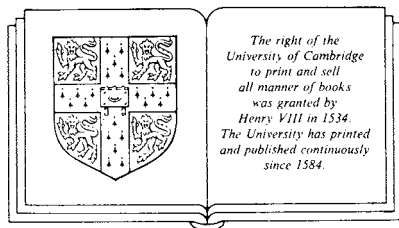


# Tradition and Change

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*Essays in honour of Marjorie Chibnall  
presented by her friends on the occasion of  
her seventieth birthday*

EDITED BY  
DIANA GREENWAY, CHRISTOPHER HOLDSWORTH  
AND JANE SAYERS



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# 1 The archdeacon and the Norman Conquest\*

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CHRISTOPHER BROOKE

IN A CELEBRATED PASSAGE in *The Warden* Anthony Trollope summed up his view of how a diocese was run: either the bishop or the archdeacon did the work; ‘either a bishop or his archdeacon have sinecures’; in the see of Barchester at that epoch it was the archdeacon who held the reins.<sup>1</sup> Many years later Trollope was to observe in his *Autobiography* that he doubted if he had ever spoken to a living archdeacon when he first created the character of Theophilus Grantly – one of many such asides from which his reputation has suffered; but in truth the character of the archdeacon is a remarkable mingling of an ancient literary tradition with brilliant human insight. The insight comes out most clearly in Trollope’s last farewell to Dr Grantly in *The Last Chronicle of Barset*. ‘The archdeacon...loved the temporalities of the Church as temporalities. The Church was beautiful to him because one man by interest might have a thousand a year, while another man equally good, but without interest, could only have a hundred. And he liked the men who had the interest a great deal better than the men who had it not.’<sup>2</sup> The context explores Dr Grantly’s generous efforts to bring the perpetually impoverished Mr Crawley

\* This paper is ultimately based on extensive work on English archdeacons by C.N.L.B. originally undertaken in collaboration with Z. N. Brooke in the 1940s. The notes for this have been used in *GF*, *GFL*, *Heads* (see below) and elsewhere; and were handed over to the Institute of Historical Research when Dr Greenway began work on *Fasti*. Her studies have carried the investigation much further and deeper, and my debt to her work is to be found in every page and many details of what follows: I am especially grateful to her for encouraging me to write this paper. Details of Norman archdeacons and of the wider context of the Norman Church are partly based on notes prepared by Dr Rosalind Brooke when studying the Norman Church in Paris and Normandy in 1949–50; see also note 23. Since the research for this paper was done general accounts of the subject have appeared by F. Barlow (*The English Church, 1000–1066* (London, 1963), pp. 247–9; *The English Church 1066–1154* (London, 1979), pp. 48–9, 134–7, 154–6) and M. Brett (*The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), esp. pp. 199–211). It is hoped that the rather different emphases and precisions of this paper still justify it, but the admirable discussion by Brett excuses us from more than superficial reference to the archdeacon’s functions.

<sup>1</sup> *The Warden* (1855), ch. 2 (edn of London 1953, p. 15); cf. *Autobiography* (1883), ch. v (edn of London, 1946, p. 96) for what follows.

<sup>2</sup> *The Last Chronicle* (1867), ch. 83 (edn of Oxford, 1980, p. 878).

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into the bosom of his family, and reveals the archdeacon's better nature; but it also announces a proposition which would have echoed in the mind of many an archdeacon from the twelfth to the early nineteenth century, and helps to explain their reputed devotion to the Church's temporal goods from John of Salisbury, through Chaucer to Trollope himself. 'Purse is the archdeacon's hell' said Chaucer's Summoner, ostensibly quoting a proverb.<sup>3</sup> Two centuries earlier, John had written to an old friend, Nicholas de Sigillo, archdeacon of Huntingdon, a letter of congratulation on his appointment.

'I seem to remember that there was a race of men known in the Church of God by the title archdeacons for whom you used to lament, my discerning friend, that every road to salvation was closed. They love gifts, you used to say, and follow after rewards. . . The most eminent of them preach the law of God but do it not. . . Your friends, and all good men, must thank God and the bishop of Lincoln, who have opened your eyes and revealed to you a path by which this race of men can. . . attain salvation. . . It is the Lord's doing. . .'<sup>4</sup> There was a sharper edge on medieval satire; but the point was the same. Already by the mid twelfth century the archdeacon was a familiar figure, a normal feature of the scene, as open to satire as the pope himself.

A century earlier this would evidently not have been so. There had been a flurry of archdeacons in ninth-century Canterbury; and Canterbury again boasted two or three mythical archdeacons in the early and mid eleventh century.<sup>5</sup> There are a few puzzling references to an archdeacon which suggest that the office existed or at least that the title was familiar; but no single archdeacon can be securely named between 900 and 1066. By the death of Lanfranc in 1089 we have some evidence of an archdeacon in almost every diocese; by 1092 the largest of the sees, that of Lincoln, was divided into territorial archdeaconries, and the multiplication of archdeacons spread rapidly in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Thus in essence the archdeacon came over with the Conqueror. These facts are well known, though some of them have been doubted or disputed; and there are many aspects of the story still lacking in precision. Some of the most interesting of the archdeacons of the Anglo-Norman world come to life in the pages of Orderic Vitalis; and it seemed a fitting tribute to the eminent scholar who has so marvellously revived both Orderic and his world to try to give a few precisions to the story of the Anglo-Norman predecessors of Theophilus Grantly.

<sup>3</sup> *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, l.658.

<sup>4</sup> *JSL*, II, no. 140, pp. 24-5, with echoes of Isaiah 1.2-3 and Ps. 117 (118).23.

<sup>5</sup> See below.

## *The archdeacon and the Norman Conquest*

### I WHAT WAS AN ARCHDEACON?

To state the matter in its simplest terms, the deacons had been established and appointed in the early Church as administrators first of charity and welfare, then of church properties; and the first archdeacons were simply the leading figures among groups of deacons assisting bishops in their sees.<sup>6</sup> This appears to have been the role of the only group of archdeacons known in this country before the Norman Conquest.<sup>7</sup> In 805 the Archdeacon Wulfred was promoted archbishop of Canterbury, and his successors from time to time appointed archdeacons, Ceolnoth even experimenting at the end of his life with a whole posse of them – the names of seven or eight are known, though not all these need have held office simultaneously. Wulfred had instituted the rule of Chrodegang of Metz;<sup>8</sup> and in this rule the senior official and administrator of the chapter is called variously the archdeacon or provost. Thus it was not uncommon in ordinary parlance for a leading deacon or a leading administrator in a bishop's see or cathedral chapter to be called 'archdeacon' in western Europe in the early middle ages, and especially in the ninth and later centuries.

Already by the ninth century an official called an archdeacon had achieved in a number of northern sees – though not in England, so far as we know – a more specific and important administrative role, in essence that which Dr Grantly was to have. Though early evidence is sparse and inconclusive, it seems clear that already by this date it was possible for an archdeacon to control both discipline and temporal administration in a diocese, and thus to be the bishop's *alter ego*.<sup>9</sup> It is evident that this was a role which the archdeacons quickly assumed in England after 1066; where they had learned it is not so clear.

In one respect, however, the post-Conquest archdeacon retained in the late eleventh and into the late twelfth century a vital feature of his early history:

<sup>6</sup> Useful brief bibliography in *Oxford Dict. of Christian Church* (2nd edn, F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, Oxford, 1974), p. 81; fuller in A. Amanieu's thorough article 'Archidiaque', in *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, I (Paris, 1935), cols. 948–1004.

<sup>7</sup> For the 9th century see M. Deanesly in *EHR*, XLII (1927), pp. 1–11; N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 155–7, 160–2. For pre-Conquest evidence in general, Barlow, *English Church 1000–1066*, pp. 247–9 (see also revised edn of 1979); D. Whitelock in *Councils*, I(1), p. 454n.; F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), p. 530.

<sup>8</sup> For Chrodegang in England see esp. *The Old English version of the enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. A. S. Napier (Early English Text Soc., CL, 1916); D. Whitelock, *Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London* (London, 1975), pp. 27–30. See also n. 20; Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp. 155–7, 160–2.

<sup>9</sup> See J.-F. Lemarignier in F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge*, III (Paris, 1962), pp. 20–1; for the wider story, A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Diocesan organisation in the middle ages: archdeacons and rural deans', *PBA*, XXIX (1943), pp. 153–94, is still useful.



## CHRISTOPHER BROOKE

he was, in principle at least, a deacon. The principle was enunciated in English councils of 1102, 1125 and 1127 – following the councils of Poitiers of 1078 and Clermont, 1095 – a repetition which doubtless suggests that it was not universally observed.<sup>10</sup> But in fact all the archdeacons down to the 1190s whose orders we know were deacons. Thus Roger de Clinton, archdeacon of Buckingham, on his promotion to the see of Chester-Coventry in 1129, had to be ordained priest; Robert de Chesney, archdeacon of Leicester, on rising to the bishopric of Lincoln in 1148, likewise had to be ordained priest; the notorious Osbert, archdeacon of Richmond, was ordered to clear himself of the charge of murdering his archbishop by the oath of three archdeacons, ‘who were to choose four others, all deacons, to assist them’ (adhibitis secum aliis quattuor *diaconis*); Thomas Becket himself as archdeacon of Canterbury was a deacon; John Cumin remained a deacon while he was archdeacon of Bath, to be ordained priest in 1182 after he had handed the archdeaconry over to Peter of Blois – and the tide only began to turn, so far as we know, when Peter’s bishop demanded that he take priest’s orders.<sup>11</sup> Thus in the eleventh and throughout the twelfth century, an archdeacon was both an official with fairly distinctive prerogatives, and the chief of the deacons.

### II BEFORE 1066

Archbishop Ceolnoth experimented with an ambitious hierarchy of portentous officials: a *chorepiscopus* and a team of archdeacons. The experiment died with him, and the *chorepiscopus*, doubtless in his eyes simply an assistant bishop, had always to contend with an ancient prejudice against his existence.<sup>12</sup> He was

<sup>10</sup> *Councils*, I(2), pp. 675 and n. (for 1078, 1095), 739, 747.

<sup>11</sup> In theory, archdeacons who had to be ordained priests before consecration as bishops could have been in yet lower orders; perhaps one or two were; but these documents would probably have recorded such ordinations – and at least the record establishes that they were not priests. For these instances, see *The Chronicle of John of Worcester 1118–1140*, ed. J. R. H. Weaver (Oxford, 1908), p. 29; *Canterbury Professions*, ed. M. Richter (Canterbury and York Soc., LXVII, 1973), p. 45; *JSL*, I, no. 16, p. 27; *MTB*, III, p. 188 (‘archilevita ecclesiae electus in sacerdotem ordinatur, in crastino... in antistitem consecrandus’), etc.; Robinson, pp. 98–9; Peter of Blois, ep. 123 in *PL*, ccvii, cols. 358–67, containing an elaborate defence of the proposition that an archdeacon should be a deacon. Other cases are Richard de Belmeis II, ordained deacon when he recovered the archdeaconry of Middlesex in 1138, priest 8 days before consecration as bishop (*Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS, LXVIII, 1876), I, pp. 251–2; *Canterbury Professions*, p. 48; *Fasti*, I, pp. 2, 15); Paris archdeacon of Rochester was ordained deacon in 1145 (*Reg. Roffense*, ed. J. Thorpe (London, 1769), p. 9); Simon Luvel was archdeacon of Worcester, canon of Exeter and a deacon when he died (Exeter Cath. Libr., MS 3518, fo. 4). But c. 1207 or soon after Henry de Castillon, archdeacon of Canterbury, died a priest (Rouen obit., M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens... de la France*, XXIII (Paris, 1894), p. 359).

<sup>12</sup> Deanesly, *EHR*, XLII (1927), pp. 1–11; on the *chorepiscopus*, see W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), p. 66 n. 4.

## *The archdeacon and the Norman Conquest*

to reappear briefly in the eleventh century, but no longer in company with an archdeacon; after the Conquest indeed the archdeacon of Canterbury was seen quite precisely as his replacement.<sup>13</sup> For named archdeacons we have no evidence between the late ninth century and 1066. Florence or John of Worcester entitles Ælfmaer, who played a role in the Danish attack on Canterbury in 1011 which culminated in the murder of St Ælfheah, an archdeacon; but he was probably the abbot of St Augustine's.<sup>14</sup> A venerable tradition identifies one Haymo Anglicus as a writer of biblical treatises, as a former monk of Saint-Denis and professor of theology at Paris, who is said to have returned to England and died archdeacon of Canterbury on 2 October 1054. In spite of the apparent precision of the date, the tale appears to be fiction, of a kind very familiar to students of Leland and Bale and Pits. The confusion of Haymo of Auxerre and Haymo of Fulda with an English namesake owes something to Henry of Kirkstede (Boston of Bury) in the fourteenth century; John Bale made him an exile from some Danish invasion and fleshed him out with a career in France; John Pits added to Bale his archdeaconry and the approximate date of his death, *c.* 1054; Thomas Tanner added the day.<sup>15</sup> But no contemporary source has been found for any single part of his career. There is more substance in Aluricus archdeacon in Winchester, who is attributed to the time of King Edward (the Confessor) in the Winton Domesday; but even this is a document of *c.* 1110 and there may be anachronism in it.<sup>16</sup>

St Oswald of Worcester has been credited with an archdeacon, on the much more promising basis of a Worcester document of 1092. This is the famous account of the synod of St Wulfstan, which describes how all the wisest folk of the diocese met in the cathedral crypt and disputed at length on the parochial

<sup>13</sup> See below, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> On these early references to archdeacons in general, see W. H. Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, I (Alcuin Club Collections, XIV, 1910), pp. 41 fol.; p. 45 for Ælfmaer; as archdeacon, *Florentii Wigorniensis Chronicon*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (London, 1848–9), I, p. 164, a gloss added to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; as abbot, *Heads*, p. 35. It is just conceivable that he was, or was thought to have been, a monastic archdeacon. According to Leland (*Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 2nd edn, IV (London, 1770), p. 7), apparently quoting a twelfth-century source from St Augustine's Canterbury, 'S. Brinstanus, archidiaconus S. Ælphegi' lay in the north porticus of St Augustine's – an intriguing entry. The north porticus contained the early archbishops, but I have not been able to conjecture who this 'Brinstanus' may have been (for the porticus see H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, I (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 134–43).

<sup>15</sup> For Haymo, see Frere, *Visitation Articles*, p. 45; *DNB*; J. Bale, *Illustrium...scriptorum summarium* (Basel, 1557–9), II, p. 119; *id.*, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson (Oxford, 1902), pp. 155–6; J. Pits, *Relationum Historicarum tomus primus* (Paris, 1619), p. 186; T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica...* (London, 1748), p. 386. For Kirkstede, see R. H. Rouse in *Speculum*, xLI (1966), 471–99; *CUL*, Add. MS 3470 p.72.

<sup>16</sup> F. Barlow *et al.* in *Winchester Studies*, ed. M. Biddle, I (Oxford, 1976), p. 58; cf. *Councils*, I(1), p. 454n.

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status of the churches of Worcester, concluding that anciently there had been but one parish in the city of Worcester, that of the cathedral; and that St Oswald had made the prior and his successors deans over all the churches of the city and exempted the churches of the monks from any other deans' or archdeacons' jurisdiction.<sup>17</sup> The document is not free of suspicious features; but even if we take it (as I myself do) to be in substance authentic, it is not good evidence for pre-Conquest history. As Dr Brett has said, 'the phrasing here need not be taken to indicate that the monks thought that such officers were actually at work in Oswald's time',<sup>18</sup> and the whole tenor of the passage is to safeguard the monks' exemption for the future, not give a precise account of the ecclesiastical organization of the past.

For the eleventh century, we are left only with the evidence of the *Northumbrian Priests' Law*, the work of Wulfstan I as archbishop of York between c. 1008 and 1023, which mentions the archdeacon almost in passing, as an official with authority over the priests for which the code is legislating.<sup>19</sup> This, and the references in the Carolingian legislation of Chrodegang familiar in England in the eleventh century, and a stray mention in a glossary of Ælfric, comprise all the unequivocal evidence that the word and the office were known in eleventh-century England before the Conquest.<sup>20</sup> The references have been taken to mean that the office was well known, even taken for granted; yet it is very odd that no contemporary source credits anyone with the title. It has been very plausibly suggested that the important York deacon Ealdred, to whom King Edward gave the minster at Axminster in Devon in the early 1060s, held the office described by Wulfstan I;<sup>21</sup> and there are deacons in Worcester documents who might well have held similar roles.<sup>22</sup> But there is mighty little evidence that pre-Conquest England had any inkling of the archdeacon as a title or an office.

In Normandy before 1066 the title was certainly known. As often happens, however, with Norman institutions, the title and its function only come out into the clear light of day after 1066, and we have no information from Normandy itself as to the archdeacon's functions – save one clear piece of evidence for archidiaconal jurisdiction in the see of Avranches, not the most forward part of the duchy. What little we know has been set in a clear light by Dr David Bates.<sup>23</sup> A scatter of archdeacons appear in the diocese of Rouen

<sup>17</sup> *Councils*, I(2), pp. 635–9.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 639n.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, I(1), p. 454.

<sup>20</sup> *Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Napier, pp. 16–18; the archdeacon seems not to be named in Amalarius, *MGH, Conc.*, II(1) (ed. A. Werminghoff, 1906), pp. 307–421 (pp. 340 fol. for provosts).

<sup>21</sup> F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), pp. 530–1; cf. *ibid.*, p. 419; *Councils*, I(1), pp. 557–9.

<sup>22</sup> For the Worcester *familia* see I. Atkins in *Antiquaries Jnl.*, XVII (1937), pp. 371–91; XX (1940), pp. 1–38, 203–29.

<sup>23</sup> D. Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), pp. 215–16, and app. C, 'A list of Norman archdeacons to c. 1080', pp. 260–2. A full, revised *fasti* for the Norman cathedrals is in progress

## *The archdeacon and the Norman Conquest*

in the 1020s, 30s and 40s; William Bonne-Âme went from Rouen to be a monk of Bec and abbot of Saint-Étienne at Caen, and eventually returned to Rouen as archbishop.<sup>24</sup> Most remarkable is the case of Fulk who, according to Orderic, sold a hereditary archdeaconry to Saint-Évroul *in feudo* in the mid eleventh century.<sup>25</sup> Thus there was evidently a multiplicity of archdeacons in Rouen in the middle of the century, and at Bayeux in the time of Bishop Odo;<sup>26</sup> one at least is testified to at Lisieux by *c.* 1050.<sup>27</sup> Most impressive is the evidence from Sées, which had five archdeacons by 1057, one of them quite specifically known to be territorial.<sup>28</sup> But there is little other evidence, and even at Sées the archdeacons were slimmed down later in the eleventh century. What is certain is that the territorial archdeaconry was known in northern France, and impinged for a time on at least one Norman see, possibly on several.

### III AFTER 1066

After the Norman Conquest the archdeacon was not slow to appear in the English sees. An early set of conciliar canons, probably of 1070, enjoin 'ut episcopi archidiaconos et ceteros sacri ordinis ministros in ecclesiis suis ordinent'; the famous writ of William I, formerly dated *c.* 1072, undoubtedly linked in some way to the council of Winchester of 1076, but not certainly dated more narrowly than 1072 × 1085, takes the role of the archdeacon in law and law courts for granted.<sup>29</sup> The first archdeacon to be named, however, appears

by Dr David Spear: see meanwhile, *Annales de Normandie*, xxxiii (1983), pp. 91–119, xxxiv (1984), pp. 15–50 (deans and archdeacons of Rouen) – references I owe to the kindness of Dr Spear, Dr Greenway and Dr David Bates. Dr Bates has helped me revise this passage, and pointed out the interest of an early settlement between the bishop of Avranches and the abbot of Mont Saint-Michel in indicating a defined archidiaconal jurisdiction in a remote part of Normandy before 1066 (cf. J.-F. Lemarignier, *Études sur les privilèges d'exemption... des abbayes normandes* (Paris, 1937), pp. 159–60).

<sup>24</sup> Bates, pp. 260–2; for William Bonne-Âme, see Orderic, II, pp. 68–9, 254–5, etc. I have noted the following additions to Bates's list. Fulk archdeacon of Rouen may be the Fulk or Foucher son of Ralph de Chaudry who gave his archdeaconry to Saint-Évroul (see n. 25). At Coutances, Richard archdeacon occurs in *RR*, I, no. 125 (Dr Bates kindly tells me this is a version, probably acceptable, of *RR*, I, no. 198, which can be shown to have been a genuine original). Wido the archdeacon in Fauroux, no. 97, of 1040, may have been archdeacon of Évreux.

<sup>25</sup> Orderic, II, pp. 152–3 and n.

<sup>26</sup> For Bayeux, see Bates, pp. 261–2. We have to wait until 1092 for something like a full list of the chapter of Bayeux, which shows four archdeacons; but the indications are that Bishop Odo (1049/50–97) had established such a complement long before that date (*Antiquus Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis*, ed. V. Bourrienne, 2 vols. (Soc. Hist. Normandie, 1902–3), I, p. 30). William and Gotzelin occ. 1068 × 1070 (*Mélanges*, Soc. Hist. Normandie, XI (1927), p. 214; Bates, p. 261).

<sup>27</sup> Orderic, II, pp. 18–19; Bates, p. 261.

<sup>28</sup> Bates, pp. 215, 233 (n. 97), 261–2. Bates notes that the territory lay outside Normandy and that the documents related to a period when Sées was oriented 'away from Normandy' (p. 215). For evidence of territorial archdeacons elsewhere in northern France at this time, see Lemarignier, as cited above, n. 9.

<sup>29</sup> *Councils*, I(2), pp. 580, 620–4.

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to be the monastic archdeacon of Bury, Herman, who wrote the *Miracles of St Edmund*, and was probably made archdeacon in or soon after 1071 when the pope defined the area of Bury's exempt jurisdiction.<sup>30</sup> It may indeed be significant that a monastic archdeacon should appear at this moment of time, for the rise of the archdeacon and the hardening of exemption from his (and his bishop's) authority were closely allied – a point to which we shall recur.

The evidence is scattered and often incidental, but this makes all the more impressive the testimony for the spread of the title and office in the pontificate of Lanfranc (1070–89) and the reign of the Conqueror (1066–87). Thus Lanfranc in his *Monastic Constitutions* explains that a monk in chapter shall be addressed by name and order, not by ancient rank or place of origin “‘Dom Edward the priest’ or ‘deacon’ . . . not . . . ‘Dom Edward the archdeacon’ or ‘of London’” – and we only know that this is a specific reference to an archdeacon of London who became a monk at Christ Church Canterbury because he figures in the *Miracles of St Dunstan* by Osbern and Eadmer.<sup>31</sup> Without this evidence we should not know for sure that London had an archdeacon before 1100. They rarely appear in charters in the eleventh century, though the witness-list to the council of London of 1075 supplies Canterbury itself with its first firm reference to Archdeacon Ansethil.<sup>32</sup> A later narrative describes how Lanfranc instituted the first archdeacon to replace the discredited *chorepiscopi*, and it gives the first archdeacon's name as Valerius.<sup>33</sup> Since no one in Lanfranc's household is known to have borne so odd a name it seems likely to be corrupt or invented; but the fact that Lanfranc appointed an archdeacon early in his episcopate need not be doubted. For Salisbury, Orderic provides us with a notice of Gunter of Le Mans, archdeacon of Battle, who had retired from the world, and become a monk in time to be abbot of Thorney from 1085.<sup>34</sup> For Exeter, that marvellous record the Exeter martyrology gives three archdeacons before 1100.<sup>35</sup>

Rather more extensive evidence is provided by Domesday Book and its

<sup>30</sup> See Jane Sayers, ‘Monastic archdeacons’, in *CG*, pp. 177–203, esp. pp. 179–80. Dr A. Gransden notes however that the title ‘archdeacon’ is first attached to him in surviving MSS in the fourteenth century (*Proc. of the Battle Conference of 1981*, p. 187 n. 3).

<sup>31</sup> *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. D. Knowles (NMT, 1951), p. 112, corrected in *Fasti*, I, p. 8 with other references; also Knowles' revised edn in *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, ed. K. Hallinger, III (Siegburg, 1967), p. 91 and n.

<sup>32</sup> *Councils*, I(2), p. 616; cf. *Fasti*, II, p. 12. For details in the pages which follow for which references are not given, see app.

<sup>33</sup> H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (London, 1691), I, p. 150; for MS evidence (14th-cent.), *Fasti*, II, p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> See app.; and esp. Orderic, IV, pp. 150–3. He may in fact have been archdeacon before the move to Salisbury in the mid and late 1070s, but Orderic would naturally give the see the name familiar when he wrote.

<sup>35</sup> Exeter Cath. Libr., MS 3518; Morey, pp. 114, 127; David Blake in *Jnl. of Medieval History*, VIII (1982), pp. 3–4.

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cousins and satellites: these give archdeacons to Wells or Bath, Norwich, Worcester; some of these are mentioned only as tenants, and it is presumption that they plied their archidiaconal trade in the appropriate see; but for most there is little doubt. The evidence is most remarkable of all for Lincoln, where Henry of Huntingdon lists seven territorial archdeacons already in office under Bishop Remigius, that is, before 1092; it is a fair presumption that some at least of these were already in post before Lanfranc died in 1089.<sup>36</sup> Of all the English sees in existence in 1100, only Rochester lacks firm evidence of an archdeacon by *c.* 1089,<sup>37</sup> and it is really very improbable that a see occupied after 1075 by two of Lanfranc's closest disciples, Arnost (1075–6) and Gundulf (1077–1108), should not have been provided with every latest improvement. No see in Wales or Scotland or Ireland was sufficiently under English influence to be drawn into this story, but if the documents in the Book of Llandaff are to be believed, Llandaff had not only an archdeacon, but territorial archdeacons in the late eleventh century.<sup>38</sup>

The spread of archdeacons indeed seems to have preceded the reorganization of the cathedral chapters. By the early twelfth century the archdeacons were firmly established as part of the establishment of the new secular chapters – in the regular cathedral chapters the archdeacon remained until the Dissolution something of an alien, secular presence. After some preliminary hesitation, Lanfranc and his colleagues confirmed and extended the monastic chapters – extended them partly by changing the character of some older cathedrals, partly by new foundations, partly by the rapacious acquisitions of some ambitious bishops, absorbing rich and ancient abbeys such as Coventry and Bath.<sup>39</sup> Ultimately the anonymous monk who attacked Theobald of Étampes early in the twelfth century, was to include Rouen, Bayeux, York, London, Salisbury and Lincoln in a catalogue of the notable centres of communities of clerks, that is, of secular canons.<sup>40</sup> The list is comprehensive, for Wells (temporarily overshadowed by monastic Bath), Lichfield (whose bishop had gone to Coventry) and Chichester had to wait till the 1130s and 1140s for effective reorganization; the new cathedrals, Ely and Carlisle, were Bene-

<sup>36</sup> For a full study of the Lincoln evidence, see *Fasti*, III; an assessment of Henry of Huntingdon's evidence as a whole must await the new edn by D. E. Greenway (OMT, forthcoming).

<sup>37</sup> See also Brett, *English Church under Henry I*, p. 200 and n. 5.

<sup>38</sup> See C. N. L. Brooke, in K. Jackson *et al.*, *Celt and Saxon*, [ed. N. K. Chadwick] (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 287–8. St Davids also had territorial archdeaconries from the time of Bishop Bernard (1115–48): J. Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts relating to Welsh dioceses, 1066–1272*, I (Hist. Soc. of the Church in Wales, 1946) esp. pp. 241, 270.

<sup>39</sup> Brett, *English Church under Henry I*, pp. 186 fol.; C. N. L. Brooke in *Hist. York Minster*, pp. 19–31, esp. pp. 25–8; D. Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1963), ch. xxxvi.

<sup>40</sup> Ed. R. Foreville and J. Leclercq in *Analecta Monastica*, IV = *Studia Anselmiana*, XLI (Rome, 1957), p. 65.

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dictine and Augustinian respectively; and the rest of the chapters had become Benedictine priories before the end of the eleventh century.<sup>41</sup> For the four secular chapters on their way to being fully fledged by 1100, there is some evidence to suggest that in three cases a major reorganization had been undertaken or completed *c.* 1090–2;<sup>42</sup> and even in London the full establishment of the prebendal system seems to date from *c.* 1090. At Lincoln, York and probably Salisbury, a pattern of dignities on the continental model was established – with dean, precentor and treasurer at its head – and a schoolmaster, later a chancellor, as well – with the archdeacons usually installed below these dignitaries in chapter and choir. But in London the archdeacons came immediately after the dean in precedence and the other dignities only slowly emerged; and we may see here the vestige of a story which could probably be paralleled elsewhere if more evidence had survived. In all these sees, in theory, a semi-regular chapter of canons had existed, or been created or revived, immediately before 1066; and we have seen that in theory at least this was under the surveyance of a superior whose title might have been archdeacon or provost. In the case of York the first Norman archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux, took steps to re-establish this kind of arrangement before establishing the pattern to which he had been accustomed in Normandy.<sup>43</sup> It has been conjectured that the late arrival of the fully-fledged secular chapter was due to the resistance of Lanfranc, who not only fostered monastic chapters but may well have wished to see regular canons in the non-monastic cathedrals; and it is noticeable that the flowering of the secular chapter – and the first attempt to form the suffragan bishops of the province of Canterbury into a chapter with dean and precentor at its head – seem to belong to the vacancy after Lanfranc's death, from 1089 to 1093.<sup>44</sup> Be that as it may, it is at least possible that in the time of Lanfranc and in the non-monastic chapters one or more archdeacons held sway until the advent of deans and dignitaries; and in the case of St Paul's this is indeed likely – the most probable explanation for the entrenched position the archdeacons seem to have held already by *c.* 1090.

This might suggest that the archdeacon of the late eleventh century was as much a power in the cathedral and close as in the diocese. But this is

<sup>41</sup> Dates in *MRHEW*, pp. 53–81; for Carlisle, *Fasti*, II, p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> C. N. L. Brooke in *Hist. York Minster*, pp. 25–8. For caution and corrective, see D. E. Greenway, below, pp. 77–101. But the charter of 1091 for Salisbury, which she has shown to be substantially authentic, evidently enshrines a genuine tradition of a step in the process *c.* 1089–91.

<sup>43</sup> Brooke, *ibid.* – but one must qualify this by saying that the surviving evidence scarcely *proves* the priority of Bayeux over the English chapters: it is probable and natural to assume that Bishop Odo's work at Bayeux was under way before Thomas departed in 1070.

<sup>44</sup> *Hist. York Minster*, p. 28; cf. *GF*, p. 229.

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conjectural, and if true, only a temporary phase. For in the same period there began that polarization of the bishop's and the chapter's jurisdiction which was to make the bishop almost a stranger in his own cathedral in the late middle ages; and this process left the archdeacon in an ambiguous state: on the one hand he was the bishop's officer, first and foremost, his right-hand man, his *alter ego*; very probably, if the bishop was Roger of Salisbury or Gilbert Foliot, the bishop's nephew.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, he was invariably a canon, until the fourteenth century, when a price was put on every benefice and prebend and archdeaconries counted as separate items, so that it was possible to be an archdeacon without holding a canonry.<sup>46</sup> In the twelfth century it was still reckoned a virtue that the archdeacon should be a canon, though councils in 1125–7 thundered against other pluralities.<sup>47</sup> We cannot name holders of more than one archdeaconry at any time before the 1190s; but they may have had in mind Hugh the Chanter of York, precentor and archdeacon, or his colleague the treasurer who combined the office with the archdeaconry of the East Riding, and whose successors continued to do so until early in the next century.<sup>48</sup> These cases illustrate the intimacy of archdeacons and chapter at York, which reached its peak when Archdeacon Osbert was accused of poisoning the archbishop in 1154.<sup>49</sup>

Yet long before this the archdeacon was clearly associated with the bishop or archbishop in York as well as elsewhere as associates in an alien administration. Few aspects of the ecclesiastical scene are so astonishing or perverse to our eyes as the claims for exemption from bishop and archdeacon made by the cathedral chapters themselves. When the arrangements came out into the full light of day in the thirteenth century, most secular chapters claimed exemption for their estates, and in several, including York, Salisbury and Wells, the dean – or the subdean acting for him – was archdeacon of the cathedral city.<sup>50</sup> These exemptions grew up in various ways at various times, and were subject to frequent attacks by bishops and archbishops. In Lincoln a succession of tough bishops, especially St Hugh and Robert Grosseteste, kept the chapter at bay; but elsewhere a bewildering variety of customs became

<sup>45</sup> Kealey, pp. 272–6; *GF*, pp. 44–9, 204–5, etc.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. C. N. L. Brooke in *A History of St Paul's Cathedral*, ed. W. R. Matthews and W. M. Atkins (London, 1957), pp. 52–3.

<sup>47</sup> *Councils*, I(2), pp. 740, 748 (the second specifically refers to archdeaconries in different sees, a practice which cannot be documented; cf. Brett, pp. 210–11).

<sup>48</sup> See C. T. Clay in *YAF*, xxxv (1940–3), pp. 10–11, 18, 33 etc.; xxxvi (1944–7), pp. 276–7 (for Hugh the Chanter). For a parallel in Lincoln, cf. Richard de Almaria, precentor and archdeacon of Stow, *Fasti*, III, pp. 12, 45. In the 1190s one man combined the archdeaconries of Carlisle and Durham (*Fasti*, II, 23, 38).

<sup>49</sup> *Hist. York Minster*, pp. 35 n. 128, 37 and n.

<sup>50</sup> K. Edwards, *ESC*, pp. 125–34; Sandra Brown, 'Aspects of the history of peculiar jurisdictions in the medieval church of York' (Univ. of York D.Phil. thesis, 1980).



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firmly established. Their origin is obscure; but the most recent study of the York peculiars has made a convincing case, which must apply elsewhere too, that their origin is to be sought in the circumstances of the first generation after the Norman Conquest.<sup>51</sup> They form a dramatic illustration of a phenomenon for which there is widespread evidence: the tightening of ecclesiastical administration by the early Norman bishops after a period of relatively loose control. It is a process desperately hard for us to discern, since it was soon overtaken by the freezing or fossilizing effects of the general establishment of the norms of canon law in the twelfth century. But this was widespread in western Christendom; some features of the changes after the Conquest were unique to England. One of these is the development of such local peculiars in the hands of cathedral chapters – which, at least in the present state of knowledge, is not fully paralleled elsewhere. Another is the proliferation of tiny churches and parishes in towns large and small, which gave London 100, Winchester fifty and even the modest town of Cambridge about fifteen parishes before 1200.<sup>52</sup> Most of this proliferation evidently took place in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the hand of authority sat light on these towns; and we see the reaction against it, and the reaction against Norman authority, most clearly in the synodal decree at Worcester of 1092.<sup>53</sup> The synod declared, by heroic simplification, that no proliferation of parishes had taken place in the city – and indeed Worcester was one of the few where this was not wholly untrue; but they also declared the cathedral exempt (since the time of St Oswald) from the sinister pretensions of archdeacons and deans. This was in fact newfangled doctrine, but it confirms the impression from secular cathedrals, that in many quarters an attempt was being made to check the growing pretensions of archdeacons – and this included exempt abbeys, who found it most convenient to parry the bishop's archdeacons by setting up archdeacons of their own.<sup>54</sup> All this may be relatively superficial; but to go deeper and define from the slight traces of evidence precisely what an archdeacon did in the eleventh or early twelfth centuries would carry us too far from our purpose – and the task has been admirably performed, so far as it can be, by Dr Martin Brett.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> S. Brown, 'Aspects'.

<sup>52</sup> See C. N. L. Brooke, in *SCH*, vi (1970), 64–83; C. N. L. Brooke and G. Keir, *London 800–1216* (London, 1975), ch. 6; J. Campbell, in *SCH*, xvi (1979), pp. 126 fol.

<sup>53</sup> Above, n. 17; cf. C. N. L. Brooke in *SCH*, vi (1970), p. 64.

<sup>54</sup> See Jane Sayers, in *CG*, pp. 178–88.

<sup>55</sup> *English Church under Henry I*, pp. 204–11.