

# NORMAN RULE IN NORMANDY 911-1144

Mark Hagger

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THE BOYDELL PRESS

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Thanks are also due to a number of other people, who have helped me over the years in a number of different capacities. They include Christopher Trussel; Michael McMahon; Robert Bartlett; John Hudson; Lorna Walker; and Sally Roe. Professor Raimond Karl, while Head of the School of History, Welsh History, and Archaeology at Bangor, effectively extended my one-semester study leave across a whole academic year. The additional time allowed me to draft almost the whole of the book, and provided the essential momentum for its completion, which was slowed, if never actually halted, by the demands of a full teaching and administrative load.

I have also benefited enormously from the advice and knowledge of David Bates, whose new biography of William the Conqueror unfortunately emerged too late in the day to influence what follows; Bill Aird; Stephen Church; Elisabeth van Houts; and Nicholas Karn. Katy Dutton, Leonie Hicks, and Charles Insley deserve special mention, not just on account of their friendship, knowledge, and collegiality, but because they have read and commented on parts of this book. Indeed, Leonie deserves particular thanks for ploughing through the majority of the text and providing an in-depth critique of what she read – despite having to complete her own *A Short History of the Normans* at the same time. And last, but

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My biggest debt of gratitude, of course, is due to my wife Kate and my little boy, Daniel, who have had to live with me through the highs and lows that accompany writing, and finishing, a book. Their support and encouragement has been priceless. This book is dedicated to them.

# Abbreviations

<i>AAbps</i>	<i>Acta Archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium: a study and edition</i> , ed. and trans. R. Allen, <i>Tabularia</i> , 'Documents', 9 (2009), 1–66
AD	Archives départementales, followed by the name of the département
AN	<i>Archives Nationales</i> , Paris
ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i> , including its earlier incarnation, <i>The Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>ASChr</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , followed by the manuscript version (C, D, E, etc.) and the year. I have used the translation by G. N. Garmonsway (see bibliography), and a reference to that work follows.
Bates, <i>Normandy</i>	D. Bates, <i>Normandy before 1066</i> (London, 1982)
Bessin, <i>Concilia</i>	G. Bessin, <i>Concilia Rotomagensis Provincia</i> , 2 vols (Rouen, 1717)
BL	British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
BSAN	<i>Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de normandie</i>
<i>Chs. Jumièges</i>	<i>Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges</i> , ed. J. J. Vernier, 2 vols (Rouen, 1916)
CDF	<i>Calendar of Documents preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol I: AD 918–1206</i> , ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899)
Chanteux, <i>Recueil</i>	H. Chanteux, <i>Recueil des actes de Henri Ier Beauclerc</i> , 3 vols, thèse inédite de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1932
<i>Constitutio</i>	<i>Constitutio Domus Regis in Dialogus de Scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer; Constitutio Domus Regis: The Establishment of the Royal Household</i> , ed. and trans. E. Amt and S. D. Church (Oxford, 2007)

- Chs. Caen* *Charters and Custumals of the Abbey of Holy Trinity, Caen: Part 2. The French Estates*, ed. J. Walmsley, Records of Social and Economic History, new series 22 (Oxford, 1994)
- Ctl. Beaumont-le-Roger* *Cartulaire de l'église de la Sainte-Trinité de Beaumont-le-Roger*, ed. E. Deville (Paris, 1912)
- Ctl. Caen* Caen, AD Calvados, 1 J 41: cartulary of the abbey of Saint-Etienne of Caen
- Ctl. Conches* *Le grand cartulaire de Conches et sa copie: transcription et analyse*, ed. Clare de Haas (2005)
- Ctl. Grand-Beaulieu* *Cartulaire de la léproserie du Grand-Beaulieu*, eds. Merlet and Jusselin (Chartres, 1909)
- Ctl. Montebourg* BnF, MS lat. 10087: cartulary of Montebourg abbey
- Ctl. Mont-Saint-Michel* *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Donnington, 2006)
- Ctl. Normand* *Cartulaire Normand de Philippe-Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint Louis et Philippe-le-Hardi*, ed. L. Delisle (Caen, 1882)
- Ctl. Perche* *Le zartulaire de l'abbaye de Marmoutier pour la Perche*, ed. P. Barret (Mortagne, 1894)
- Ctl. Préaux* *Le cartulaire de l'abbaye bénédictine de Saint-Pierre-de-Préaux (1034–1227)*, ed. D. Rouet, Editions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (Paris, 2005)
- Ctl. Rouen* Rouen, BM, MS 1193: cartulary of Rouen cathedral
- Ctl. Saint-Père* *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. B. Guérard, 2 vols (Paris, 1840)
- Ctl. Sées* Sées, bibliothèque de l'évêché de Sées, cartulaire de Saint-Martin de Sées
- Ctl. Tiron* *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron*, ed. M. L. Merlet, vol. 1 (Chartres, 1883)
- Ctl. Troarn* BnF, MS lat. 10086 : cartulary of Troarn abbey
- Ctl. Vendôme* *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité du Vendôme*, ed. C. Métais, 5 vols (Paris, 1893–1904)
- Dialogue* *Dialogus de Scaccario in Dialogus de Scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer; Constitutio Domus Regis: The Establishment of the Royal Household*, ed. and trans. E. Amt and S. D. Church (Oxford, 2007)
- Dudo* Dudonis Sancti Quintini, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. J. Lair, MSAN, 23 (1865)

<i>Dudo</i>	Dudo of Saint-Quentin, <i>History of the Normans: Translation with Introduction and Notes</i> , trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998)
<i>Dunbabin, France</i>	J. Dunbabin, <i>France in the Making 843–1180</i> (Oxford, 1991)
<i>Eadmer, HN</i>	Eadmer of Canterbury, <i>Historia novorum</i> , ed. M. Rule, rolls series (London, 1884). I have used the translation by G. Bosanquet, and a reference to that work follows where applicable
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
<i>Etymologies</i>	Isidore of Seville, <i>The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville</i> , trans. S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and O. Berghof (Cambridge, 2006)
<i>Flodoard</i>	<i>Les annales de Flodoard</i> , ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1905)
<i>Flodoard</i>	<i>The Annals of Flodoard of Reims 919–966</i> , ed. and trans. S. Fanning and B. Bachrach (Peterborough, Ontario and Plymouth, 2004)
<i>Fulbert, Letters</i>	Fulbert of Chartres, <i>The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres</i> , ed. and trans. F. Berends (Oxford, 1976)
<i>Gaimar</i>	Geffrei Gaimar, <i>Estoire des Engleis/History of the English</i> , ed. and trans. I. Short (Oxford, 2009)
<i>GC</i>	<i>Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa.: XI. De provincia Rotomagensi</i> , ed. D. Sammarthani et al. (Paris, 1759)
<i>Glaber</i>	Rodulfus Glaber, <i>Opera</i> , ed. and trans. J. France (Oxford, 1989)
<i>GDB</i>	Great Domesday Book, followed by a reference to the section/s in the Phillimore edition, edited by J. Morris.
<i>Green, Government</i>	J. A. Green, <i>The Government of England under Henry I</i> (Cambridge, 1986)
<i>Green, Henry</i>	J. A. Green, <i>Henry I King of England and Duke of Normandy</i> (Cambridge, 2006)
<i>Heimskringla</i>	Snorri Sturluson, <i>Heimskringla: A History of the Kings of Norway</i> , trans. L. M. Hollander (Austin, 1964)
<i>Hollister, Henry</i>	C. W. Hollister, <i>Henry I</i> , edited and completed by A. C. Frost (New Haven, CT and London, 2001)
<i>HSJ</i>	<i>Haskins Society Journal</i>

Huntingdon	Henry of Huntingdon, <i>Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People</i> , ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996)
Hyde	<i>The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle</i> , ed. and trans. E. M. C. van Houts (Oxford, 2013)
<i>Inventio</i>	<i>Inventio et miracula sancti Vulfrani</i> , ed. J. Laporte, Mélanges publiés par la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie (Rouen and Paris, 1938)
<i>Inquisition</i>	H. Navel, 'L'enquête de 1133 sur les fiefs de l'évêché de Bayeux', <i>BSAN</i> , 42 (1935), 5–80
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
Jumièges	William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni, <i>The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni</i> , ed. and trans. E. M. C. van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford, 1992–1995)
<i>Letters of Lanfranc</i>	<i>The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , ed. and trans. H. M. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979)
<i>Letters of St Anselm</i>	<i>The Letters of St Anselm of Canterbury</i> , trans. W. Frölich, 3 vols (Kalamazoo, 1990–1994)
<i>LHP</i>	<i>Leges Henrici Primi</i> , ed. and trans. L. J. Downer (Oxford, 1972)
<i>Life of Lanfranc</i>	Milo Crispin, 'Life of Lanfranc', <i>PL</i> , 150, cols. 29–58; trans. S. N. Vaughn, <i>The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State</i> (Woodbridge, 1981)
<i>Livre Noir</i>	<i>Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae Baiocensis (livre noir)</i> , ed. V. Bourienne, 2 vols (Rouen, 1902–3)
Louise, Bellême	G. Louise, <i>La seigneurie de Bellême X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: devolution des pouvoirs territoriaux et construction d'une seigneurie de frontière aux confins de la Normandie et du Maine de la charnière de l'an mil</i> , La Pays Bas-Normand, 2 vols, 3 and 4 (1990) and 1 and 2 (1991)
Malmesbury, <i>GP</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Pontificum</i> , ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 2007)
Malmesbury, <i>GR</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum</i> , ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, vol 1 (Oxford, 1998)
Malmesbury, <i>HN</i>	<i>Historia Novella: The Contemporary History</i> , ed. E. King, trans. K. R. Potter (Oxford, 1998)

- Marchegay M. P. Marchegay, *Chartes Normandes de l'abbaye de Saint-Florent près Saumur de 710 à 1200 environ*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 30 (1880)
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
- MMI C. W. Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (London, 1986)
- Monasticon W. Dugdale and R. Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley *et al.*, 8 vols (London, 1817–30)
- MSAN Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie
- NI C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, MA, 1918)
- Norman Pipe Rolls *Pipe rolls for the Exchequer of Normandy for the Reign of Henry II: 1180 and 1184*, ed. V. Moss, Pipe Roll Society new series 53 (2004)
- Normannia monastica V. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica: prosopographie des abbés bénédictins (X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, 2 vols (Caen, 2007)
- Orderic Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969–80)
- PL *Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (1844–1855)
- Poitiers William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. and trans. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998)
- PR 31 Henry I *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty-First Year of the Reign of King Henry I, Michaelmas 1130 (Pipe Roll 1): A New Edition with a Translation and Images from the original in the Public Record Office/The National Archives*, ed. and trans. J. A. Green, Pipe Roll Society, new series 57 (London, 2012)
- RADN *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, ed. Marie Fauroux, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 36 (Caen, 1961)
- Recueil Henri II *Recueil des actes d'Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, 3 vols (Paris, 1916–1927)
- RHGF *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, par Dom. M. Bouquet, nouvelle édition publiée sous la direction de M. L. Delisle, 24 vols (Paris, 1738–1904)

- Regesta*, i. *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154, I. Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi 1066–1100*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913)
- Regesta*, ii. *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154, II. Regesta Henrici Primi, 1100–1135*, ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956)
- Regesta*, iii. *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1154: III. Regesta regis Stephani ac Mathildis imperatricis ac Gaufridi et Henrici ducum Normannorum 1135–1154*, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1968)
- Regesta: William* *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, the acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998)
- Richer Richer of Saint-Remi, *Histories*, ed. and trans. J. Lake, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA, 2011)
- RT Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, with the date of the annal and references to the editions by Léopold Delisle and Richard Howlett: ‘The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Michael in Peril of the Sea’, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, vol 4 (London, 1889); and *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé de Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. L. Delisle, 2 vols (Rouen, 1872–3)
- Searle, PK E. Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Formation of Norman Power* (Berkeley and London, 1988)
- Tabuteau, *Transfers* E. Z. Tabuteau, *Transfers of Property in Eleventh-Century Norman Law* (Chapel Hill, NC and London, 1988)
- TAC *Coutumiers de Normandie: textes critiques*, ed. E.-J. Tardif, vol 1 (Rouen, 1881)
- Telma Traitement électronique des manuscrits et des archives. Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France: <<http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/index/>>
- Van Houts, *Normans* E. van Houts (ed. and trans.), *The Normans in Europe* (Manchester, 2000)
- Wace Wace, *The History of the Norman People: Wace’s Roman de Rou*, trans. G. S. Burgess (Woodbridge, 2004)
- Worcester *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and trans. P. McGurk, vol 3 (Oxford, 1998)



## A Note on the Text

TO provide a coherent and convincing explanation for the development and maintenance of the dukes' authority in the pages that follow, it is necessary to explore a number of different issues and influences. While all of these different factors reinforced each other, and consequently have to be understood in the round, nonetheless the need to marshal a coherent argument requires that they must be teased apart. Thus the various chapters of this book each explore one issue, or a small number of closely related issues, in some depth. The intentional result of this approach is that the book has been structured as a series of discrete but linked articles. Each section is designed to stand alone, while at the same time combining with the others to form a whole. The aim of this approach is to make the arguments advanced here more accessible, especially for those who want to pursue one thread in particular. Those who want to perceive the fuller picture will find cross-references in the footnotes, as well as comprehensive indices, which are intended to pull the contents back together again by acting as signposts to related discussions and topics.

The chapters themselves have been grouped into two parts. In broad terms, Part I forms an analytical narrative, which explores the politics of the creation of an autonomous, rather than an independent or separatist, Normandy. The first three chapters examine the development of the duchy, looking at the wars, diplomacy, and patronage that saw the dukes' rule first established and then maintained across a growing swathe of territory until, in the 1120s, Normandy at last reached its final form. While these chapters necessarily glance at the dukes' relationships with the Church and the kings of the French, their dealings and competition for authority with these two external powers are considered at greater length in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively. Part II comprises a thematic exploration and analysis of the structures, institutions, and psychologies that supported the dukes' rule within the duchy. It is concerned with the nature of the dukes' power, their courts, justice, revenues, and war machine.

These are the topics the book looks at directly. Other issues are explored only obliquely, or by implication, or not at all. For example, while government and institutions and authority necessarily impact society, and will in some ways reflect the shape of that society, too, this book does not look at Norman society

explicitly in the pages that follow. I have not, for example, dwelt on the degree of Scandinavian settlement in what would become Normandy during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and I have not synthesized the large body of work that has explored place-name evidence, or the use of Scandinavian names and terms in the duchy, even if intermittent reference has been made to it.<sup>1</sup> That is also, in part, because of the inconclusive nature of such evidence. For example, the use of legal terms such as *ullac* and *hamfara* does little more than tell us what we know already – that Normandy was subject to a degree of Scandinavian settlement during its history and those settlers brought terms with them that for some reason were preferred to the equivalent Frankish ones.<sup>2</sup> The survival of such labels into the eleventh century does not necessarily tell us anything about eleventh-century Norman society, however, just as the modern legal profession's love of Latin maxims does not tell us much about the nature or language of the society of twenty-first-century England and Wales (other than that it continues to look to the past). As such a lawyer might say: *res ipsa loquitur*. Equally, as the discussion throughout focuses on the practicalities of the topics concerned – how they operated and how they worked to promote the dukes' rule – more theoretical concepts and questions have generally been omitted. Thus the discussion of justice focuses on jurisdiction and judgement, rather than on jurisprudence, while the exploration of the Norman Church looks at how Christianity might be used as a tool of government but has little to say about the ideology of the monastic revival in Normandy, or popular religion, or the cults of the saints and miracle collections (of which there are more than is commonly thought, and which are crying out to be studied in more detail). Yet more regrettably, there has also been no room for

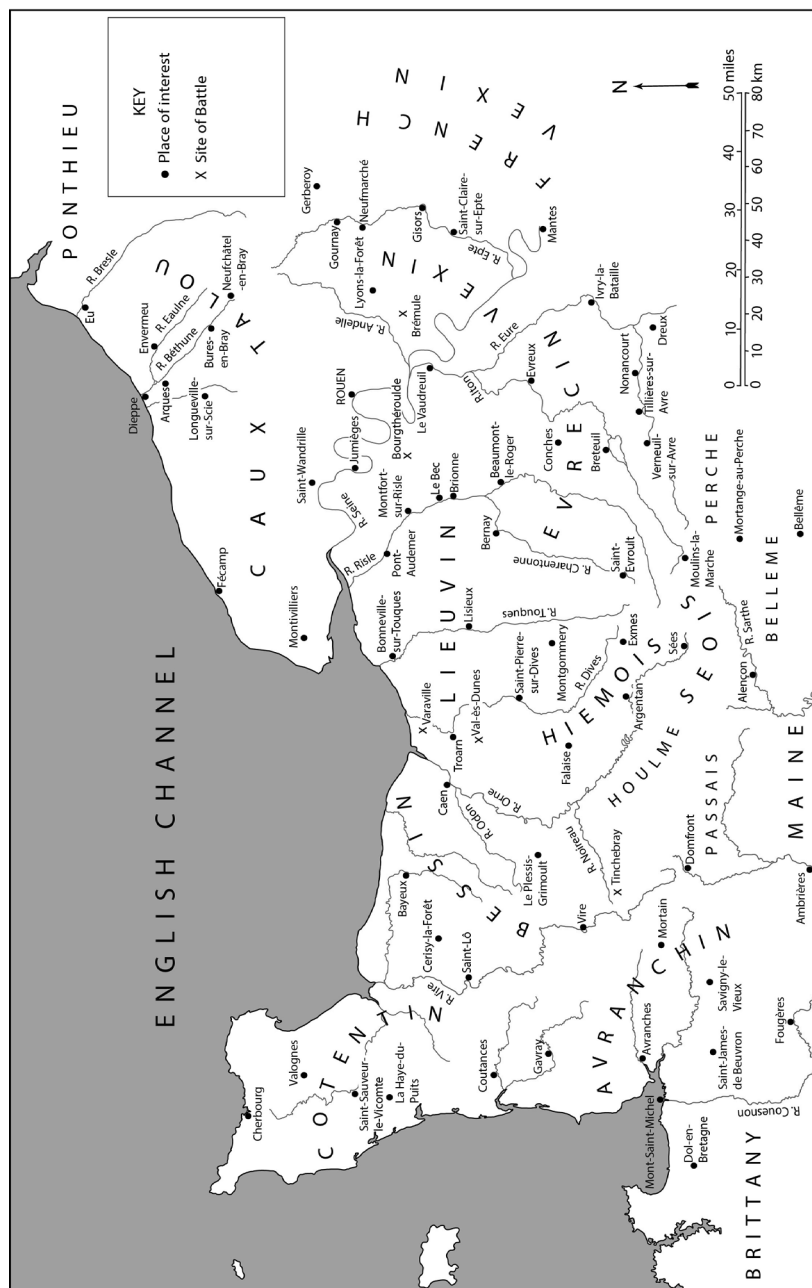
<sup>1</sup> The thrust of the work done on this subject up to 1982 is conveniently summarized by Bates, *Normandy*, pp. 15–23 and there is a useful map illustrating the spread of Scandinavian place-names in L. Musset, 'Les scandinaves et l'ouest du continent européen', in *Les Vikings: Les Scandinaves et l'Europe 800–1200*, ed. E. Roesdahl, J.-P. Mohen, and F.-X. Dillman (Paris, 1992), p. 92, Fig. 4. There are also recent related studies by A. N. Jaubert, G. Fellow-Jensen, A. K. H. Wagner, and E. Ridel in *Les fondations Scandinaves en occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie*, ed. P. Bauduin (Caen, 2005), pp. 209–71 inclusive.

<sup>2</sup> The words are found among the *consuetudines uiccomitatus* listed in RADN, no. 121; *Ctl. Préaux*, A161, A163. For a brief discussion of the *consuetudines* see J. Yver, 'Contribution à l'étude du développement de la compétence ducal en Normandie', *Annales de Normandie*, 8 (1958), 157–9; J. Yver, 'Les premières institutions du duché de Normandie', *I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa*. Settimane di studio del centro Italiano sull'alto medioevo 16 (Spoleto, 1969), 345–7; and for a discussion of the Scandinavian origins of the term 'ullac' see L. Musset, 'Autour des modalités juridiques de l'expansion normande au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: le droit d'exil', in *Autour du pouvoir ducal normand, X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. L. Musset, J.-M. Bouvris, and J.-M. Maillefer (Caen, 1985), 45–59.

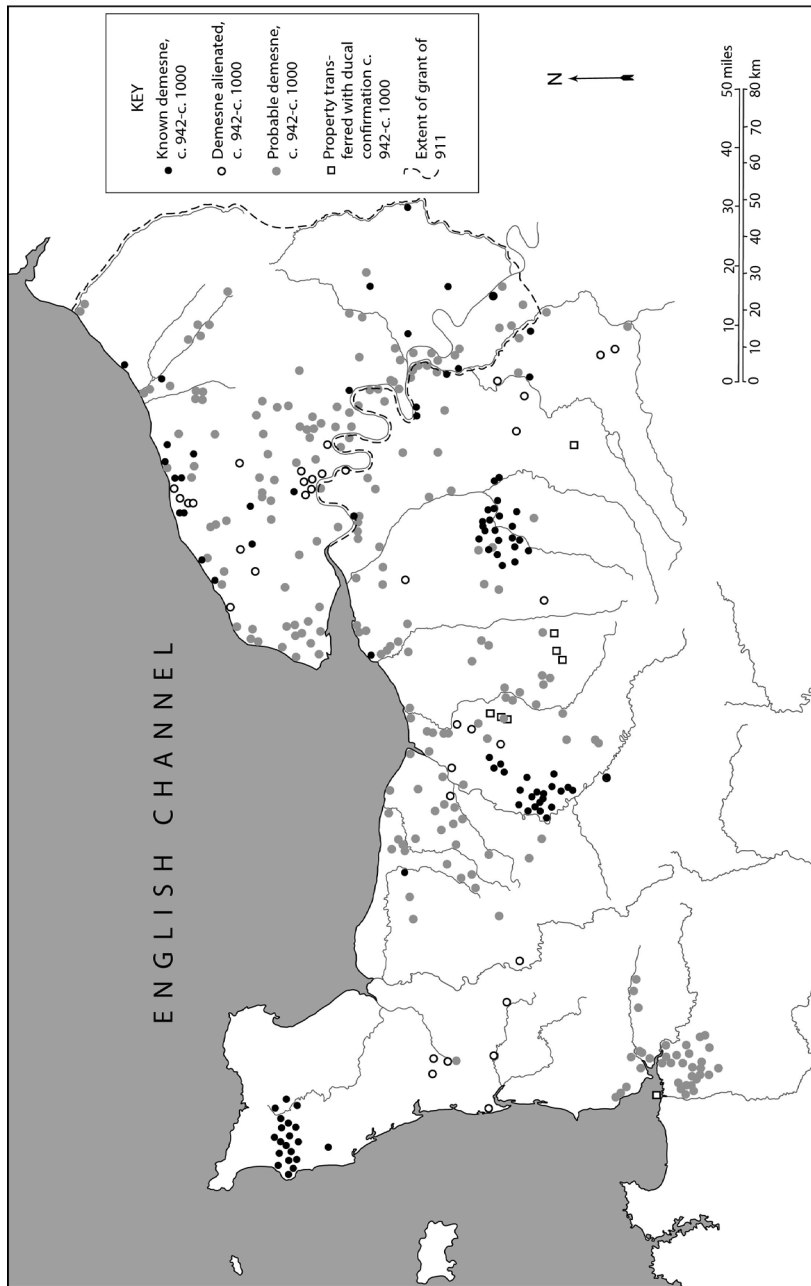
a consideration of the literary, artistic, and intellectual life of the duchy, except where the work and thought it produced also had a political dimension.

The arguments found in this book are built on the primary sources, principally the narratives and diplomas, writs, and charters that were produced in Normandy between 911 and 1144. Nonetheless, a great intellectual debt is owed to those historians who have worked on the duchy and its institutions previously, whose ideas sometimes challenged and sometimes supported, in whole or in part, the conclusions I had reached. They include Lucien Valin, Charles Homer Haskins, Jean-François Lemarignier, Lucien Musset, Jean Yver, John Le Patourel, David Bates, Eleanor Searle, and Pierre Bauduin. That earlier work has provided stimulation, understanding, and provocation (and sometimes all three), and its influence may be traced in the footnotes. But what follows has also been informed by work on Carolingian Francia, Anglo-Saxon England, and Norman Italy, which has provided some useful analogies and contrasts, and has sometimes helped to fill in the gaps in the Norman evidence as a result. However, although the net has been cast widely, some relevant work will no doubt have been missed (and I am particularly aware that the considerable historiography on rulership written in German is closed to me). But lines do have to be drawn somewhere, even if drawing them is a tricky and uncomfortable business, and the words of no less an authority than Quintilian on this subject are worth bearing in mind: ‘to ferret out everything that has ever been said on the subject, even by the most worthless of writers, is a sign of tiresome pedantry or empty ostentation, and results in delaying and swamping the mind when it would be better employed on other themes’.<sup>3</sup>

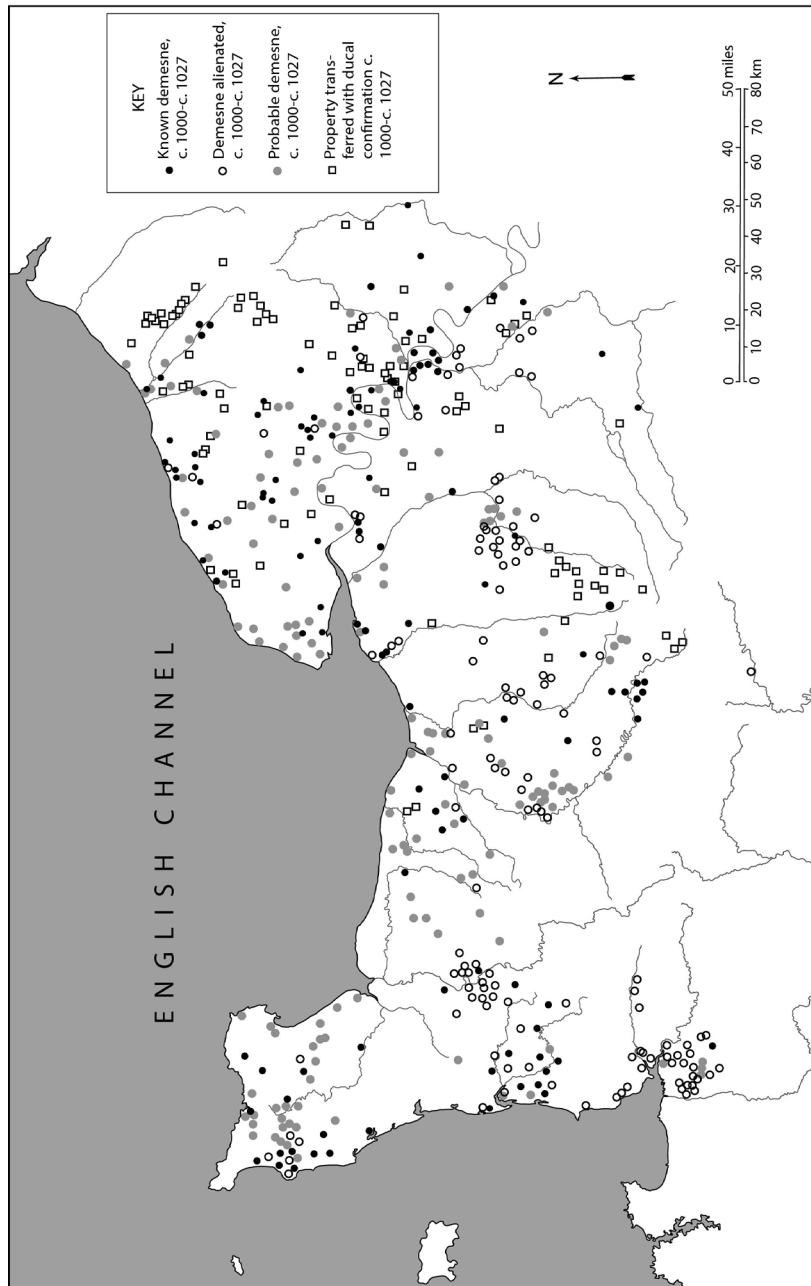
<sup>3</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, Bk. I.viii; ed. and trans. H. E. Butler (London, 1969), i. 154–5.



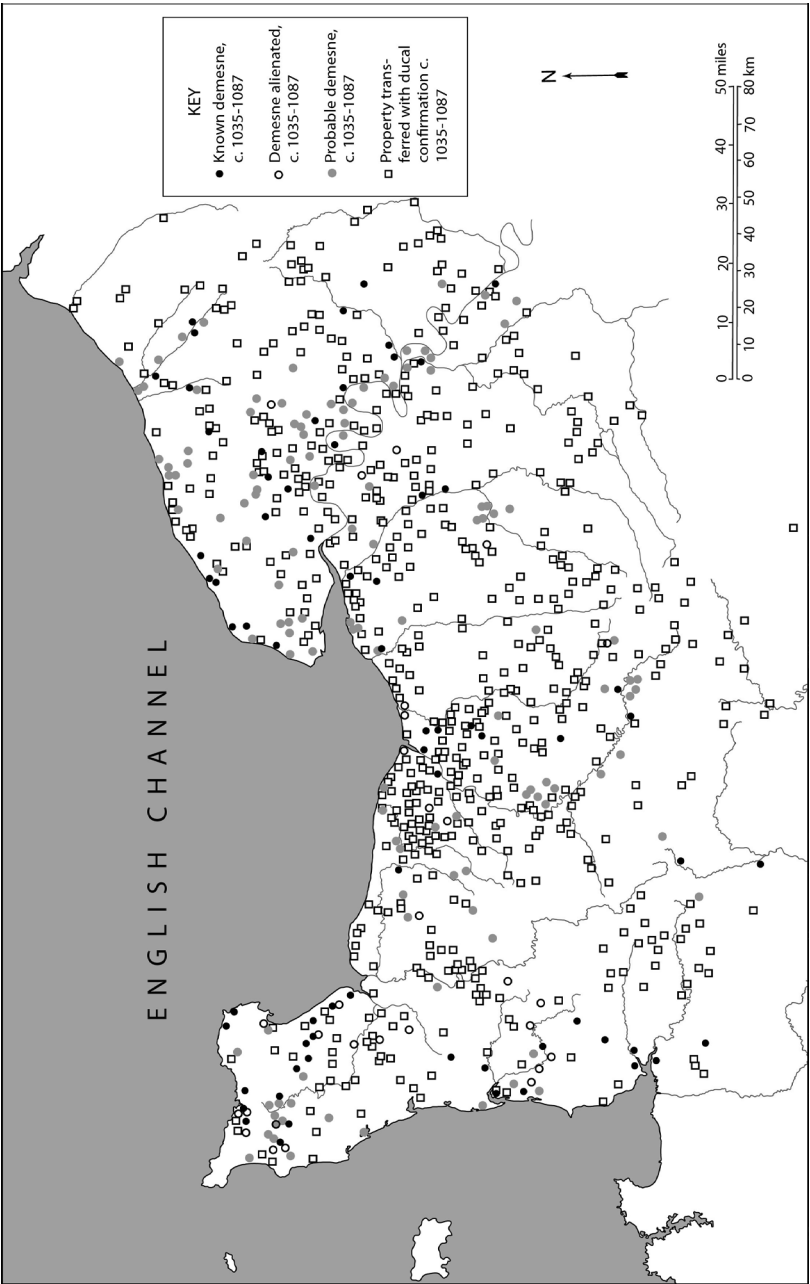
## Map 1. Normandy and its neighbours



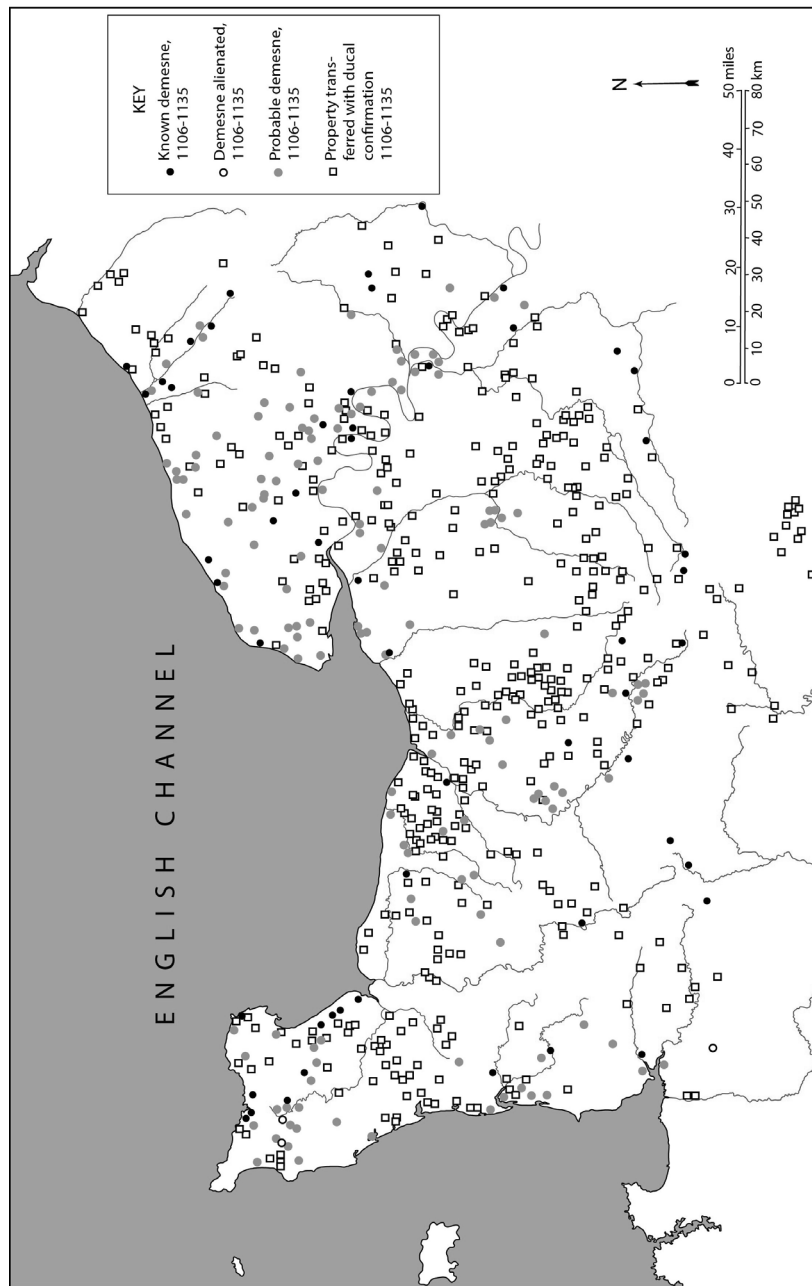
Map 2. The duke's demesne and property subject to ducal confirmation in Normandy, c. 942–c. 1000



Map 3. The duke's demesne and property subject to ducal confirmation in Normandy, 996–1026



Map 4 The duke's demesne and property subject to ducal confirmation in Normandy, 1035-1087



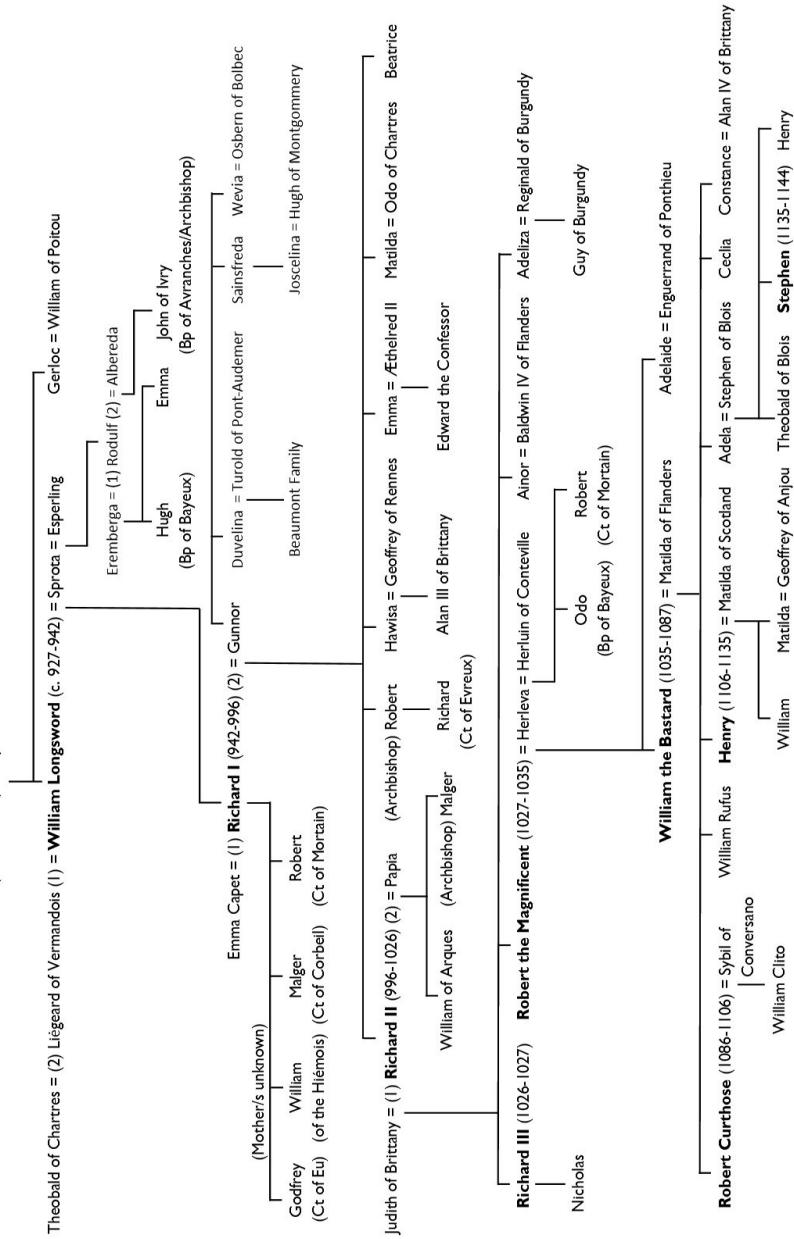
Map 5 The duke's demesne and property subject to ducal confirmation in Normandy, 1106-1135





Map 6. Ducal castles, 996-1135

**Rollo** (c. 911 -c. 927) = Poppa



Genealogical Table



# Introduction

THIS is a book about the creation, maintenance, rule, and governance of the duchy of Normandy and the power of the dukes who led that enterprise. It examines not only the structures that the dukes inherited or developed that allowed them to establish their authority across their territory, but also how the dukes won and then kept the loyalties of the lords who resided within their borders, how those lords manifested their loyalty to their ruler, and how they perceived and promoted it, too. In other words, this is a book that aims to look at the authority of the duke both as it was imposed from the top down *and* as it was recognized and strengthened from the bottom up.

## *Sources and approach*

It is well known that contemporary sources for tenth-century Normandy are seriously lacking.<sup>1</sup> Some information is to be found in the *Annals* of Flodoard of Reims and rather less in the later, but still tenth-century, *Histories* of Richer of Reims. There is a brief mention of Rollo and his companions in an authentic act of Charles the Simple of 918 and of Richard I in an altogether more dubious diploma of Lothair V of 966. There are four authentic acts signed by Duke Richard, two of which record his gifts to his own foundations at Evreux and Fécamp, and to which might perhaps be added two eleventh-century acts that preserve grants that are said to have been made by tenth-century dukes.<sup>2</sup> This is not much to go on, and while it might be hoped that archaeological and place-name evidence might provide an additional foundation on which to build, that evidence is just as slight, ambiguous, and misleading as the written sources that purport to inform us of the relevant events.

One result of this absence of evidence is that while this book aims to look at the development of Normandy and of the dukes' authority from 911, many of the topics and trends explored in Chapters 4 through 11 can only be perceived, and still dimly at that, from the second decade of the eleventh century. That means

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the earlier comments in Bates, *Normandy*, pp. xii–xiii.

<sup>2</sup> *RADN*, nos. 36, 53.

that the events, developments, and trends of the tenth century are often absent from this book. It also means that while we know, even if only approximately, what the Norman dukes had achieved by the first couple of decades of the eleventh century, we do not know how they got there. We certainly cannot assume a smooth or even logical progression from 911 to 1000. Indeed, what I hope will become clear from the following arguments is that the geographical growth of Normandy and the increase of the dukes' authority over that territory, as well as, for example, the Christianization of the Normans, was not at all smooth. There were reverses and advances, successes and failures, and while it might have been the case that Richard I had an idea about who should be encompassed within his *mouvance*, as indicated by the markers he set down during the 960s, there was no guarantee that his dream would become a reality.

In contrast to the tenth century, the eleventh saw the composition of a number of important narratives that were concerned with the birth and development of Normandy and which were written by men who lived, even if they had not been born, in the duchy. While letters, treatises, saints' *lives*, miracle collections, coins, and seals provide useful highlights and sidelights on the questions considered within these pages, it is the narratives and the ducal *acta* that provide the principal illumination. Both will consequently be discussed and critiqued throughout the book. As such, something needs to be said about who made them and when and why in order to gain a sense of their strengths and weaknesses before they are put to work, as well as to provide a context for that later analysis.

The more important of the Norman narratives for Norman history to 1144 are the *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* or *Historia Normannorum* by Dudo of Saint-Quentin; the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* by William of Jumièges with later interpolations by Orderic Vitalis, Robert of Torigni, and unknown others; the *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers; and the *Historia ecclesiastica* by Orderic Vitalis.<sup>3</sup> As Dudo's *De moribus* is the earliest of the four, we can begin there.

### *Dudo of Saint-Quentin and the De moribus*

Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *De moribus*, although written at the beginning of the eleventh century, comprises a serial biography of the tenth-century dukes. It is

<sup>3</sup> All four are available in good modern translations, three of them in the Oxford Medieval Texts series with parallel Latin and English texts. The Latin text of Dudo's *De moribus*, however, is still only widely available in the edition made by Jules Lair in 1865. Publication details can be found in the Abbreviations, above, or the Bibliography, below.

likely that Dudo was born around 965 and educated perhaps at Liège or Reims. He first came to Normandy c. 987 as an ambassador for Count Albert I of the Vermandois. He remained and/or returned for some years, growing closer to the ageing Duke Richard I until, one day c. 994, the duke asked him to, 'describe the customs and deeds of the Norman land, nay, the rights which he established within the kingdom of his great-grandfather Rollo'.<sup>4</sup> That is what Dudo claimed, at least.

Part of Dudo's work might have been completed by 1001, when it was copied into the Fécamp chronicle, if we follow the argument of Matthieu Arnoux who concluded that the chronicle had been written by that date at the latest.<sup>5</sup> However, as the passage concerned was part of Dudo's description of the founding of Holy Trinity, Fécamp, which could quite easily have stood alone from the rest of his work,<sup>6</sup> it is not clear that the remainder of the *De moribus* must necessarily have also been written by that date, even if Arnoux is right. It is consequently safer to continue to suppose that Dudo's book was only completed c. 1015.<sup>7</sup>

Much of the recent scholarship on Dudo, which has saved him and his work from the oblivion into which it was thought they had fallen in 1982,<sup>8</sup> has focused on Dudo's sources and also on what his *De moribus* was intended to achieve. It

<sup>4</sup> Dudo, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> M. Arnoux, 'Before the *Gesta Normannorum* and beyond Dudo: some evidence on early Norman historiography', *ANS*, 22 (1999), 45.

<sup>6</sup> *RADN*, no. 4.

<sup>7</sup> The work is dated to this period by, for example, L. Shopkow, 'The Carolingian world of Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *JMH*, 15 (1989), 33; P. Bauduin, *La première Normandie (Xe–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles). Sur les frontières de la Haute Normandie: Identité et construction d'une principauté* (Caen, 2004), p. 64; B. Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum: Tradition, Innovation and Memory* (York, 2015), p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, E. Searle, 'Fact and pattern in heroic history: Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *Viator*, 15 (1984), 119–37; L. Shopkow, 'The Carolingian world of Dudo of Saint-Quentin', 19–37; V. B. Jordan, 'The role of kingship in tenth-century Normandy: hagiography of Dudo of Saint-Quentin', *HSJ*, 3 (1991), 53–62; Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1997); Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *History of the Normans: Translation with an Introduction and Notes*, trans. E. Christiansen (Woodbridge, 1998); M. Arnoux, 'Before the *Gesta Normannorum* and beyond Dudo: some evidence on early Norman historiography', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 22 (1999), 29–48; P. Bouet, 'Dudon de Saint-Quentin et le martyre de Guillaume Longue-Épée', in *Les Saints dans la Normandie Médiévale*, ed. P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen, 2000), 237–58; E. Albu, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (Woodbridge, 2001), Ch. 1; B. S. Bachrach, 'Writing Latin history for a lay audience c. 1000: Dudo of Saint-Quentin at the Norman court', *HSJ*, 20 (2009), 58–77; Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*. See Bates, *Normandy*, pp. 10–11 for the judgement on Dudo's reputation now so completely overturned.

has consequently become clear that the *De moribus* owed much to the Classics, particularly Virgil's *Aeneid*, although Dudo also drew heavily on Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*, the *Life of St Lambert* (of Liège), and the *Life of St Germanus* (of Auxerre).<sup>9</sup> He knew the *Annals* composed by Flodoard of Reims, too, and perhaps also the nearly contemporary *Histories* of Richer of Reims. He wove these various sources together in a work that recognized and celebrated the Normans' Scandinavian origins (although he made Rollo a Dane rather than a Norwegian), that saw their desire to assimilate with the Franks first waver and then disappear as a result of a series of betrayals by Frankish counts and kings, and which emphasized that the settlers had become Christian Normans rather than remaining pagan Northmen, not least in a lengthy episode whereby Richard I insisted that his Scandinavian auxiliaries must convert to Christianity if they wanted to remain in the duchy under his rule.<sup>10</sup>

The nature of the events Dudo recorded, the speeches he put into his characters' mouths, and the asides to his audience(s) that he included in his poems, all suggest that he was writing a work of high politics, intended to resonate with a number of audiences simultaneously. He was, then, doing far more than indulging in a literary competition with Richer of Reims and Aimoin of Fleury and/or providing a model of how to compose different styles of prose and poetry for young scholars in Frankish schools.<sup>11</sup> It is of course *possible* that the *De moribus* was in part a work of intellectual vanity or instruction, but the content and direction of his narrative suggests that Dudo was not principally working in an intellectual arena but a political one, and that the contents of his book were intended to be heard or read and digested and disseminated by the educated churchmen who attended Richard II's court. That might be to read far too much into Dudo's work and to credit him with more than his share of political nous, yet anyone working alongside Duke Richard II, especially one who stood close enough to the duke to describe himself as his chancellor,<sup>12</sup> would surely have been able to see that there was a need to address the duke's relations with his Breton, Frankish, and English neighbours, and a need also to promote a sense of unity among the duke's own subjects. And so I conclude that Dudo's *De moribus* should be seen as a pamphlet or manifesto intended to justify and legitimize Richard II's position vis-à-vis his neighbours and to help to create a stronger and more positive sense

<sup>9</sup> L. Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 151–2; Dudo, p. xxi; Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 197–223.

<sup>10</sup> Dudo, pp. 156–62.

<sup>11</sup> As suggested by Dudo, pp. xx–xxi and L. B. Mortensen, 'Stylistic choices in a reborn genre: the national histories of Widukind of Corvey and Dudo of St Quentin', in *Dudone di San Quintino*, ed. P. Gatti and A. Degl'Innocenti (Trent, 1995), pp. 100–1.

<sup>12</sup> RADN, no. 18 and see below, *infra*, pp. 31, 33.

of what it meant to be a Norman. The extent to which either Richard I or Richard II imposed this programme on Dudo is a separate question, and one which evades an answer, too.

Dudo's intentions, as outlined here, would have been achievable even if the book were only known to those present at Richard II's court, for they represented a wide constituency.<sup>13</sup> The duke himself was given a gallery of ruler portraits, some of which provided models for his edification and others of which warned him against the sort of behaviour considered unsuitable for a duke. William Longsword, for example, was portrayed as having become confused about the Christian behaviour appropriate for a ruler. Convinced that the monastic life was the only correct form of Christian life, he had to be cajoled into fighting for his duchy, fathering a son, and remaining duke at least until that son achieved his majority.<sup>14</sup> He was also depicted as having been too trusting and too peaceable, and to have paid the price with martyrdom/murder at the hands of the cronies of Count Arnulf of Flanders.<sup>15</sup> Richard I, in contrast, got the balance right. He lived according to the Beatitudes, but in a way that was appropriate for a ruler (who might also become a holy confessor).<sup>16</sup>

It is possible that Duke Richard II could have understood some of this for himself. In any event, and despite the ink that has been spilt on the question of whether the *De moribus* was directly accessible to Duke Richard and his courtiers or not, the fact remains that, even if they could not read it themselves, passages could still have been read aloud to them, with the various poems perhaps even sung, by way of entertainment at feasts or assemblies.<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Tyler and Henry Bainton have discussed the oral performance of historical works at court in eleventh- and twelfth-century England, and it is entirely possible that such

<sup>13</sup> H. Prentout, *Essai sur les origines et fondation du duché de normandie* (Paris, 1911), pp. 139–41.

<sup>14</sup> *Dudo*, pp. 63, 67, 77–8, and see Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 73–4.

<sup>15</sup> *Dudo*, pp. 82–3 and see below, Chapter 1, pp. 59–60 and Chapter 4, pp. 198–201.

<sup>16</sup> See Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 75–8.

<sup>17</sup> The orality and aurality of narratives and *acta* seem often to have been forgotten or else dismissed by historians, who have consequently focused instead on the extent of literacy in Normandy and at the ducal court (Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 184; Bachrach, 'Writing Latin history', 61–71). However, the absence of an explicit mention that the *De moribus* was read aloud in Latin and/or French does not allow the possibility to be dismissed outright, as Bachrach did. Indeed, the punctuation of the poems suggests that they were intended to be read aloud (Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 18–19, 255–6; F. Lifshitz, [review of] 'Pohl, Benjamin. *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum: Tradition, Innovation and Memory*', *The Medieval Review*, 16 January 2015 <<http://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/20857/26863>> accessed 6 February 2016).



performances took place in early eleventh-century Normandy, too.<sup>18</sup> Even if the allusions to classical and hagiographic models were (mostly) missed by a lay audience, there were still important and comprehensible messages in Dudo's work that would have been easily understood by the Norman *illiterati*. And that the work was intended for aural consumption is indicated by the fact that, 'more than half of the surviving medieval manuscripts of Dudo's prosimetrical work contain an "elaborate system of *positurae* used to punctuate the [book's] metrical poetry" to facilitate oral performance'.<sup>19</sup>

There were also messages for others at the duke's court. Edward (the future Confessor) and Alfred, Richard's nephews, might have been encouraged by the report of the support that Rollo had offered to English kings.<sup>20</sup> They might have gained consolation, too, from being informed that both Longsword and Richard I were saints who might support or supplant their own kinsman, Edward the Martyr.<sup>21</sup> Two more of Richard II's nephews, Alan and Odo of Brittany, might have been less delighted to hear of the grant of Brittany to Rollo and the subsequent oaths of fidelity sworn by Breton leaders to Norman dukes.<sup>22</sup> Richard II's *fidelis*, Nigel of the Cotentin, would similarly have learned of the service rendered to the dukes by the tenth-century lords of the Cotentin, while perhaps being flattered by the recollection of their martial vigour.<sup>23</sup> And the duke's half-brothers were informed why it was that Richard II ruled and they were mere counts.<sup>24</sup> Others of the duke's relatives and kinsmen through marriage found their lineage celebrated, not just by way of the sanctity of Richard I, but also by the pedigree and praise of Richard I's wife, Gunnor, albeit that she was not named in the earliest versions of the work.<sup>25</sup>

It is likely that Frankish prelates and lords also attended Richard II's court. King Robert was himself there in 1006, Richard's patronage of the canons and monks of Chartres would suggest that clergy from the Chartrain were at least occasionally present, while other clergymen might have been sent as ambassadors

<sup>18</sup> E. M. Tyler, 'Talking about history in eleventh-century England: the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and the court of Harthacnut', *EME*, 13 (2005), 364–7, 373; H. Bainton, 'Literate sociability and historical writing in later twelfth-century England', *ANS*, 34 (2012), 23–39, and see also Mortensen, 'Stylistic choice', pp. 95–9, although he did not think that the structure of Dudo's work lent itself to oral performance (p. 100).

<sup>19</sup> Lifshitz, review of Pohl in *The Medieval Review* (see n. 17); Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 18–19, 156–65, 255.

<sup>20</sup> *Dudo*, pp. 30–2, 39–41.

<sup>21</sup> See below, Chapter 2, p. 87 and Chapter 4, pp. 198–205.

<sup>22</sup> *Dudo*, pp. 49, 60–3, 107, 139.

<sup>23</sup> *Dudo*, pp. 80, 112, 115–16.

<sup>24</sup> *Dudo*, p. 164.

<sup>25</sup> *Dudo*, pp. 163–4, and see below, Chapter 1, pp. 67–9, 77.

to seek the duke's help and favour, just as Dudo had been c. 987. But Richard attended Frankish courts and joined in Frankish campaigns, too, and as Dudo was also associated with the college at Saint-Quentin, it is possible that he also publicized his book when resident in Picardy. That is suggested by the dedicatory letter to Adalbero of Laon, which would have provided another avenue by which the work could have become known to the French king and his court.<sup>26</sup> Leading figures in the Frankish political and religious hierarchies could thus have been informed about why Richard II acted as he did and, perhaps, refused to offer service in return for his duchy, and they would also have been impressed by the Normans' new-found respectability since 'the obvious, and indeed the only, route to historical respectability' in the Frankish world was to feature in a Latin history:<sup>27</sup> 'To have a history written in Latin was to emphasize one's Christianity and one's cultivation. To be the patron of such a work was to be princely; to have such a history written about one's territory was testimony to its importance.'<sup>28</sup>

Dudo's work, then, is complex and multi-layered and was almost certainly intended to speak to a number of different constituencies within and without Normandy at the same time. Its purpose was to reconcile all parties to the existence of an autonomous duchy of Normandy ruled by a line of Scandinavian dukes, whose attachment to Christianity was certain and who desired peace with their neighbours – but who could and would oppose and defeat any who attempted to destroy them. But above all, Dudo emphasized the right of Rollo's line to rule the duchy, the dukes' God-given mission to forge a united Christian *regnum* from the various peoples who lived within their territory, and the right of this Scandinavian-led enclave to remain free from the demands for homage and service usually rendered to the king of the Franks by other princes.

That claim to freedom from homage and service was a subject that most likely remained very much alive throughout the eleventh century, and which would become a cause of friction in the twelfth. It might help to explain the hiatus in the

<sup>26</sup> This suggestion is pursued below, Chapter 5, pp. 256–62. It has been made previously, although slightly elliptically, by Shopkow, 'The Carolingian world of Dudo of Saint-Quentin', p. 33. The idea was dismissed by Christiansen (*Dudo*, p. xxviii), but only on the grounds that if that had been the intention, Duke Richard could have approached King Robert directly. That summary dismissal consequently ignored the possibility that Adalbero might be used as an intercessor, like a saint, or like the French chancellor, Hugh of Champfleury, who had offered to act as an intermediary between Owain Gwynedd and King Louis VII in the 1160s (H. Pryce, 'Owain Gwynedd and Louis VII: the Franco-Welsh diplomacy of the first prince of Wales', *The Welsh History Review*, 19 (1998), 6).

<sup>27</sup> Bachrach, 'Writing Latin history', 59.

<sup>28</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 185; Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 44, 83, 106, 116, 119.

copying of the text that seems to have occupied Curthose's reign, since he brought his duchy into a close and essentially dependent relationship with King Philip of the Franks to which the sentiments in the *De moribus* were clearly opposed.<sup>29</sup> In contrast, Henry's determination to keep Louis VI at a political distance, despite the increasing pressure that the French king brought to bear in order to obtain his homage and service, might have given Dudo's defence of Norman autonomy a new lease of life. It would also in turn explain the production of an illustrated copy of the manuscript probably made during Henry's reign, which was presumably intended to act as a justification for the duke's claims to autonomy that could be understood by an illiterate, and therefore lay, audience as much as by a clerical or monastic one.<sup>30</sup>

The manuscript in question (Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1173), which was intended to be illustrated, was discovered by Leah Shopkow, but has subsequently been considered at much greater length by Ben Pohl who has also reconstructed the picture cycle that was to accompany Dudo's text.<sup>31</sup> His survey suggests that the majority of the images relate to the dukes' interactions with the Franks, and that the culmination of the cycle (if not quite the last image) was an illustration of the scene whereby Louis IV renewed his oath acknowledging Richard I as the rightful ruler of the duchy and granting that he should hold his territory free of any obligation to do homage or provide service.<sup>32</sup> It is this that suggests the manuscript was intended principally to speak to the threat to the duchy's autonomy posed by King Louis rather than, for example, to the sanctity of Longsword and Richard I. Although Pohl dated MS 1173 to c. 1075, Felice Lifshitz has pointed out

<sup>29</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 5 noted the hiatus, but explained it in relation to the novelty factor of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*.

<sup>30</sup> Pohl appears to dismiss the possibility that the manuscript might have been intended to carry a political message, and sees it instead solely as a diplomatic gift or display copy (Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 193–5). One of the remarks Lifshitz made during her review of Pohl's book is worth repeating here: 'By ignoring the specific political contexts that presumably conditioned the production of the extant manuscripts of the *HN*, Pohl has actually missed the chance fully to investigate the evolving significance and function of Dudo's *HN* during the decades when Normandy formed part of (what I will designate for convenience's sake) the Anglo-Norman realm and then the Angevin Empire' (Lifshitz, review of Pohl in *The Medieval Review* (see n. 17)).

<sup>31</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 220–1; Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 173–97; Pohl, 'The illustrated archetype of the *Historia Normannorum*: did Dudo write a "chronicon pictum"?' *ANS*, 37 (2015), 221–51. It is not clear that Pohl was aware of Shopkow's earlier discovery, as he mistakenly claimed that the existence of this copy of the *De moribus* has been 'unrecognized in previous scholarship' (Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, p. 195).

<sup>32</sup> *Dudo*, p. 121; Pohl, pp. 191–2.

that he used the same criterion to date another manuscript to the early twelfth century.<sup>33</sup> As such, the physical appearance of the manuscript need not speak against its production during Henry's reign. Dating the manuscript to the early twelfth century would also permit it to be seen as one of a number of examples of illustrated narratives produced at about the same time. Others include John of Worcester's *Chronicle*, with its images of Henry I's nightmares and his narrow escape from shipwreck, and the cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel, made in the later 1140s, with its images that accompany the foundation narrative and some of the earliest acts preserved in it.<sup>34</sup> About the same time, c. 1139, Robert of Torigni would add back into his revision of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* much of the material in Dudo's *De moribus* that William of Jumièges had excised when composing his work during the 1050s.<sup>35</sup> Torigni's revised *Gesta* thus emphasized in its text, as MS 1173 did in its images, the divinely ordained nature of autonomous Norman rule in Normandy at a time when it was coming under ever more serious threat.<sup>36</sup> Parts of Dudo's narrative thus remained highly relevant more than a century after he completed it and continued to attract copyists and an audience as a result.

### *William of Jumièges*

In the middle of the eleventh century, William of Jumièges, a monk of that abbey, who apparently did not have any close connection to the ducal court, compiled a serial biography of all seven dukes of the Normans who had ruled the duchy from its inception in 911 to his own day. His work was called the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (*The Deeds of the Dukes of the Normans*).

It is now, I think unanimously, accepted that the first version of the work was written and completed around 1057, with a second edition begun at some point after 1066 and completed by 1070.<sup>37</sup> There are no witnesses to this first version of the *Gesta*. Instead both identification and dating depend on a close reading of the earliest existing text and the recognition that there are some surprising omissions from the narrative, best explained by presuming that Jumièges had already stopped writing before the events in question took place. It seems unlikely that

<sup>33</sup> Lifshitz, review of Pohl in *The Medieval Review* (see n. 17).

<sup>34</sup> The dating of the cartulary has been revisited and revised by Katharine Keats-Rohan and Thomas Bisson, whose findings taken together suggest that the cartulary was composed between 1145 and 1150: *Ctl. Mont-Saint-Michel*, p. 13; T. N. Bisson, 'The "annuary" of Abbot Robert de Torigni (1155–1159)', *ANS*, 33 (2011), 65.

<sup>35</sup> The *Gesta Normannorum ducum* is discussed in the following section.

<sup>36</sup> Jumièges, i. lxxviii–lxxxii. Van Houts did not consider the political context when discussing the restoration of these passages.

<sup>37</sup> Jumièges, i. xxxii.

much was added to the existing material in the first seven books when Jumièges picked up his quill again, except perhaps some of the passages relating to the dukes' relationship with the kings of the English. So far as Normandy and Norman affairs are concerned, then, it may be presumed that the existing manuscripts more or less accurately reflect the text of this first edition up to and including the depiction of the battle of Varaville in 1057.

It is extremely unlikely that the work was originally commissioned by Duke William. As the following discussion will suggest, Jumièges wrote with the intention of reconciling Norman lords to the duke and vice versa, following the rebellions and invasions of the period between c. 1040 and 1157. That he was writing with these *two* objectives in mind would seem to eliminate the possibility of ducal patronage. It is, however, possible that the second edition of the work was commissioned by the new King William, in the hope that Jumièges could repeat his trick of reconciling two opposing factions with each other. In any event, there would certainly have been a different dedicatory letter at the beginning of the first edition of the work to that which survives as a preface to the second. How different that first letter was from the second in terms of its content is, of course, unknowable.

The first four books of William's work were based on Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *De moribus*. But Jumièges did not slavishly copy out this work. Instead, he abridged it, omitting some episodes altogether, such as those where the still-pagan Rollo, who would become the first duke of the Normans, received divinely inspired visions, interpreted in one instance by a Christian prisoner, that revealed his future rule over the future duchy to be the result of God's will.

These various changes have been remarked and discussed in earlier work on William, in particular by Elisabeth van Houts, Leah Shopkow, and Emily Albu. These commentators have attributed the cuts principally to the fact that William of Jumièges was a monk and was therefore unwilling to promote the story fabricated by Dudo, a secular canon, of pagan Vikings acting at God's bidding.<sup>38</sup> Thus Albu remarked, following the explanation found in the *existing* prefatory letter, that while William wanted to emphasize virtues he did not want to glorify the acts performed by men when they were pagans, and he did not want to describe in detail violent military actions for risk of glorifying them.<sup>39</sup> Others have suggested that his editing was instead the result of a chronological detachment from the events he described or 'dissimilarities in the two writers' educations and institutional affiliations'.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Jumièges, i. xxxv, xxxvii–xxxviii; Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, p. 56; Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 3, 130–2, 227.

<sup>39</sup> Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, pp. 55–6.

<sup>40</sup> Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 3–4.

These explanations miss the crucial point, however, which is that William had not just a different (monastic) viewpoint from Dudo, but also a different agenda. Dudo had intended to show *inter alia* that the Norman dukes were autonomous rulers of their duchy, who owed no service or homage to the kings of the French as a result of Frankish perfidy. To that end, he wrote of Rollo's princely status and defence of those Danes the king of the Danes had chosen to exile, of divinely inspired visions, and of saintly dukes. But Jumièges had an entirely different intention in mind, which related to internal rather than external political relationships, and which required him to revise and abridge Dudo's narrative.

Jumièges was consequently doing far more than taking the moral pruning shears to Dudo's earlier work. While that gave him a starting point for his attack on his predecessor, the complaints that William voiced about Dudo's methodology were themselves necessary if he was to achieve his objective, because, by the 1050s, Dudo's story had become established as the one and only formally sanctioned narrative of events.

Jumièges thus found ways to undermine, or at least nuance and qualify, Dudo's history. He began by attacking Dudo's methodology, stating that much of what his predecessor had written about the first duke, Rollo, was 'merely flattering'.<sup>41</sup> The implication was that Dudo's work had been inaccurate elsewhere, too, although Jumièges did not say this expressly.

Jumièges then emphasized the quality of his own work by baldly stating that he had made use of the eye-witness testimony of Richard I's half-brother, Count Rodulf. He did this at the end of Book IV, in other words at the close of the section of his work that covered the same ground as Dudo's earlier narrative: 'Thus far I have collected the facts as told by Count Rodulf, brother of the duke, a great and honest man.'<sup>42</sup> On one reading, he was doing nothing more than emphasizing the truthfulness of his own work by making reference to the original informant, whose testimony came to him *at second hand*, through the words written by Dudo of Saint-Quentin. But while he would acknowledge that Rodulf was Dudo's source of information in his (*later*) dedicatory letter,<sup>43</sup> he might not have done so originally and certainly did not do so here, and so those without the *De moribus* in front of them could easily have been fooled by William's sleight of hand into believing that he was making a claim for the veracity of his account *against* that found in the *De moribus*.<sup>44</sup> From Book V onwards, however, William of Jumièges

<sup>41</sup> Jumièges, i. 6.

<sup>42</sup> Jumièges, i. 134.

<sup>43</sup> Jumièges, i. 4.

<sup>44</sup> George Garnett's discussions of Richard I's death and succession suggest that even today this remark about the testimony of Count Rodulf can cause uncertainty, although the wording of the note in question is a little unclear: G. Garnett, "Ducal" succession in

was on his own and did not have to worry about what earlier writers had said when shaping his arguments.

When he came to write his *Gesta*, Jumièges seems to have had two linked objectives in mind. One of them was identified by Leah Shopkow some years ago. She realized that Jumièges wanted to bring discontented Norman lords to accept William the Bastard's right to rule. She remarked that: 'William of Jumièges ... needed to justify William's succession by an appeal to contemporary ideas of authority. He had to accomplish this without overt reference to William the Bastard's illegitimacy, a point on which the duke was reportedly touchy. He rewrote Dudo's version of history to do this.'<sup>45</sup> In particular, Jumièges emphasized the right of the reigning duke to designate his successor, amending Dudo's *De moribus* to give each of them a much greater role in directing the succession to their chosen heir.<sup>46</sup> That made Duke Robert's establishment of his illegitimate son as his heir, recognized by the Norman *principes* through their oaths of fidelity and homage, binding. Jumièges returned to the importance of these oaths of fidelity when noting their breach by various rebels, allowing Shopkow to declare that: 'William emphasized fidelity to bolster the legitimacy of Norman rule.'<sup>47</sup>

Jumièges also undermined the criticism of Duke William's succession on the grounds of his illegitimate birth. In his *Gesta*, marriages *more Danico*, which to Christians were not marriages at all, were legitimate. This would have been an unusual view for a Benedictine monk to have held, were he not trying to make a political statement – although it is worth noting that the Burgundian writer Ralph Glaber, who knew Normandy quite well, had made this same point in the 1030s.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, William the Bastard's birth was implicitly compared with that of Duke Richard I, whose great deeds and triumphs were rehearsed by Jumièges in his Book IV. The point, clearly made, was that illegitimate birth did not preclude an extremely successful reign, and that similar circumstances would produce a similar result. In addition, what had become a problematic passage in Dudo's work that privileged Christian marriages over other 'forbidden' unions was quashed in Jumièges rewriting.<sup>49</sup> What all of this also suggests, of course, is

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. 89 and n. 46, 96 and n. 81; G. Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 144–5 and n. 71.

<sup>45</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 83.

<sup>46</sup> See below, Chapter 6, pp. 312–17.

<sup>47</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 86.

<sup>48</sup> Glaber, p. 204, and see below Chapter 6.

<sup>49</sup> For the suppression of the passage compare *Dudo*, pp. 163–4 and Jumièges, i. 128–30, where Richard's marriage with Gunnor is *more Christiano* from the outset. See also Shopkow,

that Orderic was not imposing the conventions of his own day on William's when emphasizing the problems that had been caused by the duke's illegitimate birth.<sup>50</sup>

To demonstrate that William the Bastard was the legitimate duke, and to suggest that his reign would be a success despite the problems he had faced during the period to c. 1057, Jumièges used episodes from earlier reigns to prefigure the events of William's day. He thus flattened time, which perhaps explains why, as Emily Albu remarked, 'with his indifference towards personalities, he ... allows the dukes to flow together in the reader's memory'.<sup>51</sup> So, for example, the beginning of Richard I's reign had been a time of danger for the duke and for his duchy, but eventually Richard had triumphed over King Louis IV as a result of the support of his guardians and *fideles*. The beginning of William the Bastard's reign was not so dissimilar, and the defeat of Louis IV on the banks of the Dives by Richard I's allies in 945 prefigured the defeat of King Henry I of the French on the banks of the same river in 1057. Similarly, Jumièges described the marriage of Richard I to Emma Capet in 960 in almost identical terms to the marriage of William to Matilda of Flanders c. 1049.<sup>52</sup>

Jumièges tells us that Richard I's successor, Richard II, had suffered the same sorts of danger as William during the first years of his rule. The peace was disturbed by a conspiracy of peasants, who colluded together. They were punished by Count Rodulf on the duke's behalf, who cut off the hands and feet of the peasants when they met at an assembly. Thus, too, were the townsmen of Alençon punished when they rebelled against William the Bastard c. 1052. Richard II had also been troubled by a long-lasting rebellion. His half-brother William rose against him in the Hiémois c. 1000. He was captured but then escaped and was finally forgiven and reinstated. Meanwhile, his supporters had continued the war in his absence. All was well that ended well, however; 'after the unrest had calmed down the land of Normandy rejoiced in peace under the duke'.<sup>53</sup> Anybody reading this passage after the revolts of 1047 and 1053 could, and probably would, have made the obvious comparisons with the rebellions of Guy of Burgundy (1046–7) and William of Arques (1053). Richard II subsequently became embroiled in a war with Odo II of Chartres, which was settled by King Robert the Pious. Afterwards, Richard II rode against the French king's enemies as part of his army. It is tempting to see this last episode as a justification of the assistance William the Bastard provided to King Henry I during his Mouliherne

*History and Community*, p. 84 and the discussion of the succession found in Chapter 6, as noted above.

<sup>50</sup> See for example, Jumièges, ii. 94–6; Orderic, iv. 82–4.

<sup>51</sup> Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, p. 73.

<sup>52</sup> Noted by van Houts: Jumièges, i. lvi.

<sup>53</sup> Jumièges, ii. 10.



campaign c. 1048, after Henry had supported William against the Norman rebels at the battle of Val-ès-Dunes.<sup>54</sup>

There are, then, a number of echoes throughout the *Gesta* which seem intended to link together different events which took place at different times. Jumièges sometimes repeated words or phrases to make the comparisons clearer, although this was by no means always the case, or even common. For example, the descriptions of the punishments of the peasants who revolted against Richard II on the one hand, and the treatment of the defenders at Alençon on the other, have just three words in common: *manibus*, *pedibus*, and *paterentur*. But they would nonetheless have been noted by an audience used to thinking of history as comprising a set of repeating situations,<sup>55</sup> who would also have known that the later repetitions and echoes should be interpreted or judged in the same light as the earlier events. Indeed, the fact that the audience was given the satisfaction of being allowed to join the dots themselves would have given them an investment in the interpretation that Jumièges had steered them towards, making it stronger.

But there was more to the *Gesta* than this. The second objective was set out, or perhaps alluded to, by Jumièges himself. He wrote in the (later) dedicatory letter to King William that prefaces the second edition of his work that his *Gesta* had been written ‘for the recollection of the exemplary deeds of your most pious predecessors in the most exalted of secular offices’. In other words, the book was intended as a mirror for princes and lords.

Leah Shopkow and Emily Albu both picked up on this comment, but neither thought that Jumièges had successfully achieved his aim. For Shopkow at least, this was because the *Gesta* is largely devoid of characterization and consequently fails to provide much in the way of moral guidance.<sup>56</sup> But that is to assume that Jumièges intended his mirror to reflect a full range of appropriate behaviours back at his readers. If his mirror was intended to show William the Bastard just two or three aspects of rulership – in this case the importance of pardon, reconciliation, and community – then he may be thought to have been considerably more successful.

And so, in the years that immediately followed William the Bastard’s victory over King Henry of the French and Count Geoffrey Martel of Anjou at Varaville, Duke William was told that for Normandy to recover fully after the intermittent turmoil it had endured since his succession, he needed to forgive and forget, because Normandy was strongest when the duke worked in concert with his

<sup>54</sup> Jumièges, ii. 34–6.

<sup>55</sup> See on this Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 67–8 (and p. 67, n. 3), 84, 133–4.

<sup>56</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 191.

subjects.<sup>57</sup> In this attempt at a reconciliation between a ruler and his subjects, the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* is comparable to two narratives written a century or so later. The first, the Hyde (Warenne) Chronicle, was composed with the intention of reminding Henry II of the help provided by the Warenne family to the Norman dukes and kings in the hope that Henry would be inspired to return that portion of the Warenne lands that he had taken into his own hands in Normandy to their rightful owner, William of Blois, King Stephen's son, who had inherited the Warenne honour through marriage.<sup>58</sup> Such at least is the view of the chronicle's most recent editor, Elisabeth van Houts. The second is Jordan Fantosme's verse chronicle about the Great War of 1173–4, which Matthew Strickland and Laura Ashe have told us was intended to reconcile Henry II with his son, Henry the young king, and others of the rebels who had fought against him.<sup>59</sup>

Jumièges went about this aspect of his work by ensuring that his dukes shared the limelight with their leading subjects. While the dukes remain the leaders and the figures who cause events to happen – this is after all the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* – they are not allowed to unbalance the narrative or entirely eclipse their loyal subjects. They were certainly not allowed to become the principal reason for Norman successes. Indeed, Jumièges ensured that the Normans as a people were always kept at the forefront of his account. 'At this time', he wrote, 'the Normans always used to put their enemies to flight, but fled before none of them (*Cuius tempore etatis semper fuerunt assueti hostes fugare Normanni, terga uertere nulli*)'.<sup>60</sup> This intention to emphasize community and concerted action was also reflected in his retelling of the story by which Rollo came to lead the Normans. Instead of Dudo's princely warrior with divine visions, the Rollo of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* is simply one of a number of Viking warriors who became their leader as the result of the casting of lots. William the Bastard's ancestor, then, had been the first among equals who owed his position to chance. God had nothing to do with it.

In addition to underlining the need for community and concerted action, Jumièges also showed how earlier dukes had almost always reconciled with

<sup>57</sup> The Black Book of Saint-Ouen includes an eleventh- or twelfth-century list of the virtues and vices of different peoples. In this list, the Norman vice is rapacity and the virtue is *communio*: 'the ability to act together' (noted in Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 15–16).

<sup>58</sup> Hyde, p. xiii.

<sup>59</sup> See M. Strickland, 'Arms and the men: war, loyalty and lordship in Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle', *Medieval Knighthood IV. Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 187–220; L. Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 81–120.

<sup>60</sup> Jumièges, ii. 34.

those who had rebelled against them. In doing so, he was of course urging Duke William to reconcile with those who had rebelled against him. But at the time he was writing, those rebellions were still recent history and the wounds they had caused were still open. Jumièges thus trod carefully. He recognized that not all rebels had offended equally, and abandoned those who had committed especially heinous crimes to their fate.

This is most clearly seen in his division of those who had rebelled against William into two categories. First, there were those who had acted treacherously by calling on the king of the French for help in their revolts. Secondly, there were those who had simply defied the duke and relied on their own strength, even if in combination with others, when fighting against him. Jumièges seems to suggest that the two different types of rebel ought to be punished differently in accordance with the severity of their crimes.

So far as Jumièges was concerned, those few rebels in the former category, who included Thurstan Goz, *vicomte* of the Hiémois, and Count William of Arques, William's uncle and contemporary, might justly suffer permanent exile and forfeiture. His desire to make that point clearly led to a chronological problem when it came to writing up the events of William the Bastard's reign. Thurstan had rebelled c. 1043 and William of Arques c. 1053, but their two rebellions were separated by the domestic insurgency led by Guy of Burgundy. As a result, Jumièges was obliged to deal with the rebellion of Count William of Arques out of chronological order. This has been remarked upon in the past, for example by David Douglas and Elisabeth van Houts, but no convincing reason for it has been suggested.<sup>61</sup>

In contrast, the second category of rebel, those who had been more restrained and had not treacherously sought the aid of the French, could and should be forgiven. Jumièges provided models from previous reigns to make the point. Thus Richard II forgave his rebellious half-brother William, while Richard III forgave William the Bastard's own father, Robert. Duke Robert was made to recognize that he had been mistaken to attack Archbishop Robert of Rouen, having been misled by wicked men's advice. Jumièges added that after the two men had been reconciled they worked together for the remainder of Duke Robert's life.<sup>62</sup> William of Bellême, too, was forgiven after his revolt against Robert the Magnificent and restored to Alençon, even though it turned out to be an error. But still, he got his just deserts in the end, and at least the duke had given him a second chance.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> The misplacing of the rebellion is noted in Jumièges, i. liii and D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964), p. 66, n. 1, although no reason for it is suggested.

<sup>62</sup> Jumièges, ii. 48.

<sup>63</sup> Jumièges, ii. 50.

Even Bishop Hugh of Bayeux, despite the lack of justification for his revolt c. 1031, and despite the fact that he had employed French mercenaries to fight the duke (but had not turned to the French king), was restored to at least some of his possessions (if not to the duke's favour) after his rebellion had been defeated.

Hugh of Bayeux's rebellion in some ways parallels that of Thurstan Goz. And while Thurstan might himself have remained an exile, his son Richard would, by the time Jumièges wrote, have become *vicomte* of Avranches. He could consequently have been one of those Jumièges was referring to when he remarked that William had already reconciled with some former rebels and insurgents in a stage-whispered aside: 'I should have mentioned them by name, had I not wished to avoid their burning hatred. But yet, I shall whisper to all of you, surrounding me, that these are the very men who now claim to be most faithful, and have received so many honours from the duke.'<sup>64</sup> Another probable target for those words would have been Roger II of Montgomery, whose father had been no friend to either the young duke or the monks of Jumièges. That William delivered this comment as an aside was clearly not the result of any feeling of intimidation.<sup>65</sup> He would simply have remained silent if he had genuinely felt threatened. Instead, this touch – perhaps dramatized when the *Gesta* was read aloud – was almost certainly a comment on the injustice of pardoning some former rebels but continuing to punish others for similar offences.

That of course implies that Jumièges had a particular unforgiven rebel in mind, and it does seem that he was especially concerned to achieve a reconciliation between Duke William and Nigel II of the Cotentin – soon to be Nigel of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte – who remained in exile after his part in the revolt of 1046–47 until c. 1060 – about three years after Jumièges completed his first edition of the *Gesta*. He was certainly still *persona non grata* in 1059 when he was to be found in the French army besieging Norman-held Thimert.<sup>66</sup> William's account of how Nigel's father, Nigel I, fought off an English attack designed to inflict shame and harm on Richard II c. 1008, as well as the record of how the same Nigel was given custody of the castles at Tillières and Chérueil, from both of which he successfully defended the duchy against foreign enemies, were no doubt intended to remind Duke William of the services rendered by Nigel's family in the past, and which would be rendered again in the future if only Nigel II were restored to his estates.<sup>67</sup>

Such arguments were thought to have been employed by others at a later date. Orderic reported that, in 1090, Roger of Beaumont sought to obtain the release

<sup>64</sup> Jumièges, ii. 92.

<sup>65</sup> Described as such by Garnett, *Conquered England*, p. 149.

<sup>66</sup> See below, Chapter 2, pp. 107–9, 111.

<sup>67</sup> Jumièges, ii. 12, 22–4, 58.

of his son from the duke's prison by reminding him that, 'I have remained at all times faithful to the dukes of Normandy. I have never deceived my lord; on the contrary I have borne much toil and peril for his sake ... From my childhood I have always chosen the path of loyalty; this is the inheritance that I received from my grandfather Tuold and my father Humfrey and have treasured all my life long in adversity and prosperity.'<sup>68</sup> It may consequently be supposed that Jumièges and Orderic at least thought that such reminders of the loyal service rendered by predecessors might also be used as a promise of future loyalty.

And as it happened, Nigel II was recalled c. 1060, which is close enough to the completion of the first edition of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* to be tempted to think that Jumièges had achieved his objective. In any event, Nigel II seems to have developed an affection for the monks of Jumièges after his return to Normandy, manifested most clearly in his refoundation of the college at Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte as an abbey staffed by monks from Jumièges. The foundation deed for the new monastery dates from c. 1080, but it is quite possible that the monks had been introduced some years earlier.

The hypothesis presented here explains why Jumièges abridged Dudo's work in the way he did; why he included the anecdote about Nigel of the Cotentin's defeat of Æthelred's English in the Cotentin c. 1008; the chronological misplacement of William of Arques's rebellion in the narrative; and the stage whispered aside, all of which have been remarked upon but not satisfactorily explained in the past. That the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* had this particular function did not of course prevent it from living on after William had been reconciled with the erstwhile rebels, for the spare narrative readily lent itself to addition, elaboration, and revision.

If the above hypothesis is correct, and Jumièges had helped to reconcile the Norman lords to their duke and vice versa, that would also explain why – as seems likely – the newly crowned William the Conqueror turned to this same monk after the Conquest and asked him to add to his existing work in order to promote a second reconciliation, this time between William and his new English subjects. Unfortunately, Jumièges would die before the work was completed, and his untimely demise meant that King William would be obliged to turn elsewhere for what he wanted. It is tempting to think that, during the dark days of 1070, the new king would have continued to believe that such a work was indeed necessary, and that he consequently turned to one of his own well-educated chaplains, William of Poitiers, to produce it. That would explain why Poitiers began his work only c. 1071. His approach, however, would be somewhat different from his predecessor's.

<sup>68</sup> Orderic, iv. 206.

## *William of Poitiers*

Orderic tells us that William of Poitiers

was a Norman by birth, a native of Préaux, and had a sister there who became abbess of the nunnery of Saint-Léger. We call him ‘of Poitiers’ because he drank deeply of the fountain of learning there. When he returned home he was conspicuous for his learning in his native parts, and as archdeacon helped the bishops of Lisieux, Hugh and Gilbert, in the administration of their diocese. He had been a brave soldier before entering the church, and had fought with warlike weapons for his earthly prince, so that he was all the better able to describe the battles he had seen through having himself some experience of the dire perils of war. In his old age he gave himself up to silence and prayer, and spent more time in composing narratives and verse than in discourse.<sup>69</sup>

Although, as suggested above, it is plausible that Poitiers was commissioned to write his *Gesta* by King William himself, Orderic reported only that he dedicated his work to the king, so it is possible that another might have been responsible.<sup>70</sup> Leah Shopkow tentatively put Bishop Hugh of Lisieux in the frame.<sup>71</sup> But it is equally possible that William wrote off his own bat to gain the new king’s favour and thus perhaps to win an archdeaconry or bishopric.

A similar uncertainty also surrounds the intended audience. Poitiers might have intended, or hoped, that his *Gesta* would be heard by those attending William the Bastard’s court, whether in England or in Normandy, not least because a number of the great and the good of the new Anglo-Norman *regnum* were lauded in its pages. At the same time, while Poitiers was good at building up to important and dramatic events, he almost always cut out the action itself, which might suggest he had a more literary and educated (and thus clerical) audience in mind.<sup>72</sup> Whether these churchmen were intended to be Normans or English is equally unclear. Both Leah Shopkow and Emily Albu apparently saw the work as written exclusively for Normans,<sup>73</sup> and Emily Winkler has followed their lead, albeit with some qualification,<sup>74</sup> but as the work is both a celebration of William’s reign and victory

<sup>69</sup> Orderic, ii. 258.

<sup>70</sup> Orderic, ii. 78.

<sup>71</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 44, 227.

<sup>72</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 228–30.

<sup>73</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 195, 228; Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, p. 87.

<sup>74</sup> E. A. Winkler, ‘The Norman conquest of the classical past: William of Poitiers, language, and history’, *JMH*, 42 (2016), 456–78.

and a justification of the conquest and Norman behaviour in its aftermath, it is perhaps more likely that it was intended principally for the consumption of the king's new subjects.

On one level, the *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers comprises a portrait of an exemplary ruler who successfully fulfilled all the criteria of Christian rulership.<sup>75</sup> The duke's people were protected by his peace, his justice was equitable, he protected and nurtured the Church and Christianity in his dominions, and his personal piety provided a moral compass for his subjects and ensured that God will look favourably on his endeavours.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, so favourable is the portrait, that many historians have found it more than a little sycophantic.<sup>77</sup> Nonetheless, what Poitiers tells us about William's rule in Normandy in Book I seems to be reliable. His flattery, then, might have led to hyperbole and superlatives, but he did at least stop short of outright fabrication.

The portrait of William as an ideal ruler was presumably intended to appeal to his new English subjects. Indeed, at one point Poitiers interrupted his narrative to make that appeal by way of authorial intervention: 'And you, too, you English land, would love him and hold him in the highest respect; you would gladly prostrate yourself entirely at his feet, if putting aside your folly and wickedness you could judge more soundly the kind of man into whose power you had come.'<sup>78</sup> The Normans, it might be noted, were never so addressed. But an English audience is also suggested because, as David Bates has plausibly noted, the *Gesta* seems to respond to a number of the criticisms being made by the English about the nature of their new foreign king's rule. These complaints are apparently reflected in the 'D' version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, much of which is contemporary with events. Thus, 'Poitiers's statement about the limits placed on the collection of tax and tribute stands in direct opposition to 'D's mention of the imposition of a "severe tax". His praise of the quality of the custodians of castles likewise confronts 'D's criticisms directly ... His need to state categorically that William's extensive generosity to churches in France was not a despoliation of the English Church looks like another reaction to an obvious criticism.'<sup>79</sup>

In addition, Poitiers addressed implied English criticisms about William's

<sup>75</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 91.

<sup>76</sup> Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 92–3.

<sup>77</sup> Most famously John Gillingham: J. Gillingham, 'William the Bastard at War', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill et al. (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 141.

<sup>78</sup> Poitiers, p. 156.

<sup>79</sup> D. Bates, 'The Conqueror's earliest historians and the writing of his biography', in *Writing Medieval Biography: Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, ed. D. Bates, J. Crick, and S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 132.

claim to the throne. His defence of the new king's actions was based on *English* law and custom, with William the recipient of a *post obitum* grant from Edward the Confessor, Harold a perjurer who should have refused the deathbed request in accordance with his former oath to the duke, and the coronation only proceeding after William had been made to observe a modesty topos by which the English leaders and then the non-Norman and therefore neutral Aimery of Thouars had begged William to take the crown.<sup>80</sup>

Poitiers also apparently attempted to reconcile William's new subjects to their new king through passages that compared and contrasted William with Julius Caesar and, to a lesser extent, Augustus, Aeneas, and Agamemnon.<sup>81</sup> The comparison with Julius Caesar might have begun with the story of William being snatched to safety and hidden away in lowly houses, which Orderic later embedded in the speech he put into William's mouth as he lay dying,<sup>82</sup> but within the surviving parts of the *Gesta* it can be traced through Poitiers's treatment of the siege of Alençon, in his remark that Caesar would have been terrified by the size of the army that King Henry of the French and Geoffrey of Anjou led into Normandy in 1054, and most obviously in the lengthy comparison of William's victory in 1066 with Caesar's less conclusive campaign.<sup>83</sup>

It may be supposed that the extended comparison/contrast with Caesar was designed to appease the English, first, by removing any sense of shame at being defeated by such a great general and, secondly, by inferring that just as Caesar had conquered England and thus civilized it, so William would reform the English Church, bring law and order to a dissolute country, and perhaps bring additional prestige to England as well by virtue of his power and reputation. The allusions to Aeneas and the *Aeneid* were employed for the same reason that they were used by Dudo: to portray William as the founder of a new dynasty that would unite the conquerors with the conquered to form a new and still stronger nation.

It is also possible, although not so clear, that Poitiers made these classical allusions in part to assert an 'imperial and civilized European identity' for William, as the anonymous author of the *Encomium Emmae reginae* had done for Cnut.<sup>84</sup> Although the comparison with Caesar seems too extended and too explicit for this purpose, even in the middle of the eleventh century the Normans were sometimes

<sup>80</sup> Poitiers, pp. 20, 70, 118–20 (Edward's gift of the kingdom to William and Harold's oath); 76–8, 118, 140 (perjury and deathbed bequest); 146–50 (election by English and Aimery of Thouars).

<sup>81</sup> See the detailed discussion in Winkler, 'The Norman conquest of the classical past', 461–75.

<sup>82</sup> Orderic, iv. 82.

<sup>83</sup> Poitiers, pp. 28, 46, 170–4, respectively.

<sup>84</sup> Tyler, 'Talking about history', 363.



seen as little better than Vikings,<sup>85</sup> so even if it were an unintended consequence it remains possible that the comparisons and allusions throughout the *Gesta Guillelmi* did help to make the Normans appear more civilized.

There is some evidence that the intention behind Poitiers' comparison would have been understood by an English audience, for the idea of Rome and its emperors remained vital into the eleventh century.<sup>86</sup> Thus two of the issues of pennies produced during the reign of Æthelred II depict the king as a Roman emperor, and were based on coins issued by the Emperor Maximian (286–310) and the usurper Magnentius (350–53).<sup>87</sup> Cnut went on pilgrimage to Rome in 1027 and attended the imperial coronation of Conrad II while he was there.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, his negotiations with the pope regarding English merchants and pilgrims indicate that more than a few Englishmen regularly made the journey to Rome and back.<sup>89</sup> A little later, the author of the *Encomium Emma Reginae* would equate Emma with Octavian, 'whose authoritative rule of the Roman Empire was legendary',<sup>90</sup> while the author of the *Vita Edwardi*, writing 1065–67, drew on Virgil's *Aeneid*, Lucan's *Civil War*, the *Thebaid* of Statius, and the poems of Ovid.<sup>91</sup> In both cases, there was apparently a presumption that 'a classicizing text could improve her situation at court'.<sup>92</sup> Poitiers, then, was writing in a tradition that had become established in England well before the Norman Conquest took place.

If Poitiers was addressing issues that were current in the years immediately following the conquest, and attempting to reconcile English prelates and lords with their Norman conquerors, then he most likely wrote his response c. 1071, soon after the monasteries had been 'sacked' and immediately after the death of Earl Edwin, which was the last thing he mentioned. It is unlikely that the work would have been begun much after that date, always supposing that it was indeed written for the reasons suggested here, because by 1075 there were almost no English bishops left, while the last English earl had by then been arrested and would be

<sup>85</sup> RADN, no. 199.

<sup>86</sup> Even if the idea of Rome as capital of empire seems to have lost some of its lustre after the end of the ninth century (N. Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (New Haven, CT and London, 2008), Ch. 4, pp. 101–24).

<sup>87</sup> M. M. Archibald, 'Anglo-Saxon coinage, Alfred to the Conquest', in *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, ed. J. Backhouse, D. H. Turner, and L. Webster (London, 1984), p. 178, nos. 202, 203.

<sup>88</sup> K. K. Lawson, *Cnut: the Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (Harlow, 1993), pp. 94, 99, 124, 127, 137.

<sup>89</sup> Lawson, *Cnut*, p. 185.

<sup>90</sup> Tyler, 'Talking about history', 381.

<sup>91</sup> E. M. Tyler, 'The *Vita Ædwardi*: the politics of poetry at Wilton abbey', *ANS*, 31 (2009), 139–50.

<sup>92</sup> Tyler, 'The *Vita Ædwardi*', 151–2, quotation at 151.

executed above Winchester in 1076.<sup>93</sup> In such a situation, there was no longer a need for a work of justification and reconciliation, and this might explain why Poitiers stopped work on his book before he had finished it. Orderic wrote that he was prevented from completing it by 'unfavourable circumstances (*aduersis casibus*)',<sup>94</sup> which, for a writer who maintained an English identity throughout his career, and lamented the death of Waltheof, might well have included the passing of the English earls and bishops. It would also explain why it was not much copied – although both William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis did use it when constructing their own narratives.<sup>95</sup>

### *Orderic Vitalis*

The *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis will loom large in the following pages. It is Orderic himself who tells us that he was born on 16 February 1075, probably within the parish of Atcham, on the Severn, a few miles from Shrewsbury.<sup>96</sup> He also tells us that his father, Odelerius of Orléans, was a chaplain of Roger II of Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, and the man who provided the impetus for the foundation of Shrewsbury abbey. He implies that his mother was English.<sup>97</sup> For ten years he lived in Shropshire, and during that time he would almost certainly have seen and perhaps met Earl Roger and his sons, including Robert of Bellême. It is even possible – although, of course, completely impossible to prove – that Orderic formed a personal dislike of Bellême at this early stage of his life. Be that as it may, when Orderic was ten years old, his father sent him to the abbey of Saint-Evroult in the Pays d'Ouche, where he remained for the rest of his life, albeit with occasional periods spent at the abbey's dependencies, and excursions to, for example, the abbey of Cluny, the council of Reims, and England.<sup>98</sup>

Orderic scattered autobiographical details throughout his *History*, but the fullest of those passages is found at the very conclusion of his work, perhaps as a deliberate echo of the autobiographical coda inserted by the Venerable Bede at the

<sup>93</sup> On the previous dating of the work see A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, c. 550–c. 1327 (London, 1974), p. 99 (who suggested the bulk of the work was written 1073–74); Poitiers, p. xx (with a wider date of 1071–77).

<sup>94</sup> Orderic, ii. 184.

<sup>95</sup> Orderic, ii. 258–60 (and see the various footnotes between p. 190 and p. 258 that refer to his use of Poitiers's text); R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, revised edition (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 69, 214.

<sup>96</sup> Orderic, iii. 6–8, vi. 552.

<sup>97</sup> Orderic, iii. 142, 146, 150.

<sup>98</sup> For Orderic's travels see most conveniently Orderic, i. 25–7; M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 35–7.

end of his *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>99</sup> Orderic's words are usually taken at face value, but it may be that he intended for them to be read allegorically. That is suggested by the several otherwise unexpected statements and coincidences found there, and elsewhere, in his *History*. Orderic does not say why he was sent to Saint-Evrault, but the abbey is unlikely to have been selected at random. Odelerius had a close connection with Roger II of Montgomery, but he did not send his son to one of Montgomery's foundations. Instead, he sent him to an abbey over which Montgomery had successfully extended his hegemony some fifteen years previously. It is therefore possible that Orderic went to Saint-Evrault to help to strengthen the links between the monastery and the house of Montgomery, and that his father hoped he would rise high in the abbey's administration as a result of his family connections. The monks' and the duke's subsequent conflicts with Robert of Bellême probably ensured that such hopes would be dashed.

As a result of those connections, when Orderic wrote of coming into Normandy 'as an exile, unknown to all, knowing no one' and, 'like Joseph in Egypt', hearing a language that he did not understand,<sup>100</sup> it seems unlikely that he was stating the literal truth. Norman French could not have been completely alien to him, given his father's background and the environment in which he had lived (even if he had been mostly brought up by his mother and schooled by an English priest). Equally, he might not have been personally known in Normandy, but he was not entirely without connections either. Not only did Montgomery's power encompass the abbey when he arrived, but it seems more likely than not that one of his relatives was part of the community. He was Geoffrey of Orléans, who was to become abbot of Crowland.<sup>101</sup> Some relationship to Orderic is suggested by his toponym, which suggests a kinship that Orderic obscured. It was not, after all, a popular toponym in Normandy. Nobody at all is said to be 'of Orléans' in Marie Fauroux's collection of ducal *acta* (except for the bishops of that place), or in the acts of William the Conqueror edited by David Bates, or those of Henry I, or even in Katherine Keats-Rohan's *Domesday Descendants*.<sup>102</sup> The chances of Odelerius and Geoffrey of Orléans having an entirely independent association with Saint-Evrault consequently seem rather slim. And then there is the fact that Orderic would later visit Abbot Geoffrey's relatively obscure monastery when he was in England but not, apparently, nearby Peterborough.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Orderic, vi. 552–6.

<sup>100</sup> Orderic, vi. 554.

<sup>101</sup> Orderic, ii. 346–8; D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, V. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales, 940–1216* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 42.

<sup>102</sup> K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants: A Prosopography of Persons occurring in English Documents 1066–1166: II. Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum* (Woodbridge, 2002).

<sup>103</sup> Orderic tells us that he spent five weeks there (Orderic, ii. 324).

Orderic's interest in writing history first manifested itself in the interpolations he made to the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*. He did not begin work on his *Ecclesiastical History* until around 1117, however, and even then the work only began in earnest after Warin of Les Essarts became abbot in December 1122.<sup>104</sup> The work was initially conceived as a house chronicle, intended, at least in part, to record the properties given to the monks and thereby to help preserve them against any encroachments and alienations that might be attempted by their neighbours in the future. The initiative was thus perhaps related to the recovery of lands following the fall of Robert of Bellême, the confirmation of the monks' property in a charter issued by Henry I in 1113, and the subsequent *pancarte* of 1128 (which Orderic did not mention).<sup>105</sup> But Orderic was concerned about the precariousness of memory more generally, too, and included a variety of texts within his *History* to ensure that they should not be lost to posterity, along with the memories of some of his fellow monks and neighbours.<sup>106</sup>

The wider political narrative of events that Orderic set down might have been the result of this same concern to preserve the memory of past events. Aside from the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, historical writing in Normandy seems to have been moribund when Orderic decided to take up his pen. The local annals that he might have come across (and he wrote part of the Annals of Saint-Evrault himself) must have seemed profoundly unsatisfactory to someone who had copied out Bede and who would himself produce a work of such prodigious length. Moreover, if those memories were to be saved, the work had to be started immediately. Those who could remember the events of Robert Curthose's reign were growing old. Curthose himself would die just a year after Orderic is thought to have begun Book VIII, which recounted his deeds.<sup>107</sup> Although we know that Orderic made some hasty notes on the *Life* of St William while the manuscript was at Saint-Evrault, it is not at all clear that he regularly made or relied on such aides-memoire at other times. Indeed we do not even know whether or not he had the opportunity to make such notes. It might well have been the case, then, that when he began finally to write Books VIII, X, XI, and perhaps even XII,

<sup>104</sup> Orderic, iii. 6.

<sup>105</sup> For this suggestion see Orderic, i. 32; Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 47.

<sup>106</sup> Orderic made the point himself in his opening prologue to the *Ecclesiastical History* (Orderic, i. 130) as well as by his choice of content. Among the more precarious memories he preserved were his account of the court of Earl Hugh of Chester and work of Gerold of Avranches as remembered by his fellow monks (Orderic, iii. 216, 226–32); and the appearance of Hellequin's Hunt witnessed by the priest Walchelin (Orderic, iv. 236–50). See also Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 202–4.

<sup>107</sup> For the postulated dates of the composition of the various books of the *Ecclesiastical History* see Orderic, i. 47–8.

time was of the essence. And so the scope of the *Ecclesiastical History* widened considerably.

Orderic's original contribution covered the period from 1076 to 1141, and it is the period from 1087 until 1141 that constitutes the second, and more coherent, of the two distinct parts of the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>108</sup> In contrast to this basically chronological political narrative, Books I–VI comprise a universal chronicle that shades into a patchy political narrative of the creation and development of Normandy, although principally focused on the reign of William the Bastard, which is frequently interrupted (often at length) by a varied assemblage of texts, including a *Life* of St Guthlac and one of St Judoc, which then shades into a house history of Saint-Evroult and its dependencies.

The content and presentation of events in Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* reflects its author's background and environment. Although his father was French, Orderic seems to have thought of himself as English, even describing himself as Orderic or Vitalis 'the Englishman'.<sup>109</sup> This concern to speak up for the English can be seen particularly in his treatment of the changes and conflict that followed William the Bastard's victory at Hastings in 1066 and of his principal source for those events, the *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers. Orderic's editing of that text speaks volumes.<sup>110</sup> As is well known, he omitted the sycophancy along with most of the classical allusions or explicit comparisons to classical figures in the text.<sup>111</sup> But he also corrected or added where he saw fit. Thus he asserted that the Malfosse incident during the battle of Hastings manifested the judgement of God on those who 'had been guilty of coveting the goods of other men contrary to the precept of the law'.<sup>112</sup> He remarked, in direct contradiction to Poitiers, that William fitz Osbern and Odo of Bayeux oppressed the English and protected their

<sup>108</sup> That is Books VII–XIII. Marjorie Chibnall and Leah Shopkow remarked upon the two distinct parts of Orderic's great work (Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 163). James Bickford-Smith argued to the contrary that Orderic's work must be read as a whole if it is to be understood – although the fact that Books VII and VIII only survive as abridged copies means that is now impossible anyway (Orderic, iv. xiii–xviii; J. Bickford-Smith, 'Orderic Vitalis and Norman society c. 1035–1087' (unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 2006), p. 62). Indeed, the arguments Bickford-Smith advanced regarding the interpretation of Orderic's work fail to convince, despite the enthusiastic reception of his thesis found in J. Hudson, review of *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy (c. 1050–1134)* by William M. Aird (Woodbridge, 2008) in *History*, 95 (2010), 106).

<sup>109</sup> For example, Orderic, iii. 6, 168, 256; iv. 144.

<sup>110</sup> Orderic, ii. 168–208, with the text down to p. 258 said to have been based on the now missing part of his work.

<sup>111</sup> For example at Orderic, ii. 192.

<sup>112</sup> Orderic, ii. 178. He had earlier added this same interpolation to the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*: Jumièges, ii. 170.

followers who had been guilty of plunder and rape, causing the rebellion in Kent in 1067.<sup>113</sup> Poitiers had written that no Norman was given anything unjustly, but Orderic spent a great deal of time arguing that the reverse was true, including by putting a lengthy denunciation of the greed of Norman churchmen into the mouth of Guitmund of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy.<sup>114</sup> He also made it clear that the risings of 1068 and 1069 were due to a combination of Norman oppression and greed, and a resulting desire on behalf of the English to recover their lost liberty.<sup>115</sup> He responded to the Normans' condemnation of the English Church, too, noting that monasticism had been restored during the tenth century but then damaged by the Viking attacks of the later tenth and eleventh century. He included the explanation 'so that the patient reader may clearly understand why the Normans found the English a rustic and nearly illiterate people'.<sup>116</sup> That aside also answered Poitiers' criticism that the English had been illiterate barbarians before they were conquered, and inferred that it was actually the barbarians who had done the conquering. It was 'by the will of almighty God' that they had 'subdued a people that was greater, and wealthier than they were, with a longer history'.<sup>117</sup>

Aside from being English, Orderic was also a member of a community located in the south of Normandy, in an area populated by the successors and supplanters of his abbey's founders as well as its principal benefactors. He consequently saw events through that regional prism, perhaps because his (mostly unknown) sources of information tended to share the same local perspective, and/or because his interactions with local lords naturally highlighted their actions on the wider Anglo-Norman stage. Thus the families of Giroie, Grandmesnil, Courcy, Montpinçon, Pantulf, and Montgomery loom particularly large in the first half of his *History*, with Gilbert of L'Aigle and the notorious Robert of Bellême grabbing headlines during his portrayal of Curthose's reign, and Ralph the Red of Pont-Echanfray playing a prominent role in the battles fought during Henry I's reign. Equally, while Curthose presided over scandalous elections to the bishoprics of Lisieux and Bayeux, and while he was censored for them by churchmen within and without Normandy, including Pope Paschal II, in Orderic's work it was Bishop Serlo of Sées, driven from his see by the aggression of Robert of Bellême, who was allowed to speak for the whole of the Norman Church when he joined Henry's invasion force at Carentan in 1105.<sup>118</sup> On a wider stage, he drew

<sup>113</sup> Orderic, ii. 202.

<sup>114</sup> Orderic, ii. 270–8.

<sup>115</sup> Orderic, ii. 216, 222. See also on this subject Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, pp. 196–8.

<sup>116</sup> Orderic, ii. 246.

<sup>117</sup> Orderic, ii. 268 and see Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 206.

<sup>118</sup> Orderic, vi. 60–8 and see below, Chapter 3.

attention to the career of Robert of Grandmesnil in the south of Italy and noted the presence of members of the Grandmesnil family at the siege of Antioch.

Probably the greatest influence on Orderic's interpretation of events, however, was his assumption that God was directing them, and that he did so according to Christian values. That gave his *Ecclesiastical History* a typically monastic moral tinge, although it also allowed Orderic readily to explain the victories, reversals, and unexpected twists that he narrated. The manner of the death and burial of William the Bastard provides one well-known example of this, Henry's defeat of Curthose at Tinchebray in 1106 another (where God's will expressly trumped human customs), and the wreck of the *White Ship* a third (with the added implication that the *White Ship*'s captain paid for the sins of a father who had transported Duke William to England at the end of September 1066).<sup>119</sup> This moral complexion can also be seen in Orderic's use of scripture to understand or contextualize events,<sup>120</sup> and in the anecdotes that Orderic continued to add even to his more focused narrative, such as that concerning the vision of Hellequin's Hunt by the priest Walchelin.<sup>121</sup> Thus, for Orderic, History was not simply a guide to action but a means of understanding why things happened, not just in the past but also in the present and future.<sup>122</sup>

His approach, some at least of his content, and the length of his work suggests that his principal audience was always intended to be the monks of his own abbey and other interested ecclesiastical parties. He was not, therefore, trying to justify Henry I's accession for a secular audience. Indeed, as he wrote about Henry's reign after Henry had himself died, such justification was quite unnecessary. Equally, because he completed the books that deal with Curthose's reign just before Henry I died, and thus before Stephen's accession, and as he did not subsequently revise them to any great extent, it is unlikely that he was intending to emphasize the behaviour that Stephen should avoid if he were to defeat Geoffrey and Matilda and retain the duchy. (Although the comparisons between the two rulers are no less clear for that.) His *Ecclesiastical History*, then, was no mirror for princes. It was a moral lesson writ large for a monastic audience, who could come

<sup>119</sup> Orderic, iv. 106–8; vi. 88–92, 296–302.

<sup>120</sup> For example, Orderic, iii. 98, 112; iv. 8–10, 14, 42, 92, 108, 122, 128, 130, 132, 178, 190; v. 196, 214, 250, 252, 298; vi. 30, 74, 82, 184, 200. Note, however, that Orderic expressly stated that he was not interpreting the events he witnessed allegorically: 'I find many things in the pages of Scripture which, if they are subtly interpreted, seem to resemble the happenings of our own time. But I leave the allegorical implications and explanations appropriate to human customs to be interpreted by scholars' (Orderic, iv. 228).

<sup>121</sup> Orderic, iv. 236–50.

<sup>122</sup> Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, pp. 154–5, 159–60; Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 203–5; A. J. Hingst, *The Written World: Past and Place in the Work of Orderic Vitalis* (Notre-Dame, 2009), pp. xii, xx.

closer to understanding God's workings on earth through the narrative of events, saints' *Lives*, visions, and prophecies that it included.<sup>123</sup>

## *Ducal acta*

In addition to the Norman narratives, there are hundreds of Norman diplomas, charters, and writs that date from before 1144. These documents, particularly those acts issued or authenticated by the dukes, have proved fundamental to this study, and as such will be explored and discussed in depth in a number of the following chapters. Their importance means that, as with the narratives, some general remarks by way of introduction are necessary, even at risk of a little repetition.

There are in total 512 acts of the Norman dukes for the period 911–1144. Of these, 214 date from before 1066,<sup>124</sup> while 298 date from between 1066 and 1135. To some extent the surviving sample defies the upward trend that might be expected. There are 101 post-Conquest acts of King William for Normandy (4.8 per year) and 143 of King Henry I (4.9 per year). It may be that William's prestige helped to ensure that his acts would be well preserved. There are, however, far fewer surviving acts issued by those perceived by modern historians to have been weak dukes. Thus there are only thirty surviving acts of Robert Curthose for the period 1087–96 and 1100–06 (two per year that he was resident in the duchy with an additional six from the period when Rufus was lord of Normandy),<sup>125</sup> while Stephen, Matilda, and Geoffrey of Anjou between them issued a further seventeen acts

<sup>123</sup> In sum, the *Ecclesiastical History* embraces two chronicles, the lives of Christ and the apostles, an abbreviated *Liber pontificalis*, eight abbreviated saints' *Lives* (see Orderic, i. 61–2 for the complete list), an epitome of the *Translation of St Nicholas* by John of Bari, monastic histories of Saint-Evroult and Crowland, a history of the Normans and English after the Conquest, a history of the first crusade, a treatise on the new monastic orders, a few romance stories and moral exempla, more than thirty epitaphs and other sorts of verse, nineteen documents of various kinds including five sets of canons and eight charters, and assorted accounts of events in Germany, Italy, Ireland, England, Spain, and the Middle East (Shopkow, *History and Community*, p. 47).

<sup>124</sup> These break down between the reigns as follows: Richard I: 4; Richard II: 47; Richard III: 1; Robert the Magnificent: 27; William the Bastard: 135.

<sup>125</sup> Rufus's acts are: *NI*, p. 81, no. viii (Le Mans cathedral) and no. x (a lost act for Longueville); M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, second edition (Oxford, 1993), pl. 1 (Facsimile); *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. C. T. Clay, vols 4–10, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, extra series (1935–55), iii. no. 1483; R. Mortimer, 'Anglo-Norman Lay Charters, 1066–c. 1100: A Diplomatic Approach', *ANS*, 25 (2002), 157, n. 18 (Le Trinité-du-Mont); CDF, no. 116 (Saint-Florent of Saumur); *Regesta: William*, no. 281 (which includes a note that the act was confirmed by Rufus). There is also a writ for the monks of Montebourg which could have been issued by William I or William II, but has here been assigned to the former.



that encompassed lands within the duchy before the completion of Geoffrey's conquest of the duchy in 1144 (1.8 per year, although in reality almost all of these documents were issued by Stephen in 1137).<sup>126</sup>

It should be noted that the examination of the surviving original ducal *acta*, as well as later cartulary copies, has been made much easier by the high-quality digitization of the holdings of the Archives de la Seine-Maritime.<sup>127</sup> It must be hoped that the other Norman archives, particularly those of the Calvados, will follow suit in the near future. In addition, a number of Norman manuscripts found in the municipal libraries at Le Havre, Rouen, Lisieux, and elsewhere have been digitized in whole or in part by the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes on their bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux website.<sup>128</sup> Finally, so far as electronic resources are concerned, the text of every original act preserved in France dating from before 1121 has been edited on the Telma database.<sup>129</sup> All of this is an enormous boon to scholars working on every aspect of Normandy in the Middle Ages.

The dukes' acts tell us a lot about the growing reach of their authority and about reactions to it. They also tell us a great deal about their revenues and the mechanisms that were in place to collect them on the ground. The full extent of their utility with regard to ducal finance, for example, has not perhaps always been recognized. Moreover, it seems clear that as the dukes' diplomas provided evidence of grants of particular sums, paid either in cash or in kind, these documents did not languish in ecclesiastical archives but were put to work and thereby travelled with representatives of the beneficiaries concerned to be produced as occasion demanded. In function, then, diplomas were probably not that different to some of the later writs, for example those granting exemption from toll and customs, even though they were very far from writs in terms of their diplomatic and (in most cases at least) appearance.<sup>130</sup>

But while they can tell us much about the dukes' power and administration, the ducal acts also tell us a lot about the reception of ducal power by the dukes'

<sup>126</sup> *Regesta*, iii. nos. 67, 69, 70, 75, 111, 281, 282, 298, 594, 598, 608, 609, 727, 733 (1140 × 1154), 749, 774 (probably), 805.

<sup>127</sup> Found at: < [http://recherche.archivesdepartementales76.net/?id=recherche\\_guidee](http://recherche.archivesdepartementales76.net/?id=recherche_guidee) >.

<sup>128</sup> Found at: < <http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/> >.

<sup>129</sup> Found at: < <http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/index/> >.

<sup>130</sup> Writs of Henry I remained working documents into the fourteenth century. A *vidimus* of King Louis X of June 1315 states that the monks of Montebourg had sought the king's confirmation of four of Henry's acts because they were 'obliged to send them frequently to diverse places, on this side or the other of the sea, in order to defend their rights' and thus wished 'to avoid the accidental destruction of the originals' (*Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, ii. 39, no. 176). The acts in question included writs exempting the monks from tolls and customs, establishing their rights to timber, and prohibiting the taking of men or distress during the monks' markets (calendared at *Regesta*, ii. nos. 1949, 1950, 1951).

subjects and beneficiaries. That is because until the reign of Henry I, almost all ducal *acta* were drafted by scribes attached to the donor or beneficiary rather than by a duke's chaplains or scribes.<sup>131</sup> This is perhaps unexpected, for while there is no evidence for the existence of a chancery or writing office before 1066, except perhaps for a period during the reign of Richard II, the existence of a chapel and chaplains should have given the dukes a body of men who could have been put to work drafting an occasional diploma to be issued in their name.<sup>132</sup> That was the case in Anjou, where those of the counts' chaplains who staffed the chapel of Saint-Laud in the castle at Angers seem to have been responsible for drafting comital *acta* from the eleventh century.<sup>133</sup> And yet, while Dudo of Saint-Quentin styled himself 'chancellor', in an act he drafted in the name of Count Rodulf but at the command of Duke Richard, he is the only chaplain known to have done so, and even then there is no good reason to think that he held any formal office or that the duke would even have recognized him as his chancellor. That Dudo awarded himself the title might, therefore, simply have been a piece of self-aggrandizement rather than an accurate description of his role at the duke's court, or was perhaps intended only to reflect the fact that the duke had commanded him to write this single diploma.<sup>134</sup> No other ducal chaplain identified himself as the author of any ducal act, and when scribes are named in the acts they wrote it is not at all clear that they had any connection with the duke or his court.<sup>135</sup> Guy the notary, for example, who wrote an act of Richard II for the monks of Fécamp, could well have been in the employ of Robert the Pious who was at the

<sup>131</sup> 'The evidence overwhelmingly supports the view that William's Norman *acta* were written by their beneficiaries ... it is fair to say that charter production in Normandy after 1066 continues the pattern established before 1066' (*Regesta: William*, p. 10). Also RADN, p. 41; C. Potts, 'The early Norman charters: a new perspective on an old debate', in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), pp. 32–3.

<sup>132</sup> RADN, p. 42; Bates, *Normandy*, pp. 154–5; Potts, 'The early Norman charters', pp. 33, 36. Allen Brown used these few examples to argue for a longer-lived writing office (R. A. Brown, 'Some observations on Anglo-Norman charters', in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayers (Cambridge, 1985), p. 161).

<sup>133</sup> K. Dutton, 'Angevin scribes and collaborative charter production, c. 1109–1151', paper read at the Leeds International Medieval Congress, 8 July 2014.

<sup>134</sup> RADN, no. 18. The lack of a ducal writing-office before 1066 is discussed below, *infra*, and also in Chapter 5, pp. 266–8, 275–9, 290 and Chapter 7, pp. 405–22. See also RADN, pp. 41–7; Bates, *Normandy*, pp. 154–5; R. A. Brown, 'Some observations', pp. 145–55; *Regesta: William*, p. 97. Ben Pohl has recently argued to the contrary, and asserted that Dudo did indeed act as chancellor (Pohl, *Dudo of Saint-Quentin's Historia Normannorum*, pp. 122–4, 126).

<sup>135</sup> RADN, nos. 9, 92, 15, 186, respectively. The point is also conceded by Brown ('Some observations', p. 152).

abbey at the time and perhaps issued his own confirmation during his stay.<sup>136</sup> In other cases, it is all but certain that the man named was a beneficiary scribe. They include Bernerius priest and monk for Saint-Ouen, Robert of Grandmesnil for Saint-Evrault, Paul the monk for Saint-Père of Chartres, and William the notary in an act of Count Richard of Evreux for Jumièges.<sup>137</sup> This last character has been discussed by Elisabeth van Houts, who has suggested that he should be identified as William of Jumièges, the author of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum*.<sup>138</sup>

The phrases and formulae employed in some of the Norman ducal *acta* seem to have been modelled on Carolingian usage.<sup>139</sup> The use of such elaborate wording has been seen as a demonstration of the revival of the monastic life of Normandy, but also as a looking back to a past that had disappeared when the Vikings first raided Neustria and then settled on the Seine. It has, in other words, become part of the argument about continuity or catastrophe. But the interpretation of the language used in such acts needs further nuance. The monks who staffed the refounded Norman abbeys were not Normans – at least not to begin with. The monks of Saint-Ouen of Rouen were Franks, who had perhaps returned from their self-imposed exile by 918.<sup>140</sup> The monks at Jumièges came from Saint-Cyprien at Poitiers.<sup>141</sup> Those established at Fécamp came with William of Volpiano from Dijon.<sup>142</sup> The monks who settled at Saint-Wandrille were from Ghent in Flanders.<sup>143</sup> These Frankish monks brought with them the forms with which they were familiar. Moreover, for them there had been no discontinuity. Their religious life had continued more or less without interruption outside what was quickly becoming Normandy, and it is not clear that their predecessors' exodus from the duchy had any lasting impact on their collective identity.<sup>144</sup>

The similarities in formulae found in acts for the same house, or even for dif-

<sup>136</sup> Telma, no. 2663. The surviving original is not authentic.

<sup>137</sup> *RADN*, nos. 42, 122, 147a, 92 respectively. Brown thought so, too ('Some observations', p. 151).

<sup>138</sup> E. M. C. van Houts, 'Une hypothèse sur l'identification de *Willelmus notarius* comme l'historien Guillaume de Jumièges', *Tabularia 'Etudes'*, 2 (2002) <<http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/craham/revue/tabularia/print.php?dossier=dossier1&contribDebat=true&file=04vanhouts.xml>> [accessed 7 April 2016].

<sup>139</sup> For example, *RADN*, p. 44; Brown, 'Some observations', pp. 150–2; Potts, 'The early Norman charters', p. 32.

<sup>140</sup> C. Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 21–2; *Normannia Monastica*, i. 8–9.

<sup>141</sup> Potts, *Monastic Revival*, p. 18; *Normannia Monastica*, i. 9; ii. 143–4.

<sup>142</sup> Potts, *Monastic Revival*, pp. 28–9; *Normannia Monastica*, i. 10; ii. 101–5.

<sup>143</sup> Potts, *Monastic Revival*, p. 25; *Normannia Monastica*, i. 9; ii. 331–2.

<sup>144</sup> Just as the exodus of the monks of Lindisfarne and the odyssey that eventually took them to Durham helped to create a stronger sense of community and did not constitute a break in tradition or of the religious life.

ferent houses that were located in close proximity to each other, tend to support the view that they were written by scribes who were part of, or associated with, the communities concerned. Thus, two acts recording gifts by different donors for Mont-Saint-Michel look to have been drafted by a single scribe, and the same is true (on basis of both wording and appearance) of three acts for Saint-Ouen, and two for the cathedral at Bayeux.<sup>145</sup> Lucien Musset thought that the monks of Caen drafted acts for nuns of Holy Trinity, as well as for the monks of nearby Fontenay.<sup>146</sup> B.-M. Tock has examined the archive of originals from Jumièges and concluded similarly that, 'the monks of Jumièges wrote their acts themselves'.<sup>147</sup> Thus from the evidence at our disposal, it seems that it was almost always the beneficiary which drafted the acts made in its favour throughout the eleventh century. It is only during the reign of Henry I that we can see writing-office scribes drafting writs and charters for Norman beneficiaries in Normandy, but even then the royal duke's control over charter production was very far from complete.<sup>148</sup>

However, although there is no good reason to think that ducal chaplains wrote the text of ducal *acta*, it might be the case that they did draw the crosses at the bottom of the page, when these were not autograph, and/or labelled them so that the signer could be identified at a later date.<sup>149</sup> In most of the surviving authentic originals, it is certainly the case that the hand that added those labels is different from the hand that drafted the text.<sup>150</sup> Equally, the style attached to the duke's *signum* is often less inflated than that found within the text, and is also a little more consistent across the corpus of surviving acts, which might suggest a 'house-style' and thus, once again, the use of ducal scribes or chaplains for this work.<sup>151</sup> But even though the evidence points in this direction, there is still room for doubt. Dudo's involvement in writing ducal *acta*, limited though it was, is clear. He also named himself as a chaplain and chancellor. And yet even he did not add the names of the witnesses to the acts he wrote. Instead, he just left a blank space like any other beneficiary draftsman, and the names were subsequently added in different hands.

<sup>145</sup> RADN, nos. 16, 17 (Mont-Saint-Michel); RADN, nos. 39, 43, 45 (Saint-Ouen); *Regesta: William*, nos. 27 and 28 (Bayeux). See also Potts, 'The early Norman charters', p. 29.

<sup>146</sup> *Les actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes Caennaises*, ed. L. Musset, MSAN, 37 (1967), pp. 35–6.

<sup>147</sup> B.-M. Tock, 'Les chartes originales de l'abbaye de Jumièges jusqu'en 1120', *Tabularia 'Etudes'*, 2 (2002) <<http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/craham/revue/tabularia/print.php?dossier=dossier1&file=04tock.xml>> [accessed 7 April 2016].

<sup>148</sup> See below, Chapter 5, pp. 293–4.

<sup>149</sup> See in particular below, Chapter 5, pp. 277–9 and Chapter 7, pp. 419–21.

<sup>150</sup> See also Potts, 'The early Norman charters', pp. 32–3. But note the warning about this below, Chapter 5, p. 279.

<sup>151</sup> See below, Chapter 5, pp. 277–80 and Chapter 7, pp. 419–21.

As the acts produced by different beneficiaries, indeed even by the same beneficiary, can vary in wording and formulae, it can be quite difficult to detect forgery, especially in those many cases where the original parchment does not survive. It is also the case that where forgery has been exposed in Norman ducal *acta*, it is often limited to a relatively minor interpolation related to an identified or suspected dispute over property, rights, or freedoms.<sup>152</sup> In such cases, there is no good reason to presume that the rest of the diploma was modified at the same time. It seems much more likely that the surviving text accurately reflects the original, authentic document. Similar problems arise with the compilation of pancartes and cartularies, whereby it is possible that the original text was edited, amended, or modernized (for example, Duke William became King William) as it was copied down.<sup>153</sup>

In addition, two surviving original acts of William I from the Fécamp archive demonstrate one important issue with regard to the appearance of genuine documents, and thus constitute a warning against dismissing as forgeries documents that look wrong at first glance. The first was produced in the standard manner, with the text in one hand, autograph crosses, and the names of the signers added in a different hand. The second original is actually a copy of this diploma, apparently produced at the same time or immediately after the first one had been signed, because the entire document, crosses and all, was written by the same scribe who had added the names to the *signa* of that original version.<sup>154</sup> The existence of this second contemporary copy raises some serious challenges to identifying forgeries in Norman archives based on appearances alone. It is possible, for example, that original acts from the archives of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy and Troarn were created in the same way.<sup>155</sup> Clean copies of diplomata, with the entire text written in the

<sup>152</sup> For example, *RADN*, nos. 49 (abandonment of ducal and episcopal customs, and grant of the right of doing justice on the men of the bourg, to the monks of Mont-Saint-Michel with the consent of the pope); 122 (which lists military obligations that had most likely not crystallized c. 1050 and a grant of free elections which was probably added c. 1130. For a discussion see M. Chibnall, 'Military service in Normandy before 1066', *ANS*, 5 (1983), pp. 69–72). Fauroux did not count no. 122 among the forged or interpolated documents, however (*RADN*, no. 122). Her list of false documents comprises nos. 27, 56, 57, 62, 90bis, 90ter, 91, 127 (which is not, however, a ducal act), 136. Bates identified only four Norman acts of King William that are forgeries: *Regesta: William*, nos. 148, 245, 247, 258.

<sup>153</sup> See *Regesta: William*, p. 11.

<sup>154</sup> *Regesta: William*, no. 144, A<sup>1</sup> and A<sup>2</sup>. Chaplais noted the existence of a second example, in the form of an authentic original of Henry I for Cluny and a fair-copy of the same document (P. Chaplais, 'The seals and original charters of Henry I', *EHR*, 75 (1960), 272, n. 5).

<sup>155</sup> *Regesta: William*, nos. 65, 283, 284.

same hand, and without autograph *signa*, should not therefore automatically be written off as forgeries.

Where ducal *acta* can be certainly, or virtually certainly, identified as forgeries, they have generally been omitted from the discussion and any complementary tables or statistics. Where parts of ducal acts can be identified as later interpolations, those sections, too, have been discounted. Where there is merely suspicion of forgery, however, the acts and/or wording in question have been accepted and treated as if they were authentic (with due caveat).

It seems, then, that a duke's involvement in the drafting of his own diplomas was minimal. Where acts record a duke's own gift, it might have been limited to a dialogue between the duke and the beneficiary about what precisely the gift comprised, but in the vast majority of other cases it is not clear that there was any prior ducal involvement at all. Ducal *acta* style the duke in different ways, which suggests that there was no official line here.<sup>156</sup> The duke was almost certainly not involved in any decision about the inclusion or wording of *arengae* and anathema clauses. Indeed, as anathema clauses to some extent highlighted a duke's inability always to do justice on those who attached a church's property, their inclusion might be a positive indication of the duke's absence from the process.<sup>157</sup> In some cases, we have clear evidence of this absence of involvement. In 1080, for example, William the Bastard commanded the monks of Saint-Florent of Saumur to bring a previously written document to him so that he might add his sign to the page.<sup>158</sup> In 1113, Henry I commanded the monks of Saint-Evroult to draw up a confirmation which he would then issue in his name. They did so, but the act was written in Henry's absence and then presented to him as a finished product.<sup>159</sup> The presentation of previously written diplomas to the duke for authentication would also explain why so few scribes appear in witness lists or lists of signers. They were not there because their part in the proceedings was over already.

These same two documents of 1080 and 1113 also help to illustrate that the dukes' desire to confirm grants that had already been made by others was not motivated solely by a desire to protect a particular church. In 1080, the monks of Lonlay and Saint-Florent of Saumur brought a dispute over the church of Briouze before the royal duke. William the Bastard's authority in Houlme was probably still quite weak. The Montgommery family continued to dominate the region, as their predecessors, the lords of Bellême had done before them, and local ties of loyalty seem to have remained strong. Certainly, the monks of the monasteries

<sup>156</sup> See below, Chapter 5, pp. 266–9, 287–8.

<sup>157</sup> See below, Chapter 7, pp. 415–19.

<sup>158</sup> *Regesta: William*, no. 267.

<sup>159</sup> Orderic, vi. 174–6.

established within what had been the lordship of Bellême – Lonlay and Saint-Martin of Sées, in particular – did not see the need to seek confirmations of their possessions from the duke and did not generally seek his justice. William thus seized on the opportunity that had presented itself, not only to decide the dispute (if only after William of Briouze had surrendered his jurisdiction) but also to confirm the original grant by his own authority, as just noted. Thus he reinforced the imperative that had brought the monks of Saumur to his court in the first place and ensured their recognition of his authority over them and, by extension, the territory in which their churches stood.

Henry I's act for the monks of Saint-Evroult of 1113 was similarly presented as the result of a benign suggestion, made with the intention of protecting the monks' lands from their predatory neighbours. But there was almost certainly a political reason for Henry's generosity, too. Robert of Bellême had been arrested and imprisoned just four months previously. The area in which the abbey stood was experiencing strong ducal government for the first time. Henry was trying to establish his own power in the vacuum left behind by Bellême, which Bellême's son still hoped to fill himself. In such circumstances, Henry's confirmation would constitute evidence of the monks' acknowledgement of his authority and thus a demonstration of loyalty to his regime. It would also give Henry jurisdiction over any subsequent pleas involving the monks and their property, potentially allowing him to assert his authority in the region again in the future.<sup>160</sup>

More often, or so it may be supposed, beneficiaries decided to take their diplomas to the dukes for confirmation off their own bat. Their decision might still be political, and the document produced could still be a political weapon, but there is a qualitative difference in the evidence when it was created at the wish of the beneficiary rather than that of the duke. One example is provided by a diploma of 1053, which records a grant made by William of La Ferté-Macé to the monks of Saint-Julian at Tours. That an abbey in Angevin-held Tours was the beneficiary of his grant reveals that William, whose lands lay within the lordship of Bellême, had until very recently still looked south to Anjou and the Touraine rather than north to Normandy. His act thus reveals something of the political realignment caused by the imposition of Norman authority in the lordship of Bellême following the capture of Alençon and Domfront c. 1052. Further, the gift was said

<sup>160</sup> These two acts, then, were political weapons, not dissimilar to the records of lawsuits and diplomas discussed by Warren Brown and Geoffrey Koziol, intended to strengthen the duke's position and to undermine that of his provincial rivals (W. Brown, 'Charters as weapons: on the role played by early medieval dispute records in the disputes they record', *JMH*, 28 (2002), 227–48; G. Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 7, 39–42).

to have been made ‘with the assent of my sons and their mother and of my lord Ivo, bishop of Sées (*Oxismorum*), from whom I hold the said customs of this church and the two subject to it as a benefice, and with the authority of William *princeps Normannorum* and of Roger my lord (*senior*)’.<sup>161</sup> William and the monks of Tours were aware of the political reality that they faced. They knew that the lords of Bellême were a spent force, and so they acknowledged the authority of Roger of Montgommery and Duke William. It is not clear that they had to do this. Indeed, the paucity of ducal acts for beneficiaries based in the lordship of Bellême (including those lands in the Séois, Houleme, and Passais which would become part of Normandy) suggests that they did not. But that just makes their decision all the more eloquent.

Other diplomas did not perhaps relate to matters of high politics to quite the same extent, but the fact that a beneficiary thought it worthwhile to travel to the duke’s court says something about their perception of his power, and so, too, does the apparent replacement of anathema clauses with penalty clauses that specified fines to be paid to the duke should a grant be infringed. Together, they suggest a growth in the effectiveness of the duke’s justice.<sup>162</sup> Beneficiaries also chose how to style the duke in the texts of their acts, which can give us a sense of how they defined the duke’s functions or their power or their place in the political hierarchy. They decided whether or not to notice that he ruled thanks to the grace or clemency of God and/or his relationship to previous rulers, which might tell us something about views of a duke’s legitimacy and his autonomy vis-à-vis the king of the Franks.<sup>163</sup> If not political weapons, then, such acts certainly constituted political comment, for they were the result of perception rather than propaganda. They provide views from the bottom up rather than the top down, from the early eleventh century until 1144, and their discordant voices tell us how that power was seen in different places at different times.

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This survey has, among other things, highlighted how many of the most important sources upon which this survey rests were constructed by authors and scribes working outside the court, even if for a courtly audience, for a specific reason or reasons. Thus Dudo of Saint-Quentin wrote to persuade those Normans, Franks, Bretons, and English who were to be found at the court of Richard II of the God-given place of the dukes at the head of an autonomous and powerful duchy.

<sup>161</sup> RADN, no. 131.

<sup>162</sup> See below, Chapter 7, pp. 415–19 for a discussion of the use of such formulae in ducal *acta*.

<sup>163</sup> See below, Chapter 5, pp. 259–60 and Chapter 6, pp. 320–1.



William of Jumièges wrote to reunite the duke with his subjects, stressing the need for unity and community after the divisions and attacks that had plagued William the Bastard's reign up to 1057. William of Poitiers strove to reconcile the English to their new Norman king. And Orderic Vitalis wrote to teach and inform the monk of his own monastery, and others, too, about the history of his abbey and the duchy in which it stood, while also providing a series of moral lessons. None of these authors intended to write history in the sense that it would be understood in the twenty-first century. They were instead political commentators, pundits, makers of opinion, and their works need to be read in that light.

It is worth noting explicitly, or repeating in the case of Dudo's *De moribus*, that I have assumed, on what I think is good evidence, that each of the first three of the narratives discussed above would have been heard and understood by those present at the dukes' court and other assemblies. While the straightforward Latin of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* could perhaps have been understood by some of the laymen present, it is likely that they were all translated into the vernacular by whoever was reading and performing them. So even if the dukes had not commissioned these works directly, or had very little input regarding their content, they would still have been very much aware of the form and approach of the work as it was published, and so, too, would those who surrounded or visited them.

The diplomas produced in a duke's name or brought to him for authentication were also read out to those present at court. In most cases, their content was unexceptional, but even the recitation of a run-of-the-mill act still highlighted the role of a duke as the guarantor of the donation in question, even if he might have to share that role with God (by way of an anathema clause). More rarely, the wording of these acts might provide a rather fuller commentary on the perception of a duke's power or, more rarely still, might comprise a reprimand for his past behaviour or a guide to Christian rule. And because these acts were read and heard and understood, they made a contribution to the political culture of the duchy, reinforcing or challenging the foundations of the duke's power while furthering the cause of Christianity and the Church. They were a way for a duke's subjects to make their voices heard at the very top of the political hierarchy, while at the same time constituting an acknowledgement of the duke's power and the reach of his authority.

PART I

Conquest, Concession,  
Conversion, and Competition:  
Building the Duchy of Normandy



## CHAPTER 1

# Settlement and Survival: Normandy in the Tenth Century, 911–96

THIS is the first of three chapters that explore and attempt to explain the creation, development, and ultimately the diminution of the territory that would recognize the authority of the Norman dukes of the Normans between 911 and 1144. The discussion advances reign by reign, from Rollo to Stephen, and ends with the completion of the conquest of the duchy by Geoffrey V of Anjou in 1144. The use of this narrative structure is intended to foreground both continuity and change over time, and the focus is on what might be described as state-building, thus on conquest, coercion, diplomacy, marriages, fidelity, and the rewards or bribes offered in return for service and support.

Narratives outlining the political history of the duchy are still scarce. Probably the best to date are those written by Eleanor Searle, which ends in 1066, and the equally scholarly but more ‘popular’ surveys by David Crouch and François Neveux.<sup>1</sup> For Upper Normandy there is also Pierre Bauduin’s excellent *La première Normandie*, which provides not only an in-depth examination of the establishment of ducal power in the region, but also a detailed look at the families who had to be won over and their role in the continuing consolidation and operation of ducal rule. While the debt owed to this earlier work must be acknowledged, the outline provided here is based on a fresh look at the primary sources, and pays more attention to the ducal *acta* than has generally been the case in the past. The result is a story that, while not radically different from those which have gone before, does offer different interpretations and emphases at a great many points in the narrative. In particular, the duchy takes shape more slowly in the account presented here than has been the case previously, and there is more emphasis on the political fault lines that divided Norman lords even under a strong duke like William the Bastard, manifested most obviously in the ambition and self-interest of the Montgommery-Bellême family.

<sup>1</sup> Searle, *PK*, which, regardless of the validity of her arguments regarding kinship and the pruning of the dukes’ family tree, is in essence a political narrative of Normandy to 1066; D. Crouch, *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty* (London, 2002); F. Neveux, *A Brief History of the Normans: The Conquests that Changed the Face of Europe*, trans. H. Curtis (London, 2008).

That the contemporary sources for Norman history can be interpreted in so many different ways is a result of the intentions that lay behind their origins, discussed in the introduction. In particular, the agendas of their authors mean that the narratives that tell us about Normandy and its dukes distort and conceal as much as they reveal. Flodoard of Reims, a Frank writing a long way from Normandy, provided probably the most reliable account, as well as the most contemporary one, but his entries are also episodic, incomplete, and thus often cryptic. In their own way, Flodoard's *Annals* are as difficult to interpret as the altogether more constructed narrative of Richer of Reims, who knew Flodoard's work but recast and rewrote it to suit his own ends. That is not to say that everything Richer reports was fabricated, but it is clear that he liked to tell a story in a classical manner and was not averse to editing or supplementing his sources.<sup>2</sup> So, for example, while Flodoard wrote of a succession of three grants made c. 911 and in 924 and 933, which together comprised the concession of the territory that would become Normandy, Richer has just one grant that comprised the whole of the province of Rouen, in other words a grant that included all seven Norman bishoprics including those at Coutances and Avranches.<sup>3</sup> While Flodoard had his three grants made by King Charles and King Ralph to Rollo and Longsword, Richer had his single grant made by King Odo to Rollo's supposed father Ketil (Latinized as Catillus). He then had Ketil murdered immediately after his baptism because he 'would be the cause of future calamity' – a comment, or so it may be supposed, on the Normans of his own day.<sup>4</sup> Why Richer felt the need to rewrite Flodoard's account so dramatically is not clear, but the extent of the grant purportedly made to Ketil did accurately reflect the reach of the dukes' authority at the time Richer was writing, and in that sense he was reflecting, justifying, and excusing the situation of his own day.

Dudo of Saint-Quentin was likewise inclined to reflect the situation that pertained when he completed his work, c. 1015, rather than to provide an accurate account of the rise and fall and rise of tenth-century Normandy.<sup>5</sup> By the time Dudo arrived at Rouen in 987, Richard I had established a loose hold on the Bessin, Cotentin, and Avranchin. Before he completed his work, Richard II had gained hegemony over Brittany by virtue of acting as the guardian of his nephews,

<sup>2</sup> For Richer and his *Histories* see in particular J. Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 110–27, 171–214, 235–49; J. Lake, *Richer of Saint-Rémi: The Methods and Mentality of a Tenth-Century Historian* (Washington, DC, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Richer, i. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Richer, i. 36. David Crouch thought Richer's story to be the most accurate regarding Rollo's parentage (Crouch, *The Normans*, pp. 1, 4, 299–300).

<sup>5</sup> For Dudo and his work, see above, Introduction, pp. 2–9.

Count Alan and his brother Odo, and had given refuge to King Æthelred II of the English. Dudo set about underpinning these recent developments, for example by remarking upon the assistance Rollo had given to King Æthelstan of the English when faced with civil war, and by asserting that the Cotentin and Avranchin had been granted to Rollo, with the rest of Normandy, in 911. Dudo must have been aware of the scale of Richard I's efforts to build his duchy, but he chose to conceal almost all of it, because only then could he write a grand justification of Norman rule both in Normandy and over Brittany.

Given these problems with the historical veracity of the narratives, the ducal *acta* must be used to gain a better understanding of how and when the dukes' authority expanded across what would come to be Normandy. That is not to say that the narrative elements of these diplomas are any more reliable than the annals and histories, but provided we can filter out the forgeries and interpolations the dispositions recorded do at least offer some indication of the extent of the dukes' demesne and rights across the duchy, so that plotting the location of the places concerned perhaps allows us to gain some idea about when and where their authority was recognized. To reach any conclusions, however, we must allow for rebuttable presumptions: first, that the appearance of a place in a ducal act means that the duke's authority *was* recognized there, at least by the beneficiary, and, secondly, that, to begin with at least, the dukes held the whole of every place found in their demesne. Equally, where individuals are said to hold, or to have held, land in particular villas from the duke, it cannot be assumed that these lands had once been demesne unless there is other evidence to support that view, for example, the duke can also be seen holding land there. They are consequently excluded from the survey.<sup>6</sup> The results are illustrated on Maps 2–5.

In common with the experiences of the kings of the French or the counts of Anjou and Brittany, it was generally the greater lords of the nascent duchy who were the most reticent about making their submission. Some were even strong enough to attempt to resist the dukes' demands that they should do so. And so, where powerful lords had to be subjugated and placated, the settlements made with them generally had to be especially attractive and honourable. The duke might therefore consider conferring land or office on such figures. A duke's ability to identify accurately the key players in the duchy and to reward them accordingly was vital here as there was only a limited amount of land that could be used in

<sup>6</sup> My thinking here is based in part on the coercive behaviour of the greater Norman lords that saw men within their dominion acknowledge, over time, that they held even their alods from them (see below, Chapter 11, pp. 662–3). Others have taken a different approach. Gérard Louise, for example, included as ducal demesne in the Hiémois lands that are not expressly said to have belonged to the duke (Louise, *Bellême*, i. 139–40).

this way. Local rivalries had also to be treated carefully and traditions of family power and independence had to be managed. The dukes could not afford to allow their greatest lords to develop a sense of injustice or to feel undervalued. This is one reason why the following discussion focuses on individuals, be they kinsmen or *fideles* or rivals or enemies, and attempts to establish when, why, and how they were brought into a duke's *mouvance* and how, or if, they were maintained there. For the same reason, this survey also pays much attention to the acquisition and alienation of the dukes' demesne (as plotted on the maps) and to their military successes or defeats.

In some cases, the duke might even offer erstwhile rivals or allies a chance to join the ruling dynasty through marriage. Marriages were, after all, intended to extend hegemony and so to usher in periods of peace by uniting warring peoples. Something of the process is perhaps revealed by Oddr Snorrason's *Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* – written in the late twelfth century but recalling or imagining the events of the tenth – which tells how King Olaf sailed to Gulaþingslög in Hǫrðaland. Hearing of his arrival, the most distinguished men of the region gathered together to discuss what to do. Their leader, Qlmóðr, spoke:

You know that a powerful king is on his way to this region and this assembly. He will want to make us his subjects. The king pleases us in some ways but in other ways his practices displease us. We are pleased by his strength and eminence, and with respect to these qualities it would be a good thing to serve such a king. But his foreign customs displease us greatly. Therefore ... let us not accept the practice that he urges on us unless he accommodates us in one major respect. I understand that he had a sister by the same mother, named Ástriðr ... Now if the king is willing to marry Ástriðr to our kinsman Erlingr, who is standing here with us and who is commended by many good qualities and eminent lineage, then it would seem advisable to me to give his words a good reception, and his religion as well, which I believe to be a good one.<sup>7</sup>

This was done, and Olaf took control of the region.

Even if inaccurate, it is unlikely that this portrayal was anachronistic, and it may be supposed that similar discussions took place as Richard I sailed along the coast of Normandy or Richard II marched his armies to the Orne or as Henry I sought to secure support for his regime in the early twelfth century, for kinship

<sup>7</sup> Oddr Snorrason, *The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, trans. T. M. Andersson (Ithaca, NY and London, 2003), p. 79 and see also *Heimskringla*, pp. 197–8 for the same marriage as well as pp. 200–1, 224, 228–9 for some other examples, successful and otherwise, from Olaf Tryggvason's reign.

with the duke and his dynasty provided an honourable exchange for surrender. Marriage turned subjugation into a merger rather than a hostile takeover, although a later demerger was always a possibility. Patronage and office-holding, to continue the corporate metaphor, seem equivalent to corporate buyouts (or sell-outs, depending on your point of view) and golden hellos. But none of these mechanisms – kinship, office-holding, fidelity, patronage – was guaranteed to create permanent and immutable relationships. Kinsmen might remember their relationship with the dukes down through the generations, but that does not necessarily mean that the relationship between them was affective or effective. Such manoeuvres were a beginning, but they had to be maintained with a steady and continuing stream of patronage, respect, and success.

### *Rollo and Rouen, 911–28*

Although Dudo of Saint-Quentin claimed that he was Danish, it is more likely that Rollo was the son of Earl Ragnvald of Møre in Norway and Hild the daughter of Rolf Nevja.<sup>8</sup> It is also likely that he had taken possession of Rouen and much of the region around it some years before Charles the Simple recognized and legitimized his lordship at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte c. 911.<sup>9</sup> Already by the time of the siege of Paris, 885–86, the lower Seine might well have been under the permanent control of the Northmen, and they might already have begun to establish themselves in villages that had been abandoned, even if only temporarily, by their previous inhabitants, as well as to clear some of the forest and create new settlements for themselves.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, it is unlikely that Rollo and his Vikings walked across an empty land. There are plenty of Frankish place names to be found in that country, and the tradition remembered at Saint-Wandrille in the middle of the eleventh century was that, ‘few of the people he (Rollo) came up against fled, instead they were put under the auspicious yoke of his authority’.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the very fact that the Vikings could remain on the Seine for so long is itself an indication that everyday life continued. As Eleanor Searle pointed out, somebody had to

<sup>8</sup> *Heimskringla*, pp. 78–9; Van Houts, *Normans*, p. 15; D. C. Douglas, ‘Rollo of Normandy’, *EHR*, 57 (1942), 417–23.

<sup>9</sup> For example, R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751–987* (London, 1983), p. 307, and see also the works by Jacques Le Maho and Pierre Bauduin cited below.

<sup>10</sup> See A. K. H. Wagner, ‘Les noms de lieux issus de l’implantation Scandinave en Normandie: le cas des noms en “-tuit”’, in *Les fondations Scandinaves en occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie*, ed. P. Bauduin (Caen, 2005), 241–52 with a map at p. 244.

<sup>11</sup> *Inventio*, p. 26.



be producing the crops and keeping the livestock that fed the Vikings while they were there.<sup>12</sup>

There was continuity, too, in the operation of the archbishopric of Rouen and Pierre Bauduin has suggested that the Vikings of the Seine had established a *modus vivendi* with the archbishop and the city's population by the 890s.<sup>13</sup> This coexistence of Viking and archbishop, and the apparent stability at Rouen, stands against the assertion Flodoard made, probably from ignorance, that when Rollo was granted the city, Rouen and its district had been 'nearly destroyed (*pene deleverant*)', although in the context in which he was writing he might have meant only that the religious life of the area was in ruins, rather than that the buildings and infrastructure were falling apart.<sup>14</sup> The city was certainly still inhabited and it is likely that the majority of its population remained Frankish after 911. That would explain why the language of the Franks was commonly spoken there in Longsword's day.<sup>15</sup> It would also explain the survival of Frankish customs and administrative structures in Rouen, and Normandy more generally, after 911. As

<sup>12</sup> Searle, *PK*, p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Bauduin, *Première Normandie*, pp. 110–12. In contrast, Jacques Le Maho thought that he saw evidence of a Frankish resurgence and reoccupation of Rouen at about this same time, when at least some Vikings left the Seine and raided the Cotentin and attacked Saint-Lô (see J. Le Maho, 'Les premières installations normandes dans la basse vallée de la Seine (fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle)', in *La progression des Vikings; des raids à la colonisation*, ed. A.-M. Flambard-Héricher (Rouen, 2003), 162–7; J. Le Maho, 'Les normands de la Seine à la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Les fondations Scandinaves en occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie*, ed. P. Bauduin (Caen, 2005), p. 173; J. Le Maho, 'Fortifications et déplacements de populations en France au temps des invasions normandes (IX<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *Château Gaillard*, 22 (2006), 223–7) and see also *Recueil des actes de Charles III (le Simple)*, ed. P. Lauer, 2 vols (Paris, 1940–49), no. 51 which suggests a Frankish recovery of the area around Pitres).

<sup>14</sup> Flodoard, *Flodoardi historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. J. Heller and G. Waitz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 13 (Hanover, 1881), p. 577. In his *Historia Novorum*, Eadmer put words into the mouth of Archbishop Anselm to the effect that the destruction of an abbey was caused not by the loss of material possessions but rather by a rupture in the observance of the Benedictine Rule brought about by a lack of an abbot (Eadmer, *HN*, p. 49). If Felice Lifshitz was right, however, then Flodoard was even more mistaken, as she has argued that the monastery at Jumièges had remained functioning throughout the ninth century (F. Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Sainly Relics 684–1080* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 122–33).

<sup>15</sup> Historians have used Dudo's remark to infer that the Normans of Rouen had taken to speaking the Frankish language by this time. That is not what Dudo wrote, however. Dudo merely remarked that French was commonly spoken at Rouen and Dacian at Bayeux. That would fit with what we know of the history of the cities in this period. Rouen was subject to a peaceful takeover by Rollo and his men, probably from c. 876 while Bayeux received wave after wave of pagan immigrants. Dudo's comment thus tells us nothing about the assimilation of Normans into Frankish society.

discussed in more detail elsewhere, these survivals included royal rights over coinage and fortification,<sup>16</sup> as well as the boundaries of some demesne vills and some of the *pagi* or counties (the words are synonyms).<sup>17</sup>

When Rollo was granted Rouen and the maritime *pagi* that stood around it by King Charles, he was obliged in return to accept baptism and to swear fidelity to the king.<sup>18</sup> Dudo noted that as part of the settlement he was also to marry King Charles's daughter, Gisla. This was the first of several marriages made by Rollo's dynasty with members of the Frankish aristocracy that were designed to increase the dukes' prestige, legitimacy, and connections. Or at least it would have been had it actually taken place. Historians have not been at all convinced that Gisla existed outside Dudo's imagination, and although David Crouch and Pierre Bauduin have both noted that Witgar of Compiègne's genealogy of Count Arnulf of Flanders (compiled in the late 950s) does at least demonstrate that King Charles had a daughter of that name, Bauduin is likely correct to exclude her from consideration on the grounds of her age. She would have been only three or four in 911, and that is not at all how Dudo presented her.<sup>19</sup> Instead, the marriage of Rollo and Gisla seems to have been a deliberate echo of the marriage of the Dane Godfrid to Gisela, the illegitimate daughter of Lothair II, in 882.<sup>20</sup> In any event, William Longsword, Rollo's only known son, was the result of a different union, either with a lady called Popa, whose identity is debated and remains uncertain, or with an Irish lady whom Rollo met while in Orkney or Scotland and who was also the mother of a daughter called Kathleen.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See below, Chapter 8, pp. 442–3, 445–6 and Chapter 11, pp. 639–41.

<sup>17</sup> L. Musset, 'Les domaines de l'époque franque et les destinées du régime domanial du IX<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *BSAN*, 49 (1942–45), 54.

<sup>18</sup> For more on these issues see below, Chapter 4, pp. 187–90 and Chapter 5, pp. 254–5.

<sup>19</sup> Those who see the marriage to Gisla as lying somewhere between uncertain and fictional include Bates, *Normandy*, p. 8; Searle, *PK*, pp. 43, 93; L. Shopkow, *History and Community*, pp. 127, 150; C. Potts, 'Normandy 911–1144', in *The Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 21; J. Nelson, 'Normandy's early history since *Normandy before 1066*', in *Normandy and its Neighbours, 900–1250: Essays for David Bates*, ed. D. Crouch and K. Thompson (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 10–11. For Witgar of Compiègne see Crouch, *The Normans*, p. 321, n. 14; P. Bauduin, 'Chefs Normands et élites Franques, fin IX<sup>e</sup>–début X<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Les fondations Scandinaves en occident et les débuts du duché de Normandie*, ed. P. Bauduin (Caen, 2005), p. 183.

<sup>20</sup> S. Coupland, 'From poachers to gamekeepers: Scandinavian warlords and Carolingian kings', *EME*, 7 (1998), 109.

<sup>21</sup> On Popa see Bauduin, *Première Normandie*, pp. 129–32 and the summary in Nelson, 'Normandy's early history', pp. 11–12; on the anonymous Irish lady see E. van Houts, 'The *planctus* on the death of William Longsword (943) as a source for tenth-century culture in Normandy and Aquitaine', *ANS*, 36 (2014), 9.

By the beginning of the eleventh century, Rouen was clearly prosperous and was one of the keys to the dukes' power and influence. According to Orderic, it was 'a populous and wealthy city, thronged with merchants and a meeting place of trade routes. A fair city set among murmuring streams and smiling meadows, abounding in fruit and fish and all manner of produce, it stands surrounded by hills and woods, strongly encircled by walls and ramparts and battlements, and fair to behold with its mansions and houses and churches.'<sup>22</sup> Eleanor Searle described it as a goose that laid golden eggs.<sup>23</sup>

Rouen attracted merchants from far afield. *Deniers* minted at Rouen have been recovered from hoards buried in Scandinavia, Italy, and Poland, which attests to wide trading links, although Dudo focused principally on trade with England, Flanders, Francia, and Ireland when praising the city.<sup>24</sup> It is possible that some of the coins found in Scandinavia were the result of the agreement made between Richard II and King Swein of Denmark c. 1003 that allowed Viking ships to put in at Rouen and trade English booty there.<sup>25</sup> By the reign of Edward the Confessor, those links with England had become more regularized and the merchants of Rouen had their own wharf in London. The act that tells us of Edward's grant also reveals that, as late as 1150 × 1151, no boat should sail from Normandy for Ireland unless from Rouen and that no boat from Ireland should dock anywhere in Normandy except Rouen. The only exception was a single boat every year which could visit Cherbourg first.<sup>26</sup> As to commodities, the city was most famous, at least in Æthelred II's England, for its blubber fish and wine, and the appearance of wine cellars in the city by the end of the century would seem to confirm the importance of that trade.<sup>27</sup> There was also a slave market until perhaps as late as the 1020s, and there might also have been a

<sup>22</sup> Orderic, iii. 36. The description of the city and its region that Orderic put into the mouth of the future Henry I to Conan, just before his precipitation in 1090, is similar (Orderic, iv. 224).

<sup>23</sup> Searle, *PK*, p. 70.

<sup>24</sup> See the catalogue of finds in F. Dumas, 'Les monnaies Normandes (X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles) avec un répertoire des trouvailles', *Revue Numismatique*, 21 (1979), 106–37 and also L. Musset, 'Les relations extérieures de la Normandie du IX<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Annales de Normandie*, 4 (1954), 31–8; reprinted in L. Musset, *Nordica et Normannica: Recueil d'études sur la Scandinavie ancienne et médiévale, les expéditions des Vikings et la fondation de la Normandie* (Paris, 1997), pp. 297–306; Dudo, pp. 100, 112.

<sup>25</sup> Jumièges, ii.16–18.

<sup>26</sup> *Regesta*, iii. no. 729.

<sup>27</sup> Noted in D. Bates, 'Rouen from 900 to 1204: from Scandinavian settlement to Angevin "capital"', in *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Rouen*, ed. J. Stratford, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1986 (1993), p. 6.

trade in cloth, as Moriuh't's wife, Glicerium, was found working at a loom in Le Vaudreuil upstream.<sup>28</sup>

The dukes were naturally keen to promote trade, not least because a flourishing trade would increase the revenues from tolls that flowed into their own coffers. Richard I or his son built the first bridge across the Seine, which would almost certainly have increased the amount of traffic coming into the city.<sup>29</sup> In addition, the dukes would have enjoyed revenues produced by the sale of licences for navigation and mooring charges, and they levied fees on the wine and merchandise stored in the warehouses on the Seine.<sup>30</sup> Then there were the rents that the dukes would receive from their tenants in the city, which must have increased considerably after it was extended to the west, c. 1000, arguably as part of a planned development – something that suggests the dukes' involvement – and arguably as a redevelopment of the commercial suburbs that Jacques Le Maho believed had existed in the ninth century.<sup>31</sup> In addition to such rights, the dukes held a great deal of property within the city. Duke Richard II, for example, granted to a variety of beneficiaries a total of two manses in the city, one of them the 'Tower of Alfred (*turris Alvredi*)' and one of them later recovered by exchange;<sup>32</sup> the churches of Saint-Gervase (next to the city), Saint-Laurent (in the suburbs), Saint-Amand (within the city), Saint-André (also in the suburbs),<sup>33</sup> and the chapels of Saint-Clement and Saint-Candé;<sup>34</sup> two mills outright; and the tithe of another eight

<sup>28</sup> Warner of Rouen, *Moriuh't*, ed. and trans. C. J. McDonough (Ontario, 1995), pp. 5–6 (on dating), 76–6, 90–1 (for the implication of the slave market), 90–1 (for the loom). David Crouch, at least, saw this as a mill (Crouch, *The Normans*, p. 32). It might also be noted that fulling mills are known to have existed in Normandy by 1087, when one was given to the monks of Saint-Wandrille (F. Lot, *Études critiques sur l'abbaye de Saint-Wandrille* (Paris, 1913), pp. 96–7, noted in M. Arnoux, 'Border, trade route, or market? The Channel and the medieval European economy from the twelfth to the fifteenth century', *ANS*, 36 (2014), 40). The slave market is also discussed by L. Musset, 'La Seine normande et le commerce maritime du III<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', as reprinted in *Nordica et Normannica*, pp. 344–5.

<sup>29</sup> Suggested by an analogy with Saint-Lô, where the construction of a stone bridge by Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances resulted in a huge increase in the toll generated by the town from 15 livres to 220 livres ('De statu huius ecclesiae', GC, xi. Instr. Col. 219).

<sup>30</sup> See below, Chapter 10, pp. 581–5.

<sup>31</sup> B. Gauthiez, 'The urban development of Rouen, 989–1345', in *Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911–1300*, ed. L. V. Hicks and E. Brenner (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 19–21; J. Le Maho, 'Rouen à l'époque des incursions vikings (841–911)', *Bulletin de la commission des antiquités de la Seine-Maritime*, 42 (1995), 143–202; Le Maho, 'Les normands de la Seine', p. 166.

<sup>32</sup> RADN, nos. 9 and 36. The manse with a chapel granted to the monks of Fécamp in 1006 might subsequently have been exchanged for Plein-Sève.

<sup>33</sup> RADN, nos. 34, 36, 52, 53.

<sup>34</sup> RADN, no. 6, 34 for Saint-Clement. For Saint-Candé see Gauthiez, 'The urban development of Rouen', pp. 21–2 (although the reference he provided appears to be erroneous).

mills on the Robec.<sup>35</sup> The farm due for the city in 1180 suggests that there was a lot left in the duke's hands despite this generosity.<sup>36</sup>

Upstream of Rouen, the duke's vill of Le Vaudreuil was developing as a port and urban centre, too. Moriut was told: 'This port is not far distant from the city of your lady. Rather frequently it is full to bursting with the merchandise of wealth (supplied) by Vikings.'<sup>37</sup> That development is perhaps reflected by its division into five smaller vills during the early eleventh century, itself revealed by two diplomas for Fécamp. An act of May 1006 records that the monks of Fécamp were granted five churches at Le Vaudreuil, namely the churches of St Mary, St Stephen, St Cecilia, St Saturnin, and St Quentin, with the chapels that were subject to them and whatever arable land and meadow belonged to them.<sup>38</sup> Richard II's confirmation of this gift of August 1025, however, states that the monks' only possession in Le Vaudreuil was the church of St Mary 'and whatever belongs to it'. By then, the church of St Stephen was at Vauvray and the church of St Saturnin was in the appropriately named *Novilla*, while it is likely from the drafting of the act, and from the relevant dedications, that the churches at Poses (dedicated to St Quentin) and Portjoie (dedicated to St Cecilia) had also been included in the original grant but had now broken away to become the parish churches of these separate vills.<sup>39</sup> Similar divisions seem to have happened at Vascœuil and Longueville.

Rouen and the Seine were at the heart of Charles the Simple's grant to Rollo, and the wealth the city and the other ports on the Seine created was essential to the dukes' authority. But Rollo was also confirmed in possession of the city's hinterland. While no contemporary source spelt out precisely what was encompassed in King Charles's grant, Flodoard's reports of Norman raids into Francia and vice versa suggest that the Bresle comprised the north-eastern border at least by the 920s, while both Flodoard and Dudo tells us of a border on the Epte.<sup>40</sup> That frontier is also suggested by the tradition of early grants of land and property along the Epte, around Gasny, to the monks of Saint-Ouen and canons of the cathedral.<sup>41</sup> Across the Seine, Rollo gained at least part of the *pagus* of Madrie, probably the strip of land that lies between the Seine and the Eure. From the junction of the two rivers, it is likely that the Seine formed the boundary of the initial grant, although this can only be conjecture.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>35</sup> RADN, nos. 41, 53, 66.

<sup>36</sup> The farm was 3,000 *livres angevin* = £750 sterling (*Norman Pipe Rolls*, p. 50).

<sup>37</sup> Warner of Rouen, *Moriut*, pp. 90–1.

<sup>38</sup> RADN, no. 9.

<sup>39</sup> RADN, no. 34. The church of Portjoie is now in the recently created town of Val-du-Reuil.

<sup>40</sup> Flodoard, pp. 9, 13–14; Dudo, pp. 49, 67.

<sup>41</sup> This had been alienated before 942 by Rollo and Longsword (RADN, nos. 53).

<sup>42</sup> See Searle, *PK*, pp. 71, 74–5; L. Musset, 'Considérations sur la genèse et la trace des

Table 1 Ducal grants to the ducal monasteries of Upper Normandy, 911–1026

Duke	Saint-Ouen	Jumièges	Fécamp	Saint-Wandrille
Rollo	14 + 2			
William Longsword	8 + 1	10 + 1		
Richard I	1 + 0	0 + 8	12 + 8	5 + 5
Richard II	1 + 3	2 + 12	10 + 35	1 + 19

While Rollo is said to have divided this land between his followers by rope,<sup>43</sup> he kept a lot of villas for himself, too. Some, like Pîtres, had once been part of the royal fisc. Some, like the large villa of Vascoeuil on the right bank of the Andelle, had once belonged to the monasteries of the region, in this case that of Saint-Ouen. Some, such as Bliquetuit, might not have existed at all before the Vikings settled on the Seine.<sup>44</sup> Taken together, the dukes' demesne villas were concentrated on either bank of the meandering river Seine, from Harfleur at its mouth to Vernon in the Norman Vexin. There was another concentration of demesne along the coast of the Pays de Caux, which petered out east of Le Bourg-Dun. There was a scattering of estates in the interior of that county, too. But, so far as we can see, there was rather less demesne in the Vexin and in that part the Roumois away from the Seine.<sup>45</sup>

Something of the scale of the dukes' holdings in the Caux, Roumois, and Vexin is suggested by the grants made by the dukes from Rollo to Richard II to the abbeys that were founded or restored during the tenth century, which are shown for convenience in Table 1.

This amounts in sum to the complete alienation of sixty-four demesne villas (the first figure) over the course of a century, with grants of property and rights in another ninety-one (these partial alienations follow the '+' sign).<sup>46</sup> With many gifts comprising just a church, tithes, or even just a few *hôtes*, most of the real estate and rights in these demesne villas may be supposed to have been retained in the dukes' hands. The demesne, then, was not alienated prodigiously, but nonetheless

frontiers de la Normandie', as reprinted in *Nordica et Normannica*, pp. 404–5; Bauduin, *Première Normandie*, pp. 135–41.

<sup>43</sup> *Dudo*, p. 51.

<sup>44</sup> L. Musset, 'Ce qu'enseigne l'histoire d'un patrimoine monastique: Saint-Ouen de Rouen du IX<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Aspects de la société et de l'économie dans la Normandie médiévale (X<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. L. Musset, J.-M. Bouvris, and V. Gazeau (Caen, 1988), 115–29; Wagner, 'Les noms de lieux issus de l'implantation Scandinave en Normandie'.

<sup>45</sup> For the picture c. 1000 see Map 2, although note that it does not plot villas that had been alienated before 942.

<sup>46</sup> Figures from *RADN*, nos. 4, 9, 31, 34 (Fécamp); 36 (Jumièges); 52 (Saint-Wandrille); 53 (Saint-Ouen).

the scale of their patronage reveals the important role played by the ducal abbeys in promoting and maintaining the dukes' authority in Upper Normandy, as well as their desire to be seen as munificent patrons and good Christians.

Despite the density of the dukes' holdings in the Caux, only a very few places stand out as important ducal centres. Fécamp, on the coast, quickly became a favoured residence. Dudo noted that Sprota, William Longsword's wife *more Danico*, gave birth to the future Duke Richard I there, and that Richard I built a church in his castle which became one of the greatest abbeys of Normandy.<sup>47</sup> Further to the north-east, inland from Dieppe and on the very edge of the Pays de Caux, Arques-la-Bataille provided another centre. A fortress had been established there by 944, although it must have been dwarfed by William of Arques's castle when it was built c. 1050. By 1024 × 1026, Arques was the seat of a *vicomté*, and produced revenue from its tolls. In April 1033, Robert the Magnificent could describe it as 'a certain seat of ours' while augmenting the holdings of the monks of Saint-Wandrille there.<sup>48</sup> There was also the hunting lodge at Lyons-la-Forêt, where Longsword arranged the marriage of his sister, Gerloc, to Count William of Poitou and where Henry I would die.<sup>49</sup> Lillebonne had a few years of glory c. 1080, but the imperial Roman connotations that brought the place into the limelight during the second half of William the Bastard's reign might equally have caused it to fall back into the shadows during the altogether less august reign of Robert Curthose. Henry I or Stephen apparently gave it to Rabel of Tancarville.<sup>50</sup> Other ducal castles were constructed at Bures-en-Bray, and Neufchâtel, but neither of them seems to have been of great importance to the dukes other than as a strongpoint.

Although the grant of Rouen and its neighbouring *pagi* was intended to protect Francia from further Viking raids up the Seine, and seems to have succeeded in doing so, it did not result in an end to Norman attacks on northern France. Dudo of Saint-Quentin is all but silent about Rollo's later career, and Flodoard has very little, too, and it may well be that Rollo maintained the peace while King Charles remained on his throne. But in 923, the beleaguered king appealed to Rollo and his Normans for military assistance. Charles's enemies prevented their forces from uniting, but 923 nonetheless saw Norman raids on the *pagi* across the Oise, where they 'devastated the land, leading off flocks and herds, removing much of the portable wealth, and taking numerous prisoners'. In retaliation, King Ralph and Count Herbert of the Vermandois ravaged the *pagus* of Rouen later the same

<sup>47</sup> *Dudo*, pp. 68, 164–5; Jumièges, i. 78.

<sup>48</sup> *RADN*, nos. 9, 52, 69

<sup>49</sup> *Dudo*, p. 69; Jumièges, i. 80.

<sup>50</sup> Orderic, vi. 482.

year.<sup>51</sup> Eventually a peace was agreed, 'on the condition that the more spacious land beyond the Seine, which they (the Normans) had requested, would be given to them'. Early in 924, King Ralph ordered that the Normans should be paid a tribute in return for keeping the peace, and later the same year 'the Northmen' – it has been supposed that Flodoard meant the Normans of the Seine here, rather than those of the Loire, and the grant made to Longsword in 933 would not have made sense if this was not the case – were given Maine and the Bessin, presumably in fulfilment of the terms agreed the previous year.<sup>52</sup>

Despite this settlement, fighting between Franks and Normans flared up again in 925. A Norman camp on the Seine was besieged, although the Normans were able to break out and escape into a forest which concealed their movements.<sup>53</sup> Rollo's forces then attacked the *pagi* of Beauvais and Amiens. But Rollo also had to deal with a revolt of the men of the Bessin, which suggests that he had attempted to make a reality of the grant of the previous year, while Hugh the Great raided the *pagus* of Rouen and Count Herbert of the Vermandois led a successful attack on the Norman fort at Eu.<sup>54</sup> While it looks from these events as if Rollo and his Northmen were on the back foot, the next year they almost achieved a spectacular reversal when they came close to capturing King Ralph. They then plundered the forest region as far as the *pagus* of Porcien until they were paid a tribute to stop.<sup>55</sup>

Flodoard seems only ever to tell half the story, which further complicates the complex politics of these years, but it is possible that these conflicts were due to Rollo's continuing loyalty to King Charles, which would have pitted him against King Ralph, Hugh the Great, and Charles's gaoler Count Herbert.<sup>56</sup> It is notable that the grant of 924 was made in King Ralph's absence, albeit with his consent, and that Rollo is never said to have committed himself to him. Further, while

<sup>51</sup> *Flodoard*, p. 9. Quotation from Richer, i. 120.

<sup>52</sup> *Flodoard*, pp. 9–10; Richer noted only the collection and payment of the tribute, and had the Normans withdraw once they had received the money (Richer, i. 120). Musset thought that the grant of Maine did not include the later county of Maine, but rather some of the constituent parts of the larger duchy of Maine once held by Béranger, including the Hiémois. John Le Patourel suggested that Flodoard should be taken at face value, but that the Normans had been simply unable to gain control over Maine. Richard Barton was unsure that the grant could have been effective at all (see L. Musset, 'Naissance de la Normandie' in *L'Histoire de la Normandie*, ed. M. de Boüard (Toulouse, 1970), p. 98; J. Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), p. 6; R. E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890–1160* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 29–30).

<sup>53</sup> *Flodoard*, p. 13.

<sup>54</sup> *Flodoard*, pp. 13–14. Richer of Reims implied that Rollo was one of the casualties of the attack on Eu (Richer, i. 124–6, 130).

<sup>55</sup> *Flodoard*, p. 15.

<sup>56</sup> A suggestion also made by Searle, *PK*, pp. 52–3.



Longsword did commit himself to Charles and reaffirm his friendship with Count Herbert at Eu in 927, Rollo seems not to have needed to do so.<sup>57</sup> And then in 928, Rollo refused to surrender Count Herbert's son, whom he was holding as a hostage, until Herbert had committed himself to King Charles whom he was using as his puppet.<sup>58</sup> Loyalty is not often associated with Vikings, and yet Rollo might well have remained faithful to his first patron long after others had deserted him.

### *William Longsword, c. 928–42*

It is possible that Longsword's early association with Herbert of the Vermandois put him at odds with his father, and equally possible that Rollo's continuing loyalty to the lame-duck King Charles was seen as indicating that he was now out of touch with Frankish politics. It might also have been the case that Rollo faced discontent and revolt at the end of his reign due to his growing infirmity or even to the reverse he had suffered at Eu in 925.<sup>59</sup> Dudo's account of a ruler agreeing to abdicate in favour of his son might therefore be a very rosy picture of a rather more unfriendly exchange. Equally, while Dudo could suggest a smooth transfer of power from Rollo to Longsword when he was writing, it is possible that he was obliged to edit out a period of struggle to do so – as both the author of the *Planctus* and David Crouch suggest.<sup>60</sup> A period of insecurity is also suggested by the fact that it was only in 933 that Longsword made an otherwise surprisingly belated oath of fidelity to King Ralph. In return, he was given 'the land of the Bretons that was located along the sea coast'.<sup>61</sup> By then, Flodoard could describe him as *princeps* of the Normans, revealing that he had achieved ascendancy.

It is possible that the grant of 933 led to conflict with the Bretons. Dudo envisaged a campaign that resulted from the refusal of the Breton leaders to continue to recognize Longsword's overlordship.<sup>62</sup> It is difficult to establish the veracity of

<sup>57</sup> Flodoard, p. 17.

<sup>58</sup> Flodoard, p. 17.

<sup>59</sup> That Rollo suffered political fallout from his defeat at Eu was suggested by Crouch, *The Normans*, p. 9.

<sup>60</sup> Van Houts, *Planctus*, 3, 18; Crouch, *The Normans*, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup> Flodoard, p. 23. Although the belated oath of fidelity might simply have reflected the king's uncertain position, which resulted in Aquitanian lords delaying their acknowledgement of his rule for some years (McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 313). The grant of 933 is generally taken to have comprised the Cotentin and Avranchin, which is how it is interpreted here, but John Le Patourel wondered whether it actually comprised at least part of Brittany, too, and was intended to set the Vikings of the Seine at odds with those of the Loire (Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, pp. 6–7).

<sup>62</sup> Dudo, pp. 62–3. Crouch similarly dated this campaign 933–34 (Crouch, *The Normans*, p. 14).

Dudo's account, however, because there is very little additional evidence either to support or to undermine his claims. The *Chronicle of Nantes*, a later compilation that is also of dubious accuracy, reports a raid on the coast of Brittany by Normans from Rouen in 919, and also notes that Alan Wrybeard drove Normans from Dol and Saint-Brieuc in 937 – which might be one of the attacks reported by Flodoard in his annal for the same year.<sup>63</sup> If the *Chronicle* provides an accurate record of events here, it may be that Dudo's story had its origins in a short-lived Norman occupation of Dol and the surrounding area. That would, of course, still fall far short of the sort of hegemony that Dudo envisaged, but it is at least plausible, and perhaps further supported by the tradition that Longsword granted a number of villas around the bay of Mont-Saint-Michel to the clergy living there, although it is not clear that this tradition was independent of Dudo's *De moribus*,<sup>64</sup> as well as the much-vaunted 'coin' that apparently describes William as 'dux Britonum' which was found somewhere on the Mont-Saint-Michel. While some historians have taken this object as evidence of short-lived Norman dominion, Eleanor Searle and Cassandra Potts in particular have been less impressed by it.<sup>65</sup> It is at best ambiguous, and at worst dubious, evidence, but while it was clearly not a product of the Norman mints, it *might* have been produced in Brittany, perhaps in Dol, by a Breton moneyer influenced by the English coins brought back to Brittany by Alan Barbe-Torte.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *La Chronique de Nantes (570–1049)*, ed. R. Merlet (Paris, 1896), p. 89; *Flodoard*, p. 30. Searle supposed that the Normans at Dol were Christians because the author of the *Chronicle of Nantes* noted that they were attacked while celebrating a wedding (Searle, *PK*, p. 32).

<sup>64</sup> *RADN*, no. 49. Pierre Bouet thought the act provided an accurate report: P. Bouet, 'Le Mont-Saint-Michel entre Bretagne et Normandie de 960 à 1060', in *Bretons et Normans au moyen âge: rivalités, malentendus, convergences*, ed. J. Quaghebeur and B. Merdrignac (Rennes, 2008), p. 173. Cassandra Potts was much less certain: Potts, *Monastic Revival*, pp. 97–8.

<sup>65</sup> Searle, *PK*, p. 53; Potts, *Monastic Revival*, p. 97, n. 90. Searle thought that this medal or coin 'is poor evidence of William's claim to a chieftainship'.

<sup>66</sup> The coin (see the image in M. Dolley and J. Yvon, 'A group of tenth-century coins found at Mont-Saint-Michel', *British Numismatic Journal*, 40 (1971), 1–12, with the coin discussed at pp. 7–11) and see also the drawing in N. S. Price, *The Vikings in Brittany* (London, 1989), p. 83/401) is based on an English prototype, as Dolley and Jens Moesgaard have noted (J. C. Moesgaard, 'A survey of coin production and currency in Normandy, 864–945', in *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell and G. Williams (Walnut Creek CA, 2007), pp. 99–121). It consequently looks very different from other Longsword coins minted in Normandy and it is also larger. The legend around the edge of the coin has been transcribed as: 'VVILEIM DU + IRB +', which, even if read correctly, spells William's name differently from his other coins, adds a title where none is found elsewhere, and reverses the direction of reading which does not occur on other Norman coins of his or any other reign. The reverse of the coin indicates

It was probably shortly after he had received the grant of the Cotentin and Avranchin from King Ralph that Longsword arranged the marriage of his sister, Gerloc, to Count William of Poitou.<sup>67</sup> This match perhaps constitutes evidence of the success of Longsword's attitude towards the other Frankish princes, as well as their recognition that his power had now become sufficiently extensive to make him a valuable ally. It might equally have been a pragmatic attempt on behalf of the Poitevins to use the Normans' continuing connections with the Scandinavian world to curb the continuing Viking raids into Poitou.<sup>68</sup> There is certainly some evidence that the Seine and Loire Vikings might still work together at this time, and the idea is supported by Adémar of Chabannes's later remark that it was only the intervention of Richard II, c. 1000, that freed Emma, *vicecomitessa* of Angoulême, from her lengthy captivity at the hands of Viking raiders, probably from Britain or Ireland.<sup>69</sup> What William gained from this alliance was less tangible but just as important: acceptance into the Frankish political community.

Longsword contracted his own marriage at about the same time. Probably within the period 933–39 he married Liégeard, the daughter of Count Herbert of the Vermandois.<sup>70</sup> Flodoard and Richer did not mention the union, but Dudo reported that:

when Herbert saw that William of Rouen was growing strong and formidable ... he gave his daughter to him by the counsel of duke Hugh the Great. Conveyed in a most seemly fashion, with wonderful 'Fescennine' displays, and with accoutrements of novel and inexpressible honour and dignity and

that it was struck by a moneyer called Rivallon, who may be taken to have been a Breton. It is likely that Breton moneyers were familiar with English coins struck during the reign of Æthelstan which had perhaps been brought to Brittany by the returning Alan Wrybeard in 936, but that familiarity might be a double-edged sword as the hoard of coins found at the Mont includes two imitations of pennies produced during the reign of Aethelstan. That does not inspire confidence in the authenticity of this particular *denier*.

<sup>67</sup> Dudo, p. 69; Jumièges, i. 80. The marriage had almost certainly occurred by 933 (see below, Chapter 4, pp. 191–2), a date to some extent reinforced by charter evidence noted by Elisabeth van Houts that suggests that the marriage had been made by 934 (Van Houts, 'Planctus', 21).

<sup>68</sup> Dudo, p. 70 reports that the advance was made by the Poitevins rather than by Longsword. Dunbabin, *France*, p. 60; Van Houts, 'Planctus', Appendix 2, 21–2.

<sup>69</sup> Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris, 1897), pp. 166–7; translated in van Houts, *Normans*, p. 214. The origin of the raiders is suggested by the comment that Emma was held prisoner overseas.

<sup>70</sup> David Crouch dated the marriage more closely to c. 936–37 (Crouch, *The Normans*, p. 12). See also below, Chapter 4, pp. 191–2.