

Aspects of the monastic patronage of the English and French royal houses 1130-1270.

Hallam, Elizabeth M

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without the prior written consent of the author

For additional information about this publication click this link.

<http://qmro.qmul.ac.uk/jspui/handle/123456789/1672>

Information about this research object was correct at the time of download; we occasionally make corrections to records, please therefore check the published record when citing. For more information contact scholarlycommunications@qmul.ac.uk

Chapter VLOUIS VIII, LOUIS IX, BLANCHE OF CASTILE AND THE RELIGIOUSORDERS1. Louis VIII and the Monastic Orders

With the advent of Louis VIII (1223-6) to the French throne the chroniclers declared in a grandiose way that the crown was reverting to the Carolingian line, for the King's mother, Philip-Augustus' first wife, Isabelle de Hainault, was descended from the counts of Namur who were linked with the Carolingians. Gilles de Paris wrote a poem addressed to Louis suggesting that he should take Charlemagne, his ancestor, as his model.¹ Despite his lineage, however, Louis was not an impressive figure. The chronicler of Tours describes him as small and pale but very much the lettered man, and Rigord dedicated his Gesta Philippi Augusti, William the Breton his Philippide to him because of his love of learning.² Matthew Paris commented that he resembled his father very little.³ Probably this was because he appeared somewhat more pious, and with a far greater interest in spiritual affairs.⁴ Yet in many ways his short reign marked a continuation of Philip's policies, and this is true of his relationship with the church. He had a firm grip on the political realities of the situation. Bishops and abbots continued to act as royal councillors and to co-operate with the crown - it was only with the Norman clergy that the king quarrelled over the issue of military service.⁵

1 L.VIII, pp.12-13; M.L.Colker, 'The Karolinus of Egidius Parisiensis', Traditio, 1973, pp.199-325, esp. pp.204-5.

2 H.Fr. XVIII, 317; XVII, I, 118.

3 Paris, III, 82.

4 Le Nain de Tillemont, Vie de Saint Louis, Roi de France, ed. J de Gaule, 6 vols, Paris, 1847-61 (=Tillemont), I, 416.

5 L.VIII, pp.406-10.

Louis' reign was brief in duration - 1223-6, and his unexpected death provided many problems for his wife and young son in the government of the realm. About 450 acts survive from his reign. Many of these were the normal confirmations which important ecclesiastics and nobles would want to acquire from a new sovereign. About 39% of the total went to the church as a whole, and 26% to the monastic orders. It is probable that this high proportion would have to be slightly reduced had Louis' reign been of longer duration, as happened with Henry III.¹ But even allowing for this, the king was aware of the political importance of grants to monasteries, for a large number of his acts were for houses outside the royal domain.² Like Philip-Augustus in Normandy, Louis helped to consolidate his position in the erstwhile Angevin lands with well-placed grants. In Poitou the majority of these were given to secular recipients, to individuals and towns, but he confirmed the possessions of two powerful monasteries, St.-Jean-d'Angély and St.-Maixent, in 1224.³

This policy was more widely used in the South of France. Louis VIII intervened in the Albigensian Crusade to become a crucially important power in the Languedoc (1226). The church was a vital factor in the domination of the region. Petit-Dutaillis writes: 'En réalité ce fut le clergé méridional qui livra à Louis VIII les clefs du Languedoc hérétique.'⁴ One element in this relationship was the creation of close links with the episcopate in the South, and the other, the use of grants made in a systematic fashion to monasteries to spread royal influence.⁵

1 The figures are based on the acts in Petit-Dutaillis; above, p. 42.

2 L.VIII, p.410.

3 L.VIII, no.135, p.467; no.192, p.475.

4 L.VIII, p.323.

5 L.VIII, pp.320-3; P.Belperron, La Croisade contre les Albigeois et l'Union du Languedoc à la France, Paris, 1848, p.380.

Pariage relationships aiming to subjugate the surrounding area were created with the monasteries of St.-Antoine at Pamiers and St.-André at Avignon. In both cases the towns and their fortifications were divided between the king and the monks.¹ Protections were also granted to Prouille, Saint Dominic's foundation, and to the abbot of Grasse for his services in the area.² The clergy as well as the king were anxious for co-operation. The abbot of Castres engineered the submission of the town and the surrounding area, and the abbot of Belloc brought the king the obedience of the seigneur and the commune of Puylaurent, the abbot of Feuillans, a promise of fidelity from B. d'Aliou.³ The abbots of Feuillans and Saint-Gilles also worked for the crown in their localities.⁴ With the submission of the nobility the power and influence of the French crown was thus made secure after the widespread destruction. The attitude of Louis to the affair of the crusade as a whole seems to have been an attempt to gain land and power for the crown rather than to stamp out heresy. In this he was highly successful. He was recognised by the Pope and the baronage as the heir of Amaury de Montfort, which claim he enforced by the sword in 1226, bringing the Trencavel lands under his rule. Alfonso, his son, was to become count of Toulouse by his marriage to Jeanne, heiress of the land; in 1271, their marriage being childless the county went to the king of France.

'The chief beneficiary of the Albigensian Crusade was undoubtedly the French Crown'.⁵

In his grants to the monastic orders in his domains he was reasonably generous to several royal abbeys. His major work was the completion of his father's foundation of La Victoire, to which he granted lands.⁶

1 L.VIII, no.420, p.504; nos.412-4, p.503.

2 L.VIII, no.406, p.502; no.403, p.502.

3 L.VIII, no.387, p.500; no.384, p.500; no.323, p.493.

4 L.VIII, nos.408-11, 415-6, p.503; no.351, p.496; no.368, p.498.

5 Belperron, p.456; B.Hamilton, The Albigensian Crusade, Hist.Assn. 1974, pp.23, 29.

6 above, pp. 204-5.

He left it £1,000 in his will ^{£400 to the mother-house} and £4,000 to 40 other Victorine houses, 'pro anniversario nostro faciendo'. A similar provision was made for 60 Premonstratensian and 60 Cistercian abbeys (^{and £6,000 respectively} £6,600/for each order), and 20 houses of Cistercian nuns shared £2,000.¹ The Premonstratensian house of Joyenval was given 60 arpents of woodland in 1224.² It was, however, the Cistercians as well as the Victorines who were the main recipients of grants. Some Cistercian houses benefitted considerably from royal largesse. In 1226 Cîteaux was given £200 rent from Béziers and Carcassonne, and in 1225, Bonport was allowed 200 tonneaux of wine each year free from duty. The king gave or confirmed a £19 rent to Châalis for the anniversaries of Philip-Augustus and the chancellor Warin. The Premonstratensian Silli was given 60 acres in the forest of Gouffern (1224-5), Fontaine-Jean (Cistercian) was granted land for a grange at Meun (1225).³ In 1215 Louis had given the Cistercian house of St.-Antoine-des-Champs 40 arpents of woodland, probably to celebrate the birth of the future Louis IX.⁴ Other orders also benefitted. The Benedictine Morienval, for example, was given the right of gathering dead wood in 1224.⁵ The Hospitallers received a full confirmation of their possessions in 1225, and in 1224, the commanderie at Corbeil was given a rent of 50 measures of wheat. This was at the request of Queen Ingeborg, who established 13 priests in their church to intercede for her family.⁶ The Templars, bankers of the crown, were less fortunate. They had to recognise limitations upon their rights in Anjou and to relinquish claims to a mill at La Rochelle (1224-5).⁷ At the beginning of the reign their

1 H.Fr. XVII, 310-11.

2 L.VIII, no.194, p.475.

3 L.VIII, no.428, p.505; no.259, p.484; no.269, p.486; no.216, p.478; no.198, p.476.

4 H. Bonnardot, L'Abbaye Royale de St. Antoine des Champs, Paris, 1882, p.2.

5 L.VIII, no.179, p.473.

6 L.VIII, no.297, p.489; Le Roulx, no.1785, II, 320-1; no.1788, II, 323.

7 L.VIII, no.286, p.488; no.201, p.476.

Grand Master, William Château, had to swear that the legacies of Philip-Augustus to them would only be used to help the Holy Land.¹

Louis followed his father in his interest in charity, and this was to be continued by his wife Blanche of Castile and his son Louis IX. In 1223 the king carried out the provisions of his father's will by granting £1 a day to the poor of Paris.² During a famine in 1225 he also gave generously to the poor.³ In his own will he granted £3,000 to widows, orphans and ~~as dowrie~~ for poor women, £10,000 to 2,000 leper-houses and £20,000 to the Domus Dei foundations, £100 to each.⁴ He was furthermore concerned that suitable intercession should be provided for himself and his relatives. He asked that after his death all his jewels should be sold and a Victorine house founded with the proceeds - a grant that was eventually to be used in the foundation of Cistercian Royaumont.⁵ He created a chantry chapel at Nôtre-Dame-de-Paris to intercede for himself and his son Philip who died before him (1225). The chaplain was given £15 Par. rent each year, and Nôtre-Dame itself, 100s. for Philip's obit.⁶

Like Philip-Augustus, Louis VIII was well aware of the potential political importance of monastic patronage, as his activities in the Languedoc illustrate clearly. Yet he also manifested some generosity towards the monastic orders, particularly to Cîteaux and St.-Victor, and showed a concern for charity. Some amelioration of the policy of Philip-Augustus, of giving

1 L.VIII, no.11, p.450 (1223).

2 H.Fr.XVII, 114-5; L.VIII, no.95, p.462.

3 H.Fr. XVIII, 307.

4 H.Fr. XVII, 310-11.

5 H.Fr.XVII, 202, below, Chapter V, section 4.

6 L.VIII, no.258, p.484.

money to the monastic orders only where it would benefit the crown in a political sense, had occurred, although this was still a vitally important consideration and was to remain so to some extent in the next reign. But a new era in royal patronage of monasteries was dawning. Louis IX was, like Henry III in England, highly generous to Cîteaux, to the mendicants, to charity, on a scale undreamt of by his predecessors, and which was on occasions criticised by his contemporaries. Much of this has been attributed to the influence of Blanche, his mother, yet perhaps also its beginnings, and another guide and example, may be traced in the brief reign of his father, Louis VIII.

2. Louis IX, Blanche of Castile and the Church

Louis IX came to the throne of France aged 12, and his mother, Blanche, regent during the early years of his reign, exercised a strong and continuous influence over him until her death in 1252. From her Castillian background Blanche had gained a deep feeling for religion, but she also took a firm line against the clergy where the political interests of the Crown were involved.

'Son exceptionnelle piété n'empêcha pas la Reine Blanche d'agir, à l'égard du clergé, exactement comme ses prédécesseurs avaient fait'. 1

Thus in 1230 she ordered the occupation of the bishopric of Beauvais because Miles de Nanteuil, the bishop, had been fighting in Spoleto for two years. She also disagreed with Thibaud d'Amiens, and his successor, Maurice, Archbishop of Rouen, about the amount of competence they should afford to the king's justice, and in 1232 seized the temporalities of the diocese. Despite Papal strictures and episcopal Interdicts, in neither case was much

1 Lavissee, III (2) - C.V. Langlois, Saint Louis, Philippe le Bel, les Derniers Capétiens Directs, Paris, 1901, pp.16-17.

conceded to the church. Regalian rights were firmly upheld during vacancies, and churches given protection; for example in 1230, Gautier, seigneur of Autremencourt, was forced to make reparation to the bishop for damages done at Laon.¹ The Grand Master of the Hospital, Warin, was chancellor and bishop of Senlis, and Blanche used many ecclesiastics as counsellors and advisors.

This attitude to church government was followed by Louis who throughout his reign maintained firmly that the church's powers should be limited in secular affairs.² In 1235 he was involved in a dispute between the archbishop and the burgesses of Reims; his refusal to implement this prelate's excommunication of the townsfolk unless the affair was reviewed by the secular courts led to complaints by French ecclesiastics and Pope Gregory IX. The Papal need for French alliance against Frederick II, however, prevented the church's point of view from being strongly emphasised, and the crown emerged the victor.³ Joinville's descriptions of an interchange between king and clergy later in the reign, when Louis again refused to use the secular arm to enforce excommunication, shows that this was a constant royal policy.⁴ As late as 1270, the king threatened to seize the goods of the Bishop of Clermont because he had refused to obey the royal laws; he had issued a debased coinage and excommunicated those who would not accept it.⁵ The Pragmatic Sanction, a forgery attributed to Louis in the fifteenth century, showed the king legislating for the French church as a whole. This is a blatant exaggeration of the amount of control he exercised; nevertheless, in 1247 the king did support the grievances of a group of

1 E. Berger, Histoire de Blanche de Castille, Reine de France, Paris, 1895, (=Berger), pp.276-7, 279-85.

2 eg. for a general view: M. Bloch, La France sous les Derniers Capétiens, 1223-1328, Paris, 1958, pp.50-1.

3 M.W. Labarge, Saint Louis, London, 1968, (=Labarge), pp.81-3; Tillemont, II, 262-71.

4 Histoire de Saint Louis de Jean, Sire de Joinville, ed.N.de Wailly, Paris, 1868, (=Joinville), pp.22-3.

5 Labarge, pp.92-3.

barons - against the financial exactions of the Pope and Papal appointments to benefices - at the Curia. This is highly indicative of his view upon the place of the church in society. He did not claim to govern the church, but he claimed that ecclesiastical temporalities belonged ultimately to the king, and that he could in times of need use church property as if it was his own.¹ Yet he upheld and respected the spiritual role of the papacy, and gave Gregory IX and Innocent IV some temporal support against Frederick II. He also went on Crusade from 1248-54 and in 1270. Joinville's accounts of these expeditions highlight some lack of military competence in the king but also his sense of piety and Christian devotion.² His attitude to his own position is well summed up by the Dominican Etienne de Bourbon. He tells of how Louis, when critically ill in 1244, declared that he, the richest and most powerful king on earth, was not able to snatch one extra hour of life.³ Another anecdote told by Etienne, of the young king disguising himself as a servant to give alms to the poor, again underlines Louis's sense of pious humility.⁴ It was this trait bequeathed by Blanche and added to his own natural inclinations towards the religious life, which made Louis a figure who impressed his contemporaries deeply, and gave his candidature for sainthood its convincing quality.

The process of Louis' canonisation, examined by ten popes from 1272 until 1297, when it was passed by Boniface VIII as a move for political reconciliation with Philip IV,⁵ was supported by many testimonies and by the accounts of his life and miracles written by William of St.-Pathus,

1 Paris, VI, 131-2; Labarge, pp.92-3; Lavissee, III (2), 63-6.

2 Joinville, pp.39-233, 262-7.

3 Anecdotes Historiques .. d'Etienne de Bourbon, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877, (=Etienne), p.63.

4 Etienne, p.443.

5 Labarge, pp.246-8.

a former confessor of Queen Margaret and a Franciscan friar. He wrote a French Life of Louis c.1302-3. This, together with the nearly contemporary account of Geoffrey de Beaulieu (d. c.1275), the writings of William of Nangis (c.1300), a monk of St.-Denis (early fourteenth century), and the memoirs of the Lord of Joinville (1272-1309), furnishes the principal evidence about the king written by people who had known him.¹ Yet the political reasons for his canonisation and the hagiographical traditions into which many accounts fall, might seem to obscure any pictures of Louis as a man; as a cardboard saint he would not appear a wholly convincing figure. Many records from his reign, however, such as letters, royal accounts and royal charters, indicate that accounts of his piety, and his concern for charity, the poor and the religious orders, his great devotion for masses, sermons and relics, had a very real basis.² Nor, as has been shown, did his piety clash with his firm control of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in political matters. Furthermore, the early chronicles and memoirs give insights into the personality of the king which bring him very much to life.

Louis' great interest in religion has been treated fully by hagiographers and by historians from his own time onwards.³ It is clear that it was much admired but also that his attitude was considered somewhat unusual in a king. His frequent hearing of masses and the canonical hours, his communicating six times each year, his ascetic practices such as the wearing of a hair shirt, and his avowed interest in the way of life of the friars, together with his modest mien and humble dress, struck some contemporaries as out of keeping with royal state.⁴ It was also a marked contrast to the

1 Joinville; H.Fr.XX; William of St.-Pathus, La Vie et les Miracles de Monseigneur Saint Louis, ed. M.C.d'Espagne, Paris, 1971, (=St.-Pathus).

2 Some of these aspects of Louis' interest in religion are discussed below; charity, Chapter V, section 5; relics, Chapter V, section 7.

3 Chronicles as above, Tillemont, Labarge, Lavissee, etc.

4 St.-Pathus, pp.33-6.

behaviour of previous French kings, and joined with his mindfulness of the political interests of the Crown, his own occasional compromises with the Papacy, and his taxation of the church, brought him a certain degree of criticism on both sides.¹ Yet this royal lifestyle was not without its imitators. Henry III's desire to emulate his brother-in-law led to the gently comic scene in Paris in 1262, when Henry III heard so many masses between St.-Germain-en-Laye and the royal palace that the Parlement, which he was attending by virtue of his Gascon lands, was unable to meet because of his tardy arrival. Even Louis' orders for the removal of all the priests on the route the next day were not wholly effective. The account of these events also reports the conversation of the two kings. Louis asked Henry why he liked to hear so many masses, and Henry riposted with 'Et quid vos praedicationes?' Louis replied that he liked to hear his creator spoken of as often as possible; Henry then remarked 'Et mihi valde dulcius et salubrius ipsum pluries videre quam de ipso audire'.²

Henry's admiration for Louis also extended to politics and to building. The political power of the French crown was undeniably strong. By the Treaty of Paris in 1259 Henry's right to Gascony had been recognised in return for his abandonment of the English claims to Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine and Poitou - a highly equitable and much respected settlement. Both Henry and the barons of England were willing to submit their case to Louis in 1264 for arbitration, although in fact it was doubtful whether his interventions proved in any way constructive in the long run.³ Henry also tried to imitate Louis in his construction of Westminster Abbey in the court

1 Joinville, pp.241-2.

2 ed.M. Champolléon-Figéac, Lettres de Rois, Reines et Autres Personnages des Cours de France et d'Angleterre, I, Paris, 1839, pp.140-2.

3 Labarge, pp.191-203.

style; it was, however, a façade to cover political weakness rather than any manifestation of royal strength. But it was indicative that the French court style was, like the French king himself, admired and imitated throughout Europe.¹

The court style as a genre of building cohered from various styles of the Ile de France manifested in St.-Denis, Royaumont and St.-Germain-en-Laye early in Louis' reign. It became the distinctive style of the court because of the large number of important and specifically royal buildings which were created in this manner from abbeys like Le Lys and Maubuisson, to hospitals and friaries like Fontainebleau and Compiègne. The king also gave money towards other building operations, such as the Cathedral at Tours in the 1230s and 1240s,² and other great royal cathedrals, Amiens, Reims, Beauvais, Nôtre-Dame-de-Paris, played an important part in the formation and the dissemination of the style. Joinville's description of the king building churches and monasteries throughout France from the time of his accession, indeed, sums up the role of the crown in the creation of the style. Its culmination was reached in the Sainte-Chapelle.³ This was an important building architecturally, but also because it was designed to hold relics including the True Cross and the Crown of Thorns. Thus it stood as a symbol of royal power, its sanctification by God, and at the same time the special place of the French people as custodians of these holy remains.

The royal power over the French church was ^{to some extent} reflected in the continued appeals from ecclesiastics for royal justice. The Enquêtes, surviving from 1255, are full of the regulation of cases ^{about land-disputes, etc.,} involving ecclesiastics and the

1 R. Branner, St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture, London, 1965, (=Branner).

2 F. Salat, La Cathédrale de Tours, Paris, 1948, pp.7-10.

3 Joinville, p.257, and for the Sainte-Chapelle, below, Chapter V, section 7.

religious orders. The nuns of Fontevrault are re-affirmed a pension of £6 in 1255, and in the same year two measures of oats were confirmed to the prior of St.-Loup-de-Cérans against the protests of local men.¹ A dispute between the Count of Blois and the Hospitallers over the justice of Villefranche settled that the tenant of the count held high justice and the Hospitallers the low.² The king had a reputation for impartial justice, and in 1256 he allowed that the bishop of Orleans should hold the fief of 'Trugmacum' against royal claims.³ A high proportion of the cases involved ecclesiastical corporations throughout France, and here is a vivid proof that the work of Louis VI and Louis VII of encouraging appeals, and of Philip-Augustus in developing a judicial system to deal with them, had come to fruition.

The king issued justice to the religious orders, but he also distributed largesse to them on a wide scale. This was done through pensions and through charters granting land and privileges, as well as money for buildings. William of St.-Pathus estimated that Louis spent about £7,000 each year in charitable donations to monks and friars, and that he gave extra gifts of clothes and food. Each year he also distributed 60,000 herrings amongst the religious orders.⁴ The sum total, William continues, for all the hospitals and friaries he built was more than £200,000 Tournois. When his counsellors reproached him for this excessive expenditure, he replied that God had given him all he had and what was handed out in this way was given to the best use.⁵ William adds that Royaumont cost more than £100,000

1 ed. le Comte Beugnot, Les Olim où Registres des Arrêts, I, 1254-73, Paris, 1839, (=Olim), p.4.

2 Olim, pp.5-6.

3 Olim, p.6.

4 St.-Pathus, pp.60-1.

5 St.-Pathus, pp.62-3.

and the Sainte-Chapelle more than £40,000 Tournois.¹

The royal accounts confirm that the king was lavish in his donations. From the household, perhaps between 10% and 24% of the total outlay went to charitable donations in 1256-7.² Furthermore, considerable sums were transferred in pensions. The baillis and prévôts were given allowances for these in their accounts to the Temple, the royal financial bureau. The full amount of money allowed by the king each year cannot be calculated, for only fragmentary remains of the accounts are still extant, and the individual details of expenditure in these are not always given. But the pattern of royal pensions in certain areas at particular times can be traced, and, indeed, provide an important insight into Louis' monastic patronage. The accounts for the Ascension Term of 1248, for example, give a particularly full analysis of the expenses of the prévôts for Paris and Tours. In Paris,³ the full allowance for the year was £1,137-8s-4d. Parisis for the third of the year; pensions and gifts to monastic houses, royal chapels and the Inquisitors absorb about £396 or 35%; most of these are payments for the term only, so this would seem to be a representative sample of an account of one term. The length of time involved is 136 days; therefore nearly £3 a day is allowed in pensions for Paris alone. Later in the reign, with extra gifts to hospitals and friaries this would be even higher, although the proviso must be added that some of these rents may have paid for lands or rights granted to the king, ie. with a return. £240 of the total, or about 60% goes to charity, much of this, £80 to St.-Lazare, as in 1202-3⁴ - and only £56-10s. to

1 St.-Pathus, pp.40, 38.

2 below, pp. 250-1.

3 H.Fr.XXI, 261-3.

4 Budget, p.98.

chaplains and the Inquisition - about 14%. The remaining sum, about £100, goes in pensions to the monastic houses. The situation reflects very closely the pattern in Philip-Augustus' accounts, where large sums from Paris were given to charity. The Tours accounts¹ show a different picture. The total allowed here was £1,275-7s-5d Tours, and pensions and allied expenses were responsible for £223-6s-6d., or about 18%. This would amount to about £1-12s Tours each day during the term, although many of the pensions were paid out pro medietate and not pro tertio. The total for the year, taking these into account, would amount to £346-9s, or a little under £1 a day; yet this might again need to be adjusted and increased by the expenses - the lights for St.-Maurice at Tours, and the Inquisitor's grants, which appear only once for the year and might have parallels in other terms. Of the £223-6s-8d only £19-6s-6d goes to charity - to the lepers of Chinon; this is about 8% . £75 for half a year, however, is allowed to the Grandmontine cellae of Bois-Rahier and Pommier-Aigre - 34%. Clearly their Plantagenet connections, whether real or forged, were standing them in good stead. Fontevrault received £35 for half the year, or 16%, while £33-4s went to the Templars and the Dominicans and the rest to other monasteries. The payments to Fontevrault, to the Grandmontine houses, to the lepers of Chinon, and the £2.10s grant to the Templars may reflect Plantagenet grants taken over by the Capetians, and their consistent payment pro medietate - although this also occurs in isolated cases in the accounts from other regions - may reflect a continuation of Anglo-Angevin administrative patterns.

The account for Evreux is somewhat less full.² Some of the entries occurring in Philip-Augustus' 1202-3 account again recur here. The grant

1 H.Fr.XXI, 280-1.

2 H.Fr.XXI, 266-7 and Budget, p.97.

of 100s for the anniversary of the count who ceded the Evreçin is continued, as is also the pension for the Hôtel-Dieu. The nuns of St.-Sauveur have had their grant severely reduced, while St.-Taurin does not appear at all, and Savigny joins the list with 40s. Tours. Nearly a quarter of the expenses go to religious houses. In Mantes, by contrast, £95-10s from the £111-14s-10d allowed is expended in this way; a very high proportion.¹ This, however, appears to be an exception. In many accounts no details appear; thus no general overall percentage of royal allowances on pensions can be calculated. The relatively full sections which do exist, however, indicate that it was often a high proportion, perhaps between one fifth and a quarter of all expenses - although in some cases the crown was gaining land or rights in return. This kind of estimate falls into line with the amount spent on alms from the royal household accounts, yet these figures can give no guide to the proportion of royal income as a whole paid out to the religious orders and to charity. They cannot include the incidental expenses, either on building works and charity, or more important and more costly, on warfare. The royal accounts indicate that more than one million pounds Parisis was spent on Louis' first crusade in the period 1251-2 alone.² Nor can they include extra royal receipts, such as taxation and feudal dues. They do imply, however, that a very much higher proportion of the royal income was going to the religious orders than in the reigns of Louis' predecessors. The king gave them greater amounts of money, he also gave more lands and privileges, and founded many monasteries, friaries and hospitals. For the orders he favoured, his reign, it would seem, was a golden age.

1 H.Fr.XXI, 266.

2 H.Fr.XXI, 515.

3. Louis IX, Blanche of Castile, and the Religious Orders,
some Foundations and Donations.

Blanche and Louis founded between them a considerable number of abbeys, priories, friaries, chapels and hospitals, and they gave help with grants of land, money and privileges to a multitude of others. Early in the reign they created three Cistercian abbeys, Royaumont, Le Lys and Maubuisson,¹ for Blanche had gained a strong interest in the White Monks and Nuns from her Castillian upbringing. She also influenced Louis in her interest in charity, and the king founded or refounded three hospitals at Vernon, Pontoise and Compiègne, as well as helping many others; his charitable interests also gave him a strong involvement with the mendicants, of which he was a vitally important patron. He gave help to the University of Paris helping to found the College of the Sorbonne,² and created a number of royal chapels. The most important of these was the Sainte-Chapelle, to intercede for himself and to house royal relics. St.-Denis was rebuilt in addition as the royal mausoleum. These were perhaps his strongest interests, and are discussed below in some detail. But the king also founded houses for the Carthusians and the Victorines, and he continued to give charters to the other monastic orders. Yet it is striking that the Augustinians, the Premonstratensians, the Military Orders, and many of the old Benedictine and Cluniac foundations suffered by contrast with the favour shown to the Cistercians and the Mendicants.

The Carthusians, however, maintained their favour with the crown, and Louis moved an existing foundation from Gentilly to Vauvert: 'locum aptum

1 below, Chapter V, section 4.

2 below, Chapter V, sections 5 and 6.

et ad vivendum sufficientibus providit'.¹ In a charter of 1259 he grants them a site as they have requested, with five measures of wheat from Gonesse, and confirms the house and the lands at Gentilly.² The land was in the parish of St.-Severine, and in 1260 Vauvert was ruled by the bishop of Paris to hold parochial rights over its own lands against the claims of the parish church.³ In 1226, Pope Clement IV confirmed the foundation.⁴ The church was by this time under construction although it was not completed until 1310. The expense was borne in part by Louis himself. The style of the house was simple and unvaulted, but according to Millin's engraving, it had the four-lancet window in the West wall which put it within the ambience of the Court style.⁵ In his will Louis left the 'new house near Paris' £100.⁶

The Victorine Congregation profited somewhat from his reign. Ste.-Geneviève, for example, was given lands in 1258,⁷ and the mother-house, the affirmation of its rights over wine-tithes in 1256, and an exchange in 1229.⁸ The prayer list, c.1260, for the priory of St.- Catherine-de-la-Couture, the mother house of the Victorine group, the Val d'Ecoliers, says that Louis IX built their house in memory of Philip-Augustus' victory and also of Louis VIII:

'et primum lapidem posuit, et donavit eam qualibet die de triginta denariis, percipiendis quolibet anno tribus terminis'.

-
- 1 H.Fr.XX, 11; Tillemont, IV, 204-5.
 - 2 AN.K 182, no.66; Tardif, no.836, p.349; Obit.Sens I (2), 702.
 - 3 M.Félibien, Histoire de la Ville de Paris, ed. D.G. Lobineau, Paris, 1725, (= Félibien), II, 228-30.
 - 4 Félibien, III, 230.
 - 5 Branner, p.90; Félibien, I, 368-9.
 - 6 Layettes, IV, 419-21, no.5638.
 - 7 Gallia, VII, inst. 246.
 - 8 Tardif, no.798, p.346; no.826, p.348.

He furthermore granted a £20 pension, a measure of wheat, and 2,000 herrings for a brother to say a Requiem Mass each day. This took place in 1229. The necrology also mentions Blanche for granting £30, but likewise Geoffrey, Bishop of Le Mans, for £60, and Henry de Grossey, Archdeacon of Reims, for £200.¹ The house seems in reality to have been built on the initiative of a group of serjéants from Bouvines, according to a letter of 1229 of the bishop of Paris, which confirms its foundation.² By this time the church had been completed. The authors of the Gallia Christiana also mention that William, a Templar, built the refectory, the hospital and school and gave the choir stalls, while another Templar, Jean de Millai, who gave most of the lands, paid for the dormitory and cloister; the king's almoner, Herbert, financed the enclosure. The archives of the house are thin on royal charters, although the foundation was clearly well endowed.³

In 1229 St.-Catherine was granted to the Victorine Ste.-Geneviève, and may have been used by Blanche in connection with the wishes of Philip-Augustus and Louis VIII to have Victorine houses founded in their memories. The money which the Queen gave to St.-Catherine was perhaps an attempt to placate the abbot of St.-Victor, an executor of Louis' will. A similar grant she made to the Victorine Ivernaux, founded in 1218, may have been a parallel to this, and may also underlie the tradition that Ivernaux was created in fulfillment of Louis VIII's will.⁴ Few other benefits, however, went to the order. The abbot of St.-Victor assisted Louis in setting up the chapel of St.-Guénard at Corbeil, but it was served by the Dominicans.⁵ St.-Victor thus no longer enjoyed the same prestige with the crown as in the time of the king's father and grandfather. For although Louis VIII had asked for

1 Obit.Sens. I (2), 646; Gallia, VII, 851; Tillemont, II, 29.

2 Gallia, VII, 851.

3 eg. AN.L. 919.

4 Branner, p.32.

5 Bonnard, p.318.

a Victorine house to be created in his memory his wife and son founded a monastery of a different order, the Cistercians, in fulfillment of this provision. Yet the links of Louis IX and St.-Victor have an interesting postscript. In 1303 Philip IV founded the abbey of Royallieu at Neuville-au-Bois, which he dedicated to the canonised king. The religious were Victorine canons from the Val d'Ecole.¹

The relations of the Victorines with the crown are paralleled more strikingly by the orders, who seem to have suffered from the favour shown to the Cistercians, the mendicants and the hospitals. Although Louis declared that he had a special affection for the Premonstratensians, and in 1231 gave their goods full protection,² this was given little further practical proof. Indeed, apart from some interest in the houses of Abbecourt and Joyenval, the latter to which he gave land for a mill at Pontoise in 1228,³ his main gifts appear to have been made in his will, where he gave each abbey £60.⁴

The Templars and Hospitallers played an important rôle in the crusades, as Joinville's accounts show, although the disputes between the orders complicated the relations of Christian princes and their diplomacy with the Moslems.⁵ The royal treasury remained at the Paris Temple and some royal treasurers - Jean de Milli (1228-36) and Gilles (1236-50) were members of the order.⁶ Royal accounts for the household, the baillis and sénéchaux,

1 P.Guynemer, Cartulaire de Royallieu, Compiègne, 1911, p.vi; Gallia, IV, 1080.

2 J.le Paige, Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis, Paris, 1633, III, 761.

3 E. Martène & A.Durand, Veterum scriptorum et Monumentum, Paris, 1724-33, (=Vet.Mon.), I, 1219.

4 M.A. Dimier, 'Saint Louis et Prémontré', Analecta Praemonstratensiana, 42, 1970, pp. 139-40; Layettes, IV, 419-21, no. 5638.

5 Tillemont, III, 25-7. Thus in 1239-40 the king of Aragon and the Templars made a treaty with the Sultan of Damascus and the Hospitallers and Richard of Cornwall a pact with the Egyptians.

6 'Templiers', pp.41, 61.

and for extra expenses such as the building of Maubuisson were drawn up here, and the Temple also acted as a royal bank; 15,000 marks' debt was paid out to Henry III in 1259, for example.¹ The Temple itself was partially rebuilt in the Court style during the 1240s² although royal contributions were probably not very great. Neither Templars nor Hospitallers seem to have benefitted from Louis' reign, apart from a few confirmations to both orders and a grant of freedom from dues to the Hospitallers in 1269.³

The Grandmontines promised to celebrate masses for Louis and his family in 1257, perhaps in response to a favourable answer to their request of 1255, for the restitution of a wood taken away from them by Philip-Augustus.⁴ Also in 1255, Louis confirmed the possessions of the cella of Louye.⁵ This was the pattern which typified royal grants to Benedictine, Cluniac and Augustinian houses. Occasional gifts were made but confirmations and protections were the usual pattern. Some Norman monasteries may serve as examples. In 1263 Le Bec-Hellouin was given a grant of wood to use in its rebuilding; in 1259 Jumièges a small parcel of land; and in 1258-9, Le Pré 21 acres in return for a rent. Many other houses in the area, however, were given no more than confirmations and safeguards.⁶ Yet by contrast the Norman Cistercians were given lavish endowments, as at Le Trésor; a Dominican convent was founded at Rouen and a hospital at Vernon. This pattern was paralleled elsewhere. St.-Denis was the only Benedictine house in the Paris area to benefit conspicuously from Louis, yet his support of many other orders in this area

1 'Templiers', pp.41-7.

2 Branner, p.72.

3 Le Roulx, III, nos.3369, 3303; Layettes, II, 455, no.2936.

4 Layettes, III, 387-8, no.4381; III, 275, no.4219.

5 Vet.Mon. I, 1333.

6 CN, no.697, p.151; no.614, p.116; no.610, p.115 et passim.

was particularly generous. The Languedocian monasteries also received very little. In 1253, for example, Louis made a composition with the Abbot of Grasse for lands supposedly given to it by Louis VIII. The king was to hold these and the abbot was to receive an annual pension of £300 Tours in compensation.¹ Land was also wrested from the community of Psalmodi for the site of the royal fortified town at Aigues-Mortes.²

It is clear, then, that with orders he did not conspicuously favour, Louis IX maintained the same pragmatic relationship at his predecessors - particularly Philip-Augustus and Louis VIII - parting with little and often in exchange for lands and rents, but granting safeguards and dispensing justice to maintain his influence. Yet unlike these kings, to orders he did favour he was often exceedingly generous, on a scale undreamt of by the earlier Capetian kings; one reason why he was able to do this was the great expansion in royal resources.

4. Louis IX, Blanche of Castile and the Cistercians.

In the strong interest that Louis IX took in the Cistercian order he was following the example of his mother, Blanche of Castile, and to some extent that of his father Louis VIII. Blanche had spent her early years in the Court of Castile, and her father, Alfonso VIII, and her mother had founded several Cistercian houses - Bonaval (1164), Matallana (1174), Ovila (1175-86), and, most important, Las Huelgas, c.1187, a Cistercian nunnery at Burgos.³ This was to be a symbol of Castile and their mausoleum. Blanche continued these traditions in France. She may have influenced Louis VIII in favour of the White Monks, and certainly did so in the case of Louis IX.

1 Gallia, VI, inst. 434-6.

2 Gallia, VI, inst. 202.

3 M.A. Dimier, Saint Louis et Cîteaux, Paris, 1954, (=Dimier), p.10.

In 1222 Blanche became a prayer-associate of Cîteaux, while both she and Louis VIII were remembered as special patrons of the order.¹

The Cistercians interceded for the king and his family with many prayers and masses. In 1244, for example, the General Chapter decreed:

'Scribatur per abbatias Ordinis nostri in regno Franciae in margine iuxta primum memento propria nomina regis et reginae Franciae Ludovici et Blanchae, ut de ipsis habeatur memoria specialis'. 2

Anniversaries for the king's ancestors were founded at Fontenay (1253-63), and an exemption from toll granted in return,³ and in 1239, Louis and his wife Margaret went to the abbot of Vaux-de-Cernay asking for his prayers to remedy five years of childless marriage.⁴ In 1240, at the king's request, the General Chapter laid down the day for celebrating the feast of the Crown of Thorns.⁵ The prayers of the order were thus valued by Blanche and by Louis IX very highly. But the Cistercians also rendered them valuable services in other ways. In 1229, for example, the abbot of Cîteaux acted as a peace negotiator with Henry III of England, while in 1268 the order as a whole provided £20,000 for the Crusade.⁶

Louis and Blanche in return took their duties as patrons very seriously. Matthew Paris called the king 'Ordinis Cisterciensis zelator et protector'.⁷ He on occasions attended the General Chapter, as, for

1 Layettes, I, 556, no.1557; Canivez, II, 274, no.4.

2 Canivez, II, 78, no.17; II, 170, no.12; II, 187, no.11.

3 Dimier, p.194, no.408.

4 Gallia, VII, 890.

5 Canivez, II, 216, no.3.

6 Dimier, pp.26-7; p.201.

7 Paris, V, 596.

example, in 1244, when Blanche was there also.¹ In 1264, he supervised the reform of the Cistercian organisation, and in 1241 put great pressure on Frederick II to secure his release of several French Cistercian abbots. These the Emperor had captured while they were on their way to the Papal Council at Rome.² The Cistercians thus enjoyed greater favour with the French crown, particularly in the early years of the reign, than at any time since the day of Louis VI and Louis VII.

As well as giving the Cistercians protection and intervening in their internal affairs, Louis fulfilled another function of the patron, that of granting material benefits, with great open-handedness. He and Blanche founded three houses and helped several others. Other members of his family also supported the order. One brother, Alfonse of Poitiers, helped to found a college of Bernardines and granted it to Clairvaux in 1245, while another, Charles of Anjou, created the Cistercian abbeys of Realvalle and Vittoria in his Southern Italian Kingdom.³ Constant gifts were made by the king and his mother. The household expenses of 1234 show that Blanche made generous donations to houses of Cistercian nuns during the peregrinations of the Court, £8, for example, to Villencourt. Louis himself confirmed the freedom of tolls for the order given by Louis VI (1239), and a safeguard for several houses given by Philip-Augustus (1258).⁴ Houses in outlying parts of France were given protection as under the king's predecessors. In c.1245, for example, the abbey of Villelongue near Carcassonne was given an order for the restitution of its rights which the Albigensians had usurped.⁵

1 Anec.IV, 1382; Tillemont, III, 54-5.

2 Dimier, pp.34-5, 40-52.

3 Dimier, pp.125-6; Paris, IV, 257, and below, pp. 313-4.

4 Berger, Blanche, pp.318-9; Dimier, p.164, no.91; p.183, no.289; H.Fr. XXI, 241.

5 Gallia, VI, 1020.

Many Cistercian abbeys received protections of their goods and rights - for example, St.-André-en-Gouffern (1248); Ourscamp was given protection for its property in 1230, while in 1248 the foundation of an abbey, La-Clarté-Dieu, was approved by the king.¹

Some houses were given generous donations by the king and his mother - and this shows a marked contrast with the restricted gifts of Philip-Augustus. Cîteaux received a confirmation in 1228, and in 1244 a rent of £120 Parisis for the expenses of the Chapter; Blanche added £40.² Pontigny was allowed various exemptions in 1248,³ and Port-Royal was exempted from dues in 1244, and given £50 Tournois rent in 1248.⁴ The abbey of Le Trésor in Normandy, which later incorrectly claimed Louis as its founder, received from the king 41 acres of land at Bois-Roger (1242), six arpents of vineyard (1243) a grant of mortmain (1248) and 90 acres of woodland (1250), together with £50 rent per annum from Blanche (1243), to which she added, in 1246, 5s. a day and 100s. each year, for the anniversaries of herself and Louis.⁵ L'Epau, the foundation of Berengaria, widow of Richard I, was helped considerably by the king. In 1228 he gave this queen land for the house, while in 1230 a confirmation of the foundation was issued which shows that he had granted the site and a pension of £50 Tours, and the privilege of taking dead wood from the royal forest of 'Longus Alnetus'.⁶ The King and Blanche were present at the consecration of Longpont (1227), and granted it pasturage (1236) and a confirmation.⁷

1 Dimier, p.175, no.204; pp.158-9, nos.36, 39; Gallia, XIV, 327.

2 Tillemont, I, 487-8; III, 55-6.

3 Dimier, p.176, no.209.

4 Gallia, VII, instr. 105-8.

5 G.A. Poulain, Les Séjours de Saint Louis en Normandie, Rouen, 1957 (=Poulain), pp.106-8; Tillemont, I, 486-7; AD Eure H.1368, H.1380.

6 BN MS Lat. 17124, ff.26-29, see below, charters; Appendix III, Nos.9-10, and above pp. 139-40.

7 Tillemont, I, 476, IV, 114; Dimier, p.163, no.81.

St.-Antoine-des-Champs, although not a royal foundation, also benefitted greatly from royal generosity. The site for its church and further lands were granted in 1227, and in 1233 Louis was present at its dedication. In 1248 it was granted mortmain in all its possessions, and in 1258 full exemption from custom throughout France.¹ La Joie was also granted part of its site in 1230, on the request of Philip of Nemours, and the nuns were allowed to gather dead wood (1234). It received confirmations in 1240 and 1248, a rent of 5s. Parisis each day, in 1248, and a safeguard in 1269.² Blanche gained the credit for the foundation of another house, Biaches, near Péronne, c.1236. The Gallia Christiana, however, suggests that the house was established by Peter Quercus, a canon, and a citizen of Péronne, Fursey Botte, and was confirmed by Louis IX in May, 1236.³ In September, 1236, the General Chapter agreed to the request of Blanche and Louis IX to found a Cistercian nunnery near to Péronne; the site was inspected by the abbots of Preuilly and Barbeaux, and the chapter allowed that the affiliation could take place without delay.⁴ This, then, was the 'foundation' process. In 1237, Louis gave another confirmation,⁵ but the Crown evidently gained more credit than was due to it from this transaction.

As well as grants of money and estates, Louis gave relics to some houses. Vaucelles was granted a thorn from the Crown (1261), and Châalis

1 Gallia, VII, 899-901, inst. 100, 107.

2 Gallia, XII, inst.67; Dimier, p.160, no.55; p.174, no.92; p.175, no.203; p.193, no.402.

3 Gallia, IX, 1138; Dimier, p.162, no.75.

4 Canivez, II, 155, no.2; 166, no.60.

5 Gallia, IX, 1138; Dimier, p.163, no.84.

some relics of the Theban legions.¹ Louis attended two translations of Saint Edmund at Pontigny, and took a great interest in the ceremonies there.²

But the links of Blanche and Louis and the Cistercians were manifested most obviously by the foundation of the abbeys of Royaumont, Le Lys and Maubuisson. Royaumont was the first and the most prestigious. Louis VIII had asked for a Victorine house to be founded in his memory, financed by the proceeds of the sale of all his jewels, but Blanche decided to convert this to a Cistercian house. It was sited near Asnières-s-Oise, a royal village for which Louis had had a particular affection. The land for the house, Cuimont, was bought from the priory of the Paraclete, St.-Martin-de-Borrenc, in 1228, and the transaction was confirmed by the bishop of Beauvais and the abbess of the Paraclete.³ They changed the name of the site from Cuimont to Royaumont, and Louis gave a charter of foundation. This stated that the house was to be endowed with its domain land with full rights and appurtenances, and given freedom from custom. It was to possess a mill, the wood of 'Bornesius' of 302 arpents, an annual pension of £56 from Beaumont and £50 from Pont-St.-Maxence, and large grants of wine and wheat. The dues were to be paid on the anniversary of the death of Louis VIII.⁴ At the same time Louis confirmed donations made to the house by other benefactors.⁵ In 1229 he granted the grange of Lys which he had bought from the abbot of Senlis, and added a man, and four measures of oats.⁶ By this time the first monks from Cîteaux had been installed.

1 Dimier, pp.103, 109.

2 Dimier, pp.114-8.

3 BN MS Lat. 9166, ff.8-9; Tillemont, I, 490-2; M.A. Dimier, 'Saint Louis et Royaumont, Le siècle de Saint Louis, Paris, 1970, pp.275-80.

4 H. Duclos, Histoire de Royaumont, sa fondation par Saint Louis et son Influence sur la France, I, Paris, 1867, (=Duclos), pp.32-7, 25; Gallia, X, 842, inst. 265; BN MS Lat.9166, f.1.

5 BN MS Lat. 9166, f.5.

6 BN MS Lat.5472, f.11.

The king helped with the building of the house itself,¹ and this was effected with such rapidity that the consecration took place in 1235. The plan was based on Longpont, where Louis and Blanche had attended the consecration in 1227; the work itself was of high quality, and in a style based very much on contemporary Parisian notions, but with a restraint and a Puritanism typically Cistercian. Thus the mouldings, the bar tracery were representative of the contemporary Ile de France, but the capitals were plainly ornamented, and single lancets were used on the lowest window levels as well as the more advanced double lancets with a single oculus.² Branner suggests that it was executed by a man well versed in local ecclesiastical designs.³ The remaining fragments, parts of the cloister and the crossing and the intact chapter-house, give some idea of the fineness of the original building. William of Nangis wrote: 'ecclesiam intrinsecus constructam ornamentis ecclesiasticis mirifice decoravit'.⁴ For the East end, with its seven radiating chapels⁵ was to be used as the royal mausoleum, and rapidly accrued elaborate decoration. This was certainly too much for the taste of the General Chapter, who in 1253 ordered that:

'picturas et imagines et sculpturas, cortinas ac columnas
cum angelis circa maius altare de novo factas, ad
humilitatem et simplicitatem antiquam ordinis dirigit'. 6

They added, however, that this would not prejudice the royal tombs in the church. For by this time Philip, the king's brother (d.1235), Blanche his daughter (d.1243) and John his son (d.1248) were interred at Royaumont

1 H.Gouin, L'Abbaye de Royaumont, Paris, 1932, (=Gouin), p.8.

2 Branner, p.33; fig. V, I.

3 Branner, pp.33-6.

4 H.Fr.XX, 318.

5 Branner, p.34; plan, fig.V, 5.

6 Anec. IV, 1436.

in fine and elaborate tombs, some of which are now in St.-Denis.¹ Other members of the family were also laid to rest there, and it is probable that Louis intended for some years that this should be his mausoleum on the Barbeaux pattern.² The shift away from this plan may be marked by the rebuilding of St.-Denis.

Certainly Louis and Blanche built and endowed Royaumont in a style suitable for a royal pantheon. The number of monks rapidly increased from 20 to 140.³ William of St.-Pathus estimated that more than £100,000 Parisis was spent on its construction. Surviving royal accounts mention it frequently as in receipt of substantial sums of money. In May, 1238, it received £466-13s-4d. from the receipts of the baillis and prévôts, while in 1248 it was paid part of nearly £700 for crosses and further building works.⁴ Louis frequently went to stay there, to hear sermons, to pray during the vigil of Saint Michael, to wash the feet of the monks and the poor, and after his first crusade introduced a customary prayer there in chapter, for Bethlehem the birthplace of Christ.⁵ He gave it some efficacious relics - the translation of Saint Barge here from Asnières in 1260, for example, was accomplished with much splendour.⁶ The endowments he gave to the house were also highly valuable. These included an exemption from all secular exactions (1231 and 1270), land at 'Roupi' and 'Luppei' (1258), another pension of £100 Tours (1244) and large grants of wheat and corn.⁷ He also granted

1 Gouin, pp.17-18.

2 below, pp. 306-7; cf. Grandenbourg, p.93.

3 Duclos, p.80.

4 H.Fr.XXI, lxviii, 260, 284; St.-Pathus, p.40.

5 St.-Pathus, pp.38-9, 42, 37; Tillemont, I, 494.

6 Duclos, pp.194-9; ed. S.M. Brown, The Register of Eudes of Rouen, Columbia, 1964, (=Brown), p.426.

7 BN MS Lat.9166, ff.14-15, 35, 18; MS Lat.9167, p.437; MS Lat. 5472, f.21, transcript, App.III, no.12; Gallia, X, inst.269-70.

two safeguards in 1258; the fine for molestations was to be £10.¹ Both Gregory IX and Innocent IV gave several bulls to confirm the foundation, and granted Indulgences to those who visited it. Gregory granted a 40 days' pardon, and Innocent added an extra nine.² Gaignières in his history of the house commented that by the time of writing the buildings were in decline, but that they must have been very fine in their heyday. Louis was, he said, 'aussy magnifique dans ses bastiments qu'admirable dans ses vertus'.³

Blanche founded two Cistercian nunneries, one, Ste-Marie-la-Royale (Maubuisson) near Pontoise (c.1236), and the other, Le Lys, near Melun (c.1241). 'Maubuisson' was to be her place of retirement and her mausoleum. She acquired the site, 'Alneta', from St.-Martin-de-Viosne, and Richard de Turnho was put in charge of the building works which began in 1236, drawing about £25,000 Par. from the Temple.⁴ In 1237 the Cistercian General Chapter accepted her petition to draw nuns from various Cistercian houses to staff her foundation.⁵ In 1239 she established a pension of £100 from the Paris Temple and added further rents of corn and wine.⁶ Louis granted a confirmation charter and an extra £100 rent in the same year, and the archbishop of Sens confirmed some of these donations.⁷ In 1244 Blanche added another rent of £100 from

1 BN MS Lat. 9166, ff.30-2; MS Lat.5472, ff.111: AD Seine-Maritime, 11 H1.

2 BN MS Lat. 9169, ff.1525-38; MS Lat.5472, f.2.

3 BN MS Lat. 5472, f. 1.

4 A. Dutillieux and J. Depoin, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Maubuisson, 2 vols, Pontoise/Paris, 1840, 1890, (=Cartulaire M), II, 1-46; Berger, p.319.

5 Canivez, II, 173, no.27.

6 'Templiers', pp.32-3; Berger, p.319; AN JJ 26, f.164.

7 AN JJ 26, f.164; Layettes, II, no.2896.

Pierrefonds.¹ The queen gave a full foundation charter to the house at 'Alneta' in 1241.² She grants, for the souls of her parents, Alfonso and Eleanor of Castile, and for her husband, the abbey which: 'de propriis bonis nostris temporalibus fundavimus et aedificari fecimus', in the vill previously called 'Alneta'. She grants the nunnery and its buildings, and its site in full and perpetual alms. Then in 1242 land at 'Maloduno' itself was acquired for £400. The name of this parcel was corrupted to 'Malus Dumus', or Mauvais Buisson, which gave the house its vernacular name.³ By the time of this acquisition the abbey seems to have been nearing completion. The course of its construction can, indeed, be followed in a series of royal accounts.⁴ These give details of the paying out of money from the Temple, and the buying of food and materials for the work-force. For example, in 1239, £65 was spent on buying pigs, £7-8s. on iron, and 66s. on lime.⁵

In 1242 the works were completed, and the house was granted to St.-Antoine-de-Paris; in 1244 the church was consecrated by the bishop of Paris.⁶ Pope Innocent IV gave it various valuable privileges - in 1243, exemption from paying tithes on new lands and 40 days' Indulgence for the anniversary of its dedication, with full protection.⁷ He later confirmed its privileges in several bulls.⁸ Urban IV was to reduce the number of nuns to 140 in 1262, and Alexander IV to 120 in 1268, but Urban also allowed the noble ladies to inherit land, a very valuable privilege.⁹ In 1244 the abbey

1 AN K 191, 4 (7), no.118.

2 Gallia VII, inst. 104; Cartulaire, M, I, no.1.

3 Gallia, VII, 927-8; BN MS Lat.1241, f.118 (extracts from another Cartulary).

4 H.de L'Epinois, 'Comptes relatifs à la Fondation de L'Abbaye de Maubuisson,' Bib.Ec.Chartes, 19, 1858, pp.550-67, (=L'Epinois).

5 L'Epinois, p.553.

6 Gallia, VII, 928.

7 Cartulaire, M, I, nos.ii-iv, pp.3-5.

8 eg. Cartulaire M, I, no.xix (1250), pp.15-18.

9 Cartulaire M, I, nos. xxix and xxxi, pp.20, 21-2; no.xxxv, pp.24-5.

was formally handed over to Cîteaux.¹ The first abbess, Guillemette, was a relative of Blanche and had been chosen by her from the abbey of St.-Antoine.²

Louis IX showed considerable generosity towards his mother's foundation. In 1244 he gave it a full exemption from tolls and a protection³ and in 1245 granted pasturage for 500 pigs in the forests of Resty and Guise.⁴ The general royal accounts of 1248 mention a pension of £100 for the house from Mantes.⁵ In the same year the king granted a full confirmation and the privileges of mortmain in the lands of the abbey, and parts of the forest of Breteuil, which Innocent IV confirmed in 1249.⁶ In 1261 he was present at the translation of some relics of the 11,000 virgins from Pontoise to Maubuisson.⁷ Before his departure on crusade in 1270 he made the house a final visit and freed it from all debts to him.⁸ Blanche had been buried there after her death in 1252, and was remembered in the necrology as: 'fundatoris nostre, qui dedit ... ducentas libras Parisiensis pro redditibus emendis ad usum conventus nostri'.⁹ Her tomb was placed at the centre of the choir, and she was portrayed on it as a nun. Other members of her family were later interred in the house, including her son Alfonse of Poitiers (d.1271).¹⁰ The house was built upon simple lines, with single lancet windows at least in the apse and the transept.¹¹ Le Lys, where Blanche's

1 Cartulaire M, I, no.v, pp.5-6; no.vii, pp.7-8.

2 Gallia, VII, 928.

3 Cartulaire M, I, no.vi, pp.6-7.

4 Cartulaire M, I, no.viii, p.8.

5 H.Fr. XXI, 265.

6 Cartulaire M, nos. ix-x, pp.8-12.

7 H.Fr. XXI, 585.

8 Cartulaire M, I, no.xxxvii, pp.25-6.

9 Obit.Sens, I (2), 655, Brandenburg, p.91.

10. Cartulaire M, II, 106-7.

11. Branner, p.40, note 19; plan, fig.V, 5; fig. V, 2.

heart was buried, was conceived of on a similar plan.

Blanche founded the abbey of St.-Marie, near Melun, for Cistercian nuns, in about 1244.¹ She acquired the site itself with the help of Alix, Countess of Mâcon, and tithes and pensions from various local inhabitants; for example, she bought some vineyards from Guérin Linsenet and Aveline his wife.² In 1246 Louis IX granted a £20 pension from Melun, which Philip Augustus had given to Gervase Scautone in 1219, to the house,³ and in 1248 he gave the foundation charter. He granted the site, the monastery, the dormitory, the refectory and cellar to the sisters in perpetuity, with 20 measures of wheat, 54 measures of oats, and £100 Parisis as yearly pensions, and 200 arpents of woodland in the forest of Bière. He also confirmed Blanche's gifts of an annual 30 measures of oats, 10 of mixed grain and 5 of corn, with £55 from Melun and £50 from Corbeil each year.⁴ At the same time he gave another charter, confirming to it further pensions - including £20 which Blanche had brought from Jean of Sens, £60 obtained from Peter of 'Ferritatus' and £13 from William de 'Brocenaio', - and allowing it freedom from dues and giving it full protection.⁵ A third charter allowed for the construction of granges and mills.⁶ In these charters the abbey is referred to as Le Lys, 'Lilium', and in a charter of endowment 1250, Blanche describes it as the foundation of herself and her son. She gives it another pension of £50 Par. from Etampes, which formed part of her dowry, and 15 measures of corn.⁷ Then in 1251 Louis gave a vidimus of this grant⁸ which was increased

1 Gallia, XII, 247.

2 A. Aufavre and C. Fichot, Les Monuments de Seine-et-Marne, Paris, 1858, pp.30-6; Gallia, XII, 247; AD. Seine-et-Marne, H.568, ff.97-8; H.565, f.78; A. Gronier-Prieur, L'Abbaye Nôtre-Dame du Lys, Amis des Monuments et des Sites de Seine-et-Marne, no.4, Melun, 1971, pp.21-5, et passim, for a general outline of the history of the house.

3 BN MS Lat. 13892, (=Cartulaire L), f.29.

4 Gallia, XII, inst. 72-3; Tillemont, III, 172-3.

5 Cartulaire L, H.26-7.

6 Cartulaire L, ff.28-9; see transcript, charters, below, App.III, no.13.

7 Cartulaire L, f.30, " " " " App.III, no.14.

8 Cartulaire L, f.30-31.

further by the queen in 1252, while Louis was on crusade. The pensions from Etampes were already worth about £150 Par, but she added another £50.¹ The king himself gave another charter of confirmation from Joppa in 1252, perhaps just after he had heard about Blanche's death.² The house was clearly flourishing by this time, as is shown by its deeds of acquisition, many dating from the thirteenth century.³

After Blanche's death her heart was buried here, and Louis continued to show favour to his mother's foundation. In 1257 he gave a further confirmation,⁴ and lavished further gifts on the house - of 100 arpents of woodland, pasturage for 300 pigs, and freedom from dues, tolls and customs.⁵ The wood of 'Malleyo', worth £40 p.a. was added in 1255, with its censum in 1260, followed by £10 from 'Canesium' in 1263 and then £20 from 'Moreto' in 1269. His final gifts were wine dues (1269) and freedom of buying and selling (1270).⁶ All these grants were later confirmed by Philip III and Philip IV, and the foundation by Innocent IV in 1250.⁷

The church was probably completed c.1248-53, and the conventual buildings somewhat earlier.⁸ Surviving remains indicate the basic simplicity of style, as at Maubuisson, with lancet windows and unornamented capitals.

1 Cartulaire L, f.31-2; see below, charters, App.III, no.15; AD Seine-et-Marne H.565, ff.10-11, 21-22.

2 AD Seine-et-Marne, H.565, ff.62-3 - printed in Inv.H. p.156.

3 AD Seine-et-Marne, H.565; H.568.

4 Cartulaire L, f.32-3.

5 Cartulaire L, f.33.

6 Cartulaire L, f.38.

7 Cartulaire L, f.1.

8. Gronier-Prieur, pp.125-7.

Some windows, for example at the East end, contain a more complex style of tracery clearly linked with the Court style.¹ The monastery, while adhering to Cistercian precepts, was thus to be a fitting monument to the French royal house, and was to be highly favoured by the kings of France throughout the middle ages.² It remained mindful of its royal origins, and recent excavations have shown that parts of the church were decorated with Blanche's arms, those of Castile and France.³

5. Louis IX, Blanche and Charity.

Philip-Augustus and Louis VIII had showed a marked interest in making charitable donations, but Blanche and Louis IX made them a major item of expenditure. Not only were pensions and gifts made to hospitals for the poor or lepers in particular towns, allowed from the receipts of the baillis and prévôts, but large-scale gifts were also made from the household expenses. The 1234 household accounts, for example, show Blanche and Louis handing out bread worth £1 a day and alms of 10s. from the Court.⁴ On special occasions larger sums were granted, such as £20 on the anniversary of Louis VIII, and £60 and 5s. 6d. at Easter, in 1234.⁵ In the 1248 accounts the king handed out £10 to 100 poor at Trenchebrey, £10 at Falaise, 200s. at Corbeil, 200s. at Paris, ^{£25 at Poissy} and £20 at Mante, for example.⁶ Louis clearly followed Blanche in her example of giving generously to the poor, and a charter which she gave to Le Lys in 1252 shows that the king had committed

1 A.Cist., figs. 208, 211; below, figs. V, 3-4.

2 Gronier-Prieur, pp.33-8.

3 R. Delabrouille, 'L'abbaye du Lys', Archéologia, 31, 1961, pp.30-3.

4 H.Fr. XXI, 229, 232, 237, etc; Berger, p.266; R. Pernoud, La Reine Blanche, Paris, 1972, p.119.

5. H.Fr. XXI, 229, 236-7.

6. H.Fr. XXI, 355-6.

his almsgiving to her while he was in Palestine.¹ William of St.-Pathus said that he fed 30 poor at his table each day, and more during Lent and Advent, while Geoffrey de Beaulieu estimated their number at 300. Three would dine with the king himself at each meal, and would receive bread and alms.² Twice a year he would hold a general almsgiving in Paris, and whenever he went to a province he visited rarely, such as Berri or Normandy, he would hold feasts for 300 poor at a time.³ William of Chartres describes him kissing and washing the feet of the poor at Royaumont, and William of St.-Pathus his similar devotions each Maundy Thursday.⁴

The hagiographical nature of many of the accounts tend to conceal any picture of the king behind layers of sanctity. Occasional insights into Louis' attitude towards charity do, however, emerge, which show him as genuinely concerned about the state of his soul and the plight of his fellow men. William of St.-Pathus describes a discussion the king had with Joinville, who declared that he would rather commit mortal sin than be a leper: 'Le saint roi l'en blâma beaucoup et lui montra que mieux vaudrait être lépreux, car le péché mortel est la lèpre de l'âme'. Joinville himself relates the same story, and adds that he nevertheless refused to wash the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday with the king.⁵ Many minor entries in the royal accounts reveal Louis' willingness to help individuals in difficulties, as well as distributing a general largesse. In 1248, for example, he gave 20s. to 'pueri defunctae Katerinae' from Paris.⁶

1 transcript, App.III, no.15.

2 St.-Pathus, pp.57-8; H.Fr. XX, 11.

3 St.-Pathus, pp. 59, 61.

4 H.Fr. XX, 35; St.-Pathus, pp.45-90.

5 St.-Pathus, pp.53-4; Joinville, pp.9-10.

6 H.Fr. XXI, 262.

It is also clear that substantial amounts of money were often involved. Each Ash Wednesday the king gave as much as £3,000,¹ while in his will he left £1,000 for the dowries of poor women, £600 for clothing the poor and £100 for their shoes, and £2,000 for the care of orphans and widows.² St.-Pathus estimated that Louis spent about £7,000 Parisis each year on monks, friars and charity, and gave in addition valuable grants of food and clothing.³ The household accounts also show that a considerable proportion of its expenses went in alms. De Wailly, in his discussion of these, concludes that in the year 10/2/1256 - 9/2/1257, the household spent about £175 a day, and nearly £17 of this - i.e. about 10% in alms. In the period from 10/2/1257 - 9/11/1257, however, the daily expenses were about £213 a day, alms accounting for nearly £52, i.e. 24%.⁴ Even when he was on crusade, in 1251-2, for example, the king spent a certain amount of money from the household - as opposed to his military expenditure - on alms; about 3% went in this way.⁵ As well as this kind of expenditure, the king also allowed money as regular pension to hospitals and leper-houses, and these are accounted for by the baillis and prévôts. The Ascension account for 1248, for example, shows that these were widespread.⁶ In Paris, as much as 60% of the total allowed by the king on alms went to charity.⁷ St.-Lazare was in receipt of £80 for a term (one-third of a year), and the Hôtel-Dieu of 20s. each day. The accounts for other areas mention pensions to hospitals frequently, although the proportions involved are often somewhat less.

1 H.Fr. XX, 12.

2 Layettes, IV, 419-21, no.5638.

3 St.-Pathus, pp.60-1.

4 H.Fr. XXI, lxviii.

5 Based on figures in H.Fr. XXI, 512.

6 H.Fr. XXI, 261-84.

7 above, Chapter V, section 2.

Thus at Asnières, where £153 was allowed, 12d a day went to the Hôtel-Dieu. At Gournai the lepers receives 49s. for a term, and at Senlis, 100s for half a year.¹

Charters given to hospitals also reflect royal generosity. Thus for example, in 1256, the king gave the Hôtel-Dieu at Montargis £10 p.a. to sustain the poor,² and in 1234, granted the Hôtel-Dieu at Melun the chapel of St.-James-du-Châtelet. In 1255, the possessions of the hospital at Lessines were confirmed.³ The king was also claimed as their founder by several hospitals where he had enlarged and rebuilt earlier foundations.

The Hôtel-Dieu at Compiègne had existed as a dependancy of St.-Corneille from the ninth century, and had been granted 2 measures of corn as a pension by Philip-Augustus in 1189, for the soul of Louis VII.⁴ Louis IX refounded it at a cost of more than £12,000 Parisis,⁵ and he also gave it generous donations and built the chapel and dormitory. The buildings which survive are based on the two aisled and gabled hall, well designed to serve its function.⁶ According to St.-Pathus, the king and Count Thibaud installed the first patients in 1260, and themselves served and fed the sick there.⁷ In 1259 it had been freed from toll by the king,⁸ and in 1260 he granted it a full confirmation charter, which allowed it £100 and 20s. pensions, more than 45 measures of wine and 30 of wheat, rights of usage in the forest of Cuise for wood for building and burning, rights of pasturage for 140 animals,

1 H.Fr. XXI, 263, 265.

2 AN K.177, 12 (20).

3 Delaforge, p.32; Vet.Mon. I, 1330.

4 Dr.Ozanne, L'Hôpital St.-Nicholas du Pont de Compiègne, Compiègne, 1933, (=Ozanne), pp.2-8; P-A, no.247 (Rec.I, 324-5).

5 St.-Pathus, p.62; Tillemont, IV, 220-1.

6 Joinville, p.257; Ozanne, p.12; Congr.Arch, 72, 1905, pp.140-1.

7 Ozanne, pp.9-11; St.-Pathus, p.67.

8 Layettes, III, 199, no.4569.

and two pieces of land, one at La Villeneuve and one by the River Oise.

In 1268 he added another 128 arpents of land at Lacroix.¹ He also obtained papal confirmation for his refoundation. In 1261 Urban IV accorded Indulgences to those who visited the chapel or gave it alms, while in a patronage dispute with Simon, a Cardinal, in 1265, Louis was judged by Clement IV to be the patron of the house because:

'in redivitibus et aedificiis, in quibus erat tenuis,
dilateverat. 2

In 1266 the king granted the hospital to the Mathurins, or Trinitarian Friars of Fontainebleau.³ This was also confirmed by Clement IV, who allowed them to possess their own cemetery at the same time. The royal charter of donation to Fontainebleau, of 1267, regulated the number of friars at 5, and laid down that special prayers should be offered for Louis, his predecessors and his successors.⁴ The permission of the abbot had not, however, unfortunately, been given for this transaction and a long conflict with the Trinitarians led to their expulsions from the hospital in 1303.⁵

The hospital at Pontoise, situated near to the royal château had also originally been dependant upon the Benedictine abbey, in the town, but had become a separate institution in the twelfth century. Louis VII had given it tithes and a pension and Philip-Augustus a fair.⁶ The cartulary of the house also contains other valuable donations from this period - an example is the gift of vines at Vaugeroux by Walter Tyrel in

1 Ozanne, p.11.

2 Layettes, IV, 150; Ozanne, p.12.

3 Ozanne, p.13, and below, Chapter V, section 6.

4 Ozanne, pp.13-14.

5 Ozanne, p.14.

6 J. Depoin, St.Louis et L'Hôtel-Dieu de Pontoise, Pontoise, 1880, pp.7-9; Abbé Trou, Recherches Historiques, Archéologiques et Biologiques sur Pontoise, Pontoise, 1841, p.74.

1190.¹ In 1255, Louis IX confirmed grants of corn to it, and in 1259 he exempted it from tolls.² By this time he had clearly decided to refound it, for he had acquired land in the area; the work began in 1256.³ The hospital was to be run by Augustinian canonesses. In 1261, the king gave it a charter granting the vill of Champaignes with £30 a year, wine rights, and low justice, and another £300 in pensions; £200 from Pontoise and £100 from Paris.⁴ He later allowed it to acquire land worth a further £100. This occurred in 1269 when there were already more than 40 sisters there.⁵ In 1262 he had confirmed the gift of his boutellier.⁶ In 1270 he granted it mortmain on its lands but he also laid down that there should be no more than 13 or 14 sisters in the house⁷ - the revenues for the sick were evidently being used too extensively to support their nurses. Yet this also shows the popularity of the foundation. Nor was his/^{the}only charitable foundation in the area, for he is also reputed to have founded a leper house, and a hospital for those from the Hôtel-Dieu with dangerous diseases, in or near the town of Pontoise.⁸

Louis spent more than £30,000 Parisis on the refoundation of the Hôtel-Dieu at Vernon. William of St.-Pathus commented that the expense was undue because the hospital was situated in the best part of the town. The king also, he says, gave the 25 Augustinian sisters, 2 clerks and the poor they cared for everything they needed down to the cooking pots.⁹

1 J.Depoin, Cartulaire de L'Hôtel-Dieu de Pontoise; Pontoise/Paris, 1886, (= Cartulaire P), no .iii, I, pp.1-3; BN MS Lat. 5657, ff.1-2, 21-22.

2 Cartulaire P, no.xl, p.25.

3 Depoin, St.Louis, pp.16-18; H.Fr. XX, 11.

4 Cartulaire, P, no.xlix, pp.30-2; BN MS Lat.5657, ff.18-19 and 19-20; AN K.191, 4, no.18.

5 BN MS Lat.5657, ff.19-20, see transcript, below, App.III, no.16.

6 Cartulaire P, no.liii, p.34.

7 Cartulaire, P, no.lxvi, pp.44-5.

8 Trou, pp.74-6.

9 St.-Pathus, p.62; H.Fr. XX, 11; Gallia, XI, 662; Tillemont, IV, 94-6.

This was a twelfth-century foundation which was apparently somewhat ruinous by the mid-thirteenth century.¹ The pattern of Compiègne and Pontoise was again repeated. In a visit with Eudes Rigaud to the house in 1256 Louis evidently decided to rebuild it, for in a charter he gave to the house in this year the archbishop of Rouen mentioned that the king 'proponeret edificiis et redditibus ampliare'.² This he did in no small measure. The house was completed by 1258-9 when the foundation charter was given. This grants the house 'quod de novo edificare fecimus', suitable existing buildings with the new ones, land at 'Spineto', 20 measures of white wine and 60 of red each year, and an annual pension of £140.³ In 1260 he added 90 measures of red wine from Vernon and 20 of wheat from Paci,⁴ while in 1261 he gave another £50 Par. from Vernon.⁵ Other miscellaneous rights and privileges included a 'quadrigam' (1259), rights over common pasture (1268), and quittance of 68 measures of corn (1269).⁶ This was a hospital he visited with some frequency,⁷ and it was one of his more important refoundations.

The poor of Paris were well-cared for by Louis, and many hospitals later claimed vast feats of generosity upon his part. The archives of the Filles-Dieu⁸ contain a hyperbolic history of its origins. Louis decided in 1226, it says, that he wished to have 200 virgins chanting the offices for him day and night, so he bought a site of 15 arpents in the vill of St.-Denis and built the house there. In fact it was founded in the 1220s for former prostitutes, and its chief benefactors were William, Bishop of

1 Poulain, p.87.

2 CN, no.570, p.106; Poulain, p.87.

3 CN, no.609, p.115.

4 CN, no.643, pp.123-4.

5 CN, no.680, p.142.

6 CN, no.634, p.121; no.731, p.162; no.764, pp.172-3.

7 Poulain, p.91.

8 AN L. 1053, no.2.

Paris who created it, and the religious of St.-Lazare and St.-Martin-des-Champs who granted land, c.1226, as their charters indicate.¹ Louis, however, granted them a rent of £400, clothes, and in 1265, ordered that they should number 200. He also granted them rights of drawing water.² Félibien dismissed the earlier accounts in the eighteenth century, and said of the £400 grant: 'c'est ce qui a donné lieu depuis à le regarder comme fondateur'. The house was perhaps too large, for in 1275 Philip III reduced its numbers to 80.³ Louis had, however, been a generous patron, and in 1248 granted the house of Filles-Dieu at Le Mans 40s. in alms, as the royal account indicates.⁴

The Quinze-Vingts, a foundation for the blind, appears, by contrast to be a bona fide foundation of Saint Louis. Its origins are somewhat obscure, for its first appearance is in 1260 when Pope Alexander IV granted the king an Indulgence for it, and when Louis granted the bishop of Paris a rent of 100s. for its site near the Rue-St.-Honoré.⁵ It was, however, already built at this time; its foundation must have been made some years earlier, perhaps c.1254. The king assigned a chaplain to the house in 1260,⁶ and in 1261, he confirmed the services to be said there. The chaplain was granted £15 for his clothes and £1 Parisis for lights for the church - and this, like the grant to the bishop of Paris, was still being paid out in the 1290s.⁷ In 1269 Louis confirmed his previous donations to the house. It was to receive a £30 pension from the Temple, which had been granted before 1267,

1 Félibien, I, 286-7; III, 116, AN L 1053, nos. 1, 5.

2 Félibien, I, 287-8; III, 604; AN K.182, no.58; Tillemont, IV, 381-2, V, 308; H.Fr. XX, 11.

3 Félibien, I, 288; AN L 1053.

4 H.Fr. XXI, 355.

5 Félibien, I, 395; L. le Grand, Les Quinze-Vingts Depuis leur Origine jusqu'à leur Translation au Faubourg St.-Antoine, Paris, 1887, (=LeGrand), pp.20-2.

6 Tillemont, IV, 226-7.

7 Le Grand, p.22; H.Fr. XXII, 624.

and the blind there were to number 300 (quinze x vingts). He also confirmed other earlier rents of £10-15s. granted to the house.¹ William of St.-Pathus said that the king built a large house for the blind on land he had acquired in the parish of St.-Honoré, that he built the church of St.-Rémi for the foundation, and that he often went to ring the offices there.² The later legend which, as regaled by the Fleur des Antiquitez de Paris of 1532, suggested that Louis founded the house: 'pour nourrir et loger trois cens chevaliers qu'il ramena d'oultre mer', appears to be another fabrication by later admirers of the martial qualities of Louis.

The king also founded a house for a group of Béguines in Paris. These were honest women who wished to live a life of solitude and contemplation. Geoffrey de Beaulieu wrote:

'domum insuper honestarum mulierum quae vocatur Beguinae, de suo acquisivit ... et pluribus exceptis, maxime pauperibus nobilibus, quamdiu viverent, de sustentatione quotidiana providit'.⁴

The Béguines which formed part of a very substantial and significant movement in the spiritual life of the women in the Low Countries were often associated with the Dominican Order.⁵ The king gave several grants to other houses - in 1248, for example, £10 went as a pension to Cambrai and £40 to Senlis for buying a house.⁶ The Parisian congregation of 40 was granted land acquired from the Abbot of Tiron, near to St.-Paul's Church.⁷ The charter revealing

1 Le Grand, p.22; P.Dupont, Inventaire Sommaire des Archives ... du Quinze-Vingts, Paris, 1867, p.3; AN K.182, 1(2) and 2(2); Félibien, III, 270-1.

2 St.-Pathus, p.62; Joinville, p.258.

3 Le Grand, pp.11-12.

4 M. Chapotin, Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France, I, Rouen, 1898, (=Chapotin), p.511.

5 Chapotin, pp.511-16; L. le Grand, Les Béguines de Paris, Paris, 1893, pp.1-13; B.M. Bolton, 'Mulieres sanctae', Studies in Church History, 10, Oxford, 1973, pp.77-95.

6 H.Fr. XXI, 356.

7 Gallia, VII, 959; Félibien, I, 380; Tillemont, V, 312.

this transaction is dated 1264. Stephen, Abbot of Tiron, writes to his house and tells the community that he has sold the king the land for £100.¹ The king appears to have built the church and the conventual buildings, and to have allowed money for each Béguine. He left another £100 to enlarge it in his will, together with £20 for the poor there.² To other houses of the order he left another £100.³ Philip III was to give the movement more than £600 during his reign,⁴ but it was eventually suppressed at the Council of Vienne in 1312.⁵

As at Pontoise, Vernon and Compiègne, Louis 'fil agrandir la Maison-Dieu de Paris'.⁶ Philip-Augustus had helped it and Blanche may have given money towards the salle St.-Thomas. Louis granted it rents and made further enlargements, probably the hall and the chapel which were constructed c.1250-60.⁷ For this purpose he gave £200 Parisis from the Temple treasury in 1260.⁸ Other donations to the house included £20 rent (1232),⁹ and a grant of victuals in 1248 and grants of exemptions and liberties in 1255.¹⁰ As earlier in the century, 20s. a day was paid from Paris,¹¹ and other

1 Layettes, IV, III, no.4972; Le Grand, pp.12-15.

2 St.-Pathus, pp.60-1, p.40.

3 Layettes, IV, 419-21, no.5638.

4 Le Grand, p.15.

5 Tillemont, V, 315.

6 St.-Pathus, p.62.

7 E. Coyècque, L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au Moyen Age, Paris, 1891, p.159.

8 L. Brièle and E. Coyècque, Archives de L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris, 1157-1300, Paris, 1894, (=ArchHD), no.682.

9 ArchHD, no.292.

10 AN K.182, 1(7), and 1(8); Félibien, I, 381.

11 H.Fr. XXI, 261.

privileges, such as mortmain (1270) and freedom from pedagio (1269) were to follow.¹ He bequeathed it £100, and the three other hospitals which he had refounded £60 each. £1,000 was to be distributed amongst all other Hôtels-Dieu which were languishing.² This like many others of his donations, show that charity played a vitally important part in Louis' patronage of the religious orders. The poor and sick were given donations from the household expenses, and valuable gifts and endowments went to hospitals and leper-houses all over France. The king's patronage of the mendicants falls into the same range of interests.

6. Louis IX, the Friars and the University.

Louis IX, like Henry III, evidently found the lives and the ideals of the Mendicant orders very much in tune with his own vision and aspirations. In his later years, Geoffrey de Beaulieu wrote, he wanted above all to become a friar:

'unam videlicet de duabus, Fratrum Minorum scilicet, sive Fratrum Praedicatorum. Has etiam specialissime diligebat, dicens, quod si de corpore suo posset facere portiones, unam daret uni, relinqui alter'. 3

Had the queen died before him he would indeed have taken orders, according to William of St.-Pathus,⁴ but in the event, duties and cares of state prevented him from doing so. Yet he would frequently spend time in the friars' houses; in Compiègne, for example, he sat at table as an ordinary brother.⁵ The Mendicants, indeed, claimed to have played a large part in

1 ArchHD, no.1013; AN K.182, no.14 (1).

2 Layettes, IV, 419-21, no.5638.

3 H.Fr. XX, 7.

4 St.-Pathus, p.42.

5 St.-Pathus, p.44.

Louis' education,¹ although the tradition that he was a Franciscan tertiary was an unlikely one.²

During the thirteenth century the friars expanded rapidly and dramatically in France. Out of the 423 houses extant in 1275, 195 were Franciscan, 87 Dominican, 50 for friars of the Sack, 43 Trinitarians and 21 Carmelite. Other groups, the Austins, Crutched Friars, Mercedarians, Pied Friars and Williamites, were each represented by less than ten houses.³ The king favoured several of these orders, and Like Henry III in England, was probably the major patron of the mendicants in France. He gave frequently and generously to each friar in Paris, often as much as 18d. each time he entered or left the capital. When one convent was in debt he would give it liberal financial aid.⁴

Of the three known royal confessors all were friars; John of Mons was Franciscan (1270s), and William of Chartres and Geoffrey de Beaulieu were Dominican. Geoffrey was also Louis' almsgiver, and as his biographer, an important advocate for his canonisation. The Dominican order, indeed, formed a majority in the delegation to Rome in 1297 on his behalf.⁵

1 P.A. Callebaut, 'Les provinciaux de la Province de France au XIIIe. siècle', Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, X, 1917, (=Callebaut), p.295.

2 M.T. Laureille, 'Saint Louis et les Franciscains', Les Amis de Saint François, 11, 1970, (=Laureille), p.8.

3 R.W. Emery, The Friars in Medieval France, 1200-1550, New York, 1962 (=Emery), p.3.

4 St.-Pathus, p.60; H.Fr. XX, 94.

5 L.K. Little, 'St. Louis' involvement with the Friars', Church History, 1964, (=Little), pp.125-48; H.Fr. XX, 10; St.-Pathus, p.49; L.C. Barre, 'Les Franciscains et le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis', Les Amis de S. François, 12, 1971, pp.3-6.

Like the Templars in the twelfth century, the Friars became, if not royal bankers,¹ royal envoys and messengers. A group of Franciscans and Dominicans fetched the Crown of Thorns and the Holy Cross from Constantinople in 1241, and of the three annual feasts to celebrate the presence of the relics at the Sainte-Chapelle, one was celebrated by the Franciscans, the other by the Dominicans.² Both orders were also involved very closely in the preaching of the crusades, and Henry of Cologne, Grand Master of the Dominicans, went as a royal emissary to the Moslems.³ In 1253 the king sent two Franciscans, William of Ruysbroek and Barthélemy of Cremona on a mission to convert the Tartars - which proved unsuccessful.⁴ Eudes Rigaud, the Franciscan archbishop of Rouen, negotiated the Treaty of Paris with Henry III in 1259, and was an envoy to London in 1260. He acted as a royal administrator in 1247-8, helping the king in his Inquests into royal government which were probably modelled on the ecclesiastical Enquêtes of 1233.⁵ This man, indeed, seems to have been a close friend and associate of the king. He married Louis' daughter to Theobald, Count of Champagne, in 1255.⁶ When the king was ill in 1260 he made a special journey in order to be with him. He also accompanied him on his last crusade,⁷ Thomas Aquinas was probably another royal counsellor,⁸ and friars of both orders

1 Poverty and the refusal to handle money was one of their prime tenets.

2 St.-Pathus, p.38; Little, pp.127-8; Laureille, pp.8-15.

3 Little, p.130; J. Moorman, A History of the Franciscan Order, Oxford, 1968, (=Moorman), pp.300-1.

4 Callebaut, p.319.

5 Little, pp.132-3; H.Fr. XXI, 257-93; Callebaut, p.336; Brown, pp.211, 418.

6 Little, p.132; Brown, p.495.

7 Brown, p.427.

8 Chapotin, p.494.

served the king in administrative as well as advisory capacities.¹

Louis enjoyed and valued the hearing of sermons to a marked degree, and in these the mendicant orders specialised. His exchanges with Henry III on the relative value of masses and sermons had a serious point to them.² At Compiègne he asked to hear preachings in the vernacular as well as in Latin.³ Saint Bonaventura preached 19 sermons to the king as Minister General of the Franciscans,⁴ and Louis also admired the orations of Hugh of Digne, who on one occasion, according to Salimbene, refused to stay in the royal household because he thought this improper in a friar.⁵ The king's religious devotion was certainly recognised by the mendicants; his custom of bowing during the 'et homo factus est' during the Credo became a Dominican practice.⁶ He founded or helped several mendicant convents and often, as with his hospitals, assisted with the building of their churches. These buildings were normally in a simplified variant of the Court style: the windows of the chapels at Longchamp and St.-Matthew-de-Rouen, like the Carthusian Vauvert, show the typical lancet and oculi arrangement of contemporary Parisian design, but used in a simplified form.⁷

As well as having a strong interest in preaching and a love of poverty, charity and humility, the mendicants, and particularly the Dominicans, reacted strongly against heresy. This had clearly grown up from the activities of this order in the South of France from the time of its inception, and during

1 Callebaut, p.319.

2 above, Chapter V, section 2; Champolléon-Figeac, I, 140-2.

3 St.-Pathus, p.44; H.Fr. XX, 73; Little, p.128.

4 Little, p.127.

5 Moorman, p.118.

6 Chapotin, pp.494-5.

7 Branner, p.90.

and after the Albigensian crusade; the conversion of heretics through preaching had been one of Saint Dominic's major aims. The order was, however, anxious to extend its activities in the Langue-d'Oeil, and in Louis IX they found an enthusiastic patron. The king, according to Joinville, believed that the only weapon a layman could use against a heretic was to ram a sword into him, up to its hilt. He was probably also strongly prejudiced against the Jews, and in 1240 burned the Talmud in public.¹ Heretics, like blasphemers, however, appear to have suffered more from his zeal. During the 1230s Robert le Bugre, a Dominican friar toured France and interviewed suspects:

'quos omnes in fide diligenter examinatos, et et vacillantes vel exorbitantes, adjuto brachio saeculari, et domino rege Francorum impendente subsidium, fecit idem Robertus incendiis incinerari'. 2

Despite the strong protests of the secular clergy, Louis gave him an armed guard and full financial support. In 1234 he paid for the maintenance of a group of heretics in prison at St.-Pierre-le-Moutier,³ and in the 1248 royal accounts there are references to the support of the Dominican Inquisition in Paris, Orleans, Senlis, Amiens, Tours, and other widely scattered towns in France.⁴

The king founded and gave assistance towards several Dominican houses. At Compiègne he moved an existing settlement from the middle of the town. Part of his château was given to the Hôtel-Dieu, another part, with the houses which he had bought in the parish of St.-Antoine, to the Dominican Order. He paid the abbot of St.-Corneille £100 in recompense.⁵

1 Tillemont, II, 408-9; V, 294-8; cf. Le Siècle de Saint Louis, pp.259-73.

2 Paris, III, 520; C.H. Haskins 'Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France', American Historical Review, 7, 1901-2, pp.437-57.

3 H.C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, II, New York, 1956, pp.113-5.

4 H.Fr. XXI, eg. pp.262, 264, 268.

5 H.Fr. XXI, 119; Tillemont, IV, 116-7.

The site for the Dominicans was acquired from the collégiale of St.-Clément 'in qua domum praedicatorum edificare fecimus'.¹ This foundation charter was given in 1258, and granted seven librates of land given by the canons, but the king had clearly favoured the house for some years. In 1257 Alexander IV had approved the foundation, the plan being that Louis should accommodate the friars in the vicinity of his royal château.² When the friars took possession the king gave them £100, but his total expenditure may have amounted to more than £14,000 Parisis with the furnishings in addition.³ Another Dominican foundation he made was in Rouen, St.-Matthieu, for 50 nuns.⁴ The Dominican order had been in the area since 1224, when the duchess of Brabant had founded a house; in 1250 this had been moved into the centre of the town on the initiative of Eudes Rigaud, the archbishop. Louis was evidently another patron of the establishment; a letter of 1243 from the prior to him thanks him for his patronage and promises to intercede for him in return.⁵ It mentions Blanche and Eudes as other benefactors. Louis evidently continued to be generous towards the house; in 1256 he quitclaimed it of £10 p.a. and allowed it the use of the city walls and towers, and in 1258 confirmed other donations made to it.⁶ Evidently after this he decided to refound the house for Dominican nuns. Geoffrey de Beaulieu, writes that:

'Monasterium etiam Sancti Matthei iuxta Rothomagum de proprio adquisivit, in quo posuit religiosas sorores de ordine beati Dominici circiter quinquaginta ... et eisdem redditus sufficientibus providit'. 7

1 Chapotin, pp.449-50.

2 Layettes, III, 372-3, no.4365.

3 St.-Pathus, p.40; H.Fr. XX, 76.

4 Emery, p.112; H.Fr. XXIII, 189.

5 Layettes, II, 516-7, no.3118.

6 Chapotin, p.334.

7 H.Fr. XX, 11.

Thus in 1261 the king acquired the manor of St.-Matthieu-de-Rouen by an exchange with Peter of Meullent - this was confirmed by the archbishop and the Chapter.¹ In 1264 the foundation charter was given. This explains that the king had lately acquired the manor where the friars preachers are dwelling, and wishes to found and enlarge the convent there, for sisters of the order. He grants the site and its appurtenances, the existing buildings and those he will construct, £40 Tours as a pension from Rouen, the chapel of 'Glapion', dead wood and rights in the forest of Rouvray - 60 pigs may be kept there in perpetuity - and freedom from tolls. Some items were again confirmed in the subsequent two years. In 1266 he added 100s. Tours and part of a church² and in 1269 gave a confirmation, further rights in the forest of Rouvray, 60 acres for a grange at Montègne, and milling-rights at Villedieu.³ Later he added extra tithes and the right to build another grange in the forest of Rouvray,⁴ and by his will left the nuns a share of his books and £60.⁵

Louis gave the Dominican house at Carcassonne important assistance. According to Bernard Gui, an early fourteenth-century historian of this establishment, there was a group of Dominicans in the town before 1247. In this year, however, the king, who was in the process of rebuilding Carcassonne, ordered the seneschal there to grant the friars a suitable site. In 1254 he confirmed rights to draw water, and in 1255 the house was accepted by the Dominican provincial chapter at Montpellier.⁶ But the site of the house was too close to the River Aude, and was frequently

1 CN, nos.670-2, pp.138-9.

2 CN, no.700, pp.151-2; na.705-6, pp.153-4.

3 CN, no.759, pp.170-1.

4 CN, nos.784-5, p.180.

5 Layettes, IV, 419-21, no.5638.

6 C. de Vic and J. Vaissete, Histoire Generale de Languedoc, IV, Toulouse, 1872, pp.750-1.

flooded, so on the request of the brethren Louis found them another location on higher ground nearby in 1257, and also granted revenues for their clothes in 1255. The house became one of the more important in the area, and in 1265 Alexander IV allowed 100 days' Indulgence to those who visited the church on the day of its dedication.¹ Louis also gave charters of confirmation to the house at Prouille, the foundation of Saint Dominic.² Another house he appears to have helped is at Mâcon, where he granted the Black Friars a site near his palace and helped with the building-works in the 1240s. He had bought the county c.1239.³ He was also generous to the order as a whole - in 1257, for example, he granted it freedom from dues in all his lands.⁴

The house at Paris, the Jacobins, founded in the 1220s, was given valuable grants. Louis built the dormitory, granted it wood, and left it £100 in his will.⁵ He also completed the church which had been begun in 1221. This was a long, irregular, double-naved structure, and probably resembled the existing Dominican church at Toulouse.⁶ Enguerrand de Couci was another patron who spent £10,000 on the grand cloister.⁷ The traditions of the order and near-contemporary biographers including William of St.-Pathus claim that he founded the house at Caen, although since the documents of the house were destroyed in 1526 this cannot be given any verification.⁸

1 AD, Aude, H.259, no.1.

2 AD, H.464, no.1; H.465, no.1.

3 Gallia, IV, 1080; Tillemont, II, 355-6; V, 307.

4 AN, K.182, no.69; L.945, no.14.

5 H.Fr. XX, 94-5; Layettes, IV, 419-21, no.5638; Chapotin, pp.89-92.

6 E. Lambert, 'L'Eglise et la Couvent des Jacobins de Toulouse et l'Architecture Dominicaine,' Bull.Mon. 104, 1946, pp.178-81.

7 M.D. Roy, 'Saint Louis Bâtitseur', Archéologia, 31, 1969, pp.15-20, (=Roy).

8 St.-Pathus, p.40.

The king may have built the church and the cloister there, laying the first stone c.1235.¹ On his death the whole order in France was left £600 and a share of his books. But he did not confine his generosity to France, for in the 1260s the convents at Barcelona and Liège received spines from the Crown of Thorns.² In recognition of his special links with the Dominicans the General Chapter promised to say special prayers for him in 1258,³ and it is perhaps significant that the most important monument raised to the king himself, the house of St.-Louis at Poissi, was staffed by Dominican nuns. It was founded by Philip IV in 1297, shortly after Louis' canonisation. 'The church', according to Branner 'was a full-fledged example of the best manner of the Court Style'; the plan interestingly enough based closely upon that of Royaumont.⁴

Louis also gave substantial aid to the Franciscans. When he was on crusade, he founded a house at Jaffa in 1252, and endowed it with books, vestments and furniture.⁵ There was also a short-lived house at Damietta during the French occupation.⁶ But the majority of his patronage to the order went to the house in Paris, the Cordeliers, which had been founded c.1230,⁷ for in this year the abbot of St.-Germain-des-Prés handed over a parcel of land to the Franciscans. They had also, according to a confirmation of the bishop of Paris, previously been established at St.-Denis.⁸ In 1234 the king granted St.-Germain-des-Prés a 100s. rent remission. The monks had been paying the Crown this sum since 1209 in return for fishing-rights

1 Chapotin, pp.194-5; Tillemont, II, 191.

2 Chapotin, p.311.

3 Layettes, III, 418-9, no.4425.

4 Branner, p.136.

5 St.-Pathus, p.40.

6 Moorman, p.209.

7 Emery, p.109.

8 Callebaut, pp.299-301.

in the Seine, and were now allowed to enjoy these in return for ceding the Franciscans the place where they were living.¹ Louis built the church and the conventual buildings here, 'cum magnis expensis'.² This was done through money paid to Enguerrand de Couci. The church was dedicated in 1262-3, although it was not completed until the end of the century.³ It bore stylistic similarities to the Sainte-Chapelle.⁴ In his will the king left it £400 and part of his library.⁵

Franciscan houses in other areas were also given royal assistance. The king confirmed the foundation of the convent at Falaise in 1256. In 1254 he had taken over the site, where the friars were already established, from the founder, and he then regranted it to the brethren.⁶ He also granted their site to the brethren of Carcassonne.⁷ The house at Assisi was given a thorn from the Crown in 1258; another went to Compiègne, and a third to Séz.

Louis gave considerable material assistance to the foundation of his sister, Isabelle, for Minoresses, at Longchamp.⁹ She was believed to have made a vow to become a nun when seriously ill at St-Germain-en-Laye,

1 Callebaut, p.305; Tillemont, II, 75.

2 St.-Pathus, pp.40, 62; H.Fr. XX, 37, 95; Callebaut, p.332.

3 Félibien, I, 286.

4 H.Stein, Pierre de Montereau, Architect de l'Eglise Abbatiale de St.-Denis, Paris, 1902, p.27.

5 Layettes, IV, 419-21, no.5638.

6 Callebaut, p.325; Vet.Mon. I, 1318, 1336; C.N. no.514, p.91; no.559, pp.103-4.

7 AD, Aude, H. 294, no.1.

8 Laureille, p.10; Callebaut, pp.330-1; Anec. I, 1348.

9 P.A. de Serent, 'L'Ordre de Saint Claire en France pendant 7 siècles', Etudes Franciscains, 11, 1953, (=Serent), p.134.

in 1252. She wished to create her own house and consulted various religious as to which order to choose. She asked Hemeric, chancellor at Nôtre-Dame-de Paris whether she should found a convent or a hospital for the sake of her soul, and told him that Louis had given her £3,000 Parisis for the purpose.¹ Perhaps the king influenced his sister in favour of the Clares. Certainly he was interested in this order. In 1254, for example, he had visited the convent at Béziers and granted a rent to it.² In 1255 the royal chaplain, Matthieu, was busy acquiring land near to the Seine, North of Paris. With one transaction he gained 4 arpents from Simon de Valle Grignon which belonged to the fee of Ste.-Geneviève;³ 4 more came from Herméri de Montmartre, from the fee of Jean le Flamard, for example.⁴ Pope Alexander IV granted bulls of confirmation in 1257-8, and introduced a rule specially ameliorated for the royal house.⁵ Longchamp was almost completed by 1260, and Alexander IV sent another bull authorising the occupation of the house by the Minoresses at Reims, which was in its turn dependant on Sta.-Chiara at Assisi. This took place in 1260 amidst great ceremony. The king was there and granted a further 30 arpents of land.⁶ The rule was drawn up by the Minister of the French province, brother Pacifica, whom Louis rewarded for his pains with the gift of a spine from the Crown of Thorns.⁷ The convent became wealthy very rapidly; local inhabitants added liberally to its possessions.

1 G.Duchèsne, Histoire de L'Abbaye Royale de Longchamp, Paris, 1906, (=G.Duchèsne), p.1.

2 Serent, p.150.

3 AN, L, 1020, no.1; see transcript, below, Charters, no.17.

4 Ib. no.2, no.3.

5 Serent, p.134; AN LL. 1600, ff.1-2.

6 G. Duchèsne, p.3.

7 Callebaut, p.295.

In 1261, for example, Pierre 'dit le Martin' and his wife gave $4\frac{3}{4}$ arpents of land at 'Lanoie'.¹ In 1263 Isabelle retired to the house, and according to her Life written by Agnes de Harcourt, spent her time there clothed in miserable rags and helping the poor.² She died in 1269, and Louis attended her funeral. In 1270 she was translated to the middle of the choir. A gisant was made which portrayed her as a Franciscan nun - although she had probably never taken her vows.³ In the necrology of Longchamp she was remembered as the foundress with great reverence.⁴

Louis' family followed this interest in mendicant convents for high-born ladies. His daughter, Isabelle and her husband, Theobald, Count of Champagne, founded a house of Clares in 1270, and this was refounded in Paris in 1287 by Queen Margaret, who endowed this house and built it at Lourcens.⁵ Blanche of Castile had influenced her nephew, Ferrand, Count of Flanders, when he was a prisoner in the Louvre in the 1220s, to found Franciscan houses - these he sited at Gand and Valenciennes.⁶ Alfonse of Poitiers, Louis IX's brother, founded a convent at Montauban, c.1258, while Philip IV created a house at Moncel (Oise), c.1309.⁷

The king also helped other houses of Mendicant orders, particularly in Paris. He officially established the Friars of the Sack or Penitents there in 1261, on land in the parish of St.-André-des-Arcs, which he had rented from St-Germain-des-Prés for 70s.⁸ He granted them wood and left them £60 in his will.⁹ The church was begun under the royal aegis in

1 AN L. 1020, no.8.

2 G. Duchèsne, p.7.

3 G. Duchèsne, p.8.

4 Obit. Sens, I, (2), 660.

5 Gallia, VII, 950-2.

6 Callebaut, pp.296-8.

7 Gallia, IX, 852; Serrent, pp.135-156; Abbe Delètère, Histoire du diocèse de Beauvais, II, Beauvais, 1843, pp.395-7.

8 Tardif, no.842, p.349.

9 H.Fr. XX. 95: St.-Pathus. n.64.

1253 but not dedicated until 1397. He also helped the foundations at Caen, Rouen and Montréal.¹ He was regarded as the principal founder of the Blancs-Manteaux or Pied friars on the strength of a similar grant of their site worth 40s in 1258. He helped to build their church and in his will left them £20.² William of St.-Pathus claimed that he built the house of the Parisian Carmelites in great measure.³ The house was founded c.1258, possibly for 6 religious of the order he brought with him from Palestine.⁴ In a charter of 1260 the prior of St.-Eloi conceded the site in exchange for rents of £40 and 40s. paid by the king.⁵ Louis left the house £20. He gave the friars of the Holy Cross, the Crutched friars, two houses in the Rue de la Bretonnerie and financial aid for setting up their house, and also left them £20.⁶ The Austin friars were given a mill near the Porte Montmartre, and bequeathed £15.⁷

The house of the Trinitarians or Mathurins in Paris had grown from an earlier hospital in the 1220s.⁸ In 1261 Louis gave them extra land which had been originally granted out by Louis VII in 1137. This included a house for which Peter Lombard had paid the king 51d. each year, a grange taken back from Thomas Fenario worth 8s.6d, and a house from Guilo Bros at 34d.⁹ Louis confirmed this grant in the same year and gave a pension of 60s;¹⁰ in 1258 he had confirmed a grant given by Nicholas

1 Y.Christ, Eglises de Paris, Paris, 1956, p.42; R.W. Emery, 'The Friars of the Sack', Speculum, 18, 1943, pp.323-4.

2 Félibien, I, 374-5; Roy, p.16; R.W. Emery, 'The Friars of the Blessed Mary and the Pied Friars', Speculum, 24, 1949, pp.228-38.

3 St.-Pathus, p.40; H.Fr. XX, 94; Roy, p.16; Tillemont, IV 46.

4 Emery, p.109.

5 Félibien, I, 353; Layettes, III, 456-7, no.4477.

6 Layettes, IV, 418-21, no.5637; Roy, p.16, J.B.M. Jailliot, Recherches Critiques ... Sur la Ville de Paris, Paris, 1782, Quartier Ste.-Avoie, pp.31-3.

7 Roy, p.16; AN. K. 182, no.182.

8 AN LL 1545, ff 267-8.

9 AN. LL 1544, ff.12-13; LL 1545, ff. 163, 283.

10 AN. LL 1544, ff.15-16.

de Foissac¹, which perhaps marks the beginning of his interest in the foundation. He also built a house for this order at Fontainebleau some time after 1248.² There had been a royal chapel here in the twelfth century, and the chaplain received 20s, in the 1235 household accounts;³ in the 1248 Baillis' account £28 is paid out towards the re-roofing of the chapel.⁴ There is no evidence whether or not this was for the benefit of the Trinitarians. Certainly the foundation charter was not given until 1255. This states that the refoundation was for the souls of Louis VII and Blanche, on the request of the chaplain of the château, Master Nicholas, and with the consent of the archbishop of Sens. This chapel of St.-Saturnin, founded by Louis VII in 1169, was to be the basis of the foundation, which was to help the sick and the poor.⁵ A confirmation charter of 1260 describes the house as containing 7 friars and a number of sick, and its endowments as 60 arpents of land at Fontainebleau, 54 at Corbuisson, 254 at Macherieu, 250 of assarts at 'Mons Catonis', and more land at Bois-Roi and Brusoles. The king reserves all justice on these lands for himself.⁶ In the same year the administration of the Hôtel-Dieu at Compiègne was granted to the house. The buildings at Fontainebleau appear to have been quite considerable. The church was a single aisle terminating in a polygonal apse with a wooden roof. Fragments of sculpture discovered in situ suggest that its decoration was executed in a simple variant of the Court style.⁷ The house was, however, largely destroyed when Francis I rebuilt the château.

1 A.N. LL 1544, f.24; LL 1545, f.380.

2 St.-Pathus, p.40.

3 H.Fr. XX, 244.

4 H.Fr. XX, 274.

5 AD. Seine-et-Marne, H.119; Inv.Somm. H. p.32; Tillemont, IV, 206-7.

6 Vet.Mon. I, 1349-50.

7 A. Bray, 'Les Origines de Fontainebleau', Bull.Mon. 94, 1935, pp.303-13.

Louis was criticised for many aspects of his involvement with the friars, for his extravagant almsgiving,¹ for his protection of the Inquisition, for his assumption of the sober mien and the dress of a mendicant.² But probably the strongest area of criticism came from his support of the friars against the secular masters in the disputes within the University of Paris in the 1250s. These were concerned with the organisation of the University and the relative powers of secular and mendicant masters.³ Although apparently settled by Innocent IV's Bull limiting the powers of the Mendicants in 1254, they broke out afresh after the revocation of this document by Alexander IV - who had also been the cardinal-protector of the Franciscans - with the bull Quasi lignum vitae (1254-5).⁴ The University threatened to dissolve itself and William of St-Amour, leader of the secular masters, both preached angry sermons against the Pope, and wrote the Tractatus brevis de periculis novissimorum temporum. This described the Friars as ungodly men whose advent heralded the end of the world and the coming of Antichrist.⁵ Like the work of the extreme Franciscan, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, the Introduction to the Eternal Gospel, it was condemned by Alexander IV.⁶ William, who had defended his own works at the Papal court at Anagni, was banished by the Pope to Franche-Comté. The rôle of Louis is difficult to determine, but rather than acting with some duplicity in these proceedings, as Rashdall suggested, he seems to have adopted the rôle of a peacemaker. While he favoured the mendicants, he did not support the extreme nature of Alexander IV's views against the secular

1 St.-Pathus, p.63.

2 Joinville, pp.239-40, 8-9.

3 H. Denifle, Chartularium Universitas Parisiensis, I, Paris, 1899, (=Chart.Univ.), I, 252-8, no.230; I, 265, no.237; H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden, Oxford, 1936, (=Rashdall), p.283.

4 Chart.Univ. I, 276-7, no.244.

5 Rashdall, pp.384-9.

6 Chart. Univ. I, 331-3, no.288; 342-6, no.269; Rashdall, pp.386-7.

masters. His hostility towards William of St.-Amour, it seems, developed only gradually, stimulated by William's intransigence, and by the insults offered by him and his followers to Louis himself.¹

Ruteboeuf, a close associate of William of St.-Amour, composed several highly insulting verses directed against the king.² In the 'Li diz de Maistre Guillaume de Saint-Amour' (1257), for example, he put forward the case against William's banishment. If the king had allowed this on the request of the Pope then he is not master in his own kingdom; he has committed an act against both ecclesiastical and secular laws, for he alone is responsible for justice in his own realm:

'Mes je ne sai comment a non,
Qu'il n'est en loi ni en canon;
Quar rois ne se doit pas mesfere
Por chose c'on li sache fere'. 3

The king, he says, became angry with both parties, and deserted the cause of the Mendicants as well as imprisoning William unjustly. But as Dufeil suggests:

'Partrale par nature, la poésie touche: sincère n'est pas véridique'.⁴

But as well as involving himself in the politics of the University, the king was also generous to it. The Obituary of the College of the Sorbonne remembered Louis:

'sub quo fundata fuit domus de Sorbona ... Magistro Roberto de Sorbonio existente eius confessore pro tunc, canonico Parisiensi et Cameracensi, dicte domus fundatore'. 5

For shortly after the dispute within the University Louis gave substantial aid to it. William of St.-Pathus said that he bought two houses in the Palais des Thermes area, at the cost of £3,000, and having allowed poor

1. M. M. Dufeil, Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la Polémique Universitaire Parisienne, 1250-9, Paris, 1972 [= Dufeil], pp. 206, 209, 217, 229, 238, 288, 359; cf. Rashdall pp. 388-
2. Ruteboeuf, Poèmes concernant l'Université de Paris, ed. H. H. Lucas, Paris, 1954, (=Ruteboeuf), pp. 28, 9-26.
3. Ruteboeuf, p. 35.
4. Ruteboeuf, p. 37; Dufeil, p. 308.
5. Obit. Sens, I (2), 748.

scholars to live there, paid them between 2d. and 18d. a day according to their needs.¹ In 1254-5 he had probably purchased 35-40 houses in the Rue-St.-Jacques, and in 1257 handed two of them over to Master Robert. Robert added two to these, and more later.² In a charter for Master Robert dated 1257 Louis IX granted him the land for poor students and a quitclaim of 10s.³ In 1258 he recompensed those who would lose from this transaction;⁴ and later granted more houses to Robert, which he had acquired by sale or exchange.⁵ In 1259 Pope Alexander IV praised him for setting up a college for Masters of Arts in Paris,⁶ and at the same time the Pope wrote to the clergy of France, asking them to support Louis in this venture.⁷ Urban IV allowed 100 days of Indulgence in 1262 for those who supported the College; in 1268 Clement IV accorded the Sorbonne the right to build an oratory and to celebrate masses there.⁸ In his will the king left a total of £235 to four colleges in the University of Paris. Despite his political interference he was thus a generous patron of scholars as well as of the friars.

1 St.-Pathus, pp.61-2; Tillemont, V, 320-4.

2 P. Glorieux, Aux Origines de la Sorbonne, Paris, 1965-6, (=Glorieux), I, 87-9.

3 Chart.Univ. I, 349, no.302; Glorieux, II, 176, no.16.

4 F.A. Berty and L.M. Tisserand, Topographie Historique du Vieux Paris, Région Centrale de l'Université, Paris, 1897, p.582, no.cxi.

5 Chart. Univ. I, 377-8, no.329; I, 434, no.393.

6 Chart. Univ. I, 397-8, no.347; Glorieux, II, 207, no.179.

7 Glorieux, II, 208, no.180.

8 Glorieux, I, 92; II, 315, no.270.

7. St.-Denis and the Sainte-Chapelle, Royal Relics and the Court Style.

Under Louis IX, St.-Denis reached new heights of splendour and was showered with royal benefits on a scale not emulated since the days of Louis VII. A monk of the house, writing c.1297, describes the way in which the king came to St.-Denis each year to celebrate the feast-day of the patron:

'accedens ad altare sancti Dionisii cum maxima devotione,
nudo capite, flexis genibus, oratione praemissa'. 1

He also paid the house 4 gold coins each year, perhaps symbolising the price a serf paid to his Lord.² He had a strong reverence for Dagobert, for whom he built a magnificent monument in the church,³ which represented the king being rescued from demons by Saint Denis, Saint Maurice and Saint Martin. In 1247 he had the bones of previous abbots and kings including Louis VII, Abbot Suger and some Carolingians translated, and he also commissioned many fine tombs for his predecessors on the French throne, including Louis III, Carloman, Robert II and Louis VI.⁴ Part of the royal regalia was kept here, and in 1260 Louis granted the two great crowns of Philip-Augustus to the house for safekeeping.⁵ Abbot Eudes Clément baptised a child of the king in 1244, and the house provided several royal envoys. Two monks went, for example, on a mission to Palestine in the 1250s.⁶ Abbot Matthieu was a governor of the realm in 1270 when the king went on crusade.⁷ The king also received the oriflamme here, with great ceremony, before going on crusade in 1248 and 1270.⁸

1 H.Fr. XX, 51.

2 Labarge, p.205.

3 T.S.R. Boase, Death in the Middle Ages, London, 1972, pp.48-51.

4 Tillemont, V, 36-7; Brandenburg, pp.81-3.

5 Tillemont, IV, 222-3; Layettes, III, 552, no.4640; Gallia, VII, 391.

6 Gallia, VII, 389-90.

7 Tillemont, V, 124; Gallia, VII, 329.

8 M. Félibien, Histoire de L'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis-en-France, Paris, 1706, (=S-D.), pp.239, 246.

The North tower of the church had been badly damaged by fire in 1219, and in 1231 the abbot, Eudes Clément, decided to undertake the partial rebuilding of the house. William of Nangis suggested that this was done through the counsel of the king, Blanche of Castile, and the wise men of the realm.¹ The extent to which the king paid for the work was probably exaggerated by Félibien in his history of the house;² nevertheless the links between crown and abbey were symbolised by the placing of the arms of France and Castile in the choir and the crossing.³ The plan may have been evolved to fit Louis' own wishes:

'The crossing seems to become the centre of an enormous, nine-squared grid, set like a martyrdom in the middle of the basilica. This may indicate the rejection of Royaumont as a royal necropolis and the beginning of the end of Cistercian dominance over royal taste'.⁴

The style of the building itself, which was executed by royal masters, owes something to parts of Troyes and Amiens, but was unique in creating the effect of a glass wall terminating in a rose window. The obvious satisfaction of Louis in the design is reflected in his use of the same designer for his chapel at St.-Germain-en-Laye.⁵ These buildings, with Royaumont, were important elements in the creation of the Court Style in Architecture.

Louis also showered great material benefits upon the house.

'Ad honorem etiam Sancti Dionisii cartas aliquas, non obstante usu contrario, in registris regalibus invento, approbavit et robur habere voluit firmitas'.

One of these was from Charlemagne, another from Charles the Bald.⁶

1 H.Fr. XX, 320.

2 S-D. p.227.

3 Branner, p.46.

4 Branner, p.48.

5 Branner, pp.51-3.

6 H.Fr. XX, 52.

In 1270 he also confirmed two charters given by Louis VI and Philip I.¹ St.-Pathus mentions another valuable privilege as the grant of freedom from paying tolls throughout France,² given in 1259. In the same year he gave freedom from paying the gîte,³ while in 1270 he allowed mortmain on all the abbey's possessions.⁴ Some charters were more limited in scope. In 1230, for example, he confirmed the settlement of a lawsuit involving the abbey,⁵ while in 1270 he ordered the counts of Clermont to render homage to the abbey for certain of their lands.⁶ After his death in Palestine his entrails were buried at Montréal in Sicily, but his bones were returned to the magnificent mausoleum at St.-Denis.⁷

One part of the interest which Louis showed in St.-Denis was connected with the relics it contained. Their veneration and collection exercised a continuous and strong fascination over him throughout his reign. In 1267 he was present at the translation of the Madeleine at Vézelay, and was given a large relic for himself.⁸ In 1261 he assisted with the translation of Saint Lucien at Beauvais, and also attended several other similar ceremonies - at Pontigny in 1247, and 1249, and at Orleans in 1259.⁹ In 1241 he was at Nogent-le-Vierges, a Benedictine priory of Fécamp, for a display of the relics of Saint Brigid and Saint Maure, and he undertook

1 Tardif, p.351, nos.867-8.

2 St.-Pathus, p.41; Tardif, no.385, p.349, p.349; S-D. pièces, pp.cxxix-v

3 Tardif, no.837, p.349.

4 Tardif, no.870, p.351.

5 Tardif, no.809, p.347.

6 Tardif, no.351, p.351; S-D. pièces, p.cxxvi.

7 S-D. pp.247-8.

8 Tillemont, V, 39-40.

9 Tillemont, V, 358.

to rebuild the choir of the church, sending a mason c.1242-3. The building bears obvious resemblances to the earlier Sainte-Chapelle.¹

Relics which the king acquired for himself had to be given suitable places for their enshrinement. In 1262 he obtained some remains of the Holy Theban Legion from Agaune, and placed them in the royal chapel at his palace at Senlis. This had been founded by Louis VI,² and Louis IX evidently decided to rebuild it and to found a priory there for Augustinians of Agaune. In 1261 he bought a house from Robert, son of Eudes le Boucher, and his wife, 'pro edificio domus prioris et fratrum de ordine Sancti Mauricii apud Silvapectum commorantium'. A letter from the abbot of Agaune of 1262 confirms that the process was well under way.³ The priory, parts of which still survive in the château, was carefully constructed but modest in size. It was to house 13 canons. The foundation charter of 1265 shows that it was endowed with the land the king had bought in Senlis, 70 arpents in St.-Pathus, 16 at Persan, with 30 measures of wine and 22 of wheat each year. William of St.-Pathus valued the pension given by Louis at £400.⁴ In 1269 Louis gave another charter allowing the prior to spend an extra £1,000 on land from the royal fiefs - although the king reserved high justice for himself.⁵ Pope Clement IV confirmed the foundation and the statutes drawn up for it by Robert, Bishop of Senlis (1265).⁶

St.-Maurice was, as well as a house for relics, a royal memorial chapel and a hospital.⁷ The anniversaries of Louis VII, Blanche and Queen Marguerite were to be celebrated there each year with grants of

1 Branner, pp.66-7; Delettre, II, 294-6.

2 AD Oise, H.386; Gallia, XII, 1522, 3; L.VI, no.614, p.276.

3 AD Oise, H.386, no.1; Layettes, IV, 33, no.4738.

4 AD Oise, H.386, no.4; St.-Pathus, p.40; Gallia, X, 1523; Tillemont, IV, 255-8.

5 AD Oise, H.386, no.6.

6 Gallia, X, inst.235-8; Layettes, V, 258, no.772.

7 AD Oise, H.386, no.4.

20s. to the poor, and his own with 40s. During ~~1~~ Lent and Advent the canons were to feed 30 poor a day, and 5 during the rest of the year. On Maundy Thursday they were to wash the feet of the poor and to give them 3d. each. The services were to follow the customs of St.-Denis.¹ This foundation was thus a manifestation in microcosm of all Louis' main interests.

Royal chapels could intercede for the souls of the king and his family, they could contain relics, and they could provide chaplains for royal châteaux. Many of them combined these functions. Some so-called 'chapels' were in fact chantries; in 1259, for example, the king granted a £50 for 2 'chapels' to be set up in Chartres Cathedral to intercede for his family. £12 was granted for a similar establishment at Nogent, under the abbot of Coulombes.² In 1255 Louis established a chaplain in the royal chapel at Charny to celebrate masses there each day for the souls of his parents. He granted an annual pension of £12 to sustain him; and another at Poissy, was allowed £16.³ Special buildings were often created for the purpose of intercession. At Pontoise St.-Vaast was built in the 1250s, and another, two-storeyed building at Corbeil in c.1258.⁴ A chapel was ordered at Vincennes in 1248, and revenues of £15 p.a. and 60s. for lights set aside for its incumbents, although it is uncertain whether the building was ever completed.⁵ Another obscure foundation of the same type was St.-Vincent at Bois-le-Roi near Melun, which was attributed to Louis IX.⁶

The chapel at St.-Germain-en-Laye stands as an excellent example of this kind of building. In 1223 Philip-Augustus had founded a chapel

1 Branner, pp.92-3.

2 Tillemont, IV, 209; Vet.Mon., I, 1259.

3 Layettes, III, 281-2, no.4225; Tillemont, IV, 70; Vet.Mon. I, 1307.

4 Branner, p.92; Tillemont, V, 305; Trou, p.66.

5 Félibien, I, 320-5; Branner, p.65.

6 Delaforge, p.26.

in the château there dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In the 1230s, however, Louis according to a letter of Simon, Abbot of Colombes, replaced it with a building of finer work.¹ It was probably completed c.1238, and an extra chaplain was added to say a daily mass there. The previous incumbent, a monk of St.-Eloi, was to continue his prayers in the chapel of St.-Eloi in the parish church, for which the monastery was allowed £40 p.a.² The building is small but very fine, containing only three bays and an apse, but in details based closely on St.-Denis. It was probably designed by the same master.³ It also contains roughly sculptured heads which may be portraits of the king himself, of Blanche of Castile and Queen Margaret.⁴

The highest honour was done to the relics of the Crown of Thorns and the Holy Cross which the king obtained from the Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin, in 1239 and 1241, at a cost of at least £20,000.⁵ Louis had the Sainte-Chapelle built in Paris as a 'reliquary of monumental size'.⁶ It was intended to reflect the special glory of the relics themselves, and also Louis' prestigious position as their guardian and custodian. Innocent IV wrote in 1244 that: 'te Dominus in sua corona spinea, cuius custodiam ineffabili dispositione tuae commisit excellentiae, coronavit'.⁷ At the

1 Layettes, II, 384, no.2727. I.Hacker-Suck, 'Les Chapelles palatines du Moyen-Age en France', Cahiers Archéologiques, 13, 1962, (=Hacker-Suck), pp.217-57, esp. p.238.

2 J. de Terlin, 'La tête de Saint Louis à Saint-Germain-en-Laye', Monuments et Mémoires Fondation E. Piot, 45, 1951, pp.123-40, (=Terlin), and esp. pp.133-4.

3 Branner, pp.51-3; fig.V, 6.

4 Terlin, pp.123-40.

5 Félibien, I, 292-306; Tillemont, II, 410; Paris, IV, 90; H.Fr. XX, lvi.

6 Branner, p.57; Hacker-Suck, pp.238-43.

7 S.J. Morand, Histoire de la Sainte-Chapelle Royale de Paris, Paris, 1790, (=Morand), pièces, pp.2-3.

same time it emphasised the prestige of the French people, who were in a wider sense guardians of the relics.

The building fulfills its function in a visually magnificent way. Contemporaries were highly impressed. Matthew Paris heard in 1241 that the king of France had ordered a chapel to be built in his palace 'mirifici decoris'.¹ Alexander IV understood that 'opere superante materiam'.² It was constructed upon two levels, the design of the larger upper chapel leading the eye towards the focal point at the East end, the altar and the relics, and enshrining them in stained glass and gold. The design marks a break from the St.-Denis style, and owes much to the Cathedral at Amiens - for example, its windows and the pattern of its dado. Branner suggests that the architect was Thomas de Cormont who had been working on the Cathedral previously.³ It was to be a vitally important building in the development of the Court Style.⁴ The chapel was probably substantially completed by 1246; William of St.-Pathus estimated the cost at more than £40,000 Tournois.⁵

In 1246 Louis drew up his first set of statutes for the organisation of the Sainte-Chapelle.⁶ The charter states that the chapel has been founded to contain the holy relics, to intercede for the king and his family. There are to be 5 major chaplains and two deacons to serve it. An annual pension of £20 for each priest and £15 for each deacon is set aside; they are to receive extra payments for celebrating the canonical hours. Matthew, who has been the chaplain in the foundation of St.-Nicholas created by Louis VII and incorporated into the new foundation, is to be one of the

1 Paris, IV, 92.

2 Morand, pièces, p.3.

3 Branner, p.62.

4 Branner, p.65.

5 St.-Pathus, p.38.

6 Félibien III, 119-22; Morand, pièces, pp.3-7.

five major chaplains. In 1247 the Emperor Baldwin confirmed his sale of the relics to Louis. The charter shows that they included, as well as the Crown of Thorns and part of the Holy Cross, a portion of Christ's blood and another of the milk of the Virgin, a chain which had bound Christ and part of the stone from the sepulchre, part of the Holy Lance, the Holy Sponge and a section of the head of Saint John the Baptist.¹ Baldwin relinquished all further rights to these. In 1248 the chapel was consecrated; the king was granted an Indulgence for all those present by Odo, Cardinal-Bishop of Frascati.² This took place in April and in August the statutes of the chapel were revised.³ Extra priests were added and the pensions of the five principal chaplains and the deacons raised to £25 each. The canonical hours and the lighting of the church were also regulated, and, as before, the right of the nomination of the priests was reserved to the crown. Louis' successors were enjoined not to remove any relics or ornaments from the church. In 1256 the king added an annual grant of 8 measures of wheat.⁴ The foundation was thus generously endowed and well able to carry out its task of intercession for the king and for France. There were three annual feasts there, one celebrated by the Franciscans, one by the Dominicans and the third by the other religious of Paris in turn.

The Sainte-Chapelle became a pattern for building style. Other buildings were to imitate its effect of total spatial unity as well as its details. Many of these were royal buildings, some simple like Vauvert or the Hôtel-Dieu at Compiègne, or the Mendicant convents in Paris; others more ornate, like St.-Maurice at Senlis or St.-Vaast at Pontoise.

1 Morand, pièces, pp.7-8.

2 Branner, p.65; Layettes, III, 30-31, no.3666.

3 Morand, pièces, pp.8-13; Félibien, III, 122-5.

4 Morand, pièces, pp.13-14.

But the distinctive style began also to spread outside the royal domain - to the cathedrals of Clermont Ferrand and of Carcassonne, and outside France - with the mendicant churches in Germany and Italy and the cathedrals at Leon, Freiburg and London (Old St. Paul's), and Cologne and Westminster abbey.¹ Much of this can be attributed to the aesthetic attributes of the style itself, but its importance went beyond this. The Sainte-Chapelle was a religious symbol, a symbol of the devotion of the king of France to Christ Himself and to His relics, and to the relics of the Saints. Its design was conceived of to represent this idea and was a great artistic influence throughout France and Europe. But the building became also a symbol of the special sanctification of the French king and at the same time his prestige and his political importance throughout Europe as a strong, just and Christian monarch.

* * * * *

¹ Branner, pp.85-132, passim; for Carcassonne, fig. V, 7.

Fig. V, 1.
Royaumont, Val d'Oise,
fragment of north
transept, 1228-36.



Fig. V, 2. Maubuisson, near Pontoise, claustral buildings,
after 1236.



Fig. V, 3. Le Lys,
Seine-et-Marne,
mid-thirteenth
century, south
transept from
north transept.



Fig. V, 4. Le Lys, east end and transepts from nave.



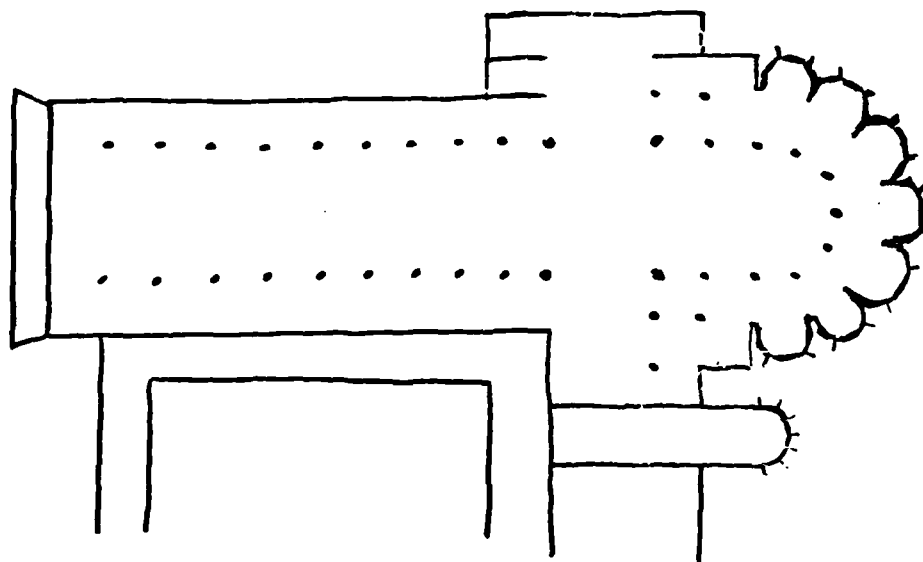
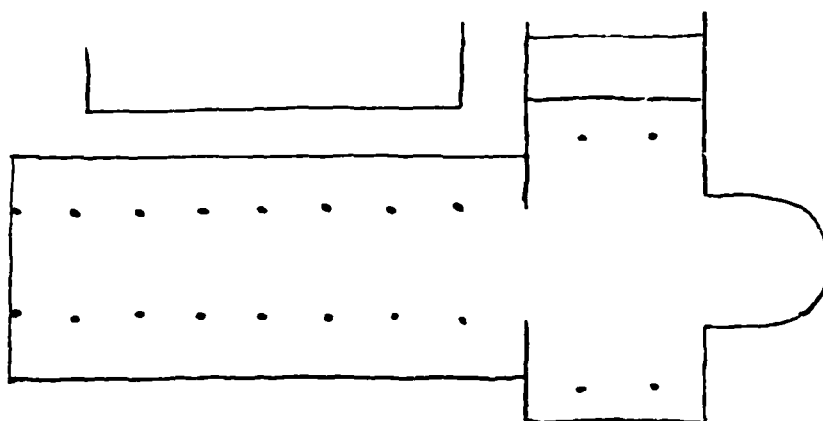
Fig. V, 5.Royaumont - Sketch Plan.Vaubuisson - Sketch Plan.

Fig. V, 6.
St.-Germain-
en-Laye,
Chapel, after
1238.



Fig. V, 7.
St.-Nazaire,
Carcassonne,
after 1269.

Chapter VIROYAL MONASTERIES AS MAUSOLEA - A SPECIAL CASE OF
MONASTIC PATRONAGE1. Introductory.

Precisely where a medieval king chose to be buried might appear a matter of indifference to the historian. Yet to his contemporaries it assumed great importance, since the choice of a suitable church or monastery involved both the salvation of the dead man and the standing and reputation of his bereaved family. To the royal court, it would be a matter of royal renown, and of pride in their house for the fortunate ecclesiastics chosen as custodians of the royal remains. Although most medieval kings were entombed in monasteries, there is great variety in the choice of sites for royal burial, and there are also many different reasons for their selection. In the later middle ages, a regal burial system crystallised. Royal houses tended to have one great church of enshrinement, but like nobles and burgesses, to be remembered also by chantries in special chapels, churches and monasteries. Doctrines about intercession for the dead through the saying of masses had cohered and reached general acceptance by this time. But before the mid-thirteenth century the logic behind the site and circumstances for burial of the great was far less consistent. Many ancient and well-established monasteries and cathedrals owed perhaps a reputation for piety or the possession of an efficacious relic, or a personal connection with the ruler and his family, to their choice as a royal mausoleum. Kings could also be entombed in their own monastic foundations, and some of these were created specifically as pantheons.

The period when the greatest variety in the choice of royal mausolea occurs is from about 1100 to 1270. Before this, kings and counts would be buried perhaps in their family monastery or perhaps in an

important cathedral. But with the church reforms of the late-eleventh century the system of the proprietary church was undermined. At the same time new orders which aimed to throw off lay control were emerging. Yet they depended to a very large extent on lay patronage, and because of connections with royal lay-advocates as well as a reputation for sanctity which would render their prayers highly efficacious, they were often chosen as the custodians of royal remains. In the confused pattern of royal burials two different sets of concepts emerged. One was that a king could found a monastery specifically as the pantheon for himself and his immediate family. The second, which gradually gained ground, was that kings should be entombed in great mausolea which were a symbol both of dynastic, and later of 'national' aspirations. In their outward manifestations these churches were not unlike the burial-houses of the early middle ages. Yet the concepts behind them were of a different nature, and this development is a measure both of a generally increased interest taken in burial, and the more sophisticated doctrinal framework which had been built up around it. And royal houses took full advantage of this development in using it to enhance growing dynastic prestige.

The term mausoleum itself seems to have derived from the tomb of Mausolus, ruler of Caria, which was created at Harlicanassus c.362 BC. If reconstructions are to be believed it was a vast edifice, a house tomb topped by a pyramid, and it fulfilled both entombing and commemorative functions.¹ This was likewise the pattern for ancient Egyptian and South American pyramids, although purely commemorative mausolea are also possible. Yet the definition of the term mausoleum as a shrine created for a great leader, and its siting in a medieval monastery suggests an immediate

1. E. Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture, its changing aspects from ancient Egypt to Bernini, London, 1964 (= Panofsky, T), p.23.

contradiction in terms. In one sense the mausoleum appears as the expression of constant ideas about monarchy and religion basic to mankind. The great leader, the Pharaoh, the Christian king, the communist leader, is set above the people in death as in life. Worship, of him or for him, is conducted around his mortal remains and in a setting of magnificence and of awe. Yet in Western Christendom there was a very powerful tradition that royal power, although sanctified, was inherently inferior to that of the priesthood, particularly the Pope. This was the theory throughout the middle ages, but the time when it had the greatest force and when the credibility gap was narrowest was from after the late-eleventh century church reforms until the thirteenth century. The royal mausolea should, as religious houses created specifically for the burial of kings and their families, illustrate the clash of these two elements in Christianity very strikingly. Curiously enough they appear at the very time when Papal claims for church separation and superiority were at their height. Mausolea such as Westminster and Las Huelgas also appear as the symbolic representations of the sanctified past of royal houses and their God-given power and authority at this very time.

Certain ecclesiastical reaction to this phenomenon of royal burial occurred, but it was limited in scope. The Grandmontines would bury only their lay-advocates.¹ The early Cistercian statutes prohibited the burial of all lay folk in their churches, including kings. This was modified and widened in 1157 when founders could be buried in the monastery, and in 1152 and 1180 to allow the entombment of kings, queens and bishops in the church choirs.² In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, some Cistercian houses were founded specifically for the burial of kings, as, for example, Barbeaux and Royaumont. Yet these mausolea were naturally

1. Giraldus, IV, 258.

2. Anec, IV, 1251-2; Canivez, I, 47, 87.

thought of primarily as monasteries, for their religious functions predominated over their secular importance. While they interceded for the soul of a dead king, as indeed for society as a whole, it was to the service of God that they were dedicated, and it was to the assumptions of his vicar, the Pope, about the rôle of kings that they should adhere. It is precisely in this area that they appear as atypical of the mausoleum pattern in general.

Perhaps in practical terms it is unnecessary to overstate the amount of tension between sacral kingship and the reformed church. Although papal thunderings about the plenitudo potestatis and their genuine repercussions in the ecclesiastico-political sphere should be afforded their full attention, on the level of working relationships between church and state there is a very real measure of compromise. Here the monastic mausoleum fits in. Although theoretically out of place in the cosmology of the reformed church, symbolising the Eigenkirche pattern, in reality it appears to have been accepted and used as a symbol of monarchy sanctified by the church. Here it has connections, too, with the 'primitive' aspects of medieval religion, and thus in certain ways with other mausolea in other societies.

2. Royal burial before c.1100.

In the early middle ages kings and counts were often buried in their own or their family monasteries. Despite the later tensions over lay ownership of churches, the pattern of comital shrines persisted, particularly in France, throughout the middle ages.¹ The early Scots kings were interred at Iona and later at Dunfermline, and the Merovingians and Carolingians at St.-Denis, St.-Germain-des-Prés and Ste.-Geneviève.²

1. below, appendix II.

2. J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, The Long-Haired Kings, London, 1962, p.228; A.H. Dunbar, Scottish Kings, Edinburgh, 1899, passim; Legrand D'Aussy, Des Sépultures Nationales, Paris, 1824, pp.300-1; Brandenburg, pp 49-67.

The Anglo-Saxon kings were buried in the royal monastery of Glastonbury or at Winchester.¹ The special importance and sanctification of these kings was reflected in the special prayers that were said for them; the pattern of the tenth century Regularis Concordia in England has its parallel in the earlier Merovingian prayer:

'prista Francorum regibus victuriam ut liberati a rebeli
suo salventur quia tu sulus pius omnipotens eternus'. 2

This idea of sacral kingship reached its height under Charlemagne who was buried in his own palace chapel at Aachen, a great church created as a symbol of Imperial power blessed by God. Nevertheless, it had not been founded as his mausoleum as the debate described by his biographer Einhard illustrates:

'corpus more sollemni lotum et curatum et maximo totius populi
luctu ecclesiae inlatum atque humatum est. Dubitatum est
primo ubi reponi deberet, eo quod ipse vivus de hoc nihil
praecipisset. Tandem omnium animis sedit nusquam eum honestius
tumulari posse quam in ea basilica quam ipse propter amorem
dei ... proprio sumptu in eodem vicu construxit'. 3

He was buried in an antique pagan sarcophagus he had brought from Italy.

Other kings were also buried in their own foundations - Otto I, for example, at Magdeburg.⁴ According to William of Malmesbury, King Aethelred 'construxit monasterium de Bardeneia, ubi sepultus est circa annum gratia DCXXII'.⁵ He calls him sanctus, and this is a frequent pattern in seventh-century England. It seems probable, indeed, that the foundation of a religious house was a sufficient guarantee of the holiness of a royal prince or princess in this period to ensure their reverencing,

1. BL Add MS 6159, ff.104-6 gives a full list; some earlier entries are perhaps fictitious; K.H.Krüger, Königsgrabkirchen, Munich, 1971, pp.30-3; 251-9.

2. Quoted Wallace Hadrill, p.229.

3. ed. L. Halphen, Eginhard, Vie de Charlemagne, Paris, 1947, pp.86-8.

4. R. Folz, La Naissance du Saint Empire, Paris, 1967, pp.218-20.

5. Dugdale, I, 623.

except in the case of very blatant wrongdoing. The normal pattern, as with the cults of Saint Etheldreda at Ely or Saint Radegonde at Poitiers,¹ was that the founder was venerated both as a king or a queen and as a saint. Frantisek Graus suggests that certain basic requirements had to be fulfilled in the making of a saint-king:

'Die heiligen Könige der Fruhzeit zerfallen in drei gruppen;
1: den mönischen König, 2: den in Kampf gefallene König,
3: den emordeten und verratenen König'. 2

Yet the widespread emergence of saints gradually became rarer, and after the mid-twelfth century the church took over the official creation of new saints. Some kings, like Louis IX of France, were canonised, but natural and spontaneous veneration of a hero for his deeds or for his life was no longer sufficient to make him a saint. Yet the political and unofficial cults of Simon de Montfort and Edward II in England were far more successful than that of Edward the Confessor which had both papal and royal support. This paradox is a reminder of the natural admiration as well as the official backing which might go into the making of a saint.

3. The development of ideas about burial, c.1100-1250.

With the arrival of the new orders, the choice of burial-houses became much wider: kings sometimes took a cavalier attitude towards places they had selected for this purpose. Henry III promised in 1235 that he would be buried in the Temple church which he had helped to rebuild:

'quod cum pio cupiamus desiderio, sani et incolumes et liberum habentes arbitrium de loco sepulturae nostrae disponere, et ante diem nobis inde prospicere ... concessisse et dedisse corpus nostrum Deo et beatae Mariae, et domui militiae Templi Londinii ibidem debitae commendandum sepulturae.' 3

1. Dugdale, I, 457.

2. F. Graus, Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merovinger, Prague, 1965, p.428.

3. Dugdale, VI (2), 818.

Yet he was ultimately laid to rest in the great shrine of Westminster which he had created for himself, his kingdom and Edward the Confessor. Likewise Henry II promised to be buried in Grandmont but after internal troubles in the order was interred at Fontevrault.¹ The failure of royal hopes and promises to materialise could cause great distress, as is shown by the letter of the monks of Cistercian Beaulieu of 1228 begging the Pope to allow them John's body since he had founded the house as his mausoleum.² The young king, son of Henry II, had asked to be interred in Rouen, but was hastily buried in Le Mans, from where he was later removed on the wishes of his father.³ Monks valued royal remains greatly since they tended to put the monasteries where they were lodged on the pilgrim and tourist map; pride in their house and the compliance with the wishes of their founders also played an important part. That a wider value was attached to these remains is suggested by the large sums of money offered by the French for the burial of King Henry V of England in France, where he died in 1422.⁴

When a king has made his wishes about burial explicit these were normally observed. Louix VII was buried at Barbeaux and Henry I of England at Reading - at considerable inconvenience caused by the transportation of his body from the forest of Lyons in Normandy to Berkshire. Yet not all kings chose to be buried in their own foundations or in the houses of the new orders. Philip I of France was laid to rest at the Cluniac St.-Benoit-sur-Loire for which he had a particular affection, and Louis VII's wife Adèle at Pontigny. The Empress Matilda arranged her interment at Le Bec-Helloui before her father's death, when she was seriously ill in the 1120s. Henry I argued that it was not a suitable resting place for a princess who

1. Gesta Henrici, I, 7.

2. T. Rymer, Foedera, London, 1727, (=Rymer), I, 193.

3. Gesta Henrici, I, 301-4.

4. W.St.-John Hope, 'On the funeral effigies of the Kings and Queens of England', Archeologia, LX (2), 1907, (= Hope), p.535.

had been Empress of Germany, but Matilda characterically resisted him strongly. She ultimately gained her wish, which was not, however, to be implemented for several decades; she died in 1167.¹ John had a strong interest in Anglo-Saxon saints, particularly St. Wulfstan and St. Oswald, and from this arose his wish for his burial at Worcester.

Roger of Wendover described his deathbed scene:

'Et his ita gestis, sciscitatus est ab eo abbas de Crocstuna, si ipsum mori contigeret, ubi vellet eligere sepulturam, cui rex respondens dixit "Deo et Sancto Wlstanu corpus et animam meam commendo". Qui postea in nocte ... ex hac vita migravit ... cuius corpus regio schemate ornatum ad Wigorniam delatum est et in ecclesia cathedrali ab episcopo loci honorifice tumulatum.' 2

A fragmentary will re-iterates this wish, which was to be implemented:

'Sepultus est ... inter sanctos Wlstanum et Oswaldum'.³

Sometimes when a king had made no request about his place of burial or was far from home, a suitable site near to where he had died would be selected by his followers. Frederick I after his death on crusade was buried at Antioch,⁴ in the same way as Otto II had been buried in Rome.⁵ Winchester Cathedral was William Rufus' last resting place, after his murder in the New Forest. This burial was very much a cursory affair, and William of Malmesbury speculated on whether or not the tower of the cathedral would have fallen down had this not taken place; Rufus was not popular with the clergy.⁶

Yet the complete lack of ceremony attached to William II's burial seems to have been exceptional, and became more so in the context of a growing interest in royal entombment in the twelfth century. Monastic writers give a clear illustration of this process. Detailed descriptions

1. J. Duchèsne, Historia Normannorum Scriptores, Paris, 1629, pp.305-6.

2. Wendover, III, 385-6.

3. Ann. Mon. IV, 407; Rymer, II, 533.

4. MGH, SRG, V, 91-2.

5. P. Lasco, Ars Sacra, London, 1972, p.92.

6. ed. W. Stubbs, William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, RS no.90, London, 1887-9 (= Malmesbury), IV, 379.

of the death and burial of kings emerge in the spate of annals and chronicles. Yet even in the graphic and slightly distasteful accounts of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon regarding the death, decomposition and eventual entombment of Henry I¹ an impression is left that the interest of the monks describing the burials outstripped considerably the care and consideration of the mourners of the dead king. Ordericus' description of the dead Conqueror left almost naked on the ground, despite the provisions he had made for his burial at Caen, is a clear example.²

Kings had shown a great concern for their burial from the late eleventh century, but from the mid-twelfth century onwards there is evidence for a widening and growing interest among court circles in royal entombment. This involved the finding of a suitably honorific burial house - Henry II's barons objected to Grandmont because it was contra dignitatem regni sui³ - and the enhancement of the prestige of royal dynasties by the re-interment of their predecessors and ancestors. Henry himself was interested in genealogy. Aildred of Rievaulx wrote a treatise addressing him as the cornerstone uniting the Norman and English races.⁴ He had the bodies of Dukes Richard I and Richard II of Normandy translated at Fécamp, with great solemnity, in 1162. In 1164 the consecration of Reading, burial-house of Henry I, was a particularly splendid occasion, as was also the translation of Edward the Confessor.⁵ In 1191 King Arthur was 'discovered' at Glastonbury after some royal prompting in the late 1180s and he was re-interred in the newly built lady chapel.⁶ These examples serve to emphasise that the idea was growing that the honour of the royal house should be manifested in the fittingly prestigious burial

-
1. ed.T. Arnold, Henry of Huntingdon, The History of the English, RS no.74, London 1879, pp.257-8; HN, pp.14-15.
 2. The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed.M. Chibnall, IV, Oxford, 1973, (= Orderic), pp.101-2.
 3. Gesta Henrici, I, 7.
 4. A.Squire, Ailred of Rievaulx, London, 1968, p.88.
 5. Ann.Mon, III, 42: H.II, Intro.p.68; IG.Thomas, The cult of Saints' Relics in Medieval England. Ph.D.thesis, Univ.of London, 1975, p.302.
 6. above. pp. 101-2.

of its past and present members. That Henry II was buried in Fontevrault instead of Grandmont shows the concern of his court for this notion. The young king Henry was eventually interred at Rouen and his entrails taken to Grandmont.¹ The remains of Henry II's mistress, Rosamund Clifford, also received great care. The author of the Gesta regis Ricardi primi describes the ire of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, on a visitation to Godstow nunnery in the 1190s when he found her magnificent shrine in front of the main altar. This Henry had erected with considerable care and expense, but Saint Hugh had it torn down and Rosamund re-interred in the common graveyard outside the church. The scene is described in great detail and obviously caused a strong contemporary stir.²

But this interest was not confined only to the Angevin court. The work of Suger at St.-Denis emphasised the glory of the French royal house, while in 1166 Frederick I held a feast at Aachen for the exhumation and reinterment of Charlemagne.³ It was these ideas which underlay the emergence of the large-scale royal pantheon, glorifying its monarch, his deeds and his ancestry. Yet this had to compete with the mausoleum of the single ruler and his family which enjoyed considerable vogue especially in the twelfth century, when the new orders provided a novel and wide choice, and kings were taking a stronger interest in their fate after death.

4. The mausoleum of the single ruler and his family.

By about 1100 a new idea about the burial of kings was emerging which produced a group of monastic mausolea corresponding most closely with their non-Christian counterparts, such as the Egyptian pyramids

1. Graham, pp.217-8.

2. Gesta Henrici, II, 231-2.

3. H.Fr. XIII, 722.

or Germanic graves of great heroes. A monastery was, it seems, founded by a ruler with the express purpose of his own burial there, and as a personal shrine. These mausolea emerged slowly and enjoyed variable degrees of success, for often the wishes of their founders were not observed, and to the chagrin of the monks were placed elsewhere, usually in a great dynastic burial church. Yet despite their setbacks these monastic houses constitute a definite group within the development of the monastic mausoleum.

Their origins may owe something to Byzantine influences disseminated via the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, which was in constant contact with its northern counterpart from the setting-up of both states in the later eleventh century.¹ Sicily was likewise closely linked with Byzantium, and 'as far back as the first half of the tenth century the basileis had originated the custom of selecting for their burial places not the traditional imperial mausolea, but the churches of monasteries they founded with this purpose in mind.'²

Thus Romanus I Lacapenus who died in 944 was buried at Myrelaion, Alexius I Comnenus (died 1118) at Christos Philanthropos, and John II in the heröon at the Pantokrator monastery built for this purpose by his wife Irene.³ John II died in 1143; in 1145 his political rival Roger II of Sicily granted his own monastic cathedral foundation at Cephalu two porphyry sarcophagi:

'sarcophagos vero duos porphyriticos ad decessus mei signum perpetuum conspicuos in praefata ecclesia stabilimus fore permansuros, in quorum altero iuxta canonicorum psallentium chorum post diei mei obitum conditus requiescam, alterum vero tam ad insignem memoriam mei nominis, quam ad ipsius ecclesiae gloriam stabilimus'.⁴

One of these was to be in his memory, the other to hold his remains,

-
1. D.C. Douglas, The Norman Achievement, London, 1969.
 2. A. Déer, The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily, Harvard, 1959, (= Deer), p.130.
 3. Déer, p.130.
 4. R. Pirri, Sicilia Sacra, 3rd edn, Palermo, 1773, II, 800.

yet this mausoleum was to be an empty one, for when he died in 1154 he was buried for political reasons at Palermo, in the cathedral. The sarcophagi were to follow him there in 1215; one was used for Frederick II and the other for his father Henry VI.¹ This was despite the protests of the religious of Cephalu that Roger's burial there was 'principalis causa, quando civitatem Cephalude re-edificavit et ecclesiam ibi fundavit.'²

Byzantium may have been one influence upon the growth of the mausoleum of the single ruler and his family for contacts between the Norman kingdoms of England and Sicily existed from their inception. But in Northern Europe a similar burial tradition was also growing up in the later eleventh century. To some extent, of course, this owed its origins to the idea that a founder could be buried in his own monastery which was part and parcel of the proprietary church system, as when, for example, Charlemagne had been laid to rest at Aachen. Yet actually to found a monastery as a mausoleum is based on a different set of concepts for it shows a singular concern of the ruler with his burial and with the provision of intercession for him after his death. The Vita Edwardi, indeed, suggests that Edward the Confessor may have been moving towards this idea with Westminster:

'potissimum autem ob amorem principalis apostoli, quem affectu colebat unico et speciali, eligit ibi habere sibi locum sepulchri', 3

and he had it rebuilt in magnificent style, beginning before 1060. At about the same time Duke William of Normandy began to build twin monasteries for himself and his wife Matilda at Caen. These, St.-Etienne and

-
1. Pirri, II, 805; Déer, p.23; L.C.White, Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily, Harvard, 1938, pp.189-201.
 2. Déer, pp.6-7.
 3. ed. F. Barlow, Vita Edwardi Regis, NMT, London, 1962 (= VE), pp.44-5; F. Barlow, Edward the Confessor, London, 1970 (= Barlow), pp.229-30.

La-Ste.-Trinite, were partly in penance for their marriage, for they were deemed to be related within the proscribed degree.¹ They may also, however, have been intended as twin mausolea. An account of a monk of Caen, written shortly after William's death, describes William's burial at Caen 'sicut antea disposuerat'. William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis, however, suggest that the place was chosen for him.² If William did choose Caen as his mausoleum, perhaps both this and Westminster which could conceivably have been erected in imitation, owe something as burial houses to pagan, Viking and Germanic ideas about the glorification of rulers in burial. The Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio describes William entombing his defeated rival Harold, after his death at Hastings, in the Viking manner, wrapped in purple and under a mound near the sea.³ On the site of the battle, furthermore, William created an abbey as a penance and as a memorial, insisting that the high altar should be on the place where Harold was slain. A later chronicler of the house claimed that he would have been buried here had he died in England; Caen, however, appears to possess a stronger claim in this respect.⁴

This royal interest in burial was given a strong and specific emphasis by William's half-brother, the overmighty Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. He was clearly filled with pride in himself and his cathedral and he ordained, in a charter of 1091, that the . priory of St.-Vigor-le-Grand

should be the mausoleum of himself and his successors in the see - a provision which he himself was unable to fulfil since he died and was buried at Palermo,

1. Douglas, pp.391-5.

2. Descriptive Catalogue of Materials, ed. T.D. Hardy. RS, II, London, 1865, pp.14-15; Malmesbury, II, 337-8; Orderic, IV, 102-7, for the events of the funeral.

3. The Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio, ed. C. Morton and H. Muntz, OMT, 1972, pp.37-9; if this account can be accepted Harold was probably later translated to Waltham; Hope, p.519.

4. ed.J.S.Brewer, Chronicon Monasterii de Bello, London, 1846, pp.36-9; E.Searle. Lordship and Community, Battle Abbey and Its Banlieu, 1066-1538, Toronto, 1974, p.22.

and which was quashed by Pope Lucius III in the late twelfth century.¹

The evidence thus indicates that in the later eleventh century it was coming to be accepted, not only that members of royal houses could and should be buried honorifically in their own monasteries, but also that these houses had a specific importance as places containing the royal tombs and interceding for the kings; monasteries founded specifically as burial-houses, a logical development of these ideas, seem to emerge in the twelfth century.

With Henry I's burial house at Reading the idea of the monastic pantheon of the single ruler is given greater definition. It was begun c.1121 as a Cluniac priory and became an abbey two years later; this was of Cluniac observance although not affiliated to that order, perhaps to emphasise its status as a great royal house. Henry was a patron of the Cluniacs; his nephew Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, belonged to that order and was a royal favourite. The king had given important donations to Cluny and was a patron of St.Pancras of Lewes from which some of the monks from Reading came.² Since it was not completed until 1164 it is hard to gauge his financial contribution to the building works, although existing capitals surviving from the 1140s, and the size and layout of the house indicate that it was on a considerable scale.³ He used the estates of three houses destroyed in the early eleventh century as the basis of the foundation, but granted it some valuable lands, privileges, and also the hand of Saint James which his daughter the Empress Matilda brought with her from Germany.⁴ Henry II was to increase the revenues by adding extra

1. D.Bates, 'The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 1049/50-1097', Speculum, 50, 1975, 1-20, esp. p.19; my thanks to Dr Bates for information on Odo.

2. Brooke, pp.139-40; Kemp, pp.43-8; my thanks to Dr Kemp for information about Reading.

3. J.C.B. Hurry, Reading Abbey, London, 1901, pp.1-24.

4. King's Works, I, 49-50; Leyser, *passim*.

pensions in memory of his grandfather. When Henry I died he was probably buried in front of the high altar, at the focal point of the church,¹ although there seems to have been a memorial chapel to him elsewhere in the church.

What is particularly significant about the burial, and about Reading as a mausoleum, is that despite the existence of many suitable places in Normandy, as, for example, Ste-Marie-des-Prés, where his bowels were entombed, Henry I was brought from the forest of Lyons in Normandy across the channel, at considerable inconvenience, to be buried there. This is emphasised in William of Malmesbury's description. Other members of his family, including Adèle, his second wife, were later buried there.² With Reading, then, the idea of the royal mausoleum of a single ruler in England had perhaps reached its first specific manifestation.

Stephen was buried at Faversham, Kent, which in its order and status was modelled directly on Reading, an unaffiliated Cluniac house. Its early history is somewhat obscure, but the foundation charter³, together with the description of his death and burial by various chroniclers imply that Stephen probably intended Faversham as a burial house for himself and his family. Certainly Queen Matilda and his son Eustace who died shortly before him were buried there.⁴ The evidence of the recent excavations reinforces these suggestions. The building of at least part of the house was accomplished with considerable speed since it was founded as late as 1147-8 and a portion of it seems to have been completed by the

1. Gervase, I, 95.

2. HN, pp.14-15; Kemp, p.42.

3. Kemp, p.17; Reg.R. III, 300.

4. Wendover, II, 272-3.

time of Stephen's burial in 1154. The church was built on a grand scale with a square east end but three apsidal chapels on the end of an unusually long choir. Some massive pieces of masonry found at the centre of the choir were probably the bases of the tombs of Stephen and Matilda, and B.J. Philp suggests that the whole plan of the east end of the church was laid out to house them.

'The chapel at Faversham, it seems, was a mighty royal mausoleum ... surely the *raison d'être* for the establishment of the monastery'.¹

If this is the case, Stephen must surely have envisaged Faversham as his mausoleum and had it designed specifically to carry out this idea, departing in this from the plan of Reading. Yet in its status and its function, Faversham resembled Reading very closely. Henry II, however, in many ways an imitator of his grandfather, broke away from this pattern of the individual Cluniac mausoleum.

Yet the idea continued in England, for John seems to have founded Beaulieu with the intention of making it his burial house, even though he was eventually interred at Worcester. It seems ostensibly unlikely that King John should found a Cistercian house, and it may have been as a means of gaining the support of this wealthy order, as an act of piety or diplomacy after one of his periodic disputes with it. A less credible story comes in the suggestion that this was done in a moment of bad conscience for having ill-treated the Cistercian abbots.² Whatever his motives the course of the foundation is clear. In 1203 he granted his manor of Faringdon to the Cistercians and in 1204 changed the site of the proposed abbey to Beaulieu, Hampshire, '*prope locum ubi Willelmus rex Ruffus occisus est*'.³ He seems

1. Pevsner, *N. and E. Kent*, pp.304-5; Philp, p.15 and see plan, fig. II, 3.

2. *VCH*, Hants, II, 140.

3. Dugdale, V. 682-3; *Ann.Mon.* II, 256; BL Cott.Nero A XII, f.1.

to have given fairly generously to the abbey, but although it was begun in 1204 the building was fairly slow. The monks did not take possession until 1227, while the final dedication was not until 1245.¹ A great deal of interest was taken in Beaulieu by Henry III and he may have contributed generous sums.² The style of the remains of the abbey is that shared by a group of buildings erected by the kings and their associates in the early part of the thirteenth century. But the plan of the church is pure Clairvaux III (1155-75), and it seems that some French masons were employed including Durandus of Rouen in the 1220s.³ The eastern parts consisted of an ambulatory and radiating chapels. This, as well as being a Cistercian pattern was well suited to its function as a burial-house. For John when he built Beaulieu, undoubtedly intended it to be his mausoleum. He had had this in mind since 1199 when he had promised to build a Cistercian house, 'seque ibidem sepeliendum',⁴ and he clearly took considerable care over the project. He wrote to the Cistercian abbots of England asking for special care to be given to it: 'rogamus vos attentius, quatinus intuitu Dei, auxilium faciatis novae abbatis nostrae Bello Loco'.⁵ He may have repented the idea of his burial there towards the end of his reign; there is a hiatus in his gifts to Beaulieu and an increasing interest in St. Wulfstan; donations to Worcester Cathedral priory became numerous.⁶ And it was there that he was buried, in fulfillment of the instructions he gave on his deathbed.⁷

These events upset the monks of Beaulieu very bitterly, and in 1228 they wrote to Pope Honorius, demanding that the body of John should be

1. Ann. Mon. II, 304, 337.

2. Charter of Henry III, granting free-warren, App. III, no. 8.

3. Pevsner, Hants, p. 95; W. H. St.-John Hope and H. Brakespeare, 'The Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu', Arch. Jnl. 63, 1906, pp. 129-86, and see Hockey.

4. Ann. Mon. I, 25.

5. Dugdale, V, 680.

6. Ann. Mon. IV, 395; VCH, Worcs, II, 98-9.

7. Wendover, III, 385-6.

returned to them since he had promised to be buried there:

'Innotescat sanctitati vestre quod serene memorie Iohannis, quondam rex Angliae, pater noster domum Belli Loci fundaverit, sicut pluribus notum est in Anglia, in eadem domo igitur sepulturam elegit post fata communia, et ut dicitur, hoc sollemne vovit ... (sed) non potuit corpus eius ad dictam domum deferri ...'.¹

This letter is a clear illustration of the fully fledged idea of the burial house for the single ruler, for this is what John intended it to be. In the context of his disputes with the Cistercians the choice of this order to intercede for him becomes more credible if viewed in the context of the French Cistercian mausolea of the royal house.

The Cistercians were extremely popular in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and large numbers of their houses founded by nobles were used as mausolea. The royal house was an important patron of the order and gave generously to Cîteaux and Clairvaux and Pontigny. When Louis VII founded a monastery at the Sacer Portus in 1147, it was within this pattern. In 1156 he moved it to a better site at Barbeaux.² Four years before this the Cistercian general chapter had ruled that

'Nullus praeter regem sive reginam, sive archiepiscopos et episcopos in nostris sepeliantur ecclesiis'.³

In 1157 it further allowed that

'ad sepeliendum, non nisi fundatores recipiantur'.⁴

Thus the way was opened to royal burials in Cistercian churches; it is possible that Louis built Barbeaux with such considerations in mind. Certainly the move to a better site came after the relaxation of the statutes, and the endowments were increased considerably.⁵ In 1178 he granted £100 a year 'ad luminaria eidem ecclesiae ministrando' in his memory;⁶ this implies he proposed to be buried here, an event which took

1. Rymer, I, 192.

2. Gallia, XII, inst. 41.

3. Canivez, I, 47.

4. Anec. IV, 1251.

5. BN MS Lat. 5466, ff.196-238; cf. Brandenburg, pp. 87-8.

6. Anec. I, 591.

place after his death in 1180.

Adèle, his widow, gave a charter in 1183 confirming the house for his soul 'cuius corpus requiescit humatum in praedicta ecclesia'.¹ He lay beside the high altar, although no tomb was made for him until the thirteenth century.

Adèle was to be buried in Pontigny, and another queen, Berengaria, wife of Richard I, was like her husband also interested in the Cistercians. In 1229 she founded the abbey l'Epau, near Le Mans, on land given to her by Louix IX, and with the help of the Bishop of Le Mans.² The remains are those of a fine church of the 1230s, but she was not to supervise its construction, for she died in 1230 and was buried there.³ It seems likely that this house was intended by Berengaria as her mausoleum. The assistance of the French crown with its connections with Cîteaux is also interesting.

St.-Denis was already in the twelfth century becoming the shrine which represented French sacral kingship, and Louis VII was the only king to be buried elsewhere. But there were several commemorative houses founded, including Chaâlîs, and Philip-Augustus asked for a similar Premonstratensian abbey to be created in his memory.⁴ This was never implemented, but Louis VIII asked for another similar Premonstratensian abbey and gave donations to the inhabitants of Asnières-sur-Loire where it was to be situated.⁵ But when Louis IX and his mother Blanche of Castile carried out these requests, the order was to be Cistercian, a group in which the queen was very interested. As well as being a memorial, it seems clear that Louis intended it to be his mausoleum, for as with Stephen at Faversham, close members of his family who died before him were buried there. These included

1 Gallia, XII, inst. 58.

2 M. Aubert, L'Architecture Cistercienne en France, Paris, 1947, I, 332.

3 Gallia, XIV, 536; figs.III, 13-14, App.III, charters, nos.9-11.

4 H.Fr. XVII, 114.

5 Branner, p.32.

his brother and some of his children, Blanche (1243), Jean (1248) and Louis (1260). He also spent a great deal of time in the abbey, Royaumont, and according to the thirteenth century *Vie de St. Louis*, 'leur donna et assigna rentes et possessions pour eulx vivre largement et habundement'. In 1245, for example, he gave £500 annual pension, and in 1249, large areas of arable land. In 1235 the abbey was consecrated in his presence and he gave relics of the true cross and the crown of thorns.¹

Surviving fragments of the abbey indicate both its size and the comparative lavishness of its style. The plan is of the normal apsidal east end type, but it was executed in the style of court buildings. The Cistercian general chapter of 1253, indeed, objected to the excessive ornamentation of the building, and suggested that much of it should be removed, probably with little effect. Branner considers that Royaumont, with St.-Denis which was rebuilt in part in the 1230s, was a decisive building in the formation of the French Court Style of the mid-thirteenth century which crystallised in the Sainte-Chapelle.² Certainly its magnificence made it a fitting royal abbey and potential mausoleum, until Louis was buried in St.-Denis, preferring the Saint's symbolic custody to the intercession of the Cistercians.

Yet the choice of the Cistercians fits in with the pattern of the single burial house, and Louis may well have been imitating his mother Blanche in creating a Cistercian pantheon. Her parents founded a Cistercian nunnery at Las Huelgas, Castile, in the 1180s, which was to be their dynastic burial house. The queen had also the examples of Barbeaux and l'Epau to work from, and in c.1236 she began the convent of Maubuisson where she was

1 Gallia, IX, 842-3; P. Lauer, 'L'Abbaye de Royaumont', Bull. Mon. 72, 1908, pp.168-215; cf. Krandenburg, pp.92-3; Branner, pp. 54-6.

2 Branner, p.56; Labarge, p.52.

to be interred.

In 1244 she also founded Le Lys, a twin house, where her heart was to be buried.¹ Both were given generous endowments, and were executed on a grand scale.² When Blanche was dying in 1252 she retired to Maubuisson and was clothed in the habit of a nun. The anonymous chronicler says

'L'an MCCLII mourut Blanche, la sage, la vaillant,
la bonne roine de France ... et fu enfui en
l'abbaye de Maubuisson, deles Pontois'. 3

And as at Royaumont relatives of Saint Louis were buried here later in the thirteenth century, while his sister, Isabelle, was buried in her own foundation for minoresses at Longchamp.⁴

A different manifestation of the idea of the mausoleum of the single ruler and his family is to be found at Arbroath in Scotland. In about 1178 William the Lion, King of Scots, founded a Tironnais house and dedicated it to Thomas Becket, who had been both a personal friend of the king and a symbol of Scots resistance to Henry II. The image of the murder, indeed, appeared on the abbey's seal.⁵ The endowments included the Breckbennock of Saint Columba, a highly prized relic, and the shire of Arbroath.⁶ The eastern parts of the abbey were completed by William's death in 1214, and show strikingly advanced Gothic features, probably influenced by the rebuilt Canterbury Cathedral begun in 1174 - although the plan is a reminder of the austerity of the order involved.⁷ An

1 Gallia, VII, 927-8; XII, 247 and inst. 72-3.

2 BN MS Lat.3292, ff.1-38; see charters, App.III, nos.13-15.

3 H. Fr. XXI, 83 (1286-1314).

4 G. Duchèsne, pp.7-8.

5 R.L.Mackie and S. Cruden, Arbroath Abbey, Edinburgh, 1954 (= Mackie), pp.3-5.

6 NLS Edinburgh, MS Adv.34/4/2

7 Mackie, p.21.

excavation of 1816 found the tomb of William the Lion, placed in front of the high altar, executed in Purbeck marble. Fordun wrote that after his death his body

'ad Abirbroth cum magno deferebatur honore sepeliendum, sicut rex ante mortem praeceperat ... Et sepultus est in ecclesia monasterii de Abirbrothoc ante maius altare, quam ipse, ad honorem dei et Sancti Thomae martyris Cantuariensis Archiepiscopo, a fundamentis construi fecerat...' 1

William had thus planned Arbroath as his pantheon, and it stood both as this and as a symbol of opposition to the English crown.

But by the thirteenth century the idea of a mausoleum of the single ruler was becoming submerged by the large scale dynastic pantheon. The failures of Cefalu, of Beaulieu, of Royaumont, illustrate this process at work. At the same time the personal ecclesiastical memorial to a great man remained ~~man~~ remained a feasible proposition, for during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries memorial mausolea were founded. These were monasteries and chapels built in memory of great men but not containing their physical remains apart from, in certain cases, the heart or entrails. These were in a sense prototype chantries, and as doctrines of intercession through the saying of masses became stronger in the thirteenth century, they were to merge with them.

5. Mausolea as Memorials.

One kind of memorial house contained the heart or entrails of a king or queen. Very often these were given to a house with which the king or his family had connections. ^{In Germany from the tenth century, and more widely} from the twelfth century, a king was usually eviscerated, as with Henry I on his death.² His entrails were

1 A. Lawrie, Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland, Glasgow, 1910, pp.399-400.

2 Malmesbury, IV, 379; HN, pp.14-15; Brandenburg, pp.93-4.

given to Ste.-Marie-des-Prés and those of the young king, son of Henry II, to Grandmont.¹ Sometimes the heart was detached from the body, and was a custom which may have originated in Germany in the eleventh century. buried separately, / The earliest example of this, ^{in France} was probably Robert of Arbrissel, c.1117,² and the earliest royal example, perhaps Richard I.

His body was at Fontevrault, his heart at Rouen and his entrails at Charroux in Poitou.

'Pictavis exta ducis, sepelitique tellusque Chalucis,
Corpus dat claudi, sub marmore Fontis Ebraudi,
Neustria tuque tegis, cor inexpugnabile regis,
Sic loca per trina, se sparsit tanta ruina,
Nec fuit hoc funus, cui sufficeret locus unus'. 3

The custom of heart burial became very popular in the thirteenth century.

Louis VIII gave his heart to St.-André at Clermont,⁴ while Blanche of Castile's heart was buried in her own foundation of Le Lys and her body at Maubuisson.⁵ Louis IX who died on crusade was divided between Montréal in Sicily and St.-Denis, and Henry III between Westminster and Fontevrault.⁶ So widespread did the practice become that in 1299 Pope Boniface VIII forbade the mutilation of the dead, although Benedict XI (1303-4) was prepared to relax the rule in favour of Philip IV of France. In the later middle ages licences for the separate burial of hearts and bowels became a valuable source of revenue for the papacy.⁷

In these cases intercession would be centred in the royal 'relics'. Some monasteries were, however, founded as memorial mausolea and possessed

1 HN, p.14; Gesta Henrici, I, 301-4.

2 C.A. Bradford, Heart Burials, London, 1933. (= Bradford), pp.38-41; body at Fontevrault, heart at Orsan; Brandenburg, pp.94-5.

3 Wendover, II, 283-4.

4 Gallia, II, 410.

5 above, Chapter IV, section 4.

6 Bradford, p.42; Rymer, II, 533; Tillemont, V, 173-4.

7 Bradford, p.47.

no remains. The French royal house took a particular interest in this kind of foundation. As early as 1059, Anne, wife of Henry I of France, may have refounded St.-Vincent-de-Senlis in memory of her husband.¹ Louis VI continued this tradition. In 1127 Charles 'le Bon', his cousin, was assassinated at mass in Bruges.² Louis, who had evidently been close to the count of Flanders, refounded a Benedictine priory as a Cistercian abbey in his memory. The mother house was Pontigny, and the name of the priory was changed from Calisium to Caroli Locus, or Chaâlis.³ Louis also showed concern for his own soul, for he created the chapel of St.-Nicholas-au-Palais in Paris 'anime sue consulens', as Louis VII's confirmation charter explains.⁴ Philip-Augustus and Louis VIII asked for Victorine houses to be founded as memorials to them, and Philip and Louis IX founded memorial chapels at the royal chateau of St.-Germain-en-Laye. A letter of Simon, Abbot of Colombes, of 1238 describes the foundation by Philip of 1223, and the amplification of the cultum divinum by Saint Louis, who added his own chaplains to say mass each day in a twin foundation.⁵ The chapel rebuilt by Louis is very much in the St.-Denis style, and may have been created by the same architect. Likewise Louis VIII founded a chapel c.1227 in Nôtre-Dame-de-Paris, allowing £15 pa. for his own obit and retaining the right of nomination of the chaplains to his family.⁶ It became accepted that royal foundations should celebrate masses and anniversaries out of gratitude to their founders, as a letter of 1243 from

1 Gallia, X, 1508.

2 Ross, *passim*.

3 L.VII, pp.104-5, no.18; BN MS Lat. 11003, ff.1-2.

4 Tardif, pp.292-3, no.565.

5 Layettes, II, 384, no.2727; Branner, p.52.

6. L. VIII, p.484, no.258.

the prior and brothers of the Dominican St.-Matthieu-de-Rouen illustrates clearly.¹ But perhaps the culmination of the memorial chapel in France came with Louis IX's Ste.-Chapelle, to house the relics he had acquired and to intercede for the souls of his family.² A similar kind of royal foundation in England was the creation in 1273 of the hospital of St.-Katharine by the Tower by Queen Eleanor, to pray for the souls of herself and her family and to help the poor and sick of London.³

The thirteenth-century memorial chapels follow in their development the twelfth-century memorial monasteries and chapels, yet the memories of their founders are commemorated in a different way, by the saying of masses for their souls. Endowments are provided for chaplains to fill this specific function. This kind of memorial was made possible by the development of the doctrines of intercession. Before the thirteenth century a layman, a king, could hold a special position in a monastery by becoming a confrater, as did Louis VII at Canterbury.⁴ Substantial gifts to or important connections with monasteries were also rewarded by anniversaries, or prayers said each year in perpetuity. Louis VI's anniversary was celebrated each year at St.-Denis on August 2nd.⁵ Queen Joan of Sicily bequeathed Fontevrault an annual rent of twenty marks in 1199 for the anniversaries of herself and her husband, and both she and her mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, granted £10 for chaplains to celebrate their memories there.⁶ In 1240 Henry III granted the monastery of Bury-St.-Edmunds a tun of wine per year

1 Layettes, II, 516-7, nos.3118-9 (1243).

2 Obit.Sens. I (1), 337.

3 C. Jamieson, The history of the royal hospital of St.-Katharine, Oxford, 1952, pp.19-21.

4 Gervase, I, 293; see Brandenburg, pp. 97-105.

5 Obit. Sens. I (1), 337.

6 CDF, pp.390-3, nos.1100, 1105.

so that the monks should say mass for him regularly.¹

The introduction of daily as opposed to yearly masses said for the soul as a means of intercession was becoming widely accepted in the thirteenth century.² In 1215 the doctrine of trans-substantiation official at the Fourth Lateran Council, and at the same time the feast of Corpus Christi became widely popular. So masses and their concomitant intercession value came to reach a new prominence and became the aim of making grants to monasteries and setting up memorial chapels. This is the essence of the chantry system which became widely popular in the later middle ages, when the foundation of monasteries even by kings was becoming a rare and expensive process. It is clear, moreover, that the crown was in the forefront of this development, particularly in France. When it became customary that a king should be laid to rest in the family mausoleum, a chantry foundation, as at Colombes, would also provide for personal intercession as a personal memorial.

Some monasteries might also serve as memorials to the deeds of their founders, to their martial victories, and thus act as a symbol of royal leadership. Battle abbey was founded by William I as a penance but also as a symbol of victory, and Alcobaça owed its creation to the victory of its founder, Alfonso I of Portugal, over the Moors, and became the focus for both Christian and Portuguese sentiments and loyalties. In c.1222 Philip-Augustus founded a house of Victorine canons to celebrate another decisive victory, Bouvines, 1214. He called it La Victoire.³ The same name, Vittoria, was used by Louis IX's brother, Charles of Anjou,

1 Cal.Ch.R., I, 250-1.

2 K. Wood-Legh, Perpetual Chantries in Britain, Cambridge, 1965, p.4.

3 Gallia, X, 1503, inst. 233; Duby, pp.178-84.

as a memorial to the battle of Tagliocozzo, 1268, where the Hohenstaufen claims to Sicily and Southern Italy were ruined. He founded a Cistercian Abbey on the battlefield c.1277. Simon de Montfort constructed a Premonstratensian monastery c.1214 in the diocese of Chartres at Grandchamp, in memory of the battle of Muret where he had defeated and killed King Pedro of Aragon.¹ A priory of the Val d'Ecoliers was founded for Louis IX in 1229 in memory of his father and again of Bouvines. This seems in a sense to combine the functions of both intercessory and memorial foundations. Its prayer list reads

'In primis orare debemus et tenemur pro animabus illustrissimorum regum Franciae, videlicet Philippi et Ludovice filius eius, pro quibus instituta fuit domus ista, pro gaudio et victoria quam habuerunt de inimicis regni in conflictu ad pontem Bovinarum, anno domini MCCXIII'.

6. The large scale monastic mausoleum as a focus for political, social and religious sentiments.

Monasteries like St.-Denis, Aachen, Iona and Winchester had at certain times been the accepted burial houses of royal lines. Yet in the twelfth century a new development of this idea began, which was to make the royal mausoleum on a large scale the focus of loyalties to the crown and what it symbolised. This only emerged very gradually from existing houses like Fontevrault and St.-Denis which by the twelfth century had become this. But clearly these models had a considerable impact, for Les-Huelgas and Westminster seem to have been created specifically with such a process in mind.

The monastic mausoleum always gives expression to the interest of a king in a particular order and house, and this emerges very clearly

1 Cal.Ch.R., I, 250-1.

2 Obit.Sens. I (2), 647.

in the case of the large scale pantheon. This type of burial house is an extension of the comital burial house, and the history of Fontevrault illustrates this very clearly. Indeed, in a sense it stands at the 'take-off point' for these larger shrines. It might seem at first sight somewhat strange that Henry II, Richard I and Eleanor of Aquitaine should be buried at Fontevrault, even allowing for the donations of Henry I to that house. But it reflects both the political situation of the Angevin Empire and the links of both the counts of Anjou and the Dukes of Aquitaine forged with the order from its foundation in the late eleventh century.¹ The choice is also explained by the reputation of the order itself, both through its noble connections and the strictness and asceticism of its way of life. Henry was clearly concerned about the quality of his intercessors, and an internal split and the amelioration of the rule of the order of Grandmont, of which he was considered lay-advocate, made him or his nobles - the process is not clear - reconsider his decision to be buried there.² Fontevrault had been endowed by Fulk V of Anjou with the tolls at Pont -de-Cé which were a lynch-pin of the abbey's economy, and his family had perhaps assisted with the building of the church, with its curious use of domed bays popular in Anjou. William IX of Aquitaine had also given generously to the order.³ Henry and Eleanor had continued this patronage. Henry refounded Amesbury in England as a priory of the order and granted the mother-house more than £75 in pensions from England alone; he gave money for building-works there and he also left it 2,000 marks in his will.⁴ It was plainly a suitable location for him to be buried, although he may not have decided this for himself. Gerald of Wales' assertions that it was ironic that Henry had been buried at the place where he had tried to force Eleanor to take the veil do both an injustice;⁵ her

1 Boase, pp.1-10; Edouard, *passim*; Mon.World p.172.

2 Gesta Henrici, I, 7.

3 Boase, p.3.

4 Gesta Henrici, I, 135-6; Gervase, p.261.

5 Giraldus, VIII, 306.

interest in the house, like his, was very strong. In the year 1199 alone she gave lands, a town, £210 rent and clothing to the nuns. In 1204 she retired there to die.¹ Richard I whose interest in Anjou was very strong, was also buried at Fontevrault, 'sicut ipse adhuc vivens ordinaverat'.² More clearly than with Henry this was fulfilling a definite request. The tombs of Henry, Richard and Eleanor, probably dating from the first decade of the thirteenth century, appear to be first visually explicit gisants,³ and it seems possible that this form of tomb might have been developed to glorify the royal house through its burial, by the abbey and its patrons; certainly they convey grandeur and stateliness.

By the thirteenth century however, the direct connections of the Angevins and this house were weakening. It was politically isolated after the loss of the northern parts of the Angevin Empire, in a disputed area, and with its initial fervour somewhat eroded. The old links continued for some while, for John's wife, Isabella of Angoulême, and sister, Joan of Sicily, were buried here and Henry III's heart was brought there in the late thirteenth century.⁴ Abbesses still enjoyed English connections, but the majority of patronage from England was lavished on Amesbury. In England, too, were the mausolea of John and Henry III, a reflection of the changed political situation. Thus Fontevrault was never to become a great mausoleum; its significance waned with the Angevin Empire.

Fontevrault seems to have been a direct influence on the convent of Las Huelgas, in Burgos. Alfonso VIII of Castile founded this Cistercian house in the 1170s and 1180s on some lands of the royal domain outside

1 CDF. pp.388-91. nos.1096-1101.

2 Wendover, II, 282-4.

3 Panofsky, T, p.57.

4 Hope, p.526; Bradford, pp.80-1; G. Zarnecki, The Monastic Achievement, London, 1972, pp.91-2.

his 'capital'; he intended it as a large-scale mausoleum for his family and it exhibits many features of this kind of house. The Angevin influence came through his wife who was the daughter of Henry II and Eleanor. Like Fontevrault this was a house for high-born ladies, not to be addressed as 'sor' but as 'señora dona'. The house was endowed very richly and was given privileges similar to those of the abbey of Fontevrault, according to a papal bull of 1188.¹ The nuns were Cistercian and not Fontevraldine, but the style of the earlier part of the church, built in the late twelfth century, is typical of the so-called Angevin style, found in Maine, Anjou and Poitou and used by Henry II in several foundations such as the charterhouse of Le Liget, and by Richard I at the palace in Poitiers. Its most obvious manifestations are the thin shelled and steep vaults which function like ribbed domes.² At Las Huelgas these appear in the chevet in the north transept and the side-chapels.² It would seem likely that the queen brought an architect with her upon her marriage, and this influence is paralleled in other ways. She introduced certain Arthusian legends popular at the Angevin court into Castile - for example Thomas' Tristan,³ and continued her family's traditional ecclesiastical interests by founding a Fontevraldine priory at Véga in the 1190s.⁴

The choice of the order may, however, have been due to the king, for the Cistercians had become exceedingly popular in Spain from the mid-twelfth century onwards. Alfonso VIII was also much concerned with building up Castile vis-à-vis the Moors, and with emphasising specifically Castilian features, centred upon his most important town, Burgos. He

1 J. Gonzalez, El Reino de Castilla en la Epoca de Alphonso VIII, Madrid, 1960 (= Gonzalez), I, 532-3; Mon.World, p.173; Zarnecki, p.85-6.

2 J. Berthelé, L'Architecture Plantagenet', Congr.Arch. 60, 1903, pp.234-75.

3 M.D. Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background, Oxford, 1963, p.58.

4 Gonzalez, I, 509.

created a place of enshrinement there for the Castillian royal house, a large scale mausoleum. Yet the Cistercians were primarily a French order, and he was following a French pattern in choosing them as custodians of the family tombs. Most of Las Huelgas' church was built c.1215-30 and is pure French Cistercian Gothic. Blanche of Castile, Alfonso's daughter, was the mother of Louis IX of France, and her interests in the Cistercians derived as much from Castile as from the traditional links of the French royal house with the order.

Yet the Cistercians were reluctant to accept nuns into their order, and the affiliation of Las Huelgas and its dependent houses was uneasy in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A bull of Clement III of 1188 decreed that it was to be an independent house under the Cistercian rule, rather similar to the relationship between Cluny and Reading and Faversham. Here perhaps is the weakening of an important tenet of the Cistercian order because of the pressure exerted by a royal house, similar to the modification of their statutes to allow burial in the first place. For Alfonso wanted this to be a nunnery, but Cistercian and highly prestigious. In 1191 he asked the general chapter to compel the other 15 houses of Spanish Cistercian nuns to admit to the hegemony of the abbess of Las Huelgas. Yet its position was only established gradually, and it was not affiliated officially to the order until 1199. The abbess was left a considerable degree of power, including preaching and hearing confession, until this was forbidden in 1228.¹

The ideas behind the creation of Las Huelgas emerge clearly in contemporary and near contemporary chronicles and charters. It was to be a burial house and the focus for political loyalties. Lucas de Tuy²

1 D.J. Lekai, Les Moines Blancs, Paris, 1957, pp.290-300.

2 Gonzalez, I, 527-9.

gives an account of how Alfonso VIII has suffered in his wars with Aragon, and

'post haec coepit cogitare de salute animae suae et construxit monasterium Sancte Marie in Olgis Burgensis civitatis'.

Jimenez de Rada wrote

'bellum de Alarcuris corde altissimo reponebat, sed ut altissimo complaceret, prope Burgis ad instantiam serenissimae uxoris suae Alienore regine monasterium dominarum Cisterciensis ordinis edificavit'.

The house was built on the site of a royal palace near Burgos and endowed with lands on a wide scale - some removed from Benedictine monasteries such as Sto.-Domingo at Silos - rents, tolls, and in 1212 the 'Osperdale del Rey', a hostel on the pilgrim route to Compostella. In 1199 Alfonso gave a charter promising that he would be buried there:

'praeterea promissimus (sic) in manu praedicti abbatis quod nos et filii nostri, qui consilio et mandato nostro acquiescere voluerint, in supradicto monasterio Sancte Marie Regalis sepeliatur. Et si contigerit quod in vita nostra transferramus nos ad religionem promissimus quod ordinem Cisterciensem suscipiemus et non alium'. 1

This he again reiterated in his will (c.1204),

'Item dono pro meo anniversario, monasterio Burgensis Sancte Marie Regalis quod ego et regina uxor meus construximus, ubi corpus meum tumuletur, Castrum Ordiales et Lerido'. 2

He himself, his wife and children, and most subsequent members of the Castilian royal house were laid to rest there and were placed in the nave when the Church was completed in 1279. Burgos, with the Cathedral, palace and royal monastery thus became very much the focal point of Castile. Alfonso's daughter was abbess there from 1205-18, and his son Henry was crowned king in the church in 1214:

'Tunc ipsa civitatis Burgensis civitas regni vocata est et in regnum solium sublimata'. 3

1 Gonzalez, III, 208-10, no.682.

2 Gonzalez, III, 341-7, no.769.

3 Gonzalez, I, 529; E.Lambert, L'Architecture Gothique en Espagne, Paris, 1931, p.200.

In the thirteenth century the royal house of Portugal, perhaps inspired by the example of Las Huelgas, began to develop the Cistercian house of Alcobaca as a mausoleum. This had been founded by Alfonso I with the assistance of Saint Bernard, after the Portuguese victory over the Moors at Santaren. The charter of endowment of c.1153 made the house an important and wealthy establishment, and was backed up with further grants so that the eighty monks possessed at least thirteen villas.¹ When Alfonso died in 1185 he was buried in the Augustinian house of Coimbra, as was Sancho I (1211).² In the late twelfth century, however, Cistercian houses were coming to be used more frequently as mausolea. In 1185 Pedro Alfonso, son of Alfonso I, who had been a monk of Alcobaca, was entombed there.³ Alfonso II (d.1223) asked to be buried at Alcobaca in his will, and was generous towards it.⁴ Sancho II did likewise, and granted 3,000 miravedis for his anniversary - although he was in fact buried in Toledo.⁵ Alfonso III was entombed at Alcobaca in about 1279, in a side chapel in the South transept, with Alfonso II.⁶ His wife Beatriz and many of her children were also placed there, and later Pedro I and Ignez de Castro.⁷ The church is based closely on Clairvaux III in plan and design, and was built in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

1 Mon.World, p.227; E.Korrodi, Alcobaca, Porto, 1929, pp.77-8; A. Reuter, Chancelarias Medievais Portuguesas, I, Coimbra, 1938, no.166, pp.234-6, no.181, pp.260-1; F.A. Brandao, Chronica de D. Alfonso Henriques, ed. A.M. Basto, Porto, 1945, (= Brandao), p.142.

2 A. Pimenta, Fontes Medievais da Historia de Portugal, Lisbon, 1948 (= Pimenta), pp.50-1.

3 Brandao, pp.146-50.

4 F.A. Brandao, Chronicas de D.Sancho ed D.Alfonso II, ed. Basto, Porto, 1945, p.255; Pimenta, p.52.

5 F.A. Brandao, Chronicas de D. Sancho II ed Alfonso III, ed. Basto, Porto, 1946, pp.120-3.

6 *Ib.* p.329.

7 Korrodi, pp.79-80.

As at Las Huelgas, a particularly French order is thus being used to emphasise the dignity of another royal house, and emphasise the support of the people for their kings.

As Castile had its Las Huelgas and Portugal its Alcobaca, Sicily's centre for royal burials became Palermo Cathedral. This was not, however, until the claims of Monréale had been defeated. Roger II had been buried in Palermo but William II made Monréale, his own great and wealthy royal monastic foundation, an archbishopric in 1183, and moved the tomb of his father William I there from the palace chapel. He intended Monréale to be the greatest monastic house in Sicily, the mausoleum of the dynasty, and the symbol of his political opposition to a party of nobles centred upon Palermo. But despite these intentions, Monreale became the pantheon of William and his father alone.¹ His heir was Constance, and she and her husband, the Emperor Henry VI of Germany, were both buried at Palermo cathedral, which had been rebuilt in the late 1170s and 1180s on a more grandiose scale. Constance's will of 1195 made this site of interment an express demand, and the Emperor Frederick II, who died in 1250, and was very strongly connected with Sicily, drew up a similar provision:

'Item statuimus, ut si de praesenti infirmitate nos mori contigerit, in maiore ecclesia Panormitana in qua divi imperatoris Henrici et dive imperatricis Constantie, parentum nostrum memorie recolende, tumulata sunt corpora, corpus nostrum debeat sepeliri.'²

Thus Palermo, a cathedral, was perhaps the most developed example of a mausoleum as the focus of unity, as it was at once the coronation church, the metropolitan church and the pantheon of the kingdom of Sicily.

These royal shrines which grew up in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a manifestation of the growing consciousness

1 Déer, pp.14-15; White, pp.132-44.

2 Pirri, I, 117, 147; MGH, Const, II, 382-9, no.274.

of the monarchy of its role as the sanctified leader of its people and the increasing focusing of the loyalty of the subjects towards the crown. Sometimes they might also be a compensation for political weakness. Probably the earliest example of this proto-nationalism was found in France. The early twelfth century works of Guibert de Nogent show some consciousness of the idea of being 'French'.¹ Certainly its earliest manifestations are in the work of Abbot Suger, who made the Benedictine house of St.-Denis the burial church and the symbol of sanctified monarchical splendour of the French royal house. Clovis, the first Christian king of France had been buried there together with his family in the sixth century, and Dagobert refounded it most lavishly.² It had continued as a mausoleum for the Carolingians and the Capetians, on the lines of a comital burial house, and as an important centre of pilgrimage to the shrines of Saint Denis and his legendary companions Eleutherius and Rusticus. When Abbot Suger reformed the monastic life at the abbey and rebuilt the church (1120s-1150s), he was increasing both the glory of the patron saint and the reflected renown of the French monarchy. This was done partly in visual-artistic and in architectural terms. Rather than following the puritanical attitudes of Saint Bernard, against whom he was to some extent reacting, he adopted and adapted the theories of the fifth century pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. These are given expression in the rebuilding of the church of St.-Denis to allow more pilgrims to pass through, and also in his writings, and are summed up in the belief that the mind through the contemplation of material objects of beauty comes into an anagogicos mos or trance-like state, and is 'de materialibus ad immaterialia transferendo' - lead towards God.³ These ideas found material expression in the rebuilding of St.-Denis with its novel Gothic

1 The Memoirs of Guibert de Nogent, ed. J.H. Benton, New York, 1970, pp.9-10.

2 Wallace-Hadrill, pp.182-3, 224.

3 J. Evans, Art in Medieval France, Oxford, 1948; Panofsky, Suger, p.48.

vaulting, and its decoration created specifically to induce a feeling of religious awe. This was by means of intensely coloured glass set against a dark background, and proportions which would lead the eye upwards and towards the east end, focusing attention on and above the high altar. These ideas were original when put into practice, and the abbey was to become an important artistic and religious influence. But it was also a symbol of monarchical glory, of pride in the French royal house, its past and its present and its special sanctification by God. The ancient tombs were restored by Suger, and the sacred ornaments of kingship were kept there, the crown, the sword and the sceptre, and the Oriflamme. This was the venerable banner of the Vexin, held from St.-Denis by the French crown, and given into the hands of Louis VI by Suger. The growing cohesion of the French people behind their king was made implicit in all this. As a burial-house enshrining both the kings themselves and the support for them from the French people, St.-Denis was highly influential. Louis VI, Philip-Augustus, Louis VIII and Louis IX were buried there, and in the 1240s parts of the church were rebuilt by Saint Louis in the emerging Court Style, and again became an important architectural influence. Its plan may have been designed specifically to make it a vast mausoleum,¹ after Louis' probable rejection of Royaumont in this capacity. For Louis gave his ancestors a fitting place of entombment, and he restored and rebuilt many of the ancient tombs housed in the church. Its own past thus remained of constant importance to the French crown.

When Henry III rebuilt Westminster abbey in the thirteenth century he imitated the architectural style evolved by the French court very

1 Branner, p.48; Brandenburg, pp.68-86.

closely. He also made it the mausoleum of the English royal house. It shows a mingling of French and English influences in a very striking way, for on the one hand it expressed the devotion of the English kings to their past, and on the other, it imitated the latest French-style coronation, relic and burial churches. Like Las Huelgas, it was intended as the focus of loyalties towards a monarchy in a relatively weak position.

Westminster's refoundations was in one sense an expression of the Anglo-Saxon revival in twelfth and thirteenth century England, looking back to the past and relating it to the present in a similar way to St.-Denis. Edward the Confessor had moved his palace and one centre of government out from London to Westminster. He refounded the abbey from a much earlier settlement and rebuilt it in the Norman Romanesque style, the plan bearing a considerable resemblance either to Jumièges or to Bernay.¹ The abbey became more closely connected with the Anglo-Norman royal house as the twelfth century drew on. Matilda, the Anglo-Saxon wife of Henry I was buried there. Since she was of the blood of the old English royal house, Henry II could claim descent from it - and he gave strong support to the canonisation of Edward the Confessor in 1163. The cult was used to enhance his image, and although it suffered a considerable setback from the death of Becket, it was still in existence when Henry III took it up.²

Like St.-Denis, Westminster was conceived of as the mausoleum of English kings, who were commended to the protection of their sacred and sanctified forbears, and especially to Edward the Confessor. The church was to be a centre of pilgrimage and his shrine was at its focal point. Henry had a particular devotion for him; he celebrated his feast each year with great reverence and was to be buried in the sarcophagus from

1 The Bayeux tapestry illustrates this point; EHD, II, 253-4; H. Fernie, 'Enclosed apses', Archeologia, 104, 1973, pp.235-60 (= Fernie).

2 VE, pp.229-30.

which the Confessor had recently been translated.¹ A flourishing cult would also doubtless have provided a good counterpoise to the anti-monarchical Becket worship; this was in fact a failure since the popularity of the royal saint was very limited. But these preoccupations, and the rebuilding of the abbey and of the palace as an imposing symbol of monarchy is one element in the making of Westminster as a mausoleum.

Yet in this context it is worth recalling that Henry had promised in the 1230s that he would be buried in the Temple church. The choir was being rebuilt at the time with his help, for this was the time of his greatest enthusiasm for the military orders.² In the 1240s, however, Henry began to realise the potentialities of Westminster and to continue the rebuilding he had already begun, but using elements of the French court style. For a second time the abbey was a symbol both of the avant-garde and of 'foreign' influences.

Both the functions and the architectural features of several French royal churches seem to find reflection in Westminster. This is not accidental. The English and Henry III were very conscious of the aims and activities of Louis IX, and the two kings appear to have viewed one another in a spirit of personal and political rivalry.³ Thus shortly after Louis IX had created the Sainte-Chapelle to house his relic collection, Henry III installed his own at Westminster. The ceremonies he used bore a marked resemblance to those used by the French king.⁴ Likewise, Reims had recently been rebuilt as a coronation church, and Royaumont and St.-Denis as mausolea. The court style used in all these churches finds a clear reflection in the proportions and some of the

1 Paris, IV, 156, V, 28, 297.

2 Dugdale, VI (2), 818.

3 above, Chapter V, section 2.

4 Paris, IV, 90-2, 641-2.

details at Westminster.¹ These features were intended to emphasise the importance and prestige of the English crown using some of the trappings of the French monarchy. They were also used to create a magnificent mausoleum at the focal point of which was placed the tombs of Edward the Confessor and Henry III. Although Westminster was not to gain great prestige through the cult of the Confessor, it became the accepted royal mausoleum and the principal coronation church for the English royal house. A number of queens and princesses, however, in the late thirteenth century, such as Beatrice of Brittany (d.1275), and Eleanor of Provence (d.1291) were buried in the church of the London Franciscans, while Eleanor of Castile (d.1290) was divided between Lincoln and Black Friars', London.² Yet despite the burial of Edward II at Gloucester after his murder (1327), Westminster was to remain the outstanding dynastic mausoleum of the English royal house.

7. Some Conclusions

It is clear that it would be a somewhat misleading process to attempt to detach the mausoleum from the context of the religious and monastic scene of the middle ages, for it stands as a specific example of the patronage interests of kings, and as a symbol of their growing interest in burial in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On the other hand its function as a burial-house often modifies it as a monastery to a certain extent. Thus with the Cistercian pantheons; royal pressure from France may perhaps have caused the use of their houses as mausolea in the first place; royal pressure from Spain helped to bring the nuns into the order in the case of Las Huelgas. Royaumont was built in a style which was

1 P. Brieger, English Art, 1216-1307, Oxford, 1957, pp.1-15, 106-34; King's Works, I, 130-57.

2 Bradford, pp.89-92.

far more lavish than was normally acceptable. In all these cases the power of the king and his value as a patron modified the strictness of the statutes. In other cases, Faversham being an outstanding example, the plan of the religious house was modified to fit its function as a royal shrine. Yet the royal patronage and the building of magnificent houses to contain royal relics would affect the standing of the chosen orders in a very positive and valuable way, and hence the necessary changes seem to have been relatively easily accepted. This is a reminder that in talking of its removal of the control of the church from the secular arm, the extreme reformers were in a minority and in an academic and untenable position in the face of the necessity of creating good working relationships with those from whom the vital finances would come, and especially kings.

Although the mausoleum is always firstly a monastery, as a royal shrine it had a pattern of development of its own. In the early middle ages kings, like counts, were buried in their 'family' monasteries and cathedrals. But with the eleventh century and the ecclesiastical reforms, and the growth of new orders, there was some weakening in the control of a patron over his 'own' house - at least in theory - and a greater range of choice in burial sites. This was the period of the greatest variety in sites of royal burial. Kings often created mausolea as their own personal pantheons, or were buried in houses with which they had private links. But from the twelfth century there was an increased awareness about the pasts of royal lines, and with the growing care for the remains of a king's predecessors came the heightened realisation that his body should be laid in a suitable shrine. Thus evolved the dynastic mausoleum, symbolising loyalties to the crown past and present and the sacredness of kingship. At the same time kings were remembered personally by chapels and chantries set up to intercede for their souls through the saying of masses.

While in the later middle ages the pattern of burial remains static especially in contrast to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, underlying both was the new consciousness of the importance of giving the ruler honour in death as well as in life.

- - - - -

Chapter VII

ROYAL AND NON-ROYAL FOUNDATIONS

1. Methodology of the study.

The vital place of kings as founders and patrons of monasteries has emerged clearly from the foregoing discussion. Yet other founders, the nobility, curial servants, ecclesiastics and townsfolk created the vast majority of the new houses of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To quantify and to compare the proportion of the houses of all the orders founded by these different groups at different times would demand a vast study beyond the scope of the present work. Statistics of this kind can, however, be used in a more limited field to produce interesting results. For one way of estimating the typicality of kings as founders, and of the importance of royal patronage to certain monastic orders, is to calculate the approximate number of houses founded during given periods of time, and to compare the number of royal houses with them. In certain cases, the important rôle of the royal patron will emerge clearly; in others he will be seen to follow the general trend or to be virtually unaffected by it.

In this study, the periods of time used are twenty years in length; the overall periods vary in their starting-point according to the different orders and their dates of foundation, but all terminate in 1300. The Benedictines are studied from 940 onwards in the case of England and from 1000 in the case of France, to give a longer overall view and to show the importance of royal patronage in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The other orders are examined from the period in which their mother-house was founded onwards in twenty-year periods until 1300, unless their foundations ceased earlier.

Where the figures given as totals for the periods are expressed in percentages, these have been calculated in terms of the total number of

houses covered by the table, but do not include earlier or later foundations.

The total number of houses in the sample, whether the table is expressed as a percentage or not, is given in brackets. The number of royal foundations is always given in absolute and not in proportional terms.

Three main areas have been selected for comparison, as the map VII, 1 shows. These are designated England, the Angevin Empire, and France. The English area includes Wales; the other areas are based on the ecclesiastical provinces which co-incide most nearly with the political boundaries of c.1180, allowing that they should be similar in area. The Angevin provinces are Rouen, Tours, Bordeaux and Auch; the French ones, Sens, Reims, Bourges and Lyon. These distinctions are by no means watertight; parts of the province of Rouen were under French influence and parts of Bourges under the Angevin. These areas are nevertheless a suitable frame of reference for a general study. It must be borne in mind that in the thirteenth century the political situation in France changed. The Angevin province was divided between the kings of England and France. French influence was also extended into the Languedoc. A small area, comprising the provinces of Albi, Toulouse and Narbonne has therefore been added for the study of Louis IX's foundations for the friars. General comparison is provided by an overall view of the pattern of foundations in Scotland.

The calculations for the numbers of houses in England are based on the work of Knowles and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales;¹ because of the comprehensive nature of this work it has proved possible to include both abbeys and priories in the calculations involving the Benedictines, Augustinians and Premonstratensians. Cells are not,

1. KH.

however, included. These orders are represented by abbeys and large conventual priories in the Angevin and French provinces. This is firstly because of the great number of priories involved, and secondly because of the problems involved in cataloguing them and in estimating their dates of foundation. The series Abbayes et Prieurés de L'Ancienne France¹ is valuable for information concerning abbeys and some priories, but it is by no means comprehensive nor does it provide enough detail to form the basis of a quantitative study. Used with the Gallia Christiana, and the lists of Cottineau and Backmund,² it provides enough information to work out the pattern of foundation for abbeys and major conventual priories of the Benedictine, Augustinian and Premonstratensian orders. Clearly, of course, this is not going to provide the same degree of detail or of accuracy as the English calculations which include priories; sometimes small royal priories which are included in the number of royal foundations, came into being at a time when no abbeys and greater priories were created. The calculations are in these cases only a very general guide to overall trends. The Benedictine numbers normally, except when the contrary is stated, include the Cluniacs and the congregation of Tiron; the Augustinians, the Victorines, Arrouaisians and the congregation of the Val d'Ecole. It must also be borne in mind that the origin of some houses is extremely difficult to date; where no date at all can be put upon a house it has been omitted from the calculations; other houses of uncertain date have been attributed to the twenty-year period most nearly approximating to any information given.

In the case of the Cistercians the abbeys only form the basis of the calculations; save in England, where conventual priories for women are included. These figures have been drawn up with the help of Van der Meer's

1. BB.

2. Gallia; Cottineau; N. Backmund, Monasticon Praemonstratense, Straubing, 1949-56.

Atlas de L'Ordre Cistercien; they give a relatively accurate comparison between the three areas. For the Gilbertines and the Carthusians, priories were the normal daughter-houses and form the basis of the study, and for the Grandmontines, the cells. The works used here are Knowles and Hadcock, the excellent article upon the Carthusians in the Catholic Encyclopaedia, and the list of Grandmontine cells in the thesis of J.R. Gaborit.¹ The data for the dates of foundation of friaries in France has been drawn from R.W. Emery, The Friars in Medieval France.² The military orders and hospitals cannot be included in this survey because of the general problems encountered in the case of Benedictine and Augustinian priories in the French provinces; royal foundations in Scotland are, however, tabulated as a comparison, and the information has been derived from Easson's study of Scottish monasteries.³

2. Monastic foundations and royal houses - a comparison of trends.

(i) Benedictines

The Table VII, 2, quantifying the foundations of the Black Monks and the Cluniacs from 940 - 1300 in England shows clearly the importance of royal patronage in the mid-tenth century, the time of the monastic revival under Saint Dunstan, and in the mid-eleventh century. This second was the time of the Norman implantation of monasticism. Edward the Confessor refounded Westminster and William I and William II founded five houses and several alien priories in England; most of these were between 1060 and 1080, at the time of the most significant increase in Benedictine foundations as a whole, and running slightly ahead of general trends. With nunneries, however, royal foundations tended to reflect existing trends; Henry I's

1. 'Carthusians', New Catholic Encyclopaedia, III, Washington, 1967, pp.162-7. Gaborit, Vol II, for list.

2. Emery.

3. D.E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, London, 1957.

and Stephen's foundations came into being at a time of popularity for the foundation of Benedictine nuns. The Cluniacs appear not to find popularity with the crown. The Benedictine houses founded by Henry I and Stephen, however, both followed the Rule of the order while being officially unaffiliated to it. If this is taken into account, it will be seen that these foundations follow the trend of the popularity of the Cluniac way of life rather than running ahead of it.

The table VII, 3, shows the number of Benedictine and Cluniac abbeys and conventual priories founded between 1100 and 1300 in France and Angevin Empire. The French crown was an important patron in the eleventh century in the foundation of houses for men. Louis VI and Queen Adèle founded two nunneries in the early twelfth century. Both groups of foundations were made at times of general popularity for the order. Henry I likewise probably founded a nunnery in Normandy in the early twelfth century. William I's rôle again emerges as one of great importance in the creation of Benedictine houses. He was following the example of earlier dukes of Normandy who had founded several houses in the earlier eleventh century as part of the general revival of monasticism in the province. The same holds true in Anjou and Aquitaine. Nobles, ranging from dukes to local counts, always founded the great majority of Benedictine houses in France, in England and in Germany; Scotland forms a dramatic contrast here.¹ The crown took the initiative for about one-fifth of the Benedictine houses in England; many of these were early medieval in origin. Nobles founded more than half and the church about one-fifth.

1. Below, pp. 337-8, 351.

(ii) Augustinians and Premonstratensians.

The English Augustinian houses were given an important lead from the Court of Henry I as the table VII, 4 illustrates. Carlisle and Cirencester, for example, with the houses in London were influential in the spread of the order. Stephen founded some small houses and Henry II created abbeys varying in size from Waltham Abbey to the small Hough on the Hill. The large royal monasteries were in general an exception. There were about 23 abbeys and 218 priories founded in England. Several abbeys were royal; the vast proportion of priories were founded by nobles. Canonesses reached their greatest popularity in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Henry II's foundation precedes this trend but fits in with his patronage of similar groups offering a similar way of life, such as the Gilbertines. The Premonstratensian canons with about 34 abbeys and two priories were also favoured conspicuously by lesser nobles and by curial servants such as Glanville and Peter des Roches. They found a royal patron in the Angevin Empire in Richard I, and in France, in Louis VI and Louis VII's queens, as table VII, 5, shows.

The houses in table VII, 5, consist of abbeys and very large conventual priories only; hence Louis IX's Augustinian foundations, which were smaller priories, appear to take place in a vacuum. This was clearly not the case, but the figures do show that in general terms, as in England, the Augustinians in France and the Angevin Empire were less popular in the thirteenth century than in the twelfth. Certainly the French royal foundations, many of them Victorine, reflected a general popularity of the canons in France, as did the Empress Matilda's Augustinian house in Normandy. Abbeys of both orders for women were, as in England, found relatively infrequently.

(iii) Cistercians and Savigniacs.

Table VII, 6, shows the foundation of Cistercian abbeys (including conventual priories for women in England) in all three areas between 1100 and 1300. In England and Normandy, the height of popularity of the order, c.1120-70 is reflected in the foundation of four houses by the Empress and Henry II. Henry I had created one; and Stephen and his wife four, for the congregation of Savigny. Richard I, John, Henry III and Edward I also continued to patronise the white monks. In the twelfth century the French crown founded two houses; here it seems to have followed the pattern set by the nobility who played an important role in the creation of 49% of the abbeys in the two decades between 1120 and 1140. The royal interest returned in the thirteenth century with the monastery of Royaumont and the two Cistercian nunneries of Le Lys and Maubuisson, created by Blanche of Castile; these followed in time the greatest expansion of the white nuns in the area. In England abbeys and conventual priories for women reached their maximum level of foundations in the twelfth century, and the Angevin Empire shows high points in abbeys for women both in the mid-twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Thus in general terms, royal foundations for the Cistercians appear to follow numerical trends set by other founders.

(iv) Gilbertines and Grandmontines.

Table VII, 7, indicates that Henry II became the patron of an already well-established order in the Gilbertines. His favour to Grandmont, by contrast (Table VII, 8), in his creation of up to seven cells in the mid-twelfth century, appears to have added an impetus to the foundations of the order in the Angevin Empire. The same may have been true of the 2 - 4 foundations of Louis VII during the same period (1160-80); these came early in the two decades marking the apogees of its growth in France.

(v) Carthusians.

The importance of Henry II as patron of the Carthusians is illustrated by Table VII, 9. His priory at Witham was unique in England for almost a century, and Le Liget formed part of a very small group in the Angevin Empire. Louis IX followed a diminishing trend in the French province with his foundation of Vauvert in the mid-thirteenth century.

(vi) Fontevrault.

The chronology of the houses of the Fontevraldine order in France is somewhat obscure and accurate figures are difficult to tabulate. The early writers of the Order itself, together with references taken from Abbayes et Prieurés de L'Ancienne France, and J. Edouard's Fontevrault et ses Monuments,¹ however, suggest that the order spread rapidly in Anjou and its surrounding area between 1100 and 1120 and its foundations probably reached their peak in what was to be the Angevin Empire at this time. They seem to have continued at a high level until the middle of the twelfth century and then dropped off. In the French area they reached their greatest numbers after about 1120; thus Louis VI's foundations and joint-foundations, all three dating from before 1120, came early in the development of the order in the region. Henry II's patronage of the mother-house was following the interests of the counts of Anjou and the dukes of Aquitaine; in England, however, he played an important role in founding one priory and granting the land for a second out of the five there, as table VII, 10, shows. Henry II, indeed, appears to have played an important role from the numerical angle, in the creation of houses for the Gilbertines, the Grandmontines, the Carthusians and Fontevraldines. Yet he was not vitally influential in spreading these groups. In England the Gilbertines were already well-established and the Carthusians and Fontevraldines gained little general

1. BB; Edouard.

reputation from the royal example. Both Henry and Louis VII may, however, have played a decisive rôle in increasing the popularity of the order of Grandmont. Here the statistical data clearly supports historical evidence.

(vii) The Orders of Friars.

The thirteenth century saw a dramatic expansion of the Friars in Europe. Some orders were given a considerable degree of assistance from the French and English crowns. Table VII, 11, illustrates all the foundations of the thirteenth century of the nine orders in the three areas in France. Louis IX's importance is clear in the case of the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Trinitarians, and to a lesser extent with other orders in the Paris area. It is noticeable, however, that apart from his Franciscan house in Normandy, most of his foundations were made after the different groups involved had reached their numerical peak in the various regions. Later in the century royal interest dropped, but it was to be revived by Philip IV on a lesser scale.

Table VII, 12, shows that Henry III's foundations came at the time of greatest expansion for the Franciscans, Dominicans and Carmelites, and followed it in the case of the Austin Friars. Edward I was an important patron of the Dominicans and Carmelites, and royal foundations rose proportionately during his reign, which marked a general decrease in the number of new houses.

Kings could thus in certain cases influence the fortunes of the monastic orders in their lands by the example of their foundation and endowment of religious houses. An extreme example of this is Scotland. As Table VII, 13, indicates, the crown implanted monasticism here with other founders lingering well behind. This is the case in particular with the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the order of Val d'Ecole, the Augustinians and the

Franciscan and Dominican friars.

Yet this case is unusual. With the arrival of the new orders the English and French kings had lost their pre-eminence as founders. As greater and lesser nobles, royal administrators, ecclesiastics and later burgesses began to create monasteries of varying sizes in large numbers, a king became only one of several potential patrons, albeit a vitally important one because of his political power, his resources and his influence. For many orders, the crown made no foundations - as with the Premonstratensians in England; in others, as with the Cistercians in France, it seems to have followed a general trend. Sometimes it was in the vanguard of helping a new order, as with Louis VI and Fontevrault, although the amount of influence it exercised here should not be exaggerated. Henry I's support of the Augustinians in England, however, like William I's of the Benedictines, was probably decisive for their future fortunes and development here - and is directly visible in statistical terms. Henry II's patronage of the Fontevraldines in England and the Carthusians was not followed generally although was of great significance proportionally, but his support of the Grandmontines was probably more generally influential. Clearly these tables of foundations cannot be used in isolation from historical sources. They are valuable, however, in illustrating general trends in the foundation of monasteries of certain orders, and in showing the extent to which royal foundations were typical of these developments.

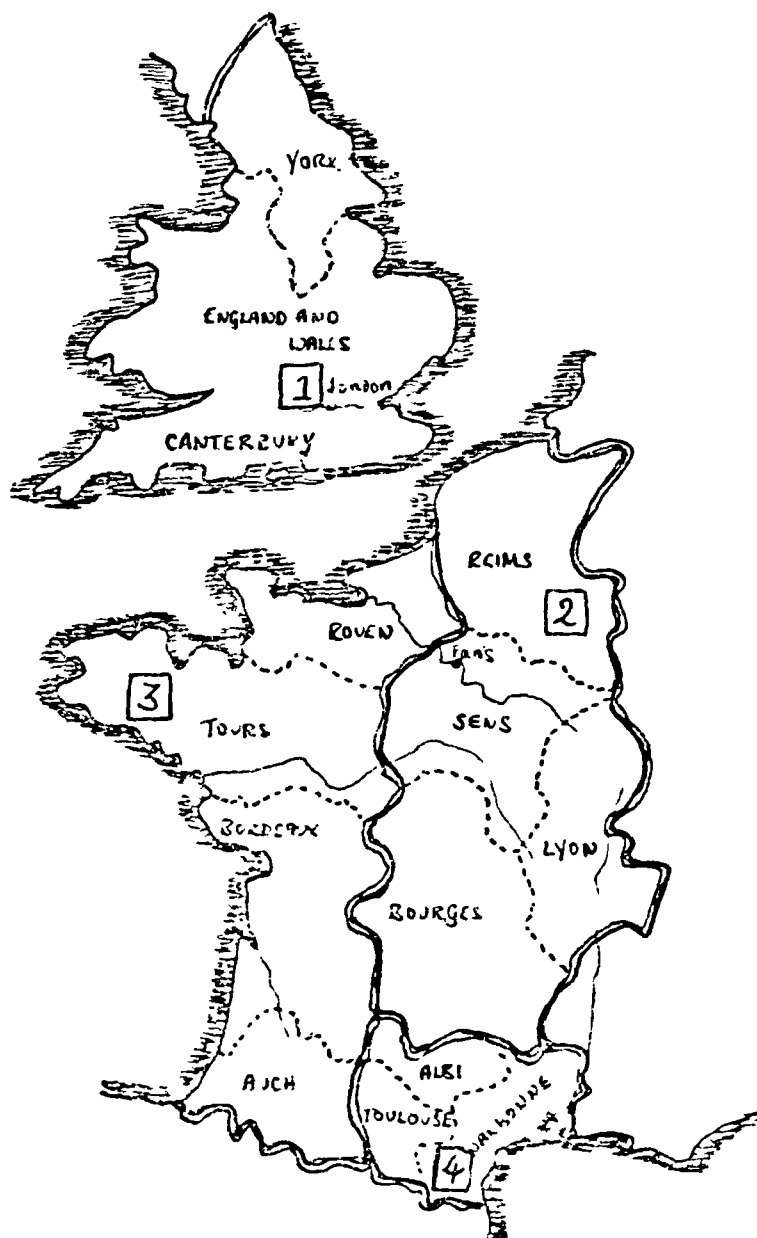
Chapter VII. Tables VII, 1 - VII, 13, to illustrate and compare
royal and non-royal foundations.

Symbols used for royal foundations.

W1	=	William I
W2	=	William II
H1	=	Henry I
St	=	Stephen
Emp	=	The Empress Matilda
H2	=	Henry II
R1	=	Richard I
J	=	John
H3	=	Henry III
Ed1	=	Edward I
L6	=	Louis VI
L7	=	Louis VII
PA	=	Philip-Augustus
L9	=	Louis IX
P4	=	Philip IV
BL	=	Blanche
Ber	=	Berengaria
El	=	Eleanor
Is	=	Isabelle
Ad	=	Adèle
Ad(L6)	=	Adèle, wife of Louis VI
1:L6	=	one house founded or refounded by Louis VI
1:L6(?)	=	one house, a possible foundation or joint foundation of Louis VI

Map VII, 1. Areas for the comparison of religious foundations.

1. England.— areas of England and Wales in the provinces of Canterbury and York.
2. France.— provinces of Reims, Sens, Lyon, Bourges.
3. Angevin Empire.— provinces of Rouen, Tours, Bordeaux, Auch.
4. Languedoc.— provinces of Albi, Toulouse, Narbonne.



12/11/11

12/11/11

PERIODIC FOUNDATIONS IN ENGLAND, 940-1300

Houses	Period											
	940-1000	1000-1100	1100-1200	1200-1300	1300-1400	1400-1500	1500-1600	1600-1700	1700-1800	1800-1900	1900-2000	2000-2100
1 Benedictines, Men (total of 233 houses expressed as a %)	2	6	12	18	21	4	6	13	19	20-40	40-60	60-80
1b Royal foundations from these (actual nos.)	3	4	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2 Benedictines, Women (total of 233 houses expressed as a %)	1	4	7	10	13	16	19	22	25	28	31	34
2b Royal foundations from these (actual nos.)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
3 Cluniacs, Men and Women (total of 233 houses of men, 2 of women actual nos.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

Dates

1850-30		1850-1900	
1	18	2	12
1b	18	3	13
2	18	4	14
2b	18	5	15
3	18	6	16

BENEDICTINES: ABBEYES IN FRANCE, AND THE ASSOCIATED BENEDICTINE HOUSES

	<u>Dates:</u>												
	1000-200	200-400	400-600	600-800	800-1000	1000-1200	1200-1400	1400-1600	1600-1800	1800-1900	1900-2000	2000-2020	2020-2030
<u>Anglo-Norman Empire</u>													
1. Benedictines and Cluniacs, Men (total of 95 houses as a %)	14	14	18	10	7	7	15	6	12	1	--	--	--
1b. Royal foundations from these (actual nos.)	--	--	--	2-300	--	--	--	--	--	1-100	--	--	--
2. Benedictines and Cluniacs, Women (total of 24 houses as a %)	4	21	25	8	4	22	4	4	--	4	4	--	--
2b. Royal foundations from these (actual nos.)	--	--	--	1-400	--	--	1-100	--	--	--	--	--	--
<u>France</u>													
3. Benedictines and Cluniacs, Men (total of 61 houses as a %)	8	10	15	17	10	11	5	18	35	15	--	5	--
3b. Royal foundations from these (actual nos.)	1	1	2	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4. Benedictines and Cluniacs, Women (total of 21 houses as a %)	--	--	--	4	3	27	12	11	12	18	4	13	--
4b. Royal foundations from these (actual nos.)	--	--	--	--	--	--	1-100	1-100	--	--	--	--	--

262

Table VII, 4. AUGUSTINIAN AND PRÆMONSTRATENSIAN ABBEYS AND PRIORIES
FOUNDED IN ENGLAND, 1100 - 1300.

	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Dates</u>									
		1100-20	20-40	40-60	60-80	80-1200	1200-20	20-40	40-60	60-80	80-1300
1	Augustinians - Men (total 251 houses as a whole)	8	22	17	14	15	10	9	4	1	1
1b	Royal foundations (actual nos.)	2:H1	4:HI 1:St	2:St 1:Ad (HI)	3+2(?):H2	1:H2	-	-	-	-	-
2	Augustinians - Women (total 19 houses, actual nos.)	-	2	2	1	6	1	5	2	-	-
2b	Royal foundations (actual nos.)	-	-	-	1:H2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Præmontré - Men (total 45 houses as a whole)	-	-	27	20	38	9	2	2	2	-

Table VII, 5. AUGUSTINIAN AND PREMONSTRATENSIAN ABBEYS IN
FRANCE AND THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE, 1060-1300.

<u>Houses</u>	<u>Date</u>											
	1060-80	80-1100	1100-20	20-40	40-60	60-80	80-1200	1200-70	20-40	40-60	60-80	80-1300
<u>Angevin Empire</u>												
1 Augustinians, Men (48 houses as a %)	10	14	13	17	17	17	6	10	-	3	-	-
1b Royal foundations from these (actual nos.)	-	-	-	-	1:Exp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Augustinians, Women (9 houses, actual nos.)	-	-	-	3	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
3 Premonstratensians, Men (13 houses, actual nos.)	-	-	-	2	4	2	3	2	-	-	-	-
3b Royal foundations (actual nos.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1:RI	-	-	-	-	-
<u>France</u>												
4 Augustinians, Men (78 houses as a %)	10	17	12	21	13	12	6	2	7	-	-	-
4b Royal foundations (actual nos.)	-	-	1:L6	-	2:L7	1:L7	-	1:Ad (L7)	1:PA 1:L9(?)	-	1:L9	-
5 Augustinians, Women (3 houses, actual nos.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Premonstratensians, Male (48 houses as a %)	-	-	-	72	22	2	2	2	-	2	-	-
6b Royal foundations (actual nos.)	-	-	-	1:L7(?)	-	-	-	1:Ad (L7)	-	-	-	-

Table VII, 6. CISTERCIAN AND SAVIGNIAC ABBEYS IN ENGLAND, FRANCE
AND THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE, 1100 - 1300.

<u>Houses</u>		<u>Dates</u>									
		1100-20	20-40	40-60	60-80	80-1200	1200-20	20-40	40-60	60-80	80-1300
<u>England</u>											
1	Men (total of 109 houses expressed as a %)	-	26	38	12	7	7	2	3	2	4
1b	Royal foundations from these (actual nos.).	-	3:St 1:Emp	1:St 1:Emp	1:Emp	-	1:J	1:HC (?)	-	1:EdI	-
2	Women (Abbeys and conventual priories - 29 houses as a %)	-	17	30	30	13	-	6	4	-	-
<u>Angevin Empire</u>											
3	Men (66 houses as a %)	10	40	28	9	2	3	7	1	1	1
3b	Royal foundations (actual nos.).	-	1:HI 1:St	-	1:Emp	1:RI	-	1:Ber (RI)	-	-	-
4	Women (20 abbeys, as a %)	5	5	25	-	5	20	15	25	-	-
<u>France</u>											
5	Men (93 houses as a %)	10	49	25	9	3	2	1	-	-	-
5b	Royal foundations (actual nos.)	-	1:L6	1:L7	-	-	-	1:Lj	-	-	-
6	Women (59 abbeys, as a %)	-	10	8	8	13	15	27	10	-	-
6b	Royal foundations (actual nos.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2:Bl. and L9	-	-

Table VII, 7

HENRY II AND THE GILBERTINES IN ENGLAND, 1100-1200

<u>Houses</u>	<u>Dates</u>						
	<u>1100-20</u>	<u>20-40</u>	<u>40-60</u>	<u>60-80</u>	<u>80-1200</u>	<u>1200-20</u>	
1. Gilbertine houses (23 in total actual numbers)	-	3	9	3	4	4	no entries after 1220
1b. Foundations of Henry II (actual numbers)	-	-	-	1	-	-	

Table VII, 8

HENRY II, LOUIS VII AND THE ORDER OF GRANDMONT, 1080-1240

<u>Houses</u>	<u>Dates</u>							
	<u>1080-1120</u>	<u>1100-20</u>	<u>20-40</u>	<u>40-60</u>	<u>60-80</u>	<u>80-1200</u>	<u>1200-20</u>	<u>20-40</u>
<u>Angevin Empire</u>								
1. Grandmontine houses (total 52, actual numbers)	-	-	-	10	13	23	6	-
2. Foundations of Henry II (actual numbers)	-	-	-	-	1+	+4/5	-	- no entries after 1240
<u>France</u>								
2. Grandmontine houses (total 59, actual numbers)	-	1	6	9	17	15	8	2
2b. Foundations of Louis VII (actual numbers)	-	-	-	-	2+2(?)	-	-	-

Table VII, 10. Henry II and the order of Fontevrault
in England, 1140 - 1200.

		<u>Dates</u>		
		1140-60	60 - 80	80 - 1200
1.	Fontevraldine houses (total 5, actual nos.)	3	1	1
1.b.	Foundations of Henry II (actual nos.)	-	1	1 (?)

Table VII, 11. THE FRIARS IN FRANCE, 1200-1300

<u>Houses</u>		<u>Dates</u>	<u>Houses are for Men and Women</u>			
		1200-20	20-40	40-60	60-80	80-1300
<u>France</u>						
1	Franciscans (total 67)	1	32	18	13	3
1b	Royal foundations	-	1:L9	1:18	-	
2	Dominicans (total 31)	3	16	7	4	1
2b	Royal foundations	-	1:L9	1:L9	-	1:P4
3	Trinitarians (21)	3	9	7	2	1
3b	Royal foundations	-	-	1:L9		-
4	Austin Friars (5)	-	-	1	-	4
5	Sack Friars (13)	-	-	2	11	-
5b	Royal foundations	-	-	1:L9		-
6	Carmelites (10)	-	-	1	3	6
6b	Royal foundations	-	-	1:L9(?)	-	-
7	Pied Friars (2)	-	-	1	1	
7b	Royal foundations	-	-	1:L9(?)	-	-
8	Crutched Friars (1)	-	-	1	-	-
8b	Royal foundations	-	-	1:L9(?)	-	-
9	Williamites (1)	-	-	1	-	-
9b	Royal foundations	-	-	1:L9(?)	-	-
<u>'Angevin Empire'</u>						
10	Franciscans (65)	-	10	22	23	10
10b	Royal foundations	-	-	1:L9	-	-
11	Dominicans (32)	-	11	8	7	6
11b	Royal foundations	-	1:L9	1:L9	-	-
12	Trinitarians (11)	-	3	5	1	2
13	Austin Friars (2)	-	-	-	1	1
14	Sack Friars (11)	-	-	1	10	-
15	Carmelites (14)	-	-	-	8	6
16	Pied Friars (1)	-	-	-	1	-
17	Crutched Friars (1)	-	-	-	-	1
<u>'S France'</u>						
18	Franciscans (37)	-	9	6	14	8
19	Dominicans (19)	2	1	6	6	4
19b	Royal foundations	-	-	1:L9	-	-
20	Trinitarians (5)	2	1	-	-	2
21	Austin Friars (2)	-	-	1	1	-
22	Sack Friars (7)	-	-	2	5	-
23	Carmelites (16)	-	-	2	7	7
24	Pied Friars (2)	-	-	1	1	-
25	Crutched Friars (1)	-	-	1	-	-
26	Mercedarians	-	1	1	1	-
<u>Totals</u>						
Franciscans		1	51	46	50	21
Dominicans		5	28	21	17	11
Trinitarians		5	13	12	3	4
Sack Friars		-	-	5	26	-
Carmelites		-	-	1	19	19
Others		-	-	4	6	6

Table VII, 12. The Friars in England, 1200 - 1300.

<u>Houses</u>	<u>Dates</u>				
	1200-20	20-40	40-60	60-80	80-1300
1. Franciscans (total 58)	-	36	9	10	3
1b. Royal foundations	-	2:H3 +(1?)	1:H3(?)	-	-
2. Dominicans (51)	-	18	18	12	3
2b. Royal foundations	-	3(?):H3	1:H3	1:H3 1:Ed1(H3)	1:Ed1
3. Carmelites (3)	-	-	14	9	7
3b. Royal foundations	-	-		1:H3(?) 1:EdI	1:EdI
4. Austin Friars (24)	-	-	9	6	9
4b. Royal foundations	-	-	-	1:H3	-
5. Sack Friars (17)	-	-	4	13	-
6. Pied Friars (5)	-	-	2	3	-
7. Trinitarians (8)	-	3	2	2	1
8. Crutched Friars (7)	-	3	1	2	1
<u>Totals Founded</u>	-	60	59	47	24

Table VII, 13. MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS IN SCOTLAND, 1080-1300.

Orders		Dates										
		1080-1100	1100-20	20-40	40-60	60-80	80-1200	1200-20	20-40	40-60	60-80	80-1300
1	Benedictine - Men	1	-	3	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
	- Women	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1b	Royal foundations	1(?)	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	Cluny and Tiron - Men	-	2	-	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	1
2b	Royal foundations	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Cistercians - Men	-	-	1	4	-	1	3	1	-	1	-
	- Women	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	1	-	-	-
3b	Royal foundations	-	-	1	5	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
4	Val d'Ecole - Men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
4b	Royal Foundations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
5	Augustinians - Men + Women	-	-	4	4	-	-	4	1	5	1	-
5b	Royal foundations	-	-	4	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
6	Premonstratensians - Men	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	2	-	-	-
7	Gilbertines - Men + Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
8	Trinitarians	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	1
8b	Royal foundations	-	-	-	-	-	-	1(?)	-	-	-	-
9	Dominicans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	3	3	-
9b	Royal foundation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2	-	-
10	Franciscans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	1
10b	Royal foundations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
11	Carmelites + friars of the Sack	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
	Total foundations	1	2	8	15	8	2	10	18	10	12	3
	Total royal foundations	1(?)	1	7	10	3	-	1(?)	11	5	-	-

THE STYLE AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ROYAL PATRONAGE1. The political importance of royal patronage.

In a general analysis of the patronage interests of the English and French royal houses in a political context various similarities and various contrasts emerge. The similarities spring from the nature of twelfth and thirteenth century kingship, with its political sway over the ecclesiastical hierarchy threatened by the claims of the church reformers, yet its theoretical position of God-given authority universally recognised. Both the English and the French crowns were at the same time enjoying a growing power in their lands, and were increasingly governing with the help of a literate, clerical administration. They needed to assert their own freedom of action in the face of a church whose strength was correspondingly upon the increase, but they were aware of the importance both of firmness and of compromise. Compromise was vital to maintain the smooth functioning of church and state. The church benefitted from the material assistance and from the protection of the king. He in his turn valued the abilities of churchmen, many of whom were royal administrators, and the intercession which the church could bring him. The monastic clergy were clearly important in both senses. Firmness with the church was, however, vital in the maintenance of royal rights in such vexed issues as elections and jurisdiction. Even kings conciliatory by necessity or by inclination, such as Stephen or Louis VI, were not prepared to relinquish their basic rights.

Contrasts between the two crowns emerge, however, in the long-term use of monastic patronage for political ends. The early twelfth century saw the French crown in a considerably weaker position than the Anglo-Norman dynasty, both vis-à-vis its own feudatories and against the church and Pope. Yet by the late thirteenth century the Capetians enjoyed political power unrivalled in Europe and a very great degree of influence over the Papacy

and over the French church. Much of this political importance had been gained through the fortunes of war in the thirteenth century; the acquisition of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and parts of the Languedoc had made the French monarch lord of great territories in marked contrast to his limited domain in the early twelfth century. But much was due also to the extension of royal influence over churches outside the domain in the twelfth century, which gradually built up royal power against the great feudatories by creating a network of ecclesiastical patronage. Louis VI and Louis VII had, paradoxically enough, profited from the anarchical conditions of many areas acknowledging their overlordship to grant safeguards and to give protection to churches languishing from the over-zealous attentions of local feudatories. Monasteries naturally played an important part here. Louis VII and particularly Philip-Augustus made consistent use of patronage for political ends and thus extended their ecclesiastical domain further. These methods were utilised to some extent by the Angevins in Maine, Touraine, Anjou and Aquitaine, but here they lacked the vital power of overlordship. The English and Norman churches were centralised and reasonably firmly under royal and ducal control; Normandy, once its support for John had been undermined, was a valuable acquisition to the French crown from the politico-ecclesiastical as well as the economic and territorial points of view, in its centralisation. The church was also a vitally important agent in the subjugation of the Languedoc by the French king and, in the thirteenth century, the growing co-operation of the papacy with the French crown for political reasons, enabled further royal power to be extended over the French church with pontifical blessing. Papal co-operation with the English crown was somewhat less full, although the king had always been a valuable potential ally. Thus royal power over the English church made no startling gains; royal power over the French church and people made dramatic headway during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The monastic orders played an important part in this development of political control.

2. The siting of royal monasteries.

Centres of royal power and lands of the royal domain naturally provided suitable sites for royal foundations. Monasteries situated in royal lands could be protected and supervised and could be built directly upon land under royal control. Often even this process involved complex exchanges and sales with tenants, as in the case of Louis IX's mendicant houses in Paris, or Henry II's Carthusian house at Witham. Uncultivated royal forest could however provide a site for more ascetic orders such as the Cistercians, Fontevraldines or Grandmontines, and although in these cases the kings might be alienating land of the domain, as for example, at Louis VI's Dilo or Richard I's Bonport, he would also avoid the complexities of dealing with lesser feudatories or townsfolk.

The twelfth-century French houses were all in the royal domain, and near to important centres of power, as map VIII, 1 illustrates. The Orleans area in the South of the domain had a number of small houses of the ascetic orders situated around it, and other moderate foundations were to be found scattered in more outlying areas. The most important foundations were, however, like the Cistercian Barbeaux and Châalis near Melun and Senlis, and the Victorine La Victoire near to Senlis, closer to the royal centre of power in Paris, and St-Victor, Montmartre and Vincennes in or near the capital itself. As Map VIII, 2 shows, Louis IX continued the tradition of situating many houses in the Paris region, with houses for the sick, the friars, the Carthusians, and with the Sorbonne College and the Sainte-Chapelle in the capital and adding to its importance. Cistercian Le Lys, Royaumont and Maubuisson were within a similar radius of Paris as the twelfth-century royal Cistercian foundations. More hospitals and friaries were to be found in the royal lands - both in the older possessions, as at Compiègne and Fontainebleau, and in Normandy, at Falaise, Rouen and Vernon. But Louis IX also extended the area of royal foundations

into other areas which came under royal influence. Thus at Carcassonne he founded one Dominican house, and another at Mâcon, which he bought for the royal domain in c.1239. Thus expanding royal power in France was reflected in the foundation of houses in newly acquired lands.

The Norman and Angevin kings also sited their royal monasteries in or near to centres of power, which were more diverse than those of the French royal house. In Normandy, William I's houses had been founded at Caen, a town of considerable political importance; the shift of power towards Rouen in the twelfth century is reflected in the number of royal foundations in the Seine valley and the Eastern part of the Duchy (Map VIII, 3 and Map VIII, 4). Thus Cistercian Mortemer, La Noë and Bonport, and Henry II's houses for the Templars, the Grandmontines and the sick are all in this strategically important area. Other houses are to be found in the personal domains of their founders - for example, Stephen sited Savigniac Longvilliers in the County of Mortain, and Eleanor of Aquitaine may have created Bonneraye in lands belonging to her duchy. Again, Henry II sited other houses for ascetics near to or in Angers, Tours and Le Mans, and Richard I placed two houses in the Vendée, reflecting both the political importance of these areas and the possible personal connections of both monarchs with areas where they had spent much time.

In early twelfth-century England, most royal monastic foundations were sited in the southern and central counties (Map, VIII, 3). Many of these were important houses created by Henry I and his Queens, such as the Benedictine Reading and the Augustinian Cirencester, Dunstable and Holy Trinity, Aldgate in London. Augustinian Carlisle and the Benedictine nuns of Newcastle were by contrast in the strategically important Northern area. Stephen placed his houses in a generally less compact area. Two were in the South-West - Savigniac Buckfast and Augustinian Launceston; Savigniac

Furness was on royal land acquired from the Duchy of Lancaster, and other houses were created near to York, Lincoln and London. The Empress' two or three English Cistercian houses were founded in central and western England, and Augustinian Cherbourg curiously enough directly to the South of these; her Norman Cistercian house was near Rouen. The English houses were clearly in the areas which gave her political support. Henry II (Map VIII, 4) again departed from the pattern of his grandfather in England. He supported a group of Gilbertine and Augustinian houses near to Lincoln, and other small houses in the West Country and near London; Waltham and Amesbury were important refoundations also situated in these two regions. Henry also supported the military orders in strategically important areas in the Welsh marches, in Ireland and near to Rouen.

As map VIII, 5 shows, John also favoured the Western part of England, with hospitals at Carlisle, Lancaster and Bristol, possibly a Benedictine foundation in Devon and one in Berkshire and the important Cistercian foundation of Beaulieu in Hampshire. Henry III's reign, however, marks a return to the situation of the time of Henry I. Almost all of his foundations were hospitals and friaries. Some are to be found at the peripheries of England, at Bamburgh, York, Stamford, Dunwich, but the majority are concentrated in the South of the county, around Canterbury, Winchester, Salisbury, Oxford and London, near to which Westminster abbey was also situated. Cistercian Netley which he helped to create was sited not far from Beaulieu in Hampshire.

The areas in which royal monasteries were founded are thus a close reflection of the political power of their creators. At the same time, however, their sites reflect the personal interests of their rulers in certain areas, the resources on which they could draw, and naturally the demands and the needs of the orders themselves.

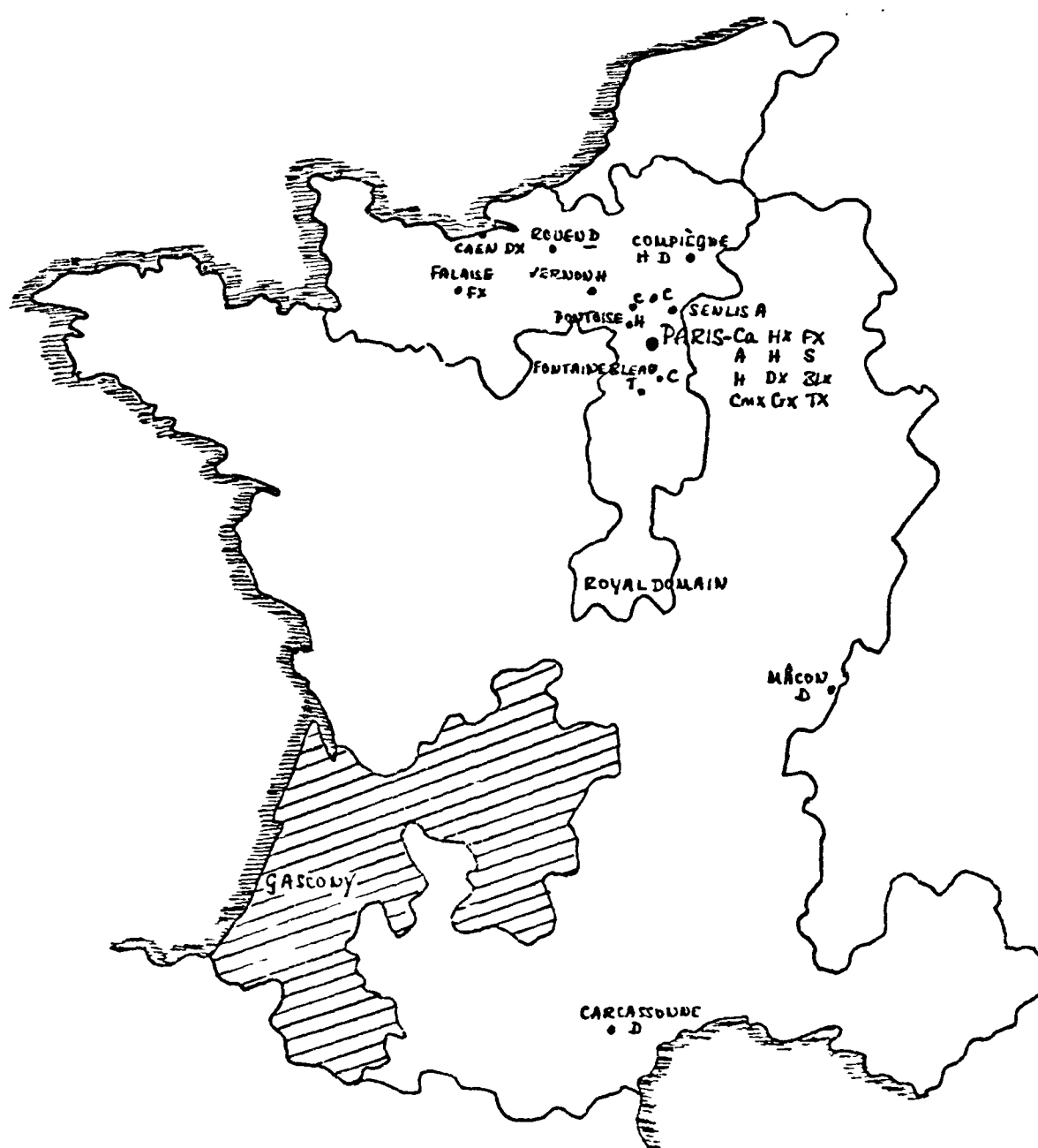
MAPS TO SHOW THE SITING OF ROYAL FOUNDATIONS IN FRANCE
AND ENGLAND IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

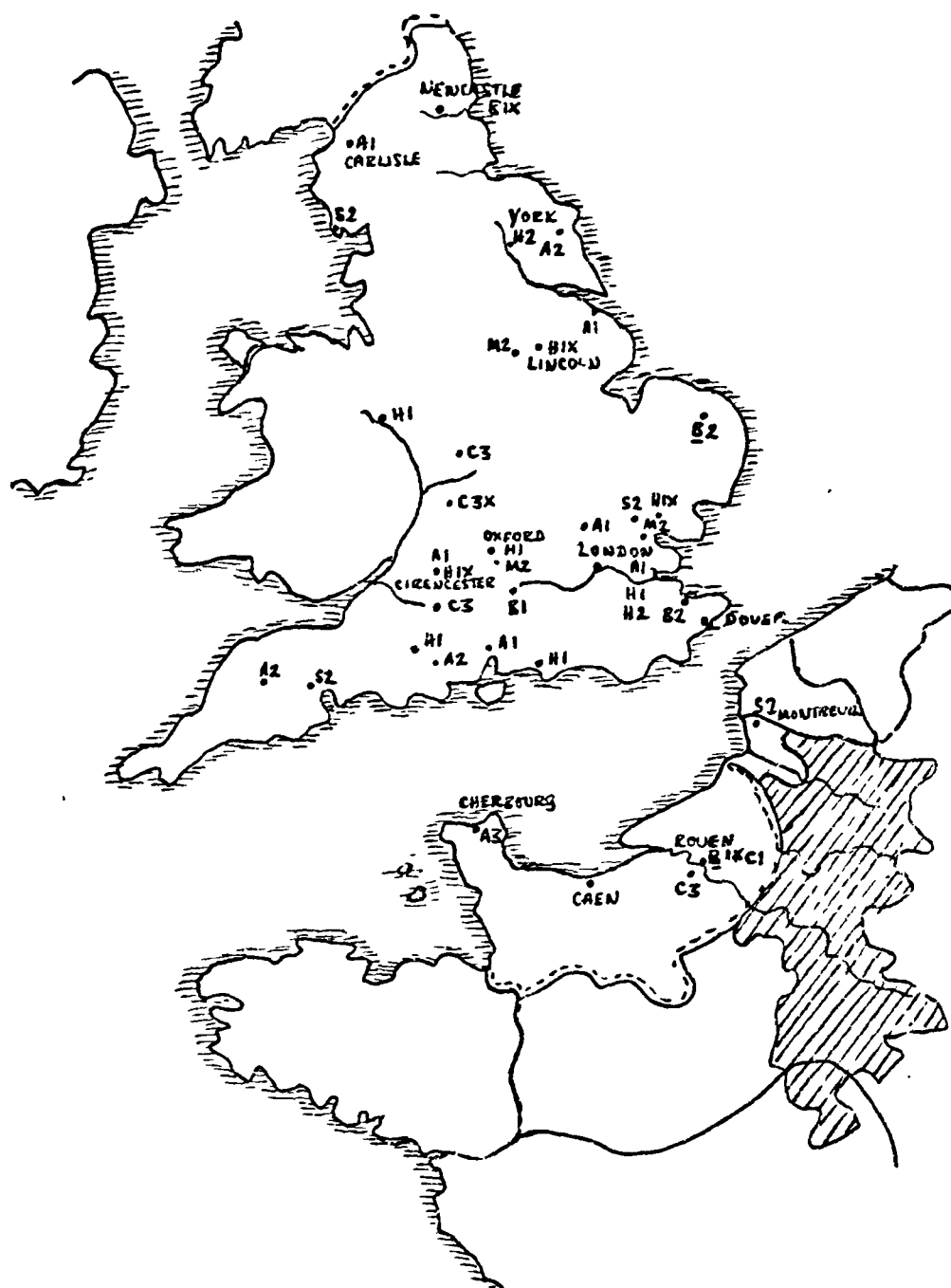
Key to symbols used.

B	=	Benedictine monastery.	X	=	house where the foundation is not certain, a joint foundation or a lesser refoundation.
<u>B</u>	=	Benedictine nunnery.			
A	=	Augustinian or Victorine monastery.			
<u>A</u>	=	Augustinian nunnery.			
S	=	Savigniac, later Cistercian monastery.			
C	=	Cistercian monastery.			
<u>C</u>	=	Cistercian nunnery.			
P	=	Premonstratensian house.			
M	=	House of the Military orders.			
H	=	Hospital.			
G	=	Grandmontine cell.			
F	=	Fontevraldine house.			
Ca	=	Carthusian priory.			
Gi	=	Gilbertine house.			
Fr	=	Franciscan house.			
<u>Fr</u>	=	Clares			
D	=	Dominican house.			
<u>D</u>	=	Dominican nunnery.			
AF	=	Austin Friars.			
T	=	Trinitarian Friars.			
Cm	=	Carmelite Friars.			
S	=	Sack Friars.			
Cr.	=	Crossed Friars.			
Bl	=	Blancs-Manteaux (Pied) Friars			

(French royal chapels are not included)

Religious houses founded by Louis IX in France.





Foundations of Henry I, Stephen and the Empress in England and

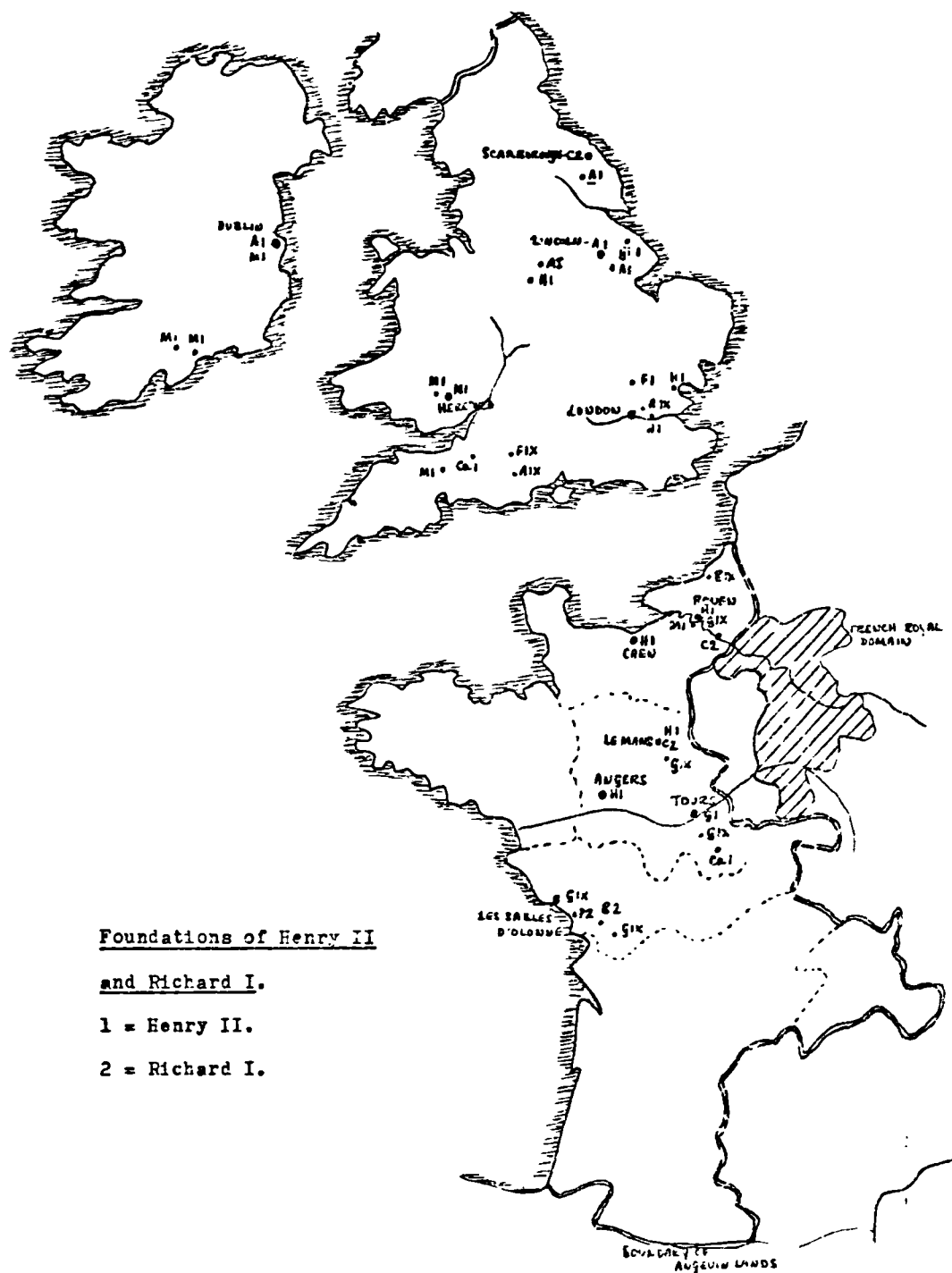
Normandy.

1 = Henry I.

2 = Stephen

3 = Empress

Map VIII, 4.



Foundations of Henry II

and Richard I.

1 = Henry II.

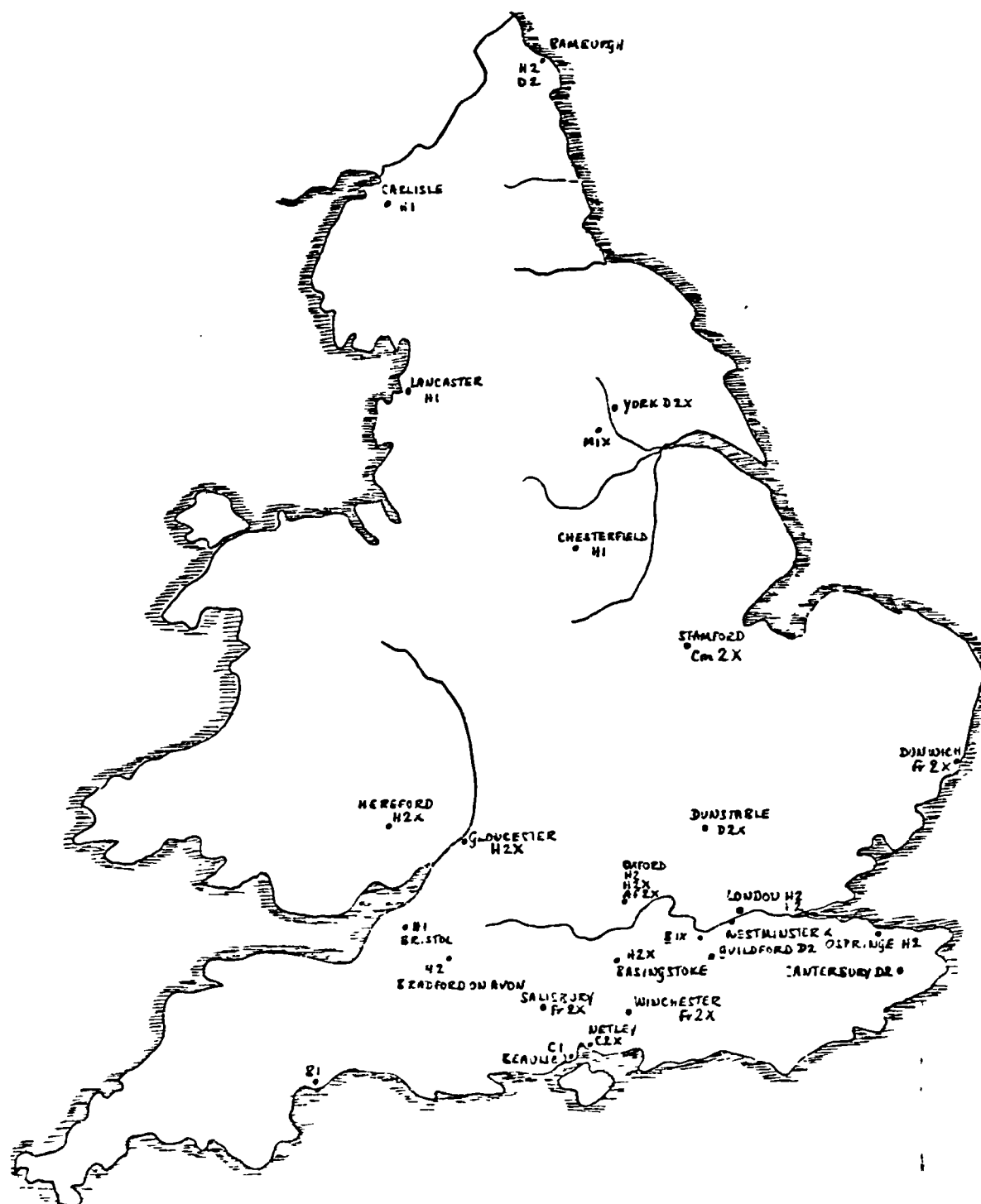
2 = Richard I.

Map VIII, 5.

Foundations of John and Henry III in England.

1 = John

2 = Henry III



3. The style of royal monasteries.

In the thirteenth century the French and English courts became the centres of defined architectural styles. Royal churches and conventual buildings were normally created in this pattern. To some extent they were modified by the demands and the expectations of their orders, as for example in the cases of Cistercian Netley and Royaumont, Carthusian Vauvert, or the earlier Franciscan and Dominican Churches - but despite this they belonged clearly to the group of buildings influenced stylistically by the court. Regional and local influences also played some part in the interpretation of the style, again as with Royaumont, or with the parish church of Grosmont in Herefordshire, built by Queen Eleanor in the later years of Henry III's reign.¹ Yet the court style could also spread with the influence of the crown. In France, for example, the Cathedral at Carcassonne uses certain features of it,² and it was imitated in England, Castile and Germany. At Bordeaux, under English rule in the thirteenth century, St.-André, parts of which were rebuilt, c.1245-50, shows some decorative features clearly borrowed from English churches such as Lincoln.³ In England, the pre-Westminster court style was diffused largely by ecclesiastics to all parts of the country, while Westminster itself had clear repercussions in the chapter-house at Salisbury, in the East end of Old St.-Pauls', and in the decoration of the Angel choir at Lincoln.⁴ The English and French courts were thus important centres disseminating architectural influences on a wide scale in the thirteenth century, and their royal monasteries often provided examples and patterns of their styles.

In the twelfth century, by contrast, the architecture of royal

1 A.W. McAdam, Grosmont Parish Church Notes, 1973.

2 Fig. V, 7.

3 Y. Rénouard, Bordeaux sous les Rois d'Angleterre, Bordeaux, 1965, p.174.

4. P. Brieger, English Art, 1216-1307, Oxford, 1957, pp.1-15 et passim.

monasteries - both in plan and in style - appears to have been determined by their order, their region and its influences, as well as by the amount of money their royal patrons were prepared to lavish upon them. This was the period when the transition from Romanesque to Gothic was gaining momentum, and local variations emerged in different areas and centres of royal power - the Ile de France, England and Normandy, and Anjou, Maine and Poitou. Often kings created or helped to create important buildings in these styles; often these new churches helped to glorify the crown, yet these were not defined court styles.

The Duchy of Normandy in the late eleventh century had evolved its own style of building, which was a massive, thick-walled Romanesque, with distinctive features including piers alternatively square and round, and, later, chevron ornamentation. Ducal buildings seem to have been in the forefront of this development, as in the crypt of Bayeux, Jumièges Abbey, the Caen monasteries and Exchequer, and parts of the keep at Falaise. With the introduction of Norman power into England, the style previously only represented on a large scale by Westminster abbey, the creation of the Normanophile king, Edward the Confessor,¹ was introduced on a wide scale.² Royal buildings, such as the White Tower and Battle abbey, lead the way, and abbeys and cathedrals were rebuilt in the same mould - St.-Albans and Durham being two outstanding examples. Royal and ducal buildings of the early twelfth century continued to manifest Norman features. St.-Bartholomew's, Smithfield, Dunstable and Reading, closely linked with Henry I, would stylistically have been fairly well at home in Normandy. Other houses, however, had more pronounced links with their own orders; this was particularly the case for Cistercian buildings although local influences could again play some part as at Mortemer, Furness and Fountains. The new orders often had their styles and layouts decided by their leaders

1. Similar in plan perhaps to Jumièges, perhaps to Bernay; Fernie, pp.235-60.

2. Mon World, pp.99-111.

for the whole group, and very often kings had to conform to these regulations despite the desire to create a suitably magnificent house as a royal building.

The Ile de France had its own Romanesque style, as exemplified by the royal abbeys of St.-Germain-des-Prés and St.-Martin-des-Champs. In the twelfth century the Gothic style began to emerge at St.-Denis. This royal abbey was rebuilt by Suger as a conscious glorification of the French monarchy. Thus the French Gothic was linked closely with the Crown from the time of its inception - far more so than was the case in England. Sens Cathedral, seat of the Archbishop controlling the spiritual life of the royal domain, was rebuilt from the 1140s onwards, using a style which developed Gothic vaulting, and Nôtre-Dame-de-Paris, constructed after the 1160s, while still using a basically Romanesque thick-walled structure, was tall and double-aisled and roofed with Gothic vaulting. It also followed the ideas used in St.-Denis and Sens in its design of the chevet and its use of stained glass to create a strong sense of beauty, colour and varied light as an aid to worship. This had its repercussions in Cistercian churches such as Pontigny and the royal house of Châalis, rebuilt in the early thirteenth century, where the chevet emerged in a simplified form. The French Gothic style continued to develop with other royal cathedrals and particularly Chartres, Reims and Amiens, through which it reached constructional perfection in its use of flying buttresses to support the high vaults, and evolved fine and varied decorative techniques. All these buildings were within the ambience of French royal influence. Thus although Louis VII, Philip-Augustus appear to have taken little interest in the style per se, the developments which made Louis IX the outstanding patron of building were the logical outcome of their politico-ecclesiastical links with these stylistically important churches, as well as the personal interests of that king himself.

In mid and late twelfth century ^{England and} Normandy the picture was more complex

in that there were various styles employed in royal buildings, which were spread over a far greater area than their French counterparts. These styles were often dictated by the location and the order. Thus Richard I's foundation of Bonport had the typical Cistercian puritanism of outline and plan and a strong defensive wall because of the dangers of its situation, somewhat redolent of the king's powerful fortress of Château Gaillard, situated not many miles away. The round naves of the churches of the military orders, St.-Giles' Hereford and Garway, were a plan used on occasions by the military orders, and the curious lobing at Garway a reminder of the oriental links of the Templars.¹ The plans of Witham and Le Liget conformed strictly to Carthusian practice; Le Liget, however, utilises the Angevin vaulting-system, and at Witham, in the lay-brothers' chapel, a vault somewhat French in appearance seems symbolic of the predominantly continental nature of the order. Some important buildings in the transitional style, in England, such as Canterbury Cathedral, the nave of the London Temple Church, and the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury, had tenuous links with the crown, but it seems that neither Henry nor Richard granted money to help with their building nor took any direct interest in it.

The only style of building from the Angevin Empire linked with the court in a similar way to the Ile de France Gothic is the so-called Angevin style, employed mainly in Anjou, Maine and Poitou. This had developed from the domed buildings of the early twelfth century in this region - St.-Ours at Loches and the church at Fontevrault being two examples which had enjoyed the patronage of the counts of Anjou. It was, nevertheless, like the Norman Romanesque, clearly a local style used by political leaders rather than one created under their aegis. Its principal characteristic was the dome-vault, often ribbed, which can be seen clearly in the Cathedrals at Poitiers, Angers

1. Figs. III, 9, III, 11.

and Le Mans, and at Ste-Radegonde de Poitiers and St.-Martin at Angers, which were constructed from the mid-twelfth century onwards. All these areas had strong connections with Henry II, Eleanor of Aquitaine and Richard I. There are traditions that Henry or his wife and son began the construction of Poitiers Cathedral where the great hall of the ducal palace was also rebuilt in the style. Mussat suggests that since no documentary evidence can be found to corroborate this, it was probably begun by Bishop John aux Bellesmains, an Englishman from Canterbury, in the 1160s.¹ It has also been suggested more recently that it is possible to establish architectural similarities between Grandmontine houses in Poitou founded by the Angevins, and thus that the Grandmontine church with the pre-gothic apse and lateral chapels was either a foundation of Henry II and Richard I or strongly under their influence.² The examples of Bois Rahier and Rouen have both the connections and the plan, but with houses such as Chassay-Grandmont, Breuil-Bellièvre and La Primaudière the links become exceedingly tenuous. The variation may have been due to a local variation of the generally uniform Grandmontine ground-plan, probably in some cases influenced by the Cathedral at Angers with its apsidal east end.³ Henry did, however, create certain buildings in this style. One of these was the chapel of St.-Lazare at Fontevrault, which, together with La Madeleine, he rebuilt before 1189.⁴ Le Liget, his Carthusian house, also exhibits clearly the Angevin vaulting system, both in the main church and in the lay-brothers' chapel at La Courroirie.⁵ His actual role in the building of the halls of the Hospitals at Angers and Le Mans was probably rather small; they both use the style adapted to a hall with several aisles, and were considered royal foundations.

1. A. Mussat, Le Style Gothique de L'Ouest de la France, Paris, 1963, p.245.

2. Grézillier, p.352.

3. Mussat, p.326.

4. Crozet, no.194, p.50.

5. figs. III, 1-6.

This way of building was to some extent identified with the Angevin Court and Henry's daughter carried it with her to Castile on her marriage with Alfonso VIII, so that it was used in parts of the royal abbey at Las Huelgas.¹ Thus in some measure the association of a style with a dynasty, such as the Norman style of Romanesque in England, the Angevin style with the Plantagenets and the developing Gothic of the Ile de France with the French crown, clearly foreshadowed the creation of the court styles in the thirteenth century.

4. The repercussions of royal patronage upon the monastic orders.

As has been illustrated both in general terms in Chapter I, and by specific examples in the course of the discussion of royal foundations, the patronage relationship between kings and the religious orders could be most valuable in many different ways for both parties. Yet the religious could also find at times that royal favour brought problems with it. This was particularly true of the reformed orders, amongst whose principal objectives were escape from secular pressures and terrestrial concerns. The interference of a noble patron could perhaps be resisted ; with some kings, however, to make a stand for independence might be a risky business. General to all orders was the desire, given ecclesiastical legality by the church reforms, for the free election of their abbots and priors, and the administration of their houses during a vacancy. Both of these were considered regalian rights in many cases, and kings tended to attach some degree of importance to their implementation. The problems involved have been covered in much detail in other places, and touched upon above.² In general, it is clear that despite various causes célèbres, the royal will was afforded much attention and respect, and this was certainly the case with royal houses.

1. above, pp. 316-9.

2. eg. Howell, Regalian Right; Lot and Fawtier, Histoire des Institutions, and above, Chapter 1.

The Cistercians had a programme for the freeing of their monasteries from secular domination which constituted part of a general rejection of certain customs of Benedictine monasticism. The siting of their houses far from human habitation with the aim of economic self-sufficiency is indicative of this. Royal foundations followed this regulation with some care. Mortemer, Châalis and Bonport, for example, were situated in royal forests and well away from local centres of habitation. Yet they were also within the protection of the royal domain, and not set at extreme distances from royal centres of power, in contrast to Fountains or Pontigny. To some extent this was because of the areas in which royal land was situated, yet in the thirteenth century, Royaumont, Le Lys and Maubuisson were all placed within a fifty mile radius of Paris on land acquired largely by purchase and exchange; likewise the Angevin foundations such as Bonport were near to political centres. The land used, however, was normally away from local centres, on typical Cistercian riverside sites. Royal founders were more prepared to observe these conditions than the ones which enjoined that the Order should reject 'all sources of luxury and wealth, as well domestic and artistic as economic and ecclesiastical'.¹ This was a basic tenet of many reformed orders, and kings were often amongst the first offending patrons to contravene it. The Cistercians were not supposed to possess tithes nor the income from churches, yet Richard I granted a body no less august than the General Chapter itself the church of Scarborough with all its appurtenances. Not only did the white monks not refuse this gift, but they also stood up for their rights in the town in the mid-thirteenth century, against the Franciscan friars, who were supported by Henry III.² Similar problems occurred for the orders of Friars, who should not have possessed rents or pensions. These were, however, granted to them at times by both Louis IX and Henry III.³

1. Knowles, Mon.Ord. p.210.

2. VCH, Yorks, III, 274-5.

3. A.G.Little, Studies in English Franciscan History, Manchester, 1917, pp.6-9, et passim.

In the areas of burial and intercession similar infringements occurred. Laymen were not supposed to be interred in Cistercian churches, but Louis VII may have been instrumental in breaking this down by the creation of Barbeaux as a royal mausoleum, where Châalis had been only a memorial house. Patrons should have been remembered on four special occasions during the year; instead the anniversaries of kings, again beginning with Louis VII, began to be celebrated in all houses of the order on specific days.¹

Certain orders adopted a consciously ascetic style for their buildings. Early Cistercian churches tended to be built upon standardised plans and in a fairly homogeneous style, although this broke down to some extent after the death of Saint Bernard.² Royal monasteries were amongst those rejecting this pristine uniformity. Many houses of the thirteenth century, such as Maubuisson, were still plain,³ but Royaumont in particular, with its plan and in its excessive ornamentation, came in for a degree of criticism from the General Chapter. Las Huelgas is another church elaborate in Cistercian terms, but which was to some extent remote from the Chapter's surveillance.⁴ The house, a nunnery, indeed, possessed lands and privileges on a wide and theoretically unsuitable scale. Yet over-elaborate churches tended, even when their patrons were royal, to be the exception rather than the rule. Le-Lieu-Dieu-en-Jard was in an exemplary style for for a Premonstratensian house. The Carthusians were also very strict in upholding their asceticism of life, as Witham indicates. Henry II's foundation of Le Liget, however, had buildings which, while not excessively elaborate, were nevertheless constructed and decorated to a fine standard.⁵

1. above, pp.191-3.

2. Mon. World, pp.152, 254.

3. fig. V, 2.

4. above, pp.306-7.

5. figs. V, 1-6.

Nor does the description of his work at Grandmont, given by Levèsque, make it sound wholly in keeping with the harsh percepts of this order.¹

The Friars clearly found Henry III overgenerous at times, but the Franciscans did not have the temerity to pull down the fine chapel he had built for them at Reading in the mid-thirteenth century.² The Dominican nunnery at Poissy, founded by Philip IV, was likewise built with great expense in a magnificent style; but by the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the religious orders themselves had become less vigilant and less enthusiastic in the defence of their own more puritanical principles.

Other more general problems besetting religious orders might arguably have stemmed from the degree of influence of their royal patrons. The troubles in the order of Grandmont, for example, might seem to owe much of their momentum to the disturbing influence of Henry II, who brought them an affluence perhaps excessive for a highly ascetic group, a fine new church, and wide political and religious influence through his patronage.³ Yet in a similar quarrel which divided the Gilbertines, the King acted firmly to retain the initial organisation of the order; it may well be that the King of France also exercised a strong power over the Grandmontines and that Henry was unable or unwilling to intervene so directly in this case.⁴

Royal favour thus at times could present problems of various kinds to a religious order, affecting its rule, its organisation, the architectural style it adopted. It is clear, however, that even the most ascetic orders considered it an advantage and sought it consciously at times. For as has been shown, royal influence could be decisive in the fame and fortunes of a religious order.

1. Grandmont, p.169.

2. Little, p.62.

3. See Grandmont, pp.181-2.

4. above, pp. 186-8.

5. Royal patronage after c.1270.

By the mid-thirteenth century the expansion in the monastic orders had lost its momentum, and by c.1300 only a few houses, even for the friars, were being founded. In this situation the crown, which continued to create monasteries, grew in relative numerical significance as a patron of the orders. But in real terms its role had declined, for when it created houses its example was not necessarily followed on the wide scale that had been theoretically, and sometimes actually, possible in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the later middle ages, nobles, ecclesiastics and burgesses tended to found chantries and memorial chapels rather than monasteries. One reason for this was expense. Royal houses provide a good barometer for the rising prices, Westminster cost Henry III perhaps £50,000, where Henry II had spent only about £15,000 on the rebuilding of Waltham. The difference was not only that of scale; Vale Royal cost Edward I more than £30,000,¹ and the work here was left further from completion than at Westminster and probably than at Waltham. Building costs had risen with the general inflation of the period and probably at a far faster rate than the royal income. Colvin's tabulation of average wages for craftsmen in Southern England from 1220-1259, for example, illustrates this point. He shows that in the period 1220-7 a skilled worker earned 2d.-4d. a day; in 1253, 4d.-6d.² Other costs such as materials and carriage also seem to have increased in price, and incomes based on land, such as those of the nobility and ecclesiastics were clearly not rising at the same rate. Nor was there the same amount of spare lands available for the creation of large monastic houses, for one on the scale of Reading, of Châalis or Beaulieu needed great estates to

1. Kings Works, I, 157, 88-9; D.Knoop and G.P. Jones, 'The First three years in the building of Vale Royal abbey', Trans.Quatuor Coronati Lodge, 54, 1931, p.1.

2. H.M. Colvin, Building Accounts of King Henry III, Oxford, 1971, p.12.

support it. The problems of assembling these grew greater in the thirteenth century, as is illustrated by the complicated transactions involved in the foundation of the Cistercian houses of Louis IX and Blanche of Castile.¹ Uncultivated land away from human habitation, which new orders such as the Cistercians and Carthusians at first demanded was increasingly hard to come by; as the population grew the demand for land increased and assarting was carried out by lay and ecclesiastical lords on a large scale. Land was thus in great demand,² and the church and the monastic orders already held a considerable proportion of it. Thus even in the twelfth century, ecclesiastical lands were often regranted to other ecclesiastical bodies, and there was an increasing disinclination to alienate large parcels of land to the church, matching the difficulty of the process of doing so. In many regions, as for example, Yorkshire, monasteries were numerous on a local level and perhaps fulfilled local needs adequately. The religious orders had thus reached saturation point, and this is reflected in the increasing importance of the chantry, which provided intercession for the soul of the founder through the saying of masses by a specially endowed priest. This could be founded at an altar in an existing church, or in a chapel built in or onto a church. Its expense could vary with the wealth of its founder, and its spiritual benefits were direct and easily measured. As the impetus for the foundation of monasteries died away, once large numbers of houses had been created, and once many of the orders appeared to have lost their initial fervour, the chantry offered an alternative both more spiritually valuable and less costly.

In the later middle ages royal foundations were perhaps less important in the influence they exercised, yet the religious orders, despite a decreased political role, held an important and established position in

1. eg. Charters in Appendix III, nos.12-15; above, Chapter V.

2. M.M.Postan, Essays on Medieval Agriculture and general problems of the Economy, Cambridge, 1973, eg. pp.4-5, 14-15; M. Bloch, Feudal Society, trans. L.A. Manyon, London, 1961, pp.69-71.

the social structure by virtue of their landed wealth and their local influence. Kings continued to be vitally important patrons of royal abbeys and of orders in general, and royal foundations as signs of favour towards certain groups of religious thus are of some significance.

Edward I's Cistercian creation of Vale Royal illustrates the problems of a monastic foundation in the late thirteenth century, in the great expense involved and the considerable length of time taken in its execution. It was begun at Darnhall, Cheshire, in the 1270s, supposedly as the implementation of a vow made during a storm at sea, and was moved to a better site four miles away in 1277. The works were ambitious, and the king planned it as the largest house in England, and gave it valuable relics, but after an expenditure of at least £32,000,¹ and further sums in arrears, Edward appears to have lost interest, and despite help from the Black Prince and Richard II, the church may never have been completed. Edward I did, however, also create more modest houses for the Carmelites at Bristol, c.1256, before his accession,² and was considered the founder of houses at Kingston upon Hull and Yarmouth.³ He was a benefactor to the Dominicans at Northampton, and Edward II continued these interests, with a house at Kings Langley, c.1308, for 100 Dominican friars.⁴ The church here became the burial-house of Piers Gaveston in 1315, but again, despite much assistance from Edward III, was not completed until c.1366. Work continued on the buildings until late in the century. Edward II also assisted the foundations of the Dominicans at Norwich and Winchelsea,⁵ and probably founded the Carmelite convents at Hitchen, Oxford and Scarborough.⁶

1. Knoop and Jones, p.1; I.G. Thomas, p.267; King's Works, I, 248-57.

2. KH, p.235.

3. KH, pp.235, 237.

4. KH, pp.217-8; King's Works, I, 257-63.

5. KH, pp.218-9.

6. KH, pp.235-6.

Edward III in his turn founded a Dominican nunnery at Dartford, Kent, c.1351 following the disposition of his father; this was completed c.1362 and was the only representative of the group in England.¹ Isolated foundations continued into the fifteenth century. Henry V founded two out of the three houses imposed on his father as a penance for the death of Archbishop Scrope.² These were for Carthusians and Brigettines, and became important monasteries.³ It is significant that it was this king, whose chivalrous ideals and continental ambitions identify him with a period earlier than his own, who embarked on the last great royal project of monastic foundation in medieval England.⁴

In France the political situation directly governed the foundation of royal monasteries. Thus Philip IV founded several houses, with much publicity, to celebrate the canonisation of Louis IX. The most important of these was St.-Louis at Poissy, a house for Dominican nuns, c.1297, whose plan was based upon Royaumont, whose site had strong connections with the Saint, and whose buildings were a fine example of the French court style.⁵ Philip gave the Clares a house at Moncel, c.1309,⁶ and the congregation of the Val d'Ecole, Royallieu near Compiègne, c.1303, again dedicated to Louis IX.⁷ With these three important houses and with the Lives of Louis, the King as a royal Saint was given strong and important emphasis by the French crown, to whose credit much reflected sanctity thus accrued.

1. KH, p.285; King's Works, I, 264.

2 King's Works, I, 265-8; Knowles, Rel.Ords. II, 175-84.

3 King's Works, I, 268-9.

4 Although Edward IV and Henry VII made refoundations for the Franciscan observants; Knowles, Rel.Ords. III, pp.12-13.

5 Branner, p.136.

6 Gallia, IX, 852.

7 Gallia, IV, 1080.

Politics, in the glorification of the French crown, played an important part in these foundations, as it did in the suppression of the Templars. It was the political and social upheavals of the 100 Years' War which brought royal monastic foundations, with most others, to a halt. French monasticism appeared to suffer far more greatly than the English from external disruption and from internal corruption. Petit-Dutaillis writes:

'Le monachisme du moyen age, comme bien d'autres choses du moyen age, meurt au XVe siècle. La Guerre de Cent Ans l'a ruiné, désorganisé, frappé de stérilité.' 1

Thus a strong decline in monasticism and monastic foundations, mirrored also in the great diminution of royal creations, preceded the far-reaching if diverse changes in the religious life in France and England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

1 Lavissee, Histoire de France, IV (2), Paris, 1902, p.180, C. Petit-Dutaillis, Charles VII, Louis X et. Charles VIII, Paris, 1902, p.180.

Appendix I. Royal Foundations, England and France, c.1100-1270

<u>King</u> (+ immediate family)	<u>House</u> (A = Abbey P = Priory x = uncertain F = house for women.)	<u>Order</u>	<u>Date</u>
Henry I	St.-Mary's, Colchester (x)	Hospital	after 1100
	Holy Innocents', Lincoln (x)	Hospital	after 1100
	St.-Giles', Holborn	Hospital	1101-9
	P Holy Trinity, Aldgate	Augustinian	c.1107-8
	SS. James and Mary, Chichester	Hospital	before 1118
	A Cirencester	Augustinian	c.1117
	A Reading	Benedictine(1)	c.1121
	P Carlisle (2)	Augustinian	1122-3
	P Dunstable	Augustinian	c.1125
	P St.-Denys, Southampton	Augustinian	c.1127
	St.-Bartholomew's, Oxford	Hospital	c.1129
	P Wellow by Grimsby	Augustinian	c.1132
	A Mortemer	Cistercian	c.1134
	St.-John's, Cirencester (x)	Hospital	before 1135
	P Newcastle-on-Tyne, F (x)	Benedictine	c.1135
	St.-Giles', Shrewsbury	Hospital	c.1135
	St.-Giles', Wilton	Hospital	c.1135
	P Bonne-Nouvelle, Rouen (x)	Benedictine	c.1135(?)
Stephen	P Launceston	Augustinian	1126-7
	A Furness	Savigniac	1127
	A Longvilliers	Savigniac	1133-5
	St.-Peters, York (x)	Hospital	before 1135
	A Buckfast	Savigniac	1136
	Cowley	Templars	1136
	P Carrow F	Benedictine	c.1136-7
	Witham	Templars	1138-48
	A Coggeshall	Savigniac	1140-2
	A Faversham	Benedictine(1)	c.1148
	St.-Katherine's, London	Hospital	c.1148
	Eagle	Templars	before 1154
	P Ivychurch	Augustinian	before 1154
	P Thornholm	Augustinian	before 1154

1 unaffiliated Cluniac.

2 became Cathedral priory, 1133.

<u>King</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Order</u>	<u>Date</u>
Empress	A Bordesley	Cistercian	<u>c.</u> 1138
	A Stanley	Cistercian	<u>c.</u> 1154 (1)
	A Nôtre-Dame du Voeu, Cherbourg	Augustinian	before <u>c.</u> 1155
	A Stoneleigh	Cistercian	<u>c.</u> 1155-6 (2)
	A La Noë	Cistercian	1166-7
Henry II	Hornchurch	Hospital	<u>c.</u> 1159
	P Newstead	Augustinian	1163-4
	P Hough	Augustinian	<u>c.</u> 1164
	Maldon	Hospital	<u>c.</u> 1164
	P Moxby F (x)	Augustinian	1167?
	P Grovebury	Fontevraldine	1164-89
	St.-Leonard's, Derby	Hospital	<u>c.</u> 1171
	P Newstead in Ancholme	Gilbertine	1163-71
	cell Bois-Rahier	Grandmont	1170s?
	St.-Vaubourg, Rouen	Templars	1170s
	Clontarf	Templars	before 1180
	Crooke	Templars	before 1180
	Kilbarry	Templars	before 1180
	A Amesbury F	Fontevraultine	1177
	P St.-Thomas', Dublin (3)	Augustinian	<u>c.</u> 1177
	A Waltham (4)	Augustinian	1177
	P Le Liget	Carthusian	<u>c.</u> 1177-8
	P Witham	Carthusian	<u>c.</u> 1177-8
	Buckland, F (x)	Hospitallers	<u>c.</u> 1180
	Hôtel-Dieu, Angers (x)	Hospital	1180-2
	Hôtel-Dieu, Le Mans (x)	Hospital	1180-2
	Garway	Templars	1185-7
	Quévilli, St.-Julien	Hospital	1185-8
	cell Nôtre-Dame-du-Parc, Rouen (x)	Grandmont	1180s
	cell Bercey (x)	Grandmont	1154-89
	cell Bonneraye (x)	Grandmont	1154-89
	Caen (x)	Hospital	1154-89
	cell La Haie-aux-Bonshommes (x)	Grandmont	1154-89?

1 c.1155 from Loxwell, Wilts.

2 c.1155-6 from Redmore, Staffs.

3 became an abbey in 1192.

4 priory 1177-84.

<u>King</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Order</u>	<u>Date</u>
Henry II	St.-Giles', Hereford (x)	Hospitallers	1154-89
	cell La Meilleraye	Grandmont	1154-89
	P Torksey (x)	Augustinian	1154-89
	cell Villiers (x)	Grandmont	1154-89
Richard I			
	cell Scarborough (x)	Cistercian	c.1189
	A Bonport	Cistercian	c.1190
	P Gourfaillies	Benedictine	c.1190
	A Le Lieu-Dieu-en-Jard	Prémontré	c.1190
	Staintondale (x)	Hospitallers	1189-99
	A L'Epau (1)	Cistercian	c.1229
John			
	St.-Leonard's, Lancaster	Hospital	1189-94
	St.-Leonard's, Chesterfield	Hospital	c.1195
	St.-Lawrence's, Bristol	Hospital	c.1199
	St.-Nicholas', Carlisle	Hospital	c.1199
	P Bromhall F (x)	Benedictine	before 1200
	A Beaulieu (2)	Cistercian	c.1204
	Newland (x)	Hospitallers	1199-1216
	P Otterton (x)	Benedictine	1199-1216
Henry III			
	Bamburgh (x)	Hospital	c.1221
	Dublin (x)	Franciscans	c.1223
	Limerick (x)	Dominicans	c.1227
	York (x)	Dominicans	c.1227
	St.-Bartholomew's, Glos. (x)	Hospital	c.1229
	Salisbury	Franciscans	before 1230
	St.-John's, Oxford	Hospital	c.1231
	Domus Conversorum, London	Hospital	c.1232
	Ospringe	Hospital	c.1234?
	Domus Conversorum, Oxford	Hospital	c.1234
	Bradford-on-Avon	Hospital	c.1235
	Canterbury (x)	Dominicans	c.1237
	Winchester (x)	Franciscans	1237
	A Netley (x) (3)	Cistercian	1238-9
	Basingstoke (x)	Hospital	1240-62
	St.-Anthony, London	Hospital	c.1254
	Dunstable (x)	Dominicans	c.1259

1 founded by Berengaria, widow of Richard I.

2 from Faringdon, Berks.

3 taken over from Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester.

<u>King</u>		<u>House</u>	<u>Order</u>	<u>Date</u>
Henry III		Bamburgh	Dominicans	<u>c.</u> 1265
		Oxford	Austin Friars	1266-7
		Stamford (x)	Carmelites	before 1268?
		Dunwich (x)	Franciscans	1216-74
		Guildford (1)	Dominicans	1274
Louis VI	P	Hautes-Bruyères F (x)	Fontevraldine	<u>c.</u> 1112
	P	La Madeleine Orleans F	Fontevraldine	<u>c.</u> 1113
	A	St.-Victor-de-Paris	Augustinian (V)	<u>c.</u> 1113
	P	Chaumontois F (x)	Fontevraldine	after 1119
	A	Montmartre F	Benedictine	<u>c.</u> 1133-4
	A	Dilo	Prémontré	1132-4
	A	Châalis	Cistercian	1136-7
		St.-Nicholas, Paris	Chapel	1108-37
		St.-Denis, Senlis	Chapel	1108-37
	A	St.-Jean-aux-Bois F (2)	Benedictine	<u>c.</u> 1154
Louis VII		Savigny (x)	Templars	<u>c.</u> 1149
	A	Châteaulandon (x)	Augustinian (V)	<u>c.</u> 1151
	P	St.-Samson d'Orleans	Augustinian	<u>c.</u> 1152
		BVM, Paris	Chapel	<u>c.</u> 1154
	A	Barbeaux	Cistercian	1156 (3)
	cell	Les Moulineaux (x)	Grandmont	1155-76
	cell	La Coudre (x)	Grandmont	1160-1
	cell	Louye	Grandmont	1160-3
	cell	Vincennes	Grandmont	before 1164
		BVM Fontainebleau	Chapel	<u>c.</u> 1169
	P	St.-Jean-Baptiste de Nemours	Augustinian	<u>c.</u> 1170
		Senlis	Hospital	<u>c.</u> 1170
		St.-Thomas and BVM, Laon	Chapel	<u>c.</u> 1179
		St.-Martin-de-la-Fôret	Chapel	1137-80
		Hermières (x) (4)	Prémontré	<u>c.</u> 1202
		Le Jard (x) (4)	Augustinian (V)	<u>c.</u> 1204
Philip Augustus		Gisors (x)	Chapel	<u>c.</u> 1184
		Choisi-en-Bac	Chapel	<u>c.</u> 1185
		Bléron	Chapel	1189-90
		Eu (x)	Chapel	<u>c.</u> 1219
	A	La Victoire (x)	Augustinian (V)	<u>c.</u> 1222-3

1 founded by Queen Eleanor (Henry III)

2 founded by Queen Adèle (Louis VI)

3 from Seine-Port, founded 1157.

4 founded by Queen Adèle (Louis VII)

V = Victorine congregation

<u>King</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Order</u>	<u>Date</u>
Louis VIII	A La Victoire (x)	Augustinian (V)	<u>c.</u> 1223-5
Louis IX	A Royaumont	Cistercian	<u>c.</u> 1228
	A St.-Catherine, Paris (x)	Val d'Ecole	<u>c.</u> 1229
	Paris (x)	Franciscans	<u>c.</u> 1230
	Caen (x)	Dominicans	<u>c.</u> 1235
	A Le Lys F	Cistercian	<u>c.</u> 1236
	St.-Germain-en-Laye	Chapel	<u>c.</u> 1238
	Mâcon	Dominicans	<u>c.</u> 1239
	A Maubuisson F	Cistercian	<u>c.</u> 1241
	Ste.-Chapelle, Paris	Chapel	1241-6
	Carcassonne	Dominicans	<u>c.</u> 1237
	Fontainebleau	Trinitarians	1148-55
	Jaffa	Franciscans	1252
	Falaise (x)	Franciscans	<u>c.</u> 1254
	A Longchamp F	Franciscans	<u>c.</u> 1255
	Paris	Sack Friars	1253-61
	Paris, Quinze-Vingts	Hospital	<u>c.</u> 1254?
	St.-Vaast, Pontoise	Chapel	<u>c.</u> 1254
	Pontoise, F (x)	Hospital (Augustinian)	<u>c.</u> 1255
	Vernon, F (x)	Hospital (Augustinian)	<u>c.</u> 1256
	Compiègne	Dominicans	<u>c.</u> 1257
	Corbeil	Chapel	<u>c.</u> 1258
	Paris, Blancs-Manteaux (x)	Pied Friars	<u>c.</u> 1258
	Paris (x)	Carmelites	<u>c.</u> 1258
	Paris (x)	Crutched Friars	<u>c.</u> 1258
	Paris	Sorbonne College	<u>c.</u> 1257-9
	Compiègne, Hôtel-Dieu	Hospital (1)	<u>c.</u> 1259
	P Vauvert	Carthusian	<u>c.</u> 1259
	Paris, Filles-Dieu F (x)	Hospital	1250s
	Rouen F	Dominicans	1258-64
	P Senlis, St.-Maurice	Augustinian	1261-2
	Paris, Béguines, F (x)	Hospital	1264

1 granted to the Trinitarians, 1267.

Appendix II

Some mausolea of great nobles and ecclesiastics in France.

Noble families throughout the middle ages often adopted or created monasteries as mausolea. This was a pattern which generally changed little, for the great royal dynastic burial houses were set apart, by sentiments and loyalties focused on the crown, from the normal style of the local mausoleum. Some variations were, however, afforded by the regulations of various orders and the fashions of different areas; comital mausolea occur far more frequently in France than in England, for example. There, nobles were often buried in their parish churches.

Benedictine houses were used as comital pantheons throughout the middle ages, and illustrate the basic continuity of this kind of institution. Thus as in Spain the Counts of Castile used San-Salvador-de-Oña and Covarrubias from the ninth century onwards, in France the seigneurs of Orthe and Aspremont were buried at La Cagnotte (dioc. Dax) from the ninth century, and the seigneurs of Amboise, Pontlevoy from the tenth (Chartres). St.-Sernin de Toulouse, refounded in the late eleventh century to house Augustinian canons, was through its prestigious relics a highly suitable burial-house for the Counts of Toulouse.¹

But from the twelfth century onwards the new orders were in competition with the more ancient houses of Benedictines and canons, both as recipients of comital patronage and as comital pantheons. The Cistercians were particularly favoured by local seigneurs in France from the 1130s-1150s, and many houses built then later became the mausolea of their founders, Fontaine-Jean (dioc.Sens) for the seigneurs of Courtenay, for example. This was taking full advantage of the Cistercian statute of 1157, allowing founders to be buried in the precincts of their churches.

1. Fuller references to these houses may be found in the requisite volumes of the Gallia Christiana.

By the 1152 and 1180 statutes only kings, queens and bishops were allowed to be buried in the church itself. This prevented the entombment of the dukes of Burgundy in the church at Cîteaux for several centuries. Many early counts of Astarac were likewise placed in the cloister at Berdouès (Auch). Yet on a local level this may sometimes have been applied less rigorously than at the mother-house. One of the founders of Breuil-Benoît (Evreux), Guillaume de Marcigny, was buried inside its church in the mid-twelfth century.¹ At Hautecombe (Geneva) the founders and benefactors were the dukes of Savoy. Their first tomb to appear in the church is that of Humbert III, c.1189 - sited in the nave, and his family later had a special memorial chapel erected for them.² Like the Grandmontines, the Premonstratensians seem to have exercised similar prohibitions about burial. At La Case-Dieu (Auch) the seigneurs of Pardiac and Armagnac who were not the founders were buried in the cloister. Yet at St.-André-de-Clermont the founder, Count William and his wife were interred in the church in the mid twelfth century.

Great ecclesiastics were normally buried in their own cathedrals or monasteries, but as with kings, personal preferences or circumstances sometimes modified this. Everard, Bishop of Norwich died in c.1146-7 as a monk of Cistercian Fontenay which he had helped to build (Autun), and was buried in front of the high altar.³ Geoffrey Archbishop of York was entombed in the Grandmontine cella at Rouen in the early thirteenth century; he had been living there in exile as a monk. Archbishop Edmund of Canterbury was buried at Pontigny (dioc.Auxerre) in 1239, when he died again in exile. Pope Clement VI was laid to rest at La Chaise-Dieu

1. Gallia, XI, 663.

2. G. Pérouse, Hautecombe, Abbaye Royale, Chambéry, 1926, pp.50-2.

3. J. le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, ed. T.D. Hardy, Oxford, 1854, II, 56.

(dioc. Clermont) where he had been a monk - in the fourteenth century.

Yet despite these variations the normal pattern was clearly that bishops and counts should be interred in the house with which they had the strongest connection. And this was usually the local monastery or cathedral.

Appendix III.Royal Charters

1. Henry II for the Gilbertines. Early 1160s.
2. Henry II for Haverholme. 1177-81.
3. Henry II for the Templars at Garway (fragment).
4. Vidimus of 1223 of a charter of Richard I for the Templars. 1189.
- (5. Richard I for La Haie aux Bonshommes; Grandmont, pp.182-3.
6. Richard I for La Meilleraie, Bonneray and Barbetorte; Grandmont, pp.183-5.)
7. John for Barnwell. 1200.
8. Henry III for Beaulieu. 1247.
9. Louis IX for L'Epau. 1228.
10. Louis IX for L'Epau. 1230.
11. Queen Berengaria for L'Epau. 1230.
12. Louis IX for Royaumont. 1244.
13. Louis IX for Le Lys. 1248.
14. Blanche of Castile for Le Lys. 1250.
15. Blanche of Castile for Le Lys. 1252.
16. Louis IX for the Hôtel-Dieu at Pontoise. 1269.
17. Charter relating to the buying of land for the abbey of Longchamp. 1255.

1. Charter of Henry II for the Gilbertines. 1155-62.

BL MS Cotton Claudius D. XI, Cartulary of Malton, c.1250.

f. 28.

Henricus rex Anglorum et dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et comes Andegavorum archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiariis, vicecomitibus, ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Anglie salutem.

Sciatis me recepisse in mea propria manu et custodia et protectione sicut liberam et specialem elemosinam meam omnes scilicet domos religionis que sunt sub cura et custodia Magistri Gileberti de Simpington, tam monialium quam canonicorum, et infirmorum de hospitali Lincolniensi, cum omnibus rebus ad eas pertinentibus.

Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod moniales et canonici et fratres in predictis domibus et servientes omnia tenementa sua teneant bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et plenarie et honorifice in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis, in aquis et mariscis, in piscariis et toftis et croftis, in viis et semitis et in omnibus locis tam in burgo quam extra burgum, libera et quiete de geldis et danegeldis et auxiliis et wapentagiis et hundredis et tridingis sciris et tennemannetale et de murdris et de scutagiis et assisis et summonitionibus et de omnibus placitis et querelis et occasionibus et consuetudinibus et de omni tereno servitio et seculari exactione cum saca et soca, tol et theam et infangenethef et aliis omnibus consuetudinibus et libertatibus.

Et si quis versus aliquam domorum illarum aliquid de possessionibus suis clamaverit sive eas in aliquo vexare ut in placitum ponere voluerit, prohibeo ne pro aliquo respondeant neque in placitum intrarent nisi coram me neque aliquis eas placitare faciat nisi coram me.

Testibus Alienora Regina, Thoma. cancellario, Ricardo de constabulario, Ricardo dapifero et Ricardo de Camville, Willelmo de Caisnet, apud Langisium.

2. Charter of Henry II for Haverholme, 1177-81.

BL MS Lansdowne, 207a, Collectanea Gervasii Holles, vol. I,
seventeenth century MS, f.119.

Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglie¹ et dux Normannie et
 Aquitanie et comes Andegavie, archiepiscopis etc. salutem.

Sciatis me dedisse etc. conventui de Haverholm centum
 solidatas terre de dominico meo in soka de Oskintun cum omnibus
 pertinentiis suis, scilicet molendinum de Stantun, et dominicum meum toftum
 et terram de dominico meo ad unam carucatam et quatuordecim bovata terre in
 eadem villa predicta de Stantun cum omnibus pertinentis suis et unam
 carucatam terre in Turrintun cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in puram
 et perpetuam elemosinam etc.

Has predictas centum solidatas terre do eis in escambium pro
 predictis pertinentiis manerii mei de Oskintun pro centum solidatis
 terre in Peverelthorp quas dedi Ricardo masculo servienti meo etc.

Testibus G. Eliensi episcopo, H. comite Cestrie.

¹ The extension of abbreviations used in the MS. has been
 retained.

3. Fragment of a charter of Henry II to the Templars at Garway.
PRO E 163/1/1a, fragment of an original roll, temp. Henry II,
listing Henry's charters to the Templars.

...'(L1) angarwy ...

..... 'et fratribus Templi Salomini Ierusalem totam terram
 de Llangarwy

et quiete et honorifice in bosco et plano, in pratis et
 pascuis in aquis

... consuetudines sint, sicut terram eis dedi et hac
 carta mei confirmavi'

4. Vidimus of 1223 of a Charter of Richard I to the Templars, 1189.

AD Vienne: 3H.1, Liasse 1. Original.

Iohannes Dei gratia Turonensis archiepiscopus, omnibus presentes litteras inspecturis in Domino Salutem. Noveritis quod fratres militie Templi nobis quandam cartam sigillo Ricardi quondam regis Anglie roboratam exhibuerunt sub hac forma.

Richardus dei gratia rex Anglie, Dux Normannie, Aquitanie, Comes Andegavie archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiariis, vicariis et omnibus ministris, baillivis tocius Regni Anglie, salutem.

Sciatis nos concessisse et plena carta confirmasse Deo et fratribus milicie Templi Salomonis omnes donationes et concessiones quas Dominus rex Henricus pater noster et Alleonor mater nostra fecerunt eis et domui Templi Salomonis, omnes donaciones et concessiones que eis ab omnibus hominibus nostris in tota terra nostra facta sunt, et que eis de cetero rationabiliter fecit.

Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predicti fratres omnia predicta bene et in pace, integre et honorifice, libere et quiete in bosco et plano, in pratis et pasturis, in aquis et molendinis, in vivariis et stagnis, et macilcis (sic = macellis?), in viis et semitis, et in omnibus rebus aliis et locis, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis, habeant in perpetuum et possideant.

Preterea sciatis nos concessisse et confirmasse eisdem fratribus quod omnes homines eorum sint quieti et immunes de equitatibus, exercitibus, de bienniis, de elchegattis (sic MS) et de omnibus consuetudinibus. Volumus et ut habeant et teneant hec omnia supradicta ita integre, pacifice et quiete sicut ea tenuimus die primo coronacionis nostre.

Testibus Balduino, Cant'archiepiscopo, Iohanne Norwic' episcopo, comite Willelmo de Mandevilla, comite Roberto de Lewincestre. Datum apud Westmon' sexto die Septembris primo anno regni nostri per manum Guillelmi

de Longo Campo cancellarii nostri.

Nos igitur ad petitionem predictorum fratrum presens scriptum
sigilli nostri munimine in huius rei testimonium fecimus roborari.

Actum anno domini millesimo ducentesimo vigesimo tercio mense
iulio.

- - - - -

.

.

7. Charter of John for Barnwell, 1200.BL. MS Harl. 3601. Liber Memorandum of Barnwell, 1295-6.f.26.

Iohannes Dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux
Normannie Aquitanie et comes Andegavie, archiepiscopis, episcopis,
abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, iusticiariis, vicecomitibus et
omnibus baillivis et fidelibus suis salutem.

Sciatis nos concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse
priori et canonicis de Bernewell' quod teneant de nobis et heredibus
nostris in perpetuum, villam de Cesterton' cum pertinentiis suis ad
feodum firmam pro triginta libris sterlingorum blancorum annuatim
reddendis ad scaccarium ad duos anni terminos, scilicet ad festum
Sancti Michaelis quindecim libris et ad Pascha quindecim libris;¹ ita
quod nos quieti sumus de decem libris de elemosina nostra quam eis
annuatim solvebamus de baillia.

Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predicti prior
et canonici habeant et teneant predictam villam de Cestreton' bene et
in pace, libere et quiete, integre, plenarie, et honorifice cum omnibus
libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis sicut predictum est.
Testibus Datum per manum Simonis archidiaconi Wellensis et Iohannis
de Gray archidiaconi Gloucester', apud Dorchester' xxvii die Aprilis regni
nostri anno primo.

1 et ad Pascha quindecim libris, MS, partly erased.

8. Charter of Henry III for Beaulieu. 1247.¹

L MS Cott Nero A.XII, fourteenth-century cartulary, ff.6-7.

Rubricated : Carta eiusdem Henrici regis de libera warennam habenda
in manerio de Farendon'.

Henricus dei gratia rex Anglie etc.

Sciatis nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse pro
nobis et heredibus nostris dilectis nobis in Christo abbati et conventui
de Bello Loco Regis quod ipsi et eorum successores in perpetuum habeant
liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis de Farendon; ita
quod nullus intret warennam illam ad fugandum in causis aut ad aliquid
capiendum quod ad warennam pertineat, sine licentia et voluntate ipsius
abbatis et conventui ut successorum suorum super forisfacturam nostram
decem librorum.

Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus
nostris quod predicti abbas et conventus et eorum successores in
perpetuum habeant liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis
de Farendon. Itaque nullus intret warennam illam ad fugandum in ea
aut ad aliquid capiendum quod ad warennam pertineat sine licentia et
voluntate ipsius abbatis et conventui ut successorum suorum super
forisfacturam nostram decem librorum sicut predictum est. Testibus.

Datum sicut in propria priori carta.

1. 1247-CalChR, I, 325; cf. version from BL Loans, 29/ 330,
printed in Hockey, pp.9-10.

9. Charter of Louis IX for L'Epau. 1228.

BN MS Lat. 17124, eighteenth-century collection, f.29.

Ludovicus dei gratia Francorum rex.

Universi noverint quod nos karissime consanguinee et
fideli nostre Berengarie quondam Anglorum regine dedimus et
concessimus locum illum iuxta Cenomanniam stantem qui dicitur
l'Espal in quo videlicet loco continentur xl et vi acre bosci,
vii acre pratorum, due acre ortorum, ita quod eundem locum cum
predictis pertinentiis suis in usum elemosyne perpetue convertere
poterit et suam ex inde penitus facere voluntatem.

Quod ut firmum sit ... presentes nostras sigilli nostri
auctoritate precipimus communiri.

Actum Parisii, 1228, mense Augusto.

10. Charter of Louis IX for L'Epau. 1230.BN MS Lat. 17124, eighteenth-century collection, ff.26-7.

In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, Amen.

Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex.

Noverint universi presentes pariter et futuri quod cum nos dilectissime consanguinee et fideli nostre Berengarie regine Anglorum illustri dedissemus et concessissemus (sic) in perpetuum locum illum qui vulgariter consueverat appellari Espal iuxta Cenomanum; et in eodem loco dicta regina fundasset quamdam abbatiam Cisterciensis ordinis que nunc Pietas-Dei nuncupatur; nos eundem locum pietatis intuitu et ad preces dicte regine Cisterciencibus ibidem Deo servientibus concessimus et confirmavimus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam omni reclamacione remota liberum et quietum ab omni consuetudine possidendum.

Omnia etiam que dictum monasterium sive mediante dicta regina sive quocumque alio modo legitime adquisivit eidem monasterio specialiter concessimus et confirmavimus. Et ut in spiritualibus cum fundatrice locum et participationem nos et antecessores nostri habeamus de nostris temporalibus hoc superaddidimus quod eidem monasterio dedimus: 1. libras Turonensis monete annui redditus quas percipiendas assignavimus in nostro redditu de Cenomannia in viaria sive prepositura singulis annis in perpetuum ad festum Sancte Iohannis Baptiste a viario sive preposito Cenomanensi sine aliqua dilatione et difficultate reddendas; ita quod si ad eundem terminum integre non persolverentur, ille qui pro tempore dictam viariam sive preposituram tenebit reddere tenebitur pro pena singulis diebus solutionis dilate x solidos Turonenses et nihilominus tenebitur ad solutionem integram pecunie supradicte. Insuper eidem monasterio dedimus et concessimus ut libere et quiete capiant singulis diebus unam quadrigatam lignorum ad suum ardere in nostris nemoribus

de Longo Alneto sine contradictione aliqua vel impedimento de nemore mortuo vel de branchis nemoris vivi si mortuum nemus non suffecerit. Item dedimus et concessimus eisdem in villa nostra Cenomannie unum burgensem mediocrem videlicet nec de plus divitibus nec de plus pauperibus liberum et immunem ab omni servitio secularis potestatis ad ipsorum servitium penitus deditum et donatum, quo mortuo loco ipsius ab illo qui pro tempore fuerit dominus Cenomannie alius competens ad eorundem servitium modo quo supradictum est adsignabitur. Et sic eisdem fiet in perpetuum successive. Concedimus insuper et districte precipimus ut in omni loco potestatis nostre per terras et aquas liberum habeant transitum ita quod de rebus quas ad usus suos proprios emerint vel vendiderint vel ad usus conventus seu edificiorum suorum deportari fecerint teoluagium, nivagium, pedagium, pontagium, seu aliquam aliam consuetudinem vel exactionem nullatenus reddere teneantur.

Quod ut ratum et stabile in perpetuum permaneat presentem litteram sigilli nostri auctoritate inferius impressi fecimus confirmari. Actum Cenomanis anno Domini dmccxxx mense maio.

11. Charter of Berengaria for l'Epau. 1230. Original,
AD Sarthe H 833.

Universis Christi fidelibus tam presentibus quam futuris
ad quos presentes littere pervenerunt, Berengaria Dei gratia quondam
Anglorum regina humilis, salutem in ver^o salutari. Universitati vestre
notum facimus quod nos libere emimus, fideliter et ex integro pagavimus,
pacifice possedimus quinquaginta solidos Cenomannensis monete annui
census, de Radulfo de Seville, assensu et voluntate Ysabelle uxoris
sue, et filiorum et filiarum suarum, et Egidii de Losmont militis domini
feodalis. Item, libere emimus fideliter et ex integro pagavimus,
pacifice possedimus de Iuliana, relictæ Lamberti taillandarii et Hugone,
marito eius, de assensu filiorum et filiarum dictorum Lamberti et Iuliane,
quandam suam medietariam que est iuxta Espallum iuxta Cenomanum cum omnibus
pertinentiis eiusdem medietarie tam in terris, pratis, pascuis, nemoribus,
oseriis, quam in aquis et specialiter in aqua illa quam habebant in ipse
ydonea cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis eiusdem teneure (sic), sicut ipsi
Hugo et Iuliana possederant, pro centum libris Turonensibus. Item, libere
emimus, fideliter et ex integra pagavimus, pacifice possedimus de Benvenua
le Espallane, assensu Radulfi Guidonis, mariti sui, et filiorum et filiarum
suarum, totum tenementum illud quod Iohannes Espallanus et Ereburgis, uxor
eius tenuerunt iuxta Espallum, et alibi ubicumque teneura (sic) dictorum
Iohannis et Ereburgis esset, sive in terris, pratis, pascuis, nemoribus,
domibus, sive in aliis rebus, cum in omni iure quod reclamabant in Spallo,
vel poterant reclamare, pro quadraginta libris Turonensibus. Item libere
emimus, fideliter et ex integro pagavimus, pacifice possedimus de quodam
Perreto nomine terras illas quas habebat ratione elemosine sibi facte ab
Ysabella, matertera eius, pro quinquaginta solidis Cenomanensibus. Item
libere emimus, fideliter et ex integro pagavimus, pacifice possedimus de
Guillelmo de Rivellon, milite, tenementum illud quod dicitur La Vaslinere,

cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et totam terram et totum tenementum quod habebat inter aquam que dicitur Frezan et Porriam, pro quinquaginta libris Turonensibus, cum omni iure et omni dominico, tam in feodo quam in dominico, sicut ibi habebat, et omne ius et servicium et rediviciones que illi debebant Theobaldus Surdus et Iohannes Furnarius. Item, libere emimus, fideliter et ex integro pagavimus, pacifice possedimus de abbatissa et conventu de Fontis Evrardi vineas illas quas hababant iuxta Cenomanum et iuxta locum que dicitur Fons Sancti Martini, et undecim summas puri vini et unum costerectum de prisione quas habebant iuxta petrinam de Monnet, pro sexaginta libris Turonensibus. Item libere emimus, fideliter et ex integro pagavimus, pacifice possedimus de Hugone Haane et Herberto filio eius, duas partes magne decime Sancti Iohannis de Scaldis, tam in blado, paleis, messore, quam in tractu, et duas partes decime vinearum illarum que plantate sunt a quinque annis et infra, vel vinearum que de cetero plantabuntur in dicta magna decima, cum quadam platea et arca competenti ad dictam decimam recolligendam et extuciendam (sic). Item libere emimus, fideliter et ex integro pagavimus, pacifice possedimus et deliberavimus de fratris domus Dei de Cauda Fortis Cenomanensis omnem reclamacionem et ius, si aliquod habebat in loco de Lespal, pro centum libris Cenomannensibus.

Hec autem omnia supradicta dedimus et concessimus, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, abbati et conventui Pietatis Dei, Cisterciensis ordinis, et de hiis omnibus supradictis presentialiter investivimus dictos abbatem et conventum, cum omni iure quo ea emimus et possidere debebamus.

In cuius rei testimonium et munimen presentes litteres fecimus annotari et sigilli nostri munimine roborari.

Actum anno gratie millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo.

12. Charter of Louis IX for Royaumont, Aug. 1244.

BN MS Lat. 5472, eighteenth-century collection by Gaignières,
f.16.

Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex. Noverint universi
presentes pariter et futuri quod nos abbatie nostre beate Marie
Regalis Montis et monachis ibidem Dei servientibus dedimus et
concessimus in perpetuam elemosinam centum libras Turonenses pro
alectibus ad opus conventus eiusdem abbatie emendis capiendas singulis
annis infra octavas Sancte Michaelis in redditibus nostris Archiarum.

Volumus etiam et precipimus ut quicumque ibidem pro tempore
baillivus fuerit predictas centum libras Turonenses annis singulis
infra predictum terminum solvat monachis supradictis, et pro qualibet
die qua post prefatum terminum fuerit in defectu super solutione
predictarum centum librarum Turonensium decem solidos Turonenses solvat
de propriis pro pena monachis memoratis. Quod si perpetua stabilitas
robur obtineat presentem paginam sigilli nostri auctoritate et regis
nominis caractere inferius annotato fecimus communiri.

Actum Parisius anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo
quarto mense augusti, regni vero nostri anno octavo decimo, astantibus in
palatio nostro quorum nomina supposita sunt et signa. Dapifero nullo,
constabulario nullo, signum Stephani buticularii, signum Joannis
cancellario.

13. Charter of Louis IX for Le Lys, 1248.

BN MS Lat.13892, Cartulary, 13th-14th century, ff.28-9.

Rubricated: De usuario in byeria nobis dato.

Ludovicus dei gratia Francorum rex.

Notum facimus quod nos abbacie quam karissima domina
et mater nostra Blanka Francorum regina illustris de novo construxit
iuxta Meledunum, Cisterciensi ordinis, concessimus ut moniales eiusdem
loci pro suis edificiis infra ambitum eiusdem abbacie construendis vel
reparandis et pro duabus aut tribus granchiis extra abbatiam et pro
duobus molendinis si eis opus fuerit, in foresta nostra Byerie boscum
ac merrenum libere capere et habere valeant in futurum.

Quod ut ratum et stabile permaneat presentes litteras
sigilli nostri fecimus impressione muniri.

Actum Lugdun', anno domini mcc quadragésimo octavo,
mense julio.

14. Charter of Blanche of Castile for Le Lys. 1250.

BN MS Lat. 13892, Cartulary, 13th - 14th century, f.30.

Rubricated : De l. libris in prepositura de Stampendio et xv
modii bladi super molendinam de Poignet.

Blancha dei gratia Francorum regina, omnibus presentes litteras
inspecturis salutem.

Notum facimus quod nos pro salute anime nostre et karissimi
filii nostri Ludovici dei gratia regis Francorum illustris abbacie nove
Lilii Beate Marie iuxta Meledun' et monialibus ibidem Deo servientibus
et in posterum servituris, quam abbatiā idem filius noster rex et nos
fundavimus, donamus et concedimus in perpetuam elemosinam quinquaginta
libras Parisienses capiendas annis singulis in prepositura nostra Stampen',
que stampe sunt de dotalicio nostro; volentes et precipientes quod
quicumque prepositi Stampen' pro tempore fuerint, dictos denarios in
termino Omnium Sanctorum annuatim persolvant, ita quod singulis diebus
quibus a solutione predicta defecerint, post dictum terminum tenebuntur
rederre monialibus predictis quinque solidos Parisienses pro pena.

Eisdem etiam abbacie et monialibus donamus et concedimus
in perpetuam elemosinam quindecim modios bladi super molendinum de
Poignet situm apud Meledunum, quod est de nostro dotalicio, reddendos
predicto termino sub pena predicta annuatim ab illis qui dictum molendinum
tenebunt, de tali blado quali debetur pro aliis elemosinis super
dictam molendinam assignatis.

In cuius rei memoriam et testimonium presentes litteres
sigilli nostri munimine fecimus reborari.

Actum apud abbatiā nostrā beate Marie Regalis iuxta
Pontisaram, anno domini mcc quinquagesimo, mense octobře.

15. Charter of Blanche of Castile for Le Lys. 1252.BN MS Lat. 13892, Cartulary, 13th - 14th centuries, ff.31-2.

Rubricated : De aliis l. libris in prepositura Stampendii ad
Ascensionem diem capiendo.

Blancha dei gratia Francorum regina omnibus presentes litteras
inspecturis salutem.

Notum facimus quod cum karissimus filius noster rex pro Iesu
Christi servicio iter arriperet transmarinum, nobis concesserit et liberam
dederit potestatem, ut ultra elemosinas quas de assensu et voluntate
ipsius feceramus; Trecentas libras Parisienses annui redditus, pro
nostre et eiusdem filii nostri ac antecessorum nostrorum animarum remedio
dare et elemosinare possimus, in terra nostra quam tenemus in doario.
Nosque de illis trecentis libris Parisiensibus post recessum ipsius
filii nostri regis abbacie de Lilio Beate Marie iuxta Meledunum Cisterciensis
ordinis quam idem filius noster rex et nos fundavimus et monialibus ibidem
Deo servantibus circa valorem centum librarum Parisiensium annui redditus
dederimus, videlicet quinquaginta libras Parisienses capiendas annis
singulis in prepositura nostra Stampen' in compotis omnium sanctorum,
et quindecim modios bladi capiendos annuatim in molendino nostro de
Pugneto sito apud Meledunum.

Nos redditus eiusdem abbacie ampliare volentes, eidem
abbacie et monialibus ibidem Deo servantibus ultra alia quam dederamus
eisdem sicut superius sit expressa, damus et concedimus in puram et
perpetuam elemosinam, ob anime nostre et predicti filii nostri regis
ac antecessorum nostrorum aliarum remedium, quinquaginta libras
Parisienses capiendas annis singulis in prepositura nostra Stampen' in
compotis Ascensionis.

Unde volumus et precipimus ut quicumque prepositi Stampen'
pro tempore fuerint dictas quinquaginta libras Parisienses predictis
monialibus reddantur annuatim in compotis supradictis, ita quod singulis
diebus a solutione predicta defecerint, post dictum terminum tenebuntur
reddende monialibus predictis quinque solidos Parisienses pro pena.

In cuius rei testimonium et munimen presentem cartam sigillo
nostro proprio fecimus communiri.

Actum apud abbatiam nostram beate Marie Regalis iuxta Pontisarum,
anno Domini mcc quinquaginta secundo mense aprilis.

16. Charter of Louis IX for the Hôtel-Dieu at Pontoise, 1269.BN MS Lat. 5657, fourteenth century cartulary, ff.19-20.

Ludovicus dei gratia Francorum rex.

Notum facimus universis tam presentibus quam futuris quod nos divini amoris intuitu et pro remedio anime nostre ac inclite recordationis regis Ludovici genitoris nostri et regine Blanche genitricis nostre ac aliorum predecessorum nostorum Domui Dei de Pontisara concessimus quod in terra et feodis ac retrofeodis nostris possit in posterum usque ad centum libras annui redditus iusto titulato (sic) emptionis seu donationis aut alio quocumque iusto modo acquirere et sic tam huiusmodi acquirenda quam etiam ea que iam in terra feodis ac retrofeodis nostris predictis iusto modo et licito acquisivit et pacifice possedit in perpetuum tenere ac pacifice possidere, que ea extra manum suam ponere non cogatur, retentis nobis et nostris successoribus in predictis omnibus iuribus iusticiis et redeventiis nostris et etiam salvo iure in omnibus alieno.

Preterea placet nobis et volumus quantum in nobis est ut in dicta Domo Dei non plures sorores velate existant quam tredecim aut ad plurimum quatuordecim, que ibidem Deo et pauperibus famulent, et de bonis ipsius domus sicut bonum sint sustentent.

Quod ut ratum et stabile permaneat in futurum presentibus litteris nostrum fecimus apponendum sigillum.

Actum Parisius anno domini millesimo ducentissimo sexagesimo nono mense marcio.

17. Charter relating to the buying of land for the Abbey
of Longchamp. 1255. Original , AN. L. 1020, no. 1.

Omnibus presentes litteras inspecturis officialis curie
Parisiensis salutem in domino. Notum facimus quod in nostra presentia
Simon de Valle Grignon de Sancto Lodaldo vendidit et quietavit coram
nobis domino Matheo capellano domini regis ad opus cuiusdam amici sui et
illis qui causam habebunt ab ipso in perpetuum pro sex libris Parisiensibus
iam sibi solutis sicut confessus est coram nobis renuncians exceptioni
non numerate pecunie non tradite et non solute quatuor arpenta terre
arabilis sita in loco qui dicitur Losrengier in censiva Sancte Genovefe
Parisiensis ad duodecim denarios ut dicitur censuales promitens fide data
in manu nostra quod contra venditionem istam iure hereditario ratione
conquestus aut aliomodo per se vel per alium non veniet in futurum, et
quod dictam terram venditam ut dictum est eidem domino Matheo et eis
qui causam habebunt ab ipso garantisabit et liberabit ad usus et
consuetudines Francie contra omnes nec non et quod solvet triginta solidos
Parisienses nomine pene cum omnibus rectis constamentis si venditionem huius
in toto vel in parte retrahi contigerit vel evinci de qua garandia
ferenda et pena si committantur cum constamentis reddendis quandam domum
suam sitam in claustro Sancti Clodaldi in qua manet in censiva decani
Sancti Clodaldi ad duos denarios censuales ut dicitur obligavit et
obligata reliquit fide data.

Datum anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quinquagensimo quinto
mense aprilis.

BIBLIOGRAPHYI. ManuscriptsAbbreviations

AD = Archives Départementales (various), France.

AN = Archives Nationales, Paris.

Bibl. Mun. = Bibliothèque Municipale (various), France.

BL = British Library, Reference Section, formerly British Museum.

Bodl. = Bodleian Library, Oxford.

PRO = Public Record Office, London.

RO = County Record Office (various), England.

BN = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

MSS

Amesbury, BL Harl.Ch. 58 H 11; 58 I 34.

Angers, Hôtel-Dieu, AD Maine-et-Loire, A1, A4, A5, B12, E1.

Arbroath, BL Add. 33245; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland,
Adv.34/4/2.

Barbeaux, AN H 3900; BN MS Lat.5466, 10943; Coll.Duchèsne, 77.

Barbetorte, AD Vendée, H 190.

Barnwell, BL Harl. Ch.58 H 41, Harl. 3601.

Battle, Lincoln's Inn Library MS 87; PRO E 326/12623.

Baugerais, AD Indre-et-Loire H 2-7; BN MS Lat. 10044.

Beaulieu, BL Cott. Nero A XII, Harl. Ch. 58 I 25, 58 I 28; Loans
(Dk. Portland) 29/330.

Bercey, AD Sarthe, H 1110, 2151; Bibl. Mun., Angers, MS 856;
BN MS Lat.9067.

Bois-Rahier, AD Indre-et-Loire, G.22, 25; Bibl.Mun.,Tours, MS 1217.

Bonneraye, AD Vendée, H 190.

Bonport, AD Eure, H 190; AD Seine-Maritime 5 H 22, 24; BN MS
Lat.13906.

Bordesley, BL Cott. Nero, C III; Harl. Ch. 43 C 13, 56 D 50,
56 E 1, 45 I 30.

- Canterbury, St.-Augustine's, BL Cott. Faust. A. I.
Christ Church, BL Add.6159.
- Carcassonne, Dominicans, AD Aude, H 259.
Franciscans, AD Aude, H 249.
- Carrow, BL Harl. Ch. 43 A 34; Bodl. Tanner 342, ff.149-64.
- Châalis, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Paris, MS 701; BN MS
Lat.11003,9984.
- Château-Landon, BN MS Lat. 13866.
- Cirencester, PRO C 47 12/5, no.20.
- Coggeshall, BL Cott. Nero D I, D II.
- Dilo, BN Coll. Baluze, 38; Coll. de Champ. 15.
- Dominicans, AN K 182, L 945.
- Dublin, St.-Thomas', Bodl. Rawlinson, B 499.
- English Royal Burials, BL Add. 6159.
- Fontainebleau, Trinitarians, AD Seine-et-Marne, H 119.
- Fontaine-Jean, BN Coll. Baluze, 38.
- Furness, BL Har. Ch.83 A 22; PRO DL 42 III.
- Garway, PRO E 163/1/1A; C 37/12/5.
- Glastonbury, Bodl. Tanner, 342, ff.216-56.
- Godstow, PRO E 164/20.
- Grandmont, Order, AD Maine-et-Loire G 870; AN G9,67; BN MS,
Lat. 9067.
- Hautes-Bruyères, AN K 177; BN Coll. du Vexin, 12.
- Haverholme, BL Lansdowne, 207a.
- Hayles, BL Royal 12E XIV, Harl. Ch.58 I 5; Stratford RO Unclass.
MSS no.5.
- Hospitallers, BL Cott. Nero E VI, Harl. Ch. 43 C 28; PRO C 47/12/5.
- La Bénissons-Dieu, BN MS Lat. 12740.
- La Coudre, AN K 177.
- La Haie-aux-Bonshommes, AD Maine-et-Loire, G 856,870,871; Bibl.
Mun., Angers, MS 856.

- La Meilleraie, AD Vendee H 190.
- La Noë, AD Eure, H 705, 687; BN MS Lat. 2382.
- La Quarte, AN J 460, 2.
- La Sauve-Majeur, AD Gironde H III.
- La Troussaye, AD Vienne, G 435.
- La Valloie, AD Vienne G 428.
- La Victoire, AN LL 1469; BN Coll. Duchèsne, 77.
- Le Jard, BN MS Fr.2697; MS Lat.5482.
- Le Liget, AD Indre-et-Loire, H 167.
- Le Lys, AD Seine-et-Marne, H 565-9; BN MS Lat. 13892 = Cartulaire L.
- L'Epau, AD Sarthe, H 833-4, 2144; BN MS Lat. 17124.
- Le Trésor, AD Eure, H 1368, 1380.
- Lieu-Dieu-en-Jard, AN S 4343.
- London, Holy Trinity, Aldgate, BL Lansdowne 448; PRO E 40/15103,
E 40/6687, E 42/527, E 42/529.
- St.-Bartholomew's, Smithfield, BL Cott. Vesp B IX.
- Longchamp, AN L 1020-1, LL 1600.
- Longvilliers, AN L 1093.
- Louye, AN K 177.
- Malton, BL Cott. Claudius D XI.
- Maubuisson, AN JJ 26, K 191; BN MS Lat. 1241.
- Monnais, AD Maine-et-Loire 14 H 1.
- Montebourg, BL Add. 15605, Add. Ch. 15288.
- Mortemer, BN MS Lat. 18369.
- Nemours, St.-Jean Baptiste, AN K 177.
- Netley, PRO E 40/3239.
- Nostell, BL Cott. Vesp. E. XIX.
- Notes pour servir à L'Histoire Ecclésiastique de Touraine, Bibl. Mun.,
Tours, MS 1217.

Paris, Carmelites, BN MS Lat. 10981.

Dominicans, K 182, L 945.

Filles-Dieu, AN K 182, L 1053; BN MS Lat. 9942.

Hôtel-Dieu, AN K 182.

Montmartre, AN L 1030.

Quinze-Vingts, AN K 182.

Ste.-Catherine, L 919.

St.-Martin-des-Champs, BN Coll. Baluze, 55.

St.-Victor, BN MS Lat. 15057.

Trinitarians, AN LL 1544-5.

Pipe Rolls, PRO E 372/98, E 372/110.

Pommier-Aigre, AD Indre-et-Loire H 720; Bibl. Mun., Tours,
MS 1217; BN NA Fr. 3637.

Pontoise, Hôtel-Dieu, AN K 191; BN MS Lat. 5657.

Prouille, AD Aude H 464-5.

Reading, BL Cott. Vesp. E V, Egerton 3031, Harl. 1708; Bodl. Tanner 342.

Royallieu, BN MS Lat. 13816, 13891.

Royaumont, AD Seine-Maritime, 11 H 1; AN H 3900; BN MS Lat. 5472,
9166-9.

Rouen, Cathedral, BN MS NA Lat. 1246.

Nôtre-Dame-du-Parc, AD Seine-Maritime D 230; AN JJ 122.

St.-Julien, Quévilli, BN MS Lat. 10057.

Ste-Marie, BN NA Lat. 1245-6.

Val de la Haye, AN S 5198 A.

St.-Albans, BL Cott. Nero D I, Harl Ch. 58 I 7.

St.-Denis, BN Coll. Baluze, 55.

Sainte-Chapelle, BN MS Fr. 15504.

St.-Sever, AD Landes, H I-II, 237.

Selby, BL Add. 37771.

Sempringham BL Lansdowne 207a; Bodl. Dodsworth 144.

Senlis, Hôtel-Dieu, BN Coll. Moreau, 706.

St.-Maurice, AD Oise H 386.

St.-Vincent, BN Coll. Baluze 47, MS Lat. 11743.

Southampton, St.-Denys, BL Add. 15314.

Stanley, BL Harl. 84-5, 6716; Wilts RO, Trowbridge, 473, 1-4.

Stoneleigh, BL Harl. Ch.48 C 39; Stratford RO, Unclass. MSS no.1.

Templars, AD Vienne, 3H1; AN M 14, S 5105; BL Cott. Nero E VI.

Thorée, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Paris, MS, 675, 701.

Thornholme, BL Harl. 43 A 20.

Tiron, AN K 1771; BN MS Lat. 13820.

Titchfield, BL Loans (Dk. Portland) 29/55.

Torksey, BL Harl. Ch. 44 G 34.

Vauvert, AN K 182; BN Coll. Baluze, 55.

Villiers, Bibl. Mun., Tours, MS 1217; AD Indre-et-Loire H 746.

Vincennes, AN K 182.

Waltham, BL Cott. Tib. C IX, Harl, 391, 3601; PRO C 47 12/5.

Westminster, BL Cott. Faustina A VIII, Cott. Titus A III.

Westwood, BL Cott. Vesp. E IX.

Winchester, Cathedral, BL Add. 24939.

Holy Cross, BL Harl. Ch. 43 C 28; Bodl. Tanner 342.

II. Printed Books and Articles, with abbreviated references.

A.Cist. = ed. J. van der Meer, Atlas de L'Ordre Cistercienne, Amsterdam/Brussels, 1965.

Adam of Domerham, Chronica de Rebus Glastoniensis, ed. T. Hearne, Oxford, 1727.

Alouis, V, 'Lucé et ses environs', RA Hist. du Maine, 11, 1881, pp.289-90.

Andrieux, J. ed, Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de Bonport, 1190-1467, Evreux, 1862.

Anec = E. Martène and A. Durand, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, 5 vols, Paris, 1717.

Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland, ed, A. Lawrie, Glasgow, 1910.

- Ann. Mon. = Annales Monastici, ed. H.R. Luard, 5 vols, RS No.36, London 1864-9.
- Anstruther, R, see Ralph Niger.
- Appleby, J.T, 'The ecclesiastical foundations of Henry II', Catholic Historical Review, 48, 1962-3, pp.205-15.
- _____, see Richard of Devizes.
- Arch.H.D. = L. Brièle and E. Coyèque, ed, Archives de L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris, 1157-1300, Paris, 1894.
- Arnold, T, see Henry of Huntingdon.
- Arnulf of Lisieux, Epistolae ad Henricum Secundum et Alios, ed. J.A. Giles, Oxford, 1844.
- ASC = The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. D. Whitelock, D.C. Douglas and S.I. Tucker, London, 1961.
- Atkinson, J.C. ed, The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey, 3 vols, Chetham Soc. 1886-7.
- Aubert, M, L'Architecture Cistercienne en France, Paris, 1947.
- Aufavre, A. and C. Fichot, Les Monuments de Seine-et-Marne, Paris, 1858.
- Aufray, M, L'Architecture Normande, Paris, 1939.
- Auvry, C, Histoire de la Congrégation de Savigny, ed. A. Lavielle, 3 vols, Rouen/Paris, 1896-8.
- Backmund, N, Monasticon Praemonstratense, 3 vols, Straubing, 1949-56.
- Baldwin, J.R, 'Philip-Augustus and the Norman Church', French Historical Studies, 6, 1969, pp.1-30.
- Barlow, F, see VE
- _____, Edward the Confessor, London, 1970.
- Barre, L.C, 'Les Franciscains et le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis', Les Amis de Saint François, 12, 1971, pp.3-6.
- Barrière, J, 'La Piété-Dieu de L'Epau', Archives Historiques du Maine, 15, 1968.
- Barrow, G.W.S, see RegRSc.
- _____, 'Scottish Rulers and the Religious Orders', TRHS, 5th ser. vol. 3, pp.77-100.
- Barthelémy, E. de, Diocèse Ancien de Châlons-s-Marne, Paris, 1861.
- _____, ed, Recueil des Chartres de L'Abbaye de Montmartre, Paris, 1893.

- Bates, D, 'The character and career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux',
Speculum, 50, 1975, pp.1-20.
- BB = Beaunier, Dom, J.M.Besse, and J. Beyssac, ed, Abbayes et Prieurés de L'Ancien France, 8 vols, Archives de la France Monastique, Paris, 1913-41.
- Becquet, Dom J, 'Le bullaire de L'Ordre de Grammont', Revue Mabillon, 3rd. ser, vols. 184-201, 1956-60, esp. 1956, pp.82-93, 156-68, 189-201, 1957, pp. 34-43, 245-57.
- _____, 'La première crise de L'Ordre de Grammont', Bull. Soc. Arch. et Hist. du Limousin, 87, 1958-60, pp.283-324.
- _____, 'La Règle de Grammont', ib. pp. 9-36.
- Belperron, P, La Croisade contre les Albigeois et L'Union du Languedoc à la France, Paris, 1948.
- Bémont, C. de, Recueil des Actes Rélatifs à L'Administration des Rois d'Angleterre en Guyenne au XIIIe siècle, Paris, 1914.
- Benton, J.H, See Guibert de Nogent.
- _____, 'The revenues of Louis VII', Speculum, 42, 1967, pp.84-91.
- Berger, E, See HII, Layettes.
- _____, Histoire de Blanche de Castille, Reine de France, Paris, 1895.
- Berthele, J, 'L'Architecture Plantagenet', Congr.Arch. 70, 1903, pp.234-75.
- Berty, F.A. and L.M. Tisserand, Topographie Historique du Vieux Paris, Région Centrale de L'Universite, Paris, 1897.
- Beugnot, le Comte, see Olim.
- Bib. Ec. Ch. = Bibliothèque de L'Ecole des Chartes.
- BIHR = Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.
- Bird, W.H.D, ed, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, Hist. MSS Commission, London, 1907.
- Bishop, T.A.M, Scriptores Regis, Oxford, 1961.
- BJRL = Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.
- Black, W.H, A Catalogue of the Arundel MSS in the Royal College of Arms, London, 1929.
- Blanchet, A. and A. Dieudonné, Manuel de Numismatique Française, 4 vols, Paris, 1912-36.

- Bloch, M, Feudal Society, trans. L.A. Manyon, London, 1961.
- _____, La France sous les Derniers Capétiens, 1223-1328, Paris, 1958.
- _____, Les Rois Thaumaturges, Strasbourg, 1919.
- Boase, T.S.R, Death in the Middle Ages, London, 1972.
- _____, 'Fontevrault and the Plantagenets', JBA, 3rd. ser, 34, 1971, pp.1-11.
- Bolton, B.M, 'Mulieres Sanctae', Studies in Church History, 10, 1973. pp.77-95.
- Bonnard, F, Histoire de L'Abbaye Royale et L'Ordre de Chanoines Réguliers de St.-Victor de Paris, 2 vols, Paris, 1904-8.
- Bonnardot, H, L'Abbaye Royale de St-Antoine-des-Champs, Paris, 1882.
- Borenius, T, 'An early English Gothic Head', Burlington Magazine, 68, 1936, pp.157-8.
- Bouange, G.M.F, St. Gerard d'Aurillac et son Illustre Abbaye, Aurillac, 1870.
- Bouard, A, Manuel de Diplomatie Française et Pontificale, 2 vols, Paris, 1929-52.
- Bouquet, M, see HFr.
- Bourdillon, A.F.C, The Order of Minoreesses in England, Manchester, 1926.
- Boussard, J, See Rec.
- _____, Le Comté d'Anjou sous Henri II Plantagenet ...1151-1204, Paris, 1938.
- _____, Le Gouvernement de Henri II Plantagenet, Abbeville, 1956.
- Bradford, C.A, Heart Burials, London, 1933.
- Brandao, F.A, Chronica de A. Afonso Henriques, Chronicas de D. Sancho ed D. Afonso II, Chronicas de D. Sancho II ed Afonso III, ed. A.M. de Basto, 3 vols, Porto, 1946.
- Brandenburg, A. Erlange, Le Roi est Mort, Bibliothèque de la Société Française d'Archéologie, 7, Geneva, 1975.
- Branner, R, Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture, London, 1965.
- Bray, A, 'Les Origines de Fontainebleau', Bull.Mon. 94, 1935, pp.303-13.
- Brett, M, The English Church under Henry I, Oxford, 1975.
- Brewer, J.S, See Chronicon .. de Bello, Giraldus.
- Brieger, P, English Art, 1216-1307, Oxford History of Art, 1957.
- Brière, L, and E. Coyèque, see Arch.HD.

Brooke = C.N.L. Brooke, 'Princes and Kings as Patrons of Monasteries, Normandy and England, 1049-1122', Il Monachesimo e la Riforma Ecclesiastica, La Mendola, 1968, Milan, 1971, pp.125-44.

Brooke and Keir = C.N.L. Brooke and G. Keir, London, 800-1216, the Shaping of a City, London, 1975.

Brooke, C.N.L., see Z.N. Brooke, Gilbert Foliot, John of Salisbury, Knowles, Mon. World.

_____, Medieval Church and Society, London, 1971.

_____, The Twelfth Century Renaissance, London, 1970.

Brooke, G.C., English Coins from the Seventh Century to the present day, 3rd edn, London, 1950.

Brooke, Z.N., The English Church and the Papacy, 1066-1215, Cambridge, 1931.

Brooke, Z.N. and C.N.L. Brooke, 'Henry II, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine', EHR, 71, 1946, pp.81-9.

Brown, S.M. ed, The Register of Eudes of Rouen, Columbia, 1964.

Brühl, C, Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis, Köln, 1968.

Budget = ed. F. Lot and R. Fawtier, Le Premier Budget de la Monarchie Française, Bibl. Ec. Hautes-Études, vol, 259, Paris, 1939.

Bull. Comm. Ant. Seine-Mar. = Bulletin de la Commission des Antiquaires de Seine-Maritime.

Bull.Mon. = Bulletin Monumental.

Butler, H.E, see Jocelin of Brakelond, John of Salisbury.

Caenegem, R.C. van, Royal Writs from the Conquest to Glanville, London, 1959.

Cal.Ch.R see PRO.

Cal.Cl.R see PRO.

Callebaut, P.A, 'Les provinciaux de la province de France au XIIIe siècle', Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 10, 1917, pp.289-356.

Cal.Pat.R. see PRO

Canivez, J.M, ed, Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordine Cisterciensis, 1116-1788, 8 vols, Louvain, 1934-51.

Carlson, E.G, 'Fouilles de St.-Etienne de Caen', Archéologie Médiévale, 2, 1972, pp.98-102.

Carmen de Hastingae Proelio, ed. C. Morton and H. Muntz, OMT, 1972.

Cartulaire M = ed. A. Dutilleul and J. Depoin, L'Abbaye de Nôtre-Dame de Maubuisson, Histoire et Cartulaire, Pontoise, 1840, Paris, 1890.

Cartulaire P = ed. J. Depoin, Cartulaire de L'Hôtel-Dieu de Pontoise, Pontoise/Paris, 1886.

CDFr. = ed. J.H. Round, Calendar of Documents preserved in France, I, 918-1216, London, 1899.

CDIrl. = ed. H.S. Sweetman and G.F. Handcock, Calendar of Documents in Ireland, London, 1875.

Chamard, Dom, Histoire Ecclésiastique du Poitou, Poitiers, 1880.

Champolléon-Figéac, M. ed, Lettres des Rois, Reines et Autres Personnages des Cours de France et d'Angleterre, I, Paris, 1839.

Chaney, W.A, The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England, Manchester, 1970.

Chantelou, Dom, ed, Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de Marmoutiers, Tours, 1879.

Chaplais, P, English Royal Documents, 1199-1461, Oxford, 1961.

Chapotin, M, Histoire des Dominicains de la Province de France, I, Rouen, 1898.

Charencey, Comte de, ed, Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de la Trappe, Alençon, 1889.

Chart.Univ. = ed. H. Denifle, Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, I, Paris, 1899.

Cheney, C.R, From Becket to Langton, English Church Government, 1170-1213, Manchester, 1956.

Cheney, M, 'The compromise of Avranches and the spread of canon law in England', EHR, 56, 1941, pp.177-92.

Chernel, A, Histoire de Rouen, 1150-1382, 2 vols, Rouen, 1842-3.

Chevallier, U, Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age, Bio-Bibliographique, 2 vols, Paris, 1905-7; Topo-Bibliographique, 2 vols, Paris, 1894-1903.

Chibnall, M, see Orderic.

Chrimes, S.B, An Introduction to the Administrative History of Medieval England, Oxford, 1959.

Christ, Y, Eglises de Paris, Paris, 1956.

The Chronicle of Bury-St.-Edmunds, ed. A. Gransden, NMT, 1964.

The Chronicle of the Election of Hugh, ed. R.M. Thomson, OMT, 1974.

The Chronicle of Melrose, ed. J. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1835.

- Chronicon Monasterii de Bello, ed, J.S. Brewer, London, 1846.
- Chronicon Valassense, ed. F. Somménil, Rouen, 1868.
- Church, C.M, Chapters in the Early History of the Church at Wells, London, 1894.
- Cirot de la Ville, Histoire de la Grande-Sauve, Paris, 1844.
- Clark, A. ed, The English Register of Godstow Nunnery, 2 vols, Early English Text Society, 1905-11.
- Clay, R.M, Medieval Hospitals in England, London, 1909.
- CN = ed. L. Delisle, Cartulaire Normand de Philippe-Auguste, Saint Louis et Philippe le Hardi, Mem.Soc.Ant. Normandie, vol.16, Caen, 1825.
- Cole, H. ed, Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, London, 1844.
- Colker, M.L, 'The Karolinus of Egidius Parisiensis', Traditio, 29, 1973, pp.199-325.
- Collinson, J, The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset, London, 1791.
- Colvin, H.M, see King's Works
- _____, ed, Building Accounts of King Henry III, Oxford, 1971.
- _____, The White Canons in England, London, 1951.
- Compton, R.M, 'The foundation of Waltham Abbey', JBA, 53, 1897, pp.137-47.
- Conant, K.J, Cluny, les Eglises et la Maison du Chef d'Ordre, Mâcon, 1968.
- _____, 'Cluny Studies, 1968-75', Speculum, 50, 1975, pp.383-91.
- Congr. Arch. = Congrès Archéologique de France.
- Constable, G, see Libellus.
- Cottineau = L.H. Cottineau and G. Potas, Répertoire Topo - Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés, 3 vols, Mâcon, 1935-70.
- Coupey, L, L'Abbaye de Nôtre-Dame du Voeu, pres Cherbourg, Evreux, 1910.
- Coutan, le Docteur, 'La chapelle Nôtre-Dame du Parc à Rouen', Bull. Mon. 91, 1933, pp.201-19.
- _____, 'La Chapelle St.-Julien de Petit Quévilly', Bull.Mon. 84, 1926, pp.238-49.
- _____, 'Nôtre Dame de Bonport', Bull.Mon. 69, 1905, pp.182-90.

- Coyèque, E, L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au Moyen Age, Paris, 1891.
- Cronne, H.A, see RegR.
- _____, The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign, London, 1970.
- Crosby, S.M, The Abbey of St.-Denis, Yale Univ. Press, 1942.
- Crozet, R, L'Architecture de L'Ordre de Grandmont en Poitou, Saintonge et Angoumois, Angoulême, 1946.
- _____, 'Textes et documents relatifs à l'histoire des arts en Poitou', Archives Historiques du Poitou, 53, 1942.
- CRP see PRO.
- Curzon, H. de, La Maison du Temple de Paris, Paris, 1888.
- D'Achéry, L, see Mabillon.
- D'Albon, le Marquis G, ed, Cartulaire Générale de L'Ordre du Temple, 1119-1150, Paris, 1913.
- D'Anisy = J. Lechaudé d'Anisy, Extrait des Chartes ... dans les Archives du Calvados, Caen, 1834.
- Darlington, R.R, ed, A Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory, PR Soc, London, 1968.
- Davies, D. and D.B. Quinn, 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 1211-12', Ulster Journal of Archeology, IV, 1941, supplement.
- Davies, G.R.C, Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain, London, 1958.
- Davis, R.H.C, see RegR.
- _____, 'The authorship of the Gesta Stephani', EHR, 77, 1962, pp.209-32.
- _____, King Stephen, London, 1967.
- Dawson, C, Medieval Religion, London, 1934.
- Déer, A, The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily, Harvard, 1959.
- Delaborde, H.F, see Gesta Philippi, Layettes.
- Delabrouille, R, 'L'Abbaye du Lys', Archéologia, 31, 1961, pp.30-3.
- _____, 'Le chantier et les Fouilles', Monuments et Sites de Seine-et-Marne, 3, 1972, pp.46-8.
- Delaforge, E, Anciennes Chapelles, Melun et ses Environs, Melun, 1884.
- Delètre, Abbe, Histoire du Diocèse de Beauvais, II, Beauvais, 1843.

- Delhommeau, L, L'Abbaye Royale de Nôtre-Dame de Lieu-Dieu en Jard, Les Sables D'Olonne, 1968.
- Delisle, L, see CN, HII, P-A, 'Raoul', 'Templiers', Torigny.
- _____, 'Des revenues publics en Normandie au XII^e siècle', Bib.Ec.Ch. 9, 1948-9, pp.172-210, 257-89; 10, 1849, pp.400-51; 13, 1852, pp.97-135.
- _____, Examen de Treize Chartes de l'Ordre de Grammont, Caen, 1854.
- D'Espagne, M.C, see St.-Pathus.
- Denifle, H, see Chart Univ.
- Depoin, J, see Cartulaire M, Cartulaire P
- _____, Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de St.-Martin de Pontoise, 2 vols, Pontoise, 1895-1901.
- _____, Documents concernant St.-Martin-des-Champs, Paris, 1912.
- _____, Saint Louis et L'Hôtel-Dieu de Pontoise, Pontoise, 1880.
- Desjardins, G, Recherches sur les Drâpeaux Français, Paris, 1874.
- Despilho, A, Les Abbés du Royaume de France et le Roi Louis VII. Thesis for la Maîtrise, University of Poitiers, 1969.
- Dialogus = ed. C. Johnson, Dialogus de Scaccario, NMT, 1950.
- Diceto = Ralph of Diceto, Opera Historica, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS, no.68, London, 1876.
- Dickinson, J.C, Furness Abbey, HMSO, London, 1965.
- _____, The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England, London, 1950.
- Dimier = M.A. Dimier, Saint Louis et Cîteaux, Paris, 1954.
- Dimier, M.A, 'Une abbaye Cistercienne fondée à la mémoire de Charles le Bon, Comte de Flandre, Châalis', Cîteaux, 16, 1965, pp.214-22.
- _____, 'Saint Louis et les Prémontrés', Analecta Praemonstratensiana, 46, 1970, pp.139-43.
- _____, 'Saint Louis et Royaumont', Le Siècle de Saint Louis, Paris, 1970, pp.275-80.
- DNB = Dictionary of National Biography, 21 vols. & suppl, 3rd edn, London, 1908-71.
- Dodwell, B. ed, The Cartulary of Norwich Cathedral Priory, I, PR Soc. London, 1974.

Douglas, D.C, see ASC, EHD.

_____, The Norman Achievement, London, 1969.

_____, William the Conqueror, London, 1964.

Douie, D.L, see MV.

_____, The Conflict between the Seculars and Mendicants at the University of Paris, London Aquinas Soc. papers, 23, 1954.

Duby, G, Le Dimanche de Bouvines, Paris, 1973.

Duchemin, P, Petit-Quévilli at le Prieuré de St.-Julien, Pont Audemer, 1890.

Duchesne, G, Histoire de L'Abbaye Royale de Longchamp, Paris, 1906.

Duchesne, J, Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui, Paris, 1614.

Duclos, H, Histoire de Royaumont, sa Fondation par St. Louis et son Influence sur la France, I, Paris, 1867.

Dufeil, M.M, Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la Polémique Universitaire Parisienne. 1250-9, Paris, 1972.

Dugdale = Sir William Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B.Bandinel, 6 vols in 8, London, 1817-30.

Dugdale, Sir William, Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. R. Dodsworth, 3 vols, London, 1655-73.

Duggan, C, 'The significance of the Becket Dispute', Ampleforth Journal, 75, 1970.

_____, Twelfth Century Decretal Collections and their importance in English History, London, 1963.

Du Monstier, A, see N.Pia.

Dunbar, A.H, Scottish Kings, Edinburgh, 1899.

Du Plessis, Dom T, Description Géographique de la Haute-Normandie, Paris, 1740.

Dupont, P. ed, Inventaire Sommaire des Archives ... du Quinze-Vingts, Paris, 1867.

Duranville, L. de, Pont de L'Arche et L'Abbaye de Bonport, Rouen, 1856.

Dutillieux, A, see Cartulaire M.

Easson, D.E, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, London, 1957.

Ec.HR = Economic History Review.

Edouard, Abbé, Fontevrault et ses Monuments, où Histoire de cette Royale Abbaye, 2 vols, Paris/Marseilles, 1873-4.

Egan, K.J, 'Medieval Carmelite Houses, England and Wales', Carmelus, 16, 1969, pp.142-226.

EHD = English Historical Documents, II, 1042-1189, ed. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway, London, 1962.

_____, III, 1189-1327, ed. H. Rothwell, London, 1975.

EHR = English Historical Review.

Einhard, Vie de Charlemagne, ed. L. Halphen, Paris, 1947.

Emery = R.W. Emery, The Friars in Medieval France, 1200-1550, New York, 1962.

Emery, R.W, 'The Friars of the Blessed Mary and the Pied Friars,' Speculum, 24, 1949, pp.228-38.

_____, 'The Friars of the Sack', Speculum, 18, 1943, pp.323-34.

Etienne de Bourbon, Anecdotes Historiques, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877.

Evans, J, Art in Medieval France, Oxford, 1948.

_____, ed. The Flowering of the Middle Ages, London, 1966.

Eyton, R.W, The Court, Household and Itinerary of Henry II, London, 1878.

Farmer, D.L, 'Price Fluctuations in Angevin England', Ec.H.R. 2nd. ser, 9, 1956, pp.34-43.

Farmer, H, see M.V.

Fawtier, R, The Capetian Kings of France, Monarchy and Nation, 987-1323, trans. L. Butler and R.J. Adam, London, 1960.

Fawtier, R, and F. Lot, see Budget, H.I.Fr.

Fawtier, R, and F. Maillard, ed, Comptes Royaux, 2 vols. Paris, 1961-8.

Félibien, M, see SD.

_____, Histoire de la Ville de Paris, ed. D.G. Lobineau, 5 vols, Paris, 1725.

Fernie, F.C, 'Enclosed apses', Archeologia, 104, 1973, pp.235-60

Feudal Mon. = C. Petit-Dutaillis, The Feudal Monarchy in France and England, trans. E.D. Hunt, London, 1936.

Fitzmaurice, E.G. and A.G. Little, Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province in Ireland, 1230-1450, Manchester, 1920.

Floud, R, An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians, London, 1973.

- Folz, R, La Naissance du Saint Empire, Paris, 1967.
- Foreville, R, L'Eglise et la Royauté en Angleterre sous Henri II Plantagenet, Paris, 1943.
- Formigé, J, L'Abbaye Royale de St.-Denis, Paris, 1960.
- Fowler, G.H, ed, Cartulary of Dunstable Priory, Bedford Hist.Soc, 1926.
- Fox, J.C, 'Mary, Abbess of Shaftesbury', EHR, 26, 1911, pp.317-26.
- Frankl, P, The Gothic, Princeton, 1960.
- _____, Gothic Architecture, Harmondsworth, 1962.
- Freeman, E. A, The Reign of William Rufus, 2 vols, Oxford, 1882.
- Gaborit, J.R, L'Architecture de L'Ordre de Grammont, Doctorial thesis, Ecole des Chartes, 1963.
- Galbert of Bruges, The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, ed, J.B. Ross, New York, 1960.
- Galbraith, V.H, 'Royal charters to Winchester,' EHR, 35, 1920, pp.385-400.
- Gallagher, P.E, The Monastery of Mortemer-en-Lyons in the Twelfth century, its History and Cartulary, Ph.D thesis, University of Nôtre Dame, 1970.
- Gallia = D. Sainte-Marthe and P. Piolin, Gallia Christiana in Provinciis Ecclesiasticis Distributa, 16 vols, of editions of Paris, 1739-70, 1870-7.
- Gastorie, A, La Musique de L'Eglise, Lyon, 1910.
- Gazet, G, L'Histoire Ecclésiastique du Pays Bas, Valenciennes, 1614.
- Genouillac, G, L'Histoire de L'Abbaye de Fecamp, Fécamp, 1875.
- Germond de Lavigne, A, L'Espagne et la Portugal, Paris, 1867.
- Gervase = Gervase of Canterbury, Chronicle, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS no.73, London, 1879-80.
- Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, 3 vols, ed. H.T. Riley, RS no. 28/4, London, 1867.
- Gesta Henrici = The Chronicles of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS no.49, London, 1867.
- Gesta Philippi Augusti, ed. H.F. Delaborde, Paris, 1892.
- Gesta Stephani, ed. K.R. Potter, NMT, 1955; forthcoming 2nd edn, OMT 1976.

- Gilbert Foliot, Letters and Charters, ed. C.N.L. Brooke and A. Morey, Cambridge, 1967.
- Giles, J.A., see Arnulf.
- Gilyard-Beer, R, Fountains Abbey, HMSO, London, 1970.
- Giraldus = Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, ed. J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock and G.F. Warner, 8 vols, RS no.21, London, 1861-91.
- Giry, A, Manuel Général de Diplomatie, Paris, 1894.
- Gleason, S.E, An Ecclesiastical Barony of the Middle Ages, the Bishopric of Bayeux, 1066-1204, Cambr. Mass. 1936.
- Glorieux, P, Aux Origines de la Sorbonne, 2 vols, Paris, 1965-6.
- GME = H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, The Governance of Medieval England, Edinburgh, 1963.
- Godfrey, W.H, A History of Architecture in London, London, 1911.
- Gonzalez, J, El Reino de Castilla en la Epoca de Alfonso VIII, 3 vols, Madrid, 1960.
- Gouin, H, L'Abbaye de Royaumont, Paris, 1932,
- Graham = R. Graham, St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines, London, 1901.
- Graham, R, English Ecclesiastical Studies, London, 1929.
- Grandmont = E.M. Hallam, 'Henry II, Richard I and the Order of Grandmont, Journal of Medieval History, I, 1975, pp.165-86 (enclosed offprint).
- Gransden, A, see Chronicle of Bury.
- Graus, F, Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merovinger, Prague, 1965.
- Grézillier, Dr. A, 'L'architecture de L'Ordre de Grandmont', Bull. Mon. 121, 1963, pp.331-58.
- Gronier-Prieur, A, L'Abbaye Notre-Dame de Lys, Amis des Monuments et des Sites de Seine-et-Marne, 4, Melun, 1971.
- Grossé-Duperon, A. and Gouvrión, E, ed, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Cistercienne de Fontaine-Daniel, Mayenne, 1896.
- Guérard, B. ed, Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris, Paris, 1850.
- Guibert de Nogent, Memoirs, ed. J.H. Benton, under the title 'Self and Society in Medieval France', New York, 1970.
- Guillemain, B, 'Chiffres et statistiques pour l'histoire ecclésiastique de Moyen Age', Le Moyen Age, 59, 1953, pp.341-61.

- Guilloureaux, L, 'Quelques actes de Jean sans Terre relatifs à la Vallée du Loir', Annales Fléchoises, 7, 1907, p.359.
- Guynemer, P. ed, Cartulaire de Royallieu, Compiègne, 1911.
- Gwynne, A, The English Austin Friars at the Time of Wyclif, Oxford, 1940.
- _____, 'The early history of St.-Thomas' Abbey,' Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 84, 1954, pp.1-35.
- H.II = ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, Recueil des Actes de Henri II, Introduction and 3 vols, Paris, 1909-27.
- Hacker-Suck, I, 'Les Chapelles palatines du Moyen Age en France', Cahiers Archéologiques, 13, 1962, pp.217-57.
- Haines, C. R, Dover Priory, Cambridge, 1930.
- Hallam, E. M, see Grandmont.
- Halphen, L, See Einhard.
- _____, Le Comté d'Anjou au XIe Siècle, Paris, 1906.
- Hamilton, B, The Albigensian Crusade, Hist. Assn. Pamphlet, 1974.
- Hamilton, H.C, see William of Newburgh.
- Handcock, G. F. see CDIr1.
- Hardy, Sir T.D. ed, Descriptive Catalogue of Materials, RS, II, London, 1865.
- _____, Itinerarium Johannis Rex Angliae, London, 1829.
- _____, ed, Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis, London, 1844.
- Harris, H.J, 'The Knights Hospitaller in Herefordshire', Trans. Woolhope Club, 31, 1942-5, pp.132-40.
- Harriss, S. L, King, Parliament and Public finance in England to 1369, Oxford, 1975.
- Haskins, C.H, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, Harvard, 1927.
- _____, 'Robert le Bougre and the beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France,' American Historical Review, 7, 1901-2, pp.437-57.
- Havercroft, A.B, 'Report of the excavation of the chapter-house', Waltham Abbey Historical Society Newsletter, Aug. 1972.
- Hearne, T, see Adam of Domesday.
- Hector, L.C, The Handwriting of English Documents, London, 1966.
- Heer, F, The Holy Roman Empire, trans. J. Sondheimer, London, 1968.
- Hell, V. and H, The Road to Compostella, London, 1966.

- Henderson, C, Cornish Church Guide, Truro, 1925.
- Henry of Huntingdon, The History of the English, ed. T. Arnold, RS. no.74, London, 1879.
- Hermitage-Day, E, 'The preceptory of the Knights Templar at Garway, Herefordshire', Trans. Woolhope Club, 36, 1927-9, pp.45-76.
- Hewlett, H.G, see Wendover.
- H.Fr. = M. Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, 24 vols, ed. L. Delisle, Paris, 1869-1904.
- H.I.Fr. = F. Lot and R. Fawtier, Histoire des Institutions Françaises au Moyen Age, 3 vols, Paris, 1957-62.
- Hill, B.D, English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century, Chicago, 1968.
- Hill, Sir G, A History of Cyprus, Cambridge, 1948.
- Hilton, R.H, ed, The Stoneleigh Leger Book, Dugdale Soc. Publications, 24, Oxford, 1960.
- Hinnebusch, W.A, The Early English Friars Preachers, Rome, 1961.
- HN = William of Malmesbury, Historia Novella, ed. K.R. Potter, NMT. 1965.
- Hockey, S.F, ed, The Beaulieu Cartulary, Southampton Rec. Soc, 1974.
- Holt, J.C, The end of the Anglo-Norman Realm, Oxford (for P.R.A.), 1975.
- Hope, W. St.-John, 'On the funeral effigies of the Kings and Queens of England,' Archeologia, 60 (2), 1907, pp.517-70.
- Hope, W. St.-John and H. Brakespeare, 'The Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu,' Arch. Jnl. 63, 1906, pp.129-86.
- Howden = Roger of Howden, Chronica, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS, no.51, London, 1868-71.
- Howell, M.E, Regalian Right in Medieval England, London, 1962.
- Huggins, P.J, 'Excavations at Waltham Abbey, 1970-2', Trans. Essex Arch.Soc., 3rd ser. 4, pp.30-127.
- Hugo, C.L, Sacri et Canonici ordinis Praemonstratensis annales, 2 vols, Nancy, 1734.
- Hugo, T, The Medieval Nunneries of Somerset, London, 1867.
- Hunt, W. ed, Two Cartularies of the Priory of St.-Peter at Bath, Som.Rec.Soc, 1893.
- Hurry, J.B, Reading Abbey, London, 1901.
- Hutton, E.H, The Franciscans in England, London, 1926.

Imbart de la Tour, P, Les Elections Episcopales dans L'Eglise de France, 814-1150, Paris, 1891.

Inv. Somm. = Collections des Inventaires Sommaires des Archives Départementales antérieures à 1790, Paris, 1882-.

Jaillot, J.B.M, Recherches Critiques .. sur la Ville de Paris, 1782.

Jamison, C, The History of the Royal Hospital of St.-Katharine, London, 1952.

Jamison, E.M, 'The Sicilian Norman Kingdom in the minds of Anglo-Norman Contemporaries', Proc.British Academy, 24, 1938, pp.237-85.

Janauschek, L, Originum Cisterciensium Tomus I, Vienna, 1877.

JBAA = Journal of the British Archeological Association.

JEH = Journal of Ecclesiastical History.

Jocelin of Brakelond, The Chronicle, ed. H.E. Butler, NMT, 1949.

John of Salisbury, The Letters, I, ed. W.J. Miller, H.E. Butler, C.N.L. Brooke, NMT, 1955.

Johnson, C, see Dialogus.

Johnson, H, 'Poor Relief in the Royal households of thirteenth century England', Speculum, 4, 1929, pp.149-67.

Johnson, H.T, 'Cathedral Building and the Medieval Economy', Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, 4, 1967, pp.191-210.

Joinville = Histoire de Saint Louis de Jean, Sire de Joinville, ed. N. de Wailly, Paris, 1868.

Joliffe, J.E.A, Angevin Kingship, London, 1955.

_____, 'The Camera Regis under Henry II', EHR, 68, 1953, 5-21, 337-62.

Joyce, J.C, 'On the tomb ... of ... William Rufus', Archeologia, 42, 1869 (2), pp.309-21.

Kantorowicz, E.H, Laudes Regiae, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946.

Kelly, A, Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings, London, 1952.

_____, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Courts of Love', Speculum, 12, 1937, pp.3-19.

Kemp, B.R, The foundation of Reading Abbey and the growth of its possessions and privileges in the Twelfth Century, Ph.D. thesis, University of Reading, 1966.

Ker, N.R, English Manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest, Oxford, 1960.

- KH = (M.)D. Knowles and N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales, 2nd edn. London, 1971.
- Kingsford, C.L, The Grey Friars of London, Aberdeen, 1915.
- King's Works = H.M. Colvin, A History of the King's Works, the Middle Ages, 2 vols, London, 1963-73.
- Knoop, D. and G.P. Jones, 'The first three years of the building of Vale Royal Abbey', Trans. Quattuor Coronati Lodge, 44, 1931.
- Knowles, (M.) D, see KH, Lay-bros, Mon.Ord, Rel. Ord, TB.
- Knowles, (M.)D, C.N.L. Brooke and V.C.M, London, The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940-1216, Cambridge, 1972.
- Korrodi, E, Alcobaca, Porto, 1929.
- Krüger, K.H, Königsgrabkirchen, Munich, 1971.
- L VI = ed. A. Luchaire, Louis VI le Gros, Annales de sa Vie et son Règne, 1081-1137, Paris, 1890.
- L VII = ed. A. Luchaire, Etudes sur les Actes de Louis VII, Paris, 1885.
- L VIII = ed. C.Petit-Dutaillis, Etude sur la Vie et le Règne de Louis VIII, Paris, 1894.
- Labande, E.R, 'Pour une Image véridique d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine', Bull. de la Société des Antiquaires de L'Ouest, 4th ser. 2, 1952, pp.175-234.
- _____, 'Saint Louis Pèlerin', Revue de L'Histoire de Eglise de France, 57, 1971, pp.5-18.
- Labarge, M.W, Saint Louis, London, 1968.
- Labbe, P. ed, Novae Bibliothecae Manuscriptorum Librorum, 2 vols, Paris, 1657.
- Lafleur de Kermaignat, P. ed, Cartulaire de L'Abbaye du Tréport, Paris, 1880.
- Lally, J, The Court and Household of King Henry II, 1154-89, Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1969.
- Lambert, E, 'L'Architecture des Templiers', Bull.Mon. 112, 1954, pp.7-80.
- _____, 'L'Architecture Gothique en Espagne', Paris, 1931.
- _____, 'L'Eglise et la Couvent des Jacobins de Toulouse et L'Architecture Dominicaine', Bull.Mon. 104, 1946, pp.178-81.
- La Monte, J.L, Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Cambridge, Mass. 1932.

- Lamprecht, K, Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter, repr. Aalen, 1960.
- Landon, L, The Itinerary of King Richard I, PR Soc. London, 1935.
- Larking, L.B, The Knights Hospitallers in England, London, 1857.
- Lasco, P, Ars Sacra, London, 1972.
- Lauer, P, 'L'Abbaye de Royaumont', Bull.Mon. 72, 1908, pp.168-215.
- Laureilh, M.T, 'Saint Louis et les Franciscains', Les Amis de Saint Francois, new ser. 2, 1970, pp.8-15.
- Lavissee, E, Histoire de France, II, A. Luchaire, Les Premiers Capétiens, 997-1137, Paris, 1901.
- _____, III, A. Luchaire, Louis VII, Philippe-Auguste et Louis VIII, Paris, 1901;
- _____, III (2), C.V. Langlois, Saint Louis, Philippe le Bel, Les Derniers Capétiens Directs, Paris, 1901.
- _____, IV (2), C. Petit-Dutaillis, Charles VII, Louis XI ... et Charles VIII, Paris, 1902.
- Lawrence, C.H. ed, The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages, London, 1965.
- _____, St. Edmund of Abingdon, Oxford, 1960.
- Lawrie, A, see Annals.
- Lay-Bros. = (M.)D. Knowles, 'The revolt of the Lay-brothers at Sempringham', EHR, 50, 1935, pp.465-87.
- Layettes = ed. A. Teulet, J. de Laborde, E. Berger, H.F. Delaborde, Layettes du Trésor des Chartes, 5 vols, Paris, 1863-1909.
- Lea, H.C, A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, II, New York, 1956.
- Lechaudé d'Anisy, see d'Anisy.
- Leclerq, J, La Spiritualité du Moyen Age, Paris, 1961.
- Le Coulteaux, J, Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis, 1084-1428, 8 vols, Montreux, 1887-91.
- Lecoy de la Marche, see Etienne.
- Lees, B.A, ed, Records of the Templars in the Twelfth Century in England, London, 1935.
- Legge, M.D, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background, Oxford, 1963.
- Le Grand = L. le Grand, Les Quinze-Vingts depuis leur Origine jusqu'à leur translation au Faubourg St.-Antoine, Paris, 1887.
- Le Grand, L, Les Béguines de Paris, Paris, 1893.

- Legrand d'Aussy, Des Sépultures Nationales, Paris, 1824.
- Lejeune, R, 'La Rôle littéraire d'Aliénor D'Aquitaine', Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, I, 1958, pp.319-37.
- Lekai, D.J, Les Moines Blancs, Paris, 1957.
- Lemarignier, J.F. ed, Gallia Monastica, Paris, 1974-.
- Le Nain de Tillemont, see Tillemont.
- Le Neve, J, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, ed. T.D. Hardy, Oxford, 1854.
_____, ed. H.P. King, J.M. Horn, B. Jones, D.M. Smith, 17 vols, London, 1962-74.
- Le Paige, J. ed, Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis, Paris, 1633.
- L'Epinois, H. de, ed, 'Comptes relatifs à la fondation de L'Abbaye de Maubuisson', Bib.Ec.Ch. 19, 1858, pp.560-67.
- Le Roulx, J. Delaville, ed, Cartulaire generale de L'Ordre de .. St.Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1310, 4 vols, Paris, 1894-1906.
- Lethaby, W, Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen, London, 1906.
- Levesque, J, Annales Ordinis Grandimontis, Trier, 1662.
- Leyser, K, 'Frederick Barbarossa, Henry II and the hand of St. James', EHR, 90, 1975, pp.481-506.
- Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus qui sunt in Ecclesia, ed. G. Constable and B. Smith, OMT, 1972.
- The Life of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, ed. R.W. Southern, 2nd. edn, OMT, 1972.
- Little = L.K. Little, 'St. Louis' involvement with the friars', Church History, 33, 1964, pp.125-48.
- Little, A.G, see Thomas of Eccleston.
_____, Studies in English Franciscan History, Manchester, 1917.
- Longnon, A, see Obit.Sens.
_____, Atlas Historique de la France, Paris, 1882-9.
- Longperier-Grimouard, A. ed, Notice Historique sur L'Abbaye Royale de Châalitz, Senlis, 1857.
- Loomis, R.S, 'Tristram and the House of Anjou', Modern Language Review, 17, 1922, pp.24-30.
- Lot, F, see Budget.
_____, Etudes critiques sur L'Abbaye de St.-Wandrille, Paris, 1913.

Luard, H.R, see Ann.Mon, Paris.

Lucas, H.H, see Ruteboeuf.

Luchaire, A, see L.VI, L.VII, Lavissee.

_____, Les Communes Françaises a L'Epoque des Capétiens Directs, Paris, 1890.

_____, Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques de la France sous les Premiers Capétiens, 897-1180, 2 vols, Paris, 1883.

_____, La Société Française au Temps de Philippe-Auguste, Paris, 1909.

Lund, F.M, Ad Quadratum, London, 1921.

Mabillon, J, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, ed. L.D'Achéry, 9 vols, Paris, 1668-1701.

Mackie, R.L, Arbroath Abbey, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1954.

MAIBL = Mémoires de L'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

Maillet, G, La Vie religieuse au Temps de Saint Louis, Paris, 1954.

Mâle, E, L'Art Religieux du XII^e siècle en France, 4th edn, Paris, 1931.

Malmesbury = William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS no.90, London, 1887-9.

Marchegay, P, 'Chartes Angevines des onzième et douzième siècles', Bib.Ec.Ch. 36, 1875, pp.381-441.

Marshall, G, 'The church of the Knights Templar at Garway,' Trans.Woolhope Club, 26, 1927-9. pp.86-101.

Martène and Durand, see Anec, Vet.Mon.

Martin, A.R, Franciscan Architecture in England, Manchester, 1937.

Martin, C.T, The Record Interpreter, 2nd. edn, London, 1910.

Mason, E, 'The English tithe income of Norman religious houses', BIHR, 117, 1975, pp.91-4.

Matthew, D.J.A, The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions, Oxford, 1962.

Mayr-Harting, H, 'Henry II and the Papacy', JEH, 16, 1965, pp.39-53.

MB = Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, ed. J.C. Robertson and J.B. Sheppard, 7 vols, RS no.67, London, 1875-85.

McAdam, A.W, Grosmont Parish Church Notes, 1973.

- Memorials of Richard I, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS no.38, London, 1864-5.
- Merlet, L, ed, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Tiron, Chartres, 1882.
- MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. G.H. Pertz and others, Reichsinstitut für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 1826-.
- Michel, F. ed, Rôles Gascons, 3 vols, Paris, 1885-6.
- Michelin, L, Essais Historiques ... sur le Département de Seine-et-Marne, Melun, 1829.
- Milis, L, L'Ordre des Chanoines Réguliers D'Arrouaise, 2 vols, Univ.of Gand, 1969.
- Miller, W.J, see John of Salisbury.
- Millin de Grandmaison, A.L, Antiquités Nationales, 5 vols, Paris, 1790-7.
- Molinier, A, see Obit.Sens.
- Mon.Ord. = M.D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 940-1216, 2nd, Cambridge, 1963.
- Mon.World = C.N.L. Brooke and W. Swaan, The Monastic World, London, 1974.
- Moorman, J.R.H, A History of the Franciscan Order ... to 1517, Oxford, 1968.
- Morand, S.J, Histoire de la Sainte-Chapelle Royale de Paris, Paris, 1790.
- Moreno, G, El Panteon Real de Las Huelgas, Madrid, 1944.
- Morey, A, see Gilbert Foliot.
- Morton, C, 'Pope Alexander II and the Norman Conquest', Latomus, 34, 1975, pp.362-82.
- Moutié, A, ed, Recueil des Chartes et Pièces relatifs au Prieuré de Nôtre-Dame-des-Moulineaux, Paris, 1846.
- MPL = J.P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, + supplements, 221 vols, Paris 1844-1903.
- Muntz, H, see Carmen.
- Mussat, A, 'L'Hôpital St.-Jean D'Angers', Congr.Arch.122, 1964, pp.78-87.
- _____, Le Style Gothique de L'Ouest de la France, XIIe - XIIIe siècles, Paris, 1963.
- MV = Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, ed. H. Farmer and D.L. Douie, 2 vols, NMT, 1961.

Napier, A.S. and W.H. Stephenson, ed, The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1895.

New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 15 vols, Washington, 1967.

Nitze, W.A, 'The exhumation of King Arthur at Glastonbury' Speculum, 9, 1934, pp.355-61.

NMT = Nelson's Medieval Texts, later OMT = Oxford Medieval Texts, London and Edinburgh.

Norgate, K, Richard the Lion Heart, London, 1924.

N.Pia = A. du Monstier, Neustria Pia, ed. J. Gallement, Rouen, 1633.

Obit.Sens = ed. A. Longnon and A. Molinier, Obituaires de la Province de Sens, Paris, 1902-23.

Olim = ed. Le Comte Beugnot, Les Olim ou Registres des Arrêts, I, 1254-73, Paris, 1839.

Oliver, G, Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis, London, 1846-54.

Ollivier de Villeroi, J.P, 'L'Abbaye de Lieu-Dieu en Jard', Bulletin de la Société Olona, new ser. 15, 1965, pp.11-14.

O'Neill, J.G, 'The shrine of Edward the Confessor', Archeologia, 100, 1966, pp.129-54.

Onslow, the Earl of, The Empress Maud, London, 1939.

Orderic = The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed.M.Chibnall, vols. II - IV, OMT, 1967-73.

Oury, G.M, 'Grandmontains au Maine', La Province du Maine, 75, 1971, pp.1-27.

Ozanne, le Docteur, L'Hôpital St.-Nicholas du Pont de Compiègne, Compiègne, 1933.

P-A = ed. L. Delisle, Catalogue des Actes de Philippe-Auguste, Paris, 1856.

Pacaut, M, Louis VII et son Royaume, Paris, 1964.

Painter, S, The Reign of King John, Baltimore, 1949.

Panofsky S = E. Panofsky, Abbot Suger and the Abbey Church of St.-Denis, Princeton, 1946.

Panofsky T = E. Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture, its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini, London, 1964.

Paris = Matthew Paris, Chronica Maiora, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols, RS no.57, London, 1872-83.

Peers, Sir Charles, Rievaulx Abbey, HMSO, London, 1967.

- Peigné-Delacourt, A, Monasticon Gallicanum, Paris, 1871.
- Pernoud, R, Aliénor D'Aquitaine, Paris, 1965.
- _____, La Reine Blanche, Paris, 1972.
- Pérouse, G, Hautecombe, Abbaye Royale, Chambéry, 1926.
- Petit-Dutaillis, see Feudal Mon, L.VIII, Rec, Lavissee.
- Pevsner = Sir N. Pevsner, ed, The Buildings of England, London, 1951-
- Pevsner, Sir N. ed, The Pelican History of Art, London, 1953-
- Ph.I = ed. M.Prou, Recueil des Actes de Philippe I, Roi de France, 1059-1108, Paris, 1908.
- Philp, B.J, Excavations at Faversham, 1965, Kent Arch. Soc. 1968.
- Pimenta, A, Fontes Medievais da Historia de Portugal, Lisbon, 1948.
- Pirri, R, Sicilia Sacra, 2 vols, 3rd edn., Palermo, 1733.
- Poole, A.L, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216, 2nd edn, Oxford, 1954.
- Poole, R.L, The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century, Oxford, 1912.
- Port, C. ed, Cartulaire de L'Hôtel-Dieu d'Angers, Angers, 1870.
- Postan, M.M, Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Economy, Cambridge, 1973.
- Potas, G, see Cottineau.
- Potter, K.R, see Gesta Stephani, HN.
- Poulain, G.A, Les Séjours de Saint Louis en Normandie, Rouen, 1957.
- Power, E, Medieval English Nunneries, Cambridge, 1922.
- Powicke, F.M, See Rashdall, Walter Daniel.
- _____, The Loss of Normandy, 1189-1204, 2nd. edn. Manchester, 1961.
- _____, The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307, 2nd. edn. Oxford, 1962.
- PR = Pipe Roll Society, Publications, London, 1884- ; Pipe Rolls (PR) for 31 Henry I, 2-34 Henry II, 1-10 Richard I, 1-18 John, 2, 14, 26 Henry III etc.
- Pr.Br.A = Proceedings of the British Academy.

Présence, no.34, October, 1973.

PRO = Public Record Office, London.

PRO Publications, Cal.Ch.R. = Calendar of Charter Rolls, I-II (1226-1300), London, 1903-6; Cal.Cl.R. = Calendar of Close Rolls, I-XIV (1227-72), London, 1902-38; Cal.Pat.R. = Calendar of Patent Rolls, I-IV (1216-72), London, 1901-13; CRP = Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, London, 1802; R.L.Cl. = Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, I, London, 1833.

Prou, M, see PhI.

Quantin, M. ed, Cartulaire Générale de L'Yonne, Auxerre, 1854.

Rabourdin, C, L'Abbaye Royale de Barbeaux, Melun 1895.

Radot, J.U, 'La chartreuse du Liget et la Courrorie', Congr.Arch. 106, 1948, pp.153-72.

Raftis, J.A, 'Western Monasticism and Economic Organization', Comparative Studies in Society and History, 3, 1961, pp.452-69.

RA Hist de Maine = Revue Archéologique et Historique du Maine.

Rahlves, F, Cathedrals and Monasteries of Spain, London, 1966.

Rahtz, P. ed, Worcestershire Archeological Newsletters, no.8, 1971, no.11, 1972.

Ralph Niger, The Chronicles, ed. R. Anstruther, London, 1851.

Ralph of Coggeshall, Chronicon Anglicanum, ed. J. Stephenson, RS no.66, London, 1875.

Ramsay, J.H, A History of the Revenues of the Kings of England, 2 vols, Oxford, 1925.
L.Delisle,

'Raoul' = /'Philippe-Auguste et Raoul d'Argences, Abbé de Fécamp', Bib.Ec.Ch. 65, 1904, pp.390-7.

Rashdall, H, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F.M. Powicke, and A.B. Emden, 3 vols, Oxford, 1936.

Rec = ed. H.F. Delaborde, C.Petit-Dutaillis, J. Monicat, J. Boussard, Recueil des Actes de Philippe-Auguste, 3 vols, Paris, 1916-66.

Rees, W, The Order of St. John in Wales and on the Welsh Border, Cardiff, 1947.

Reg.R. = ed. H.W.C. Davis, C. Johnson, H.A. Cronne, R.H.C. Davis, Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154, 4 vols, Oxford, 1913-69.

Reg.R.Sc. = ed. G.W.S.Barrow and W.W.Scott, Regesta Regum Scottorum, 1153-1424, I-II, Edinburgh, 1960-71.

Rel.Ord. = (M.)D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, I-III, Cambridge, 1948-59.

Rénouard, Y, Bordeaux sous les Rois D'Angleterre, Bordeaux, 1965.

Reuter, A, ed, Chancelarias Medievais Portuguesas, I, Coimbra, 1938.

Richard of Devizes, Chronicle of the Time of King Richard I, ed.J.T. Appleby, NMT, 1963.

Richard, A, Histoire des Comptes de Poitou, Paris, 1903.

Richardson, H.G, See GME.

_____, 'The chamber under Henry II', EHR, 68, 1954, pp.596-61.

_____, 'The Letters and charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine', EHR, 74, 1959, pp.193-213.

Riley, H.T, see Gesta Abbatum, William Rishanger.

Riley-Smith, J, The Knights of St.John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050-1310, London, 1967.

RLCI see PRO.

Robertson, J.C, see MB.

Rodriguez, A, Historia del Monasterio de Las Huelgas, Burgos, 1916.

Ross, C.D, ed, A Cartulary of Cirencester, 2 vols, London, 1964.

Ross, J.B, see Galbert.

Roth, F, The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538, 2 vols, New York, 1961-6.

Round, J.H, see CDFr.

_____, ed, Ancient Charters, Royal and Private, Prior to AD 1200, PR Soc. London, 1888.

Roy, M.D, 'Saint Louis bâtisseur', Archéologia, 31, 1969, pp.15-20.

RS = Rolls Series, London, 1856-96.

Ruteboeuf, Poèmes Concernant L'Université de Paris, ed, H.H. Lucas, Paris, 1954.

Rymer = T. Rymer, Foedera, London, 1727.

Rymer, T, and R. Sanderson, ed, Foedera, London, 1745.

Saint-Marthe, D, see Gallia.

- Salat, F, La Cathédrale de Tours, Paris, 1948.
- Salter, H.E. ed, The Cartulary of Oseney Abbey, Oxford Hist.Soc.
6 vols, 1926-36.
- _____, Chapters of the Augustinian Canons, Oxford Hist. Soc.1922.
- _____, Cartulary of the Hospital of St.-John, ^{the Epist} Oxford, Oxford
Hist.Soc.1917.
- Saltman, A, Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, London, 1956.
- Sayles, G.O, see GME.
- Schramm, P, A History of the English Coronation, Oxford, 1937.
- S-D = M. Félibien, Histoire de L'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis en France,
Paris, 1706.
- Searle, E, 'Battle Abbey and exemption, the forged charters', EHR,
84, 1969, pp.449-80.
- _____, Lordship and Community, Battle Abbey and its Banlieu,
1066-1538, Toronto, 1974.
- Senn, F, L'Institution des Avoueries Ecclésiastiques en France, Paris,
1903.
- Serent, P.A. de, 'L'Ordre de Saint Claire en France pendant 7 siècles',
Etudes Franciscaines, II, 1955, pp.133-65.
- Sheppard, J.B, see MB.
- Simpson, O. von, The Gothic Cathedral. London, 1956.
- Société Jersiaise, Cartulaire de Jersey ..., (no author given), Jersey,
1918-24.
- Sommenil, F, see Chronicon Valassense.
- Southern = R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the
Middle Ages, London, 1970.
- Southern, R.W, see Life of Anselm.
- _____, Medieval Humanism and other Studies, Oxford, 1970.
- _____, 'The Place of Henry I in English History', PrBrA,
48, 1962, pp.127-69.
- _____, 'Ranulf Flambard the early Anglo-Norman administration',
TRHS, 4th ser. 3, 1933, pp.95-128.
- Spiegel, G.M, 'The cult of St. Denis and the Capetian kings', Int. Medieval History, I, 1975, pp.43-70.
- Squire, A, Ailred of Rievaulx, London, 1969.
- Stapleton, T. ed, Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus
Angliae, London, 1854.

- Stein, H, Bibliographie Générale des Cartulaires Français, Paris, 1907.
- _____, Les Architects des Cathédrales Gothiques, Paris, 1902.
- _____, Pierre de Montereau, Architect de L'Eglise de Saint Denis, Paris, 1902.
- Stenton, F.M. ed, Transcripts of Charters relating to Gilbertine Houses, Linc. Rec. Soc. 1922.
- Stephen, Dom, Buckfast Abbey, Buckfast, 1965.
- Stevenson, J, see Chronicle, Ralph of Coggeshall.
- Stone, L, Sculpture in Britain, the Middle Ages, Harmondsworth, 1955.
- St.-Pathus = William of St.-Pathus, La Vie et les Miracles de Monseigneur Saint Louis, Roi de France, ed. M.C. D'Espagne, Paris, 1971.
- Stubbs, W, see Diceto, Gervase, Gesta Henrici, Howden, Malmesbury, Memorials.
- _____, Constitutional History of England, Oxford, 1896-7.
- Sweetman, H.S, see CDIrl.
- Symonds, T. ed, The Regular's Concordia, NMT, 1953.
- Tanner, L.E, 'Some representations of Edward the Confessor', Trans. British Archeological Assn. 3rd. ser, 15, 1952, pp.1-12.
- Tardif, J. ed, Monuments Historiques, Cartons des Rois, Paris, 1866.
- Taylor, E.H. ec, Anniversary Essays (for) Charles Homer Haskins, Boston and New York, 1929.
- TB = (M.)D. Knowles, Thomas Becket, London, 1970.
- 'Templiers' = L. Delisle, 'Mémoires sur les Opérations financières des Templiers', MAIBL, 33 (2), 1889,
- Terlin, J. de, 'La tête de Saint Louis à St.-Germain-en-Laye', Monuments et Mémoires, Fondation E. Piot, 45, 1951, pp.123-40.
- Tessier, G, Diplomatique Royale Française, Paris, 1962.
- Teulet, A, see Layettes.
- Thibout, M, 'La Chapelle St.-Jean du Liget', Congr.Arch. 106, 1949, pp.173-94.
- Thomas of Eccleston, De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam, ed.A.G.Little, Manchester, 1951.
- Thomas, I.G, The cult of Saints' relics in Medieval England, Ph.D.thesis, University of London, 1975.

- Thomas, P, Le Droit de Propriété des Laïques, Paris, 1906.
- Thomson, R.M, see Chronicle.
- Thompson, E.N, see WCC.
- _____, The Carthusian Order in England, London, 1930.
- Thompson, S.H, Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages, 1100-1500.
Cambridge, 1969.
- Tillemont = Le Nain de Tillemont, Vie de Saint Louis, Roi de France,
ed. J. de Gaule, 6 vols, Paris, 1847-61.
- Torigny = Robert de Torigny, Chronicle, ed. L. Delisle, Rouen, 1872.
- Toustain de Billy, R. Histoire Ecclésiastique du Diocèse de Coutances,
2 vols, Rouen, 1874-86.
- Tout, T.F, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England,
Manchester, 6 vols, 1920-33.
- _____, Medieval Forgeries and Forgers, Manchester, 1920.
- Treharne, R.F. and H. Fullard, Muir's Historical Atlas, London, 1962.
- TRHS = Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
- Trou, Abbé, Recherches Historiques, Archéologiques et Biologiques sur
Pontoise, Pontoise, 1841.
- Tupper, F, see Walter Map.
- Ughelli, P, Italia Sacra, 10 vols in 9, Venice, 1717-22.
- Vacandard, A, 'St. Bernard et la Royauté Française', Revue des Questions
Historiques, 25, 1891, pp.359-409.
- Valin, L, Le Duc de Normandie et sa Cour, 912-1204, Paris, 1910.
- Van der Meer, see A.Cist.
- Vassas, R, 'La Maison-Dieu de Coëffort au Mans', Bull.Mon.112, 1954.
- VCH = The Victoria Histories of the Counties of England, ed.H.A.
Doubleday, W. Page, L.F. Salzman, R.B. Pugh, London, 1900-
- VE = Vita Edwardi Regis, ed. F. Barlow, NMT, 1962.
- Vernier, J.J. ed, Chartes de L'Abbaye de Jumièges, 825-1204, Soc.Hist.Norm.
1916.
- Vet.Mon. = ed. E. Martene and A. Durand, Veterum Scriptorum et
Monumentorum, 9 vols, Paris, 1724-33.
- Vic, C. de and J.J. Vaissete, Histoire Générale de Languedoc, IV,
Toulouse, 1872.
- Vitry, P. and G. Brièle, L'Eglise Abbatiale de St.-Denis, Paris,
1925.

- Wacquet = Suger, Vie de Louis VI le Gros, ed. H. Wacquet, Paris, 1929.
- Wailly, N. de, see Joinville.
- Walker, V.W. and D. Gray, ed, Newstead Priory, Cartulary 1344 and other Documents, Nottingham, 1940.
- Wallace-Hadrill, J.M, The Long-Haired Kings, London, 1962.
- Walter Daniel, Vita Ailredi, ed. F.M. Powicke, NMT, 1950.
- Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium,/^{trans.} F. Tupper and M.B. Ogle, London, 1924.
- Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium, ed. T. Wright, London, 1850.
- Warner, G.F. and H.J. Ellis, ed. Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters, I, London, 1903.
- Warren = W.L. Warren, Henry II, London, 1973.
- Warren, W.L, King John, London, 1961.
- Watkin, Dom Ailred, ed, The Glastonbury Chartulary, 3 vols, Som.Rec.Soc. 1944-50.
- Watkins, A, 'St.-Giles', Hereford, ' Trans.Woolhope Club, 26, 1927-9, pp.102-5.
- Watney, J, Some Account of the Hospital of St.-Thomas of Acon, London, 1892.
- Wauters, A, ed, Table Chronologique des Chartes et Diplômes Imprimés, Brussels, 1868.
- WCC = E.M. Thompson, 'A fragment of the Witham Charterhouse Chronicle', BJRL, 16, 1932, pp.482-505.
- Weaver, F.M. ed, A Cartulary of Buckland Priory, Som.Rec.Soc. 1909.
- Webb = John of Salisbury, Policraticus, ed. C.C.J. Webb, 2 vols, Oxford, 1909.
- Webb, G, Architecture in Britain, the Middle Ages, Harmondsworth, 1956.
- Wendover = Roger of Wendover, The Flowers of History, ed. H.G. Hewlett, 3 vols, RS no.84, London, 1886-9.
- Westlake, H.F. ed, Hornchurch Priory, A Calendar of Documents in the Possessions of New College, Oxford, London, 1929.
- White, G.H, 'The career of Waleran, Count of Meulan and Earl of Worcester', TRHS, 4th, ser. 17, 1934, pp.19-48.
- White, L.T, Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily, Harvard, 1938.

Whitelock, D, see ASC.

Wigram, S.R. ed, The Cartulary of the Monastery of St.-Frideswide's, Oxford, 2 vols, Oxford Hist.Soc. 1895-6.

William of Newburgh, History, ed. H.C. Hamilton, London, 1856.

William Rishanger, The Chronicle, ed. H.T. Riley, RS No.28/2, London, 1865.

Williams, W, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, Manchester, 1935.

Willis, R, The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral, London, 1845.

Wood, S, English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century, Oxford, 1955.

Wood-Legh, K, Perpetual Chantries in Britain, Cambridge, 1965.

Woolley, R.M. ed, The Gilbertine Rite, 2 vols, Henry Bradshaw Soc, London, 1921-2.

Wright, J.C, see Political Songs.

Wright, R, see Walter Map.

Zarnecki, G, The Monastic Achievement, London, 1972.

_____, '1066 and Architectural Sculpture', Pr.Br.A. 52, 1966.
pp.87-104.

Henry II, Richard I and the order of Grandmont

Elizabeth M. Hallam

Many late twelfth-century writers including John of Salisbury, Gerald of Wales and leaders of the order of Grandmont attest to the interest of Henry II and Richard I in this highly ascetic group of monks. Henry in particular was known as a patron of religious of high spiritual renown, although politics was a major consideration in his nonastic patronage.

To trace the manifestations of these connections, in the creation of dependent cells and granting of pensions and privileges, is rendered complex because most surviving twelfth-century Grandmontine documents are forgeries. Their original Rule forbade title deeds in order to prevent secular entanglements, but it was relaxed in the thirteenth century and many charters were produced then. Cells the kings had created claimed valuable additional privileges, while others invented Plantagenet foundation to gain protection and aid from the French crown.

Some original charters do, however, exist and many forgeries are amplifications of originals. By seeing where they diverge from standard chancery formulae and using historical evidence it is possible

to trace in outline the donations made. This process indicates that although the Plantagenets founded some cells and aided the mother-house considerably, their generosity was greatest in grants of privileges and pensions.

A seventeenth-century annalist of the Grandmontine order relates a dramatic story about Henry II's courage when caught by a storm at sea in the middle of the night. The king is supposed to have called out to the terrified seamen:

*Eamus audacter, quia fratres Grandimontenses in quorum orationibus confidimus, media nocte ad orandum pro nobis surrexerunt ad matinas, et nullomodo possumus perire, ipsis fratribus vigilantibus et pro nobis orantibus.*¹

The waves immediately became calm and the ship reached port in safety.

Like this late writer, many of Henry's own contemporaries emphasised his special interest in the Grandmontines, which seems to have been continued by Richard in his turn. To trace how these links originated and how they manifested themselves is to give one specific example of the workings of royal patronage in the late twelfth century. But the subject has an additional interest, for the actual process of examining and evaluating the patronage is rendered highly complex by the considerable proportion of the early charters of the order which are forgeries. This aspect will be examined below, with a discussion of the possible motives and methods of the forgers, the extent to which some of the charters were changed, and whether substantially altered documents can give any clue as to the original extent of royal grants. For some of the forgeries do seem to show the outlines of the gifts made by

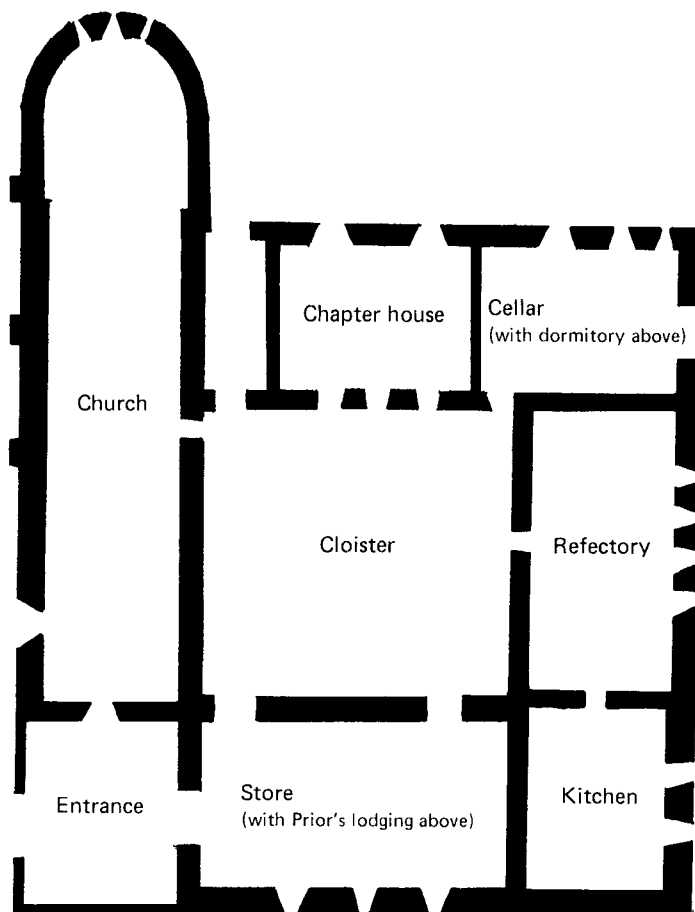


Figure 1.
Plan of a typical Grandmontine house.

the Plantagenets to the order, although they need to be treated with care. The discussion will be illustrated by tracing the early history of a few small houses.

The order of Grandmont was founded by Stephen of Muret, at Muret in the diocese of Limoges, in 1076, and was moved to nearby Grandmont in about 1125. The customs were not codified until the mid-twelfth century, but this was done according to the original precepts, which were handed down by word of mouth. The Grandmontines adopted an extremely ascetic way of life, living on

deserted hilltop sites and using lay-brothers to serve them. Grandmont itself was of some size, but the typical *cella* or daughter-house was a small affair, with under a dozen monks (Grezillier 1963:331 and see Figure 1). Necessity as much as modesty dictated this, for the brethren were to have no contact with the lay world apart from being supported primarily by its alms. They were to possess only the lands immediately adjacent to their sites and were not to keep or breed animals except for bees. For lands and herds might lead to greed for more, and to lawsuits, and

o the resentment of the monks' neighbours. To discourage litigation further the brethren were not supposed to possess charters or title deeds to land. The revenues from their immediate estates they could receive as alms but not as rents, and they had to send a steward to local markets to transact business for them. If they suffered from a shortage of food they could go to the bishop and the community as mendicants, but they should not approach their friends (*Regula* of St Stephen in MPL 204: 1137–62; Becquet 1958).

The *Regula* of St Stephen of Muret was a set of precepts for an ascetic, cenobitic way of life, but it contained few practical instructions for the government of the houses of the order; many problems later stemmed from this lacuna. Grandmont became very popular in the Limoges area and in other adjacent provinces. By 1163 there were 163 *cellae*. The mother-house was situated near Limoges in the county of La Marche, the overlordship of which came to Henry by his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, and which he purchased in 1177. So to draw him to this ascetic order were both its reputation for spiritual fervour and its situation in a border province where he was striving to exert his influence.

In general terms the Plantagenet penchant for Grandmont fits in with their liking for other ascetic orders. The author of the *Magna vita sancti Hugonis* remarked of Henry that his "love of men with a reputation for holiness, a grace he had received from God, is well known" (Douie and Farmer 1961:70). Gerald of Wales' sour opinion was that this was more for publicity than through any religious devotion (Brewer 1877:256). Yet setting aside the motives of the king, ascetic monks like Ailred of Rievaulx, Gilbert of Sempringham and Hugh of Lincoln were

often at court and received a certain amount of financial backing. Amongst Henry's monastic foundations were two Carthusian priories at Le Liget (Indre-et-Loire) and Witham (Somerset), while with his mother the Empress Mathilda he helped to create the Cistercian houses of Stanley (Wiltshire), and Stoneleigh (Warwickshire). He and Richard were buried at Fontévrault, mother-house of an ascetic and aristocratic group of nuns favoured greatly by the counts of Anjou. Richard founded in his turn the Cistercian house of Bonport (Eure), and the Premonstratensian abbey of Le Lieu Dieu en Jard (Vendée). Whether this interest was more a question of fashionable convention² or of genuine rapport of kings and ascetics is beside the point, although with Henry at least, elements of both may have combined. But certainly the interest of both kings in Grandmont as a harsh order forms no exception to the general patterns of royal patronage.

Eleanor of Aquitaine may have been responsible for the introduction of the Grandmontines to Henry, for her erstwhile teacher Geoffrey de Loroux, archbishop of Bordeaux from 1136–58, was a patron of the order. He seems to have put forward its merits to her successive royal consorts (Becquet 1958:32). Louis VII founded the *cella* of Vincennes probably in the 1150s, and Louye and La Coudre in about 1160–3 (Luchaire 1885: nos. 441, 475, 603; Gaborit 1963a and b). When Eleanor married Henry in 1152 he became the overlord of La Marche in which Grandmont was situated. Whether there were any foundations or donations from him at this time is hard to ascertain. The statutes of the order forbade most firmly any foundation charters (Delisle 1854), and Prior Stephen de Liciac upheld this rule

strictly. It was not until after his death in 1163 that there was a slight relaxation in this observance; Vincennes received a foundation charter in about 1164, and Grandmont had been given an exhortatory papal bull as early as 1156. A recent discussion finds neither of these early documents suspect (Becquet 1956: nos. 4–5; Luchaire 1885: no. 508). But it is difficult to evaluate the contribution of Henry II. The traditions of the order maintain that he had already shown great generosity towards them by the late 1150s. Levèsque (1662:112), the seventeenth-century writer, notes under the year 1157:

Henricus secundus iam ab anno in Grandmontensis propensissimus fuit, nam Grandmontem, Rothomagum, Sarmaziam et alias cellas ... magna ex parte a privatis hominibus fundatas, regio suo diplomate confirmavit et auxit. Similiter et fundavit prioratus de Haya Andegavensi, de Bosco Raherii Turonense ...³

His chronology is in several places manifestly inaccurate and his bias towards Henry most noticeable, but he does show that the sources on which he based his account date Henry's interest from early in his reign. The value of his evidence is, however, extremely dubious.

For the 1160s and 1170s by contrast, many contemporaries attest to the royal enthusiasm for Grandmont. Perhaps one of the most interesting pieces of evidence is the letter of Peter Bernard, *ex-generalis* of the order, to the grand prior, written in 1171. He mourns that the man who has caused Becket's death is the king *qui nostras fundavit ecclesias* (Robertson 1885:447). Surely this claim, made in an anguished letter, cannot be mere rhetoric. Peter⁴ also wrote to Henry, commending him for his generosity in building for the order, but castigating him for the destruction of the Church as a whole through Becket (Robertson 1885:450–4). As early as 1168

John of Salisbury had anticipated the ambivalent position of the Grandmontines. In a letter concerning the difficulties of the king *vis-à-vis* the church he commented that it would be hard to see what course the monks could take in the dispute, because Henry so loved and venerated them (Robertson 1882: 386). Events were to show that they were not afraid to upbraid him.

Another telling incident occurred in 1170 when Henry believed that he was on his deathbed. The author of the *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* describes how he told his counts, bishops and barons that if he did not recover from the disease and died, his body should be taken for burial at Grandmont.

Et ipsi ostendit eis quandam cartam quam boni homines de Grandi Monte ei fecerunt de corpore suo sepeliendo in exitu capituli Grandis Montis.... Cum autem hoc audissent, vehementer mirati sunt, et hoc concedere noluerunt, dicentes hoc esse contra dignitatem regni sui. Ipse vero magis ac magis instabat ut hoc fieret.⁵

For Henry to choose Grandmont as his burial house was to afford it a mark of singular respect, and it was probably only the internal schism of the 1180s which caused him to change his mind and to be interred at Fontévrault. Both his predecessors on the English throne had created themselves elaborate mausolea of Cluniac observance, Henry I at Reading and Stephen at Faversham. Philip I of France had also been buried in the Cluniac house at St Benoît-sur-Loire. Henry's barons clearly thought that he was acting with some eccentricity in his choice of order. Even Louis VII in using the Cistercians for his burial house at Barbeaux was not going *contra dignitatem regni*.

But the Grandmontines for their part were doing the king a signal honour. Gerald of Wales said that they would bury no one in

their houses except their advocates (Brewer 1873:258). This suggests that Henry was probably seen very much as the lay advocate and patron of the order.

Perhaps the commonly held view that kings should be laid to rest in suitably honorific places explains Henry's rebuilding of the priory at Grandmont itself in the 1160s and 1170s. Nothing survives of his work but later descriptions suggest that the mother-house was considerably larger and more complex than the network of almost identical and very simple *cellae* (Grezillier 1963:332; Levèsque 1662:121–2). Levèsque's account of the church says that it was sixty paces in length and seventy in width, but the width was divided into three, presumably the nave and choir, and the side aisles. The high altar, decorated with gems, was situated between four columns. There were 180 relics beneath it when the church was consecrated. They included the body of St Stephen of Muret and a piece of the true cross. But when did the rebuilding take place?

One church, or part of a church, was consecrated with great ceremony in 1166 (Levèsque 1662:121–2), but work continued into the 1170s. Henry is supposed to have given many jewels and a fine altar. We know that royal workmen were busy at Grandmont in 1171 for Prior William de Treignac wrote to the king and informed him that they had been sent away on the news of Becket's death.

Item domini mi rex, quid est quod audio de vobis? Nolo vos ignorare quod a die quod didicimus vos lethaliter cecidisse, operarios remisimus vestrae aedificantes ecclesiam domus tuae Grandimontis ne in ullo tecum participes essemus.⁶

After compromise had been reached between king and church, work was clearly resumed.

Levèsque (1662:141), who omits any mention of the Becket contretemps, describes the arrival on one occasion of 800 cartloads of lead at Grandmont, sent from La Rochelle by the king. Each was drawn by eight English horses all of the same colour. This could be dismissed merely as a hyperbolic if rather pleasing tale, but that Henry did send at least some materials for work at Grandmont is attested to by the 1175–6 pipe roll, where it is recorded that £ 40 was paid from Carlisle for lead, and £ 12.9.4d. for hiring two ships to take it from Newcastle to La Rochelle (Pipe Roll Society 1904:137, 141; Graham 1929:217).

Early in the 1180s the order was clearly still high in the royal favour. Henry and the young king ate with the brethren in the refectory in 1182, and although the royal patron's eldest son harassed the mother-house during his rebellion, his entrails were placed there on his death in 1183 (Graham 1929:217–8). Henry II's will drawn up in 1182 left the monastery and its dependencies £ 3,000 (Brewer 1877:192). Yet by this last decade of the reign all was not well with the order. Walter Map, in the *De nugis curialium*, dating from early in the 1180s, commented on Henry's great bounty to Grandmont. But he added that the monks were becoming swollen with pride and would only admit rich and powerful men. They could be embarking on a dangerous path "for they join in the counsels and have in their hands the business of kings" (Wright 1850:59). Map was perhaps stressing the point unduly for the sake of effect, but he had a point to make. Henry had brought considerable prominence to the order through his favour. He had also granted it generous privileges, one of the most important of which was to allow it a number of free men in the castles and

towns near the *cellae*. These could act as buyers for the monks, provide food for them, accept gifts on their behalf, and carry out all secular negotiations, as both Map and Gerald of Wales explained (Wright 1850:59; Brewer 1873:258). Several of Henry's less suspect charters refer to these men who were a link between the brothers and the world. Royal and noble gifts should perhaps have been refused if the spirit of the original customs had been kept to, but in real terms they could not and were not. Hence some kind of administrative arrangement had to be made which was not too much at odds with the written statutes such as they were.

In 1177 the king backed up his privileges. The *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* relates that *prece et petitione bonorum hominum de Grandi Monte motus statuit ne quis pro debito domini res homines capere praesumeret*.⁷ Thus the order would not lose men or possessions if one of the *cellae* fell into debt. Henry was helping Grandmont to maintain its favoured position. But this may have intensified problems endemic in its organisation. A letter of Peter of Celle written at about this time praises the Cistercians above the Grandmontines for the asceticism of their way of life (MPL 202:633).

The problem appears to have two sides. One was the amelioration of the distinctive *conversatio morum*, which had been codified from existing practice in the middle of the century, under Prior Stephen de Liciac. It laid down an extremely harsh way of life, but it had clearly begun to lose its authority by the 1180s. Perhaps this relaxation owed something to the generosity of both English and French Crowns. Its course can be traced in a series of papal bulls.

In 1182, for example, Lucius III granted protection to the order as had his prede-

cessors, but he added an exemption from paying tithe on the lands of the monks and from observing an interdict (Becquet 1956: no. 8). In 1189 the mother-house and its dependents were granted freedom from the authority of the local bishop (Becquet 1956: nos. 23b, 27), while by the 1220s Honorius III had carried the trend far enough to allow the breeding of animals, the possession of lands set at a distance from the mother-house, the taking part in litigation, and attendance at markets and fairs (Levèsque 1662:212-6; Graham 1929:224).

The other problems facing the order were the direct result of the lack of guidance in the Rule about the relative powers of government vested in the choir monks and the *conversi*. Map had commented on their disputes in the early 1180s and suggested that the cause was the wish of the lay-brothers to adhere to the original rule (Wright 1850:29). The first extant papal bull trying to rectify the situation dates from 1186 (Becquet 1956: no. 13). By this time the order was split by a full-scale schism (Becquet 1960). The lay-brothers at the mother-house imprisoned some of the choir monks and expelled Prior William. Pope Urban III arranged for his return but in 1187 he was again cast out and had to take refuge at the French court, which had shown him some favour (Levèsque 1662:155, Martène and Durand 1729:630-1). Philip Augustus then drew up an agreement between clerks and *conversi* which attempted to settle disciplinary differences and also regulated the number of attendants kings and bishops could bring with them as guests – an interesting comment on the usefulness of a monastery to its patron. If Henry II was to blame in this no mention is made of him, and in any case the settlement was a failure (Martène and Durand 1717:630-1). Pope

Clement III then organised a general chapter of the whole order which met in 1188 and elected a new prior, Gérard. He also regulated the internal government, giving the choir monks and especially the prior greater power over the lay-brothers (Becquet 1956: no. 21). This was again carried further in subsequent years until Innocent III in 1211 allowed the prior complete temporal as well as spiritual authority. The lay-brothers delegated by him would run the practical side of the house (MPL 216:504–6; Becquet 1956: no. 54). This did something towards alleviating the problems.

Revolts and disputes of choir monks and *conversi* were not unheard of in the later twelfth century. The order of Sempringham, for example, also under the patronage of Henry II, had suffered severe disruptions through the jealous machinations of a group of lay-brothers (Knowles 1935). This crisis, although serious, was of short duration (about 1165–9) and probably less deeply divisive than that of the Grandmontines.

By the late 1180s the order of Grandmont had lost something of its former prestige. A letter of Pope Clement of 1188 to Henry count of Champagne seems indicative of this general disillusionment. He mourns that so celebrated an order should be torn by this terrible scandal (Becquet 1956: no. 23). Henry II was therefore laid to rest at Fontévrault, a house both aristocratic and ascetic, with unimpeachable credentials. Yet this does not alter the fact that during the 1160s and 1170s his generosity towards the order had been most lavish in nature. Nor was it confined to him alone. Etienne de Marçay, seneschal of Anjou, and Renaud de Vou his brother, founded La Haie aux Bonshommes, the Lusignans, La Troussaye, and the counts of La Marche, Grandmont

Chataigniers (Gaborit 1963b). It was also court circles rather than the Crown which brought the order to England with the foundation of Grosmont by Robert de Turnham, seneschal in turn of Anjou (1199) and Poitou and Gascony (1201–4) (Graham 1929:225).

Richard I also continued to show the order considerable favour. Some of his charters of donation and confirmation to the *cellae* have great importance as evidence for tracing both his and his father's contributions, as we shall see below. Levèsque (1662:175), however, becomes a highly dubious source for this time. He says that Richard came to Grandmont in 1192 and arranged to pull down the church and replace it with a bigger and better structure. It is of course conceivable that Richard did visit Grandmont, but not in 1192, when he was on crusade. Levèsque's sources for some at least of his statements are fairly clear, for some charters purporting to come from Richard I are dated 1192. Chronology was not, perhaps, a strong point of the order, yet this false information does not obscure the fact that Richard was fairly generous towards it. Nor was this the end of Angevin interest, for the links of the dynasty and Grandmont have an interesting postscript. A letter from John to the inhabitants of Le Mans in 1203 orders them to make full reparation to the *cella* of Bercey for damage done in recent wars, for *volumus etiam domus huius ordinis manuteneatur, et defendi pre ceteris domibus religiosarum in terra nostra*.⁸ As late as 1212 Geoffrey archbishop of York, illegitimate son of Henry II, was buried in the *cella* of Notre Dame du Parc at Rouen, where he had lived in exile, during the Interdict in England, for several years (Stapleton 1844:ccix). The Angevins did not forget their links with Grandmont.

But how did these connections of the Angevins and the order manifest themselves? Some *cellae* claimed the Angevins as their founders and patrons. But even in using these terms we run into problems, for the concept of a foundation as such seems to have been more elastic in the late twelfth century than might appear at first sight. Henry II, for example, presumably backed up by his chancery staff, was a past master at claiming himself as founder and patron of a monastery when his contribution had been only small. For example, the Hôtel Dieu at Angers had been set up by Etienne de Marçay, as a papal bull of Alexander III (Port 1870, Delisle 1920:206–7) shows clearly. His almonry was enlarged by Henry II in about 1181–2; he instituted Augustinian canons and added to the lands and revenues which existed already. His foundation charter, however, refers to the house which he had founded *de propriis elemosinis*, his own alms. There is a tradition that at Varennes, an existing Cistercian house, he removed and replaced the foundation stone because *voluit esse monasterii fundator et custos* (Sainte Marthe 1759:211). The magnificence of his relatively inexpensive English refoundations, at Waltham and Amesbury, show a shrewd realism and a desire to create lavish monastic houses using existing resources which came to hand. Hence the claim that he had founded the Grandmontine *cella* of La Haie at Angers, whether actually made by him or later forgers, would in terms of his own definition of this process have been a perfectly valid one.⁹

‘Foundations’ may thus be classified on three levels. The first of these is the real variety, the house where it is evident that the overwhelming bulk of the initiative, the land and building materials, and endowments

and other privileges necessary to sustain the community, come from the founder. The number of these is likely to be considerably less than the second category, the ‘foundations’ of genuine royal documents; just as these in their turn will certainly number less than the third group, the ‘foundations’ of the forgers.

It is thus a problem to attempt to evaluate royal donations. Complaints made from the thirteenth century onwards as to the lack of authenticity of certain documents are hardly an encouraging starting point. Very few of the charters exist as originals; most are copies, perhaps of forgeries, perhaps of more authentic charters, in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century collections. An example of these comes from the *cella* of La Haie at Angers, and comprises two fourteenth-century cartularies and a bound collection compiled much later. Many of the documents are forgeries ranging in quality from the adept to the incompetent. Yet in the bound collection is one original papal bull of Clement III of 1188, and a few original charters do exist. The texts of Louis VII’s foundation charters for Vincennes, Louye and La Coudre have never been questioned. I would add the charter of Richard I for three Poitevin (see in the Appendix to this article, no. 2, and Figure 2).

Leopold Delisle, in his *Examen de treize chartes de l’ordre de Grammont* (1854) and the introduction to the *Actes de Henri II* (1909), demonstrated that the majority of the charters and bulls of the order surviving for the twelfth century in copy are forgeries. No one has questioned his basic assumptions although Dom Becquet has recently validated two early papal bulls. These date from 1156 (Adrian IV) and 1171–2 (Alexander III). Their internal evidence does not suggest

forgery, and although they were produced at a time when no title deeds were allowed, their subject-matter is laudatory and exhortatory and not legal (Becquet 1956: nos. 4–6). The papacy may thus have begun the relaxation of the rule against title deeds in this way.

But the majority of the documents are certainly either totally invented, or else they were existing charters with alterations or interpolations. They scarcely seem a suitable basis for ascertaining the true extent of Angevin generosity. In a recent thesis of the École des Chartes, *L'architecture de l'ordre de Grammont*, Gaborit has argued that *all* the charters of Henry II and Richard I for the order are probably forged, and that few of the important *cellae* had really significant connections with them. Yet in view of the contemporary emphasis on the links of the kings, especially Henry II, with the order, this seems a somewhat extreme view. The documents may not all be – and are not all – authentic, yet to suggest that most of the patronage granted by the Angevins is a thirteenth-century invention is to ignore the evidence of some original charters of the twelfth century and others which have probably been altered very little. A detailed textual examination of the forged charters of some houses reveals a surprising amount of evidence corroborated by the more reputable texts. Thus it is possible after all that these forgeries can throw some light upon the original grants made by the Angevins to the *cellae*, especially if the methods and motives of the forgers are taken into account.

Forgery was a widespread occupation, not to say craft, of the middle ages, and especially of the twelfth century. Tout (1920:5) commented in his paper on the subject:

It is hardly going too far to say that homicide was the special misdeed of the knightly class, and forgery

the particular peccadillo of the cleric. It was almost the duty of the clerical class to forge. If it did not always commit culpable forgeries for its own particular interest it forged, almost from a sense of duty, for the benefits of the society, the community, the house whose interests it represented.¹⁰

It seems fair to say that many medieval monastic forgers were working for the interests of their own communities, and the boundary between a straight copy and one with a few additions must have seemed slender. The case for the primacy of Canterbury, created for Lanfranc by the monks of Christ Church, is an example. To make a forgery convincing a skilled practitioner would often include genuine elements. The Battle charters produced for the case against Hilary, bishop of Chichester, in the reign of Henry II, re-iterated William the Conqueror's secular privileges in a substantially correct form but added a considerable degree of independence from the bishop of Chichester and the archdeacon of Canterbury (Tout 1929:195; Searle 1969).

Thus, when a charter is altered or forged, an understanding of the motives of the forgers may give a clue as to the areas where the information given diverges furthest from any original grant or tradition. In the case of the Grandmontine forgers this approach is most revealing and very often the areas of privilege where the greatest elaboration is effected show the greatest divergence from chancery formulae in their exposition. That is to say, in a few charters it is possible to see a simple royal confirmation expanded to grant wide ranging privileges, through the style of the different sections.

Bearing these considerations in mind the aims and intentions of the forgers will throw much light upon the documents as they stand. In some ways they can be seen as acting with a great deal of common sense in reacting

against the early prohibition of title deeds. The *Regula* as confirmed by Clement III reads *item vos praecipimus, ut de rebus vobis datis vel dandis numquam scriptum causa placitandi faciatis nec etiam placitare praesumatis*.¹¹ Other monastic houses with a similar deficiency of early charters adopted precisely this same expedient of forgery. Westminster is an outstanding example. In the case of Grandmont the prohibition was observed fairly strictly *de facto* until the 1180s but was not relaxed *de iure* until the time of Innocent IV (Delisle 1909:18–19). As well as the papal bulls already discussed there are a few charters dating from the late twelfth century which do contravene this rule – both Louis VII and Henry count of Champagne recorded their gifts to Vincennes in this way (Delisle 1909:19). Henry II's foundation charters for Bois Rahier and Bercey, of the 1170s, which are probably largely genuine, thus fall into the same pattern of gradual relaxation from the original statutes (below, pp. 176–8).

Yet these charters are clearly exceptions. There was enough doubt in the thirteenth century about land acquired in the twelfth to necessitate the forgery of a considerable number of documents to make safe the title of the order to them. But the claims tended to overstep considerably the scale of the original donation, and by the mid-thirteenth century this was causing considerable scandal. And not only were the Grandmontines producing retrospective Plantagenet charters, some of a remarkably low quality, but they were also concocting documents purporting to be more recent in date and to come from the French royal house and great nobles. Delisle gives one example of a charter of confirmation supposedly from Louis IX dated 1250, for Sermaize and Louye (Delisle 1909: 42–3; Levèsque 1662:423). In 1259 Louis

informed Pope Alexander IV that the Grandmontines were causing a public scandal by forging charters, and the pope asked Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen, to investigate the matter. The result was the imprisonment of the *corrector* of Rouen, but not enough doubt was cast upon the brethren to prevent subsequent royal confirmations of their titles. Nor did it stop the activities of the forgers, which continued into the fourteenth century (Delisle 1854: no. 12).

Clearly in these cases the motives of the forgers often went beyond merely the desire to provide a legal title to land already in their possession. In one case, La Haie at Angers, a cover-up operation seems to have been the starting point. The founder had been openly disgraced and so in the thirteenth century it became necessary for Henry II to be seen in this role (Gaborit 1963a:102). A more common idea was to obtain advantageous exemptions from judicial and fiscal burdens. Delisle (1854: nos. 8–9) points out that according to two charters allegedly given by Richard I to Rouen and Sermaize, all the houses in the former Angevin Empire should suffer no exactions from *coutume*, *ni droit ni prescription*. One of these charters also makes another revealing statement. If by any chance, Richard is made to say, we should lose our patronage over the house at Rouen, *ipsoque casu dominum regem Franciae qui fuerit pro tempore, nostrum heredem constituimus et pariter successorum*, so that he could act as defender and patron.¹² The advantages of claiming the French crown as patron by establishing it as heir to the Angevins are obvious in judicial and financial terms. The king would protect the house and he would also take over the payment of any pensions granted by the Angevins. Gaborit noticed that several Grandmontine *cellae* achieved this, for they

appear in the late thirteenth-century royal accounts as the recipients of pensions. In 1299, for example, the brothers of Villiers received £ 36.10.0d *pro toto* (Fawtier and Maillard 1953: no. 3023). Some had clearly felt it necessary to produce royal foundation charters to convince royal officials of their right to these payments (Gaborit 1963a:91). The advantages of a daring forgery, if it was uncontested, could thus be manifold and considerable.

Two themes run through this discussion of the origins of some Grandmontine *cellae*. One is the question of whether or not they were Plantagenet foundations. The second, on which the first is based, is the extent to which forged documents can help trace the history of the houses.

A first group of these cells possesses charters which have clearly been altered slightly but not substantially. LA HAIE AUX BONS-HOMMES near Angers was not founded by Henry II, but he gave it generous benefactions which could be expanded to suggest a greater royal role. It was in fact founded before 1186 by Renaud de Vou, for it was in this year that Urban III granted it a safeguard (Becquet 1956: no. 14). Clement III re-iterated this in 1188, granting the brothers *tam sanis quam leprosis* full protection and confirmation.¹³ Renaud's brother, Etienne de Marçay, seneschal of Anjou, also gave lands, as both this bull and a charter of Richard I of 1196 suggest. The family was clearly interested in foundations to help the sick, for Etienne had created the Hôtel Dieu at Angers. Henry II took over this hospital in the 1180s and claimed it as his own, but in the case of the Grandmontine *cella* the exact course of events is less clear. The charter which the king granted (Delisle and Berger 1920:237-8) appears as a straightforward confirmation of

the rights and possessions of the house, together with grants of building material in the forest, two shillings a day, a gift of wine and two men to take care of the material interests of the house. No mention is made, however, of Renaud and Etienne. Delisle finds one witness, Walter of Coutances, as chancellor, suspect. This is because he never held the title, although as head of the chancery he fulfilled the functions of the office (Delisle and Berger 1920:298). He therefore suggests that the *acta* might have been altered, but for this knowledge to have survived even in a garbled form indicates that this change must have been made within a few years.

There is one charter, however, that throws some light upon the problems of this and other houses (pp. 182-4). It is a wholesale confirmation for several houses by Richard I, dated 1196. The transcript printed in the Appendix to this article is taken from a fourteenth-century cartulary and an eighteenth-century printed copy in the Archives Départementales of the Maine et Loire. It is important to establish its authenticity or otherwise. The details often agree with the less suspect charters of Henry II and although some passages might have been altered or interpolated it seems improbable that the whole charter was forged as Gaborit suggests (1963a:85). The document seems substantially correct in diplomatic, in place-date and in witness list. It confirms the lands and pensions granted by Henry II and the lay buyers for a large group of houses. One major section is a specific confirmation of donations to La Haie, including Henry's two shillings a day. But unlike Henry's charter it confirms *quaecunque dictae domui de La Haya dederant S. Andegavensis senescallus et R. de Veo frater eius*. One would expect a fuller reference to the

founders, and indeed the last time that they appear in the charters of the house is here. This is probably explained by the fact that Richard had overthrown Etienne in 1189, supposedly for embezzlement (Howlett 1886: 384–5; Delisle 1909:462). But why does he not appear in the charter of Henry II given before the disgrace? It is possible that the monks decided to promote Henry as their founder rather than as their benefactor and so suppressed references to Renaud and Etienne in their confirmation charter from him. Richard's generosity towards the *cella* would have made this a likely story. His father's charter was probably altered subsequently to imply that he had founded the house. Levèsque (1662:112), writing in the seventeenth century, mentions it in these terms.

The evidence he used must have been the collections of documents made by the house from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, which perpetuated the fiction of Angevin foundation probably by using thirteenth-century documents in sequence. One of these, already discussed, comprises two cartularies containing many documents in common, now in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Angers and the Archives Départementales of the Maine et Loire.¹⁴ These emphasise the role of Henry II as patron to a marked degree. One charter purports to be a grant from Hugh, abbot of St Nicholas at Angers, of part of the enclosure of La Haie to Henry II, who is giving this and the other part to the brethren. In fact Henry often used land provided by others in founding monastic houses, but in this case the grant itself is highly dubious. But both collections follow it with his confirmation charter.¹⁵ If this is, as I suggest, the original but with the references to the true founders suppressed, then the idea that he

did create the house is presented very plausibly. It is backed up by Richard's charter in both cases¹⁶ and the collection also includes several blatant forgeries supposedly of Richard for Rouen and Sermaize.¹⁷ The clumsiness of these last documents implies rather less skill on the part of their originators than those who altered the earlier charters. Only the papal bulls in the bound collection which remain unquestioned, and the hints in Richard's charter, show who the true founders of La Haie were. Ironically enough, it would appear that in this case Henry took only posthumous credit for a house he did not create.

The *cella* of BERCEY near Le Mans was clearly under the *aegis* of Henry II from the first, although again he probably did not create it. His charter of confirmation dated by Delisle as 1172–82, grants like that to La Haie, the site, building materials, two shillings a day and two laymen to serve the brothers.¹⁸ As with the charter to La Haie, Walter of Coutances as chancellor is suspect (Delisle 1909:288). But the charter is probably substantially authentic, although it may have been altered in a few places. On this evidence Henry has been claimed as the founder, but what was the true extent of his generosity?

The first time that the house appears is in a charter of 1168, of William de Passavant, bishop of Le Mans. He says that Henry II, who is the protector of the order, has installed some Grandmontines in the wood of Ros, *cuius duae partes nostrae sunt et tertia domini regis* (Alouis 1881:290). On the request of the prior, Brother Bernard, the bishop and chapter have decided to grant their two thirds of the site to the monks; thus Henry had given only one third. In fact, the location of the house in its early years is unclear. In some early thirteenth-century charters the

monks are cited as of LeGué Brunet,¹⁹ which was two kilometers away from Bercey and had connections with Tiron (Oury 1971:26). The conventual buildings at Bercey date from the mid-thirteenth century, which was perhaps when the foundation was settled here. Henry II's material role may thus have been considerably less than is generally accepted. Nevertheless the house was conscious of its Angevin links and John gave it special protections and safeguards (p. 171).

The foundation of BOIS RAHIER by Henry follows a similar pattern to that of Bercey, although this house situated near Tours was to become the richer and more important. It began with a transaction between the king and the canons of St Martin's Abbey at Tours. A charter of 1372 describes the process.²⁰ They had received from Henry some meadows in exchange for some wood- and *ad opus boni homines de magno monte*. A marginal note gives the date as 1175, and the king's confirmation charter, again substantially correct, may date from the same time.²¹ This is far more elaborate than the charters to La Haie and Bercey, a measure both of the importance of the house and the greater care and interest taken in it by the king. He grants the lands, the boundaries of which he carefully specifies, together with an annual pension of £ 300 and rights in the forest. These are essentially the same privileges as those he granted to the other *cellae*, but here the pension is of far greater value, especially as the needs of an ascetic order were relatively few. Richard I confirmed the pension in his general charter and added to it *ad opus leprosororum et sanorum fratrum*. This house then, like La Haie, acted as a leper hospital, a branch of charitable activities which particularly interested Henry II.

In the case of Bois Rahier there is little doubt

that Henry was a reasonably generous founder. The date of foundation is, however, in dispute, and this may serve to illustrate the difficulties of working out the chronology of foundations and endowments for the order. Levèsque (1662:112) states that the house was created in the 1150s, but an eighteenth-century antiquarian working on the Tours area gives 1177.²² He names Richard de Lucy, whose name appears as a witness on the Bois Rahier charter, as another benefactor, and he claims that the *cella* of Villiers had a similar history.²³ Founded by Henry in 1177 it was further endowed by Richard I. This claim is hard to substantiate, but in Richard's general confirmation Villiers is listed as having been granted two shillings a day by his father. Whether he did in fact found it or not thus remains a matter of conjecture.

The two writers diverge by twenty years in their estimates of when Bois Rahier was created. Levèsque (1662:112) goes out of his way to emphasise that Henry had founded many *cellae* before the 1170s, for, he says, many writers claim that the king had created Grandmontine houses as a penance for Becket's death. The eighteenth-century Touraine antiquarian was clearly a subscriber to this other tradition. He gives 1177 as the dates for the charters to Bois Rahier, Villiers and Pommier Aigre. This was certainly the time when Henry was engaged in refounding Waltham and Amesbury, and founding Witham in England and Le Liget in France. The 1170s were a period of great favour for the Grandmontines, and although there are no suggestions that he founded any cells as part of his penance, the creation of these as part of a substantial group of monasteries could have helped to restore good relations with more severe ecclesiastics. Yet

this may not be so, for Henry's interest in Grandmont throughout his reign is clear. Another solution is that he might have created the *cellae* in the 1150s and not given charters of foundation and endowment until the 1170s when it became more acceptable to do so. The evidence is, however, not sufficient to make one explanation seem more convincing than the others.

Because of the degree to which many of the charters diverge from the normal patterns it is often a hazardous process to attempt to trace any genuine grants which form their basis. The foundation charter of MONNAIS is a clear forgery, although Richard I did confirm both the lands and the pensions which Henry II is supposed to have given it.²⁴ In the charter purporting to come from Henry there are mistakes in diplomatic – *anno quinto regni nostri* – and in a witness. Froger, who was cited as archbishop of Sens, was not elected until the next year. The body of the charter also contains many uncharacteristic phrases. In the dispositive clause, for example, the lands are granted:

ad faciendum, sine alicuius contradictione, inquietatione, contrarietate et violentia, quicquid inde de eo et in illo illis facere placuerit, et quicquid de eo facere voluerint, et quandocunque et quotiescunque facere voluerint...

Such phraseology does not occur in others of Henry's charters to the order and stands out from the normal succinct chancery style. Other passages, however, bear a closer resemblance to these other charters. One example is the section granting the house two shillings a day, and, further down, the grant of lay buyers which, however, appears to have been altered slightly. These hints suggest that Henry did give a charter to the house but it was not one of foundation. As for

La Haie and Bercey he may have granted the brothers two shillings a day, lay buyers and a general confirmation of their possessions. It was these that were confirmed by Richard. The forgers, in order to make this into a confirmation charter, had to add in certain passages. Taking the grant to Bercey (pp. 000–000) as a model, the original might have made a grant of the site, *et totum nemus liberum et quietum absolute, sicut fossatis exterioribus clauditur, ut inde faciant quicquid sibi viderint expedire*. The Monnais charter, however, reads *et totum nemus, sicut exteriora clausura et fossata que propriis expensis meis facta sunt claudunt, dividunt et distinguunt, liberum et quietum, perpetuis temporibus pacifice possidendum et habendum, ad faciendum...*, and continues in the same words as the passage above-quoted beginning *ad faciendum*. Here the elaboration of the grant had two basic purposes. One was to establish Henry as the founder. Here the usual phrase *propriis elemosinis* is not used: *propriis expensis meis* is a less plausible alternative. The other purpose is to give a solemn tone to the charter, though the result is merely an impression of superfluous verbiage. Another section which corresponds fairly closely is the privilege of taking from the royal forests *omnia necessaria ad edificationem et usus eiusdem loci*, which corresponds with the Bercey charter's *omnia neccessaria ad edificationem et usus supradicte domus*. A similar pattern of correlation occurs in the grants of two shillings a day and lay buyers, and it is these that Richard confirms. The privileges, however, give every sign of having been expanded considerably. The giving of pannage and dead wood is feasible but there is an overstrong emphasis on the rights and status of the house as a royal monastery.

It is perhaps possible to draw a parallel between the intentions of the forgers here and

at ROUEN where the blatancy of the forgeries demonstrates in a more obvious way the necessity to convince the French Crown of the status of the house as a royal foundation. Thus it would qualify for royal pensions, confirmations and judicial protection. At the same time the wide-ranging privileges it was claiming would not appear out of place.

One group of charters of Henry and Richard for this house are perhaps the most outstandingly inauthentic of all the forged Plantagenet charters for the order of Grandmont. But another group of slightly less dubious charters which have been altered but probably not concocted may throw some light on the course of the foundation. Into this latter group falls one dated as 1177–89 by Delisle and Berger.²⁵ Henry grants the *parc de Rouen* with full justice and *usage* in the forest. He also gives £ 200 from the issues of Rouen and lesser privileges including the keeping of bees in the forest of Rouvray, and two men from Rouen and other men from other cities free from dues. These grants follow the general pattern in the same way as certain sections of the Monnais charter. But certain sections have been added; for example, the entire final clause (Delisle 1854: no. 4). Other grants do not correspond either with the regulations of the order at the time the charter is supposed to come from nor with the normal chancery formulae.

The *Regula* forbade the keeping of herds and this was not relaxed officially until the mid-thirteenth century. The forgers were clearly aware of this but could not resist adding a safeguard which would cover the animals subsequently acquired by the house. *Praeterea dedi et concessi fratribus memoratis et animalibus suis, cuiusque generis sint, si dictos fratres habere contigerit, plenum usagium.*²⁶ There

are other sections where too much is claimed, and in the wrong style, such as jurisdiction in the forest. This is the technique used more blatantly in other charters. Yet as with the Monnais charter the core of the document may contain a factual basis. Richard I's general charter confirms the lands but not the revenues, although a transparent forgery allegedly from him to Rouen confirms both. But we do have some evidence about Henry's pension, for there is a charter of John in the charter rolls dated 1199. This safeguards both the house and the £ 200 from Rouen, £ 100 at Easter and £ 100 at Michaelmas (Dugdale 1846:1090). The document also suggests that Henry founded the house, but this claim is hard to substantiate from other documents. Both of his supposed charters to the house naturally emphasise his role in its creation, but this could easily be a slight amplification of the truth, either by Henry, by one of his sons or by the late forgers. Even if Henry did found it, it is hard to see when this occurred. Another charter of his to the house is of a highly improbable nature (Delisle and Berger 1920:353). It is dated 1156, and Gaborit (1963a:103) suggests that this was indeed the date of foundation and that Louis VII's cell of Vincennes, founded about 1157, was in imitation of the English king. Yet Levèsque (1662:112), always enthusiastic about Henry's open-handedness, has other suggestions to make. Henry, he says, was generous to Grandmont in the 1150s, founding several *cellae* and confirming many others founded by *privatis hominibus* including Rouen and Sermaize. But Notre Dame du Parc at Rouen does not appear in the 1180 Norman exchequer roll in receipt of a pension. In 1184 it is granted a hundred shillings in *perdonis*, while in 1195 and 1198, the next extant years, it receives twenty

pounds for twenty acres of meadow. No mention of the £200 pensions occurs (Stapleton 1840:cliv; 1844:clxix-x). In the charters the house is sometimes referred to as of Rouen and sometimes as of Rouvray. The most likely explanation seems to be that Henry gave help to someone else's foundation in the forest of Rouvray, and perhaps refounded this house nearer to Rouen in the 1180s. The chapel, which has some fine wall paintings, dates from about this time (Coutan 1933).

But in the thirteenth century the *corrector* of Rouen clearly did not find his privileges adequate. He had them supplemented most imaginatively, and it was perhaps these charters among others that led to the commission of enquiry at the time of St. Louis. Grandiose privileges had been claimed, high and low lordship and justice, and the rights of a fugitive entering the lands of the house to full sanctuary there.²⁷ Delisle shows (1854: no. 8) that a glaring forgery supposedly of Richard I re-iterates these claims. It also gives an insight into the way in which the cell was trying to make clear its status as a royal monastery. Richard is made to constitute the king of France as his heir. This might have been an intelligent attempt to establish that the patronage should pass from one king to the other, but in terms of the events of Richard's reign it was highly unlikely. On the grounds of historical inaccuracy, at least, one feels that the *corrector* and his accomplices deserved their fate.

Another *cella* which specialised in forgery was SERMAIZE. Typical is the audacious concoction of privileges from Louis IX, dated 1250, *ad recompensationem multorum laborum quos in nostris negotiis et antecessorum nostrorum diu sustinuerunt* (Delisle 1854: no. 13). This heart-warming phrase also occurs in another

document claiming to come from Richard I, dated at Grandmont in 1192 when the king was in fact on crusade. *Ad recompensationem multorum laborum quos in nostris negotiis et antecessorum nostrorum diu sustinuerunt, cum in partibus Angliae nollent transire ad haereditatem accipiendam*, he founds and confirms Grandmont and all its dependencies in Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou and Poitou.²⁸ This is followed by a grant of high and low justice and freedom from dues for all Grandmontine houses. It must have been produced at about the same time as the other, in the 1250s or 1260s, and it reveals very little about the early history of the house.

The Plantagenets may have been patrons of Sermaize for Levèsque says that Henry II confirmed it in 1157. The grants of land and men in the early part of the forgery of Richard I may have been based on a genuine document, for they ring more true than the rest, both in their style and in the comparative moderation of their claims.

That some of the traditions on which the forgers based their evidence are well substantiated emerges in a few original charters to the order which do survive. One of these, from the Archives Départementales of the Vendée, is dated 1195 (in the Appendix to this article, no. 2, and Figure 2). The style of the script dates it from the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, while the diplomatic is very characteristic of royal charters of the 1190s. The *teste me ipso* formula might seem somewhat unusual at this time but Chaplais shows that it often occurs in charters issued by Richard I as count of Poitou, of which this is one (Chaplais 1971:15-16). Master Eustace, who appears here, occurs in other documents of late 1195 as keeper of the seal.

In this charter Richard grants LA

MEILLERAYE its land and building materials as Henry II granted them. Here again the phrases used tie in very closely with his general charter of confirmation and with Henry's general confirmatory charters: *totam terram libere et quiete sicut fossatis exterioribus clauditur*. To this he adds grants of fish and of bread, and several named laymen free from services. La Meilleraye may thus have been founded by Henry II and BONNERAY, which is confirmed by the same charter, by Queen Eleanor in whose domainial lands it lay. Her lands and buyers are reaffirmed to the house, and BARBETORTE also receives a safeguard. These three house were clearly, on this evidence, under Angevin patronage.

A study of genuine and of forged documents of the Grandmontines thus provides a considerable amount of information about the connections of Henry II, Richard I and the order. Richard's charters to La Meilleraye and La Haie show a wide network of patronage links created by his father and himself. Piecing together the information from these and from the less altered charters of Henry, it seems that Henry created Bois Rahier and perhaps La Meilleraye and Villiers, and claimed to have founded Bercey. Other houses of which he was patron later expanded grants from him to imply foundation. These included La Haie, Monnais, Rouen and Sermaize. Eleanor perhaps founded, and was certainly generous to, Bonneraye, and Richard gave valuable endowments to La Haie.

Yet what was the true extent of Angevin generosity, and does it live up to claims made by contemporary writers? It is clear even in the more *bona fide* cases of foundation that Henry parted with very little in the way of lands. Grandmontine houses cannot have been expensive to found, and for an order

whose expectations were circumscribed by their rule a small endowment would have assumed considerable value. Viewed in these terms a house like Bois Rahier might appear to have been treated generously by Henry. Yet in this case, as with Bercey to a greater degree, the lands which formed the basis of the foundation were acquired by 'gifts' or exchanges made with local ecclesiastical corporations. Similar transactions may underlie the foundation of *cellae* where the process emerges less clearly.

This re-using of ecclesiastical lands seems, however, to have been a well-established process and was practised by Henry's predecessors on the English throne, by Henry I at Reading, by Stephen at Buckfast, as well as by Henry himself in founding the houses of other orders; Waltham (Augustinian) and Amesbury (Fontevraldine) being two examples. The Church already held a very high proportion of land, and the alienation of further royal domain to ecclesiastics – or to powerful laymen – had to be a process treated with care. Henry sought to recover rather than alienate Crown lands. As part of this policy his grants of land to the church as a whole tended to be only moderate.

By contrast he was generous with privileges and pensions to many orders. The Templars for example, were given little property but widespread judicial and financial rights throughout the Angevin Empire. Grandmont received similar treatment from both Richard and Henry. The *cellae* under royal patronage were granted pensions, the norm being two shillings a day or about thirty-seven pounds a year in local currencies. Some also received rights in neighbouring royal forests, and all were allowed lay buyers, many of whom were granted in person by one king or the other. Furthermore the chattels of the order were

protected by Henry's statute of 1177. The later forgers understood very well the nature of Angevin links with Grandmont, and perhaps this is why even their most extreme concoctions were to be accepted and confirmed by the French royal house.

Contemporary emphasis on the interest taken in Grandmont by Henry II and Richard I thus has a genuine basis. Henry was a generous lay advocate who helped to rebuild and endow the mother-house and allowed it dependent wide-ranging privileges and valuable pensions. Some *cellae* he created. Richard I expanded and confirmed these links. And through this favour the Grandmontines came to occupy a position of considerable prominence. One may well argue that this contributed to the crisis in the order, the problems over discipline and the relaxation of the *Regula*, ameliorating the harsh and ascetic way of life so much admired by contemporaries. Yet the Grandmontines themselves, both the late twelfth-century advisors and mentors of Henry II, and the thirteenth-century forgers, valued the Plantagenets as patrons very greatly. And likewise, they themselves were greatly valued by their royal patrons.

Appendix

Two charters for the order of Grandmont

1. *Richard I to La Haie aux Bonshommes, 1196* (Maine et Loire AD G. 870, f. 3. Eighteenth-century copy)

Richardus [sic] dei gratia rex Angliae dux Normanniae et Aquitaniae et comes Andegaviae archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, iusticiariis, senescallis, praepositis et omnibus baillivis et fidelibus suis salutem.

Sciatis nos intuitu dei et pro salute animae nostrae et animarum omnium antecessorum et successorum

nostrorum et pro stabilitate regni nostri dedisse, concessisse et praesenti carta confirmasse, deo et priori et bonis hominibus ordinis Grandimontis locum de Rohom' cum nemore pratis et omnibus pertinentiis suis, locum de Haya de Andegavis et totum nemus, liberum et quietum cum pratis et vineis suis sicut muris undique clausum est et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, locum de Mosnez et totum nemus liberum et quietum pro voluntate sua utendum, sicut fossatis exterioribus clauditur et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, locum de Pomerio Acri et totum nemus liberum et quietum ad utendum pro voluntate sua, sicut distinguit via vetata¹ quae incipit a via Turonensis et venit in viam episcopalem et fossata claudunt de versus Chinonem et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, locum de Villars et totum nemus, liberum et quietum ad utendum pro voluntate sua sicut fossatis exterioribus clauditur et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, locum de Bosco Raheri et totum nemus liberum et quietum ad utendum pro voluntate sua cum alio nemore Esplante et Veira et pratis quae sunt super Pontem Vensam et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, locum de Burseyo et totum nemus, liberum et quietum ad faciendum pro voluntate sua, sicut fossatis exterioribus clauditur et per totam forestam aliam et universas forestas nostras, omnia necessaria et edificationem et usus eiusdem domus et aliarum domorum eiusdem ordinis, de tota terra mea quae a piissimo patre nostre Henrico fundata sunt, libere et quiete.

Itaque nullus aliquam consuetudinem omnino in illis locis quaerere vel extorquere vel violenter inferre praesumat. Concedimus igitur bonis hominibus in eisdem locis deo servientibus, damus et confirmamus omnes redditus quos pater noster rex Henricus singulis domibus assignavit, trecentas videlicet libras domui de Bosco Raheri ad opus leprosororum et sanorum fratrum, et monagium Chinon', domui de Burseyo duos solidos singulis diebus et foagium de Marunc et unam sannam mellis cum vasis quae dicuntur Cousterez, domui de Villars duos solidos singulis diebus, domui de Pomerio Acri duos solidos singulis diebus, domui de Mosnez duos solidos singulis diebus domui de la Haya duos solidos singulis diebus in vinagiis Andegavis in festo Sancti Michaelis reddendos.

Concedimus etiam, damus et confirmamus intuitu Dei et pro amore fratris huic domui de la Haya alios duos solidos singulis diebus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in pixide Andegavensi percipiendos. Concedimus insuper domui de la Haya et confirmamus molendina calciatam exclusam, prata nemora et terram de Monsterolio, grangiam de Bona Punia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, meditaream domum Andegavensem [sic] et vinagium de omnibus vincis quas habent vel habebunt. Dedimus etiam singulis praedictis domibus et confirmamus et quaecunque dictae domui de la Haya dederant S. Andegavensis senes-

callus et R. de Veo frater eius. Concedimus insuper, damus et confirmamus eidem domui de la Haya quatuor homines apud Andegavum et unum apud locum qui dicitur le Mouin Valleia.

Et aliis praefatis singulis domibus Grandimontis ordinis damus similiter et confirmamus duos homines in singulis civitatibus et unum in castris et villis iuxta quae domus sunt posita, liberos et quietos de omni taillagio pontagio thelonio passagio vinagio fossagio exercitu et omni consuetudine et de omnibus rebus et occasionibus ad nos pertinentibus. Has omnes elemosinas et possessiones quae praedictis domibus ex dono antecessorum nostrorum vel ex dono quorumlibet hominum, datae sunt et concessae, libere et quiete, plenarie et pacifice in perpetuum habendas et possidendas concedimus et confirmamus, et in manu et custodia et protectione nostra ponimus, et custodiri et defendi sicut res nostras dominicas firmiter praecipimus.

Testibus his, Bartholomeo Turonensi archiepiscopo, Renaldo Andegavensi episcopo, Magistro Arnaldo canonico, Magistro Philippo, Guillelmo de Formualiiis, Guillelmo de Cella Pictaviensi senescallo, Weillelmo [sic] de Precignii, Gualterio de Fannat'. Datum per manum Magistri Eustachii apud Chinonem decima quinta die mensis Decembris, anni regni nostri septimo.

¹ Sic. In Henry II's charter this appears as *via vetusta*.

2. *Richard I for La Meilleraye, Bonneraye and Barbetorte, 1195* (Vendée AD H. 190. Original), shown in Figure 2.

Ricardus dei gratia rex Anglie dux Normannie et Aquitanie et comes Andegavie archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, iusticiis, senescallis, prepositis et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis salutem.

Sciant tam presentes quam posterius quod nos pro salute anime nostre et animarum omnium antecessorum et successorum nostrorum et pro stabilitate regni nostri, dedimus et concessimus et presenti carta confirmavimus, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et beate Marie et priori et fratribus Grandimonten(sis) ordinis manentibus in domo de Meslereia sita in foresta nostra de Orbisterio totum nemus et totam terram libere et quiete sicut fossatis exterioribus clauditur ad utendum pro voluntate sua, et quicquid eis placuerit faciendum, videlicet donare, vendere, extirpare et ad agriculturam redigere et alio quocumque modo voluerint expectare [sic] ita quod predictum nemus liberum conductum haveat per totam

terram nostram, et per totam forestam aliam ubi defes [sic] fuerint in eadem foresta, vel fient a nobis vel a successoribus nostris sive non fuerint. Ibidem capiant et expectent [sic] a quando voluerint et quantum eis placuerit ad edificacionem usumque eorundem fratrum et domorum suarum et ad omnia sua necessaria¹ facienda sicut piissimus pater noster rex Henricus dedit et concessit.

Damus etiam et concedimus predictis fratribus quodquociescumque vestros homines in mari piscari contigerit, cum flovis vel navibus seu batellis vel aliis instrumentis hominum dictorum fratrum cuiuscumque sint instrumentis a nominis(?), dicti fratres percipiant costumam nulla differentia habita, cuiuscumque generis pisces² existant qui ibidem a suis aut a nostris hominum capientur. De naufragiis et fracturis et casibus fortuitis et aliis infortuniis que frequenter in mari accidunt, vel in futurum possunt accidere, dicti fratres percipiant ab hominibus suis sive vestris quiete et pacifice, quicquid ad vos et successores vestros ratione dominii dinoscitur pertinere, portione nulla nobis vel successoribus nostris in posterum reservata. Nos vero aut successores nostri seu ballivi, senescalli, prepositi nostri non impedimus, quin homines nostri cum hominibus dictorum fratrum valeant mareare cum predictis instrumentis in mari. Item damus et confirmamus quod predicti fratres decimam totius panis habeant, tam in presentia nostra quam in absentia, qui expendetur in castris nostris, de Thalem' et de Olona, sive coquatur sive ematur ibidem sive ibidem aliumde [sic] deportetur. Concedimus etiam eisdem fratribus xl^a saumatas vindemie in feodo de Gricis annuatim percipiendas in tempore vindemiarum et sex sextaria frumenti annuatim percipienda in festo assumptionis beate Marie, in arca vestra que vocatur dominica de Olona, quatuor vel in aliis redditibus nostris, et duo in gastagio. Item damus et confirmamus dictis fratribus Galterium Bordi de Insula Olone et P. Garnerii de Jardo et Hugonem Landri et Aymericum Goguo³ de Castro Olone, et G. Garnerii et Rivalonem Britonem de Olona, et Daganea de Sables, et Guilot piscatorem, et Raginaldum biron, homines nostros cum omnibus hereditibus suis, et cum omnibus pertinentiis et possessionibus eorundem liberos et immunes in terra et aqua de omni servicio et de omni taillagio, pontagio, theloneo, passagio, vinagio, fossagio, exercitu et equitatu et omni consuetudine, et de omnibus rebus et occasionibus ad nos vel successores nostros pertinentibus.

Concedimus etiam et confirmamus locum de Bona Radice in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et predictis priori et fratribus Grandimon(tensis) ordinis, et totum nemus liberum et quietum sicut fossatis exterioribus clauditur, ad utendum pro voluntate sua, et quicquid inde eis placuerit faciendum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis sicut piissima mater nostra regina H.

Figure 2. The original charter of Richard, from the Archives of the Vendée, H. 190.

dedit et concessit. Damus insuper et concedimus predictis fratribus in eadem domo de Bona Radice manentibus Willelmum Giroardum et Hugonem Charrer cum omnibus heredibus suis et cum omnibus pertinentiis et possessionibus eorundem liberos et quietos ab omni servicio et exercitu, et omni consuetudine sicut superus de aliis hominibus est expressum. Volumus etiam et concedimus quod predicti homines tam illi quos domui de Mesleria quam illi quos domui de Bona Radice contulimus predictis domibus et fratribus in illis commorantibus teneantur in omnibus in quibus nobis antea tenebantur.

Item sciatis nos suscepisse in manu et custodia et protectione nostra fratres Grandim(ontensis) ordinis apud Barbam Tortam commorantes, et concessisse et confirmasse eisdem totum nemus suum liberum et quietum, ad utendum pro voluntate sua sicut fossatis exterioribus clauditur, cum omnibus possessionibus eorundem. Confirmamus insuper et concedimus ut has omnes predictas elemosinas et donationes in perpetuum habeant bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plenarie et integre et honorifice, sicut eas illis dedimus, et presenti carta confirmavimus.

Prohibemus etiam in premissis fraudem aliamque adhiberi, cum ipsa pro salute anime nostre et animarum antecessorum ac successorum conferamus. Non tantum predictas donationes predictis fratribus factas in terra nostra ratas habemus et confirmamus, set etiam omnes que eis de cetero fient, in manu et custodia nostra ponimus, et custodiri et deffendi sicut res nostras proprias firmiter precipimus.

Teste me ipso. Datum per manum Magistri Eustachii apud Niort, xv die Decembris anno regni nostri sexto, in cuius rei testimonium presentibus litteris sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum.

¹ necessaria, MS., with mark for correction.

² MS. adds P; marked for deletion.

³ Go/goues for guoes?

Notes

¹ Levèsque 1662:112: "Let us proceed courageously, for the brothers of Grandmont in whose prayers we lay our trust, have risen in the middle of the night to pray for us. It is impossible that we should perish with the brethren watching and interceding for us."

² The French crown in the late twelfth century, for example, also favoured the Cistercians, the Victorines and Grandmont itself.

³ "Henry II had already been most generous to Grandmont from this year, for he confirmed and enlarged by royal charter Grandmont, Rouen,

Sermaize and other cells which had mostly been founded by private individuals. He also founded the priory of La Haie at Angers, and Bois Rahier at Tours...".

⁴ Henry may have created Peter Bernard the Grand Prior in 1161, unless his letter is forged.

⁵ Stubbs 1867:7: "And he showed them a charter drawn up by the Grandmontines, arranging to bury his body at the exit of the chapter house in Grandmont... When they heard this they were exceedingly amazed and did not wish to allow it as they said it was against the dignity of his realm. But his resolve to do this became firmer and firmer." The letter may have been one of confraternity (Graham 1929:216).

⁶ Robertson 1885:449: "What is it, Lord King, that I hear of you? Surely you must realise that on the very day it was noised abroad that you had committed cruel murder, we sent away your workmen who were building the church of your house at Grandmont, so that we should participate with you in nothing".

⁷ Stubbs 1867:194; Delisle 1909:302: "On the prayers and petitions of the Grandmontines he ruled that no one should presume to take away the possessions of men for the debts of their lord".

⁸ Guilloreau 1907: no. 14: "We wish that a house of this order should be maintained and defended above all other religious houses in our lands".

⁹ The *cella* was founded by Renaud de Vou, see pp. 175-176.

¹⁰ I would like to thank Professor C.N.L. Brooke for a considerable amount of information on the subject of forgeries.

¹¹ Regula 25: "We enjoin you that you shall never for the sake of litigation commit to writing the possessions given or to be given to you, nor shall you presume to plead." Prohibitions of charters were, however, becoming rare by the late twelfth century.

¹² Delisle 1854: no. 3: "In that case we constitute the king of France, whoever he may be at that time, as our heir and successor."

¹³ Becquet 1956: no. 19; Maine et Loire, AD G. 870, f. 1.

¹⁴ Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 846 = A; Maine et Loire AD G. 870 = B.

¹⁵ A, f. 1 and B, f. 1.

¹⁶ A, f. 1 and B, f. 2.

¹⁷ A, f. 1 and B, f. 3.

¹⁸ Delisle and Berger 1920:195-61; Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 845, f. 232.

¹⁹ Sarthe, AD H 1110, H. 2151.

²⁰ Indre et Loire, AD G. 22.

²¹ Delisle and Berger 1920:120; BN MS. Lat. 9067, f. 287.

²² *Notes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de Touraine*, Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 1217, f. 64.

²³ Compare other identical foundation charters for

the hospitals of Angers and Le Mans (Delisle 1920: 206–8).

²⁴ Delisle and Berger 1916:239; Delisle 1909:297; Maine et Loire, AD 14 H1.

²⁵ Paris, AN JJ 122, no. 374; Delisle and Berger 1920:350.

²⁶ “I have besides this granted and conceded these brothers and their animals of whatever kind, if it happens that the brothers should have them, full usage...”.

²⁷ Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 856.

²⁸ Delisle 1854: no. 9. BN MS. Lat. 9067, fos. 270–2.

Literature

Alouis, V. 1881. Lucé et ses environs. *Revue historique et archéologique du Maine* 9:289–90.

Becquet, J. 1956. Le bullaire de l'ordre de Grammont. *Revue Mabillon* 46:82–93, 156–68, 189–201.

Bequet, J. 1958. L'ordre de Grammont. *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin* 88:1–36.

Becquet, J. 1960. Le premier crise de l'ordre de Grammont. *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin* 90:283–324.

Brewer, J.S. (ed.) 1873. *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, 4. RS. London.

Brewer, J.S. (ed.) 1877. *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, 8. RS. London.

Chaplais, P. 1971. *English royal documents 1199–1461*. Oxford.

Coutan, D. 1933. La chapelle Notre Dame du Parc. *Bulletin monumental* 91:207–19.

Delisle L. 1854. *Examen de treize chartes de l'ordre de Grammont*. Caen.

Delisle, L. 1909. *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, Introduction. Paris.

Delisle, L., E. Berger. 1916. *Recueil des actes*, 1. Paris.

Delisle, E., E. Berger. 1920. *Recueil des actes*, 2. Paris.

Douie, D., H.L. Farmer (ed.) 1961. *Magna vita sancti Hugonis*, 1, London.

Dugdale, W. 1846. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 (1). Second edition. London.

Fawtier, R., F. Maillard (ed.) 1953. *Comptes royaux*, 1. Paris.

Gaborit, J.R. 1963a and b. *L'architecture de l'ordre de Grammont*. 2 vols. Unpublished thesis, École des Chartes, Paris.

Graham, R. 1929. *English ecclesiastical studies*. London.

Grezzillier, A. 1963. *L'architecture Grandmontaine*. *Bulletin monumental* 121:331–58.

Guillou, L. 1907. Quelques actes de la chancellerie de Jean sans Terre. *Annales Fléchoises* 8:359.

Howlett, R. (ed.) 1886. *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, 3. RS. London.

Knowles, M.D. 1935. The revolt of the lay-brothers at Sempringham. *English historical review* 50:467–87.

Levèsque, J. 1662. *Annales ordinis Grandimontis*. Trier.

Luchaire, A. 1885. *Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII*. Paris.

Martène, E., A. Durand 1717. *Thesaurus novus anectorum*, 1. Paris.

Martène, E., A. Durand. 1729. *Veterum scriptorum... amplissima collectio*, 6. Paris.

Oury, G.M. 1971. Grandmontains au Maine. *La province du Maine* 75:1–27.

Pipe Roll Society. 1904. *The great roll of the pipe*, 22 Henry II. London.

Port, C. 1870. *Cartulaire de l'Hôtel Dieu d'Angers*, 1. Angers.

Robertson, J.C. (ed.) 1882. *Materials for the history of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, 6. RS. London.

Robertson, J.C. (ed.) 1885. *Materials for Becket*, 7. RS. London.

Sainte Marthe, D. 1759. *Gallia Christiana*, 11. Paris.

Searle, E. 1969. Battle Abbey and exemption. *The forged charters*. *English historical review* 84:449–80.

Stapleton, J. (ed.) 1840 and 1844. *Magni rotuli scaccariae Normanniae*. 2 vols. London.

Stubbs, W. (ed.) 1867. *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, 1. RS. London.

Tout, T.F. 1920. *Medieval forgeries and forgers*. Manchester.

Wright, T. (ed.) 1950. *Gualteri Mapes de nugis curialium*. Camden society. London.