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The Administration of Normandy under Henry I

THE reign of Henry I, which Mr. Round has declared perhaps the most tantalising in English history, is equally tantalising to the student of the history and institutions of Normandy, where the paucity of documents is even greater than in England for the same period. There is nothing in Normandy which corresponds to the Pipe Roll of 1130 or the local surveys, and the destruction of the records of cathedrals and religious houses has been far greater. Under such circumstances no detailed examination of the working of Norman institutions is possible, but certain facts concerning the administration of the duchy can be discerned, and these are here set forth with the aid, wherever possible, of unpublished material.¹

The starting-point for any study of the government of Normandy under Henry I is the plea, published by Mr. Round in 1899, which established for the first time the existence of the Norman exchequer *eo nomine* in this reign.² In this document the great officers of the household—Robert de Courcy, seneschal, Henri de la Pommeraie and William Fitz Odo, constables, William of Glastonbury, chamberlain,³ and Wigan the marshal—together with Robert the

¹ The materials for this paper were collected under a grant from the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

² 'Bernard the King's Scribe,' in this Review, xiv. 417-430.

³ The office inherited by William from his uncle Walchelin was a chamberlainship (*Monasticon*, vi. 1000). He also appears in two other documents relating to the administration of justice in Normandy: Round, *ubi supra*, p. 424; *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, no. 8.

treasurer⁴ and two other clerks, sit in judgment as 'barons of the exchequer' to determine the ownership of a piece of land, as well as to protect possession previously established at the exchequer before John, bishop of Lisieux, Robert de la Haie, seneschal, and others. With this clue in our hands, we shall have little difficulty in recognising the exchequer in the following charter, in which, this time under the name of the king's *curia*, it sustains the appeal of the abbot of Fécamp against an infringement of the abbey's *haute justice*⁵ by the king's justices. It is not stated that the witnesses to the charter are the members of the court who rendered the decision, but such is doubtless the case. The bishop of Lisieux, the two seneschals, and William of Glastonbury are known to us as barons of the exchequer from the document already mentioned, while William d'Aubigny the butler and Geoffrey de Clinton chamberlain and treasurer⁶ are well-known officers of Henry's household.

(1) H. rex Angl[orum] iustic[iis] et omnibus baronibus et vic[ecomitibus] et ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis totius terre sue salutem. Sciatis quia iuditio et consideratione curie mee per privilegium ecclesie de Fiscann[o] ex dono et concessione predecessorum meorum remanserunt Rogero abbati Fiscann[ensi] et conventui Fiscann[ensi] .xxi.⁷ libre de placit[o] de quadam combustione et .xx. libre de plac[it]o de quodam homicidio factis in terra sancte Trinitatis Fiscann[i], unde iusticia mea placitaverat et duellum tenuerat de combustione in curia mea. Ideoque precipio et volo quod amodo teneat predicta abbatia sancte Trinitatis de Fiscann[o] omnes dignitates suas et rectitudines et consuetudines tam in placitis quam in omnibus aliis rebus sicut umquam prefata abbatia melius et quietius et honorificentius tenuit tempore predecessorum meorum et sicut carta ecclesie testatur et sicut per breve meum precipio. [Testibus] Iohanne Lexov[iensi] episcopo et Roberto de Haia et Roberto de Curceo et Willelmo de Albeny et Galfr[edo] de Clinton[ia] et Willelmo de Glestingeberia. Apud Rothom[agum].⁸

⁴ For proof that Robert of Evreux was treasurer, see below, pp. 225f. As the charter there quoted shows that he was chaplain to Stephen, he cannot be the man of this name whose son appears as a claimant for his father's land in Cornwall in 1130, so that Mr. Round's reason for dating his plea before 1130 falls.

⁵ Murder and arson were pleas of the crown in Normandy, but had been conferred on certain immunitists by ducal grant. See *ante*, vol. xxiii. 504. For the reign of Henry I the clearest statement is found in his charter of 1134 for Bec: 'Concedimus etiam eisdem monachis ut habeant in tota parochia Beci: omnes regias libertates: murdrum, mortem hominis, plagam, mehaim, sanguinem, aquam, et ignem, sed et latronem in Beci parochia captum undecumque fuerit, et omnes alias regias libertates quocumque nomine vocentur, excepto solummodo rapto, de quo honestius existimavimus seculares quam monachos iudicare.' Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 13905, f. 9v; *Ibid.* 1697B, f. 166v; Archives Nationales, JJ. 92, f. 17, no. 58; Round, *Calendar*, no. 375.

⁶ *Pipe Roll*, 81 Henry I, 37; *Monasticon*, vi. 220; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iii. 275.

⁷ The cartulary has '.xx.'

⁸ Public Record Office, *Cartae Antiquae*, S. 3; cartulary of Fécamp in the library at Rouen, MS. 1207, no. 7, where only the first of the witnesses is given.

It will be observed that the word *curia* in this charter is used of two different bodies, the exchequer of household officials, probably sitting at Rouen, where the charter is issued, and the king's justices (*iusticia*), from whose jurisdiction in holding pleas of the crown the abbot claims exemption. In the following documents we see the king and his *curia* determining questions of title to land, but nothing is said of the composition of the court:

(2) H. rex Angl[orum] Ric[ardo] episcopo Baioc[ensi] et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis de Oismeis salutem. Sciatis me concessisse Deo et sancto Martino et monachis de Troart amodo in perpetuum totum mariscum unde placitum fuit in curia mea inter monachos predictos et Robertum de Usseio. Ipse enim Robertus predictus recognovit rectum eorum quod iniuste eam (*sic*) clamabat et illam calumpniam marisci quam habebat in eo Deo et sancto Martino clamavit quietam coram me. Et volo et concedo et firmiter precipio ut amodo in pace et honorifice et quiete et perpetualiter teneat ecclesia supradicta totum illud mariscum absque calumpnia et teneat et habeat sicut melius et honorabilius et quietius tenet suas alias res. T[estibus] Roberto com[ite] de Mellent et Nig[ello] de Albinni. Apud Rothomagum.⁹

(3) Notum sit domino Normannie et omnibus heredibus meis, baronibus, prepositis, et ministris quod ego Guillelmus comes de Pontivo cum essem apud Falesiam ante dominum meum Henricum regem Anglorum habui verbum cum Rogerio de Gratapanchia patre et filio de maresco quod calumniabantur contra sanctum. Martinum et monachos eius, et rem gestam et tanto tempore a meis antecessoribus possessam et quomodo liberam et communem regi prefato ostendi. Diudicavit autem rex et eius curia per verba mea et illorum sancto Martino et monachis remanere marescum quietum et liberum et amplius non debere fieri inde contra eos calumpniam. Quapropter precipio omnibus heredibus meis ut hec firmiter in perpetuum teneant. Huius finis testes mei sunt Hugo vicecomes et Robertus frater eius, Paganus filius Hugonis de Mesdavid, Guillelmus de Corcella, Ascelinus et Serlo capellani. Hec autem facta sunt anno ab incarnatione domini .M.C.XXIX. in pentecosten.¹⁰

In the following plea,¹¹ of the year 1111, the judges are named, but they are styled *optimates* and appear to have been taken from the great men of the duchy rather than exclusively from the royal household. Apparently the king was not present. The final agreement, dated 18 December 1138, is interesting for its reference to the justiciarship of William of Roumare, created by Stephen on

* Original, formerly sealed *sur simple queue*, in archives of the Calvados, fonds Troarn (Marais, liasse 2, no. 77 bis); copy by La Rue in the Collection Mancel at Caen, MS. 159, f. 1. Anterior to 1118, the year of the death of the count of Meulan.

¹⁰ Original, with seal of red wax in parchment cover, attached *sur double queue*. This and a charter of William's son John are found, in original and copy, with the preceding.

¹¹ Original notice, with no sign of having been sealed, in archives of the Seine-Inférieure, fonds de Jumièges; copy by Bigot in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 10055, f. 84. (Where no indication of the library is given in subsequent references, the MS. is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.)

his departure from Normandy toward the close of 1137,¹² and for the list of barons witnessing. The civil strife at Rouen is evidently that of 1090.¹³

(4) In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi ad noticiam presentium et memoriam futurorum ad evitandam in posterum rerum oblivionem et adverse partis controversiam litteris annotamus et apicibus subsequentibus non abolendis temporibus commendamus qualiter pontificante papa Paschali anno ab incarnatione domini .M^o.C^o.XI^o. sub rege Henrico abbas Ursus et postea ecclesie romane presidente papa Innocentio regnante rege Stephano abbas Willelmus anno ab incarnatione domini .M^o.C^o.XXX^o.VIII^o. calumpniam quam heredes Clari, Balduinus videlicet et Clarus frater eius, de mansione que est apud Rothomagum turris Rainerii cognominata et a beato Audoeno sancto Philiberto et ecclesie Gemmeticensi iure perpetuo possidenda donata, sicut principali comitis Ricardi auctoritate karta teste roboratum est, diffinierunt. Que res se ita habet: Dominante in Normannia Rotberto comite in urbe Rothomagensi gravis dissensio inter partes Pilatensium scilicet et Calloensium exorta est que multa civitatem strage vexavit et multos nobilium utriusque partis gladio prostravit. Inter quos partis Pilatensium erat quidam rebus et nomine quem supra diximus valde Clarus qui abbati et monachis Gemmeticensibus pro suo actu et merito plurimum erat carus. Hic ergo, quia domus prefata in munitiori loco consistit, rerum metuens eventum, ut ibi hospes degeret expetiit et pro sua probitate et bonitate ad tempus impetravit. Quo decedente et rege Henrico principante filius ipsius Balduinus hereditario iure mansionem ibidem violenter voluit optinere, sed abbate Ursone equitatem iudicii reposcente in causam vocatus et nichil rationis dicere visus, iudicio optimatum eadem domo exire et deinceps carere iussus est. Qui videlicet iudices hi fuerunt: Gaufridus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, Iohannes Luxoviensis episcopus, Rotbertus comes Mellenti, Willelmus comes Warenne, Gislebertus de Aquila, Willelmus camerarius de Tancardivilla, Willelmus de Ferrariis.

Nonnullis postea evolutis annis cum Balduinus obisset in primordio excellentissimi regis Stephani, Clarus eiusdem frater super eodem negotio regias aures pulsare et abbatem Willelmum cepit vexare. Que causa multis locis et temporibus varie tractata est et multismodis ut penitus finiretur a nobilibus et prudentibus viris utrinque amicis elaboratum est. Tandem in hoc rei summa devenit ut idem Clarus ab abbate iiii^{or}. marchas argenti acceperit et fide data quod nec ipse nec quisquis suorum pro se vel per se de predicta domo ulterius calumpniam moveret abiuravit et filios suos qui tunc non aderant infra .xl. dies adventus eorum ab abbate conventus ad id se inclinaturum sub eadem fide promisit. Itaque Willelmo de Roumara iusticiam regis in Normannia conservante, dominica natale domini proxima precedente quando (?) idem natale mortalibus cunctis honorandum subsequente proxima dominica erat celebrandum, apud Rothomagum in domo que fuerat Audoeni Postelli ista pactio a Godoboldo de sancto Victore recitata ac perorata est et pecunia Claro tradita est, sub

¹² 'Neustrie vero iusticiarios Guillelmum de Rolmara et Rogerium vicecomitem aliosque nonnullos constituerat: ' Ordericus, v. 91.

¹³ *Id.* iii. 351 ff.

principibus baronibus et testibus his: Ludovico abbate sancti Georgii, Gualeranno comite Mellenti, Willelmo comite Warenne fratre eius, Hugone de Gornaco, Rotberto de Novo Burgo, Iohanne de Lunda, Rogerio de Paviliaco, Radulfo de Bosco Rohardi, Rotberto Wesneval', Osberno de Kailliac, Ingelranno de Wascolio, Walterio de Cantelou, Waleranno de Mellente et Willelmo de Pinu, Iuhel consanguineo Clari, Luca pincerna, Godeboldo de Sancto Victore, Alveredo fratre eius, Stephano filio Radulfi, Radulfo filio Rotberti, Urselino de Waneria, Radulfo de Bellomonte, Iohanne fratre eius, Radulfo filio Rainboldi. Ex parte abbatis Gisleberto de Mara fidei susceptore, Geroldus ad barbam, Rainaldo Vulpe, Willelmo Clarello, Rotberti filiolo, Waltero de Eudonisvilla, Radulfo Calceterram fratre eius, Rabello filio Goscelini.

So far the evidence respecting judicial organisation has been of a rather general character, but when we come to investigate the royal justices we are on firmer ground. The existence of a regular body of Norman justices under Henry I is plain, first of all, from their enumeration with the other royal officers in the addresses of his general charters, and is clearly seen from the writs directed *iusticiis suis Normannie*¹⁴ and from the clause, perpetuated under Geoffrey and Henry II, *nisi feceris iusticia mea faciat*.¹⁵ The king's justices are mentioned as early as 1108 in a charter for Montebourg,¹⁶ and about the same time—in any case not later than the following year—we find a chief justiciar, *meus proprius iustitiarius . . . qui*

¹⁴ *Livre Noir de Bayeux*, no. 8; Round, *Calendar*, nos. 107, 875. Cf. Round, no. 479; Delisle, *Cartulaire normand*, no. 737, and nos. 15 and 18, printed below. The following writ, from a vidimus of the vicomte of Pontaudemer in 1338, is unprinted: 'H. rex Angl[orum] iusticiar[iis] Norm[annie] salutem. Mando vobis quod faciatis habere abbati de Fiscampo terram et prata de mariscis de Aisi ita bene et plenarie et iuste sicut comes de Mellent ea tenuit de eo tempore suo, ne super hoc inde amplius clamorem audiam. T[este] can[c]ellario apud Bonam Villam.' Archives of the Seine-Inférieure, fonds de Fécamp, box A (Aisier).

¹⁵ See no. 13 below and the *Livre Noir*, no. 37. A vidimus of Philip the Fair of 1313 offers another example: 'H. rex Angl[orum] W[illelmo] de Roumara salutem. Sicut . . . abbatisa sancti Amandi Maelina et ecclesia sua saisite fuerunt de ecclesia sua de Roumara et de hiis que ad ecclesiam pertinent anno et die qua pater meus fuit vivus et mortuus et postea eam tenuit tempore patrie et fratris mei et meo et Emma abbatisa post eam hucusque, sic precipio quod inde amodo versus neminem ponatur in placito, quia hoc est statutum terre mee. Sed bene et in pace tenent sicut ecclesia sua in retro tenuit hucusque. Et nisi feceris archiepiscopus et iusticia mea facient. T[este] R[oberto] de Ver apud Rothomagum.' Archives of the Seine-Inférieure, fonds de St. Amand; Archives Nationales, JJ. 49, no. 48; copy in MS. Lat. 17131, f. 100. On the importance of the *nisi feceris* clause compare Bigelow, *History of Procedure*, p. 79.

¹⁶ 'Volo autem et districte precipio ne iusticie mee manum mittant pro iusticia facienda in villa Montisburgi diebus mercati sive nundinarum.' Delisle, *Cartulaire normand*, no. 737. The charter is witnessed by Anselm, and Henry was absent from England from the summer of 1108 until after Anselm's death. The same phrase appears in a charter for Montebourg purporting to emanate from William Rufus (*Livre Blanc de Montebourg*, in archives of the Manche, H. 8391, f. 1; *Gallia Christiana*, xi., instr. 229; *Neustria Pia*, 672), but it is evident from the witnesses that this has been forged on the basis of the charter of Henry I.

super omnes alios vice mea iustitiam tenet,¹⁷ or, more succinctly, *iusticia mea capitalis*.¹⁸ Ordinarily, as in the Fécamp charter, printed above (no. 1) and in nos. 5 and 6 below, the word *iustitia* denotes the body of justices.¹⁹

What is perhaps our clearest bit of evidence respecting the justices of Henry I is contained in the 'Emptiones Eudonis,' a document of 1129-31²⁰ which comprises a series of notices of the acquisitions made by St. Etienne of Caen, under the administration of abbot Eudo (1107-1140). Of the suits here recorded the first came before the king and the whole *curia* at Arganchy; besides the bishop of Lisieux, two of the barons who attest are household officers, namely Robert de Courcy, seneschal, and William of Tancarville, chamberlain (d. 1129²¹). In the second case, which is prior to 1122, we find a full court (*tocius iusticie*) of five justices sitting in the castle at Caen, where the exchequer of the later twelfth century regularly held its sessions; John of Lisieux, Robert de la Haie, and Hugh de Montfort, constable,²² are among the judges, but we are hardly justified in assuming that this was a meeting of the exchequer. The action of the justices in deputing

¹⁷ Charters for St. Pierre-sur-Dive, *Gallia Christiana*, xi., instr. 156-160. The first of these, witnessed by William, archbishop of Rouen, who died in February 1110, is anterior to Henry's departure for England in the preceding May; it may have suffered some alterations, but the original of the other charter is still preserved in the archives of the Calvados.

¹⁸ This phrase occurs in a charter for Beaubec which has come down to us with the style of Henry II, but has the witnesses of a charter of Henry I and is apparently cited in a charter of Stephen which accompanies it in the cartulary: 'Prohibeo ne de aliqua possessione sua trahantur in causam nisi coram me vel coram iusticia mea capitali. Et nichil retineo in aliquo predictorum preter oraciones monachorum. T[estibus] episcopo Bern[ardo] de sancto David, W[illelmo] de Tanc[ardivilla] cam[erario], R[ogero?] filio Ricardi apud Clarendonam:'. Vidimus of 1311 (badly faded), and *Coutumier de Dieppe* (G. 851, f. 57v), in archives of the Seine Inférieure; Archives Nationales, JJ. 46, f. 87v.

¹⁹ Other examples are the assistance given Rabel of Tancarville by the canons of St. Barbe 'erga iusticiam regis Henrici' (Bound, *Calendar*, no. 568); a transaction under Henry II 'in castello Cadomi coram iustitia regis' (Deville, *Analyse d'un ancien cartulaire de S. Etienne de Caen*, p. 52); and the following notice in a cartulary of Troarn: 'Willelmus rex et Rogerius comes dederunt nobis decimam de crasso pisce Retisville, quam Robertus de Turpo nobis voluit auferre sed reddidit coactus iusticia regis Henrici' (MS. Lat. 10086, f. 5v).

²⁰ It falls between the release of Galeran de Meulan in 1129 (Simeon of Durham, ii. 283; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Ordericus, iv. 468) and the death of Richard of Coutances, 18 November 1181 (*Gallia Christiana*, xi. 874; *Historiens de France*, xxiii. 475). Henry was absent in England from 15 July 1129 to September 1180, and again beginning with the summer of 1181 (Simeon of Durham, ii. 283; Henry of Huntingdon, p. 252; Robert of Torigni, i. 185; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle).

²¹ Annals of St. Wandrille, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxii. 204. In the Pipe Roll of 1130 we find, not William, but Rabel of Tancarville. If, as seems likely, the order of notices in the 'Emptiones' is chronological, the judgment at Arganchy was rendered before 1118, the year of the death of William count of Evreux, who makes the grant which follows next but one.

²² Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 826. Hugh revolted in 1122, and was kept in close confinement after his capture in 1124: Ordericus, iv. 441, 468, 463.

one of their number to take surety from the disturber of the monks should be noted. The proceedings in the third case took place likewise in the castle at Caen, before the king and three justices. Here the justices are sharply distinguished from the barons,²³ and Roger Marmion, who acted as justice in the preceding case, attests simply as a baron.²⁴

(5) Emit Eudo abbas a Willelmo de capella molendinum de Drocione iuxta Divam viginti duabus libris in prima emptione, de quo molendino desaisitus per Robertum Frellam dedit prefatus abbas predicto Willelmo alias .xxii¹/₂ libras ut ipsum molendinum contra predictum Robertum disrationaret et sancto Stephano adquietaret. Que disratiocinatio et adquietatio facta fuit apud Argenteium ante regem Henricum ibique in presentia ipsius regis et tocius curie recognitum fuit ipsum molendinum esse de fedio regis. Cuius rei testis est rex ipse et barones ipsius, Iohannes scilicet Lexoviensis episcopus, Robertus de Curceio, Willelmus de Tancardivilla, Willelmus Pevrellus, Rainaldus de Argenteio. Testes utriusque emptionis et tocius consummationis ex parte sancti Stephani: Robertus de Grainvilla, Warinus de Diva, Willelmus Rabodus et fratres eius. Ex parte Willelmi: Willelmus frater eius, Robertus de Hotot, Radulphus filius Ansfride, Malgerius de Bosavalle, Rainaldus filius Ase. Dedit etiam predictus abbas uxori eiusdem Willelmi pro concessione huius venditionis, quia ipsum molendinum de eius maritagio erat, xl. solidos rotomagensium. Testes: Robertus portarius, Rogerius camerarius, Warinus Cepellus, Willelmus cocus et alii plures. . . .

Rogerius filius Petri de Fontaneto in castello Cadomi in presentia tocius iusticie reddidit sancto Stephano terram illam et omnes decimas illas quas ipse sanctus a Godefrido avo illius et a patre suo habuerat easque eidem sancto deinceps firmiter in perpetuum tenendas concessit Et quia idem Rogerius abbatem et monachos pro eisdem decimis sepius vexaverat, ex consideratione iusticie Gaufrido de Sublis fidem suam affidavit quod nunquam amplius damnum contrarium ac laborem inde sancto Stephano faceret sed manuteneret et bene adquietaret. Et ut hec omnia firmissimo et indissolubili vinculo sancto Stephanus teneret, abbas et monachi societatem quam predecessores illius in monasterio habuerant illi concesserunt et insuper de caritate .xl. solidos et unum equum ei dederunt. Testes ipsa iusticia, Iohannes scilicet Luxoviensis episcopus, Robertus de Haia, Hugo de Monteforti, Gaufridus de Sublis, Rogerius Marmio. Ex parte sancti Stephani: Rannulfus de Taissel et Ricardus filius eius, Radulfus de Hotot, Aigulfus de Mercato et nepotes illius. Ex parte Rogerii: Radulfus sororius eius, Anschitillus heres de Hotot, Radulfus de Ivinneio. . . .

Huius autem ville²⁵ ecclesiam quam sanctus Stephanus antiquitus in magna pace tenuerat Herbertus quidam clericus ei modis quibuscumque poterat auferre querens abbatem et monachos inde diu fortiter vexavit.

²³ Cf. Delisle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, x. 273.

²⁴ Roger Marmion was dead in 1130, when his son paid relief for his lands: Pipe Roll, 31 Henry I, 111.

²⁵ Siccavilla (Secqueville-en-Bessin).

Quorum vexationi Henricus rex finem imponere decernens utrisque ante se in castello Cadomi diem constituit placitandi. Die igitur constituto abbas et monachi cum omnibus que eis necessaria erant ipsi regi et iusticie placitum suum obtulerunt. Herberto autem ibi in audientia regis et tocus iusticie necnon et baronum deficiente, de prefata ecclesia ipsius regis et iusticie iudicio sanctus Stephanus saisitus remansit, nemini deinceps amplius inde responsurus. Testes huius rei ipse rex Henricus et iusticia, Iohannes videlicet Luxoviensis episcopus, Robertus de Haia, Gaufridus de Sublis, et barones Radulfus Taisso, Rogerius Marmio, Willelmus Patricius, Robertus Carbonellus. Ex parte sancti Stephani: Rannulfus de Taissello et filii eius Willelmus et Ricardus, Robertus de Grainvilla, Radulfus de Hotot, Warinus de Diva et filii eius.

Has emptiones quas fecit predictus abbas et donationes quas fecerunt suprascripti barones ego Henricus rex Anglorum concedo et sigilli mei assertionem confirmo. Huius rei sunt testes cum signis suis subscripti barones. Signum Henrici regis. S. Ricardi † Baiocensis episcopi. S. Iohannis † Luxoviensis episcopi. S. Ricardi Constanciensis episcopi. † S. Turtgisi Abrincensis episcopi. S. Roberti de sigillo. S. Roberti Sagiensis episcopi. S. Roberti comitis Glocestrie. S. Waleranti comitis de Mellent. S. Roberti de Haia. S. Rogerii vicecomitis. S. Willelmi de Albigneio. S. Roberti filii Bernardi.²⁶

The following document is of greater interest for the procedure than for the composition of the king's court; unfortunately it is known only through an extract from a lost cartulary, and the omitted portions are plainly of importance. A certain Fulc, who seems to be the overlord of the abbot of Troarn in respect of a certain fief—the language is not free from ambiguity—also claims the

²⁶ Original, endorsed 'Emptiones Eudonis,' in archives of the Calvados, H. 1834, no. 18-5 bis. The charter, which measures 87 by 66 centimètres, is ruled in dry point and divided into four columns; there is a *double queue* but no trace of a seal. (A copy by Hippeau is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. n.a. 1406, ff. 76-85v). The witnesses are printed by Delisle, *Histoire de S. Sauveur-Le-Vicomte*, pièces, no. 47; the slip which makes John, bishop of Séez, appear as Robert between two other Roberts is not of the sort one expects in an original, and the crosses seem to have been made by the same hand, so that we may have only an early copy. There can be no doubt of the genuineness of the contents, as the substance of the notices is reproduced, without the names of justices or witnesses, in one of Henry I's great charters for St. Etienne in the same archives (H. 1833, no. 12-3; 63 by 52 centimètres). The witnesses of this are given by Delisle, *Cartulaire normand*, no. 828; they are identical with those of another charter for the same monastery, evidently issued at the same time (H. 1833, no. 12 bis-3 bis; 74 by 52 centimètres). The two are incorporated by Henry II into a single charter, printed in *Neustria Pia*, pp. 628-638 (Round, *Calendar*, no. 453). The 'Emptiones Eudones' were transcribed into the lost cartulary of St. Etienne, a full analysis of which is in the library of St. Geneviève at Paris (MS. 1656), whence it has been published by Deville. *Analyse d'un ancien cartulaire de l'abbaye de S. Etienne de Caen* (Evreux, 1905, reprinted from the *Revue Catholique de Normandie*, xiv., xv.). The notices which mention the king's justices are quoted from Deville's text (pp. 44-49), which is incomplete and very carelessly printed, by Mr. L. W. Vernon Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward*, pp. 26f.

right to receive from the abbot the entertainment of a man and a horse. The king commands the abbot to defend the suit, and a duel is waged and, in accordance with a practice abundantly exemplified in the later exchequer rolls, recorded at Caen before the king's justices, who decide in favour of the abbot. Fulc, or rather, as before, his guardian for him, then brings forward another claim, this time to a church and twenty acres of land, and the justices order the abbot to do him right; but the suit is abandoned at the instance of the patron of the monastery, William, count of Ponthieu. It should be noted that while the first plea is held *per iussum regis Henrici*, Henry had been absent from Normandy for nearly two years. There was nothing to prevent the plaintiff's securing his writ from England, but it was probably granted by the justices in Normandy, as in the ensuing complaint. A notice of this kind must not be pressed too hard, but there is no indication that the procedure was exceptional, and there is interest in the suggestion which the account affords of the justices' issuing writs in the king's name and taking jurisdiction in disputes between a lord and his vassal. The case also illustrates the procedure in the wager of battle as described by Glanvill: ²⁷ the plaintiff offers battle through a champion who still preserves the name, if not also the character, of a witness. The only justice named besides the bishop of Lisieux is William Tanetin,²⁸ who appears to be acting individually when the suit is dismissed.

(6) xxiiii^o folio veteris cart[arii]. Notum sit omnibus quod anno millesimo centesimo tricesimo tercio in mense maio per clamorem Fulconis filii Fulconis et Rog[erii] Pelavillani vitrici eius qui custodiebat eum et terram illius et per iussum regis Henrici tenuit domnus abbas Andreas placitum et rectitudinem illis de procuratu unius hominis et unius equi quem dicebant ipsum filium Fulconis debere habere ab ipso abbate in feudo cum alio feudo suo. Et in ipso placito fuit inde duellum iudicatum et captum inter Hugonem de Alimannia qui testis erat filii Fulconis et Rad[ulfum] filium Fulberti. Deinde in eodem mense apud Cad[omum] recordatum est duellum coram iusticia regis, scilicet coram Iohanne episcopo Lex[oviensi] et Willelmo Tanetin et aliis, et iudicavit curia regis quod habere non debebant quod requirebant, &c. Post finem huius duelli fecit clamorem Rog[erius] Pelavillanus coram iusticia regis quod abbas Troarnensis tollebat filio Fulconis ecclesiam de Turfredivilla ²⁹ et .xx. acras terre, et precepit iusticia regis ut abbas rectitudinem inde teneret ill[is]. Interea venit Troarnum Willelmus comes Pontivorum dominus Troarnensis abbatis et interrogavit ipsum Rog[erium] si de

²⁷ ii. 3.

²⁸ William Tanetin appears as dapifer (of the count of Ponthieu?) in 1127, and as tenant of the count in 1185 (Round, *Calendar*, nos. 590, 970). He is frequently mentioned in the cartulary of Troarn in documents ranging from 1117 to 1185 (MS. Lat. 10086, ff. 30v, 31, 152v).

²⁹ Touffreville (Calvados), canton of Troarn.

hoc vellet placitare, et respondit Rog[erius] quod in pace dimittebat ex toto in finem comiti et abbati, etc., totum id est et placitum et ecclesiam et terram, coram ipso comite et Willelmo Tanetin iusticiario regis. Plures sunt testes.³⁰

The activity of the justices is also seen from writs like the following, which should be compared with one in the *Livre Noir* of Bayeux,³¹ addressed to the bishop of Lisieux, Roger de Mandeville, and William son of Ansgot, and ordering them to do full justice to the bishop of Bayeux as regards any disturbance of his rights:

(7) Henricus rex Anglorum Iohanni episcopo Lexoviensi et Rogerio de Magn[avilla] salutem. Precipio vobis ut faciatis tenere plenum rectum abbati de Cadomo de aqua de Vei[m] desicuti ipsa iacebat ad manerium in tempore patris mei, ita ne inde clamorem audiam.³²

With respect to the personnel of the king's court the documents published above, taken with the order of precedence in the address of the king's charters,³³ fully substantiate Mr. Round's assertion that bishop John of Lisieux was the head of the Norman exchequer; and while the title is not given him in any document so far known, there can be no doubt that he held the office of chief justiciar. Next to the bishop, Robert de la Haie, the seneschal, appears as the principal member of the court, indeed the absence of these two on account of illness is the occasion of explanation.³⁴ Robert seems to have been the chief lay officer of the Norman administration, for his name heads the list of laymen both in the address and the testing clause of Henry's charters except when he is preceded by some one of the rank of count.³⁵ When Robert de la Haie is not one of the court, the other Norman

³⁰ Troarn cartulary, MS. Lat. 10086, f. 35v; copy by the abbé La Rue in MS. Caen 64, f. 46v.

³¹ No. 29; also in *Livre Rouge* (MS. Lat. n.a. 1828), no. 29.

³² Library of St. Geneviève, MS. 1656, f. 20; incorrectly printed by Deville, *Analyse*, p. 18.

³³ Round, *Calendar*, nos. 282, 569, 1436 (cf. no. 611); Ordericus, iv. 435.

³⁴ *Ante*, vol. xiv. 426.

³⁵ *Ibid.* xiv. 424; *supra*, nos. 1, 5; *infra*, nos. 9, 11, 12, 14, 17; Ordericus, v. 435; Round, *Calendar*, nos. 107, 122, 123, 168, 197, 398, 724, 924, 998, 1191, 1388, 1436 (where Mr. Round and the editor of the *Livre Noir*, no. 34, have Richard, but the cartulary has simply R.); *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii. 137; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1330-34, p. 334, 1334-88, p. 249; MS. Lat. 11058, f. 3 (charter of February 1131 for Séz, given at Rouen). Such exceptions to the precedence of Robert in the testing clause as are found in Round, nos. 373, 375, 411, and *Monasticon*, vi. 1071, are not originals; but no. 1052 in Round (from a copy by Gaignières) and no. 828 in the *Cartulaire normand* of Delisle seem to be real exceptions. The place of Robert de la Haie in the Norman administration shows the need of serious modification in Mr. Vernon Harcourt's view of the unimportance of the seneschal's office in this reign; indeed, in view of the almost uniform precedence of the seneschals in Henry's charters, it is impossible to maintain that they show 'no trace of pre-eminence over other household functionaries' (*His Grace the Steward*, p. 24).

seneschal, Robert de Courcy, is the first lay member. The justiciar and the seneschal would thus seem to have been the important elements in the court.

In certain of Henry's writs we find a distinction drawn between his *iusticia Normannie* and other justices in a way which suggests at first sight the chief justiciar in contrast to his colleagues, but more probably has reference to justices who were local or were at least acting locally. Thus a writ in favour of the canons of Bayeux is addressed *iusticiis suis Normannie et Willelmo Glas[onie] et Eudoni Baiocensi et G[aufrido] de Subles*.³⁶ Another writ, evidently issued in the vacancy of the see between 1183 and 1185, is directed *iusticiis et custodibus episcopatus Baiocensis*, who are ordered to execute a decision of the king's *curia* in a case between two of the bishop's vassals—*et nisi feceritis iusticia Norm[annie] faciat fieri*.³⁷ There are also writs addressed to local justices in particular districts: *iustitie et vicecomiti Archarum*,³⁸ *iusticiariis et ministris de sancto Marculfo et de Varrevilla*,³⁹ *iusticiis Constantini*, *iusticiis Constantini et Valloniarum*,⁴⁰ *Algaro de sancte Marie ecclesia ceterisque iusticiis Constantini*.⁴¹ In the first of these instances the justice and *vicecomes* may be one and the same, as occurs in England at this period,⁴² and the same persons may be acting as justices and *custodes* in the Bayeux writ; but it is not likely that the justices and *ministri* of St. Marcouf were identical, and the justices of the Cotentin have no other title and are evidently royal judges for the district, whether itinerant or acting under local commissions it is impossible to say. In some instances, as when the bishop of Lisieux is associated with local magnates like Roger de Mandeville and William Tanetin, the court may have consisted of an itinerant justiciar and a local judge. In order to follow out questions connected with the local administration of justice, we should need to examine a considerable number of writs, or at least a considerable group of those relating to a particular district or religious establishment; and the Norman writs of Henry's reign are few and scattered.⁴³ Not all of the following documents for the abbey of Montebourg relate to the administration of justice, but they are printed here because they form an interesting group

³⁶ *Livre Noir*, no. 8; Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'Eglise de Bayeux*, p. 419; Round, *Calendar*, no. 1437.

³⁷ *Livre Noir*, no. 37.

³⁸ Round, *Calendar*, no. 398.

³⁹ No. 9, below.

⁴⁰ No. 11, below.

⁴¹ Henry I for Héauville, a priory of Marmoutier: Vidimus in archives of the Manche; copy in MS. Grenoble, 1402, f. 282; printed in *Revue Catholique de Normandie*, x. 350 (1900).

⁴² Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, 6th ed. i. 423; Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 106 ff.

⁴³ The two most important sets of such writs are those in the *Livre Noir* of Bayeux (nos. 8, 29, 34, 37, 38) and the charters and writs relating to Envermeu calendared by Mr. Round (*Calendar*, nos. 393-398).

which has not as yet been published.⁴⁴ The allusion to pleas of the forest in No. 11 should be noted, although there is reference to such pleas as early as the reign of Robert the Devil.⁴⁵

(8) H. rex Angl[orum] vice[omitibus] et prepositis et ministris suis tocius Costantini salutem. Precipio vobis quod non capiatis hominem aliquem vel nampnum eius aliqua occasione in mercato de Montebore die ipso quo mercatum est, si eum alia die et alibi in terra mea eos capere poteritis. Quia nolo quod mercatum elemosine mee per occasionem destruat. T[este] R[oberto] comite Gloec[estrie] apud Argent[onum?] per Willelmum Glastonie.⁴⁶

(9) H. rex Angl[orum] iusticiariis et ministris de sancto Malculpho et de Varrevilla⁴⁷ et omnibus dominis de quibus abbacia de Montebore tenet, salutem. Precipio quod abbacia de Monteburgo teneat omnia sua ita bene et quiete et honorifice sicut liberior abbacia tocius Normannie, et nominatim elemosinam meam terram de Foucarvilla liberam et quietam de teloneo et de verec et de omnibus consuetudinibus et de omnibus querelis. Nolo enim ut habeant occasionem mittendi manum ullo modo super elemosinam meam. Quod si quid iniurie fecerint, videat iusticia mea ne perdam rectum meum; abbacia namque est propria mea capella et ideo precipio vobis ut eam custodiat. T[este] R[oberto] de Haia. Apud Roth[omagum].⁴⁸

(10) H. rex Anglie R[icardo] Constantiensi episcopo et vice[omitibus] et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis de Costent[ino] salutem. Sciatis me concessisse abbacie sancte Marie Montisburgi ecclesiam de Morfarivilla⁴⁹ cum feria et terris et decimis et omnibus rebus ipsi ecclesie pertinentibus, quam Sanson de Morfarvilla predictae abbacie dedit et concessit concessione Roberti de Novo Burgo domini sui et fratrum eius. Et volo et precipio frimter ut bene et in pace et quiete et honorifice teneat. T[estibus] Roberto de Novo Burgo et Willelmo de Albinneio. Apud Rothomagum.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ The cartulary of Montebourg in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. Lat. 10087) was unknown to Mr. Round, as were the valuable copies of documents relating to the Cotentin which were made by Pierre Mangon at the end of the seventeenth century and are now preserved in the library of Grenoble (MSS. 1390-1402). Cf. Delisle, 'Les Mémoires de Pierre Mangon, vicomte de Valognes,' *Annuaire de la Manche*, 1891, pp. 11-42.

⁴⁵ Charter for Cerisy, *Neustria Pia*, 481; *Monasticon*, vii. 1073.

⁴⁶ MS. Lat. 10087, no. 8, where the writ is dated 'apud Dug.' The vidimus in the archives of the Manche (H. 8426, 8527) and in the Archives Nationales (JJ. 52, f. 62, JJ. 118, f. 258); MSS. Grenoble 1395, ff. 9, 58, and 1402, f. 64v; and Add. MS. 15605 of the British Museum, ff. 13v, 14v, 26, all have 'Argent.' For the contents of the privileges of the market of Montebourg, see Delisle, *Cartulaire normand*, no. 737.

⁴⁷ S. Marcouf is in the canton of Montebourg. Varreville and Foucarville are in the canton of Sainte-Mère-Eglise (Manche).

⁴⁸ MS. Lat. 10087, no. 9; also in *Livre blanc* (archives of the Manche, H. 8391), f. 2; MS. Lat. 12885, f. 161; Add. MS. 15605, ff. 13v, 14v, 26. Vidimus in archives of the Manche, H. 8426, 8427, 10881, and in Archives Nationales, JJ. 52, f. 62, JJ. 118, f. 258. Copies in MSS. Grenoble 1395, f. 28v, and 1402, f. 35v, and in the Baluze MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 58, ff. 38, 39v. In MS. Grenoble 1395, f. 9, there is a copy of this writ (from a vidimus of 1315) addressed 'episcopo Const[antiensis] et iustic[iis] Norm[annie] et omnibus . . .'

⁴⁹ Montfarville-(Manche), canton of Quettehou.

⁵⁰ MS. Lat. 10087, no. 10.

(11) H. rex Angl[orum] iustici[iis] Costentini et Willelmo de Bruis et forestariis suis salutem. Mando vobis atque precipio quod permittatis habere monachos de Montisburg[o] tot arbores in Bruis⁵¹ ad focum suum quot ebdomade habentur in anno et materiam ad sua edificia et pasnagium suum quietum et omnes consuetudines suas liberas et quietas, et de tot arboribus sint quieti forestarii in placitis meis de quot garantizaverint eos monachi per suas taillias. T[este] R[oberto] comite Gloec[estrie] apud Roth[omagum] per R[obertum] de Haia.⁵²

(12) H. rex Angl[orum] Ric[ardo] episcopo de Constanc[iis] et W[illelmo] de Alben[neio] salutem. Precipio ut Unfredus de Alben[neio] teneat terram suam in pace et quiete et decimam de Morsalines⁵³ et molendinum et quicquid habet in eadem villa, et concedo ut ecclesia de Montebo[r]c post mortem Unfredi eandem terram habeat in quiete et pace sicut Unfridus eam eidem ecclesie dedit. T[este] R[oberto] de Haia. Apud Roth[omagum].⁵⁴

(13) H. rex Angl[orum] W[illelmo] de Albin[neio] salutem. Precipio quod ecclesia de Monteburgo de elemosina mea teneat terram suam de Morsalines quam Unfridus de Adevilla ei dedit concessu patris tui ita bene et in pace et iuste et quiete sicut breve patris tui quod habent testatur. Et nisi feceris iusticia mea faciat, ne inde amplius clamorem audiam pro penuria plene iusticie vel recti. T[este] R[oberto] comite Gloec[estrie] apud Alg' per W. Filiastr[um].⁵⁵

(14) H. rex Angl[orum] Ric[ardo] de Ansgervilla, W. de sancto Germano salutem. Precipio vobis quod faciatis ita iuste habere abbati de Montisburgo octavam partem ecclesie de Herrevill'⁵⁶ sicut habet octavam partem terre eiusdem ville et desicut venit in curiam meam ut illam partem disrationaret versus monachos de Haivill' et homines suos et illi defecerunt se illuc veniendi ad diem suum inde sumptum et datum; ita ne super hoc amplius clamorem inde audiam. T[este] R[oberto] de Haia per Thomam de Ponte episcopi. Apud Rothomagum.⁵⁷

(15) H. rex Anglie episcopo Constanc[iensi] et iustici[iis] Normannie et omnibus dominis de quibus abbatia de Montisburgo et ecclesia sua tenet, salutem. Precipio quod abbas de Montisburgo et ecclesia sua teneant terras et homines et ecclesias et decimas et molendina et consuetudines et omnia sua ita bene et in pace sicut abbatia Fiscan[ni], quod enim ad me pertinet in ea omne concessi illi in elemosina. T[este] R[oberto] de Ver. Apud Rothom[agum].⁵⁸

⁵¹ Brix (Manche), canton of Valognes.

⁵² MS. Lat. 10087, no. 11; archives of the Manche, H. 8426, 8427; Archives Nationales, JJ. 52, f. 62, JJ. 118, f. 258; MS. Grenoble 1395, f. 9; British Museum, Add. MS. 15605, ff. 13v, 14. In MSS. Grenoble 1395, f. 29, and 1402, f. 35v, the writ begins: 'H. r[ex] Angl[orum] iust[iciis] Constantini et Vallon[arum] et forestariis de Bruis.' Cf. Henry's general confirmation, Delisle, *Cartulaire normand*, no. 737.

⁵³ Morsalines (Manche), canton of Quettehou.

⁵⁴ MS. Lat. 10087, no. 12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* no. 13.

⁵⁶ Helleville (Manche), in the canton of Les Pieux, not far from the priory of Héauville.

⁵⁷ MS. Lat. 10087, no. 14.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* no. 15 (where the witness appears as 'R. de Weu'); *Livre blanc* (H. 8931), f. 1v; MS. Lat. 12885, f. 161; Add. MS. 15605, ff. 13v, 14v, 26; MS. Grenoble 1395, f. 28v; vidimus in archives of the Manche, H. 8426, 8427, 8692,

William de Brix and Richard d'Angerville are also found as royal judges in the Cotentin in a document relating to the abbey of St. Sauveur, where the king's justices are apparently sitting in the feudal court of Nigel the *vicomte*.⁵⁹ It is not clear whether any of the other witnesses to this charter are royal judges.⁶⁰

(16) *Sciant etiam omnes quod monachi sancti Salvatoris omnes decimas et maxime medietatem campartorum, quod est decima pro qua inceptum fuit, totius terre Nigelli vicecomitis et suorum omnium hominum diraciocinaverunt in curia sua, quibusdam eius militibus et vavassoribus contradicentibus, quibusdam concedentibus. Et ibi nemine resistente sed omnibus adquiescentibus iudicatum est atque diffinitum tam a regis quam a Nigelli iudicibus ut abbatij extunc et deinceps recta decima et maxime medietas campartorum a predictis sine calumpnia redderetur. His testibus: Willelmo de Bruis, Ricardo de Ansgervilla, Rogero de Rufo Campo, Waltero de Hainou, Rogero Suhart.*⁶¹

The Norman evidence, like that for England in the same period, does not suffice to give a clear picture of the judicial system, yet it is plain that there is such a system and that it is creating a body of law. The justices issue writs, take sureties, try pleas of the crown, and hear possessory as well as petitory actions. If we may trust Henry I's charter for the town of Verneuil in the form in which it has reached us, the use of writs is already so common that they are granted by local officers, although the writ concerning land stands on a different footing from the others.⁶² Very likely the king's court administered some form of procedure by sworn inquest; such inquests were certainly held by Henry's command, and within ten years of his death they had developed into regular assizes.⁶³

Of the fiscal side of the Norman administration no records have

and in Archives Nationales, JJ. 52, f. 62, JJ. 118, f. 258. In MS. Grenoble 1402, f. 35v, the witness is given as 'Ric. de Redvers.'

⁵⁹ Cf. the presence of Henry I's judges in the court of the bishop of Exeter, *ante*, vol. xiv. 421.

⁶⁰ William de Brix witnesses charters of Henry I for St. Etienne (Round, *Calendar*, nos. 1411, 1412; Delisle, *Cartulaire normand*, no. 828). Richard d'Angerville appears as a witness in January 1101 in the Troarn cartulary (MS. Lat. 10086, f. 149) and in 1104 in Delisle, *Histoire de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte*, pièces, no. 46. Roger Suhart was a prominent sub-tenant of the bishop of Bayeux in 1133, *Historiens de France*, xxii. 699 f. (cf. Tardif, *Coutumiers de Normandie*, i. 1. 112).

⁶¹ In *pancarte* of St. Sauveur, British Museum, Add. Ch. 15281, formerly sealed ('sigillum Rogerii vicecomitis'). Printed by Delisle, *Histoire de Saint-Sauveur*, pièces, no. 48, from the cartulary of the abbey at St. Lô, no. 13, where the words 'tam a regis quam a Nigelli iudicibus' are omitted.

⁶² 'Et si aliquis burgensium breve aliquod a prelato pecierit, illud habebit sine precio, preter terram:.' *Ordonnances des Rois*, iv. 639, c. 10. The text of these privileges is quite corrupt; for *prelato* (cf. DuCange, s.v.) we should probably read *prelore* or *preposito*.

⁶³ See Haskins, 'The Early Norman Jury,' *American Historical Review*, viii. 613-640.

survived anterior to the exchequer roll of 1180, but a roll of 1136 is mentioned in the eighteenth century,⁶⁴ and a careful study of the later rolls and of the incidental evidence of earlier sources shows that the essential features of the exchequer of Henry II existed under Henry I and even earlier. As in England, there was no sharp separation between the judicial and the financial duties of the king's officers: in 1123 the *iustitarii regis* took possession of the county of Evreux and the lands of the rebels and added them to the king's demesne,⁶⁵ and after Robert of Bellême had been removed from office in 1112 for failure to render account for the royal revenues in his *vicomtés* of Argentan, Exmes, and Falaise, we find bishop John of Lisieux in charge of the royal stores at Argentan.⁶⁶ The system of collection and account which appears in the later rolls, being based upon the *vicomté* and *prévôté* and not on the newer *bailliage* of the Angevin dukes, plainly goes back to the time when these were the important local areas; and the tithes and specific payments charged against the farms can in many instances be traced back well into the eleventh century.⁶⁷ Even the amount of the farm might long remain unchanged, in spite of such a general revision as was made in 1176; the forest of Roumare, for example, was let at the same amount in 1180 as in 1122.⁶⁸ An excellent illustration of the continuity of the exchequer arrangements is furnished by the following extracts from a charter of Henry I for Séez cathedral, in which the farm of the *vicomté* is shown to have existed under William the Conqueror:

(17) *Ipsis quoque fratribus regularibus damus et confirmamus quindecim libras Rothomagensis monete quas dedi in dedicatione ipsius ecclesie in unoquoque anno habendas, scilicet septem libras et decem solidos in teloneo meo de Falesia et septem libras et decem solidos in teloneo meo de Oximis. . . . Preterea duodecim libras in firma nostra de Argentomo et viginti et unum solidos in teloneo eiusdem ville et sexaginta solidos et decem denarios de teloneo nostro de Oximis que dederunt pater meus et mater mea ecclesie Sagiensi ad victum canonicorum duorum, quod antiquitus in elemosina statutum fuerat. . . .*

*Facta est autem atque confirmata hec pagina apud Diepam anno ab incarnatione dominica millesimo centesimo trigesimo primo, me Henrico in Anglia regnante et Normanorum ducatum tenente Innocentio papa secundo Ausonie cathedre presidente. S. Hugonis archiepiscopi,*⁶⁹

⁶⁴ *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, xv. xxx.

⁶⁵ Ordericus, iv. 453.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 303, 305.

⁶⁷ I have tried to throw some light on the fiscal organisation of the eleventh century in a forthcoming paper on 'Normandy under William the Conqueror.'

⁶⁸ 'Et in parco meo Rothomagi totam decimam feni et .c. solidos de foresta mea de Romare, scilicet decimam per annum: ' Charter of Henry I in 1122 for Notre Dame du Pré, early copy in archives of the Seine-Inférieure, fonds Bonnes Nouvelles, box D.; certified copy in MS. Lat. n.a. 1245, f. 37. In 1180 the tithe is still 100 *solidi* (Stapleton, i. 75). On the revision of 1176 see F. M. Powicke, *ante*, vol. xxii. 23.

⁶⁹ MS. *archidiaconi*.

Audini episcopi Ebroicensis, Iohannis episcopi Lexoviensis, Roberti de Haia dapiferi, Unfredi de Bohun dapiferi, Rabelli camerarii, Guillelmi filii Odonis conestab[ularii], Guillelmi Maledocti cam[erarii].⁷⁰

At Henry's death his treasure was in the castle of Falaise, in charge of Robert of Gloucester,⁷¹ and the English Pipe Roll of 1130 shows the Norman treasury receiving payments on English accounts and certifying credits by royal writs,⁷² the officers who receive the money being Osbert de Pont de l'Arche and Nigel nephew of the bishop of Salisbury. Osbert held a *ministerium camerar[um] curi[ae]*.⁷³ Nigel is styled treasurer in two documents which he witnessed at Rouen,⁷⁴ but though he was with the king in Normandy through the early months of 1131, he accompanied him to England in the summer of that year,⁷⁵ and it does not appear that his duties or Osbert's were confined to Normandy.⁷⁶ Whatever the exact relation of Nigel 'the treasurer' to the Norman treasury, there was throughout the twelfth century a special treasurer for Normandy. In the exchequer rolls of 1180 and later the tithes of the Lieuvin, the *pays d'Auge*, and certain other districts are a fixed charge upon the fiefs for the benefit of the treasurer of Normandy,⁷⁷ a natural extension to one of the royal chaplains of the practice of assigning the tithe of a *vicomté* to a religious house. That this arrangement goes back to the reign of Henry I appears from the following passage in Stephen's confirmation of the possessions of St. Barbe-en-Auge in 1137:⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Library of Alençon, MS. 177, f. 99, from a copy made from the original in 1521; MS. Lat. 11058, f. 8, from the *Livre rouge* of Séez cathedral, now in possession of the bishop. These items are duly charged in the rolls (Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli*, i. lxxxviii, xcvi, cxxxii, 39, 50, 103) except the payment from the *prepositura* of Falaise, which is ten shillings too small in 1180 but appears in full in 1198 (*ibid.* ii. 414).

⁷¹ Ordericus, v. 50; Robert of Torigni, i. 201.

⁷² Pp. 7, 13, 37, 39, 54, 68.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 37.

⁷⁴ Round, *Calendar*, no. 1388; and the following conclusion of a charter of the chapter of Chartres, issued, as appears from the lists in Merlet, *Dignitaires de l'Eglise de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, subsequently to 1126: 'Postea vero Mauricius et Petrus, alii fratres, concesserunt hoc ipsum apud Rotomagum et vadimonia sue concessionis transmiserunt per manus domni Henrici prepositi, videntibus et audientibus Andrea de Baldement, Willelmo de Fraxineto, Nigello thesaurario, Heinricho de Richebore, Radulfo de Mercato, Ansolto de Bellovidere canonico, Guillelmo de la Ventona, Roberto de la Haie' (MS. Lat. 5185 I, p. 90, copied from the original).

⁷⁵ Round, *Calendar*, nos. 122-124, 287, 373, 1388; *Sarum Documents*, p. 7; MS. Lat. 11058, f. 3 (charter for Séez, witnessed at Rouen, February 1131); *Monasticon*, iv. 538, vi. 240, viii. 1271; *ante*, vol. xxiii. 726.

⁷⁶ Cf. the document witnessed by them, *ante*, vol. xiv. 422, which was probably issued in England. Mr. H. Hall, *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ccc, seeks to identify them with the *militēs episcopi* of the *Constitutio domus regis*.

⁷⁷ Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli*, i. xciii, cxxi, 40, 77, 90, 99, 100, 118, 146, 157, 167, 168, 246, 461, 549, 560. The chamberlains of the family of Tancarville had a fixed grant from the fief of Lillebonne under Henry I, *Monasticon*, vi. 1066; Stapleton, i. 68, 157.

⁷⁸ Original, or pretended original, in the archives of the Calvados, fonds de S. Barbe; Round, *Calendar*, no. 570.

Confirmavi decimam de vicecomitatu de Le'vin et Algia que sunt de capellaria mea quas Gislebertus de Ebroucis et Robertus filius eius capellani regis Henrici et mei dederunt et concesserunt eidem ecclesie.

It is not here stated that Gilbert of Evreux and his son were treasurers, but we know from other sources that they were. In the history of the foundation of St. Barbe,⁷⁹ written at the end of the twelfth century, we read :

Fuit in diebus superioris Henrici regis Anglorum quidam clericus in urbe Rothomagensi nomine Gillebertus, ex clericali et militari prosapia editus. Hic et Rothomagensis ecclesie precentor et prefati regis thesaurarius erat. Cum autem filios quinque haberet iuvenes egregios literis deditos et in curia regis nominatos, primogenitum Willelmum sibi annis iam maturus in thesaurarii officio ex regis beneplacito aubrogavit. In quo etiam officio reliqui fratres, quamdiu superstites fuerunt, ac si iure hereditario sibi invicem successerunt. Guillelmus igitur patris potitus officio, cum pro multiplici preclare indolis probitate regis et procerum gratiam et familiaritatem haberet, tandem spreto mundi maleblandientis prosperitate, spreto iuventutis flore, spreto patre dulcique fratrum consorcio, spreto etiam latere regis Anglorum, regi militare disposuit anglorum.

Here we have six successive treasurers. Gilbert⁸⁰ must have given up the office some years before 1128, when his son William 'the Treasurer,' having lived as a hermit for a time after his retirement from the court, was made prior of the newly organised community of St. Barbe by its patron Rabel of Tancarville. Gilbert died before 1137,⁸¹ and his fief of Agy, near Bayeux, had been in possession of St. Barbe since 1133 or earlier.⁸² William's successor as treasurer was Robert, *secundus natus post Guillelmum*,

⁷⁹ MS. 1648 of the library of St. Geneviève, f. 57, printed by Sauvage, *La Chronique de Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge* (Caen, 1907), 19-20.

⁸⁰ A strict interpretation of Stephen's charter might make Gilbert one of his chaplains, but that is out of the question. 'Gislebertus cantor' witnesses a charter of Archbishop Geoffrey in 1119 (MS. Lat. 17044, f. 19), but this may have been the Gislebertus cantor who witnesses Archbishop Hugh's charters for St. Georges de Bocherville in 1131 (MS. Rouen 1227, ff. 45, 46), for Bec in 1141 (MS. Lat. 13905, f. 90), for Beaubec in 1142 (archives of the Seine-Inférieure, fonds de Beaubec), and for Lire in 1145 (archives of the Eure, H. 438). As Gilbert the treasurer was of clerical descent, he may be that 'Gislebertus filius Rotberti archidiaconi Ebroucensis' who offered his son Hugh to Jumièges in 1099 (MS. Lat. n.a. 1245, f. 191). He can hardly have been the 'Gislebertus filius Bernardi' who was a canon of Rouen in 1076 (archives of the Seine-Inférieure, G. 8739).

⁸¹ 'In Baiocassino apud Ageium terram de patrimonio Gisleberti de Ebrouis quam filii eius dederunt ecclesie S. Barbarę pro anima eiusdem Gisleberti qui ibi iacet.' Charter of Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, 1137, confirming the possessions of St. Barbe; original in archives of the Calvados, fonds de S. Barbe. The possessions at Agy are described more exactly in original charters of Henry II and Philip, bishop of Bayeux, preserved in the same fonds; cf. *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iii. 308.

⁸² Inquest of military tenants of the bishop of Bayeux in 1133, *Historiens de France*, xliii. 701.

vir in regno nominatissimus,⁸³ whom we have already found sitting in the Norman exchequer.⁸⁴ He must have been in office in 1128 and have continued as late as 1136, since he was a chaplain of Stephen. Of the other sons we know nothing save that one was named Richard⁸⁵ and that two of the prior's brothers followed him to St. Barbe.⁸⁶ The Master Thomas of Evreux, who appears as a canon of Rouen in 1165 and subsequently,⁸⁷ doubtless belonged to this family. *Rogerus thesaurarius* witnesses a royal charter at Rouen in 1135,⁸⁸ but he is probably to be identified with Roger, nephew of the abbot of Fécamp, who was a chaplain of Henry I and Stephen.⁸⁹

The treasurer was not the only chaplain to receive regular allowances from the Norman revenues, but the sources now available do not permit us to follow the others back or ascertain their administrative duties. The *dominica capellaria* of St. Cande-le-Vieux at Rouen, for example, tempts our curiosity; its exemption from the diocese of Rouen requires explanation, and the fact that the authority of the bishop of Lisieux over it seems to have been established under John the justiciar suggests some connexion between these chaplains and the royal administration.⁹⁰ The whole subject of the royal chapel is one of great obscurity, for England as well as for Normandy, and any facts which may be brought forward concerning it are likely to throw light upon the history of the administrative system. The scantiness of the Norman material for the early twelfth century likewise leaves us in the dark with respect to other members of that official class whose activity at Winchester and elsewhere has been so well illustrated by Mr. Round's studies.⁹¹ The following document introduces us to two such royal clerks:

(18) H. rex Anglorum archiepiscopo Rothomagensi et iusticiis et baronibus suis de Normannia et vic[ecomiti] et burgensibus et ministris suis de Rothomago salutem. Sciatis quod concedo Oyno episcopo

⁸³ Sauvage, *loc. cit.* p. 20.

⁸⁴ Above, pp. 209f.

⁸⁵ Sauvage, *loc. cit.* p. 36. He is doubtless the 'Ricardus Ebroicensis canonicus noster' who appears, under 15 January, in the obituary of Rouen cathedral: *Historiens de France*, xxiii. 859a.

⁸⁶ Sauvage, *loc. cit.* p. 25.

⁸⁷ Cartulary of Foucarmont, MS. Rouen 1224, f. 30 (1165); MS. Lat. 17135, p. 22 (1172); Glanville, *Histoire du prieuré de Saint-Lô*, ii. 326 (1177).

⁸⁸ Round, *Calendar*, no. 590.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* nos. 124, 289, 295, 541, 1055; Ramsey *Cartulary*, i. 250; *Monasticon*, vi. 700.

⁹⁰ The whole history of this exemption is obscure. See *Gallia Christiana*, xi. 42, 774; Tousseints Duplessis, *Description de la Haute-Normandie*, ii. 121; Formeville, *Histoire de l'évêché-comté de Lisieux*, I. xii-xvi; Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli*, i. cxxx, cxxxvii.

⁹¹ Compare besides the article on 'Bernard the Scribe' frequently cited above, the *Victoria History of Hampshire*, i. 430, 536.

Ebroicensi terram et domum illam de Rothomago que fuit Willelmi Bruni clerici mei quam ipse emit ad opus ecclesie sue de sancta Maria de Ebroicis de Petro filio ipsius W. Bruni et Rannulfo scriptore meo consensu⁹² per .c. sol[idos] Roth[omagensium] quos eis inde dedit. Et ideo volo et precipio quod ipse episcopus et ecclesia sua bene et in pace istam teneant et libere sicut predictus Willelmus unquam melius tenuit et honorabilius. Testibus Adel[ulfo] episcopo Carlot[ensi] et comite Leglreo[estrie] et Rog[ero] de Fisc[anno] et Willelmo de Ely et Radulfo de Hasting[is] apud Rothomagum.⁹³

William Brown had been alive in 1130, when he received 23s. 4d. by royal writ in Suffolk,⁹⁴ and had held lands in Winchester before 1115 in conjunction with William Fitz-Odo, probably the constable of that name.⁹⁵ Rogerus Brun occurs in the midst of a group of king's clerks in another document of this period.⁹⁶ Apparently we have here another family of royal clerks, and one cannot help surmising some relationship with that Master Thomas Brown, also a landowner in Winchester,⁹⁷ who makes his appearance, together with another Englishman, the chancellor Richard of 'Salesby,' at the court of Roger of Sicily in 1137⁹⁸ and was recalled by Henry II to a position of 'no mean authority' in the English exchequer.⁹⁹ It is no part of our present purpose to take sides in the controversy respecting the relation of the Anglo-Norman and the Sicilian exchequers to which these facts in Thomas's biography have given rise. In view of what is now known concerning its Byzantine and Saracen antecedents¹⁰⁰ it can no longer be maintained that the Sicilian fiscal system was imported from England by Thomas Brown; but it is not impossible that he may have exerted some influence upon its development, and it is certainly worth noting that, if we are justified in connecting him with the clerks of the same name under Henry I, he probably had some familiarity with the workings of Anglo-Norman administration before he entered the service of the Sicilian king.

Precisely to what extent Normandy and England had separately

⁹² Cartulary G. 6 has 'scriptore concessu meo.'

⁹³ Evreux cartularies in the archives of the Eure, G. 122, f. 41v, no. 201; G. 123, no. 193; G. 6, p. 17, no. 11; Round, *Calendar*, no. 289.

⁹⁴ Pipe Roll 31 Henry I, p. 99.

⁹⁵ *Liber Winton.*, ff. 3b, 12b.

⁹⁶ *Ante*, vol. xiv. 428.

⁹⁷ Pipe Roll 1 Richard I, p. 205.

⁹⁸ If we accept, with Kehr, the genuineness of the suspicious charter of that year in which his name first appears. Otherwise (cf. Chalandon in *Moyen Age*, xvi. 304 ff. and nos. 115 and 135 of Caspar's *Regesten*) the first mention of him falls in 1140.

⁹⁹ *Dialogus*, i. 5, 6 (ed. Hughes, Crump, and Johnson, pp. 70, 84, 173, 184). See, besides the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the literature there cited, Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige*, 76; Caspar, *Roger II*, 302, 317 f.

¹⁰⁰ Amari, in *Memorie dei Lincei*, third series, ii. (1878), 420-438; Garufi, 'Exhiquier o Diwan,' *Archivio storico italiano*, fifth series, xxvii. 225-268; von Heckel, 'Das päpstliche und sicilische Registerwesen,' *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, i. 371 ff. (1908).

organised governments under Henry I, it is not possible to say without further genealogical study and a more careful examination of the documentary evidence. Wholly distinct the two administrations cannot have been, for so long as kingship was ambulatory and the government centred in the royal household, a considerable number of the king's officers must have been common to the kingdom and the duchy. Thus William of Tancarville, though his castle was in Normandy and though he received a fixed grant from the Norman treasury, is styled 'chamberlain of England and Normandy,'¹⁰¹ and the seneschalship of Humphrey de Bohun was likewise common to both countries.¹⁰² It has indeed been assumed¹⁰³ that the *Constitutio domus regis*¹⁰⁴ of circa 1135 is a description of the Norman household, but its only specific reference to Normandy is the mention of the *modius Rotomagensis* as a standard of measurement, and there is nothing in the arrangements there set forth which might not apply equally well to either side of the Channel. It is, of course, likely that in describing the royal household as it existed at the time of Henry I's death the author of the *Constitutio* had more freshly in mind the conditions of the sojourn in Normandy during the last two years of the reign—hence the *modius Rotomagensis*; but the Pipe Roll of 1130 'affords ample evidence of the existence of a similar establishment in England,'¹⁰⁵ and shows at least two of the chief officers of the household receiving the *per diem* allowance fixed in the *Constitutio*.¹⁰⁶ Not only the great body of personal servants, but such departments as the chancery and the chapel, certainly followed the king. Thus in the transference of 1120, of which the chroniclers have left some record because of the loss of the White Ship, the king was accompanied by chaplains, *lapiferi*, *camerarii*, and *pincernae*.¹⁰⁷ Yet not all forms of personal service were migratory: the office of master baker at Rouen was an hereditary *ministerium* as early, probably, as Henry I's time;¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Annals of St. Wandrille, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxxii. 204. For the grant from the treasury see above, p. 224, note 77.

¹⁰² *Ancient Charters* (Pipe Roll Society), no. 27.

¹⁰³ Stapleton, i. xxi. Cf. Hall, *Red Book*, ccc; *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, p. 163.

¹⁰⁴ Ed. Hearne, *Liber Niger*, 341-359; *Red Book*, 807-813.

¹⁰⁵ *Red Book*, ccxciii.

¹⁰⁶ Pp. 129, 131, 140, where the liveries of the chancellor and William de Pont de l'Arche are reckoned at 5s. a day.

¹⁰⁷ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *ad ann.*; Henry of Huntingdon, p. 242; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 497; cf. John of Worcester (ed. Weaver), p. 33. Ordericus (iv. 415-419) mentions by name William, one of the four principal chaplains, William de Pirou, *lapifer*, and Gisulf the scribe.

¹⁰⁸ Delisle, *Cartulaire normand*, no. 14; Round, *Calendar*, no. 1280. In the form in which it has reached us, this charter, of which there is also a copy in MS. Lat 9067, f. 141v., has the style of Henry II, and witnesses of Henry I. See Delisle,

the larderer had a fixed grant from the farm of Valognes ; ¹⁰⁹ and one of Henry II's Norman sergeants was obliged to serve as marshal whenever the king came to Rouen. ¹¹⁰

The fiscal administration was naturally more stationary than the household proper, for the collection and disbursement of the revenue had to go on in the king's absence ; and, while we know even less of the Norman treasury than of the treasury at Winchester, there was at least a separate treasurer and probably some other permanent officials. ¹¹¹ Yet in this department too a connexion was maintained between the kingdom and the duchy. Treasure was carried back and forth, not only with the king, as on his return from Normandy in 1120, ¹¹² but also at other times, a considerable part of the large sum stored at Falaise at the time of Henry's death having been recently brought from England. ¹¹³ Such transshipments must have been accompanied, as under Henry II, ¹¹⁴ by royal officers—indeed the possession of the castle of Porchester by one of the chamberlains of the Exchequer may have been connected with this process of transfer ¹¹⁵—while some system of balancing accounts between the two treasuries is involved in the practice of receiving payments on one side of the Channel to apply on accounts due on the other. Intercommunication of this sort is, of course, quite compatible with the existence of two separate corps of officials, but the appearance in Normandy of the two chamberlains, Geoffrey de Clinton and Robert Mauduit, as well as such fiscal officers as Nigel *nepos episcopi* and Osbert de Pont de l'Arche, would seem to indicate that the two administrations were not wholly distinct. ¹¹⁶ In judicial matters the chief link between the kingdom and the duchy

in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, lxxvii. 395-397 ; Round, in *Archæological Journal*, lxiv. 73-77.

¹⁰⁹ Stapleton, i. lxxxiii, 80, 99, 274, 471, 572, 573. As the alms charged against the ferm of Valognes, like the other fixed charges in these rolls, appear to be arranged in chronological order, the assignment to the larderer is probably earlier than the grant to the chapelry of Valognes, transferred to the abbey De Voto by an early charter of Henry II (Round, *Calendar*, no. 935).

¹¹⁰ Delisle, *Cartulaire normand*, no. 18.

¹¹¹ There was also a separate Norman mint at Rouen, and pleas concerning the coinage were held *apud arcam monete*: Round, *Calendar*, nos. 1053, 1459 ; Pipe Roll 81 Henry I, p. 122 ; *Gallia Christiana*, xi. instr. 157.

¹¹² Ordericus, iv. 419.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* v. 50 ; Robert of Torigni, i. 201.

¹¹⁴ E.g. Pipe Roll 6 Henry II, p. 47 ; 13 Henry II, p. 193 ; 21 Henry II, p. 200.

¹¹⁵ *Victoria History of Hampshire*, i. 432. The history of this Mauduit chamberlainship is, in spite of Mr. Round's researches, not yet entirely clear. It is not true that, as the editors of the Oxford edition of the *Dialogus* suggest (p. 20), the office of William Mauduit was acquired by William de Pont de l'Arche in 1130, for, apart from the fact that William Mauduit would not be mentioned in the *Constitutio domus regis* if he was no longer in office, we find him receiving money in the *camera curie* in 1130 (Pipe Roll, p. 134) and witnessing as chamberlain in the summer of 1131 (*supra*, no. 17 ; cf. Round, *Calendar*, no. 107).

¹¹⁶ Cf. introduction to Oxford edition of *Dialogus*, p. 19, note 3.

was the king, although the officers who came with him from England might also constitute an important element in the meetings of the Norman *curia*. In general however the Norman judicial system possessed a considerable measure of distinctness: The cases in which the king sat were more likely to leave a record in the charters, yet we have seen abundant evidence of the activity of the courts in his absence, and of the existence, in addition to the local officers, of a body of Norman justices, among whom the justiciar and the two seneschals stand out with such prominence as to suggest that they constituted the nucleus of the Norman central government.

In their journeyings to and fro across the Channel the kings of the twelfth century made use of a royal galley (*esnecca*),¹¹⁷ payments for which are a regular item in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II. In the Conqueror's reign this service seems to have been in charge of Stephen Fitz-Airard,¹¹⁸ who appears in Domesday holding lands in Berkshire, and is probably the 'Stephanus stirman' who has a house in Warwick and the rent of two houses in Southampton.¹¹⁹ After Stephen's death the privilege does not seem to have passed to his family, and when his son Thomas claimed the feudal right by placing the White Ship at the disposal of Henry I in 1120, provision had already been made for the king's crossing.¹²⁰ Who possessed the *ministerium esnece* under Henry I and his grandson we learn from a charter issued by Henry II at the beginning of his reign :—

Sciatis me reddidisse et concessisse Willelmo et Nicholao, filiis Rogeri generi Alberti, et heredibus Bonefacii et Azonis et Roberti et Radulfi fratrum ipsorum ministerium meum de esnecca mea cum liberatione que pertinet et totam terram Rogeri generi Alberti et feoda omnia que ipse Rogerus tenuit in capite de rege H. avo meo et de quocunque tenuisset die qua fuit vivus et mortuus.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ 'Rex Anglie ad suam transfretationem navem propriam solet habere. Cancellarius ei fieri fecit non unam solam sed tres simul naves optimas : ' Fitz-Stephen, 'Vita S. Thome' (*Materials*, iii. 26). It is not clear whether the *ministerium* of the Hastings *esnecca* which was held under Henry I by the ancestors of Roger of 'Burnes' (*Abbreviatio Placitorum*, 39b) was distinct from the service of the *esnecca* mentioned below. Under Henry II it passed to Hugh de Bec, husband of Roger's sister Illaria, and was claimed under John by Roger's niece Avicia.

¹¹⁸ Ordericus, iv. 411.

¹¹⁹ D.B. i. 52, 68b, 238. Stephen Fitz-Airard also appears in a charter of the early years of Henry I which permits him to grant lands to Ramsey: *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii. 102, no. 5 (cf. nos. 7 and 15).

¹²⁰ Ordericus, *loc. cit.*

¹²¹ British Museum, Campbell Charter, xxix. 9; printed in *Archæologia*, vi. 116. Cf. Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, i. 433; *Guide to Manuscripts exhibited in the Department of Manuscripts* (1899), p. 41, no. 17. M. Delisle, who called my attention to the charter, dates it 1155-56 (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, lxxviii. 275, no. 3).

Roger, son-in-law of Albert, is otherwise known. He had held lands in Wallop (Hampshire) before 1130,¹²² as well as lands in Southampton which he and his wife gave to the abbey of St. Denis,¹²³ and he witnessed a royal charter which cannot be earlier than 1123.¹²⁴ The *ministerium* doubtless came to him from Albert with his wife Avizia, which would carry it well back into Henry's reign. The interesting fact to note is that while none of the names in his family are Anglo-Saxon, and none are necessarily Norman, one at least, Boniface, is evidently Italian,¹²⁵ while the names Albert and Azo, as well as the form Avizia, though not necessarily Italian, point toward Italy. The appearance of an Italian ship-master in charge of the royal galley under Henry I is surely a matter of interest, and suggests that intercourse with the south in this period may well have been more active than is commonly supposed.

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¹²² Pipe Roll 31 Henry I, p. 89.

¹²³ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iii. 337.

¹²⁴ Charter for Walter de Beauchamp, given at Vaudreuil and witnessed, among others, by Geoffrey as chancellor: Dugdale MS. in the Bodleian Library, L. f. 41. Eyton (Add. MSS. 31941, f. 58, and 31943, f. 79) dates it *circa* October 1128.

¹²⁵ On the rarity of the name Boniface in England in this period see Andrew, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, fourth series, i. 208.