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**Henry II and the Church in his continental territories: expression and
recognition of authority in the Angevin Empire**

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Abstract

This thesis investigates Henry II's relationship with the Church in his continental domains focusing on Normandy, Anjou, Maine, the Touraine, and Aquitaine during his reign as king of England from 1154 to 1189. To examine this relationship the thesis uses traditional methods which historians have long used in studies focusing on the Church in England, but only rarely applied to the Continent. These methods include an investigation of bishops' backgrounds, familial links, and relationships with the king as demonstrated through their attendance at court, royal service, and positions in local society. It will examine how religious institutions, both secular and monastic, sought out the authority of Henry II and how as patron Henry expressed his authority through the extant royal charter corpus. It employs over 350 royal charters for religious institutions to assess royal patronage, the nature of the king's patronage, and to determine the demand for royal patronage and charters as both reflect ecclesiastical views of the king and his authority. Henry II's *acta* form the main resource for this research, but this thesis also makes use of the charters and letters of the institutions and individuals it investigates alongside contemporary narratives to create a fuller picture of his episcopal relationships. Through these methodologies and the in-depth analysis provided, this thesis offers a better understanding of Henry's relationship with the Church on the Continent and the recognition of his authority.

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Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>ANS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>GC</i>	<i>Gallia Christiana, in Provincias Ecclesiasticas</i> , ed. B. Hauréau (16 vols., Paris, 1744 – 1887)
<i>OV</i>	Orderic Vitalis, <i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. M. Chibnall (6 vols., Oxford, 1969 – 1980)
<i>Acta</i>	<i>Acta of the Plantagenets</i> , ed. J.C. Holt, N. Vincent and J. Everard (Oxford, Forthcoming)
<i>PR</i> [Regnal Year], [Ruler]	<i>The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fifth (- Thirty-Fourth) Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A.D. 1158 (to 1188)</i> (Pipe Roll Society i – ii, iv – ix, xi – xiii, xv – xvi, xviii – xix, xxi – xxii, xxv – xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxviii) (30 vols., London, 1884 – 1925)

Introduction

Henry II's reign and realm need little introduction, though it is important to note that his Angevin domains have received much less attention than England. This is particularly true of the Church. Henry's piety is one common trait contemporary writers expressed during his reign. Adam of Eynsham, biographer of Saint Hugh of Lincoln, declared, "his [Henry II] love of men with a reputation for holiness... is well known."¹ He continues about the two men's relationship stating from the time of his nomination Hugh became central to Henry as a counsellor, "in all his territories there was nobody, whatever his rank or profession, to whom the king listened more readily or whom he obeyed more promptly in all matters connected with the welfare of his soul."² In the earlier part of Henry's reign, since his time as duke of Normandy, his spiritual advisor had been Hamo, a monk of Savigny, an important royal house.³

Henry's piety is not debatable, but this does not mean he avoided conflict with the Church or its leaders. Arnulf of Lisieux once defined Henry as the defender of the Church, and within five years declared that he attacked the Church and the pope unrepentantly.⁴ Henry's struggle with Thomas Becket could be said to have defined his reign. A veritable mountain of scholarship focuses on Henry's conflict with Becket, and historians frequently use the dispute to judge his relationship with the Church. Other studies, such as Lewis Warren's biography of Henry, often focus on Becket and a single prelate or institution.⁵ Jörg Peltzer in his work on canon law and episcopal elections in Normandy and Greater Anjou has set forth a large amount of ground work for this thesis.⁶ However, this thesis goes beyond just examining the impact of canon law on elections in these regions. This thesis will examine Henry II's relationship with the Church in his continental territories to

¹ John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Later Letters (1163 – 1180)*, ed. and trans. W.J. Millor and C.N.L. Brooke (2 vols., Oxford, 1974 – 1979), ii, 574 – 575, no. 294.

² *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, ed. D. Douie and D. Farmer (2 vols., Oxford, 1985), i, 73 – 74.

³ 'Vita Beati Hamonis Saviniacensis', ed. E.P. Sauvage, *Analecta Bollandiana* 2 (1883), pp. 529 – 540; L. Walker, 'Hamo of Savigny and his companions: failed saints?', *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004), pp. 45 – 60, at 51.

⁴ Arnulf of Lisieux, *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. F. Barlow, Camden Society, Third Series, vol. lxi (London, 1939), nos. 7, 16; Arnulf of Lisieux, *The Letter Collections of Arnulf of Lisieux*, trans. C. Schriber (Lewiston, 1997), nos. 1.06, 1.08.

⁵ W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 2000); E. Mason, "'Rocamadour in Quercy above all other Churches': The Healing of Henry II", *The Church and Healing*, ed. W.J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History* 19 (1982), pp. 39 – 54; T. Roche, 'A Bishop and His Conflicts: Philip of Bayeux (1142 – 1163)', *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. P. Dalton, C. Insley and L. Wilkinson (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 117 – 130.

⁶ J. Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest* (Cambridge, 2008).

assess Henry's expression of authority and its recognition by the Church. Through his extensive charter corpus it will establish that he acted as a patron to a far larger number of ecclesiastical institutions, both secular and monastic, than previously recognized. It will identify how ecclesiastical institutions accepted his authority, and it will denote clauses in the diplomatic formulae traditionally overlooked to draw conclusions about these relationships. This thesis will conclude that Henry's relationships with the prelates across his continental territories were as varied as the number of those prelates, and it will test the theory that royal influence changed the outcome of elections so that he could have a reliable cohort of archbishops and bishops to uphold his rule through their participation in royal service.

Research accomplished on the continental Church and Henry II traditionally focused on his interactions with specific ecclesiastical institutions or on the prelates of a single region. This thesis focuses on Henry II's patronage of religious institutions in Normandy, Anjou, Maine, the Touraine, and Aquitaine through detailed analysis of his remaining charter corpus and identifies clauses and rights notified which promoted royal interest. It will assess the prelates to establish whether any patterns in their elections, careers, and their participation in royal administration contributed to the expression and recognition of Henry's authority. Combining these two approaches allows for new conclusions on Henry's relationship with the Church and how he expressed his authority and how the Church recognized it on a far larger scale than previously attempted. To get the best possible conclusion, this thesis examines these issues through a combination of chronicle evidence and administrative documents concerning the Church on the Continent.

Historiography

This thesis requires engagement with and can contribute to three main historiographical corpora: Henry II and the Church, Henry II and the Angevin empire, and charter historiography. The historiography of Henry II and the Church has always been primarily Anglo-centric and dominated by Thomas Becket. However, Henry's relations with the broader episcopate and his patronage, especially in his continental domains, must also be considered here. Whether or not there was and whether or not there was ever intended to be an Angevin empire has been a perennial subject of debate. While the Church has not been brought into that field of scholarship to any real degree as yet, this thesis demonstrates that it should be, and any consideration of Henry's relations with the Church

in his continental domains must be undertaken with a knowledge of the political and social structures and networks he headed there. That material can be considered more briefly, and it is therefore considered first in what follows.

Modern debates have viewed empires as the exercise of power over another without consent from the weaker party.⁷ The use of empire when discussing Henry II's collection of lands has been debated up until the turn of the 21st century when a consensus seems to have taken shape. Martin Aurell has argued that the phrase is adequate despite his predecessors disliking the term due to other accepted, "anachronistic but nonetheless evocative expressions," which modern medieval historians use.⁸ He also points to the primary evidence that to the writers of the twelfth century, an empire stood for a, "realm based on hegemony."⁹ John Gillingham has argued that the term is best suited for the description of the collected lands which were never given their own title during their existence. He defends his position by stating the entire debate over the term empire in relation to Henry II is derived from the overtones of the later British Empire, instead of the Angevin Empire being viewed as its own entity in the time period it existed. Moreover, he argues it should truly be viewed as a French empire instead of a British one.¹⁰

Recently, David Bates has defined the Angevin empire of the 12th century as, "the dominance of one people or state over others, at the start often exercised by force and without the consent of those subjected to it. It also usually combines military and cultural power in ways felt both within and beyond the territorial borders of the lands where direct rule was exercised; in other words, through the media of hard and soft power."¹¹ Julia Smith stated an empire is rarely recognized by an outsider, but is subjective and their existence often determined by the, "eye of the beholder."¹² Therefore historians must determine if Henry II created an empire. To make such a claim there must be specific tools present such as social constructionism, ethnography, and network analysis.¹³ As will be seen in this thesis, Henry II's charters allowed social constructionism, or a jointly-constructed viewpoint of the world, between the Continent and England to become reinforced as he homogenised some of his tools of governance. His charters allow for a

⁷ D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire* (Oxford, 2013), 4; S. Howe 'The Slow Death and Strange Rebirths of Imperial History', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, xxix (2001), pp 131 – 141.

⁸ M. Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154 – 1224*, trans. D. Crouch (Harlow, 2007), 2.

⁹ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire*, 1.

¹⁰ J. Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire* (London, 2001), 1 – 3.

¹¹ Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, 7.

¹² J. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History* (Oxford, 2005), 275.

¹³ Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, 8-9.

network analysis and enable the identification of Henry II's established networks across the traditional boundaries of the counties he ruled. He brought them under the control of, as he always referenced in his charters first regardless of the location of the beneficiary, the king of England. The only theory that this thesis arguably will not be able to contribute to is ethnographic links between the regions discussed. Henry, it will be argued, used the Church as a means to solidify his interpretation of empire. Religious institutions, while having mutual differences, all shared a culture, customs, with minor variations, and habits all set out by the Church in Rome.

Ralph Turner in an article focusing on the Angevin empire's survival gives a model of authority as examined through three zones. The first zone, where he held the most authority, consisted of Henry II's royal demesne. The second zone of authority encompassed the remaining parts of his territory not included within his demesne, and the third zone comprised of the border frontiers. Within each zone moving outward from his demesne Henry's authority was weaker, or less accepted. This model sets out an excellent method of viewing authority and power as a process driven form of governance working within, and expanding, these geographic zones. What Turner does not discuss is how the Church could stabilize the authority of the king in the second and third zones.¹⁴ This thesis will contribute to the current consensus concerning the Angevin empire. An hegemonic empire existed, led by Henry II who used his charters issued to religious beneficiaries to express his authority in these regions.

Modern historiography of the secular history of Henry II's reign begins with J.E.A. Jolliffe's *Angevin kingship* in 1955, in which he examined Henry II from a more continental perspective.¹⁵ Jolliffe's work on the Church included the role of continental archbishops within the politics of the Angevin empire, but focused primarily on the Church in England, Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen for instance only appears in two footnotes. His approach to the Church has to a considerable degree been continued by historians ever since. Individual bishops are considered in terms of their personal relationships with the king, and the Becket Controversy dominates. This has led secular historians to focus on personalities instead of process driven governance involving the Church.

¹⁴ R. Turner, 'The Problem of Survival for the Angevin "Empire": Henry II's and his Sons' Vision Versus Late Twelfth-century Realities', *AHR* 100 (1995), pp. 78 – 96, at 78 – 79.

¹⁵ J.E.A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (London, 1955).

This can be seen too in Warren's biography of Henry II and in the most recent collection of essays on Henry's reign, *Henry II: new interpretations*.¹⁶ Warren's biography is an Anglo-centric one, and his analysis of continental prelates limited; any conclusions concerning the Church on the Continent he extrapolated from his examination of the Church in England and therefore Becket. In *Henry II: New Interpretations* only one essay considered ecclesiastical history by investigating England, the role of the papacy from the beginning of Henry's reign in 1154, and the settlement of the Becket dispute in 1176.¹⁷ Its conclusion followed the historiography which came before.

While Jolliffe did note the continental bishops' involvement in administration, few have bothered to expand on this idea since with a few exceptions. Martin Aurell considered the Becket crisis and English prelates involved in royal administration, but only wrote a single page for the continental prelates.¹⁸ Richard Mortimer's work on Angevin England has a chapter on the Church that examines canon law, the structure of the Church, religious orders, and the three-way relationship of monarch, Church, and papacy, but, he still formulates his conclusion of Henry's relationship with the Church through the Becket crisis.¹⁹ John Gillingham recognized the king could nominate his trusted advisors into positions within the Church as an act of patronage, but does not give any analysis on how this helped Henry's governance.²⁰ Jacques Boussard's work stands out as the most forward thinking of the older secular historians on Henry II and his government. He goes into great detail of Henry's relationship with the Church and its role in maintaining his rule on the Continent. It formulates some of the early methodologies of viewing royal interactions with the Church to reinforce governance. However, like the previous works mentioned, he often focuses his attention on the Becket crisis and draws conclusions about the continental Church from Henry's actions in England.²¹

To the secular historians of the near past, Becket looms large. They followed a traditional approach which saw the relationship between Church and state collapse. Anne Duggan in *Henry II: New Interpretations* sets a more modern perspective out while still relying upon Becket. The relationship between Henry II and the Church remained amicable

¹⁶ *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007); Warren, *Henry II*.

¹⁷ A. Duggan, 'Henry II, the English Church and the Papacy, 1154 – 1176', *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 154 – 183.

¹⁸ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire*.

¹⁹ R. Mortimer, *Angevin England, 1154 – 1258* (Oxford, 1994).

²⁰ J. Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire* (London, 2000), 76.

²¹ J. Boussard, *Le Gouvernement D'Henri II Plantagenêt* (Paris, 1956).

throughout his reign, yet the Becket dispute altered the legal framework the king had to work within concerning ecclesiastical matters both in England and abroad.²² Therefore, secular historians who have commented on the continental Churches have framed their work within that traditional view of Becket. Indeed, this singular person and his now larger than life persona has become a distorting figure in understanding Henry II's authority in relation to the Church. This thesis utilises a bishop led research approach examining the management of their dioceses and their individual relationships with Henry II.

Personality driven understanding of power has not been limited to just Henry II and Thomas Becket. Secular historians also focus on interactions between the Church and the two people who ruled parts of Henry's continental empire during his lifetime. Henry's wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, has an equally substantial historiography which examines her politics concerning the Church in the Continent through her personality. Jean Flori's study, published in 2004, framed Eleanor as more than just a stereotypical medieval queen. She evaluated her as a prominent figure in the twelfth century and her personality, omitting any discussion on the Church.²³ A considerable amount of literature produced examines Richard I, most focusing on his reign instead of his life under his father. The place of the Church in his governance, beyond the crusade, remains limited. Ralph Turner along with Richard Heiser in 2000 produced a biography examining Richard I's reign.²⁴ This study's assessment of Richard's involvement with the Church investigates his rights over elections, and the make-up of the prelates within each region, thus, it attempts to show the process of authority over the Church but it only focuses on the most obvious parts, the elections. It concludes, much like Jörg Peltzer's work, that Richard influenced some of the elections. It does not view his relationship with the Church in terms of his authority nor how he achieved the recognition of his authority. An investigation of Richard's rule in Aquitaine during Henry's reign appears in chapter six of this thesis, but from the perspective of the Church and his involvement in conjunction with Henry's.²⁵

Recent ecclesiastical historians have begun to change the way in which the Church is studied in relation to Henry II, moving from personalities to processes, although growing pains persist. Jörg Peltzer has by far produced the most important

²² Duggan, 'Henry II, the English Church and the Papacy, 1154 – 1176', 154 – 183.

²³ J. Flori, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen and Rebel*, trans. O. Classe (Edinburgh, 2007).

²⁴ J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (London, 1999); R. Turner and R. Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart: Ruler of the Angevin Empire, 1189 – 1199* (Harlow, 2000).

²⁵ See page 132.

process-driven works on the continental episcopate of Henry II. His research focusing on canon law and ecclesiastical elections in Normandy and Greater Anjou from 1140 to 1230 provides significant historical context around those elections. His monograph on the subject demonstrates how in the twelfth century the Church's wider acceptance of canon law began to curtail secular influence within elections and how the monarchs of England and France responded on the Continent.²⁶ His work does well to highlight the ever-changing political climate of ecclesiastical elections and the struggle between canons and monarch. His historical context demonstrating networks which the kings used to influence elections has provided a foundation methodology for this thesis. What remains, however, is how Henry II cultivated relationships with those elected following the elections and how he attempted to bring them to court in order to support his governance over the continental domains. This thesis both develops beyond Peltzer's work on Norman elections and pushes his methodology beyond Normandy into the remainder of the Angevin domains. Peltzer is also the only historian to have attempted a summary of Henry II's relationships with his Norman bishops. His methodology examined the role of the prelates in royal administration, and if their nominations for the position stemmed from the king. His findings were that in Normandy, Henry II still held considerable influence over the Church, and worked smoothly with many of the Norman prelates.²⁷

Before Peltzer, the historiography of the Church during the reign of Henry II is almost entirely influenced by the career and dispute of Thomas Becket.²⁸ Even studies examining the wider Church during Henry II's reign still investigate the archbishopric of Canterbury; such as Raymonde Foreville's work, *L'Eglise et la Royauté en Angleterre sous Henri II Plantagenet (1154 – 1189)*. This study used chronicles, letters and treatises focusing on the archbishops of Canterbury and their disputes, with both Henry II and the archbishop of York, and is supportive of Becket's actions while being critical of Henry II.²⁹ This methodology of using Becket to study the Church and Henry II continued in Christopher Cheney's work *From Becket to Langton* published in 1956 which sought to identify the growth of papal power in England during the twelfth century while villainizing Henry II and praising Becket and the Church for the advancement against the secular

²⁶ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*.

²⁷ J. Peltzer, 'Henry II and the Norman Bishops', *EHR* 119 (2004), pp. 1202 – 1229.

²⁸ D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1970); F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986); A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket: Friends, Networks, Texts and Cults* (Aldershot, 2007); *The Cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World*, ed. P. Webster and M.-P. Gelin (Woodbridge, 2016).

²⁹ R. Foreville, *L'Eglise et la Royauté en Angleterre sous Henri II Plantagenet (1154 – 1189)* (Paris, 1943).

authority.³⁰ Like the secular studies discussed earlier these studies share the same issue. They focused on trying to recreate the personalities of the people and hinged the entire relationship between monarch and Church around disputes more than they examined the processes of governance and the role of the Church.

A subset of ecclesiastical historians has sought to identify Henry's overall piety and ecclesiastical policies through investigating the patronage of Henry II and his relationship with individual monasteries. Such studies have set the foreground for interpretations of the king's patronage and how the religious houses viewed the king's authority.³¹ They have allowed for the application of these ideas on a larger scale in this thesis. Marjorie Chibnall produced an article which studies the expectations of patronage in the twelfth century and how they changed during the reign of Henry II.³² She concluded Henry attempted to use his patronage to establish an empire to give to his children, although he never succeeded in his goal. She finds that he modelled his patronage after those who came before him, using all materials available such as money, settlements, gifts, and confirmations to make himself appear to be a great prince. This article hints at the idea that to support his governance Henry used his authority in the Church, but it stops shy of looking at his patronage for this specific reason. This thesis will build upon this idea of how princely patronage made an impact politically.

Elizabeth Hallam has published two essays covering Henry's patronage; her work on Henry II as a founder of monasteries and her work focusing on Henry's relationship with Fontevraud.³³ In Hallam's article about Henry as a founder she sets out that he was indeed a strong patron of the Church founding and re-founding numerous monasteries during his reign. She also argues that his agreement following Avranches in 1172 reinforced this evaluation. She concludes that Henry was a pious individual and generous benefactor. In comparison, John Appleby in his article concerning Henry's piety after the agreement of Avranches found Henry's piety lacking and concludes he only did the bare

³⁰ C. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956).

³¹ A. Lewis, 'Six Charters of Henry II and His Family for the Monastery of Dalon', *EHR* 110 (1995), pp. 652 – 665; K. Shirley, *The Secular Jurisdiction of Monasteries in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England* (Suffolk, 2004).

³² M. Chibnall, 'The Changing Expectations of a Royal benefactor: The Religious Patronage of Henry II', *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000 – 1400, Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. E. Jamroziak and J. Burton (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 9 – 21.

³³ E. Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28 (1977), pp. 113 – 132; E. Hallam, 'Henry II, and Richard I and the Order of Grandmont', *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975), pp. 165 – 186.

minimum based on evidence in the Pipe Rolls.³⁴ These two articles show the difficulty of studying Henry's piety, patronage, and ecclesiastical policies through a narrow lens, in that it leads to wide ranging conclusions. These smaller studies, while useful, have often attempted to make conclusions concerning Henry's relationship with the Church by examining his interactions with a small sample size of monasteries and extrapolating their findings to a broader more generalized context. This research will instead focus on the larger picture made possible by the aggregation of extant charters and the chronicles to develop a better understanding of Henry's relationship with the Church on the Continent.

The same has been done with his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Within Ralph Turner's biography of Eleanor, produced in 2009, he discussed the Church and Eleanor peripherally. He assessed Eleanor's relationship with Fontevraud to decipher her personality and connection with the abbey, concluding that Henry's actions reinforced her patronage.³⁵ He does not frame any of the discussion through the lens of the expression and reception of authority as a process that this thesis makes clear.

There have been advancements in this form of ecclesiastical study as well. A re-examination of Henry's patronage in England recently undertaken in an unpublished PhD thesis by Amanda Martinson at the University of St. Andrews titled, 'The Monastic Patronage of King Henry II in England, 1154 - 1189' brought awareness to the process of patronage.³⁶ This study used a large collection of extant royal charters to detail relationships between Henry II and monastic houses in England, much like this thesis has done for the Continent. However, Martinson demonstrated what actions occurred compared to the idealised wishes stated in the charters by aligning the charters with payments in the pipe rolls. She concludes that while Henry was a steady patron to English institutions, he by no means was deeply pious, nor motivated to act piously towards the Church in England. This thesis has not undertaken a similar challenge as the documentation for financial matters of the crown on the Continent is far less intact. Further, for the areas south of Normandy the documentation does not exist in any organised primary source material.

³⁴ J.T. Appleby, 'The Ecclesiastical Foundations of Henry II', *The Catholic Historical Review* 48 (1962), pp. 205 – 215.

³⁵ R. Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine Queen of France, Queen of England* (London, 2009).

³⁶ A. Martinson, 'The Monastic Patronage of King Henry II in England, 1154 - 1189', unpublished PhD Thesis (University of St. Andrews, 2008).

In the historiography of Henry II's continental Church and of the forty-two prelates covered in this study, only seven have been the subject of a biographical work, whereas English bishops have had considerable attention. Most of these works on continental bishops try to identify the person they are discussing and the events in their lives, including their roles in Henry's administration. However, they make no attempt to make connections to their actions and his governance over the Church. They instead spend most of their time coming to grips with the subjects of their study, their lives and any works they produced or left behind.³⁷ There is one notable exception to this, Thomas Roche's 2011 article examined Philip de Harcourt's conflicts in recovering the lost lands and income of the diocese of Bayeux. In this article, Roche does show that there are processes the bishop utilised to regain lands and income. This then signifies that at this time in Normandy processes existed for Henry to assert his authority. Henry II's support is noted, but the role of his authority remains unclear in Roche's work. One common exclusion, with exception to Roche's, in all these works is an assessment of Henry's choice to exercise his authority and the recognition of this authority by archbishops, bishops, and religious institutions, both monastic and secular. This means that the studies which focused on ecclesiastical history, even Cheney's which assessed the structures of governance, gave the Becket dispute primacy in their assessment of the Church. This has left the place of bishops and their management of their bishoprics under Henry II understudied. This thesis attempts to correct this oversight. It is essentially, a bishop-bishopric led analysis which can produce a process led understanding of Angevin power.

Methodologies

This thesis relies upon three groups of primary sources; extant charters, chronicles, and letter collections. The compilation of royal charters is now well established. The collection of documents edited in Léopold Delisle's *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les*

³⁷ C. Schiber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux: New Ideals versus Old Ideals* (Indiana, 1990); T. Waldman, 'Hugh of Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen (1130 – 1164), The Norman Abbot and the Papacy: The Foundation of a "Textual Community"', *The Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990), pp. 139 – 153; R. Freeburn, *Hugh of Amiens and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Farnham, 2011); R. Freeburn, 'The Work and Thought of Hugh of Amiens (c. 1085 – 1164)', unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Saint Andrews, 2005); T. Schlunz, 'Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen (1164 – 1183): A Career Churchman in the Twelfth Century', unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Illinois, 1973); P. Poggioli, 'From Politician to Prelate: The career of Walter of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen, 1184 – 1207', Unpublished PhD thesis (Johns Hopkins University, 1984); C. Jacquemard, 'Maître Richard l'Eveque, archidiacre de Coutances', *Melanges Pierre Bouet. Recueil d'études en hommages à Pierre Bouet*, ed. F. Neveux and C. Bougy, Cahiers des Annales de Normandie xxxii (Caen, 2002), pp. 107 – 121.

affaires de France, has been updated and the English material added in the *Plantagenet Acta Project* began in 1971 under James C. Holt and is now forthcoming for publication under the current project director Nicholas Vincent.³⁸ It is important though not to consider royal charters in isolation, most are extant in cartularies of religious institutions, and they allow us to view royal charters in context of other patrons, their donations, and charters issued to the establishment.

In the examinations of the relationships between prelates and the king the charters issued to individual bishops prove useful in identifying the association between the two men. Further, their attestations provide information concerning their participation in royal court. There is need for caution here as witness lists confer that a person was present at the time of the charter being issued, but not that they approved of the contents. Nevertheless, attestations of charters signal they attended the king's court.³⁹ It was common for prelates to be named within the address clauses of royal charters when the notification concerned themselves, their cathedral, or a house in their diocese. Yet, their inclusion still can be read as an expression of authority over them by the king. Arnulf of Lisieux's case study in chapter two provides a good example of the importance of the charter's physical presence when Henry forced him to return all his charters before he relinquished his bishopric.⁴⁰

These charters also provide ample evidence to assess the king's patronage for ecclesiastical institutions, both secular and monastic. Through examination of the document's text, and the re-assessment of the diplomatic formulae, several clauses which can imply a connection between the king and the religious institution becomes identifiable. The investigation of standardised clauses occurs in chapters three and

³⁸ *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France (3 vols., Paris, 1916 – 1927); *Acta of the Plantagenets*, ed. J.C. Holt, N. Vincent and J. Everard, (Oxford, forthcoming). The project has published two handlists of documents which present some of the collected charters form the reign of Henry II. *Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Handlist of Documents surviving in the Original in Repositories in the United Kingdom*, ed. J.C. Holt and R. Mortimer, List and Index Society/Special Series xxi (London, 1986); *Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Handlist of Documents Surviving in the Original in Repositories in the United Kingdom, Part II*, ed. N. Vincent, List and Index Society/Special Series xxvii (Chippenham, 1996).

³⁹ D. Bates, 'The Prosopographical Study of Anglo-Norman Royal Charters', *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; D. Broun, 'The Presence of Witnesses and the Writing of Charters', *The Reality Behind Charter Diplomacy in Anglo-Norman Britain: Studies by Dauvit Broun, John Reuben Davies, Richard Sharpe and Alice Taylor*, ed. D. Broun (Glasgow, 2011), pp. 235 – 290, at 235 – 238.

⁴⁰ See page 52.

five. Charters issued to institutions and individuals in the clergy can also show a budding relationship. As evidenced in those issued by Louis VII at Tours which ordered the chapter to act as spies implying that the chapter maintained a strong relationship with both monarchs, as examined in chapter five.⁴¹

The narratives provided within the chronicles written about Henry's reign have provided information concerning the movement and participation of the continental prelates during significant events. Smaller chronicles from religious institutions that focus on regions have proven useful, and the historiographies for each region follow in their respective chapters. The chronicles used most frequently include the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis* by Roger of Howden, the works of Ralph Diceto, and the chronicle of Robert of Torigny.⁴² The narratives within these chronicles can shed light on the events of the time. There are some drawbacks with the sources as they can have their own narrative and bias which must be considered. With the exception of Robert of Torigny and Geoffrey Vigois' the majority of chronicles present an Anglo-centric perspective. This Anglo-centrism could be the reason so much historiography has focused on the Church in England and not on the Continent. In the case of Torigny, he is still Anglo-Norman centric, and he provides limited chronicle reports for the more southernly regions. Vigois' chronicle offers a southern perspective focusing more on Aquitaine and Poitou. While his work does not cover as many events or offer as much information as his northern counterparts, it remains one of the only available chronicles for the southern regions in the twelfth century.⁴³ Further, their involvement with the royal court as in the case of Roger of Howden and Ralph Diceto or who owed their position to the king such as Robert of Torigny.⁴⁴ All of these works, edited since the late nineteenth century, have recently been analysed as sources in Michael Staunton's *The Historians of Angevin England*.⁴⁵ Another commonly used source for these studies has been documents from the exchequer or pipe rolls. Only limited documentation from the Exchequer in Normandy remains, and there are

⁴¹ See page 94.

⁴² Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series il (2 vols., London, 1867); Roger of Howden, *Chronica Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series li (4 vols., London, 1868-71); *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series lxxiii (2 vols., London, 1879 - 1880); Robert of Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio, abbatis monasterii Sancti Michaelis in Pericolo Maris' *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, Rolls Series lxxxii (4 vols., London, 1884 - 1889) iv, pp. 81 - 315.

⁴³ Geoffrey of Vigois, 'Chronica', *Nova Bibliotheca Scriptorum Manuscriptorum*, ed. P. Labbe (2 vols., Paris, 1657).

⁴⁴ M. Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, (Oxford, 2017), 51; *Epistolae Pontificum Romanorum Ineditae*, ed. S. Loewenfeld (Leipzig, 1885), nos. 206, 210 - 211, 214 - 216.

⁴⁵ Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*.

no such documents pertaining to the southern territories. The incomplete nature of financial documents for this region makes them unreliable when trying to analyse the relationship between Henry and the Church as the imbalance in information can create a false narrative.

The third group of primary sources used within this dissertation are letter collections. The most used letter collection is that of the two most recent editions of the letters written by Arnulf of Lisieux.⁴⁶ Other letter collections containing the documents of Thomas Becket, John of Salisbury, Gilbert Foliot, Peter of Celle, Peter of Blois, and Peter the Venerable have all been examined for insight into the king's relationships with prelates, how to build a relationship with a monarch, or the outcome of a failed relationship.⁴⁷ They have been most beneficial in identifying how the prelates and their networks viewed the king's authority.⁴⁸

This study focuses on the reign of Henry II from his ascent to the English throne in 1154 to his death in 1189. It draws comparisons between his time as duke and count from 1151 until 1154 to his actions taken as king. The goal is to assess and identify the expression and recognition of his authority in Normandy, Greater Anjou, consisting of Anjou, Maine, and the Touraine, and Aquitaine. The research's focus on these regions is due to their significance on the Continent and combined they cover much of the continental empire. Brittany and Poitou appear tangentially within this study, but their examinations are not to the depth of the other regions. Brittany did not come under Henry's authority until the 1160s; Poitou, Henry handed over to his son Richard in the 1170s.⁴⁹ For England a large number of previous studies examined the Church during the reign of Henry II; therefore, a detailed examination of England has not been undertaken.

To understand Henry's relationship with prelates, traditional methodologies long used in studies of the English Church such as assessing their backgrounds, elections, relationships with Henry, their attitudes towards him as demonstrated through their

⁴⁶ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber.

⁴⁷ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury 1162 – 1170*, ed. A. Duggan (2 vols., Oxford, 2000); John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Early Letters (1153-1161)*, ed. W.J. Millor, H.E. Butler and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1955); *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Later Letters (1163 – 1180)*; Gilbert Foliot, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967); Osbert of Clare, *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster*, ed. E. Williamson (London, 1929); Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

⁴⁸ For an explanation of the difficulties with using letter collections see page 57 – 58.

⁴⁹ Vigeois, 'Chronica', i, 1, ch. 67; A. Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou 778 – 1204*, ii, 161 n. 2.

attendance at court, royal service, and comparable relationships and positions in local society have been used and any patterns across the continental territories in question will be identified. This allows for a more complete picture as to how the king formed these relationships, with whom, and for what purposes. Moreover, by using the approach of a bishop-bishopric led analysis it becomes possible to understand Angevin power as a process, and not simply driven by personalities.

For the ecclesiastical institutions, using royal charters, which promoted expression and acceptance of authority, allows for in-depth analysis of Henry II's patronage, the nature and purpose of his patronage, and to determine the demand for royal charters. Charters are paramount when discussing patronage as they recorded the king's idealized wishes in previously agreed transactions through rights, grants, and gifts. This means that despite not always being able to prove the institutions received the rights, gifts, or grants notified within the charters, we can discern how the king intended things to be, an important aspect when examining relationships between two parties which are both exercising and recognising authority. Nicholas Vincent has set a foundation for this in his examination of charters in England, Wales, and Scotland. He provides a framework of methodologies which this thesis uses to examine the Church and Henry II on the Continent. Nicholas Vincent makes a salient point as to why charters are the best document to identify the king's authority,

Each letter and charter, however drafted and written, had to be validated by the application of one or other of the king's seals, for the most part by the application of the itinerant great seal. This in itself, combined with the fact that all the king's surviving letters were written in Latin according to a series of more or less strict linguistic formulae, suggests that of all the offices of Plantagenet government it was the chancery that was in many senses the closest to the king, the most susceptible to the king's personal will, and hence the most centralized expression of Henry II's rule.⁵⁰

Extant charters remain the most expressive documents of royal intent. Charters as documents recorded transactions from one party to another. They also acted as performative objects which strengthened a ruler's authority and influence. They not only confirmed but memorialized a shift in the political standing of one organisation in the eyes of another.⁵¹ In the case of this thesis, a shift in the political

⁵⁰ N. Vincent, 'Regional Variations in the Charters of King Henry II (1154 – 1189)', *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. M. Flanagan and J. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 70 – 106, at 71.

⁵¹ Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (870-987)* (Turnhout, 2012), 3.

standing of a religious institution or person from the perspective of Henry II or the change in a beneficiaries perspective of Henry II. Therefore, not only did charters record one transaction, the act of receiving a charter itself is another transaction between the two parties.

Royal charters allowed for connections to be made between an institution and a monarch which could be used to the benefit by both parties. Charters were more than just records of transactions. Their ability to express authority from the issuer and acceptance of authority by the beneficiary become all the clearer when viewed as a beneficial transaction. Beneficiaries often initiated the process of receiving charters, and requests often occurred when the king travelled nearby or visited a religious institution.⁵² Charters then are the remainders of a reactive, client led government. The beneficiaries sought the king's charters which not only notified the addressees of their own needs, but also confirmed royal authority over the area, and the clients themselves. This then invokes the idea that power is held by both parties in a charter. The beneficiary held the power to recognize the authority of the issuer. In contrast, the issuer held the power to authorize the document, but more importantly had the desire to express their authority. However, this is not to state that the government is purely reactive. This process allowed for the charters issued by the king's desire to have a substantial impact in their expression of authority. Thus, the reasons charters were issued becomes all the more significant.

Geoffrey Koziol has argued for the importance of viewing these documents not just as objects but as instruments in the performances of state, though he built upon earlier work by Michael Clanchy. He puts forth the idea, much in the same vein as Daniel Power has done recently, that charters act as "memorials of struggles for power," and were often used as political weapons to secure authority for the royal issuer.⁵³ Clanchy has demonstrated how charters, while remaining instruments of business, often carried a significance to them which had been long neglected; the expression of power and authority. He especially saw this importance in the existence of documents forged by contemporaries.⁵⁴ Why create a forged document

⁵² A. Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland, 1124 – 1290* (Oxford, 2016), 60. An example of this can be seen in Orderic Vitalis, *OV*, iv, 174.

⁵³ M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066 – 1307* (London, 1979), 7; D. Power, 'The Transformation of Norman Charters in the Twelfth Century', *People, texts and artefacts, cultural transmission in the medieval worlds*, ed. D. Bates, E. D'Angelo and E. van Houts (London, 2018), pp. 193 – 212.

⁵⁴ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 248 – 250.

from one authority rather than seeking one from an alternative figure? For Clanchy such actions implied that charters held significance not only to the beneficiary but also to the wider political community as it showed support from the benefactor. Koziol was more emphatic: forgeries for him were the most weaponized documents created by establishments in the middle ages.⁵⁵ Koziol's work is important, and has influenced what follows in chapters three, five, and six, but Kathryn Dutton has counselled caution.

Dutton highlighted the need for caution as reading too much into each charter as a performative object runs the risk of giving too much privilege to the evidence. She posits that putting them central in an exchange may be elevating them beyond what they are.⁵⁶ More importantly, she states that Koziol's study confirmed the need to review each word written in a charter as deliberate given the propensity of scholars to minimize the role of the monarch in a charter's production.⁵⁷ This thesis is in agreement with such conclusions and is why it sets out to re-examine, in part, the formulaic prose of the charters selected.

The obvious factor in the king issuing charters as a patron to an ecclesiastical institution is his piety and interest in securing prayers for both his own soul and the souls of his family. Still, there remains underlying factors to consider when investigating charters. Marie Hivergneux has argued that religious houses played a role beyond an intermediary between the world and the divine; they also acted as an influential "lord" which controlled estates and sheltered local aristocrats. This meant donations or confirmations made to monasteries were not only a religious act, but an economic transaction or confirmation of political associations.⁵⁸ Charters issued to monastic beneficiaries in border frontiers, or regions where authority was challenged, could increase a ruler's authority or influence over the monastic house and its priories, which offered some levels of protection in war, or could make a border defensible.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas*, 7.

⁵⁶ K. Dutton, 'Review', Review of *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)*, by Geoffrey Koziol, *Reviews in History* (2012).

⁵⁷ K. Dutton, 'Review'.

⁵⁸ M. Hivergneux, 'Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine, 1137 – 1189', *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. B. Wheeler and J. Parsons (New York, 2003), pp. 55 – 76, at 58.

⁵⁹ M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford, 1984), 136; W. Kuhn, *Kirchliche Siedlung als Grenschutz, 1200 bis 1250, am Beispiel des mittleren Oderraums* (Munich, 1962), 374 – 378; E. Jamroziak, *Survival and Success on medieval Borders, Cistercian Houses in medieval Scotland and Pomerania from the Twelfth to the Late Fourteenth Century* (Turnhout, 2011), 10 – 11.

Examining expressions of power through charters is a current methodology made popular on the Continent.⁶⁰ The trend is growing quickly with recent studies such as David Crouch's examination of the aristocracy in Wales, England and Scotland and Dauvit Broun's contribution to the diplomatic study of Scotland and Scottish identity through charters.⁶¹ Charters are pertinent to the authority and governance over the Church as the documents signify an acceptance of Henry II's authority, and it will be argued here that this acceptance aided Henry's rule. However, interpretations made from reading charters have limits. As previously noted, bishops who appear in witness lists may not have approved of the rights or grants notified, but their attestations confirm their support of the king's authority.⁶² This means charters can allow for the examination of the expression and acceptance of authority, from the perspective of the king, the beneficiary, and the witnesses.

One difficulty when studying charters is the language used by historians to discuss the documents. This thesis often uses the word 'issued' to discuss when the king confirmed a charter. The term though is problematic as it hides the actual process of producing the document and the negotiations of its contents which took place before a charter's confirmation by the application of the seal.⁶³ The process assuredly contained not only the drafting of the charter, which must have taken some time depending on locality, but also the process of negotiating the rights or grants stated within the document. There is evidence of this process in a few charters where the details or outcomes of the negotiations which occurred between the two parties is referenced.⁶⁴ The negotiation process is significant because this is when the parameters of the king's authority were determined. Through negotiation the king either extended his authority, such as giving rights over a certain area or region, or had his authority restricted such as the beneficiary refusing to only use the king's court. Despite this shortcoming, the term 'issued' is still best suited for this thesis as the central question concerns the expression and recognition of the authority negotiated. This allows for narratives to be drawn concerning charters issued by Henry II.

⁶⁰ *Les Actes Comme Expression du Pouvoir au haut Moyen Age*, ed. M. Gasse Grandjean and B. Tock (Turnhout, 2003).

⁶¹ D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000 – 1300* (London, 1992); D. Broun, 'The Absence of Regnal Years from the Dating Clause of Charters of Kings of Scots, 1195 – 1222', *ANS* xxv (2002), pp. 47 – 64.

⁶² D. Bates, 'The Prosopographical Study of Anglo-Norman Royal Charters', 89 – 102.

⁶³ D. Bates, 'Charters and Historians of Britain and Ireland: Problems and Possibilities', *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. M. Flanagan and J. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 1 – 15, at 4.

⁶⁴ *Recueil*, i, nos. 107, 123; ii, no.749; *Acta*, no. 1978H.

Even the charters where the negotiations are never mentioned, they must have gone through this process. Therefore, a beneficiary that received a royal charter does not mean a single, quick interaction. Instead, a charter issued to a beneficiary represents a dialogue held between the king and the religious institution. This reinforces the idea that strong personalities did not drive Angevin power, but a process as evidenced through the existence of charters.

Forged or spurious charters, as Koziol called them ‘weaponised’ texts, are especially complex for historians. Of the 2,241 charters we have for Henry II of which the beneficiaries are ecclesiastical individuals or institutions, 414 have been identified as spurious. Not all forgeries are conscious attempts to deceive. In the case of Grandmont, the charters have been recreated due to the loss of original documentation. It can be difficult too to determine when an institution considered it important to have a charter issued by Henry II. To further complicate matters, charters now identified as forgeries may have been considered authentic by later generations in the institutions which produced them. If this has occurred does this mean that the charter, which started as a forgery, is no longer a forgery? Should it be considered authentic in the eyes of a historian, especially if there is evidence that the actions or grants were followed?

These are questions that unfortunately this thesis cannot and will not answer. However, they do raise good points about the nature of forged charters when investigating acceptance of authority. The fact that these charters were forged, not only by small but large institutions as well, signify that to hold a charter issued by Henry II carried political and legal weight. Moreover, holding a forged charter was worth the risk of punishment. Returning to Geoffrey Koziol’s statements on forged documents, they are the weaponised reaction to documented governance designed to champion one figure of authority over another. Given these difficulties with forged charters this thesis avoids them almost entirely, with the exception of the recreated charters of Grandmont, and they are not included in any of the statistics or used to assess the king’s authority in the remainder of this thesis.

Since this thesis utilizes charters issued to ecclesiastical beneficiaries and religious institutions it is necessary to review some statistics. In total there are 1,827 royal charters issued to 517 individual religious institutions or clergy members which remain in some form. Of these charters, 1,308 were issued to beneficiaries in England. Normandy has the

second highest count with 293. Greater Anjou has significantly fewer surviving charters with only seventy. Aquitaine suffers even worse with only seventeen charters remaining from Henry II.⁶⁵ Of the charters used in this study a majority remain in edited collections which compile the documents either by the issuer or institution. This thesis only examines charters accepted as authentic in the most recent collection, the Plantagenet Acta project.

Chapter outline

This thesis consists of six chapters in three parts based on geographical location. The first three chapters form part one and focus on Normandy. Chapter one investigates the instability in the region of Normandy and the Church's relevancy to royal authority in ways understood in other times and places. To investigate the prelates and their relationship with Henry II traditional methodologies used in studies focusing on England such as examining their backgrounds, familial connections, position in local society, elections, their services in royal administration following their elections, and their responses to conflict during the rebellion of 1173 – 1174 and the Becket crisis prove advantageous. Chapter two is a case study of Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux. His letter collection contains letters sent to multiple people in his network including, popes, clergy, and the king himself. This allows for an in-depth analysis of how he viewed the king, royal authority, and the court from the perspective of a prelate and depict the nature of the two-way relationship between prelate and king. Chapter three examines the extant charters issued to ecclesiastical beneficiaries in Normandy interpreting patterns in the dates and locations of issue, provides analysis of their contents to recognize which establishments Henry acted as a patron towards, and identify clauses never previously examined that indicated a relationship between the institution and Henry.

The second part, chapters four and five, focuses on the three regions which make up Greater Anjou: Maine, the Touraine, and Anjou. Chapter four focuses on the prelates in the three dioceses of Angers, Le Mans, and Tours. It makes clear that this region had unique difficulties compared to Normandy due to the incongruent borders of the secular and ecclesiastical boundaries giving the Capetian kings far more authority, in Tours, than any other diocese in Henry's territories. It examines how this impacted the king's ecclesiastical policy. It studies the prelates and their

⁶⁵ These numbers are mine based on my findings throughout the writing of this thesis.

relationships with Henry through the same traditional methods as in chapter one and examines their participation within the royal administration. The fifth chapter investigates the much smaller extant charter corpus of Henry II to identify the king's patronage of ecclesiastical beneficiaries, his motivations, and any patterns found in the dates or location of issue. The last part of the chapter is a case study on Fontevraud focusing on the king's relationship and motivations for patronage. The selection of this abbey is because it has the largest number of extant royal charters in the region and became the family monastery for the Plantagenets following Henry's death.

The third part, chapter six, focuses on Aquitaine. The chapter examines Henry's authority over the Church and region of Aquitaine. It analyses the limited information about the prelates to identify the relationships with Henry, if they even existed, and investigates royal patronage to the beneficiaries through the limited extant royal charters. Additionally, this chapter will focus on the role and influence of Eleanor and Richard to identify how their own authority was expressed and accepted in the region. This chapter's structure by location instead of theme is due to the limited nature of the source material and the independent nature of the prelates. By keeping the focus on the dioceses individually Henry's interactions are easier to decipher and analyse. This thesis will conclude that Henry's relationship with the prelates across his continental territories were as varied as the number of prelates which existed. A united ecclesiastical policy may have been the goal at the beginning of his reign, but the unique difficulties presented within each territory made this impossible and therefore he had to work with all levels of the Church, from pope to priory, to aid in his rule on the Continent. It will make clear that Henry expressed his authority and the Church accepted it differently by both location and time, and that the prelates on the Continent were key in establishing his governance, and that Henry made a concerted effort to influence the elections so that he could have a reliable cohort of archbishops and bishops to uphold his rule.

Chapter 1: Norman Prelates

Introduction

Lewis Warren's description of Henry II's relations with the continental Church of the Angevin empire is still representative historiographically: "To none of the continental archbishops did he owe any debt of gratitude, and upon none of them was he seriously dependent for political support."⁶⁶ Mark Hagger, discussing Normandy shortly after William the Conqueror's victory at Varaville in 1057 reports that Duke William's councillors advised him that Normandy operated better when its duke worked with his subjects.⁶⁷ This advice was given nearly one hundred years before Henry II's reign, but it is just as relevant to the Normandy of Henry's early years as king – they too followed a period of turmoil, and he too needed to work with advisers to bring stability – it would be surprising in this context if Warren were correct. This concept of needing stability after a period of turmoil is applicable to the beginning of his reign. Indeed, Henry's takeover of Normandy in 1149/50 and the subsequent years produced turmoil.

There has been only limited work on the state of Normandy between 1144 and Henry's coronation as king. Kathleen Thompson's essay on William Talvas demonstrates that 1144 to 1149 was a period of change and struggle within the duchy. The coronation of 1154 was destabilizing and many of the families, like the Talvas, faced issues,

But the unforeseen union of Normandy with the wider lands of Henry II in 1152 and Henry's acquisition of England in 1154 again challenged William's position. He was no longer the chief supporter and mainstay of an Angevin domination of Normandy. He was not even a border magnate balancing between his Norman and Angevin lords and looking for sweeteners from both. His property lay in the centre of what had become a continental empire where the interests of his new lord, Henry II, did not necessarily coincide with his own.⁶⁸

For Talvas at least, 1154 Normandy was not a calm and controlled region. Indeed, Henry II's rise to kingship further destabilized the region. Did Henry II rely upon his Norman prelates; did he influence their conduct; did they belong to his court, or act on his behalf? Indeed, for some bishoprics the question would have to be, what evidence is there of engagement between king and bishop at all? Did any of the strong Norman families which

⁶⁶ Warren, *Henry II*, 428. This statement appears in the original edition of Warren's work as well.

⁶⁷ M. Hagger, *Norman Rule in Normandy, 911 – 1144* (Woodbridge, 2017), 14 – 16.

⁶⁸ K. Thompson, 'William Talvas, Count of Ponthieu, and the Politics of the Anglo-Norman Realm', *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), pp. 169 – 184, at 183.

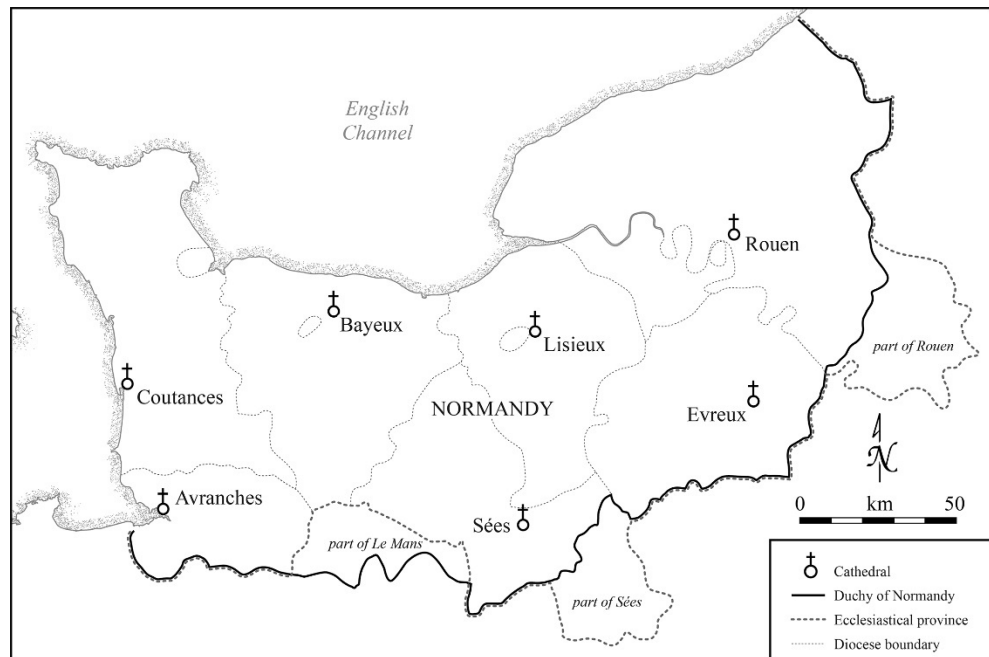
survived the war between Stephen and Matilda influence the king within the ecclesiastical sphere after his continental territories grew; and what about the statements made by Warren and Hagger, did he rely upon his prelates to bring about stability much like William was instructed nearly a hundred years previously, or did he not need them as Warren depicts? All these questions are political in nature and the prelates' support and actions in the king's administration and governance could plausibly be the king depending upon them, but the questions go beyond simple politics. To examine these ideas fully the relationship between monarch and Church are significant. Typically, across the continental empire the source material for the period in question is so scant that it may not be possible to answer these questions. Normandy is to some extent the exception to this rule.

A study of Norman prelates is worthwhile for several reasons. Existing research on Henry's authority over the region all reach varying conclusions; ranging from weaker governance of the duchy by the king, traditionally argued by Charles Haskins and Lucien Musset, to a stable and strong authoritative presence, as suggested more recently by Vincent D. Moss and Daniel Power.⁶⁹ The duchy of Normandy was Henry's first realm given to him by his father in 1150. Geoffrey's conquest of Normandy had re-established the ducal rights over the Church in the 1140s. Further, Rouen has been considered as flourishing in the reign of Henry II becoming a key imperial city.⁷⁰ Henry needed authority and influence over the archbishops and bishops of Normandy because they controlled ecclesiastical courts, could uphold secular authority, and, if the king could rely upon them, fill important roles within his administration.⁷¹ This chapter begins with an examination of six of the dioceses in Normandy. A case study of Arnulf of Lisieux and the seventh diocese, Lisieux, forms chapter two of this thesis. An examination of episcopal elections comes first, then royal service and attendance at court and, finally, the impact of two great crises on the bishops: Thomas Becket and the rebellion of 1173-74.

⁶⁹ V. Moss, 'Normandy and England in 1180: The Pipe roll evidence', *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), pp. 185 – 195; D. Power, 'Angevin Normandy', *Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 63 – 85; C. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (London, 1918) pp. 156 – 195; L. Musset, 'Quelques problèmes de l'annexion de la Normandie au Domaine royal Français', *La France de Philippe Auguste: le temps des mutations*, ed. R.H. Bautier (Paris, 1982), pp. 291 – 307 at 291 – 294.

⁷⁰ E. van Houts, 'Rouen as Another Rome in the Twelfth Century', *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911 – 1300*, ed. L. Hicks and E. Brenner (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 101 – 124, at 101 – 102.

⁷¹ For an explanation of the relationships between prelates, parishes, and monasteries see G. Combalbert, 'Archbishops and the City: Powers, Conflicts, and Jurisdiction in the Parishes of Rouen (Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries)', *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911 – 1300*, ed. L. Hicks and E. Brenner (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 185 – 223.



Map 1.1 The diocesan boundaries of Normandy.

For Normandy, uniquely among Henry II's continental domains, there is secondary literature on the episcopate.⁷² In addition to a number of biographical studies, Jörg Peltzer's, *Canon Law, Career and Conquest* offers an in-depth appraisal of episcopal elections.⁷³ Peltzer's research has focused on canon law and ecclesiastical elections in Normandy and Greater Anjou from 1140 to 1230, and provides historical context around those elections. He demonstrates that the twelfth-century Church's wider acceptance of canon law curtailed secular influence within elections and how the monarchs of England and France responded.⁷⁴ Peltzer's work has proved extremely valuable, but this chapter goes beyond elections to identify the king's interactions during the bishops' tenure, and how they supported the king's governance, and how this strengthened his rule and authority. The terminology used when examining royal and episcopal relationships is important. The idea of the king controlling the Church is too overbearing and there are more representative terms available. For instance, influence when examining mechanisms

⁷² D. Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal period, 911 – 1204* (London, 2006); Peltzer, 'Henry II and the Norman Bishops', 1202 – 1229; G. Bonnenfant, *Histoire Générale du diocèse d'Evreux* (2 vols., Paris, 1933); D. Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy under the Normans and Angevins', *ANS* v (1983), pp. 220 – 233; R. Allen, 'Les reliques de la cathédrale d'Avranches', *Recueil d'études offert en hommage à Emmanuel Pouille, Revue de l'Avranchinet du Pays de Granville* 87 (2010), pp. 501 – 535; D. Spear, 'Les Doyens du chapitre cathédrale de Rouen, durant la période ducal', *Annales de Normandie* 33 (1983), pp. 91 – 119; E.A. Pigeon, *Le Diocèse d'Avranches* (2 vols., Coutances, 1888).

⁷³ Waldman, 'Hugh of Amiens, Archbishop of Rouen (1130 – 1164)', 139 – 153; Schlunz, 'Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen (1164 – 1183)'; Poggioli, 'From Politician to prelate: The Career of Walter of Coutances'; Jacquemard, 'Maître Richard l'Evêque, archidiacre de Coutances', 107 – 121; V. Bourrienne, *Un Grand Bâtisseur. Phillippe de Harcourt, évêque de Bayeux (1142 – 1163)* (Paris, 1930).

⁷⁴ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*.

to maintain authority works better to describe the king's goals and actions in relation to his prelates in Normandy. The king maintained his influence through his nominations and *acta* which granted or confirmed gifts and rights to bishops and ecclesiastical institutions.⁷⁵ Through Henry's use of his influence he bolstered his authority. It is possible to identify Henry's authority within this context through his successful nominations of prelates, through the archbishops and bishops acting as envoys, their inclusion in his royal court and household both before and after their elections, issuing charters to the prelates to confirm settlements of disputes, and granting land and money.

The Governance of Normandy lacked the centralization which England benefited from, the ducal authority paled in comparison to royal authority, and leading families remained much more autonomous. Henry I upon taking control of the duchy, voided all the grants of his predecessor, Robert Curthose, made from the ducal demesne and soon issued the same grants under his own name.⁷⁶ This strategy not only deprived the previous duke's supporters of their claim to Robert's patronage, but it also established Henry I's authority over the region through the use of writs and charters which became more common at this time.⁷⁷ After his conquest, starting in 1107, Henry I quickly began to dispense justice in the region, focusing heavily on the Church and aiding the religious houses in the territory. He relied heavily on his oldest illegitimate son, Robert, to help bolster his authority and aid in the running of the Norman administration.⁷⁸ Additionally, he bolstered support for his rule through multiple marriages to leading families in the region as well as using lords from England as administrators in Normandy.⁷⁹ He provided Native Norman Lords lands in England to establish loyalty and provide risk if the Norman lords chose to act against him. Essentially, Henry's governance greatly focused upon retaining the lands he conquered. This meant he, and his family, became more entwined with the people who held significant influence in the region in order to create a foothold and legitimize his rule. He worked to connect the leading nobility across the channel bringing trusted English lords to Normandy, and presented Norman lords with lands in England to create a co-dependency

⁷⁵ Chibnall, 'The Changing Expectations of a Royal benefactor', 9 – 10, 18; Power, 'The Transformation of Norman Charters in the Twelfth Century', 206; Turner, 'The Problem of Survival for the Angevin "Empire"', 78 – 79.

⁷⁶ Hagger, *Norman Rule in Normandy*, 161.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 161 – 2.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 164 – 166.

within his administration. This system was designed to prevent Normandy from leaving the king of England's sphere of influence.

During the civil war of Stephen of Blois' reign, much of this development by Henry I fell away. After Stephen became the king of England, the Norman lords, due to the cross-channel relationships created by Henry I, quickly ensured that Stephen became the ruler of Normandy as well.⁸⁰ Although, there existed a contingent of Norman lords such as William Talvas and William Marshall who supported Henry I's daughter and chosen heir Matilda's claim, setting the stage for a war between Stephen and Matilda for not only Normandy, but England as well.⁸¹ Stephen's time as duke focused primarily on fighting against Geoffrey and Matilda, using his local lords to secure his authority. He left most of the control of the administration of Normandy to his high-ranking officials, such as Waleran of Meulan.⁸²

Henry's father Geoffrey Plantagenet attempted to re-establish some of the governmental groundwork accomplished by Henry I. Geoffrey's rule over Normandy from 1144 to 1151 is unique in that Matilda, his wife, exercised her authority in the region as well, although Geoffrey was the designated overlord.⁸³ Geoffrey during his governance over the duchy nominated bishops at Avranches, Bayeux, and Lisieux, and he used the support of local lords, such as William Talvas and Waleran of Meulan, after he switched his support, to establish his authority.⁸⁴ With the exception to the distinct lack of marriages between Geoffrey and the Norman nobility, Geoffrey did not divert from the system of governance which Henry I began.⁸⁵

Nevertheless, the fact remains that ducal authority in Normandy was limited and negatively impacted by Henry II's two immediate predecessors. Beyond the ability of nominating bishops, usually from the local ecclesiastical dynasties, and confirming donations by local lords, ducal authority appears limited. It was the lower lords who accepted and supported the duke's authority which allowed them to rule in any capacity. This perception of control by the local nobility expanded during Stephen's reign when he handed control of Normandy to them. Henry II had the example set by his grandfather in

⁸⁰ Ibid, 179.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² C. Haskins, 'Normandy under Geoffrey Plantagenet', *EHR* 107 (1912), pp. 417 – 444, at 420.

⁸³ Hagger, *Norman Rule in Normandy*, 180 – 2.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 182 – 3.

⁸⁵ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 155.

securing his authority in the duchy. However, new opportunities afforded to him in 1154, such as the coffers of England, the title of king, and the consolidation of Anjou into his continental domains, allowed him to ignore some of the actions taken by his grandfather such as intermarriage between the royal family and the local nobility. These benefits also allowed him to rely less upon the local leading families when he did not need their support. Henry II, as will be seen in this chapter, continued to nominate amicable prelates to the Norman bishoprics, even beginning to avoid the local dynasties. He strengthened his authority in Normandy through the issuance of charters to religious institutions in the duchy. In essence, he created a system of governance which left him alone at the top, with a multitude of supporters in the Church which helped maintain his authority throughout the region.

Normandy, when Henry II became duke, was neither a safe nor secure territory. Leading up to 1154 Normandy faced instability both politically and ecclesiastically. Following Henry I's death in 1135, Stephen took the title Duke of Normandy after becoming King of England. Despite his position as duke, Stephen rarely used the title and never formed a strong sense of governance over the duchy.⁸⁶ Daniel Power has argued the duchy, outside of 1135 to 1144, had been one of the most centrally governed regions on the Continent, but that there was a degree of baronial autonomy, particularly around the frontier.⁸⁷ Geoffrey of Anjou, with the support of some local lords like William Talvas, began campaigning in the duchy immediately for his wife Matilda. Geoffrey seized Normandy in 1144, ending the conflict in Normandy between the Angevins and King Stephen of England. However, this did not stabilize the ecclesiastical polity in the region due to Geoffrey's actions during the conflict. In 1141 Geoffrey took control of the temporalities of the bishopric of Lisieux after Arnulf's election occurred without Geoffrey's consent.⁸⁸ He held the lands for two years and three months and only released them once Arnulf paid £900 for the lands and his office.⁸⁹ In 1144 the canons at Sées elected Gerald as bishop without Geoffrey's permission. Arnulf wrote that Geoffrey or his followers physically attacked the newly elected bishop. Later accounts, produced after the death of Thomas Becket, state they castrated the bishop.⁹⁰ Becket's death may have been a

⁸⁶ *Recueil* (introduction, Paris, 1909), 115.

⁸⁷ D. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2004), 27.

⁸⁸ For his election see page 53.

⁸⁹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 137; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.37.

⁹⁰ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 3; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 1.39; William fitz Stephen, 'Vita sancti Thomae Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martyris', *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J.C. Robertson and J. Sheppard, Rolls Series lxxvii (7 vols., London,

catalyst for a change in the narrative to proscribe a family lineage of aggression towards the clergy. Following these events, influential nobles such as Waleran of Meulan and Bishop Rotrou of Evreux turned to the French king; attending his court, attesting concords between religious houses and attending meetings with the king's magnates.⁹¹ Geoffrey tried to restore the government of Henry I, not establish a new system.⁹² He handed the duchy over to Henry in 1150.⁹³

After Henry became count of Anjou in 1151 Norman barons faced a return to how things were after Geoffrey's takeover. Now that Henry was count of Anjou and duke of Normandy the lords who sought favour from both now faced a decrease in their significance and ability to seek benefits from competing lords, increasing instability.⁹⁴ Due to this instability and the need to restore governance, Henry turned to the clergy, who had supported Stephen until Geoffrey fully seized the region in 1144, in hopes they would support him.⁹⁵ His reliance on, and use of, the Church as a means of rule was not something new. Henry's predecessors had long ago established and used this method of increasing governance. His grandfather, Henry I, building on his own predecessor and the evolution of Anglo-papal relations, tried to control the clergy and their interactions with the papacy to maintain his authority over the Church.⁹⁶ King Stephen used the prelates of England and Normandy to support his position as king through their attestations of an early charter which stated he ruled with their assent.⁹⁷ Henry struggled to have his authority recognised in the Church until 1154, when he became king, as will be seen in the following section.

Prelates

1875 – 1885), iv, 65; Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. J. Brewer, J. Dimock, and G. Warner, Rolls Series xxi (8 vols., London, 1861 – 1891), viii, 160, 301, 309.

⁹¹ Odo de Deuil, *De profectioe Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V. Berry (New York, 1948), 12; *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford*, ed. S. Wigram (2 vols., Oxford, 1895 – 1896), ii, 324.

⁹² Haskins, 'Normandy under Geoffrey Plantagenet', 427.

⁹³ *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. L. Halphen (Paris, 1903), 12.

⁹⁴ Thompson, 'William Talvas', 183.

⁹⁵ Haskins, 'Normandy under Geoffrey Plantagenet', 419.

⁹⁶ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum: Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia et opuscula duo De Vita Santi Anselmi et quibusdam miraculis ejus*, ed. M. Rule, Rolls Series lxxxi (London, 1884), 141 – 142.

⁹⁷ *English Historical Documents, 1042 – 1189*, ed. D. Douglas and G. Greenway (London, 1981), 429 – 430.

Vacancies

One of Henry's means of gaining authority and influence in the Norman Church was to nominate amicable people by allowing long vacancies to exist where he could, as in England.⁹⁸ This is one of the few tools which can be classified as being part of an ecclesiastical policy which Henry created to support and extend his authority in Normandy. Through canon law Henry II was not to influence or participate in the election process by nominating potential bishops or interfering in the election process. However, long vacancies make it likely that either the canons could not choose a nominee, and Henry II remained detached from the nomination process, or that these vacancies had a benefit. In England, leaving ecclesiastical positions vacant benefited the crown by allowing the king to find an acceptable nominee, or for monetary gain.⁹⁹ If there was no financial benefit to keeping the Norman bishoprics vacant, then it indicates that the king allowed long vacancies to secure a nomination. He essentially starved the bishopric of leadership until the chapter acquiesced to his nomination.

Five of the seven dioceses in Normandy remained vacant for a lengthy period during the reign of Henry II. Giles du Perches' election in 1170 ended a five-year vacancy at Evreux after Rotrou's translation to the archbishopric of Rouen in 1165.¹⁰⁰ After the death of Giles there was another two-year vacancy at Evreux until John fitz Luke's election to the bishopric between 1181 and 1182.¹⁰¹ The two year vacancy in the diocese of Sées following Froger's death demonstrates Henry II's capacity to deny the Victorine canons the right to elect one of their own. The diocese of Coutances also had a five-year vacancy between the death of Richard de Bohun in 1178 and the election of William de Tournebu in 1183; while the diocese of Bayeux had a two-year vacancy between the death of Phillip de Harcourt and the election of Henry de Beaumont in 1165.¹⁰² These vacancies were frequent and signify some form of policy developed by Henry II in Normandy. It is likely that Henry held these dioceses vacant until one of his nominees was selected, ensuring he had supportive prelates in Normandy. The only dioceses which had elections where no

⁹⁸ Warren, *Henry II*, 385.

⁹⁹ E. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-century England: A study of the 'Mensa Episcopalis'* (Cambridge, 1994), 365.

¹⁰⁰ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 101 – 102.

¹⁰¹ For 1181 dating see: Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 278; for 1182 dating see: *ibid*, i, 290 – 291; Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 295.

¹⁰² *Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Neue Folge. II. Normandie*, ed. Johannes Ramackers, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen; philologisch-historische Klasse; 3. Folge xxvii* (Göttingen, 1956), no. 235; Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 225.

lengthy vacancy occurred were Avranches and Rouen. In the case of Avranches the diocese held little importance in the governance of the duchy, as explained later. For Rouen, the necessity to have a supportive archbishop negated any reason to hold the archbishopric vacant.

Backgrounds of the Prelates

Having examined the vacancies and their prevalence in Henry's ecclesiastical policy in Normandy, it is necessary to examine the backgrounds of the men elected to the highest ecclesiastical offices in Normandy to decipher Henry's authority over the Church through royal nominations and if he had rapport with the men elected. This includes an examination of their social positions which allows for the identification of patterns between the elected prelates. Of the men elected, a majority were clerics who occupied both secular and ecclesiastical positions. Philip de Harcourt was the bishop of Bayeux when Henry II became duke. Philip was a protégé of Waleran of Meulan and chancellor to King Stephen.¹⁰³ He was an archdeacon of Evreux from c. 1126, and received the deanery at Lincoln near the end of Henry I's reign.¹⁰⁴ Waleran nominated him as dean of Saint-Trinity collegiate church of Beaumont in 1131.¹⁰⁵ Richard de Bohun, elected to Coutances in 1151, had been dean of Bayeux and chancellor to Count Geoffrey.¹⁰⁶ Herbert was elected to Avranches in 1153. A chaplain to both Matilda and Henry. Jörg Peltzer describes his election as a royal favour by Matilda to a loyal clerk.¹⁰⁷ Before Froger's election to the bishopric of Sées in 1159 he had been Henry's almoner and had been in the household of Arnulf of Lisieux, the man who suggested him for the position, and archdeacon of Derby from 1151.¹⁰⁸ Giles du Perche, elected to Evreux in 1170, held the archdeaconate at Rouen during the tenure of Hugh, and considered Archbishop Hugh his "uncle", *patruus*.¹⁰⁹ During his time as archdeacon, Giles became known to the king and his court as he represented the chapter of Rouen at the donation of half the manor of Kilham by Henry II

¹⁰³ R. Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075 – 1225* (Oxford, 2000), 35.

¹⁰⁴ D. Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins, The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth century* (Cambridge, 1986), 45.

¹⁰⁵ S.E. Gleason, *An Ecclesiastical barony of the Middle Ages. The Bishopric of Bayeux, 1066 – 1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 27; Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 45.

¹⁰⁶ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 163.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, iv, 176; Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 153.

¹⁰⁸ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 34; *English Episcopal Acta XIV. Coventry and Lichfield 1072 – 1159*, ed. M. Franklin (Oxford, 1997), 129.

¹⁰⁹ 'Epistolae Alexandri III papae', *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. L. Delisle (24 vols., Paris, 1869 – 1904), xv, pp. 744 – 977, at 961 – 962, no. 398.

to the canons of Rouen.¹¹⁰ Giles was friends with Arnulf of Lisieux, a courtier of Henry II from the ducal period. He was instrumental in beginning the bishop's letter collection.¹¹¹

Walter de Coutances, a royal clerk, obtained ecclesiastical posts as rewards for his services. He became vice-chancellor by 1173, and in the Church he had been archdeacon of Oxford from 1175/6.¹¹² He had been a canon at Rouen since the 1160s and in 1177 became treasurer.¹¹³ He rarely witnessed charters issued by his archbishop there, Rotrou, perhaps because his main career was in royal administration.¹¹⁴ He was a chaplain of Henry the Young King until the rebellion of 1173 – 1174 when Henry II recalled him.¹¹⁵ He held the position of royal custodian for the honour of Arundel and the abbeys of Ramsey and Wilton.¹¹⁶ He was elected to Lincoln in 1183, but this was superseded by Rouen in 1184.¹¹⁷ Walter's is therefore a classic royal servant's trajectory, and Rouen partly his reward, but also Henry committing a crucial office to a trusted figure. His election demonstrates Henry's authority in Normandy.

The remaining prelates elected to the dioceses spent their entire known careers in the Church. For instance, Hugh of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen 1130 – 1164, was one of several prelates from the previous reign when Henry came to power. He was a Cluniac monk who became prior of Limoges around 1115, and then of Lewes in 1120. He had been Henry I's first abbot of Reading after its foundation in 1123.¹¹⁸ Lisiard was a canon of Le Mans prior to his election to Sées in 1187/8.¹¹⁹ William de Tournebu had been the dean of Bayeux before his election at Coutances in 1183.¹²⁰ Henry de Beaumont had been an

¹¹⁰ *English Episcopal Acta XI. Exeter 1046 – 1184*, ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1996), no. 55; *Recueil*, i, nos. 168, 394; Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 79, 232.

¹¹¹ A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters* (Cambridge, 1965), 24.

¹¹² *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, i, 367; ii, 4; *PR*, 22, H.II, 47; *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, ed. D. Douglas, *Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales* viii (London, 1932), no. 97; *Recueil*, ii, no. 462.

¹¹³ E. Turk, *Nugis curialium. Le règne d'Henri II Plantagenêt (1145 – 1189) et l'éthique politique*, centre des recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la IVe section de l'école pratique des hautes études; v, hautes études médiévales et modernes xxviii (Geneva, 1977), 41.

¹¹⁴ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 80.

¹¹⁵ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 43.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, i, 168, 334 – 335; For Arundel see *PR*, 25, H.II, 38; *PR*, 26, H.II, 32 – 33; *PR*, 27, H.II, 145 – 146; *PR*, 28, H.II, 90 – 91; *PR*, 29, H.II, 107; *PR*, 30, H.II, 127 – 128; *PR*, 32, H.II, 184 – 185; *PR*, 33, H.II, 109 – 111; For Ramsey and Wilton see, *PR*, 26, H.II, 26, 122.

¹¹⁷ *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, ii, 14; *English Episcopal Acta I. Lincoln 1067 – 1185*, ed. D. Smith (London, 1980), xxxvii – xxxix; Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 299.

¹¹⁸ Morey, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, 78.

¹¹⁹ *Cartulaire Manceau de Marmoutier*, ed. E. Laurain (2 vols., Laval, 1911 – 1945), ii, 367 – 370, no. 9; *Liber controversarium Sancti Vincentii Cenomannensis ou second cartulaire de l'abbaye de St-Vincent du Mans*, ed. A. Chedeille (Paris, 1969), no. 51.

¹²⁰ *Papsturkunden. Normandie*, no. 235.

archdeacon of Salisbury and dean since 1155 before his election to Bayeux in 1165.¹²¹ He had already interacted with the canons at Bayeux, representing Salisbury in a dispute over money and items taken by Philip when he left.¹²² William Burel's background is obscure prior to his election at Avranches in 1183, but he may have been a canon at Le Mans, and dean of the royal chapel of Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour in Le Mans from 1167.¹²³ Before his election in 1181 at Evreux, John fitz Luke was a canon at Rouen.¹²⁴ Rotrou, before his translation to Rouen in 1165, had been the bishop of Evreux since 1139, and was elected to the bishopric almost certainly through the Beaumont family's influence in the region and closeness to King Stephen.¹²⁵ Achard, elected to Avranches in 1161, was the abbot of Saint-Victor's in Paris and a well-known theologian.¹²⁶ Achard was a ducal appointment by Henry II to the first available bishopric following his rejection at Sées, which will be examined later in this chapter. He was the only member of a religious order, the Augustinians, to be elected in Normandy during the reign of Henry II.¹²⁷ Richard L'Eveque, archdeacon of Coutances, became bishop of Avranches in 1170, likely through familial ties in the region.¹²⁸ He was described by his modern biographer, Claude Jacquemard, as a knowledgeable and modest man who studied under John of Salisbury.¹²⁹ Examining the elected prelates' backgrounds it appears those who worked in secular government had the best chance to be nominated by Henry II, and where Henry's authority was widely accepted, he placed loyal royal clerics.

Family Connections

One of the more common constraints on Henry's authority which he inherited with the duchy were the existing ecclesiastical dynasties in Normandy, which restrained his ability

¹²¹ D. Greenway, *John Le Neve: Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066 – 1300. IV. Salisbury* (London, 1991), 9; *English episcopal Acta XVIII. Salisbury 1078 – 1217*, ed. B. Kemp (Oxford, 1999), lxxv – lxxvi.

¹²² Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 138; Greenway, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066 – 1300. IV. Salisbury*, 9, n. 4.

¹²³ The difficulty in attributing both positions to him is expressed by Jörg Peltzer, there is evidence of a canon named William Burel until 1167 at Le Mans, *Cartulaire de l'évêché du mans (936 – 1790)*, ed. B. de Broussillon, Archives historiques du maine i (Le Mans, 1900), no. 57; *Chartularium insignis ecclesiae Cenomanensis quod Liber albus capituli*, ed. R. J. Francois Lottin (Le Mans, 1869), nos. 492, 534; however there is an obituary for an archpriest and canon named William Burel in *Necrologe-obituaire de la cathedrale du Mans*, ed. G. Busson and A. Ledru, Archives historiques du Maine vii (Le Mans, 1906), 124 – 125; Which is a different person than the archbishop, Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 155 n. 382.

¹²⁴ *GC*, xi, col. 579; Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, 248.

¹²⁵ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 75; Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 45.

¹²⁶ J. Chatillon, *Theologie, spiritualité et métaphysique dans l'oeuvre oratoire d'Achard de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1969), 12 – 14.

¹²⁷ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 261 – 262.

¹²⁸ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 247; Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 154.

¹²⁹ Jacquemard, 'Maître Richard l'Eveque, archidiacre de Coutances', 107 – 108.

to express his authority. Richard L'Eveque was not the only person elected whose family had significance in the locality of his diocese. The Beaumont-le-Roger family is a recurring theme. Rotrou was the brother of Earl Roger of Warwick. He became bishop of Evreux, which lay within the Beaumont family's land holdings in Normandy.¹³⁰ His election can certainly be seen as evidence of the influence of the Beaumont family over King Stephen who relied on them to secure his position both in England and Normandy.¹³¹ As noted above, Philip's election in 1142 had been backed by Waleran Count of Meulan. Henry de Beaumont's surname suggests he was a member of the Beaumont family too, but his precise relationship to its leaders is unknown. The Beaumonts had considerable influence over the bishopric of Salisbury during the reign of King Stephen, when Henry was archdeacon at the cathedral the Beaumont twins, through the creation of lies and scandals, removed Bishop Roger of Salisbury in 1139 from power in the English government.¹³² Regardless of his family, bishop Henry kept in good standing with Henry II, his mother Empress Matilda, and stood high enough in the king's esteem that following the murder of Thomas Becket, Henry nominated him to become archbishop of Canterbury.¹³³ Giles du Perche, elected at Evreux in 1170 was also a member of the Beaumont family.¹³⁴ Evreux, was thus held by a member of the Beaumont family during most of Henry's reign.¹³⁵ When thinking of Kathleen Thompson's statement about the decreasing significance of Norman families during the reign of Henry II, it is important to remember the Beaumonts held lands on both sides of the channel, and were not a typical noble family.¹³⁶ But their influence can demonstrate how royal influence and authority operated in Normandy. While the king had the power to make nominations the canons accepted, he relied upon the aristocracy and local ecclesiastical dynasties to uphold his authority and offer nominees, and therefore he had to appease them.

Philip of Bayeux's own family had considerable connections. Two of his nephews, Simon de Tournebu and his brother Thomas became seneschals of Normandy. It is likely

¹³⁰ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 76; Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 45.

¹³¹ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K. Potter and R.H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1976), 46; *OV*, vi, 456; Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 38 – 41.

¹³² Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 44.

¹³³ *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Later Letters (1163 – 1180)*, nos. 137 – 138, 191; *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series lxxiii (2 vols., London, 1879 – 1880), i, 240; *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, no. 220.

¹³⁴ D. Spear, 'Power, Patronage, and Personality in the Norman Cathedral Chapters, 911 – 1204', *ANS* xx (1998), pp. 205 – 222, at 214 – 215.

¹³⁵ Rotrou was Bishop from 1139 till his translation in 1165, and Giles was elected in 1170 and held the office until 1179, Beaumonts did not hold the office after the election of John fitz Luke in 1181.

¹³⁶ Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 16.

that William de Tournebu, a well-known churchman and regular papal judge delegate, appointed to Coutances in 1183 was a relation of theirs.¹³⁷ William's patrons at Bayeux, bishops Henry and Philip, were well known in Henry's court.¹³⁸ Thus, familial connections still aided nominees in bordering dioceses.

This cross-diocese influence continued at Avranches. Although Avranches seems to be a diocese Henry II did not see as important in the administration of Normandy. William Burel elected at Avranches in 1183 had familial connections to the royal court through his father, Durand, who had served as cupbearer to Henry II.¹³⁹ Peltzer considered it likely that his appointment was put forward by the cathedral chapter, but given his ties to the court through his father, likely supported by the king.¹⁴⁰ John fitz Luke did not have any ties to the king's court through his family, but he likely came from an influential family within the city of Evreux.¹⁴¹ From evaluating the familial connections of the Norman prelates it is made clear that having a familial network played a significant role in a person's chance to be nominated to a bishopric. Even in the case of John fitz Luke, who had no ties to the king's court, still became bishop, likely in part of his familial connections at Evreux, a bordering diocese to Avranches. Ecclesiastical dynasties then were engaged in a significant number of the dioceses in Normandy, and this caused difficulty for Henry to extend his authority without their cooperation.

Elections

Henry attempted to influence ecclesiastical elections to his benefit which can be viewed as creating an ecclesiastical policy to express his authority. However, Henry faced difficulties which made this tool less reliable and the allowed existence of long-term vacancies in Normandy necessary. Having examined the backgrounds and the social positions of those elected, it is beneficial to examine a few examples of ecclesiastical elections which went smoothly in Normandy. Familial connections were paramount in the election of Philip de Harcourt in 1142. Multiple arguments exist concerning the motivations which brought about the election of Philip to the bishopric of Bayeux. The first group perspective is of a

¹³⁷ *Antiquus Cartularius ecclesiae Baiocensis, livre noir*, ed. V. Bourrienne, Société de l'histoire de Normandie (2 vols., Rouen 1902 – 1903), i, no. 71; *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. T. Stapleton (2 vols., London, 1840 – 1844), i, 49, 81, 93; Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 229.

¹³⁸ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneo', iv, 225; Peltzer, 'Henry II and the Norman Bishops', 1215 – 1216, 1218 – 1219.

¹³⁹ *Nécrologe-obituaire de la cathédrale du Mans*, 258 – 269.

¹⁴⁰ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 155.

¹⁴¹ *GC*, xi, col. 579; Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals*, 248.

royal appointment which can be encompassed by Sarell E. Gleason, his election in 1142 acted as compensation by King Stephen after he failed to secure the election at Salisbury for Philip in 1139.¹⁴² However, a different perspective can be seen in the works of Geoffrey White and restated by Henry A. Cronne and later by David Crouch. They argue Waleran switched his support to the Angevins from Stephen in 1142 and then assisted Philip in securing the diocese, in effect bringing his network to the support of the Angevins as well.¹⁴³ This is not to state Stephen lost Normandy by 1142, but that the civil war allowed for local figures to become more influential over ecclesiastical nominations in Normandy during this time. It is likely the latter argument is correct given Geoffrey's actions against those elected at Sées and Lisieux during this time and his inaction against Philip. In either scenario there is one constant figure, Waleran, leader of the Beaumont family in Normandy, who played an instrumental role in Philip's election.

Until 1154, despite becoming duke in 1151, Henry II struggled to have his authority accepted by the Church in Normandy, although after he became King of England this changed. Herbert's nomination to Avranches in 1153 went smoothly only because of the lessons learned in a previous election in Normandy when Henry struggled to apply his authority as duke. In 1152 Henry attempted to influence the election of the new abbot at Mont-Saint-Michel through pressuring the monks. In response, Popes Eugenius III and Anastasius IV threatened Henry with excommunication and interdicts. Bishop Richard of Avranches died on his way to Rome to appear in the papal court concerning the ongoing dispute over the election at Mont-Saint-Michel. It appears the cathedral chapter decided against fighting Henry II's nomination of Herbert to avoid the same struggles as Mont-Saint-Michel, or even making the issue worse.¹⁴⁴ The dispute at Mont-Saint-Michel and the election of Herbert demonstrates Henry's attempt at influencing and controlling ecclesiastical elections within Normandy as duke. Perhaps most interesting is the disputes over elections which arose while he was duke never appeared after he became king in 1154. This suggests his royal authority shifted the perception of the Church in Normandy over his involvement in elections. That is not to say that his royal authority immediately

¹⁴² Gleason, *An Ecclesiastical Barony of the Middle Ages*, 27.

¹⁴³ G.H. White, 'Philip de Harcourt, Bishop of Bayeux', *Notes and Queries* 12 (1922), pp. 126 – 7, at 126 – 127; Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 52 – 53; H.A. Cronne, *The reign of Stephen. Anarchy in England* (London, 1970), 207 – 208; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 223.

¹⁴⁴ *Epistolae Pontificum Romanorum Ineditae*, nos. 206, 210 – 211, 214 – 216.

became recognized in Normandy, but that as king he now had the resources to press his authority more than most institutions were willing to risk.

Rotrou's election to the archbishopric of Rouen in 1165 came during a crucial time in Angevin royal-ecclesiastical relations and has been ascribed to Henry II's influence.¹⁴⁵ The king needed supportive prelates due to the growing crisis between himself and Thomas Becket. In England, in an attempt to shore up support, Roger, the king's cousin, became bishop of Worcester in the same year. However, this failed as Roger became an ardent supporter of Becket in exile.¹⁴⁶ Rotrou's familial ties certainly played a role in his election at Evreux, but it was by the authority of Henry II that he became archbishop. Beaumont dominance, still led by Waleran of Meulan, influenced Rotrou's election at Evreux, and although they still likely controlled elections to Evreux, their influence did not extend to the archiepiscopal level. The family held multiple positions within Normandy, but Rotrou stands out as the person who acted frequently in support of the king's authority in the region. This authority could be detrimental to the family and used to pressure them out of their office, like Arnulf of Lisieux, or to ensure the family failed to receive royal nominations for ecclesiastical positions. This becomes clearer in the election of Walter de Coutances to the archbishopric in 1183 over the canons' favorite, Robert du Neubourg, a member of the Beaumont family. However, they still maintained influence in Evreux with the election of bishop Giles in 1170.

When examining Achard's election, this time at Avranches, it seems Henry felt more comfortable placing a man with no experience in royal service into a less significant diocese.¹⁴⁷ Avranches became a safe diocese for Achard since the canons would not have such strong ties to the bishop. At Avranches, Achard's greatest qualities, his piety and knowledge, would be the primary focus. Thomas Becket when writing to Pope Alexander III mentions this transition, "Why was Abbot Achard of Saint-Victor, bishop-elect of Séez, not permitted to be consecrated? Because the supreme pontiff Adrian had confirmed his election. Why did the king later allow him to be made bishop of Avranches? Obviously because no election preceded his will."¹⁴⁸ Becket's rhetorical questions highlight the

¹⁴⁵ *Les Registres de Philippe Auguste, I. texte*, ed. J. Baldwin, Recueil des historiens de la France. Documents and financiers et administratifs vii (Paris, 1992), inquisitiones, no. 18.

¹⁴⁶ Warren, *Henry II*, 216; D. Spear, 'The Norman Empire and the Secular Clergy, 1066 – 1204', *Journal of British Studies* 21 (1982), pp. 1 – 10, at 5.

¹⁴⁷ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 153 – 154.

¹⁴⁸ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, i, no. 170. *Achardus abbas Sancti Victoris electus in episcopum Sagiensem, quare non permissus est ordinari? Quia electionem eius confirmauerat summus pontifex*

authority of Henry II over the Church in Normandy, the king could work against the electors and the pope for his personal benefit of having bishops who supported his authority over the Church. Achard's successor Richard L'Eveque's election occurred just after Becket's murder but before the compromise of Avranches. It is probable his selection was the chapter's choice, since his family was local, and royal influence within the engagement limited.¹⁴⁹

Walter de Coutances, elected to the archbishopric of Rouen in 1184, held office until 1207.¹⁵⁰ Ralph Diceto described the election as the result of an "arbitration", *compromissarius*, between Henry II and the canons, who wanted Robert of Neubourg, a Beaumont.¹⁵¹ However, Ralph's description, possibly by design, minimized Henry II's influence in the election.¹⁵² After taking Normandy in 1204, Philip Augustus ordered an inquest to determine ducal rights over archiepiscopal elections. The jurors, fourteen knights, determined that Walter's election was not a compromise, but the decision of Henry II alone.¹⁵³ Ralph likely created the narrative around this election to show Henry as supportive of a Church less restricted by the secular ruler given his position as both dean of St. Paul's cathedral in London and as one of the closest historians to the Angevin court and a strong supporter of the king.¹⁵⁴ Diceto felt the need to present the event in such a manner to make it seem Henry II was not ignoring the rights of the Church to hold elections independent of secular influence. This illustrates the level of authority Henry II held at Rouen near the end of his reign; court historians who were members of the clergy downplayed his authority to portray a more popular and accepted narrative.

Problematic Elections

Having examined a few of the elections which went smoothly for the king it is also important to examine elections which did not go easily for Henry II. It is significant that the year 1154 still appears to have shifted the perception of those in the Norman Church of

Adrianus. Quare permisit rex ut idem postmodum fieret episcopus Abricensis? Plane quia nulla uoluntatem eius precessit electio.

¹⁴⁹ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 154.

¹⁵⁰ R. Turner, 'Walter de Coutances (d. 1207), administrator and archbishop of Rouen', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁵¹ *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, ii, 21.

¹⁵² J. Gillingham, 'Royal Newsletters, Forgeries and English Historians: Some Links between Court and History in the Reign of Richard I', *La Cour Plantagenêt (1154 – 1204). Actes du colloque tenu à Thouars du 30 Avril au 2 Mai 1999*, ed. M. Aurell, Civilisation médiévale viii (Poitiers, 2000), pp. 171 – 186, at 178 – 179.

¹⁵³ *Les Registres de Philippe Auguste, I. texte*, inquisitiones, no. 18.

¹⁵⁴ Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, 67 – 68.

Henry's authority, even if the elections were problematic. Richard de Bohun's election to the bishopric of Coutances in 1151, selected by the canons, occurred five years after Pope Eugenius III took the cathedral church under his protection and reinforced the role the canons should have in elections. Eugenius took this action after the canons requested it following Count Geoffrey's handling of the elections at Sées and Lisieux.¹⁵⁵ Eugenius's actions reinforced the denial by the Church of secular influence in episcopal elections set forth by the papacy long before this election. Richard de Bohun's family had also been influential within local politics.¹⁵⁶ Here, likely, the interests of the king, the canons and local society were all served by this election, even if accidental.

The elections at Sées provide an excellent example of how the acceptance of Henry's authority changed after 1154 when compared to the election at Coutances in 1151. Elections to the bishopric of Sées were complicated by the cathedral's constitution as a house of Victorine canons.¹⁵⁷ Sées had strategic significance because it lay on the frontier of Normandy, bordering the Chartrain and Greater Anjou.¹⁵⁸ Sées' influence out with the duchy can be seen in more than half of the extant episcopal *acta* being for institutions outside of Normandy.¹⁵⁹ The bishops' *acta* issued beyond the border of the diocese spread to beneficiaries within Greater Anjou, Aquitaine, and England indicates the diocese had substantial interest in other regions where Henry II had authority. Its location on the frontier, and the geographical spread of the beneficiaries for when the bishopric issued charters, accounts for why both Geoffrey and Henry saw Sées as an important diocese to place a reliable nomination.¹⁶⁰

Following the death of Bishop Gerald of Sées in 1157, the regular canons elected Master Achard, abbot of Saint-Victor's in Paris. Despite his election being confirmed by Pope Adrian IV, Henry II intervened and nominated Froger, his almoner.¹⁶¹ Negotiations between the chapter and the king lasted two years when the canons finally acquiesced and elected Froger in 1159.¹⁶² Most elections went smoothly after 1154, but this one seems to have troubled Henry. However, no evidence suggests the canons appealed to a higher

¹⁵⁵ *Papsturkunden. Normandie*, no. 40.

¹⁵⁶ Boussard, *Le Gouvernement D'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 97, 238 – 239.

¹⁵⁷ J. Peltzer, 'The Angevin Kings and Canon Law: Episcopal Elections and the Loss of Normandy', *ANS* xxvii (2005), pp. 169 – 184, at 173.

¹⁵⁸ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 134.

¹⁵⁹ R. Allen, 'Episcopal Acta in Normandy, 911 – 1204: The Charters of the Bishops of Avranches, Coutances, and Sées', *ANS* xxxvii (2014), pp. 25 – 52, at 31.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 31.

¹⁶¹ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, i, no. 170, 776 – 787.

¹⁶² *Recueil*, Introduction, 367.

authority to stop him. Further, Henry perhaps faced difficulties with his nominations given the church's status as the only non-secular cathedral in Normandy. Thomas Becket later described Froger as, "not elected but intruded", *non electus sed intrusus*.¹⁶³ Henry's objection to Achard cannot have been to his person, since he was happy to nominate him to Avranches soon after. That makes it likely that it was the chapter's perhaps unintentional challenge to his rights as he perceived them, Achard's membership of their own order, and the strategic significance of Sées that motivated his intervention. As bishop, Froger attempted to make the canons more agreeable towards him by granting them an income to celebrate his anniversary earlier than traditionally done by bishops. He also tried to mitigate their influence and successfully petitioned Pope Alexander III to appoint a secular archdeacon within the chapter.¹⁶⁴ While Henry II still faced difficulty in expressing his authority and having it accepted in episcopal elections, the year 1154, when he became king of England, still appears to have been a turning point for how the Norman Church followed his wishes.

Participation in royal service

Service as Envoys

Bishops acting in royal service suggests commitment on their part, and the trust of the king. Their acceptance to act as envoys is a good way to determine their relationships with the king given the nature of the task; the king selected those he trusted, and by becoming an envoy they supported and represented the king's wishes. Not all bishops acted as envoys, but this does not mean the king did not trust those who never travelled on his behalf. For Normandy this role seems to have been limited to the archbishops and one or two other prelates the king relied upon, much like in England where Henry relied upon select prelates to act as envoys such as Richard Barre, Geoffrey Ridel of Ely and Richard of Ilchester of Winchester.¹⁶⁵ The Norman prelates who acted as envoys, like the ones selected from England, had been envoys before they were elevated to a bishopric, like Giles du Perche. Compared to English bishops there is a difference in the missions the envoys went on. Often the Norman envoys dealt with local matters, and during the Becket

¹⁶³ *The Materials of the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J.C. Robertson, Rolls Series lxxvii (7 vols., London 1875 – 1885), vii, 241 – 243; see n. 146, 784 – 785.

¹⁶⁴ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, nos. 33, 34, 35; Sées, Bibliothèque de l'Évêché 'Livre Rouge' (Cartulary, Cathedral Chapter of Sees), fo. 78r. [Accessed 31/07/2019]

¹⁶⁵ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 19, 168 – 169.

crisis they often met with the papacy concerning the dispute given their neutral status as part of the Norman Church.

In Normandy, Rotrou had been one of Henry's biggest supporters, and a frequent envoy. At the beginning of Henry II's reign Rotrou, bishop of Evreux, and Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, travelled as envoys along with the bishop of Le Mans and the abbot of Saint Albans to Pope Adrian IV to discuss, "difficult royal negotiations", *ardua negotia regalia*.¹⁶⁶ This can be interpreted as the king trying to maintain his authority over the Church in Normandy and his other territories, and he selected bishops he trusted and relied upon from dioceses in which he held significant influence. Rotrou, as bishop of Evreux, also travelled with Thomas Becket and others to attend the signing of the treaty between Henry II and Louis VII in May 1160.¹⁶⁷ Rotrou, now archbishop, during the rebellion of Henry the Young King in 1173 travelled with Arnulf of Lisieux to the court of Louis VII on behalf of Henry II to negotiate for peace.¹⁶⁸ The king only sent those who were loyal at the time and had a mutual interest against his sons and the French king. Rotrou continued to support Henry's authority over the Norman Church. In 1177, Rotrou had been sent by Henry II, with Bishop Henry of Bayeux, the chancellor Ralph of Warneville, and Walter de Coutances then vice-chancellor, to persuade Arnulf of Lisieux to relinquish his bishopric.¹⁶⁹ Rotrou was, of course, Arnulf's superior, but Henry, in the difficult ecclesiastical politics of the 1170s following the Becket crisis, failed to remove Arnulf despite Rotrou's support. In the same year Rotrou travelled again as a representative of Henry II to the court of Louis VII along with two English bishops, Geoffrey Ridel of Ely and Richard of Winchester, to meet with Louis VII concerning the dowry of his daughters and ordered the secession of claims to the entire French Vexin and the city of Bourges.¹⁷⁰

Rotrou's successor, Walter de Coutances, also acted on behalf of Henry II. In 1188 Henry II sent Walter along with the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Lincoln, and the earl of Chester across the Channel to meet with Philip to try and obtain peace after

¹⁶⁶ *Chronica Monasterii S Albani: Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, a Thomas Walsingham, ed. H. Riley (3 vols., London, 1867), i, 126; Warren, *Henry II*, 446.

¹⁶⁷ R. Eyton, *The Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II* (London, 1878), 49 – 50.

¹⁶⁸ Peter of Blois, 'Epistolae', *Patrologia cursus Completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (221 vols., Paris, 1844 – 1865), ccvii, no. 153, cols. 446 – 448; William of Newburgh, 'Historia rerum Anglicarum', *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, Rolls Series lxxxii (4 vols., London, 1884 – 1189), i, pp. 1 – 293, at 170.

¹⁶⁹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, liv – lv, nos. 119, 121, 124 – 6.

¹⁷⁰ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 168 – 169. For further information on the archdiocese of Bourges see chapter six, pages 132 – 134.

Richard began fighting in Southern France against the French monarch.¹⁷¹ Like Rotrou, the king purposefully selected Walter. Walter had already established himself as a strong supporter of Henry's authority prior to his elevation to the archbishopric. This existing relationship meant Henry could rely on Walter in his pursuit of peace, and Walter demonstrated his commitment by accepting the position as envoy.

In 1169 Giles du Perche, still as archdeacon just before his election to the bishopric of Evreux, acted as a royal envoy. He was sent by Henry II with John, archdeacon of Sées, and John of Oxford to discuss with Alexander III a reconciliation with Becket.¹⁷² The group's goal, as described by Becket, was to prevent a legation from taking Henry's lands and placing them into the hands of Archbishop William of Sens.¹⁷³ Later, as bishop, Giles journeyed again to discuss the conflict. Following the murder of Becket, Giles, now bishop of Evreux, journeyed to Rome as envoy on order of Henry II. The group consisted of Giles, Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen, Bishop of Worcester, Richard Barre, and other close confidants of the king.¹⁷⁴ The goal of this embassy was to prevent the blame for Becket's death resting on Henry II. They arrived to a hostile reception and only managed to avoid an interdict on Henry II and his lands, but still had to acknowledge some blame on behalf of the king for the archbishop's death.¹⁷⁵ In 1172, Giles assisted Rotrou in crowning Henry the Young King and Margaret.¹⁷⁶ Giles then acted as envoy for Henry at Rome concerning the Becket crisis on multiple occasions, both before and after his election at Evreux. During his tenure as bishop at Sées, Froger acted as an emissary for Henry II. In 1160 Bishop Froger along with Rotrou bishop of Evreux, Arnulf of Lisieux, Thomas Becket, and Hugh of Durham were present at the signing of the peace treaty between Louis VII and King Henry II.¹⁷⁷

For most Norman Bishops no evidence remains which shows them to have travelled on the king's behalf. Like many of the other prelates in the region during the reign of Henry II Philip of Bayeux did not travel on behalf of Henry II. Bishop Philip

¹⁷¹ *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, i, 432 – 433. The meeting did not occur, and Henry II was forced to gather an army to demonstrate his willingness for war before Philip backed down.

¹⁷² *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The later Letters*, no. 298.

¹⁷³ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ii, no. 243.

¹⁷⁴ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 19.

¹⁷⁵ A. Duggan, 'Diplomacy, Status and Conscience: Henry II's Penance for Becket's Murder', *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte. Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen durchgebracht*, ed. K. Borchardt and E. Bünz (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1998), i, pp. 265 – 290, at 268 – 272.

¹⁷⁶ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 31.

¹⁷⁷ *Recueil*, i, no. 141.

intended to go with Bishop Rotrou of Evreux to visit Pope Alexander III in 1162/3 but failed to make the journey due to health issues leading to his death in 1163.¹⁷⁸ The expectation shows an acceptance of royal authority by Philip, who owed a lot of his success within his diocese to the support of Henry II. However, the lack of participation allows for the inference that the king utilized the bishops of Bayeux, and likely the other bishops, in matters other than representing him as envoys. This demonstrates that while Henry used prelates as envoys, he only used trusted men, making it difficult to state that using prelates as envoys constituted as a tool for creating an ecclesiastical policy to extend his authority.

Court Attendance and Participation in Administration

Much like acting as an envoy marks a relationship between the king and a prelate, their attendance at court is equally useful. Amongst the Norman archbishops elected during Henry's reign Rotrou appeared the most in extant documents from the king's court. Rotrou, witnessed ninety-seven royal charters as bishop and archbishop.¹⁷⁹ As well as acting as a royal envoy, Rotrou was Justiciar of Normandy following the death of his brother Robert de Neubourg in 1157 until 1164.¹⁸⁰ As justiciar, Rotrou administered justice and heard cases brought to the ducal court, primarily land disputes. Geoffrey of Anjou had relied on barons for the position, including the Beaumonts like Rotrou's brother and Waleran of Meulan.¹⁸¹ Henry using bishops, both Rotrou and until 1157 Arnulf, as justiciars shows a distinct difference in how Henry had his Norman prelates act on behalf of the secular government in the duchy. In 1163, just before his translation to Rouen, Rotrou with Reginald of St. Valery, a member of the king's court, led an inquest into the rights of the king and Norman barons to revenues and customs in the duchy.¹⁸² Rotrou, had been a trusted servant to the king. But Henry's frequent reliance on him may also indicate Henry felt he could not rely on his other prelates to the same extent.

Rotrou's successor, Walter de Coutances was a longstanding royal servant, attended the king's court frequently and witnessed seventy-eight charters between 1160

¹⁷⁸ *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. L. Delisle and M. Bouquet (24 vols., Paris, 1869 – 1904), xv, nos. 42, 54; Bourrienne, *Un Grand Bâtitseur*, 125; Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torignio', iv, 217.

¹⁷⁹ N. Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 278 – 334, at 289.

¹⁸⁰ Schlunz, 'Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen (1164 – 1183)', 58, 96.

¹⁸¹ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 146 – 147.

¹⁸² Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torignio', iv, 217.

and 1189.¹⁸³ Rotrou's predecessor as archbishop had not been as regular a witness. Hugh attended Henry's crowning at Westminster in 1154 and witnessed a royal charter issued at Argentan in 1160, but was otherwise mostly absent.¹⁸⁴ Early in 1160, Hugh witnessed a charter issued by the king at Argentan in favour of the Cistercian Abbey La-Trappe.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, Hugh's lack of attendance at court and appearances as addressee of royal charters do not suggest a close relationship with the king.

Amongst the other bishops of Norman sees, the most frequent witnesses were two bishops of Bayeux. Between 1154 and 1163, Philip witnessed ninety-eight royal charters issued by Henry II.¹⁸⁶ Henry de Beaumont, between 1154 and 1189, witnessed seventy-five royal charters.¹⁸⁷ These numbers indicate that both men frequented the king's court while serving as bishop, and the date range given for Henry implies he was a member of the king's court before his elevation to the bishopric. Froger of Sèes, once Henry's almoner, still regularly attended court once he became bishop, witnessing forty-nine royal charters.¹⁸⁸ Froger also supported Henry II through his court. Arnulf of Lisieux, his previous patron, described his ecclesiastical court as a place where justice no longer existed; an extension of the king's court as the decisions were for the benefit of the crown alone.¹⁸⁹

The other bishops, for whom evidence remains, had discernibly more limited roles in the king's court and attended less frequently. Bishop Herbert witnessed sixteen extant royal charters issued on both sides of the Channel between 1154 and his death in 1160/1.¹⁹⁰ In the same year as his appointment to Avranches he became one of the godfathers of Henry II's daughter Eleanor and participated in her baptism at Domfront.¹⁹¹ As for the

¹⁸³ Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', 289.

¹⁸⁴ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 182.

¹⁸⁵ *Recueil*, i, no. 388; *Acta*, no. 4356H. This charter is potentially reworked, adding additional rights than originally given, this may be the work of the copyist as the original document is illegible.

¹⁸⁶ Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', 289.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 289.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 289.

¹⁸⁹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 16.

¹⁹⁰ *Recueil*, i, nos. 20, 26, 79, 80, 134, 135; *The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11 – 20*, ed. J.C. Davies, Pipe Roll Society N.S. xxxiii (London, 1960), no. 389; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 1226 – 1516* (6 vols., London, 1903 – 1927), v, 292, 454 – 455; *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, ed. C.W. Foster and K. Major, Publications of the Lincoln Record Society xxvii – xxix, xxxii, xxxiv, xli, xlii, xliii, xliv, li, lxi, lxvii, lxviii (12 vols., Hereford, 1931 – 1973), i, nos. 149, 177; *A Digest of the Charters Preserved in the Cartulary of the Priory of Dunstable*, ed. G. Fowler, Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society x (1926), 343; *Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Handlist of Documents Surviving in the Original Repositories in the United Kingdom*, nos. 87, 186, 188, 217, 300.

¹⁹¹ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 211; Eyton, *The Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 54 – 55.

bishop's known attendance of court, Herbert attended the coronation of Henry II at Westminster in 1154, and travelled with the new king around England during the first year of his reign.¹⁹² He attended a council at London in March 1155 and was present at Windsor until Michaelmas of the same year.¹⁹³ In June of 1156 Herbert met with Archbishop Hugh of Rouen, Rotrou, bishop of Evreux, and Richard, bishop of Coutances at Mortain just before Henry's agreement for peace with his brother Geoffrey.¹⁹⁴ More than that, his inclusion in the court and his meeting with other prelates in the region gives glimpses into his network and allows for the conclusion that he certainly supported the king's authority.

The bishops of Evreux, following the translation of Rotrou, did not fill as many administrative positions as their predecessor. However, they both attended the king's court. For instance, Giles, between 1170 and 1179, witnessed twenty-six royal charters.¹⁹⁵ He attended the consecration ceremony for the new abbey church of Bec, an important monastic house to the Plantagenet family, led by Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen in March of 1178.¹⁹⁶ His loyalty to Henry II was enough that he was the only Norman prelate selected to attend the Third Lateran Council at Rome in 1179.¹⁹⁷ John fitz Luke, the third bishop of Evreux, prior to his election witnessed several royal charters, and participated in the king's court starting in 1160, witnessing at least sixteen charters until the king's death in 1189.¹⁹⁸

After Richard L'Eveque's election, he became a regular witness of royal charters, and a member of the royal court which he had not attended before his election. He is the first witness listed in the terms of the treaty negotiated between William, King of Scots, and Henry II.¹⁹⁹ He also attended the reconciliation between Henry II and the Young King at Bur-le-Roi in April 1175.²⁰⁰ He attended the consecration of the new church at Bec in 1178, and witnessed a charter, along with archbishop Rotrou, and bishops Henry of

¹⁹² Ibid, 2.

¹⁹³ Ibid, 6, 14.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, 18.

¹⁹⁵ Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', 290.

¹⁹⁶ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 277; For the long-standing connections between the Plantagenets and Bec see: M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford, 1991), 189 – 191.

¹⁹⁷ R. Foreville, *Latran I, II, III, et Latran IV*, Histoire de conciles œcuméniques vi (Paris, 1965), 389.

¹⁹⁸ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 278, 290 - 291; Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 295; *Monasticon Anglicanum: A history of the Abbeys and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Friaries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches with their Dependencies in England and Wales*, ed. W. Dugdale, revised by J. Caley (6 vols., London, 1817 – 1830), vi, 374; *The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11 – 20*, no. 417; *Recueil*, i, nos. 421, 440; ii, nos. 515, 524, 562, supplement no. 35; *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. J.H. Round (London, 1899), no. 432; Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', 291.

¹⁹⁹ H. Savile, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam praecipui* (Frankfurt, 1601), 545 – 546.

²⁰⁰ Eyton, *The Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 189.

Bayeux and Giles of Evreux, issued to the abbey by the king granting £100 annuity from the vicomte of Rouen.²⁰¹ In 1182, Richard became one of the appointed trustees to carry out the bequests within the will of Henry II.²⁰² He received a royal charter confirming his settlement made in the king's presence which granted the king's constable, William of Hommet, two hides of land in Porchester to hold for an annual payment of £100 to the bishop or his bailiff at Swanwick.²⁰³ Richard had not been a royal nominee, but became a member of the court after his election. He became a trusted prelate in the region evidenced by the number of charters he witnessed, and from the locations of issue he travelled with the court. He settled disputes within the king's court and attended some of the more influential events in Normandy during his tenure.

Achard participated in the royal court briefly after becoming bishop. Shortly after his appointment he witnessed a charter issued by the king in Rouen to the canons of Saint Bartholomew's in London.²⁰⁴ Achard acted as judge in Normandy. The disputes from outside of his diocese which were brought to his court he treated fairly and was exhaustive in his search for the truth.²⁰⁵ In a letter, Arnulf of Lisieux described Achard as a religious and wise man who sought the truth in cases brought to him to judge. Arnulf also described how his "nephew", *nepos*, Sylvester, the treasurer of the chapter at Lisieux, took an oath before Achard promising to stop inducing hatred towards Arnulf in those who were attempting to force him out of his bishopric.²⁰⁶ Achard's actions in office are an example of why it was important for Henry to appoint bishops who represented his interests. They acted as judges in their courts, and they enforced stability in the region by acting as mediators between disputing parties.

For some of the remaining prelates their participation at court was extremely limited. Richard de Bohun does not appear very often in royal witness lists and does not appear to have acted on the king's behalf. It has been suggested this was due to debts owed to Count Geoffrey from his time as chancellor which remained unpaid after the count's death.²⁰⁷ The only extant charter which appears to show any relation to the court of Henry

²⁰¹ *Neustria Pia*, ed. A. de Monstier and P. Galleman (Rouen, 1663), 485.

²⁰² *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates: ab ingressu Gulielmi I. in Angliam, A.D. 1066, ad nostra usque tempora habita aut tractata*, ed. T. Rymer (4 vols., London, 1816 – 1869), i, 47.

²⁰³ Pigeon, *Le Diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, 661 – 662.

²⁰⁴ Eyton, *The Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 52.

²⁰⁵ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 91.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, no. 132.

²⁰⁷ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 146 – 147.

II reconfirmed the churches of Gatteville and Barfleur originally given by Richard, his predecessor, to Master Raoul who was one of the king's clerics.²⁰⁸ It is likely Raoul himself requested the confirmation from the new bishop, and there were no other obvious points of contact between William and the king's court through extant charters. Froger's successor, Lisiard, only witnessed one extant charter as bishop.²⁰⁹ In conclusion, most of the Norman prelates during Henry's reign opted for waiting until he arrived in Normandy to attend his court, if they attended at all. A trend that is shared with the religious houses in Normandy, which will be examined in chapter three.

Beneficiaries of Henry II

Only seventeen extant charters remain in the corpus issued to prelates themselves, a limited number of royal *acta*, but the king's acts of patronage towards a few bishops remains visible. Notably, early in the reign, the king backed Philip de Harcourt's campaign to regain estates of Bayeux lost to Robert Earl of Gloucester under his predecessor.²¹⁰ Chronicle evidence reveals Waleran made the right choice in Philip, who during the long litigation process of recovering lands was described as having struck fear into his opponents when he arrived in court.²¹¹

Nine charters issued between 1154 and 1163 survive.²¹² These include multiple mandates to William fitz John, a royal administrator, which held inquiries into the extent of the bishops' estates and rights at the time of count Geoffrey.²¹³ Additional inquiries into the bishopric's rights were undertaken to identify the rights over the multure at Bayeux, customs within the forests of the Bessin, and the bishop's rights to rents, customs, and service in Caen, and to restore all of the rights from the reign of Henry I. Another charter ordered the rights to the land of the grange, the arable land near the water, and the tithes from the wool producers all in accordance with the king's assize.²¹⁴ Henry II also issued a mandate to his seneschal in Normandy, Robert du Neubourg, to secure the bishop's rights

²⁰⁸ *Le Cartulaire du chapitre cathedral de Coutances. Etudes et edition critique*, ed. J. Fontanel (St. Lô, 2003), no. 31.

²⁰⁹ *Chartularium insignis ecclesiae Cenomanensis quod Liber albus capituli*, no. 468.

²¹⁰ Roche, 'A Bishop and His Conflicts', 117.

²¹¹ *La Chronique de Sainte-Barbe en Auge*, ed. R.N. Sauvage (Caen 1907), 35.

²¹² Eight of the charters reference Bishop Philip as the primary beneficiary; *Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae Baiocensis, livre noir*, i, nos. 9, 12, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36; For the charter issued to canon Philip, *ibid*, i, no. 31.

²¹³ *Ibid*, i, no. 36.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, i, nos. 27, 28.

at Cambremer as set out in charters from both Geoffrey and Henry I.²¹⁵ These charters are significant not only because of the scale of the recovery, but also because they demonstrate a commitment by Henry II and the strong persistence of Philip.

The charter issued to the benefit of his clerk, Philip, mandated the king's justices of the Bessin and the prévôtès of Bayeux to ensure the canons' possessions, liberties, and customs which they held in the reign of Henry I.²¹⁶ Henry likely issued this charter as a reward to his clerk with the intention of providing incomes for the canons, perhaps to have influence in the chapter. Henry II's actions greatly assisted Philip in restoring the lost lands and incomes to the bishopric of Bayeux. Further through these charters, issued early in the king's reign, it is possible to see how Henry II attempted to fix some of the problems created during the reign of King Stephen while also building influence in the cathedral chapter.

Three royal charters issued by Henry II to Henry de Beaumont as bishop of Bayeux remain.²¹⁷ In the late 1160s, Henry II granted Bishop Henry and the cathedral three churches as prebends.²¹⁸ He confirmed a settlement concerning another prebend mediated by himself, perhaps continuing to assist in the diocese's recovery.²¹⁹ He also confirmed a settlement between the chapter of Bayeux and Robert de Isgny over Isgny in Calvados.²²⁰ In this case the dispute involved land and tithes owed to the bishopric, again showing the king's interest in assisting Bayeux recovering lost incomes. Through these three charters the king's continued interest in the recovery of the bishopric becomes clear. He mediated court disputes over land, confirmed court cases dealing with tithes and churches, and even granted three prebendal churches to the bishopric and to Henry as bishop. Just before John fitz Luke's election at Evreux, King Henry II issued a charter confirming his acquisitions within Rouen, and shortly after his appointment the king funded his channel crossing, a special gift.²²¹

From the royal *acta* which survive there are a few which signify a relationship between Henry II and Richard de Bohun, bishop of Coutances. A charter issued between

²¹⁵ Ibid, i, no. 32.

²¹⁶ Ibid, i, no. 31.

²¹⁷ Ibid, i, nos. 11, 20, 145. Number 145 is the confirmation of an agreement, the charter describing the mediation of the dispute is *ibid*, i, no. 144.

²¹⁸ Ibid, i, no. 20.

²¹⁹ Ibid, i, nos. 144, 145.

²²⁰ Ibid, i, no. 11.

²²¹ *Recueil*, ii, no. 564; *PR*, 2, H.II, 155.

1170 and 1179 granted the churches of Gatteville and Barfleur to Raoul, a chaplain of the king and canon at Coutances. In this instance, Raoul serves as a connection between the king and the chapter, as the charter referenced Raoul as, “our beloved clerk”, *dilecto clerico nostro*.²²² Further, by issuing a gift to Raoul Henry avoided giving gifts to Richard, possibly because of the money owed from his time serving Geoffrey. In a royal charter issued by Henry II, between 1164 and 1173, the king granted the church of Aurigny to Richard who subsequently passed it to the canons of the cathedral and then paid the church of Cherbourg for the loss of income.²²³ The gift was granted to Richard, but it appears an agreement had been made prior to its issuance that ensured Richard, instead of keeping the church, would hand it over to the canons. These two charters allow for a few conclusions. It appears the bishop and king had some form of relationship after Richard’s election as evidenced by these unusual charters which detail the movement of money and rights from the bishop to the chapter. It is possible the grant from Henry II rewarded Richard’s lack of involvement with Becket while he was on the Continent. What is evident is that while Henry did not directly nominate Richard for the bishopric, he appears to have attempted to form a relationship with him, likely to increase the support for his authority.

From the limited source information available one trend does become apparent. Henry II expected his Norman prelates to act as envoys, witnesses for charters, and courtiers far more than he acted as a patron to them as individuals or to their cathedral churches. This lack of patronage then makes it difficult to identify any specific ecclesiastical policy undertaken by Henry II other than the most obvious, to extend his authority over the Church in any way possible. He appears to have an interest in what they can do for him to immediately benefit his rule and how that translates into them becoming vectors of his authority within their locality.

The Norman bishops and crisis

Rebellion of the Young King

The conduct of the Norman bishops in the major crisis of Henry II’s reign is difficult to discern beyond a few figures. Rotrou was a constant, prominent supporter of Henry II despite also taking an interest in Henry the Young King and the rest of the royal family.

²²² *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre Cathédral de Coutances*, no. 30.

²²³ *Ibid*, no. 290.

Rotrou had a letter drafted by Peter of Blois in 1167 which notified the king of the importance of Henry the Young King's education, insisting it was essential for good kingship.²²⁴ In August of 1172 Rotrou officiated, as a neutral broker in the absence of an archbishop of Canterbury, at the second coronation of Henry the Young King along with his wife Margaret, at Winchester.²²⁵

During the rebellion, Rotrou wrote to Eleanor of Aquitaine: "You are one of our flock, as is your husband, but we cannot ignore the demands of justice: either you come back to your husband or we shall be obliged by canon law to lay upon you the censure of the Church."²²⁶ Rotrou here writes both as a spiritual father to a member of his flock, and as the head of the Norman Church and authority in ecclesiastical law to try to bring about a conclusion of the hostilities. His authority here was in the service of the king. Rotrou also wrote to the Young King recalling him to be obedient to his father several times during the rebellion.²²⁷ On the death of the Young King in 1183 Rotrou sent his nephew and dean Robert du Neubourg, to Le Mans where he had first been interred to exhume the body and bring it to Rouen where Henry had expressed a wish to be buried.²²⁸ Rotrou may have pushed for his burial location to be Rouen because of the city's significance for Normandy as a whole. There is also the potential that having watched the rise of the cult of Becket, Rotrou wanted to control any cult which arose around the Young King. The cathedral at Rouen also had one of the earliest forms of a chantry designed around the Young King's burial.²²⁹

Giles du Perche, bishop of Evreux was also a strong supporter of Henry II during the conflict. On its conclusion, he wrote to Pope Alexander III placing all the blame for the rebellion on the shoulders of the Young King and quoted scripture to emphasize that the use of apostolic power to punish the rebels was a necessity.²³⁰ Beyond Rotrou and Giles,

²²⁴ Peter of Blois, 'Epistolae', ccvii, no. 67, cols. 210 – 213.

²²⁵ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 31.

²²⁶ Peter of Blois, 'Epistolae', ccvii, no. 154; Translation from, Flori, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen and Rebel*, 108.

²²⁷ Peter of Blois, 'Epistolae', ccvii, no. 33, cols. 109 – 110.

²²⁸ Thomas Agnellus, *De morte et sepultura Henrici Regis Anglie Junioris*, in *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series lxvi (London, 875), pp. 265 – 273, at 269 – 272; P.B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Regensburg, 1873), 614; Spear, 'Les Doyens du chapitre cathédrale de Rouen', 102 – 103; *Fasti ecclesiae Gallicanae, Diocèse de Rouen*, ed. V. Tabbagh (Turnhout, 1998), 77; M. Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155 – 1183* (London, 2016), 312.

²²⁹ D. Crouch, 'The Origin of Chantries: Some Further Anglo-Norman Evidence', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), pp. 159 – 180, at 172; S. Marritt, 'Secular Cathedrals and the Anglo-Norman Aristocracy', *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. P. Dalton, C. Insley and L. Wilkinson (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 151 – 168, at 154.

²³⁰ Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155 - 1183*, 172.

however, and despite conflict in Normandy there is little evidence of engagement either for or against the king among the bishops. However, during the Young King's 1183 rebellion, Henry II ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to call the Norman bishops to a meeting to discuss those who encouraged division between him and his sons. The bishops of Bayeux, Evreux, Lisieux, and Sées met to discuss the people who supported the conflict between father and sons and publicly pronounced excommunications of anyone who sought to divide the family or acted against securing peace. The only people excluded from the excommunication were Henry's sons themselves.²³¹

Becket Crisis

Rotrou's views on royal authority remained strong during the Becket crisis. According to John of Salisbury, writing to Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter, Rotrou had gently rebuked the king for his harshness towards Becket.²³² Rotrou did not though take a firm stance against the king and both king and pope made use of him. In 1169, on the order of Pope Alexander III, Rotrou and the bishop of Exeter absolved Bishop Gilbert Foliot of London from excommunication.²³³ Rotrou's status was thus not just Norman, the pope recognized his probity as relevant across the Angevin empire. After receiving news of Becket's death, Henry II sent Rotrou and the bishops of Evreux and Worcester with other close confidants, to Rome to speak to the pope on his behalf.²³⁴ Given the issues surrounding Becket's death Henry would only have sent his strongest supporters who the papacy would not see as tarnished by Becket's murder to make his case.

Of the other Norman bishops, little evidence remains. Froger's support for the king was, not surprisingly, committed. So much so that Alexander III requested Rotrou to investigate his suffragan bishop to determine if he neglected his ecclesiastical duties in favour of his service to the crown. Rotrou was to instruct Froger to either renounce his bishopric or his position as a royal servant if he found him neglectful, an action never taken.²³⁵ Becket reached out to Giles du Perche on his election to Evreux in 1170. He described the difficulties of working for both God and king and sought aid from the newly elected prelate who previously worked on behalf of Henry II.²³⁶ It is not known if Giles

²³¹ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 300.

²³² *Materials of the History of Thomas Becket*, v, 381.

²³³ Morey, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, 101.

²³⁴ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 19.

²³⁵ *The Materials of the History of Thomas Becket*, vii, no. 698.

²³⁶ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ii, no. 287, 1224 – 1227.

replied. In each of these crises the absence of most of the Norman episcopate from narrative histories and other sources differs greatly when compared to their English peers. It suggests their positions were not at all controversial. Default, that likely means quiet loyalty to the king.

Conclusion

Normandy was not a safe and stable duchy when Henry took power in 1149, and the Church was one potential means for him to develop his authority there. After an early setback in control of episcopal elections, emphatically banned by Pope Eugenius III, Henry's influence became very strong. That is not to say that there were not also local issues and loyalties involved too – cathedral chapters, not surprisingly, preferred one of their own, even if they were also royal servants, and Henry may have needed to acquiesce and maintain Beaumont family interests at Evreux at least. Comparing the vacancies in Normandy and their use in England it can be determined that the king used the gaps to benefit his own treasury in Normandy and force the canons to select one of his nominations. As in England, Henry rewarded royal servants and they continued to serve, like Walter de Coutances, but bishops with less of a royal background might become crucial figures to the king: Rotrou is the obvious example, but also Richard de L'Eveque who became a frequent member of the court after his election. He travelled with the king in England and the Continent witnessing multiple royal charters and peace treaties with foreign powers.

Most of the Norman bishops participated in royal service and attended court to some degree after their election, but few occur often enough to be considered especially close to the king. As seen when we consider Norman monasteries below, they saw the king more often when he was in Normandy than in travelling to his court in England. Henry's patronage of the episcopate and their cathedral chapters cannot be demonstrated to be extensive. Few surviving charters show real commitment to one or other diocese apart from Bayeux. In comparison with Canterbury, which received forty-two extant royal charters, Henry then does not seem to have felt the need to act as patron to the same extent to cathedrals in Normandy.

There is not really any evidence of a coherent royal policy regarding the Norman Church. The only tools he truly utilised consistently for such a purpose were the vacancies

and at times, elections. In neither of these instances did he create any new coherent plan which he used repeatedly. Only in 1183, when he insisted the Norman bishops excommunicate fomenters of rebellion does he seem to have treated them as a group. Nevertheless, he was keen to ensure suitable appointments to the episcopate and this group of active bishops cannot but have helped to bring stability to Normandy – their loyalty cannot be doubted. In this, perhaps differently to England, Henry did not feel that he had to establish strong connections through charters to maintain their loyalty, but he still relied upon them frequently to act within his administration to the betterment of his governance over Normandy.

Only with one bishop can we go beyond this evidence, Arnulf of Lisieux. Arnulf is the subject of the next chapter of this thesis, his example is a warning to us in that without his letters we might well think of him in the same way as we have with the prelates examined in this chapter. Yet, through his letter collection it is possible to get a deeper understanding of the relationship between monarch and ecclesiast.

Chapter 2: Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux and Henry II: A Case Study

Introduction

Royal charters and writs are fundamental in analysis of the relationships between kings and the Church. For most Norman bishops and religious institutions these are relatively limited, and they can only ever tell a portion of a story. At Lisieux, while there are significantly fewer royal charters available when compared with other Norman dioceses and institutions, Arnulf's letters provide an alternative and very productive source. It is important too, to acknowledge that Arnulf himself was determined to be at the centre of both ecclesiastical and secular affairs. This is both of course, a boon and a burden. Arnulf's letter collection provides insight into not only how he perceived the relationship between himself and the monarch but also how he wanted to portray himself, and how the king operated from a prelate's perspective.

If royal charters and writs are fundamental to analysis of royal-episcopal relations then the fact that, according to Roger of Howden, after Arnulf's forceful removal from his office in 1181 Henry required him to return his charters is of considerable interest.²³⁷ This promotes the importance of royal charters beyond even their content. Even the documents themselves were significant and Arnulf's requirement to return them to the king gives a very physical reminder of leaving the court and the sphere of Henry's authority. Arnulf appears to have been strongly committed to Henry II from the beginning of his reign. He attested eighteen royal charters up to 1157 when his dispute with Henry over the election of Sées began, five for secular beneficiaries, seven for matters involving the Church in England, and six issued to religious houses in Normandy.²³⁸ He attended court in Normandy and England and, until his removal from office, he witnessed ninety-eight royal charters making him and Philip of Bayeux the most visible in Henry's court through the extant charter corpus.²³⁹ His visibility and physical presence court is of significant interest and will be examined later in this chapter.

²³⁷ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 278.

²³⁸ Schriber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 35.

²³⁹ Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', 289.

Examining Arnulf's background and family it appears Arnulf's election to the bishopric of Lisieux was partially the result of familial influence. His brother John, bishop of Sées (1124 – 1133) made him an archdeacon.²⁴⁰ Arnulf's uncle, John, was his predecessor at Lisieux.²⁴¹ Even before he became a bishop Arnulf was active in royal service. In 1139 he travelled to Rome to plead King Stephen's case in front of Pope Innocent II. John of Salisbury alleged Arnulf argued that Empress Matilda could not be queen because her mother had taken the veil before her marriage.²⁴² John of Salisbury, who harboured a strong dislike of Arnulf, described him as a sinner for attacking the queen mother and Henry I. He noted the close relationship Arnulf's family held with Henry I and called his actions equivalent to betrayal.²⁴³ Geoffrey of Anjou seems to have agreed with John, withholding Arnulf's temporalities on his election.²⁴⁴ Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux would both write to Innocent II on Arnulf's behalf.²⁴⁵ To end the dispute Arnulf paid 900 pounds Angevin to the count and switched his support to the Angevins in their conflict against Stephen in 1143.²⁴⁶

In 1155/6, Henry II sent Arnulf with John of Salisbury as envoys to Pope Adrian IV to gain permission for the subjugation of Ireland.²⁴⁷ Arnulf and John fell out and Arnulf blamed John for lowering the dignity of the crown, much as John had commented on Arnulf's involvement in 1139.²⁴⁸ The defence of the crown on this trip illustrates how Arnulf switched his opinions based on who held more political power at the time. When he defended Stephen against Matilda, he attacked her, but now that her son held the duchy he supported Henry II, even against allies. In February of 1156, Arnulf travelled with Henry II and his mother Matilda to meet with Louis VII.²⁴⁹ Henry II appointed Arnulf as justiciar of

²⁴⁰ Schriber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 3.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁴² A. Brown, 'The Empress Matilda and Bec-Hellouin', *Piety, Power and History in medieval England and Normandy*, ed. M. Chibnall (Aldershot, 2000), xi, pp. 35 – 48, at 42 – 43.

²⁴³ John of Salisbury, *The Historical Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1986), 84; M. Willes, 'John of Salisbury as Historian', *Piety, Power and History in Medieval England and Normandy*, ed. M. Chibnall (Aldershot, 2000), xxi, pp. 169 – 177, at 172.

²⁴⁴ M. Chibnall, 'The Empress Matilda and Church Reform', *Piety, Power and History in Medieval England and Normandy*, ed. M. Chibnall (Aldershot, 2000), xii, pp. 107 – 130, at 119.

²⁴⁵ Peter the Venerable, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable (2 vols., London, 1986), i, no. 101; *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq et al (8 vols., Romae, 1957-1977), viii, no. 348.

²⁴⁶ E. Crosby, *The King's Bishops: The Politics of Patronage in England and Normandy, 1066 – 1216* (New York, 2013), 21; Chibnall, 'The Empress Matilda and Church Reform', 119.

²⁴⁷ C. Grellard and F. Lachaud, 'Introduction', *A Companion to John of Salisbury*, ed. C. Grellard et al (Leiden, 2015), pp. 1 – 29, at 9-10.

²⁴⁸ *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Early Letters (1153-1161)*, nos. 18, 30; Grellard, 'Introduction', 9-10.

²⁴⁹ *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 1226 – 1516*, ii, Inspeximus of 1266, 63-64; Schriber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 49.

Normandy c. 1150.²⁵⁰ There is a charter extant from the ducal period which demonstrates Henry's patronage to the bishop. Sometime between 1151 and 1153, Henry granted the revenues from the fairs at Touques and Nonant to Arnulf. In conjunction with his placement as a justiciar in 1150 Henry gave recognition of Arnulf's loyalty.²⁵¹

In the late 1150s, the relationship between Arnulf and the king began to break down. Arnulf supported the candidacy of his close friend Achard for the bishopric of Sées.²⁵² As noted above in chapter one, Arnulf had been a patron of the eventual candidate, Henry II's almoner Froger, but he did not support him. Arnulf's letters suggest he felt protective over the bishopric of Sées due to his family's history there.²⁵³ In 1157, Arnulf lost his position as a justiciar of Normandy.²⁵⁴ No evidence remains explaining his removal, but his disagreements with the king over the election at Sées probably played a role in the decision. Arnulf eventually moderated his position. By the mid-1160s, Arnulf had little choice but to accept the results of the election to prevent harming his own standing.²⁵⁵ He seems to have believed that his support for Achard would, through his own close ties to the king and perceived status within the Norman Church, end in election. That perception ended with the king's own decisions.²⁵⁶

Arnulf also struggled with who to support during conflicts while bishop. During the Becket crisis Arnulf supported the king through his actions, but not always in his written words to Becket and his supporters. In 1164, Prior Nicholas of Mont-Saint-Jacques in Rouen brought this to Becket's attention in a letter describing Arnulf's position. Arnulf verbally claimed to Becket's supporters he would give aid where he could and notify Becket what was said about him in the king's court in England through his own connections.²⁵⁷ As in the Becket Crisis, Arnulf played both sides of the conflict between Henry II and his sons.

Arnulf seems to have been less than fulsome in his support for Henry II during the rebellion of the Young King in 1173 – 1174.²⁵⁸ Early in the rebellion Arnulf travelled to

²⁵⁰ Ibid, 36.

²⁵¹ Ibid, 24.

²⁵² Crosby, *The King's Bishops*, 247.

²⁵³ Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 232.

²⁵⁴ Crosby, *The King's Bishops*, 212; Schriber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 36.

²⁵⁵ Crosby, *The King's Bishops*, 247-9.

²⁵⁶ Schriber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 116.

²⁵⁷ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, i, no. 41.

²⁵⁸ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 120; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.17; Crosby, *The King's Bishops*, 237.

France with Rotrou on behalf of Henry II to try and keep King Louis VII of France neutral, but he appears to have communicated with both sides of the conflict. Arnulf's reasons for supporting the Young King remain unknown. Kate Norgate argued the bishop's attempts to temporize between the two parties instead of focusing on keeping his diocese loyal to finding peace angered Henry II.²⁵⁹ Whatever the reason Arnulf became involved, he was one of the few Norman prelates who did, apart from archbishop Rotrou who consistently acted on behalf of Henry II. There remains no evidence of the feelings of the other bishops of Normandy as to how they felt during the rebellion, but the silence from contemporary chronicles likely means they remained loyal to the king.

Arnulf's perceived support for the king's sons' rebellion must have contributed to the king's attempts at removing Arnulf from Lisieux. In the aftermath of the rebellion, the king sent Rotrou, Hugh de Nonant, Arnulf's nephew, and Walter de Coutances to try and persuade Arnulf to resign his office: they failed.²⁶⁰ In 1177, a faction of Arnulf's own canons accused him of mishandling Church funds, persuading Pope Alexander III to suspend him from office.²⁶¹ A few years later, after negotiating with the king and his supporters for his pension funds, promised if he resigned his office, Arnulf left for Saint-Victor's in Paris.²⁶² Arnulf's fall from grace and his subsequent removal from office illuminates the king's authority and network in the Norman Church. Further, through his letter collection it gives a unique opportunity to understand how Arnulf believed it best to handle an angry king. In the case of Henry II, one which had already had a deadly dispute with a fellow clergy member.

The rocky relationship between Henry II and Arnulf likely affected the king's patronage to houses within the diocese, compared to the other dioceses in Normandy discussed in the next chapter. Fourteen royal charters are extant for the diocese of Lisieux, granted to five monasteries.²⁶³ Only one of these houses, Préaux, received more than two charters. Two of the houses, Bernay and Cormeilles, received one charter each confirming rights early in the reign.²⁶⁴ The two charters issued to Saint-Désir include one at the end of

²⁵⁹ K. Norgate, *England Under the Angevin Kings* (2 vols., New York, reprint 1969), ii, 140-1.

²⁶⁰ Schlunz, 'Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen (1164 – 1183)', 150 – 151.

²⁶¹ Crosby, *The King's Bishops*, 237.

²⁶² *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 140; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.38.

²⁶³ The monasteries which received royal charters within the diocese include: Bernay, Cormeilles, Saint-Désir, Préaux, and Saint-Evroul. *Recueil* i, nos. 63, 95, 188, 209, 211, 243, 319, 432; ii, nos. 476, 478, 486, 676, 677, 675; *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye Bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux: 1034 – 1227*, ed. D. Rouet (Paris, 2005), 457 no. C6; *Acta*, nos. 251H, 426H, 1293H, 1513H, 1532H, 1603H, 1620H, 1749H, 1787H, 1793H, 1921H, 1922H, 2520H, 2521H, 4679H.

²⁶⁴ *Recueil*, i, no. 95, 391; *Acta*, nos. 1532H, 2520H.

the 1150s made in honour of the church dedication at Bonneville-sur-Touque which the king granted ten pounds Angevin per annum. The second, issued between 1172 and 1175, confirmed the ownership of half of the market at Villedieu-les-Poeles, originally granted by Henry's father, Geoffrey.²⁶⁵ Saint-Evroul received a royal mandate, issued within the diocese of Lisieux between 1156 and 1163, ensuring quittance from toll, passage, and custom fees.²⁶⁶ The monastery's history of turning to royal authority likely influenced the issuance of this charter, given how early the establishment requested it in the king's reign, and not Arnulf's position as bishop.²⁶⁷

Préaux received the most charters of all religious houses in Lisieux with a total of ten issued between 1154 and 1189.²⁶⁸ Three of the charters issued in the 1150s included two notifications and a mandate. These three royal charters comprised of rights such as the king's grant of warren at the monks' land in Toft Monks, the recognition of rights to the monks in Rouen, and a mandate to the Sheriff of Norfolk to ensure their possessions which Robert II of Meulan granted.²⁶⁹ Between 1165 and 1178, the king granted four charters to Préaux, although all four notifications merely confirmed gifts granted to the abbey donated by Counts Waleran and Robert of Meulan and land granted by Roger of Eprevier.²⁷⁰ The last three charters granted to Préaux were issued between 1185 and 1188, and included a simple notification of confirmation concerning lands and churches, a grant of rent at Pont Audemer along with land at Charlton Marshall and Mesnilotte, and confirmed the houses' privileges in the forest of Brotonne granted by Robert of Meulan for the soul of Henry the Young King.²⁷¹ With exception to Saint-Evroul and Préaux the king had not been a patron to any monastery in the diocese of Lisieux. Even the charters Henry issued to Préaux appear motivated more by Beaumont influence than the king's patronage. The date distribution of the charters implies the diocese of Lisieux received fewer charters after Arnulf's involvement in the disputed election at Sées.²⁷² The charter evidence allows for the conclusion that Arnulf's role at court as bishop impacted the charters granted by the

²⁶⁵ *Recueil*, i, no. 188; ii, no. 476; *Acta*, nos. 251H, 426H.

²⁶⁶ *Recueil*, i, no. 211; *Acta* no. 2521H.

²⁶⁷ *OV*, x, 244.

²⁶⁸ *Recueil*, i, nos. 63, 209, 243, 432; ii, nos. 478, 486, 676, 677, 675; *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye Bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, 457 no. C6; *Acta*, nos. 1293H, 1513H, 1603H, 1620H, 1749H, 1787H, 1793H, 1921H, 1922H, 4679H.

²⁶⁹ *Recueil*, i, nos. 63, 209; *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye Bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, 457 no. C6; *Acta*, nos. 1513H, 1603H, 4679H.

²⁷⁰ *Recueil*, i, nos. 209, 243, 432; ii, no. 478; *Acta*, no. 1603H, 1620H, 1749H, 1787H.

²⁷¹ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 675, 676, 677; *Acta*, nos. 1293H, 1921H, 1922H.

²⁷² *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.02.

king to the houses in his diocese. Yet, knowledge of his actual relationship with the king is dependent largely upon his letters.

Arnulf's letter collection

For the purpose of the study of diplomatic history it is hard to differentiate between letters and charters in terms of historical value because the same people often wrote both documents, and both exist in the same collections.²⁷³ The difficulty with letter collections is the common practice of editing letters and collections by either the author, the recipient, or the collector.²⁷⁴ Arnulf likely edited the collection until his death as the oldest manuscript came from the abbey of his retirement, St. Victor's in Paris.²⁷⁵ Arnulf wrote that he compiled his collection at the behest of Giles du Perche, archdeacon of Rouen and future bishop of Evreux.²⁷⁶ The bishop, like many other authors or compilers, intended for his work to act as exempla for others.²⁷⁷ However, his editorial role meant he could carefully craft the portrayal of his actions and motives. In total there are nineteen manuscripts of the letter collection dating to the middle ages. The standard edition of Arnulf's letters is Frank Barlow's 1939 edition.²⁷⁸

Arnulf's letter collection spans the entirety of his career. However, to make the collection more manageable for this investigation a selection of the letters will be analysed in three separate sets: letters written to popes, letters to other members of the clergy, and letters to Henry II. Through these letters an assessment of the relationship Arnulf portrayed between himself and the king to each recipient is possible. Further within his correspondence Arnulf's interest in making himself a central figure in the events described becomes clearer. In terms of this thesis, Arnulf's collection can further develop how we understand Norman bishops' relationships with popes, their peers, and the king.

²⁷³ G. Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections* (Turnhout, 1976), 23.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 51 – 52.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 6.

²⁷⁶ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 1.

²⁷⁷ C. Schriber, 'Introduction', *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, pp. 1 – 18, at 4 – 5.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 2 – 5. John Allen Giles produced an edited version of the collection from the manuscripts in 1844 adding ten additional letters and attempted to structure the collection chronologically Carolyn Schriber translated the letter collection and changed the structure of the collection from chronological order to what she interpreted as the original sequence, followed by a section of letters found by historians and compilers after Arnulf's death.

Letters to Popes

Arnulf wrote to Pope Eugenius III around 1152 excusing his delay travelling to Rome.²⁷⁹ War against France, Count Geoffrey's death, and a border dispute involving Duke Henry delayed his departure. Arnulf opens with his own importance, and his dilemma, how to balance his secular and ecclesiastical duties; he must choose either his duties to his duke or to the pope. He portrayed Henry as a protector of both the borders of Normandy and of the Church. Meanwhile, he also demonstrates one of the themes he carries throughout his letter collection, the importance of being physically present at the court of your superiors; in this case Pope Eugenius III.

An 1159 letter, however, is very different. In a letter to Pope Adrian IV he portrayed himself as a man of action and placed himself in the centre of the conflict surrounding the election at Sées.²⁸⁰ He declared his own issues with the king after the election. He claimed Froger and the king abused their powers through unjust processes in courts using a Master Simon as an example.²⁸¹ Arnulf described the treatment of Master Simon, recounting the man's torture while incarcerated and how his appeal failed at the king's court due to lack of money, while justice proved simply impossible in Bishop Froger's ecclesiastical court. Arnulf pleaded the case be tried by the pope.²⁸² He stated the king over-extended his rights and that any injustices inflicted on Master Simon they inflicted on the pope as well.²⁸³ He called for swift action by Adrian IV to prevent the king taking further actions against the Church in the future.²⁸⁴ Arnulf portrayed himself as a faithful servant of the Church, implying that bishop Froger was not, and that the king treated the Church unfairly.

In the winter of 1159 Arnulf wrote a letter to Pope Alexander III describing his interactions with King Henry II about the ongoing papal schism.²⁸⁵ He positioned himself to appear as a liaison between the newly elected pope and Henry II. After only two years since his removal from his position as justiciar, the bishop set out to make himself a key figure in the king's court once again through the divided Church. Arnulf likely believed his

²⁷⁹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 7; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 1.08.

²⁸⁰ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 16; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 1.06.

²⁸¹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 16; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 1.06.

²⁸² *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 16; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 1.06.

²⁸³ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 16; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 1.06.

²⁸⁴ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 16; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 1.06.

²⁸⁵ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 24; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 1.19.

initiative to communicate between the two leaders in support of one another reflected positively on himself. The schism granted him the rare opportunity of supporting and advising both his ecclesiastical superior and secular ruler. Arnulf's conceptualization of his role can be seen later in the letter, "When the truth of your promotion and the error of that of your presumptuous opponent reached my ears, I hurried to announce the news to our king [Henry II], so that I could fill his uninformed mind with whatever arguments I could muster and prevent the skill of the malicious from forestalling us at our favourable moment."²⁸⁶ Arnulf here demonstrates why he views physical presence at court a necessity, it made it easier to persuade the king to a cause. Further, he presented his visit to the king as hurried and informal, a description of a close confidant and advisor. Arnulf vouched for the king's support of the pope; however, he described the king in less positive terms, "for it is always easier to fill blank minds than to turn them away from preconceived ideas. He was undecided; but immediately, strengthened by the workings of the Holy Spirit..."²⁸⁷ In this instance, Arnulf portrayed the king as merely misguided, and himself as the person to correct his course once he arrived.

The letter from Arnulf to Pope Alexander III described the king's reactions to the schism and his supposed immediate support for Alexander III, but it is hard to deny the bias and motives behind Arnulf's words.²⁸⁸ Arnulf overstated his importance when he wrote to the archbishops and bishops of England between May and June 1160, encouraging them to back Henry's decision to support Alexander III.²⁸⁹ Arnulf began by emphasizing the importance of this decision, explaining that Henry II postponed the publication of peace between France and England until he announced which elected pope he supported.²⁹⁰ Arnulf portrays himself as speaking from a position of authority, close to the king,

His will concerning this arose from the beginning, and he declared and expressed it with many signs, since he always received the letters and legates of Pope Alexander with reverence and grace. He announced that he would receive no other, the assertion having been made in front of almost everyone. Furthermore, he refused to touch the letters offered from the royal hand of Octavian, as if they were something foul and filthy.²⁹¹

²⁸⁶ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 24; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 1.19.

²⁸⁷ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 24; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no 1.19.

²⁸⁸ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 24; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no 1.19.

²⁸⁹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 28; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no 1.20.

²⁹⁰ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 28; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no 1.20.

²⁹¹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 28; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no 1.20.

From this description of Henry's actions provided by Arnulf, he presents himself and the king as unified. There is, nevertheless, no evidence that either the king or prelates sought Arnulf's advice. In fact, it was clear in 1159 that all of the English prelates, with exception to Hugh of Durham, already supported Alexander III and were simply waiting for the king's approval.²⁹² Arnulf either had a relationship with the king which allowed him to feel entitled to write on his behalf, or he wrote an open letter in support of the king to repair his relationship after the disagreement over the election at Sées. Given the presentation it is likely the latter. Arnulf had no real need to write the letter other than to emphatically emphasize his support of Henry II's selection.

Letters to the clergy

Turning now to the letters written to his contemporaries, Arnulf's opinions on a physical presence at court become clearer. In the summer of 1171, Arnulf of Lisieux wrote a letter to Master David of London, a legate for Gilbert Foliot during the 1170s, offering advice on how to build influence with the king to gain a better post.²⁹³ Based on his own experiences, Arnulf stressed the importance of constant contact and physical presence before the king: it was because of, "his [Henry II's] habits that it is necessary to follow up his promises with untiring sedulity, and to offer yourself to his eyes frequently at every opportunity. There is a danger that the presence of those in attendance may anticipate or turn aside the advantages of the absent."²⁹⁴ For David, with vacancies upcoming, "These must be distributed among many without delay, and I do not doubt that it will be useful for you to appear with the rest or even before the rest. Thus, your presence can renew the old memory of your merits. Your kindness, honesty, and eloquent natural abilities will lead him to fulfil his promises to you."²⁹⁵ Arnulf suggested that those around Henry, a physical presence being key, could manipulate the king. "However, I prompt and devoted, will meanwhile pursue whatever reaches me for your success, if the occasion arises."²⁹⁶ Arnulf's words illuminate his position, he was no longer able to influence the king he angered. He must wait until there is an opportunity to show his support for David.

²⁹² *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Early Letters (1153-1161)*, no. 116; Duggan, 'Henry II, The English Church and the Papacy, 1154 – 76', 168.

²⁹³ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 74; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 3.08.

²⁹⁴ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 74; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 3.08.

²⁹⁵ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 74; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 3.08.

²⁹⁶ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 74; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 3.08.

In the summer of 1175, Arnulf wrote a letter to Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester, a cousin of his, and a central figure at Henry's court, in which he reflected candidly on his past relationship with the king and dealing with royal anger.²⁹⁷ After 1155, the king began to withdraw, "the benefit of his honour and utility," to both Arnulf and Lisieux.²⁹⁸ This statement by Arnulf appears to make the diocese and the bishop inseparable. From Arnulf's perspective then, Henry II's anger towards him impacted his diocese long after the original dispute. The limited number of charters issued by Henry to institutions in Lisieux and his lack of patronage supports his claim that Henry withdrew his attention. However, it remains unknown if the cathedral faced a greater impact since Arnulf's charters were returned and presumably lost. Arnulf explained the lengths he had gone to repair the relationship, "Neither purity of faith, nor the zeal of obedience, nor unceasing labour, nor excessive expense, nor diligence of advice in greater or greatest matters, efficiently and constantly to the glory of his majesty, could turn aside the bitterness of a rancour conceived without cause."²⁹⁹ Even while the king, "used my service no less urgently."³⁰⁰ Arnulf's viewpoint then confirms that Henry viewed bishops as ecclesiastical vassals whose duties to the crown remained essential despite any dispute between the prelate and monarch.

Between April and May 1175, Arnulf wrote to Walter de Coutances, Archdeacon of Oxford, detailing his troubled relationship with the king, and his failure to react appropriately to the king's anger.³⁰¹ After his dismissal by the king he fled, but later, "recognized that he might regard my swift departure not as fear but more as contempt and pride, because I had not pursued his affection, either by long supplication or by long prayers."³⁰² Arnulf again shows the significance of physical presence by fearing he departed from court too quickly after failing to handle the king's anger. In turn, he appealed to those who the king now trusted and remained at court to maintain his limited influence.

²⁹⁷ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 107; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.04.

²⁹⁸ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 107; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.04.

²⁹⁹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 107; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.04.

³⁰⁰ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 107; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.04.

³⁰¹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 105; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.09.

³⁰² *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 105; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.09.

Letters to Henry II

All the letters included in the letter collection addressed to Henry II are from the 1170s and focus on Arnulf's handling of the king's anger. Circa August 1175, the bishop attempted to reconcile his differences with the king.³⁰³ He wrote of his love for him and hoped for a meeting. He detailed the lengths he was willing to go in order to achieve reconciliation even in his old age.³⁰⁴ Arnulf tried to put himself physically in the king's presence to repair the relationship and rebuild his influence with the monarch.³⁰⁵ Arnulf explained in the letter his hopes, "I want to see the face of my lord as soon as possible so that the happy serenity of the royal countenance may begin to shine on my eyes and I may recover from injuries and longer labors in the customary display of your kindness to me."³⁰⁶ Due to the semi-public nature of letters sent to the king, this letter also acted as a way for Arnulf to remind both the king and others of their stronger relationship in the past.

As the bishop worked towards reconciliation, he reiterated his need for close proximity to the king as well as listing his accomplishments and sacrifices. He explained how all his actions were for the benefit of the king, at the detriment to his own career. In the same letter the bishop blamed the court for the king's perception of him. Arnulf stated, "From the second year of your reign, I felt the favor with which you had always surrounded me abundantly diminished toward me by certain of my detractors. I had recommended them in good faith to your household and your councils because I believed that patience and industry would be useful to you."³⁰⁷ Arnulf's statement mirrors what he wrote to Walter de Coutances; he wanted to recover his relationship with the king, and that the power of others damaged the king's perception of him. He strongly suggested that he blamed Bishop Froger of Sées and his election for the deterioration of his relationship with the king, a person who earned his place in the king's household with Arnulf's help. The bishop stated, "They should have preserved for me the good will that I have earned before you in these matters."³⁰⁸ Arnulf believed his nominee's successes should cast a positive light upon his own relationship with the king, and further, that the appointee should have defended him before the king.

³⁰³ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 109; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.01.

³⁰⁴ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 109; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.01.

³⁰⁵ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 109; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.01.

³⁰⁶ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 109; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.01.

³⁰⁷ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 110; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.02.

³⁰⁸ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 110; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.02.

The last part of the letter attempted to remind the king of potential issues of ending their relationship completely. The bishop wrote,

A long life and many travels have rendered me known and accepted in the whole world. Many will perhaps think it cruel if Your Dignity prosecutes my innocence and a time of recent old age more seriously. You will seem to have acted more harshly out of uncertain suspicion rather than from an opinion based on the truth of things. You will seem to have forced me to enter the contentment of the threatening tomb with tears and grief. You will seem to have shaken the status of the church, which the kindness of Your Serenity restored in my time from poverty into wealth, from humility to high rank, from obscurity into praiseworthiness.³⁰⁹

Arnulf declared that by prosecuting him the king attacked the Church itself; the Church, according to Arnulf, Henry II restored during his reign.³¹⁰ This phrasing is nearly a concealed threat, pointing out to the king that while Arnulf knew the relationship was beyond repair, the king needed to be cognisant of how the relationship ended so it did not reflect poorly on the monarch. Of course, this threat would only come true if Arnulf himself wrote to others about his treatment by Henry II, a potentially risky move after the Becket crisis which Arnulf already feared he would imitate. Arnulf used this same tactic of reminding the king of his international connections in 1178 after the king's envoys, archbishop Rotrou, Walter de Coutances, and Ralph of Varneville failed to persuade him to leave office.³¹¹

Conclusion

For most of the bishops and institutions considered in this thesis, we have only royal charters to guide our understanding of their relations with the king. Arnulf is important because his letters can take us beyond those charters. It is first important to note that statistics on their own are not always effective. Purely in numbers of attestations, Arnulf occurs in royal charter more than any other Norman bishop apart from Philip of Bayeux. He also acted as a royal legate multiple times. At first glance, that might suggest uninterrupted loyal service and close contact. From his letters we know that not to have been the case.

³⁰⁹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 110; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.02.

³¹⁰ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 110; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.02.

³¹¹ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 121; *Letter Collections of Arnulf*, trans. Schriber, no. 4.10; Schlunz, 'Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen (1164 – 1183)', 150 – 151.

It seems that Arnulf believed that a close relationship with the king depended on attendance at the royal court. To be elected to high office, to have influence in appointments, and to protect oneself from detractors, attendance was fundamental. While the king's influence and reach were extensive, for those who wished to influence him only close contact was enough. The power of the king's anger, and the fear of those within his court of the possibility of that anger is also clear.

Generally, this fits with the reports from source material and the findings of recent work on royal courts and royal anger. Warren in his biography of Henry II notes that barons and bishops alike both ran from his quick anger and court.³¹² Indeed, Henry banished lords from his favour who brought about his ire, such as the case of William FitzAudelin and Hugh de Lacy who lost his support for some time in response to Irish complaints against them.³¹³ Indeed, recent examinations of royal anger and authority have determined that ecclesiastical counsellors saw themselves as central figures in directing and expressing the king's anger and violence.³¹⁴

In terms of this thesis, the major methodological basis for the work is what can be read into episcopal relations with kings and royal charter material in terms of royal influence in Henry II's continental domains. In that context, these findings determine that for some churchmen at least, royal favour was of huge significance and royal service central to their conception of themselves and their office. Further, their relationship with the king was more than just one-on-one interactions; they created networks to support other members of the court. But there is a caveat to this, the men put in place by the prelates may eventually turn against them, as in the case of Froger and Arnulf, and therefore the necessity to maintain a network within the king's court was central to a bishop who wanted to rise within the royal administration or to be a counsellor of Henry. His letters show how the king viewed the role of his prelates in Normandy, and how they, in turn, saw the king's court and governance. Arnulf depicted Henry as a king who supported the Church, but also saw the prelates as having duties to the crown which he required of them regardless of their relationship.

³¹² Warren, *Henry II*, 79.

³¹³ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, I, 221.

³¹⁴ K. McGrath, *Royal Rage and the Construction of Anglo-Norman Authority, c. 1000 – 1250* (Cham, Switzerland, 2019), 177 – 182.

Arnulf, it must be acknowledged, was interested in his self-conceptualisation and furthering his own career. Despite his claims of importance, the houses within the diocese, with a few exceptions, did not seem to have felt the need to utilize the king as a source of authority, nor did the king act as patron. Despite the king's feelings towards Arnulf at the end, Arnulf gives a lasting impression with how he saw his own position in the king's administration as paramount. While he acted as envoy multiple times this feeling of importance is unlikely to have been unique to Arnulf. If this can be expanded to other prelates in the region, those who acted as envoys, had a close relationship with the king, and which houses within their dioceses sought out Henry's authority must have been the more trusted by the king, and the ones who he turned to for help in upholding his rule in Normandy.

Chapter 3: Henry II's Charters Issued to Norman Institutions

Charters by the numbers

So far, this part has considered Norman episcopal relations with Henry II. It is now necessary to assess Henry's patronage of religious institutions in the duchy. The charter evidence allows for the construction of narratives which can establish the extent of and attitudes towards Henry II's authority in Normandy.³¹⁵ Daniel Power recently investigated the development of charters in Normandy during the twelfth century, and argues that royal charters developed through the consolidation of royal administration.³¹⁶ He concludes royal charters became standard in areas of both weak and strong governance, with the former being developed into the latter through their use.³¹⁷ Marjorie Chibnall has stated that Norman dukes maintained strong levels of influence over their monastic foundations and benefactors, through the reign of Henry II.³¹⁸ For her monastic patronage was important because, "Monastic lands offered some protection in war zones, as well as emphasizing ducal authority in contested frontier regions."³¹⁹ Examining royal charters for religious beneficiaries thus goes beyond simple piety, and evolves into a question of whether Henry II's rule can be considered strong or weak, and whether he considered these institutions key to his government and authority within the duchy. Royal charters themselves acted as more than just records. As instruments of government, they represented the king's authority and his idealized wishes.³²⁰

Far fewer royal charters remain for Normandy than for England. In total there are 293 charters issued by the royal chancery to Norman beneficiaries. Religious institutions located within the diocese of Rouen received over twenty percent of these charters, including Bec (10), Fécamp (11), Foucarmont (8), and Mont-aux-Malades (4).³²¹ Significant numbers of charters also survive from houses in or close to Caen: where the houses of Holy-Trinity, Saint-Etienne, and Troarn received eighteen charters. If Rouen essentially acted as the 'capital' of Normandy, Caen formed its financial centre (diocese of Bayeux).³²² Mont-Saint-Michel (13) and Savigny (13), both within the diocese of

³¹⁵ See methodologies, 15.

³¹⁶ Power, 'The Transformation of Norman Charters', 206.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 206.

³¹⁸ Chibnall, 'The Changing Expectations of a Royal benefactor', 9 – 10.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

³²⁰ See methodologies, 15 – 6.

³²¹ *Recueil*, i, nos. 8, 46, 48, 52, 120, 121, 175, 176, 221, 222, 223, 265, 324, 357, 393, 418, 420, 433, 445; ii, nos. 480, 487, 533, 586, 593, 623, 624, 664, 666, 665, 686, 744, 753, 763, 767, supplement no. 33, supplement no. 32; *Neustria Pia*, 484, 485; *Acta*, nos. 374H, 384H, 390H, 396H, 397H, 410H, 574H, 575H, 598H, 1388H, 1505H, 1508H, 1547H, 1548H, 1583H, 1611H, 1612H, 1629H, 1673H, 1722H, 1741H, 1743H, 1750H, 1821H, 1822H, 1859H, 1863H, 1889H, 1890H, 1915H, 1916H, 1929H, 1973H, 1982H, 1989H, 2013H, 2014H, 2676H, 2677H, 2681H, 4689H, 4889H.

³²² *Recueil*, i, nos. 28, 29, 66, 67, 68, 69, 74, 104, 122, 152, 153, 154, 309, 342, 345, 346, 347, 410, 447; ii, nos. 582, 601, 621, 692, 731; *Acta*, nos. 225H, 379H, 400H, 408H, 739H, 750H, 752H, 754H, 756H, 770H,

Avranches, also received relatively large numbers of royal charters.³²³ Elsewhere, in the diocese of Lisieux Préaux is the only abbey with numerous surviving charters (10). Two are extant from Saint-Désir.³²⁴ In the diocese of Coutances the top beneficiaries included Notre-Dame-du-Voeu located in Cherbourg (6), Montebourg (15), and Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte (4).³²⁵ In Sées, Silly-en-Gouffern (5) received the most charters.³²⁶ In Evreux establishments such as Conches (1), Estrée (3), and the cathedral (3) received a limited number of charters.³²⁷

King Henry II issued a multitude of charters to a large number of religious institutions across all the dioceses of Normandy. Geographic patterns do emerge, nevertheless, demonstrating that charters are client-driven governance. The religious institutions that received a royal charter in Normandy often waited until the king travelled nearby to obtain the document. Of the 293 charters extant for Norman institutions, only fifty have a location of issue in England. The establishments received two hundred charters issued in Normandy, six in Maine, four in Anjou, five in the Touraine, and one in Wales.³²⁸ There is no identifiable location of issue for the remaining charters. In contrast, English houses seem to have been much keener to travel to Normandy. This suggests that while these institutions sought the king's authority, those on the Continent waited till the king journeyed nearby. For example, Cerisy, located near the ecclesiastical border of Bayeux and Coutances (Cerisy-la-Forêt), received nine charters total; six of them issued at Bur-le-Roi, the nearby hunting lodge in the diocese of Bayeux.³²⁹ A seventh charter issued to the

772H, 1121H, 1123H, 1178H, 1179H, 1180H, 1181H, 1549H, 1571H, 1687H, 1690H, 1691H, 1870H, 1887H, 3248H, 3872H.

³²³ *Recueil*, i, no. 36, 40, 82, 94, 157, 225, 256, 257, 299, 394, 448; ii, nos. 473, 490, 498, 501, 544, 551, 558, 560-1, 591, 628, 658, 712, 760, 761, 762; *Acta*, nos. 330H, 386H, 393H, 395H, 594H, 1012H, 1013H, 1501H, 1520H, 1531H, 1625H, 1626H, 1655H, 1723H, 1784H, 1796H, 1802H, 1804H, 1830H, 1834H, 1837H, 1862H, 1903H, 1948H, 1988H, 4352H.

³²⁴ *Recueil*, i, nos. 63, 188, 209, 243, 432; ii, nos. 476, 478, 486, 675, 676, 677; *Le Cartulaire de L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, 457 no. C6; *Acta*, nos. 251H, 426H, 1293H, 1513H, 1603H, 1620H, 1749H, 1787H, 1793H, 1921H, 1922H, 4679H.

³²⁵ *Recueil*, i, nos. 62, 135, 193, 229, 266, 308, 318, 320, 343, 362, 381, 382, 384, 409; ii, nos. 491, 570, 583, 610, 656, 657, 659, 688, 695; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 1226 – 1516*, i, 43; *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, no. 891; *Acta*, nos. 1512H, 1560H, 1594H, 1617H, 1630H, 1661H, 1667H, 1669H, 1688H, 1698H, 1713H, 1714H, 1716H, 1734H, 1797H, 1849H, 1856H, 1878H, 1899H, 1910H, 1911H, 1931H, 1934H, 5079H.

³²⁶ *Recueil*, i, nos. 31, 108, 146, 181, 293, 317; ii, no. 736; *Acta*, nos. 214H, 241H, 562H, 1495H, 1565H, 1586H, 1967H, 4620H.

³²⁷ *Recueil*, i, nos. 50, 98, 155, 161, 182, 423; ii, no. 590; *Acta*, nos. 471H, 1535H, 1572H, 1574H, 1587H, 1746H, 1861H, 3919H.

³²⁸ The remaining charters were issued in minimal numbers from surrounding areas, or the location of issue is simply unknown.

³²⁹ *Recueil*, i, nos. 339, 341, 406, 407; ii, nos. 690, supplement 31; *Acta*, nos. 109H, 1686H, 1731H, 1732H, 1933H, 2012H.

abbey is denoted as being issued simply in Bayeux, and the final two charters have unknown locations of issue.³³⁰

It is worth investigating whether those charters for which houses crossed the Channel differ in some way from the remainder. The importance of the charter seems to have been significant. Of the eight extant charters for Troarn, also in Bayeux, Henry issued three at Caen and two at Worcester.³³¹ These two charters are from early in the king's reign and confirmed the house's possessions and liberties in England and Normandy.³³² It can also be shown that the wealth and standing of the institution and the location of the confirmed possessions held significance. Savigny, sent envoys long distances to obtain royal charters. For example one charter, issued in Saumur, Anjou, confirmed the church of Long Bennington in Lincolnshire given by Ralph de Fougères.³³³ Another issued at Windsor granted the king's protection, with special privilege, for the abbot, monks and their possessions across all of his territories prohibiting any pleas against them except in the king or his justiciar's presence.³³⁴ A charter issued at Le Mans, confirmed an annual gift of grain from Gilbert of Lande as granted by Robert fitz Peter and his wife Patronella.³³⁵

Four of Holy-Trinity's five extant charters, issued in Westminster, England between 1154 and 1158, confirmed liberties and properties in England.³³⁶ Fécamp received two charters, of its eleven, in England. The first, issued at Clarendon between 1163 and 1166, mandated the sheriff of Sussex to ensure protection of the abbey's lands, men, and possessions.³³⁷ The second, issued at Feckenham between 1172 and 1188, granted the king's protection over the entirety of Fécamp, its properties and people.³³⁸ Four of Mont-Saint-Michel's thirteen charters had a location of issue in England. The earliest, issued at Reading between 1163 and 1166, confirmed the resignation of Raulon of Genêts and the removal of his rights of jurisdiction over Genêts before the king.³³⁹ In the other three charters, issued between 1174 and 1177, the abbey received at Winchester and Ludgershall. Two charters issued at Winchester granted protection to the abbey monks and

³³⁰ *Recueil*, i, no. 322; ii, nos. 584, 711; *Acta*, nos. 1671H, 1857H, 1947H.

³³¹ *Recueil*, i, nos. 28, 74, 345, 346; ii, no. 692; *Acta*, nos. 400H, 756H, 772H, 1123H, 1690H.

³³² *Recueil*, i, nos. 28, 74; *Acta*, nos. 772H, 1123H.

³³³ *Recueil*, ii, no. 558; *Acta*, no. 393H.

³³⁴ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 560-1; *Acta*, no. 1837H.

³³⁵ *Recueil*, ii, no. 762; *Acta*, no. 1988H.

³³⁶ *Recueil*, i, nos. 66, 67, 69, 427; *Acta*, nos. 1178H, 1179H, 1180H, 1181H.

³³⁷ *Recueil*, i, no. 393; *Acta*, no. 1722H.

³³⁸ *Recueil*, i, no. 664; *Acta*, no. 1915H.

³³⁹ *Recueil*, i, no. 394; *Acta*, no. 1723H.

their possessions and confirmed the transfer of Wath in England granted to the abbey by Count Conan of Brittany.³⁴⁰ A charter issued at Ludgershall confirmed all gifts made to the abbey by the king and his ancestors.³⁴¹ In conclusion, religious houses in Normandy tended to wait until the king travelled to Normandy to obtain charters with a few exceptions. These exceptions include where the house held property in England and charters which dealt with exceptional circumstances or functional requirement, such as a confirmation of liberties, a charter granting protection, or a charter which settled a dispute between the religious house and a second party. All of these issues could warrant the journey.

The king's role in charter conception was important even if not active. His movements played an important role in when beneficiaries sought charters. This makes it necessary to identify when and how often the king travelled to Normandy from England before looking at the overall date distribution of royal charters. After Henry II took the throne in December 1154, he crossed the Channel, travelling between England and Normandy, twenty-five times.³⁴²

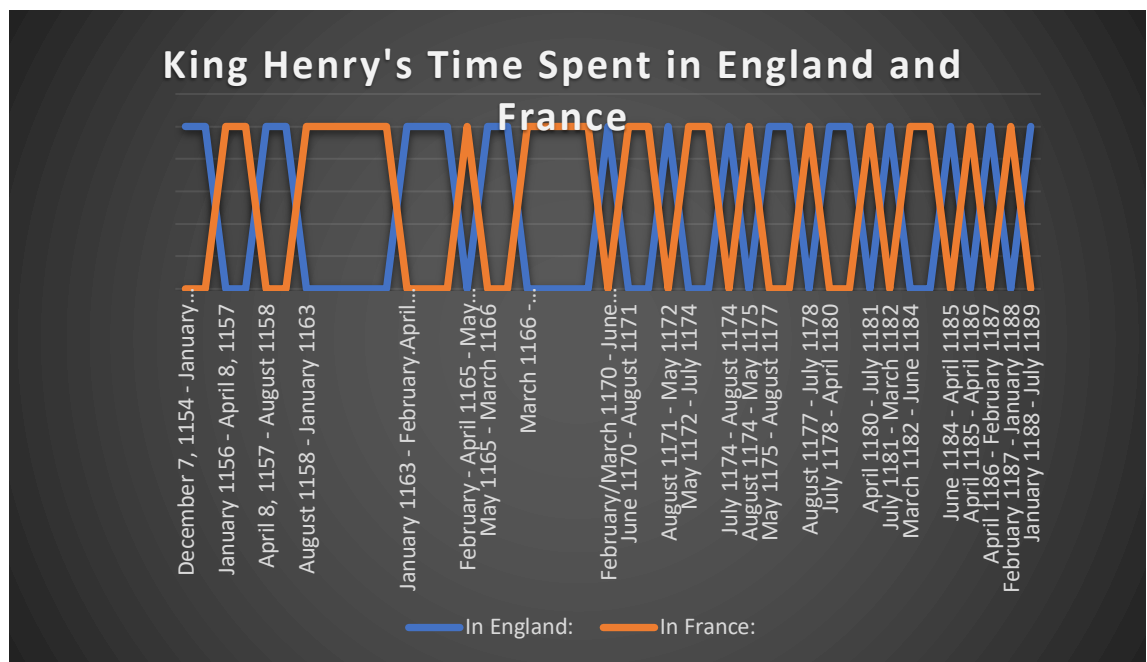


Figure 3.1 Time Henry II spent in England and France.

³⁴⁰ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 498, 544; *Acta*, nos. 1802H, 1830H.

³⁴¹ *Recueil*, ii, no. 501; *Acta*, no. 1804H.

³⁴² Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 16, 25, 40, 58, 77, 79, 91, 135, 138, 160, 167, 179, 184, 190, 218, 222, 231, 240, 247, 256, 263, 267, 277, 284, 288, 297. See figure 3.1.

Traditionally, the introduction of the “*dei gratia*” clause in 1173 acted as one of the key points for charter dating.³⁴³ On that basis, Henry issued 170 charters to Norman institutions before 1173 and issued 124 in 1173 or later. However, Henry spent a large portion of the 1150s and 1160s on the Continent and thus it would make sense that more charters survive issued pre-1173 than post. When looking at the decades individually a more pronounced pattern takes shape.³⁴⁴

The most significant period is the first five years of the king’s reign. The chancery issued a third of the remaining charters, approximately seventy-eight, during this time. As described by Daniel Power, Henry II attempted to use charters to express and strengthen his authority in Normandy when it was weakest early in his reign. Almost half, thirty-five, confirmed through notification or mandate the rights, liberties, and privileges of the beneficiaries.³⁴⁵ Another twenty-one charters confirmed gifts of money, rights, or land granted by the king or other patrons, to the institutions.³⁴⁶ The remaining charters from the 1150s fall into various categories including toll exemption (9), confirmations of court settlements (8), and notifications or mandates concerning protection (5).³⁴⁷ This pattern suggests that Norman religious houses sought the new monarch’s authority, after he had only been duke for five years. For the king too this served a purpose by creating ties with monastic houses through confirmations of land and gifts by either himself or others. He attempted to weave himself into the fabric of monastic life and policy while monasteries sought him for confirmations of gifts given to them. The houses then not only recognised his authority but also extended it.

³⁴³ Vincent, ‘Regional Variations in the Charters of King Henry II’, 74 – 75.

³⁴⁴ Despite the task being more difficult because not all charters have well defined dates or even datable to a single decade it is possible to separate them if using a consistent sorting method. For instance, if charters are associated with the decade which they most likely were granted, such as a charter with a date range 1177-1185 is placed in the 1180s, a pattern evolves.

³⁴⁵ *Recueil*, i, nos. 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 28, 38, 39, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 74, 82, 95, 101, 104, 105, 147, 148, 152, 153, 154, 174, 176, 209, 228, 319, 345; K.C. Newton, ‘Some Original Documents in the Morant MSS’, *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Association* 2.3 (1970), pp. 289 – 298, at 290 no. 3; *Acta*, nos. 258H, 379H, 390H, 408H, 739H, 772H, 1123H, 1178H, 1179H, 1180H, 1181H, 1388H, 1389H, 1390H, 1391H, 1395H, 1396H, 1499H, 1500H, 1513H, 1516H, 1520H, 1532H, 1536H, 1538H, 1566H, 1567H, 1571H, 1582H, 1603H, 1616H, 1690H, 2520H, 4004H, 4094H.

³⁴⁶ *Recueil*, i, nos. 2, 3, 31, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53, 62, 94, 98, 108, 110, 135, 146, 181, 188, 194, 206, 309, 366; *Acta*, nos. 214H, 233H, 251H, 384H, 406H, 471H, 661H, 959H, 1495H, 1505H, 1508H, 1512H, 1531H, 1535H, 1542H, 1560H, 1565H, 1586H, 1595H, 1600H, 1701H.

³⁴⁷ *Recueil*, i, nos. 36, 40, 43, 61, 102, 109, 120, 121, 122, 155, 157, 161, 162, 175, 182, 193, 211, 229, 347, 362, 364. The one atypical charter from the 1150s is one granted to Jumièges which restored the abbey’s serfs back to their location during the reign of Henry I. See, *ibid*, i, no. 92; *Acta*, nos. 386H, 960H, 1012H, 1501H, 1503H, 1511H, 1537H, 1541h, 1547H, 1548H, 1549H, 1572H, 1574H, 1575H, 1583H, 1587H, 1594H, 16517H, 1691H, 1698H, 1700H, 2521H.

Eighty-two charters remain from the 1160s with a considerable number issued around 1167, but most dated charters remain from earlier in the decade. It is possible increasing tensions with Becket impacted the issuance of charters along with the fact that some houses had already obtained the charters they needed. For instance, the number of confirmation charters for possessions and liberties dropped down to only twenty-four charters for the entire decade compared to the thirty-five issued in the 1150s.³⁴⁸ The number of charters issued which confirmed gifts of contemporaries or past grants increased to thirty-three, demonstrating a shift in what religious houses sought in royal charters.³⁴⁹ The number of charters which confirmed court settlements and toll exemptions both stayed the same in the 1160s having eight and nine charters, respectively.³⁵⁰ There was an increase of over fifty percent in the number of charters which confirmed protection for the beneficiary.³⁵¹ There may have been a sense of increasing tensions in the region and therefore religious institutions sought out the king's protection. When compared to the time the king stayed in France and Normandy the number of charters issued makes sense. The king issued eighty-two charters and he spent seven years in France; however, this does not necessarily meet expectations when compared to the 1150s and the seventy-eight charters issued in his three years on the Continent. This meant institutions in Normandy still sought out Henry's authority, yet there was a slowdown of how many charters Henry issued for the time he remained on the Continent. It is likely establishments that received a charter in the 1150s did not return during the 1160s to receive any further royal charters.

In the 1170s there appears to have been a significant decrease in the numbers of charters issued to Norman beneficiaries, and a shift in their purpose. Numbers drop to just sixty-two. During this decade the largest group of charters confirmed gifts granted by the

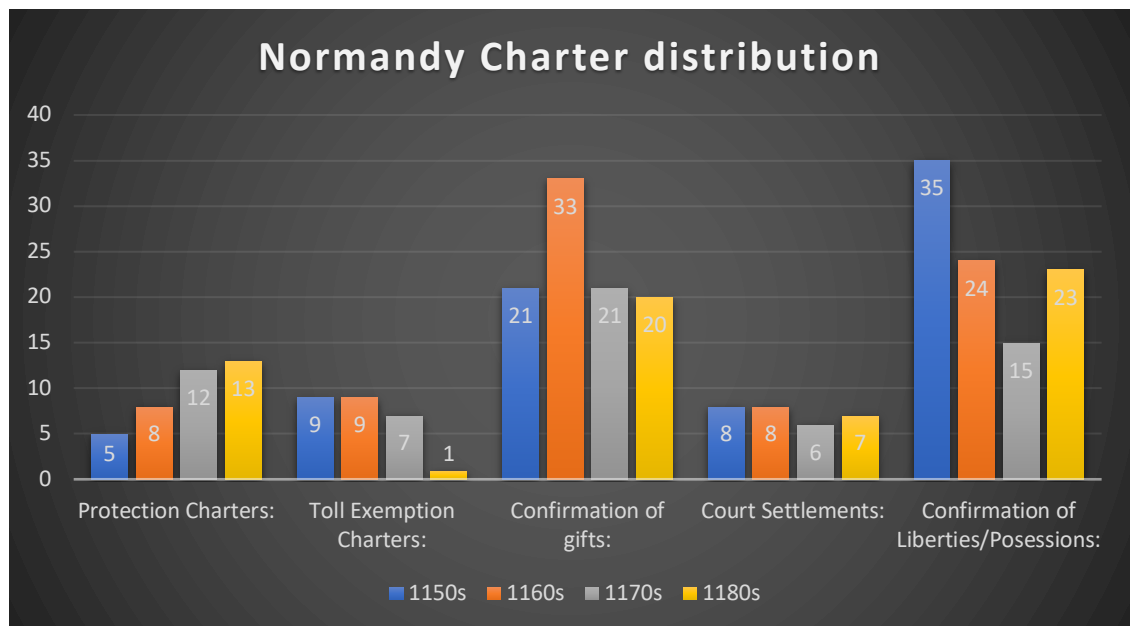
³⁴⁸ *Recueil*, i, nos. 29, 169, 266, 271, 336, 341, 342, 343, 346, 357, 368, 369, 370, 377, 386, 407, 410, 423, 433; *Acta*, nos. 400H, 407H, 410H, 759H, 770H, 1008H, 1121H, 1630H, 1683H, 1686H, 1687H, 1688H, 1703H, 1704H, 1705H, 1711H, 1732H, 1746H, 1750H, 2681H, 3872H, 3920H, 4620H, 5530H.

³⁴⁹ *Recueil*, i, nos. 146, 168, 223, 243, 257, 265, 276, 292, 293, 295, 322, 333, 340, 344, 367, 387, 395, 401, 409, 412, 416, 419, 420, 422, 426, 432, 447; ii, no. Supplement no. 31; *Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Handlist of Documents Surviving in the original in Repositories in the United Kingdom*, no. 3; *Le Cartulaire de L'Abbaye Benedictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, 457 no. C6; *Acta*, nos. 67H, 274H, 562H, 563H, 598H, 750H, 753H, 1565H, 1620H, 1626H, 1629H, 1637H, 1648H, 1651H, 1671H, 1680H, 1685H, 1689H, 1702H, 1724H, 1734H, 1736H, 1740H, 1742H, 1743H, 1745H, 1748H, 1749H, 2012H, 3887H, 3919H, 4394H, 4679H.

³⁵⁰ *Recueil*, i, nos. 225, 256, 317, 324, 339, 381, 384, 394, 396, 405, 406, 411; ii, Supplement no. 20; *Neustria Pia*, 852; *Acta*, nos. 109H, 241H, 330H, 596H, 604H, 955H, 1625H, 1673H, 1713H, 1716H, 1723H, 1731H, 1735H, 2667H, 2676H, 4889H, 5240H.

³⁵¹ *Recueil*, i, nos. 221, 222, 318, 320, 323, 382, 393, 400; *Acta*, nos. 1611H, 1612H, 1667H, 1669H, 1672H, 1714h, 1722H, 1728H.

king and others (21).³⁵² The second largest group confirmed liberties and possessions (15), and the third largest group granted protection (13).³⁵³ The charters issued confirming court settlements (6) and charters granting toll exemptions (7) continued in smaller numbers.³⁵⁴ When relating charters granted in the 1170s to Henry's travels between England and France it is possible to identify that the amount of times the king crossed the channel increased over previous decades with eight crossings total. However, the king spent just under five years in France during this decade, whereas in previous decades he spent more time on the Continent. This accounts for the decrease in charter numbers. It is likely that negotiations at the beginning of the decade concerning the king's penance for the death of Becket, and the rebellion of Henry the Young King also negatively impacted the number of charters issued. The number of charters issued increased in the last nine years of the king's reign to seventy-two charters issued to Norman beneficiaries during the 1180s.³⁵⁵



³⁵² *Recueil*, i, nos. 308, 445; ii, nos. 473, 474, 476, 478, 479, 487, 501, 544, 558, 570, 576, 582, 598, 625, 691, 717; *Neustria Pia*, 485; *Acta*, nos. 225H, 393H, 394H, 396H, 402H, 404H, 426H, 575H, 578H, 1661H, 1784H, 1787H, 1788H, 1804H, 1822H, 1830H, 1867H, 3853H, 3877H, 5079H, 5793H.

³⁵³ *Recueil*, i, nos. 299, 402, 418; ii, nos. 480, 483, 484, 491, 497, 498, 527, 529, 560 – 1, 565, 567, 570, 571, 572, 586, 594, 623, 624, 636, 664, 666, 712, 745; *Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Handlist of Documents Surviving in the original in Repositories in the United Kingdom*, no. 30; M. Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme: études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen* (Turnhout, 2000), 351-4 app. 5 no. 3; *Acta* nos. 32H, 374H, 383H, 574H, 579H, 581H, 757H, 769H, 954H, 1655H, 1729H, 1741H, 1791H, 1797H, 1802H, 1817H, 1837H, 1840H, 1849H, 1850H, 1859H, 1864H, 1889H, 1890H, 1897H, 1915H, 1948H, 4154H.

³⁵⁴ *Recueil*, i, nos. 298, 402, 451; ii, nos. 486, 490, 496, 528, 583, 595, 610, supplement no. 33, supplement no. 32; *Acta*, nos. 1654H, 1729H, 1760H, 1793H, 1796H, 1801H, 1818H, 1856H, 1865H, 1878H, 2013H, 2014H, 3248H. There is one outstanding charter much like the charter issued to Jumièges in the 1150s which is hard to group. This charter, issued to Mont-Saint-Michel, granted William of St. Jean the forestership of the abbey's forest in Bevert, Manche and was made in the presence of both Henry II and Henry the Young King before being sealed by both. See *Recueil*, i, no. 448; *Acta*, no. 4352H.

³⁵⁵ For a table on charter distribution by decade see figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Charters issued by type and decade. For a similar table for Greater Anjou see page 112.

From the last nine years of King Henry's reign twenty-three charters remain which confirmed liberties and possessions of religious houses in Normandy.³⁵⁶ Twenty charters confirmed gifts given to monasteries.³⁵⁷ One of the most significant changes in the 1180s is a shift from religious houses seeking toll exemptions to protection charters. From this decade, thirteen charters issued for protection and just one toll exemption remain.³⁵⁸ Even seven court settlements survive.³⁵⁹ When looking at the number of royal charters extant from the 1180s they compare with those of the 1150s and 1160s, but the king's itinerary is closer to that of the 1170s. He generally stayed in England and France for a year at a time with exception from March 1182 through June 1184 when he stayed on the Continent. This suggests that in the 1170s it was events that made the difference. It is likely the monasteries did not seek out the king for charters during the aftermath of Becket's murder given the Church's critical view of Henry II at the time. It is also likely that during the rebellion of 1173 – 1174 monasteries refrained from seeking out the king due to the dangers of the conflict.

In the first five years of the king's reign it seems most religious institutions sought the king's authority to validate the institutions' liberties and possessions under the new monarch, waiting until he became king instead of just duke. This trend slowed down in the subsequent decades, going from thirty-five charters in the 1150s down to twenty-four in the 1160s decreasing again to fifteen in the 1170s and back up to twenty-three charters in the 1180s. Another pattern becomes visible when looking at the charters which confirmed gifts. For the 1150s, 1170s and 1180s the number of charters granted demonstrates little variation with twenty-one charters issued in the 50s and 70s, and twenty charters issued during the 80s; however, in the 1160s, the decade in which the king needed support from the clergy during the Becket Controversy the number of charters jumped to thirty-three.

³⁵⁶ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 477, 552, 591, 601, 603, 607, 641, 675, 688, 692, 698, 715, 735, 744, 746, 747, 753, 756, 757, 768; *Neustria Pia*, 484; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 1226 – 1516*, i, 43; *Extraits des Chartes*, ed. L. D'Anisy (2 vols., Caen, 1834), ii, 266, no. 13; *Acta*, nos. 576H, 756H, 1224H, 1786H, 1835H, 1862H, 1870H, 1875H, 1902H, 1921H, 1931H, 1937H, 1951H, 1966H, 1973H, 1975H, 1976H, 1982H, 1984H, 1986H, 1992H, 3894H, 4689H.

³⁵⁷ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 584, 593, 598, 602, 621, 625, 628, 645, 665, 676, 677, 681, 702, 726, 731, 732, 736, 738, 754, 760, 761, 762, 765, 766, 767; *Acta*, nos. 394H, 395H, 397H, 401H, 547H, 582H, 593H, 594H, 754H, 1013H, 1293H, 1857H, 1863H, 1867H, 1871H, 1887H, 1905H, 1916H, 1922H, 1963H, 1967H, 1969H, 1983H, 1988H, 1991H.

³⁵⁸ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 567, 586, 590, 599, 656, 657, 658, 659, 664, 668, 686, 687, 695, 710, 711; *Acta*, nos. 383H, 990H, 1859H, 1861H, 1868H, 1899H, 1903H, 1910H, 1911H, 1915H, 1929H, 1930H, 1934H, 1946H, 1947H, 3876H.

³⁵⁹ Pigeon, *Le Diocèse d'Avranches*, ii, 661-2 no.4/ii; *Recueil*, ii, nos. 533, 551, 600, 672, 690, 763; *Acta*, nos. 1821H, 1834H, 1869H, 1919H, 1933H, 1989H, 5420H.

This suggests that the king used this form of charter to bolster support within Normandy and to reinforce his authority.

Another group of charters issued consistently in each decade of Henry's reign confirmed court settlements. In the 1150s and 1160s Henry issued eight such charters, while in the 1170s that decreased slightly to six and in the 1180s the total rose to seven. Thus, the king consistently granted charters confirming court settlements. Compared to Greater Anjou (17%) the numbers of charters devoted to settlements is lower statistically in Normandy (10%) and England (7%). The numbers of confirmed settlements staying consistent in Normandy through every decade is somewhat of a surprise. This type of charter had the least deviation decade to decade making it appear beneficiaries sought this form of charter when necessary regardless of events, giving the perception of something which religious institutions saw as vital to their existence, and therefore making the king's authority over the matter all the more significant.

Finally, the number of protection charters issued by the king slowly increased while the number of toll exemption charters slowly declined. Protection charters issued in Henry's final decade were likely to have a time stipulation on them. For example, Montebourg received a protection charter which protected their possessions, the monks and required all pleas to be presented before the king, but only for the length of time the king remained in England.³⁶⁰ Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte received two similar charters from the 1180s giving protection to the abbey and forbidding pleas except before the king until he returned to France and the other for as long as the king was in England.³⁶¹ This increase in protection charters which included time stipulations shows an awareness by the religious houses of the king's itinerary and used it to their own benefit. It also denotes a more hands on approach by Henry II in the rights negotiated.

These patterns demonstrate how religious institutions and clergy typically controlled the process of obtaining charters. It still remained up to the negotiations as to what the charters included. Yet, these patterns still tell us little about the difference between the king merely fulfilling his duties and the king acting as a patron to a specific monastery or granting a charter to maintain his authority. It is possible to determine the difference, however, through the rights, privileges, and gifts confirmed or granted by the

³⁶⁰ *Recueil*, ii, no. 656; *Acta*, no. 1910H.

³⁶¹ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 657, 659; *Acta*, nos. 1899H, 1911H.

king. Essentially, the contents of the charters create narratives between Henry II and the beneficiaries. Three main sets of charters which are best to investigate for this purpose are confirmations of gifts granted by the king himself, toll exemption charters, and protection charters. All three of these groups demonstrate the king's interest in the development, future, and security of institutions. The charters which confirmed grants from the king reveal the king acting as a benefactor, or supporting benefactors of the house, toll exemptions establish the king's concern in bettering the financial situation of an institution while protection charters demonstrate the king's interest in protecting the institutions.

Confirmation charters

The first set of charters examined for Henry's patronage towards a religious institution are the charters which granted or confirmed gifts of land, churches, or rights from the king. These forms of charters, while helping to mark the king as a patron, helped tie himself into the governance of Normandy, making his rule stronger. He got the chance to express his authority by giving gifts directly to religious institutions, and have it received by lay patrons who sought his confirmation. The gifts granted within these charters vary greatly. Cerisy gained the rights to hold a three day fair every year during the feast of Cecilia granted by the king at the time of the dedication of the abbey church.³⁶² Other examples include the king granting access to 200 acres of land at Bézu-la-Forêt (Eure) to Mortemer Priory.³⁶³ In total twenty-three charters (8%) issued to Norman beneficiaries granted specific rights or gifts from the king himself compared to one hundred and seventeen issued to beneficiaries in England (9%). In total there were seventeen recipients of these charters in Normandy and seventy-one recipients in England.³⁶⁴ There is no apparent chronological trend; Henry issued these charters evenly throughout his reign.

These charters which notified gifts and rights granted by the king demonstrated an interest in an institution's wellbeing from the king and at times were used to his or his family's benefit. For example, the king granted twenty pounds Angevin to Fécamp in

³⁶² *Recueil*, i, no. 407; *Acta*, no. 1732H.

³⁶³ *Acta*, no. 3877H.

³⁶⁴ The seventeen recipients were: Beaubec, Bec, Blanchelande, Cerisy, Fécamp, Jumièges, Saint-Désir of Lisieux, Longues, Montebourg, Mont-Saint-Michel, Mortemer, Hospital-of-Saint-Gilles, Préaux, Cathedral-Church-of-Notre-Dame in Rouen, Silly-en-Gouffern, La-Trappe, and Valmont. *Recueil*, i, nos. 3, 8, 48, 52, 146, 188, 223, 257, 324, 367, 387, 407, 420; ii, nos. 484, 487, 570, 598, 677, 717, 726, Supplement no. 31; *Le Cartulaire de L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux*, 457 no. C6; *Acta*, nos. 251H, 384H, 396H, 563H, 582H, 598H, 954H, 959H, 1293H, 1388H, 1508H, 1565H, 1626H, 1673H, 1702H, 1732H, 1743H, 1867H, 2012H, 3853H, 3877H, 4679H, 5079H.

exchange for land of Saint Martin in the forest of Bonneville-sur-Touques (Calvados), but he agreed to not build a religious house on the land without first gaining the monks' approval.³⁶⁵ However, most of these charters merely granted a church, a payment, or a quittance from certain duties expected of the religious house. These charters do not have much to reveal other than the gifts granted by the king, but the king took an interest to grant gifts to these specific houses and since many of these houses also received royal protection, either general or with privileges, as well as given the status of exemption from tolls, the king established his patronage.

Toll exemption charters

Toll exemption charters cover toll, passage, pontage, customs, or taille, in various combinations. As previously noted these types of charters makeup one of the smaller groups issued to Norman beneficiaries with only twenty-six charters (9%) remaining from Henry II's reign, but compared to the ninety-eight (7.5%) issued to English beneficiaries they statistically make up a larger portion of the overall charter corpus.³⁶⁶ Establishments sought these charters most often early in the king's reign. Institutions in Normandy and England perceived tolls as something to be avoided and sought immediate exemption.³⁶⁷ The timespan and selectivity in the issuance of these charters may indicate that toll exemptions were an excellent way to establish and express authority early in Henry's reign, helping to build up from a weak to a strong government through expressing his authority with the Church being a primary acceptor. Institutions in the south did not readily adopt these exemptions as they considered tolls part of the ducal customs.³⁶⁸ It is likely the tolls in the north were ducal customs as well, but they likely held less proportional value than in the south. In Aquitaine the duke needed the income from tolls because of the smaller ducal demesne than in England and Normandy.³⁶⁹ Smaller numbers might suggest selectivity in their issuance, but these documents might also not have been the most important and therefore not kept as later monarchs updated them. Their apparent immediate financial benefit suggests patronage on the part of the king.

³⁶⁵ *Recueil*, i, no. 324; *Acta*, no. 1673H.

³⁶⁶ *Recueil*, i, nos. 36, 43, 61, 102, 157, 175, 182, 211, 298, 317, 339, 347, 381, 384, 396, 402, 405; ii, nos. 486, 496, 528, 583, 595, 710; *Nuestria Pia*, 852; *Acta*, nos. 109H, 241H, 386H, 596H, 955H, 1012H, 1503H, 1511H, 1537H, 1583H, 1587H, 1654H, 1691H, 1713H, 1716H, 1729H, 1793H, 1801H, 1818H, 1856H, 1865H, 1946H, 2521H, 2676H, 2677H, 5240H.

³⁶⁷ Vincent, 'Regional Variations in the Charters of King Henry II', 86.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 86.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 86; Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 64.

Twenty-one religious institutions received at least one toll exemption charter.³⁷⁰ Most houses received only one charter for toll exemption except for Montebourg which received three, and Bec and Saint-Georges in Boscherville which both received two. Two forms of toll exemption charters issued for Normandy dominate; general toll exemptions gave a broad quittance to the beneficiary from tolls, passage fees, and pontage anywhere in England and Normandy, and specific toll exemption charters often referenced an event, item, or specific cost exemption.

General toll exemptions make up sixteen of the twenty-six toll exemption charters issued.³⁷¹ Issued to sixteen recipients amongst the most important monasteries in Normandy.³⁷² A charter issued in the first half of Henry's reign to Bec granted exemption from tolls, passage, lestage, and customs.³⁷³ The body of the charter is short, consisting of a few lines of text. The charter addressed all the king's ministers, all of England, and all seaports notifying them of his grant of general exemption to Bec. There were no stipulations which the house had to follow and there was no time limit given on the exemptions. The only prohibition made within the charter notified others not to interfere with these rights stating, "and let no one disturb his men or their belongings on account of this," the charter does not give any specific punishment for failure to abide by the rights notified within the charter, unlike other charters in the corpus.³⁷⁴ This allowed the king and his justices in Normandy to create punishments if someone infringed the rights notified within the charter, another tool of patronage.

Blanchelande in the diocese of Coutances received a similarly brief charter.³⁷⁵ In this charter the addressees included the ministers and bailiffs of all the king's ports in his lands to grant exemptions from tolls, pontage, customs, and passage for the men. The charter included a well-defined punishment for those who failed to follow the exemptions.

³⁷⁰ The beneficiaries were: Aunay Abbey, Bec, Blanchelande Abbey, Cerisy Abbey, Estrée Abbey, Foucarmont Abbey, Abbey of Le-Gard, Jumièges Abbey, Lonlai Abbey, Montebourg Abbey, Mont-Saint-Michel Abbey, Mortemer Abbey, Abbey of La-Noë, Préaux Abbey, Abbey of Saint-Ouen, Abbey of Saint-George in Boscherville, Saint-Evroul Abbey, Savigny Abbey, Saint-Martin's Abbey in Sées, Tiron Abbey, and Valasse Abbey.

³⁷¹ *Recueil*, i, nos. 36, 61, 102, 157, 175, 182, 211, 339, 347, 384, 402, 405; ii, nos. 528, 595, 710; *Acta*, nos. 109H, 386H, 955H, 1012H, 1511H, 1537H, 1538H, 1587H, 1691H, 1716H, 1729H, 1818H, 1865H, 1946H, 2521H, 2677H.

³⁷² The recipients were: Bec, Blanchelande, Saint-Georges of Boscherville, Saint-Etienne, Cerisy, Estrée, Foucarmont, Jumièges, Montebourg, Mont-Saint-Michel, Mortemer, La-Nöe, Saint-Ouen of Rouen, Saint-Evroul, Savigny, and Saint-Martin's of Sées.

³⁷³ *Acta*, no. 2677H.

³⁷⁴ *Acta*, no. 2677H. *et nullus homines suos vel res suas super hoc disturbet.*

³⁷⁵ *Recueil*, i, no. 405; *Acta*, no. 955H.

The text ordered anyone who infringed the rights to hand themselves over to the king's court. These two charters establish a relationship between Henry and the houses, going so far as to have his personal court handle those who went against the notified rights.

Saint-Etienne, Caen, received a charter at Bridgnorth around 1155.³⁷⁶ This charter is in the form of a mandate and addressed the ministers, barons, and trusted men of England and Normandy, and the seaports in these two regions. However, unlike the previous charters, this charter gave a punishment that was more specific and easier to enforce. The clause stated, “and I forbid that they or their servants be disturbed over this, subject to a penalty of ten pounds.”³⁷⁷ The punishment for breaking the rights granted within the charter was a fine of ten pounds, a prohibitively large sum of money. However, it also limited the potential penalty against those who broke the notified rights. Further, since this is a mandate which expected the addressees to enforce the rights granted a notification likely already existed and thus a strictly defined punishment can be an useful deterrent in response to the rules being broken, but left it slightly impersonal and less protective of the rights compared to the previous punishment clauses which allowed for a more customised punishment.

Toll exemptions likely denote a form of royal patronage beyond mere duty. The king granted these charters knowing they would have an impact on royal revenue across both England and Normandy. The two best ways to identify the level of patronage is to identify which of the king's territories the charters notified the exemption, and the punishment clauses. The punishment clauses changed from a simple set punishment clause, as seen in the case of Saint-Etienne in Caen, up to leaving the punishment clause open ended like the charter granted to Bec. These open-ended punishments potentially used more resources within the court system to punish any offenders when compared to a fixed fine. Therefore they depict more interest by the king and a willingness to defend these rights more fervently.

Specific toll exemption charters designate locations or items. For instance, Montebourg received a mandate issued at Valognes between 1156 and 1168 which exempted a specific location.³⁷⁸ This charter confirmed the abbey's rights of toll and

³⁷⁶ *Recueil*, i, no. 347; *Acta*, no. 1691H.

³⁷⁷ *Recueil*, i, no. 347; *Acta*, no. 1691H. *et prohibeo ne illi vel seruientes eorum super hoc iniuste disturbentur super decem librarum forisfacturam.*

³⁷⁸ *Recueil*, i, no. 381; *Acta*, no. 1713H.

custom exemptions at Norman ports only. The punishment clause within the charter states, “and I forbid anyone to cause injury or indignity the abbey’s people or business.”³⁷⁹ Thus, the courts determined the punishment independently for each person who infringed Montebourg’s rights. This open-ended punishment along with the reference to Henry I could infer Henry II acted as a patron to Montebourg. The reference to Henry I, while formulaic, likely emphasised the continuity of royal authority. Further, the open-ended punishment denoted the king’s willingness to commit resources to establish a punishment on a case-by-case basis. The monastery is certainly the party that approached the king concerning the charter, but the king used this opportunity to demonstrate his role as a patron.

A charter issued to Préaux differed from the previous charters investigated because it confirmed an exemption from local tax, or *taille*, granted by Count Robert of Meulan.³⁸⁰ Issued in the mid to late 1170s, after the rebellion of Henry the Young King, the charter originated at Caen. It addressed the barons, justices, ministers, and trusted men of Normandy. It states that the king granted this confirmation in addition to all rights granted to the monastery previously made in time of peace. This wording may be intentional as the charter, issued just after the rebellion, came after a period of conflict, and therefore reflects growing ducal authority in the period following the rebellion. As this charter is a confirmation of rights granted by a third party there is no punishment clause at the end of the charter. Despite only being a confirmation by the monarch there are still signs of patronage on behalf of the king. First, the king issued a charter protecting these rights across Normandy on behalf of both Robert of Meulan, the son of Waleran, and Préaux Abbey. Additionally, this demonstrated how the king became patron of a religious house through his connections in the royal court, in this case Robert of Meulan of the Beaumont family. Furthermore, the dating of this charter and its address to almost all levels of government in Normandy along with the important members of the Church in the witness list implies this charter potentially acted as a demonstration of unity in post rebellion Normandy, reinforced by the charter’s emphasis to times of peace.

In conclusion, it is possible to identify patronage from the monarch to religious houses through toll exemption charters. The four areas of the charters which best

³⁷⁹ *Recueil*, i, no. 381; *Acta*, no. 1713H. *et prohibeo ne quis hominibus vel rebus abbacie iniuriam vel contumeliam faciat.*

³⁸⁰ *Recueil*, ii, no. 486; *Acta*, no. 1793H.

demonstrated patronage include the selective geographical nature, the reasons given for the king to grant the charter, the rights granted, and the punishment clauses. All these combined can give a better picture as to which religious institutions sought the king. With only twenty-six toll exemption charters granted in Normandy the king selectively chose which religious houses gained these rights. Further, while some of these charters only exempted the religious house from customs, some from only tolls, and some received exemptions for tolls, customs, pontage, and more. With each right granted the monastery saved money while the crown lost revenue, thus the monarchy had to make a conscious decision on what rights to grant in each occurrence. The punishment clauses can also be telling as to how the king viewed a religious house. A flat fee of ten pounds, a large sum of money, was easier to enforce while the clauses which required the person to forfeit themselves to the courts had the potential to be more severe, but also took up more resources. These charters then go beyond basic patronage, and the usage of these grants devolved his authority and moreover, the institutions believed he could grant them these exemptions.

Protection Charters

Protection charters are relatively rare, and the number of protection charters remaining suggests Henry issued them selectively. Norman beneficiaries received only thirty-seven (13%) protection charters issued between 1154 and 1189. A larger number proportionately compared to the ninety-one (7%) protection charters issued in England. The statistics lend credence to the idea that compared to England, Normandy was less stable and less centralized. This statistic then supports the notion that at this time, Normandy is still weakly governed based on Daniel Power's argument that charters were used to bring stronger rule in areas of weak authority. Notifications made up twenty-five of the charters; mandates the remaining twelve. Protection charters can be broken down into three smaller groups; those which granted general protection, charters which offered general protection with special privileges, and charters which granted protection over a certain event or time. The difference between these types of charters is simple, a general protection charter supplied protection usually of rights and property while a charter which had special privileges also provided legal protection prohibiting pleas against the monastery unless presented before the king or his justiciars. The third type, used less frequently than the other two, were charters which granted protection over an event such as a fair or market. Unlike toll exemption charters most recipients of protection charters received more than

one; for example, Montebourg received seven, with the earliest issued in 1157 and the latest around 1188.³⁸¹ In total twenty-three religious institutions in Normandy received protection charters of some kind.³⁸² Much like the exemption charters, simple knowledge that these monasteries received a charter of protection from the king can only give so much insight into his actions as patron. To identify any clauses which highlights underlying reasons for claiming significant royal patronage or influence an examination of a sample of the charters themselves is necessary.

Standardised clauses often appear within protection charters, like all charters, but, one clause, which historians have not analysed before, may suggest more: “in my hand/control”, *in manu mea*. The charter issued to Aunay in the late 1170s stated, “Know that the abbot and monks of Aunay Abbey and all their holdings and possessions are in my hand/control and custody and protection.”³⁸³ The phrasing is formulaic, but the importance of the statement still stands. The use of the first-person singular within the charter left no doubt as to who protected the monastery; it was in the king’s hands for preservation and protection. Thus anytime “in manu mea” appeared in a charter the king created a personal link between himself, the monastery, and the monks. This clause was not unique to Normandy, it also appeared within charters issued to English beneficiaries.³⁸⁴ To better understand these clauses, it is necessary to examine when the chancery used the phrase and when it did not.

In total, a variation of the clause “in manu mea” appears in twenty-one of the thirty-seven protection charters issued.³⁸⁵ Further, every charter which a version of this clause

³⁸¹ *Recueil*, i, nos. 229, 318, 320, 362, 382; ii, nos. 491, 656; *Acta*, nos. 1617H, 1667H, 1669H, 1698H, 1714H, 1797H, 1910H.

³⁸² The twenty-three institutions were: Aunay, Blanchelande, Cerisy, the Cathedral of Coutances, Saint-Laurent-Envermeu, Estrée Abbey, Notre-Dame-de-Eu, Fécamp, Foucarmont, Montebourg, Mont-Saint-Michel, Mortemer, Moutons, Grimoult, Saint-Amand-de-Rouen, the Cathedral Church of Notre-Dame in Rouen, Mont-aux-Malades, Saint-Andre-en-Gouffern, Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte, Saint-Wandrille, Savingy, Saint-Martin of Sées, and Valasse. *Recueil*, i, nos. 155, 161, 221, 222, 229, 318, 320, 323, 362, 364, 382, 393, 400, 402, 418; ii, nos. 483, 491, 497, 498, 560 – 1, 565, 567, 571, 586, 590, 599, 656, 657, 658, 659, 664, 668, 686, 687, 695, 711; *Acta*, nos. 383H, 757H, 990H, 1572H, 1574H, 1611H, 1612H, 1617H, 1667H, 1669H, 1672H, 1698H, 1700H, 1714H, 1722H, 1728H, 1729H, 1741H, 1791H, 1797H, 1802H, 1837H, 1840H, 1850H, 1859H, 1861H, 1868H, 1899H, 1903H, 1910H, 1911H, 1915H, 1929H, 1930H, 1934H, 1947H, 3876H.

³⁸³ *Recueil*, ii, no. 497; *Acta*, no. 757H. *Sciatis quod abbas et monachi de Alneto et omnes tenure et possessiones eorum sunt in manu mea et custodia et protectione.*

³⁸⁴ S.O. Addy and T. Hall, ‘Roche Abbey Charters’, *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* iv (1937), pp. 226 – 248, at 235 no. 2; *Recueil*, ii, nos. 497, 667; *The Cartulary of St. Augustine’s Abbey, Bristol*, ed. D. Walker (Gloucester, 1998), 9 – 10 no. 14.

³⁸⁵ *Recueil*, i, nos. 155, 161, 320, 323, 362, 402; ii, nos. 497, 498, 560 – 1, 567, 599, 657, 658, 664, 668, 686, 687, 695, 704, 711; *Acta*, nos. 383H, 757H, 990H, 1572H, 1574H, 1669H, 1672H, 1698H, 1729H, 1802H, 1837H, 1868H, 1899H, 1903H, 1915H, 1929H, 1930H, 1934H, 1941H, 1947H, 3876H.

appears is a notification, no mandate contains the clause. Three notifications do not contain the clause. A notification to Fécamp which granted protection of peace to all attending the Holy Trinity Fair does not contain this clause.³⁸⁶ Additionally, a notification granted to Montebourg in 1175 does not contain the clause but notified special privileges for the abbey for the time the king remained in England.³⁸⁷ These special privileges made it more difficult for anyone to bring legal action against the monastery. The remaining notification which does not contain the “in manu mea” clause was issued to the priory of Moutons in 1157.³⁸⁸ Unlike other protection charters this notification only granted legal protection through special privileges prohibiting pleas save before the king.³⁸⁹ Thus it appears that a few qualifications had to be met in order for the chancery to use the clause “in manu mea” and variants on behalf of the king. First, the charter must be a notification, not a mandate. Secondly, it must grant general protection to the religious institution; “in manu mea” occurs in all general protection notifications extant for Normandy.

A second form of protection extant in fewer charters include special privileges. Of the thirty-seven charters issued for protection only ten offered special privileges in the form of legal protection.³⁹⁰ Special privileges limited which courts could hear complaints or cases against the institution through the clause “except in my presence”, *nisi coram mea*.³⁹¹ This clause required all cases to be presented in the king’s presence, or in other variations such as, “except in my presence or the presence of my capital justice”, *nisi coram mea vel coram capitali iusticia mea*, allowing complaints to be heard by his justiciar.³⁹² This is similar to how Henry II used the “nisi feceris” clause which allowed the king to introduce royal mandate into monastic courts by allowing the sheriffs to circumvent those courts.³⁹³ Like the “nisi feceris” clause “nisi coram mea” stated where a legal complaint could be brought against the institution, streamlining the legal procedure to the benefit of both the monastery and the king.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁶ *Recueil*, i, no. 221; *Acta*, no. 1611H.

³⁸⁷ *Recueil*, ii, no. 491; *Acta*, no. 1797H.

³⁸⁸ *Recueil*, i, no. 364; *Acta*, no. 1700H.

³⁸⁹ *Recueil*, i, no. 364; *Acta*, no. 1700H.

³⁹⁰ *Recueil*, i, no. 364; ii, nos. 491, 560 – 1, 565, 599, 656, 657, 658, 659, 686; *Acta*, no. 1700H, 1797H, 1837H, 1840H, 1868H, 1899H, 1903H, 1910H, 1911H, 1929H.

³⁹¹ *Recueil*, ii, no. 599; *Acta*, no. 1868H.

³⁹² *Recueil*, ii, no. 686; *Acta*, no. 1929H.

³⁹³ Shirley, *The Secular Jurisdiction of Monasteries*, 92; J. Biancalana, ‘For Want of Justice: Legal Reforms of Henry II’, *Columbia Law Review* 88 (1988), pp. 433 – 536, at 442.

³⁹⁴ J. Boorman, ‘Nisi Feceris Under Henry II’, *ANS* xxiv (2002), pp. 85 – 98, at 85.

The monastic houses who received legal protection in some form were: Montebourg, Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte (both received two charters which provided special privileges) Mont-Saint-Michel, Moutons, Saint-Amand, Mont-aux-Malades, Saint-Wandrille, and Savigny. All received one charter which provided legal protection.³⁹⁵ All these houses received legal protection, much like the other charters which implied a form of patronage, but these charters had some variability in how the protection worked. Not all special privileges were in perpetuity. For instance, both charters issued to Montebourg, the charter issued to Mont-Saint-Michel, and one of the charters issued to Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte all have timeframes within which the privileges remained effective.³⁹⁶ All four of these charters used the king's cross Channel movement to determine when the privileges remained in effect; as long as the king was located in England, or away from the location of the monastic houses. This essentially made it more difficult for anyone with a complaint located in Normandy to begin litigation since they would have to travel to the location of the king in order to have their case heard, or wait until the king returned. This highlights the benefits of having the king as a patron, it could prevent the frequency with which claimants could bring pleas against the religious institution.

Charters of Louis VII for Normandy

Having examined Henry II's patronage through the three sets of charters which I have argued represent his intentions it is necessary to briefly examine what charters Louis VII, the other royal authority in the region, issued. In 1148 Louis VII issued two charters to Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis to repay Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux 104 silver marks, which the bishop lent to him, within one month of receiving the royal letter.³⁹⁷ The second mandate requested Abbot Suger and Raoul, the count of Vermandois, to send sixty muids of Orleans' best wine as a gift to his friend, Arnulf.³⁹⁸ Despite the close connection these two acts portray between the two men, after 1148 there are no remaining charters or letters from Louis VII concerning Arnulf, signalling a breakdown in relations between the two men upon Henry's acquisition of the duchy in 1150. In 1146 following the conquest of Normandy by Count Geoffrey of Anjou Louis VII mandated the abbot of Chaumont to abandon his obedience to the archbishop of Rouen or face royal anger.³⁹⁹ Through these

³⁹⁵ *Recueil*, i, no. 364; ii, nos. 491, 560 – 1, 565, 599, 656, 657, 658, 659, 686; *Acta*, nos. 1700H, 1797H, 1837H, 1840H, 1868H, 1899H, 1903H, 1910H, 1911H, 1929H.

³⁹⁶ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 491, 656, 658, 659; *Acta*, no. 1797H, 1903H, 1910H, 1911H.

³⁹⁷ *Etudes sur les Actes de Louis VII*, ed. A. Luchaire (Paris, 1885), no. 231.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid*, no. 232.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, no. 168.

examples it is possible to see how the French monarch tried to maintain his own influence with a Norman prelate.

To the abbey of Bec Louis VII issued two charters. The first in 1137 granted the abbey general protection by the French king and exempted them from all customs on any boats which came to the royal demesne during harvest season.⁴⁰⁰ The second charter, issued in 1176 after the rebellion supported by Louis VII, mandated his officers in Mantes to enforce the rights of Bec notified in the charter issued in 1137, in effect, re-establishing Louis VII's authority over Bec and providing them with rights in his territories.⁴⁰¹ To Fécamp in 1165 Louis confirmed a gift made by his courtier, Aubri, granting the rights to dead wood in the forest of Halatte.⁴⁰² As in the charter to Bec, this charter provided Fécamp with rights to land which fell outside of Henry's territories and therefore allowed the French king to try and influence Fécamp. Despite the charters issued by Louis VII being limited in number to beneficiaries within Normandy a pattern does appear. He issued charters when the rights and gifts concerned himself or a member of his court. Also, he focused on the larger and more prominent establishments in the region. To Arnulf, it seems Louis tried to grow close with the bishop following his difficult election and dispute with Geoffrey, but since he issued no further charters to Arnulf following 1148 it is likely Louis stopped trying to keep Arnulf in his sphere of influence after Henry became duke of Normandy.

The limited number of extant charters Louis VII issued to Norman beneficiaries supports Daniel Power's argument that a large number of charters signified either weak or strong authority in Normandy. Henry worked to change the governance of Normandy from weak to strong through the use of charters. Louis' lack of charter can be determined as a lack of interest in maintaining authority. While the number of charters Henry issued to Norman beneficiaries is smaller when compared to England, they greatly outnumber the charters issued by Louis VII, Henry's technical overlord in the duchy. This can be interpreted then as an example of strong authority versus weak authority in Normandy. It also supports Marjorie Chibnall's argument that the Church acted as a central institution in spreading authority in weaker regions. The Church became useful for Henry II to express

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, no. 5.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, no. 713.

⁴⁰² Ibid, no. 515.

and extend his authority by those who willingly accepted his authority, and he focused his attention on Normandy more than the other royal power who held authority in the region.

Papal *Acta* for Normandy

The papacy also tried to secure its authority in Normandy during the reign of Henry II. In total, 214 charters remain which the papacy issued to Norman beneficiaries.⁴⁰³ This is a far larger amount than remain for Louis VII, and only seventy-nine less than remain from Henry's chancery. Monastic houses received the majority with 131 charters issued to the institutions across Normandy.⁴⁰⁴ The cathedral chapters, archbishops and bishops received seventy-three.⁴⁰⁵ Two charters remain for the priests of Normandy, and two for the lay populace.⁴⁰⁶ The papal legates also acted on behalf of the pope in the region and issued five charters on his behalf.⁴⁰⁷

To maintain its authority the papacy used similar methods to Henry II and the patterns which remain visible in Henry II's corpus do appear within the extant papal charter corpus. One of the largest common patterns is the issuance of protection charters. Of the 131 charters issued to monastic beneficiaries, fifty-two granted protection. The papacy supported its protection by issuing other charters such as one which ordered the lay populace and the knights in Normandy to recognize ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁴⁰⁸ Confirmations form the largest set of extant charters issued to monastic beneficiaries. These confirmed the rights and privileges of monastic orders, elections, and actions taken.⁴⁰⁹ For charters which granted the houses something from the papacy only eight remain.⁴¹⁰ To the archbishops, bishops, and cathedral chapters a different pattern appears. The papacy issued charters to instruct or order these beneficiaries to act. Of the seventy-three remaining charters twenty-three gave orders or instructions to prelates or the chapters

⁴⁰³ *Papsturkunden. Normandie*, nos. 80 – 294.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99, 200, 204, 107, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124, 125, 127, 129, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 143, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 183, 184, 187, 190, 191, 192, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210, 212, 214, 216, 218, 221, 222, 224, 225, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 238, 240, 242, 243, 251, 253, 254, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262, 264, 265, 267, 268, 270, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 291.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 91, 94, 97, 101, 102, 103, 105, 108, 110, 113, 117, 122, 123, 126, 128, 130, 131, 139, 141, 142, 144, 147, 157, 160, 161, 174, 181, 182, 186, 188, 189, 193, 194, 195, 204, 208, 211, 213, 215, 217, 219, 220, 223, 226, 228, 229, 235, 236, 237, 239, 241, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 252, 255, 256, 261, 263, 266, 269, 271, 279, 288, 289, 290, 292, 293.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 145, 171, 185, 282.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, nos. 132, 163, 164, 172, 294.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 185.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 80, 133, 168, 169, 264, 265.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, nos. 150, 152, 225, 231, 233, 267, 278, 286.

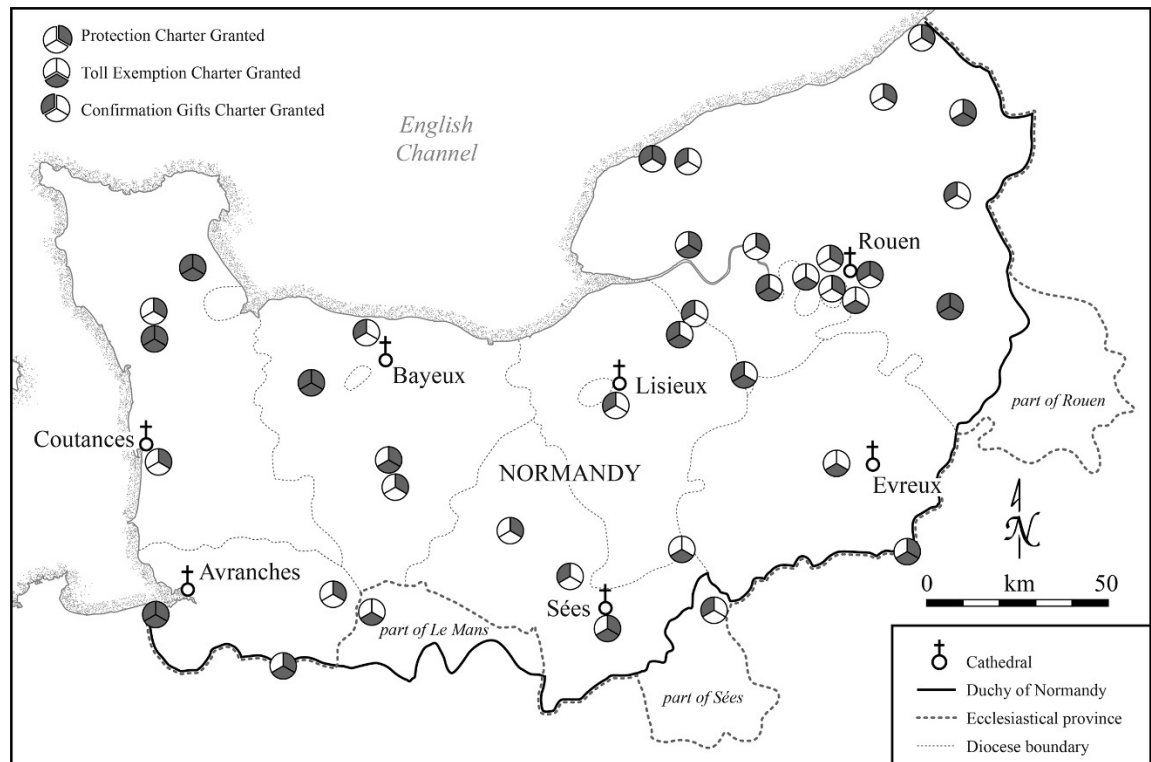
to act when necessary. Most of the remaining charters are confirmations of actions taken, or of property such as prebendal churches.

In conclusion, the monastic establishments in Normandy turned to the authority of the papacy for protection in larger numbers compared to the number issued by Henry II (37).⁴¹¹ They also sought confirmations of their elections, and grants given to them. However, the papacy only issued exceptionally limited number of grants to the houses, meaning protection and confirmation charters were the primary avenues of exercising their authority and having it accepted by the institutions. This gave a great benefit for Henry to be able to have them seek his patronage as he could give more financial and worldly benefits, while the papacy gave more spiritual benefits. To the prelates of the region, the papacy focused on their fulfilment of duties, and acting on the papacy's instructions provided to them.

Conclusion

When comparing the recipients of exemption charters, protection charter, and charters which notified grants from the king there are several religious houses who received more than one type of charter. Houses which received one of each type of charter were, Blanchelande, Cerisy, Montebourg, Mont-Saint-Michel, and Mortemer. These houses have the strongest indicators through the extant charter corpus that Henry II acted as a patron and in return they recognized his authority. The religious houses which received toll exemptions and protection charters included: Aunay, Estrée, Foucarmont, Savigny, Saint-Martin's of Sées, and Le-Valasse. These houses received the king's patronage as well, although the lack of gifts granted directly from the king does set them apart as less significant to the king than the institutions which received grants.

⁴¹¹ See above, 80.



Map 3.3 Norman beneficiaries which received toll exemptions, protection and gifts.

The remaining religious houses within Normandy either received only one of these types of charters or none of them. To state these are the most important houses to Henry II would be incorrect because for a charter to exist there must be a need for it. These religious houses sought charters and the king's authority, and the king, in return, acted as a patron towards them. Other houses Henry acted as beneficiary towards, such as Bec, remain arguably more important within the region; however, since it appears the need for a protection charter never arose, likely due to the protection charter issued by Louis VII, Bec never obtained one. From the lack of evidence, the abbey might not have ever requested one which is surprising given the importance of the abbey to both Henry and Matilda. However, the houses who held all three types of charters discussed within this section certainly had the king's patronage and played an important role in the king's management of the region.

Protection charters and the clauses "in manu mea" and "nisi coram mea" strongly promote the relationship between the king and the establishment. The first clause makes it clear that the king viewed the monastery as his own property. The second clause limited where litigation could occur against the beneficiary through special privileges notified by

the king. The two clauses appearing together in a single charter leave no doubt as to how Henry II and the monastery viewed their relationship, it was one of patron and beneficiary.

Daniel Power's point introduced at the beginning of this chapter summarized Normandy as having a strong, central governance, due to the number of charters issued by Henry II. However, the low number of charters issued to Norman ecclesiastical beneficiaries compared to England calls into question what quantifies as a large number of charters which he concluded is proof of strong governance. In comparison to England, Normandy received a thousand fewer charters, but far more than any other continental territory. Further, the number of protection charters issued to Norman beneficiaries not along the border, as seen in the map above, demonstrates plenty of disputes remained which required the king's attention within the duchy. It is probable then that Daniel Power's conclusion is what Henry was working towards. In order to create a stable, central government in Normandy Henry had to express his authority and have it accepted, which is what the evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates.

This shift in reasoning for issuing these charters to Norman beneficiaries is further supported by Marjorie Chibnall's statement that relationships with monastic houses created authority in a weak region. Combined, these two conclusions make Norman rule appear weaker at the beginning of Henry's reign than recently argued. The number of mandates issued for protection also signifies more unrest in Normandy than recently accepted. Henry II had great interest in strengthening his governance over Normandy as evidenced through the extant charter corpus. The numbers of charters which remain are significantly less than England, but the three sets of charters examined in this chapter illustrates that Henry did not ignore the region and the institutions, instead he focused on increasing his authority and governance through ecclesiastical institutions. The institutions recognizing his authority over the region and seeking charters from him specifically, especially after he became king of England, and not from Louis VII, aided him.

These relationships between the prelates and institutions in Normandy then were paramount to Henry's ability to rule Normandy, and to strengthen the governance of the duchy. As evidenced through the charters which the religious institutions sought out, Henry's title as king did play a role as they sought confirmations only after 1154, but Normandy had a special relationship with England since 1066. The next part of this thesis

will seek to determine if these relationships remained as successful in the heart of his continental territories, Greater Anjou.

Chapter 4: Prelates of Greater Anjou

Introduction

This part of the thesis focuses on the relationship between Henry II and the Church within Greater Anjou and identifies the king's ecclesiastical policies in the region through examining his relationships with bishops, archbishops, and ecclesiastical institutions. This chapter examines his relationship with the prelates of the dioceses of Tours, Angers, and Le Mans through elections, involvement in royal administration, and support of royal authority. Chapter five examines the geographical distribution of Henry II's royal charters to determine the king's patronage to religious institutions, its purpose, and the demand for his charters to identify the institutions which acknowledged Henry's authority. Chapter five includes a case study of the abbey Fontevraud. In Anjou, Fontevraud stands apart because of its status as a royal abbey, having many noble and royal donors and retained the largest collection of extant royal charters. It offers the possibility to interpret Henry's interaction with a religious house through in-depth analysis to explore Henry's patronage.

This chapter will examine the difficulties Henry faced in governing his territory, his prelates' positions in society, their elections, their attitudes towards the king through their court attendance, and royal service. It will argue that Henry II tried to maintain his authority in the region through the Church, however limited. Greater Anjou formed the centre of King Henry's continental lands and consisted of five counties: Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Vendôme, and Saintonge.⁴¹² Within these counties, the cities of Angers, Tours, and Le Mans created a triangle of control in the northern Loire valley.⁴¹³ The dioceses of Angers, Le Mans, and the archdiocese of Tours became key in the maintenance of Henry's authority in the Loire Valley. Unlike in Normandy, where the nominated prelates expected to be royal servants, here they were appointed independently and therefore not as willing or prepared to support the king. Additionally, whereas in Normandy the duchy borders mirrored the archdiocese, the ecclesiastical provinces did not match with the boundaries of the secular territories in these three counties creating difficulties. Further hindering his ability to use the Church, the relationships between the crown and the prelates did not

⁴¹² E. Hallam, *Capetian France 987 – 1328* (London, 1980), 66.

⁴¹³ Warren, *Henry II*, 7.

always benefit Henry's dominance over the region as they would not always help or support his authority.

Context is crucial to understanding the political structure in the region. Normandy and England dominate the historiography, but this region formed the heart of Henry's continental territories and even more so after his marriage to Eleanor in 1152. Despite the central importance of the region, Henry II never had the same authority he enjoyed in England or Normandy. This was because of the autonomous power of the local aristocracy and his own limited demesne, revenues, and lack of central governmental institutions.⁴¹⁴ Unlike in Normandy and England, traditionally Angevin aristocrats collected taxes and revenues and enforced the law with no desire for interference from their overlord, the count.⁴¹⁵

To better understand how Henry II developed his own rule in the region it is necessary to understand the levers of governance available to his predecessor and father, Geoffrey. Geoffrey, from the beginning of his reign faced constant rebellion from the lords in Greater Anjou who wanted more land and authority.⁴¹⁶ In response Geoffrey, with varying levels of success, built new fortifications and fostered relationships with strong lords in the region to support his rule.⁴¹⁷ Geoffrey also focused heavily on justice within his territories. Often, Geoffrey would include his secular barons when dispensing justice noting their participation in charters.⁴¹⁸ However, Geoffrey did not hold a monopoly on the procedures or the dispensation of justice outside of his demesne. In particular, Geoffrey had to acquiesce to monastic interests and wishes in Greater Anjou. Furthermore, since the position of Dapifer had not become as prominent as it would during the reign of Henry II, Geoffrey focused a lot of his time on administering personal justice or directing court proceedings.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁴ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224*, 5; K. Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, 1129 – 1151', unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Glasgow, 2011), 89 – 91.

⁴¹⁵ Turner, 'The Problem of Survival for the Angevin "Empire"', 80; For an example of the relationship between Count Geoffrey and his vassals within the region see, G. Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in early Medieval Europe*, trans. C. Carroll (Cambridge, 2004), 102 – 3; and Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy', 97; For the institutional difficulties faced in the twelfth century see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 27 – 8.

⁴¹⁶ Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy', 31 – 3.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 36, 67 – 8.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 89 – 92.

The lack of conterminous borders between the secular and ecclesiastical domains in Greater Anjou created challenges in ruling the region. The lands held by Louis VII in the middle of Henry's empire created a constant state of struggle between the two kings over who had the most authority in parts of Greater Anjou. This struggle can be seen played out in the charters they issued, and the actions taken to exercise their authority. Governmental authority did, nevertheless, develop during Henry II's reign. Henry II divided Greater Anjou into twelve *prévôtés* each with its own castles and lands to bestow onto local lords temporarily.⁴²⁰ Henry II's acquisition of the crown in England in 1154 introduced a new concept to the local lords, an overlord with vast resources which he could use to bring them under control.⁴²¹ The local lords walked a fine line between loyalty and rebellion when facing Henry's increased comital power.⁴²² This led to struggles between Henry II and the lords of Greater Anjou, most noticeable by the lords' decision to side with Henry's sons during their multiple rebellions against their father, and reinforced by the lack of participants from the region within his court.⁴²³

As noted above, despite Greater Anjou being the seat of Henry's power and the geographical centre of his continental holdings, its nobility rarely attended court or featured among his close counsellors. Instead, they often rebelled against the king and sought alliances with the Capetians.⁴²⁴ This chapter will argue that the king turned towards the episcopal sees because of the lack of control over his vassals, and the need to maintain authority. The region of Greater Anjou, perhaps more than any other of Henry's continental domains, intersects with another previously studied system, the *reichskirtchensystem* utilised in Germany during the early middle ages.⁴²⁵ This system assisted the king in establishing control through the Church to maintain their lands through grants, gifts, and nominations. It allowed the king to bypass difficult secular lords who tried to hinder their authority. Inversely, it elevated the office and role prelates fulfilled in secular governance and society in the regions which the ruler required their support. Henry never created such a rigid nor widely accepted system, nor can the argument be made that he copied the Germans. Nevertheless, there are significant shared aspects of what he attempted and the Germanic system. Like the Germanic prelates, the prelates in Greater

⁴²⁰ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224*, 197.

⁴²¹ Warren, *Henry II*, 64.

⁴²² Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224*, 197.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 49; Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', 288 – 292.

⁴²⁴ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224*, 49; Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', 288 – 291.

⁴²⁵ T. Reuter, 'The 'Imperial Church System' of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical Studies*, 33 (1982), 347 – 374, at 348.

Anjou enjoyed a fair amount of influence and authority. The way Henry II worked with the Church, and the prelates, truly made his reign over Greater Anjou the age of the bishops.

In relation to the archbishops and bishops of Greater Anjou, Lewis Warren's statement from earlier remains applicable: "To none of the continental archbishops did he owe any debt of gratitude, and upon none of them was he seriously dependent for political support."⁴²⁶ But is this statement accurate within Greater Anjou? As the king did not control the archbishop could he expect any political support from Tours; and what about the bishops who he did have some comital authority over? What makes this study difficult is that little information is known about the bishops who held these positions outside of their names and the years in which they held their offices as most knowledge about their early lives and careers is severely limited or lost; however, with in depth analysis conclusions can still be drawn.⁴²⁷

Charters of Louis VII for Greater Anjou

Outside of Henry's own charters, an examination of the *acta* issued to ecclesiastical beneficiaries by Louis VII, King of France, helps to understand how the two monarchs compare in Greater Anjou. Unlike in Normandy, the incongruent borders of the secular and ecclesiastical domains in the region created tensions between the two monarchs. Therefore, while Henry held authority over the Touraine, Louis VII held authority over the ecclesiastical domain until 1195.⁴²⁸ Because of this, it is necessary first to see how Louis issued charters within the region, to put Henry's actions into clearer context. The remaining charters of Louis VII are fewer than Henry's and he issued them to beneficiaries primarily in the Touraine, specifically, Tours. Louis VII's charters provide awareness into the delicate balance between the monarchs both trying to enforce their authority.

The chapter of Saint-Martin of Tours received the most extant charters with six total.⁴²⁹ In the 1140s, when Louis VII issued the first charter to the church, his brother, Henry, had been the treasurer.⁴³⁰ The king issued four of the six charters in the 1160s. One, issued in 1163, established rent control preparing for Alexander III's council at Tours to

⁴²⁶ Warren, *Henry II*, 428.

⁴²⁷ Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 220; For a list of the names and years of each bishopric see, Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*, 262 – 3.

⁴²⁸ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224*, 206.

⁴²⁹ *Etudes sur les Actes de Louis VII*, nos. 117, 471, 497, 545, 546, 752.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid*, no. 117.

prevent price gouging for lodging, a considerable contrast to Henry's power in the city.⁴³¹ Louis' charter issued in 1164 settled a dispute and called the local aristocracy to his court, removing them from Henry's court. The king also warned the pope not to intercede on their behalf.⁴³² Louis VII issued two charters in 1167/8 to individual members of the chapter, Dean Bartholomew and William the treasurer. Both ordered the men to notify Louis of the intentions of Henry II and inform him if he intended to go to Poitiers, or to the Norman coast so Louis could plan where to send his army to support the rebellions in Brittany and Aquitaine.⁴³³ From these charters Louis VII's perception of his authority over the canons is clear. He believed they had a close enough relationship with Henry II and his network to know his intentions and itinerary, but they would still see the French king as the primary authority and report the information he demanded along with their level of certainty. In 1178/9 the canons requested a charter from Louis VII in which the king took possession of Aubigni and Ragis and notified that the tax required from the land holders in these localities to keep the king's protection and relates the structures of authority over the localities from this time.⁴³⁴

Other prominent institutions received charters from Louis VII including Saint-Maurice, Marmoutier, and Saint-Julien.⁴³⁵ The cathedral in Tours, Saint-Maurice, received a confirmation, at the request of Archbishop Joscius, confirming the renewal of a gift made by Charles the Bald and also confirmed the possessions of the cathedral.⁴³⁶ Marmoutier received a grant from Louis in 1141 which allowed them the right of use of the forest of Iveline and the woods of Champ-Gaudein and Deluge and in return they recognized his authority over the priory and all dependent churches.⁴³⁷ For the counts of Anjou, this meant that their authority over the priory and churches of Marmoutier no longer existed. In 1149/50 Louis confirmed the gift from Manasseh, bishop of Orleans, of the church Bonne-Nouvelle d'Orleans.⁴³⁸ A final charter for Marmoutier dates to 1153/4 and notified of recompense for damages done to the church of Saint-Gilles de Mantes by the frequent passage of royal troops travelling to Normandy. A fair the day before the feast of Saint-Gilles provided the funds.⁴³⁹ Louis VII issued no further charters for Marmoutier

⁴³¹ Ibid, no. 471.

⁴³² Ibid, no. 497.

⁴³³ Ibid, nos. 545, 546.

⁴³⁴ Ibid, no. 752.

⁴³⁵ Ibid, nos. 71, 121, 245, 301, 397.

⁴³⁶ Ibid, no. 397.

⁴³⁷ Ibid, no. 71.

⁴³⁸ Ibid, no. 245.

⁴³⁹ Ibid, no. 301.

after this confirmation and it is likely the house turned its attention to Henry II. The Abbey of Saint-Julien in Tours received a single protection charter in 1143.⁴⁴⁰

In Anjou, only Fontevraud maintained a relationship with Louis. This relationship began with Louis VII's then queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine. In 1146/7 a royal charter, issued with Eleanor's consent, notified of a donation to the abbey of a rent of 500 Poitevirian Sous, or the amount equal to the production of the fair during Lent.⁴⁴¹ A second charter, issued 1177/8, confirmed the right of the Count of Flanders to a single payment pension of twenty pounds for his sister Matilda from the abbey, which required repayment to Fontevraud on her death.⁴⁴² Neither the cathedral of Angers nor Saint-laude of Angers have any charters of Louis VII in their cartularies, but both use him within dating clauses; although, in the charters issued after 1154 Henry II is listed first.⁴⁴³ This could mean these secular churches recognized Louis' authority in the region, but did not seek out his authority, instead relying upon the authority of Count Henry, and by listing him first in the dating clauses saw his authority as the highest in the region.

In conclusion, Louis VII issued charters to ecclesiastical institutions primarily in Tours where he held authority over the Church, but even then, certain beneficiaries, like Marmoutier, turned towards Henry II as a source of authority after 1154. He used his authority to gain information about Henry's military actions in western France. In Anjou, Louis only issued charters concerning his allies to Fontevraud which maintained a relationship with him after Henry became king. There is only one charter which denotes a settlement of dispute meaning that the institutions in the region sought Henry's authority for these confirmations.

Papal *Acta* for Greater Anjou

It is also beneficial to identify the actions taken in Greater Anjou by the papacy through its extant charter corpus. In total, the papacy issued 151 charters to beneficiaries in Greater Anjou (Anjou, Maine, and the Touraine).⁴⁴⁴ There remains just over double the amount of

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid, no. 189.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid, no. 189.

⁴⁴² Ibid, no. 719.

⁴⁴³ *Cartulaire du chapitre de St-Laud d'Angers (Actes du XIe et du XIIe siècle)*, ed. A. Planchenault (Angers, 1903), 52, 67; *Cartulaire Noir de la Cathédrale d'Angers*, ed. C. Urseau (Paris/Angers, 1908), 234, 300, 354.

⁴⁴⁴ *Papsturkunden in Frankreich: Neue Folge V: Touraine, Anjou, Maine und Bretagne*, ed. Johannes Ramackers, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen; philologisch-historische Klasse*; 3. Folge xxvii (Göttingen, 1956), nos. 85 – 236.

charters issued in the region than remain from Henry II. Thus, where Henry issued a smaller amount, demonstrating his precarious authority in Greater Anjou compared to Normandy, the papacy avoided the same struggles. The monastic institutions received seventy-eight charters which remain.⁴⁴⁵ The archbishops, bishops, and cathedral chapters received Sixty-two extant charters.⁴⁴⁶ The papacy issued two charters addressing the lay populace.⁴⁴⁷ The papal legates acting on behalf of the papacy appear to have been more active in the region than in Normandy, with nine charters extant.⁴⁴⁸

As in Normandy, a large portion of the charters issued to the monastic institutions were protection charters with thirty-nine extant.⁴⁴⁹ The second largest set of charters issued to monastic beneficiaries consisted of confirmations, and the third set, grants, with seven charters extant.⁴⁵⁰ Of the sixty-two charters remaining for the prelates and cathedral chapters, thirty-four provided orders or instructions to the beneficiaries, and three granted rights or gifts to the cathedrals.⁴⁵¹ From the evidence available, it appears that the papacy, as in Normandy, tried to secure its authority over the Church in Greater Anjou. The beneficiaries sought protection and confirmations from the papacy, the popes issued orders for the prelates to act where it saw a necessity, and the legates acted on the popes' behalf twice as much as in Normandy. Compared to Henry's own charter corpus, the papacy remained far more engaged in the region, particularly in the number of protection charters as discussed later in chapter five.⁴⁵²

The dioceses of Anjou, Tours, and Angers

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid, nos. 85, 86, 90, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103, 107, 109, 110, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 145, 146, 150, 151, 152, 155, 158, 160, 163, 164, 166, 168, 169, 173, 175, 176, 178, 180, 181, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 208, 210, 215, 216, 218, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid, nos. 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 108, 111, 119, 123, 124, 127, 132, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 153, 154, 156, 157, 159, 161, 165, 167, 170, 171, 172, 174, 179, 183, 184, 185, 191, 193, 194, 199, 204, 205, 206, 207, 209, 211, 212, 214, 226, 227, 229.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid, nos. 182, 217.

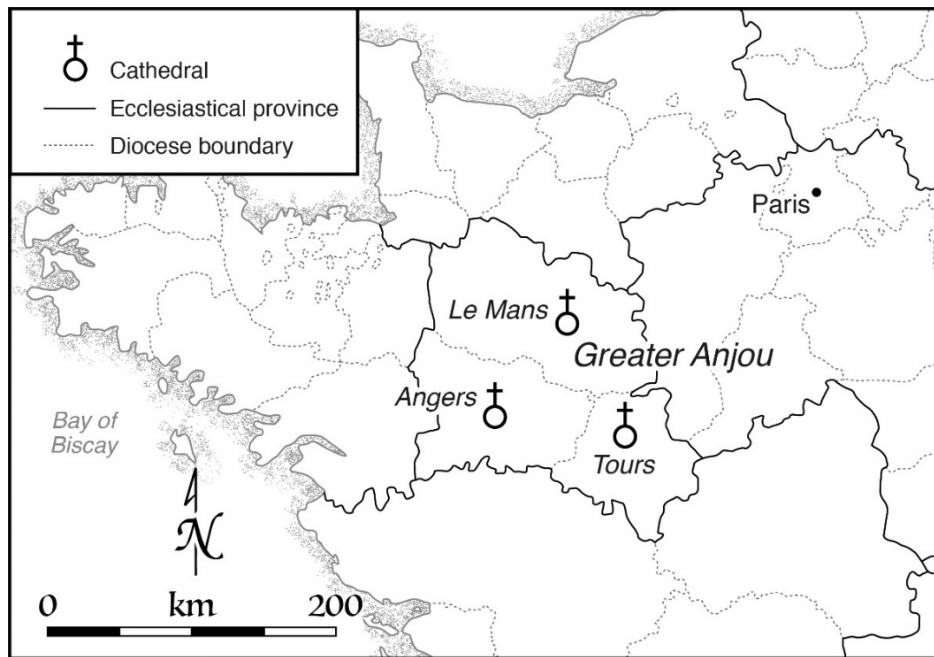
⁴⁴⁸ Ibid, nos. 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 162, 177, 213, 219.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid, nos. 85, 86, 98, 100, 107, 109, 110, 117, 118, 121, 128, 129, 131, 133, 135, 145, 146, 152, 164, 166, 168, 169, 175, 180, 181, 188, 192, 197, 198, 201, 216, 220, 221, 222, 223, 231, 233, 235, 236.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid, nos. 103, 130, 195, 196, 202, 215, 218.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid, nos. 91, 92, 93, 94, 101, 102, 104, 106, 111, 124, 127, 132, 137, 142, 144, 147, 149, 153, 170, 171, 172, 174, 179, 185, 191, 193, 199, 204, 205, 206, 207, 209, 212, 214, 226, 227, 229.

⁴⁵² See page number 112 for Henry's protection charters issued to beneficiaries within Greater Anjou.



Map 4.1 The diocesan boundaries of Greater Anjou.

At Angers, traditionally, the counts of Anjou secured the election of a bishop who they trusted by nominating three men and allowing the canons to elect one of them. These bishops generally came from a local aristocratic family, or a family which had members within the cathedral chapter.⁴⁵³ The bishopric sat vacant from 1153 until after Henry II became king of England. Henry then nominated a candidate for the position, but the canons rejected him. Henry wrote in 1156 to Pope Adrian IV asking that the pontiff uphold his privileges during episcopal elections within Anjou. This request backfired and the pope, appalled by the practice, responded that the custom should be retired and forbade its continuation in any form.⁴⁵⁴ Explicit papal condemnation of the traditional comital rights over elections impacted Henry's abilities to influence appointments at Angers, and forced him to nominate local men for the bishopric, if he nominated at all.⁴⁵⁵ This closely mirrors the resistance Henry encountered at Coutances in Normandy early in his reign. The papacy here also put a stop to his ability to nominate a person to the bishopric. The evidence does not give the reasons for why the canons at Angers challenged Henry, but it is likely that with the change of ruler, after Geoffrey's death in 1151, the canons tried to secure more control over their own elections and exclude secular authority.

⁴⁵³ Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 224.

⁴⁵⁴ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, ed. P. Jaffe, revised by W. Wattenbach *et al* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1885 – 8), ii, no. 10174; Warren, *Henry II*, 433–4; J. Boussard, *Le Comte d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenet et ses Fils, 1151 – 1204* (Paris, 1938), 97 – 8.

⁴⁵⁵ Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 227.

At Tours Henry encountered a different set of problems. Unlike in England and Normandy, in Greater Anjou ecclesiastical boundaries were not conterminous with political borders. Crucially, Angers and Le Mans lay within the metropolitan see of Tours, which until 1195 lay within the boundaries of the French king.⁴⁵⁶ Louis VII and Philip Augustus maintained constant relationships with the archbishops of Tours evident in the issuance of small grants and confirmations to the cathedral more consistently than Henry issued grants to Rouen. This suggests that Louis VII tried to maintain his own authority over Tours in much the same way as Henry, but felt challenged by Henry's machinations in the archdiocese and therefore frequently issued grants.⁴⁵⁷ Martin Aurell argued that these interactions consolidated the authority of the Capetian kings within the region, but this conclusion overlooks Henry's interactions which is what this chapter seeks to judge.⁴⁵⁸ Geoffrey of Anjou had struggled with barons in Tours who incited unrest and struggled with the canons of the cathedral of Saint-Martin over control of the mint. Geoffrey's struggle continued despite the canons making him an honorary canon of Saint-Martin, which meant he established at the least a somewhat positive relationship. Still, Geoffrey remained unsuccessful in influencing the canons during elections, his influence soundly rejected, making his honorary title slightly less significant.⁴⁵⁹

Henry II attempted to counteract Capetian influence. In 1163, Pope Alexander III held a council at Tours under the protection and with the sponsorship of Louis VII. One possible argument for Louis' commitment to the council is that he wished to emphasise his royal authority and closeness to the Church at Tours. Henry II, unusually for a Norman duke or English king, allowed all of his bishops and archbishops from his territories, including England, to attend the council.⁴⁶⁰ The Pope applauded the support and following the council sent a letter of praise to the king.⁴⁶¹ Henry's magnanimity in this instance is likely due to his deliberate ignorance of Louis's power. Despite this demonstration of piety and support for the Church little changed between the king and the archbishop of Tours who turned to Louis VII to resolve disputes.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁶ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224*, 206.

⁴⁵⁷ *Etudes sur les Actes de Louis VII*, nos. 75, 117, 120, 397; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 229.

⁴⁵⁸ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224*, 206.

⁴⁵⁹ Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy', 33, 76, 152.

⁴⁶⁰ *Etudes sur les Actes de Louis VII*, no. 471; Warren, *Henry II*, 452.

⁴⁶¹ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ii, no. 10834.

⁴⁶² *GC*, xiv, col. 89; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 229.

Henry attempted to redraw the ecclesiastical domain of Tours within his territories. He extended the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Bordeaux the northernmost archbishopric in Aquitaine, although, as will be discussed in chapter six below, this led to problems of its own.⁴⁶³ The problem is that Bordeaux and Tours are nearly 300 kilometres away from each other, making the ecclesiastical region massive compared to Normandy which has a distance of approximately 200 kilometres between Rouen and its furthest suffragan Coutances. Henry supported the claim of the bishop of Dol's metropolitan status within Brittany and over parts of Greater Anjou.⁴⁶⁴ For nearly forty years Henry II and the bishops of Dol pushed this claim, despite its lack of universal support.⁴⁶⁵ Pope Innocent III in 1199 ended all claims for Dol to be a metropolitan see making the diocese a suffragan to the archbishop of Tours, and ending Henry's challenge a decade after his death.⁴⁶⁶

Le Mans came under Angevin control in 1110 when Count Fulk V married the heiress of Maine.⁴⁶⁷ Local lords of varying power and wealth competing for their autonomy made it difficult for Geoffrey or Henry to develop their authority.⁴⁶⁸ The city of Le Mans itself played an important role in Henry II's life. He was born there, his parents had been married in its cathedral, and his father had been the first layman buried within the cathedral.⁴⁶⁹ Henry and Eleanor funded building projects in Le Mans including the sculptures added to the west facade of the cathedral depicting Christ as king, Old Testament kings, and themselves as a royal couple.⁴⁷⁰ The city itself seems to have shared this familial connection. On the death of Henry the Young King in 1183, the city, with its bishop's support, seized his body and interred him in the choir of the cathedral.⁴⁷¹ Le Mans cathedral also produced a number of men who Henry appointed to bishoprics elsewhere, such as dean Hardouin, who in 1160 became the Bishop of Bordeaux.⁴⁷² William de

⁴⁶³ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224*, 206; Turner, 'The Problem of survival for the Angevin "Empire"', 92.

⁴⁶⁴ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224*, 206.

⁴⁶⁵ J. Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins* (Cambridge, 2000), 13 – 14. The archbishopric of Dol only had two suffragans during this time, Saint-Brieuc and Tréguier. Four bishoprics refused to be suffragans and recognized Tours as the metropolitan diocese: Nantes, Rennes, Vannes, and Cornouaille.

⁴⁶⁶ Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 230.

⁴⁶⁷ Peltzer, *Canon Laws, Careers and Conquest*, 170; Warren, *Henry II*, 8.

⁴⁶⁸ R. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890 – 1160* (Woodbridge, 2004), 199.

⁴⁶⁹ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneo', iv, 163; J. Le Patourel, *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet* (London, 1984), viii, 295, ix 3; Peltzer, *Canon Laws, Careers and Conquest*, 194.

⁴⁷⁰ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire: 1154 – 1224*, 85

⁴⁷¹ Peltzer, *Canon Laws, Careers and Conquest*, 80-1; Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155 – 1183*, 312.

⁴⁷² GC, ii, col. 816; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 228.

Passavant, the bishop of Le Mans, held the position for most of Henry's reign, but his relationship with the king fluctuated between supportive and rebellious.

In contrast to Normandy, where episcopal vacancies were common, and lasted up to five years, Henry never left bishoprics vacant in Greater Anjou. Only when Henry disputed with the canons of Angers over the election in 1156 did an extended vacancy occur. It is worth speculating about the reasons for this difference in policy. For Angers, perhaps the king could not divert the funds to the royal treasury as easily. In Tours, given the absence of Henry's authority and the presence of Louis VII's governance, Henry simply might not have had the ability to leave the bishopric vacant. For Le Mans, the bishop, William de Passavant just lived longer and with fewer elections fewer opportunities to keep the see vacant arose.

The backgrounds and positions in local society of the bishops and archbishops illustrates the type of men Henry worked with in the region. At Le Mans, the longevity of William de Passavant meant that Henry II did not have the opportunity to nominate a bishop until the very end of his reign. William de Passavant's pontificate was extraordinarily long, 1145-1187, and he was replaced by local chapter member chanter Reginald Clarel.⁴⁷³ At Angers, before becoming bishop in 1156, Matthew of Loudun had been abbot of Saint-Florent of Saumur for twenty-eight years.⁴⁷⁴ His dean, Geoffrey Moschet, succeeded him in 1162.⁴⁷⁵ Tours also saw promotion from within, Bartholomew of Vendôme had been dean before his election in 1174.⁴⁷⁶ His predecessor Joscius, elected in 1157 translated from the bishopric of Saint-Brieuc in Brittany, a see claimed by Dol as suffragan.⁴⁷⁷ Joscius was not, however, a Henry II appointment at Tours – sources indicate he might have been cellarer at Tours before his appointment to Saint-Brieuc.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷³ *GC*, xiv, cols. 383 – 388; *Cartulaire de l'hôpital Saint-Jean d'Angers*, ed. C. Port (Angers, 1870), no. 8.

⁴⁷⁴ *GC*, xiv, cols. 14.570; Peltzer, *Canon Laws, Careers and Conquest*, 199. For the career of Matthew of Loudun as an abbot see, 'Historia Sanctii Florentii Salmurensis', *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, ed. P. Marchegay, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1869), pp. 217 – 328, at 306; For his election and documents which date his election see *Papsturkunden. Touraine, Anjou, Maine und Bretagne*, nos. 90, 91, 92.

⁴⁷⁵ *GC*, xiv, cols. 570 – 571; Peltzer, *Canon Laws, Careers and Conquest*, 200 – 201.

⁴⁷⁶ *GC*, xiv, cols. 92 – 99; *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066 – 1214*, ed. E. Mason, London Record Society Publications xxv (London, 1988), no. 463.

⁴⁷⁷ *GC*, xiv, cols. 89 - 92.

⁴⁷⁸ F. Dumas, *De Joscii turonensis archiepiscopi vita (1157 – 1173)* (Paris, 1894), 2; *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, ed. H. Morice (2 vols., Paris, 1742 – 1744), i, col. 610; *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. C. Métais (5 vols., Paris, 1893 – 1904), ii, no. 545.

Bishops of these sees had a variety of royal and local connections, the latter both ecclesiastical and secular. Ralph de Beaumont, elected bishop of Angers in 1177 and consecrated in 1178, was a member of the Beaumont-sur-Sarthe family from north Anjou.⁴⁷⁹ He was Henry II's cousin through his mother Constance, an illegitimate child of Henry I, and contemporary writers acknowledged him as such.⁴⁸⁰ Henry II also recognized this relationship addressing him as "our most beloved relative", *charissimum cognatum nostrum*, in a charter.⁴⁸¹ Ralph's brother, Richard, stood as one of the more powerful lords in northern Anjou.⁴⁸² Peltzer argued that Ralph's election removed power from the southern lords who held differing opinions from the king and influenced elections prior to 1156.⁴⁸³ Ralph's *nepos*, William de Beaumont, became bishop of Angers in 1202.⁴⁸⁴ In Ralph's case, ecclesiastical connections were important, but it was the king's choice in his appointment that gave him the capability to establish an ecclesiastical dynasty at Angers.

Ralph was not the only person elected with relations to strong and important families. Bartholomew of Vendôme had familial links with nobles of the Touraine through his mother; his *avunculus*, and maternal uncle, Archbishop Engelbald of Tours (1147 – 1156).⁴⁸⁵ Bartholomew may also have been a kinsman of Eleanor of Aquitaine, although in his election it appears the ecclesiastical connection with Engelbald was more influential than any such distant familial connections.⁴⁸⁶ Beside familial relations the other prelates of the region had significant connections. Matthew of Loudun during his time as abbot at Saint-Florent received gifts from count Geoffrey, Henry's father.⁴⁸⁷ Joscius before and after his election had a good relationship with Louis VII, Alexander III, and Odo count of Brittany.⁴⁸⁸ Geoffrey Moschet, before becoming the bishop of Angers, served as a member of Henry's chancery and attended court since 1155, making him the only royal servant elected in the region during Henry's reign.⁴⁸⁹ In conclusion, of the connections the newly elected bishops had, both royal and local, the ecclesiastical connections appear more important than any other. In comparison to Normandy, where the connection to the king

⁴⁷⁹GC, xiv, cols. 571 – 572; 'Annales Sancti Sergii Andegavensis', *Recueil d'Annales angevines et vendomoises*, ed. L. Halphen (Paris, 1903), pp. 91 – 110, at 105.

⁴⁸⁰ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 280.

⁴⁸¹ *Recueil*, ii, no. 730.

⁴⁸² Boussard, *Le Comte d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenet et ses Fils*, 55.

⁴⁸³ Peltzer, *Canon Laws, Careers and Conquest*, 202.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 207, 226.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 175.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 174.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 200; For Matthew's time as abbot of Saint-Florent see, 'Historia Sancti Florentii Salmurensis', 306.

⁴⁸⁸ GC, xiv, col. 89; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 229.

⁴⁸⁹ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 215; *Recueil*, i, no. 70; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 227; Warren, *Henry II*, 434.

superseded all others. In Greater Anjou Henry struggled to exercise the same level of authority.

The events surrounding Joscius' election at Tours in 1157 remains purely conjecture. Count Odo of Brittany, who remained a close friend, and Louis VII might have supported him.⁴⁹⁰ After his election, he provoked Henry II by stating the king of France held authority over Tours and therefore had the rights to claim aid for the Holy Land from the archdiocese.⁴⁹¹ However, Louis VII only a year later ignored Joscius' pleas to appoint the new abbot of Saint-Julien of Tours having agreed to hand over the abbey to Henry II while making peace in 1158.⁴⁹² Therefore Joscius' election did not bring about positive changes for Henry. Following Bartholomew of Vendôme's election at Tours in 1174, William de Passavant, bishop of Le Mans, complained to Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux that the canons of Tours refused the suffragan bishops' participation in the election. Arnulf responded that contemporary political upheaval led to his exclusion. He denied it was an action against the king's supporters in the Church.⁴⁹³ Arnulf's response implies his fellow bishops considered William a supporter of the king. Bartholomew's tendency to rely on Louis VII and Phillip Augustus in the early years of his tenure further removed Henry's influence from the archdiocese.⁴⁹⁴ Royal influence became truly effective at Angers in 1162. Here Geoffrey's election restored Henry's authority, where the canons had previously managed to exclude it.⁴⁹⁵ Geoffrey was one of only ten appointed curial bishops, across all his territories, with the majority of these appointments occurring early in Henry's reign.⁴⁹⁶

Royal charters and court involvement

Attestation of royal charters by the bishops of Greater Anjou seems to have been limited. William de Passavant of La Mans attested ten extant charters beginning in 1151.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁰ *GC*, xiv, col. 89; J. Gaudemet, 'Recherches sur l'episcopat medieval en France', *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Boston College, 12 – 16 August 1963*, ed. S. Kuttner and J. Ryan, MIC series C: subsidia i (Vatican City, 1965), pp. 139 – 154, at 146.

⁴⁹¹ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 232 – 233.

⁴⁹² Warren, *Henry II*, 76 – 77.

⁴⁹³ *Letters of Arnulf*, ed. Barlow, no. 99.

⁴⁹⁴ Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 229.

⁴⁹⁵ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, no. 10174; Warren, *Henry II*, 433-4; Boussard, *Le Comte d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenet et ses Fils*, 97 – 8.

⁴⁹⁶ Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 220. Henry II appointed four curial members to the position of Bishop in the earlier years of his reign, and another six curial members to bishoprics after Becket. An example of another curial appointment around the time of Geoffrey is Froger in the bishopric of Sées.

⁴⁹⁷ *Recueil*, i, nos. 21, 72, 123, 354, 417; ii, nos. 503, 519, 575, 632, 633, 661.

Matthew of Loudun, bishop of Angers, Joscius, archbishop of Tours, and his successor Bartholomew of Vendôme appear in a meagre four extant charters each, with Matthew and Joscius occasionally appearing in the same charters listed as judges of disputes.⁴⁹⁸ In the case of Bartholomew, Henry issued or he requested all four charters after 1177, and Bartholomew did not initially attend the court of Henry II after his election in 1174.⁴⁹⁹ Geoffrey Moschet, despite his curial position prior to his election, appears in only three royal charters after his election, while Ralph de Beaumont, even with his familial connections to the king, appears in only two charters.⁵⁰⁰ All of the charters issued which these bishops attested had locations of issue in Greater Anjou. These prelates rarely travelled with the court, and they kept their participation in the royal court limited.

Royal charters can give insight into the prelates' perception of Henry II's authority and their role in the governance of the region. The most pronounced trend in the corpus for Greater Anjou is the participation of prelates in judgments of disputes between ecclesiastical institutions and lay parties. For instance, bishop Matthew of Loudun appears along with archbishop Joscius as jurors who ruled in the settlement of the dispute between two chaplains at Notre-Dame-de-Charité in Angers and the abbess and the sacristan of the same church. They both also appear in the witness list for the royal confirmation of the settlement.⁵⁰¹ Both men joined a royal assembly in 1160, along with Bishop William de Passavant of Le Mans, which judged a dispute and generated a settlement between the two abbots of Montierneuf in Poitiers and Bourgueil in the Touraine.⁵⁰² Henry selected William in the 1180s to oversee a case in his presence, between the chapel of Saint-Julien of Le Mans and local lord William of Coimes.⁵⁰³ Henry also chose Geoffrey Moschet to uphold the king's peace and governance within Anjou, and partly in Tours, by acting as an enforcing party for a settlement between the canons of Saint-Martin of Tours and the canons of Saint-Martin of Angers.⁵⁰⁴ A more peculiar charter, issued to Ralph along with the monks at Saint-Aubin's in Angers, expressed the king's wishes for a settlement under the control of the seneschal of Anjou, Stephen of Turon.⁵⁰⁵ The need to issue a charter for such matters eludes to strong disagreements between the religious house and the bishop.

⁴⁹⁸ *Recueil*, i, nos. 107, 123, 136, 140; ii, nos. 563, 627, 648, 729.

⁴⁹⁹ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 563, 627, 648, 729.

⁵⁰⁰ *Recueil*, i, nos. 275, 348, 376; ii, nos. 634, 730.

⁵⁰¹ *Recueil*, i, no. 136. No location of issue noted.

⁵⁰² *Recueil*, i, no. 140. Issued in Chinon.

⁵⁰³ *Recueil*, ii, no. 749.

⁵⁰⁴ *Recueil*, i, no. 275.

⁵⁰⁵ *Recueil*, ii, no. 730.

The document also demonstrates Henry's willingness to bring in secular judges for disputes between ecclesiastical parties.

In 1152 William of Le Mans along with the bishop of Angers and the archbishop of Tours made a declaration to Henry II in support of repayment for damages done by Geoffrey of Anjou to the abbey of Saint-Florent in Saumur.⁵⁰⁶ William's petition against the then count and future king indicates how ecclesiastical matters created division between a bishop and the crown. In this scenario, the divisions likely healed quickly given William's travel to Rome in 1156 to argue on behalf of Henry for his rights over the Church in Anjou and Maine. There is need for caution here though, as examined in the case study of Arnulf, the prelate's selection as envoy did not require a good relationship with the king; however, in this instance, given the topic discussed at Rome, William and Henry had reconciled any differences. This case also has larger implications as the abbot at this time, Matthew of Loudun, soon became bishop of Angers after Henry failed to have his nomination elected in 1156.

Another royal charter records an accord reached between the abbey of Vendôme and Bouchard, Count of Vendôme. Presided over by Archbishop Bartholomew of Tours at the king's court in 1185. The charter described Bartholomew as "venerable", *venerabilis*. Thus, in this charter the drafters applied the term "Dei gratia" to the king and archbishop, a common form of entitlement for both men, but a rarity for the archbishop to have the clause attached to his name in a royal charter, making it likely that one of the archbishop's own clerks drafted the document. Henry's evolving relationship with Archbishop Bartholomew of Tours is evident even in the existing charter evidence. The absence of the archbishop from royal charters prior to 1177 is possibly due to a loss of evidence, but it is also possible that the archbishop opted for the French court instead.⁵⁰⁷ This demonstrates the two-way relationship between king and archbishop; the king selected Bartholomew trusting that he represented his wishes and Bartholomew accepted the position understanding the king's wish for him to promote his authority.

In addition to the settlements which the prelates participated in, they also acted as witnesses to a number of charters settling disputes. This is critical because it signifies further participation within the king's court outside of their duties. For instance, Matthew

⁵⁰⁶ *Recueil*, i, no. 22.

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. G. Conklin, 'Les Capétiens et l'affaire de Dol de Bretagne', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 78 (1992), pp. 241 – 263.

of Loudun, bishop of Angers, witnessed in 1156 and 1159 confirmations of settlements between the canons of Saint-Julien's of Le Mans and Herbert Berenger, and a list of concessions agreed upon by two parties which gave the churches of Illiers to the church of Notre-Dame in Chartres and the abbey of Saint-Père, also located in Chartres.⁵⁰⁸

Matthew's presence at court implies the king reached a settlement over the dispute brought against him concerning Saint-Florent since both institutions fell outside of his diocese making his attendance unnecessary for this dispute. Archbishop Joscius of Tours also attested to the same settlement.⁵⁰⁹ Further, Joscius witnessed an act in which Henry II declared the transference of rights over Saint-Julien's abbey in Tours for himself after the king of France relinquished his rights in Orléans, thus depriving the archbishop of Tours' own authority in ecclesiastical elections over the abbey.⁵¹⁰ Henry's prelates attesting to charters which confirmed settlements between religious institutions demonstrates how they viewed Henry as having authority over the Church, but in the case of Joscius, did not likely support the contents of the charter.

Royal charters confirming gifts, rights, and lands to religious institutions occasionally addressed the bishops and archbishops and they witnessed these documents as well. These charters, though limited with only six remaining, are pertinent to the authority and governance over the Church as the documents, generally requested by the benefactors, signify an acceptance of Henry II's authority. The bishops witnessing the charters may not have approved of the rights or gifts granted, but their attestations do confer authority to the king. Geoffrey Moschet, the bishop of Angers, appeared in the address clause as well as the witness list in a confirmation approving a donation made by Simon, son of Brice, to the church of Notre-Dame in Loches, and as a witness in a royal charter which confirmed the property of Saint-Laud church in Angers.⁵¹¹ His successor, Ralph, is mentioned within the confirmation of Totteridge and Henset in England granted to the chapter of the cathedral of Saint-Maurice originally granted by Henry I.⁵¹² Archbishop Bartholomew witnessed a confirmation to the cathedral of Chartres granting churches in Evrecin and Lieuvain; a confirmation of goods and franchises belonging to the religious establishment of Grammont at Angers, and a donation of the domain at Pomerium in Acre to the men of Grammont.⁵¹³ The royal chancery issued these three charters within Greater Anjou at

⁵⁰⁸ *Recueil*, i, nos. 107, 123. The two charters were issued at La Flèche and Le Mans, respectively.

⁵⁰⁹ *Recueil*, i, no. 123.

⁵¹⁰ *Recueil*, i, no. 87.

⁵¹¹ *Recueil*, i, nos. 392; ii, no. 509.

⁵¹² *Recueil*, ii, no. 634.

⁵¹³ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 563, 627, 729.

Tours, Angers, and Chinon, respectively. Thus, archbishop Bartholomew became active in Henry's court later in his pontificate and recognized the king's authority in the region.

The king granted multiple charters confirming rights and gifts to two important houses in the region, the abbey of Fontevraud, and his own foundation the Hotel-Dieu in Le Mans. Prelates from Greater Anjou who witnessed these charters are limited and their inclusion in the witness list can demonstrate their attendance at the royal court in Greater Anjou. Geoffrey, bishop of Angers, was the only addressed bishop in a charter confirming Henry's donation of the isle of Lenges at Chozé to Fontevraud.⁵¹⁴ Bishop William of Le Mans witnessed the donation of the customs of Pont-de-Cé to Fontevraud by Henry II, and a donation including the lock of Angers to Hotel-Dieu, founded by the king.⁵¹⁵ This foundation in Le Mans shows the importance of Maine and how Henry tried to establish close ties with the Church there by founding an abbey in the county which formed the heart of his territories on the Continent. These two men stand out from the other prelates as the strongest supporters of the king's governance and patronage through their attendance at court.

There are also indications through the charter corpus and chronicles of how the king relied upon the bishops and archbishops of these three regions in his administration. Henry sent William, shortly after 1154, as an envoy with Bishops Arnulf of Lisieux, Rotrou of Evreux, and the Abbot of Saint Albans to Rome to discuss his rights over the Church on the Continent.⁵¹⁶ William's inclusion as a representative of the bishoprics of Angers and Le Mans signifies a strong commitment by William and Henry II. Henry assumed William would support his case, and William's acceptance of the position suggests he supported his king. However, the relationship between William and Henry was not always so strong. During the papal schism in 1160 Henry II and William conflicted. William disobeyed the king's orders and communicated with one of the popes, one of the few who did. Henry responded aggressively, threatening to burn down the bishop's property, but his Chancellor, Thomas Becket, changed his mind.⁵¹⁷ William then was a bishop who, through the evidence existing, often acted autonomously, and he made the

⁵¹⁴ *Recueil*, i, no. 348; *Acta* no. 398H. The dating of the charter makes it difficult to determine if this charter is addressing Geoffrey of Moschet or Matthew of Loudun since Delisle dates the charter from 1156 – 1172 and Nicholas Vincent dates the charter from 1156 to 1162 in his *Acta*, making it more likely it is either just after Geoffrey's election or just before Matthew of Loudun passes; *ibid*, i, no. 376.

⁵¹⁵ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 503, 633.

⁵¹⁶ *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, i, 216.

⁵¹⁷ A. Duggan, *Pope Alexander III (1159-81): The Art of Survival* (London, 2016), 191.

considered choice to support Henry's governance. This is most obvious when he disagreed with Henry such as in 1152 and again during the schism. Each time he acted on his own accord against the monarch.

In a charter issued in 1166, Henry addressed all his archbishops and bishops in Greater Anjou and gave them the authority to collect money for the relief of the Holy Land.⁵¹⁸ In terms of relations with the Church this is perhaps a case of common goals creating easier acceptance of Henry's authority. The king's prerogative gave the prelates this authority, although benefited the Church. Towards the end of his reign, Henry asked Bishop William to travel and act as one of the three bishops needed to negotiate and sign a treaty between the kings of England and France twice; once in 1177 with Louis VII, and once in 1180 with Philip Augustus.⁵¹⁹ During the 1180s Bartholomew's attitudes appear to shift and the archbishop grew closer to Henry II. He travelled with the king to Le Mans in 1188 attempting to keep the peace between the Plantagenet and Capetian kings, he also buried the king in 1189 at Fontevraud.⁵²⁰ With exception of William de Passavant, who the king used as an envoy in important ecclesiastical and secular matters, and Bartholomew, who travelled with the king to secure peace between with the Capetians, the other prelates of the region do not appear to have travelled on behalf of Henry II.

Conclusion

Henry II's authority over the Church is clarified by studying the royal rights over the dioceses of Greater Anjou. Similarly, clarity is achieved from studying Henry's relationships with the prelates who occupied them. As previously stated, Henry did not copy the *Reichskirchensystem* utilised in Germany. He relied upon his prelates in Greater Anjou to maintain and extend his authority and, when possible, limit the authority of the French monarch. Indeed, this reliance, like the system in Germany, undoubtedly gave more power and influence in the region to the prelates themselves. This made them key figures in Henry's administration when he gained their support. Given their importance in maintaining stable rule and local governance, Greater Anjou best exemplifies the idea that Henry's reign helped usher in the age of the bishops. In Angers, the heart of his territories on the Continent, he failed to enforce his comital rights and drew the pope's ire at his

⁵¹⁸ *Recueil*, i, no. 255.

⁵¹⁹ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 511, 550.

⁵²⁰ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ii, 30; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 229.

attempt culminating in failure to get his nominee elected in 1156. He succeeded in the 1160s nominating Geoffrey Moschet. This then shows that the Church, even in the territories located within Henry's secular borders, fought against secular nominations early in his rule in order to seemingly establish their own authority.

At Tours, Henry II tried to undermine the influence of the archbishop of Tours and the Capetians by ending the archbishopric's role as metropolitan over Brittany and expanding Bordeaux's ecclesiastical domain. At Le Mans Henry II seemed to initially struggle with the fact he did not choose the bishop and before 1154 there was at least one minor conflict with William concerning Henry's father's damages to the abbey of Saint-Florent, although William became one of his biggest supporters in the region until his death in 1187.

The Church in Greater Anjou enjoyed more authority compared to Normandy and England, and they exercised this authority by limiting royal influence in ecclesiastical elections. The lack of vacancies in the three dioceses create a distinct difference when compared to England and Normandy. In Angers, the pope's decision thwarted Henry's use of his comital rights in the election process, although this just hindered his ability to nominate a loyal supporter in the first election of 1156. At Le Mans, Henry never truly got an opportunity to nominate a person due to the longevity of William de Passavant's tenure in office. At Tours Henry failed because of the ecclesiastical domain being under the authority of the Capetian kings of France. Of the four bishops and two archbishops during Henry's reign, he nominated two: Geoffrey Moschet and Ralph de Beaumont of Angers.

The politics surrounding the burial location of Henry the Young King also depicts the Church's sense of authority in the region. Despite his final burial site being the Cathedral in Rouen, the Cathedral in Le Mans saw itself, and its authority, as significant enough in the empire to seize the body. The bishop himself led the procession in burying the body in the cathedral. In response, the king ordered the Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen, his right-hand man in Normandy, to send a delegation to retrieve the body.

Of the six prelates Matthew of Louden is the only non-secular bishop in the region, mirroring the total from Normandy creating a pattern for the Church in Henry's continental territories of not electing non-secular leaders to the bishoprics. From the evidence, it appears more beneficial to have ecclesiastical connections than local families or even ties

to the king's court, but Henry, as in the few instances in Normandy, still integrated them into his court when he travelled to the region.

Henry's relationships with the prelates, at times, were difficult and this made it problematic for him to have his authority accepted as their participation in his court and administration remained limited. William acted as one of three bishops who negotiated and signing treaties with the kings of France, he presided over the king's court in Le Mans, and witnessed important charters concerning donations by the king to Fontevraud and Hotel-Dieu. Geoffrey in Angers aided in maintaining Henry's rule over the Church, although he appears to have attended the court far less than the royal servants elected to dioceses in Normandy. Joscius, after his translation from Brittany, did little to aid the king in stopping Capetian influence in Tours. However, Henry's relationships with the archbishops appears to have been better later in his reign. At Tours Henry struggled his entire reign to have any authority over the ecclesiastical province, often competing with the Capetian kings. Henry, by the end of his reign, created a stronger relationship with Archbishop Bartholomew of Vendôme, as evidenced by his increase in attendance at court. Bartholomew filled the vacuum left by William de Passavant's death in 1187. This relationship concluded with Bartholomew burying the king in 1189 at Fontevraud.

Patterns do appear in the charters which either named the prelates or they attested. The king issued several charters confirming settlements either presided over by the prelates, or in other lower courts which the bishops and archbishops attested. This makes it probable that the king's ecclesiastical policy within the region focused primarily on maintaining peace and stability both within the Church, and between the Church and local lords. Therefore, the prelates who sat as judges and the institutions which requested a royal charter confirming a settlement signify their perception of the king's authority and rule both in the region and over the Church.

Chapter 5: Monastic Charters of Greater Anjou

The previous chapter focused on the prelates of Greater Anjou and their positions in local society, elections, and royal service in the king's administration. This chapter provides an assessment of the king's extant royal charters issued to religious institutions in the region. To accomplish this, an analysis undertaken of the charter corpus for the entire region will look for any trends in locations and dates the documents were issued. Following the overview, a breakdown of the charters in sets such as those which confirmed financial benefits, confirmation of gifts and rights, and confirmations of settlements to identify the authority of the king as perceived by ecclesiastical institutions in the region, the king's patronage in Greater Anjou, and his motivations.

As discussed earlier in this thesis, charters form a narrative which allows for an understanding of how the beneficiaries viewed the ruler's authority and how the ruler expressed it. The evidence from Count Geoffrey's, Henry's father and predecessor, surviving charters suggests that his authority in Greater Anjou remained limited throughout his reign, but he took a keen interest in dispensing justice and maintaining stability. Nevertheless, significant differences exist between how the two leaders used charters. One of the more identifiable differences is that Geoffrey's *acta* contains little evidence which demonstrates he held tangible control over non-demesne lands in Greater Anjou.⁵²¹ Instead, Geoffrey relied upon a network of lesser lords who appeared in the witness lists of his charters to establish stable governance.⁵²² Indeed, his high ranking barons rarely appear in his *acta* at all. He relied upon secular men of lesser ranks to fill his court and administration.⁵²³ The majority of Geoffrey's *acta* focused upon the dispensation of justice and the settlement of transgressions which his administration made within his demesne.⁵²⁴ To the Church, Geoffrey issued a limited number of small grants to religious institutions and refrained from any gestures of grand generosity. Geographically he focused primarily on Le Mans and Southern Maine; the regions he needed to foster stability.⁵²⁵

King Henry II granted seventy extant royal charters to twenty-seven religious institutions in Greater Anjou. Ten beneficiaries in Anjou received forty charters;

⁵²¹ Dutton, 'Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy', 70.

⁵²² Ibid, 70, 88, 92.

⁵²³ Ibid, 94 – 96.

⁵²⁴ Ibid, 112.

⁵²⁵ Ibid, 168.

Fontevraud received twenty-four and these will be discussed in the case study later in this chapter.⁵²⁶ Seven religious institutions in Maine received thirteen charters, while ten beneficiaries in the Touraine received seventeen charters.⁵²⁷ These numbers are much lower than those for ecclesiastical beneficiaries in England and Normandy, which received approximately 1,300 and 293 charters respectively. Partly, this will reflect the numbers of charters destroyed or lost to a lack of record keeping, but Nicholas Vincent has argued that it may reflect the realities of the twelfth century: Henry II simply did not issue as many charters south of Normandy.⁵²⁸ Vincent is correct that Henry simply did not issue as many charters although the reason, as described earlier, is because the use of charters as a form of governance were often driven by the needs of the beneficiaries.⁵²⁹

In terms of the locations of issue, beneficiaries, like those in Normandy, waited until the court travelled nearby. Fifty-four of the surviving charters were issued within the region. The chancery issued seven charters in England, three each for Fontevraud and Saint-Florent in Anjou, and one for the cathedral church of Saint-Julien in Le Mans.⁵³⁰ As in Normandy only the largest and wealthiest institutions with close connections to the king crossed the Channel. Six beneficiaries received eight charters in Normandy.⁵³¹ While at Ivry, France Henry issued one charter to the major abbey of Marmoutier.⁵³²

It is important to look at the dates of extant royal charters to determine if at any time religious institutions in Greater Anjou did not seek the king's authority. Within the charter corpus there is no gap in the dates which Henry II granted charters to the ecclesiastical beneficiaries of Greater Anjou, although confirmation charters became more common after the 1170s.

⁵²⁶ The ten institutions include: Saint-Aubin's Abbey, Saint-Laud Abbey, Saint-Maurice Cathedral Chapter, Saint-Nicholas' Abbey, Priory of Saint-Lazare, Abbey of Louroux, Ronceray Abbey, Saint-Florent, Saint-Aubin of Méron Priory, and Fontevraud. See page 122 for the beginning of the case study.

⁵²⁷ The six institutions in Maine were: Cathedral Church of St. Julien's, La Couture Abbey (le Mans), Hotel-Dieu (Le Mans Founded by Henry II), Collegiate Church of St-Pierre-de-la-Cour, Priory of Saint-Jean-de-la-Motte, Saint-Julien-de-Pre Abbey (Le Mans), and Evron Abbey. The ten beneficiaries known in Touraine were: Saint-Martin's Collegiate Church, Marmoutier Abbey, Grais Priory, Priory of Liget, Beaumont –les-Tours, Saint-Julien's Abbey, Baugerias Abbey, Turpeney Abbey, Collegiate Church (Loches), and Comery Abbey.

⁵²⁸ Vincent, 'Regional Variations in the Charters of Henry II', 84-5.

⁵²⁹ See methodologies, p. 15.

⁵³⁰ *Recueil*, i, nos. 70, 90, 91, 238, 239, 244; *Facsimiles of early charters in Oxford muniment rooms*, ed. H. Salter (Oxford, 1929), no.13; *Acta*, nos. 62H, 106H, 380H, 1514H, 1528H, 1529H, 1619H.

⁵³¹ *Recueil*, i, no. 283; ii, nos. 475, 518, 597, 605, 608, 655, 700; *Acta*, nos. 592H, 1785H, 1866H, 1873H, 1876H, 1909H, 1939H, 3848H. The beneficiaries include Fontevraud in Anjou, Beaumont-les-Tours, Grais Priory, Saint-Martin's Collegiate Church in Touraine, and Hotel-Dieu and Evron Abbey in Maine.

⁵³² *Recueil*, ii, no.653; *Acta*, no. 1908H.

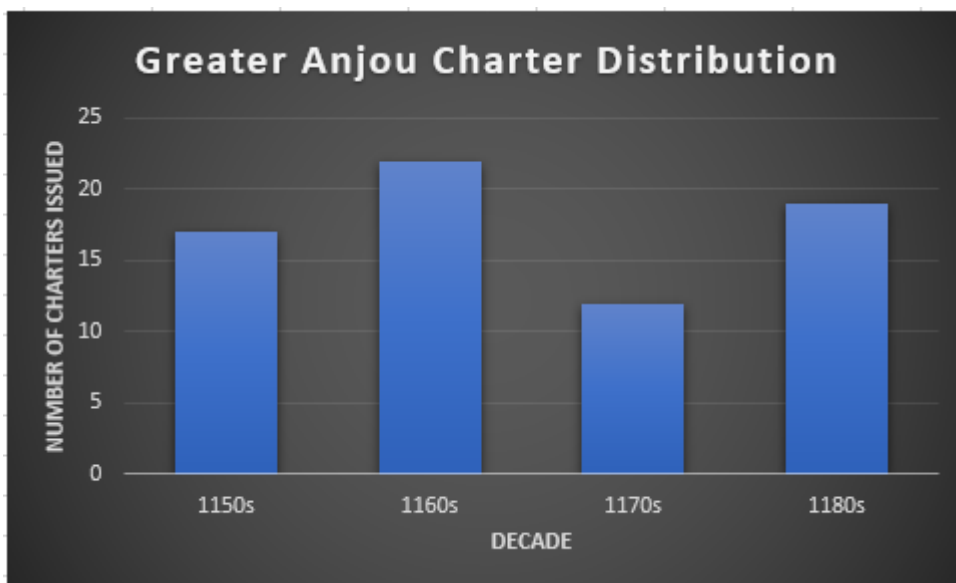


Figure 5.1 The number of charters issued by decade to beneficiaries in Greater Anjou.

The only institutions which received a charter prior to 1156, when the king travelled to Anjou for the first time, are those which obtained a charter in England between 1154 and 1156.⁵³³ As in Normandy, the fewest number of charters were issued in the 1170s likely influenced by the death of Thomas Becket, and the outbreak of rebellion in 1173 – 1174.

For one abbey, Saint-Florent, a pattern remains visible. Henry issued all four of the extant royal charters to the abbey between 1154 and 1159, three in England and one in Touraine.⁵³⁴ This is of note because these charters concerned a dispute between the abbey and Henry over his father's degradations of the abbey. Further, it is possible that Henry II favoured Saint-Florent during these few years in order to make the prelate, Bishop Matthew of Loudun previously the prior of Saint-Florent, whom he had not nominated, more accepting of his authority.⁵³⁵ Two of the charters mandated Jocelin of Tours, the king's Dapifer who presided over the king's court, to confer settlements to the monks concerning land and their rights as seized in the king's court.⁵³⁶ These settlements, confirmed by the king, showed his support and ensured recompense for his father's actions.

⁵³³ *Recueil*, i, no.70, 90, 91; *Facsimiles of Early Charters in Oxford Muniment Rooms*, no.13; *Acta*, nos. 106H, 1514H, 1528H, 1529H.

⁵³⁴ *Facsimiles of Early Charters in Oxford Muniment Rooms*, no.13; *Recueil*, i, nos. 90, 91, 124; *Acta*, nos. 106H, 1528H, 1529H, 1551H.

⁵³⁵ Henry II's and bishop Matthew of Loudun's relationship is examined in the previous chapter.

⁵³⁶ *Recueil*, i, nos. 90, 91; *Acta*, nos. 1528H, 1529H.

Charters' contents can offer insight into the patronage of the king, and identify which beneficiaries sought royal authority. Unlike in Normandy, Henry did not grant protection (4) and toll exemption (5) charters in Greater Anjou with any frequency. Most charters focus instead on finances, confirmation of gifts, rights and possessions, and confirmation of settlements. According to Vincent, Henry issued fewer toll exemptions because of the perception that tolls in the king's southern territories were core elements of the comital customs and were excused only in parts or to divert the tolls to alms.⁵³⁷ This conclusion is logical given the limited revenues Henry earned from his small demesne in the regions of Anjou, Maine, and the Touraine. However, James Masschaele's work on toll in England has examined the evolution of toll exemptions from the early 1100s and noted that monasteries first requested exemptions from certain items and evolved, starting in the 1150s, to full exemptions.⁵³⁸ The differences in the types of charters requested by the beneficiaries may illustrate that the evolution of toll exemptions in the southern regions only began later than the 1150s.

Beneficiaries only sought protection charters where a grantor held authority. Further, while the absence of evidence requires caution while making conclusions, Henry II might have only agreed to these charters where he had the local support to enforce them. With his difficulties in maintaining peace as suggested earlier by the frequent involvement of the prelates in the courts, and the number of confirmed settlements compared to Normandy as seen below, he may not have felt secure issuing protection charters due to his inability to enforce them.

Royal confirmations of financial benefits

Fourteen extant charters deal with financial matters. These charters give a sense of the king's patronage through financially supporting beneficiaries while promoting his piety and authority. The monasteries which received these charters include the most venerable and influential foundations in the region. Saint-Aubin in Angers, founded in the sixth century, received a pardon from Henry of an annual render of cloth and a horse owed to the King's army serving for the honour of Thouars; the pardon to last as long as the king held

⁵³⁷ Vincent, 'Regional Variations in the Charters of Henry II', 86.

⁵³⁸ J. Masschaele, 'Toll and Trade in England', *Money, Markets, and Trade in late Medieval Europe*, ed. L. Armstrong, *et al* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 146 – 186, at 147-50.

the honour.⁵³⁹ Saint-Florent, in Angers, received a confirmation in 1159 of half the income from the fair at Saumur in May issued at the king's court at Chinon.⁵⁴⁰ Marmoutier received a charter that confirmed the abbey's ownership of the manor and church of Thorverton, Devon, and notified of their rights to the church and tithes at Corsham, Wiltshire in England.⁵⁴¹

Henry also issued confirmations to smaller houses which quitclaimed them from certain customary fees granted by others. For instance, in April of 1159 Ronceray received a charter issued at Baugé which notified the nuns that Hubert of Campania quitclaimed all his customs from them in the king's presence.⁵⁴² Henry himself quitclaimed fees for ovens within the land holdings of Le Grais Priory.⁵⁴³ He also granted a charter to cover expenses to a house which aided one of his favourite establishments, Grandmont. Saint-Nicholas' Abbey received property in return for giving land at La Haie (Loire-Atlantique) to Grandmont.⁵⁴⁴ This charter demonstrates Henry's patronage to both houses, to Grandmont for his aid in obtaining land, and to Saint-Nicholas by granting them property to cover any losses. Both large and small houses sought the benefit of having a royal patron who confirmed their rights while also aiming to limit expenditures and increase income through the grants provided.

Secular churches also sought charters which provided financial benefits. In 1175, Saint-Martin's collegiate church in Tours received a grant, like the one given to Saint-Nicholas', bestowing on the monks a meadow located in Touraine in exchange for the wood and land which the Grandmontines surrounded with a ditch.⁵⁴⁵ A second charter issued at the same time notified that the same meadow between La Gloriette and Pontcher (Indre-et-Loire) acted as repayment for a second donation of wood to the men of Bois-Rahier.⁵⁴⁶ Like the previous charter which dealt with donations to Grandmont, this indicates the king's patronage to Grandmont and a recognition he needed to keep the other

⁵³⁹ *Acta*, no. 4855H; *Chroniques des Eglises D'Anjou*, ed. P. Marchegay and E. Mabille, La Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1869), iii.

⁵⁴⁰ *Recueil*, i, no. 124; *Acta*, no. 551H.

⁵⁴¹ *Recueil*, ii, no. 574; *Acta*, no. 232H; R. Mackintosh, *Augustine of Canterbury* (Norwich, 2013), 90.

⁵⁴² 'Cartularium monasterii sancte Marie Andegavensis', *Archives d'Anjou* 3 ed. P. Marchegay (3 vols., Angers, 1854), iii, 11-12 no. 9; *Acta*, no. 1393H.

⁵⁴³ *Recueil*, ii, no. 482; *Acta*, no. 1790H.

⁵⁴⁴ *Acta*, no. 3721H.

⁵⁴⁵ *Recueil*, ii, no. 475; *Acta*, no. 1785H.

⁵⁴⁶ *Recueil*, ii, no. 520; *Acta*, no. 550H.

institutions on his side. He did this by ensuring both establishments received gifts to either increase their assets or to maintain them.

The cathedral of Saint-Julien's in Le Mans received four charters granting financial benefits for prayers for the soul of Geoffrey of Anjou. The first, issued between 1154 and 1158 at Winchester, granted forty pounds Angevin per annum for two priests to attend the altar in front of his father's tomb.⁵⁴⁷ It seems likely that here the gifts came from the king's initiative and not the cathedral's. A second charter issued between 1156 and 1162 granted an additional twenty pounds Angevin for two chaplains to celebrate mass at the altar of Saint-Croix in the cathedral for his father's soul.⁵⁴⁸ Undoubtedly motivated by his concern for his father's soul, these charters also promoted Henry's piety, and can only have helped establish a rapport with Bishop William, and emphasized his authority in Maine. Henry issued an additional two charters as recompense to the cathedral for land needed by the king within the city, through annual rents.⁵⁴⁹

Two final extant charters concerning finances can be classified as examples of early toll exemption charters. A charter issued to the Priory of Saint-Jean de la Motte notified the monks of their right to have a fair in June and acquitted them of any expenses to the men of Mayet, and further confirmed tithes from tolls at Oize (Sarthe) and granted the king's protection as had been discussed in the king's court at Le Mans.⁵⁵⁰ Within the protection charter granted to the priory the familiar clause "in manu mea" appears in a variation. It states, "Furthermore, I receive into my hand/control and protection to the dependent territories mentioned and all things pertaining to it, and I instruct that the monks serving God in that place keep all their holdings well, peacefully, freely, and honourably."⁵⁵¹ Discussion of protection at court suggests negotiation, providing us with an insight into how the king worked with the priory to produce the rights notified within the charter. To the priory of Liget, Henry issued the only remaining royal charter in Greater Anjou which granted full exemption from tolls and customs, the priory also received

⁵⁴⁷ *Chartularium Insignis Ecclesie Cenomanensis quod dicitur Liber Albus Capituli*, 5; *Acta*, no. 1514H.

⁵⁴⁸ *Chartularium Insignis Ecclesie Cenomanensis quod dicitur Liber Albus Capituli*, 5-6; *Acta*, no. 1695H.

⁵⁴⁹ *Chartularium Insignis Ecclesie Cenomanensis quod dicitur Liber Albus Capituli*, 10 – 11; *Acta*, nos. 1693H, 1694H.

⁵⁵⁰ J. Boussard, 'Trois actes d'Henri Plantegenêt relatifs à ses possessions françaises', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 118 (1960), pp. 51 – 57, at 53-5; *Acta*, no. 3649H. The priory is a dependent of Saint-Mesmin de Micy Abbey in Orléans.

⁵⁵¹ *Pr[a]jeterea recipio in manu et protectione mea obedientiam illam et omnia ad eam pertinentia, et precipio quod monachi ibidem Deo seruientes omnia tenementa sua bene et in pace et libere et honorifice teneant.*

services from Thomas Raier, the king's envoy.⁵⁵² This charter, issued between 1182 and 1189, is indicative of the slow acceptance of full toll exemptions by the houses in the Touraine by the end of the twelfth century. The offer of Thomas' services demonstrates Henry's patronage, while the acceptance of the king's offer by the priory shows its acceptance of his authority.

Confirmation of rights and gifts

Fourteen royal confirmation charters remain for thirteen beneficiaries in Anjou, Maine, and the Touraine.⁵⁵³ These types of charters exemplify the beneficiary seeking the king's authority. Institutions sought confirmations when they needed to have their possessions and liberties confirmed by the king, or when others had made major donations.

The beneficiaries which received charters that confirmed rights, possessions and gifts include the larger houses in the region. Saint-Florent, in Saumur, received an early confirmation at Winchester between 1154 and 1158.⁵⁵⁴ The king confirmed the abbey's possessions and rights over seven churches located at Shoreham and Washington in Sussex.⁵⁵⁵ This was pertinent especially since the question of whether Henry II would pass Anjou to his younger brother Geoffrey remained unclear.⁵⁵⁶ La-Couture Abbey, just outside of the walls of Le Mans, received a confirmation of rights granted by the king's unnamed ancestors and a confirmation of Toddington church in Bedfordshire granted by Paine de Souches.⁵⁵⁷ A charter issued to Beaumont-les-Tours in the Touraine confirmed

⁵⁵² *Recueil*, ii, no.684; *Acta*, no. 1927H; *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, ed. E. Martène (5 vols., Paris, 1717), i, 570.

⁵⁵³ For Anjou the institutions include Saint-Florent, Saint-lazare, Saint-Maurice Cathedral Chapter, and Saint-Laud Abbey. *Facsimiles of Early Charters in Oxford Muniment Rooms*, no. 13; *Recueil*, i, no. 361; ii, no. 634; *Cartulaire du chapitre de St-Laud d'Angers*, 106-8 no. 84; *Acta*, nos. 106H, 213H, 588H, 591H; For Maine the institutions were: La-Couture Abbey, Hotel-Dieu, and Saint-Julien-du-Pré Abbey. *Recueil*, i, no. 417; ii, no. 605; *Cartulaire des Abbayes de Saint-Pierre de la Couture et de Saint-Pierre de Solesmes*, ed. E. Monnoyer (Le Mans, 1881), 50, 106; *Acta*, nos. 1751H, 1873H, 1912H, 1913H; For Touraine the institutions were: Baugerais Abbey, Collegiate Church in Loches, Beaumont-les-Tours, Turpeney Abbey, Grais Priory, and Priory of Liget. *Recueil*, i, no. 300, 392; ii, no. 597, 608, 630 *Acta*, nos. 1656H, 1721H, 1866H, 1876H, 1893H, 1972H; *Annales ordinis Cartusiensis*, ed. C. le Cousteulx (2 vols., Monstrolii, 1888), ii, 454. The dating in *Annales ordinis Cartusiensis* is 1178 but Vincent re-dated the charter to 1188-9.

⁵⁵⁴ *Chroniques des Eglises D'Anjou*, iii. For the history of Saint Florent see 'Historia Sancti Florentii Salmurensis', 217 – 328.

⁵⁵⁵ *Facsimiles of Early Charters in Oxford Muniment Rooms*, no. 13; *Acta*, no. 106H. The charter is most likely issued in the first two years of the king's reign before traveling to his continental territories.

⁵⁵⁶ C.W. Hollister and T. Keefe, 'The Making of the Angevin Empire', *The Journal of British Studies* 12 (1973), pp. 1 – 20 at, 19 – 20.

⁵⁵⁷ *Cartulaire des Abbayes de Saint-Pierre de la Couture et de Saint-Pierre de Solesmes*, 50, 106 nos. 44, 127. For a brief history on the abbey see the introduction of the *Cartulaire des Abbayes de Saint Pierre de la Couture et de Saint-Pierre de Solesmes*.

the foundation of the dependent priory of La-Caine made by Roger Malfillâtre with the original consent of William II, duke of Normandy.⁵⁵⁸ The abbey likely wanted a confirmation from Henry II as the current duke, and thus the contemporary authority, even though the house was located in the Touraine, and he held comital authority over the region. Through the confirmations to important houses Henry acted as a patron, but also ensured that the institutions stayed supportive of his governance.

Henry II also granted gifts to significant establishments in the region. He bought a meadow from Boetus of Cherezai and his wife and then gifted it to the nuns at the priory of Saint-Lazare located in Fontevraud.⁵⁵⁹ This gift from the king made him a patron of the priory, likely motivated by its status as a daughter house of Fontevraud.⁵⁶⁰ Hotel-Dieu in Le Mans, founded by Henry II for his soul and the souls of his family, received a notification which granted the land he founded the house upon and confirmed all additional gifts bestowed to the establishment.⁵⁶¹ Henry did not found a large number of houses during his reign, and therefore his choice to establish a house in Le Mans signifies the city's importance to him.⁵⁶²

The major secular churches of Greater Anjou also sought the king's authority through confirmations of rights and gifts. For example, the cathedral chapter of Saint-Maurice at Tours received a confirmation of their rights over churches in Totteridge in Milton, Lilleborne, and Henset in Bedwyn, all in Wiltshire as originally granted by Henry I.⁵⁶³ The reference to the king's grandfather was standard practice in a confirmation charter, but having him referenced in the text served to remind all parties who granted them the original gift, and the inclusion of rights in England recognized the king's authority over England and Anjou and reinforced Henry II as a patron. It also promoted Henry's promises to his territories, beyond England and Normandy, presented in his coronation charter to uphold the rights and privileges granted by his grandfather.⁵⁶⁴ The collegiate church in Loches received a confirmation which notified the archbishop of Tours, the bishop of Angers and the barons of both counties of the ownership of the moat

⁵⁵⁸ *Recueil*, ii, no.608; *Acta*, no. 1876H.

⁵⁵⁹ *Recueil*, i, no. 361; *Acta*, no. 591H.

⁵⁶⁰ St. Lazare followed the Order of Fontevraud, and the charter was issued between 1166 – 1173 when Henry's patronage to the mother house became common.

⁵⁶¹ *Recueil*, ii, no. 605; *Acta*, no. 1873H.

⁵⁶² Cf. Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', 113 – 132.

⁵⁶³ *Recueil*, ii, no. 634. *Acta*, no. 213H.

⁵⁶⁴ W. Stubbs, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, 9th Edn. ed. H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1921), 157 – 8.

and vineyard at Corné (Maine-et-Loire) originally granted by Simon fitz Brice and confirmed by Geoffrey of Anjou.⁵⁶⁵ The address included the nobility, the bishop of Angers, and the archbishop of Tours. By including all these parties, the charter implies overall authority by the king, he was addressing his subordinates of the region as a collective whole. This then shows that from Henry's perspective, he intended to treat his territories as an empire, and not as divided territories.

Henry issued nearly a third of the confirmations to smaller monasteries. A charter issued in 1175 to Saint-Laud confirmed their possessions and liberties.⁵⁶⁶ This charter, issued shortly after the end of the rebellion between the king and his sons, gave Henry II an opportunity to emphasize his authority in Anjou. From the abbey's perspective it needed a confirmation following the upheaval, viewing Henry's comital authority as newly re-established. Saint-Julien-du-Pré in Maine received a confirmation of donation charter between the years of 1166 and 1171. It notified the bishops of Le Mans and Sées that the abbey should receive tithes from Valframbert (Orne), within the diocese of Sées, as granted by Fulk Painel, ancestor of William Painel.⁵⁶⁷ The chancery within this charter manages diplomatic ties across Henry's regions. The bishops at the time, William de Passavant of Le Mans and Froger of Sées, supported the king. By confirming this charter Henry II tied his barons of England into the ecclesiastical affairs in Maine, making his authority over the region more exclusive as the ability to reconfirm these rights in the same manner rested on the figure of authority continuing to govern Normandy, England, and Maine. Halo of Brissac also created inter-regional links when he granted the customs from Montagré, near Loudun, to Turpeney which Henry II confirmed. He issued this charter to further establish inter-regional connectivity as the land was located in the border frontier of Anjou and the abbey in the Touraine.⁵⁶⁸

Three charters which confirmed rights and possessions to smaller houses specifically mentioned the site of the houses, possibly identifying a change in whose authority the site fell under from the perspective of the beneficiaries. Baugerais Abbey, in 1170, received a charter at Châtillon-sur-Indre in Berri, located in the center of France, which confirmed the abbey's site, possessions and its order.⁵⁶⁹ Graais Priory received a

⁵⁶⁵ *Recueil*, i, no. 392; *Acta*, no. 1721H.

⁵⁶⁶ *Cartulaire du chapitre de St-Laud d'Angers*, 106-8 no. 84; *Acta*, no. 588H. For a brief history on Saint-Laud see the introduction of the *Cartulaire du Chapitre de St-Laud d'Angers (Actes du XIe et du XIIe Siècle)*.

⁵⁶⁷ *Recueil*, i, no. 417; *Acta*, no. 1751H.

⁵⁶⁸ *Recueil*, ii, no. 630; *Acta*, no. 1893H.

⁵⁶⁹ *Recueil*, i, no. 300; *Acta*, no. 1656H.

similar charter in 1182 which addressed the archbishop of Tours and lords of the Touraine, Anjou, and Maine confirming the priory's site, land, and liberties in the forest of Brecheney (Indre-et-Loire).⁵⁷⁰ The Priory of Liget received the final extant confirmation issued in the Touraine in the final two years of the king's reign, confirming its site and privileges.⁵⁷¹ The inclusion of the sites of the abbey is indicative of the king's wish to state his authority over the region and his right to confirm the lands to the beneficiaries, and the exchange of authority from the perspective of the institutions would be from Louis VII who issued charters heavily in the region prior to 1154.

Settlements

Confirmations of court settlements are less common than other types of charter with only twelve extant issued to eight beneficiaries.⁵⁷² Such documents are an indication of how religious institutions perceived the authority of Henry II. Statistically compared to the charter corpus of Normandy (10%) and England (7%), the king confirmed settlements more frequently in Greater Anjou (17%). The increase in settlements likely reflects the political realities in an unstable Greater Anjou, a region in which the aristocracy competed for autonomy, and thus clashed with one another and ecclesiastical institutions.

The larger and more established monasteries in the region received the most charters. Saint-Aubin in Anjou received an order in 1180 to settle a dispute between the monks and the bishop of Angers, Ralph Beaumont, the king's kinsman.⁵⁷³ The charter instructed the abbot to accept the agreement discussed between the two parties under the advisement of the seneschal. The king in this charter utilized his authority over the Church to enforce an agreement between the two parties, for the benefit of Ralph. Saint-Florent received two mandates issued at Brockenhurst, England between 1155 and 1158 requiring Jocelin of Tours, the seneschal, to ensure their possession of land as determined by himself, in the king's court.⁵⁷⁴ The second of these forbade Hugh of Pocé, a local baron,

⁵⁷⁰ *Recueil*, ii, no. 597; *Acta*, no. 1866H.

⁵⁷¹ *Annales ordinis Cartusiensis*, ii, 454; *Acta*, no. 1972H.

⁵⁷² For Anjou the recipients are Saint-Florent, Saunt-Aubin's Abbey, and Saint-Aubin of Méron Priory. *Recueil*, i, nos. 90, 91; *Cartulaire de St Aubin d'Angers*, ed. B. de Brousillon (2 vols., Paris, 1903), ii, 84, 339 – 340, nos. 557, 866; *Acta*, nos. 1528H, 1529H, 1545H, 1962H. For Maine the beneficiaries are the Collegiate Church of Saint-Pierre de la Cour and the Cathedral Church of Saint-Julien. *Recueil*, i, no. 107; ii, no. 749; *Acta*, nos. 1540H, 1696H, 1978H. For the county of Touraine, the recipients are Marmoutier Abbey, Cormery Abbey, Saint-Julien's Abbey, and the collegiate church of Saint-Martin. *Recueil*, i, nos. 87, 190, 275; ii, nos. 653, 683. *Acta*, nos. 411H, 1524H, 1592H, 1908H, 1926H.

⁵⁷³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de S-Aubin d'Angers*, ii, 84, no.557; *Acta*, no. 1962H.

⁵⁷⁴ *Recueil*, i, no.90; *Acta*, no. 1528H.

from interfering in the monks' land seised in the king's court which Jocelin presided over.⁵⁷⁵ These two charters mandating the same agreement reinforce the importance of settlements to stability between the Church and lay lords. Additionally, it demonstrates that Saint-Florent travelled to England to obtain multiple mandates to address specific individuals who breached the settlement.

Marmoutier received two settlement charters; the first in 1156 and the second between 1185 and 1189. The king took an interest in Marmoutier's conflicts in the Touraine early in his reign by presiding over a case at Saumur in 1156, and confirmed the settlement made in his presence between the abbey and Renaud Espeuredi, in which the latter resigned all his rights at Fontcher, near Tours, to the monks.⁵⁷⁶ The abbey turned to Henry's authority to confirm a settlement at the end of his reign as the second surviving charter, issued at Ivry, settled a dispute between the monks and Simon of Aunet over the house of Croth (Eure). Reginald of Muthon, the recently elected bishop of Chartres, mediated the dispute.⁵⁷⁷ The later charter established the king's authority over the house by confirming a settlement, although the court which judged the settlement fell outside of his influence. This then is likely a case where Marmoutier sought the authority of the bishop of Chartres instead of Henry II, but still wanted to recognize the king's authority by requesting a royal confirmation of the settlement.

Two charters issued to two houses in the Touraine, the abbey of Cormery and La-Grais, demonstrate how Henry held authority over the Church through settlements. In 1182 Henry II confirmed a settlement for Cormery which reduced the rights of the abbot and convent of Cormery over the priory of La-Grais, also located in Touraine.⁵⁷⁸ This charter issued to Cormery separated a priory from its mother house under the authority of Henry II at the request of the priory. Henry II, as already noted above, also confirmed Le Grai's lands and possessions.

Saint-Julien in Tours between 1158 and 1159 received a settlement charter which dealt with rights over monasteries in the Touraine. It confirmed a settlement made at Louis VII's court in Orleáns, which transferred the stewardship of Saint-Julien's Abbey in Tours

⁵⁷⁵ *Recueil*, i, no.91; *Acta*, no. 1529H.

⁵⁷⁶ *Recueil*, i, no.190; *Acta*, no. 1592H.

⁵⁷⁷ *Recueil*, ii, no.653; *Acta*, no. 1908H. The charter itself does not explain what the settlement was, just confirmed the settlement made.

⁵⁷⁸ *Recueil*, ii, no.683; *Acta*, no. 1926H.

to Henry II and removed the archbishop of Tours' authority over the abbey.⁵⁷⁹ Due to Henry's stewardship to the king of France as count of Anjou he succeeded at court. This charter then best exemplifies the struggles Henry II faced in the Touraine early in his reign. The king had to work against an archbishop, Joscius, who supported the King of France rather than himself while also dealing with Capetian authority in the region as well. Henry II pushed for his rights over the abbey in the French king's court as count of Anjou allowing him to begin increasing his authority within the Touraine without creating conflict with the French monarch. Henry's success illustrates how Louis VII recognized Henry's authority over the abbey as count of Anjou, but it is likely that from Henry's perspective obtaining authority through his title reinforced his rule over the region as part of his empire.

Secular churches in Greater Anjou also received several charters which confirmed settlements or enforced their rights. The collegiate church of Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour received a mandate addressed to William of Sillé to force William Vacuus to restore land at Rouessé (Sarthe) and ordered Pain, the seneschal, to administer the agreement if William of Sillé failed.⁵⁸⁰ This charter demonstrates how the king employed his justices in the region to uphold the secular church's rights when lay lords encroached upon them. The Church coming to Henry II for the mandate reveals who in the region the church believed held authority. Henry's choice to have the seneschal addressed in the charter can imply that he sought to ensure the fulfilment of the mandate, and how he could use the lay offices of governance to support the Church, much in the same way he used the Church to support his rule.

The cathedral church of Saint-Julien received two charters which confirmed court settlements. The first, issued between 1156 and 1160, confirmed a settlement between the canons and Herbert Berenger over the land of Assé-le-Bérenger (Mayenne).⁵⁸¹ The chapter received a second confirmation in January of 1183 giving the king's consent to an agreement between the canons and William of Coimes over the church of Ancien (Orne), negotiated following William's reconciliation with the canons on the feast day of Saint-Julien.⁵⁸² In these confirmations members of the local aristocracy disputed with the Church

⁵⁷⁹ *Recueil*, i, no. 87; *Acta*, 1524H.

⁵⁸⁰ *Cartulaire du Chapitre Royal Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour, Du Mans*, ed. M. D'Elbenne (La Mans, 1907), 25-6; *Acta*, no. 1696H.

⁵⁸¹ *Recueil*, i, no.107; *Acta*, no. 1540H.

⁵⁸² *Recueil*, ii, no.749; *Acta*, no. 1978H.

and Henry II stepped in to preside over the disputes, confirm the settlements, or issued mandates to reinforce judgements. The charter issued to the collegiate church of Saint-Martin was a confirmation of settlement. The charter confirmed the resolution of a dispute between Saint-Martin's collegiate church and Saint-Martin's of Angers over a measure of grain which contributed to the "grain duty", *minagium*, in Anjou.⁵⁸³ It is noteworthy, that here the charter looked to the justices of Anjou to enforce the settlement but not the justices of Tours where the abbey resided. These frequent confirmations of settlements are indicative of the king establishing his authority within a region he often struggled to maintain peace.

Case study: The Abbey of Fontevraud

Most work on Fontevraud and the Angevin royal family has focused on its importance as a mausoleum, but in the context of this thesis, the relationship between Henry II and the abbey will be viewed through the extant royal charter corpus. A case study of Fontevraud examining the charters allows for reflections on the king's expression of his authority and how it was perceived by a monastic house because of the abbey's large extant charter corpus. Further, the amount of charters which remain for the abbey issued by Henry II allow for a better understanding of how royal charters create narratives telling of relationships and exchanges of authority over time as described by both Koziol and Clanchy.⁵⁸⁴

Fontevraud went from conception to royal prominence in a remarkably short time. Located just southeast of Angers in Anjou it fell under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of Poitiers.⁵⁸⁵ In the mid-1130s, Louis VI assisted the order of Fontevraud in establishing three daughter houses in France. Within fifty years of its foundation Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis wrote that the number of nuns had reached between four and five thousand.⁵⁸⁶ Houses were also established in England.⁵⁸⁷ Henry II founded a daughter house of Fontevraud in the 1170s at Amesbury as part of his penance for Becket's death.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸³ *Recueil*, i, no. 275; There are two charters issued to Fontevraud which discuss *minagium* and the ownership of the granaries it is stored within. Fontevraud charters are found at *Recueil*, ii, nos. 516 – 517, 573; *Acta*, nos. 1813H, 1851H.

⁵⁸⁴ See methodologies, 15 – 6.

⁵⁸⁵ B. Kerr, *Religious Life for Women c. 1100 – c. 1350 Fontevraud in England* (Oxford, 1999), 40.

⁵⁸⁶ Suger, 'Epistola', *Patrologia cursus Completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (221 vols., Paris, 1844 – 1865), 186, lxxxviii, cols. 1392-3; Hallam, *Capetian France 987 – 1328*, 249.

⁵⁸⁷ Kerr, *Religious Life for Women c. 1100 – c. 1350 Fontevraud in England*, 10.

⁵⁸⁸ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 165.

This relationship between Henry and Fontevraud, an order he wished to spread to England in response to Becket's death, is another reason why this abbey makes a good case study to examine how Henry II's relationship with monastic houses evolved.⁵⁸⁹

Angevin engagement with Fontevraud began in 1129 when Henry's aunt Matilda joined the convent after her husband's death in the disaster of the White Ship. Matilda became abbess in 1149.⁵⁹⁰ Henry's own relationship with Fontevraud began with his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152. At this time both the territory which Fontevraud occupied, Anjou (which Henry inherited in 1151 after his father's death) and the diocese in which it lay, Poitiers, came under Henry's authority through his marriage. Eleanor herself already acted as a patron of the abbey. Jean Marc-Bienvenu argued the institution upheld Henry's authority in a frontier region, halting encroachments by Count Theobald of Blois' influence in the region.⁵⁹¹ Eleanor is arguably the initial motivation behind the patronage of Fontevraud by Henry II. Indeed, shortly after her marriage to Henry she travelled without her husband to Fontevraud and issued a charter reconfirming gifts granted to the abbey by herself and her first husband, Louis VII, and by her ancestors.⁵⁹² His patronage built upon the foundation set out by his wife and slowly evolved through his own encounters with the abbey.⁵⁹³

In total, twenty-four royal charters issued to Fontevraud by Henry II survive. Henry issued his earliest charters to Fontevraud during his first tour of his continental territories following his coronation beginning in 1156. These early charters issued in Anjou suggest that at least originally the abbey, like most religious houses on the Continent, waited for the king to travel nearby before requesting a charter from him.⁵⁹⁴ Additionally, this reinforces the understanding that the process of issuing a charter is client driven. By 1165 Fontevraud had at least three charters issued in England, and they consisted of grants for

⁵⁸⁹ Kerr, *Religious Life for Women c. 1100 – c. 1350 Fontevraud in England*; Chibnall, 'The Changing Expectations of a Royal Benefactor'; J.-M. Bienvenu, 'Henri II Plantagenet et Fontevraud', *Cahiers de civilization medievale* 37 (1994), pp. 25 – 32; M. Billoire, 'Henri le Jeune confirme les privileges judiciaries de l'abbaye de Fontevraud', *Dans le secret des archives. Justice, ville et culture au Moyen Age*, ed. Maïté Billoire and Johan Picot (Rennes, 2014), pp. 79 – 98; E. Hallam, 'Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060 – 1330', *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982), pp. 359 – 380; J. Dalarun, *Robert d'Arbrissel fondateur de Fontevraud* (Paris, 1986).

⁵⁹⁰ *OV*, iv, 59 – 60; Chibnall, 'The Changing Expectations of a Royal Benefactor', 11; B. Tuten, 'Fashion and Benefaction in Twelfth-Century Western France', *Religious and Laity in Western Europe 1000 – 1400, Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. E. Jamroziak and J. Burton (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 41 – 62, at 46.

⁵⁹¹ Warren, *Henry II*, 44; Bienvenu, 'Henri II Plantagenet et Fontevraud', 27.

⁵⁹² Flori, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Rebel*, 68.

⁵⁹³ Hallam, *Capetian France, 987 – 1328*, 192.

⁵⁹⁴ *Recueil*, i, nos. 224, 260; *Acta*, nos. 387H, 1613H, 3845H.

lands in England, funds, and exemptions from aid supporting the royal army in Wales.⁵⁹⁵ Three charters, issued in Normandy in the 1170s and 1180s, aided in the administration of the abbey.⁵⁹⁶ Henry issued two charters in the 1170s at Fontevraud itself.⁵⁹⁷ These confirmed and granted monetary gifts for the abbey, but more importantly, the king must have been on a royal visit to the monastery.⁵⁹⁸ Through these charters the evolution of obtaining charters during the reign of Henry II by Fontevraud becomes clear. The house sought his authority when he travelled nearby originally and journeyed further as the relationship grew stronger.

This case study has so far examined the patterns in charters issued by Henry, but an analysis of the contents of the charters remains to identify the king's patronage and any motivations. To investigate the twenty-four extant royal charters issued to Fontevraud it helps to divided them into four sets: protection, court settlements, confirmation of gifts and rights granted by others, and gifts and rights granted by the king. There are three protection charters; the first issued in 1156.⁵⁹⁹ In the initial protection notification, the key clause "in mea manu" is present within the charter, creating a strong connection between the house and king.⁶⁰⁰ This charter also notified the abbey of additional privileges identifiable by the presence of the "nisi coram mea" clause. Both clauses promote the king as a patron to the house while also bringing Fontevraud further under his authority by forcing claimants against the house to bring forward charges in the king's presence.⁶⁰¹ These clauses also emphasize that Henry now held authority over both the diocese and land within which Fontevraud lay. The protection charter issued in 1165 released the abbey from having to give any aid from their English lands to the ongoing military campaign in Wales and allowed them to carry their goods to mill and wherever they wished to transport them in England.⁶⁰² This then essentially acted as a toll exemption even if not specifically stated as such.

In terms of confirmations of settlements, three notifications remain.⁶⁰³ There is nothing which really demonstrates further patronage within them for any party within the

⁵⁹⁵ *Recueil*, i, nos. 238, 239, 244; *Acta*, nos. 62H, 380H, 1619H.

⁵⁹⁶ *Recueil*, i, no. 283; ii, nos. 518, 655; *Acta*, nos. 592H, 1909H, 3848H.

⁵⁹⁷ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 457-8; *Acta*, nos. 1776H, 4381H.

⁵⁹⁸ There is no reference of Henry visiting Fontevraud within Eyton's itinerary of Henry II. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*.

⁵⁹⁹ *Recueil*, i, nos. 244, 424; *Acta*, nos. 62H, 1747H, 3845H.

⁶⁰⁰ *Acta*, no. 3845H.

⁶⁰¹ *Recueil*, i, no. 244; *Acta*, no. 62H.

⁶⁰² *Recueil*, i, no. 244; *Acta*, no. 62H.

⁶⁰³ *Recueil*, i, nos. 224, 283; ii, no. 618; *Acta*, nos. 1613H, 1884H, 3848H.

disputes, other than to point out the fairly large number of settlements the king confirmed compared to the other houses within Greater Anjou. It does, however, continue the pattern that beneficiaries sought confirmation of court settlements by Henry's authority. In the case of Fontevraud, bringing multiple settlements for confirmation, the house certainly saw the king as the authoritative figure.

Of the charters confirming gifts and rights or granted by the king himself, nine charters remain. The king confirmed gifts and rights in both England and continental Angevin domains given by local aristocracy such as William of Luche, William of St. John and his brother, Pain of Mauge, and Willaim of Mauge. From the nobility he confirmed a charter by Earl Robert of Leicester, a Beamuont, and Queen Eleanor with the assent of their sons Richard, Geoffrey, and John.⁶⁰⁴ These gifts confirmed by Henry II demonstrate how the nunnery turned to Henry II even when significant people gave them gifts increasing their ties with the king and its identification with him within the region and beyond. Of these nine, five confirmed gifts of money or rents to Fontevraud.⁶⁰⁵ Two charters confirmed the gift or exchange of land to the abbey, and two charters confirmed rights granted to the abbey.⁶⁰⁶ The highest valued gift confirmed by Henry II in 1185, the same year Eleanor issued the original charter, gave 100 pounds Angevin to the abbey paid in fifty pounds of corn from Poitiers and fifty pounds of wine from Benon (Charente-Maritime) with consent from her surviving male children, Richard, Geoffrey, and John.⁶⁰⁷ Henry II's charter confirmed one of only two extant charters dating to Eleanor's years in captivity. She issued both to Fontevraud in 1185, and she paid for the gifts from her Poitevin revenues.⁶⁰⁸ The timing of the confirmation charter is relevant; Henry issued it after Eleanor and he reconciled. The abbey then acted both as a way for the two to promote their piety, but also their unity to the wider public following their dispute. These actions demonstrated the abbey's prominence in the region in the eyes of the couple.

The remaining charters that confirmed rights granted to the abbey reveal the growing influence the abbey held within Anjou. For instance, between 1177 and 1182

⁶⁰⁴ *Recueil*, i, nos. 282, 378; ii, nos. 457-8, 503, 516-7, 518, 613, 655; *Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Handlist of Documents surviving in the Original in Repositories in the United Kingdom*, no.121; *Acta*, nos. 378H, 440H, 549H, 592H, 1712H, 1776H, 1813H, 1909H, 3755H.

⁶⁰⁵ *Recueil*, i, no. 282; ii, nos. 516-7, 518; *Acta of Henry II and Richard I: Handlist of Documents surviving in the Original in Repositories in the United Kingdom*, 81 no.121; *Acta*, nos. 440H, 549H, 592H, 1813H, 1909H.

⁶⁰⁶ *Recueil*, i, no. 378; ii, nos. 457-8, 503, 613; *Acta*, nos. 378H, 1712H, 1776H, 3755H.

⁶⁰⁷ *Recueil*, ii, no. 655; *Acta*, no. 1909H.

⁶⁰⁸ Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine Queen of France, Queen of England*, 249.

Henry II issued two charters that confirmed rights in Saumur, granted by the Mauge family. These charters confirmed the abbey's right to collect the toll of corn and water at Saumur and confirmed the rights of the water in Saumur granted and sold by William of Mauge with the approval of his family.⁶⁰⁹ From the remaining evidence, Fontevraud was the only house in the region which sought Henry's confirmation to collect tolls, exemplifying how important the establishment conceptualized Henry's authority and how important Henry viewed the abbey. Henry II did not issue any specific toll exemption to the abbey, but Henry the Young King did do so shortly before his death. Henry II never confirmed the Young King's grant.⁶¹⁰ Henry's confirmation of these rights and gifts signify his approval of the rights transferred to Fontevraud, while the abbey's request of royal confirmations shows that they saw the king's authority as instrumental in upholding their rights.

Nine charters issued confirm gifts given by the king. These confirmations of gifts of land, money, rights, and exemptions from duties illustrate his patronage. In a minor grant the king continued his exemptions of military services by excusing four of the nuns' men working the oven at Loudun from military service.⁶¹¹ Henry granted land at Leighton, England valued at sixty pounds in 1164.⁶¹² In 1175 the king granted the abbey 100 pounds Angevin for the use of the nuns' kitchens to be paid out from his rents at Baugé and the other half from rents at Saumur, but only until more permanent funding was secured.⁶¹³ The money granted from temporary sources instead of waiting for more permanent funding indicates the king wanted to grant the funds as quickly as possible. Furthermore, looking for permanent funding denotes real commitment on behalf of Henry. Seven years later Henry secured permanent funding with half the payment from the king's rents at Angers and the other half from Loudun.⁶¹⁴

The king demonstrated his piety through a gift for the souls of his father and his aunt, the previous abbess at Fontevraud, gifting the customs of Pont-de-Cé, all of his lands in the island of Lenges, the closest island in the Loire River to Fontevraud, and an oven

⁶⁰⁹ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 457-8, 613; *Acta*, nos. 1776H, 3755H.

⁶¹⁰ R.J. Smith, 'Henry II's Heir: The *Acta* and Seal of Henry the Young King, 1170 – 1183', *EHR* 116 (2001), pp. 297 – 326, at 321, no. 19.

⁶¹¹ *Recueil*, i, no.330; *Acta*, no. 1679H.

⁶¹² *Recueil*, i, nos. 238, 239; *Acta*, nos. 380H, 1619H.

⁶¹³ *Acta*, no. 4381H.

⁶¹⁴ *Recueil*, ii, no. 573; *Acta*, no. 1851H.

and house at Vihiers just south of Angers for the nuns' use.⁶¹⁵ The king also granted, for the benefit of the souls of his father, mother, and himself, the right for Fontevraud to collect and keep the corn tolls and "*Minagium*" for both Angers and Saumur while also giving parcels of land for the construction of granaries to hold the tolls and "*Minagium*."⁶¹⁶ This right stands out because it is the only existing charter which allowed a religious house to collect tolls and taxes in any of Henry's continental territories. The location of the abbey between Saumur and Chinon and the midpoint between Angers and Tours on the Loire River made it a key location because it was central to the area which it was now responsible for the collection of taxes.

Conclusion

An examination of the extant royal charter corpus for Greater Anjou and the narratives that can be identified from the documents help to determine Henry II's patronage, motivations, and the religious institutions' perception of his authority. The most prevalent amongst the beneficiaries include the larger, longer established, and more important institutions. Few smaller institutions seem to have sought out the king and he seems not to have been a committed patron of theirs. At times he was motivated to issue charters to houses which would benefit his relations with prelates, such as the case of Saint-Florent. He tried to end conflict by requesting settlements, presiding over cases, or confirming settlements between various ecclesiastical and lay parties. In the case of the cathedral at Le Mans, his piety shines. He granted over a hundred pounds Angevin for prayers to benefit his father's soul. He issued charters which extended his authority, especially in the county of Touraine where he gained the stewardship over Saint-Julien in Tours and aided Le-Grais which became an independent house.

From the perspective of religious institutions, the chronology of their request for his interaction and the types of support they sought demonstrates their view of his authority. His confirmations of gifts, rights, and financial dealings all began in the 1160s with a decrease in the 1170s. In the 1180s, the numbers of these charters issued increased, while the number of charters which confirmed settlements remained consistent. The patterns in dating indicates beneficiaries continuously accepted his authority, but the

⁶¹⁵ *Archives d'Anjou*, ed. P. Marchegay (2 vols., Angers 1843-53), ii, introduction, 13; *Recueil*, i, nos. 348, 351; *Acta*, nos. 387H, 398H, 409H.

⁶¹⁶ *Recueil*, i, no.413; *Acta*, no. 1737H.

number of establishments who sought his authority for gifts, rights, and financial matters fluctuated with current events. If Henry founded the house or church or the establishment viewed him as a patron, they consistently sought out his authority despite political events.

Fontevraud, a fast-growing abbey, attracted royal patrons by the time the religious house became firmly under Henry II's authority in 1152. The familial connections through both Henry's aunt and wife provided a foundation for his patronage which he built upon throughout his entire reign culminating in Fontevraud obtaining charters which appear to have been exclusive to the abbey such as collecting tolls and the "*minagium*" of Angers and Saumur. Even during the estrangement between Henry II and his wife the troubles did not seem to deter his willingness to grant charters and gifts to the abbey and following their reconciliation he confirmed the gifts she granted to the abbey during their conflict in the 1170s. Fontevraud also recognized and sought out Henry's authority more so than any other house in the region receiving three protection charters, and having three settlement charters confirmed by the king. In conclusion, the king used his relationship with the abbey to centralize his power in the region through both charters and the economy. Further, he demonstrated his piety through bequests for his and his family's souls. As his resting place, the abbey seems quite fitting.

When comparing the charters issued to Greater Anjou with Normandy a few things of note become clearer. While Henry suffered instability in his governance in Normandy, the charter corpus demonstrates how he re-enforced his rule through confirmations, protection charters, and toll exemptions. In Anjou, Henry faced further instability, and this meant that the institutions who sought out his authority also sought different types of charters. Without the example of Fontevraud it would be possible to argue that his interactions in Greater Anjou were responsive, but Fontevraud tells a different story, one where there is a concerted effort by both institution and monarch to establish a relationship. Henry II seems then to have struggled more so in the heart of his continental territories than he did in Normandy to the North. The next chapter will examine how Henry's strategy of expressing his authority and securing his governance through the church worked in Aquitaine, and if his struggles continued further south, or if the region more closely mirrored Normandy.

Chapter 6: Prelates of Aquitaine and monastic patronage

Introduction

An examination of Henry II's authority over the Church in Aquitaine presents a challenge compared to the other regions considered in this thesis due to a relative scarcity of sources. Aquitaine was Henry II's largest territory on the Continent. The duchy itself consisted of two parts, Poitou in the north and Gascony to the south. Autonomous dynasties dominated the duchy and central governance remained very limited. Bishops were usually members of locally influential aristocratic families. Warren described Aquitaine as nearly ungovernable when Henry married Eleanor of Aquitaine.⁶¹⁷ Martin Aurell has echoed this more recently in his examination of the Angevin empire.⁶¹⁸ John Gillingham's work examining the views of the duchy by contemporary historians of England and Normandy concludes with a different perspective. He postulates that the idea of Aquitaine being ungovernable originated as a political construct imposed by chroniclers because of the lack of information, and the issues that plagued Henry II in the south only truly began in 1175 after he instructed Duke Richard to dismantle traditional power structures.⁶¹⁹ After 1152, Henry's empire shared borders with several powerful lords such as the counts of Toulouse, and the kings of Castile and Navarre to the south.⁶²⁰ Louis VII refused to recognize Henry as the Duke of Aquitaine until a few years following Henry's marriage to Eleanor in an attempt to continue to influence the region.⁶²¹

The ducal government and Henry's authority had both strengths and weaknesses in the southern territory. A lack of ducal estates and castles in Gascony, except in Bordeaux, made it almost impossible to govern and increase income reliably.⁶²² Unlike in Greater Anjou, Normandy, and England where courts were held consistently by the count, seneschal, or prelates, in Aquitaine lawsuits rarely reached the duke or his officers, instead going through arbitration either within a local bishop's court or settled without any formal

⁶¹⁷ Warren, *Henry II*, 101 – 102.

⁶¹⁸ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154 – 1224*, 206.

⁶¹⁹ J. Gillingham, 'Events and Opinions: Norman & English Views of Aquitaine', *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine*, ed. M. Bull and C. Léglu (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 57 – 82, at 78.

⁶²⁰ Z.N. Brooke and C.N.L. Brooke, 'Henry II, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine', *EHR* 61 (1946), pp. 81 – 89, at 83.

⁶²¹ Turner, 'The Problem of Survival for the Angevin "Empire"' 64.

⁶²² Warren, *Henry II*, 102. For the level of influence of stronghold owners on their neighbors see, S. Painter, 'Castellans on the plains of Poitou in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum* 31 (1956), pp. 243 – 257.

tribunal.⁶²³ Further, a writ system did not exist, as it did in the north, to make ducal justice more available.⁶²⁴ Consistency within the courts became necessary for the king to impose his rule on the lords. Throughout Henry's reign he appointed various people to uphold his authority, often selecting ecclesiastics with the belief they would be less corrupt.⁶²⁵ The bishops in the region already acted as arbitrators making this a logical choice, but this increased his need to have his authority accepted by the prelates.

The duke earned insufficient income for the task of governing such a large region. The ducal domain was most extensive in Poitou, Aunis and Saintonge, Borderlais, and neighbouring Bazadiaz, although in the Limousin the duke had no demesne outside of Limoges.⁶²⁶ The aristocracy offered limited assistance, many only worked with the duke on shared interests or when the duke confronted them with an army. Henry relied upon the regional lords during military engagements with surrounding territories or against rebel lords. Henry often relied on men from outside the region, including mercenaries, to create a force, which brought about its own potential dangers of widening the divide with his vassals.⁶²⁷

With the difficulties in establishing his authority and the political climate in Aquitaine Henry II looked elsewhere to secure his rule and penetrate the structures of power. He turned to the Church in his attempts to shift Aquitaine from being an isolated duchy within his empire, both economically and politically, to mirror his authority over the Church in his northern territories. This course of action held its own difficulties. The dioceses of Aquitaine belonged to three ecclesiastical provinces: Auch, Bordeaux, and Bourges. The rest of this chapter will investigate these archbishoprics as well as some of the smaller bishoprics, especially in the south of Aquitaine due to the distance from his other territories, to determine if, and how, the king got his authority accepted. During this time the bishops, archbishops, and even the abbots and abbesses of Aquitaine had more

⁶²³ Turner, 'The Problem of Survival for the Angevin "Empire"', 81; M. Garaud, *Les Châtelains de Poitou et l'avènement du régime féodal, XI et XII siècles* (Poitiers, 1967), 22, 29, 109. For an example of ecclesiastical arbitration see, L. Redet, 'Documents pour l'histoire de Saint-Hilaire de Poitiers', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* 14 (1847), pp. 1 – 362, at no. 164.

⁶²⁴ Turner, *The reign of Richard Lionheart*, 213.

⁶²⁵ Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, 72.

⁶²⁶ J. Boussard, 'Diversité et les traits particuliers du régime féodal dans l'Empire Plantagenêt', *Annali della Fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa* 1 (1964), pp. 157 – 182, at 175 – 6. For a map of the local lord's land holdings and some of the ducal demesne in the region see, F. Boutoulle, 'La Gascogne sous les Premiers Plantagenêts (1154 – 1199)', *Plantagenêts et Capétiens: Confrontations et Héritages*, ed. M. Aurell and N.-Y. Tonnerre (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 285 – 317, at 316.

⁶²⁷ Turner, 'The Problem of Survival for the Angevin "Empire"', 80; Warren, *Henry II*, 102.

rights and liberties than in other regions within the empire. An Angoumois chronicle described ecclesiastical elections in the reformed Church in the duchy as, “by election of the clergy, by petition of the people, with the assent of the king.”⁶²⁸ This meant the reformed Church took root in the region more so than in Henry’s other territories, which made it more difficult for Henry to nominate trustworthy men.

What follows is an assessment of Henry’s rule over Aquitaine including the secular political situation in Aquitaine, the action of the king’s family within Aquitaine, his interaction with the prelates, and if the king acted as a patron to religious institutions. Additionally, due to the nature of surviving evidence the Becket crisis becomes more important in this part of the study, especially his networks. How far did these interactions contribute to the king’s interest in expressing his authority within Aquitaine and better his relations with the Church he relied upon?

Henry II in Aquitaine

By 1159 Henry II turned his attention to the problems of Aquitaine, primarily those involving the Count of Toulouse. In November of that year, he travelled with his brother to the region and received homage from the lords of Aquitaine.⁶²⁹ He marched from Gascony to Toulouse with the largest army of his reign, but the siege of Toulouse failed.⁶³⁰ Louis VII who made similar manoeuvres for Toulouse in 1141 after his own marriage to Eleanor predicted his attack on Toulouse. Louis prepared for Henry’s anticipated actions by making connections with southern powers to stop the English king from spreading his authority east from Aquitaine. Louis married his sister, Constance, to Count Raymond V of Toulouse.⁶³¹ Henry’s failure at Toulouse is one of the most visible demonstrations of the difficulties he faced as Duke of Aquitaine and vassal to the French king regarding his goals of enforcing his authority.⁶³² He needed to be cautious in his dealings with surrounding counties such as Toulouse and Bourges as the leaders, both lay and ecclesiastical, in these regions constantly sought to undermine Henry’s authority. However, the king’s attention

⁶²⁸ *Historia Pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, ed. J. Boussard (Paris, 1957), 44. *electione cleri, petitione populi, principi assensu.*

⁶²⁹ *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, i, 166 – 167; Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 18.

⁶³⁰ Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155 – 1183*, 28; Torigny, ‘Chronica Roberti de Torigneio’, iv, 200; Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 46 – 7.

⁶³¹ F. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (London, 2001), 259.

⁶³² Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155 – 1183*, 28.

became divided in the 1160s starting with the Becket dispute, and the attention he gave to developing his authority within Aquitaine and securing his borders lessened.⁶³³

Later in Henry's reign he again focused his attention on Aquitaine and the problem of Toulouse. The count of Toulouse petitioned the French king in 1162 and 1164 to end the menacing actions of Henry's military marshals.⁶³⁴ Henry II initiated campaigns led by Patrick of Salisbury against rebel lords in Aquitaine from 1167 - 1168.⁶³⁵ Political manoeuvring over Toulouse between the two kings continued until at least 1170 if not later, with both kings attempting to outdo the other by creating various agreements with the surrounding lords of Castile, Narbonne, Aragon, and Barcelona in order to resolve the conflict in their favour.⁶³⁶ Further issues plagued Henry II in the 1170s as the problems within the duchy shifted from external influencers to internal, forcing the king to refocus on the issues previously described between the overlord of Aquitaine and their vassals. These conflicts continued into the 1180s when Henry II campaigned in Aquitaine in 1183 to end further rebellions.⁶³⁷

Overall, Henry's goal for Aquitaine shared similarities to his policies in Greater Anjou and Normandy; to create a homogenized group of land holdings brought under his authority. The views of the aristocracy, and the lack of any substantial lands purchased in the south by northerners or southerners in the north, and the very little intermarriage between the geographical regions made it nearly impossible to achieve a task which realistically would have taken decades to accomplish without any major local resistance.⁶³⁸

Eleanor, Richard, and the Young King

Henry relied upon his family to aid his rule in Aquitaine. Eleanor issued ten charters between 1152 and 1156 which remain. Only three confirmations by her husband survive for three of them: this might suggest that she acted independently. These ten charters all

⁶³³ Warren, *Henry II*, 116.

⁶³⁴ C. De Vic and J. Vaissète, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1872), 833.

⁶³⁵ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 235 – 236.

⁶³⁶ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 247; Warren, *Henry II*, 117; M. Pacaut, *Louis VII et son Royaume* (Paris, 1964); J. Martindale, '“An Unfinished Business”: Angevin Politics and the Siege of Toulouse, 1159', *ANS* xxiii (2001), pp. 115 – 154. Both give a thorough explanation of the events surrounding Toulouse from 1159 onward.

⁶³⁷ Walter Map, *De nugis Curialium*, ed. and trans. M. James revised by C.N.L. Brooke and R. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), 280 – 283.

⁶³⁸ Turner, 'The Problem of Survival for the Angevin “Empire”', 95.

had the common intent of reasserting her right to rule the duchy following her divorce from Louis VII. She issued charters to monastic houses she interacted with during her marriage to Louis VII, such as Fontevraud and those with longstanding connections to her family such as Montierneuf in Poitiers and Saint-Maixent.⁶³⁹ The ecclesiastical primate at Bordeaux supported her attempts at controlling the duchy. A charter issued by Archbishop Geoffrey de Lauroux of Bordeaux, who held the pontificate from 1136 to 1158 and officiated at her marriage to Louis VII, in October of 1153 ended a charter stating Eleanor held the duchy of Aquitaine, with no mention of her previous husband, nor Henry II, who took the title in the summer of 1153.⁶⁴⁰ Louis VII himself still used the title Duke of Aquitaine at least fifty-eight times following his divorce from Eleanor until he reached an agreement with Henry II in 1154 to recognize the transfer of authority.⁶⁴¹ In this early period too, Eleanor surrounded herself with loyal advisors such as her uncles, Hugh II of Châtellerault and Ralph de Faye, granting them rights and properties within Poitou as rewards.⁶⁴²

Eighteen further Eleanor charters are extant from the period during her marriage to Henry II. They date to the revolts 1168/1169 and of 1173 – 1174. By 1157 Eleanor's autonomy subsided as Henry II took more interest in the region and began to try and develop a more centralized government in Aquitaine. Between 1157 and 1167 Henry did not mention the queen in any extant royal charters for Aquitaine. During this time Eleanor tried to use her power and influence in Aquitaine since her eldest son's vice-regency government focused on England.⁶⁴³ In Aquitaine the evidence implies Henry tried to keep Eleanor removed from the governance of Aquitaine. Eleanor refused to be side-lined, especially during rebellions, and she used the political uncertainty in the region to try and reassert her authority.

⁶³⁹ Hivergneux, 'Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine, 1137 – 1189', 63 – 64; 'Chartres,' ed. E. Frédéric Ferdinand Hucher, *Revue des Sociétés Savantes* 3 (1874), pp. 53 – 544, at 53 - 54; M. Audoin, *Les Chartres communales de Poitiers et les établissements de Rouen* (Paris, 1913), 35 – 36; 'Chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Maixent', ed. A. Richard, *Archives historiques du Poitou* 1 (1886 - 1887), 352 – 353.

⁶⁴⁰ Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778 – 1204*, ii, 116; Flori, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Rebel*, 55.

⁶⁴¹ See the catalogue in *Etudes sur les Actes de Louis VII*; Hivergneux, 'Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine, 1137 – 1189', 64, n. 36.

⁶⁴² Hivergneux, 'Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine, 1137 – 1189', 64.

⁶⁴³ Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 68.

In 1172 Henry II installed his second eldest son, Richard, as Count of Poitou and future duke of Aquitaine. Shortly after, Eleanor set up a regency council for him.⁶⁴⁴ This council, supported by some local barons including her uncle Ralph de Faye, attempted to influence Henry II to divide his authority in the region following Eleanor's estrangement from him in 1169.⁶⁴⁵ It was during this period that the chronicler Richard the Poitevin stated Aquitaine and Poitou should rejoice, because the reign of Henry II was coming to a close.⁶⁴⁶ This statement makes the perception of the aristocrats in Aquitaine clear, they disliked Henry and celebrated him handing over part of his authority. These machinations by Eleanor set the foundations for the revolt by her sons, with the support of King Louis VII, against their father in 1173 – 1174. Just before the revolt broke out, Henry II contacted his castellans in his continental territories to prepare for the possible rebellion. The effectiveness of this warning in Aquitaine, or anywhere on the Continent is lost due to lack of source material; but in England, there is evidence that forty-four castles were prepared.⁶⁴⁷ Henry appears to have recognized his difficulties in getting his authority accepted in the region, opting to install Richard as count by 1172 in an attempt to try and alleviate the tensions, but this backfired, allowing for his wife to create a regency and move against the king in just two years.

The major events of the rebellion of 1173 – 1174 took place almost entirely outside the territory of Aquitaine.⁶⁴⁸ In 1174, Richard attempted to have the lords of Saintonge and Poitou rebel, but the newly organized rebels added little benefit as the rebellion struggled in the north.⁶⁴⁹ As punishment the king instructed his son Richard, in 1176, to destroy any castles occupied by rebels during the conflict.⁶⁵⁰ Richard requested both financial and military support from his father as the rebels who held the strongholds were well supplied, having not participated in the fighting up North, and defended themselves. Richard

⁶⁴⁴ Vigeois, 'Chronica', i, 1, ch. 67; Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou 778 – 1204*, ii, 161 n. 2. The members of the council are unknown, but Eleanor led the council and during this time she issued a charter in the name of Richard which was attested by the Seneschal of the king's house, Manasse Biset, and Guillaumed de Louneuil, and Ralph de Faye, her uncle.

⁶⁴⁵ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 42; *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, i, 242; Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, v, 304; *The Materials of the History of Thomas Becket*, v, 197; Turner, 'The Problem of Survival for the Angevin "Empire"', 86.

⁶⁴⁶ *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, xii, 419.

⁶⁴⁷ R.A. Brown, 'Royal Castle Building in England, 1154 – 1216', *EHR* 70 (1955), 353 – 398.

⁶⁴⁸ Warren, *Henry II*, 142.

⁶⁴⁹ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 76; Warren, *Henry II*, 564.

⁶⁵⁰ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 81; Turner, 'The Problem of Survival for the Angevin "Empire"', 85.

completed the task in 1176 after the defeat of Robert of Angoulême whom he sent back to England to appear before the king for judgement.⁶⁵¹

While Henry had reasserted his authority on the Continent after the rebellion through the destruction of rebel property and the defeat of his sons, he still struggled greatly to maintain his authority in Aquitaine. Roger of Howden in his *Gesta* blamed both Henry the Young King and Richard for the rebellions of 1173- 1174 and 1183 within Aquitaine; however, in his *Chronica*, compiled later, Howden shifted the blame for the earlier rebellion from Richard to Henry the Young King.⁶⁵² Despite being blamed for the rebellions in Aquitaine Henry the Young King kept his retinue filled with English and Norman counsellors, and very few from Anjou, Maine, or Aquitaine; just like his father.⁶⁵³ After the rebellion of 1174, the duchy did not avoid further conflict between father and sons and became the battlefield for a rebellion led by Henry the Young King and his allies, including Bertran de Born, a castellan from the Limousin.⁶⁵⁴ The region of Aquitaine held importance for both father and son, yet neither of them brought any of the local lords into their courts, nor did they see their inclusion as a way to bring Aquitaine further under their respective authorities.

Archbishoprics

Unfortunately, not all the dioceses within Aquitaine can be covered due to the limited information from the time of Henry II. Further, not all bishoprics and archbishoprics in Aquitaine where evidence remains had a relationship with the duke of Aquitaine. As far as can be determined, the archbishopric of Bourges remained firmly under the French king's influence and while some evidence of interaction is available, most of what comes from Bourges depicts a clear link to Capetian authority. Distance might not be as significant as might be thought however, and in what follows the Archbishopric of Auch, which has traditionally been considered out of reach of Henry II, will be investigated to identify whether any interactions occurred and if the diocese recognized Henry's authority more than previously understood.⁶⁵⁵ This study will begin in the archdiocese with arguably the

⁶⁵¹ Richard Fitz Neal, *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. and trans. E. Amt and S. Church (Oxford, 2007), 2.

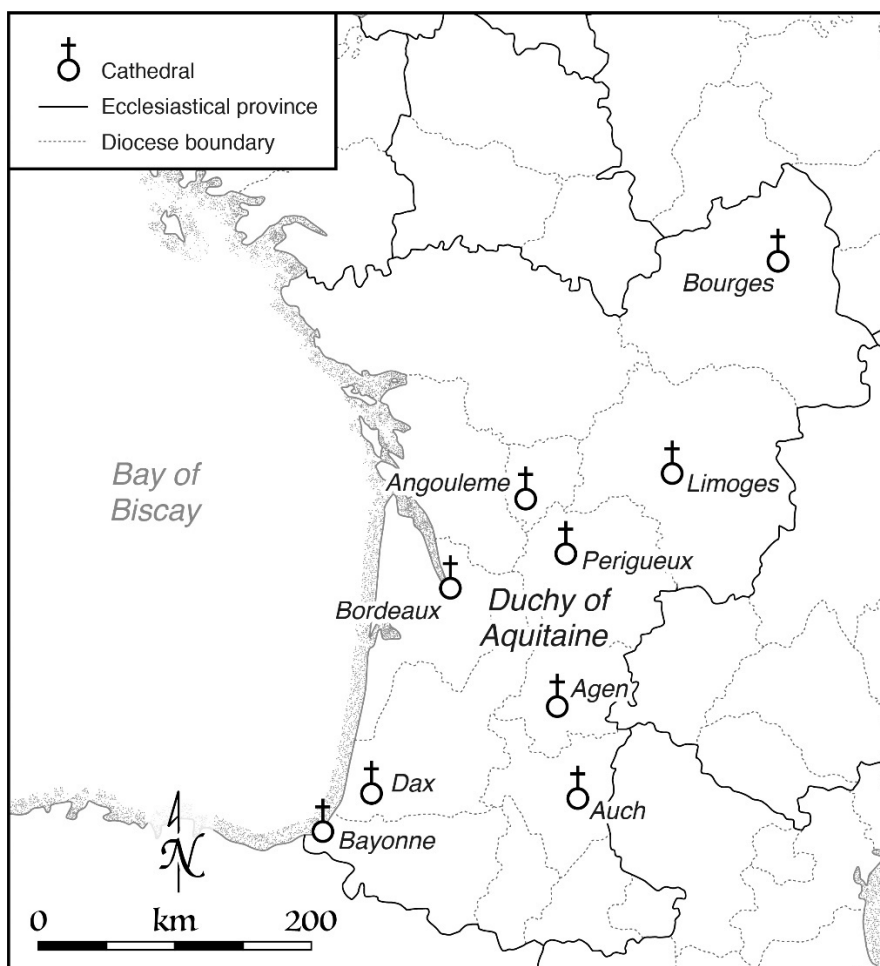
⁶⁵² Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 292; Howden, *Chronica Rogeri de Houedene*, i, 724; Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155 – 1183*, 7.

⁶⁵³ Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155 – 1183*, 100.

⁶⁵⁴ Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155 – 1183*, 1 – 3.

⁶⁵⁵ Warren, *Henry II*, 427.

most information pertaining to Henry II, Bordeaux, and will then look at the archdiocese of Auch and Bourges.



6.1 Map of the diocesan boundaries of Aquitaine.

Archbishopric of Bordeaux

The city and archbishopric of Bordeaux played an important role in increasing the Duke of Aquitaine's influence within Aquitaine. Not much is known about the municipal history of the city prior to the final years of the twelfth century, but some information exists which can give context to Henry's relationship with the archbishops.⁶⁵⁶ The city formed the centre of economic trade in south-west France during this time, but was reliant on Toulouse's connection to the Mediterranean.⁶⁵⁷ The majority of land holdings belonging to

⁶⁵⁶ Boussard, *Le Gouvernement D'Henri Plantagenêt*, 186. For a brief history on the early history of the city and institutions see, C. Bémont, 'Les Institutions Municipales de Bordeaux', *Revue Historique* 123 (1916) pp. 253 – 293.

⁶⁵⁷ Warren, *Henry II*, 84.

the Duke of Aquitaine across the Duchy lay in and around Bordeaux.⁶⁵⁸ These land holdings were small however, and thus the king's authority limited. Henry II controlled only two prévôtés; one in Bordeaux and another nearby in La Réole, compared to the twelve he created and managed in Greater Anjou.⁶⁵⁹ The archdiocese had five suffragan bishoprics: Agen, Angoulême, Périgueux, Poitiers, and Saintes.⁶⁶⁰

On its northern boundaries, Bordeaux abutted Tours. Henry's difficulties with French influenced Tours led to his attempt to extend the boundaries of Bordeaux.⁶⁶¹ However, to judge the success of this strategy the later extant sources must be taken into consideration. Between 1170 and 1209 nearly 400 *acta* survive from Gascony and Languedoc from all chanceries, of which only twenty-six failed to use the reigns of Louis VII and Philip Augustus within the dating clauses, making it appear that Henry's attempts to remove their influence from Bordeaux, Gascony, and Languedoc proved unsuccessful, and his efforts to extend the archdiocese, even if successful, might not have brought about the changes he hoped.⁶⁶² Henry II tried to imitate his relations with prelates in the north early in his reign with the archbishop of Bordeaux. However unlike in Normandy, and to a lesser degree Greater Anjou, Henry struggled to nominate an archbishop of his choice early in his reign. The long entrenched ecclesiastical dynasties present in Bordeaux, much like the Beaumont successions at Evreux, made nominations difficult for the king.

In 1158 following the death of Archbishop Geoffrey de Lauroux (1136 – 1158) Henry II attempted to get a nominee elected into the archbishopric of Bordeaux.⁶⁶³ He tried to convince the canons of Bordeaux to elect John d'Asside, a scholar from Poitiers, by being in the canons' presence during the election. However, the canons refused to deliberate in his presence and according to some sources Hugues de la Rochefoucauld, bishop of Angoulême (1148 – 1159), told the king to leave. After his departure they elected and translated Raymond de Mareuil, bishop of Périgueux, to the archbishopric.⁶⁶⁴ Having been rejected at Bordeaux the king's nominee, John d'Asside, was elected to

⁶⁵⁸ Warren, *Henry II*, 102.

⁶⁵⁹ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154 – 1224*, 197.

⁶⁶⁰ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ii, no. 298.

⁶⁶¹ Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154 – 1224*, 206.

⁶⁶² Ibid, 206; C. Higounet, 'Problèmes du Midi au temps de Philippe Auguste', *Colloque international du C.N.R.S.* 602 (1919), pp. 311 – 321, at 319.

⁶⁶³ Torigny, 'Chronica Roberti de Torigneio', iv, 234; Warren, *Henry II*, 103.

⁶⁶⁴ *Historia Pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, 44 – 45; P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les Elections épiscopales dans l'église de France du IX au XII siècle* (Paris, 1890), 464 n. 1; Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou 778 – 1204*, ii, 126 – 127.

replace Raymond at Périgueux.⁶⁶⁵ While there is no remaining evidence of royal influence in the election at Périgueux, it still demonstrates Henry's influence in the suffragan diocese. He either influenced the canons to choose his nomination, or the canons saw the king as a rebuffed authority figure after the denial of his nomination at Bordeaux and sought to correct the issue. Jacques Boussard speculated that Raymond discussed the subject with the canons at Périgueux with the intention of avoiding the temper of Henry II after his nomination failed at Bordeaux.⁶⁶⁶ Raymond de Mareuil's tenure was short (1158 – 1160), lasting only two years before his death.⁶⁶⁷

Following his death, the canons elected Hardouin (1160 – 1162), a dean of the cathedral of Le Mans, an outsider to the ecclesiastical and secular dynastic families generally elected as prelates within Aquitaine.⁶⁶⁸ This suggests that either the king's influence had grown within Bordeaux or that his collection of territories allowed the families of Poitou to retake some control of Aquitaine. Jacques Boussard claims this appointment, along with the appointments of Jean d'Asside at Périgueux and John of Bellême at Poitiers were all an attempt to get "his" men appointed into powerful ecclesiastical positions.⁶⁶⁹ However, according to Ralph Turner, Hardouin and Henry II did not have any close or significant ties before the election.⁶⁷⁰ Boussard must be correct here. Turner focuses too much on the lack of evidence. The surrounding context of the election of John d'Asside in Périgueux and the election of an outsider after the canons and suffragan bishops adamantly opposed Henry II at Raymond's election must be considered. The only other option to consider is the canons selected Hardouin because of his lack of connections to Henry II, but if that is what they sought, then they did not need to look as far as Le Mans to find such a candidate. Hardouin passed away less than two years later in 1162.

Hardouin's successor, Bertrand de Montault (1163 – 1170), held the bishopric of Lectoure from 1162 – 1163, a suffragan see of Toulouse, and for whom we can arrive at some level of judgement.⁶⁷¹ Bertrand held the archbishopric until his death in 1170.⁶⁷² In August of 1169 he attended the negotiations at Bayeux between the nuncios and the king to

⁶⁶⁵ *GC*, ii, col. 1005; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 228.

⁶⁶⁶ Boussard, 'Trois actes d'Henri II Plantagenêt relatifs à ses possessions françaises', 56 – 57.

⁶⁶⁷ *GC*, ii, cols. 815 – 816.

⁶⁶⁸ *GC*, ii, col. 816.

⁶⁶⁹ Boussard, *Le Gouvernement D'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 434, n. 6.

⁶⁷⁰ Turner, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of France, Queen of England*, 179.

⁶⁷¹ *GC*, ii, cols. 816 – 818; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 226.

⁶⁷² Guillemain, *Le diocèse de Bordeaux*, 272; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 226.

end the tensions between Henry II and Thomas Becket.⁶⁷³ Following the meeting between the king and the nuncios the king left his prelates, including Bertrand, to finish the negotiations on his behalf.⁶⁷⁴ The king leaving this group of prelates to negotiate suggests he believed Bertrand would argue on his behalf. All the prelates who negotiated for the king accepted Henry's authority and supported an agreement in his favour.

Early in 1170 Bertrand received a letter from Pope Alexander III regarding the enforcement of any interdicts put in place by Thomas Becket.⁶⁷⁵ He previously received a letter sometime in 1166 or earlier along with the archbishops of Bourges, Rouen, Tours, and York to support and enforce any punishments put into place by Becket within their dioceses.⁶⁷⁶ These two letters show that the papacy also saw Bertrand as a prelate who supported Henry. The first letter sent to several prelates both within Henry's territories and outside of it makes it seem like a generic order, but the need for a second letter from the papacy means Bertrand needed reminding of his duty to the Church, and not the secular ruler.

In 1172 Bertrand, along with John, bishop of Poitiers, a close ally of Henry II, presented Richard with the insignia of the Poitevin counts, a lance and standard, while sitting on the abbot's throne at the church of Saint-Hilary in Poitiers.⁶⁷⁷ Towards June or July, John of Salisbury referenced Bertrand within a letter to Becket expressing his hopes that if Thomas put interdicts on the lands in Gascony, it would weaken the king's supporters. The letter does not mention Bertrand as a supporter of the king, but given John's hopes, in conjunction with Bertrand's role at Bayeux, he considered Bertrand as a supporter of the king.⁶⁷⁸

Bertrand travelled with Princess Eleanor, daughter of Henry II, to Castile for her marriage to Alfonso VIII in 1170.⁶⁷⁹ Perhaps the strongest evidence of Bertrand's feelings towards Henry II comes from a letter the bourgeois of Toulouse wrote to Louis VII in 1164 which described how Bertrand attacked them, "Indeed, the Archbishop of Bordeaux fighting not for Christ but for the King of England, rode up to the gates of Toulouse, a

⁶⁷³ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ii, no. 232 n. 4.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid*, ii, no. 232 n. 4.

⁶⁷⁵ Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 134.

⁶⁷⁶ *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Later Letters*, 150 – 151.

⁶⁷⁷ Vigeois, 'Chronica', i, 1, ch. 67.

⁶⁷⁸ *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Later Letters*, 708 – 709.

⁶⁷⁹ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, no. 298, n. 4.

stone's throw away, and he laid waste to the territory of Toulouse."⁶⁸⁰ The narrative given within the letter implies the archbishop led or was part of an army that attacked Toulouse. Through the remaining evidence, Bertrand is the only archbishop of Bordeaux who took part in a campaign on behalf of the king. All of this depicts an increase in the recognition of the king's authority by the archbishop and the two-way nature of their relationship. Unlike in Normandy, there are no surviving charters issued to archbishop Bertrand from Henry II, to the cathedral during his tenure, nor any charters which he witnessed.

After the death of Bertrand in 1173 the king got his nomination elected. Perhaps one of the biggest signs of his increased authority. Another possible conclusion for the vacancy is that there was simply an absence of a suitable candidate coupled with a fear of a Becket type crisis, as this vacancy coincided with the difficult period between Becket's death and the agreement of Avranches. After a three-year vacancy, in May 1173 the canons elected William the Abbot of Reading, also known as William the Templar, (1173 – 1187) who travelled to Aquitaine quickly to restore the peace in the south against the king's sons as they began to rebel.⁶⁸¹

William was a committed supporter of Henry. As abbot he wrote a letter in support of Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, during the Becket crisis.⁶⁸² Henry's sons recognised this and took him captive during the rebellion of 1173 - 1174. In 1176 he travelled with Princess Joan to Sicily for her marriage to King William, indicating the trust placed in him and his wishes to represent the king.⁶⁸³ In November 1177 he travelled with the king to Grandmont and in 1180 attended Michaelmas at Le Mans where the king enacted a statute of arms for his transmarine dominions.⁶⁸⁴ Two papal mandates to archbishop William suggest the papacy selected him to settle two separate court cases, the first a dispute between the abbey of Saint-Croix in Bordeaux and Amauguin de Blanquefort, the second between the abbey of Montierneuf of Poitiers and the sons of Fulk of Bansas.⁶⁸⁵ The trials demonstrate papal authority over archiepiscopal judges within the diocese, during the time

⁶⁸⁰ 'Epistolarum regis Ludovici VII et variorum ad eum volumen', *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. L. Delisle et al (24 vols., Paris, 1869 – 1904), xvi, pp. 1 – 170, at 109, n. 337. *Burdegalensis siquidem archiepiscopus, non militans Christo, sed Regi Angliae, equitavit p[a]ene usque ad portas Tolosae, quantum est jactus lapidis, et Tolosanum territorium populatus est.*

⁶⁸¹ *GC*, ii, cols. 818 – 819; Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou 778 - 1204*, ii, 166.

⁶⁸² *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ii, no. 207, n. 20.

⁶⁸³ Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 204 n. 4.

⁶⁸⁴ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 269.

⁶⁸⁵ 'Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Croix de Bordeaux', *Archives Historiques du département de la Gironde* 27, ed. J. Lépicié (Bordeaux, 1892), pp. 1 – 172, at n. 46; Boussard, *Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 299, n. 3.

which the archbishop strongly supported Henry II. The archbishop then had to handle a three-way relationship in this specific instance. He had to meet the expectations of the papacy which charged him to settle the disputes, but he also had to ensure the settlements appeased the monarch.

In 1188 the chapter elected Elias de Malemort (1188 – 1207) to the archbishopric, likely with royal involvement since he spent his first years in office fighting allegations of simony made against him by his chapter.⁶⁸⁶ In conclusion, Henry II's first attempt to influence an election at Bordeaux failed, but thereafter he could clearly influence appointments and for much of his reign the archbishops were committed supporters of his authority. We can see here why he would then, seek to extend Bordeaux's boundaries into the archdiocese of Tours, where he certainly could not rely on the archbishop. Bertrand and William both seem to have been stalwart in their support of the regime within Aquitaine too. While Aquitaine stands apart from Normandy, the most comparable relationship is that which Henry had with Rotrou of Rouen.

Archbishopric of Auch

Lewis Warren argued that the archbishopric of Auch was too remote to be of any value to Henry II, indeed he argued it impossible to control in 1152, in part because the counts of Armagnac controlled the archbishopric's lands.⁶⁸⁷ Auch had ten suffragans: Aire, Bayonne, Bazas, Comminges, Consrans, Dax, Lectoure, Lescar, Oloron, and Tarbes.⁶⁸⁸ Nominees for the archbishopric generally came from local secular and ecclesiastical dynasties and ducal influence remained limited, if present at all.⁶⁸⁹ Henry II's relationships with the archbishops of Auch seems especially limited. The extant cartulary of the cathedral contains few documents from the dukes of Aquitaine, one from 1118, then nothing until a mention of Henry II in 1178, and Richard I referenced in a charter of 1181.⁶⁹⁰ Within Henry II's limited extant charter corpus he issued none to any of the archbishops of Auch or the chapter.

⁶⁸⁶ *GC*, ii, cols. 819 – 820; Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ii, 114.

⁶⁸⁷ Warren, *Henry II*, 427; C. Taylor, 'Dualist Heresy in Aquitaine and the Agenais, c. 1000 – c. 1249', unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Nottingham, 1999), 128.

⁶⁸⁸ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ii, no. 298, n. 5.

⁶⁸⁹ Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 226.

⁶⁹⁰ *Cartulaires du Chapitre de l'église Métropolitaine Saint-Marie d'Auch*, ed. C. Lacave la Plagne-Barris (Paris/Auch, 1899), no. 91.

William d'Andozille's (1126 – 1170) tenure covered nearly the entire absence of charters issued by the dukes of Aquitaine.⁶⁹¹ John of Salisbury in a letter to Becket in 1170 lists him, nevertheless, alongside the archbishops of Bourges and Bordeaux. This must imply that the archbishop of Auch's allegiance, however passive, in the Becket affair was to Henry II. William's reign seems to support Warren's opinion concerning Auch though: he stayed active in his diocese and he does not appear to have had much interaction with anyone who was not local.⁶⁹²

Gerald de Labarthe (1173 – 1192), who is not well known, succeeded William following a three-year vacancy.⁶⁹³ According to the chronicle of Auch, he spent most of his career focusing on local matters concerning Auch and the surrounding area. He became a canon and archdeacon at Auch before his election as bishop of Toulouse in 1163, and subsequent translation back to Auch in 1170.⁶⁹⁴ He purchased land in 1174 in Lamagnere and d'Arcaignac expanding the church's land holdings.⁶⁹⁵ His sister, Condorine, the prioress of Notre-Dame de Broüilh which followed the order of Fontevraud, an order closely linked to Henry II and his wife.⁶⁹⁶ In 1177, he travelled to Rome to receive the pallium from Alexander III, but while away Bernard IV, Count of Armagnac, whose family previously held the property of the archbishopric, invaded the diocese and destroyed the archbishop's properties holding the church for two years until they came to terms and made peace.⁶⁹⁷ At the end of his career Gerald appears to have formed a closer bond with the ruling family as he joined the Third Crusade with King Richard as a commander of the fleet along with the bishop of Bayonne, Bernard (1185 – 1204).⁶⁹⁸

Archbishopric of Bourges

Throughout Henry's reign the area surrounding Bourges, which both the Plantagenets and the Capetians claimed, remained constantly contested and fought over by both local barons and the two kings. Henry II claimed the archbishopric and its see belonged to the duchy of

⁶⁹¹ *GC*, i, cols. 985 – 987; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 226.

⁶⁹² *Chroniques Ecclesiastiques du Diocèse d'Auch: Suivies de Celles des Comtes du même diocese*, ed. L. de Bruges (Toulouse, 1746), 110 – 111.

⁶⁹³ *GC*, i, cols. 987 – 989.

⁶⁹⁴ *Chroniques Ecclesiastiques du Diocèse d'Auch*, 112 – 114.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 199, 256, 264, 279, 350.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 441.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 112 – 114; Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France*, 153.

⁶⁹⁸ *Itinerary of Richard I*, ed. L. Landon (London, 1935), 25, 42-4, 49, 51; *Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. J.T. Appleby (Edinburgh, 1963), 22; Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ii, 115 – 116; Walker, 'Crown and Episcopacy', 226.

Aquitaine by ancient tradition in 1170, after the death of archbishop Peter who supported his claim. Henry tried to visit the diocesan temporalities in Berry and then go to Bourges, but Louis VII stopped him by blocking the road with an army.⁶⁹⁹ Bourges had seven suffragan bishoprics: Albi, Cahors, Clermont, Le Puy, Mende, Rodez, and Limoges.⁷⁰⁰ Only Limoges fell within the duchy of Aquitaine. In 1177, Henry II, following the rebellion of his sons, wife, and Louis VII, renewed his influence and authority in Bourges. After his purchase of the county La Marche, the king again claimed Bourges as his own stating the dowry for Princess Alice, the French king's daughter betrothed to Richard, included the city.⁷⁰¹ However, the claim did not last long, and Pope Alexander III supported the French king's authority over Bourges and threatened an interdict on Henry II's lands. By the turn of the century Bourges remained under Capetian control as Philip Augustus collected subsidies from the region.⁷⁰²

Peter de la Châtre held the archbishopric of Bourges for the first half of Henry II's reign from 1141/6 to 1171.⁷⁰³ John of Poitiers described Peter as more receptive and reasonable than his counterparts in Bordeaux or Auch in a letter of 1167.⁷⁰⁴ A letter sent in September of 1170 to Thomas Becket from Cardinal Bishop Hubald of Ostia, confirmed Peter's support and made it clear the collective supporters instructed Archbishop Peter of Bourges to send Thomas seven silver marks and forty-five Morabetins.⁷⁰⁵ Peter also had close ties to Louis VII despite the fact that the French king had tried to stop his election to the archbishopric. Peter also had close connections with the papacy, and one of his archdeacons would later become Pope Urban III.⁷⁰⁶

Stephen de la Chapelle (1171 – 1174), Peter's Successor, translated from the bishopric of Meaux, a diocese under French control.⁷⁰⁷ Stephen, while still the bishop of Meaux, supported Becket and was noted by John of Salisbury as prepared to argue in

⁶⁹⁹ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 10 -11; Howden, *Chronica Rogeri de Houedene*, ii, 13 – 14; Warren, *Henry II*, 112.

⁷⁰⁰ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ii, no. 298, n. 5.

⁷⁰¹ Hallam, *Capetian France, 987 – 1328*, 126, 194.

⁷⁰² *Ibid*, 163 - 164.

⁷⁰³ *GC*, ii, cols. 50 - 54.

⁷⁰⁴ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, i, no. 121; *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Later Letters*, 708 – 709.

⁷⁰⁵ Morabetins are a Muslim-Spanish gold piece.

⁷⁰⁶ *GC*, ii, col. 1720; S. Teubner-Schoebel, *Bernhard von Clairvaux als Vermittler an der Kurie* (Bouvier, 1993), 198 – 201; Hallam, *Capetian France, 987 – 1328*, 122, 194. Originally Louis VII wanted to place his chancellor, Cadurc, as archbishop of Bourges, but the canons ignored his request and elected Pierre de la Châtre.

⁷⁰⁷ *GC*, ii, cols. 54 – 55; *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Later Letters*, 654 – 655.

support of Becket's excommunications against Ralph, the archdeacon of Llandaff, in Rome.⁷⁰⁸ Within the Archbishopric of Bourges, Henry II certainly had no allies. All of the evidence points to the archbishops turning to the French king and supporting Becket against Henry II. He also had little to no authority. This lack of authority made it difficult for him to influence the archbishopric's suffragan bishoprics. Stephen's successor Guérin, elected to the archbishopric in 1174, played an important role at the council of bishops called by the king of France in Bourges in either 1174 or 1175 where the king and bishops heard of the miracles of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, leading the council to discuss the many benefits and divine qualities of the new saint.⁷⁰⁹ Guérin, like his predecessors, seems to have accepted the authority of the French king and not Henry.

Bishoprics

Bishopric of Angoulême

Limited evidence remains for several of the bishoprics in Aquitaine. For instance, in the disputed county of Berry no evidence exists for the bishopric of Comminges' interaction with the duke. One of the monastic houses in the diocese of Comminges, Bonnefont, received multiple charters, depending on the political climate, from the Count of Comminges or the Count of Toulouse; but there is a clear absence of *acta* from the Duke of Aquitaine within its cartulary.⁷¹⁰ For Bigorre, the pattern remains.⁷¹¹

Henry had limited authority in Angoulême. It was the bishop of Angoulême, Hugues de la Rochefoucauld, who informed the king he was unwelcome at the election of the archbishop of Bordeaux in 1158.⁷¹² According to the account given by Bernard Itier, he was the only suffragan bishop to do so. The suffragan dioceses Agen, Périgueux, Saintes, and Poitiers all were willing to accept Henry's nomination. This then demonstrates how some dioceses accepted Henry's authority but others rejected it and how this imbalance of acceptance could affect his ability to nominate reliable prelates to the archdiocese. The lords of Angoulême fought against King Richard I in the campaigns leading to his death in 1199, and the count, Adhemar, seized the chance to be more closely associated with the

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid, 654 – 655.

⁷⁰⁹ *GC*, ii, cols. 55 – 56; *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Later Letters*, 794 – 795.

⁷¹⁰ *Recueil des Actes de l'Abbaye de Bonnefont en Comminges*, ed. C. Samarin and C. Higounet (Paris, 1970).

⁷¹¹ *Le Cartulaire de Bigorre (XIe – XIIIe Siècle)*, ed. X. Ravier and B. Cursente (Paris, 2005).

⁷¹² *Historia Pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, 44 – 45.

king when just a year later he forced his daughter to divorce her husband, Hugh the Brown, and marry King John.⁷¹³ The bishops of Angoulême were the overlords of several barons.⁷¹⁴ Angoulême sat in the centre of the duchy surrounded by ducal landholdings, thus always a potential target for ducal attempts at developing their rule, which then sparked rebellions by the counts.⁷¹⁵

On the death of Bishop Hugh de la Rochefoucauld (1148 – 1159), the canons elected Peter of Laumont (1159 – 1182).⁷¹⁶ He attended a council Argentan in 1167 along with other bishops, abbots, and a few cardinals who failed to negotiate a peaceful end to the Becket dispute. He kept company at this meeting with supporters of the king such as the bishops of Salisbury, Bayeux, London, and Chichester.⁷¹⁷ Care must be taken in stating he supported the king. At a meeting described by John of Salisbury between Henry II and Becket in 1168 John notes the men of Angoulême along with Poitou, the count of La Marche, and the vicomte of Thouars demanded reparations for damages done during a truce between them and the king during the rebellion in Aquitaine at this time, although the bishop is not mentioned in the letter.⁷¹⁸ Therefore, it is likely the bishop supported the king in 1167 and kept himself removed from the rebellion, showing that at this time Henry's authority was absolute in the eyes of the bishop. In 1170 and 1180 Peter, along with the bishop of Périgueux, judged a case between the abbots of La Couronne and the lord of Archiac.⁷¹⁹ This case suggests the bishops continued to hear cases, which meant Henry needed reliable prelates in office to recreate the support he had in his northern domains.

It is possible to suggest a similar relationship with the king for John II, elected in 1182. John was a local abbot.⁷²⁰ He heard the final case between the abbots of La Couronne and the lord of Archiac in 1184.⁷²¹ Information surrounding John II is limited when looking for any connections with Henry II, as he began his tenure towards the end of

⁷¹³ *The Chronicle and Historical Notes of Bernard Itier*, ed. and trans. A. Lewis (Oxford, 2012), 173; Hallam, *Capetian France, 987- 1328*, 53.

⁷¹⁴ Boussard, *Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 124.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁷¹⁶ *GC*, ii, cols. 1005 – 6; J. Peltzer, 'Les évêques de l'Empire Plantagenêt et les Rois Angevins', *Plantagenêts et Capétiens: Confrontations et Héritages*, ed. M. Aurell and N.-Y. Tonnerre (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 461 – 484, at 470.

⁷¹⁷ *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, i, no. 149.

⁷¹⁸ *The Letters of John of Salisbury, The Later Letters*, 602- 603.

⁷¹⁹ Boussard, *Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 288 n. 3.

⁷²⁰ *The Chronicle and Historical Notes of Bernard Itier*, 75; *GC*, ii, cols. 1006 - 1007; 'Chronique Latine de l'abbaye de la Couronne', ed. J. Castaigne, *Documents historique sur l'Angoumois publiés sous les auspices et par les soins de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente* i (Paris, 1864), pp. 1 – 170, at 30, 72 – 73. John II is the second abbot of La Couronne to become bishop, the first was Abbot Lambert in 1136.

⁷²¹ Boussard, *Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 288 n. 3.

Henry II's reign; however, his involvement in judging the case is a sign that Henry's support of ecclesiastics in governance remained.

Bishoprics of Bayonne and Dax

Bayonne, one of Auch's suffragan sees, had considerable status in southern France.⁷²² That standing was in part due to its location sitting along the road connecting the Atlantic to the commerce of the Mediterranean from La Rochelle, through Bordeaux, Bayonne, and ending at Narbonne.⁷²³ It was a large city which became prosperous by the end of the twelfth century.⁷²⁴

Little information remains about the twelfth century prelates of Bayonne. Four bishops held the see between 1154 and 1189: Fortanier (1152 – c. 1170), Pierre Bertrand d'Esplette (1170 – c. 1179), Ademar (1179 – c. 1186), and Bertrand Lacarre (1186 – c. 1213).⁷²⁵ Pierre Bertrand d'Esplette attested an act issued by Count Richard of Poitou in favour of the city of Bayonne.⁷²⁶ The charter exempted the city and its citizens from all customs due to Poitou, Aquitaine, and Gascony.⁷²⁷ Bertrand Lacarre, travelled in 1190 with King Richard and the Archbishop of Auch, Gérald, on the Third Crusade. He commanded part of the army, took part in peace negotiations, and dedicated the church of Saint-Jean of Acre.⁷²⁸ While Bertrand, elected too late to have a relationship with Henry II, established a close relationship with Richard I.

For Dax, another suffragan diocese of Auch, it is hard to obtain much information. Louis VII and the archbishop of Bordeaux, Geoffrey de Lauroux, had only brought Dax under ducal control in 1149.⁷²⁹ The viscount of Dax allied with the Count of Bigorre in an attempt to fortify the city against Richard in 1176, but the people of Dax arrested him and

⁷²² *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, ii, no. 298, n. 5.

⁷²³ Y. Renouard, 'Les Voies de Communication entre pays de la Méditerranée et pays de l'Atlantique', *Etudes d'Histoire médiévale*, ed. Y. Renouard (Paris, 1968), pp. 719 – 726.

⁷²⁴ Boussard, *Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 255; Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, 367.

⁷²⁵ *GC*, i, cols. 1312 – 1314; *Nouvelle Chronique de la Ville de Bayonne*, ed. J. Baptiste Bailac (Bayonne, 1827), 95.

⁷²⁶ *Nouvelle Chronique de la Ville de Bayonne*, 96. No date is given, the source says the act is issued by King Richard, but as the source is written in the 19th century this may be an instance where his later title is used even when he is still only Duke of Aquitaine during the 1170s, at the time Pierre was the bishop.

⁷²⁷ J. Balasque, *Etudes Historiques sur la ville de Bayonne* (Bayonne, 1862), 417 – 418.

⁷²⁸ *Nouvelle Chronique de la Ville de Bayonne*, 96; *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. O. Hagneder and A. Haidacher, Publikationen der Abteilung für historische Studien des österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom (8vols., Rome, 1968 -), i, no. 75; *Chronicle of Richard of Devises of the Time of King Richard the First*, 22.

⁷²⁹ F. Abbadie, *Histoire de la ville de Dax* (Dax, 1898), 7 – 12.

gave him to Richard upon his arrival in 1177.⁷³⁰ Two charters issued by Richard after his victory in the city are extant, and its bishop, William Bertrand (1168 – 1203), appears in the witness list and the charter explicitly excluded rebels from any grants and privileges.⁷³¹ The actions of the populace arresting the rebellious viscounts and the issuance of a charter following the rebellion indicates some level of influence by Henry II and Richard as well as suggesting the ecclesiastical leader wanted to reconcile with Henry II and his family, and supported them during the rebellion.

Cartularies and local histories give few details about the see during the reign of Henry II, but there is still enough surrounding context and information on the prelates themselves to examine how the region evolved under the reign of Henry II. The viscount of Dax joined Henry the Young King against his father and brother in Aquitaine in the rebellion of 1183. Other local participants included the viscounts of Marsen, Béarn, Lomagnac, and Armagnac.⁷³² Under the viscount's control there were twenty justiciars who tried to maintain peace in the city. This posed a problem for Henry as they did not always agree with the duke. The amount of time and resources necessary to combat the independent principality of Béarn kept the viscounts occupied and hindered the duke's ability to spread his authority further into the region.⁷³³

The dates of elections for the bishops of Dax during the reign of Henry II are not as clear as other dioceses investigated. However, the remaining evidence provides their names and allows for estimations of their years of holding office. Arnaud-William de Sort (c. 1143 – c. 1168) held the pontificate in 1154.⁷³⁴ He is noted as having attested to the foundation charters of several houses in the diocese during his tenure, and may have held a provincial council in 1165 where he, along with the archbishop of Auch and the bishop of Tarbes, dedicated an altar at the abbey of Berdoues near Auch.⁷³⁵ At some point before Eleanor divorced Louis VII, Bishop Arnaud's cathedral chapter accused him of usurping annuities, and the canons took their complaints to Louis VII.⁷³⁶ Unfortunately, it is not

⁷³⁰ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 212 – 3.

⁷³¹ F. Abbadie, *Le Livre Noir et les Etablissements de Dax* (Paris, 1902), 23; A. Degert, *Histoire des Evêques de Dax* (Dax, 1899), 105; Abbadie, *Histoire de la ville de Dax*, 14 -15.

⁷³² Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, 280 – 1.

⁷³³ Boussard, *Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 186; Hallam, *Capetian France, 987 – 1328*, 59.

⁷³⁴ *GC*, i, col. 1045.

⁷³⁵ Degert, *Histoire des Evêques de Dax*, 98 – 103.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid*, 103.

possible to find any similar cases from Henry's time to help determine whether the canons looked to Louis as duke or as king.

William Bertrand (1168 – 1203), the third son of the vicomte of Bayonne, had been a canon of the cathedral of Bayonne.⁷³⁷ William petitioned the local lords to complete his father's donation to the cathedral of Dax upon his death, but Count Peter II refused and raided the lands contested by the cathedral.⁷³⁸ Bishop William oversaw multiple important donations to the cathedral and monastic houses within his diocese.⁷³⁹ William had no evident relationship with the royal family. Peter II and the city were the centre of a revolt in 1177 but William is absent from the source material.⁷⁴⁰ The source excluded William from the narrative. Bertrand was the judging bishop investigating the case between the bishop of Bayonne and his canons in October of 1186 which took place at Dax presided over by the archbishop of Auch, Gerald de la Barthe, the abbot of Sorde, and the archdeacons of Auch, Lescar and Dax.⁷⁴¹ In summation, it appears William Bertrand was a respected prelate within the region, but his interactions with the royal family were limited, and the known interactions revolve around the rebellion of 1177, which the evidence provides no insight into his feelings over the conflict.

Bishopric of Limoges

Limoges had considerable importance during the reign of Henry II. The city hosted a council in February of 1173 where Eleanor and Henry the Young King furthered their conspiracy against the king, precipitating rebellion.⁷⁴² During the subsequent revolt of 1173 - 1174 the citizens of Limoges built a defensive wall after Saintes fell to Henry II, but before the king forbade such a construction.⁷⁴³ In 1182, leading up to the rebellion started by the lords of Angoulême, Henry the Young King visited the monks of Saint-Martial and the citizens of the city who accepted him. The abbey's importance came from its role in investing the dukes of Aquitaine, and at this time was attempting to exclude the monastery of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers in the investiture.⁷⁴⁴ With the influence of the archbishopric of

⁷³⁷ GC, i, cols. 1045 – 1046; Degert, *Histoire des Evêques de Dax*, 104.

⁷³⁸ Ibid, 104.

⁷³⁹ Ibid, 104 – 109.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid, 104 – 109.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid, 106 – 109.

⁷⁴² Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155 – 1183*, 134.

⁷⁴³ Ibid, 191.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid, 273.

Bourges as well as other significant figures, such as Henry's sons, his authority within Limoges remained precarious.

Gérald (c.1138 – 1177) occupied the bishopric of Limoges for the majority of Henry II's reign.⁷⁴⁵ He attended the consecration of the church of Grandmont by Archbishop Peter of Bourges along with Bishop Froger of Sées in September of 1166, putting him into contact with one of Henry's nominated bishops in Normandy.⁷⁴⁶ Towards the end of his life in 1177 Gérald fought with Isembert, abbot of Saint-Martial, Ademar, Vicomte of Limoges, Archambald, Vicomte of Comborn, Oliver of Turribus, and Eschivard of Chapanes against a band of mercenaries who attacked King Henry's cause in the region.⁷⁴⁷ This group of leaders led a military called the diocesan peace militia, created to fight the Brabançons.⁷⁴⁸ The evidence for Gérard is limited, but it does point to him accepting and defending Henry's authority.

Following the death of Gérald, the canons elected Sébrand Chabot (1178 – 1197) archdeacon of Thouars in the diocese of Poitiers.⁷⁴⁹ The election occurred in secret because the Chabot family were hostile towards King Henry II and the electors expected the king's displeasure.⁷⁵⁰ Upon hearing of the election Henry sent Richard as count to intercede but he arrived too late; the archbishop of Bourges already consecrated Sébrand. In response, King Henry II exiled both Sébrand and the canons.⁷⁵¹ These events demonstrate the patchy acceptance of Henry's authority at Limoges in 1178, and it also signifies the canons were aware of Henry's expectations. His authority remained limited, but he held enough to punish them. In July of 1180 the city of Limoges invited Sébrand to return; however, he again left out of fear of Henry's reaction.⁷⁵² By March of 1181, Henry II and Sébrand had reconciled.⁷⁵³ To commemorate their reconciliation Henry II, while at Grandmont, allowed Sébrand to take back his land holdings within Aquitaine and allowed him to return to

⁷⁴⁵ GC, ii, cols. 522 – 525; Peltzer, 'Les évêques de l'Empire Plantagenêt et les Rois Angevins,' 474.

⁷⁴⁶ Savile, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam praecipui*, xii, 441; Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 99.

⁷⁴⁷ *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, 189; Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 213.

⁷⁴⁸ Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the troubadours*, 283.

⁷⁴⁹ GC, ii, cols. 525 – 526; Eyton states Sébrand left the office of bishop in 1181 following reconciliation between him and Henry II. However, this is unlikely, and he probably lived for several more years. However, with their contentious relationship along with the preceding actions taken by prelates in Aquitaine already described after 1180 it is likely there is simply no evidence of his time in office in relation to Henry II.

⁷⁵⁰ 'Ex Chronico Gaufridi Vosiensis', *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et De la France*, ed. L. Delisle et al (24 vols., Paris, 1869 - 1904), xii, pp. 421 – 451, at 446.

⁷⁵¹ Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 223.

⁷⁵² *Ibid*, 233.

⁷⁵³ *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, ii, 4 – 5.

Limoges by the grace of both king and duke.⁷⁵⁴ While the evidence depicts the relationship between Sébrand and Henry negatively, Henry's authority proved strong enough to force the group into exile. However, he did not have enough authority to change the election as he did at Sées in 1157 for Froger. The only sign of the prelate accepting the king's authority is the settlement of the dispute between the two men.

Charters and monastic houses in Aquitaine

So far, this chapter examined the relationships between Henry II and the prelates and their recognition of his authority in the Church, but now the focus turns to the extant royal charter corpus for the region to understand Henry's relationships with religious institutions, his patronage, and their views on his authority. In comparison to the two previously examined regions, Aquitaine has significantly fewer extant charters issued by Henry II. While no single reason nor even widely accepted explanation for this lack of documentation exists, conclusions have been drawn. Nicholas Vincent postulated that because of the small ducal demesne the king saw no need to dedicate chancery work to the territory, and left the governance of the duchy to first his wife, Eleanor, and then his son Richard.⁷⁵⁵ Alternatively, the institutions within Aquitaine did not seek out charters from Henry II, given that the issuance of charters is driven by the beneficiaries.⁷⁵⁶ Further, the quality of record keeping and lack of relevance of Angevin records after King John's reign are also possible reasons why beneficiaries within Aquitaine retained so few charters issued by Henry II. Despite this lack of evidence, enough material does survive to try and interpret ways in which Henry II used the royal chancery to express and promote his authority and piety within Aquitaine.

An analysis of the charter corpus of Henry II in Aquitaine reveals patterns in how he expressed his authority and how the establishments recognized that authority. To accomplish this, this section examines the houses which received charters and those which received no charters, or inversely, which houses requested charters and those which abstained. Further, to identify the king's patronage this section provides an analysis of the rights granted or confirmed within the charters. Due to the limited charter corpus instead of

⁷⁵⁴ Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II*, 239.

⁷⁵⁵ N. Vincent, 'King Henry and the Poitevins', *La Cour Plantagenêt (1154 – 1204): Actes du Colloque Tenu à Thouars du 30 Avril au 2 Mai 1999*, ed. M. Aurell (Poitiers, 1999), pp. 103 – 135, at 117 – 119.

⁷⁵⁶ J.C. Holt, 'The End of the Anglo-Norman Realm', *Magna Carta and Medieval Government*, ed. J.C. Holt (London, 1985), pp. 23 – 65, at 30 – 31; see methodologies, p. 15.

investigating the charters by diocese or smaller geographical regions, they will be organised by the recipients.

Before examining Henry's charters, it is necessary to examine the diplomatic landscape which he inherited. From the period of Eleanor of Aquitaine's marriage to Louis VII, twenty-nine charters are extant from the French royal chancery to beneficiaries within Aquitaine. Louis VII mentioned Eleanor or jointly confirmed rights with her in seventeen of them.⁷⁵⁷ As noted previously, Eleanor continued to grant charters to beneficiaries within the region following her marriage to Henry II. She issued ten charters between 1152 and 1156, of which Henry II only confirmed three. The remaining eighteen charters issued by Eleanor during her marriage to Henry II were issued between 1168 and 1169 and leading up to 1173. This means it is possible that during this time Eleanor tried to re-assert her authority in Aquitaine before Richard became count of Poitou, especially since only seventeen charters remain from Henry II for all of Aquitaine.

Important houses aided in advancing the economic and political position of Aquitaine during the twelfth century. By the end of the twelfth century two major monastic houses existed in the diocese of Bordeaux, Saint-Croix and La Suave. Saint-Croix became important by the mid twelfth century, owning multiple mills and surrounded by a large suburban area along with possessing lands in Medoc and churches as far away as the dioceses of Baza and Agen.⁷⁵⁸ In the diocese of Limoges, Henry II focused much of his attention on Grandmont early in his tenure as king. Henry II, as previously noted, had a deep relationship with the establishment and wished to be buried there after his death.⁷⁵⁹ The abbey of Saint-Martial, also located within the diocese of Limoges, filled an important role in Aquitaine as the site for investing of the rights and power for the duchy of Aquitaine. Additionally, some of the monasteries and their leaders within Aquitaine such as the abbots of Saint-Sever, and the priors of Reole created new towns, such as Casteljaloux, Marmande, Mugron and Mont-de-Marsan, near their churches and had the necessary rights to help facilitate these new towns' growth. However, other towns like Mimizan Bougoue, and Sauve-Majeure became suburbs of their larger, neighbouring cities, like Bayonne, through charters creating large urban areas of both trade and

⁷⁵⁷ Hivergneux, 'Queen Eleanor and Aquitaine, 1137 – 1189', 59. Of the twelve charters issued to Aquitaine by the chancery of Louis VII in which Eleanor is not a participant, eight of them focus on settling legal disputes, thus she is removed from that aspect of rule in Aquitaine.

⁷⁵⁸ B. Guillemain, *Le diocese de Bordeaux*, Histoire des dioceses de France 2 (Paris, 1974), 74.

⁷⁵⁹ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 7.

religion.⁷⁶⁰ Given the constant struggle between the secular leaders of Aquitaine, it appears monastic houses played a large role in the advancement of the region in both the political and ecclesiastical spheres.

In total there are eighteen extant royal charters issued by Henry II to beneficiaries within Aquitaine, around the same number as Louis VII, including the charters of Grandmont which are all significantly edited since the twelfth century. It is important to note that while the charter corpus is small, this is not due to a lack of religious houses and establishments such as hospitals or cathedral churches. Plenty of religious institutions existed, but not all turned to Henry II as a source of authority. A brief look at the abbey of Saint-Croix in Bordeaux can demonstrate how the monastic houses which have no charters issued by Henry II may have acted towards Henry II.

Saint-Croix, one of the larger and more influential religious houses in Bordeaux, received no royal charters which remain. What makes this omission in the cartulary notable is that unlike some of the other houses in Aquitaine, Saint-Croix received charters from important figures beyond the region. Louis VII issued a charter as duke donating land in 1147. In 1165 the abbey received confirmation of their rights and possessions from Pope Alexander III.⁷⁶¹ There is one instance of expression of authority by Henry II at Saint-Croix. In March 1165 Alexander III sent two letters, one to Henry II and one to the archbishop of Bordeaux demanding that both act against the abbey of Saint-Marcarius, which had been rebelling against the authority of Saint-Croix. Alexander gave the king and bishop fifteen days to settle the dispute before he began to excommunicate the rebels.⁷⁶² Later in December 1165 Alexander III confirmed Saint-Croix's rights over the church of Saint-Macaire.⁷⁶³ In 1166 the abbey received permission from the pope to share the ownership of the church of Soulac with the archbishop of Bordeaux, but a few short years later in 1168/9 Pope Alexander issued a charter noting Saint-Croix's full ownership over the church of Soulac.⁷⁶⁴ During this time the abbey received multiple donations of land from local lords.⁷⁶⁵ The Plantagenets remain absent until 1174 when Richard made a donation to the abbey as the duke of Aquitaine, and 1182 when he issued a single charter

⁷⁶⁰ Boussard, *Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 186 – 7.

⁷⁶¹ 'Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Croix de Bordeaux', 25 – 6.

⁷⁶² A. Chaulic, *Histoire de l'abbaye Sainte-Croix de Bordeaux* (Paris, 1910), 102.

⁷⁶³ 'Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Croix de Bordeaux', 78.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 17, 76.

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 117, 149, 150.

confirming the abbey's the rights, privileges, and possessions.⁷⁶⁶ Perhaps this formed a part of Richard's attempts to strengthen his ties with Bordeaux more generally. Archbishop William of Bordeaux confirmed the abbey's rights and privileges in 1183, just a year before the abbey received confirmation of their rights and privileges from Pope Lucius III.⁷⁶⁷ Eleanor made donations to the abbey, but not until 1199, well after her husband's death.⁷⁶⁸ Her charters demonstrate that the house was not against royal authority, but perhaps just Henry's authority.

Just south of Périgueux the abbey of Cadouin, which in 1115 received land and gifts from the abbey of Fontevraud and assistance from Robert d'Arbissel with its foundation, appears to have had no link or interaction with Henry II.⁷⁶⁹ The institution's link to Fontevraud, as well as its close relationship with the bishop of Périgueux, is potentially important because Henry II had significant ties to Fontevraud throughout his reign, and potentially he had influence in the elections at Périgueux as early as 1158.⁷⁷⁰ There is one reference in the entire cartulary to Henry II which appears in a charter confirming a donation by Adémar de Beynac issued in 1189. He appears here as a part of the dating clause and referenced after Pope Clement, King Phillip of France, and Richard I.⁷⁷¹ This same style of referencing appears again in the cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Amant-de-Boixe, also in Aquitaine.⁷⁷² These two demonstrate a pattern within the cartularies in Aquitaine, listing people of authority in the dating clauses, in what appears to be a specific order of authority from the perspective of the house.

In the diocese of Bordeaux, multiple abbeys received no charters from the royal chancery including Saint-Etienne-de-Baigne in Saintonge which did obtain charters issued by the counts of Angoulême, the bishop of Saintes, and Hardouin the archbishop of Bordeaux.⁷⁷³ Saint-Etienne-de-Vaux under the order of Saint-Benoît, in the diocese of Angoulême, received a charter from the bishop of Saintes as well.⁷⁷⁴ The church in

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid, 6, 58.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid, 72, 76.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid, 7.

⁷⁶⁹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cadouin*, ed. J. Maubourgnet (Cahors, 1926), 3 – 8.

⁷⁷⁰ For potential influence in Périgueux see the election of the archbishop of Bordeaux in 1158 earlier in the chapter, pages 127 – 128.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid, 73.

⁷⁷² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amant-de-Boixe*, ed. A. Debord (Poitiers, 1982), 249, 282, 283.

⁷⁷³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Etienne de Baigne en Saintonge*, ed. P. Cholet (Niort, 1868), nos. 73, 508, 529, 530.

⁷⁷⁴ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Etienne de Vaux l'ordre de Saint-Benoît*, ed. T. Grasilier (Niort, 1871), no. 71.

Angoulême received no charters issued by the dukes, nor did the church and college of Saint-Seurin, but both received papal bulls and gifts of land from local aristocracy.⁷⁷⁵ Absent in all of these as well are any charters issued by Louis VII or Philip, meaning that while the institutions did not seek out the authority of Henry II, they did not seek the authority of the Capetian kings either. Near Limoges the abbey of Beaulieu has no charters issued by Henry II, but there is a charter issued in 1190 which settled a dispute referencing King Phillip of France as the source of royal authority.⁷⁷⁶ A cartulary including documents issued between 954 and 1167 survived from Vigeois, an abbey near Limoges, in which Henry II is never mentioned nor are there any charters from his chancery. However, the charters referenced the kings of France frequently, demonstrating the French kings' authority persisted in Aquitaine.⁷⁷⁷ Tulle and Roc-Amadour, also near Limoges, and the diocese of Bourges have no surviving charters issued by Henry II.⁷⁷⁸

In the southern archdiocese of Auch similar patterns exist. The abbey of Berdoues has no charters issued by Henry II, but there is evidence of interaction between Gerard de la Bothe, archbishop of Auch, and the abbey in 1170 concerning the Iberian regions to the south.⁷⁷⁹ Another religious house within Auch which received no royal charters from Henry II or even reference the king within any of their extant charters was Gimont Abbey founded in 1142.⁷⁸⁰ Instead the abbey's charter corpus seems to focus on donations by local leaders and disputes. Within the cartulary of the church in Auch there are again no charters issued by Henry II, although there is a brief reference to him in 1178, and of his son being in the region in 1181; the reference occurs in the dating clause denoting they are viewed as an authority figure.⁷⁸¹ The king's absence is also notable in the cartulary for Saint-Savin of Lavedan, located in the archdiocese of Auch, but the cartulary only extends to 1175 and therefore does not cover the entire reign of Henry II.⁷⁸² Just south of Dax lies a large monastery, Saint-Jean-de-Sorde, located on the Gave d'Oloron river. During the reign of Henry II the monastery obtained multiple charters concerning the expansion of its lands and hospital, but none mentions Henry II as a source of authority.⁷⁸³ Given the

⁷⁷⁵ *Cartulaire de l'église D'Angoulême*, ed. J. Nanglard (Angoulême, 1900); *Cartulaire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, ed. J.-A. Brutails (Bordeaux, 1897), 99, 115, 116.

⁷⁷⁶ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu en Limousin*, ed. M. Deloche (Paris, 1859), 272.

⁷⁷⁷ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Vigeois en Limousin, 954 – 1167*, ed. M. de Montégut (Limoges, 1907).

⁷⁷⁸ *Cartulaires des abbayes de Tulle et de Roc-Amadour*, ed. J. Baptiste Champéval, (Brive, 1903).

⁷⁷⁹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Berdoues*, ed. J. Cazauran (La Haye, 1905), 98.

⁷⁸⁰ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Gimont*, ed. A. Clergeac (Paris/Auch, 1905), 1.

⁷⁸¹ *Cartulaires du chapitre de l'église métropolitaine Sainte-Marie d'Auch*, ed. C. La Cave La Plagne-Barris (Auch, 1899).

⁷⁸² *Cartulaire des Bénédictines se Saint-Savin de Lavedan*, ed. C. Durier (Tarbes, 1800).

⁷⁸³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Jean-de-Sorde*, ed. J. Robert Martin (Biarritz, 1999), 177, 192.

absence of royal charters issued to religious houses within the region, it is important to determine the houses the king did grant charters to, and to try and understand what motivated Henry to issue charter to these houses. Well known religious houses in the region received the remaining eighteen extant royal *acta* from the chancery of Henry II. An examination of each house allows for the determination of how Henry II tried to gain influence and maintain authority, if he did at all.

Grandmont

Grandmont, located in the diocese of Limoges, was the centre of a network of roughly 163 cells around Europe.⁷⁸⁴ Henry II was a committed patron of Grandmont itself and the order more widely. Seriously ill in 1170, he expressed his wishes to be buried at the abbey.⁷⁸⁵ Roger of Howden, found the monastery inadequate as a royal resting place.⁷⁸⁶ The king also visited the abbey and took counsel there, especially during the Becket conflict.⁷⁸⁷ In his will, written in 1182, he left the monastery and all its dependents £3,000.⁷⁸⁸ Henry's patronage here was more significant than almost anywhere else, but, in this case, not in any way politicised: here he made no expressions of power, only for his personal preference in devotion.

Knowing the king's generosity to the religious house and his favour towards them throughout his reign only makes the charter corpus from the king's chancery more difficult to decipher. During the twelfth century, the order strictly prohibited written legal documents to avoid becoming involved in litigation or politics.⁷⁸⁹ This practice ended during the papacy of Innocent IV; therefore, only reworked royal charters issued by Henry II exist. Therefore, all of the charters which remain from the reign of Henry II are reworks, or charters which have later been created to mimic the original. Reworks share some difficulties when examining the documents as forged charters. However, they also denote the importance of having charters issued by Henry II expressing his authority over the establishment and region.⁷⁹⁰ According to Elizabeth Hallam, if a person investigates the

⁷⁸⁴ Hallam, 'Henry II, and Richard I and the order of Grandmont', 166 – 167.

⁷⁸⁵ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, 7; Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, iv, 158; Hallam, 'Henry II, and Richard I and the order of Grandmont', 168 – 169.

⁷⁸⁶ Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, i, 7

⁷⁸⁷ Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, ii, 436.

⁷⁸⁸ Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, viii, 192; Hallam, 'Henry II, and Richard I and the order of Grandmont', 169.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 167, 174.

⁷⁹⁰ See forgeries in the introduction, 15 – 8.

trends, and notes the motives of the forgers, then some evidence remains useful. Hallam suggests that the most common portion of these charters to be spurious are the rights and privileges given to the house, often expressed in passages which diverge from typical formulaic charter expressions from the twelfth century.⁷⁹¹ Hallam's conclusion is that the estimated dates, location of issue, and at least the type of charter, if not the actual contents of the charter, for the most part remain viable. It is still possible to investigate the six remaining charters which the order claimed Henry II issued during his reign.

Seven Henry II charters are extant for Grandmont. One, a letter dated early 1161 and sent to Peter Bernard the prior by the king to congratulate him on his election, has been considered by Nicholas Vincent to be completely spurious.⁷⁹² It is likely Henry issued the six charters between 1161 and 1189. Looking at the location of issue shows some interesting patterns. One was issued at Le Mans, one at Argentan, two at Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, one at Angers, and one at Chinon.⁷⁹³ These locations support the evidence of other religious houses within Henry's continental territories, primarily, the beneficiaries waited until the king was at least on the same side of the channel before travelling to court to obtain the charter. The one difference which makes Grandmont atypical from the other large and important houses within Henry's territory is the lack of charters issued by the king while at the monastery with the Young King in 1182, unlike the houses of Fontevraud in Greater Anjou, Reading in England, and Bec in Normandy.⁷⁹⁴ Perhaps this is an oversight by those who reworked the charters at a later date, or this is a sign that they did not attempt to obtain any charters during this time to avoid potential involvements with the court.

Five of the charters notify and confirm grants of land issued to the house.⁷⁹⁵ Two concern Henry's foundation of a cell at Le Parc near Rouen.⁷⁹⁶ However, like the other land grants given to Grandmont, the privileges given within these two charters were unprecedented. The rights included the forest of Rouvray, an annual rent of 200 pounds Angevin in Rouen, the vachery near the Seine, all the bees in the forest of Rouvray, and a man at Oissel to serve as a collector, two men in the city of Rouen, and one in every town

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁷⁹² *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, i, col. 455; *Acta*, no. 4854H.

⁷⁹³ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 575, 627, 685, 727, 728, 729; *Acta*, nos. 1852H, 1892H, 1928H, 1960H, 1961H, 5249H.

⁷⁹⁴ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 457 – 8, 534; *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, ed. B. Kemp (London, 1986), no. 23; Hallam, 'Henry II, and Richard I and the order of Grandmont', 169.

⁷⁹⁵ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 575, 727, 728, 627, 729; *Acta*, nos. 1852H, 1892H, 1960H, 1961H, 5249H.

⁷⁹⁶ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 727, 728; *Acta*, nos. 1960H, 5249H.

within four leagues of the house, free from all customs and exactions, as well as extended liberties through England, Aquitaine, Anjou, Maine, and Normandy.⁷⁹⁷ In conclusion, while the charters are difficult to use to any degree of certainty they clearly set out that Grandmont is a monastery which received unique rights and privileges from Henry II, even if embellished in the reworked charters.

Dalon Abbey

Dalon, a Cistercian Abbey from 1162, was located near Périgueux in the diocese of Limoges.⁷⁹⁸ A frequent donor to the abbey was Bertran de Born a local lord and troubadour who gifted multiple pieces of land to the abbey throughout his life and retired to the monastery.⁷⁹⁹ The abbey received two charters from Henry II, and Eleanor and Richard issued at least four more.⁸⁰⁰ The abbey, founded in 1114 by Géraud and Gouffier of Lastours, previously relied upon the local lords in Limoges and Angoulême, and their families, to provide gifts to the house.⁸⁰¹ Within the remaining charters issued to the house, there is no evidence of any interaction with the dukes of Aquitaine before 1159 when Henry was in Périgueux during the preparations for his invasion of Toulouse.⁸⁰²

This early charter issued at Périgueux on the 30th of June 1159 is significant. The geographical proximity to the first bishopric in Aquitaine which elected a nominated bishop, John d'Asside, should not be overlooked. Henry may have begun to issue charters to express his authority due to the abbey's proximity to Périgueux, but within the diocese of Limoges where Henry struggled to enforce his authority. The charter notified the prévôts of the city of Saintes of an exemption from taxes and tolls concerning salt and customs on other goods the abbey bought and sold.⁸⁰³ This is the only non-edited royal charter issued within Aquitaine which granted toll exemption. This charter signifies an acceptance by both parties of Henry's ducal authority.⁸⁰⁴ Henry issued the second charter

⁷⁹⁷ *Recueil*, ii, nos. 727, 728; *Acta*, nos. 1960H, 5249H.

⁷⁹⁸ Bertran de Born, *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, ed. W. Paden Jr., T. Sankovitch, and P. Stäblein (London, 1986), 24 – 25.

⁷⁹⁹ Bertran de Born, *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, 23 – 25; Boussard, *Le Gouvernement D'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 146 n. 9.

⁸⁰⁰ Lewis, 'Six Charters of Henry II and His Family for the Monastery of Dalon', 652.

⁸⁰¹ BnF, coll. Baluze, ms. 375 (Extraits du cartulaire de Dalon), fol. 2; Bibliothèque Nationale, coll. Baluze, ms. 375 (Extraits du cartulaire de Dalon), fol. 29 [Accessesed on 31/7/2019]

⁸⁰² Vigeois, 'Chronica', i, 58; Vigeois, 'Chronica', ii, 310; Lewis, 'Six Charters of Henry II and His Family for the Monastery of Dalon', 655.

⁸⁰³ BnF coll. Baluze, ms. 375 (Extraits du cartulaire de Dalon), fol. 71 [Accessesed on 31/7/2019].

⁸⁰⁴ Lewis, 'Six Charters of Henry II and His Family for the Monastery of Dalon', 655.

granted to Dalon at Caen between May 1173 and October 1174.⁸⁰⁵ Henry alerted the bishop of Saintes, Aimery, and the officials of Saintonge that he gifted land to the abbey for the purpose of salt collection and rights to take timber from the forest of Baconais.⁸⁰⁶ The king in 1159 saw Dalon as an opportunity to express his authority in the region by giving grants and privileges to geographically important monasteries, much like the technique he used with Fontevraud in Greater Anjou.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Saintes

The abbey of Notre-Dame of Saintes located in the city of Saintes, north of Bordeaux, was an important monastery within the region for numerous reasons. Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, and his wife Agnes of Burgundy, the widow of the previous duke of Aquitaine, founded the abbey in 1047. Together they convinced the vicomte of Aunay and the new duke of Aquitaine to donate the land and renounce their feudal rights to the new establishment on the ruins of the old Saint-Pallais Abbey.⁸⁰⁷ In 1047 the Count of Anjou, Geoffrey Martel, donated half the coinage paid to the bishopric, and required the moneyers to take an oath to the abbess, Constance, making the abbey an important part of the administration. This importance would continue into the reign of Henry II.⁸⁰⁸ The abbey's cartulary provides evidence of two charters issued by Henry II, but there are other mentions of the king throughout the collection.

The first charter issued by Henry II occurred after he became duke of Aquitaine in 1152, but before he became king in 1154. The charter is a mandate concerning the privileges of the abbey. Within the charter Henry II referenced a charter from his wife Eleanor which also granted privileges to the house.⁸⁰⁹ This seems like a confirmation of her charter's granted rights by the new duke, but it potentially also served as a reminder of his recent marriage to Eleanor, a source of authority within Aquitaine. After becoming king, Henry issued a second charter, sometime between 1156 and 1162 at Poitiers.⁸¹⁰ This charter notified the bishop of Saintes and the barons of Saintonge of the king's gifts of the

⁸⁰⁵ BnF, coll. Baluze, ms. 375 (Extraits du cartulaire de Dalon), fols. 71 & 76 [Accessed on 31/7/2019].

⁸⁰⁶ BnF, coll. Baluze, ms. 375 (Extraits du cartulaire de Dalon), fols. 71 & 76 [Accessed on 31/7/2019].

⁸⁰⁷ Saint-Pallais Abbey was founded in 596, but by the eleventh century was nothing but ruins due to the incursions into the region by the Normans. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Nôtre-Dame de Saintes de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, ed. P. Grasilier (Niort, 1871), Introduction, i–ii.

⁸⁰⁸ L. Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1906), Catalogue d'actes, 268, no. 81; Boussard, *Le Gouvernement D'Henri II Plantegenêt*, 313 – 315.

⁸⁰⁹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Nôtre-Dame de Saintes de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, 37.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid*, 34.

tithe from the assart of Saint-Sulpice and of the tithe and church of l'Isleau along with additional privileges and the transference of ownership of the church. The contents of this charter are significant because the church of l'Isleau is located within Aquitaine, bringing more churches under the control of a house which Henry potentially felt accepted his authority. The final charter issued in September 1174, within the city of Saintes, mandated the seneschal of Poitou as well as the king's officers in Aquitaine and Saintonge to enforce and respect the liberties granted to the abbey.⁸¹¹ The significance of this charter is the listing of Poitievain figures of authority first in the address clause to enforce liberties of a monastery within Aquitaine. While the two regions remain closely connected throughout history, it possibly demonstrates an attempt by Henry II to stitch together his empire while simultaneously using authoritative figures further under his influence instead of the barons and ministers of Aquitaine.

These are the only charters issued by Henry II to the abbey of Notre-Dame in Saintes, although the king appeared in a further fourteen charters within the cartulary, either granted to the abbey by the bishop of Saintes or within charters issued by the abbess. Thirteen of the charters mention Henry II within the dating clause. The king does not appear within the dating clause of any charter issued after 1172, potentially signifying a parting of opinion between the royal abbey and Henry II following the conflict of 1174 in which Henry II and his sons fought over Saintes. It was common practice to place figures of authority within the dating clause, yet there are some potentially interesting details revealed. The dating clauses, if accurate and not significantly edited in subsequent manuscripts, could illustrate the importance of these authority figures from the perception of those issuing them if listed in order of importance, like in the address clauses of Henry's royal charters.

In eleven of the thirteen charters Pope Alexander III is the first figure of authority listed in the dating clause.⁸¹² Of these eleven charters eight of them list King Louis VII before Henry.⁸¹³ The three other charters do not list Louis VII as an authority figure at all.⁸¹⁴ There are two charters issued in 1162 which list Henry II first in the list of authorities in the region.⁸¹⁵ Of the charters where there are more people listed than just

⁸¹¹ Ibid, 75 - 76.

⁸¹² See table on p. 151.

⁸¹³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Nôtre-Dame de Saintes de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, 39, 39 – 40, 68, 87 – 88, 127 – 128, 129 – 131, 155 – 157, 157 – 158.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid, 49, 101 – 102, 163 – 164.

⁸¹⁵ Ibid, 40 – 41, 41 – 42.

Alexander III, Louis VII, and Henry II, two were issued by the Abbess, Agnes, one places Bishop Aimero of Saintes before Henry II, and the other lists him before the bishop of Saintes.⁸¹⁶ Two charters issued by Helias, the deacon, place Henry II after the bishop of Saintes, Bernard.⁸¹⁷ Finally, a charter issued by Bishop Bernard lists Henry after Alexander III and Louis VII but before multiple barons from Aquitaine.⁸¹⁸

If the theory that these figures of authority were listed in the order of importance is accepted, then it makes sense the majority of them identified the pope as the primary figure of authority, as the abbey was a religious institution. Further, the listing of Louis VII before Henry II in the majority also makes sense as the duke of Aquitaine was a vassal to the French king at this time, but that does not mean that these are just formulaic, the order implies importance. The charters issued by the deacon, which put the bishop of Saintes ahead of Henry II could potentially makes sense as from the perspective of the deacon, the bishop is in direct authority over the deaconate whereas the duke of Aquitaine is more of a consistent figure of authority. So why the two charters in 1162 which list Henry first? It is difficult to make any significant conclusions, although potentially this is in reaction to his gifts granted to the abbey in the charter issued at Poitiers between 1156 and 1162.⁸¹⁹

The abbess issued the final charter which references Henry II in 1168.⁸²⁰ Within this charter, the abbess makes the importance of Henry II clear and that he held some influence and authority with the royal abbey. The charter opens, “Agnes, the abbess of Saintes to all of those who read this letter, greetings. Notice that I wish, when Henry King of England, and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou destroyed the city of Saintes, the mill of Saint Mary was excluded from the destruction.”⁸²¹ Thus, the abbess was issuing the charter, but her wishes were in relation to the actions of Henry II. She seemingly included this information to give the charter more significance.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid, 87 - 88, 129 – 131.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid, 155 – 157, 163 – 164.

⁸¹⁸ Ibid, 157 - 158.

⁸¹⁹ Ibid, 34.

⁸²⁰ Ibid, 48 – 49.

⁸²¹ Ibid, 48 – 49. *Agnes Xanctonensis abbatissa omnibus ad quos hee littere pervenerint, salutem. Notum fieri volumus, quod cum Henricus rex Anglorum, et dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum, et comes Andegavorum, urbem Xanetoniam fere destrueret, molendinum Sancte Marie ex Parte Destructum fuit.*

Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame des Saintes de l'ordre de Saint-benoit					
Charter	Year	Page #	Issued by Henry II?	Content/Authority list order:	Issued by:
27	After 1154	34	yes	Privileges of the house	Henry II
30	1152 - 1154	37	Yes	Liberties and Privileges	Henry II
32	1156	39	No	Lists Henry as an Authority figure after the pope and king of France	Bernard, Bishop
33	1162	39-40	No	Lists Henry as an Authority figure after Alexander the pope, and King Louis of France	Bernard, Bishop
34	1162	40 - 41	No	Lists Henry as an Authority figure first, then Louis, then the pope.	bernard, Bishop
35	1162	41-42	No	Lists Henry as an Authority figure first as king and duke, then Louis, then the pope	Bernard, Bishop
44	1168	48-49	No	Abbe issued charter with support from Henry II	Agnes, Abbess
45	1166	49	No	Lists Henry as authority figure after Alexander III in the dating clause, no Louis VII	Unknown
74	1168	68	No	Lists Henry as Authority figure in the dating clause after Alexander III and Louis VII	Agnes, Abbess
83	1174	75 -76	Yes	Privileges given to the abbey after the destruction of Saintes in the rebellion	Henry II
102	1168	87-88	No	Lists Henry as authority figure in the dating clause, after Alexander III, the bishop Almero, and Louis VII	Agnes, Abbess
128	1167	101-102	No	Lists Henry as authority figure after Alexander III, and before the bishop and other important figures in the region, no mention of Louis VII	Unknown
203	1161	127 - 128	No	Lists Henry II in the dating clause after Alexander III, and Louis VII	Bernard, Bishop
206	1170	129 - 131	No	Lists Henry II in the dating clause after Alexander III, Louis VII, and before the bishop of Saintes	Agnes, Abbess
237	1162	155-157	No	Lists Henry II in the dating clause after Alexander III, Bernard, and Louis VII	Helias, Deacon
238	1162	157 -158	No	Lists Henry II in the dating clause after Alexander III, and Louis VIII, but before a large collection of minor regional lords	Bernard, Bishop
250	1164	163-164	No	Lists Henry II in the dating clause after Alexander III and Bishop Bernard	Helias, Deacon

6.2 Abbey of Notre-Dame of Saintes' charters which include Henry II in their dating clause noting his place in the order of precedence.

Remaining Charters for Beneficiaries in Aquitaine

The remaining six *acta* issued by Henry II to beneficiaries within Aquitaine consist of five charters and a set of letters. The letters sent to Saint-Martial in Limoges, the house which invested the dukes of Aquitaine, demonstrate an attempt by Henry II to increase the ties between himself and the monastery.⁸²² The letters, intended to be read aloud on Palm Sunday, gave recognition to the election of Peter, the abbot.⁸²³ The abbey of La Grande-Sauve, a favourite of Henry and Eleanor in Bordeaux, received a royal charter from the king in 1156 confirming the possessions and privileges granted to the abbey by the dukes of Aquitaine, which Eleanor reconfirmed sometime in 1199.⁸²⁴ Another large and important abbey in Aquitaine, Saint-Jean-d'Angély, known for having venerated the head of Saint John the Baptist following its discovery in the eleventh century, received a charter in January of 1156 at Canterbury, England.⁸²⁵

The only charter issued in England to a beneficiary located in Aquitaine follows the patterns set out by other continental houses as seen in Greater Anjou and Normandy, the gifts and rights granted focused on England. The notification gifted Woolwich and Mottingham in Kent along with quittance from the shires, hundreds and lestage as well as all customs. Thus, the king granted multiple gifts again tying an abbey in Aquitaine to other regions which accepted his authority, using his empire to influence the power structures in Aquitaine. The priory of La Réole, which helped sustain the towns created around churches in Bordeaux, received a charter from Henry II at an undisclosed date and

⁸²² Gillingham, *Richard I*, 31, 40.

⁸²³ Vigeois, 'chronicon', ii, 440.

⁸²⁴ *Recueil*, i, no. 25; *Acta*, no. 1399H; A. Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: By the Wrath of God, Queen of England* (London, 1999), 329.

⁸²⁵ *Recueil*, i, no. 41; *Acta*, no. 2712H; Gillingham, *Richard I*, 34.

an unknown location.⁸²⁶ The charter notified of a judgement by the king following a complaint by the prior of Rèole, Gerald Folius, over the burgess, Sanchio du Mirail, who attempted to conceal his sale of a house at La Rèole by keeping the annual rent paid for the house, thus defrauding the priory of its customary rights. The king likely issued the notice to ensure the priory's rights, and to stop the lay party from getting away with fraud within his territories. It is unlikely that Henry meant to, but this means he also defended the income of a small priory which made the region of Bordeaux richer through its support of the new towns around the larger abbeys.

The final two charters issued by Henry II that remain for the region of Aquitaine address multiple religious houses within each document. Henry issued the charters, both issued between 1156 and 1157, on his first trip to Aquitaine.⁸²⁷ Since both of the charters are notifications of confirmation for rights and privileges previously granted then it can be concluded that the monasteries of Maillezais, priory of Saint-Martin, and the abbeys of Fontaine-le-Comte and Sablonceaux were likely getting their privileges secured under the new authority figure within the region, while also giving the king an opportunity to express his authority.

Conclusion

Through examination of the lay political situation in Aquitaine during Henry's reign as king, it becomes apparent between local politics and the machinations of his own wife and children Henry II relied on his relationship with the prelates in the region to further his influence. The king's relationships were as varied as the number of prelates themselves. From 1180 to 1189 the bishops and archbishops of Aquitaine as a collective began to participate significantly less in Henry II's government, most likely letting the storms settle so to speak as one king passes on for the next one.⁸²⁸ However, these two ideas had varying levels of success depending upon the diocese in question. In Bordeaux during the election of 1158 Henry II's influence was so minimal the prelates of the region outright denied his recommendation for the new archbishop, and forced him to leave the

⁸²⁶ 'Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Pierre de la Rèole', *Archives historiques du département de la Gironde* 5, ed. C. Grellet-Balguerie (Paris, 1863), 166 no. 127; Boussard, *Le Gouvernement D'Henri II Plantagenêt*, 186.

⁸²⁷ M. Lacurie, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Maillezais Depuis sa Fondation Jusqu'à nos jours* (Fontenay-le-Comte, 1852), 257 – 258; *Recueil des Documents de l'abbaye de Fontaine-le-Comte*, ed. G. Pon (Poitiers, 1982), 23 – 24.

⁸²⁸ Peltzer, 'Les évêques de l'Empire Plantagenêt et les Rois Angevins', 474.

proceedings before any voting occurred. However, out of this scenario there is evidence of his influence in at least Périgueux which took Henry's nomination as their own bishop after the Raymond translated to the archbishopric. Fortunately for Henry, Raymond de Mareuil's tenure only lasted two years before he died and they elected Hardouin, a scholar from the cathedral of Le Mans in 1160. This election can be viewed as acceptance of Henry's authority, even if he did not nominate him.

In the southern archdiocese of Auch the king ran into problems with expressing his authority. Archbishop William D'Andozille held the position for a large part of Henry's reign and seemed to avoid external politics. John of Salisbury mentioned him during the Becket conflict, but from the context of the letter John himself seems unsure which side William supported and therefore tended to leave the archbishop alone. After the election of Gerard de Labarthe, things did not change near as much as Henry II possibly hoped.

In the case of the archbishops of Bourges Henry II never successfully increased his influence in the region despite his attempts. His motivations are clear since it was a neighbouring territory and one of the bishoprics in Aquitaine, Limoges, is a suffragan to the archbishops. However, the archbishops of Bourges consistently looked towards the French crown for authority instead of the English. In Limoges the story is slightly different. Henry did slowly build his influence with the bishops. The shift in influence remains most noticeable with Bishop Sébrand who began as a clear detractor of the English king. By 1181 the two men seemed to have reconciled and during the last decade of Henry's reign he increased his influence within the diocese.

In the diocese of Angoulême, a suffragan bishopric to Bordeaux, the king increased his influence over time, if not as clear as in Bordeaux. In the bishoprics of Bayonne and Dax the lack of source material does inhibit a thorough examination. Despite this, it appears the bishops follow the lead of their archbishops in Auch. In the case of Bayonne, an important centre of trade, the bishops keep to local politics within their diocese, interactions with the royal family stayed limited but when they did occur, they preferred interacting with Richard, Henry's son, after he became Duke of Aquitaine in 1172. In the diocese of Dax slightly more information remains available concerning the prelates: Arnaud-William de Sort and William Bertrand. Both prelates again focus on their regions specifically often leaving the larger world of politics to others.

When examining Henry's patronage for the region the limited extant charter corpus creates a difficult challenge. Still though, there are signs of Henry acting as a patron and expressing his authority, particularly at Grandmont, mirroring the relationship he built with Fontevraud in Anjou. The houses which did not seek out his authority relied on local patrons, even avoiding Louis VII and the papacy as a source of authority. In the absence of a larger charter corpus the dating clauses for existing charters become useful. The lists of kings and popes included at the end of a charter can give insight into who the institution saw as a figure of authority, and how significant the establishment interpreted their authority based on the order in which the names appear. Through this analysis it appears that the person who issued the charter and their position in society played a significant role in the order of those listed, but events and even recent grants also impacted the order of importance.

Conclusion

This thesis explored the relationship between Henry II and the Church and the expression and recognition of his authority in his continental territories. It has done so through the extant charter corpus, and contemporary chronicles. This conclusion brings these findings together to develop an overall analysis of Henry II's conception of the Church in his continental domains and its perceptions of him. In doing so, this thesis contributes to our broader understanding of Henry and the Church across his domains rather than in one specific realm. It also contributes to broader themes in modern scholarship: the dynamics of charter diplomatic, the nature of the Angevin empire, and the court.

Governance and the ruler's ability to control local politics and society in Normandy, Greater Anjou, and Aquitaine were much less developed than in England, and encountered frequent disruption. In addition to secular political activity, and despite the findings of earlier studies to the contrary, Henry used the episcopate to aid in extending his authority in these regions through attempts to control elections and utilise the prelates within his administration. This is especially evident in Normandy where his authority was strongest, but it was also the case in Greater Anjou and Aquitaine. In the latter two regions the evidence suggests he was much less successful. In Greater Anjou, he was not the only source of higher authority. The papacy and the Capetian monarchs also played significant roles in local politics involving the Church. Nevertheless, Henry still increased his rule through the assistance of the Church, even coming to create a relationship with the archbishops of Tours. In Aquitaine, where the source material remains limited, and the major sources Anglo-centric, it is still clear that the region accepted Henry's authority; albeit less than anywhere else.

Henry's strategy of relying on the Church, and the over forty prelates focused on in this thesis, to aid his rule required him to nominate trusted men. He accomplished this through a couple of consistent actions throughout his continental domains. The use of vacancies formed part of Henry's ecclesiastical policy. In Normandy the king left bishoprics vacant to enable the election of preferential nominees, such as the election of Giles du Perche, or to collect revenues as he did in England. In Greater Anjou, Henry's more limited authority in ecclesiastical elections is apparent in the lack of vacancies within the three ecclesiastical dioceses. There was only a single vacancy from 1153 to 1156 in Maine. Inversely, in Aquitaine there appears to be vacancies due to the lack of authority

and ability to successfully nominate prelates, whereas in Normandy there are vacancies because of the king's authority. Henry's second consistent action was attempting to have his nominees elected. Henry's success in placing his nominees varied. In Normandy the elections often ended in favour of his nominees. In Greater Anjou, Henry failed early on in 1156 to secure a nomination. The pope limited his authority to secure the traditional comital customs of secular nomination in ecclesiastical elections. Henry had only limited participation in ecclesiastical elections in Aquitaine. Early in his reign, 1156, he failed to get his nomination elected at Bordeaux when Hugues de la Rochefoucauld chastised the king in person for trying to influence the election and refused to accept his nomination. However, the Church in Bordeaux eventually accepted Henry's authority more readily when he successfully nominated William the Templar.

The prelates he successfully nominated continued long after their election to uphold his authority and governance. Henry's relationships with the Norman prelates became paramount to establishing his rule in the duchy. He required their support throughout his reign, starting in 1154 with the support of Arnulf and Rotrou, to the middle of his reign when Rotrou played a 'non-participant' in the Becket crisis and crowned the Young King in 1172. By the end of his reign, Henry had the undoubted support of the primate of the Norman Church and could remove bishops from their office, the fate which befell Arnulf of Lisieux. The relationships between the prelates of Greater Anjou and Henry II in comparison to Normandy differ largely due to the lack of conterminous ecclesiastical and secular borders within the region. These differing borders gave authority over the archdiocese of Tours to the Capetian kings. This created conflict which remains visible through the charter corpora of both Henry II and Louis VII. For Aquitaine, the historical narrative of the region being ungovernable does not stand up to scrutiny when examined from the lens of Henry's authority in the Church. While his relationship did not solve all of his issues, he made great strides in extending his rule throughout his reign with the aid of the Church. During the Becket crisis the letters of John of Salisbury depict many of the prelates in parts of the southern duchy as supporters of Henry, although detractors remained. Through the support of the episcopate, Henry exercised his authority at the end of his reign far more than when he came to power.

Henry's relationships with his bishops and the commitment of ecclesiastical institutions seeking his authority provides an ecclesiastical context to recent discussions of the Angevin empire. Ralph Turner has posited a three-zone model to identifying authority

for medieval rulers. The first zone is their royal demesne, the second zone includes the lands he rules but do not fall within his royal demesne, and the third zone constitutes the lands which fall outside of his boundaries. It is clear though, from the material presented in this thesis that Henry's government sought to extend and express his authority through similar engagement with the Church in each of these zones. He Expressed his authority in the first two zones theorised by Turner constantly, and with the inclusion of Tours, the third zone as well. That is not to say there was one Angevin Church, there was most certainly not, but this is an example which shows us both Henry's own ambitions and the recognition of his authority across the empire, supported by the statistics of charters matching Turner's model. These findings can also support the argument that the king and his clerks conceived of an empire through the king's charters.

By examining Henry and Arnulf's relationship through the bishop's letter collection an in-depth analysis has revealed a more nuanced relationship and given insight into Henry's expectations of his prelates, his court, and the significance of charters. While the relationship between the two ended poorly, and Henry required Arnulf to return his charters, there were alternating stages where they had either a strong or weak relationship throughout Henry's reign. This perhaps best illustrates, outside of the charter corpus, the two-way nature of episcopal/royal relationships, perhaps better than charters in some ways. Even when Arnulf disputed with the king, Henry selected him as an envoy to negotiate with the French king. Therefore, when a relationship was weak there was still an expectation of supporting the king, and that a bishop must continue to uphold secular rule. Arnulf's letters also allow for interpretations of how prelates should interact with the king and his court. It warned of how the king's anger can jeopardize someone's position. His letters made clear the significance of a close and physical presence in court. With this in mind, the significance of charters becomes all the clearer.

Diplomatic analysis of royal charters has been extensive in recent years, nevertheless this thesis has shown that there is still a plenitude of avenues to study their narratives and formulaic verbiage. Expanding upon the basic assumptions about the dynamics of seeking charters, issuing and receiving them, the amount of charters issued, and alongside insights from the writings of Arnulf of Lisieux there is a possibility of considering them in a new light. The 293 charters Henry issued which remain extant to religious institutions in Normandy demonstrates his level of authority, much like Daniel Power and Elizabeth Hallam had begun to argue in their own works. The types of charters

sought after by Norman institutions were like those of English and continental beneficiaries: notifications of protection, confirmation of rights and grants, toll exemptions, and confirmations of settlements. Henry's struggle for authority in the Church hindered his policy of stabilizing his rule in Greater Anjou. This is most visible in his relations with the ecclesiastical institutions through the extant charter corpus. The total number of charters extant from Henry II to ecclesiastical beneficiaries is only a quarter of that for Normandy and a fraction of those for England. His difficulties are apparent in the Touraine where both Henry II and Louis VII issued charters to the same monastic houses. The types of charters sought out by the beneficiaries vary slightly from those composed for Normandy. In Greater Anjou protection charters, confirmation charters, and confirmation of settlements dominate the corpus while only one toll exemption is extant. Through the number of protection charters and settlements of disputes it is easy to see how Greater Anjou was unsafe and needed Henry's governance. Henry used reliable bishops in the regions to shore up his authority. Meanwhile, he constantly tried to gain a foothold in Tours. Compared to the northern regions, Aquitaine faced an entirely different scenario. From the limited source material available, it appears the region accepted Henry's authority less than anywhere else. He faced a difficult time both expressing his authority and having it recognised from early on in his reign. He made some slow advancements in expressing his authority and having it recognised in some circles as seen through the dating clauses in some religious institutions' charters. One monastery breaks the mould: Fontevraud. The abbey received the largest number of charters of any house in Greater Anjou. The remaining charters and narratives present in the chronicles depict Henry's evolving relationship with the abbey and make visible his motivations, piety, Eleanor of Aquitaine's influence, and the ability to limit the influence of other local lords, like the count of Blois. This unique relationship meant Henry confirmed rights to the house which have no equivalent in any of his other continental territories.

Through the extant charter corpus, it becomes clearer how Henry expressed and established his authority on the Continent. Through protection charters, confirmation charters, and toll exemptions, the king expressed himself as a patron, but also expressed his authority within clauses such as "in manu mea" and "nisi coram mea." Further, the punishments ordered in the charters themselves allow for the identification of Henry's level of authority and patronage, such as having a standard punishment of a ten-pound fine, or as customized as demanding the person to turn themselves over to the king's court. He used this authority to reinforce and extend his rule, but also to repair political ties with

those who acted against him during the rebellions. The phrases examined demonstrate how he controlled complaints against houses he acted as a patron towards, and how he brought these houses closer to him. The corpus also depicts how the religious institutions were cognisant of the king's movements and the political climate. This thesis has demonstrated that Henry's charters acted as social constructs which tied the regions together. While the clients drove the creation of most charters; Henry established his title as King at the beginning of every charter, no matter the location of the beneficiary. Additionally, the dating clauses from houses in Aquitaine and Anjou refer to Henry as king instead of duke. This indicates that the religious leaders identified him by a title they did not have to, again bringing about the idea that Henry was king over all of his territories, not just England.

This thesis's analysis of Henry's relationship with the Church across his continental territories has demonstrated that the farther south the territory on the Continent, the less religious establishments and prelates accepted Henry's authority. Greater Anjou formed the geographical centre of the continental domains, Normandy was truly the heart of Henry's administration on the Continent as the prelates and canons most readily accepted his authority. Henry II created relationships with his prelates, the court played a significant part in his patronage, and he used his authority over the prelates to enforce his will and maintain his governance. Henry, apart from Thomas Becket, relied upon his archbishops and bishops in England and Normandy to support his rule and his policies. Norman prelates were the second most represented of all regional prelates at the king's court noted through the attestations of royal charters. Further, Henry frequently selected Norman prelates as envoys. Beneficiaries often requested the charters which Henry used to govern and extend his authority. In Normandy, the religious institutions frequently sought out his authority. The ecclesiastical institutions in Maine and Anjou sought out Henry's authority through charters and accepted him as the highest level of authority. However, in the Touraine this is not the case. Both Henry II and Louis VII issued charters throughout their tenure to institutions in the region, seemingly competing with one another. In Aquitaine ecclesiastical institutions did recognise Henry as an authority figure, but not as much as the other regions. There, some religious institutions more readily accepted Henry's family's authority, particularly Eleanor and Richard.

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