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People, texts and artefacts

Cultural transmission in the medieval Norman worlds

Edited by David Bates, Edoardo D'Angelo
and Elisabeth van Houts

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Editors' preface

This volume developed out of meetings between the three editors during the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies held at Bayeux in July 2012 and afterwards in Caen and elsewhere. The aim was always to bring together scholars from different countries with an interest in the history of the Normans and to create dialogues between them. The ambition became a reality when Professor Ortensio Zecchino invited us to organize two conferences, the first of which he would host at the Centro Europeo di Studi Normanni in Ariano Irpino from 20 to 22 September 2013 and the second of which would be held at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, from 23 to 25 March 2014. It was decided at the beginning that the conferences would have the specific theme of cultural transmission across and within the Norman worlds and that they would be interdisciplinary in approach.

The organizers are grateful to Ortensio Zecchino for all the support he has given to the conferences and to the staff of the Centro Europeo di Studi Normanni for making the time spent there such an enjoyable one. The conference at Emmanuel College received financial support from the Master and Fellows of Emmanuel College, from the Trevelyan Fund of the Faculty of History of the University of Cambridge, and from the School of History of the University of East Anglia. We must express our warmest thanks to Dr. Helen Carron and Dr. Julie Barrau for the organization of an exhibition of the medieval manuscripts of Emmanuel College in the College Library, to Professor Sir John Baker for allowing us to exhibit a selection of his horse harness pendants on the same occasion, and to Emily Ward who as a student assistant helped enormously with the logistics of the Cambridge conference. There were several scholars who contributed papers or talks to the two conferences but who, for various reasons, were unable to include them in the published volume. They are David Abulafia, Julie Barrau, Armando Bisanti, Errico Cuozzo, Lindy Grant, Tom Licence, Giuseppe Mastrominico, Paul Oldfield, Anna Laura Trombetti, and Jolando Ventura, all of whom played their part in making the conferences such friendly and stimulating occasions. Our final thanks must be to Professor Lawrence Goldman and Professor Jane Winters for ensuring that this remarkable trilingual volume would be accepted for publication by the Institute of Historical Research in an appropriate form and to Julie Spraggon, Emily Morrell, and Jessica Davies Porter for their exemplary editorial work. Finally, many thanks to Derwin Gregory for his help in preparing the index.

List of contributors

Sir John Baker is Emeritus Downing Professor of the Laws of England at the University of Cambridge, and writes on legal history. His collection of heraldic manuscripts and artefacts, including over 2,000 medieval harness decorations, has mostly been formed over the last fifteen years.

David Bates is a professorial fellow at the University of East Anglia and docteur honoris causa of the Université de Caen-Normandie. He has published extensively on the histories of England and Normandy during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. His two most recent books are *The Normans and Empire* (2013) and *William the Conqueror* (2016). A French translation of the second of these is in progress.

Elma Brenner is research development specialist (medieval and early modern) at the Wellcome Collection, London. Her research examines the medical and religious culture of medieval Normandy, and she is currently co-editing (with François-Olivier Touati) a collection of essays on *Leprosy and Identity in the Middle Ages: from England to the Mediterranean*.

Teofilo De Angelis is adjunct professor of Latin literature at Suor Orsola Benincasa University in Naples. He has written several articles on topics specifically related to the Lombard and Norman-Swabian periods and has completed a critical edition of the sixth book of Petrus de Vinea's Epistolary and of Petrus de Ebulo's *De Euboicis aquis* (forthcoming with Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Mediolatini d'Italia, Florence). He is also a permanent contributor to the S.I.S.M.E.L. bibliographical bulletin *Medioevo latino.*

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Alheydis Plassmann teaches at the University of Bonn. Her research areas are the regional history of the Rhineland and Normans and English historical writing. She is currently working on a long-term project entitled 'The king as tyrant. Royal Herrschaft in England through the lens of criticism (1066–1216)'.

Daniel Power is professor of medieval history at Swansea University. His research concerns France and England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He is currently preparing a study of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy after the Capetian annexation of Normandy in 1204 and an edition of the acts of the Hommet family, constables of Normandy.

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Elisabeth van Houts is honorary professor of European medieval history at the University of Cambridge and a fellow of Emmanuel College. She has published widely on Anglo-Norman history, Latin historiography and memory. Her book *Married Life in the Middle Ages 900-1300* is forthcoming.

Mario Rosario Zecchino has a Ph.D. in literary, philological and historical studies from the University of Bologna and a Master's degree in management of cultural heritage. He is currently doing research at the Vatican Museums. His field of research is numismatics and he has published many numismatic articles in edited volumes and specialist periodicals.

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Abbreviations

Acts of William I	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998)
AD	Archives Départementales
Amatus	Amatus of Montecassino, *Ystorie de li Normant/ Storia de’ Normanni*, ed. V. de Bartholomeis (FSI lxxvi, Rome, 1935); English translation, *The History of the Normans by Amatus of Montecassino*, trans. P. N. Dunbar, rev. G. A. Loud (Woodbridge, 2002)
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*
ASS	*Acta Sanctorum*, ed. J. Bollandus, G. Henschenius, et al. (Antwerp and Brussels, 1734) <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk>
AT	*Alexandri Telesini abbatis Ystoria Rogerii Regis Sicilie, Calabrie atque Apulie*, ed. and trans. L. De Nava and D. Clementi (FSI 112, Rome, 1991); alternative translation *Alessandro di Telese: Storia di Ruggero II*, trans. R. Matarazzo (Naples, 2001)
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
Bede, *HE*	*Beda, Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (OMT, Oxford, 1969)
BHL	Bibliographica Hagiographica Latina <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be>
BnFr	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BR	E. M. C. van Houts, ‘The *Brevis Relatio de Guillelmo Nobilissimo Comite Normannorum*, written by a monk of Battle Abbey, edited with a historical commentary’, *Royal Historical Society Camden Fifth Series* x (1997), 5–48
DB	*Domesday Book, seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi regis Angliae*, ed. A. Farley (2 vols., 1783)

Dudo	Dudo, *De Moribus et Actis primorum Normanniae Ducum*, ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865); English translation, Dudo of St. Quentin, *History of the Normans*, trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
FSI	*Fonti per la storia dell' Italia Medievale* (Rome, 1887–…)
Galth. Canc.	Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896)
GND	*The Gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. E. M. C. van Houts (OMT, 2 vols., Oxford, 1992–5)
HR	*Historical Research*
HSJ	*Haskins Society Journal*
Huntingdon	Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: the History of the English People*, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (OMT, Oxford, 1996)
JW	*The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and trans. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk (OMT, 2 vols., Oxford, 1995–8)
Malaterra	*Gaufredo Malaterra, De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris eius,* ed. E. Pontieri (Rome, 1928). For books 1 and 2, see now *Geoffroi Malaterra, Histoire du Grand Comte Roger et de son frère Robert Guiscard*, ed. M.-A. Lucas-Avenel (Caen, 2016)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
OV	*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (OMT, 6 vols., Oxford, 1969–80)
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (221 vols., Paris, 1844–65)
RRAN	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154*, 3 vols., i, ed. H. W. C. Davis and R. J. Whitwell (Oxford, 1913); ii, ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956); iii, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1968)

Torigni	*Chronique de Robert de Torigni abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. L. Delisle, (2 vols., Rouen, 1872–3)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
WA	*Guillaume de Pouille: la Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu (Palermo, 1961)
Wace	*The History of the Norman People: Wace's Roman de Rou*, trans. G. S. Burgess (Woodbridge, 2004)
WM, *GRA*	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum: the History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (OMT, 2 vols., Oxford, 1998–9)
WM, *GPA*	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum: the History of the English Bishops*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, (OMT, 2 vols., Oxford, 2007)
WP	*The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trans. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (OMT, Oxford, 1998)

Introduction

David Bates and Elisabeth van Houts

The migration of the Normans across Europe is a well-known and much written about subject. Originating in the principality of Normandy that took its name from the 'men of the north' who came from Scandinavia to settle on the French coast from the ninth century onwards, the Normans then established themselves during the eleventh century in two main areas some 3,000 miles apart. In the Mediterranean we find them in southern Italy and Sicily, as well as Antioch, while in north-western Europe they famously crossed the Channel and settled in England, expanding onwards into Scotland, Wales, and ultimately Ireland. The place of the Normans in European history remains a major topic of interest to historians, but one on which current research is too often segmented into work on either the northern European or the southern European experiences. In spite of the huge volume of publications in several languages on a multitude of specific subjects, it is a topic on which single-authored pan-European treatments have nowadays become relatively uncommon.[1]

Although the approach of considering the Norman expansion of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as a single unified movement, epitomized in English by the great pioneering publications of Charles Homer Haskins of 1915 (*The Normans in European History*) and David Douglas of 1969 and 1976 (*The Norman Achievement* and *The Norman Fate*), has long been abandoned, there remain clear and compelling reasons for arguing that some sort of unifying dynamic did exist, albeit in the midst of wider processes of European change that were shaped by local, regional and trans-national circumstances. With this in mind, two collaborative international conferences were held at the Centro Europeo di Studi Normanni at Ariano Irpino (20–22 September 2013) and Emmanuel College, Cambridge (23–25 March 2014). In organizing the two conferences on which this book is based, its three editors, along with the co-organizer Professor Ortensio Zecchino, decided that discussion of new approaches to the history of the Normans would be greatly facilitated by holding a dialogue between colleagues from northern and southern Europe. A selection of the contributions has been brought together here, centred on the theme of cultural transmission.

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[1] See, M. Chibnall, *The Normans* (Oxford, 2000); F. Neveux, *L'Aventure des Normands (VIII^{e}–XIII^{e} siècle)* (Paris, 2006) (English translation, *A Brief History of the Normans: the Conquests that Changed the Face of Europe*, trans. H. Curtis (2008)); L. V. Hicks, *A Short History of the Normans* (2015). The last of these has a valuable chapter entitled 'Cultural exchanges'.

Aware of how much the contributions are the product of exciting research in progress, the editors' ultimate hope is that this volume will stimulate further thought on how research can be shaped into ongoing discussions of this major movement in European and world history. By deliberately bringing together scholars with different approaches and interests, they have aimed to persuade others to take the interdisciplinary approaches that are indispensable to understanding the subject of the Normans in the twenty-first century. In saying this, they are aware that theirs is not the first book published recently to be devoted to the concept of cultural transmission. Three have appeared, all based on conferences, one of them organized by colleagues at the University of Lancaster, the second by colleagues at the Universitetet i Bergen and the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, and the third by one of the editors of this volume and a colleague at the Université de Caen Normandie as one of the annual Cerisy-la-Salle conferences held in 2011.[2] What the contributors in this volume offer is a more specific attempt at understanding how aspects of cultural transmission worked across and within the Norman worlds of southern Italy and north-western Europe. In this introduction we set out how the contributions add to our understanding of two-way directional influences that moved from north to south and from south to north.

Ultimately definable as a movement of a people, albeit with great care needing to be taken about how this is done, the eleventh-century migration of the Normans has features that differentiate it from the migrations that are a central element in Europe's history across the previous millennium.[3] In the eleventh century the migrations of the Normans preceded and coincided with another large-scale movement of peoples, the crusades, which started in 1096, and then continued throughout the twelfth century and beyond. In their nature, the Norman migration and their crusades were different from the crusades, though there are striking cross-overs as studied by Catherine Heygate in her Cambridge PhD thesis.[4] A similar point to this is made in the recent collection of essays on crusading and pilgrimages edited by Paul Oldfield and Kathryn Hurlock, with the very first sentence of the book's introduction being the statement that 'the reputation of the Normans is rooted in an uneasy interplay between warfare and faith'.[5] Arguably this tense interrelationship cannot be seen as a conflict between value systems associated with violence and pacific Christianity, but rather of ethical debates around the Church's readiness to associate itself more and more directly with types of violence that some of its members judged to be in its best interests. The name of Gregory VII immediately springs to mind.[6] But he was arguably a powerful mouthpiece for others. They in turn provided opportunity and justification for the likes of William the Conqueror and Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger as they sought to legitimize their violent enterprises.

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[2] *Norman Expansion: Contrasts, Connections and Continuities*, ed. A. Jotischky and K. Stringer (Farnham, 2013; second volume in progress); *Norman Tradition and Transcultural Heritage: Exchanges of Cultures in the 'Norman' Peripheries of Medieval Europe*, ed. S. Burkhardt and T. Foerster (Farnham and Burlington, Vt., 2013), pp. 911–2011; *Penser les mondes normands médiévaux. Actes du colloque international de Caen et Cerisy (29 septembre–2 octobre 2011)*, ed. D. Bates and P. Bauduin (Caen, 2016).

[3] For a succinct statement of this point, P. Heather, *Empires and Barbarians: Migration, Development and the Birth of Europe* (2009), pp. 23, 267, 292–9.

Both the Norman migrations and the crusades were military expeditions consisting of large groups of armed men who travelled in groups reflecting kin, neighbourhood and feudal bonds, and were sustained by the financial support provided by these relationships. The outlay involved in them was enormous and was raised in the clear expectation that an investment in the enterprise would pay off, not only religiously (by remission of sins) but also materially.[7] Mortgages entered into to finance military expenditure needed to be paid back. The crusading motivation was the more religious in its ethos, set up with the participants being called soldiers of Christ. In order to defend Christendom they took up arms in return for the papal indulgence, that is, forgiveness of sins. However, the earliest accounts of the Norman expansion to southern Italy also signal religious inspiration; they are testimony to the fact that a good number of Norman travellers were described as pilgrims accompanied by armed guards. These men would rent themselves out temporarily to the local Lombard leaders in their attempt to oust Byzantine rule. The Norman reward in this enterprise was moveable wealth (cash, silks, and citrus fruit) rather than penance.

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[4] C. L. Heygate, 'Normandy and its migrants: southern Italy and the Holy Land *c.*1000–*c.*1120', (unpublished University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 2015).

[5] *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*, ed. K. Hurlock and P. Oldfield, (Woodbridge, 2015), with the quotation at p. 1.

[6] See J. W. Malegam, *The Sleep of Behemoth: Disputing Peace and Violence in Medieval Europe, 1000–1200* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2013), pp. 69–74, 99, 103–4, 111–13.

[7] C. Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the Middle Ages* (2015), esp. ch. 4.

The Norman expeditions to southern Europe and the crusades were popular and were repeated time and again. While the Norman expansion petered out as a large-scale movement of migration in the early twelfth century, the crusades had only just started and subsequently snowballed. The Norman conquest in the south was a protracted affair, in apparent contrast to the conquest of England, which involved the raising of a naval force, a sea crossing, an invasion and decisive battle followed by several campaigns during subsequent years before the Normans were fully in control by around 1072. However, since the cross-Channel polity brought into being by this conquest remained a vehicle for migration, movement, and the making of personal and institutional fortunes for a long time afterwards, there are arguably more similarities between the southern and northern conquests than there might at first sight appear to be. When the long-term histories of both are treated as they are in this volume, cultural transmission within and across them becomes an extremely important way to interpret their general historical significance. It is surely the sustained dynamic of the movement of peoples, the inter-action of conquerors and conquered, and the relationship between core and peripheries that make it so.

In all these Norman worlds there is a fundamental long-term continuation of many indigenous political, religious, and administrative structures. The already diverse and multicultural societies of the British Isles, of southern Italy and Sicily, and later of Antioch were taken over and in many respects maintained. In the short term the violence of conquest caused severe interruption involving the deaths of men and women, the destruction of houses and property, and the unlawful seizure and violent takeover of land and moveable wealth. Its result was the creation of new local, regional, national, and international societies and, frequently, even where there are demonstrable continuities, significant cultural, political, and social adjustments.

The complexity of change was such that one of the editors of this volume, in a paper given at Ariano Irpino and subsequently incorporated into a book, has proposed the use of the term diaspora, as understood in the social sciences, as a framework of analysis for the entire Norman movement. Frequently deployed in relation to modern societies and the many diasporas of recent centuries, it has also been introduced into the analysis of migrations earlier than that of the Normans.[8] If so applied, it must nonetheless be used within the relatively unusual context of the participants in the diaspora becoming the rulers of the places conquered and settled.[9] It must always be qualified by awareness that dominance was based on violence and exploitation and the brutality of takeover should not be forgotten. The complex culture of medieval warrior rulership with its emphasis on balancing reward and legitimacy, arguably universal in western European society over many centuries and the heart of the operational methods practised by the likes of William the Conqueror and Robert Guiscard, must never be forgotten.[10]

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[8] See, e.g., L. Abrams, 'Diaspora and identity in the Viking age', *Early Medieval Europe*, xx (2012), 17–38.

This said, when diaspora is seen as conceptually encompassing the existence of a collective memory or myth about the original homeland, a strong group consciousness of a common history, a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members across the various settlements even when the home has become vestigial, accompanied by a distinctive and creative enriching life in the places of settlement involving cultural pluralism, it has a manifest relevance to the Normans.[11] In terms of relations between northern and southern Europe, the concept of diaspora can, for example, be deployed to explain such phenomena as the special hospitality given to men and women from the north in the south throughout the twelfth century, the rapid spread into the kingdom of Sicily of awareness of the Arthurian legends and of the cult of Thomas Becket.[12] It also means that the traditional analytical approach to identity, change and cultural transmission constructed around the question 'How Norman?' needs to be repositioned.[13] The two-way cultural transmission from top to bottom (from conqueror to subjected people) and from bottom upwards (from conquered to the newcomers) and cultural transmission across the Norman worlds are indispensable elements in the analysis of that much written-about subject, Norman identity.

In this book, three aspects of cultural transmission have been singled out: first, the role of people as agents of cultural transmission; second, the texts written by Norman and indigenous authors that trace the processes of conquest and acculturation; and thirdly, some of the objects of material culture and what can be termed artefacts. This third category comprises the material objects produced in one area, but inspired in their shape, form, use and decoration by objects from other areas, or simply taken from one area to another. Before we turn to each of these categories, it is crucial to remember that they are inextricably linked. In the Norman worlds texts describe people and artefacts; texts as books and charters are also artefacts; and people as bodies can, as we shall discover, also be studied as part of the material world.

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[9] For this phenomenon, see E. Larkin, 'Diaspora and empire: towards a new synthesis?', *Diasporas: a Journal of Transnational Studies*, xv (2010), 167–84, esp. pp. 179–83.

[10] D. Bates, *William the Conqueror* (2016), pp. 12–13, 225, 525–6; L. Russo, 'L'expansion normande contre Byzance (XI^{e}–XII^{e} siècles). Réflexions sur une question toujours ouverte', in ed. Bates and Bauduin, *Penser les mondes normands*, pp. 147–62, at pp. 159–62.

[11] D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 28–9, 42–4, 181–3.

[12] Bates, *Normans and Empire*, pp. 181–2.

[13] The quoted question of course refers to the seminal article, G. A. Loud, 'How "Norman" was the Norman conquest of southern Italy?', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xxv (1981), 13–34 (repr. in G. A. Loud, *Conquerors and Churchmen in Norman Italy* (Aldershot, 1999)).

People

For the subject of cultural transmission within and across the Norman worlds, there are apparent contrasts between the evidence supplied by texts and artefacts and our knowledge of human behaviour that need to be explained. Thus, for example, something that remains intriguing about the textual traditions of the histories written to describe the activities of the Normans is their relatively limited spread across the Norman worlds that produced them. Very little has survived to suggest that the southern Italian narratives about the coming of the Normans found a readership north of the Alps. The only evidence of this happening is the Mont-Saint-Michel manuscript of William of Apulia's verse chronicle, the *Gesta Roberti Guiscardi*, whose unique copy still survives in Normandy at Avranches.[14] Orderic Vitalis did report the existence of Geoffrey Malaterra's prose work, but whether we should interpret this as evidence for the existence of a copy in Normandy is doubtful.[15] Instead most of the stories that spread northwards were transmitted orally and by word of mouth, often attached to material objects, and then found their way into the work of Orderic both in his interpolations of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* [*GND*] and in his *Ecclesiastical History*.[16] If, as we must assume they did, the people who talked to Orderic also communicated their multiple experiences to others, we have a world in which a sense of a common identity remained dynamic. A similar conclusion has recently been reached in relation to the Normans who travelled from southern Italy to the crusader states. There was a sense of group identity that influenced individual behaviour and social relations.[17]

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[14] *Guillaume de Pouille, La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu (Testi e monumenti, iv, Palermo, 1961), pp. 70–3. Another Norman manuscript from the abbey of Bec, now lost, is known only indirectly as it was the base for the *editio princeps* of 1582, (pp. 73–4).

[15] *OV*, ii. 10 and pp. xxii–xxiii.

[16] D. Roach, 'The material and the visual: objects and memories in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Orderic Vitalis', *HSJ*, xxiv (2013), 63–78; and D. Roach, 'Saint-Evroult and southern Italy in Orderic's *Historia Ecclesiastica*', in *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations*, ed. C. C. Rozier, D. Roach, G. E. M. Gasper and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 78–99.

[17] Thus, R. Canosa, *Etnogenesi normanne e identità variabili. Il retroterra cultural dei Normanni d'Italia fra Scandinavia e Normandia* (Turin, 2009); E. Johnson and A. Jotischky,

Elma Brenner's chapter in this volume shows that the transmission of medical knowledge was very often the result of the movement of people and the sharing of practical knowledge. The result could be the transfer of a manuscript from Salerno to Bury St. Edmunds. Likewise, Edoardo D'Angelo's shows how a specific form of literary expression pioneered in Normandy at Bec and Caen could be transported to Antioch and reproduced there. These two chapters do, however, also show how cultures transported outwards from Normandy interacted with, and were indeed facets of, wider European change. Abbot Baldwin of Bury St. Edmunds (1065–97) a great transmitter of medical knowledge, supplies us with an example of a dynamic exponent of cultural transmission. Yet, as a Frenchman appointed to the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds before 1066 by Edward the Confessor, he was not a Norman and the range of his contacts extended far beyond the kingdom and the duchy. And, for all that Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* exemplifies the export across thousands of miles of a particular literary style, D'Angelo's chapter has to make the broader case for Antioch as a great and diverse literary and cultural centre in order to give Ralph a local, as well as a diasporic, context. Once more we are looking at the multiple interactions that make the case for cultural transmission as a phenomenon attributable to the Normans, but which then locate it within processes that are specific to the place where the text was produced.

Alice Taylor's chapter tackles *homagium* (homage), once thought to be one of the great Norman exports, a type of social and political relationship between the members of the aristocratic elite that were distinctive to the Normans, and which was often labelled as 'feudal'. She does so within the historiography that has followed on from the publication of Susan Reynolds's iconoclastic *Fiefs and Vassals*.[18] Taylor's chapter on homage draws attention to an evolutionary process and highlights both the way in which the word *homagium* first appears in Normandy only in the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries and how the narratives associated with the personal relationships it embodies indicate social and cultural change. Dudo of Saint-Quentin and William of Jumièges do not use the word. Orderic and Robert of Torigni do, but there is also a difference in meaning between Orderic's and Torigni's usages. The chapter is relevant to the cultural transmission across the Norman worlds and across Europe of more precise legal definitions of social hierarchy and the duties that went with it, a subject that relates centrally to perceptions of how Normandy was

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'Les Normands de l'Italie méridionale et les états croisés au XII^{e} siècle', in *Penser les mondes normands*, ed. Bates and Baudiuin, pp. 164–76.

[18] S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: the Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994).

located within the kingdom of France. It is possible to discern in Robert of Torigni's work, because of both what he did and did not write, how the precise meanings attached to homage reinforced hierarchy and authority, eventually thereby creating the framework of legitimacy that justified the French king Philip Augustus's annexation of the duchy in 1204.

Texts

Much less would be known about the migration of Normans were it not for the extraordinary surge of historiography that we can identify in the areas conquered by them. Most of the narratives that survive were written by the conquerors themselves or their associates, judging by their own testimony or by their first names: William (of Jumièges, Poitiers, Malmesbury and Apulia), Guy (of Amiens), Geoffrey (Malaterra), Robert (of Torigni and Caen), with a few carrying indigenous names such as Eadmer, Orderic or Amato. Many of the indigenous texts written have been preserved anonymously, for example the versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or other annalistic accounts. However, by no means all of these texts were written in Latin, the language of the Bible and education that linked all Norman worlds. The panegyrists of William the Conqueror and Robert Guiscard, William of Poitiers and Geoffrey Malaterra respectively, wrote in the tradition of classical epic prose with its topoi on victorious warriors. According to Marie-Agnès Lucas-Avenel in her chapter, where they converge is in being rooted in the same literary European tradition, one that was not limited to or specific to Norman historiography. Where they differ, she argues, they do so in detail of style or choice of vocabulary, with the differences illuminating the individual artistry of the authors. However, as already noted, D'Angelo's chapter does demonstrate the direct transmission of a literary prose style from Normandy to Antioch, where in the early twelfth century a group of Norman and French scholars appropriated it. The general conclusion to be drawn from the two chapters has to be that cultural transmission took multiple forms. In *c.*1200, the Italian-Norman poet Peter de Eboli followed in the footsteps, so to speak, of Guy of Amiens' poetry for William the Conqueror by producing a stunningly original panegyric for the Emperor Henry VI which is deservedly famous for its celebration of the hot springs, or baths, in southern Italy. Teofilo De Angelis's chapter not only draws attention to the complexity of the textual tradition and the need for a new edition as a means to discover the original poem, it also illuminates, like Guy's poem, how new, daunting, rulers could be forcefully reminded that the cultural traditions they encountered in their two new realms were as valid as those that they brought with them. Poetry was not empty flattery, but contained politically engaged messages (for example, Guy's words on London and Peter's on the hot baths).

In relation to the transmission of the material contained within the main historical texts, it is again necessary to keep the movement of people in mind since, due to the proximity of England and Normandy, there was much greater exchange of texts across the Channel. With the exception of Guy of Amiens' *Carmen* and Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History*, all the other Norman histories, including William of Poitiers and Orderic's version of the *GND*, were known on both sides of the Channel, as also were the histories of William of Jumièges, Robert of Torigni and (in the vernacular) Wace. As for the presence in Normandy of the early twelfth-century English historians, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon were very well known, whereas Eadmer's *Historia Novorum* and John of Worcester's chronicle were not. No copy of any of these English chronicles, however, has ever been found in southern Italy, presumably for the same reason that we do not find the histories written in Normandy there. In all this we are back to the importance of the movement of people, their transmission of the information they carried, and the sense of group identity that it demonstrates. Arguably the most famous instance of this was Henry of Huntingdon's visit to the abbey of Bec in 1139 where he was shown Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De Gestis Britonum* by Robert of Torigni. But personal communication of a similar kind must explain Geoffrey Malaterra's account of the early history of Normandy that Lucas-Avenel has shown relied on oral testimony, and not on written texts.[19]

Thus far our approach to Norman, Italian and English texts and the people who made them has made no allowance for the fact that some of our historians were the offspring of intermarriage. Their interest in the dual inheritance of their parental past is something that has always interested modern historians. It is of course yet another demonstration that people matter enormously to the way in which we understand cultural transmission and how intermarriage created an interest both in the new Norman worlds that the eleventh century had brought into existence and the still vibrant history of the lands they had conquered and settled. We are very well informed about the mixed parentage of Orderic Vitalis, born in England but from the age of ten living in Normandy, and of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, both of whom were born and lived in England. All three knew the Anglo-Saxon historian Bede's work intimately. Orderic in Normandy because he copied the work by hand and used its information, albeit sporadically, in his own. As Alheydis Plassmann argues in her article, William and Henry drew different inspirations from Bede, which were different again to those drawn by their contemporary Orderic. There seems to us to be no doubt that the cultural transfer into world of Orderic, William and Henry was one which was at least partially inspired by biological ties with their mothers. However, also in relation to cultural transmission, it is very important that where the treatment of something as important as the history of a conquered kingdom was concerned, what was written was, to an extent, determined by the personal interests of the historians. Frustratingly, the question as to whether any of the Norman chroniclers in southern Italy were sons of mixed marriages must remain unanswered. We simply do not know whether they had Norman fathers and Lombard mothers.

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[19] *Geoffroi Malaterra, Histoire du Grand Comte Roger et de son frère Robert Guiscard*, ed. M.-A. Lucas-Avenel, vol. 1, (Caen, 2016), pp. 24–5.

Hagiography, the writing about saints and their relics, is closely associated with the writing about the past and the present. In one respect hagiography has always been a local and regional affair with veneration of saints born or brought to the localities where they rested of prime importance. In southern Italy the Normans encountered an amalgam of local Roman and Lombard saints, who had been joined by a more recent influx of Greek ones as a result of Byzantine occupation. Amalia Galdi's chapter points out that the Normans were on the whole tolerant towards the saints they encountered in southern Italy, with no overt hostility displayed to those they had never known at home. In fact, some Greek saints had already received attention in Normandy in the case of St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Nicholas of Myra whose remains had been translated to Bari. Both were known in the Norman duchy from the 1030s, but their veneration spread as a result of intensified contacts with southern Italy. Additionally, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni testify especially to the fame of St. Nicholas in Normandy.

As for the attitude of the Normans to English saints, modern scholarship has now – after much debate – come to a rough consensus that the Norman clergy, faced with unknown saints with unpronounceable names, were not hostile to the point of the multiple destruction of cults, but simply initially sceptical as to the validity of their sanctity that had been established in ways unknown on the continent. While the Normans gradually accepted and accommodated themselves to English saints, the efficacy of some of them was such that soon their fame spread across the Channel. St. Edmund, for example, became a much loved saint in France not long after the Norman conquest of England, acquiring a particular reputation for protecting those in danger on the sea. Given the centrality of Abbot Baldwin of Bury St. Edmunds (1065–97) in this process, it is again important to emphasize the dynamic role of the movement of people within and beyond the Norman worlds.[20] A history of the oral transmission, and cultural transfer, of saints and their relics through the Norman worlds remains to be written. It should bring together the snippets of evidence that attest to the fame of Norman saints in southern Italy, such at St. Ouen at Bari, or conversely saints such as St. Nicholas venerated in Italy as well as in northern France and England.[21]

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[20] M. Chibnall, 'Les Normands et les saints anglo-saxons', in *Les saints dans la Normandie médiévale. Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (26–29 septembre 1996)*, ed. P. Bouet and F. Neveux

Charters as evidence for cultural transfer feature centrally in two of the chapters. The great majority that survive record dealings between the laity and monasteries and other ecclesiastical institutions: grants, exchanges, and settlements of disputes. The twelfth century witnessed both a huge expansion in the quantity of material that was produced and also in the development of documentary types. Graham Loud's survey of the magnificent archives of the abbey of Holy Trinity, Cava, near Salerno, founded in 1020, and of their potential, is indicative in a multitude of ways of how charters will illuminate further the theme of cultural transfer. With 1,500 documents surviving from the eleventh century and 3,550 from the twelfth, the potential is truly enormous. This is all the more so because over 500 documents survive in the archive from before the year 1000, some of them dealing with transactions involving only the laity, and therefore providing a route to understand in detail land transactions and the customs and norms that determined their creation from Lombard and Byzantine times through the period of the Norman takeover. Loud's comments on the complexities of Lombard inheritance law and the way in which it influenced the abbey's use of its archive to protect its property rights well into the Norman period are very notable in relation to the much written about subject of the transmission of Byzantine cultural forms across, and beyond, the periods of conquest.[22]

In northern Europe, the process of documentary cultural integration between Normandy and England from notably distinct bases has long been well-known, with the most remarkable element in this perhaps being the transfer of the English writ-charter into Normandy from the early twelfth century onwards.[23] Daniel Power extends the analysis of this process into the twelfth century in a notably innovative way, with the history of the evolution of the sealed charter placed at the heart of his chapter. Rightly describing

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(Caen, 2000), pp. 259–68; D. Bates, 'The abbey and the Conquest: an unusual case?', in *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest*, ed. T. Licence (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 5–21, at pp. 10–12.

[21] For St. Nicholas, see the references given in V. Gazeau, 'Introduction', in ed. Bates and Bauduin, *Penser les mondes normands*, pp. 13–25, at p. 24.

[22] For the Church, see G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007). For an important recent collection of essays, see *L'Héritage byzantine en Italie (VIIIe–XIIe siècle)*, ed. J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot and V. Prigent (2 vols., Rome, 2011–12).

[23] For earlier work on this process, see D. Bates, 'The earliest Norman writs', *EHR*, c (1985), 266–84; M. Hagger, 'The earliest Norman writs revisited', *HR*, lxxxii (2009), 181–206.

it as ‘a remarkable object, both as text and artefact’, he also includes in his analysis the bipartite sealed chirograph and the final concord. Once more we are looking at aspects of the multiple changes that occurred in the twelfth century. Charters other than royal ones had rarely been sealed before that time and the change must also be associated with new conceptions of self-representation and authority. As in the case of so many chapters in this volume, in terms of cultural transfer, we are looking at the interplay of local, regional and international influences. Interestingly, the dynamism of the twelfth-century cross-Channel creativity in Normandy and England fades away in the context of the uniformity imposed by the French monarchs after the 1204 Capetian conquest. Importantly too we are once more dealing with cultural transmission linked to the movement of people. In this case, the personnel who crossed the Channel in the entourages of rulers, aristocrats and clergy must have exerted a decisive influence.

Artefacts

Artefacts are the objects of material culture, a category that we will discuss under its wider label. We will do so not least in order to allow ourselves to range in our discussion across a wide spectrum from small objects (horse harness pendants and weights) to huge ones (castles) with a middling group of parchment charters and their seals and also physical human bodies. There are significant analogies to be drawn with the development in the twelfth century of the individual and collective self-representation observed through aspects of Power’s treatment of seals and sealed charters and likewise John Baker’s of horse harness pendants.

Baker’s chapter analyses one category of decoration used for horses in the form of armorial horse harness pendants, small decorated pendants that easily got lost. They have been found in large quantities in post-conquest England due to metal detecting though in far smaller numbers on the continent where in countries such as France and Italy such activity is forbidden. Nevertheless, what is clear from his chapter is that many decorated pendants circulated in Europe and that identifying specific locations is not always possible. Where identification of the arms on the pendants can be established some tentative cross-Channel links between northern France (including Normandy) and England can be traced, though between the roughly Anglo-Norman realm and the Mediterranean much less easily. Such links as can be established are those of families who from the mid twelfth century had armorial signs as identifying features painted on their shields and clothes. As testimony to cultural transfer firmer proof is available only from the thirteenth century onwards. For the earlier Norman worlds it is likely that certain decorated pendants belonged to certain families and that they were carried on their horses travelling to and fro across Europe (not least during the crusades) but it is impossible to establish incontrovertible proof. Thus horse harness pendants were universally produced and used in similar fashion, though their decoration, especially armorial, was highly specific. The movement of peoples means that they are likely to have been influential in processes of cultural transfer in the same way that, as noted by Power, the development of seals in northern Europe contributed to their increased usage in the south.

Robert Liddiard's chapter focuses only on northern Europe, but tackles a host of issues about the history of the landscape that have been much discussed in relation to Europe's history in general. Drawing on a huge amount of recent work on fortifications and aristocratic residences, hunting landscapes, and rural settlement, his broad conclusion is to reject the impact of any kind of 'Norman package', at least in simplified terms. In relation to castles in particular, we are to an extent back with the subject of the consequences of violent conquest and, as already noted several times, with the tendency present everywhere for major change to become entrenched within existing cultures and structures. The word fluidity always needs to be kept in mind to retain a sense of diversity in the midst of broader patterns of change. All this is extremely striking in relation to phenomena that were once thought quintessentially 'Norman', namely, castles and the forest. Patricia Skinner's chapter is notably innovative, bringing into play the body as a well-established category of analysis, but one that has been little deployed in relation to the Normans. It treats the body as both a text and an artefact. The conclusions tend to place the treatment of the body within wider European cultures rather than suggesting features unique to the Normans. Among them, there was no special treatment of the bodies of the rulers, even in the case of the exceptionally successful. On the other hand, there may be a distinctive Norman culture in relation to the mutilation of the human body, something that arises from the context of conquest and rebellion against what was regarded as legitimate rule. This, as Skinner says, is a subject that requires further research, specifically within the framework of violence as identified with the just exercise of power.

A similar conclusion has to be reached about the European cultural context of the Norman worlds in relation to weights as instruments of measuring the weight of goods and metal in currency. Merchants, traders, minters and tax collectors – to name but a small selection of medieval people who by dint of their profession had an acute interest in weights – all depended for their financial transactions on the true value that these weights represented. Rulers, including the ones in the Norman worlds, were acutely aware that their authority fell and rose depending on the trust these people had in the weights used in their principalities. Mario Rosario Zecchino's analysis of Frederick II's legislation on weights (metric and volume) in thirteenth-century Sicily, a precocious testimony of rulership in a kingdom profoundly influenced by the Normans, reveals this ruler's deep concern about the bewildering variety of weights used and the persistent confusion and distrust it generated.

Zecchino's study of one ruler's strategy in Sicily can be set alongside the snippets of evidence we have for England and Normandy that does suggest similar patters elsewhere, though never in the form of full-blown legislative written rules. For example, the *Dialogue of the Exchequer,* composed in the period from 1177 to mid 1180s, refers to a 'pound weight' (*liberam ponderis*) used to measure the weight of forty-four pennies. The 'pound weight' was put in one pan of the scales and the pennies into the other.[24] As Norman Biggs has pointed out, since the Roman period in England weights were available to weigh coins, mostly consisting of lead though some foreign (probably Islamic) bronze has been found.[25] Zecchino's chapter draws attention to this pan-European and long-term context of rulership and then proceeds to show how little notice was apparently taken of the legislation of this most powerful of rulers. In this way, it can be used to suggest that the true target was to demonstrate a responsibility for commercial rectitude and to condemn cheating and fraud.

Publishing this volume has left the two authors of this introduction more than ever convinced of the validity of treating the migration of the Normans across Europe as a movement to be analysed as a whole. The movement and interaction of peoples who recognized their common origin lies at the heart of this. It is, however, essential to retain a sense of perspective. Research that is locally and regionally focused and which takes account of the role of the individual is also crucial to retaining an awareness of the multiple diversities that were also central to the processes. In the same way that identity is, and was, often a variable commodity for individuals, communities, and states, so too was the influence of cultures transmitted across distances, both great and short. To reflect on the sense of personal identity of Orderic Vitalis, one of the greatest of the historians of the Normans – some think *the* greatest – makes this clear. At one point, in the prologue to book v of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, he announced that he was 'writing an account of the deeds of the Normans for the Normans to read' ('Normannorum gesta et euentus Normannis promere scripto sum conatus').[26] But after his death, his supposed change of name from the baptismal Orderic to the monastic Vitalis did not survive. For all that he has the status of being a great historian of the Normans, it was by his English name that he and those who had known him chose that he be remembered. For once we do know the private thoughts of someone who lived through more than sixty years of the Norman conquests and diaspora. He thereby epitomizes the plurality and fluidity that are their essence. It is hoped that this volume, with its international and interdisciplinary approach, will stimulate further reflection along similar lines and contribute to fruitful future research.

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[24] *Richard fitzNigel, Dialogus de Scaccario: the Dialogue of the Exchequer*, ed. and trans. E. Amt and S. D. Church (OMT, Oxford, 2007), vi. 54–5 and for the date, see pp. xviii–xx.

[25] N. Biggs, 'Coin-weights in England – up to 1588', *British Numismatic Journal*, lx (1990), 65–79, at pp. 66–9, and images on Plates 14–15. We are most grateful to Martin Allen for this reference.

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[26] *OV*, III. 6.

1. Harness pendants and the rise of armory*

John Baker

In the past the study of medieval metalwork concentrated on objects made from precious metals, or on arms and armour. Artefacts were preserved because of their intrinsic or artistic value, at the expense of mundane objects which were discarded or lost precisely because they were in everyday use. Yet it was justly observed in a recent paper by Stuart Campbell, of the National Museum of Scotland, that everyday personal objects should be regarded as a primary source in their own right:

> the tendency to interpret these finds through a primarily historical and art-historical perspective is to overlook a resource of great potential, not least because many of the items were personal objects. They reflect the manner and means by which individuals perceived themselves and chose to express their identities ...[1]

One of the most informative categories of small object which lends itself to such study is that of decorated horse-harness furniture. A great many harness pendants and related objects have survived underground, and (unlike the great majority of archaeological finds) they frequently bear information on their face which connects them with families, institutions, places, activities and sentiments, and sometimes even with identifiable individuals. The present brief survey will be limited to heraldic and proto-heraldic items,[2] with the principal aim of suggesting an approximate date-range for the earliest examples. In order to establish the date-range it will be necessary to begin with objects for which literary sources and sigillography provide reasonably clear *termini*, and then to venture tentatively backwards into the period for which there is no supporting documentary evidence.[3]

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* The author is very grateful to Adrian Ailes, Stephen Ashley and Elisabeth van Houts for reading a draft of this chapter and making helpful suggestions for improvement. Items from the author's own collection are cited here as JHB followed by their accession number

[1] S. D. Campbell, 'The language of objects: material culture in medieval Scotland', in *New Perspectives on Medieval Scotland 1093–1286*, ed. M. Hammond (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 183–201, at pp. 183–4; and see pp. 192–3.

[2] For the origins of heraldry, see below, p. 44. The imprecise term 'proto-heraldry' is used here for devices which preceded and may have influenced heraldry without necessarily being attributable to individuals or governed by heraldic principles.

The London Museum listed fourteen armorial harness pendants, with a very helpful pioneering commentary, in its catalogue of 1940.[4] The corresponding British Museum medieval catalogue (1924) illustrated only three pendants, together with some non-armorial ones from Spain.[5] The online catalogue shows that the British Museum now has around a hundred English pendants, mostly donated before 1914 and of uncertain provenance.[6] Conclusions based on such limited evidence were inevitably very tentative, if not wrong, and the objects were considered so rare that the discovery of a single pendant might occasion a paper in an archaeological journal. Even now, the leading museums take little or no interest in such things.[7] But a vast change has been brought about in recent years through metal-detecting. The practice is controversial, and in some countries it is strictly regulated or even forbidden, though the policy in England is to tolerate detectorists and encourage them to record finds, via their local museums, on a database kept by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), under the aegis of the British Museum.[8] At present, the PAS website is defective because the descriptions of heraldry are often seriously ill-informed and the search mechanisms do not work well, though when it is improved it will be a useful resource. There is also the smaller, but more usable and generally more accurate, UK Detector Finds Database (UKDFD). In some counties, such as Norfolk, long-term co-operation between museum and detectorist has proved extremely fruitful.[9] The drawback of unrestricted private detecting is that casual finds change hands at coin fairs, or via the internet, and the provenance is lost for ever; this still happens far too often.[10] In the case of pendants, they have probably fallen from moving horses or people and are not part of an integral site – they are often found near roads or in open fields[11] – but it is still important to record the location, if only approximately, not least because it can sometimes be helpful in identifying ambiguous armorial bearings. Some high concentrations have been found in villages where there are known to have been tournament sites in the thirteenth century,[12] and the combination of elaborate display and general violence which characterized those events might well explain how some of the pendants fell to earth. But several hundred pendants in the writer's collection have loops broken or worn through at the top, and it may be supposed that they fell off through erosion. Others were detached, presumably, through the failure of the iron pin which connected them to their hangers (sometimes called suspension-mounts). In some cases the hangers themselves became detached, with or without the pendants to which they were linked; a few have been found with rivets, and even fragments of leather, still in place.

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[3] The literary *terminus a quo* (for England) is *c.*1244, when Matthew Paris recorded 143 coats of arms in the margins of his *Historia Anglorum* (see T. D. Tremlett, 'The Matthew Paris shields', in T. D. Tremlett and H. S. London, *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms Henry III*, (1967), pp. 1–86). Prior to the 1240s almost the only substantial evidence linking English coats of arms with particular people is that provided by seals, which necessarily lack the element of colour.

[4] J. B. Ward-Perkins, *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (1940; repr. 1954), pp. 118–22.

[5] O. M. Dalton, *A Guide to the Mediaeval Antiquities and Objects of Later Date in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities* (1924), pp. 5–6, 86. The way was shown by the Salisbury Museum and the Museum of London (see J. Cherry, 'Harness pendants' in *Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue* (4 vols., Salisbury, 1991), i. 17–28; N. Griffiths, 'Harness pendants and associated fittings', in *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment*, ed. J. Clark (Museum of London, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, v, Woodbridge, 1995; rev. edn., 2004), pp. 61–71).

[6] The principal donor was Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826–97), keeper and principal founder of the British and Medieval Antiquities Department at the museum 1866–96. There may be as many as 200 or more pendants and mounts in the museum altogether but many of them are different in type to those found in England and were presumably collected on the continent, e.g. the group obtained in 1894 from the collection of L. M. R. Zschille of Klotzsche, near Dresden.

[7] The Victoria & Albert Museum website illustrates two English pendants, only one of which is described (with the arms of England), and states incorrectly that the popularity of such pendants continued into the 15th century. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Ashmolean Museum and Museum of London websites do not mention any at all.

[8] The database of images is accessible online at: <https://finds.org.uk/database/search> [accessed 8 July 2017].

The practice of metal-detecting on the European continent is less common or open, and consequently less seems to be known about pendants found in other countries. However, examples have been found in France (including

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[9] See S. Ashley, 'Anglo-Norman elite objects from castle and countryside', in *Castles and the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. J. A. Davies and others (Oxford, 2016), pp. 281–98.

[10] It must be borne in mind, however, that even when finds are recorded the provenances may not always be stated correctly.

[11] Very few have been found in towns or in rivers.

[12] Most notably Blyth in Nottinghamshire, where items have been found over an area of several square miles. No fewer than 40 pendants and studs in the author's collection came from Blyth. Berkshire was also host to many tournaments: Dunstable was a regular site, and there was a tournament at Newbury in 1248. Five pendants in the author's collection were found in or near Dunstable (JHB 7 (England), 765 (Ralph Fitzbernard, marshal of the king's hawks), 770 (Amaury de St. Amand), 841 (Burgh, earl of Ulster), 1387 (Fitzwarin)). An early pendant mentioned below was found at Eling in the parish of Hampstead Norris, Berkshire, between Newbury and Dunstable, in close proximity to some edged weapons; in Newbury church there is an early 13th-century stone carving of a mounted knight charging with lance lowered.

Normandy),[13] Spain,[14] Italy[15] and Germany,[16] and we shall see that some of those found in England may have come from France or even further afield. There are some splendid examples of continental pendants in museums, such as the Musée Cluny in Paris and the Metropolitan Museum, New York, but these do not seem to have spent much time (if any) in the ground; it may be that their ultimate provenances are less well known than those of the freshly unearthed finds. If the English experience is a guide, there must be a vast resource awaiting discovery in France and beyond.

The principal book on harness pendants is confined to one English county, Norfolk, and catalogues 246 items, mostly armorial, all of which are illustrated, with a valuable scholarly discussion and bibliography.[17] The author's own collection now contains eight times that number, mostly from a slightly later period than that considered here, together with a photographic archive including at least another thousand. They are all made of copper alloy, and are usually cast to receive enamel in the champlevé manner, gilded (or occasionally silvered) where appropriate. The enamel has not always fared well after seven centuries buried in soil, and is often discoloured, fragmentary or completely lost, as is the gilding, though in the majority of such cases microscopic traces can still be detected if the object has not been aggressively cleaned. Many of them are shields with coats of arms, but we also find unusual animals,[18] birds, insects, griffins, unicorns and other monsters, which seem not be heraldic,[19] besides flowers, hunting scenes, religious devices and such-like decorative emblems, some of which are also found on seals and other objects from the same period. The commonest of the non-armorial devices consists of three leaves, on stalks conjoined in base, the significance of which is an unsolved puzzle.[20] Besides the shield-form, lozenges, quadrilobes and sexfoils are common. Their characterization as pendants rests on the presence of an integral suspension loop at the top, usually at right-angles to the face. Also very common, though not as plentiful as pendants, are studs.[21] These are of the same character on their face but usually smaller and with a projecting prong or stud on the reverse instead of a loop on the top. They were presumably pressed into leather equipment.[22] A third category, often with rivet-holes but sometimes with no visible means of attachment, is given the non-specific description 'mounts'. Self-evidently these were not attached in the same way as pendants or studs, and some of them were considerably larger. Some of the largest have recessed gilded borders with piercings for attachment,[23] and one has gilded borders bent downwards, presumably to cover a wooden shield and give the appearance of solid metal.[24] These

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[13] There are six examples in the author's collection: (i) JHB 1328, a shield with *A chief dancetty or*, found in Charente Maritime; (ii) JHB 1801, a quadrilobe with a central shield, *Or*, *a bend azure* (the arms of de Trie, perhaps Mathieu de Trie, fl. 1306, seigneur de Fontenay, great chamberlain of France), found near Calais; (iii) JHB 1844, a shield-shaped stud with *Or*, *a cross moline sable*, *over all a canton gules* (the arms of Villehardouin, seigneurs de Lézinnes, Champagne), found in Normandy; (iv) JHB 1890, a shield mount with *Azure, semy of fleurs-de-lys or* (France, ancient), also found in Normandy; (v) JHB 1956, a shield with *Gules, three bendlets wavy or/argent*, found near Calais; (vi) JHB 1976, a small shield in poor condition, probably with *Azure, semy of fleurs-de-lys or, a label of three points*, found near Bordeaux. Another Norman find, with the arms of Hainault and a label, on a quadrilobe, is in the British Museum (1906, 1031.1).

[14] The 118 Spanish pendants illustrated on the website of the Museum Frederic Marès in Barcelona, mostly dated to the 15th century, are distinctively different (M. L. M. Ansón, *Catàleg de Xapes de Guarniment* (Barcelona, 1994), copies of which are unobtainable). The many pendants of Castile and Aragon found in England were probably made in England.

[15] The only possible example in the author's collection (JHB 1327; plate 2.1) is an early square pendant with a lion passant on a stippled field, similar to examples found in England. It came from a Neapolitan collector and is presumed to have been found in Italy, though this is not certain.

[16] The only example in the author's collection (JHB 1331) is a blank shield pendant of triangular shape, formerly gilded, found in Bavaria.

[17] S. Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk* (East Anglian Archaeology, report no. 101, Dereham, 2002). This is the first recourse for any study of this genre. See also J. Cherry, 'Harness pendants' in *Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue*, i. 17–28.

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[18] One very common type depicts a beast lying in front of a tree, with a long tail curled below it. This has been variously identified as a dog, a cat or a leopard. It most resembles a small ape, though it may be an imaginary beast; it is invariably enamelled white, with the tree sometimes green, on a gilded field. The suggestion in E. C. R. Armstrong, 'A note on four armorial pendants in the Academy's collection', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* xxx (1912), at pp. 193–4, that it represents the ape crest of the Fitzgeralds is quite untenable in view of the large number and variety of examples which have since been found in England, and of the fact that the attitude of the beast is usually dormant or couchant. There are 20 examples in the author's collection.

[19] Although such devices do occur in medieval heraldry, they occur too frequently on pendants from different parts of the country to be associated with families.

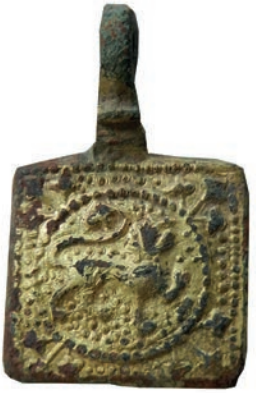
[20] They are found on hangers as well as pendants, usually on a hexagon or sexfoil (never on a shield), and they may have religious significance (possibly the Trinity). The field is either red or blue, or in many instances both colours parted per pale (e.g. JHB 344, 603, 764, 1301, 1887, 1937, 1988).

[21] There are around 350 in the author's collection (about 18% of the whole).

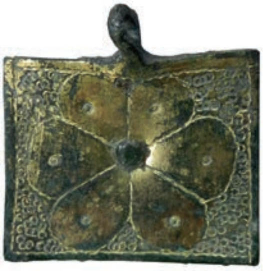
[22] E.g. JHB 713 (found near Kings Lynn, Norfolk), a small Bohun stud with a washer and fragment of leather still attached to the prong. An example pressed into the leather of a stirrup is mentioned in Griffiths, 'Harness pendants', p. 70.

[23] E.g. PAS, NLM-68A6A3 (Warenne), PUBLIC-7ED1F2 (Clare), PUBLIC-98FF2C (England), PUBLIC-8518ED (Cornwall).

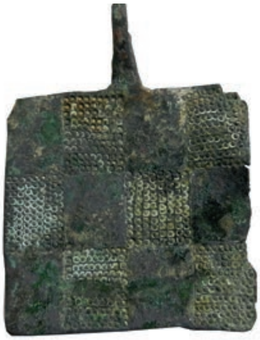
[24] JHB 1900 (found at Stainfield, Lincs) is a shield 50 x 60 mm. with an additional 7 mm. gilded border, bent downwards, with seven or eight holes on the top edge; pieces of the border have come off, probably when it was pulled away from its backing. It has the enamelled arms *Azure, semy of fleurs-de-lys* [for France], *a label of three points gules, each point*



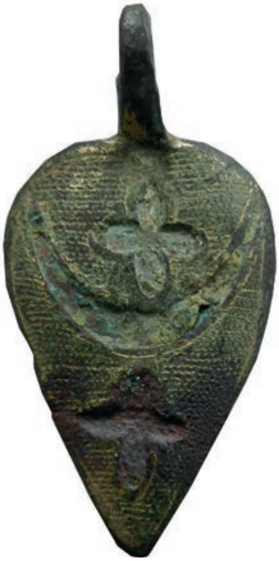
1.1 JHB 1544 (lion passant to sinister)



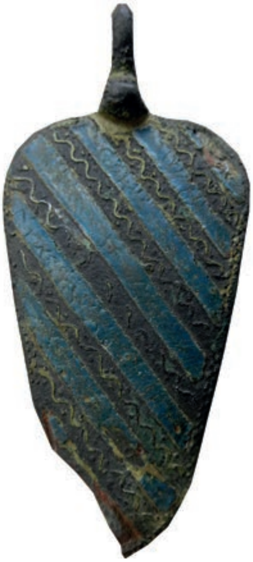
1.2 JHB 1032 (sexfoil)



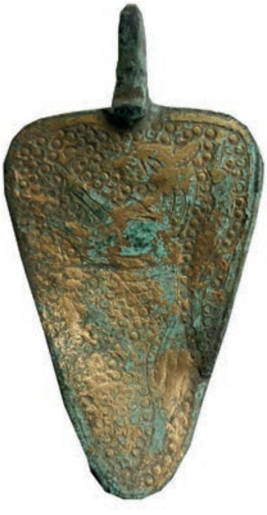
1.3 JHB 512 (chequy)



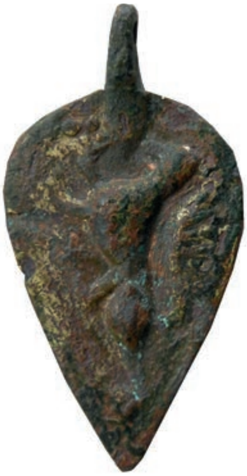
1.4 JHB 678 (crescent between two quatrefoils in pale)



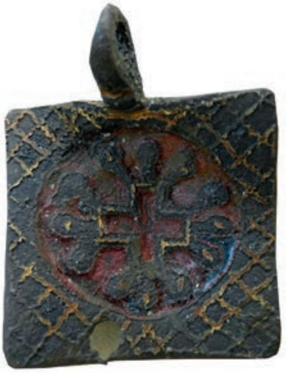
1.5 JHB 465 (bendy)



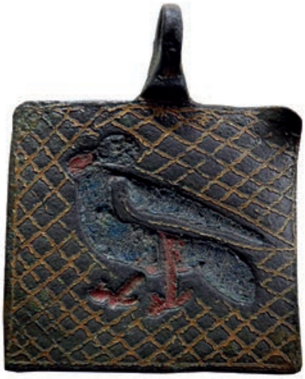
1.6 JHB 664 (lion rampant)



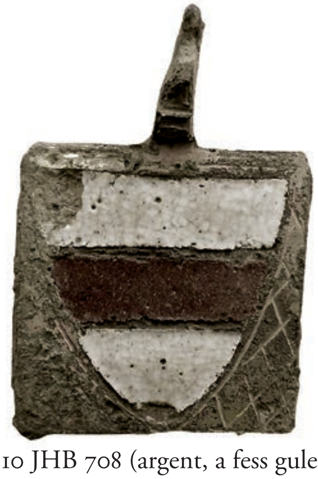
1.7 JHB 679 (lion rampant)



1.8 JHB 1201 (cross of Toulouse)



1.9 JHB 1508 (bird)



1.10 JHB 708 (argent, a fess gules)

mounts and studs were not necessarily from horse furniture at all. A range of other closely related items has been found, for instance shields and lozenges attached to integral shanks, hooks or strap connections, or dangling from horizontal bars attached to vertical metal fittings. Some of these may have been from horses' headstalls.[25] Vertical fittings were also decorated with armorial bronze 'banners' fitted over them on tubular shafts, with the arms on a rectangular banner (or occasionally a shield) projecting outwards. An enamelled shield of the same shape, size and pattern as those made with loops for use as pendants has even been found set into a sword pommel.[26] Similar champlevé enamelled shields could be set into civilian objects, the prime example being the small box or *coffret* of around 1236 in the Louvre, which has forty-six of them in two sizes and also some larger roundels with shields of France.[27]

The use of pendants as horse furniture, attached by their loops to the breast-strap (or peytrel), is of considerable antiquity, perhaps beginning in the Middle East or even the Far East. A fragment of a hanging dated to the sixth century, found in Egypt but showing signs of Sasanian influence, has several figures of armed horsemen whose mounts have breast-straps and breeching-straps with pendants.[28] And a small ceramic horse from China, dated to the same period, appears to have pine-cone shaped pendants on the breast-strap.[29] Their use was common in Norman times, as may be seen

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charged with a castle gold [for Castile]. These were assumed by Robert the Good, count of Artois (d. 1250 in Egypt), a younger son of Louis VIII of France and Blanche of Castile. They were also used by his son Robert (d. 1302 without male issue), whose sister Blanche married Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, around 1275. Stainfield is about 16 miles from Edmund's castle of Bolingbroke, on the way to Lincoln. A similar shield (49 x 56 mm.) with the arms of England is in the British Museum (1882, 1011.4).

[25] There are two examples in the British Museum (1855, 1029.13, and OA.242). OA.242 has an enamelled shield of arms above a vertical shank, several separate examples of which have been found with different arms (e.g. JHB 152, 714, 303).

[26] A sword offered for sale at Christie's (South Kensington) on 3 Sept. 2014, lot 134 (unsold), has a shield with the arms of Bohun inlaid on each side of the pommel. The shield is of the same size and quality as Bohun harness pendants, with traces of enamel. For the various types of armorial pommel, see D. J. La Rocca, 'Sword and dagger pommels associated with the crusades, part 1', *Metropolitan Museum Journal,* xliv (2011), 133–44; S. Ashley, 'Five medieval armorial sword-pommels from Norfolk', *The Coat of Arms,* 3rd ser., iii (2011), 1–7 (only one of which was enamelled).

[27] Musée du Louvre, 1853 MS 253. This was formerly associated with St. Louis. Another example is the *coffret* or shrine of the Blessed Jean Montmirail (d. 1217) in the Abbaye de Longpont.

[28] Exhibited at Dumbarton Oaks Museum, near Washington, D.C., no. BZ.1939.13.

[29] Sold by Timeline Auctions, 5 Dec. 2014, lot 1017. This was dated by thermoluminescent analysis to the 6th century.

from equestrian seals,[30] such as those of Odo, bishop of Bayeux (1071/82),[31] Fulk, count of Anjou (1090),[32] William II, king of England (1090s),[33] Henry, duke of Normandy (later King Henry II, 1154–89),[34] Robert de Lundres (*c.*1160/5),[35] Robert de Bonnebosq (1171/8),[36] Richard de Morville (d. 1189) and Alan Fitzwalter (*c.*1190).[37] A late twelfth-century English example may be seen in the figure of St. George on the tympanum in Fordington church, Dorset.[38] This has crosses, whereas the pendants on seals are all seen as indistinct blobs hanging from long stems.

The armorial shield-pendant appears later,[39] and is depicted on a thirteenth-century aquamanile in the Bargello, Florence, which has shields with the arms of England, though they are of a different shape from any seen on actual specimens.[40] There are at least two other aquamanilia which show pendants attached to the horse's peytrel, though they are not obviously armorial in form.[41] In the mid thirteenth century Trinity College *Apocalypse,*[42] which is written in French but believed to be of English origin, there is a miniature showing mounted kings and princes with coloured pendants which are unmistakably meant to be heraldic and enamelled. A line drawing of similar date in the destroyed Metz *Apocalypse* showed a king riding with a bow and arrow, and the peytrel of his horse decorated with alternating shields and sexfoils.[43] A slightly later illustration in the bottom right-hand corner of the Hereford Cathedral Mappa Mundi,[44] usually dated to around 1300, shows shields alternating with roundels containing crosses.[45] If correctly dated, this may be the latest pictorial illustration of harness pendants. They may be sought in vain in the far more numerous fourteenth- and fifteenth-century miniatures depicting mounted knights, whose chargers were decorated – at least in full array – with caparisons which completely covered the breast-strap.

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[30] For other 12th-century examples on seals, see Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk*, pp. 27–8.

[31] Drawing in *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, ed. L. C. Loyd and D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1950), plate viii, facing p. 304.

[32] Drawing of a lost impression on a charter of 1090 (O. Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle* (2 vols., Paris, 1972), ii. 226–7, and plate xxi). A surviving impression from this seal (plate xx) is broken and does not show the pendants.

[33] Examples of 1091/2 and 1094/6 are illustrated in *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100,* ed. T. A. M. Bishop and P. Chaplais (Oxford, 1957), plates viii, xxx. The only known surviving impression of William I's great seal, on a charter of 1069 in the Archives Nationales, Paris, is less than clear (*Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100,* plate xxviii). But some antiquarian engravings of it show similar pendants. Old electrotypes of both kings' seals are in the author's possession.

[34] Illustrated in C. L. Kingsford, 'On some ancient deeds and seals belonging to Lord De L'Isle and Dudley', *Archaeologia*, lxv (1914), 252–68, plate 29 (facing p. 254), and figure 1 on p. 255. The first of these is attached to a forged deed but appears to be genuine (or a cast taken from a genuine example).

[35] Old sulphur cast in the author's collection.

[36] Illustrated in G. Demay, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Normandie* (Paris, 1881), p. 17, no. 124.

[37] Old sulphur casts in the author's collection.

[38] Illustrated in Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk*, p. 27.

[39] Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk*, p. 27, mentions shield-shaped pendants on the 12th-century west front of the church of San Zeno in Verona, Italy.

[40] Illustrated in Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk*, p. 31.

[41] E.g. a German example (probably Saxon) in the Robert Lehman collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York, where the pendants are leaf-shaped.

[42] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.16.2, fo. 23v,. repr. in facsimile in 1909 (Roxburghe Club) and 2004 (Faksimile Verlag Luzern). It may be viewed online at <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1199> [accessed 8 July 2017].

A piece of hard evidence as to the use of pendants was found in 2011 in a well at Caherduggan Castle, County Cork, Ireland. It is a broad leather strap, buckled at each end, perhaps a horse's peytrel, with the remains of forty-nine small square pendants depicting lions rampant facing sinister attached to matching square hangers which are riveted to the leather.[46] In this case the pendants hang against the leather rather than dangle below it. Many similar small square pendants and their matching hangers have been found, most commonly with lions passant rather than rampant, and more often facing sinister than dexter (plate 1.1).[47] They probably date from the first half of the thirteenth century.[48] There is no trace of enamel on them, and the lions were presumably decorative rather than armorial; they bear some resemblance to the lions passant frequently found on gilded twelfth- and early thirteenth-century buckle-plates.

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[43] Formerly Metz, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Salis 38 (destroyed by bombing in 1944); illustrated in R. Forrer-Strassburg, 'Studienmaterial zur Geschichte der Mittelalterwaffen', *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffenkunde,* ii (Dresden, 1902), facing p. 404.

[44] Most clearly illustrated in the line drawing reproduced in Griffiths, 'Harness pendants', p. 62, figure 46.

[45] This type of pendant is very common and has been associated with the Knights Templar (e.g. in many of the PAS descriptions), though the association is difficult to prove. Nine examples in the author's collection have a central cross paty, enamelled red, and 'AVE MARIA' around the circumference. Another is illustrated in Ashley, no. 35 (there tentatively attributed to Bigod, on the footing that the cross is plain and 'throughout'; but the crosses are usually paty, occasionally paty throughout).

[46] There is a brief illustrated report in *Medieval Histories*, xi (2012), 9–11.

[47] Examples still attached to matching hangers: JHB 459, 1574, 1613, 1743, 1893. Pendants only: JHB 538, 544, 712, 1397, 1493, 1544, 1655. Hangers only: JHB 1370, 1492, 1769, 1779. Similar type with lion rampant: PAS, SOM-DF1C38 (pendant with hanger, found at Hawnby, Yorkshire); JHB 2012.

[48] A hybrid example has been found attached to a hanger with the arms of Richard of Cornwall, a smaller version of an armorial type datable to this early period (and discussed below): JHB 1539. The Cornwall arms were probably enamelled, but the hanger with the lion passant seems not to have been.

The peak period for the larger, shield-shaped pendants seems to have been around 1290 to 1350. This can be demonstrated from the occurrence of identifiable arms of families which disappeared or lost their importance in that period. Since heraldry was not then strictly regulated to prevent duplication, it is often difficult to be certain about identifications. But we now have two important resources to help us: *Aspilogia*, an edition of the surviving English rolls of arms from the time of Henry III and Edward I,[49] and the four-volume *Medieval Ordinary* in the *Dictionary of British Arms*,[50] all published by the Society of Antiquaries. A number of pendants have been found with arms which are not included in either source. In some cases this may be because they are foreign, and in others because the families were not represented on the military expeditions for which the arms have been recorded on rolls. A large category – typified by the use of quadrilobes in preference to shields – is that of religious houses, whose arms and devices are poorly recorded in written sources because they did not normally use them on seals or serve in war. These will not be discussed here. On the other hand, there are numerous coats of arms about which there can be little doubt and which belong predominantly to this period. The most frequently occurring arms on pendants are those of England, which probably fixes their date before the assumption of the French quartering in the royal arms in 1340.[51] The commonest private arms found on pendants are those of the great families of Bohun, Clare, Cornwall, Despencer, Valence and Warenne. Each of these is represented by dozens of surviving examples, and it is observable not only that they are all different but that the style and quality of the workmanship vary considerably. This may be evidence that they were not mass-produced on behalf of a family for issue to its own retainers, but were available more widely and copied in large total quantities. Besides these widespread types, there are others which can with reasonable confidence be dated more closely by association with known individuals.[52] Another moderately common class of pendants found in English soil have the arms of foreign royal or ruling families connected with English royalty, for example, Castile quartering Léon (JHB 398, 438, 525, 699, 1047, 1830), Flanders quartering Hainault (JHB 1074, 1169, 1974), Brabant quartering Limburg (JHB 1799, 1975), Bar (JHB 412, 1567, 1829), Burgundy (JHB 1869) and Provence (JHB 304). Two others in the author's collection may represent marshals of France whose arms are found in English rolls of arms (JHB 364, Raoul de Canny, marshal in 1285; JHB 1006, Simon de Melun, marshal in 1293). It is hard to find examples which definitely come from Netherlandish or northern Europe, though two have been found (JHB 873, plate 2.9, and JHB 1684) with arms most commonly associated with the house of Nassau; these may be for Reynold of Guelders (d. 1326), who had been an ally of Edward I.

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[49] T. D. Tremlett and H. S. London, *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms Henry III* (1967); G. J. Brault, *Aspilogia III: Rolls of Arms Edward I* (2 vols., 1997). The first volume in the series was Sir Anthony Wagner's catalogue of rolls of arms. Cited below as *Asp*. (*Asp*. iii refers here to the second volume of Brault, which is arranged as a biographical dictionary, with an ordinary of arms at the end.)

[50] *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, i, ed. D. H. B. Chesshyre and T. Woodcock (1992); ii, ed. T. Woodcock and J. Grant (1996); iii, ed. T. Woodcock and S. Flower (2009); iv, ed. T. Woodcock and S. Flower (2014). Cited below as *DBA*.

[51] There are around 70 in the author's collection, probably fewer than the true proportion. Far less common are England quartering France (JHB 621, 1040: quadrilobes) and France quartering England (JHB 60, 285, 1344: all lozenges; JHB 1204, octagonal).

Early square pendants

Some of the earliest armorial pendants found in England are square, with a central shield (usually set in an enamelled roundel), and – unlike the shield-shaped pendants – they had matching square hangers, some with the same arms, pierced with holes for pinning to the leather. In other words, they were of the same basic type as those recently found in the Irish well at Caherduggan, but larger and usually embellished with enamel. The arms point to these being from the middle of the thirteenth century or even earlier. One example (JHB 505), with both halves still linked by a pin, has on the hanger the arms of Léon (presumably, though impaling an unidentified lozengy coat) and on the pendant the arms of Castile. The commonest by far, of this type, have the very distinctive cross of Toulouse – sometimes blazoned more precisely as 'a cross clechy voided and pometty' – though this is invariably set in a circular compartment rather than upon a shield (see plate 1.8).[53] This form of cross was used since the twelfth century by the counts of Toulouse. If these pendants do indeed represent Toulouse it is possible that they date from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Raymond, sixth count of Toulouse, married Joan Plantagenet (d. 1199) and was exiled to England when Simon de Montfort the elder captured Toulouse in 1215. The arms of the seventh count (d. 1249), who was supported in his wars by Henry III of England, also appear in English rolls of arms.[54] On the other hand, since the cross is hardly ever shown on a shield,[55] since the colours of the field or the voiding sometimes vary, and since the number of surviving examples is disproportionate to any significance which the counts of Toulouse had in England, it is questionable whether the crosses on these pendants represent a coat of arms. It has been plausibly suggested that they may have been a device or badge of Simon de Montfort, who died at the siege of Toulouse in 1218.[56] His incised effigy in Carcassonne cathedral shows a surcoat strewn with alternating Toulouse crosses and lions rampant.

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[52] See J. Baker, 'The earliest armorial harness pendants', *The Coat of Arms*, 3rd ser., xi (2015), 1–24, at pp. 7–9.

[53] There are 13 examples in the author's collection, half with the field *gules*. The distinctive cross on a field gules was recorded by Matthew Paris as the arms of the 7th count of Toulouse (*Asp*. ii. 44). Five other pendants have *Azure, a cross of Toulouse or, voided gules*: JHB 1061 (found in Suffolk), 1504 (found at Great Dunmow, Essex), 1814 (a hanger of the same type), 1926 (pendant and matching hanger, found at South Milford, Yorks (PAS, SWYOR-2FF78D)); Ashley, no. 174 (found at Wiveton, Norfolk). Two have *Azure, a cross of Toulouse or, voided of the field*: JHB 1257 (found at Deopham, Norfolk), 1849 (found at Dereham, Norfolk). One has *Gules, a cross of Toulouse or, voided argent*: JHB 1201 (found near Basingstoke, Hampshire).

There are other square pendants and hangers of this type and period with undoubted coats of arms which may be ascribed to known individuals. Six have come to light with an unusual coat which is recorded only for Henry de Turberville (sometime spelt Trubleville) (d. 1239) of Normandy and Guernsey, though it is puzzling that so many examples should have been found in various English locations;[57] the same arms have also been found on three shield pendants of an early style, also from widely separated locations.[58]

> *Azure, in dexter chief a lion passant guardant, in sinister chief and in base a quatrefoil or* [TURBERVILLE]. Two examples with quatrefoils: JHB 718 (found near Rochester, Kent; no enamel); PAS, PUBLIC-A33E33 (found at Frampton, Dorset, in 2014). Four similar pendants have sexfoils instead of quatrefoils: British Museum 1900,0907.1 (found at Canterbury, Kent; crowned lion[59]); Salisbury Museum (Cherry, 'Harness pendants', 20–1, 25, no. 9: found at Salisbury, Wilts; crowned lion); Ashley, no. 173 (found at Quidenham, Norfolk);

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[54] *Asp*. ii. 176; iii. 418. They were also the arms of Henry le Waleys (d. 1302), a leading wine merchant, trading by 1261, who was four times lord mayor of London (*Asp*. iii. 443; *DBA*, iii. 152).

[55] There is an exception in the British Museum (1894, 0518.3); here the shield is set within a blue lozenge on a square pendant with latticed gilded corners.

[56] Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk,* p. 18.

[57] See H. S. London, 'Two fourteenth-century pendants with the arms of Trublevile', *Antiquaries Journal,* xxix (1949), 204–6. In the light of what is now known, London's conjectural dating was too late.

[58] JHB 1867 (cinquefoils; found at Appleby, North Lincs); PAS, NMS-E0DE80 (sexfoils; found at Crimplesham, Norfolk; blue enamel; top broken off); BH-EEFA93 (sexfoils; found at Thame, Oxon; traces of blue enamel). These have a recessed shield with the arms, giving the impression of a plain border.

[59] Woodcut illustration in Dalton, *Guide*, p. 283.

PAS, PUBLIC-9E9D87 (crude repoussé shield; found at Bedale, Yorks). *Asp.* iii. 426 (pierced cinquefoils); *DBA*, i. 228–9 (pierced cinquefoils or sexfoils), iv. 74. The arms of the English Turberville family were *Chequy or and gules, a fess ermine* (*DBA*, iv. 308–9).

The nicest of the Turberville pendants has a latticed (or fretty) ground surrounding the shield, though it is no longer in good condition. A number of similar square pendants, typically made of thick metal, with an incised latticed ground (generously gilded) and an enamelled shield, have come to light in England. They are far less common than shield pendants – perhaps in a ratio of 1 to 250 – and this is probably related both to their early date and (possibly) to a more remote geographical origin. The identifiable armorial examples are:

Gules, a castle triple-towered or [king of Castile]. JHB 840 (found at Little Dunmow, Essex), 576 (a badly corroded example found at Winterbourne Whitchurch, Dorset); also the sinister half of a broken fitting, originally two conjoined squares, with the arms on a shield within a blue roundel (JHB 1806, found near Reepham, Norfolk). *DBA*, ii. 244. A similar pendant in the British Museum (OA.2133) has a quatrefoil in base; there is no remaining enamel. Cf. a matching hanger, with the arms in a roundel: PAS, IHS-0D2BA1 (found at Kilham, Yorkshire).

Chequy or and azure, a bordure gules, over all a canton ermine [duke of Britanny]. JHB 722 (found at Covehithe, Suffolk). Probably for Pierre Mauclerc alias Peter of Dreux (d. 1250), duke of Brittany jure uxoris, who was created earl of Richmond by Henry III of England, or his son John (d. 1286).[60] The canton was assumed by Peter as a difference, since he was a younger son of the count of Dreux. An enamelled sword pommel with the same arms was purchased in the Damascus Bazaar in the 1920s and is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (38.60) (*Asp.* ii. 172–3; *DBA*, ii. 206; cf. *Asp.* iii. 73–4).

Argent, a lion rampant gules within a bordure sable bezanty [Cornwall]. Two examples: JHB 585 (plate 2.7; found at Fincham, Norfolk), 1457 (found between Foxton and Harston, Cambridgeshire). Doubtless for Richard of Cornwall (d. 1272), count of Poitou, fl. 1225–50. A small square hanger with these arms, in a latticed surround, has been found still attached to a square pendant with a lion passant in a roundel: JHB 1539 (found at Waltham Abbey, Essex). A rectangular pendant in the British Museum (OA.2132) has these arms and those of England on a pair of shields, side by side, also surrounded by lattice-work.[61]

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[60] The same arms occur on later shields, perhaps for John (d. 1305), duke of Brittany, who married Beatrice, daughter of King Henry III: JHB 209 (pendant), 1870 (stud, the enamel gone; found in Suffolk); PAS, LIN-AD6CD4 (ferrous fitting; found at West Keal, Lincolnshire); PAS, BH-E248C4 (pendant; found at Offley, Herts; the bordure semy of lions passant, as a further difference).

[61] Illustrated in *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England*, ed. J. Alexander and

> *Argent, a fess gules* [?Béthune]. JHB 708 (found at Hawkinge, near Folkestone, Kent; plate 1.10). Probably for Baldwin de Béthune (d. 1212), a favourite of Richard I, who held property in Kent and other counties. But the arms could be for Guillaume de Béthune (living 1279), whose arms occur thus in English rolls, sometimes with a lion passant in dexter chief for difference. *Asp*. iii. 50. The arms are also recorded for other families, but usually with charges added for difference (*Asp*. iii. 326; *DBA*, iii. 293).

There are also diminutive examples, such as those associated with the St. Pol family. Their distinctive arms were recorded in Walford's Roll for Guy de Châtillon (d. 1289), count of St. Pol-sur-Ternoise from 1248, whose daughter Marie married Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, mentioned above; the label azure was assumed by Guy to distinguish his arms from those of his elder brother John, count of Blois.

> *Gules, three pallets vair, on a chief or a label of five points azure* [St. Pol]. Four examples: JHB 73 (small pendant or hanger, badly corroded but very similar to the following), 827 (small hanger found at Blyth, Nottinghamshire); PAS, IHS-2C8738 (similar hanger found at Doncaster, Yorkshire); PAS, SF-7C7CB8 (similar hanger found at Frostenden, Suffolk; here the label is enamelled red). A matching pendant was found at Tharston, Norfolk: Ashley, no. 45. *Asp*. ii. 173; *DBA*, iv. 280-2. Later shield pendants have been found with *Vair, three pallets gules, a chief or*, and no label: JHB 1564; PAS, WAW-F59E3 (found at Welford-on-Avon, Warwickshire). Note also JHB 1775 (found in East Anglia): *Gules, three pallets vair, a chief or, in dexter chief a martlet*. Cf. *DBA*, iv. 281–2.

> *Barry of ten argent and azure, an orle of martlets gules* [Valence]. JHB 1302 (small rectangular hanger found near Bedford).

There are further representatives of this species which cannot be certainly identified.[62] Most intriguing of all is a series of pendants and fittings with the arms, *Gules, two lions passant guardant (*or *leopards) or*, on a shield set within a circular field filled with blue enamel. The lions appear to have indistinct crowns, though these arms are nowhere recorded in literary sources with crowns. It may have been an error or temporary variation, sometimes found in the arms of England,[63] or

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P. Binski (1987), p. 258, no. 157. Cf. a damaged pendant of similar type with three shields in parallel, apparently all with the same arms (*Quarterly or and tincture*, perhaps for Mandeville): PAS, NCL-A6EF11 (found at Long Horsley, Northumberland).

[62] E.g. PAS, SF-567116 (*Chevronny gules and argent*, from Great Barton, Suffolk).

[63] A very similar enamelled pendant, with a latticed gilt background, has the leopards of England clearly crowned (UKDFD 24663, found at Consett, Northumberland). The British Museum pendant (OA.2132) with the arms of England and Cornwall in parallel has similar lions, apparently with crowns, in the arms of England. Dr. Ailes has pointed out that the tomb of Eleanor of Castile (d. 1214), daughter of Henry II, in the abbey of Santa Maria

just spiky hair.[64] At least seven examples have been found, in different parts of the country (see plate 2.5),[65] besides some crude copies.[66] Without crowns the arms are familiar as those of the duke of Normandy,[67] and also of the count of Dietz (now Diez),[68] but these were not adopted, as far as is known, until a later period. Later heralds invented the tradition that the arms of England were those of Normandy with the addition of a third lion to represent Aquitaine. But it is more likely that the arms of England were established first.[69] A pendant of the same type has been found with the three leopards of England, also on a shield set in a blue roundel,[70] and the close similarity does raise the possibility of a royal origin for the others. The arms with two leopards appear in the earliest rolls of arms for Richard Fitzroy de Douvres (d. 1245/6), an illegitimate son of King John, who was of Chilham, Kent.[71] But he does not seem to have been a sufficiently significant figure to account for the number and the wide geographical distribution of the

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de Las Huelgas (near Burgos, Spain), also shows the leopards of England crowned. See further C. R. Humphery-Smith, 'Crowned leopards', *The Coat of Arms*, new ser., xi (1991–2), 299–301.

[64] Lions guardant were sometimes depicted with smooth topped heads (as usually were lions rampant), but sometimes with spiky or 'indented' tops: e.g. JHB 519 (large mount with the arms of England); JHB 600 (pendant with the arms of England and a label of France).

[65] JHB 795 (from Hardwick, Lincolnshire); Timeline Auctions, 21 June 2013, lot 1252 (from Wymondham, Norfolk); PAS, BH-AC4764 (from Harpenden, Hertfordshire; lions to sinister); JHB 1528 (PAS, NMS-3D5ED3, from Aylsham, Norfolk); JHB 1248 (a hanger, from Nassington, Northamptonshire); JHB 1364 (a fitting with lugs, from Winterborne Kingston, Dorset); JHB 2089 (from Chelmsford, Essex).

[66] JHB 229 (perhaps from Suffolk); Ashley, no. 172 (from Fincham, Norfolk).

[67] *DBA*, i. 264 (mid 15th-century rolls).

[68] Their earlier history is not at present known to the author, but they are to be seen on the seal used by Gerhard, count of Dietz, in 1368 (W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1887–98), no. 21547). The counts of Dietz became extinct soon afterwards, but their arms were quartered from the 15th century by the house of Nassau-Dillenburg, e.g. on the embroidered tabard dating from the 16th or 17th century in the possession of the present author.

[69] Matthew Paris in the 1240s attributed them to William the Conqueror (*Asp*. ii. 11) but this was anachronistic extrapolation. They occur as early as 1198/9 on the second great seal of Richard I (A. Ailes, 'The governmental seals of Richard I', in *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Schofield (Oxford, 2015), pp. 101–10).

[70] JHB 41 (perhaps from Yorkshire). Cf. a matching hanger in Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk,* p. 19, no. 180 (from Cranworth, Norfolk). There is an example without enamel in the British Museum (1979, 0501.1).

[71] Glover's Roll, *Asp*. ii. 130; *Asp*. iii. 173; A. Ailes, *The Origins of the Royal Arms of England: their Development to 1199* (Reading, 1982), p. 108, note 86. His wife Rohese was daughter and heir of Fulbert de Douvres (near Caen). Cf. *Asp*. iii. 335-6 (Pedwardine of Shropshire; shown as guardant only in one roll).

pendants of this type which have so far been found. A more intriguing identification may point to an even earlier date.[72] Before he became king in 1199, John himself had used two lions passant on his seal as lord of Ireland, though they seem not to be guardant.[73] Two forward-looking lions passant also occur on the seal used in the same period by Henry (1173–1227), count palatine of the Rhine,[74] who was the son of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and Princess Matilda, elder daughter of Henry II of England. On his later seal, used in 1209, they became two leopards.[75] Henry was raised in England, and for a short period between the murder of Arthur of Brittany around 1203 and the birth of Prince Henry (later King Henry III) in 1207 he was heir presumptive to the throne of England. It is difficult not to think that his assumption of these arms made a direct reference to his English royal lineage.[76] His younger brother Otto, Holy Roman Emperor, who died without issue in 1218, actually used the arms of England (with three leopards) impaling those of Germany. When Count Henry died in 1227, his son Henry having predeceased him in 1214,[77] the arms with the two leopards followed the laws of inheritance by passing to his nephew Otto (d. 1252), first duke of Brunswick,[78] and thereafter to his descendants.[79] Since the duke of Brunswick had no obvious connection with England, the series of pendants may therefore have been associated with Count Henry or his son of the same name, who remained at the court of King John in England until 1211 or 1212. If so, this early group of enamelled armorial pendants could have a date-range beginning in the first decade of the century. Against this attractive argument, however, is the shape of the shields, which seems rather to belong to the second or third quarter of the century. The puzzle therefore remains for the time being unsolved.

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[72] For what follows see Ailes, *Origins of the Royal Army*, pp. 61–2; C. R. J. Humphery-Smith, 'Why three leopards?', *The Coat of Arms*, new ser., v (1983), 153–6; P. Veddeler, 'Das Braunschweigische Leopardenwappen', *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte,* lxxvii (1996), 23–45.

[73] See A. Ailes, 'The seal of John, lord of Ireland and count of Mortain', *The Coat of Arms* new ser., iv (1981), 341–50. John's great seal as king had three leopards, as did all royal seals thereafter.

[74] Illustrated in Veddeler, 'Das Braunschweigische Leopardenwappen', p. 41, no. 3.

[75] Illustrated in Veddeler, 'Das Braunschweigische Leopardenwappen', p. 41, no. 4. The colours are first recorded in the arms of the dukes of Brunswick, a 14th-century example being a painting in the Bellenville armorial, Paris, BnFr, MS. Fr. 5230, fo. 21.

[76] Ailes and Humphery-Smith both discuss the possibility that the arms with two leopards might have been used by Henry II himself, though there is no direct evidence for this.

[77] Henry was also raised in England, at the court of King John (his uncle).

[78] Son of William of Winchester (d. 1213), youngest son of Henry the Lion and Matilda.

[79] From 1714 until 1837 they were incorporated in the royal arms as part of the arms of Hanover. See also A. Murray, 'The arms of the Emperor Otto IV: English influence on German heraldry', *The Coat of Arms*, new ser., xi (1995–6), 75–81; A. Rabbow, 'The origins of the royal arms of England: a European connection', *The Coat of Arms*, new ser., xiii (1999–2000), 67–75.

It is notable that most, though not all, of these high-quality square armorial pendants from the earlier part of the thirteenth century are connected with the ruling houses of Europe. Miniature versions are known with the arms of Clare,[80] Grey[81] and probably Mowbray,[82] but none, large or small, have as yet been discovered with the arms of the Bohuns or the Warennes, which were so common on later pendants. There do seem to have been some full-size English imitations, but they are thinner and plainer, and seldom met with.[83]

Even earlier pendants

If we try to pursue the development of pendants before this, the matter becomes more speculative because they are extremely difficult to date. There are cruciform examples which resemble those shown in the early manuscripts, and convex roundels on long stems which resemble the pendants on early seals, though those seen by the author are much smaller than the contemporary illustrations indicate and may have decorated belts rather than harness furniture. We find flat circular pendants in abundance, mostly decorated with stars or simple punched decoration, or sometimes simply blank. Equally common are square and rectangular pendants, which have some affinity with the armorial ones tentatively here associated with

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[80] JHB 1963 (found at Hitcham, Suffolk, which is about 13 miles from Clare). The arms of Clare (*Or, three chevronels gules*) are on a shield set in a blue roundel, as in the examples above, but the square field seems to be stippled rather than latticed. The pendant is tiny (14 mm. excluding the loop); it is corroded but still has the red and blue enamel, and traces of gilding.

[81] UKDFD 11408 (found at Cooksmill Green, near Writtle, Essex); like the Clare pendant in the previous note it is 14 mm. square and has a stippled rather than a latticed gilt surround to the shield. The arms are *Barry of six argent and azure*, which were borne by Richard de Grey (d. *c.*1265/71), Lord Grey of Codnor, constable of Dover, whose father was steward of Gascony. The arms were in use by 1240, when they occur on the seal of Aylesford priory, Kent. *DBA*, i. 86-7; *Asp*. iii. 206. Cf. PAS, YORYM-419E25 (found at Hambleton, Yorkshire), which is slightly larger (18 mm.) but has a latticed field and the arms *Azure, three bars argent, a bend sinister gules* [for Grey of Rotherfield].

[82] JHB 1100 (place of finding unknown), a small matching hanger and pendant, both circular (15 mm. diameter), but with central shields set in lattice-work. The arms are *Gules, a lion rampant argent [depicted to sinister]*; this may have been intended for use on the right-hand side of the horse, so that the lions would face forward (cf. the bend sinister in the previous note). *Asp*. iii. 310; *DBA*, i. 129–30. Matthew Paris recorded the same arms for Geoffrey de Mareys (d. 1245), sometime justiciar of Ireland (*Asp*. ii. 27).

[83] Described in Baker, 'The earliest armorial harness pendants', pp. 17–18.

France in that they are of thick metal, often with heavy gilding. Other shapes are also found, such as the inverted fan or the escallop. But any decoration is typically punched and incised and there is no enamel. Popular devices were the fret and the sexfoil (plate 1.2). Although these would become heraldic charges,[84] the wide currency of these devices on early pendants strongly suggests they were not armorial. Likewise a simple cross, which obviously had general Christian associations before it was absorbed into heraldry, though a cross between annulets might conceivably represent Constantinople.[85] When we find an early pendant with a chequy pattern (plate 1.3) we may be tempted to see the arms of Warenne, which are among the oldest of all family arms; but it is impossible to be sure.[86] Just as common are geometrical designs which did not pass into heraldry, such as a saltire with tapering arms,[87] octofoils, combinations of lines and annulets, and stylized foliage. An early kite-shaped shield with an incised bar between two chevronels[88] is reminiscent of Fitzwalter (*Or, a fess between two chevronels gules*), a coat found on one of the earliest English silver seal matrices,[89] but, in the absence of coloured enamel,[90] this can only be speculation. Even more heraldic in appearance is *Four pallets* (two showing) dimidiating *Three*

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[84] The sexfoil was very rare, however, compared with the cinquefoil, which is not commonly seen on early pendants.

[85] JHB 1596 (found at Pocklington, Yorkshire), a large (51 mm.) triangular shield pendant with incised lines. These are shown in rolls from *c.*1310 as the arms of the emperor of Constantinople (*DBA*, iii. 175), though in earlier rolls the annulets enclose crosslets and the field is crusilly. Different arms, with crescents or letters B instead of crosses, were attributed to the Byzantine emperors after 1261, though the titular Latin emperors continued to use the old arms (*Asp*. iii. 119).

[86] JHB 512 is a square pendant with three rows of four chequers, alternately plain and punched with a pattern of small annulets. Almost identical is JHB 1994, found in Norfolk. More likely to represent Warenne is an early shield pendant, with at least 24 chequers and similar punched decoration, found on the site of the Greyfriars, Norwich, in a pit dated to the 12th century (Ashley *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk*, no. 1).

[87] JHB 1924 (large quadrilobe, 60 x 52 mm., found in Cambridgeshire; this has five piercings in cross).

[88] JHB 1739 (found in York). The fess and chevronels are in the form of jagged incised lines, not 'solid' ordinaries as in established armory. The pendant is gilded throughout. A circular pendant of similar date, with a similar device but punched sexfoils in the field, was found at South Lopham, Norfolk, in 2013 (PAS, NMS-32D5E8).

[89] The equestrian seal of Robert Fitzwalter (d. 1234) in the British Museum (1841, 0624.1). It was found at Stamford, Lincolnshire, in the time of Charles II and presented to the Museum in 1841. An 18th-century impression, from the collection of J. C. Brooke (d. 1794), Somerset Herald, is in the author's possession (10–156).

[90] Later shield-shaped pendants have been found with the arms of Fitzwalter in red enamel and gilding: e.g. JHB 210 (found at Longdon, Herefordshire: PAS, WAW-227092).

chevronels, in incised work of similar character on a triangular shield.[91] Unmistakeably heraldic is *Three bars wavy, over all a bendlet*, found on a large incised shield of triangular shape with rounded corners.[92] The fact that these last two are not symmetrical strongly suggests that the designs were not random decoration.

A lion is another indication of armory, but since it was also used decoratively its use is far from conclusive of an armorial purpose. Lions passant have been found on chunky gilded square pendants from England to Southern Italy (plates 2.1, 2.3).[93] They are also found on the early enamelled square pendants, but with the lion passant in an azure compartment, either circular (plate 2.4)[94] or square (plate 2.6)[95] rather than a shield. There is a noticeable stylistic affinity between these single leopards on square pendants and the double leopards discussed earlier. But the single lion passant was rare in early armory,[96] and these may have been just decorative. The depiction of the lions is closely parallelled on twelfth-century gilded fittings, which have survived in remarkable profusion (see plate 2.2),[97] and on the small matching pendants and hangers mentioned at the beginning of the paper. Early heraldry naturally made use of devices which had already been in common use for decoration, and it would be a mistake to assume that such devices originated in heraldry.

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[91] JHB 1907 (found at Eling, Berkshire). Like the other early examples, this was gilded throughout. The ordinaries are indicated by jagged lines similar to those on JHB 1739, above.

[92] JHB 1889. This was found in a bank of the River Great Ouse outside Buckingham. It is heavily gilded and still attached by a pin to a stud hanger. The arms cannot be identified with certainty, but may be a version of Damory (usually *Barry wavy argent and gules, a bend azure*) or Lovel (similar, with *or* for *argent*) (*Asp*. iii. 133, 266-7; *DBA*, i. 71, 330).

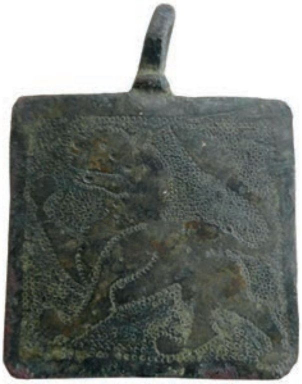
[93] JHB 1327 (plate 2.1), a square pendant with a lion passant in a punched field, came from an old Neapolitan collection. JHB 1345 (plate 2.3), another square pendant with a very similar lion passant in a wriggled field, came from an Essex collection. A third example, with a punched ground, is illustrated in Ashley, 'Anglo-Norman elite objects', figure 72.

[94] JHB 1419 (found at Kenilworth, Warwickshire); PAS, SWYOR-176008 (found at Scotton, Lincolnshire); LIN-6759C4 (in poor condition, without enamel; found at Bourne, Lincolnshire). The first of these appears to have foliage in the field.

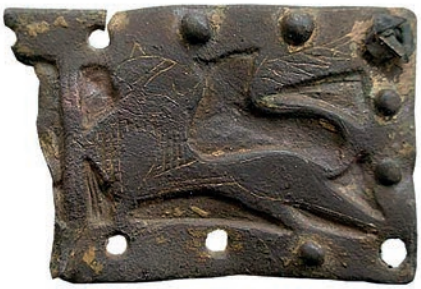
[95] JHB 1500 (place of finding unknown). This has a border consisting of a wavy line between dots. The blue enamel seems to be laid over red.

[96] The arms of Aquitaine, as noticed above, were *Gules, a lion passant guardant or*, but the square pendants mentioned here have an azure field. Cf. UKDFD 33394 (found at Magdalen Laver, Essex), a small square pendant (18 mm.), with *Gules a lion passant guardant to sinister or*, in a circular field.

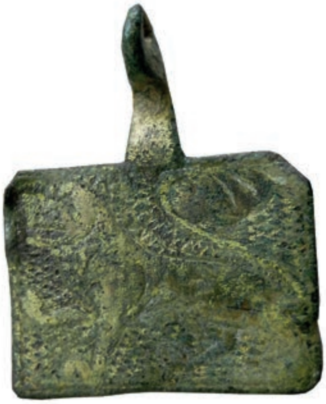
[97] These are also found decorated with fabulous birds, monsters and abstract foliate decoration. The type is generally assigned on stylistic grounds to the twelfth century, but they await their historian.



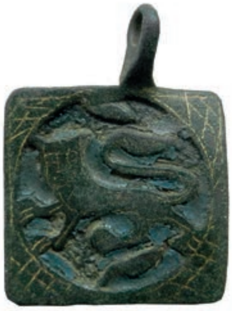
2.1 JHB 1327 (lion passant)



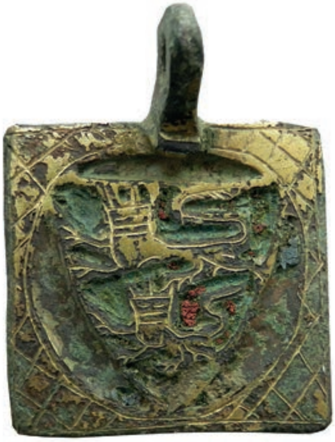
2.2 JHB 1413 (lion passant guardant)



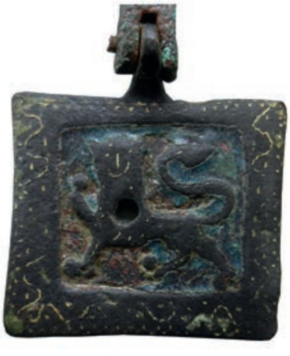
2.3 JHB 1345 (lion passant)



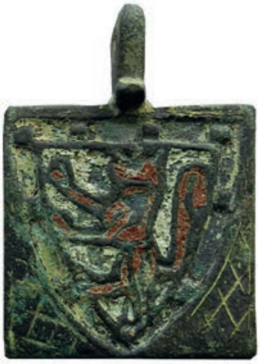
2.4 JHB 1419 (lion passant guardant)



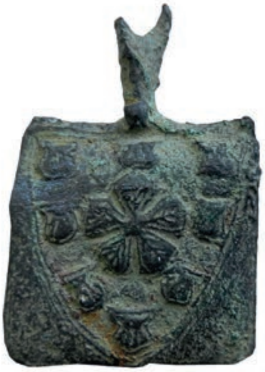
2.5 JHB 795 (two lions passant guardant)



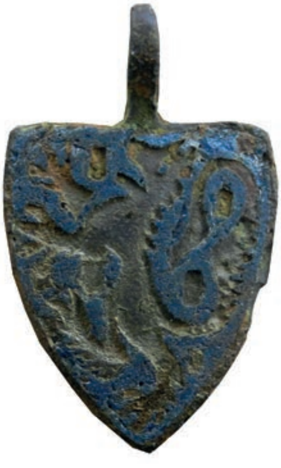
2.6 JHB 1500 (lion passant guardant)



2.7 JHB 585 (Cornwall)



2.8 JHB 474 (FitzNicol)



2.9 JHB 873 (billety, a lion rampant)

The same may be said of the early square pendants with birds, which are loosely parallelled on buckle-plates and were probably not armorial. More than five examples have been found. They are invariably in the form *Or, a bird close azure, beaked and legged gules*, the lattice-work gold field occupying the whole pendant, without a central compartment (see plate 1.9).[98] The remarkable feature of this type is that, although the known specimens are all different in size and workmanship, and have been found widely dispersed all over England, they all conform more or less to the same description. There must therefore have been widespread copying, a circumstance suggesting that the symbolism – whatever it was – was well known nationally. The species of bird is not obvious; it resembles a raven but has webbed feet and red legs, while the body is usually enamelled blue. It is always shown passant or ambulant, with the right leg slightly raised, rather than simply statant.

Particularly interesting from the armorial point of view are the early pendants in the form of shields. The principal clues to an early date are the use of punching and engraving rather than casting, the consequent absence of enamel, and the shape of the shield. The evidence of seals and paintings in manuscripts suggests that around 1100 the military shield was completely round on the top, as seen in the Bayeux Tapestry. During the 1100s the top became flatter, but the corners were still usually rounded until around 1200–25, when the 'kite' shape gave way to a more triangular form, while in the second half of the thirteenth century shields settled into the more familiar 'heater' shape.[99] This is not a precise progression but the earliest shield-pendants all look distinctly different from those with which we began. A shield was a natural support for a coat of arms, once armorial bearings came into being. Indeed, distinctively decorated escutcheons must have been closely related to artificial heraldic display, since the knight's full-sized shield was far from being the obvious place to display signs of identification in battle. On the other hand, some of the earliest shield-pendants have decoration which it is difficult to blazon heraldically, and we may safely assume they were not intended to be heraldic. When we see devices which did become heraldic, such as crescents and quatrefoils (plate 1.4), we may start speculating; but here again some of the specimens have designs which do not conform with early armory as known from other sources such as seals. Bendlets, pallets, chevrons and crosses look more straightforwardly heraldic, but even these are not distinctive enough to be certainly identifiable as such. Perhaps a case for an armorial purpose could be made for a finely decorated and enamelled shield (JHB 465, plate 1.5) bearing *Bendy of fourteen or and azure*. This was found at North Owersby, Lincolnshire, in 1999.[100] The shape of the elongated shield is reminiscent of that on the famous funerary plate of Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, who died in 1151. It provides an early example of the use of enamel on such an object, a feature which itself may indicate that it was intended to represent specific arms. It may also indicate a French origin,[101] the most likely candidate being Robert de Béthune (d. 1191), who owned property in Lincolnshire.[102] No other enamelled example of similar date has so far been noticed by the present author.

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[98] JHB 956 (found in Suffolk; the bird to sinister); JHB 1508 (found at Thetford, Norfolk), 1616 (found in Wiltshire), 1970 (found at Carlton-in-Lindrick, Nottinghamshire: PAS, DENO-BF90F1); PAS, LEIC-9F8A36 (found at Burton-upon-Trent, Staffordshire); PAS, YORYM-A30C87 (found at Easton Maudit, Northamptonhsire). Matching hangers have been found: PAS, LEIC-AC0440 (found at Osbaston, Leicestershire); PAS, WILT-5B90E7 (found at Huish, Wiltshire). Also an oblong mount, pierced in the corners: JHB 1707 (found in the West Midlands).

[99] There are some helpful diagrams tracing this progression, for various regions of Europe, in D. L. Galbreath, *Manuel de Blason* (2nd edn. by L. Jéquier Lausanne, 1977), pp. 82–3. The shapes of the Flemish and French shields are closest to those found in England. See also G. Grazebrook, *The Dates of Variously-shaped Shields* (Liverpool, 1890).

A shield of similar elongated form, found near Kings Lynn in Norfolk (JHB 664, plate 1.6), has a lion rampant. It is fully gilded, with punched decoration of the kind associated with the twelfth century, but no enamel.[103] A rampant lion is perhaps more distinctively heraldic than a lion passant, and it is tempting to regard this too as an early coat of arms, though there is no possibility of identifying it. Two other early shield-pendants in the author's collection have lions rampant. JHB 679 has a shield of late twelfth-century shape and the lion is, most unusually, in bas-relief.[104] JHB 723 has a heart-shaped shield of more uncertain date, but probably around 1200–50, with a crowned lion in a blue field strewn with billets. This is decisively armorial, since these were the arms of Nassau. In later times the Nassau lion was usually not crowned; but the family did sometimes use a crowned lion, and it may be that this is an early representation of their arms.[105] This example came from a continental collection, but with no record of its provenance.

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[100] PAS, IHS-6AEA82.

[101] According to *Hatton's Book of Seals*, p. 54, no. 76, this bendy coat was used by Amaury de Montfort (d. 1213), count of Evreux, and earl of Gloucester in right of his wife; but the arms are otherwise recorded only for a minor branch of the family in the 13th century (*DBA*, ii. 126–7). The principal Montfort coat was a lion rampant with a forked tail.

[102] This suggestion was made in a personal communication from Professor Jean-François Nieus.

[103] JHB 1871 is similar in being gilded throughout. A hanger of the same type is JHB 2001, found at Roudham, Norfolk. Another, more triangular, example, is illustrated in Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk,* no. 5 (found at Aslacton, Norfolk). Ashley dates it to the 12th or early 13th century. Yet, another example, which was formerly enamelled, is illustrated in the *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (above, n. 4), plate XVIII.1 (found in Smithfield).

[104] There is a much larger example of this type (85 mm.), with a double-headed eagle, in the British Museum (1894, 0217.11, from the collection of L. M. R. Zschille).

Conclusions

Despite the very large number of archaeological finds in England, we remain largely in the dark about the precise social significance of decorated pendants. In the absence of literary evidence, most of what we know has to be deduced from the objects themselves. Opinions differ even as to the likely cultural status which they indicate. They are often crudely cast, in copper alloy rather than precious metal, which might suggest that they were used by servants and retainers rather than the barons, knights and abbots whose arms they bear.[106] One writer conjectured that pendants were also sometimes used as neck-badges, in the same way as those still worn by knights and companions of orders;[107] but this seems unlikely. While it is perfectly possible that they were used as personal ornaments of some kind, or as marks of accreditation for messengers,[108] no contemporary supporting evidence for this has emerged.[109] The wide variety of pendants depicting the arms of a single family, such as Clare, Bohun or Warenne, might even argue against their having been issued by the family at all; if they had been, some standardization might have been expected. Perhaps they were as widely available to the general public as pewter pilgrim badges and the so-called retainers' badges.[110] On the other hand, the enamelling and gilding were not inexpensive and in their original uncorroded state their appearance would have been impressive.[111] The Bohun shield set into the rather grand broadsword mentioned earlier, which can hardly have belonged to a lowly personage, is no superior in workmanship to the common-or-garden types found in their dozens. The larger mounts of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, which are typically fifty to sixty millimetres long, are of markedly superior workmanship;[112] but their function is as yet unknown.

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[105] The same arms were adopted in 1279 by Otto (d. 1303), count of Burgundy, but the shield looks older than this. See *Asp*. iii. 67; and above, p. 29.

[106] This is suggested in Alexander and Binski, *The Age of Chivalry*, p. 258; Griffiths, 'Harness pendants', p. 62.

[107] Dalton, *Guide*, pp. 5–6.

[108] Dalton, *Guide*, p. 5, stated positively that they were used by messengers, without citing any evidence other than the later practice of heralds and king's messengers.

[109] Dalton referred to the 'monument of Sir John Cockayne at Ashbourne' as evidence for knights using armorial pendants 'about the neck'. This was probably a slip for Sir Edmund Cokayne (d. 1404), who is portrayed uniquely with a blank shield resting (not pendent) on the chain-mail hauberk immediately below his chin. But the shield is twice the size of any known armorial pendant, and indeed is larger than any enamelled mount which has been found; it was perhaps intended as a means of identification, to be painted with arms, now that full-sized shields were no longer shown on monuments. The Cokayne monument was cited in Armstrong, 'A note on four armorial pendants', p. 191 (above, n. 18), where attention was also drawn to a female brass effigy at Luppitt, Devon, showing shield-shaped clasps securing the cord of a mantle; but none of the larger bronze shields which have been found have attachments suitable for this purpose.

The conclusions to be drawn from this brief survey are equally unhelpful with respect to the origins of heraldry. It is generally accepted that the use of coats of arms was beginning in the middle of the twelfth century,[113] whereas pendants with armorial bearings cannot be certainly identified before the thirteenth century, the century in which armory developed into a science with its own terminology and accepted rules.[114] It would be misleading to impose on earlier decorative objects an anachronistic view of heraldry, because much of what at first sight seems to be heraldry in early artefacts is probably not.[115] Although it is just possible that a very few pendants depict personal arms from the late twelfth century, the frequent occurrence of the same simple designs, monsters and symbols, not only on pendants but on buckle-plates and other artefacts found in widely different locations, argues against their being intended for personal identification. The general fashion of displaying the arms of an individual on harness furniture, or similar metalwork, seems from the English evidence to have begun in the second quarter or middle of the thirteenth century, probably under French influence – and it may be significant that French was, and still is, the language of heraldry. The practice was facilitated by the improvement of champlevé enamelling techniques, which enabled colours to be added, and reached a peak towards the end of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth, but then went completely out of fashion in the middle of the latter. For the general acceptance and use of heraldry during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these long-buried pendants certainly provide a wide range of evidence in colour, and may sometimes indicate an earlier use of particular arms than is attested in other sources. But they lack names and dates, without which the story cannot be traced with precision, and they do not assist with the first phase of the story. The origins of heraldry, therefore, must still rest chiefly on the evidence of seals.[116]

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[110] These were invariably cast in pewter. They include what are unquestionably heraldic devices or badges, but they are often crudely executed. The evidence of legal records is that badges (*signa*) given to gentlemen retainers were more likely to be silver (J. Baker, *Oxford History of the Laws of England*, vi (Oxford, 2003), 70–1).

[111] Cf. Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk,* p. 30.

[112] A good example (with a lion rampant, perhaps for Felbrigg) is illustrated in Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk,* p. 16, no. 146 (found at Fordham, Norfolk).

[113] There is now a substantial literature. See Galbreath, *Manuel de Blason*, pp. 17–40; M. Pastoureau, 'L'apparition des armoiries en Occident', *Bibliothèque de L'École des Chartes*, cxxxiv (1976), 281–300; A. Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors* (1978), pp. 7–14; M. Pastoureau, 'La diffusion des armoiries et les débuts de l'héraldique', in *La France de Philippe Auguste: Le temps de mutations*, ed. R.-H. Bautier (Paris, 1982), pp. 737–59; M. Pastoreau, *Traité d'héraldique* (2nd edn., Paris, 1993), pp. 26–32, 298–310; M. Pastoureau, *L'Art héraldique au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2009), pp. 19–41; T. Woodcock and J. M. Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 1–13; A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in twelfth-century England: the evidence', in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 1–16; J.-F. Nieus, 'Pourquoi les armoiries? Culture chevaleresque et construction identitaire de la haute aristocratie au XII^{e} siècle' (forthcoming). Earlier further reading is helpfully listed in A. Ailes, 'The knight, heraldry and armour: the role of recognition and the origins of heraldry', in *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference 1990*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 1–21, at p. 9, n. 41. For a less convincing attempt to place the origins earlier, see B. Platts, *Origins of Heraldry* (1980).

[114] See G. J. Brault, *Early Blazon* (Oxford, 1972).

[115] Campbell, 'The language of objects', p. 192 (above, n. 1). The only example illustrated in that paper (figure 7.3) is a sexfoil pendant with a single fleur-de-lys, which is clearly non-armorial. There is also discussion of the proto-armorial character of early metalwork designs in Ashley, 'Anglo-Norman elite objects' (above, n. 9).

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[116] Military effigies share the shortcomings of pendants. In England, at any rate, early effigies with shields of arms are very rarely accompanied by identifying inscriptions, and so their identities have to be deduced from the arms rather than vice versa. In the few instances where they are painted, the colouring is never contemporary.

2. The transmission of medical culture in the Norman worlds, *c.*1050–*c.*1250

Elma Brenner

Efforts to maintain human health and to treat disease were an ever-present feature of medieval life, and had a significant impact on religious and secular culture. Drawing upon written sources, this chapter explores how medical practices, ideas and institutional models were transmitted in the Norman worlds between the mid eleventh and the mid thirteenth centuries. The analysis focuses on Normandy and England, but also considers other areas of Norman influence, namely southern Italy and Ireland. The transmission of medical knowledge and practices between these different areas was to a great extent brought about through the movement of people. For example, attendant physicians accompanied itinerant royal and episcopal courts, while monks and nuns who were versed in medical learning and possessed practical medical skills travelled between the mother house and dependent religious communities on both sides of the Channel. Such people transported and copied learned medical texts. From the late eleventh century, as numerous hospitals for the sick poor and *leprosaria* providing specifically for lepers were founded in England and Normandy, organizational models were transmitted and adapted, especially as a result of the patronage of the Anglo-Norman elite for these institutions. The cross-influence of models for *leprosaria* is especially evident, perhaps reflecting the fact that this was a relatively new institutional form. This chapter considers similarities and differences between the different geographical areas under discussion, evaluating the extent to which a sphere of common cultural influence regarding medical matters operated in the Norman worlds.

Knowledge about medicine and health

Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, medical knowledge circulated both through texts and through the transmission of practical expertise from a skilled practitioner, male or female, to others who sought to learn from him or her. The texts associated with medicine ranged from learned treatises, to collections of medicinal recipes, to accounts of miracles that described conditions and symptoms. The care of the body was a feature of life in monastic communities, where regular bloodletting was practised to maintain the proper humoral balance within the bodies of monks and nuns, and the infirmary served as a space for treatment and recuperation when necessary. Certain monastic houses stand out as particularly strong centres of medical knowledge and practice. At the English abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, a focus on medical matters was initiated during the abbacy of Baldwin (d. 1097 or 1098), physician to Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror and William Rufus, and abbot of Bury from 1065. Baldwin originated from northern France, where he became a monk of Saint-Denis and then prior of the monastery at Leberau, Alsace. He came to England in 1059 to serve as a royal physician, no doubt as a result of his reputation as a practitioner. Abbot Baldwin retained his links with the continent, travelling frequently to Normandy with William the Conqueror, and also to Rome in 1071 when a threat was posed to his abbacy by Arfast, bishop of Thetford.[1] Such journeys would have enabled him to remain apprised of the state of medical knowledge and practice in Normandy, France and Italy.

A mid eleventh-century manuscript with a Bury pressmark (British Library MS. Sloane 1621), containing medical recipes, was transported from the continent to the abbey, and appears to be closely associated with Baldwin himself. As Debby Banham has shown, this manuscript marks a key moment in the introduction of new medical knowledge and new frameworks for presenting medical information into England. While English medical manuscripts up to the eleventh century were predominantly written in the vernacular, MS. Sloane 1621 is entirely in Latin, and includes words of Greek derivation. Its recipes feature more ingredients than its English precursors, and also differ by referring to exotic ingredients that were unfamiliar in England, as well as precise quantities of these substances. The major part of the text was probably written down in northern France, suggesting that Baldwin or a member of his household brought it across the Channel. Further material was added by scribes at Bury, including some recipes by a hand that is closely linked to Baldwin. These additions testify to the ongoing practical use of the manuscript in the second half of the eleventh century, and may reflect Baldwin's own medical practice. Furthermore, the volume was still in use in the twelfth century, since it contains a section of medicinal prayers added in this period.[2]

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[1] C. H. Talbot and E. A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England: a Biographical Register* (1965), pp. 19–21; E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1936), p. 64.

[2] D. Banham, 'Medicine at Bury in the time of Abbot Baldwin', in *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest*, ed. T. Licence (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 226–46, at pp. 226, 228–38.

The expertise in medicine at Bury during Baldwin's abbacy is further indicated by the use of precise medical vocabulary in the *Miracles of St. Edmund* composed by Herman the Archdeacon at this time, and by Herman's reference to the ancient authorities, Galen and Hippocrates, who are not mentioned in pre-1066 English medical texts.[3] The abbey community's preoccupation with medical matters continued into the twelfth century, when the monks engaged with theoretical knowledge emanating from Salerno in southern Italy, the major centre of medical learning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A manuscript of the *Passionarius* of Gariopontus (British Library MS. Royal 12. C. xxiv), a text composed at Salerno in the mid eleventh century, was copied by a Bury scribe between the late 1110s and the 1130s. The *Passionarius* was a compilation of ancient theoretical texts that were highly relevant to the practice of medicine. The Bury manuscript is heavily annotated in one or more twelfth-century hands, which also added medical diagrams to the margins. These features suggest that it saw considerable practical use soon after its production.[4]

There is further evidence for the transmission of medical learning from southern Italy to Bury and other English centres in the twelfth century and earlier. Another Salernitan text, the *Pantegni*, was copied at Bury in the twelfth century, while other copies of the *Passionarius* were produced in or transported to England, such as a now lost manuscript that was held at Reading abbey during the abbacy of Ansger (1130–5). One surviving copy of the *Passionarius* (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R. 14. 50) was made in England in the mid or late eleventh century, very soon after the text's original composition, and may have been produced at St. Augustine's, Canterbury.[5] A mid twelfth-century manuscript of the *Articella*, a collection of medical works that was probably put together at Salerno and the southern Italian abbey of Monte Cassino from the 1060s, was held by the abbey of Bury by the end of the thirteenth century, and could plausibly have formed part of the house's library earlier on.[6] This manuscript (London, Wellcome Library MS. 801a), in Beneventan script, was produced in southern Italy, and was thus an artefact that travelled to England.

Texts associated with the *Articella* were present in England at an earlier date, since between 1070 and 1073 Anselm, future archbishop of Canterbury

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[3] Banham, 'Medicine at Bury', pp. 239–44.

[4] V. Thouroude, 'Medicine after Baldwin: the evidence of BL, Royal 12. C. xxiv', in Licence, *Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 247–57, at pp. 247–52; Banham, pp. 245–6. Thouroude states that the annotations are in 'a near-contemporary hand', while Banham refers to 'annotations in a number of hands'.

[5] Thouroude, 'Medicine after Baldwin' pp. 251, 252–3, 256, 257.

[6] The table of contents in the manuscript (fo. v) can be dated to the end of the 13th century.

(1093–1109) but at that time prior of Bec (1063–78), commissioned Maurice, a monk of Bec staying at Christ Church, Canterbury, to copy the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, a commentary associated with this text, and a short text on pulses (*De pulsibus*). These works formed part of the first section of the *Articella*, the second section being the *Isagoge* of Joannitius, which was joined to the other texts in about 1100, from which point the *Articella* became the main medical textbook of monastic schools and subsequently universities. Anselm's request of Maurice reveals that certain texts of the *Articella*, originating from southern Italy, had reached Canterbury soon after they began to be assembled at Salerno and Monte Cassino. There is much evidence for Anselm's interest in medical matters, mainly from a practical rather than a theoretical perspective. Eadmer's *Life of Anselm*, composed in the first quarter of the twelfth century, describes how, as prior of Bec, Anselm tended the brethren in the infirmary, and responded to specific cases of sickness in the community by providing assistance and care.[7] Also when prior of Bec, in *c.*1073–7, he wrote to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury (1070–89) describing the health problems of two monks, Osbern and Lanfranc the Younger (Archbishop Lanfranc's nephew), who had recently been sent to Bec from Canterbury. He listed the monks' symptoms in considerable detail, and explicitly asked the archbishop to communicate Lanfranc the Younger's symptoms to the physician Albert at Canterbury, with a view to the physician providing assistance.[8]

Anselm evidently did not have access at Bec to the medical texts he requested from Maurice at Canterbury; he also asked Maurice to investigate whether the exemplar manuscript containing the *Aphorisms* and commentary could be directly loaned to him. Medical texts, like other works, were therefore transmitted in both directions across the Channel.[9] Although Anselm's letters and *Life* are indicative of a predominantly practical concern with medical matters, this high-status churchman was nonetheless very keen to read the new theoretical texts emanating from southern Italy. These processes of textual transmission were no doubt facilitated by the wider cultural contacts between different areas of the Norman worlds, especially the continental activities of leading ecclesiastical figures such as Abbot Baldwin and Anselm.[10]

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[7] Eadmer, *The Life of St Anselm*, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1972), pp. 22–5; G. Gasper, '"A doctor in the house"? The context for Anselm of Canterbury's interest in medicine with reference to a probable case of malaria', *Journal of Medieval History*, xxx (2004), 245–61, at p. 250.

[8] *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. W. Fröhlich (3 vols., Kalamazoo, Mich., 1990), i. 139–42; Gasper, '"A doctor"', pp. 252–6.

[9] G. E. M. Gasper and F. Wallis, 'Anselm and the *Articella*', *Traditio*, lix (2004), 129–74, at pp. 129–30, 132–40, 165, 168.

[10] See Thouroude, *Medicine after Baldwin*, p. 256; Gasper and Wallis, 'Anselm', pp. 166–8.

Medical texts also circulated as a result of diplomatic exchanges between royal courts. In 1157–8 a number of gifts were sent from the imperial court at Constantinople to that of Henry II of England. A Latin translation of a Greek gynaecological text, the *Gynaecia Cleopatrae*, was almost certainly sent to Henry's queen Eleanor of Aquitaine as part of this envoy. One of the extant copies of this translation, a late thirteenth-century French manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R. 14. 30) includes a dedication stating that the work was brought from Constantinople by Henry, a member of the household of Emperor Manuel (1143–80), and written (or copied) for the queen of England.[11] This Henry was undoubtedly Henry Aristippus, who served King William I of Sicily (1154–66) rather than the emperor, but who led the embassy that brought imperial gifts from Constantinople. Elisabeth van Houts proposes that the scholar Robert of Cricklade, prior of St. Frideswide's, Oxford, was responsible for transporting the manuscript of the text from Sicily to England. It would have been appropriate for Eleanor, like other royal women, to have had a strong interest in female reproductive health. Furthermore, she had earlier visited Constantinople in the later 1140s when married to Louis VII of France, and it is not inconceivable that she had specifically requested a copy of this medical text from the imperial court.[12] Once again, the movement of artefacts and people resulted in the transmission of medical knowledge in the Norman worlds.

Institutional models: leper houses and hospitals

Hospitals for the sick and the poor in Normandy and England predate the Norman Conquest. In Rouen, the chief city of Normandy, the Hôtel-Dieu was founded in the eleventh century or possibly earlier, probably by the archbishop and cathedral canons, to the north of the cathedral in the canons' cloister.[13] Construction work could have been carried out in conjunction with work on the Romanesque cathedral, dedicated in 1063. Outside Winchester, excavations on the site of the leper house of St. Mary Magdalen suggest that this may have been an eleventh-century foundation, which could possibly have accommodated lepers before the Norman Conquest. The archaeology has revealed earlier timber structures underneath twelfth-century masonry buildings, and a cemetery that also predates the twelfth-century structures. Most of the burials within the cemetery show signs of leprosy; carbon–14 dating indicates that one of these skeletons dates from as early as 890–1040, probably 970–1030.[14]

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[11] E. van Houts, 'Les Femmes dans le royaume Plantagenêt: gendre, politique et nature', in *Plantagenêts et Capétiens: confrontations et héritages*, ed. M. Aurell and N.-Y. Tonnerre (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 95–112, at p. 99; M. H. Green, *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 64.

[12] Van Houts, 'Les Femmes', pp. 99–102.

[13] T. Eude, *Le Prieuré Sainte-Madeleine de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Rouen* (Rouen, 1970), pp. [2], [3].

The period of concerted effort in the foundation of hospitals and *leprosaria* began in the late eleventh century, and continued into the thirteenth century. At Canterbury, Archbishop Lanfranc established two hospitals within the city, and a *leprosarium* outside the walls, in the 1080s. The hospital of St. John provided for the poor, the sick and the elderly, while the hospital of St. Gregory, opposite, catered for the clergy of St. John's and for elderly priests. St. Gregory's very quickly ceased to have a hospital function, and was made into an Augustinian priory in the 1120s. The leper house of St. Nicholas was built at Harbledown, a village west of Canterbury.[15] While he originated from Pavia in northern Italy, Lanfranc had spent many years in Normandy, as a monk at Bec and subsequently as abbot of St. Stephen, Caen. It is thus possible that he was influenced by existing models in Normandy in founding these charitable institutions; at the same time, knowledge of his hospital foundations at Canterbury would undoubtedly have been transmitted back across the Channel.

Lanfranc's leper house at Harbledown was founded on a wooded hill; other English and Norman *leprosaria*, such as those at Oxford (Bartlemas), Burton Lazars, Rouen (Mont-aux-Malades) and Aizier, a village half way between Rouen and Le Havre, also had hilltop locations.[16] This topography increased the visibility of the institution within the landscape – thus ensuring that potential almsgivers were made aware of it – and may also reflect ideas derived from ancient medicine about the importance of environmental factors, such as pure air and health-giving waters, for alleviating sickness. In the later eighteenth century, it was reported that the site at Harbledown was 'peculiarly healthful', and that it was a place where 'herbalists come regularly every year to collect medicinal plants that grow only on this particular spot'.[17] If the hill was known for beneficial plants in the middle ages, it could plausibly have provided the leper community with a local source of ingredients for treatments aimed at the palliative care of the leprous. The sites at Harbledown, Burton Lazars and Aizier were associated with springs whose waters were certainly in later centuries believed to have beneficial effects; these springs would also have provided a water supply for the resident leper communities.[18] Although the sulphurous spring at Burton Lazars was located outside the monastic precinct, water within the precinct itself has been shown also to have likely had a mineral content.[19] Bathing was an important aspect of the bodily care of lepers, and was linked too to the care of their souls, since it was analogous to baptism. In certain instances, such as the formation of the leper community at Bath, the presence of healing waters could originally have attracted groups of lepers to these sites, prior to the formal establishment of a *leprosarium*.[20] There are common patterns in the landscape positioning of leper houses in England and Normandy, and the siting of certain foundations was plausibly influenced by knowledge of existing institutions elsewhere, although the collective behaviour of groups of lepers may also have played a role.

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[14] S. Roffey, 'Medieval leper hospitals in England: an archaeological perspective', *Medieval Archaeology*, lvi (2012), 203–32, at pp. 208–9, 210–11.

[15] E. J. Kealey, *Medieval Medicus: a Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (Baltimore, Md., 1981), pp. 85–7.

[16] J. Duncombe, *The History and Antiquities of the Three Archiepiscopal Hospitals at and near Canterbury; viz. St. Nicholas, at Harbledown; St. John's, Northgate; and St. Thomas, of Eastbridge* (1785), p. 173.

[17] Duncombe, *The History and Antiquities of the Three Archiepiscopal Hospitals,* p. 173 n. *.

In the twelfth century, the foundation and endowment of hospitals and leper houses in Normandy and England was particularly associated with members of the Anglo-Norman royal family, whose cross-Channel interests resulted in the transmission of institutional models in both directions. King Henry I (1106–35) and his wives Matilda of Scotland (queen 1100–18) and Adeliza of Louvain (queen 1121–35) were major patrons of institutions in England, establishing and supporting leper houses and hospitals at London, Oxford, Reading, Wilton and elsewhere.[21] Henry I's daughter from his marriage to Matilda, the Empress Matilda (d. 1167), supported communities of lepers in Normandy, and her son, Henry II (1154–89), endowed charitable institutions in England and Normandy. Henry II was the major twelfth-century patron of the two largest *leprosaria* at Rouen, Mont-aux-Malades and Salle-aux-Puelles.[22] Broadly speaking, the focus of royal support shifted from institutions in England in the first part of the twelfth century to both Norman and English institutions from the mid twelfth century onwards. This shift towards including Normandy no doubt reflects the attachment of the Empress Matilda to the area around Rouen, especially towards the end of her life. The empress may well have instructed or encouraged the charitable patronage of her son Henry and other members of the Anglo-Norman royal family, such as her youngest son William.[23]

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[18] C. Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 229, 305, n. 13; Kealey, p. 87; D. Marcombe, *Leper Knights: the Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, 1150–1544* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 142–5, 146; A. Canel, *Essai historique, archéologique et statistique sur l'arrondissement de Pont-Audemer (Eure). Tome deuxième* (Paris, 1834), p. 92; J. Fournée, 'Les Maladreries et les vocables de leurs chapelles', *Lèpre et lépreux en Normandie*, *Cahiers Léopold Delisle*, xlvi (1997), 49–142, at p. 126.

[19] Marcombe, *Leper Knights,* p. 145.

[20] Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, pp. 227–8, 258, 308.

[21] Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, pp. 89–95; E. Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity in Medieval Rouen* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 24–5.

[22] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity in Medieval Rouen*, pp. 25–31, 59, 62.

The leper house of Salle-aux-Puelles at Petit-Quevilly outside Rouen, endowed by Henry II between 1185 and 1188, was apparently the only *leprosarium* in Normandy that catered specifically for women with leprosy. According to tradition, the leprous women at Salle-aux-Puelles were of aristocratic status.[24] The majority of *leprosaria* in Western Europe were mixed, although there was at least one Norman institution for men only, Saint-Nicolas at Évreux.[25] Nonetheless, in mixed leper houses emphasis was placed on the segregation of men and women, reflecting the concern for chastity in these communities, many of which followed a monastic rule. In contrast to the situation in Normandy, there were several female *leprosaria* in England, two or three of which were linked to Henry II.[26] Since these houses associated with the king appear to predate Salle-aux-Puelles, it is possible that Henry II transmitted this institutional model from England to Normandy in his endowment of Rouen's female leper house. At Bradley in Wiltshire, a house for leprous women was established by Manasser Biset, Henry II's steward, before 1155–8. The community was subsequently organized as an Augustinian priory, and the village took on the toponym 'Maiden Bradley' in the second half of the thirteenth century, no doubt reflecting the presence of the leprous women. Between 1155 and 1158, Henry II confirmed the donation of the churches of Kidderminster and Rockbourne by Manasser Biset to the community. Manasser had received the manor of Kidderminster from the king, and this donation could thus be seen as an indirect gift by Henry II.[27] There was also a community of female lepers at Woodstock, Oxfordshire. This *leprosarium* could too have been linked to Henry II. The 1181–2 pipe roll reveals that a certain Amiotus of Woodstock was paid from the revenues of the see of Lincoln for building houses for the leper community. At this time the see of Lincoln was vacant, meaning that the king would have authorized this payment. If the building work marks the foundation of the community, this would tentatively implicate Henry II in the establishment of this leper house.[28] At Westminster, a *leprosarium* dedicated to St. James was in existence by the reign of Henry II; archaeological evidence indicates that it had been established earlier.[29] This institution apparently catered specifically for thirteen or fourteen leprous girls or young women.[30] Henry II issued a charter in favour of the Westminster *leprosarium*, showing that he took an interest in another female leper house in England.[31]

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[23] See Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity in Medieval Rouen*, pp. 26–7.

[24] Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity in Medieval Rouen*, p. 59.

[25] See B. Tabuteau, 'Une Léproserie normande au Moyen Âge: le prieuré de Saint-Nicolas d'Évreux du XIIe au XVIe siècle: histoire et corpus des sources' (unpublished University of Rouen PhD thesis, 1996).

[26] On these female *leprosaria* in England and their relationship to Salle-aux-Puelles, see E. Brenner and B. Tabuteau, 'La Salle-aux-Puelles, à Rouen: une léproserie de femmes', in *Les Léproseries organisées au Moyen Âge*, ed. B. Tabuteau, *Revue de la société française d'histoire des hôpitaux*, clii (2014), 44–50, at pp. 44–5.

[27] B. Kemp, 'Maiden Bradley priory, Wiltshire, and Kidderminster church, Worcestershire', in *East Anglian and Other Studies Presented to Barbara Dodwell*, ed. M. Barber, P. McNulty and P. Noble, *Reading Medieval Studies*, xi (1985), 87–120, at pp. 87–9; M. Satchell, 'The emergence of leper-houses in medieval England, 1100–1250', (unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 1998), p. 336; S. C. Watson, '*Fundatio, ordinatio* and *statuta*: the statutes and constitutional documents of English hospitals to 1300' (unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2004), p. 335.

Institutional models were transferred from England and Normandy to other areas of Anglo-Norman influence. In Ireland, hospitals and *leprosaria* appeared later than in England and Normandy, and their institutional development may well be linked to the establishment of Henry II's rule there in the 1170s. At Dublin, although the king was associated with the foundation of an Augustinian priory in 1177, established by his seneschal William Fitz-Audelin, the city's main *leprosarium*, St. Stephen's, is traditionally held to have been founded by the people of Dublin.[32] The earliest documentary reference to this house dates from 1230. The mayor and municipal government were its patrons, and only men who were born in Dublin were eligible to become its master.[33] Although the Anglo-Norman royal family was not directly involved with this leper house, the civic sponsorship of St. Stephen's reflects patterns in Normandy and northern France. At Pont-Audemer in Upper Normandy, the town burgesses were involved in selecting patients to be admitted to the *leprosarium* of Saint-

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[28] Satchell, 'The emergence of leper-houses in medieval England, 1100–1250', pp. 394–5.

[29] L. L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: a Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 106; M. B. Honeybourne, 'The leper hospitals of the London area, with an appendix on some other mediaeval hospitals of Middlesex', *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*, xxi (1963), 1–61, at p. 54.

[30] Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, p. 90; Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland,* p. 106.

[31] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland,* p. 106; *Victoria County History of Middlesex,* i. 206–10; *Victoria County History of London*, i. 542–6.

[32] E. M. Hallam, 'Henry II as a founder of monasteries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxviii (1977), 113–32, at p. 125; M. V. Ronan, 'St. Stephen's hospital, Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record*, iv (1941–2), 141–8, at p. 142; G. A. Lee, *Leper Hospitals in Medieval Ireland: with a Short Account of the Military and Hospitaller Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem* (Blackrock, 1996), p. 47.

[33] Ronan, 'St. Stephen's hospital, Dublin', p. 142; Lee, *Leper Hospitals in Medieval Ireland,* pp. 46–7.

Gilles established *c.*1135 by Waleran, count of Meulan.[34] According to a document of 1412, the *leprosarium* of Saint-Lazare at Pontoise, north-west of Paris, in existence before 1137, was originally established by the burgesses of Pontoise.[35]

Other *leprosaria* were founded in the environs of Dublin following the establishment of Anglo-Norman rule. The hospital of St. James's, founded *c.*1220 by Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, was associated with lepers, although it may primarily have served pilgrims preparing to travel to Compostela in Spain. A leper house was dedicated to St. Laurence, and a hospital was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, possibly serving the leprous as well as the sick poor. Most of these institutions appear to date from the period after the Anglo-Norman intervention in Ireland, although the hospital of St. John the Baptist, established by Alfred de Palmer in the twelfth century, may precede Henry II's incursion.[36] This indicates that the Anglo-Normans did indeed introduce the model of the *leprosarium* to Dublin and as a whole to Ireland.[37]

Medical practitioners

Individuals described as *medicus* or *medica* appear in northern and southern European charters, chronicles and other sources from the early middle ages onwards. The term *medicus* was used flexibly to signify a person who engaged in medical practice, from those who were learned in medical theory but did not manually treat patients, to those whose knowledge was based on practical experience in surgery, apothecary and other areas.[38] Before the professional category of the surgeon emerged in the thirteenth century, surgeons were very rarely identified by the term *chirurgicus*, and so a *medicus* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries could signify a person who intervened manually in treating patients, as well as a person who was learned in medicine. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Orderic Vitalis describes the physicians who attended William the Conqueror on his deathbed at the church of Saint-Gervais, Rouen in the summer of 1087 as *archiatri* (single noun *archiater*), a term which may signify a particularly high status medical practitioner.[39]

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[34] In *c.*1150 Waleran of Meulan issued a mandate to the leading citizens of Pont-Audemer, revealing that, in return for delivering the customs due on leather and a weekly tax from every house in the town, they had a say in the admission of lepers to the leper house (S. C. Mesmin, 'Waleran, count of Meulan and the leper hospital of S. Gilles de Pont-Audemer', *Annales de Normandie*, xxxii (1982), 3–19, at pp. 15–16).

[35] London, Wellcome Library, MS. 5133/1 (agreement issued by Simon Paine, mayor of Pontoise, for the admission of Jehan Duquesnoy called 'le Bourgignon' to the *leprosarium* of Saint-Lazare at Aumône near Pontoise, 17 May 1412); F.-O. Touati, *Archives de la lèpre: atlas des léproseries entre Loire et Marne au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1996), p. 320.

[36] Lee, *Leper Hospitals in Medieval Ireland,* pp. 46, 48–9; Ronan, 'St. Stephen's hospital, Dublin', pp. 141–2.

[37] E. Murphy and K. Manchester, 'Evidence for leprosy in medieval Ireland', in *The Past and Present of Leprosy: Archaeological, Historical, Palaeopathological and Clinical Approaches*, ed. C. A. Roberts, M. E. Lewis and K. Manchester (Oxford, 2002), pp. 193–4.

[38] Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, pp. 34–5.

Increasingly from the later twelfth century, the label *physicus* was used to differentiate a person who had studied learned medical texts, a distinction that became vital as universities emerged in the thirteenth century. Indeed, from the later eleventh century the word *physica* (natural philosophy) denoted medicine based on textual learning, as opposed to *medicina*, which broadly signified the practical art of medicine from the early middle ages onwards. By the thirteenth century, medicine was established as a university discipline as part of the broader subject of philosophy, and was termed *physica*.[40] Nonetheless, in the thirteenth century the word *medicus* could still signify a person who had book-learning in medicine. Some individuals, such as Master Simon, a physician active in Rouen in the first part of the thirteenth century, are described as both *medicus* and *physicus* in documents, suggesting that these terms were used interchangeably.[41]

A number of *medici* can be identified in England and Normandy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The *medicus* Albert was evidently part of the entourage of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, since he travelled with Lanfranc from the abbey of Bec (where Lanfranc served as prior), to the abbey of St. Stephen, Caen (where Lanfranc was abbot), and to Canterbury. In two letters to Albert, Anselm urged him to become a monk at Bec, revealing that he was not a member of a monastic community.[42] As either a layman or a secular clerk, he moved in very high status monastic circles, but did not devote himself fully to the religious life. He perhaps first went to Bec to participate in the learning of the monastic school. At Christ Church, Canterbury, he would have had access to a rich collection of books, including medical works. A library catalogue from Christ Church, copied into a register in the 1320s, records more than sixty medical books.[43] Albert's friendship with Lanfranc's successor at Canterbury, Anselm, is documented in Anselm's correspondence from the 1070s, when he was prior and master of the school at Bec.[44] In a letter of *c.*1073 to Albert, Anselm refers to their 'mutual love' and to 'the journey we made together from Bec to Rouen.'[45]

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[39] *OV*, IV. 80–1, 100–1.

[40] *Medieval Medicine: a Reader*, ed. F. Wallis (Toronto, 2010), pp. xxi–xxiii.

[41] On Master Simon the physician, see Brenner, *Leprosy and Charity in Medieval Rouen*, pp. 84–5.

[42] *Letters of Saint Anselm*, i. 132, 149–50.

[43] N. Ramsey, 'The cathedral archives and library', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsey and M. Sparks (Oxford, 1995), pp. 354–6.

In the same letter Anselm asked Albert to heal the illness of Maurice, the monk of Bec whom he requested to copy various medical texts in his letter of *c.*1070–3.[46] Maurice went to Christ Church, Canterbury for a period in 1073, and it is possible that Anselm sent him there specifically to receive Albert's attention, although a letter of Anselm to Lanfranc *c.*1073 suggests that Maurice travelled to Canterbury at Lanfranc's behest. This letter reveals the nature of Maurice's sickness, a headache, and asks Lanfranc to ensure that the sick monk is treated by Albert.[47] In further letters of *c.*1073 Anselm similarly beseeched Henry and Gundulf, monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, to facilitate Maurice's treatment by Albert.[48] Anselm subsequently (*c.*1073/4) wrote to Albert to thank him for his attentions to Maurice, confirming that the *medicus* did indeed treat the sick monk.[49] As discussed above, Anselm sought the benefits of Albert's expertise on a further occasion, *c.*1073–7, with respect to the severe headaches of young Lanfranc, nephew of Archbishop Lanfranc, when he was residing at Bec. By describing the young monk's symptoms in detail to the archbishop, Anselm hoped that these symptoms would be communicated to Albert, at that time at Canterbury, who would in turn offer his advice.[50] This letter is suggestive of the transmission of medical expertise by correspondence at this time. A detailed description of the characteristics of the illness was vital to facilitating the practice of medicine from a distance; when a physician was able to examine a patient in person, he still took a detailed case history, as well as examining the patient's blood and urine.

In the twelfth century, men designated *medicus* are occasionally mentioned in Norman charters, as well as in the Norman pipe rolls. A confirmation of the possessions of the abbey of St. Stephen, Caen, issued by Henry II between 1156 and 1161, mentions the gift to the abbey by William Goiz of land that Robert 'medicus' held from him at Éterville and Colomby-sur-Thaon (dép. Calvados).[51] The section of the Norman pipe roll for 1184 dealing with the Bessin lists the obligation of Rainald 'Gofelee' and Robert 'medicus' to return 67 *livres*, 10 *sous* to the Norman exchequer, and the fact that they owe 62 *livres*.[52] Given that both these instances relate to the area around Bayeux in Lower Normandy, there is a possibility that both Roberts were one and the same person, but it is more likely that they were two different individuals.

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[44] *Letters of Saint Anselm*, i. 127–130, 131–3, 139–42, 149–51. On Albert, see also Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins,* p. 13.

[45] *Letters of Saint Anselm*, i. 131–2.

[46] R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: a Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 171; *Letters of Saint Anselm*, i. 132. See pp. 49–50 above.

[47] *Letters of Saint Anselm*, i. 127.

[48] *Letters of Saint Anselm*, i. 128–9.

[49] *Letters of Saint Anselm*, i. 149.

[50] *Letters of Saint Anselm*, i. 139–40.

[51] *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie*, ed. L. Delisle and É. Berger (4 vols., Paris, 1909–27), i. 278; Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins,* p. 706.

Two other men designated Robert 'medicus' appear in thirteenth-century Norman sources. In 1230, Robert 'medicus' was among a group of men who swore an oath to the abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen, at Ouistreham, regarding the abbey's fish-market and shipwreck rights there.[53] In his June 1258 sale of a house to the abbey of Bonport, John Goscelin, burgess of Pont-de-l'Arche, mentioned the annual rent (ten *sous* of Tours, six capons) which Robert 'Medicus' paid him for what he held from him.[54] These citations reveal that certain men described as 'medicus' were active participants in the financial and landholding worlds of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Normandy. In conjunction with Rainald 'Gofelee', the Robert 'medicus' mentioned in the 1184 pipe roll returned a considerable sum of money to the exchequer, as well as owing a substantial debt. In the later middle ages, physicians were well known for charging high fees and accumulating wealth. It is possible that Robert 'medicus' had developed his financial means through medical practice, although his wealth could also have been inherited, or derived from other activities than the practice of medicine. The presence of a later Robert 'medicus' among the men who swore an oath regarding the rights of Holy Trinity abbey at Ouistreham in 1230 reveals that this man held a respected status in local society, as well as possibly being implicated in the Ouistreham fishing market.

It is indeed very likely that, on both sides of the Channel, individuals described as 'medicus' engaged in other activities, practical or devotional, either within lay society or as members of monastic communities. The fact that these people were designated 'medicus' in documents suggests that medical expertise was a distinctive attribute, that marked them out and accorded them a significant amount of respect. One distinguished *medicus* active in early thirteenth-century England made a lasting contribution to medical knowledge, as well as serving elite patrons. Gilbertus Anglicus (d.

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[52] *Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer of Normandy for the reign of Henry II, 1180 and 1184*, ed. V. Moss (2004), p. 96; *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, introduction, p. 343; Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins,* p. 706.

[53] *Charters and Custumals of the Abbey of Holy Trinity Caen. Part 2: the French Estates*, ed. J. Walmsley (Oxford, 1994), p. 115.

[54] *Cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint-Louis et Philippe-le-Hardi*, ed. L. Delisle (Caen, 1852; repr. Geneva, 1978), p. 119, no. 629.

*c.*1250) is best known for his *Compendium medicinae*, composed *c.*1240, a lengthy Latin treatise dealing with the body from head to toe. Since this text refers to Salernitan and Arabic writers, such as Constantine the African and Avicenna, it is generally held that Gilbertus was educated at the school at Salerno, and possibly also at Montpellier in southern France, the other leading centre for medical learning in this period.[55] Gilbertus would thus have transmitted his continental learning back to England. At the same time, the descriptor 'Anglicus', used in the earliest extant manuscript of the *Compendium* from 1271 (Bruges, Bibliothèque publique, MS. 469), reveals that Gilbert's work was known and read outside England. Indeed, his work was referred to by the Italian surgeon Theodoric of Lucca in *c.*1267, and by the French surgeon Guy de Chauliac in 1363.[56] The *Compendium* continued to be widely read in the later middle ages: a Middle English translation circulated in the fifteenth century.[57]

Gilbertus Anglicus appears to be synonymous with the high-status physician Gilbertus de Aquila who served Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury (1193–1205).[58] He may or may not have been a member of the Anglo-Norman de Aquila family based in Essex.[59] As well as attending the archbishop, he may also have been a physician to King John by 1207.[60] The distinguished positions held by Gilbertus signify that the professional category of the learned physician was well-established in England by the first part of the thirteenth century. Gilbertus's scholarly output no doubt reinforced his professional reputation, and in turn his status at court would have encouraged the circulation of his written works, both within England and on the continent.

For Normandy, further light on the presence of medical practitioners is shed by the *Register* of Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen from 1248 to 1276, which records his numerous visits to parish churches, monasteries, hospitals and *leprosaria* in the archdiocese of Rouen between 1248 and

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[55] C. H. Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England* (1967), pp. 72–3; *Healing and Society in Medieval England: a Middle English Translation of the Pharmaceutical Writings of Gilbertus Anglicus*, ed. F. M. Getz (Madison, Wis., 1991), pp. liii, lv; G. R. Keiser, 'Epilepsy: the falling evil', in *Popular and Practical Science of Medieval England*, ed. L. M. Matheson (East Lansing, 1994), pp. 219–44, at p. 227.

[56] Getz, *Healing and Society*, pp. liv–lv.

[57] See, e.g., San Marino, Huntington Library, MS. HM 19079 (early 15th-century Middle English translation) and Wellcome Library, MS. 537 (later 15th-century Middle English translation; edited in *Healing and Society*).

[58] Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England,* p. 72; Keiser, 'Epilepsy: the falling evil', p. 227.

[59] Talbot, *Medicine in Medieval England,* p. 72.

[60] Getz, *Healing and Society*, p. lv.

1269.[61] The archbishop's ceaseless schedule of visitations was sometimes interrupted by bouts of chronic rheumatism that rendered him unable to travel for weeks at a time. Appropriately, he had at least two physicians in his entourage, Master Maur, described as 'fisico', and Master Peter, labelled 'medico'.[62] The *Register* provides further evidence about the identities and activities of medical practitioners, and testifies to Eudes Rigaud's concern for there to be proper provision for the sick in monastic houses and hospitals, a solicitude that was perhaps increased by his own experiences of illness. At March 1267/8, the *Register* mentions a certain John Godebout, *medicus*, who was a monk of Saint-Wandrille, the distinguished Benedictine abbey on the river Seine west of Rouen. At the time John Godebout was residing at the dependent priory of Saint-Saëns, where he may have been attending the prior, who 'was sick' (*infirmabatur*).[63] At the abbey of La Trinité-du-Mont, Rouen, on 17 May 1262, the archbishop instructed that a physician should be found for the sick, clearly indicating that it was possible to procure the services of such practitioners for monastic communities.[64] Another visitation, to the Augustinian chapter of Saint-Mellon at Pontoise in May 1268, records that a *medicus*, Master Robert of *Attrabate* (Arras), was one of two canons in residence.[65]

Eudes Rigaud's *Register* also affords occasional glimpses into the medical practice of women, a subject which is otherwise difficult to investigate in Normandy and England between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. A handful of women in medieval northern Europe, such as Hildegard of Bingen and Laurette de Saint-Valéry, the wife of the crusader Aléaume de Fontaines (d. 1205) from the region of Picardy, are known to have possessed medical learning, derived from books and practical experience.[66] Many other women, however, undoubtedly engaged in medical practice, fulfilling roles such as midwifery, surgery and nursing. The *Register* mentions the presence of two village midwives when the nun Nicola gave birth inside the nunnery of Saint-Saëns (north-east of Rouen) in July 1259. The midwives are described as 'mulieres … obstetrices', confirming that they were female practitioners.[67] Five years later, in July 1264, there was a rumour in the village that the same Nicola, here described as the cantress, had undergone an abortion.[68] The fact that this rumour originated in the local lay community, rather than the nunnery, suggests that it was understood to be possible to procure an abortion within lay society. However, another entry in the *Register* implies that action could also be taken within a monastic community to end a pregnancy. On his visit to the Cistercian nunnery of Saint-Aubin de Gournay on 23 July 1256, the archbishop inflicted a punishment on Agnes de Pont 'because, according to rumour, she gave Eustacia [d'Etrépagny] herbs to drink, in order to kill the child conceived in her'.[69] Agnes could have procured the concoction ready-made from an apothecary; alternatively, she possessed the necessary medical knowledge to prepare the mixture of plant substances herself. By August the following year (1257), Eustacia had left the community when pregnant and had subsequently given birth, indicating that the herbal drink allegedly administered by Agnes de Pont did not induce an abortion.[70]

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[61] *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis: Journal des visites pastorales d'Eude Rigaud, archevêque de Rouen. MCCXLVIII–MCCLXIX*, ed. T. Bonnin (Rouen, 1852); *The Register of Eudes of Rouen*, trans. S. M. Brown and ed. J. F. O'Sullivan (New York, 1964).

[62] *Regestrum*, pp. 159, 439; *Register*, pp. 174–5, 499 (Master Maur mentioned at 30 May 1253; Master Peter mentioned at 18 August 1262); V. Turner, 'Monastic medicine in the visitation records of Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen (1248–75)' (unpublished University of Cambridge BA dissertation, 2009), p. 2; A. J. Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat: Eudes Rigaud and Religious Reform in Thirteenth-Century Normandy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006), pp. 43–4, 79, 80, 160–1.

[63] *Regestrum*, pp. 597–98; *Register*, p. 687.

[64] *Regestrum*, pp. 429–30; *Register*, p. 489; Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat,* p. 213, n. 126.

[65] *Regestrum*, p. 603; *Register*, pp. 694–5.

[66] F. E. Glaze, 'Medical writer: "behold the human creature"', in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and her World*, ed. B. Newman (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), pp. 125–48; S. B. Edgington, 'A female physician on the fourth crusade? Laurette de Saint-Valéry', in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. N. Housley (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 77–85. Laurette de Saint-Valéry's

Conclusion

There is much evidence for the transmission of medical culture in the Norman worlds between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, especially between England and Normandy. The rich material for Normandy, in particular, represented in sources such as the *Register* of Eudes Rigaud, reveals much about medical knowledge, practitioners and practices. The dissemination of medical culture constituted part of a much wider process of cultural cross-influence, in which scholarly texts, letters, artefacts (from commercial goods to relics) and people circulated widely between the

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medical expertise is known of only from a 15th-century source (see Edgington, 'A female physician', p. 79).

[67] *Regestrum*, p. 338; *Register*, p. 384.

[68] *Regestrum*, p. 491; *Register*, p. 560.

[69] '*dedit dicte Eustachie herbas bibere, ut interficeretur puer conceptus in dicta Eustachia, secundum quod dicitur per famam*' (*Regestrum*, p. 255); *Register*, p. 285; L. Hicks, 'Exclusion as exile: spiritual punishment and physical illness in Normandy *c.* 1050–1300', in *Exile in the Middle Ages: Selected Proceedings from the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 8–11 July 2002*, ed. L. Napran and E. van Houts (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 145–58, at p. 147.

[70] *Regestrum*, p. 283; *Register*, p. 319.

different areas of Norman influence. Surviving artefacts, from charters and codices to buildings and skeletal remains, are an especially vital source of information about these processes of cultural transmission, and more could be learnt about the transmission of medical culture by studying objects. While much can be discerned about the circulation of medical texts and the manner in which models of hospitals and *leprosaria* were influential on both sides of the Channel, other features of medicine, such as the development of the professional roles of the physician and the surgeon, and the possession of knowledge about practices such as bloodletting, apothecary and even abortion, testify to less tangible aspects of transmission and exchange. Indeed, we have very little information about certain aspects of medical culture, such as the diverse medical roles of women and the practice of medicine within the domestic household. Information and ideas about medicine circulated orally and from one generation to the next, meaning that people were the key vector for cultural transmission. While there were distinctive local differences in terms of medical knowledge and practice, it is evident that there was a shared medical culture in the Norman worlds, reflecting both broader cultural homogeneities and the fact that people were on the move, transmitting information about health and disease that was fundamentally important to all sectors of society.

3. Towards a critical edition of Petrus de Ebulo's *De Balneis Puteolanis*: new hypotheses

Teofilo De Angelis

Peter de Eboli is one of the leading poets in southern Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Yet very little is known about his life and what we know is rather controversial.[1] Indeed, 'we do not know the exact dates of his life, but it is certain that he had died by July 1220'.[2] According to a privilege issued by Emperor Frederick II in February 1221, Peter had received from Henry VI, *iure hereditario a molendinum de Albiscenda in Ebolo consistens*, with the church of Salerno subsequently inheriting the mill at his death.[3] Since Frederick II had already confirmed the possession of that mill to the Salernitan church in July 1220, it is likely that the Ebolian poet had already died by that time.

It is even more difficult to establish his date of birth since there are no documents to demonstrate when it was. Yet it is possible to put forward a hypothesis on the basis of an analysis of a miniature in the *Liber ad honorem Augusti*,[4] because it shows Emperor Henry VI, Chancellor Conrad of Querfurt and the poet as being of the same age. It is therefore probable thatwhen the work was commissioned in 1194/5 he may have been about thirty-five years of age; 'if this conjecture is accepted, the dates of his life may be approximately calculated as *c.*1160–*c.*1220'.[5] Another detail in the miniature is worthy of notice: the poet is portrayed with a tonsured head, thereby proving that he held a clerical position. He was certainly from Eboli, as the poet himself stated many times in his works. In the colophon of *Liber*

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[1] For his biography, see C. M. Kauffmann, *The Baths of Pozzuoli: a Study on the Medieval Illuminations of Peter Eboli's Poem* (Oxford, 1959); F. Delle Donne, 'Pietro da Eboli', in *Federico II. Enciclopedia Fridericiana* (3 vols., Rome, 2005–8), ii. 511–14; S. Maddalo, *Il De balneis Puteolanis di Pietro da Eboli. Realtà e simbolo nella tradizione figurativa* (Rome, 2003).

[2] Kauffmann, *The Baths*, p. 9.

[3] *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, ed. J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles (6 vols., Paris, 1852–61) i. pt. 2, pp. 796–8.

[4] Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis. Eine Bilderchronik der Stauferzeit aus der Burgerbibliothek Bern*, ed. T. Kölzer, G. Becht-Jördens and others (Sigmaringen, 1994).

[5] Kauffmann, *The Baths*, p. 9.

ad honorem Augusti we read *magister Petrus de Ebulo, servus imperatoris et fidelis*, while in his *De balneis puteolanis* he calls himself *Ebolei vates* in the dedication to the emperor.[6] And in the final epigram the author states that he had composed three works *ad Caesaris laudem*: the *primus libellus* is the *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, dedicated to Emperor Henry VI;[7] the *secundus libellus*, which is now lost,[8] might have been dedicated to the *mira Friderici gesta* to support the Crusade in the Holy Land;[9] the third is the *De balneis*.[10] It is evident that the poet was a strong supporter of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, and particularly of Henry VI: the *Liber ad honorem Augusti* was dedicated to him and he was also its protagonist. The *De balneis*, however, is dedicated neither to Henry VI nor to his son Frederick II. The debate about the identity of the *Sol mundi* (line one) and *Cesar* (line eleven), which are important to establish the date of the composition of the poem, remains unresolved.[11]

According to some scholars the poem was dedicated to Frederick II, with the expression *nati tui* in the last line of the final epigram, being a reference to his son Henry VII, born in 1211.[12] This date could be the *terminus post quem* of the poem, dating it to between 1211 and the poet's death in 1220. On the contrary, if the work had been written for Henry VI, the expression *nati tui* could refer to Frederick II. In Silvia Maddalo's opinion the work should be dated between Henry's coronation in 1194 and his death in 1197.[13] In other words, the periods of composition of the two poems overlap.

Information about the thermal mineral water in an area between Naples, Pozzuoli, and Baia was communicated through guidebooks and inscriptions and eventually passed down to the middle ages, when it became the tradition behind Peter's *De balneis*, which is an essay in verse celebrating the benefits of this area and its water. It is a document of rare historical importance because it is a witness of the salient physical properties of individual baths and their settings. According to Jean Marie D'Amato's study, thirty-nine epigrams can be found in the poem.[14]

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[6] References to the *De balneis puteolanis* are subsequently abbreviated as *DbP*. The critical edition is J. M. D'Amato, *A Critical Edition of Peter of Eboli's De balneis Terre Laboris*: *the Phlegraean Fields* (2 vols., New York, 2014).

[7] Cf. *DbP*, v.3: *Primus habet patrios civili marte triumphos*.

[8] Cf. *DbP*, v.4: *Mira Friderici gesta secundus habet.*

[9] Maddalo, *Il De balneis Puteolanis di Pietro da Eboli,* p. 28.

[10] Cf. *DbP*, vv.5–6: *Tam loca, quam vires, quam nomina pene sepulta, / tercius eboicis iste reformat aquis*.

[11] Maddalo, *Il De balneis Puteolanis di Pietro da Eboli,* pp. 24–5.

[12] *DbP*, line 12: *Ut possit nati scribere facta tui*.

[13] Maddalo, *Il De balneis Puteolanis di Pietro da Eboli,* p. 27.

[14] *Prohemium, Sudatarium, Sulfatara, Bulla, Astrunis, Iuncara, Balneolum, Foris criptae, De*

The *De balneis*, unlike *Liber ad honorem Augusti*,[15] was very successful in medieval times as testified by the great number of manuscripts: twenty-eight witnesses, plus a version in Neapolitan dialect,[16] French translations[17] and a dozen early printed editions.[18] Almost all manuscripts originated in southern Italy, and in particular in Campania during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The table below (Table 3.1) shows the twenty-eight witnesses.[19] The sixth column shows how the manuscript versions of the poem can be divided into two groups, those with and those without miniatures.[20] The large amount of iconography increases its aesthetic value and adds comments to the many *particolae*, each one celebrating a particular bath.[21] They have contributed to the increasing renown of *De balneis*, receiving attention from art history scholars.

Quite often, detailed textual analysis has not been undertaken; in fact the first edition with a critical study of the poem was published in February 2014 by Edwin Mellen Press, a book which reproduced the PhD thesis presented at Johns Hopkins University in 1975, by D'Amato, who died in 2010.[22]

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petra, Calatura, Subvenit homini, De Sancta Anastasia, Orthodonico, Cantarellus, Fontana, De prato, Tripergula, De scrufa, De Sancta Lucia, De Sancta Cruce, Arcus, Raynerius, De ferris, Succellarium, Silviana, Culma, De balneo trituli , De balneo Sudatorii trituli, Arculus De balneo palumbare, Pugillus, De balneo Sancti Georgici, De oleo petroleo, Sol et luna, Fons episcopi, Braccula, Gimborosus, Spelunca, Verba auctoris.

[15] There is only one witness of this book: *Codex* 120 II of the Bern, Burgerbibliothek..

[16] The witnesses of the dialect version are: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *codex* Rossiano 379; Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples, *codex* XIII. C.37; Biblioteca della Società napoletna di Storia Patria of Naples, *codex* 20.C.5. For critical editions, see: E. Pèrcopo, 'I bagni di Pozzuoli, Poemetto Napolitano del Secolo XIV', *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, xi (1886), 597–750; M. Pelaez, 'Un nuovo testo dei bagni di Pozzuoli in Volgare Napoletano', *Studi Romanzi*, xix (1928), 47–134; and also A. Altamura, *Testi napoletani dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Naples, 1949).

[17] For this translation and edition, see M. Hanly, 'An edition of Richart Eude's French translation of Pietro da Eboli's *De balneis Puteolanis*', *Traditio*, li (1996), 232–54.

[18] The editions were printed between 1457 and 1607 (see E. Pontieri, 'Baia nel Medioevo', in *Atti dei convegni lincei 33: I Campi Flegrei nell'archeologia e nella storia*, (1977), pp. 377–410; M. Gianni and R. Orioli, *La cultura medica*, in *Studi su Pietro da Eboli* (Rome, 1978), pp. 89–117; Maddalo, *Il De balneis Puteolanis di Pietro da Eboli*, p. 33).

[19] J. M. D'Amato, 'Prolegomena to a critical edition of the illustrated medieval poem "De balneis Terre Laboris" by Peter of Eboli (Petrus de Ebulo)' (unpublished Johns Hopkins University PhD thesis, 1975), pp. xiii–xv.

[20] Kauffmann, *The Baths*, pp. 21–2; L. Petrucci, 'Per una nuova edizione dei Bagni di Pozzuoli', *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, xxi (1973), 215–60, at pp. 233–5.

[21] F. Cardini, *Dal Medioevo alla medievistica* (Genoa, 1989), p. 170.

[22] D'Amato, '*Prolegomena*'.

Table 3.1. Manuscript witnesses of *DbP.* 'X' in the right-hand columns indicate which scholars have studied the ms.

n°	**MS.**	**When**	**Where**	**Siglum**	**Illustrated**	**Kaufmann (1959)**	**Petrucci (1973)**	**Maddalo (2003)**
1	Rome, Bibl. Ang. 1474	Last half 13th c./ early 14th c.	southern Italian	A1	YES	X	X	X
2	Rome, BAV, Barb. Lat. 2111	Last half 14th c.	?	A2	NO	X	X	
3	Rome, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 2110	1350–75	?	B	YES	X	X	X
4	Modena, Bibl. Estense, Lat. 175	1290–1	southern Italian	C	NO	X	X	
5	Rome, BAV, Ross. 379	Mid 14th c.	southern Italian	D	YES	X	X	X
6	Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1528	1350–75	southern Italian (?)	E	NO	X	X	
7	New York, ML, Glazier 74	*c.*1400	southern Italian	F	YES	X	X	X
8	Roma, BAV, Barb. Lat. 311	Early 15th c.	southern Italian	G	YES	X	X	X
9	San Marino, California, H.E. H.L., HM 1342	15th c.	England	H	NO	X	X	
10	Edinburgh, Univ. Lib., 176	Mid 15th c.	southern Italian (?)	I	YES	X	X	
11	Paris, Bibl. Nat., France 1313	End 14th c.	southern Italian	J	YES	X	X	
12	Geneva, Bibl. Bodmeriana	Third quarter 14th c.	southern Italian	K	YES	X	X	X
13	Parma, Bibl. Palatina, F. Palatino 236	Early 14th c.	southern Italian	L	YES			
14	Venice, Bibl. Marciana, Lat. F 497	Mid 14th c.	?	M	NO			
15	Naples, Bibl. Naz. XIII. C. 37.	Mid 14th c.	southern Italian	N	YES?	X	X	
16	Naples, Bibl. Naz., XIV. D. 18.	Last half 14th c.	southern Italian	O	NO	X	X	
17	Naples, Soc. Nap. St. Patria, XX. C. 5.	Early 16th c.	southern Italian	P	YES			
18	Venice, Bibl. Marc., Cl. It. XI, 124	Late 15th c. / early 16th c.	Venice	Q	NO	X	X	
19	Marburg, Univesitätsbibl. 9b	Late 14th c.	Germany	R	NO	X	X	

n°	**MS.**	**When**	**Where**	**Siglum**	**Illustrated**	**Kaufmann (1959)**	**Petrucci (1973)**	**Maddalo (2003)**
20	Rome, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3436	15th c.	?	U	NO	X		
21	Naples, Bibl. Naz., San Martino 63	15th c.	?	S1	NO			
22	Naples, Bibl. Naz., XIV. D. 7.	15th c.	?	S2	NO			
23	Valencia, Bibl. Univers., MS 860	1455/8	southern Italian	V	YES	X	X	
24	Pavia, Bibl. Univers., Aldini 488	Third quarter 15th c.	central Italian	X1	NO	X	X	
25	Paris, Bibl. Nat., NAL 211	Third quarter 15th c.	central Italian	X2	NO			
26	Rome, BAV, Urb. Lat. 353	Late 15th c.	Urbino	Y	NO		X	
27	Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8161	14th c.	southern Italian	Z1	YES		X	
28	Milan, Bibl. Ambros., I. 6 INF.	1471	southern Italian	Z2	YES	X	X	

Kauffman was one of the first to study the poem and its manuscript tradition. In his 1959 study *The Baths of Pozzuoli* he proposed a *stemma codicum*[23] only by contrasting the miniatures.[24] He studied only twenty witnesses out of the twenty-eight still existing.[25] Even so he wrote that 'the popularity of the poem, as shown by number of extant manuscripts, is truly astonishing'.[26] As clearly shown in the diagram below (see Figure 3.1), Kauffman represented the *stemma* as having four main branches: one for each *Codex Angelico* (A1), *Rossiano* (D), *Bodmeriano* (K), and, for the fourth group, two witnesses: Paris (J) and the *codex Mettler* which is now a manuscript of the Morgan Library in New York, with the signature Glazier 74 (F).

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[23] Kauffmann, *The Baths*, p. 36.

[24] Kauffmann, *The Baths*, p. 38: 'The genealogy of the manuscripts, derived from a comparison of their illuminations, can be supported by an analysis of the textual variations'.

[25] See the chart at pp. 68–9.

[26] Kauffmann, *The Baths*, p. 23. See also F. K. Yegül, 'The thermo-mineral complex at Baiae and De Balneis Puteolanis', *The Art Bulletin*, lxxviii (1996), 137–61, at pp. 138–9: 'as convincingly argued by C. M. Kauffmann, the immediate sources for the poem and its strikingly detailed and explicit illustrations appear to have been contemporary treaties and popular manuals on curative bathing, as well as inscriptions describing the baths. More remarkable is the case that can be made for their ultimate sources: these inscriptions and some of the illuminations may have been modelled after surviving classical prototypes, such as wall paintings and stucco representations from the Roman baths of Baiae that had survived into the Middle Ages'.

In 1973 Petrucci published a study which, though an analysis conducted only on a philological basis, did not take into account the iconography, but did contrast the number and sequence of the epigrams in all the manuscripts, either with or without miniatures.[27] He stated that five baths – ‘Orthodonico’, ‘De Sancta Lucia’, ‘De Scrufa’ and ‘De Sancta Cruce’ – can be found in some manuscripts of the early 1300s and are mentioned in the final part even after the closing epigram; in later manuscripts (codices codices N and D in Table 3.1) the same baths occupy a central position in the poem. Through Petrucci's study it is also possible to find the exact location of the baths. Except for one they are all located in the area of Tripergole village, completely destroyed by the well-known 1538 volcanic eruption, in an area between Lago d’Averno and Lago Lucrino, Toiano and Arco Felice: a region in which the Monte Nuovo Vulcano is now situated. According to Petrucci the baths were included in the poem because in 1298, Charles II opened a hospital in Tripergole with 120 beds providing general hospital services for the kingdom. Moreover, he pointed out that these two witnesses also have a Neapolitan translation besides the Latin and that they are the only proof of the existence of the thirty-five baths giving their exact topographic location. In his opinion all this explains the increasing interest in this poem and the topographic revising of the Latin text after the subsequent interpolations.[28]

D’Amato’s position is different but not entirely clear. She hypothesized that there were two families originating from the archetype, perhaps with illustrations: ‘the figural illustrations which in every likelihood accompanied the original text of the poem’:[29]

1. ALPHA with illustrated witnesses deriving from an illustrated hyparchetype;
2. BETA with unillustrated witnesses deriving from an unillustrated hyparchetype, with various other works, often of a scientific nature.[30]

Such division does not solve the problem of the quantity and different sequences of the epigrams in the various witnesses.

The number of epigrams in the poem is basically the point at issue. They range from 1+30+1 (an opening epigram, thirty *particulae* to the baths, and a closing epigram) to 1+35+1 or 1+37+1. Even when D’Amato agrees with

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[27] Petrucci, ‘Per una nuova edizione’, p. 233.

[28] Petrucci, ‘Per una nuova edizione’, p. 257.

[29] D’Amato, ‘*Prolegomena*’, p. 231.

[30] D’Amato, ‘*Prolegomena*’, p. 44.

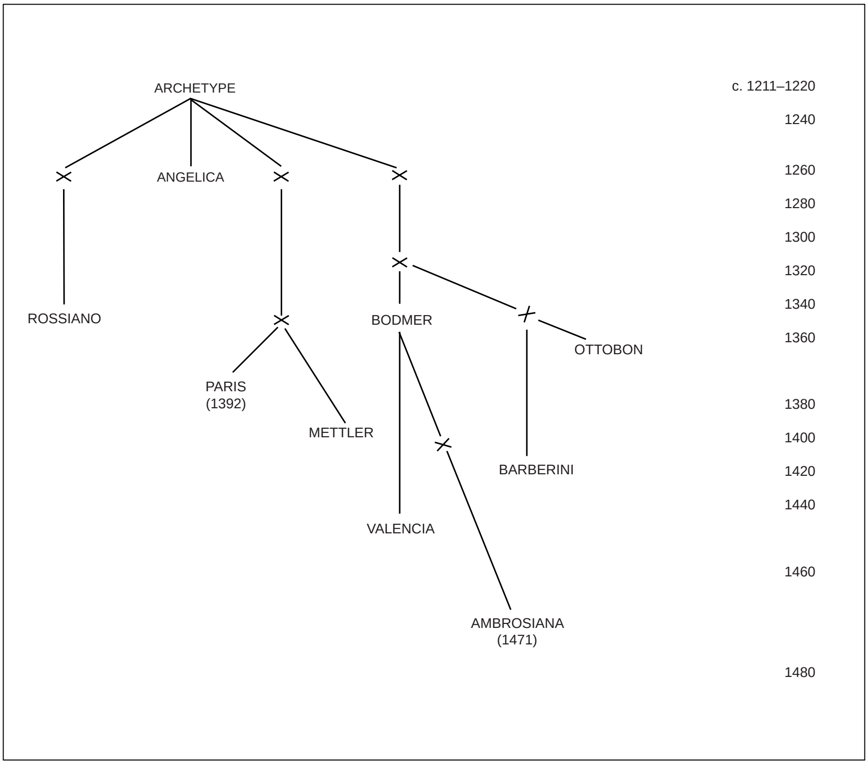
ARCHETYPE
c. 1211–1220
1240
ANGELICA
1260
1280
1300
1320
1340
ROSSIANO
BODMER
1360
OTTOBON
PARIS
(1392)
1380
METTLER
1400
BARBERINI
1420
1440
VALENCIA
1460
AMBROSIANA
(1471)
1480

Figure 3.1 The baths of Pozzuoli. Kauffmann's *Stemma Codicum*.

Petrucci's general hypothesis that these epigrams are interpolations,[31] she then states that the witnesses N and D are both later conflations which may, however, incorporate elements from the autograph which survived in a separate tradition, now lost.[32] The two are contradictory since while sharing Petrucci's thesis at the same time she seems to reject it. Her hypothesis, or part of it, is that the witnesses N and D 'preserve the most comprehensive, coherently ordered version of *De balneis*, so it is of foremost importance to examine the possibility that they are more faithful witnesses to the original than our other extant manuscripts';[33] nevertheless they do not have a special position in the *stemma codicum* and in fact the witness D derives from L, which is a southern Italian manuscript of the fourteenth century. D'Amato's edition proposes forty *particulae* 1+38+1 and she gives a double version of the epigram 'Sudatorium Trituli'.

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[31] D'Amato, '*Prolegomena*', p. 39.

[32] D'Amato, '*Prolegomena*', p. 39.

[33] D'Amato, '*Prolegomena*', p. 122.

One of the most recent studies on the poem is Maddalo's *De Balneis Puteolanis di Pietro da Eboli*. Through a textual and iconographic analysis of some witnesses,[34] she tries to reorganize the *stemma* of the poem:[35]

1. by identifying the witnesses belonging to the Angelico branch;
2. by highlighting the relationship and members of other families.[36]

Unlike Kauffman, Maddalo identifies only three families that are all of Neapolitan origin,[37] the first one linked to the *Codex Angelico*, the second to the *Bodmeriano*, and the third to only one manuscript in the *Codex Rossiano*.

In order to prove that the baths were a later addition, it is useful to analyse the text on the baths metrically and stylistically, as well as in terms of content. Some elements in the text might confirm the five *balnea* are spurious and that they are sometimes bad imitations of other epigrams in *De balneis*. In particular, the 'Orthodonico bath' is a difficult place to reach, because it is underground, and it is hard to know whether the author's description is authentic. The following shows details that appear in other authentic epigrams.

Orthodonico	Other baths
v. 8 Hanc non habere **potes absque labore** gravi	v. 10 Nequaquam **poterit absque labore** rapi (Calatura)
v. 9 **Nam via sub terris plena timoris habet.**	v. 4 **Nam via sub terris plena timore** latet (De balneo S. Giorgici)

Moreover line nine of 'Orthodonico' is a pentameter, as is line four in *De balneo Sancti Georgici*, but here this line is faulty because it is not a hexameter, as it should have been. Moreover, the formulation of verse nine is syntactically quite wrong in 'Orthodonico': the verb *habet* should have as the object the word *via*, but *via* is nominative case, not accusative. Also, lines eight to nine can be read in a different epigram: in *De balneo Sudatorium trituli* lines three to four are just the same but in reverse order and so with no switch from pentameter to hexameter. Line eleven echoes in construction and theme line nine in Braccula; moreover in line eleven the word *omnibus* is wrong metrically.

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[34] Maddalo, *Il De balneis Puteolanis di Pietro da Eboli,* p. 35: 'non si percorrerà in questa sede l'intera tradizione manoscritta del De balneis, poiché esula dai propositi che muovono questo lavoro'.

[35] Maddalo, '*Prolegomena*', p. 41: 'sarà utile … tentare innanzitutto dio proporre un quadro, se pure non definitivo, dei vari rami dello stemma e della loro composizione'.

[36] Maddalo, *Il De balneis Puteolanis di Pietro da Eboli,* p. 41.

[37] Maddalo, *Il De balneis Puteolanis di Pietro da Eboli,* pp. 41, 187.

Orthodonico	**De balneo Sudatorii trituli**
8. Hanc **non** habere **potes absque labore gravi** 9. Nam **via sub terris plena timoris** habet	3. hec **via sub terris plena timore** latet 4. hic **non** intrare **potes absque labore gravi**
Orthodonico	**Braccula**
11. Vos igitur, omnibus ad quos est ethica febris	v. 9 Vos igitur, quibus est odiosa planetica febris

The etymology of the name 'De scrufa' is given in four lines that are quite unusual since Peter de Eboli usually compresses a concept into one line or at least into a couplet. In 'Palumbare' bath, the etymology of the name is in the first two lines of the epigram.[38] The 'Scrufa' bath, as always taken from 'Palumbare', is also referred to as *a salsis caveas* ('do not eat salted foods'). Line seven is the same as line eleven of *Iuncara* and line twelve is exactly the same as the final line of the epigram *Sol et luna*. It is also a bad imitation of it, because the gender of *hedificandus* in 'De scrufa' is wrong: the gender must be neuter because it agrees with *balneum or lavacrum*.

De scrufa	**Other baths**
v. 7 **Talibus usus aquis** de scabie **nulla timebit**	v. 11 **Talibus usus aquis** discrimina **nulla timebit** (Iuncara)
v. 12 Utilis est multis hedificandus erit	v. 12 Utilis a multis hedificandus erit (Sol et Luna)

Important clues confirming this hypothesis can be found in the bath 'De Santa Cruce', some of them taken from *Arcus*:

1. the repetition of the words (*splene tumente iecur*), never occurs in the text again.
2. the repetition of *teste michi*.

Moreover, we also notice the simplification of *litotes tempore non longo* to *tempore in breui*, but at the same time the repetition of *teste michi*. It should be noted that in the witnesses N and D the variant *populo* instead of *Christo* (the same as in *Iuncara*) can be found. Moreover, line five does not have one monosyllable.

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[38] *Cripta Palumbare fuerit vel grata palumbis,/vel quia quod lumbis fertur obesse parum.*

De Santa Cruce	**Arcus**
5. Consumit eam **splene tumente iecur** 11. **Tempore in breui** aque virtute fluendi 12. **Teste michi** Christo sanus et huic rediit	8. Aggrauat atque dolent **splene tumente iecur** 12. **Tempore non longo** restituisse cutim 10. **Teste michi** populo que scio certa loquor

In the 'De Sancta Lucia' bath, the three final lines are from other epigrams and line eleven is a pentameter, as is line twelve in *Arcus*, but there this line is wrong because it is not a hexameter, as it should have been. Line twelve is also a repetition of line ten from ‘Tripergula’ bath, changing the singular *tali aqua* into the plural *talibus aquis*.

De Sancta Lucia	**Arcus**
10. Et **vidi** quendam de lumine esse privatum 11. **Tempore non longo restituisse** visum	11. **Vidi** consumptum tantum cum pelle relictum 12. **Tempore non longo restituisse** cutim
De Sancta Lucia	**Tripergula**
v. 12 Consulimus talibus sepe fruantur aquis	v. 12 Consulimus talibus sepe fruantur aquis

As for ‘Succellarium’ bath, the final line is exactly like the previously mentioned ‘Sudatorium Trituli’ as set out below:

Succellarium (XXIV)	***Sudatarium Trituli*** (XXVIII)
v. 16 et totum corpus exilarando iuvat	v. 14 et totum corpus exilarando iuvat

The description of this bath is made up of sixteen lines rather than twelve.

All this can prove how the spurious baths derive from the authentic ones by considering the phrases they have in common, because the poet never repeats an expression previously used. The texts relating to some baths can also be shown to be spurious because they are metrically incorrect. This would not have been possible in the original verses since Peter de Ebulo is surely *magister versificator*. An example of this phenomenon is demonstrated in the table below, which is an examination of the text concerning the 'De Sancta Lucia' bath.

DE BALNEO QUOD DE SANCTA LUCIA VOCATUR	
Non multum hoc lavacro perutuntur Parthenopenses,	some wrong prosodies
Nam locus est ipse habitacio semper egrorum,	(rhythmic hexameter?)
Vel quia non sapiunt virtutes lavacri lucis.	(rhythmic hexameter?)
Nec necat ab oculis nebulas et prosit ad aures.	some wrong prosodies
Cataractam tollit, si non sit inveterate.	(rhythmic hexameter?)
Ad sonitum aurium magnam medelam prestat.	(rhythmic hexameter?)
Emigraneis prodest qui tempore longo laborant.	one wrong prosody
Fonte relicta nichil aqua confert utilitatis;	pentameter; some wrong prosodies
Semper renovetur lympha subente nova,	hiatus.
et vidi quidam de lumine esse privatum,	*quidam* should be *quidem*?
tempore non longo restituisse visum.	pentameter
Consulimus talibus sepe fruantur aquis.	one wrong prosody

Almost all the lines listed here are hexameters and contain many mistakes. It is evident that Peter did not write them even though D'Amato quoted them in her edition. It is also evident that a new critical edition of *De balneis* is essential given its importance to further study of the Norman-Swabian world.

The works of this poet are an excellent example of the cultural transmission that overcame initial signs of a lack of interest. The *Liber ad honorem Augusti* and the *De balneis* are *bildercodices*: they are distinguished by a precious and rare beauty which illuminates the texts.[39] Both works were written by Peter for Emperor Henry VI some years before his death.[40] They probably did not have an instant success due to political changes, such as the death of the Swabian ruler in September 1197; the death of his wife Constance, queen of Sicily; and the departure to Germany of the Chancellor Conrad of Querfurt). Following these events Peter was politically isolated and had lost points of reference as the court of Palermo dissolved. In fact the *Liber ad honorem Augusti* was forgotten and was never copied: it is a *codex unicus* today.[41] The autograph of *De balneis* remained in the drawer of Peter's heirs for at least half a century. It was only after Swabian power had been eliminated in Southern Italy that the text began to find an audience, even though none of the many manuscripts in which it is included attributed it to Peter. The *De balneis* found fortune only when the Angevins arrived in Italy (1268) due to their interest in the Tripergula area.[42]

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[39] This is certainly true for the *Liber ad honorem Augusti*; it is probably true for the *De balneis.*

[40] For the argument that the dedication was to Emperor Henry VI rather than Frederick II, see this author's forthcoming publication for the Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Mediolatini d'Italia. Contrast B. Grévin, 'Autour des *Bains de Pouzzoles* de Pierre d'Eboli (*circa* 1212?). Une note de travail', in *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, cxxv (2013) who accepts a dedication to Frederick II.

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[41] Bern, Burgerbibliothek, *Codex* 120 II..

[42] This area was being built up by the Angevins for the promotion of the baths and the opening of sites at Tripergola.

4. A Latin school in the Norman principality of Antioch?[*]

Edoardo D'Angelo

The Norman principality of Antioch

When the crusaders left western Europe for Jerusalem in 1096, among the numerous peoples involved in the expedition were individuals from Lorraine, Provence, Blois, Vermandois and Normandy. There were also Norman troops from Italy, led by Bohemond of Hauteville. When, in the summer 1098, the crusaders captured the important city of Antioch, Bohemond kept the town for himself and he, and the main part of his troops, remained in Antioch, while the other crusaders left for Jerusalem. At this moment the (Italian/Norman) principality of Antioch was born.[1] The first Latin patriarch appointed was Bernard of Valence.

This first crusader state was not to have a tranquil history. By 1104 it had many political problems and enemies: the Byzantines, the Turks, the Provençal county of Tripoli, so Bohemond departed for Europe, specifically for Italy and France, to ask for help in the form of money and men. At Antioch Bohemond's cousin Tancred was left as regent (1105–12). Bohemond himself never returned to Antioch. From Europe, with the money and the men he had raised in France, Bohemond went directly to Apulia to fight the war. His true priority was not against the Turks but against the Greeks, following on from the dreams of his father Robert Guiscard, who had aspired to become emperor of Constantinople. But Bohemond was defeated by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus and obliged to agree to a peace unfavourable to the Italian Normans and to himself, the treaty of Devol of 1108. As a result, he was obliged to accept to bequeath the principality of Antioch to the emperor upon his death.

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[*] This chapter revisits the author's previous work in *Radulphus Cadomensis, Tancredus*, ed. E. D'Angelo (Turnhout, 2011), pp. lxxxii–xciv.

[1] R. Hiestand, 'Boemondo I e la prima Crociata', in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le Crociate* (Centro Studi Normanno-Svevi, Bari, 2002), pp. 65–94; L. Russo, 'Oblio e memoria di Boemondo d'Altavilla nella storiografia normanna', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, cvi (2004), 137–65; L. Russo, 'Il viaggio di Boemondo d'Altavilla in Francia (1106): un riesame', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, clxiii (2005), 3–42.

What was the 'culture' in the principality of Antioch?

There are many studies of the ethnic and social structures of the principality of Antioch or, to be more precise, of the crusader or Latin settlement.[2] Can one speak of a Norman settlement in Antioch? We can say that there was a predominance of Normans from Normandy and from Southern Italy, but there were other Frenchmen in Antioch too. Moreover, there were surely other Italians, such as merchants from Genoa and Pisa.[3] We know relatively little about Antiochian society in the first half of the twelfth century. Direct sources are very rare, both documentary and literary, and one needs to make a complex and difficult indirect reconstruction of the situation.[4]

The first source, the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, was written early in the crusade before 1102, probably in Bohemond's entourage.[5] This text has had a great influence on the literature concerning the first crusade. The second source was written between 1112 and 1130 after Tancred's rule in Antioch and his death, the *Tancredus* of Ralph of Caen.[6] The two are very different in purpose, ideology and style. The *Gesta Francorum* is a war diary, written by an eyewitness in very simple Latin just after the events it describes, and was subsequently rewritten.[7] Ralph of Caen's *Tancredus* is, on the contrary, the work of a refined intellectual, writing a biography of a Norman chief. He can evidently be seen as the official intellectual of the principality under Bohemond and Tancred.

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[2] E. Rey, 'Résumé chronologique de l'histoire des princes d'Antioche', *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, iv (1896), 321–76; B. Figliuolo, 'Ancora sui Normanni d'Italia alla prima crociata', *Archivio Storico delle Province Napolitane*, civ (1986), 1–16; G. A. Loud, 'Norman Italy and the Holy Land', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 49–62; A. V. Murray, 'How Norman was the principality of Antioch? Prolegomena to the study of the origins of the nobility of a crusader state', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 349–59; T. S. Asbridge, 'The crusader community at Antioch: the impact of interaction with Byzantium and Islam', *TRHS*, 5th. ser., ix (1999), 305–25; A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a Dynastic History 1099–1125* (Oxford, 2000); T. S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (Woodbridge, 2000); A. V. Murray, 'Norman settlement in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1131', in *Archivio Normanno-Svevo*, i (2008), 61–85.

[3] F. Giunta, *Terra senza crociati* (Palermo, 1973), pp. 11–3; J. Hermans, 'The Byzantine view of the Normans: another Norman myth?', *ANS*, ii (1980), 78–92, 176–84, at pp. 177–79; V. Epp, 'Die Entstehung eines Nationalbewusstsein in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten', *Deutsches Archiv*, xlv (1989), 596–604, at p. 599; J. France, 'The Normans and crusading', in *The Normans and their Adversaries at War: Essays in Memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. R. P. Abels and B. S. Bachrach (Woodbridge , 2001), pp. 87–101, at pp. 90–3.

[4] See, C. Morris, 'Policy and visions: the case of the Holy Lance at Antioch?', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 33–45.

[5] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (1962); *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade*, ed. L. Bréhier (Paris, 1924); *Anonimo. Le gesta dei Franchi e degli altri pellegrini gerosolimitani*, ed. L. Russo (Alessandria, 2003).

[6] *Radulphus Cadomensis, Tancredus*, ed. D'Angelo.

[7] See J. Flori, 'De l'Anonyme normand à Tudebode et aux Gesta Francorum. L'impact

Ralph of Caen studies

We know that Ralph of Caen studied in Normandy until 1106 in the school of the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen under the master Arnulf of Chocques. The school of Saint-Etienne of Caen, the famous Abbaye aux Hommes founded by William the Conqueror, was one of the most important schools in the duchy of Normandy in the last part of the eleventh century.

Orderic Vitalis in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* tells us about cultural development in Normandy (and in England).[8] After Dudo of Saint-Quentin's time, three Italian masters are known to have taught in Normandy: William of Volpiano, Suppo, and Lanfranc of Pavia. In the duchy there were many other important monastic schools, besides Saint-Etienne de Caen: Notre-Dame-du-Bec, Mont-Saint-Michel, Jumièges, Fécamp and the cathedral schools of Bayeux, Avranches and Rouen.[9] The schools of the modern département of Calvados, Caen and Bayeux were involved in the education of important intellectuals, such as Roscelin of Compiègne, who was at Bayeux in 1092, and Serlo of Bayeux (d. *c.*1122). At the end of the eleventh century Caen provided important opportunities for education and its schools were frequented by secular men. The main religious centres were the Abbaye-aux-Dames – founded by Duke William and his wife Mathilda dedicated to the Holy Trinity – and the Abbaye-aux-Hommes – founded in *c.*1063 by William the Conqueror and dedicated to St. Stephen – of which Lanfranc of Pavia became the first abbot, moving there from Le Bec-Hellouin.

William the Conqueror entrusted the education of his daughter Cecilia (b. before 1066, d. in 1127 as abbess of La Trinité, Caen) to Arnoul of Chocques, who must have taught both at the Abbaye-aux-Hommes and at the Abbaye-aux-Dames. Arnoul had been a student first of Lanfranc of Pavia and then of William 'Bona Anima'. Among Arnoul of Chocques's students were Theobald of Etampes, *doctor Cadumensis*, who may have

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de la propagande de Bohémond sur la critique textuelle des sources de la première croisade', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, cii (2007), 717–46.

[8] *OV*, II, 248–53.

[9] R. Foreville, 'L'école du Bec et le Studium de Canterbury au XIe et XIIe siècle', *Bulletin Philologique et Historique* (1957), 357–74; C. W. Hollister, 'Anglo-Norman political culture and the twelfth-century renaissance', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. Proceedings of the Borchard conference on Anglo-Norman History*, ed. C. W. Hollister (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 1–16.

been involved in the development of schools at Oxford,[10] and, as we have already noted, Ralph of Caen. In consequence, networks were created that linked the school at Caen with Christ Church, Canterbury, Oxford, Rouen (through William 'Bona Anima', and Jerusalem (through Arnoul de Chocques).[11]

The school of Saint-Etienne of Caen

The school of the Abbaye-aux-Hommes was an 'external' school, that is one with external, lay, students (not only monks or clerks). The school was run by a group of teachers, without a precise curriculum but with a general orientation in the direction of theological studies. The most important teachers in Saint-Etienne of Caen at the end of the eleventh century were: Lanfranc of Pavia (1063–70), William 'Bona Anima' (1063–70), Gerard *scholasticus* (*c.*1084), Theobald of Etampes (before 1093), Arnoul of Chocques (until 1096), and Alfred *scholasticus* (between 1092 and 1101). Some of these teachers, such as Theobald of Etampes, opposed aspects of the Gregorian reform, for example regarding the subject of Nicolaism and the ordination of the children of priests. David Spear has written of an 'antigregorian' 'hotbed of carnality' at the school of Caen.[12] There was also disruption at Caen due to the weak government of the duchy in the time of Duke Robert Curthose, William the Conqueror's son. The history of the school of Caen ends shortly afterwards, in the 1120s or the 1130s.

The cultural position in the Holy Land

Writing at the end of the twelfth century, William of Tyre was severely critical of the European intellectuals of the Holy Land.[13] Ralph of Caen arrived in Outremer in 1108 when he was twenty-eight years old. He was at the height of his personal and psychological maturity. The Latin culture of Outremer has been undervalued and little studied. Indeed, in the Holy Land in the twelfth century one can find an intellectual class made up of 'occasional' figures, always only 'passing' through those regions before returning to Europe. Susan Edgington has recently commented that 'the use of different vernaculars … suggests the fragmentation of intellectual life in Antioch'.[14]

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[10] For Theobald of Étampes, see R. Foreville, 'L'École de Caen au XIe siècle et les origines normandes de l'université d'Oxford', in *Études mediévales offertes à M. le doyen Augustin Fliche*, ed. A. DuPont (Paris, 1952), pp. 81–100, at pp. 90–100 (where the argument for the role of Theobald in the foundation of Oxford should be rejected) and E. Frauenknecht, 'Die Verteidigung der Priesterehe in de Reformzeit' (*MGH, Studien und Texte* xvi, Hanover, 1997), pp. 129–30.

[11] For Lanfranc's work, see most recently, H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003).

[12] D. S. Spear, 'The School of Caen Revisited', *HSJ*, iv (1992), 55–66, at p. 64.

[13] Willelmus Tyrensis, *Cronica*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 699–700.

From the point of view of concrete literary production, works in vernacular languages predominate, French in particular, and Laura Minervini speaks the Holy Land as a 'francocrazia culturale', which produced a 'letteratura autoreferenziale'.[15] In Thomas Boase's opinion, there existed in the Holy Land before 1150, a literature with its own 'local colour'.[16] The most common literary genres were historiography, to legitimize the political supremacy of the Franks in those lands, and translations into Latin of scientific works.

The most important intellectuals in the kingdom of Jerusalem were:[17]

1. Fulcher of Chartres (d. 1127?), arrived in the Holy Land as the chaplain of Baldwin of Boulogne and wrote the important *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1106, three redactions).[18]
2. Gerard of Nazareth, bishop of Laodicea by 1140, author of two works of theological polemics, a sermon and a hagiography (*Vita Heliae*), texts which are known to us only through indirect textual traditions.[19]
3. The anonymous author of the *Historia Balduini III* (before 1123).[20]
4. Achard of Arrouais (1118–1137), prior of the Temple of Jerusalem, author of the poem *De Templo Salomonis*.[21]

In Antioch the very disturbed political situation involving continuous dynastic crises and the urgent needs of war suggests that these were very hostile surroundings for literature and culture in general.[22] As a result, Antiochian culture during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has been greatly neglected. But it is possible that a new and careful examination of the evidence will provide the basis for a less pessimistic assessment.

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[14] S. B. Edgington, 'Antioch: medieval city of culture', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean,* i. *Antioch from the Byzantine reconquest until the end of the Crusader Principality*, ed. K. N. Ciggaar and D. M. Metcalf (Leuven, 2006), pp. 247–59, at p. 256.

[15] L. Minervini, 'Modelli culturali e attività letteraria nell'Oriente latino', *Studi Medievali*, xliii (2002), 337–48, at p. 339. See also L. Minervini, 'Outremer', in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo. Il Medioevo volgare*, I. 2, *La produzione del testo*, ed. G. Cavallo, C. Leonardi, and E. Menestò (Rome, 2001), pp. 611–48, at p. 617.

[16] T. S. R. Boase, 'The arts in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, ii (1938), 1–21, at p. 20.

[17] For relationships between Antioch and Jerusalem, see H. E. Mayer, 'Jérusalem et Antioche au temps de Baudoin II', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1980), pp. 717–34.

[18] *Fulcherii Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095–1127), ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).

[19] B. Z. Kedar, 'Gerard of Nazareth, a neglected twelfth-century writer in the Latin East: a contribution to intellectual and monastic history of the crusader states', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxxvii (1983), 55–77.

[20] *Historia Nicæna vel Antiochena = Balduini III Historia Nicæna vel Antiochena, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (16 vols. in 17, Paris, 1841–1906), v. 141–85.

[21] R. Hiestand, 'Antiochia, Sizilien und das Reich am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, lxxii (1993), 70–121, at pp. 82–4.

Rudolf Hiestand has already hypothesized that northern Syria was not such a poor cultural centre during the twelfth century as has been thought.[23] It was actually a significant centre for the production of manuscripts.[24] This article develops his theory further and asks whether we even talk of a 'School of Antioch' during the crusade period.

There must surely have been an important chancery in Antioch, and probably two of them: one belonging to the prince and the other to the bishop.[25] There were also monastic *scriptoria*, such as that of the abbey of St. Simeon the Younger on the Admirable Mountain, but unfortunately only a liturgical calendar survives as an example of literary production.[26]

There was, however, an important tradition of vernacular literary production in Antioch.[27] The famous Chanson d'Antioche, a poem about the capture of Antioch in 1098, was produced there,[28] as was the Chanson des Chétifs, a poem telling of the fictional adventures of a group of Christian knights captured by the Turks.[29] These two texts are transmitted together in the same manuscripts along with the Chanson de Jerusalem, and may be a stylistic elaboration made by Graindor de Douai in around 1185 of the work of Richard the Pilgrim, who was an eyewitness to the events of the first crusade. Graindor states that Richard died in the Holy Land, and that the poem was sent to Europe by the patriarch of Antioch.

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[22] C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades* (Paris, 1940), *passim*; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, pp. 88–97.

[23] Hiestand, 'Antiochia, Sizilien und das Reich'.

[24] J. Folda, 'A crusader manuscript from Antioch', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, xlii (1969/1970), 283–98; V. Saxer, 'Le calendrier de l'Eglise latine d'Antioche à l'usage du patriarche Opizzi Ier Fieschi (1254–55)', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, xxvi (1972), 105–23; J. Folda, 'I manoscritti miniati negli stati crociati', in *Le Crociate. L'Oriente e l'Occidente da Urbano II a an Luigi (1096–1270)*, ed. M. Rey-Delqué (Milan, 1997), pp. 299–305.

[25] R. Hiestand, 'Ein unbekanntes Privileg des Fürstes Bohemunds II. von Antiochia für das Hospital vom März 1127 und die Frühgeschichte der antiochenischen Fürstenkanzlei', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, xliii (1997), 27–46.

[26] G. Fedalto, 'L'origine della gerarchia ecclesiastica latina nei patriarcati di Antiochia e di Gerusalemme, durante la Prima Crociata (1097–9)', *Studia Patavina*, xvii (1970), pp. 104–19, at 107–11; see also A. Frazee; 'The Christian church in Cilician Armenia: its relations with Rome and Constantinople to 1198', *Church History*, lv (1976), 166–84; R. Hiestand, 'Ein neuer Bericht über das Konzil von Antiochia 1140', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, xix (1988), 314–350; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: the Secular Church* (1980), pp. 370–72; B. Hamilton, 'The growth of the Latin church of Antioch and the recruitment of its clergy', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 171–84, at p. 179.

[27] See also, K. Bartsch, 'Ein französischer Kinderreim des XI-XII Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vii (1883), pp. 93–5.

[28] *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. C. Sweetenham and S. B. Edgington (Farnham, 2013).

Amaury of Limoges (also known as Amaury of Antioch), first dean and then patriarch of Antioch during the period between 1140 and 1196, who, as has already been noted, was responsible for preserving the Chanson de Chétifs,[30] wrote the Fazienda de Ultramar, commissioned by Archbishop Raymond of Toledo (d. 1152). William of Tyre described Amaury as 'unlettered' (hominem absque litteris), but this is incorrect. Amaury was interested in theology, writing a Rule for the hermetical life of the Black Mountain, and had an important correspondence with Hugh Eterienus. Pope Eugenius III asked him to find a book of John Crisostomus' works; a book that the pope would subsequently give to Burgundio of Pisa to translate into Latin.

Antioch was also a centre for the production of Latin literary works,[31] and a place where Latin translations were made.[32] Examples of these are: Ibn Butlan's (d. 1066) *Tacuinum sanitatis in medicina*;[33] Simeon Seth's medical works (dedicated to Michael VIII Doukas);[34] and the famous Indian text *Khalila* and *Dimna* (a Latin translation of a Greek translation from Arabic!). Adelard of Bath was in Antioch in around 1114, and when he returned to the West, he took many manuscripts with him.[35] Stephen of Antioch (born in Pisa), translated the *Liber Regius* into Latin in 1127, and also the *Kitab*

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[29] Les Chétifs, in *The Old French Crusade Cycle, 5: Les Chétifs*, ed. G. M. Myers (Tuscaloosa and London, 1981).

[30] B. Hamilton, 'Aimery of Limoges, Latin patriarch of Antioch (c.1142–c.1196), and the unity of the Church', in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. I. Antioch from the Byzantine reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality*, ed. K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, 2006), pp. 1–12, at p. 10.

[31] C. Burnett, 'Antioch as a link between Arabic and Latin culture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades*, ed. I. Draelants, A. Thion, and B. Van den Abeele (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 1–78.

[32] C. Burnett, 'The institutional context of Arabic-Latin translations of the middle ages: a reassessment of the School of Toledo', in *Vocabulary of Teaching and Research Between Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. O. Weijers, (Turnhout, 1995), pp. 215–35.

[33] *Ibn Butlan's* Tacuinum sanitatis in medicina, ed. J. Schott (Strasbourg, 1531).

[34] M. E. P. L. Brunet, *Siméon Seth, médecin de l'empereur Michel Doucas; sa vie, son oeuvre. Première traduction en français du traité* '*Recueil des propriétés des aliments par ordre alphabétique*' (Bordeaux, 1939).

[35] C. Burnett, *Adelard of Bath, Conversations with his Nephew: On the Same and the Different, Questions on Natural Science, and On Birds* (Cambridge, 1998).

al-Maliki – an important medical treatise written by Ali ibn al-Abbas al-Majusi, to which Stephen added a small glossary, the *Medicaminum omnium breviarium*. He went on to write an original text, the *Liber Mamonis in astronomia a Stephano philosopho translata*. He was also an excellent scribe, copying a codex of Cicero's *Rethorica ad Herennium*.[36] Rorgo Fretel from near Saint-Georges d'Hesdin (dép. Somme) in Ponthieu – chancellor of the prince of Galilee (1119), canon of Nazareth (1121), then archdeacon in Antioch – was author of the *Descriptio*, which belongs to the genre of the *descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* and uses as its sources, Jerome and Eugesippe.[37] This text was written in further redactions in 1137–8; one of these is dedicated to the bishop of Olmütz; another to Earl R., who can probably be identified as Rodrigo Gonzales of Lara, earl of Toledo (*c.*1078–1143).

Walter the Chancellor, chancellor of the bishop of Antioch, wrote the *Bella Antiochena*,[38] chronicling the wars against the Turks in the years 1115 and 1119–22, led by the prince, Roger of Salerno, the successor of Tancred of Antioch in the period 1114–19. It represents the continuation of the work of Raoul of Caen. Another notable writer was Albert, bishop of Tarso (d. c.1204), chancellor of the principality, and perhaps subsequently archbishop of Nazareth, an important jurist who had probably studied in Bologna. The Prince of Antioch, Bohemond III, called him *in utriusque iuris apicibus sed et rebus eccelsiasticas sufficienter eruditum*. Albert arrived in Sicily between 1185 and 1190 and may have spent time in Germany. Rudolf Hiestand has attributed to him the composition of a crusade song (*Plange, Syon et Iudea*), datable after August 1187. According to Hiestand, this is the first poetic Latin text written in the Holy Land and the text is full of classical echoes.[39]

There is other evidence of cultural production in Antioch. In the *Legend of Bahira*, the story of Mohammed's teachers, for example, the author states that he heard the tale he tells in Antioch from a Greek man.[40] One of the most famous texts of the Latin middle ages, *Priest John's Letter*, seems to be been written in Antioch too.[41] We should also consider Gerard of Nazareth and his works as coming from Antioch, because he was bishop of Laodicee in the principality. It may be that the Norman-Italian author of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Ierosolimitanorum* lived for some time in Antioch, and it was here too that Raoul of Caen started to write his *Tancredus*.

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[36] C. Burnett, 'The transmission of Arabic astronomy via Antioch and Pisa', in *The Enteeprise of Science in Islam: New Perspectives*, ed. J. P. Hogendijk and A. I. Sabra (Chicago, 2003), pp. 23–51.

[37] Rorgo Fretellus, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. P. C. Boeren (Amsterdam, Oxford, and New York, 1980).

[38] Walter the Chancellor of Antioch, *Bella Antiochena, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, V 75–132; Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896) (Galth. Canc.); *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars*, trans. T. S. Asbridge and S. B. Edgington (Aldershot, 1999).

[39] R. Hiestand, 'Plange, Syon et Iudea–Historische Aussage und Verfasserfrage', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, xxiii (1988), 126–42, at pp. 140–42; R. Hiestand, 'Un centre intellectual en Syrie du Nord? Notes sur la personnalité d'Aimery d'Antioche, Albert de Tarse et Rorgo Fretellus', *Le Moyen Age*, c (1994), 7–36, at pp. 16–19.

[40] *The Legend of Sergius Bahira: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to*

The 'Second School of Antioch'

All these writers and works, this author would argue, are enough to indicate that twelfth-century Antioch can no longer be regarded as a 'cultural desert'. But the idea of a 'school' requires not only a catalogue of the items produced, but also a network of relationships between them. The hypothesis of the school is mainly strengthened by the relationships linking these intellectuals, something that has only very recently been highlighted by scholars.

Charles Burnett has demonstrated that the Spanish city of Toledo, a very important cultural centre at this time and a school of the translation into Latin Hebrew and Arabic works, is the trait-d'union between Amaury of Antioch and Rorgo Fretel: their works are dedicated to two authoritative *Toletani*, Bishop Raymond and Earl il Rodrigo.[42] In addition, the works of these two intellectuals appear to be united by many similar features. Geographical works, for example, show a similar focus on Galilee, Antioch, northern Syria and the history of Israel. There is also a shared predilection for Ovid as a source.[43] Rorgo Fretel is linked, in a more literary way, both to Albert of Tarso (through the use of the common source Eugesippe) and to Ralph of Caen (both writers were born in France, moved to Galilee and remained at Antioch). Another common feature is the importance of the teaching of astrology as a link between Norman and Antiochian cultures, as seen in the writings of Stephen of Antioch and Ralph of Caen.

The data collected here certainly testifies to the strong level of Latin literary activity in Antioch during the twelfth century, and to the links between men, work and institutions. But it may also be possible to demonstrate the idea of a school by identifying the transmission of certain elements of technical and concrete knowledge. One way of doing this is to find links and traits-d'union in the teaching of rhetoric. Walter Berschin

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Islam, ed. B. Roggema (Leiden, 2009).

[41] *La Lettera del Prete Gianni*, ed. G. Zaganelli, (Parma, 1990).

[42] Burnett, 'The institutional context', pp. 215–35.

[43] C. W. Grocock, 'Ovid the crusader', in *Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to Twentieth Century*, ed. C. Martindale (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 55–69.

identified a particular rhetorical figure, the *gradatio* (o epiploke) as one of the typical characteristics of the Anglo-Norman style, referring especially to the works of Anselm and Eadmer of Canterbury.[44] But a closer analysis leads us once more back to Lanfranc of Pavia,[45] and also to Theobald of Etampes.[46] In these instances we can clearly see that the importance of this rhetorical figure passes from Lanfranc (Normandy and England) to Theobald of Etampes:

ep. 10 (to Toirrdelbach Ua Briain, king of Munster, and effectively king of Ireland):

> *frater et coepiscopus noster Patricius narravit, ut, quamvis vos nunquam viderimus, tanquam visos tamen vos diligamus, et tanquam visis ac bene cognitis vobis salubriter consulere et sincerissime servire cupiamus.*

ep. 18 (to Anselm):

> *litteras, quas per dominum Robertum transmisistis, laetus suscepi, laetior legi: cum quanto autem gaudio adhuc eas relegendo recolo, et recolendo relego, litteris explicare non possum.*

ep. 3:

> *sic quoque liberalitas vestra bono suo odore latius redolente absentes aspergit, et aspergendo vobis allicere non desistit.*

The same rhetorical figure is also a favourite of Ralph of Caen, the writer who was – as he tells us – the official historiographer of the principality of Antioch under Bohemond and Tancred. It may be very significant, then, that the same rhetorical device is strongly present in work that can be considered the continuation of the *Tancredus*, namely Walter the Chancellor's *Bella Antiochena*; a point that becomes even more important when one considers that this work is not as stylistically sophisticated as the absolutely hyper-rhethorical *Tancredus*, despite the presence of a few verses within the narrative in prose. Thus:

> Galth. Canc. 1.2.2 *dux igitur vicecomitem ad se vocari iubet, vicecomes praetorem, praetor praeconem, praeco iudicem;* 1.4 *recreare ac recreata;* 2.1.2 *parmisque ab*

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[44] W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, IV, Ottonische Biographie. Das hohe Mittelalter. 920–1220 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 138–9. See also D. E. Luscombe, 'Bec, Christ Church and the correspondence of St Anselm', *ANS*, xviii (1996), 1–17.

[45] *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979), nos. 10, 18.

[46] Theobaldus Stampensis, *Epistolae*, *PL*, clxiii, cols. 759–770, at col. 764.

> *humeris ad brachia, a brachiis ad pectora revocatis;* 2.1.2 *ibi enim minus damnum, maius maiori damno exstitit. Magis etenim pauperes ex minimo quam divites ex maximo laedi creduntur;* 2.9.4 *cives moenibus, et urbem civibus;* 2.12.1 *emittunt strepitum, cum strepitibus clamores, cum clamoribus latratus, cum latratibus audaciam;* 2.14.1 *sed ut hunc admirando illudere, illudendo cruciare, et cruciando membratim valeant discerpere;* 2.14.1 *praesentatum suscepit, susceptum inspicit, inspectum contemnit, contemptum ad exitium quo dignus fuerat evenisse decernit.*

Another rhethorical device, the so called polyptoton, dear to Ralph of Caen, is also used extensively by the second historian of the principality of Antioch:

> Galth. Canc. *Prol crimina criminibus;* 1.6.2 *solis vibrante lumine, Parthorum lumina obtunduntur;* 1.6.4 *nec amicus amicum, nec frater fratrem intelligat;* 2.1.1 *forte fortuitu;* 2.1.2 *audendo non audenda, et praesumendo agere non agenda;* 2.1.2 *nocentia ac nocitura;* 2.1.3 *perpetrata, inquam, mala plangere, et plangenda non perpetrare;* 2.6.1 *Astuto itaque respondet astutior;* 2.7.1; *impii itaque laeto animo, scelerato domini sui parent imperio. Sequitur autem ex scelesti imperio effectus scelestior;* 2.7.4 *consilium sceleris scelerato placuit;* 2.9.4 *omni populo Christiano exspectatione magnus. adventu maior, protectione maximus;* 2.10.3 *astutia fallenti oppidanos fallere nititur.*

It is possible to identify a number of *loci communes* between the two writers which could be a sign that Walter the Chancellor had read the *Tancredus*, or that he was somehow a pupil of Ralph of Caen:

> RC 519 *praenuntia veri fama … praecinuerat* ▸ Galth. Canc. *1.2.2 ut fama praecinit*;
>
> RC 352h *ut perculit aures* ▸ Galth. Canc. 1.2.4 *aures perculit*;
>
> RC 1008h *captosve cupidine falso* ▸ Galth. Canc. 1.6.2 *divitiarum cupidine capti;*
>
> RC 912h *in spem vivendi currunt ad opes moriendi* ▸ Galth. Canc. 1.7.2 *quod nostris occidendi impedimentum, fugientibus exstitit evadendi subsidium*;
>
> RC 908h *sed Deus Arnulfusque suus parere paratos* ▸ Galth. Canc. 2.1.3 *parati eminus parent imperio*;
>
> RC 287 *ne forte paucorum temeritas rei ordinem turbaret universum,* 460 *ne mea te offendat prolixitas,* 644 *quod scriptura posteritas prolixiori valeat stylo explicare* ▸ Galth. Canc. 2.1.2 *ne prolixitate verborum videar rei ordinem praeteriisse*;
>
> RC 67 *fugitur per abrupta, per avia (anche 800)* ▸ Galth. Canc. 2.4.1 *per abrupta montium et devia vallium*;

> RC 27 *quid victi saepius molituri erant, quidve suis de se dabant sperare victoribus?*, 282 *victi victores in castra sequuntur* ▸ Galth. Canc. 2.5.4 *Divinae maiestati, cui non placuit nisi quod decet et expedit, ut victi, resumptis viribus, victores haberentur*;

> RC 409 *‘Ecce’, dixeris ‘quem natura in militem manu propria exsculpsit!*, 1511 *Haec quippe omnia natura ipsa - ut ita dicamus - in eo manu propria exsculpserat* ▸ Galth. Canc. 2.12.2 *apparuit quia in comite natura militiae nihil exaruit*;

> RC 1382h-1383h *omnia sanguis erant, nihil extabat nisi sanguis:Namque pavimentum penitus sub strage latebat, Ut nisi submersus non tangat marmora poples! Quippe cruor tantus, tanta inficit unda penates* ▸ Galth. Canc. 2.15.1 *totum porticus pavimentum aulae regiae profluens aspergit unda sanguinis*.

Echoes from Lucan’s *Pharsalia* also seem to link the two writers:

> Galth. Canc. 1.3.3 *differre paratis;* 2.1.4 *pulsat humum;* 1.6.1 *orbis per climata;* 1.6.1 *sic fatus.*

The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates how cultural influences derived from the duchy of Normandy were sustained within powerful local and regional literary traditions, as in England and southern Italy. In light of this evidence we can perhaps begin to speak of a Norman school of Antioch.

5. Culti e agiografie d'età normanna in Italia meridionale

Amalia Galdi

Summary

The transformations associated with the turbulent process of the consolidation of the Norman settlement in Italy had reverbarations in the religious and ecclesiastical world. Intersecting with other phenomena, these transformations affected southern Italy, particularly the 'reform' of the Church and the pontifical and ecclesiastical reorganization that accompanied it. These had repercussions at the devotional and hagiographical level, although there are only a few cases where the influence of the new conquerors is exceptionally prominent. In general, the Normans either accepted or promoted local devotions. Through the analysis of cults and hagiographical works from southern Italy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this chapter focuses on the religious-devotional customs of the Normans and on their continuities and discontinuities, concentrating on the regions of Campania and Apulia.

L'arrivo dei Normanni nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia, la conquista e il suo consolidamento nel corso dell'XI secolo e, infine, la creazione del *Regnum* agli inizi degli anni trenta del XII, ne scomposero i tradizionali assetti istituzionali, politici, economici e sociali, modificando gli equilibri esistenti e creandone altri, ridisegnando la geografia del potere e consegnando decisamente i territori meridionali ad una nuova e diversa fase storica. Un processo complesso, condotto lungo la mutevole linea che separa continuità e discontinuità, cambiamenti e persistenze, rottura con il passato ma insieme sua sopravvivenza nella trama pazientemente costruita – più o meno programmaticamente e con un riconosciuto atteggiamento di *Realpolitik* – per gestire uomini e territori disomogenei e realizzare nuove forme di convivenza mediante soluzioni più o meno compiute e durevoli, come bene esemplificherà la storia che seguirà la parentesi normanna del Sud.[1]

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[1] Dare conto della vastissima bibliografia inerente la conquista e l'insediamento, prima, e la creazione del Regno, poi, da parte dei Normanni è pressoché impossibile in questa sede;

I Normanni ereditavano tale disomogeneità da un Mezzogiorno altomedievale di particolarismi – peraltro uno dei caratteri più persistenti nella storia del Sud Italia, anche dopo l'inquadramento nella struttura regnicola – che rappresentarono un ostacolo indubbio alla loro azione politica, benché ne avessero di fatto determinato il successo militare e politico[2] e ne avrebbero significativamente caratterizzato gli esiti, facendo del *Regnum* di Sicilia, per alcuni aspetti, un *unicum* nella vicenda europea.[3]

Le politiche normanne nei territori meridionali furono declinate su diversi piani, intrecciati e talvolta speculari, e investirono evidentemente anche quello religioso, qui oggetto di attenzione per quanto riguarda gli aspetti relativi alle dinamiche devozionali. Un argomento che, tuttavia, prima di essere affrontato necessita di alcune precisazioni preliminari, a partire dalla considerazione che solo per alcune testimonianze cultuali e agiografiche, benché talvolta significative, è possibile individuare una diretta connessione con le trasformazioni conseguenti alla presenza dei Normanni. Anche su questi ambiti, infatti, si misura la dialettica sopra ricordata tra persistenze e mutamenti, poiché le valenze dei fenomeni cultuale dei secoli XI-XII spesso non sono dissimili da quelli assunti nei secoli altomedievali,[4], sia se li osserviamo da un'ottica strettamente devozionale – dati i caratteri intrinseci di tali fenomeni – sia per ciò che riguarda il ruolo di santi, reliquie e agiografie nelle dinamiche del potere e nella sua *rappresentazione.* Nello stesso tempo, nell'interpretazione di siffatte testimonianze si deve considerare che alcune

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mi limito a segnalare, per l'ampiezza dei riferimenti bibliografici e per uno *status quaestionis* degli studi relativo specificamente alle giornate normanno-sveve, ma di fatto aperto ai più generali percorsi della storiografia, il recente volume *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo fra storia e storiografia*. Atti delle ventesime giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 8–10 ottobre 2012, a cura di P. Cordasco e M. A. Siciliani, (Bari, 2014).

[2] Sul Mezzogiorno pre-normanno e sui caratteri della conquista e dell'insediamento prima del *Regnum*, un efficace momento di sintesi è stato offerto dai saggi raccolti in *I caratteri originari della conquista normanna. Diversità e identità nel Mezzogiorno (1030-1130)*, Atti delle XVI giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 5–8 ottobre 2004, a cura di R. Licinio e F. Violante (Bari, 2006).

[3] Anche in questo caso è difficile fornire una bibliografia che rinvii ai numerosi contributi e al complesso dibattito storiografico sul *Regnum*, che ne ha valorizzato, a seconda delle diverse interpretazioni, gli elementi di innovazione e di continuità, di originalità e di coerenza con le altre esperienze regnicole e con il mondo mediterraneo, ma si veda almeno *Nascita di un Regno. Poteri signorili, istituzioni feudali e strutture sociali nel Mezzogiorno normanno (1130–1194)*, Atti delle XVII giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 10–13 ottobre 2006, a cura di R. Licinio e F. Violante (Bari, 2008), e in particolare C. D. Fonseca, 'La nascita di un Regno. Bilancio storiografico e percorso di ricerca', pp. 395–414.

[4] Un esaustivo quadro della produzione agiografica altomedievale nel Mezzogiorno continentale, con relative fonti e bibliografia, è stato offerto da E. D'Angelo, 'Agiografia latina del Mezzogiorno continentale d'Italia (750–1000)', in *Hagiographie* IV (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 41–134.

di esse derivano peculiari significati dai più ampio processo della Riforma della Chiesa – contemporaneo alla presenza normanna nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia – al quale non furono estranei gli ambienti meridionali; i quali, forse più di quanto si sia pensato in passato, si aprirono anch'essi alle istanze di rinnovamento e di sperimentazione che attraversavano il mondo religioso e laico italiano nello stesso periodo. D'altra parte, gli interventi del Papato 'riformatore' in Italia meridionale in questa fase storica erano talvolta destinati ad intrecciarsi – con maggiore o minore comunità di intenti - con le istanze derivanti dal nuovo assetto politico-istituzionale che qui si stava realizzando.[5]

In questa sede, di conseguenza, mi soffermerò solo su alcune testimonianze cultuali relative ai territori delle attuali Campania e Puglia che, a mio parere, appaiono più direttamente connesse alla presenza dei Normanni e alle articolazioni politico-istituzionali da loro progressivamente realizzate, pur nella consapevolezza che esse sono frutto di una scelta non priva di convenzionalità. Non esiste, infatti, un *storia* della santità e dell'agiografia tipicamente 'normanna' poiché, nonostante l'accorta politica monastica ed ecclesiastica dei Normanni e il sostegno di sovente fornito a chiese e monasteri,[6] non si coglie una loro attenzione per la santità paragonabile alla profonda consapevolezza che i Longobardi e le popolazioni romanico-bizantine avevano mostrato per le valenze religiose e politiche dei santi e delle loro reliquie; né essi impongono culti propri alle comunità locali, con poche eccezioni, preferendo piuttosto sostenere o rilanciare le devozioni locali attraverso soprattutto i trasferimenti di reliquie e l'edilizia sacra.[7]

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[5] Ho solo introdotto, qui, tematiche molto ampie e sulle quali è ugualmente disponibile una corposa storiografia. Si vedano però almeno, anche per la ricchezza dei riferimenti bibliografici, F. Panarelli, 'Regno e Chiesa, istituzioni ecclesiastiche e monastiche', in *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo*, pp. 169–92, e *Il Papato e i Normanni. Temporale e spirituale in età normanna*. Atti del Convegno di studi organizzato da CNR (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche), CESN (Centro Europeo di Studi Normanni), SISMEL (Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino), Ariano Irpino, 6–7 dicembre 2007, a cura di E. D'Angelo e C. Leonardi (Firenze, 2011).

[6] Sulle politiche normanne in relazione a Chiese e monasteri è d'obbligo il riferimento agli studi di Houbert Houben, di cui segnalo almeno *Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo. Monasteri e castelli, Ebrei e Musulmani*, Nuovo Medioevo, lii (Napoli, 1996), e *Die Abtei Venosa und das Mönchtum im normannisch-staufischen Süditalien* (Tübingen, 1995). Si vedano poi, anche per i riferimenti alla storiografia precedente, G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy,* (Cambridge, 2007) e, sul tema della Chiesa greca nel Mezzogiorno post-bizantino, A. Peters-Custot, *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine (IXe-XIVe siècle): une acculturation en douceur*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, cdxx (Roma, 2009). Altra bibliografia, e puntuali osservazioni, sono disponibili nel citato Panarelli, 'Regno e Chiesa'.

[7] A. Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri e uomini nella Campania medievale* (secc. XI–XII) (Salerno, 2004), pp. 15–26.

Tale premessa si è resa necessaria per giustificare perché non farò riferimento ai culti nati dalle nuove esperienze eremitico-monastiche che si realizzarono nel Mezzogiorno tra XI e XII secolo, che diedero vita, probabilmente, ai risultati più alti della produzione agiografica coeva: l'esito dei percorsi esistenziali di alcuni personaggi, che avevano previsto il passaggio attraverso una fase eremitico-ascetica, talvolta con tratti penitenziali o di predicazione itinerante, fu la creazione di nuove comunità cenobitiche che arricchirono il preesistente quadro monastico e incisero profondamente sul territorio, con risvolti significativi anche sul piano cultuale e agiografico.[8] Fondatori di monasteri furono in questi anni Alferio di Cava, Guglielmo da Vercelli, Giovanni da Tufara e Giovanni da Matera, dai quali presero vita, rispettivamente, i cenobi della SS. Trinità di Cava, di S. Maria di Montevergine e S. Salvatore al Goleto, S. Maria del Gualdo, S. Maria di Pulsano. Essi si erano resi protagonisti, almeno nella prima fase della loro esistenza, di scelte di vita religiosa che si inquadrano nel più generale clima di rinnovamento monastico del periodo della Riforma della Chiesa e, alla loro morte, determinarono una complessa attività agiografica tesa a ricostruirne la biografia in funzione della creazione/ricreazione della memoria delle origini delle rispettive comunità. Si tratta di testi nei quali è frequente trovare riferimenti ai nuovi poteri normanni insediatisi nel Mezzogiorno, gli stessi, peraltro, che avrebbero contribuito significativamente allo sviluppo delle stesse comunità; ma essi sono il frutto di un'elaborazione, ovviamente secondo un'ottica cenobitica, che riflette la genesi della propria istituzione, connessa cioè, come accennavo, all'apertura dell'Italia meridionale alle suggestioni religiose ed esistenziali generate dal più generale clima di rinnovamento socio-religioso.[9]

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[8] Nello stesso periodo, però, non mancarono esempi di eremiti "indipendenti" poi considerati santi, sui quali cf. Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 70–93.

[9] Mi permetto qui di rinviare, anche per fonti e storiografia di riferimento, a Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 27–67. Sulla Vitae di Alferio e dei suoi immediati successori cf. anche A. Galdi, 'Le Vitae dei santi abati Cavesi tra memoria e autorappresentazione', in *Riforma della Chiesa, esperienze monastiche e poteri locali. La Badia di Cava nei secoli XI-XII*. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Badia di Cava, 15–17 settembre 2011, a cura di M. Galante, G. Vitolo, G. Z. Zanichelli, Millennio medievale xcix, Strumenti e studi, n.s., xxxvi, (Firenze, 2014), pp. 77–95. Riguardo specificamente Giovanni da Tufara, cf. A. Vuolo, 'Monachesimo riformato e predicazione. La 'vita' di san Giovanni da Matera (sec. XII)', *Studi medievali*, III s., xxvii, 1(1986), 69–120. Di Giovanni da Matera e dei Pulsanesi si è occupato invece a più riprese F. Panarelli, di cui si veda almeno *Dal Gargano alla Toscana. Il monachesimo riformato latino dei Pulsanesi (secoli XII–XIV)*, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo. Studi storici, 38 (Roma, 1997).

Maggiormente legati, invece, alle trasformazioni istituzionali che fecero seguito alla conquista e all'insediamento normanni sono altri fenomeni devozionali e agiografici, a partire da quelli relativi ad alcuni vescovi santi.

I Normanni non tardarono a riconoscere un ruolo fondamentale alle istituzioni diocesane e al 'personale' vescovile chiamato a soprintenderle, che articolavano in una fitta trama l'impalcatura ecclesiastica del Mezzogiorno e che si sarebbero rivelati funzionali ai loro progetti politici di controllo ed organizzazione del territorio. L'organizzazione ecclesiastica che essi ereditavano era stato oggetto, in passato, di almeno due interventi strutturali da parte del Papato, insieme ad alcuni altri di più modesto impatto sulla distrettuazione generale. Si trattò di azioni complesse, che qui richiamo nelle linee principali, rinviando alla storiografia relativa per le relazioni tra la progettualità generale e le situazioni particolari che segnarono il processo, alle quali non furono estranei interessi e strategie dei poteri civili.

Una prima, sostanziale, riorganizzazione, nella seconda metà del X secolo, aveva scomposto il tradizionale potere primaziale del Pontefice sulle Chiese afferenti alle aree longobarde, trasformando alcune diocesi (Benevento, Salerno e Capua) in sedi metropolitiche; ad essa, nel contempo, si era accompagnato un processo analogo nei territori gravitanti nell'orbita del patriarcato di Costantinopoli.[10] Sarebbe seguita, a partire dalla metà circa dell'XI secolo, un'ulteriore fase riorganizzativa, da cui derivarono, tra l'altro, erezioni di nuove diocesi, ripristino di antiche sedi episcopali e trasferimento di altre; su tale evoluzione del quadro diocesano, come nel secolo precedente, si misurarono un intreccio di interessi generali e particolari, oltre che, non secondariamente, le istanze derivanti dalla Riforma ecclesiastica. Siffatto processo, che si inscriveva dunque in un contesto storico con caratteri in buona parte diversi da quello che aveva fatto da cornice ai provvedimenti precedenti, si sarebbe concluso nelle sue linee di massima tra fine XI secolo e inizi del XII: ad esso avrebbe contributo, soprattutto nelle sue applicazioni pratiche, anche il nuovo assetto politico-istituzionale messo in campo dai Normanni, ben consapevoli, peraltro, che un rapporto organico tra le metropolie e le sedi suffraganee e la creazione di nuovi episcopati nei centri del potere politico-amministrativo, le contee, ne avrebbe agevolato il controllo politico. Benché sul piano strutturale l'organizzazione diocesana dei territori già latini non sia stata sostanzialmente modificata con questa seconda fase di interventi ma piuttosto, in linea generale, sviluppata e/o razionalizzata, è innegabile che, in coincidenza con la presenza normanna, si registrino alcuni importanti mutamenti nella geografia vescovile. Non è affatto casuale, per esempio, che alcuni vescovi delle nuove diocesi previste nel 1058 da papa Leone IX in dipendenza dall'arcivescovo di Benevento fossero eletti negli anni in cui si consolidava la presenza normanna; o che in area capuana si rinvengano sedi diocesane in coincidenza con la creazione delle contee.[11]

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[10] Dall'ampia bibliografia in proposito si vedano almeno: N. Kamp, 'Vescovi e diocesi nell'Italia meridionale nel passaggio dalla dominazione bizantina allo stato normanno', in *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel Medioevo*, a cura di G. Rossetti, (Bologna, 1977), pp. 379–97; N. Cilento, 'Il problema dell'istituzione delle sedi metropolitiche nell'Italia meridionale in Campania', in *La Chiesa di Amalfi nel Medioevo*, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi per il millenario dell'archidiocesi di Amalfi (Amalfi-Scala-Minori, 4–6 dicembre 1987) (Amalfi, 1996), pp. 14–24; C. D. Fonseca, 'Gli assetti metropolitici del Mezzogiorno tra Bisanzio e Roma, in *Nel IX centenario della metropoli ecclesiastica di Pisa*, Atti del convegno di studi (7–8 maggio 1992) (Pisa, 1995), pp. 27–44; C. D. Fonseca, 'Longobardia e Longobardi nell'Italia meridionale. Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche', in *Longobardia e Longobardi nell'Italia meridionale. Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, Atti del 2° Convegno internazionale di studi promosso dal Centro di Cultura dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Benevento, 29–31 maggio 1992, a cura di G. Andenna e G. Picasso (Milano, 1996), pp. 3–17, e, in questo stesso volume, G. Spinelli, 'Il Papato e la riorganizzazione ecclesiastica della Longobardia meridionale', pp. 19–42.

In alcune delle nuove diocesi sorte in questo periodo si svilupparono culti relativi a vescovi contemporanei o a personaggi che avrebbero occupato le cattedre episcopali nei primi secoli medievali, con relativa composizione di *Vitae, Passiones* e *Translationes.* Ne derivò un ampliamento delle aree interessate dai culti vescovili rispetto al periodo altomedioevale, così da comprendere sedi meno antiche e prestigiose: intorno ai vescovi nacquero devozioni su cui si misurava l'identità civile e religiosa di comunità di recente fondazione o da poco assurte a un maggiore ruolo storico, come conferma il fatto che la maggior parte di esse si determinino quasi contestualmente all'esistenza storica dei loro protagonisti.

Esemplare in tal senso è il culto di due vescovi manifestatosi a Montemarano e Nusco, nell'attuale provincia di Avellino, siti il cui sviluppo nei secoli centrali del Medioevo derivava soprattutto dalla posizione strategica dei castelli vicino ai quali si era evoluto l'abitato, già in età longobarda. Entrambi i luoghi, infatti, si inserivano nel più generale processo di incastellamento che interessò l'Italia meridionale nei secoli XI-XII: il primo, nell'alta Irpinia, era situato su una delle alture a sinistra del Calore Beneventano, vicino a direttrici stradali che garantivano le comunicazioni con Salerno e Benevento ma anche con la Puglia, ed esercitò, sia nella tarda età longobarda che in quella normanna, una significativa funzione strategica, tanto che Ruggiero II, nel 1138, non esitò a distruggerlo insieme ad altri castelli; il secondo, rientrava in un progetto di più efficace difesa del valico compreso tra la valle dell'Ofanto e quella del Calore.[12]

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[11] G. Vitolo, 'Vescovi e diocesi', in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, III, Alto Medioevo, (Napoli, 1990), pp. 116–29; Fonseca, 'Gli assetti metropolitici'; 'L'organizzazione ecclesiastica dell'Italia Normanna tra l'XI e il XII secolo. I nuovi assetti istituzionali', in *Particolarismo istituzionale e organizzazione ecclesiastica del Mezzogiorno medievale* (Galatina, 1987), pp. 77–103; H. Houben, *Tra Roma e Palermo. Aspetti e problemi del Mezzogiorno medievale* (Galatina, 1989), pp. 121–35. Ulteriori indicazioni, sia bibliografiche che sullo stato delle ricerche, in G. Vitolo, 'Vescovi e diocesi nel Mezzogiorno altomedievale: lo stato delle ricerche', in *Munera parva: studi in onore di Boris Ulianich,* a cura di G. Luongo (Napoli, 1999), pp. 427–41.

I due centri furono elevati a diocesi nel corso dell'XI secolo. Montemarano risulta sede episcopale, in dipendenza dal metropolita di Benevento, in un privilegio di papa Stefano IX del 1058,[13] mentre Nusco assunse la dignità diocesana probabilmente tra il 1070 e il 1080, sotto la giurisdizione della metropolìa di Salerno.[14] Il conseguimento del titolo diocesano derivava soprattutto dall'accresciuta importanza dei due abitati nel corso dell'XI secolo, oltre che da programmi di controllo giurisdizionale e territoriale dell'area irpina (siamo a sud-est dell'attuale città di Avellino) da parte delle due archidiocesi da cui dipendevano.

Le origini di entrambe le diocesi furono nobilitate da un vescovo santo che sarebbe vissuto negli ultimi decenni del secolo, rispettivamente Giovanni di Montemarano e Amato di Nusco, per i quali furono realizzati racconti agiografici[15] il cui limitato valore letterario, l'incerta tradizione manoscritta, l'abbondante ricorso ai *topoi* agiografici e la scarsa presenza di elementi biografici riscontrabili, non escludono un consapevole progetto di costruzione della memoria e delle *identità* delle comunità locali attraverso la scrittura agiografica, concepito però esclusivamente dal mondo ecclesiastico, con uno scarso concorso delle autorità civili. Tali testi, come ho cercato di dimostrare in altra sede, si rivelano anche portatori di elementi di interesse e coerenti con la temperie religiosa ed ecclesiastica coeva.[16]

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[12] Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 101–2, 117–18. Sulla distruzione del castello di Montemarano si veda Falcone di Benevento, *Chronicon Beneventanum. Città e feudi nell'Italia dei Normanni*, a cura di E. D'Angelo (Firenze, 1999), p. 208. Su Nusco cf. F. Scandone, *L'Alta Valle del Calore*, VII, *La città di Nusco, I, dalle origini alla fine del Medio Evo* (Napoli, 1970), pp. 13–23.

[13] *Italia Pontificia sive repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a Romanis Pontificibus ante annum 1198* [etc.], iubente regia Societate Gottingensi, congessit P. F. Kehr, IX, *Samnium, Apulia, Lucania*, ed. W. Holtzmann (Berolini, 1962), pp. 58–9.

[14] *Italia Pontificia*, VIII, *Regnum Normannorum, Campania*, (Berolini, 1935), p. 341. Per le ragioni dell'istituzione della diocesi di Nusco, cf. E. Cuozzo, 'Un vescovo della Longobardia minore: Alfano arcivescovo di Salerno († 1085)', *Campania sacra*, vi (1975), 15–29.

[15] Per la più antica Vita di Giovanni (BHL 4414), di autore anonimo e di datazione incerta, si veda l'edizione in *ASS,* August, III, pp. 510–13; una seconda biografia fu composta dal vescovo montemaranese Giovanni Ghirardi, autore anche di una traslazione delle reliquie del santo nel 1726, G. Ghirardi, *Relazione della Vita di S. Giovanni, Vescovo di Montemarano, e del suo Vescovado,* annotata e ristampata a cura di L. Novellino e F. Follo, (Napoli, 1912). La *Vita*, i *Miracula* e la *Translatio* di Amato (BHL 359-361) ci sono pervenuti in un Ufficio per le celebrazioni liturgiche dedicate al santo realizzato nel 1461 dal sacerdote nuscano Francesco de Ponte, F. de Ponte, *Offitium. Vita et Miraculi Beati Amati Episcopi Civitatis Nusci* etc., (Napoli, 1543); sull'attività agiografica del de Ponte cf. G. Passaro, 'Francesco De Ponte, agiografo nuscano', *Civiltà altirpina*, III, iv (1978), 18–24.

Una terza promozione cultuale, relativa al primo vescovo del luogo di nome Alberto, presenta caratteri simili a quelli fin qui elencati. Essa riguardò un sito, Montecorvino, che ugualmente doveva la crescita del proprio ruolo politico, nel corso dell'XI secolo, alla sua valenza strategica: l'insediamento, oggi scomparso e che insisteva nell'attuale provincia di Foggia, era stato fondato – intorno al 1036, secondo l'agiografo di Alberto – in un'area interessata da interventi di urbanistica militare bizantina finalizzati al controllo dei confini settentrionali della Puglia dalla minaccia longobarda, il cui caposaldo era costituito dalla città di Troia, fondata prima del 1024. Le fonti principali che ci informano della circostanza non citano espressamente Montecorvino, ma di fatto il sito si inseriva in un complesso di fortificazioni destinate a proteggere la parte occidentale del Tavoliere pugliese.[17]

L'abitato, a metà dello stesso secolo, era stato elevato a diocesi in dipendenza dell'arcivescovo di Benevento, il capo di una metropolìa che aveva vissuto un processo di espansione giurisdizionale in Capitanata già agli inizi dell'XI secolo, con l'aggiunta, in qualità di suffraganea, dell'episcopato di Lesina,[18] ma che aveva raggiunto l'apice nel citato privilegio di Stefano IX all'arcivescovo Vodalrico il 24 gennaio 1058, con l'aggregazione di ulteriori sedi vescovili pugliesi quali Troia, Dragonara, Civitate, Tertiveri, Biccari e, appunto, Montecorvino.[19] All'elevazione a diocesi, dunque, anche in questo caso si accompagnò la nascita del culto per il primo vescovo e, come nelle altre due sedi esaminate, ugualmente ci troviamo di fronte ad un profilo biografico del santo fortemente incerto, dal momento che la sua ricostruzione è quasi del tutto affidata a un racconto agiografico non dissimile, per la vaghezza delle notizie fornite e la sovrabbondanza di *topoi*, da quelli finora citati, benché non privo anch'esso di elementi di interesse e verosimilmente composto in epoca vicina agli eventi narrati.[20] Alberto, però, stando al racconto agiografico, era a un uomo di origine normanna, giunto a Montecorvino con altre persone per popolare un sito di recente fondazione, cosicché il primo vescovo del luogo sarebbe stato individuato in quella componente normanna della popolazione che anche altrove, in Capitanata, sembra aver avuto una parte significativa nelle dinamiche demografiche dei centri legati alla riorganizzazione bizantina.[21]

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[16] Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 172–82.

[17] Su Montecorvino e sui problemi connessi alla sua fondazione cf. J.-M. Martin e G. Noyé, *La Capitanata nella storia del Mezzogiorno medievale* (Studi e ricerche, IX, Bari, 1991) pp. 201–30, in particolare pp. 202–03 per l'origine del sito, ma si veda, anche per ulteriori approfondimenti bibliografici, Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 132–4.

[18] *Le più antiche carte del Capitolo della Cattedrale di Benevento (668–1200)*, introduzione di V. De Donato, edizione a cura di A. Ciaralli, V. De Donato, V. Matera, *FSI. Regesta Chartarum*, lii (Roma, 2002), pp. 93–6; cf. *Italia pontificia* cit., IX, p. 57, n. 21.

[19] *Le più antiche carte*, pp. 144–47, cf. *Italia Pontificia* cit., IX, pp. 58–9, n. 24.

La promozione e il rilancio di culti vescovili, con la corrispondente produzione agiografica, non furono tuttavia esclusivi dei territori assurti di recente alla dignità diocesana. Rimanendo nell'ambito della giurisdizione ecclesiastica beneventana, anche Frigento – nell'attuale provincia di Benevento – condivideva alcuni dei caratteri evidenziati per i centri prima esaminati. In particolare il medesimo sviluppo dell'abitato nel corso dell'XI secolo, benché si trattasse di un sito del quale non mancano attestazioni più antiche, soprattutto sul piano delle fonti materiali e in particolare per il periodo romano e i primi secoli altomedievali:[22] nell'area, colpita dal terremoto dell' 889–990, che probabilmente ne determinò un abbandono solo parziale, è attestata una contea ancora in periodo longobardo, nel marzo del 1022, ma nel settembre del 1042 il sito risulta già al centro dei domini del conte normanno Erveo, a conferma di una posizione strategica che lo aveva reso attraente anche per i nuovi conquistatori.[23] Un ruolo strategico che dovette favorirne l'elevazione a sede vescovile, la cui prima testimonianza risale al 1061, in sostituzione, forse, dell'episcopato della vicina Quintodecimo.[24]

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[20] E. D'Angelo, 'Dall'Umbria alla corte di Spagna. L'opera agiografica di Alessandro Geraldini', in *Estudios de filología e historia en onor del profesor Vitalino Valcárcel*, Vitoria – Gasteiz 2014, pp. 207–22.

[21] Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 136–43.

[22] M. Rotili, 'Ricerche archeologiche in alta Irpinia, testimonianze di età romano-barbarica', *Romanobarbarica*, xiii (1994–5), 297–324; M. Rotili, 'Un inedito edificio della Longobardia minore: la chiesa madre di Frigento', in *Longobardia e Longobardi nell'Italia meridionale: le istituzioni ecclesiastiche*', Atti del II convegno internazionale del Centro di cultura dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 29–31 maggio 1992, a cura di G. Andenna G. Picasso (Milano, 1996), pp. 275–320; M. Rotili-C. Ebanista, 'Archeologia postclassica in Alta Irpinia. Lo scavo della chiesa di S. Pietro di Frigento', *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti in Napoli*, lxiv (1993–94), 587–705; C. Ebanista, *Dati preliminari sul territorio di Frigento fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo, in La Campania tra tarda antichità e alto medioevo: ricerche di archeologia del territorio*, Atti della Giornata di studio, Cimitile 10 giugno 2008, a cura di C. Ebanista-M. Rotili (Cimitile, 2009), pp. 103–27; M. Rotili, 'Lo scavo di S. Maria Assunta a Frigento: un contributo alla storia della cristianizzazione di un centro romano', in T*ardo Antico e Alto Medioevo: filologia, storia, archeologia, arte,* a cura di M. Rotili, (Napoli, 2009), pp. 103–58.

[23] E. Cuozzo, *Le Diocesi di Aeclanum, Quintodecimo, Frigento*, in *Irpinia Sacra. Chiesa e società nell'età moderna*, I volume monografico della *Rassegna storica irpina* [s.l.], 1993–4, p. 29; cf. Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, p. 144 e note 165 ss.

Connesso con tutta probabilità all'acquisita dignità diocesana è l'impulso dato dalla Chiesa locale, nel corso dei secoli XI-XII, al culto per il vescovo Marciano, che avrebbe retto la diocesi al tempo di papa Leone, forse da identificare con il I con questo nome (aa. 440–61), accompagnato dalla composizione di un racconto agiografico che è stato trasmesso in almeno quattro manoscritti: i primi due, contenenti la *Vita* (BHL 5264), furono pubblicati sulla base, rispettivamente, di un codice oggi perduto e di una trascrizione tratta dal corrispondente della *Societas Bollandiana,* Antonio Beatillo, da un Ufficio liturgico della Chiesa di Frigento,[25] entrambi *vetusti,* secondo gli editori, ma che è impossibile oggi datare; gli altri (BHL 5263b) sono inclusi in altrettanti codici provenienti dalla Biblioteca Capitolare di Benevento (XII secolo) e da quella Casanatense di Roma (XI–XII secolo). Rispetto agli altri testimoni, quello beneventano è munito di un lungo prologo e corredato dal racconto della traslazione delle reliquie di Marciano da Frigento a Benevento al tempo del vescovo Orso, nella prima metà del IX secolo.

Le questioni agiografica e cultuale inerenti Marciano sono piuttosto intricate e problematiche, come ho avuto modo di evidenziare in altra sede e come è stato più recentemente confermato in un denso saggio dedicato al santo da Gennaro Luongo, nel quale è stata anche fornita una nuova edizione critica del manoscritto beneventano:[26] è ipotizzabile, però, che la prima redazione citata (BHL 5264) sia stata scritta in ambiente frigentino e che sia da mettere in relazione con la promozione del culto per s. Marciano negli anni in cui Frigento veniva elevata a diocesi.[27] Se, dunque, il culto e la produzione agiografica non si riferiscono a un santo contemporaneo, essi esprimono valenze non dissimili da quelle dei casi sopra citati, poiché la diocesi attuale avrebbe sicuramente ricevuto lustro e dignità dalla santità di un suo vescovo, con il *valore aggiunto* che in questo contesto si trattava di un prelato di V secolo, testimone dell'antichità e dell'autorevolezza della sede vescovile tardo-antica, nonostante che di essa, allo stato attuale delle conoscenze, non si possa confermare l'esistenza.

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[24] Cuozzo, L*e Diocesi*, p. 29.

[25] F. Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, VIII, Venetiis 17212, coll. 285–8; *ASS,* Iulii, 3, coll. 654b–56b.

[26] Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 146–53; cf. G. Luongo, 'San Marciano di Frigento. L'edizione critica della Vita Marciani', in *Auctores Nostri*, xii (2013), 151–83. Il *dossier* agiografico sul santo e le problematiche inerenti l'identità del Marciano venerato a Benevento, sono stati anche oggetto di attenzione, con relativa edizione critica del testimone beneventano, da C. Lepore e R. Valli, *Vita et translatio Beneventum S. Marciani episcopi Frequentini* (Campolattaro, 2011), pp. 28–53 (l'edizione) e 54–64 (*Commentario*).

[27] Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, p. 152.

D'altra parte, gli esempi del ruolo affidato alla scrittura agiografica nel saldare l'antico, spesso nebuloso passato, alla contemporaneità affinché questa potesse esserne esaltata non sono rari nel periodo qui oggetto di attenzione. Tra i più noti si colloca il racconto sul rinvenimento e la traslazione a Troia, tra il 1022 e il 1034, delle reliquie di s. Secondino, un vescovo vissuto verosimilmente tra il V e il VI secolo. Esse sarebbero state rinvenute nel sito dell'antica *Aecae* nei pressi del quale era stata fondata Troia, il caposaldo delle già ricordate fortificazioni bizantine; una circostanza che avrebbe saldato la recente fondazione con il prestigioso passato romano, di cui la nuova *civitas* era l'ideale continuazione.[28] Una 'saldatura' simbolica affidata a due scritture agiografiche, espressioni di altrettanti momenti storici, cioè un'anonima *Inventio,* composta probabilmente da un contemporaneo agli eventi,[29] e una seconda redatta da Guaiferio di Montecassino,[30] oggetto entrambe di recenti indagini che ne hanno opportunamente evidenziato la pluralità di componenti e significati.[31] In particolare, l'opera (1067ca) di Guaiferio fu commissionata dal vescovo troiano Stefano – per il tramite dell'abate cassinese Desiderio – che intendeva fare del nuovo testo la versione 'ufficiale' della traslazione, allo scopo di esaltare la centralità della diocesi di Troia nella Capitanata;[32] un intento che trova conferma dall'affidamento dell'opera a un esperto della scrittura agiografica, chiamato in causa – non a caso – in coincidenza, o immediatamente prima, con le testimonianze della presenza a Troia dell'Abbazia di Montecassino, determinata da donazioni iniziate nel 1080 da Roberto il Guiscardo e continuate dal figlio e duca Ruggiero.[33]

Il coinvolgimento di un agiografo cassinese non fu una circostanza inusuale nel periodo qui oggetto di attenzione, dal momento che furono diverse le comunità che affidarono testi agiografici relativi a santi locali a monaci di Montecassino (Alberico di Montecassino, Giovanni da Gaeta, Leone d'Ostia, Pietro diacono), in considerazione anche degli storici legami tra Montecassino e i territori meridionali. Tuttavia, l'apporto cassinese all'agiografia meridionale di questo periodo non si tradusse nell'esportazione di culti o di modelli di santità da parte dell'antico monastero di s. Benedetto, ma piuttosto nella messa a disposizione delle competenze cassinesi alle élites urbane ed ecclesiastiche meridionali, che ne commissionavano i lavori; anzi, gli apporti più innovativi sul piano agiografico-cultuale monastico provengono dal già ricordato 'nuovo' monachesimo – aperto, almeno alle origini, a nuove suggestioni religiose – piuttosto che da Montecassino, che proponeva modelli di santità fedeli all'osservanza monastica tradizionale.[34]

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[28] T. Head, 'Discontinuity and discovery in the cult of saints. Apulia from late antiquity to the high middle ages', *Hagiographica*, vi (1999), 171–211, at p. 208.

[29] BHL 7554, 7555a-b: la prima recensio è edita in *ASS*, Febr. II, coll. 530–31; le altre due, che ampliano di molto la prima aggiungendovi un prologo e i miracoli, sono state edite da E. D'Angelo, 'Inventio corporis et miracula sancti Secondini Troiani episcopi', in *Scripturus Vitam, Festgabe für Walter Berschin zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. D. Walz (Heidelberg, 2002), pp. 841–54, at 847–54.

[30] BHL 7556–7557, ed. in O. Limone, *L'opera agiografica di Guaiferio di Montecassino in Monastica III. Scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480–1980)*, (Montecassino, 1983), pp. 92–105.

[31] A. Campione, 'Note per la ricostruzione del dossier agiografico di Secondino vescovo di Aecae', *Vetera Christianorum*, xl (2003), pp. 271–92; cf. A. Galdi, 'Troia, Montecassino e i Normanni. La traslazione di s. Eleuterio tra identità cittadina e dinamiche di potere', *Vetera Christianorum*, xlvii (2010), 63–83, at p. 67.

[32] Campione, 'Note per la ricostruzione', pp. 191–2.

[33] Mi permetto di rinviare qui, anche per le fonti e la bibliografia di riferimento, a Galdi, 'Troia, Montecassino', p. 67.

Alcuni elementi della *Historia s. Secondini* si ripropongono per un altro testo agiografico di ambiente troiano, la *Translatio s. Eleutherii*, composta da Roffredo, che la dedicò al vescovo troiano Guglielmo, verosimilmente da identificare con il II con questo nome (1106–1141): esso ricorda il trasferimento a Troia, nel 1105, delle reliquie dei ss. Eleuterio, presunto vescovo ecano del II secolo, Ponziano e Anastasio, dalla chiesa di S. Eleuterio, non lontano da Tivera, in diocesi di Velletri.[35] Il viaggio compiuto dai delegati troiani includeva necessariamente un passaggio attraverso luoghi controllati dall'Abbazia di Montecassino, sicché, durante lo sviluppo della complessa vicenda, qui solo sintetizzata, si determinò un duro scontro tra l'abate cassinese Oderisio (1087–1105) e uno degli emissari del vescovo troiano Guglielmo (1102ca–1106ca), un chierico della stessa chiesa tiverina, che non esitò a rivolgere pesanti intimidazioni al Cassinese se non avesse favorito la traslazione delle reliquie. La vicenda, pur trasfigurata dall'intento agiografico, riflette bene un contrasto di prerogative che ormai si registrava nel territorio troiano tra il ruolo acquisito dalla comunità e dal suo vescovo, fortemente favorito dai Normanni, e Montecassino, la cui presenza in Capitanata, tra lo scorcio dell'XI secolo e l'alba del nuovo, doveva apparire sempre più ingombrante.[36]

Le vicende di Secondino ed Eleuterio ci introducono in un particolare fenomeno devozionale su cui vorrei soffermarmi da ultimo e cioè sulle traslazioni di reliquie di santi – con i relativi testi agiografici – attestate per l'XI–XII secolo in numerosi territori meridionali: si tratta evidentemente di eventi non peculiari di questo periodo, ma che trassero valenze specifiche dal nuovo contesto politico-istituzionale in esame, dal momento che anche da essi si possono cogliere i riflessi dei processi di ri-definizione del contesto civile ed ecclesiastico che interessò in quel periodo l'Italia meridionale.

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[34] Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 20 ss.

[35] Il testo è stato edito da A. Poncelet, 'La translation des SS. Éleuthère, Pontien et Anastase', *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxix (1910), pp. 416–26, ma sul complesso *dossier* agiografico cf. Galdi, 'Troia, Montecassino', pp. 68–70.

[36] Galdi, 'Troia, Montecassino', pp. 72–83.

Questi anni furono interessati da un'intensa attività costruttiva e non era raro che, più o meno 'casualmente', durante l'edificazione e il restauro di antichi edifici, si scoprissero reliquie di santi, spesso ritenuti vescovi locali: è evidente che tali contesti si prestavano efficacemente, come è stato messo in luce soprattutto per la Puglia,[37] a colmare sul piano simbolico il distacco tra il passato più o meno celebre delle comunità coinvolte e la contemporaneità, obiettivo per il quale si rivelava particolarmente utile la scrittura agiografica.

In altre circostanze, invece, l'acquisizione di corpi santi rispondeva all'obiettivo di sancire l'importanza assunta da alcuni territori nel nuovo scacchiere politico dei secoli XI e XII, come nel caso di due eventi verificatisi nell'ambito dell'archidiocesi di Capua. Al 31 marzo 1094 risale la traslazione delle reliquie di san Menna, un eremita vissuto e morto sul monte Taburno nel VI secolo, a Caiazzo, una piccola diocesi suffraganea di Capua situata al confine con l'archidiocesi di Benevento, a nord del fiume Volturno. Il promotore del trasferimento era stato Roberto († 1115), conte normanno di Alife e di Caiazzo, nipote di Riccardo I principe di Capua, con l'obiettivo di sacralizzare con le reliquie la fondazione da lui promossa di una basilica dedicata alla Madre di Dio a Caiazzo. Per il tramite dell'abate Oderisio, erano state poi affidate al celebre cronista cassinese Leone Marsicano († 1115) le redazioni di una *Vita s. Mennatis* e della *Translatio* delle reliquie,[38] una committenza i cui presupposti sono da ricercare, oltre che nelle indiscusse competenze del Cassinese, nei rapporti tra il conte e Montecassino, di cui Roberto era stato un benefattore.[39] Un ruolo primario, nella vicenda, era stato interpretato da Madelmo, abate del monastero di S. Sofia di Benevento, dal momento che, secondo il racconto agiografico, era stato questi, recatosi dal conte in compagnia dell'abate del cenobio beneventano di S. Lupo, a suggerirgli di appropriarsi di un corpo prestigioso quale quello di Menna, in cambio della protezione del suo cenobio dagli ufficiali di Roberto: una circostanza verosimile, considerati i non pochi interessi di S. Sofia nella contea, e che lascia immaginare precedenti attentati ai beni del monastero. Di lì a poco, però, il conte decise di trasferire le reliquie a S. Agata (oggi S. Agata dei Goti in provincia di Benevento), per deporle nella cappella comitale, intorno al 1110, su suggerimento del vescovo del luogo Adalardo, al fine anche di evitare eventuali rivendicazioni dell'arcivescovo di Benevento per la sottrazione del corpo da un territorio di sua pertinenza, quale era il Taburno, e scegliendo un luogo, S. Agata, la cui diocesi era soggetta a Benevento.

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[37] Head, 'Discontinuity and discovery'.

[38] La Vita (BHL 5926), è stata edita da G. Orlandi, 'Vita sancti Mennatis (opera inedita di Leone Marsicano)'*, in Rendiconti dell'istituto lombardo. Accademia di scienze e lettere, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche*, xc, 3 (1963), 478–90; la Translatio (BHL 5927) da B. De Gaiffier, 'Translations et miracles de S. Mennas par Léon d'Ostie et Pierre du Mont Cassin', *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxii (1944), 15–26.

[39] Sui rapporti tra Roberto e Montecassino cf. G. Tescione, 'Roberto conte normanno di Alife, Caiazzo e S. Agata dei Goti', in *Archivio Storico di Terra di Lavoro*, iv (1065–1075), pp. 9–52, in partic. pp. 14–21, 46–47, 49, ma anche G. A. Loud, 'The Norman Counts and the Abbey of Montecassino', in *Monastica I, scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto* (480–1980), (Miscellanea cassinese, xliv, Montecassino, 1981), pp. 198–214, at 198 e 209–11.

Tralascio qui le questioni inerenti il racconto agiografico e il suo più antico testimone, il codice cassinese 413, rispetto alle quali mi limito a ricordare che la questione più spinosa e solo parzialmente risolta riguarda la paternità del testo trasmesso dallo stesso codice, in cui si è voluto vedere l'intervento, oltre che del Marsicano, di Guidone cassinese o, secondo più convincenti interpretazioni, di Pietro diacono.[40] Vorrei invece sottolineare quanto la vicenda e il suo resoconto agiografico non solo tramandino la complessità di rapporti tra il conte Roberto e le principali istituzioni religiose dell'area coinvolta, ma siano esemplari di più generali dinamiche di relazione tra i poteri normanni e le istanze locali. Nel contempo, essi sono sintomatici del ruolo affidato ai fenomeni devozionali da alcuni dei nuovi poteri normanni, poiché Roberto si dimostra ben conscio del valore delle reliquie e di quanto potesse giovare, e non solo sul piano simbolico, alla sua funzione di potente signore territoriale mostrarsi come il pio promotore di trasferimenti di corpi santi.

Anche una contemporanea vicenda cultuale, la traslazione delle reliquie dell'eremita Martino – santo della cui esistenza siamo informati da Gregorio Magno[41] – dal Monte Massico, nell'attuale provincia di Caserta, a Carinola (CE), nella chiesa dei SS. Maria e Giovanni, nel 1094, si dimostra un terreno fecondo per misurare l'intreccio degli interessi ecclesiastici e civili sullo scorcio dell'XI secolo in alcune realtà locali che, seppure di modesto spessore territoriale, sono esemplificative di fenomeni più generali.

Benché non si possa escludere che Carinola fosse già diocesi, solo dall'XI secolo essa è attestata sicuramente come tale, sotto la giurisdizione della Metropolìa di Capua,[42] segno dell'importanza da essa assunta nell'area in cui insisteva: il suo ruolo politico-ecclesiastico in questi anni, peraltro, è confermato dal fatto che il suo primo vescovo, o uno dei primi, Bernardo, fu venerato come santo secondo una tradizione agiografica, però, particolarmente problematica.[43] Il promotore della traslazione di Martino, raccontata da un articolato testo, comprendente *Vita, Translatio* e *Miracula,* opera del cassinese Pietro diacono (BHL 5604),[44] non fu il potere politico ma il vescovo del luogo, il ricordato Bernardo. Tuttavia il ruolo nella vicenda del normanno Gionata, conte di Carinola e fratello di Giordano I di Capua, non è affatto marginale, come non lo era stato, stando alla *Vita Bernardi,* quando Bernardo aveva deciso di trasferire la sede episcopale da *Forum Claudii* a Carinola e di edificare qui una cattedrale, costruita su un terreno concesso dallo stesso conte.[45] La vicenda della traslazione, dunque, pur mediata dalla scrittura agiografica, ci segnala un caso di fattiva collaborazione tra il nuovo episcopato locale e il potere normanno, quest'ultimo ben conscio della ricaduta che poteva avere sul suo prestigio la custodia delle reliquie di un personaggio dalla santità indiscussa, assicurata dalla testimonianza di papa Gregorio Magno, nella sua contea.

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[40] Per l'intera questione, con fonti e storiografia di riferimento, si veda Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 229–47.

[41] BHL 5601, ed. A. De Vogüé e P. Antin, in *Grégoire le Grand, Dialogues* II (Sources Chrétiennes, cclx, Paris, 1979), III, 16, pp. 326–37.

[42] L'elenco delle sedi suffraganee capuane si conosce con certezza solo dal 1174, *Italia pontificia* cit., VIII, pp. 223 ss.

Gli esempi qui presentati mi sembrano sufficienti a confermare sia, in generale, la potenzialità di culti e agiografie come fonti per la ricostruzione dei contesti storici e delle loro dinamiche sociali, sia, nello specifico, quanto lo studio di tali argomenti sia utile per comprendere le relazioni tra le trasformazioni degli assetti politico-istituzionali tra XI e XII secolo e le specifiche realtà locali, che da quelle stesse trasformazioni trassero nuovi ruoli e rinnovati equilibri, secondo la dialettica sopra richiamata tra innovazioni e persistenze.

Solo qualche cenno, da ultimo, alle 'capitali' dei ducati e dei principati 'campani' preesistenti alla conquista normanna. Tra i secoli XI–XII, a differenza delle comunità fin qui esaminate, dalla prospettiva agiografico-cultuale esse si pongono ad una prima lettura su un piano di continuità rispetto al passato, benché talvolta rinnovato da *inventiones* e *translationes* di reliquie o da scritture agiografiche, e risultano pochi gli inserimenti di nuovi culti nei santorali cittadini o i rilanci di devozioni antiche. Pur tuttavia, come ho cercato di dimostrare in altra sede, anche le comunità di più antica urbanizzazione riconoscono ancora a culti e agiografie un ruolo importante, benché il compito di promuoverli sia affidato ora soprattutto agli arcivescovi e raramente al potere politico che, invece, nei secoli precedenti aveva ben colto le implicazioni politiche del possesso di patrocini santi, per esempio rendendosi protagonista di traslazioni e commissionando testi agiografici. D'altra parte, scomparendo con i Normanni gli attori della politica altomedievale, duchi o principi che fossero, restava solo l'episcopato a garantire la continuità con la tradizione e l'antico prestigio cittadino, dei quali era stato parte integrante il culto dei santi; e sono i vescovi a rendersi conto che le comunità urbane, sconvolte dai nuovi eventi, potevano ritrovare o ricostruire la loro identità civica anche grazie alle proprie antiche devozioni.[46]

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[43] Bernardo è sicuramente attestato nel 1101 e nel 1104 ma cf., anche per il culto e la tradizione agiografica, Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 155–72.

[44] Edito in *ASS,* Octob. X, pp. 835b-838. Per il complesso *dossier* agiografico su s. Martino si veda U. Zannini, 'San Martino eremita. Vita e culto di un santo attraverso le falsificazioni medievali', in U. Zannini-G. Guadagno, *S. Martino e S. Bernardo*, s.l. (1997), pp. 15–52.

[45] Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, p. 254 ma 247–54 per le questioni inerenti la traslazione.

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[46] Galdi, *Santi, territori, poteri*, pp. 254–99.

6. The landscape of Anglo-Norman England: chronology and cultural transmission

Robert Liddiard

Introduction

Issues of cultural change lie at the heart of debates over the Norman Conquest of England. To an earlier generation of scholars, the effects of the year 1066 were readily evidenced by the importation of a variety of structures from Normandy that left an indelible mark on the English landscape. The newcomers included castles, great cathedral and monastic churches built along European Romanesque lines, deer parks and forest law and, while not new, renewed vigour was given to urban expansion and the building of minor churches. Here was almost a 'Norman package' underpinned by a new form of social organization – feudalism – brought to England by the conquerors. The historical trend over many decades has been to revise such broad 'cataclysmic' views of the Conquest and the status as 'Norman import' of much of the package has been queried, nuanced, and rejected outright, by a range of scholars. It remains undeniable, however, that the English countryside in the year 1200 looked very different from that of 1000 and that, directly or indirectly, the Conquest had a profound effect in shaping the landscape of the high middle ages. This chapter makes observations on cultural transmission as observed in three areas of the post-Conquest English landscape: fortifications, hunting landscapes and the morphology of 'planned' villages. In so doing, it draws attention to chronological change within the Anglo-Norman period and the importance of the twelfth century to the 'Normanization' of the English countryside.

The issue of cultural change in post-Conquest England needs to be set against a broader background. First, those who came to England as part of the Conqueror's invasion force and in the wake of the events that followed did not comprise a representative cross-section of pre-Conquest Norman society, but rather came from across northern France and the Low Countries, with individuals drawn from various social ranks and geographical areas.[1] The newly conquered kingdom possessed a vibrant, and regionally diverse, native culture of its own, variously subject to influences from continental Europe, Scandinavia and elsewhere in the British Isles.[2] The range of potential influences to which England was exposed both before and after 1066 was therefore extensive, with obvious implications for cultural exchange. Second, by the turn of the eleventh century the English aristocracy was a new elite and the particular circumstances of its formation gave it a particular dynamism of its own, not least in its cross-channel dimension.[3] It is in such fluid circumstances that, as individuals and collectively, its constituent members might wish to innovate culturally, take on particular practices or motifs, reject others, and rework existing ideas for new purposes. The imperatives to do so might include the demonstration of social advancement, residential magnificence, the giving and receiving of patronage, control of resources, the creation and maintenance of identity and, perhaps most importantly, legitimization of newly acquired territory or rights. Third, the two centuries after 1000 were a crucially important period in the history of northern Europe characterized by a series of fundamental processes that often acted independently of major political events, but were important in framing actions at a local level. The most obvious of these was population growth that, although an autonomous process, had important ramifications for lord/peasant relations.[4] The issue of cultural exchange is inexorably bound up with these much wider shifts in society, with a central challenge being how to differentiate between changes seen in England after 1066 that stemmed directly from the imposition of Norman rule and those associated with broader patterns of ongoing pan-European change. The two are, of course, interrelated and it is the distinctive English experience that is the issue here.

Fortifications

The widespread construction of castles is one of the most significant processes at work in the post-Conquest English landscape and often seen as one of the principal mechanisms by which the invaders subdued a hostile population and made their conquest permanent.[5] The historiographical trend for some decades has been to rein back from overarching 'military' explanations and instead to emphasize that the process of castle-building was a complex and nuanced exercise in continuity and change.[6]

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[1] J. A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 25–47. The author would like to thank David Bates and Elisabeth van Houts for their initial invitation to contribute to this volume and also for their considerable patience thereafter.

[2] H. M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation and Identity, 1066–c.1220* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 20–31.

[3] D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire* (Oxford, 2013).

[4] H. Hallam, ‘Population movements in England, 1086–1350’, in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, ii: 1042–1350*, ed. H. E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 508–93.

There are of course monuments that it is impossible to see originating in England had it not been for the establishment of William I's rule. In the case of the Norman 'palace' keep – where the elements of the Carolingian palace were combined into a single structure – there is a clear link between the northern French tradition of tower construction and the appearance of buildings such as Colchester and the White Tower in England after 1066 (Figure 6.1). In its plan, the White Tower took direct inspiration from Ivry-la-Bataille, Eure (990–1011), or possibly the earlier and since lost ducal tower at Rouen.[7] That the continental tradition of building such towers was already two centuries old when the White Tower was founded serves to underline how new to England these buildings were: nothing in this form and scale had been seen before. Had Harold II emerged victorious at Hastings his military reputation would have been of European significance and might conceivably have been celebrated by a grand building, but it is difficult to imagine that any such structure would have taken as its principal influence the stone keeps of continental Europe. Of perhaps more importance in a discussion of cultural exchange is the suggestion that in its basic design the White Tower was a reaffirmation of what was, by the 1080s, already an older building form in Normandy, while at the same time incorporating more contemporary architectural elements in the details of the staircase, the arrangement of floor levels, the chapel, turrets, fenestration and the arcaded spin wall.[8] Such an observation serves to underline that even what outwardly appears to be a simple case of 'Norman' cultural transmission in fact reflects a much wider set of priorities. The White Tower might be a monument to the events of 1066, but it is not in any simple sense what already existed in Normandy transplanted anew to England.

The White Tower is important because it also established a tradition of building that was taken up by the Conqueror's sons and later the baronage

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[5] J. H. Round, 'The Castles of the Conquest', *Archaeologia*, lviii (1902), 313–40; E. S. Armitage, *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (1912); the classic account is R. A. Brown, *English Castles* (1976); see also R. Eales, 'Royal power and castles in Norman England', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood,* III: *Papers from the Third Strawberry Hill Conference*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1990), 49–78.

[6] C. Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society* (Oxford, 2004).

[7] E. Impey, 'The ancestry of the White Tower', in *The White Tower*, ed. E. Impey (2008), pp. 227–41.

[8] Impey, *Ancestry of the White Tower*, p. 240.

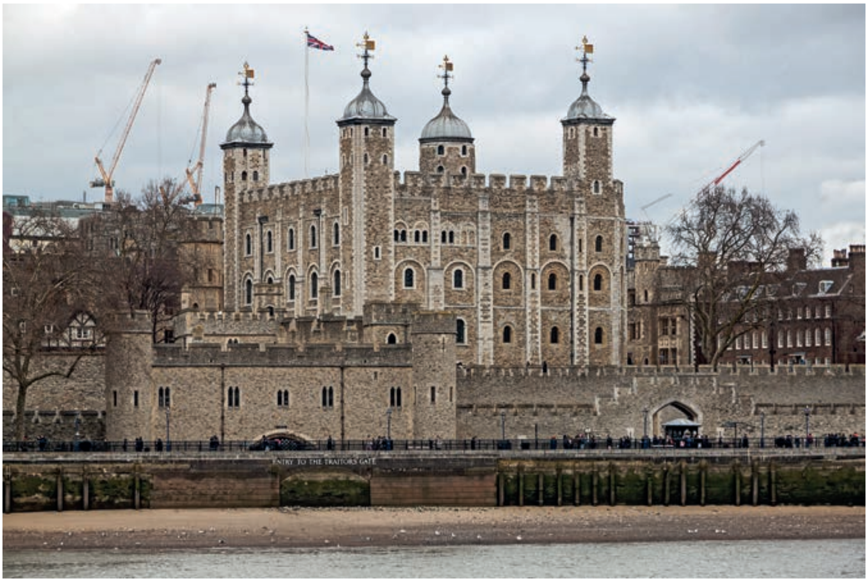

Figure 6.1 The White Tower, London. William I's tower drew inspiration from the keeps of his homeland and initiated a tradition of building in England.

and found expression in both England and Normandy up to the close of the twelfth century.[9] The twelfth century in particular is characterized by buildings that, while made up of similar constituent parts such as halls, chambers and chapels, were also distinguished by originality and innovation in their architectural detail and complexity of access arrangements.[10] The range of influences on the development of keeps can be seen on the one hand in 'familial' patterns where buildings deliberately reference each other, such as Norwich, Falaise and Castle Rising, whereas in other cases the desire to push the bounds of what was architecturally possible led to highly individualistic buildings, such as Rochester.[11] This desire to innovate at the expense of one's peers is provided by the apocryphal story related by Orderic Vitalis of Aubrée, wife of Rodulf, count of Ivry, who employed an architect named Lanfred to build the tower, only to have him executed after it was completed 'so that he could never design a castle like it anywhere else'.[12] While changes in tower design have traditionally been ascribed to the evolutionary struggle between attacker and defender, the evidence from the buildings is that it was driven more by social emulation and competition between the Anglo-Norman elite.[13]

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[9] P. Dixon, 'The influence of the White Tower on the great towers of the twelfth century', in *The White Tower*, ed. Impey, pp. 243–75.

[10] P. Dixon, 'Design in castle-building: the control of access to the lord', *Château-Gaillard*, xviii (1998), 47–57; P. Marshall, 'The great tower as residence in the territories of the Norman and Angevin kings of England', in *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe AD c.800–1600*, ed. G. Meirion-Jones, E. Impey and M. Jones (BAR International Series, mlxxxviii, Oxford, 2002) pp. 27–44.

[11] P. Dixon and P. Marshall, 'Norwich castle and its analogues', in Meirion-Jones, Impey and Jones, *The Seigneurial Residence,* pp. 235–43; J. A. A. Goodall, 'The great tower of Rochester castle', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester,* ed. T. Ayers and T. Tatton-Brown (Leeds, 2006), pp. 265–99.

While palace keeps provide evidence for cultural transmission from Normandy to England, halls provide possible evidence for the reverse. Here, the vibrant pre-Conquest English culture of hall construction soon found architectural expression in post-Conquest Normandy in a seemingly clear-cut case of cultural transmission from conquered territory back to the homeland.[14] The English experience was almost certainly one of a number of influences on the final form of the Salle de l'Echiquier at Caen.[15] If the White Tower was the Conqueror's trophy building that took inspiration from Normandy, then it might not be too fanciful to suggest that for William Rufus Westminster Hall was the trophy building inspired by England. As both a space and as a building, the great hall passed with 'undiminished prestige' through the eleventh century and the scale and attention with which halls were treated at English castles throughout the middle ages (in marked contrast to their European counterparts) was almost certainly a result of Anglo-Saxon tradition.[16]

It is also possible that pre-Conquest English tradition was at work in the design of the more slender gate houses and free-standing towers seen at castles of lesser rank than those with palace keeps. Such towers also had a provenance in continental Europe and may have come to England direct from Normandy, but as towers of timber or masonry construction were a feature of high-status Anglo-Saxon sites, a native connection is also possible. The contemporary English term for these buildings was 'burh-geat' and at lordly residences, this was probably the entrance tower at the edge of the manorial curtilage or otherwise a part of a wider complex, possibly serving as a bell-tower or as a towered chapel.[17] The early eleventh-century 'Promotion

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[12] *OV*, IV, p. 290.

[13] C. Coulson, 'Peaceable power in Norman castles', *ANS*, xxiii (2001), pp. 69–95.

[14] E. Impey, 'The seigneurial residence in Normandy, 1125–1225: an Anglo-Norman tradition?', *Medieval Archaeology*, xlviii (1999), 45–73.

[15] E. Impey, 'The great hall of the dukes of Normandy in the castle at Caen', in *Castles and the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. J. A. Davies and others (Oxford, 2016), pp. 101–32.

[16] J. Goodall, *The English Castle* (2011), p. 57.

[17] *English Historical Documents, i: c.500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock (1968), pp. 468–71;

Law' that codified the qualifying rights to thegnhood specifically mentions the burh-geat and so demonstrates that towers acted as a signifier of rank.[18] While the small number of surviving sites and the fragmentary nature of the remains make it difficult to see exactly to what purposes such towers were put, common to all is that they acted as a marker of status and that there was some 'display' element to their function as apertures or windows are found in their elevations, presumably for the exhibition of the lord himself, his banner or relics.[19]

What is significant is that a number of smaller post-Conquest English keeps and gate-towers appear to architecturally reference this English tradition. The clearest example is the Conqueror's gatehouse at Exeter castle dating to soon after 1068, which contains windows of English form and with the whole building bearing a close affinity to pre-Conquest English towers. At other early castle gate-towers, the characteristic 'display' openings are of more conventional Norman design but clearly share a similar function, as at Richmond and Ludlow, where the traces of the apertures remain in the fabric of the later structures raised over the original Norman buildings. This gatehouse tradition remained vibrant well into the twelfth century and, as examples at Sherborne and Newark indicate, was entirely acceptable for builders of episcopal rank.

While the Conquest undeniably saw the introduction of the palace keep, outside this elite circle, buildings were clearly open to a greater number of influences, with that from England seemingly enduring long into the twelfth century. While such an observation cuts against the grain of much of the older historiography of castles, it is worth noting in passing that a similar observation can be made of ecclesiastical buildings. Here, the plan form of cathedral and monastic churches took direct inspiration from Normandy and their elevations retained no pre-Conquest masonry, but outside those of the first rank, there was a greater degree of survival of English building practice.[20] In contrast to the swift re-building of England's major churches, in the countryside the move to stone was much slower and the 'great rebuilding' at parish level was a process that stretched well into

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M. Shapland, 'St Mary's, Broughton, Lincolnshire: a thegnly tower-nave in the late Saxon landscape', *Archaeological Journal*, clxv (2008), 471–519.

[18] A. Williams, 'A bell-house and a burh-geat: lordly residences in England before the Norman Conquest', in *Medieval Knighthood, IV: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 221–40.

[19] D. Renn, 'Burhgeat and Gonfanon: two sidelights from the Bayeux Tapestry', *ANS,* xvi (1994), pp. 178–98.

[20] E. C. Fernie, 'Architecture and the effects of the Norman Conquest', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (1994), pp. 105–116; M. Thurlby, 'Minor cruciform churches in Norman England and Wales', *ANS*, xxiv (2002), pp. 239–76.

the twelfth century and reflected economic expansion and the growth of resident lordship.[21]

The majority of post-Conquest castles were of earth and timber and took the form either of motte and bailey or ringwork, albeit with an enormous variety of configurations. In England numbers of castles peaked in the late eleventh century at as many as 500–600 'active' sites, but declined thereafter; it was the speed and scale of building that made the English experience unique.[22] Here the situation in terms of cultural transmission is more complicated than for their masonry counterparts. The evidence for the building of castles in Norman England needs to be set against the clearer picture of pre-Conquest lordly residences that now exists, which has confirmed that the English lordly residence shared some of the functions of later Norman castles and that some were not necessarily materially different in form.[23] In the immediate aftermath of the Conquest, the limitations of time and logistical constraints makes it likely that most castles were ringworks and that lords of whatever geographical or ethnic origin were content to dwell in a timber hall surrounded by a simple bank and ditch, albeit perhaps with stronger physical defences; here the archaeological evidence for re-cutting and strengthening of ringwork banks at Sulgrave and Goltho is suggestive.[24] The excavated archaeological evidence from seigneurial sites is clear that for all the changes in settlement patterns occurring in the wider landscape at this time, the site of halls remained unchanged and so suggests redevelopment was the norm, rather than building on new sites.[25] Although a topos, the account in the pro-English *Gesta Herewardi* of Hereward the Wake returning to England to find foreigners living in his father's hall, was probably one that must have resonated with dispossessed Englishmen.[26] As the ringwork was well known in Anglo-Saxon England and given that, at least in some cases, Norman castles were sited over English residences – with obvious connotations of the takeover of local power – there is reason to suppose that some very early castles did not differ greatly from their English counterparts.[27]

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[21] J. Blair, 'Introduction: from minster to parish church', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition, 950–1200*, ed. J. Blair (Oxford, 1988), pp. 1–19; R. Gem, 'The English parish church in the 11th and early 12th centuries: a great re-building', in Blair, *Minsters*, pp. 21–30.

[22] Eales, 'Royal power and castles', pp. 49–78.

[23] R. Higham and P. Barker, *Timber Castles* (1992), pp. 36–61; B. English, 'Towns, mottes and ring-works of the Conquest', in *The Medieval Military Revolution*, ed. A. Ayton and J. Price (1995), pp. 43–62; J. Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications* (Leicester, 1990), p. 7.

[24] B. K. Davison, 'Excavations at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, 1960–76: an interim report', *Archaeological Journal*, cxxxiv (1977), 105–14; G. Beresford, *Goltho: the Development of an Early Medieval Manor c.850–1150* (1987).

[25] M. Gardiner, 'The origins and persistence of manor houses in England', in *Medieval Landscapes*, ed. M. Gardiner and S. Rippon (Macclesfield, 2007), pp. 170–82.

[26] M. Swanton, 'The deeds of Hereward', in *Medieval Outlaws: Ten Tales in Modern English*, ed. T. H. Ohlgren (Stroud, 1998), pp. 12–60.

As yet, however, no definitive evidence exists in England for a motte of pre-Conquest date and there is little reason to suppose anything other than that they are a Norman phenomenon.[28] That mottes appeared in England at the earliest stages of the Conquest is confirmed by archaeological excavation at Winchester, Hen Domen, and also probably at York.[29] Quite when mottes proliferated in England, however, is harder to gauge. Close archaeological dating of mottes is extremely difficult but where such evidence exists, it is significant that there is a marked tendency to place dates closer to 1100 than to the mid eleventh century and that it was usually associated with tenurial change. At Carisbrooke, for example, the motte was an addition to an existing multi-phase ringwork and the construction of the mound has been linked with the acquisition of the castle by Richard de Redvers in the first decade of the twelfth century (1100–7).[30] At Goltho the motte phase of the castle belonged to either 1080 or the mid twelfth century (when the manors were united under one lord) according to the two conflicting dating sequences suggested for the site, but in either case is chronologically removed from the Conquest.[31] While the differences between a mid or late eleventh-century date might seem trivial, as is discussed below, such an observation is important in evaluating the chronological point at which castle sites became recognisably 'Normanized'.

The distinctiveness of the English experience is brought out when placed in a European context, where similar long-term processes can be seen in the development of fortifications. As a form of defence work, ringworks are ubiquitous across northern Europe and excavated sites show that they could be long-lived, in an analogous manner to English sites like Goltho.[32] The origin of mottes is unclear, but relevant here is the observation that prior to 1066 motte building in Normandy was comparatively rare and so the conquest of England was not a situation where commonplace traditions of the conquerors supplanted those of the conquered. The key period of motte construction in northern Europe was *c.*1050–1200 and can be observed in modern Belgium and Holland from the mid eleventh century, with the bulk appearing in the twelfth century. In Norway one example of a motte dated 1050–60 has been excavated at Oslo.[33] The construction of stone towers was a pan-European phenomenon, part of a broader and ongoing process of private fortification across Europe and seen in Germany and Italy.[34] Whether it be with castles of masonry or earth and timber, the archaeological evidence points to a process of seigneurial fortification across northern Europe, with 'incastellation' dating to the mid eleventh century and particularly the twelfth.[35]

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[27] R. Liddiard, *Landscapes of Lordship: Norman Castles and the Countryside in Medieval Norfolk, 1066–1200* (BAR, British Series, cccix, Oxford, 2000); A. Lowerre, *Placing Castles in the Conquest: Landscape, Lordship and Local Politics in the South-East Midlands, 1066–1100* (BAR, British Series, ccclxxxv, Oxford, 2005).

[28] Higham and Barker, *Timber Castles*, p. 57.

[29] Higham and Barker, *Timber Castles*, p. 60.

[30] C. J. Young, *Excavations at Carisbrooke Castle Isle of Wight, 1921–1996* (Wessex Archaeology Report, xviii, Salisbury, 2000), p. 194.

[31] Beresford, *Goltho*; P. Everson, 'What's in a name? Goltho, 'Goltho' and Bullington', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, xxiii (1988), 92–9.

[32] C. Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c.AD600–1150: a Comparative Archaeology* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 215–48.

A broader European view is also useful in shedding light on the significance of towers in an English context. As Edward Impey has argued, on the continent the tower became closely associated with noble status following the collapse of the Carolingian empire, with this particular form having specific associations with the take over and ownership of land. Tower building was a 'response to a set of functional requirements, amongst which the demonstration of authority was paramount'.[36] That the number of towers – either of stone or of earth (mottes) – should therefore have proliferated in England after 1066 during the tenurial upheaval of the Conquest is unremarkable. In the same way as the White Tower embodied the elevation of one man from duke to king, the towers of earth that were mottes expressed legitimacy at a more local level. That this was a process, subject to regional and chronological variation, rather than an event, draws attention to longer term trends in the demonstration of lordship. A survey of mottes in eastern Ireland has emphasised their status as monuments of increasing manorialization over time, as much as a traditional instrument of conquest.[37]

While the intensity of incastellation clearly was a major change in the English landscape after 1066, this does not necessarily imply a 'Norman' programme of repression in the same way that the survival of English features does not necessarily evidence native belligerence. The castles of Norman England represented the establishment of new lordship through rebuilding, but the new structures that marked this were often built in existing lordly places and, it seems, sometimes used or shared similar cultural forms of authority. Crucially, this did not just take place in the immediate aftermath of the battle of Hastings – where there is more evidence of continuity of form – but for a considerable period thereafter. Such a process can sometimes be seen archaeologically. At Chalgrave (Bedfordshire) a small motte of 1100 that overlaid earlier occupation was enlarged, not to improve the defences, but for the construction of what was probably an aisled hall with solar.[38] At Eynsford (Kent) a pre-Conquest enclosure was upgraded in the 1080s with a masonry wall, which was heightened again and provided with a gatehouse and a hall in about 1130; all of which marked the elevation and consolidation of the Eynsford family as sheriffs of Kent.[39] The further fortification building moved in time from the 'Conquest' period, arguably it had less to do with military necessity and more to do with emphasizing the cultural norms denoting membership of an elite.

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[33] J. De Meulemeester, 'Le Début du Château: la motte castrale dans les Pays-Bas Meridionaux', *Château-Gaillard*, xvi (1994), 121–30; Ø. Ekroll, 'Norwegian medieval castles: building on the edge of Europe', *Château-Gaillard*, xviii (1998), 65–74.

[34] O. H. Creighton, *Early European Castles, Aristocracy and Authority AD 800–1200* (2012).

[35] Higham and Barker, *Timber Castles*, p. 96.

[36] Impey, *White Tower*, pp. 236–7.

[37] T. E. McNeill, 'Mountains or molehills? Different uses for mottes in the lordships of eastern Ireland', *Archaeological Journal*, clxviii (2011), 227–71.

Parks and hunting landscapes

In historical writing the importance of the Norman Conquest to the origin of English hunting landscapes is as great as that for castles, with forest law, deer parks and new species of animals all, it has been argued in the past, closely associated with the 'blessedly familiar landmark' of 1066.[40] A measure of how far the historiographical ground has shifted in this area comes from Judith Green's analysis of Forest law, once the 'Norman import' par excellence, in which it is shown both to have existed in pre-Conquest England and Normandy, and developed along different trajectories in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[41] Discussions of hunting culture and deer parks in post-Conquest England have likewise raised the profile of native antecedents in structuring post-conquest arrangements and to push key stages in the development of hunting landscapes forward into the twelfth century.[42]

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[38] Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications*, pp. 11–13. A. Pinder and B. Davison, 'The excavation of a motte and bailey castle at Chalgrave, Bedfordshire, 1970', *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal*, xviii (1988), 33–56.

[39] S. E. Rigold, 'Eynsford castle and its excavation', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxxxviii (1971), 109–71.

[40] J. Gillingham, 'Thegns and knights in eleventh-century England: who was then the gentleman?', repr. in *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 163–85.

[41] J. A. Green, 'Forest laws in England and Normandy in the twelfth century', *HR*, lxxxvi (2013), 416–31.

Aristocratic hunting in pre-Conquest England took a variety of forms, with the principal quarry red and roe deer. Red deer are physiologically suited for hunting over long distances over open ground and, while this method of hunting – *par force* – is most commonly associated with the Normans, it was also practiced in England in the pre-Conquest period. In a miracle related in an anonymous *Life of St. Dunstan* it was while chasing a stag that King Edmund narrowly averted death when his horse pulled up on the edge of Cheddar Gorge while deer and hunting dogs fell over the precipice.[43] Numerous pre-Conquest written sources also attest to 'drive' hunting, where beasts were driven towards hunters in pre-prepared stands or stalls.[44] While red deer were also taken by this method, it is probable that the drive was the principal means of taking roe deer, as their preferred habitat is woodland and physiologically they are ill-suited for running down over a distance.[45] The principal structure connected with deer management and hunting in the pre-Conquest landscape was probably the *haga* (Latin *haia*) enclosure. Interpreting the function of these enclosures is problematic as the word referred to a multiplicity of structures, but in a woodland or hunting context at least some comprised long linear banks, which offered a degree of protection for animals rearing their young or alternatively were used to funnel wild deer into areas where they could be netted or shot.[46] In other cases, a permanent or semi-permanent enclosure is referred to, such as the three 'secure enclosures' listed at Longnor in Shropshire in Domesday Book and also by herbage listed at for two *haie* at Upwaltham (Sussex), which is suggestive of a fully bounded enclosure as the same term is used to describe the right of gazing in later deer parks.[47] To judge from their distribution in Domesday, *hagan* tended to be in upland areas and were often associated with woodland and it is probable that much about the pre-Conquest culture of the hunt involved taking roe deer in such woody landscapes; at Corfton in Shropshire a *haia* is recorded in Domesday Book specifically for catching roe deer.[48]

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[42] For the importance of hunting to pre-conquest aristocracy, see A. Williams, *The World before Domesday* (2008), pp. 123–33.

[43] *Memorials of St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, 1874), pp. 23–4.

[44] *Aelfric's Colloquy*, ed. G. N. Garmonsway (Exeter, 1991), p. 13.

[45] J. Fletcher, *Gardens of Earthy Delight: the History of Deer Parks* (Macclesfield, 2011), pp. 62, 97.

[46] D. Hooke, 'Pre-Conquest woodland: its distribution and usage', *Agricultural History Review*, xxxvii (1989), 113–29.

[47] *DB*, i, fo. 254v; fo. 25v.

The extent to which the Norman Conquest initiated changes in hunting culture is difficult to assess, but there is evidence to suggest that after 1066 there were important changes in emphasis. Arguably the best insight into changes in practice is provided by zooarchaeology. Here evidence from bone assemblages shows a marked decrease in the proportion of roe deer on secular sites almost immediately after 1066, with an increase in the proportion of red. This evidence has been used, with some justification, to suggest a cultural difference in hunting practice and a Norman penchant for *par force* hunting across open landscapes, rather than the English method of taking roe deer in woodland. The archaeological evidence for 'unmaking' – the ritual dismemberment of deer carcasses after the kill – is also attested by patterns of bone recovery, which again would represent an important cultural change imported direct from Normandy.[49] At the same time, it would be incorrect to assume that the Conquest initiated changes in all aspects of hunting culture. While the new aristocracy may have favoured chase hunting, their English counterparts had clearly enjoyed it too and drive hunting remained popular throughout the Norman period and beyond; it was while undertaking such a hunt that William Rufus died in the New Forest.[50]

While some hunting methods and rituals may have seen changes soon after 1066, this did not necessarily mean that the physical environment in which hunting took place altered radically. Where exactly the difference lay between the pre-Conquest English *haga* and the classic post-Conquest Norman deer park is not easy to determine, but here there is perhaps as much evidence of continuity as change. In Domesday Book, the words *parcus* and *haga* are used to describe pre- and post-Conquest enclosures, which suggests that there was not any significant physical difference between the two on the ground. It is undoubtedly significant that this fluidity of working also occurred in pre-Conquest Normandy, which again is suggestive of the fact that there was a certain degree of commonality.[51] In a well-known case of continuity at Ongar in Essex, a 'deer hedge' mentioned in the will of Thurstan son of Wine in 1045 appears to have continued unchanged across the Conquest period and 'emerged' as a conventional deer park thereafter, and it is probable that such a situation was a common occurrence across England.[52]

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[48] *DB*, i, fo. 256v.

[49] N. Sykes, *The Norman Conquest: a Zooarchaeological Perspective* (BAR, International Series, mdclvi, Oxford, 2007).

[50] F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (2nd edn., 2000), pp. 420–25.

[51] A. Gautier, 'Deer parks in Sussex and the Godwinessons', *ANS*, xxix (2007), 51–64.

While there is evidence for a certain amount of continuity in the structures associated with deer management across the immediate Conquest years, this does not necessarily mean that the cultural significance of hunting landscapes remained unaltered, or that the situation was static throughout the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. Regardless of the extent of the pre-Conquest base, there is considerable evidence that a dramatic increase in the numbers of parks took place not immediately after 1066 but in the twelfth century and that it was also at this time that the conception of the park as a marker of elite status underwent considerable change.[53]

The stimulus for the creation of parks by lords lay in a number of factors. First, the increase in population in the century and a half after the Norman Conquest and the consequent expansion of arable and assarting brought areas of wood and wood pasture under increasing pressure. The response by lords was to guarantee their rights over this diminishing grazing resource by imparking. The conclusion from a number of detailed local studies is that the key period in this process was the mid to late twelfth century.[54] In some cases, parks may have been formed as a result of the break-up of large and much older hunting enclosures (some of which may have been the *haga* and parks of Domesday Book), but others were carved out of upland areas over which lords claimed hunting rights.[55] In this sense, imparkment was part of the longer-term process associated with the general shift towards a landscape increasingly parcelled up and where proprietal rights were clearly delineated.

The rise of the park was probably also closely linked to the introduction of fallow deer. While the origins of the species in England are currently the subject of a great deal of new work based on the scientific analysis of excavated bones, at the time of writing it remains the case that fallow were probably introduced to England after 1066, beginning with small numbers of 'trophy' animals at first and rising to a more sizeable breeding population towards the end of the eleventh century and into the twelfth.[56] The exact route of transmission of fallow to England is opaque, however, and has recently been thrown wide open by the revelation that English deer are not, as has always been supposed, genetically Anatolian fallow, but rather a separate species native to the Balkans. This identification would outwardly seem to question the idea that the animals were imported from Norman Sicily; rather it might suggest a route to England via some other route, possibly the empire.[57] However they arrived in England, fallow are well-suited to being kept in an enclosed environment and their short bursts of speed and ability to jump made them an ideal quarry to be hunted in parks. An increasing population of such animals dovetailed with the policy of lords to enclose waste for themselves and so worked in tandem to underpin a rise in the numbers of parks.

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[52] R. Liddiard, 'The deer parks of Domesday Book', *Landscapes*, iv (2003), 4–23.

[53] S. A. Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 134–6.

[54] R. Hoppitt, 'Hunting Suffolk's parks: towards a reliable chronology of imparkment', in *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives*, ed. R. Liddiard (Macclesfield, 2007), pp. 146–64.

[55] A. Winchester, 'Baronial and manorial parks in medieval Cumbria', in Liddiard, *Medieval Park*, pp. 165–84.

[56] Sykes, *The Norman Conquest.*

In the period following their initial introduction to England, the value of fallow as exotica was probably substantial and draws attention to the role of the park as a marker of seigneurial rank. While undoubtedly important in the eleventh century, the twelfth century was probably the key period in making the park the status symbol it was to become throughout the middle ages. An important aspect of this process was the multiplicity of species that were kept within their bounds. While eleventh-century assemblages of bones are dominated by the presence of red and roe deer, the zooarchaeological evidence points to the fact that it was from the twelfth century that the typical high medieval assemblage from elite sites, with representations not just from fallow deer, but from species such as rabbit, partridge, scan, peacock and heron, started to become visible.[58] The appearance of rabbit at this time is of interest, not only because its zooarchaeological signature mirrors that of fallow and so suggests that it too was a prized species, but also that the documentary evidence for its introduction comes well into the twelfth century.[59] William I famously 'loved the harts as dearly as though he had been their father', but it is suggestive that the first clear-cut historical reference to deer parks as an environment for other, more exotic, species comes from the next generation of Norman kings with Henry I's menagerie in Woodstock.[60] Here it was not so much that the park itself was something new, rather what was within its bounds marked it out as important.

The changing concept of the park as a marker of lordly identity also undergoing change in the twelfth century can be seen in the changing relationship between deer park and residence. The close relationship between parks and castles is evident in Domesday Book, where recorded parks were often within easy reach and in view of an associated castle. But over the course of the eleventh and especially twelfth centuries there was a growing tendency for the park to envelope the residence on one or more sides and for the principal apartments to overlook parkland.[61] A greater concern for the place of the park in residential surroundings is apparent from the second quarter of the twelfth century when greater care seems to have been taken when configuring the park with the principal buildings. At Kenilworth in Warwickshire in the 1120s, the foundation charter of Kenilworth Priory acknowledges that there had been a concern over where exactly priory, castle and park would be placed on the ground while new castles of the 1130s such as those at Devizes and Sherborne had parks that were integral to the design.[62] That there was a process at work here is suggested by Framlingham, where the original masonry hall of the 1120s lay to the east of the main enclosure, but during the rebuilding of the 1190s, the focus of occupation switched to the west side, where the hall and chambers overlooked the mere and park and which formed the main 'view' from the castle up to the sixteenth century (Figure 6.2).[63]

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[57] N. Sykes, peronal communication.

[58] N. Sykes, 'Animal bones and animal parks', in Liddiard, *Medieval Park*, pp. 49–62.

[59] N. Sykes and J. Curl, 'The rabbit', in *Extinctions and Invasions: a Social History of British Fauna*, ed. T. O'Connor and N. Sykes (Oxford, 2010), pp. 116–26; R. G. Haynes, 'Vermin traps and rabbit warrens on Dartmoor', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, iv (1970), 147–64.

[60] WM, *GRA*, i, p. 741.

While the subject of residential hinterlands in the Anglo-Norman period requires more comparative work across Europe, studies that have taken place suggest not only that lordly appurtenances such as parks are common to high-status sites, but that in some cases their arrangement on the ground is so similar that it suggests a pan-European attitude on the part of lords to the arrangement of residential surroundings.[64] If this is the case, then the twelfth century was undoubtedly a key period of formation. That such arrangements were a necessary requirement for a lordly residence of any note is seen in Ireland, where the existence of parks and fallow deer at castles was restricted to the highest social levels of Anglo-Norman society and where parks were so small in size and numbers of deer were so low that their purposes could not have been anything other than fulfilling the demands of rank.[65]

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[61] A. Richardson, '"The king's chief delights": a landscape approach to the royal parks of post-Conquest England', in Liddiard, *Medieval Park*, pp. 27–48.

[62] P. White and A. Cook, *Sherborne Old Castle, Dorset. Archaeological Investigations 1930–90* (2015), p. 9; M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (1967), p. 129.

[63] M. Brown, *Framlingham Castle, Suffolk* (Archaeological Investigation Report Series 24/2002, English Heritage, Cambridge, 2002).

[64] M. Hansson, *Aristocratic Landscape: the Spatial Ideology of the Medieval Aristocracy* (Malmö, 2006); M. Casset, *Les Évêques aux champs. Château et manoirs des évêques normands au Moyen Âge* (Caen, 2007); O. H. Creighton, 'Castle studies and the European medieval landscape: traditions, trends and future research directions', *Landscape History*, xxx (2009), 5–20.

[65] F. Beglane, *Anglo-Norman Parks in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2015).

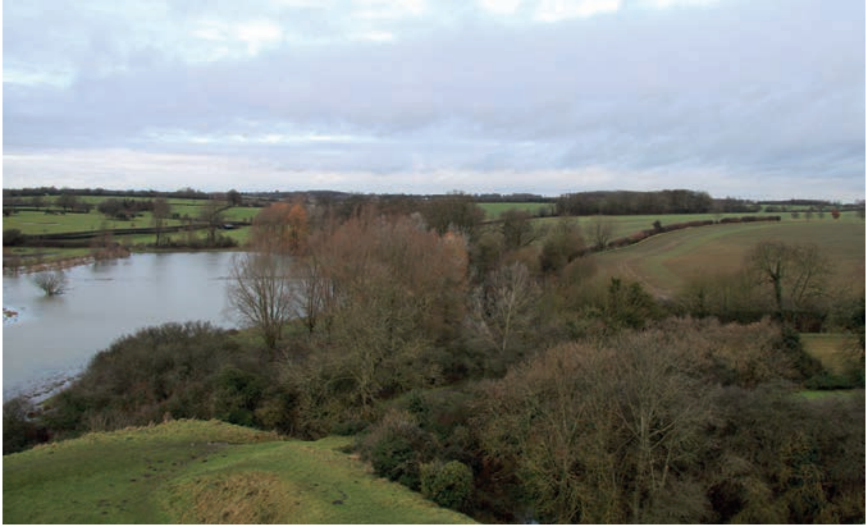

Figure 6.2 The mere and the site of the deer park at Framlingham castle, Suffolk. This 'view' from the principal castle buildings dates to the rebuilding of the castle in the late twelfth century.

Settlement planning

Evidence for landscape change as a result of the Conquest has tended to focus, as here, on high-status structures such as castles and parks, rather than those elements further down the settlement hierarchy: villages, hamlets and farms. Due to the difficulties of dating excavated archaeological evidence, establishing the immediate effects of the Norman Conquest at village level is almost impossible, but the general trends in settlement morphology across England in the period 800–1200 are well known. In midland shires a 'nucleated' pattern of villages developed by 1200, while elsewhere more 'dispersed' patterns of hamlets and farms predominated. Within these broad categories were numerous local and regional variations, the origins and development of which have proved the source of considerable debate.[66]

Of particular relevance here is the extent to which lordship was a factor in settlement planning and in the morphological form of peasant settlements.

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[66] The areas of controversy can be followed in C. Lewis, P. Mitchell-Fox and C. Dyer, *Village, Hamlet and Field: Changing Settlements in Medieval England* (Macclesfield, 2002); T. Williamson, *Shaping Medieval Landscapes: Settlement, Society, Environment* (Macclesfield, 2003); R. Jones and M. Page, *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends* (Macclesfield, 2006); T. Williamson, *Environment, Society and Landscape in Early Medieval England: Time and Topography* (Woodbridge, 2013); S. Rippon, *Beyond the Medieval Village* (Oxford, 2014).

A long-standing idea in landscape history is that villages exhibiting regularity in their plans owe their characteristic form to direct planning by lords, or possibly by communities themselves.[67] Such villages are characterized by a regular arrangement of property boundaries comprising typically long, thin, parallel plots that are frequently, but not exclusively, set around a green, and often with a church and manor house at one end. A planned form might represent the outcome of a defined 'event' when the village was first established or at some subsequent stage during reorganization, the latter also possibly connected with a concurrent reorganization of the settlement's attendant field systems. With particular reference to the Norman Conquest, planned villages in the north of England have been attributed in the past to a major resettlement after William I's infamous 'Harrying of the North' in 1069–70.[68]

Exactly why lords might want to plan or reorganize settlements on their land is, however, open to question.[69] While there might be advantages to regular burgage plots in towns, why the same should be true of villages, many of which could only have comprised a small number of farms in 1086, is less clear. Arguments in favour of lordly planning often invoke an economic rationale, but it is hard to see why a regular form would be advantageous in the collection of tallage – the preferred Norman form of exaction – or why over most of England lords were seemingly content to retain settlements of dispersed or irregular form that presumably were tallaged as much as their nucleated counterparts.[70]

The study of village form benefits from reference to 'equifinality', that is the principle that the same end state can be reached by a number of different processes. In this case, while it may be that lordly planning could result in a regular village, regularity can also be achieved by other mechanisms. The most obvious is piecemeal expansion, where house plots expanded over adjacent land (Figure 6.3).[71] A recent observation from Northamptonshire is that when the pattern of tofts and crofts is analysed in conjunction with those of adjacent open field strips, the two invariably lie on the same alignment: that is, the orientation of the houses is the same as that of the open fields.[72] Such an observation seems to confirm that village expansion took place over ground that was already divided up and that when it did so, a regular pattern was the result. That this expansion took place chronologically later than the initial settlement of the village and not, therefore, part of a planning or replanning 'event' is suggested by the fact that such regular alignments of plots tend to radiate out from more irregular forms that tend to lie close to the parish church and which represent the core settled at the time of the village's foundation.

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[67] C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* (1983), pp. 133–46.

[68] P. Allerston, 'English village development: findings from the Pickering district of North Yorkshire', *Institute of British Geographers Transactions*, li (1970), 95–109; J. Sheppard, 'Metrological analysis of regular village plans in Yorkshire', *Agricultural History Review*, xxii (1974), 118–35.

[69] D. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure c.800–1100* (2000), pp. 197–207.

[70] R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (1997), pp. 180, 264.

[71] Faith, *English Peasantry*, pp. 225–9.

Furthermore, 'planned' villages tend to occur in particular environmental contexts, especially where free draining soils are found in combination with relatively muted topography. In such areas settlements could expand over adjacent arable and be accommodated by taking in equivalent numbers of strips from uncultivated areas as the margins of existing fields; in an otherwise undifferentiated environment this could be achieved without losing good quality land close to the village itself.[73] Moreover, the pattern of 'planned' forms is unrelated to the tenurial arrangements or wider patterns of lordship, suggesting that seigneurial initiative was not the principal cause and that organic development over time is a more likely explanation. The driver behind village expansion was demographic growth and the key time frame for this to occur would be the later eleventh and twelfth centuries when population pressure was probably at its most acute.[74]

There is, therefore, no pressing reason to assume that lords actively planned or replanned the settlements on their estates; regular settlement forms are perfectly consistent with 'organic' processes of development. If it occurred at all, 'planning' worked at a number of scales; while, for example, bond tenants may have been settled on a block of strips with the resulting characteristic physical form, but this is far removed from the kind of replanning envisaged by some scholars in the past. In the specific case of planned villages in northern England and the Harrying of the North, such arguments were first advanced at a time when a straightforward causality between historical events and an observable pattern of archaeology on the ground was the norm. The older idea that the harrying retarded the long-term economic fortunes of the region has proved difficult to sustain in the light of subsequent research: the areas of 'waste' in Domesday do not align well with the path of the Conqueror's army and the pattern of church building and funerary monuments do not suggest wholesale destruction

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[72] T. Williamson and others, *Champion: the Making and Unmaking of the English Midland Landscape* (Liverpool, 2013), pp. 81–7.

[73] Williamson and others, *Champion*, pp. 81–7.

[74] S. Baxter, 'Lordship and labour', in *A Social History of England*, ed. J. Crick and E. van Houts (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 98–114.

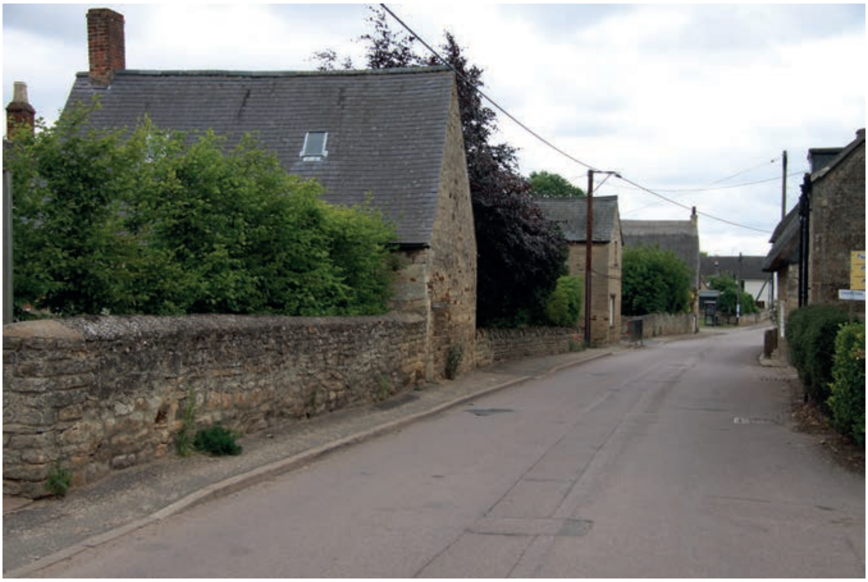

Figure 6.3 Village with regular plan at Woodnewton, Northamptonshire. The characteristic pattern of the gable ends of modern buildings facing the main street is a legacy of the medieval village expanding over its arable fields.

or continuing impoverishment.[75] Moreover, where is has taken place, excavation suggests that many of the north's plan row villages are twelfth century in date, that is far beyond any possible connections with the events of the Conqueror's reign.[76]

The key point here is that there is no reason to believe that lordship was responsible for wholesale planning or replanning 'events' that shaped the majority of villages across whole swathes of the English landscape. It is more likely that morphological forms were the result of a myriad of local decisions that were framed by the constraints and opportunities of geography within which 'organic' social pressures such as population expansion were accommodated. That the hand of lordship was not as strong as has sometimes been supposed is seen by those settlements upon which castles were sited. Here the evidence is clear that castles 'mirrored' their local and regional settlement patterns and their distinctive characteristics, rather than dramatically altered them.[77] Moreover, in those categories of archaeological site where lordly interest is most strongly seen – in manor houses, castles and monastic houses and towns – there is more evidence that a common set of principles, or templates, were being realized on the ground. The sheer diversity of village forms mapped by geographers, including those within areas of nucleated settlement, suggests a more haphazard process on the ground.

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[75] D. Palliser, 'Domesday Book and the Harrying of the North', *Northern History,* xxix (1993), 1–23; A. McClain, 'Local churches and the conquest of the north: elite patronage and identity in Saxo-Norman Northumbria', in *Early Medieval Northumbria, Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–1100*, ed. D. Petts and S. Turner (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 151–78.

[76] D. Austin, *The Deserted Medieval Village of Thrislington County Durham Excavation 1973–1974* (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series, xii, Lincoln, 1989).

Conclusion

By the early thirteenth century, the English landscape of the high middle ages that is so familiar to historians and archaeologists is recognizable. Beyond 1200, interpretations of its above ground archaeology are more concerned with developments within an existing framework, rather than origins. Churches were rebuilt rather than founded *de novo*, field systems expanded along prevailing lines and local lordship was expressed by a range of manorial appurtenances that did not just include a castle or manor house, but fishpond complexes, mills, dovecotes and parks. That the same is true across much of northern Europe is a reminder that the processes at work in England, while regionally specific, were considerable in scope. To credit the Normans – in a narrow sense of the companions of the Conqueror – with this end game is erroneous. While the hand of the conquerors can clearly be seen at the higher end of the settlement hierarchy, outside of a small group of elite buildings 'Norman' culture rapidly becomes enmeshed with a broader set of concerns and influences; it recalls the idea that the Normans were so good at assimilating that they assimilated themselves out of existence.[78] Earlier generations of scholars when discussing 'the landscape of Norman England' were apt to draw attention to castles, stone churches and manor houses, deer parks and forests and to place emphasis on their continental origins. If these are indices of 'Normanization' then two conclusions follow: firstly, that all had roots in pre-Conquest England and second, that in their fully developed form they owed as much to the twelfth century as to the eleventh.

Much of this discussion has emphasized processes, rather than events. In narrating the broader sweep of history during this period, historians regularly discuss developments that worked themselves out 'glacial paced' over centuries.[79] Here is it useful to remember that historians inevitably telescope down time in their narratives and the further back in time the events they describe, so a greater tendency to reduce time frames further. In the case of the Norman Conquest of England it is instructive to think about cultural exchange in terms of generational change. Those people born in 1060 were in adulthood by the time of the Domesday survey and early middle age by the end of the century. At best, they would possess only a hazy and child's eye view of the world with which their parents were familiar. The generation that did not experience the Conquest at first hand still lived with its inheritance and their lives were framed by its legacy, but they also lived in a new society with dynamics of its own. While not being able to provide an answer, the purpose of this chapter is to raise the question of to what extent men and women born in 1066, who witnessed in their thirties or forties the building of the motte at Carisbrooke castle, saw themselves as recipients of cultural exchange as a direct result of the battle of Hastings, or as participants in a new material world.[80]

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[77] O. H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (2002), pp. 193–216.

[78] E. Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford, 2000), p. 303.

[79] Baxter, 'Lordship', p. 114.

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[80] Many of the themes discussed in this chapter are explored in greater depth in an important volume: *The Archaeology of the 11th Century: Continuities and Transformations,* ed. D. M. Hadley and C. Dyer (Abingdon, 2017), which was published after this book had gone to press.

7. The medieval archives of the abbey of S. Trinità, Cava[*]

G. A. Loud

The monastery of Holy Trinity (Badia di S. Trinità), Cava, near Salerno, possesses the largest and most important medieval archive in mainland southern Italy, which is of particular value for the study of the Norman and Staufen periods. However, it is as yet largely underexploited, since while all the documents therein before 1090 have been published, only a relatively small proportion of those after that date have been edited, and even those that have are to be found in scattered, and often obscure and hard to locate, publications.[1] Yet of the material remains of Norman and indeed later medieval southern Italy, the documents in the Cava archive are among the most significant and illuminating.

The abbey of the Holy Trinity was founded *c.*1020 in the hills some six kilometres to the west of the town of Salerno in southern Italy, and about four kilometres by a steep and winding road from the modern town of Cava dei Tirreni, in the plain below. The locality where the monastery was founded was known in the middle ages as Metiliano; the village surrounding the monastery is known today as Corpo di Cava. The founder of the abbey was Alferius, a leading figure at the court of Prince Guaimar III of Salerno (ruler 999–1027), who retired to become a hermit in a cave on the lower slopes of Monte Finestra – hence the name of the monastery. He wished, according to his biographer, 'to live in perfect contemplation and forget all the noise of the world of the living', but inevitably his reputation for sanctity spread, and he attracted disciples.[2]

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[*] The author is grateful both to Dr. Jean Dunbabin and don Leone Morinelli, archivist of S. Trinità, Cava, for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this chapter, and to Dott. Carmine Carlone and Dottssa. Barbara Visentin (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'Federico II') for sending him some otherwise unobtainable literature.

[1] For the documents up to 1090, *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, i–viii, ed. M. Morcaldi, M. Schiani and S. De Stefano (Milan-Naples, 1873–93); *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, ix–x, ed. S. Leone and G. Vitolo (Badia di Cava, 1984–90); *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, xi–xii, ed. C. Carlone, L. Morinelli and G. Vitolo (Badia di Cava, 2015). All the unpublished documents cited here are from the Archivio della badia di S. Trinità di Cava.

[2] *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium*, ed. L. Mattei-Cerasoli (Rerum Italicarum

However, for a generation or more after the foundation, Cava remained a small eremitic community. The development of the monastery and its congregation really dates from the 1060s onwards, at which period the monks adopted the rule of St. Benedict, and the house became a more conventional cenobitic community. The early twelfth-century biography of the first four abbots suggests that it drew some of its observances from the customs of the leading contemporary French reformed monastery of Cluny; however, the extent of Cluniac influence has been disputed, and largely discounted, by modern historians.[3] The key figure in the development of the abbey, its lands and its congregation of dependent cells and churches was the third abbot, Peter, a nephew of Alferius, who ruled the monastery for no less than forty-four years (1079–1123). According to his biographer, Abbot Peter once claimed, presumably towards the end of his long life, that he had received some 3,000 men as monks of the abbey.[4] Whether or not this claim was anywhere near accurate, under Peter's rule the abbey certainly profited materially; and in particular Cava attracted the patronage of the new Norman rulers and aristocracy of southern Italy, who had recently conquered the region. (The city of Salerno itself was captured by Robert Guiscard, the Norman duke of Apulia and ruler of most of southern Italy, in December 1076.) In the years after 1080 Cava became a major patrimonial landowner within the principality of Salerno on the west coast of southern Italy: in the area near the monastery itself, in the coastal plain south of Salerno, and also in the mountainous Cilento region in the extreme south of the principality. Furthermore, once again primarily through the patronage of the dukes and of other members of the new Norman nobility, Cava acquired a number of dependencies in northern and central Apulia, and eventually considerable property in this region too.[5] By the early fourteenth century the records of

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Scriptores vi (5), Bologna, 1941), p. 6. For the authorship of this work, see H. Houben, 'L'autore delle «Vitae quatuor priorum abbatum Cavensium»', *Studi medievale*, 3rd ser., xxvi (1985), 871–9 (repr. in H. Houben, *Medioevo monastic meridionale* (Naples, 1987), p. 167–75)), who suggests that the author was Peter (II), abbot of Holy Trinity, Venosa from 1141 onwards. For a helpful summary and discussion of this text, see J.-M. Sansterre, 'Figures abbatiales et distribution des rôles dans les *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum Cavensium* (milieu du XII^{e} siècle)', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge,* cxi (1999), 61–104.

[3] *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum*, pp. 17–18. G. Vitolo, 'Cava e Cluny', in S. Leone and G. Vitolo, *Minima Cavensia. Studi in margine al IX volume del Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis* (Salerno, 1983), pp. 19–44; and, more generally, H. Houben, 'Il Monachesimo Cluniacense e i monasteri normanni dell'Italia meridionale', in his *Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo. Monasteri e castelli, ebrei e musulmani* (Naples, 1996), pp. 7–22.

[4] *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum*, p. 18.

[5] See G. A. Loud, 'The abbey of Cava, its property and benefactors in the Norman era', *ANS,* ix (1986), 143–77 (repr. in G. A. Loud, *Conquerors and Churchmen in Norman Italy* (Aldershot, 1999)); H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne, IXe-XIe siècle*

papal taxation suggest that it was the second most wealthy abbey in the kingdom of Naples, although its annual income, recorded in 1308 x 1310 as 700 unciae, was less than half that of Montecassino.[6]

For the historian, the particular interest of the abbey of Cava lies not merely in its obvious importance within the south Italian Church of the middle ages, but also in its continued existence as a monastic community down to the present day. It survived both the era of commendatory abbots in the fifteenth century, which proved so fatal to many south Italian monastic houses, and also two attempts at closure in the nineteenth century. After the suppression of religious orders within the kingdom of Naples in 1807 the monks remained in place as custodians of the site, and of its extensive library and archives, as they did once again in the anti-clerical era after 1860.

The preservation of the abbey's documents in their own archive, clearly distinct from the library, and arranged in an ordered (and retrievable) format, dates from the late sixteenth century. The documents were then numbered and catalogued by one of its earliest archivists, don Agostino Venereo (1573–1638). It was Venereo too who sought critically to examine the more important documents in his care, and to identify the (unfortunately all too numerous) forgeries among them. The archives were moved to their current location, in two spacious upper-floor rooms in the monastery complex, in 1784. The division of the archive into two sections, still retained today, dates back to the creation of the early modern archive: one (the *Armaria Magna*) containing its most important formal privileges, and the other, far larger, one (the *Archae*) for the more workaday documents, the so-called *atti privati*. However, the modern ordering of the charters within these two sections was the result of an extensive reorganization in 1827–31 by the then archivist don Ignazio Rossi. Venereo's organization of the Archae was topographical, that put into place by his early nineteenth-century successor chronological. The former arrangement was dictated by use of the archive as a working tool, intended to document, and if necessary to defend, the abbey's possession of its property, but with the confiscation of

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(2 vols., Rome 1991), ii. 1044–86; V. Ramseyer, *The Transformation of a Religious Landscape: Medieval Southern Italy, 850–1150* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006), pp. 159–92; V. Loré, *Monasteri, principi, aristocrazie. La Trinità di Cava nei secoli XI e XII* (Spoleto, 2008); and for Apulia, G. Vitolo, *Insediamenti cavensi in Puglia* (Galatina, 1984).

[6] In 1308 x 1310 Montecassino had an estimated income of 2000 *unciae*, Cava 700, Montevergine 580, S. Sophia, Benevento, and Venosa both 400, and S. Vincent on Volturno 320 (all of these were Benedictine houses); and the Cistercian abbey of Ferraria 260. *Rationes Decimarum Italiae-Campania*, ed. P. Sella, M. Inguanez and L. Mattei-Cerasoli (Vatican City, 1942): Cava, p. 390 no. 5632; Montecassino, p. 41 no. 438; Montevergine, p. 41 no. 438, p. 339 no. 5158; St. Sophia, Benevento, p. 320 no. 4658. See G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 531–2.

its patrimony by the Napoleonic regime it was essentially redundant: the chronological ordering was better suited to the needs of historians, rather than the practical demands of lawyers.

In total, the Cava archives contain some 15,000 Latin charters on parchment. These include just over 500 documents from before the year 1000, some 1,500 from the eleventh century, 3,550 from the twelfth, 2,105 from the thirteenth, almost 2,000 from the fourteenth, and 1,030 from the fifteenth. There are also 101 Greek charters, which were published in 1865.[7] All these documents were derived from, or came into the ownership of, the abbey itself. In addition, a further 1,000 documents belonging to other, suppressed, religious houses were acquired by Cava in the early nineteenth century, and further small donations of medieval charters augmented the collection during the twentieth century.[8] The number of such documents surviving is testimony to the precociously literate culture of the region, even at an early date: it has, for example, been calculated that during the last twenty years of the tenth century there were some twenty-nine notaries active in the town of Salerno (all of whom were laymen).[9]

An obvious feature to note about the Cava archive is that it contains a substantial number of documents dating from before its own foundation. These were almost all derived from other monasteries and churches, whose existence predated its own, which the abbey was given, or otherwise acquired, during the extraordinary expansion of its congregation in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. While many of the churches which Cava gained during these years were small local ones, so-called *ecclesiae villanae*, often without baptismal rights, with relatively exiguous property and often no more than a handful of documents attesting their existence,[10] there were a number of much more substantial foundations, which brought with them not only extensive property but considerable caches of charters documenting the acquisition of this patrimony. This latter group included the two princely foundations of S. Massimo, Salerno (founded in 865), and S. Maria de Domno, also in Salerno (founded 989), as well as the abbey of S. Nicholas di Gallocanta at Vietri, on the coast between Salerno and

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[7] They were included among the more than 300 Greek documents from mainland southern Italy edited by F. Trinchera, *Syllabus Graecarum Membranarum* (Naples, 1865).

[8] G. Vitolo, 'L'Archivio della badia della S. Trinità di Cava', in Leone and Vitolo, *Minima Cavensia*, pp. 191–200.

[9] Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, i. 541.

[10] For a good example of one of these, see V. Ramseyer, 'Religious life in eleventh-century Salerno: the church of Santa Lucia in Balnearia', *HSJ*, x (2001), 39–56, which studies an *ecclesia villana* that became subject to the Cava cell of S. Nicholas di *Gallucanta*.

Cava (founded *c.*980),[11] and the monastery of S. Sophia, Salerno, which dates from shortly before 1002. This last, founded by a Count Guaiferius, who was a distant relative of the princes, went through some vicissitudes during the mid eleventh century, and the monastic life there was indeed abandoned, before it was given to Cava in August 1100 by John, grandson of Prince Guaimar III.[12]

However, by no means all the early documents which later came into Cava's possession were ecclesiastical in provenance. The earliest document of all to survive in the archive is a marriage contract, with a pledge to grant the morgengabe or morning-after gift to the bride, of 792.[13] The abbey continued to acquire a large number of similar documents through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, no doubt because the property to which they related was later donated to, or purchased by, the abbey or its dependencies. Indeed, almost all the earliest documents now in the Cava archive, of which there are thirty-three dating from before 850, recorded private transactions among lay people. One of the few ecclesiastical charters which may date from this early period was a lease issued perhaps in October 821 by the priors of the church of S. James outside Lucera in northern Apulia, which was given to Cava by one of the Norman conquerors, Count Henry of Monte Sant'Angelo, in March 1083.[14] On the other hand, it has been suggested that the alleged '821' charter, which is dated not by the year of the Incarnation, but only 'in the second year of the Emperor Michael', may in fact have been issued in 1036.[15] If so, the overwhelmingly secular nature of the earliest charters in the archive is even more marked.

Whatever its exact date, this example is somewhat unusual, in that we often cannot identify the specific chain or connection through which property mentioned in an earlier document recording a transaction, and especially those between lay people, eventually passed into the possession of the abbey of Cava. This is particularly the case when considerable time may have elapsed between an earlier private transaction and the later transfer to monastic possession. So, to take a random example, there is a document now in the Cava archive concerning the sale of land by one layman to another at Capua, dated August 1058, which is incidentally the earliest documentary evidence for rule over Capua by the new Norman princes, who had just captured the city.[16] But the later Cava dependency, also dedicated to the Trinity, in that city was only founded shortly before 1171, which certainly suggests that this earlier charter had remained in lay hands (and quite possibly been transferred from one person to another) for a century or more before coming into the possession of the Cava congregation.[17] Sometimes earlier documents *were* mentioned when property was acquired, but often only in general terms – the donation or sale was made 'with all the documents pertaining to the property' also transferred. Only relatively rarely was specific reference made, and even then the results can often be unsatisfactory. So, for example, in May 1130 the abbey purchased a house in Salerno for the substantial sum of 150 *solidi*, and the vendor also handed over four charters relating to this property, dating from between 1071 and 1102. It was certainly the intention to preserve these, since the charter mentioned the possibility of the vendor and his heirs borrowing them for a limited period if they were later to be required to testify to the transaction, and then returning them to the abbey. Nevertheless, none of these documents now survives in the Cava archive.[18] Similarly, in August 1142, a man who owed the monastery a substantial debt pledged two pieces of land as security for the sum owed, and handed over seven charters relating to this property, details of which were specified, dating from 1062 to 1121. None, however now survive independently, presumably since when seven months later he was unable to pay off his debt, he transferred title of this property to the abbey. Thereafter, the earlier documents were presumably irrelevant.[19]

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[11] *Le Pergamene di S. Nicola di Gallucanta* (secc. IX–XII), ed. P. Cherubini (Salerno, 1990) edits all the relevant documents from this house. For S. Massimo, there is an excellent monograph by B. Ruggiero, *Principi, nobiltà e chiesa nel Mezzogiorno longobardo* (Naples, 1973).

[12] S. Leone, 'La fondazione del monastero di S. Sofia di Salerno'; in Leone and Vitolo, *Minima Cavensia*, pp. 61–74.

[13] *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, i. 1–2, no. 1.

[14] *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, i. 11–12, no. 11; *Arm. Mag.* B.27, ed. A. Petrucci, 'Note di diplomatica normanna II Enrico Conte di Montesantangelo ed i suoi documenti', *Bullettino dell'istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo,* lxxii (1960), 170–3, no. 1 (now also in *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, xi. 114–17, no. 41).

[15] J.-M. Martin, 'Notes sur la chronologie des actes de Lucera édités dans le Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen-Âge. Temps modernes*, lxxxiv (1972), 7–11, at p. 10. The date would therefore depend on whether the emperor in question was Michael II or Michael IV.

Therefore, it is clear that some earlier documents recording earlier transactions relating to properties acquired by the abbey were subsequently weeded out, or otherwise lost, although many other such documents were preserved by the monks. But because of the sheer number of charters in the archive, and the lack of detailed work on their provenance, we usually cannot tell when such documents recording transactions between lay people were acquired by the monastery.

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[16] *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, viii. 75–7, no. 1274.

[17] The first reference to the monastery of Holy Trinity, Capua, comes in a legal case, dated 1171, Indiction IV (that is, before Sept. of that year), the parchment of which is in poor condition, with the month obscured (*Arca* xxxiii. 91, ed. G. Tescione, *Caserta medievale e i suoi conti e signori* (3rd edn., Caserta, 1990), pp. 160–2, no. 2).

[18] *Arca* xxii. 104: *Ita tamen ut quando pars ipsius monasterii ipsum Iohnannem et eius heredes defensores de eo habere quesierint. per omnes vices dent eis suprascriptas cartulas iusta ratione salvas habendas diebus sexaginta … et post completos ipsos dies. per omnes vices cartulas ipsas quales eis ut dictum est date fuerint partibus ipsius monasterii retdant* [*sic*].

[19] *Arca* xxv. 51, 63.

On the other hand, we can *sometimes*, if only occasionally, see how and why Cava acquired charters relating to transactions by the laity. A notable example comes with a corpus of some forty documents deriving from a long-lived local official, Vivus son of Peter, who acted as gastald or vicecomes in the immediate vicinity of the monastery, and then at Salerno, for more than a quarter of a century immediately before and after the Norman takeover. While there are only three documents which relate to his official functions during this period, Vivus was on his own behalf a dynamic local entrepreneur, building up a considerable property portfolio through purchase. Shortly before 1062 Vivus joined with the abbey of Cava to found a church in Salerno, St. Nicholas de la Palma, of which they were co-owners, each having a half share.[20] Vivus made one donation to Cava in 1070 – he seems to have originally done this without having a charter drawn up, but he then rectified the omission in May of that year.[21] However, at this stage of his career he was still acquiring property, rather than disposing of it. But from 1090 onwards, in old age, and apparently lacking legitimate children, he steadily alienated title to his properties to Cava, although almost invariably this was through sale rather than gift, and he retained usufruct of the properties until his death. The abbey was prepared to lay out considerable sums in the expectation of future gain, although Vivus did not in the event die until sometime after May 1100, when he was last recorded making another sale to an Amalfitan church which later came into the Cava congregation.[22] The charters detailing his earlier acquisitions then all passed to the monastery.

Another reason for the proliferation of documents in the Cava archive was the operation of Lombard inheritance law, which, for example, greatly complicated the abbey's acquisition of other churches during its period of expansion in the half century or so after the Norman conquest. While the abbey's benefactors in Apulia were, at least in the first instance, usually Normans or other Frenchmen, from whom donations tended to be uncomplicated, as, for example, with the acquisition of St. James at Lucera in 1083, acquisitions within the principality of Salerno were almost always more complex. Despite the piecemeal takeover of the more outlying areas of the principality from the late 1050s onwards, and the capture of Salerno itself by Robert Guiscard in 1076, the impact of the Norman 'conquest' of the principality was relatively superficial. Most local landowners simply accepted their new rulers – indeed while Prince Gisulf and his brothers were dispossessed, the collateral branches of the princely family, descended from Gisulf's grandfather Guaimar III, remained in place.[23] So while Cava acquired a large number of churches, as well as other property, in the principality of Salerno in the years after 1076, this was very largely from the indigenous inhabitants, whose system of partible inheritance generated complicated patterns of ownership.

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[20] *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis,* viii. 202, no. 1342; ix. 318–22, no. 103 (Febr. 1071).

[21] *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis,* ix. 266–8, no. 92.

[22] Cava, *Arca* xvi. 116. For Vivus and his career, see esp. Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne*, ii. 784–800.

What this meant was that where a church became absorbed into the Cava congregation this was rarely the product of a simple donation, and indeed sometimes the process might take years, and a whole series of transactions, each recorded in a separate charter in the monastery's archives. Even in the rare and exceptional cases where a church was acquired through a single transaction there was often a more complex story behind this. So, for example, when, in August 1100, John son of Pandulf son of Prince Guaimar III gave the churches of S. Sophia and S. Michael the Archangel at Salerno to Cava at a grand ceremony in the presence of Pope Paschal II, he recorded in his donation charter how these two churches, of which the former had been rebuilt and extended by his mother, had come to him through a formal division of the family property with his two brothers and their sons.[24]

Far more common, however, was ownership of a church by a group of consortes, in many cases related, usually descendants of the founder, but sometimes those who had acquired shares from the original owners. Not surprisingly, as time went on so the pattern of joint ownership could become more complicated. Such patterns can be traced, sometimes over several generations, from what for some churches is a series of documents entrusting ministry in that church to a priest, on a life tenure. These charters then passed with the church to Cava. So, for example, the church of SS. Maria and Nicholas of Mercatello, near the River Sele on the plain south of Salerno, was founded shortly before 1029 by the three sons of a certain Count Disigius, who subsequently became officials in the princely palace, comites palatii. By 1045 only one of these brothers was still alive, and he was sharing ownership of the church with three nephews. Four years later, in July 1049, his share had passed to his infant son, and the same four co-owners, two brothers and two cousins, are attested five years after that, in July 1054.[25] One can note from this case, too, another factor generating documentation, for despite the fact that all these charters embodied grants of the church for life to a priest who would officiate therein, there was in fact a rapid turnover of incumbents.

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[23] Loud, 'The abbey of Cava, its property and benefactors', pp. 161–3; Loré, *Monasteri, principi, aristocrazie*, pp. 76–82.

[24] *Arm. Mag.* D.28; ed. P. Fedele, 'I Conti del Tusculo ed i principi di Salerno', *Archivio della reale società romana di storia patria*, xxviii (1905), 19–21.

Ownership of this church at Mercatello was relatively simple compared with some others, particularly when they were of older provenance. Thus the church of S. John of Tresino, on the northern side of the Cilento massif in the south of the principality was founded in, or shortly before, 986 by a man from Atrani on the Amalfitan peninsula called Ligorus son of John.[26] Just over half a century later, in 1042, it had at least nine co-owners from four different branches of his descendants.[27] In January 1071 the wife of one of these men, who was herself named in the 1042 charter, and her daughter, gave Cava their quarter share of this church. The abbey then gained further shares of the church and its land in four further transactions between January 1073 and May 1074, three of these by donation, and one by purchase.[28] However, Cava only acquired the final 1/8 share of this church in April 1097 when its owners, a married couple, donated this in return for his right to become a monk, when he so wished and without further gift, and for the wife's right to burial within the monastery and appropriate liturgical commemoration after her death.[29]

An even more extended pattern of piecemeal acquisition can be seen in the case of one of Cava's wealthiest and most prestigious dependencies, the church of S. Maria de Domno in Salerno, which had been founded by Prince John of Salerno, the first ruler of the so-called second Lombard princely dynasty, and his wife in 989. Cava was given a 1/6 share in this church, along with unspecified shares in four other churches, by Guaimar, lord of Giffoni, son of Duke Guido and grandson of Prince Guiamar III, in October 1091.[30] Three years later, another princely descendent, Gisulf son of Count John, who described himself as 'cleric and abbot', gave his 1/6 share of the same church, although he specified that he retained ownership of his family mausoleum in the atrium of the church, and the right to make further burials therein.[31] Then, in August 1098, Guaimar, son of Pandulf, one of the three brothers who were lords of Capaccio, a cousin of his homonym from Giffoni, gave his 1/6 share of this church, his wife using the occasion to request liturgical commemoration for herself in the monastery.[32] Yet although after this third donation Cava now possessed a half-share in the church of S. Maria, it appears not to have controlled the church, nor to have been deemed formally to own it. It was not listed among Cava's property in the detailed confirmation of the abbey's possessions issued by Paschal II in August 1100.[33] A decade later, in March 1110, Duke Roger Borsa gave Cava a further 1/6 share of this church.[34] But even though it was now the majority owner, holding 2/3 of the church, Cava still did not assume control of it. Indeed, only a month after the duke's donation, in April 1110, the abbey invested its incumbent, Abbot John son of Pandulf, who was one of the remaining co-owners, with its share of the church and its property, 'while he lives or until he becomes a bishop'.[35] How long John may have remained as abbot is not clear, but for the next few years the administration of S. Maria de Domno's property was conducted by one of its priests, Peter, described as the *claviger* (key-holder) of the church.[36] Admittedly, in December 1117 another of the co-owners, Gaitelgrima widow of Count Pandulf and her sons, pledged their share of church to Cava as security for a loan, and in November 1130 a lease of land near the church referred to it in passing as belonging to Cava.[37] But it was only in January 1139 that the abbey was given another 1/12 share of S. Maria de Domno, and even after that a cleric of the archbishop was functioning as abbot of the church and administering it with no reference to any rights of Cava.[38] S. Maria de Domno was, however, described unequivocally as belonging to Cava during a legal dispute with a neighbouring monastery in February 1147.[39] Finally, in July 1148 we find a monk of Cava administering this church under the supervision of his abbot as a fully-fledged Cava dependency.[40]

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[25] *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, v. 170–2, no. 812; vi. 282–4, no. 1052; vii. 111–13, no. 1121, 254–6, no. 1205.

[26] *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis,* ii. 241–2, no. 388.

[27] *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi. 182–3, no. 990.

[28] *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, x. 3–5, no. 1, 14–16, no. 4, 44–6, no. 13, 106–9, no. 34.

[29] *Arca* xvi. 68. For this church, see also B. Visentin, *Fondazioni cavensi nell'Italia meridionale (secoli XI–-XV)* (Battipaglia, 2012), pp. 170–6.

[30] *Arm. Mag.* C.29.

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[31] *Arm. Mag.* D.3.

[32] *Arca* xvi. 86; see Appendix, no. 1.

[33] *Acta Pontificum Romanorum Inedita*, ed. J. von Pflugk-Harttung (3 vols., Leipzig, 1880–6), ii. 169–71, no. 206 (*Arm. Mag.* D.26).

[34] *Arm. Mag.* E.12.

[35] *Arca* xviii. 117; cf. *Arca* xviii. 89 (Jan. 1109), where a priest of the church leased one of its houses in Salerno with the permission of Abbot John.

[36] *Arca* xix. 18 (Dec. 1111); *Arca* xx. 39 (Febr. 1116); *Arca* xx. 41 (Apr. 1116); *Arca* xxi. 39 (July 1120); *Arca* xxi. 110 (Oct. 1124).

[37] *Arca* xx. 94; *Arca* xxii. 113.

[38] *Arca* xxiv. 75; *Arca* xxv. 97 (Jan. 1141); *Arca* xxv. 8 (Febr. 1142); *Arca* xxv. 61 (March 1143).

[39] *Arca* xxvi. 78: *inter partem eccl(esi)e s(an)c(t)e marie que construc(ta) e(st) intra hanc civita(tem) in orto magno et d(icitu)r de d(o)m(n)o. Que vid(i)li(cet) eccle(s)ia cum om(n)ibus ad eam p(er)tinentibus / p(er)tinens ac subiecta est monaste(rio) s(an)c(t)e et individue trinitatis.* This last section was the standard phraseology to acknowledge Cava's ownership of another church.

That these and many other churches were acquired from multiple owners over a number of years thus generated a significant number of parchments, which it was clearly in the abbey's interests carefully to preserve. Furthermore, it often had to defend its ownership both of churches and of other property against legal challenges, which the problem of partible inheritance probably encouraged, but which especially with regard to churches might also come from other ecclesiastics. Two examples of the latter type from the mid twelfth century can stand in for many. In January 1144, at a court at Agropoli on the Cilento coast, presided over by the diocesan, the bishop of Paestum, Abbot Falco of Cava charged the abbot of S. Maria of Pantano with illegally holding one of Cava's subordinate monasteries and its lands, and – clearly conscious of the weakness of his case – the defending abbot voluntarily abandoned his claims.[41] Secondly, in February 1159, in a case heard before Archbishop Romuald (II) of Salerno, the abbey successfully refuted charges by the abbot and monks of S. Peter, Eboli, that its men had illegally occupied lands belonging to the latter monastery near the River Sele, within which had once stood the church of SS. Maria and Nicholas of Mercatello, now destroyed. In this case the abbot of S. Peter was persuaded by the archbishop to come to 'an amicable composition' and drop his case.[42] We shall return to the particular significance of this second legal dispute later.

Given the scale of the Cava congregation, which by 1169 when Alexander III issued a further extended confirmation of the abbey's dependencies numbered some twenty-one monasteries and ninety-eight other churches,[43] and of the abbey's lands, especially within the principality of Salerno, frequent legal challenges were inevitable, and thus generated another significant source of documentation for the archive – as well as reinforcing to the monks the importance of retaining all available proofs of title. Quite how such documents were retrieved from what was already by the mid twelfth century a collection of several thousand charters is a good question. Probably the major dependencies, or certainly the more distant ones, would have retained their own archives, which would have made the main collection more manageable.[44] The charters were presumably kept rolled up, as they are today, and probably in chests. But while almost all the surviving charters have brief dorsal notes as to their contents, which would obviously make the task of finding a particular document a great deal easier, these notes seem to have been added in the thirteenth century rather than the twelfth. The abbey had an official called the *armarius* during the time of Abbot Peter, who while primarily responsible for its liturgical codices, was probably the abbey's librarian, and may, as happened at Montecassino, also had oversight of its records. But since we are told that Peter frequently reproved this man for negligence, this does not suggest that if he was also the archivist he was a very efficient one – although it may be that his negligence was in observance of the Rule rather than in the fulfilment of his other duties.[45] Nor, in contrast to Montecassino and a number of other south Italian monasteries, did the monks of Cava ever compile a chartulary. Yet when the abbey was involved in court cases, the monks were almost always able to produce relevant documents. So in a legal dispute about a house in the Jewry of Salerno in 1125 the abbey produced as evidence two recent charters, one of February 1122 from Mabilia, great-granddaughter of Prince Guaimar III, the other of October 1124 of her sister-in-law Gaitelgrima, widow of Guaimar II, lord of Giffoni (the originals of both of these still survive), as well as one other (unidentified) document.[46] In the 1159 case concerning lands at Mercatello (mentioned earlier) Abbot Simeon produced 'many old documents and new ones [giving] title of sale' (*plura vetera instrum(en)ta et nova epmtionis* (*sic*) *titulum continentia*). In 1182, at a court hearing in the royal palace at Salerno (the principal seat of the mainland administration of the kingdom of Sicily) Abbot Benencasa produced a mandate from King William II ordering the *strategotus* [governor] of Salerno to respect the abbey's rights in its port at Vietri, which the abbot claimed he and his bailiffs had infringed. To back this up, the abbot produced the diploma of Duke Roger Borsa, which recorded the original grant of the port to the abbey, in May 1086, with its lead seal intact, which document indeed still

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[40] *Arca* xxvii. 12. Then, in March 1155 we find a Cava monk as 'prior' of this church (*Arca* xxix. 2).

[41] *Arca* xxv. 56.

[42] *Arca* xxx. 31; see Appendix, no. 2.

[43] P. Kehr, 'Papsturkunden in Salerno, La Cava und Neapel', *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen* (1900), pp. 239–43, no. 12 (*Arm. Mag.* H.31).

[44] Visentin, *Fondazioni Cavensi*, p. 274 records a reference to a Lucanian dependency,

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St. Maria di Kyro-Zosimi, having its own archive in 1276. So too, clearly, did the church of S. George of Nola, even though the abbots of Cava frequently intervened in the running of this dependency, until well into the 14th century. Its documents, however, remained *in situ*, and were eventually incorporated into the cathedral archive (*Documenti per la storia di Nola. Secoli XII–XIV*, ed. C. Buonaguro (Salerno, 1997)). For examples of abbatial intervention there, see nos. 46 (1279), 63–4 (1289), 72 (1296), 90 (1305), 96 (1310), 129–30 (1328), 176 (1341), 242 (1364), 256 (1367).

[45] *Vitae Quatuor Priorum Abbatum*, p. 26: this monk, Sergius, so disliked Peter that after his death he spat on his tomb.

[46] F. Cerone, 'Sei documenti inediti sugli ebrei di Salerno dal 1125 al 1269', in *Studi di storia napoletana in honore di Michelangelo Schipa* (Naples, 1926), pp. 66–73, no. 6 (*Arca* xxii. 4). The earlier documents are respectively *Arm. Mag.* F.21 and F.29.

survives today in the abbey's archive.[47] Even more notable, in an inquest at Lucera in January 1284, the abbey's representatives produced the donation charter of Count Henry granting it the church of S. James, a document which was almost exactly two hundred years old.[48]

Perhaps we should not be too surprised that such high-status documents were carefully preserved and readily produced. Certainly the monks took considerable care that they should be recorded and confirmed. So in 1178 Abbot Benencasa went to Palermo to ask King William to confirm the abbey's earlier ducal and royal privileges, and the resulting royal privilege was in turn copied (and probably interpolated) in July 1290, at a time when the abbey was very much concerned with the defence of its earlier privileges.[49] But there are quite a number of court cases where other, less prestigious, documents were produced in evidence,[50] and the practice of making copies was not confined to ducal or royal documents, of which the abbey had anyway relatively few. For example, in July 1195, a Cava monk requested a judge to have read out in court and formally copied a charter from twenty-seven years earlier, June 1168, which recorded the settlement of a dispute about water rights with the monastery of St. Benedict, Salerno, and in which the abbot of the latter house gave Cava permission to run an irrigation channel through its land onto its own.[51] Indeed, in August 1219 a Cava monk had a legally authenticated copy drawn up of a charter recording an agreement made as long before as 1125.[52]

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[47] K. A. Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sizilischen Königen* (Innsbruck, 1902), pp. 448–52, no. 26 (*Arm. Mag.* I. 37); the Roger Borsa charter, *Recueil des Actes des Ducs normands d'Italie (1046–1127)*, i: *Les Premiers Ducs (1046–1087)*, ed. L.-R. Ménager (Bari, 1981), pp. 178–80, no. 51 (*Arm. Mag.* B.39).

[48] *Codice diplomatico dei Saraceni di Lucera*, ed. P. Egidi (Naples, 1917), p. 420, appendix no. vi (*Arm. Mag.* N.40).

[49] Kehr, *Urkunden*, pp. 445–8, no. 25 (*Arm. Mag.* N.50).

[50] For example, when in June 1114 a certain John de Maralda testified to the truth of a donation by his brother three years earlier, the relevant document was produced and copied (*Arca* xx. 7, the earlier document being *Arca* xix. 10, of Febr. 1111); in a court case of May 1138, producing the will of Guaimar, lord of Capaccio, of Dec. 1137 (*Arca* xxiv. 60, the document read out being *Arm. Mag.* G.29); in a case of May 1157, Cava's provost showed a will of June 1140 (*Arca* xxix. 92, the document read out being *Arca* xxiv. 109); and producing a will in court when the deceased's nephew questioned his uncle's bequest of lands at Tusciano to the abbey, in Oct. 1182 (*Arca* xxxviii. 97).

[51] *Arca* xliv. 22. Conflict about water rights on the River Irno between Cava and S. Benedict's was a long-standing problem; for an earlier dispute about sluices powering their mills on the river, see *Arca* xxv. 115 (Febr. 1146).

[52] *Codice diplomatico Salernitano del secolo XIII*, ed. C. Carucci (3 vols., Subiaco, 1931–46), i. 119–22, no. 51.

Such care was, however, necessary because this documentary mentality was by no means a preserve of the monks of Cava, nor indeed of other clerics. Laymen too were at pains to safeguard their documents, and if needed produce them in court. In a dispute between the abbey and the *strategotus* of Salerno, Sergius Caputus, in 1138, the latter, acting on his own private behalf rather than for the king or the city, produced four charters to justify his case: two were recent, one from June 1107, and a third from as long ago as May 1060. (The abbey's representative meanwhile produced a recent charter of sale to justify its case, as well as witnesses to testify that the vendor's family had long been in possession of the disputed land.[53]) In a litigious and record-minded society, the ability to retain and to be able to locate documents was vital for any landowner.

Frequent as such legal disputes were; in terms of generating parchment, by far the most important factors in creating the Cava archive were the abbey's acquisition and exploitation of its lands. Far more numerous than the large-scale gifts by great nobles, whether Normans or Lombards or even those from the knightly class, were small-scale acquisitions from minor landowners or prosperous peasants. A large number of these were by purchase. In a previous study this author showed quite how extensive the abbey's purchase of lands and other property was during the twelfth century. This expenditure reached its peak during the decade after 1110, but continued at a reduced, but still substantial level, right through the twelfth century and, although diminishing, into the early years of the thirteenth. There were, for example, thirty-nine such purchases within the principality of Salerno during the 1140s, mostly for lands in the immediate vicinity of the monastery, or of the city of Salerno.[54]

But even more numerous were the documents generated by the exploitation of its agrarian resources. Cava did possess some demesne lands in the twelfth century, and on occasion exacted labour services from its dependent peasants to work them. There was, for example, a large piece of demesne land (*startia*) at Sarno on the northern border of the principality of Salerno, which may have been given to it by Duke Roger Borsa, and concerning which the abbey was in dispute with the local *strategotus* in 1183, at which time some thirty-three named men *et alii quamplures* worked therein.[55] The inhabitants of the abbey's castrum of S. Angelo in

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[53] *Arca* xxiv. 69.

[54] G. A. Loud, 'The monastic economy in the principality of Salerno during the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, lxxi (2003), 141–79, at pp. 163–77. For the 1140s, see the table on pp. 174–6.

[55] *Arca* xxxix. 13: the donation by Roger Borsa, dated Sept. 1092, *Arm. Mag.* C.35, ed. *Normannische Herzogs-und Königsurkunden aus Unteritalien und Sicilien*, ed. L. von Heinemann (Tübingen, 1899), pp. 17–18, no. 8, may be forged.

Cilento owed it two days' work a week, until Abbot Symeon remitted one of the two in June 1138, while retaining an extra day's work each year for sowing, weeding and harvesting – which suggests that Cava had substantial demesne land there.[56] This, though, was the exception not the rule, and neither demesne land nor labour services seem to have generated many documents.[57] The great majority of the abbey's lands were leased to peasants on a share-cropping basis, usually for half the wine-crop, and chestnuts where those were grown, and a smaller proportion of grain or vegetables. The terms and conditions for such leases were established quite early in the abbey's history.[58] Most of the hundreds of leases surviving were granted in perpetuity, which makes the sheer number of such documents even more striking. Admittedly, there were almost always provisions in the charter for the lease to be cancelled if the lessee moved away, failed to cultivate the land or to pay the rent. But we only have occasional evidence that these terms were enforced, as in a court case of March 1207 when a man called Coronatus was forced to surrender a piece of land at Monte Vetrano near Salerno, which he had failed to cultivate as he had promised.[59] However, land in the immediate environs of Salerno, as well as urban property within the city, was usually leased for finite periods – often for nineteen years – and in contrast to the majority of agrarian leases usually for monetary rents.[60]

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[56] *Arca* xxiv. 61.

[57] A small number of late 12th-century leases, from 1173 onwards, include some labour services; these are listed in Loud, 'The monastic economy', p. 171. In addition, one might note two further such leases in which labour services were included as part of the terms, *Arca* xlvi. 33 (Oct. 1209) and *Arca* xlvi. 93 (Apr. 1216); also the confirmation that two days' work a week was owed by three brothers at Nola in March 1184, *Arca* xxxix. 78, and the remission of labour services formerly owed at S. Mauro in Cilento by three brothers and their nephew in Febr. 1192, *Arca* xliii. 98. But in total this still only comes to 13 charters over a period of 43 years.

[58] Thus in Dec. 1057, the second abbot, Leo, leased a piece of land near the monastery to two brothers in return for a half-share of the wine and apple crop. The terms of this early lease, that a house should be built on the site, that it should be cultivated and enclosed, that *terraticum* should be rendered from other crops 'according to the custom of the place', and that the lessees should deliver the wine to the abbey's cellar, were all standard terms in later such documents – the only unusual feature was that this charter was drawn up in the names of the lessees rather than for the abbey (*Cod. Dipl. Cavensis,* viii. 30–2, no. 1254).

[59] *Arca* xlv. 112: his brother-in-law, who had acted as guarantor to the agreement was found liable for a penalty of 10 *tarì*.

[60] See Loud, 'Monastic economy', pp. 168–9, for 12th-century examples; later ones include *Codice diplomatico Salernitano del secolo XIII*, i. 110–11, no. 45 (Jan. 1217), 126–7, no. 56 (June 1220), 139–41, no. 65 (Apr. 1222). There were occasional variations; thus in May 1185 the abbey leased land outside Salerno by the River Irno for a term of 29 years, in return for an annual rent of eight *tarì*, *Arca* xl. 49; in Jan. 1206 Abbot Peter II leased a house in Salerno to a citizen of Gaeta for 15 years, in return for an annual rent of six pounds of incense; and

The abbey owned extensive property in the Jewry, including land and houses, some of which were derived from its takeover of the church of S. Maria de Domno. A number of leases to members of the Jewish community survive, one of which was granted on the plea of a royal chamberlain in April 1149.[61] Thus this urban and suburban property would generate new charters on a regular basis.

During the thirteenth century the exaction of cash rents led to the creation of new types of record, the so-called abbatial registers, although, as we shall see, to describe these documents as such is something of a misnomer. The first of these was the register of Abbot Balsomon, compiled shortly before 1222. This was not a register of abbatial *acta*. The seventeen original sheets of this 'register' contain exclusively details of cash rents and payments owed to the abbot's household and the sums involved, although substantial, were undoubtedly only a small part of the total income of the monastery. (Three sheets which seem to have later been added to the original manuscript, containing copies of documents from the years 1222–5, may perhaps derive from another such compilation detailing rents and dues payable to the *vestiarius*).[62] Similarly, the Register of Abbot Thomas, a paper document of twenty-nine folios, contains a selection of rents and renders from the principality of Salerno, both from individuals and from dependent churches, but also details of miscellaneous expenditure, during the years 1260–4. A few charters are indeed copied therein, primarily investitures of churches to incumbents, but this is, once again, in no sense a register of acta, and indeed it is hard to find any guiding principle to suggest why the register was drawn up, although the most probable explanation is that this was to keep a record of an increasing number of cash renders.[63] A third such document, compiled right at the end of the thirteenth century, is, while much more modest in scope, easier to explain. In contrast to the other two registers, it lists the labour services which at that date were still exacted from

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in May 1242 Abbot Leonardo leased a two-storey house in the city for 19 years in return for three pounds of wax annually (*Codice diplomatico Salernitano del secolo XIII*, i. 60–1, no. 11; 208–10, no. 111).

[61] *Arca* xxvii. 41: this was an extension of an earlier lease for 29 years issued by Abbot Symeon in 1140, Cerone, 'Sei documenti inediti', pp. 59–61, no. 1. For other examples, see *Arca* xxxii. 56, 59 (both Febr. 1167); *Codice diplomatico Salernitano del secolo XIII*, i. 126–7, no. 56 (June 1220); 143–5, no. 69 (Apr. 1223); 404–5, no. 265 (March 1272); 432–3, no. 295 (Dec. 1273); Cerone, 'Sei documenti inediti', pp. 63–5, no. 4 (1254).

[62] G. Vitolo, 'Il Registro di Balsamo decimo abbate di Cava', *Benedictina*, xxi (1974), 79–129, provides both a full discussion and an edition of this document.

[63] P. Ebner, 'I rapporti economic-sociali della Badia di Cava attraverso il suo più antico codice cartaceo', *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa,* i (1972), 9–83, which contains an edition of the text.

the inhabitants of Passiano and S. Cesareo, two villages very close to the monastery. It is interesting in that it shows that labour services were much more extensively exacted here than the charter evidence suggests – this may have been a recent development – but it was compiled at a time shortly before the abbey abandoned them, and largely also levying renders in kind, going over in the early fourteenth century almost entirely to a system of monetary rents.[64]

These so-called registers do not, however, in any way compare with those compiled at Montecassino from the later thirteenth century onwards, from the time of Abbot Bernardo Ayglerio (1263–82). The two *registra* drawn up under his direction comprised respectively a genuine register of acta covering most of his abbacy, and a comprehensive record of the inquests into the dues and obligations owed by the inhabitants of every castella on the lands of St. Benedict.[65]

Finally, there is the vexed issue of forgery, which is a serious and so-far unresolved problem for students of the abbey of Cava. While not all the forged documents within the Cava archive have been satisfactorily 'unidentified', there are certainly a substantial number, especially among the 'high-status' documents of the *Armaria Magna*. Indeed, the monks turned to forgery to protect their rights quite early in the abbey's history. In the legal case concerning lands around Mercatello near the River Sele, in 1159, to which we have already alluded, some of the documents which the abbey produced to back up its case were almost certainly forged: these probably included one or more of no less than three supposed donations of the church of SS. Maria and Nicholas at Mercatello, dated respectively 'July 1049', 'October 1072' and 'September 1089', all of which still survive in the Cava archives. Not only are these palaeographically suspect, but despite the various alleged donations this church first featured in a papal confirmation of Cava property in 1169, *after* the abbey had secured victory in this legal case, not in the earlier confirmations of 1089 and 1100.[66] But, in this case the monks may have had little choice but to resort to manufacturing their own documents, as their opponent, the abbot of St. Peter, Eboli, had done the same. The document he produced to 'prove' his case should surely be identified as a supposed donation of the church to his abbey from Roger son of William Trincanocte, dated 'September 1095', now also in the Cava archive, having presumably been handed over after the abbot of Eboli conceded defeat in court.[67]

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[64] B. Figliuolo, 'Un inedito registro cavense di prestazioni d'opera della fine del secolo XIII', *Archvio storico per le provincie napoletane*, 3rd ser., xxi (1982), 75–100, again with an edition of the text.

[65] *Registri Bernardi Abbatis Casinensis Fragmenta*, ed. A. M. Caplet (Vatican City, 1890): the Registrum II Bernardi Abbatis, Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Registrum no. 6, has never been published in full, but for extracts see L. Fabiani, *La Terra di S. Benedetto* (Miscellanea Cassinese, xxxiii–xxxiv, Montecassino, 1968), i. 440–53.

[66] *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vii. 110–11, no. 1120; *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis,* ix. 387–92, no. 133; *Arm. Mag.* C.18. For the first of these documents, see M. Galante, *La Datazione dei documenti del Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis* (Salerno, 1980), pp. 126–30.

The tangled history of the church of SS. Maria and Nicholas did not, indeed, end there. A further, and extended, dispute arose in 1217 when Cava's possession of this church was challenged by Bishop Gilbert of Capaccio, in a case which reached the papal court and involved two successive sets of judges-delegate.[68] And despite the verdict in Cava's favour, the case was raised once again a decade later by Bishop Gilbert's successor.[69] It is therefore likely that at least one of the forged donation charters was confected during this dispute in 1217.[70]

The major period of Cava forgery was, however, during the mid to late thirteenth century. The scale of the overall problem is clear when, for example, one confronts the series of charters in the archive purporting to have been issued both by rulers and by members of major aristocratic families during the Norman period. At least four of the twenty-one privileges of Roger Borsa, duke of Apulia 1085–1111, in the Cava archive are undoubted forgeries, and two others have been suspected.[71] Similarly, four of the fifteen charters therein of the counts of the Principato have been deemed forgeries, while a fifth has been described as 'very suspect'.[72] As for the numerous charters of the lords of Eboli and San Severino, dated before 1140, the majority are probably forged or at the least heavily interpolated.[73] In addition, six of the eleventh- and twelfth-century papal bulls in the abbey's archive are forged.[74] There are also groups of documents connected with particular localities or dependencies that are very suspicious, for example the charters of S. Pietro di Polla in the Valle di Diano, in the south-east of the principality of Salerno, about the properties and rights of which there was considerable dispute in the early to mid thirteenth century.[75] There have been studies on the issue of forgery, notably by Carmine Carlone, and there are also indications by the late archivist don Simeone Leone in the abbey's own typescript catalogue of documents that he considered suspicious. Nevertheless, this work is far from conclusive, and whereas there are some very clear forgeries, and others that appear to be linked suspiciously with thirteenth-century legal problems, there has been a tendency to assume forgery on the basis of minor palaeographical and diplomatic variations. The tendency has, therefore, been if anything to adopt a 'maximalist' rather than a 'minimalist' approach, which may not be the most helpful one in addressing this problem. The lack of adequate, or indeed any, comprehensive editions of groups of suspect documents, compounds the problem.

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[67] *Arca* xvi. 36.

[68] *Arm. Mag.* M.9, M.11; *Arca* xlvi. 114.

[69] *Arm. Mag.* M.21.

[70] Galante, *Datazione*, pp. 129–30, suggests that the '1049' charter, which clearly drew upon the (genuine) charter recording the investiture of the priest Sparanus with this church in 1049, *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis,* vii. 111–113, no. 1121. was produced in 1217, but she appears to have been unaware of the 1159 case, or of the other supposed donation charters.

[71] Undoubted forgeries are *Arm. Mag.* C.8 (Oct. 1086) and C. 12 (May 1087), *Recueil des actes des ducs normands de l'Italie* (1046–1127), pp. 191–7, no. 56, pp. 203–12, no. 59; *Arm. Mag.* C.25 (Oct. 1090), Heinemann, *Normannische Herzogs-und Königsurkunden*, pp. 13–16, no. 7; *Arm. Mag.* D.33 (Nov. 1100), ed. P. Guillaume, *Essai Historique sur l'Abbaye de Cava* (Cava dei Tirreni, 1877), appendix, pp. xvii–xviii, no. E.VI. The two suspect documents are *Arm. Mag.* C.35 (Sept. 1092) and *Arm. Mag.* E.17 (Febr, 1111), ed. Heinemann, *Normannische Herzogs-und Königsurkunden*, pp. 17–18, no. 8, pp. 19–20, no. 10. See Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, plates XXVI–VIII, XXX.

[72] See C. Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari cavensi e verginiani del secolo XIII* (Altavilla Silentina, 1984), pp. 24–6, 34–6. The forgeries are *Arm. Mag.* F.48 (Oct. 1129); G.7 (Aug. 1131), Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, pp. 68–72, no. 2; G. 25 (Apr. 1137), Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, plates XLII–XLIII; G.26 (May 1137), C. Carlone, *Documenti per la storia di Eboli i* (799–1264) (Salerno, 1998), p. 69, no. 142; while Carlone considers *Arm. Mag.* G 16, which he edited (*Falsificazioni e falsari*, pp. 72–4, no. 3, 'suspect').

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[73] M. Galante, 'Un esempio di diplomatica signorile: i documenti dei Sanseverino', in *Civiltà del Mezzogiorno d'Italia. Libro, scrittura, documento in età normanno-sveva*, ed. F. D'Oria (Salerno, 1994), pp. 279–331. All eight documents attributed to Emma of Eboli and her grandson Roger are probably forged: *Arm. Mag.* B.21, 22 (both Febr. 1082/3), B.30, 31 (both Aug. 1083), C. 18 (Sept. 1089), C.20 (June 1089), *Arca* xv. 10 (Apr. 1090), and *Arm. Mag.* C.23 (Sept. 1090); see Carlone, *Documenti per la storia di Eboli*, i. 16–18, nos. 32–4, 22–6, nos. 43, 45, 47, 50, and most recently a meticulous palaeographical study by Carmine Carlone, 'Il Problema dei falsi e le *cartule oblationis* di Emma di Eboli', *Rassegna storica salernitana,* lix (2013), 11–33.

[74] *Italia Pontificia*, ed P. F. Kehr (10 vols., Berlin, 1905–74), viii: *Regum Normannorum-Campania* (1935), pp. 315–30, nos. 3, 11–13, 27–8.

[75] Undoubted forgeries concerning this church include *Arm. Mag.* C.1 (May 1086), C.26 (Apr. 1091), D. 46 (Oct. 1104), G.1, G. 2 (both June 1130), while G. 27 (Sept. 1137), ed. C. A. Garufi, 'I Conti di Montescaglioso', *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* ix (1912), 352, no. 4, is certainly suspect. See Giovanni Vitolo, *S. Pietro di Polla nei secoli XI–XV. Contributo alla storia dell'insediamento medievale nel Vallo di Diano* (Salerno, 1980), pp. 11–23, 61–3; Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, pp. 26–8, 34, and plates XVIII, XXXI, XXXVIII–IX. Although this church was included in the papal confirmations of 1089, 1100 and 1169, and was undoubtedly a Cava dependency, it may be that the first genuine charter concerning it in the *Armaria Magna* is that of Malgerius, lord of Polla and royal justiciar, in Apr. 1187, *Arm. Mag.* L.21 bis, and this document only survives in a transcript of 1504. Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, p. 40, also questions the authenticity of a concordia settling a dispute between Abbot Balsamon and Theodora, domina of Polla, in July 1231, *Arm. Mag.* M.25, Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, plate XLVI. See also Visentin, *Fondazioni cavensi nell'Italia meridionale*, pp. 82–95, which is particularly useful for the problems concerning this dependency after 1266.

Carlone argues that there were three particular phases of forgery during the thirteenth century. The first was in the years immediately after 1246, when a number of nobles from the principality of Salerno were involved in a conspiracy, allegedly papally inspired, to murder Frederick II.[76] The repercussions from this rebellion seriously de-stabilized the principality. The forgeries confected during this period particularly concerned property in the Valle di Diano. The second phase was in 1256–9 when the abbey's property came under threat from King Manfred's uncle Galvano Lancia, Count of the Principato, a notorious exploiter of ecclesiastical property. Most of the forged charters of Emma of Eboli and her family, and at least some of those of the Norman counts of the Principato, seem to date from this period, during which Galvano occupied much of the abbey's lands between the Rivers Tusciano and Sele and in the Tanagro valley.[77] Finally, in 1285–6, there was a third, and perhaps particularly vigorous, burst of activity as a consequence of a general inquiry into ecclesiastical privileges within the kingdom of Sicily ordered by Pope Honorius IV as part of his measures to administer the kingdom while its new ruler, Charles II, was a prisoner in Sicily.[78] This last phase saw in particular the creation of documents, or the insertion of clauses into genuine ones, stressing the seigneurial rights of the abbey. One might suggest, however, that since the regency government directed by Cardinal Gerard of Sabina was intent on defending the rights of the Church, and was also prepared to grant concessions to seigneurial landowners as a means of stabilizing the kingdom, the monks may have seen this inquiry less as a threat to their existing rights than as an opportunity to expand and consolidate them, as well as to recover properties illegally alienated during the disorder of the immediately previous years.[79] The abbey certainly suffered from the breakdown of law and order in the regno after the Sicilian revolt of 1282 – not least when Aragonese mercenaries captured its prized Cilento possession of Castellabate early in 1285.[80] The documents produced during these years included the forgeries in the name of Duke Roger Borsa; as well as a forged diploma of King William I, dated April 1154, but which employs terms such as *camera specialis*, and *adoamentum* which are only found from the time of Frederick II onwards, and the reference therein to the royal *penitenciarius* (confessor) is also a thirteenth-century usage.[81] Carlone indeed suggests that it was the notoriety of this activity confecting documents which led Clement IV and his legate Cardinal Raoul of Albano to depose Abbot Giacomo in 1266, and Boniface VIII to depose Abbot Rinaldo in 1300.[82]

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[76] Our best sources for which are letters of the emperor to Henry III of England, sent from Salerno on 15 Apr. 1246 (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, (7 vols., Rolls Series, 1872–83), iv. 570–5), and to Count Raymond VII of Toulouse on 21 July 1246 (*Codice diplomatico Salernitano del secolo XIII*, i. 221–4, no. 120).

[77] Carlone, 'Il Problema dei falsi', p. 25. There are notarial copies and confirmations from Jan. 1257 (Carlone, *Documenti per la storia di Eboli*, i. 340–1, nos. 761, 763, and 1262, *Arm. Mag.* N.15), although the forged charter of Count Nicholas of the Principato of 'August 1131' must be earlier, as this document was copied and formally confirmed in Aug. 1252 (*Arm. Mag.* M.40. For Galvano, see especially E. Pispisa, *Il Regno di Manfredi. Proposte di interpretazione* (Messina, 1991), pp. 45–8, 55–60).

[78] *Les Registres de Honorius IV*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1888), cols. 86–9, no. 97, at col. 88, c. 10 (17 Sept. 1285). Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, pp. 41–2.

[79] For the latter, see, e.g., Visentin, *Fondazioni cavensi*, pp. 87–8, 168; Vitolo, *Insediamenti cavensi in Puglia*, pp. 56–7, 69–70. For the regency government, see A. Kiesewetter, 'Die Regenschaft des Kardinallegaten Gerhard von Parma und Roberts II. von Artois in Königreich Neapel 1284 bis 1289', *Forschungen zur Reiches-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte. Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht*, ed. K.

The full extent of forgery at the abbey of Cava has yet to be revealed. On the one hand, it may be that genuine documents lie behind some of those which the palaeographers consider forged, and that one is dealing with interpolations and 'improvements' rather than outright forgery. On the other, it is clearly impossible fully to understand the concerns of the monks of Cava in the thirteenth century without full knowledge of both the extent and the purposes of these forgeries. But at the same time, while any student of the abbey's history must be aware of the problem and exercise due care in the utilization of its documents, that is no reason to eschew use of what is a crucial, and hitherto largely neglected, archive for the history of southern Italy in the central middle ages.

Borchardt and E. Bünz (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 477–522, esp. pp. 495–9; and also P. Herde, 'Die Legation des Kardinalbischofs Gerhard von Sabina während des Krieges der Sizilischen Vesper und die Synode von Melfi (28 März 1284)', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia,* xx (1967), 1–53, esp. pp. 37–8.

[80] Bartholomeo of Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, ed. G. Paladino, (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 2nd edn., Bologna, 1922), p. 81, c. 101. A charter of Charles II in Dec. 1305 referred to the extent of the depredations on the abbatial lands made by the enemy garrison of Castellabbate (*Arm. Mag.* O.19).

[81] *Guillelmi I. Regis Diplomata*, ed. H. Enzensberger, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, I. ser., iii (Cologne, 1996), pp. 3–6, no. 1 (*Arm. Mag.* H.14).

[82] Generally, Carlone, *Falsificazioni e falsari*, pp. 39–52. Cf. *Annales Cavenses*, ed. F. Delle Donne, Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Rome, 2011), pp. 60, 69.

Appendix of unpublished documents

1. (1098, August) Guaimar, son of Pandulf and grandson of Prince Guaimar [III], gives the abbey of Cava his 1/6 share of the church of St. Maria de Domno in Salerno, founded by his great-grandfather Prince John. He had originally given this without a charter, but now at his wife Sichelgaita's request he confirms the donation, while his wife requests Abbot Peter for liturgical commemoration after her death. Cava, Arca xvi. 86: Beneventan script. The parchment is damaged on the left hand side, and the missing pieces and damp marks mean that the first words of most lines have been lost or are indecipherable. Missing words are shown by square brackets [thus].

[In nomine domini] d(e)i eterni et salvatoris n(ost)ri Ih(es)u Chri(sti). anno ab incarnatio(n)e ei(us) millesimo nonagesimo octabo tempo(ri)bus d(o)m(in)i n(ost)ri / [Rogerii] gl(ori)osi ducis. men(se) augusto sexta indic(tione). Ego Guaimarius fi(lius) bone recordatio(nis) paldulfi q(ui) fuerat fi(lius) d(o)m(in)i guai/[marii] princ(ip)is fi(lii) d(o)m(in)i ioh(ann)is princ(ip)is in presentia siconis com(it)is et iudicis clarifico q(uonia)m s(upra)s(crip)tus d(o)m(inu)s ioh(ann)es et d(o)m(in)a Sicel/[gaita] ux(or) ei(us) a novo fundamine construere fecerunt eccl(esi)a(m) ad onore(m) beatissime d(e)i genetricis se(m)p(er)q(ue) virginis / [Marie] intra hanc salern(itan)a(m) civita(tem) int(er) muru(m) et muricinu(m). ex qua videlicet eccl(esi)a et d(e) om(n)ibus ad ea(m) p(er)tinen(ti)bus pertinuit / .... eo sexta(m) par(tem) iure successionis. et eande(m) sexta(m) par(tem) dudu(m) michi in sor(te) evenerat. talit(er) ea(m) p(ro) rede(m)ptio(ne) animaru(m) s(upra)s(crip)ti genitoris et genetricis mee et q(uo)nd(am) / …. ger(ma)nis mei et p(ro) sal(u)t(e) mea et sicelgaite dilecte coniugis mee et om(n)iu(m) filioru(m) n(ost)roru(m) absq(ue) firma car(tula). / [Sice]lgaita coniux mea int(er) veniente optulera(m) in monaste(rio) religiosoru(m) viroru(m) q(uo)d ad onore(m) s(an)c(t)e et indi[vidue] trinitatis situ(m) est foris hac civita(te) in loco metiliano cui d(o)m(in)us petrus gra(tia) d(e)i abb(a)s preest ad facien(dum) ex eo pars / [suprascripti mon]aste(rii) q(uo)d vellet. Nunc aut(em) coortatio(n)e prephate sicelgaite sic(u)t michi valde co(m) placuit bona mea / [voluntate per] hanc cart(ul)a(m) confirmavit[83] in eode(m) monaste(rio) integra(m) ipsa(m) sexta(m) portio(nem) qua(m) s(upra)s(crip)to genitori meo d(e) to/[ta ipsa] eccl(esi)a et d(e) om(n)ibus ad ea(m) p(er)tinen(ti)bus p(er)tinuerat et quali(ter) ut dic(tum) est michi in sor(te) evenerat. Cum om(n)ibus in/[tra ipsam] portio(nem) habentibus cunctisq(ue) suis p(er)tinen(tiis) et cu(m) vice d(e) plateis et anditis et viis suis et cu(m) simile portio(ne) / [de munimin]ibus ex ipsa eccl(esi)a et rebus ei(us) continen(ti)bus. Ea ratio(ne) ut se(m)p(er) sit in potesta(te) ipsius d(o)m(in)i abb(a)tis et successoru(m) ei(us) / [et par]tiu(m) ipsius monaste(rii). et ille et successores ei(us) et pars ipsius monaste(rii) licen(tiam) habeant d(e) eo facere q(uo)d voluerint. [Et per co]nvenien(tiam) obligavi me et meos heredes se(m)p(er) d(e)fendere ipsi d(o)m(in)i abb(a)ti et successoribus ei(us) et parti ipsius monaste(rii) / [inte]grum ill(u)d quod in eode(m) monaste(rio) ut dic(tum) est optuli et confirmavi ab ipsa uxore mea et ab om(n)ibus hominibus. et / [tribui licentiam] ut quando ipse d(o)m(inu)s abb(a)s et successores ei(us) et pars ipsius monaste(rii) voluerint potestate(m) habeant / [illud per se] d(e)fendere quali(ter) voluerint cu(m) omnibus munimi(ni)bus et rationibus quas d(e) eo ostenderint. Et ob hoc ipsa ux(or) / [mea que] fuerat fili(a) landolfi filii paldulfi capuani princ(ip)is d(e)precata est ipsu(m) d(o)m(in)u(m) abb(a)te(m) ut ad ovi/[tum suum] cu(m) notu(m) fuerit in ipso monasterio; tunc monachi ei(us)de(m) monaste(rii) pro rede(m)ptio(ne) anime illius mortue / ....[dic?]ant officiu(m) mortuoru(m) et septima(m) et trentale(m) et annale(m) sicut iustu(m) fuerit. ad quod ipse d(o)m(inu)s / [abb(a)s] libent(er) adsensu(m) prebuit. Et si sicut superius scrip(tum) est ego et mei hered(e)s non adimpleverint et s(upra)s(crip)ta v(e)l / [ex eis q(ui)cqua(m) removere aut contradicere presu(m)pserimus p(er) convenien(tiam) oblig(av)i me et meos hered(e)s comp(one)re ipsi [domino] abb(a)ti et successoribus ei(us) et parti ipsius monasterii.[84] Et talit(er) iussu ipsius iudicis Grimoaldus not(arius) / [scripsi]t.

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[83] *Sic.*

† Ego q(ui) s(up)ra Sico iudex

2. (1159, February) Record of a court case between Abbot John of the monastery of St. Peter at Eboli and Cava, concerning land near the River Sele on which stands the ruined church of SS. Nicholas and Maria de Mercatello, and from which Abbot John claimed that the men of Cava had forcibly expelled his monastery's men and animals. The case was heard in the presence of Archbishop Romuald II of Salerno and Abbot Marinus of Cava, and on the former's advice the case was eventually settled by agreement.[85] Cava, Arca xxx. 31: a very large document, written in extremely clear Beneventan script.

In no(mine) d(omi)ni d(e)i et(er)ni et salvatoris nostri ih(es)u chri(sti). An(no) ab incarnatio(ne) ei(us) millesimo centesimo q(ui)nquagesimo nono. et nono an(no) regni dom(in)i n(ost)ri Guilielmi sicili(e) et ytali(e) glo(rio)siss(im)i Regis. Men(se) februar(io) octava indictio(ne). Du(m) in presentia d(o)m(in)i secundi Romualdi d(e)i gr(ati)a

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[84] The penalty sum has been omitted by the notary.

[85] Romuald II Guarna, Archbishop of Salerno 1153–81, and Marinus, Abbot of Cava 1146–70.

venerabilis salernita(ni) archiep(iscopi). et d(o)m(in)i Marini eade(m) gr(atia) venerabilis cavensis / abba(tis). Essemus Nos Petrus p(ro)toiudex et Petrus et Salernus et Matheus et Ioh(ann)es et Guaiferius iudices. et ibide(m) adesset ioh(ann)es monachus et abbas monaste(rii) s(an)c(t)i petri de ebulo q(uo)d cu(m) om(n)ib(us) ad ipsu(m) monaste(rium) p(er)tinentib(us) suprascripto archiepi(scop)o p(er)tinens ac subiectu(m) est. adistentib(us) ibidem cu(m) eo. guilielmo priore. et petro et nicolao. monachis ei(us)de(m) monaste(rii) s(an)c(t)i / petri de ebulo. Predictus ioh(ann)es abbas querimonia(m) deposuit adv(er)s(us) partes et homines s(upra)s(crip)ti cavensis monaste(rii). Videlicet de t(er)ris et silvis et vacuis. que sunt foris hac salernita(na) civit(ate) ista par(te). et coniunc(tis) fluvio sileris intra quas eccl(esi)a s(an)c(t)i nicolay et s(an)c(t)e marie de mercatello olim construc(ta) et nunc diruta esse videtur; et easdem t(er)ras ipse ioh(ann)es abbas partes / monaste(rii) s(an)c(t)i petri possidere et easde(m) partibus eiusdem monaste(rii) p(er)tinere dicebat. Et p(er) homines s(upra)s(crip)ti cavensis monaste(rii) animalia et homines s(upra)s(crip)ti monaste(rii) s(an)c(t)i petri ex inde vi esse expulsos. Pars v(er)o predicti cavensis monaste(rii) easdem t(er)ras possidere et iure dominii ipsi monaste(rio) p(er)tinere asseverebat. De q(ui)b(us) videlicet t(er)ris s(upra)s(crip)tus domn(us) cavensis abbas plura vetera instrum(en)ta et nova / epmtionis [sic] titulum continentia ostendit.[86] Et ipse ioh(ann)es abbas quoddam scrip(tum) cereo sigillo sigillatum pro par(tibus) suprascripti monaste(rii) sancti petri ostendit.[87] Quibus videlicet ostensis et lectis ut cur earum partium ius dominii de iure esset adiudicandum cleresceret. qua(m) possessorium iudicium inter eos ut dictum est motum fuerat. et de ordine iudicii prius det(er)minandum occurit; quod / alit(er) quam iure iurando probari non poterat. ut ex inde sacram(en)ta non ferent. suprascriptus domnus archiep(iscop)us et nos partes n(ostr)as int(er)posuimus. ut predicta querimonia non iudiciali calculo. sed amicali compositione int(er) eos sedaretur. suprascriptus vero domnus cavensis abbas. et predictus ioh(ann)es abbas consiliis suprascripti domni archiepiscopi et nostris adquiescentes. subscribenda transactionis forma sunt. / amicabilit(er) concordati. Ipse q(ui)dem ioh(ann)es abbas. sicut ei placuit spon(te) per con(venientiam) per hanc car(tu)lam p(er)mittente s(upra)s(crip)to archiepiscopo eo q(uo)d ipsu(m) monasteriu(m) s(an)c(t)i petri cu(m) om(n)ibus ad illud p(er)tinentibus eide(m) archiepi(scop)o ut dictu(m) est pertinens ac subiectum est. manifestavit et dixit pertinere partibus ipsius cavensis monasterii integras s(upra)s(cript)as t(er)ras cum silvis et vacuo. Quam dixer(at) esse per huiusmodi fines / A par(te) orien(tis) fin(is) suprascripto fluvio sileris. A par(te) sept(entrione) fin(is) pullo sed n(on) p(er) totum. A par(te) occi(dentis) fin(is) fluvio sileris veteris; A par(te) meri(die) fin(is) litus maris. Tantu(m) ipse ioh(ann)es abbas ei(us)q(ue) successores et partes monasterii sancti petri habeant in eisdem terris usum pascendi accubandi animalia eiusdem monasterii et pro eisdem animalibus mandras et clausuras in eisdem terris rationabiliter facere et habere. Unde per con(ventiam) s(upra)s(crip)tus Ioh(ann)es / abbas s(upra)s(crip)ti sancti petri de ebulo pro par(te) ipsius monaste(rii) s(anc)ti petri guadi(am) raynerio monacho s(upra)s(crip)ti cavensis monaste(rii) pro par(te) eiusdem monaste(rii) dedit. et fideiusso(re)s ei pro illius par(te) posuit ioh(ann)em qui d(icitu)r rosseramannus fi(lium) quondam ioh(ann)is. et ioh(ann)em qui d(icitu)r campaninus fi(lium) quondam grimoaldi. et ioh(ann)em fi(lium) quondam cresentii. Et per ipsam guadi(am) ipse ioh(ann)es abbas obli(gav)it se et successores suos et partes ipsius monaste(rii) sancti petri in iusta manifestatione / et in omnibus s(upra)s(crip)tis qualiter sup(er) legitur cum ipso d(o)m(in)o cavensi abba(te) eiusque successoribus. et partibus ipsius cavensis monaste(rii) semper firmiter permanere. Et si in s(upra)s(crip)ta manifestatione et in omnibus s(upra)s(crip)tis sicut s(upra)s(crip)tum est semper firmiter non permanserint. et s(upra)s(crip)ta vel ex eis quicquam remove(re) aut contradicere presumpserit; per ipsam guadi(am) obli(gav)it se et successores suos et partes s(upra)s(crip)ti monaste(rii) s(an)c(t)i petri comp(one)re partibus s(upra)s(crip)ti monaste(rii) sancte trinitatis centum auri soli(dos) regal(es). et sicut s(upra)s(crip)tum est / adimplere. quod aut(em) superius disturbatum est legit(ur) sed non per totum. Et tali(ter) tibi petro not(ario) et advoca(tore) scribere precepimus. Memorantes quam etiam convenit inter eos ut liceat partibus s(upra)s(crip)tis monaste(rii) sancti petri et hominibus quos voluerint in s(upra)s(crip)tis terris cum silvis ligna incidere. pros(upra)s(crip)tis mandris et clausuris faciendis ut iustum fuerit.

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[86] These almost certainly included one or more of the forged donation charters of SS. Nicholas and Maria, Mercatello, to the monastery, dated July 1049, *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis,* vii. 110–11, no. 1020; Oct. 1072, *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis,* ix. 387–92, no. 133; and Sept. 1089, *Arm. Mag.* C.18. See above n. 67.

[87] The (forged) donation of this church to S. Peter, Eboli, by Roger, son of William Trincanocte, dated Sept. 1095, Cava, *Arca* xvi. 36. See above, n. 68.

† Ego qui s(uper) petrus iudex † Ego qui s(uper) petrus iudex † Ego qui s(uper) salernus iudex † Ego qui s(uper) matheus iudex † Ego qui s(uper) ioh(ann)es iudex † Ego qui s(uper) Guaiferius iudex

8. Écrire la conquête: une comparaison des récits de Guillaume de Poitiers et de Geoffroi Malaterra

Marie-Agnès Lucas-Avenel

Summary

This chapter is a comparison of two of the most important histories of the Norman conquests in northern and southern Europe written by William of Poitiers and Geoffrey Malaterra. It demonstrates that, although Geoffrey Malaterra did not know either William of Poitiers's work or any of the histories of the Normans written in Normandy, the two have a lot in common in their treatment of their subjects and broadly conform to long-established literary genres. Both are panegyrics written during the lifetimes of their subjects, respectively William the Conqueror and Roger the Great Count and his brother Robert Guiscard. In the two histories, both authors write that they are setting out to be factually accurate while, at the same time, selecting information that made their heroes worthy of being remembered by posterity. Both also say that their aim is to write accessible prose, with Malaterra nonetheless adding that his purpose is also to imitate earlier models, notably Sallust. William of Poitiers's prologue is missing but his text also borrows heavily from the same Roman author. After examination of the two authors' statements of purpose, this chapter then places the two histories within literary traditions that go back to classical times. This leads to the final conclusion that both histories are heirs to the Carolingian tradition of panegyric writing while also foreshadowing literary developments associated with the twelfth century.

Les œuvres de Guillaume de Poitiers et de Geoffroi Malaterra (nommés ci-après GP et GM) appartiennent à ce que l'on appelle volontiers la production historiographique normande.[1] Initiée par Dudon de Saint-

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[1] Guillaume de Poitiers, *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant*, éd. R. Foreville (Paris, 1952); WP. Dans la suite de l'article, on renverra à GP pour l'édition française (à laquelle, sauf mention contraire, on empruntera certaines traductions) et à WP pour l'édition anglaise. Geoffroi Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti*

Quentin à la demande de Richard I^{er}, dont l'œuvre fut reprise et continuée par Guillaume de Jumièges, elle célèbre les hauts faits des ducs normands jusqu'à l'avènement de Guillaume le Conquérant, tout comme ceux des Hauteville, qui conquirent l'Italie méridionale.[2] Les historiographes eux-mêmes ne manquent jamais de rapprocher les exploits de Guillaume de ceux de Robert Guiscard et Roger de Hauteville.[3] En revanche, la question de savoir si les auteurs ont connu les œuvres de leurs prédécesseurs reste souvent débattue, même pour GP: s'il semble qu'il ait connu le poème de Gui d'Amiens,[4] on ne peut affirmer qu'il ait puisé à l'*Historia* du moine de Jumièges plutôt qu'à une source commune.[5] Quant à GM, son bref récit de la conquête de la Normandie laisse penser qu'il n'a pas lu Dudon, si bien que son inscription dans cette production tient au sujet, à la chronologie et à une forme d'idéologie commune, plutôt qu'à un lien très étroit avec les premiers historiographes du duché de Normandie.

Par une étude des deux œuvres, on cherchera à examiner si d'autres éléments permettent de les rapprocher. On s'intéressera à la forme de l'un et de l'autre récit et à la question de leur genre littéraire. Les auteurs tiennent eux-mêmes un discours paratextuel sur la façon dont ils entendent écrire l'histoire, établissant certaines règles de composition et annonçant les objectifs du récit. On verra ensuite la manière dont ils ont appliqué ces règles, en examinant l'économie générale de l'œuvre et la langue choisie pour rapporter les faits.

1. Bien que les délimitations des genres littéraires et sous-genres historiographiques soient fluctuantes, il n'est pas inutile de chercher à les définir, car, même si la forme n'est pas strictement établie, le choix d'un genre est lié à des choix d'écriture assez caractéristiques, dont l'auteur avait conscience.[6] Pour dénommer son œuvre, on trouve, chez GP, à côté de

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Guiscardi ducis fratris ejus, auctore Gaufredo Malaterra monacho benedictino, éd. E. Pontieri, tom. v, 1, (2 vols., Rerum italicarum scriptores, ii, Bologne, 1927); pour les deux premiers livres: *Geoffroi Malaterra, Histoire du Grand Comte Roger et de son frère Robert Guiscard*, vol. 1, Livres I et II, éd. M.-A. Lucas-Avenel (Caen, 2016). Pour les deux premiers livres, on donne la pagination de l'édition de 2016 et, pour les livres III et IV, on renvoie à l'édition de Pontieri, dont le texte est parfois corrigé d'après le manuscrit C.

[2] Nous nous limitons ici à la production historiographique du XI^{e} siècle.

[3] Malaterra, III, 41, p. 83; GP II, 32, p. 228 (WP, p. 156). Voir aussi Gui d'Amiens, *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1999), p. 16, v. 259.

[4] Voir à ce propos les Introductions aux éditions critiques de GP et de Gui d'Amiens susmentionnées.

[5] Voir *GND*, i, p. liii.

[6] Voir E. van Houts, *Local and regional chronicles*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, fasc. 74, éd. R. Noël (Turnhout, 1995), pp. 14–16.

libellus, plusieurs occurrences d'*historiae*[7] ou de *res gesta*(*e*), complément de *memorare* (I, 25) ou, implicitement, d'*exponere* (II, 38);[8] GP emploie encore d'autres verbes qui soulignent son activité d'écriture, d'inscription dans la mémoire ou d'organisation des faits passés, comme *narrare* ou *enarrare*, *scribere* (*hujus viri quem scribimus*) et *inscribere*, (*factum*) *meminisse*, *causas veraciter explanare*.[9] Surtout, GP oppose la nature de son œuvre, resserrée sur les principales actions de son personnage, à celle des *annales*, où tous les exploits de Guillaume auraient trouvé leur place.[10] Ainsi recentrée, l'histoire de GP a été rapprochée du genre biographique. Raymonde Foreville choisit le titre d'*Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant* pour son édition, tout en commençant le chapitre de son introduction consacrée à l'œuvre par les mots suivants: 'Les *Gesta Guillelmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum* se présentent comme une ample biographie de Guillaume le Conquérant, biographie malencontreusement incomplète. Tout le début fait défaut'.[11] Il faut préciser qu'on a perdu les premiers et derniers feuillets du seul manuscrit conservé. R. H. C. Davis et Marjorie Chibnall ont préféré le titre de *Gesta Guillelmi*, mais ils précisent: 'The *Gesta Guillelmi*, even in its unfinished form, is the earliest extended biography of any duke of Normandy'.[12] Ils soulignent ensuite que GP a subi diverses influences, Dudon de Saint-Quentin, Guillaume de Jumièges, mais aussi les *Vitae episcopum* et les *Vitae* de Suétone.[13] Le récit de GP ne nous apprend rien sur l'enfance du duc Guillaume, et il n'est pas sûr que le feuillet manquant en eût dit davantage. Il commence avec la mort de Cnut et l'histoire de l'Angleterre, tandis que Guillaume n'entre en scène qu'en I, 6, quand il est armé chevalier. Plus remarquable encore sans doute pour une biographie, elle s'achève, comme l'*Histoire du Grand Comte Roger*, bien avant la mort du protagoniste, l'une et l'autre œuvre présentant la singularité d'avoir été composée du vivant du héros.

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[7] Pour *libellus*, voir II, 31, p. 226 (WP, p. 154). Les trois occurrences d'*historia* sont au pluriel, placées dans un contexte qui ne permet pas de définir le terme avec exactitude, mais elles désignent une œuvre écrite relatant les faits passés d'une manière ordonnée, voire savante. Ainsi, en I, 4, pp. 12–13, après le récit de la mort d'Alfred et l'apostrophe toute rhétorique à Godwin, GP conclut par les termes suivants: *Libuit inhumanum scelus hoc perpetuo silentio sepelire : sed in historiarum serie res quoque minus pulchras, cum necessario incidunt, non a charta semovendas putamus, ut ab imitatione facti semovendae sunt* ('on se plairait à ensevelir ce crime inhumain dans un silence éternel; mais puisque, quand on raconte l'enchaînement des faits du passé, les faits les moins recommandables surviennent nécessairement, nous ne pensons pas, étant donné qu'il faut en proscrire l'imitation, qu'il faille proscrire de les coucher sur le papier') (trad. Foreville, retouchée; WP, pp. 6–7). La deuxième occurrence est en II, 22, p. 196 (WP, p. 134): ne pouvant faire la liste exhaustive des participants à la bataille, GP ajoute qu'il conviendrait d'ajouter les noms de ceux qu'il passe sous silence dans les *historiarum voluminibus*. Enfin, le terme s'applique en II, 32 , p.230, aux œuvres composées par les orateurs anciens, qui, selon GP, usent «d'un style sobre dès qu'ils tracent des récits historiques» (*dum historias scribunt*) (WP, p. 158).

[8] I, 25, p. 58 (WP, p. 38); II, 38, p. 246 (WP, p. 168).

[9] Respectivement II, 44, p. 262 (WP, p. 180); II, 2, p. 150 (WP, p. 102); II, 19, p. 192 (WP, p. 132); II, 32, p. 230 (WP, p. 158); II, 39, p. 248 (WP, p. 170); I, 53, p. 128 (WP, p. 86); I, 12, p. 24 (WP, p. 14); I, 29, p. 64 (WP, p. 44).

[10] GP, I, 20, p. 44 (WP, p. 28): les *Annalium volumin[a]* auraient contenu 'le nombre considérable d'actions que [le duc] accomplit en d'autres temps'. Mais GP sélectionne les faits selon deux principes: ne pas lasser le lecteur et ne garder que la matière suffisamment documentée. Il est possible que GP confonde les termes 'annales' et 'chronique', le mot 'chronique' n'étant pas attesté dans son ouvrage (sur cette confusion, voir B. Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980), pp. 203–5).

[11] GP (Foreville), p. xiii–xiv.

GM, dans ses deux épîtres, nomme son livre par les termes de *liber* ou d'*opus*,[14] si bien qu'il n'annonce pas explicitement quel est le format choisi. Cependant, il y exalte Salluste, 'entre les historiographes, le plus louable orateur', précise que Roger fut un auditeur 'assidu' des *Historiae* composées par les Anciens[15], et il utilise finalement le terme *historia* dans la préface du livre III, quand il s'adresse au lecteur qui veut 'connaître l'enchainement de l'histoire' (*historiae seriem*).[16] Ainsi, pour établir ce que GP et GM disent vouloir inscrire dans leur récit, on ne dispose pas des mêmes éléments: GM nous a laissé deux lettres dédicatoires, adressées l'une à Anger, évêque de Catane, auquel il demande d'être son intercesseur auprès du Grand Comte, et l'autre à l'ensemble du clergé de Sicile: il lui fallait répondre à la demande de Roger 'de faire connaître à la postérité ses triomphes'. Par la suite, il a composé une préface placée en tête des livres II à IV et une conclusion qui explique les raisons du passage d'un livre à l'autre. Il intervient en outre, ici et là, pour justifier l'insertion de tel ou tel épisode. GP, en revanche, explique au fil du texte ce qu'il entend faire et ce que signifie pour lui écrire l'histoire. La comparaison du discours qu'ils adressent ainsi à leurs lecteurs permet d'établir qu'ils ont voulu se conformer aux dix règles suivantes:

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[12] WP, p. xx.

[13] WP, p. xxi.

[14] *Epist.* 1, 1, p. 119; *Epist.* 2, 3, p. 123; I, 11, 2, p. 167.

[15] *Epist.* 2, 2–3, p. 123.

[16] Livre III, *proem.* (Pontieri, pp. 57, 8–11): *Unde et, lector, quisquis historiae seriem perscrutari temptas* (Pontieri: *temptat*), *non phalerata verborum commenta, sed pompales triumphos memorandorum virorum attendas* (Pontieri: *attendat*), ('Aussi lecteur, qui que tu sois qui cherches à connaître l'enchaînement de l'histoire, porte ton attention non sur l'invention de belles paroles, mais sur les triomphes majestueux d'hommes dignes de mémoire'). P. Toubert, 'La première historiographie de la conquête normande de l'Italie méridionale (XIe siècle)', dans *I caratteri originari della conquista normanna: diversità e identità nel Mezzogiorno, 1030–1130*, éd. R. Licinio et F. Violante, Centro di studi normanno-svevi, università degli studi di Bari, 5–8 octobre 2004), (Bari, 2006), pp. 15–49, à la p. 23, donne aussi le nom d'*historia* aux œuvres de GM, Aimé du Mont-Cassin et Guillaume de Pouille.

1. S'inspirer des modèles anciens.
2. Célébrer.
3. Limiter le propos à un homme.
4. Dire la vérité (implicite chez GM).
5. Rapporter les hauts faits et leurs causes.
6. Faire mémoire.
7. Instruire les générations futures.
8. Adopter une langue simple et facile à comprendre.
9. Suivre l'ordre chronologique.
10. S'appuyer sur des sources orales (GM et GP), parfois écrites (GP).

Certaines de ces préoccupations sont énoncées conjointement – et le plus souvent répétées – par les deux auteurs, si bien que les informations qu'ils donnent sur ce qu'ils entendent faire en écrivant l'histoire sont très proches sous plusieurs aspects. Ils se placent dans une tradition historiographique ancienne, que GM revendique sans distinction de fonds et de forme, tandis que GP se réfère aux historiens anciens pour le choix de la langue,[17] mais reconnaît aussi la valeur exemplaire de leurs récits. Ils donnent, en outre, une réponse comparable à la question du contenu de l'œuvre historique: écrire l'histoire, c'est rapporter les hauts faits qui ont été véritablement accomplis par le protagoniste, en tenant compte des causes des événements et afin d'en faire l'éloge.[18] Par là même, ils se dotent de limites chronologiques, géographiques et thématiques, mais ils sont confrontés constamment à l'écueil de la digression. Aussi se contraignent-ils l'un et l'autre à passer sur certains faits, justifiant parfois un silence par le souci de ne pas lasser l'auditoire.[19]

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[17] GP, II, 32, p. 230 (WP, p. 158–9) (voir encore *infra*).

[18] Le souci de dire la vérité est exprimé sans détour par GP à plusieurs reprises (I, 20, p. 44 [WP, p. 28]; I, 25, p. 58 [WP, p. 38]; I, 42, p. 104 [WP, p. 70]; II, 22, p. 200 [WP, p. 136]). En I, 29, p. 64 (WP, p. 44) il est associé à la recherche des causes: *inimicitiae causas veraciter explanamus ac pleniter*. On ne trouve pas, en revanche, de telles déclarations chez GM.

[19] Pour GP, voir I, 5, p. 12 (WP, pp. 6–7): *Caeterum de regno ejus aut vita scribere aliis relinquamus, ne longius a materia proposita digrediamur* ; I, 20, p. 44 (WP, p. 28); II, 19, p. 192 (WP, p. 132), etc. En dehors des préfaces, GM prend moins de précautions oratoires que GP, et, s'il informe le lecteur qu'il passe parfois sur certains faits (I, 11, 2, p. 166: 'parce qu'il serait trop long d'insérer dans cette œuvre ...'), il ne qualifie pas de 'digressions' les éléments du récit qui pourront apparaître comme des écarts rattachés au sujet par un commentaire. Voir par exemple, II, 44, 8, p. 380, où l'auteur justifie l'insertion du récit de l'insurrection de Costa Condonicita par une phrase qui souligne la portée didactique de son récit: 'Nous avons inséré cet événement ici, afin que les souverains soient attentifs à ne pas

Outre la volonté de célébrer les héros, ils poursuivent ouvertement au moins deux objectifs semblables. Le premier est d'inscrire les faits dans la mémoire, grâce à l'écriture; le second est d'instruire les générations suivantes. GM signale dès le début de la seconde épître que, suivant l'exemple des philosophes anciens, il veut transmettre à la postérité les faits mémorables en les consignant dans des ouvrages, pour que 'lus et connus par les générations suivantes, ils leur redonnent vie en quelque manière, de cette sorte de vie qu'assure la mémoire (*quadam vita memoriae*)': cette fin de phrase est une réminiscence cicéronienne tirée du *De Oratore* (*vita memoriae*), qui traduit le rôle de l'écriture dans le rapport étroit, établi par les écrivains anciens et médiévaux, entre l'histoire et la mémoire;[20] et qui, au côté des groupes nominaux *testis temporum, lux veritatis*, *magistra vitae*, *nuntia vetustatis* donne une définition de l'*historia*: en même temps que l'histoire est 'témoin des temps, lumière de la vérité', elle est aussi 'école de la vie et révélatrice des faits passés',[21] si bien qu'elle revêt une portée éminemment didactique. Le double enjeu de conserver dans la mémoire et d'instruire est exprimé aussi par GP, qui, à plusieurs reprises, utilise les verbes *scribere*, *inscribere* ou des synonymes, en lien avec *commemorare*, pour souligner le rapport de la mémoire et de l'écrit.[22] Ainsi, il ne semble pas qu'il y ait de tension entre la volonté de célébrer le héros et le souci de ne dire que la vérité chez GP: au contraire, dire les hauts faits du duc-roi, c'est les préserver de l'oubli et de la critique en devançant les éventuels détracteurs.[23]

Le discours tenu par les deux historiens sur la forme et le sens à donner au contenu est donc tout à fait comparable: ils ont l'un et l'autre cherché à composer une *historia*, en sélectionnant les hauts faits d'un homme qui sont les plus dignes de mémoire, afin de célébrer ce héros et instruire les générations suivantes. Leur souci du lecteur, qu'il ne faut pas lasser en

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laisser de mauvais serviteurs détourner leurs sujets de leur devoir de fidélité'.

[20] Voir à ce sujet B. Guenée, 'Histoire, mémoire, écriture. Contribution à une étude des lieux communs', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 127e année, nº 3 (1983), 441–56.

[21] Cicéron, *De Oratore*, II, 35.

[22] En II, 31, pp. 222–6 (WP, pp. 152–5), GP énumère les trésors offerts aux églises par le nouveau roi, dont la magnificence préservera la mémoire. Il veut contribuer à la célébration de la mémoire du duc, considérant qu'il œuvre ainsi à l'édification des lecteurs: *Ducibus atque regibus haec, et scripta in hoc libello complura innotescere velim ad exemplum, aut incitamentum*, 'Puissé-je faire connaître ces traits et un grand nombre d'autres relatés en ce livre, aux ducs et aux rois pour leur servir d'exemple et de stimulant' (GP, p. 227 [WP, p. 155]).

[23] GP, I, 36, pp. 84–6 (WP, 56–9). Quant à GM (I, 25, 1, p. 204), il tient à révéler quelques-unes des plus basses actions du jeune Roger, conformément à la commande que ce dernier lui a passée, pour mieux montrer le caractère exceptionnel de son ascension dans les honneurs.

donnant trop d'informations, se retrouve aussi dans le choix de la langue – simple, disent-ils, pour que le plus grand nombre puisse recevoir le texte et son enseignement (je reviendrai sur ce point). Mais toutes ces similitudes ne doivent pas faire illusion, car elles s'apparentent à des *topoï* que l'on retrouve aussi bien dans d'autres ouvrages historiographiques que dans des *Vitae*.[24] Pour autant, il ne faudrait pas réduire l'importance des déclarations des deux auteurs, sous prétexte qu'il s'agit de lieux communs, surtout quand elles sont placées au fil de l'histoire. Elles permettent, en effet, de suivre la pensée de l'auteur au fur et à mesure de la composition du texte, venant justifier un choix d'écriture ou l'élection d'un épisode, ou soulignant la portée morale ou l'exemplarité d'un événement.

2. Si on s'interroge à présent sur la manière dont ils ont appliqué les principes qu'ils ont exposés, en s'intéressant non pas tant aux aspects idéologiques qu'aux outils mis en œuvre pour répondre à leur projet historiographique, on peut noter des différences non négligeables, qui tiennent à la façon de traiter la matière historique et qui reflètent un rapport différent des auteurs au genre adopté. Avant de montrer quelques-unes de ces différences, il semble utile de rappeler la définition de l'*historia* proposée par Karl Ferdinand Werner,[25] à partir, en particulier, de la comparaison des œuvres d'Aimoin et de Richer, qui se placent eux-mêmes dans une tradition historiographique ancienne et chrétienne, dans le prolongement des œuvres d'Orose ou d'Isidore de Séville. Werner énonce les neuf critères suivants:

1. 'Traiter un seul sujet, un thème, en une seule œuvre.
2. Utiliser un langage élevé, un style soigné.
3. Suivre les meilleures traditions de la littérature latine, en se servant des bons auteurs jusqu'à en reprendre des phrases entières.
4. Diviser l'ouvrage en livres, éventuellement les livres en chapitres qui pouvaient recevoir des titres distinctifs.
5. Donner à l'ouvrage ou mieux encore à chaque livre un prologue particulièrement soigné sur le plan rhétorique.
6. Faire précéder le traitement d'un pays ou d'un peuple par un traité (*excursus*) géographique et ethnographique.
7. Accompagner le récit par des portraits des personnages principaux et des jugements sur les hommes et les faits.
8. Faire entrer de (nombreux) discours dans le texte, permettant ainsi

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[24] Voir Guenée, 'Histoire, mémoire, écriture'.

[25] K. F. Werner, 'L'Historia et les rois', dans *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie*, éd. D. Iogna-Prat et J.-Ch. Picard (Paris, 1990), pp. 135–43, et surtout pp. 140–1. L'énumération avait été donné par M. K. Oesterle dès 1960 (dans une thèse que Werner avait co-dirigée), d'après une étude de l'œuvre de Rahewin, continuateur d'Odon de Freising.

l'exposé de jugement des faits et des hommes d'une façon indirecte par l'utilisation du discours direct.

9. Révéler, si possible, le sens profond, spirituel qui se cache derrière le récit et le destin des hommes et du peuple.'

Bien que Werner ajoute qu'une *historia* ne répondait pas nécessairement à tous ces critères, le lecteur de GM ne peut qu'être frappé de les trouver tous, tandis qu'il ne manque à celui de GP que les points 4 et 5: une *partitio* explicite (point 4) et un prologue (point 5) – mais pour ce dernier, il est possible qu'il ait été perdu. Et pourtant, il est évident, pour des raisons liées au contenu et à la période bien plus vaste embrassée par les œuvres d'Aimoin et Richer, que les histoires de GM et de GP, leur sont très différentes. Ne pouvant pas ici m'arrêter sur chacun de ces critères, je privilégierai d'abord le point 4 qui concerne la composition générale de l'œuvre, car il est celui qui, sur le plan formel, oppose le plus visiblement les deux œuvres; j'aborderai ensuite le point 2, pour montrer comment le choix de la langue peut aussi être lié à celui du genre.

2.1 Aisément identifiable chez GM, la *partitio* est plus implicite chez GP. Comme on l'a dit plus haut, GM compose deux épîtres et un récit réparti en quatre livres, et chaque livre est précédé d'un sommaire et introduit par une préface soignée. Au contraire, on n'a chez GP ni prologue ni division en livres précédés d'une préface. Le plan de GM résulte d'une réflexion sur la cohérence des faits sélectionnés pour construire une unité narrative, dans laquelle la succession chronologique tient une place essentielle.[26] Le livre I retrace les événements des années 1035 (environ) à 1060 – Robert est fait duc, et la Calabre est conquise – mais ce livre est introduit par une brève histoire de la conquête de la Normandie par Rollon, qui donne lieu à une description géographique de la province et qui est suivie d'une présentation qu'on peut qualifier d'ethnographique de la *gens Normannorum*; le livre II rapporte les faits des années 1060 à 1072, année de la prise de Palerme, le livre III, les années 1072 à 1085, année de la mort de Guiscard, et le livre IV, les années 1085 à 1098, durant lesquelles Roger pacifie le duché de son neveu rendu fragile par la mort de Robert, achève la conquête de la Sicile (1091) et en assure l'organisation politique et ecclésiastique jusqu'à obtenir le privilège de la Légation apostolique (1098). Les efforts déployés par GM pour construire une œuvre équilibrée en quatre livres s'appuient, d'une part, sur la datation de plus en plus précise des faits. Les millésimes apparaissent dès le livre I, avec l'arrivée de Roger et deviennent plus nombreux au livre II pour donner lieu aux livres III et IV à une datation année par année comme dans une chronique. Jamais pour autant Malaterra ne subordonne l'organisation de son œuvre à la datation: celle-ci est seulement un outil de structuration important, qui témoigne de la cohérence de la progression. On peut le noter peut-être particulièrement au livre III, quand il doit passer continûment de Robert à Roger, mais la datation ne prend jamais le pas sur le fait lui-même, même au livre IV, quand chaque changement d'année est sanctionné par un millésime. D'autre part, à chaque fin de livre, il rédige une forme de conclusion justifiant la nécessité d'en ouvrir un autre. GM s'est montré soucieux d'établir les cohérences internes du récit, de ménager des liens entre les événements, orientant le propos tout entier vers la célébration finale du commanditaire.

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[26] Sur l'importance de la chronologie dans l'historiographie médiévale, voir Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 202; voir aussi M.-A. Lucas-Avenel, 'Temps et organisation narrative dans l'historiographie normande de la fin du XIe siècle', dans *Le sens du temps, VIIe Congrès international de latin médiéval,* éd. P. Bourgain et J.-Y. Tilliette (Genève, 2017) pp. 619–36.

La *partitio* des *Gesta Guillelmi* en deux livres, dont le premier correspond à tout ce qui précède la campagne anglaise et le second commence avec la nouvelle de la mort d'Édouard, n'est pas formellement établie par GP. Il s'agit du choix éditorial de Foreville, conservé par Davis et Chibnall.[27] Le plan de Foreville est justifié par l'équilibre de chaque partie du point de vue de l'économie narrative, ainsi que par la forme de transition qui apparaît à la fin de la première partie, après de longs chapitres d'éloge, vantant les vertus du duc et de certains membres de son entourage. En effet, comme Guillaume s'était rétabli d'une maladie, GP explique:

> On croit, et à juste tire, que l'arbitre suprême de la vraie dévotion rendit la santé à son fidèle serviteur et lui accorda une paisible tranquillité, après avoir terrassé tous ses ennemis, en sorte que celui qui se montrait digne d'être élevé plus haut pût à bref délai recouvrer plus aisément le royaume dont il avait été frustré, certain qu'il était de la sécurité de sa principauté.[28]

Une fois le duché pacifié, le duc pouvait légitimement tourner son regard vers l'Angleterre, dès lors que la mort d'Édouard laissait le trône vacant. Dans cette phrase, GP dresse une sorte de bilan autant qu'il annonce la suite, si bien qu'il conduit déjà le lecteur vers ce qu'il considère comme la seconde étape de la vie du héros: le temps de la royauté. La *partitio* de la vie de Guillaume en deux temps est, en effet, clairement énoncée en II, 19, au beau milieu du récit de la bataille d'Hastings; ayant montré la bravoure et les qualités de chef de Guillaume, sur lequel il recentre le propos et dont il construit la *laus comitis*, il révèle à son lecteur la logique de l'ouvrage:

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[27] GP, p. lvi (WP, p. xxi, et n. 33): la *partitio* suivie par GP lui a été inspirée par Suétone, *Vita Augusti*, 61.

[28] GP, I, 59, p. 147; WP, 96–9.

> *At huc nos illo properamus ut, finita Guillelmis comitis laude, Guillelmi regis gloriam scribamus.*[29]

La reconnaissance des deux moments successifs de la vie de Guillaume, dont il soigne particulièrement l'expression,[30] conduit GP à les rapporter successivement et implique qu'il adopte pour chacun une forme spécifique de célébration, dans un mouvement de gradation (*laus/gloria*). La progression chronologique sert donc la glorification du personnage et apparaît comme un outil narratif nécessaire à ce qu'il faut assurément appeler une histoire à visée panégyrique.[31]

Il faut rappeler cependant que GP s'est plu parfois à composer des chapitres synthétiques, regroupant des faits dans un ordre qui contrevenait à la chronologie. On a, en effet, souligné à juste titre que le plan des *Gesta* suivait aussi une organisation thématique.[32] Ainsi, à la fin de la première partie, après avoir signalé qu'Harold reprend la route de l'Angleterre, GP l'invective, anticipant sur les faits qui seront relatés dans la seconde partie; puis il compose de longs chapitres, dans lesquels il énumère les vertus de Guillaume, soucieux de garantir la paix et la sécurité dans son duché, de maintenir la justice et de protéger l'Église. Ce faisant, GP cesse pratiquement d'employer le parfait, privilégiant l'usage de l'imparfait pour marquer l'itération des bonnes actions de Guillaume, qu'il s'agisse d'exalter sa piété personnelle ou l'attention qu'il portait aux indigents, ou encore d'évoquer son appui pour l'édification des églises. Ces chapitres mettent chacun l'accent sur une qualité particulière du duc, dont il a toujours été doté et dont il ne s'est jamais départi, et constituent ensemble une forme de parenthèse utile pour la caractérisation générale du protagoniste, mais dénuée de toute considération chronologique. Certes, GM dresse aussi quelques portraits – celui des

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[29] L'extrait célèbre le courage de Guillaume relevant son casque pour exhorter les fuyards à reprendre le combat dans une harangue d'une extrême efficacité, puis s'élançant à la tête de ses hommes revigorés et terrassant l'adversaire. Devant cet exemple extraordinaire, tous les Normands montrent une 'bravoure hors pair' (GP, p. 193; WP, p. 132). C'est alors que, se trouvant dans l'impossibilité de rapporter les exploits de chacun d'eux et voulant épargner le lecteur tout en suggérant que les Normands multiplièrent les exploits, Guillaume précise: 'Le plus fécond écrivain, eût-il été témoin oculaire de cette guerre, aurait lui-même grand'peine à exposer chaque détail particulier, et nous avons hâte d'achever la louange du comte Guillaume pour chanter la gloire du roi Guillaume'.

[30] Voir le parallélisme (*Guillelmis comitis laude, Guillelmi regis gloriam*) et le chiasme (*finita … scribamus*).

[31] Cf. P. Bouet, 'Guillaume de Poitiers, un intellectuel au service de Guillaume le Conquérant', in *Les Intellectuels, Elseneur*, v (Caen, 1989), pp. 19–30, à la p. 30, et P. Bouet, 'La *felicitas* de Guillaume le Conquérant dans les *Gesta Guillelmi* de Guillaume de Poitiers's, *ANS*, iv (1982), 37–52 et 174–81.

[32] WP, p. xxi.

Normands en I, 3 et celui de Roger en I, 19 sont les plus remarquables –, mais il ne s'écarte jamais aussi longuement de l'enchainement des faits, sans doute parce que, chez lui, le processus de légitimation du comte repose essentiellement sur l'exposé des actions du personnage et sur la manière dont ses succès peuvent influer sur ses choix, voire sur sa personnalité. Ainsi, au lieu des imparfaits employés par GP, on trouve chez GM, notamment en IV, 7 et en IV, 15, c'est-à-dire quand la conquête est achevée ou sur le point de l'être, l'emploi du parfait *coepit*, qui inscrit dans le temps le moment où Roger 'se mit à faire preuve de dévotion envers Dieu, à aimer les jugements justes, à appliquer la justice, etc.'[33] Néanmoins, que le cours du temps ait ou non une incidence sur le caractère et le comportement du personnage, on trouve chez GP et GM un souci comparable de créer une tension narrative, bâtie sur l'enchainement chronologique et logique de l'histoire et propre à souligner l'élévation progressive du héros.[34]

2.2. Tandis que Werner a établi que les historiographes médiévaux employaient «un langage élevé, un style soigné», GP et GM, par souci du lecteur, prétendent écrire dans une langue facile à comprendre. Pour GM, il s'agit surtout de répondre à la demande expresse du Comte, et il prévient les éventuels critiques touchant son niveau de langue.[35] GP, en revanche, affirme bien haut que son choix est délibéré et justifié par la tradition ancienne:

> *Vivet, vivet in longum rex Guilelmus, et in paginis nostris, quas* ***tenui orationis figura*** *scribere placet, ut res pulcherrimas dilucide plures intelligant. Praesertim cum praecipui oratores, quibus dicendi* ***graviter*** *copia magna fuit,* ***humili sermone, dum historias scribunt****, usi reperiantur.*

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[33] IV, 7 (Pontieri, p. 88, p. 30–2): *Comes, videns ob propitiationem Dei totam Siciliam, excepta Butera et Noto, suae ditioni subeundo cessisse, ne ingratus tanti beneficii sibi a Deo collati existeret, coepit Deo devotus existere, justa judicia amare, justitiam exequi.*

[34] GP et GM ont montré le lien étroit entre progression chronologique et progression logique du récit. GM emploie à deux reprises l'expression *rationis series* (préfaces des livres II et IV), à laquelle il substitue une fois le tour *historiae series* (préface du livre III), qu'on trouve aussi chez GP, en I, 4, p. 12 (WP, p. 6) (voir notre Introduction à *L'Histoire du Grand Comte Roger*, p. 32).

[35] *Epist.* 1, 3, pp. 118–21: *Si autem de incultiori poetria questio fuerit, sciendum est quoniam, etiam si esset unde limpidius aut certe pomposius eructuare potuissem, ipsa principis jussio ad hoc hortata est, ut plano sermone et facili ad intelligendum, quo [ut] omnibus facilius quidquid diceretur patesceret, exararem* ('Et s'il s'élève quelque critique à propos de mon style trop peu orné, on doit savoir que, eussé-je disposé des moyens de m'exprimer avec plus de pureté ou encore avec plus de solennité, un ordre exprès du prince m'a intimé d'écrire dans une langue claire et facile à comprendre, afin que tout ce que je pouvais dire fût accessible à tous sans effort').

> Il vivra, oui, il vivra longtemps, Guillaume notre roi, dans les pages que nous voulons écrire dans un **style simple**, afin de mettre à la portée d'un grand nombre ses actions d'éclat. Ne voit-on d'ailleurs pas le meilleurs orateurs, à l'éloquence **grave et digne**, user d'un **style sobre** dès qu'il tracent des récits historiques.[36]

Faut-il y voir le *topos* d'humilité si fréquemment invoqué par les historiens?[37] On peut le penser, quand on songe aux propos semblables tenus par Dudon,[38] alors même que quiconque lit et plus encore cherche à traduire l'œuvre de ce dernier, se heurte à une *ubertas*, tant dans les parties versifiées que dans certains chapitres en prose rimée, qui confine parfois au 'maniérisme'.[39] En outre, la remarque de GP intervient dans une apostrophe à l'Angleterre, dont l'écriture est extrêmement soignée et qui, d'une certaine façon, dépasse le récit historique, en mêlant l'invective à Harold à l'éloge de Guillaume. Cependant, l'étude du vocabulaire éclaire peut-être aussi le lecteur sur le genre choisi par GP et la manière dont il conçoit l'écriture historique. Il fait, en effet, allusion à deux traditions anciennes. D'une part, il utilise un vocabulaire qui renvoie à l'opposition de la rhétorique classique entre le *genus tenue* et le *genus grave*: l'orateur peut utiliser l'un et l'autre dans son discours, mais privilégie le premier s'il cherche à démontrer plutôt qu'à plaire.[40] Cependant, les maîtres de la rhétorique classique – Cicéron et Quintilien, en particulier – rattachaient l'histoire au genre épidictique, dont le but est 'l'éloge ou le blâme'[41] et a vocation à instruire, mais ils ne lui attribuaient pas un style précis. Il semble que le style moyen cependant était, selon eux, le mieux adapté.[42] D'autre part, comme l'ont précisé Davis et Chibnall, dans une brève note à cet extrait, il est possible que GP reprenne à son compte l'opposition établie par les historiens et les panégyristes de l'époque tardive (III^e^–IV^e^ siècle) entre le style simple, qui convient à l'écriture de l'histoire, et le style élevé (le *stilus major*), réservé au panégyrique. L'opposition de style coïncidait, chez ces derniers, avec une distinction importante portant sur le sujet à traiter: l'histoire traite des faits passés, tandis que le panégyrique a vocation à faire l'éloge de l'empereur régnant dans un but de propagande: cette distinction est clairement établie par Eutrope, qui, ayant dédié son *Abrégé d'histoire romaine* à Valens, termine son œuvre avec la mort de Jovien (364) et déclare:

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[36] GP, II, 32, p. 230 (WP, p. 156–8).

[37] Voir Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 214–17, qui cite GP, parmi d'autres exemples.

[38] Dudon de Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, éd. Jules Lair (Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie, xxiii, Caen, 1865), III, prol., p. 179: *non fucis verborum, neque excellentis orationis ornamento sublimiter praebalteatum, verum simpliciter tenuique naturalis prolationis sermone commentatum.*

[39] Voir L. Mathey-Maille, 'Dudon de Saint-Quentin et ses modèles: la figure de Richard Ier', in *L'Historiographie médiévale normande et ses sources antiques (Xe–XIIe siècle), Actes du colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle et du Scriptorial d'Avranches* (8–11 octobre 2009), éd. P. Bauduin et M.-A. Lucas-Avenel (Caen, 2014), pp. 215–24, à la p. 216.

[40] Cicéron, *L'Orateur*, XXI, 69; XXIII, 75–90.

[41] Cicéron, *De l'invention* I, V, 7. Sur les raisons qui ont amené les Anciens à intégrer l'histoire dans le genre épidictique, voir A. Zangara, *Voir l'histoire, Théories anciennes du récit historique* (Paris, 2007), ch. iv, '*Historia*, *Agôn* et *Epideixis*, la monstration historique est une performance littéraire', pp. 135–74.

[42] Tout en affirmant que l'écriture de l'histoire devait être considérée par l'orateur comme une 'belle tâche', Cicéron ne lui rattachait pas l'un des trois styles du genre oratoire, humble, moyen ou élevé, mais insistait sur «l'abondance rapide» et sur la «variété» de style qu'elle exige, ou encore sur le «style coulant et large» que l'historien doit adopter (*De oratore*, II,

> *Quia autem ad inclitos principes venerandosque perventum est, interim operi modum dabimus. Nam reliqua* ***stilo maiore*** *dicenda sunt. Quae nunc non tam praetermittimus, quam ad maiorem scribendi diligentiam reservamus.*
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> Mais parvenu maintenant à des princes glorieux et vénérables, nous mettrons ici fin à notre ouvrage, car le reste doit être dit en *un style plus élevé*; nous n'omettons pour le moment d'en parler qu'afin de le réserver pour une rédaction plus ample et plus élaborée.[43]

Or, GP, comme on l'a dit, n'a d'autre visée que d'écrire l'histoire. Il semble donc qu'il se soit placé dans cette double tradition. En effet, en se réclamant d'un style simple, comme Eutrope, il ne fait pas que rappeler un *topos*: il affirme avec force que son récit est une œuvre historique – c'est-à-dire véridique – plutôt qu'un panégyrique, même s'il traite d'événements contemporains, accomplis par son roi encore vivant; en même temps, se plaçant dans une tradition plus ancienne encore et dont les historiographes suivants ne se sont jamais départis, il associe le récit des hauts faits à la célébration de leurs auteurs. Ainsi, il inclut dans le récit historique un discours d'éloge – parfois une invective (Godwine et Harold) –, dont le but déclaré est de célébrer la gloire de Guillaume devenu roi d'Angleterre et donne à l'histoire l'actualité du panégyrique, qui peut servir la propagande du roi. Ce qui est remarquable, cependant, c'est le discours que GP tient sur son écriture pour la justifier plutôt

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62–4). Il semble donc que ce soit le style moyen qui convienne le mieux à l'écriture de l'histoire, selon Cicéron et Quintilien, *Inst. or.*, IX, 4, 129. Voir, sur ces questions, Zangara, *Voir l'histoire*, en particulier, pp. 151–5.

[43] Eutrope, *Abrégé d'histoire romaine*, éd. J. Hellegouarc'h (Paris, 1999), x. 18, p. 144. Voir S. MacCormack, 'Latin prose panegyrics: tradition and discontinuity in the later Roman empire', *Revue des Etudes augustiniennes*, xxii (1976), 29–77, à la p. 40. À propos d'Ammien, voir G. Kelly, 'The Sphragis and Closure of the *Res gestae*', in *Ammianus after Julian: the Reign of Valentinian and Valens in Books 26–31 of the Res Gestae*, éd. J. Den Boeft et d'autres (Leiden, 2007), pp. 219–41, et surtout pp. 225–31.

que le choix du genre lui-même. L'époque carolingienne, en effet, avait déjà produit quelques œuvres historiques louant les qualités du roi ou de l'empereur régnant, ne faisant déjà plus une telle distinction entre histoire et panégyrique : ainsi l'action de Charles le Chauve est justifiée par Nithard, qui dénonce au contraire les machinations de Lothaire, ou encore la *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* de Thégan est composée du vivant de Louis. Et c'est de cette tradition qu'a pu aussi s'inspirer Dudon.[44]

Il faut encore préciser que GP emploie le même adjectif, *tenuis*,[45] pour opposer sa 'faible prose' à la poésie épique de Virgile et de Stace, qui, 'selon la loi' du genre (*poetica lege*), magnifie les actions de leurs héros et s'écarte ainsi de la vérité (*qui libris in ipsis poetica lege de magnis majora canunt*). Ce faisant, il prend soin de montrer que de tels poètes, Virgile et Stace, auraient eu matière, avec Guillaume, à composer des poèmes plus élevés encore qu'ils ne pouvaient le faire avec Énée, Hector ou même Tydée, sans pour autant s'écarter de la vérité. Par de telles déclarations, il élève son protagoniste au-dessus des héros les plus célèbres de l'Antiquité et justifie l'emploi de la prose, aux dépens de la poésie, pour écrire l'histoire.[46] GM, quant à lui, précise que le choix d'une langue simple lui a été imposé par le Comte, soucieux de son public, mais aussi pressé d'obtenir sa commande. L'historien exprime son regret de ne pouvoir s'exprimer dans un style plus élevé et aime à répéter, dans les préfaces des livres III et IV, qu'il eût aimé composer un récit au moyen d'une *poetria* 'plus limpide' ou 'plus élégante'.[47] Je doute que le terme *poetria* désigne à proprement parler la poésie dans le sens strict d'une composition rythmée ou rimée. Il s'agit sans doute plutôt de désigner le style ou le niveau de langue de façon plus générale. Il compose néanmoins dix chapitres en vers d'une longueur comprise entre douze et trente-six vers, qui se trouvent presque tous au livre III, au point que ce livre peut être qualifié de prosimètre. Il utilise le vers de l'épopée ancienne – l'hexamètre dactylique – en concurrence avec le septénaire rythmique de la poésie lyrique, ou même la strophe asclépiade A. Il prend soin d'intégrer ces compositions au récit, en évitant qu'elles n'apparaissent comme des excursus ou des parties autonomes; mais les raisons qui l'ont poussé à mettre en vers un épisode plutôt qu'un autre n'apparaissent pas clairement.[48] En revanche, on peut noter que chaque pièce chante un aspect particulier qui contribue à la célébration de ses héros (assaut et prise de Trapani, préparation de la flotte de Guiscard, assaut de Durazzo et malheurs des assiégés, louange du mariage, invective à Rome, *planctus* après la mort du fidèle Enisand, naissance de Simon, fils de Roger ...).

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[44] Sur le contexte littéraire dans lequel s'inscrit l'œuvre de Dudon, voir van Houts, 'Local and regional chronicles', pp. 20–2.

[45] GP, II, 22, p. 200 (WP, pp. 136–7).

[46] Voir encore GP, I, 20, p. 44 (WP, pp. 28–9).

[47] III, *praef.*, pp. 57, 1–7: *Quoniam quidem arduas res clarosque triumphos duorum procerum, Guiscardi videlicet ducis Siciliaeque comitis Rogerii* (*et Rogerii siciliae comitis* Pontieri) … *nos scripturos repromisimus, limpidiori poetria, si esset unde* (*esset mihi unda* Pontieri), *aestuandum foret, ut res quae in se ipsis nobili memoria clarent nobilioris philosophiae* (*philosophi* Pontieri) *penna chirografizarentur* (*chirografaret* Pontieri), *ne limpidissimus liquor, dum ad hauriendum porrigitur, foetore incultioris vasis etiam ab ipsis sitientibus abhorreatur.*

Il y a donc là une différence notable entre les deux auteurs, dans la réflexion qui touche à la langue qui convient le mieux à l'écriture de l'histoire. GP affirme l'historicité de son récit par le choix d'un style simple doublé du rejet du vers, tandis que GM, tout en se plaçant sous le haut patronage de Salluste, n'oppose jamais la poésie à l'histoire, ni ne justifie l'emploi d'un style 'clair et facile à comprendre' par le recours à la tradition historiographique. Au contraire, en suggérant que le style élevé aurait été plus approprié à la célébration des hauts faits du comte, il ajoute encore à l'éloge.

Et cette divergence de point de vue se retrouve dans leur style, dont une étude comparative montrerait que GP est plus 'classicisant' que GM. La syntaxe de l'un et de l'autre est claire et leur style travaillé, dans le souci réel de composer un texte élégant, susceptible de plaire et d'émouvoir. Cependant, plus varié dans le choix des réminiscences textuelles,[49] le style de GP est aussi plus concis,[50] emprunte un vocabulaire plus riche[51] que celui de GM[52] et évite certains traits de la langue médiévale assez fréquents chez GM (comme le nominatif et l'accusatif absolus ou l'utilisation de la préposition devant l'infinitif). GM varie le ton, dramatise le récit, rapporte alternativement, comme dans l'épopée, le duel ou le combat de la multitude, insère le détail visuel, pratique le pathos, l'ironie, voire le burlesque. Chez GP, en revanche, l'unité de ton, qui ressort de son ouvrage est sans doute à mettre en relation avec le style qui, selon lui, convient le mieux à l'histoire; cependant, il affecte une certaine grandiloquence, d'une part, dans la construction de l'éloge, en particulier dans l'usage rhétorique de l'invective, mais aussi dans l'emploi fréquent – et remarquable – de l'irréel du passé: exprimant, par ce procédé, ce qu'il s'est refusé à écrire pour ne pas tomber dans les écueils de la digression ou de l'amplification épique, il affirme qu'il reste dans le cadre du récit "vrai", tout en soulignant par antiphrase la grandeur des faits.[53]

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[48] Voir M.-A. Lucas-Avenel, 'La poésie au service du panégyrique dans la chronique de Geoffroi Malaterra', in *La lyre et la pourpre. Poésie latine et politique de l'Antiquité tardive à la Renaissance*, éd. N. Catellani-Dufrêne et M. J.-L. Perrin (Rennes, 2012), pp. 99–115.

[49] Si les emprunts de GM à Salluste sont nombreux (voir M.-A. Lucas-Avenel, notre introduction, 'Modèles et sources principales', pp. 47–50 et M.-A. Lucas-Avenel, 'Les Sallustianismes de Geoffroi Malaterra', in *L'historiographie médiévale normande*, pp. 277–306), on note, chez GP, des réminiscences plus variées, dont certaines ont été relevées par Foreville dans son édition des *Gesta.* Je n'en mentionnerai ici que deux supplémentaires: en I, 19, p. 40–2 (WP, p. 26), GP insère une sentence dans son texte, comme il le fait à maintes reprises: *Sed novit esse prudentium victoriae temperare, atque non satis potentem esse qui semet in potestate ulciscendi continere non possit. Placet ergo fortunatum iter convertere*, 'Mais [le duc] n'ignore pas que le propre des sages est d'user modérément de la victoire, et que celui-là n'est pas réellement puissant qui ne peut se contenir lorsque s'offre à lui le pouvoir d'exercer la vengeance. Il décide donc d'abandonner le chemin qui l'a conduit au succès'. L'expression *victoriae temperare*, au début de la phrase, est peut-être un emprunt à Salluste, *Cat.* 11, 7 (plutôt qu'à Tacite, *Hist.*, 3, 31), comme pour opposer le duc Guillaume aux hommes corrompus évoqués par Salluste; quant à la seconde partie de la sentence, elle rappelle fortement la définition de la clémence donnée par Sénèque, *De clementia*, 2, 3, 1: *Clementia est temperentia animi in potestate ulciscendi uel lenitas superioris adversus inferiores in constituendis poenis.*

Les déclarations de GM et de GP montrent donc des similitudes évidentes dans les motifs et la finalité de l'écriture de l'histoire. Ils ont reçu une formation littéraire assez comparable, largement ouverte aux textes de l'Antiquité classique et tardive, historiques et poétiques, et dont ils se réclament pour légitimer leurs choix d'écriture. Ils s'inscrivent aussi dans la continuité des œuvres de l'époque carolingienne, puis dans la lignée de Dudon ou de Guillaume de Jumièges, qui compose du vivant du Conquérant. En même temps, les *Gesta* de GP se singularisent au regard de ces deux dernières œuvres auxquelles on peut associer le poème de Gui: sans le dire aussi explicitement que Guillaume de Jumièges vis-à-vis de Dudon, il affirme ses différences, par le genre choisi, qui tient à la fois de l'histoire et de la biographie resserrée sur un seul personnage, par le choix d'une langue qui n'a rien de la préciosité de Dudon, mais qui revêt un caractère savant et maîtrisé, ou par son acharnement à défendre l'historicité de son texte par le rejet de la poésie épique, comme pour mieux fonder la justesse et la légitimité de la célébration du héros. Rien de tel chez GM, qui n'a sans doute pas lu, plus qu'Aimé du Mont-Cassin, les œuvres de Dudon et de Guillaume de Jumièges. Mais, au-delà d'un dessein commun de célébrer les hauts faits des nouveaux conquérants, il me semble que la cohérence de la production historiographique normande est assurée par une écriture qui relève d'une culture littéraire commune, dans un contexte tout à fait favorable. La Normandie s'était dotée de hauts lieux de la culture, en même temps que le Mont-Cassin, sous l'abbatiat de Didier, jouissait d'un rayonnement culturel sans précédent. Comme les chefs normands ont favorisé ce développement, les érudits de l'époque ont pu trouver dans l'ascension exceptionnelle de leurs seigneurs un sujet tout à fait digne de mémoire, correspondant à l'idée qu'ils se faisaient de l'écriture de l'histoire; et il en sera de même pour leurs successeurs quelques années seulement après, ou même pour les futurs croisés. En outre et plus largement, tandis que les Ottoniens, puis les premiers Saliens ont eu leur biographe, cette seconde moitié du XI^{e} siècle est marquée en France, en Italie et à la cour impériale, par le fleurissement d'une littérature, qui va s'épanouir pleinement quelques décennies plus tard, mais dont GP et GM participent aux prémices: celle-ci coïncide avec des conflits politico-religieux et des changements sociaux de première importance, nés de la réforme grégorienne, dans laquelle les Normands jouent un rôle non négligeable; elle donne lieu à une production à la fois polémique et historiographique au sein de laquelle les récits argumentatifs de GP et GM ont pu trouver leur place.

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[50] Voir, à titre d'exemple, la conclusion de GP exprimée note précédente après la sentence: *placet … convertere*. Cette concision, qui incite à reconnaître en Salluste le modèle privilégié de GP – comme l'a suggéré Marjorie Chibnall, OV, ii, 258, va jusqu'à l'obscurité dans quelques rares passages. Mais Foreville (p. xxxviii) préfère voir dans le style de GP celui de César.

[51] GP et GM utilisent le vocabulaire de l'Antiquité classique et tardive, avec les acceptions qui sont celles de leur époque, comme l'ont souligné Davis et Chibnall pour GP (éd.), pp. xxxix-xliii, à propos de toute une série de termes qui ont à voir avec la féodalité ou d'autres réalités qui sont alors en pleine évolution; mais GP emprunte autant aux poètes qu'aux historiens, contribuant à donner à son récit un caractère particulièrement expressif: on peut noter, par exemple, l'emploi très fréquent des intensifs-itératifs en *-tare*. Ainsi, pour ne citer que quelques exemples tirés des premiers chapitres: *minitor*, en I, 6, p. 12 (WP, p. 8); *insector*, en I, 8, p. 18 (WP, p. 10); I, 28, p. 62 (WP, p. 42); I, 49, p. 120 (WP, p. 80); *missito*, en I, 9, p. 18 (WP, p. 12); II, 46, p. 264 (WP, p. 182). Voir encore Foreville, pp. xxxix–xliii.

[52] GM utilise des formulations récurrentes, comme s'il disposait d'un stock d'expressions qu'il pouvait réutiliser à loisir, notamment dans les scènes de bataille (voir dans notre édition, introduction, pp. 54–5).

[53] Voir, par exemple, GP, II, 7, p. 164 (WP, p. 112): *Non indignum duceret Mantuanus poetarum princeps laudibus Aeneae Trojani … securitatem atque intentionem hujus mensae inserere*, II, 16, pp. 184–6 (WP, pp. 110–13); II, 19, p. 192 (WP, pp. 130–3); etc. En II, 12, p. 178 (WP, p. 122), il s'agit de justifier le choix du discours direct, rare chez GP. Ici en particulier, GP associe étroitement vérité et efficacité laudative, en s'effaçant derrière le discours du protagoniste, qu'il estime plus apte que le sien à susciter la louange. Et il ajoute que Cicéron, lui-même, 'n'aurait pu infirmer (*infirmare nec valeret*)' que la 'force de l'argumentation' du duc 'anéantit les raisonnements de Harold'.

Ainsi, comme une comparaison de leurs œuvres témoigne finalement d'une volonté d'écrire l'histoire avec des visées communes, certes, mais somme toute comparables à celles que l'on trouve dans certains récits historiques de l'époque carolingienne;[54] comme, par ailleurs, ils ont mené une réflexion savante, qui transparaît au fur et à mesure de leur récit, sur le sens des événements, l'utilité de les transmettre et surtout la manière de procéder, mais qu'ils se sont trouvés aussi dans un milieu particulièrement favorable à une telle réflexion, il me semble finalement nécessaire de les inscrire dans un plus vaste ensemble, celui de la production historiographique de l'Europe de la fin du XIe siècle, et de les considérer ainsi à la fois comme des sources et des œuvres littéraires de premier plan, témoignant que la ‘Renaissance’ du XIIe siècle est déjà largement amorcée.

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[54] Voir aussi M. Coumert, *Origines des peuples. Les récits du Haut Moyen Âge occidental (550–850)* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes, Turnhout, 2007).

9. Bede's legacy in William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon

Alheydis Plassmann

In the first half of the twelfth century the writing of history in England was revived and the rich tradition of Anglo-Saxon England was continued by Anglo-Norman historians in Latin.[1] Two of these historians understood their history to be not only a continuation of the already extant sources, but actually a remolding of the story of England and English history. Both incorporated sources on English history before the conquest and so integrated Anglo-Saxon and English history into the history of the realm of England under the Anglo-Norman kings. Thus, they created a continuity for English history which we might today take for granted, but which was nowhere near as straightforward as that. There are other examples of this blending of English history and the history of the Anglo-Norman kings like the French vernacular of Geoffrey Gaimar,[2] but there were also historians who tried to tell a different story. Geoffrey of Monmouth focused on the history of the Britons, although he did not continue it up to his own times. It is widely accepted that many parts of Geoffrey's work were meant as comments on the present and thus could be interpreted as linking the British examples to Geoffrey's own time.[3] Historians, especially in Normandy, saw the kings of England in a line with the Norman dukes. Robert of Torigni worked on a continuation of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* and even as late as Henry II's time Rollo the first of the Norman dukes could be referred to as the starting point for the history of the English kings.[4] To tie in the history of the Anglo-Norman kings into that of their Anglo-Saxon predecessors might have been acceptable to historians in the twelfth century, but it was certainly not the only possible solution to the awkward break in tradition which originated from the Norman conquest.

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[1] Cf. E. van Houts, 'Historical writing', in *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 103–21; J. Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the twelfth-century revival of the English nation', in his *The English in the Twelfth Century – Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 123–44; D. Bates, *The Normans and Empire* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 51–63.

[2] On Geoffrey Gaimar, see J. Gillingham, 'Kingship, chivalry and love. Political and cultural values in the earliest history written in French: Geoffrey Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. C. W. Hollister (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 33–58; P. Dalton, 'Geffrei Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*, peacemaking, and the "Twelfth Century Revival of the English Nation"', *Studies in Philology* civ (2007), 427–54.

[3] On Geoffrey of Monmouth, see J. Gillingham, 'The context and purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', *ANS*, xiii (1991), 99–118; Martin Aurell, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* and the twelfth-century renaissance', *HSJ*, xviii (2007), 1–18.

For that reason, the flowering of history in twelfth-century England is a very large field and this chapter, therefore, focuses on the use of the Anglo-Saxon past by two particular twelfth-century historians: William of Malmesbury[5] and Henry of Huntingdon.[6] Both had a well-thought-out concept of history, which differed considerably as can be exemplified by their use of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[7] Although it is interesting to see which parts of Bede they used or how they differed from his wording, this chapter is primarily limited to the question of what they did with

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[4] On the Norman historians, see van Houts, 'Historical writing'; L. Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1997); Bates *The Normans and Empire*.

[5] For William, see most recently, S. O. Sønnesyn, *"Ad bonae uitae institutum": William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Bergen, 2007), and the reworked version of this PhD thesis, S. O. Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Woodbridge, 2012), as well as various studies by Rodney Thompson, for example his *William of Malmesbury* (2nd edn., Woodbridge, 2003); see also B. Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury, King Henry I and the *Gesta regum Anglorum*', *ANS*, xxxi (2009), 157–76; B. Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury on kingship', *History*, xc (2005), 3–22; B. Weiler, 'Royal justice and royal virtue in William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella* and Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*', in *Virtue and Ethics in the Twelfth Century*, ed. I. P. Bejczy and R. Newhauser (Leiden and Boston, 2005), pp. 317–39.

[6] For Henry, see the editorial preface in Huntingdon; Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the twelfth-century revival of the English nation', and B. Roling, 'Der Historiker als Apologet der Weltverachtung. Die *Historia Anglorum* des Heinrich von Huntingdon', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, xxxiii (1999), 125–68. For both William and Henry, see A. Plassmann, 'Bedingungen und Strukturen von Machtausübung bei Wilhelm von Malmesbury und Heinrich von Huntingdon', in *Macht und Spiegel der Macht – Herrschaft in Europa im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert vor dem Hintergrund der Chronistik*, ed. N. Kersken and G. Vercamer (Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Quellen und Studien, xxvii, Wiesbaden 2013), pp. 145–71.

[7] For the use of Bede in William's and Henry's work, see R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*: *the History of the English Kings, Vol. II. General introduction and Commentary*, pp. 14–15-xxx; Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History*, pp. 125–28; D. A. Greenway, 'Henry of Huntingdon and Bede', in *L' historiographie médiévale en Europe: Actes du colloque au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1. avril 1989*, ed. J.-P. Genet (Paris, 1991), pp. 43–50.

Bede's concept of history. Understanding their perception of the historical patterns in Bede might help us to penetrate their own idea of history and their understanding of the purpose of historiography. William and Henry not only differed in terms of what each of them understood to be Bede's concept of history, their own concepts of what Bede wrote in the *Historic Ecclesiastica* may well also differ from those in the many modern scholarly discussions of Bede. For present considerations it is not important whether William and Henry actually understood Bede as he himself wished to be understood, but it is important for us to discern which patterns they used when they retold the English past of the Norman kings.

When William of Malmesbury began his *Gesta regum Anglorum* in the 1120s he explicitly referred to Bede as a model for his work. He wanted to adopt a tradition, which had been dormant since the time of the venerable monk of Jarrow:[8]

> The History of the English from their arrival in Britain to his own time has been told with straightforward charm by Bede, most learned and least proud of men. After Bede you will not easily, I think, find anyone who has devoted himself to writing English history in Latin ... It was therefore my design, in part moved by love of my country and in part encouraged by influential friends, to mend the broken chain of our history, and give a Roman polish to the rough annals of our native speech.

As is obvious from this quotation, William claimed that his half-English origin was one of the reasons he wanted to remedy the abysmal state of the historiography of English affairs. That William saw his work as a kind of 'new Bede' meant that he was rather free in his use of Bede as a source, not quoting him very often, and covering the same time period only in his first book. As he said himself, with an air of false modesty, he spared his readers the rich feast of Bede, so that they could more easily stomach William's small morsels of food.[9] When he reached the end of the *Gesta regum*,

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[8] WM, *GRA*, I, Prologue, p. 14: *Res anglorum gestas Beda, uir maxime doctus et minime superbus, ab aduentu eorum in Britanniam usque ad suos dies plano et suaui sermone absoluit; post eum non facile, ut arbitror, reperies qui historiis illius gentis Latina oratione texendis animum dederit … Vnde michi cum propter patriae caritatem, tum propter adhortantium auctoritatem uoluntati fuit interruptam temporum seriem sarcire et exarata barbarice Romano sale condire*; Bede is praised again in I, 51, p. 80; I, 54, p. 82 and 84; I, 59, p. 88 (he was reportedly invited to Rome); I, 66, p. 98 (he is compared with Alcuin); WM, *GRA* I, 57–61, p. 86–94, praised Bede even more elaborately and I, 62 laments the demise of historiography after his death.

[9] WM, *GRA*, I, 47, p. 64: *Ne quis sane michi uitio uertat quod tam diffusa in arctum contrahitur historia, nouerit factum consilio, ut qui nausiauerint in illis obsoniis, in his mendicantes respirent reliquiis.*

William again made a reference to Bede, even claiming that he followed the *vera lex historiae* in quoting eyewitnesses and documents.[10] Thus, his *Gesta Regum* is framed by references to the model for his work.

William's rearrangement of the course of events he had found in Bede is quite substantial. First, in his *Gesta regum* William wrote only a history of kings and left that of the church, or at least the clergy, to his *Gesta pontificum*; moreover, he treated the English saints separately at the end of Book Two of the *Gesta Pontificum*. Thus, the interwoven texture of religion and politics that is so characteristic of Bede is not so prominent in the *Gesta regum*, which of course does not mean that God and belief do not play a role in William's work. Second, William understood the early history of England as culminating in the pre-eminence of the kings of Wessex, a perspective Bede could not yet have, and consequently reduced the number of early kingdoms to four: Northumbria, Kent, Wessex and Mercia.[11] William of course took this particular outlook on history from the vernacular chronicles known as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which he had denigrated so much in his preface. Third, as the vernacular chronicles had done before him, William understood history in England as history of the *Angli*, while this collective noun could not have been used by Bede in the same way. William wanted to write a work which could compete in language with Bede's *Historia* and which at the same time continued history up to his own time.

On the other hand, it is obvious that William did not take his overall interpretation and structure of history from Bede. This does not mean that he was not influenced by some of the patterns Bede used, nor that he did not try to emulate Bede's methods in historiography. One interesting idea William found in Bede and revisited variously throughout his *Gesta regum* is the idea of a hegemony of one king over other kings. In Book Two of his *Historia Ecclesiastica,* Bede mentioned that several of the kings in England had 'imperium' over other kings:

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[10] WM, *GRA*, V, 445, p. 796: *ego enim, ueram legem secutus historiae, nichil umquam posui nisi quod a fidelibus relatoribus uel scriptoribus addidici. Porro, quoque modo haec se habeant, priuatim ipse michi sub ope Christi gratulor, quod continuam Anglorum historiam ordinauerim post Bedam uel solus uel primus*. William did not mention, however, that *vera lex historiae* was a phrase used by Bede (Bede, *HE*, Prefatio, p. 6); on the *vera lex*, see A. Plassmann, *Origo gentis: Identitäts- und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen*, (Orbis Medievalis – Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters, vii, Berlin 2006), pp. 108–9 and A. Plassmann, 'Beda Venerabilis – Verax historicus. Bedas Vera lex historiae', in *Wilhelm Levison. Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil*, ed. M. Becher and Y. Hen (Bonner Historische Forschungen, lxiii, Siegburg, 2010), pp. 123–43.

[11] WM, *GRA*, Prologue, p. 16.

> King Æthelbert of Kent, after ruling his temporal kingdom gloriously for fifty-six years, entered upon the eternal joys of the heavenly kingdom. He was the third English king to rule over all the southern kingdoms … but he was the first to enter the kingdom of heaven. The first king to hold the like sovereignty was Ælle, king of the South Saxons; the second was Caelin, king of the West Saxons … the third, as we have said, was Æthelbert, king of Kent, the fourth was Raedwald, king of the East Angles … The fifth was Edwin, king of the Northumbrians … Edwin had still greater power and ruled over all the inhabitants of Britain, English and Britons alike, except for Kent only. He even brought under his English rule the Mevanian Islands, which lie between England and Ireland and belong to the Britons. The sixth to rule within the same bounds was Oswald, the most Christian king of the Northumbrians, while the seventh was his brother Oswiu who for a time held almost the same territory. The latter overwhelmed and made tributary even the tribes of the Picts and Irish who inhabited the northern parts of Britain.[12]

Indeed, the wording of this passage, and particularly the later invention of the term 'bretwalda' for these kings by the author of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* has been scrutinized innumerable times by Anglo-Saxon scholars. The generally accepted conclusion is that the term 'bretwalda' or imperium-holder is not to be understood as expressing the opinion that there was ever such an office, or even such a title, in Anglo-Saxon times.[13] For Bede, this list of kings reflected, in a way, the ascent of Christianity. Each of the seven imperium-holders had a role to play in the providential history which led to the complete conversion of the English: Ælle of Sussex and Ceawlin of Wessex stand for the heathen past, while Æthelbert of Kent accepted St. Augustine and the Roman missionaries, Raedwald of East Anglia saved the life of Edwin, the Northumbrian king who then took over the torch of conversion and was converted via his Kent connections, while Oswald effected the firm implantation of the Christian belief in the north, and Oswiu in the synod of Whitby ensured that the way of the Christians would be the Roman way.[14] For Bede the hegemony of the seven was not an aim in itself, but an instrument of divine providence in the process of conversion. That he left out several kings, whose power in principle was sufficient to include them in the list, has long been recognized.

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[12] Bede, *HE*, II, 5, pp. 148–51: *Aedilberct rex Cantuariorum post regnum temporale, quod L et sex annis gloriosissime tenuerat, aeterna caelestis regni gaudia subiit. Qui tertius quidem in regibus gentis Anglorum cunctis australibus eorum prouinciis, quae Humbrae fluuio et contiguis ei terminis sequestrantur a borealibus, imperauit; sed primus omnium caeli regna conscendit. Nam primus imperium huiusmodi Aelli rex Australium Saxonum; secundus Caelin rex Occidentalium Saxonum … tertius, ut diximus, Aedilberct rex Cantuariorum; quartus Reduald rex Orientalium Anglorum … quintus Aeduini rex Nordanhymbrorum gentis … maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter et Brettonum, populis praefuit, praeter Cantuariiis tantum, necnon et Meuanias Brettonum insulas … Anglorum subiecit imperio; sextus Osuald, et ipse Nordanhymbrorum rex Christianissimus, hisdem finibus regnum tenuit; septimus Osuiu frater eius, aequalibus pene terminis regnum nonnullo tempore cohercens, Pictorum quoque atque Scottorum gentes, quae septentrionales Brittaniae fines tenent, maxima ex parte perdomuit ac tributaries fecit.*

[13] On the tricky question of the bretwalda, see B. Yorke, 'The "Bretwaldas" and the origins of overlordship in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. S. Baxter and others (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 81–95, who situates Patrick Wormald and his research on this topic in its historiographical context.

In William of Malmesbury's times, to cut a long story short, this list and the West Saxon extension to Egbert of Wessex and the line of his successors, which (again) omitted all hegemons of the Mercians, was common knowledge.[15] We will now consider what William made of this list and of further possible imperium-holders even beyond the Anglo-Saxon past. The list itself was not quoted by William, but he mentioned the individual 'bretwaldas' and continued the concept of an overlordship over other *gentes* of the British Isles up to his own times. William did not talk about Ælle of Sussex, Sussex being passed over as an unimportant kingdom. He did, however, mention Ælle of Deira, because it was during his reign that Pope Gregory met the Anglo-Saxon slaves in Rome.[16] The fact that he underlined the supposedly exceptional achievements of Ælle, seems to imply that he either misinterpreted or deliberately changed Bede here, because the Ælle in Bede's history is not identical with the Sussex king who held 'imperium'. Ceawlin of the West Saxons was valiant in battle, but died hated and in exile, a twist of fate not mentioned in Bede.[17] Presumably, this happened because he was a heathen, a point not explicitly made by William but suggested by the examples of kings' fortunes taking a turn for the better after their conversion.[18]

When William wrote about Æthelbert he also differed significantly from Bede: he accentuated the Frankish influence on Æthelbert, which is not so prominent in Bede, a point we will revisit, and he declared that Æthelbert was not only superior in honour to the other kings, but also in *honestas*, since he not only became a Christian, but also excelled in virtues.[19]

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[14] On this see Plassmann, *Origo gentis*, pp. 78–80.

[15] See also S. Keynes, 'Bretwalda', *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and others (2nd edn., Malden, Oxford, and Chichester, 2014), pp. 76–7.

[16] WM, *GRA*, I, 45, pp. 60, 62.

[17] WM, *GRA*, I, 17, p. 40.

[18] For example, WM, *GRA*, I, 19, p. 42.

[19] WM, *GRA*, I, 9, p. 28: (Æthelbert of Kent) *Postmodum, cum adultiori aetati consultior etiam militiae accessisset peritia, breui omnes nationes Anglorum preter Northanimbros continuis uictoriis domitas sub iugum traxit, et, ut exterorum quoque familiaritatem ascisceret, regis Francorum affinitatem filiae eius nuptiis sibi conciliauit. Tum uero Francorum contubernio gens eatenus barbara ad unas consuetudines confederats siluestres animos in dies exuere et ad leniores*

A virtuous and pious king thus deservedly holds hegemony over others, a point which was sometimes raised by Bede as well, for example with Edwin. William also connected the powerful kingship of Edwin, Oswlad and Oswiu to God's favour.[20] Edwin was saved in his exile by the steadfast Raedwald of East Anglia, whose doubts about his guest, which Bede told his readers about in length, were omitted by William. According to William, after becoming king, Edwin inspired fear in all the peoples of the island of Britain and secured exceptionally peaceful times.[21] On the other hand, William admitted that both Edwin and Oswald were defeated by Penda of Mercia, who in the end was himself defeated by Oswiu and thus got his just reward for clinging to paganism.[22]

In his second book, William left the well-trodden path of Bede, but still revisited hegemonic rule. While William admitted that Offa of Mercia was a powerful ruler, his opinion on Offa is somewhat ambiguous.[23] William told the reader that Offa lived a long life, only because he was supported by Charlemagne, which is another instance of Frankish influence. The inevitable downfall of Mercia happened after Offa's death, his son being doomed because of his father's sins, an interpretation taken from Alcuin.[24] Offa is an example of William's sophisticated outlook on history. For William there was no direct connection either between personal virtues and the quality of a king's rule or between personal vices and the outcome of that rule.[25] A king who had both vices and virtues might still have

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mores declinare. … Haec est profecto clara nobilitas, haec superba uirtus, honestates uincere quos honore uincas. On Æthelbert, see also Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History*, pp. 155–6.

[20] WM, *GRA*, I, 48, 49–50, pp. 66–78.

[21] WM, *GRA*, I, 48, p. 68: (Edwin of Northumbria) *Itaque imperii sui ad eos limites incrementa perducta sunt ut iustitia et pax libenter in mutuos amplexus concurrerent, osculorum gratiam grata uicissitudine libantes, et feliciter tunc Anglorum respublica procedere potuisset, nisi mors immatura temporalis beatitudinis nouerca turpi Fortunae ludo uirum abstulisset patriae.* On Edwin, see also Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History*, pp. 162–4.

[22] WM, *GRA*, I, 74, p. 110.

[23] WM, *GRA*, I, 86, pp. 120, 122.

[24] WM, *GRA*, I, 94, pp. 136–9: (Offa of Mercia) *Haec saltuatim uerba epistolae decerpens idcirco apposui, ut posteris elucescat amicitia Offae et Karoli; cuius familiaritate fretus, licet multorum impeteretur odio, dulci tamen uitam consumpsit otio, et Egferthum filium, ante mortem suam in regem inunctum, successorem dimisit. Ille, sedulo paternae immanitatis uestigia declinans, priuilegia omnium aecclesiarum quae seculo suo genitor attenuauerat prona deuotione reuocauit. … Itaque cum spes egregiae indolis primis annis Egferthi adoleret, seua mors uernantis aetatis florem messuit, unde Osberto patritio Albinus: 'Non arbitror quod nobilissimus iuuenis Egferthus propter peccata sua mortuus sit, sed quia pater suus pro confirmatione regni eius multum sanguinem effudit'.*

[25] See Plassmann, 'Bedingungen und Strukturen von Machtausübung bei Wilhelm von Malmesbury und Heinrich von Huntingdon'.

been successful and was not necessarily punished by God, at least not in this life. Nevertheless, in some cases virtues, good rule and divine favour did correlate.

The next king who mastered the *gentes* in Britain was Egbert of Wessex. Like Edwin, he was first driven into exile, but having no steadfast ally like Raedwald, he had to move further on and search for a safe haven in France with Charlemagne. William here repeated the motif of the beneficial influence of the people of France, as previously mentioned in relation to Æthelbert's reign. William thought this *gens* foremost in courage, virtue and manners.[26] That Egbert had the opportunity to benefit from greater experience on the continent was, in William's interpretation, clearly according to God's will, and that he managed to subdue all other realms in Britain after his return was due to his virtues.[27] Thus in Egbert's case William blended Bede's interpretation of hegemony as a sign of divine favour with his ideas about continental and, presumably French, experience, as well as his image of a successful ruler.

This pattern for success continued in the same vein for the following kings of Wessex and England. Alfred's brother became the victor at Ashdown because he insisted on finishing Mass before battle,[28] and Alfred himself received clear signs of favour from St. Cuthbert and went on to establish supremacy over England.[29] This continued under his son Edward, although William seemed to think that at least half of Edward's success could be attributed to the lasting efforts of his father and his sister.[30] Alfred's grandson Æthelstan, outstanding in courage and pious devotion, extended the supremacy of Wessex even further to the Celtic lands of Wales and

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[26] WM, *GRA*, II, 106, p. 152: (Egbert of Wessex) *Ita Offa, qui bellicis minis non cederet, ad blanditias coniuente, Egbirhtus transnauigato mari Frantiam uenit. Quod Dei consilio factum intelligo, ut uir ille, ad tantum regnum electus, regnandi disciplinam a Francis acciperet. Est enim gens illa et exercitatione uirium et comitate morum cunctarum occidentalium facile princeps*. See also Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History*, pp. 164–6.

[27] WM, *GRA*, II, 106, p. 152: *clementia* and *mansuetudo*.

[28] WM, *GRA*, II, 119, p. 178.

[29] WM, *GRA*, II, 121, p. 182: (Alfred*) Ego sum Cuthbertus, si audisti. Misit me Dominus ut tibi prospera annuntiem: quia enim Anglia iam dudum peccatorum penas enormiter luit, modo tandem, indigenarum sanctorum meritis, super eam misericordiae suae oculo respicit. Tu quoque, tam miserabiliter regno extorris, gloriose post paucum tempus in solio reponeris, atque adeo signum eximium tibi dabo.* See also p. 186.

[30] WM, *GRA*, II, 125, p. 198: *De his licet merito Eduardus laudetur, palma tamen potissima debetur patri per meum arbitrium, qui tantae potentiae fecit auspitium. Inter haec non praetermittatur soror regis Ethelfleda, Etheredi relicta, non mediocre momentum partium, fauor ciuium, pauor hostium*. See also Sonnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History*, pp. 166–70.

Scotland where, if we can believe William, he installed rulers at his whim.[31] That Æthelstan's rule was destined to be a huge success is further emphasized by the assertion that Alfred had already noticed his grandson's potential, and that his mother had a prophetic dream about him.[32] God's favour to the next king Edward, who also subdued the Northumbrians, Welsh and Scots, was shown by the fact that his peaceful death was supposedly announced to Archbishop Dunstan by a voice from Heaven.[33]

Dunstan of Canterbury, an outstanding and holy churchman, received a prophecy on the reign of Edgar, the highpoint of the Wessex hegemony: all would be well in England as long as Edgar and Dunstan lived. William told his readers how every subordinate king visited Edgar at Chester and how Edgar's supremacy was made manifest, when all the sub-kings rowed the English king's boat.[34] We do not know the origin of William's colourful and suggestive image of the Wessex royal 'outing on the Dee',[35] but it fits well into the overall picture, since the pinnacle of English supremacy, so vivid in William's imagery, was not to last. As a last sign of divine favour Edgar received a prophetic dream which foretold the decline of English power under his successors.[36]

It is only under the Dane Cnut (1016/18–35) that the power of the English kings could be re-established. William judged Cnut to have been a good king: 'There was no justice in his succession to the throne, but he arranged his life with statesmanship and courage',[37] William stated. Cnut's reign was a peaceful one and English, Danes and, later, Scots submitted to him.[38] The success of his reign was due to the fact that he eliminated the traitor Eadric who had harmed Æthelred and Edmund Ironside,[39] and that he tried to make recompense for the Danes' crimes, redeeming himself in the eyes of his contemporaries and, as William wrote cautiously, perhaps also 'before God'.[40] Furthermore, and probably most importantly in the light of the mainly benign role of the archbishops of Canterbury in the *Gesta regum*, Cnut listened to the advice of Archbishop Æthelnoth, who as William explicitly stated, had been the seventh abbot of Glastonbury to become archbishop of Canterbury.[41] William's list of seven was probably a deliberate allusion to the number of imperium-holders named by Bede, used as a device to identify the good churchmen who were a blessing to the English realm.

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[31] WM, *GRA*, II, 131–138, II, 131, p. 206: (Æthelstan) *Occasio contradictionis, ut ferunt, quod Ethelstanus ex concubina natus esset; sed ipse preter hanc notam, si tamen uera est, nichil ignobile habens omnes antecessores deuotione mentis, omnes eorum adoreas triumphorum suorum splendore obscurauit.*

[32] WM, *GRA*, II, 133 and 139, pp. 210, 212 and 224, 226; see also Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History*, pp. 170–1.

[33] WM, *GRA*, II, 146, pp. 234, 236.

[34] WM, *GRA*, II, 148, p. 238: (Edgar) *Nullas insidias domesticorum, nullum exterminium alienorum sensit. Regem Scottorum Kinadium, Cumbrorum Malcolmum, archipiratam Mascusium omnesque reges Walensium, quorum nomina fuere Dufnal Giferth Huual Iacob Iudethil, ad curiam coactos uno et perpetuo sacramento sibi obligauit, adeo ut apud Ciuitatem Legionum sibi occurrentes in pompam triumphi per fluuium De illos deduceret. Vna enim naui impositos ipse ad proram sedens remigare cogebat, per hoc ostendans regale magnificentiam, qui subiectam haberet tot regum potentiam.*

[35] On the evidence for the meeting, see A. Williams, 'An outing on the Dee: King Edgar at Chester, A.D. 973', *Mediaeval Scandinavia: a Journal Devoted to the Study of Mediaeval Civilization in Scandinavia and Iceland,* xiv (2004), 229–43.

[36] WM, *GRA*, II, 154, pp. 250–4.

[37] WM, *GRA*, II, 181, p. 320: (Cnut) *Anno incarnationis Dominicae millesimo septimo decimo Cnuto regnare cepit, et uiginti annis regnauit, iniuste quidem regnum ingressus sed magna ciuilitate et fortitudine uitam componens. … Ita cum omnis Anglia pararet uni, ille ingenti studio Anglos sibi conciliare, aequum illis ius cum Danis suis in consessu in concilio in*

The next king to hold supremacy over the Welsh and Scots was, surprisingly enough, Edward the Confessor, and it is particularly interesting to note how William pictured the reign of this king, whom he did not consider an able ruler: 'The simplicity of his character made him hardly fit to govern, but he was devoted to God and therefore guided by him'.[42] In contrast to Cnut, who might or might not have been in God's favour, the Confessor's closeness to God was unquestionable. For this reason, the magnates of England acted for the greater good of the kingdom by supporting him, especially in helping him to maintain English hegemony over the Scots and Welsh:[43]

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prelio concedere ... Ita omnia quae ipse et antecessores sui deliquerant corrigere satagens, prioris iniustitiae neuum apud Deum fortasis, apud homines certe abstersit.

[38] WM, *GRA*, II, 181 and 182, pp. 320–4.

[39] WM, *GRA*, II, 181, p. 320.

[40] WM, *GRA*, II, 181, p. 322: *Ita omnia quae ipse et antecessores sui deliquerant corrigere satagens, prioris iniustitiae neuum apud Deum fortassis apud homines certe abstersit.*

[41] WM, *GRA*, II, 184, p. 330: (Cnut) *Astabat regio lateri supradictus Egelnodus, qui septimus ex monachis Glastoniensis cenobii presidebat cathedrae Cantuariensi.*

[42] WM, *GRA*, II, 196, pp. 348, 350: (Edward the Confessor) *Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo quadragesimo secundo Eduardus filius Egelredi suscepit regnum, mansitque in eo annis uiginti quattuor non plenis, uir propter morum simplicitatem parum imperio idoneus, sed Deo deuotus ideoque ab eo directus … Sed quanuis uel deses uel simplex putaretur, habebat comites qui eum ex humili in altum conantem erigerent: Siwardum Northimbrensium, qui iussu eius cum Scottorum rege Macbetha congressus uita regnoque spoliauit, ibidem Malcolmum filium regis Cumbrorum regem institutit … Haroldum Westsaxonum filium Goduini, qui duos fratres reges Walensium Ris et Griffinum sollertia sua in mortem egerit, omnemque illam barbariem ad statum prouintiae sub regis fide redegerit.*

[43] WM, *GRA*, II, 196, pp. 348, 350: (Edward the Confessor) *Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo quadragesimo secundo Eduardus filius Egelredi suscepit regnum, mansitque in eo annis uiginti quattuor non plenis, uir propter morum simplicitatem parum imperio idoneus, sed Deo*

> Yet, idle or innocent as he might appear, he had ministers who could second his efforts to rise higher in the world. Siward, earl of Northumbria, on his instructions attacked Macbeth, king of the Scots, deprived him of his life and throne and installed Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians, in his place … Harold earl of the West Saxons, son of Godwine, by his skillful tactics brought to their deaths two brothers who were kings of the Welsh, Rhys and Gruffydd, and reduced the whole of that barbarous country to the status of a province owing allegiance to the king.

Thus, the same Harold who had overstepped himself when he usurped the throne after Edward's death, had a role fitting into divine providence when he acted for the pious king Edward. This last flowering of the West Saxon line was even foretold in a bishop's dream,[44] and Edward himself received a bleak vision of England's future, when he dreamt of a tree being cut down, a motif which William took from the *Vita Edwardi*.[45] William made it quite clear that the Norman Conquest happened according to God's will as it was prophesized to Edward: 'The English kingdom is in the hands of God and after you He has provided a king as pleases him'.[46] At Edward's death William claimed that the West Saxon line had come to an end, and he denigrated the last male members of the line, especially Edgar Ætheling.[47] Later, when Edgar was an exile at the Scottish court, William

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[44] WM, *GRA*, II, 221, p. 406.

[45] WM, *GRA*, II, 226. Later this dream was interpretated differently: Henry II was seen as the person who descended from the Anglo-Saxon dynasty and was thus able to 'heal' the tree (see Ailred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi regis*, *PL*, cxcv 774). See A. Plassmann, 'Prophezeiungen in der englischen Historiographie des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,* xc (2008), 19–49, at p. 35.

[46] WM, *GRA*, II, 221, p. 406: (Edward) *'Regnum Anglorum est Dei; post te prouidit regem ad placitum sui'.*

[47] WM, *GRA*, II, 228. p. 416: (Edward) *Rex Eduardus pronus in senium, quod ipse non susceperat liberos et Goduini uideret inualescere filios, misit ad regem Hunorum ut filium fratris Edmundi Eduardum cum omni familia sua mitteret: futurum ut aut ille aut filii sui succecant regno hereditario Angliae … Ita uenit Eduardus, sed continuo apud Sanctum Paulum Lundoniae fato functus est, tribus liberis superstitibus, uir neque promptus manu neque probus ingenio. Edgaro, qui post occisionem Haroldi a quibusdam in regem electus et uario lusu Fortunae rotatus pene decrepitum diem ignobilis ruri agit … Rex itaque defuncto cognato, quia spes prioris erat soluta suffragii, Willelmo comiti Normanniae successionem Angliae dedit. Erat ille hoc munere dignus, prestans animi iuuenis et qui in supremum fastigium alacri robore excreuerat.* Matilda, wife of Henry I, received a much better characterization (WM, *GRA*, V, 418, pp. 754–8), as

insinuated that even his brother-in-law Malcolm did not really think him to be worthy of kingship: William claimed that Malcolm waged war against England not on behalf of Edgar, but because he wanted to teach a lesson to the Conqueror.[48] God's favour was passed to the next and rightful ruler William the Conqueror, who was designated by Edward after he had realized the failure of his line, and it seemed that aptitude for kingship was transferred as well.[49]

For the three next Anglo-Norman kings the status of supremacy over Scotland and Wales mirrored God's favour. Neither William the Conqueror, nor his sons William Rufus or Henry I were a match for Edward the Confessor in piety, but nevertheless divine providence supported the power of at least the Conqueror and Henry I. The former defeated the Scots[50] and subdued the Welsh,[51] while Rufus – the king with a reputation of being an enemy of the church – had to fight numerous Welsh rebellions and had great difficulty with the Scots.[52] Henry I after some disputes[53] managed the Welsh,[54] allied with the Scottish kings,[55] and inspired a deeply felt respect in the Irish. 'Muirteach king of the Irish, and his successors, whose names are not reported, were so devoted to our King Henry that they wrote nothing except what would please him and did nothing except what he told them to do',[56] as William put it, which stretches the truth of amiable relations with Ireland a little too far. Even the king of Norway, a reputed raider, behaved himself when he wintered in England during Henry's reign.[57] One might argue that Rufus's campaigns in Wales actually did fail, but it is telling that in the context of these campaigns William already anticipated Henry I's greater success.[58]

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did Margaret of Scotland (WA GRA, IV, 311, p. 554). On the Ætheling in the later sources, see also E. Winkler, '1074 in the twelfth century', *ANS*, xxxv (2013), 241–58.

[48] WM, *GRA*, III, 249, p. 462.

[49] WM, *GRA*, II, 228, p. 416: *quia spes prioris erat soluta suffraggii.*

[50] WM, *GRA*, III, 249 and 250, pp. 462, 464.

[51] WM, *GRA*, III, 258, p. 476.

[52] WM, *GRA*, IV, 310 and 327, pp. 552, 554 and 570.

[53] WM, *GRA*, V, 396, p. 718.

[54] WM, *GRA*, V, 401, p. 726. Already foreshadowed in IV, 311, p. 554.

[55] Marriage with Matilda, WM, *GRA*, V, 400, pp. 724, 726.

[56] WM, *GRA*, V, 409, p. 738: (Henry I) *Hibernensium regem Murcardum et successors eius, quorum nomina fama non extulit, ita deuotus habuit noster Henricus ut nichil nisi quod eum palparet scriberent, nichil nisi quod iuberet agerent.*

[57] WM, *GRA*, V, 410, p. 740: *Denique Siwardus rex Noricorum primo aeui processu fortissimis conferendus, incepto itinere Ierosolimitano rogataque regis pace in Anglia tota resedit hieme.*

[58] WM, *GRA*, IV, 311, p. 554. On Rufus's Welsh campaigns, see F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (2000), pp. 318–24, 336–8, 369–71.

The concept of hegemony in William's *Gesta regum* is thus not that different from Bede's. Hegemony was a result of divine providence but was not an irrefutable sign of God's favour for the person of the king involved. Just as Bede had imperium-holders in his list whose virtue could be doubted, such as Ælle, Ceawlin and Raedwald, the successive kings of England might have held hegemony but that did not necessarily mean that they were virtuous. In some cases, like those of Egbert (who received his schooling in France), Edgar (who listened to the advice of Dunstan of Canterbury) and others, the king's powerful standing correlated with personal piety and able rule. But for the personal virtues of the king, hegemony was no certain indicator. It is telling that William carved out the goodness of King Edward the Confessor who received divine help. He was quite reluctant to make any such statement about the Conqueror, Rufus or Henry I. The closest he came to claiming that God supported the Conqueror was when he mentioned, that contrary winds hindered the imminent invasion of the Danish king.[59] Although he usually praised the outcome of the rule of Henry I, this is not the same as stating that the king was pious or even personally in God's favour. For William of Malmesbury a successful ruler did not have to be a pious ruler; virtue and success did not go hand in hand.

This chapter now turns to Henry of Huntingdon. Henry started writing the *Historia Anglorum* at about the same time as William, but he repeatedly revised his work up until his death sometime in the 1150s. Like William he knew and valued Bede,[60] but he did not want to write a 'new Bede'. He preferred a simple continuation of Bede's history of the Angles down to his own times, rather than a re-interpretation. He stated that he had been asked to make a compilation of English history and apparently had no ambition to rewrite everything in his own style.[61] Like William, his half-English descent prompted his interest in English history, but in contrast to William, he tried to blend together several sources of British origin, like the *Historia Brittonum* and even Geoffrey of Monmouth, when he got to know him, with Bede and vernacular sources.[62] Henry was far less critical than William, acknowledging his debt to all his sources and quoting extensively from them. Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* found its way into the *Historia Anglorum* almost entirely, apart from some chapters which did not cover English history, but Henry did not usually just copy Bede. First, he rearranged the material he found in Bede and in this he quite closely resembles William. The history of the Anglo-Saxon kings was covered in Books Two and Three, including their conversion, while the Anglo-Saxon and English saints were allocated a book of their own (Book Nine). Thus, Henry, like William, dissolved the unity of religious and political history. Second, most of the time he copied Bede with care, omitting or rewording phrases like 'he is still alive in our time'. When Henry failed to update Bede's wording it was probably not his fault but that of a copyist who did some of the tedious copying.[63] So Henry did not usually use exactly the same words as Bede. Third, like William, Henry understood the Anglo-Saxon past as culminating in the hegemony and then sole rule of Wessex and accordingly used the West Saxon kings as a reference for dating.[64] Like William, he rearranged the early material according to the various Anglo-Saxon realms, Kent, Wessex, Northumbria and so on. In this he went further than William, making the assumption that there had been seven kingdoms, a structure he called a heptarchy. This was, for a time, a quite influential notion in Anglo-Saxon scholarship, although today it is usually agreed that this is a far too simple map for Anglo-Saxon England.[65] Henry was probably prompted to invent this seven-fold England by the number seven in Bede's list of imperium-holders. This leads us to the fourth point: Henry liked to reuse meaningful numbers he found in Bede. Bede talked about the five languages of Britain,[66] and Henry spoke about the five 'plagues' of Britain, invaders who sometimes subdued the island to their rule, like the Romans, the Scots and Picts, plus the Anglo-Saxons he found in Bede. Henry inserted the Danes and the Normans into this tradition. He was not the only one to interpret the Danes and Normans as a scourge of God for the sins of the English, following the example of Bede, who had represented the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons as a punishment for the Britons.[67] But Henry was the first to make a list of these plagues which presumably had come to an end with the Normans.[68] When we now look at what Henry made of Bede's list of imperium-holders we have to keep in mind that Henry's use of Bede went beyond just making a copy; even more than William, he used the patterns and symbolic numbers he found in Bede and adapted them to his own ideas on the course and the purpose of history. In Henry's case, we have the advantage that he gives us a picture of an ideal reader of Bede: King Ceolwulf of Northumbria, who according to Henry took Bede's history very much to heart:

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[59] WM, *GRA*, III, 258, pp. 476, 478: *At uero rex Willelmus in subiectos leniter, turbide in rebelles agens feliciter omni Anglia potiebatur, Walenses omnes tributaries habens. ... Solus eius maiestatem concutiebat Cnuto rex Danorum, qui et affinitate Rotberti Frisonis et suapte potentia in immensum extollebatur, rumore in populo sato quod Angliam inuaderet, debitum sibi pro affinitate antique Cnutonis solum; et profecto fecisset, nisi Deus eius audatiam uento contrario infirmasset.*

[60] Huntingdon, Prologue, p. 6: *Tuo quidem consilio Bede uenerabilis ecclesiasticam qua potui secutus historiam*; I, 10, p. 28: *venerabilis Beda*; IV, 11, p. 230: *uir sanctus et uenerabilis, uir ingenii florentis et Christi philosophus*; IV, 12, p. 230: *Anno eodem uenerabilis Beda, semper mente inhabitata, celi conscendit palacia. Qui regia uirtute sua et aliorum uicia compescens, cum regibus ipsis inferior non sit, dignissime regum in ordine quasi rex ponatur*; IX, 13 and 14 are devoted wholly to Bede's accomplishments; IX, 1, p. 622*: In hoc siquidem libello, exceptis miraculis, que uir Domini Beda uenerabilis, cuius auctoritas firmissima est, in historia sua conscripsit, null uel fere nulla apposuimus. Quia quamuis succedentium temproum uiri mirabiles et magnifici fuerint, tamen eorum gesta uel auctore carent certo, uel quantum seruus Dei Beda probate*; IX, 4, p. 626: *sanctus Beda*; IX, 27, p. 652: *sapientissimus Beda*; IX, 39, p. 674: *Dei famulus* (a phrase from Bede himself, cf. V, 24, p. 566: *famulus Christi*); IX, 51, p. 686: *magnus auctor*. On Henry's use of Bede, see Greenway, 'Henry of Huntingdon and Bede'.

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[61] Huntingdon, I, 9, p. 6: *Tuo quidem consilio Bede uenerabilis ecclesiasticam qua potui secutus historiam.*

[62] Huntingdon, I, 9, p. 24: *Quod in Beda non inuentum in aliis auctoribus repperi*; see also Diana Greenway on Henry's sources, in Huntingdon, p. lxxxv–cii.

[63] According to his editor Greenway, (Huntingdon, p. lxxxvii).

[64] Huntingdon, II, 16, p. 96.

[65] See S. Keynes, 'Heptarchy', in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 238.

[66] Bede, *HE*, I, 1, p. 14. Repeated in Huntingdon, I, 8, p. 24.

> Ceolwulf then, frequently conversed with Bede while he was alive, and both before and after Bede's death often consulted, with his own eyes, the History which had been written for him, beginning to examine the deeds and deaths of each king attentively. He saw in a clearer light that earthly kingdoms and human possessions are acquired with labour, possessed with fear, and lost with grief … So voluntarily, as the master of riches and not the servant, he cast away, like a great man, what was worthless … Taking his example from the blessed man's said History, this steadfast man truly followed those steadfast kings [who gave up the crown] … So when Ceolwulf took the monastic habit, he made the number of perfect kings up to seven, and a crown of precious stones was placed on his head by the Lord.[69]

It is no happenstance that the list of seven imperium-holders is balanced by a list of seven kings who resigned the crown and prioritized their salvation. The very man who was instigated to do this by his reading of Bede was the seventh.

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[67] Bede, *HE*, I, 14, p. 84 and I, 15, p. 52. Bede himself took this from Gildas (see Plassmann, *Origo gentis*, p. 68). Huntingdon, II, 2, p. 82.

[68] Huntingdon, I, 4, pp. 14–16.

[69] Huntingdon, IV, 16, p. 236, 238: (Ceolwulf of Northumbria) *Ceolwlfus igitur cum sepe uiuenti Bede colloqueretur, et sepe ante mortem eius et post mortem historiam eius ad se scriptam oculis adhiberet, cepit diligenter regum singulorum facta et finem secum discutere. Viditque luce clarius regna terrena et res humanus cum labore perquiri, cum timore possideri, cum dolore amitti … Sponte igitur diuiciarum non seruus sed dominus, quasi magnus uiles abiecit … Exemplumque assumens ex historia beati uiri predicta, sex reges fortissimos uir uere fortissimus prosecutes est … Compleuit ergo Ceolwulfus ebdomadam regum perfectorum et habitu monachali susecpto, capiti eius corona de lapide pretioso inposita est a Domino.*

As Henry started his overview of the Anglo-Saxon realms with Sussex, the first imperium-holder he mentioned was Ælle, who he, unlike William, identified correctly.[70] Henry claimed that Ælle held *omnia iura regni Anglorum*, an interesting wording and probably a reference to the importance of royal rights, which is eminent in Henry's writing. For example, at the very beginning of his work, where he drafts the geography of Britain, he draws attention to the Four Highways that were protected by law and edict of the kings.[71] In contrast to William, Henry actually quoted the list of imperium-holders he found in Bede,[72] but he deliberately placed it differently to Bede. While Bede gives the list in a discussion about Æthelbert of Kent, the first converted king,[73] Henry quoted it while telling the reader about the reign of Ceawlin of Wessex, who he did not explicitly name as an over-king elsewhere in the text.[74] Since Henry rearranged Bede to cover the West-Saxon ascent, the new placing of the list makes sense. Additionally, we can take into account the fact that Henry not only added the West Saxon Egbert, who could be found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but also the West Saxon Alfred and Edgar the peaceful, whose hegemony over the Scots had already been mentioned. These additions to the list are unique to Henry. The half-heathen Raedwald is, like Ceawlin and Ælle, not named as an over-king apart from his place in the list, and, in contrast to William, Henry took from Bede how Raedwald was tempted to kill Edwin,[75] and how he relapsed into pagan belief.[76]

The Christian Edwin received better treatment, since Henry quoted Bede on the exceptional peace in Britain during his time[77] and on his rule over *Angli* and *Britones*.[78] When Henry reached the reign of Oswald, next in the list, he again quoted Bede, on Oswald's supremacy over *Angli, Britones, Scoti* and *Picti*, but he made a significant addition, claiming that Oswald not only *in regno*, but also *in mente*, superseded all his predecessors.[79] Diana

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[70] Huntingdon, II, 15, p. 96. Interestingly, this is found in the report about his death. Ælle is first mentioned in II, 8, p. 90.

[71] Huntingdon, I, 7, p. 22.

[72] Huntingdon, II, 23, pp. 104, 106.

[73] Bede, *HE*, I, 5, p. 148.

[74] Huntingdon, II, 23, p. 104: (Ceawlin of Wessex) *Cheulingo sexto anno regnante super Westsexe, cepit Aedelberch rex magnus regnare super Chent, tempore Iustini imperatoris*. The statement is followed by Bede II, 5.

[75] Huntingdon, III, 26, p. 174.

[76] Huntigndon, III, 30, p. 180.

[77] Huntingdon, II, 30, p. 114.

[78] Huntingdon, III, 24, p. 172.

[79] Huntingdon, III, 26, p. 190: (Oswald of Northumbria) *Cuius institutione formatus rex Oswaldus ut mente proficiebat ita et regno plusquam omnes maiores eius. Omnes igitur gentes*

Greenway translates *mens* as soul and certainly the meaning of this phrase points to the spiritual improvement of Oswald, which sprang from his piety. Thus, even though Oswald received his fair share of praise from Bede, Henry seems to emphasize his spiritual ambition even more. Henry even repeated this insight discussing Oswald the Saint in Book Nine: 'iniquity did not arise in him "out of fatness", but his humility increased as he was exalted'.[80] When Oswald was killed by Penda of Mercia, Henry felt obliged to embellish Bede's tale: 'However, by the hidden judgment of God, the pagans, hateful to God, put His loved ones to death, and made them meat for the fowls of the air'.[81] Henry tended to give a quite straightforward interpretation of history, where the Bad are punished by God and the Good are rewarded. Oswald's death in battle for him is an enigma, while Penda's defeat by Oswiu was explicitly linked to God's help which Oswiu earned after numerous pious acts, again not mentioned by Bede.[82]

Although Henry continued his 'bretwalda' list with the kings of Wessex, he also mentioned other kings who held hegemony. Æthelbald of Mercia strove for hegemony up to the Humber, which he achieved until, in Henry's words, he was even a *rex regum.*[83] But God intervened in the course of history and instigated Æthelbald's downfall: [84]

> Thus after he had reigned for forty-one years, this powerful king paid the penalty of immeasurable pride. From that time the kingdom of Wessex, being well established, continued to grow until it was complete.

The example of Æthelbald is rather typical for Henry. It is telling that the kings Alfred and Edgar, who he added to Bede's bretwalda list, come closer to Oswald than to Æthelbald who was omitted from the traditional list. For Henry, Æthelbald had no place in the list: [85]

Britanniae, scilicet Britones, Anglos, Pictos, Scottos, in dicionem accepit.

[80] Huntingdon, IX, 9, p. 630: (Oswald) … *non prodiit illi 'ex adipe iniquitas', sed creuit in exaltatione humilitas.* The phrase is taken from Ps 72, 7 and Jas, I, 9. Oswald as a saint is Henry's subject in IX, 8–15.

[81] Huntingdon, III, 39, p. 194: (Oswald) *Occulto autem Dei iudicio inuisi Deo pagani dilectos eius mactauerunt, et escas uolatilibus celi dederunt.*

[82] Huntingdon, III, 41, p. 198.

[83] Huntingdon, IV, 14, p. 234: *maximus omnium* and IV, 19, p. 240: *rex regum.*

[84] Huntingdon, IV, 19, p. 244: (Æthelbald of Mercia) *Sic itaque rex ualidissimus, cum quadragesimo primo anno regnasset, superbie inmoderate penas exsoluit. Regnum uero Westsexe, ex hoc tempore ualde roboratum, crescere usque in perfectum non destitit.*

[85] Huntingdon, IV, 20, p. 246: (Æthelbald) *Dei iusticia non solum futuro in seculo, uerum etiam in isto, digna meritis recompensat! Eligens namque reges improbos ad contricionem promeritam subiectorum, alium diu insanire permittit, ut et populous prauuus diu uexetur, et rex prauior in eternum acrius crucietur, ueluti Aedelboldum regem Merce prefatum.*

> Behold how God's justice makes proper recompense for man's desert, not only in the world to come, but also in this world! For choosing wicked kings for the well-merited humiliation of their subjects, He allows one such to rage for a long while, so that an evil people may be punished for a long while and also that the more evil the king, the more sharply he may be tormented in eternity, like Æthelbald the aforesaid king of Mercia.

Egbert of Wessex was praised for his military achievements in conquering one kingdom after another, either by force or sometimes by persuasion, progressing even beyond the Humber, and then finally subduing the Welsh.[86] On the state of Egbert's soul Henry kept silent, but tellingly enough put the emphasis on the fact that the success of Wessex was more part of God's plan than were the individual accomplishments of Egbert. Alfred was the next king added to Henry's list. Compared to what Henry had to say about Æthelbald of Mercia's power the sparse comments that '[Alfred] ruled over all England except over those areas which were subjugated by the Danes', and that his reign was burdensome and inescapably hard, are something of a let-down and hardly what one would expect for a powerful king.[87] It is only with Edgar, the tenth in line, that it all fits together again. Edgar's power is balanced by his eagerness to advance the Church and thus Henry attested that 'he knew how to seek the true [heavenly] kingdom through the false, the mighty kingdom through the small, the perpetual kingdom through the fleeting'.[88] Thus, although the military exploits against the Danes, Scots and Northumbrians of Edgar's predecessors (Æthelstan, Edmund and Eadwig) were mentioned and even praised, Henry said nothing about the state of their piety.[89] For him, they merely anticipated the peaceful times of Edgar, who was the only one judged worthy of being added to Bede's list.

For Henry's take on hegemony as a sign of divine providence, it is telling how he treated the kings who exercised hegemony after Edgar. Henry, such as William, told how Cnut removed some of the Anglo-Saxon nobles, like Eadric, but while William interpreted this as a measure that stabilized Cnut's rule, Henry saw it as a fitting recompense for the villainy of the English.[90] Cnut was 'lord of all Denmark, of all England, of all Norway and also of Scotland',[91] but the one thing which redeemed his soul was his insight into the vanity of his power. According to Henry, Cnut tried to order the incoming flood not to touch the boundaries of his realm, but when this had no effect at all he proclaimed: 'Let all the world know that the power of kings is empty and worthless, and there is no king worthy of the name save Him by whose will heaven, earth and sea obey eternal laws'.[92] Cnut acknowledged the greater power of God and thus improved the chances for his own salvation, but he did not live up to the example of Edgar who actively pursued the heavenly kingdom.

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[86] Huntingdon, IV, 28–30, pp. 260–4.

[87] Huntingdon, V, 13, p. 296: (Alfred) *Alfredus rex, cum regnasset uiginti octo annis et dimidio super totam Angliam, preter illas partes que subdite errant Dacis mortis sensit aculeum. De cuius regimine laborioso et inextracabili uexatione uersifice proloqui dignum duximus …*

[88] Huntingdon, V, 26, p. 322: (Edgar) *Edgarus pacificus, rex magnificus, Salomon secundus, cuius tempore numquam exercitus aduenarum uenit in Angliam, cuius dominio reges et principes Anglie sunt subiecti, cuius potentie Scot etiam collam dedere, cum regnasset sedecim annis et duobus mensibus, feliciter uiuencs, feliciter obiit. Nec potuit male mori qui bene uixerat … De cuius laude musam aliquantulum dicere pro meritis promouimus: … Nouit enim regno uerum peruquirere falso/ Inmensum modico perpetuumque breui.*

[89] Huntingdon, V, 18, p. 308, 310 on Æthelstan and his victories over Danes and Scots; V, 19, pp. 310–14 even gives a Latin translation of the English song on the battle of Brunanburh; V, 20 and 21, p. 314–16, cover Edmund; V, 22, p. 316–18 is on Eadred; and V, 23, p. 318, on Eadwig, whose very short reign was promising, according to Henry, but cut short.

When Henry summed up the reign of William the Conqueror and declared him to have been more powerful than all English kings, he explicitly admonished his readers to imitate his virtues but to beware his vices.[93] On the Conqueror's state of salvation Henry had nothing more to say than that he wished God to have mercy on William's soul,[94] a stark contrast to his firm conviction that the Anglo-Saxon kings who resigned earned the crown of heaven.

William Rufus's death, unsurprisingly and in tune with other historical works of the time, was styled as the fitting punishment for a life of crimes.[95] But, while Henry at least acknowledged the Conqueror's hegemony over Britain, he played down Rufus's successes in Scotland and denied any achievement in Wales.[96] For Henry's idea of kingship and personal salvation, it is telling that he claimed that Rufus was bad for his own people, but worse for himself.[97]

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[90] Huntingdon, VI, 15, p. 362 and see WM, *GRA*, II, 181, p. 320; see also above, p. 180.

[91] Huntingdon, VI, 17, p. 366.

[92] Huntingdon, VI, 17, p. 368: (Cnut) *Sciant omnes habitantes orbem, uanam et friuolam regum esse potentiam, nec regis quempiam nomine dignum, preter eum cuius nutui celum, terra, mare, legibus obediunt eternis.*

[93] Huntingdon, VI, 38, p. 404: *De cuius regis potentissimi uita, bona perstringenda sunt et mala, ut a bonis sumantur exempla, et a malis discatur cautela.*

[94] Huntingdon, VI, 39, p. 406: [William the Conqueror and his wife Matilda] *Quorum animabus misereatur qui solus post mortem medetur.*

[95] Huntingdon, VII, 22, pp. 446, 448.

[96] Huntingdon, VII, 2, pp. 414, 416 on the clash with king Malcolm; VII, 3, p. 418 on the elevation of Duncan; VII, 19, p. 444 on the elevation of Edgar; VII, 4, p. 420: *parum proficiens uel nihil* (on a Welsh campaign); VII, 19, p. 444. In the seventh book Henry has a lot more to say about the first crusade than on William Rufus.

[97] Huntingdon, VII, 22, p. 446, 448: (William Rufus) *Iure autem in medio iniusticie sue prereptus ext. Ipse namque ultra hominem erat, et consilio pessimorum quod semper eligebat, suis*

It is well known that Henry of Huntingdon revised his assessment of Henry I's reign considerably after the king's death, even admitting that only then could one feel free to express an opinion.[98] In light of how the historian pictured Henry I's predecessors, it might be argued that a careful reader could have perceived some hints even in the earlier redactions, at least at a second look. Henry gave ample information about Henry I's successes in the wars against his brother Robert[99] and the Welsh,[100] and in negotiations with the Scots,[101] claiming that the king surpassed all his predecessors.[102] In contrast to Henry's account of the conquest of England, where the Norman victory was attributed to God's desire to punish English sins, for King Henry the historian claimed divine intervention in a much more personal sense – not as an abstract juggling of the fate of peoples but weighing the two possible candidates for the English throne, namely Robert Curthose and Henry: [103]

> But God, who judges far differently from the sons of men, who exalts the humble and puts down the mighty, removed the illustrious Robert from everyone's favour, and caused the fame of the [hitherto] despised Henry to shine throughout all the world.

Henry I, then, appears to receive a good verdict. On closer examination, however, one could argue that Henry of Huntingdon gave numerous examples of mighty kings in Anglo-Saxon times whose chances for salvation were passed over in silence. One could also point out that Henry I's success was, in the historian's account, also a question of punishment for Robert,[104] just like the Conqueror's victory was foremost a punishment for the English. Taking further into account how Robert is described, God's decision for Henry I might have been understood as the lesser of two evils. Finally, one could argue that nowhere in the *Historia Anglorum* was there any mention of King Henry making an effort to gain the eternal crown. Indeed, at

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nequam, sibi nequissimus.

[98] Huntingdon, X, 1, pp. 698, 700.

[99] Huntingdon, VII, 26, p. 454.

[100] Huntingdon, VII, 28, p. 460 and VII, 33, p. 468.

[101] Huntingdon, VII, 26, p. 456, on the succession of Alexander at King Henry's instigation.

[102] Huntingdon, VII, 26, p. 456: *omnes suos antecessores precessit*.

[103] Huntingdon, VII, 26, p. 454, 456: (Henry I) *Sed Deus qui longe aliter iudicat quam filii hominum, qui exaltat humiles et deprimit potentes, Robertum omnium fauore celeberrimum deposuit, et Henrici despecti famam per orbem terrarum clarescere iussit*.

[104] Huntingdon, VII, 25, p. 454: *Reddiditque Dominus uicem duci Roberto. Quia cum gloriosum reddidisset eum in actibus Ierosolimitanis, regnum Ierosolim oblatum sibi renuit, magis eligens quieti et desidie in Normannia deseruire, quam Domino regum in sancta ciuitate desudare. Dampnauit igitur eum Deus desidia perhenni, et carcere sempiterno*.

one point the writer claimed that the historical *exampla* in his work were explicitly meant to show to King Henry the vanity of the world and make him understand that there was no point in accumulating worldly glory.[105] Henry I should have taken Ceolwulf as an example; instead he continued as before and this led to his dreadful death and burial, outward signs of his probable damnation.

That the list of imperium-holders was not continued beyond Edgar is, then, not just a question of the Conquest creating a break in historical tradition, but was also due to the fact that there had been no later kings worthy enough to add to Bede's list.

Further light can be shed on this if we take a look at Henry's second list of kings. As mentioned above, Henry had made an additional list of seven kings who abdicated in order to strive for salvation. Interestingly, the list of kings who abdicated is continued into the times after Bede: Henry named Eadbert of Northumbria as the eighth king to have entered a monastery.[106] He did not, however, pursue the parallel to the bretwalda list by adding a ninth and a tenth king. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to investigate possible candidates for a continuation of the list, and how Henry pictured them. There is, for example, Edgar the Ætheling, who Henry briefly discussed as a possible candidate after Edward the Confessor's death.[107] Edgar gets far better treatment from Henry than from William of Malmesbury for whom he is the last degenerate member of a once proud family.[108] The phrases Henry used never insinuate that Edgar was ambitious for kingship, but picture him in a rather passive role. Edgar only took action when he sought the marriage of his sister Margaret with Malcolm. After 1074, he lived contentedly at the Conqueror's court and even helped William Rufus in Scotland.[109] There is no mention of the occasions when Edgar again clashed with the Anglo-Norman kings.[110] Henry does not put Edgar explicitly into the line of glorious Anglo-Saxon kings. It might be argued that Henry wanted to portray Edgar in a favourable light as a contrast to his frequent condemnations of the power hungry, a recurrent theme of his. Another possible candidate for relinquishing the right to the crown might be Robert

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[105] Huntingdon, letter to Warin, pp. 558–82, and letter to Henry (written after the king's death!), pp. 502–56.

[106] Huntingdon, IV, 21, p. 248.

[107] Huntingdon, VI, 27, p. 384.

[108] See also n. 47 above.

[109] Huntingdon, VI, 24, p. 380, he is briefly mentioned as a member of Edward the Confessor's family; VI, 27, p. 384, he is considered as a possible successor to Edward; VI, 31, p. 396, he betroths his sister to King Malcolm; VI, 33, p. 398, Edgar's reconciliation with the Conqueror.

[110] Huntingdon, historical commentary, pp. 416n., 418n. and 454n.

Curthose, but he is a negative example. Robert was offered the crown of Jerusalem when he was on crusade but was reluctant to 'toil for the Lord of kings in the holy city'.[111] Obviously, Robert refused the crown not for the salvation of his soul but because of his laziness. According to Henry, this was entirely the wrong choice. Hence the list of abdicating kings could not be continued because, just as with the bretwalda list, there were no worthy candidates.

All in all, Henry of Huntingdon made much more direct use of Bede than William of Malmesbury, quoting him *in extenso*, but his interpretation of history was in a way simpler than Bede's. Worldly power was nothing in the face of eternity and thus although mighty kings like William the Conqueror or even William Rufus might be instruments of God, they were never in God's favour. God's favour was only for those who sought the eternal kingdom. Although Bede also appreciated kings who had their salvation in mind, he was not so adamant that this was the only possible way to heaven. In Henry's eyes all kings who held hegemony over others could serve the readers of his book as examples, and the mightier the king, the more prominent his downfall and his damnation.

Thus, William and Henry handled Bede in very different ways and in a manner that is quite specific to their interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon past for their own time. While William quoted Bede very little, he was far closer to Bede's idea of history than Henry was. For William, history was of course destined by God, but while it might be clear to God, it was no clear-cut story for William. The interaction of vices, virtues, power, ability to rule, the contributions of nobles and bishops, divine favour and divine providence occur in almost every possible variation in the reigns of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman kings alike. Henry, on the other hand, quoted almost the entire *Historia Ecclesiastica,* but when retelling Bede's tales and using the patterns of hegemony he subordinated everything to his own idea that history was primarily meant to show the vanity of worldly affairs. Henry and William represent two possible methods of handling the cultural tradition of the Anglo-Saxon past and of incorporating Anglo-Saxon kings into a line leading up to their own Norman kings. Henry of Huntingdon clung to the letter of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but changed Bede's spirit to give a different (and simpler) meaning to history, while William found a kindred soul in Bede's masterpiece and was inspired by the complexity of the Anglo-Saxon past and God's involvement in the history of the *Angli*, all the while moulding events in his own unique wording.

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[111] Huntingdon, VII, 25, p. 454: *magis eligens quieti et desidie in Normannia deseruire quam Domino regum in sancta ciuitate desudare*; see also p. 190, n. 103, above.

10. The transformation of Norman charters in the twelfth century[*]

Daniel Power

The sealed charter is so familiar an artefact for the historian of the central middle ages that its emergence can easily be taken for granted. Yet it is a remarkable object, both as text and artefact. Although it had very venerable antecedents and parallels and was in use in western Europe long before 1100, it became the prevalent form of document there within a relatively short space of time, in the middle third of the twelfth century. Even allowing for the vagaries of survival and loss, the number of sealed charters being produced by 1200 far outnumbered those documents being written a century earlier. Although other types of document continued to be used, sealed acts of various types held sway as the most popular written records for a century and, of course, continued to be important for far longer.

The present chapter considers the sealed charter's rise to dominance in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in one of the most important areas for its development and use, the duchy of Normandy, under the rule of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings and their early Capetian successors. It seeks to trace and explain these developments within the broader context of written instruments in twelfth-century Normandy, and to discern whether they constitute a 'documentary transformation'. Its focus will be upon sealed charters as whole documents rather than just the seals, which have been the subject of extensive study on their own account.[1] The final part of the chapter considers the changes to Norman diplomatic in the aftermath of the Capetian conquest of the duchy in 1204. The proliferation and growing sophistication of written records in the twelfth century has been considered in detail for England, most notably in Michael Clanchy's classic work *From Memory to Written Record*, while Norman records up to the mid twelfth century have been the subject of a series of chapters by David Bates on which this article frequently draws.[2] However, taking the history of Norman documents up to the Capetian conquest and beyond contributes more broadly to the history of both texts and artefacts in the Norman world.

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The following abbreviations, specific to this article, are used: ADC = Caen, AD Calvados; ADSM = Rouen, AD Seine-Maritime.

Documents, society and political structures

In recent years, the relationship between documents and their broader context has been closely scrutinized for the period from the late tenth to the early twelfth century, as aspects of what Dominique Barthélemy has dubbed a *mutation documentaire* – that is to say, a revolutionary transformation in documentary forms. Previous generations of historians had regarded the dramatic changes to eleventh-century documents, particularly in what is now France, as an indication of social and political collapse: the rigours of Carolingian diplomatic had given way to freer forms of documents such as notices, and since the new, more narrative forms allowed their clerical drafters to complain freely about lay sinfulness and 'violence' in order to explain and justify grants and restitutions of property, these sources can create an impression of widespread disorder, or even social collapse. However, Barthélemy has pointed out that the freer expression of the new types of document may be revealing pre-existing social conditions, rather than radical social and political change.[3] Indeed, cultures of literacy have very complex associations with the societies that nurture them, and radical shifts in the forms of documents do not necessarily reflect social revolution. If we look back at Western society since World War II, most commentators would locate the most far-reaching social changes in the 1960s, an age of stable written records, but would place the greatest revolution in the technology of literacy and form of written texts in the digital revolution since the 1990s. The documentary revolution of our own day has certainly had a profound impact upon society, but social and political change had previously occurred

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[1] See, most recently, *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Schofield (Oxford and Philadelphia, Pa., 2015).

[2] M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (3rd edn., Chichester, 2012). For the works of David Bates, see nn. 6, 10, 14, 22 below.

[3] D. Barthélemy, *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-elle eu lieu?* (Paris, 1997). Typical is the statement (p. 51) that 'La «notice» n'est pas informe, mais plutôt informative'.

in a time of relative documentary stability. The relationship between social change and written records is therefore a complex one: radical shifts in the technology and forms of written instruments simultaneously respond to and influence broader evolutions in society, but there is no easy relationship between radical documentary and social or political change.

Modern parallels also highlight the fact that the external forms of documents easily transcend political and legal boundaries, but their internal content is much more likely to be shaped by local legal systems and linguistic cultures. The examination of a specific region therefore highlights particular problems. What is the relationship between political entities – and consequently legal structures – and cultural features such as the forms of documents used in those regions? Richard Sharpe's nuanced discussion of English royal charters before and after the Norman Conquest of England relates changes in the address clauses of royal charters to precise changes in the roles of shire courts, and to the emergence of royal justices. His article presupposes an exact correlation between developments in the English legal system and changes in the internal form of English royal charters.[4] Yet the sealed charter became acceptable across many different polities and areas of customary law: both its internal and external features varied remarkably little across a wide area of Europe. Its ubiquity and the very standardized nature of its form mean that its success cannot be attributed to administrative developments in specific principalities. Such growth in popularity must have been in response to broader cultural changes which made these documents simultaneously acceptable across a great many jurisdictions. Furthermore, since the majority of acts before 1200 had ecclesiastical beneficiaries, parties or scribes, the concerns, demands and influence of the Catholic church also exercised a formative influence upon the evolution of documents. Twelfth-century charters served a number of functions and had to be acceptable to both customary and ecclesiastical law, and so their forms and uses had to suit both the demands of princely, seigneurial and ecclesiastical courts. Developments in documentary forms were therefore responses simultaneously to local, regional and international influences.

Influences upon Norman charters

What were the influences upon documentary developments in Normandy? First, there was the broader ecclesiastical context. The majority of documents in the period were issued for religious houses and often drafted in their *scriptoria*: at the beginning of the twelfth century, these were dominated by a small number of Benedictine centres of production,[5] but subsequently the emergence of new orders of monks, nuns, canons and knights created fertile ground for more common features to emerge across far-flung regions, especially as these orders were often more centralized than earlier religious institutions. Moreover, it was in the course of the twelfth century that documents emanating from the papal chancery became common in the duchy, and the bishoprics of northern France, including Normandy, developed their own chanceries and documentary practices.[6]

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[4] R. Sharpe, 'Address and delivery in Anglo-Norman royal charters', *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. M. T. Flanagan and J. A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 32–52.

Normandy was also linked by dynastic rule, trade, landholding and ecclesiastical connections to the kingdom of England. The most significant link came from the focus of royal and ducal power upon a single princely household, from which documents were issued on, and sent to, both sides of the English Channel. Sealed royal charters had emerged in England in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and were continued in adapted form under the early Norman kings.[7] Most historians have tended to assume that English diplomatic was more advanced and therefore influenced Normandy rather than the reverse, and certainly this was true for the use of writs, as we shall see; but Bates has pointed out that in the aftermath of the Norman conquest, English chirographs tended to be drafted in a French style, abandoning the separate traditions of Anglo-Saxon chirographs.[8] Given the relative balance of power between the Normans and their new island subjects in the first few decades after 1066, it is hardly surprising that French forms should have been influencing English documents more than the reverse at this time, but it is worth emphasizing this point when considering the possible exchanges between England and Normandy in the course of the following century. Nevertheless, a number of diplomatic forms, such as writs and final concords, found their way to Normandy from England in the course of the twelfth century.[9] Bates has also observed that it is important to distinguish between the acts of rulers and those of their subjects: he has argued that the chanceries of the king-dukes proved more conservative in their diplomatic, ignoring many of the trends among their subjects, for example the recourse to notices and chirographs.[10] Such forms were poor means of expressing the superiority and majesty of royal authority. It is striking from studies by Richard Mortimer and Jean-François Nieus that the first Anglo-Norman landowners with seals used them for their Insular rather than their Norman property, although sometimes the beneficiary was a continental monastery.[11]

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[5] E.g. for Jumièges, see D. Bates, 'La "mutation documentaire" et le royaume anglo-normand (seconde moitié du XIe siècle – début du XIIe siècle)', in *Les actes comme expression du pouvoir au Haut Moyen Âge*, ed. M.-J. Gasse-Grandjean and B.-M. Tock (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 33–49, at pp. 36–9; for diplomatic practices at Fécamp across a longer period, see M. Bloche, 'La suscription dans les actes des abbés de Fécamp (XIe- début du XIVe siècle)', *Tabularia «Études»*, xii (2012), 1–28.

[6] The forthcoming editions of the acts of Norman bishops in the ducal period by Grégory Combalbert, Richard Allen and Véronique Gazeau will reveal far more about the diplomatic and scribal relationships between Norman episcopal and lay acta. *Les actes des évêques de Coutances de 1048 à 1208*, ed. R. Allen (Caen, forthcoming), pp. 23–5, conjectures that the bishops of Coutances had their own chancery from the time of Bishop Algar (1132–51) onwards, and more certainly (on palaeographical grounds) by 1156–7 (no. 127), during the episcopate of Bishop Richard de Bohon (1151–79).

[7] T. A. Heslop, 'English seals from the mid ninth century to 1100', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, cxxxiii (1980), 1–16; *Acts of William* I, pp. 102–5; J.-F. Nieus, 'Early aristocratic seals: an Anglo-Norman success story', *ANS*, xxxviii (2016), 97–123.

[8] Bates, 'La "mutation documentaire"', pp. 45–6, 49.

Norman deeds should also be seen within their northern French context. By 1100 Norman houses such as Fécamp, Saint-Ouen and Le Bec had acquired property in Picardy, the Île-de-France and the Chartrain, while monasteries such as Saint-Denis and the great abbeys of the Loire valley held substantial property in the duchy; and the lands of many Norman landowners straddled the borders of the duchy. Consequently, many religious houses and lords were familiar with the documents from neighbouring parts of France, and the deeds of Norman priories of abbeys such as Saint-Florent de Saumur and Marmoutier must have been influenced by their mother communities. Yet some of the most distinctive features of twelfth-century French diplomatic were never adopted in Normandy. These include the monograms which adorned Capetian diplomas, inherited from the Carolingians and formed of the letters of the issuing monarch's name; while early in Louis VI's reign the list of witnesses in royal acts became a standardized list of household officers' *signa*, irrespective of whether they were actually present, and remained so even after the disappearance of the witness-list across most of northern France (including Normandy) in the early thirteenth century. Neither the fossilized list of *signa* nor the royal monogram had any influence upon ducal or other acts in Normandy.[12] It is true that these features were generally not adopted by other magnates in the Capetian *regnum*, either; they remained a preserve of French royal acts alone.

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[9] D. Bates, 'The earliest Norman writs', *EHR*, c (1985), 266–84; D. Power, 'En quête de la sécurité juridique dans la Normandie angevine: concorde finale et inscription au rouleau', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, clxviii (2011), 327–71.

[10] Bates, 'La "mutation documentaire"', 42–3.

[11] R. Mortimer, Anglo-Norman lay charters, 1066–*c.*1100', *ANS*, xxv (2003), 153–75; Nieus, 'Early aristocratic seals', pp. 98, 106.

[12] *Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France (1108-1137)*, ed. J. Dufour (4 vols., Paris, 1992–4), iii (intro.), pp. 151–2, dates the change to 1114/15, one of the changes enacted under Stephen de Garlande's time as chancellor; cf. pp. 152–3 for Stephen's standardization of the phrase *in palatio nostro* in royal acts in 1106, late in Philip I's reign.

The developments in Norman charters also reflect strong indigenous creativity. Twelfth-century diplomatic practice rarely appears as inventive in Normandy as in England, but some developments were specific to the duchy. In the course of the century, especially in the reign of Henry II in Normandy between 1150 and 1189, autonomous institutions and legal procedures developed, namely the exchequer, assize courts, and permanent ducal officers such as the seneschal and *baillis*, all of which no doubt influenced the forms of pragmatic written records used in the duchy. Although many aspects of these developments reflected English influences and innovations, and were often executed by men from England, such as the great Norman seneschal William fitzRalph, there was nevertheless substantial indigenous creativity in the diplomatic practices of Angevin Normandy.

Forms of Norman documents in 1100

What were the main developments in Norman documents during the twelfth century? The next section will briefly describe the main changes, before considering their purpose and significance.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, several main types of document were used in Normandy. The writ had yet to find its way to Normandy from England, and the main types were the diploma, the *notice*, the *conventio*, and the *pancarte*. Bipartite chirographs were known, but rare; so, too, were sealed charters.

The diploma was formulated in the first person, and usually authenticated by *signa*, which were traditionally added by the witnesses themselves. This form of document had a very venerable pedigree dating back to the Carolingian monarchy and beyond. Outwardly, it represented grants as single transactions, although Bates has demonstrated that in reality it could be compiled over a long period, with autograph *signa* being collected on numerous occasions rather than at a single ceremony.[13] Such acts were still commonly drafted during the reign of Henry I of England in Normandy (1106–35), and survived until the middle of the century.[14] Henry himself continued to add his *signum* in time-honoured fashion to his barons' acts until late in his reign.[15] A fine original is an act of Count William of Évreux (d. 1118) and his wife Countess Helwise, by which the donors granted 'all the parishioners of the *bourg* of Varaville' to the monks of Troarn; it bears the *signa* of Henry I of England and the count and countess.[16]

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[13] D. Bates, 'The prosopographical study of Anglo-Norman royal charters: some problems and perspectives', *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: the Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 89–102.

[14] E.g. a diploma of Count William of Ponthieu (*c.*1130), known from a transcript in the 13th-century cartulary of Montebourg Abbey, states that he and his eldest son Guy

Another common form of document in early twelfth-century Normandy was the notice. A legacy of the eleventh-century *mutation documentaire*, it was usually phrased in the third person and typically narrated a grant, dispute or agreement. The notice bore no marks of authentication: it served merely as a record of an oral transaction and its witnesses. The notice continued to be used in Normandy until the mid twelfth century.[17] A fine original tells how in the year 1105, in the presence of Archbishop William of Rouen, a man from the Norman Vexin called Ralph de Boury restored land at Gisors to the church of Notre-Dame de Rouen – in other words, the chapter of Rouen cathedral – in the presence of a large number of *ex parte* witnesses and 'a great many men from Gisors, Neaufles, Chaumont, Vesly, Dangu and Villers': in other words from either side of the River Epte that divided the Norman Vexin from the French Vexin. The notional border played no part in a document recording a transaction that transcended it.[18] Alongside the notice we must consider the *conventio*, which recorded the resolution of a dispute, where similar principles apply.

(d. 1147) had added the sign of the cross to it (*et vt firmiter teneatur signum sancte crucis imprimimus ad faciendum hanc donationem*); this statement was followed by the *signa* of 10 men, beginning with the *dapifer* Hugh de Médavy: BnFr, MS. lat. 10087, p. 63 no. 133; *Recueil des actes des comtes de Pontieu (1026–1279)*, ed. C. Brunel (Paris, 1930), no. XXIIbis, pp. 661–2. For the Montebourg cartulary, see below, p. 203–4'

[15] E.g. *RRAN*, ii, no. 1832.

[16] ADC, H7760 (cf. *RRAN*, ii, no. 1020, no. LXXVIII, edited from a faulty transcript; *c.*1113?).

[17] T. Roche, 'Les notices de conflit dans la Normandie ducale (milieu du XIe–milieu du XIIe siècle environ)', *Tabularia «Études»*, vii (2007), 51–73. It is difficult to know when unsealed notices ceased to be drafted as records of transactions. Many cartularies contain texts that resemble notices, but most of these were probably summaries of full charters rather than transcripts of original notices. E.g., T. Fujimoto, 'Le cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Étienne de Caen (XIIe siècle): essai d'archéologie documentaire', *Tabularia «Études»*, x (2010), 41–61, at pp. 53–4, shows that a four-line notice in the cartulary of S.-Étienne de Caen, written by its scribe C in the late 12th century, is actually a combined summary of two extant sealed originals, namely a chirograph dated 1171 and an undated charter (ADC, H1854, nos 6–7).

[18] ADSM, G8740, ed. and reproduced in M. J. Crispin and K. Macary, *The Falaise Roll Recording Prominent Companions of Willam Duke of Normandy at the Conquest of England* (Frome, 1938), pp. 172–3. Both sides of the River Epte lay in the diocese of Rouen. Bates, 'La "mutation documentaire"', p. 39, calls this a 'traditional charter' rather than a notice.

A final form of document was the *pancarte*: a composite form, comprising lists of multiple grants (sometimes in the first person, sometimes in the third), often made over a long period of time. The subject of substantial recent study, the *pancarte* played an important role in the archival memorialization of the monasteries of western France above all.[19] Bates emphasizes that the *pancarte* is distinguished from mere lists of grants by its attempt to replicate in part or in full the diplomatic of the original deeds on which it was based.[20] Both *pancartes* and general confirmatory acts permitted the record of grants by men and women who were otherwise too humble to be noted.

Developments in twelfth-century Normandy

Of these various types of document, the diploma had been in use in parts of France for centuries, whereas the notice, *conventio*, and *pancarte* were all offspring of eleventh-century *mutations documentaires*. Yet by the late twelfth century, all except the *conventio* had vanished from Normandy. The functions of the diploma with *signa* had passed to the sealed charter. The *pancarte* had largely been replaced by the general confirmation, whether issued by popes, dukes of Normandy, bishops or local magnates, although Bates has noted that the general confirmation had very different origins and purpose from the *pancarte*; while, as Michel Parisse's description of some *pancartes* as '*pré-cartulaires*' implies, the recording instincts that created *pancartes* in the eleventh century were channelled into the compilation of cartularies in the twelfth.[21] As for the notice, the narrative structure that characterized it largely disappeared, although it had some influence upon sealed charters and notifications. We can see this transition in an act containing a curious narrativity of a series of grants by a widowed heiress, Mary Bastard, and her uncle to the nuns of the Abbaye-Blanche in Mortain in 1162 and 1163.[22] Most of the text is phrased as a traditional notice, giving a third-person account of procedures, distinguished chiefly by its exceptional detail; however, it ends as a sealed charter of Mary's lord, the Breton magnate Ralph de Fougères, although still phrased in the third person.[23] The legacy of the more narrative texts of the eleventh century can also be seen in a sealed charter of the Anglo-Norman baron Roger de Mortemer, issued in 1183 for the Benedictine nuns of Saint-Paul near Beauvais and concerning their priory of Sainte-Beuve in north-east Normandy. After Roger's opening address, his act becomes a narrative of family history, which begins: 'There was once a man distinguished for justice, pre-eminent in the honesty of his morals, named Ralph, my ancestor and grandfather, who had a sister called Agnes'. The act then narrated at length the gifts of those far-off relatives, before renouncing all claims to the property in question.[24] In its detailed recital of the family genealogy, the act may be compared to contemporary family chronicles by Lambert of Ardres and Gilbert of Mons,[25] and it prefigures the plea rolls of early thirteenth-century England. The narrative nature of the notice was therefore still apparent despite the tighter constraints of the new form.

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[19] See esp. *Pancartes monastiques des XIe et XIIe siècles*, ed. M. Parisse, P. Pégeot, and B.-M. Tock (Turnhout, 1998). M. Parisse, 'Les pancartes. Étude d'un type d'acte diplomatique', in Parisse, Pégeot and Tock, *Pancartes monastiques*, pp. 11–62, outlines a wide variety of forms covered by the blanket term *pancarte*.

[20] *Acts of William I*, p. 22.

[21] D. Bates, 'Les chartes de confirmation et les pancartes normandes du règne de Guillaume le Conquérant', in *Pancartes monastiques*, pp. 95–109, at p. 95; Parisse, 'Les pancartes', pp. 34–5.

[22] Bibliothèque Municipale Rouen, Coll. Leber 5636, no. 4. It begins: Quod pro posterorum nostrorum utilitatibus agimus, ad ipsorum notitiam peruenire preoptamus. The 'we' here must be the monks of Savigny or nuns of the Abbaye-Blanche de Mortain.

Consequently, the types of document prevalent in 1100 gave way over the following century to forms that already existed but which had hitherto been quite rare, such as various forms of sealed charter and also the bipartite sealed chirograph. Moreover, whereas the forms used in Normandy in 1100 were found in most neighbouring parts of France at that time, by 1200, some forms of document used in Normandy were found nowhere else in the region.

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[23] *Hec autem omnia quia presente Radulfo domino Filgeriarum et confirmante et donante acta sunt, ut uniuerse huius actionis tenor ad posterorum noticiam sullata* [*sic*] *omni reclamandi contradicendique occasione perueniret, ipse Radulfus dominus Filgeriarum presentium litterarum monimentum* (*sic*) *sua auctoritate, et sigilli sui impressione communiuit.* The grants of Mary and her family were also recorded as brief items in long confirmation acts of Henry II, the bishops of Avranches and the lords of Fougères, and also in more detailed specific acts of the bishops and Fougères family (see the present author's forthcoming article, 'The grants of Mary and Richard Bastard to the abbey of Savigny').

[24] Beauvais, AD, Oise, H 7657: *Ego Rogerus de Mortuo mari, tam his qui modo existunt quam illis qui futuri sunt in perpetuum. Fuit uir quidam iusticia insignis, honestate morum preclarus, nomine Radulfus, meus et predecessor et auus, qui habuit sororem que Agnes appellabaur … Ego autem Rogerus Radulfi iam sepedicti tertius heres hanc ipsius honestam et utilem donationem iterum pro anima mea et intuitu pietatis, Hermengardi abbatisse totique sororum conuentui, nichil umquam contra ipsas uel earum successores, super re huiuscemodi* [*sic*] *reclamaturus: in perpetuum in elemosinam concedo*. The witness list has both English and Franco-Norman names. The descent presented in this act differs from the accepted Mortemer genealogy in making Roger II the grandson, not great-grandson, of Ralph I de Mortemer (cf. *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, ed. V. Gibbs and others (13 vols. in 14, 1910–59), ix, pp. 266–73, esp. p. 269, n. i), but the act appears authentic, and there are good grounds to believe that it is the accepted genealogy, not the charter, that is incorrect.

[25] Lambert of Ardres, *Chronique de Guines et d'Ardre*, ed. D. C. Godefroy de Menilglaise (Paris, 1855); *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. L. Vanderkindere (Brussels, 1904).

The sealed charter gained remarkably in popularity in Normandy in a relatively short space of time, but it was, of course, not a complete novelty. Not all sealed acts had sealing clauses, but conversely, in the decades leading up to Henry I of England's takeover of the duchy in 1106, sealing clauses are found not only in acts of kings of England and dukes of Normandy but also those of landowners and prelates of varying ranks.[26] Jean-François Nieus has shown that members of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy were starting to acquire their own seals well before the end of the eleventh century, imitating Anglo-Saxon landowners whose use of seals has been underestimated.[27] Nevertheless, the possession of a seal did not mean that all acts were sealed, or that possession of a seal was a requirement for legal activity. It was from the 1120s onwards that the sealed charter began to replace other forms of document. Early extant examples appear to have had no fold,[28] but the form known to diplomatic study as *sur double queue*, with a folded foot, quickly became popular; less common, but by no means unknown in Normandy, is the form *sur simple queue*, by which a seal was added to a tongue cut from the side of the charter.[29] The addition of seals may sometimes have been retrospective. A notice of Count William of Ponthieu in favour of the abbey of Troarn, concerning an agreement over his Norman lands, was dated Pentecost 1129 and bears no sealing clause. This does not indicate that it was unsealed, but the extant act carries a seal which is well-nigh identical to that of Count William's son and co-heir Count John of Sées; the suspicion arises that John added his seal to his father's act at a later date, perhaps even after he succeeded to his father's lands in Normandy and Maine in 1171. On the other hand, the similarity of its design to the equestrian side of Henry I's seal may mean that Count William's seal was designed before 1135, imitating the royal seal, and that the count's son modelled his own seal closely upon his father's.[30]

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[26] E. Z. Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-century Norman law* (1988), pp. 220–1.

[27] Nieus, 'Early aristocratic seals', p. 98.

[28] E.g. ADSM, 8H9, act of Countess Margaret of Eu for Foucarmont (*c.*1140 x 45; seal lost); Paris, Archives Nationales, S22382, no. 35, act of John, bishop of Sées (1124–44; dated 15 Feb.); S3221, no. 10 (William, count of Ponthieu, 1143 x 1171; seal lost). Richard Allen, who is preparing an edition of the acts of the bishops of Sées, proposes 1128 x 1131 as the likely date for the act of Bishop John.

[29] E.g. the writ of Amaury I, count of Évreux (below, n. 56).

[30] ADC, H7758 (*Recueil des actes des comtes de Pontieu*, no. XX and Plate I, no. 2; calendared in *RRAN*, ii, no. 1570); Count John I of Sées's seal survives as ADC, H6511, no. 12, and (in more damaged form) as AN, S5047A, liasse 14. Both the extant seal attributed to Count William and later drawings have lost their inscriptions, and a 17th-century copy of Count William's seal (reproduced in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cistercienne de Perseigne*, ed. G. Fleury (Mamers, 1880), no. XXVII, at p. 72) is too stylized to reveal whether it is identical to

As so often with innovations, the seal initially doubled up with older forms of authentication.[31] Hence we find two acts for the abbey of Aunay in the diocese of Bayeux with both seals and *signa*, from Gilbert de Say in 1151 and from Geoffrey (III) de Mandeville, earl of Essex, *c.*1160.[32] The transition to sealed documents can be seen in the series of acts that William de Vernon issued for his patronal abbey of Montebourg between the 1130s and 1160s, transcribed in the abbey's late thirteenth-century cartulary. What was probably William's earliest act, dating from the 1130s or 1140s, bore only *signa*, with the clause *signo sancte crucis confirmo*.[33] Another act had two sets of witness lists with *signa*, representing two separate transactions.[34] Around 1150 William and his eldest son Richard de Vernon together issued another act with only *signa*,[35] but a third act of William's, dated 1152, contains a combined signing and sealing clause: *Et vt hec donatio in perpetuum sit rata et inconcussa sancte crucis + signo et sigillo meo presentem cartam uolui sigillari*.[36] We find an almost identical phrase in an undated act of William's wife Lucy de Tancarville, *alias* de Saint-Floxel,[37] as well as in an act of Earl Hugh II of Chester for the same abbey issued at Trévières in 1168, by which time *signa* were rare.[38] In 1166, however, one of the last acts that William de Vernon issued with his son Richard had no *signa* at all, but was authenticated by the seals of father and son and a witness-list.[39] Richard de Vernon's acts in the Montebourg cartulary were henceforth all said to be sealed and witnessed in the new way.

Count John's (although it does have a counterseal, which Count John's seals do not); but it is noticeable that William's eldest son Guy II of Ponthieu (d. 1147) used a seal that harked back to the design of Count Guy I (d. 1100)(which in turn imitated William the Conqueror's), not to the one attributed to his own father, which is in the same style as Henry I's (*Actes des comtes de Pontieu*, Plate I, no. 4). For the influence of Henry I's seal on baronial designs, see Nieus, 'Early aristocratic seals', pp. 112–16.

[31] Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property*, p. 221.

[32] ADC, H1201 (Say), H727 (Mandeville, 1156 x 66). Such double authentication can be found in the acts of Philip I nearly a century earlier (*Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059–1108)*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908)).

[33] BnFr, MS. lat. 10087, p. 69, no. 147.

[34] BnFr, MS. lat. 10087, p. 79, no. 184.

[35] BnFr, MS. lat. 10087, pp. 79–80, no. 186.

[36] BnFr, MS. lat. 10087, p. 68, no. 145. The act also contained a sealing clause of Richard, bishop of Coutances (phrased in the first person).

[37] BnFr, MS. lat. 10087, p. 72, no. 158. St-Floxel (Manche, cant. Montebourg) was Lucy's dowry.

[38] BnFr, MS. lat. 10087, p. 63, no. 134 (*The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c.1071–1237*, ed. G. Barraclough (Chester, 1988), no. 183).

[39] BnFr, MS. lat. 10087, p. 69, no. 148 (Néhou, 14 Jan. 1166, n.s.). It begins in the first person (first William, then Richard), but the sealing clause is in the third person. MS. lat. 10087, pp. 79–80 no. 186, appears to be a slightly different version (after Lucy's death), but has no sealing clause, only *signa*.

The popularity of the sealed chirograph is one of the most striking changes in the period under consideration. Although found before 1100, it saw its greatest use in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; its rise to prominence therefore formed one aspect of the more general spread of sealed acts. The form of the chirograph is particularly interesting when thinking about the relationship between text and artefact, between external form and internal content. *Signa* had a double function: the act of inscribing demonstrated participation in the act or, if added later, the acceptance of its terms, while the crosses thereafter served a visual function, as symbols in the midst of text. Seals, too, had a double function, first through the act of attaching the seal, and thereafter as a reminder of the sigillant, often displaying his or her power, authority and lineage. The form of the bipartite chirograph added a further pair of functions: the act of dividing the act, and the reminder through the inscription along the edge that that division had taken place. In England the cut edge was often indented and in Languedoc it was frequently wavy, but chirographs in northern France usually had straight edges, although there were some exceptions.

Why were sealed acts so successful?[40] It must have been much easier and cheaper to write a cross on a document than to attach a moulded seal, which required both an engraved metal matrix and a supply of wax and other substances; on the other hand, it was much harder to forge. Logically, the expense of sealing should have narrowed rather than broadened the social class issuing acts; but in fact, the sealed charter coincided with, and arguably helped to enable, the broadening of the social groups in whose name charters were issued. By the late twelfth century, they include burgesses and minor landowners such as vavassors, and the purposes of such acts had also multiplied. By the end of the century, lay contracts were increasingly being put in written form: the high number of known examples of lay contracts in Normandy has not been appreciated, especially because many of them are located in the collections and cartularies of monasteries, either because they were presumably deposited there for safe-keeping, or because the monasteries in question subsequently acquired the property conveyed in these lay contracts. No doubt most such lay acts were drafted by ecclesiastics. What is clear is that the sealed act was increasingly used for contracts between members of the laity, where previously no written instrument had been used. By the beginning of the thirteenth century these included: enfeoffments;[41] sales;[42] inheritance arrangements;[43] testaments;[44] pledges of property;[45] standing surety;[46] arrangements for Jewish debts;[47] marriage agreements;[48] and missives as well as the more traditional grants to churches. Despite the greater costs and technological challenges, sealed charters were far more numerous, used by a broader social class, and employed for many more purposes than earlier forms of document.

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[40] The numerous discussions of this issue include Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 309–18, and Nieus, 'Early aristocratic seals'; a more metaphysical approach can be found in B. M. Redos-Rezak, *When Ego was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Age*s (Leiden and Boston, Mass., 2011).

Any explanation for the success of the sealed act must remain speculative. The changes described here were common across western Europe: this is nicely demonstrated by the collection of deeds issued for the abbey of Cîteaux in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as mother of the Cistercian Order, now housed in the Archives de la Côte d'Or in Dijon, where charters of Anglo-Norman lords and prelates, Irish kings and Scottish abbots lie side by side with Hungarian, Leonese and Castilian grants.[49] Yet for the success of the sealed charter, we should look lower down the social scale. The advent of new orders drew their strength from the support of lesser landowners, who in turn were demonstrating greater assertiveness.[50] In other words, the 'rise' of the knights created a need for these members of society to have access to written records for their grants; it is not surprising, therefore, if they also began to demand written evidence for the grants which they received from their lords.

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[41] E.g. AD, Eure, H 571, grant by Henry de Ferrières to William de Capelle at Chamblac (near Bernay), in return for his homage and service (1201 x 1207).

[42] E.g. AD, Orne, H 1418, Nicholas de Belautel sells all his land at Belautel (now Belhôtel, dépt. Orne, cant. Exmes, cne. Survie) to Earl William de Mandeville (1166 x 89).

[43] E.g. ADC, H 912, concord between William du Hommet and Adam de Port concerning the division of the Norman inheritance of Enguerrand and Gilbert de Say (*c.*1190).

[44] E.g. ADSM, G 8679 (sealed chirograph with King John), and Angers, AD, Maine-et-Loire, 100 H 55 (act of Eleanor of Aquitaine), for the testamentary arrangements of Joanna (of England), queen of Sicily and countess of Toulouse (1199).

[45] E.g. ADC, H912, William du Hommet, the king's constable, pledges Langrune-sur-Mer (dépt. Calvados, cant. Douvres-la-Délivrande) to William Poignard (1190 x 96).

[46] D. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 250–61.

[47] N. Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 361–2, 374–7.

[48] E.g. ADC, H 6389 (Mondaye ctl.), fo. 7r-v, no. XVII (Vitré – Paynel, *c.*1175). ADSM, 53, HP 32, no. 76 (Clermont-en-Beauvaisis and Oyry, 1188). For these marriage agreements, see Power, *Norman Frontier*, p. 240: both involved families with property both within and outside Normandy. Marriage agreements were sometimes worded as third-person summaries, e.g. *Cartulaire de l'église de la Sainte-Trinité de Beaumont-le-Roger*, ed. É. Déville (Paris, 1912), no. CL (Meulan-Fougères, 1189).

[49] Dijon, AD, Côte d'Or, 11 H 22–11 H 27. The acts of Donnchad, king of Thomond, and Aodh, king of Connacht (both 11 H 26), are published in *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts*, ed. M. T. Flanagan (Oxford, 2005), nos. 12–13.

[50] Cf. C. B. Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991).

In Normandy, two particular factors helped to determine the growth in popularity of sealed acts. First, the tightening of princely administration in Normandy may have produced a need for more transactions to be set down in writing. Paul Hyams has argued that in England the development of Common Law procedures and royal courts actually served to undermine the efficacy of private charters;[51] yet this did not reduce their numbers in England, and in Normandy, where ducal justice was rather less pervasive, the growing reliance upon writing in ducal administration may have served rather to encourage the use of charters. The Norman exchequer court became a popular place to have previously contracted chirographs and other records 'heard' to give them extra validity, for example.[52] On the other hand, sealed charters became the standard forms of documents in areas of weak as well as effective government, and so the growth of ducal administration was only one factor in the rise of seals in Normandy. Broader cultural influences were also at work: the migration of Normans and other northern French to the Mediterranean also influenced the transmission of seals in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries to southern Italy and Sicily, where hybrids formed under Byzantine influence, and after 1099 to the Latin settlements in the Levant.[53]

What, then, was specific to Normandy compared to the rest of France, and why? In terms of general forms, the most obvious is the writ. David Bates has traced the appearance of ducal writs in Normandy in the reign of Henry I of England (1106–35): an early example is a sealed and witnessed writ from Henry I in 1106 or 1107, sending an order from Westminster to two of his barons, Gilbert de l'Aigle and William de Tancarville, concerning the rights of a whale (*craspois*) caught on the Norman coast.[54] It was only under the Angevin kings, from 1154 onwards, that the writ became a standard instrument of Norman government. By the early thirteenth century, a scribe at the leperhouse of Pont-Audemer could copy a set of standardized writs, of distinctively Norman type, into his house's cartulary, and the earliest Norman custumals also show the intrinsic role that writs then played in Norman administration. Yet as Bates notes, the writ did not at first spread down society: only two original baronial writs, from the counts of Évreux and Mortain respectively, have survived from the first half of the century.[55] It is significant that both these magnates had very far-flung lands; presumably the writ was less necessary for running smaller estates. Even in the second half of the century, when writs became an integral aspect of ducal government, non-ducal writs remained rare: one fine example is from Count William of Aumale addressed to his steward, 'barons' and officials of Aumale, instructing them to ensure that the nuns of Saint-Beuve received a grant made by two of his men. Although we might have presumed that the count, a great landowner in England, was sending orders from across the sea, the writ itself was issued at his estate at Arguel, just beyond the borders of Normandy in the diocese of Amiens.[56] This therefore hints at the development of a local comital administration for which the writ was a usable instrument, with the recourse to text and artefact even for orders across a short distance – and seeping into adjacent parts of *Francia*.

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[51] P. R. Hyams, 'The charter as a source for the early Common Law', *Journal of Legal History*, xii (1991), 173–89.

[52] Power, 'En quête de la sécurité', pp. 341–3.

[53] Nieus, 'Early aristocratic seals', pp. 107–8.

[54] ADSM, 9 H 1224 (*RRAN*, ii, no. 842), dated at Quillebeuf. For discussion, see Bates, 'Earliest Norman writs', pp. 270–1, 277.

The writ was clearly an import from England. There, too, the sealed charter and sealed chirograph or indenture burgeoned in popularity in the course of the twelfth century, and indeed remained common there for centuries; for greater validity they were sometimes drawn up in assize courts before royal judges.[57] Yet just as the sealed chirograph was reaching its greatest popularity on both sides of the English Channel in the late twelfth century, a new form of chirograph, the unsealed final concord, emerged as a product of dispute resolution in the English royal courts. From the 1190s the final concord was usually tripartite, with the third part or 'foot' being retained by the royal officers. We therefore have a paradox: this unsealed English form emerged and rapidly became very common in England just at the point when the sealed act was becoming most popular there and in France.

The history of the final concord in Normandy suggests that the balance between the duchy and island kingdom had shifted away in England's favour. A century earlier, French-style chirographs had superseded their Anglo-Saxon equivalents in England. Now, an English form started to have some impact in Normandy. Almost immediately, Norman monasteries and landowners started to use final concords for their English properties.[58] But what about in Normandy? There are indications that the Norman exchequer was experimenting in unsealed final concords, although the method of princely preservation was enrolment rather than the retention of a third part of a tripartite fine.[59] We have glimpses of other experimentation, such as the unsealed but folded final concord between two magnates drawn up at the Norman exchequer in 1201.[60] The Normandy of the reign of King John appears as a place of experimentation and creativity.

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[55] ADC, H 7761, Amaury I of Évreux to his *vicomte* of Varaville and all his barons and their *prévôts* of the honour of Bavent, for the men of the abbey of Troarn (1118 x 1137; sealed *sur simple queue*). AD, Eure, H 10, Stephen, count of Mortain (the future king of England), addressed to the archbishop of Rouen and bishop of Avranches and all bishops, abbots, counts and all faithful of Normandy, confirming the grants of William Peverel of Dover to the abbey of Bec (calendared as *RRAN*, ii, no. 1547, suggesting a date of Sept. 1127; sealed with three seals, without a fold). Bates, 'La "mutation documentaire"', pp. 42–3 and n. 28.

[56] Beauvais, AD, Oise, H 7657, *Will(elmus) Comes Alb(emarlie) dapifero suo et omnibus baronibus suis et ministris Alb(emarlie) salutem … valete apud Arguel* (Arguel, dépt. Somme, cant. Hornoy-le-Bourg). It confirms the grants of Hescelin and Thomas d'Auvilliers (dépt. Seine-Maritime, cant. Neufchâtel-en-Bray) to the nuns of Ste-Beuve. For writs of William and his father Count Stephen in England, see *Early Yorkshire Charters*, i–iii, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914–16), and iv–xii, ed. C. T. Clay (Yorks. Archaeological Soc., Record Soc., extra series, i–x, 1935–65), iii, nos. 1305–6, 1318, 1320.

[57] Power, 'En quête de la sécurité', p 337.

The impact of the Capetian conquest of Normandy, 1204

It is clear that the standard forms of charters used in Normandy transcended the borders of the duchy, but that local specificities can also be found; those regional variations in both form and wording deserve much more investigation. However, in the opening years of the thirteenth century, the political bond between Normandy and England was abruptly severed, as King John lost control of his hereditary duchy to his lord and rival, Philip Augustus of France. Would the severing of ties from England and the tightening of ties with the Capetian realm have any impact upon the documents used in the duchy?

Outwardly the form of Norman acts changed little; any experimentation with unsealed chirographs on the English model ended immediately, but some other experiments were tried.[61] There was apparently no attempt in Normandy to imitate the diplomatic of Capetian acta, even though Philip Augustus had been issuing acts for his Norman conquests since the early 1190s.[62] Within a few years, however, their internal form altered dramatically. As elsewhere in France, Norman acts began to be dated far more often; twelfth-century acts had rarely been dated. At more or less the same time – and possibly linked to the reintroduction of dating – witness-lists disappeared except in the acts of quite humble issuers: this trend had already begun in Capetian lands before 1204, but it spread into Normandy very soon after the French subjugation of the duchy, and it is hard not to link the two developments.[63] After all, witness-lists continued to be standard in English charters; moreover, they remained a part of the diplomatic of southern France. Hence some Anglo-Norman landowners who managed to retain lands on both sides of the English Channel continued to issue acts with witness-lists in England and without them in Normandy;[64] while by the time of the Albigensian crusade the acts of its leader, Simon de Montfort, concerning his lands in northern France no longer recorded witnesses, but once he began issuing acts concerning his gains in Languedoc, these sometimes had witness-lists in accordance with local practice.[65] The changes to Norman diplomatic therefore seem to have formed part of a more general set of changes across northern France, and the Capetian conquest opened up the duchy more fully to those influences. In the course of the century, it became standard for very local acts to be witnessed 'before the parish' (*coram parrochia*), a phrase also found in adjacent regions.[66]

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[58] Power, 'En quête de la sécurité', pp. 341, 362.

[59] Power, 'En quête de la sécurité', pp. 348–52.

[60] AD, Orne, H 3333, reproduced and edited in Power, 'En quête de la sécurité', pp. 366–71 (cf. pp. 357–62).

[61] E.g. ADSM, G 4106, concerning Brachy (dépt. Seine-Maritime, cant. Bacqueville-en-Caux), includes a curious triple-sealed concord between the chapter of Rouen and two local knights, Nicholas de Montagny and Robert d'Autheuil, which was cut vertically with 'CYROGRAPHVM' down the left and right edges, and presumably tripartite (25 June 1210). The same *liasse* includes two examples of Norman indented chirographs, dated 1217 (with both halves extant) and 1218.

[62] A possible exception includes an apparent attempt to imitate the outward form of elongated capitals in the first lines of Capetian acta, together with the phrase *in nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis* (Power, 'The end of Angevin Normandy: the revolt at Alençon (1203)', *HR*, lxxiv (2001), 444–64, at p. 463), an act of the Norman knight Roger de Caugé

In one important way, though, Norman acts remained much more conservative than some of their neighbours. Acts had long been written in the vernacular in Occitania, but they did not begin to appear in northern France until around 1220: one of the earliest, an act of William de Poissy

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(May 1203), which needs to be considered alongside *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, ed. H. Delaborde and others (6 vols., Paris, 1916–2005), v. 47–8, no. 1857, by which King Philip confirmed Roger's act.

[63] M. Arnoux, 'Essor et déclin d'un type diplomatique: les actes passés *coram parrochia* en Normandie (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, cliv (1996), 323–57, at pp. 338–9.

[64] E.g. William II de Semilly (d. 1259 x 61), whose acts concerning Princes Risborough (Bucks.) were witnessed (The National Archives of the U.K., E 36/57 (earldom of Cornwall cartulary), fos. 19v–20r, nos. 68–68*bis*); in Normandy, his earliest acts, issued in favour of St-Lô de Rouen (Jan. 1222, n.s.), have witness-lists (L. de Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô de Rouen* (2 vols., Rouen, 1890), ii. 356–8), but thereafter his acts were unwitnessed. The Norman acts of Alice, countess of Eu and lady of Hastings and Tickhill, start to abandon witness-lists after 1204; they still appear occasionally as late as the 1220s, but not by the 1240s (e.g. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St-Michel du Tréport*, ed. P. Laffleur de Kermaingant (Paris, 1880), nos. CXXI, CXXV, CXXXII, CL, CLXXVII.

[65] See the acts edited in G. Lippiatt, 'Simon V of Montfort: the exercise and aims of independent baronial power at home and on crusade, 1195–1218' (unpublished University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2015), pp. 317–41.

[66] Arnoux, 'Essor et déclin', pp. 323–57.

for the priory of Abbécourt near Mantes dated 3 May 1220, resembles contemporary Norman acts in most ways but was written in French, not Latin, and concerned Maisons-sur-Seine (Yvelines), only forty kilometres from the Norman border.[67] The *langue d'oïl* soon came to be used for many deeds across the northern part of the kingdom. Yet French did not start to be used for Norman charters before the 1240s, and only from the 1270s was it employed frequently in the duchy. Christophe Maneuvrier's study of this process underlines the role played by Franco-Norman families in spreading the use of the vernacular into Norman diplomatic practice. [68]

Finally, we should note the evidence of forgery in Capetian Normandy of documents from before 1204. In the great English Benedictine monasteries, it was common practice to rework or even invent Anglo-Saxon diplomas in the century following the Norman Conquest, in order to preserve their liberties against the conquerors. Nicholas Vincent has argued that many thirteenth-century texts of twelfth-century ducal acts should be treated with similar suspicion.[69] In both instances falsification attests to a growing reliance upon the written word, ranging from outright invention to minor interpolations to genuine texts, resealing of forgeries with genuine seals, and so on. Two acts from the beginning and end of the career of the great Norman magnate Count Robert of Alençon reveal the forensic scrutiny that charters could undergo. In the 1190s, an act of the count stated that one of his men had forged a charter that awarded him annual payments from the monks of Saint-André-en-Gouffern; the forger feared that the ducal justices would condemn him to death after the seneschal of Normandy examined the charter and exposed its falsity, but the monks intervened to secure the man's release.[70] In 1217, near the end of his life, the same count took an even more active role in condemning a charter, not as a forgery but as the record of an invalid transaction. The nuns of La Trinité de Caen complained that their abbess had made a detrimental agreement through a charter: as the most senior Norman layman present, Count Robert was invited to cut up the offending document before the Norman exchequer court.[71]

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[67] Versailles, AD, Yvelines, 46 H 5, no. 104 (act for the canons of Abbecourt (dioc. Chartres), 3 May 1220); the text is edited in *Abbécourt-en-Pinserais (monastère de l'Ordre de Prémontré), Recueil de chartes et documents*, ed. J. Depoin, i (1180–1250) (Pontoise, 1913), no. 40.

[68] C. Maneuvrier, 'Remarques sur les premiers usages du français dans les chartes normandes du XIIIe siècle', *Annales de Normandie,* lxii (2012), 55–65 (including Gaucher de Châtillon, *jure uxoris* count of Mortain and lord of Domfront, and the Norman frontier lords the Crispins of Dangu); see also *Les plus anciennes chartes en langue française aux Archives de l'Oise*, ed. L. Carolus-Barré (Paris, 1964); H. Goebl, *Die Normandische Urkundensprache* (Vienna, 1970), pp. 52–3, 99–101. It is interesting to note that a letter of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the election of the bishop of Rochester (20 or 28 Jan. 1215), appears in French in two transcripts, on the royal charter roll and a Rochester register respectively, while a corresponding letter of King John, also in French, is known from a Lambeth register (*Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. T. D. Hardy (1837), p. 209; *Acta Stephani Langton Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, A.D. 1207–1228*, ed. K. Major (Oxford, 1950), pp. 19–21, 158–9). Taken together, these copies suggest that they were not merely vernacular drafts or translations of deeds originally written in Latin; Nicholas Vincent has argued that these were set down in French to avoid committing either party to the more formal – and consequently binding – language of Latin, at a time when relations between the king and archbishop over the see of Rochester were very strained (<http://magnacartaresearch.org/read/itinerary/John_and_Langton_negotiate_over_Rochester> [accessed 28 June 2016]).

[69] N. Vincent, 'La Grande Charte et la Normandie', unpublished paper given at the conference 'Origine et dévéloppement du droit normand et anglo-normand', Cerisy-la-Salle, May 2011.

Conclusions

Returning to the questions raised at the beginning of this chapter, what do the documents discussed here reveal about the relationship between the changes in documentary forms and broader changes in Norman society and politics? Are the changes that we see in Norman documents merely a *mutation documentaire*, or are they symptoms of broader changes?

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[70] ADC, H 6512, no. 4 (*Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, ed. J. H. Round (1899), no. 605): *Nouerit uniuersitas uestra quod Hernulfus de Ponte abiurauit monachis Sancti Andree in presentia mea duas acras terre quas de illis in territorio de Croceio tenebat, in qua terra nec ipse nec heredes ipsius in perpetuum aliquid clamare presument, nisi forte predicti monachi aliquam dispensationem et tantum per misericordiam illis facere uoluerint. Abiurauit etiam predictus Helnulfus memoratis monachis omnes illas consuetudines quas per auctoritatem cuiusdam false carte quam contra eos fecerat ab eisdem ausu temerario expetere presumebat, quam scilicet cartam W(i)ll(elmi) filius Radulfi senescallus Normannie propriis oculis uidit et omnino falsam esse comprobauit. Monachi uero liberauerunt supradictum Helnulfum de manu iusticiarii domini regis et mortis periculo quam occasionem predicte false carte incurrere formidabat*.

[71] *Recueil des jugements de l'Échiquier de Normandie*, ed. L. Delisle (Paris, 1864), no. 205: *Judicatum est quod abbatissa Sancte Trinitatis de Cadomo non faciet excambium Radulfo de Tribus Montibus, militi, de undecim sextariis bladi quos idem Radulfus solebat habere in molendino de Guemaire predicte abbatisse, per cartam quam inde habebat factam sine assensu capituli sui, cum esset ad detrimentum domus, et quod carta illa non valeat, et quod debet dilaniari, et per judicium in isto scacario dilaniata fuit; et idem Radulfus in misericordia pro falso clamore*. Cf. BnFr, MS. lat. 5650, fo. 88v, quoted in *Recueil des jugements de l'Échiquier de Normandie*, no. 205, n. 1 (cartulary notice): *In scacario de termino Pasche, anno gracie mo cco septimo decimo, apud Falesiam, judicatum fuit quod abbatissa Sancte Trinitatis Cadomi non faciet excambium Radulfo de Tribus Montibus, militi, de undecim sextariis bladi quos idem Radulfus habebat in molendino de Gaimare per cartam dicte abbatisse, quam idem Radulfus inde habebat factam sine assensu capituli sui, cum ipsa nichil possit dare alieni vel excambiare ita quod sit ad detrimentum domus sue. Judicatum etiam fuit quod carta illa non valebat et quod debebat dilacerari, et ibidem per judicium dilacerata fuit coram domino Garino, Silvanectensi episcopo, domino Galtero, domini regis camerario, comite Roberto de Alencone, qui cartam illam dilaceravit, Roberto episcopo Baiocensi* (and numerous other named witnesses).

There certainly seems to be a relationship between Norman documents and the broader political situation of Normandy. At the beginning of the twelfth century, Normandy was in a dominant position in relation to its recent conquests in the British Isles, and this seems manifest in the adoption of French-style chirographs in England, for example. The undoubted shifts in the balance of power between the duchy and England seem evident in the developments of the twelfth century, as English-style writs became more established in Normandy, until they were becoming a means by which Norman nobles could govern their estates. Yet Normandy's continuing identity can be seen in other developments. The fact that English-style tripartite final concords were not adopted systematically in the duchy could be seen as a sign of the duchy's backwardness compared to England, but this would be to overlook the creativity of Norman administration at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as new ways were found to make contracts more robust: the 'hearing' of private chirographs in the exchequer court, the enrolment of final concords, and so on. The documents therefore seem to accord with recent research into Angevin Normandy: they attest not to the duchy's weakness or decline, as Charles Homer Haskins and Lucien Musset believed, but to its continuing vitality and distinctive identity.[72] That distinctiveness would continue in modified form after the Capetian annexation of the duchy. Much of the creativity evident before 1204 would vanish and in some respects, such as the abandonment of the witness-list, Norman documents would be harmonized with the prevailing French culture; but the duchy's continuing administrative peculiarities and distinctive identity within the Capetian *regnum* were reflected in various unusual features of its documentary forms.

Such conclusions are very general; close scrutiny shows that the relationship between documents and the society which they serve defies easy explanation. Nevertheless, the consideration of twelfth-century Norman records as both texts and artefacts helps us to understand both specific regional change and the way that the history of that region fits into its broader European context: in this case, the rise to dominance across Europe of the sealed charter.

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[72] For challenges to Haskins's and Musset's views on decline in Norman government and power, see V. D. Moss, 'Normandy and England: the pipe roll evidence', *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (1994), pp. 185–95; D. Power, 'Angevin Normandy', *Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 63–85, at pp. 63–4, 83–5.

11. Corpora and cultural transmission? Political uses of the body in Norman texts, 1050–1150*

Patricia Skinner

In a volume on 'People, texts and artefacts', the place of the body as a site of cultural transmission might seem all too obvious. The movement of Norman *people* (mainly, but not exclusively, men) from one part of Europe to another, and the relationship between these migrants and the existing populations of the regions they colonized, has of course generated considerable scholarship on the marital and other relationships that commingled Norman bodies with native ones and produced new blended communities that were more or less 'Norman', with military, legal, marital and cultural identities to match.[1] This chapter, however, considers the body as a *text*, to be read and interpreted by onlookers as a result of its appearance, actions or movement; and as an *artefact*, something acted upon and/or visibly changed by others. It will explore the shared culture of bodily motifs in Norman texts, and examine how such categories are useful for questioning accepted views of the Normans introducing 'new' bodily practices to the regions they conquered.

Surprisingly, given the impact within Norman studies of feminist and gendered approaches,[2] there has been relatively little discussion of Norman responses to and uses of the body.[3] This despite the fact that historiography on the medieval body and its meanings has grown exponentially from the 1980s onwards, driven in large part by feminist scholarship interested in exploring mainly women's relationships, physical and spiritual, to their own bodies and that of Christ.[4] This in turn led to some work on the body and masculinity in medieval culture.[5] Whether Norman studies were rather less receptive to such research themes, focusing more on the political and structural changes brought about by Norman conquest, or whether later medieval texts simply offer more material to study this topic, the Norman body is still a neglected subject for investigation.[6] Norman masculinity, however, has featured as a subject for study, and attention has notably been paid to the motif of effeminacy directed towards prominent figures such as Robert Curthose and William Rufus, which this author does not propose to revisit here.[7] Instead, this chapter will explore the political messages

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[1] R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation and Cultural Change, c.950–1350* (1993); G. A. Loud, 'How "Norman" was the Norman conquest of southern Italy?', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xxv (1981), 3–34; E. Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988); J. Drell, *Kinship and Conquest: Family Strategies in the Principality of Salerno during the Norman Period, 1077–1194* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002); E. van Houts, 'Intermarriage in eleventh-century England', *Normandy and its Neighbours: Essays for David Bates,* ed. D. Crouch and K. Thompson (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 237–70. See also S. M. Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power in the Twelfth-Century Anglo-Norman Realm* (Manchester, 2003); Pauline Stafford's collected essays in *Gender, Family and the Legitimation of Power* (Aldershot, 2006).

[2] Not least those of Elisabeth van Houts: *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe 900–1200* (1999) and 'Conversations amongst monks and nuns, 1000–1200', *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth-Thirteenth Centuries),* ed. S. Vanderputten (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 267–92; L. V. Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy 1050–1300: Space, Gender and Social Pressure* (Woodbridge, 2007); K. A. Fenton, *Gender, Nation and*

Conquest in the Works of William of Malmesbury (Woodbridge, 2008).

[3] An exception is Pauline Stafford, 'The meanings of hair in the Anglo-Norman world', in *Saints, Scholars and Politicians: Gender as a Tool in Medieval Studies (Festschrift in Honour of Anneke Mulder-Bakke on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday)*, ed. M. van Dijk and R. Nip (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 153–71.

[4] *Framing Medieval Bodies*, ed. S. Kay and M. Rubin (Manchester, 1996). The work of Caroline Walker Bynum has been most influential in this field, particularly her *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982) and *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991).

[5] *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D. M. Hadley (1999); R. M. Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Later Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2002); *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Woodbridge, 2013); *Une histoire sans les hommes est-elle possible? Genre et masculinités*, ed. A.-M. Sohn (Lyon, 2014).

[6] In contrast there has been some work on Anglo-Saxon bodies, e.g. *Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. B. C. Withers and J. Wilcox (Morgantown, W.Va., 2003); and bodily symbolism looms large in 13th-century politics, e.g. M. Fisher, 'Dismembered bodies and treasonous bodies in Anglo-Norman literature', in *Violence and the Writing of History in the Medieval Francophone World*, ed. N. D. Guynn and Z. Stahuljak (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 833–97.

[7] W. M. Aird, 'Frustrated masculinity: the relationship between William the Conqueror and his eldest son', in Hadley, *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, pp. 39–55; J. Thibodeaux, 'Odo Rigaldus, the Norman elite and the conflict over masculine prerogatives in the diocese of Rouen', in *Essays in Medieval Studies*, xxiii (2006), 41–55; K. Fenton, 'Writing masculinity and religious identity in Henry of Huntingdon', in Callum and Lewis, *Religious Men and Masculinity*, pp. 64–76. W. M. Aird, *Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy, c.1050–1134* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 48–51, discusses the formation of the duke's masculine, aristocratic identity, and p. 85 explores the influential labelling of the duke by Orderic Vitalis as a 'wanton cow'. W. Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and the Law in Medieval Literature: France and England 1050–1230* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 48–52, discusses William Rufus.

encoded in Norman texts' references to bodies, physical and metaphorical, of the male elite classes, including Norman leaders in northern and southern Europe. It will feature references to bodily appearance, physical actions, and stories of corporal punishment and destruction in Norman texts.

The phrase 'Norman texts' requires precise definition. It is taken to mean any narrative account of Norman history written by a Norman, or by a non-Norman under Norman rule. Thus, famous descriptions of Norman bodies such as the Byzantine author Anna Komnena's lingering account of Robert Guiscard, which showed off her classical training rather than any powers of observation, do not feature here.[8] A sample of Norman narrative sources does reveal significant variations in the ways the authors presented bodily attributes, gestures and symbolism. This chapter outlines some of these and explores reasons for the differences.[9] The main works cited, in rough order of composition, are Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *History of the Normans*, written between 996 and 1020; the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* compiled by various authors between the 1050s and 1130s; the *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers, dating to the 1070s; Amatus of Montecassino's *History*, of around 1080; William of Apulia's *Deeds of Robert Guiscard*, composed between 1096 and 1099; Geoffrey Malaterra's *Deeds of Count Roger*, Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History*, written 1114–41; William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, completed in 1125; and the *History of Roger II* of Alexander of Telese (1130s).[10]

Studies of the medieval body have tended to focus almost entirely on the body as sign, defined and determined (and dissolved) by language, rather than as a living, fleshly entity.[11] The medieval dichotomy between body and soul, and the emphasis on the care of the latter, has further determined how many medievalists have approached the body in history, focusing on writers' accounts of spiritual growth, particularly that of women.[12] Norman male aristocratic bodies, by contrast, were active, martial, the very epitome of physicality. Norman public rituals, too, were based on bodily contact: the very act of feudal commendation involved the ritual enclosing and submission of one body (or at least, its hands) within and to another. And

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[8] Anna Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. and trans. B. Leib (3 vols., Paris, 1967), Book I. 11. As noted in n.10, these are references to book and chapter or paragraph.

[9] Marie-Agnès Lucas-Avenel's chapter in this volume compares two authors in more detail.

[10] Dudo; *GND*; WP; Amatus; WA; Malaterra; *OV*; WM, *GRA*; AT. All references are to book and chapter or paragraph, and not to edition and page number.

[11] See Caroline Bynum's response to this issue in 'Why all the fuss about the body? A medievalist's perspective', *Critical Inquiry*, xxii (1995), 1–33. Bynum commented that interest in the body across disciplines is 'often mutually incomprehensible' (p. 5).

[12] Bynum, 'Why all the fuss?', pp. 12–14, challenges the simplistic nature of this dichotomy.

Norman accounts of reconciliation also feature visible, public bodily rituals such as kneeling or prostration and kissing to signal that peace was restored.[13] As Timothy Reuter pointed out some years ago, the latter rituals were highly visible pieces of political theatre.[14] Bodily gestures and poses are frequently included in moments of lord–lord or lord–subordinate interactions.[15] Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *History of the Normans*, our earliest text, is full of such gestures: face-to-face kisses, kissing of feet, enfolding of hands.[16] Those unfamiliar with such rituals might accidentally or deliberately get them 'wrong', as in William of Malmesbury's tale of the Norman Rollo's submission to Charles the Simple – instead of prostrating himself to kiss the king's foot, Rollo simply grabbed it and brought it up to his mouth.[17] Dudo, from whom William may have got the bare bones of his tale, tells the story rather differently, saying that Rollo ordered one of his own men to perform the act, and that the lifting of the king's foot to the man's mouth 'laid the king flat on his back'.[18] The physicality of the Normans, and the weak position of the French king, could hardly be more plainly expressed! Physical bodies matter then, and their appearance, actions and how they are reported and interpreted all go to make up elements of Norman political life that reward closer attention.

There are several historiographical traditions that need to be taken into account when thinking about Norman political bodies. First, it has long been argued that royal bodies, Norman or otherwise, carried with them a specific, special quality that set them apart from those they ruled over, whether it was a quality of light and eminence, the ability to heal through touch, or the corporeal representation of rulership approved by God. The aura might persist even after death. A damaged or mutilated royal body, by contrast, lost those qualities.[19] How far do Norman texts utilize these images of kingship to describe Norman dukes and kings? Second, it has been suggested that the twelfth-century turn toward affective piety, in particular the rise of the cult of Christ's body and blood, led to a heightened consciousness of bodily symbolism, played out in extended commentaries on specifics of bodily appearance, the association of bodily signs with specific character defects and the rise of bodily mortification as an empathetic act.[20] The idea of society as a body gave rise to considerable use of medical metaphors expressing the 'healing' of the individual and body politic through execution (representing excision) and/or punishment (representing treatment).[21] Did Norman texts exhibit any of these uses of actual or metaphorical bodies in their account of Norman politics? Finally, and linked with this, it has been argued that Norman rulers such as William the Conqueror in England oversaw a change in judicial practice, substituting bodily mutilations for the death penalty.[22] William of Poitiers praises William's 'restraint [*continentia*]' and 'humanity [*humanitas*]') in this respect, but some older historiography struggled with the idea that this change represented a 'merciful' version of royal justice.[23] But does this association of Normans with mutilation (and by association its diffusion through Europe and the Holy Land) hold up under scrutiny, and how does it fit into a wider frame of Norman attitudes toward the whole and incomplete body?

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[13] E.g. Amatus VI. 6: William of Montreuil and Atenulf of Aquino meet under safe conduct and 'William happily welcomed him, throwing his arms about his neck and kissing him on the mouth ... Thereupon they made a covenant of their friendship'; reconciliation of Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua: Amatus VII. 16: 'they embraced, kissed each other on the mouth and remained talking until Vespers'; AT, II. 63, an extended account of the peacemaking between King Roger of Sicily and Count Rainolf, his brother-in-law. The submission of Sergius, ruler of Naples, to the same king also features kneeling and the giving of hands (AT, II. 67).

[14] In the case of bishops, see T. Reuter, '*Pastorale pedum ante pedes apostolici posuit*: dis- and re-investiture in the era of the investiture contest', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. R. Gameson and H. Leyser (Oxford, 2001), pp. 197–210.

[15] The act of homage is more extensively discussed by Alice Taylor's chapter in this volume.

[16] Dudo, III. 54; IV. 117 (faces); I. 2 (feet); II. 28, 38 (hands).

[17] WM, *GRA*, II, 127.

[18] Dudo, II. 29–30; reused by Robert of Torigni in *GND*, II. 11 (17).

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[19] E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: a Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957); M. Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (1973: originally *Les rois thaumaturges* (Paris, 1961)); S. Bertelli, *The King's Body: the Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (University Park, Pa., 2001, originally *Il corpo del re: sacralità del potere nell'Europa medievale e moderna* (Florence, 1990)); N. Marafioti, *The King's Body: Burial and Succession in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto, 2014).

[20] B. Bildhauer, *Medieval Blood* (Cardiff, 2006); S. McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2010); P. Carmassi, 'Il sangue di Cristo: Eucaristia tra celebrazione, riflessione e rappresentazione nell'alto medioevo', in *Text, Bild und Ritual in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft* (8.–11.Jh)/*Testo, immagine e rituale nella società altomedievale* (VIII–XI sec.), ed. S. Gehrke, P. Carmassi and C. Winterer (Florence, 2014), pp. 263–86.

[21] G. R. Evans, *Law and Theology in the Middle Ages* (2002), p. 174, comments on this medical theme to justice. On the body politic, see A. Musolff, 'Metaphor in the history of ideas and in the history of discourse: how can we interpret a medieval version of the Body-state analogy?', in *Metaphor and Discourse*, ed. A. Musolff and J. Zinken (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 233–50. On medical practices and the physical body, see Elma Brenner's chapter in this volume.

[22] A judicial pronouncement attributed to William the Conqueror and published in F. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (3 vols., Halle, 1903), I, 488: *Interdico etiam ne quis occidatur aut suspendatur pro aliqua culpa, sed eruantur oculi et testiculi abscidantur*. Mutilation instead of death could certainly be presented as an act of clemency (S. McGlynn, *By Sword and Fire: Cruelty and Atrocity in Medieval Warfare* (2005), p. 13). Discussed below.

[23] WP, I.25 and II.38. C. W. Hollister, 'Royal acts of mutilation: the case against Henry I', *Albion*, x (1978), 330–40, examines that king's reputation.

Royal and rulers' bodies

In his study of Norman mutilation, Klaus Van Eickels suggested that the Normans' Scandinavian origins gave them a very specific concept of male honour and masculinity, linked to 'bodily integrity, sexual dominance and political power'.[24] This emphasis, he continued, rendered the Norman aristocratic male uniquely vulnerable – mutilation of any kind took away his social, as well as physical, manhood. How did such ideas play out in texts about Norman leaders? And should we make a distinction here between Norman dukes and Norman kings?

In fact, Norman writers are somewhat ambivalent about attributing special qualities to their leaders. Whilst employing panegyric passages, some of which we shall explore in the next section, our authors tend to limit themselves to assertions that the success of the Normans as a group was due to God's will, rather than setting up their leaders with any theocratic or special status. The exceptions were Duke William I of Normandy (d. 942), whose death at the hands of assassins elevated him to quasi-martyrdom in the eyes of chroniclers,[25] and the two leaders who subsequently became kings, William I of England (1035–87) and Roger II of Sicily (count 1112–30; king 1130–54). In both the latter cases, bodily metaphors are employed to suggest they were destined for much greater things. William of Malmesbury recounts a story of the Conqueror's mother dreaming that her inward parts (*intestina*) were spread over England and Normandy, signifying his rule, while Alexander of Telese in his prologue says that the future King Roger was 'extracted by God from the vagina of Sicily' (*Deus ... Rogerium de vagina provincie Sicilie extraxit*).[26] These are not the only examples of maternal imagery in Norman histories.[27]

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[24] K. van Eickels, 'Gendered violence: castration and blinding as punishment for treason in Normandy and Anglo-Norman England', *Gender and History*, xvi (2003), 588–602, at p. 591.

[25] E.g. *GND,* III. 8, recording his desire to become a monk and acquiring the appropriate cowl and shirt, and III. 12, recording his death.

[26] WM, *GRA,* III. 229; AT, Prologue. It is possible that Alexander meant that Roger was a sword, 'unsheathed from Sicily by God' instead, since the word *vagina* had multiple meanings. Van Houts comments that this is a pun drawn from Jordanes which also appears in the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* (*GND*, I. 15, n. 4).

[27] We can add Dudo's image of a pregnant *Francia* giving birth to a peaceful nation of Normans ('Dacians') and French (Dudo, II. 4); William of Malmesbury's likening of England and Normandy to conjoined twins (WM, *GRA*, II. 207).

Yet the only 'special' king we find is in fact an Anglo-Saxon one: William of Malmesbury writes at length on Edward the Confessor. Having outlined the lives of saintly predecessors of the king, William then recounts how cures were effected by water that Edward had washed his hands in, and by Edward's own touch. William is careful to point out, however, that the cures came from Edward's saintliness, not his royal status: 'which shows that some people in our own day are wasting their time, when they wrongly assert that the cure of this complaint proceeded not from personal sanctity but from hereditary value in royal blood'.[28] The editors suggest that William was making a point at the expense of the French kings, whether contemporaries such as Philip I and Louis VI, or past kings such as Robert the Pious, whose healing activities would have been well known.[29] But the need to distance Norman kingship from French was also of course driven by the fact that the Conqueror could not claim a distinguished and lengthy bloodline in the mould of the Capetians or the Saxon kings – Norman kingship, therefore, had to be distinctive.

Was this also true of Sicily? Here, there was no pre-existing kingly status to step into, and Roger's early difficulties in asserting his authority after 1130 perhaps point to this lack of precedent. Alexander of Telese's lengthy encomium of the king makes no mention of his physical prowess or bodily appearance, preferring to record Roger's qualities as a ruler and lord. This may reflect Alexander's writing style: in fact the only physical description, in highly generic terms, is that of Roger's son-in-law Adam, 'a man in the flower of youthful beauty, affable and the bravest of soldiers'.[30] The well-studied series of mosaic ruler-portraits in royal foundations in Sicily, however, hints at an understanding of the physical qualities of rule. They have been commented upon at length by art historians.[31] But did such portraits, like their Byzantine prototypes, embody something more than simply a depiction of the donor of these rich buildings? Representations of the ruler in Byzantine culture, it has been argued, occupied a liminal place between holy icons and straightforward portraits – when a ruler was deposed, her/his face might be removed, but the bodily 'frame' of the representation was retained and reused, signifying the continuity of the imperial office.[32] Did the Sicilian mosaics fulfill a similar function? It is after all striking that we have no ruler portraits of William I 'the Bad' of Sicily, despite his rule of twelve years between two major patrons of such works.

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[28] WM, *GRA*, II. 220–4, quote at 222: *Unde nostro tempore quidam falsam insumunt operam, qui assuerat istius morbi curationem non ex sanctitate sed ex regalis prosapiae hereditate fluxisse*.

[29] WM, *GRA*, II. 207: 'his "reply" amounts to a denial of sacral kingship'. For the argument that Edward's thraumaturgy dates from his time as exile in Normandy, see E. van Houts, 'Edward and Normandy', in *Edward the Confessor: the Man and the Legend,* ed. R. Mortimer (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 63–76, at pp. 71–5.

[30] Ruler and lord: AT, IV. 3–4; III. 28: *Adam, virum scilicet iuvenilis aetatis decore fulgentem, affabilem, militemque strenuissimum*.

[31] E. Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic: the Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily, 1130–1187* (Oxford, 1991); E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo* (Washington, D.C., 1990) and *I mosaici del periodo normanno in Sicilia, I: La Cappella palatina di Palermo; III: Il duomo di Monreale* (Palermo, 1992 and 1994) as well as *La cattedrale di Cefalu, la cattedrale di Palermo e il museo diocesano: mosaici profani* (Palermo, 2000); further essays can also be found in his Studies in *Late Antique, Byzantine and Medieval Western Art*, (2 vols., 2003).

Despite their apparent indifference to contemporary ideals and ideas of royal bodies in neighbouring lands, Norman authors do seem to have had some sense that a leader's body should remain inviolate. William of Malmesbury is at pains to emphasize that 'not a drop of William [the Conqueror]'s blood' was spilt at Hastings, despite coming under a hail of missiles (*ut nichil sanguinis ex eius corpore hostis hauriret, quamquam illum tot iaculis impeteret*). When a knight hacked at the prostrate King Harold, however, William censured him for a dastardly and shameful act (*rem ignavam et pudendam*).[33] This seems to reflect the earlier account of Harold's death in William of Poitiers – the king's body, he says, 'was recognized by certain marks, not by his face (*quibusdam signis, nequaquam facie, recognitus est*)', suggesting either that the famous arrow had done more damage than simply land in Harold's eye, or possibly that he had indeed been mutilated in death. The mutilation of Harold's face (and by implication a misrecognition of his corpse) offered the opportunity for Gerald of Wales to speculate that the king actually survived Hastings and died in refuge on the Welsh border, 'wounded in many places, losing his left eye through an arrow which penetrated it but, although beaten, he escaped to these parts'.[34]

Mutilation or injury of any kind (except death) was clearly a sensitive topic. Whilst Orderic Vitalis reports the death of William Rufus, and is happy to report political blindings in the Byzantine empire (erroneously, as it turns out), his account of Norman kings in battle emphasizes near-misses: a knight standing beside William Rufus is reportedly killed by a stone at the siege of Mayet, and Henry I was protected from another stone by his brazen helmet, and from a sword thrust by his armour.[35]

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[32] A. Eastmond, 'Between icon and idol: the uncertainty of imperial images', in *Icon and Word: the Power of Images in Byzantium*, ed. A. Eastwood and L. James (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 73–85.

[33] WM, *GRA,* III. 244 and 243 respectively.

[34] WP, II. 25; Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales*, I.1, trans. L. Thorpe (1978), p. 188.

[35] *OV*, I. 24 (Rufus); VIII. 5 (blindings); X. 10 (Mayet); XII. 8 and XII. 18 (Henry).

Yet not all Norman leaders were invulnerable supermen. Amatus of Montecassino reports a stone hitting Robert Guiscard when he besieged the citadel of Salerno, so hard that 'it seemed he would die from it ... [but] through the grace of God the duke soon recovered'.[36] William of Apulia, too, reports this injury, and although he downplays the severity of the wound, he also attributes its healing to God's help.[37] The key to understanding this injury report, and another about Robert's son Roger, seems to be that they occur prior to victories, emphasizing the toughness of the Norman commanders. Robert's injury happens before the fall of Salerno; a later wound to Roger's arm precedes a victory at sea against the Byzantines and Venetians.[38] Norman leaders, then, can be injured but only if they survive and overcome their opponents. By contrast, William recounts that the Byzantine emperor Romanos was captured by the 'Persians' after he was wounded by an arrow in an unprotected (and unspecified) limb, and that the rebel Abelard was incapacitated by a lance wound to the chest.[39] To summarize then, Norman texts do not appear to attribute special 'ruling' qualities to the bodies of Norman leaders – even if masculinity resided in bodily strength and integrity. The right to lead was won through actions, not blood.

Bodies as texts/signs

Good looks, however, do feature as a means of indicating good character. Dudo and his successors, and Amatus of Montecassino, use this device extensively, whilst others like Alexander are less fulsome. Dudo's history is full of good-looking Norman leaders: Rollo is 'very fair of body', and Richard I, whom Dudo claimed as a patron of his work and whose son, Richard II, he served as chancellor, is repeatedly described in glowing terms.[40] The *GND* follows the same model, describing Rollo's son William as 'a tall man with a handsome face and sparkling eyes (*statura procerus,*

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[36] Amatus, VIII. 24: 'et une part de la pierre donna à lo costé de lo Duc; et parut qu'il en deüst morir. Mès, par la vertu de Dieu, en poi de temps en fut garut'.

[37] WA, III, l. 451–5. William also reports an arrow injury to Robert's wife Sichelgaita in a way that implicitly criticises her presence in a theatre of war (IV, l. 425–6).

[38] WA, V, l. 172.

[39] WA, III, l. 54 and III, l. 587.

[40] Dudo, II. 25 (Rollo); IV. 67: 'beautifully-built'; 90: 'handsome'; 100: 'his appearance dazzled ... he was fair of face and had become fairer to all by his every action; 126: Most lovely to look upon, bristling with brilliant white hair, brilliant in eyebrows and in the pupil of the eye, resplendent of nostril and cheek, honoured for a thick, long beard, lofty of stature' (Richard). The latter passage is repeated almost verbatim by *GND*, IV. 19: *Erat autem statura procerus, vultu decorus, integer corpore, barba prolixa, cano decoratus capite*.

vultu decorus, micantibus oculis)'.[41] In Amatus the same panegyric style is evident: William son of Tancred of Hauteville, chosen by the Normans as their leader in the early 1040s, was 'handsome, young and of noble stock', while Asclettin, successor to his uncle Rainulf as count of Aversa, was 'an elegant youth ... very worthy on account of his prowess and beauty' as well as his intelligence and good manners. Asclettin's son Richard, too, is described as 'a fine figure of a man and a lord of good stature. He was a young man with an open countenance and strikingly handsome'.[42] It is interesting to note, however, that Amatus describes Robert Guiscard only in terms of his character, while it is Sichelgaita, his second wife, who is described as 'beautiful in body'. Amatus continues, 'Therefore it was quite proper for a single body to be made of these two, who were equal in virtue'.[43] This is getting quite close to the imagery of the uniting of two nations by this marriage, where physical bodies signified much wider connections.

Dudo and Amatus use positive descriptions to enhance their heroes, and Burgwinkle has commented that many passages were 'conventionalized flattery' driven by the fact that the authors were 'directly implicated in courtly politics',[44] but not all ruler-portraits were so idealized, nor was superior physique everything. William of Apulia uses bodies in amusing and surprising ways. The Germans in Pope Leo IX's army, he says, were 'notable for their long hair, good looks and height (*quia caesaries et forma decoros fecerat egregie proceri corporis illos*)', and thus they mocked the rather shorter Normans. This allows him, some lines later, to portray Robert Guiscard cutting off their heads, 'proving that bravery is not the prerogative of the tall, but the prize can go to the smaller man (*virtutisque docet palmam non affore tantum corporibus magnis, qua saepe minora redundant*)'.[45]

Norman authors could present leaders' bodies in distinctly negative ways as well. The *GND* admits that Rollo/Robert's body at the end of his life was 'physically broken by hardship and battle on which he spent all the strength of his youth (*fractus iam viribus, laboribus et preliis in quibus omne iuventutis robur consumpserat*)'.[46] William of Apulia's account of Sichelgaita's attempts to retrieve Robert Guiscard's body after his death on campaign – the corpse falling into the sea while being transferred back from Corfu and starting to smell, thus requiring evisceration and embalming before being buried in two separate locations – seems deliberately designed to distinguish this ducal body from those of saints, and we might contrast this account with Dudo's of Richard I in his tomb, whose body was found to be uncorrupted and giving off an odour 'sweeter than the fragrance of turpentine and balsam'.[47] In both these cases, of course, the bodies were dead, but how do we explain William of Malmesbury's unflattering comment that William the Conqueror's corpulence 'gave him an unshapely and unkingly figure (*quamquam obesitas ventris nimis protensa corpus regium deformaret*)', a comment that was rivalled only by his description of his son, William Rufus, as 'inclined to be pot-bellied (*ventre paulo proiectore*)'?[48] This later portrayal contrasts with William of Poitiers's earlier emphasis on the duke's physical strength, carrying on his own shoulders one of his supporters and two hauberks![49] Clearly William was a big man, but maybe temporal distance from his subject allowed Malmesbury to elaborate on how big in his descriptions – perhaps even reflect a reality that the earlier author did not dare mention?

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[41] *GND*, III. 1.

[42] Amatus, II.29 (William); II.32 (Asclettin); II.44 (Richard). Even Pope Leo IX was 'very handsome with red hair and a lordly stature' (Amatus, III.15), while Abbot Desiderius was 'a saintly, handsome, good and noble youth', presaging his later rise to prominence (Amatus, III.52).

[43] Amatus, IV. 18. The author has commented elsewhere on Amatus's apparent closeness to the duchess: 'Halt! Be men!' Sikelgaita of Salerno, gender and the Norman conquest of southern Italy', *Gender and History*, xii (2000), 622–41.

[44] Burgwinkle, *Sodomy, Masculinity and Law*, p. 20.

[45] WA, II, lines 93–5 and II, line 240.

[46] *GND,* II. 15 (22).

Broken bodies

This brings us on to the question of imperfect and mutilated bodies. It is not difficult to find mutilated or otherwise humiliated bodies in Norman texts. Transgressors and rebels against Norman law and rule were executed or punished physically.[50] Blinding occurs for open rebellion (as in the case of Bretons resisting William of Normandy or killing deer in the king's forest.[51] There has been an extensive historiography on transitions to Norman justice.[52]

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[47] WA, V. ll. 296–402; Dudo, IV, 129. 'Corpses' feature in both Dudo and William of Apulia at the centre of tricks to gain entry, and may ultimately derive from classical sources: Dudo, I. 6–7 (reused in *GND,* I. 9(10)), WA, II, lines 340–4. See E. Albu Hanawalt, 'Dudo of Saint-Quentin: the heroic past re-imagined', *HSJ*, vi (1994), 111–18.

[48] WM, *GRA*, III. 279 and IV.321.

[49] WP, II. 9.

[50] *GND,* II. 14 (20) records Duke Robert of Normandy issuing a law sentencing thieves to hang, since 'with these and similar fears [he] curbed his people (*his et huiusmodi terroribus populam frenens*)'.

[51] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Translation*, ed. D. Whitelock (1961), versions D/E s.a. 1075 (Bretons) and E s.a. 1087 (deer). Other rebels are seen being blinded in *OV*, IV. ii.180 and XII. 39.

[52] E.g. David Bates's seminal article, 'The earliest Norman writs', *EHR*, c (1985), 266–84; J. Hudson, 'Court cases and legal arguments in England, c.1066–1166', *TRHS*, 6th ser., x

Klaus van Eickels's recent study of castration and blinding in Normandy and Anglo-Norman England accepted unproblematically the report of William the Conqueror replacing execution in some cases with mutilations such as these.[53] Edward Wheatley has drawn a contrast between blinding as a common punishment in France and Normandy, and its relative rarity in England. He noted the increase of blinding as a punishment in England after 1066, and attributed its introduction into southern Italy and Ireland to the Norman arrival there.[54] A closer look, however, suggests that the connection between the arrival of the Normans and the introduction or increase of mutilation is misleading. Norman authors such as William of Malmesbury in fact preserve accounts of such mutilations prior to the Conquest in both Normandy and England, and mutilation and blinding are also recorded in pre-Norman southern Italy.[55] But the threat to mutilate was part of what Gerd Althoff has termed a 'renaissance of royal anger' in the twelfth century, and certainly the anger of the ruler could be deployed as an effective rhetorical tool. According to Stephen White, this reinvention was mirrored by an upsurge of clerical texts advocating restraint.[56]

Yet the mutilation of another person in many Norman texts is presented as a sign of *transgression* rather than as a just punishment. Dudo's one report of a threat of blinding is by an enraged King Louis against a knight rescuing

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(2000), 91–115; R. Fixot, 'Pouvoirs et justice en Italie méridionale lombarde et normande (XIe-XIIe siècles: les transformations du système judiciaire et des pratiques', in *Le pouvoir au moyen age: idéologies, pratiques, représentations*, ed. C. Carozzi and H. Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence, 2005), pp. 193–210; J. A. Green, 'Forest laws in England and Normandy in the twelfth century', *HR*, lxxxvi (2013), 416–31.

[53] van Eickels, 'Gendered violence'. P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, I (Oxford, 1999), p. 404, points out that the 'ten articles' attributed to William, from which this statement comes, are not a code at all, and have overlaps with Cnut's laws, calling into question just when this change occurred.

[54] E. Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind: Medieval Constructions of a Disability* (Ann Arbor, 2010), pp. 60, 33 (with numerous examples) and pp. 34–5 respectively. The problem is further discussed with reference to bodily mutilation by J. P. Gates, 'The fulmanned society: social valuing of the (male) legal subject' and C. M. Eska, '"Imbrued in their owne bloud": castration in early Welsh and Irish sources', both in *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. L. Tracy (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 131–48 and 149–73 respectively.

[55] WM, *GRA* II. 137 (attempt to blind King Athelstan); II. 145 (blinding of Riulf son of Anscytel by Rollo); II. 165 (Æthelred's blinding of Ælfric's son); II. 188 (blinding of Alfred son of Æthelred).

[56] G. Althoff, '*Ira regis*: prolegomena to a history of royal anger' and S. D. White, 'The politics of anger', both in *Anger's Past: the Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. Rosenwein (1998), pp. 59–74 and 127–52 respectively. On differing portrayals of just and unjust mutilation, see D. Bates, 'Anger, emotion and a biography of William the Conqueror', in *Gender and Historiography: Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages Presented to Pauline Stafford*, ed. J. L. Nelson, S. Reynolds and S. M. Johns (2012), pp. 21–33.

Richard I of Normandy from the king's custody,[57] and Louis further threatens to 'roast the knees' of Osmund's young protégé.[58] Similarly, the most extreme mutilations in Orderic Vitalis are again perpetrated unjustly. In one account, William Talvas blinds and castrates William of Bellême for no good reason, in another a clerk who had been punished for an appalling crime in Norway by being blinded and having his hands and feet cut off, murders King David I of Scotland's baby son using his false metal fingers.[59] Whilst Orderic reports judicial mutilation relatively neutrally, its unauthorized use functions in his text as a measure of cruelty, as in his account of Robert of Bellême's ferocious behaviour.[60] William of Malmesbury repeats and develops the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s account of Cnut's mutilation of hostages in 1014, also seen as an unwarranted act of cruelty.[61] Finally, William of Poitiers presents the blinding and resulting death of the ætheling Alfred by Harold as a result of 'wicked treachery'.[62] The overwhelming message in these northern sources seems to be that mutilation is an extreme to which others resort.

Wheatley's assertion regarding southern Italy is also incorrect. Blinding as a political tool was already known in the south, as evidenced by its use in Naples and Salerno in the ninth century and Amalfi in the eleventh,[63] and seems to have owed its presence here to Byzantine, not Norman, influence. Amatus includes a report of the blinding of Romanos IV in 1072 (as does William of Apulia, writing some fifteen years after Amatus), but otherwise, like Orderic, seems to attribute the practice of blinding and mutilation to the enemies of his hero, Robert Guiscard, or to tyrannical rule.[64] Thus the assassins who kill Prince Guaimarius of Salerno 'cried out "Death to him who seeks only to blind!" (*soit occis cil qui ce veut cecare!*)'. Indeed, almost all of the threatened or actual episodes of mutilation in Amatus are at the hands of Prince Gisulf II of Salerno, against an assortment of opponents including his uncle Guido, threatened with blinding, Abbot Guaiferius of Montecassino, threatened with the loss of his tongue, or the numerous acts of corporal mutilation described in Book VIII, carried out on prisoners held to ransom and designed to heighten the climax of the book, Gisulf's confrontation with Robert. When Amatus reports Robert threatening to extract the prince's teeth if he did not hand over a genuine tooth relic of St. Matthew, he justifies this by the numerous deceptions Gisulf has already perpetrated, and of course the threat is not carried out.[65]

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[57] Dudo, Book IV. 73, and p. 112 n. 341. This threat does not reappear in *GND* III. 3, which reworks the story somewhat.

[58] *GND* III. 3: '*adustis poplitibus*', '*cauteriatis genibus*'.

[59] *OV*, III. ii. 15; IV. 274–6.

[60] *OV*, VIII. 5. iii. 301 and VIII. 24. iii. 423. Sometimes, as in the exchange of young hostages between Henry I and Eustace of Breteuil, an unjust mutilation was repaid with one presented as legitimate and with the king's permission (*OV*, XII. 10). On this episode, see N. Civel, 'La colère d'Henri: un cas de mutilation d'otages dans *L'Historia Ecclesiastica* d'Orderic Vital', *Mémoires (Paris et Ile de France)*, lvii (2006), 47–66 and P. Skinner, *Living with Disfigurement in Early Medieval Europe* (New York, 2017), chapter 4.

[61] WM, *GRA,* II, 179.

[62] WP, I. 3.

[63] Naples: *Erchemperti Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, c.39 (s.a. 877), ed. G. Waitz (*MGH SSRLI*, Hanover, 1878), p. 249: Sergius, the *magister militum* of Naples, was blinded and sent to Rome, where he ended his life miserably (*ibique miserabiliter vitam finivit*). Salerno: *Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, ed. G. Waitz (*MGH SSRLI,* Hanover, 1878), c. 13 (p. 475); Amalfi: P. Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi and its Diaspora, 800–1250* (Oxford, 2013), p. 124.

[64] Amatus I. 13; WA, III, l. 90. William also reports other political blindings in the

This brings us on to William of Apulia, whose poetic *Deeds of Robert Guiscard* offers a rather different view of the Normans in southern Italy, and may partly explain their association with mutilation, as in his account it is indeed members of Robert's family who do the mutilating. Before considering these episodes, however, we need to bear in mind that William's poem represents an early example of the epic genre.[66] Rather like the S*ong of Roland*, written down some decades later but long circulated orally, William's text contains graphic and stylized violence – bodies split down the middle vertically, or sliced with their horses – and extended similes, comparing the intensity of fighting to that of two wild boars.[67] And, rather like Roland, the justification for mutilating and killing comes from the need to avenge disloyalty, as in Count Humphrey's punishment of his brother Drogo's murderers, or the blinding and castration of the rebel Gradilon. Roger Borsa's punishment of the rebellious citizens of Troia, including mutilation of limbs and faces, is however compared to the unusual fury of a trapped tigress (*insolitum furorem*): [68] while Roger's actions are explicable, William is clearly uncomfortable with their ferocity.

There is something of a contrast between William's depictions of Norman violence and those in the account of his contemporary Geoffrey Malaterra. Although Geoffrey relates many of the same incidents (for example,

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Byzantine empire (I, ll. 462 and 467; IV, line 117). William's account of tyrannical Byzantine rule in the South (e.g. the cruelty of Maniaces, I, lines 445 and 488–90) allows him to position the Normans as liberators.

[65] Amatus III. 28 (assassins); IV. 42 (Guido); IV. 42 (Guaiferius); VIII. 2–3, 8, 11, 20; VIII. 29 (teeth).

[66] Genre considerations are extensively articulated by the contributors to Guynn and Stahuljak, *Violence and the Writing of History*, in particular D. Rollo, 'Political violence and sexual violation in the work of Benoît de Saint-Maure', at pp. 117–32.

[67] WA, II, ll. 214–5 and II, 508–15.

[68] WA, II, ll. 287–90; WA, III, ll. 613–4; WA, IV, ll. 514–7 and 521 respectively.

Humphrey's revenge for Drogo's murder; the punishment of Troia), he does not go into the same levels of rhetorical detail, and he mentions Gisulf's brutality to his prisoners only in passing. Rebellious and treacherous bodies are, nevertheless, still mutilated: the shocking story of the impaling of a traitor's wife in Gerace, however, is put down to 'the extraordinary fury of the ignorant mob (*cum tanta impietate a suis civibus ... cum tanto furore*)', while Duke Robert and Count Roger's blinding of Walter, castellan of Guillimaco, is explained as a measure to prevent him causing their brother any further trouble on his release from prison (*ne si, oculos habens in posterum, a captione quando liberaretur, fratri iterum molestus fieret*). And while Count Roger forgives his rebellious son Jordan, the latter's twelve accomplices are rounded up and blinded as a warning as to his future behaviour.[69]

Alexander of Telese emphasizes King Roger's just and restrained rule and, like Orderic, reserves stories of mutilation as a means of measuring the ill-will and pride of the king's enemies. For example, Richard, brother of Roger's estranged brother-in-law Count Rainulf, is reported to have greeted news of Roger's successes by removing the nose and eyes of the messenger. Alexander attributes this behaviour to Richard's 'fury' (*furore*) and loss of reason (*demens*). That is not to say that Roger rejected such punishments: adulteresses in the laws of Ariano were threatened with nose-slitting, 'which [punishment] has been most sternly and cruelly introduced'.[70]

The potential for injustice in a moment of irrational anger, therefore, underpins many of our Norman mutilation texts, and offered the opportunity for writers of hagiography to develop the theme further. William of Malmesbury himself explored the problem in his *Vita Wulfstani* in his lengthy account of the cure of Thomas of Elderfield, wrongly blinded and castrated.[71] Key to William's account is injustice – Thomas loses a judicial duel engineered by one George, and is blinded and castrated by the victor and his associates. While judicial duels might well pit accuser and defendant up against each other (as in the case of Geoffrey Baynard against Count William of Eu),[72] the extremity of outcome in Thomas's case may explain why it made a good subject for a miracle story. The problem with this type of evidence is obvious. This author would argue that it was the infrequency of use of mutilation in Norman society that led Norman authors to report episodes in detail when they did occur.

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[69] Malaterra, I, 13 (Humphrey); II. 30 (Troia); III. 2 (Gisulf); II. 24 (Gerace); II. 24 (Walter); III. 36 (Jordan).

[70] AT, I. 21 (restraint); II. 13 (messenger); Graham Loud's translation in G. A. Loud, *Roger II and the Making of the Kingdom of Sicily* (Manchester, 2012). On nose-slitting see now P. Skinner, 'The gendered nose and its lack: a medieval punishment and its "modern" manifestations', *Journal of Women's History*, xxvi (2014), 45–67.

[71] The episode is extensively discussed by Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks*, pp. 175–79 and van Eickels, 'Gendered violence', p. 595.

[72] The count was accused of treachery, fought and lost, leading to his blinding and castration: *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* E (Peterborough) version s.a. 1095; *OV*, VIII. iii. 23. 411; WM, GRA, IV. 319. See also J. Martindale, 'Between law and politics: the judicial duel

Conclusions

Bodies were highly visible in Norman society, used to signal status and scrutinized and reported upon. One of the most detailed examples comes in William of Poitiers's record of the end of William of Arques's revolt against Duke William. He expounds at length on the bodily cost of the lengthy siege that ended in Arques's surrender: [73]

> What a sad spectacle! What a wretched end! French knights ... come out with the Normans as fast as their failing strength permits, hanging their heads as much from shame as from starvation; some clinging to starved mounts ... most of them carrying their horse's saddle on their bowed and weary backs, some staggering and barely keeping upright. It was equally pitiable to see in all its forms the sordid ruin of the lightly-armed troops as they came out.

William's account, however, is packed with body politics: the losers in this battle were starved, their bodies incapable of fighting and, crucially, some of them were literally 'saddled', a reference perhaps to their submissive, 'ridden' position as losers in the rebellion.[74] William of Malmesbury elaborates further on the humiliation of saddle-bearing in his account of the reconciliation of Fulk of Anjou with his rebellious son Geoffrey. The latter was forced to carry a saddle on his back for several miles, then prostrated himself under the burden at his father's feet to be kicked before being raised up.[75]

This chapter has ranged across a number of ways of looking at Norman male bodies, from those of leaders, through the use of bodily metaphor to express Norman domination, and on to their association with cruelty and

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under the Angevin kings (mid 12th century to 1204)', in *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, ed. P. Stafford, J.L. Nelson and J. Martindale (Manchester, 2001), pp. 116–49.

[73] WP, I. 27: *En spectaculum triste, letum miserabile. Properant ultra quam vires invalide sufficiant ... equites cum Normannis evadere Franci, non minus dedecore quam inedia cervicibus contusis, pars in iumentis famelicis ... et eorum plerique sellam equestrem incuruo languidoque dorso, nonnulli solum se nutabundi vix eportantes. Erat item cernere clamitatem levis armaturae egredientis foedam ac variam.*

[74] As far as the author is aware, little work has been done on this issue apart from Jessica Hemming's work on Welsh literature, '*Sellam gestare*: saddle-bearing punishments and the case of Rhiannon', *Viator*, xxviii (1997), 45–64.

[75] WM, *GRA,* III. 235.

the mutilation of enemies' bodies. Despite the variations visible between authors, regions and time period (in part due to differences in the genre of writing), the sheer activity and physicality of Norman bodies are clearly expressed. Meetings and reconciliations included specific bodily gestures; panegyrics might or might not include physical prowess – in fact there is a tendency to play down qualities of the flesh (which we might expect from clerical authors); and mutilations by Norman lords, where they are reported, were presented within a very tight set of acceptable parameters – and more frequently they happen outside those boundaries, creating shock among contemporary reporters.

What, if anything, about this picture is particularly 'Norman'? It could be argued that all of our authors, male and clerical, are drawing not upon a Norman register of bodily standards but a broader palette of motifs deriving ultimately from Biblical *exempla*, particularly where excessive anger (*furor*) was concerned. Yet the Norman expansion across Europe arguably precipitated the wealth of narrative sources that sought to record, explain and in some cases justify the conquests. Military prowess could be expressed in physical terms, newly subject people might be threatened with bodily violence as a means of control, and the sheer mobility of many Normans between different parts of Europe may have contributed to the appearance of introducing new corporal punishments when in fact such practices had already existed in the regions taken over. Attention to Norman bodily practices, then, would reward further research.

12. Homage in the Latin chronicles of eleventh- and twelfth-century Normandy[*]

Alice Taylor

Homage has long preoccupied historians of medieval Normandy. In part, this is because the ritual and the relationship it created have been seen as key to the 'foundation' of Normandy itself, and Normandy's subsequent relations with the kingdoms of France and, later, England.[1] Did Rollo perform homage to Charles the Simple in 911 and, if so, did this mean that the king invested him in the duchy? What exactly did it mean when and if kings of England – as Norman dukes – performed homage to the kings of France? Homage looms so large in these debates because of its importance in past constructions of feudalism, put together by scholars of the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century.[2] Performance of homage meant investiture with a fief and thus a tenurial dependence with major political consequences. Interpreted within this frame, as feudalism was one of many things the Normans took with them into England and southern Italy, so went homage, seen as an importation from eleventh-century Normandy.[3]

Pretty much all of these views are now considered problematic and the questions rethought, partly because of successful critiques of the construct of feudalism itself.[4] Although Susan Reynolds's *Fiefs and Vassals* did not focus on homage, her more recent work has questioned whether homage did create the 'defining' bond of medieval society.[5] Yet the result of the deconstruction of feudalism has not been to marginalize homage but, instead, to remove it from a feudo-vassalic interpretation and set it in the framework of other social bonds, such as friendship and kinship. These were once contrasted with homage because they, unlike homage, were horizontal social bonds, whereas homage created vertical, hierarchical and tenurial ones.[6] This development has resulted in a widening understanding of what homage was, what performing it could mean, and to whom it was performed.[7] The performance of homage was not 'feudo-vassalic' in nature but was a reciprocal act, designed to restore friendship between two parties. Paul Hyams and Levi Roach have stressed the importance of homage as a key part of the strategies of dispute settlement, particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[8] The monumental work of Klaus van Eickels on Anglo-French relations has also shown the diversity in the meanings and circumstances of homage: it could be performed for love, friendship, equality, as well as (increasingly obvious from the early thirteenth century) to assert superiority and request due service.[9]

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[*] The author is very grateful to John Gillingham for his perceptive comments on and criticisms of this chapter. What remains, however, is entirely the author's own responsibility.

[1] F. Lot, *Fidèles ou vassaux: Essai sur la nature juridique du lien qui unissait les grands Vassaux à la Royauté depuis le milieu du IX^e jusqu'à la fin du XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1904), pp. 180–1; see also C. W. Hollister, 'Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman *Regnum*', *Speculum*, li (1976), 202–42, at p. 202 and no. 2.

[2] M. Bloch, 'Les formes de la rupture de l'hommage dans l'ancien droit féodal', in *Marc Bloch: Melanges historiques*, preface de Yann Potin (Paris, 1995), pp. 189–209 at p. 189; F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, trans. P. Grierson (1952), pp. 66–8.

[3] In an exciting and innovative take on this for English historiography, G. Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford, 2007), particularly pp. 64–96, argued that the tenurial consequence of homage was, in fact, a post Oath-of-Salisbury invention.

[4] E. A. R. Brown, 'The tyranny of a construct: feudalism and historians of medieval Europe', *American Historical Review*, lxxix (1974), 1063–88; S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: the Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994).

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[5] S. Reynolds, 'Afterthoughts on "Fiefs and Vassals"', *HSJ*, ix (1997), 1–16; G. Althoff, *Friends, Family and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Early Medieval Europe*, trans. C. Carroll (Cambridge, 2004).

[6] K. van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt. Die englisch-französischen Beziehungen und ihre Wahrnehmung an der Wende vom Hoch- zum Spätmittlelalter* (Stuttgart, 2002); G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992).

[7] For homage, the key work was not actually dependent on the deconstruction of feudalism, but was inspired by J.-F. Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales* (Lille, 1945). As Lemarignier long ago argued, this form of homage could often take place in border regions between two parties (*hommage en marche*), who met in these liminal areas so as not to jeopardize the peace by asserting superiority through geography.

[8] P. R. Hyams, 'Homage and feudalism: a judicious separation', in *Die Gegenwart des Feudalismus. Présence du féodalisme et présent de la féodalité. The Presence of Feudalism*, ed. N. M. Fryde, P. Monnet and O. G. Oexle (Göttingen, 2002), pp. 13–50; L. Roach, 'Submission and homage: feudo-vassalic bonds and the settlement of disputes in Ottonian Germany', *History*, xcvii (2012), 355–79; J. Benham, *Peacemaking in the Middle Ages: Principles and Practice* (Manchester, 2011), pp. 90–106.

[9] See, as suggested by its title, van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt*; K. van Eickels, '*Homagium* and *Amicitia*: rituals of peace and their significance in the Anglo-French negotiations of the twelfth century', *Francia,* xxiv (1997), 133–40, and with a very different take on the '1156' meeting, J. Gillingham, 'Doing homage to the king of France', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 63–84.

This chapter is a re-examination of how homage appears in the work of four chroniclers and historians, writing in Normandy, who concentrated on Normandy and its history: Dudo of Saint-Quentin, William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni. These writers have been chosen in part because they all belong to a diachronic but coherent textual tradition of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* (*GND*).[10] William revised, rewrote and updated Dudo's work, Orderic revised, rewrote and updated William's work, and Robert revised, rewrote and updated Orderic's, yet also included sections from Dudo which even William of Jumièges had left out. But it will concentrate on the works which Orderic and Robert wrote independently of the *Gesta*-tradition: Orderic's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and Robert's *Chronica*.[11] In so doing, this chapter puts forward a different view of contemporary understandings of homage and demonstrates that homage was, lexically speaking, a new concept at the beginning of the twelfth century.

Dudo's *Historia Normannorum*, which appeared *c.*1015, is normally regarded as an important source for homage ceremonies, as it contains the famous account of the meeting at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte between Rollo and Charles the Simple in 911 at which Rollo was, supposedly, given part of the duchy and performed homage.[12] There is a raucous and long-standing debate on the interpretation of the meaning of Dudo's account, which is important but not the issue here.[13] It is, however, significant that the words *homagium* or *hominium* do not appear within Dudo's *Historia*, despite 'homage' appearing in critical apparatus and most modern commentaries on the text. In Dudo's *Historia*, the occasions when homage is thought to have been performed do not use the word at all. Rollo's father is described as a man who never bowed his neck to any king nor 'for the grace of service (*gratia servicii*), committed [or commended] his hands into the hands of any other man'.[14] Rollo himself, at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte in 911, 'put his hands between the king's hands', which none of his ancestors had done before, and was given Normandy and Brittany as a result. What he objected to, famously, was not the hand-oath but the suggestion by the bishops that he 'bend his knees' and kiss the king's foot.[15] This, he required a proxy to do, who performed the task in a most admirable way: by seizing Charles the Simple's foot and bringing it up to his mouth, upturning the king in the process. But Dudo conceptualizes none of this – the hand-oath, the kiss, Rollo's refusal to 'bend his knees' – as part of a performance of *homagium* or *hominium*. Elsewhere in the *Historia*, Dudo uses hand-oaths as a way of demonstrating future loyalty, most obviously in his bestowal of Normandy to William Longsword. Rollo summoned an assembly, placed his hands around William's and commanded that all the great men present would swear an oath.[16] Rollo later commanded them to 'give your hands into his hands by the grace of keeping [your] *fidelitas*', and swear the oath of *fides*.[17] The *principes* did this, gave their hands into William's hands, 'in the place of their hearts'. But, again, these actions were not understood as a performance of *homagium* or *hominium*. Those words are not present.

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[10] E. M. C. van Houts, 'The *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*: a history without an end', *ANS,* iii (1981), 106–18. Of course, Dudo would not have been aware that he was part of this tradition: cf. L. Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1997).

[11] A new edition of Robert of Torigni's *Chronica* is being prepared by Thomas N. Bisson to be published by Oxford Medieval Texts. See T. Bisson, 'The "annuary" of Abbot Robert de Torigni (1155–59)', *ANS*, xxxiii (2011), 61–74.

[12] The most recent study of Dudo's *Historia* is B. Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum: Tradition, Innovation and Memory* (Woodbridge, 2015). The fullest account of the many and varied significances attached to the meeting at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte is van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt*, pp. 245–86.

[13] See the position of, as well as the literature cited in, G. Garnett, '"Ducal" succession in early Normandy', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. G. Garnett and J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 80–110, at pp. 87–96; E. Z. Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law* (1988), p. 103.

Hand-ceremonies are thus present in Dudo and they are by nature relational: someone gives their hands to another, surrendering themselves, binding themselves, and, in some cases, receiving something back in return. The most common context for Dudo to describe these gestures was concerning the succession to Normandy; the placing of hands around another's hands established the incumbent ruler's choice of heir, while the giving of hands established the loyalty and *fides* of the *principes*.[18] But such actions are not presented as homage; the word *homagium* or *hominium* is not used to describe the performance or explain or justify the relationship which had been created.[19] It must be stressed that there is nothing strange about the presence of hand-having gestures, particularly within Christian thought: using hand-imagery and gestures to signify some sort of self-surrender to another almost certainly takes inspiration from Luke xxiii: 46: '*Et clamens voce magna Iesus ait Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum*

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[14] Dudo, p. 141.

[15] Dudo, pp. 168–9.

[16] Dudo, pp. 173–4.

[17] Dudo, p. 182.

[18] For the establishment of Richard I, see Dudo, pp. 202–3; for more examples, see also, pp. 221–3, 296–8.

[19] Although hand-having ceremonies and relationships are recorded, the words *homagium* or *hominium* do not appear in his examples; see Roach, 'Submission and homage', pp. 360–5.

meum' ('And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father into thy hands I commend my spirit'), a biblical passage which Dudo uses at the end of his work.[20] Commendations or self-commitments into the hand of another appear from the eighth century onwards, which, as an aside, explains why Jacques Le Goff started his enquiry into 'le rituel symbolique de la vassalité' with sources of this date.[21]

However, just because Dudo includes in his *Historia Normannorum* gestures of self-surrender, declarations of loyalty and inheritance strategies, this does not mean that we should conceptualize them as homage. He did not, and it is probable that contemporaries did not either. Lucien Musset and, most recently, George Garnett have shown that the substantive 'homage' does not even appear in the Norman charter record until, roughly, the last third of the eleventh century.[22] It seems, therefore, that Dudo did not use *homagium* and/or *hominium* because he did not know it, and it is unlikely that it was in current usage.[23] Reynolds has long critiqued historians who focus too much on word-fetishism; after all, different words can be used to describe the same thing, and the same word can be used to describe very different things.[24] But lexical history is important and the adoption of new words, even to describe actions which have long been performed, is significant.[25] The use of the word 'homage' represents a move away from a description of self-surrender to a new phenomenon, including but conceptually distinct from the acts which were supposed to convey it. It also meant something more precise than *fidelitas*. It is of note that only laymen could perform homage while both laymen and clerics could swear and 'do' *fidelitas*, an issue that was to become especially live in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.[26]

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[20] Dudo, p. 297. The translation is from the Authorized King James Bible, which temporally separates Jesus' cry from his speech.

[21] J. Le Goff, 'Le rituel symbolique de la vassalité', in J. Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen Âge: Temps, travail et culture en Occident: 18 essais* (Paris, 1978), pp. 349–420.

[22] Garnett, *Conquered England*, pp. 64–96; L. Musset, 'L'aristocratie normande au XIe siècle', in *La noblesse au moyen âge (XI-XVe siècles). Essais à la memoire de Robert Boutruche,* ed. P. Contamine (Paris, 1976), pp. 71–96; The earliest examples of charters, notices and agreements which use the words *homagium* or *hominagium* which are given in Tabuteau, *Transfers*, all date from the last two decades of the 11th century. See also J. Hudson, 'Imposing feudalism on Anglo-Saxon England: Norman and Angevin presentation of pre-Conquest lordship and landholding', in *Feudalism: New Landscapes of Debate*, ed. S. Bagge, M. H. Gelting and T. Lindkvist (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 115–34. For its appearance in Languedoc, see Débax, 'Le Serrement des mains: Élements pour une analyse du rituel des serments féodaux en Languedoc (XI^{e}—XII^{e} siècles)', *Le Moyen Âge*, cxiii (2007), 9–23 and H. Débax, 'L'aristocratie languedocienne et la société féodale: Le témoignage des sources (Midi de la France: XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles), in Bagge, Gelting and Lindkvist, *Feudalism*, pp. 77–100, at pp. 98–9. The earliest appearance of the word 'homage' in Europe comes from a *convenientia* in Catalonia datable to *c.*1021 (see A. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 42). For the spread of the word in general, see F. L. Ganshof, 'Note sur l'apparition du nom de l'hommage particulièrement en France', in *Aus Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festchrift für Gerhard Kallen zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. J. Engel and H. M. Klinkenberg (Bonn, 1957), pp. 29–41.

[23] This has been suggested before, by Garnett, *Conquered England*, pp. 75–6.

[24] S. Reynolds, 'Fiefs and Vassals after twelve years', in Bagge, Gelting and Lindkvist, *Feudalism*, pp. 15–26, at pp. 17–19.

Nor did William of Jumièges, who revised, rewrote and extended Dudo's work in the 1050s, and then again *c.*1070, use the words *hominium*, *homagium*.[27] For William, the key concept to define and conceptualize personal relationship was *fidelitas* – loyalty, rather than the performance of *homagium*. In the 1040s, Jumièges reported that the young Duke William had given his cousin, Guy, the castle of Brionne 'as a gift' in order to 'bind him more firmly in fealty (*fidelitas*)'. Guy later rebelled against William and was defeated at Val-ès-Dunes in 1047.[28] After his capture, the other lords (*optimates*) who had 'departed from the duke's *fidelitas*', returned to Duke William's peace: 'they bent their stiff necks to him as their lord (*ut domino suo*)'. When William of Jumièges resumed his work, probably after William's assumption of the English kingship, he still used the word *fidelitas*, never *homagium*. In 1064, Edward the Confessor sent Harold over to William to do 'fealty for his crown', which, according to William of Jumièges, he did: Harold returned, 'having done fealty (*facta fidelitate*) for the kingdom through many oaths'.[29]

Homagium or *hominium*, therefore, were not words used by either Dudo or William of Jumièges. They wrote of the performance of fealty,

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[25] For a similar position, see C. West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle,* c.*800*–c.*1100* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 196–8, 206–27. Ganshof, 'Note sur l'apparition', argues that the word appeared in the vernacular before its adoption in Latin; the variant forms: *hominaticum* in the south, as against *hominium*, *hominagium* or *homagium* in the north would suggest this, but further work is necessary. But the question is for how long had the word been in circulation? That William of Jumièges does not use it, despite its appearance in charters from the 1080s suggests, at that point, a short history in Normandy.

[26] Hyams, 'Homage and feudalism', pp. 42–8; K. Pennington, 'The formation of the jurisprudence of the feudal oath of fealty', *Rivista internazionale di diritto comune,* xv (2004), 57–76; K. Pennington, 'Feudal oath of fidelity and homage', in *Law as Profession and Practice in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honor of James A. Brundage,* ed. K. Pennington and M. Harris Eichbauer (Farnham, 2011), pp. 93–115; cf. M. Ryan, 'The oath of fealty and the lawyers', *Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. P. Canning and O. G. Oexle (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 211–28; West, *Reframing*, pp. 212–27.

[27] *GND*, I. xx–xxi.

[28] *GND*, II. 120–3.

[29] *GND*, II. 160.

fidelitas, and they described corporal rituals of submission but they did not invoke the notion of *homagium*, 'homage'. In this context, therefore, it is significant that Orderic Vitalis, writing predominantly between the 1120s and early 1140s, did use the words *homagium* or *hominium* in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*HE*) when describing ritual performances conducted in circumstances similar to those described by Dudo or William of Jumièges: the establishment of an heir, the making of peace, the giving of land. Orderic's adoption of the word *homagium* or *hominium* meant that a whole variety of obligations and privileges, which earlier chroniclers had signified either by the concept of *fidelitas* or by singular descriptions of each hand-having ritual, were discussed in Orderic as a single concept – homage. And this is significant: Orderic did not *alter* William of Jumièges's work to include the word 'homage' in his revisions of the *GND* (the bulk of which was completed by 1109), he only used it in his *HE*, begun later.[30]

Orderic, as stated above, used the word *homagium* and/or *hominium* in a wide variety of circumstances. First, he used 'homage' when a man was being acknowledged as another man's heir. High-status heirs gave, performed and received *hominium* or *homagium* in recognition of their position.[31] So, when, for example, Orderic reported that after William had installed Robert Curthose as his heir to Normandy (which he did both before and after the battle of Hastings), Robert received the homage and fealty of all the aristocracy (the *optimates*) of Normandy in recognition of his new status.[32] But when Robert Curthose, as a young man, received Maine, *he* did homage and swore fealty to Geoffrey le Barbu, count of Anjou.[33] In the former, homage was performed by great men to their future duke to secure their political allegiance, and thus the safe transference of the duchy to Robert; in the latter, Robert did homage to the new count of Anjou to confirm his new power over Maine, as prospective husband to the sister of Count Herbert of Maine, and thus his position in relation to the count of Anjou.[34] In both these accounts, Orderic used the word *homagium* or *hominium* in circumstances where previously Dudo and William of Jumièges would have used *fidelitas*.

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[30] Elisabeth van Houts has dated Orderic's last revision to *c.*1113; *GND*, I. lxviii.

[31] Orderic also records William Ætheling's receipt of homage in 1120 for the kingdom of England (*OV*, VI. 302). He also mentions the establishment of Ansold of Maule's first born son as heir, who receives the *homagium et fidelitatem* of the *equites* of Maule (*OV*, III. 184), and Richard's acceptance of homage and *fidelitas* in 943 after the death of William Longsword, after his father's death but before his father's burial. (*OV*, III. 306). For the phenomenon in general, see K. van Eickels, 'L'hommage des rois anglais et leurs héritiers aux rois français au XII^{e} siècle: subordination imposée ou reconnaissance souhaitée?', in *Plantagenêts et Capétiens: confrontations et héritages,* ed. M. Aurell and N.-Y. Tonnerre (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 377–85.

[32] *OV*, II. 356; see further *OV*, V. 298.

[33] *OV*, II. 304–6.

Yet, for Orderic, homage meant more than just its performance for present and future grants of inheritance.[35] Its performance also created permanent personal obligations of service and loyalty.[36] So when Orderic recorded William the Conqueror's death-bed speech in *HE*, he included William's reminiscences of the events of 1054, when Guy, count of Ponthieu, had joined the coalition that was launching an invasion of Normandy.[37] Guy was taken prisoner but one rebel, Count Ralph, escaped. Ralph had only been able to escape with the help of Roger, the commander of Duke William's army. Yet William, instead of being angry with his commander, apparently said that Roger had performed 'a beautiful and seemly service' (*pulchrum … et competens servitium*) by coming to his lord's aid and protecting Ralph in his castle, and then leading him off to safety in his own lands. He had done this because, noted Orderic, Ralph was Roger's lord: 'he had done homage to him sometime before' (*hominium enim iamdudum illi fecerat*). Although William exiled Roger, he rather surprisingly said that Roger had not been wrong to act as he had; indeed, Roger 'acted, as I believe, lawfully' – because he had exhibited the sort of loyalty that the performance of homage demanded. That the performance of homage, in Orderic's eyes, should result in permanent political loyalty also explains his interpretation of an event which occurred in 1104. On hearing that Robert Curthose was trying to dispose of his service, and hand him over to Henry I, William, count of Évreux, made a public plea, complaining that Robert Curthose was treating him as one would a 'horse or an ox'. Reasoning (and paraphrasing the Sermon on the Mount), Orderic had William proclaim that since he could not serve two masters (*domini*) who were against one another, he must choose one. He stated that he loved them both 'but I shall do homage to one of them, and him I shall serve lawfully as a lord'. His decision, although probably the result of some coercion from Henry I, was lauded by Orderic: he stated that Count William's renunciation was met with a round of applause and, following that, William committed himself to Henry I in public.[38]

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[34] *OV*, II. 304–6.

[35] See also the note in Garnett, *Conquered England*, p. 87, no. 30.

[36] See also *OV*, II. 84. See an interesting notice of an agreement between Richard fitz Ralph, and Richard, abbot of Saint-Pierre de Préaux, dated by Tabuteau to 1101 × 1106, in which land was returned to Richard fitz Ralph by the abbot, after it had been challenged, and Richard did homage 'in chapter' as recognition of this gift. But, in his oath, Richard promised the abbot that, if he was dispossessed legally of his land, he would no longer pay money to the abbot but would preserve his homage to him 'not seeking anything in exchange to be given from me to you'. This is commented on with a near-full transcription in Tabuteau, *Transfers*, pp. 199, 378 (no. 23, with transcription).

[37] *OV*, II. 88. See also William's complaints against Guy of Burgundy, who had sworn fealty and performed homage to him but had rebelled against him (*OV*, IV. 82–4).

For Orderic, homage was essentially a hierarchical tie, performed by one person who was, at the time of performance, in a subordinate position to the one who received it. As the examples above suggest, this even held for people like Robert Curthose. When Robert Curthose performed homage to Count Fulk of Anjou he stressed that Robert 'expended' (*impendit*) his 'debitum homagium' to Fulk 'lawfully, as a lesser man (*minor*) to a greater one (*maiori*)'.[39] Most importantly, the hierarchical relationship established by homage was permanent, or should be permanent, if everybody behaved as they should have done – if everyone did the 'right' thing (in Orderic's view). In the deathbed speech he put into the mouth of William the Conqueror, Orderic had William say that he regretted making all the *optimates* of Normandy perform homage to Robert Curthose as the act had permanently established Robert as his heir: because he 'was the firstborn son and because he received the homage (*hominium*) of nearly all the barons of this *patria*; thus granted, the honour cannot be withdrawn'.[40] It was Robert's position as first-born, combined with his receipt of homage, that made his inheritance of Normandy permanent, regardless of his moral failings.

The morality inherent in the exercise of good lordship, combined with the permanence of homage, required that those giving homage chose the recipient carefully. Over in Constantinople, Orderic recorded the argument between the Emperor Alexius (d. 1118) on one side and Godfrey of Bouillon and the count of Toulouse on the other over the non-appearance of supplies the emperor had promised them for their journey east. Before granting them this, Alexius had demanded homage (*hominium*) and fealty (*fidelitas*) from both men and their retinues. In particular, the count of Toulouse was particularly enraged because he perceived the emperor to be morally dubious. He was, eventually, persuaded to swear an oath of fealty to the emperor, maintaining his life and honour, but did not do homage, stating that 'he would never, ever, be forced into [performing] homage'.[41] An oath of *fidelitas* was specific and contextual; the performance of homage would have bound both men to the emperor in a permanent position of service and honourable subordination. This was also why Orderic alluded to – only once – the view that kings should not perform homage, when, in 1101, Robert Curthose released his younger brother, Henry, from the homage he had done to him long ago 'out of respect for his royal dignity'. Even this might not have been Orderic's assertion of a deeply held political principle, but a way of explaining away Henry's subsequent departure from the homage he had, apparently, performed to his elder brother, which was particularly important to do given the morality inherent in the relationship constructed by homage.[42]

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[38] *OV*, VI. 58; Matthew vi: 24; Luke xvi: 13.

[39] *OV*, II. 310 (translation, *OV*, II. 311, is 'as a vassal to his lord').

[40] *OV*, IV. 92.

[41] *OV*, V. 48.

Homage, therefore, mattered, and its consequences were, for Orderic, felt long after its performance. It also mattered more than *fidelitas*: for Orderic, *homagium* was the more binding and more significant act. While it was performed by men (often extremely high status, we have no examples of lower-status homage in Orderic) in return for land, this was not the only circumstance when it was received. Homage conferred the loyalty of a supposedly (or at least temporarily) inferior man to a superior and the consequences of so doing were meant to last, hence William the Conqueror's indignation on his deathbed about those who had not only sworn fealty to him but also performed homage, yet had still rebelled against him. In Orderic's *HE*, therefore, not only was homage used and invoked (where it is absent from the work of Dudo, William of Jumièges or from his own earlier work on the *GND*), it was also used in a hugely diverse yet fundamentally consistent way. Regardless of what it was performed for (whether land, supplies or political allegiance), the word *homagium* invoked notions of binding hierarchical ties that were supposed to control the political behaviour of high-status laymen, both when what was at stake was landholding and also when it was not.

The diversity in the relationships encapsulated by the word *homagium* or *hominium* in Orderic's *HE* contrasts with the much more consistent, but not contradictory, view in Robert of Torigni's *Chronica*. Robert is an important figure: he was elected prior of Le Bec in 1149 and then abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1154, a position he held until his death in 1186. He was closely connected with Henry II and his immediate family.[43] He was responsible for a redaction of the *GND*, adding an additional book and further interpolations to the redaction more recently continued and interpolated by Orderic. It is generally agreed that Robert had finished his work on the *GND* by the late 1130s, although he continued to correct it later in his life.[44] He is thought to have conceived of writing a universal *chronica* between 1147 and 1150; in its prologue, Robert stated that it was a conscious continuation (*continuare conobar*) of Sigebert of Gembloux's universal chronicle.[45] Robert extended Sigebert's *chronographia* in order to incorporate the English, Norman and Angevin kings into Sigebert's narrative of a universal, Christian, history. The text went through a number of redactions, which have been identified and described by Delisle (although his work will need to be revised after recent work by Pohl and Bisson's forthcoming new edition), and an 'official' version, which continued to 1184, was presented to Henry II.[46] With two exceptions, the word *hominium* or *homagium* appears only in the post-1147 part of the *Chronica*, that is, after Robert had begun to compile the text itself. Aside from these two exceptions, the earliest annal in which either word appears was 1151, while the latest was 1178. In sum, Robert used the word *hominium* or *homagium* a total of thirteen times and did so in order to describe relationships created in rather precise contexts, as will be shown below.

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[42] *OV*, V. 318. When, in *c.*1101, Orderic recorded Robert Curthose arriving in England, those who escorted him around Winchester were those 'who previously had done homage to him on another occasion' (*OV*, V. 314).

[43] E. M. C. van Houts, 'Le roi et son historien: Henri II Plantagenêt et Robert de Torigni, abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale,* xxxvii (1994), 115–18; see B. Pohl, '*Abbas qui et scriptor?*: the handwriting of Robert of Torigni and his scribal activity as abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (1154–1186)', *Traditio,* lxix (2014), 45–86, and B. Pohl, 'The date and context of Robert of Torigni's *Chronica* in London, British Library, Cotton MS. Domitian A. VIII, ff. 71r–94v', *Electronic British Library Journal*, article 1 (2016), available at: <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2016articles/article1.html> [accessed 31 Oct. 2016].

The two exceptions are both found in annals from the 1130s, when Robert was using version four of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (HA) as his main source.[47] Robert's use of and dependence on *HA* in the pre-1147 section of his *Chronica* is well known, even for those sections which Robert could easily have padded out (and, indeed, made more accurate) from his own redaction of the *GND*.[48] Yet when it came to personal relationships, Robert did make the odd small but significant change to the words Henry had used in the *HA*. In book ten, chapter four, Henry had recorded that, in 1136, Stephen met David I, king of Scots, at Durham, and restored

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[44] *GND*, I. lxxix–lxxx, cix; Pohl, '*Abbas qui et scriptor*?', pp. 58–64.

[45] Torigni, I, 93.

[46] Torigni, II. xiii. Although see the most recent work revising the redactions of the *Chronica*, Pohl, 'Date and context', p. 18.

[47] Robert stated in the prologue to his continuation that he was starting his work in 1100, on the accession of Henry I to the kingship of the English, and the year in which Sigebert's own chronicle ended. He explicitly said that he would make use of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*. Pohl has recently argued that Robert obtained a copy of Version 4 of *Historia Anglorum c.*1147 (see B. Pohl, 'When did Robert of Torigni first receive Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and why does it matter?', *HSJ*, xxvi (2015), 143–67).

[48] D. Bates, 'Robert of Torigni and the *Historia Anglorum*', in *The English and their legacy, 900–1200*, ed. D. Roffe (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 175–84. For the position that Robert may have attempted to commission a new copy (using BnFr MS. lat. 6042 as an exemplar?) for Mont-Saint-Michel as *abbot*, see Pohl, '*Abbas qui et scriptor*', pp. 65–7.

Newcastle to him. But, wrote Henry, David 'was not made the man of King Stephen (*homo regis Stephani non est effectus*) because he had been the first among all the laity to swear an oath to the king's daughter [Empress Matilda] that she would be maintained in England after the death of King Henry'. The *HA* continued: David's son Henry *was* made King Stephen's man (*homo regis effectus est*), and the king gave him Huntingdon in return.[49] Robert's account slightly summarizes Henry's account but there is no doubt he was using the *HA* as his source. All his summarized text can be traced back to Henry's. Robert's only innovation was to replace the words *homo regis* – king's man – with *hominium*, homage.[50] So, in Robert's account, David did not 'do homage' to Stephen 'because he was the first among all the laity to make an oath to the Empress', but Henry, his son, did perform this act. Whereas Henry of Huntingdon recorded that Henry became Stephen's *man*, Robert of Torigni stated that Henry had performed homage.

This was not the only occasion when Robert made this alteration to Henry of Huntingdon's text. In the very next chapter in his *HA*, Henry recorded the outcome of the 1137 agreement Stephen and his son, Eustace, made with Louis VII: Eustace was made the French king's man (*homo regis Francorum effectus est*) for Normandy 'which belongs to the *imperium* of the French'.[51] Yet Robert, again drawing on the *HA*, records that Eustace 'did homage' (*fecit ei hominium*) to Louis in 1137, and replaced the word *imperium* with *regnum* to describe French territorial authority.[52] In both cases, Robert emphasized that the ritual his source was describing should be understood by his reader as homage. There were, after all, similarities between Eustace's and Henry's positions: both were heirs to kings and kingdoms rather than full regnal title-holders and both owed their newly acquired territories (Huntingdon and Normandy) to the generosity of kings of kingdoms other than the ones they were supposed to inherit.[53]

These examples demonstrate that Robert of Torigni thought that homage should be performed for possession of a territorial unit which itself belonged to a higher political and territorial authority. Eustace gave homage for Normandy because Normandy belonged to the French *regnum*; Henry gave homage because Huntingdon belonged to the *regnum Angliae*. Homage performed for exactly the same reasons also appears in the post-1147 section of the *Chronica*, in sections composed by Robert himself. In October

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[49] Huntingdon, p. 706.

[50] Torigni, I. 201.

[51] Huntingdon, p. 708.

[52] Torigni, I. 207.

[53] It is of course no more than a coincidence that neither Eustace nor Henry actually succeeded to the kingdoms, which, in 1136 and 1137, they were each expected to do.

1160, Robert recorded that Henry II had spoken with Louis VII and that 'Henry, son of Henry, king of the English, did homage to the king of the French for the duchy of Normandy, which is of the kingdom of France (*qui est de regno Franciae*)'.[54] In a slightly different context, another example is equally indicative of this particular understanding of the circumstances which necessitated the performance of homage. Under the year 1156, Robert included a short description of the December 1158 peace-meeting between Henry II and Theobald, count of Blois. Here, among other matters, Rotrou, count of Perche, surrendered two castles to Henry II 'because they had been in the lordship of the duke of Normandy (*que erant dominia ducis Normannie*)' during the reign of Henry I. In return, Henry granted the castle of Bellême to Rotrou, who 'did homage (*homagium*) to the king because of this [grant]'.[55] For Robert, therefore, it was understandable in both cases that homage had been performed: Henry, heir to the duchy of Normandy, did homage to Louis VII, because Normandy was part of the French kingdom; Rotrou did homage for Bellême because it too was in the 'lordship of the duke of Normandy' as were the two castles he had recently surrendered.[56]

In these examples, Robert was not presenting homage in personal terms. Homage did not necessarily make the performer the receiver's *man*, the rite was merely due, and rightly due, because of a higher politico-territorial authority. In this, Robert's view of homage was different from Orderic's, who saw homage as creating a binding personal tie, which should affect the performer's subsequent political and social behaviour. But, although many of the homages explicitly mentioned in Robert's *Chronica* were for land belonging to a higher political unit, he also recorded some which were constitutive of personal – yet formal – relations. In a rather lengthy passage, Robert recorded that, in 1164, the position of Louis's steward was granted to Theobald, count of Blois. Robert noted that the position had, anciently, belonged to the count of Anjou but that in recent times Ralph de Péronne, count of the Vermandois, had served in the position, and had performed homage to the count of Anjou for it, as 'he was honouring a lord'.[57] Here, Robert explained Ralph's performance of homage through recourse to the concept of lordship.

Robert reported the performance of homage in one further context: homage performed in order to make peace or, in other words, homage performed as part of dispute settlement. This context for the performance of homage has received attention in more recent scholarship on the ritual, which has focussed mainly on the importance of *homagium de pace conservanda* for understanding and interpreting tenth-and eleventh-century accounts of 'homage' or (less anachronistically) the hand-having ritual and how it was performed in order to create or restore a relationship.[58] Performing homage in order to restore *amicitia* ('friendship') has been interpreted as serving the same function as paying compensation in order to avoid active vengeance. In both scenarios (compensation and homage), the temporary submission of one party results in the recreation of the previous status of both groups; one party temporarily loses face while the other gains it in order to restore a former equilibrium. In this way, the hierarchical aspect of homage, when used to settle disputes, also had strong 'elements of equality'.[59] Two parties were required in order to maintain order and, as such, the ritual brought honour on them both.

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[54] Torigni, I. 329.

[55] Torigni, I. 315.

[56] See also Richard's performance of homage for the duchy of Aquitaine and that of Henry, eldest son of Henry II, for Anjou and Brittany in 1169 to Louis VII; Torigni, II. 10.

[57] Torigni, I. 352.

In many ways, Robert's accounts of homage '*de pace tenenda*' (words he actually uses) fit well with this sort of analysis. But they also show that we do not need to see 'elements of equality' as somehow *surviving* within hierarchical relationships; the establishment of peace could easily fit in an explicitly hierarchical context. It was not a presence of equality which brought both parties together, but the need to return to a previous order, a previous social equilibrium which was itself hierarchical. Robert was well aware that homage could be performed in order to make peace; indeed, he even stated that Mael Coluim IV, king of Scots, performed homage to Henry, son of Henry II, 'in order to keep the peace' (*de pace tenenda*).[60] But Robert did not see equality within this peace-making; rather, he saw homage as the means by which asymmetric relationships – in which one party was of recognizably higher status than the other – could be reaffirmed and maintained. Thus, Robert recorded that the count of Toulouse had done homage to Henry II and his son, Richard, duke of Aquitaine, as part of the peace deal struck between them in 1173. But this peace agreement clearly showed Henry II in a more dominant position: the count was to give the king forty high-value horses each year and, if required, 100 knights to serve for forty days on campaign.[61] For Robert of Torigni, when kings performed homage, even to keep the peace, it was because they were of lesser status than the person receiving it. Torigni reported that Mael Coluim, king of Scots, did homage to Henry, son of Henry II (the future Henry the Young King), in 1163, and gave him hostages (including his youngest brother, David, and the 'sons of his barons') in order, recorded Robert, 'to keep the peace and for his castles'.[62] In both examples, the performance of homage merely affirmed the subordinate position of the count of Toulouse and the king of Scots in the eyes of Robert of Torigni; the horses and hostages which were handed over were the permanent reminders of their position.

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[58] See, among many, Hyams, 'Homage and feudalism', pp. 26–34, and those cited in nn. 8–11, above.

[59] The quotation is from Roach, p. 366.

[60] Torigni, I. 345; homage *de pace conseveranda* formula appears in *Summa de Legibus*, written between 1230s and 1250s (*Coutumiers de Normandie: Textes Critiques*, ed. E.-J. Tardif (2 vols., Paris, 1896), I. 94–5). It is of note that Robert of Torigni only states that Mael Coluim did homage to Henry, son of Henry (and this before Henry was crowned and anointed), perhaps to further underline his views of the Scottish king's position vis-à-vis Henry II, and that he did not mention the homage of the Welsh kings, who were also, according to Diss, present at Woodstock (Ralph of Diss, *Imagines Historiarum*, s.a. 1163, in *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., 1876), I. 311).

Robert's account of the homage performed by William the Lion, king of Scots, to Henry II at York in August 1175 also indicates that Robert understood that homage *de pace tenenda* was concerned with the expression of superior authority over another. Robert wrote that 'the king of Scotland made peace (*pacificatus est*) with the king of England' by performing homage and *ligantia* (bound allegiance or, rather clumsily, 'ligeancy' in English), and by also granting that the bishops, abbots, earls and barons of his kingdom should do the same.[63] Robert then added that, because 'it was not fitting' for bishops and abbots to perform homage, they bound themselves by an oath which established them as 'subjects of the church of York and its archbishop, and [they] would go to him when they needed to consecrate [a Scottish bishop], however many times it should be necessary'. Robert here was going beyond even the terms of the (harsh) 1174 Treaty of Falaise, which set out the peace arrangements between Henry II and William the Lion.[64] The treaty itself had actually fluffed the issue of Scottish episcopal subjection to York, and the issue had been raised again at an assembly held at Northampton in 1176 but, again, nothing firm was there decided.[65] In addition, Robert added that Henry II would now be in charge of giving all episcopal honours, abbacies and 'other honours' in Scotland (or that such patronage would be bestowed only with his counsel).[66] This was nowhere mentioned in the Treaty of Falaise. Robert's view of the significance of

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[61] Torigni, II. 35.

[62] Torigni, I. 345.

[63] Torigni, II. 56–7.

[64] The Treaty of Falaise is printed in *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174–1328: Some Selected Documents*, ed. E. L. G. Stones (Oxford, 1970).

[65] For the most recent treatment of this, see D. Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 101–57.

[66] Torigni, II. 57.

William's pacification (probably representing that of the Angevin court) was, therefore, inaccurate, but that it is not the point. What is significant is his clear interpretation of the performance of homage by an incumbent king as a subordination of one royal authority to another.

The concept of hierarchy ran throughout each of Robert's mentions of homage, but did so in potentially conflicting ways. Homage performed for land within another authority was presented by Robert as profoundly impersonal and conceptual: it was performed because of the existence of a wider *regnum* and no personal subordinate service seemed to be owed as a result. This was no doubt tendentious, as we shall see, not least because Robert was also aware that homage could be personal, exacted as a result of lordship, and therefore entailing subordination, even if honourable subordination. It is clear that Robert understood the Angevins' homages for their territories in France clearly in the first category and, as will be shown below, used some interesting textual tactics in trying to hide any homage they performed which might belong in the second category. The problem of a king of the English doing homage caused particular problems for Robert of Torigni, made even more problematic by the existence of two anointed kings of the English from June 1170. Crucially, Robert recorded none of the homages that other chroniclers reported these two kings performing to the French kings.

Robert obscured the concept of homage when writing about the relationship between Henry II on one side and Louis VII and Philip Augustus on the other.[67] In 1169, when Henry II met Louis at Montmirail, Robert merely recorded that 'the king of the French and the king of the English made an agreement', and then went on to state that Henry, Henry II's acknowledged heir did homage for Anjou and Brittany (he had already, stated Robert, performed homage for Normandy), while Richard did homage to Louis for the duchy of Aquitaine.[68] But, as recently shown by John Gillingham, this meeting was understood by John of Salisbury to have also witnessed a confirmation of the homage (*hominium*) Henry had performed to Louis in 1151, before he had become king, which Robert did not mention.[69] Most strikingly, however, Robert completely ignored Henry II's performance of *homagium et ligantia* to Philip Augustus on 6 December 1183, an event whose significance for future Anglo-French relations has recently been emphasized, again by Gillingham.[70] Roger of Howden recorded that Henry had 'never before wished to do homage to Philip, king of France'; by contrast, Robert of Torigni's thoughts are noticeable only in their absence. In addition, Robert never recorded any of Henry the Young King's homages after his consecration as king of the English in June 1170. He only included the homages Henry performed to Louis VII as a *filius regis*, his father's acknowledged heir, which clearly posed fewer problems for him. Van Eickels has recently shown that having an heir perform homage was indeed interpreted as strengthening that heir's position, and was thus sought rather than resisted.[71] In Robert of Torigni's *Chronica*, however, no king of the English performed homage to the king of the French for their holdings which belonged to the *regnum Francie*.

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[67] These are discussed in detail in Gillingham, 'Doing homage', pp. 71–80.

[68] Torigni, II. 10.

[69] Gillingham, 'Doing homage', pp. 72–6.

[70] Gillingham, 'Doing homage', pp. 77–80.

Was there something in Robert's understanding of homage which caused him to omit these performances? After all, other chroniclers made different choices. Roger of Howden had no such qualms in describing the homage performed by Henry II to Philip Augustus, and commented on its novelty.[72] It was also possible, as John of Salisbury had done in a letter describing the homages of Henry II and his son, Henry, at Montmirail in 1169, to highlight the different significance and meaning of the homage performed. But Robert chose not to do this; instead, he chose to ignore those rituals which he clearly found politically difficult. But why? Robert's attachment to Henry II, his family, and the Angevin cause in Normandy and England is well known.[73] It might be understandable that Robert would wish to avoid stating directly any homages performed by Henry II or Henry the Young King to Louis VII or Philip Augustus. But, accepting this argument would necessarily assume that Robert was aware of the potential political implications of English kings doing homage to the king of France which, as Gillingham and Van Eickels have recently reminded us, were not fundamentally part of political discourse until, at the very earliest, the 1180s, only a few years before Robert of Torigni died and at which point work on maintaining his *Chronica* had dramatically ceased.[74] Was Robert of Torigni's understanding of the potential political significance of homage therefore slightly ahead of its time?

We know that Robert had long been interested in such rituals and gestures. One of the sources used for his work on the *GND* was a text known as the *Brevis Relatio* (*BR*), which Elisabeth van Houts has shown was composed by an anonymous monk of Battle Abbey 1114 x 1120.[75] When exactly Robert came across the *BR*, and at what point he incorporated some of its contents into the *GND,* is not clear but it must have occurred before Robert finished his work on the *GND*, which he is generally agreed to have done by the late 1130s, even if he continued to make corrections to it long afterwards.[76] Robert made quite substantial use of the *BR*, using its material particularly for the book he added onto the *GND* which focused on life of Henry I, and also for a series of tales appended to its end, known as the *Additamenta*.[77] One of the anecdotes in the *Additamenta* copied by Robert from the *BR* was the putative agreement made in *c.*945 between Louis d'Outremer and Richard I of Normandy. The treaty was supposed to have fixed the boundaries of Normandy and, in addition, stipulated that the *comes Normannie* would do no service to the French king for his land of Normandy, nor would he serve him for anything else, save for land he might hypothetically hold within the French royal demesne (*in Francia*). For this, wrote the author of the *BR*, the 'count of Normandy does (*facit*) such homage to the French king and swears fealty for his life and earthly honour'.[78] The switch into the continuous present is notable. It is also used in the next sentence in the *BR*: 'in the same way, the French king does fealty to the count of Normandy both for his life and earthly honour and nothing further separates (*nichil aliud differt*) them save that the king of France does not do homage to the count of Normandy as the count of Normandy does to the French king'.

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[71] Van Eickels, 'L'hommage des rois anglais'.

[72] *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, (2 vols., 1867), I. 306.

[73] Van Houts, 'Le roi et son historien', pp. 115–18.

[74] Gillingham, pp. 77–80; van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt*, pp. 393–8. Although Pohl has recently argued that Brit. Libr., Cotton MS. Domitian A VIII was produced shortly after 1182 (Pohl, 'Date and context', pp. 17–18).

It has long been acknowledged that if an agreement had been made in *c.*945, the author of the *BR* rewrote its terms to fit that of his own time and political agenda.[79] But what is important here is that Robert copied the summary of the agreement into his *Additamenta* to the *GND*. Robert *also* wrote in the *GND* that 'nothing further separates them save that the king of France does not do homage to the *comes Normannie*'.[80] This is important. The homage described in the *BR* set out one view of the relationship between the 'count' of Normandy and the king of France. It was only the performance of homage, wrote the author of the *BR* and Robert after him, which separated count from king. In all other matters, king and count were equals; the count owed no service to the king. This has been seen as a rather strident statement that the count/duke of Normandy was an equal to the French king.[81] But it could also be considered differently. Although the author of the *BR* may not have agreed, the passage also bears the interpretation that it was the king's receipt of homage that made him a king and, conversely, made the count a count, not a king. Knowledge not only of the *BR* but also the possible implications of its statement on the significance of homage can explain Robert's presentation of *hominium* and *homagium* in his *Chronica*.[82] Homage denoted a hierarchy of territory and rank that Robert could acknowledge when those who gave homage were dukes, counts or other lords. But when those who did homage were kings and, moreover, *his* kings, their performance of the ritual had to be hidden beneath the text. Robert's Angevin kings did not do homage for their duchies and counties, for performing that ritual would have made them less than kings.

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[75] *BR*, pp. 5–48.

[76] *GND*, I. lxxix–lxxx.

[77] *GND*, I. lxxxiv–lxxxv, lxxxix–xc; II. 280–9.

[78] *BR*, p. 45.

[79] *GND*, II. 286, no. 3.

[80] *GND*, II. 286.

Robert's view of homage in his *Chronica*, therefore, may well have in part sprung from assessing and thinking about the implications of its presentation in the *BR*. As Benjamin Pohl has recently emphasized, Robert's was a truly intertextual world but that intertextuality was dependent, even for a man who became such a well-connected abbot, on practicality and availability.[83] Use of a text, as Robert used the *BR*, therefore meant something; it was not automatic and it was not unconscious. The account of the significance of homage for the relationships between the duke of Normandy and king of France may have served the interests of the duke in the *Brevis Relatio* but, for Robert, who structured time in his *Chronica* according to the regnal years of three kings – of the Romans, of the French and of the English – it may have had the opposite effect, thus producing the rather limited and strained use of the words *hominium* and *homagium* in his *Chronica*.

None of this means that Robert's view of homage was entirely different from Orderic's. It was not: both saw homage as primarily a hierarchical act which fixed the participants in a binding asymmetric relationship with one another. But Orderic saw homage – *hominium, homagium* – as an emptier vessel than Robert, because it carried fewer profound political implications but more profound moral ones. For Orderic, the performance of homage should be profoundly personal: if the intended recipient was unworthy, as Emperor Alexius was deemed to be, homage should not be given.[84] And this personal element may also explain his allusion to a political theory of homage in his work; Orderic presents only Henry I as acquitted from obligations imposed by the performance of homage out of respect, apparently, for his royal dignity. One should not need to enter into the world of sibling rivalry to critique this account, suggesting instead that, *because* Orderic saw homage as having such profound moral, permanent and hierarchical consequences, he needed a reason to exonerate Henry I, and his position as king provided both the problem and the solution. For if homage had been performed, it should determine future political and social behaviour. This view of homage is not necessarily that dissimilar to Robert's; however, Robert consciously provides us with a much more limited view. Robert was clearly aware that the performance of homage could be interpreted in such personal terms but he focused on those controlled and controllable acts whose significance only served to strengthen the authority of his fundamental subjects, which were, despite his use of the genre of the universal chronicle, the king of the English, the duke of the Normans, and the events in England and Normandy.[85]

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[81] Lot, *Fidèles ou vassaux*, pp. 230–1, 234–5; also Hollister, 'Normandy, England', pp. 229–31.

[82] If Robert did form this view of homage early, after reading the *BR*, it may explain the absence of ch. 17–21 from Book VIII of his redaction of the *GND*, chapters which would have focused on the relationship (and perhaps the performance of homage) of Henry I and Louis VI. The Leiden manuscript (UB BPL 20) has two folios missing from it (between fos. 25v and 26r) and no other manuscript of Robert's *GND* preserves them (*GND*, I. lxxxvi–vii). It must be admitted that this is mere speculation, however.

[83] Pohl, 'When did Henry of Huntingdon first receive Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*', pp. 165–7

But both Orderic and Robert wrote about a concept – homage. They did not describe its performance and, arguably, they did not have to, because they, unlike Dudo or William of Jumièges, had a lexical concept with which to work. The first point to come out of this enquiry is thus that homage was a relatively new concept for our Norman chroniclers; William of Jumièges, writing *c.*1070, did not use it but Orderic Vitalis did, when writing between 1120s and 1140s.[86] While the ritual the word embodied is attested earlier, the single-word concept itself was new, and Orderic's *HE* in particular reveals the wide variety of uses to which it was put. Charter evidence suggests that *homagium* appeared in Normandy towards the end of the eleventh century, and more work is required to sharpen that impression. Why a new Latin word was needed to describe this ritual in the late eleventh and early twelfth century is a much bigger subject, and one for another occasion. But it is worth stressing here that Orderic and Robert of Torigni were writing with words which were not used by earlier writers. Orderic and Robert may have used *homagium* for relationships which William of Jumièges had bound together by *fidelitas*. Orderic and Robert also used *fidelitas* but they saw *homagium* as adding something more; it constructed new relationships. That neither Orderic nor Robert *changed* the words of the much earlier Dudo or William of Jumièges or the earlier sections of Henry of Huntingdon's *HA* to reconceptualize past events as *homage* – though Robert did exactly this to Henry's more contemporary sections of the *HA* – poses interesting questions as to why. Were these much earlier works seen as having fixed and stable position as *the* written authorities on the earlier Norman past (which makes the vernacular and works of Gaimar and Wace look much more revolutionary than they do even at present)? Or can it be explained through an unconscious acknowledgement that *homagium* was new in the twelfth century, and so an inappropriate word to use for the early eleventh century (regardless of whether Dudo, William of Jumièges or even Henry of Huntingdon was being used), but perfectly fine to substitute in Henry's accounts of the 1130s. These questions need further development. But the overall point that *homagium*, unlike *fidelitas,* was, by the time both writers were working, primarily a lay relationship (at least one of the parties had to be a layman) may well explain its relatively sudden appearance in the lexicon used by these twelfth-century monastic authors.[87] Strictly speaking, therefore, it is anachronistic to write of the performance of homage in the tenth century.

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[84] *OV*, V. 48.

[85] Torigni, I. 93–4. The author has benefited much from reading and supervising Gabriele Passabi's MA thesis (King's College, London, 2015) on genre in Robert of Torigni's *Chronica*.

[86] The point that *homagium* or *hominium* was a new term in the late 11th/early 12th century has been noted before but its significance is still not entirely understood (see Ganshof, 'Note sur l'apparition', and also acknowledged in J. Gillingham, 'The introduction of Knight service into England', repr. in his *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 187–208, at p. 205).

The other point to stress here is how that ritual of homage was interpreted and its significance understood. Van Eickels has recently reminded us that, although homage remained a crucial ritual over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, its significance changed.[88] Starting in the later twelfth century, it came to have a tighter, more inflexible meaning, which also relied on the authority of written documentation to control the expectations which were confirmed rather than created by the performance of homage. The result of this shift was that performance of homage came to denote hierarchical relations over territories (what earlier generations of historians would have easily called feudo-vassalic relations). Gillingham has recently characterized the shift as 'from ritual to written record'.[89] But, earlier in the twelfth century, homage was a more flexible ritual which did not damage the status of the kings of England in the eyes of their contemporaries; indeed, it increased their status if their heirs performed homage to the king of France.

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[87] For this, see the important remarks in Hyams, 'Homage and feudalism', pp. 42–8, and in West, *Reframing*, pp. 206–27.

[88] Van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt.*

[89] Gillingham, 'Doing homage', p. 83.

What this discussion adds to this body of work is to illuminate the existence of a lively discourse on the meaning of homage in the works of monastic and clerical chroniclers which was present throughout the twelfth century. Although Orderic and Robert both saw homage as a creating and/or confirming a hierarchical relationship, they both, in different ways and with different intensity, attempted to control how readers viewed the significance of its performance. Homage, in twelfth-century Normandy, was both an empty and a full term:[90] empty because it carried no particular obligation between the *minor* and the *maior* other than generic loyalty and obligation but full because it could include any form of relationship between the performers. Despite recording the relationship, neither Orderic nor Robert often recorded the ritual.[91] What went on at the ritual itself was clearly not the point for either of them (although it was important in the eyes of others): what was important to control was the interpretation of relationships the performance of homage had constructed. The 'danger' of interpreting the accounts of rituals recorded only in controlling and limiting texts has long been acknowledged by medievalists, mainly as a result of the work of Philippe Buc.[92] But the dangers of ignoring the aftermath of the performance of homage were just as, if not more, important as the ritual itself. The examples of homage in Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni show not simply that homage was a 'flexible rite' over the twelfth century, as has more recently been acknowledged, but that it was a fundamental and controversial part of political discourse more broadly, in which different chroniclers had different views about its significance and function. How far, if at all, the work of vernacular chroniclers and writers contain a similar spectrum of views must be developed in a longer study. What can be said here is that, although homage may have been a new single-word concept for twelfth-century Norman chroniclers, their grappling with and interpretation of its meaning is one entry into contemporary political discourse.

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[90] Echoing J. W. Scott, 'Gender: a useful category of historical analysis', *American Historical Review*, xci (1986), 1053–75.

[91] When Orderic did describe the ritual, it is of note that he did not call it homage (see, e.g., *OV*, II. 80–3).

[92] P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); P. Buc, 'Ritual and interpretation: the early medieval case', *Early Medieval Europe*, ix (2000), 183–210.

13. Weights and measures in the Norman-Swabian kingdom of Sicily

Mario Rosario Zecchino

Inroduction

The subject of systems of weights and measures is a complex and slippery one, the more so because it is closely connected to the even more complicated topic of the coinage system. This short contribution is limited to a twenty-year period: the final two decades of the life of Emperor Frederick II, a time which marked the high point of the kingdom founded a century earlier by the Norman Roger II, Frederick's grandfather. Two specific sources from that time have been taken into account. The first is prescriptive: the famous Constitution enacted by Frederick II in Melfi in August 1231, which was made to regulate the economic, social and institutional life of the southern kingdom, but was also thought relevant to the entire German-Roman empire, given the many grandiloquent political-theological statements that it contains.

The second, much less known, source is descriptive: the *Quaternus excadenciarum Capitinate,* a survey of specific state properties located in the *Giustizierato of Capitanata*. It is undated, but was certainly drawn up between 1249 and 1250 in the last year of Frederick's life. Preserved in Montecassino Archive, the text was published for the first time in the early part of the last century, having been left out of Huillard-Bréholles' monumental work *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, despite his making extensive use of the rich material available at the abbey of Montecassino.

Having established the documentary and chronological boundaries of the present contribution, it is also indispensable to place the history of weights and measures in a context going back to ancient times. It is a complex story, and one that is not easy to summarize, since it develops within the processes whereby human communities evolve. It can be said that it has as its starting date the passage from a primordial barter economy to an economy based on an exchange system, focused on the conventional reference values. Weights, measures and coins are part of this system. There are references to weights and measures, with the warning against forgery in Leviticus,[1] and also in the book of Proverbs, Ezekiel and Deuteronomy. There has always been careful attention to the issue of forgery due to its impact on social order and peace. Weights and measures therefore passed through an initial spontaneous phase and evolved into systems which, thanks to the evolution of social organization, were able to guarantee at least the lowest standards of certainty and reliability by pragmatically selecting a workable level of operation. The established powers have always tried, unsuccessfully, to keep the regulation of weights and measures within their sphere of competence.

Since antiquity it has been a widespread custom to keep samples of weights and measures in temples, as a guarantee of their integrity; housed in temples they were surrounded by a sort of sacredness. In our time, ancient specimens are looked after with great care. In 1960 the General Conference of Weights and Measures, which established the International System of Measure Units, decided that the preservation of the kilogramme prototype would be guaranteed by the International Bureau of Weights and Measures in Sèvres, France.

For the measurement of lengths, primordial systems took as reference parts of the human body: the foot, palm, thumb, inch, ell and *tesa* (that is, the distance between the two ends of a stretched arm). For capacity, the tools used daily to contain or to carry liquids or goods: the cup, flask, demijohn, barrel, 'staio', 'salma', 'moggio' and so on. The first materials used were stones and pebbles for weighing and, for smaller quantities, seeds of wheat or carob (from which comes the present carat unit of measure of jewels).

In Rome, the first coin was the *aes*, that is the bronze *pondus*, exchanged according to its weight. Even today, we can find these ancient terms in our nomenclature: the English *pound,* the American *pound* as a measure of weight and the old Spanish *peseta* all originate from the Latin *pondus.* The German *mark* and the Greek *dracma* come from ancient weight units, and the *lira*, still used in many countries, came from the Latin *libra,* balance. In Italy, the *libra* has mostly been used as a weight measure, together with its submultiples: the ounce and the grain (the last one was based on the weight of a grain of corn). The Anglo-Saxon countries, after the Roman conquest, were similarly influenced. And, in the eleventh century, the Norman Conquest did not result in any modification of the existing weights and measures. Although William the Conqueror's supposedly explicit pronouncement on the subject is now regarded as apocryphal, everyone accepts that the rulers were always concerned with these issues.[2] Clause thirty-five of Magna Carta states: 'Let there be one measure of wine throughout our realm, and one measure of corn, namely the London quarter, and one width of cloth whether dyed, russet, or halberjet, namely two ells within the selvedges. Let it be the same with weights as with measures'.[3] A long process, made up of evolving and increasingly international conventions, has resulted in our modern global world, with its fairly uniform, or at least easily comparable, measurement systems.

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[1] 'Do not commit iniquities in judgement, in length, weight and capacity measures. Do have a right balance, with right scales, a right ephah, a right hin. I am your own God who let you escape from Egypt. Do observe my laws and my precepts and put them into practice. I am the Lord' (Leviticus XIX:35–7).

Weights and measures in Frederick II's Constitution

The Norman-Swabian monarchy was born with the strongly centralizing tendencies inherited from its founder Roger II. This trend was further emphasized by Frederick II, with his authoritarian proclivities derived from his being both king of Swabia and Holy Roman Emperor. This chapter will analyse his centre-oriented ordinances concerning weights and measures and will try to verify its actual impact upon the kingdom's daily life, relying above all on the *Quaternus excadenciarum Capitinate*.

We have already seen how the tendency towards the uniformity of weights and measures was typical of each established power, in order both to support the kingdom's trade and to demonstrate competence within the territory ruled. Frederick's concern with these issues was an aspect of his well-known inclination to involve himself in all matters. We know that leading scientists and scholars were asked to clarify for him how to measure the heights of towers and mountains. To satisfy his curiosity, great scientists, such as Michael Scot and Leonardo Fibonacci, were obliged to undertake difficult calculations using the astrolabe. The first of these calculations, recorded in Scot's *Liber introductorius*, refers to other tools for measurement, such as the abacus, the perch divided into ten feet, and the scales. In another work, *Astronomia* or *Liber particularis*, dedicated to 'Frederick emperor of Rome', Scot clearly refers to the compass *per calamitam scitur ubi est tramontana cum acu*.[4] In this political-cultural environment, the third book of Frederick's Constitution laid down three specific rules on weights and measures.

The first of these (*titulus* 50), imposed an obligation, stating that:

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[2] For continuity, see J. Hudson, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, II: 871–1216* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 21, 152–3, 167, 256–8.

[3] For a recent translation, see N. Vincent, *Magna Carta: the Foundation of Freedom 1215–2015* (2015), p. 185.

[4] P. Morpurgo and L. Travaini, 'Pesi e misure', in *Federico II. Enciclopedia fridericiana*, (3 vols., Rome, 2005–8), II. 496 ss.

> We desire that all the merchants of our kingdom should sell their merchandise using the same weights and measures in goods large and small and using the same ells that our court has given them ... We also enjoing by the present constitution that those who sell pieces of cloth in the future should no longer divide them unless they increase the size of the cloth on their own side, but without cutting any part off. They will have care to sell their pieces of cloth as they can do so to better convenience the buyer, without employing any fraud or trickery.[5]

The second (*titulus* 51) set down sanctions for transgressors:

> We desire that sellers should sell all their merchandise at legitimate weights and measures. But if anyone has been found to have acted falsely or to have committed other frauds in weights or measures or in ells or to have cut something from a piece of cloth, he should pay one pound of the purest gold to our fisc. If the person condemned cannot pay this amount, he should be publicy beaten through the land in which he committed the fraud, with the weight or measure hung around his neck for a punishment and as an example to others. If he is apprehended a second time in the same fraud, his hand should be amputated. If he has repeated his crime a third time, we order him to be hanged.[6]

The third (*titulus* 52) guaranteed special protection to foreigners:

> We desire that the penalties contained in our constitutions against merchants selling corrupt and forbidden merchandise or selling at false measures and ells and weights should be doubled when foreigners have been deceived by them. We desire that our defence and knowledge should take the place of their weakness and ignorance.[7]

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[5] *Liber Constitutionum in Federico II. Enciclopedia fridericiana,* III, p. 198. *Mercatores quoslibet regni nostri sub eisdem ponderibus et mensuris in rebus magnis et minimis et sub eisdem cannis quas ipsis curia nostra dederit vendere volumus merces suas ... Illud etiam presenti nostre constitutioni coniungimus ut vendentes pannos in posterum ipsos ultra non distrahant abstrahant nisi quantum canna protenditur sed sine abstractionis alicuius aliqua violentia sicut melius cum emptore poterint convenire nulla alia fraude vel machinatione adhibita pannos ipsos vendere procurabunt.* For these English translations the author has relied on *The 'Liber Augustalis' or Constitutions of Melfi Promulgated by the Emperor Frederick II For the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231*, trans. J.M. Powell (Syracuse, N.Y., 1971), pp. 135–6.

[6] *Liber Constitutionum* in *Federico II. Enciclopedia fridericiana*, III, 198: *Ad legitima pondera et mensuras merces quaslibet vendere volumus venditores. Quicunque vero falsitatem aut fraudem aliam in mensuris seu ponderibus vel cannis inventus fuerit commisisse aut qui pannos extraxerit libram unam auri purissimi fisco nostro componat quam si dare non poterit condemnatus cum pondere aut mensura ad collum eius appensis in sui penam et aliorum exemplum per terram in qua fraudem commiserit publice fustigetur: manum eius deinde si secundo fuerit deprehensus in simili decernimus amputandam et si tercio iteraverit ipsum suspendi iubemus.*

[7] *Liber Constitutionum* in *Federico II. Enciclopedia fridericiana,* III, 198: *Penas contra mercatores corruptas merces et vetitas seu ad falsas mensuras cannas et pondera distrahentes nostris constitutionibus prestitutas peregrinis deceptis ab eis volumus duplicari defensionem*

Concerning the first of these regulations, it is interesting to read the annotation of Matteo D'Afflitto (*c.*1450–*c.*1523), the last great annotator of the *Liber Augustalis*, as Frederick's Constitution is commonly called. D'Afflitto explained the meaning of the obligation to use only weights and measures provided by *curia regis*: 'all traders must use just weights and measures and canes, *marcate marco regiae curiae,* so that king's subjects cannot be cheated'.[8] As Du Cange explained, *marcum* was the red-hot iron used in ancient times to imprint indelible marks.[9] It seems likely therefore that *marcate marco* would mean that weights and measurements had to be certified, receiving some sort of stamp, as a mark of the original approval of the *curia regis*.

The increasing strictness of the sanctions against counterfeiters and transgressors, provided for in the reported rules, gives us an understanding of the gravity with which Frederick regarded such behaviour. The death penalty was generally reserved to particularly serious crimes, including those of *lèse-majesté*, which was conceptually so vague that he made discretionary use of it in extreme cases. Having provided for it in cases of recidivism relating to fraudulent misuse of measures, it is significant that such behaviour was considered to be extremely offensive to the *maiestas regia*.

Biagio da Morcone, a fourteenth-century jurist and one of the most important scholars of the differences between Roman and Lombard law, when comparing Lombard legislation with Norman–Swabian legislation, pointed out that the more severe punishments in the latter were due to a strongly centralizing evolution of the concept of power. They demonstrate a clear definition of what were deemed to be specifically royal prerogatives, which were considered inalienable and the essential core of that power.[10] But these severe sanctions also testify to the great attention paid by Frederick to fair trading exchanges and to the protection of good faith, considered with good reason to be essential for economic wealth and development.

As we have noted above, the rules in Frederick's Constitution are penal laws that do not contain any information about what the weights and

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etenim conscientiam nostram succedere volumus loco imbecillitatis et ignorantie predictorum.

[8] *Omnes mercatores regni tam in rebus magnis, quam in rebus minimis, debent negotiari sub eisdem ponderibus, et mensuris, et sub eisdem cannis; et ista pondera, et cannas debent recipere a regia curia, scilicet, marcatas marco regiae Curiae* (M. D'Afflitto*, In utriusque Siciliae Neapolisque Sanctiones et Constitutiones novissima Praelectio* (Venice, 1562), p. 194).

[9] Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (9 vols., Niort, 1883–7; repr., Bologna, 1981), v. 272.

[10] Biagio da Morcone, *De differentiis inter ius longobardorum et ius romanum* (Naples, 1912), p. 56.

measures imposed in the kingdom actually were: *quas curia nostra dederit*. Therefore, in September 1231, only one month after the promulgation of the Constitution, an implementing provision was issued in order to fill this gap, and notified to all the justiciars as a *littera generalis*. We know this from the chronicle of Richard of San Germano, one of the most valuable and reliable sources for Frederick's reign, which reported that: *Mense Septembri aput Sanctum Germanum, sicut per totum Regnum, pondera et mensure mutantur, ponuntur rotuli et tumini.*[11] Thus, Frederick (significantly named *immutator mundi*) innovated (*mutat*), even in the field of weights and measures. In fact, he decided to introduce, *per totum Regnum*, units of measurement which were later used only in Sicily, as an inheritance from the time of Arab domination. The new measures of weight and surface are the 'rotolo' and the 'tumino'. Carlo Alberto Garufi, editor of the chronicle, explained that '"rotolo" … from the Arabic word *ratl* or *ritl*, *libra* or *litra*, is a measure of weight equivalent to about twelve ounces, with the same shape of the Attic mines'. The other word *tuminu* or *tumminu*, used for surface and dry volume measures, also derives from the Arabic word *thumn*.[12]

The golden pound (*libbra*) is mentioned in six provisions of the Constitution (book 1, sections 59 and 84; book 2, section 34; book 3, sections 6, 49, 51). In fact, the payment of one golden pound is the penalty inflicted for several illegal acts. The definition of the golden pound's nature and weight is a difficult question. From a classic work about medieval coinage, *Medieval European Coinage* by Philip Grierson and Lucia Travaini, we know that in the middle ages the word 'pound' had two meanings: a weight standard ('as the local weight standard, which in Naples can be taken as 320.76 g., with an *oncia* [ounce] 26.73 g. each of which was divided into thirty *trappesi* of 0.89 g.'); and as a money of account which in Naples was equivalent to eight ounces ('each of thirty *trappesi*, making the pound of 240 *trappesi*').[13] Kowalski, who made an extensive study of Swabian metrology, however assigned a value of 318.60 grams to the pound and a value of 26.55 grams to the ounce.[14] Traviani later seemed to accept Kowlaski's calculation.[15]

The difference between the values established by Grierson's and Travaini's

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[11] Ryccardi de Sancto Germano, *Chronica,* ed. C. A. Garufi, (Bologna, 1938), p. 176.

[12] Ryccardi de Sancto Germano, *Chronica*, p. 176, n. 2.

[13] P. Grierson and L. Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage: with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. 14 Italy III: South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 466.

[14] H. Kowalski, 'Zu Metrologie und zu den Beizichen der Augustalen, Realen and Tari', *Revue belge de numismatique*, cxvii (1971), 133–60, at p. 149.

[15] L. Travaini, *Monete e storia nell'Italia medievale* (Rome, 2007), p. 298, n. 6; Morpurgo and Travaini, 'Pesi e misure', II. 496 ss.

Glossary and those established by Kowalski with regard to the pound-weight can be explained by the different value assigned to the basic unit, that is the *trappeso*. In the first case the value of the *trappeso* was taken to be 0.89 grams (and so, as the ratio *tarì*/ounce is one-thirtieth, the value of the latter is 26.73 grams); in the second case this value was established at 0.855 grams, giving a value for the ounce of 26.55 grams. With regard to the pound-weight, in spite of the differences found in absolute values, the ratio with the ounce is always fixed at 1:12. However, a provision of Frederick's Constitution (book III, no. 49) seems to call into question this ratio. Under the rubric *De fide mercatorum in vendendis mercibus adhibenda*, one of several regulations dictates:

> ... no one in our kingdom may work gold that contains less than eight ounces of pure gold per pound. Likewise, no one may work silver that is known to contain less than eleven ounces of pure silver per pound. This should be the rule whether artisans make cheap work of this kind for themselves or fashion work out of materials received from another, like seal-rings, clasps, dishes, or gold and silver cups, in which they try to mix something besides the aforesaid amount and content of the materials from the owners.[16]

In fact, from this provision it would appear that in Frederick's kingdom not only the pound-money, but also the pound-weight, was equivalent to eight ounces, and this conclusion could undermine many assumptions.

Weights and measures in the 'Quaternus Excadenciarum Capitinate'

We must now try to analyse the effect that the legislation in the constitutions had on life in the kingdom. We know that the difference between the written rule and its actual application in everyday life had, and still has, an important space in the studies of jurists and historians who have produced a very rich literature about it. This phenomenon is particularly important in the Norman-Swabian kingdom, because of the fluidity of the political situation during its short existence of 166 years, and the clear repercussions on the stability of institutional structures following on from this.

Generally speaking, it is important to point out that the Constitution, issued in August 1231, came into force by express command in September (*insinuata mense septembris*). A difficult work of transcription of the voluminous text was necessary in order to distribute a copy to every corner of the kingdom, so that all local administrative and judicial institutions had direct knowledge of the Constitution. During this operation the process of modification began and, as a consequence, the text can appear complicated and uncertain to modern readers. Frederick, to ensure the widest possible diffusion, with a mandate which was generally ignored, ordered that the *constitutiones promulgatas in Curia Melfiensi* had to be published in every province, so as not to be neglected by his subjects (*ut non ignorentur et perveniant notitiam singulorum)* adding that *per metropolitanas civitates leges et constitutiones novae sunt promulgandae et insinuandae*).[17] Actually, it was decided to bring it into force in several stages for the different provinces of the kingdom. For our purposes, the news reported by Richard of San Germano is particularly important, since he noted the official publication of the Constitution in his province, which took place in February 1232, six months after its promulgation. In his chronicle he quotes only the rules regarding weights and measures. This attests that what really interested the subjects of the kingdom – more than many provisions about feudalism, church, town autonomies, justice, royal officials, their competences and so on – were the provisions which had a direct impact on daily life, such as those regarding new weights and measures.

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[16] *Liber Constitutionum* in *Federico II. Enciclopedia fridericiana,* III, 197: ... *nullus in regno nostro laboret aurum quod per libram de puro auro minus teneat quam octo uncias. Similiter argentum aliquis non laboret quod minus uncias undecim puri argenti per libram noscatur quod optinet sive venale opus huiusmodi artifices per se faciant sive ab alio recepta materia opus fingant ut anulos fibulas parapsides vel cuppas aureas aut argenteas in quibus aliquid vel ultra predictam quantitatem et formam a materiarum dominis immisceri minime petatur.*

The fact that Frederick was firmly determined to impose respect for his provisions is attested by a document of July 1238, published by Winkelmann,[18] in which the justiciar of Abruzzo was ordered to proceed *iuxta sacrarum constitucionum nostrarum tenorem*, against those *qui cannas, mensuras et pondera minuerunt nec novis utuntur ponderibus aut censuri*. We have at our disposal an important source that enables us to examine the reality of the application of the new regulations and, also, to have a more complete description of the weight, surface, liquid and dry measures actually used in the kingdom, namely, the aforementioned *Quaternus excadenciarum Capitinate*. The *Quaternus*, which has fortunately reached us in spite of many calamities, the description of which would take too long to include here, is a type of property register where we can find the income assigned to several categories of real estate owing to the imperial court in the land of Capitanata, which corresponds to the modern provinces of Foggia, Benevento and Campobasso. The *excadencie* were state properties recovered for the direct enjoyment of the court; the *mortitia* were state properties recovered due to the tenant's death; and the *revocata* were state properties confiscated because they were wrongly held (if the lands or the tenant farmers were illegally held within other people's lands, or retained by people who had fallen into disgrace with the sovereign, and whose lands were therefore liable to confiscation).

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[17] Well known through a parenthetical clause in the *Lecture* by Andrea d'Isernia, reported in the edition of the Constitution of 1552, under I, 46 (*Constitutiones Regni Siciliae* (Naples, 1552), p. 103).

[18] *Acta Imperii inedita seculi XIII. Urkunden und Briefezur Gesschichte des Kaiserreichs und Königreichs Sicilien in den Jahren 1198 bis 1273*, ed. E. Winckelmann (Innsbruck, 1880), I, 635, n. 818.

The *Quaternus* was edited for the first time in 1903 by the archivist of Montecassino, Father Amelli,[19] and, in more recent times, by Giuseppe di Troia.[20] It consists of eleven booklets and is undoubtedly damaged; it probably also contained booklets with the registrations of all the tax due dates in Campania. Even though the exact date is not recorded, we can place its compilation between 1249 and 1250 because it mentions the confiscated property of Pier della Vigna after he had been accused of treason. The *incipit* of the *Quaternus* describes the contents and the formalities of its compilation: it is an official register where there is a list of the demesne properties, defined *excadencie*, *morticia* and *revocata*, located in thirty-three places of the *Giustizierato* of *Capitanata*.

Measures are recorded in the *Quaternus* in a very remarkable typological variety. To analyse them, they have been grouped successively into two categories: weight measures and, taken together, surface and volume measures for dry products and measures for liquids.

Weights, surface and dry measures

The data provided by the *Quaternus* clearly indicates the absence of any reference to the *rotulus* which, according to the stately announcement of the royal provision, should have become *per totum Regnum* the official unit of weight. On the contrary, we find the 'pound' (mentioned twenty-one times in relation to services concerning wax distribution) as the unit of weight. As submultiples we find the ounce, *auri uncia* (mentioned forty-seven times; the value of the ounce, generally equivalent to one-twelfth of the pound, is discussed together with the questions proposed by book III, no. 49 of the Constitution) and the corn, *auri grana* (mentioned 311 times, whose value was 1/600 of the ounce).

This supports the comments made by Travaini:

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[19] *Quaternus de Excadenciis et Revocatis Capitinatae de mandato imperialis maiestatis Frederici secundi nunc primum ex codice Casinensi cura et studio monachorum ordinis sancti Benedicti archicoenobii Montis Casini in lucem profertur*, ed. A. Amelli (Montecassino, 1903).

[20] *Foggia e la Capitanata nel Quaternus excadenciarum di Federico II di Svevia*, ed. G. De Troia (Foggia, 1994).

> in his report in Lagopesole, Jean-Marie Martin noticed that since the 1340s the 'denarius' had been disappearing from sources, being replaced by 'grains'. Disappeared from the sources and found in several excavations? What does all that mean? It probably indicates that the increasing devaluation of the 'denarius', and its inflationary trends caused the need to use a fixed currency the 'grain', which was equal to 1/20th of the tarì. The price expressed in grains will be occasionally proportionate to the relevant number of the 'daily' denarius. The connection between the numismatic classification, the data from the archaeological sites and the written sources is in this case very accurate; I would say it is nearly 'exemplary'.[21]

The denarius is mentioned several times in the *Quaternus*, but only in some places. The 'grain' is proportionally used very often, with a ratio of one to three. In contrast the *tarì* is mentioned 432 times as money on account. We know, as David Abulafia stated, that the monetary unit which was actually in circulation was a sealed bag of Sicilian *tarì*, whose weight was of one ounce (or thirty *tarì*), and the fact that people all over the Mediterranean relied on the royal seal affixed on these bags represents an important tribute to the reputation of Sicilian money.[22] In trade, the weight of coins was , therefore, of paramount importance. It is notable that there is a reference to this in the chancery register for 6 December 1239, from Parma:

> Frederick II commands Enrico Abbas to deliver to Giovanni Girardini, the bearer of the letter, 10,000 ounces addressed to the knights stationed at Marca Trevigiana, and in order not to confuse the quantity of money received by Henry with that to be delivered to Giovanni Girardini from Trani, together with those orders, there will be transmitted the weight by which measuring the above-mentioned gold ounces (equally measured), for the purchase of donkeys and for the journey costs is to be done.[23]

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[21] L. Travaini, 'Le monete di Federico II: il contributo numismatico alla ricerca storica in Mezzogiorno – Federico II – Mezzogiorno', *Proceedings of the International Congress of Study promoted by the Istituto internazionale di studi federiciani, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Potenza – Avigliano – Castel Lagopesole – Melfi, 18–23 ottobre 1994*, ed. C. D. Fonseca, ii (Rome, 1999), 655–68, at p. 666. The author has translated this passage from the Italian (nella sua relazione a Lagopesole, Jean Marie Martin ha osservato che dagli anni 40 del XIII secolo i 'denari' scompaiono dalle fonti, sostituiti dai 'grani'. Scompaiono dalle fonti e si trovano tanto numerosi negli scavi? Cosa significa tutto ciò? Significa semplicemente che la progressiva svalutazione dei denari, e probabile tendenza inflazionistica, determinò la necessità di usare nella formulazione dei prezzi una moneta di conto a valore fisso, il 'grano', pari alla ventesima parte del tarì teorico: di volta in volta poi il prezzo espresso in grani sarà stato adeguato al corrispondente numero di denari 'del giorno').

[22] D. Abulafia, 'Maometto e Carlo magno: le due aree monetarie italiane dell'oro e dell'argento', VI, in *Storia d'Italia, Annali, Economia naturale, economia monetaria*, ed. R. Romano and U. Tucci (Turin, 1983), pp. 223–70, at p. 244.

[23] *Il Registro della Cancelleria di Federico II del 1239–1240*, I, ed. C. Carbonetti Vendittelli

Another unit, the 'pound' appears in the *Quaternus* as a measure for mass and weight in reference to an amount of wax. This unit of measurement is mentioned twenty-one times and is to be used in places like Tufaria, Gildone, Siponto, San Quiricio, Vieste and Casalnovo.

Dealing with surface measures, corresponding to the measures of dry products (such as corn and barley), the 'tumino' (*thuminus*) probably had much more success than others, and was imposed as a reference unit by the royal provision. It is mentioned seventy-six times (once in the version *tumulus*). The value of a *tumino* is not easy to establish. In a recent and well-documented work by Ronald Edward Zupko, which gave a very detailed view of the wide range of weights and measures in medieval Italy, eight pages are devoted to the *tomolo*.[24] As a result, we can say that in the area corresponding to the *Giustizierato* of *Capitanata*, the *tomolo* was approximately equivalent to one-third of a hectare, but with considerable variations. The *salma*, which is mentioned a remarkable 281 times in the *Quaternus*, was mainly used as a measure of surface and dry products – though sometimes liquid ones too – yet even in this case we are not able to find precisely established values. The only certainty is that it was a multiple of the *tomolo*, but there are many fluctuations evident. Another surface unit quoted in the *Quaternus* is the *vignale* (mentioned sixty times), which was probably a little larger than the *tomolo*.

In Cerignola, there is a unique mention in the source of *rasulas vinearum*: *Item tres rasulas vinearum que fuerunt Aliprandi in eadem contrada iuxta vineas sire Saraceni, extimantin vino salmam unam et de oleo starummedium quandoque plus et quandoque minus*.[25] Raffaele Licinio noted that in 1298 the *rasula* in Altamura was equivalent to 625 vines.[26] Another unit of measurement presented in the *Quaternus* is the 'quadragenal', used as a grapevine surface unit. The word is mentioned forty times in Casalnovo alone. In Gildone we learn about the equivalence of a unit mentioned just

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(Rome, 2002), p. 225. Federico II ordina a Enrico Abbas di consegnare a Giovanni Girardini di Trani, latore della lettera, 10000 once destinate ai cavalieri di stanza nella Marca Trevigiana e, perché non vi siano sfasature tra la quantità di denaro ricevuta da Enrico e quella che dovrà consegnare al detto Giovanni Girardini, insieme agli ordini gli trasmette il peso con il quale misurare le suddette once d'oro. Gli ordina inoltre di consegnare allo stesso latore della lettera altre 40 once (misurate nello stesso modo) per l'acquisto di asini e per le spese che dovrà sostenere durante il viaggio.

[24] R. E. Zupko, *Italian Weights and Measures from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1981), pp. 287–95.

[25] Montecassino, Archives of Montecasino Abbey, *Quaternus Excadenciarum Capitinate*, MS. 763 (hereafter *Quaternus*), c.146r.

[26] R. Licinio, *Uomini e terre nella Puglia medievale. Dagli Svevi agli Aragonesi* (Bari, 1983; repr. 2009), p. 68.

once in the document. According to the source, four 'follarati' of wheat and four 'follarati' of barley are equal to a 'tomolo': *Roggerius de Malgerio inter festum Pasce et sancte Marie cum bubus operas duas: unam ad pisandum, aliam ad seminandum, cum brachiis quattuor: duas ad vineam et alias duas ad metendum, unam ad ordeum et aliam ad frumentum; follaratas frumenti quattuor et ordei quattuor que quattuor fallarate sunt thuminum unum; et in Natali Domini, de porco, spallam unam.*[27] Finally, the 'modius', a capacity unit for dry items, is mentioned five times: twice in Gildone, in reference to wheat and barley, and three times in Casalnuovo.[28]

Measures for liquids

The 'quartaro' is mentioned only once in the document in Foggia as a capacity measure unit for wine.[29] For wine, we also find a case in Gildone of 'tun' and 'barrel': *de vino tinas duas qui sunt barrili duo tempore vindemiarum*.[30] Barrels are also mentioned twice in the document, for Santa Croce di Morcone.[31] In relation to wine production, in the *Quaternus* the production of 'must' is mentioned ten times, with the measure of 'salma', and in two cases 'decima'.

For olive oil, the units of measurement in the *Quaternus* are 'staio', 'coppa', 'cannata'. The first is mentioned eighty-four times, and in three cases is clearly referred to as 'Bari staio'.[32] De Troia estimated the 'staio' as being the equivalent of 20.59 litres.[33] Its value varied greatly across Italy, from 24.35 litres in Tuscany to 138.17 in Cesena.[34] The second of the measurements, *coppa*, is mentioned just five times.[35] De Troia estimated it as being the equivalent of 10.38 litres.[36] In this case, too, there are variations across Italy. In the Marche region, for example, a *coppa* had a value of 35.08 litres.[37] The third unit, *cannata*, is mentioned ten times.[38]

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[27] *Quaternus,* c. 174r–v.

[28] *Quaternus*, c. 173v, c. 174r, c. 202v.(2), c. 204v.

[29] *Item vineam unam in Bassano que fuit domini Palmerii de Corbo iuxta vineam Goffridi Corbiserii, tenet comes Gualterius et reddit terciam partem vini quam dicunt valere per annum quartaros vigintiquinque.* (*Quaternus*, c. 160v).

[30] *Quaternus*, c. 172v.

[31] *Quaternus,* c. 179v.

[32] *Quaternus*, c. 136v, c. 137v, c. 148v.

[33] *Foggia e la Capitanata nel Quaternus excadenciarum di Federico II di Svevia* (Foggia, 1994), p. 85.

[34] *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome, 1950), p. 458.

[35] For Deliceto and Tufaria (*Quaternus*, c. 14 v, c. 144r, c. 168r, c. 168v (2)).

[36] *Foggia e la Capitanata nel Quaternus excadenciarum di Federico II di Svevia* (Foggia, 1994), p. 85.

[37] *Enciclopedia Italiana*, xi (Rome, 1949), p. 327.

[38] Sometimes it is used in *Quaternus* for wine too. It is mentioned in Casale di Sala, Casalnovo and Serracapriola. De Troia, p. 85, estimates it at 8.92 litres.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the kingdom never achieved the desired uniformity in the usage of weights and measures, despite Frederick's firm intentions. In a well-established historiography he has been portrayed as a more modern absolute sovereign who set out detailed regulations and severe sanctions. However, the local traditions of individual communities, consolidated over the years, were resistant to change. The variety of units of measurement still in use clearly demonstrates resistance to the regulations imposed by central authority, because there was a tradition of closed economies, mirroring the complex social relationships of the medieval world.[39]

As outlined at the beginning of this chapter, serious progress towards uniformity of units of measurement started only towards the end of the eighteenth century. The question was vigorously discussed during the French Revolution, because it was considered a necessary requirement of equality to remove favouritism and abuses of powers, and also as a condition of guarantee for subjects, who by that time were becoming citizens. The history of weights and measures within the kingdom of Sicily during Frederick II's time places it within a very broad narrative that lasted for many centuries. In terms of cultural transmission within the worlds conquered and settled by the Normans, it shows that political and social cultures that were typical of the operation of royal power elsewhere existed. And that, despite the power of the monarchy, uniformity was difficult to attain because of the complexities of local and regional societies and the differentials between economies.

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[39] A remarkable variety is also present in the kaleidoscopic political reality in the north-centre. It is notable that at that time every town had its own units of measurement and its prototypes were often displayed on the walls of the main public buildings, particularly near the market. In that way, traders and purchasers could see them and check they were being used correctly. Evidence of this can be found in a well-known cycle of paintings by Ambrogio Lorenzetti from Siena, dating back to 1338–9. In 'The Allegory of Good Government', kept in the public palace of Siena, one of the many figures represented is Justice, who keeps in one half of her scales an angel presenting tools of measurement to two kneeled characters.

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This volume is based on two international conferences held in 2013 and 2014 at Ariano Irpino, and at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. It contains essays by leading scholars in the field. Like the conferences, the volume seeks to enhance interdisciplinary and international dialogue between those who work on the Normans and their conquests in northern and southern Europe in an original way. It has as its central theme issues related to cultural transfer, treated as being of a pan-European kind across the societies that the Normans conquered and as occurring within the distinct societies of the northern and southern conquests. These issues are also shown to be an aspect of the interaction between the Normans and the peoples they subjugated, among whom many then settled.

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