What do the 'medieval documents' reflect? :
Summarized proceedings of the sessions of 107
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Hirokazu Tsurushima, Rie Tamura, Yukio Arai, Sono Morishita, Kenji Yoshitake, Hideyuki Arimitsu, Atsuko Nakamura, Tamiko Fujimoto, Keizo Asaji.*

Introduction

H. Tsurushima

This collection of eight papers is the summarized proceedings of the sessions of 107 and 207 of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 2002. The Session of 107 was held in Maple Room of Weetwood Hall in the morning of the 8, July and titled as 'Associations and Identities in Medieval England'. It was moderated by Professor K. Asaji. At the same day afternoon the session of 207 was met in Great Common Room of Bodington Hall under my moderation. Its title was 'Charters and their Functions in twelfth-century Britain'. The introduction of the speakers in two sessions will be described in the following Moderator's notes, so here I will briefly touch my motive for running the session in IMC. Since 1994, I regularly read my papers in this congress with European and American historians. Although the number of Japanese speakers constantly increase, there is still no session taken the initiative in by Japanese historian. I really felt the necessity of organizing the introductory session for Japanese younger historians to have an opportunity of reading a part of their achievements in Europe. I believe that their academic standard is very sound and their papers are worth reading in international circumstances. These experience will probably strengthen and vitalize our academic activities.

As organizer, I am responsible for explaining the titles of the two sessions to our readers. At the present days, national identity wins an overwhelming victory. However in the medieval period, people lived in several associations with various identities. The purpose of session 107 is to show the diverse realities of associations and identities from two points of view: to live and to die. Session 207 is a try to explore the process of making and preserving charters. Without considering their functions in the historical context, we never approach charters as historical evidence.

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Part One : Associations and Identities in medieval England

Moderator's Note
Keizo A<small>SAJI</small>

In the following note I will write my paper on the theme of the session, an introductory note of four speakers, and questions and answers exchanged in the session. The title of this session is Association and Identities in Medieval England. The Organiser of the session is Professor Hirokazu Tsurushima, Kumamoto University in Japan. And I am Keizo Asaji, Kansai University, and I acted as a moderator of the session. Since there were four speakers, we had time for questions and answers after those four papers finished.

The common theme of these four papers are association of people in a limited circle or locality and four speakers intend to clarify the characteristics of each association by analysing the documents being concerned with each of the local community.

The first speaker was Professor Tsurushima, fellow of Royal Historical Society. He is now majoring the fraternity in late 11th and early 12th century England. Being a well-known scholar both in England and in Japan, there is no need to speak about his academic concern now. The title of his paper of the day was 'Women and Corrody in 12th century Kent'.

The second paper was read by Miss Rie Tamura. She is now making her research on the assize rolls in the early 14th century, as a postdoctoral fellow sponsored by Japanese government. Her paper's title was 'Citizens and their Guild in Early 14th century York'.

Next speaker was Professor Yukio Arai. He is a professor of medieval history in Ochanomizu University, in Japan. In 2000 at Anglo-Japanese Conference of Historians, he read a paper on the characteristic form of Gentry's letters in 15th century England. The renewed title of his paper was 'Sir William Stonor and the God's House in Ewelme, Oxfordshire'.

The last speaker was Miss Sono Morishita. She got M.A. from University of London in 1994, and now teaching medieval history as a lecturer in Sophia Junior College in Japan. She has already published several articles in Japanese. One of her recent works is titled 'The book of Margery Kemp in Norwich'. And she talked about 'Women and their Testaments in Late Medieval Norwich'.

Their presentation was followed by the time of questions and answers. Since the topics mentioned in these papers are corrody, fraternity, guilds, city council, almshouses, gentry household, nunnery and women's network in a town, questions concerning the community in the medieval society were expected. Among some twenties of audience the first questioner was Ms. Sheela Sweetinburgh. She asked professor Tsurushima whether the corrody in twelfth century Kent was a kind of charity of religious houses or a kind of social security service that Rochester Cathedral Priory prepared for the local elderly residents, and what kind of ladies applied for corrody there? Professor Tsurushima answered her with his knowledge of *Textus Roffensis*. 'In the 12th century corrody had the both characters. Corrody was a care for the life in this world and the confraternity was for people's association in afterlife.'

The second questioner, Mr. Loff, asked Miss Morishita why the paper was only concerned with the female association in a town. 'Is there any comparison with examples of rural area? Did those women exemplified in the paper have any common craft?' Another male scholar asked her why the speaker

divided the wills of those women into two categories, religious and secular. Miss Morishita answered that she noticed an interesting fact, a function of recycling women's belongings, for example a bed and books, by making their wills.

Though there was no question concerning the other two papers, I think that from these papers there emerged some new points to be investigated. Anyway it is significant that in the Medieval Congress in UK, papers on English history given by Japanese scholars were accepted as scholarly works by English academicians. From the questions and answers we also could learn some points to be improved in the future sessions.

Chapter 1 Women and Corrody in twelfth-century Kent
H. TSURUSHIMA

The recent story of an old woman who starved herself to death at age of 108 told us that the elderly find difficulty in living in comfort for the rest of their days with dignity. In the middle ages when living conditions were much harder, it is not difficult for us to image such difficulty. However, in the ages of the different idea of living-and-death, a different system of care was invented. It was a corrody, possible derivation from *conrei*, Old French equipment.

One historian says that 'Originally a corrody had in its nature overtones of charity, and was drink, clothing, and shelter [given to lay people] within a religious house. By the early fourteenth century there had emerged...various qualities, the great majority of which had some cash element in them. This change may have occurred simultaneously with the substitution of money for certain of the goods and services in the monk's portion.'[1]. Another historian maintains the part played by a corrody as governmental gear of the crown. R. A. L. Smith said that 'The crown had a practice in the fourteenth century of nominating retired civil servants or soldiers to corrodies in the Precincts'[2].

In her recent work, Barbara Harvey categorized 'corrody', into the standardized and selective arrangement[3]. The standardized arrangement was based on 'monk's corrody', that is, a daily ration of bread and ale as given to a monk, together with the two dishes of cooked food at dinner, according to the Rule of St Benedict. On the other hand, the selective arrangement was an *ad hoc* arrangement. Here those corrodians who often lived at a distance were excluded from cooked food and given grain and flour. The corrody depicted here appears to be similar to a pension in kind in the modern sense. However what is the origin of the corrody? What happened to it from earlier times to the fourteenth century? How was it transformed? The purpose of this paper is to give one of the possible answers to these questions, by using Kentish sources in the twelfth century.

From the *Textus Roffensis*, compiled in about 1120s, there is the case of a 'corrody', which was given to

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[1] Ian Keil, 'Corrodies of Glastonbury Abbey in the late middle ages', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 18 (1964), p. 113.

[2] *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 41-42.

[3] *Living and Dying in England 1000-1154: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 181-183.

a citizen of the city of Rochester, although the word *corrodium* was not used[4]. Ingerburg, the wife of Herulf, cobbler, gave a house to the monks, who, in return for this donation, provided her with food and clothing as their charity and accepted her into confraternity. Moreover at the point of her death, they promised to pray for her as a nun.

To begin with, this agreement belonged to about 1100. It could be one of the earliest 'corrody' practice, although the word corrody was not used. Secondly it shows that the charity of food and clothing, that is corrody, was given to the ordinary (or not so much wealthy) citizen, the wife of a cobbler. Thirdly (and this is the most important point) it suggests that the corrody means not only the guarantee of the livelihood of the elderly, particularly widows, but also a part of confraternity, in other words the share of the community of prayer[5]. Therefore, we may be safe to say that the new word was not necessarily needed.

The other case is more detailed and interesting. Robert Latimer or Robert Interpreter was a wealthy tenant of Odo, bishop Bayeux, in Kent, particularly in West Kent[6]. The total value of his lands in Domesday Book was 83 pounds, much nearly equivalent to that of the lands of Fulbert of Dover, the founder of the Chilham family. He also held part of Otford manor of the Archbishop jointly with Geoffrey of Ros, and shared the title of thegn with Geoffrey and even Haimo the sheriff[7]. Moreover he was an official of the sheriff with his brother Aelfwine, the reeve of Chatham[8]. This implies that he was an Englishman. His nickname 'Interpreter' shows that he could speak both English and French, and was working as an interpreter among the officials of the sheriff during the Domesday Inquest. His parents were Aethelric the priest of Chatham and Godgifu. Aethelric had been a canon of the cathedral chapter at Rochester, which was replaced by a body of Benedictine monks soon after Gundulf's accession to the bishopric. He gave a house to the monks in order to bury his wife with honour. The family of Robert Latimer belonged to the local establishment, and was not only a local landlord but also produced local priests.

After the death of Robert, his widow made a contract with the monks of St. Andrew's. The *Textus Roffensis* tells us an interesting story about their agreement. She held the land called Hornden in Frindsbury for her life and paid twenty shillings to the reeve of Frindsbury yearly. She affirmed that her kindred should succeeded to it, but the monks claimed it should revert to them after her death. But long before her death, she gave up her claim and decided to transfer the land at issue to the monks for salvation of the souls of her husband (Robert), herself and her parents. After the procession on one Sunday, she came forward in front of the altar and handed it over to them forever, in the presence of the monks, French, English and others. For her donation, the monks gave her sixty shillings of which Brod the priest, her daughter's husband, robbed her in a fit of passion. They promised her besides, food and clothing as long as she should live, that is, food from the cellarer as much as for one monk and one dish of flesh four days a week, and clothing from the chamberlain, honourable, such as became her age and person. In addition they promised to give to one man and one maid-servant such food as the rest of servants of the church had.

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4 *Textus Roffensis*, fo. 190v.

5 On the confraternity agreement, see H. Tsurushima. 'The fraternity of Rochester Cathedral Priory about 1100', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 313-337.

6 On Robert Latimer, see H. Tsurushima, op. cit and 'Domesday Interpreter', *ante* 18 (1996), pp. 212-213.

7 *D. C. Douglas ed. Domesday Monachorum* (London, 1944), p. 87.

8 *Textus Roffensis, fos.* 190v-191.

Besides this they promised to give her twenty-shillings yearly to pay their wages, clothe them and procure other necessaries for herself. When she died, the convent agreed that they would bury her and observed her anniversary yearly. The list of witnesses follows; Robert the priest, the son of Goldwine the priest, Ordheah the priest of Hoo, Ralph the clerk, Hugh clerk, Wigetus clerk, Goldwine Grec, his brother Edwine fot, Robert secretary and Guthred the son of Deoring[9].

Here she was given a 'monk's corrody', as well as another dish of flesh four days in week and clothing which could guarantee her living, appropriate to her age and social status. Moreover, the allowance included not only a 'servant's corrody', that is, a daily allowance of bread and ale, for her one man and one maid-servant, but also cash to maintain her standard of life in the earthly world. The monks also promised to bury her and observe her anniversary yearly like a member of community.

The witness list is also interesting. There are many local priests. Taking into consideration the fact that Robert's father was a priest of Chatham and a canon of the former cathedral chapter, and that Robert's son-in-law was a priest, there would have been some blood relations among the local priests and gentry around cathedral church. One of the witness, Goldwine Grec (living in the city) made his son a monk of Rochester Cathedral Priory[10]. The early twelfth century monks were mainly recruited from the families living in the area in and around the city of Rochester. The corrody-agreement was made in front of those people and came to be a part of social memory. Although corrodies varied with individual need and status, the fraternity relationship between the monks and lay people is prerequisite for them.

In the cases discovered within the twelfth century most of the corrodians are women. To care for the widow without impairing her dignity and to give her an honourable death and life in the heaven did not only occupy the principal interest of her dying husband but also of his local society.

The liturgical commemoration of the dead came to be a primary obligation for monastic communities. Here it would become an expectation that a soul would rejoin the community in the afterlife. The intercession by the living for the dead or dying came to be a bridge between the earthly and heavenly worlds. There would be a happy marriage of the living with the dead on which the twelfth century corrody had been based[11].

The word 'corrody' was possibly invented in the first part of the twelfth century. In Kent, the first appearance of this word might well have been in the 1160s and 1170s. William Urry showed a few cases of the late twelfth century corrodians of Canterbury Cathedral Priory. Here shall we take a brief view of them following his study?

The first case is that of two sisters, Sedegos and Scolastica in Canterbury in between 1165 and 1175. They were 'daughters of Elviva, wife successively of Eadulf and of Bruman secretary'. They made grant and quitclaim of their property in Canterbury, in exchange for a corrody of food and drink and use of a room [12 feet by 24 feet], with one mark in cash *per annum* as pension to Sedegos, during their lifetime. They also entered into the fraternity of the monks[12].

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[9] *Textus Rofffensis*, fo.200v-201

[10] *Textus Roffensis*, fos.191v-192

[11] M. L. Poper, 'Uniting the community of the living with the dead', in *Authority and Community in the Middle Ages ed.* by D. Mowbray, R. Purdie and Ian P. Wei (Thurpp, 1999), pp. 19-41

[12] *Canterbury under the Angevin King*, pp. 163-164, 419-420.

Second is the case of Atheliza. In about 1177, 'Atheliza, who drew rent from housing inconveniently close to the cathedral church, was bought out with a grant' of corrody in food and ale. Over and above this she got the spiritual benefit of society within the church, and sepulture on death. 'The whole of this represented a return for 3s. *per annum* surrendered to the monks, though it should be remembered that the rent was permanently surrendered and the corrody was for life only'[13].

In both cases, corrodies were given with the grant of the spiritual benefit of community. However, ironically enough, the appearance of the word corrody may have suggested its potential separation from the grant of the spiritual benefit of confraternity. The third case may well have showed this. In about 1176, John Calderum, a leading citizen, retired to the cloister, when Mahalt, his wife was still alive, arranging for her to receive a daily corrody of food at the monastic kitchen together with one mantle and footwear on occasion as issued to the brethren[14]. But she seemed to be not allowed to enter into the fraternity of the monks.

After separating from the spiritual benefit of fraternity, the corrodies became the means of providing comfort for the wealthy and moreover, dissociated themselves from the local community. As early as in 1167-1175, William son of Archebold 'made arrangements for a corrody from the cellarer's department of Christ Church for himself and two men, when he came to Canterbury once, or twice, in each year'. He lived in Farleigh on the Medway, far away from the city of Canterbury[15].

The corrodies came to be sold or exchanged for land and money, and to be forerunners of the modern annuity. Therefore the church authority started to prohibit the sale of corrodies. Archbishop Hubert Walter condemned the sales of corrodies as resembling simony, that is, the purchase of spiritual things. However, the corrodies, in reality separating from the spiritual benefits of fraternity, 'became a method of rewarding servants, pleasing patrons and powerful interests, and for a time, a way of raising capital and buying land' (Ian Keil).

After the twelfth century, the idea of the living and death had changed. Their happy marriage is said to be at an end[16]. However, at this moment, I cannot tell you the relationship between the change of the idea and that of the corrody. I hope you will not take it amiss.

Chapter 2 Citizens and their Guild in Early 14th-Century York

Rie TAMURA

Introduction

There were diverse associations, which were called guilds or fraternities, in medieval English towns. Numerous attempts have been made by historians to show guilds in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries or

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[13] *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, pp. 164, 404-405.

[14] *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, pp. 164, 423.

[15] *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, p.174

[16] The paper of Lynda Rollason, read in International Medieval Congress, Leeds 2002, shows that there was rarely the relationship between corrody and confraternity agreement in the fifteenth century.

from the fifteenth century onward[1]. But only a few studies have so far been made of guilds in the fourteenth-century except for merchant guilds and craft guilds. So the purpose of this paper is to show the relationships in a guild which was accused before the justices in eyre and the connection between this guild and city government in early fourteenth-century York. For this aim, I will use the assize roll, which was printed by G. O. Sayles in 'The Dissolution of a gild at York in 1306', *English Historical Review*, vol. lv, 1940.

I   Assize in 1306

1 Accusation

Then I will briefly show the process of the trial. I will use numbers to refer to the parties, which I have put in the table and figure. The justices were no. 1 Peter de Maulay and four others, no. 2 to no. 5, the accuser was no. 6 Peter Turgis, and the accused persons were no. 12, Andrew de Bollingbroke, who was the mayor of York at that time, and fifty-four others, no.7 to no. 61. Fifty-one of them appeared in the court. Four who did not appear are checked by crosses in the column, court, in the table. The accuser obtained the court's permission to sue on behalf of the king, and outlined the case for the prosecution. He said that the defendants had taken an oath and organised a guild. The contents of the oath were that they should hold a court for themselves, that in case of assessment in York, they should reduce the tax for the guildmen, and that they should support and maintain each other in all matters against all persons outside their guild. And they made ordinances and had an alderman, a dean, two chamberlains and a summoner to keep the oath. So the accuser prosecuted the defendants for conspiracy.

2 Answer of the defendants

Seven of the defendants claimed that they didn't belong to the guild or take any oath. The other defendants answered as follows: The almshouse known as the 'domus dei' on Ouse Bridge in the center of the city was established and endowed by the citizens of York, but for some years there had been no donation. So in order to keep up the 'domus dei' , they had made the guild, ordinances, and oath, and had appointed wardens, namely an alderman, a dean, and two chamberlains. Therefore they didn't have any court. The defendants claimed that their guild didn't harm the king or the citizens of York. They agreed to a jury of citizens of York.

3 Impanelment of a jury

In opposition to the defendants, the accuser claimed that the jury should include persons outside the borough, for the case concerned the king. Eventually, the justices impanelled a jury of twelve citizens and twelve persons outside the borough, since the case was so much the king's concern that he alone was sueing against them.

4 Finding of fact by the jury

Firstly, seven of the defendants who denied any connection with the guild were found not guilty. They were checked triangle in the column, part in the case, in the table. Secondly, it was determined that the guild was established by the seven men, written as founder in column, role in the guild, in the table, to celebrate the Trinity in 1302. In the following year, other defendants came to the meeting and endowed the

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[1] E.g. Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300* (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1997); T. Sakata, *English Medieval Towns* (Tokyo, 1991).

'domus dei'. Thirdly, they held meetings at every Trinity, and appointed the officials, namely an alderman, a dean, two chamberlains and a summoner. And they had their own court, then the judicial profits went to the guild. They took oath to observe the ordinances and to continue to hold meetings. Fourthly, the members of the guild accounted for over two-third of the assessors of York. Accordingly the citizens outside the guild had been put under great disadvantage. For example four men moved out of the city for fear of incurring heavy tax since they were not members of the guild. Fifthly, the jurors didn't know the case in which one member of the guild sued another in the borough court after they formed the guild. Finally, the jury concluded that the guild was certainly prejudicial to the king and the community of York.

5 Judgement

The judgement was given at Westminster on 17th May, 1306. Seven defendants appeared in the court, who are checked circles in column, Westminster, in the table. The attorney, no. 62 Nicholas de Cambridge, appeared on behalf of the other defendants. The judgement was that the guild should be dissolved, that henceforward the defendants should be prohibited from any similar act, and that they should pay heavy fines. The sum of the fines they paid amounted to 120 pounds 18 shillings 8 pence, according to the assize roll.

II   Relations in the Guild

1 Recovery of the defendants' right

After the judgement, four men, including the accuser, who are checked with circles in column, exclusion, in the table declared that the defendants were guilty of conspiracy and collusion. Then four men refused to allow the defendants to return to their normal status as citizens of York or to divulge to them any of the confidential matters concerning the city.

The defendants were discontented with this. Four of them, who are checked circles in the column, petition, in the table, brought forward a petition in the Parliament of Carlisle in January 1307. As a result, the mayor, bailiffs, and community of York were ordered not to ostracize the petitioners or refuse to admit them to their counsels[2].

Thenceforth the defendants took offices of the city, again. For example, Andrew de Bollingbroke, no. 12, who was the alderman of the guild in case of justice, became mayor in 1309[3]. Schupton, no. 49, who made the ordinances of the guild, became bailiff in 1309[4]. Meek, no. 37, who made the ordinances, too, was mayor in 1311[5].

2 Factions in the city

Now I would like to focus attention on the relationships between the parties in the case. The figure shows the relations to pledge (between guarantee and guarantor) when the defendants should pay the fines. It seems reasonable to suppose that it is improbable to pledge someone without trust although it is affected by wealth. So it is possible to see a phase of relations. The numbers in the figure and table are identical.

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2 *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. I, p. 202.

3 E. Miller, 'Medieval York', in P. M. Tillot ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England : A History of Yorkshire, The City of York* (Oxford, 1961), p. 80.

4 *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1307-1313*, p. 130.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 317.

The persons in the right line in the figure were outside the guild with the exception of two men who were not defendants in spite of being founders of the guild. The rest who are enclosed with thick line were members of the guild. From now on, I will call this guild Trinity Guild as a matter of convenience.

The parties in the case can be divided into several groups. This figure shows important groups. They may be divided into three types. A-groups are in Trinity Guild. They mainly pledged each other within groups. There are B-groups which included members of Trinity Guild and people outside the guild. They were pledged by men outside the guild. C-group seems contrary to Trinity Guild.

Let us start with A-group. Group A-1 seems to be the main one within Trinity Guild itself. For five of the members played leading roles in the guild, for example an alderman, three makers of ordinances and a founder, and most of them paid a large sum in fines. And they seem important persons for the city government on the grounds that two men, no. 12 and no. 37, became mayors of York. Group A-2 seems to be another group within Trinity Guild. A-2 has some relationship to A-1, but both groups have closer connections within themselves. So A-1 and A-2 are divided though both are inside Trinity Guild. These groups are obvious factions in Trinity Guild.

Then let us see the B-groups which included persons inside and outside Trinity Guild. The members of Trinity Guild included in B-groups were pledged by men outside the guild and so they didn't pledge each other. Please see below right in the figure. No. 74 Walmegate pledged two men belonging to the A-1, leading faction in Trinity Guild. And no. 70 Henry le Oufever is included in group B-2. Therefore B-2 possibly played a leading role at the start of Trinity Guild, and then A-1 took the place of B-2. What the matter makes clear at once is that Trinity Guild is far from being one united body, and that this guild is a compound body containing several factions. Next please see middle right in the figure. I would like to focus attention on no. 75 John de Warthill. He pledged six defendants in Trinity Guild, while he made an attempt to exclude the defendants from the city government with the accuser, and no. 80 Thomas de Warthill, who might be kinsman of no. 75 John de Warthill, moved out the city for fear of incurring heavy tax since he wasn't a member of Trinity Guild. Then no. 75 John de Warthill seems belonging to group C, too. And group B-1 included no. 67 Grimeston who made a request for reduced tax, which was not allowed. To explain the connections of B-1, it is incomplete to assume that there were only two groups, Trinity Guild and a contrary group. It follows from this that there were several groups into which members were linked together by various relations, for example, professional, religious and sectional ones. Therefore we may reasonably say that there were many associations in York and each citizen belonged to some associations.

Finally we assumed that there was C-group which was a contrary group to Trinity Guild, including the accuser. It seems reasonable to suppose that an association was formed by men who made an attempt to exclude the defendants from the city government and who moved out the city for fear of incurring heavy tax. Because they may have common interests.

3   The status of the defendants of the case in York

One final point should be made about the status of the defendants of the case. With regard to the defendants, no.7 the Appelbys, nos. 42, 43 the Quixleys, and nos. 31, 32, the Hornebys were wealthy merchant lines[6]. And above-maintained no. 12 Bollingbroke became mayor no less than twice, and the

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[6] Miller, 'op. cit.', pp. 45, 81-2, 102, 112.

Bollinbrokes are an influential line in medieval York. Besides, according to the assize roll, each of the defendants paid high fines. They must be of political importance due to their economic power.

Conclusion

It is clear that Trinity Guild was formed by leading persons in York. We may say that they used the guild to discuss matters concerning York community. While this guild had no less than forty-three members, even if we except men who were found not guilty in the justice and whose fines were unknown. In consideration of their large number and status, one cannot readily believe that they had secret meetings. It is possible that these meetings had the implicit consent of the citizens. One possibility is to assume that Trinity Guild served as the city council and that the leading group A-1 served as aldermen who decided on ordinary business. It is strengthened by the fact that the 'domus dai' which they made an attempt to maintain had been managed by the city. It was not until the latter half of fourteenth century that the city council formally appeared[7].

Then why were they accused by a citizen? That there were many groups in the city helps to account for the answer. It is improbable that a guild contained all influential citizens in York. Group C was formed by other influential citizens. This group wasn't one united body either. But they who were dissatisfied with the role of Trinity Guild, and therefore accused the guild. As a result, the guild was found guilty. However the guild did not have firm solidarity but included several factions as mentioned above, and it might not have fixed members. It is probable that the members who seem to have connections with men outside the guild, like group B-1, spoke for outside associations as well. If so, we may say that Trinity Guild, which continued to collect opinions from various associations and to decide matters, became the prototype of the city council, although it changed both its members and its form.

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[7] Sakata, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

Table　Parties in the case

no	name		part in the case	court	West-minster	fine	guarantor	role in the guild	exclusion	petition	office of the city
1	Peter	de Maulay	justice								
2	Edward	Dayncurt	justice								
3	William	le Vavassur	justice								
4	John	de Insula	justice								
5	Adam	de Middleton	justice								
6	Peter	Turgis	accuser						○		
7	Alan	de Appelby	defendant	×		36s	(29)(23)	founder			
8	Henry	Aurifaber	defendant	○		5m	(70)(73)				
9	John	Aurifaber	defendant	○		30s	(70)(73)				
10	Richard	de Baine	defendant	○		20s	(59)(7)				
11	Richard	de Billesburgh	defendant?	○							
12	Andrew	de Bollingbroke	defendant	○	○	£8	(55)(37)	alderman		○	mayor at 1305 and 1309
13	William	Burgoylloun	defendant?	○							
14	Egidius	capellanus	defendant	○		20s	(66)(75)				
15	Nicholas	de Catton	defendant△	○							
16	Ralph	de Catton	defendant	○		5m	(24)(23)				
17	John	de Cambridge	defendant△	○							
18	John	de Craven	defendant	○		33s 4d	(76)(68)				
19	Hugh	le Cotiler	defendant	○		5m	(21)(59)				
20	Adam	David	defendant	○		2m	(22)(57)				
21	John	(fitz) David	defendant	○		4m	(49)(41)	founder			
22	Richard	(fitz) David	defendant	○		5.5m	(21)(29)				
23	Thomas	Duraunt	defendant	○		5m	(58)(7)				
24	William	Duraunt	defendant	○		4m	(23)(16)	maker			
25	Alexander	de Durrem	defendant	○		40s	(71)(75)				
26	William	de Durrem	defendant	○	·	2m	(39)(29)				
27	John	Fisch	defendant	○		36s	(53)(44)				
28	William	Goldeythe	defendant	○		40s	(75)(67)				
29	Walter	Gouwer	defendant	×		4m	(7)(21)				
30	Simon	de Haxeby	defendant	○		20s	(66)(75)				
31	Robert	de Horneby	defendant?	○							
32	Thomas	de Horneby	defendant	○	○	£10	(12)(74)	maker		○	
33	Nicholas	Knyth	defendant△	○							
34	Hugh	Kyng	defendant	○		18s	(35)(61)				
35	John	Kyng	defendant	○		1m	(21)(34)				
36	Robert	de Lindesey	defendant△	○							
37	Robert	le Meek	defendant	○	○	10m	(55)(12)	maker		○	mayor at 1311
38	William	de Oseney	defendant	○		5m	(42)(41)	founder			
39	Stephen	de Ponte	defendant	×		2m	(16)(7)				
40	Robert	de Ponte clericus	defendant?	○							
41	Robert	de Popelton	defendant	○		18s	(38)(43)				
42	Henry	de Quixley	defendant	○		18s	(38)(41)	maker			
43	William	de Quixley	defendant	○	○	100s	(55)(32)				
44	Benedict	de Rikkehal	defendant	○		36s	(27)(34)				
45	William	de Saint Leonard	defendant?	○							
46	Richard	le Scherman	defendant		○	40s	(74)(62)				
47	Simon	le Scherman	defendant△	○							
48	William	de Schirburn capellanus	defendant	○		40s	(66)	founder			
49	Thomas	de Schupton	defendant	○		100s	(38)(29)	founder, maker			bailiff at 1309
50	Walter	de Scoreby	defendant△	○							
51	Ralph	Setel le Taillour	defendant	○		2m	(27)(53)				
52	Hugh	de Skelton	defendant	○		50s	(72)(69)				
53	Richard	Tunnok	defendant	○		40s	(24)(27)				
54	Robert	Unbain	defendant	○		20s	(66)(75)				
55	Robert	de Walton	defendant	○	○	10m	(37)(74)			○	
56	Nicholas	Wauwein	defendant	×		10m	(75)(65)				
57	William	de Whiteby	defendant	○		2m	(7)(39)				
58	Walter	de Whiton	defendant	○		10m	(23)(7)	maker			

59	William	de Wilton	defendant	○		2m	(10)(42)					
60	Elias	de Windhill	defendant△	○								
61	Robert	de Wislow	defendant	○		30s	(34)(35)	maker				
62	Nicholas	de Canterbrigge	attorney		○							
63	Nicholas	le Oufever			○							
64	Richard	de Alne						founder				
65	William	de Alne	guarantor									
66	John	de Cessevas	guarantor									
67	Robert	de Grimeston	guarantor									
68	David	le Irnmongere	guarantor									
69	Robert	de Mickelegate	guarantor									
70	Henry	le Oufever	guarantor					founder				
71	Nigel	le Seler	guarantor									
72	William	de Simesby	guarantor									
73	Alan	de Stotherkelf	guarantor									
74	William	de Walmegate	guarantor									
75	John	de Warthill	guarantor							○		
76	Thomas	de Wislow	guarantor									
77	Thomas	fitz Baldewin	mover									
78	William	Plaice	mover									
79	Roger	de Selby	mover									
80	Thomas	de Warthill	mover									
81	Gilbert	de Arnhal								○		
82	John	de Graham								○		

△: not guilty   s = shilling
mover: mover out of the city   d = pence
maker : maker of the ordinances of the guild   m = mark

Figure Groups in the case
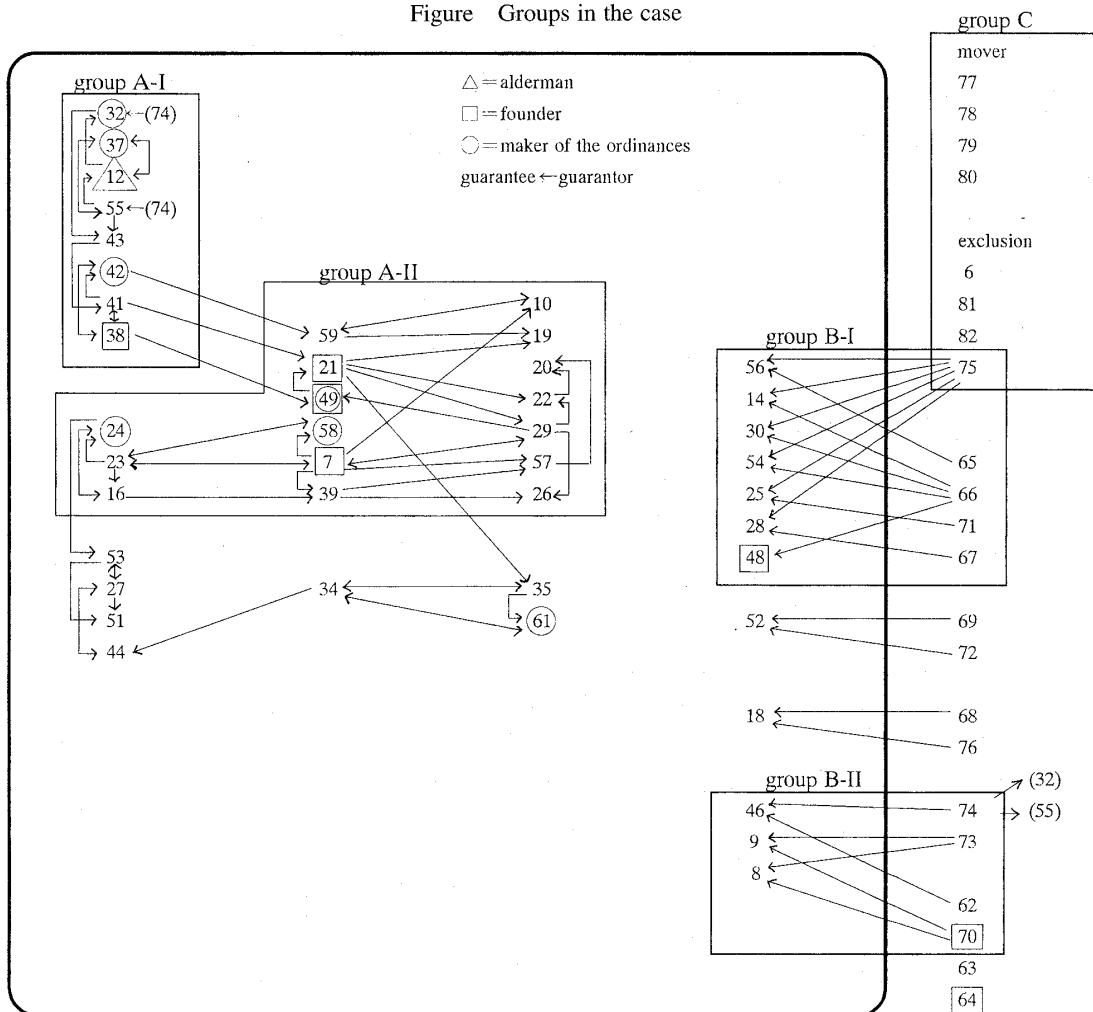
Chapter 3 Sir William Stonor and the God's House at Ewelme

Yukio Arai[*]

Public Record Office, Special Collection 1, Volume 63, No.311 is a letter from Roger Mackney to Sir William Stonor, knight, which is not recorded in Christine Carpenter's new edition of Stonor Letters.[1] In 1998, Alison Hanham introduced part of this letter, but unfortunately she gave no reference.[2] She did not explain who Roger was, why he wrote to Sir William Stonor, or what their connections meant. This paper is an attempt to answer these questions. Firstly I introduce the transcript and contents of the letter, consulting Dr Hanham's article concerning the damaged part.

To hys ryght Wo[rshipful] Maystur Sir Wyl[liam] Stonor knyght [?be this delivered][3]

/1/   Moste worshypfull & tr[?usty Master Sir] Will[iam I reco]m(m)end me to yw w(ith) my hert & s(e)rvice

/2/   and wher(e) it plesyth y[?our mastership to understand that] th(e)re be ane i(n)fection now r(e)iny(n)g w(ith)

/3/   vs at Ewelme. In t[? he ... present lent]en seson on(e) corse & iij seke and

/4/   r(e)keverd ayene blessy[?d be God... But between] the changy(n)g of this mone we

/5/   have had syth Crystma[s ?when I wrote to your ma]ysturshyp laste vij dede & viij

/6/   seke and r(e)coverd. What[? ... will be mo]r we knoo not. I wold we myght

/7/   be i(n) sevr(e) be lyklenes[?... so please do not your ma]yst(e)r yowr(e) sone come to vs.

/8/   I trust to God we shall[? ... manage to] do w(ith) vs. No mor(e) to yow

/9/   at this tyme bot Jhu p[?reserve your mastership and yo]wrs i(n) g(r)ace & v(ir)tu & fro all p(e)rels.

<div align="right">

yowr(e) preyst and

bedma(n) Rog(er) Makney.

</div>

The index volume to the ancient correspondence presumes that this letter was written between 1478, the year of the knighting of William Stonor and 1483, the last year of the surviving Stonor Letters.[4] Dr Hanham said that it was during the widespread epidemic of late 1478 to December 1479, in which Thomas Betson fell seriously ill in September 1479, that the priest Roger Makney wrote from Ewelme, reporting that an infection was reigning there.[5] But from two reasons I think it was the spring of 1480 when Roger wrote his letter. Firstly, the most severe outbreak of epidemic disease was not from 1478 to 1479, as some narratives said, but from 1479 to 1480, according to Robert S. Gottfried.[6] Using testamentary evidences

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1 Christine Carpenter ed., *Kingsford's Stonor Letters and Papers 1290-1483* (Cambridge, 1996).

2 Alison Hanham, 'Varieties of Error and Kingsford's Stonor Letters and Papers', *The Ricardian*, CXLII (1998), 345-352, esp. 351.

3 P(ublic) R(ecord)O(ffice), Special Collections, Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and the Exchequer, SC1/63/311.

4 *List of Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and the Exchequer, preserved in the Public Record Office,* Public Record Office, lists and indexes, no.15, revised ed., (New York, 1968), p.934

5 Hanham, *The Ricardian*, CXLII, 351.

6 Robert S. Gottfreid, *Epidemic Disease in Fifteenth Century England* (Leicester, 1978), p.45.

and the Paston letters and other narrative sources, he concludes that the epidemic of 1479 seemed to break out in August or September and, although ceased in London, at least in East Anglia it persisted through the winter into the spring of 1480.[7] Secondly, the Stonor letters evidences also support this. From September 1479 to early in 1480, there seems to be a high mortality and morbidity in the Stonor letters. Thomas Betson fell in ill in September and recovered; but Elizabeth wife of Sir William Stonor died toward the end of this year, Henry Dogett an old servant of the Stonors was ill in 31 December.[8] In January 1480, William Harleston uncle of Sir William Stonor reported a doubt of death at that time.[9] Also early in 1480, Sir William Stonor's new fiancée reported her illness.[10] Because the priest Roger reported in his letter that *after* Christmas seven people died, he possibly wrote his letter in 1480.

Then who was Roger? Thanks to John A. A. Goodall's book, *the God's House at Ewelme*, published last year, we can identify the writer of this letter with Sir Roger Makeney, the Teacher of Grammar of the Ewelme God's house.[11] The God's house was founded in 1437 by the Earl and Countess of Suffolk, William de la Pole and Alice his wife, as an almshouse supporting a community of two priests and thirteen poor men in perpetuity, and a school was attached to it later.[12] Roger is the second of the two priests of the God's house and is responsible for the school. He must be the Master Maknay, recorded after Doctor Lee, the rector of Ewelme parish church, attending Stonor's wife's funeral in 1480.[13] He may be a relative of Henry Makney, a petty Berkshire squire, who sold his estates to the Stonors, and apparently became their local steward.[14]

Why did he write this letter to Sir William Stonor? In the Supplementary Stonor Letters, a remembrance to the schoolmaster of Ewelme does exist, although Charles L. Kingsford believed that it was a schoolboy's inventory circa 1380.[15] Kingsford says that this may relate to the son of Edmond de Stonor in a preparatory school in the late fourteenth century, but with no positive evidence as he admits.[16] This item was accidentally missed out of the index. It seems to be a copy or draft. It was written in English and the bequests were gowns of silk, red and multicolored, and a comb of ivory and so on. These things are more appropriate to a lady and her husband's property than a schoolboy's. Moreover this document seems to use a royal plural in the first line — A remembrance I made that *we* left with the schoolmaster of Ewelme two coverlets... It seems possible that this anonymous document belongs to the fifteenth century not to the fourteenth century and was originally attached to the Roger's letter. The schoolmaster may be the teacher

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7 Ibid., pp.49-51.

8 Carpenter, *Kingsford's Stonor Letters*, pp.342-345 (Thomas Betson's illeness and his recovery) ; pp.351 and 353-4 (Elizabeth Stonor's death) ; pp. 350-351 (Henry Doggett's illness.)

9 Ibid., p.355.

10 Ibid., pp. 356-357.

11 John A. A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001), p.131. Sir Roger Makeney, magister scole de Ewelme, 1483-87.

12 Ibid., p.xiii.

13 Carpenter,*Kingsford's Stonor Letters*, p.351.

14 Ibid., pp.62, 286-7.

15 Ibid., p.450. PRO, Chancery Miscellanea, C47/37/18/13. /1/ A remembrance j made /2/ that j will we lefte w(ith) the /3/ scolle mastyr of Ewuellme /4/ ij cheu(er)lettis, ij bla(n)kets, ij yetys, /5/ ij yert(es) and a mat(er)is, an a /6/ bolstyr. And to sendall gow(n)ys, /7/ to redde gownis and a motley /8/ gown. And a co(u)me of iv(er)i and /9/ a peyr of chouys j furrid and /10/ iij cheachyfys the wyelchi the /11/ mastyr had yn hys od(er) copye.

16 Carpenter,*Kingsford's Stonor Letters* p.109.

of grammar of the Ewelme God's house, and the giver of the bequest may be Alice, duchess of Suffolk, one of the founders of the God's house, although this remains speculation. Whether Alice made this remembrance or not, it seems more important that the Stonors had one part of the remembrance which gave goods to the schoolmaster of Ewelme.

The two documents, that is, a letter from the schoolmaster of Ewelme to the Stonors and a remembrance in the Stonor letters, suggest strong connections between the Stonors and the schoolmaster of the Ewelme God's house, although no one has pointed this out so far.

We can confirm their connections at two points. Firstly, in the closing remark of his letter Roger calls himself Sir William's priest and beadsman. It is probable that Sir William Stonor was one of his patrons.[17] It is not so strange that Sir William Stonor should become a patron of the priest of the Ewelme God's house, founded by the duke and duchess of Suffolk. The statutes of the God's house have provisions that the founders will permit the teacher of grammar to hold with his said office a prebend or other benefice so that he shall increase his scholarly skill.[18]

Secondly, the Stonors had been closely connected with the dukes and duchesses of Suffolk, the founders and patrons of the God's house. During his minority in the early fifteenth century, Thomas Stonor was under the guardianship of Thomas Chaucer, father of Alice, later duchess of Suffolk.[19] Sir William Stonor was born to this Thomas Stonor and Joan, perhaps a natural daughter of William de la Pole, the first duke of Suffolk.[20] Thomas and William Stonor respectively received fees from the duchess and her son John, the second duke of Suffolk.[21] In 1471, Thomas Stonor was asked by a servant of the second duke to appeal to the chancellor on the duke's behalf.[22] In March 1475, just before her death, Alice, duchess of Suffolk said in her letter to William Stonor "Right trusty and entirely beloved friend *we* greet you well," desiring immediately to "come to *us* to Ewelme for certain great causes... ."[23] One of the causes must be a quarrel between William and his mother Joan about carrying out the will of his father Thomas,[24] because agreements between William Stonor and his father's executors were made at Ewelme in the presence of the duchess of Suffolk in 1474.[25]

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[17] In his will, Sir William Stonor says that, "the said priest (the parish church priest of Sir William's burial place) taking yearly for his *salary* x marks." (PRO, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB11/10/157, line 25.) He seems to be familiar with the patronal deeds.

[18] Goodall, *God's House*, p.248. Clause 71.

[19] Carpenter, *Kingsford's Stonor Letters,* pp.xxii-xxiii. For Thomas Chaucer, see Christine Carpenter, "The Stonor Circle in the Fifteenth Century," in Rowena E. Archer and Simon Walker eds., *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England* (1995), pp.175-200, esp. p.183; J.S. Roskell,"Thomas Chaucer of Ewelme," in do., *Parliament and Politics in Late Medieval England*, vol.3 (1983), pp.151-91.

[20] Carpenter, *Kingsford's Stonor Letters*, p.5.

[21] Ibid., pp.208 (Thomas Stonor); 464 (Sir William Stonor.)

[22] Ibid., pp.204-5. For the Chancellor George Neville, Archbishop of York, and the Stonors, see pp.51,204. For the second duke of Suffolk and the Stonors, see J.A.F. Thomson, "John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk," *Speculum*, LIV (1979), 528-42, esp. 533-4, 540.

[23] Carpenter,*Kingsford's Stonor Letters*, p.242. PRO, SC1/46/101.

[24] Yukio Arai, "Gentry and Local Political Society in the Fifteenth-Century England: An Arbitration of the Stonor Dispute," in *Changes of Social Structure in Late Medieval Europe, The Third Korean-Japanese Symposium on Medieval History of Europe* (Seoul, Korea, 1994), The Institute of Humanistic Studies, Kyungnam University, pp.129-145.

[25] Carpenter, *Kingsford's Stonor Letters*, p.516. PRO, C47/37/22/61.

Although the evidence is circumstantial and I have not yet been able to find direct evidence other than Roger's letter,[26] it is meaningful to assess the relationship between the Stonors and the God's house at Ewelme.

What did it mean for Sir William Stonor to become a patron of Roger Mackney, schoolmaster of Ewelme God's house? Christine Carpenter said, "the benefices of the lower clergy are treated — by the Stonors — as commodities, as are charitable places in almshouses."[27] A letter written to Agnes, second wife of Sir William Stonor, in 1481 reported that Sir William filled vacant places of poor men in Wynnard's almshouse at Exeter as he pleased, although Agnes had the right to choose as the right heir to the founder.[28] It also reported that Sir William managed the lands belonging to the almshouse. But patron of the schoolmaster of Ewelme seems to be no such profitable position, because the founders prohibit the schoolmaster from even collecting school fees.[29]

The most likely reason on Sir William's side is to strengthen his ties with the second duke of Suffolk, the dominant noble of the region and the patron of the Ewelme God's house. As Kingsford says, during the five years after his father's death in 1474, William Stonor had certainly much improved his position and he may have owed his promotion at Court to the favour of the duke of Suffolk[30]. Roger Mackney became the schoolmaster after the death of his predecessor perhaps in 1478. To assist the second priest financially could help in time to reinforce social and political connections with the second duke.

Secondly, we should not forget the religious aspects. In 1466, Thomas Stonor and his wife Joan received a letter of confraternity from the Trinitarian friars at Houndeslowe (now Hounslow), Middlesex.[31] In 1473, Alice, the second duke and others obtained a license to found a Corpus Christi guild at the parish church of Leighton Buzzard and to maintain a guild chaplain to celebrate there for founders' souls.[32] In the expenses of Sir William Stonor in 1482, he paid to the prayer of Leighton Buzzard five shillings.[33] The prayer could be the chaplain of the Corpus Christi guild.

This session's scheme is to present complicated aspects of medieval associations, to present how political or social aspects and religious aspects are inseparably related to each other in the Medieval England. To be a patron of the second priest of the Ewelme God's house seems to have two senses for Sir William. It raises his political significance within the second duke's affinity; also it would raise his significance within the deceased duke and duchess's affinity of after-death which would count for the salvation of his soul.

In the book presented last year to Professor Barrie Dobson, Colin Richmond wrote an article titled

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[26] Nothing is mentioned in their wills concerning the Ewelme God's house. PRO, PROB11/10/157 (Sir William Stonor), PROB11/10/122 (Joan Stonor), PROB11/7/185 (Thomas Betson.)

[27] Carpenter, *Kingsford's Stonor Letters*, p.26.

[28] Ibid., p.380. For Wynnard's Almshouse, see Elizabeth Prescott, *The English Medieval Hospital, 1050-1640* (Melksham, 1992), p.115.

[29] Goodall, *God's House*, pp.226-7. Clause 2.

[30] Carpenter, *Kingsford's Stonor Letters*, p.58.

[31] Ibid., p.469. But its reference is erroneous. PRO, C47/15/6/29 is correct, although the document seems to be missing.

[32] Carol A. Metcalfe, "Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk c.1404-1475" (unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Keele, 1970), p.51.

[33] Carpenter, *Kingsford's Stonor Letters*, p.396. ("Christmas. To the prayer of Leighton Buzzard, v. s.")

"Victorian values in the fifteenth-century England: the Ewelme almshouse statutes."[34] He says from the statutes the Ewelme God's house seems to be a Victorian workhouse where the living poor served the dead. Only healthy poor men could allow to dwell and serve to pray as if secular Carthusians in exchange for twopence-a-day, but wages are deducted if they neglect the services. When Alice visited the house in 1458, she cut the weekly wage bill swingeing fifty per cent.[35] During her life time, twelve seats did not seem to be filled entirely because her strict supervisions.[36] So becoming patron of the schoolmaster of Ewelme seems to be very valuable for Sir William's religious aim, because the poor men in the almshouse are very hard to pray for patrons of the house, thanks to Alice, duchess of Suffolk as zealous supervisor. We can conclude that Sir William was aiming at the multiplier effect when he became patron of Roger, the schoolmaster of Ewelme God's house.

Chapter 4 Women and their Testaments in Late Medieval Norwich
Sono MORISHITA

As many scholars have already pointed out, Norwich has a large number of wills that have survived.[1] Especially, late medieval wills reflect various aspects of people's mentality on secular and religious worlds because these were people's last will, generally made at the final stage of their lives. I have been interested in medieval Norwich because of Mother Julian, a famous anchoress of this city. There has been continuing arguments about whether she was a member of convent or not.[2] These arguments themselves made me think that in the society of medieval Norwich, not only members of church, such as bishops, priests, chaplains, monks and nuns, formed and managed a religious network in the framework of the society, but also ordinary lay women should be considered.

In this paper, I will try to illuminate the relationship of lay people, especially of women by using the wills probated at the Norwich Consistory Court from 1370 to 1455. First, I will summarize arguments over the medieval women's wills. Next, referring to 2 medieval women's wills, I will tell you about two

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[34] Colin Richmond, "Victorian Values in Fifteenth-Century England: the Ewelme Almshouse Statutes," in R. Horrox and S. R. Jones eds., *Pragmatic Utopias:Ideals and Communities, 1200-1630* (Cambridge, 2001), pp.224-241.

[35] Metcalfe,thesis, p.64; Goodall, *God's House*, pp.138-9. For Alice, see Rowena E. Archer, "'How ladies... who live on their manors ought to manage their households and estates': Women as Landholders and Administrators in the Later Middle Ages," in P.J.P. Goldberg ed., *Woman Is A Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c.1200-1500* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1992), pp.149-181, esp.pp.154-6,169; Carol M. Meale, "Reading Women's Culture in Fifteenth-Century England: the Case of Alice Chaucer," in Piero Boitani and Anna Torti eds., *Medievalitas: Reading the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.81-101. As for the statutes, see also the University of Nottingham, Hallward Library, Middleton manuscript, Mi 6/179/18.

[36] Goodall, *God's House*, p.137.

[1] Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532*, Toronto, 1984.

[2] College & Walsh, Introduction to *A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich, vol.1.*, Toronto, 1978, pp.43-59: Sr. Benedicta Ward, SLG, 'Julian the Solitary' in: *Julian Reconsidered*, Oxford, 1995, pp.21-26: Frances Beer, *Women and Mystical Experience in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge, 1992, p.130: Frank Dale Sayer, 'Who was Mother Julian?', in: *Julian and her Norwich*, ed. Julian of Norwich 1973 Celebration Committee, Norwich, 1973, p.7: Brant Pelphrey, Love was His Meaning - The Theology and Mysticism of *Julian of Norwich*, Salzburg, 1982, p.24.

different social networks, and then I will explain how they worked.

Wills in England give us much information on the family life of testators and their financial situation. Unlike other legal or financial contracts, the last will, a testament will be executed after a testator's death, and a testator him/herself cannot get any profit by its execution. Then, why did people want to make such a last will? There may be various reasons such as to keep their landholding within legitimate successors. However, in last wills, various people's name appeared, and not only the testator's family or relatives but their personal friends and various religious and charity organizations were beneficiaries. What did a testator expect to get in return for these bequests? I think these wills may show us the reciprocal help that existed in the society.

However, a study on wills has some problems. First, we do not know actually how many wills were written in the Middle Ages and how many of them have survived. Since a last will was made to deal with a testator's property, only people who had real estate or movable goods wrote these wills. The majority of the town people, peasants and serfs, did not make their last wills, but on the other hand, their names were often found as beneficiaries in these medieval wills.

Second, there were two different jurisdictions operative in medieval England, and as legal records show, there were a conflict between Canon Law and Common Law. It means we need to distinguish between the wish of a testator and what was actually done with his/her property.

Third, the women's right to make their own wills had been a serious issue between Church people and secular authority.[3] There were two different ways of thought concerning the women's right to make their own wills. England's Common Law did not allow married women to enjoy their right unless their husbands gave permission. Single women were generally under the control of their fathers, so only widows could make their last wills and claim their voices. The Church gave powerful pressure to reinforce women's desire to make their own testaments and we can find a certain number of wills by wives during the Middle Ages. However, it is said that by the 15th century, the number decreased for the following reason.

By the 15th Century, as beneficiaries, wives had right to inherit some portion of their husbands' property. There is a text showing rules to make testamentary distribution of property for testators. It told testators to provide for the payment of their debt first. Then, if they had wives and children, they had to leave a third to their wives and another third to their children, and they could only freely bequeath the remaining third. However, these testators' desire to control their property became stronger, and as a result, they exercised their right over the devolution of their chattels freely and sometimes they went far what the customs of the day permitted. First, these testators started to designate the individual who he would make his bequests. Therefore, testators controlled who would inherit the actual items and as this control was extended, wives' right to be given a certain portion of chattels became to be limited. If wives had no goods to bequeath, there was no necessity to write their wills.[4]

Did this also apply to the wills in medieval Norwich? I tried to select the wills of Norwich inhabitants,

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[3] Michael M. Sheehan, *Marriage, Family, and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies*, ed. James K. Farge, Tronto, 1996, pp.16-30.

[4] Richard H. Hemholz, 'Married women's wills in later medieval England' in; *Wife and Widows in Medieval England*, ed., Sue Sheridan Walker, Univ. of Michigan Press, 1993, pp.165-182.

or landholders of Norwich from *Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich.*[5] Of course, for my purpose, I shall also check the wills probated at other places, such as London, but at this time, mainly because of the limited time to survey, I made a table (1373-1455) as my first step. As the table shows, total number of people is 499, of whom 88 are women. Individual marital and social statuses are from the index. It seemed the majority of them are widows. Then, I choose two women as examples of women's wills of Medieval Norwich.

First, Margery Dogett, widow, 1515.[6] Second, Alice Winter, a wife of Edmund Winter and a relict of John Woodhouse, 1448.[7]

In the will of Margery Dogett, she bequeathed money for the light and lamp of St. Michaels, where she would be buried, the cathedral church of Norwich, St. Bartholomews, St. Julians, and St. Stephens. She also made bequests to all of the sisters and half sisters of Normans Hospital, all of anchorites and anchoresses in Norwich, five houses for sick people at the Norwich Gate, and also all of the bed-ridden people in the parishes of St. Michael, St. Andrew, St. Mary-the Less, and St. Peter of Hun gate. In addition, she made bequests for four mendicant friars in Norwich and nuns in Carrow nunnery, and she also left money to priests and clerks to supply bread to poor people on her funeral day. She also left money to houses for poor people at St. Peters and St. Vedast and poor people in wood in winter. She also made bequests to houses in Castle and Guild Hall (i.e. prisons) and poor people in the St. Michaels, and she left money to four priests who would carry her body to the church.

Alice Winter's will shows almost the same tendency to bequeath money to various types of religious houses and charity organizations. It is interesting that she wanted her body to be buried next to her first husband, John Woodhouse.

Bequests for a testator's family members, relatives and friends were put after those bequests for religious and charity purposes. In this part, individual names are clearly pointed out, and some of very private goods such as bed furniture, gowns, girdles, silver plates, kitchen cutlery, accessories, religious books and clothes a testator had worn daily were listed. Generally, it seemed that testators wanted to distribute their chattels widely among society. Some wills required many pages to list the various and huge number of bequests. Of course, people who were not rich wrote brief wills.

Comparing these two different types of bequests --- one for religious houses and poor people and the other for a testator's own family, we can see different types of networks in the society. The first one is a network of religious minds. Since the concept of purgatory became widespread in the medieval society, there was a strong mentality to seek the salvation of one's soul, and it was often emerged as a huge number of mass services (for example, a thousand). Canonists warned that it was more important for one's soul to have one good mass service with many attendants than many smaller services, but there is no evidence to know if people followed this instruction. Canonist sometimes argued whether the plural mass services done at the same time for one person's soul could be effective or not, but ordinary people's desire to be saved seemed too strong to be controlled.

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[5] *Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich and Now Preserved in the District Probate Registry at Norwich 1370-1550, Part I and II,* Compiled and Edited by M.A.Farrow, Norfolk Record Society, 1943 & 1944.

[6] Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532,* Toronto, 1984, p.230.

[7] Norfolk Record Office (NRO), Wylbey 150.

Then, if these bequests were done for the testators' souls, how could people who did not have their own goods be saved? For example, it seemed many wives could not expect to be saved though their husbands could be. This question also leads to another question; that is if these bequests formed some kind of network concerning their soul's salvation, like a religious guild, then most married women were out of this network. The reason why the Canonists insisted that married women should be given the right to make their own wills can be understood from this context. Women could not only help their own salvation, but churches could expect much income by bequests if all of wealthy married women made their own testaments.

Bequests for family members, relatives, friends and other households show a completely different network from the religious one. Among those who received bequests, testators' spouses, sons and their wives, daughters, sisters, relatives and households appeared and so detailed goods were divided among them. To one of their sons, the best bed furniture, to a daughter, the second best one. In the will of Alice Winter, we can find the name of her children by her first marriage.

I have the impression that female testators wrote down many more details about their goods to bequeath than male testators, and it may be natural that these women listed the goods they used in their daily lives, and these goods were carefully distributed to people around them. It may be because these women did not have much money, but had a right to give their own daily goods so they wrote that way. In the social framework, however, these wills had the functions of providing a lively exchange of goods among women in their society. From women to another women, gorgeous gown, silver cutlery, prayer books, clothes and other daily goods were handed down. Usually it was from mothers to their sons and daughters, but often women gave these goods to their sons' wives, their friends and their female servants.

These last wills of women and men suggest those two types of network in the society. Bequests for the church and poor people might guarantee the testators that those beneficiaries would pray for their souls. It may be some kind of give-and-take relation between the church and secular people, and to this networks, mainly men could join. On the other hand, bequests for their family and friends, especially by women, formed another type of network in which the testators' daily private goods were handed over to another women. And at the same time, bequests of these goods to various people means the testators did understand that the next mistresses of the houses would have different styles of family life, so some goods should be given to other people. Moreover, to whom they bequeathed their goods might be a good clue to the close relationship among women in society. That women's names appeared in the women's wills suggests that women also joined the social network, and in it, they gave something to women near to them, and accepts something from other women. If we could call the religious network a give-and-take relation, this female network worked as a renewal of the household when the old mistress died, and at the same time, daily goods started to circulate inside women's non-religious network.

Part Two: Charters and Their Function in Twelfth-Century Britain

Moderator's Note
H. TSURUSHIMA

It is my pleasure to introduce to you the purpose of session 207 and speakers under the title of charters and their function in twelfth-century Britain. It is to show the dynamics of the function of charters from two viewpoints.

Charters suggest the historical context under which they were wrote down. No mention the main text, the address clause often provides some important information. First speaker, Mr Kenji Yoshitake, an associate-professor of Keio University and an author of 'The Exchequer in the reign of Stephen', *EHR*, will discuss the introduction and origin of majestic plural in England. Second speaker, Mr Hideyuki Arimitsu, an associate-professor of Tohoku University, who is interested in British national consciousness in the twelfth century, will discuss the nation address of the charters in three Scottish Kings, David the First, Malcolm the Fourth, and William the First. These two papers are concerned with the identities of those who issued the charters.

The second point is mainly concerned with those of the beneficiaries. Third Speaker, Ms Atsuko Nakamura, who is now a Japanese governmental research fellow of Kyoto University and has spent her good days to the study of Anglo-Norman nobility, discuss the attitudes of lay-magnate to the germinating literacy in the twelfth century. The fourth speaker, Ms Tamiko Fujimoto, a research fellow of Kurume University and has published a couple of papers on the cartulary of the Abbey of Holy Trinity, Caen, will discuss the effort of reconfirming the rights of the monastery of making pan-carta and cartulary.

Professor David Bates gave a series of questions and comments to them. In particular, his question to Kenji Yoshitake about the origin of majestic plural practice was very important and difficult to answer. Mr Yositkake steered clear of a definite answer but suggested some possibilities. There may have been the tow possibilities. The continental practice may have affected English King's government. It is also possible to say that the antecedent practice of ecclesiastical magnates in England had a great influence. His comments to Ms Atsuko Nakamura and Ms Tamiko Fujimoto were suggestions with full of teacher mind rather than questions. Dr Charles Insley asked to Mr Hideyuki Arimitsu why the nation clause died out. This is rather difficult question. But it may say that the change of the idea of the state which was represented by the change of King's title from '*Rex Anglorum*' to '*Rex Angliae*' had happened in the twelfth century might have some relevance to it.

Chapter 5   The Origins of the Royal Plural in England   (A Preliminary Survey)

Kenji YOSHITAKE

I. Prologue

Besides the main text of the charters, the formulary part of them, such as the address clause, often provides us some important information for historical research. For example, the title the king used in it sometimes tells us how he understood his rule should be. In more or less the same way, the use of the royal plural in the royal charters may testify to how he understood his status against other people, especially when it was being introduced and it had not become just a matter of formality. It is a well-known fact in English history that the royal plural was introduced by Richard Lionheart all of a sudden after his coronation in September 1189. It is, however, very difficult indeed to expound what implications it actually had. But we may understand it better if we put it in the background of the period.

II. Episcopal Acta*

For this purpose, I quote first the statement made by Professor Christopher Cheney fifty years ago. 'Whereas before c. 1140 in the majority of English episcopal *acta* the bishop speaks of himself in the singular, after c. 1180 every bishop uses the first person plural. These broad limits probably conceal fairly sudden changes in some dioceses. Theobald at Canterbury, Robert de Chesney at Lincoln, Henry of Blois at Winchester, during their long pontificates, employ both forms...In adopting the plural the English episcopate was following the lead of the pope and his cardinals: the English kings as yet spoke of themselves in the singular (until 1189).'[1] This general outline put forward by Professor Cheney still remains valid even today. But we may now examine in more detail the process in which the plural form

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* The main sources for the tables are as follows: *Twelfth-Century English Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, ed. B. R. Kemp (Canterbury and York Society, 2001); *English Episcopal Acta*, 1 (Lincoln 1067-1185), ed. D. M. Smith (Oxford, 1980); 3 (Canterbury 1193-1205), ed. C. R. Cheney and E. John (Oxford, 1986); 5 (York 1070-1154), ed. J. E. Burton (Oxford, 1988); 6 (Norwich 1070-1214), ed. C. Harper-Bill (Oxford, 1990); 7 (Hereford 1079-1234), ed. J. Barrow (Oxford, 1993); 8 (Winchester 1070-1204), ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1993); 10 (Bath and Wells 1061-1205), ed. F. M. R. Ramsey (Oxford, 1995); 11 (Exeter 1046-1184), ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1996); 14 (Coventry and Lichfield 1072-1159), ed. M. J. Franklin; 15 (London, 1076-1187), ed. F. Neininger (Oxford, 1999); 18 (Salisbury 1078-1217), ed. B. R. Kemp (Oxford, 1999); *The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting (Canterbury and York Society, 1964); A. Saltman, *Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956); *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967). They are supplemented by the following sources: B. Dodwell, 'Some Charters relating to the Honour of Bacton', in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton* (Pipe Roll Society, new ser., 1962); *Blythburgh Priory Cartulary*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, 2 vols. (Suffolk Record Society, 1980-1); *The Boarstall Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxfordshire Historical Society, 1930); *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey*, ed. C. D. Ross and M. Devine, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1964-77); *The Digest of the Charters Preserved in the Cartulary of the Priory of Dunstable*, ed. G. H. Fowler (Bedfordshire Historical Society, 1926); *Eynsham Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter, 2 vols. (Oxford Record Society, 1907-8); *Cartularium Prioratus de Colne*, ed. J. L. Fisher (Essex Archaeological Society Occasional Publications, 1946); *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols. (Rolls Series, 1897); *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St Frideswide*, ed. S. R. Wigram, 2 vols. (Oxfordshire Historical Society, 1895-6); *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hart, 3 vols. (Rolls Series, 1863-7); *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, ed. W. Brown, 2 vols. (Surtees Society, 1889-94); *Records of Harold Priory*, ed. G. H. Fowler (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1935); *Gesta Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, 1867); *St Benet of Holme 1020-1210*, ed. J. R. West, 2 vols. (Norfolk Record Society, 1932); *The Registrum Antiquissimum*, ed. C. W. Foster and K. Major, 10 vols. (Lincoln Record Society, 1931-73); *Luffield Priory Charters*, ed. G. R. Elvey, 2 vols. (Northamptonshire Record Society, 1968-75); *The Cartulary of Missenden Abbey*, ed. J. G. Jenkins, 3 vols. (Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Records Branch, 1938-62); W. Dugdale, *Monasticon*

began to spread, and ask why it was in the 1140s, even though it is not an easy question to answer.

Today, I have distributed tentative tables of statistics of the acta of the English bishops as well as of the archdeacons. These kinds of statistics should always be treated cautiously, and not be taken too strictly. In case of the episcopal and archidiaconal acta, their numbers that survive are limited, and most of them are in the cartulary form. In spite of these difficulties, however, these at least give us some impression about the general trend, if the evidence is to be trusted. As is expected, before 1139, the use of the plural form is relatively rare. Even Roger of Salisbury issued only two acta out of 25 in the plural form, one of which being the well-known mandate issued as the procurator of England between 1125 and 1129.[2] After c. 1140, however, the acta in the plural form became increasingly common, and after c. 1150 the majority of the bishops normally issued acta in the plural form. It has been pointed out that from c. 1140, the influence of papal documents (in form and rhythm) began to be noticed.[3] However, we are not very sure how it worked, but one of the hints may be in Winchester.

The first bishop who introduced the plural form systematically must have been Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester. Although very few of his acta can be dated before 1139, we can notice that the drastic change happened after he had been appointed the papal legate. Out of 24 acta issued with the legatine title, 19 are in the plural, four being the singular and one mixed. However, the number of acta issued in the singular increased after his office expired at the end of 1143, and this continued until the end of his pontificate.[4] Henry may have thought the plural form was more appropriate to the legate. But his successors were not as cautious as Henry. The influence of the legatine office may be detected also in the case of Theobald of Canterbury. Among his acta with the legatine title, 160 are issued in the plural while only 7 are in the singular.[5] His legateship continued until the end of his career, and eventually the vast majority of his acta were issued in the plural. His successor, Thomas Becket, followed this practice.

Anglicanum, ed. J. Carley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817-30, 1846); *Cartulary of Newnham Priory*, ed. J. Godber, 2 vols. (Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1963-4); *Newington Longuevill Charters*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford Record Society, 1921); *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, ed. B. Dodwell, 2 vols. (Pipe Roll Society, new ser., 1974-85); *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, ed. H. E. Salter, 6 vols. (Oxford Record Society, 1929-36); *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1841-64), clxxxvi; *Memorials of the Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid*, ed. J. T. Fowler, 3 vols. (Surtees Society, 1882-8); *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, ed. B. R. Kemp, 2 vols. (Camden Society 4th ser., 1986-7); *The Sandford Cartulary*, ed. A. M. Leys, 2 vols. (Oxfordshire Record Society, 1938-41); *The Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. U. Rees, 2 vols. (National Library of Wales, 1975); *Sibton Abbey Cartularies and Charters*, ed. P. Brown, 4 vols. (Suffolk Record Society, 1985-8); *Stoke by Clare Cartulary*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Mortimer, 3 vols. (Suffolk Record Society, 1982-4); *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. B. A. Lees (British Academy, 1935); *The Thame Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter, 2 vols. (Oxfordshire Record Society, 1947-8); *The Cartulary of Tutbury Priory*, ed. A. Saltman (Staffordshire Record Society, 4th ser., 1962); *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ed. J. Raine, 3 vols. (Rolls Series, 1879-94); *The Register of William Greenfield*, ed. W. Brown and A. H. Thompson, 5 vols. (Surtees Society, 1931-40); *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer and C. T. Clay, 12 vols. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, extra series, 1914-65); *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory*, ed. R. R. Darlington (Pipe Roll Society, new ser., 1968).

[1] C. R. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries 1100-1250* (Manchester, 1950), pp. 58-9.

[2] *English Episcopal Acta*, 18 (Salisbury 1078-1217), ed. B. R. Kemp (Oxford, 1999), no. 38; E. J. Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury* (Berkeley, 1972), pp.241-3 (no. 9); D. M. Stenton, 'Roger of Salisbury, *Regni Angliae Procurator*', *English Historical Review*, xxxix (1924), pp. 79-80.

[3] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, pp. 69ff.

[4] *English Episcopal Acta*, 8 (Winchester 1070-1204), ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford, 1993). There are 67 acta without the legatine title, of which 28 are in the singular, 32 in the plural, and 7 mixed.

The other bishops may have been influenced by the practice of the papal legates in the 1140s. Supposedly, there were many occasions where influence was shown. For instance, in 1145/46, the bishops of Bath, Hereford, Ely, Exeter and Winchester acted concertedly to deal with Bishop Bernard of St David's obedience to Canterbury, and wrote letters to Pope Eugenius III. These letters were not actually sent to the pope because of Bernard's death, and survive at Canterbury. They are written in the plural form, and except that of Winchester, their texts are very similar probably using the same or similar formulary.[6] This kind of occasion must have encouraged the spread of the plural form in England.

III. Archidiaconal Acta

As the bishops came to issue their acta more often in the plural form, the archdeacons were also adopting the same practice gradually. In this case as well, the number of acta that survive are not large, most of them being in the cartulary form, and therefore, they do not tell much about the early period. But, as far as we know, the first archdeacon who used the plural form was Hugh the Chanter of York.[7] It was between 1137 and 1139. York was the diocese where the archbishops used the plural relatively often even before 1139. The next came from the diocese of Lincoln. Henry of Huntingdon issued an actum in the plural between 1135 and 1148. He was ahead of his colleague, Robert of Lincoln, whom he enviously called the richest archdeacon in the kingdom.[8] The situation was different in each individual diocese and archdeaconry, but judging from the example of the diocese of Lincoln where the evidence is most abundant, the archdeacons seem to have used the plural form more often after the 1150s, and by the accession of King Richard, issued the majority of their acta in the plural.[9]

IV. Atmosphere of the Age surrounding the Use of the Plural Form

By the 1180s the bishops and archdeacons were using the plural form consistently, while the king adhered to the singular form, and this caused the imbalance in the dignity at least in the charter formula. To take examples from Lincoln,[10] in January 1139, just before the development began, King Stephen and several bishops convened at Godstow in Oxfordshire to dedicate the abbey church there. The king, Alexander of Lincoln and Robert of Exeter confirmed their grants to the abbey by their charters. All of

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[5] A. Saltman, *Theobald of Canterbury* (London, 1956), part ii. Out of 115 acta which has no legatine title, 18 are written in the singular and 92 in the plural, and 5 are mixed. I have not yet checked the acta of the archbishops of Canterbury before William of Corbeil.

[6] *English Episcopal* Acta, 11 (Exeter 1046-1184), ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1996), no. 31; 10 (Bath and Wells 1061-1205), ed. F. M. R. Ramsey (Oxford, 1995), no. 42; 7 (Hereford 1079-1234), ed. J. Barrow (Oxford, 1993), no. 14; 8 (Winchester), no. 31. The plural form in these cases may imply just the will of these bishops as a whole. Even if so, this kind of occasion may disseminate the similar formula.

[7] *Twelfth-Century English Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, ed. B. R. Kemp (Canterbury and York Society 2001), no. 267 (original).

[8] *Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, no. 100 (copy). For Robert of Lincoln, see no. 142 (1152x71); Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), pp. 590-3: 'Et nunc Robertus iunior, omnium archidiaconorum qui in Anglia sunt ditissimus.' For the third, David of Buckingham, see no. 72 (1148).

[9] *Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, p. xxxvi.

[10] The following pieces of evidence are from the fifteenth-century cartulary of Godstow Abbey (PRO, E164/20). In spite of its later date, it seems to have transcribed the previous texts more or less precisely, and the use of the singular and plural in it is consistent.

these charters use the singular form.[11] Walter archdeacon of Oxford notifies the grant made at the same occasion, naturally using the singular form.[12]

After the accession of Robert de Chesney in 1148, the plural form became the norm in the diocese of Lincoln. The plural form also became the norm in the archdeaconry of Oxford after Robert Foliot succeeded in 1151.[13] Between 1177 and 1181, on the presentation of King Henry II, his son, Geoffrey, Bishop-elect of Lincoln and the royal chancellor (1181/82-89), confirmed the church of Wycombe to Godstow Abbey by a charter written in the plural form.[14] Henry II's charter for this grant was naturally in the singular form.[15] In 1182 or 1183, Henry II again granted the church of Bloxham to Godstow, in the singular form.[16] Walter of Coutances, archdeacon of Oxford and then the keeper of the royal seal (1173-89), confirmed this grant in the plural form styling himself *nos*.[17] But, in one place in the text, he retains a singular phrase, 'presenti carta mea', just after Henry II's name, as if he hesitated towards the king.[18]

It is no wonder such hesitation occurred. In this period, people at the royal court were using the plural for the king. In his *Policraticus*, John of Salisbury was complaining of addressing the prince by the plural

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[11] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H. W. C. Davis et al., 4 vols. (Oxford, 1913-69), iii, no. 366 (Concedo deo et Sancte Marie et Sancto Johanni Baptiste et sanctimonialibus de Godestow subscriptas terras...); *English Episcopal Acta*, 1 (Lincoln 1067-1185), ed. D. M. Smith (Oxford, 1980), no. 33 (ego Alexander Lincolniensis episcopus dedi c solidos de theloneo Bannebirie.) and no. 34 (...concessi eidem ecclesie de Godestowe subscriptam libertatem et episcopali auctoritate confirmavi...); *English Episcopal Acta*, 11 (Exeter), no. 38 (Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse sanctimonialibus de Godestowe xl solidos in perpetuam elemosinam singulis annis...). Alexander's actum no. 33 also uses the plural form, but this may imply the king and the bishops present there: 'ego Alexander qui...preeram..., predictis fratribus nostris suffragantibus cooperante virtute sancti spiritus et gratia, ministerium dedicationis explevi.... Et quoniam hiis que in presentia nostra gesta sunt veritatis testimonium negare non possumus, presentium indicio litterarum notum facimus tam presentibus quam futuris ea que...'.

[12] *Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, no. 166 (Notum vobis facio me dedisse in elemosinam ecclesie beati Iohannis de Godestowe decimam terre mee in dominio meo de Cudeslawe...) and no. 167.

[13] *Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, nos. 174-6, 179-82, 184-7. No. 172 (1151x66) is in the singular while nos.177, 178, 183 use both the singular and plural.

[14] *English Episcopal Acta*, 1, (Lincoln), no. 288: 'G. dei gratia Lincolniensis ecclesie eclectus omnibus Christi fidelibus per Lincolniensem episcopatum constitutis salutem et dilectionem. Noverit universitas vestra quod dilectus frater noster P. ecclesiam de Wicumbe, quam ex dono illustris regis Anglie patris nostri canonice possedit, in manu nostra spontanea voluntate resignavit. Nos vero, ad presentationem eiusdem domini nostri regis, concessimus et dedimus sanctimonialibus de Godestowe iamdictam ecclesiam de Wincumbe in perpetuam elemosinam possidendam cum omni integritate possessionum fructuum et omnium obventionum et omnium libertatum quas unquam melius et plenius habuit salvo in omnibus jure episcopali. Et ne aliquorum machinatione vel malignitate hec nostra donatio possit in posterum in irritum revocari, ipsam presenti pagina confirmamus et sigilli nostri munimine roboramus. T(estibus): Roberto archidiacono de Buch', Ricardo capellano, Roberto de Hardres, Oseberto de camera domini regis, Radulfo filio Stephani, Roald' de Kalna (PRO, E164/20, fo. 156r).'

[15] PRO, E164/20, fo.152v (after 14 Dec 1175) : 'Henricus dei gratia rex Anglorum et dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et comes Andegavorum archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus comitibus baronibus justiciis vicecomitibus et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis francis et anglis tocius Anglie salutem. Sciatis me dedisse in perpetuam et liberam elemosinam et presenti carta confirmasse ecclesie Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Godestowe et monialibus ibidem deo servientibus ecclesiam de Wicumba cum omnibus pertinenciis suis. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predicta ecclesia et moniales eiusdem ecclesie habeant et teneant predictam ecclesiam de Wycumba bene et in pace et libere et quiete integre et honorifice cum omnibus pertinenciis et libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis. T(estibus): G(aufrido) Eliensi, B(artholomeo) Eton' [*sic*], Joh(ann)e Norwic' episcopis, Ric(ardo) de Luci, Ranu(lfo) de Glanvilla, Hug(one) de Gund(evilla), Regin(aldo) de Paucilli, Will(elm)o Bassett, Will(elm)o fil(io) Rad(ulfi), Rad(ulfo) fil(io) St(ep)h(an)i. Apud Stanestede.'

form, saying it is lying to the masters.[19] This is John's ideal, but in reality, according to Dr McLoughlin, the vast majority of John's letters addressed to his superiors use the plural form.[20] This was the ordinary practice in the second half of the twelfth century. I quote just a few examples again from the men connected to Lincoln. In 1188, Gerald of Wales, a royal chaplain, dedicated his *Topography of Ireland* to Henry II, addressing him 'your excellence *(excellentiae vestrae)*'.[21] Walter Map wrote in 1186 about St Hugh of Lincoln's dealings with the foresters in front of Henry II's chamber. St Hugh there admonished the king wittingly with this remark. 'The saying touches you nearly *(Vos tangit)*, for when the poor, whom these men [foresters] oppress, are let into paradise, you will be keeping outside with the keepers [of the forest] *(cum forestariis foris stabitis)*.[22] In any case, this was the usage of Walter Map. This was the atmosphere around the royal court just before the accession of Richard Lionheart.

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[16] PRO, E164/20, fo. 26r: 'Henricus dei gratia rex Anglorum et dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et comes Andegavorum archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus comitibus baronibus justiciis viecomitibus et omnibus ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis tocius Anglie salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie de Godestow et sanctimonialibus ibidem deo servientibus ecclesiam de Bloxam cum omnibus pertinenciis suis in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Ita tamen quod Rogerus de Clyfford nomine earum eam teneat tota vita sua sub annua pensione unius Bisancii eis reddendi. Et post decessum prefati Rogeri volo quod predicta ecclesia de Bloxam cum omnibus pertinenciis suis ad predictas sanctimoniales de Godestow in usus et possessiones suas plenarie revertatur. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predicte sanctimoniales de Godestow prenominatam ecclesiam de Bloxam cum omnibus pertinenciis suis habeant et teneant bene et in pace libere et quiete plenarie et integre et honorifice cum omnibus libertatibus suis. T (estibus): R (icardo) Wint', G (aufrido) Elien' episcopis, Gaufr (ido) cancell (ario) filio meo, mag (ist) ro Walt (ero) de Const', Godefr (ido) de Luci, Ranu (lfo) de Glanvill', Rog (ero) de Bigot, Will (el) mo fil (io) Ald (elini), Rad (ulfo) fil (io) Steph (an) i, Rob (er) to de Witefeld'. Apud Winton'.' Cf. *English Register of Godstow Nunnery*, ed. A. Clark, 3 parts (Early English Text Society, 1905-11), i, no. 306 (pp. 227-8).

[17] *Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, no. 183: 'Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos littere presentes pervenerint Walt (erus) Oxoneford' archidiaconus, salutem in Cristo. Notum esse volumus nos ex officio archidiaconatus nostri, ad presentationem et concessionem domini regis Angl (orum) Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, donasse et presenti carta mea confirmasse sanctimonialibus de Godestow ecclesiam de Bloxam cum ominibus pertinentiis, salvo iure Lincon' ecclesie et nostro. Instituimus autem prenominatas sanctimoniales in personatum prefate ecclesie, salvo iure Rogeri de Clifford', qui nomine earum eandem ecclesiam in vita sua est habiturus pensione unius bisantii prescriptis monialibus annuatim reddendi ad Pascha. Testibus hiis: magistro Winemero, Iohanne de Const', magistro Radulfo de Const', Matheo et Rogero capellanis, Stephano, David clericis.' For the similar actum of the same period, see Appendix III (pp. 204-5). An actum to Godstow by Walter of Coutances as the bishop of Lincoln, see *English Episcopal Acta*, 1 (Lincoln), no. 305.

[18] For another example where only the part concerning the superior becomes the singular, see *Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, no. 303 (Richard of Shrievenham, vice-archdeacon of Berkshire): 'Noverit universitas vestra quod nos, ad preceptum domini mei Iocelini dei gratia Sar' episcopi, recepimus priorem et conventum ecclesie sancte et individue Trinitatis Walingeford' personam ecclesie de Weshenr'.'

[19] 'Voces quibus mentimur dominis dum singularitatem honore multitudinis decoramus natio haec [Romans] inuenit, et ad finitimos posterosque sui nominis auctoritate transmisit.': *Iohanis Saresberiensis Policraticus*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, cxviii, 1993), p. 203. Cf. M. Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, tr. by J. E. Anderson (London, 1973), pp. 199-200, and p. 394, n. 121.

[20] J. McLoughlin, 'Amicitia in Practice: John of Salisbury (c. 1120-1180) and his Circle', in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 172-3.

[21] *Giraldus Cambrensis Thopographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. J. F. Dimock (Rolls Series, 1867), p. 20: 'Placuit excellentiae vestrae, invictissime Anglorum rex, Normanniae dux et Aquitanniae, et comes Andegaviae, me cum dilecto filio vestro Johanne in Hiberniam a latere vestro transmittere.'

[22] 'Vos tangit hec parabola quia, pauperibus quos hii [foresters] torquent paradisum ingressis, cum forestariis foris stabitis.': Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James, revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), pp. 10-11.

V. Epilogue

As has been roughly surveyed so far, in the 1180s, the bishops were issuing virtually all of their charters in the plural form, and the archdeacons as well issued the majority of them in the same way. The people at the royal court were already accustomed to address the king by the second person plural (by *vos*). But these people, some of them at the royal chancery, such as Geoffrey the royal chancellor or Walter of Coutances the keeper of the royal seal, continued to issue royal charters in the singular until the end of Henry II's reign. The royal chancery was never influenced by the development of the plural usage in the English ecclesiastical charters. This appears as one of the most significant characteristics of the English royal chancery. As Dr Pierre Chaplais suggested, the royal plural was eventually to be introduced from overseas, probably by the initiative of William Longchamp, the chancellor of Richard Lionheart.[23] This problem surely has to be treated in the continental context. I would like to finish this paper by pointing out, as its background, the fact that the French king had begun to use only the first person plural in their charters more consistently after 1172/73.[24]

The Number of Bishops' Acta with the Singular or Plural Forms (tentative table)

	First appearance of plural form	Before End of 1139			1140–1149			Before End of 1149			After 1140			After 1150		
		singular	plural	mixed	singular	plural	mixed	singular	plural	mixed	singular	plural	mixed	singular	plural	mixed
Bath	1123x35	3	2	0	0	4	1	3	6	1	(1140–66) 2	25	1	(1150–66) 2	20	0
Canterbury	?	(1139 only) 0	3	0	9	24	3	11	32	4	(1140–61) 19	210	1	(1150–61) 7	179	0
Chichester	1147x48	4	0	0	1	1	0	10	1	0	(1140–69) 15	14	2	(1150–69) 6	6	2
Chester/ Coventry	1129x40	3	0	1	3	4	0	12	13	4	(1140–55) 6	23	6	(1150–55) 1	10	6
Exeter	1107x37	10	2	2	1	3	3	16	5	5	(1140–60) 15	15	5	(1150–60) 5	10	1
Hereford	1135x36	3	4	1	(1140–April 48) 14	4	2	(Before April 1148) 25	10	7	(1140–63) 28	45	6	(Sep 1148–63) 14	41	4
Lincoln	1107x23	13	3	5	(1140–Feb 1148) 2	9	3	(Before Feb 1148) 19	20	9	(1140–85) 13	192	9	(Dec 1148–85) 11	183	6
London	1123x27	18	4	5	(1141–50) 2	7	1	20	6	5	(1140–62) 5	18	1	(1152–62) 2	11	0
Norwich	1094x1119	12	3	2	3	1	1	24	9	6	(1140–74) 17	78	2	(1150–74) 10	52	0
Salisbury	1115x16	23	2	0	0	3	1	23	5	1	(1140–84) 6	81	3	(1150–84) 5	61	1
Winchester	1129x39	(Before March 1139) 14	0	0	(March 1139–43) 4	19	3	22	25	3	(1144–71) 17	24	4	(1150–71) 13	19	3
York	1109x14 (or 1070x1100)	(Before Jan 1140) 32	22	6	(Sep 1143–49) 1	6	2	33	28	8	(Sep 1143–54) 5	20	5	(1150–54) 4	9	3

[23] P. Chaplais, *English Royal Documents, King John-Henry VI 1199-1461* (Oxford, 1971), p. 13.

[24] A. Luchaire, *Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris, 1885), nos. 622, 641, 644, 648, 660, 661, 667, 674, 679, 681, 682, 683, 699, 701, 710, 717, 719, 721, 723, 740, 744, 750, 751, 752, 757, 760, 764, 766 (exceptions: nos. 638, 650, 652,718, 783); *Recueil des actes de Philipe Auguste, roi de France*, ed. H.-F. Delaborde et. al., 4 vols. (Paris, 1916-79), i. Cf. *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908): *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, ed. J. Dufour, 4 vols. (Paris, 1992-4).

The Number of Archdeacons' Acta with the Singular or Plural Forms (tentative table)

	First appearance of plural form	Before End of 1139			Before End of 1149			Before End of 1159			1150–89			1160–89			1170–89			1180–89		
		singular	plural	mixed	singular	plural	mixed	singular	plural	mixed	singular	plural	mixed	singular	plural	mixed	singular	plural	mixed	singular	plural	mixed
Total Archdeacon		2	1	0	4	3	1	13	8	1	36	56	9	27	53	8	19	32	7	7	17	2
Vice-Archdeacon		*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*4*	*3*	*2*	*4*	*3*	*2*	*4*	*3*	*2*	*2*	*1*	*0*
Bath	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Canterbury	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carlisle	1189x97	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Chichester	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
Chester/Coventry	1152x59	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	8	1	0	6	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
Durham	1163x66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ely	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exeter	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hereford	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lincoln	1135x48	1	0	0	3	2	0	11	2	0	16	34	3	15	34	2	11	23	2	4	12	2
Bedford	*1141x75*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*3*	*7*	*0*	*1*	*6*	*0*	*0*	*4*	*0*
Buckingham	*1148*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*3*	*7*	*0*	*3*	*7*	*0*	*3*	*6*	*0*	*1*	*4*	*0*
Huntingdon	*1135x48*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*3*	*9*	*0*	*1*	*7*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Leicester	*1161x87*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*2*	*3*	*0*	*2*	*3*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*1*
Lincoln	*1152x72*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*
Northampton	*1176x80*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*4*	*4*	*0*	*4*	*4*	*0*	*4*	*4*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Oxford	*1151x64*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*2*	*0*	*0*	*7*	*0*	*0*	*3*	*5*	*3*	*1*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*1*	*0*
Stow	*1155x84*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*6*	*0*	*0*	*5*	*0*	*0*	*2*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*
(Vice-Archdeacon)	*total*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*3*	*3*	*0*	*3*	*3*	*0*	*3*	*3*	*0*	*1*	*1*	*0*
Lincoln	*1185x86*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*3*	*1*	*0*	*3*	*1*	*0*	*3*	*1*	*0*	*1*	*1*	*0*
Oxford	*1174x83*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Stow	*1173x80*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
London	1141x50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	4	0	4	4	0	1	3	0	0	3	0
Norwich	1146x61	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Rochester	1163x80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Salisbury	1180x84	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	2	0	1	0
(Vice-Archdeacon)	*?*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*2*	*0*	*0*	*2*	*0*	*0*	*2*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Worcester	1144x62	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	3	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
(Vice-Archdeacon)	*?*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*0*	*0*
Winchester	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
York	1139	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	4	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0

Chapter 6   Nation Address in the charters of Scottish Kings

Hideyuki ARIMITSU

   Under the broad title 'Charters and Scottish Kings', which will deserve a book or books rather than such a short report, I would like to consider mainly about the 'nation address'. I have been interested in the 'national consciousnesses' in the medieval British Isles, and from that viewpoint, I have come to pay attention to the nations' names addressed in charters.

   Some charters have the names of the 'nations' at the end of the 'inscriptio', that is, the address part. Forty years ago Professor G. W. S. Barrow called them the 'racial address'[1], and now I would like to use the expression 'nation address' for them[2]. I show an example of the 'nation address'. The first sentence

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[1] G. W. S. Barrow (ed), *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vol. I, Acts of Malcolm IV, Edinburgh, 1960, pp.73f.

[2] For today, in Medieval Studies, the word 'nation' or 'national' seems to be used more commonly than 'race' or 'racial', as 'Danish National Identity, *c.* 700-1700' by T. Dahlerup and 'Aspects of National Consciousness in Medieval Scotland' by A. Grant, both in C. Bjørn, A. Grant and K. J. Stringer (eds), *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*, Copenhagen, 1994. I thank professor Tsurushima profoundly for his suggestion about the term.

of one charter from William the Conqueror for the Battle Abbey in 1070, is 'Willelmus rex Anglorum Lanfranco archiepiscopo Cantueriensi et omnibus baronibus suis francis et anglis per Angliam salutem'[3].

In this case, 'francis et anglis' is the 'nation address'. It had been used in England from those days, or a little bit earlier. The earliest authentic Scottish charter with 'nation address' is one from King Edgar for the monks of Durham in 1098, addressed to 'Scots and English'[4]. But neither his nor his successor (Alexander I)'s charters remain ample. In this paper I would like to concentrate on the charters of three Scottish kings in the twelfth century, namely David I (king from 1123 to 53), Malcolm IV (from 1153 to 65) and William I 'the Lion' (from 1165 to 1214). They were produced in the time of change. English and continental culture came to be influential in many ways, the territory under the kings became larger and smaller, and it had some 'nations' in itself. I am going to show what kind of 'nation address' there were, how often they were used, what were the connections between them and the contents of the charters, and lastly I would like to consider what the 'nation address' meant.

In Professor Barrow's edition of the charters of David I[5], there are 62 charters with the 'nation address' (circa 29 per cent of all the acta, but the percentage will be slightly higher for it counts within total number some acta which have no address clauses). These 'nation addresses' consist of:

'francis et anglis'...36 (most numerous)

'scotis et anglis'...3

'francis, anglis et scotis'...15 (secondly numerous)

'gawensibus, anglicis et scotis'...1 ('gawensibus' means 'to Galwegians, i. e. the people of Galloway')

'francis, anglis et cumbrensibus'...1

'francis, anglicis et galweiensibus'...1

'francis, scotis, anglicis et aliis alienigenis'...1

'francis, anglis, scotis et galwensibus'...4

(I counted the variants like 'anglis' and 'anglicis' as the same ones.)

There are 161 acta of Malcolm IV in *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vol. I. In them, 34 are with 'nation address' (circa 21 per cent). They are:

'francis et anglis'...11

'francis, anglis et scotis'...12

'francis, scotis et anglis'...1

'francis, anglis, scotis et galwensibus'...8

'francis, anglis, scotis et galwensibus'...1

'francis, anglis, scotis, walensibus et walensibus'...1 ('walensibus' means 'to Welsh')

Regesta Regum Scottorum vol. II has 524 acta of William I[6]. Only 20 of them have the 'nation address', of only 4 types (about 4 per cent).

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[3] D. Bates (ed), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum : The Acta of William I* (*1066-1087*), Oxford, 1998, no. 16 (p. 140).

[4] A. C. Rawlie (ed), *Early Scottish Charters*, Glasgow, 1905, no. XVIII (p. 16).

[5] G. W. S. Barrow (ed), *The Charters of David I*, Woodbridge, 1999.

[6] Idem (ed), Edinburgh, 1971

'francis et anglis'...2
'francis, anglis et scotis'..8
'francis, anglis, scotis et galwensibus'...8
'francis, anglis, scotis, galwiensibus et walensibus'...2

From this, we see first that the 'nation address' declined in its numbers and varieties. Professor Barrow told that the 'racial address' was confined to its earlier decades[7]. Concerning the loss of varieties, Dr Dauvit Broun pointed out that the standardisation of the charters became important in the course of the 12th century from the viewpoint of the authorities[8], and I think it very important. I also suppose this decline of the 'nation address' was the trend in general in the regions under the lordship, or anyway, under the strong influence, of the English kings, but it seems that there are regional differences (for example, in the earldom of Hereford, the 'nation address' seems to increase after 1165)[9]. More comprehensive research will be necessary concerning this, and I would like to add a little remark on this problem, at the end of my paper.

Let us look more closely. First 'francis et anglis', once the most frequently-used, but later diminished, address. Of the 36 cases in David I's reign, nearly the half, 15 have the adjective clause with place names, all (except one) the English place names (exempli gratia, 'the barons and all his faithful men, French and English, of Huntingdon' (no. 72)). 13 have the adjective clause 'of all his lands', and all these charters are concerning the Borders or Lothian. One is rather exceptional for it was addressed to 'French and English of all the realm of the Scots' (no. 121). This is the confirmation charter of the grants to the monks of Rievaulx at Melrose Abbey. I would like to add that the almost contemporary charter with the same content has the address to 'French, English, Scots and Galwegians of all his (id est David's) realm' (no. 120). From these, it seems that 'nation address' was used, sometimes, not too strictly. Now back to the 'French and English'. On the whole, the charters addressed to 'French and English' are concerning English lands (20 cases) or the south of the Forth.

This 'francis et anglis' address declined obviously. In David's reign, its numbers amounted to circa 58 per cent of the whole charters with 'nation address'. In Malcolm's reign, it declined to 32 per cent and in the William's reign to 10 per cent. In Malcolm's reign, nearly all 'francis et anglis' address charters have to do with England. In William's reign, all charters of this type concern the Borders, but they amount to only 2. So 'francis et anglis' address charters in these reigns also mainly concern England, and to a lesser degree, south of the Forth. The main reason for the decline of this address will be evidently the Scottish kings' loss of the earldom of Northumberland and the English Cumbria in 1157, and the forfeiture of the earldom of Huntingdon from 1174. Political situations are certainly reflected in the 'nation address'.

Next I would like to pay attention to the 'nation address' containing 'Galwegians', which increased its numbers in the course of time. In David I's charters, 6 contain such 'address'. One is addressed to 'Galwegians, English and Scots of all over the kingdom', from circa 1136 (no. 57). This is the charter

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[7] *Ibid.*, p.77.

[8] D. Broun, *The Charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the Early and Central Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 17.

[9] H. Arimitsu, 'Racial addresses of the charters in 12th century Britain' (Japanese), *Kainan-shigaku*, vol. 34, 1996.

for Glasgow Cathedral, granting tributes from Strathgryfe, Cunningham, Kyle and Carrick, all near Galloway. This situation may have led the 'Galwegians' to be included in the 'nation address'. On the other hand, this charter has within witnesses Fergus of Galloway, who is said to be the ruler of Galloway from about 1120, and it is one of the two remaining charters that have him among the witnesses[10]. His presence may be the reason why this charter, apparently having no direct connection with Galloway, was addressed to 'Galwegians'. Next one I would like to pay attention to is the confirmation of the grant of Annandale to Robert Bruce the Second (no. 210). It is the original, from around 1150 to 53, and addressed to 'French, English and Galwegians'. It is interesting that the same confirmation charter was granted to Robert Bruce the First around 1124 to 29, remaining now also as the original, and it was addressed to 'French and English' only (no. 16). They may imply that the presence of Galloway increased within these 30 years. In Malcolm's reign, 9 charters have 'Galwegians' within their addressees, so the numbers and the percentage of this type is increasing. They are almost addressed to the 'French, English, Scots, and Galwegians of the whole his (i. e. king's) land' , and almost all their contents are not directly concerned with Galloway. It is remarkable that they are comparatively late ones, namely in 1160s. This may reflect the subjection of Galloway to Malcolm in 1160. In William I's charters with the 'nation address', its half, ten charters have Galwegians in the addressees. Recently Dr Dauvit Broun remarked 'on a few occasions... Galwegians are addressed quite inappropriately in charters relationg to Fife. This is not evidence for significant Galwegian immigration into Fife. It is, rather, the result of a scribe copying an examplar unthinkingly, or being too eager to make his charter impressive.'[11]. It may well be so. 'Unthinking copying' may explain also the previous problem on the 'French and English'. But I think, in this Galwegian case, another explanation may be possible. Many Scottish charters in this period had usually the clause 'of all his lands (or realm)' added to the address. In this case, for example, 'French, English, Scots and the Galwegians of all his lands' were addressed. So I think it may mean that his lands or realm should include Galwegians. I think it may be possible to think of the producers' such intentions. (Direct producers of charters were naturally the scribes, but of course we can not ignore the rulers totally, who authorised them.) The 'nation address' can be seen as reflecting the political conditions and the intentions of their producers. But surely the problem of the relationship between the continuity of the formula and the real circumstances also remain. It may be useful to see what 'nations' meant in other kind of sources, and to compare the results with the 'nation address' phenomenon. Previously I have seen that in the twelfth century the descriptions of the nations became, in one sense, 'simpler'[12]. Professor Rees Davies wrote that 'the national shutters were coming down.'[13] This phase must be seen from many sides, including 'nation address' phenomenon.

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[10] Another one is no. 5.

[11] Broun, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[12] H. Arimitsu, 'People of the Celtic Fringe and the "Barbarians"' (Japanese), in *Research Reports of Kochi University*, vol. 47, Humanities. The host of the David I had many 'nations' in the contemporary description by Richard of Hexham. But later on, it became simpler, to have only 'Scots' in the chronicle of William of Newburgh.

[13] R. Davies, 'In Praise of British History', in idem (ed), *The British Isles 1100-1500*, Edinburgh, 1988, p. 17.

Chapter7 Action and reaction by lay magnates against the world 'becoming more literate'*

Atsuko NAKAMURA

Introduction

The two papers presented in this session discussed the formulas of the royal charters as a presentation of the Kings' policy. In this paper, however, charters and the lay nobility will be the subject.

Charters are one of the most familiar documents to both kings and nobles in twelfth century England. At the same time, it has been suggested that lay magnates might not have taken any serious initiative in handling charters since they themselves did not read and write charters. Then, how did they react to the world where charters started to proliferate? To begin with, I would like to show an example which may reveal the attitude of lay magnates to charters.

The Abingdon Chronicle

This is a story from the Chronicle of Abingdon Abbey, describing an event which probably happened around 1120[1].

A land named Woodmondeslea, in Oxfordshire, which belonged to Abingdon Abbey, was often unjustly exploited. A certain Benedict, who was a frequent attendant at the court of Richard earl of Chester, took the lead. One day, trying to settle the conflict, the abbey sent a messenger to appeal their cause before the earl of Chester. At the court, the messenger showed a charter that recorded the grant of the land in question to the abbey. After the charter was read and heard, Benedict asked the messenger to let him have a look at it. The charter was handed over to him and immediately Benedict hid it in his bosom. Despite the messenger's petition, it was not given back. Having been laughed at and shamed, he had to go back to the abbey empty-handed.

The chronicle then continues. After this miserable return, the cunning person, Benedict, was ruined thanks to some divine justice. The charter was at last safely given back to the abbey.

This story itself seems to be one of common medieval stories, namely, a story of divine jurisdiction. However, we can interpret some other points from the narrative. It can be suggested that Abingdon Abbey depended heavily on written documents. The difference in the attitudes on the monastery and those at Richard's court is interesting. The abbey presented the charter as a crucial tool to appeal their rights, Richard earl of Chester and his court instead neglected the importance of it. This perhaps shows that the twelfth-century lay magnates did not think too highly of charters unlike monasteries who saw charters as a valuable means of support. An alternative interpretation can be pointed out. That is, it was believed by lay people that charters could actually work as an important device. Therefore Benedict tried to hide it.

If this is accepted, it raises the crucial question as to the extent to which the earls of Chester were familiar with charters.

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[1] *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I; vol. I William I to Stephen* (*Nos 1-346*); *vol. II Henry II and Richard I* (*Nos 347-665*), ed. by R. C. Van Caenegem (London, 1990-1991), vol. I, no. 217, pp. 183-4; *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. by J. Stevenson, 2 vols, RS (London, 1858), vol. II, pp. 71-2.

Increase in issuing documents

It has been pointed out that there was an enormous leap in the amount of surviving written documents between the reign of William the Conqueror and those of King Henry I, and those of King Henry II[2]. As for the family of the earls of Chester, the increase of surviving charters in this century is likewise evident.

The number of their charters varies enormously from Hugh I (1071-1101), Richard (1101-1120), Ranulf I (1120-1129), Ranulf II (1129-1153), and Hugh II (1153-1181). Using Geoffrey Barraclough's numbering of the documents, there are 1 by Hugh I, 3 by Richard, and 4 by Ranulf I[3]. Then there is a great increase with Ranulf II's 82, and Hugh II's 61. Even taking the length of each earl's reign into consideration, the difference is clear. Namely, there was a great increase between Ranulf I and Ranulf II, in the middle of the twelfth century. In addition to this growth in the number of charters, is there any recognisable internal development?

Using the word 'carta'

In a world without a powerful legal system permeating through the society, the way in which to secure a transaction needed some effort. Oaths, ceremonies, or other methods and combinations of them were taken for the purpose. Drawing up written documents as evidence of the transaction was one of the oldest methods relied on by the religious institutions. The document, charter, or 'carta', itself has gradually become a powerful tool, as the use of them was growing popular in this century.

Taking the Chester Charters as an example, it may be interesting to examine the ratios of the appearance of the word 'carta' itself in the charters issued by each earl. As for Hugh I: 0/1, Richard: 0/3, Ranulf I: 1/4, Ranulf II: 15/82, and Hugh II: 40/61. The figure of Hugh II's charters seems decisive. The word 'carta' appears in more than half of his charters. This might show that in the time of Hugh II, the understanding of the charters was growing.

Another development can be found in the later half of this century, namely, the word 'carta' was becoming used more and more with other words showing some instruction. The word 'carta' first appears in Ranulf I's charter. It is used simply in the phrase: 'me...donasse et concessisse...et presenti carta mea confirmasse'[4]. As mentioned before, the use of the word 'carta' itself in his charters is a small amount. The phrase means merely: 'I have granted and by my present charter confirmed'. There is no detailed description. Then, a slightly more elaborate use of the word 'carta' appears in Ranulf II's charters, namely: 'que scripta est in carta Roggeri comitis', 'that written in the charter of Earl Roger'[5], and 'dedit et concessit et carta sua confirmavit', 'has given, granted and confirmed by his charter'[6].

We can understand that there surely has grown a consciousness of, not only the charter present as a help to the memory of the transaction done at that very moment, but also the other charters concerning the same

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[2] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record England 1066-1307* (2nd rev. ed., Oxford, 1993), pp. 57-60.

[3] Numbers are counted from *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071-1237*, ed. by G. Barraclough, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. 126(1988) (hereafter *CEC*), with modification by J. Hudson, 'Diplomatic and Legal Aspects of the Charters', in: A. T. Thacker ed., *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough*, Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society, vol. 71 (Chester, 1991), pp. 153-78, at p. 153.

[4] *CEC*, no. 11, to the abbey of St. Evroul (1123-28).

[5] *CEC*, no. 63, to Shrewsbury abbey (1146-47).

[6] *CEC*, no. 94, to the abbey of Radmore (1149-53).

transaction as well.

In Hugh II's charter, we see more cautious examples, such as, 'Sciatis me dedisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse.... Concessi...sicut in hac carta expresse sunt', 'Know that I have granted and by my present charter confirmed.... I have confirmed...as described in this charter',[7] showing a recognisable understanding of the content of the charter.

Could this development straightforwardly show the growing notions of the role of charters by the lay nobilities? This is difficult to evaluate, since written documents from the twelfth century survive largely as the product of the religious institutions, thus reflecting their norms. A religious institution as a beneficiary usually drew up the charter, because of the lack of writing office at the household of lay magnates, and because these people were 'illiterate'.

It has been suggested though that even baronial households did not have a permanent writing office, some loose organization could work for that purpose, becoming increasingly common towards the end of twelfth century[8]. Then the magnates could get more involved in the actual process of writing. Even if it was not the case, the words in the charters may suggest the lay magnates' attitudes towards the document. A charter is a result of a negotiation between the benefactor and the beneficiary. Lay magnates were actually involved in the transaction written down in the charters, and produced them with the act of confirmation.

The word 'carta' is also used in the charters to lay grantees, though less often. A charter by Hugh II to Liulf de Brinklow states, 'sicut pater meus Comes Ran(ulfus) ei concessit et carta sua confirmavit scilicet', 'as my father Earl Ranulf has granted him and by his charter confirmed, namely'[9]. These lay grantees were probably less concerned about the wording. However, the phrase 'as my father's charter' indicates their consciousness of the history of the grant along with the multiple existences of the charters as documents.

Reaction to the society 'becoming more literate'

We have examined from the evidence how lay magnates gradually got involved in the society by using more charters, and gradually becoming more attentive to them in the course of the twelfth century. The trend discussed above is surely only one aspect of the reality, however.

The Honington case

The following event probably happened during the first decade of King Henry II's reign[10]. The land of Honnington was lost by Alnulf fitz Peter to the earl of Chester in the time of King Henry I, then it was

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[7] *CEC*, no. 158, to the monks of Poulton (1177-80).

[8] T. Webber, 'The Scribes and Handwriting of the Original Charters', in: A. T. Thacker ed., *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters*, pp. 137-51, at pp. 146-7; D. Postles, 'Country *Clerici* and the Composition of English Twelfth-and Thirteenth-Century Private Charters', in: K. Heidecker ed., *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 27-42, at p. 29.

[9] *CEC*, no. 145 (1153-55); for a full text, see *The Early Records of Medieval Coventry*, ed. by P. R. Coss, Records of Social and Economic History New Series XI (London, 1986), no. 8.

[10] *English Lawsuits*, vol. II, no. 376, pp. 335-7, referred as 'Huntingdon'. On the land of Honington, see *Honors and Knights' Fees*, ed. by W. Farrer, 3 vols (Manchester, 1925), vol. II, LXXIX, pp. 191ff.

granted to the nunnery of Stixwould. Alnulf reclaimed it under the reign of Henry II. Royal writs were issued commanding that the case be examined to determine whether Alnulf had actually lost the land at the court of Henry I. There survives a letter regarding the conflict by William of Roumare, the earl of Lincoln and the half-brother of Ranulf II earl of Chester. William states that he was at the court of Henry I when Alnulf lost the land, and the county of Lincoln should also decree it. Besides, many others who saw and heard the case are still alive.

We could understand from the story that the decision at the court of Henry I may have been done without charter. When the conflict occurred, as William's letter suggests, the witnesses could stand as the evidence on their own. In this case, we see again the consciousness of value of charters by religious sides. Stixwould had carefully kept the charter from the earl of Chester, since the royal writ mentions about it, that is, 'sicut carta comitisse Lucie et comitis Ran' testantur(sic)', 'as the charter of Lucy and Ranulf testifies'[11].

The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds

Another example taken from the Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds may have happened at the end of the twelfth century[12]. The earl of Clare came with a large group of barons and knights to the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds and demanded a payment for the hundred of Risbridge. The abbot rejected the earl's claims with a charter of King Edward, pointing out that in that charter there was no mention of the payment in question. The earl argued, after consulting with his friends, that the payment was for his duty to carry the standard of St. Edmund. Then the abbot replied that there were two others claiming for carrying the standard, and he would pay only when the earl made good his claim against them. The earl retreated and the matter was put off.

This implies to us that people could dispute without written documents even at the end of this century. It may also be regarded that the abbot, the religious side, argued against by presenting a charter, while the earl made the claim without any written document. The earl obviously threatened the abbot by using force. In a sense, for the Bury St. Edmunds' side, this event could be interpreted as a victory of the charter of King Edward, while the direct reason for the earl's withdrawal was the two people that needed to be discarded.

Charters and lay magnates

The development in use of charters by lay magnates was not straightforward. The Church continued to depend on charters to secure their rights. The royal government also positively tried to make good use of the written documents. These written documents could work as effective tools to exercise the king's power without his actual presence. On the other hand, the need for charters as confirmation of power to lay magnates might have been still weaker. A much smaller group of local society could have worked by their consensus, without clear, detailed documents. As for lay magnates, understanding of written documents was sensibly growing in the course of this century, while there strongly remained among them, a kind of independent mind from using charters.

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[11] *English Lawsuits*, vol. II, no. 376A, p. 336.

[12] *English Lawsuits*, vol. II, no. 634; *Memorials of St. Edmunds Abbey*, ed. by T. Arnold, 3 vols, RS (London, 1890), vol. I, pp. 261-2.

Chapter 8   Dealing with the Charters of William the Conqueror by the Abbey of
Holy Trinity Caen at the End of the 12th Century

Tamiko FUJIMOTO

The nunnery of Holy Trinity Caen was founded by Duke William of Normandy and his wife, and dedicated on 18 June 1066, on the eve of the Conquest[1]. This abbey rapidly grew into one of the greatest lordships with estates on both sides of the Channel. These possessions are confirmed by a number of William's charters. Seven of his charters have reached to us and one of them has two distinct versions. I am going to consider the way in which these documents were utilised at the end of the 12th century, when this abbey constructed a cartulary[2] through the selection and arrangement of its records for the sake of the administration of a cross-Channel estate. In other words, this paper will focus on the utilization of the founder William's charters by an important ecclesiastical institution a century after their original redaction.

I   Selection for the transcription in the cartulary: three pancartes compared

Table 1 gives the outline of all the charters from William to Holy Trinity. The majority are property-enumerating pancartes[3] in each of which are included various donations. Three pancartes, no. 4, 5 and 6, are distinct versions of the same charter. It is interesting to find wide differences between them, which seem to have influenced the choice for transcription in the cartulary.

Among these three, no. 4 was selected for the cartulary. This charter has doubly inconsistent dates as Table 1 shows: 1080 in its protocol, and 1082 in eschatocol. The charter no. 5 bears only one date 1082 in its eschatocol. The charter no. 6 is dated to 1080 in its protocol because it mostly follows the text of no. 4, while the place for its eschatocol is occupied instead by some donations down to 1109. The specialists agree that these three versions were successively elaborated in the following way[4]. First, the redaction of a pancarte began in 1080 and was suspended without eschatocol. Secondly, based on this primary text, no. 5 was completed in 1082. Then no. 4 was completed by combining the primary text with the eschatocol of no. 5. This combination was however so unskillful that no. 4 has not only doubly inconsistent dates, but also a needless repetition of William the Conqueror's title in its protocol and eschatocol. Finally in the beginning of the 12th century, no. 6 was completed by adding new donations to the primary text.

No. 5 is therefore the most accomplished of the three from the diplomatic point of view. However it was no. 4 with contradictory dates which was selected for the cartulary. The reason why no. 4 was preferred to no. 5 seems to be its fuller enumeration of the properties of the abbey. As Table 1 shows, no. 4 enumerates 82 possessions, about a tenth more than the charter no. 5 mentioning only 74. Then, why wasn't no. 6

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[1] The charters from William the Conqueror to Holy Trinity are published in two main collections: Musset, L. (ed), *Les actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises*, Mémoires de la Société Antiquaires de Normandie, 37, Caen, 1967; Bates, D. (ed)., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I*, London, 1998. The publications of other charters and surveys of this abbey are: for English estates, Chibnall, M. (ed), *Charters and Custumals of the Abbey of Holy Trinity Caen*, Oxford, 1982; for French estates, Walmsley, J. (ed), *Charters and Custumals of The Abbey of Holy Trinity Caen*, Part 2 *The French Estates*, Oxford, 1994.

[2] This cartulary is now preserved as MS. latin 5650 in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[3] For the definition of the pancarta, see Cárcel Ortí, M.M. (ed), *Vocabulaire international de la diplomatique*, Valencia, 1997, pp. 31-32.

[4] Musset, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30, 80-82, 136-138.

selected although it contains 90 possessions, the most numerous of the three? Because, I believe, this charter was showing too flagrant an inconsistency about the date: one of the donations in the place for the eschatocol shows the precise date 1109, some twenty years after the death of William the Conqueror, the formal issuer of the pancarte to which it is attached.

A pancarte is essentially a type of document containing donations of different dates. However it had already become old-fashioned in Normandy by the second half of the 12th century[5]. It is very likely that such an inconsistency about the date, combined with the absence of eschatocol, would have considerably reduced the value of pancarte no. 6 for the composer of the cartulary. The selection among charters no. 4, 5 and 6 would thus reveal a delicate compromise between the diplomatic formality and the comprehensiveness.

II   Composition of the cartulary: charter no. 2, the key ?

As mentioned above, the primary text of the three charters analysed until now was based on a suspended pancarte. The charters no. 2 and 3 transcribed in our cartulary also seem to be suspended pancartes. Moreover, no. 2 is the only one mentioning possessions both in Normandy and in England among the property-enumerating charters from William to Holy Trinity. As Table 1 (protocol column) shows, the fact that this is the only whose issuer William the Conqueror is exclusively referred to in the third person is also very significant. As we all know charters usually refer to the issuer in the first person[6]. However, whereas the other charters figuring in Table 1 refer to William in the first person, no. 2 never refers to him in this way. This might suggest that no. 2, as transmitted by the cartulary, results from some processing of a charter originally written in the first person. Then, when did this processing occur? Given that no. 2 is given an important role in the whole composition of our cartulary, it is very probable that the processing took place at the time of redaction of the cartulary.

Table 2 shows the composition of the cartulary. It has neither a preface nor any clear division into different chapters. A rapid glimpse might produce an impression that various documents preserved in the abbey were transcribed at random. However, a closer observation of the arrangement of documents and rubrics used in the cartulary leads us to recognize the charter no. 2 (= <7> in Table 2) as a demarcation between two documental groups in the composition: on the one hand, the group A (documents <1> to <6>) on the whole aims to enumerate early titles and possessions of Holy Trinity ; on the other hand, the group B (documents <8> to <32>) mainly describes specific details of individual estates.

Concretely speaking, the composer of the cartulary, by collecting property-enumerating pancartes in group A, listed in the first place original patrimonies of the abbey obtained until the end of the 11th century. Then, he or she places the charter no. 2 next to this first part enhancing its key-position with the rubric of *'de institutione ecclesie'*. Our composer shows thus clearly that it was William the Conqueror who instituted the abbey of Holy Trinity. Moreover, no. 2, as we see it in the cartulary, is divided into six

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[5] In Normandy, the pancartas were made especially from the 1030s to the 1130s. Bates, D., Les chartes de confirmation et les pancartes normandes du règne de Guillaume le Conquérant, Parisse, M./Pégeot, P./Tock, B.M. (éds.), *Pancartes monastiques des XIe et XIIe siècles. Table ronde organisée par l'ARTEM 6 et 7 juillet 1994, Nancy*, Turnhout, 1998, pp. 95, 108-109.

[6] Strictly speaking, we may not apply the term 'charter' to the document written in the third person, but here I describe the no. 2 as a charter in the general sence.

sections corresponding to the services to which the abbey's patrimonies had been distributed by William. Each section is introduced by its own sub-rubric and in some sections the possessions in Normandy and in England are described side by side. It seems as if the composer intended to emphasize that the cross-Channel estate of Holy Trinity had been established by William the Conqueror, and the abbey was doing its best to maintain it as a whole.

After that comes a comprehensive rubric '*Hec sunt reditiones honoris nostre ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis Cadomi*'. It introduces group B of Table 2, the collection of the documents concerning individual conditions on a great majority of the abbey's possessions. These include manorial surveys from Normandy and England (<8><14><27><31><32>) occupying more than half of the space of the cartulary, some land transaction charters and three notices on severe damages from which Holy Trinity had suffered on both sides of the Channel. Particularly interesting is the placement of the three records of the damages to the estate of Holy Trinity (<28><29><30>) which precede the second manorial surveys on English and Norman estates. Not only the content but also the arrangement of the documents in this part are thus intended to describe what conditions were found at the end of the 12th century in the patrimonies given and organized by William.

Thus the charter no. 2, originally a pancarte of which the making had been suspended at the end of the 11th century, was effectively used to meet exactly the purpose of the abbey for composing the cartulary. Careful research is needed to measure to what extent this charter was modified at the time of its integration in the cartulary. Perhaps I may be going too far in asserting that the mention to both Norman and English estates in this charter was itself introduced at the time of the redaction of the cartulary. In any case, the possibility that the selection and modification of the charter no. 2 represents the purpose of our cartulary can not be ignored.

In Normandy, the golden age of the pancarta corresponded to the reign of William the Conqueror[7]. By the process of uniting various donations in one charter for their confirmation would have left in archives half achieved pieces to which other donations could be added. However, at the end of the 12th century when this type of documents was in decline, such suspended pancartes would remain completed . As Holy Trinity composed its cartulary just at that time, a little ingenuity was enough for the abbey to use one of them for its own purpose. This objective was exactly to establish, to a positive administration of the whole of estates spread on the both sides of the Channel, by insisting on its original status and titles instituted by William the Conqueror. The utilization by Holy Trinity Caen of William's charters a century after their original redaction aimed at reconfirming of its identity.

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[7] Bates, art. cit., pp. 108-109.

Table 1   Charters of William the Conqueror to the Abbey of Holy Trinity Caen

no.	dating	protocol		text	eschatocol	
		date	mention of the issuer	content	date	witnesses
‹①›	1066/6/18	1066/6/18	ego ... G ...percupimus	foundation charter: 38 possessions in N (pancarte)	(protocol)	29 persons
‹②›	1066-1083	-	G...conjunxque sua ...M... constituerunt	distribution of patrimonies to six services: 51 possessions in N/4 in E (pancarte)	-	
‹③›	1066-1083		ego W... uxorque mea M... disposuimus	confirmation: 28 possessions in N (pancarte)	- *1	
‹④›	1080+1082	1080	ego W ...et M uxor mea ... constituimus	confirmation: 82 possessions in N (pancarte)	1082	30 persons
⑤	1082	(eschatocol)	ego W ...et M uxor mea... constituimus	confirmation: 74 possessions in N (pancarte)	1082	36 persons
⑥	1080+ (1109-1113)	1080	ego W ...et M uxor mea... constituimus	confirmation: 90 possessions in N (pancarte)	- *2	
‹⑦›*	1080-1083	-	ego W...et M uxor mea... dedimus	donation: 1 possession in N/2 in E	-	7 persons
‹⑧›	1082	(eschatocol)	ego W...et uxor mea M... damus	donation: 4 possessions in E	1082	19 persons
‹⑨›	1083/7/18	(eschatocol)	ego W...trado	agreement with the abbey of St. Stephen about Burgus of Caen	1083/7/18	10 persons

‹ ›: charter transcribed in the 12C cartulary   G: Guillermus/Gwillermus   N: Normandy   *1: only the last of the enumerated donations
⑤ · ⑥: versions of ④   W: Willermus/Willelmus   E: England   has a witness list (7 persons)
‹⑦›*: summarized mention added to   M: Matildis/Mathildis   *2: only the last of the enumerated donations
    another charter in the 12C cartulary   has a date and a witness list (1109/12 persons)
    (see ‹10› of Table 2)

*references of charters in Table 1
        publication   manuscript
‹①› [3]2; [2]231   12C cartulary copy, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms.lat.5650 (fo. 9r-13v)
‹②› [1]62; [3]12   do. (fo. 18v-20r)
‹③› [1]61; [3]11   do. (fo. 34v-36v)   *references of published sources
‹④› [1]59; [3]8(II) do. (fo. 1r-8v)   [1]Bates, D.(ed)., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I*, London, 1998
 ⑤   [3]8(I)   copy(16C), Archives du Calvados   [2]Fauroux, M.(éd.), *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, Mémoires de la Société
 ⑥   [3]8, 27   copy(19C), Bibliothèque Nationale   Antiquaires de Normandie, 36, Caen, 1961
 ⑦   [1]65; [3]15   Inspeximus(15C), Archives du Calvados [3]Musset, L.(éd.), *Les actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les
‹⑧› [1]60; [3]9   12C cartulary copy (fo. 17r-v)   abbayes caennaises*, Mémoires de la Société Antiquaires de Normandie, 37, Caen, 1967
‹⑨› [1]64; [3]17   do. (fo. 15r-16v)

[ ] : see references of published sources

Table 2   Composition of the cartulary of Holy Trinity Caen (fos. 1-87v in a hand of the end of the 12th C)

group	no.	folio		documents		rubric
		dating	issuer/author	content		thick letters: title of a document / thin letters: sub-rubric of an item
group A	‹1›~④	1r-8v	1080+1082	W, King of E; M	(see Table 1)	(sub-rubrics of 42 possessions)
	‹2›=①	9r-13v	1066/6/18	W, Duke of N	(see Table 1)	(sub-rubrics of 11 possessions)
	‹3›	14r-15r	1183/1/20		notice on a final concord about the estate of Villon (N)	*De pace facta inter abbatissam et Robertum filium Ricardi de Scrotonia de hoc quod predictus Robertus clamabat in Willon*
	‹4›=⑨	15r-16v	1083/7/18	W, King of E	(see Table 1)	*De dono domini regis Willelmi*
	‹5›=⑧	17r-v	1082	W, King of E; M	(see Table 1)	*Carta e'*
	‹6›	17v-18r	1075	Countess of Burgundy	notice on grant of a castle	*De hoc quod comitissa Adeliz soror Roberti comitis dedit ecclesie*
	‹7›=②	18v-20r	(1066-1083)	W, King of E; M	(see Table 1)	*De institucione ecclesie De secretaria/De canonicis ecclesie/De uictu sanctimonialium/De camera/ De dormitorio/De elemosina*
group B	‹8›	20v-23v	(1107-1113)		1st manorial survey (N)	*Hec sunt rediteones honoris nostre ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis Cadomi* (sub-rubrics of 13possessions)
	‹9›	23v-24r			list of rents from 3 estates(N)	*De Hoistrehan*
	‹10›+⑦*	24r	(1066-1083)	M	grant of equipment etc.	*De ornamentis ecclesie*
	‹11›	24r-25r	(1083-1084)	Abbess of HT	notice on purchase of vineyards etc.	*De vineis Argentiarum*
	‹12›	25r-v			note about lands of a bailiff	*De Wilon*
	‹13›	25v-26r			list of relics	*De reliquiis ecclesie*
	‹14›	26r-29v	(1107-1113)		1st manorial survey (E)	(sub-rubrics of 6 possessions)
	‹15›	29v-31r	(1080-1085)		notice on early donations	*De rebus pertinentibus ad ecclesiam*
	‹16›	31r-v		secular tenant	notice on transaction of lands	*Carta*
	‹17›	31v-32r	(1109-1113)	secular tenant	notice on grant of tithes to HT	
	‹18›	32r-v		secular tenant	notice on grant of lands to HT	
	‹19›	32v		secular tenant	notice on grant of lands to HT	*De dono Guigerii Sancte Marie ecclesie*
	‹20›	32v-33r	(1066-1113)	Abbess of HT	notice on farm of Jersey estate	*De firma de insulis*
	‹21›	33r	(early12C)	Abbess of HT	notice on grant of fee to a secular	
	‹22›	33r-34r	(1152-1178)	Abbess of HT	purchase of lands	*Carta'*
	‹23›	34r-v	(1087-1094)	Robert II, Duke of N	grant of rents etc. to HT	*Carta consulis Roberti*
	‹24›=③	34v-36v	(1066-1083)	W, King of E; M	(see Table 1)	*Carta*
	‹25›	36v-37r	(1163-1178)	Abbot of Tewkesbury	grant of rights to a church	*Carta Fromundi abbatis*
	‹26›	37r-38r	(1106-1135)	Henry I, King of E	confirmation: 8 possessions(E)	*Carta Henrici regis*
	‹27›	38r-v			manorial survey of a estate (N)	
	‹28›	38v-39r	(1170-1176)		notice on estate damages (E)	
	‹29›	39v-40v	(1087-1100)		notice on estate damages (N)	
	‹30›	40v-41r	(1170-1176)		notice on forest damages (E)	*De nemoribus*
	‹31›	41r-60v	(1170-1176)		2nd manorial survey (E)	(sub-rubrics of 6 possessions)
	‹32›	60v-87v	(1175-1180)		2nd manorial survey (N)	(sub-rubrics of 19 possessions)

①~⑨: refer to the number in Table 1   E: England   HT: Abbey of Holy Trinity Caen
‹10›+⑦*: a summary of ⑦ added to ‹10›   N: Normandy
dating in ( ) : documents without mention of date   W: William
                                                        M: Mathilda, Queen of England