



Pohl, B. (2017). Eight twelfth-century charters from the Norman Abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen, c.1120–1204 (London, British Library, Add. Chs. 67574–67581) – A catalogue and commentary. *Electronic British Library Journal (eBLJ)*, 2017(1), 1-52. Article 2.
<https://doi.org/10.23636/1075>

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

License (if available):
Other

Link to published version (if available):
[10.23636/1075](https://doi.org/10.23636/1075)

[Link to publication record on the Bristol Research Portal](#)
PDF-document

This is the final published version of the article (version of record). It first appeared online via eBLJ at <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2017/articles/article2.html> . Please refer to any applicable terms of use of the publisher.

University of Bristol – Bristol Research Portal

General rights

This document is made available in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite only the published version using the reference above. Full terms of use are available:
<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/research-policy/pure/user-guides/brp-terms/>

Eight Twelfth-Century Charters from the Norman Abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen, c.1120–1204 (London, British Library, Add. Chs. 67574–67581) – A Catalogue and Commentary

Benjamin Pohl

Introduction

The Norman Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen (also known as the ‘Abbaye aux Hommes’) can be considered one of the most important monastic foundations of the Anglo-Norman period. It was founded in 1063 by Duke William II of Normandy (the later Conqueror of England) within the ‘bourg’ of Caen,¹ located no more than a short walk away from its ‘sister foundation’, the female abbey of La Trinité (or ‘Abbaye aux Dames’) that had been established a few years earlier by William’s wife, Matilda of Flanders.² Within a few years of their respective foundations, both institutions were richly endowed with lands, tithes, customs and privileges, thus increasing their influence and wealth both within Caen’s city boundaries and throughout the

I would like to express my thanks to Paul Hyams, Richard Barton and David Bates, who through their kind help and expertise have supported me a great deal in conducting this study. I also want to thank Tamiko Fujimoto, who generously provided me with a copy of her yet unpublished Ph.D. dissertation on the Cartulary of Saint-Étienne, an impressive piece of work that has facilitated my research greatly. Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to the journal’s anonymous peer-reviewers.

¹ On the location of this ‘bourg’, see L. Jean-Marie, *Caen aux XIe et XIIIe siècles: Espace urbain, pouvoirs et société* (Caen, 2000), pp. 37–47. Laurence Jean-Marie argues that the division of Caen’s urban space into three distinct ‘bourgs’ (the ducal or ‘Grand Bourg’, the ‘Bourg de Saint-Étienne’ and the ‘Bourg de La Trinité’) was a development of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, whereas during the eleventh century the term *burgus* (or *burgus Cadomi*) was used synonymously with *villa*, thus referring to the entire territory of Caen’s emerging urban infrastructure. Caen does not seem to have been referred to as *civitas*, probably because it was neither the capital of a Roman province nor the seat of a bishop (see *ibid.*, p. 28).

³ Three of the earliest studies to explore the origins and early history of Saint-Étienne were C. Hippeau, *L’Abbaye de St-Étienne de Caen 1066–1790*, *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 21 (Caen, 1855); V. M. C. Ruprich-Robert, *L’église de Ste-Trinité (ancienne abbaye-aux-dames) et l’église de St-Etienne (ancienne abbaye-aux-hommes) à Caen* (Caen, 1864); A. Decauville, *Le Lycée et l’abbaye de St-Etienne de Caen* (Caen, 1895). Traditionally, the twin foundations of Saint-Étienne and La Trinité have been viewed in the context of a ritual act of penance performed by William and Matilda, whose marriage lacked papal approval and had been prohibited explicitly by Pope Leo IX at the Council of Reims in 1049. Leo IX’s disapproval was based, in the first instance, on allegations of consanguinity between the spouses. The main source for these allegations are Orderic Vitalis’s twelfth-century interpolations to William of Jumièges’s *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, see *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. E. M. C. van Houts, *Oxford Medieval Texts*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1992–5), vol. ii, pp. 146–50. Also cf. D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England* (London, 1977), p. 392 (Appendix C). This view has since been relativized, most notably by D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 199–202.

local region, as well as, with increasing frequency, across the English Channel.³ Like elsewhere in Normandy, if not indeed more so, at Caen the fortunes of monastic life also depended fundamentally on the initiative and continuous support of the Norman ducal family, as well as that of the local aristocracy. The initial donations that had been bestowed on the occasion of the monasteries' foundation and/or dedication feasts – two events which, in the case of Saint-Étienne, were separated by one and a half decades – were consolidated and enhanced further under the successive generations of Caen's abbots and abbesses.⁴ The abbots of Saint-Étienne continuously sought and secured the favour and support of Normandy's aristocracy, the Norman dukes (and duchesses) and, after 1066, the kings (and queens) of England, thereby expanding exponentially their political and economic relationships with different parts of the Anglo-Norman world. By the end of the eleventh century, the Abbey of Saint-Étienne (and other monasteries, too) had become firmly 'invested' (in every sense of the word) in the politics of property, dominion and lordship.

Before long, however, the monastic leaders of Saint-Étienne found themselves in increasing competition with other local and/or regional 'power players', including municipal authorities, aristocratic families and, most significantly, the diocesan bishop and Cathedral Chapter of Bayeux (within whose ecclesiastical province and jurisdiction the abbeys of Caen were located).⁵ This situation was not exclusive to Caen or the diocese of Bayeux, of course (although it might have been somewhat more pronounced here than elsewhere owing to William's unparalleled support for his favourite monks). Indeed, other Norman monasteries also experienced similar kinds of competition within their respective spheres of influence. Within a landscape already carved up between powerful political and ecclesiastical authorities, protecting and renewing one's monastic rights and privileges became paramount. As long as the patrons and benefactors of Normandy's newly founded (or refounded) monasteries were still alive and prepared to rush to their defence, attacks launched by more established regional authorities could usually be kept in check – for example, through ducal and/or archiepiscopal intervention, or, if need be, by buying off some of the more persistent contestants.

³ On the possessions of La Trinité, see M. Chibnall, *Charters and Customs of the Abbey of Holy Trinity Caen*, Records of Social and Economic History, N.S., 5 (London, 1982); J. Walmsley, *Charters and Customs of the Abbey of Holy Trinity Caen, Part 2: The French Estates*, Records of Social and Economic History, N.S., 22 (Oxford, 1994). More generally D. Matthews, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, Oxford Historical Series, 2 (London, 1963). A study of both abbeys and their legal acts, including an edition of the major documents, is provided by L. Musset, *Les Actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 37 (Caen, 1967). More recently C. Letouzey-Réty, 'L'organisation seigneuriale dans les possessions anglaises et normandes de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Caen au XIIe siècle: étude comparée (première partie)', *Annales de Normandie*, lv (2005), pp. 213–45; C. Letouzey-Réty, 'L'Organisation seigneuriale dans les possessions anglaises et normandes de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Caen au XIIe siècle: étude comparée (deuxième partie)', *Annales de Normandie*, lv (2005), pp. 291–332; C. Letouzey-Réty, 'L'Organisation seigneuriale des possessions de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Caen en Angleterre et en Normandie: nouvelles hypothèses', *Annales de Normandie*, lvii (2007), pp. 340–1.

⁴ Saint-Étienne's abbey church was dedicated in a festive celebration on 13 September 1077. The same year also witnessed the dedication of the abbey church of Le Bec, as well as of the two cathedral churches of Évreux and Bayeux, the latter two of which were dedicated to St Mary (Notre Dame). See Musset, *Actes de Guillaume*, pp. 14–15; also cf. the contradictory argument in J.-F. Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction ecclésiastique des abbayes normandes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1140*, Archives de La France Monastique, 44 (Paris, 1937), pp. 162–3, 270–1.

⁵ On the relationship (and competition) between Saint-Étienne and Bayeux, see B. Pohl, 'Processions, Power and Public Display: Ecclesiastical Rivalry and Ritual in Ducal Normandy', *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, vi (2017), forthcoming. See also the recent work of Grégory Combalbert, G. Combalbert, 'Le contrôle des clercs paroissiaux vu par les évêques normands (XIe-XIIIe siècles)', in *De part et d'autre de la Normandie médiévale: Recueil d'études en hommage à François Neveux*, ed. P. Bauduin, Cahier des Annales de Normandie, 35 (Caen, 2009), pp. 369–96; G. Combalbert, 'Évêques et paroisses dans le sud du diocèse de Bayeux au XIIe siècle', in *Tinchebray 1106–2006: Actes du colloque international de Tinchebray, 28–30 septembre 2006*, ed. V. Gazeau and J. Green (Flers, 2009), pp. 263–83; G. Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église: Évêques et paroisses dans la province ecclésiastique de Rouen (v. 1050–v. 1280)' (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Caen, 2009).

It was during the second or third generation of their existence, when this kind of protection and patronage began to wane, that several Norman monasteries experienced more pronounced conflicts and legal disputes with their neighbours.⁶ In some cases, these disputes concerned questions of spiritual authority and ecclesiastical obedience, particularly as regards the matter of so-called ‘monastic exemption’.⁷ In other cases, the bone of contention was more mundane in nature, revolving around, for example, the possession of lands, tithes or other material and financial revenues. Taken together, these negotiations (to use a more positive term) between the Norman monasteries and their ecclesiastical as well as secular peers formed the products of a series of complex historical developments that saw the abbeys emerge as religious and economic powerhouses, at the same time as bringing about significant shifts in the mechanics of local, regional and ducal/royal government. With Normandy’s rise to a cross-Channel dominion (and the establishment of what has sometimes been called an Anglo-Norman or ‘cross-Channel aristocracy’),⁸ the duchy’s political and economic landscape underwent significant structural transformations. Only some of these transformations can be ascribed to the duke/king’s ‘official’ policies, whilst others were the result of opportunism and often ruthless ambition on the part of the Norman elites – not entirely dissimilar in a sense to those emerging during later periods of political instability, such as the mid-twelfth-century conflict between Stephen of Blois and the Empress Matilda/Henry Plantagenet, that which is often referred to as The Anarchy.

The political and economic history of Saint-Étienne during the eleventh and twelfth centuries has been studied in some detail by scholars including Lucien Musset and Jean-Michel Bouvris.⁹ Considerable attention also has been paid to the abbey’s medieval diplomatic corpus, including its large number of extant charters and pancartes (that is, duplicate records reiterating several subsequent acts for the purpose of confirmation, some of which will be discussed in greater detail below), and, most recently, the twelfth-century Cartulary of Saint-Étienne that was

⁶ See, for example, R. Allen, ‘“A Proud and Headstrong Man”: John of Ivry, Bishop of Avranches and Archbishop of Rouen, 1060–79’, *Historical Research*, lxxxiii (2010), pp. 189–227; T. Roche, ‘A Bishop and His Conflicts: Philip of Bayeux (1142–63)’, in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. P. Dalton, C. Insley and L. J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 117–30. Also Pohl, ‘Processions, Power and Public Display’.

⁷ Lemarignier, *Étude*, pp. 179–219; N. Bulst, *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon (962–1031)*, *Pariser historische Studien*, 11 (Bonn, 1973); N. Bulst, ‘La Réforme monastique en Normandie: Étude prosopographique sur la diffusion et l’implémentation de la réforme de Guillaume de Dijon’, in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des 11e–12e siècles*, ed. R. Foreville, *Spicilegium Beccense*, 2 (Paris, 1984), pp. 317–30, 407–10. See also the recent reassessment by B. Pohl and S. Vanderputten, ‘Fécamp, Cluny, and the Invention of Traditions in the Later Eleventh Century’, *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, v (2016), pp. 1–41.

⁸ On the (Anglo-)Norman aristocracy during the post-Conquest period, see D. Crouch, ‘Normans and Anglo-Normans: A Divided Aristocracy?’, in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), pp. 51–67; D. Bates, ‘Normandy and England after 1066’, *English Historical Review*, civ (1989), pp. 851–80; Also cf. the discussion in L. Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 95–7. Some of the most recent reassessments of the topic include D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 128–59; N. Strevett, ‘The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy under Divided Lordship, 1087–1106: A Social and Political Study’ (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2005).

⁹ L. Musset, ‘Le Rayonnement de Saint-Étienne de Caen en Angleterre à l’époque ducal (1066–1204)’, *Le Mois à Caen et en basse Normandie* (1977), pp. 66–71; L. Musset, ‘Quelques Grandes Figures de l’histoire de Saint-Étienne de Caen’, *Le Mois à Caen et en basse Normandie* (1977), pp. 25–30; J.-M. Bouvris, ‘L’Origine des possessions de l’abbaye de Saint-Wandrille dans le diocèse de Bayeux et particulièrement à Basly’, *Annales de Normandie*, xli (1991), pp. 91–116; J.-M. Bouvris, *Dans les Marais du Cotentin à la fin du XIe siècle, autour de la fondation du prieuré de Baupte, dépendance de l’abbaye de Saint-Étienne de Caen: contribution à l’étude du principat de Robert Courte-Heuse, duc de Normandie*, *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 43 (Caen, 2009); L. Musset, J.-M. Bouvris and V. Gazeau, *Aspects de la société et l’économie dans la Normandie médiévale, Xe–XIIIe siècles*, *Cahiers des Annales de Normandie*, 22 (Caen, 1988).

rediscovered in 1996 (Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados, 1 J 41).¹⁰ As Duke/King William's 'favourite' abbey (as well as his final resting place), Saint-Étienne naturally occupies a prominent position in several of the Conqueror's modern biographies.¹¹ It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to find that historical scholarship is still lacking a monograph to supersede Célestin Hippeau's monumental *L'Abbaye de Saint-Étienne de Caen, 1066–1790* published in 1855. Similarly, the eight documents that form the topic of the present study have never been subjected to much scholarly scrutiny, and only two of them have been edited and published (in 2013).¹² Today, they form part of a dossier kept in the British Library and have been catalogued under the title 'Thirteen deeds probably from the muniments of the Abbey of St Stephen [= Saint-Étienne de Caen]'.¹³ There can be little doubt that, with the possible exception of Add. Ch. 67582, these thirteen charters all once belonged to the medieval archives of Saint-Étienne (see the discussion in the Catalogue below).

The dossier that today contains Add. Chs. 67574–67586 previously formed part of an even larger corpus of no fewer than 190 Norman charters (most of them dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) collected by Thomas Stapleton (1805–49) during the early to mid-nineteenth century and stored at Carlton Towers, the Yorkshire residence of Stapleton's brother, the then Baron of Beaumont.¹⁴ Stapleton, a passionate archivist, had acquired the charters from Abbé Gervais de la Rue (1751–1835), a citizen of Caen and local historian, probably during one of Stapleton's visits to Normandy.¹⁵ Stapleton's diplomatic acquisitions were listed and transcribed carefully, along with a rudimentary commentary, by Léon Maître in 1881 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1428). On 22 October 1920, the charters were auctioned at Sotheby's and sold as part of six individual lots.¹⁶ Since then, historians

¹⁰ Especially Musset, *Actes de Guillaume*, pp. 19–24, 43–9. Moreover, P. Chaplais, 'Une charte originale de Saint Étienne de Caen au British Museum de Londres', *Annales de Normandie*, xii (1962), pp. 110–11; R. N. Sauvage, *Le Fonds de l'abbaye de Saint-Étienne de Caen aux archives du Calvados* (Caen, 1911); D. Bates, 'Four recently rediscovered Norman charters', *Annales de Normandie*, xlv (1995), pp. 35–48. A pancarte, in its strictest sense, is defined by David Bates as 'a charter which reproduces the text of more than one charter. This text may be the complete text of the charter concerned, or it may be a summary, and edition or a modernization. It is crucial that it seeks either in whole or in part to reproduce the diplomatic of the original charter.', *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998), p. 22. The Cartulary of Saint-Étienne has been studied and edited by T. Fujimoto, 'Recherche sur l'écrit documentaire au Moyen Âge: Édition et commentaire du cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen (XIIe siècle)', 2 vols (Ph. D. dissertation, Université de Caen, 2012). Fujimoto's thesis still awaits publication, but some of her key findings have been published in T. Fujimoto, 'Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen (XIIe siècle): Essai d'archéologie documentaire', *Tabularia, Études*, x (2010), pp. 41–61 (available online at <<http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/craham/revue/tabularia/dossier9/textes/05fujimoto.pdf>>, [accessed 15 Feb. 2016]).

¹¹ As David Bates confirms in his new biography of William the Conqueror published in the Yale English Monarchs Series (which serves to replace the existing volume by David Douglas published in 1964), the Abbey of Saint-Étienne continued to play an integral role throughout both William and Matilda's life, determining the royal couple's itinerary and also their children's behaviour. See D. Bates, *William the Conqueror* (New Haven, 2016), pp. 169–70, 278–9.

¹² These are Add. Chs. 67578 and 67579, edited in N. Vincent, *Norman Charters from English Sources: Antiquaries, Archives and the Rediscovery of the Norman Past*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, 97 (London, 2013), pp. 199–201 (= nos 73 and 74). Fujimoto, 'Recherche', vol. ii, pp. 230–3, 536 offers as yet unpublished transcriptions of Add. Chs. 67575 and 67580. Neither Vincent nor Fujimoto provide an analysis or discussion of these charters, however.

¹³ Cf. the corresponding entries for Add. Chs. 67574–67586 in British Museum, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1926–1930* (London, 1959), pp. 250–2.

¹⁴ See L. Deslisle (ed.), *Catalogue des manuscrits du fonds de la Trémoille* (Paris, 1889), pp. 19–24. Also cf. Bates, 'Four Charters', pp. 35–6.

¹⁵ Deslisle, *Catalogue de la Trémoille*, p. 19.

¹⁶ Lots 188, 190, 191, 193, 194 and 214. For details, see *Additions to the Manuscripts, 1926–1930*, p. 250.

have shown relatively little concrete interest in them, and so far almost nothing has been revealed about their contents and contexts. Considering the attention that some other Norman charters from Stapleton's/de la Rue's collection have received in the past, including some that originate at Saint-Étienne,¹⁷ a critical edition and study of Add. Chs. 67574–67586 represents an important desideratum, not least because these documents promise to provide new insights into the political and economic activities of one of Normandy's most powerful, wealthy and well-connected religious institutions during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries.

This article aims to make a start by devoting itself to the eight charters that date from the period between 1120 and the end of the abbacy of Saint-Étienne's eleventh abbot, Samson (c.1196–1214), which coincides with the chronological scope of Veronique Gazeau's seminal prosopography *Normannia monastica*.¹⁸ This means that Add. Chs. 67852–67586 will not form part of the present investigation, as they all date from the period c.1214/15–1455. This omission is not entirely an arbitrary one, however. As recent studies on medieval Caen have revealed, the early thirteenth century saw a turning point in the development of the city and its monasteries, as both urban and monastic space experienced significant expansion and modification.¹⁹ Moreover, with the loss of Normandy to King Philip Augustus of France in 1204, the existing landscape of power changed dramatically, resulting in profound shifts in the political and cultural constellations of the Anglo-Norman world that for various reasons cannot be accommodated within the scope of this analysis.²⁰ In the tradition of other existing studies on the history of Normandy's monastic and episcopal history and charter tradition, the years around 1204 will thus provide the chronological cut-off point for this article.²¹

Catalogue

Note on the transcriptions/translations: None

In editing the following charters, some variant spellings have been normalized in the interests of consistency and readability. This primarily concerns allographic variation (for example, the use of 'v' instead of 'u', 'i' instead of 'j' and the medieval Latin convention of using of 'e' instead of the classical diphthong 'ae'), double consonants and the capitalisation of Latin(ized) personal and/or place names. Abbreviations have been written out in full, except in such cases where they could not be reconstructed with sufficient certainty (for example, with regard to the endings of abbreviated place names, where ['] has been inserted instead). I would like to thank Leonie Hicks for her kind help in identifying some of the more obscure place names mentioned in these charters. Despite my best efforts, the identity of some places must remain uncertain, and these have been marked accordingly throughout.

¹⁷ Bates, 'Four Charters', pp. 43–8.

¹⁸ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. i, pp. 37–57.

¹⁹ Jean-Marie, *Caen*, pp. 211–26, 255–78.

²⁰ See the recent study by M. A. Pollock, *Scotland, England and France after the Loss of Normandy, 1204–1296: 'Auld Amitie'*, St Andrews Studies in Scottish History (Woodbridge, 2015). Also cf. L. Jean-Marie, 'Caen autour de 1204: Entre Plantagenêts et Capétiens', in 1204, *La Normandie entre Plantagenêts et Capétiens*, ed. A.-M. Flambard Hérischer and V. Gazeau (Caen, 2007), pp. 239–60; T. Moore, 'The Loss of Normandy and the Invention of Terre Normannorum, 1204', *English Historical Review*, cxxv (2010), pp. 1071–1109; D. Bates, 'The Rise and Fall of Normandy, c. 911–1204', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), pp. 19–35.

²¹ See, for example, R. Allen, 'Episcopal acts in Normandy, 911–1204: The Charters of the Bishops of Avranches, Coutances and Sées', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xxxvii (2015), pp. 25–52; D. S. Spear, 'Power, Patronage and Personality in the Norman Cathedral Chapters, 911–1204', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xx (1998), pp. 205–21.

The eight charters edited below formed part of the medieval archives of Saint-Étienne from at least the early thirteenth century onwards (if not indeed earlier). This is evidenced by a series of common dorsal notes and medieval ‘pressmarks’ (namely majuscule letters in ascending alphabetical order) that survive on the documents’ verso. These are, in alphabetical order, ‘B’ (Add. Ch. 67581), ‘C’ (Add. Ch. 67575), ‘E’ (Add. Ch. 67577), ‘F’ (Add. Chs. 67578 and 67580) and ‘G’ (Add. Ch. 67579); ‘A’ and ‘D’ are missing. In each case, the letter is accompanied by a note written in the same ink and, in all probability, by the same scribe (in a hand dating from the very end of the twelfth or, more likely, the beginning of the thirteenth century). The identity of this scribe as a monk of Saint-Étienne is confirmed by the dorsal note on Add. Ch. 67575, which reads *C[arta] H[ugonis] archiepiscopi Roth[omagensis] de conventionibus inter nos [= the monks of Saint-Étienne de Caen] et canonicos Baiocenses*, and which allows us confidently to place the charters in the possession of the abbey.

Add. Ch. 67574 (1120)

Record of an agreement between the Abbey of Saint-Étienne and Roger the priest, the latter of whom is granted the tithe of Biéville along with ten acres of land, a courtyard and four houses in return for seven pecks of grain and a sixth of the annual harvest of corn, barley and oats over the course of ten years.

Physical description: Parchment, approx. 164 × 91 mm, 10 lines, no ruling; dorsal note (cent. 17); various notes and pressmarks on verso; remainder (cropped) of pen decoration (floral design) on recto (possibly used as chirograph);²² hole on recto (probably to attach tag, now lost). Written in a single hand (incl. the list of witnesses, which is written in a different ink) that maintains a formal or ‘static’ ductus reminiscent of some of the ‘book hands’ used at Saint-Étienne and other Norman monastic scriptoria at the time (rather than of contemporary ‘document’ or ‘charter hands’).²³ The script is characterized by a rounded aspect and lack of horizontal compression despite showing pronounced levels of angularity; feet on minims are firmly turning to the right; ‘et’ is abbreviated using both the ampersand (‘&’) and the Tironian note (similar in shape to the letter ‘7’); moderate use of ligatures; little extension below the base line; no fusion (‘kissing’/‘biting’) between letter forms.²⁴

²² A similar use of a pen drawing as a chirograph can be seen in a document from the lordship of Birseck, Switzerland (dated 16 April 1437) that today forms part of dossier A 10/1–12 in the Archives of the former Prince-Bishopric of Basel (cf. <<https://archives-aaeb.jura.ch/detail.aspx?ID=219058>>, image available online, http://www.aaeb.ch/htdocs/Images/Thumbnails/Images_taille_323/23Engagementrognresize1233831942901.JPG [both accessed 15 Feb. 2016]).

²³ I am preparing the first comprehensive study of book and manuscript production at Saint-Étienne during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, which will contain several relevant examples of such ‘book hands’. As has been argued repeatedly, the conventional distinction between ‘book hands’ and ‘document/charter hands’ should probably be abandoned in favour of more flexible and mutually permeable categories (sometimes referred to as ‘quasi-book hands’); see, for example, M. Gullick, ‘The Hand of Symeon of Durham: Further Observations on the Durham Martyrology Scribe’, in *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. D. Rollason (Stamford, 1998), pp. 14–31; *The Charters of King David I: The Written Acts of David I King of Scots, 1124–53 and of His Son Henry Earl of Northumberland, 1139–52*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 24–5; principally B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, tr. D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 137–8.

²⁴ On the topic of fusion in eleventh- and twelfth-century palaeography, see E. Kwakkel, ‘Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet: The Transitional Script of the Long Twelfth Century’, in *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book*, ed. E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick and R. M. Thomson (Leiden, 2012), pp. 79–126.

/1/ Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo xx^o recepit Rogerius presbiter
/2/ decimam Boeville cum decem acris terre ad mensuram eiusdem ville, et curtem bene /3/
clausam maceriis, cum quattuor domibus et totum quod habebat sanctus Stephanus in eadem
/4/ villa excepto virgulto et redditibus trium bordariorum qui pertinent ad celara-/5/-rium pro
septem modiis bladi et dimidio terciolariis de frumento et ordeo et /6/ avena usque ad decem
annos in mense septembrio. Ex parte eius sunt testes: /7/ Robertus Carbonel; Hugo de Lundel;
Fulco bonus homo. Ex parte sancti Stephani: /8/ Rannulfus de Taissel; Rogerius camerarius;
Robertus portarius et Ravengerius. [break of approx. three lines] /9/ Turstinus frater eius et
Anschitillus frater eius; Rannu[1]fus Corbel et Radulfus frater eius; Ricardus de Lingeurs;
Willelmus de Hotot filius Anchitilli; /10/ Robertus de Verroriis [or Verrorus] frater Ernaldi;
Anschitillus Estormi.

[‘In the year 1120 after the Incarnation of our Lord, Roger the priest received the tithe of Biéville along with ten acres of the same village by the [local] measure, and the courtyard properly enclosed by a [stone] wall, together with four houses and everything that Saint-Étienne [de Caen] had within that village – except for the brushwood [or the virgate (of land)] and the returns from the three bordars that pertain to the cellarer –, in return for seven pecks of grain and a sixth of the corn,²⁵ barley and oats [to be delivered] for a period of ten years starting this September. The witnesses on his [Roger’s] part are: Robert Carbonel; Hugh of Lundel; Fulc ‘the good man’. On the part of Saint-Étienne [de Caen, witnesses are]: Ranulf of Tessel; Roger the treasurer; Robert the porter and Ravengar. [Break] Turstin his brother and Anschetil his brother; Ranulf Corbel and Radulf his brother; Richard of Lingeurs; William of Hotot, son of Anschetil; Robert of Vercor, brother of Ernald; Anschetil *Estormi*.’]

Previous editions/publications: None

Add. Ch. 67575 (1147)

*Archbishop Hugh IV of Rouen settles a dispute between the Abbey of Saint-Étienne and the Cathedral Chapter of Bayeux (represented by Bishop Philip de Harcourt) concerning the annual Whitsuntide processions. Hugh decrees that the churches of Cheux, Ifs, Bras and Allemagne shall henceforth assemble at the abbey church of Saint-Étienne in exchange for two measures of land paid by the monks to the canons in compensation. Those of Villers and St Nicholas in Caen shall congregate at the episcopal mother church of Bayeux along with all the other churches in the diocese.*²⁶

Physical description: Parchment, approx. 162 × 175 mm, 22 lines, blind ruling; several dorsal notes (the earliest of which date from cent. 12ex): *C[arta] H[ugonis] archiepiscopi Roth[omagensis] de conventionibus inter nos et canonicos Baiocenses; C;* etc.; various notes and pressmarks on verso; parchment tag (approx. 13 × 36 mm) through bottom fold. Written in a single, well-trained hand that shows a regular, controlled ductus. The script exhibits a dense, bold aspect that is marked by high levels of angularity and horizontal compression; feet on minims are firmly turning to the right; ‘et’ is abbreviated using the Tironian note; moderate use of ligatures; little extension below the base line; partial fusion (‘kissing’) between individual letters.

/1/ H[ugo] Dei gratia Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, karissimis filiis suis, episcopis, abbatibus et universis sancte ecclesie /2/ prelatibus per Normanniam constitutis salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Ea que rata diu et in-/3/-concussa stabilitate volumus permanere,

²⁵ Dimidio terciolariis = literally ‘the half of a third’.

²⁶ This conflict surrounding the Whitsuntide processions is explored more comprehensively in Pohl, ‘Processions, Power and Public Display’.

litterarum solemus munimentis cummendare, ne vale-/4/-ant in posterum, aut oblivione dampnose subtrahi, aut perversorum vexatione contentiose /5/ perturbari. Orta est contentio inter canonicos Baiocenses et monachos Cadomenses Sancti Stephani de /6/ processionibus quarundam parrochiarum monachorum, que in festis diebus Pentecosten ad ecclesia-/7/-am ipsorum, pretermisssa matre ecclesia Baiocensi solenniter conveniebant. Ex mandato igitur /8/ domini pape, auditis utriusque partis rationibus, per compositionem que subscripta est, finem cause imposuimus. /9/ Monachis quidem concessa sunt ab episcopo Baiocensi, Philippo, et ab omni capitulo, trium villarum /10/ suarum processionis, videlicet, de Ceus et de Itio cum capella de Brachio et de Alemannia cum /11/ duabus ecclesiis suis. Pro hac autem concessione dederunt monachi Baiocensis ecclesie canonicis in /12/ recompensationem duas mansuras terre infra muros civitatis Baiocensis in perpetuum possiden-/13/-das, mansuram scilicet que Roberti Bosselli fuit libere in dominio possidendam, et alteram /14/ que fuit Rogeri Sailutre ita ut heredes ipsius Rogeri teneant eam de canonicis. Ecclesia vero sancti /15/ Nicolai de burgo Sancti [erasure of *abb[ati]*] Stephani et ecclesia de Vileirs et cetera omnes quas habent in episcopa-/16/-tu Baiocensi, preter illas supradictas, cum processionibus suis in sollennitate Pentecosten /17/ singulis annis ad suam matrem ecclesiam Baiocensem convenient, salva integritate /18/ possessionum suarum quas habent monachi, tam in ecclesiis quam in terris suis. Hanc /19/ autem compositionem que in presentia nostra et fratrum nostrorum episcoporum, Philippi Baiocensis et /20/ Rotrodi Ebroicensis, Roberti Fontanetensis abbatis, Vincentii Conchensis abbatis et alio-/21/-rum multorum clericorum et monachorum facta est, sub sigillo nostro auctoritate presentis /22/ scripti pagine communimus.

[‘Hugh, by the grace of God archbishop of Rouen, sends his greetings, favour and blessing to [all] his beloved sons – bishops, abbots and all prelates of the sacred Church – throughout Normandy. We are accustomed to commend to the protection of writing all those [matters] which we wish to remain in enduring and unshaken stability, so that they should not be cast into destructive forgetfulness, nor be troubled by the disputing harassment of the evil-minded. A dispute has arisen between the canons of Bayeux and the monks of Saint-Étienne de Caen concerning the [matter of] processions in certain of the monks’ parishes, which solemnly assembled at their [monastic] church on the Whitsun feast days, thereby passing over the [episcopal] mother church of Bayeux. We have listened, by papal mandate, to the arguments of both parties, and thus imposed an end to this case in the form of the following agreement: The monks have been granted by Philip [de Harcourt], bishop of Bayeux, and by his entire chapter, the processions in three of their villages, namely those of Cheux, Ifs with the chapel of Bras, and Allemagne with its two churches. In return for this grant, the monks gave the canons of the church of Bayeux two mansurae [land measure] of land inside the city walls of Bayeux, to be possessed in perpetuity, namely the mansura that belonged to Robert Boissel, to be held freely in demesne, and another that belonged to Roger Sailloutre, [to be held in this way] so that the heirs of the said Roger are to hold it from the canons. Meanwhile, the church of St Nicholas in the “bourg” of Saint-Étienne, the church of Villers and all the other [churches] that they [the monks of Saint-Étienne de Caen] have within the diocese of Bayeux – except those mentioned above – will congregate at their mother church of Bayeux with their processions for the annual Whitsuntide celebrations, saving the integrity of the monks’ possessions, that is, both churches and lands. This agreement was made in our presence and that of our episcopal brothers, Philip of Bayeux and Routrou of Évreux, as well as of Robert, abbot of [Saint-Étienne] de Fontenay, Vincent, abbot of Conches and many other clerics and monks, and we cement the authority of the present document with our seal.’]

Previous editions/publications: Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae Baiocensis: Livre Noir, ed. V. Bourrienne, 2 vols (Rouen/Paris, 1903), vol. i, 70.

Add. Ch. 67576 (c.1170)

Record of an agreement between Abbot William II of Saint-Étienne and Radulf of Cairon, the latter of whom is granted the right to become a monk of Saint-Étienne in return for a fief of land located between Cairon and Cambes and his share in the mill and lands of Bauduchonville. For as long as Radulf wishes to remain in the secular world, he shall hold the same land directly from the monastery as an annual lease. He is guaranteed the monks' support and hospitality for life, and his heirs are given the option to enter the monastery, too, if they prove themselves able.

Physical description: Parchment, approx. 151 × 249 mm, 27 lines, blind ruling; several dorsal notes (the earliest of which date from cent. 17); various notes and pressmarks on verso; note on recto: *Alain de Cheux temoin*; parchment tag (approx. 14 × 334 mm) through bottom fold. Written in a single hand with a regular, upright ductus. Individual letters regularly extend both below the base and above the top line, giving the entire script a slender, straight and elongated aspect that is intensified further by significant horizontal compression; feet on minims are firmly turning to the right; 'et' is abbreviated using the Tironian note; regular use of ligatures; no fusion between individual letters.

/0/ [chirograph:] LITIS DIVISIO EST

/1/ Sciant omnes tam presentes quam futuri, quod ego Willelmus abbas sancti Stephani Cadomi et totus con-/2/-ventus monachorum eiusdem loci, concessimus Radulfo de Caron quod quando voluerit ipsum in mo-/3/-nasterio nostro monachum faciemus; et cum ipso quendam clericum Gaufridum scilicet de Ria vel /4/ alium idoneum ad suscipiendum. Et idem Radulfus dedit nobis et sancto Stephano assensu heredum suorum Ro-/5/-berti Blondi sui generi et Cecilie uxoris eius et Dinan nepotis ipsius in perpetuam elemosinam pro Deo et sa-/6/-lute anime sue et parentum et antecessorum et propinquorum suorum totam terram suam de Genesteio de feodo /7/ Waleranni de Iwreio et Willelmi pincerne que est inter Caron et Canbas ita liberam et quietam /8/ sicut ipse eam tenuerat et tenebat. Ea tamen inter nos et ipsum condicione servata, quod /9/ quamdiu voluerit remanere in seculo medietatem firme et redditus illius terre in omnibus per /10/ manum nostram annuatim habeat apud Caron vel apud Ros, si melius nobis placuerit. Et si /11/ forte predictam terram non poterit nobis garantizare, dabit nobis in excambio tantum de /12/ dominica cultura sua prope de Caron le Veille quod inde i modium frumenti de redditu singulis /13/ annis habebimus. Preter hec autem dedit nobis suam decimam de parte sua quam habebat in mo-/14/-lendino medio et quidquid habebat apud Bauduchonvillam in feodo et redditum sive alio modo. Et /15/ est sciendum quod quamdiu ipse erit in seculo quociens Cadomi veniet et hoc ipsum nobis notificabit /16/ quod ibidem velit comedere sibi tercio in cibis et potu caritatem nostram habeat. In-/17/-super etiam si uxor ipsius alicubi voluerit sanctimonialis fieri, nos eidem subveniemus ad impe-/18/-trandum quod postulabit pro posse nostro absque nostra expensa. Post obitum etiam Radulfi predicti /19/ si forte aliquis clericus sibi genere propinqu[us] petierit ut nobiscum monachus fiat et ipse idoneus /20/ ad hoc nobis videatur eundem recipiemus. Et heredes ipsius mantenemento et consilio nostro absque /21/ expensa nostra coadiuvabimus, ut autem idem Radulfus et heredes sui donationes predictas firmiter nobis /22/ teneant. Ad testimonium veritatis hoc cirogra[p]hum inter nos et ipsos fecimus et eisdem conven-/23/-tionem predictam sigillo capituli nostri confirmavimus. Testibus: his monachis; Helia priore; Od[o]ardo /24/ subpriore; Anschitillo hospitali; Sanx celarario;²⁷ Willelmo nepote comitis; Radulfo Anglico; Thoma de /25/ Versun et aliis; Gaufrido camerario; Ricardo fratre ipsius; Hingulfo; Alanno de Cheus. /26/ Omnia etiam supradicta dominus Henricus Baiocensis episcopus sigillo confirmavit. Et inde ipse est testis /27/ Radulfo de Caron sigillo sua eadem nobis confirmavit.

²⁷ Possibly an early etymological variant of the Romance name Sancho.

[‘May it be known amongst all those present and in the future that I, Abbot William of Saint-Étienne de Caen, together with the entire convent of monks of that place, have granted to Radulf of Cairon that, if ever he wishes, we shall make him a monk in our monastery, and we will take up with him a certain cleric, known as Geoffrey of Ria, or an equally qualified and laudable companion. And [in return] the said Radulf gave us and Saint-Étienne, with the assent of his heirs – that is, Robert Blondus, his son-in-law, and his wife Cecilia, as well as his grandson Dinan –, as a permanent donation [or alms] to God and for the salvation of his own soul and those of his kinsmen, both ancestors and in his own generation, all of his land of the Genetets within the fief of Waleran of Ivry and William the cupbearer [or butler], which lies between Cairon and Cambes, free from tribute and in peace, just as he himself had held it and was holding it [at that time]. [This was done] On the condition, as agreed between us and him [Radulf], that so long as he wishes to remain in the midst of the [secular] world, he shall have from our hand, on an annual basis, the farms and rents of that land at either Cairon or Rots, if this pleases us better. And if, by any chance, he shall prove unable to warrant the aforementioned land to us, he will instead give us so much of his agricultural domain at Cairon le Veille that thenceforth we will have one peck [= two gallons] of the annual harvest of grain. Over and above this, however, he also gave us the tithe from his half share in the mill and whatever he owns at Bauduchonville, whether in the form of a rent fief or any other tenure. And let it be known that, for as long as he remains in the secular life, whenever he comes to Caen and informs us that he wishes to eat his third share [as a confrater monk] in food and drink,²⁸ he shall have our charity. In addition to the above, if his wife ever desires to be made a nun anywhere, we will assist her in obtaining whatever she seeks as far as we can, though not at our own expense. Also, if after the death of the abovementioned Radulf any cleric who is a relative of his happens to seek to become a monk with us, and if we deem him suitable for this, we shall receive him. And we shall join in assisting the same Radulf’s heirs with protection, counsel and other things, at our own expense, so that, in return, he and his heirs will firmly hold the abovementioned donations from us. As evidence of truth, we created this chirograph between us and him, and confirmed the abovementioned agreement with the seal of our chapter. Witnessed by these monks: Elias the prior; Odoard the sub-prior; Anschetil the hospitaller; *Sanx* the cellarer; William, grandson [or nephew] of the count; Radulf the Englishman; Thomas de Versun and others; Geoffrey the chamberlain; Richard his brother; Ingolf; Alan of Cheus. Lord Henry Bishop of Beyeux has confirmed all of the abovementioned with his seal, and he is thus witness to it. [In addition,] Radulf of Cairon has himself confirmed the same [things] to us with his seal.’]

Previous editions/publications: None

Add. Ch. 67577 (1179–93)

Record of an agreement between Abbot Peter II of Saint-Étienne and the priest Robert of Secqueville-en-Bessin who, in his old age, resigns his church to the monastery and renounces all his claims to it. The church of Secqueville is assigned for life to the new priest, Richard, along with the priest’s house, in which he will be allowed to live in return for one pound of pepper a year. Whilst Richard will be entitled to all revenues and offerings made to his church, all the lands and dwellings that the same church has in endowments will be retained by the abbey, as well as all the entire tithe of grain and flax.

Physical description: Parchment, approx. 170 × 222 mm, 22 lines, blind ruling; several dorsal notes (the earliest of which date from cent. 13in): *Carta presbiter[at]i de Sicavill[a] et ecclesia*

²⁸ An alternatively translation would be ‘wishes to eat and drink at Terce [i.e. canonical hour]’.

de Siccavill[a]; E; etc.; various notes and pressmarks on verso; notes on recto: W[illelmus] poeta clericus et alii varii curati Cadom[ensis]; Alanus de Cheux testis; silk thread through bottom fold, seal lost. Written in a single, well-trained hand exhibiting a regular, elegant ductus marked by confident straight lines paired with fluently executed curved strokes. The overall aspect is one of formality and status, not dissimilar to some chancery productions of the period. This impression is strengthened by the many elongated letter forms protruding both above the top and below the base line. Many of the ascenders are decorated with elaborate curves and/or loops reminiscent of display script with little horizontal compression; feet on minims are firmly turning to the right; ‘et’ is abbreviated using the Tironian note; regular use of ligatures; full fusion (‘biting’) between individual letters.

/0/ [chirograph:] A B C D E F G H I K

/1/ Universis sancte matris Ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, P[etrus] Abbas Cadomensis eiusdemque loci conventus eternam in /2/ Domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra Robertus de Siccavill presbyterum [or, less likely, *presbyteratum*] ecclesiam eiusdem ville in qua sub nomine nostro tanquam vicarius /3/ ministraverat compellente corporis infirmitate nobis resignasse et omne ius ac beneficium quod in ea precipere consu-/4/-everat in perpetuum abiurasse. Nosque eandem ecclesiam Ricardo presbitero ad vitam suam concessisse et presenti carta confir-/5/-masse. Hac inter nos et ipsum Ricardum conditione servata ut ea tam quam hic expressa sunt beneficia et nichil amplius in ecclesia /6/ illa percipiat. Omnes scilicet obventiones et oblationes que tam ad altare quam ad manum eius venerint. Decimas quoque pomorum, /7/ lane et canabi atque agnorum ceterorumque animalium seu avium decimam prodeuntium. Necnon et omnia iura ecclesiastica /8/ ad cimiterium ecclesie et ad defunctorum sepulturam pertinentia. Ipse vero de omni iure episcopali et archidiaconali /9/ et de omnibus quas tene[n]tur persolvere consuetudinibus ecclesiam acquietabit reddetque nobis sub annua pensione xl /10/ solidos Andegavensium annuatius viginti in Natali Domini et viginti in pascha percipiendos et xxx candelas in purificatione beate /11/ Marie. Nos autem in manu nostra retinuimus totam terram que est de elemosina eiusdem ecclesie cum domibus et masuagi-/12/-is que in ea sunt. Tradentes sepredicto Ricardo illam domum in qua Robertus presbiter manere solebat tenendam de nobis quamdiu /13/ vixerit per unam libram piperis annuatim nobis solvendam ad feriam de Prato. Retinuimus quoque in dominio nostro decimas /14/ bladi et lini totas duas videlicet partes et terciam. Hec autem omnia ita tenendas et prescriptam pensionem ad /15/ terminos constitutos persolvendam iuravit nobis sepredictus Ricardus in capitulo nostro, et quod nullum nisi nos de predicta /16/ ecclesia presentatorem vel advocatum clamaverit, et quod siquis inde nos vexare aut contra nos calumpniam mo-/17/-vere attentaverit ipse pro posse suo contra omnes homines stabit nobiscum et nos inde fideliter iuvabit. Huius rei /18/ sunt testes: Rogerus prior; Reinardus subprior; Ansetillus hospitalis [or hospitalarius]; Robertus de Curl[?]; Hamelinus de Camb[?]; W[illelmus] de Cellario; /19/ W[illelmus] insularius; monachi: Iohannes de Britivilla; Sans de Bitot; Gislebertus de Fontibus; Malgerius de Lachon; Radulfus /20/ de Astera; Philippus filius eius; Ioslenus de sancto Nicholao; Simon de sancto Martino; Ricardus de sancto Michaele; presbiteri: /21/ Magister Radulfus de Siccavill[?]; W[illelmus] Manch[?]; W[illelmus] poeta; clerici: Rannulfus de Siccavill; Rogerus de Siccaville; Gau-/22/-fridus de Dovra; Gaufridus portarius; Alannus de Cheus; Ingulfus Freel; Adam de Carpich[e] et alii multi.

[‘Peter, abbot of Caen and the monastery of that place [Saint-Étienne de Caen], in the name of the Lord sends his eternal blessing to [all] the sons of the universal and holy mother Church whom the present document may reach. May it be known to all of you that the priest Robert of Secqueville[-en-Bessin] has, compelled by the weakness of his body, resigned to us forever the church of that village in which he had served as vicar in our name, and [that he] has forever abjured all the rights and prerequisites that he had been enjoying there. And we have granted and confirmed by the present charter that [same] church to Richard the priest for life, on the condition [agreed] between us and the said Richard that he shall enjoy those things [precisely as they are] defined here, and nothing more. This comprises all revenues and offerings coming

to the altar or his hand, including the tithes of apples, wool and hemp, of lambs and other animals and birds on which tithes are paid, as well as all ecclesiastical and archidiaconal rights pertaining to the church cemetery and the burial of the deceased. However, he will acquit the church of all episcopal and archidiaconal dues and customs by an annual pension of forty Angevin coins, twenty [of which] to be received at Christmas and twenty at Easter, as well as thirty candles at Candlemas. We, meanwhile, have retained in our hand all the lands that the said church has in endowments, together with the houses and dwellings on it. The house in which the priest Robert used to live is to be bequeathed to the oft-mentioned Richard, to be held by him from us for as long as he lives for one pound of pepper a year which is to be paid on the Meadow Fair. We have [also] retained in our demesne all three parts of the tithes of grain and flax. The oft-mentioned Richard swore in our chapter house to be bound by all these [agreements], and to pay us the agreed pension on the established date, and [he also promised] that he will proclaim no one but us patron or advocate of the said church, and that if anyone should harass us or seek to initiate any lawsuit against us, he will stand with us against any man and faithfully support us to the best of his abilities. Witnesses in this matter are: Roger the prior; Reinard the sub-prior; Aschetil the hospitaller; Robert of Curlé;²⁹ Hamet of Cambes; W[illiam] of the cellar;³⁰ W[illiam] the islander; monks [of Saint-Étienne de Caen?]: John of Bretteville[-l'Orgueilleuse]; Sans of Bitot; Giselbert of Fontaine[-Henry]; Malger of Lachon; Radulf of Astera, Philip his son; Joslin of Saint Nicholas; Simon of Saint Martin; Richard of Saint Michael;³¹ priests: Master Radulf of Secqueville; W[illiam] Manch[']; W[illiam] the poet; clerics:³² Ranulf of Secqueville; Roger of Secqueville; Geoffrey of Douvres[-la-Délivrande]; Geoffrey the porter; Alan of Cheus; Ingulf Freel; Adam of Carpiquet and many others.]

Previous editions/publications: None

Add. Ch. 67578 (1187)

Hugh 'the villain' gives six and a half acres of land at Locelles to his servant Roger the cleric in return for his service. Roger and his heirs henceforth shall hold this land as a fief from the Abbey of Saint-Étienne in return for one pound of pepper, two hens and twenty eggs annually.

Physical description: Parchment, approx. 155 × 110 mm, 9 lines, lead-point ruling; several dorsal notes (the earliest of which date from cent. 13in): *Carta Hugonis Willani de vi acras t[er]re apud Locell[am]; F;* etc.; various notes and pressmarks on verso; note on recto: *Roger de Cheux témoin*; silk thread through bottom fold, seal lost. Written in a single, well-trained hand showing a regular ductus with confidently executed letters. Even though the script's overall aspect is an upright one supported by high levels of angularity in the construction of individual letter forms, there are also elaborate rounded elements used for enlarged majuscules, ascenders and abbreviation marks. There is a moderate level of horizontal compression; feet on minims are firmly turning to the right; 'et' is abbreviated using the Tironian note; occasional use of ligatures; partial fusion ('kissing') between individual letters.

/1/ Notum sit presentibus et futuris quod ego Hugo villanus dedi et presenti carta confirmavi Rogero clerico ser-/2/-vienti meo vi acras et dimidiam terre mee de Locellas pro servicio suo tenendas feodaliter sibi et heredibus /3/ suis de monasterio et monachis beati Stephani de Cadomo, solvendo inde eis annuatim ad feriam de Prato i /4/ libram piperis et ad Natalem Domini ii gallinas et in Pascha xx ova. Est autem terra hec in locis istis, in /5/ Perrella i acram,

²⁹ An alternatively translation would be 'wishes to eat and drink at Terce [i.e. canonical hour]'.

³⁰ Or 'Robert of Cully'.

³¹ Alternatively, 'the cellarer'.

³² Possibly Mont-Saint-Michel.

in Planicie acram et dimidiam, super domum Corbelli i acram, in Nigra Terra i acram, in via Sancte /6/ Crucis ii acras. Hoc autem factum anno incarnationis dominice m^oc^olxxx^ovii^o apud Cadomum. Testibus: W[illelmo] /7/ filio Radulfi tunc senescallo Normannie; W[illelmo] de Mara; W[illelmo] de Caluiz; Ricardo filio Henrici; Gaufrido de Rapendo tunc /8/ baillivis regis; Rogero priore Cadomi; Roberto de Curl[?]; Osberto de Sag[?]; Roberto de Longocampo; W[illelmo] insulario; /9/ monachis: Ricardo Ospinel; W[illelmo] Tailleb[?]; Rogero de Cheus; Radulfo Bigerel; Roberto de Platea et aliis multis.

[‘May it be known amongst all those present and in the future that I, Hugh ‘the villain’ [or ‘the tenant’],³³ have given and confirmed by the present charter six and a half acres of my land of Locelles to my servant Roger the cleric in return for his service, to be held by him and his heirs as a fief from the monastery and monks of Saint-Étienne de Caen, in return for paying them one pound of pepper each year on the Meadow Fair, as well as two hens at Christmas and twenty eggs at Easter. This land lies in the following places: one acre in [La] Perelle; one and a half acres in *Planicia*;³⁴ one acre above the house of Corbel; one acre in Nigra Terra; two acres on/ along the road of the Holy Cross. This [agreement] was done in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1187 at Caen, witnesses [being]: W[illiam] son of Radulf, at present seneschal of Normandy; W[illiam] of Mare; W[illiam] of Calix; Richard son of Henry; Geoffrey of Repton, at present the king’s bailiff; Roger prior of [Saint-Étienne de] Caen; Robert of Curlé;³⁵ Osbern of Sées; Robert of Longchamp; W[illiam] the islander; monks; Richard Ospinel; W[illiam] Tailleb[?]; Roger of Cheus; Radulf Bigerel; Robert of Place and many others.’]

Previous editions/publications: A.-L. Léchaudé d’Anisy, *Extrait des chartes, et autres actes Normands ou Anglo-Normands, qui se trouvent dans les archives du Calvados*, 2 vols (Caen, 1834-5), vol. i, 282 (= no. 71); Vincent, *Norman Charters*, pp. 199–200 (= no. 73).

Add. Ch. 67579 (1197–1214)

Bartholomew of Livet confirms an agreement made between Luke the cupbearer and Roger the cleric, according to which Luke bought, for a sum of twenty-five pounds, the land at Loucelles that Roger had been given by his lord (and Bartholomew’s uncle), Hugh the villain (see above, Add. Ch. 67578). In return for this confirmation, Bartholomew receives fifty-five Angevin coins and homage from Luke.

Physical description: Parchment, approx. 194 × 120 mm, 11 lines, lead-point ruling; several dorsal notes (the earliest of which date from cent. 13in): *Carta Barth[olomei] de Livet de emptione Luce pincerne apud Locell[am]*; *G*; etc.; various notes and pressmarks on verso; note on recto: *Roger de Cheus*; parchment tag (approx. 11 × 31 mm) through bottom fold. Written in a single hand that shows a regular, steady ductus. The script exhibits a rounded aspect at the same time as showing pronounced levels of angularity and fairly elaborate ascenders and descenders, many of which are sloping to the left. There is a little horizontal compression; feet on minims are turning to the right throughout; ‘et’ is abbreviated using the Tironian note; frequent use of ligatures; occasional partial fusion (‘kissing’) between individual letters.

/1/ Omnibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit, Bartholomeus de Livet salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod Lucas pin-/2/-cerna assensu meo et voluntate emit a Rogero clerico pro xxv libris Andegavensium terram illam apud Locellas quam /3/ Hugo rusticus avunculus

³³ Alternatively, we might translate this as ‘Hugh Villanus’.

³⁴ Uncertain; cf. the entry in the index of places in Vincent, *Norman Charters*, p. 285.

³⁵ Or ‘Robert of Cully’.

meus eidem Rogero pro suo servitio donavit et quam idem Rogerus de me tenebat, /4/ ita quod prefatus Rogerus terram predictam in manu mea reddidit et forisiuravit quod decetero nichil in ea recla-/5/-mabit. Ego autem tunc eandem terram tradidi et concessi predicto Luce tenendam et habendam sibi et suis heredi-/6/-bus de me et meis heredibus bene et pacifice libere et quiete per talem redditum qualem memoratus Rogerus de illa /7/ terra mihi faciebat. Pro hac autem concessione mea eidem firmiter tenenda et garantizanda dedit mihi /8/ idem Lucas lv solidos Andegavensium et inde fecit mihi hominagium. Et ut hoc ratum et inconcussum habeatur /9/ in posterum, presenti scripto et sigillo meo duxi confirmandum. Inde sunt testes: S[amson] Abbas Cadomensis; Robertus /10/ Rastel et Willelmus de Cormeliis monachi; Robertus Benedicti; Henricus le[Rebree]; Rogerus de Cheus; Willelmus de Mon-/11/-telles et alii plures.

[‘Bartholomew of Livet sends his greetings to all those whom the present charter may reach. May it be known amongst all of you that Luke the cupbearer [or butler] has bought – with my assent and by my wishes, and for [a sum of] twenty-five Angevin pounds – from Roger the cleric the land at Loucelles which Hugh the peasant,³⁶ my maternal uncle, gave to the said Roger in return for his service, and which [until now] the said Roger was holding from me, until he returned the it into my hand and swore that from now he would lay no [more] claim to anything on it. I then granted and handed over the said land to the aforementioned Luke, to have and be held by him and his heirs from me and my heirs, decently and in peace, free and undisturbed, for the same rent that Roger had rendered to me from that land. In order that this grant should be firmly held [by him] and warranted [by me], the same Luke gave me fifty-five Angevin coins and, moreover, performed homage to me for it. And to make sure that this [agreement] will remain valid and unshaken in the future, I have brought together the present document with my seal for confirmation. Witnesses of this are: Abbot Samson of [Saint-Étienne de] Caen; the monks Robert Rastel and William of Cormel; Robert son of Benedict; Henry Le Rebree; Roger of Cheus; William of Monteille and many others.’]

Previous editions/publications: Léchaudé d’Anisy, *Extrait des chartes*, vol. i, 282 (= no. 71); Vincent, *Norman Charters*, pp. 200–1 (= no. 74).

Add. Ch. 67580 (1193–6)

Henry Beaufou confirms the grant of half a knight’s fee of his own lordship made by Albereda, the widow of Robert Boteville, to Abbot Robert II of Saint-Étienne de Caen.

Physical description: Parchment, approx. 159 × 80 mm, 7 lines, no ruling; several dorsal notes (the earliest of which date from cent. 13in): *Carta H[enrici] de Bello Fago de dono Alberede uxoris R[oberti] Bodevilani; F;* etc.; various notes and pressmarks on verso; parchment tag (approx. 10 × 58 mm) through bottom fold. Written in a single hand with a pronounced cursive ductus. The script’s aspect is verging on the informal despite various elements reminiscent of chancery productions, including the frequent use of curved/looped ascenders. There is little to no horizontal compression; feet on minims are firmly turning to the right; ‘et’ is abbreviated using the Tironian note; very frequent use of ligatures; full fusion (‘biting’) between individual letters.

/1/ Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Henricus de Bella Fago salutem. Sciatis quod donum /2/ feodi dimidium militis quod est de feodo meo quod Albereda uxor quondam Roberti Bo-/3/-tevilani fecit R[oberto] abbati Cadomi [et] quod ego donum illud concedo et garantizo et hac /4/ presenti carta confirmo et quod ei liceat donum illud dare cuilibet voluerit. Et /5/ ut hoc ratum sit et stabile in posterum, presens scriptum sigilli mei munimine /6/ corroboravi. Testibus

³⁶ Or ‘Hugh Rusticus’.

hiis: Willelmo filio Radulphi tunc temporis senescallo Normannie; /7/ Ricardo de Humetis; Gaufrido de Rappendam et pluribus aliis.

[‘Henry Beaufo sends his greetings to all those whom the present charter may reach. You should know that I grant, guarantee and confirm, by means of the present charter, the grant of half a knight’s fee – which is of my own lordship – that Albereda, the widow of Robert Boteville, has made to Abbot Robert of [Saint-Étienne de] Caen, so that he may use and give that donation to whomever he pleases. And in order that this may be valid and stable in the future, I have strengthened the present document with the protection of my seal, its witnesses [being]: William, the then seneschal [or steward] of Normandy; Richard of Hommet; Geoffrey of Repton and very many others.’]

Previous editions/publications: None

Add. Ch. 67581 (cent. 12ex)

Bishop Henry II of Bayeux confirms the gift made to the Abbey of Saint-Étienne by the knight Hugh of Noiers, consisting of all rights of patronage within the church of Fontaine at Thaon. The church’s parson, Gilbert, shall henceforth consider the abbot and monks of Saint-Étienne his patrons, which he agreed to swear by oath. In addition, the monastery received from Hugh two thirds from the tithes of his demesne around Fontaine-Henry that had previously been held by Hugh’s brother, William.

Physical description: Parchment, approx. 190 × 226 mm, 19 lines, lead-point ruling; several dorsal notes (the earliest of which date from cent. 12ex): *Carta de dono Hugonis de Noirs [sic]; B;* etc.; various notes and pressmarks on verso, parchment tag lost. Written in a single, extremely well-trained hand exhibiting a controlled, regular ductus marked by well-executed letter forms and a marked sense of equilibrium. The script’s aspect is very formal at the same time as showing elements familiar from chancery productions. Makes frequent use of decorative script (for example, the ascenders in the first line). There is a reasonable level of horizontal compression; feet on minims are firmly turning to the right; ‘et’ is abbreviated using the Tironian note; high frequency of ligatures and abbreviations; full fusion (‘biting’) between individual letters.

/1/ Henricus Dei gratia Baiocensis episcopus universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit eternam /2/ in Domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod Hugo de Noiers miles dedit et concessit in /3/ puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et beato Stephano Cadomi et monachis ibi Deo servientibus, /4/ pro salute sua et suorum predecessorum consilio et assensu Willelmi fratris suis, totum ius patronatus quod ipsi /5/ et suis predecessoribus competebat in medietate ecclesie de fontibus iuxta Taon. Ita etiam quod Gillebertum /6/ personam illius ecclesie assignavit abbati et conventui eiusdem loci ut eis decetero ratione dicti patro-/7/-natus esset, tamquam patronis obnoxius et eos decetero patronos laudaret unde prius eundem Hugonem /8/ et eius antecessores dominos laudaverat et patronos ad uberiorem itaque huius rei firmitatem cenobio /9/ et beato Stephano comparandam. Idem Gillebertus persona de nostra permissione et auctoritate se /10/ ipsis monachis ut patronis suis sacramento fidelitatis astrinxit, salvo per omnia iure nostro /11/ et nostrorum officialium. Preterea sciendum est quod idem Hugo dedit et elemosinavit Deo /12/ et prefato cenobio in puram et perpetuam elemosinam duas garbas decimarum de toto feodo /13/ suo apud eandem villam de fontibus et in toto eiusdem ville territorio, videlicet in dominio, in /14/ hominibus et in omnibus aliis terris de quibus decima debet et potest exire. Ita quod Willelmus /15/ clericus frater eiusdem Hugonis qui eandem decimam habebat in elemosinam perpetuam ex dono et /16/ concessione Roberti de Noiers patris sui resignavit et dimisit eam spontaneus prefato ce-/17/-nobio libere et quiete ex integro in perpetuum possidendam. Ut autem eorum que pie gesta /18/ sunt memoriam futuris unquam

temporibus non obducat vel intercipiat oblivio scripture testi-/19/-monio eadem duximus
prosequenda et sigilli nostri munimine roboranda.

[‘Henry, by the grace of God bishop of Bayeux, sends his eternal greeting to all the servants of Christ whom the present charter may reach. May it be known amongst everyone that the knight Hugh of Noiers has given and granted – on the advice and assent of his brother William – all the rights of patronage that belonged to him and his predecessors within the church of Fontaine at Thaon as a free and eternal gift to God, the blessed Stephen of Caen and to the monks who serve God in that place, for [the sake of] his own salvation and that of his ancestors. Also, [you should know] that he [Hugh] has assigned to the abbot and convent of the said place [= Saint-Étienne de Caen] Gilbert, parson of that church, so that from now by reason of the said rights of patronage it [the church] shall be known as theirs, along with the obligations of a patron; [henceforth] he [Gilbert] shall from now praise them as his patrons where he had previously praised the same Hugh and his ancestors as lords and patrons, and thus establish the most firm and profitable relationship between the monastery and Saint Stephen. The same parson Gilbert has, with our permission and by our episcopal authority, bound [or obliged] himself, by an oath of fidelity, to these monks as his patrons, saving in all things his duties towards us and our officials. Note also that the same Hugh has given and gifted in demesne to God and the abovementioned monastery, as a pure and eternal donation, two sheaves [or two thirds] from the tithes of his whole demesne in the same village of Fontaine-Henry, as well as in the entire territory surrounding that village, that is, from his demesne, men and all other lands from which tithes must and can be due. William, a cleric and the brother of the said Hugh, who had held the same tithes in perpetual alms by the gift and grant of their father, Robert of Noiers, has [now] voluntarily resigned and handed over of his own will these [tithes] to the aforementioned monastery [of Saint-Étienne de Caen], to be possessed freely, undisturbedly and intact forever. In order that oblivion should never remove or obscure the memory of these pious deeds for future times, we have ordered for them to be committed to the testimony of the written word and be protected by the fortification of our seal.’]

Previous editions/publications: None

Commentary

What, then, can Add. Chs. 67574–67581 tell us about the development of Saint-Étienne’s political and economic activities during the period c.1120–1204? Let us operate chronologically, beginning with the earliest of the eight charters, Add. Ch. 67574. Dating from 1120, the charter records a lease granted by the Abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen to Roger the priest (*presbiter*). Roger is said to have received, for a duration of ten years, the tithes of the Norman village of Biéville (located less than 10 km north of Caen),³⁷

along with ten acres of the same village by the [local] measure, and the courtyard properly enclosed by a [stone] wall, together with four houses and everything that Saint-Étienne had within that village – except for the brushwood and the returns from the three bordars that pertain to the cellarer –, in return for seven pecks of grain and a sixth of the corn, barley and oats.³⁸

³⁷ *Boeville*, in this context, can probably be identified with Biéville-Beuville (Dép. Calvados, cant. Ouistreham), rather than with Biéville-en-Auge (Dép. Calvados, cant. Mézidon-Canon) or Boisville-la-St-Père (Dép. Eure-et-Loir, can. Voves); cf. the respective entries in *Orbis Latinus: Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, Großausgabe*, ed. J. G. T. Graesse, F. Benedict and H. Plechl, 3 vols (Braunschweig, 1972), vol. i, 276. Also see J.-M. Bouvris, ‘A propos des échanges entre les “scriptoria” des abbayes caennaises au XIe siècle: La “donation” de la dîme de Biéville par Renouf, vicomte de Bayeux’, *Cahier des Annales de Normandie*, 23 (1990), 203–14.

³⁸ Add. Ch. 67574, ll. 2–6: [C]um decem acris [...] et avena.

Evidently, the abbey was prepared to hand over on a temporary basis most of what it had in Biéville – chiefly arable land and the dwellings thereon – in return for a fixed share of the agricultural produce generated on these lands. As a priest, Roger could probably not be expected to work the land himself, which seems to suggest that sufficient workforces would have been in place already, possibly in the form of local tenants. In order to assess the context and wider relevance of this agreement, we must take a closer look at when the monks first acquired the lands that they gave to Roger in 1120.

According to a pancarte attested by both William the Conqueror and his wife Matilda during the early to mid-1080s (albeit not *manu propria*),³⁹ the title of Biéville had initially been given to the Abbey of Saint-Étienne de Caen by Ranulf (or Ralph), viscount of Bayeux, also sometimes referred to as Ranulf de Briquessart (c.1017–89), one of Normandy’s most powerful and wealthy magnates at the time.⁴⁰ This document has been described by its most recent editor as ‘a typical Saint-Étienne *pancarte*’.⁴¹ It survives in the original (Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados, H 1831 no. 1),⁴² as well as in several later copies,⁴³ and was copied verbatim into the twelfth-century Cartulary of Saint-Étienne (Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols. 9r–15r). According to the pancarte/Cartulary, Ranulf made his donation to Saint-Étienne ‘for the salvation of my own soul and that of my lord, William king of the English, prince of Normandy and Maine, as well as those of all my forebears’, and it included

the church of Biéville with the alod and all tithes that pertain to it, as well as all the land that I have in Bretteville-l’Orgueilleuse and the part of the church that relates to it, together with the tenants and free men and everything else pertaining to it, on the condition that for as long as I live, I may retain them in my demesne (*dominio*), if I wish to do so. However, should I have myself or any of my sons made a monk [in the community of Saint-Étienne de Caen], these things shall at once be transferred into the lordship of the church. Should I undertake neither of the two, these things should pass into the lordship of the church together with every portion of my wealth following my own death.⁴⁴

The list of witnesses attached to this agreement is rather short yet impressive, as it includes not only William and Matilda, who are recorded as having acted upon Ranulf’s explicit command (*prefato Ranulfo concedente et deprecante*), but also powerful Norman magnates and prelates

³⁹ Regesta, ed. Bates, p. 230. The traditional date for the redaction of the pancarte is 1081–2; see Musset, *Actes de Guillaume*, pp. 70, 120. Also cf. Bouvris, ‘Donation’, p. 204. Fujimoto, ‘Recherche’, vol. ii, 25 proposes a date of c. 1081–7. This might seem rather generous, however, given that Matilda died in November 1083 – unless, of course, we are in fact dealing with a non-contemporary copy (which might be suggested by the non-autograph sigla). Regesta, ed. Bates, p. 231 seems to concur with the date of 1081–2, but allows for the possibility that the pancarte could theoretically be a later reworking from the final years of William’s reign. In the absence of any concrete evidence for such a reworking, however, we shall adopt the date of 1081–2 for the purposes of this article.

⁴⁰ On Ranulf’s lineage, see J.-M. Bouvris, ‘Une famille de vassaux des vicomtes de Bayeux au XIe siècle: les Broc’, *Revue du Département de la Manche*, xix:73 (1977), pp. 3–45.

⁴¹ Regesta, ed. Bates, p. 230 (= no. 49).

⁴² This charter has been edited by Musset, *Actes de Guillaume*, pp. 70–77 (= no. 7).

⁴³ Fujimoto, ‘Recherche’, vol. ii, p. 28.

⁴⁴ Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1, ll. 16–21 (pancarte); Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 10v–11r (Cartulary): Ego Rannulfus vicecomes Baiocensis trado coenobio beati Stephani de Cadomo pro salute anime mee dominique mei Willelmi regis Anglorum, principis Normannorum et Coenomannorum et omnium parentum meorum ecclesiam de Boiavilla cum alodio et omni decima ad eam pertinente et totam terram quam in Brittivilla Orgulosa habeo, cum parte ecclesie ad eam pertinente, cum colonis et liberis hominibus et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, ea conditione servata ut quamdiu ego vixero, si michi placuerit, in meo dominio eam retineam. Quod si ego monachus fiam, vel quemlibet de filiis meis monachum fecero, statim in ecclesie dominium deveniant. Si autem horum neutrum fecero, post mortem meam cum omni portione substantie mee in dominium ecclesie transeant.

such as, for example, Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury, Bishop Odo of Bayeux (William's half-brother) and Roger of Montgomery, the first earl of Shrewsbury and one of the king's chief advisers. What is more, the act that succeeds Ranulf's donation in the pancarte (as well as in the Cartulary) also pertains to Bretteville-l'Orgueilleuse (about 15 km from Caen, and about 20 km from Biéville). Here, one Robert Bertran, acting in anticipation of his own death (*imminente morte*), and with the assent of his wife and children, is recorded to have given to the monks of Saint-Étienne his part of the church of Bretteville (*parte mea ecclesiae*) and the lands pertaining to it, including the tenants, free men and everything else (*cum colonis et liberis hominibus et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus*) – terms that closely (if not indeed perfectly) mirror those used in Ranulf's gift.⁴⁵

It is not at all unlikely that the donations made by Ranulf and Robert, the former probably during the years c.1077–82,⁴⁶ the latter certainly before 1087 (the *terminus ante quem* of the pancarte), were related. With both benefactors agreeing to concede their respective parts of the church and territories of Bretteville to Saint-Étienne de Caen no more than a few years apart, the abbey obtained, within a relatively short period of time, a substantial portion (if not indeed the totality) of the ecclesiastical rights and properties pertaining to that village. When viewed from this perspective, each of the two gifts would have complimented each other, that is, by forming two halves which together constituted one larger entity. That this was indeed the way in which these two donations were viewed by contemporaries during the later eleventh century (and continued to be viewed well into the twelfth century) is evidenced by two additional charters. The first of these charters was issued by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, c.1079–83, and it survives today in the form of a twelfth-century *vidimus* (Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados H 1844 no. 1). Amongst several other grants made to Saint-Étienne and located in or around Caen, Odo also explicitly confirms 'that [land] which Robert Bertran and Ranulf, viscount [of Bayeux], held in Bretteville-l'Orgueilleuse' (*De eo quod tenuerunt Robertus Bertranus et Rannulfus vicecomes in Britavilla Orguilloso*).⁴⁷ The same wording is repeated verbatim in the second charter, which was issued c.1142–67 by one of Odo's successors, Bishop Philip de Harcourt (1142–63).⁴⁸ The use of the singular (*de eo quod*) in both charters strongly supports the notion of a cumulative donation that from the 1080s onwards was seen and treated as a single item. I will return to this below.

For now, this could also help to explain why we encounter a notable difference in (or rather an omission of) content in yet another documented version of Ranulf's donation that survives in a second, much shorter pancarte of Saint-Étienne (Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados, H 1831 no. 2). Similar to Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1, this second pancarte was also attested by William the Conqueror (again in non-autograph form),⁴⁹ but not, however, by Matilda. There are different opinions amongst scholars concerning the relative chronology of the two pancartes. Their first critical editor, Lucien Musset, considered Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 to be the older of the two documents, arguing that some of its contents were copied subsequently into Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1, probably before 1082.⁵⁰ Whilst most scholars have embraced this argument,⁵¹

⁴⁵ Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1, ll. 21–23; Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 11r.

⁴⁶ This date has been argued for compellingly by Bouvrin, 'Donation', pp. 204–5.

⁴⁷ Arch. Dép. H 1844 no. 1, ll. 19–20.

⁴⁸ Arch. Dép. H 1844 no. 2, ll. 12–13.

⁴⁹ *Regesta*, ed. Bates, p. 224.

⁵⁰ Musset, *Actes de Guillaume*, p. 120 (= no. 18). Curiously, Musset then gives the date for Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 as 1079–87, which seems at odds with his previous assumption.

⁵¹ Most recently Fujimoto, 'Recherche', vol. ii, p. 29. *Regesta*, ed. Bates, pp. 224–7 (= no. 48) also considers Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 to have provided the template for Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1. Following a detailed discussion of previous dating attempts (including those mentioned above), Bates concludes that 'a date of 1080 x 1082 is possible', not without adding, however, that neither of the two pancartes 'can be conclusively assigned to the limits indicated in their attestations. The dating-limits are therefore either 1079 x 1082, with 1080 x 1082 being a possibility, or 1079 x 1087' (p. 225).

Jean-Michel Bouvris considers the exact opposite to be the case, arguing confidently that the pancarte issued by William and Matilda certainly predates that carrying only the king's attestation.⁵² If this was the case, Musset's proposed date of 1079–87 for the redaction of Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 suddenly becomes more probable. With Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1 being dated to 1081–2 (but almost certainly before Matilda's death in 1083), the possible date for Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 can thus be refined further to c.1082/3–7. Even though the potential ramifications of Bouvris's suggestion largely seems to have gone unnoticed, it is in fact a real possibility, as will be shown below.

In Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2, Ranulf's donation to Saint-Étienne is copied as the third of four legal acts. There is no mention, however, of Robert's donation. Following the traditional argument concerning the relationship between Arch. Dép. H 1831 nos 1 and 2, according to which the latter preceded the former, this is, of course, not a problem, as it might simply indicate that Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 was issued before Robert made his gift. However, once we embrace Bouvris's suggestion concerning the pancarte's relative chronology, dating Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 to 1082/3–7, and thus later than Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1, a different explanation is required. I contend that the second pancarte's silence concerning Robert's donation can perhaps best be explained by looking more closely into how Ranulf's gift is described. Unlike the earlier pancarte (and its later copy in the twelfth-century Cartulary), Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 does not refer to Ranulf's having donated the church and lands of Bretteville, but solely those of Biéville:

I, Ranulf, viscount of Bayeux, hand over to the monastery of Saint-Étienne de Caen the church of Biéville with the alod and all tithes that pertain to that church, to be possessed by hereditary right, undisturbed by all accusation from any man, for the salvation of my own soul and that of my lord, William king of the English, prince of Normandy and Maine, as well as those of all my forebears. Granted by the same lord of mine and confirmed by my/his own hand, as well as by [the assent of] my sons, Ranulf and William, and confirmed by their hands, too.⁵³

How, then, are we to explain the fact that the second pancarte makes no mention at all of Bretteville? In an attempt to answer this question, I would like to propose two hypotheses. The first has to do with the interpretation presented above, according to which the respective donations of Ranulf and Robert (each comprising half of the church of Bretteville and its affiliated lands) together formed a single unit – a unit which, as we saw earlier, was still referred to as such by Philip de Harcourt c.1142–63 (Arch. Dép. 1844 no. 2). With this being the case, and if Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 indeed postdates the first pancarte and the date of Robert's gift mentioned therein, then the monks of Saint-Étienne would have been in firm possession of Bretteville's church and lands by the time Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 was issued (1082/3–7) – especially if these possessions, unlike Ranulf's solitary patronage over the church of Biéville with the alod and tithes pertaining to it, were not hereditary.

As non-hereditary rights, the transferral of Bretteville into the lordship of Saint-Étienne did not require the assent and attestation of Ranulf's sons (and the same probably also holds true for the corresponding donation of Robert and his heirs, for that matter). Therefore, Ranulf's promise to submit everything he had in Bretteville to the abbey, as expressed in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1, surely would have sufficed. His rights to the church and lands of Biéville, by contrast, appear to have been affected by hereditary right (*iure hereditario*), which explains precisely why later, in

⁵² Bouvris, 'Donation', p. 205: 'Cette pièce [a été] dressée sans doute postérieurement à la précédente [Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1]'.

⁵³ Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2, ll. 33–8: Ego Rannulfus vicecomes Baiocensis trado coenobio beati Stephani de Cadomo ecclesiam de Boiavilla cum alodio et omni decima ad eandem ecclesiam pertinenti iure hereditario possidendam et quietam ab omnibus calumniis omnium hominum, pro salute anime mee dominique mei Willelmi regis Anglorum, principis Normannorum et Coenomannorum et omnium parentum meorum, concedente eodem domino meo et propria manu roborante, concedentibus quoque filiis meis Rannulfo atque Willelmo et propriis manibus firmantibus.

Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2, Ranulf can be seen as transferring these hereditary rights explicitly to the monks of Saint-Étienne,⁵⁴ and, moreover, why this transferral is corroborated by the assent and signature of this two sons, Ranulf (le Meschin, †1129) and William (†c.1129–35). When seen in this light, the reiteration of certain parts of Ranulf's donation as first recorded in 1081–2 (in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1) in the second pancarte of 1082/3–7 (Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2) might have served precisely this purpose, namely to secure (and, moreover, commit to writing) the assent of his male heirs, both of whom agree, in the second pancarte, to abandon all of their hereditary claims to Biéville. Given that the same probably was not required for the donations pertaining to Bretteville, this part of Ranulf's gift was not repeated in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1. The second pancarte, Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2, was thus not the precursor of, let alone the template for, Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1. Rather it acted as a supplement.

The second explanation I would like to offer is based not on the wording of the second, but on that of the first pancarte. As we saw earlier, the terms set out in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1 stipulate that Ranulf would be allowed to retain his donations (and continue to profit from them) for as long as he lived, unless either he himself or one of his sons should be made a monk of Saint-Étienne, in which case all the rights and possessions would be transferred to the monastery with immediate effect. We know that Ranulf himself lived at least until 1089, when on 24 April he witnessed a charter at Vernon together with one of his sons, Ranulf le Meschin.⁵⁵ Having outlived William the Conqueror by at least one and a half years, and not taking the habit at Caen, there was thus no obvious reason on Ranulf's part to surrender the gifts to Saint-Étienne prematurely. Similarly, neither of his sons seems to have made use of the opportunity to trade in their secular careers for the monastic life. Ranulf le Meschin pursued a military career that saw him advance to the position of a major landholder both in Normandy and across the English Channel,⁵⁶ whilst William, the younger of the two and the founder of Saint Bees Priory in Cumbria,⁵⁷ took up arms and later embarked on the First Crusade, where he was present, according to Orderic Vitalis, at the siege of Nicaea.⁵⁸ Based on an early twelfth-century entry in London, British Library, Cotton MS. Domitian A. VII, fol. 55v (better known as the *Durham Liber Vitae*), Ranulf and his wife Matilda also had a third (and probably firstborn) son named Richard.⁵⁹ Not much is known about this Richard, but it is assumed that he died young,⁶⁰ which would explain his absence from the pancarte and any subsequent sources. In sum, therefore, it transpired that in 1082/3–7, when Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 was produced, Ranulf was still alive, and neither he nor his two sons showed any aspiration to become a monk. Could it be, therefore, that Ranulf's family had second thoughts about the extent of the donations previously promised to Saint-Étienne in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2, and now tried to renegotiate terms?

This might also explain why, at the bottom of the pancarte, we find an added note, probably contemporary (if not indeed written by the pancarte's main scribe),⁶¹ saying that in return for

⁵⁴ Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2, ll. 34–5: [I]ure hereditario possidendam et quietam ab omnibus calumniis omnium hominum.

⁵⁵ Edited in *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154*, ed. H. W. C. Davis and R. J. Whitwell, vol. i: 1066–1100 (Oxford, 1923), p. 80 (= no. 308).

⁵⁶ E. King, 'Ranulf (I), third earl of Chester (d. 1129)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23127> [accessed 15 Feb. 2016].

⁵⁷ See J. Wilson, *The Register of the Priory of St Bees*, Publications of the Surtees Society, 26 (Durham, 1915), p. 27.

⁵⁸ *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts, 6 vols (Oxford, 1968–80), vol. v, pp. 58–9. On Ranulf le Meschin and William, cf. also R. F. G. Kirk, 'The Countess Lucy: Singular or Plural?', *The Genealogist*, v (1889), pp. 60–75, 131–44, 153–73 (pp. 166–9); King, 'Ranulf (I)'.

⁵⁹ *The Durham Liber Vitae*, ed. D. Rollason and L. Rollason, 3 vols (Gateshead, 2007), vol. i, p. 159.

⁶⁰ King, 'Ranulf (I)'.

⁶¹ Musset in his *Actes de Guillaume* did not discuss this note or its date. Bouvrin, 'Donation', p. 205, considers it 'incontestablement d'une seconde main', supposedly written, together with the names of the witnesses and the non-autograph sigla, by 'un scribe qui a œuvré postérieurement à la rédaction du corps de la pancarte' (ibid.). However, a close palaeographical analysis of the hands used throughout the pancarte provides little concrete reason for such an assumption. In fact, the hand that wrote the note (and the witnesses and sigla) shares such a large number of distinctive features with that of the main text, as well as being strikingly similar in its ductus, that they should in all probability be considered as belonging to one and the same scribe.

the tithes of Biéville, Ranulf was given the hefty sum of fifty-five pounds in silver (*Pro hac donatione huius decime de Boiavilla habuit Rannulfus vicecomes quinquaginta quinque libras denariorum*) – a payment that had not been mentioned in the previous version of the agreement recorded in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1.⁶² It is tempting to imagine how during the mid-1080s, Ranulf and his sons, in recognition of the fact that neither of them was likely to become a monk at Caen anytime soon, and already having conceded the non-hereditary lands in Bretteville to Saint-Étienne in 1081–2, tried to secure at least the hereditary lands in Biéville for the next generation and, whilst eventually agreeing to hand them over to the abbey as promised, managed to extort a handsome amount of money in return.⁶³ Alternatively, but perhaps less likely, the amount of 55*l* might represent not a one-off payment, but the sum total of multiple annual payments made over the course of several years. This could be reflective of the condition agreed between Saint-Étienne and Ranulf in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1, according to which Ranulf could retain his lands, or rather the rents derived from those lands, for as long as he wished to remain in the centre of the secular world – a concession strikingly reminiscent of that made about a century later to Radulf of Cairon in Add. Ch. 67576 (see below).⁶⁴ Interpreted in this way, the 55*l* would represent the fact that Ranulf had indeed handed over his lands in Biéville to the monks of Saint-Étienne following the original agreement of 1081–2, thereafter continuing to receive an annual stipend from the abbey that, over the course of several years, amounted to precisely that sum by the time Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2 was issued. The definite and explicit abandoning of all claims to those lands by both Ranulf and his sons, and their signing over of the hereditary rights to Saint-Étienne in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2, thus would have marked the end of all such annual stipends as well, and as such presented an appropriate occasion for the pancarte's scribe to reckon up and make a note of the sum at the bottom of the agreement. It is difficult to ascertain which of two scenarios presented here should be considered the most probable, or whether a combination of the two might apply. For now, therefore, the version of events as established above based on the surviving documents will have to remain tentative.

What is more certain is that, about a generation later, when Add. Ch. 67574 was drafted, the monks of Saint-Étienne were in a position to reissue the tithes of Biéville to Roger the priest. Following the evidence presented above, it was the second and finite agreement struck in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2, rather than that made a few years earlier in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1, that provided the necessary prerequisite, as it put a definite end to all hereditary claims by and payments made to Ranulf and his family. Another fifty years later, we find further confirmation of these donations in a charter of Hugh, count of Chester (Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados, H 1854 no. 1). In this charter, Hugh confirms to Saint-Étienne, with the assent of King Henry II (*concessu et assensu domini mei Henrici regis Anglorum et ducis Normannorum et Aquitanorum et comes Andegavorum*),

as an eternal and free gift, confirmed by this charter of mine, the donation that my ancestor Ranulf,⁶⁵ viscount of Bayeux, made to the church of Saint-Étienne de Caen and the monks who serve God in that place, [consisting of] all the land the he had in Bretteville-l'Orgueilleuse, and the part of the church that relates to it, together with the tenants and free men and everyone/everything else pertaining to it. In addition, [I also confirm] the donation that the same Ranulf made to the aforementioned church [of Saint-Étienne], [consisting of] the church of Biéville with the allod and all tithes pertaining to

⁶² For a detailed discussion of this clause, see Bouvris, 'Donation', pp. 205–7.

⁶³ Bouvris, 'Donation', pp. 210–11 reckons, by contrast, that the payment was made during the period immediately following the death of William the Conqueror, with Ranulf taking advantage of the confusion and violence caused by the monarch's death.

⁶⁴ Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1, l. 18: [E]a conditione servata ut quamdiu ego vixero, si michi placuerit, in meo dominio eam retineam; Add. Ch. 67576, ll. 8–10: Ea tamen inter nos et ipsum condicione servata, quod quamdiu voluerit remanere in seculo medietate firme et redditus illius terre in omnibus per manum nostrum annuatim habebit.

⁶⁵ The charter consistently refers to Ranulf as Randulf (Randulfus).

it, just how they had from that time as is evidenced by the charter of William, king of the English and prince of Normandy and Maine, just as I [now] wish and firmly ensure that the aforementioned church and monks [of Saint-Étienne] may [continue to] have all the aforementioned lands [of Bretteville] with part of the aforementioned church and everything pertaining to it, as well as the aforementioned church [of Biéville] with the alod and all tithes pertaining to it, decently and in peace, free and undisturbed, wholly, honestly and honourably with all its liberties.⁶⁶

The order and sequence in which Arch. Dép. H 1854 no. 1 records Ranulf's donations, first that of Bretteville and then that of Biéville, is of crucial significance. The fact that the gift of Biéville is said to have been witnessed separately, and enduringly, by a charter of William the Conqueror – which can safely be identified as that discussed earlier (Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2) – serves to confirm that the correct relative chronology between Arch. Dép. H 1831 nos 1 and 2 is in fact that argued for above. Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1 is definitely the older of the two pancartes, contrary to the traditional assumption of Musset and others. It was the second pancarte, Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 2, that firmly and irrevocably placed the church and lands of Biéville in the possession of Saint-Étienne de Caen. Hugh's charter (Arch. Dép. H 1854 no. 1), in turn, was later inserted into Saint-Étienne's twelfth-century Cartulary (Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 81v).⁶⁷

Returning to Add. Ch. 67574, it is here, in 1120, that we learn, for the first time, just how extensive Saint-Étienne's possessions in the village of Biéville had become by the early twelfth century, with the abbey granting to Roger the priest not only the local tithe – which presumably was the very one they had received from Ranulf during the early to mid-1080s –, but also ten acres of adjacent land, a courtyard, four dwellings and everything else the monks owned in Biéville, except for the brushwood and the cellarer's borders.⁶⁸ Similar to the 'cumulative donation' by Ranulf and Robert discussed above, the picture created by Add. Ch. 67574 is that of a gradual process of acquisition on the part of the monastery, taking place over several years or decades and potentially involving several benefactors. What is more, several of the people who witnessed the grant of 1120 – either on the part of the beneficiary, Roger, or on that of the donor, the abbey and its monks – reappear within the wider network of Saint-Étienne's political activity. Amongst the witnesses on Roger's part, these include: Robert Carbonel, who is recorded as having been physically present in the chapter house of Saint-Étienne when the monks received the church of Loucelles from William, son of Hervé, c.1107–31,⁶⁹ as well as witnessing the donation of two tithes to Saint-Étienne by the people of Secqueville-en-Bessin c.1107–29,⁷⁰ Ranulf of Tessel, whose name and testimony features in no fewer than a dozen

⁶⁶ Arch. Dép. H 1854 no. 1, ll. 1–10: [E]go Hugo Comes Cestrie [...] concessi in perpetuum elemosinam et liberam et hac mea carta confirmavi [...] donationem quam Randulfus [sic!] vicecomes Baiocensis antecessor meus fecit ecclesie beati Stephani de Cadomo et monachis ibidem [word missing? loci?] Domino servantibus de tota terra quam ipse habuit in Britevilla Orgoillosa cum parte ecclesie ad illam pertinente et cum colonis et liberis hominibus ad eadem pertinentibus et cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis. Preterea donoationem quam idem Randulfus predictae ecclesie fecit de ecclesia de Boevilla cum alodio et omni decima ad eam pertinente, sicut carta regis Willelmi Anglorum et principis Normannorum et Cenomannorum quam inde habent testatur. Qualiter volo et firmiter percipio predicta ecclesia et monachi eiusdem [sic!] ecclesia habeant et teneant totam predictam terram cum parte predictae ecclesie et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et predictam ecclesiam de Boevilla cum alodio et omni decima ad eam pertinente bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plenarie, integre et honorifice cum omnibus libertatibus suis.

⁶⁷ Cf. Fujimoto, 'Recherche', vol. ii, p. 285.

⁶⁸ Add. Ch. 67574, ll. 2–5.

⁶⁹ Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados, H 1834, l. 46; also cf. the twelfth-century copy in the Cartulary of Saint-Étienne, Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 70v.

⁷⁰ Arch. Dép. H 1834, l. 60; Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 72r. In addition, he might also be related to (but probably not identical with) one Carbonellus who appears as a witness in an act dating from c.1080–3, later copied into the Cartulary, Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 16r.

acts that survive in Saint-Étienne's Cartulary (all dating from c.1107–40), sometimes alongside the names of his two sons, Richard and William.⁷¹ Amongst the witnesses of Saint-Étienne are some characters who can also be traced in other documents from the abbey's surviving diplomatic corpus. These include, for example, Richard of Lingèvres, who appears to be related to (perhaps a descendant of) Serlo of Lingèvres, whose donation of the church of Bucéels is recorded in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1 (ll. 48–55). He might also have been a relative of Ranulf of Lingèvres, who, according to the abbey's Cartulary, witnessed two grants made to Saint-Étienne, one by Turstin of Condé c.1079–1101, the other by William of Seulle c.1080–87.⁷² Another 'familiar face' is William of Hotot, who also witnessed the donation made by a certain Eudo in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1. Here, William's name is recorded next to that of William of Poitiers, the chaplain and biographer of William the Conqueror and author of the *Gesta Guillelmi*.⁷³ William of Hotot also witnessed a gift made by Robert of Méautis c.1079–82.⁷⁴ Finally, there is one Robert of Verrolles who, together with his brother Ernald (both sons of Roger of Verrolles) and his brother-in-law, gave his lands in Crosville and Saint-Germain to Saint-Étienne c.1107–31.⁷⁵

Turning to Add. Ch. 67575, this charter, too, can be contextualized and mapped within the topography of Saint-Étienne's political and economic activity during the mid-twelfth century. As I discuss this charter and its context in more comprehensive detail elsewhere,⁷⁶ a basic commentary will suffice here. Issued by Hugh IV, archbishop of Rouen, in 1147, the document was intended to settle, once and for all, an existing dispute between the Abbey of Saint-Étienne and the Cathedral Chapter of Bayeux. At the heart of the conflict were the annual Whitsuntide processions in the parishes around Caen. Rather than assembling at the cathedral church of Bayeux, to which they owed their primary obedience, some of these local parish congregations had chosen to celebrate their processions at the abbey church of Saint-Étienne instead, thereby silently passing over the episcopal mother church of Bayeux (*matre ecclesia Baiocensi*),⁷⁶ and ultimately disregarding the bishop's liturgical primacy and spiritual authority. The person holding the episcopal see of Bayeux at that time was, of course, the abovementioned Philip de Harcourt, the former Lord Chancellor of King Stephen and one of Normandy's most well-connected and politically influential prelates during the twelfth century.⁷⁸ Having gathered in the presence of both Archbishop Hugh and Bishop Routrou of Évreux, as well as of Robert and Vincent, the respective abbots of Saint-Étienne de Fontenay and Conches,⁷⁹ Bishop Philip

⁷¹ Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 54r, 55r, 57r, 61r, 68v, 69r, 69v, 70r, 71v and 72v. Also cf. the copies of several of these charters in Arch. Dép. H 1834, where Ranulf is recorded in the company of both his sons (Rannulfus de Taissello et filii eius, Willelmus et Ricardus). Unlike in Add. Ch. 67574, several of these acts show Ranulf acting as witness on the part of Saint-Étienne.

⁷² Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 30v and 34r.

⁷³ Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1, l. 54: Testes ex parte mea qui et fideiussores et Willelmus Pictavensis et Willelmus de Hotot. On William of Poitiers, see the introduction in *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and tr. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1998). Also cf. M. Winterbottom, 'Notes on William of Poitiers', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, ix (1999), pp. 121–30.

⁷⁴ Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 35r.

⁷⁵ Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 56r–v.

⁷⁶ Pohl, 'Processions, Power and Public Display'.

⁷⁷ Add. Ch. 67575, l. 7.

⁷⁸ On Philip de Harcourt and his diplomatic contacts, see G. H. White, 'Philip de Harcourt, Bishop of Bayeux', *Notes and Queries*, x (1922), pp. 126–7; R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, 'Potens in opere et sermone: Philip, Bishop of Bayeux, and His Books', in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse (Notre Dame, 1991), pp. 323–59; P. Stirnemann, 'Two Twelfth-Century Bibliophiles and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*', *Viator*, xxiv (1993), pp. 121–42.

⁷⁹ Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. i, p. 179; C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (New York, 1918), p. 222.

agreed that the monks of Saint-Étienne henceforth should be responsible for the processions of three of ‘their villages’ (*trium villarum suarum processionones*) – a rather conspicuous choice of terminology, which indicates that the abbey had acquired patronage over these villages and their churches at an earlier point in a way similar to Biéville and Bretteville. In return, the monks would no longer accept the processions of any other churches that they had within the bishopric of Bayeux (*quas habent in episcopatu Baiocensi*), including that of St Nicholas located within the abbey’s precinct – the ‘bourg’ of Saint-Étienne (*[e]cclesia vero sancti Nicolai de burgo Sancti Stephani*) – and that of Villers. It is not entirely clear from this context alone whether *ecclesia de Villiers* refers to the church of the village of Villers-Bocage (about 25 km from Caen) or to that of Villers, one of the ancient quarters of Caen. The syntactical juxtaposition with the ‘bourg’ of Caen points strongly towards the latter identification. The fact that these two churches are singled out and referred to explicitly here seems to suggest that their processions, too, had assembled at Saint-Étienne, rather than at Bayeux. It would appear, therefore, that the issue at hand in 1147 was just as much a political as a liturgical one.

Beginning with the three villages whose Whitsuntide processions were ceded to Saint-Étienne in 1147 by Bishop Philip de Harcourt (and confirmed by Archbishop Hugh of Rouen), these are Cheux, Ifs (including the chapel of Bras) and Allemagne (today Fleury-sur-Orne, dép. Calvados, cant. Caen-8) – all located less than 20 km from Caen (and thus significantly closer to the Abbey of Saint-Étienne than to Bayeux). Tracing these villages and their churches in the surviving documentary corpus, it transpires that Saint-Étienne had indeed received Cheux and Allemagne at some point prior to c.1081–7, when they (along with Rots, Dives-sur-Mer and Carbourg) were confirmed *ex post facto* by a charter of William the Conqueror (Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados H 1830 no. 1bis, probably a pseudo-original), which, in turn, was later copied into the abbey’s Cartulary (Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols. 1r–4r). Interestingly, the same charter also granted to the abbey the part of the ‘bourg’ upon which it had been erected – extending from its western wall to the road that led from the monastery to the city of Bayeux –, as well as the village and church of Villers (see above) with all its lands and unfree tenants.⁸⁰ Perhaps even more significant, however, is the evidence of a charter that we encountered earlier in this article, namely that issued c.1079–83 by Bishop Odo of Bayeux and first referring to the land(s) in Bretteville donated by Ranulf, viscount of Bayeux, and Robert Bertran as a single unit.⁸¹ As pointed out above, Odo’s charter has not survived in the original, but only in the form of a twelfth-century *vidimus* (Arch. Dép. H 1844 no. 1), issued by none other than Philip de Harcourt. Copied verbatim into Philip’s *vidimus*, Odo’s original charter had granted to the monks of Saint-Étienne, amongst other things, the entirety of Villers (*de toto Villario*), all of Cheux together with its church (*de toto Ceusio cum ecclesia*), everything that a certain Grimald held in Allemagne, including the dependent property in Ifs (*de eo quod tenuit Grimaldus in Alamannia et in membris eius, scilicet [...] Icio*) and whatever William of Lande held in Bras (*de eo quod tenuit Guillelmus de Landa in Bracio*), as well as the abovementioned villages of Cabourg, Dives-sur-Mer and Rots, except for (or perhaps in addition to?) the latter’s church (*de toto Ros preter ecclesiam*).⁸²

In sum, therefore, Odo’s charter of c.1079–83 had granted to Saint-Étienne all of the villages whose processions later became the subject of the dispute between the abbey and the bishop of Bayeux, which was settled formally in 1147 through an agreement between the monks and

⁸⁰ Arch. Dép. H 1830 no. 1bis, ll. 13–19/Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 2r: *Partem quoque burgi trado in qua praefatum monasterium constructum est a muro in directum occidentem versus sicut via protenditur qua a veteri beati Stephani monasterio ad urbem Baiocensem itur [...] Villarium cum omni territorio suo et de eodem hominum servitia ut servientes mei qui ibi manent michi serviant et propter servitium monachorum servitium meum non remaneat.* Fujimoto, ‘Recherche’, vol. ii, p. 4, demonstrates convincingly that the village of Britivilla referred to in this charter must be identified with Bretteville-sur-Odon, rather than with Bretteville-l’Orgueilleuse, as suggested previously by Musset, *Actes de Guillaume*, p. 61 (= no. 4); *Regesta*, ed. Bates, p. 218 (= no. 45).

⁸¹ As we saw earlier, Odo was amongst the chief witnesses of William and Matilda’s pancarte, Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1.

⁸² Arch. Dép. H 1844 no. 1, ll. 11–16; Arch. Dép. H 1844 no. 2, ll. 6–9 (Philips’s confirmation of the *vidimus*).

Philip de Harcourt. Philip's involvement was probably no coincidence, and neither was it uninformed. As we saw earlier, the *vidimus* of Odo's charter (written c.1142–63, most probably during the 1140s) was confirmed again very soon afterwards in another of Philip's charters (Arch. Dép. H 1844 no. 2).⁸³ Both of these documents were thus written around the same time as the charter of Archbishop Hugh, which leaves little doubt that Philip had personally reviewed the evidence before entering into an argument with Saint-Étienne concerning the relationship between monastic and episcopal influence. In fact, Philip was not the first to confirm the grants of these particular villages since the age of Odo and William the Conqueror, given that all of them had been recorded previously in a confirmation of Saint-Étienne's rights and possessions issued c.1129–33 by King Henry I.⁸⁴ Whether Philip was aware of King Henry's confirmation charter is difficult to know, but it is not impossible. Either way, the agreement reached in 1147 in the form of Add. Ch. 67575 was one that purported to respect the interests of both parties. On the one hand, the bishop and Cathedral Chapter of Bayeux were confirmed in their liturgical primacy by decreeing that, apart from Cheux, Ifs and Allemagne, 'all other [churches] that they [the monks of Saint-Étienne de Caen] have within the bishopric of Bayeux [...] will congregate at their mother church of Bayeux with their processions for the annual Whitsuntide celebrations'.⁸⁵ This also included the two churches furthest from Bayeux, Villers and St Nicholas in Caen, both of which were located in close proximity to Saint-Étienne. Bishop Philip and his canons insisted categorically that the processions of Villers and St Nicholas be summoned at Bayeux Cathedral, even though (or perhaps precisely because) the distance was in fact more than fifteen miles, whereas the Abbey of Saint-Étienne was only a short walk away. By obliging the parish processions to undertake the long march to Bayeux once a year, the diocesan chapter sent a clear message: despite Saint-Étienne's abbey's growing wealth and influence, Bayeux was more than determined to reclaim its political power and spiritual authority in the region. The Whitsuntide processions provided the bishop and canons with a valuable means of consolidating such power and authority. On the other hand, however, the charter also makes it abundantly clear that this acknowledgement of the bishop's liturgical authority did not affect 'the integrity of the monks' possessions, that is, both churches and lands',⁸⁶ within these villages. It was these very possessions (*possessiones*) that Philip de Harcourt had found recorded in the charter of his predecessor, Bishop Odo, which he readily confirmed in two of his own charters (Arch. Dép. H 1844 nos 1 and 2). What we encounter in Add. Ch. 67575, combined with the evidence of the other documents to which it could be shown to relate, is a vivid example of how different forms of monastic influence were negotiated between the Abbey of Saint-Étienne and other institutions (both ecclesiastical and political) that operated within the region and beyond.

The next document to be discussed is Add. Ch. 67576, dating from c.1170. In this charter, Abbot William (II) of Saint-Étienne (1156–81, also known as William of Besace) can be seen as entering into an agreement with Radulf of Cairon that is not dissimilar to that made between Saint-Étienne and Ranulf, viscount of Bayeux in Arch. Dép. H 1831 no. 1 (see above).⁸⁷ As in Ranulf's case, Radulf was guaranteed by William that, 'if ever he wishes, we shall make him a monk in our monastery; and along with him [we will also accept] a certain cleric known as Geoffrey of Ria, or an equally qualified and laudable companion'.⁸⁸ In fact, Radulf was no stranger to the monastery. At some point between 1156 and 1181, he had made a joint donation

⁸³ On the precise chronology of these charters, see Pohl, 'Processions, Power and Public Display'.

⁸⁴ Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados H 1833 no. 2.

⁸⁵ Add. Ch. 67575, ll. 15–17: *Ecclesia vero sancti Nicolai de burgo Sancti Stephani et ecclesia de Vileirs et cetera omnes quas habent in episcopatu Baiocensi, preter illas supradictas, cum processionibus suis in sollemnitate Pentecosten singulis annis ad suam matrem ecclesiam Baiocensem convenient, salva integritate possessionum suarum quas habent monachi, tam in ecclesiis quam in terris suis.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ On Abbot William II, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. i, pp. 52–3.

⁸⁸ Add. Ch. 67576, ll. 1–4 [E] *Willelmus abbas sancti Stephani Cadomi et totus conventus monachorum eiusdem loci concessimus Radulfo de Caron quod quando voluerit ipsum in monasterio nostro monachum faciemus; et cum ipso quendam clericum Gaufridum scilicet de Ria vel alium idoneum ad suscipiendum.*

with William ‘the cupbearer’ (or ‘the butler’, *pincerna*) and gave to Saint-Étienne the tithe of a minor mill that the two men owned together in Cairon.⁸⁹ Especially in light of this charter’s early date, it is difficult to decide whether our Radulf can also be identified with the Radulf of Cairon listed amongst the inhabitants of Secqueville-en-Bessin (about 15 km from Caen, see above) who, according to a charter dating from c.1107–29, made another collective donation to Saint-Étienne (Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados H 1834, l. 56: *Radulfo de Caron xvi solidos*). It is not impossible, however, that the two Radulfs were, if not indeed the same person, then at least related – especially given their relation to Secqueville, to which we will return below.⁹⁰ In return for the prospect of being made a monk at Saint-Étienne, Radulf gave the abbey all of his land of the Genetets within the fief of Waleran of Ivry and William ‘the cupbearer’. This donation was made on the condition that so long as Radulf wished to continue his secular life, he would receive the farms and rents of that same land as a lease from Saint-Étienne.⁹¹

These donations made by Radulf in Add. Ch. 67576 are confirmed, and indeed specified further, in another charter dating from c.1172–7 (written within less than a decade of the original act) that has survived in the Cartulary of Saint-Étienne. Here, we read that

Radulf of Cairon gave us the lands of the Genetets next to Cambes worth fifty dry measures of oats, and he also gave us one sixth of the grain delivered each year by the people of Villons-les-Buissons for driving their cattle freely into the Genetets to graze in its pastures. Moreover, he gave us the tithe of his part in the minor mill of Cairon.⁹²

There are several points of interest here. First, there is the re-emergence of William ‘the cupbearer’ (*Willelmus pincerna*) and the (jointly-held) minor mill in Cairon, both of which we just saw in the charter of c.1156–81 that was copied in Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 83r. Second, there is the condition established in Add. Ch. 67576, according to which Radulf was allowed, in principle, to lease the farms and rents he had donated to the abbey on an annual basis until such time as he was ready to enter monastic life, thereby allowing him, for the time being, to continue his secular lifestyle as a confrater monk (along with the appropriate dining rights and an explicit entitlement to the community’s hospitality). There was no commitment on the abbey’s part, however, in order to guarantee that these farms and rents temporarily given back to Radulf had to be identical with the lands that he had donated from his lordship at Cairon, given that the monks reserved for themselves the right to provide Radulf with land at Rots instead, if that pleased them better (*si melius nobis placuerit*). Were the monks simply attempting to keep their options open, or could it perhaps indicate that the monks already had other plans for their new possessions at Cairon?

As we saw earlier, the village of Rots had been granted to Saint-Étienne as early as c.1079–83 by Odo of Bayeux, and it had been confirmed c.1081–7 by the pseudo-original of William the Conqueror (Arch. Dép. H 1830 no. 1bis). In the latter of the two, King William gave the abbey

⁸⁹ Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 83r: *Guillelmus pincerna et Radulfus de Caron dederunt sancto Stephano pro salute animarum suarum totam decimam de molendino mediocri de Caron in elemosinam*. This donation was later confirmed by King Richard I in Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados H 1836.

⁹⁰ There are various instances throughout the Cartulary of Saint-Étienne where we encounter other potential relatives of Radulf’s, including one Ansgotus de Caron (Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 31r, 33v) and Hugo Caron (*ibid.*, fols 56r, 58v, 67v).

⁹¹ Add. Ch. 67576, ll. 4–14 *Et idem Radulfus [...] sive alio modo*. Note that *Bauduconvilla* also features in another grant received by Saint-Étienne c. 1172–7, Arch. Dép. H 1836, l. 9.

⁹² Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 88v: *Radulfus de Caron dedit nobis terram de Genesteio iuxta Cambas valentem annuatim l minas avene, dedit etiam nobis i sextarium frumenti quod reddit annuatim homines de Boissons, ut habeant viam pecoribus suis liberam ad eundum in pasturam in predictum Genesteium. Dedit quoque partem suam decime de molendino medio de Caron*.

by my right the villages of Cheux, Rots, Allemagne, Dives-sur-Mer and Cabourg, together with the tenants, serfs and free men, with the mills, lakes, meadows, pastures and woods, as well as all the returns and customs that pertain to them, just as, up to this point, I and my forbears had them in our [own] lordship. Indeed, those men of the first two villages, Cheux and Rots, who do not hold the land freely, I submit into the service (*servitium*) of the church and monks [of Saint-Étienne], free and in peace.⁹³

It was thus decreed that the men of Rots who were free landholders should remain so, even after the villages were transferred from William's lordship into that of the abbey. Likewise, those who worked the land as unfree tenants or serfs would accept the abbey as their new lord. This agreement was made even more concrete in another charter by William the Conqueror (Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados H 1830 no. 2), issued more or less around the same time as the previous one (or very shortly afterwards, probably c.1081–2). Here, William agrees to

cede to [the Abbey of] Saint-Étienne the men of Rots and Cheux, free, wholly and in peace, free from all military service, carucate tax, rent and levies, so that [from now] they may prepare and provide food supplies and all other necessities to the monks who serve God in that place.⁹⁴

This wording was repeated verbatim in King Henry I's abovementioned confirmation charter of c.1129–33,⁹⁵ and it subsequently found its way into the cartulary of Saint-Étienne.⁹⁶ Around 1075–89, Adela, the daughter of Anschetil of Reviere, added to this by donating the two hosts she had in Rots to Saint-Étienne. These were to be transferred into the abbey's lordship after Adela's death, but guaranteed by the symbolic token of a piece of wood and two silver coins placed on the altar of Saint-Étienne.⁹⁷ Moreover, eleven possessions in Rots were recorded as escheated owing to the heirless death of their former owners in a charter from c.1156–81 (Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols. 84r–v), probably indicating that they fell to Saint-Étienne and its then abbot, William II. Finally, Saint-Étienne acquired four more properties at Rots under one of William's successors, Abbot Samson (1196/9–1214).⁹⁸ With the majority of the charters discussed above (including those copied into the Cartulary) recording the gradual acquisition of lands and property in Rots by Saint-Étienne between the mid-eleventh and late twelfth century, Add. Ch. 67576 occupies an important (and indeed unique) position by revealing how the abbey then put these acquisitions to use in a specific context – namely by renting them out to Radulf in lieu of the lands and farms in Cairon. This charter, therefore, provides crucial insights into the different uses of monastic property in order to facilitate and negotiate political and economic relationships.

⁹³ Arch. Dép. H 1830 no. 1bis, ll. 8–11: Trado igitur prefato coenobio villas iuris mei Ceusium, Ros, Alamanniam, Pontem Dive, Cathburgum, cum colonis et condicionariis seu liberis hominibus, cum molendinis, aquis, pratis, pascuis, silvis seu omnibus redditibus et consuetudinibus ad eas pertinentibus, sicut in meo dominio hactenus habui et antecessores mei. Et homines quidem duarum premissarum villarum videlicet Ceusii et Ros qui francam terram non tenent ad servitium ecclesie et monachorum ita liberos et omnino quietos concedo.

⁹⁴ Arch. Dép. H 1830 no. 2, ll. 50–3: Concedo etiam sancto Stephano homines de Ros et Ceus liberos, solidos et quietos ab omni exercitu et carrucagio et gelt et collecta ut expediti sint ad paranda et portanda cibaria et omnia alia necessaria monachis in ibi Deo servientibus.

⁹⁵ Arch. Dép. H 1833 no. 2, ll. 22–4.

⁹⁶ Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 4v–6v (fol. 6r).

⁹⁷ Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 29r–v: Adeloia filia Anschitilli de Redviers concessit ut sanctus Stephanus post obitum suum haberet in dominio duos hostes quos ipsa tenebat de eodem sancto in territorio de Ros [...] De quibus hominibus predicta mulier posuit donationem super altare sancti Stephani per particulam ligni et per duos solidos denariorum.

⁹⁸ Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 90v–91v: Apud Ros ii solidos de filiis Hugonis Imperatoris et iiiior gallinas et xl ova. Ibidem in summagio xi libras Andegavensium [...] In duabus domibus apud Ros que fuerunt Ricardi infantis, x solidos, iiiii capones, lx ova. On Abbot Samson, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. i, pp. 55–7.

Our next charter, Add. Ch. 67577, was issued c.1179–93 by Abbot Peter (II) of Saint-Étienne (1181–93).⁹⁹ In this charter, Abbot Peter grants the church of Secqueville-en-Bessin (see above) to Richard the priest for life (*ad vitam suam*). Richard's predecessor, Robert of Secqueville, had resigned the church to Saint-Étienne after having served there 'as a vicar in our name' (*sub nomine nostro tanquam vicarius ministraverat*), being 'compelled by the weakness of his body' (*compellente corporis infirmitate*) and old age.¹⁰⁰ Similar to the church of Bretteville-l'Orgueilleuse discussed earlier in this article, that of Secqueville also appears to have been acquired cumulatively by Saint-Étienne over the course of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. Around 1079–1101, Robert of Pointel had given the monastery, with the assent of his wife and children, his part in the church of Secqueville, along with one house and one acre of local land.¹⁰¹ Around 1107–40, another Robert of Secqueville (probably not the same as in Add. Ch. 67577) also surrendered his tithe in Secqueville to the abbey in return for fifty Rouennais coins.¹⁰² This happened roughly around the time that the people of Secqueville made their grand gesture of collective donations to the monks of Saint-Étienne (see above).¹⁰³ Finally, the abbey was given another two acres of land c.1156–81 by Gaymond 'the good' (one of them in the very centre of the village) in return for accepting Gaymond's son, Michael, as a monk in their midst.¹⁰⁴ By c.1179–93, Saint-Étienne thus owned substantial parts (if not the entirety) of the village of Secqueville and its church. Due to his priestly office, Richard according to Add. Ch. 67577 was entitled to all revenues and offerings received at the altar, as well as all burial rights within the church cemetery. In return, he had to acquit the church of all episcopal and archidiaconal duties, whilst all the lands that his church had in endowments would remain in the possession of Saint-Étienne, together with all the houses on it.¹⁰⁵

Similar to the dispute concerning the Whitsuntide processions discussed in our analysis of Add. Ch. 67575, the conditions established by Abbot Peter in the present charter pertain to the everyday practicalities that governed the relationship between monastic and episcopal influence in Lower Normandy. With the church of Secqueville and its leading priest pledging obedience, in the first instance, to the Abbey of Saint-Étienne, any anticipated claim on the part of the diocesan bishopric of Bayeux was satisfied prophylactically (and categorically) by paying the bishop a lump sum of forty Angevin coins per annum. The expectation created by this arrangement (albeit implicitly) was that the bishop, in return for receiving this annual pension, would refrain from making any further demands whatsoever on the church in question, and that he would not contest Saint-Étienne's authority and responsibility as its chief patron. Whilst this probably should not be regarded as an attempt to make the church of Secqueville exempt in the strictest sense of the word, it effectively meant that the bishop was expected not to exercise his *potestas* as the diocesan authority.¹⁰⁶ That

⁹⁹ On Peter, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. i, pp. 53–4.

¹⁰⁰ Add. Ch. 67577, ll. 2–4.

¹⁰¹ Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 48r: Rotbertus de Pointel dedit sancto Stephano concedente uxore sua et filiis totum quod habebat in ecclesia de Sicca Villa et insuper unam domum et unam acram terre in eadem villa. This donation was confirmed c.1129–33 by King Henry I, see Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados H 1833 no. 1.

¹⁰² Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 55v: Robertus de Siccavilla dedit Deo et sancto Stephano decimam suam concedente uxore sua et filio indeque donationem posuit super altare sancti Stephani. Abbas vero et monachi concesserunt ei et uxori eius et filio eorum societatem suam et partem totius beneficii sui et insuper dedit ei abbas pro caritate I solidos Rotomagensium.

¹⁰³ Arch. Dép. H 1834.

¹⁰⁴ Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 86v–87r. This donation was later confirmed by a charter of King Richard I, Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados H 1836.

¹⁰⁵ Add. Ch. 67577, ll. 6–14.

¹⁰⁶ On the bishop's *potestas* (including the *potestas ordinis/ordinandi*) and its relationship to abbatial authority, see S. Hilpisch, 'Entwicklung des Ritus der Abtsweihe in der lateinischen Kirche', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, lxi (1947), pp. 53–72; W. Szaivert, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klosterexemption bis zum Ausgang des 11. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, lix (1951), pp. 265–98. Also cf. Pohl and Vanderputten, 'Fécamp, Cluny, and the Invention of Traditions', pp. 4–5, 9–10.

this was a genuine concern on the part of the monastery is revealed in the next part of the charter, where Richard is made to swear, in Saint-Étienne's chapter house, to honour these agreements, and to consider none other than the monks and their abbots the rightful patrons of his church.¹⁰⁷ A similar oath of fidelity was sworn in the chapter house of Saint-Étienne by John, another priest who had been appointed in the church of Secqueville (possibly Richard's successor).¹⁰⁸ Evidently, the abbey and its monks were prepared to go to great lengths (both financially and in their charters) in order to secure their position in the church and village of Secqueville, and to delineate this position clearly from Bayeux's episcopal sphere of influence. Indeed, we might even consider the above passage concerning Richard's loyalty in the context of potential lawsuits as evidence of the monks' readiness to defend their rights and possessions legally against the bishop, if need be. Such readiness should not surprise us, of course, given the immense value of lands and churches as monastic assets and the manifold ways in which they could be put to use, some of which we have already encountered in this article.

The next charter, Add. Ch. 67578 (dated 1187), takes us back to Loucelles, a village located about 20 km to the west of Caen which we encountered briefly in our previous discussion of Add. Chs. 67574 and 67576. In this charter, Hugh 'the villain' (*villanus*) confirms his gift of six and a half acres of land of Loucelles to his servant, Roger the cleric (*Rogero clerico*). The charter also specifies more precisely where these six and a half acres were located in the local topography.¹⁰⁹ All these lands were given to Roger for his service to Hugh, 'to be held by him and his heirs as a fief from the monastery and monks of Saint-Étienne de Caen',¹¹⁰ in return for paying the abbey one pound of pepper, two hens and twenty eggs each year. The time and place for the delivery of some of these payments is the same as that for the rent of the priest's house in Add. Ch. 67577 (see above), which, incidentally, likewise consists of one pound of pepper – namely the annual Meadow Fair. To the best of my knowledge, such references to payments made 'at the Meadow Fair' (*ad feriam de Prato*) cannot be encountered with any notable frequency in twelfth-century Anglo-Norman charters outside of Caen,¹¹¹ whereas they feature on at least seven occasions (including the two examples quoted above) in the surviving documentary corpus of Saint-Étienne alone.¹¹² This relative frequency is highly suggestive of a local custom, which combined a feast (or market) held every year in the meadow around Caen – perhaps identical with the *Foire du Pré* that was recorded by an eighteenth-century historian¹¹³ – with the annual collection of payments and debts owed to the city's most wealthy and powerful religious institution. As for its precise date, the *Foire du Pré* is recorded to have lasted for an entire week, commencing three days before the feast of St Denis (that is, on 6 October) and ending on the feast of St Gabriel (16 October).¹¹⁴ As such, it would have fulfilled

¹⁰⁷ Add. Ch. 67577, ll. 14–17.

¹⁰⁸ Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 82v: Iohannes de Siccavilla presbiter iuravit in capitulo Cadomi coram conventu fidelitatem monachis tenendam de ecclesia Siccaville et de pertinentiis suis et recognovit quod quicquid habebat in Siccavilla totum tenebat de Sancto Stephano et de monachis.

¹⁰⁹ Add. Ch. 67678, ll. 4–6: Est autem terra hec in locis istis, in Perrella i acram, in Planicie acram et dimidiam, super domum Corbelli i acram, in Nigra Terra i acram, in via Sancte Crucis ii acras.

¹¹⁰ Add. Ch. 67678, ll. 1–4: [E]go Hugo villanus dedi et presenti carta confirmavi Rogero clerico servienti meo vi acras et dimidiam terre mee de Locellas pro servicio suo tenendas feodaliter sibi et heredibus suis de monasterio et monachis beati Stephani de Cadomo, solvendo inde eis annuatim ad feriam de Prato i libram piperis et ad Natalem Domini ii gallinas et in Pascha xx ova.

¹¹¹ There are two references to a meadow at Cheux (*prato Ceusii*) in Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 15r–21r and Arch. Dép. H 1833 no. 1, but no mention is made of a fair regularly having taken place there.

¹¹² The additional examples are Add. Ch. 67582 (dating from 1214/5); Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 35v–36r (c.1079–92); *ibid.*, fol. 50v (c.1108–18); *ibid.*, fol. 86r (c.1156–81); Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados H 1883 (c.1079–1101). Also cf. the entry on the 'fair du Pré' in Vincent, *Norman Charters*, p. 258.

¹¹³ P.-D. Houet, *Les Origines de la ville de Caen*, 2nd edn (Rouen, 1706), p. 146. Also cf. G. de la Rue, *Nouveaux Essais historiques sur la ville de Caen et son arrondissement*, vol. ii (Caen, 1842), p. 599. The *Foire du Pré* at Caen was studied in detail by A. de Ghaisne de Bourmont, 'La Foire du Pré à Caen', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xli (1880), pp. 157–8.

¹¹⁴ De Ghaisne de Bourmont, 'Foire du Pré', p. 157.

two important (and related) functions. First, it provided the abbey with the opportunity for collecting payments at a fixed point in the year that was preceded immediately by Normandy's harvest season, thus generating the necessary non-monetary forms of payment such as crops and fruit. Indeed, it is these kinds of supplies that formed a significant part of Saint-Étienne's regular income from within the local region (along with money and cattle, of course). Second, and in addition to these economic functions, Caen's annual Meadow Feast can probably be thought of as having formed a popular occasion within the city's social, political and cultural life, a place where people gathered, talked, traded and, not least, made and/or witnessed important agreements. It would thus have been an ideal platform for representation, ritual and other forms of public display. By combining these two functions, the *Foire du Pré* in later eleventh- and twelfth-century Caen might well have played a role not dissimilar to that of the four bronze tables (or 'Four Nails') outside the Corn Exchange in Bristol, which – due to their prominent position within an urban public space habitually used by merchants when closing a sale – are commonly held to have given rise to the modern English saying 'to pay on the nail'.

Roger the cleric does not seem to have held on to the lands he received from Hugh for long, however. In our next charter, Add. Ch. 67579 (dating from c.1197–1214), he can already be seen selling them on to Luke 'the cupbearer' (or 'the butler', *pincerna*). It was with the explicit assent of Bartholomew of Livet, Hugh's nephew who issued the charter, that Luke bought, for twenty-five Angevin pounds, the land at Loucelles which Hugh had given to Roger in return for his service.¹¹⁵ To secure this agreement, Luke paid Bartholomew another fifty-five Angevin pounds (on top of the twenty-five he gave to Roger), as well as performing homage to him (*fecit mihi hominagium*). This arrangement seems somewhat surprising, however, given that, according to Hugh's charter of 1187, Roger had held the land at Loucelles as a fief directly from Saint-Étienne (see above), whereas now he appears to be selling it as if it belonged to Bartholomew. At the same time, Roger and Bartholomew do not appear to have acted against the interests of the abbey, as the charter was witnessed by Abbot Samson of Saint-Étienne and two of his monks, namely Robert Rastel and William of Cormel.¹¹⁶ How, then, do Bartholomew and his claim to Loucelles fit into the narrative? In an earlier charter, we learn that Hugh had in fact given the twenty acres of land that he owned at Loucelles to the monks of Saint-Étienne de Caen at some point between 1172 and 1181 – a permanent donation (*in perpetuam elemosinam*) that was carried out with the explicit assent of Waleran, viscount of Lisieux and Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux, each of whom confirmed the agreement in a separate charter (*hanc meam donationem concedentibus et per cartas suas confirmantibus*), both of which were later copied into the Cartulary of Saint-Étienne.¹¹⁷ This agreement between Hugh and monastery was made

on the condition that I [Hugh] am allowed firmly to hold the aforementioned land from the monks [Saint-Étienne de Caen] on an annual basis for as long as I live, should I wish to, in return for half a peck of crops, that is, four *sextarios* (= approx. 1/12 of a peck) of barley and two of grain from the measures of that village [of Loucelles], to be delivered each year in September on the feast of St Gabriel, as well as four cockerels at Christmas and forty eggs at Easter. After my own death, however, all the abovementioned lands and all profits and returns that come from them shall pass into the right and possession of the aforementioned abbey and [its] monks, so that they may have, hold and possess them freely, wholly, decently and in peace, and may use them in whatever way they choose to benefit the Lord and themselves. As for the aforementioned returns – that is, half the peck

¹¹⁵ Add. Ch. 67579, ll. 2–7.

¹¹⁶ Add. Ch. 67579, ll. 9–11.

¹¹⁷ Caen, Archives départementales du Calvados H 1868. This charter was later copied into the Cartulary of Saint-Étienne, Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fols 85r–v. The two confirmation charters are preserved in *ibid.*, fol. 85v.

of crops and the annually delivered dues –, I have appointed them to my provost, Robert of Platea, who has assured me to my face that he will pay them on the nominated date.¹¹⁸

What follows is a detailed list of more than a dozen people (both men and women) to whom Hugh had previously given part of his lands around Loucelles, including Robert of Platea, his provost, who had received one and a half acres at *Nigra Terra*, as well as one acre at Gara.¹¹⁹ According to this agreement, which was confirmed again by a royal charter of King Henry II (today Manchester, John Rylands Library, no. 52),¹²⁰ the lands that Hugh held at Loucelles, including those he had handed over to others, and together with all revenues derived from them, should have fallen to the abbey following his death. The question to ask, however, is whether this necessarily included the six and a half acres of land that Hugh gave to Roger about half a decade later in 1187.

On the one hand, the terms set out in Add. Ch. 67578 might suggest it did, particularly with regard to the annual payment owed to Saint-Étienne de Caen by Roger in the form of one pound of pepper, two hens and twenty eggs (see above). On the other hand, however, the story as related by Bartholomew a few years later in Add. Ch. 67579 might indicate it did not. The second possibility is cemented further by the fact that Roger does not feature in the list of the fourteen parties who, like Robert the provost, held some portion of the land that Hugh gave to the monastery c.1172–81. What is peculiar, in this context, is that one of the six and a half acres given to Roger by Hugh in 1187 was defined as in *Nigra Terra i acram* (Add. Ch. 67578, l. 5) – that is, in the exact same location that Robert the provost also held one and a half acres from Hugh according to the Cartulary's copy of Hugh's charter. Could this be the same land bestowed to two different individuals at different points in time? Or did Hugh perhaps possess a total of two and a half acres at *Nigra Terra*, one of which he gave to Roger, the other one and a half to Robert (and, following his death, to the monastery of Saint-Étienne)? If indeed Hugh carved out the gift to Roger from his lands at Loucelles independently of his donation to Robert/Saint-Étienne, and at a later point in time, then we might well be dealing with two separate possessions after all. Still, Add. Ch. 67578 unmistakably stipulates that the land that Roger received from Hugh for his loyal service was to be held 'by him and his heirs as a fief from the monastery and monks of Saint-Étienne de Caen' (*tenendas feodaliter sibi et heredibus suis de monasterio et monachis beati Stephani de Cadomo*), and as such was subject to an annual payment of food and animals. And yet, as we saw above, Add. Ch. 67579 also speaks of a return (*redditum*) which Roger owed to Bartholomew for the exact same land, and which, as a result of the sale agreed between him and Luke, would henceforth be paid to Bartholomew by the latter. These two accounts as presented in Add. Ch. 67578 and Add. Ch. 67579 seem conflicting, if not indeed contradictory, especially considering the lack of any additional or corroborating sources (to the best of my knowledge).

One final attempt at resolving this contradiction might be made based on the precise wording of the stipulations found in the three charters. As we saw above, Hugh c.1172–81 surrendered his

¹¹⁸ Ibid., fols 85r–v: Ea tamen conditione servata, quod liceat mihi quamdiu vixero tenere terram predictam de monachis ad annuam firmam, si voluero, per dimidium modium blade annuatim reddendum in septembri ad festum sancti Gabrielis, scilicet iiiior sextarios ordeï et iio frumenti ad mensuram eiusdem ville et iiii capons ad Natale Domini et xl ova in Pascha. Post mortem vero meam omnis terra prenomina et omnes fructus et redditus ex ea provenientes deveniant in ius et possessionem predicti cenobii et monachorum ut ea libere, absolute, quiete et integre habeant, teneant et possideant et faciant ex eis quicquid voluerint secundum Deum sicut de propriis. De predicto autem redditu, scilicet de dimidio modio bladi et de reuuardis annuatim reddendis, constitui eis Robertum de Platea prepositum meum qui eis coram me affidavit redditum singulis annis persolvendum ad terminum nominatum.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.: Robertus de Platea i acram et dimidiam in Nigra Terra et i acram in Gara. On Nigra Terra, see below.

¹²⁰ On this charter, see R. D. Fawtier, 'Hand-Lists of Charters and Deeds in the Possession of the John Rylands Library: I. The Beaumont Charters', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vii (1923), pp. 526–44. On the charters of Saint-Étienne that today survive in the collections of the John Rylands Library, Manchester (and in that of Hull University Library), cf. also D. Bates, 'Four Recently Rediscovered Norman Charters', *Annales de Normandie*, xlv (1995), pp. 35–48. I had the opportunity to study these charters *in situ* during my Visiting Fellowship at the John Rylands Research Institute and Library in July–September 2016.

lands at Loucelles to the monks and Abbey of Saint-Étienne explicitly ‘so that they may have, hold and possess them freely, wholly, decently and in peace’ (*ut ea libere, absolute, quiete et integre habeant, teneant et possideant*), and, perhaps most importantly in the present context, that they ‘may use them in whatever way they choose to benefit the Lord and themselves’ (*et faciant ex eis quicquid voluerint secundum Deum sicut de propriis*). Equipped with such complete freedom of action following Hugh’s death, it is not unthinkable that the monks might have decided to make use of the lands they received from him by giving them to Bartholomew, perhaps in return for a regular payment. Bartholomew, in turn, might have chosen to give out these lands as fiefs to others, first to Roger, thereby honouring the previous relationship between Roger and his own uncle, Hugh, and later to Luke, from whom he received both payment and homage. If this were the case, we would be dealing with a two-tier system, if not indeed a multi-tiered one. Within this system, the lands held by the Abbey of Saint-Étienne at Loucelles (and probably elsewhere) were given out temporarily to individuals or families in return for annual payments, who then handed them on further by demanding payments of their own, some of which probably served to compensate what they owed to the monks. Such an explanation might also explain why Bartholomew felt he could demand an additional fifty-five pounds from Luke in order to release and guarantee the land at Loucelles held from the abbey. In fact, such ‘one-off transfer fees’ were by no means unusual, and the amount paid varied according to the size and value of the land.¹²¹ The sum that Luke paid to Bartholomew was certainly a considerable one, especially if there continued to be strings attached, for example, in the form of further annual payments owed to Bartholomew or the monks of Saint-Étienne (or indeed both).

The monks’ freedom to make use of the lands they received from their donors in whatever way they saw fit, and to hand them out to whomever they wished, leads us to our penultimate document, Add. Ch. 67580. Dating from the mid-1190s (probably c.1193–6), this short charter was issued by one Henry of Beaufou. In the document, Henry confirms a previous grant worth half a knight’s fee from his own lordship (*de feodo meo*) which Albereda, the widow of the late Robert Boteville, ‘made to Abbot Robert of [Saint-Étienne de] Caen, so that he may give that donation to whomever he pleases’ (*fecit R[oberti] abbati Cadomi [...] quod ei liceat donum illud dare cuilibet voluerit*) – an agreement which Henry acknowledges, guarantees and perpetuates by the power of his own seal. Similar to Hugh’s charter of c.1172–81, Henry’s confirmation is quite explicit about the circumstance that no constraints should apply to the donation’s subsequent use by the abbey and its members. The fact that the handing out of land to a third party is highlighted *expressis verbis* in Add. Ch. 67580 serves to indicate that this was indeed standard procedure amongst the abbots of Saint-Étienne, and probably also one of the abbey’s major sources of revenue.

It is time now to turn to our final document, Add. Ch. 67581. This charter dates from the end of the twelfth or the very beginning of the thirteenth century, and even though it does not bear a precise date, it can be located confidently within the latter half of the episcopate of Henry (II), bishop of Bayeux (1163–1205), who acts as issuing authority. Bishop Henry confirmed a grant made previously by a certain knight, Hugh of Noiers, who, with the assent of his brother William, had surrendered to Saint-Étienne de Caen, for the eternal salvation of his own soul and those of his forebears, ‘all the rights of patronage that belonged to him and his predecessors within the church of Fontaine at Thaon [also known as Fontaine-Henry]’ (*totum ius patronatus quod ipsi et suis predecessoribus competebat in medietate ecclesie de fontibus iuxta Taon*).¹²² In order to guarantee that the abbey was known and recognized widely as the new patron of Fontaine-Henry, Hugh had even instructed the parson of the church, a certain Gilbert, to report directly to the abbot and monks in the future, explicitly instructing him to ‘praise them as his patrons where he had previously praised the same Hugh and his ancestors as lords and patrons’ (*eos decetero patronos laudaret unde prius eundem Hugonem et eius antecessores dominos laudaverat et patronos*).

¹²¹ See, for example, the act of c.1156–81 copied in Arch. Dép. 1 J 41, fol. 82v. Here, one Rainelmus of Loucelles renounces all claims to the lands at Cristot that his ancestor, Geoffrey de la Fay, had held from Saint-Étienne de Caen for a single payment of fifteen Angevin coins.

¹²² Add. Ch. 67581, ll. 4–5.

More than that, Gilbert even agreed, with the permission of Bishop Henry (and honouring his existing duties towards him), to bind himself to his new patrons by swearing an oath of fidelity (*se ipsis monachis ut patronis suis sacramento fidelitatis astrinxit*). What we can witness here is an attempt – probably a successful one – on the part of Bishop Henry to preserve his own episcopal prerogatives and keep the see of Bayeux’s sphere of influence intact despite Fontaine-Henry’s recent attachment to the Abbey of Saint-Étienne. That such careful negotiations of power between the abbey and the bishopric were considered serious business, which neither side could afford to take lightly, has been made evident in our discussion of Add. Chs. 67575 and 67577 (see above). As we saw in the case of Secqueville, whose priest, Richard, was made to acquit the church of all episcopal and archidiaconal dues as a result of its being donated and subordinated to Saint-Étienne c.1179–93, agreements were not always easy to reach. If a consensus was found, it was usually followed by a formal (or even performative) act of declaration. Like Gilbert the parson in Add. Ch. 67581, Richard the priest in Add. Ch. 67575 also had to swear an oath to the abbey and its members, which he delivered in their chapter house, and in which he promised not to declare or proclaim anyone but them patrons or advocates of his church. Sometimes, contesting claims could not be resolved locally, but required mediation and decision-making on the part of a third (and superordinate) party, as was the case with the Whitsuntide processions in Add. Ch. 67575, where in 1147 Archbishop Hugh of Rouen largely (though not exclusively) ruled in favour of Philip de Harcourt, the then bishop of Bayeux. The conditions established by both the abbot and the bishop in Add. Ch. 67581 on the occasion of the transferral of the church and parson of Fontaine-Henry to Saint-Étienne should probably be read in a similar political and ecclesiastical context.

What is more, when granting the Abbey of Saint-Étienne the rights of patronage at Fontaine-Henry, Hugh also enriched the monastery’s demesne by donating two sheaves from the tithes of his lordship in the village and the local area.¹²³ Hugh held these lands and tithes together with his brother, a cleric called William, who together had inherited them from their father, Robert of Noiers. William is recorded in Add. Ch. 67581 as having ‘voluntarily resigned and handed over of his own will’ (*resignavit et dimisit eam spontaneus*) these lands and their returns to the monastery. This was not the only occasion during the late twelfth century at which the monks of Caen received lands at Fontaine-Henry. Not too long after Add. Ch. 67581 had been issued, one Henry of Tilly also bestowed a total of four and a half acres of land from his own lordship in that village (*apud villam de Fontibus iuxta Taon*) to the abbey. Henry’s gift, which actually makes explicit reference to Bishop Henry of Bayeux’s act of confirmation (see below), was codified in an original charter (today Manchester, John Rylands Library, no. 54).¹²⁴ At the time of their bestowal, these four and a half acres that Henry had inherited from his father (*quattuor acras et dimidiam terre de meo proprio feodo quod fuit patris mei*) were not maintained by himself personally, but by seven other individuals, all of whom are listed by name in Rylands no. 54 along with the respective portions of land they received from Henry. This two-tier system, which is reminiscent of that we saw earlier with regard to the abbey’s possessions at Loucelles (see above), did not prevent Henry from donating his lands (*terras*) at Fontaine-Henry to Saint-Étienne.¹²⁵ What is of particular interest, moreover, is the additional information that Henry’s charter contains regarding the previous donation made by Hugh (and confirmed by Bishop Henry of Bayeux). Given its significance, this passage will be quoted in full here:

Moreover, I [Henry of Tilly] have conceded and confirmed to the aforementioned monastery and monks [of Saint-Étienne de Caen] the abovementioned seven acres and three square measures of land [located] at the same village of Fontaine[-Henry] from the lordship that used to belong to the knight Hugh of Noiers, which the same Hugh gave and conceded to

¹²³ Add. Ch. 67581, ll. 11–14.

¹²⁴ See Fawtier, ‘Beaumont Charters’, p. 535.

¹²⁵ Rylands no. 54, ll. 7–10: *Has inquam terras prescriptas dedi et concessi prefato cenobio tenendas et possidendas bene et pacifice, libere et quiete, integre et absolute ab omnibus redditibus, serviciis, consuetudinibus et aliis quibuslibet exigentiis, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam.*

that monastery before he gave me his lordship at Fontaine[-Henry] in exchange, to be held and had by the oft-mentioned monks as a free and eternal donation, freely and undisturbed, together with the tithe that the same Hugh gave and donated, with the assent of his brother, William the cleric, to the mentioned monastery, that is, a tithe of two sheaves from the entire lordship that used to belong to Hugh and his father at the same village of Fontaine[-Henry] and in the territory of that village, that is, in [the form of] both dominions and people, as well as people in the other lands of that same lordship from which tithes should and can be collected. And it should also be known that the abovementioned lands from the gift of the said Hugh are [located] in the following places: three acres along the ditch/moat which Richard the provost holds, one acre along the thorn bush road which Ranulf of Val and Elias Letel hold [together], in the same place one acre at the marsh, two acres and the square measure at Les Traversins that William Waudin and Richard of Val hold [together].¹²⁶ Furthermore, it may be known that the aforementioned abbot and monks have handed over to me and my heirs all rights of patronage which they have had and declared to have had in the church of Fontaine[-Henry] from the donation of the abovementioned Hugh,¹²⁷ and have thus resigned whatever they have had according to the charters of Bishop Henry of Bayeux and Hugh himself, whilst retaining for themselves [only] the tithe and aforementioned lands from the donation and concession of the abovementioned Hugh, as was said before.¹²⁸

The first thing we learn from this charter is that at some point during the relatively short period that separated Add. Ch. 67581 and Rylands no. 54, Hugh appears to have handed over the lordship of Fontaine-Henry which had provided the basis of his donation to Saint-Étienne to Henry of Tilly. Evidently, Henry was willing to honour the existing agreement between Hugh and the abbey, as he confirms the seven and a half acres of land formerly held by Hugh as part of the monks' demesne – as well as adding another four and a half acres from his own lordship.

In fact, it is in Henry of Tilly's charter, rather than in that of Bishop Henry of Bayeux, that we are told for the first time about the distribution and precise location of the seven and a half acres first donated by Hugh. As is made clear by Henry's explicit reference to two charters (*cartas tam domini Henrici Baiocensis episcopi quam ipsius Hugonis*), there once had been a record of Hugh's original grant, too. To the best of my knowledge, this charter has not survived today. Whilst confirming and indeed adding to the expansion of the abbey's demesne, Henry was not prepared to relinquish the patronage over the church of Fontaine-Henry, however. Indeed, Rylands no. 54

¹²⁶ Les Traversins is the name of a stream that runs through Belleville-en-Caux, Seine-Maritime, which today is still one of the main waterways of the area.

¹²⁷ Curiously, the charter makes no explicit mention of any abbot whatsoever, and neither does its list of witnesses. Based on the historical context, the abbot of Saint-Étienne de Caen referred to by Henry can probably be identified with either Abbot Robert (II) (1193–96) or Abbot Samson (1196/9–1214).

¹²⁸ Rylands no. 54, ll. 10–24: [P]reterea concessi et confirmavi iamdicto cenobio et monachibus predictis vii acras et iii virgatas terre apud eandem villam de Fontibus de feodo quod fuit Hugonis de Noiers militis quas idem Hugo dederat et concessit eidem cenobio antequam fecisset mihi commutationem sui feodi de Fontibus, tenendas et habendas sepedictis monachis libere et quiete absolute in puram et perpetuam elemosinam cum decima qua idem Hugo dedit et elemosinavit assensu Willelmi clerici fratris sui memorato cenobio, videlicet duas garbas decimarum de toto feodo quod fuit eiusdem Hugonis et patris sui apud eandem villam de Fontibus et in territorio eiusdem ville, videlicet in dominico, in hominibus et in homnibus aliis terris eiusdem feodi de quibus decima debet et potest exire. Et sciendum est quod prefate terre de dono ipsius Hugonis sunt in his locis subscriptis, videlicet apud fossata iii acre quas tenuit Ricardus prepositus, in via de Spina una acra quam tenuerunt Rannulfus de Val et Helyas Letel, ibidem una acra in Maresco, ii acre apud Lestraversains virgate quas tenuerunt Willelmus Waudin et Ricardus de Val. Preterea sciendum est quod prefati abbas et monachi dimiserunt mihi et heredibus meis totum ius patronatus quod habebant et se habere dicebant in ecclesia de Fontibus ex dono et concessione prefati Hugonis, ita quod cartas tam domini Henrici Baiocensis episcopi quam ipsius Hugonis quas inde habebant mihi resignaverunt, salvis sibi sicut supradictum est, tam decima quam terries predictis de dono et concessione predicti Hugonis.

proves that Henry succeeded in securing the rights of patronage both for himself and his heirs, quite contrary in a sense to the conditions of Hugh's original donation as established in Add. Ch. 67581. It is tempting to see this as a strategic move on Henry's part, which can perhaps best be understood in the context of the altered circumstances brought about by his acquisition of Hugh's lordship, which required (or at least provided an opportunity for) renegotiation with the Abbey of Saint-Étienne concerning the terms of the previous (and now in some respects obsolete) grant. When read in this way, Henry appears to have agreed to abandon his claims to the lands and tithes at Fontaine-Henry in return for being granted patronage over the local church. His renunciation of one part of Hugh's original donation (the lands and tithes) was met by the abbey's renunciation of its other part (the patronage), and as such the new arrangement as agreed and witnessed in Rylands no. 54 constituted a mutually beneficial compromise that recognised and respected the altered status quo and the need for consensus. Taken together, Add. Ch. 67581 and Rylands no. 54 thus provide an illustrative example of how agreements made between the Abbey of Saint-Étienne and its political relations could develop, and be modified, if need be, to accommodate different needs and circumstances of the time.

Conclusion

Having reached the end of this investigation, it is time to formulate some concluding observations based on our examination of Add. Chs. 67574–67581. Assessing these eight documents against the background of their wider historical and diplomatic context has generated new and important insights into the political and economic activities of one of Normandy's most powerful, wealthy and well-connected religious institutions during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. Most fundamentally, perhaps, it permits us to observe the abbots and monks of William the Conqueror's favourite abbey in action, negotiating their privileges and possessions and brokering deals with several of their patrons and associates. The latter included members of the Norman nobility and knightly classes, influential lords and families of the region around Caen, as well as powerful ecclesiastical prelates such as the bishops of Bayeux and the archbishops of Rouen. More specifically, studying these eight charters in context has served to bring together several key examples of the everyday realities that governed the administration, maintenance and, in some cases, protection of the abbey's growing estates and privileges. In several instances, these negotiations involved the careful allocation, distribution and reassignment of lands and rights which the monks had received through donations, and which they used strategically in order to cement and expand their influence within the existing power networks in Lower Normandy (and indeed beyond).

In some cases, the abbey's influence in a specific location was increased further through the gradual acquisition of several, and indeed complementary, donations, which in combination served to render Saint-Étienne the major landowner in that locality. In other cases, the abbots of Saint-Étienne decided to hand out and release the acquired gifts to third parties, either temporarily or on a more permanent (sometimes even hereditary) basis, or they exchanged them for different privileges, thereby orchestrating delicate yet necessary compromises with their secular as well as ecclesiastical peers. This could be seen, for example, in their negotiations with Henry of Tilly recorded in Rylands no. 54 and explicitly referring back to Add. Ch. 67581. The monks did not always have it their way, however, and sometimes they had to cede to their contestants' claims, especially if the latter included influential and resourceful people such as Bishop Philip of Bayeux, who in 1147 successfully defended his cathedral chapter's spiritual authority against the abbey's growing influence. However, individual cases of conflict such as that we saw recorded in Add. Ch. 67575 should not be taken as evidence to suggest that the relationship between the Bayeux episcopate and the Abbey of Saint-Étienne was generally (or even predominantly) a hostile one during the period that provided the focus of this article. Rather, these conflicts – and, perhaps more importantly, the ways in which they were resolved and documented in the surviving charters – are reflections of the ever-changing conditions and shifting power constellations that characterized Lower Normandy's dynamic political and ecclesiastical landscape during the later eleventh and

twelfth centuries. This was a situation that required significant levels of flexibility, adaptability and negotiation on the part of those seeking, as well as those preserving, a position of power and influence. The eight charters studied in this article provide vivid testimony of how the abbots of Saint-Étienne and their associates sought to meet these crucial demands.

In sum, this study of Add. Chs. 67574–67581 hopes to contribute to a fuller understanding of the history of Saint-Étienne and its development as an institution. In many regards, monastic life at Caen was governed by principles similar to those that were at play elsewhere in Normandy, as well as, to a certain degree, in Anglo-Norman England. In some regards, however, the monks and abbots of Saint-Étienne enjoyed, if not an entirely unique, then certainly a special position, both during the Conqueror's own lifetime and under his heirs and children. This was due not least to the unmatched resources and support that the abbey continued to receive from Duke/King William and his allies, including, amongst others, Bishop Odo of Bayeux (William's half-brother) and Archbishop William Bona Anima of Rouen (who was himself a former abbot of Saint-Étienne). For most of the later eleventh century, these favourable political constellations permitted the Abbey of Saint-Étienne to expand its dominions and possessions without too much resistance from its peers, many of whom it surpassed in power and wealth within decades, if not years. From about the second quarter of the twelfth century onwards, however, local and/or regional opposition gradually grew stronger, and the abbots of Saint-Étienne now increasingly had to defend their position and seek confirmation of the monastery's existing rights and privileges. Add. Chs. 67574–67581 offer instructive examples of how these changed circumstances and the challenges they brought about affected the abbey's leadership and administration in everyday practice. Taken together, they provide us with a powerful window onto the realities of medieval monastic and political culture in Lower Normandy during the period c.1120–1204.

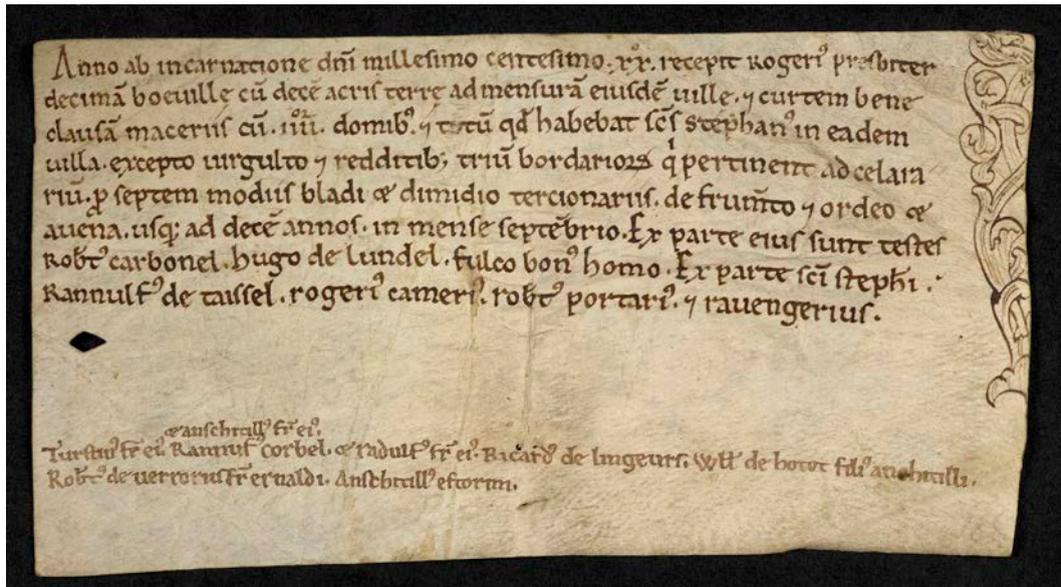


Fig. 1. Add. Ch. 67574, recto.



Fig. 2. Add. Ch. 67574, verso.

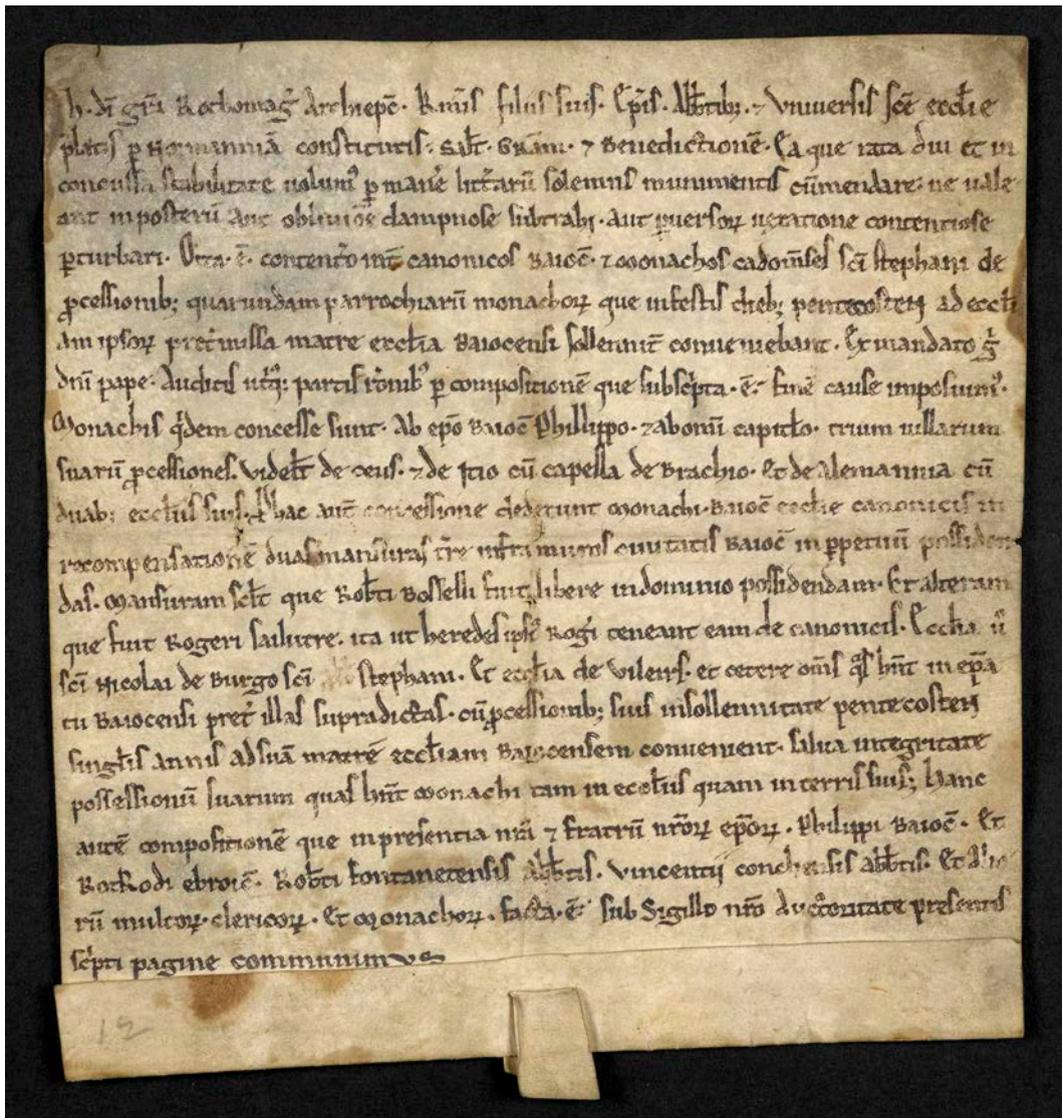


Fig. 3. Add. Ch. 67575, recto.

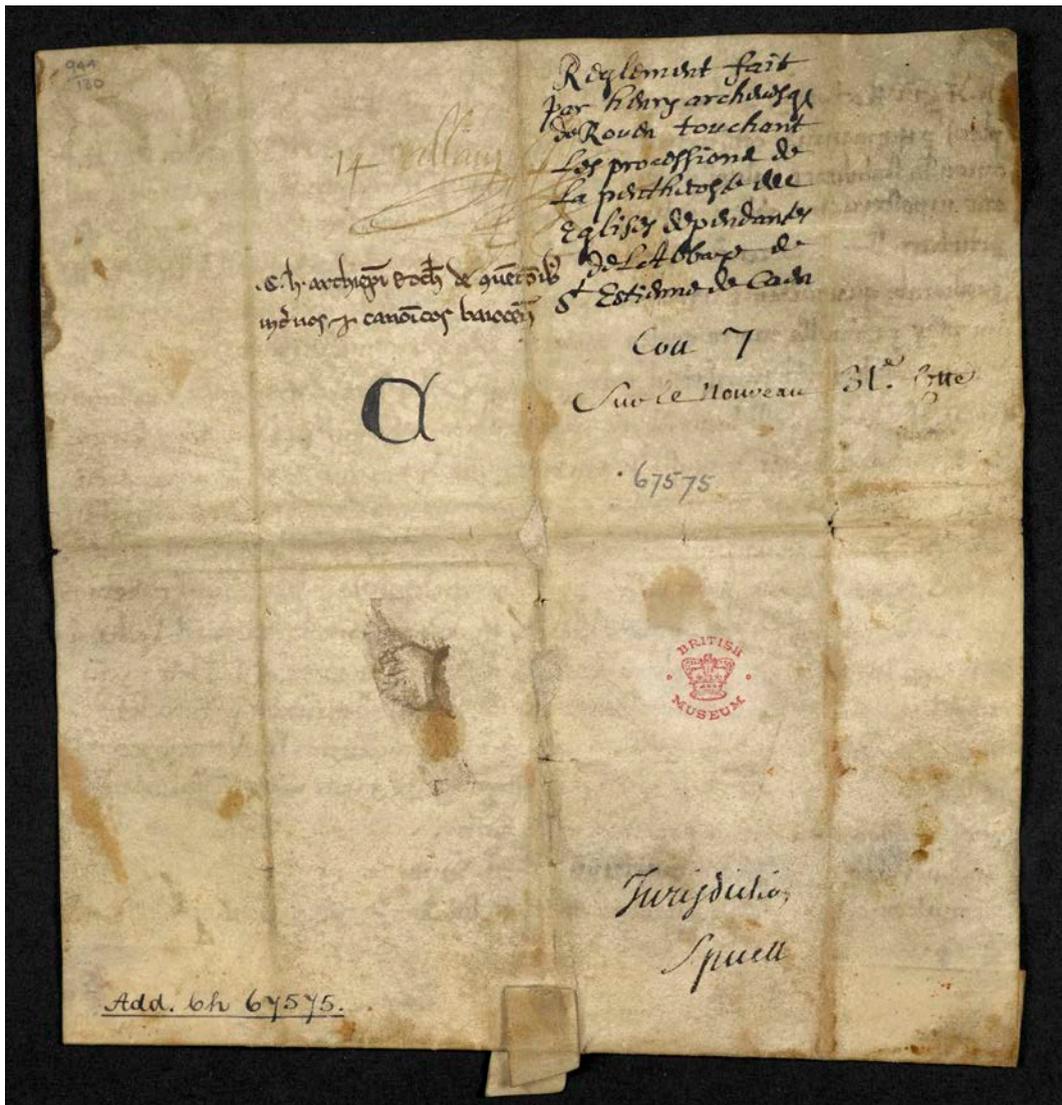


Fig. 4. Add. Ch. 67575, verso.

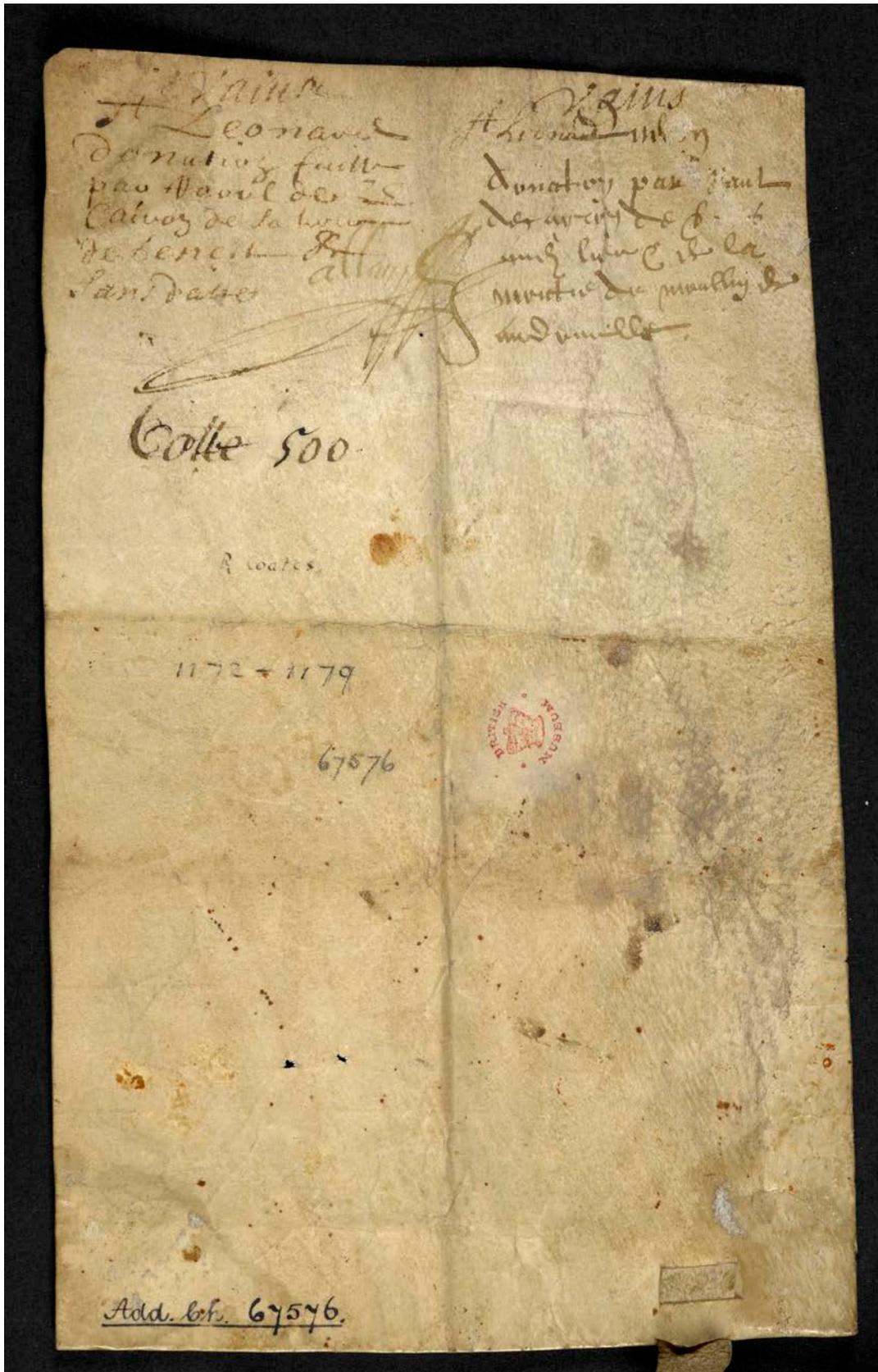


Fig. 6. Add. Ch. 67576, verso.

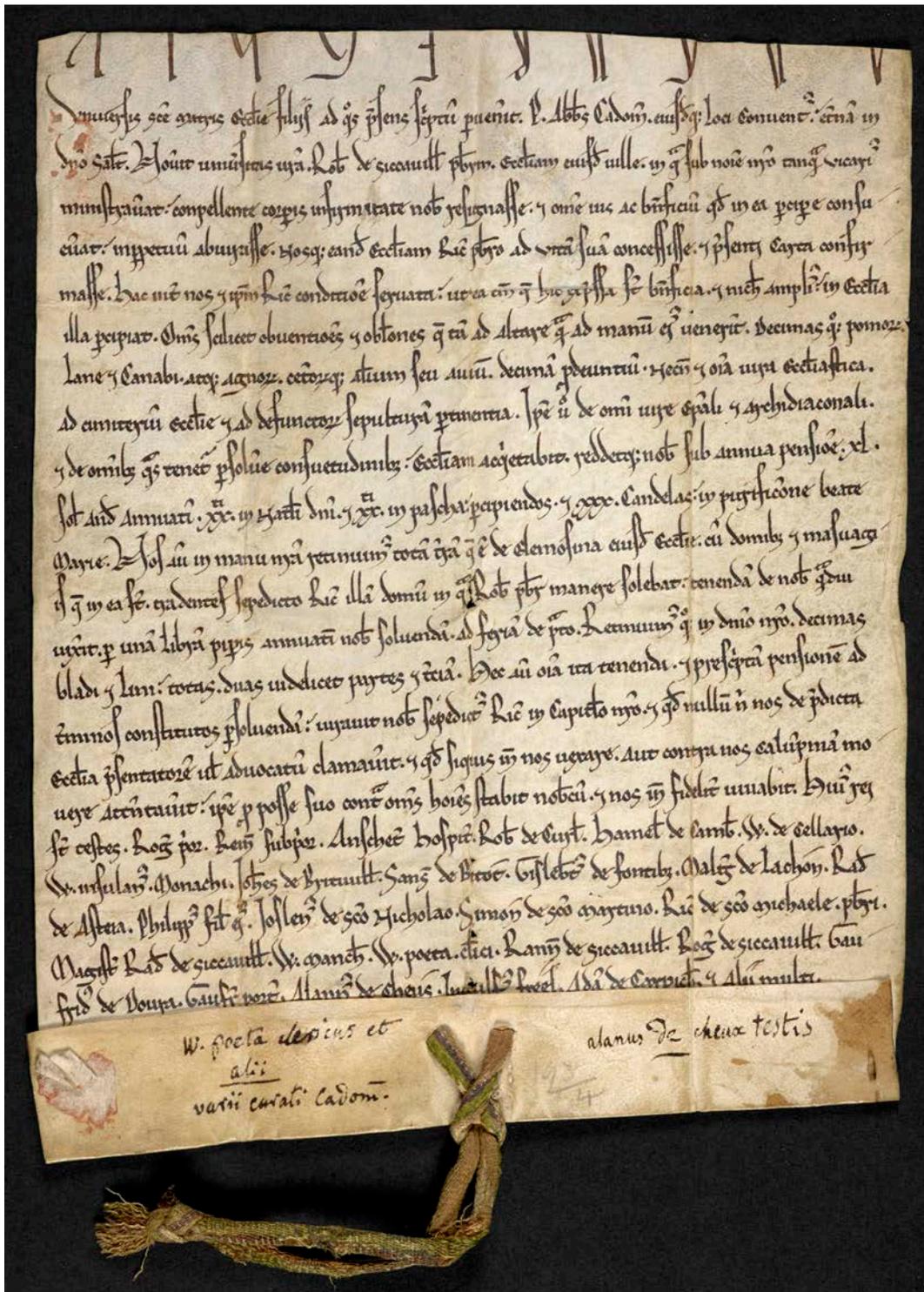


Fig. 7. Add. Ch. 67577, recto.



Fig. 8. Add. Ch. 67577, verso.

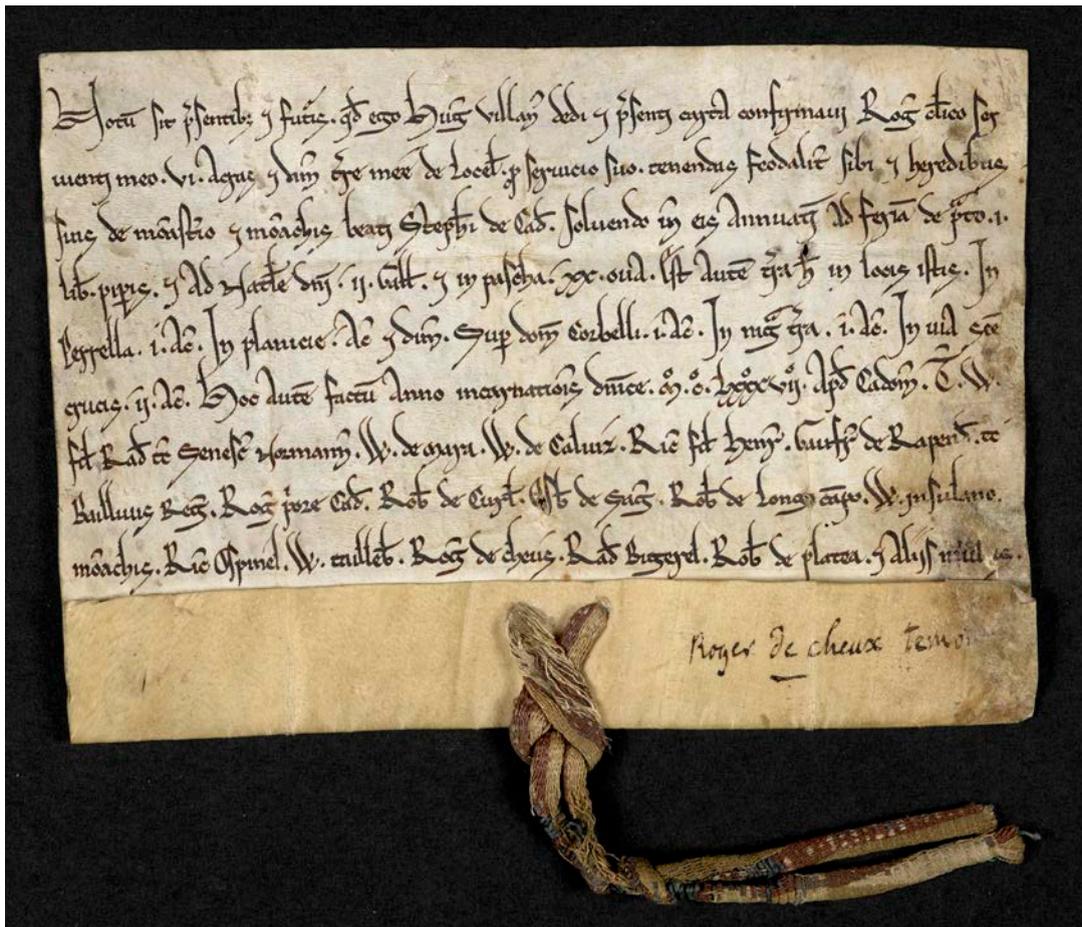


Fig. 9. Add. Ch. 67578, recto.

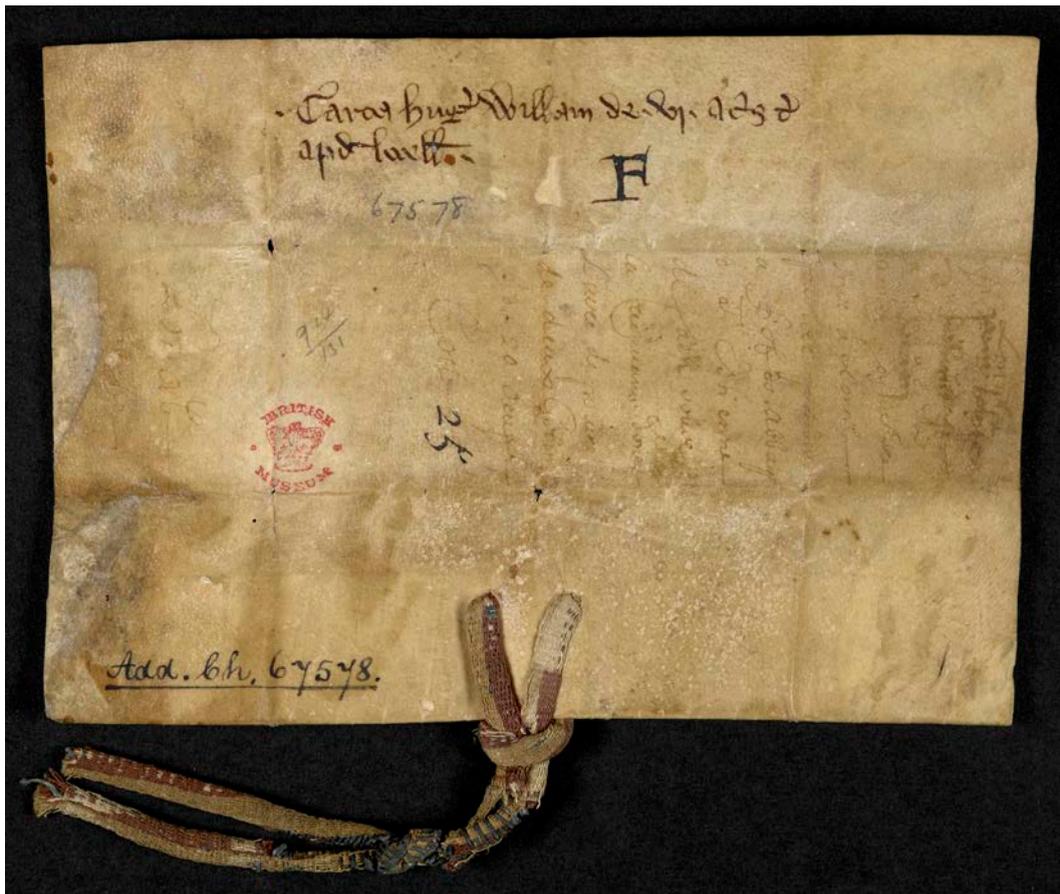


Fig. 10. Add. Ch. 67578, verso.

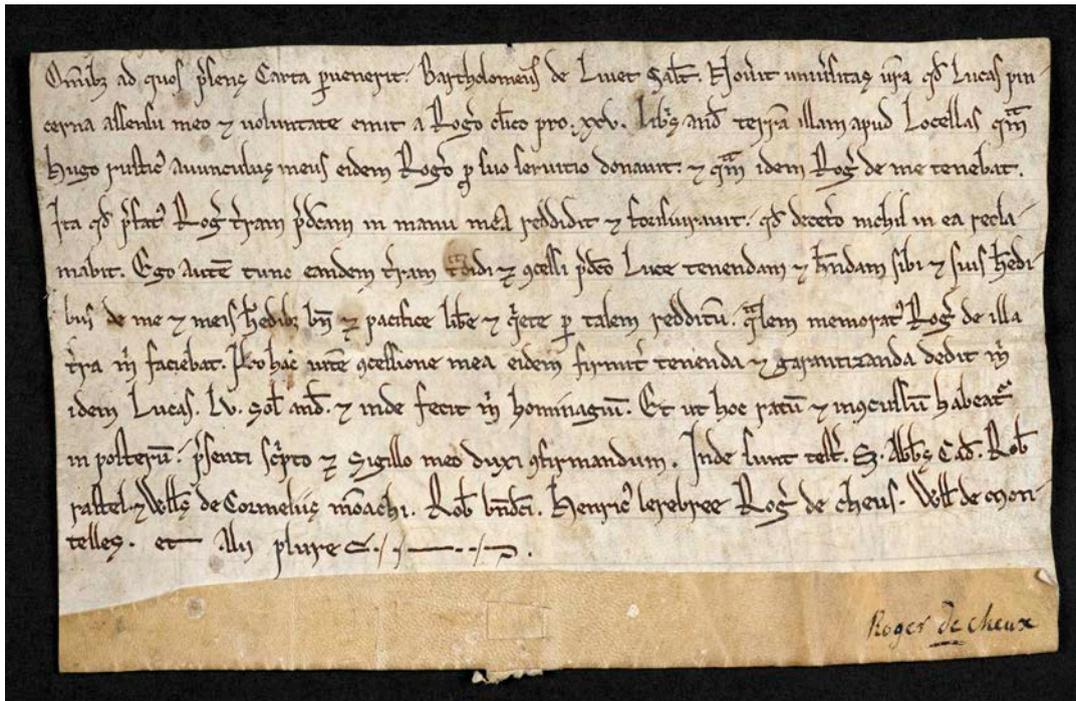


Fig. 11. Add. Ch. 67579, recto.

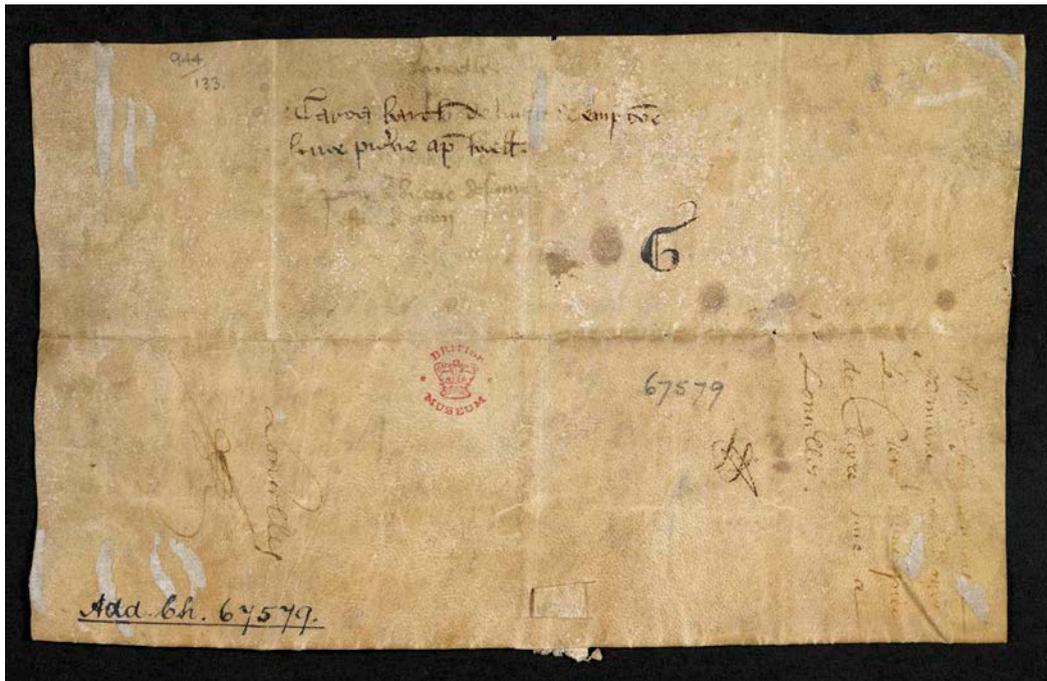


Fig. 12. Add. Ch. 67579, verso.

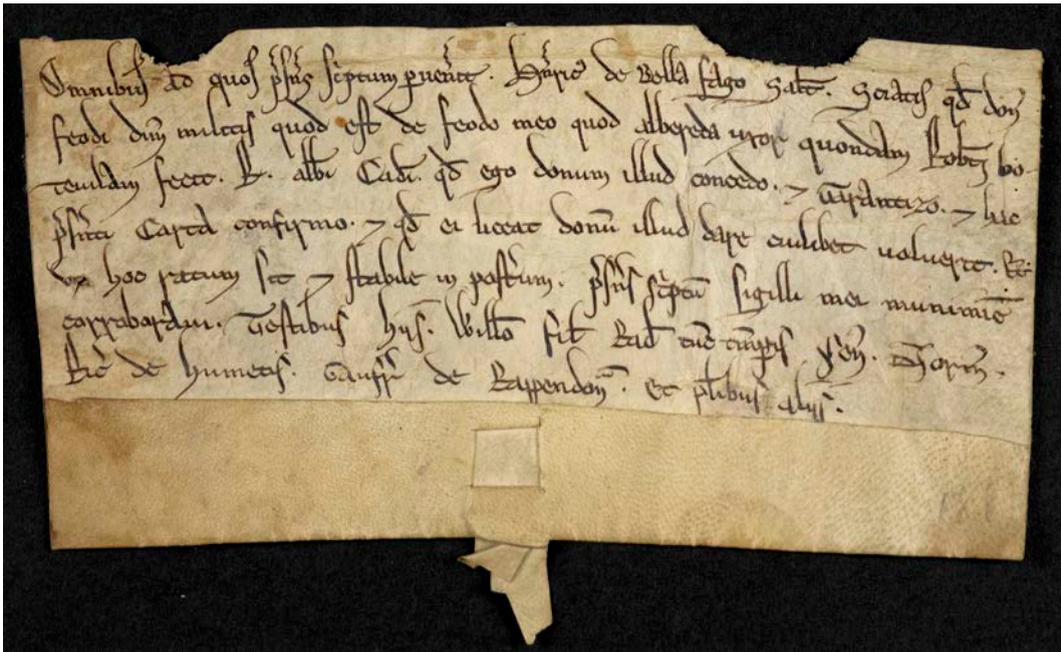


Fig. 13. Add. Ch. 67580, recto.

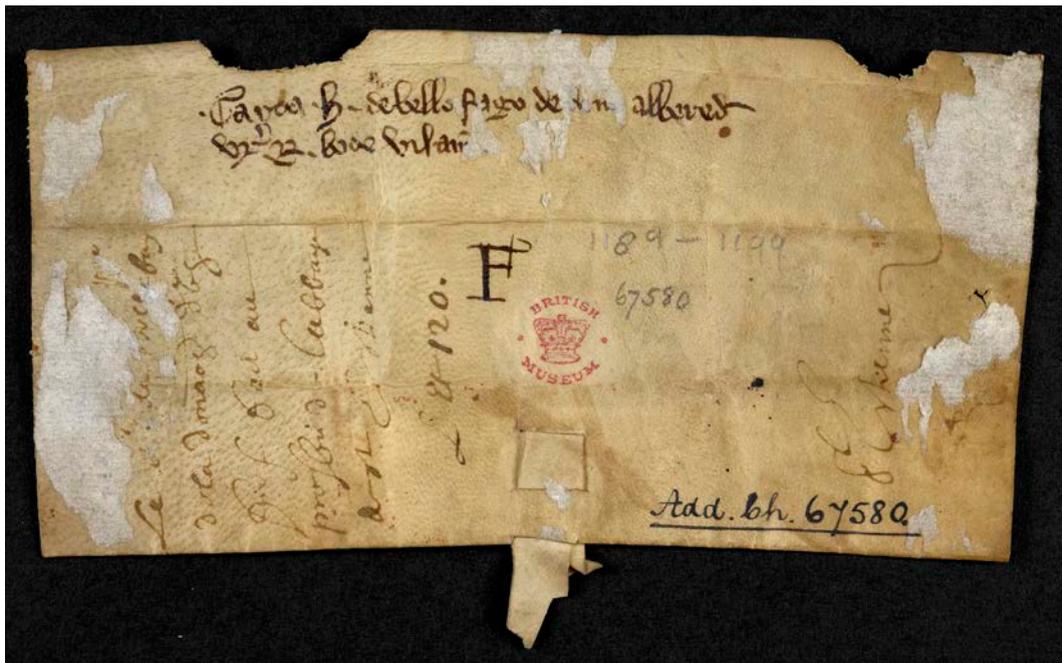


Fig. 14. Add. Ch. 67580, verso.

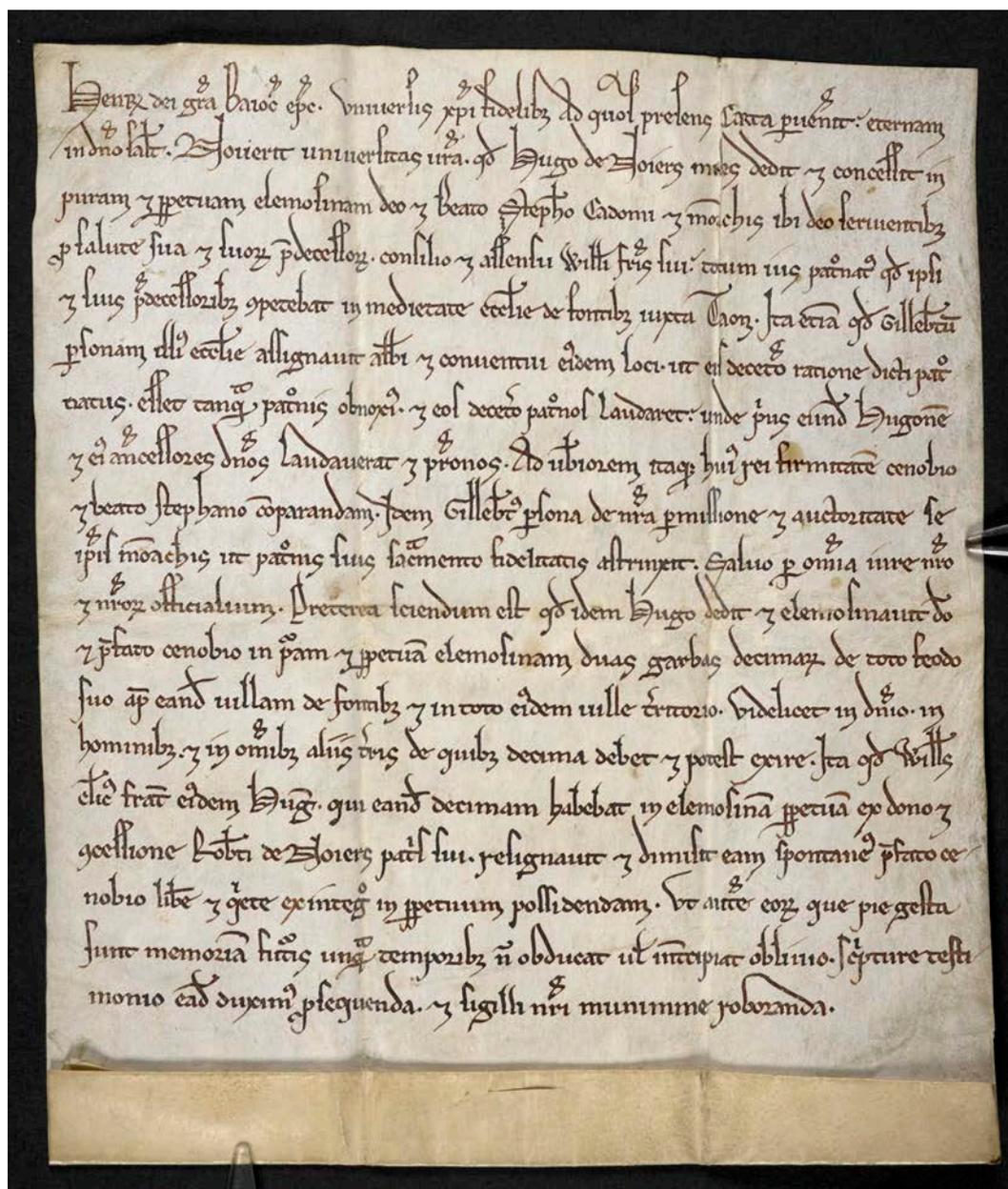


Fig. 15. Add. Ch. 67581, recto.

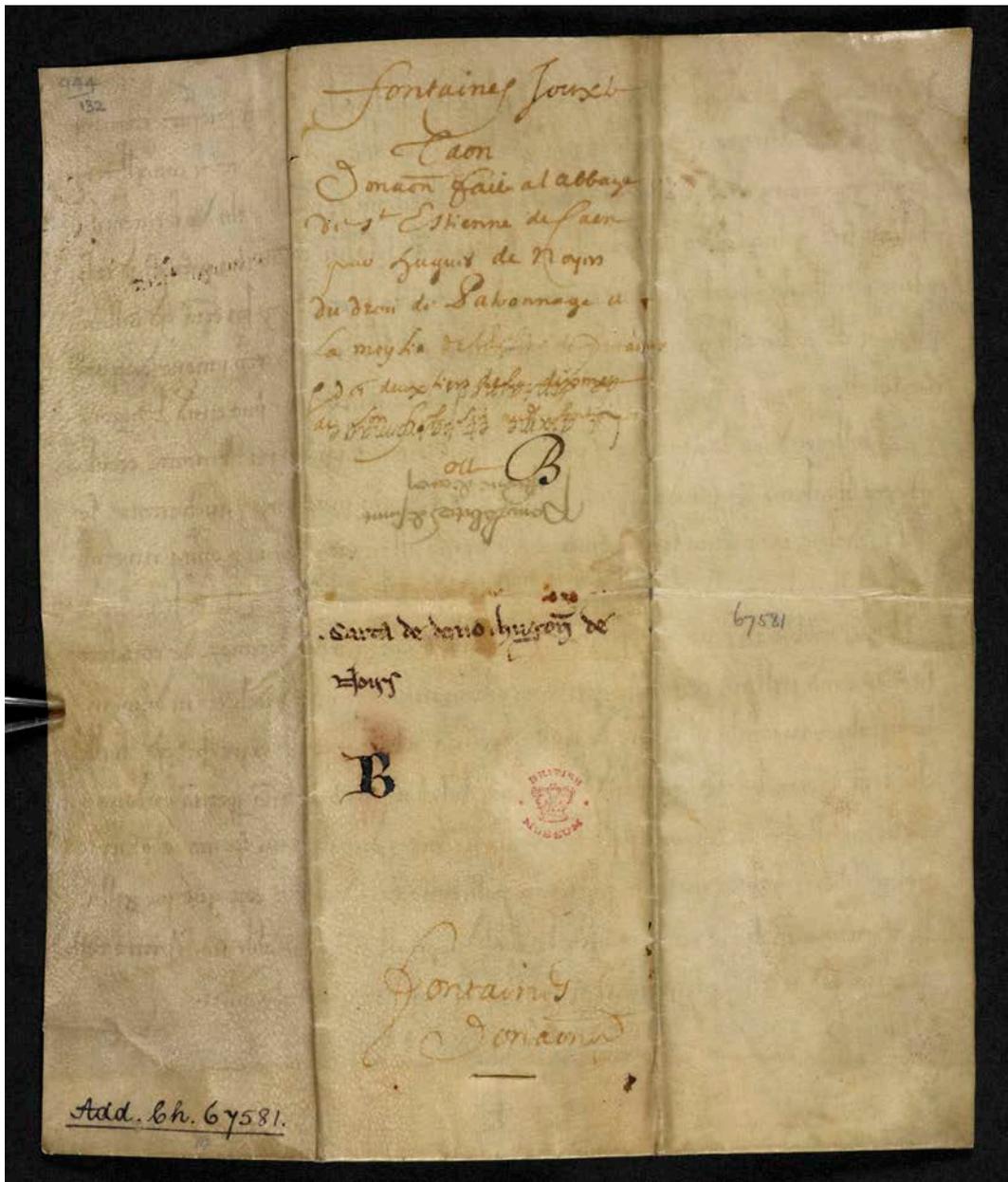


Fig. 16. Add. Ch. 67581, verso.