated copy by Gaston de Beausse (from A¹).

Ptd. Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, no. 3, pp. 297-299 (from A¹ and A²); Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, no. 19 (from A¹ and A²); Dupuy, 'Recueil de Bayeux', i, no. 11 (from A¹ and A²); *Regesta*, no. 57 (from A¹ and A²); Parisse, 'Les pancartes', no. 3 (from A¹).

Ind. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21813, fol. 861v; AD Calvados, F 6285, fol. 40v.

Note. This charter survives as part of a late eleventh-century charter issued by the abbey of Saint-Étienne, which also includes donations of William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, and Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances (**nos. 39, 71**). It is a paraphrase of Odo's other charter for Saint-Étienne (**no. 28**). The act is fully discussed by Bates, and is dated by the same limits as **no. 28**.

A¹

Et¹² ego Odo, dispensante Deo Baiocensis ecclesie¹³ antis/¹⁴tes, concedo eidem cenobio synodoticum et circa/¹⁵tam, et omne debitum quod pertinet ecclesie sancte/¹⁶Marię de Baiocis, scilicet de ecclesia sancti Vigoris/¹⁷de Ceuso, et de sancto Sansone Alneti, et de/¹⁸sancto Nicholao^(a) Cadomi, et de sancto Audoenno de/¹⁹Vileirs,^(b) et de sancta Maria Alemannie,^(c) et de sancto/²⁰Martino eiusdem ville, et de ecclesia de Iz, et de/²¹sancto Michaeli de Catburgo, et de capella Bad/²²venti,^(d) videlicet de omnibus prefatis ecclesiis, domibus,²³ terris, habitatoribus, omnium forisfacturarum, de cri/²⁴minalibus peccatis, vel non criminalibus^(e) prodeuntium/²⁵pecuniam, et de ipsis omnibus habitatoribus de non/²⁶criminalibus peccatis poenitentię iniunctionem.²⁷ Addo etiam ut ex ipsis criminalibus peccatis quandocun/²⁸que in prefatis ecclesiis, domibus, terris audiri contigerint/²⁹ab archidiacono Baiocensi abbas vel prior predicti ceno/³⁰bii non ipse super quo crimen auditum fuerit, moneatur,³¹ et ibidem ab utroque disposito termino, congruo ac prefixo/³²die, convenient monachus et archidiaconus, et in ipsa/³³parrochia in qua crimen auditum fuerit, predictis presen/³⁴tibus inquiratur, inquisito, discutiatur, et discussio, si inde iu/³⁵dicium portandum^(f) prodierit vel cognitio peccati patuerit/³⁶Baiocensis ut decet ecclesia requiratur, vel causa examinati/³⁷onis, vel gratia consequendę reconciliationis, et ut pre/³⁸scriptarum ecclesiarum clerici sic legitime statutis tem/³⁹poribus ad synodum veniant, ne sub aliqua occasione/⁴⁰ab eis [peccunia]^(g) requiratur.

Variants. a, Nicolao B; b, Villeirs B; c, Alemannie A²B; d, Badvent A²; e, om. A²B; f, interlined B; g, om. A¹B, this reading is from A².

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, grants the abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen revenue from criminal and non-criminal cases, and the right to oversee penance for non-criminal cases over all the churches, houses and lands that were given to the abbey before or at the time of its dedication. These possessions were as follows: all that the abbey held in Caen; all of Villers; all the land that Beatrice received at Venoix as a wedding gift from her father Milo; the twelve acres of land that Abbot Lanfranc purchased at this same place; the meadows that William de Courseulles-[sur-Mer] sold to the abbey; all of Rots except the church; all of Cheux, including the church; that which was held at Allemagne and in its dependencies at Étavaux, Ifs, Hubert-Folie and Bourguébus by Grimoult; the house of Roger and half an acre of land at La Hogue; the holding of William de Landa at Bras; all of Cabourg; Dives-sur-Mer and its ancient chapel up to the bridge which defines the border between the dioceses of Bayeux and Lisieux; the woods of Maupertuis, Torteval-[Quesnay], Foulognes and [Torteval]-Quesnay with the accompanying lands, water and churches; two mills in Caen; the vineyard at Bavent along with the vineyard keeper's house; the holding of Richard Goz at Rucqueville; the holding of William the chamberlain at Cully; the twelve acres of land at Cully sold to the abbey by Serlo the monk; the holdings of Robert Bertran and the vicomte Rannulf at Bretteville-l'Orgueilleuse; four houses in Bayeux, one of which belonged to Odo the chaplain and the other three to Tedald, a former clerk of Ebremer; the house and land in Navetot of Anschetil 'Waragno', a mill on the river Laize with half an acre of land on a small island near the mill; all the land of Roger the Bald at Bretteville-sur-Laize and the half acre of land given by Roger son of 'Bersard'; all the land sold to Lanfranc by Lovet which is at Billy and Valmeray, along with the part of the church belonging to it; the ploughland belonging to Hugh and the church of Notre-Dame at Merville-[Franceville-Plage]; the land at Bavent given by Rodulf son of Herfrey and the land there sold by Rodulf son of Constantin; the twenty acres of land given by Ascelin de Béneauville at Bavent, and the five acres here given by Serlo the marshal; the twelve acres of land at Secqueville-en-Bessin by the wife of Robert the crossbowman; and the holding of Hugh de Rosel at Grainville-sur-Odon.

It was also stipulated that when a criminal sin is heard in these aforementioned places, it shall be brought to the attention of the prior of Saint-Étienne by the archdeacon of Bayeux, and a time and date shall be fixed for a meeting at the place in question where the case will then be heard by a monk of the abbey and the archdeacon of the parish where the crime was reported. Any result of the inquiry will then be discussed, and if additional procedures are required, then the case shall be referred to the church of Bayeux. Furthermore, Odo released all the above churches from synodal dues, circata, the Pentecost processions, and other ecclesiastical customs, and granted that, while the clerks of the aforementioned churches should attend the diocesan synod at the prescribed times, money will never be taken from them. He also granted the custom on the carts which carry wood for sale from la Besace to Caen, the customs of all the houses belonging to the church of Bayeux in the monk's bourg, and two-thirds of the tithes in the lands which the abbey held in Caen, Villers, the church of Villers and the church of Saint-Nicholas de Caen. Anyone in Caen, where the burial-rights belong to the bishop of Bayeux, may be buried in the

abbey's cemetery if they wish it. In recognition of the generosity of this grant, William [the Conqueror] granted the wood of Elle to the cathedral of Bayeux on the day of its dedication.

- A. Original lost.
- B. AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 7r-9r. 12th-century copy in 12th-13th-century cartulary.
- C. AD Calvados, H 1844, no. 2. Original charter of Philip d'Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux (1142-1163), in which only the name of the bishop has been changed.
- D. AD Calvados, H 1844, no. 1. 12th-century copy in an original confirmation charter of Philip d'Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux.
- E. Paris, Bib. Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 1656, pp. 4-5. 17th-century abbreviated copy.
- F. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 20218, fol. 8r-9v. 17th-century copy, dated 15 January 1658 (from D).
- G. AD Calvados, H 1844, no. 3. 17th-century copy, dated 6 February 1658 (from C)
- H. AD Calvados, H 1825, at a point where the ms. no longer numbers the charters. 18th-century copy (probably from B, though no source is explicitly cited)
- I. AD Calvados, H 1825, bulles des papes et chartes des archevêques et évêques, cote 17. 18th-century copy (from D).
- J. Caen, Bibliothèque universitaire, fonds normand, ms. 21420, pp. 7-9. 19th-century copy by Henri de Toustain (from B).
- K. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1406, fol. 15r-18r. 19th-century copy by Hippeau.

Ptd. Deville, 'Notices sur quelques manuscrits', p. 8 (from E); Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 34 n. 134 (extracts, from H); V. Bourrienne, *Un Grand bâtisseur: Philippe de Harcourt, évêque de Bayeux (1142-1163)* (Paris, 1930), pp. 133-134, no. I (from D) and pp. 135-136, no. II (from C); Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, pp. 294-296, no. II (from CF and K); Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, no. 13 (from J, with corrections from H, and variants in C and D); Dupuy, 'Recueil de Bayeux', i, no. 7 (from H); *Regesta*, no. 52 (from BD).

Ind. AD Calvados, F 6285, fol. 40v.

Note. The problems of producing an edition of this act from the complex manuscript tradition are fully discussed by Bates. He dated the charter between the appointment of William de Rots, abbot of Fécamp, and the death of Queen Mathilda, but the more important *terminus ad quem* must instead be the imprisonment of Bishop Odo. An

abbreviated version of this charter survives in a late eleventh-century charter, and is edited above (**no. 27**).

B

Notum sit omnibus christianę religionis cultoribus quod ego Odo^(a) dispensante^(b-) Deo Baiocensis^(-b) ęcclesie antistes, concedente capitulo nostro^(c-)trado^(-c) cęnobio quod a domino meo W(i)ll(elm)o, Anglorum rege, Normannorum et Cenomannorum^(d) principe, in burgo Cadomo^(e) in honorem beatissimi prothomartyris^(f) Steph(an)i constructum est,^(g) de iis^(h) solis ęcclesiis, domibus, terris, quę prefatę abbacię datę sunt ante dedicationem vel in dedicatione,⁽ⁱ⁻⁾id est,⁽⁻ⁱ⁾ de eo quod habebat ipsa die in Cadomo, de toto Villario, de tota terra quam Millo^(j) dedit filię suę Beat(ri)ci in coniugium Venuntio et de duodecim iugeribus terrę quam emit abbas Lanfrancus in eodem Venuncio,^(k) de pratis quę vendidit W(i)ll(elmus) de Corcella predicto abbati de fędio meo, de toto Ros preter ęcclesiam, de toto Ceuso^(l) cum ęcclesia, de eo quod tenuit Grimaldus in Alamannia et in membris eius, scilicet Stavellis,^(m) Icio,⁽ⁿ⁾ ^(o-)Fulbertfolonia, Borgesbud,^(-o) de domo Rogerii et dimidia acra terrę, de Hogo,^(p) de eo quod tenuit Guill(elmus)^(q) de Landa in Bracio,^{(r)(s)} de toto Carburgo,^(t) de burgo Divę cum antiqua capella usque ad pontellum qui dividit Baiocensem episcopatum a Luxoviensi, de silvis de Malo Pertuso, Tortavalle, Folonia, Caisneto,^(u) cum terris et aquis et ęcclesiis, quę eisdem silvis pertinent, de duobus molendinis in maiori burgo Cadomi, de vinea cum domo vinitoris in Badvento, de eo quod tenuit Ricardus Goiz in Ruscavilla, de eo quod tenuit W(i)ll(elmus) camerarius in Curleio, et de duodecim^(v) iugeribus terre quam Serlo monacho^(w) vendidit in eodem Curleio, de eo quod tenuerunt Robertus Bertrannus et Rannulfus vicecomes in Britavilla^(x) Orgulosa,^(y) de quatuor domibus in civitate Baioca, una scilicet quę fuit Odonis capellani, et tribus Tedaldi quondam clerici Evremeri,^(z) de ^(a-)domo et terra^(-a) Anchitilli^(b) Waragnonis^(c) in Hovetot, de molendino uno super Leisam, cum dimidia acra terrę et insula modica quę eidem molendino proxima est, de tota terra Rogerii Calui de Britavilla^(d) super Leisam, et de dimidia acra quam dedit Rogerius filius Bersad,^(e) de tota terra Lovet quam vendidit Lanfranco in Bilieto et Walmareto,^(f) cum parte ęcclesie quę ad ipsum pertinebat,^(g-)de terra Hugonis quę est unius carruce, et ęcclesia sanctę Marię in Matrevilla, de terra quam dedit Rodulfus filius Herfredi in Badvento, et de terra unius carruce quam vendidit Rodulfus filius^(h) Constantini in eodem, de .xx.^{ti} iugeribus terrę quę dedit

Ascelinus de Abonelvilla in eodem,^(-g) et de quinque iugeribus terrę quam dedit Serlo
 mariscalcus in eodem, et de .xii.^{cim(i)} iugeribus terrę quam donavit uxor Roberti
 balistarii in Siccavilla, de terra quam tenebat Hugo de Rosel in Grainvilla, de his,
 inquam, predictis de iure ęcclesie sancte Marię Baiocensis ^(j-)trado^(-j) ista quę hic
 determino, videlicet de omnibus in prefatis ęcclesiis, domibus, terris, habitatoribus
 omnium forisfacturarum de criminalibus peccatis vel non criminalibus prodeuntium
 pecuniam, et de ipsis omnibus habitatoribus de non criminalibus^(k) pęnitentię
 iniunctionem. Addo etiam ut ex ipsis criminalibus peccatis^(l) quandocunque in pęfatis
 ęcclesiis, domibus, terris audiri contigerint; ab archidiacono Baiocensi abbas vel prior
 pędicti cęnobii^(m) non ipse super quo crimen auditum fuerit moneatur, et ibidem ab
 utroque disposito termino, congruo ac pęfixo die convenient monachus⁽ⁿ⁾ et
 archidiaconus, et in ipsa parochia^(o) in qua crimen auditum fuerit, pędictis presentibus
 inquiratur, inquisito, discutiatur, et discusso, si inde iudicium portandum prodierit vel
 cognitio peccati patuerit, Baiocensis ^(p-)ęcclesia ut decet^(-p) requiratur, vel causa
 examinationis, vel gratia consequendę reconciliationis. De prefatis vero [ęcclesiis]^(q)
 synodoticum debitum, et circatam, et in Pentecoste processiones,^(r) et alias
 ęcclesiasticas consuetudines, et ut prescriptarum^(s) ęcclesiarum clerici sic legitime
 statutis temporibus ad synodum veniant, ne sub aliqua occasione ^(t-)ab eis pecunia^(-t)
 requiratur. ^(u-)Trado etiam^(-u) consuetudinem plaustorum quę de Besacia^(v) ad
 Cadomum venalia ligna ferunt, postquam intra leugam predicti burgi intraverint,
 [censum et]^(w) omnem consuetudinem omnium domorum ad Baiocensis ęcclesię ius
 pertinentium, quę in burgo monasterii sitę sunt, duas partes decimarum de terris quas
 pędictum cęnobium habet in territorio Cadomi et Villarii, Villariensem ęcclesiam et
 ęcclesiam sancti Nicholai. Quicunque vero de maiori burgo cuius sepulture ad ius
 episcopi sanctę Marię Baiocensis pertinent, in cimiterio prefati cęnobii sepeliri
 petierit, liberrimam ex nostra concessione absque omni contradictione habeat
 potestatem. Si autem mortuum quis illuc transferre voluerit, qui vivens non requisierit,
 hoc concedo fieri cum licencia tamen ministri mei. Pro qua mea traditione^(x) ne quis
 eam successorum meorum quandoque valeat dissolvere, dedit dominus meus
 W(i)ll(elmus) Anglorum rex, Normannorum et Cenomannorum princeps, in
 dedicatione ęcclesię sanctę Marię Baiocensis,^(y) perpetuo iure possidendam silvam
 quam Elam^(z) vocant, pro salute quoque animę suę, uxoris, parentum ac filiorum
 suorum.^(a) ^(b-)Hanc cartam firmaverunt omnes subscripti, W(i)ll(elmus) rex Anglorum,
 princeps Normannorum et Cenomannorum, W(i)ll(elmus) Rothomagis

archiepiscopus, Odo Baiocensis episcopus, Mathildis regina Anglorum et comitissa Normannorum et Cenomannorum, W(i)ll(elmus) abbas Fiscanni, Rob(er)tus comes predicti regis filius, Ricardus filius Gisleb(er)ti comitis, Rob(er)tus de Bello Monte, Hugo de Grentemaisnil, Henricus de Ferreriis.^(-b)

Variants. a, Philippus C; b–b, *ill. D*; c–c, dono et concedo D; d, Cenomannorum C; Ceno- *ill. D*; e, Cadomi CD; f, protomartiris D; g, terras, decimas, consuetudines *add. D*; h, his D; i, et D; j, Milo D; k, Venuntio CD; l, Ceusio CD; m, Stavell' CD; n, Itio CD; o–o, Fobertfolia, Borgesbu D; p, Hoga D; q, Will' C; Wills' D; r, Bratio CD; s, et in Goesbertvill' D; t, Cadburgo C; Cadborgo D; u, Caisneio D; v, .xii.^{ocim} D; w, monachis BC; x, Bretevilla D; y, Orguillosa C; Orgoillosa D; z, Evremari C; Everemari D; a–a, terra et domo D; b, Anschtilli CD; c, Waraignonis D; d, Britevilla D; e, Hersent D; f, Wamareto C; g–g, de terra etiam, quę est unius carruce quam vendidit Rodulfus filius Constantini in eodem de .xx.ⁱⁱ iugeribus terre quam dedit Ascelinus de Abonevilla in eodem, de terra Hugonis quę est unius carruce et ecclesia sanctę Marie in Matrevilla, de terra quam dedit Rodulfus filius Herfredi in Badvento D; h, *om. C*; i, xii D; j–j, dono et concedo D; k, peccatis *add. C*; l, *om. CD*; m, cenobii predicti D; n, monachus CD; o, parrochia CD; p–p, ut decet ecclesia D; q, *ill. B, this reading is from C*; r, processioes (*sic*) B; s, prescitarum (*sic*) B; t–t, pecunia ab eis D; u–u, Dono etiam et concedo D; v, Besatia C; w, *ill. B, this reading is from C*; x, donatione D; y, Baiocensi D; z, Elam CD; a, *D ends here*; b–b, Huiusmodi scriptum allatum est nobis ex verbis Odonis nostri predecessoris, Baiocensis ecclesię antistitis, insignitum atque confirmatum sigillo et auctoritate domini Willelmi Anglorum regis, Normannorum et Cenomannorum principis, signis et atestationibus ipsius, et horum antistitum ac precedentum patrum, Iohannis Rotomag(ensis) archiepiscopi, Odonis Baiocensis episcopi, Willelmi abbatis Fiscanni, Ricardi filii comitis Gisleberti, Roberti de Bellomonte, Mathildis reginę Anglorum et comitis Norm(annorum) et Cenom(annorum), Hugonis de Grentemaisnil, Henrici de Ferreriis. Ut autem hoc ratum firmum habeatur, sigillo et auctoritate nostra confirmamus et corroboramus C.

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, grants to the abbey of La Trinité de Caen, the abbess, the nuns and the abbey's clergy and its familia, freedom from all financial payments to the abbey. The bishop granted the same privileges to the church of Saint-Gilles, its cemetery and clerks. He also gave the offerings, the tithe of the animals and the burial rights from the part of the bourg of Caen that lay near La Trinité outside the town walls. Odo granted to the abbey the rent and the custom of wool covers, while to the abbess he gave the fines due to the bishop from all crimes committed in the abbey and the church of Saint-Gilles. He also agreed that should any inhabitant of Caen wish to be buried at La Trinité, then they could be so without making any payment to their bishop.

- A. Original lost
- B. Lost original of the early 12th century, which was mutilated and illegible in many places, and which was seen by the abbé de La Rue at the beginning of the 19th century (cf. N).
- C. BN, ms. lat. 5650, fol. 7r-8r. 12th-century cartulary copy.
- D. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan. 12th-century copy of the second, longer, version of this charter (microfilmed AD Calvados, 1 Mi 31 1B).
- E. AD Calvados, H, fonds de La Trinité de Caen, non coté, liasse Falaise. 16th-century copy, dated 16 October 1520.
- F. AD Calvados, H, fonds de La Trinité de Caen, non coté. Printed text produced on 27 December 1630 (*'faicte sur l'original escrit en parchemin'*).
- G. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 20221, fol. 54v-55r. Same printed text produced on 27 December 1630 (*'faicte sur l'original escrit en parchemin'*, as F).
- H. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 20221, fol. 61r-v. Same printed text produced on 27 December 1630 (*'faicte sur l'original escrit en parchemin'*, as F).
- I. BN, ms. lat. 17135, pp. 83-84. Printed text produced on 27 December 1630 (*'faicte sur l'original escrit en parchemin'*, as F).
- J. BN, ms. lat. 10077, pp. 7-8. Printed text, which has been inserted at fol. 6r and is then paginated independently, produced on 27 December 1630 (*'faicte sur l'original escrit en parchemin'*, as F).
- K. BM (Caen), ms. 321 (in folio 126), vol. 1, fol. 21r-v. Printed text produced on 27 December 1630 (*'faicte sur l'original escrit en parchemin'*, as F).
- L. BN, ms. lat. 10077, fol. 11r-v. 18th-century copy (from J).

- M. BM (Caen), ms. 328 (in folio 127), fol. 314v. 18th-century printed copy, dated 9 February 1788 (no exact source stated).
- N. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 20221, fol. 4r. Facsimile-like drawn 19th-century copy by the abbé de La Rue (from B).

Ptd. Beati Lanfranci... opera omnia, ed. L. D'Achery (Paris, 1648) pp. 32-34, at p. 34 (source unclear); Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, pp. 658-661, at p. 661 (source unclear); *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 68-72, at col. 71 (source unclear); Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, no. 8 (from B-N); Dupuy, 'Recueil de Bayeux', i, no. 6 (from C); *Regesta*, no. 59 (from CDE).

Ind. Lemarignier, Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption, p. 76 n. 53.

Note. The text of this charter forms part of all three versions of a confirmation charter issued for La Trinité,¹ which are fully discussed by both Musset and Bates. Both claim that another copy of this charter can be found in BN, ms. coll. Baluze, vol. 18, fol. 224r, but the charters on this folio, and those following, are written entirely in Old French. The dating limits are given by the shorter version of the two eleventh-century charters.

C

Ad hæc ^(a-)Baiocensis Odo episcopus, ^(-a) interveniente gratia ^(b) et dilectione nostra, predictam ^(c-)sanctę Trinitatis ecclesiam ^(-c) cum atrio, abbatissam ^(d) cum sanctimonialibus, ^(e) omnem clerum in eodem loco servientem, universam familiam ^(f-) eiusdem ecclesię cibo sustentatam, ab omni exactione pecunię ^(-f) episcopalium reddituum liberam esse concedit. Sed et ^(g-)ecclesiam beati Egidii ^(h) cum atrio ipsius quo modo supradictam ⁽ⁱ⁾ liberam et quietam et clericos ibidem ^(-g) servientes eo modo quo supra liberos esse permittit. Preterea in ea parte burgi extra murum videlicet Cadomi siti versus ecclesiam sanctę Trinitatis, quam ego Willelmus ^(j) rex ^(k) predictę ecclesię ^(l-)dedi, illius partis burgi ^(-l) parrochiam ^(m) ad ecclesiam sancti Egidii ^(h) venire oblationem, decimam de pecoribus cum ⁽ⁿ⁻⁾sepultura, clericos ⁽⁻ⁿ⁾ ibi ^(o) servientes, quiete ^(p) permittit habere. Sed ^(q) et gablum ^(r) et consuetudinem culcitrarum quod in eadem parte burgi habebat ecclesię ^(s-)sanctę Trinitatis ^(-s) ascribit. Super ea quicumque ^(t) in his ^(u) duabus ecclesiis et in atriis earum forisfacturam fecerit, emendationem pecunię quę ab episcopali ^(v) consuetudine pro forisfactura ^(w-)exigi solet, ^(-w) eiusdem loci abbatisse episcopo ^(x-)eodem annuente donavit. Quicumque ^{(t)(-x)}

¹ The third of these charters (dated 1109 × 1113) is edited by Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, no. 27. His edition does not contain the text of Odo's act.

autem^(y) hominum Cadomensium in vita sua sepulturam sibi in atrio sanctę Trinitatis elegerit, licenter habere sine requisitione sepulture^(z) idem episcopus a suo sacerdote concedit. Et quia Baoicensis episcopus quietem libertatis quę dicta est predictis^(a) concessit ecclesiis, digne^(b) recumpensationis^(c) donum prebuimus^(d) antistiti eidem et ecclesię Baoicensi.^(e)

Variants. a—a, episcopus Baiocensis Odo *F*; *N* begins here; b, terram *N*; c—c, de Trin(itatis) eclesiam *N*; d, abbatissa *N*; e, sanctimoniabus *N*; f—f, ... homi ex ... pe ... *N*; g—g, ... Be... io ...sus ...os ... *N*; h, Ægidii *F*; i, *D* inserts sancte Trinitatis, which is scored through; j, Vuillelmus *F*; k, om. *N*; l—l, ...rtis bu... *N*; m, parrochia *N*; n—n, sepulta ...cos *N*; o, om. *N*; p, *N* suggests quiete was illegible in *B*; q, Si *N*; r, grablum *N*; s—s, om. *N*; t, quicunque *F*; u, *N* suggests the first letter of his was illegible in *B*; v, *N* suggests only the first two letters of episcopali were legible in *B*; w—w, ... ex ...et *N*; x—x, eod... ente donabit *N*; y, aut *N*; z, om. *N*; a, ...betis *N*; b, *N* suggests digne was illegible in *B*; c, recompensationis *F*; d, *N* suggests only the first and last three letters of prebuimus were legible in *B*; e, Baoicensis *N*.

c. 1088 × 27 Feb. 1092

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, relinquishes all claims to the parish of Rots, and grants it in perpetuity to the monks of Saint-Ouen de Rouen.

- A. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 160. Original. Measurements: in 280/285mm (across) × 350/390mm (deep). 17 lines, excluding attestations. Endorsements: *Carta Odonis episcopi Baiocensis de consuetudinibus ville Ros* (late 11th- or early 12th-century); ... *Odonis Baiocensis episcopi de terra nostra de Ros con ... eius* (15th-century, partly illegible). Description: The text is in two different hands. The first is a regular majuscule, which is responsible for the first fourteen lines and the attestations. The text from *Illud autem...* to *...semper maneat* is written in minuscule, and is probably the work of a Saint-Ouen monk. The hand is remarkably similar to that responsible for the anathema of Abbot Nicholas in the abbey's hagiographical dossier, the *Livre noir* (BM (Rouen), ms. Y 44 Omont 1406, fol. 23v). There are four small holes in the parchment, though none obscure any text. The witnesses are arranged in five lines. The crosses appear to be non-autograph, while there is no seal and no arrangement for sealing.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 5423, pp. 144-145. 17th-century copy.
- C. BN, ms. lat. 17024, fol. 2r. 18th-century copy (from A).
- D. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 31, fol. 53r-54v. 18th-century copy (from B).
- E. Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 192 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 192), 5e liasse. 18th-century copy by C. Guérin, canon of Bayeux (from D).
- F. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1246, fol. 199r. 18th-century copy (from A).
- G. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 24, fol. 144r-v. 18th-century copy (from A).
- H. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21815, fol. 277r-278r and 279r. 19th-century copies (one full, one partial) by Léopold Delise, dated 10 August 1849 (from A).
- I. AD Calvados, F 5277. 20th-century abbreviated copy by Gaston de Beausse (from A).

Ptd. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis s. Benedicti*, v, p. 650 (no source given); Hull, 'The Norman episcopate', i, pp. 135a-b (from A); Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', pp. 322-323 (from A); Dupuy, 'Recueil de Bayeux', i, no. 9 (from A)

Ind. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, p. 47; Bates, 'The character and career', pp. 4 and 14; Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 37, 46, 49, 52, 57, 59, 69, 81 and 82.

Note. The immediate value of this charter lies in its witness list, which contains a number of capitular personnel of which almost half appear only in this document. It is frustrating, therefore, that the act cannot be dated more exactly, so that we might know at what point the chapter existed in this form. Bates held that it was probably issued before Odo's imprisonment in 1082/3,¹ while the *terminus ad quem* is the death of Nicholas, abbot of Saint-Ouen, on 27 February 1092. Of the four witnesses who appear elsewhere in the historical record, only Goslin is in a document that dates before 1092, while the others (Rodulf, the archdeacon, Osmund and Odo) appear in a datable document for the first time on 7 May 1092 (**no. 32**). It therefore seems unlikely that the charter was issued before Odo's imprisonment, and it was probably drawn up at sometime between his return to Normandy in 1088 and the death of Abbot Nicholas. Bates rather harshly described the majuscule hand as 'almost childish'.² It is possible that it is the hand of a monk of Saint-Ouen, since it is similar to that in the charter issued by Mauger and William, count of Arques (**no. 55**). According to the *Translatio prima s. Audoeni*, the domain of Rots was first given to the abbey of Saint-Ouen by Richard I.³

A

Ego Odo sanctę Baiocensis aecclesiae episcopus notum esse volo fratribus et coepiscopis nostris et maxime huius aecclesię nostrę¹ rectoribus tam pręsentibus quam futuris quod calunniam illam quam adversus congregationem sancti² Audoeni totiens promoveram pro aecclesia quadam nostrae diocesis id est de Ros quod inter³ eiusdem diocesis aecclesias ipsa sola cum apenditiis suis capellis a debiti pontificali⁴ solutione libera manebat ipsam calumniam ab hodierna die in posterum⁵ remissibilem facio, non pecuniae amore captus sed scriptis et privilegiis⁶ sancti Audoeni perfractus, quibus recitatis in veritate comperi quod multa ante⁷ nos tempora aecclesia beati Audoeni hanc eandem aecclesiam inconcussa⁸ quietudine in usu famulorum dei tenuit. Et ideo ne videar adversum sanctum dei⁹ iniuriosum clamorem renovare; et hunc quem hactenus exercui penitus remitto¹⁰ et si quem de hac ipsa re ad damnum sancti patris nostri Audoeni et servorum eius venire¹¹ contigerit, ex auctoritate Dei patris omnipotentis hunc ipsum et sanctorum canonum¹² a liminibus sanctae aecclesiae et a coetu christianorum alienum facio¹³ excommunico et anathematizo.¹⁴

Illud autem praetermittendum non est, quod domnus abbas Nicholaus unam praeciosissimam candidi coloris¹⁵ capam michi pro signo contulit, non tamen mea

¹ Bates, 'Odo, bishop of Bayeux', p. 322.

² Bates, 'The character and career', p. 14.

³ AASS, Aug. IV, p. 824.

monitus petitione, sed sua spontanea voluntate,^{/16} quatinus ratum et inconcussum hoc scriptum semper maneat.^{/17}

+ S. Odonis episcopi. S. + Bernardi archidiaconi .+. S. Radulfi archidiaconi. + S. Gozel/¹⁸mi archidiaconi. + S. Ricoardi gramatici. + S. Ogeri cantoris. + S. Fulconis. + S. Os/¹⁹mundi. + S. Stephani. + S. Anskitilli. + S. Normanni. + S. Huberti. + S. Osmundi/²⁰ + S. Normanni. + S. Rannulfi. + S. Turstini. + S. Richardi. + S. Willelmi/²¹ scriptoris. + S. Willelmi. + S. Lamberti. + S. Odonis.

1087 × 1096, perhaps autumn 1087, Bayeux (*in domo episcopi*)

The text of an agreement between [Odo] the bishop of Bayeux, and Rannulf the vicomte [of the Bessin], which was made at Bayeux in the bishop's house a day after a long dispute between them. The terms of the agreement, which was made before men from both sides, were thus: Rannulf did fealty to the bishop as his lord, by [pledging his] faith and by oath for [the safety of] his life and limbs and, as to the seizure of his body, that he would in no way attempt it. He also did him liege homage by oath for all the land the bishop held that day, and all the land he should acquire by Rannulf's counsel, so that the vicomte was to help the bishop to obtain it all. Rannulf would also assist the bishop against all assailants, saving his fealty to count Robert [of Normandy]. Moreover, Rannulf's three sons were to recognise and observe this promise to the bishop, and to do service for these lands, as holding them from [the bishop as] a lord, which lands Rannulf had not previously held of the bishop. [For] when the king [William I] lay ill at Coutances, he took them away from the bishop, and made Rannulf hold them, but not from the bishop.

These possessions were: Biéville-[Beuville]; that which Adam has in Hérouville-[Saint-Clair]; Pleines-Œuvres; the land of Osbern Rufinus, namely Saint-Manvieu-[Norrey] and Marcelet; the lake and all the land that the sons of Turstin d'Anisy hold from Rannulf; the land that William de Colleville-[Montgomery] has from the same at Colleville-[Montgomery] and Cully, the land that Rannulf has in Castilly, and the land of Rosel.

Moreover, Rannulf also recognised that he held the land that Adam held at Saint-Brice-[de-Landelles] from the bishop, in order that, should anyone claim this part of the fief from Rannulf, then the bishop, his lord, would warrant it [in court]. [As for] the honour of Le Plessis-[Grimoult] and the wood of Elle, of which Rannulf was making claim, he freed it, and handed them over freely to the bishop. The bishop, however, promised the land of Roger Malfilâtre [formerly Curcy-le-Malfilâtre, now Curcy-sur-Orne] and of Rainald de Surrain to Rannulf out of the agreement, if Rannulf was able to secure the exchange from count [Robert of Normandy]. If he was not, the bishop might faithfully help Rannulf, in order that the count might return [these lands] to Rannulf; though the bishop must only help through prayer and counsel, not through money. If, however, neither were able to do so, and if either Rannulf or his son were to abandon the agreement, the bishop might hold both [these lands] in his hands.

So the bishop pledged himself for the safety of Rannulf's life and limbs, as his man, and as the seizure of his body, that he would in no way attempt it, and as to the land he held that day, and that he should acquire by the bishop's counsel, the bishop was to assist him against all his assailants, saving his fealty to count Robert. The bishop also returned to Rannulf all the land that he already held from him, except the land of Nigel [vicomte] of Coutances. But Rannulf consented to accept an exchange for the land of Flavigny and Gavrus, if the bishop wished him to do so. As an addition the bishop has also given to Rannulf all the land of Tort Capel and the land of Bernard son of Ilger. Moreover, Rannulf has received from the bishop that part of the wood of Bretel which pertains to him, with the consent of Adelold [the chamberlain], and he

has given again the land of Busc, which Robert de Préaux holds from the bishop, the land that Hugh de Rosel holds from the bishop, the land of William Chocket, the land that the bishop has in Bussy, and every Easter [he will give] marten skins and an ermine cape or thirty livres in the money of Rouen.

Rannulf gave the bishop as sureties for this agreement these his men: William de Semilly, Herbert son of Gonduin, Hugh de Rosel, Rannulf son of Alan and Nigel son of Serlo, who, by Rannulf's discretion, pledged their faith to the bishop that, through their entreaties and their advice, they would keep Rannulf to this agreement to the utmost of their power. Moreover, if they failed to do so, they would witness to the truth, on the bishop's behalf, against the vicomte. Likewise the bishop gave to Rannulf as sureties these his men, Sanson, William son of Oger, Adelold the chamberlain and Robert de Sully, with the same conditions applying to these men as to those of the vicomte.

A. Original lost.

B. Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 193 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 193), fol. 21r-v. 13th-century cartulary (the *Livre noir*).

Ptd. Magni rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae, ed. T. Stapleton, 2 vols. (London, 1840-1844), ii, pp. ccxlv-ccxlv (from B); Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. lxxvi (from B).

Ind. CDF, no. 1435; Gleason, *An ecclesiastical barony*, p. 41; Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, pp. 52-53.

Note. Bourrienne dated this act no more precisely than ‘*avant 1147*’, and did not attempt to identify either the bishop of Bayeux or the *vicomte*. The presence among the witnesses of Adelold the chamberlain, who served Bishop Odo,¹ and William son of Oger, later a canon at Rouen,² suggests, however, that the agreement dates from his reign. The career of Rannulf, *vicomte* of the Bessin, is discussed elsewhere.³ It is possible that this agreement was negotiated in the autumn of 1087, shortly before or after the funeral of William the Conqueror, which Odo attended in Caen,⁴ though it may date to after his expulsion from England in 1088.⁵ Its *terminus ad quem* is Odo's departure on crusade.

B

Hec est conventio que facta est, inter episcopum Baiocensem, et Rannulfum vicecomitem, cum diu prius discordiam habuissent. Facta autem est Baiocis, in domo

¹ *Regesta*, no. 86; BN, ms. lat. 5650, fol. 39v-40r; GDB, fol. 7v, 8r-v, 9v, 10v, 32r, 238r; Navel, ‘L'enquête de 1133’, p. 21.

² Spear, *The personnel*, p. 266.

³ De Laheudrie, ‘Les vicomtes de Bayeux’, pp. 193-195.

⁴ *OV*, iv, p. 114.

⁵ Bates, ‘Odo, bishop of Bayeux’, p. 273.

Baiocensis episcopi presentibus hiis hominibus episcopi, ex parte sua Guillelmo Ogeri filio, Heltone, Adam Huberti filio, Adeloldo camerario, et Roberto de Sulleio. Et hiis ex parte Rannulfi, Herberto Gonduini filio, Guillelmo de Similleio, Nigello Serlonis filio. Hoc igitur foedere convenerunt, fecit enim Rannulfus fidelitatis securitatem episcopo sicut domino suo, fide et sacramento de vita sua videlicet episcopi, et de menbris que corpori suo adherebant, et de captione sui corporis, quod nullo modo eam quereret dampno episcopi, fecit etiam sibi fidelitatem ligiam idem Rannulfus iureiurando de tota terra quam episcopus ea die tenebat, et de tota illa terra quam ipse episcopus consilio Rannulfi acquireret, hoc modo, quod ipse Rannulfus inde episcopum iuvaret, ad hoc ut ipse episcopus eam ex integro optineret, iuvaret autem salva fidelitate comitis Roberti contra omnes impugnare volentes. Hoc autem quod Rannulfus pactus est per sacramentum, tres filii eiusdem Rannulfi per fidem episcopo recognosceret et teneret, et tenendo sicut a domino deserviret terras illas quas cum prius idem Rannulfus ab episcopo habuisset, rex cum infirmaretur Constanti abstulit eas episcopo, et fecit eas tenere Rannulfum, sed non ab episcopo, videlicet Boievillam, et quod Adam habuit in Herovilla et Plene silvam, et terram Osberti Rufini, scilicet Saint Manueu, et Marcolet, et maram et totam terram quam filii Turstini de Anisei tenebant a Rannulfo, et terram quam Guillelmus de Colevilla ab eodem Rannulfo in Colevilla et Curlei habebat, et terram quam ipse Rannulfus habet in Castilleio, et terram de Rosel, cum eam nunquam prius ab eo habuisset, ita quidem ut ipse Rannulfus de feodo episcopatus eam semper esse concederet. Terram autem quam Adam habuit de sancto Bricio, ita recognovit Rannulfus ab episcopo, ut si aliquis eam super Rannulfum reclamaret, ne episcopus eum cogeret, ut inde nisi vellet alicui responderet. Honorem vero de Plaissediz et saltum Ele de calumpnia quam inde Rannulfus episcopo faciebat absolvit, et absolvendo episcopo quietum utrumque dimisit. Sed de terra Rogeri Malifiliastri, et Rainaldi de Surrehaim episcopus Rannulfo promisit ex conducto, quod de iis a comite excambium eque valens reciperet, si id Rannulfus erga comitem efficere posset. Si vero non posset, episcopus Rannulfum fideliter adiuveret, ut inde comes Rannulfo excambium redderet, adiuveret quidem inde, sed prece et consilio, non per pecuniam ex pacto. Si autem neutrum posset fieri, nec Rannulfus, nec aliquis suus filius a pacta fidelitate discederet, quamvis episcopus utrumque in manu sua retineret. Fecit igitur episcopus Rannulfum sicut suum hominem securum per fidem de vita sua id est Rannulfi, et de menbris que corpori suo adherebant, et de captione sui corporis, quod nullo modo eam quereret

dampno Rannulfi, et de tota terra quam idem Rannulfus ea die tenebat, et de tota illa quam ipse consilio episcopi acquireret, hoc modo quod ipse episcopus Rannulfum fideliter adiuuaret contra omnes impugnare volentes salva fidelitate comitis Roberti. Reddidit vero episcopus Rannulfo omnes illas terras quas idem Rannulfus iam ab eo habuerat, excepta terra Nigelli de Constantino. Sed de terra Flavinnei et Gaveruz, concessit Rannulfus ut excambium ab episcopo deciperet, si ipse sibi dare vellet. Et dedit sibi episcopus hec incrementa, videlicet totam terram Trort Capel, et terram Bernardi filii Ilgeri. Illam autem partem de nemore Bretele, que ad episcopum pertinebat, recepit Rannulfus in dominicatu ab episcopo, concedente Adeloldo, non denegante episcopo. Dedit ei iterum episcopus terram de Busc, quam Robertus de Prateriis ab episcopo tenebat, et terram quam Hugo de Rosel ab episcopo tenebat, et terram Guillelmi Chochet, et terram quam episcopus habebat in Bussei, et per unumquodque Pascha pelles marturinas, et erminium renonem, vel xxx^{ta} libras Rothomagensium. Hos ergo suos homines Guillelmum de Semillei, Herbertum Gonduini filium, Hugonem de Rosel, Rannulfum Alani filium, Nigellum Serlonis filium dedit Rannulfus episcopo huius conventionis assertores et obsides ex precepto Rannulfi per fidem eorum episcopo pasciscentes, ut in predicta fidelitate Rannulfum erga episcopum, quantum possent precibus et consilio retinerent, si autem non possent contra Rannulfum episcopo veritatis testes existerent. Similiter vero episcopus hos suos homines Sansonem, Guillelmi Ogeri filium, Heltonem, Adololdum camerarium, Robertum de Sullei, Rannulfo dedit ut obsides ex precepto episcopi Rannulfo per fidem promittentes, ut precibus et consilio quantum possent episcopum erga Rannulfum in predicta amiticia detinerent, si autem non possent, Rannulfo contra episcopum de veritate testimonium darent.

32

7 May and 28 June 1092, Bayeux (*in capitulo*)

In the presence of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and the whole cathedral chapter and many laymen, Goslin, archdeacon of Bayeux, and his kinsman (cognatus) Rodulf de Russy, give to the cathedral land close to the cloister. On 28 June, Rodulf confirmed the donation following an accusation made against him.

- A. Original lost.
- B. Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 193 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 193), fol. 7r-v. 13th-century cartulary (the Livre noir).
- C. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21806, fol. 366r-v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxii (from B).

Ind.

Note. This notice contains an invaluable snapshot of cathedral personnel, and local laymen, towards the end of Odo's episcopate. Its dating clause is internally correct, while the donation was later confirmed on 25 September 1093 and 16 January 1094 (**no. 33**).

B

[A]nno ab incarnatione Domini^(a) millesimo nonagesimo secundo, indictione quintadecima, epacta nona, nonis mai, die veneris scilicet post ascensionem domini, in capitulo sancte Marie Baiocensis ecclesie, presente Odone episcopo eiusdem ecclesie, Guillelmo decano archidiaconis, Helgoto, Mauricio, Radulfo, Gozelino, Tethardo, cantore, Waltero subdecano, Rannulfo filio Turstini, Osmundo Luxoviensi, Rogero filio Gaufridi, Rotselino Compendiensi, Petro Italo, Guillelmo Sapiente, Rannulfo de sancto Patricio cum Iohanne filio suo, Ebremario, Rogero filio Bosonis, Dominico, Henrico, Guillelmo de Ros, Conano, Rotberto subcantore, Odone filio Ogeri, Radulfo de Monte Calvino, Gotselino de Felgeroles, Rogero de Ros, Anschetillo de sancto Vigore, Radulfo nepote eius, Osberto nepote Osberti vicecomitis, Osberto filio Turstini, Rogero filio Erengharii. Anfrido. His etiam laicis praesentibus: Herberto dispensatore, Iohanne nepote eius, Eudone Castel cognato eius, Rotberto filio Gaufridi, Rogero dapifero, Guillelmo filio Gorhan, Gotselino filio

Hardradi, Hugone filio eius, Rannulfo nepote eius, Hugone filio Avunde, Rainaldo genero Osulfi, Gotselino filio Erengeri, Rotberto filio eius, Rannulfo filio Guimarc, Guigero filio eius, Gotselino filio Conani, Ricardo, Adelaldo camerario, multisque aliis quos longum est enumerare, Gotselinus archidiaconus, et Radulfus de Russeio cognatus suus, terram quam simul participabant, quae est iuxta claustrum, in qua fuit domus lapidea, dederunt sancte Marie, Odonique episcopo ad opus cuiuslibet canonicorum ecclesie, pro terra episcopus dedit in scambio Gotselino, quandam terram suam, que est inter terram illam ac domum suam, Radulfo vero pro eadem terra quietificavit quasdam terras quas Gotselinus sibi auferebat. Postea tamen audito episcopo quod Radulfus eandem terram Roberto succantori [*sic*] cui eam dederat, calumpniatus fuerat, accusavit eum inde in camera sua. Qui se offerens etiam cum iuramento inde purgare, rursus .iiii. kalendas iulii, sicut prius concesserant in capitulo, ibi concessit, presente Odone episcopo, Herberto dispensatore, Gotselino Hardradi filio, Guillelmo Corvo, Ricardo Sellario, Roberto filio Osberti, Unfrido Dorstrehan, Tethaldo fratre Adelaldi, Bernardo filio Radulfi filii Huelini, Iohanne, Unfrido magistro suo, Vitali cognato eius, Thoma filio Erengeri, Gaufrido filio Ilberti, Rogero filio Guillelmi filii Sunaldi, Guillelmo filio Serlonis, Guillelmo filio Liedseline, Roberto de Tor, scutario Adelaldi camerarii.

Variants. a, B repeats Domini.

33

25 Sept. 1093 and 16 Jan. 1094, Bayeux (*in capitulo*)

The donation of Goslin, archdeacon of Bayeux and Rodulf de Russy, is confirmed in the presence of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and all the clergy.

- A. Original lost.
- B. Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 193 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 193), fol. 7v. 13th-century cartulary (the *Livre noir*).
- C. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21806, fol. 366v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxiii (from B).

Ind.

Note. Although this text follows on directly from that of **no. 32** in the cartulary of Bayeux, it has been decided to follow Bourrienne and print it separately. As before, this document contains an important snapshot of ecclesiastical and secular figures associated with the bishopric of Bayeux towards the end of Odo's episcopate, as well as the bishop's whereabouts during the last years of his reign. The apparent contradiction in the two dates is resolved if the year is understood to fall between Easter 1093 (17 April) and Easter 1094 (9 April).

B

[H]ec carta firmata est, anno ab incarnatione Domini, millesimo .xciii., indictione .i. epacta .i. vii. kalendas octobris, in capitulo sancte Marie Baiocensis ecclesie, presente Odone episcopo eiusdem ecclesie, et omni clero, tam illorum, quorum hec signa habentur, quam aliorum. Signum Radulfi de Russeio. Quod factum est eodem anno .xvii. kalendas februarii, in capitulo sancte Marie presente eodem Odone episcopo, et Guillelmo decano, Sansone thesaurario, Thetardo cantore, Mauricio, Radulfo archidiacono, et Radulfo de Monte Calvino, et Rogero de Ros, et Rogero Erengeri filio, et Guillelmo de Ros, Gotselino, Ricardo Sansonis filio, Guillelmo filio Radulfi, Conano, Gaufrido de Bahun, Malgero filio Levon, Gualtero filio Osulfi, Hugone nepote Radulfi archidiaconi, Rotberto Suhart, Guillelmo de Croileio, Nicholao filio Donetanni, et Gotselino Gorz, et de laicis, Gotselino filio Hardradi, Gotselino filio

Gaufridi, Hugone filio Auundae: Superio, Bernardo Radulfi filio, Rainoldo leviro
Osulfi, et omnibus fere clericis atque laicis Baiocarum.

24 May 1096, Bayeux

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, grants to the abbey of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, and its abbot Gerento, the abbey of Saint-Vigor-[le-Grand] with all its appurtenances, namely the full tithe of the town in which the monastery is situated, four burgenses, two in Le Champ-Fleuri and two in Pont Trubert, including their land and customs, the full tithe of the land and the church of Tour, the land of its priest, the churches of Curcy-[sur-Orne], Ouffières and [Campandré]-Valcongrain with the full tithe of the lands that are attached to them, the land of their priests, and the full tithe of Cricqueville-[en-Bessin] with the land of the church and its priest.

The charter also stipulates that Odo and his successors are to be buried in Saint-Vigor, while new abbots are to be elected by the chapter at Dijon. The donation was approved by Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, who freed the abbey from all customs and tolls pertaining to their land, and allowed the monks to take four ass-loads of wood a day from the forest of Vernay.

- A¹. AD Côte-d'Or, 1 H 1747. Original. 31 lines. Measurements: 343/337 (across) × 433/430mm (deep). Endorsements: *Carta de Baiocis* (12th-cent.). There are two holes in the middle right half of the parchment, though neither obscure any text. There is no seal and no sign of any arrangements for sealing, though a sixteenth-century inventory of the abbey's charters claims the document was sealed with '*un grand seel coseu dans du parchemin*' (AD Côte-d'Or, 1 H reg. 621, fol. 1v).
- A². AD Côte-d'Or, 1 H 1747. Quasi-original, which contains some additional material. 45 lines. Measurements: 204/216mm (across) × 648/640mm (deep). Endorsements: *Carta Oddonis episcopi Baiocensis de cella sancti Uigoris* (12th-cent.). There are two incisions at the bottom of the parchment, one on the left and the other on the right, which seem to have been made to simulate the holes through which seal tags would pass, while the *signa* crosses appear to have been rendered to appear autograph. Neither the seal nor tags survive, though a sixteenth-century inventory of the abbey's charters claims the document was '*saellé d'un seel de cire*' (AD Côte-d'Or, 1 H reg. 621, fol. 1v).
- B. AD Côte-d'Or, 1 H 1747. 12th-century *pancarte* (from A²).
- C. BN, ms. lat. 10050, fol. 25r. 17th-century copy by Arthur du Monstier ('*ex bibliotheca D. Joan. Bigot. .vc. Rotomagi*'), which itself seems to be from A²).
- D. Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 471 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 471), fol. 1r-2r. 17th-century copy by A. Michel, dated 4 November 1659 (from '*Titres generaux [de Saint-Vigor], liasse I^{ere}, cottée A, no 1*').
- E. BN, coll. Bourgogne, vol. 13, fol. 57r-58v. 18th-century copy (from A²).

- F. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 4375, fol. 217r-v. 18th-century copy (no source given, but perhaps C).
- G. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, p. 65. 18th-century copy by J.-N. Lenoir, dating clause only (from *Gallia Christiana*).

Ptd. Recueil de plusieurs pièces curieuses servant à l'histoire de Bourgogne, ed. É. Pérard (Paris, 1664), p. 206 (from A²); *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 76-77 (from A²); U. Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne*, 4 vols. (Dijon, 1739-1781), i, preuves, xxxii (from A²); Migne, *PL*, clv, col. 475 (from A²); Faucon, *Saint-Vigore-Grand*, pp. 216-218 (from A¹); *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, nos. 385 and 391 (from A¹ and A²); Dupuy, 'Recueil de Bayeux', i, no. 10 (from A¹).

Ind. Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 189 (now AD Calvados 6 G 189), pp. 1253-1254; BN, ms. lat. 12662, fol. 287r; BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21816, fol. 26r; BN, ms. lat. 12680, fol. 297r; BM (Caen), ms. 297 (in folio 70), vol. 2, fol. 185v; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 66-67.

Note. The circumstances behind this charter are fully discussed above. The donation of Saint-Vigor was confirmed by Robert Curthose, whose charter survives as an original.¹ The internal dating is correct, save for the concurrent in ms. A¹, which is given as seven. This mistake is repeated in the confirmation of Curthose, though it is interesting to note that both this, and all versions of the charter below, date the beginning of Curthose's reign to 1077-1078.

A¹

IN NOMINE ^(a-)SANCTE ET^(-a) INDIVIDUE TRINITATIS. Ego Odo Baiocensis episcopus, cogitans peccatorum meorum immanitatem,^(b) perpendens etiam/¹ districti iudicis^(c) de actibus meis discussionem,^(d) pro remedio anime mee et parentum meorum, et pro requie episcoporum ^(e-)huius sancte^(-e) sedis Baiocensis, et/² canonicorum qui dormierunt, ^(-f)qui sunt, et qui futuri sunt,^{(-f) (g)} do Deo^(h) et sancto Benigno, Lerentoni⁽ⁱ⁾ abbati Divionensi et successoribus eius, et fratribus ⁽ⁱ⁻⁾ecclesie/³ eiusdem Divonesis,^(-j) futuris et presentibus, monasterium sancti Vigoris de monte Crismatis,^(k) cum appendiciis suis, videlicet/⁴ plenam decimam totius ville in qua monasterium situm est, et omnium ad eandem villam pertinentium, et quidquid^(l) ad ecclesiam que ibi erat/⁵ prius pertinebat,^(m) et preterea medietatem totius eiusdem⁽ⁿ⁾ ville, tam in hominibus et territorio, quam in ceteris redditibus,^{(o)(p)} et .iiii.^{tor(q)} burgenses/⁶ duos in campo Florido, et duos ad pontem Olberti^(r) cum terra et consuetudinibus eorum,^{(s)(t)} et plenam decimam de ^(u-)Tor cum terra que ad ecclesia

¹ BM (Bayeux), titres scellés, no. 9.

pertinet/⁷ et terra presbiteri, et ecclesiam de Cruisseio et de Olferes et de Colgrino^(-u)
 cum plenis decimis et terris quę ad ipsas ecclesias pertinent, et terram^{(v)/8}
 presbiterorum, ^(w-)et plenam decimam de tota Crycha villa cum terram presbiteri
 eaque quę ad ecclesiam pertinent.^(-w) Hęc,^(x) et quidquid^{(y)(z)} monachi deinceps^(a)
 iuste/⁹ adquisierint,^(b) dono, trado, laudo, et^(c) concedo ecclesię Divionensi, assensu et
 laude canonicorum et fidelium nostrorum, salva reve/¹⁰rentia et debita obedientia
 sanctę Baiocensis matris ecclesię. Constituo etiam ibidem fieri sepulturam corporis
 mei et successorum/¹¹ meorum, et canonicorum, ritu sempiterno, laude eorundem
 canonicorum. Quod si ^(d-)Deo annuente^(-d) adeo creverit locus ipse ut abbas ibidem/¹²
 iuste possit constitui, videlicet ut tanti sint redditus^(e) qui hoc ^(f-)debeant et^(-f) possint
 pati, et^(g) Baoicensis episcopus^(h) ⁽ⁱ⁻⁾cum abbate Divionensi⁽⁻ⁱ⁾ id communiter^{(j)/13}
 tractaverint et^{(k)(l)} iudicaverint expedire, abbas Divionensis de suis in capitolio^(m)
 Divionensi electionem faciet, et personam electionem/¹⁴ assignabit episcopo,⁽ⁿ⁾ ^(o-)qui
 cum ordinatus fuerit, sub abbate erit, et eandem potestatem quam primo in eodem
 monasterio abbas predictus/¹⁵ habebit.^(-o) Istud sane donum laude et assensu domini
 mei comitis Normannię Rotberti^(p) confirmatum est, qui et dedit/¹⁶ eidem monasterio
 sancti Vigoris plenariam libertatem, videlicet omnis^(q) consuetudines per^(r) terram
 suam quę ad eum^(s) pertinebant de dominicis suis/¹⁷ rebus, tam in passagio et^(t)
 theloneo quam in ceteris redditibus,^(u) ^(v-)et exitibus,^(-v) et de suo proprio in
 cotidiano^(w) usu fratrum ibidem Deo servientium onera/¹⁸ .iiii. tor asinorum^(x) de viridi
 ligno in nemore^(y) suo Verneio, et quisquis^(z) de terra sua aliquid de suo praefato
 monasterio traderet, id sibi ratum/¹⁹ fore concessit, ne occasione iuris sui, ullo modo
 posset revocari,^(a) et ut monasterium idem ecclesia Divionensis possideret ^(b-)iure
 sempiterno.^{(-b)/20} Quisquis igitur^(c) chartam^(d) hanc donationis infringere temptaverit,^(e)
 ira Dei veniat super eum. Deleatur de libro viventium, et cum iustis non scribatur,²¹
 et sit anathema Maranatha^(f) usque in diem domini, nisi resipuerit. Qui autem ista
 laudaverit et fidelis cooperator accesserit, pax super/²² illum et benedictio usque dum
 videat Deum^(g) Deorum^(h) in Syon. Et ut⁽ⁱ⁾ hec^(j) cartha^(k) firma et inconuulsa^(l)
 permaneat, sigilli nostri impressione eam fir/²³mavi, et testibus corroborandam
 tradidi.^(m) Ego ODO BAIOCENSIS episcopus hanc chartam⁽ⁿ⁾ lectam et perlectam
 confirmo et subscribo.²⁴ Signum Roberti nobilissimi comitis Normannię. Signum
 Vuillelmi^(o) decani. S. Rodulfi^(p) archidiaconi. S. Helgodi archidiaconi. + +^{(q)/25} S.
 Roberti de Tribus montibus. S. Vuillelmi^(r) de Archis monachi. S. Engelranni^(s) filii
 Herberti.^{(t)/26} S. Vuillelmi^(u) de Bretulio.^(v) S. Vuillelmi^(r) de Similiaco.^(w) S.

Vuillelmi^(r) de Columberiis./²⁷ (x-)Anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.xc.vi. indictione .iiii.^a concurrente .vii^o epacta .xxviii.^a xviii.^o anno principatus/²⁸ domini Roberti Vuillelmi regis Anglorum filii ducis Normannię hec cartha confirmata est/²⁹ et sigillo suo signata. Actum publice Baiocas mense maio/³⁰ die xx iiii. viiii kal. iunii luna .xxvii.^{o(-x)(y)}

Variants. a—a, sanctaeque *D*; b, enormitatem *C*; c, iudicii *C*; d, discutionem *C*; e—e, huiusce *D*; f—f, qui sunt et futuri fratrum *D*; g, constituo et *add.* *A*²*BCD*; h, domino *D*; i, Gerentoni *A*²*BCD*; j—j, eiusdem cenobii futuris et presentibus *A*²*BD*; coenobii futuris et presentibus *C*; k, Chrismatis *A*²*BD*; Chrysmatis *C*; l, quicquid *A*²*BC*; m, cum presbyterio et universis consuetudinibus suis *add.* *A*²*BCD*; n, eiusdem totius *A*²*BD*; eiusdem *om.* *C*; o, redditibus *BCD*; p, cum medietate annalis mercati quod fit ibidem in festivitate omnium sanctorum *add.* *A*²*BCD*; q, *CD* have quattuor/quattuor, and consistently render numbers in words; r, Alberti *D*; s, ipsorum *C*; t, et apud quandam villam quę vocatur Portus Piscatores [Piscatoris *D*] cum terra qua [inqua *D*] manent, et navi sua et consuetudinibus eius *add.* *A*²*BD*; et apud quandam villam, quae vocatur portus Piscatorum, in qua manent cum nave sua, et consuetudinibus eius *add.* *C*; u—u, tota Chricavilla [Chricavilla *BD*; Cricavilla *C*] cum terra et omnibus quę ad ecclesiam pertinent, et ecclesiam de Tor, et de Crusseio [Curceio *C*], et de Olferes, et de Colgrino [Congeino *C*] *add.* *A*²*BCD*; v, terris *A*²*BCD*; w—w, *om.* *A*²*BCD*; x, itaque omnia sicut [sic *D*] ea [qua *C*] etiam ^(aa-)iam pridem ^(-aa) [aa—aa, ipsa pro inde *D*] et tempore Guillelmi fratris mei regis Anglorum ac Normannię comitis, prefata ecclesia sancti Vigoris possidere visa est *add.* *A*²*BCD*; y, quicquid *A*²*BC*; z, ipsi *add.* *A*²*BCD*; a, ibidem *add.* *A*²*BCD*; b, adquisierint *C*; c, *om.* *C*; d—d, *om.* *A*²*BCD*; e, redditum *C*; f—f, *om.* *A*²*BCD*; g, abbas quoque Divionensis et *add.* *A*²*BCD*; h, episcopus Baoicensis *A*²*BCD*; i—i, *om.* *A*²*BCD*; j, communiter id *A*²*BCD*; k, *om.* *C*; l, simul *add.* *A*²*BD*; m, capitulo *A*²*BCD*; n, Baoicensis *add.* *A*²*BCD*; o—o, qui ordinatus sub eodem abbate erit, et eandem potestatem quam prius in prefato monasterio, tam super ipsum quam super ceteros, abbas Divionensis habebit *A*²*BCD*; p, Roberti *A*²*CD*; q, omnes *D*; r, totam *add.* *A*²*BCD*; s, illum *A*²*BCD*; t, *om.* *D*; u, redditibus *A*²*D*; v—v, *om.* *A*²*BCD*; w, quotidiano *C*; quotidiano *D*; x, *om.* *D*; y, nemoro *A*²*C*; z, quisquid *CD*; a, revocari posset *C*; b—b, *om.* *C*; c, qui *D*; d, cartam *A*²*BCD*; e, tentaverit *D*; f, Maranata *C*; g, dominum *CD*; h, dominorum *D*; i, ud *D*; j, *om.* *C*; k, carta *A*²*BC*; charta *D*; l, incumuulsa *D*; m, *A*²*CD* insert + before each name in the witness list, while *C* places the witnesses in a single column, slanting from right to left; *B* only has a cross before Ego Odo; n, cartam *A*²*BC*; o, *A*²*B* have Willelmi throughout; *C* has Guillelmi throughout; Willelmi *D*; p, Rodulphi *CD*; q, *om.* *A*²*BCD*; r, Willelmi *D*; s, Enguerranni *C*; t, Hilberti *A*²*BCD*; u, Willelmi *D*; v, Bretolio *C*; w, Sinibaut *C*; x—x, Anno ab incarnatione Domini .MXCVI. [1096 *C*; millesimo nonagesimo sexto *D*] indictione .iiii.^a [4 *C*; quarta *D*] concurrente ii.^o [in *C*] xviii. [17 *C*; xix *D*] anno principatus domini Roberti Willelmi [Guillelmi *C*] regis Anglorum filii ducis Normannię hec carta [charta *CD*] confirmata est et sigillo suo signata. Actum publice Baiocas [Baiocis *C*] mense maio [Iunio *C*], die .xxiiii. [24 *C*; vigesima quarta *D*] eiusdem [calend. *add.* *C*] mensis, ^(bb-)viii [ix *D*] kal. iunii [iulii *D*], ^(-bb)[bb—bb, *om.* *C*] luna .xxvii. [27 *C*] feria [*om.* *C*] SEPTIMA Bissextili anno *A*²*BCD*; y, + Signum Philippi Baiocensis episcopi. Ego Philippus Baiocensis episcopus laudo, et sigilli mei munimine confirmo *add.* *B*.

1097 × 1107

Tuold, bishop of Bayeux, and his brother, Hugh d'Envermeu, give to the abbey of Bec the church of Saint-Laurent d'Envermeu with its tithe and a hostiarius, the church of Notre-Dame d'Envermeu and the tithe of the vicaria, which belongs to the same parish; three hospes in the holding belonging to Roger; Boson the priest, and the five hospes that he maintains in his holding; three acres of land at Envermeu; one at Torqueville and the tithe of the fields, except the land of Roger de Frestem and Hugh son of Ursel. They also gave the tithe of the mills and the tonlieu of Envermeu, all the money of Hugh d'Envermeu, all the land of Eustace, half an acre of the land of Geoffrey d'Envermeu, and the church of Saint-Quentin-[au-Bosc] with its tithe, and half its land, while Walter and Geoffrey d'Envermeu gave to Bec whatever pertained to them from this same church. Hugh d'Envermeu then gave various donations from his possessions in England, while the charter was witnessed by a large gathering of local dignitaries.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 80r. 17th-century partial copy by Jacques Jouvelin-Thibault (no source given).
- C. BN, ms. lat. 10058, pp. 1-2. 18th-century copy made from a lost fifteenth-century cartulary, dated 1465.

Ind. CDF, no. 392; *Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste, avec une introduction sur les sources*, ed. L. Delisle (Paris, 1856), p. 539; Porée, *Histoire du Bec*, i, pp. 427-428.

Note. The text of this act is the first in a charter listing various donations made by the local nobility of the Pays de Caux to the abbey of Bec and the priory of Saint-Laurent d'Envermeu. Among those not printed here that contain further references relevant to Tuold, the most interesting are the identification of Geoffrey de Tôtes as his nephew,¹ and the appearance of a Geoffrey, son of Tuold d'Envermeu, which is perhaps a reference to the bishop's son.²

C

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Ego Tuoldus Baiocensis episcopus, et Hugo de Envremou^(a) frater meus, damus ecclesiae sanctae^(b) Mariae Becci, ecclesiam sancti Laurentii de Envremou, cum tota decima quae pertinent ad eadem ecclesiam,^(c) et hospitem unum. Damus etiam ecclesiae sanctae Mariae de Envremou et totam

¹ BN, ms. lat. 10058, p. 3.

² BN, ms. lat. 10058, p. 6.

decimam de vicaria^(d) pertinentem ad eandem parrochiam, et tres hospites in orto^(e) Rogerii, et domini Bosonis presbiteri, et quinque hospites in orto eius manentes, et tres acras terrae apud Envermou, et unam apud Turchetevillam de dote ecclesiae, et totam decimam de campania, excepto de terra Rogeri de Frestem,^(f) ^(g-)et Hugonis filii Urselli,^(-g) ^(h-)unde et monachi decimam habebunt, quamdiu dominus Hugo habebit eam in suo dominio.^(-h) Damus preterea decimam molendinorum, et telonei de Envermou, et de tota pecunia domini Hugonis de Evermou,⁽ⁱ⁾ et tota terram Eustachii, ^(j-)qui de Radice etiam dicitur in dominio, et dimidiam acram terrae de Gaufrido de Envermou.^(-j) Damus etiam predicto coenobio ecclesiam sancti Quentini^(k) cum tota decima, et acram, et dimidiam terrae de dote ecclesiae, ^(l-)ubi manent tres hospites. Vualterius dEnvermou et Gaufridus de Envremou dederunt ecclesiae Becci quidquid de iis rebus ad eos pertinebat.^(-l) Ego Hugo de Envermou, do ecclesiae sanctae^(b) Mariae Becci, et sancto Laurentio decem libratas terrae in Anglia et de omni meo dominio quod habeo in Anglia, vel habiturus sum duas partes decimae, preterea de omni pecunia mea, et in uno quoque de dominicis maneris meis, do unum hospitem, ad custodiendas res monachorum. Testes ^(m-)omni donationum, quae in hac cartula continentur, Vualterus, Gaufridus de Envermou, Turstinus de sancto Audoeno, et Gaufridus frater eius, Rogerius de Berengrevilla, et Gaufridus de Berengrevilla, Rainaldus, et Vualterius de sancto Sulpicio, Germundus de Hubotivilla, Rodolphus filius Turstini, Robertus filius Vastelinii, Robertus de Rofer et Rodolphus frater eius, Hugo de Hermontivilla; ex parte sancte Mariae Becci, Rodolphus de Carlevilla et Robertus filius eius, Vuillelmus camerarius, Rogerius cocus, Vualterius marescalus,^(-m) Henricus nepos domini Vuillelmus⁽ⁿ⁾ abbatis, ^(o-)Laurentius de Borval.^(-o) Hanc donationem supradictam^(p) concessit postea Robertus^(q) de Tostes nepos domini Hugonis de Euremou,^(r) testimonio Ricardi presbiteri et Gosselini clerici medici, et Rodulphi clerici de Turchitillvilla, et Roberti filii Vasselini, et Seri de Urigotvilla, et Vualteri pistoria.

Variants. a, B has Evremou throughout; b, b(eatae) B; c, et sex acras terrae pertinentes ad eadem ecclesiam add. B; d, vivaria B; e, B has orto throughout; f, Frestemis B; g–g, et Hugonis filii Willelmi scored through B; h–h, om. B; i, dEnvermou C, this reading is from B; j–j, om. B; k, Quintini B; l–l, om. B; m–m, om. B; n, Will’ B; o–o, om. B; p, om. B; q, Rodbertus B; r, H. d’Envermou C, this reading is from B, which ends here.

COUTANCES

Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, at the request of Eudo Haldup, grants that anyone from among the servants of the abbey of Lessay who committed any misdemeanour within the church's cemetery should make whatever compensation was necessary to the monks. Geoffrey also agreed that no such offence would be great enough to cause the abbey to be excluded from the divine office, except for the abbot alone, if indeed there was one, if he did not submit or make satisfaction to the law. The bishop further added that the abbey should be free from all synodal customs and all other customs. He also promised that the church's requirements that derived from episcopal custom should be handed over without payment.

- A. AD Manche, H 4601. Original or very early copy, which was destroyed on 6 June 1944, of a confirmation charter issued by William the Conqueror at Bonneville-sur-Touques on 14 July 1080. There is a facsimile in *Musée des archives départementales, recueil de facsimile héliographiques de documents*, ed. G. A. Desjardins, (Paris, 1878), planche xviii. The grant of Bishop Geoffrey is found at lines 38 to 42.
- B. AD Manche, H 4602. 16th-century copy destroyed on 6 June 1944.
- C. BN, ms. lat. 10071, fol. 41r. 17th-century copy (from A).

Ptd. GC, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 224-227 (no source given, but from B, according to *CDF*, no. 919); J.M. Renault, 'Abbaye de Lessay', *Annuaire du département de la Manche*, 32 (1860), pp. 49-84, at pp. 50-53 (from A); *Musée des archives départementales*, pp. 51-55 (from A, with facsimile); *Regesta*, no. 175 (from AB).

Ind. CDF, no. 919; *Regesta* (Davis), i, nos. 125, 198.

Note. The text of this donation forms part of the abbey's foundation charter, which was confirmed by the Conqueror, and which is fully discussed by Bates. The variants for **B** are taken from the edition in *Gallia Christiana*. The date is the foundation of the abbey of Lessay.

A

Eidem^(a) autem Eudoni petenti,^{/38} concessit supradictus episcopus [Gaufridus] ut si quid famuli loci in cimeterio ipsius ecclesie admiserint, monachorum sit quicquid emendationis fuerit. Annuit etiam idem episcopus quatinus^(b) ab officio^{/39} divino locus non prohibeatur propter cuiusquam delictum, nisi solius abbatis, si tamen talis fuerit, ut subdi aut satisfacere rectitudini [no]lverit. Addidit^{/40} etiam hoc idem episcopus quatinus^(b) ab omni senatu absoluta, et ab omni alia

consuetudinaria re quieta in p[er]petuum haberetur. Necessaria quoque huic [ecclesie que] episcopali mori/⁴¹ conveniunt absque precio adimplere promisit, sicuti sine pecunia recepit.

Variants. a, Ei *B*; b, quatenus *B*.

37

1066 × 1086

A fragmentary text, which relates that on the day Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, blessed his cathedral's crucifix, he donated to the common possessions of the canons of Coutances the manor of Winterborne Stickland (Dorset).

- A. Original lost.
- B. Coutances cathedral, cartulary B, fol. 167v, no. 274. Lost cartulary of unknown date.
- C. Arch. dioc. de Coutances, ms. M 40, p. 388. 19th-century copy by Ernest Fleury.
- D. Caen, Musée des Beaux Arts, coll. Mancel, ms. 300, fol. 73v (p. 2114). 19th-century copy by Charles Duchérissier de Gerville.
- E. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1018, fol. 9r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle.
- F. Arch. dioc. de Coutances, ms. M 27, fol. 10r. 19th-century copy by Pierre-Auguste Le Cardonnel.
- G. Arch. dioc. de Coutances, ms. M 28, fol. 3r. 19th-century copy by Pierre-Auguste Le Cardonnel.
- H. BM (Flers), ms. 14, p. 301. 19th-century copy by Auguste Surville (from D).
- I. BN, ms. lat. 10068, fol. 87r. 19th-century copy by Léchaudé d'Anisy ('*Cartulaire ou Livre blanc de l'évêché de Coutances, fol. 339r, no. 50*').

Ptd. Regesta, no. 103 (from DE); Fontanel, *Le cartulaire de Coutances*, no. 278 (from C-I).

Ind.

Note. Bates suggested the witness of this act could be William the Conqueror, but given the form in which this notice survives this identification is anything but certain. The possession of Winterbourne Strickland is listed in Domesday Book as belonging to the canons of the cathedral of Coutances,¹ while John son of Peter incorporated the details of this donation into his *De statu*.² There exists an unpaginated copy of the cartulary of Coutances in the *Archives départementales de la Manche*, which I have been unable to consult.³

¹ GDB, fol. 79r.

² 'De statu', col. 221.

³ AD Manche, fonds du chanoine Pinel, série 100 J non coté. For discussion of this manuscript, see the edition of Fontanel.

C

^(a-)[E]o die ^(-a)quo Gaufridus Constantiensis ^(b)episcopus cruxifixum ^(c)ecclesie sancte M[arie bene]dixit, ^(d)mansum quodam ^(e)in Anglia in Dosertasire ^(f)constitutum, [quod] ^(g)ab incolis illius terre Winteborna vocitatur, sicut ^(h)in domino ⁽ⁱ⁾suo [habebat] ^(j)prefate ecclesie sancte Marie donavit, ac in perpetuum communi ^(k)canonicorum ^(l)victui qui in ^(m)[eadem ecclesia] ⁽ⁿ⁾deo serviunt ^(o)habere concessit. Quod videlicet in eternum firmum ac ^(p)inviolabiliter cupiens per[manere] ^(q)litteris annotari et in cartam redigi precepit. Signum Wil+lelmi ^(r)etc.

Variants. a–a, Hodie *D*; b, Constanc' *D*; Constan' *EG*; Constanciensis *FI*; c, crucifixum *DFGI*; d, *the letters in brackets are missing in C, this reading is from D*; Marie dixit *I*; e, quod[d]am *EFG*; f, Doserta ^(sic)sire *EFG*; g, *this word is missing in CI, and is provided by D, where it is interlined*; h, *om. I*; i, dominio *E*; j, *this word is missing in CDI, and is provided by F*; k, communiam *I*; l, canonic. *D*; m, *om. D*; n, *these words are missing in CD, and are provided by F*; dicta ecclesia *I*; o, *C has ha here, which is crossed out*; p, & *EFG*; et *I*; q, *the letters in brackets are missing in CDI, and are provided by F*; r, Wil+mi *D*; Willelmi + *EFG*; Will+mi *I*; *FGI place this signum on a different line.*

38*

1069, Valognes

Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, frees the church of Brévands, which belonged to the priory of Saint-Gabriel, from all episcopal customs.

- A. Original lost
- B. AD Calvados, H 5504. Copy in a *vidimus* by the papal notaries Richard Gosson and William Lyron, dated 4 April 1351.
- C. AD Calvados, H 5504. 18th-century copy by Louis Ruffy (from B).

Ptd. Musset, 'Actes inédits I', pp. 137-139 (from B); *Regesta*, no. 256 (from B).

Note. The text of this donation is found in a charter issued by Nigel de Brévands granting to the priory of Saint-Gabriel de Brévands the church of Brévands. This act, which was confirmed by the Conqueror, is fully discussed by Bates. The date and location are given by the act itself.

B

Gaufridus etiam Constantiensis episcopus, in cuius diocesi idem locus situs est, pro amore et deprecatu regis et regine atque mei Nigelli, eandem ecclesiam concessit sancte Trinitati, et sancto Gabrieli ex illa die liberam et quietam ab omni costuma episcopali.

1079 × 1082/3

Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, grants the abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen the right of synod and circata from the part of the church of Notre-Dame de Baupte, which belongs to the fief of Eudo the vicomte; the part of the church belonging to the fief of Rainald d'Orval will, however, render synod and circata to the bishop. The priest of the fief of Robert, count of Mortain, at Houtteville will render synod and circata to the bishop, as will the priest of Méautis. However, no money will be asked of these two clerics when they attend the diocesan synod. The abbey will also have all revenues deriving from criminal and non-criminal sins, and the right to administer penance for non-criminal offences, at its holdings at Baupte, Le Fresne, Hotot and Houtteville, the abbey's men at Windelonda and Helpinmaisnil, over the men living at the elemosina of Saint-Hilaire de Méautis, over four men at Barfleur and seven men at Houtteville. The pleas concerning these properties will be held in the abbot's court, and he will also have the fines. If a judgement and penance is needed at L'Isle-Marie, it shall be given in the presence of the archdeacon.

- A¹. AD Calvados, H 1843, no. 1. Supposed original, which must in fact date from the end of the 11th century. 71 lines. Measurements: 150mm (across) × 540mm (deep). Endorsements: *Carta regis Willelmi de libertatibus pontificum* (12th cent.). There is no sign that the document was ever sealed. The attestations are written in a smaller script, but are probably the work of the same scribe.
- A². AD Calvados, H 1843, no. 2. A copy, which is either contemporary with A¹ or slightly later. 41 lines. Measurements: 190mm (across) × 300mm (deep). There are no medieval endorsements visible, although the bottom right-hand side of the parchment has been reinforced with paper. There is no seal and no sign of any arrangements for sealing.
- B. AD Calvados, H 1843, no. 3. 15th-century copy dated 9 July 1429 (from A²).
- C. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 20218, fol. 6v-7r. 17th-century copy, dated 16 January 1658, (from A¹) (from the library of the abbé De La Rue).
- D. AD Calvados, H 1825, bulles des papes et chartes des archevêques et évêques, cote 11. 18th-century copy (from A²).
- E. AD Calvados, H 1825, bulles des papes et chartes des archevêques et évêques, cote 12. 18th-century copy (from A¹).
- F. AD Calvados, H 1825, bulles des papes et chartes des archevêques et évêques, cote 20. 18th-century copy (from B).
- G. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1406, fol. 23r-v. 19th-century copy by Hippeau.

- H. AD Calvados, F 5276. 20th-century abbreviated copy by Gaston de Beausse (from A¹).

Ptd. Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, no. 3, pp. 297-299 (from A¹ and A²); Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, no. 19 (from A¹ and A²); *Regesta*, no. 57 (from A¹ and A²); Parisse, 'Les pancartes', no. 3 (from A¹).

Ind. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21813, fol. 861v; AD Calvados, F 6285, fol. 40r.

Note. This act survives as part of a late eleventh-century charter issued for the abbey of Saint-Étienne, which also includes the texts of donations made by William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, and Odo, bishop of Bayeux (**nos. 27, 71**). The act is fully discussed by Bates, and is dated by the election of William Bona Anima as archbishop of Rouen and the imprisonment of Bishop Odo.

A¹

Et ego Gaufridus Dei gratia Constanti/⁴⁰ensis episcopus concedo ^(a-)eidem sancti Stephani cēnobio^(-a) synodoticum de/⁴¹bitum et circatam de ecclesia sanctę Marię Balte, partem illam scili/⁴²cet quę est de feodo Eudonis vicecomitis, et pars alia/⁴³^(b-)eiusdem ecclesię^(-b) quę est de feodo Renaldi de Orevallo red/⁴⁴dat synodoticum debitum et circatam quantum ad eum perti/⁴⁵net, et sacerdos de feodo Roberti consulis de Moreto/⁴⁶nio scilicet de Holtavilla reddat synodoticum debi/⁴⁷tum et circatam, et sacerdos de Meltiz similiter, et ut pre/⁴⁸scriptarum ecclesiarum clerici sic legitime statutis temporibus/⁴⁹ ad synodum veniant, ne sub aliqua occasione ab eis pecu/⁵⁰nia^(c) requiratur. De iure meo vel successorum meorum ista tantum/⁵¹ quę hic determino, videlicet de Balta, et de Fraiso, et de/⁵² Hotot, et de Holtavilla, et de illis hominibus de^(d) Windelonda/⁵³ qui pertinent abbati Cadomi, et de illis hominibus de Helpinmais/⁵⁴nil, et de illis hominibus qui manent in elemosina sancti Hylarii de/⁵⁵ Meltiz, et de .iiii.^{or} hominibus qui manent in Barbatum fluctum/⁵⁶ et de .vii.^(e) hominibus qui manent in Holtovilla, videlicet in pre/⁵⁷fatis ecclesiis, domibus, terris, habitatoribus, omnium forisfactura/⁵⁸rum de criminalibus peccatis vel non criminalibus prodeuntium pe/⁵⁹cuniam^(f) concedo. De his autem omnibus supradictis si placitum con/⁶⁰tingat, in curia abbatis Cadomi agatur, et forisfacturam si/⁶¹ contingat abbas habeat: si iudicium inde portandum/⁶² prodierit, ad Hulmum, ut constitutum est, requiratur, vidente/⁶³ archidiacono, et penitentia detur. Hec enim constituta/⁶⁴ omnia sunt coram Willelmo^(g) rege Anglorum, Normannorum et/⁶⁵

Cenomannorum principe pro salute quoque animę suę, uxoris, ac fili/⁶⁶orum suorum,
et animarum nostrarum, et successorum, et antecessorum./⁶⁷

^(h-)Signum Wil+⁽ⁱ⁾elmi regis Anglorum. Signum Wil+elmi archiepiscopi. Signum
Odo+nis/⁶⁸Baiocensis episcopi. Signum Gaufri+di Constantiensis episcopi. Signum
Gisle+berti^(j) Luxo/⁶⁹viensis episcopi. Signum Micha+elis Abrincensis^(k) episcopi.
Signum Ma+thildis regine./⁷⁰ Signum Rogeri^(l) co+^(m)mitis de Monte Gomerico.
Signum Roberti +⁽ⁿ⁾comitis de Moretonio.^(-h)

Variants. a—a, eidem cenobio sancti Stephani A^2B ; b—b, *om.* A^2B ; c, peccunia A^2 ; d, *interlined B*; e, septem B ; f, peccuniam A^2 ; g, Vuillelmo B ; h—h, *written in smaller script* A^1 ; i, *om. throughout B*; j, Gilleberti B ; k, Abrinensis B ; l, -oge- *ill.* A^2 ; m, *double cross* A^1A^2 ; n, *decorated cross* A^1A^2 .

Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, informs Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, Walter Giffard, Henry de Ferrières and Adam [fitzHubert] that on the king's order he heard the plea between Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, and the abbot of Evesham, in which the bishop proved that four hides in Bengeworth (Worcs.) and houses in the city of Worcester belonged to his holding, so that the abbot ought to do him service from them like his other tenants. The bishop also proved that the sake and soke of Hampton (Worcs.) should belong to his hundred of Oswaldslow, so that they (i.e. the people of Hampton) should plead there, pay geld there, do military service and the other royal services required from these fifteen hides, and pay church-scot and burial dues at the bishop's vill of Cropthorne (Worcs.). This was proved and sworn before Bishop Geoffrey, Urse d'Abbetot, Osbern fitzScrab and others of the king's barons, by the judgment of the whole shire.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BL, ms. Cott. Tiberius A. xiii, fol. 36r-v. Late 11th-century cartulary ('Hemming's Cartulary').
- C. BL, ms. Cott. Claudius A. viii, fol. 90r. Undated transcript, apparently made in the 17th-century (from B).
- D. Bodleian, ms. Rawlinson B. 445, fol. 47v-48r. 18th-century transcript by Richard Graves of Mickleton (from B).

Ptd. Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigornensis, ed. T. Hearne, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1723), i, p. 77 (from D); Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, i, p. 601 (from Hearne); *Domesday Book. 16, Worcestershire*, ed. F. and C. Thorn (Chichester, 1982), Appendix V, no 4 (from B); *Regesta*, no. 350 (from B).

Ind. Regesta (Davis), i, no. 221

Note. This charter, which is addressed to a group of barons known to have been involved in the Domesday inquest in Worcestershire, is fully discussed by Bates. It is consequently dated to 1086.

B

Gosfridus Constantiensis episcopus R.^(a) episcopo, et W.^(b) Giffardo, et H.^(c) de Ferer', et A.^(d) ceterisque baronibus regis salutem. Sciatis quod ego testimonium fero quia dum ex precepto regis placitum tenui inter episcopum Wlstanum et abbatem de Ueshand, quod episcopus diraciocinavit .iiii. hidas ad Bennincuvyrthe, et domos in

civitate de suo feudo esse, ita quod abbas sibi debet inde servire sicut alii sui feudati. Et deraciocinavit socam et sacam de Hantona ad suum hundred Osuualdeslauve, quod ibi debent placitare, et geldum, et expeditionem, et cetera legis servitia, de illis .xv. hidis secum debent^(e) persolvere, et ciricsceat, et sepulturam, ad suam villam Croppethorn debent reddere. Hoc fuit deratiocinatum et iuratum coram me et Urs de Abetot, et Osberno filio Escrob, et ceteris baronibus regis, iudicante et testificante omni vicecomitatu.

Variants. a, 'Remigio' *B*; b, 'Vualterio' *B*; c, 'Henrico' *B*; d, 'Adam' *B*; e, debet *B*.

41

January 1093

A charter of Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, which, issued towards the end of his life, seeks to protect the possessions of the church of Coutances, and threatens all those who would try to violate or reduce these goods with eternal damnation. The charter was confirmed by those men who later buried the bishop, namely Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Michael, bishop of Avranches, William [of Saint-Calais], bishop of Durham, Gilbert, abbot of Saint-Étienne de Caen, Roger, abbot of Lessay, and Roger de Montebourg. The act was also confirmed by all the clergy and people, who publicly responded to its contents 'Amen'.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 10049, fol. 421v-422r. 17th-century copy by Arthur Du Monstier.¹
- C. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21843, fol. 21v-22v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (no source given).
- D. Arch. dioc. de Coutances, ms. M 26, vol. 1, pp. 129-130. 19th-century copy by Pierre-Auguste Le Cardonnel, dated 21 February 1863 (from C).

Ptd. GC, xi, Instr., col. 223 (ex libro nigro-capituli); Devos, 'Miracles, images et espace sacré', pp. 64-65 (from BD).

Ind.

Note. It is unclear whether the section detailing the witnesses formed part of the original act, or whether the author of *De statu* simply extracted this information from the witness list, and then placed the description in his own words. The editors of *Gallia Christiana* printed the section from *Hoc itaque scriptum* onwards as a separate paragraph, and while it is unlikely the original manuscript indicated such a break, this section certainly ends with the author returning to his own thoughts ('Sed quid de beato fine ipsius praesulis ostenderit dominus, omnino silere non debemus'). However, since such description is not uncommon in Norman diplomatic, it has been decided to include the description of the witnesses here as if it were part of the original charter. John son of Peter describes the act as a *chirographum*, and also claims that it was confirmed *sub sigillo*.

B

Gaufridus, misericordia Dei, Constantiensis episcopus, omnibus sub christiana religione^(a) degentibus, tam clericis quam laicis, salutem, prosperitatem et pacem.

¹ This codex is currently *totalement incommunicable*, and, as such, I have had to base this edition on that of Cédric Devos, the last person to be allowed to consult the manuscript.

Constantiensem ecclesiam quam hucusque licet indigne tenverim,^(b) tamen miserante Deo, populo meae parvitatis^(c) augmentari^(d) semper^(e) et honorare studui, ad^(f) extrema^(g-) ductus, quia^(-g) eam amplius factis adiuvere^(h) nequeo verbis⁽ⁱ⁻⁾ et scriptis, possum⁽⁻ⁱ⁾ quantum tutari et quod^(j) defensare cupio. Quicumque igitur qui sub christiana professione vocatus, praefatam ecclesiam honorare, consolari et defensare voluerit, auctoritate domini nostri Iesu Christi eiusque sanctissimae genitricis, in apostolica nostraque confirmatione benedictus, ab eodem domino nostro Iesu Christo omnium bonorum retributore mercedem recipiat in futuro, et anima eius inter choros angelorum et archangelorum, apostolorum et martyrum, confessorum et virginum requiem possideat in paradiso. Quod si aliquis irreverens et contumeliosus, auaritiae vel cupiditatis stimulis agitatus, eam de terris suis, sive legibus et consuetudinibus, sive ornamentis absque iusta et necessaria eidem ecclesiae ratione et clericorum assensione, minorari et decurtare^(k) praesumpserit, ab his omnibus suprascriptis ordinibus maledictus, et perpetuae damnationis anathemate circumseptus, priusquam vita decedat, terribilissimi divini examinis iudicio prosequente, omnibus in commune tanti sacrilegii violator appareat, et in perpetuum cum Iuda traditore, et Herode, Pilato et Caipha, cunctisque sanctae ecclesiae adversariis ignem aeternum possideat, semperque cum diabolo et angelis eius crucietur, nec ullam in secula seculorum misericordiae scintillam mereatur, nisi priusquam anima illa tenebrosa de corpore exuerit, resipuerit, et ad satisfactionem venerit. Fiat, amen. Hoc itaque scriptum ipse legit et confirmavit, pluriesque coram se recitari fecit necnon episcopi et abbates, qui eum adhuc in corpore viventem visitaverunt, et qui postmodum eius sepulturae interfuerunt, id est, Odo Baiocensis episcopus, Michael Abrincensis episcopus, Guillelmus Dunelmensis episcopus et Gilbertus abbas Cadomensis, Rogerus Exaquiensis et item Rogerus Montis Burgensis, respondentibus omni clero et populo, amen.

Variants. a, regeneratione C; b, tenveram C; c, pravitatis C; d, augmentum C; e, om. C; f, et C; g–g, om. C; h, iuvare C; i–i, om. C; j, om. C; k, decurrere C.

ÉVREUX

1046 × 1054

William [Fleitel], bishop of Évreux, gives to the abbey of Saint-Wandrille, for the soul of his father Gerard and those of his brothers, half the land in his manor at Béthencourt, as well as the land of a Frenchman called Dodemannus. The donation was made with the agreement of his lord, William, count of Arques.

- A. Original lost
- B. AD Seine-Maritime, 16 H 14, fol. 319r. 14th-century cartulary.
- C. AD Seine-Maritime, 16 H 20, p. 2057. 17th-century cartulary.
- D. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1246, fol. 233r. 18th-century copy (from C).
- E. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21816, fol. 160r. 19th-century abbreviated copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. Gurney, *House of Gournay*, i, Appendix V, no. 2, pp. 56-57; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 16 (from BC); Combalbert, 'Chartes des évêques d'Évreux', no. 1, p. 108 (from BC).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 10050, fol. 114r; *GC*, xi, col. 571.

Note. The donation was originally made by the bishop's father along with William and his three brothers.¹ These brothers, who are unnamed here, are known from other sources to have been Anscher, Robert and Albert.² This act is dated between the accession of William to the episcopate and the exile of William, count of Arques, following his failed rebellion.

B

Fratribus in Christo sit pax famulantibus almo priscorum patrum exigit auctoritas, ut ob spem letificandi ac remunerandi animas nostras ex propriis facultatibus matres honoremus ecclesias. Quod ego Willelmus Dei precepto commonitus Dei dispositione dispositus Ebrocassine civitatis ecclesie episcopus, ob memoriam patris mei Gerardi et animarum fratrum meorum requiem meeque videlicet anime remunerationem, medietatem terre quam in Bethencort in meo dominio teneo Fontanelle monasterio beati Petri sanctique Wandreg(isili) honori consecrato ad victum monachorum inibi

¹ *RADN*, no. 234.

² *RADN*, nos. 30, 46, 234.

famulantium Deo perpetualiter habendam trado. Et preter^(a) hanc predictam medietatem aquam cum molendinis et pratis separatam et absque ullius partitione vel admixtione absolutam eidem Fontanellensi cenobio exhibeo. Quendam vero francum hominem nomine Dodemannum cum sua terra in franca voce predicto loco advexo. Dominum meum Willelmum Arcentium comitem hanc cartulam confirmantem proprio signo huic beneficio voce et corde mecum accumulo.

S. + Willelmi episcopi. S. + Alberti. S. + Willelmi comitis Archiacensis. S. + Gilleberti Lannomis. S. + Gonfredi.^(b) S.^(c) Ingeranni.

Variants. a, propter C; b, Gaufridi C; c, sancti C.

43

1060 × 1066

William [Fleitel], bishop of Évreux, gives to the abbey of Jumièges, with the permission of the duke, a plough of land at Emondeville, six acres of forest and six freeman, the church of Saint-Vaast-[Dieppedalle] with the tithe and twenty-two acres of allod at Hautot-[l'Auvray]. The same bishop, Gerard and Milo gave their part of the church of Hautot-[l'Auvray] and one hundred acres of allod at Beaunay, as well as all their benefices in this domain.

- A. Original lost
- B. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 6, fol. 12r-v. 15th-century cartulary (from A).
- C. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 26. 16th-century copy dated 22 July 1527 (from A).
- D. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 10, pp. 275-276. 17th-century cartulary (from A).
- E. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21811, fol. 208r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle.

Ptd. Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges, i, no. xxxi (from B); *RADN*, no. 220 (from BCD).

Ind. CDF, no. 152.

Note. The text of this donation is found in a ducal act confirming various acts to the abbey of Jumièges. The presence among the witnesses of John of Ivry, bishop of Avranches, provides its dating-limits.

B

Prebet Willelmus [episcopus Ebroicensis], meo permissu, apostolorum principi in Amundevilla terram arabilem quantum sufficit uni carruce et sex acres silve atque sex homines liberos qui vocantur alodarii,^(a) ecclesiam quoque sancti Vedasti cum omni decima ad ipsam pertinente, necnon viginti .ii. acres alodii^(b) in Hotot. Item Willelmus, Gerardus, Millo^(c) quod habent in ecclesia eiusdem ville Hotot^(d) cum appendiciis eius sancto Petro tribuunt,^(e) acres .c. alodii in Belnaco; Willelmus et Gerardus concedunt cum omnibus que in ea villa tam in ecclesia quam in silva, sive^(f) in aqua seu in molendino possidere videntur.

Variants. a, alodarii C; b, alodii C; c, Milo C; d, Hautot D; e, tribunt D; f, silve D.

LISIEUX

44*

c. 1046 × 1077, though perhaps c. 1046 × 1050

Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, gives the synodal dues from the church of Saint-Michel to the abbey of Saint-Léger de Préaux.

A. Original lost

Ptd. Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, p. 523 (no source given); *Regesta*, no. 217 (from Du Monstier).

Ind. GC, xi, col. 853; Le Brasseur, *Histoire du comté d'Évreux*, p. 92; *Regesta*, (Davis), i, no. 288; Gazeau, 'Le domaine continental', pp. 165-183.

Note. The notice of this donation is found in the text of a confirmation charter, which is known only from a seventeenth-century copy. This has been extensively discussed by both Gazeau and Bates, though its source remains unclear. The donation is dated broadly by the episcopate of Bishop Hugh, though it perhaps dates from the earliest years of the abbey of Saint-Léger.

Synodalem redditum ecclesie s(ancti) Michaelis, ego Hugo, episcopus Lexoviensis ecclesie sancti Leodegarii perpetualiter concedo, et confirmo.

45

c. 1050

Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, grants to the abbey of Saint-Désir de Lisieux the church and tithe of Jort, which he had bought for nine livres from Robert son of Nigel with the consent of his brothers. The gift was also confirmed by Duke William.

- A. Original lost.
- B. AD Calvados, 2 Fi 231. Late 11th-century copy in a *pancarte* of the abbey of Saint-Désir de Lisieux, which was photographed before its destruction in 1944. 26 lines. The text of this notice appears at lines 20-23. There are no signs of any arrangements for sealing. No photograph survives of the dorse of the *pancarte*, so the endorsements are lost.
- C. BN, ms. lat. 9209, chartes des évêchés de Sées et Lisieux, no. 1 (fol. 27r). Copy in a *vidimus* by Jehan Osmont, seneschal of Lisieux, dated 28 April 1377 (apparently from B).
- D. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21813, fol. 751r-752r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from C).

Ind. Musset, 'Les problèmes de Vieux-Pont-en-Auge', pp. 3-4; C. Maneuvrier, 'Notes sur un acte inédit du XI^e siècle pour l'abbaye de Saint-Désir-de-Lisieux', *Bulletin de la Société historique de Lisieux*, 33 (1992-1994), pp. 47-50, at p. 47.

Note. The history of this lost *pancarte*, which contains the text of **no. 47**, as well as two other transactions, is fully discussed by Maneuvrier and Bates. The church of Jort is among the possessions confirmed in the abbey's foundation charter,¹ hence the date for this act.

B

Antiqui patres nostri ad celestem patriam anhelantes^(a) quamvis idem appeterent diverso tamen nisi sunt tramite, alii enim in huius erumpna exilii corpora sua propter Deum tradendo ad supplicium, alii reficiendo pauperes, alii sustentando debiles, alii edificando ecclesias. His atque aliis virtutibus innitentes amissę patrię gaudia plerique^(b) receperunt. Quorum ego Hugo Lexoviensis^(c) episcopus pro tempore sequax ecclesie beatę Dei genitricis MARIAE^(d) Lexovii site ecclesiam et decimam de Iort concedo quas ego emi a Rotberto^(e) Nigelli filio annuentibus fratribus suis

¹ *RADN*, no. 140.

nonaginta libras concedente Guilielmo^(f) nobilissimo Normannorum duce et manu propria confirmante.

Variants. a, anhelantes C; b, plerisque C; c, Lex' C; d, Marie C; e, Roberto C; f, Guillelmo C.

46*

1059 × 1066

Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, donates one acre of land at Bonneville-[sur-Touques] to the priory of Saint-Martin du Bosc, while a certain Herbert gave a virgate of land with the permission of the bishop, his lord. This was done in the presence of the duke on the day of the priory's dedication.

- A. Original lost
- B. BM (Rouen), ms. Y 51 Omont 1207, fol. 9r. Copy in 13th-century cartulary.
- C. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 2412, p. 20. 16th-century copy (from B).
- D. BN, coll. Baluze, vol. 73, fol. 38r. 18th-century copy by Baluze.

Ptd. RADN, no. 218 (from B).

Ind.

Note. The details of this donation survive in the second of two copies of a ducal charter confirming the donations made to the priory of Saint-Martin. It is dated by the abbatiage of Durand, abbot of Troarn, whom the document claims participated in the dedication of the priory of Saint-Martin along with Bishop Hugh, and by the Conquest of England.

B

Et Hugo Luxoviensis episcopus dedit sancto Martino unam acram terre Boneville subiacentem, et Herbertus unam virgam terre concessu eiusdem episcopi domini sui. Et hec data sunt in die dedicationis ecclesie, in presentia comitis.

A notice that Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, has acquired half the church of Vieux-Pont-en-Auge for the nuns of Saint-Désir de Lisieux, with the revenue of the altar, crops, wine, first fruits, burials, and whatever belongs to the church from horsemen, villeins, and all the inhabitants in the parish in the part belonging to Aitard. The bishop gave Aitard forty pounds for these things and for the house with twelve arpents of land there, with the consent of Aitard's wife and sons, and of Robert, prince of the Normans and Manceaux, and of his father William, king of the English, and of Osmund miles who was holding this benefice at the time. Bishop Hugh acquired the benefice absolutely, so that neither he nor his successors would do any service nor render any dues to Aitard and his successors, with the agreement that Aitard and his successors would protect the benefice for the bishop or his successors.

- A. Original lost.
- B. AD Calvados, 2 Fi 231. Late 11th-century copy in a *pancarte* of the abbey of Saint-Désir de Lisieux, which was photographed before its destruction in 1944. 26 lines. The text of this notice appears at lines 15-20. There are no signs of any arrangements for sealing. No photograph survives of the dorse of the *pancarte*, so the endorsements are lost.
- C. BN, ms. lat. 9209, chartes des évêchés de Sées et Lisieux, no. 1 (fol. 27r). Copy in a *vidimus* by Jehan Osmont, seneschal of Lisieux, dated 28 April 1377 (apparently from B).
- D. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21813, fol. 750r-751r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from C).

Ptd. Regesta, no. 179 (from B).

Ind. Musset, 'Les problèmes de Vieux-Pont-en-Auge', pp. 3-4; Maneuvrier, 'Notes sur un acte inédit', p. 47.

Note. The history of this lost *pancarte*, which contains the text of **no. 45**, as well as two other transactions, is fully discussed by Maneuvrier and Bates.

B

Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo sexagesimo octavo, regnante Philippo in Francia, Guilielmo^(a) regum nobilissimo apud Anglos, Rotberto^(b) filio eius principante apud Normannos et Cenomannos, adquisivit Hugo Lexoviensium^(c) episcopus ad usum monacharum sancte Marię famulantium, dimidiam partem ecclesie

de Veteri Ponte^(d) in redditu altaris, annonę, vini, primitiarum, sepulturarum, et quicquid ad ecclesiam pertinet de omnibus equitibus et villanis siue quibuslibet habitantibus in eadem parrochia in Aytardi^(e) parte, ab eodem Aitardo dans^(f) ei quadraginta libras pro his rebus, et pro domo^(g) cum xii^{cim(h)} agripennis terre in eadem villa, concedente uxore eiusdem Aitardi et filiis, concedente etiam Rotberto^(b) Normannorum Cenomannorumque principe et eius patre Guilielmo^(a) Anglorum rege, Osmundo⁽ⁱ⁾ quoque eius milite qui tunc temporis hoc beneficium tenebat. Hoc beneficium ita absolute emit Hugo episcopus ut nullum servitium faciat, nullum debitum reddat ipse vel successores sui Aitardo vel successoribus suis, ea conventionem ut Hugoni episcopo vel successoribus suis Aitardus hoc beneficium tueatur vel successores sui.

Variants. a, Guillelmo C; b, Roberto C; c, Lexovien' C; d, Veteriponte C; e, Aitardi C; f, dat C; g, dono, *but* domo *originally written* B; h, duodecim C; i, Osmondo C.

ROUEN

48

979 × 989

Hugh [of Saint-Denis], archbishop of Rouen, at the request of Galon, abbot of Saint-Germain des Prés, gives to this monastery the church of Saint-Godard de Longuesse-en-Vexin.

- A. Original lost.
- B. Arch. nat., LL 1024, fol. 60r-61r. 13th-century cartulary known as the *Cartulaire †††*.
- C. Arch. nat., LL 1026, fol. 95r-v. 13th-century cartulary known as the *Cartulaire de l'abbé Guillaume*.
- D. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 69r-v, no. 57. 18th-century copy by Levrier (from Bouillard).
- E. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21814, fol. 459r-460r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. J. Bouillard, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Germain-des-Prés* (Paris, 1724), no. xxvi (from B); P. Bonnin, *Principaux droits de l'abbaye de St-Germain des Prés en Seine-et-Oise* (Lille, 1896), p. 185 (partial edition, from Bouillard); *Recueil de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, i, no. xlv (from BC).

Ind. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, p. 161; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 267 n. 115; Arnoux, 'Disparition ou conservation', p. 9 n. 33; Spear, *The personnel*, p. 205.

Note. This is the earliest surviving charter for a member of the post-911 Norman episcopate. Spear considered the appearance of Archbishop Robert as a witness in this charter problematic,¹ but both Mathieu Arnoux and Pierre Bauduin have concluded that this is simply the work of a later scribe, and that it has little bearing on the charter's authority.² The dating-limits are provided by the election of Abbot Galon and the death of Archbishop Hugh.

B

Inter cetera apostolorum predicamenta quibus auctore Deo sancta mater ecclesia, inter fluctus huius vitę mortalis periculosaque naufragia, ut star solis radiorum perseverat prefulgida, vera karitas^(a) et fraterna compassio, maxime per ecclesiasticum ordinem

¹ Spear, *The personnel*, p. 205.

² Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 267 n. 115; Arnoux, 'Disparition ou conservation', p. 9 n. 33.

ut voce et opere predicetur oportet. Unde et apostolus necesarios alimonie sumptus a fratribus suscipiens, istius compassionis fonte animatus ait: ‘Vos bene fecistis communicantes necessitatibus meis’.³ Et in alio loco, ‘Si compatimur et conregnabimus’.⁴ Et iterum, ‘Alter alterius honera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi’.⁵ His^(b) atque aliis sanctorum patrum eruditionibus fretus. In nomine sanctę et individue Trinitatis, Hugo non meis exigentibus meritis, sed gratia preveniente redemptoris^(c) Rotomagensis archiepiscopus, notum fieri volo^(d) omnibus coepiscopis nostris, presbiteris, diaconibus, seu cunctis utriusque ordinis, clericorum scilicet ac monachorum, tam presentibus scilicet quam futuris per ventura tempora succedentibus qualiter Walo sancti Vincentii levite et martiris,^(e) necnon et egregii presulis Germani Parisiorum tutoris cenobio abbas ceterorumque monachorum ipsius loci senatus, nostram serenitatem adierunt, humiliter deprecantes, ut ob amore^(f) Dei omnipotentis, et sanctę Marię eius genitricis, simulque prenominatorum Vincentii et Germani, et ut memoria nostra ac successorum nostrorum in eorum loco perpetualiter^(g) habeatur; quoddam altare in honore beati Geldardi dedicatum, in pago Vilcasino, et in potestate Longa Axia,^(h) eis inperpetuum⁽ⁱ⁾ possidendum concederemus, quod ita et fecimus archidiacono nostro Onorato,⁽ⁱ⁾ ex cuius ministerio est assensum prebente, eo videlicet ordine ut nunquam amplius nobis seu posterioribus nostris aliquid^(k) debitum seu servitium persolvant, nisi tantum synodum et circadam, sed absque ulla inquietudine alicuius metropolitani seu archidiaconi ab hodierna die et deinceps monachi Deo inibi famulantes, prefatum altare cum ecclesia, et quicquid^(l) ad eum pertinere videtur, secure teneant atque possideant. Et ut hec descriptio maiorem per tempora^(m) obtineat vigorem, coram sancta synodo manu propria⁽ⁿ⁾ eam subterfirmavimus, manibusque archidiaconorum nostrorum ceterorumque clericorum illic residentium corroborandam tradidimus. Si quis autem quod futurum non credo post mortem nostram, aut metropolitani nostro loco succedens, seu archidiaconus, vel aliqua persona contra hoc scriptum surgens infringere conaverit sciat se ex auctoritate^(o) patris et filii et spiritus sancti, et sanctorum patrum, necnon et ex^(p) ministerio nostro excommunicatum, sitque ei anathema maranatha nisi resipverit, et ad emendationem seu satisfactionem ante corpus sancti Germani, cuius dominio tradita est penitendo confugerit. Eo quidem

³ Romans, 12:13.

⁴ 2 Timothy, 2:12.

⁵ Galatians, 6:2.

rationis tenore, ne unquam, in beneficio cuilibet tribuatur persone, sed tantum victui, vel^(q) vestitui fratrum inibi Deo militantium perpetualiter deputetur. Hugo archiepiscopus firmavit, ac manu propria corroboravit. S. Robertus archiepiscopus.^(r) S. Honoratus archidiaconus. S. Hugonis levite. S. Acardi sacerdotis. S. Geraldus sacerdotis. S. Frotmundi^(s) sacerdotis. S. Durandi^(t) sacerdotis. S. Waremberti sacerdotis. S. Benedicti sacerdotis. S. Heriberti sacerdotis. S. Roderici sacerdotis. S. Ebbonis^(u) levite. S. Godeverti levite. ^(v-)S. Walberti. ^(-v)S. Ivonis. Item S. ^(w)Ivonis. S. Henrici. S. Werifredi.^(x) S. Milonis. S. Epponis. S. Widonis. S. Heldigeri. S. Walonis. S. Radulfi. S. Odonis.

Variants. a, caritas *D*; b, Hiis *C*; c, salvatoris *D*; d, volo fieri *D*; e, martyris *D*; f, amorem *D*; g, perpetualiter (*sic*) *D*; h, Longaaxia *D*; i, imperpetuum *C*; inepetuum (*sic*) *D*; j, Honorato *D*; k, aliquod *D*; l, quidquid *D*; m, tempore *D*; n, word incorrectly abbreviated *C*; o, auctoritate *D*; p, om. *D*; q, et *D*; r, episcopus *D*; s, Frosmundi *D*; t, Wrandi *D*; u, Esbonis *D*; v-v, om. *D*; w, om. *D*; x, Werifridi *D*.

c. 1025 × c. 1026

Robert, archbishop of Rouen, with the consent of his suffragans Herbert, bishop of Lisieux, Robert, bishop of Coutances, Radbod, bishop of Sées and Hugh, bishop of Évreux, free the church of Fontenay-[Saint-Père] and the priory of Juziers belonging to the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres from the interference of bishops and archdeacons. The act was confirmed by the archbishop, and in particular the archdeacon Goslin, while those who would violate the agreement were threatened with anathema.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BM (Chartres), ms. 1060 (H.1.49), fol. 76r. 12th-century cartulary (*Cartulaire d'Aganon*) destroyed 26 May 1944.¹
- C. BM (Chartres), ms. 1061 (H.1.50), t. 1, frag. 15B and t. 2, frag. 7A (cotes provisoires). A second copy of 12th-century cartulary (*Cartulaire d'Aganon*) destroyed 26 May 1944, of which two fragments containing the text of Robert's charter survive.
- D. AD Eure-et-Loir, H 507. 14th-century *vidimus* by the *official de Chartres*, dated 27 September 1371 (from either B or C).
- E. BN, ms. fr. 24133, p. 217. 17th-century copy by Guillaume Laisné (no source given).
- F. BN, ms. lat. 10048, fol. 160r. 17th-century copy by Arthur Du Monstier ('extat in Tabulario Aganonis S. Petri Carnotensis').
- G. BN, ms. lat. 5417, p. 397. 17th-century abbreviated copy (from B).
- H. BN, ms. lat. 17044, p. 1. 17th-century abbreviated copy by Gaignières (from B).
- I. BN, ms. lat. 12779, fol. 189r-v. 17th-century copy (from B).
- J. BM (Chartres), ms. 1136, vol. 1, fol. 85r-v (formerly pp. 157-158). 18th-century copy (from B).
- K. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 8, pp. 71-72. 18th-century copy by Levrier ('*Du charrier de S^t. Père en Vallée*').

¹ Like ms. C, fragments of this manuscript survived the fire of 1944, although it appears none contain the text of the archbishop's act. However, these are only currently consultable on microfiche, which is of very poor quality, with many of the images too dark to decipher. They will, at some point, be photographed as part of the project, 'Chartres, restitution d'un fonds de manuscrits médiévaux', which is being organised at the *Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* (IRHT) by Dominique Poirel, to whom I am extremely grateful for providing me with the images of ms. C, which has already been photographed. The folio number for ms. B is known from AD Eure-et-Loir, H 3, p. 2.

- L. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 116r-v. 18th-century copy by Levrier.
- M. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 20, fol. 23v. 18th-century copy by Levrier (from B).
- N. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 20, fol. 30r-31r. 18th-century abbreviated copy (from F).

Ptd. GC, viii, *Instr.*, cols. 297-298; *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. iv, pp. 115-116 (from BC); Migne, *PL*, clv, cols. 268-269 (from Guérard).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 12689, fol. 238v; BN, ms. lat. 13819, fol. 114r; Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, pp. 127-128; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 33; Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 200, 205-206.

Note. Although large fragments of **C** have survived, much of the text is still difficult to read due to a darkening of the parchment and a bleeding of the ink. The edition below is therefore based on **D**, although the variants of **C** are noted whenever possible. Levrier claimed that the second of his three transcriptions (**L**) was taken from ‘*Recueil de l’abbaye p. 581*’, which seems to be an inversion of the page numbers for **J**. Certain features of **E** suggest it was copied from an original charter, or at least from a faithful copy of such a document. The text with which this transcription opens can be found in a slightly different version in the *Cartulaire d’Aganon*, which in Benjamin Guérard’s edition appears after Robert’s act.² The surviving fragments of **C** confirm this was the case. Manuscript **E** also places the witnesses in two columns (17 names on the left, and 13 on the right), and all but the last four attestations are proceeded by a cross, while all the names are in the genitive case. If ms. **E** was copied from an original, then it is perhaps the charter that once formed part of BM (Chartres), ms. 23, fol. 5ff, destroyed in 1944, which was described by Henri Omont thus: ‘*Chartes diverses pour l’abbaye de Saint-Père, parmi lesquelles nous signalerons deux privilèges de l’archevêque de Rouen, Robert, pour l’abbaye et pour Evron*’.³ Unfortunately, neither an unknown original charter, nor manuscripts **BC**, nor manuscript **D** are listed in the inventory of charters for the priory of Juziers,⁴ although **D** is recorded in an eighteenth-century inventory,⁵ as is the cartulary copy **B**.⁶ Levrier proposed that the three witnesses following the bishops (William, Richard and Ralph) are the archbishop’s sons, which is not impossible.⁷ The act is dated by the election of Radbod, bishop of Sées, and the end of the episcopate of Maugis, bishop of Avranches.

D

Deo et domino nostro Ihesu^(a) Christo presidente. Decernimus, ego Rodbertus,^(b) gratia dei Rothomagi^(c) archipresul, et coepiscopi nostri Herbertus Lisive civitatis,

² *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. v, pp. 116-117.

³ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements. Tome XI, Chartres*, ed. H. Omont, (Paris, 1890), p. 10.

⁴ AD Eure-et-Loir, H 7, fol. 139r-254r.

⁵ AD Eure-et-Loir, H 1, fol. 333v.

⁶ AD Eure-et-Loir, H 3, p. 2.

⁷ BN, coll. Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 116v.

Rodbertus^(d) Constantie, Radbodus^(e) Saxie, Hugo civitatis Ebroice, decernimus, inquam, atque^(f) sancimus,^(g) ut ecclesia de Fontinido,^(h) pro amore et honore sancti Petri, apostolorum principis et magistri nostri, ab hac die imperpetuum⁽ⁱ⁾ ab omni sit inquietudine tam episcopi quam archidiaconi remota, eodem modo quo et Gesiaci^(j) cella sancti Petri Carnotensis cenobii, cui illa ecclesia est subiecta, ab omni, inquam, respectu et inquietudine permaneat segura, tribus hiis solummodo exceptis, videlicet ipsius ecclesie reconciliatione, olei^(k) et sacri crismatis^(l) perceptione, et penitentium reconciliatione.^(m) Que omnia, sicut opus fuerit, ab episcopo cuius est diocesis postulentur, et ab eodem gratis et absque ulla⁽ⁿ⁾ premii postulatione vel, datione, propter^(o) honorem sancti Petri, conferantur, ut et nos et successores nostros ab omni iugo peccati dignetur absolvere supradicti magistri nostri potestas et misericordia. Et ut hec notitia inconcussa permaneat,^(p) manibus nostris eam roborauimus, signo^(q) quoque et nominibus corroborauimus, et Guascelino archidiacono, cui sub me propius intererat, consignandam et confirmandam et aliis clericis et laicis nostris^(r) proposuimus. Si quis vero antichristus hoc pietatis opus, quod in dei nomine cudimus, attaminare temptaverit, ex ore veri Christi et nostrorum omnium, quos vocare dignatus est Christianos suos, anathematis gladio iuguletur. Hanc autem^(s) suggillationem^(t) vel, ut ita dicam,^(u) sigillationem singuli^(v) singulorum nominibus coepiscoporum subscribi decernimus. ^(w-)Rodbertus^(x) archipresul, qui hoc opus pietatis incepit et perfecit. Rodbertus^(x) Constantie, Rodbertus Lisive, Radbodus^(y) Saxie, Hugo Ebroas, Maingisus Abrincarum, Vuillelmus, Richardus, Rodulphus,^(z) Hugo, Vuascelinus archidiaconus, Heinricus abbas sancti Audoeni, Balduinus archidiaconus, Heinricus presbiter et decanus, Rodulphus^(z) capellanus, Herluinus levita et canonicus, Corbucio, Vuillelmus, Pascharius capellanus, Rodulphus^(z) de sancto Sancsone, Atto levita et capellanus, Odo prepositus, Odo levita et capellanus, Osmundus Tudeborti, Rogerius filius Hunfridi, Lescelinus, Guimundus parvus, Rogerius filius Odonis prepositi de Noiomo, Albertus hostiarius, Rodulphus^(z) filius Osberti.^(-w)

Variants. a, Iesu E; b, E has Rotbertus throughout; c, Rothomagensium E; d, Rotbertus C; e, Rabodus C; Radbodus E; f, adque C; g, sancimus E; h, Fonteneto E; i, innperpetuum (sic) C; j, Gesiacensis E; k, om. E; l, crismatis sacri E; m, consolatione E; n, ullius E; o, Deum et add. E; p, permaneat inconcussa E; q, signis E; r, nostrae E; s, om. E; t, suggillationem E; u, ultimam add. E; v, singulis E; w-w, the witness list in E, which is in two columns, is as follows: + S. Rotberti archipresulis, qui hoc opus pietatis incepit et perfecit. + S. Rotberti episcopi Constantiae. + S. Herberti episcopi

Lisivae. + S. Ratbodi episcopi Saxiae. + S. Hugonis episcopi Ebroas. + S. Maingisi Apringarum. + S. Guillelmi. + S. Richardi. + S. Rodulfi. + S. Hugonis. + S. Guascelini archidiaconi. + S. Heinrici abbas s. Audoeni. + S. Balduini archidiaconi. + S. Heinrici presbiteri et canonici s. Mariae. + S. Herluini levitae et canonici. + S. Pascharii capellani. + S. Attoniae levitae et capellani. + S. Odonis levitae et capellani. + S. Rotgerii filii Hufredi. + S. Rogerii filii Odonis praepositi de Noiomo. + S. Alberti ostiarii. + S. Radulfi capellani. + S. Corbutionis. + S. Guillelmi. + S. Rodulfi de s. Sancsone. + S. Odonis praepositi. S. Osmundi Tudeborti. S. Lescelini. S. Guimundi parvi. S. Rodulfi filii Osberi.; x, Rotbertus C; y, Rabbodus *originally written C*; z, Rodulfus C.

1028 × 1033

Robert, archbishop of Rouen, and his nephew Duke Robert I, faced with the terrible state of the goods of the cathedral of Rouen, list those benefices belonging to it. These include a part of Pierreval, a part of Grainville, the church of Bracquemont, six hospites at Londinières and six at Clais, the domains of Angreville, Epinay, Boissay, Duranville, Baillolet, and Saint-Vaast-[d'Équieville], with its church, as well as the town of Vy (either Vicq or Wy-dit-Joli-Village) in the French Vexin.

To these they then restored the following:

In the Norman Vexin: Neaufles-[Saint-Martin] and Heubécourt with its church, Amfreville-[les-Champs], the half of Tilly with its church; the church of Ecos; Mézières-[en-Vexin], Panilleuse, Travaillies, the half of Bacqueville, four capitales hospites and two dimidarios at Marcouville, one hundred and five acres at Houville-[en-Vexin], twelve hospites at Cuverville, with its church; four parts of Douville-sur-Andelle, the half of Le Boulay, and a part Connelles;

In the comté of Rouen: the half of Ernemont-[sur-Buchy], two parts of Franqueville with its church; the half of Pibeuf;

In the comté of Talou: Cuverville the length of the Yeres, Bracquemont, Seibertivillam, Clais, and Londinières;

In the comté of Hiémois: Nécy with its church; Laize-[la-Ville] and Boulon with their churches, and thirty-three masloths at OUILLY-le-Basset;

In the pagus of Caux: Bretteville-[du-Grand-Caux] and its church; the half of the other Bretteville and two mills close to the walls of Rouen, given by Richard II;

In the pagus of the Beauvaisis: Cramoisy and a part of Montataire;

In the pagus of Évreux: Normanville, Caër, Saint-Germain-des-Angles, given by Richard I; a bank of Douvrend with Angreville and the church on the opposite bank.

Duke Robert allocated the tithes of these last donations to provide vestments for the cathedral canons; his son William gave Sotteville.

- A. Original lost
- B. BM (Rouen), ms. Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 32r-33v. 13th-century cartulary.
- C. AD Seine-Maritime, G 3680. Copy in an *inspeximus* of Henry V dated 15 August 1422.
- D. AD Seine-Maritime, G 3680. *Vidimus* of Jean Silvain, balliol of Rouen, dated 19 October 1422 (from C).

- E. AD Seine-Maritime, G 3681. 15th-century copy in a roll entitled *Confirmatio cartarum fundacionis ecclesie Rotomagensis* (from D).
- F. AD Seine-Maritime, G 2087, fol. 3v-5v. 17th-century cartulary of Rouen cathedral chapter (from C).
- G. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1363, fol. 56v-57v. Poor 19th-century copy (from B).
- H. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1246, fol. 62r-63r. 19th-century copy by Étienne Deville (from C).
- I. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1975, fol. 9r-11r. 19th-century copy (from B).
- J. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21813, fol. 396r-398v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from Martène).
- K. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21813, fol. 399r-400v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).
- L. BM (Évreux), *Diplomatique des ducs de Normandie*, Carton 11, fol. 349r-353r (fol. 352r missing). 19th-century copy by Armand Bénet (from B, with witnesses from C partially noted).
- M. AD Calvados, F 5277. 20th-century copy by Gaston de Beausse (from F).

Ptd. Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, ed. Martène and Durand, i, cols. 146-147 (from mss. of Pommeraye); *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer, 2 vols. (London, 1704-1735), x, p. 238; Inventaire-Sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790: Seine-Inférieure: archives ecclésiastiques, série G (nos. 3173-4820), ed. C. de Robillard de Beaurepaire (Paris, 1881), no. G 3680 (partial edition, from D); *RADN*, no. 66 (from BC).

Ind. Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église cathédrale de Rouen*, pp. 567-568; *GC*, xi, col. 26; Le Prévost, *Mémoires et notes de l'Eure*, ii, p. 520; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 273; L. Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque et les destinées du régime domanial du IXe au XIe siècle', *BSAN*, 49 (1942-1945), pp. 7-97, at p. 95; D.C. Douglas, 'The rise of Normandy', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 33 (1947), pp. 95-119, at pp. 104 and 122 nn. 17-18; Douglas, 'The earliest Norman counts', p. 132; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 33; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 197; Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, p. 253; Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 192; Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', i, pp. 26-37; *GND*, ii, p. 48 n. 2; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 269.

Note. This charter is probably to be associated with the reconciliation of the duke and archbishop, following the latter's expulsion from his castle at Évreux and exile in France.¹ The document was described by Douglas as 'a sort of treaty'.² Manuscript J

¹ *GND*, ii, p. 48.

² Douglas, 'The earliest Norman counts', p. 132

is based upon the edition of Martène and Durand, which was taken from a manuscript ('ex schedis') belonging to Jean-François Pommeraye. This seems to have been based on either **C** or **D**, though has enough differences to warrant its variants being noted (*ma*). It is dated by the return of Robert from exile, and the death of Henry, abbot of Saint-Ouen.

B (with additions from C)

Universis ecclesie filiis ubique locorum in fide catholica firmiter^(a) fixis, Robertus^(b) Dei gratia^(c) archiepiscopus Rothomagensis^(d) ecclesie, eiusque nepos Robertus^(b) nutu divino princeps totius Normannie^(e) ^(f-) salutem, et vitam mentisque ac corporis prosperitatem, perpetuam. Volumus notificare^(g) omnibus quoscunque movet causa vel ratio cartule huius principale totius Normannie^{(e)(-f)} monasterium in honore^(h) sancte Marie Dei et hominis matris virginis dedicatum nimis⁽ⁱ⁾ terrenis vacuatum stipendiis nos invenisse,^(j) ipsumque per^(k) hoc officiis celestibus parum indulgere, cuius miserie condolentes,^(l) et ea^(m) intima compassione ferentes dictu⁽ⁿ⁾ ewangelico,^(o) per divinam sensimus inspirationem ipsum sicut ipsius dominum: 'positum esse, in ruinam multorum, ^(p-)et in ^(-p) resurrectionem'.³ Hoc autem sepe revolutum et diligenter discusso consciencie nostre huiusmodi gravem pertulimus morsum, ne inproperanter^(q) nobis obiceretur,^(r) illud propheticum: 'non ascendistis, ex adverso nec opposuistis nos^(s) murum pro domo Israel^(t) ut staretis in prelio in die Domini'^(u),⁴ cum insuper et si^(v) non nostris meritis largiente tamen^(u) Domino et peiorandi, et meliorandi^(w) in nobis posita est^(x) ditio. Quod adhuc qualiter esset^(y) cum clariori vigilantia requisitum, et expressiori^(z) fieret indagine^(a) inventum videndo quod faventes^(b) et conscentientes, par^(c) pena constringit: unusquisque nostrum alieni facinoris sententiam in caput suum redundare persensit,^(d) si videntes aliorum miserabiles lapsus in laqueos quos absconderat,^(e) et in quibus comprehensi erant comprehendenda non timeremus, maxime cum ad dupplicandum^(f) sive dampnationem,^(g) sive premium nobis hec duo suppeterent, ac tota facilitate foverent:^(h) et a precipitio isto cavere, et precipitatis manum reparationis extendere, his omnino accomodantes⁽ⁱ⁾ animum statuimus beneficia ecclesie dispersa recolligere recollecta in unum remittere, et^(j) remissa equaliter ordinare videlicet in supradicti loci ecclesiasticos^(k) usus nominatim ad communes fratrum ibi^(l) servantium sumptus. Quod fidelium nostrorum consultu, amicorum hortatu^(m) dum ex voluntate patuisset

³ Luke, 2:34.

⁴ Ezekiel, 13:5.

in⁽ⁿ⁾ actu^(o) firmavimus manibus nostrorum et nostris annuimus dictis, auctorizauimus,^(p) et adhuc auctorizamus^(q) his^(r) scriptis, ut sic per nos factum a Deo et^(s) confirmatum ab hominibus maneat inconcussum a modo et usque in sempiternum. Verum ne terrarum nomina ibi pertinentium legentibus vel audientibus si mixtim ponantur gignant fastidium, volumus^(t) prius seorsum ponere que illic^(u-) aggregata repperiuimus,^(-u) et postea que aliorum dispersa illuc aliunde congregauimus. Hec que secuntur^(v) ibi pertinentia illic invenimus reservata.^(w) In comitatu^(x) Rothomagensi^(y) partem ville cuius nomen est Petrevallis.^(z) In pago qui dicitur Talou partem ville unius que Grinvilla^(a) vocatur, et ecclesiam ville Brache montis^(b) vocate, et .vii.^(c) hospites^(d) apud Nundinarias,^(e) et totidem apud Cleidas, aliasque ex integro^(f-) villas sic vulgariter nominatas,^(-f) Ansgerivillam,^(g) Spinetum, Buxetum, Durandivillam,^(h) Bailluletum, sanctum Vedastum cum ecclesia et molendinis, et has totas cum omnibus que pertinent ad eas tam in aquis quam in terris. In Vilcassino⁽ⁱ⁾ Francico unam villam Vy^(j) vocitatum^(k) cum omnibus que pertinere videntur ad ipsam, hec ut est^(l) superius prelibatum repperiuimus.^(m) Ista vero que subnotantur ibi Deo auxiliante restituimus. In Vilcassino⁽ⁿ⁾ Normannico^(o) duas villas unam nomine Nielfam, et^(p) alteram Hilboucurt^(q) dictam cum ecclesiis et molendinis, et Anfridivillam^(r) cum cunctis tam in aqua quam in terra earum^(s) apendiciis.^(t) In ipso eodemque pago medietatem ville unius quam Teileet^(u) nominant, cum ecclesia tota, et ecclesiam Descoz.^(v) et villam quam Macerias nuncupant, et Rursus^(w) villam que Pannilliosa^(x) dicitur, necnon villa^(y) que Travailliacus^(z) dicitur,^(a) dimidiam partem in Baschiville,^(b) et .iiii.^{or(c)} capitales hospites in Malculfrvilla,^(d) et .ii.^{os(e)} dimidarios,^(f) ^(g-).c. et .v.^(-g) acras in Hulvilla,^(h) et in Culvertivilla⁽ⁱ⁾ .xii. hospites cum tota ecclesia, adhuc autem in ipso eodemque pago super fluvium qui vocatur Andella,^(j) .iiii.^{or(k)} partes ville^(l) que vocatur Dotvilla^(m) et super eandem⁽ⁿ⁾ aquam Bodeleiti^(o) partem mediam et quicquid^(p) debet pertinere^(q) ad ipsam. Extra hec in villa que dicitur Colnella partem quam ibi habuit quedam^(r) mulier que vocata fuit Walburga^(s) et ^(t-)ad hunc^(-t) locum dedit volente et simul^(u) donante sorore sua. In comitatu^(v) Rothomagensi^(w) medietatem ville Ernoltmont,^(x) decem^(y) et duas^(z) partes cum ecclesia alterius ville Franche villule^(a) vocate et aliam villam dimidiam^(b) Putbou^(c) nuncupatam. In comitatu^(v) Talou super fluvium qui vocatur Era^(d) Culvertivillam^(e) cum universis que ^(f-)pertinent^(-f) ^(g-)ad ipsam.^(-g) In comitatu^(h) eodem alteram villam Brachemont⁽ⁱ⁾ dictam cum cunctis que ^(j-)pertinere constat ad ipsam,^(-j) adhuc autem et in ipso eodem^(k) pago tres villas scilicet Seibertivillam,^(l) Cleidas et^(m) Ludinarias⁽ⁿ⁾

cum ecclesiis et molendinis omnibus,^(o) ^(p-) tam in aquis quam in terris^(-p) earum appendiciis.^(q) In comitatu^(v) Oismacensi^{(r)(s)} Nitiacus^(t) cum ecclesia^(u) et molendinis et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus. In ipso eodemque pago, duas villas Lesiam^(v) et Bolonem vocatas cum ecclesiis [et]^(w) molendinis et pratis ac universis earum appendiciis,^(x) adhuc autem et in ipso eodem pago in^(y) villa que ^(z-) Oilliacus vocatur,^(-z) .xxx.iii.^(a) partes que vulgo masloth^(b) dicuntur. In Calciaco^(c) pago Brittam villam^(d) cum ecclesia quam Bernardus dedit: et dimidiam partem alterius Breteville^(e) et duo molendina iuxta murum que dedit Ricardus^(f) secundus. In pago Belvacensi, Cramisiacus et partem terre in villa que dicitur Muntatera.^(g) Et in Ebroicensi^(h) pago Normanni villam⁽ⁱ⁾ et Cader, et sanctum Germanum quas dedit Ricardus^(f) primus, de Dowrenc^(j) citeriorem partem cum Angerivilla,^(k) et ecclesiam que ^(l-) subteriori^(-l) aque ripa sita est.^(m) Signum Hu+gonis. Signum Guar+nerii.⁽ⁿ⁾ Signum +^(o) Rodberti^(p) ^(q-) archipresulis. Signum + principis Rodberti.^(r) Signum + Henrici abbatis. Signum + Gisleberti comitis. Signum Vuillelmi^(s) +^(t) Rotberti^{(u)(-q)} comitis filii.^(v) Cum prescriptis donis ego Rotbertus^(w) dux Northmannorum dono atque concedo sancte Marie decimam denariorum meorum quam Acardus^(x) nutricius tenebat ad canonicorum vestimenta inibi serviencium emenda. + Hec est adfirmacio Vuilelmi^(y) comitis de Sota villa.^(z)

Variants. a, interlined D; b, Rodbertus CDE; gratia Dei CDEma; d, Rotomagensis ma; e, Northmanie CDE; f-f, om. ma; g, notificare CDE; h, honorem ma; i, minis BDE; j, invenimus ma; k, pro ma; l, dolentes ma; m, eam CDEma; n, ductu ma; o, euvangelico CE; euvagelico (sic) D; evangelico ma; p-p, almost ill. D; q, improprianter DEma; r, obiceretur ma; s, vos CDEma; t, Irael B; u, interlined and ill. D; om. Ema; v, etsi ma; w, hanc condicionem add. CDEma; x, esset CDEma; y, essem ma; z, expressuri ma; a, indagacione CDEma; b, facientes CDEma; c, pari ma; d, presensit E; praesensit ma; e, absconderant CE; absconderant, but absconderunt originally written D; absconderunt ma; f, duplicandum CDEma; g, damnationem ma; h, faverent CDEma; i, accommodantes Cma; accommandantes DE; j, om. CDEma; k, ecclesiasticorum ma; l, inibi CDEma; m, ortatu CDE; n, ex ma; o, actu D; p, authorisavimus ma; q, authorisamus ma; r, hiis CDE; s, om. CDEma; t, volvimus ma; u-u, congregata reperivimus CDE; congregata reperimus ma; v, sequuntur ma; w, resivata (sic) D; x, committatu CDE; y, Rotomagensi ma; z, Petrivallis ma; a, Grini villa C; Grim villa D; Grimi villa E; b, Brucchemontis ma; c, vi CDE; sex ma; d, ospites CDE; e, Lundinarias CDE; Londinarias ma; f-f, villas quae sic vulgariter nominantur ma; g, Ausgeri villam CDE; Ansguivillam ma; h, Durandi villam CDE; Durandi-villam ma; i, Vilcasino C; j, Vi CDEma; k, vocatam Ema; l, interlined D; m, reperivimus CDE; reperimus ma; n, Vilcasino C; o, Northmannico CDE; p, om. CDEma; q, Hilbot curt CDE; Hilbolcurt ma; r, Anfridivilla E; Anfridi villam ma; s, eorum ma; t, appendiciis CDEma; u, Teilet C; Teilet DEma; v, d'Ecoi ma; w, rursum ma; x, Panilliosa CDE; Panilloso ma; y, villam ma; z, Travalliacus C; a, vocatur CDE; nominatur ma; b,

Baschit villae C; Baschit villa DE; Bastchot-villa ma; c, iii CDE; quatuor ma; d, *there is a tilde above -lc- in B*; Marculfivilla CDE; Marculfi-villa ma; e, duos D; duas ma; f, dimidias ma; g–g, centum et .v. CDE; centum et quinque ma; h, Hul villa DE; Julvilla ma; i, Cutverti villa C; Cut verti villa DE; Cutvert-villa ma; j, Andilla ma; k, quatuor CDEma; l, villarum ma; m, Dot villa CDE; n, eamdem Cma; o, Bodeleti Dma; p, quidquid CDE; q, pertinere debet CDEma; r, quadam D; s, Vuabulga CDE; t–t, adhuc ma; u, simul et CDEma; v, commitatu CDE; w, Rotomagensi Cma; x, Ernolt munt CDE; Ernelmant ma; y, dicte CDEma; z, ii.^{as} C; a, Franchevillula ma; b, *om. ma*; c, Put bou CDE; Putlou ma; d, Eta ma; e, Culverti villam CDE; Culverti-villam ma; f–f, pertinendo pendent CDEma; g–g, ex ipsa ma; h, commitatu CDE; i, Brachemunt CDE; Bruchemont ma; j–j, constat pertinere ad illam CDEma; k, *interlined D*; l, Seiberti villam C; Sei berti villam DE; Seultierti-villam ma; m, *om. CDEma*; n, Lundinarias CDEma; o, omnibusque CDEma; p–p, tam in aqua quam in terra CDEma; q, apendiciis C; r, Oismiacensi ma; s, villam que dicitur *add. CDEma*; t, Niceacus CDE; Nistanes ma; u, ecclesiis ma; v, Leysam CDE; Leysan ma; w, *om. B*; x, apendiciis CDE; y, *interlined E*; z–z, Oillacus dicitur ma; a, triginta tres CDEma; b, maus loth CDE; Mansloth ma; c, Cailliaco ma; d, Brit tam villam CD; e, Brit te ville CDE; Brittae-villae ma; f, Richardus ma; g, Mantatier ma; h, Ebroicacensi CDE; Ebroacensi ma; i, Northmanni villam CD; Northmanivillam ma; j, Dovrent CDE; Dovrent ma; k, Ansgeri villa CDE; Ansgerivilla ma; l–l, in ulteriori CDEma; m, *B ends here*; n, Garnerii ma; o, *om. D*; p, Roberti ma; q–q, *interlined D*; r, Roberti D; s, Guilelmi D; Willelmi Ema; t, Signum *add. ma*; u, Roberti DEma; v, *ma ends here*; w, Rodbertus DE; x, Achardus D; y, Willelmi D; z, Sotavilla DE.

1028 × 1033

Robert, archbishop of Rouen, and his nephew Robert I, confirm the possessions of Rouen cathedral. These include:

in the pagus of the Beauvaisis, Cramoisy and a part of Montataire;

in the French Vexin, Vy (either Vicq or Wy-dit-Joli-Village);

in the Norman Vexin, Neaufles-[Saint-Martin], Heubécourt, Mézières-[en-Vexin], the church of Tilly, the church of Ecos, Panilleuse, Travaillies, the half of Bacqueville, four capitales hospites and two dimidarios at Marcouville, five acres at Houville-[en-Vexin]; at Cuverville the church and twelve hospites; the goods of Connelles; Amfreville-[les-Champs] and Fretteville (given by William Longsword after returning from a victory);

in the pagus of Talou, Clais et Londinières;

four parts of Douville-sur-Andelle and a part of Le Boulay, except an allod, the halves of Ernemont-[sur-Buchy] and Léumont, the half of Pibeuf and the third of Pierreval;

in the Talou, the church of Saint-Mards, the goods of Seiberti villa, on the Dieppe; Saint-Vaast-[d'Équieville] and its appurtenances, Saint-Saire, Bracquemont and its church, Cuverville and its appurtenances; a bank at Douvrend with Angreville, and its church located on the other bank;

in the comté of Caux, Bretteville-[du-Grand-Caux], and a part of the other Bretteville; two parts of Franquevillette with the church, two mills next to the wall [of Rouen] (a donation of Richard II);

in the comté Hiémois, Nécy and its church; thirty-three mansloths which Spireunagarus gave at Ouilly-[le-Basset];

new donations in the comté of Talou, at Envermeu the goods that Richeldis and his daughter Papie gave with the consent of Richard II;

in the pagus of the Parisis, Charenton-[le-Pont];

Robert I attached the tithe of this last donation to clothe the clerks, and his son William also made a donation.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BM (Rouen), Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 33v-34v. 13th-century cartulary.
- C. BN, ms. lat. 10048, fol. 161v-162r. 17th-century copy by Arthur Du Monstier ('extat apud D. Bigot. Rotomagi ex archivo capituli eccles. Rotomagens').

- D. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1363, fol. 58r-v. 19th-century copy (poor copy from B).
- E. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1975, fol. 11r-12v. 19th-century copy (from B).
- F. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21813, fol. 386r-387r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).
- G. BM (Évreux), *Diplomatique des ducs de Normandie*, Carton 11, fol. 346r-348r. 19th-century copy by Armand Bénet.¹

Ptd. Le Prévost, *Mémoires et notes de l'Eure*, ii, p. 520 (from B); iii, p. 533, n. 3; *RADN*, no. 67 (from B).

Ind. Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, pp. 168-169; A. Le Prévost, 'Anciennes divisions territoriales de la Normandie', *MSAN*, 11 (1840), pp. 1-59, at p. 49; Le Prévost, *Mémoires et notes de l'Eure*, iii, p. 533; Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 273, no. 21; Douglas, 'Some problems of chronology', p. 292, n. 11; Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 33; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 197; Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, p. 253; Lifshitz, *Norman conquest*, p. 192; Violette, 'L'église métropolitaine de Rouen', i, pp. 26-37; *GND*, ii, p. 48 n. 2; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, p. 269.

Note. Like **no. 50**, this charter is probably to be associated with the reconciliation of the duke and archbishop, following the latter's expulsion from his castle at Évreux and exile in France.² The charter was described by Douglas as 'a sort of treaty',³ and is dated by the same principles as **no. 50**.

B

In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis. Robertus divina favente clemencia Normanorum dux, item Robertus Rothomagensis sedis archiepiscopus cunctis fidelibus pacem et salutem omnem. Si nos petitionibus servorum Dei iustis et rationabilibus exorabiles exhibemus^(a) maxime super his in quibus sancte matris ecclesie status indiget, nostre serenitatis auxilio relevari confidimus Deo auctore^(b) regnum nostrum tranquilliori pace premuniri et nos superventure beatitudinis premia adipisci. Proinde ex consultu fidelium nostrorum et maxime domini sacerdotum recensitis cartulis^(c) et annalibus preceptis anteriorum nostrorum placuit nobis res sancte ecclesie Rothomagensis^(d) que caput^(e) et metropolis est regni nostri, ^(f-)eas in misericorditer^(-f) que a quibuscumque fidelibus collecte,^(g) atque roborate fuerant nostro iterum privilegio innovando confirmare, ut si quid^(h) occasione temporum aut

¹ This is the same copy as ms. F in Fauroux's edition.

² *GND*, ii, p. 48.

³ Douglas, 'The earliest Norman counts', p. 132.

incuria principum ex his male sublata aut immunita fortasse reperiantur nostre maiestatis auctoritate⁽ⁱ⁾ ad predictam matrem ecclesiam iuste revocentur. Hec sunt igitur que privilegii nostri iure firmamus sub testimonio Christi, et corporali presentia sanctorum confessorum, Romani, Audoeni, Laudi, Candidi quos nostri huius^(j) testimonii adiutores esse deposcimus, et ultores de his esse precamur qui huic testamento contraire aut ex his aliquid ab^(k) usu fratrum inibi servientium subtrahere aut minuere temptaverit.^(l) In pago Belvacensi, Cramisicum^(m) et partem de terra in villa qui⁽ⁿ⁾ dicitur Mantatera. In Vilcassino Francico villam unam, que Vi vocatur. In Vilcassino Normannico,^(o) Nielfam, et Hilboucort, et Macerias, de Teilet^(p) autem partem illam quam tenuit Radulfus,^(q) et ecclesiam totam, scilicet ecclesiam Descosz, in eodem comitatu villam que Paniliosa vocatur, aliam iterum^(r) que Travalliacus^(s) dicitur, scilicet et dimidiam villam que Baschivilla vocatur et in Marculfi villa tres capitales hospites, et duos dimidarios, in Hulvilla .c. et .v.^(t) acras, et in Culverti villa .xii.^(u) hospites cum ecclesia, et in Cornella partem illam quam Voilborgis, et soror sua ad hunc locum [habet].^(v) In eodem comitatu Amfridivillam et Fredisvillam quas Willelmus^(w) comes dedit triumphatis hostibus victor rediens cum quibus Cleidas et Lundinarias cum omnibus appendiciis suis, que sunt in pago Talou, ^(x-)et super Andellam .iiii.^{or} partes de Dovilla^(-x) et partem unam de Betileto cum molendino preter unum alodium, simili modo dimidium Ernoldi montis^(y) et Otelni montis, et^(z) dimidium Putbou, et^(a) tertiam partem Petre vallis. In comitatu Talou ecclesiam de sancto Medardo et terram quam in Seiberti villa^(b) tenuit Levinus super fluvium Diepe sanctum Vedastum cum appendiciis suis, et^(c) sanctum Salvium scilicet^(d) quam Iola dedit, et Branchemoter^(e) cum ecclesia Culverti villam^(f) quam Rainardus dedit cum appendiciis suis, de Dovrenc^(g) citeriorem partem cum Anserivilla,^(h) et ecclesiam que in ulteriori aque ripa sita est. In comitatu Calciaco Brittam⁽ⁱ⁾ villam quam Bernardus dedit, et partem de ^(j-)althera Bretevilla, et .ii.^{as(-j)} partes de Franchevilleta^(k) cum ecclesia, duo quoque molendina iuxta murum que dedit Ricardus comes secundus. In Oximensi comitatu, Niciacum cum ecclesia et omnibus appendiciis suis. In villa Oilliac^(l) .xxx iii.^(m) mansloht⁽ⁿ⁾ quos dedit Spireunagarus.^(o) In prefato comitatu Talou illam partem alodii quam Richeldis^(p) et Papia filia ipsius in Euremou^(q) et presente Ricardo^(r) comite et ^(s-)illo auctorizante^(-s) ad hanc ecclesiam donaverunt. In Parisiaco pago super fluvium Maternam villam unam nomine Carentun.^(t) Huius testamenti testes extant, Robertus archipresul, Robertus princeps qui hanc cartam^(u) fieri iussit et confirmavit, qui et decimam denariorum suorum in

vestimentis fratrum donavit, Willelmus filius suus qui et paternum donum dono suo confirmavit Gislebertus,^(v) comes, Hugo episcopus.

Variants. a, exhibemus C; b, authore C; c, chartulis C; d, Rotomagensis C; e, capitalis C; f–f, eas nimirum C; g, collatae C; h, quae C; i, autoritate C; j, huiusmodi C; k, absque C; l, tentaverint C; m, Cramisiacum C; n, quae C; o, Normanico C; p, Teillt C; q, Radulphus C; r, item C; s, Travailliacus C; t, *the scribe has mistakenly written the abbreviation for quatuor* (^{or}) *above this numeral in B*; centum et quinque C; u, duodecim C; v, *om. B*; w, Vuillelmus C; x–x, *om. C*; y, Ernoldimontis C; z, *om. C*; a, ac C; b, Seibertivilla C; c, item C; d, *om. C*; e, Ranchemont C; f, Culventivillam C; g, Douvront C; h, Angerivilla C; i, Britam C; j–j, altera Britavilla, et duas C; k, Franschevilleta C; l, Dilliaco B; D'Illiaco C; m, triginta C; n, mansos C; o, *B has spⁱe unagarus. Since the abbreviation spⁱe cannot be resolved as an individual word, it seems logical to treat the two words as an abbreviated name. C has Sperennagarus, and also inserts et here*; p, Richeildis C; q, Envremou C; r, Richardo C; s–s, .ii. fructorizante B; viginti fructorisante C; t, Carenton C; u, chartam C; v, Gilbertus C.

52

1035 × 1037

Robert, archbishop of Rouen, gives to the abbey of Saint-Wandrille the tithe of the part that he receives for large fish (perhaps whales or porpoise) caught on the banks of Saint-Marcouf, a hospes at [Saint-Martin-de]-Varreville, and the tithe of the sheep and pigs fed in this same place.

- A. Original lost.
- B. AD Seine-Maritime, 16 H 14, fol. 325v. 14th-century cartulary.
- C. BN, ms. lat. 17132, fol. 33r-v. 15th-century cartulary copy from a lost *vidimus* of Philip V, dated November 1319.
- D. BN, coll. Baluze, vol. 58, fol. 99r. 17th-century abbreviated copy by André Duchesne.
- E. AD Seine-Maritime, 16 H 20, pp. 2088-2089. 17th-century cartulary.
- F. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1246, fol. 223r. 18th-century copy (from E).
- G. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21816, fol. 149r. 19th-century abbreviated copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. Lot, *Études critiques*, no. 18 (from BC).

Ind.

Note. Ferdinand Lot dated this act to the last two years of the archbishop's reign because he felt this charter was related to another issued by William II.¹ His reasoning does not stand up to closer inspection, but given the apparent lack of any ducal authority in this act it is not impossible that Robert made this donation during the opening years of William's minority.

B

Omnibus hec^(a) lecturis presentibus et futuris Robertus Rothomagensium Dei nutu presul salutis ac pacis incrementum. Cum constet omnia Deum condidisse nulli dubium preter^(b) cetera hominem quoque creasse. Qui cum ex duobus constet secundum unum immortalis^(c) est. Id vero anima est, que quanto pretiosior sit corpore liquet, cum corpus absque ea pene nichil extet. Quod vero melius est: pluris

¹ *RADN*, no. 128

pendendum est, pauca^(d) igitur debentur corpori,^(e) plura vero anime saluti. Sed^(f) hic versa vice mos increvit^(g) ut pauca aut nulla, cui multa ac^(h) potius cuncta debentur, cui vero minima vel queque⁽ⁱ⁾ extrema debentur, plura et sepius omnia dependantur. Inde est quod ego Robertus Rothomagensium,^(j) divinitate propitia, archipresul, cum presentium pluribus affluam,^(k) pauca^(l) ob anime mee,^(m) pio Ihesu qui centuplicata⁽ⁿ⁻⁾ reppendere fuerit superque⁽⁻ⁿ⁾ usuram perhempnis^(o) vite de meis dono: potius vero de suis sibi reddo, pauperibus suis enim,^(p) id est fratribus Fontinelle cenobii quod sacratum habetur in honore beati Petri et omnium apostolorum almique patris Wand(regisili) simulque omnium sanctorum largior decimam partis que me contingit ex crasso pisse^(q) qui capitur^(r) in omni preripio sancti Marculfi et unum hospitem in Werethvilla,^(s) decimam quorum^(t) ovium^(u) mearum sed et^(v) porcorum in eadem villa alitorum.

Variants. a, hoc *D*; b, propter *D*; c, mortalis *C*; immortalis *D*; d, pauci *D*; e, torperi *D*; f, Set *C*; g, merent *C*; h, aut *D*; i, quecumque *C*; j, Rothomag(ensium) Robertus *C*; k, affluam *D*; l, pauci *D*; m, salutem *add. C*; n–n, reppendere suevit supra quam *D*; o, perhennis *C*; perhemnis *D*; p, enim suis *C*; q, pisce *C*; r, accipitur *C*; s, Warechivilla *C*; t, decimamque *C*; quoque *D*; u, omnium *D*; v, etiam *D*.

26 May 1036

Robert, archbishop of Rouen, displays the whole body of St. Romanus, which was found in a reliquary belonging to the cathedral. The presence of the body was confirmed by Gradulf, abbot of Saint-Wandrille, four monks, Hugh the archdeacon, Herluin the treasurer, and various unnamed laymen.

A. Original lost.

B. AD Seine-Maritime, G 3666. 18th-century *procès-verbal*, which is dated 28 April 1777.

Ptd. C. de Beaurepaire, 'Notice sur les anciens reliquaires de la cathédrale de Rouen', *Bulletin de la Commission des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure*, 5 (1882), pp. 36-57, at p. 54 (from B).

Ind. Spear, 'The Norman episcopate', Appendix E, pp. 197-198; Le Maho, 'Recherches sur les origines', p. 152; Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 205, 219; D. Spear, 'The double-display of St. Romanus of Rouen in 1124', in *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman world*, pp. 117-132, at p. 131.

Note. The details of this *translatio* are preserved in a five-page eighteenth-century *procès-verbal*, which is an inspection of three charters found in the chasse of St. Romanus in Rouen. The text edited here is the first of these three, the other two dating from 24 August 1124 and 17 June 1179. It is an important witness to the growth of the beginnings of the cult of St. Romanus at the cathedral, which was nurtured in other ways by Archbishop Robert, while the appearance of Herluin the treasurer precedes the next mention of this office by some fifty years.

B

Anno ab incarnatione domini M.XXX.VI indictione IV. Rodberti presulis tempore, VII kal. Iunii, vigilia dominicae Ascensionis sollicite quaesitum et in hac ipsa urna vere totum est corpus gloriosi praesulis sanctissimi Romani inventum, teste Gradulfo Fontinellae abbate cum quatuor monachis, praesente domino Hugone archidiacono et Herluino thesaurario cum aliis nonnullis canonicis et laicis testibus idoneis, hicque iterum reconditum devotioni futurorum.

1037 × 1054/55

Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, grants to the monks of Saint-Père de Chartres, with the intercession of their abbot Landric, freedom from the toll, which would normally be administered at Les Andelys, on goods that they transport on the Seine between Saint-Pierre-[de-Juziers] and Rouen. Anathema was threatened on those who would violate this agreement, and the charter witnessed by a large gathering of clerics and laymen, among whom were a number of dignitaries of the cathedral of Rouen.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BM (Chartres), ms. 1060 (H.1.49), fol. 120r-v. 12th-century cartulary (*Cartulaire d'Aganon*) destroyed 26 May 1944.¹
- C. BM (Chartres), ms. 1061 (H.1.50), t. 1, frags. 27A and 27B (cotes provisoires). A second copy of 12th-century cartulary (*Cartulaire d'Aganon*) destroyed 26 May 1944, of which two fragments containing the text of Mauger's charter survive.
- D. BN, ms. lat. 10048, fol. 163r. 17th-century copy by Arthur Du Monstier (source not stated).
- E. BN, ms. lat. 5417, p. 424. 17th-century abbreviated copy (from B).
- F. BN, ms. lat. 17044, p. 5. 17th-century abbreviated copy by Gaignières (from B).
- G. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 22, fol. 159r-v. 18th-century abbreviated copy by J.-N. Lenoir (from D).
- H. BM (Chartres), ms. 1136, vol. 1, fol. 129v-130r (formerly pp. 246-247). 18th-century copy (from B).

Ptd. GC, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 11-12 (*ex Sammarthanis*); *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. xlix, pp. 176-177 (from BC); Migne, *PL*, clv, col. 312 (from Guérard).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 13819, fol. 118v; Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 200, 207, 224, 253.

Note. For discussion of the lost cartularies in which the text of this charter was once found see **no. 49**. The text below is edited from the fragments of **C**. Since it is possible **D** is taken from a source other than **BC**, and since all the other post-medieval transcripts are either partial or themselves damaged by fire (**H**), the text missing from **C** is supplied in square brackets from the edition of Benjamin Guérard. It should be noted, however, that Guérard chose to represent *ę* as *æ*, while he also placed an 'S' before each of the witnesses. This is not the case for **C** and, as such, these have been

¹ The folio number for ms. B is known from BN, ms. lat. 13819, fol. 118v.

removed from the edition below. Of course, while Guérard made use of both **B** and **C**, it is likely he worked primarily from **B**, which may have presented the witnesses thus. This act contains the earliest reference to Les Andelys being in the possession of the archbishops of Rouen, and it is not impossible that Archbishop Mauger was the first to establish an archiepiscopal residence on this site.² The dating limits are given by Mauger's archiepiscopate.

C

[In nomi]ne sanctę et individue Trinitatis. Oportunum val[de est et omnin]o necessarium cuique fidelium Deum^(a) timentium et^(b) por[tionem habe]re cupientium in regione vivorum, ut de rebus, [quas temp]oraliter possidet, Deum^(a) et sanctos eius atque eorum loca hono[rare, dit]are atque sublimare studeat, quatinus pro temporalibus [æterna adqui]rat, et pro terrenis cęlestia obtineat. Ab exordio igitur [nascentis] ecclesię fuerunt viri religiosi Deum^(a) timentes, et vera bona [promer]eri desiderantes, qui ecclesiam Dei de suis possessi[onibus honoraverunt et exaltaverunt; unde a Christo dignam receperunt mercedem. ^(c-)Quod quidem cogitans et vigili mente sepe tractans, ego^(c-) videlicet Malgerius, gratia Dei,^(d) sanctae Marię Rotomagensis [æcclesie archiepiscopus, pro divuino amore et remedio an]ime meę et [redemptione] animarum parentum [meorum], census telonei, quod [apud] Andeliacum a ministris meis accipitur, sancto Petro Car[noten]sis cenobii, et monachis ibidem famulantibus, perpet[ualiter perdonavi ut] nullum teloneum ^(e-)in posterum persolvant[t^(e-) de rebus sancti Petri], per flumen Sequane Rotomagum [adduc]tis. [Hoc quoque perdo]navi, interventu videlicet Landrici, predicti^(f) coenobii [abbatis]. Si quis autem ecclesię rerum invasor hanc donationem v[oluerit] delere, destruat illum Deus,^(g) ita ut non habeat `partem` hereditat[em in] regno Christi et Dei.^(h) Quatinus autem huius donationis auct[oritas] firma permaneat, manu propria eam cum signo crucis `firm`[avi]⁽ⁱ⁾ sign[...],⁽ⁱ⁾ et fidelibus meis, q[uorum nomina] hic^(k) scripta habentur, fir[mare] mecum precepi. S. Malgerii archiepiscopi. Osberni decani. [Hugonis] archidiaconi. Fulberti cancellarii. Radbodi canonici. [Rodberti] levite. Gisleberti levite.^(l) Gerardi pincernarum mag[istri] comitis Vuillelmi. Heriberti laici. Stephani laici. A[lberti monachi] et prepositi Gesiacensis. Rainerii monachi et editui. Mainar[di monachi et baiuli Landrici abbati]s. Gausfridi laici.^(m) Haimer[ici] laici. Roscelini] Rotomagensis.⁽ⁿ⁾ O[duini] maioris.

² Casset, *Les évêques aux champs*, pp. 224-226.

Variants. a, dominum *D*; b, *om. D*; c–c, Hinc est, quod rogitans vigili mente ego, *etc. D*; d, Dei gratia *D*; e–e, persolvant in posterum *D*; f, dicti *D*; g, *om. D*; h, *om. D*; i, formavi *D*; j, *the end of this word is burned away in C*; k, *om. D*; l, *om. D*; m, Gaufridi et *D*; n, Rothomagensis *D*.

1037 × 1047/8, but perhaps 1046 × 1047/8

Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, and his brother William, count of Arques, give Perriers-sur-Andelle and all its appurtenances to the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, which was done in accordance with the wishes of their mother Papia, and in memory of their father Richard II, and their brothers Richard III and Robert I. The donation was then confirmed by Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, and gravest anathema was threatened for those who would dare to infringe upon it.

- A. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189. Original. Measurements: 515mm (across) × 700mm (deep). 27 lines. Endorsements: *De Pirariis* (11th-cent.); *Carta Willelmi Archensis comitis et Malgeri archiepiscopi fratris eius et de villa qui dicitur Periers* (12th-cent.); *cum copia* (13th-cent.). Description: The first fifteen lines of text are written in an elongated majuscule, while the signatures to the first act, and all the text of the second are written in a neat minuscule hand. None of the *signa* appear to be autograph, while there is no arrangement for sealing.
- B. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189. 13th-century copy.
- C. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189. 17th-century copy (from B).
- D. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 189. 17th-century copy (from B).
- E. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 22, fol. 151r-v. 18th-century copy by J.-N. Le Noir (from A).
- F. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 76, 2e partie, p. 185. 18th-century partial copy by J.-N. Lenoir (from A).
- G. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1246, fol. 193r-v. 18th-century copy, which has been corrected in a later hand (from A).
- H. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1243, fol. 116r-v. 19th-century copy by Deville (from A).
- I. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21815, fol. 267r. 19th-century by Léopold Delisle (from A).
- J. BM (Évreux), *Diplomatique des ducs de Normandie*, Carton 11, fol. 699r-700r. 19th-century copy by Armand Bénét (from A).¹
- K. AD Calvados, F 5277. 20th-century abbreviated copy by Gaston de Beausse (from A).

Ptd. Gurney, *House of Gournay*, i, p. 43, Appendix III, no. 2 (from A); Le Prévost, *Mémoires et notes de l'Eure*, ii, p. 523 (from A); RADN, no. 112 (from A).

¹ This is the same copy as ms. H in Fauroux's edition.

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 13816, fol. 126r; Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, p. 22; Bénét, *Diplomatique des ducs*, Carton 2, vol. ii, fol. 562r; *GC*, xi, col. 29; Bates, 'The Conqueror's adolescence', pp. 11-12.

Note. The importance of this charter's anathema clause, as well as its implications for our understanding of the episcopal succession at Lisieux, have been fully discussed above. Its broad dating limits are given by the accession of Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, and the deaths of Robert, bishop of Coutances, and Gradulf, abbot of Saint-Wandrille, while the narrower *terminus a quo* refers to the accession of William, bishop of Évreux.

A

Ad honorem domini ac salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi sanctae matris aecclesiae antecessores nostri pullulante seculo alii¹ predia alii ornamenta plurimi varia intulerunt beneficia, quatinus laus Dei et exultatio absque interpolatione^(a) haberetur² in ea, et meritis ac precibus Dei servorum ibidem^(b) servientium delictorum cirographum^(c) deleretur in secula. Nunc igitur labente³ in precipitium seculo, contemporales^(d) nostri rabie diabolica instincti non solum priscos refugiunt imitari dutores; sed et furtim⁴ satagunt et aperte data vi diripere, et ecclesiam Dei per quam sunt regenerati et in Christo nutriti incessanter^(e) adnichilare. Sed quamvis⁵ mors perhennis faucibus non nullos tetris degluciatos iam teneat, et adhuc restent quos totius auctor malitię non sinit adquies⁶/cere^(f) donec aeternaliter absorbeat, tamen sunt quam plurimi Dei benivolentia^(g) ammoniti quos sponsam Christi scilicet supradictam⁷ aecclesiam, in quantum suppetit facultas vita malorum honorare non retardat. Ex quibus ego Guilielmus Archensis^(h) comes et⁸ frater meus Malgerius archiepiscopus villam quę dicitur Perers⁽ⁱ⁾ sitam super fluvium qui dicitur Andela cum appendiciis suis per voluntatem⁹ matris meę Paveię annuente Guilielmo Normannorum comite sancto Petro sanctoque Audoeno^(j-)et monachis inibi Deo servientibus perhenniter^{(-j)/10} tradimus, pro animabus parentum nostrorum et nostris, Ricardi videlicet patris et fratrum nostrorum iunioris Ricardi necnon et Rotberti¹¹ comitum, quatinus nostra illorumque memoria ibidem habeatur per seculorum secula. Et ne quis nostrorum heredum vel parentum seu aliquorum hominum sua¹²dente diabolo huic donationi clamorem sive contradictionem inferat. Ex bonis sanctorum et substantia monachorum libras trecentas^{(k)/13} denariorum accipimus,^(l) et manibus nostris signo sanctę crucis hanc kartam^(m) firmamus, ut nobis Deus misericordiam

suam hic et in euum tribuat,^{/14} ac contradictorem huius rei in inferni⁽ⁿ⁾ voraginem tradat.^{(o)/15}

+ S. Willelmi ducis. + S. Malgerii archiepiscopi. + S. Rotberti episcopi 'Constantię civitatis'. + S. Willielmi comitis 'Arcas'. + S. Gradulfi abbatis 'sancti Wandregesili'. + S. Isemberti abbatis 'sanctę Trinitatis'.

Ego Malgerius gratia Dei archiepiscopus cum auctoritate pie matris aecclesię quam Deo volente gubernare hanc descriptionem fieri ratam omnimodo exopto, signum que sanctę crucis subter ass^{/1}cribo, et nomen meum ac nostrorum fidelium imprimi mando. Quatinus ut decet sic firma et inviolata hęc donatio perseveret; quodsi aliquis huic dono quod absit et minime fore credimus^{/2} contrarius extiterit; his maledictionibus que subter describuntur subiciatur. Maledictus sit ab omni potente Deo, maledictione qua maledictus est diabolus et angeli eius; in igne perpetuo.^{/3} Maledicat eum sancta Dei genetrix MARIA, nec habeat partem cum electis Dei positis ad dextram; sed cum reprobis iure ponendis ad sinistram; maledicat eum sanctus Michahel cum omnibus ordinibus angelorum.^{/4} Maledicat eum sanctus Iohannes baptista, omnesque patriarche et prophete; maledicat eum sanctus Petrus cum ceteris apostolis. Maledicat eum sanctus STEPHANUS cum omnibus martyribus. Maledicat eum sanctus^{/5} AUDOENUS cum omnibus Christi confessoribus. Maledicat eum sancta AGNES cum omnibus virginibus. Omnis maledictio qua maledictus est Cain, Dathan et Abiron, Antiochus, Herodes, Pontius Pilatus,^{/6} Iudas domini traditor, Nero, Symon magus, Dioclitianus, Maximianus, ac Datianus, veniat super eum. Sit pars illius cum omnibus iniquis in inferiori inferno, ubi ignis non extinguatur, nec vermis^{/7} moritur. Fiant dies eius pauci et mali. Et in isto seculo ante oculos hominum pessime ac turpiter pereat, et in futuro lucerna illius extinguatur, et de libro vite nomen eius deleatur, amen amen, fiat.^{/8}

+ S. Willelmi 'Ebroas' episcopi. + S. Iohannis 'abbati sanctę Trinitatis'. + S. Hugonis 'Lisiacensis' episcopi + S. Willelmi 'Dou' + S. Rotberti 'Dou' + S. Gisleberti 'filii Lotemer' + S. Gumfridi 'dapiferi' + S. Rogerii 'filii Hunfridi' + S. Willelmi 'filii Osberni'^{/9} + S. Rogerii 'Gomerei' + S. Rodulfi 'Taison' + S. Rodulfi 'filii Gerald' – S. Hugonis 'Gornai' + S. Lanberti 'filii Ricardi vicecomitis' + S. Hugonis 'Britonis' + S. Warnerii 'de Metante'.

Variants. a, interpollatione *B*; b, servientibus *add. B*; c, *B* inserts *vovetur* in, which is scored through; d, cumtemporales (*sic*) *B*; e, insessanter *B*; f, acquiescere *B*; g, begnivolencia *B*; h, Arcensis *B*; i, Periez *B*; j–j, *ill. B*; k, trescentas *B*; l, accepimus *B*; m, cartam *B*; n, ininferni *B*; o, *B* ends here.

c. 1046 × 1047/8 × c. 1050

Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, confirms the donation to Saint-Léger-de-Préaux by Humphrey de Vieilles of all that he held from the archbishop at Bouafles. After this had been confirmed by many witnesses, at the time of the abbey's dedication, Hugh 'the grammarian', archdeacon of Rouen, reminded Humphrey that the donations he had made should be free from disturbance, after which Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, confirmed the gift and threatened violators with excommunication.

A. Original lost.

Ptd. Du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, p. 521 (source not given); *Regesta*, no. 217 (from Du Monstier).

Ind. GC, xi, col. 853; Le Brasseur, *Histoire du comté d'Évreux*, p. 92; Gazeau, 'Le domaine continental', pp. 165-183

Note. The notice of this confirmation is found in the text of a longer confirmation charter, which is known only from a seventeenth-century copy. This has been extensively discussed by both Gazeau and Bates, though its source remains unclear. Its dating limits are the beginning of the episcopate of Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux, and the death of Humphrey de Vieilles.

Ego episcoporum Dei gratia episcopus Melgerius, pro redemptione anime mee, fidelium meorum usus consilio concedo, ac potius perpetualiter dono Deo, ac sancte eius atque glorissime genitrici, nostre communi protectrici Marie, in loco qui est in honore eius atque victoriosissimi martyris Leodegarii dicatus, quicquid Hunfridus tenuit ex me in Bodelfa ad subsidium, que ibi divinis instant officiis, sanctimonialium foeminarum, ea videlicet conditione, ut abbatissa eiusdem monasterii semel in anno in solemnitate eiusdem dominatricis nostre et domine Marie, in episcopio suo deserviat. Quod huius subscriptionis signo + laudo. Huius vero adstipulationis nos legitimi testes sumus: Ego Walcherus, Heppo, Ansfridus, Hugolinus, Richardus, Rozelinus, Godobaldus, ipsius archiepiscopi cubicularius. His ita datis, ne quis in futuro calumniam intulisse foret ecclesie, famulabusque Dei inibi famulantibus, in dedicatione ipsius ecclesie, Hugo Grammaticus, Rothomagensis archidiaconus, ex precepto domini Hunfridi, excelsa voce commonuit ut si quis his donis calumniam inferre vellet, libere et in aures omnium protulisset. Ad hanc vocem omnis vicinia leto clamore, absque ulla contradictione, quod ipse fecerat unanimiter concessit. Postea

Hugo, Lexoviensis episcopus, hanc dedit excommunicationem, si quis de supradictis rebus iniuste aliquid subtraxerit, aut calumniatus fuerit, damnetur.

1055 × 1067

Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, and Nicholas, abbot of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, forge an agreement concerning the arrangements for the feast day of St. Ouen, which had been a source of tension between the cathedral clerks and the abbey monks. It was settled that, after the bishop of Évreux had performed vespers the day before, the archbishop and his monks would process to the abbey of Saint-Ouen on the day of the feast. Once arrived, the clerks would be seated on the left of the choir, and the archbishop would perform Mass. In return, the abbot must give the archbishop seven gold coins, while the clerks are to receive four swine, one boar, one cow hide, forty hens, one hundred eggs, one hundred and twenty loaves of bread, and a measure and a half of wine.

- A. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 156. Original. 11 lines. Measurements: 285mm (across) × 95/107mm (deep). Endorsements: *Quid canonici habeant in festum sancti Audoeni* (11th-cent.); [three illegible words] *de hoc quod habent canonici sancte Marie* [illegible word] *sancti Audoeni* (13th-cent). There is a slit measuring 30mm in the top left hand corner of the charter, while the right half of the parchment is blackened, rendering some of the text difficult to read. The hand itself is very similar to that responsible for some of the texts in the *Livre noir* of Saint-Ouen (BM (Rouen), ms. Y 44 Omont 1406), which corroborates its authenticity as a document produced during the abbatiage of Nicholas. There is no seal and no sign of any arrangements for sealing.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 10055, fol. 90v. 17th-century copy.
- C. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1246, fol. 197r. 18th-century copy (from A).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 13816, fol. 125v; Pommeraye, *Histoire de S. Ouen de Rouen*, pp. 174-177; L. Delisle, *Études sur la condition de la classe agricole et l'état de l'agriculture en Normandie au moyen âge* (Évreux, 1851), p. 243 n. 107.

Note. This previously unedited charter provides invaluable information about the arrangements surrounding the feast of St. Ouen, one of the most important in the *rouennais* liturgical calendar. The reference to the clerks standing on the left of the choir has important implications that are fully discussed elsewhere,¹ while the price exacted by the archbishop from the abbot testifies to the wealth of the abbey under Abbot Nicholas. The statement that the feast day was a source of tension between the two institutions is by no means an exaggeration, as is illustrated by the riot that erupted during the celebrations that took place in 1073.² Unfortunately, the charter can be dated no more precisely than the archiepiscopate of Maurilius, though it may date to the beginning of his reign.

¹ R. Allen, 'The *Acta archiepiscoporum*' (forthcoming).

² 'Acta archiepiscoporum', pp. 224-226.

A

Ego Maurilius Rothomag(ensis) archipresul, et Nicholaus abbas in festivitate sancti AUDOENI qualiter canonici sanctę MARIE cum suo archiepiscopo/¹ eiusdem sancti festam cęlebrarent, et quid sibi in eadem festivitate ab abbate tribuerentur ideo scribere et memoriis sequentium tradere statuimus/² ne quis aliter stabilire vel aliquid subtrahere audeat. Nam antea quamplurima inter monachos et clericos dissensio erat, diversa intra/³ se sentientes; multaque invicem contraria proferentes. Pręcedenti igitur die festivitatis cum ab Ebroicensis episcopo et eiusdem loci monachis/⁴ vesperę finitę fuerint, archiepiscopus cum suorum clericorum processione ad ęcclesiam sancti Audoeni venire et ibi sollempnes vesperas cele/⁵brare debet. Similiter in die sollempnitatis post tertiam veniat et missam cantet. Clerici vero, sinistrum chorum teneant, abbas autem/⁶ archiepiscopo septem solidos dare debet, et clericis .iiii. frescengas, et unum verrem, et unam vaccam cum corio, et xl. gallinas, et .c. ova/⁷ et .cxx. panes, et unum modium et dimidium vini. Ne vero tanta sollempnitas aliquo modo remaneat, ordinamus ut si culpa abbatis/⁸ remanserit, coram archiepiscopo et eius clericis in capitulo sanctę Marię satisfactionem faciat, et si archiepiscopi in capitulo sancti Audoeni/⁹ veniam petat. Anathematizamus autem quicumque hęc quę ordinauimus dampnauerit, vel aliter egerit, sed et qui hanc scripturam/¹⁰ deleverit.

1055 × 1066

Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, and John [of Ravenna], abbot of Fécamp, write to William [Fleitel], bishop of Évreux, regarding his excommunication of a monk [of Fécamp] who had violated the Truce of God. The two men note that the Rules of St. Benedict were never applied during the judgement of the case. They further observe that when the bishop imposes the care of souls on an abbot he passes to him the pastoral office, and that in the monastery concerned no bishop has any business there unless the abbot first invites him.

A. Original lost.

B. BN, ms. lat. 2403, fol. 165r. 12th-century manuscript from the abbey of Fécamp.

Ptd. Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, ed. Martène and Durand, i, cols. 206-207 (from B, with errors); Migne, *PL*, cxliii, cols. 1389 (from Martène, with errors); L. Delisle, 'Choix de pièces inédites. XI. Cérémonial d'une épreuve judiciaire', *BEC*, 18 (1857), pp. 253-255 at p. 255 (from B).

Ind. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, p. 89; 'Der Gottesfriede in seiner tatsächlichen Wirksamkeit', in *Studien zur rechtsgeschichte der Gottesfrieden und Landfrieden I: Die Friedensordnungen in Frankreich* (Ansbach, 1892), pp. 436-467, at p. 438; J. Yver, 'L'interdiction de la guerre privée dans les très ancien droit normand', in *Travaux de la Semaine de Droit normand tenue à Guernesey du 26 au 30 mai 1927* (Caen, 1928), pp. 307-347, at p. 313; Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, p. 193; Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 210.

Note. The provenance of the manuscript in which this letter is found is fully discussed by Delisle, who dated the epistle to c. 1060.¹ The exactness of this date is not expounded upon, however, and the strict limits must be the election of Maurilius to the archiepiscopate and the death of the bishop of Évreux. None of the authorities to have studied the letter have questioned its veracity. It would be unwise, however, to accept its contents unquestioningly, for the archbishop of Rouen essentially admits that the abbey is free from archiepiscopal and episcopal interference. Maurilius was, of course, a former monk of Fécamp,² while William Fleitel is known to have been involved in affairs at the abbey.³ Furthermore, during the reign of Archbishop Mauger the abbot of Fécamp secured the right to invite bishops of his choice to perform ordinations and dedications at the abbey. However, other archbishops vigorously opposed the attempts by the abbey to remove itself from archiepiscopal jurisdiction, leading to violent conflict as a result.⁴ Moreover, if this copy of the letter was transcribed towards the beginning of the twelfth century, as Delisle contends, then this

¹ Delisle, 'Choix de pièces inédites', p. 255.

² 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224.

³ Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', p. 596

⁴ Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', pp. 596-597.

coincides with the creation of other texts at the abbey which fraudulently promoted its independence.⁵

B

W. sanctę matris Ebrocacensis ecclesię reverentissimo episcopo, M. Rotomagensis ecclesię, humilis archiepiscopus, abbas quoque Iohannes, Fiscannensium servulus, recte offerre, et dividere rectius. Audivimus vestram fraternitatem quendam monachum exterminio dampnauisse, eo quod treuvam Dei comprobatur infregisse, quod bene vos fecisse laudamus sed incaute illud inspexisse iudicamus. Non enim sancti Benedicti institutio ullius legis proscribitur iudicio, propterea frater karissime et recte offerre, et rectius precipimur dividere. Auream ergo virtutem sequamur, discretionem scilicet, quę omnium virtutum dicitur mater. Quando igitur abbati cura animarum imponitur ab episcopo, pastoralitas ovium Christi sibi traditarum ei commendatur omni modo. Nisi enim ab abbate^(a) episcopus invitetur pro qualicumque negotio, nullum ius episcopus habere decernitur in eius monasterio. Si autem contra hæc que dicimus aliquis repugnare temptaverit, regulam sancti Benedicti sibi proponimus.

Variants. a, ab babate originally written B.

⁵ Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, Appendix V, pp. 255-263.

59

A 14 October, 1055 × 1066, Rouen

Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, gives to the monks of Saint-Père de Chartres the toll for wine at Les Andelys.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BM (Chartres), ms. 1060 (H.1.49), fol. 120v. 12th-century cartulary (*Cartulaire d'Aganon*) destroyed 26 May 1944.¹
- C. BM (Chartres), ms. 1061 (H.1.50), t. 1, frag. 27B and t. 2, frag. 11A (cotes provisoires). A second copy of 12th-century cartulary (*Cartulaire d'Aganon*) destroyed 26 May 1944, of which two fragments containing the text of Maurilius' charter survive.
- D. BN, ms. lat. 5417, p. 424. 17th-century abbreviated copy (from B).
- E. BN, ms. lat. 17044, p. 7. 17th-century abbreviated copy by Gaignières (from B).
- F. BM (Chartres), ms. 1136, vol. 1, fol. 130v (formerly p. 248). 18th-century copy (from B).
- G. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 29, fol. 113r-v. 18th-century abbreviated copy (from C).

Ptd. *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, i, no. 1, p. 177 (from BC); Migne, *PL*, clv, col. 313 (from Guérard).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 13819, fol. 118v; Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 207, 220, 242, 249, 263.

Note. For discussion of the lost cartularies in which the text of this charter was once found see **no. 49**. This charter extends the rights first given to the monks of Saint-Père by Maurilius' predecessor, Mauger (**no. 54**). The text below is edited from the fragments of **C**, while the missing text is supplied from the edition of Guérard. The act cannot be dated any more exactly than the archiepiscopate of Maurilius, although one might suggest that the donation was perhaps made in the wake of the dedication of Rouen cathedral on 1 October 1063.

C

[E]go Maurilius, Dei gratia, Rotomagensium archiepiscopus, pro elemosina domni mei [Willelmi], comitis Normannorum, et pro salute anime mee et [antecessorum] seu successorum meorum, condono coenobio ecclesie Car[notensis], quod in suburbanis

¹ The folio number for ms. B is known from BN, ms. lat. 13819, fol. 118v.

eiusdem civitatis situm est, in honore [beati Petri], apostolorum principis, teloneum vini proprii, quod anteh[ac accipi solebat in loco iuris nostri, cuius caput est Andeleium, ut amodo mini]stri p[rædicti coenobii securi eant per prædictum locum, absque ulla exa]ctione alicu[ius telonei, amodo et usque in sempiternum. Actum Roto]magi, pridie idus octo[bris, in præsentia domni] Maurilii ar[chiepiscopi, ast]antibus et faventibus canonicis, Benedicto archidiacono, [St]igando cantore, Godberto canonico, L[andrico canonico, W]alchelino canonico, Willelmo m[onachis etiam, W]aleranno preposito Gisiaci, Ted[uino] fratre eius; laicis, Gilduino maiore, Deodato, [G]osiberto maiore.

1067 × 1079 (perhaps 1067 × 1071), Rouen (*in capitulo*)

John [of Ivry], archbishop of Rouen, confirms for the monks of Marmoutier their use of certain benefices at Gisors relating to the casamentum of the cathedral. This was given by Hugh de Chaumont-[en-Vexin], the archbishop's fidelis, his wife, of whose dowry it formed a part, and his sons Theobald, Droco, Hugh and Lambert. In return, the monks must not only recognise that the church of Saint-Ouen de Gisors was equipped from goods belonging to the cathedral, but they must also pay three gold deniers to the archbishop on the 17 kalends of November (16 October) every year, while three times a year the prior of Saint-Ouen must carry, between the Epte and the Oise, the dispatches (legationes) of the church of Rouen to the king of France. Moreover, when the monks receive word of the archbishop's death they are to celebrate three Masses in his honour, the first being performed in front of the assembled monks, the others in private. This arrangement was also to apply for deceased canons, while three Masses would be said at Rouen for any deceased monks.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 12878, fol. 232r-v. 18th-century copy by Edmond Martène *ex autographo* (marginalia: circa 1064)
- C. BN, coll. Baluze, vol. 77, fol. 49r (no. 13). 18th-century copy ('ex chartulario Normannico Maioris-monasterii Turonensis').
- D. BN, ms. lat. 12880, fol. 59r-v. 18th-century copy by Edmond Martène (no source given).

Ptd. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis s. Benedicti*, v, pp. 627-628; J. Depoin, 'Les châtelains de Gisors aux XIe-XIIe siècles', *Mémoires de la Société historique et archéologique de Pontoise, du Val d'Oise et du Vexin*, 19 (1897), pp. 96-115, at pp. 108-109 (from C); Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 8 (from BC).

Ind. Martène, *Histoire de Marmoutier*, i, p. 397

Note. The importance of this charter is fully discussed above, pp. 357-358. It is widely dated by the archiepiscopate of John of Ivry, though John the subchanter had apparently been promoted to chanter by 1071 (**no 62**), which provides the narrower dating limits.

B

Notum sit omnibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae cultoribus, quod ego Iohannes, divina ordinante providentia Rotomagensis ecclesiae episcopus, huic loco consistenti apud

Gisorcium^(a) qui vocatur sanctus Audoenus, quicquid^(b) videtur habere ipse de rebus quae pertinent ad casamentum Rotomagensis ecclesiae per donationem Hugonis militis de Caluomonte^(c) mei fidelis, et uxoris eius Mehildis,^(d) de cuius dote est ipse locus, necnon [et]^(e) filiorum suorum Tetbaldi, Droconis,^(f) Hugonis, atque Lamberti,^(g) totum ex integro concedo et annuo, corroborando^(h) ex mea auctoritate, iure perpetuo possidendum, ad usum videlicet monachorum ⁽ⁱ⁻⁾Maioris monasterii⁽⁻ⁱ⁾ ibidem omnipotenti Deo famulantium,⁽ⁱ⁾ conditione posita, ut ipsa ecclesia recognoscat se dotatam de rebus sanctae Mariae in solvendo annuatim tres aureos denarios, termino constituto XVII kalendas^(k) novembris, omnibus episcopis qui pro tempore praeerunt praedictae ecclesiae; additis quoque tribus servitiis quae reddet per annos singulos monachus qui praeerit illi obedientiae, id est legationes portabit ex parte Rotomagensis ecclesiae regi Francorum, tribus vicibus in anno, inter duos fluvios, Ethan^(l) videlicet et Hyseram, si necesse fuerit. Additur etiam his aliud, quod est maximum, id est ut cum episcopus praedictae ecclesiae morte finierit, et hoc certa^(m) relatione monachis Maioris monasterii cognitum fuerit, praecedente sonitu signorum cum modulatione psalmorum pro absolutione animae illius, sicut monasticus ordo exigit, facient unum trigesimum⁽ⁿ⁾ ita ut prima missa erit in conventu celebrata, aliae vero privatim. De canonicis quoque cum aliquis obierit, et hoc per notitiam brevis monachis compertum fuerit, facto sonitu signorum, tres missae in conventu celebrabuntur pro illorum animarum salute. Haec eadem facient canonici pro monachis, reddentes illis vicem, media interveniente fraterna caritate. Facta est haec conventio in capitulo sanctae Mariae inter nos et monachos sancti Martini, quando accepimus beneficium Maioris monasterii per manum domni Bartholomei^(o) ipsius loci abbatis, et ipse et monachi eius similiter a nobis beneficium loci nostri,^(p) audientibus et videntibus his quorum nomina subscripta sunt: domnus Iohannes episcopus +.^(q) Gotherius^(r) archidiaconus +.^(q) Rotbertus archidiaconus, Goslenus^(s) archidiaconus, Fulco archidiaconus, Ascelinus decanus, Herluinus, Gotbertus, Ansfredus, Guillelmus Resto, Landricus,^(t) Richardus,^(u) Walterius puer, Guilelmus^(v) filius Ansfredi, Guilelmus^(w) filius decani, Iohannes subcantor.

Variants. a, Gisorsium *D*; b, quidquid *D*; c, Calvo-monte *D*; d, Mahildis *D*; e, *om. BD*; f, Drogonis *C*; g, Lanberti *C*; h, coroborando *D*; i-i, *om. C*; j, tali *add. C*; k, kalendas *CD*; l, Etham *C*; m, carta *C*; n, tricesimum *D*; o, Bartholomaei *D*; p, nostri loci *CD*; q, *om. C*; r, Goterius *C*; s, Goslinus *D*; t, Landrieus *D*; u, Ricardus *C*; v, Guillelmus *D*; w, Guillelmus *CD*.

61

17-21 February 1070

Memorandum reporting the case brought by Odilo, abbot of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy, against the monks of Marmoutier, concerning the church of Saint-Ouen de Gisors, which had been given to La Croix by Hugh de Chaumont-[en-Vexin]. The case was heard in the court of John, archbishop of Rouen, before Roger de Beaumont and many other Norman magnates. With both sides having stated their cause, Odilo dropped his claim to the church, as did Nicholas, abbot of Saint-Ouen de Rouen, of whose house La Croix was a dependant. The monks of Marmoutier then paid Odilo six livres. Abbot Nicholas confirmed this in his own chapter on 18 February, while Abbot Odilo did the same on 21 February.

- A. Original lost
- B. BN, coll. Baluze, vol. 77, fol. 48r. 18th-century copy by Baluze 'ex chartulario Normannico Majoris-monasterii Turonensis' (*Placitum de Gisortio cum monachis de Cruce*).
- C. BN, ms. lat. 12878, fol. 231r-v. 18th-century copy by Edmond Martène.
- D. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 169r-v. 18th-century copy by Levrier (from Mabillon).

Ptd. Mabillon, *Annales ordinis s. Benedicti*, v, p. 621; Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 7 (from BCD).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 12875, fol. 151v; Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, p. 99; BN, ms. fr. 31911, p. 6; Martène, *Histoire de Marmoutier*, i, p. 396; *GC*, xi, col. 634.

Note. Since this charter was produced by a monk of Marmoutier, this is strictly not an archiepiscopal act. Nevertheless, copies, now lost, were probably made by a scribe for each of the four institutions involved, while the act itself provides invaluable evidence of the activities of the archiepiscopal court in the second half of the eleventh century. The edition of Mabillon seems to have been based on another copy of this act, so its variants are also noted (*ma*).

B

Noverit posteritas nostra Odilonem abbatem sancti Leutfredi^(a) de Cruce calumniasse nobis, videlicet monachis sancti Martini Maioris monasterii, ecclesiam sancti Audoeni de Gisortio^(b) consistentem super fluviolum quendam^(c) nomine Etham, quam olim dederat nobis solutam et quietam miles quidam nomine Hugo de Calvomonte.

De qua calumnia ad hunc tandem finem devenimus in curia Rotomagensis^(d) archiepiscopi Iohannis, ipso eodem archiepiscopo et Rotgerio de Bellomonte iudicibus. Post plurima utrinque verba, tandem guerpivit nobis idem Odilo supradictam ecclesiam solutam et quietam ab omni calumnia sui suorumque monachorum. Nicolaus quoque abbas sancti Audoeni, ad quem abbatia de Cruce respicit, ^(e-)in eodem loco similiter^(-e) nobis eam guerpivit, et in capitulo suo hoc ipsum postea coram omni congregatione confirmatione sua confirmavit. Nos vero propter pacis caritatisque confirmationem dedimus supradicto abbati^(f) Odiloni sex libras denariorum. Acta sunt haec in curia archiepiscopi anno incarnationis domini MLXX. XIII. kal.^(g) martii, audientibus et videntibus quamplurimis optimatum Normanniae cum multis aliis quos praesens pagina subnotabit. Et eorum quidem quae facta sunt in curia archiepiscopi testes sunt, ipse archiepiscopus Iohannes, Robertus^(h) comes de Ol, Goterius archidiaconus, Rotbertus archidiaconus,⁽ⁱ⁾ Ricoardus canonicus, Rotgerius de Bellomonte, Hainricus filius eius, Radulfus camerlarius, Geroldus sinescalcus,^(j) Nicolaus de Quitreio, Hugo Botellarius, Radulfus homo archiepiscopi, Nicolaus abbas sancti Audoeni, Gislebertus monachus, Rotbertus camerlarius abbas, Odilo abbas de Cruce, Witmundus^(k) monachus, Boso monachus, Osbertus^(l) presbyter, Ansquitinus de Autolio,^(m) Odo monachus, Garinus⁽ⁿ⁾ monachus, Rodulfus^(o) monachus, Dacfredus monachus, Ainardus monachus, Herveus famulus. Sequenti die, id est XII. kal.^(p) martii, auctorizavit^(q) nobis ipsam ecclesiam Nicolaus abbas sancti Audoeni in capitulo suo,^(r) testibus istis, Milone Archengerio,^(s) Herveo famulo, Iohanne famulo, Odone monacho, Garino monacho, Radulfo^(t) monacho, Dacfredo monacho, Ainardo monacho, Tetbaldo Pagano, Sigeverto.^(u) De hinc quarto die, id est VIII. kal.^(v) martii, abbas Odilo de Cruce, ingressus capitulum suum clamavit nobis praedictam ecclesiam solutam et quietam, annuente toto capitulo suo, testibus istis, de suis Guitmundo^(w) monacho, Eudone monacho, Osberto presbytero, de nostris, Herveo coco,^(x) Torestingo, Gastinello, Odone monacho, Garino monacho, Dacfredo monacho, Guillelmo monacho.

Variants. a, Leufredi *D*; b, Gisorcio *Dma*; c, quemdam *D*; d, Rothomagensis *D*; e–e, similiter in eodem loco *D*; f, *om. Dma*; g, calendas *CDma*; h, Rotbertus *D*; i, (Vilcasini) *add. C*; (Vilcassini) *add. D*; j, senescalcus *Dma*; k, Wismundus *CDma*; l, Otbertus *D*; m, Ansquilinus de Autotio *Dma*; n, Guarinus *C*; o, Radulfus *Cma*; Rudulfus *D*; p, calendas *CDma*; q, auctoravit *CDma*; r, suo capitulo *C*; s, Erchengerio *Dma*; t, Rodulfo *D*; u, Sigewinto *D*; v, calendas *CDma*; w, Guismundo *CDma*; x, *om. CDma*.

1071, Rouen

John [of Ivry], archbishop of Rouen, grants to William, abbot of Saint-Denis, and his monks, the altars of five churches in the Vexin, namely those of Sagy, Boissy-l'Aillerie, Cormeilles-en-Vexin, Montgeroult, and Ableiges. In return, the abbey must pay John's successors eight livres in Rouen money, while one monk is to attend the synod in the Vexin. The donation was made with the agreement of the canons and archdeacons of the cathedral, as well as the bishops of Avranches, Lisieux and Évreux. The king, queen, their sons, and many other important members of court also gave their consent to the donation.

A. Original lost.

Ptd. Nouveau traité de diplomatique, i, pp. 375-376 (also partial image on Planche I, between pp. 374 and 375).

Ind. M. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706), p. 132; Mabillon, *Annales ordinis s. Benedicti*, v, p. 91; *Table chronologique des diplomes, chartes, titres et actes imprimés, concernant l'histoire de France*, ed. M. de Bréquigny, 8 vols. (Paris, 1769-1876) ii, p. 126; GC, vii, col. 365; xi, cols. 476, 572, 768; E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, 'L'église de Cormeilles-en-Vexin (Seine-et-Oise)', *Bulletin monumental*, 75 (1911), pp. 265-276, at p. 265; R. Große, *Saint-Denis zwischen Adel und König: die Zeit vor Suger (1053-1122)* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 80-81; Spear, *The personnel*, p. 134.

Note. The text of this charter, which is perhaps the most referenced but least known of all of John's acts,¹ survives thanks only to the edition in *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*. Taken from an original that has since been lost,² its editors provide only a fleeting description of its physical state. The act was apparently written in the form of a chirograph. It was divided at the top through two crosses (one at each end of the parchment), and the words 'Sancta Maria' and 'Sanctus Dyonisius', in between which was a parallelogram. The *signa* were written in at least two hands, although there was apparently no sign of any seal, or any arrangements for sealing.³ Fortunately, the eighteenth-century edition was accompanied by a plate with a partial image of the text, which is reprinted below. This confirms that the charter was indeed a product of the eleventh century, while the hand is remarkably similar to that responsible for two other acts issued for Saint-Denis by Philip I, king of France, on 1 August 1068.⁴ It is

¹ In other words, of all the indications noted above, only the penultimate makes specific reference to the work in which the text of the charter is printed, while all the others simply refer to one another.

² If the charter does still survive, it has escaped the attention of every scholar to study the diplomatic output of Saint-Denis, including, most recently, the compilers of the magisterial catalogue for original charters conserved in the libraries and archives of France, *La diplomatique française*, i, p. 181 and ii, pp. 134-139.

³ *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, i, p. 377.

⁴ Arch. nat., K 20 nos. 4 and 4bis; ed. *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. xl.

more likely, however, that the scribe was a monk of Saint-Denis, rather than a member of the royal chancellery.⁵

The fate of the charter, and the location of its original conservation, is unclear. Despite being a product of the most famous house in France, no other manuscript copy of the act survives.⁶ It is not to be found in any of the numerous Saint-Denis cartularies known to include pre-twelfth century material,⁷ despite some containing later charters relating to the properties donated by John,⁸ while it also seems the act was never subject to a *vidimus*. Why the charter was apparently excluded from such practices is unclear. Although the establishment of regular cartulary production at Saint-Denis can only be noted at an unusually late date,⁹ it is possible that the charter's complex form and particularly long witness list made it unsuited to inclusion within the often more concise cartulary/*vidimus* format. Elsewhere, the charter appears in only three of the abbey's many inventories of charters produced before the French Revolution.¹⁰ The first of these dates from the fourteenth century, and simply describes the contents of the act without any further comment.¹¹ The second dates from the sixteenth century, giving an even shorter description than its medieval counterpart, while also numbering the act (xxxvii).¹² The third was produced by Dom

⁵ Although the charter of August 1068 was read and sealed by Peter the chancellor, who was still active in 1071, there is very little evidence that men of this position ever wrote the acts they witnessed, while an insufficient number of originals for the reign of Philip I survive to identify scribes, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, pp. liii-liv, lxx-lxxi, lxxxv-lxxxvi.

⁶ There are over 70 manuscripts in the Archives nationales de France and the Bibliothèque nationale that concern diplomatic material relating either to Saint-Denis, the Vexin or the archbishops of Rouen, all of which were searched for a transcription of, or reference to, the charter. Besides those referenced below, these include BN mss. lat. 10048, 10055, 12741, 12778, 13817, 17044, 17060, 17061, 17110; n. a. lat. 326, 1246; Picardie 63bis, 195, 198, 233, 255; Touraine et Anjou, 13(i), 28; Vexin 4, 8, 19, 20, 24, 36, 43, 44; Baluze 45, 55, 73, 77, 139; Colbert Mélanges 75; Duchesne 49; Dupuy 222, 807, 841; Moreau 30, 284; fr. 16177, 17698, 18086, 20836, 20838, 20839, 20843, 20852, 20893, 20903, 33076; n. a. fr. 22291; Arch. nat., K 165. There are, of course, many other manuscripts, primarily conserved in the Archives nationales, which contain material, according to their catalogue entry, dating exclusively from beyond the 12th century, and which were consequently not examined. The charter is also not to be found transcribed among the manuscripts of Dom Jacques-Nicolas Lenoir, which are housed in the collection Mathan at the Château de Semilly (Manche, cant. Saint-Clair-sur-l'Elle). Copies of these 76 volumes can be found at the Archives nationales under the shelf-mark AB XIX 3106-3181 (cote microfilm 104 Mi). For a summary of this collection, which was compiled over 25 years and consists of copies of more than 100,000 documents relevant to the history of Normandy taken from public and private archives throughout France, see M. Le Pesant, 'Les manuscrits de Dom Lenoir sur l'histoire de Normandie', *BSAN*, 50 (1949), pp. 125-151; M. Le Pesant, 'Répertoire des informations analysées par Dom Lenoir', *Cahiers Léopold Delisle*, 16 (1967), pp. 3-48 and M. Le Pesant, 'Répertoire des informations analysées par Dom Lenoir (2e série)', *Cahiers Léopold Delisle*, 18 (1969), pp. 3-48.

⁷ BN ms. n. a. lat. 326; BN ms. lat. 5415; Arch. nat., LL 1156, 1157, 1158, 1167, 1168, 1170, 1315.

⁸ For example, the second volume of the cartulary known as the *Livre blanc* contains a charter of Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, which confirms the abbey's possession of the five churches, Arch. nat., LL 1158, p. 270. See also Arch. mun. de Saint-Denis, GG 162.

⁹ R. Große, 'Remarques sur les cartulaires de Saint-Denis aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles', in *Les cartulaires*, ed. O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle and M. Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 279-288.

¹⁰ Besides those inventories referenced below, there are examples dating from the 13th, 16th and 17th centuries, Arch. nat., LL 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188A, 1188B, 1188C and S* 2415.

¹¹ 'Joh(ann)is archiepiscopi Rothomagen(s)i de consilio et assensu canonicorum suorum per cyrographum, quomodo concessit ecclesie sancti Dyon(isi) quinque altaria in UUlgassino, uidelicet, in Sagiaco, in Boissiac, in Cormel(iis), in monte Gerulphi, et in Ableigiis. Cum isto signo. B(ona) g(ratia)', Arch. nat., LL 1185, p. 324.

¹² 'Cirographe de larcheuesque de Rouen p(ar) leq(ue)l il appert des droiz que lesd. religieux ont aux eglises de Sagy, de Buxicies, Cormeilles, Montgeroult et dAbleges', Arch. nat., LL 1316, fol. 2r.

François Thomas in 1688. This too provides a brief summary of the act, which includes a description of the witnesses and the manner in which the act was dated.¹³ This inventory also numbers the act (no. 183), while the description is accompanied by two marginal notes, one of which supplies a rudimentary categorization for the document ('Patronage, presentation ou collation des cures'), while the other provides the date for Easter Sunday in 1071 ('Nombre d'or 8, Paq(ues) 24 avril Dom(ini)cale B'). The charter continued to be relied upon at the abbey as a source of authority well into the eighteenth century, though none of the references to it provide any further information than that it survived '*en original*'.¹⁴

The only additional details to survive about the original charter come from Dom Germain Poirier, who in the decades prior to the Revolution was responsible for the archives of Saint-Denis.¹⁵ He refers to the act on at least three separate occasions, noting each time that it was '*in Arm. IX*',¹⁶ where it was probably numbered sixteen.¹⁷ This is undoubtedly a reference to one of the Armoires du Grand Bureau of Saint-Denis that housed the abbey's collection of diplomatic material, and for which the inventory of those numbered I through V still survives.¹⁸ Unfortunately, Poirier was not particularly well-informed about the act, and mistakenly believed it to date from 1171. It was perhaps on account of this that he failed to inform his friend Antoine-Joseph Levrier of the charter's existence, forcing the latter simply to reference Félibien and *Gallia Christiana* in his important diplomatic collection concerning the history of the Vexin.¹⁹ Nevertheless, Levrier was not the only individual for whom the charter proved an elusive subject. Erudites from François Roger de Gaignières to

¹³ 'Ancienne coppie de l'accord fait entre Jean archeueque de Roüen du consentement de ses chanoines d'une part, et Guillaume abbé et les religieux de S^t. Denis d'autre, par laquelle ledit seigneur archeuêque donne a perpetuité ausdits abbé et religieux les eglises et autels de Sagy, Boissy, Cormeilles, Montjerou et Ableiges dans le Vexin pour estre deservies par lesdits religieux ou autres par eux commis, en sorte que l'un d'iceux estant decedé, ils seront obliges d'en presenter un autre a l'archeueque dans quatre mois apres le deces du dernier, a la charge de rendre et payer ausdits seigneurs archeueques en l'assemblée de leur synode annuellement huit liures monnaye de Roüen. Ledit accord signé dud. Jean archeuêque, Hugues euesque de Lisieux, Gislebertus euêque d'Evreux, Michel euêque d'Auranches et autres officieres et chanoines de Roüen, et confirmé par Guillaume roy d'Angleterre et prince de Normandie lan sixième de son règne, le quatorzième du règne de Philippes roy de France, Indiction 9^e lan de J.C. 1071'; Arch. nat., LL 1189, p. 190 no. 183. 17th- and 18th-century copies of this inventory can be found in Arch. mun. de Saint-Denis, GG 1, pp. 153-154 and AD Yvelines, D 504, p. 134.

¹⁴ Arch. mun. de Saint-Denis, GG 164 and GG 177.

¹⁵ *Biographie nouvelle des contemporains*, ed. A.V. Arnault et al., 20 vols. (Paris, 1820-1825), xvi, pp. 391-392; *La France littéraire, ou Dictionnaire bibliographique des savants*, ed. J.-M. Quérard, 12 vols. (Paris, 1827-1864), iii, p. 240; *Nouveau supplément à l'Histoire littéraire de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*, ed. H. Wilhelm, 3 vols., (Paris, 1908-1932), ii, pp. 153-158. For Poirier's manuscript collection, see L. de Grandmaison, 'Inventaire sommaire de la collection de Dom Poirier (Bibliothèque nationale, mss. françaises 20.800-20.852)', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 23 (1896), pp. 161-173.

¹⁶ BN, ms. lat. 17112, fol. 83v; BN, ms. lat. 13887, p. 169.

¹⁷ 'Vide chart. 16 Joann. archiep. de donat. abbatium de Buxiaco, Sagiaco, Cormeliis, monte Gerulphi et Ablegiis 1171 [*sic*]... In arm IX', BN, ms. lat. 17112, fol. 80r. The number 16 is interlined and in faded ink.

¹⁸ BN, ms. fr. 20852, fol. 18r-90v, 102r-v.

¹⁹ BN, coll. Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 206r, no. 192. Levrier was clearly familiar with the archives of Saint-Denis, however, for he includes later material from there in his works concerning the history of the Vexin, BN, coll. Vexin, vol. 9, pp. 585-588, no. 1231. Ironically, this charter concerns the 'domain de la Reine Blanche', which consisted of possessions in four of the five places mentioned in the charter of John. Cf. also BN, coll. Vexin, vol. 12, fol. 142r, no. 436.

Léopold Delisle were forced to settle with referring either to another secondary source, or to the printed edition,²⁰ while it is even possible that Michel Félibien, the great historian of Saint-Denis, only knew the act from the description of it given by François Thomas.²¹ The exact date at which the charter disappeared is, of course, unknown, although the first datable reference to the act following its publication in 1750 which suggests the original could no longer be found comes from 1781.²² It is possible, however, that the charter was lost in the first years of the Revolution. The abbey of Saint-Denis was turned into a military hospital following its dissolution,²³ while Dom Poirier had since been placed in charge of the library of Saint-Germain-de-Prés, whose holdings he struggled to reconstitute following its destruction by fire on 20 August 1794.²⁴

Despite these vicissitudes, the charter remains an extremely important document. First, despite being approved by the king, queen and their sons, the act was unknown to David Bates, who did not include it among his magisterial edition of the Conqueror's charters.²⁵ Second, it provides important evidence with regards to the scope of John's activities as archbishop, who is the first Norman metropolitan since the tenth century known to have made a donation to a house located within the Île-de-France.²⁶ Most importantly, however, the charter was witnessed by an impressive number of cathedral dignitaries. Although several of these individuals were known to David Spear, the act allows us to define the tenure of many with much greater precision. For example, Asceline the dean, who was only tentatively included in a list of cathedral canons by Spear, can here be confirmed in his position as head of the Rouen chapter, while the *terminus a quo* for the archdeacon Goslin's career can now be put back four years.²⁷ The witness list also includes at least one previously unknown member of the cathedral chapter (John the chanter),²⁸ while it also allows us to identify Robert the archdeacon as archdeacon of the Vexin. As for the remaining

²⁰ BN, ms. lat. 17111, p. 6; BN, ms. lat. 12668, fol. 78r; BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21813, fol. 572r.

²¹ 'Wahrscheinlich kannte der sonst so gut informierte Félibien den Text der Urkunde nicht wörtlich, sondern stützte sich auf einen Eintrag in dem 1688 verfaßten Inventar von dom Thomas', Große, *Saint-Denis*, p. 80 n. 118.

²² This is the work of Levrier, who had he known of either the original act or of the printed edition, would have surely transcribed the text in full. As it is, he was only aware of references to the act, and was also unsure of its dating, claiming it was issued 'au plus tard de l'an 1071', BN, coll. Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 206r, no. 192.

²³ D. Nebbái-Della Guarda, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France: du IXe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1985), pp. 162 -163. The difficulties faced in trying to conserve and catalogue Saint-Denis' more than 60,000 books in the years following the Revolution can be seen in the letters of A.-J. Ronesse, the abbey's librarian, to members of the *Commission Exécutive de l'Instruction Publique*, Arch. nat., F¹⁷ 1201.

²⁴ Following the fire, Poirier spent the best part of a year living amongst the ruins of the library, where he tried to determine the extent of the losses, *Biographie nouvelle*, ed. Arnault, p. 392.

²⁵ Bates knew of only one charter issued for Saint-Denis in which the king was involved, *Regesta*, no. 254.

²⁶ Hugh of Saint-Denis donated the church of Saint-Godard de Longuesse-en-Vexin to Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 979 × 989, Arch. nat., LL 1024, fol. 60r-61r; LL 1026, fol. 95r-v. A critical edition is above no. 48.

²⁷ Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 208, 236.

²⁸ John is not among the list of chanters compiled by Spear, though there was a John the subchanter, who is perhaps the same individual, Spear, *The personnel*, p. 226. It is possible that the Heriman who ordered Robert the archdeacon to re-read and subscribe the act was a member of the Rouen chapter, although given the rarity of the name in the duchy it is more likely he was associated with the abbey of Saint-Denis.

witnesses, the editors of *Nouveau traité* believed that the other dean (Eudo) belonged to Saint-Denis, while they seemed to suggest that all the other individuals were to be associated with the church of Rouen.²⁹ If this were true, and of this there is every possibility given the frequent occurrence of names associated not only with the duchy (Richard, Robert, Humphrey), but also with the Rouen chapter (Fulbert),³⁰ then the charter provides a remarkable snapshot of the minor orders operating within the cathedral at this time.³¹

Regarding the transcription, the editors of *Nouveau traité* admitted that while their edition followed the original orthography, they had not tried to replicate the eleventh-century punctuation.³² What little can be verified by the comparison of their text with the image printed of the act seems to suggest that their copy is, nevertheless, conscientious. The reason behind the four missing subscriptions in the original document is unclear, although it was suggested that it was perhaps designed to indicate that the number of deacons at Rouen was fixed at seven at this time.³³ The date of the charter is, of course, given by the text itself, although as Rolf Große first noted, the year (1071) is not in accordance either with the sixth year of the reign of William the Conqueror (25 Dec. 1071-24 Dec. 1072), or with the fourteenth year of that of Philip I (23 May 1072-22 May 1073), if one begins his reign in 1059. Große suggested that the charter was drawn up in 1071, but only confirmed in the following year,³⁴ though an error, either on the part of the medieval scribe or the early modern editors, is not beyond the realms of possibility. It is possible, however, that the charter was issued at the end of 1071 during the meeting described by Orderic Vitalis, in which the king gathered together an assembly of Normans and Manceaux, and instructed the Norman bishops to hold an ecclesiastical council, which John duly did in 1072.³⁵ The presence of the Manceaux has recently led to suggestions that the meeting was convened in part to prepare for intervention in the county,³⁶ which had been lost from Norman control in 1069, and it is even possible that John acted as an advisor in this matter. He would certainly fulfil a similar role with regards to the county two years later, even accompanying the king on campaign in Le Mans.³⁷ The eighteenth-century layout of the text has been maintained here, although the witnesses may have originally been arranged in columns, scattered at the bottom of the parchment, or simply listed one after another.

+ SANCTA MARIA  SANCTUS DYONISIUS +

²⁹ *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, p. 377. The editors also admitted the possibility, however, that the scribe may have written *decani* in error for *diaconi*, while it is also possible Eudo was a rural dean.

³⁰ For discussion of the superabundance of the name Fulbert in the Rouen chapter, see Williams, *The Norman Anonymous*, pp. 95-101.

³¹ Of the witness after John the canon, only the priests Godbert and Landric can be definitively identified elsewhere as members of the Rouen chapter (Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 242, 249), which means that the charter may provide the identity of as many as twelve previously unknown members of the Rouen community.

³² *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, p. 375 n. *.

³³ *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, p. 377.

³⁴ Große, *Saint-Denis*, p. 80 n. 116.

³⁵ *OV*, ii, p. 284.

³⁶ Aird, *Robert Curthose*, p. 67.

³⁷ 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 225.

IN NOMINE SANCTAE ET INDIVIDUAE TRINITATIS. Expedit omnibus utriusque sexus fidelibus, ut bonorum operum exercitiis adhibeant studium penitus, dum in huius plorationis morantur vallibus; ne presentis vite cursum transeant veluti pecora naturaliter facta prone, atque ventri caeterisque carnis voluptatibus obedientia. Taliter itaque huiuscemodi rem se habere sapientissimus legitur Salomon asseruisse, prohibens carnales concupiscens sequi non debere. Quin etiam beati Pauli erudimur vaticinatione, ‘miserabiliores nos omnibus hominibus’ foro, ‘si in hac vita tantummodo’³⁸ queramus decineri anchoram spei nostre. Et quoniam rationis ordo, quam superius prelibauimus, tanta roboratur auctoritate; dignum et iustum est, ut, caduci mundi postposita volubili felicitate, bonorum operam levibus alis elevati, studeamus indesinenter tendere ad infinitam claritatem gaudiorum caelestis patriae: ita digni tartareas poenas evadere; ut, cum domino omnium creatore, sempiterna perfrui mereamur iocunditate et requie. Huiusmodi igitur studio, et salutari laude dignum videtur insudari a minoribus personis et mediocribus; cavendum est, ne obliuio negligetiae tanti negotii effectus tradatur a regibus et a sanctae aecclēsiae presulibus et rectoribus. Quod ego Iohannes, licet peccator indignus, tamen sanctae matris aecclēsiae Rotomagensis archiepiscopus perspicuens attinere salutaribus animae utilitatibus, et fideliter credens aecclēsiasticarum facultatum in terris cumulatōres et auctores caelicolarum consorcii fieri participes, sub hac narrationes litterali volo presentium et futurorum perspicacitati caritatiue notam fieri quamdam conventionem, factam a me consilio canonicorum et caeterorum fidelium nostrorum; cum domno abbate Willelmo et monachis cenobii sancti Dyonisii, de quinque altaribus sitis in comitatu Vilcassini, quae constat esse in his eiusdem patriae villis; videlicet in Sagiaco, in Buxiaco, in Cormeliis, in Montegerulphi, et in Ablegiis. Haec igitur prefatarum villarum altaria me fateor et cognosco mente devota concessisse beati Dyonisii loco et fratribus, sub unius personae missione perpetualiter habenda; tamen talis tenoris imposita summa, ut perdita aut mortua ipsa, insta quatuor mensium terminum substituatur alia, successoribus nostris VIII librarum de denariis Rotomagensibus quantitate data, monachusque sit eadem persona cum laude et assensione nostra, semel in anno in Vilcassina synodo presentanda. Pro huius ergo personae subrogatione mutua, nulla diebus vitae meae dabitur pecunia. Post meum vero obitum, redeat iuxta condictum denominata redemptio in manus nostrorum

³⁸ 1 Corinthians, 15:19.

successorum. Et ne huiusmodi facta pactio successuro futurorum temporum curriculo adnullari aut dampnati valeat, quolibet versuto posterorum ingenio, cartam notitiae huius a me cum consilio archidiaconorum et canonicorum et caeterorum plurimorum fidelium roboratam, prius nostrae diocesi subiectorum episcoporum, videlicet Hugonis Luxouiensis, Gisleberti Ebroacensis, Michaelis Abrincensis, tradidi deinceps confirmandam manibus. Et ad omnes dubietate evacuandas poenitus, a mea parvitate rogatus suae auctoritatis munificentia confirmavit devotus princeps noster rex Willelmus cum regina uxore et filiis et pluribus curialibus aliis. Quapropter, ex auctoritate dei patris omnipotentis et omnium sanctorum eius atque nostra, perpetualiter interdicimus; ne hoc privilegium amodo unquam violare aut contradicere, sue delere audeat et presumat aliquis utriusque sexus quantacumque dignitate preditus. Quod si quis presumpserit agere, perpetuo dampnetur anathemate, tartareis poenis addictus cum Iuda proditore, nisi ad honorem beati Dyonisii satisfecerit, legitima expiatus correctione. Actum est hoc Rotomago anno ab Incarnatione domini MLXXI, Indict(ione) VIII, regnante gloriosissimo Phylippo Francorum rege anno XIII, et Willelmo venerabili Normannorum principe, Anglici regni scepra tenente, anno VI, et in generali canonicorum capitulo confirmatum. Igitur aliqua nomina eorum, qui huiusmodi corroboracioni interfuere, subtus curauimus annotare, iuxta ordinem, quo provehebatur unusquisque.

Signum domni Iohannis archiepiscopi +.^(a)

S. Hugonis Luxouiensis episcopi.

S. Gisleberti Ebroacensis episcopi.

S. Michaelis Abrincensis episcopi.

S. Atscelini decani +.

S. Rotberti archidiaconi +.

S. Goteri archidiaconi +.

S. Gauzeleni archidiaconi +.

S. Iohannis cantoris +.

S. Gotberti sacerdotis +.

S. Waldelini sacerdotis +.

S. Hunfridi sacerdotis +.

S. Landerici sacerdotis +.

S. Eudonis decani +.

S. Rotberti diaconi +.

S. Bernardi diaconi +.

S. Serici diaconi +.

S.

S.

S.

S.

S. Richardi subdiaconi +.

S. Richardi subdiaconi +.

S. Fulberti subdiaconi +.

S. Walterii acolythi +.

S. Willelmi acolythi +.

S. Benedicti acolythi +.

Ego Herimannus iussu Roberti archidiaconi Vilcassini relegi et subscripsi.

Variants. a, the edition of Nouveau traité suggests this was an ornate cross.

+63

1074, Rouen

John [of Ivry], archbishop of Rouen, assembled with the king and his suffragans in council at Rouen, heard the petition of Roger de Mortemer and his wife concerning the priory of Saint-Victor-en-Caux.

- B. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 911. Supposed original written in a mid-12th century hand. 20 lines. Measurements: approx. 320mm (across) × approx 355mm (deep) + 32mm fold. Endorsements: *De sancto Victore* (12th-cent.); *Carta Iohannis archiepiscopi Rothom' de ecclesia sancti Victoris qualiter de prioratu facta est abbatia* (13th-cent.); *Sancti Victoris ... archiepiscopi de ecclesia sancti Victori Caletto constructus [?] de prioratu facta ...* (13th-cent.); *Unychi .d. xviⁱⁱ* (14th- or 15th-cent.). A parchment tag, measuring approximately 64mm in length, can still be found in the two slits in the fold, though there are no remnants of any seal.
- C. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 911. *Inspeximus* by Henry, bishop of Bayeux, Peter, abbot of Caen, Durand, abbot of Troarn and Martin, abbot of Cerisy on behalf of Pope Lucius III (from B).
- D. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 912. 14th-century copy in the text of a *vidimus* dated 25 November 1318.
- E. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 912. 14th-century copy in the text of a *vidimus* also dated 25 November 1318.
- F. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 912. 14th-century copy in the text of a *vidimus* dated 13 December 1318.
- G. BN, ms. lat. 10055, fol. 101v-102v. 17th-century copy.
- H. BN, ms. lat. 10055, fol. 108r. 17th-century copy.
- I. BN, ms. lat. 5423, p. 203. 18th-century abbreviated copy by Gaignières (from B).
- J. BN, ms. lat. 17044, p. 11. 18th-century abbreviated copy by Gaignières (from B).
- K. AD Seine-Maritime, 15 H 4. 18th-century copy (from B).
- L. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 31, fol. 29r-30v. 18th-century copy (from B, with facsimile of opening line).
- M. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 31, fol. 31r-v. 18th-century abbreviated copy (from H).
- N. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1243, fol. 175r-v. 19th-century copy by Deville (from B).

- O. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21815, fol. 276r. 19th-century abbreviated copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ptd. Sanctae Rotomagensis ecclesiae concilia ac synodalia decreta, ed. J.-F. Pommeraye (Rouen, 1677), pp. 97-98 (from A); Pommeraye, *Histoire de S. Ouen de Rouen*, p. 450 (from A); *GC*, xi, cols. 16-17 (from Pommeraye); *Regesta*, no. 245 (from A).

Ind. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, pp. 105, 121; *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 77.

Note. The veracity of this charter has been fully discussed by David Bates. Despite its status as a forgery, however, the details which the act records have long been recognised as reporting a fact, and continues to this day to be cited by modern scholars as such.¹ I have been unable to locate manuscript C in Bates' edition, and this seems to be a confused reference to one of the other three *vidimus* issued by the Rouen chapter in 1318.

B

Ioh(anne)s Dei gratia Rothom(agensis) archiepiscopus, universis Christi fidelibus salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Notum sit omnibus modernis et futuris, quod petitio Rogerii^(a) de Mortuomari^(b) et uxoris/¹ eius^(c) Hadevise^(d) ad nos venit, ad dominum^(e) Guillelmum regem Anglorum et ad me, sedentes et tractantes de negociis ecclesiasticis et secularibus, cum episcopis in quodam concilio/² congregato in urbe Rothomag(ensi), ut donnum^(f) Nicholaum^(g) abbatem sancti Aud(oeni) Rothom(agensis), cognatum nostrum obnix^(h) conveniremus, quatinus pro amore dei et nostri abbatiam/³ fieri dimitteret de quodam prioratu de ecclesia sancti Victoris in Caleto,⁽ⁱ⁾ in qua habitabant monachi sancti Audoeni, que dicitur ad sanctum Victorem, et quam ecclesiam/⁴ quidam presbyter nomine Tormort, de cuius iure erat, ecclesie sancti Audoeni assensu Guillelmi tunc ducis Norm(annorum), et Malg(erii) archiepiscopi Rothom(agensis), et Rog(erii)⁽ⁱ⁾ de Mortuomari,^(k) in cuius/⁵ feodo erat, pro salute anime sue dederat in elemosinam, et^(l) in ecclesia sancti Aud(oeni) monachus effectus fuerat, cum quodam nutritio^(m) suo nomine Gisleb(erto).⁽ⁿ⁾ Et prefatus Rog(erus) concessit/⁶ ut tantum redditum augeret ecclesie sancti Victoris et ecclesie sancti Aud(oeni), ut honorifice^(o) ibi deo monachi servire possent, et eis digne sufficeret, et quale dominium antea ha⁷buerat^(p) ecclesia sancti Aud(oeni) in prioratu, tale postea in abbazia eternaliter possideret. Cum vero predictus abbas Nich(olaus)

¹ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, ii, pp. 325-326.

assensu capituli sui, et rogatu nostro et amore, Rog(erii)^(q) et uxori sue⁸ hoc concessisset, Rad(ulfum)^(r) quendam monachum suum ibi abbatem preficiens, ad^(s) supradictum locum construendum misit, et cum eo de monachis suis sancti Aud(oeni), Fulbertum, Gislebertum^(t) Fau⁹vetel, Herbertum Treton, et Guillelmum. Tali tamen conditione, quod dominium suum sancti Aud(oeni)^(u) in domo sancti Victoris nullo modo minueretur, sed ibi poneret abbatem alio defuncto, sicut priorem ponere solebat,¹⁰ salva dignitate sancti Aud(oeni). Hoc enim constitutum est ante nos ratum et firmum esse inperpetuum,^(v) cuius rei testes sumus ex utraque parte. Si enim in disponendo abbate monachi¹¹ vel laici rebelles ecclesie sancti Aud(oeni) fuerint, statuimus et firmiter^(w) precipimus, Guill(elmus) rex, et ego Ioh(annes) Roth(omagensis) archiepiscopus, et Rog(erus) de Mortuomari,^(x) in quorum presentia hoc fuit factum,^(y)¹² auctoritate donni^(z) pape Gregorii, et regia potestate, omnibus heredibus et successoribus nostris, ut abbas sancti Aud(oeni) accipiat ecclesiam prioratus sui sancti Victoris cum omnibus appen/¹³diciis^(a) tunc ibi inventis, in ecclesiis, in decimis, et aliis substanciis,^(b) et ponat priorem in ecclesia illa, sicut antea solet, ne ecclesia sancti Aud(oeni) pro liberalitate^(c) sua detrimentum patiat¹⁴ fraude et dolo, quam antecessores nostri pro salute animarum suarum fundaverunt. Hanc conventionem auctoritate nostra ab abbate Nich(olao) et Rog(er)o de Mortuomari concessam/¹⁵ coram rege, ratam esse statuimus, et presentis scripti et sigilli nostri auctoritate confirmavimus, et prohibuimus, ego Ioh(anne)s Roth(omagensis) archiepiscopus sub anathemate; nequis^(d) ulterius/¹⁶ clericus vel laicus audeat hoc infringere, presentibus istis episopis, et mecum excommunicantibus, Gisleberto^(e) Ebroic(ensi) episcopo, et^(f) Odone Baioc(ensi), Hug(one) Lux(oviensi),^(g) Roberto Sagiensi, quorum/¹⁷ anathemate omnes fractores huius operis consolidantur. Prefatus autem rex Guill(elmus) Anglorum^(h) prohibuit sub forifectura⁽ⁱ⁾ .xx.^{ti(j)} unciarum auri reddendarum duci^(k) Normann(ie),¹⁸ et .xx.^{ti(p)} librarum Ro(tho)m(agensi) archiepiscopo, ne ab aliquo infringatur. Testibus predictis episcopis, et Fulberto archidiachono, et Rogero de Mortuo mari,^(q) in cuius tempore hoc/¹⁹ auctum^(r) fuit anno, ab incarnatione domini M. LXX.III.^(s)

Variants. a, Rogeri EF; b, Mortuo mari DF; c, eius uxoris E; d, Hadvise C; domnum CF; donnum E; f, domnum CF; g, Nicolaum DEF; h, obnexe D; i, Cauz C; j, Rogeri EF; k, Mortuo mari C; l, ill. D; m, nutrito D; n, Gilleberto EF; o, honorice E; p, habuerat antea CD; q, Rogero DEF; r, Radulphum EF; s, ill. D; t, Guislebertum DEF; u, sancto Audoeni CDEF; v, imperpetuum C; w, ill. D; x, Mortuo mari CDF; y, factum fuit CDEF; z, domni C; a, suis add. CDEF; b, sustanciis DE; c, liberitate E; d,

ne quis *DE*; e, Gilleberto *F*; f, *om. CDEF*; g, Lexov(iensi) *C*; h, rex Anglorum Guillelmus *DEF*; i, forisfactura *C*; j, .xx. *C*; viginti *DEF*; k, ducibus *E*; p, .xx. *CD*; viginti *EF*; q, Mortuomari *D*; r, factum *C*; s, M^oLXX^oIII^o *CF*; millesimo LXX^oIII^o *DE*.

c. 1075 × 1079

John [of Ivry], archbishop of Rouen, accedes to the request of Tocbaldus, abbot of Coulombs, and hands over two altars in the churches of Lainville-[en-Vexin] and Montreuil-sur-Epte, which had previously been seized from the abbey. Moreover, the two priests who had previously been established to serve these altars were replaced by just one, named Urso.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 4, p. 156. 17th-century copy by François de Blois.
- C. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 8, p. 165. 18th-century copy by Levrier ('*du chartrier de Coulombs*').
- D. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 225r. 18th-century copy by Levrier (from '*chartr. de Coulombs: Rec. de Blois, pag. 156*').
- E. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 20, fol. 63r. 18th-century copy by Levrier ('*du chartrier de Coulombs*').

Ptd. Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 3 (from B).

Ind. BN, ms. fr. 24133, p. 132 ('*Extraict du vieil cartulaire de Coulomb*').

Note. The dating limits for this charter are given by the appearance of the archdeacon Goslin, whose first appearance dates to 1075 (**no. 65**), and the end of the archiepiscopate of John of Ivry. The text's most recent editor was unaware of mss. **D** and **E**.

B

Ego Ioannes, sanctae sedis gratia Rothomagensium episcopus, notum facio sanctae sedis ecclesiae filiis tam praesentibus quam futuris quod adiit praesentiam nostram Tocbaldus,^(a) Columbensis coenobii abbas, satis humilitis^(b) benignitatem^(c) nostram expostulans quatenus ecclesiae cui praeerat redderemus duo altaria in Vilcasino pago constituta, unum Ledisvillae alterum Mosteriolis, quibus iam triennio personis decedentibus, simulque coenobio illo vacillante carverat. Nos vero considerantes simplicem viri postulationem, insuper intuentes nostram erga omnes charitatem magis exemplo quam verbo ostendendam, decernimus petitioni eius satisfacere ita ut quicquid nobis debebatur ex redemptione eorum dimitteremus, insuper etiam altaria in

quibus duae prius personae constitutae erant nunc unam constituimus, Ursonem nomine, eo videlicet tenore quod quando morte deceditur^(d) una persona ambobus altariis quadraginta solidis renovetur. Et ut haec conventio quandiu saeculi rota voluetur inconuulsa maneat, cartam manu propria subsignauimus atque in conventu fratrum ecclesiae nostrae corroborandum tradidimus. S.^(e) Ioannis archiepiscopi.^(f)

S. Roberti archidiaconi.

S. Landrici.

S. Goisleni archidiaconi.

S. Odonis.

S. Benedicti canonici.

S. Arnulphi.

S. Gotberti canonici.

S. Gauterii.

Variants. a, Teobaldus *CDE*; b, humiliter *CDE*; c, benignitatum *CDE*; d, deceditur *D*; e, + *add. D*; f, *only BE arrange the witnesses in this fashion.*

65

1075 (either July × 24 September 1075 or 25 December 1075 × 25 March 1076),
Rouen cathedral

Notice that Simon, son of Rodulf [IV], count [of Amiens-Valois-Vexin], has restored the land of Gisors to Rouen cathedral, which his father had received from Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen, to hold during his lifetime. The restoration was made first by Simon's hand into that of John, archbishop of Rouen, in the presence of Mathilda, Roger de Beaumont, Hugh pincerna [d'Ivry-la-Bataille], Guy d'Ouilly-[le-Basset], and Roger de Blosseville. Simon then placed a knife on the altar of the cathedral in the presence of all those above and the canons, while he received 300 livres in Rouen money from the archbishop.

- A. AD Seine-Maritime, G 8739. Original. 23 lines, excluding attestations. Measurements: approx. 190mm (across) × 325mm (deep). Endorsements: *Simonis comitis de terra Gisorz* (11th/12th-cent.). The two attestations are written in a different hand and lighter ink than the rest of the text. The crosses appear to be autograph. What remains of Simon's cross within the text is also in a lighter ink, and may also be autograph. The bottom quarter of the parchment is blank, but there are no arrangements for sealing.
- B. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1243, fol. 161r, no. cxiii. 19th-century copy by Deville (from A).

Ptd. Regesta, no. 229 (from A).

Ind. Pommeraye, Histoire de l'église cathédrale de Rouen, pp. 569-570 (French translation).

Note. The date of this act, which contains a number of contradictory indications, has been fully discussed by David Bates. It is not strictly an archiepiscopal act, but like **no. 74** it survives in an original and concerns land in the Vexin, in particular land at Gisors. It also includes an interesting list of persons belonging to the *familię archiepiscopi*.

A

Notum sit omnibus catholicę fidei cultoribus quod ego Simon Radulfi comitis/¹ filius terram quę vocatur Gisorz quam pater meus de dono Maurilii archiepiscopi/² recepit, ea conditione^(a) ut post mortem eius in dominio archiepiscopatus/³ restitueretur; quare contra hanc conditionem eam mihi^(b) usurpavi poenitens, prefate/⁴ aecclesię Rotomagensi sanctę Dei genitricis MARIE reddo, et restituo, et ab/⁵ omni clamore liberam et quietam voco. Hanc redditionem et libertatem/⁶ hoc signo +^(c) sanctę

crucis corroboro. Haec redditio atque restitutio/⁷ in primis facta est de manu Simonis comitis in manum, Iohannis, archiepiscopi,⁸ presente Mathilde, nobilissima ac gloriosissima regina, astante/⁹ Rogerio Belmontensi, et quampluribus nobilibus viris, scilicet Hugone pincerna,¹⁰ Guidone de Oilliei, Rogerio de Blosse villa. Ex parte vero archiepiscopi:¹¹ Benedicto archidiacono, Arnulfo Pinello, Herberto de Tolca. Ex parte/¹² Simonis comitis: Helia de Gerbudreit, Hugo`ne´ de Haverceio, Petro Belvacensi.¹³ Hanc etiam redditionem per cultellum super altare sanctę Marię posuit prefatis/¹⁴ viris assistentibus, et cunctis etiam canonicis, quorum unus fuit Rotbertus decanus,¹⁵ alter Gotterus archidiaconus, Goislenus archidiaconus, Hugo etiam de Silde villa,¹⁶ et Gislebertus filius Bernardi, et Rogerius Boldinus, et Guillelmus filius Osberni, et quam/¹⁷plures etiam familię archiepiscopi. Pro hac redditione dedit prefatus archiepiscopus/¹⁸ Iohannes, trecentas libras Rotomagensis monetę prefato comiti Simoni.¹⁹ Facta est autem hęc redditio anno incarnationis dominicę .M.LXX.V.²⁰ indictione .xiii. presidente Romanę aecclesię,^(d) papa Gregorio `viiº.´ ac monarchiam/²¹ regente cęsare Henrico, regnum quoque Francię Philippo, anno ducatus/²² Guillelmi .xli. regni quoque x.

Signum + Roberti comitis. Signum + Roberti Belmontensis.

Variants. a, conditione originally written A; b, eam mihi is a correction in A; c, if there was a cross here in A, only its lower and right arms are still visible; d, aeccllesię A.

66*

29 September 1078

John [of Ivry], archbishop of Rouen, gives to the abbey of Saint-Amand de Rouen at the time of its dedication three acres of meadow between Sotteville-[lès-Rouen] and Saint-Étienne-[du-Rouvray].

- A. Original lost.
- B. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 8. 11th-century copy in a *pancarte* of the abbey of Saint-Amand. 57 lines. The text of this notice appears at line 53. There are no signs of any arrangements for sealing.
- C. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 7, between fol. 7r-10v. 13th-century cartulary (folia 7r-10v were removed from the codex by Marie-Josèphe Le Cacheux (cf. *RADN*, no. 116, p. 279 n. r) and subsequently stolen.
- D. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 8. Copy in a *vidimus* of Philip IV, dated 1313.
- E. Arch. nat., Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 49, no. xlvi, fol. 26r. 14th-century register copy (from D).
- F. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 8. Copy in an *inspeximus* of Henry V, dated 1 January 1419 (from D).
- G. Arch. nat., Registres de la Chambre des Comptes, P 1916², no. 32.216. Copy in an *inspeximus* of Henry V, dated 1 January 1419.
- H. TNA, C64/12, Norman Patent Roll 7 Henry V, pt. 2, m. 37. 15th-century copy (from D).
- I. BN, ms. lat. 10055, fol. 67v. 17th-century copy by Bigot (from C).
- J. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 4, p. 37. 18th-century copy by J.-N. Lenoir (from F).
- K. BN, ms. lat. 17024, fol. 1r. 18th-century copy (from C).
- L. BN, ms. lat. 17131, p. 120. 18th-century copy by Gaignières (from C).
- M. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1246, fol. 137v. 19th-century copy (from C).

Ptd. Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, p. 251 and n. 123 (from BD).

Ind. AD Seine-Maritime 55 H 1, pp. 21-22; Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, pp. 23, 24, 26, 68-69, 126, 134, 142, 156.

Note. The date for this donation is given by the notice itself, though there is some confusion surrounding when the abbey of Saint-Amand was consecrated. The editors of *Gallia Christiana* claimed John performed the dedication on ‘III cal. Octobris 1078’,¹ but Marie-Josèphe Le Cacheux, who followed the work of Guillaume Autin,² argued for 28 September 1068, since this day was a Sunday, rather than the Saturday of 29 September 1078.³ It was not unknown, however, for religious edifices to be dedicated on a day other than Sunday, for the cathedrals of Rouen and Bayeux were dedicated on a Wednesday and a Friday, respectively. Of course, we are still left with the problem that by 1078 John had already suffered a serious stroke, which robbed him of the power to speak, but he is still known to have been ecclesiastically active at this time.⁴ The theft of folia from the cartulary by Le Cacheux is recorded in the inventory of the abbey’s surviving material, while the variants for ms. C are based upon her edition.⁵

B (with additions from C)

Iohannes archipresul dedit sancto Amando in eius dedicatione .iii.^(a) acras pratorum^(b) ultra Sequanam inter villam que vulgo nuncupatur Sotavilla et sanctum Stephanum. Testimonio Fulberti archidiaconi, Goisleni, Ricardi, ^(c-)Urselli archidiaconi.^(-c) Ex parte sancti Amandi, sunt alii ^(d-)Reinaudus,^(e) Odo cocus,^(-d) Walterus presbiter.

Variants. a, tres CDEGH; b, B ends here; c–c, om. G; d–d, ill. F; e, Rainaudus E.

¹ GC, xi, col. 286.

² AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 1, p. 99.

³ Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, p. 42.

⁴ For discussion, see above, pp. 363–365.

⁵ 55H: *Abbaye Saint-Amand*, ed. Theiller, p. 14.

67

1079 × 1110, perhaps 1105 × 1110

William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, confirms the act of his predecessor John for the abbey of Coulombs.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 4, pp. 156-157. 17th-century copy by F. de Blois.
- C. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 8, pp. 165-166. 18th-century copy by Levrier.
- D. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 11, fol. 225v. 18th-century copy by Levrier (from ‘*chartr. de Coulombs: Rec. de Blois, pag. 156*’).
- E. BN, coll. du Vexin, vol. 20, fol. 63r-v. 18th-century copy by Levrier (‘*du chartrier de Coulombs*’).

Ptd. Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 4 (from BC).

Ind. BN, ms. fr. 24133, p. 132 (‘*Extraict du vieil cartulaire de Coulomb*’).

Note. The broad dating-limits of this charter are given by the archiepiscopate of William Bona Anima, while the broader ones by the abbatiage of Turolde, abbot of Coulombs (c. 1105-1115), who may be the *Wraldus abbas* referred to in the act. The strange reference to ‘Hugh our son’ is difficult to reconcile with the archbishop’s monastic background, and is most probably a transcriptional error. William was, nevertheless, the son of a priest himself.

B

Ego etiam Guillelmus, Dei gratia Rothomagensium archiepiscopus et praefati Ioannis successor, hanc conventionem concedo, et cartam^(a) istam^(b) sigilli mei autoritate^(c) confirmo, sub praesentia et testimonio clericorum meorum, Fulberti videlicet archidiaconi, Urselli archidiaconi, Osmundi archidiaconi, et Rainaldi filii Lagani, et Hugonis nostri^(d) filii, Helberti et Evaldi cancellarii mei. Hoc autem facio pro salute animae meae et antecessorum meorum et tali conditione quod post mortem meam tantum beneficii et obsequii pro me facient in ecclesia illa quantum pro uno ex monachis suis faciunt. Huius conditionis testes sunt ex parte monachorum Wraldus abbas eiusdem ecclesie, et Albertus prior et Herbertus prior de sancto Cosma et Rogerius Cornitel monachus, et de laicis, Stephanus maior et Ubricus maior et

Amalricus filius Godescalli,^(e) Gualuo^(f) nepos abbatis et Vitalis camerarius et
Herbertus de Lureio.^(g)

Variants. a, chartam *CDE*; b, illam *D*; c, auctoritate *D*; d, *C* omits nostri, and places in the margin the following explanation: ‘Il y a dans cet endroit de ma copie une abbreviation en cette forme, $\bar{n}ri$, qui semblerait signifier le mot *nostri*, mais le sens y répugne’; e, Godesalli *C*; f, Qualuo *E*; g, Jureio *CD*.

15 September 1082, Oissel

Record of a plea between William [Bona Anima], archbishop of Rouen, and Gerbert, abbot of Saint-Wandrille, heard before the king. It was noted that the abbey of Saint-Wandrille had possessed freedom since ancient times from the interference of bishops and archdeacons in four of its churches, namely, Caudebec, [Maulévrier]-Sainte-Gertrude, [Saint-Wandrille]-Rançon and Saint-Michel, except that one from among the clerks was obliged to attend the diocesan synod, listen to what was set in place for the wellbeing of the Church, and report other things that he observed. This clerk was protected from all enquiry and from any request for money, except that if he should say or do anything to the archbishop's dishonour, the archbishop shall notify the abbot of Saint-Wandrille at a meeting, and the abbot shall either bring or send the priest to make amends according to the offence. However, if anything blameworthy is found in the aforementioned churches, then the power of judgement belonged, by ancient right, to the abbot of Saint-Wandrille.

An enquiry into this liberty was set up in the time of William, king of the English and prince of the Normans, between the abovementioned archbishop and abbot. This took place because a certain simple monk had converted the ordeal iron of the abbey for other uses. The abbot had asked the archbishop to consecrate another iron, but since he doubted the abbey held the right by ancient custom to the ordeal iron, he refused. The matter remained unresolved for a long time until it was brought before the king. The abbot demonstrated that his monastery had the right to an ordeal iron from ancient times, and that in the four aforementioned churches it had obtained the correction of all misdemeanours and freedom from any archbishop and archdeacon. The dispute was eventually decided according to the sentence of the king and by the many bishops, abbots and other great men of lay and clerical orders present with him. When they heard the verdict in favour of the abbey of Saint-Wandrille, that it was to hold its liberty in absolute freedom, it was confirmed by the canons of the church of Rouen.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 13820, fol. 141r-v. Abbreviated 17th-century copy by Anselme Le Michel.

Ptd. G.-A. De La Roque, *Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Harcourt*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1662), iii, pp. 27-28 (complete text from unidentified source); iv, p. 1327 (abbreviated text, 'ex ms. S.V. communiqué par M. de Sonmesnil Bigot'); Bessin, *Concilia*, p. 76 (ex antiquissimo coenobii Font. codice); *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. xvi (from La Roque); Lot, *Études critiques*, no. 39 (from B, La Roque, Bessin); *Regesta*, no. 264 (from B, La Roque, Bessin).

Ind. AD Seine-Maritime, 16 H 14, fol. 321r; AD Seine-Maritime, 16 H 20, p. 2064; *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 146a

Note. This record is, of course, not strictly an archiepiscopal act, but it nevertheless records one of the key events of the archiepiscopate of William Bona Anima. The printed versions are better than the manuscript text, and the following edition is made, like those of Ferdinand Lot and David Bates, according to ms. **B** and the editions of La Roque (*La*) and Bessin (*Be*).

B, [...] from La Roque and Bessin

[In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis. Cum non sit contra apostolicam et canonicam auctoritatem, plura monasteria quadam speciali dignitate esse absoluta ab omnium episcoporum vexatione et archidiaconorum gravatione, Fontanelle^(a) monasterium in quatuor suis ecclesiis, id est Caldebec, sancta Gertrude, Resentium et sancto Michele, ex multis et ab antiquis temporibus, hanc semper tenuit et tenet absolutionem, hoc tantum excepto quod unus ex clericis in synodo debet sedere et ecclesiastice utilitatis instituta audire et ceteris rebus^(b) ad observandum renunciare, liber tamen est ab omni interrogationis et responsionis vel^(c) emendationis questione, excepto quod si idem presbyter dixerit aut fecerit aliquid quod pertineat^(d) ad dehonorationem archiepiscopi, archiepiscopus abbatem conveniens commonebit et abbas ipsum presbyterum, secundum culpam, archiepiscopo satisfacturum ducet aut mittet. Nam si quid in his quatuor ecclesiis culpe reperitur, ad Fontanellensis abbatis censuram pertinere iure antiquo probatur. De qua libertate, tempore Guillelmi, regis Anglorum et principis Normannorum, questio ex parte mota est inter Guillelmum archiepiscopum Rothomagensensem^(e) et Girbertum^(f) abbatem Fontanellensem, hac occasione.^(g)] Quia quidam monachus prefati monasterii ferrum iudicii, quod ex antiquo iure in eodem monasterio erat, per ignorantiam^(h) et⁽ⁱ⁾ ex quadam simplicitate in alios usus transformavit. Cumque abbas ferrum aliud^(j) supranominato archiepiscopo sibi benedici postularet, et archiepiscopus, dubitans utrum ex antiqua consuetudine idem^(k) monasterium ferrum haberet iudicii, quod abbas postulabat, denegaret, tamdiu res indeterminata permansit donec ad presentiam predicti regis deferretur,^(l) ubi, abbate monstrante monasterium suum ex antiquis temporibus^(m) huiusmodi ferrum habuisse et⁽ⁿ⁾ in quatuor^(o) predictarum ecclesiarum parochiis, quarumlibet culparum^(p) censuram et libertatem ab omni archiepiscopo et archidiaconorum exactione quiete obtinuisse, tandem hoc modo ipsa culpa^(q) secundum sententiam presidentis regis et plurimorum episcoporum, abbatum et aliorum magnorum virorum, clericalis et laici^(r) ordinis inter utramque partem concorditer est determinata, ut^(s) Fontanellense monasterium dignitatem libertatis et

absolutionis, quam inconcussam eatenus possederat, deinceps nullatenus ab ullo concutiendam in perpetuum quiete possideret. Que determinatio Rothomagensium^(t) canonicorum sancte Marie audientie relata, ipsorum consensu confirmata est. Et ne quis huius iuste determinationis firmitatem per oblivionem aut ignorantium,^(u) aut aliqua occasione inquietare in futuro presumeret, ex precepto regis et consensu omnium ibi presentium, per presentis scripture memoriam posterorum notitie commendatur. Facta est autem hec predictae cause determinatio anno ab^(v) incarnatione Domini^(w) 1082, indictione quinta,^(x) non. septembris, in villa quam Oxellum vocant, intra pratum, iuxta domum Guilelmi...^(y) coram rege, presente archiepiscopo Guillelmo,^(z) et abbate Girberto,^(a) testibus episcopis Gisleberto Lexoviensi,^(b) Gisleberto Ebroicensi,^(c) Guillelmo^(d) Dunelmensi de Anglia: abbatibus^(e) Guillelmo^(d) Fiscannensi,^(f) Guntardo Gimegiensi,^(g) Anselmo Beccensi, Gualtero^(h) de Monte Sancte Trinitatis, Fulcone de⁽ⁱ⁾ Sancto Petro^(j) supra Divam^(k); ^(l-)clericis vero Benedicto Rothomagensi, Sansone Baiocensi, Gualtero filio Goteri, Roberto, Bernardo^(m) filio Ospa, Guillelmo filio Suevi; laicis^(-l) Guillelmo^(d) comite Ebroicensi,⁽ⁿ⁾ ^(o-)Hugone de Cestra,^(-o) Rogero^(p) de Bellomonte^(q) ^(r-)et filiis eius,^(-r) Roberto comite de Meullen^(s) ^(t-)et Henrico, Rugultrano^(u) filio Roberti, Guillelmo Crispino,^(-t) Roberto de Veteri Ponte,^(v) Guillelmo de Tony,^(w) Normanno Primate, Lesto^(x) filio Alcheri et fratres eius, Rodulpho, ^(y-)Rogero Bigot,^(-y) et aliis multis.

Variants. a, Fontanellense *La*; b, tribus *Be*; c, et *La*; d, pertinet *Be*; e, Rotomagensem *Be*; f, Gilbertum *La*; g, *B begins here*; h, ignoria' (*sic*) *B*; i, *om. B*; j, a *add. B*; k, *om. B*; l, differretur *La*; m, et *add. BLa*; n, *om. B*; o, 4^{or} *B*; p, culpam *La*; q, causa *B*; r, laicalis *B*; s, et *B*; t, Rotomagensium *BBe*; u, ignoria' (*sic*) *B*; v, *om. B*; w, *om. B*; x, 5 *B*; y, *BBe have a blank here*; z, Guilelmi *B*; a, Gireberto *B*; b, Lexov' *B*; *B has Ebroic' and inserts episcopis here*; Ebroensi *Be*; d, Guilelmo *B*; e, abbati *B*; abbate *Be*; f, Fiscan' *B*; Fiscanensi *Be*; g, Genmetic' or Gemnetic' *B*; h, Qualtero *La*; i, *om. B*; j, sancti Petri *B*; k, abbatibus *add. B*; l-l, *om. B*; m, Benardo *Be*; n, Ebroic' *B*; Ebroensi *Be*; o-o, *om. B*; p, Rogerio *LaBe*; q, Bello-monte *Be*; r-r, *om. B*; s, Mellant *BBe*; t-t, *om. B*; u, Ruguleano *La*; v, *B has Veteriponte, etc. and ends here*; w, Tone *La*; x, Helfo (recte Helto) *La*; y-y, *om. La*.

April 1083, Fécamp

Record of the settlement reached in the presence of the king and queen concerning land at Martin-Église, which was disputed between William [Bona Anima], archbishop of Rouen, and Walter II Giffard and William son of Godfrey. The land, which was an ancient possession of the church of Rouen set aside for the support of the canons, had been alienated to laymen by Archbishop Robert and had remained lost to the church until Archbishop William's time. Walter Giffard and William son of Godfrey, having initially claimed that the land was within their lordship, reached a settlement with the archbishop whereby they would hold the land during their lifetime and do service for it. On their deaths, their respective halves would revert to the church to support the canons.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BM (Rouen), Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 30v-31r. 13th-century cartulary.
- C. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1363, fol. 54r-55r. Poor 19th-century copy (from B).
- D. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1975, fol. 6v-7v. 19th-century copy.

Ptd. Regesta, no. 230 (from B).

Ind.

Note. The circumstances behind this charter have been fully discussed by David Bates. It is, of course, not strictly an archiepiscopal act, but like similar documents in this collection, it neatly illustrates the means by which a bishop might regain land belonging to his cathedral.

B

In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis. Auctoritate maiorum nostrorum sapienter institutum est, ut quotiens aliqua constituimus que in futuro firma stabilitate manere volumus ad posterorum notitiam ea scripture servanda commendemus, ne quod prudenti consilio agitur, oblivione dissolvatur. Hac itaque ratione commoniti firmare scripto volumus ad quam concordiam devenit contentio que fuit inter Will(elmu)m Rothom(agensis) archiepiscopum, et Galter(um) Giffard(um) secundum, atque Will(elmu)m filium Godefr(idi), pro terra que dicitur Martini Ecclesia. Predicta igitur Martini Ecclesia, ab antiquis temporibus ecclesie Rothom(agensi) ecclesie metropolitane ad sustentationem quod canonicorum ibidem deo servientium est,

concessa sicut in carta annotatur que ab ipsa antiquitate edita in eadem ecclesia adhuc monstrabiliter habetur, fuitque terra ipsa a prefatis canonicis diu et quiete possessa. Post diuturnam vero et quietam possessionem, Rob(ertus) eiusdem loci archiepiscopus, a dominio ecclesie et vicustu canonicorum, terram ipsam alienavit et secularibus viris tradidit. Hec autem alienatio usque ad tempus prefati Will(elm)i archiepiscopi duravit, verum ipso archiepiscopo W(illelmo) ecclesie sue dampna Will(elm)o nobilissimo regi Anglorum et principi Norm(annorum), suggerente atque ut ecclesie Dei rem suam iniuste ablatam restitueret, rogitante, precepit rex ut certa die causa constituta inter archiepiscopum Will(elmu)m, et prefatos Walt(erum), et Will(elmu)m filium Godefr(idi), qui terram illam sui iuris esse dicebant, controversie rectitudinis finem inponerent. Anno igitur ab incarnatione domini .m.^o ^(a) .lxxx.^o .iii. mense Ap(ri)li apud Fiscannum in curia regis Will(elm)i et in eius presentia favente ipso rege cum uxore sua Matildi regina et filiis, Rob(erto) videlicet comite et^(b) Will(elm)o prefata causa ad eam pervenit concordiam quod idem Walter(us) et Willelm(us) terram ipsam unde agebatur ecclesie sancte MARIE ad victum canonicorum ex integro concedentes reddiderunt, ita quidem ut quam diu ipsi duo Galter(us) et Will(elmu)s viverent; concessu archiepiscopi et canonicorum terram ipsam possiderent, et debitum et consuetum servitium Roth(omagensi) ecclesie et archiepiscopo inde redderent et quacumque die unus ex illis, vel moriendo vel alio aliquo modo seculum desereret, dimidia terra ex integro ad ecclesiam ad usum quidem canonicorum rediret. Cum vero uterque tota terra ipsa ad eundem prefatum usum restitueretur ecclesie, omni ulterius parentum et hereditatis remoto clamore. Huic regali ordinationi, atque concordie interfuerunt episcopi, Michael Abricacensis, Gileb(er)tus Ebroic(ensis), Gileb(er)tus Lexov(iensis), abbates Will(elmu)s Fiscan(nensis), Girb(ertus), sancti Wandr(egesili), Gontard(us) Gemetic(ensis), Fulco Diven(sis).

Variants. a, B has c^o here, which is crossed out; b, B repeats et.

70

25 Dec. 1083 × 24 Dec. 1084, Rouen

William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, confirms the grant to the abbey of Jumièges of the church and tithes of Croix-Mare by William de Vatteville and his wife, which is to be used to feed the poor.

- A. Original lost
- B. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 9, fol. 21v. 16th-century cartulary.
- C. BN, ms. lat. 5424, p. 86. 17th-century copy by Gaignières (source is unclear).
- D. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 14. 17th/18th-century copy in an unfoliated manuscript (source is unclear. It appears not to be B).
- E. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 14. 17th/18th-century copy in an unfoliated manuscript (source is unclear. It appears not to be B).
- F. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 34, fol. 118r-v. 18th-century copy (from C).
- G. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1243, fol. 183r, no. cxxxiv. 19th-century copy by Deville (apparently from B).
- H. BM (Évreux), *Diplomatique des ducs de Normandie*, Carton 4, vol. vii, fol. 1097r. 19th-century copy by Armand Bénet (from C).

Ptd. *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges*, i, no. xxxiii (from B); *Regesta*, no. 163 (from BCD).

Ind. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 4170, fol. 420v.

Note. The dating-limits of this charter are those given in the act, namely, the eighteenth year of the reign of William the Conqueror.

B

Notum sit omnibus fidelibus quod ego Willelmus archiepiscopus concedo et confirmo donum quod facit per manum meam Willelmus de Watevilla^(a) et uxor eius qui dant ecclesiam et decimam^(b) de Croismare^(c) sancto Petro Gemmeticensis^(d) ad victum pauperum, in foro, in terris, in pecudibus et in omnibus omnino rebus suis, confirmante Willelmo^(e) rege Anglorum, anno XVIII^(f) regni eius, apud Rothomagum. Ego Willelmus rex per hoc signum + confirmo. Ego Willelmus^(g) archiepiscopus per

hoc signum + confirmo, ut si quis illud abstulerit, nisi emendaverit, anatema^(h) sit. Ego Willelmus⁽ⁱ⁾ de Watevilla^(a) per hoc signum + confirmo. Ego Galterius^(j) Gifarht per hoc signum + confirmo. Ego Walterius^(k) Broc per hoc signum + confirmo. Ego Fulbertus archidiaconus concedo +. Signum^(l) Benedicti.

Variants. a, Wattedvilla E; b, decimas CDE; c, Crosmare CE; d, Gemmeticensi E; e, Wilelmo E; f, 18 E; g, Wilelmus E; h, anathema E; i, Wilelmus E; j, Gualterius CE; l, Waltericus E; m, + *add.* CDE.

after 20 July 1089 × 1110

William, archbishop of Rouen, grants to the abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen the right of synod, visitation and everything owed to the cathedral of Rouen by the church of Saint-Martin de Longchamps, in the same way that it was formerly held by the abbey of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon.

- A¹. AD Calvados, H 1843, no. 1. Supposed original, which must in fact date from the end of the 11th century. 71 lines. Measurements: 150mm (across) × 540mm (deep). Endorsements: *Carta regis Willelmi de libertatibus pontificum* (12th cent.). There is no sign that the document was ever sealed, or sign of any arrangements for sealing.
- A². AD Calvados, H 1843, no. 2. A copy, which is either contemporary with A¹ or slightly later. 41 lines. Measurements: 190mm (across) × 300mm (deep). There are no medieval endorsements visible, although the bottom right-hand side of the parchment has been reinforced with paper. There is no seal and no sign of any arrangements for sealing.
- B. AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 22r-v. 12th-century copy in 12th-13th-century cartulary.
- C. AD Calvados, H 1843, no. 3. 15th-century copy dated 9 July 1429 (from A²).
- D. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 1656, pp. 19-20. 17th-century copy (from B).
- E. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 20218, fol. 6r. 17th-century copy, dated 16 January 1658, (from A¹) (from the library of the abbé De La Rue).
- F. AD Calvados, H 1825, bulles des papes et chartes des archevêques et évêques, cottes 11 (from A²) and 12 (from A¹). 18th-century copies.
- G. AD Calvados, H 1825, bulles des papes et chartes des archevêques et évêques, cote 20. 18th-century copy (from C).
- H. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1406, fol. 21r. 19th-century copy by Hippeau.
- I. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1406, fol. 22r, 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle.
- J. Caen, Bibliothèque universitaire, fonds normand, ms. 21420, p. 23. 19th-century copy by Henri de Toustain (from B).
- K. AD Calvados, F 5276. 20th-century abbreviated copy by Gaston de Beausse (from A¹).

Ptd. Deville, 'Notices sur quelques manuscrits', p. 269 (from D); Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption*, no. 3, pp. 297-299 (from A¹ and A²); *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, no. 383 (first paragraph only, from A¹, A² and Lemarignier); Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, no. 19 (from A¹ and A²); *Regesta*, no. 57 (from A¹ and A²); Parisse, 'Les pancartes', no. 3 (from A¹).

Ind. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21813, fol. 861v; AD Calvados, F 6285, fol. 40r and 41r; Léchaudé d'Anisy, *Extraits des chartes*, i, p. 270, no. 7.

Note. This act survives in two forms. The first is as part of a late eleventh-century charter issued by the abbey of Saint-Étienne, which also includes donations of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Geoffrey de Montbray, bishop of Coutances (**nos. 27, 39**). The second is as a standalone cartulary act. The first version was edited recently by David Bates, but his edition does not include the variants from ms. **B**. Evidence from the recently discovered Saint-Étienne cartulary allows us to date this document more exactly. The exchange of Longchamps between Saint-Étienne and Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, which had previously been dated to 1096,¹ in fact took place before the archbishop of Rouen, and many others, at Eu on 20 July 1089.² This charter was probably issued shortly thereafter, though without further evidence the *terminus ad quem* must be the end of William's reign.

A¹

Notum sit omnibus christianę religionis cultoribus quod ego/¹ Willelmus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus trado/² cęnobio quod a domino meo Willelmo Anglorum rege,³ Normannorum et Cęnomannorum principe, in burgo/⁴ Cadomi, in honorem beatissimi protomartyris^(a) Stephani/⁵ constructum est, synodoticum, et circatam, et omnem de/⁶bitum quod pertinet ecclesie sanctę Marię Rothomagi de ecclesia sancti Martini de Longo Campo. Sic/⁷ enim habuerant monachi de sancto Benigno de/⁸ Dijun,^(b) et clericus illius ecclesie sic legitime sta/⁹tutis temporibus ad synodum^(c) veniat, ne sub ali/¹⁰qua occasione ab eo pecunia requiratur.

Variants. a, prothomartyris *BC*; b, Benigni de Divione *B*; c, sinodum *BC*.

¹ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix E, no. 2, pp. 285-286; *Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ii, no. 384. These authorities based their arguments on an undated original (AD Calvados, H 1847), which they believed had been issued during the visit to the duchy of Gerento, abbot Saint-Bénigne, in 1096.

² AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r.

1 June 1091 × 28 Feb. 1092

A charter of William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, granting to Anselm, abbot of Bec, and his monks exemption for the parishioners of Bec from all episcopal dues. In return, the abbot promises to take part in the annual dedication feast of the church of Rouen, and to allow the archbishop to have his dues from all the parishes in his dioceses belonging to the abbey.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 12884, fol. 68v-69v. 17th-century copy by Jacques Jouvelin-Thibault (source unclear).
- C. BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r. 17th-century partial copy by Jacques Jouvelin-Thibault (corrections to D'Achery's printed edition and witnesses only).

Ptd. D'Achery, *Lanfranci Opera*, p. 332 (no source given, without witnesses); *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, cols. 17-18 ('ex Sammarthanis post Acherium in notis ad Lanfrancum, pag. 332', without witnesses); Migne, *PL*, cl, cols. 552-554 (no source given, without witnesses); Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, no. 8, p. 68 (from C, witnesses only); *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, 'Errata and addenda to Volume 1', no. 317b, p. 400 (from C, witnesses only).

Ind. Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, p. 115; BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21807, fol. 178r.

Note. The source for the edition of D'Achery (*da*) is unclear, but it is perhaps a lost original, which is catalogued in a seventeenth-century inventory.¹ Jacques Jouvelin-Thibault, who not only provides a witness list but also corrections to the printed edition, seems to have worked from the same source, and the witness list in particular has many features that are common to original documents. The witnesses are, for example, placed in no discernible order, while the manner in which the crosses are scattered is reminiscent of an original charter. The names begin in three columns, but from the *signum* of the abbot of Saint-Wandrille onwards, this is reduced to two. The reading here is left to right throughout. Haskins ignored the order and rearranged the *signa* so that all the ecclesiastical witnesses appear in order, or are grouped by institution. However, even if one reads left to right for the witnesses in three columns and then top to bottom for those in two, some ecclesiastical *signa* appear after those of their lay counterparts. The crosses, which Haskins did not print, are generally placed below the witnesses names, either towards the middle or the end. Sometimes, however, they are deliberately inserted mid-word. It is possible that this charter was issued at or shortly after the council of Rouen shortly after 1 June 1091,² which was convened to elect Serlo d'Orgères as bishop of Sées,³ while some of the witnesses to

¹ 'Layettes 1 et 2, cottée 103', BN, coll. Cinq-cents de Colbert, vol. 190, p. 16.

² *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, 'Errata and addenda to Volume 1', no. 317b, p. 400.

³ *OV*, iv, p. 252.

this act also witnessed an act of Michael, bishop of Avranches, which was issued at Rouen in 1091 (no. 7).

B, [...] from D'Achery

[Virorum prudentium^(a) consuetudo est, et eorum maxime qui de statu sanctae ecclesiae aliquid rationabiliter disponunt, ne per ignorantiam vel oblivionem a propria firmitate aliquando decadat, inscriptionis auctoritate^(b) firmare. Sed episcopalis curae officium est diligenter procurare quatinus^(c) monasteria servorum Dei in pace, et quiete firmata permaneant; ne divinis officiis mancipatae mentes aliqua occasione a suo proposito impendantur. Hac igitur rationis aestimatione] ego^(d) quoque^(e) Vuillelmus^(f) Dei gratia Rothomagensium archiepiscopus literis mandare decrevi, tempore videlicet Roberti comitis filii Vuillelmi^(g) regis Anglorum, quod Beccensi ecclesiae, et domno Anselmo abbati, ob reverentiam eiusdem loci, et fratrum religiosissimam vitam, sed et propter salutem animae meae, antecessorumque meorum, nec non et successorum, concedo ut ecclesia ipsa, eiusque ipsius loci parochia, cum residentibus parochianis suis, perpetuo sit libera ab omni exactione episcopali,^(h) praeter ea absque⁽ⁱ⁾ episcopali officio administrari non possunt: ut est monachos vel clericos ordinare, ecclesias reconciliare, poenitentiam publicam dare, et huiusmodi poenitentes reconciliare: aut illam⁽ⁱ⁾ poenitentiam occultam, quae sine concilio episcopi dari non potest, determinare, chrisma quoque, et oleum tribuere, ut in brevi cuncta complectar, monasterii, et abbatis, prout decet, omnem pastorem curam gerere sine acceptatione^(k) pecuniae. Si autem in eadem parochia talis causa orta fuerit, quae ferri iudicio finienda sit; tunc ex placito abbatis, aut apud matrem ecclesiam causa finietur,^(l) iudiciumque portabitur; aut archiepiscopus ferrum iudicii ad locum illum per ministros suos destinabit, iudiciumque ibi coram archiepiscopi ministris portabitur. Quod si pecunia exierit ubicumque, iudicium portatur, abbatis erit, ^(m-)de sacerdote quoque parochiae illius statuimus quo ad synodum veniat et archiepiscopi mandata audiet, qui si in eadem synodo aliquid contra ordinem suum fecerit, vadimonium ibi dabit, et acceptis super hoc induciis ut ad abbatem loquatur, abbas autem vel per se vel per aliquam de suis episcopali iusticiae repraesentabit, et si se deratiocinari non potuerit, archiepiscopo rectitudinis iudicio satisfaciet.^(-m) In ceteris autem parrochiis,⁽ⁿ⁾ quae ad eandem abbatiam pertinent, et sunt de nostra dioecesi,^(o) hoc solum ei concessimus, ut manu pastos suos laicos quietos habeat, illos tantummodo, qui terram, vel domos nullo modo possident. Si autem de his

omnibus, quos liberos esse concessimus, aliquis contra christianitatem egerit, et abbas ad hoc corrigendum tardus extiterit, archiepiscopus cum, ut corrigat monebit: quod si abbas postea corrigere noluerit, archiepiscopus emendabit. Pro his igitur quae concessimus, abbas talem honorem, et tale servitium ecclesiae nostrae metropolitanae exhibebit, ut si ab archiepiscopo invitatus fuerit, et legitimam excusationem non habuerit, ad festum dedicationis eiusdem ecclesiae veniat, sumptus archiepiscopi habiturus, ut archiepiscopo missam celebrante chorum tenent: aut si archiepiscopus aliqua causa missam celebrare noluerit, aut non potuerit, idem abbas missam festivam pro eo celebret. Hoc^(p) autem ex consulto clericorum nostrorum fecimus. At vero abbas ex consulto monachorum suorum querelas quasdam et calumnias, quas in quibusdam de praefutis ecclesiis faciebat, clamavit quietas, et concessit ut omnes episcopales consuetudines habeat archiepiscopus, et in illis ecclesiis, quas tunc temporis Beccensis ecclesia in dioecesi^(o) nostra possidebat,^(q) extra Beccensem parochiam, et insuper in illis omnibus, quas deinceps in dioecesi^(o) nostra acquisitura est.^(r)

S. Rotberti comitis Normanniae. Sig. Wilielmi archiepiscopi Rotho+magensis. S. Gisleberti + Ebroicensis episcopi. S. Gaufridi + episcopi Constantiensis. ^(s-)S. Willelmi episcopi + Dunelmensis. ^(-s)S. Odonis episcopi + Baiocensis. S. Serlonis + episcopi Sagiensis. S. Benedicti + archidiaconi. S. Fulberti + archidiaconi. S. Gisleberti scolastici. S. Rogeri fratris abbatis Cadumensis + S. Girardi + archidiaconi. S. Rogeri + secretarii. Ricardi filii Willelmi +. S. Giraldi abbatis + sancti Wandregisili. S. Hugonis + abbatis Cerasiensis. S. Nicholai + abbatis sancti Audoeni. S. Willelmi abbatis + Cormeliensis. S. Gisleberti + Cadumensis. S. Rotberti + de Monteforti S. Fulconis + abbatis de supra Diva. S. Rotberti + comitis de Mellent. S. Willelmi Eb+roicensis comitis. S. Guillelmi + Crispini. S. Gisleberti + Crispini. S. Radulfi de Conchis.

Variants. a, corrected from C; da has prudentum; b, corrected from C; da has autoritate; c, corrected from C; da has quatenus; d, B begins here; e, om. B; f, Willelmus C; Willelmus da; g, Willelmi da; h, episcopali exactione da; i, corrected from C; da has quae ab; j, illa da; k, acceptione da; l, corrected from C; da has finiatur; m-m, text only in C; n, parochiis C; o, diocesi C; p, Haec da; q, corrected from C; da has possidebit; r, erat da; s-s, in marg. C.

6 May 1102

An agreement between William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen, and the monks and abbot of Fécamp concerning the church of Ourville-en-Caux, which was home to the abbey's school. The archbishop restored to this church, at the request of Abbot William [de Rots], all the freedoms that it enjoyed from ancient times, except that the clerks who serve the church will pay the annual Easter synod, will attend the annual synod held on All Saints' Day, will appear before their parishioners at the Easter procession, and, when the archbishop is in the region, will present themselves to him without having to render any service. Moreover, if any of them are to fail in their office, they can receive repentance from the archdeacon without having to pay money. The archbishop agreed to this on condition that the clerks of this same church should celebrate, during the feast of St. Romanus, the anniversary of every archbishop of Rouen, and that when they learn of Archbishop William's death, they are to celebrate one Mass for him. This was done with the agreement of the archdeacon Benedict, in whose archidiaconate the church lay, and the archdeacons Fulbert and Osmund, as well as many monks and laymen.

- A. Original lost.
- B. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 41, fol. 45⁽³⁾r-v.¹ 18th-century copy by J.-N. Lenoir taken from a lost early 12th-century cartulary.
- C. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21819, fol. 21r. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).

Ind. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21843, fol. 63r, 70r; Delisle, 'Notice sur un traité inédit', p. 347; M. Duplessis, *Description géographique et historique de la Haute Normandie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1740), i, p. 644; J.-B.-D. Cochet, *Les églises de l'arrondissement d'Yvetot*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1852), i, p. 83; Genouillac, *Histoire de Fécamp*, pp. 284-285; Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 207 n. 36, 208.

Note. The church of Ourville-en-Caux was first given to the abbey of Fécamp in 1025,² and this previously unedited charter, which was once found in a lost twelfth-century cartulary, contains the earliest reference to the abbey school established there. It also allows us to identify the archdeacon Benedict as having responsibility for the Caux region. The stipulation regarding the celebration of the anniversary of every archbishop of Rouen during the feast day of St. Romanus is also particularly interesting. This saint, whose relics were transferred to the cathedral of Rouen at some point between 1079 and 28 April 1090,³ was particularly important to William Bona Anima, and came to play a central role in the re-establishment of archiepiscopal authority in the city of Rouen.

¹ There are two folia numbered 45⁽³⁾ in this manuscript, and this charter is found on the second of them.

² *RADN*, no. 34.

³ *OV*, iii, pp. 22-24. Cf. 'The translation to St. Ouen in 1090', in Lifshitz, 'Dossier of Romanus', p. 412.

B

Noverint tam presentes quam futuri quod venerabilis archiepiscopus Rothomagensis ecclesię Guillelmus, ecclesiam de Urvilla quę in elemosinam clericorum scolę Fiscannensis iure perpetuo deputata est in priorem quam antiquitus habuerat petitione domni Guillelmi abbatis Fiscannensis restituit libertatem, ut scilicet nulli subiaceat consuetudini, excepto quod Paschalem synodum in anno persolvat, clericus vero eidem ecclesię deseruiens; ad synodum quę circa omnium sanctorum festivitatem agitur, pro audiendis tantum episcopalibus preceptis veniet, et ad processionem de Pentecosten parrochianos suos ipse precedet, et quando archiepiscopus per terminos illos ierit, clericus isdem eidem archiepiscopo se absque ullo munere presentabit. Si vero in ordinem suum deliquerit, ab archidiacono penitentiam suam sine aliqua pecunię datione accipiet. Hoc autem prefatus archiepiscopus tali pacto concessit, ut clerici que de eiusdem ecclesię beneficio vivum anniversarium omnium archiepiscoporum Rothomagensium in festivitate sancti Romani singulis annis faciant, et quando recentem obitum archiepiscoporum audierint, missam cum officio celebrent. Acta sunt hęc anno ab incarnatione domini M^o.C^o.II^o. pridie nonas maii. Hiis interfuerunt ex parte archiepiscopi, Benedictus archidiaconus, in cuius archidiaconatu eadem ecclesia sita erat, et Fulbertus archidiaconus, et Osmundus archidiaconus. Ex parte donni Guillelmi abbatis; monachi, Antonius, Ioh(anne)s cellerarius, Adelmus, Ulricus, Turstinus archidiaconus Fiscannensis, Ansfredus clericus: laici, Ingelrannus dapifer, et frater eius, Ragnulfus, Hugo de Silletot, Ansfredus Burdeth, Albertus de Ros, Hugo Pilevilain.

74

28 May 1105, Rouen (in the cathedral)

Memorandum recording how Rodulf, son of Walbert de Boury-[en-Vexin], returned to the cathedral of Rouen the land of Gisors, which both he and his father had usurped from that church. This restitution was made on Whitsunday in the cathedral of Rouen. Rodulf placed a knife on the altar of the cathedral, and then Mass was said by the archbishop in the presence of the personnel of the cathedral and many citizens of Rouen. Walbert and Rodulf then received absolution for their sins. This restitution was then renewed in Vesly, where, in the presence of many witnesses, Rodulf placed a rod in the archbishop's hand. Rodulf, who was about to leave for Jerusalem, received 20 silver marks from the archbishop.

- A. AD Seine-Maritime, G 8740. Original. Measurements: 357/360mm (across) × 460/475mm (deep). 25 lines. Endorsements: *De terra de Gisortii data huic ecclesie* (12th-century); *primo restituta per illos qui ipsam uiolentem abstulerant ut patet per tenorem huius carte* (14th-cent.). The first line of the charter is written in elongated majuscules, while the rest are in a neat minuscule hand. There are seven small holes in the parchment, and the document is frayed down the entirety of its left side, although none of this damage obscures any of the text. The last fifth of the parchment is blank, but there are no arrangements for sealing.

Ptd. Normanniae nova chronica, pp. xvi-xvii n. 8; Hull, 'The Norman episcopate', ii, pp. 181 i-iv (from A, with facsimile); M.J. Crispin and L. Macary, *Falaise roll recording prominent companions of William duke of Normandy at the conquest of England* (London, 1938), pp. 172-173 (from A, with facsimile); Bauduin, *La première Normandie*, Appendix II, no. 11 (from A).

Ind. J.-F. Pommeraye, *Histoire des archevesques de Rouen* (Rouen, 1667), p. 298; Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église cathédrale de Rouen*, p. 570; Fallue, *Histoire de Rouen*, i, p. 348.

Note. This charter, which is one of only two of the originals to come from the archives of a Norman cathedral, contains a wealth of information about circumstances in the duchy towards the end of the reign of Robert Curthose. Not only does it reveal the existence of a thriving cathedral community at Rouen, and the laymen associated with it, but it is also particularly interesting to note that William felt safe enough to travel the fifty kilometres from Rouen to Vesly, despite the apparent brigandage that plagued Normandy at this time.

A

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI .M^{mo}.C^{mo}.V^{to}. WILLELMO
ARCHIEPISCOPO IN SANCTA ROTOMAGENSI ECCLESIA¹ presidente,

Radulfus filius Walberti de Bodriz, reddidit Sanctę MARIEȝ Rothomagensis ecclesię terram de Gisorz,^{/2} quam idem Vualbertus et ipse filius eius Radulfus post mortem patris in excommunicatione tenuerant, auferendo^{/3} eam eidem ecclesię. Hanc redditionem fecit prefatus Radulfus apud Rothomagum per cultellum in diebus Pentecostes,^{/4} super altare sanctę MARIEȝ dum missa ibi celebraretur, presente Willelmo archiepiscopo, et presentibus archidiaconis,^{/5} videlicet Benedicto, Fulberto, Goisleno, Ursello, Ricardo, et Rogero secretario cum omni congregatione ecclesię,^{/6} et presentibus etiam quampluribus civibus Rotomagi, ibique coram altari, absoluit archiepiscopus Walbertum et Radulfum^{/7} filium eius, culpam suam, culpamque patris cognoscentem et confitentem. Ex hinc communi consensu, statuto termino^{/8} ab utraque parte, convenerunt^(a) apud Verleium tam archiepiscopus quam idem Radulfus filius Walberti, necnon mater eius^{/9} et fratres, ibique Radulfus renovavit hanc redditionem, reddiditque tunc sanctę MARIEȝ prefatam terram de Gisorz, per^{/10} baculum in manu archiepiscopi. Ubi tunc interfuerunt hanc redditionem concedentes ex parte Radulfi,^{/11} mater eius et fratres, videlicet Walbertus, Eustachius, Albericus, Ingelrannus nepos eius filius Willemi de Carz; homines^{/12} sui, videlicet Ricardus de Fontanis, Odardus Presteval, Iohannes de Bodriz, Paganus de Corceles, Hucbertus de^{/13} Verlei, Osmundus de Faiel, Bernardus filius Raineri, Drogo Sentier, Rainaldus Sorel, Radulfus filius Odardi.^{/14} Ex parte vero archiepiscopi, cum prefatis archidiaconis, interfuerunt casati SANCTEȝ MARIEȝ et homines eius, scilicet^{/15} Osmundus de Calvomonte, Paganus de Nielfa, Rotbertus de Faiel, et Gaszo, Hugo dapifer Pagani,^{/16} et Willelmus frater eius, Guidardus filius Imeri,^(b) Eustachius de Fraisneus, Rotbertus filius Helinandi, Gislebertus de Verlei,^{/17} Willelmus Crispinus iuvenis, et Manasses frater eius, Willelmus de Condeit, Willemus filius Hucberti, Hugo de Portmort,^{/18} et Iohannes frater eius, Walterus Torel, Hugo de Bosemont, Rotbertus filius Ernulfi de Villanis, Radulfus de Lisorz,^{/19} Hugo filius Serlonis, Willemus filius Eustachii, Ascelinus filius Andreeȝ, Rogerus de Pratellis, Radulfus de Vilers,^{/20} Florentius canonicus, Ricardus presbiter de Gisorz, monachi vero de Verlei, Radulfus Mordant, et Ansetillus.^{/21} Cum his homines plurimi ibi affuerunt, et de Gisorz, et de Nielfa, et de Calvomonte, et de Verlei,^{/22} et de Dangut, et de Vilers. Pro hac itaque redditione, dedit prefatus archiepiscopus eidem Radulfo^{/23} filio Walberti in cognitione .xx^{ti}. marcas argenti, eodem Radulfo in Iherusalem tunc ituro, sub testimonio^{/24} omnium, qui in hac carta scripti habentur.

Variants. a, convenenerunt A; b, a character, perhaps either an 'f' or a 'p', partially obscured by a hole in the parchment, is interlined above this word in A.

1106 (after 28 Sept.) × 1107, Rouen

William, archbishop of Rouen, confirms, with Henry I's assent, the church of Notre-Dame d'Émendreville [now Saint-Sever] to Bec as the abbot and monks proved their right before the bishops and barons of Normandy.

- A. AD Seine-Maritime, 20 HP 5. Original. 10 lines. Measurements: approx. 213mm (across) × 103/105mm (deep). Endorsements: *Concessio et confirmatio Willelmi archiepiscopi Rothomagensis de ecclesia praedicati* (12th-cent.); *Confirmatio Willelmi Rothomagensis archiepiscopi de ecclesia de ecclesia de* [sic] *Ermentreuille* (13th-cent.); π^{ii} *Rothom'*; $III^{\pi} \cdot II^i \cdot Rothm'$ (15th-cent.). Description: The general physical condition of this charter is good, but the text is almost illegible due to rubbing with gallstones. The charter was sealed *sur double queue* using a parchment tag measuring approximately 166mm, which passes through a slit 20mm from the bottom of the document. There are no fragments of any seal either on the end of the tag, or in a separate bag, and little sign on the tag of where the seal once was.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 18v. 17th-century copy by Jacques Jouvelin-Thibault.
- C. BN, ms. lat. 10055, fol. 82r. 17th-century copy ('Ex chartulario Beccensi').

Ptd. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Appendix F, no. 1, p. 293 (from ABC).

Ind. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21807, fol. 178r; *Regesta* (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 792; W. Farrer, 'An outline itinerary of King Henry the First', *EHR*, 34 (1919), pp. 303-382, 505-579, at p. 341; *Regesta*, p. 189.

Note. It is most unfortunate that the text of this original charter has been almost obliterated, for had it survived we might have been able to compare its hand with that of an almost contemporary act, which survives from the cathedral archives (**no. 74**). Manuscript **B** does not reproduce the original orthography, though the cedillas used to represent diphthongs are still visible in **A**, and are therefore included in the text taken from **BC**, which is within the square brackets. The dating-limits are given by Henry I's victory at Tinchebray, and the resignation of Turol d'Envermeu, bishop of Bayeux.

A (with additions from BC)

Ego Willelmus^(a) dei gratia Rotomagensis^(b) archiepiscopus concedo et confirmo/¹ ut
 e[cclesia sanctę Marię Becci iure hereditario possi]deat ecclesiam sanctę Marię/² de
 Ermentrudisuilla sicut Willelmus [abbas eius]dem loci et monachi/³ [deraciocinati]
 sunt eam in capitulo [sanctę Marię] Rotomagensis^(b) presente/⁴ me et episcopis et

baronibus Normannie, concedente domino nostro HENRICO rege/⁵ [Anglorum et annuentibus supradictis] episcopis et baronibus, Turolde uidelicet Baio/⁶censi episcopo [et Turgiso Abrincensi et Roberto] de Bel[ismo et Roberto comi]te/⁷ [de Mellent et Eustachio Bononiensi et Henrico comite Augensi et archi]/⁸diaconis nostris, Fulberto uidelicet, [Benedicto,^(c) Ricardo, Ursello, et quam plu]/⁹ribus aliis clericis [et laicis].

Variants. a, Will. B; Guilelmus C; b, Rothomag. BC; c, *B ends here, the text from this point is as C.*

SÉES

76

28 May 1047/8 × 1060/68, Sées (in synod)

Ivo, bishop of Sées, consents to the purchase by Avesgaud, abbot of Saint-Vincent du Mans, of the church of Courgains from William vicario, son of Berald de Bellême. The sale was also confirmed by a Geoffrey, count of Anjou [either Martel or the Bearded], and Geoffrey, brother of [Rodulf] the vicomte of Mans. The charter was drawn up at Sées during a synod, and was witnessed by many personnel of the cathedral, members of the Bellême family, and the men of the count of Anjou. Haoille, William's mother, of whose dowry the church formed a part, received the church of La Chapelle in exchange.

- A. Original lost
- B. BN, ms. lat. 5444, pp. 221-222. Late 17th-century copy.
- C. BN, coll. Moreau, vol. 27, fol. 42r-44r. 18th-century copy (from B).
- D. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21816, fol. 72r-v. 19th-century copy by Léopold Delisle (from Martène).
- E. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21816, fol. 118r. 19th-century abbreviated copy by Léopold Delisle (from B).
- F. BM (Le Mans), ms. 473, fol. 166r-v. 19th-century copy by M.E. Bilard.

Ptd. Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, 9 vols. (Paris, 1724-1733), i, cols. 420-421 (*ex cartario S. Vincentii Cenomanensis*); *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, no. 545 (from B).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 12702, fol. 357r; BN, ms. lat. 13820, fol. 214r; Château de Semilly, coll. Mathan, vol. 70, p. 139; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, ii, no. C 268, p. 178.

Note. A seventeenth-century manuscript claims this charter was originally found in 'Liber 21' of the lost cartulary of Saint-Vincent.¹ According to a list of abbots, which is found in a manuscript of Roger de Gaignières, Avesgaud, abbot of Saint-Vincent, was 'de nobili familia dominorum Castri Ledi, et principum Bellisimi, et consanguineus laudati supra Gervasii episcopi Cenomanensis'.² This would make him a relative of the bishop of Sées, who was a cousin of the bishop of Le Mans.³ The act is remarkable for its list of cathedral personnel, which includes the names of five archdeacons, and for its reference to the scribe (William d'Argentan) responsible for its creation. He was presumably a member of the cathedral chapter, though the act does not specify this. The charter's dating-limits are the beginning of the episcopate

¹ BN, ms. lat. 13820, fol. 214r.

² BN, ms. lat. 5445, p. 18.

³ Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 172.

of Ivo de Bellême and the end of the reigns of either Geoffrey II Martel or Geoffrey III the Bearded, count of Anjou. Since the edition of Martène is taken from the lost cartulary, its variants are also noted (*ma*).

B

Ivo gratia Dei episcopus Sagiensis, Avesgaudo,^(a) abbati sanctorum martirum Vincentii et Laurentii Cenomannis monasterii extra murum constructi, annuit ecclesiam de Curia Laboris,^(b) cum terra altaris illius ecclesie, quam emit sex libris nummorum cum oracionibus suis de Willelmo^(c) vicario, filio Beraldi de Belismo, pro se suisque omnibus annuente comite Gaufrido Andegavensi, et Gaufrido,^(d) fratre vicecomitis Cenomanensi.^(e) Hec cartula sancita est a supradicto pontifice v^(f) kal.^(g) iunii, in sancta sinodo Sagiensi, testibus archidiaconis, Bauduino videlicet filio Etvaldi et Rogerio Mauritanienti et Lamberto de Belismo et Hermerio et Fulcoio atque omnibus canonicis sancti Gervasii, et Willelmo^(c) Argentensi, qui hec scripsit, imperante domno pontifice. Quod si aliquis in iure suo, vel vi, vel precio, vel nefaria cupidine, quod absit, quod iure acceptum est a sancto Vincentio et Laurentio arripuerit aut calumpniatus^(h) fuerit. Incurrat sententiam dampnationis,⁽ⁱ⁾ confirmante supradicto pontifice sanctoque Gervasio atque Prothasio, sanctisque omnibus quorum memoria in terris agitur. Et hoc concessum est a fratre episcopi Willelmo,^(c) et Oliverio et Warino^(j) et Radulfo episcopi nepotibus et a militibus episcopi Berlaio et Radulfo fratre suo ac omni familia sua. Huius conventionis fuerunt testes et auctores Odo de Clinampo,^(k) Wido de Lagailla^(l) annuentibus uxore ac filiis Willelmi^(m) qui hec peregit. Hii sunt testes quorum nomina cum signis subnotata sunt. Signum Ursolini. S. Hugonis de Roceo. S. Normanni filii Radulfi. S. Saginfredi de Biart. S. Lamberti canonici. S. Hervei de Braviart. S. Willelmi^(m) Musconi. S. Giroii Fortini. S. Herveii.⁽ⁿ⁾ S. Gradulfi. S. Wauterii Rufi.^(o) S. Beraldi de Malchenaldo. S. Lancelini. S. Gunherii. S. Haimonis. S. Fulcoii Crapuni. S. Bernardi viatoris. Signum Berlai. S. Wauterii filii Rainerii. S. Hervei Longi.^(p) Signum Wauterii de Monte. S. Lamberti. S. Willelmi^(m) Gastinelli, et omnium canonicorum sancti Leonardi. S. Hugonis filii Gaufridi. S. Alberici. S. Umberti.^(q) S. Ulgerii. S. Willelmi.^(m) Hii^(r) sunt ex hominibus Gaufridi comitis. S. Normanni viatoris regis. S. Hamelini fratris Willelmi^(m) vicarii. S. Gaufridi filii Wilielmi^(s) viatoris. Haoilla mater eius, cui ista ecclesia fuit donata in dote quam suus senior vendidit sancto Vincentio et Avesgaudo abbati, et propter

istam ecclesiam recepit Haoilla ecclesiam de Capella in iscamium,^(t) videntibus et audientibus cunctis istis supradictis hominibus.

P^(u)

Variants. a, Avesgauco *ma*; b, Curia-laboris *ma*; c, Wilhelmo *ma*; d, Gaufredo *ma*; e, Cenomannensis *ma*; f, 6th *B*, *this reading is from ma*; g, cal. *ma*; h, calumniatus *ma*; i, dampationis *ma*; j, Varino *ma*; k, Climcampo *ma*; l, la Gailla *ma*; m, Wilhelmi *ma*; n, Hervei *ma*; o, Wauterii-Rufi *ma*; p, Hervei-longi *ma*; q, Humberti *ma*; r, Hi *ma*; s, Vuilhelmi *ma*; t, Iscanum *ma*; u, *om. ma*.

77

26 March 1051 × 9 March 1062

Ivo, bishop of Sées, grants to the abbey of Saint-Aubin d'Angers the church of Saint-Ouen de Villiers with the domains of Rugamar and Roullée, except the house of Adeline, which he retained for his own hospitality.

- A. BN, ms. lat. 17060, no. 69. Original. 35 lines (excluding witnesses). Measurements: 110/175mm (across) × 180/300mm (deep). Endorsements: *De sancto Audoeno Villare* (11th-cent.). This charter has been glued to card, rendering almost half of the dorse illegible. The document is, nevertheless, in a good state of preservation, and is written in two neat eleventh-century hands. The first is responsible for the first thirty-one lines and one of the *signum* (that of Roger de Montgommery), while the second, which is slightly thicker in appearance, is responsible for the last four lines of text, and three of the witnesses. The witnesses are arranged in two horizontal rows, with Ivo's autograph crosier placed in the middle of the first. Besides this, only Mabel's cross appears to be autograph. There is no seal, and no sign of any arrangements for sealing.

Ptd. Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers, ii, no. 941.

Ind. Guillot, Le comte d'Anjou, ii, no. C 230, pp. 153-154.

Note. The dating-limits of this charter are fully discussed by Olivier Guillot. The church of Saint-Ouen de Villiers was later given with Ivo's consent to the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées.¹

A

Immensa Dei bonitas pro sacras scripturas commonens nos ad eternam requiem tendere/¹ sic omnes nos in extrema iudicali sententia concludit, ut si in hac vita animarum/² nostrarum obliviscamur, nullam excusationem ante vultum eius habeamus, cuiuscunque/³ facultatis parue vel magne simus. Quia enim nos non unius possibilitates esse cognovit/⁴ precepta viribus quidem uniuscuiusque convenientia nobis dedit, sed que singulos ad mer/⁵cedem specialis merita perducant, licet communis glorie sufficientiam promittant attestante/⁶ sacro eloquio, 'qui plus laborat plus mercedis accipiet'.² Huius igitur dominice ammonizi/⁷onis memor ego HIVO

¹ Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 7v, 9r, 10r.

² 1 Corinthians, 3:8.

episcopus, cum dominus dicat ‘cui plus committitur plus ab eo requiretur’³; ⁸ de possessionis meę habundantia spiritu pauperibus impertiri propter Deum volui, qui secundum⁹ evangelium coagitatam mensuram in sinum meum darent. Monachis itaque sancti ALBINI¹⁰ Andecanensis quasdam res meas dedi, bene quidem et proinde elemosinam faciens his¹¹ qui suimet etiam proprietate despecta, sola oratione benefactoribus suis retribuentes,¹² digni sunt ab omnibus unde vivant accipere, qui pro omnibus non cessant vigilare.¹³ Sed quia humana fragilitas tante inconstantie permaneat, ut animus ipse eiusdem¹⁴ voluntatis semper esse nequeat, ne dum corpus duret quod cotidie deficiens ad extremum¹⁵ mori non dubitat: placuit mihi sub certa assignatione nomina earum rerum scribi.¹⁶ Scilicet ecclesiam sancti Audoeni de Villare quę intra silvam Blanos sita est cum duabus¹⁷ villis quę ad eandem parochiam pertinent, scilicet Rugamar, et Ruvolers desuper Sartam¹⁸ et has omnino proprias esse sancti Albini excepta domo Adelelmi quam ad hospitandum mihi¹⁹ retineo, liberas ab omni exactione, nulli homini consuetudinem, nec aliquę questum²⁰ neque solutionem nisi supradicto sancto pater foristagium, de masura unum sextarium, et de bor²¹deria dimidium reddentes. Pasnagium autem sufficienter do porcis propriis sancti Albini,²² et hominibus eius earum villarum habitatoribus. De silua vero tam viridi quam sicca,²³ absque portio quantum opus fuerit supradictis habitatoribus et monachis illic commisantibus²⁴ in perpetuum concedo. Insuper etiam omnibus quicumque pro amore Dei de rebus suis ad fevum²⁵ meum etiam pertinentibus dare vel vendere monachis voluerint, permitto. Ut autem²⁶ donum meum hoc absque calumpnia SANCTUS ALBINUS in eternum habeat, firmo illud²⁷ per manus GAUFRIDI comitis, postea per manus Herberti Cenomannensis²⁸ comitis de cuius dominio fevum pendet, firmantibus idem donum meum,²⁹ Guillelmo fratre meo, atque Seinfredo, cum nepotibus meis, Olvierio, Warino, Willelmo³⁰ et Mabilia nepte mea, preterea omnibus spem hereditatis in me habentibus.³¹ SIGNUM HIVONIS + SAGIENSIS EPISCOPI. Quisquis me vivente³² aut me moriente aliquid auferre voluerit de his supra³³ scriptis, pereat memoria eorum de terra viventium. Nesciat³⁴ solaris circulus locum eorum, et pereant in secundo adventu domini.³⁵

Signum + Rotgerii vicecomitis
SIGNUM + Rotberti



SIGNUM + Oliveri
SIGNUM + Mabilię vicecomitis

³ RSB, cc. II:30.

before 1057 × 1060, but perhaps 1060

Ivo, bishop of Sées, Roger [II de Montgomery] and his wife Mabel [de Bellême] refound the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées, which since ancient times had been under the monastic rule. They therefore gave to the abbey, for the sake of their souls and that of their ancestor, William [de Bellême], the land that he held in demesne around that place, the tithe of the parish, land at Mesnil-Gaut, Marthe-Leurouse and Cerisé, the church of Aunou-sur-Orne and the land of its priest, the mill at Macé, the land [at Château d'Aché] of Gilbert Bordus, four measures of grain in the mills of Alençon and Saint-Paul-sur-Sarthe, with its mill and land. They also gave the tithe of the toll of Sées, of Bourse and of Écouves, and the tithe of pannage, the church in Montgomery of La Brévière with a mill and one carucate of land, while Robert Moirrol gave the land of four cows at Granlay. All this was confirmed by Roger as count [of Shrewsbury].

- A. Original lost
- B. Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 7r. 13th-century cartulary known as the *Livre blanc*.
- C. Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 8v-9r. 13th-century cartulary known as the *Livre blanc*.
- D. BN, ms. fr. 18953, pp. 10-11. 17th-century copy (allegedly from C).
- E. BN, ms. fr. 18953, pp. 209-210. 17th-century partial copy (from 'cartulaire appelé le Livre rouge, p. 1').
- F. BM (Alençon), ms. 190, pp. 3-4.¹ 18th-century copy dated 1747 (from B).
- G. BM (Alençon), ms. 190, p. 8. 18th-century copy dated 1747 (from C).
- H. AD Orne, H 938, fol. 1v-2r. 19th-century copy (from B).
- I. AD Orne, H 938, fol. 3v-4r. 19th-century copy (from C).
- J. BM (Flers), ms. 8, fol. 2r-3r 19th-century copy (from B).
- K. BM (Flers), ms. 8, fol. 7r-8r. 19th-century copy (from C).

Ptd. Thompson, 'The cross-Channel estates', pp. 232-234 (from BC).

Ind. Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 80, 91-92, n. 92; Bouvris, 'Aux premiers temps', pp. 452-454.

¹ The manuscript is paginated at this point, but later is foliated.

Note. This foundation charter exists in four different versions, only three of which mention that the abbey was refounded with the authority of Ivo, Roger and Mabel. The fourth of these, which was drawn up between 1077 and 1082, and which states the abbey was refounded only by Roger and Mabel, was most recently edited by David Bates.² The editors of *Gallia Christiana* published a different version of the charter, which was taken from the lost cartulary known as the *Livre rouge*.³ Its text is not entirely in agreement with the manuscript copy made from the same source (ms. E), and as such, its variants are also noted here (*gc*). There is also a nineteenth-century copy of the cartulary made by Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas Blin, which I have been unable to consult.⁴

B

^(a-)IN NOMINE DOMINI INCIPIUNT CARTE, TESTAMENTA, SEU DONATIONES LOCI NOSTRI.^(-a) ^(b)NOVIMUS EX ANTIQUITATIS AUCTORITATE^(c) institutum,^(d) ut siquis^(e) fecerit ecclesiam^(f) per sacrorum seriem apicum futurę posteritati^(g) ratum faciat et notum. Huius igitur auctoritatem sequentes, Ivo^(h) ⁽ⁱ⁻⁾Sagiensis episcopus,⁽⁻ⁱ⁾ et^(j) ^(k-)vicecomes Rogerius, Mabiliaque^(-k) uxor eius, cupientes boni compensatione^(l) sua mala acta^(m) delere: locum SANCTI MARTINI qui est iuxta burgum Sagii super ripam Olne fluvii, qui temporibus priscis sub monasticę regula religionis vigit, ad priorem statum apud semet ipsos⁽ⁿ⁾ partim revocare^(o) disposuerunt.^{(p)(q)} Dederunt, ergo^{(r)(s)} supradictę ecclesię pro redemptione animarum suarum et predecessoris sui Willelmi, atque^(t) aliorum parentum, terram quam Willelmus eorum predecessor ^(u-)circa illam ^(v-)in suo dominio^(-v) tenuit,^(-u) et decimam tocius parrochię, et terram^(w) de Masnillo^(x) Wal-di, ac^(y) Martellum,^(z) Vedogium,^(a) et ecclesiam de Alnou,^(b) cum terra presbyteri, et molendinum ^(c-)de Macei,^{(-c)(d)} terram quoque^(e) Gisleberti Bordi, et^(f) quattuor^{(g)(h)} modia frumenti in molendinis de Alercio, sanctumque PAULUM qui est super Sartam, cum terra et molendino. ⁽ⁱ⁻⁾Dederunt etiam^(j) decimam thelonei^(k) Sagii, et de Scopis, et^(l) Bursa, `et` decimam pasnagii.^(m) Et subscribitur `confirmatio` Rogerii comitis, et signum eius. +.⁽⁻ⁱ⁾

Variants. a—a, In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis *DEgc*; b, *C begins here*; c, *D has auctoritate throughout*; E has autoritate throughout; d, *om. E*; e, si quis *gc*; f, donum *add. CE*; g, prosperitati *D*; h, Yvo *D*; i—i, episcopus Sagiensis *C*; j, *om. D*; Ivo Sagiensis episcopus et *om. E*; k—k, Rogerius vicecomes et Mabilia *E*; l, compensatione *Egc*; m, *om. Dgc*; n, semetipsos *DEgc*; o, revocere *originally written*

² *Regesta*, no. 271.

³ *GC*, xi, *Instr.*, col. 151.

⁴ Bib. év. de Sées, ms. B D 118.

B; *p*, statuerunt *D*; *q*, anno ab incarnatione Domini 1060 [*M. LX gc*], epacta 23 [*XXIII gc*], indictione 14 [*XIV gc*], concurrente 2, regnante Henrico rege Francorum, cum Willelmo principe Normannorum, qui postea Dei gratia effectus [*est add. gc*] rex Anglorum, tale beneficium concessit, atque Ivone Sagiensi [*Sagiensi om. gc*] episcopo favente *add. Egc*; *r*, *om. E*; *s*, annuente Willelmo Normannorum principe *add. C*; *t*, et *Dgc*; *u–u*, tenuit in suo dominio circa villam et in villa sancti Martini *Egc*; *v–v*, *om. D*; *w*, *E ends here*; *x*, Masnilo *C*; Manillo *D*; *y*, et *Dgc*; *z*, Ceresiacos et *add. C*; *a*, Vedosium *Dgc*; *b*, Aulnou *Dgc*; *c–c*, qui est iuxta stagnum Rupis *C*; Macey *Dgc*; *d*, in Hadacha villa *add. C*; *e*, *om. C*; *f*, *om. C*; *g*, quatuor *Dgc*; *h*, etiam *add. C*; *i–i*, Decimamque thelonei Sagii. Et de Scopis, decimam pasnagii. In Monte Gumerico ecclesiam de Labeurera et molendinum, terramque unius carrucę. Rotbertus Moiról: dedit SANCTO MARTINO, annuente Oliverio et uxore sua et filiis terram quatuor boum in Granleto, teste Rotberto nepote eius *C*; *j*, quoque *Dgc*; *k*, telonei *Dgc*; *l*, de *add. Dgc*; *m*, panagii *Dgc*.

May 1070 × 12 April 1071

Ivo, bishop of Sées, grants to the abbey of Saint-Père de Chartres all the rights that he, his archdeacon, and his dean possess over the church of Planches. In return, the monks of the abbey are to pray for the canons of the cathedral, while the canons of the cathedral will do the same for the monks.

- A. AD Eure-et-Loir, H 531. Original. 20 lines, excluding attestations. Measurements: 210mm (across) × 360mm (deep). This charter was already in a poor state of preservation when it was first discovered in the 1890s. Humidity had caused the parchment to fragment into many parts, which had been crudely glued onto another piece of parchment some time before the French Revolution. Consequently, many of the lines do not match up exactly, while any endorsements have also been lost. A great deal of the text is missing due to holes in the parchment, and these words are supplied in square brackets. Ivo's *signum*, which is autograph, seems to have been inserted first, and is in the same dark ink, which is different from that used in the main body of text, as the rest of the witnesses. The remaining *signa* have then been written around Ivo's attestation, and are in a different hand from the rest of the charter, which is remarkably similar to that responsible for **no. 85**. The last two lines are written in a lighter ink than all those above, and seem also to be in a different hand. There is no seal, and no sign of any arrangements for sealing. There is, however, a large triangular section of parchment missing in the bottom middle of the charter, which is in the exact place that any evidence of sealing might once have been found.

Ptd. C. Métais, 'Deux chartes inédites de saint Yves', *Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1894), pp. 524-536, pp. 524-525; Merlet, 'Une prétendue signature', pp. 643-644.

Ind. Bouvris, 'En marge de l'Année', p. 124 n. 52; Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, ii, p. 150; Spear, *The personnel*, p. 272.

Note. Charles Métais' contention that this is a charter of Ivo, bishop of Chartres, was long ago disproved by René Merlet, who demonstrated convincingly that this is actually a charter of Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées. This is the last known act in which he was involved, and is dated between the accession of Hubert, abbot of Saint-Père, and the death of the bishop. Despite its poor state of preservation the charter is important for a number of reasons. First, it allows us to date Ivo's demise more exactly. Second, it provides a useful list of cathedral personnel during Ivo's last years. Third, it provides evidence of relations between the cathedral and abbey, and the manor in which these were established. Most important, however, is its use of the word *holographum* to describe the charter itself. Isidore of Seville says 'a holograph (*holographum*) is a will written and signed by the hand of its author; whence it takes

its name, for in Greek *όλος*, is whole, *γραφή*, is letter'.¹ Ivo, of course, visited the Greek speaking east at the beginning of his episcopate, while I have only been able to find one other use of this term in another piece of diplomatic. Interestingly, this occurs in another charter of Saint-Père de Chartres, but it postdates Ivo's act by almost fifty-five years.²

Merlet's reconstruction of the missing text is followed in all but the last word of the witness list, which he gave as *monachis*. His suggestion was based upon the belief that all those witnesses following *Witdonus sacerdos* were monks of Saint-Père. In fact, the witness before Frolendus is probably Corbellus de Planches, a member of the local nobility,³ which would mean the witnesses before him were also probably laymen. Since Frolendus is only ever qualified in documents of Saint-Père as *pelliparius* it seems that Merlet's conjecture *sancti Petri* must stand,⁴ while the word following it is changed to the ablative singular. There is a space at the end of the twenty-fourth line and traces of ink suggest something was once here. Warin appears in another charter as *custode ecclesie sancti Gervasii*.⁵ Perhaps this, or a variant thereof, occupied this space. However, the remaining ink marks are arranged like an inverted triangle. This may be simple coincidence, but it could also represent a paragraph separator.

A

IN NOMINE SANCTAE ET INDIVIDUAE TRINITATIS, PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI.¹ Ego Ivo licet indignus [Dei gratia Sagiensis p]resul saluti animae mea providens, omniumque² antecessorum meo[rum episcoporum] scilicet [predictae sedis] animarum remedio aliquantisper³ intendens, necnon [et] futurorum [eiusdem sedis presulum uti]litati cum quadam diligentia consulens,⁴ atque canonicorum nostrorum proficua no[n] negli[gens], don[ation]e directa dono, ac de mea⁵ potestate in suam trado sancto Petro Carn[ot]ensis [ce]no[bii] per deprecationem Huberti abbatis⁶ [i]psius cēnobii et mon[a]chorum eius ut particip[es] orationum et beneficiorum suorum ego quidem⁷ et prenominati esse possimus, ecclesiam Plancar[um] c[um] eius parr[ochia] illud videlicet qu[od]⁸ episcopali officio et archidiacono et deca[no] adtingere v[i]d[etur] ita ut ab ho[di]⁹erna die usque in senpitemum et totius [hui]uscemodi debit[is] exp[ers] [et] libera,¹⁰ nulli inde prorsus respondeat. Sacer[dos] quoque dictae e[c]clesiae si forte¹¹ unquam ut fit aliquomodo delique[rit, nec] episcop[us] nec ar[ch]idiacon[u]s [inde]¹² eum presumat

¹ 'Holographum testamentum est manu auctoris totum conscriptum, atque subscriptum; unde et nomen accepit. Graeci enim *όλον* totum, *γραφόν* litteram dicunt', Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, Libri XX, Caput XXIV, no. 7, Migne, *PL*, lxxxii, col. 204.

² *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ii, p. 470.

³ cf. *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ii, no. xli, p. 549 for his toponym.

⁴ *Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ii, nos. cxi and xxi, pp. 340 and 415.

⁵ Bib. év. de Séés, non coté, fol. 7v.

iustificare, set abbas et m[on]achi suppradicti cēnob[ii se]cundum mo[dum]/¹³ culpae in eum extendant correption[is] mensuram. Si quis aut[em] quod a]bsit [instinctu]/¹⁴ cupiditatis excecatus, hoc largitionis [nostr]e donum, pontificali [au]ctoritate/¹⁵ [c]onfirmatum, [unqu]a[m] derogando vio[lare] presumpserit, cum Iuda traditore/¹⁶ et his qu[i] dominu[m] [Christu]m cruxifixerunt, [e]ad[em] maledi[ct]ione et an]athe/¹⁷ matis sententia feriat, donec satis[fac]t[ion]is [co]rrept[i]one peracta resi[p]is[ca]t./¹⁸ Ut autem ratum sit hoc nostrum holigraphum [ma]nu propria subter[firmare] stu]dui [ma]n[ibus]/¹⁹ que clericorum nostrorum atque fidelium nostrorum roborandum tradere decrevi.

SINUM IVONIS E+PISCOPI. 

Vide[li]ce[t]/^(a)/²⁰ testifi[ca]ntibus R[o]gerio scholarum/²¹ magistro, Hugone capellano/²² Normanno archidiacono/²³ Sigefrido, [Wa]rino fratre Normanni, et W[a]rino custod[e]/²⁴ Rotberto canonicis, Witdone sacerdote,^(b) Will[e]lmo/²⁵ Hetbrado, et Corbellino Frolen[d]o sancti [Petri monacho]./²⁶

Pateat cunctis ecclesie fidelibus quoniam, sicut.../²⁷ Sagiensis ecclesie in orationibus monach[orum].../²⁸

Variants. a, *this word follows* decrevi; b, *there is a space here in which a number of letters appear, the identity of which even Merlet did not try to determine. They can be best reconstituted thus:* [blank space of 25mm] Herico[?] [blank space of 17mm] ?[cr]ucis e[...o]:.

1071 × c. 1081

Robert de Ryes, bishop of Sées, recognises that the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême is free from episcopal interference in return for a pound of incense and a pound of spice, which are to be given to the bishop each year on the feast day of SS. Gervais and Protas.

- A. AD Orne, H 2207. Original. 18 lines. Measurements: 108/125mm (across) x 165mm (deep). Endorsements: *Quod ecclesia sancti Martini de Belesmio libera sit ab omni redditu.* (12th-cent.); *Sagien'* (13th-cent.); *Belism'* (14th- or 15th-cent.). Except for the first line, this charter is written in a neat eleventh-century minuscule. Some damage has occurred to the parchment, most noticeably a triangular tear 10mm deep on the right side, which has removed the text supplied below in square brackets. The bottom left corner is also 'missing', although this seems to be the result of a natural contraction of the skin during the production process, rather than a manmade tear. There is no seal, and no sign of any arrangements for sealing.

Ptd. Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche, no. 12 (from A).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 10065, fol. 61v; Spear, *The personnel*, pp. 277, 282, 283, 289, 294-295.

Note. Philibert Barret dated this charter c. 1074, but without any explanation of his reasoning. Unfortunately, none of the figures mentioned in the charter allow for the act to be dated with any greater precision, so those given are the episcopate of Bishop Robert.

A

IN NOMINE SANCTE ET INDIVIDUE TRINITATIS.¹ Notum sit omnibus tam posteris quam presentibus quod Rotbertus/² Sagiensis ecclesie episcopus, aecclesiam sancti Martini que in territorio/³ Bellismi sita est, omni redditu qui ad episcopatus censum pertinet,⁴ liberam absolutamque `fecit', tali scilicet tenore, ut per singulos an/⁵nos in una solemnitatem sanctorum Gervasii et Protasii, libram/⁶ turis Sagiensi ecclesie rependat, et in usibus episcopi libram/⁷ resolvat piperis. Huius cartule testes et auct[ores]/⁸ sunt canonici ecclesie, Bauduinus et Normann[us]/⁹ archidiaconi Rotbertus, Ricardus, Hugo, Raginau/¹⁰dus, Hugo scolasticus, alius Rotbertus, Rotgerius, Go/¹¹defridus, Gausfridus capellanus. Hanc cartam fe/¹²cerunt canonice firmari a predicto Rotberto, episcopo,¹³ monachi, Willelmus frater Willelmi Pagani,

Berin/¹⁴ge'rius, Herchenbaldus cum famulis suis, Warino,¹⁵ Guillelmo filio eius, Gausfrido, Ernaudo, Auberto.¹⁶ Quicumque eam violare presumpserit, ana/¹⁷thema sit.

1071 × 1079, but perhaps 1071 × July 1077

Two versions of a memorandum describing a plea between the canons of Saint-Léonard de Bellême and Robert, bishop of Sées.

The first states that the plea took place in the presence of the king and queen, and concerned a dispute which had begun when Roger de Montgomery was at Bellême on the feast day of St. Leonard along with a great many clergy and laity, including Robert, bishop of Sées. The bishop, who sang Mass at the request of Roger and the canons of Saint-Léonard, sought through greed to keep the offerings, which the canons only took from one of his clerks by force. Angered by this, Robert then announced that he would excommunicate the canons and their church. This was duly done, and a day was set for pleading at Rouen after Roger had complained to John, archbishop of Rouen. The plaid itself took place in the presence of the king and queen in their palace, with Roger claiming that the excommunication was unfair, while the bishop announced that, as he received all such offerings throughout his bishopric, he should therefore receive them from Saint-Léonard. Earl Roger then described how William de Bellême had built the church, and how Pope Leo had ordered it made free, so that from the day of its dedication no bishop or archbishop might have any custom whatsoever in it. Old men were present who had seen and heard all this, and offered to give proof according to royal judgement. Having listened, the king and queen ordered the archbishop of Rouen, Roger de Beaumont and several other barons to make a judgement. They judged that any church granted its liberty by such authority, and which had held it for so long, should have it forever. They also concluded that the bishop of Sées had done injury to both earl and the king, while the archbishop noted how there were churches in his diocese in which he also had not customary right. As a result, Robert, bishop of Sées, made amends to the king and earl, and it was established that should any bishop or archbishop presume to disturb the church in the future, he would be removed from the company of the faithful until he made proper recompense.

The second account is essentially the same as the first, except that this version makes the bishop of Sées the initiator of the plea, and states that the pleading was done in the court of the king, rather than the archbishop of Rouen. It also provides additional details about the other members of the clergy present at Bellême the day the dispute began.

- A. AD Orne, H 2156. Original or contemporary text. 27 lines. Measurements: approx. 240mm (across) × 320mm (deep). Endorsements: *De oblatione ecclesie sancti Leonardi* (12th-cent.); *Sagien'* (13th-cent.); *de Belismo* (14th-cent.). The charter is written in a uniform hand, while the text only covers three-quarters of the parchment. There is no seal, nor any sign of arrangement for sealing, though there is a hole 85mm from the right side, measuring 15mm (across) × 11mm (deep).
- B. AD Orne, H 2156. Copy written on a single sheet of parchment. 18 lines. Measurements: 412mm (across) × 614mm (deep). Endorsements: *Noticia de*

libertate sancte ecclesie sancti Leonardi (12th-cent.); *Belism' Sagien'* (13th-cent.); *Bellesme* (14th- or 15th-cent.). The charter is the first of three documents written on a single sheet of parchment, the others being a copy, in the same hand, of a charter of Gerard, bishop of Sées, and the church of Saint-Léonard de Bellême (ed. *Regesta*, no. 29(II)), and, in a later twelfth-century hand, a record of a dispute between Saint-Léonard and Payn de Saint-Quentin, prévôt of Rotrou, count of Perche. There is no seal, and no sign of any arrangements for sealing.

C. BN, ms. lat. 5441 (ii), pp. 296-297. 18th-century abbreviated copy by Noel Mars (from B).

D. BM (Flers), ms. 4, pp. 15-17. 19th-century copy (from B).

Ptd. Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche, no. 3 (from A), no. 4 (from B); *Regesta*, no. 29 (from AB).

Ind. CDF, no. 1190; *Regesta* (Davis), i, no. 118

Note. Of course, as the unilateral reports of a plea compiled by the victorious litigant these two documents are not strictly episcopal *acta*, but they nevertheless contain important information about the sort of dispute that could arise between a bishop and the monastic institutions of his diocese. The relationship between the two different versions are fully discussed by Bates, while the document is broadly dated by the beginning of the episcopate of Robert, bishop of Sées, and the death of John of Ivry, archbishop of Rouen. The fact that John suffered a stroke in July 1077 that deprived him of the power of speech, while this record notes specifically that the archbishop made oral comments during the plea, suggests that the meeting was perhaps convened before this date.

A

Quia memoria hominum sicut homines cito pertransit, quedam facta eorum que cum memoria^(a) fugiunt, necesse est/¹ scribendo retineri. Unde nos huic ecclesie providentes, quod volumus successores non nescire, carte huic decrevimus/² inserere. Contigit itaque cuidam festivitati sancti Leonardi comitem Rogerium interesse, et cum eo nonnullos utriusque ordinis/³ non mediocris fame quos ipse invitaverat ad sui honorem, et huius ecclesie exaltationem, ex quibus Sagiensis ponti/⁴fex Rob(er)tus, ea die nostro et comitis `h'ortatu missam cantavit. Cuius etiam misse offerturam, sibi per cupiditatem/⁵ retinere temptavit. Quod nos videntes, et velut monstrum exhorrentes, a quodam eius clerico cui eam reservandam/⁶ commiserat, vi et non sine contumelia offerturam illam recepimus. Iratus propter hoc episcopus, ecclesiam et nos excommunicare/⁷ se dixit. Quo facto, post clamorem quam fecit comes Rogerius de

Sagiensi episcopo ad Iohannem Rothomagensem archiepiscopum,⁸ die constituta, ex inde placitaturi devenimus Rothomagum. Ibi in palatio et in presentia regis et regine Anglo/⁹rum, comes Rogerius conquestus est, super Sagiensi^(b) episcopo, quod ecclesiam sancti Leonardi sine causa excommunicare presumpsisset.¹⁰ At contra episcopus nos inculpabat, quod manum quam sanam et integram habuisset habendo offerturas per totum episcopatum/¹¹ suum, nos ei accidissemus, auferendo ab eo nostram offerturam. Ad hæc rex et regina scitati^(c) sunt a comite Rogerio de statu/¹² ipsius ecclesie. Comes vero et nos qui aderamus dilucide enarravimus, quomodo Guillelmus de Belismo supradictam/¹³ ecclesiam ob peccatorum suorum `veniam' edificasset, et quomodo eam ex precepto beate memorie pape Leonis liberam et solutam/¹⁴ fecisset, et quod a die dedicationis^(d) eiusdem, archiepiscopus sive episcopus nullam omnino in ea consuetudinem habuisset, nec eam/¹⁵ ullo modo excommunicare potuisset. Affuerunt etiam antiquissimi homines qui `hec' viderant et audierant, parati probare/¹⁶ secundum iudicium regis quod nos edisseramus. His auditis, rex et regina, iusserunt Ioh(ann)em archiepiscopum, et Rogerium de Bello/¹⁷ monte et plures alios barones, ut secundum quod audierant facerent inde iudicium. Et illi abito consilio/¹⁸ iudicaverunt ecclesiam que tanta auctoritate et tot tantorumque procerum confirmatione liberata esset, et tam longo tempore/¹⁹ in liberalitate perseuerasset, debere deinceps inperpetuum sic permanere, episcopum iniuriam fecisse, non solum comiti Rogerio/²⁰ verum etiam regi, de quo ipse ecclesiam tenebat. Dixit eciam Ioh(anne)s archiepiscopus, quasdam ecclesias in diocesi sua esse/²¹ in quibus ipse nullam omnino consuetudinem haberet. Hoc pacto, Sagiensis episcopus Rotbertus emendavit rectum facien/²²do regi et comiti Rogero, iniuriam quam eis fecerat predictam ecclesiam invadendo, diffinitum est etiam ibi, ut/²³ si archiepiscopus sive episcopus eam amplius inquietare presumeret, apostolica et regia auctoritate a consortio fidelium usque/²⁴ ad satisfactionem alienus existeret. Hoc viderunt Guillelmus rex et Mahildis regina, Ioh(ann)es Rothomagensis archiepiscopus,²⁵ Rotbertus Sagiensis episcopus, comes Rogerius, Rob(er)tus de Belismo, Rogerius de Bello monte, Warinus curuisus, Guillelmus/²⁶ et Basvinus canonici, Amellandus et multi alii.

Variants. a, -em ill. A; b, A has a blank here caused by an erasure; c, scicitati A; d, dedicationes originally written A.

B

Propter aliquorum improbitates episcoporum qui sanctę matris aecclesię libertatem adnullare cupientes, clericos vel monachos in sinu ipsius aecclesię domino militan/¹tes infestare num metuunt, placuit nocioni posterorum literis mandare quod Robertus Sagiensis aeclesię pontifex tentavit aecclesię sancti Leonardi/² de Belismo consuetudines quas non debuit inponere. Eo namque tempore quo dominus Rotgerius de Monte gomerici iure hereditario Belismum/³ regebat, accidit ut supradictus episcopus sicut et alii Ernaudus scilicet Cenomannensis, et episcopus de Lisois, et plures abbates ad festi/⁴vitatem sancti Leonardi venirent. Et quia mos episcoporum est in festivis diebus missam celebrare placuit ut Sagiensis episcopus in cuius diocesi ipsa/⁵ aecclesia erat quamvis libera et ab omni episcopali sive laicali consuetudine absoluta missam cantaret. Qui avaricia victus temp/⁶tavit sibi retinere eiusdem oblationes missę quod nullus ante eum episcopus fecerat. Sed cano`ni`ci qui tunc aderant et namque hoc viderant privi/⁷legium suum infregere non pacientes vellet `nollet` episcopus, acceperunt sibi oblationem sicut consuetudo eis fuerat. Qua de re idem episcopus commotus/⁸ adversus canonicos in iram, convocavit eos inde ad placitum. Illi vero conductu Rogeri comitis venerunt Rotomagum ante regem W(illelmum), et re/⁹ginam Anglorum. Qui diligenter rem di`s`cucientes interrogaverunt Sag(iensis) episcopum quid in aecclesia sancti Leonardi quereretur. Ille autem sicut in/¹⁰ omnibus suę diocesis aecclēsis dixit in ea se habere. Canonici vero privilegium suum ostenderunt, et antiquos homines secum adduxerunt qui ipsam/¹¹ ęcclesiam ad dedicationem ita regi Gallie Rotberto et Normannorum comiti R(icardo), et Sagiensi episcopo Ricardo et multis eum eisdem episcopis, et abbatibus, et co/¹²mitibus, et baronibus franchie, et ordinare viderunt et audierunt, ut nullus christianus in ea aliquam consuetudinem haberet. Inter/¹³ quos Ioh(anne)s Rottomagensis archiepiscopus, et Rotgerius de Bello monte iussu regis fecerunt iudicium, et dixerunt quia quod rex et principes qui ipsam/¹⁴ terram cum eo gubernabant ordinauerunt et statuerunt non posse infringi, presertim cum ipse archiepiscopus multas in suo episcopatu ecclesias haberet/¹⁵ in quibus nichil accipiebat. Huic iudicio con`sen`serunt rex et regina, et qui cum eis erant, Rotgerius de Monte gomerici, Rotbertus/¹⁶ de Veteri ponte, W(illelmus)^(a) de Firmitate, Mathelinus de Anxe, Basuinus, et Vuilelmus canonici, Garinus curuis, Amerlandus, et multi/¹⁷ alii quorum nomina propter prolixitatem tacuimus.

Variants. a, -illelmus *erased* B.

82

Late 1090 or early 1091, Sées

A notice concerning the privileges of the collegiate church of Saint-Léonard de Bellême, and the priory of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême. In the same year that Robert de Bellême gave the priory of Saint-Léonard to the abbey of Marmoutier, Gerard, bishop of Sées, tried to subject the church to his jurisdiction. The monks therefore travelled to Sées, and, along with Robert de Bellême, showed the bishop in a hearing the privileges and exemptions of Saint-Léonard and Saint-Martin.

- A. AD Orne, H 2156. Original. 10 lines. Measurements: 412mm (across) × 614mm (deep). Endorsements: *Noticia de libertate sancte ecclesie sancti Leonardi* (12th-cent.); *Belism' Sagien'* (13th-cent.); *Bellesme* (14th- or 15th-cent.). This charter is the second of three documents written on a single sheet of parchment, the others being a copy, in the same hand, of a memorandum describing a dispute between Robert, bishop of Sées, and the church of Saint-Léonard de Bellême (ed. *Regesta*, no. 29(II)), and, in a later twelfth-century hand, a record of a dispute between Saint-Léonard and Payn de Saint-Quentin, prévôt of Rotrou, count of Perche. There is no seal, and no sign of any arrangements for sealing.
- B. BN, ms. lat. 12875, fol. 172v. 17th-century copy by Le Michel (no source stated).
- C. BN, ms. lat. 10050, fol. 164v. 17th-century copy by Arthur Du Monstier ('[apud Bryum, sup.] pag. 103').
- D. BN, ms. lat. 5441 (ii), p. 297. 18th-century abbreviated copy by Noel Mars (from A).
- E. BM (Flers), ms. 4, p. 37. 19th-century copy.

Ptd. Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche, no. 15 (from A).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 12875, fol. 167r; H.R. du Motey, *Le champion de la Normandie: Robert II de Bellême, lieutenant du Duc Robert Courte-Heuze* (Paris, 1923), p. 23; Tabuteau, *Transfers of property*, pp. 216-217.

Note. The chronological irregularities of this charter are discussed in full on p. 433.

A

Noverint fratres nostri Maioris scilicet Monasterii monachi^(a) aecclesiam sancti Leonardi in Belismo^(b) sitam ita ab omni episcopali, vel cleri/^lcali, sive laicali consuetudine liberam et solutam ut nullus christianus inea aliquam consuetudinem

requirere possit. Eodem² namque anno quo Robertus de Belismo nobis eam^(c) dedit, temptavit^(d) Girardus Sagiensis episcopus suę subieccioni sicut ceteras parrochianas^(e)/³ aecclēſias^(f) in suo episcopatu sitas subicere^(g) et ne eam secundum consuetudinem monachorum aptaremus, prohibere. Qua de re advenimus apud⁴ Sagium ad placitum et ostendit ibi dominus R.^(h) de Belismo qui eam nobis dedit, per privilegia, et precepta ipsius aecclēſie, et per auctoritatem⁽ⁱ⁾/⁵ eorum qui eam ita solutam, et quietam fecerunt, ^(j)ut nichil in ea episcopus haberet.^(-j) Similiter et de aecclēſia sancti Martini veteris Belismi^(k) in qua requi/⁶rebat sanguinem et infracturam definitum est, ut inea preter census ^(l)et^(m) .i. ⁽ⁿ⁾^(-l) libram^(o) piperis, et libram^(o) turis^(p) ^(q)nichil habere.^(-q) Et hoc pro caritate,^(r) non pro/⁷ consuetudine.^(s) Hi sunt testes qui interfuerunt, R. abbas de Sagio, Hernulfus^(t) prior,^(u) Wi(lelmus)^(v) de Vivonio, Radulfus^(w) monachus de Belismo,⁸ de clericis, Raginaudus cantor, ^(x)Rotgerius, Guielmus,^(-x) Hugo, Godefridus, Herbertus presbiter, de laicis Masthelinus de Axe,^(y) Ricardus^(z) de Rochella,⁹ Rotbertus^(a) Quarrellus, Evanus de Sagio,^(b) Rotbertus^(a) Rufus, Rainfredus, et Aelelmus de Sagio, ^(b)Radulfus^(w) de Rotomago.^(c)

Variants. a, *om.* C; b, Bellismo C; c, eamdē C; d, tentavit B; tentaverit C; e, parochianas BC; f, *om.* C; g, subiicere BC; h, *this letter is written in a lighter ink in A, and has been squashed in, suggesting correction; om.* B; i, auctoritatem C; j–j, ut episcopus nihil in ea haberet C; k, Bellismi C; l–l, id est C; m, *om.* B; n, unam B; o, liberam *originally written* A; p, thuris BC; q–q, nihil haberet C; r, charitate C; s, C *ends here*; t, Hernulphus B; u, B *has a blank here*; v, -lelmus *erased* A; W. B; w, Radulphus B; x–x, Rogerius, Guillelmus B; y, Auxē *originally written* A; Aux B; z, Richardus B; a, Robertus B; b, Sag' B; c, Rotomag' B.

83

17 April 1097

A notice recording the agreement between Serlo, bishop of Sées, and Rodulf, abbot of Saint-Martin de Sées, concerning the building of a pond or a fish-pond for the use of the abbey. Having met with some of his monks, and having discussed whether it might be useful if his successors were to have access to a pond or fish-pond, the abbot Rodulf met with Serlo, who was then bishop of Sées, and it was decided that the part of the river [Orne] up to the channel Calcio should be blocked off and used to make the said pond. Certain conditions were then outlined regarding the division of the water between the bishop and the abbey, and its use during winter and dry summers regulated. This agreement was then confirmed before Robert de Bellême and various ecclesiastical and lay witnesses.

- A. Original lost
- B. Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 15r-v. 13th-century cartulary known as the *Livre blanc*.
- C. BM (Alençon), ms. 190, fol. 15r-v. 18th-century copy dated 1747 (from B).
- D. AD Orne, H 938, fol. 6v-7r. 19th-century copy (from B).
- E. BM (Flers), ms. 8, fol. 17r-19r. 19th-century copy (from D).

Ind. BN, ms. fr. 18953, p. 215.

Note. The notice format of this document, which is typical of documents found in the *Livre blanc* of Saint-Martin, is not strictly an episcopal *actum*, though as an important record of episcopal-monastic cooperation within the city of Sées its contents are edited here for the first time. The document is also witnessed by a large gathering of capitular personnel, further increasing its importance. There is also a nineteenth-century copy of the cartulary made by Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas Blin, which I have been unable to consult.¹

B

IN NOMINE PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI. CUM res sub iustis legibus legalique testimonio constitutas, partim avaricia, partim invidia labefactari sepe videamus, summa ope totisque viribus eniti nos convenit, ut et cupiditatis fomes destruaturs et livoris anxietas se ipsam frequenter de rosura, nullos unquam adipiscatur effectus. Notum sit igitur atque manifestum omnibus tam posteris quam presentibus,

¹ Bib. év. de Sées, ms. B D 118.

quod domnus abbas Rodulfus vir quidem bonę memorię, ac Deo devotus, cęterique fratres sub sanctę conversationis habitu in cęnobio Sagiensi degentes, cum suę suorumque utilitati successorum consulentes in sua terra stagnum quoddam seu vivarium facere disposuissent: huiusmodi cum domno Serlone tunc Sagiensis ecclesię episcopo habuerunt conventionem, ut coadunato aggere, et facta ex utraque parte fluvii usque ad ipsum alveum Calciata, antequam clauderetur atque aqua retineretur `illius vivarii': cuius pars quidem abbatię^(a) pars vero est episcopatus supra quod illud aliud totum proprium abbatię erat faciendum, sic aqua talique in tempore et sub permanenti mensura mensuraretur: ut neque superius in estate inferiori neque inferius inhieme noceret superiori, nisi tanta esset estatis siccitas et inhieme aquarum abundantia ut omnibus pateret plus ex his quam ex aliqua aquarum iniusta retentione, aque inferioris penuriam seu abundantiam contingere. Placuit ergo predictis episcopo videlicet et abbati cęterisque ex eorum partibus assistentibus tale tempus ad mensurandum expectari, ut aqua in suo alveo posita discreta et utrique utili mansura quę vulgo Patella apellatur, recte mensuraretur. Fuit autem anno ab incarnatione Domini m.xc.vii. indicatione .v. epacta .iiii. xv k(alendas) mai legaliter hęc conventio facta, et sub presentia domni Rotberti de Belismo ita firmata, ut siqua inde oriretur iniusticia, ipse rectam teneret inter eos iusticiam. Hoc vero totum sub iustis legibus dispositum, testes, subtitulati audierunt, Arnulfus abbas Troarni, Iohannes archidiaconus, Hugo filius Seifridi, canonicus, Godefridus archidiaconus, Rogerius de Crucifixo, Raginaldus cantor, Willelmus de Alneto, Rotbertus de Almaniscis, Girardus de sancto Hylario, Olivarius clericus, Herbertus Calcassalem.

Variants. a, illius vivarii *scored through* B.

1091 × 1103/04 or 1105 × 1123, Saint-Fulgent des Ormes

Memorandum recording the judgement reached by Serlo, bishop of Sées, concerning William, prior of Saint-Léonard de Bellême. William, who had taken the wife of a man named Ulric, an adulterer, had acquired the justice of a dean. Angered by this, the dean John de Bellême called a meeting with Serlo, who was that day at Saint-Fulgent [des Ormes], to which William was invited and came. Here the bishop confirmed to William the right of the dean and all episcopal justice in the cemetery and village of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême.

- A. AD Orne, H 2158. Original. 17 lines. Measurements: 140mm (across) × 290mm (deep). Endorsements: *Quod infractura cymiterii beati Martini veteris Belesmii, et sanguis, et decania, pertinet ad monachos, et de aliis rebus* (12th-cent.); *Sagien'* (13th-cent.); *BELISM'* (14th- or 15th-cent.) This charter is the first of three texts all written on the same piece of parchment in the same hand, the other two being confirmations by a certain *dominus Gulferius* and Odo de Clinchamps of land given to Saint-Léonard de Bellême and Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême. The entire bottom half of the parchment is blank, but there is no seal, nor any sign of arrangements for sealing.

Ptd. Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche, no. 18 (from A).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 12875, fol. 167v.

Note. This charter contains the first reference to the episcopal residence at Saint-Fulgent des Ormes. Philibert Barret dated the act 1091 × 1100, but without explaining his reasoning. The first date refers to the beginning of Serlo's episcopate and the beginning of his voluntary exile, while the second is based upon his return to Normandy and the end of his episcopate.

A

Sciant cuncti presentes et posterī sequuturi, quod Guillelmus prior aecclēsię sancti Leonardi seu beati Martini veteris/¹ Belismi, ex viro quodam uxorem habente Ulrico nomine qui cum alia muliere similiter virum habente/² concubuerat, iustitiam ut decanus fecit, videntibus et audientibus cunctis qui hoc videre vel audire volu/³erunt. Quapropter in iram commotus Iohannes Belismi decanus, ad placitum eum fecit invitare coram Sagiensi/⁴ episcopo domino videlicet Sarlone, qui apud sanctum Frogentium erat ipsa die. Prior vero invitatus/⁵ ad episcopum perrexit, ibique decaniam, sanguinem, et infracturam, et omnem episcopalem iustitiam ex/⁶ cymiterio vel villa beati Martini veteris Belismi, per censum unius librę turis, et unius piperis/⁷

quam reddunt monachi beati Martini in festivitate sancti Gervasii deraisnavit. Ea tamen ratio/⁸ne fecit deraisnamentum per episcopi respectum, quatinus si usque ad primum diem dominicum vidisset/⁹ prior episcopi nuntium, decebat eum venire ad placitum, sin autem, iustitiam suam facere ad libi/¹⁰tum. Hec audierunt, ex parte episcopi ipse Iohannes decanus, Odo de Clino campo, Fulco episcopi clericus,/¹¹ Hugo episcopi prepositus, et alii plures clerici sive laici. Ex parte Guillelmi prioris, ipse Guillelmus/¹² Gaufredus presbiter, Beringerius Canutus, Albertus de Spereia, Lancelinus, et Guillelmus famulus./¹³ Preterea vero ante supradictum diem dominicum mandavit episcopus priori per donnum Albertum, et Lancelinum/¹⁴ ut iustitiam suam faceret secundum suam voluntatem, quod et fecit. Accepit enim ex habere mu/¹⁵lieris adultere, unum bovem et vaccam cum vitula, ne alii qui hec audissent talia deinceps/¹⁶ facere pręsumerent.

85

1117, Sées (the bishop's hall)

A charter of Serlo, bishop of Sées, which records the agreement made between the abbey of Marmoutier and Fulk, archdeacon of Sées, concerning the cemetery of Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême. Fulk had claimed a third of the cemetery for himself, but the monks of Marmoutier declared the whole cemetery belonged to them. The two sides came together, and in the bishop's hall at Sées, it was agreed that the monks could have this third in return for a pound of spice, to be delivered annually on the feast of St. Gervais, while for the other two thirds they would deliver, on the same feast day, a pound of incense and a pound of spice. Fulk was also paid twenty livres in Le Mans money.

- A. AD Orne, H 2157. Original. 21 lines. Measurements: 175mm (across) × 125mm (deep). Endorsements: *Carta cimiterri sancti Martini, LXXXII* (12th-cent.); *de Belismo* (14th-cent.). The first three lines of text have blank lines between each of them. The hand is uniform, but becomes more cramped towards the end, while it bears certain similarities to that responsible for part of **no. 79**. There are a number of holes at the bottom of the parchment through which the seal tag would have passed, though both this, and any trace of a seal, are now lost.

Ptd. Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche, no. 19 (from A).

Ind. BN, ms. lat. 10065, fol. 67r.

Note. This charter contains an important list of cathedral personnel, with some positions appearing in here for the first time. Hugh son of Siegfried is perhaps the son of the brother by that name of Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées. The date is given by the charter.

A

Notum sit successoribus nostris quod ego Serlo episcopus Sagiensis feci/¹ hanc concordiam fieri subtus notatam inter donnum abbatem/² Wilelmum Maioris M^onasterii et Fulconem archidiaconum meum./³ Predictus enim Fulco reclamabat terciam partem archidiaconatus cimiterii sancti/⁴ Martini veteris Belismi. Monachi autem Maioris Monasterii totum archidia/⁵conatum ipsius cimiterii predicteque ecclesie suum esse dicebant. Ad hoc itaque finis/⁶ huius causę perductus est ut monachi singulis annis reddant michi et successo/⁷ribus meis unam libram piperis ad opus archidiaconi ad festum sancti Ger/⁸vasii in estate, pro illa tercia parte archidiaconatus unde totalis surrexerat./⁹ et ita in pace obtinerent quod reclamabant. Pro duabus enim partibus aliis/¹⁰ ipsius archidiaconatus reddebant monachi duas libras

unam piperis et alteram/¹¹ incensi michi et ecclesie sancti Gervasii ad idem festum. Insuper ipsi archidiacon`o` Fulconi dederunt/¹² .xx.^{ti} solidos Cen(omanenses) ut libentius annueret. Quod ut firmum permaneret concessum est/¹³ a capitulo nostro presente ipso archidiacono, coram me in aula mea apud Sagium,/¹⁴ presente Ranulfo cancellario et Grimaldo medico et Hugone filio Segifredi, et Hugone/¹⁵ archidiacono, et Iohanne cantore, et Iohanne thesaurario, et Wilelmo de Molins/¹⁶ et pluribus aliis clericis nostris. Monachis etiam his presentibus donno abbate Wilelmo/¹⁷ et priore Fromindo, Evano sacrista, Rivallonio, Nicholao, Laurentio, Wilelmo/¹⁸ tunc tenporis priore Belismi. Actum est hoc anno ab incarnatione Domini .m.c.xvii,/¹⁹ indictione x./²⁰ +.

Calendar of 'mentions'¹**86***

1066

John of Ivry, bishop of Avranches, gives the land of Vièvre to William, duke of Normandy, who then grants it to the cathedral of Avranches.

A. Original lost — B. Arch. nat., Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 71, fol. 67v. 14th-cent. *vidimus* of Philip VI, dated June 1338.

Ptd. RADN, no. 229

87*

1082, bef. autumn

Michael, bishop of Avranches, grants to the collegiate church of Saint-Évroult de Mortain freedom from synodal dues and from all episcopal customs.

A. Original lost — B. AD Manche, archives de la collégiale de Mortain, ms. 1. 14th-cent. *vidimus* of Philip VI, dated Oct. 1333 — C. Arch. nat., Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 66, fol. 495r-496r.

Ptd. Regesta, no. 215

88*

1094 × 1134, but perhaps after 1120 × 1134

Turgis, bishop of Avranches, establishes the deanship of the cathedral of Avranches, electing Richard de Subligny as the first dean. The dean's prebend consisted of the church of Saint-Pierre de Vains with its cemetery, the tithes of three vavassors, the tithes of the vineyards of campo Botri, and various revenues from the manor at Saint-Philbert. The abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel was also to provide the dean with a grey pilch annually.

A. Original lost — B. BM (Avranches), ms. 206, fols. 8v-9, 33v-34v. Confirmations of Richard de Subligny, bishop of Avranches, and Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, in the 13th-cent. cartulary.

Ptd. Allen, 'Five charters', nos. 1-3, pp. 28-31

¹ In this calendar only medieval copies are listed, unless the only surviving copies are found in early modern or modern manuscripts. Those folio and page references given relate to the act in which this mention is found, not the precise location of the mention within the act. The calendar also lists only the most recent printed version of the act.

89*

1112 × 1134

Turgis donates to the abbey of Savigny the churches of Saint-Hilaire du Neufbourg, Saint-Ouen de Lapenty, Saint-Martin de Brécey, Saint-Georges and Saint-Prothasius de Virey, the whole tithe of this parish, except the two sheaves of the manor of Lanie, the churches of Saint-Martin de Moulines and of Moidrey, except the two sheaves of the land of Chalceii and the third of the sheaf tithes that belongs to the nuns at Rennes, and the church of Saint-Georges de Rennes.

A. Originals lost — B. Arch. nat., L 978, no. 1353. Confirmation of Herbert, bishop of Avranches (1153 × 1161) — C. Arch. nat., L 978, no. 1357. Confirmation by Achard, bishop of Avranches (1161 × 1170) — D. Arch. nat., L 967, no. 103. Confirmation of Richard III l'Évêque, bishop of Avranches, dated 24 Oct. 1179.

Some of these donations were confirmed by Henry II in 1157. For details, see the forthcoming edition of Nicholas Vincent (no. 2425).

90*

c. 1011 × Aug. 1025

Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux, grants ten acres of field at Vatteville to the abbey of Jumièges.

A. Original lost — B. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 26. 15th-cent. copy in a *vidimus* of the *vicomte* of Rouen, dated 27 Feb. 1499 — C. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 6, fol. 7r. 15th-cent. cartulary copy — D. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 8, fol. 31r. 15th-cent. cartulary copy.

Ptd. RADN, no. 36.

91*

c. 1011 × c. 1025/26

Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux, gives Chambray with its church to the abbey of Saint-Ouen de Rouen.

A. Original lost — B. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 145. Late 11th-cent. copy — C. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 145. *Vidimus* of Philip VI, dated Oct. 1328 — D. Arch. nat., Registres du Trésor des Chartes, JJ 65^B, fol. 7r. Register copy of B — E. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 145. 14th-cent. *vidimus* of William Cousinot, bailiff of Rouen — F. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 8, pp. 5, 11. 15th-cent. cartulary copies — G. AD Seine-Maritime, 14 H 145. 15th-cent. *vidimus* of Michel Durant, *vicomte* of Rouen, dated 16 March 1456 — H. BN, ms. lat. 12777, fol. 121r. 15th-cent. copy.

Ptd. RADN, no. 53.

92*

c. 1011 × 1049

Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux, grants to the abbey of Saint-Wandrille land at Butot and Benetot or Bennetot.

A. Original lost — B. BN, ms. lat. 16738, planche 6. Late 11th-cent. charter.

Ptd. RADN, no. 234

93*

c. 1011 × 1049

Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux, grants to Fulk, dean of Évreux, the church and its land of Guernanville, which he then gave to the abbey of Saint-Évrault.

This donation is known only from Orderic Vitalis; *OV*, iii, p. 122.

94*

c. 1037 × c. 1043

Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux, concedes the forest of Brotonne to William, count of Arques, who then grants it to Robert [II], abbot of Jumièges.

A. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 30. Original — B. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 6, fol. 24r. 15th-cent. cartulary copy.

Ptd. RADN, no. 100.

This donation was later confirmed by William the Conqueror; *Regesta*, no. 164.

95*

c. 1042 × 1049

Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux, grants an unidentified manor to his sister Emma, abbess of Saint-Amand de Rouen, which she then gave to her abbey.

A. Original lost — B. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 8. 11th-cent. pancarte — C. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 7, fol. 6r. 13th-cent. cartulary copy — D. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 8. Copy in a *vidimus* of Philip IV, dated 1313 — E. Arch. nat., Registres du

Trésor des Chartes, JJ 49, no. xlvi, fol. 25v. 14th-cent. register copy — F. AD Seine-Maritime, 55 H 8. Copy in an *inspeximus* of Henry V, dated 1 January 1419 — G. Arch. nat., Registres de la Chambre des Comptes, P 1916², no. 32.216. Copy in an *inspeximus* of Henry V, dated 1 Jan. 1419 — H. TNA, C64/12, Norman Patent Roll 7 Henry V, pt. 2, m. 37. 15th-cent. copy.

Ptd. Le Cacheux, *Histoire de Saint-Amand*, no. 2, p. 246.

96*

1060 × 1060

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, buys the land of Bernières-sur-Mer, with its churches and diverse revenues from William de Courseulles, which he then asked William, duke of Normandy, to grant to the cathedral of Bayeux.

A. Original lost — B. Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 193 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 193), fol. 1r — C. Bib. du chap. de Bayeux, ms. 193 (now AD Calvados, 6 G 193), fol. 2v.

Ptd. RADN, no. 219

97*

c. 1085

Nine mansiones of land in the great street of London, which Odo, bishop of Bayeux, had given to William Giffard, are granted by Henry I to Saint-Pierre de Cluny and Saint-Martin-des-Champs.

A. Arch. nat., K 21, no. 14. Original — B. BN, ms. lat. 10977, fol. 84r.

Cal. Regesta (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 646

98*

c. 989 × 996, perhaps 996 × c. 1022

Richard I, or Richard II, duke of Normandy, and Hugh, bishop of Coutances, grant Blainville-sur-Mer, Courcy and Soulles to the canons of Coutances.

This donation is known only from 'De statu', GC, xi, *Instr.*, col. 218.

99*

c. 1014 × 1017

Hugh, bishop of Coutances, grants to the church of Saint-Fromond freedom from synodal dues and from all episcopal customs

A. Original lost — B. Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, coll. Mancel, vol. 296, fol. 41r-v. 19th-cent. copy by C. de Gerville — C. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 21808, fol. 433r-434r. 19th-cent. copy by Léopold Delisle.

Ptd. Musset, 'Les origines de Saint-Fromond', p. 483-488, which also contains details of nineteenth century copies held at the *archives du Calvados*.

100*

1100 × 1107

Richard de Redvers grants to the church of Sainte-Marie de Néhou the school of Néhou, which had been given to him by Rodulf, bishop of Coutances.

A. Original lost — B. BN, ms. lat. 10087, pp. 67-68. 13th-cent. cartulary.

Ptd. *Charters of the Redvers family*, no. 4

101*

1055 × 1066

William, bishop of Évreux, agrees to the grant of freedom from episcopal customs made to the abbey of Saint-Sauveur d'Évreux.

A. Original lost

Ptd. RADN, no. 208

102*

1071 × 1112

A lost charter of Ouen, bishop of Évreux, which confirmed land given to the abbey of Coulombs in the time of his predecessor, Gilbert.

A. Original lost — B. BN, ms. fr. 24133, p. 135. 17th-cent. copy.

103*

before 985 × 989 × c. 1046

The donation to the cathedral of Lisieux of the manor of Nonant with all its dependences, which was made by Roger and Herbert, bishops of Lisieux, and their predecessors, is confirmed by William, duke of Normandy.

A. Original lost — B. AD Calvados, G 207. 15th-cent. vidimus of Thomas le Carpentier, dated 4 Sept. 1428.

Ptd. RADN, no. 194

104*

1077 × 1101

Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux, grants to William, dean of Lisieux, the customs of synod and circata of the church of Touquettes, which he holds in fief (in feudo) of the bishop.

A. Original lost.

That William the dean was granted the customs of this church by the bishop of Lisieux, is mentioned in a lost eleventh-century roll of the abbey of Saint-Évroult, known as the *Rotulus primus*, ed. Le Prévost, *Orderici Vitalis*, v, p. 183.

105*

15 June 990

Robert, archbishop of Rouen, grants to the abbey of Fécamp, and to the churches given to it by Richard I, duke of Normandy, which he had given at the time of the abbey's dedication, freedom from all episcopal customs.

A. Original lost — B. BM (Rouen), ms. A 143 Omont 427, fol. 151v.

Ptd. RADN, no. 4.

106*

996 × 1007

Robert, archbishop of Rouen, purchases the domain of Douvrend for his cathedral, an acquisition that is confirmed by Richard II. This domain was later alienated by the same archbishop to his son Richard.

A. Original lost — B. BM (Rouen), ms. Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 54v-55r. 13th-cent. cartulary — C. BM (Rouen), ms. Y 44 Omont 1193, fol. 31r-v. 13th-cent. cartulary.

Ptd. RADN, no. 10.

107*

Aug. 1025, Fécamp

Robert, archbishop of Rouen, grants to the abbey of Jumièges the comital customs of a number of donations made to the abbey by William Longsword, which were confirmed by Richard II. These were as follows: Jumièges and its dependences between Bliquetuit and Anerie, all the way to Yville-sur-Seine; Yainville, le Trait, Saint-Paul, Duclair, the lands up to Épinay-sur-Duclair; the third of the land and church at Epinay; a mill at Ambion-Sainte-Gertrude, Norville and Vieux-Port; the burg of Quillebeuf-sur-Seine, Saint-Aubin-sur-Quillebeuf with its churches; Gouy and Gauciel with the church and its dependences.

A. Original lost — B. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 26. 15th-cent. copy in a *vidimus* of the *vicomte* of Rouen, dated 27 Feb. 1499 — C. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 6, fol. 7r. 15th-cent. cartulary copy — D. AD Seine-Maritime, 9 H 8, fol. 31r. 15th-cent. cartulary copy.

Ptd. RADN, no. 36.

108*

13 Jan. 1035, Fécamp

Robert, archbishop of Rouen, grants freedom from episcopal customs at the churches of Notre-Dame, Sainte-Croix and Saint-Germain de Montivilliers, as well as those of Harfleur, Rolleville, Octeville, Épouville, Petit-Tanville, Sanvic, Gueutteville-les-Grés, Vasouy, Rouelles, Saint-Martin du Manoir, which had been given to the abbey of Montivilliers by Richard II and Robert I.

A. Original lost — B. AD Seine-Maritime, G 2068 — C. AD Seine-Maritime, 54 H 1. 18th-cent. copy — D. BN, ms. n. a. fr. 23056, fol. 54r-55r. 18th-cent. copy — E. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1245, fol. 112r. 18th-cent. copy — F. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1245, fol. 252r. 18th-cent. copy.

Ptd. RADN, no. 90.

109*

989 × 1037

Robert, archbishop of Rouen, issues a charter in favour of the abbey of Évron.

A. Original lost — B. BM (Chartres), ms. 23, fol. 5ff (destroyed 1944).

This donation is known only from the catalogue entry for this manuscript made by Henri Omont; *Catalogue général des manuscrits*, ed. Omont, xi, p. 10.

110*

A charter of Simon, son of Rodulf [IV], count [of Amiens-Valois-Vexin], which states that his father held the land of Gisors, which he had received from Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen.

A. AD Seine-Maritime, G 8739. Original.

Ptd. Regesta, no. 229

111*

1067 × 1079

A charter of Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, which confirms the possessions of the abbey of Saint-Martin de Pontoise that lay in his diocese at the time of his predecessors, the first named of which is John of Ivry; the inference being that it was during his reign that the possessions of the abbey were either first granted or confirmed.

A. Original lost — B. BM (Pontoise), ms. 18, pp. 41-42. 17th-cent. copy.

Ptd. Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Pontoise, no. xcv.

112*

1079 × 1110

A charter of Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, which confirms the possessions of the abbey of Saint-Martin de Pontoise that lay in his diocese at the time of his predecessors, the second named of which is William Bona Anima; the inference being that the possessions of the abbey were also confirmed during his reign.

A. Original lost — B. BM (Pontoise), ms. 18, pp. 41-42. 17th-cent. copy.

Ptd. Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Pontoise, no. xcv.

113*

1047/8 × 1053

William de la Ferté-Macé grants to the abbey of Saint-Julien de Tours the church of Notre-Dame de Bellou-en-Houlme, whose customs he holds in benefice of Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées.

A. Original lost — B. BN, ms. lat. 5443, p. 77. 18th-cent. copy — C. BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1243, fol. 43r. 19th-cent. copy.

Ptd. RADN, no. 131

114*

1066 × 1071

A record of grants made to the abbey of Saint-Martin de Sées, which notes that Roger de Montgommery and his wife Mabel, among many other things, gave to the abbey the land given by Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées, from his hereditary property, namely the land between the gate of the castle of Sées and the ford Cremerii between the road to Alençon and the same stream. This donation was made with the permission of King William.

A. Original lost — B. Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 7v, 13r-v, 8r. 13th-cent. cartulary (folios misbound before 1747).

Ptd. Regesta, no. 271

Lost episcopal letters

It will be noted that the list above does not contain references to lost letters sent by members of the Norman episcopate. Indeed, although it is sometimes possible to determine that correspondence received by a Norman bishop was sent to him in response to his own letters,² this is not always the case, and to infer that a letter received equals a letter sent risks distorting the picture too greatly. Reference should therefore be made to the relevant chapter for discussion of both the letters sent and received by a particular bishop.

² See, for example, *Letters of Lanfranc*, nos. 14-17, 41.

List of French place names in Norman episcopal *acta*, 942-1110

Place	Département	Canton
Ableiges	Val-d'Oise	Vigny
Agneaux	Manche	Saint-Lô-Ouest
Alençon	Manche	chef-lieu
Allemagne ¹	Calvados	Caen-8
Amfreville-les-Champs	Eure	Fleury-sur-Andelle
<i>Andet</i>		
Anerie (L') ²	Seine-Maritime	Duclair
Angreville	Seine-Maritime	Envermeu
Anisy	Calvados	Creully
Appilly	Oise	Noyon
Argentan	Orne	chef-lieu
Arques-la-Bataille	Seine-Maritime	Offranville
Aubigny	Calvados	Falaise-Nord
Aunay-sur-Odon	Calvados	chef-lieu
Aunou-sur-Orne	Orne	Sées
Avranches	Manche	chef-lieu
Avrechy	Oise	Clermont
Bacqueville	Eure	Fleury-sur-Andelle
<i>Bahon</i>		
Baillolet	Seine-Maritime	Londinières
Barfleur	Manche	Quettehou
Basseneville	Calvados	Dozulé
Baupte	Manche	Périers
Bavent	Calvados	Cabourg
Bayeux	Calvados	chef-lieu
Beaumont-le-Roger	Eure	chef-lieu
Beaunay	Seine-Maritime	Tôtes
Beauvais	Oise	chef-lieu
Bec-Hellouin (Le)	Eure	Brionne
Bellême	Orne	chef-lieu
Bellou-en-Houlme	Orne	Messei
Besace (La) ³	Calvados	Bény-Bocage
Béneauville	Calvados	Troarn
Benetot	Seine-Maritime	Tôtes
Bennetot	Seine-Maritime	Fauville-en-Caux
Bernières-sur-Mer	Calvados	Douvres-la-Délivrande
Béthencourt	Seine-Maritime	Sigy-en-Bray
Béthencourt	Seine-Maritime	Blangy-sur-Bresle
<i>Biart</i> ⁴		
Biéville-Beuville	Calvados	Ouistreham
Bigne (La)	Calvados	Aunay-sur-Odon
Billy	Calvados	Bourguébus
Bion	Manche	Mortain
Blainville-sur-Mer	Manche	Saint-Malo-de-la-Lande
Blosseville	Seine-Maritime	Saint-Valery-en-Caux
<i>Bodriz</i>		
Boisemont	Eure	Les Boisemont
Boissy-l'Aillierie	Val-d'Oise	Cergy-Nord
Boissay	Seine-Maritime	Buchy
Bonneville-sur-Touques	Calvados	Pont-l'Évêque
Boos	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu

¹ Now Fleury-sur-Orne.

² cne Saint-Pierre-de-Varengeville.

³ cnes Saint-Martin des Besaces and Saint-Ouen des Besaces.

⁴ nr. Commerveil? (Sarthe, cant. Mamers).

Bosc-Aubé (Le) ⁵	Eure	Pont-Audemer
Bouafles	Eure	Sains-Richaumont
Boulay (Le)	Seine-Maritime	Nolléval
Boulon	Calvados	Bretteville-sur-Laize
Bouquelon	Eure	Quillebeuf-sur-Seine
Bourguébus	Calvados	chef-lieu
Bourse ⁶	Orne	Ferrières-la-Verrerie
Boury-en-Vexin	Oise	Chaumont-en-Vexin
Bouville ⁷	Seine-Maritime	Tôtes
Bracquemont	Seine-Maritime	Dieppe-Est
Braffais	Manche	Brécey
Bras ⁸	Calvados	Caen-10
<i>Braviart</i> ⁹		
Brécey	Manche	chef-lieu
Bretel	Manche	Lessay
Breteuil	Eure	chef-lieu
Bretteville-du-Grand-Caux	Seine-Maritime	Goderville
Bretteville-l'Orgueilleuse	Calvados	Tilly-sur-Seulles
Bretteville-sur-Laize	Calvados	chef-lieu
Brémoy	Calvados	Aunay-sur-Odon
Brévands	Manche	Carentan
Brionne	Eure	chef-lieu
Buais	Manche	Le Teilleul
Bures-sur-Dives	Calvados	Troarn
<i>Busc</i>		
Bussy	Calvados	Bayeux
Butot	Seine-Maritime	Pavilly
Cabourg	Calvados	chef-lieu
Caen	Calvados	chef-lieu
Caër	Eure	Évreux-Nord
Calleville ¹⁰	Seine-Maritime	Pavilly
Calleville-les-Deux-Églises	Seine-Maritime	Tôtes
Cambremer	Calvados	chef-lieu
Campandré-Valcongrain	Calvados	Villers-Bocage
Carneville	Manche	Saint-Pierre-Église
Castilly	Calvados	Isigny-sur-Mer
Caudebec-en-Caux	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Céaux	Manche	Ducey
Celland	Manche	Brécey
Cerisé	Orne	Alençon-3
Chambray	Eure	Vernon-Nord
Champeaux	Manche	Sartilly
Champ-Fleuri (Le) ¹¹	Calvados	Bayeux
Chantorre	Manche	Sartilly
Charenton-le-Pont	Val-de-Marne	chef-lieu
Chars	Val-d'Oise	Marines
Chassilly	Manche	Saint-James
Châtellier (Le)	Orne	Messei
Château d'Aché ¹²	Orne	Alençon-3
Chaumont-en-Vexin	Oise	chef-lieu
Cheux	Calvados	Tilly-sur-Seulles

⁵ cne Les Préaux.

⁶ cne Ferrières-la-Verrerie.

⁷ cne Saint-Maclou-de-Folleville.

⁸ cne Ifs.

⁹ nr. Saint-Martin-du-Vieux-Bellême.

¹⁰ cne Émanville.

¹¹ cne Bayeux.

¹² cne Valframbert.

Clais	Seine-Maritime	Londinières
Colleville-Montgomery	Calvados	Ouistreham
Colombières	Calvados	Trévières
Conches-en-Ouche	Eure	chef-lieu
Condé-sur-Seulles	Calvados	Balleroy
Connelles	Eure	Val-de-Reuil
Cormeilles-en-Vexin	Val-d'Oise	Marines
Cottun	Calvados	Bayeux
Coulombs (abbey)	Eure-et-Loir	Nogent-le-Roi
Courcy	Manche	Coutances
Courgains	Sarthe	Marolles-les-Braults
Courseulles-sur-Mer	Calvados	Creully
Coutances	Manche	chef-lieu
Coutainville	Manche	Saint-Malo-de-la-Lande
Cramoisy	Oise	Montataire
Crémantfleury ¹³	Calvados	Honfleur
Cresnays (Les)	Manche	Brécéy
Creully	Calvados	chef-lieu
Cricqueville-en-Bessin	Calvados	Isigny-sur-Mer
Crocq	Calvados	Morteaux-Coulibœuf
Croix-Mare	Seine-Maritime	Pavilly
Croix-Avranchin (La)	Manche	Saint-James
Croix-Saint-Leufroy (La)	Eure	Gaillon-Campagne
Cully	Calvados	Creully
Curcy-sur-Orne	Calvados	Évrecy
Cuverville	Eure	Sains-Richaumont
Dangu	Eure	Gisors
Désert (Le) (priors)	Calvados	Vassy
Dives-sur-Mer	Calvados	Dozulé
Dol-de-Bretagne	Ille-et-Vilaine	chef-lieu
Douville-sur-Andelle	Eure	Fleury-sur-Andelle
Douvres-la-Délivrande	Calvados	chef-lieu
Douvrend	Seine-Maritime	Envermeu
Duclair	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Duranville	Eure	Thiberville
Ecos	Eure	chef-lieu
Écouves (forest)	Orne	Carrouges, Sées
Émendreville ¹⁴	Seine-Maritime	Rouen
Emondeville	Seine-Maritime	Ourville-en-Caux
Envermeu	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Eperrais	Orne	Pervenchères
Epinay	Seine-Maritime	Londinières
Épinay-sur-Duclair	Seine-Maritime	Duclair
Épouville	Seine-Maritime	Montivilliers
Ernemont-sur-Buchy	Seine-Maritime	Buchy
<i>Escorzinis</i>		
Espagne (L') ¹⁵	Calvados	Balleroy
Essay	Orne	Le Mêle-sur-Sarthe
Étavaux	Calvados	Bourguébus
Étréham	Calvados	Trévières
Eu	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Évrecy	Calvados	chef-lieu
Évreux	Eure	chef-lieu
<i>Fayel</i>		
Fécamp	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Ferrières	Manche	Le Teilleul

¹³ Now La Rivière-Saint-Sauveur.

¹⁴ Now Saint-Sever.

¹⁵ cne Trungy.

Ferrières-Saint-Hilaire	Eure	Broglie
Ferté-Macé (La)	Orne	chef-lieu
Feuguerolles-Bully	Calvados	Évrecy
Feuguerolles-sur-Seulles	Calvados	Caumont-l'Éventé
Fiquefleur-Équainville	Eure	Beuzeville
Flavigny	Calvados	Évrecy
<i>Fontanis</i>		
Fontaine-sous-Jouy	Eure	Évreux-Est
Fontainecourt ¹⁶	Eure	Montfort-sur-Risle
Fontenay-Saint-Père	Yvelines	Limay
La Fosse-Luchon (unident.)		
Fougères	Ille-et-Vilaine	chef-lieu
Foulognes	Calvados	Caumont-l'Éventé
Franquevillette	Seine-Maritime	Boos
Le Fresne ¹⁷	Manche	Périers
<i>Frestem</i>		
Fretteville	Eure	Les Andelys
Gauciel	Eure	Évreux-Est
Gavrus	Calvados	Évrecy
Genêts	Manche	Sartilly
Gens (Les) ¹⁸	Manche	Ducey
Gerberoy	Oise	Songeon
Gisors	Eure	chef-lieu
Glos-sur-Risle	Eure	Montfort-sur-Risle
Gouy	Seine-Maritime	Boos
Grainville	Seine-Maritime	Londinières
Grainville-sur-Odon	Calvados	Tilly-sur-Seulles
Le Grand Clinchamps	Orne	Bellême
Grandmesnil	Calvados	Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives
Granlay	Orne	Sées
Gratepanche	Seine-Maritime	Envermeu
Grate Panche	Calvados	Blangy-le-Château
Guernanville	Eure	Breteuil
Gueutteville-les-Grès	Seine-Maritime	Saint-Valery-en-Caux
Le Hamet (at Bonnœil?)		
Harfleur	Seine-Maritime	Gonfreville-l'Orcher
Hautot-l'Auvray	Seine-Maritime	Ourville-en-Caux
<i>Helpinmaisnil</i>		
Heubécourt-Haricourt	Eure	Écos
Hérouville-Saint-Clair	Calvados	chef-lieu
Hogue (La) ¹⁹	Calvados	Bourguébus
Hotot ²⁰	Manche	La Haye-du-Puits
Houtteville	Manche	La Haye-du-Puits
Houville-en-Vexin	Eure	Fleury-sur-Andelle
Hubert-Folie	Calvados	Bourguébus
<i>Hugonico</i>		
Huisnes-sur-Mer	Manche	Pontorson
Ifs	Calvados	Caen-10
Incourt ²¹	Eure	Pont-Audemer
L'Isle-Marie	Manche	Sainte-Mère-Église
Ivry-la-Bataille	Eure	Saint-André-de-l'Eure
Jort	Calvados	Morteaux-Coulibœuf
Juilley	Manche	Ducey

¹⁶ cne Glos-sur-Risle.

¹⁷ Either cne Isigny-le-Buat or cne Gathemo.

¹⁸ cne Saint-Quentin-sur-le-Homme

¹⁹ cne Bourguébus.

²⁰ cne Coigny.

²¹ cne Saint-Siméon.

Jumièges	Seine-Maritime	Duclair
Jurques	Calvados	Aunay-sur-Odon
Juziers	Yvelines	Mantes-la-Jolie
<i>Lagailla</i>		
Lainville-en-Vexin	Yvelines	Mantes-la-Jolie
Laize-la-Ville	Calvados	Bourguébus
Langrune-sur-Mer	Calvados	Douvres-la-Délivrande
Lapenty	Manche	Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët
Lassy	Calvados	Condé-sur-Noireau
Les Andelys	Eure	chef-lieu
Les Loges	Calvados	Aunay-sur-Odon
Lessay	Manche	chef-lieu
Lémont	Seine-Maritime	Buchy
Lieufroid (unident.)		
Lignièrès		
Lingèvres	Calvados	Balleroy
Lisieux	Calvados	chef-lieu
Lison	Calvados	Isigny-sur-Mer
Lisors	Eure	Lyons-la-Forêt
Livet-sur-Authou	Eure	Brionne
Londinières	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Longchamps	Eure	Étrépagny
Longuesse-en-Vexin	Val-d'Oise	Pontoise
<i>Lureio</i>		
Macé	Orne	Sées
Magny-le-Freule	Calvados	Mézidon-Canon
Malfilâtre ²²	Calvados	Évrecy
Malloué	Calvados	Bény-Bocage
Manerbe	Calvados	Blangy-le-Château
Mantes-la-Jolie	Yvelines	chef-lieu
Marcelet ²³	Calvados	Tilly-sur-Seulles
Marcouville ²⁴	Eure	Bourgtheroulde-Infreville
Martin-Église	Seine-Maritime	Dieppe-Est
Marthe-Leurouse ²⁵	Orne	Alençon-3
Mathieu	Calvados	Douvres-la-Délivrande
Mauchenet	Orne	Pervenchères
Maulévrier-Sainte-Gertrude	Seine-Maritime	Caudebec-en-Caux
Maupertuis	Manche	Percy
Mayenne	Mayenne	chef-lieu
Merlimont	Eure	Pont-Audemer
Merville-Franceville-Plage	Calvados	Cabourg
Mesnil-Gilbert (Le)	Manche	Saint-Pois
Mesnil-Gaut ²⁶	Orne	Sées
Mestry ²⁷	Calvados	Isigny-sur-Mer
Méautis	Manche	Carentan
Mézières-en-Vexin	Eure	Écos
Moidrey	Manche	Pontorson
Mombray ²⁸	Calvados	Condé-sur-Noireau
Monfoucher ²⁹	Ille-et-Vilaine	Saint-Aubin-du-Cormier
Montanel	Manche	Saint-James
Montataire	Oise	chef-lieu

²² Formerly Curcy-le-Malfilâtre, now Curcy-sur-Orne.

²³ cne Saint-Manvieu-Norrey.

²⁴ Now Bosguérard-de-Marcouville.

²⁵ cne Vingt-Hanaps.

²⁶ cne La Chapelle-près-Sées.

²⁷ Now merged with Castilly.

²⁸ cne Proussy.

²⁹ cne Saint-Jean-sur-Couesnon.

Mont-Cauvin (Le) ³⁰ <i>Monte</i>	Calvados	Trévières
Montgeroult	Val-d'Oise	Vigny
Montgommery	Calvados	Livarot
Montifer ³¹	Calvados	Aunay-sur-Odon
Montivilliers	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Montreuil-en-Auge	Calvados	Cambremer
Montreuil-sur-Epte	Val-d'Oise	Magny-en-Vexin
Mont-Saint-Michel (Le)	Manche	Pontorson
Mortain	Manche	chef-lieu
Mortemer	Seine-Maritime	Neufchâtel-en-Bray
Moulines		
Moulins-la-Marche	Orne	chef-lieu
Navetot ³²	Calvados	Caen-2
Neaufles-Saint-Martin	Eure	Gisors
Nécý	Orne	Trun
Néhou	Manche	Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte
Neuilly-la-Forêt	Calvados	Isigny-sur-Mer
Neufbourg (Le)	Manche	Mortain
Noirpalu ³³	Manche	La Haye-Pesnel
Nonant	Calvados	Bayeux
Normanville	Eure	Évreux-Nord
Norville	Seine-Maritime	Lillebonne
Notre-Dame-de-Bliquetuit	Seine-Maritime	Caudebec-en-Caux
Notre-Dame-du-Touchet	Manche	Mortain
Noyon-sur-Andelle ³⁴	Eure	Fleury-sur-Andelle
Octeville	Manche	chef-lieu
Orceil ³⁵	Manche	Avranches
Orval	Manche	Montmartin-sur-Mer
Ouffières	Calvados	Évrecy
Ouilly-le-Basset ³⁶	Calvados	Falaise-Nord
Ouilly-le-Tesson	Calvados	Bretteville-sur-Laize
Ouilly-le-Vicomte	Calvados	Lisieux-1
Ourville-en-Caux	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Pacé	Orne	Alençon-1
Panilleuse	Eure	Écos
Le Parquet (unident.)		
Perriers-sur-Andelle	Eure	Fleury-sur-Andelle
Petit-Tanville ³⁷	Seine-Maritime	Montivilliers
Petiville	Seine-Maritime	Lillebonne
Pibeuf ³⁸	Seine-Maritime	Clères
Pierreval	Seine-Maritime	Buchy
Planches	Orne	Argentan
Pleines-Œuvres ³⁹	Calvados	Saint-Sever-Calvados
Plessis-Grimoult (Le)	Calvados	Aunay-sur-Odon
Plomb	Manche	Avranches
Poilly	Manche	Ducey
Ponts	Manche	Avranches
Pont-Authou	Eure	Montfort-sur-Risle

³⁰ cne Étréham.

³¹ cne Brémoy.

³² cne Saint-Contest.

³³ cne Le Tanu.

³⁴ Now Charleval.

³⁵ cne La Gohannière.

³⁶ Now Pont-d'Ouilly.

³⁷ This place name disappeared after the eighteenth century.

³⁸ Now Saint-André-sur-Cailly.

³⁹ cne Pont-Farcy.

Pontaubault	Manche	Avranches
Port-en-Bessin	Calvados	Ryes
Port-Mort	Eure	Les Andelys
<i>Posleio/Polleio/Poisleio</i>		
Précey	Manche	Ducey
Quillebeuf-sur-Seine	Eure	chef-lieu
Rennes	Ille-et-Vilaine	chef-lieu
<i>Roca Widonis</i>		
Rocé ⁴⁰	Orne	Bellême
La Roche ⁴¹	Manche	Val-Saint-Père
Rolleville	Seine-Maritime	Montivilliers
Romagny	Manche	Mortain
Ronfeugeraie	Orne	Athis-de-l'Orne
Rosel	Calvados	Creully
Rots	Calvados	Tilly-sur-Seulles
Rouelles	Seine-Maritime	Le Havre
Rouen	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Roullée	Sarthe	La Fresnaye-sur-Chédouet
Rouvray	Eure	Vernon-Sud
Rucqueville	Calvados	Creully
<i>Rugamar</i>		
Russy	Calvados	Trévières
Ryes	Calvados	chef-lieu
Sacey	Manche	Pontorson
Sagy	Val-d'Oise	Vigny
Saint-Aubin-Celloville	Seine-Maritime	Boos
Saint-Aubin-sur-Quillebeuf	Eure	Quillebeuf-sur-Seine
Saint-Brice-de-Landelles	Manche	Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët
Saint-Contest	Calvados	Caen-2
Saint-Étienne-du-Rouvray	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Saint-Germain-du-Maraix ⁴²	Calvados	Morteaux-Coulibœuf
Saint-Germain-des-Angles	Eure	Évreux-Nord
Saint-Germain-de-la-Lieue ⁴³	Calvados	Bayeux
Saint-Gilles	Manche	Marigny
Saint-Hilaire (unident.)		
Saint-James	Manche	chef-lieu
Saint-Jean-d'Abbetot ⁴⁴	Seine-Maritime	Saint-Romain-de-Colbosc
Saint-Jean-de-la-Haize	Manche	Avranches
Saint-Jean-le-Thomas	Manche	Sartilly
Saint-Manvieu-Norrey	Calvados	Tilly-sur-Seulles
Saint-Marcouf	Manche	Montebourg
Saint-Mards	Seine-Maritime	Bacqueville-en-Caux
Saint-Martin des Besaces	Calvados	Le Bény-Bocage
Saint-Martin du Manoir	Seine-Maritime	Montivilliers
Saint-Martin-de-Varreville	Manche	Sainte-Mère-Église
Saint-Michel ⁴⁵	Seine-Maritime	Caudebec-en-Caux
Saint-Nicolas-de-Bliquetuit	Seine-Maritime	Caudebec-en-Caux
Saint-Ouen des Besaces	Calvados	Le Bény-Bocage
Saint-Ouen-la-Rouërie	Ille-et-Vilaine	Antrain
Saint-Ovin	Manche	Avranches
Saint-Paul ⁴⁶	Seine-Maritime	Duclair
Saint-Paul-sur-Sarthe	Sarthe	La Fresnaye-sur-Chédouet

⁴⁰ cne Le Gué-de-la-Chaîne.

⁴¹ cne Val-Saint-Père.

⁴² Now Le Marais-la-Chapelle.

⁴³ Now Saint-Martin-des-Entrées.

⁴⁴ cne La Cerlangue.

⁴⁵ cne Saint-Wandrille-Rançon.

⁴⁶ cne Duclair.

Saint-Philbert-sur-Risle	Eure	Montfort-sur-Risle
Saint-Pierre-Langers	Manche	Sartilly
Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives	Calvados	chef-lieu
Saint-Quentin-au-Bosc	Seine-Maritime	Envermeu
Saint-Saire	Seine-Maritime	Neufchâtel-en-Bray
Saint-Samson	Calvados	Dozulé
Saint-Senier-de-Beuvron	Manche	Saint-James
Saint-Senier-sous-Avranches	Manche	Avranches
Saint-Suplice ⁴⁷	Calvados	Bayeux
Saint-Sylvain	Calvados	Bretteville-sur-Laize
Saint-Symphorien (unident.)		
Saint-Vaast-d'Équieville	Seine-Maritime	Envermeu
Saint-Vaast-Dieppedalle	Seine-Maritime	Ourville-en-Caux
Saint-Victor-en-Caux (priory)	Seine-Maritime	Tôtes
Saint-Vigor-le-Grand	Calvados	Bayeux
Saint-Wandrille-Rançon	Seine-Maritime	Caudebec-en-Caux
Sainte-Eugénie	Manche	Brécéy
Sanvic ⁴⁸	Seine-Maritime	Le Havre-6
<i>Saverici</i>		
Savigny-le-Vieux	Manche	Le Teilleul
Secqueville-en-Bessin	Calvados	Creully
<i>Seiberti villa</i>		
Selles	Eure	Pont-Audemer
Semilly	Manche	Saint-Clair-sur-l'Elle
Sées	Orne	chef-lieu
Sideville	Manche	Équeurdreville-Hainneville
<i>Silletot</i>		
Notteville-lès-Rouen	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Notteville-sur-Mer	Seine-Maritime	Fontaine-le-Dun
Soulles	Manche	Canisy
Sully	Calvados	Bayeux
Tailleville	Calvados	Douvres-la-Délivrande
Tilly	Eure	Les Andelys
<i>Tony</i>		
Tôtes	Seine-Maritime	chef-lieu
Torqueville	Seine-Maritime	Envermeu
<i>Torratores</i>		
<i>Tort Capel</i>		
Torteval-Quesnay	Calvados	Caumont-l'Éventé
Touques	Calvados	Trouville-sur-Mer
Touquettes	Orne	La Ferté-Frênel
Tour-en-Bessin	Calvados	Trévières
Le Trait	Seine-Maritime	Duclair
Travaillès ⁴⁹	Eure	Les Andelys
Trémont	Orne	Courtomer
Trun	Orne	chef-lieu
Vains	Manche	Avranches
Val-Saint-Père (Le)	Manche	Avranches
Vallerie (La) ⁵⁰	Manche	Canisy
Valmeray ⁵¹	Calvados	Bourguébus
Vasouy	Calvados	Honfleur
Vatteville	Eure	Sains-Richaumont
Venoix	Calvados	Caen-1
Vesly	Eure	Gisors

⁴⁷ cne Saint-Vigor-le-Grand.

⁴⁸ cne Le Havre.

⁴⁹ cne Harquency.

⁵⁰ cne Dangy.

⁵¹ cne Airan.

Vessey	Manche	Pontorson
Vicq	Yvelines	Montfort-l'Amaury
Vieux-Pont-en-Auge	Calvados	Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives
Vieux-Port	Eure	Quillebeuf-sur-Seine
Villaines-sous-Bois	Val-d'Oise	Viarmes
Ville Chien ⁵²	Ille-et-Vilaine	Louvigné-du-Désert
Villers (in Caen)	Calvados	Caen-1
Villiers-le-Pré	Manche	Saint-James
Vire	Calvados	chef-lieu
Virey	Manche	Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët
Vory ⁵³	Calvados	Le Bénv-Bocage
<i>Windelonda</i>		
Wy-dit-Joli-Village	Val-d'Oise	Magny-en-Vexin
Yainville	Seine-Maritime	Duclair
Yville-sur-Seine	Seine-Maritime	Duclair

List of English place names in Norman episcopal *acta*, 942-1110

Place	Region	County
Acdena ⁵⁴	South East	Kent
Adalardendena ⁵⁵	South East	Kent
Bengeworth	West Midlands	Worcestershire
Betteshanger	South East	Kent
Binton	West Midlands	Warwickshire
Blacecota ⁵⁶	South East	Kent
Buckland	South East	Kent
Crophthorne	West Midlands	Worcestershire
<i>Estmedetune</i>		
Fordwich	South East	Kent
Gildeneberga ⁵⁷	West Midlands	Warwickshire
Hampton	West Midlands	Worcestershire
Hillingborough ⁵⁸	West Midlands	Warwickshire
Kinwarton	West Midlands	Warwickshire
Knowlton	South East	Kent
Losenham ⁵⁹	South East	Kent
Oldberrow	West Midlands	Warwickshire
Oswaldslow (hundred)	West Midlands	Worcestershire
Plumstead	South East	Kent
Ragley	West Midlands	Warwickshire
Ringleton	South East	Kent
Sandwich	South East	Kent
Tickenhurst	South East	Kent
Upper Swell	South West	Gloucestershire
Weston-on-Avon	South West	Gloucestershire
Wickhambreux	South East	Kent
Winterborne Stickland	South West	Dorset

⁵² cne Saint-Georges-de-Reintembault.

⁵³ cne Montchauvet.

⁵⁴ Later Hexden in Rolvenden.

⁵⁵ Later Wassall Farm in Rolvenden.

⁵⁶ Later Bly Court in Staplehurst.

⁵⁷ Four-Shire Stone, near Moreton-in-Marsh.

⁵⁸ In Temple Grafton.

⁵⁹ In Newenden.

APPENDIX H

EPISCOPAL ITINERARIES

Fig. 92 Itineraries of the bishops of Avranches, 990-1134

Norgod, c. 990-1017 × c. 1022

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
990	15 June	Fécamp	Foundation of abbey	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4

Maugis, c. 1017 × c. 1022-c. 1026

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1025		Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35
1025	Aug.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 36
1025	Aug.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 34
1027	17 or 18 Aug.	Avranches?	Dies	<i>RHGF</i> , xxiii, pp. 421, 579; Robert de Torigni, <i>Chronique</i> , ii, p. 219

Hugh, 1028-c. 1060

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1032	12 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 64
1035	13 Jan.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 90
1049	Oct.	Reims	Papal council	Mansi, xix, col. 737
1054	25 Dec.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 133
1055*		Rouen	Diocesan council	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , p. 47
1056*	8 Dec.	Coutances	Dedication of cathedral	‘De statu’, col. 220

John of Ivry, 1060-1067

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1061		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 148
1063 × 1066	22 Sept.	Domfront	Judicial hearing	<i>RADN</i> , no. 159
1063	1 Oct.	Rouen	Dedication of Rouen cathedral and	‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224

1064*		Lisieux	diocesan council	
1066		Avranches?	Diocesan council	Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517
1066?		Bayeux?	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 229
1066	bef. 11 Feb.	Lillebonne?	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 227
1066	27 May × 16 July?	Bonneville	Discussion of invasion plans	<i>OV</i> , ii, pp. 140-142
1066	18 June	Caen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 232
1066	Sept.	Rouen	Dedication of La Trinité de Caen	<i>RADN</i> , no. 231
1067	1 July	Jumièges	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 228
			Dedication of Jumièges	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 172; <i>OV</i> , ii, p. 198

Michael, 1068-1094

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1071		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Nouveau traité de diplomatique</i> , i, pp. 375-376
1072		Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 286
1073	early autumn	Rouen?	Reconciliation between archbishop of Rouen and abbey of Saint-Ouen	'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 225
1074		Rouen	Diocesan council	Mansi, xx, col. 399
1074	May	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 261
1077		Évreux	Dedication of Évreux cathedral	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 10
1077	14 July	Bayeux	Dedication of Bayeux cathedral	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 10
1077	25 July × 22 Oct.	Rouen?	Consecration of Gilbert Maminot	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 20
1080	31 May	Lillebonne	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 24
1080	14 July	Bonneville	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175 (I & II)
1080	27 Dec.	Cherbourg	Judicial hearing	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 200
1082		Avranches	Charter subscription	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , col. 107
1082	24 June	Oissel	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 205 (I & II)
1082	bef. autumn	Mortain	Church dedication	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215
1083	April	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 230
1087	Sept.	Caen	Conqueror's funeral	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 104
1090		Sacey	Charter subscription	Pigeon, <i>Le diocèse d'Avranches</i> , ii, pp. 674-676
1091		Rouen	Charter subscription	BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 57v

1091*		Rouen	Synod	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 252
1093	Feb.	Coutances	Funeral of Geoffrey de Montbray	'De statu', col. 224
1094	26 Jan.	Avranches?	Dies	<i>RHGF</i> , xxiii, p. 576; <i>GC</i> , xi, col. 477

Turgis, 1094-1134

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1096	Feb.	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 24
1106	7 Nov.?	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 792
1107	June?	Cirencester	Charter subscription	<i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. xxxviii
1110		Avranches	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , Appendix II, no. 7
1112 or 1113	2 Mar.	Avranches	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1015
1118		Arganchy	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1183
1118	7 Oct.	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , vi, p. 202
1120	21 Nov.	Barfleur	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1233
1121 × 1125		Argentan	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 16
1121	17 Sept.	Avranches	Dedication of Avranches cathedral	<i>GC</i> , xi, col. 467
1125	Oct.?	Rouen?	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1427
1127	Sept.?	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1547
1128	May × end of Aug.	Rouen	Betrothal of Geoffrey V, count of Anjou	<i>OV</i> , vi, p. 390
1128	Oct.	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , vi, p. 388
1128	Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 1553
1128 × 1129		Mont-Saint-Michel		<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 76
1134	7 Jan.	Avranches?	Dies	<i>RHGF</i> , xxiii, p. 576.

Fig. 93 Itineraries of the bishops of Bayeux, c. 990-1107

Rodulf, c. 990-1006

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
990	15 June	Fécamp	Dedication of abbey	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4

Hugh of Ivry, c. 1011-1049

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1011	15 Sept.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 13
1014*	21 Sept.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 15
1015	8 Sept.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 18
1025		Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35
1025	Aug.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 34
1025	Aug.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 36
c. 1030*		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 61
c. 1033 × 1049		Préaux	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux</i> , no. A1 [7]
1034	11 April	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 71
1049	Oct.	Reims	Papal council	Mansi, xix, col. 737
1049	late	Bayeux	Buried in cathedral	<i>GC</i> , xi, col. 353

Odo, c. 1049-1097

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1050	25 Sept.(?)	Lyons-la-Forêt	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 122 (versions CDE)
1055		Rouen	Deposition of Archbishop Mauger	<i>GG</i> , i. 53, p. 88; ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224
1055*		Rouen	Diocesan council	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , p. 47
1056*	8 Dec.	Coutances	Dedication of cathedral	‘De statu’, col. 220
1059	13 May	Troarn	Abbey dedication	BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 29r
1063 × 1066	22 Sept.	Domfront	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 159
1063		Bonneville-sur-	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 156 (versions B and C)

1063	1 Oct.	Touques Rouen	Dedication of Rouen cathedral and diocesan council	‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224
1064*		Lisieux	Diocesan council	Delisle, ‘Canons du concile à Lisieux’, p. 517
1066 (?)		Bayeux	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 227
1066	early	Lillebonne?	Meeting to discuss invasion plans	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 174
1066	18-19 June	Caen	Abbey dedication	<i>RADN</i> , no. 231
1066	14 Oct.	Battle	Battle of Hastings	<i>GG</i> , ii.14, p. 124; <i>OV</i> , ii, pp. 172, 266
1066 × 1067		Dover	Charter subscription	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 120
1068	11 May	Westminster	Coronation of Mathilda and charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 286
1069	13 April	Winchester		<i>Regesta</i> , no. 254
1072	27 May	Windsor	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 68
1072		Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , ii, pp. 284-292
1074	May(?)	Rouen	Diocesan council	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , pp. 64-66
1074	May	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 261
1074	30 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 26
1075		near Cambridge	Fighting rebels	John of Worcester, <i>Chronicle</i> , iii, p. 24
1077		Évreux	Dedication of cathedral	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 10
1077	14 July	Bayeux	Dedication of cathedral	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 83
1077	13 Sept.	Caen	Abbey dedication	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 46
1077	23 Oct.	Bec	Abbey dedication	<i>Chronique du Bec</i> , p. 3
1080	7 Jan.	Caen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267 (II)
1080	31 Jan.	Saint-Georges de Boscherville	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 266 (II)
1080	31 May	Lillebonne	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 24
1080	14 July	Bonneville-sur- Touques	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175 (I&II)
1080	late summer	Northumbria	Military expedition	Symeon of Durham, <i>Libellus</i> , pp. 218-220
1080	(late)	Berkeley (Glos)	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 153
1081		Kent	Visit	GDB, fol. 31v
1081	Feb.	London	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 193

1081	31 May	Winchester	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 39
1082	bef. autumn	Mortain	Church dedication	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215
1082	(late)	Downton (Wilts)	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 253
1082/3	late/early	Isle of Wight	Arrested	ASC 'E', p. 214; <i>OV</i> , iv, pp. 38-44
1082/3 × 1087		Rouen	In prison	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 42
1087 × 1096		Bayeux	Negotiation with Rannulf, vicomte of Bayeux	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. lxxvi
1087	autumn	Caen	Conqueror's funeral	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 114
1087	22 Dec.	Canterbury	Election of abbot	'Acta Lanfranci', pp. 290-291
1087	25 Dec.	London	Christmas court	Henry of Huntingdon, <i>Historia Anglorum</i> , p. 408
1088 × 1096		Caen	Charter subscription	BN, ms. lat. 10086, fol. 158v-159r
1088	spring/summer	Rochester	In rebellion	John of Worcester, <i>Chronicle</i> , iii, p. 48; <i>OV</i> , iv, pp. 126-134
1088	summer	Bayeux	Returns to Normandy	<i>OV</i> , iv, pp. 134, 146
1088	Aug.	Maine	Military expedition	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 154
1088	1 Sept.	Ballon	Siege of castle	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 154
1089	24 April	Vernon	Charter subscription	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. iv
1089	20 July	Eu	Siege of castle	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. vi; AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r
1091 × 1095		Lisieux	Charter subscription	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 7
1091*	1 June	Rouen	Diocesan council	BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r
1092	7 May	Bayeux	Meeting of chapter, charter subscription	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. xxii
1092	28 June	Bayeux	Charter subscription	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. xxii
1093 × 1094		Bonneville-sur-Touques	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267(II)
1093	3 Feb.	Coutances	Funeral of Geoffrey de Montbray	'De statu', col. 223
1093	25 Sept.	Bayeux	Meeting of chapter, charter subscription	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. xxiii
1094		Vendôme	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Vendôme</i> , ii, nos. cccli, ccclii

1094	16 Jan.	Bayeux	Charter subscription	Bourrienne, <i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. xxiii
1095		Dijon	Visits abbey of Saint-Bénigne	<i>Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon</i> , ii, no. 390
1095	18-26 Nov.	Clermont	Papal council	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 18
1096	Feb.	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 24
1096	24 May	Bayeux	Charter subscriptions	<i>Chartes de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon</i> , ii, nos. 385, 386, 391
1096	later summer	Rouen		Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , Appendix II, no. 10
1096	Sept.	Rouen	Leaves on crusade	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 34
1097	Jan.	Palermo	Dies	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 210

Turol d'Envermeu, 1097 × 1099-1107

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1102		Rome	Meeting with pope	<i>Papsturkunden in Frankreich</i> , ii, no. 5, p. 59
1106 × 1107		Rouen	Charter subscription	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix F, no. 1
1106	7 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 127-128

Fig. 94 Itineraries of the bishops of Coutances, c. 989-1110

Hugh I, c. 989-c. 1022

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
990	15 June	Fécamp	Foundation of abbey	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4
1011	15 Sept.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 13
1015	8 Sept.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 18
c. 1020		La Ferté-en-Bray	Dedication of church	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , p. 292 n. 37

Robert I, c. 1023-1048

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1033	12 Sept.	Saint-Wandrille	Abbey dedication	'Inventio sancti Vulfranni', pp. 50-51
c. 1045		Rouen	Diocesan council	Mansi, xix, col. 752

Geoffrey de Montbray, 1048/9-1093

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1048	10 April	Rouen	Consecration	'De statu', col. 218
1048/9 × 1066		Brionne	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 181
1049	Oct.	Reims	Papal council	Mansi, xix, col. 737
1050 (?)		Apulia/ Calabria	Visits Robert Guiscard	'De statu', col. 219
1050	April	Rome	Papal council	Mansi, xix, col. 771
1055		Rouen	Deposition of Archbishop Mauger	<i>GG</i> , i. 53, p. 88; 'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224
1055*		Rouen	Diocesan council	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , p. 47
1056	8 Dec.	Coutances	Dedication of cathedral	'De statu', col. 220
1063	1 Oct.	Rouen	Dedication of Rouen cathedral and diocesan council	'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224
1064*		Lisieux	Diocesan council	Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517
1066 × 1087		Westminster	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 77
1066		Bayeux	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 227

1066	early	Lillebonne?	Meeting to discuss invasion plans	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 174
1066	14 Oct.	Battle	Battle of Hastings	<i>GG</i> , ii.14, p. 124; <i>OV</i> , ii, pp. 172, 266
1066	25 Dec.	Westminster	Coronation of William I	<i>GG</i> , ii.30, p. 150
1067	1 July	Jumièges	Dedication of abbey	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 172
1068	11 May	Westminster	Coronation of Mathilda and charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 181
1069		Valognes	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 256
1069	13 April	Winchester	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 254
1070 × 1087		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 88
1070 × 1082/3		Windsor	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 87
1070 × 1078		Winchester	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 133
1070	bef. Whitsun	Windsor	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 81(I)
1072 × 1073		Penenden Heath	Judicial hearing	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 69(I&II)
1072	27 May	Windsor	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 68
1074 × 1075		London	Diocesan council	<i>Councils and synods</i> , i, p. 612
1075		near Cambridge	Fighting rebels	John of Worcester, <i>Chronicle</i> , iii, p. 24
1075		Norwich	Fighting rebels	<i>Letters of Lanfranc</i> , no. 35
1077 × 1078		Le Mans (?)	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 174
1077		Évreux	Dedication of cathedral	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 10
1077	14 July	Bayeux	Dedication of cathedral	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 83
1080	12 April	Rouen (?)	Easter court	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 235
1080	31 May	Lillebonne	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 24
1080	14 July	Bonneville-sur-Touques	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175(I&II)
1080	27 Dec. (?)	Cherbourg	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 201
1081	Feb.	London	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 193
1081	31 May	Winchester	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 39
1082	bef. autumn	Mortain	Church dedication	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215
1082	late	Downton (Wilts)	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 253
1085		Gloucester	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 156
1086	April (or after)	Lacock (Wilts)	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 146
1087	autumn	Caen	Conqueror's funeral	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 104

1088	spring	Bristol, Bath and Berkeley	In rebellion with his nephew, Robert de Montbray	ASC 'E', p. 223
1088	2 Nov.	Salisbury	Trial of William de Saint-Calais	'De iniusta vexacione', p. 84
1091	27 Jan.	Dover	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 315
1091*	1 June	Rouen	Diocesan council	BN, ms. lat. 13905, fol. 52r
1091	5 Nov.	Coutances	Witnesses earthquake in the city	'De statu', col. 222
1092 × 1093		Marigny	Church dedication	Caen, coll. Mancel, vol. 303 (vi), fol. 59r
1092	14 Aug.	Coutances	Taken ill during vespers	'De statu', col. 222
1092	15 Aug.	Coutances (?)	Buries Nigel, vicomte of the Cotentin	'De statu', col. 222
1093	2 Feb.	Coutances	Dies	'De statu', col. 224
1093	3 Feb.	Coutances	Buried in cathedral	'De statu', col. 224

Rodulf, 1093-1110

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1093	3 April	Rouen	Consecration	<i>GC</i> , xi, col. 873
1094	11 Feb.	Battle	Dedication of abbey	<i>The Chronicle of Battle Abbey</i> , p. 96
1096	Feb.	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 24
1104		Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte	Confirms charter at the abbey	Delisle, <i>Histoire de Saint-Sauveur</i> , p.-j., no. 46, pp. 55-58
1108		Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 24
1110		Coutances (?)	Dies	<i>GC</i> , xi, col. 873

Fig. 95 Itineraries of the bishops of Évreux, before 985 × 989-1112

Gerald, before 985 × 989-c. 1006

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
bef. 985 × 989		Rouen	Translation of St. Ouen	'Translatio secunda beati Audoeni', p. 824.
990	15 June	Fécamp	Foundation of abbey	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4

Hugh II, 1015-c. 1046

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1015	8 Sept.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 18
1025		Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35
1025	Aug.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 34
1025	Aug.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 36
1032	12 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 64 (perhaps, according to ms. C)
1035	13 Jan.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 90
c. 1045		Rouen	Diocesan council	Mansi, xix, col. 752
1046	20 Apr.	Évreux?	Dies	BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1773, fol. 2v; <i>GC</i> , xi, col. 571

William Fleitel, c. 1046-1066

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1050		Lyre	Abbey dedication	Guéry, <i>Histoire de Lyre</i> , p. 14
1050		Lyons-la-Forêt	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 122
1055 × 1066		Fécamp	Ordination of priests	Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', p. 596
1055		Lisieux	Deposition of Archbishop Mauger	<i>GG</i> , i. 58, p. 92
1055*		Rouen	Diocesan council	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , p. 47
1056*	8 Dec.	Coutances	Dedication of cathedral	'De statu', col. 220
1059	21 June	Évreux	Abbatial blessing	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 74
1063	1 Oct.	Rouen	Dedication of Rouen cathedral and diocesan council	'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224

1064*		Lisieux	Diocesan council	Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517
1066	early	Lillebonne?	Meeting to discuss invasion plans	OV, ii, p. 174

Baldwin, 1066-1070

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1066	18 June	Caen	Dedication of La Trinité de Caen	<i>RADN</i> , no. 231
1066	19 June	Caen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 229, p. 440
1067	1 July	Jumièges	Abbey dedication	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 172; <i>OV</i> , ii, p. 198
1069	13 Apr.	Winchester	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 254
1070	23 Dec.	?Évreux	Dies	Guéry, <i>Histoire de Lyre</i> , p. 421

Gilbert son of Osbern, 1071-1112

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1071		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Nouveau traité de diplomatique</i> , i, pp. 375-376
c.1072 × 1082/6		Vernon	Church dedication	AD Eure, G 288
1072		Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 286
1074	?May	Rouen	Diocesan council	Mansi, xx, col. 399
1074	May	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 261
1076		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 179a
1077		Évreux	Dedication of Évreux cathedral	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 10
1077	14 July	Bayeux	Dedication of Bayeux cathedral	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 10
1077	25 July	Lisieux	Burial of Hugh d'Eu and dedication of Saint-Désir de Lisieux	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 18; Bouvris, 'La dédicace de Bayeux', p. 13
1077	13 Sept.	Caen	Dedication of Saint-Étienne de Caen	<i>GC</i> , xi, col. 572
1077	23 Oct.	Bec	Abbey dedication	<i>Chronique du Bec</i> , p. 3
1078	24 Aug.	Rouen	St. Ouen feast day celebrations	'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 226
1078	autumn	Bec	Funeral of Herluin of Bec	'Vita Herluini', p. 212
1079	22 Feb.	Bec	Benediction of Anselm	<i>Chronique du Bec</i> , p. 4
1079	July?	Rouen	Consecration of William Bona Anima	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 22
1080	7 Jan.	Caen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267(I)

1080	31 May	Lillebonne	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 24
1080	14 July	Bonneville	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175(II)
1082 × 1086		Vernon	Church dedication	AD Eure, G 288
1082	15 Sept.	Oissel	Plea concerning ordeal iron	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 264
1083	Apr.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 230
1084		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 248
1085	21 Nov.	Saint-Sulpice-sur-Risle	Buries Richer de l'Aigle	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 50
1087	autumn	Caen	Conqueror's funeral	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 104
1087 × 1089		Beaumont-le-Roger	Church dedication	<i>Cartulaire de Beaumont-le-Roger</i> , no. i
1089	[July]	Eu	Charter subscription	<i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. vi
1089	20 July	Eu	Charter subscription	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r
1091 × 1095		Lisieux	Charter subscription	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 7
1091		Rouen	Charter subscription	BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 57v
1091	28 Feb.	Saint-Sulpice-sur-Risle	Buries Gilbert de l'Aigle	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 202
1095	18-28 Nov.	Clermont	Papal council	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 18
1096	Feb.	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 24
1096	15 July	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 19-20
1097	Feb.	Palermo	Buries Odo, bishop of Bayeux	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 210
1099	13 Nov.	Saint-Évroult	Charter subscription	BN, ms. lat. 11056, fol. 33v-34r
1099	13-15 Nov.	Saint-Évroult	Abbey dedication	<i>OV</i> , v, pp. 264-266
1106	7 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 127-128
1112	27 × 29 Aug.	Évreux	Dies	<i>OV</i> , vi, p. 172; BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1773, fol. 4v

Fig. 96 Itineraries of the bishops of Lisieux, before 985 × 989-1101

Roger, before 985 × 989-1022

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
bef. 985 × 989		Rouen	Translation of St. Ouen	'Translatio secunda beati Audoeni', p. 824.
990	15 June	Fécamp	Foundation of abbey	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4
991	1 Mar.	Rouen	English peace settlement	Migne, <i>PL</i> , cxxxvii, col. 843
1015	8 Sept.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 18

Herbert, c. 1026-c. 1046

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1025		Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35
1032	12 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 64
1033	12 Sept.	Saint-Wandrille	Abbey dedication	'Inventio sancti Vulfranni', pp. 50-51
1034		Bec	Consecration of Herluin and abbey	'Vita Herluini', p. 192
1035*	Jan.	Fécamp	Ducal court	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux</i> , no. A6
1049*	Oct.	Reims	Papal council	Mansi, xix, col. 737

Hugh d'Eu, 1046 × 1047/8-1077

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
c. 1047/8		?Bec	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 98 (sig. interp.)
1046/7 × 1049		Fécamp	Ordains Odo of Bayeux as deacon	Musset, 'Notules fécampoises', p. 596
1049*	Oct.	Reims	Papal council	Mansi, xix, col. 737
1050		Lyons-la-Forêt	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 122
1055		Lisieux	Deposition of Archbishop Mauger	<i>GG</i> , i. 58, p. 92
1055*		Rouen	Diocesan council	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , p. 47
1056	29 June	Saint-Évroult	Feast of the apostles Peter and Paul	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 66
1056*	8 Dec.	Coutances	Dedication of Coutances cathedral	'De statu', col. 220
1057	29 Aug.	Lisieux	Receives resignation of abbot of	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 68

			Saint-Évroult	
1061		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 148
1061		Rouen	Election of abbot	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 92
1063	1 Oct.	Rouen	Dedication of Rouen cathedral and diocesan council	‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224
1064*		Lisieux	Diocesan council	Delisle, ‘Canons du concile à Lisieux’, p. 517
1066		Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 230
1066		Bayeux	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 227
1066	early	?Lillebonne	Discussion of invasion plans	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 142
1066	18 June	Caen	Dedication of La Trinité de Caen	<i>RADN</i> , no. 231
1067 × 1077		Troarn	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 222 (sig. interp.)
1067	1 July	Jumièges	Abbey dedication	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 172; <i>OV</i> , ii, p. 198
1068	11 May	Westminster	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 181
1071		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Nouveau traité de diplomatique</i> , i, pp. 375-376
1072		Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 286
1073 × 1077		Le Mans	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 197
1073	30 Mar.	Bonneville	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 274
aft. 1073 × 1077		Bonneville	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 173
1074		Rouen	Diocesan council	Mansi, xx, col. 399
1074	26 June	Bellême	St. Léonard feast day celebrations	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 158
1074	30 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 26
1076		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 179a
1077	aft. 24 June	Pont-l’Évêque	Retires	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 14
1077	17 July	Pont-l’Évêque	Dies	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 18
1077	25 July	Lisieux	Buried at Saint-Désir	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 18

Gilbert Maminot, 1077-1101

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1077	25 July × 22 Oct.	Rouen?	Consecration as bishop	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 20
1077	23 Oct.	Bec	Abbey dedication	<i>Chronique du Bec</i> , p. 3
1080	31 May	Lillebonne	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 24

1080	14 July	Bonneville	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175(II)
1080	27 Dec.	Cherbourg	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 201
1082	24 June	Oissel	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 205(I & II)
1082	bef. autumn	Mortain	Church dedication	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215
1082	15 Sept.	Oissel	Plea concerning ordeal iron	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 264
1083	Apr.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 230
1084		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 248
1087	9 Sept.	Rouen	Conqueror's deathbed	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 186; <i>OV</i> , iv, p. 80
1087	autumn	Caen	Conqueror's funeral	<i>OV</i> , iv, pp. 100, 104
1087 × 1089		Beaumont-le-Roger	Church dedication	<i>Cartulaire de Beaumont-le-Roger</i> , no. i
1091 × 1095		Lisieux	Charter subscription	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , no. 7, pp. 291-292
1091	Jan.	Lisieux	Provides medical treatment to priest	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 248
1091	15 Mar.	Lisieux	Ordains Orderic Vitalis subdeacon	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 20; vi, p. 554
1091	1 June	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 252
1093 × 1094		Bonneville	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267(II)
1096	Feb.	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 24
1096	15 July	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 19-20
1099	29 Aug.	Lisieux	Benediction of abbot of Saint-Évroult	<i>OV</i> , v, pp. 262-264
1099?	17 Oct.	Les Préaux	Abbey dedication	<i>Cartulaire de Préaux</i> , p. 480 n. 27
1099	13 Nov.	Saint-Évroult	Charter subscription	BN, ms. lat. 11056, fol. 33v-34r
1099	13-15 Nov.	Saint-Évroult	Abbey dedication	<i>OV</i> , v, pp. 264-266
1101	20 Aug.	Lisieux?	Dies	BN, ms. n. a. lat. 1778, fol. 18v

Fig. 97 Itineraries of the archbishops of Rouen, c. 989-1110

Robert, c. 989-1037

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
c. 989 × 1025		La Ferté-en-Bray	Church dedication	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , p. 292
990	15 June	Fécamp	Foundation of abbey	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4
996 × 1007		Le Clos Blanc	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 10
1010 × 1016/7	14 Mar.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 20
1011	15 Sept.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 13
1014		Rouen	Baptism of St. Olaf	<i>GND</i> , ii, pp. 26-28
1014	21 Sept.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 15
1015	8 Sept.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 18
1023		Compiègne	Peace of God meeting	Lemarignier, 'Paix et réforme', pp. 446, 454-457
1023	15 June	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 25
1024	13 Jan.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 26
1025		Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35
1025	Aug.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , nos. 34, 36
c. 1027		Évreux	Besieged by the duke	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 48
1028		France	In exile at French court	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 48
1030		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 61
1030	15 Aug.	Rouen	Dedication of La Trinité du Mont	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 235
1032	12 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 64
1033		Mont-Saint-Michel	Negotiates peace between Norman duke and Breton count	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 78
1033	12 Sept.	Saint-Wandrille	Abbey dedication	'Inventio sancti Vulfranni', pp. 50-51
1035	Jan.	Fécamp	Ducal court	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 80
1035	13 Jan.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 90
1036	26 May	Rouen	Display of St. Romanus	AD Seine-Maritime, G 3666
1037	16 Mar.	Rouen?	Dies	<i>RHGF</i> , xxiii, p. 358

Mauger, 1037-1054/55

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1041	23 Feb.	Bec	Abbey dedication	Porée, <i>Histoire du Bec</i> , i, p.43 n. 3
c. 1045		Rouen?	Diocesan council	Mansi, xix, col. 752
1047		Caen	Truce of God council	Mansi, xix, cols. 597-600
1050		Lyons-la-Forêt	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 122
1054	25 Dec.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 133
1055		Lisieux	Deposed	<i>GG</i> , i. 58, p. 92
1055- ?		Guernsey	Exile	Wace, <i>Roman de Rou</i> , part III, ll. 4541-4570

Maurilius, 1055-1067

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1055 × 1067		Aumale	Church dedication	AD Seine-Maritime, 1 H 1
1055 × 1066	14 Oct.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Père de Chartres</i> , i, no. 1, p. 177
1055		Rouen	Diocesan council	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , p. 47
1056	8 Dec.	Coutances	Dedication of Coutances cathedral	'De statu', col. 220
1057	8-9 Mar.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 139
1061		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 148
1061		Rouen	Election of abbot	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 92
1063	1 Oct.	Rouen	Dedication of Rouen cathedral and diocesan council	'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224
1064		Lisieux	Diocesan council	Delisle, 'Canons du concile à Lisieux', p. 517
1066	early	Lillebonne?	Meeting to discuss invasion plans	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 174
1066	18 June	Caen	Dedication of La Trinité de Caen	<i>RADN</i> , no. 231
1067	1 July	Jumièges	Abbey dedication	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 172; <i>OV</i> , ii, p. 198
1067	9 Aug.	Rouen	Dies	'Acta archiepiscoporum', p. 224

John of Ivry, 1067-1079

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1068 × 1070		Bonneville	Judicial hearing	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 162
1070	17 Feb.	Rouen	Judicial hearing	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , pp. 373–4
1070	15 × 29 Aug.	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>Letters of Lanfranc</i> , no. 1, p. 30.
1071		Rouen	<i>Concordia</i> with Saint-Denis	<i>Nouveau traité de diplomatique</i> , i, pp. 375-376
1072		Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , ii, pp. 284-292
1073	Aug.	Le Mans	Advising duke on campaign	‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 225
1073	24 Aug.	Rouen	Tumult at Saint-Ouen de Rouen	‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, pp. 224-226
1074	May?	Rouen	Diocesan council	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , pp. 64-66
1074 or 1075	Easter	Fécamp	Easter court, consecrates Cecilia, daughter of William II	<i>OV</i> , iii, pp. 8-10
1074	30 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 26
1075 or 1076	either July × 24 Sept. 1075 or Dec. 1075 × 25 March 1076	Rouen	Judicial hearing	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 229
1076		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 176a
1077		Évreux	Dedication of cathedral	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 10
1077	14 July	Bayeux	Dedication of cathedral	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 10
1077	17 × 25 July	Rouen	Suffers stroke	<i>OV</i> , iii, pp. 16-18
1077	25 July × 22 Oct.	Rouen?	Consecration of Gilbert Maminot	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 20
1078	24 Aug.	Rouen	Feast day of St. Ouen	‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 226
1079	early	Lillebonne	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 164.
1079	July	Saint-Philbert	Retires to Saint-Philbert	‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 226
1079	9 Sept.	Saint-Philbert	Dies	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 22

William Bona Anima, 1079-1110

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1079 × 1110		<i>Cabuciaci</i>	Church dedication	BN, ms. lat. 5441 (i), p. 211

1079	July?	Rouen	Consecration as archbishop	‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 226; <i>OV</i> , iii, p. 22
1080	7 Jan.	Caen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 267(I & II)
1080	31 Jan.	Saint-Georges de Boscherville	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 266(II)
1080	31 May	Lillebonne	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 24
1080	14 July	Bonneville	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 175(I & II)
1082	24 June	Oissel	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 205(I & II)
1082	bef. autumn	Mortain	Church dedication	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 215
1082	15 Sept.	Oissel	Plea concerning ordeal iron	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 264
1083 or 1084	25 Dec. × 24 Dec.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 163
1083	Apr.	Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 230
1085	21 Apr.	Rouen	Consecration of bishop of Le Mans	<i>Actus pontificum Cenomannis</i> , p. 383
1087	9 Sept.	Rouen	Conqueror’s deathbed	<i>GND</i> , ii, pp. 184-188; <i>OV</i> , iv, p. 80
1087	autumn	Caen	Conqueror’s funeral	<i>OV</i> , iv, pp. 102-104
1087 × 1089		Beaumont-le-Roger	Church dedication	<i>Cartulaire de Beaumont-le-Roger</i> , no. i
1089	24 April	Vernon	Charter subscription	<i>Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis</i> , i, no. iv
1089	20 July	Eu	Charter subscription	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 46v-47r
1090	28 April	Rouen	Translation of head of St. Romanus to Saint-Ouen	<i>Normanniae nova chronica</i> , p. 8
1091 × 1095		Lisieux	Charter subscription	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , no. 7, pp. 291-292
1091		Rouen	Charter subscription	BN, ms. lat. 5201, fol. 57v
1091	1 June	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 252
1091	22 June	Rouen	Consecration of bishop of Sées	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 252
1091*	18 July	Caen	Meeting between Rufus and Curthose	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix D, p. 281
1094	10 Aug.	Bec	Benediction of abbot	‘Vita Willelmi Beccensis’, col. 715
1095	28 May	Caen	Charter subscription	AD Calvados, 1 J 41, fol. 61v-62r
1095	15 Aug.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Davis), i, no. 384
1096	Feb.	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , v, pp. 22-24
1096	15 July	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 19-20
1099	15 June	Fécamp	Abbey dedication	<i>OV</i> , vi, p. 138
1101	June?	Rouen?	Consecration of bishop of Lisieux	<i>OV</i> , iv, pp. 320-322

1102	25 Oct.	Rouen	Baptism of William Clito	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 278; vi, p. 38
1102	late	Rouen	Buries the countess Sibyl	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 278; vi, p. 38
1105	28 May	Rouen	Charter subscription	Bauduin, <i>La première Normandie</i> , App. II, no. 11
1106 × 1107		Rouen	Charter subscription	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , no. 1, p. 293
1106		Rouen	Reception of relics	Eadmer, <i>Historia novorum</i> , pp. 179-181
1106	7 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 127-128
1107 × 1109		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 911
1107	21 Dec.	Rouen	Benediction of abbot of Fécamp	<i>OV</i> , vi, pp. 140-142
1108		Argentan	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 905
1108		Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 264
1110	9 Feb.	Rouen	Dies	<i>RHGF</i> , xxiii, pp. 418, 484, 576

Fig. 98 Itineraries of the bishops of Sées, c. 990-1123

Azo, c. 990-1106

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
990	15 June	Fécamp	Foundation of abbey	<i>RADN</i> , no. 4

Radbod, c. 1025-1032 × c. 1047/8(?)

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1025		Fécamp	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 35
1032	12 Nov.	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>RADN</i> , no. 64

Ivo de Bellême, c. 1047/8-c. 1071

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1047/8 × 1068		Bellême	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 610
1047/8 × 1068	28 May	Sées	Synod, charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 545
c. 1048		Sées	Fight with <i>Sorengi</i>	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 114
1049	2 Jan	Sées	Rededication of Sées cathedral	<i>GND</i> , ii, pp. 114-116
1049	Oct.	Reims	Papal council	Mansi, xix, col. 737
1050-1053?		Italy, Constantinople	Visits kinsmen and Emperor	<i>GND</i> , ii, p. 118
1055		Lisieux	Deposition of Archbishop Mauger	<i>GG</i> , i. 53, p. 88; ‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224
1055*		Rouen	Diocesan council	Bessin, <i>Concilia</i> , p. 47
1056*	8 Dec.	Coutances	Dedication of cathedral	‘De statu’, col. 220
1059	21 June	Évreux	Benediction of abbot of Saint-Évroult	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 74
c. 1060		Bellême	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 573
1063	1 Oct.	Rouen	Dedication of Rouen cathedral, diocesan council	‘Acta archiepiscoporum’, p. 224
1064*		Lisieux	Diocesan council	Delisle, ‘Canons du concile à Lisieux’, p. 517
c. 1065		Mortagne	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans</i> , no. 609

1066	early	Lillebonne?	Discussion of invasion plans	<i>OV</i> , ii, pp. 140-142
1067	29 May	Paris	Royal court, charter subscription	<i>Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier</i> , no. xxx
1067	7 Aug.	Chaumont-sur-Loire	Charter subscription	<i>Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier</i> , no. xxxiv
1067	6 Dec.	Marmoutier	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 6
1071	12 Apr.	Sées ?	Dies	BN, ms. lat. 13818, fol. 210v

Robert de Ryes, c. 1071-c. 1081

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1071 × 1081/2		Bayeux	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel</i> , no. 90
1071 × 1079		Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 29(I&II)
1072		Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , ii, p. 286
1074		Rouen	Diocesan council	Mansi, xx, col. 399
1074	May	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> , no. 261
1077*	14 July	Bayeux	Dedication of Bayeux cathedral	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 10
1077	25 July	Lisieux	Burial of Hugh d'Eu, dedication of Saint-Désir	Bouvis, 'La dédicace de Bayeux', p. 13 n. 42
1077	23 Oct.	Bec	Abbey dedication	<i>Chronique du Bec</i> , p. 3
1080	31 May	Lillebonne	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iii, p. 24

Gerard I, 1082-1091

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1087	autumn	Caen	Conqueror's funeral	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 104
1090 × 1091		Sées	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 15
1091	Jan.	Courcy-sur-Dives	Intervention in siege	<i>OV</i> , iv, pp. 234-236
1091	23 Jan.	Sées?	Dies	<i>OV</i> , iv, pp. 234-236

Serlo d'Orgères, 1091-1123

Year	Date	Place	Event	Source
1091	22 June	Rouen	Consecration	<i>OV</i> , iv, p. 252

1091 × 1103/04 or 1105 × 1123		Saint-Fulgent des Ormes	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 18
1091 × 1095		Lisieux	Charter subscription	Haskins, <i>Norman Institutions</i> , Appendix E, no. 7
1093	11 Dec.	Briouze	Church dedication	Marchegay, 'Saint-Florent', no. 17
1095	18-28 Nov.	Clermont	Papal council	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 18
1096	Feb.	Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 24
1096	15 July	Rouen	Charter subscription	<i>GC</i> , xi, <i>Instr.</i> , cols. 19-20
1097	24 May	Briouze	Charter subscription	Marchegay, 'Saint-Florent', no. 21
1098	27 Aug.	Sées	Charter subscription	Bib. év. de Sées, non coté, fol. 123r-v
1099	29 Aug.	Lisieux	Benediction of abbot of Saint-Évroult	<i>OV</i> , v, pp. 262-264
1099	13 Nov.	Saint-Évroult	Charter subscription	BN, ms. lat. 11056, fol. 33v-34r
1099	13-15 Nov.	Saint-Évroult	Abbey dedication	<i>OV</i> , v, pp. 264-266
1099	31 Dec.	Saint-Évroult	Altar blessing	<i>OV</i> , v, p. 266
1103 × 04-1105		England	In self-imposed exile	<i>OV</i> , vi, pp. 46, 142-144
1105	9 Apr.	Carentan	Preaches Easter sermon	<i>OV</i> , vi, pp. 60-68
1107		Cirencester	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 819
1108		Rouen	Diocesan council	<i>OV</i> , iv, pp. 264-266
1108		Argentan	Charter subscription	<i>Regesta</i> (Johnson and Cronne), ii, no. 905
1117		Sées	Charter subscription	<i>Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche</i> , no. 19
1123	26 Oct.	Sées	Celebrates Mass	<i>OV</i> , vi, pp. 336-340
1123	27 Oct.	Sées	Dies	<i>OV</i> , vi, p. 340

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F 5276

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¹ These manuscripts are currently conserved at the Archives du Calvados under the *cote* 6 G.

H, fonds de La Trinité de Caen, non coté

H 1825

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2 Fi 231

Caen, Bibliothèque municipale

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ms. 297 (in folio 70)

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Caen, Bibliothèque universitaire

fonds normand, ms. 21420

Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts

coll. Mancel, vol. 183

coll. Mancel, vol. 195

coll. Mancel, ms. 298

coll. Mancel, ms. 300

coll. Mancel, ms. 302

coll. Mancel, vol. 303

Cambridge, Trinity Hall

ms. 1

Canterbury, Dean and Chapter

Chartae Antiquae F. 47

Chartae Antiquae S. 246

Reg. C

Reg. E

Chartres, Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir

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H 531

Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale

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Château de Semilly²

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coll. Mathan, vol. 74

coll. Mathan, vol. 76

² Copies of the manuscripts held in this private collection can be found at the Archives nationales under the shelf-mark AB XIX 3106-3181 (cote microfilm 104 Mi).

Cherbourg, Bibliothèque municipale

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ms. 65

Coutances, Archives diocésaines

ms. M 26

ms. M 27

ms. M 28

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Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or

1 H 1747

Évreux, Archives départementales de l'Eure

G 288

G 1797

H 711

Évreux, Bibliothèque municipale

Diplomatique des ducs de Normandie, Carton 4

Diplomatique des ducs de Normandie, Carton 6

Diplomatique des ducs de Normandie, Carton 11

Manuscrits Bénet: Divers à classer, Carton 12

Flers, Bibliothèque municipale

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ms. 22

ms. 23

Fougères, Bibliothèque municipale

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The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek

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ms. 128 E 14

Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale

ms. 3909

Hildesheim, Dombibliothek

ms. St. Godehard 1

Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale

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Lisieux, Bibliothèque municipale

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London, British Library

ms. Add. 11662

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ms. Cott. Charter xvi, 31

ms. Cott. Claudius A. viii

ms. Cott. Claudius D. x

ms. Cott. Faustina A. i

ms. Cott. Julius D. ii

ms. Cott. Tiberius A. xiii

ms. Cott. Tiberius C. vi

ms. Cott. Vespasian B. xxiv

ms. Cott. Vitellius, C. xii

London, Lambeth Palace

ms. 1212

London, The National Archives, Kew

C64/12

E164/27

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Montigny-le-Bretonneux, Archives départementales des Yvelines

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Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire

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Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

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New York, Morgan Library³

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Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Office

Finch Hatton ms. 170

Oxford, Bodleian Library

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ms. Rawlinson B. 445

ms. Tanner 223

³ Images from the manuscripts held at this institution have been consulted online at <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/ICAIntro/ICAintroshortdesc.htm>.

Paris, Archives nationales

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JJ 49

JJ 59

JJ 152

K 20, nos. 4 and *4bis*

K 165

L 967, no. 103

L 968, no. 280

L 970, no. 552

L 978, nos. 1342, 1353 and 1357

LL 1024

LL 1026

LL 1156

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LL 1167

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LL 1188A

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LL 1188C

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Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine

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Paris, Bibliothèque nationale

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Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève

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Vatican City, Vatican Library

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Rouen, Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime

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14 H 156

14 H 160

14 H 189

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15 H 4

16 H 14

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Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale

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ms. Y 27 Omont 1405

ms. Y 41 Omont 1406

ms. Y 44 Omont 1193

ms. Y 51 Omont 1207

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Saint-Denis, Archives municipales

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Saint-Lô, Archives départementales de la Manche

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Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St Peter

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Sées, Bibliothèque de l'évêché

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Tours, Bibliothèque municipale

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MAPS AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES

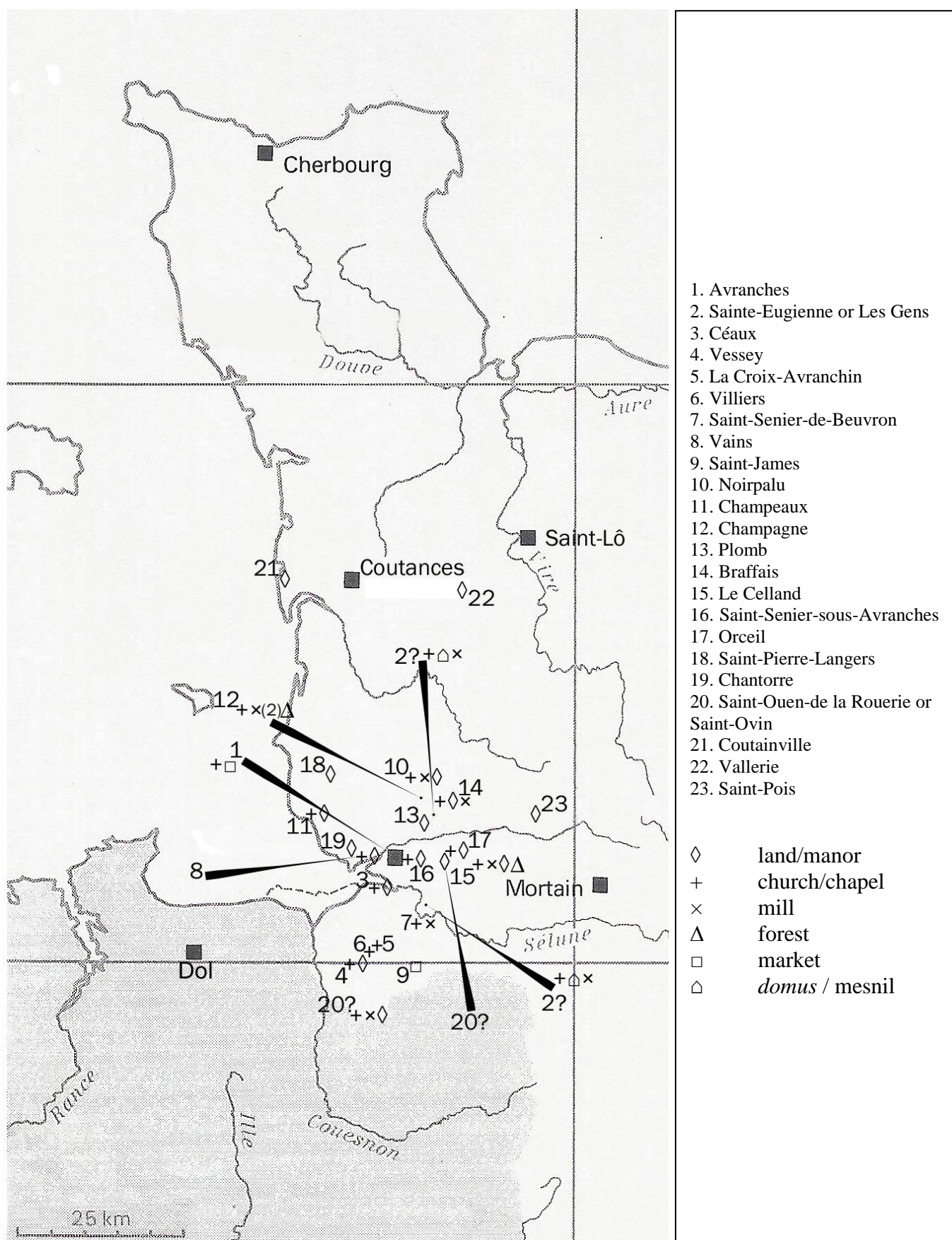


Fig. 13 Restitutions made by Hugh, bishop of Avranches, 1028 × 1035*

* This map is based on Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, pp. 667-668. It does not include the unidentified lands of *Frigabulgam* and *Chantorre*.

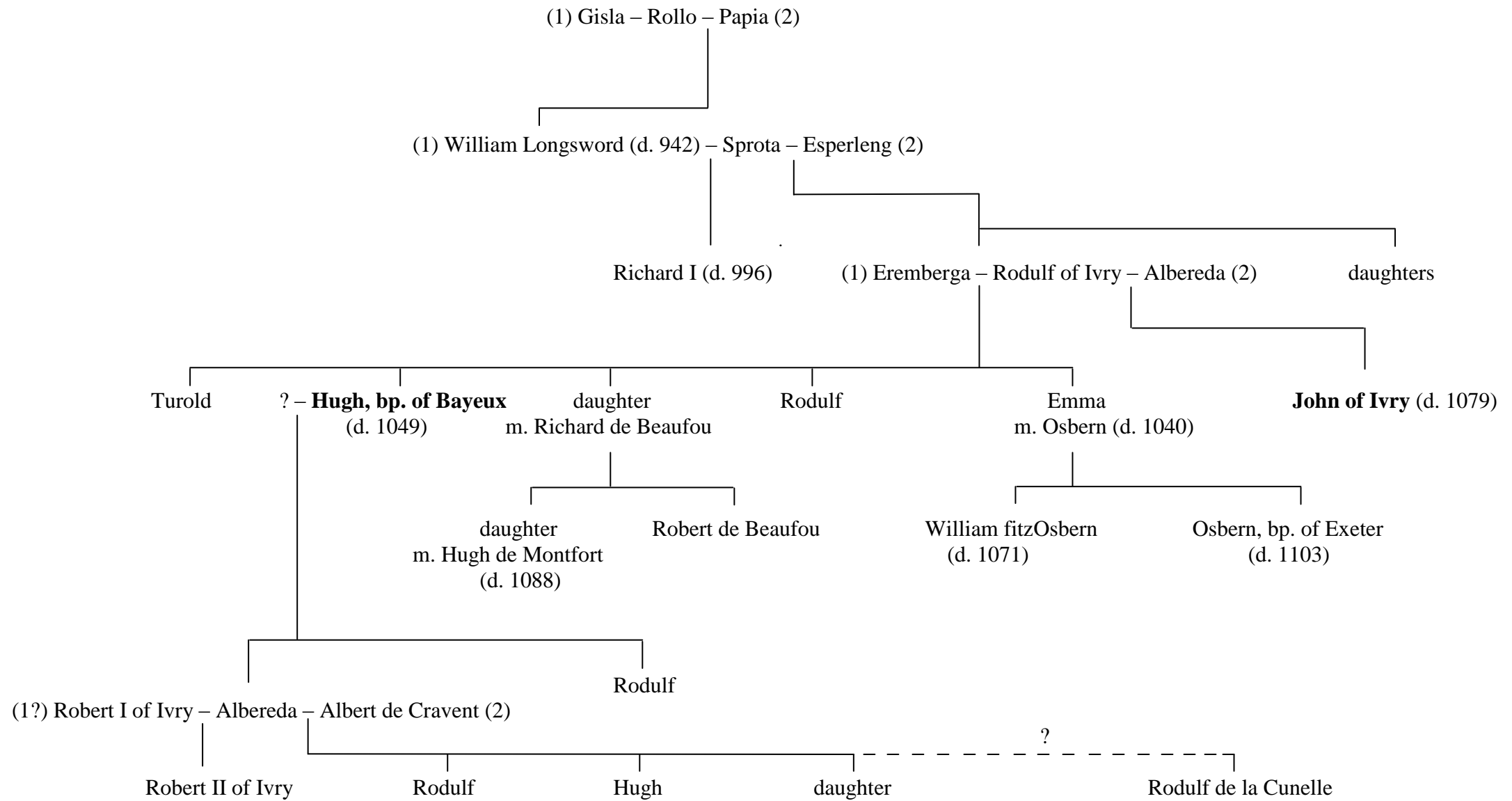


Fig 15 The genealogy of John of Ivry, bishop of Avranches and archbishop of Rouen, and Hugh of Ivry, bishop of Bayeux

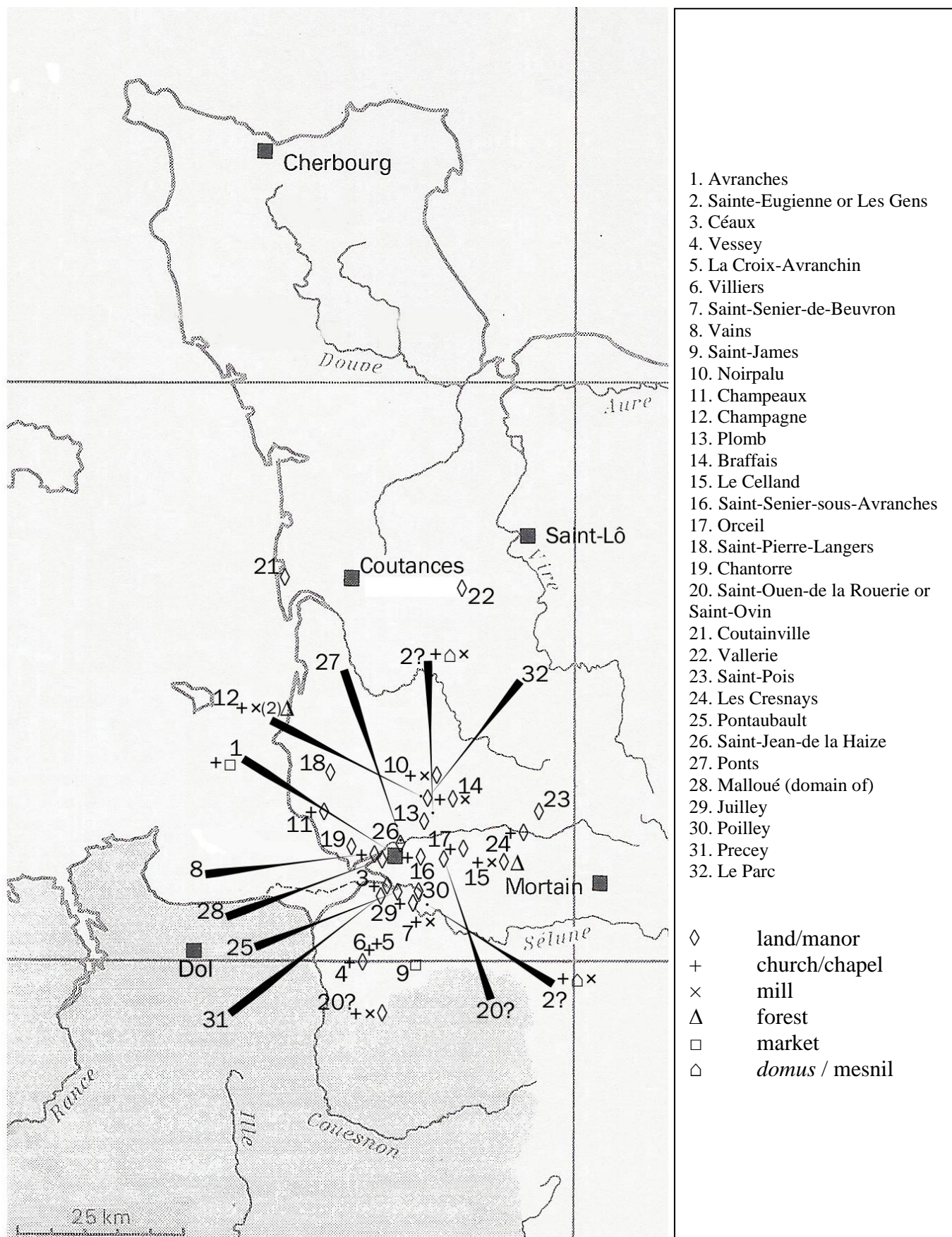


Fig. 16 The possessions of Avranches cathedral, 1028 x 1066*

* This map is based on Pigeon, *Le diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, pp. 667-668. It does not include the unidentified lands of *Frigabulgam* and *Chantorre*.

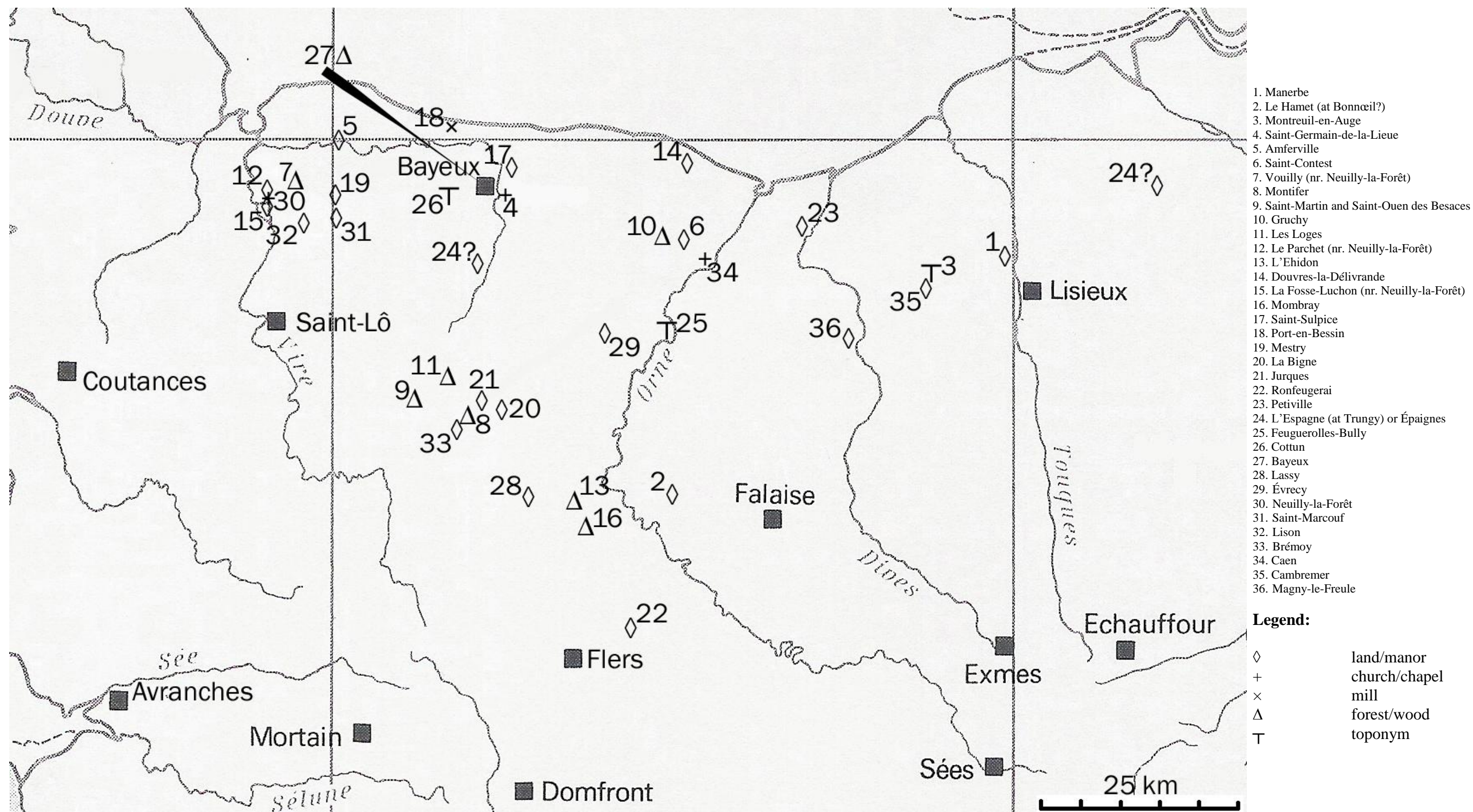


Fig. 23 The possessions of the cathedral of Bayeux, 1035 x 1037 *

* This map is based on the information provided in Bourrienne, *Antiquus cartularius Baiocensis*, i, no. xxi. It does not include the unidentified lands of *Saverici*, *Mesransend*, *Savingei*, *Fraisnit* and *Bruherlad*.



Fig. 28 The geography of the Bayeux Inquest of 1133

1. Évrecy 2. Curcy-sur-Orne (formerly Curcy-le-Malfilâtre) 3. Le Plessis-Grimoult (manor of) 4. Montpinchon (forest of) 5. Bougy 6. Danvou-la-Ferrière 7. Aubigny (William de) 8. Montfort-sur-Risle 9. Manerbe (fief of William Silvain) 10. Biéville-Beuville (fief of Geoffrey de Biéville) 11. Montreuil-en-Auge (fief of Geoffrey de Biéville) 12. Thaon (fief of Geoffrey de Biéville; fief of Maminot) 13. Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte (Roger, <i>vicomte</i> de) 14. Saint-Germain du Pert 15. Lison 16. Saint-Pierre-du-Fresne 17. Montbosc (nr. Saint-Martin-des-Besaces) 18. Cagny 19. Anisy (Alain de, Turstin de) 20. Aigneaux (Henry de, Corbine de) 21. Saint-Contest 22. Brémoy 23. Le Mesnil-Auzouf 24. Le Hamueau Fontaines (cne Isigny-sur-Mer) 25. Louvières 26. Le Fresne-Camilly 27. Montsecret 28. Clairefougère 29. Cartigny-l'Épinay (Enguerrand de) 30. Saint-Manvieu-Norrey 31. La Bigne 32. Baron-sur-Odon 33. Fontaine-Etoupefour 34. Crèvecœur-en-Auge (Hugh de) 35. Courseulles-sur-Mer (Vauquelin de) 36. Bernières-sur-Mer	37. Saint-Aignan-de-Cramesnil 38. Surrain 39. Bazenville 40. Le Hamueau Feugères (cne Isigny-sur-Mer) 41. Neuilly-la-Forêt 42. Noyers-Bocage 43. <i>Froigneium/Floigneium</i> (nr. Lassy) 44. Cully 45. Tracy-sur-Mer 46. Lion-sur-Mer 47. Franqueville-Saint-Pierre 48. Mont-Bertrand 49. Port-en-Bessin (Henry de) 50. Létanville 51. Commes 52. Le Neubourg (Robert de) 53. Saint-Vaast-sur-Seulles 54. Boulon 55. L'Espagne (cne Trungy) or Épaignes 56. Saint-Loup-de-Fribois 57. Mathieu 58. Saint-Clair-sur-l'Elle 59. Champeaux 60. Montmartin-en-Graignes 61. Briouze (Philip de) 62. Montrabot 63. Ronfeugerai 64. Carcagny 65. Campigny 66. Guéron 67. Ducy-Sainte-Marguerite 68. Petiville 69. Jurques 70. Beuville (cne Notre-Dame-de-Courson) 71. Carneville 72. Villers-Bocage (Gilbert de)	73. La Fresnaie (cne Chanu) 74. Carville (Otto de) 75. Vassy (Enguerand de) 76. Condé-sur-Seulles 77. Bérolles 78. Hermanville-sur-Mer 79. Agy 80. Martainville-Epreville 81. Les Loges 82. Courvaudon 83. Asnières-en-Bessin 84. Neuilly-le-Malherbe 85. Saint-Martin-de-Blagny 86. Tournières (Richard de) 87. La Haye-Picquenot (now Baynes) 88. Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge (prior of) 89. Noron-la-Poterie 90. Le Rochye (cne Saint-Marcouf) 91. Escures (cne Saint-Jean-le-Blanc) 92. Les Treize-Vieilles 93. Campandré-Valcongrain 94. Saint-Germain-d'Ectot 95. Bénouville 96. Saint-Aubin-d'Arquenay 97. Rouen (manse next to Saint-Cande-le-Vieux) 98. Sotteville- lès-Rouen 99. Barfleur 100. Saint-Lô 101. Sainte-Croix-Grand-Tonne 102. Longvillers (Robert de) 103. Vaux-sur-Seulles 104. La Ferrière-Duval 105. Roucamps 106. Pontécoulant 107. Périgny 108. Orbigny	109. Audrieu 110. Saint-Jean-le-Blanc 111. Saint-Pierre-la-Vieille 112. Ondefontaine 113. Castillon 114. Le Locheur 115. Arry 116. Hérouville-Saint-Clair (Adam de) 117. Pleines-Œuvres 118. L'Épinay-Tesson 119. Marcelet 120. La Mare 121. Colleville-Montgomery 122. Couvains 123. Juvigny-sur-Seulles 124. Saint-Sulpice 125. Bray-la-Campagne 126. Busc (cne Maizet) 127. Bussy 128. Évreux (Gilbert de)
<hr/> Legend: * knight V vavassors T toponym B possession of the bp of Bayeux R possession of Rannulf, vicomte of the Bessin			

Fig. 28 The geography of the Bayeux Inquest of 1133*

* This table, and the corresponding map, are based on the text of the Inquest as edited by Navel (‘L’enquête de 1133’, pp. 13-23). It is designed purely to demonstrate the geographical spread of the lands and services outlined in this document, and is best used in conjunction with it. The identification of place names are those of Navel. It does not include the jurors mentioned at the beginning of the text.

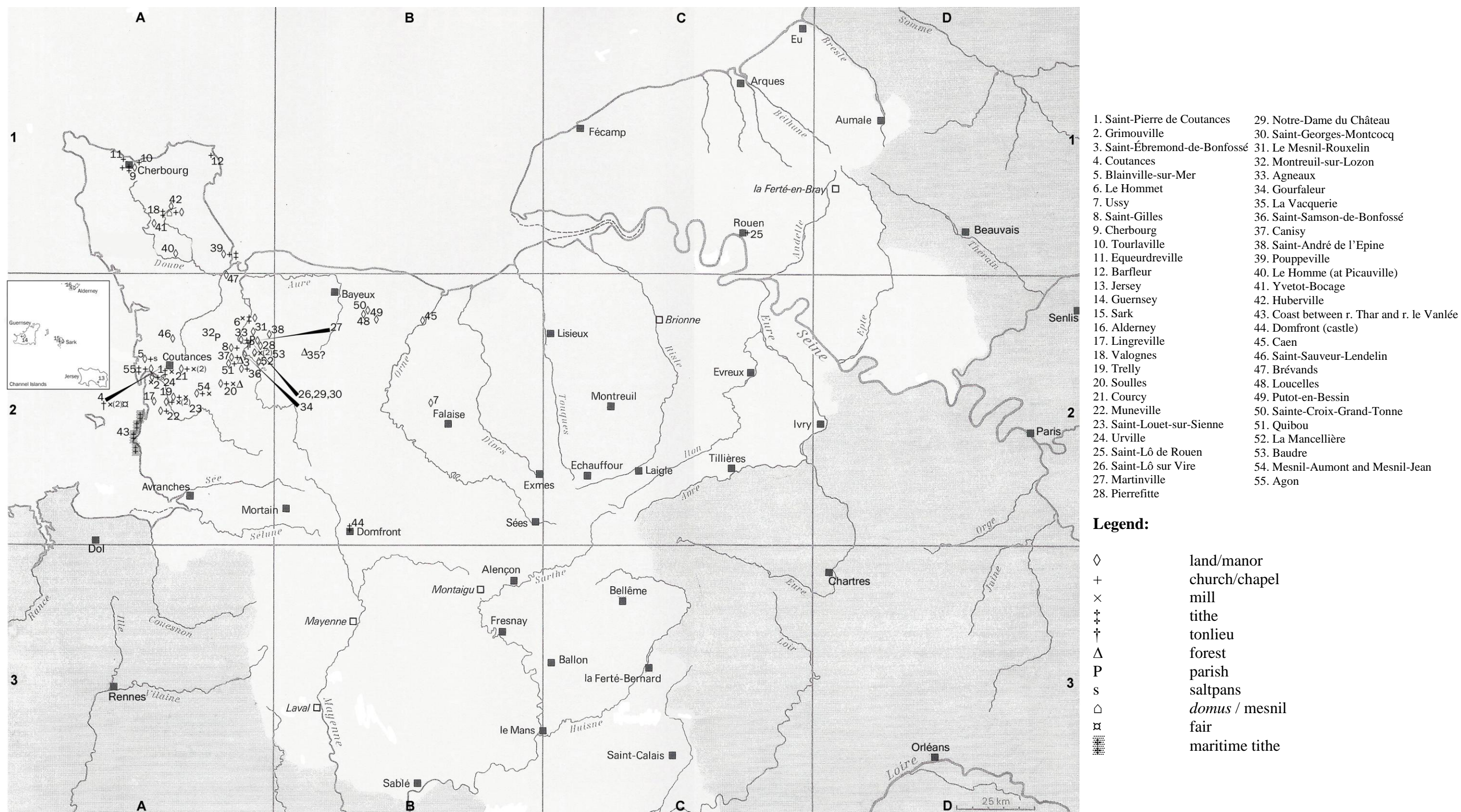


Fig. 34 The possessions of the cathedral of Coutances, 1056 x 1066*

* This map is based on the information provided in 'De statu', cols. 219-220 and RADN, no. 214. It does not include the unidentified lands of *Crapolt*, *Unceium*, *Forcivilla*, *Mansum Aloii* and *Mons Johannis*, nor the rights concerning the Sienne.

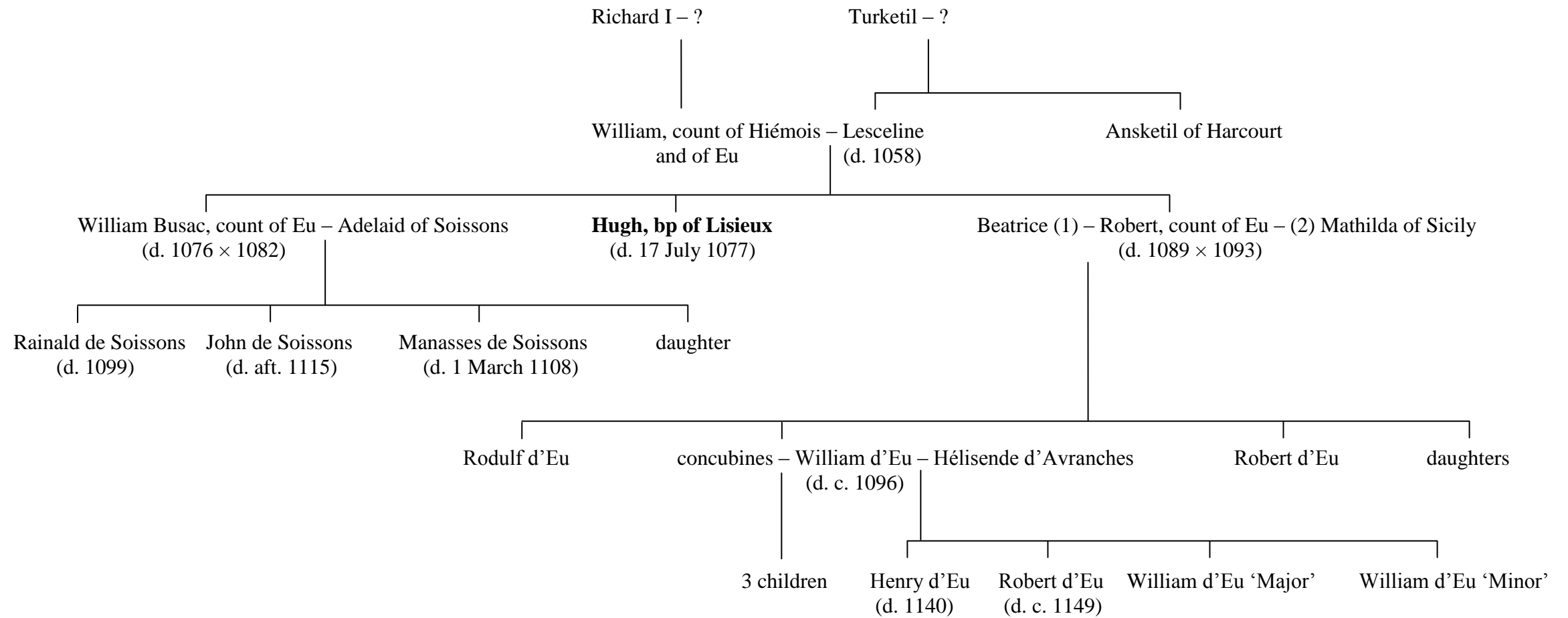


Fig. 48 The genealogy of Hugh d'Eu, bishop of Lisieux

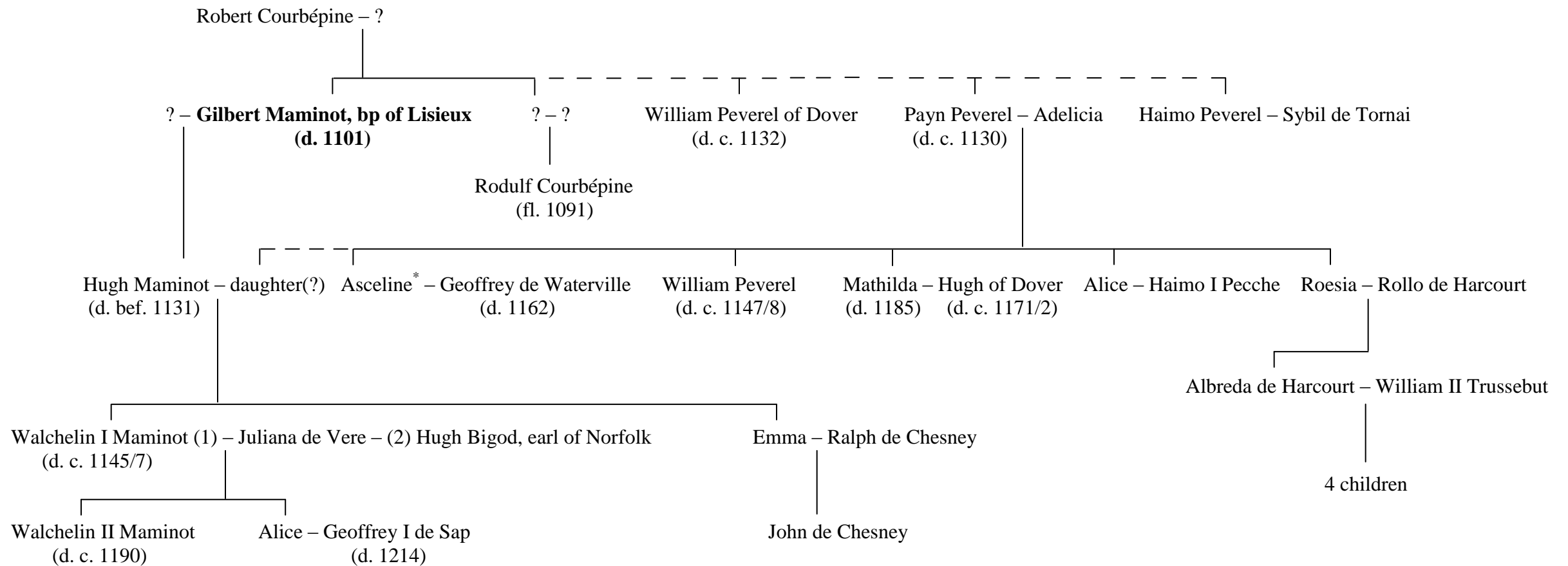


Fig. 52 The genealogy of Gilbert Maminot, bishop of Lisieux

* Asceline married twice. Her first husband, Geoffrey, was dead by 1162, and the following year she married Saher II de Cuinchy, who died in 1190. Their children, if any, appear to be unknown, Keats-Rohan, *Domesday descendants*, p. 652.



1. The domain of Douvrend
2. Pierreval
3. Grainville
4. Bracquemont
5. Londinières
6. Clais
7. Angreville
8. Epinay
9. Boissay
10. Duranville
11. Baillolet
12. Saint-Vaast-d'Équieville
13. Vicq or Wy-dit-Joli-Village

Legend:

- ◇ land/manor
- + church
- *hospites*

Fig. 55 The possessions of Rouen cathedral before 1028 x 1033



- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Douvrend | 29. Ernemont-sur-Buchy |
| 2. Pierrevail | 30. Franqueville |
| 3. Grainville | 31. Pibeuf |
| 4. Bracquemont | 32. Cuverville-sur-Yères |
| 5. Londinières | 33. Nécy |
| 6. Clais | 34. Laize-la-Ville |
| 7. Angreville | 35. Boulon |
| 8. Epinay | 36. Ouilley-le-Basset |
| 9. Boissay | 37. Bretteville-du-Grand-Caux |
| 10. Duranville | 38. Bretteville |
| 11. Baillolet | 39. Rouen |
| 12. Saint-Vaast-d'Équieville | 40. Cramoisy |
| 13. Vicq or Wy-dit-Joli-Village | 41. Montataire |
| 14. Neaufles-Saint-Martin | 42. Normanville |
| 15. Heubécourt-Haricourt | 43. Caër |
| 16. Amfreville-les-Champs | 44. Saint-Germain-des-Angles |
| 17. Tilly | 45. Angreville (church) |
| 18. Ecos | 46. Fretteville |
| 19. Mézières-en-Vexin | 47. Lémont |
| 20. Panilleuse | 48. Saint-Mards |
| 21. Travaillies (cne of Harquency) | 49. Saint-Saire |
| 22. Bacqueville | 50. Franquevillette |
| 23. Marcouville | 51. Envermeu |
| 24. Houville-en-Vexin | 52. Charenton-le-Pont |
| 25. Cuverville | 53. Saint-Marcouf |
| 26. Douville-sur-Andelle | 54. Varreville |
| 27. Le Boulay | 55. Sotteville-lès-Rouen or sur-Mer |
| 28. Connelles | |

Legend:

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| ◇ | land/manor |
| + | church |
| ○ | <i>hospites</i> |
| × | mill |
| ▲ | <i>masloths</i> |

Fig. 56 The possessions of Rouen cathedral and Archbishop Robert, 1028 × 1033

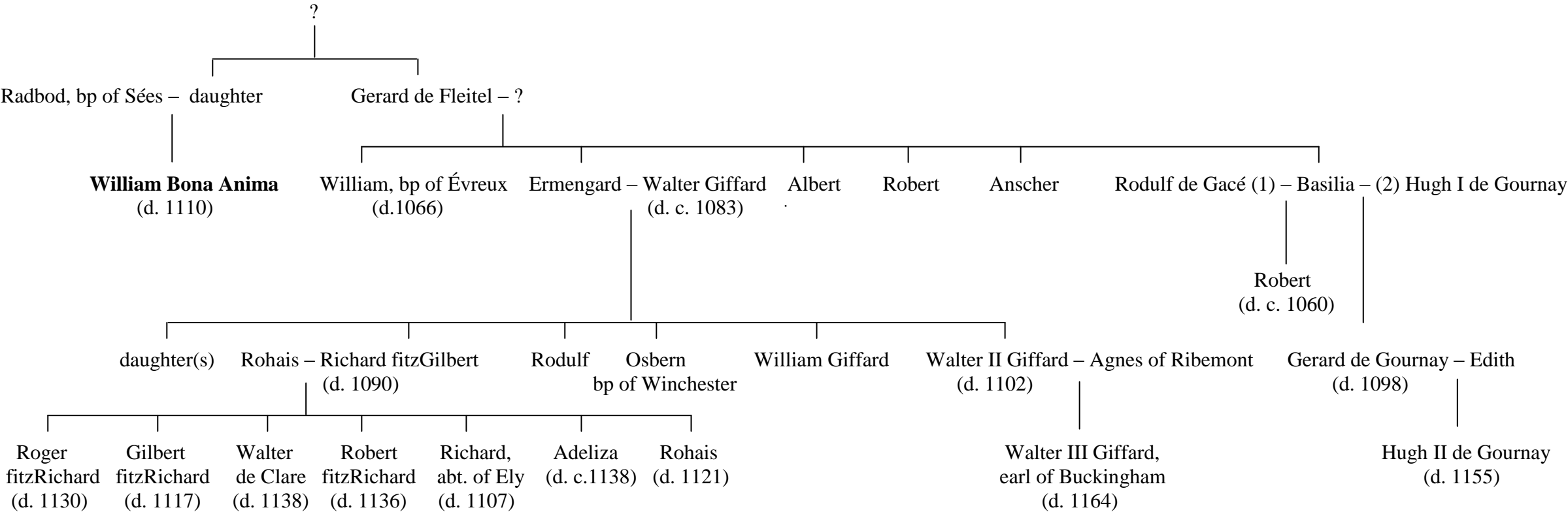


Fig. 68 The genealogy of William Bona Anima, archbishop of Rouen*

* This table is based upon the genealogical information provided by Orderic Vitalis, Robert de Torigni and the chronicle of St. John's abbey, Colchester, *OV*, ii, p. 254; *GND*, ii, pp. 148, 214, 268-270, Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, iv, p. 608. Orderic describes William Bona Anima as having been the *consobrinus* of William, bishop of Évreux. Gérard Louise proposed that this term referred to a first cousin on the maternal side, and suggested that either Radbod, bishop of Sées and Gerard de Fleitel had married sisters, or Radbod had married Gerard's sister, Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême*, i, p. 159. The latter is represented here.

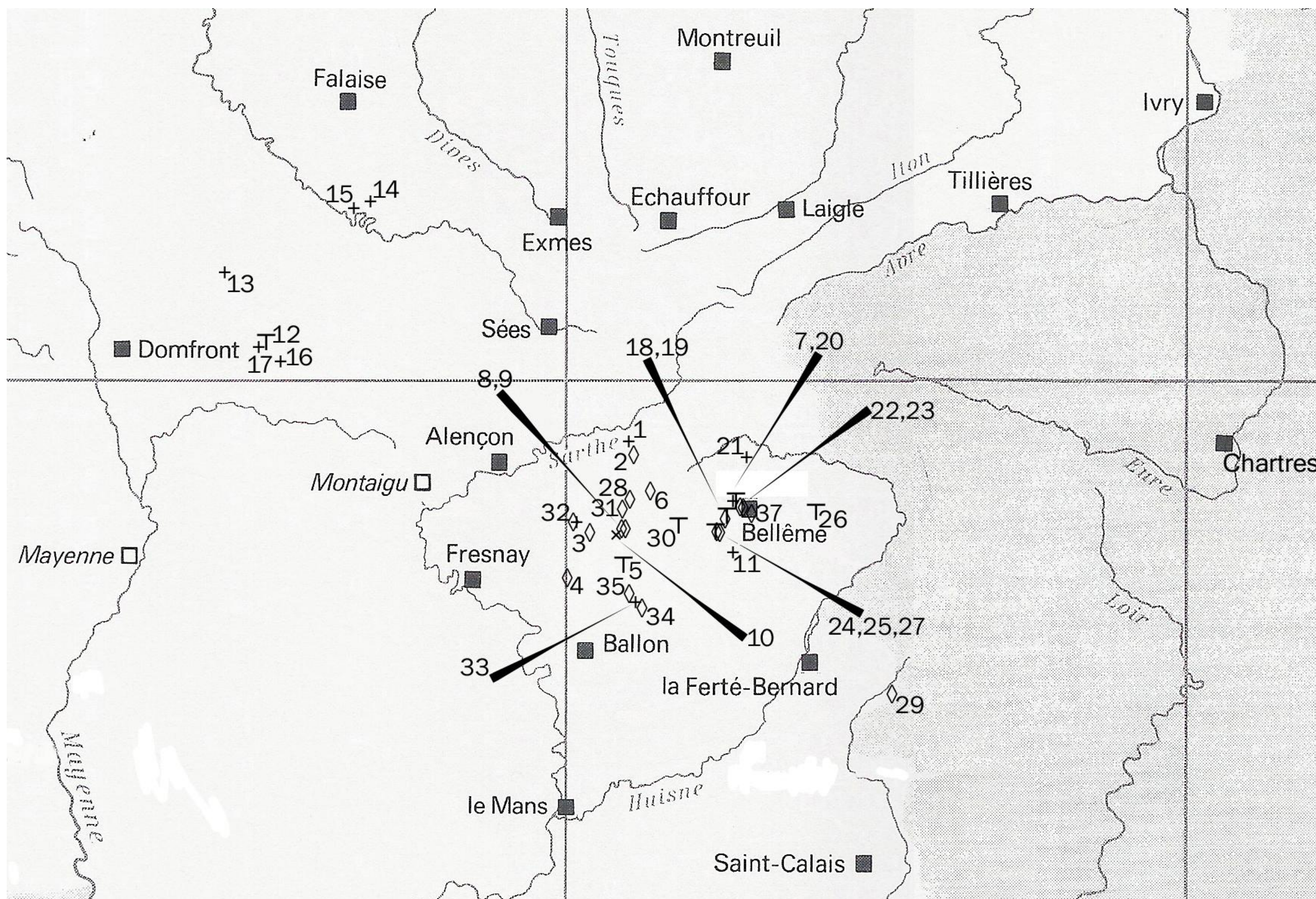


Fig. 82 The holdings of the vassals of Ivo de Bellême, bishop of Sées (c.1047/8-c. 1071)